



A History of Architectural Conservation

**The Contribution of English, French,
German and Italian Thought towards
an International Approach to the
Conservation of Cultural Property**

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A HISTORY OF ARCHITECTURAL CONSERVATION

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ABSTRACT

The aim of the study has been to investigate the history and development of major national European philosophies, i.e. those in Italy, England, France and Germanic countries, in respect to historic buildings, monuments and sites, the cross fertilization of these ideas and principles, and their contribution towards an international approach in the treatment of historic structures. Five case studies have been examined in depth for examples in the treatment of historic buildings; these are the Colosseum (Rome), the temple of Athena Nike (Athens), Durham Cathedral (England), Magdeburg Cathedral (Prussia) and the Madeleine in Vézelay (France). The study extends from the Italian Renaissance over to the period following the Second World War, and distinguishes between the traditional approach to the treatment of historic monuments, the 'romantic restoration' established in the Italian Renaissance and developed particularly in the nineteenth century (Schinkel, Scott, Mérimée, Viollet-le-Duc), the 'conservation movement' emphasizing the material authenticity and documentary value of the monument (Ruskin, Morris, Boito), and the modern conservation theory which is based on a critical historical evaluation of the work of art in its aesthetic, historical and use values (Riegl, Argan, Brandi), and is reflected in the Venice Charter (1964) and in the policy of ICCROM and ICOMOS.

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Introduction

In 1964 the International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites was introduced in Venice with the following words:

“Imbued with a message from the past, the historic monuments of generations of people remain to the present day as living witnesses of their age-old traditions. People are becoming more and more conscious of the unity of human values and regard ancient monuments as a common heritage. The common responsibility to safeguard them for future generations is recognized. It is our duty to hand them on in the full richness of their authenticity.” (1)

The long development which has brought about this consciousness and the concepts of conservation and restoration, of which the Charter is a landmark, is the subject of this study. The aim has been to investigate the history and development of major national European philosophies in respect to historic buildings, monuments and sites, the cross fertilization of these ideas and principles, and their contribution towards an international approach in the treatment of historic structures.

The period of study has been defined as beginning with the Italian Renaissance, through the French Revolution at the end of the eighteenth century, to the international policy guidelines after the Second World War, these marking three moments of particular significance in the development. Originally, the intention was to limit the study to the philosophies in three countries, i.e. England, France and Italy, and on their influence especially on Austria, Germany, Greece, Holland, and Scandinavia. During the study the importance of the contribution of Germanic countries to conservation theory has, however, turned out to be so significant that its treatment in more detail has been considered necessary. The work has been based on a critical selection of the most

significant aspects in the development of theories and the relationship with current practice in the relevant cultural context. The discussion of influences outside England, France, Italy, Prussia and Austria has been limited to examples mainly in Greece, the Netherlands and the Scandinavian countries. The general development of concepts is accompanied by five in-depth case studies, based on archival research, to show practical examples of the treatment of historic buildings in a period extending from the French Revolution approximately to the middle of the nineteenth century. These case studies consist of the restoration of the Colosseum in Rome, the Temple of Athena Nike in Athens, Durham Cathedral in England, Magdeburg Cathedral in Prussia, and the abbey church of the Madeleine at Vézelay in France.

The treatment of ancient monuments and works of art of the past can be seen to have evolved in three different directions, or approaches. One is the traditional approach that has probably existed as long as society, in which historic structures are preserved so long as they continue to have use values, or because there is no specific reason for their destruction; changes and new constructions in large buildings are slow and can take generations, showing in many cases a desire to continue the efforts of previous generations in a harmonious way, as was the case in mediaeval cathedrals. Particular monuments can, however, occupy a special position having, as Alois Riegl has said, ‘memorial’ value. This was true in ancient Greece, where Pausanias mentioned many instances. In the ancient world a few objects even gained a symbolic universal value, and were regarded as ‘Wonders of the World’, such as the Pyramids of Egypt which alone of these remain standing today. Similarly, an image or a statue of a god or an important personality can itself assume some of the significance of the person or spirit and be respected and protected in its material authenticity, as was the case in Egypt. Conversely, because of this symbolic

value, objects could also be destroyed or carried away by an enemy. More commonly, however, the significance of a monument was linked with the purpose that the building served or the memory of its original builder. Consequently, the essence of 'restoration' was oriented towards keeping intact the function of the monument; this could be done through renovation and renewal, even by improvement, which rarely showed concern for the material substance.

The second type of approach to historic objects, which could be defined as 'romantic restoration', was established in the Italian Renaissance. Although destruction and abuse of ancient monuments continued, Petrarch and the Italian humanists and artists of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries recognized them as nostalgic remains of the past, material fragments which documented Roman greatness - not only as the capital of an empire and ancient civilization, but also as the capital of Christianity. This duality, which matured during the Middle Ages, formed the basis on which the political attitude of the Renaissance toward ancient monuments and their treatment was founded. Antique works of art and structural solutions became a model to be learnt from, to be imitated, but also to be surpassed. Ancient sculptures, triumphal arches, memorial columns and other monuments and works of art were preserved, protected, as well as restored and completed in order to give them new actuality, new function and new life as a part and reference of present society. This was also related to the Church's desire to show its superiority over paganism, and restore ancient structures as monuments of Christianity.

Although the first reaction of the Italian Renaissance was to condemn mediaeval art and architecture, which appeared alien to the aims of the new artistic goals, there was at the same time a more general respect for the achievement of past generations, as reflected in the approach of Leon Battista Alberti, and seen in a certain reluctance to destroy even mediaeval structures. The Italian example was soon influential elsewhere; in England local antiquities such as Stonehenge became an object of interest and speculations, and in Sweden rune stones and mediaeval churches even of protective measures. Further developments in England, Germanic countries and Italy resulted in a maturing of historic consciousness, clearly expressed in the events of the French Revolution. With the evolution of nationalism and romanticism in European countries, the desire to protect and restore national monuments as concrete evidence of a nation's history became a wide-spread

movement. Particularly with relation to mediaeval buildings, 'restoration' aimed at the completion and recreation of an architectural whole according to its original intentions or its most significant period, using historical research and analogy with other buildings of the same style as a reference - as is shown in the work of Sir George Gilbert Scott in England and Eugène Viollet-le-Duc in France. The 'historical' significance of a building was seen - not so much related to continuity and stratification in time - but rather to a particular moment or period in history, especially that of the first architectural concept. National monuments thus tended to become 'frozen illustrations' of particular moments in the history of the nation.

Along with this emphasis of aesthetic values, another approach developed. This was one that aimed at the conservation and re-evaluation of the authentic object, preserving its historic stratification and original material, and avoiding falsification. Although the aims of these two approaches in part coincide, both being directed toward the protection of historic buildings and works of art, their methods and objectives are often opposed, resulting at times in bitter conflicts. This approach was clearly present in the Renaissance, when orders were given for the protection of ancient monuments, and when Raphaël made efforts to preserve documents engraved in stone, conserved as ancient monuments with their message from the past, and dear to Renaissance humanists. This approach was present in the early debates on the restoration or conservation of antique sculptures such as Laocöon or the Torso of Belvedere, and a demonstration of it was given by Michelangelo in the Thermae of Diocletian, which were left in their ruined state although a part was transformed into a church and convent. These concepts, more concerned with the substance than the form, were further developed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by Giovan Battista Bellori, who emphasized the authenticity of paintings, and by Johann Joachim Winckelmann, who insisted on a distinction between the original and the restored parts in order not to falsify the intrinsic artistic values of antique works of art. Results of this theory were seen in practice particularly in the treatment of classical monuments in Rome and France, as well as in Greece, where the concept of 'anastylosis', reconstruction using existing original elements, was defined as acceptable.

Following the late eighteenth-century antiquarian criticism against the restoration of mediaeval churches in England, an anti-restoration movement

gradually developed also in other countries; in France it was supported by Victor Hugo and A.N. Didron in the 1830s, in Prussia by Ferdinand von Quast. The penetrating mind of John Ruskin and the efforts of William Morris gave it a clear definition, emphasizing the question of historic time and authenticity in relation to the original object, and the impossibility to reproduce an object with the same significance in another historical-cultural context. Any reconstruction was refused, and additions were recommended in contemporary form. Since the 1870s the English influence was echoed in Italy particularly by Giacomo Boni and Camillo Boito, and later by Gustavo Giovannoni; by the end of the century it had an impact even in France. In Germany the subject was debated in regional meetings beginning in 1900, and one of the leading personalities in this regard was Georg Dehio. In Austria the theory of conservation was defined by Alois Riegl in 1903, and continued by Max Dvorak, who gave particular attention to environmental conservation policy.

These two approaches to the treatment of ancient monuments and works of art, 'restoration' and 'conservation', born in the modern sense with the new cultural attitude of the Italian Renaissance, had much in common although different in some fundamental aspects. A certain ambiguity that has accompanied the philosophy and practice of restoration may well be due to this. In England, where the treatment of mediaeval churches gradually developed from arbitrary treatment into 'faithful restoration' as defined by Scott, and was based on an apparent respect for all the historic stratification, the building in reality, in too many cases, was substantially changed according to the fashion of the time. This was pointed out strikingly by Ruskin, who emphasized the quality of workmanship in particular historic periods, the impossibility to reproduce this and the values connected with it at any other time, and the necessity to conserve the authentic object in its material consistency. Even 'faithful restoration', if it meant reproduction of original features, as it usually did, was 'a lie', a falsification, not the real thing any more. One can question how far Scott was really conscious of this conflict, although he did confess that all restorers were offenders!

In France, the example of English and German historians, the establishment of a State organization for the protection of national monuments and the criticism by writers such as Victor Hugo were the foundation for a systematic study of mediaeval art and architecture. With the development of this

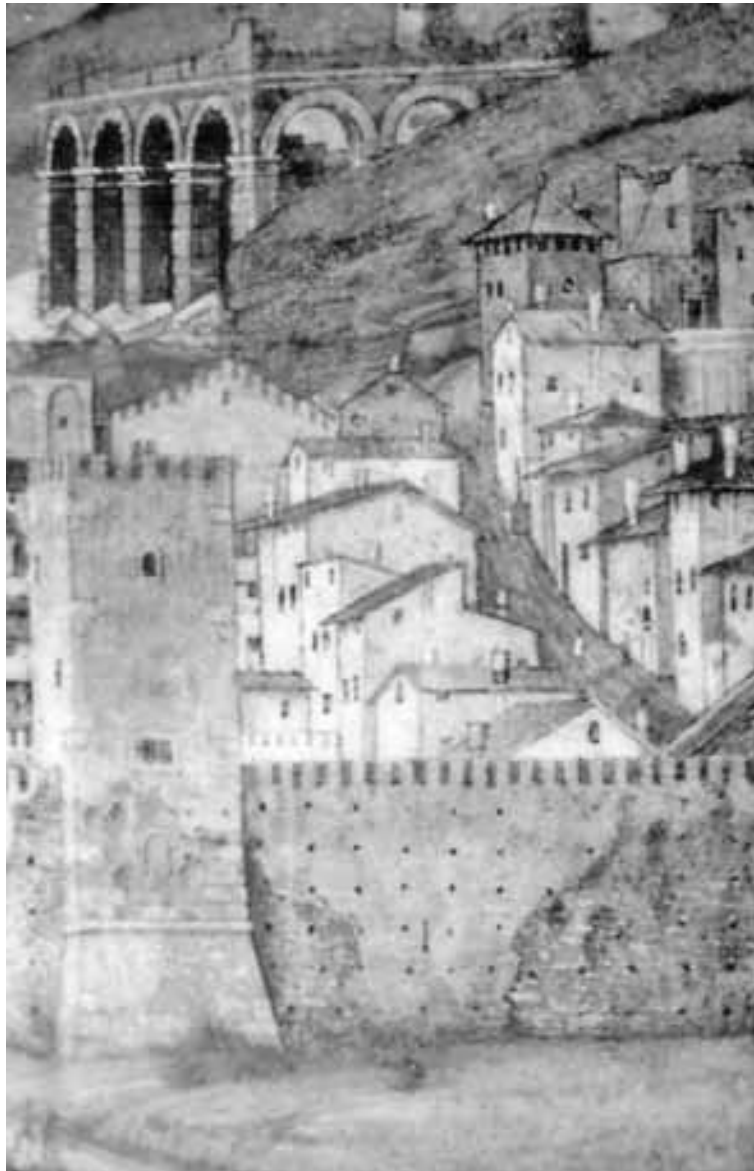
into 'science' and the confidence gained through vast practice in restoration, 'faithful' as it may have been at the beginning, analogical reconstructions and 'stylistic restorations' became an officially accepted result. Leading personalities, such as Prosper Mérimée, who emphasized full respect for all historic periods, at the same time were responsible for directing 'complete restorations', which could mean purification from historic additions, as well as construction of parts that never had existed.

In Italy, the discussion on conservation and restoration was aimed at a sort of compromise. Camillo Boito, who drafted the Italian charter of conservation in 1883, promoted strict conservation on similar lines to those of Ruskin and Morris, although critical about the English approach at the same time. In his writings he was equally critical about the French example in stylistic restoration, although his restorer colleagues, particularly his pupil Luca Beltrami, who were trained and practiced on this basis, generally seem to have had his approval for their work. In the twentieth century, the development has led after the 'broadening touch' by Giovannoni, and particularly after the shock of the world wars, toward what could be seen as a modern synthesis of the two previous approaches, the so-called *restauro critico*. This was defined in Italy by Giulio Carlo Argan, Roberto Pane and Cesare Brandi. The theory is based on a historical-critical evaluation of the object; it is a strictly conservative approach considering all significant historic phases, but it takes into account both historic and aesthetic aspects, and allows for a reintegration of a work of art under specific conditions, if this can be achieved without committing an artistic or historic fake. In the case of a conflict regarding works of art that have preserved their potential unity, and particularly when certain additions are less significant, artistic values are given priority.

It is mainly on this basis that most of the existing international guidelines, have been drafted; these have developed after the second world war to guide and assist national efforts in the protection and conservation of cultural heritage. The universal value of this heritage depends on its authenticity; it is the test of authenticity which has to be passed in order to be eligible to be included in Unesco's List of the World Cultural Heritage, and it is authenticity that forms the basic principle and guide-line of the Venice Charter, which also marks the conclusion of this study. This Charter, although still concentrated mainly on historic buildings and ancient monuments, shows concern also for historic sites, referring thus to

the development of the definition of cultural property from a single monument to entire historic areas. 'Environmental conservation', which had been given some attention since the early days of Romanticism, and had found support in Camillo Sitte at the end of the nineteenth century, had to wait until the Second World War for broader consciousness and a more active development. Concerning the dialectic of restoration and conservation of historic objects, although solved in principle and in official recommendations, the question still seems to remain open. This may be partly subject to the difficulty of technical application in various cases, but it is certainly due to the cultural character of the problem, the need for maturity and proper historic consciousness.

Part One: Early Approach to Conservation



Chapter One

Beginnings in the Renaissance

1.1 Early Approach

The contrast between the literary memory and artistic remains of the past grandeur of Rome, and the present state of the fallen walls, her ruined temples and palaces, filled Francesco Petrararch (1307-74), the famous poet and scholar, with deep sorrow and moved him to tears during his visit to Rome in 1337. (1)

While Christian thinkers before him had seen history as continuous from the Creation to their own time, Petrarch distinguished between the classical world, *historiae antiquae*, and the recent *historiae novae*. (2) He felt cut off from the ancient world and could thus see it as a totality, “an ideal to be longed for, instead of a reality to be both utilized and feared”, as it had been in the Middle Ages. (3)

Meditating on the glorious history, both pagan and Christian, of Rome, and looking at the present remains, the *sacrosancta vetustas*, induced in him a nostalgia for what had gone; in his writings, he introduced this new concept, the lament for Rome, *Deploratio urbis*, with sentiments that already pointed towards Romanticism. (4)

At the same time, he railed against the ignorant neglect and destruction of these remains by the Romans themselves. “Hasten to prevent such damage!” he wrote to his friend Paolo Annibaldi in Rome afterwards. “It will be an honour for you to have saved these ruins, because they testify to what once was the glory of unviolated Rome.” (5)

In 1341, a symbolic coronation ceremony was held on the Roman Capitol, in order to celebrate Petrarch’s merits as a poet. Linking this ceremony with the ancient centre also had political significance, underlining as it did Rome’s importance as a world capital. Petrarch made valiant attempts to convince the Pope to return and re-establish the centre of Christianity in Rome; at the same time a friend of

Petrarch’s, the self-taught antiquarian Cola di Rienzo, made patriotic attempts to revive Rome’s ancient glory and political significance. (6)

The revived interest in antiquity brought about by Petrarch in the field of literature has been compared with the work of Giotto di Bondone (1267-1337), painter and architect, in the field of arts. A disciple of Petrarch and author of the *Decamerone*, Giovanni Boccaccio (1313-1375), admired Giotto’s genius in “restoring to light” an art that for centuries had been buried under the errors of those who painted only to please the eyes of the ignorant rather than to satisfy the intelligence of experts. To Boccaccio, Giotto was “one of the lights in the glory of Florence.” (7) It was, however, only at the end of the fourteenth century that Giotto’s work began to gain fuller appreciation. This was the time when more and more artists started travelling to Rome to study antique works of art; and amongst them were Brunelleschi, Donatello and Masaccio, the great early masters of the Renaissance.

1.2 Filippo Brunelleschi

Filippo Brunelleschi (1377-1446), a goldsmith, sculptor and architect, who built the dome of Santa

Figure 1, The Forum Romanum in the 16th century (Heemskerck)



Maria del Fiore in Florence, and became the father of Renaissance architecture, was considered the second Giotto. (8) He is said to have made four visits to Rome in the early fifteenth century in order to study the architecture and technical solutions of the ancient Romans. (9) He was completely overwhelmed by the scale and quality of what he found. Giorgio Vasari, in his *Life of Brunelleschi*, wrote that “at the sight of the grandeur of the buildings, and the perfection of the churches, Filippo was lost in wonder, so that he looked like one demented.” (10)

The Pantheon must certainly have attracted his special attention and influenced the solution and the dimensions adapted in the dome of Santa Maria del Fiore. (11) Other structures, which were later demolished, also still retained some of their original features. (12)

According to Vasari, Brunelleschi measured all the important buildings, temples, basilicas, aqueducts, baths, arches, theatres and amphitheatres. He excavated to understand the proportions of the buildings, studied the details, and made drawings so that when one looked at them it was possible to imagine ancient Rome still intact. (13) None of his drawings seems to have survived, but his example was followed enthusiastically by others.

1.3 Humanists

Ancient remains were of great interest to others besides architects - to humanists, historians, antiquarians, poets, artists, collectors, and politicians. The humanists were the heirs and disciples of Petrarch. One of the first was Gian Francesco Poggio Bracciolini (1380-1459), founder of the Accademia Valdarnina and papal secretary, who wrote his *De fortunae varietate urbis Romae et de ruina eiusdem descriptio* between 1431 and 1448 (14) giving a lengthy description of the ruins of Rome. He made an attempt to identify the monuments, using literary sources and comparing these with inscriptions. (15)

Poggio's successor, Flavio Biondo (1392-1463), also a curial officer, was more systematic in considering the buildings according to typology and dividing them according to regions in his *Roma Instaurata*, written between 1444-1446. (16) Ciriaco d'Ancona (1391-1452) is remembered for his extensive travels both in Italy and in other Mediterranean countries, visiting for example Athens. He searched and recorded all types of antiquities, collecting ancient documents, medals, statues, and had a special interest in epigraphy. (17)

During the fifteenth century, these humanistic, historical and antiquarian studies laid the foundation for later developments in history and archaeology. During the sixteenth century, more information was collected, of which the work of Pirro Ligorio (1513/4-83) is an example. He was the architect of the Villa d'Este, Tivoli, and of the Casino of Pius IV in the Vatican, but he also has great philological-archaeological interests. He collected large quantities of information on antiquities, intending to compile an encyclopedia that was never published. His records were, however, not quite scientific because he often changed the evidence in order to make it agree with his own ideas - or invented it altogether. (18) A more systematic attempt was made by Raphael and his friends, as will be discussed later.

1.4 Poets

The cult of ruins found expression especially in poetry. Enea Silvio Piccolomini (1405-64), later Pope Pius II, was probably the first after Petrarch to look at ruins with the sensitivity of a poet and to describe them with an almost romantic emotion. (19) When elected pope, he was given the dedication of *Roma triumphans* by Flavio Biondo, a Latin verse on the relics still preserved in Rome. (20)

Around 1500, ruins became a subject of neo-Latin literature. For example, Giovan Battista Spagnoli (1448-1516) made an analogy in his verse between the decaying greatness of Rome and the premature death of his young disciple. (21) Ruins were also seen as a symbol of the shame and discredit of modern barbarism and destruction, as in the poems of Cristoforo Landino (1424-1504) (22), or later in the verse of the French poet Joachim Du Bellay (1522-60). Jacopo Sannazaro (1456/8-1530) was the first to see the melancholic reality of the ruins being returned

Figure 2, The Colosseum with architectural remains (Heemskerck)



to nature and wilderness, and to relate the majestic sadness of a site and the fragility of human life. (23)

Certain subjects became extremely popular and were copied and imitated in many languages for long after. Such was *De Roma* of 1552 by a Sicilian Giovan Francesco Vitale (1485-1559) which was more or less copied and anglicized by Edmund Spenser (1552-99) in 1591:

Thou stranger, which for Rome in Rome here seekest,
And nought of Rome in Rome perceiv'st at all,
These same olde walls, olde arches, which thou seest,
Olde Palaces, is that which Rome men call.

...
Rome now of Rome is th'only funerall,
And onely Rome of Rome hath victorie,
... (24)

The same sentiments can be found in the *Antiquitez de Rome* of Du Bellay, as well as in many other contemporary works in Europe. (25) The three main themes introduced by poets of the period can be summarized as follows: human vanity and the fragility of man's works, moral and Christian accusation of fallen humanity, and praise of the greatness of Rome. (26) Protests against destruction increased, and as many sensitive men were influential at the papal court, the results could be seen in ever more numerous orders for protection.

1.3 Painters

Classical buildings were depicted in paintings as early as the fifteenth century. Examples of this are the frescoes of Andrea Mantegna in the Chapel of the Ovetari in Padua, or his painting of Saint Sebastian tied to the shaft of a broken classical column (1459), ruins of temples that the saint himself had wanted to destroy, and thus symbolically had made his own history aiming at the salvation. (27) Similarly, the 'Punishment of Korah, Dathan and Abiron' (1485) by Sandro Botticelli in the Sistine Chapel, Rome, has the ruined Arch of Constantine in the background to remind of the continuity of law. In Ferrara, around 1470, Francesco del Cossa painted the series of 'months' in the Palazzo Schifanoia, in which classical ruins appear in the background. (28) However, it was only during the sixteenth century that ruins became a fashionable subject for artists. Especially in landscape painting, they became an essential element in the background, as in the paintings of Raphael, or in the drawings of Peruzzi, Giulio Clovio, Francesco Salviati and others. (29)

Rome attracted artists not only from all parts of Italy but also from abroad: from Holland, France, and Germany. Marten van Heemskerck (1498-1574), for example, stayed in Rome from 1532 to 1536 preparing a series of drawings of ruins with admirable accuracy. Others were Hendrick van Cleve, Cornelis Cort, Mathijs Bril, and Jan Brueghel the Elder. Etienne Dupérac (1525-1604), a French architect and garden designer, made important engravings of Rome; in addition, he prepared two maps, one of ancient Rome in 1574, the other of modern Rome in 1577. (30) Another series of useful drawings was made by an Italian architect sculptor, Giovanni Antonio Dosio (1533-1609), who prepared material for an architectural treatise which was never published. (31)

These drawings and paintings are important as documentation, because they were often an accurate illustration of the condition of the monuments at the time. They also recorded many buildings which were later destroyed. On the other hand, as works of art, they paved the way for the seventeenth and eighteenth-century 'vedutisti'.

Notes to Chapter One

1. Mortier, Roland, *La poétique des ruines en France, Ses origines, ses variations de la Renaissance à Victor Hugo*, Librairie Droz, Genève (1974), 28.
2. Panofsky, Erwin, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art*, Paladin, UK (1970), 10.
3. Panofsky, op.cit., 113.
4. Panofsky, op.cit., 112; Mortier, op.cit., 28.
5. Petrarch to Paulo Annibaldensi romano (Petr., Carm., ii 12), Levati, Ambrogio, *Viaggi di Francesco Petrarca in Francia, in Germania ed in Italia*, Milano (1820), i 268. "Queste relique che attestano quanta un di' fosse la gloria dell'intera Roma, e che non furono atterrate né dall'impeto e dall'ira dell'inimico, sono ora infrante dai piu cospicui cittadini. Oh rabbia! Accorri ad impedire siffatti danni. Io vorrei in alcune cose vederti degenerare da' tuoi antenati. Abbi il lor valore; imita le loro imprese; ama al par di essi i cavalli, i cani, le foreste, la caccia; spendi l'oro a piene mani: ecco ciò che conviene à tuoi natali, alla tua fama. Ma guardati, come finora facesti, dall'immergere le mani parricide nel seno della tua patria; non atterrar le sue torri, i suoi edifici; quest'opera è propria soltanto dell'inimico. I tuoi avi persuasi che il sangue di Annibale scorreva nelle loro vene, credettero forse che lor fecero coll'ariete ciò che le armi di quel gran capitano non avevano potuto fare. Non abbagli una gloria falsa e mal intesa; il tuo avolo ha eclissato con azioni indegne lo splendore acquistato colle grandi sue imprese; parlo cose manifeste e conte. Ma

- no; io non credo che il sangue di quel feroce Cartaginese scorre nelle tue vene...” de Nolhac, Pierre, *Petrarque et l’humanisme*, Paris (1907), Nouvelle edition, Torino (1959), 15
6. Panofsky, op.cit.; Wright, John, *The Life of Cola di Rienzo*, Pontifical Inst. of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto (1975); Ghisalberti, A.M. edit., *La vita di Cola di Rienzo*, Firenze - Roma - Ginevra (1928). Cola di Rienzo and some other Romans, especially of the family of Colonna, studied the ancient monuments in Rome trying to identify them. Cola di Rienzo also lamented the condition of these ancient glorious structures.
7. Boccaccio, *Decameron*, vi 5, (Giotto) “ebbe uno ingegno di tanta eccellenza, che ni una cosa dè la natura, madre di tutte le cose et operatrice, col continuo girar de’ cieli, che egli con lo stile e con la penna o col pennello non dipingesse si simile a quella, che non simile, anzi piu’ tosto (generata or prodotta) dessa paresse, in tanto che molte volte nelle cose da lui fatte si truova che il visivo senso degli uomini vi prese errore, quello credendo esser vero che era dipinto. E per cio’, avendo egli quella arte ritornata in luce, che molti secoli sotto gli error d’alcuni, che piu’ a diletta gli occhi degl’ignoranti che a compiacere allo ‘ntelletto de savj dipingendo, era stata sepulta, meritamente una delle luci della fiorentina gloria dir si puote...” Translation, Panofsky, op.cit., 13.
8. Vasari, Giorgio, *Le vite de’ piu’ eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori* scritte da Giorgio Vasari pittore Aretino con nuove annotazioni e commenti di Gaetano Milanese, Firenze (1906), reprinted by G.C.Sansoni S.p.A., Firenze (1973), ii, 337.
9. Battisti, Eugenio, *Filippo Brunelleschi*, Electa, Milano (1981), 13; Argan, C.A., *Brunelleschi*, Mondadori, Milano (1978), 10ff.
10. Vasari, op.cit., ii, 337: “vedendo la grandezza degli edifizj, e la perfezione de’corpi dei tempj, stava astratto, che pareva fuor di sè.”
11. Vasari, op.cit., ii, 337f, 338 n.1.
12. Vasari, op.cit., ii, 337, 337 n.
13. Vasari, op.cit., ii, 338.
14. Weiss, Roberto, *The Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford (1969, reprinted 1973).
15. Idem.
16. Idem.
17. Idem.
18. *Dizionario Enciclopedico di Architettura e Urbanistica*, diretto da Paolo Portoghesi, Istituto Editoriale Romano, Roma 1968, III,390f.
19. Mortier, op.cit., 32f.
20. Idem.
21. Idem, 36ff.
22. Idem, 37ff.
23. Idem, 39ff.
24. Idem, 46ff; *Complaints, containing sundrie small poemes of the World’s Vanitie*, Ponsonbie, London 1591.
25. Du Bellay, J., *Antiquité de Rome*, composed in 1554; Mortier, op.cit., 46ff.
26. Mortier, op.cit.
27. Argan, G.C., *Storia dell’arte italiana*, Sansoni 1968, ed. 1975, 289ff.
28. Chiappini, L., *An Illustrated Guide to Ferrara*, Bologna 1981, 74ff.
29. *Il paesaggio nel disegno del cinquecento europeo*, Roma 1972, Catalogue of exhibition.
30. *Il paesaggio...* op.cit.; *Diz.Enc.Arch.*, op.cit., II.

Chapter Two

Fifteenth-century Architectural Treatises

2.1 Vitruvius Rediscovered

Apart from the buildings themselves, the most important classical source for architecture was the treatise *De Architectura* by Vitruvius Pollio, an architect and engineer, who seems to have held an official position in the rebuilding of Rome during the reign of Augustus. (1) The treatise was probably written before 27 BC, and during the first century AD it seems already to have been a standard work. (2) The text survived in various manuscripts during the Middle Ages, the oldest of which dates from around the end of the seventh century. (3)

Vitruvius' treatise could be found in several libraries in Central Europe, but was not so easily available in Italy. (4) A few copies existed, however, and humanists such as Petrarch, Giovanni Dondi, Niccolo Acciaiuoli, and possibly Boccaccio seem to have had it in their libraries. (5) It was only after 1414, when Poggio Bracciolini, a humanist and antiquarian, rediscovered it in the library of the monastery of Montecassino, to the south of Rome, that copies were made for wider distribution. (6) The text was first printed in Rome between 1483 and 1490 (probably 1486) (7), followed by numerous other editions, of which that by Fra Gioconda (Venice, 1511) merits special attention. The first printed translation into Italian was made by Cesare Cesariano in 1521. (8)

Vitruvius divided his work into ten books which deal with a great variety of subjects: general requirements for towns and buildings, techniques of construction, hydraulic engineering, astronomy and machines. An architect, according to Vitruvius, had to have many qualifications;

“He must have both a natural gift and also readiness to learn. (For neither talent without instruction nor instruction without talent can produce the perfect craftsman.) He should

be a man of letters, a skilful draughtsman, a mathematician, familiar with historical studies, a diligent student of philosophy, acquainted with music; not ignorant of medicine, learned in the responses of juriconsults, familiar with astronomy and astronomical calculations.” (9)

Vitruvius emphasized the correct planning of a building or a town in order to guarantee the best possible climatic and physical conditions. He advised on the orientation of libraries and art galleries in order to have the most convenient illumination and avoid decay of books. (10) He was concerned about the stability and durability of buildings and advised on the correct choice and preparation of materials, on special care about foundations, and gave hints on repairs. These were some of the aspects that we can find also in Renaissance writings.

The text of Vitruvius was written in a vernacular type of Latin, emphasizing his direct contact with worksites. His language is one of the aspects of his work that was to be criticized later, e.g. by Alberti and Winckelmann. However, the books

Figure 3, The Arch of Septimius Severus, Rome, showing the excavation of 1563 by order of Pius IV to survey the monument in its full height (Dosio).



provided a window into the world of ancient building practitioners, giving a great wealth of detailed technical information, which became an invaluable source of knowledge. The numerous editions in different languages guaranteed a wide distribution of this information and Vitruvius' text became a basic reference for architectural treatises from Alberti onwards.

2.2 L.B. Alberti

The first and one of the most important Renaissance writers on architecture was Leon Battista Alberti (1404-72), a humanist, architect and antiquarian, employed in the papal administration as abbreviator of Apostolic Letters. His writings, both in Latin and in Italian, covered the most varied subjects from family life and mathematics, to archaeology, art, and architecture. He was involved in architectural projects in Ferrara, Florence, Mantua, and Rimini, and was probably consulted for many others especially in Rome, where he resided for several years. (11)

On his arrival in Rome in 1432, Alberti started extensive studies and recordings of ancient monuments, claiming to have studied all that had any importance. (12) A result of these studies and his mathematical interests was the development of a technique using polar coordinates, which made it possible to measure and draw maps referring to a central point. He used this technique to draw a map of the walled city of Rome with the Capitol Hill as the reference point, and coordinates of a surprising accuracy were published in his *Descriptio urbis Romae* (13) (1450). In 1450, he was involved in an archaeological operation to raise a Roman ship of Trajan's time from the Lake of Nemi. (14) Alberti's main work was the ten books on architecture, *De re aedificatoria*, written in Latin between 1443 and 1452, but published only after his death in 1485. The first Italian edition dates from 1550. (15) He was conscious of the loss of many important classical texts; only Vitruvius had survived, and it was this work that inspired the form of his treatise and provided him with factual information on building techniques. He used, however, other authors as well, such as Plato, Pliny, Aristotle, and Thucydides, and he relied especially on his own surveys of ancient monuments in Rome and other parts of Italy. He also had had the opportunity to make observations during his travels in central Europe. (16)

The rules that had been crystallized from the example of the ancients, from the council of experts,



Figure 4. Florence, S. Maria Novella, main elevation, completed by L.B. Alberti harmoniously with the earlier mediaeval forms

and from the exact knowledge achieved through continuous practice (17), formed the basic message of the treatise. Alberti was concerned about the quality of architecture and he advised great care in the preparation of projects, allowing enough time and consulting necessary experts. (18) He was also aware that construction on a large scale usually took more than a lifetime to achieve, and so those responsible for the continuation of such as yet uncompleted projects, should "examine and consider thoroughly what you are going to undertake" in order to understand the building well and "adhere to the original Design of the Inventor" so as not to spoil the work that had been well begun. (19) In this respect, he gave a good example in his own practice by completing harmoniously the elevation of the twelfth-century S. Maria Novella in Florence. (20)

Throughout the treatise, continuous reference was made to antiquity; types of buildings in use in Roman times were described, - their functions, their structures, their ornamentation - giving examples of classical writings and anecdotes related to them. We read of ancient sepulchres, ancient types of inscriptions, examples of ancient road structures, bridges, theatres, amphitheatres, circuses, curias, libraries, ancient types of thermae, etc. (21) The reader is, thus, exposed to the world of classical building practice. He can understand the context and evaluate the information needed. On the other hand, one can also find descriptions of 'more recent' types of buildings such as monasteries. (22)

Architecture, according to Alberti, should fulfill three basic requirements: it should be functional, have maximum solidity and durability, and be elegant and pleasing in its form. (23) This last point, the aesthetic appearance of the building, consisted of

two elements: beauty and ornament. Beauty to him was accordance and harmony of the parts in relation to the whole to which they were bound. (24) Ornaments he considered a kind of complementary addition, and 'auxiliary' beauty. (25) Beauty is something inherent in the structure, just like harmony in music. so that the whole work of architecture can breath freely and harmoniously without discord. (26) Beauty is, thus, not dependent on the richness or luxuriousness of materials, but on their harmonious use. Often common materials well used could be more harmonious than expensive materials used in a disordered manner. A modest country house with its irregular small ashlar was harmonious in itself, and generally Alberti recommended modesty in private houses. (27) He also praised Cyrus for the modesty of his tomb! (28)

When Alberti examined architecture, he used these criteria in his judgment. His examples range from works of pure utility to temples. He considered the sewerage system of ancient Rome to be one of the architectural wonders of the city. (29) The wall structure of the Pantheon in Rome was given as an excellent example of the skill of the architect, who had obtained the maximum strength by building only the structural skeleton, while leaving to other uses the cavities that a more ignorant architect might have filled in at unnecessary expense. (30) The coffered vault of the Pantheon also provided a model for experimentation in casting. Examples of this can be seen both in the vault of the vestibule of the Palazzo Venezia, Rome, in 1467, and in the church of San Andrea in Mantua circa 1470. (31)

Following the theories of classical authors (32), Alberti gave importance to the observation of nature. He saw buildings as natural organisms, in which everything was linked together rationally and in correct proportions. (33) Consequently, the addition of any new elements had to be done with respect to the organic whole, both structurally and aesthetically. This approach was extended even to mediaeval buildings, as in the case of Santa Maria Novella, where the forms recalled the original concepts so closely that later historians long rejected Alberti's authorship (Milizia, Quatremere). (34)

Alberti's Advice for the Repair of Buildings

When dealing with repairs of buildings, he insisted, the architect needed a good knowledge of the causes of the faults; just like a medical doctor, he had to understand the disease to be able to cure it. (35) The defects could depend either on external causes or arise

out of the construction of the building; in the latter case, they were the responsibility of the architect. Not all defects were curable. Alberti reminded his readers that we are all part of nature and thus mortal. Even the hardest materials will deteriorate under the sun and in chilly shade, or due to frost and winds. There are also various disasters, such as fire, lightning, earthquakes, floods, and other unforeseen accidents, that may cause the sudden destruction of any architectural concept. (36) Not all the mistakes of an architect can be repaired either; when everything is wrongly made from the beginning, it is difficult to do much about it afterwards. (37)

Those defects that could be improved by restoration are the subject of the tenth book of the treatise. Alberti starts with public works, i.e. with the town and its environment. The site and the position of the town may be the cause of many problems related to defence, to climate or to the production of primary necessities. A great part of the book (fifteen chapters) deals with general questions such as canalization, hydraulic engineering, cultivation, etc., while only the last two chapters are dedicated to 'minor problems' like the internal environment, elimination of vegetation from buildings, methods of reinforcement and consolidation of structures, etc. (38)

Sometimes the causes of defects may be easily detectable; sometimes they are more obscure and only become evident in the case of an earthquake, lightning, or due to natural ground movement. Fig-trees are like silent rams of a battle ship, if allowed to grow on a wall; a tiny root can move a huge mass. (39) Finally, the fundamental reason for decay, according to Alberti, was man's negligence and carelessness. He strongly recommended a maintenance service for public buildings, to be financed by the State; he reminded that Agrippa had employed 250 men in this capacity, Caesar 460! (40)

In the case of apparently weak structural elements, like thin walls, Alberti advised the use of additional structures either behind or inside the old wall, and the reinforcement of joints between two walls with iron or (rather) copper ties. Care should be taken not to weaken the core of the wall. (41) He further analyzed the formation of cracks and their causes, explaining methods for deepening foundations in stone, or - in the case of poor ground - using wooden piles and underpinning. (42) If one wanted to replace a column, he advised lifting the structure above by means of centering on both sides of it in brick and gypsum mortar. Gypsum would expand when drying



Figure 5, Illustration to Alberti's *De re aedificatoria*, showing his advice on replacement of damaged columns.

and thus allow the necessary relief for the column to be removed and replaced. (43)

Alberti's Criteria for the Protection of Historic Structures

Destruction of historic structures was a great concern to Alberti, and he wrote about this in his treatise:

"I call Heaven to Witness, that I am often filled with the highest Indignation when I see Buildings demolished and going to Ruin by the Carelessness, not to say abominable Avarice of the Owners, Buildings whose Majesty has saved them from the Fury of the most barbarous and enraged Enemies, and which Time himself, that perverse and obstinate Destroyer, seems to have destined to Eternity." (44)

He was angry with incompetent contractors who could not start a new building without demolishing everything on the site as the first operation. According to Alberti, there was always time to demolish; it was much more important to leave ancient structures intact! (45)

The reasons which led Alberti to protect historic structures can be summarized as follows: 1. inherent architectural qualities, solidity and beauty; 2. didactic values; 3. historic values. He tells of having seen historic buildings so solid that they could resist

decay for many centuries. Today, we might call these substantial values! The aesthetic appearance, the beauty of the building, was another reason for protection. Beauty was so important that even barbarians and Time were defeated by it.

The art of medicine was said to have an age of a thousand years and to be the work of a million men. In the same way, architecture had developed little by little, having had its youth in Asia, becoming an authority in Greece, and reaching its splendid maturity in Italy. (46) The ancient remains were thus like "the most skilful masters" from whom much could be learnt. (47) Alberti thus advised that wherever architects found buildings universally admired, they should carefully survey them, prepare measured drawings, examine their proportions and build models to be kept at home for further study. This was especially important if these proportions and details had been used by distinguished authors of great buildings. (48) Alberti also admired the landscape value of sites. He recalled that in antiquity, places and even entire zones had been the object of respect and cults; for example, Sicily had been consecrated to Ceres. (49) Ancient monuments and sites, such as Troy or ancient battlefields, etc., often evoked such memories of the past or of memorable events that they filled the mind of the visitor with amazement. (50)

2.3 Filarete

While Alberti could be defined a humanist and intellectual, a realist in his proposals who did not favour fantastic designs, quite a different approach can be seen in the work of Antonio Averlino, called Filarete (c. 1400-69/70), who came from a Florentine family of artisans. Filarete worked on the new bronze doors of the basilica of St. Peter's in Rome and was the architect of the first municipal hospital, Ospedale Maggiore, in Milan. He was also the first to write an architectural treatise in Italian (1461-64), describing the planning and building of an imaginary, ideal town called Sforzinda (thus flattering the dukes of Sforza in Milan!).

Like Vitruvius and Alberti, Filarete made an analogy between architecture and human beings. He not only suggested a similarity of forms and proportions, but even went further, suggesting that a building had the same life as man. "It will get sick when it does not eat, that is when it is not maintained, and will slowly fall into decay, like a man without food; then it will die. So behaves a building and if it has a doctor when

it is sick, that is a master who will repair and cure it, it will be in good health for a long time.” (51) “So you have to maintain it continuously and protect it from any inconveniences and from too much fatigue.” (52) One of the tasks of the architect was to foresee the needs of the building in order to avoid damage, and have anticipated repairs carried out in good time. (53)

Filarete gives an extensive survey of the state of ancient monuments in Rome, and shows these as an example of buildings that, having such massive walls and being built of good materials, should have lasted forever. However, not having had the necessary maintenance, they had fallen into ruin. Of the ‘Templum Pacis’, only one of its huge columns remained. “Where is the Capitol, that one can still read to have been so admirable with four gilded horses on its summit? Where is the palace of Nero, that had those carved doors, that one can still see engraved on his medals?” (54) A building like the Pantheon, instead, that had been used as a church, Santa Maria Rotonda or Santa Maria dei Martiri, was preserved in a more complete state, because “it had been given nourishment out of respect for religion.” (55)

The death of buildings could also be hastened. Filarete refers to stories of Attila and Totila who had wanted to destroy Rome. However, as they had not enough time, they only caused minor damage to all the buildings that were in good condition, so as to encourage the growth of vegetation on them. (56) Some buildings could be ‘born under favourable planets’ and live longer than the others. Also, just as there were great men who were remembered long after their death, so there were important buildings which for their excellence or beauty remained in the memory long after they had fallen into ruin, like the city of Thebes in Egypt or the town of Semiramis (Babylon). (57)

The criteria for the design of Sforzinda and its buildings were based on the study of classical monuments, on the texts of Vitruvius and Alberti, and on Filarete’s own experiences. His design for the hospital in Milan, which seems to have been inspired by the lay-out and architecture of Diocletian’s palace in Split, was also included in the ideal town together with structures inspired by Roman theatres, bridges, etc. However, more distant places also appealed to his imagination. He may have visited Constantinople himself, and he was probably much attracted by the stories of Marco Polo from China which were popular in the fifteenth century. (58)

Even if Filarete condemned the Gothic (the ‘modern’) and favoured the classical manner (because the round arches did not create any obstacle for the eye!) - he showed examples from all periods: classical, mediaeval, contemporary, such as St. Sophia in Constantinople, St. Mark’s in Venice, various churches in Rome and other parts of Italy, and the contemporary architecture in Florence, thus emphasizing the continuity of history. He himself seems to have worked first in the Gothic style before being attracted by projects of Brunelleschi. (59) This ‘mixing of ancient and modern’, as well as the popular character of his treatise written in the form of a dialogue, were criticized by Vasari in his Lives (60).

Another theme, that is the appeal to the imagination evoked by the mystery of ruins, can already be felt in the treatise of Filarete. It is even more explicit, however, in another text, the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, written by Francesco Colonna and published in Venice in 1499. This was an allegorical tale of a dream of fantastic buildings, made famous by the illustrations of Aldo Manuzio. (61)

2.4 Francesco di Giorgio Martini

The third really important treatise of the fifteenth century, however, was written on architecture, engineering and military art by Francesco di Giorgio Martini (1439-1501). (62) He was born into a modest family in Siena, first practising sculpture and painting, and later working in architecture and military engineering. The design of fortifications occupied a great part of his treatise, and he became a recognized authority, being consulted in all parts of the country from Siena to Urbino, Gubbio, Montefeltro, Milan, Ancona, Naples. (63)

His aim in the treatise was to rewrite Vitruvius in a more modern form, checking the proportions and measurements on existing classical buildings and remains. Being concerned about continuing demolition, he also wanted to make a record of the ruined buildings before all disappeared. This record, included as a separate section in the treatise, contained plans, elevations, details, axonometric drawings of a variety of ancient monuments in Rome and its surroundings. Buildings were usually drawn in their complete form, but diagrammatically and with various errors. (64) Contemporaries called him a “restorer of ancient ruins.” (65)

Francesco started his work around 1478, using a poor transcript of Vitruvius. After the publication

of Alberti in 1485 and Vitruvius in the following year, he subsequently revised his text around 1487-9. (66) Through the critical assessment of Vitruvius and existing classical buildings as a whole, Francesco could establish practical building norms and give new actuality to the classical text on one hand, and emphasize the newly recognized didactic values of the ancient ruins on the other. In this way, he also contributed, at least indirectly, to the future conservation of these ruins. His work influenced many important architects, such as Bramante, Peruzzi, Fra Gioconda, Serlio, and perhaps even Palladio. (67)

2.5 Leonardo da Vinci

Another who was influenced by Francesco was Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519), the central figure of the Italian Renaissance both in artistic and in scientific terms. Scientific curiosity led him to study architecture and especially fortifications. He was in close contact with Bramante and his circle, and was consulted for various projects dealing both with agricultural bonification and urban planning as well as buildings, such as the cathedrals of Milan and Pavia. (68)

Like Alberti and Filarete, Leonardo related buildings to human beings, both in terms of their structural integrity and proportions. According to him, the health of men depended on the harmony of all elements; disease resulted from discord. Similarly in buildings, one had to understand the causes of a disease in order to cure it. (69) Various sketches and manuscripts show the structural thinking of Leonardo, who did not stop at a simple comparison of human beings and their architecture, but made an effort to give an objective, scientific explanation to the phenomena. An example is his definition of the arch as a “fortress resulting from two weaknesses”. (70) That is, two quarter circles, each weak in itself, leaning against each other, together form a strong component.

Leonardo was specially interested in structural behaviour. He proposed experiments to define the load-bearing capacity of arches of different forms by connecting counter-weights under the arch to the springing points. (71) He analyzed the problems of structural failure, formation of cracks, foundations, drying of walls after construction, etc., suggesting repairs or preventive measures. (72) He also dealt with timber structures and treatment of wood when in contact with masonry; he observed that waterproof or

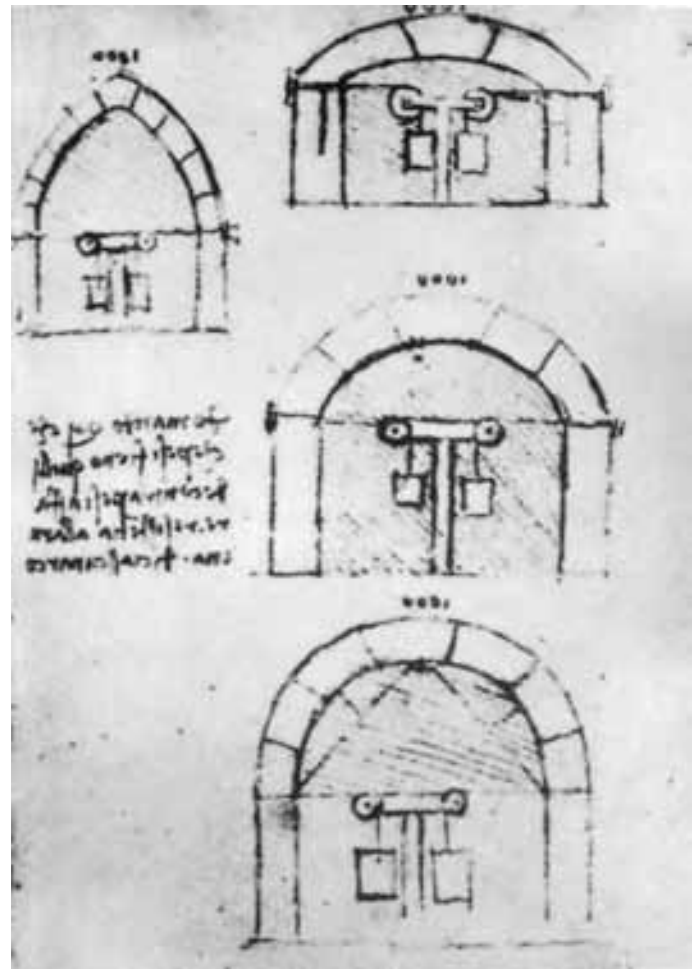


Figure 6, Leonardo's experiments on the strength of arches.

inflexible paint would not last due to the movement of wood with changing humidity. Floor beams should be well tied with the wall structure in order to avoid damage in case of an earthquake. (73) Even if his notes were not published, he surely influenced the development of Renaissance architecture through his contacts with practising architects.

The 'Tiburio' of Milan Cathedral

The question of the completion of the Gothic Cathedral of Milan, and particularly its crossing, the Tiburio, was a test for the fifteenth-century architectural theoreticians around 1490. In this occasion, three major personalities were consulted, Leonardo, Bramante and Francesco di Giorgio. Although the question was about a Mediaeval building, the general approach was to continue the construction in harmony with the existing structure. One of the major problems with the Tiburio was in fact its structural solution; Leonardo took the question from the point of view of “a medical architect” insisting that the project had to be based on a thorough knowledge of the condition and form of the existing structure, in order to understand how to load it with the new construction proposing various solutions to be

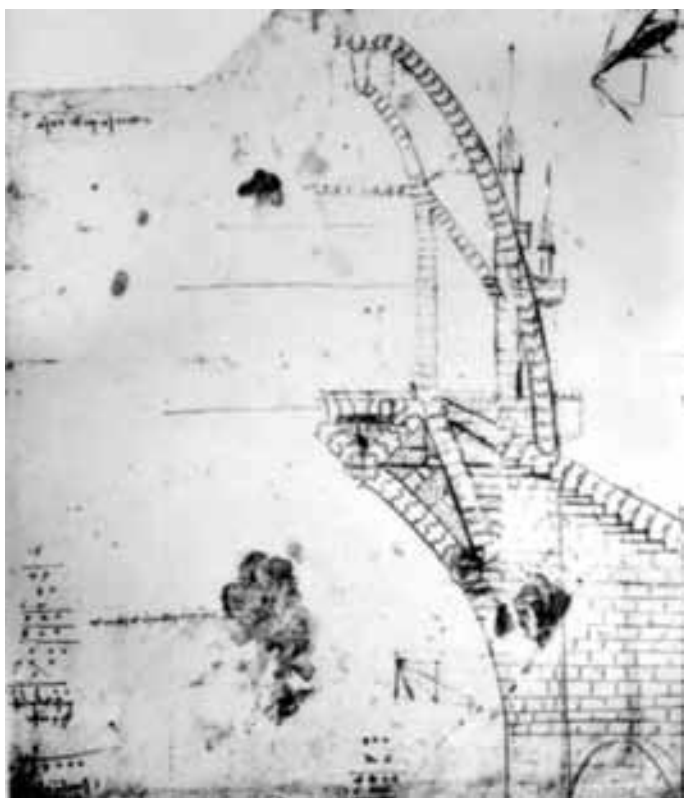


Figure 7, Leonardo's sketches for the construction of the Tiburio of Milan Cathedral.

considered. (74) While the general opinion in Milan, including the proposals by Leonardo and Francesco di Giorgio, seems to have favoured the form of an octagon, (75) Bramante maintained that square form would have been the most appropriate corresponding best to the general design criteria of the Cathedral. In his 'opinion', which echoed the ideas of Alberti, he proposed four aspects to be considered in the design, the strength ("la forteza"), the correspondance in form ("la conformita"), the lightness ("la legiereza"), and the beauty ("la belleza"). (76) Naturally the strength and solidity of the construction were essential, and he maintained that square form was stronger than an octagon, and that it also corresponded better to the original structural form of the building. The octagon, instead, would have meant breaking the formal requirements of the buiding. Gothic structure in itself was light already, and as to the criteria of beauty; these were satisfied when the new construction was harmonious with the original whole. (77)

Notes to Chapter Two

1. Borsi,F.,ed., Roma antica e i disegni di architettura agli Uffizi di Giovanni Antonio Dosio, Officina, Roma 1976.
2. Vitruvius, De Architectura, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge Mass., London 1970, I xiv, 'Introduction'.
3. Idem.
4. Vitruvius,op.cit., I,xvi,'Introduction'.

5. Tafuri,M., 'Cesare Cesariano e gli studi vitruviani nel quattro-cento', Scritti rinascimentali di architettura, Edizioni il Polifilo, Milano 1978, 392f.
6. Idem.
7. Idem.
8. Idem, 397ff.
9. Vitruvius, op.cit.,I,i,3, (Loeb,I,7f): "Quare videtur utraque parte exercitatus esse debere, qui se architectum profiteatur. Itaque eum etiam ingeniosum oportet esse et ad disciplinam docilem. Neque enim ingenium sine disciplina aut disciplina sine ingenio perfectum artificem potest efficere. Et ut litteratus sit, peritus graphidos, eruditus geometria, historias complures noverit, philosophos diligenter audierit, musicam scierit, medicinae non sit ignarus, responsa iurisconsultorum noverit, astrologiam caelique rationes cognitias habeat."
10. Idem, VI,iv,1-2 (Loeb,II,35).
11. Portoghesi, Paolo, 'Introduzione', Alberti, Leon Battista, L'Architettura (De re aedificatoria), Edizioni il Polifilo, Milano 1966.
12. Alberti, op.cit., 443.
13. Borsi, F., Leon Battista Alberti, L'opera completa, Electa Editrice, Milano 1980, 33ff; Vagnetti, L., "La 'Descriptio urbis Romae' di L.B. Alberti", Università degli Studi di Genova, Facoltà di Architettura e rilievo dei monumenti, Quaderno, I, ottobre 1968, 68ff; Vagnetti, L., "Lo studio dei Roma negli scritti albertiniani", contributo al Convegno internazionale su L.B. Alberti, Accademia dei Lincei, aprile 1972.
14. Alberti, op.cit., V,xii (Polifilo, 338); Borsi, op.cit., 33.
15. Portoghesi,P., 'Introduzione', Alberti,op.cit.
16. Borsi,op.cit., 376.
17. Alberti, op.cit.,457, "Itaque superiorum exemplis et peritorum monitis et frequenti usu, admirabilium operum efficiendorum absolutissima cognitio, ex cognitione praecepta probatissima deprompta sunt; quae qui velint - quod velle omnes debemus - non ineptissimi esse aedificando, prorsus neglexisse nulla ex parte debeant."
18. Alberti, op.cit., 94ff, 166, 472, 852ff.
19. Alberti, op.cit., 865f, "Maxima quaeque aedificatio ob vitae hominis brevitatem et operis magnitudinem vix nunquam dabitur, ut per eundem absolvi possit, qui posuerit. At nos procaces qui sequimur, omnino aliquid innovasse contendimus et gloriamur; ex quo fit, ut aliorum bene inchoata depraventur et male finiantur. Standum quidem censeo auctorum destinationibus, qui per maturitatem illas excogitarunt."
20. Borsi, op.cit., 80ff.
21. Alberti, op.cit., e.g. see Book VIII.
22. Idem.
23. Alberti, op.cit., 444.

24. Alberti, op.cit., 816. See also Wittkower, R., *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism*, Academy Editions, London 1973 (4th edition), 'Alberti's Approach to Antiquity in Architecture', 33ff.
25. Alberti, op.cit., 448.
26. Wittkower, 'The Problem of Harmonic Proportion in Architecture', op.cit., 101ff.
27. Alberti, op.cit., 470f.
28. Idem, 682.
29. Idem, 322.
30. Idem, 604.
31. Idem, 614.
32. Vitruvius, op.cit., III, i, 9.
33. Alberti, op.cit., 810, 246, 232, 452f.
34. Milizia, F., *Le vite de' piu' celebri architetti d'ogni nazione e d'ogni tempo*, 1768, "ho troppo del gotico, o sia del tedesco". Quatremère De Quincy, *Encyclopédie Méthodique, Architecture*, 1788. Borsi, op.cit.
35. Alberti, op.cit., 868.
36. Idem, 470.
37. Idem, 870.
38. Alberti, op.cit., Book X.
39. Alberti, op.cit., 988.
40. Idem.
41. Idem, 990.
42. Idem, 992f.
43. Idem, 996.
44. Alberti, op.cit., 869f: "Adde his hominum inurias. Me superi! interdum nequeo non stomachari, cum videam aliquorum incuria (nequid odiosum decerem: avaritia) ea deleri, quibus barbarus et furens hostis ob eorum eximiam dignitatem pepercisset, quaeve tempus pervicax rerum prosternator aeterna esse facile patiebatur."
45. Alberti, op.cit., 174ff.
46. Idem, 450.
47. Idem, 441f: "Restabant vetera rerum exempla templis theatrisque mandata, ex quibus tanquam ex optimis professoribus multa discerentur: eadem non sine lachrymis videbam in dies deleri; et qui forte per haec tempora aedificarent, novis inepriarum deliramentis potius quam probatissimis laudatissimorum operum rationibus delectari; quibus ex rebus futurum negabat nemo, quin brevi haec pars, ut ita loquar, vitae et cognitionis penitus esset interitura."
48. Idem, 856.
49. Idem, 460.
50. Idem, 460f.
51. Antonio Averlino detto il Filarete: *Trattato di architettura*, Testo a cura di Anna Maria Finoli e Liliana Grassi, Edizioni il Polifilo, Milano 1972, 29: "Tu potresti dire: lo edificio non si amala e non muore come l'uomo. Io ti dico che così fa proprio l'edificio: lui s'amala quando non mangia, cioè quando non è mantenuto, e viene scadendo a poco a poco, come fa proprio l'uomo quando sta senza cibo, poi si casca morto. Così fa proprio l'edificio e se ha il medico quando s'amala, cioè il maestro che lo racconcia e guarisce, sta un buon tempo in buono stato."
52. Idem, 29f: "Così poi continuamente bisogna mantenerlo e riguardarlo da bruttura e da troppa fatica, perché così come l'uomo per troppa fatica s'amala e dimagrisi così l'edificio, per bruttura marcisce il corpo dello edificio come quello de l'uomo, e così nel troppo si guasta e muore come l'uomo proprio, come è detto di sopra."
53. Idem, 429f: "Bisogna avere prudenzia, acciò provega anzi al tempo alle cose che fanno bisogno all'edificio, acciò non per questo mancamento venga a ricevere danno, che solo in quello bisogna la cosa s'abbia a provederla, innanzi tempo sia preparata."
54. Idem, 31f: "...vedi Templum Pacis, che v'è ancora una colonna di marmo di smisurata grandezza ... Dove è il Campidoglio che ancora si legge che era così mirabile con quattro cavalli nella sommità dorati? Dove è il palazzo di Nerone, che aveva le porte di bronzo intagliate, secondo che per le sue medaglie ancora scolpito si vede?"
55. Idem, 34: "El Coliseo lascerò e molti altri al presente; e lascerò il tempio del Panteon, cioè Santa Maria Ritonda, perché è più integra, e questo è stato perché gli è pure stato dato da mangiare per rispetto della religione."
56. Idem, 35; Filarete mentions also the other opinion that the Romans would have taken the bronze and lead out of the structure, and thus made the holes that one still sees today e.g. in the Colosseum. This, in fact, seems to be the real reason, but Filarete considered this cause rather improbable.
57. Idem, 36ff: "... e come si muore uno più presto che un altro e ha più e meno sanità, molte volte procede per la compressione, cioè d'essere nato sotto migliore pianeto o miglior punto."
58. Grassi, Liliana, 'Introduzione', *Il Filarete*, op.cit., xv-xliii.
59. Idem, 227ff, 250ff.
60. Vasari, op.cit., II, 457.
61. Colonna, F., *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, Venice 1499; reprinted in *Scritti Rinascimentali di Architettura*, Edizioni il Polifilo, Milano 1978, 279ff.
62. Francesco di Giorgio Martini: *Trattati di Architettura, Ingegneria e Arte Militare*, a cura di Corrado Maltese, Edizioni il Polifilo, Milano 1976. The full name of the author was: Francesco Maurizio di Giorgio di Martino.

63. Maltese, C., 'Introduzione', Francesco di Giorgio Martini, op.cit.
64. Francesco di Giorgio Martini, op.cit., 275, f.71, Tav.129 (Plan, elevation and section of the Colosseum): "Poi che l'antica città di Roma (sic) per li continovi assedioni et ghuerre cominciò a mancare e grandi hedifitii spogliando e diruendo et in più parti ruinare in modo che al presente tucti machati sonno. Unde mosso da huno aceso desiderio di volere quelle innovare, il che essendo presso al fine in poco tempo in tucto spente verranno, sì per la vetustà loro ed anco per li molti et continovi ghuastatori et pertanto el meglio ched ò possuto non con micola fatica investighando in Roma et fuore molti vari et dengni edifitii ho raccolto perbenché molto ruinati sieno et la dengnità degli ornamenti loro poco se ne vede..."
65. Giovanni Santi, Cronaca rimata, 1490, Hotzinger, Stuttgart 1897; Santi consideres Martini an excellent architect and also "restauratore delle ruine antiche, e delle spente un supremo inventore". (Diz.Enc.Arch., Roma 1969, III, 501)
66. Francesco di Giorgio Martini, op.cit. 'Introduction'.
67. Idem.
68. Diz.Enc.Arch., op.cit., III, 370ff; Maltese, C., 'Nota introduttiva' to 'Leonardo da Vinci, Frammenti sull'architettura', Scritti Rinascimentali, op.cit., 279ff.
69. Leonardo da Vinci, 'Lettera ai fabbricieri del Duomo di Milano' (1487-90), Scritti Rinascimentali, op.cit., 349.
70. Leonardo da Vinci, MSS, Institut de France, Paris, 50r, 'Frammenti sull'architettura' (1490), Scritti Rinascimentali, op.cit., 292: "Arco non è altro che una fortezza causata da due debolezze, imperò che l'arco negli edifizii è composto di 2 parti di circulo, i quali quarti circuli, ciascuno debolissimo per sé, desidera cadere, e opponendosi alla ruina l'uno dell'altro, le due debolezze si convertano in unica fortezza."
71. Leonardo da Vinci, MSS, Codice Foster, ii,2,92r, South Kensington Museum, London (1496), Scritti Rinascimentali, op.cit., 292, Tavola XI.
72. Leonardo da Vinci, MSS, Codice Arundel, 138r, 141v, 157r, 157v, 158r, 158v, 180v, British Museum, London (appr.1508), Scritti Rinascimentali, op.cit., 295ff.
73. Leonardo da Vinci, MSS, Institut de France, Paris (1492), 53r, Scritti Rinascimentali, op.cit., 294.
74. Leonardo da Vinci, 'Lettera ai fabbricieri del Duomo di Milano', Scritti Rinascimentali, op.cit., 349ff.
75. 'Consiglio dato da Francesco di Giorgio sopra il modo di voltare la cupola del Duomo di Milano' (1490), Scritti Rinascimentali, op.cit., 379ff.
76. 'Bramanti opinio super domicilium seu templum magnum', Scritti Rinascimentali, op.cit., 367ff.
77. Idem.

Chapter Three

Early Practice and Protection

3.1. Protective Measures before the Renaissance

The Renaissance can be seen as a moment of new awareness of the cultural values threatened by the destruction of monuments of Antiquity, a recognition of the patriotic significance of these monuments to modern world, and of their value as a testimony of the early phases of Christianity. Also in the ancient world, however, special values in historic buildings or in their remains, had given rise to attempts to protect, conserve or restore them. This was the case in Egypt in the third millennium B.C., when the damaged right arm of a monumental statue of Ramses II in the Great Temple of Abu-Simbel, was given a support of simple stone blocks. (1) It was the case in the fifth century BC, when the Athenians decided not to rebuild the temples destroyed by the Persians, but to keep their remains as memorials. Even after the decision was reversed, in the time of Pericles, some column drums were built into the northern wall of the Acropolis as a reminder of the event. (2) Similarly, in Rome, after the fire of Nero, culturally conscious writers lamented the loss of many historic buildings, (3) and in the writings

Figure 8. The statues of Ramses II (1304-1237) in the Great Temple of Abou Simbel, Egypt, restored by his successor Sethi II (1216-1210) respecting original material



Figure 9. The Acropolis, Athens, the north wall with the column drums from temples burnt by Persians in 480=479 BC, inserted here as a memorial ‘for the impiety of the barbarians’.

of Pausanias one can hear a meticulous concern to remember the historical significance of even minor details, seen in the example of the protection of a remaining pillar of a burnt house as a memorial to its distinguished owner, Oenomaus, in Olympia. (4)

The Greek word for ‘monument’ was related to ‘memory’, while in Rome the concept contained even political and moralistic issues. (5) For example monuments served as reminders of the power of the governors. Often there was a greater respect for the original builder than for the material form of the building. When Hadrian ‘restored’, or really rebuilt, the Pantheon in a new form in the second century AD, he conceived it as if still the work of Agrippa, the author of the first building, one and a half centuries earlier. Procopius, when describing ‘restorations’ by Justinian, made it clear that the general aim was to improve both the function and the aesthetic appearance of the buildings whilst remembering their original name and significance. (6)

After the christianization of the Roman Empire in the fourth century, the use of spoils from older monuments in new constructions became common,

as was the case of the Arch of Constantine, and growing vandalism threatened pagan temples and other public buildings. At the same time, however, there was a revival of classical studies and a return to old traditions. Special laws and orders were issued for the protection of ancient temples and tombs, especially in the time of Julian ‘the Apostate’ (b.332) and Symmachus (340-402), the most prominent opponent of Christianity in his time. In 458 AD, Leo and Majorian (457-61) ordered that “all buildings that have been founded by the ancients as temples and as other monuments and that were constructed for the public use or pleasure shall not be destroyed by any person”. (7) Punishments included fines and even mutilation of hands.

Theodoric the Great of the Goths, King of Italy 493-526, revived some Roman laws, and was praised by contemporaries for having given new life to the empire. He was particularly concerned about architecture considering maintenance, repair and restoration of ancient buildings equally valuable as the construction of new. (8) He appointed a curator statuarum to take care of statues, and an architectus publicorum, to take care of ancient monuments in Rome. The architect, named Aloisio, was reminded of the glorious history and importance of the monuments, and of the duty to restore all structures that could be of use, such as palaces, aqueducts and baths. Theodoric wrote to the Prefect of Rome presenting the architect, and emphasizing his desire to conserve and respect ancient buildings and works of art. (9) Restorations included the Aurelian Walls, aqueducts, the Colosseum, and Castel St. Angelo. (10) Also other municipalities were ordered not to mourn for past glory, but to revive ancient monuments to new splendour, not to let fallen columns and useless fragments make cities look ugly, but to clean them and give them new use in his palaces. (11)

3.2. The Condition of Buildings in Rome at the End of the Middle Ages

Gradually Rome took a double significance; it continued to remind the people of its greatness as the capital of a world empire, but in the same time it assumed the symbolic function as the capital of the Christian Church. Although lost its economic power, Rome retained its symbolic value, and became a centre of pilgrimage as well as an ambitious target for conquerors during the Middle Ages. Enemy attacks, floods and earthquakes on the one hand, and demolition for the reuse of building materials on the other, gradually reduced the magnificent monuments

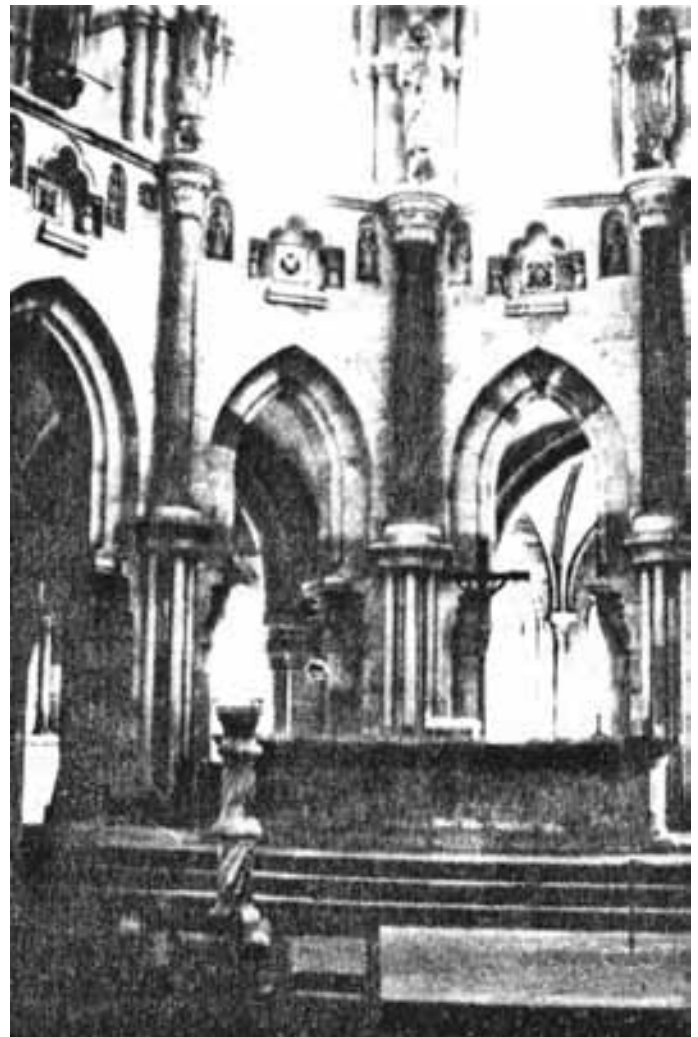


Figure 10. Antique columns in the choir of the cathedral of Magdeburg as a ‘relic’ of ancient Rome

of ancient Rome to ruins. Some monuments were, however, preserved and protected due to patriotic or symbolic reason - as e.g. the Column of Trajan, the Arch of Constantine and the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, retained to be the image of Constantine the Great, father of the Christian Church. Romans claimed their Roman ancestorship by building fragments from ancient monuments into their houses, as in the case of Casa dei Crescentii. Rulers in other countries acquired ancient marbles to be built into their palaces or cathedrals - as Charlemagne in Aachen or Otto in Magdeburg.

During the Middle Ages the ground level of Rome had risen due to various factors - floods, accumulation of spoils, fillings - so that the existing level was some two to five metres or even more above the original level of the Roman period. At the end of the fourteenth century, Rome had about 17,000 inhabitants, and only a small part of the ancient walled city was inhabited, concentrated in the area of the Campo Marzio, Trastevere, and the Lateran. There were still, however, a great number of ancient



Figure 11. The temple of Minerva still standing in the Forum of Nerva, Rome (Heemskerck)

monuments standing, even though in ruins. In the inhabited area of the city, these were occupied and integrated into the urban fabric; outside that area, they remained isolated. Many structures were still standing in the Roman Forum, including parts of the basilicas, though the area had changed to the extent of being called the city of towers due to fortifications built over many of the monuments. The triumphal Arches of Constantine and Septimius Severus still retained some of these structures on them during the Renaissance.

By the mid-eleventh century, the vaulted spaces of the Colosseum had been rented and the arena was used for housing, later transformed into a fortification by the Frangipani, who fortified the whole Forum area. In 1200, the building came into the ownership of the Annibaldi who retained it until 1312 when it passed into public ownership and the fortifications were demolished. In 1340, it was used as an arena for bullfights. Earthquakes had already caused some damage to the structure of the Colosseum but, in 1349, an especially large section of the southern part seems to have collapsed. In 1362, the Pope is reported to have quarrelled with the Frangipani about the use of the spoils, an enormous amount of travertine and other materials that had fallen to the ground. In 1397, one-third of the building was given to a religious organization, which also had the right to sell the spoils.

Many ancient temples had been transformed into churches. The Pantheon had been consecrated to Christian martyrs in 608 AD, and other adaptations included S.Nicola in Carcere, S.Bartolomeo all'Isola, SS.Cosma e Damiano, S.Lorenzo in Miranda, and S.Lorenzo in Lucina. The Curia Senatus in the Roman Forum became the church of S.Adriano; the Altar of

Hercules in the Forum Boarium was incorporated in S. Maria in Cosmedin. A chapel was built on the top of the Mausoleum of Augustus in the tenth century, and later it was transformed into a fortification by the Colonna family and devastated in 1167. The Theatre of Marcellus had lost its architectural ornament as early as the fourth century, when part of its material was used for the repair of the Ponte Cestio. In 1150, the Fabii transformed it into a fortification. By the end of the thirteenth century, it was owned by the Savelli family, and later transformed into a palace. The Palatine Hill was full of holes to quarry material from ancient foundations. Metal cramps had been removed from stone structures reducing their resistance to decay and earthquakes. Aqueducts had been ruined. Only two places allowed to cross the Tiber, the Ponte Sant'Angelo near the Vatican, and the area of the Tiber Island where there was a choice between crossing the island or using the Ponte S. Maria next to it. (12)

3.3. Treatment of Buildings in the Fifteenth Century

Papal Measures for Protection

Like Petrarch before them, the humanists of the fifteenth century criticized those who destroyed without understanding monuments and ancient works of art. A friend of Poggio Bracciolini wrote that demolishers of ancient statues claimed them to be images of false gods, but that those really responsible for the destruction were the “representatives of Christ on earth”, who did not care about this patrimony and were incapable of achieving anything valuable themselves. In his letter of 1416 to a Curial officer, he urged him to do something to prevent destruction,

Figure 12. The Arch of Septimius Severus, Rome, with remains of mediaeval structures (M. Brill)





Figure 13. Detail of a 15th-century painting by Andrea Mantegna, showing restoration of a tower

because by doing so, he said, “you will assure yourself henceforth immortal glory and them perpetual shame. Farewell.” (13)

Martin V (1417-31)

When Martin V established his court in Rome, the city was in a poor state, needing “restauratio et reformatio”. On 30 March 1425, he issued a bull, “Etsi in cunctarum orbis”, establishing the Office of the “Magistri viarum”, whose responsibility it was to maintain and repair the streets, bridges, gates, walls, and also to a certain extent buildings. (14) This organization was reconfirmed by his successors. Eugenius IV (1431-1447) also ordered the protection of the Colosseum, but continued using it as a quarry himself. (15)

Nicholas V (1447-55)

At the time when the popes returned to Rome in the fifteenth century, the Byzantine Empire was involved in the decisive battles against the Ottomans ending in the siege and fall of Constantinople in 1453. Defence

Figure 14, Mausoleum of Augustus in Rome used as a garden in the sixteenth century. (Dupérac, 1577)



was one of the important aspects considered in the papal building programmes of the period. Nicholas V (1447-55), in fact, repaired and improved fortifications in different parts of the papal states, in Gualdo, Assisi, Fabriano, Civita Castellana, Narni, Orvieto, Spoleto, and Viterbo. (16) These concerns were also important in Rome, together with the improvement of the city infrastructure and the repair and improvement of the papal residence (transferred from the Lateran palace to St. Peter’s) and religious properties.

The biographer of Nicholas V, Giannozzo Manetti, has divided the programme of Rome into five major projects: “Five great plans were in the Pope’s mind: to put the town walls in order, to adjust the aqueducts and bridges, to restore the forty churches so-called stazionali, the new building of the Borgo Vaticano, the palal palace and the church of St.Peter.” (17) The scale and grandeur of these projects seems to have caused some perplexity and Giorgio Vasari, in the following century, is rather ironic in his description of this “theatre for the coronation of the Pope”, which would have been “the most superb creation since the beginning of the world so far as we know”, (18) but which unfortunately remained unfinished at the death of the pope. At the time of the arrival of Leon Battista Alberti in Rome, Vasari described Nicholas V as having “thrown the city of Rome into utter confusion with his peculiar manner of building.” (19)

The pope himself seems to have taken a lead in the formulation of the projects, gathering around him a “pool of brains” (20), of which Alberti certainly was one and the Florentine architect Bernardo Rossellino (1409-1464) another. Vasari tells how after the arrival of Alberti, the pope started consulting him together with Rossellino: “Thus the pontiff, with the counsel of these two, and the execution of the other, brought many useful and praiseworthy labours to conclusion.” (21)

The papal residence in the Vatican with the Castel St.Angelo and St.Peter’s, formed the nucleus of Nicholas’s projects, including works on the fortifications, town planning, new structures and restorations. Vasari writes that Rossellino, having first worked outside Rome on different projects, such as the restoration of the baths of Viterbo, “in the city itself (he) restored, and in many places renewed, the walls which were for the most part in ruins; adding to them certain towers, and incorporating in these additional fortifications, which he erected outside the Castel Sant’Angelo, besides numerous rooms and decorations which he constructed within.” (22)

Castel Sant'Angelo

Castel Sant'Angelo, the ancient mausoleum of Hadrian inaugurated in 134 AD, had been included as a bastion in the Aurelian wall at the beginning of the fifth century. Theodoric had used it as a prison, and in 537 it served as a fortification against the attack of the Goths. (23) During the Middle Ages, it had become a stronghold for the popes, and during the fifteenth and sixteenth century, it continued to be maintained as a fortification and residence, especially important due to its strategic position next to the Vatican. (24) In front of the Castel Sant'Angelo, at the end of the bridge, Nicholas V cleared a square linked with three streets through the Borgo to another square in front of the Basilica of St. Peter's. On this square, the plan was to erect an obelisk, standing on a base of four bronze lions, decorated with the figures of the Apostles and being crowned with the statue of Jesus Christ. (25) This was the first proposal to re-erect an obelisk during the Renaissance. In his treatise, Alberti refers to the planning of squares in front of a temple: "Lastly, the Place where you intend to fix a Temple, ought to be noted, famous, and indeed stately, clear from all Contagion of secular things, and, in order thereunto, it should have a spacious handsome Area in its Front, and be surrounded on every Side with great Streets, or rather with noble Squares, that you may have a beautiful View of it on every Side." (26) showing that his concepts were influential in the planning of the area.

St. Peter's

The old basilica of St. Peter's had been completed by Constantine in 329 AD. It was the only large church built during his reign, created to house the tomb of the

Figure 15, St. Peter's, Rome, under construction showing the walls and wall paintings of the old basilica (Heemskerck)



apostle. The nave with two side aisles on either side was made especially spacious to accommodate large crowds, having a length of 90m and a width of 64m; the total inner length of the church was 119m. (27) The basilica was built of spoils as was common in the period; the huge columns supporting the walls ranged in material from green serpentine and yellow giallo antico to red or grey granite. The wall above was originally intended for non-figural decoration, but in the fifth century it had been covered with frescoes illustrating scenes from the Old Testament. (28)

Though perhaps the most important of Rome's basilicas, St. Peter's was in rather poor condition in the fifteenth century - probably partly due to the structural system, as noted by Alberti:

"I have observed therefore in St. Peter's Church at Rome what indeed the thing itself demonstrates, that it was ill advised to draw a very long and thin Wall over so many frequent and continued Apertures, without strength'ning it with any curve Lines or any other Fortification whatsoever. And what more deserves our Notice, all this Wing of Wall under which are too frequent and continued Apertures, and which is raised to a great Height, is exposed as a Butt to the impetuous Blasts of the North-East: by which means already thro' the continued Violence of the Winds it has swerved from its Direction above two yards and I doubt not that in a short time, some little accidental shock will throw it down into Ruins; and if it were not kept in by the Timber Frame of the Roof, it must infallibly have fallen down before now." (29)

Another writer, Giacomo Grimaldi, also refers to the ruinous condition of this basilica, speaking especially of problems in the foundations, due to the fact that they were constructed over the remains of ancient circuses, and were partly laid on loose soil, partly on solid clay; therefore the longitudinal walls were cracked and inclined by more than a palm at the top. (30)

Alberti proposed the consolidation of the basilica through a systematic renewal of the masonry of the leaning sections:

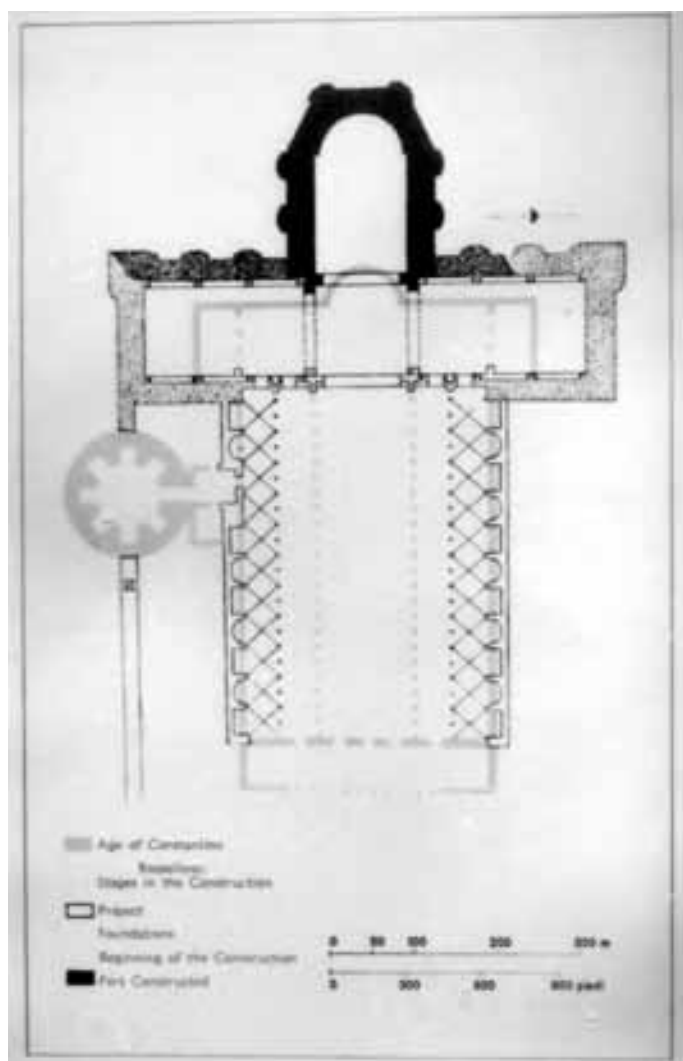
"In the great Basilique of St. Peter at Rome, some Parts of the Wall which were over the Columns being swerved from their Uprights, so as to threaten even the Fall of the whole Roof; I contrived how the Defect might be remedied as follows. Every one of those Parts of the Wall which had given Way, let it rest upon what Column

it would, I determined should be taken clear out, and made good again with square Stone which should be worked true to its Perpendicular, only leaving in the old Wall strong Catches of Stone to unite the additional Work to the former. Lastly, I would have supported the Beam under which those uneven Parts of the Wall were to be taken out, by means of the Engines, called 'Capra's' erected upon the Roof, setting the feet of those Engines upon the strongest Parts of the Roof and of the Wall. This I would have done at different Times over the several Columns where these Defects appear." (31)

The old frescoes decorating the interior of the church were preserved until the sixteenth century, and as the proposal would have meant their destruction, it seems that it was not carried out.

Instead, it was Nicholas V who planned the first Renaissance renewal of the basilica. According to Vasari, "The fifth work which this pontiff had proposed to himself to execute, was the church of

Figure 16, A plan of S. Peter's, Rome, showing project by Rossellino and Alberti for the new basilica.



San Pietro, which he had designed to make so vast, so rich, and so splendidly adorned, that it were better to be silent respecting it than to commence the recital." (32) The plans have been attributed mainly to Rossellino, even though the contribution of Alberti has been generally recognized. (33) The new basilica seems to have been conceived as if encasing the old building within a new structure. Though the old nave was left intact, the transept was considerably enlarged and a completely new choir of monumental proportions was planned behind the old apse. (34)

The plan was a mixture of old and new. The first works seem to have concentrated on the restoration of the entrance; the mosaics of the main elevation were restored, and the roof, the pavement and the doors of the entrance portico were renewed. These works seem to have gone on until 1450. After this, payments are recorded for the "tribuna grande" and for the foundations. (35) It has been considered possible that the pope initially had intended to restore the basilica - possibly on the counsel of Alberti - but that at a certain moment he changed his mind and initiated a renewal on a larger scale. (36) On the other hand, there is a note by Mattiae Palmieri indicating that the new work may have been suspended on the advice of Alberti. (37) This interruption, supposed to have happened in 1452, has been interpreted as a need to modify the plans or to insert Rossellino more firmly into the project, but the question remains open. (38) In any case, the foundations of the choir were laid and the walls built up to certain height. Work was then interrupted until new plans were developed by Julius II (1503-13) and his successors.

It is interesting to compare this project with another one by Alberti, the Tempio Malatestiano in Rimini, commissioned by Sigismo di Malatesta as a memorial for himself. This work, in which Alberti seems to have been involved from 1449, remained unfinished. It involved the transformation of the thirteenth century Gothic church of S. Francesco into a classical building. Here, again, the old structure was retained and encased inside a new building. It is not known how much Alberti was or would have been involved in the interior; however, in order to build the choir, which was never executed, the old transept and apse would most probably have had to be demolished. (39) Vasari considered this building "beyond dispute one of the most renowned temples of Italy." (40)

Other Restoration Projects

Other than St. Peter's, few new churches were built in Rome during the fifteenth century; attention



Figure 17, S. Stefano Rotondo (Francesco di Giorgio M.)

was mostly given to the repair and improvement of the existing ones. Vasari wrote that Nicholas V intended to restore and gradually to rebuild the forty Churches of the Stations instituted by Pope Gregory I. Nicholas V completed much of this work, restoring Santa Maria Trastevere, Santa Prassedia, San Teodoro, San Pietro in Vincoli, and many other minor churches. And, according to him, with even greater spirit, magnificence, and care, the same work was carried out for six of the principal churches - St. John the Lateran, Santa Maria Maggiore, Santo Stefano in Monte Celio, Sant' Apostolo, St. Paul, and San Lorenzo extra muros. (41) Archival documents in fact confirm that works were carried out on a great number of churches, often involving repairs of the roof or windows. (42)

The church of Santo Stefano Rotondo, built in 468-483 on the Coelian Hill, east of the Colosseum, was one of the buildings most extensively restored in this period. The work was again carried out under the supervision of Rossellino, probably in consultation with Alberti. (43) The original layout of the building consisted of a circular nave resting on a trabeated colonnade and surrounded by an ambulatory, opening crosswise through arcaded colonnades into four chapels and between these into four open courtyards. Fragments of stucco decoration give an idea of the lavish appearance of the original interior. (44) The building seems to have been in use until the eleventh century; after that, it had fallen into disrepair.

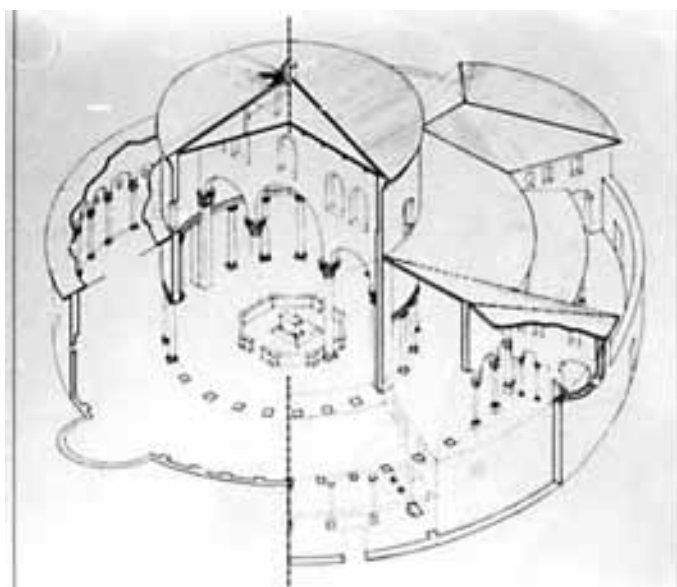
Flavio Biondo expressed his admiration for the rich decoration of which remains were still visible, and he regretted the present state of the church which had lost its roof. (45)

The restoration of Nicholas V (46) consisted of closing the arcaded colonnade of the ambulatory, demolishing the chapels, and building a new entrance portico, instead, with a double entrance door. The circular nave, probably originally covered with a light dome, was roofed with a timber structure, as was the ambulatory. Surviving remnants of marble or stucco decoration were removed, and the wall closing the arcaded colonnade was decorated with frescoes (with scenes of torture) while the rest received a plain intonaco. The original round windows of the nave wall were closed and new Renaissance windows were opened. (47)

The contemporary Francesco di Giorgio Martini recorded an idealised image of the church showing the trabeated colonnade walled with doors, and the arcaded colonnade open; the central cylinder was shown with a dome. On the drawing he noted: "A ruined building with columns and a circular ambulatory with richly decorated vaults. Pope Nicholas re-made it, but in doing so he caused even more damage. It is known as Santo Stephano Rotondo." (48)

Modern critics, too, have been rather severe about the restoration. Carlo Ceschi, for example, notes that there was "evidently no intention to restore the old church, but principally to give a new function and a present-day form to the building." (49) Bruno Zevi

Figure 18, Schematic drawing of S. Stefano Rotondo, showing the antique lay-out on the right and the Renaissance repair on the left.



and Franco Borsi point out especially that the restorer “remodelled the early-Christian space, subordinating archaeological respect to the requirements of the day,” (50) and that the earlier concept of “continuous space” was transformed into a closed “centrality” according to the ideal of the Renaissance. (51) Reference has also been made to the concepts of Alberti, who gives preference to the use of columns with architraves and square pillars with arches. The closing of the arcaded colonnade and its transformation into a decorative feature is so in full agreement with his thesis. (52)

The Pantheon had suffered of earthquake damage, and was restored in this period. Eugenius IV (1431-47), the predecessor of Nicholas V, had already altered the building which had become the church of S. Maria Rotonda. The portico of the temple had been cleared and repairs undertaken in the covering of its dome, as reported by Flavio Biondo (53) and Nicholas V continued work on the covering as referred to by Andrea Fulvio in the sixteenth century. (54)

Amongst other works of Nicholas V, attributed to Alberti and Rossellino by Vasari, was “the Fountain of the Acqua Vergine, which had been ruined, and was restored by him. He likewise caused the fountain of the Piazza de’ Trevi to be decorated with the marble ornaments which we now see there.” (55) Similarly, a project was prepared for the bridge of St. Angelo. According to Alberti, the bridge had been amongst the most solid constructions, but had been so badly damaged by the floods that it was doubtful how long it could last. (56) During the jubilee of 1450, in fact, an accident on the bridge had cost the lives of nearly 200 pilgrims and plans were made for its repair. (57) Vasari applauds Alberti’s project for the repair of the bridge which provided it with a covered colonnade: “Yet he was able to show his meaning in his drawings, as we see by some sheets of his in our book, containing a drawing of the Ponte S. Agnolo,

Figure 19. The interior of the church of S. Stefano Rotondo, Rome



and of the roof made there from his design for the loggia, as a shelter from the sun in summer and from the wind and the rain in winter.” (58) In his treatise, Alberti gave a detailed description of his project for the roof, but the drawing has been lost. (59)

Pius II (1458-64)

The humanist pope Pius II (1458-64) was the first to issue a bull, “Cum aliam nostram urbem” of 28 April 1462, specifically for the preservation of ancient remains. In order to conserve the ‘alma’ town in her dignity and splendour, it was necessary to maintain and preserve the ecclesiastical buildings, as well as those which served as a protection and cover for the burials and relics of holy men. These were the most important ornaments of the town to be preserved for future generations. (60) Conservation was here closely linked with Christianity, which provided the final argument for protection. The bull seems to have resulted from requests made by municipal administrators and citizens of Rome. However, the pope was not able to enforce it in reality. (61)

Paul II (1464-71)

When the Cardinal of San Marco, Pietro Barbo, became Pope Paul II (1464-71), one of his first undertakings was the construction of a new residence for himself, the Palazzo Venezia, next to his church of San Marco at the foot of the Capitol. (62) In the church there had been small repairs over the years; in 1465, Paul II began the first major restoration and renewal of the building, as mentioned by his biographer, Michele Canensi. (63) The nave walls, arcaded colonnades, were reinforced by building a new wall supported on pillars attached to it on the side of the aisles. A richly decorated wooden coffered ceiling was added to the interior and the roof was covered with gilded lead tiles. In addition, an open loggia for benedictions, similar to the one created for the basilica of St. Peter’s a few years earlier, was built in front of the church of San Marco. The church interior was enriched with small shell-shaped niches in the side aisles. (64)

This restoration of the church of San Marco has been attributed by Vasari to Giuliano da Maiano (1432-90). Born in Fiesole, Maiano had first worked with his father as an inlayer of wood and then practised architecture in Florence, Siena and Naples. He was first engaged by Paul II to work in the Vatican. “But his most stupendous work was the palace which he made for that Pope, together with the church of S. Marco at Rome, where he introduced a countless

number of Travertine stones, said to have been taken from quarries near the arch of Constantine, and buttressed up with part of the spoils of the Coliseum, which is now in ruins, perhaps owing to this very act.” (65)

The name of Alberti has also been linked with this restoration. Since he was free from administrative duties during this period, it is possible that he had more time for architecture. Similarly, certain architectural solutions, such as the shell decorations, bear Alberti’s mark. The solution adopted for the reinforcement of the nave walls (66) had been recommended by Alberti in his treatise:

“If a Wall be thinner than it ought to be, we must either apply a new Wall to the old one, in such a Manner that they may make but one; or, to avoid the Expencc of this, we may only strengthen it with Ribs, that is to say, with Pilasters or Columns.

Figure 20. The interior of the church of S. Marco, Rome



Figure 21, An example of 14th-century restoration of a public monument, the ‘Dioscuri’, with the support of brick walls (Rome, c. 1550)

A new Wall may be superinduced to an old one, as follows. In several Parts of the old Wall fix strong Catches made of the soundest Stone, sticking out in such a Manner as to enter into the Wall which you are going to join to the other, and to be in the Nature of Bands between the two Walls; and your Wall in this Case should always be built of square Stone.” (67) Having described various methods of reinforcement, he adds that in all works “great Care must be taken that no Part of the new Work be too weak to support the Weight which is to bear upon it, and that for ever so long Time: because the whole Pile bearing towards that weaker Part, would immediately fall to Ruins.” (68)

It is thus possible that Alberti had advised on the restoration of San Marco.

In conclusion, it can be said that even though the church of San Marco and the old basilica of St. Peter,s were radically renewed, and Santo Stefano transformed to correspond to the architectural ideals of the time, a certain respect was still shown toward the old buildings. Even in this period, there was a cultural choice to keep something of the old building. We may not yet be able to speak of restoration in its modern sense, but we begin to recognize its roots.

Restoration of Classical Monuments

Up to this point, restorations had dealt with ancient monuments or buildings which still had a contemporary use; i.e. the Pantheon, the basilicas, the bridges or even the mausoleum of Hadrian. Paul II was the first pope to deal with other monuments as well, including the triumphal arches and the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius. The latter, which had survived at St. John Lateran because it



Figure 22. An example of late 16th-century restoration under Sixtus V of one of the statues of the Dioscuri on the Capitol, Rome. Completion of details in original type of marble

was believed to represent Constantine, was protected with a wooden building in 1466-67 (69) to allow for its repair by Cristoforo de Geremia from Mantua, a well-known medallist, who requested 300 gold ducats for his expenses in 1568. (70) The restoration was completed during the time of Sixtus IV (Paul II's successor) in 1473-74 for the jubilee of 1475. (71) Repair work is also reported on the Arch of Titus by Florentine masons in 1466, (72) as well as on the Arch of Septimius Severus, the equestrian statues of the Dioscuri on the Quirinal and on a column of the *Thermae of Diocletian* 1469-70. (73)

It is not known exactly what works the papal and municipal administrators ("Conservatorii") carried out on the triumphal arches. Most probably, these were relatively minor interventions, since, for example, the mediaeval structures over the Arch of Septimius Severus were still in position during the following century. (74) Intervention on the statues of the Dioscuri was similarly minor. Originally part of a colossal Temple of the Sun on the Quirinal, these equestrian statues were so much a part of the

place that even the hill was called after them "Monte Cavallo". The fifteenth century repair was limited to simple reinforcement and the building of brick supporting walls in order to display the statues on their bases. (75)

The proposal of Nicholas V to erect an obelisk on the square in front of the basilica of St. Peter's also interested Paul II. He commissioned Aristotele di Fioravante di Ridolfo (1415/20-86), an architect and engineer from Bologna, to transfer the obelisk then standing at the side of the church, the "acu July Caesaris ad sanctum Petrum", (76) to the square. The works had already started when the pope suddenly died and the project was interrupted. The same engineer was, however, involved in various other technical undertakings, such as elevating two large monolithic columns in Santa Maria sopra Minerva in Rome, moving the bell tower of Santa Maria del Tempio in Bologna, and straightening the leaning bell tower of S. Angelo in Venice. (77)

Erection of the Vatican obelisk in front of St. Peter's also seems to have been included later in the plans of Bramante, and when one of the obelisks of the Mausoleum of Augustus was discovered in July 1519, Raphael had offered to have this obelisk transported there. (78) This obelisk, as well as another one in the Circus of Caracalla, both broken in pieces, were of considerable interest to the architects of the time. Peruzzi and Antonio da Sangallo the Younger prepared recording and reconstruction drawings of them. Sangallo also proposed erecting the obelisk of the Augusteum in the Piazza del Popolo, having it supported on elephants, sphinxes and turtles. (79)

Sixtus IV (1471-84)

Sixtus IV (1471-84), the 'Restaurator Urbis', established improved constitutions for the growth and splendour of Rome leaving a significant mark on the city of Rome. (80) His building activities included the rebuilding of the Ponte Sisto on the site of an ancient Roman bridge, the construction of a new hospital. Although his activities were not always conservative, he was responsible for the restoration, repair and reconstruction of many palaces and religious buildings. He issued a bull, "Quum provvida" of 25 April 1474, against destruction and damage to ecclesiastical buildings, or removal of parts from them; this was later confirmed by Julius II (1503-13), and recalled even in the nineteenth century. (81).

3.4. Collections and Restoration of Objects

Collections in the Ancient Rome

Collecting did not begin in the Renaissance. The Romans had encountered the wealth of Greek art for the first time on the occasion of the capture of Syracuse in 212 BC. During the following century, following the example of great Greek collectors such as the King of Pergamon, the prices paid for works of art by, for example, Caius Gracchus (d 121 BC) and Lucius Crassus (140-91 BC) rose to exceptional levels. Looting brought more works of art as war trophies to Rome, where they were sold to private collectors. Many of the emperors themselves became interested in collecting (especially Nero (54-68 AD)), and Rome became both a museum and a world market for art dealers. Important sculptures, not available for purchase, were copied; for example, some fifty copies were known of Praxiteles' statue of the Venus of Cnidus, one of the great tourist attractions of the ancient world. (82)

Renaissance Collections

After AD 400, when Rome in its turn was looted, many of these works of art were dispersed, destroyed, or buried underground. Some of them found their way to Byzantium. But then, after an interval of about a thousand years, fourteenth-century humanists started to collect antique objects. One of the earliest was a rich merchant in Treviso, who had a collection of coins, medals, cameos, and bronzes. (The inventory is dated 1335.) Petrarch had a collection of medals and was considered a connoisseur. Artists also collected statues and architectural fragments for purposes of study. Mantegna, for example, displayed his in the garden of his house. (83)

It was not only in Rome that these activities were developing. Because of her successful commercial enterprises in wool, silk, and dyeing, Florence had become the leading monetary centre by the early fifteenth century. The most important families were bankers, who became patrons of the arts and architecture. Following the example of humanists and artists, they became interested in collecting antique works of art, which were displayed in their palaces and villas, largely as status symbols. The powerful Medici family had the most important Florentine collections. Similar collections were made in other parts of Italy by, for example, the Conzagas in Mantua, the d'Estes in Ferrara, and the Sforzas in Milan. (84)

In Rome, the largest early collection was made by Cardinal Pietro Barbo, then Pope Paul II (1464-71), who built the Palazzo Venezia as a gallery in which to display it. The collection contained antique busts of the most precious materials, onyx, amethyst, jasper, rock crystal, and ivory. The inventory of 1457 lists 227 cameos and over a thousand medals in gold and silver. Barbo was also interested in early Christian objects, and he had valuable Byzantine and contemporary works of art, jewellery, textiles, and furniture. The inventory does not list marble statues, but these were included in the collection. (85)

His successor, Sixtus IV (1471-84), dispersed the collection. One part was sold to the Medici in order to obtain their favour; another part was used to furnish the palaces of the Vatican; and a collection of statues was donated to the Palace of the Conservators on the Capitol, where the first public museum of the Renaissance was opened in 1471, the first year of Sixtus' papacy. The museum also included other works of art that had been on the Capitol Hill, or in the Lateran, such as the Spinario, the Camillus and the Wolf, and a huge bronze Hercules found in the excavations of the period. These gifts marked the inauguration of the Capitol Museum which, to some extent because of its location, became a 'store house' for the excavations in the centre of Rome during the sixteenth century. (86)

By the end of the fifteenth century, there were some forty collections in Rome. During the sixteenth century, however, as a result of increased building activities and excavations, collections such as those of the Della Valle, Medici, and Farnese increased both in number and in size. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Julius II (1503-13) commissioned Bramante to form a courtyard for the display of selected antique works of art. This was located between the fifteenth-century villa of Belvedere and the rest of the Vatican palaces, taking the form of a terraced garden with fountains which formed a fresh and green setting for the sculptures. The most important pieces were displayed in a special manner. Vasari writes that # "Bramante likewise erected the cupola which covers the Hall of Antiquities, and constructed the range of niches for the statues. Of these, the Laocoon, an ancient statue of the most exquisite perfection, the Apollo, and the Venus, were placed there during his own life, the remainder of the statues were afterwards brought thither by Leo X., as for example, the Tiber and the Nile, with the Cleopatra; others were added by Clement VII.; while in the time of Paul III. and



Figure 23, An early collection in the garden of Casa Ceni in Rome. Antique sculptures were left in fragmented state (Heemskerck).

that of Julius III., many important improvements were made there at great cost.” (87)

During the seventeenth century, fewer major works of art were discovered. Consequently, prices became higher, too high for small collectors. This meant that collections were concentrated in fewer hands. Vincenzo Giustiniani (1564-1638), the son of a Genoese banker, was the owner of one of the largest collections, which was described in an illustrated catalogue. Among others of special note were those of the Barberini, the Ludovisi, and the Borghese. (88) But during this and the following century, many of the Roman collections were sold and moved out of the city. The Medici collections went to Florence, and the Farnese collections to Naples. Foreigners, too, entered the market. In France, Francois I had started collecting in the sixteenth century, and Louis XIV continued this on a grand scale in the seventeenth century. His Minister Jean Baptiste Colbert declared his intention to obtain for France all that was beautiful

Figure 24. Sixteenth-century drawing of the collection of Cardinal della Valle in Rome. Statues were here restored. (Cock)



in Italy. (89) England, too, became active in the early seventeenth century, when Charles I and Lord Arundel commissioned their agents to travel all around Italy and to the Levant and Greece in order to acquire antique pieces. It was not only original works of art, however, that were collected. The Capitol museum collection was used extensively to produce casts and copies of the sculptures, which were then placed in royal and private collections all over Europe. (90)

Restoration of Sculpture

In the early collections, mutilated antique statues and architectural fragments were usually left as found and displayed in the court or in the interior of the palace. (91) Already in the fifteenth century, however, the Medici commissioned Donatello to restore antique fragments for the decoration of their palace in Florence:

“In the first court of the Casa Medici there are eight marble medallions containing representations of antique cameos, the reverse of medals, and some scenes very beautifully executed by him, built into the frieze between the windows and the architrave above the arches of the loggia. He also restored a Marsyas in antique white marble, placed at the exit from the garden, and a large number of antique heads placed over the doors and arranged by him with ornaments of wings and diamonds, the device of Cosimo, finely worked in stucco.” (92)

In Rome, Cardinal Andrea Della Valle (1463-1534) displayed his collection of antique marbles in a similar manner in his palace near St. Eustachio. He commissioned Lorenzetto (Lorenzo di Ludovico, 1490-1541), a sculptor and architect from Florence, who worked with Raphael in the Chigi Chapel in Santa Maria del Popolo and designed many palaces. For Della Valle, he prepared the design of the “stables and garden..., introducing antique columns, bases and capitals, and as a base he distributed ancient sarcophagi containing bas-reliefs. Higher up he did a frieze of ancient fragments, placing some marble statues above in niches, and although they lacked heads or arms or legs, he manages all excellently, causing the missing parts to be replaced by good sculptors.” (93)

This arrangement by Lorenzetto was well received by many and started a fashion for restoration of sculpture in Rome: “This introduced other great men to do the like, such as the Cardinals Cesis, Ferrara, Farnese, and, in a word, all Rome.” (94) The little



Figure 25. The courtyard elevation of the Villa Medici, Rome, showing the fashionable use of antique fragments as an ornament to contemporary buildings

Casina Pia in the Vatican Garden decorated by Pirro Ligorio in the same fashion might also be mentioned here. The courtyard elevation of the Villa Medici, erected by Annibale Lippi on the Pincio for Cardinal Ricci di Montepulciano in 1544, was decorated with busts, ornaments, and reliefs in marble and stucco, some of which had been part of the Ara Pacis of Augustus. (95) The fashion continued in the seventeenth century. Maderno designed stucco frames for some of the finest pieces of the Mattei collection in the court of their palace in Via dei Funari in Rome. Alessandro Algardi used similar decoration in the elevations of the Villa Doria Pamphili in Via Aurelia.

Vasari himself was much impressed by the restorations and probably contributed to the fashion of restoring the antique sculptures: “Antiquities thus restored certainly possess more grace than those mutilated trunks, members without heads, or figures in any other way maimed and defective.” (96) Restoration became part of a sculptor’s normal activity - especially when young. When Bramante wanted to present the young Iacopo Sansovino (1486-1570), later city architect of Venice, to the pope, he asked him “to restore some antiquities. In this he showed such grace and diligence that the Pope and all who saw them decided that they could not be improved upon.” (97)

One well-known statue which remained unrestored was the Belvedere Torso, of which the famous art critic Johann Joachim Winckelmann wrote in the eighteenth century, introducing the reader “to the much-lauded and never yet sufficiently praised torso of a Hercules, a work that is the most perfect of its kind and should be reckoned among the greatest of those which have come down to us.” (98) In his *Analysis of Beauty*, the

English artist William Hogarth mentions that “there are casts of a small copy of that famous trunk of a body to be had at almost every plasterfigure makers”, and he refers to “Michael Angelo, who is said to have discovered a certain principle in the trunk only of an antique statue (well known as Michael Angelo’s Torso, or Back), which principle gave his works a grandeur of gusto equal to the best antiques.” (99) This torso with “no head, nor arms, nor legs” had been in fact “particularly lauded by Michel’Angelo” (100), whose muscular figures in the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel reflect the strength of the antique work of art. The Torso “was not much considered by the uncultivated”, though, and attempts had been made to show the statue in its original state. (101)

The much admired group of Laocoon with his two sons attacked by the snakes was discovered on 14 January 1506. Giuliano da Sangallo and Michelangelo Buonarroti were amongst the first to see the statue and propose a hypothesis for the original form of the missing arms, noting from the remaining traces that the missing right arms of the father and of his son were raised and that the snake seemed to have been around the father’s right arm and its tail around

Figure 26. Sixteenth-century drawing showing the group of Laocöon as it was found missing arms





Figure 27. Restoration of the Laocöon, conceived by G. Montorsoli, emphasising diagonal movement

Figure 28. The group of Laocöon after 1906 restoration, inserting the arm found by L. Pollak



the son's arm. They also thought that the father might have had some weapon in his hand. (102)

The statue was soon brought to the collection of the Vatican Belvedere, and Bramante organized a competition inviting four artists to model it in wax. Raphael was amongst the judges and he considered that the young Sansovino had far surpassed the others. So, by the advice of Cardinal Domenico Grimani, Bramante decided that Jacopo's model should be cast in bronze. (103) Sansovino was the first restorer of the statue integrating the missing parts - probably in gypsum. It seems that the arm of Laocöon was bent towards the head in this restoration. A few years later, Baccio Bandinelli (1488-1559), who had been commissioned to make a replica in marble, made a new repair for the arm of Laocöon, which had broken off in the meantime. He made the arm stretch upwards much more than had Sansovino. Bandinelli proudly claimed he had surpassed the antiques with his replica, but Michelangelo commented: "Who follows others, will never pass in front of them, and who is not able to do well himself, cannot make good use of the works of others." (104) In 1532, Michelangelo recommended one of his collaborators, Fra Giovanni Angiolo Montorsoli (1506-63), to restore some broken statues in the Belvedere including the left arm of Apollo and the right arm of Laocöon. The work was accorded "the greatest affection" by the pope. (105) Laocöon's arm was made in terracotta and pointed straight; this gave strong diagonal movement to the statue, differing greatly from the original closed expression with a bent arm (as was later discovered). (106)

3.5. Architectural Treatises in the Sixteenth Century

Palladio

During the fifteenth century, the character of architectural treatises had been literary and humanistic; in the sixteenth century, it became more strictly architectural with an emphasis on illustrations, an ABC for practitioners. This was the case especially with the rules on the five orders by Jacopo Barozzi Vignola (1507-73), first published in 1562, and the four books of architecture by Andrea Palladio (1508-80) in 1570. Palladio had also collaborated in the illustration of an edition of Vitruvius by Daniele Barbaro in 1556 in Venice, and had used his vast knowledge of ancient structures to write a concise (32 pages) guidebook to the antiquities of Rome, thus replacing the twelfth century *Mirabilia urbis Romae*

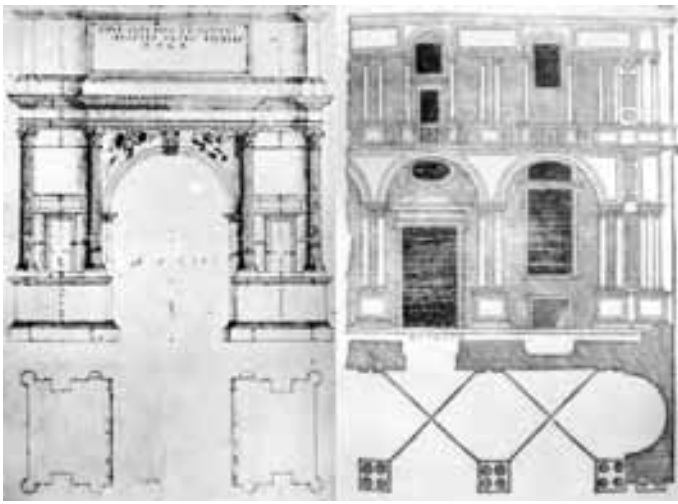


Figure 29. Sixteenth-century drawing of the Arch of Titus in Rome possibly by Palladio.

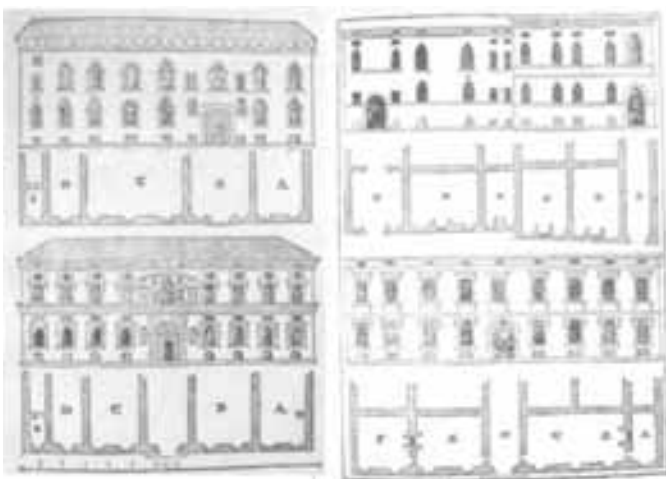
Figure 30. Proposal for reuse of antique ornaments (Serlio)

with its rather imprecise information often based on legends. (107) This *Antichità di Roma* was published in 1554.

Serlio

Two slightly older architects, Baldassare Peruzzi (1481-1536) and Sebastiano Serlio (1475-1554), who worked in Rome in the early sixteenth century, also collected material to be published. Peruzzi never did, but Serlio used part of this material in his seven books of architecture, (108) published separately beginning in 1537 and together in 1584. Speaking about his intentions in the preface, Serlio wrote: “In the seventh and last, shall be set downe many accidents, which may happen to workmen in diuers places, strange manner of situation, repaying of decayed houses, and how we should helpe our selues with pieces of other buildings, with such things as are to be vsed, and at other times haue stood in worke.” (109) In his

Figures 31 and 32. Proposals for the restoration of old buildings in the style of the Renaissance (Serlio).



seventh book, published in 1584, he presented a series of proposals for an elegant use of buildings elements, especially columns acquired from ancient structures or found in excavations. He showed different types of solutions, where columns of different sizes and different orders had been adapted to the requirements of ornamenting elevations of palaces and houses. (110) He made suggestions too regarding the modernization of existing mediaeval structures. Considering that ‘ancient Romans’, when they “had abandoned the good Architecture”, had formed irregular sites in cities in part due to arbitrariness in construction, in part because of later divisions, it was often desirable for a decent habitation to be rearranged so as to have at least a regular appearance. Consequently, Serlio proposed examples where the buildings had been made regular within the limits of the site and through exchange of pieces of land with the neighbours or with the city. (111) In the case of a Gothic building, left alone in a ‘modernized’ context, he proposed to change the elevation into a centrally oriented Classical form in order to harmonize with the environment. (112) In another case where the owner had bought two separate buildings next to each other, the block was provided with a new Classical elevation and a central entrance while preserving the structure behind. (113)

3.6. Treatment of Buildings in the Sixteenth Century

Leo X (1513-21)

In the sixteenth century, with the new wealth arriving from America, Rome was able to spend more money in building activities. Donato Bramante (1444-1514) was made responsible for the first large scale undertakings in Rome, including the Belvedere of the Vatican and, most importantly, the new basilica of St. Peter’s, started in 1513 by Leo X (1513-21) Leo X also began raising funds by collecting indulgences; the latter were partly responsible for the theses of Martin Luther and for the rise of Protestantism. (114)

In 1508, Bramante brought to Rome the young Raffaello Santi (1483-1520), already a distinguished painter, from his home town of Urbino, which under the Duke of Montefeltro had become one of the major centres of the Italian Renaissance. In Rome, Raphael came into close contact with humanistic circles in the papal court, including Mario Fabio Calvo’ andrea Fulvio, Baldassare Castiglione, as well as the architects Giuliano da Sangallo, Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, and Fra Giocondo. (115) He

was thus introduced to the study of authentic works of art and monuments, especially under the guidance of Bramante, who also instructed him in architecture. (116) Raphael soon made his way to the top, being active both in architecture and painting; he also arranged for artists all over the country to measure and draw ancient monuments as well as initiating an ambitious study of ancient Rome. He became assistant to Bramante in the construction of the new St. Peter's and his successor in August 1514. (117)

The massive walls of St. Peter's required large quantities of stone and good quality marble. For convenience of transportation, it was decided to acquire this from Rome itself and its immediate surrounding. For this reason, Raphael was nominated the Prefect of all marbles and stones in the brief of Leo X of 27 August 1515. (118) All excavations and quarries in the city of Rome and in the surrounding area for a distance of 10,000 passus (nearly 10 kilometers) had to be reported to him within three days, and he was authorized to select suitable marble and stone from them for the construction of St. Peter's. It seems that as a rule, if the quarry was on public land, half of the material went to the Camera Apostolica and half to the quarrier; if on private land, one third went to the owner, one third to the Camera, and one third to the quarrier. (119)

Even if this brief, in fact, authorized the destruction of ancient structures in order to obtain building material, the second part refers specifically to protection and has often been considered the first official nomination in this regard. (120) The brief states:

“Furthermore, being informed of marbles and stones, with carved writings or memorials that often contain some excellent information, the preservation of which would be important for the cultivation of literature and the elegance of Roman language, and that stone carvers are using them as material and cutting them inconsiderately so that the memorials are destroyed, I order all those who practice marble cutting in Rome not to dare without your order or permit to cut or to sever any inscribed stone.” (121)

The Latin text speaks of “monumenta”, here translated as memorial. This derives from the verb “moneo”, which means: to remind, to recall, to admonish, to warn, to suggest, to advise. “Monumentum” so means: memory, memorial, funeral monument, document, something that recalls memories, and it was used in reference to buildings,

statues, or writings. (122) One could thus see the remains of classical buildings, so far as they had inscriptions on them, as the ‘bearers’ of a message or memory of past divine spirits; such remains were a reminder or warning to obedience, as in ancient Rome. In fact, there had been several quite severe laws in Imperial Rome stipulating the protection of ancient monuments and existing buildings. (123)

Consequently, even if the brief of Leo X referred basically to the protection of inscriptions and the stones on which they were carved, most of the public buildings of ancient Rome usually incorporated inscriptions; their remains would, thus, be protected and under the responsibility of Raphael. This was indirectly confirmed by an epigraphic study and publication undertaken by a Roman editor, Iacopus Mazochius. On 30 November 1517, he was given a seven year privilege for this work, which was published in 1521 as *Epigrammata antiquae Urbis*. (124)

As Mazochius was one of Raphael's collaborators, the collection of inscriptions could thus be seen as a part of the ambitious study undertaken by him for Leo X. The publication included first all important classical buildings, such as town gates, bridges, arches, temples, forums, columns, the pyramid of Cestius, the obelisk of the Vatican, aqueducts, Castel Sant'Angelo, etc. It then copied various tables, decrees, privileges, and finally had a large section containing inscriptions collected from all over the city and arranged according to region. (125)

The growing concern about the need for protection found an important expression in a letter addressed to Leo X, describing the current destruction of ancient monuments and calling for urgent measures:

“How many popes, Holy Father, having had the same office as Your Holiness, but not the same wisdom nor the same value and greatness of spirit; how many popes - I say - have permitted the ruin and destruction of antique temples, of statues, of arches and of other structures, that were the glory of their founders? How many have consented that, just to obtain pozzolan soil, foundations should be excavated, as a result of which buildings have fallen to the ground in a short time? How much lime has been made of ancient statues and other ornaments? So that I dare to say that this new Rome we now see, however great she may be, however beautiful, however ornamented with palaces, churches,

and other buildings, is nevertheless built of lime produced from antique marbles.” (126)

Many recent destructions in Rome are recalled in this letter, such as the ‘meta’ near Castel Sant’Angelo, an arch at the entrance of the thermae of Diocletian, a temple in Via Sacra, a part of the Forum Transitorium, a basilica in the Forum - probably Basilica Aemilia -, and in addition columns, architraves, friezes, etc. The letter then continues:

“It should therefore, Holy Father, not be one of the last thoughts of Your Holiness to take care of what little remains of the ancient mother of Italy’s glory and reputation; that is a testimony of those divine spirits whose memory still sometimes calls forth and awakens to virtues the spirits of our days; they should not be taken away and altogether destroyed by the malicious and ignorant who unfortunately have insinuated themselves with these injuries to those hearts, who through their blood have given birth to much glory to the world and to this ‘patria’ and to us.” (127)

One of the reasons for the preservation of classical remains was claimed to be to have them as models for new magnificent buildings, which should equal them and, if possible, exceed them, in order to sow the holy seed of peace and Christian principles!

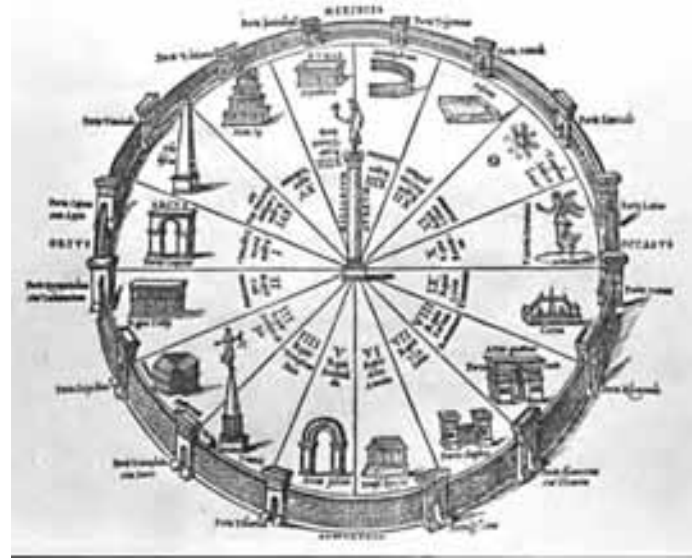


Figure 33. Division of Rome into regions in the book of Calvus M. Fabius, *Antiquae Urbis Romae cum regionibus simulachrum*, 1527

The second part of the letter refers to the commission by the pope to prepare a drawing of ancient Rome. This commission was given to Raphael, who worked on it during the years before his death in collaboration with other artists, especially Calvo and Fulvio; as mentioned above, the epigraphic study of Mazochius was most probably part of the scheme. The letter has been identified as having been written in the name of Raphael, probably by several authors. Of these, Baldassare Castiglione seems to have been

Figure 34. ‘Via Fori Romani’ in the book of Calvius M. Fabius (see: fig. 33)

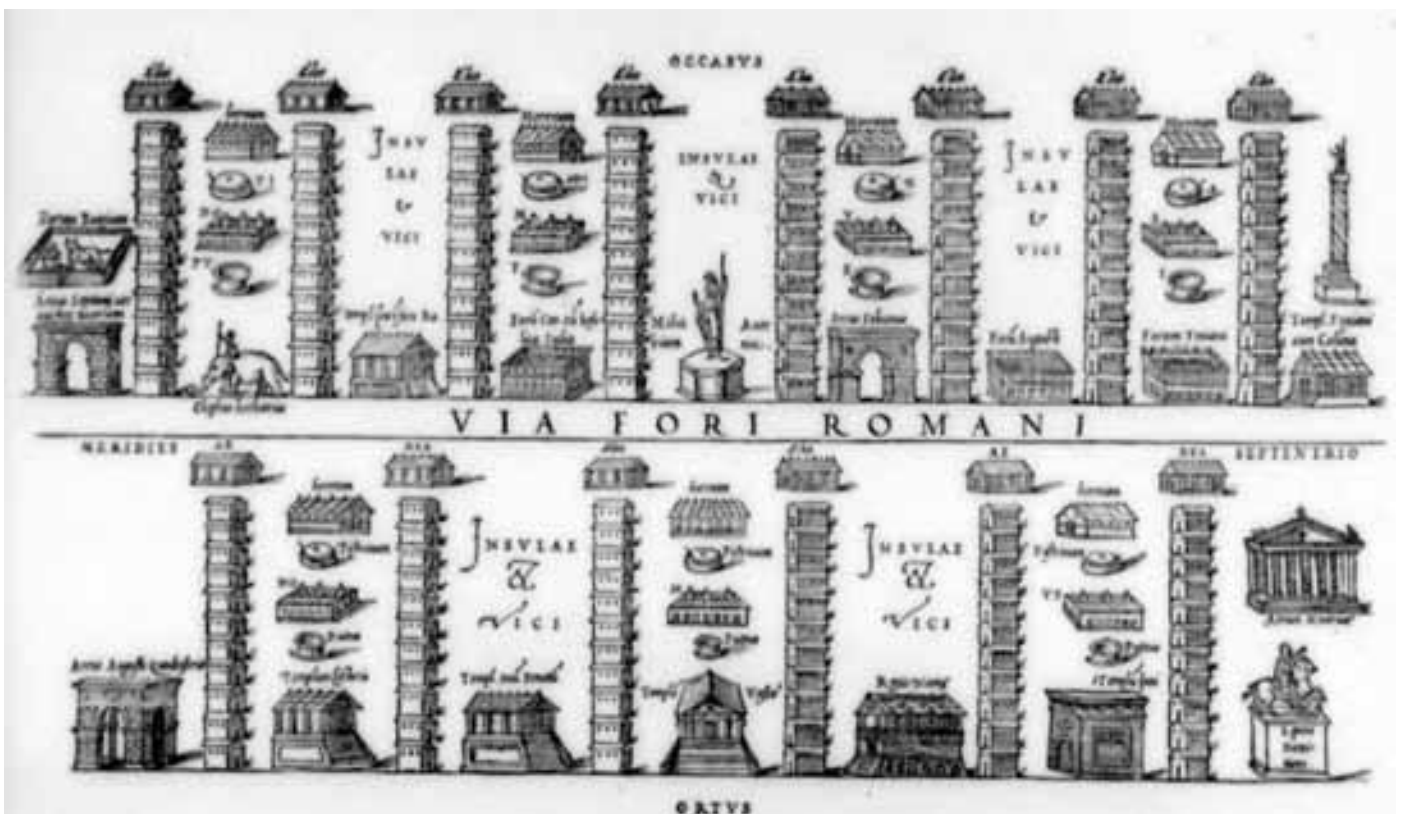




Figure 35. The Arch of Constantine in: Mazochius, *Epigrammata antiquae urbis*, 1521

responsible for the first part, which has been referred to above. The rest of the letter gives first an overview of three historical periods of architecture in Rome, then explains in some detail the methods of recording historic buildings for the purpose of making the reconstruction drawing. It is possible that the letter (or letters) was meant to form an introduction to Raphael's drawing of ancient Rome which, however, remained unfinished at his death. (128)

His collaborators published two works, usually referred to as the commission of Raphael; Fulvio contributed a study on the antiquities of Rome, and Calvo, who had also translated Vitruvius into Italian for Raphael, made a series of drawings illustrating ancient Rome. Both were first printed in 1527. Fulvio's study is a detailed and systematic survey of all the different types of buildings as well as the topography of ancient Rome, referring to the history of the buildings and describing the reasons for their destruction. (129) Calvo presented a graphic - almost symbolic - description of some early phases of Roman history and then, region by region, indicated one or two main roads as a straight line, to which were referred the ancient monuments of the area. All was reduced to the essential elements. (130) The work was probably based on literary sources, and would certainly not be a result of the measurements of ancient monuments by Raphael. However, the drawings have certain artistic qualities which should not be underestimated. (131)

Paul III (1534-49)

The sack of Rome by Charles V's troops in 1527 brought the Renaissance papacy to an end. It was also responsible for the destruction of ancient monuments and, even more, of archives, libraries, and patrician wealth. (132) In April 1536, the Emperor came to visit Rome, and a triumphal entrance was prepared for him by Paul III (1534-49), Alessandro Farnese. The Emperor was conducted from the Via Appia to all the important sites of the city, through the ancient triumphal arches of the Forum to the Palazzo Venezia, the papal residence, to the Capitol, which was being rebuilt; then to Castel Sant' Angelo and to the Vatican. (133)

In order to display the major monuments for this symbolic procession, some two hundred houses and a few churches seem to have been demolished. Several architects worked on the scheme, among them Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, Bartolomeo Baronino, and Baldassare Peruzzi. One of the coordinators was Latino Giovenale Manetti, an architect responsible for the maintenance of streets and also for the new arrangement of the Piazza del Popolo. (134)

In November 1534, Manetti had been nominated the Commissioner of Antiquities. In his brief, dated 28 November, the pope recognized that Rome had first been the centre of the universal empire and then

Figure 36. Measured drawings from S. Paul's and the Colosseum by Fra' Gioconda





Figure 37. The remaining part of the Septizonium which was destroyed by Sixtus V at the end of the 16th century

of Christianity; after all traces of idolatry had been removed from the temples which had been erected for eternity, praise to God would arise from their remains. It was accepted that apart from all that barbarians, nature and time had done to erode these monuments, a great responsibility for their destruction unfortunately rested on the popes themselves, who had allowed trees to grow on them, had permitted ornaments and other material to be removed and reused elsewhere, destroyed, or even taken to foreign countries. If nothing was done, “in a very short time, it will be necessary to search in Rome for ancient Rome.” The Pope felt a nationalistic obligation to ensure proper protection for the monuments and wrote further: “We are urged also by our love for the native land, much as we desire to conserve the decorum and the majesty of this land from which we are born.” (135)

Recalling the noble and ancient family of Manetti, his patriotic feelings, and his desire to know more through research about antiquity, the Pope nominated him the Commissioner, granting him “the Apostolic authority with the widest faculties to observe, to attend to and to see that all monuments of this town and of its district, including the arches, temples, trophies, amphitheatres, circuses,... aqueducts, statues,... marbles and finally whatever can be conceived in the name of Antiquity or of Monuments, so far as possible be conserved, and be freed completely of bushes, suckers, trees and especially of ivy and fig trees. Neither should new buildings or walls be set on them, nor should they be destroyed, transformed, smashed or burnt into lime or removed out of the town.” (136)

Manetti was also given full authority to use penalties and punishment according to his judgement in indicated cases.

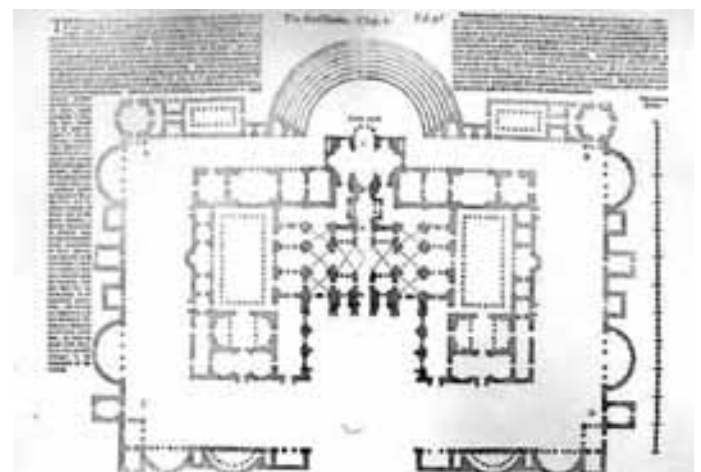
If the exact nature of Raphael’s duties requires some interpretation, Manetti had a clear responsibility for all antiquities and full authority to protect them. However, this order does not seem to have lasted long as already in 1540, Paul III is said to have personally assigned the monuments of the Via Sacra to be demolished and used for the construction of St. Peter’s. (137) A further brief for protection was given by Pius IV in 1562, and another by Gregorius XIII in 1574. As a result of the last, quarrying was transferred from Rome to Ostia. (138)

In 1537, Paul III ordered the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius to be transported from the Lateran to the Capitol, where a new base was made for it using the marble of an entablature from Trajan’s Forum. (139) Michelangelo, who was entrusted with the project for the rearrangement of the square in front of the Town Hall and the Palazzo dei Conservatori, used the statue of Marcus Aurelius and other antique statues, including the two representing the Tiber and the Nile, to ‘enrich’ the place. (140) In 1558, Michelangelo prepared some plans for the improvement of the area around Trajan’s Column in order to make it



Figure 38. The entrance to the Thermae of Diocletian, Rome, where Michaelangelo built the church of S. Maria degli Angeli

Figure 39. The plan of the Thermae of Diocletian by Serlio



‘correspond to the beauty of this ancient monument’. However, these proposals, although approved by the City Council, seem to have remained on paper during the period concerned. (141)

The administration of the City of Rome was beginning to have more concern about the protection of ancient monuments against destruction by Romans as well as about the maintenance of these ancient structures. (142) Due to repeated orders, protection slowly came under more careful consideration; permits were needed - at least in principle - for excavations. In 1571, for example, the municipality did not permit excavation nearer than twenty *cannus* from the Arch of Septimius Severus. (143) Though the popes signed orders for protection, they signed other orders for demolition, and the real conservators were amongst the citizens of Rome or in the municipal administration. When Sixtus V (1585-90) decided to make all ‘filthy’ ruins disappear ‘to the advantage of those that merited being repaired’, amongst those under threat of demolition were, for example, the

Septizonium and the tomb of Cecilia Metella (1589). The first was destroyed, but the second was saved through strong protests by the people of Rome. (144)

Pius IV (1559-65)

The largest baths of ancient Rome were those built by Diocletia between 298 and 306 AD for the people living in the area of the Viminal and Quirinal. They measured 380 by 370 metres and could accommodate over 3000 visitors at any one time. (145) In the sixteenth century, substantial remains of these huge buildings were still standing, and some spaces even retained their vaults. (146) Serlio recommended the study of Diocletian’s baths for builders because they were “a most rich Building, by that which is seene in the ruines, which are yet standing above ground: besides, the Appertements of divers formes, with rich ornaments, and the great number of Pillars that were there, are witnesses of their magnificence.” (147)

The buildings were studied by many architects and proposals had been made for their use as a convent. (148) Instead, they remained a popular secret meeting place for Roman nobles and their courtesans. (149) The situation changed due to Antonio del Duca, a Sicilian priest, who was devoted to the worship of angels. He is said to have had a vision, indicating that the buildings should be transformed into a church dedicated to angels. He was also convinced that the baths had been built by Christian martyrs. On his insistence, the place was used for religious services during the jubilee of 1550, and in 1561 Pius IV (1559-65) decided to proceed with the church dedicated to angels and martyrs in order to augment divine cult as well as for the sake of conserving such an important historic building. (150) The Bath complex was given to the Carthusians of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, who also built a convent there. (151)

The 86 year old Michelangelo was consulted, together with other architects, about the project and “made a handsome design which has since been carried out by many skilful architects for the Carthusian friars, to the admiration of the Pope, prelates and courtiers, at his judgment in using the shell of the baths and forming a handsome church contrary to the opinion of all architects, thus winning great praise and honour.” This was written by Vasari in his 1568 edition of the *Lives*. (152) The foundation stone was laid in 1561, but the construction did not begin until 1563. The first mass was celebrated in 1565. Pius IV himself was buried in the church which was completed in 1566. (153) Michelangelo conceived the project as a minimum intervention,

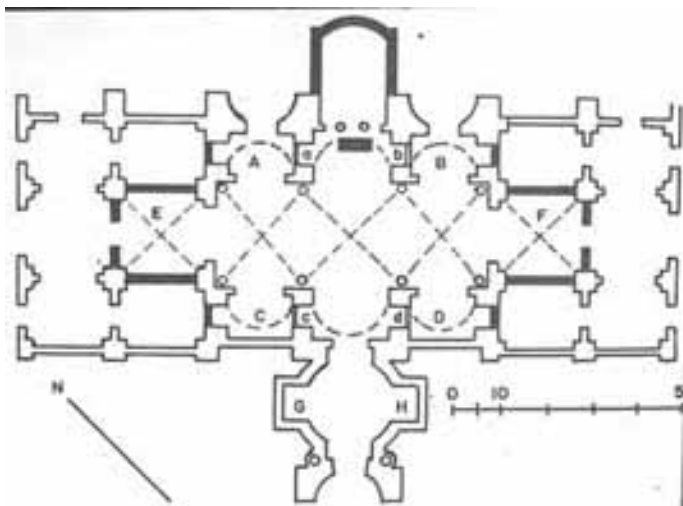


Figure 40. S. Maria degli Angeli: a plan showing the constructions by Michaelangelo

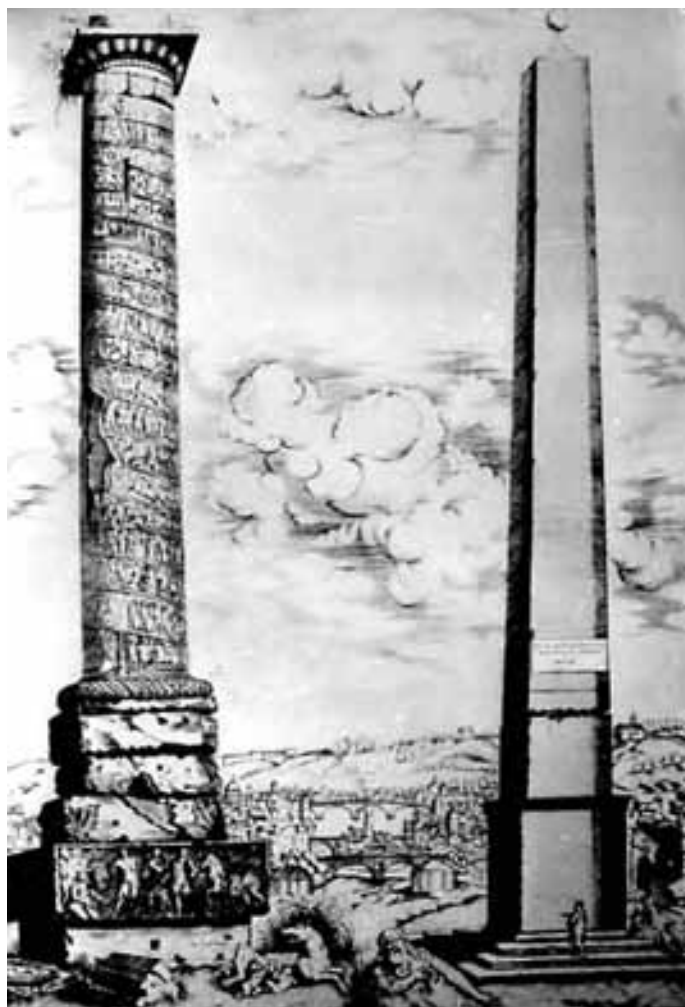
Figure 41. S. Maria degli Angeli in the 18th century (Vasi)



adding new structures or changes only where absolutely necessary. The large cross-vaulted hall in the centre became a kind of transept, which also was the main body of the church. There were three entrances, one from the north, one from the west, and one from the south. The main altar was placed in the centre of the north side in one of the three lower barrel-vaulted spaces, which was continued behind the altar as a choir extending as a new construction over the ancient *natatio*. On the west side, the corresponding barrel-vaulted space led into a round *tepidarium* and further into a large, partly ruined *calidarium*, which formed the entrance from the *exedra*. The other four barrel-vaulted rooms opened into the main hall and were conceived as future chapels. The south and north entrances led into the main hall through lower cross-vaulted spaces. (154)

The exterior of the church, Santa Maria degli Angeli, remained in its ruined state. At the main south entrance, one entered through a ruined wall into a space with antique cross-vaults, finding the new entrance door, “a richly ornamented door, built of travertine and designed in a fine Greek taste.”

Figure 42. Engraving of 16th century, showing the column of Marcus Aurelius in its damaged condition, and the Vatican Obelisk



(155) From this door opened the interior of “one of the most majestic, and well-proportioned as well as most regular churches in Rome with vaults supported on eight oriental granite columns, the largest known... Between each pair of columns was an enormous arch, two at each extremity and two in the centre.” (156) The rebuilt or repaired cross-vaults of the church interior were covered with plain *intonaco*. The main hall was illuminated through the large thermal windows below the vaults. At the west entrance, the external wall of the *calidarium* was left standing but broken in the middle; one crossed through the vast *calidarium*, where the vaults were missing, into the domed *tepidarium*, which formed a vestibule. (157)

The whole construction was conceived as ‘incomplete’. This seems to reflect the state of mind of Michelangelo at the end of his life, when he was preoccupied with the problems of “death and the salvation of the soul”. (158) To Vasari, he wrote that there existed no thought within him in which Death were not sculpted. (159) His last sculpture, the *Pieta* of Rondanini, in fact, has been compared to some late works of Rembrandt, where “the renunciation of ideal realism and rationalism also leads, not to abstraction (Mannerism), but to a more profound and more concrete language of the spirit.” (160) The Santa Maria degli Angeli is a comparable work in the field of architecture; the idea of angels was also very close to him - especially after the death of his great friend, Vittoria Colonna, who had been an invaluable support.

Pius V (1566-72) was hostile to this project because of its pagan implications (161), and it remained for Gregory XIII (1572-85) to continue the building. Sixtus V, in turn, quarried some 90,000 m³ of material from the *Thermae* for use in building roads and other structures in the area of his neighboring Villa di Montalto. (162) It was probably at this time that the *calidarium* was demolished. Transformations in the interior gradually changed the concept of Michelangelo. In particular, the works carried out under Luigi Vanvitelli after 1749 gave a new look to the building. (163)

Sixtus V (1585-90)

Sixtus V’s ambition was to eradicate heresy and idolatry, and in achieving these aims, he was determined to destroy all tangible reminders of paganism. Thus, he destroyed some ancient monuments; others he restored and dedicated to Christian purposes. The ancient associations were obliterated so far as possible and new inscriptions

were cut into the stone and marble. Symbolically, these monuments then demonstrated how Christianity had conquered heathenism.

Domenico Fontana (1543-1607), his principal architect and the man responsible for these works, wrote about the intentions of the pope, as seen in his treatment of two ancient columns:

“And, since our Master intended to increase the worship of the Cross, he determined to remove all traces of pagan superstition from Rome and all Christendom. In carrying out this holy ambition, he began with the Columns of Trajan and Antoninus, those ancient and very noble pagan Roman trophies. As the Trajan Column had previously been dedicated to the supreme and most excellent of all pagan emperors, now its superstition has been removed by our Might Prince in consecrating it to the supreme prince of the apostles and Vicar of Christ. Moreover, since the Antonine Column had first been dedicated to Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, that Emperor who had been a great scholar and philosopher, so it was now dedicated by our Master to St. Paul, a supreme philosopher of the Christian faith.” (164)

As the Column of Marcus Aurelius received the figure of St. Paul, Trajan’s Column received the figure of St. Peter. (165) Both statues were cast from material from twelfth century bronze doors. (166) Trajan’s Column had been erected in AD 113 in the library court of Trajan’s Forum to commemorate the Dacian Wars, and it had survived fairly well. It was necessary to repair the upper part of the column, restore the small dome with the entrance to the spiral staircase and prepare a base for the statue. An inscription was carved in the little platform over the capital of the column. (167)

Figure 44. The Column of Marcus Aurelius, Rome: detail of the restoration by Fontana, showing the method of using replicas (on the right) to reintegrate losses

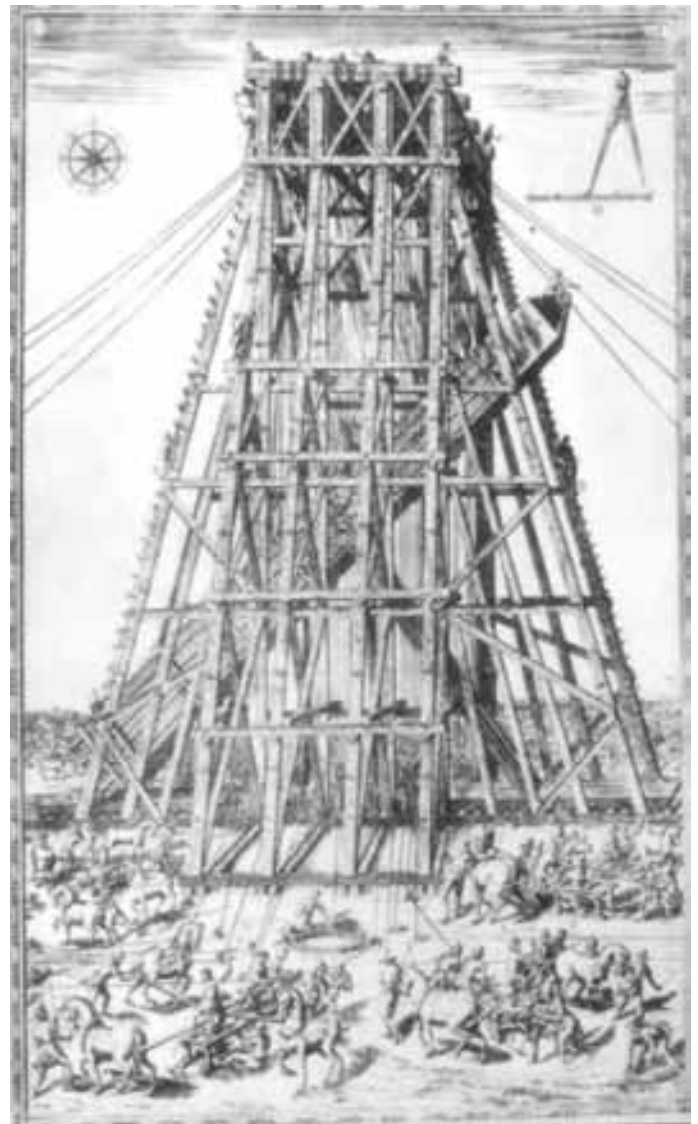


Figure 43. Transportation of the Vatican Obelisk to the square in front of S. Peter’s by Domenico Fontana

The other column, erected at the end of the second century in honour of Marcus Aurelius, illustrated the wars against the Germans and the Sarmatians. It had suffered badly from earthquakes and fire. It had cracked lengthwise, and large portions had broken off. The upper drums were displaced by an earthquake and they had rotated so as to be several inches away from the original position. The capital was so badly cracked that workmen had difficulties constructing the necessary lifting machinery on top of the column. The base of the column (partly under ground) was also in poor condition. Fontana had the surface of the base with the reliefs cut away, and the core enclosed in a new marble base, for which the material was taken from the demolished Septizonium. The cracks in the column itself were tied across with iron cramps leaded below the surface level, so that the reliefs could be repaired in plaster afterwards. The missing parts of the column were integrated with new marble, on which the reliefs were carved. The new blocks were cut straight on the edges, but were

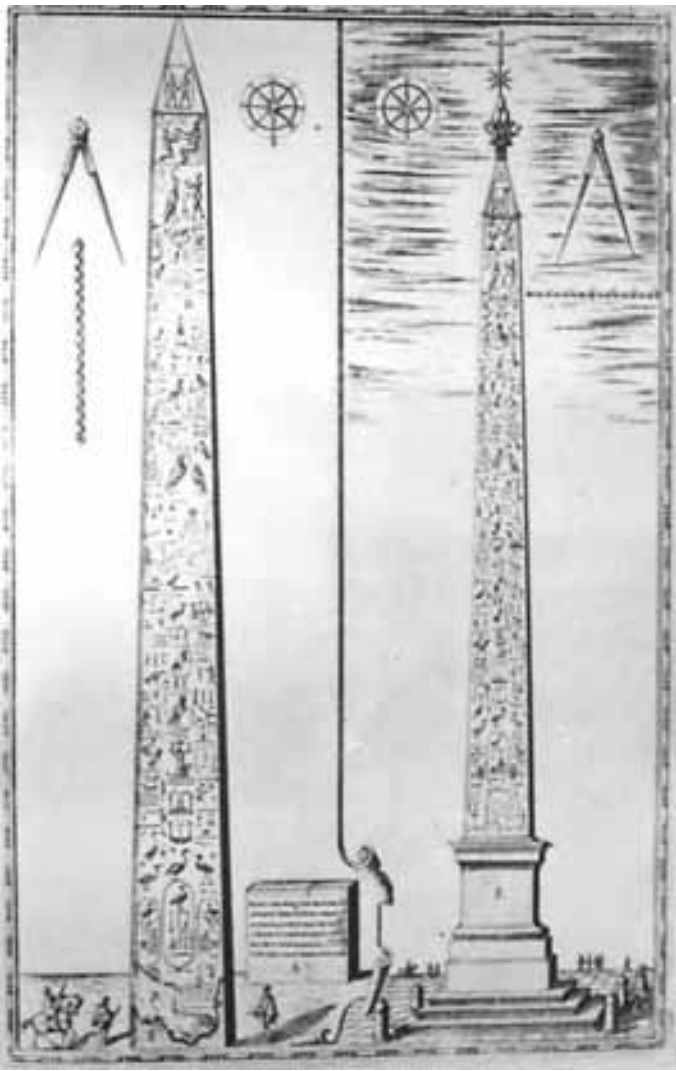


Figure 45. The Latean Obelisk before and after restoration

fitted as much as possible to cover only the lost area in order to reduce the cost. Missing figures were replaced, either by analogy or by copying figures from nearby areas. Depending on the location, these replacements varied in extent; for example, there were three heads of soldiers in a lower row and the legs of soldiers in the upper row, or alternately, an entire scene with horses and riders. In the upper part, there is a fine nude back apparently inspired by the Torso of Belvedere, but there are also some figures probably carved by apprentices. The quality of carving was better in the lower part, where it was more visible. The whole seems to have been covered with a wash in order to unify the appearance. The work was completed in 1590. (168)

Obelisks

Even though many popes since the fifteenth century had wanted to re-erect some of the fallen obelisks, Sixtus V was the first to carry out this dream. He used them as part of his master plan to mark major sites in the city and to form recognizable signposts and

embellishments at the end of the new streets he was creating. The Romans were said to have transported from Egypt six large and 42 small obelisks, of which (169) only one was still standing on its original site, the former Circus of Caligula, on the side of the Basilica of St. Peter's. A small obelisk was standing on the Capitol Hill; the others had fallen and, being broken in pieces and even mutilated at the base, they were not easy to re-erect. (170)

In 1585, the first year of his pontificate, Sixtus V announced a competition for the transportation of the Vatican Obelisk from the side of St. Peter's to the square in front of the basilica. The winner was Fontana, who had the obelisk taken down and transported in a horizontal position to its new location. It took seven months of preparation and five months of work, which became a great spectacle and made Fontana famous. In the book he wrote about this transportation, he spoke about the ambition of the pope concerning the re-erection of obelisks as monuments for Christian Church and the eradication of idolatry earlier attached to them. (171) In September 1586, the obelisk was consecrated with

Figure 46. The Latean Obelisk in its present surroundings in front of S. John the Lateran





Figure 47. The Lateran Obelisk: hieroglyphs reintegrated in the 16th century (darker part on the left)

important ceremonies. It had a cross on its top and a long inscription in the base which made reference to exorcism. (172)

Three other obelisks were erected by Sixtus V: in 1587 behind the choir of Santa Maria Maggiore (also marking the entrance to his own villa), in 1588 at the Lateran, and in 1589 in Piazza del Popolo, the main entrance to the city from the north. These obelisks were all broken in pieces and had to be restored. (173) The largest and most difficult one was the Lateran obelisk that came from the Circus Maximus; it was 32.18 m high, nearly seven metres higher than the Vatican Obelisk. The difficulty was how to lift the pieces into position with the help of hempen ropes, then remove the ropes and fix the pieces together. Fontana tells how, one night, he invented the solution of cutting a sort of dovetail form in the corresponding pieces, so that these could be firmly fixed by turning them into position. (174) Fontana used four granite columns from the Septizonium in the restoration and a block of African marble for the plinth. The whole obelisk was repaired and completed with granite where material was missing; it was fixed with dowels and bars, and hieroglyphs were carved on the new parts, (175) so that it was in fact difficult to distinguish the repairs.

The Colosseum

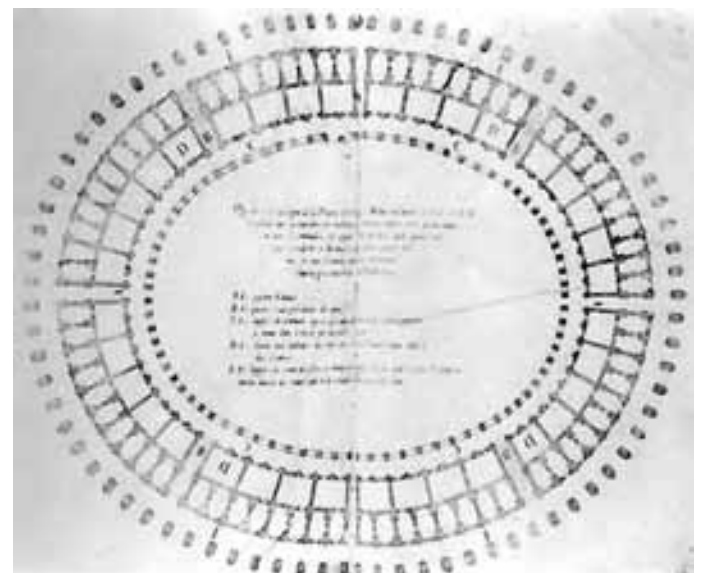
The last great project of Fontana concerned the Colosseum. The first idea of Sixtus had been to demolish this monument to provide space for a road, but, after the insistence of the Romans, the proposal was put forward to adapt it for a socially and economically useful function. The idea was to support industrial activities which gave working opportunities to the poor and unemployed, and in this way also to strengthen the economical situation

of the city. (176) Fontana prepared a project for its use as a wool factory, providing workshops and workers' housing for the wool guild. Each worker and his family was planned to have a small section of this enormous building with a workshop, two rooms for living purposes and a loggia. (177) These were to be arranged on two floors, and the intention seems to have been to rebuild at least part of the collapsed southern section of the amphitheatre. Fountains were planned to be built on the arena for the use of the industry as well as for the inhabitants. The Pope had already given fifteen thousand scudi to merchants to promote this activity, and a hundred men with sixty carts and horses were working to level the surrounding area, when he suddenly died. (178) All plans were suspended and Fontana himself was forced to leave Rome for Naples.

Notes to Chapter Three

1. The Great Temple of Abu-Simbel was built by Ramses II (1304-1237 BC), and one of the colossal seated statues of the builder had its broken arm supported by blocks of stone by Sethi II (1216-1210 BC). In Egypt, a painted or sculptured image was believed to have itself a spirit, and could see the material of the statue thus containing an almost religious significance.
2. The Persians devastated Athens in 480-479 B.C. Before the battle of Plataea in 479 B.C., the Athenians had sworn an oath that "the sanctuaries which have been burnt and thrown down by the barbarians" were not to be rebuilt, but to be left "as memorials of the impiety of the barbarians". Consequently, temples were left in ruins not only on the Acropolis, but also in other parts of the Greece, described by Herodotus, Strabo and Pausanias.

Figure 48. The plan by D. Fontana to use the Colosseum, Rome, as a wool factory. Each worker and his family were supposed to have an apartment with a workshop



The column drums can still be seen in the northern wall of the Acropolis. Dinsmoor, William Bell, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece*, New York, 1975, 150f. D'Ooge, M.L., *The Acropolis of Athens*, New York, 1909, 69.

3. Castagnoli, F., *Topografia e Urbanistica di Roma Antica*, Bologna 1969, 29. Suetonius, in the life of Nero, laments that Nero destroyed "not only a vast number of tenements, but mansions which had belonged to famous generals and were still decorated with their triumphal trophies; temples, too, dating back to the time of the kingship, and others dedicated during the Punic and Gallic wars - in fact, every ancient monument of historical interest that had hitherto survived." (Suetonius, *The Twelve Caesars*, Penguin Books, 1976, 231.)

4. Pausanias, *Description of Greece*; the book was written in the second half of the second century AD (around 170 AD). He describes that the "pillar of Oenomaus is in the direction of the sanctuary of Zeus as you go from the great altar. On the left are four pillars with a roof on them, the whole constructed to protect a wooden pillar which has decayed through age, being for the most part held together by bands." A bronze tablet was fixed in front of it with the following text: "Stranger, I am a remnant of a famous house, I, who once was a pillar in the house of Oenomaus; Now by Cronus' son lie with these bands upon me, A precious thing, and the baleful flame of fire consumed me not." (Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, V, xx, 6-8, (Loeb, London, 1977, II, 499.)

5. De Angelis d'Ossat, G., 'Restauro dei monumenti: antiche significazioni e prospettive nuovissime', ICCROM - Università di Roma, 1972-73, unpublished lecture note.

6. Procopius, *Buildings*, Loeb 1971. Speaking of the city of Edessa, Procopius refers to a disastrous flood, and continues: "But the Emperor Justinian immediately not only restored all the ruined parts of the city, including the church of the Christians and the structure called Antiphorus, but also made effective provisions that such a calamity should not occur again." (ibid, II, vii, 6)

In other occasions he writes: "Who could pass over in silence the Church of Acacius? This had fallen into ruin, and he took it down and rebuilt it from the foundations, so as to make it a building of marvellous size." (ibid, I, iv, 25) "In Nicomedia he restored the bath called Antoninus, for the most important part of it had collapsed, and because of the great size of the building it had not been expected that it would be rebuilt." (ibid, V, iii, 7)

7. Theodosianus, *The Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmondian Constitutions*, Princeton Univ. Press, 1952, 553f. (See below.) Although there were numerous orders for the destruction of temples and shrines in the fourth and fifth centuries AD, there were also orders for protection and repair. On 6 August 365, the Emperors Valentinian and Valens ordered to the Prefect of Rome: "Since We desire to restore the condition of the Eternal City and to provide for the dignity of the public buildings, We order that a solidus shall be paid to each limeburner and lime

transporter for each wagon load of lime." (Ibid, 412) On 8 July 357, Emperor Constantine to Flavianus, Proconsul of Africa. "No man shall suppose that municipalities may be deprived of their own ornaments, since indeed it was not considered right by the ancients that a municipality should lose its embellishments, as though they should be transferred to the buildings of another city." (Ibid, 423) 25 May 364, Emperors Valentinian and Valens Augustuses to Symmachus, Prefect of the City. "None of the judges shall construct any new building within the Eternal City of Rome if the order therefor of Our Serenity should be lacking. However, We grant permission to all to restore those buildings which are said to have fallen into unsightly ruins." (Ibid, 424) On 21 June 395, Emperors Arcadius and Honorius Augustuses to Eusebius, Count of the Sacred Imperial Largesses. "In order that the splendid cities and towns may not fall into ruins through age, We assign a third part of the income from the farms belonging to a municipality to be used for the repair of public works and the heating of baths." (Ibid, 427) 11 July 458, Emperors Leo and Majorian Augustuses to Aemilianus, Prefect of the City of Rome,

"While We rule the State, it is Our will to correct the practice whose commission We have long detested, whereby the appearance of the venerable City is marred. Indeed, it is manifest that the public buildings, in which the adornment of the entire City of Rome consists are being destroyed everywhere by the punishable recommendation of the office of the prefect of the City. While it is pretended that the stones are necessary for public works, the beautiful structures of the ancient buildings are being scattered, and in order that something small may be repaired, great things are being destroyed. Hence the occasion now arises that also each and every person who is constructing a private edifice, through the favoritism of the judges who are situated in the City, does not hesitate to take presumptuously and to transfer the necessary materials from the public places, although those things which belong to the splendor of the cities ought to be preserved by civic affection, even under the necessity of repair. 1. Therefore, by this general law We sanction that all the buildings that have been founded by the ancients as temples and as other monuments and that were constructed for the public use or pleasure shall not be destroyed by any person, and that it shall transpire that a judge who should decree that this be done shall be punished by the payment of fifty pounds of gold. If his apparitors and accountants should obey him when he so orders and should not resist him in any way by their own recommendation, they shall also be mutilated by the loss of their hands, through which the monuments of the ancients that should be preserved are desecrated. 2. We also order that from such places nothing shall be taken away that petitioners have heretofore vindicated to themselves by surreptitious actions that must be annulled; it is Our will that such places shall nevertheless return to the public ownership and shall be repaired by the restoration of the materials which have been taken away. The right to such petitions shall be abolished in the

future. 3. Of course, if any building must be torn down for necessary considerations, for the public construction of another work or on account of the desperate need of repair, We direct that such claim shall be alleged with the suitable documents before the Most August Order of the venerable Senate. When it has decreed, after deliberation, that this must be done, the matter shall be referred to the adornment of another public work, if We should see that it can in no way be repaired, O Aemilianus, dearest and most beloved Father. 4. Wherefore, Your Illustrious Magnitude by posting edicts shall publish this most salutary sanction, in order that those provisions which have been prudently established for the welfare of the Eternal City may be preserved with suitable obedience and devotion.” (Ibid, 553f.)

8. The famous Code of Theodoric does not contain orders for the conservation of ancient monuments, but these were given separately in correspondence and the so-called ‘formulas’ of the Emperor. He was praised for having improved the condition of the Capital of the World: “te orbis domina ad status sui reparationem Roma poscebat” (Ennodius, ‘Panegyricus dictus Theoderico’, ed. Mommsen, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi, VII, Berlin 1961, 207.) and for making the cities rise from ashes, roofs of palaces shine, and Roman culture rejuvenate: “video insperatum decorem urbium cineribus evenisse et sub civilitatis plenitudine palatina ubique tecta rutilare. video ante perfecta aedificia, quam me contigisset disposita. illa ipsa mater civitatum Roma iuveniscit marcida senectutis membra resecano.” (Ennodius, ‘Opuscula’ CCLXIII, 1, ed. Mommsen, op.cit., 210)

9. ‘Aloisio architecto Theodericus Rex’, (Cassiodorus, ‘Variae’, II, 39, ed. Mommsen, 67ff.): “Si audita veterum miracula ad laudem clementiae nostrae volumus continere, quoniam augmenta regalis gloriae sunt, cum sub nobis nulla decrescunt, quo studio convenit reparari quod etiam nostris oculis frequenter constat offerri? delectat enim salutiferi Aponi meminisse potentiam, ut intellegas, quo desiderio cupimus reficere quod de memoria nostra nexcit exire. ... Sed quis ista conservare neglegat, quamvis plurima tenacitate sordescat? siquidem ornat regnum, quod fuerit singulariter toto orbe nominatum, et ideo pecunia, quae tibi data est, si opus non potuerit implere susceptum, quantum adhuc expendendum esse credideris, missis nobis brevibus indicabis, quia non gravamur expendere, ut tanta videamur ruris moenia custodire.”

An Italian translation has been published by Francesco Milizia in *Memorie degli architetti antichi e moderni*, Bassano 1785, 75ff. To the Prefect of Rome, Theodoric addressed a ‘formula’, ‘Formula ad praefectum urbis de architecto faciendo in urbe Roma’ (Cassiodorus, ‘Variae’, VII, 15, ed. Mommsen, op.cit., 211f.): “Romanae fabricae decus peritum convenit habere custodem, ut illa mirabilis silva moenium diligentia subveniente servetur et moderna facies operis affabris dispositionibus contruatur. hoc enim studio largitas nostra non cedit, ut et facta veterum exclusis

defectibus innovemus et nova vetustatis gloria vestiamus. Proinde illum illustris magnitudo tua Romanis arcibus ab illa indictione datum architectum esse cognoscat. et quia iustis commodis stodia constat artium nutrienda, ad eum volumus pertinere quicquid decessores eius constat rationabiliter consecutos. videbit profecto meliora quam legit, pulchriora quam cogitare potuit, statuas illas, auctorum suorum scilicet adhuc signa retinentes, ut quamdiu laudabilium personarum opimio superesset, tamdiu et similitudinem vivae substantiae imago corporis custodiret: conspiciet expressas in aere venas, nisu quodam musculos tumentes, nervos quasi gradu tensos et sic hominem fuscum in diversas similitudines, ut credas potius esse generatum. ...” (Italian translation published by Milizia, op.cit., 77ff.)

10. ‘Theoderich (d. Gr.)’, Pauli - Winowa, *Realencyclopedie*, V, 2, 1770.

11. Theodoric, ‘Possessoribus defensoribus et curialibus Estunis consistentibus Theodericus rex’, (Cassiodorus, ‘Variae’, op.cit., 84): “Propositi quidem nostri est nova construere, sed amplius vetusta servare, quia non minorem laudem de inventis quam de rebus possumus acquirere custoditis. proinde moderna sine priorum imminutione desideramus erigere: quicquid enim per alienum venit incommodum, nostrae iustitiae non probatur acceptum. In municipio itaque vestro sine usu iacere comperimus columnas et lapides vetustatis invidia demolitos: et quia indecore iacencia servare nil proficit, ad ornatum debent surgere redivivum quam dolorem monstrare ex memoria praecedentium saeculorum. Auque ideo praesenti auctoritate decernimus, ut, si vera fides est suggerentium nec aliquid publico nunc ornatui probatur accommodum, supra memoratas platonias vel columnas ad Ravennatem civitatem contradat modis omnibus devehendas: ut conlapsis metallis oblitterata facies reddatur iterum de arte pulcherrima et quae situ fuerant obscura, antiqui nitoris possint recipere qualitatem.”

12. There were orders for the protection of ancient monuments also during the Middle Ages. (Gregorovius, F., *Geschichte der Stadt Rom in Mittelalter*, 8 Vols. 1859-72; Lanciani, R., *Storia degli scavi di Roma*, Roma 1902-1912) Krautheimer, Richard, *Rome, Profile of a City*, 312-1308, Princeton University Press, New Jersey 1980.

13. Gordan, P., Goodhart, W., *Two Renaissance Book Hunters, The letters of Poggius Bracciolini to Nicolaus di Niccolis*, Columbia University Press, New York and London 1974, 189f: “Cincius Romanus to his most learned teacher Franciscus de Fiana”. Cincius de Rusticiis was an apostolic secretary (1414-43); he was a searcher for MSS; died in 1445. Fiana was a member of the Curia in the first one or two decades of the fifteenth century; he was a disciple of Petrarch.

14. Leisching, P., ‘Roma restauranda, Versuch einer Geschichte des päpstlichen Denkmalschutzrechtes’, *Römische Kurie. Kirchliche Finanzen. Vatikanisches Archiv. Studien zu Ehren von Hermann Hoberg*,

- Miscellanea Pontificiae, edita a Facultate Historiae Ecclesiasticae, in Pontificia Universitate Gregoriana, XLV, Università Gregoriana Editrice, Roma 1979, 425ff.
- Lanciani, R., *Storia degli scavi di Roma e notizie intorno le collezioni romane di antichità*, Roma 1902-1912, ristampa A. Forni, Roma 1975, I, 11ff.
15. Lanciani, *Storia...*, op.cit., I, 51f.
16. von Pastor, L., *Storia dei Papi*, Roma 1942, I, 643.
17. von Pastor, L., op.cit., 510: “Cinque grandi imprese erano fitte nella mente del papa: il rassettamento delle mura urbane, degli acquedotti e ponti, il restauro delle 40 chiese cosidette stazionali, la nuova costruzione del Borgo Vaticano, del palazzo papale e della chiesa di S. Pietro.” See also: Borsi, F., Leon Battista Alberti, *L’opera completa*, Electa Editrice, Milano 1980, 37; Müntz, Eugène, *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes pendant le XVe et le XVIe siècle, recueil de documents inédits, tirés des archives et des bibliothèques romaines*, Paris 1878, I,340f. (Repr. Georg Olms Verlag, Hildesheim-Zürich-New York, 1983).
18. Vasari, G., *Le Vite de’ più eccellenti Pittori, Scultori ed Architettori*, scritte da Giorgio Vasari, pittore Aretino, con nuove annotazioni e commenti di Gaetano Milanesi, Firenze 1906, III, 101: “E chi crederà che egli volesse farvi un teatro per le coronazioni de’ pontefici? ed i giardini, logge e acquidotti, fontane, cappelle, librerie; ed un conclave appartato, bellissimo? Insomma, questo (non so se palazzo, castello o città debbo nominarlo) sarebbe stata la più superba cosa che mai fusse stata fatta dalla creazione del mondo, per quello che si sa, insino a oggi.”
19. Vasari, op.cit., II, 538, “Capitando Leon Batista a Roma al tempo di Nicola V, che aveva col suo modo di fabbricare messo tutta Roma sottosopra.” (English translation: Foster, J.)
20. Magnusson, T., ‘The Project of Nicholas V for Rebuilding the Borgo Leonino in Rome’, *Art Bulletin*, XXXVI, 1954, 115. Borsi, Leon Battista Alberti, op.cit., 57.
21. Vasari, op.cit., II, 538, “Bernardo Rossellino ... Costui avendo messo mano a rassettare il palazzo del papa, ed a fare alcune cose in Santa Maria Maggiore, come volle il papa, da indi innanzi si consigliò sempre con Leon Batista; onde il pontefice col parere dell’uno di questi duoi, e coll’eguire dell’altro, fece molte cose utili e degne di esser lodate: come furono il condotto dell’acqua Vergine...” (English transl. Foster, J.)
22. Vasari, op.cit., III, 99: “In Roma, restaurò ed in molti luoghi rinnovò le mura della città, che per la maggior parte erano rovinate; aggiungendo loro alcune torri, e comprendendo in queste una nuova fortificazione che fece a Castel Sant’Angelo di fuori, e molte stanze ed ornamenti che fece dentro.” (English transl. Foster, J.)
23. Coarelli, F., *Guida archeologica di Roma*, Mondadori, Milano 1974, 322ff.
24. Krautheimer, R., *Profile of a City*, op.cit., 267ff.
25. Müntz, *Les Arts*, op.cit., I, 345.
26. Alberti, *L’Architettura*, op.cit., VII, iv, 549: “Demum, ubi templum colloces, esse oportet celebre illustre et, uti loquuntur, superbum, et ab omni profanorum contagio ex/peditum. Ea re pro fronte habebit amplam et se dignam plateam, circuetur stratis laxioribus vel potius plateis dignissimis, quoad undevis praeclare conspicuum sit.”
27. Krautheimer, R., *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, The Pelican History of Art, Penguin Books (1965) 1975, 55ff.
28. Idem, 59f.
29. Alberti, *L’Architettura*, op.cit., I, 75: “Atqui adverti in basilica Petri Romae, id quod res ipsa prae se fert, factum inconsultissime, ut supra crebras et continuatas aperiones praelongum et praelatum parietem decerent nullis flexis lineis corroboratum, nullis fulturis communitum; quodve considerasse oportuit, totam ipsam alam parietis nimium frequenti aperione suffossam perquam sublimem tetendit, posuitque, ut impetuosis aquilonibus excipiendis extarent. Quo factum est, ut iam tum primum assidua ventorum molestia pedes multos ab perpendiculari rectitudine in primum cesserit; neque dubito futurum, ut olim levi impulsu modicove motu corruiat. Quod ni trabeationibus tectorum contineretur, procul dubio sponte sua iam inchoata obliquitate rueret.”
30. Barberine, XXXIV, 50f, 431, (Müntz, *Les Arts*, op.cit. I, 118).
31. Alberti, op.cit., X, 999: “Apud Romam ad // basilicam Petri maximam, quod alae parietum in columnis a perpendiculari declinantes ruinam tectis minentur, sic excogitaram. Pronam parietis singulam partem eam, quam columna quaevis sustineat, institueram abscidere atque e medio amovere; idque parietis, quod demptum esset, restituere opere ordinario ad perpendicularum, relictis interstruendum hinc atque hinc dentibus lapideis anseolisque validissimis, quibus reliqua structurae innovatio annexeretur. Denique ad tectum trabem, cui proclinata muri pars subadimenda esset, commendassem capreis machinis supra tectum erectis, firmatis hinc atque hinc machinarum pedibus in tecti parietisque parte stabiliore. Hoc deinceps in alteris atque alteris columnis, quantum res postulasset, effecissem.”
32. Vasari, op.cit., III, 101, “La quinta delle cinque cose che il medesimo aveva in idea di fare, era la chiesa di San Pietro, la quale aveva disegnata di fare tanto grande, tanto ricca e tanto ornata, che meglio é tacere che metter mano, per non poter dirne anco una minima parte.” (English transl. Foster, J.)
33. Borsi, Leon Battista Alberti, op.cit., 52, 57. Heydenreich, L.H., Lotz, W., *Architecture in Italy 1400-1600, The Pelican History of Art*, Penguin Books 1974, 29.
34. Heidenreich-Lotz, op.cit., 30.

35. Müntz, *Les Arts*, op.cit., I, 120ff.
36. Borsi, Leon Battista Alberti, op.cit., 52f.
37. Palmieri, M., *De temporibus etc.*, 241, in Heydenreich-Lotz, op.cit., 334,fn 12/IV.
38. Borsi, Leon Battista Alberti, op.cit., 53.
39. Wittkower, R., *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism*, Academy Editions, London 1973, 37ff. Borsi, Leon Battista Alberti, op.cit., 127ff. Heydenreich-Lotz, op.cit., 27ff.
40. Vasari, op.cit., II, 539: “Dopo andato al signor Sigismondo Malatesti d’Arimini, gli fece il modello della chiesa di San Francesco, e quello della facciata particolarmente, che fu fatta di marmi; e così la rivolta della banda di verso mezzo giorno, con archi grandissimi, e sepolture per uomini illustri di quella città. Insomma, ridusse quella fabbrica in modo, che per cosa soda, ell’è uno de’ più famosi tempj d’Italia.”
41. Vasari, op.cit., III, 99f: “Parimenti aveva il detto pontefice in animo, e la maggior parte condusse a buon termine, di restaurare e riedificare, secondo che più avevano di bisogno, le quaranta chiese delle stazioni già instituite da San Gregorio I, che fu chiamato, per soprannome, Grande. Così restaurò Santa Maria Trastevere, Santa Prasedia, San Teodoro, San Pietro in Vincula, e molte altre delle minori. Ma con maggior animo, ornamento e diligenza fece questo in sei delle sette maggiori e principali; cioè San Giovanni Laterano, Santa Maria Maggiore, Santo Stefano in Celio monte, Sant’Apostolo, San Paolo e San Lorenzo extra muros...”
42. Müntz, *Les Arts*, op.cit., I, 139 (T.S. 1453, fol. 33): “1000 duc. per lo lastricho e incholatura di santo Stefano Cielimonte; - 236 duc. per le finestre del vetro di detto luogho ... - 445 duc. 12 b. per le lo lavoro del tetto di santo Apostolo; - 254 duc. 10 b. per lo lavoro di santa Maria Ritondo; - 2000 duc. per santo Todaro; - 109 duc. 58 b. per le finestre del marmo e del fero per la chapella di santa Maria dela Febre ...”
43. Müntz, *Les Arts*, op.cit., I, 141ff. Borsi, Leon Battista Alberti, op.cit., 42.
44. Krautheimer, *Early Christian*, op.cit., 96. Borsi, Leon Battista Alberti, op.cit., 42ff. Ceschi, Carlo, *Teoria e storia del restauro*, Mario Bulzoni Editore, Roma 1970, 11f.
45. Flavio Biondo, *Roma instaurata*, I, lxxx; Müntz, *Les Arts*, op.cit., 141: “Ecclesia sancti Stephani rotunda, de ipso monte Coelio cognomen habens, quam tecto nunc carentem, marmoreis columnis et crustatis varii coloris marmore parietibus musivoque opere inter primas urbis ecclesias ornatissimam fuisse judicamus”.
46. *Bullarium Vaticanum*, II, 146f, 11 August 1454; Müntz, *Les Arts*, op.cit., I, 141, fn1: “Hinc est quod nos, qui dudum miserati deformi ruinae venerabilis ecclesiae sancti Stephani in Coelio monte de Urbe, tamdiu ... per multa tempora collapsae, et divino cultu penitus destitutae, eadem ecclesiam non sine magnis sumptibus, deo opitulante, instauravimus, et ad decentem stateum reduximus, ac in ea ordinem fratrum sancti Pauli primi heremitae sub regula sancti Augustini regularique observantia degentium...”
47. Borsi, Leon Battista Alberti, op.cit., 41ff. Ceschi, op.cit., 11f. Mack, C.R., *Studies in the Architectural Career of Bernardo di Matteo Chamberelli called Rossellino*, University of N. Carolina at Chapel Hill, PhD., 1972, Fine Arts.
48. Francesco di Giorgio Martini, *Trattati*, op.cit., 283, f84, tav.155: “hedifitio ruinato le cholonne et circulatione dele volte di fore el qual fu ornatissimo. Rafationallo papa Nichola. Ma molto più lo ghuastò. Dicesi Scto Stefano Ritondo.”
49. Ceschi, op.cit., 11: “...nessuna preoccupazione evidente di ripristinare l’antico, ma soprattutto quella di ridare una funzione ed una forma attuale all’edificio.”
50. Zevi, Bruno, ‘Alberti’, *Enciclopedia Universale dell’Arte*, I, 197: “L’intervento di Santo Stefano Rotondo è quanto mai significativo. L’Alberti restaura il colonnato del cerchio interno, demolisce la cinta muraria continua esterna e racchiude l’edificio nel perimetro dell’ultimo colonnato di cui mura l’intercolumnio. Con queste operazioni egli rivoluziona lo spazio paleocristiano, sottomettendo il rispetto archeologico all’attualità figurativa; la storia del gusto, la conoscenza del testo antico alla ragione creativa.”
51. Borsi, Leon Battista Alberti, op.cit., 43: “Dal continuum orientaleggiante, dove il rapporto tra esterno e interno viene filtrato e reso segreto e variabile secondo il giro della luce solare, si passa alla ‘centralità’ rinascimentale che propone l’edificio come un oggetto avulso dall’esterno, concluso nella sua configurazione volumetrica, nella sua vocazione geometrica.”
52. Idem, 50ff.
53. Flavio Biondo, op.cit., III, lxiv-lxvi; Müntz, *Les Arts*, op.cit., 34 fn2: “Ejus stupendum fornicem vetustate ipsa et terremotibus scissum ruinamque minantem, tua, pontifex Eugeni, opera impensa, instauratum et chartis plumbeis alicubi deficientibus coopertum laeta inspicit curia. Et quum ipsa insignis ecclesia caeteras facile superans multis ante saeculis celsas quibus attlitur columnas habuisset: sordidissimis diversorum tabernis quaestuum a nudata mirabilis aedificii pulchritudinem ostendunt: acceduntque decori strata tiburtino lapide subjecta templo area: et quae ad aetatis nostrae campum Marium ducit via.”
54. *Opera di Andrea Fulvio della antichità della Città di Roma, & delli edificij memorabili di quella*, Tradotta nuovamente di Latino in lingua toscana, per Paulo dal Rosso cittadino Fiorentino in Vinegia M.D.XLIII. Con il privilegio del sommo Pontefice Paulo III. E l del illustriss. Senatoc Veneto, per anni X., 207: “Dicesi che il tetto il quale fu restaurato pochi anni fa da Nicolao Quinto, & hora è coperto di piastre di piombo, appresso di gli antichi era coperto di piastre d’Argento, le quali Costantino terzo

nipote di Eraclio, arriuato in Roma tolse & leuò uia.” Müntz, *Les Arts*, op.cit., I, 145

55. Vasari, op.cit., II, 538: “fece molte cose utili e degne di esser lodate: come furono il condotto dell’acqua Vergine, il quale essendo guasto, si racconciò; e si fece la fonte in sulla piazza de’Trievi, con quegli ornamenti di marmo che vi si veggiono”. (English trans. Foster, J.)

56. Alberti, *L’Architettura*, op.cit., X, 949: “Pontem Adriani Romae audeo dicere omnium, quae homines fecerint, operum esse validissimum; tamen alluviones adduxere, ut dubitem diutius posse resistere.”

57. Borsi, Leon Battista Alberti, op.cit., 39.

58. Vasari, op.cit., II, 546: “Pur mostrava assai bene, disegnando il suo concetto; come si può vedere in alcune carte di sua mano, che sono nel nostro Libro; nelle quali é disegnato il ponte Sant’Agnolo, ed il coperto che col disegno suo vi fu fatto a uso di loggia, per difesa del sole nei tempi di state, e delle piogge e de’venti l’inverno.”

59. Borsi, Leon Battista Alberti, op.cit., 40.

60. Müntz, *Les Arts*, op.cit., II, 352ff, the Bull by Pius II, 28 April 1462: “Cum almam nostram Urbem in sua dignitate et splendore conservari cupiamus, potissime ad ea curam vigilem adhibere debemus, ut non solem basilicae ac ecclesiae ejusdem Urbis, et pia ac religiosa loca, in quibus plurimae sanctorum reliquiae resident, in eorum miris aedificiis manuteneantur, et praeserventur, verum etiam antique, et prisca aedificia, et illorum reliquias ad posterum maneant, cum aedem aedificia ornamentum, et decorem maximum afferant dictae Urbi, et monimenta veterum virturium, et incitamenta ad illarum laudes assquendas, existant: et quod etiam magis considerandum est, ex ipsis aedificiis, ac aedificiorum reliquiis rectius intueri licet rerum lemnanarum fragilitatem...”

61. Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi*, op.cit., II. Leisching, ‘Roma restauranda, Versuch einer Geschichte...’ op.cit., 429.

62. Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali, Soprintendenza per i Beni Artistici e Storici di Roma, Palazzo Venezia, Paolo II e le fabbriche di S.Marco, De Luca Editore, Roma 1980, 75. Krautheimer, *Early Christian*, op.cit., 137.

63. Palazzo Venezia, op.cit., 75, 185; Müntz, *Les Arts*, op.cit., II, 74; Canensi, M., Gaspare da Verona, *Le vite di Paolo II di Gaspare da Verona e Michele Canensi a cura di G. Zippel*, R.I.S., III, xvi, Città di Castello 1904-11, 13: “Vetustum ac deforme templum beati Marci politissima arte ipse undique innovavit, fenestrasque marmoreas vario vitro contextas desuper erexit. Subtectum splendidissimo, ac depicto opere contextuit, plumbeis que tegulis desuper totum cooperuit.”

64. Palazzo Venezia, op.cit., 75; Müntz, *Les Arts*, op.cit., 74ff; Tomei, Piero, *L’Architettura a Roma nel Quattrocento*, (1942) Multigrafica Editrice 1977, 84. The interior has been partly changed in the restorations of

the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The mediaeval mosaics of the apse still remain in place.

65. Vasari, op.cit., II, 472: “Ma quello che egli fece di stupenda maraviglia più che altra cosa, fu il palazzo che fece per quel papa, insieme con la chiesa di San Marco di Roma: dove andò una infinità di travertini, che furono cavati, secondo che si dice, di certe vigne vicine all’arco di Costantino, che venivano a essere contrafforti de’ fondamenti di quella parte del Colosseo ch’è oggi rovinata, forse per aver allentato quell’edificio.”

66. Tomei, *L’Architettura*, op.cit., 84ff.

67. Alberti, *L’Architettura*, op.cit., X, 991: “Paries si erit plus satis gracilis, tunc aut novissimum alterum parietem applicabimus veteri, ut fiat unus, aut impensae vitandae gratia ossa tantum interstruemus, hoc est pilas columnasve trabeales. Applicabitur paries parieti sic. Nam in veterem parietem plusculis locis captus lapidei validi ex lapide redivivo perfigentur. Hi ita obfirmabuntur prominentes, ut novissimum, quem attolis; parietem ineant, ac veluti duas inter crustas pro nexura sint. Et nonnisi oridnario novus astructur paries hic lapide.”

68. Alberti, *L’Architettura*, op.cit., X, 995: “In omnibus istiusmodi, quas recensuimus, instaurationibus providendum est, ne sit novum hoc, quod adiungis, opus aliqua ex parte sui imbecillius, quam ut onus susceptum diuque beneque perferat. Nom illico tota parietis moles in hanc ipsam imbecillioem partem sidendo conflueret.”

69. Müntz, *Les Arts*, op.cit., II, 92: “M. 1464-1475, ff. 33v, 34.: 1466, 24 novembre. Infrascriptis personis, seu magistro Francisco Antonii Sanctini de Florentia carpentario etiam infrascripto pro se et aliis reicipienti infrascriptas pecuniarum summas pro eorum mercede infrascriptarum oprarum per eos exhibitarum in aptando locum, seu domunculam erigendam pro resarcendo equum ereum apud sanctum Johannem Lateranensem, et primo, videlicet: magistro Francisco praefato florenum auri d.c.1 et bon 18 pro operis 5 ad rationem 18 bon. pro opera. - Leonardo Christofori de Petrasancta bon, 50 pro operis 5 ad rationem 10 bon. pro opera ... constituentes in totum flor, auri d.c. 3 et bon. 23.”

70. Müntz, *Les Arts*, op.cit., II, 93: “Ibid., fol. 66v: 1468, 25 juin. Honorabili viro Cristofero de Gieremiis de Mantua smi d.n. papae familiari flor. auri d.c. 300 pro parte solutionis efus laborerii et aliarum expensarum pro restauratione equi erei siti in platea sancti Johannis Lateranensis oportunarum.” (Published in *Revue archéologique*, 1876, II, 162)

71. There were expenses from 3 July 1472 to 24 December 1474, paid to Mro Nardo Corbolini and Leonardo Guidocii civibus romanis, aurifabris, (Müntz, op.cit. III,176f) for “quibus data est cura sarcendi equum aeneum Constantini ante palarium Lateranense existentem, florenos auri de camera centum in deductionem mercedis ipsis promissae pro illo opere, ac expensarum quas eadem de causa facturi sunt. - A.S.V., *Divers.Cam.1472-1476*, ff. 103v, 104.” (3

July 1473), as well as 15 November and 24 December 1474.

72. Müntz, *op.cit.* II,94: “1466, 21 mai. Magistro Materno Antonii de Vedano muratori florenos auri d.c. 47 et bon. 9 pro ejus salario et mercede 29 passuum muri per eum suis sumptibus et expensis facti de voluntate nostra ac mandato smi d. nostri papae nobis facto ad rationem 18 carlenorum currentium pro quolibet passu in reparatione arcitecti Titi Vespesiani (sic) apud sanctam Mariam novam de Urbe. - M. 1464-1473, fol.27v.”

73. Müntz, *op.cit.* II,95,fn1: 22 December 1469: “Spectabilibus viria dominis conservatoribus almae urbis ... florenos auri de camera 14 per eos exponendos in reparatione arcus Lutii Sentij et equi Prisitelli (Praxitelis), nec non unius columnae apud termas Diocletiani de urbe.” M. 1469-1470, fol.165v.

74. Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi*, *op.cit.*I,74: From 22 December 1469 to 26 January 1470, the Conservatori of the City restored, financed by the Camera Apostolica, the Arch of Septimius Severus, and the statues of the Dioscuri on the Quirinal. In the drawings by G.A. Dosio, the condition of the Arch of Septimius Severus is shown rather clearly; sections are missing from the cornice, the south-west column is split lengthwise with half of it missing; on the top are seen the remains of mediaeval battlements and of a tower. (Dis, 2567/A, ‘Arco di Settimio Severo’, 1548, published in *Roma antica e i disegni di architettura agli Uffizi di Giovanni Antonio Dosio a cura di Franco Borsi, Cristina Acidini, Fiammetta Mannu Pisani, Gabriele Morolli, Officina Edizioni, Roma 1976, 30*) The mediaeval tower was demolished by the order of the Senate of Rome of 6 September 1636. (Fea, C., *Dei Diritti del Principato sugli antichi edifizj pubblici sacri e profani, Roma 1806, 40*)

75. The restoration is seen in the drawings by A. Lafréry (1546), E. Du Pérac, etc. (Ref. De Feo, V., *La Piazza del Quirinale, Officina Edizioni, Roma 1973, 15ff*; *Disegni dall’antico dei secoli XVI e XVII, ed. Di Castro, D., Fox, S.P., De Luca Editore, Roma 1983, 30, 72*; *Palazzo Venezia, op.cit., 78f*) The Dioscuri were restored by Domenico Fontana for Sixtus V in the years 1587 to 1590. (De Feo, *op.cit.*)

76. Müntz, *op.cit.*, I,83; II,24-fn6: letter of the City Council of Bologna to the Cardinal of Mantova, 17 October 1471, published in *Memorie originali risguardanti le belle arti, V, 105, Bologna 1844, edited by M. Gualandi: “Ei (Aristoteli) impingunt (invidi et malivoli) quod acceptis quinquaginta aureis a sacro Rmorum dominorum Cardinalium collegio pro conducenda acu July Caesaris ad sanctum Petrum istinc abiit nulla petita licentia. Quae res laiter se habuit: felicis recordationis Paulus pontifex maximus cupiebat ut acus illa transportaretur. Aristoteles nonnulla fecit ac fabricavit: quibus expediret si pontificis voto satisfieri possit. Tunc repente mortuus est pontifex. Aristoreli pro labore suo numerati fuerunt decati quinquaginta, postea cum rmi d. Niceni scitu et consilio ad nos rediit”*

77. Müntz, *op.cit.*,I,83; *Diz.Enc.Arch., op.cit.* II, 342f.

78. Tafuri, M., ‘Obelisco in piazza del Popolo. 1519c.’, Raffaello architetto a cura di C.L. Frommel, S. Ray, M. Tafuri, *Electa Milano 1984, 229f.* A letter of the Ambassador of Venice in Rome, dated 4 July 1519, published in Sanudo, *Diarii, XXVI, 470f.* A graphic reconstruction of the proposal by Raphal for the Basilica of St. Peter with the obelisk erected in front of it by E.v.Branca and G.Kohlmaier, *Raffaello architetto, op.cit., 272f.*

79. Raffaello architetto, *op.cit.*, 230. The theme of using obelisks appeared already in the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* by Francesco Colonna at the end of the fifteenth century.

80. New constitutions for Rome were: ‘Etsi universis Romane Ecclesia’, 1 January 1475, and ‘Etsi de conctarum civitatum’, 30 June 1480, *Leisching, op.cit.*, 430.

81. Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi, op,cit, II,75; Leisching, op.cit., 430f.*

82. *The Oxford Companion to Art, ed. Osborne,H., Oxford 1979, 270ff: ‘Connoisseurship in Antiquity’.*

83. Müntz, *Les Arts, op.cit.* I.

84. Müntz, *op.cit.*, II, 160ff; Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi op.cit.*

85. *Palazzo Venezia op.cit.40ff; Müntz, op.cit.II,181ff (includes the inventory of the collection of Barbo).*

86. Haskell, F., Penny, N., *Taste and Antique, The Lure of Classical Sculpture 1500-1900, Yale University Press, 1981; Lanciani, op.cit. I, 75ff; Müntz, op.cit. III, 169ff.*

87. Vasari,*op.cit.IV,157: “Fecevi ancora la testata, che è in Belvedere allo antiquario delle statue antiche con l’ordine delle nicchie; e nel suo tempo vi si messe il Laoconte, statua antica rarissima, e lo Apollo e la Venere; che poi il resto delle statue furon poste da Leone X, come il Tevere e ‘l Nilo e la Cleopatra, e da Clemente VII alcune altre; e nel tempo di Paulo III e di Giulio III fattovi molti acconcimi d’imporcanzia con grossa spesa.” See also: Brummer,H., *The Statue Court in the Vatican Belvedere, Stockholm 1970; Portoghesi,P., Roma del rinascimento, I-II, Electa Milano; Haskell-Penny, op.cit. 7ff.**

88. Haskell-Penny, *op.cit.* 23ff.

89. *Idem.*

90. *Idem.*

91. This can be seen in various engravings and drawings, such as those by Heemskerck.

92. Vasari, *op.cit.*, II, 406f: “In casa Medici, nel primo cortile, sono otto tondi di marmo, dove sono ritratti cammei antichi e rovesci di medaglie, ed alcune storie fatte da lui molto belle; i quali sono murati nel fregio fra le finestre e l’architrave sopra gli archi delle loggie: similmente la restaurazione d’un Marsia, in marmo bianco antico, posto sopra le porte, restaurate e da lui acconce

con ornamenti d'ali e di diamanti (impresa di Cosimo), a stucchi benissimo lavorati.”

93. Vasari, op.cit., IV, 579: “...e così il disegno delle stalle ed il giardino di sopra, per Andrea cardinale della Valle; dove accomodò nel partimento di quell'opera colonne, base e capitegli antichi; e spartì attorno, per basamento di tutta quell'opera, pili antichi pieni di storie; e più alto fece sotto certe nicchione un altro fregio di rottami di cose antiche, e di sopra nelle dette nicchie pose alcune statue pur antiche e di marmo, le quali sebbene non erano intiere per essere quale senza testa, quale senza braccia, ed alcuna senza gambe, ed insomma ciascuna con qualche cosa meno, l'accomodò nondimeno benissimo, avendo fatto rifare a buoni scultori tutto quello che mancava...”

94. Vasari, op.cit., IV, 579: “...la quale cosa fu cagione che altri signori hanno poi fatto il medesimo, e restaurato molte cose antiche; come il cardinale Cesis, Ferrara, Farnese, e, per dirlo in una parola, tutta Roma.”

95. Blunt, A., *Guide to Baroque Rome*, Granada Publishing, 1982, 217f.

96. Vasari, op.cit., IV, 579f: “E nel vero, hanno molto più grazia queste anticaglie in questa maniera restaurate, che non hanno que' tronchi imperfetti, e le membra senza capo, o in altro modo difettose e manche.”

97. Vasari, op.cit., VII, 490: “acconciare alcune anticaglie; onde egli messovi mano, mostrò nel rassettarle tanta grazia e diligenza, che 'l papa e chiunque le vide giudicò che non si potesse far meglio.”

98. Winckelmann, J.J., ‘Beschreibung des Torso im Belvedere zu Rom’, *Winckelmanns Werke in einem Band*, Aufbau-Verlag Berlin und Weimar 1982, 56 (English transl. Leppmann, W., *Winckelmann*, Knopf New York 1970, 161): “Ich führe dich jetzt zu dem so viel gerühmten und niemals genug gepriesenen Sturze eines Herkules, zu einem Werke, welches das vollkommenste in seiner Art und unter die höchsten Hervorbringungen der Kunst zu zählen ist, von denen, welche bis auf unsere Zeiten gekommen sind.”

99. Hogarth, W., *The Analysis of Beauty with the rejected passages from the manuscript drafts and autobiographical notes*, ed. Burke, J., Oxford 1955, 5.

100. Aldrovandi, Ulisse, *Delle statue antiche, che per tutta Roma, in diversi luoghi, & case si veggono*, published as part of *Le antichità de la città di Roma breuissimamente raccolte da chiunque ne ha scritto, ò antico ò moderno*, per Lucio Mauro, che ha uoluto particolarmente tutti questi luoghi uedere: onde ha corretti di molti errori, che ne gli altri scrittori di queste antichità si leggono, Venetia 1556, 121: “A man dritta di questa cappella è vn torso grande di Hercole ignudo, assiso sopra vn tronco del medesimo marmo; non ha testa, ne braccia, ne gambe. E stato questo busto singularmente lodato da Michel' Angelo.”

101. Doni, Anton Francesco, *Disegno del Doni*, partito in più ragionamenti, ne quali si tratta della scultura et pittura;

de colori, de getti, de modegli, con molte cose appartenenti a quest'arti, & si termina la nobiltà dell'una et dell'altra professione con historie, essempli, et sentenze, & nel fine alcune lettere che trattano della medesima materia, Venetia MDXLIX, 51f, to Messer Simon Carnesecchi: “Da che uoi hauete ueduto tutte le cose belle di scoltura & di pittura et che uolentieri le considerate quàdo andate a spasso p il mòdo. Nò ui scordate di dare un'occhiata in Roma, al giuditio di Michel'Angnolo, & ui stupirete et la uolta; le Camere del Papa di Raffaello d'LUrbino, il Laocoonte, l'Apollo, il Torso dell'Hercole in Beluedre, il qual non è in molta consideratione de goffi...”

102. Prandi, A., ‘La fortuna del Laocoonte dalla sua scoperta nelle Terme di Tito’, *Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte*, Nuova Serie, anno III, Roma 1954 (1955), 78-107, a letter from Filippo Casabeteri to Francesco Vettori, January 1506, tells about the discovery of a “mirabile statua di marmo ... chavando sotto terra circha braccia 6 ... (in) huna vignia di uno gentile homo Romano ... (Felice de Fredis, proprietà della località del Colle Oppio della ‘La Capocce’ sopra Terme di Tito). A letter written by Francesco da Sangallo, the son of Giuliano, to Mons. Spedalengo, 28 February 1567, tells about the visit of Giuliano and Michelangelo to see the statue immediately after its discovery, describing that “l'uno e l'altro braccio era elevato ... (il serpente) rivoltasi dietro alle mani del padre, si crede chelli adolgeua il braccio destro, et con la choda la mano destra al primo fanciullo ... credono ch'el padre dovessi havere in mano una hasta, o qualche altra arme.” From the beginning discussion started on the hypotheses of the reconstruction of the missing arms.

103. Vasari, op.cit., VII, 489; the artists invited to participate in the competition were Jacopo Tatti, called sansovino (1486-1570), Zaccheria Zacchi da Volterra, Alonso Berugetta Spagnuolo, and Il Vecchio da Bologna (Domenico Aimo detto Varignana).

104. Prandi, op.cit., 82f; Vasari, op.cit., VI, 145: Francis I of France desired some antique sculptures for his collection, and around 1520 his ambassador was in Rome looking for suitable works of art. Laocoon was given special attention, but that would have been too important a present. So Bandinelli was asked whether he would like to make a replica in marble instead, which he gladly accepted to do and even boasted being able to do better than the original: “Baccio rispose che, non che farne un pari, gli bastava l'animo di passare quello di perfezione.” After the death of Hadrian VI, the replica was completed for Clement VII, who liked it so well that decided not to send it to France after all, but selected some less important pieces instead. Vasari, op.cit., VII, 279f: “Domandato da uno amico suo quel che gli paresse d'uno che aveva contrafatto di marmo figure antiche delle più celebrate, vantandosi lo immitatore che di gran lunga aveva superato gli antichi, rispose: Chi va dietro a altri, mai non li passa innanzi; e chi non sa far bene da sé, non può servirsi bene delle cose d'altri.” (English transl. Foster, J.)

105. Vasari, op.cit., VI, 632f: “E perché il papa quasi ogni mattina andava in Belvedere per suo spasso, e dicendo l’ufficio, il frate il ritrasse di marmo tanto bene, che gli fu l’opera molto lodata, e gli pose il papa grandissima affezione...”

106. In the Uffizi Gallery, in Florence, there exist three small bronze figures attributed to Antonio di Elia, who in 1517 was staying at the palace of Ippolito d’Este in Rome. One of these figures represents Laocoon as found without integrations, the second Laocoon with his arm bent toward the head reflecting the restoration by Sansovino, and the third Laocoon with his arm stretching up like in the restoration by Bandinelli. (Venturi, A., ‘Il gruppo del Laocoonte e Raffaello’, *Archivio storico dell’arte*, II, Roma 1889, 107)

After the restoration by Montorsoli, the statue still had to undergo several further changes in successive interventions. In 1540, an arm - attributed to Michelangelo (though with doubt!) - was made in terracotta; this is still preserved at the Vatican. During this period, a part of the shoulder seems to have been cut off from Laocoon in order to facilitate the application of new arms. Montorsoli’s arm was put back, however, and it remained in position until the eighteenth century. In 1725-27, Agostino Cornacchini remade in marble the integrations of Sansovino in the two sons. He also made some changes in the position of the hands. (Prandi, op.cit.; Brummer, op.cit.; Haskell-Penny, op.cit., 243ff)

In 1796, the statue was taken to Paris with other major works of art, and all the integrations were removed. In Paris, it was again reintegrated on the basis of models that F. Girardon had made in gypsum using his own sketches made in Rome at the end of the previous century. A competition was also organized but without result. When the statue was brought back to Rome in 1816, the French integrations were removed, and the statue was reintegrated according to what it had been prior to the visit to Paris.

In 1906, L. Pollak found a fragment, identified as the right arm of Laocoon, but coming from another copy in a slightly smaller scale. Reconstructions made on the basis of this fragment showed that the original position of the arm had been bent towards the head - as had been known since the eighteenth century. Winckelmann had seen traces in the head of Laocoon showing the place where the snake had touched it. This corresponded to what seems to have been the restoration by Sansovino. It has been considered possible that more glues were visible about the position of the arm, before successive restorations had destroyed them.

A cast was finally made of the statue of Laocoon with its nineteenth-century integrations; the integrations were removed from the original, and in 1942 the newly found fragment was applied to the original. Both the copy and the original are displayed at the Vatican Museum.

Pollak, L., ‘Der rechte Arm des Laokoon’, *Kölnische Mitt.*, XX, 1905, 277ff; Caffarelli, E.V., ‘Studio per la restituzione del Laocoonte’, *Riv. dell’Istituto nazionale d’Archeologia e Storia dell’Arte*, Nuova serie, anno II, Roma 1954, 29ff; Venturi, op.cit.; Haskell-Penny, op.cit.; Magi, F., ‘Il ripristino del Laocoonte’, *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, serie III, ‘Memorie’, IX, Vaticano 1960.

107. Vignola, J.B., *Regola delli cinque ordini dell’Architettura*, Roma 1562; Palladio, A., *Quattro libri dell’Architettura*, Venezia 1570. I dieci libri dell’architettura di M. Vitruvio tradotti et commentati da Monsignor Barbaro, Venezia 1556; Palladio, A., *Le antichità di Roma*, Roma 1554; Palladio wrote also a guide on churches: Palladio, A., *Descrizione delle chiese, stationi, indulgenze et reliquie de Corpi Sancti, che sonno in la città de Roma*, Roma 1554. Both guides were popular; the one on Antiquities was reprinted some thirty times during two hundred years, and remained in use through the eighteenth century by professionals.

108. Peruzzi’s numerous drawings were intended for a publication, which he never did, but Vasari (op.cit.,IV,506) tells that part of the material was used by Serlio in his third and fourth books. The fourth book of Serlio was published in 1537, the third in 1540, in Venice. The first and second were printed in Paris in 1545, as well as the fifth, in 1547. The seventh was printed in Frankfurt in 1575. All the seven books together, *Sette libri dell’architettura di Sebastiano Serlio bolognese*, were published in Venice 1584. An English translation, *The Five Books Of Architecture*, was published in London in 1611 (reprinted by Dover Publications, Inc., New York 1982). Serlio also prepared an eighth book, which was intended on military works (*Diz.Enc.Arch.*, op.cit., V).

109. Preface to the Fourth Book Of Architecture, English edition 1611, op.cit.

110. Serlio, *Il settimo libro d’Architettura*, (Venetia 1584) op.cit. xli-liii: ‘D’alcuni accidenti per ornare & fortificare gli edificij’; ‘Quarta propositione sopra d’alcune colonne, fuori d’opera, de metterle in opera con modo & misura’ “Vn’altro accidente potrà accadere nelle mani dell’Architetore: che ritruandosi alcune colonne Corinthie, delle quale vorebbe ornare la faccia d’vna casa...” “Ottava propositione da porre in opera alcune colonne state altre volte in opera. Cap. xlix. ... Si toruarà l’Architetore gran numero di colonne, & vorebbe fare vna loggia non meno di piedi xxiiii. in altezza, per abellire alcuno edificio fatto...”

111. Serlio, *Il settimo libro* op.cit. “De siti di diuerse forme fuori di squadro. Prima propositione. Cap. LV.’ Nelli tempi passari, da gli antichi Romani in quà s’abbandonò la buona Architettura: la quale sono pochi lustri chi s’incominciò à ritrouare. Nondimeno, per quanto io hò veduto in molti luoghi d’Italia & in altri paesi anchora (dico nelle città nobili) si trouarano diuerse case fuori di squadro sù le strade maestre. & à me proprio ne son venute alle mani

dī stranissime forme: & questo credo io da più cagioni sia auuenuto: ma da due principali. La prima può esser stata, che essendo declinate à poco à poco tutte le buone arti, cadette insieme la buona, anzi la mediocre Architettura: doue che gl'huomini i di quei tempi andarono fabricando à caso: anzi si può dire al peggio che sapeuano, per quanto io ho veduto. La seconda cagione è stata questa di certo, che rimanendo più figliuoli heredi di vna gran casa copiosa d'appartamenti, nelle partitioni fra loro chi hà pigliato vna parte, & chi vn'altra, di maniera che à longo andar de gl'anni si sono stroppiati di molti siti doue io ne proporrò alcuni di strane forme..."

112. Serlio, Il settimo libro op.cit. Considering the interest of the justification for the renewal by Serlio as well as the opposition by some people who preferred to conserve the old buildings, the text of one chapter has been here reproduced completely: "Propositione ottava del ristorar cose vecchie. Capitolo LXII.' Poiche io sono à trattare d'accidenti strani & di riformationi di case uecchie, io ne narrarò pur' vna accaduta à giorni miei. Era in vna città d'Italia, doue si fabrica assai, vn'huomo ricchissimo, ma auaro, il quale haueua uva casa, la quale fù fabricata dall'auo suo, in quei tempi che la buona Architettura era ancora sepolta. Ma nel uero questa casa era assai commoda, & non molto uecchia: delle quali commodità il padron di essa si contentaua assai, & tanto più, quanto egli era nato in essa. Tutta uolta per hauer questa casa dalli lati, & all'incontro fabriche nuoue, fatte & ordinate da buoni Architettori, queste per il decoro, & proportione, che in esse se uedeua, faceano tanto più parer brutta questa dell'auaro. Doue passando alcune uolte il Principe della città per quella strada, & vedendo questa casa tanto difforme dall'altre, gli generaua nausea, & fastidio la onde per certi cittadini amici dell'auaro lo fece essortare à rifabricare questa sua casa nel modo dell'altre uicine. Questo buon huomo, che haueua più amore à la cassa da danari, che al decoro della città, se l'andaua passando: dicendo che haueua ben'animo di farlo, ma che al presente era male agiato di danari. Finalmente passando vn giorno il Prindipe per questa strada, & vedendo che à della casa non era dato principio alcuno di rinouare, almeno la facciata: fece chiamare à se il padron di essa casa, & gli disse quasi iratamente. O, messer tale, ò uoi fate ch'io uegga fatta almeno la facciata della uostra casa in termine di vn'anno, con quella Architettura che son fatte le altre à uoi uicine: ò io ui pagherò la uostra casa al giusto prezzo istimata da huomini intendenti: et come mia la farò fabricare. Il buon auaro, per non si priuar di quel nido, nel quale era nato, nodrito & alleuato, deliberò non per volontà, ma non per cadere in disgratia del signore, di uoler fabricare. Per il che fatto cercare il miglior Architetto della città, pregollo che di gratia li conseruasse la sua casa con tutte le commo dità che v'erano: ma che la facciata la facesse di sorte ch'ella potesse piacere al principe, & che, non guardasse à danari. Questo uero fanno gli auari, che quando si conducono à fare vna cosa d'honorel essi la fanno sontuosamente: & fabriche, ò nozze, ò bancheetti, ò cose simili: ma però li fanno di rado. I buon Architetto

vide & considerò ben la casa & le commodità, che erano grande, & non potendo rimuouere cosa alcuna di dentro. Et uedendo che la porta non era nel mezzo della facciata (cosa che è molto contraria alla buona Architettura) come si uede nella pianta nel mezzo. A.B.C.D. che è la pianta uecchia, & la figura sopra essa è la sua facciata, si risolue nella sala C. fare una muraglia segnata A. & della sala fare un'andito, & lassarui la camera C. et dell'andito primo fece vna camera B. ne mutò altra muraglia: & la faccia dauanti atterrò del tutto, & ne còparti un'altra nel modo che si uede nell'altra iui sotto, compartendo le finestre nel modo che si veggono. Li quattro nicchij à canto à la porta, & la finestra di sopra non sono senza proposito: che quantunque il padrone della casa doueua mettere nel più honorato luogo l'auaritia, radice di tutti li mali, & inimica di tutte le virtù;, nondimeno egli uolse ne' quattro nicchij le quattro virtù morali: dandosi forse ad intendere, che in lui fossero quelle belle parti, uestendosi la veste farisaica, ò pure, come huomo scaltrito, vuole dar' à credere al mondo ch'egli era buono."

113. Serlio, Il settimo libro op.cit.: 'Propositione terzadecima per ristorar cose vecchie. Capitolo LXVII.'

114. Diz.Enc.Arch., I,408ff; Bonelli, R., Da Bramante a Michelangelo, Pozza, Venezia 1960.

115. Vasari, op.cit., IV, 315ff; Raffaello architetto, Electa Milano 1984, 318ff; Ray, S., Raffaello architetto, Laterza, Roma-Bari 1974, 265ff. Bonelli, R., 'Nota introduttiva' to the 'Lettera a Leone X', Scritti Rinascimentali, op.cit.

116. Vasari, op.cit., IV, 315.

117. 'Breue di Leone X, Sommo Pontefice a Raffaello d'Urbino', 1 August 1514, Bottari,G.G., Raccolta di lettere sulla pittura, scultura ed architettura, I-VII, 1754-73, VI, 14f: "Poichè, oltre l'arte della pittura, nella quale tutto il Mondo sa, quanto Voi siete eccellente, anche siate stato reputato tale dall'architetto Bramante in genere di fabbricare; sicchè egli giustamente reputò nel morire che à Voi si poteva addossare la fabbrica da lui incominciata qui a Roma del tempio del Principe degli Apostoli, e Voi abbiate dottamente ciò confermato, coll'aver fatto la pianta, che si desiderava, di questo tempio si fabbrichi con la maggiore magnificenza, e prestezza, che sia possibile, vi facciamo Soprintendente a quest'Opera con lo stipendio di 300 scudi d'oro da pagarvisi ogn'anno da' Presidenti de'danari..." Written originally in Latin by Pietro Bembo for Leo X, the letter is included in the 'Epistole' of Bembo. Provisional nomination of Raphael as assistant to Bramante on 1 April 1514 together with Giuliano da Sangallo. Golzio, V., Raffaello nei documenti, nelle testimonianze del contemporanei e nella letteratura del suo secolo, (Pontificia Insigne Accademia Artistica dei Virtuosi al Pantheon) Città del Vaticano 1936, 30.

118. Brief of Leo X to Raphael on 27 August 1515, Golzio, Raffaello nei documenti op.cit., 38f:

"Raffaello Urbinati. Cum ad Principis Apostolorum phanum Romanum exaedificandum maxime intersit, ut

lapidum marmorisque copia, que abundare nos oportet, domi potius ut lapidum marmorisque copia, que abundare nos oportet, domi potius habeatur, quam peregre adnehatur: exoratum autem mihi sit magnam eius rei facultatem Urbis ruinas suppeditare, effodique passim omnis generis saxa fere ab omnibus, qui Romae, quique etiam prope Romam aedificare aliquid vel omnio terram vertere parumper moliuntur: te, que magistro eius aedificationis utor, marmorum et lapidum omnium, qui Romae, quique extra Romam denum millium passum spatio posthac eruentur, praefectum facio ea de causa, ut quae ad eius phani aedificationem idonea erunt, mihi emas.

Quare mando omnibus hominibus, mediocribus, summis, infimis; quae posthad, marmora quaeque saxa omnis generis intra eum (sic), quem dixi, loci spacium eruent, effodient, ut te earum rerum praefectum de singulis erutis effosius quam primum certiore facian.

Id qui triduo non fecerit, ei a centum usque ad tercentum (sic) numum aureorum, quae tibi videbitur, mulcta esto.

Praeterea quoniam cerior sum factus moltum antiqui dertior sum factus multum antiqui marmoris et saxi, literis monumentisque incisi, quae quidem saepe monumenta notam aliquam egregiam prae se ferunt, quaeque servari operae precium esset ad cultum literarum Romanique sermonis elegantiam excoleudam, a fabris marmorariis eo pro materia utentibus temere secari, ita, ut inscriptiones aboleantur: mando omnibus, qui caedendi marmoris artem Romae exercent, ut sine tuo iussu aut permissu lapidem ullum inscriptum caedere secareve ne audeant: eadem illi mulcta adhibita, qui secus atque iubeo fecerit.

Dat. sexto Cal. Septemb. Anno tertio. Roma (sic)”

119. This was defined in the permissions given by the papal or municipal administration; for example, a permission by Hadrian VI, 27 July 1523, (Armellius, F., Arch. Segr. Vatic. Divers. Camer. vol.73,f103), Gerasoli, F., ‘Usi e regolamenti per gli scavi di antichità in Roma nei secoli XV e XVI’, Studi e documenti di storia e diritto, anno XVIII, 1897, 4: “Volumus autem quod de his quae in dictis locis sive aurum sive argentum aut statue lapidis pretiosi vel marmora nobilia effodientur, medietatem si in locis publicis, in locis vero privatis tertiam partem Camere et alteram tertiam patronis locorum respondere teneamini...”

120. For example the edict of Pius VII, signed by Cardinal Doria Pamphilj, 1 October 1802, Emiliani, A., Leggi, bandi e provvedimenti per la tutela dei beni artistici e culturali negli antichi stati italiani 1571-1860, Edizioni Alfa, Bologna 1978, 110ff.

121. Brief of Leo X to Raphael, 27 August 1515; see n.108.

122. Cassell’s Latin Dictionary, London-New York 1982, 378f.

123. Homo, Léon, Rome Impériale et l’urbanisme dans l’antiquité, Albin Michel, Paris 1951.

124. Mazochius, Iacobus, Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis, 1521:

“Leo. Papa X. Vniversis et singulis pntes litteras inspecturis salutem et apostoli cam benedictionem. Cum dilectus filius Iacobus Mazochius Romanae Academiae antiqua optimis characteribus diligentissime impresserit, Nos eundem Iacobum/ ut pote de antiquitatibus/ ob tam laudabilem emendatissimamque impressionem/ optime meritu/ speciali dilectiois praerogatiua piaecipuoque favore et priuilegio prosequi voletes/ omnibus et singulis extra nras et sactae Romanae Ecclesiae terras et loca existetibus/ sub excommunicationis laiae sentetiae/ quam ferimus in his scriptis/ de gentibus uero in eisdem terris et locis sub indignatois nrae ac amissionis libroae et centum ducatorum auri de camera/ camerae Apostolica inhihemus/ ne opera huiusmodi per dictu Iacobum/ ut praefertur/ impressa et in posterum imprimeda usque ad septe annos a data praesentium quoad opera hactenus impresia/ quod aute ad imprimeda a die impressionis eorundem computados/ similibus aut aliis maioribus characteribus excudere uel imprimere/ aut excudi uel imprimi facere/ seu ab aliis excussos uel impressos emere aut uendere ullatenus audeant uel praesumant.

Secus si fece rint, praedictas poenas se irremissibliter incurrisse nouerint. Mandantes in uiurtute sanctae obedientiae omnibus et singulis officalibus terrarum et locorum prae/ dictorum quatenus praesentem nostram gratiam cocessionem et priuilegiu atque anhibitionem ad unquem omnino obseruent/ facianiqe ab aliis inuiolabiliter ob/ seruari cotrarium facientibus no obstantibus quibuseunqe.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum, sub annulo Piscatoris, die ultimo No/uembris. M.D.XVII. Pontif. Nostri Anno Quinto.”

125. Lanciani (op.cit., I, 166) mentions that Raphael was responsible for the vast and grandiose project to illustrate Roman monuments from the point of view of epigraphy and of topography together with J. Mazochio, F. Calvo and A. Fulvio. See also: Vitruvio e Raffaello, il ‘De architectura’ di Vitruvio nella traduzione inedita di Fabio Calvo Ravennate, a cura di Vincenzo Fontana e Paolo Morachiello, Officina Edizioni, Roma 1975.

126. ‘Lettera a Leone X’, a cura di Renato Bonelli, Scritti Rinascimentali, op.cit., 469ff: “Quanti pontefici, padre santo, quali avevano il medesimo officio che ha Vostra Santità, ma non già il medesimo sapere, né ‘l medesimo valore e grandezza d’animo, quanti - dico - pontefici hanno permesso le ruine e disfacimenti delli templi antichi, delle statue, delli archi e altri edifici, gloria delli lor fondatori? Quanti hanno comportato che, solamente per pigliare terra pozzolana, si siano scavti i fondamenti, onde in poco tempo poi li edifici sono venuti a terra? Quanta calcina si è fatta di statue e d’altri ornamenti antichi? che ardirei vi sia, quanto bella, quanto ornata di palazzi, di chiese e di altri edifici, sia fabricata di calcina fatta di marmi antichi...”

127. 'Lettera a Leone X', op.cit., 471: "Non debbe adunche, padre santo, esser tra gli ultimi pensieri di Vostra Santità lo aver cura che quello poco che resta di questa antica madre della gloria e nome italiano, per testimonio di quelli animi divini, che pur talor con la memoria loro excitano e destano alle virtù li spiriti che oggidì sono tra noi, non sia extirpato in tutto e guasto dalli maligni e ignoranti, che pur troppo si sono insino a qui facte ingiurie a quelli animi che col sangue loro parturino tanta gloria al mondo e a questa patria e a noi..."

128. Bonelli, R., 'Introduzione', 'Lettera a Leone X' op.cit. 159ff.

129. Opera di Andrea Fulvio delle antichità della Città di Roma & delli edificij memorabili di quella, Tradotta nuovamente di Latino in lingua toscana, per Paulo dal Rosso cittadino Fiorentino in Vinegia M.D.XLIII. con il priuilegio del sommo Pontefice Paulo III. Et del illustriss. Senato Veneto, per anni X.

130. M. Fabius Calvus Civis Rhavennas, Antiquae Urbis Romae cum regionibus simulachrum, Roma 1527.

131. The work of Calvo does not give topographical exactness; it can be compared with the much earlier works of Pomponio Leto. Weiss, the Renaissance Discovery, op.cit., 97f. Fontana, V., 'Elementi per una bibliografia' (Calvo), Vitruvio e Raffaello, op.cit., 45ff.

132. Lanciani, Storia degli scavi, op.cit., I, 237f.

133. Giucci, G., La piazza del Popolo, Officina Edizioni, Roma 1974, 29f.

134. Idem, 26ff; Fea, C., 'Dissertazione sulle rovine di Roma', Opere di G.G. Winckelmann, Prima edizione italiana completa, XI, Prato 1832, 467.

135. Brief of Paul III to Latino Giovenale Manetti, 28 November 1534, published in: Fea, C., 'Dissertazione sulle rovine di Roma', op.cit.: "Dilecto Filio Latino Iuvenali Mannecto, Civi Romano, Familiari et Secretario nostro Paulus P.P. III Dil. Fili. Salutem etc.

Inter ceteras Romani Pontificis curas illam quoque memorandam arbitramur; ut almae Urbi nostrae Romae, cui sedem primo universalis Imperii, deinde sanctae Christianae Religionis Deus concessit, cum religionis cultu etiam memoria veterum Monumentorum conservetur. Pertinet enim ad Fidei nostra dignitatem et gloriam, quod illius Caput in loco et capite tanti Imperii erectum est, digne quidem cum nullum in Terris Regnum, nulla dominatio majoribus refulserit virtutibus, quae Deus sua elementia renumerans, mutato per rerum humanarum instabilitatem Imperio, substituit religionem caelestem, ut hac fulgentius, quae terrena potestate corruscaret.

Quo magis postquam omnis Idolatriae cultus ab ipsa urbe sublatus est et templa Idolis dicata in Dei nostri et, sanctorum cultum abierunt, debuissent antiqua Urbis Monumenta conservari, ut in ipsis Templis, ad aeternitatem et splendorem aedificatis et divina magnificentius et duturnius celebrarentur ut ab invisentibus Urbis ruinas

Deo laudes redderentur, qui tantas opes et potentiam hominibus concessisset.

Verum, quod non sine summo dolore referimus, factum est, imo fit quotidie, ut praeter Gothorum, Vandalorum, atque aliorum Barbarorum et Graeorum, ipsius quoque temporis injurias, nostra incuria, atque culpa, imo etiam dolo, atque avaritia veterum decora alta Quiritum lacerentur, conterantur, obruantur, asportentur.

Illa est culpa, a atque segnitia sinere caprificos et haederas, aliasque arbores et vepreta innasel, quibus marmora et moles findantur, mox evertantur; domunculas etiam et tabernas vetustis molibus applicari, quae sui ignobilitate veterum aedificiorum splendorum deformant, et quod multo damnabilius est, etiam statuas, signa, tabulas marmoreas, atque aeneas, porphyreticos et numidicos, aliorumque generum Lapidem extra Urbem in alienas Terras, ac civitates asportari.

Illa autem est avaritia, ac dolus, seu crimen potius, confringi passiom et comminui haec omnia et in calcem coqui ad domos novas aedificandas, ut, nisi provideatur, non longissimo tempore Romam veterem Romae requiri necesse sit.

Quid? quod etiam in huiusmodi confractione et comminutione Antiquitatis etiam interdum ossa Sanctorum Martyrum, in ruinis huiusmodi sepultrum, comminui et violari contigit, fierique, ut cum Romanae majestatis laesione etiam sacrilegium misceatur: ad quae arcenda praeter officii nostri partes, etiam privatus in Patriam amor Nos urget, ut illius ex qua sumus orti, decus et majestatem conservare pro viribus eupiamus.

Proinde ad te, qui eadem Patriae caritate incensus, in qua ex nobili ac vetusta Familia natus es, et studio Antiquitatum noscendarum et perscrutandarum, sicut audivimus, et ipsi perspeximus, semper flagrasti, multumque in eo studio profecisti, quique Nobis tua virtute, fide, ingenique praestantia admorum carus es, nostrae mentis oculos direximus tibi hanc eorum, quae Nobis summe cordi est, ut debet, demandandam statuimus, firma spe freti te in gratiam nostram, in Patriae decus, in tuum studium ei rei omni solertia et vigilantia incubituram esse.

Itaque te Commissarium super hoc nostrum generalem deputantes, plenissimam tibi facultatem auctoritate Apostolica tenore praesentium concedimus intendendi, incumbendi, et curandi, ut omnia dictae Urbis, et Districtus ejus Monumenta, Arcus, Tempia, Trophea, Theatra, Amphitheatra, Circi, Naumachiae, Porticus, Columnae, Sepulchra, Epitaphia, Eulogia (sic), Moles, Aquaeductus, Statuae, Signa, Tabulae, Lapidem, Marmora, et denique quicquid nomine Antiquitatum, vel Monumentorum comprehendi potest, quantum fieri poterit, conserventur, atque a vepribus, virfultis, arboribus, praecipue hederis, et caprificis, omnino liberentur: nevae his novae domus, aut parietes applicentur, neu ipsa diruantur, communiantur, confringantur, in calcem coquantur, aut extra Urbem asportentur.

Controfacientes autem poenis pecuniariis, ultra generalem excommunicationis sententiam, quam in eos post monitionem a te eis factam, in his scriptis ferimus, tuo arbitrio imponendis, et ad opus tuae curationis hujusmodi applicandis, mulctandi, et puniendi, quaequumque ad hoc pertinentia, et tibi visa quibusvis nostro nomine sub poenis tibi visis praecipienda, unum, seu plures loco tui, ubi opus fuerit, cum simili, vel limitata facultate subdeputandi, omniaque alia curandi, perficiendi, et exequiendi, quae ad nostram hanc commissionem effectualiter adimplendam spectare cognoveris etc.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum etc. die 28 novembris 1534, anno primo.”

136. Idem.

137. Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi*, op.cit., I, 184: The Brief of Paul III, 22 July 1540, revoked all permits to excavate, reserving all material for St. Peter's: "...effodere et excavare ac effodi et excavari facere in quibuscumque locis tam publicis quam ecclesiasticis, tam in alma urbe quam extra eam lapides tam marmoreos quam tivertinos, etiam columnas etc." Private persons were not allowed to sell marbles and travertines, if these had not been first checked and refused by St. Peter's.

138. Amongst the first Commissaries of Antiquities were: Mario Frangipane (appointed on 20 December 1556), Domenico Piccoletti (1567-71), Pier Tadellini (1571-73), Caesar de Cuneo (1573-), M. Arconio and O. Boari (1597).

In 1576, Gregorius XIII decided to reserve all the rights to search material for the Camera Apostolica (c87, 1578-79, atti del Camerlengato, Archivio di Stato, Roma), Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi* op.cit., II, 51: "Revicatio non già altre uolte reuocata tutte le licenze di cauare Thesori statue marmi dechiarando di nium ualore tutte quelle che dall' hora impoi sariano ottenute senza mand. di S.S.ta come più ampiamente nel bando sotto li 22 di Dicembre 1576. Hora intendendo che molte persone uanno tuttaua cauando con danno e maggior rouina di quelle poche antichità di Roma delle quali uole N.S.re se si habbi particolar cura. E però pel pnte publico Bando rinouando tutti gl'ordini le licenze di cauare Thesori statue & contra li forma del sopradeignato nro ordine concesse. Inhibendo sotto pena di mille ducati d'oro da applicarsi &&. Dato in Roma & questo di 12 di nouembre 1578, Clusius Cornelius, Card.lis Camer.s, Andrea Martini"

139. Portoghesi, P., *Roma del Rinascimento...* op.cit. 201ff; Petrassi, M. - Guerra, O., *Il Colle Capitolino*, Edizioni Capitolium, Roma 197-, 31ff; Haskell-Penny, op.cit., 252ff; Vacca, F., *Memorie di varie antichità trovate in diversi luoghi della Città di Roma*, scritte da Flaminio Vacca nel 1594 (published by Fea in 1790); Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi*, op.cit., II, 33ff. The statues of the River Gods had been transported to the Capitol from the Quirinal by the Conservatori on 19 November 1517. (Lanciani, op.cit., I, 182)

140. Vasari, op.cit., VII, 222f.

141. Michelangelo was also concerned about improving the conditions of the area around Trajan's Column. In the meeting of the municipal Council on 27 August 1558, Alessandro Ferreo noted: "Perché la colonna Traiana è una delle più belle et integre antichità che siano in questa città, pare conveniente cosa che selli adorni et accomodi il loto doue ella sta di sorte che corrisponda alla bellezza di essa. Et però questo si è hauuto sopra ciò vn disegno de Michel'Angelo, quale VV.SS. potranno vedere, et acciò questa opera tanto lodevole se mandasse ad effetto si contentano i conuicini contribuire alla metà della spesa, et desiderariano che nell'altra metà contribuisse il Popolo (Comune) essendo cosa publica." Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi*, II, 125; D'Onofrio, C., *Gli Obelischi di Roma*, Bulzoni, Roma 1967, 180f. 86 members of the Council voted in favour of the proposal, but we do not know if anything was done about it.

142. Concerning the Arch of Constantine, on 31 January 1534, Clemence VII found the heads of the statues of the Dacian prisoners as well as other sculptures of Rome having been broken off and stolen. The Pope was extremely angry: "Trovandosi una mattina nell'arco di Costantino e in altri luoghi di Roma molte figure antiche senza le lore teste, Clemente montò in collera..." (Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi*, op.cit., II, 28f) On 27 June 1570, during a public meeting of the City Council, the Conservatore Pietro Aldobrandini spoke about the condition of the same triumphal arch: "Le VV.SS. hauranno da sapere che Mess. Alessandro Crescenzi Prefetto dell'Antichità ne ha fatto intendere che alli giorni passati sono state leuate molte spranghe di ferro quali teneuano concatenate le tauole et quadri del Arco di Costantino, et che in oltre vi sono nati molti alberi tra di esse in modo che non prouedendoui potrebbero facilmente cadere et così mancare questa così bella antichità. Noi ne parlassimo per muodo de consulta nel consiglio ordinario. Hora uedendosi la necessità di esso, l'habbiamo uoluto far intendere alle SS.VV. acciò col prudente loro Consiglio risoluano quanto in ciò si debba fare. (Decretor po.ro. Credenzone I, tomo xxxviii, c 219), Lanciani, op.cit., II, 29.

143. Cerasoli, 'Usi e regolamenti...', op.cit., 4.

144. Lanciani, R., *La distruzione di Roma antica*, Milano 1971, 217: "il Papa dichiarò di essere deciso a far sparire le rovine brutte a vantaggio di quelle che meritavano di esser riparate". In 1589 was given an authorization for the demolition of the Tomb of Cecilia Metella, but Cardinal Montalto insisted that this should only be carried out under the condition that the Romans agreed. Protests were so strong that the authorization was cancelled.

145. Coarelli, F., *Guida archeologica di Roma*, Mondadori, Milano 1974, 229ff; Aurigemma, S., *The Baths of Diocletian and the Museo Nazionale Romano*, published by the Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, Roma 1974.

146. Palladio wrote about the baths of Diocletian: “Le Diocletiane edificate da Diocletiano sono anchora in piedi la maggior parte, vicino à la chiesa di santa Susanna, di stupenda gràdezza, ne l’edificationi de le quali Diocletiano tenne molti anni .140. mille Christiani à edificarle.” (Palladio, A., *L’Antichità di Roma*, Roma 1554 - repr. *Five Early Guides to Rome and Florence with an introduction by Peter Murray*, Gregg International Publ. Ltd., 1972)
147. Serlio, *Il Terzo Libro di Sebastiano Serlio*, bolognese, nel qual si figurano, & descriuono le antichità di Roma, & le altre, che sono in Italia, & fuori d’Italia, Venetia 1584: “Le Therme Diocletiane sono veramente vn ricchissimo edificio, per quanto si comprende nel le rouine, che ancora si veggono sopra terra, & oltra gli appartamenti grandissimi, & di varie forme, che vi sono con ricchi ornamenti, il gran numero di colonne, & di buona grossezza che vi erano, è gran testimonio della grandezza sua.” (English translation: Serlio, *The Five Books of Architecture, An Unabridged Reprint of the English Edition of 1611*, Dover Publ. New York 1982.
148. Zevi, B., ‘Santa Maria degli Angeli’, Portoghesi, P.-Zevi, B., *Michelangelo Architetto*, Einaudi 1964, 761ff; Bernardi Salvetti, C., *S. Maria degli Angeli alle Terme e Antonio lo Duca*, Desché & C. Editori Pontifici, Città di Castello 1965.
149. Zevi, op.cit.
150. Zevi, op.cit.; Bernardi, op.cit.
151. Idem.
152. Vasari, op.cit., VII, 261: “prevalse un suo disegno, che fece, a molti altri fatti da eccellenti architetti, con tante belle considerazioni per comodità de’ frati Certosini, che l’hanno ridotto oggi quasi a perfezione; che fe stupire Sua Santità e tutti i prelati e signori di corte delle bellissime considerazioni che aveva fatte congiudizio, servendosi di tutte l’ossature di quelle terme: e se ne vedde cavato un tempio bellissimo, ed una entrata fuor della openione di tutti gli architetti; dove ne riportò lode ed onore infinito.”
153. Decretor. po. ro. Credenzione I, xxi, seduta 14 agosto 1561; Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi* op.cit., III, 230f: “Conoscendo Sua Santità la fabbrica di Termine più tosto andar ogni giorno in rovina, che conservarsi senza profitto alcuno del publico o del privato ha liberamente concesso dello loco (alla relig. de i Certosini) consacrandolo et dedicandolo alla gloriosa Regina del cielo ... Perilché si verrà à far una fabbrica et un luogo bellissimo che sarà meritamente celebrato per tutto il mondo et non solo ne resterà mità.” The adaptation of the ruined ancient baths into a church and convent was carried out using new bricks from the factories of the Vatican in Tivoli and Monticelli, and new tufa-stone quarried from Santa Saba. See also Bernardi Salvetti, *S. Maria degli Angeli* op.cit.
154. Ricci, C., ‘S. Maria degli Angeli e le Terme diocleziane’, *Bollettino d’Arte*, 1909, X, 361ff. Zevi, ‘Santa Maria degli Angeli’, op.cit.; Pinna, A., ‘Catalogo dell Opere’, *Michelangelo, Architettura, Pittura, Scultura*, Bramante Editrice, Milano 1964, 44 (Plan of the church: fig. 36, p. 29).
155. Titi, Guida, in Ricci, ‘S. Maria degli Angeli...’ op.cit., 362: “Per ridur la parte maggiore a questo uso sacro, Pio IV ne incaricò il Bonarroti, che col suo grandissimo ingegno ridusse il maggior cavo, e più saldo, di queste rovine a una delle più maestose e proporzionate chiese, e insieme più regolari che sia in Roma. Questo grand’uomo ... trovò tra questi avanzi rovinosi una gran sala o tribuna o basilica che dir vogliamo, fatta in volta, retta sopra maggiori che si sien vedute ... Tra l’una e l’altra colonna rimanevano sei archi smisurati, due nelle estremità e due nel mezzo, i quali trapassavano altrove, come si dirà. Sotto i detti archi estremi erano quattro cavità, come se fossero quattro gran cappelle, al qual comodo si potevano facilmente ridurre, e sarebbero state come tante competenti chiesette ... aperse una sontuosa porta ricca di travertini, architettati sul buon gusto greco, la qual porta guardava verso Villa Negroni ... Lasciando le altre cavità rozze per ridurle a cappelle quando che fosse...”
156. Titi, Guida, op.cit. see note 145.
157. There are few illustrations of the work of Michelangelo; amongst the few are some prints by Alò Giovannoli, 1616, sketches from the interior by Francesco Bianchini, as well as the drawings by Israel Silvestre (Bernardi Salvetti, *Santa Maria degli Angeli* op.cit.; Gamucci, *Antichità di Roma*; Ricci, ‘S. Maria degli Angeli...’ op.cit.; Zevi, ‘Santa Maria degli Angeli’ op.cit.)
158. De Tolnay, *Michelangelo*, V, ‘The Final Period’, Princeton 1960, 14.
159. Idem, 15.
160. Idem, 92.
161. Zevi, ‘Santa Maria degli Angeli’ op.cit., 767.
162. Lanciani, R., *La distruzione di Roma antica*, Milano 1971, 217ff: 74124 cub.m of the structures of Diocletian’s Baths were destroyed in order to obtain material for the construction of roads in 1586.
163. Pane, R., ‘L’Attività di Luigi Vanvitelli fuori del Regno delle Due Sicilie’, in Di Stefano, R. (editor), *Luigi Vanvitelli*, Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, Napoli 1973. Milizia, F., *Memorie degli architetti antichi e moderni*, I-II, Bassano 1785 (repr. A. Forni, Bologna 1978), I, 213f: Milizia refers to the church of Michelangelo and to the changes made by Vanvitelli, and especially to the criticism by G. Bottari of Vanvitelli’s work.
164. Fontana, D., *Della trasportatione dell’obelisco vaticano et delle fabbriche di nostro Signore Papa Sisto V fatte dal Cavallier Domenico Fontana*, architetto di Sua Santità I-II, Roma 1590, Napli 1603-04, I,86: “E, perché si come Nostro Signore hebbe intentione d’amplificare il culto della Croce, così anche ha havuto sempre intetione principale di levar via tutte le gentilità de gli antichi dalla Città di Roma, e di tutti gli altri luoghi della Christianità: in esecuzione di questo suo santo proponimento, cominciò

dalle colonne Traiana, e Antonina, antiche nobilissimi Trofei de'gentili Romani, e si come la colonna Traiana era prima dedicata al più supremo, e ottimo Imperatore di tutti li gentili, hora leuata la gentilità di quel Principe Supremo, è stata da Nostro Signore consecrata all'incontro al principe supremo de gli Apostoli Vicario di Christo, e come l'Antonina era prima dedicata all'Imperatore Marc' Aurelio Antonino gran letterato, e Filosofo supremo; così anco ad un supremo Filosofo della religione Christiana è stata al presente dedicata da Nostro Signore, cioè à San Paulo vaso d'elettione..."

165. D'Onofrio, Gli Obelischi op.cit., 200ff.

166. Lanciani, Storia degli scavi, op.cit., 112ff.

167. D'Onofrio, Gli Obelischi op.cit., 200ff.

168. Idem.

169. Palladio, L'Antichità di Roma, op.cit.

170. D'Onofrio, Gli Obelischi op.cit., 200ff.

171. Fontana, op.cit., I: "però si compiacque di dar principio à così pio desiderio, et ardente zelo con l'Obelisco del Vaticano, che Guglia volgarmente si chiama, pietra così maravigliosa, traendola dall'obbrobrio de gli Idoli, a cui fu anticamente dedicata, e cancellando con questo principio la mondana gloria de' Gentili, che principalmente consacrarono gli obelischi e piramidi, stimati li più ricchi e memorabili trofei, alla superstitione de' Dei loro, e purgando essa Guglia, e consacrandola in sostegno e piede della santissima Croce, il quale da essi Gentili fu tanto aborrito, come nota d'infamia e ordigno di vituperoso castigo."

172. D'Onofrio, Gli Obelischi, op.cit., 99ff.

173. It was necessary to cut off a piece from the lower parts of the obelisks in order to provide an even surface for them to stand up again. (D'Onofrio, op.cit., 195ff)

174. Fontana, op.cit., I, 61: "però giudicaua difficilissimo il poterle legare sì, ch'io ne restassi sicuro, e mi diede occasione di soprapensarui molto: perchè se mi fussi risoluto à inuolgere i canapi per disotto à ciaschedun pezzo; non si poteuano poi congiungere l'vno sopra l'altro per l'impedimento loro, e stando sopra questo pensiero vna notte mi souenne di fare nell'vn pezzo, e nell'altro doue s'haueuano da congiungere insieme, vna incassatura in forma di croce tagliata così nel pezzo di sopra, come in quel di sotto, la qual inuentione mi giouò à due effetti, al primo; perchè diede luogo all'ingombro delle legature, che quando si congiunsero insieme li due pezzi le corde restarno dentro allo spatio della sudetta incassatura; si poteuano leuare ad ogni piacere: al secondo serui per collegare insieme vn pezzo con l'altro essendo ordinato questo incauo à coda di rondine, cioè larghi in fondo, e stretti in bocca, e s'incontrauano insieme quella del pezzo inferiore con quelle del superiore, e della medesima sorte di pietra furono fatti li repieni maschi secondo la medesima forma per impedire il vacuo larghi da capi, e stretti nel mezo, quali inceppano fino al centro della Guglia in tutte

quattro le faccie, & impombati incatenano il disopra con il disotto in modo fortissimo, talchè si fusse possibile alzarla pigliando nella sommità, s'alzarebbero tutti tre li pezzi insieme, come se fusse tutta d'vn pezzo solo, e con marauiglia di chi la vidde spezzata; pare al presente, che non sia mai stata rotta assettata, che fu alli dieci d'Agosto 1588. giorno solenne del glorioso Martire San Lorenzo con le medesime cirimonie solenni, ch'à di San Pietro vi fu consecrata la croce."

175. D'Onofrio, Gli Obelischi, op.cit., 195ff.

176. Fontana, op.cit., II: "La qual opera si faceva principalmente da N.S. acciò tutti li poveri di Roma hauessero hauuto da travagliare, & da viuere senza andare per le strade mendicando, poi che non haverino pagato pigione alcuno di casa, qual voleua fosse frange, il che saria stato di grand'utile alla pouertà, anco a i mercanti di lana, che haveriano smaltita la lor mercatantia in Roma, senza haverla da mandar fuori della città, con animo di fare che detta città fosse tutta piena di artigiani di tutte le sorti."

177. Fontana, op.cit., II: "che ogn'vno dovesse hauer vna bottega con due camere e loggia scuerta auanti à torno tutto il teatro."

178. Fontana, op.cit., II.

Chapter Four

Seventeenth Century

4.1. Archaeological interest and collections

As discussed above, antiquarianism became fashionable in many European countries during the seventeenth century; collections were made of antiquities, copies of well-known pieces, or locally found objects. Since Roman economic power was then diminishing, many collections were sold to France, England or other countries. Amongst the best-known artist antiquarians was Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640), who had a large collection of coins, gems, busts, and statues. He was in possession of a so-called Gemma Augustea, on which he wrote a dissertation published posthumously in 1665. (1) Franciscus Iunius (1591-1677), a Dutch philologist, who published three volumes on *pictura veterum*, was amongst Rubens' antiquarian friends. Winckelmann had a poor opinion of this publication, but Rubens considered it a good collection of quotations. (2) Another of Rubens' friends was Nicolas Claude Fabri de Peiresc (1580-1637), a French numismatist, lawyer and astronomer, who has even been considered the first 'archaeologist' due to his meticulous methods of research and his attempts to understand the origin of each object. His house became a meeting place

Figure 49. The pediment of the Parthenon; detail of a drawing by J. Carrey (1674)



for antiquarians and artists; although only travelled in Europe himself, he was in correspondence with many countries, receiving information from the ruins of Carthage, from Cyprus, from Babylon as well as from Egyptian monuments. His numerous notes were, however, not published. (3)

Early Greek explorations

Exploratory missions in search of antiquities extended also to Levant and old Greece, then part of the Ottoman Empire. Since the visit of Cyriac d'Ancona to Athens in 1436, few travellers had been able to undertake this journey, but interest persisted. In the seventeenth century, Charles I of England had been able to acquire some Greek antiquities for his collection. In the 1620s, Thomas Howard, second Earl of Arundel, declared his ambition "to transplant old Greece into England", (4) and though meeting great difficulties, he managed to acquire a considerable collection of statues, fragments of reliefs and other antiquities from Greece, some from the Altar of Pergamon. These 'Arundel marbles' were restored by French and Italian restorers; later, when the collection was dispersed, some items came into the possession of the University of Oxford. (5)

In 1674, the Acropolis of Athens was visited by M. Olier de Nointel, the French Ambassador to the Sublime Porte. He commissioned Jacques Carrey (1649-1726), a French artist from Troyes, to prepare drawings of the pediments of the Parthenon. These became the earliest reliable record of the building and an invaluable document before subsequent damage. (6)

Two years later, a physician from Lyon, Jacques Spon, and an Englishman, George Wheler, visited Athens on their journey from Venice to Dalmatia and Greece. The Parthenon, then a mosque but still well-preserved, they considered "without comparison, the finest in the World." (7) Wheler had



Figure 50. Destruction of the Parthenon in 1687

a high impression “as to the eminent Monuments of Antiquity yet remaining at Athens, I dare prefer them before any Place in the World, Rome only excepted.” (8) Spon had already studied ancient monuments both in France and Italy, and was probably the more experienced of the two. In 1678, he published an account of the journey in French, and four year later Wheler prepared an edition in English. (9)

These early descriptions gained special importance due to the destruction which occurred during the Turkish-Venetian war. The Propylaea had already been damaged in the explosion of a gun powder magazine in 1656. In September 1687, Venetian ships were in the harbour of Athens firing at the strongholds of the Ottomans. Believing that the Parthenon - having strong walls - would be the safest place, the Turks had used it as a store for gun powder as well as a refuge for women and children. Perhaps they also thought that Christians would hesitate to bomb a religious building. However, when Morosini, commander of the Venetian expedition, learnt about the powder magazine, he ordered the Parthenon to be bombarded; in the evening of 28 September, the flank of the temple was hit and smashed.

“The dreadful effect of this was a raging fury of fire and exploding powder and grenades, and the thunderous roar of the said ammunition discharging shook all the houses around, even in the suburbs outside the walls which were themselves a great city, and all this put fear in the hearts of the besieged.” (10)

The Venetians held Athens for only a short period, and after their withdrawal the Ottomans again fortified the Acropolis. The little temple of Athena Nike, Wingless Victory, was dismantled and used for

the building of the ramparts in front of the Propylaea. A small mosque was also built inside the ruined Parthenon. (11)

Towards the end of the century, journeys were organized to explore the Greek islands; in addition, the ruins of Palmyra were discovered and the first records published. (12) The major investigations of Greek antiquities and decorations, however, had to wait until the middle of the eighteenth century.

Roman excavations and collections

Returning to the Rome of Urban VIII, there was one private art patron and collector whose influence went far beyond his economic means; this was Cassiano dal Pozzo (1588-1657). Having close connections with such families as the Orsini and especially the Barberini, he was able to obtain revenues and also to travel to France and Spain, where he studied paintings and antiquities. To him “the remains of ancient Rome were the fragmentary clues to a vanished world whose values were of the greatest intrinsic interest. Consequently, everything that had survived was important, for even the most battered bas-relief or imperfect inscription might throw some light on some Roman custom or ceremony.” (13) Pozzo, therefore, collected old prints and drawings as well as employing young draughtsmen to record remains of ancient buildings, statues, vases, various utensils and other things that were of interest to the understanding of history. He divided the drawings systematically into categories, and bound them in some 23 volumes - thus creating his ‘Museum Chartaceum’, the paper museum. Amongst his artist friends was Nicolas Poussin (1593/4-1665), who worked on this documentation. (14)

4.2. Giovan Pietro Bellori

The most eminent historian and antiquarian of the seventeenth century in Rome was Giovan Pietro Bellori (1613-96), the first rector of the Accademia San Luca, Commissioner of Antiquities, and librarian of Queen Christina of Sweden. His father was a farmer from the north of Italy, but as a young boy Bellori was adopted by Francesco Angeloni, an antiquarian and man of letters, who introduced him into Roman and French high society. Bellori knew many of the artists of the period personally, including Domenichino and Guido Reni, as well as Poussin who was his intimate friend. His main literary work was in fact a critical assessment of the work of the most important artists of this period, *Le Vite de' pittori, scultori e architetti moderni*, which became the standard work of the

century and made him the most important historian of his time. (15) The first part of this work was published in 1672, including the lives of thirteen artists such as Annibale Carracci, Peter Paul Rubens, Francesco di Quesnoy, Domenico Zampieri and Nicolas Poussin. Bellori did not include the life of Gianlorenzo Bernini, with whom he was not on good terms. The second part was added later, containing the lives of Guido Reni, Andrea Sacchi and Carlo Maratta. Instead of simply listing the works of each artist, Bellori used a critical method according to which he described the works figure by figure, and analyzed them on the basis of their action, distribution of colours, strength, and expression. (16)

Domenico Fontana was the only architect included in the Lives. Bellori based his text on Fontana's own publication describing the works done for Sixtus V and in Naples. Of these, Bellori most admired Fontana's transportation of the Vatican obelisk of which he wrote, "not only in Rome but throughout the world he became famous. The Pope appreciated this work, he issued medals for it and reported to princes about it. He was congratulated for it and ordered that it should be recorded in his diaries." (17) Bellori reports that Carlo Maratta (1625-1713) when repairing damages by various copyists and unskilful workers to Raphael's frescoes in the Vatican, especially "l'Istoria del Sagramento e della Scuola D'Atene", used utmost care in their conservation. It seems that the work was, at this stage, limited to the repair of the damaged parts only. After Bellori's death, however, the same painter did a much more extensive restoration. (18) Bellori recalls various restorations by Alessandro Algardi and by Francis Duquesnoy; of the latter, he mentions "two famous ancient statues restored by Francis - the Faun belonging to Mr A.Rondanini where the missing arms and legs were replaced, and Mr I.Vitelleschi's Minerva in oriental alabaster adding the head with a helmet, the hands and feet in Corinthian bronze cut with loose medals." (19)

In 1664, Bellori delivered an academic lecture on art philosophy. This was later included in his Lives as an introductory essay, *L'Idea del pittore, dello scultore e dell'architetto*. (20) He refers to the Neoplatonic concept of 'Ideas' of things established by the Supreme and Eternal Intellect, according to which the world was created. According to this concept, while heavenly things maintained their beauty as first intended in the 'Ideas', creations in our world were subject to alterations and imperfections due to the inequality of materials (as can be seen in human beings, which are far from perfect). Having heard the

statements by Renaissance artists, Raphael, Alberti and Leonardo, and of their desire to imitate nature, Bellori expanded his theory stating that painters and sculptors also formed in their minds an example of 'superior beauty', and by referring to this were able 'to amend' nature. Hence the concept of an artistic 'Idea' which, "born from nature, overcomes its origin and becomes the model of art." (21) Raphael had written in a letter

"In order to paint a beautiful woman I should have to see many beautiful women, and this only on condition that you were to help me with making a choice; but since there are so few beautiful women and so few sound judges, I make use of a certain idea that comes into my head. Whether it has any artistic value I am unable to say; I try very hard just to have it." (22)

The theory as formulated by Bellori influenced especially the French academics, but also Dryden, Shaftesbury, Reynolds, and Winckelmann, who contributed to the formulation of the concept of 'ideal beauty' in Neoclassicism. (23)

In 1670 Bellori was nominated Commissioner of the Antiquities in Rome. With the same critical attitude as in his Lives, he selected the most remarkable antique monuments of Rome for publication with detailed documentation of the reliefs and architectural elements; these included the triumphal arches, as well as the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius. Bellori wrote the text of the publication, while the drawings were entrusted to Pietro Santi Bartoli (1635-1700), his successor as the Commissioner of Antiquities and as custodian of the collections of Queen Cristina. (24)

The arches were generally drawn in their original form. The Arch of Titus was shown complete, and the Arch of Septimius Severus even had several statues placed on the top of it. However, in the drawing of the Arch of Constantine, the heads of the prisoners were recorded as missing and the Arch of Gallieno was shown partly ruined. The Arch of Portugal was also recorded before its destruction by Alexander VII. (25) Bellori's responsibilities included the survey of the condition of ancient monuments. Drawings were made during excavations; similarly, paintings in underground spaces, the 'grotte di Roma', were described and interpreted. A first attempt was made to classify the objects found in excavations according to their importance - thus preparing the foundations for future archaeological study. (26)

Being part of an academic trend of the seventeenth century, giving emphasis to classical art and architecture, Bellori did not appreciate the picturesque aspects of historic monuments. Another who shared his attitudes was Orfeo Boselli (b. appr. 1600), a disciple of Duquesnoy, who wrote an unpublished treatise on antique sculpture. (27) After presenting the principles of pose, proportions, iconography of various personages and deities of antique sculpture, Boselli also touched on restoration. In common with other sculptors of his time, he regarded such analysis as essential preparation for correct restoration. Though Boselli admired the excellence of the restorations by Bernini, Algardi and Duquesnoy, he was concerned that 'good restoration' was becoming 'little valued' and 'poorly paid', and 'to tell the truth, for the most part best left undone.' (28) Restoration became undifferentiated from normal artistic creation during the seventeenth century. The dictionary of Baldinucci of 1681, defined 'Restaurare, e Ristaurare' as "to remake the broken parts and those missing due to age or accidents." (29)

Restoration of Paintings

Throughout the seventeenth century in Italy and in Spain, as well as from the time of Louis XIV in France, canvas paintings were regarded as a part of the furnishings of the interiors of palaces, and they were often adjusted according to the changing taste and the requirements of the interior decoration. Paintings by Lorenzo Lotto, Parmigianino, Paolo Veronese, or Guido Reni, could be enlarged by adding parts painted in the same style as the original, or else cut in order to satisfy the changing taste in terms of composition. (30) These arrangements often included painting over parts where the colours had faded or where the paint had peeled off, as well as painting additional figures in order to complete the composition. (31) During the eighteenth century, these attitudes gradually changed towards a more genuine respect for the original work of art; it is significant, for example, that many of the additions of the previous century were removed from the paintings in the Palace of Versailles during the 1780's. (32)

Restoration Concepts of Bellori and Maratta

The beginnings of this new approach can be seen in the concepts of Bellori and his guidance of the restorations of Carlo Maratta, his protege. Some of the first interventions by Maratta date from 1672, when he visited Loreto and found altar pieces with paintings by Annibale Carracci, Federico Barocci and Lorenzo Lotto in a poor state of conservation.

The paintings were cleaned and restored; and for the first time there is a mention of providing pictures with new canvas and support. In order to guarantee better protection, the works were removed from the church to the sacristy. (33) In 1693, Maratta repaired Raphael's frescoes in the Vatican Stanze (as has already been indicated), for which he was much praised by Bellori; in 1702-03, after the death of Bellori, Maratta did further work in the Stanze, including more restoration. He was appointed custodian of the Stanze, of Carracci's paintings in Palazzo Farnese, and of Raphael's in Villa Farnesina, where he also carried out restorations. (34)

Maratta's work subsequently received positive recognition, for example in the Encyclopédie of Diderot, who praised the respect of the restorer towards these masterpieces and his modesty about his own work, which was done in pastel allowing "anyone more worthy than I to match his brush against that of Raphael to rub out my work and replace it with his." (35) The work included, however, much more renewal than the author claimed. Where loose, the renderings were fixed with nails to the wall behind. (36) Darkened figures were 'revived', as were the eyes of many; some figures were either completely or partly repainted. The lower parts, that were usually more damaged, were in great part completely redone.

All these interventions were minutely described in the reports by Bellori or by Bartolomeo Urbani, an assistant of Maratta. (37) Bellori also praised the results in Villa Farnesina. (38) Although the intentions of the original artists were seriously considered in these early restorations, much over-painting was done and there were attempts to improve on the original, including the completion of some unfinished features. There were those who criticized the work and would have preferred them untouched, but Bellori justified the work because of the poor condition of the paintings insisting that although respect was important, also repairs were necessary in order to save the works of art. (39) To justify his intervention Maratta, in his later work, tried to provide descriptions of the condition of the paintings prior to restoration, as well as to leave small parts untouched as documentary evidence. (40) Criticism continued, however, and the restoration remained a favourite subject for discussion in the eighteenth century. (41)

After Bellori's death, his valuable 'Museum Bellerium' was acquired by Prussia; Friedrich Wilhelm, the Great Elector (1640-88), and his librarian Lorenz Beger were able to include these 40

marbles, 80 bronzes, and other objects in the already remarkable collections in Brandenburg. (42) In 1696-1701, Beger published a selected catalogue in three volumes of the collections. (43) In the same period, two large thesauri were published. One of these on Greek antiquities was prepared by Jacob Gronovius (13 volumes, published 1694-1701); the other, on Roman antiquities, was the work of Johann Georg Graevius (12 volumes, published 1694-1699). Both were the responsibility of Peter van der Aa, a book seller from Leiden. (44) At about the same time, from 1698-1701, a Benedictine monk, Bernard de Montfaucon (1655-1741), philologist and church historian, travelled around Italy collecting material for his ten volumes of *L'Antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures*, published in 1719, and soon translated into English and German. (45) The work included 40,000 illustrations and 1200 plates. Though an impressive undertaking, the material was not properly ordered, and the figures were without any scale so that on the same page one could have a small bronze and a life size marble statue drawn to the same size. In this period several edicts were published in different parts of Italy (Tuscany 1597, 1600, 1602, 1610; Rome 1624, 1646, 1686, etc.) allowing excavations only under licence, and forbidding exportation of antiquities, gems and precious stones. (46)

4.3. Restoration of Classical Monuments

Alexander VII

In July 1659, Alexander VII Chigi (1655-67) published an edict referring to the attempts of his predecessors to maintain ancient Roman structures because

“it is in their ruins that we see human weaknesses and they bear undoubtless witness to that written by historians of those times. Many of them belong to the great confirmation of the truth of our Holy Catholic faith. By looking after the above-named statues, decrees and Apostolic constitutions of our predecessors we managed to commission a few years ago the restoration of the important but ruined Sepulchre of Caius Cestius on the walls of the City of Rome near Porta Ostiense known as St. Paul. The ruin of it would have diminished the fame of the magnanimousness of the ancient, and learning from their example was made difficult for the virtuous foreigners.” (47) –

The Pyramid of Cestius was restored in 1663. Its marble surface was reintegrated and two columns that had been standing at the corners of the Pyramid



Figure 51. The Pyramid of Cestius, Rome, restored in the 17th century by the order of Alexander VII (Piranesi)

were repaired. One was in a good state, lacking only the capital that was found in a garden of the Quirinal; but the other column was broken and weathered. However, it was considered possible to “restore it to its original form dowelling the fragments together. Two sections of the same column are lying on the ground. The cinctures of the flutes are badly damaged, but they can be dowelled together as was

Figure 52. Arco di Portogallo in Via Flaminia, today Via del Corso, Rome, demolished because considered obstacle to traffic



done to the column at Sta Maria Maggiore which came from the Temple of Peace.” (48) An alternative proposal recommended transforming the tomb into a chapel, to have better protection against vandalism and to ‘cleanse’ it of heathen spirits. (49)

The Pantheon

The Pantheon had suffered already in 1625, when metal was needed for military purposes purposes, and Urban VIII Barberini (1623-44) “dismantled the portico ... which was covered magnificently in bronze with lintels in beautiful metal above the columns and manufactured in such a way that when we dismantled it we found the metal was mixed with a lot of gold and silver, such as could never be used for artillery. The people who out of curiosity went to see this work of dismantling could not help but feel sorry and sad that such an Antiquity, the only one to have survived the barbarians’ onslaught and thus deserving to be truly eternal monument, was being destroyed.” (50)

Hence the famous saying:”Quod non fecerunt barbari fecerunt Barberini.” (51) Part of the bronze

Figure 53. Bernini’s plan to redecorate the interior of the Pantheon as a mausoleum for Alexander VII

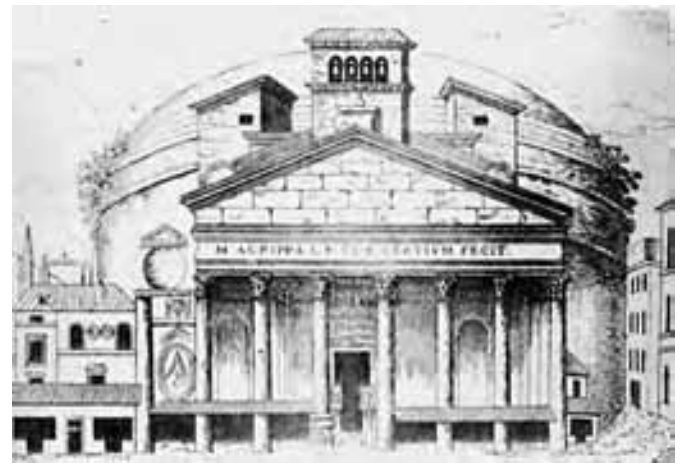
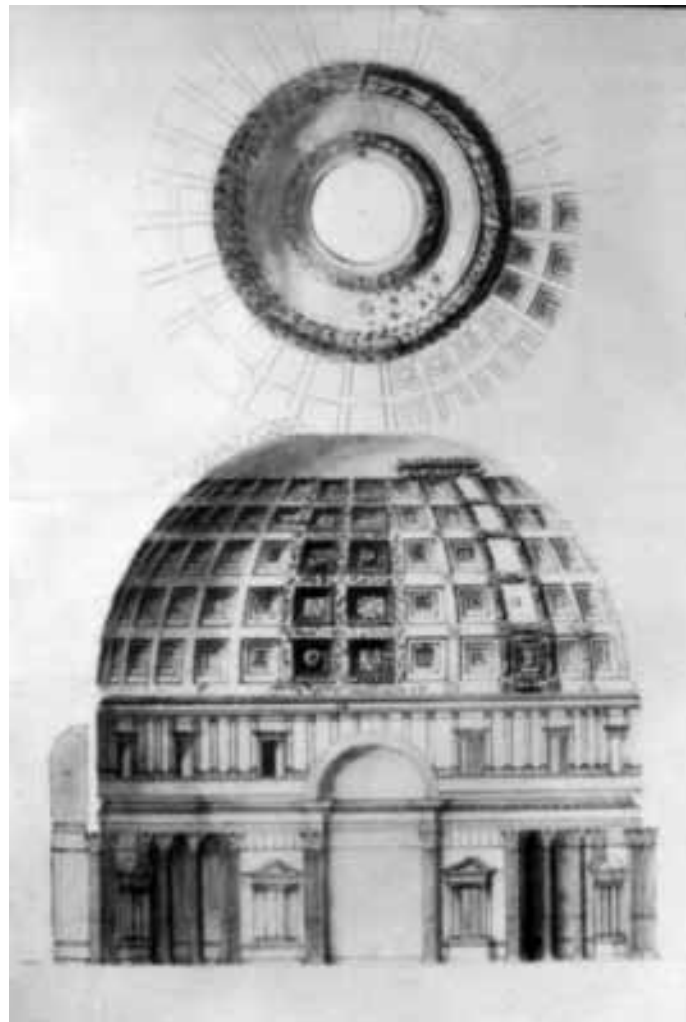


Figure 54. The Pantheon in the early 17th century. Two columns and three capitals of the portico are missing. The pediment is broken; a bell tower marks its use as a church



Figure 55. The Pantheon after the 17th-century restorations. Urban VIII ordered the dismantling of the bronze vault of the portico, and the construction of two new bell towers. Alexander VII ordered the restoration of the portico

was used in the construction of the baldachin in St. Peter’s by Gianlorenzo Bernini (1598-1680) and Francesco Borromini (1599-1667). (52) As a result of protests by the Romans, the pope decided to build two new campanili to replace the demolished mediaeval one. The work was carried out by Carlo Maderno (1556-1629) and Borromini, who worked as a master mason, in 1626-1632. (53) Nevertheless, the Pantheon remained in a rather poor condition. The eastern part of the portico was damaged and two columns were missing. A part of the tympanum had broken off. In addition, the piazza was at a much higher level than the Pantheon; as a result, walls had been built against the colonnade, and a flight of steps led down into the portico. (54) The interior marble decoration had suffered and there were many losses. (55)

To Renaissance architects, the Pantheon had represented perfection in architectural form, and even

Bernini was inspired by it in his churches, especially in Ariccia (56); the building also became a popular symbol of death. In the seventh century, the Pantheon had been dedicated to martyrs, as Santa Maria ad Martyres - commonly called Santa Maria Rotonda. It was believed that 28 cart-loads of martyrs' bones had been brought to it. (57) Many outstanding men had been buried there, including Raphael, Peruzzi, Vignola, Taddeo Zuccari and Annibale Carracci. (58) Following this tradition, Alexander VII wanted to make it a mausoleum for himself and for his family. It is most probable that the Pope conceived this ancient monument, which seemed to have conquered time, as a representation of the continuity of the eternal and universal values of Christianity; and for this reason wanted to attach his name to it and be remembered himself. (59)

Bernini was commissioned to prepare plans for the restoration. He saw the temple as a central figure around which the townscape could be arranged with due respect and symmetry. The irregularly built piazza in front was to become square in its form,



Figure 56. The Pantheon after removal of the bell towers

Figure 57. The Pantheon, detail of the portico restored by Bernini. The emblems of the family of Alexander VII Chigi are carved both in the ancient capitals reused here, and under the new cornice



the streets on both sides of the temple were to be regularized, and ideally all buildings attached to it were to be demolished. (60) According to the Pope's orders, the interior of the dome was to be decorated in stucco with symbols of the Chigi family, and an inscription around the whole space. The great oculus was to be glazed. (61)

After 1657, commercial activities were forbidden in the area of the Pantheon and in July 1662, orders were given to start the demolition of barracks and houses in the piazza and around the portico. (62) In November of this year, an order was given for the portico to be restored, and for the missing columns to be replaced by those excavated in the piazza of S. Luigi dei Francesi. (63) The remains of an arch of Trajan called Arco della Pietà, that had stood in front of the Pantheon, were used to repair the tympanum. (64) In February 1667, the Pope gave the order

“to replace the two columns missing from the right side of the Temple's Portico with all the accompanying bases, capitals, lintels, phrygian and frame similar to the existing ones of the Portico. It should all be pointed up from inside the dome as in a drawing approved by him. The columns of the chapel were to be cleaned and polished and glass was to be placed over the dome...” (65)

On the exterior, the portico was completed according to the plans, and the antique capitals used in the restoration were carved with the emblems of the Chigi family. Bernini had been reluctant to do the interior stucco decorations, and in the end, a simple plaster rendering was used in the dome. (66) The piazza in front of the Pantheon was excavated and its level lowered to correspond to that of the portico. Sewerage and drainage were introduced and streets were made wider and more regular in the whole area. Behind the Pantheon, in front of S. Maria sopra Minerva, Bernini erected a small obelisk on the back of an elephant, symbolically connected with the Chigi family. (67) In the same time, in Via del Corso, the triumphal arch of Marcus Aurelius, the so called Arco di Portogallo, was demolished, (68)

The Colosseum

Since Roman times, tradition had connected the fate of many Christian martyrs with the theatres of Rome. (69) During the Renaissance, painters often chose the Colosseum as a symbol for the passion of saints, such as St. Sebastian, St. Peter, and St. Bibiana. (70) In 1600, the Colosseum was even thought to

have been the site where the first Christian martyrs met their death, and long lists were made of other martyrs killed in this arena. (71) By the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Colosseum was almost more famous for its Christian connections than as a work of architecture. (72) In 1490, Innocent VIII and the Conservatori had given permission to inaugurate performances of a religious character in the arena. (73) These developed into a traditional Passion play at Easter.

In 1587, when Sixtus V had planned to demolish a part of the Colosseum in order to build a straight road to the Lateran, protesting Romans had forced him to withdraw this proposal, and an idea was launched instead, to “dedicate it one day to divine service, and have it surrounded by a beautiful piazza that would not disgrace the beauties created by its first architects and founders.” (74) In 1671, a proposal was made to use the arena for bull fights, but this was strongly opposed by father Carlo de Tomasi, who commissioned Bernini to prepare plans for its use as a Temple for Martyrs. (75)

He considered this work necessary not only because of the martyrs, but for the conservation of the building itself, since it illustrated the greatness of Rome and also served as a model for architecture; he therefore insisted that not only should nothing of the old be touched but nor should anything be hidden. He proposed that the arches should be walled in but in a way to maintain the visibility to the interior, and that new elevations should be erected to mark the entrances of the building, one facing the centre of the city, the other on the side of the Lateran, decorated with a cross, figures of martyrs, and inscriptions. Inside the arena, he proposed to build a small chapel which would not obstruct the antique remains. (76) Though there was in this a proposal to build two Baroque elevations on the Colosseum great respect seems to have been shown for the antique structures that were to be preserved and presented to the people. The amphitheatre would thus have become a huge church - like S. Maria degli Angeli in the previous century in the hands of Michelangelo. It was seen as a holy object and a testimony of Christian martyrdom. In fact, Pius V in the sixteenth century had already prescribed the collection of sand from the arena as a relic. (77)

The plans of de Tomasi and Bernini were never carried out, but Clement X had the lower arches walled and the entrances provided with wooden gates. A large wooden cross was placed on top of the amphitheatre on the occasion of the 1675 Jubilee; it

was consecrated to the memory of martyrs. Marble plates with inscriptions were placed over the main entrances. (78)

Notes to Chapter Four:

1. Rubens, Albert, *Dissertatio de Gemma Augustea*, written by the son of Peter Paul Rubens between 1643 and 1651; published after the death of the author, in 1665.
2. Iunius, Franciscus, *De pictura veterum libri tres*, 1637.
3. Heres, Gerald, ‘Archäologie im 17. Jahrhundert’, *Archäologie zur Zeit Winckelmanns*, Eine Aufsatzsammlung herausgegeben von Max Kunze, (Beiträge der Winckelmann-Gesellschaft, Stendal, Band 2) Stendal 1975
4. Peacham, Henry, *The Compleat Gentleman*, 1634, 107: “I cannot but with much reverence mention the every way Right honourable Thomas Howard, lord high Marshal of England, as great for his high birth and place, to whose liberal charges and magnificence, this angle of the world oweth the first sight of Greek and Roman statues, with whose admired presence he began to honour the gardens and galleries of Arundel house about twenty years ago and hath ever since continued to transplant old Greece into England.”
5. Heres, op.cit., 24ff. Cagiano de Azevedo, M., *Il gusto nel restauro delle opere d’arte antiche*, Roma 1948, 38: The restorers were H. le Soeur and F. Fanelli.
6. De Laborde, Le Cte, *Athènes aux XVe, XVIe et XVIIe siècles*, I-II, Paris 1854, I, 128. Carrey, J., ‘Fronton occidental ou de l’Opisthodomé’, *The Carrey Drawings of the Parthenon Sculptures*, edited by T. Bowie and D. Thimme, Indiana University Press, London 1971. The drawings of the pediments were executed from November through December 1674. They were acquired by the Bibliothèque Royale in 1770. The drawings were known to Montfaucon, but not to Stuart and Revett. They have been cited and/or copied by Quatremère de Quincy. In the early nineteenth century they were bound in a volume for the Bibliothèque Nationale, in Paris; in 1814, they were copied for the British Museum.
7. Wheler, George Esq., *A Journey into Greece by George Wheler Esq. in Company of Dr Spon of Lyons*, London 1682, 352.
8. Idem, 357.
9. Spon, Iacob & Wheler, George, *Voyage d’Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce, et du Levant Fait és années 1675 & 1676 par Iacob Spon Docteur Medecin Aggrégé à Lyon, & George Vvheler Gentilhomme Anglois*, I-II, A Lyon Chez Antoine Cellier le fils, rue Merciere, à la Constance, 1678. Wheler, op.cit.

10. Ivanovic, Cristoforo, *History of the Holy League Against the Turk*, 1688; Green, P., *The Parthenon*, New York 1973, 144. De Laborde, op.cit., II, 149; Dietrichson, L., 'Zum 200. Gedächtnis der Zerstörung des Parthenon', *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, Leipzig 1887, XXII, 367; Beulé, M., *L'Acropole d'Athènes*, Paris 1862 (nouv.edit.), 35ff. Beulé gives the date of the explosion as 28 September 1687, while De Laborde and Green give 26 September 1687.
11. Beulé, op.cit.; De Laborde, op.cit.
12. Heres, 'Archäologie...', op.cit., 26f. Pitton de Tournfort started his journey to explore the Greek islands in 1699, commissioned by the Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, (founded by Colbert in 1679). Corneille le Bruyn found Palmyra and published the first illustrations at the end of the century. Also a German visited Athens in this period; he was Johann Georg Transfeldt, an adventurer. Browning, Palmyra.
13. Haskell, Francis, *Patrons and Painters, A Study in the Relations Between Italian Art and Society in the Age of the Baroque*, Icon Editions, Harper & Row Publishers, New York, Evanston, San Francisco, London, 1971 (1963), 101.
14. Idem.
15. Previtali, G., 'Introduzione', Bellori, G.P., *Le vite de' pittori, scultori e architetti moderni*, Einaudi, Torino 1976, xvii ff.
16. Previtali, op.cit.; 'Bellori, Giovanni Pietro', *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*.
17. Bellori, *Le vite* op.cit., 163.
18. Bellori, *Le vite* op.cit., 617n. Maratti also restored the antique fresco called 'Nozze Aldobrandine', discovered 1604 or 1605.
19. Bellori, *Le vite* op.cit., 300 (Duquesnoy), 399ff (Algarði).
20. Bellori, G.P., 'L'Idée del pittore, dello scultore e dell'architetto, Scelta dalle bellezze naturali superiore alla Natura', Discorso di Giov. Pietro Bellori, Detto nell'Accademia romana di San Luca la terza Domenica di Maggio MDCLXIV, Essendo Principe dell'Accademia il Signor Carlo Maratti, Bellori, *Le vite*, op.cit. 13ff.
21. Bellori, 'L'Idée del pittore...', op.cit., 14: "Il perché li nobili pittori e scultori quel primo fabbro imitando, si formano anch'essi nella mente un esempio di bellezza superiore, ed in esso riguardando, emendano la natura senza colpa di colore e di lineamento. Questa idea, ovvero dea della pittura e della scoltura, aperte le sacre cortine de gl'altri ingegni de i Dedali e de gli Apelli, si svela a noi e discende sopra i marmi e sopra le tele; originata dalle natura supera l'origine e fassi originale dell'arte, misurata dal compasso dell'intelletto, diviene misura della mano, ed animata dall'immaginativa dà vita all'immagine."
22. Letter of Raphael to B. Castiglione, Golzio, V., Raffaello nei documenti, nelle testimonianze... op.cit., 30: "Vorrei trouar le belle forme degli edifici antichi, né so se il volo sarà d'Icaro. Me porge una gran luce Vitruuio, ma non tanto che basti. Della Galatea mi terrei un gran maestro, se ui fossero la metà delle tante cose, che V.S. mi scriue; ma nelle sue parole riconosco l'amore che mi porta, et le dico, che per dipingere una gella, mi bisognaria ueder più belle con questa conditione, che V.S. si trouasse meco a far scelta del meglio. Ma essendo carestia e di belle donne, io mi seruo di una certa idea che mi viene in mente." (English transl. Panofsky, E., *Idea A Concept in Art Theory*, Icon Editions, Harper & Row, 1968, 60. Originally published in German: 'Idea: Ein Beitrag zur Begriffsgeschichte der älteren Kunsttheorie', Studien der Bibliothek Warburg, V, B. Taubner Verlag, Leipzig 1924)
23. 'Bellori', *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, op.cit.
24. Idem.
25. Bellori, G.P., *Veteres Arcus Augustorum Triumphis Insignes ex Religiuis quae Romae adhuc Supersunt cum imaginibus triumphalibus restituti Antiquis Nummis Notisquae Io: Petri Bellorii illustrati Nunc primum per Io: Iacobum de Rubeis, Aeneis typis vulgati, Romae, M.DC.XC. Ad Templum sanctae Mariae de Pace, Cum Privilegio Sum. Pontificis.*
26. 'Bellori', *Diz, Biogr. Ital.*, op.cit.
27. Dent Weil, Phoebe, 'Contributions toward a History of Sculpture Techniques: 1. Orfeo Boselli on the Restoration of Antique Sculpture', *Studies in Conservation, IIC*, 1967, XII, 3.
28. Idem.
29. Baldinucci, Filippo, *Vocabolario toscano dell'arte del disegno*, Firenze 1681.
30. Conti, Alessandro, *Storia del restauro e della conservazione delle opere d'arte*, Electa Editrice, Milano (undated, appr.1960s), 98ff. Conti, A., 'Vicende e cultura del restauro', *Storia dell'arte italiana X*, Einaudi, Torino 1981, 39ff.
31. Conti, *Storia...* op.cit., 102: A letter, dated 1699, from Gran Principe Ferdinando to Niccolò Cassana recalls the adaptation of paintings to the requirements of the Galleria Palatina in Florence: "Ella mi farebbe piacere a fare una scorsa qua per restaurare il quadro del Parmigianino (la 'Madonna dal collo lungo'), quale é già tutto stuccato, ed il battizzo di Paulo, quale fu incollato sopra il telaro onde è molto dipinto sopra il telaro istesso, e bisognando adesso ritirarlo, sarà necessario giuntarvi della tela e redipingere quei pezzi che restano sopra il telaro, che sono di considerazione..."
32. Idem, 101.
33. Bellori, 'Vita ed opera di pitture del Signor Carlo Maratti', *Le vite*, op.cit., 602f: "Correndo intanto l'anno 1672 Carlo (Maratta) di nuovo fece passaggio alla patria, già lungo tempo che non vi si era trasferito, ove per motivo

divoto visitando la Santa Casa di Loreto trovò in chiesa i migliori quadri degli altari mal ridotti ed in pericolo di perdersi se non vi si fosse rimediato; particolarmente la Natività della Vergine di mano di Annibale Carracci. Questo male causato per negligenza in non provvedere, derivava dalla gran quantità delle nottole ch'annidavano dietro il muro, di modo che infrancidavano la tela, ond'egli per la venerazione che professa a questo gran maestro, accelerò il rimedio, e non giudicando sufficiente il foderar la tela e munirla con tavole, pensò di collocarla in più sicuro luogo, come seguì datane parte al protettore il signor cardinal Altieri, che vi concorse con la medesima premura; onde il quadro fu trasportato nella sagrestia o tesoro, per conservarlo, come seguì della celebre Annunciata di mano del Barocci ... Il quale amore verso l'arte e la conservazione e stima delle opere degne, egli in più occasioni ha dimostrato.”

34. Conti, Storia, op.cit., 111.

35. Diderot, Encyclopédie, op.cit. 'Maratta': “...il n'y voulut rien retoucher qu'au pastel, afin, dit-il, que s'il se trouve un pour quelqu'un plus digne que moi d'associer son pinceau avec celui de Raphael, il puisse effacer mon ouvrage pour y substituer le sien.”

36. In the Palazzo Farnese, the gallery of Carracci's paintings was consolidated by Carlo Fontana. He used four chains in order to reinforce the structure; the renderings of the gallery were fixed with 1300 nails of 'T' or 'L' shape, and another 300 nails were used in the vaults. (Conti, Storia, op.cit., 112f)

37. Bellori, G.P., Descrizione delle immagini dipinte da Raffaello d'Urbino nelle Camere del Palazzo Apostolico Vaticano, Roma 1695, 81ff. The report by Bartolomeo Urbani is published in Ritratti di alcuni celebri pittori del secolo XVII disegnati ed intagliati in rame dal Cavaliere Ottavio Lioni, Roma 1731, 237ff.

38. Bellori, Descrizione, op.cit.

39. Idem.

40. Maratta, C., 'Report' in Ritratti di alcuni celebri pittori, op.cit.: Maratta intended to leave: “qualche parte di ciascuna cosa in ogni genere senza ripulirla per poter con la evidenza del fatto confondere coloro che contradicevano al ripulimento, e in quel modo volea lasciarle in perpetuo; il papa però non volle soggiungendo che ripulite stavan bene e che ora da tutti eran commendate; solamente nella Stanza della Segnatura, appresso la porta quando si entra, fu lasciata una piccola parte di quelli ornamenti con quell'antico colore arruginito, come si disse; e così si diede fine al tanto contrastato risarcimento delle stanze del Vaticano dipinte dal singolare Raffaello.”

41. Conti, Storia, op.cit., 116: Jonathan Richardson, one of the critics, insisted: “comme ce morceau déperissoit beaucoup, il a été entièrement remeints par Charles Maratti, qui tant excellent m'fitre qu'il étoit, loin de rétablir l'ouvrage de Raphael, ruiné par la longueur du temps, l'a plus g'fté que le temps n'avoit fait ou n'auroit

pu faire. Peut-être ce que Maratti a fait n'est plus à-present de même qu'il a été, mais que les couleurs en sont ternies ou changées, de quelque manière que ce soit; ou bien il s'est trompé dans son jugement, ou il a manqué dans l'exécution: mais il est certain que l'ouvrage entier, tel qu'il est aujourd'hui, ne répond point du tout à l'idée qu'on s'en doit former par avance sur le nom de Raphael.”

42. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Staatliche Museen, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin und die Antike, Architektur, Kunstgewerbe, Malerei, Skulptur, Theater und Wissenschaft vom 16. Jahrhundert bis heute, Katalog, Herausgegeben von Willmuth Arenhövel, Berlin 1979, 44f.

43. Idem, 53.

44. Heres, 'Archäologie im 17. Jahrhundert', op.cit., 29.

45. De Montfaucon, Bernard, The Antiquities of Italy, being the Travels of the Learned and Reverend Bernard de Montfaucon from Paris through Italy in the Years 1698 and 1699, The Second Edition in English, 1725. Heres, op.cit., 32.

46. Emiliani, A., Leggi, bandi e provvedimenti per la tutela op.cit.

47. Edict by Alexander VII, 21 July 1659, in Fea, C., Dei Diritti del Principato sugli antichi edifizj pubblici sacri e profani, Roma 1806, 62: “eglino nelle rovine loro ci avvisano della fragilità umana e ci rendono testimonio indubitato di ciò che scrivono le istorie di quei tempi, molte delle quali appartengono alla maggior confemazione della verità della Nostra Santa Fede Cattolica; inerendo perciò Noi alli sopraddetti statuti, Decreti, e Costituzioni Apostoliche de' Nostri Predecessori risolvemmo gli anni addietro ordinare la restaurazione dell'insigne, ma rovinosa fabrica del Sepolchro di Cajo Cestio, posto sopra delle mura della Città di Roma vicino la Porta Ostiense detta di S. Paolo, e la rovina della quale avrebbe diminuita la fame delle magnanimità de' Romani antichi, anzi resa meno frequentabile alli virtuosi forestieri la strada del trasferirsi a Roma per godere delle Romane Antichità, ed addottrinarsi coll'esempio di quelle.”

48. The Pyramid was displayed in its whole height by excavating the surrounding area, and the two columns at the corners of the west elevation were re-erected. Documents regarding the restoration are in the Vatican Archive, n.30 of the 'Fondo Chigiano' (M.IV.L.), published by Serra, Joselita, 'Sul restauro della Piramide di C. Cestio nel 1663', Bollettino dell'Istituto Centrale del Restauro, XXXI-XXXII, 1957, 173ff.

Regarding the two columns: “Le due colonne, che sono nell'angoli della Piramide di C. Cestio p(er) di dentro le Mura della Città una, ch'è di p.mi (palmi) 28 1/3 con la base ci manca solo il capitello, ch'è quello, che si à nel giardino di Monte Cavallo, ch'è attaccato con il som(m)oscapo, e parte di colonna scannellata. L'altra colonna ch'è un pezzo in piedi di p.mi 12 1/6 con la base. In terra ne sono due altri pezzi uno di p.mi 10 1/3,

e l'altro di p.mi 5 5/6, ch'ass.mi (assieme) accompagnano all'altezza della p.ma (prima) di p.mi 28 1/3 n'è anco in terra il pezzo di Capitello compagno di quello ch'è nel giardino di Monte Cavallo, quest'ha patito assai la furia de Barbari essendo scantonato p(er) tutti li versi, con tutto ciò si puol ridurre con molti tasselli alla sua p.ma forma. Li due pezzi, che sono a terra della medesima colonna hanno assai patito nelli listelli delle scannellat(ure), e questa si puol ritassellare a similitudine di quella, che stà a S. Maria Magg(iore), che fu levata dal tempio della Pace."

The column of the 'Tempio della Pace' means the column transported by Paul V from the Basilica Maxentius, and erected in front of the Basilica Santa Maria Maggiore, between 1613 and 1615. An undertaking that had already been in the mind of Sixtus V. (D'Onofrio, *Gli Obelischi*, op.cit., 219ff)

49. Fioravante Martinelli, an antiquarian, numistatist and writer in the Vatican Library, presented Alexander VII with the proposal to restore the Pyramid transforming it into a chapel of SS. Pietro e Paolo:

"Beatissimo P.re. Per eternare la Piramide di Cestio, che fu uno de Prefetti alla scalcara de' Dei Gentili, par non vi sia remedio più sicuro, che ridurla al culto dlla nostra religione: poichè all' hora sarà sicura dall' insidia di quelli, che sotto pretesto di abominare il gentilismo, et adocchiando il valore della materia, distruggono le più nobili antichità di Roma. E pur si vede, che le statue di Giove, di Mercurio, di Marte, e simili abominevoli Demonii, che con miracoli, e perdita della propria vita de Marti sono stati mutilati dlla testa, dlle braccia, e dlle gambe, e ridotti a soli torsi, si cercano dentro le viscere della terra per ristorarle, e per mantenimento dell' antiche fabbriche ha ordinato il ristoro del d Cestio, humilm si supplica à volerlo eternare con la memoria delli SS. Pietro e Paulo Apostoli fondatori, e protettori della città, e Chiesa Romana ... Il che si può fare con ponere sulla cima la S.ma Croce e con aprire una porta verso la città in detta Piramide, i cui marmi serviranno per ristoro all' altre sue parti, e cavarne una cappelletta, nella quale s'adatti un altare con l' immagine di basso rilievo dlli d Santi, et al di fuori un' iscrittione che notifici la religiosa trasmutazione: Serrata con cancello potrebbe aprirsi nelle occasioni di concorso alla Basilica di S. Paulo ..." (Fondo Chigiano, Vatican Archive, in Serra, 'Sul restauro della Piramide...' op.cit.)

Martinelli's drawings for the 'restoration' showed the symbols of Alexander VII on the top of Pyramid, and the door of the chapel was decorated with the coat of arms of the Pope. (Bibl.Vat., Fondo Chigiano, M.IV.L., fasc 30, c160) Drawings showing the Pyramid after the restoration were published by Falconieri, O., 'Discorso intorno alla Piramide di C. Cestio', Nardini, Roma Antica, 1665. (Serra op.cit.)

50. Gigli, Giacinto, *Diario romano (1608-70)*, ed. G. Ricciotti, Rome 1958, 93; Hibbard, H., Carlo Maderno and Roman Architecture 1580-1630, A. Zwemmer, London 1971, 230: "fece smantellare il Portico ... il

quale era maravigliosamente coperto di bronzo, con Architravi sopra le colonne di metallo bellissimi, et di una manifattura, et havendo disfatto trovò che quel metallo era in gran parte mescolato di oro et argento, tal che non era in tutto a proposito per l' artiglerie, ma il Popolo, che andava curiosamente a vedere disfare una tanta opera, non poteva far di meno non sentir dispiacere, et dolersi che una si bella Antichità, che sola era rimasta intatta delle offese de' Barberi, et poteva dirsi opera veramente eterna, fosse hora disfatta."

51. 'Fake pasquinade' by Giulio Mancini, Gigli, op.cit., 230. 'What was not done by barbarians, was done by the Barberinis'. The name Barberini means 'little barbarian'!

52. Bernini, D., *Vita del cav. Gio. Lorenzo Bernino*, Roma 1719, 30: tells that Bernini "suggerì ... ad Urbano, potersi servire di quei travi di metallo che ancora si trovavano nell' antico portico della chiesa della Rotonda", e.i. to use the bronze structures as material for the construction of the baldachin of St. Peter's. (Hibbard, op.cit.) Serlio gives a sketch of the bronze structures of the Portico of the Pantheon, and states: "This Ornament is yet standing above the Portall of the Pantheon, which is made in this manner, all of Copper plates, the halfe Circle is not there; but here was a crooked Superficiis finely made of Copper: and many men are of opinion that the beautifying thereof was of Siluer, for the reasons aforesaid: but wherof it was, it is not well knowne; but it is true, it was excellent faire worke, considering that which is yet to bee seene." Serlio, S., 'The third Booke, Intreating of all kind of excellent Antiquities, of buildings of Houses, Temples, Amphitheatres, Palaces, Thermes, Obelisces...', *The Five Books of Architecture*, op.cit. (The fourth Chapter, Fol.3.)

53. Hibbard, Carlo Maderno, op.cit., 230f; Bordini, Silvia, 'Bernini e il Pantheon, Note sul classicismo berniniano', *Quaderni dell' Istituto di Storia dell' Architettura*, Serie XIV, Fasc. 79 A 84, 1967, 53ff. Borsi, Franco, *Bernini Architetto*, Electa Editrice, Milano 1980, 96ff. Even though the campanili have often been attributed to Bernini, he does not seem to have had anything or little to do with them; in his later plans for the restoration of the Pantheon he completely ignored them. The campanili came to be called 'orecchie d' asino' ('ears of donkey'), and do not seem to have been met by approval of the people. They were finally demolished in 1882 for the sake of 'stylistic unity'.

54. The condition of the Pantheon in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries can be seen in contemporary drawings. Heemskerck shows the interior of the portico with the flight of steps (Bordini, op.cit., 56). An engraving by Alò Giovannoli shows the Pantheon before the restoration by Urban VIII (Bordini, op.cit., 54); another one shows 'The Pantheon before the seventeenth century' (print in the Biblioteca Nazionale Vitt.Em.), published in Vinghi, R., *The Pantheon*, Rome 1963, 15.

55. Borsi, *Bernini Architetto*, op.cit., 101.

56. The church of Ariccia resembles the Pantheon in the arrangement of its urban context; it has streets on both sides - as was sketched for the Pantheon by Bernini. There are no campanili! (Bordini, op.cit. 55ff) As a building the Ariccia church repeats the essential architectural features of the Pantheon.
57. Bordini, op.cit., 81.
58. Idem, 72.
59. According to Bordini, it may have been Bernini to suggest the use of the Pantheon as a mausoleum to Alexander VII. In 1665, when Bernini was in Paris, he referred to the tombs of kings in a discussion saying: "Qu'il avait estimé que l'on devait construire un lieu pour les papes, comme il avait dit pour les rois." (Chantelou, P.F., *Journal de voyage du Cavalier Bernin en France* (1655), ed. L. Lalanne, Paris 1885, 170ff) The idea may have come to him from the Bourbon Chapel in Saint-Denis; the Pantheon came to symbolize the continuity of eternal values and the universality of the ideas of Christianity. (Bordini, op.cit., 72)
60. Bordini, op.cit.; Borsi, *Bernini Architetto*, op.cit., 98ff; *Bernini in Vaticano* (exhibition catalogue), De Luca Editore, Rome 1981, 192ff.
61. Idem.
62. The Brief of 27 March 1657 forbade "ai Droghieri, Speziali, Calzolari, Pollaroli, Pizzicaroli, Fruttaroli, Pescivendoli, ed altri qualsivoglia persone ed Artisti, che non ardiscono né abbino in qualsivoglia modo ardire sotto qualsiasi pretesto avanti detta chiesa, Fontana ed Urna, né in altro luogo di detta piazza in dette strade ... mettere, stendere, vendere, né ritenere delle loro robbe e mercantie". Another Brief, 24 July 1662, ordered the Cardinal Camerlengo to provide funds for the demolition of houses in the piazza and attached to the portico. The Brief of 5 August 1662 refers to the demolitions carried out by the Maestri delle Strade. The market had been moved from this piazza to the Piazza della Pietra in the neighbourhood. Further demolition is ordered "senza citare, o udire li Canonici, e Capitolo di quella, e senza alcuna solennità o tela di giudizio, ma de fatto, e manu regia facciate demolire le case, botteghe, ed altri edifici adiacenti in quella parte, che a voi parerà, e piacerà, senza fare alcuna stima delle dette case, e senza pagarne il loro prezzo..." It was further ordered to lower the level of the piazza. (Fea, *Dei Diritti del Principato*, op.cit., 65ff)
63. The Brief of 4 November 1662: "...per il restauro del portico della Rotonda e per le colonne trovate nella piazza di S. Luigi dei Francesi". (Fea, op.cit., 65ff)
64. This Arch is referred to by Dante ('Purgatorio', X, 73ff); it was called Arco della Pietà with reference to one of its reliefs. Lanciani, R., *L'Antica Roma*, Laterza, Roma 1981, 20f (transl. from English: *Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries*).
65. Alexander VII, the Brief of 2 February 1667, (Fea, op.cit., 114): "far rimettere le due colonne, che mancavano al fianco destro del portico del Tempio, con tutti gli accompagnamenti di basa, capitelli, architravi, fregio e cornici conforme gli altri esistenti in detto portico, e di far ristuccare per di dentro la cupola conforme il disegno da lui approvato, di far pulire e lustrare le colonne che adornano le cappelle, e di fare una vitriata all'occhio per di sopra alla cupola".
66. Frascchetti, S., *Il Bernini, la sua vita, la sua opera, il suo tempo*, Milano 1900, 299 (Cod.Vat. 8235, 'scritture spettanti alla Fontana di Trevi, carte 8); "Il Cav. Lorenzo Bernino fu da Sa. Me. di Alessandro VII interrogato della cupola del Pantheon e fu gli dal medesimo ben per tre volte risposto di non aver talento bastante di ciò fare, e che solo poteva usarsi del pennello in rifare i pilastri quando la spesa necessaria per rifarli in marmo fosse dispiaciuta." (Bordini, op.cit., 64)
67. D'Onofrio, *Gli Obelischi*, op.cit., 230ff.
68. Alexander VII, the Brief of 21 August 1662: "demolire l'arco di A. Aurelio e Lucio Vero, detto di Portogallo, per ampliare la strada del Corso" (Fea, op.cit., 62f)
69. Tertullian (160-240) had condemned the games in amphitheatres (Tertullianus, 'De spectaculis', ed. Migne, P., *Pathologiae Latinae*, Paris 1866, XIX, 726). The sources for connecting martyrs with the theatres date from the fourth century AD. (Di Macco, Michela, *Il Colosseo, funzione simbolica, storica, urbana*, Bulzoni, Roma 1971, 79)
70. Da Modena, N., 'Martirio di San Sebastiano' (engraving); Maestro di San Sebastiano, 'Martirio di San Sebastiano' (Philadelphia, Johnson collection); Callot, J., 'Martirio di San Sebastiano' (engraving); Da Cortona, Pietro, 'Flagellazione di Santa Bibiana' (Rome, Santa Bibiana). (Di Macco, op.cit., Fig. 95-100)
71. Panciroli, O., *I tesori nascosti nell'alma città di Roma*, Roma 1600, 269; Di Macco, op.cit., 210n.
72. Martinelli, F., *Roma di nuovo esattamente ricercata nel suo sito...*, Roma 1725, 101. For the lists of martyrs: Marangoni, G., *Delle memorie sacre e profane dell'Anfiteatro Flavio*, Roma 1746.
73. M. Maroni Lumgroso, Martini, A., *Le confraternite romane nelle loro chiese*, Roma 1963, 198.
74. A note of 2 September 1587 (Urb. lat. 1055, 383) (D'Onofrio, op.cit., 115f, 26n): "Ha il papa levato il dubbio à Romani che havevano di vedere a terra qualche pezzo del Coliseo per l'apertura della nuova strada da Campidoglio a San Gio. Laterano con palesarli il pensiero che ha, di risarcirlo tutto et dedicarlo un giorno al culto divino con una piazza bella d'ogni d'intorno senza invidia di quelle bellezze de suoi primi architetti et fondatori".
75. De Tomasi, C., 'Breve relazione dell'Anfiteatro, consacrato col sangue prezioso dei Martiri, serrato; e dedicato in onore dei medesimi, l'anno del Giubileo

1675', Macca, A., Fiori spirituali del Servo di Dio D. Carlo Tomasi, Roma 1675. Di Macco, (op.cit., 82f.) refers to manuscripts in the archives of the Padri Teatini, Sant'Andrea della Valle.

76. De Tomasi, op.cit.; Di Macco, op.cit., 83: An alternative plan for the protection and use of the Colosseum, found amongst the papers of De Tomasi: "Hor questo santo Maraviglioso memorabile e venerando luogo, non solamente pare abolito dalle menti degli huomini, ma quasi abborrito dà loro cuori per essere divenuto un letamaio d'Animali, e un Postribulo di Persone infami, però appartiene alla magnanimità e pietà di qualche Personaggio Grande e pio di rendere a Roma, et à tutto il Mondo la maggior opera della sua magnificenza et il maggior Santuario de' suoi Santi Martiri; ma per farlo ci vuol molta spesa perché non vogliamo altrimenti alterare pùto la Venerabile Antichità, ma solo farla comparire e custodirla. Onde non bisogna far altro, che annettarlo e firarlo d'un picciolo, e semplice muro, solo ornato d'alcuni merletti, ò palle con' un Portone Magnifico con sua Ferrata, Iscrizione et Arma e di dentro Stoccare la Chiesetta di S. Ignatio e farne un'altra simile all'altro lato Orientale dedicata a S. Almachio, e se ne potrebbe fare una terza dedicata a tutti i Santi Martirizzati in detto luogo à fondo dell'Anfiteatro di rimpetto al Portone, che verrebbe in mezzo alle due; e sarebbero come tre Cappellette valendo l'Anfiteatro per una Vastissima Forastieri, quali tutti lo riveriranno come cosa nuova, e con grandissima edificazione, et applauso del Personaggio, che n'è stato l'Autore..."

77. De Tomasi, op.cit., 206.

78. Marangoni, op.cit., 66; Colagrossi, P., L'Anfiteatro Flavio, Firenze 1913, 216; Di Macco, op.cit., 84, n223. The inscriptions by Clemence X: "AMPHITEATRUM FLAVIUM. NON TAM OPERIS MOLE ET/ ARTIFICIO AC VETERUM SPECTACULORUM/ MEMORIA./ QUAM SACRO INNUMERABILIVM MARTYRUM CRUORE/ ILLUSTRE./ VENERABUNDUS HOSPES INGREDERE./ ET IN AUGUSTO MAGNITUDINIS ROMANAE MONIMENTO/ EXARATA CAESARUM SAEVITIA/ HEROES FORTITUDINIS CHRISTIANAE SUSPICE ET EXORA/ ANNO JUBILEI/ M.DC.LXXV." and "AMPHITEATRUM HOC VULGO COLOSSEUM./ OB NERONIS COLOSSUM ILLI APPOSITUM./ VERUM. OB INNUMERABILIVM SANCTORUM MARTYRUM/ IN EO CRUCIATORUM MEMORIAM./ CRUCIS TROPAHEUM/ ANNO JUBILEI/ M.DC.LXXV"

Chapter Five

Treatment of Mediaeval Buildings after the Reformation

5.1 The Reformation

On 31 October 1517, Martin Luther (1483-1546), the German religious reformer, nailed his ninety-five theses on indulgences on the church door at Wittenberg. His attacks against the church continued, including a strong condemnation of monasticism (*De votis monasticis*, 1521) and in 1521 the Pope, Leo X, issued a bull against him that Luther burned publically at Wittenberg. He then spent a year at Wartburg Castle under the protection of the Elector of Saxony until he was later taken to the ecclesiastical court to answer for his convictions. Luther's action became a symbolic moment in the reformation movement throughout Europe leading to fundamental changes not only in the church but also in political, social and economical life.

After the situation had calmed down in the second half of the seventeenth century the countries of northern Europe, including German countries, England, and Scandinavia, had for the most part taken the line of the reformed church, while the south of Europe remained Catholic. This division was not sharply drawn, however; for example the Rhinelands, Bavaria and Austria stayed Catholic. The Reformation resulted also in the immigration of various groups of people, such as the Huguenots who were forced to leave France for the neighbouring countries and went even to America and South Africa; or the large group of people in the Netherlands, who moved from the Catholic south to the Protestant north. Religious differences continued for more than a century and were accompanied by armed conflicts such as the Thirty Years War (1618-48), which ravaged the whole of Central Europe, and caused much damage to historic buildings and to historic towns.

Italy

The Reformation movement caused a strong reaction also in Italy in the form of a Counter-

Reformation, which started in the 1530s and gradually came to affect the treatment of existing church buildings following the 'guidelines' of the Council of Trent, after its closing in 1563. The need to reform church plans had existed earlier, but now the action was taken more decisively, and its effects in the renovation of mediaeval churches could in fact be seen as comparable to what happened later in the northern countries, particularly in England during the eighteenth century. Interiors were opened up, rood screens and other obstacles were removed and the chapels rearranged. An example of this was the renovation of the two mediaeval churches of Santa

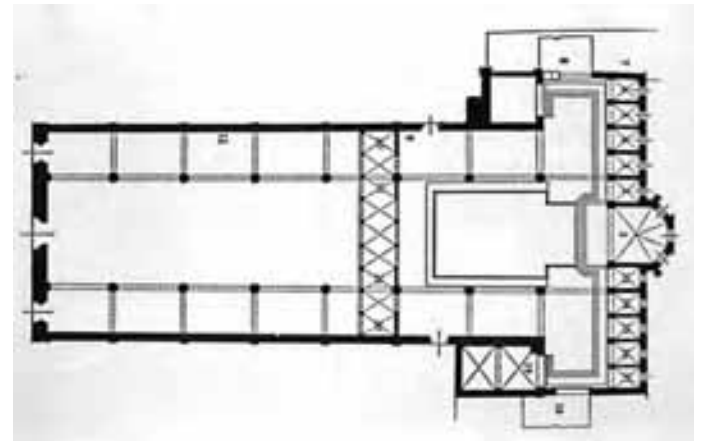
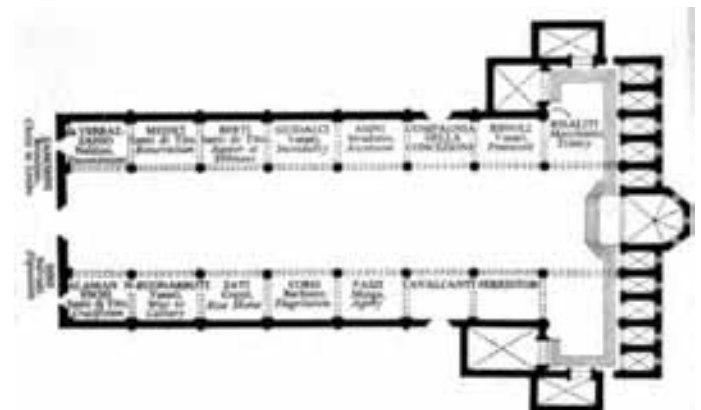


Figure 58. S. Croce, Florence, before restoration

Figure 59. S. Croce after restoration by Vasari: removal of the screen and construction of chapels in the nave



Croce and Santa Maria Novella at Florence by Giorgio Vasari. (1)

In Italy, on the other hand, Gothic was condemned in the writings of the Renaissance as “monstrous and barbarous, and lacking everything that can be called order”. (2) That was the opinion of Vasari, who concluded: “May God protect every country from such ideas and style of building! They are such deformities in comparison with the beauty of our buildings that they are not worthy that I should talk more about them”. (3) These ‘monstrosities’ were not necessarily destroyed, however, but rather fashioned anew; the mediaeval appearance could be encased or hidden, as by Alberti at Rimini in the Tempio Malatestiano, or by Vasari himself in the redecoration of a Neapolitan monastery of the monks of Monte Oliveto, where he hid the Gothic vaults under new stucco work. (4) For the sake of conformita’, however, buildings could be completed with respect to the original style as in the case of Milan Cathedral. Even Vasari accepted a certain ‘relativity’ in his judgement of some mediaeval masters, and he could not help praising the works of Giotto, Andrea Pisano and others, because “whosoever considers the character of those times, the dearth of craftsmen, and the difficulty of finding good assistance, will hold them not merely beautiful, as I have called them, but miraculous...” (5)

North of the Alps

The echo of Luther’s theses and especially of his condemnation of monastic life was soon heard in many countries; Denmark proclaimed ‘freedom of conscience’ in 1527, and the Ecclesiastical Appointments Act of 1534 gave a final blow to the administrative and disciplinary links between the Danish Church and the Pope; in Sweden, all ecclesiastical property, and especially land that the King considered ‘superfluous’, was to be handed over to him. In 1524, the Council of Zurich dissolved religious houses, setting their revenues apart for education or social improvement programmes. (6)

In France mediaeval buildings suffered damage, especially during the conflicts with the Huguenots in the early seventeenth century, and the Italian Renaissance had an effect on the treatment of mediaeval structures; Philibert de l’Orme, however, recommended transformation instead of destruction. On the other hand, as in other parts of Europe, mediaeval traditions survived under a Classical appearance, and there were many cases where Gothic forms were still applied in religious buildings, as in

the Cathedral of Sainte-Croix at Orleans, which was completed in Gothic form only in the eighteenth century. The Abbey of Saint-Maixent, destroyed by the Huguenots, was rebuilt by the Benedictines towards the end of the seventeenth century; the cloister was made in a classical style, while the church was rebuilt in its original mediaeval form. (7) In Germanic countries, where building in the Gothic style survived long into the seventeenth century, the conflict with Classicism was felt only in the eighteenth century. (8)

England

There had been an internal attempt to reform monasteries in Spain and France in the early sixteenth century; as part of the reform in England, Cardinal Thomas Wolsey (c1475-1530) had ordered the suppression of many religious houses, especially those under foreign administration. In conflict with the Pope, and with all those who dared to oppose his intended marriage, Henry VIII (1491-1547) declared himself the supreme head of the Church of England in 1534. In 1535 he appointed a commission under Thomas Cromwell (c1485-1540) to report on the state of the monasteries, and an act was passed for the suppression of all monasteries with a revenue under $\text{£}200$ a year. (9)

This resulted in iconoclasm and the destruction of anything that savoured of monastic life. The monastery of Durham, for example, which had first lost its smaller cells, and was then visited itself by the King’s commissioners, lost all the riches accumulated during many centuries. Although it was refounded in 1541 as the Cathedral Church of Christ and the Blessed Virgin Mary, the destruction continued; carvings were defaced, brasses removed, stained glass smashed, water stoups and memorial stones destroyed as idolatry. Even the lead of the roof was sold by the Dean for his own personal profit. (4) Nevertheless Durham survived relatively well, while dozens of other abbeys, such as St. Mary’s, York, Rievaulx, Fountains, and Roche in Yorkshire or Tintern in Wales, were either completely or partially demolished; the building material was sold or stolen, and the ruins were abandoned until they were later rediscovered for their ‘picturesque’ and ‘sublime’ values. An attempt to give some protection to churches was made in 1560 by Queen Elizabeth I (1533-1603), the daughter of Henry VIII, who issued a proclamation “Agaynst breakyng or defacing of Monumentes” set up in churches and other public buildings. (10) The damage to ecclesiastical buildings continued, and it was intensified in the

seventeenth century, particularly during the civil war in the 1640s.

Another reason for the transformation and destructive treatment of existing buildings was the introduction of Classicism into England. In 1613 Lord Arundel and the architect Inigo Jones left England for a tour in Italy; the first to collect antiquities, the second to study architecture and to advise him. With this tour the two Englishmen gave a precedent that was followed by others; in the eighteenth century the 'Grand Tour' became a part of the education of young English gentlemen. Inigo Jones described his ambitions:

“Being naturally inclined in my younger years to study the Arts of Designe, I passed into forrain parts to converse with the great Masters thereof in Italy; where I applied my self to search out the ruines of those ancient Buildings, which in despite of Time it self, and violence of Barbarians are yet remaining. Having satisfied my self in these, and returning to my native Country, I applied my minde more particularly to the study of Architecture.” (11)

Jones introduced Palladianism into England, becoming the first major interpreter of Classical architecture in his country. The results of his Italian studies were to be seen in his designs for masques, and in a quite different way in the study of Stonehenge, which he was commissioned to make by the King in 1620 because of his experiences as an architect as well as his knowledge of the antiquities of other countries. He attempted to explain the ring of huge stones as the remains of a Roman temple, said to have been originally built in “Tuscan order”, and he illustrated his interpretation with a reconstruction drawing. (12)

As a result of a visit to St. Paul's in London in 1620, James I (1566-1625) appointed a Royal Commission to inspect the condition of the building and to suggest repairs. Jones, who was a member of the commission prepared the estimates and made his proposals, which led to the carrying out of some works during the decade of 1632 to 1642. As a result of these repairs this Cathedral, which had been founded by the Normans and had a fine thirteenth-century choir, was partially transformed into a Classical form with Italianized windows and a much praised portico to Jones' design. This had eight fluted Corinthian columns, flanked at either end by a square pillar; at the sides there were three more columns, and over the columns were pedestals reserved for statues. (13)

In 1643, during the Civil War, and before the works had been completed, “all the Materials &c assigned for the Repairs were seized, the scaffolds pulled down, and the Body of the Church converted to a Horsequarter of Soldiers”. (14) Much damage was caused to the portico, and during the following Commonwealth (1649-60) destruction continued; the great building was brought to a pitiable state, a considerable part of the roof collapsed and the vaults with it; the land around the church was sold to speculators who started erecting houses right up against its walls. (15) During the war the soldiers of Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658) and other armies used cathedrals as barracks or stables or fortresses, and towers served as observation posts. Iconoclasm was again awakened in order to destroy the images of popery, and great losses could be counted especially in the stained glass windows. Similarly also many castles were destroyed for political reasons or converted to other purposes. (16)

In 1663, three years after the Restoration, a Commission was appointed to examine the situation of St. Paul's, and in the same year Christopher Wren (1632-1723) was engaged to make a survey of the Cathedral with a view to repairs. Wren's judgement

Figure 61. Beverley Minster, north transept. Drawing by N. Hawksmoor for a wooden machinery to push the leaning front back in position



of the building was seen from the point of view of Classical architecture, and his proposals included a massive Classical dome over the crossing. In 1666, in the Fire of London, St. Paul's was so badly damaged that it was decided to build a new Cathedral on the old site; a task which resulted in the demolition of the remaining mediaeval structures and in the construction of Wren's great Baroque masterpiece. (17) At the same time he also presented a plan for the rebuilding of London, which was found to be too ambitious to be realistic, but he did or supervised the designs of 52 churches which were built. These replaced former mediaeval churches, and were designed in a great variety; a few used Gothic details, but many still followed Gothic forms in their planning and composition of towers and steeples. Although Wren was the major representative of Classicism in England in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and on some occasions was reverely critical of mediaeval builders for their inadequate foundations and other structural deficiencies, he, shared respect for mediaeval buildings, which also had a practical effect in his work as the Surveyor of Westminster Abbey (1698-1722), as well as in the various reports and repairs he made on other mediaeval buildings in London, Chichester, Oxford and Salisbury. His report of 1668 on the survey of Salisbury Cathedral is an excellent example of this. He describes the structure and its problems, and continues:

“The whole Church is vaulted with Chalk between Arches and Cross- springers only, after the ancients Manner, without Orbs and Tracery, excepting under the Tower, where the Springers divide, and represent a wider Sort of Tracery; and this appears to me to have been a later Work, and to be done by some other Hand than that of the first Architect, whose Judgement I must justly commend for many Things, beyond what I find in divers Gothick Fabricks of later Date, which, tho' more elaborated with nice and small Works, yet want the natural Beauty which arises from the Proportion of the first Dimensions. For here the Breadth to the Height of the Navis, and both to the Shape of the Ailes bear a good Proportion. The Pillars and the Intercolumnations, (or Spaces between Pillar and Pillar) are well suited to the Height of the Arches, the Mouldings and decently mixed with large Planes without an Affectation of filling every Corner with Ornaments, which, unless they are admirably good, glut the Eye, as much as in Musick, too much Division the Ears. The Windows are not made too great,

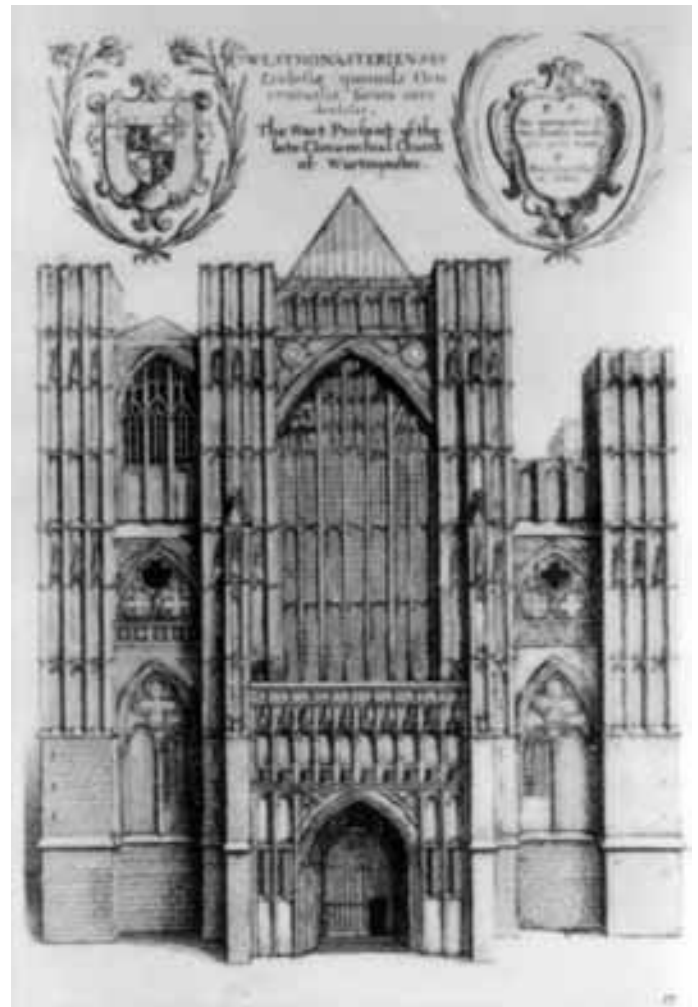


Figure 62. Westminster Abbey, London, West Front by Hollar, 1655

nor yet the Light obstructed with many Mullions and Transomes of Tracery-work; which was the ill Fashion of the next following Age: our Artist knew better, that nothing could add Beauty to Light, he trusted to a stately and rich Plainness, that his Marble Shafts gave to his Work”. (18)

At Westminster Abbey, Wren proposed the completion of the interrupted western towers, adhering to Gothic, the style of the rest of the building.

After his death, the project was taken over and the towers built, beginning in 1734, by Nicholas Hawksmoor (1661-1736), (19) his greatest pupil and colleague, who developed a personal version of the Baroque style in his churches and houses, but who also worked on All Souls College at Oxford in a Gothic style. Although aware of various problems in the old fabric, he appreciated the good and solid workmanship of this architecture, and reported:

“I must ask leave to say something in favour of ye Old Quadrangle, built by your most Revd. founder, for altho it may have some faults yet it is not without virtues. This building is Strong and durable, much



Figure 63. Westminster Abbey, West Front after the construction of the towers in the 18th century

more Firm than any of your new buildings because they have not ye Substance nor Workmanship, and I am confident that much conveniency and beauty, may be added to it, whereas utterly destroying or barbarously altering or mangling it, wou'd be using ye founder cruelly, and a loss to ye present possessours.” (20)

He proposed to keep the old structures as entirely as possible, and to do the necessary additions or alterations carefully, and continued:

“What I am offering at in this article is for the preservation of Antient durable Publick Buildings, that are Strong and usfull, instead of erecting new fantastick perishable Trash, or altering and Wounding ye Old by unskillful knavish Workmen ...” (21)

Hawksmoor’s contribution to the consolidation of Beverley Minster should be recorded as a highly significant work in the early eighteenth century. In order to conserve the leaning centre part of the north transept elevation, an ingenious machinery of

timber structure was built to push it back to a vertical position. To make this possible, vertical cuts were made in the masonry, and rebuilt afterwards. For this work Hawksmoor also prepared an appeal for the collection of funds in 1716. (22)

Sweden

Since the times of Theodoric the Great, Scandinavia had been regarded as the place of origin of the Goths. (23) But although they were thus given the blame for having destroyed Rome, the Scandinavians kept close contacts with the Pope; Brigida, later a saint, reached Rome for the Jubileum of 1350, and left later to found the convent of Vadstena in Sweden. (24) In the sixteenth century, when Gustav Vasa had declared Sweden protestant, the Catholic Bishop Olaus Magnus (1490-1557), with his brother Archbishop Johannes, lived in exile in Rome, and wrote the first history of the northern people, *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* (1555). Contacts with Rome were maintained also later; the architect Jean de la Vallée, who had been trained in Rome and was the first to bring Roman architecture to Sweden, built a copy of the Arch of Constantine for the coronation of Queen Cristina (1626-89), who succeeded her father, Gustavus Adolphus, in 1650. (25) A patron of learned men, she later came to live in Rome where she had a collection of antiquities, and Bellori working as her librarian.

In Sweden, the first national antiquarian studies started in the sixteenth century with an interest in various sorts of old documents, objects and treasures; old ‘rune stones’ especially became a subject of study. (26) In the early seventeenth century, research was supported by Gustavus Adolphus (1594-1632), including inventory tours undertaken on his instructions, and in the 1630s he nominated State Antiquaries for the country. (27) Some interest had been shown in mediaeval churches, but in the 1660s, during the reign of the young Charles XI (1655-97), this activity was formalized. On 18 December 1666, Hedewig Eleonora signed for him an ‘Antiquities Ordinance’ (28), which outside Italy may be considered the first of its kind. This Ordinance provided protection for antiquities and monuments, however insignificant, if they contributed to the memory of an historic event, person, place or family of the country, and especially of kings and other nobles. The protected objects could be either movable, such as coins and rune stones, or immovable, such as churches, convents, castles, forts, ancient tombs, or man-made earthworks, even if only partially remaining. In case someone damaged such

an object, he was ordered to restore it to its former state. The Ordinance seems to have been based on those of Renaissance Rome, and reflected the desire of Sweden to be considered a 'great empire'. The effect of this antiquarian interest was, however, felt mainly in archaeological and academic research. A new institute was founded in 1668 for antiquarian studies related to Swedish history; this was the Collegium Antiquitatum, which in 1692 became the Archives of Antiquities. In the eighteenth century, these activities declined, and the collected study material was deposited at the National Record Office and the Royal Library. (29)

Notes to Chapter Five

1. Hall, M.B., *Renovation and Counter-Reformation, Vasari and Duke Cosimo in Sta Maria Novella and Sta Croce 1565-1577*, Oxford-Warburg Studies, Oxford 1979.
2. Vasari, G., *Le Vite*, op.cit., 'Introduzione' (iii), I, 137: "Eccì un'altra specie di lavori che si chiamano tedeschi, i quali sono di ornamenti e di proporzione molto differenti dagli antichi e dai moderni. Nè oggi s'usano per gli eccellenti, ma son fuggiti da loro come mostruosi e barbari, dimenticando ogni lor cosa di ordine; che più tosto confusione o disordine si può chiamare,..."
3. Ibid, 138: "Iddio scampi ogni paese dal venir tal pensiero ed ordine di lavori; che, per essere eglino talmente difforni alla bellezza delle fabbriche nostre, meritano che non se ne favelli più che questo."
4. Ibid, 'Giorgio Vasari', VII, 674.
5. Ibid, 'Proemio alla seconda parte', II, 103: "Ma chi considererà la qualità di que'tempi, la carestia degli artefici, la difficoltà de'buoni aiuti, le terrà non belle, come ho detto io, ma miracolose". See: Panofsky, E., 'The First Page of Giorgio Vasari's 'Libro'', *A Study on the Gothic Style in the Judgment of the Italian Renaissance. With an Excursus on Two Façade Designs by Domenico Beccafumi*, *Meaning in the Visual Arts*, Penguin Books, 1970, 206ff.
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7. Léon, P., *La vie des monuments français*, op.cit., 19ff.
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10. Boulting, N., 'The law's delays: conservationist legislation in the British Isles', *The Future of the Past, Attitudes to Conservation 1147-1974*, Edit. J. Fawcett, London 1976, 11.

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12. Jones, I., *Ibid*.
13. Linstrum, D., 'Il restauro architettonico nell'Inghilterra del XVII secolo', *Restauro*, XVIII, 1975, 5ff.
14. Wren, C., *Parentalia, or Memoirs of the Family of the Wrens*, London 1750 (Repr. 1965), 273.
15. Lang, J., *Rebuilding St. Paul's after the Great Fire of London*, Oxford Univ. Press, London 1956, 4ff.
16. Briggs, *Goths and Vandals, A Study of the Destruction, Neglect and Preservation of Historical Buildings in England*, London 1952, 70ff.
17. Lang, J., op.cit., 21ff.
18. Wren, C., *Parentalia*, op.cit., 304.
19. Linstrum, D., 'Il restauro architettonico', op.cit., 29ff. William Dickinson (?-1702) is said to have collaborated to the drawing of the elevations under the guidance of Wren. After Hawksmoor's death the building was completed by John James in 1744-45. Downes, K., *Hawksmoor*, London 1979, 215.
20. Hawksmoor to Dr George Clarke (All Souls College), 17 February 1715, known as the 'Explanation', Downes, K., op.cit., 241.
21. *Ibid*.
22. Linstrum, D., 'Il restauro architettonico', op.cit., 36.
23. Schück, H., *Kgl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, Dess Förhistoria och Historia*, Stockholm 1932, I, 5.
24. *La Svezia e Roma, quattro momenti della cultura svedese a Roma*, Roma 1980, 15ff.
25. *Ibid*, 35.
26. Schück, H., *Kgl. Vitterhets Historie*, op.cit., 40ff.
27. Schück, H., *Kgl. Vitterhets Historie*, op.cit., 40ff. Östergren, S., 'Care of Cultural Monuments in Sweden: the Historical Background', *ICOMOS Bulletin* 6 1981, 'The Cultural Heritage in Sweden', Stockholm 1981, 24ff.
28. 'Antiquities Ordinance', (in Schück, H., *Kgl. Vitterhets Historie*, op.cit., 264ff.): "Kongl: Mayst:s Placat och Påbudh Om Gamble Monumenter och Antiquiteter. Wij Carl, medh Gudz Nådhe, Sweriges, Göthes och Wendes Konung och Arf-Förste, Stoor-Förste til Finland, Hertigh vthi Skåen, Estland, Liffland, Carelen, Bremen, Vehrden, Stetin-Pommern, Cassuben och Wenden, Förste til Rügen, Herre öfwer Ingermanland och Wiszmar; Så och Pfaltz-Grefwe widh Rhein i Beyern, til Güllich, Clewe och Bergen Hertigh, etc. Göre witterligit, allthenstund Wij medh stoort Miszhag förnimme, huruledes icke allenast the vhrigambla 'Antiquiteter' qwarlefwor och efterdömen, som alt ifrån Hedendomen, vthaff framfarne Sweriges och

Götha Konungars, sampt andre theras Förnämlige Mäns och Vndersåthares Manlige Bedriffter, som för thetta öfwer heele Wårt Rijke, deels vthi stoore Borger, Skantzar och Steenkumbel, deels vthi Stoder och andre Stenar medh Runaskrifter ingraffne, deels vthi theras Griffter och Žttebacker vthi temmelig myckenheet bestådt hafwa, medh sådan wårdlööscheet och oloffligit Sielffzwäld handteras, at the dageligen mehr och mehr förderfwade och vthödde blifwa; vthan och the ‘Monumenter’ som både aff Konungar, Drottningar och Förstar, sampt andre Förnäme aff Ridderskapet och Clerkeriedt vthi Wäre Christne Kyrckior til theras Heder och åtminnelse, hafwe warit lämbnade, alldeles förödas, och aff androm försåtheligen intagas och åwerkas, hwilket såmyckit mehra står til at ogilla och affwäria, som sådane ‘Monumenter’ böre skattas ibland the ting, hwilke så aff sig sielff som för insticktelsen skull, från all wahrycht och ohelgelse frij och försäkrade, jemwäl til Wåra Förfäders och heele Wårt Rijkets odödellige Beröm merckeligen ländande äre. Ty hafwe Wij aff then serdeeles nit Wij til föllie aff Wäre Förfäder Sweriges Konungar öfwer alt sådant billigt böre draga, så wäl til at offentligen betyga thet misznöye Wij til een slijk oreda, som ofwanbemelt är, fattat hafwe, såsom och at här efter beskydda och handhafwa alle sådanne ting för wijdare oloffligh handtering, för gott och nöwendigt ansett at biuda och befalla alle Wäre trogne Vndersåtare som thetta i någon måtto angå, eftersom Wij här medh och i kraft aff thetta Wårt allmenne ‘Placat’ them biude och befalle, först, at ingen ehoo han är, skal effter thenne dagh, vnderstå sigh på någrehanda sätt at nederbryta eller föröda the Borger, Huus, Fästen, Skantzar eller Steenkumbel, som ännu på een eller annan Orth kunna wara tilfinnandes, ehuru ringa ock thess Aflefwor wara måge, icke heller i någon måtto förspilla the Stoder eller Steenar, som medh någon Runaskriffit kunne wara ritade, vthan them alldeeles orubbade på sine rätte forne ställen blifwa låta, tillijka medh alle stoore hoopburne Jordhögar och Žttebakker, ther månge Konungar och andre Förnäme, sine Grafwar och Hwijlorum stadgat hafwe, efftersom Wij alle sådane gamble ‘Monumenter’, som vppå någon Wår enskylte Egendom, alldeles frijkalle, och vthi Wår Konungzlige Hägn och Beskydd anamma låte; Förseendes Oss i thet öfrige til Wäre trogne Vndersåtare aff Ridderskapet och Adelen, at om någre sådane ‘Antiquiteter’ på någon theras vhrminnes egne Frelsejord belägne wore, the icke theszmindre wille om thess ‘Conservation’ draga then Försorg, som thenne Wår nådige ‘Intention’, Saksens wichtigheet, och theras egen Heder kan wara lijkmätigt. Sedan biude Wij och, at ingen Högh eller Lågh, Andelig eller Werdzlig, aff hwadh Stånd eller wilkor then och wara må, skal wara loff- eller tillåterligit at röfwa eller råna the Konungzlige, Förstlige eller andre Förnehme Persohners Griffter, som ännu antingen vthi the ödelagde eller än stående Kyrckor och Closter kunne quarre finnas, mycket mindre them til sine egne Grafwar at förbyta, eller på något sätt tilfoga theras gamble och rätte ägander ther widh något Meen eller Intrång; Effter som Wij ther hoos wele at alle Kyrckior och Clöster sampt theras Tygh, Redskap, Prydnat på Wägger

och Fönster, Målningar eller hwariehanda innandöme, som något tänckwärdigt kunne innehålla, tillijka medh alle the dödas och afflidnas Grafwar och Graffstellen in vthi Kyrckior eller vthe på Kyrkiogårdarne, then Wårdnat, Frijd och Säkerheet bewijsas må, som medh theras Christelige Instichtelser, Bruuk och Öffning enligit är, så at sluteligen alla the Ting, the wari sigh så ringa som the för någons ögon Historisk Bedriff, Person, Orth eller Slächt lända kan, måge granneligen tagas i acht och skiötzel, och icke gifwas någrom tilstånd thet ringeste ther aff at spilla eller förderfwa; Och ther någon skulle vnderstå sigh her emoot i någon måtto at giöra coh Wår Befalning öfwerträda, wele Wij at then samme icke allenast therföre, som för all annor Wår Budz Föracht och olaglig åwerckan, plichta, vthan och Wår höga Onåde vndergifwin wara skal; Skulle och något Miszbruuk, Oreda eller üwerkan aff någrom tilförende föröfwat wara emoot något aff the Ting som i thetta Wårt ‘Placat’ ihugkomne finnes, tå befalle Wij alfwarligen, at alt sådant behördligen coh vthan någons anseende rättas, och vthi förrige tilstånd sättias må. Hwarföre Wij och i synnerheet befalle icke allenast Wår ÖffwerStåthållare i Stockholm, ‘General-Gouverneur’, ‘Gouverneur’, Landzhöffdingar, Ståthållare, Borgmästare och Rådih i Städerna, Befalningz- Lähns- Fierdingz- och Sexmän å Landet, at the öfwer thetta Wårt ‘Placat’ noga och alfwarligen hand hålla; Vthan och Erchiebiskopen, Biskoperne, ‘Superintendenterne’, Prowesterne och Kyrckioherderne öfwer hele Wårt Rijke, at the hwar å sin Orth thet allmenneligen förkunna, och jemwäl wackta på the Ting som i theras Stiffter, ‘Contracter’ och Församlingar finnes, och aff ofwanberörde Art bestå, til hwilden ände Wij och befalle alle i Gemeen som om händer, at the sådant hoos sine Kyrckioherder eller och Wäre Befaningzmän angifwa, på thet Wij igenom them ther om kungiorde, måge wijdare om thess ‘Communication’ beställa bör, hafwe sigh hörsamligen at effterrätta. Til yttermehra wisso hafwe Wij thetta medh Wårt Kongl: ‘Secret’ och Wår högst-ährade Elskelige käre FruModers, sampt the andre Wäre och Wårt Rijkets ‘respective’ Förmyndares och Regerings Vnderskriffit, bekräfta låtit.

Datum Stockholm then 28. Novembris Anno 1666.

Hedewig Eleonora.”

29. Östergren, S., ‘Care of Cultural Monuments’, op.cit., 24ff.

Chapter Six

Neoclassicism and the Picturesque

6.1. Archaeological Interests in the Age of Enlightenment

The Age of Enlightenment in the eighteenth century was based on the humanistic, philosophical and scientific concepts of the seventeenth century. From the Age of Absolutism, there is a development toward freedom of thought and religious toleration. The aim was to understand the origin of matter, to explore the world, and to submit everything to critical consideration; man gained confidence in himself and wanted to document his knowledge. The *Encyclopédie* (1751-77), edited by d'Alembert and Diderot, was an expression of this enlightened spirit. Libraries which had been status symbol during the previous century, became more accessible to the general public. The quality of printing was improved and publishing became a widespread activity. Many earlier works were reprinted; in the field of architecture, for example, the treatises of Vitruvius, Palladio, Scamozzi and Vignola became essential handbooks. Theories were further developed also in the field of aesthetics and history. Politically, the century was marked by alliances, wars and changes of territories. Scientific development and technical inventions resulted in increasing industrialization of production with consequent profound changes in society. Growing criticism of prevailing conditions, demands to limit absolute monarchism, the desire for social equality and political representation were factors that - together with the example of American Independence (4 July 1776) - brought about the French Revolution in 1789. This came then to mark the beginning of a new era that had been maturing through the century.

Collections and Publications: France

The desire to explore history more deeply together with the Classical Revival, made Rome once more

the cultural centre of the world. Already in 1666, the French Finance Minister Jean Baptiste Colbert, had signed the statutes of the French Academy in Rome, with the statement:

“Since we must ensure that we have in France all that there is of beauty in Italy you will realize that we must work constantly towards this aim. This is why you must apply yourselves to the search for anything you feel is worthy of being sent to us. To this effect you will be pleased to learn that I am having the upper and lower galleries of the Hotel de Richelieu prepared to accommodate everything sent to us from Rome.” (1)

Close contacts were maintained with Italy, especially with the Accademia di San Luca. The main task of the pensionaries of the French Academy was to study Roman classical monuments, prepare measured drawings of them, and propose ‘restorations’ illustrating the hypothetical original form. One of the first important contributions of the Academy had been the book by A.Desgodetz, *Les edifices antiques de Rome dessines et mesures tres exactement*, which was published in 1682. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, many archaeological sites were explored both in Italy and in Greece.

England

Since the days of the Earl of Arundel and Inigo Jones, English Virtuosi had followed their example in visiting Italy and collecting works of art. From the end of the seventeenth century, after the Restoration, these visits became the ‘Grand Tour’; with increasing wealth, more were able to afford the journey that became an established feature in the education of the English gentleman. In 1717, the Society of Antiquaries had been founded in London with the aim: # “The Study of Antiquity has ever been esteem’d a considerable part of good Literature, no less curious than useful: and if what will assist us in

a clearer Understanding the invaluable Writings of Antient Learned Nations, or preserving the Venerable Remains of our Ancestors be of account, the forming a Society to carry on so good and entertaining a Work by their joint Endeavors cannot but be esteemed laudable and highly conducive to that purpose.” (2)

The interest of the members of the Society was mainly oriented toward classical studies at the beginning, but later attention was given increasingly to native antiquities in England, and the members came to play an important role in their preservation. Not all who had travelled to Italy were accepted by the Antiquaries; thus, in 1734, a new society was founded called the Society of Dilettanti, the name the travellers used to distinguish themselves from the earlier Virtuosi. (3)

The collection of antiquities and modern works of art was one of the main objectives of the English, who were noteworthy on the streets of Rome. Edward Wright wrote in his Observations in the 1720s:

“Italian Virtuosi, who make a Traffick of such Things (collections in England), are very sensible, as they constantly find the Sweets of it, with regard to themselves; and the Romans in particular, who have such a Notion of the English Ardour, in the acquisition of curiosities of every sort, that they have this Expression frequent among them, Were our Amphitheatre portable, the ENGLISH would carry it off.” (4)

The most influential English patron and connoisseur, who toured in Italy, was Richard Boyle, the third Earl of Burlington (1695-1753). He made his Grand Tour in 1714-15. In Rome, he met William Kent, a painter and architect, who remained his life-long friend and with whom he helped to re-introduce Palladianism into England. (5) In 1754, the Scottish architect Robert Adam set off from Edinburgh for his Grand Tour through the continent to Italy, where he stayed until 1758. Later, his younger brothers followed his example. They worked together with Charles-Louis Clerisseau, who had won the Prix de Rome and stayed at the French Academy since 1749. Meticulous measurements and drawings in Rome and other parts of Italy as well as in Split gave him a large stock of architectural elements; these he put into full use, thus introducing a new style, the Neoclassicism that had been anticipated in the circle of Burlington and especially in the Vitruvius Britannicus of Colen Campbell (1715-25). (6)

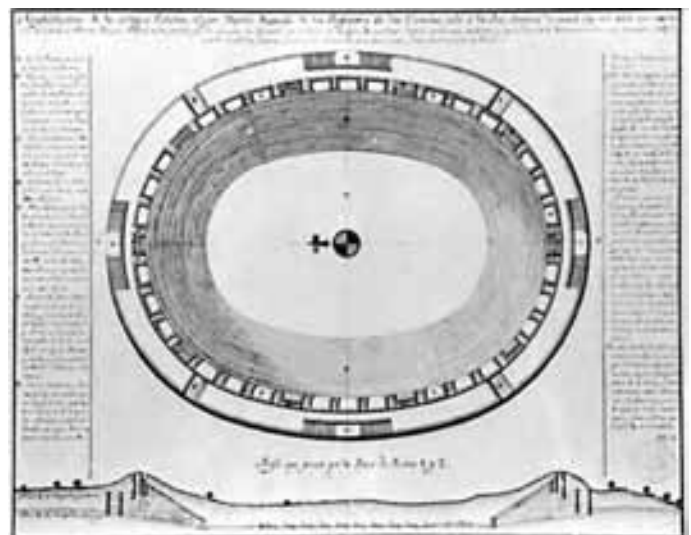
6.2 Archaeological Discoveries in Italy

The great archaeological discoveries of the century were amongst the main factors to influence Neoclassicism, a reactionary movement against Rococo and the excesses of the late Baroque. Its origin was related to Italy and the archaeological explorations, and the diffusion of publications on classical architecture. It aimed at a new definition of the criteria for architecture, but its approach penetrated all fields of art and contributed to the foundation of the modern world. It was introduced to France after the visit of the Marquis de Marigny (the brother of Madame de Pompadour) together with the architect Jacques-Germain Soufflot, the engraver Charles-Nicolas Cochin and the Abbé Le Blanc, who started their travel from France in 1748 coming through the north of Italy to Rome and visiting also Pompeii and Paestum, which had both just been discovered. Soufflot’s sketches of Paestum were engraved and published by G.P.M. Dumont in 1764. These were the first drawings published of the temples. Cochin wrote strong articles in Le Mercur after his return to France, criticising the fashion of Rococo and preparing the way for Neoclassicism. In the footsteps of their neighbours, the French started their Grand Tours following the English model. (7)

Pompeii, Herculaneum

Excavations were carried out in Rome as well as nearby Ostia and Tivoli, in the second half of the eighteenth century. New acquisitions and discoveries made it necessary to enlarge the existing museums, by building the Museo Cristiano in 1753, and the Museo Pio-Clementino, inaugurated by Clement XIV in (8) 1773. The greatest excitement, however, was caused

Figure 64. Stabia, plan and section of the amphitheatre (1748)



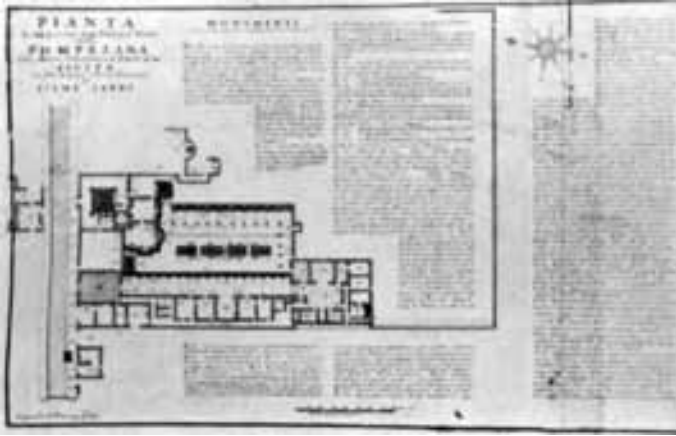


Figure 65. Villa di Giulia Felice; plan with notes by C.Weber

by the sensational discovery of the long-buried towns of Herculaneum and Pompeii on the slopes of Vesuvius. Horace Walpole wrote in a letter of 14 June 1740 to Richard West: “One hates writing descriptions that are to found in every book of travels; but we have seen something todat that I am sure you never read of, and perhaps you never heard of. Have you ever heard of the subterranean town? a whole Roman town with all its edifices remaining under ground.?” (9)

These towns, Herculaneum, Pompeii as well as Stabiae, were buried in the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 AD, but this was recorded in classical literature, and the memory of the catastrophic event remained alive. There had been an earthquake already before the eruption, in February 63 AD, and Seneca talks about it: “Apart from Pompeii, Herculaneum was partly destroyed, and what remains is not safe.” (10) Also the younger Livy (c.61-113), who as a young boy had experienced the eruption with his mother, later wrote down his memories. (11) The disaster happened so quickly that many people were not able to escape; Herculaneum, Pompeii and Stabiae were completely covered under several meters of volcanic ash and lava. In later times casual discoveries sometimes revealed marble statues, and Domenico Fontana, for example, while building an aqueduct, decided to avoid destroying the remains of a nymphaeum. (12) However, the sites remained covered until the beginning of the eighteenth century. (13)

Around 1711, Prince d’Elboeuf, an Austrian cavalry officer, had some excavations done on his property on the sea-side near the small town of Portici. His workers discovered three Roman statues of rare quality representing two young women and one elderly lady. D’Elboeuf had the statues restored and sent as a gift to his superior, Prince Eugene, who exhibited them in his palace in Vienna. (14) Later the statues were acquired

for the collections of the Dresden court. Shortly thereafter, Maria Amalia of Saxony, who came from Dresden, was married to Charles III of the Bourbons who ascended the throne of the Two Sicilies in 1738. Excavations were started immediately on the site where d’Elboeuf had found the statues, and this led to the discovery of the theatre. Due to an inscription it was later possible to identify the town as Herculaneum. (15) Ten years later, the Bourbons also discovered Pompeii and Stabiae. (16)

One of the important features of these excavations was that, since the disaster had happened so suddenly, one could find all sorts of everyday objects as well as people. Robert Adam, who visited the museum of Portici in 1755, explained how he and Clerisseau were taken around the collections: “With great pleasure and much astonishment we viewed the many curious things that have been dug out of it, consisting of statues, busts, fresco paintings, books, bread, fruits, all sorts of instruments from a mattock to the most curious Chirurgical probe. We traversed an amphitheatre with the light of torches and pursued the traces of palaces, their porticoes and different doors, division walls and mosaic pavements. We saw earthen vases and marble pavements just discovered while we were on the spot and were shown some feet of tables in marble which were dug out the day before we were there. Upon the whole this subterranean town, once filled with temples, columns, palaces and other ornaments of good taste is now exactly like a coal-mine worked by galley-slaves who fill up the waste rooms they leave behind them according as they are obliged to go a-dipping or strikeways. I soon perceived that the vulgar notion of being swallowed up by an earthquake was false, but it was still worse. It was quite over come with a flood of liquid stone from Mount Vesuvius which runs ou upon an eruption, is called lava and when cool is as hard as our whinstone: of this you find a solid body of 50 to 60 feet high many places.” (17)

The King recalled from Spain Rocco Giocchino de Alcubierre, a soldier who was in charge of the excavations from 1738 until 1741. Then he was replaced by Francesco Rorro and Pietro Bardet, a Frenchman who stayed until 1745, when Alcubierre returned and worked until his death in 1780. The Swiss architect Carlo Weber worked on the sites from 1750 till 1764, when he died and was replaced by Francesco La Vega. The excavations in Herculaneum caused many problems. First, they were carried out under ground, where the soil was extremely hard to quarry. In addition, the excavation extended under

a new living town, Resina, where the houses were in danger of collapse because of the cavities created underneath. Soon, in fact, the emphasis was shifted to Pompeii, which was nearer to the surface of the ground and easier to excavate. A museum was built in Portici, where the objects from the archaeological sites were displayed. This was headed by Camillo Paderni, a draughtsman of antiquities, who also assisted in supervising the excavations. (18)

When Horace Walpole visited Herculaneum in 1740, he wrote:

“Tis certainly an advantage to the learned world, that this has been laid up so long. Most of the discoveries in Rome were made in a barbarous age, where they only ransacked the ruins in quest of treasures and had no regard to the form and being of the building; or to any circumstances that might give light into its use and history.” (19)

The first plan of the theatre of Herculaneum had been prepared by Alcubierre (20) in 1739, showing Figure 66. The ‘Herkulanerinnen’; detail of one of the statues discovered by d’Elboeuf in Herculaneum in early 18th century (Dresden, collection of antiquities)



all the winding corridors reflected on the completed plan. In 1748, the amphitheatre of Stabiae was recorded in a similar way, and the plan and description of the Villa di Giulia Felice in Pompeii by Weber is dated 1757. (21) Plenty of written descriptions were prepared on the sites; by 1750 Rorro and Weber had made 404 written reports. (22) In 1755, a series of eight volumes, *Le Antichita di Ercolano esposti*, was started; the last appeared in 1792. This publication was translated into several languages and was influential in the spread of Neoclassicism. (23) In fact, Goethe wrote that “No catastroph has ever yielded so much pleasure to the rest of humanity as that which buried Pompeii and Herculaneum.” (24)

The King also provided legislation to protect the important Greek and Roman heritage in the area of Naples. This was dated 24 July 1755 and stated that “since no care or cure has been used in the past to collect and safeguard them, all the most precious pieces that have been unearthed have been taken out of the Kingdom. This is why it is now fairly poor whilst foreigners from faraway countries have become rich.” (25) This proclamation was mainly concerned about the objects found in excavations, and about guaranteeing the rights to the Royal House to increase their collections. Illegal transportation was forbidden under penalty, (26) but there was no specific mention about the conservation of buildings or sites.

6.3. J.J. Winckelmann

The fame of archaeological excavations in Italy was also known in German countries, and particularly in Dresden, where the three Roman statues, die *Herkulanerinnen*, had been acquired from the first excavations in Herculaneum through Vienna around 1748. This collection already included an important part of Bellori’s antiquities, which had been presented as a gift by the King of Prussia, Friedrich Wilhelm I, around 1723-26 (27) to Augustus the Strong of Saxony. The latter had also increased his collection by acquiring antiquities from the Chigi family and Cardinal Albani. (28) In 1754, Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717-68), who was born in Stendal in Prussia in a cobbler’s family, arrived in Dresden. He had been introduced to classical studies and knew Latin and Greek. He had studied at the universities of Halle and Jena, earning money as a teacher and reading at night. He later worked as schoolteacher, tutor and librarian, using all available time to study. In Dresden, he established contacts with artistic and literary circles and published his first essay on Greek

art in 1755. (29) Soon after this, he travelled to Rome, where he became librarian to Cardinal Albani and also worked on his collections. (30)

One of Winckelmann's ambitions was to see and study the finds of Herculaneum, but it took three years before he could visit the site. Then, though he had good recommendations, he was not allowed to visit the excavations; instead, he was permitted to spend two months in the museum of Portici. Even there, he was not allowed to study the objects too closely, and spent most of the time observing Paderni's attempts to open and read some carbonized book scrolls. (31) During his next visit in 1762, Winckelmann was somewhat more lucky, but still - staying three weeks - unable to take any notes or make sketches. This jealous protection of the discoveries from visitors was not limited to him only; even toward the end of the century, sketches could be made only of the objects that had been already officially published by the Academy of Herculaneum. (32)

After his second visit, Winckelmann prepared a report to Count von Bruhl in Dresden recording his impressions. This was published in German in 1762 and two years later in French. (33) Winckelmann accused Alcubierre of being guilty "due of his lack of experience of much damage and losses of many beautiful things." (34) For example, the copper letters of an inscription had been removed from the site to be shown to the King without prior reading of the text. The documentation prepared by Weber was kept secret and was not shown to anybody. The works on the sites were carried out very slowly. There were in all fifty workers including slaves from Algeria and Tunis. Of these, six were working in Pompeii where, where one could see but four excavated walls: "this remains only for the English!" (35)

The first generation of the excavations, i.e. the period of Alcubierre, concentrated on selecting items for collections. Although plans and reports were prepared, the buildings were destroyed; anything that could be removed was carried away, including pictures cut from the frescoed walls, and mosaics. In 1761, the ministry ordered the removal and destruction of "those useless antique coloured renderings" found in the buildings; two years later the King, however, criticized this order. (36) Some bronze elements that were broken were used as material for a bust of the King and for the new gates of the Portici. (37) In Herculaneum, tunnels were quarried without any plan and often filled in afterwards. Also in Pompeii, some sites were discovered twice for the same reason.

La Vega was the best qualified of those responsible for the excavations; when he took over from Alcubierre much more attention was given to the sites and to the conservation of architectural elements. In the 1750's and 1760's, Herculaneum and Stabiae were exhausted. In Herculaneum, the excavations came to an end in 1765. Pompeii, although discovered in 1748, was only excavated from 1755, but thereafter it attracted the principle attention. The excavations had started from the amphitheatre, an obvious feature as its form was apparent on the ground. Then the excavators made soundings at various sites, until in the mid 1770s, La Vega insisted on a more systematic approach, concentrating on the display of whole areas rather than aiming at the discovery of antique objects. (38) The work then proceeded along a main road liberating the whole area. Although paintings were still cut out of their context, a more systematic documentation was made on the site after 1765, and in 1771 La Vega proposed the preservation and protection of the frescoes of Casa del Chirurgo in situ. (39) He wanted to leave the space as it had been found in order "to satisfy the public", and because he considered the value of these paintings to consist mainly in the effect of the whole environment, which would be destroyed if the paintings were removed from it. (40) In some cases, La Vega even brought back objects that had previously been taken to the museum. A portion of the Caserma dei Gladiatori was rebuilt, in order to give an idea of its original form, but also to provide a place for the guardians. La Vega also proposed building a lodging for the tourists, so that they could stay over-night instead of returning to Naples in the evening. He suggested that this should be exactly like the antique houses, so as to serve didactic purposes. (41)

One of the problems on the site was how to preserve frescoes in situ. Some time after excavation, the colours lost their brightness and the paintings peeled off from the walls. Various solutions were tested. In 1739, for example, Stefano Moriconi, a Sicilian artillery officer, tried to refresh the colours with a 'miraculous varnish', but in the end this turned into a yellowish coating that obscured the fresco. (42) Winckelmann regretted the treatment with varnish, because it caused the paint-layer to peel off and break down in a fairly short span of time. (43) The best marbles, mosaics and bronzes were cleaned of their 'patina' and reintegrated. Much of the rest was treated as spoils and subsequently lost. (44)

Winckelmann's scholarship

Winckelmann was thirty-eight years old when he came to Italy. He was soon recognized as the foremost scholar of his time in the knowledge of classical antiquity - and especially in what concerned classical art. He was a tireless researcher and had a deep knowledge of classical literature as well as contemporary historical writing. Probably his most important contribution was to teach how to observe and how to understand more deeply the essence of a work of art. Hegel has said about him: "Winckelmann must be regarded as one of those who developed a new sense and opened up fresh perspectives in the world of art." (45) Already in Dresden, Winckelmann had fully utilized the opportunity to observe and analyze the antiquities in the collection that he considered "an eternal monument to the greatness of this Monarch, who had brought the greatest treasures from Italy for the cultivation of good taste." (46) The basic concepts, which he further developed in Rome, were already present in his first essay, *Gedanken über die Nachahmung* of 1755, (47) which had been soon translated into English, French and Italian,

Figure 67. Belvedere Apollo (Vatican Museum)



and lauded by Herder, Diderot, Goethe, Schelling, Friedrich Schlegel and others. (48) Winckelmann's publications have justified his being called the 'father of archaeology', and in 1763, he was given the responsibility of the Chief Commissioner of Antiquities in Rome and its district. He was also responsible for the care of all works of art in addition to being the Antiquarius of the Camera Apostolica. In 1764, he was given the position of Scriptor linguae graecae at the Vatican Library. (49)

For Winckelmann, the principle criteria in the evaluation of works of art was 'ideal beauty'. He based this concept on Platonic philosophy and on the thinking of Raphael and Michelangelo, incorporating also Bellori's theory. In his view, the culmination of this ideal was found in classical Greek sculpture. "The highest beauty is in God, and the concept of human beauty is the more complete the nearer and the more in agreement it can be thought to be to the highest Being." (50) Ideal beauty found its expression in nature, and the Greeks themselves he considered an especially beautiful race, not suffering from illnesses but free and with a sublime soul. Beautiful young people were accustomed to exercise and perform in public either naked or dressed only in a thin cloth that revealed their features. Thus, artists had an excellent opportunity for selection and observation of the most beautiful to be brought 'into one'. (51) "This is the way to universal beauty and to ideal pictures of it, and this is the way the Greeks have chosen." (52) They did not copy without thinking, but basing their art on observations from nature produced portraits which were even more beautiful than the model and elevated the work of art to reflect as closely as possible the Ideal of beauty in God. In the eighteenth century, according to Winckelmann, similar opportunities for observation did not exist, and it was easier to learn by studying Greek masterpieces than directly from nature. (53) Hence the famous paradox: "The only way for us to become great, and, if possible, inimitable, lies in the imitation of the Greeks." (54)

The *History of Ancient Art*, published in 1764, was an attempt to provide a text book for the observation of classical works of art. (55) As a preparation, Winckelmann published some essays, including a description of the 'Vestals' in Dresden, who wore their clothes with "noble freedom and soft harmony of the whole, without hiding the beautiful contour of their nakedness". (56) The Apollo of Belvedere represented to him the highest ideal of art, and the artist had used the minimum amount of material to make it visible. (57) In the fragmented Torso of



Figure 68. Belvedere Torso (Vatican Museum)

Belvedere, Winckelmann saw a resting Hercules. “Each part of the body reveals ... the whole hero engaged in a particular labour, and one sees here, as in the correct objectives of a rational construction of a palace, the use to which each part has been put.” (58) A work of art was conceived as a whole where the idealized parts were brought together within a noble contour. (59)

“The motion and counter-motion of its muscles is suspended in marvellous balance by a skilfully rendered alternation of tension and release. Just as the hitherto calm surface of the sea begins to stir in the fog, with wavelets playfully swallowing one another and giving birth to new ones, so does one muscle softly swell here and pass into another while a third one, issuing from between them and seemingly enchanting their motion, disappears again and draws our eyes after it beneath the surface.” (60)

Of Laocoon, Winckelmann wrote (see also figure 27 in chapter 3):

“The pain of the body and the greatness of the soul are expressed through the whole structure of the figure with the same strength and, so to speak,

weighed out... the artist had to feel the strength of the spirit in himself to be able to reflect it in marble.” (61)

Winckelmann believed that artistic development had reached its highest point in the ancient Greece resulting of a long development, finding its maturity in Phidias and its climax in Praxiteles, Lysippus and Apelles. After this there had been a rapid decline; (62) of the moderns only a few such as Raphael and Michelangelo had reached the same perfection. Winckelmann strongly criticized all publications so far compiled on the history of classical art, claiming that the authors lacked first hand experience in the subject. Practically no one, he felt, had written about the essence or penetrated to the heart of art; those who spoke about antiquities praised them in general terms or based their criteria on false grounds. No one had ever made descriptions of old statues; “the description of a statue must demonstrate the reason for its beauty and indicate the particular features of the artistic style.” (63) Winckelmann referred his judgement to facts that he had verified himself; he based a comparative study on an accurate analysis and description of all types of works of art, making reference to all available written documents, especially in classical literature. He had also had the opportunity to study and publish (in 1760) the important collection of engraved stones of Baron Stosch in Florence, which gave him invaluable comparative material, and covered periods for which no other documents existed. (64)

Proceeding thus through descriptions of authentic works of art, Winckelmann had to distinguish between what was original and genuine, and what had been added later. Working together with Raphael Mengs (1728-79), a German painter and one of the chief theorists of Neoclassicism, he prepared an essay on integrations in sculpture, claiming that “there are rules to distinguish with certainty the restored parts from the original, the pastiche from the real.” (65) “I notice statues that have been transformed through restoration and taken another character... into which trap even famous writers have fallen.” (66) Montfaucon had compiled his work (67) mainly on existing prints and engravings, and he had often been completely misled in his identification. For example, he took a mediocre statue of Hercules and Antaeus, which was more than half new, to be a work of Polyclitus, a leading sculptor of the second half of the fifth century BC; similarly, he identified a sleeping figure in black marble by Algardi as antique. (68) Jonathan Richardson (1665-1745), a London portrait painter and writer on art, had described Roman

palaces, villas, and statues as if in a dream. (69) Many buildings he had not even seen. Yet with all its mistakes this was still the best available publication. In his own book, Winckelmann gave examples of many well-known restorations with new features that never could have existed in the antique world. He referred to a writer who wanted to demonstrate how horses were shod in the past, but based his argument on a 'laudable' statue in the palace of Mattei, without noticing that the legs had been "restored" by a mediocre sculptor. (70) In some cases, the fragments from one original had been used to produce two statues. (71) In order to avoid confusion,

Winckelmann recommended that at least in publications the integrations should be either shown in the copper plates or indicated in the descriptions. (72)

Cavaceppi and the Restoration of Sculptures

This recommendation was further developed by Bartolomeo Cavaceppi, a close friend of Winckelmann's and the most active restorer of sculpture in Rome, who had clients all over Europe, in Italy, England and Germany. In his publications about works he had restored, Cavaceppi indicated in all cases, which was the part restored and which antique, if this was not evident from the drawing. (73) First of all, he claimed, the restorer had to have a good knowledge of the history of art and mythology, gained by consulting experts in these fields, in order to understand what "attributes" were originally used. However, when in doubt, it was better to display the statue without completing it, because an "erudite

Figure 69 (left). Copy of the Discobolus restored as 'fallen warrior' in early 18th century

Figure 70 (right). Copy of the Discobolus restored as 'Niobide' in the second half of 18th century



Figure 71. 'Carlo Barberini', torso of an antique statue integrated by Alessandro Algardi; the head by G. Bernini

may discover one day, as has often happened, what these really were." (74) Secondly, new parts were to be made in the same type of marble as the original sculpture and with complete respect for the original artistic intentions. Cavaceppi wrote:

"Restoration ... does not consist of knowing how to make a beautiful arm, a beautiful head, a beautiful leg, but in knowing how to imitate, and, shall I say, extend the manner and the skill of the antique sculptor of the statue to all parts that are added new. If I see an addition made to an already mutilated statue in this or that part, even with an accurate study, say by a Michelangelo, but with the intention to correct the insufficiencies, either real or pretended, of the original sculptor, rather than to imitate it, I will praise as a speculation the additional parts for what they are in themselves, not the restoration." (75)

Thirdly, Cavaceppi pointed out that when additions were made, these had to be adjusted according to the original broken surface; the original statue must in no case be re-elaborated in order to fit it to the new

parts. He also emphasized, like Winckelmann, that the aim of restoration was educational; one should not mislead the observer in his study of the original work of art. (76) If new parts were left incomplete, the cut-off surfaces were not to be made plain, but to be given an irregular and casual form as in old statues. (77)

Cavaceppi gave special attention to the surface treatment of old statues. Surfaces, he wrote, were often too corroded by the ravages of time though originally they had been precious for the “bella maniera”; the restorers thus want to go and “to smooth with a rasp this surface, so rough and corroded, and to polish it with a wheel; so that either no trace remains of the skill of the ancient sculptor, or if something does, this will be shapeless and damaged by such a poorly conceived cleaning...” (78) Though not all statues were treated in this way, a surface that was ‘whitened’ had the whiteness of ‘ivory’ and turned yellow, and its ‘lusto’ would be infected by “a sort of tartar”, an even more rapid corrosion. Even worse was the treatment with iron tools in order to adjust the antique part and make it uniform with the style of the modern restoration. This he considered something so intolerable, that

“there were no words to express its hideousness: I will only say that he who works in this manner treats the precious monuments of antiquity as if they were crude stones coming directly from the quarry. If this has ever happened in the past, I do not know nor do I want to know it; but if this should have happened by some accident, then nothing remains for us but to deplore the many things that have been irretrievably lost.” (79)

Cavaceppi also believed that there were limits to the extent of an integration, writing:

“It would be ridiculous to want to compose a head having only a nose or little more... Well-done comparisons and the artificial tartar applied to restored parts, will easily confuse the modern with the antique; and a less experienced eye may be easily deceived and not distinguish carefully one from the other. I agree that an antiquity can be found to have been ill-treated, but my desire is that a work should contain at least two-thirds that is antique, and that the most interesting parts should not be modern... A fragment of half a head, of a foot, or of a hand, is much better to enjoy as it is, than to form out of it an entire statue, which can then only be called a perfect imposture.” (80)

Winckelmann on Painted Decoration

Though dealing mainly with sculpture, Winckelmann described all antique paintings that were known in his time. In principle, he thought, all that he said about sculpture should be applicable to paintings; unfortunately, few antique paintings remained, none of them Greek. Thus, Winckelmann could only rely on writings and he wished a Pausanias would have made as accurate descriptions of the paintings he saw, as he himself did. (81) On the basis of the fragments of Roman paintings, Winckelmann could, however, have an idea of the excellence of Greek art. Greek sculpture and painting had attained a certain completeness earlier than Greek architecture; Winckelmann explained this by noting that they could be developed more freely according to ideal principles, while buildings had to obey certain practical requirements, and could not imitate anything real. (82) He was surprised that scholars who had described so many architectural monuments had never given any attention to this question. (83) In fact, Winckelmann gave the first written description on the temples of Paestum, published in 1762. He also wrote about the loss of so many monuments, even in fairly recent times, some of which had been recorded by artists like ‘the famous Peiresc’, but others had unfortunately disappeared without any notice. (84)

Pliny had said that great artists never decorated walls with paintings in Greece, and Winckelmann believed that

“colour contributes to beauty, but it is not the beauty itself; it improves this and its forms. Just as white is the colour that reflects light

Figure 72. Fragments of mural paintings from Pompeii, framed as pictures in museum display (Museo Nazionale, Naples)



most and so is more sensitive, so in the same way a beautiful body will be the more beautiful the whiter it is - in fact when naked it will look bigger than it is ..." (85)

According to Winckelmann, coloured or other decorations in architectural ornaments when joined with simplicity, created beauty. "The thing is good and beautiful, when it is, what it should be." (86) For this reason, he felt that architectural ornaments must be subordinated according to the ultimate aims. Accordingly, they should be seen as an addition to a building, and they should not alter its character nor its use. Ornaments could be considered like a dress that served to cover nakedness; the larger the building the less it needed ornaments. According to Winckelmann, older architecture as well as the oldest statues were seldom ornamented. (87)

F. Milizia

One of the first Italian rationalistic architectural theorists in the eighteenth century was the Venetian Carlo Lodoli (1690-1761). He emphasized function and necessity in architecture; he refused to accept the Renaissance and Baroque tradition of building types, and was looking for freedom in architecture. His theories were transmitted by Andrea Memmo (1729-93) and Francesco Algarotti (1712-64), and were an influence on French architects such as E.L. Boullée and C.-N. Ledoux. The fourth Italian in this group was Francesco Milizia (1725-98), who was less rigidly rationalistic than Lodoli. (88) Milizia believed architecture was imitative like the other arts, but different in that it imitated man-made models rather than nature. (89) Architecture consisted of beauty, commodity and solidity. Their union meant that all the parts and ornaments of a building refer to one principle objective forming one unique whole. According to Milizia, architecture was born

Figure 73. A street in excavated Herculaneum



out of necessity, and so "all its beauty must appear necessary... anything that is done for pure ornament is vicious." (90)

Milizia wrote a two-volume biographical dictionary, *Memorie degli architetti antichi e moderni*, published in 1785, which he divided into three parts: the architects of the ancient world, those from the decline of architecture in the fourth century to its re-establishment in the fifteenth century, and the modern architects. Amongst other issues he referred to the restoration and conservation of ancient monuments. He mentioned, for example, Luigi Vanvitelli's (1739-1821) transformation of Michelangelo's interior in S. Maria degli Angeli around the middle of the eighteenth century, as well as the restoration works in St. Peter's where Vanvitelli carefully analyzed the damage caused by an earthquake and installed iron bands to reinforce the drum. (91) The works of Carlo and Domenico Fontana were similarly recorded. About the obelisks Milizia expressed his doubts considering them 'totally useless' with the only merit of having promoted the invention of various types of machinery. (92) It is also interesting to hear the voice of Theodoric instructing the Prefect of Rome in the sixth century AD, and advising his architect for the conservation and care of ancient monuments. Milizia appreciated this emperor as one of the benefactors of Rome. He asked, "can these Goths be the inventors of that Architecture, that vulgarly is called Gothic? And are these the barbaric destroyers of the monuments of antiquity?" (93) Referring to the activities and qualifications of Theodoric's secretary, Cassiodorus, who also acted as an architect, Milizia concluded that the Goths actually had no architecture themselves, but were only soldiers, who found Italian artists to serve them. As architecture in Italy was already in decline, the Goths unfortunately could not find anything better. Upon his arrival in Rome in 1761, Milizia was offered the position of superintending architect for the Farnesian buildings, but he refused. (94)

6.4. Publications about Antiquities

The eighteenth century marked an important change in the diffusion of information through an increased amount of publications on archaeological and architectural subjects, including reprints of earlier treatises. This period also marked an increasing awareness of the 'universal value' of important works of art and historic monuments, marking thus the beginning of a more general feeling of responsibility for their care. When Horace Walpole visited Rome

in 1740, he was shocked by the condition of the city, writing,

“I am very glad that I see Rome while it yet exists: before a great number of years are elapsed, I question whether it will be worth seeing. Between ignorance and poverty of the present Romans, everything is neglected and falling to decay; the villas are entirely out of repair, and the palaces so ill kept, that half the pictures are spoiled by damp...” (95)

A concern for the condition of various masterpieces of art, such as the frescoes of Raphael in the Stanze of the Vatican, and a sense of common responsibility for this heritage that was so much admired by the whole world, started to be evident in the expressions of various travellers. In a letter of 1738, A French visitor Boyer d’Argens, voiced this concern, saying that Rome

“still possesses an infinite number of beauties and wonderful sights which must be defended, protected and conserved by all those who are opposed to vulgarity and ignorance. I am not defending the work of Raphael Nazarene but the work of the man Raphael who is a man superior to all others in art. If the sciences and arts embrace all countries and all religions, thus all those who cultivate and love them are brothers.” (96)

Towards the end of the century, the Germans who followed Winckelmann, Novalis and especially Goethe, developed even further this concept of the universality of the cultural heritage, the idea that the products that contain the value of authenticity belong to all humanity. (97) In 1813, Goethe declared that “science and art belong to the world, and before them all national barriers disappear.” (98) At the same time, similar concepts were developing regarding World Literature and Universal History. (99)

J.B. Fischer von Erlach

In 1721, the Austrian architect, Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach (1656-1723), published an illustrated history of architecture, *Entwurf einer historischen Architektur*. The book opened with the seven wonders of the world, and then continued by illustrating famous buildings of history in different countries: Egypt, Syria, Persia, Greece, Rome; it included Diocletian’s Palace in Split, the ruins of Palmyra and Stonehenge, Turkey, Siam, China, and Japan; Gothic architecture was not included, however. It relied on available documentation to illustrate - often with fantasy - “these famous buildings which

time had destroyed. We determined only to rely on the most authentic witnesses such as contemporary historians, ancient medals which conserved the images, and above all what is left of the ruins themselves.” (100) There was a growing interest in discovering less accessible sites. Paestum, which was in the malaria area south of Naples, had only been rediscovered in 1746, and the Greek architecture of Sicily was presented in a publication for the first time in 1749. (101) Ten years later, Winckelmann published his descriptions of both the temples of Paestum and of the city of Posidonia, as well as that of Agrigento. (102)

James Stuart and Nicholas Revett

In 1742, two architects, James Stuart (1713-88) and Nicholas Revett (1720-1804), met in Rome, and during a visit to Naples with other friends including the painter Gavin Hamilton (1723-98), they resolved to travel to Greece to measure and draw Greek antiquities. (103) Stuart was of a Scottish family and had come to Italy to study drawing, showing his skill by preparing engravings of the Egyptian obelisk found near the palace of Montecitorio in 1748. (104) Revett came from Suffolk and studied painting in Rome under Cavaliere Benefiale. (105) Hamilton and other English dilettanti gave their support to this expedition. In 1751 the two architects were elected members of the Society of Dilettanti who also financed the tour to Athens for which they left from Venice the same year, and where they remained until March 1753. However, it was several years before the promised publication was ready. The first volume of *The Antiquities of Athens*, measured and delineated by James Stuart, F.R.S. and F.S.A., and Nicholas Revett, *Painters and Architects*, was published in 1762. The second volume was published only after Stuart’s death, in 1789 (with the date of 1787). The third volume appeared in 1795, and the last came out in 1816. Revett also published *The Antiquities of Ionia* for the Society of Dilettanti (1769-97). The expedition to Greece brought much honour and guaranteed a future career for both Stuart and Revett, the former acquiring the nickname ‘the Athenian’. However, there was some disappointment because only less important buildings were published in the first volume; the Acropolis appeared only in the second.

The drawings of Stuart and Revett were praised for their accuracy, which was not the case with another publication. Julien David Le Roy (1714-1803), a

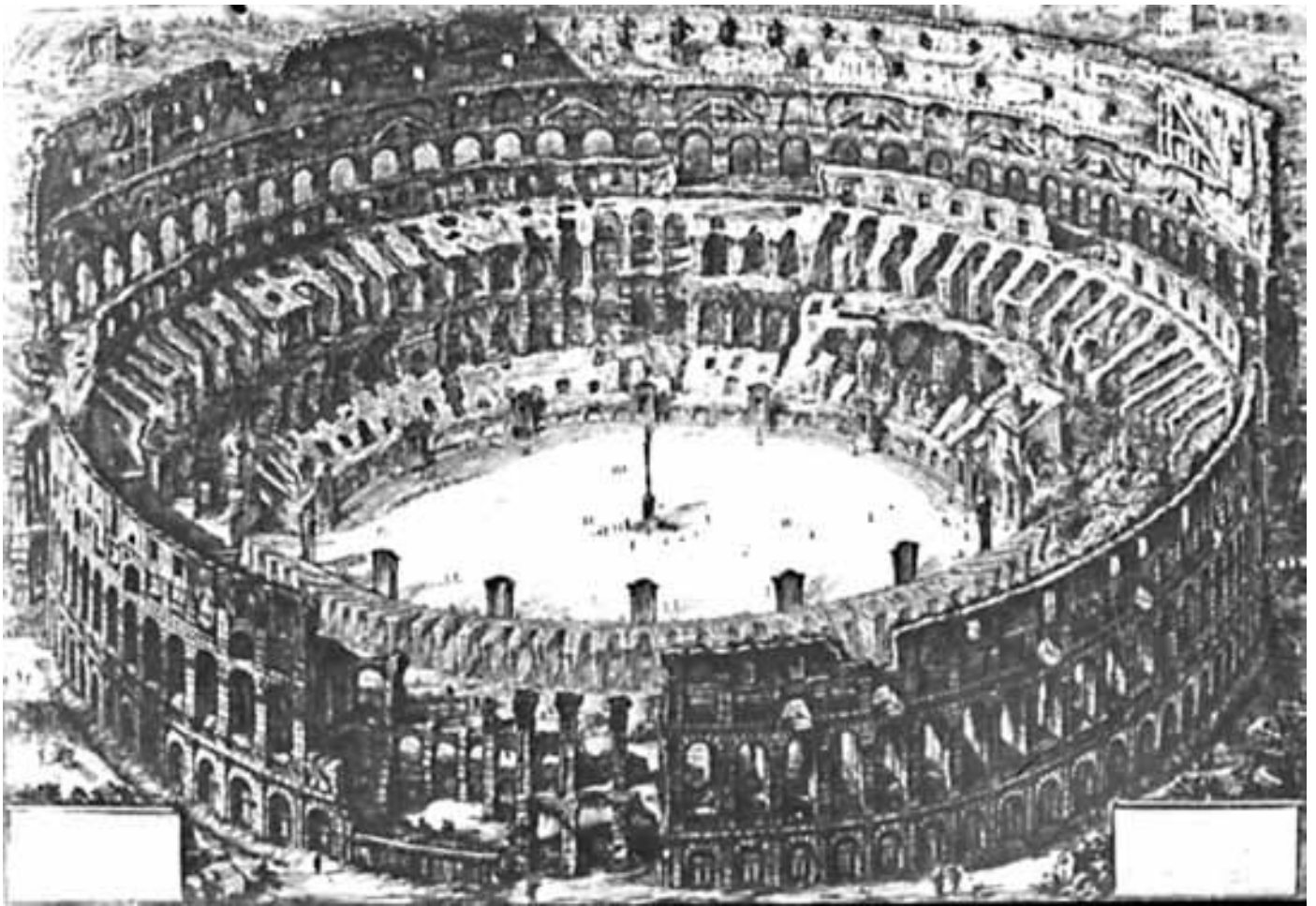


Figure 74. A bird's-eye view of the Colosseum, Rome, by G. Piranesi

former scholar of the French Academy in Rome, backed by the French archaeologist Anne-Claude de Tubieres, Comte de Caylus (1692-1765), made a quick expedition to Athens in 1754 and (110) published *Les ruines des plus beaux monuments de la Grece* in 1758 with an English translation the year after. Another colleague of Stuart and Revett, Robert Wood travelled to the Near East and published a much praised edition of *Palmyra* in 1753, and of *Balbec* in 1757. Though travels to the east became more frequent later, Rome remained the main objective for tourists for a long time. Its buildings were studied and documented more and more accurately. The Sicilian artist, Giuseppe Vasi (1710-82), for example, arrived in Rome in 1736, and published the volume of his *Delle magnificenze di Roma antica e moderna* in 1747 (106); in 1740, the greatest engraver of his time, Giambattista Piranesi (1720-78) took up residence in the city.

Giambattista Piranesi

From his first *Vedute* in the 1740's, Piranesi quickly established himself as the leading engraver of Roman antiquities, and his *Antichita romane* of 1756 was an 'international event' which brought him the

honorary membership in the Society of Antiquaries of London in 1757. (107) While authorities like Winckelmann and the theorists of the rational movement in architecture were leaning toward the 'noble simplicity' of Greek architecture and were reluctant to accept rich ornamentation, Piranesi took a different stand. He admired the abundant Baroque-like richness of Roman buildings.

The Comte de Caylus had published *Recueil d'antiquites Egyptiennes, Etrusques, Grecques, Romaines et Gauloises* in 1752, claiming in the introduction that Roman architecture was completely indebted to Greek architecture. When Le Roy's work was published and the general interest was shifting toward Greece, Piranesi prepared a counter attack, publishing his largest work, *Trattato della magnificenza e architettura de' Romani* in 1761. (108) In this same year, Piranesi was elected to the *Accademia di San Luca* and from this time on his enthusiasm for archaeology grew. He owned a large collection of antiquities himself and carried out excavations in the area around Rome, publishing several volumes on these monuments. (109) Piranesi was furiously polemical about the Greek revival then under way; he insisted that Roman architecture

derived from Etruscan art, and attempted to demolish the idea that Greece had been of great importance. His justifications were often clumsy and unfounded, but his drawings became more and more dramatic. Piranesi made the Roman monuments look gigantic compared with human beings, to the point that some travellers, may have been disappointed upon seeing the actual ruins. He was interested in Roman building techniques, expressing admiration for the beauty of structures such as the Cloaca Maxima or the foundations of Hadrian's mausoleum. These he drew as if excavated. He also showed Roman monuments stripped of their later additions, as in the case of the Theatre of Marcellus, the Temple of Hadrian (in Piazza della Pietra), or Castel S. Angelo and Saepia Julia. (110) Through his drawings, it was possible to admire the decaying ruins with bushes growing over them, and to see the sky between lofty columns. [Fig.70] Piranesi's imagination created fantastic over-ornamented monuments displaying various influences; his wildest fantasies were perhaps expressed in his Carceri. Nonetheless, Piranesi also contributed to serious archaeological work and collaborated with G.B. Nolli to prepare the Map of Rome in 1748. (111)

Vedutisti

Piranesi was in close contact with many foreigners, especially French and English; amongst his English associates was Robert Adam. (112) He anticipated the Romantic idea of Rome and its ruins through his picturesque and sublime views, strengthened by his special choice of perspective. The eighteenth century visitors to Rome could also admire painters such as the Vedutisti, including Gaspar van Wittel (1653-1736) of Dutch origin, Giovanni Antonio Canal, called Canaletto (1697-1768), his nephew and assistant Bernardo Bellotto (1720-80), and Giovanni Paolo Panini (c. 1692-1765). Canaletto worked in Venice, Rome and England, while his nephew travelled around central Europe making valuable documentation of some major cities, such as Dresden and Warsaw. Their work aimed at scrupulous accuracy in the minutest detail, resembling photographic illustrations. Panini and the French landscape painter, Hubert Robert (1733-1808), worked with Piranesi; they also made ruins a special feature in their paintings - though less dramatic than in Piranesi's vision. Panini was in close contact with the French and taught at the French Academy. Also German artists were active; Philipp Hackert (1737-1807) from Brandenburg, who had travelled in Sweden (1764) and France (1765), arrived in Rome in 1768. In 1777-78 he worked in



Figure 75. Antique remains at Selinunte (P. Hackert)

Segesta, Agrigento, Selinunte, and Paestum painting landscapes with the ruins of these classical temples. (113)

6.5. English Aesthetic Theories

The Picturesque, the Sublime

In addition to 'beauty', also other concepts were discussed, important in future decisions regarding conservation of antiquities. The most important of these were the 'picturesque' and the 'sublime'. 'Picturesque', as conceived in Italy in the early seventeenth century, meant "characteristic to painting or to painters." (114) It was related especially to paintings on nature, able to attract the observer with an effect of immediacy; picturesque meant natural beauty and was connected not only with painting but also with poetry. The concept was further developed in England, where the works of Claude Lorrain (1600-82), Gaspard Dughet (called Poussin) (1615-75), and Salvator Rosa (1615-73), became fashionable. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Claude and Poussin were considered the leading landscape painters. Claude composed classical landscapes related to pastoral scenes with themes taken from the Bible, Virgil, Ovid or mediaeval epics, giving great importance to the effects of light. Rosa, on the other hand, boldly represented wild and savage scenes, and is regarded as the forerunner of romanticism. (115) These landscapes, often with allegorical significance, were composed as complete pictures, difficult to translate into three dimensions. This became a problem when attempts were made to transmit the inspiration into real landscape gardens. (116) 'Picturesque' was also related to folkloristic scenes with people in traditional costumes, (117) and it was present in theatrical scenography. (118)

The ‘sublime’ came into use in England after the French translation by Nicolas Boileau (1636-1711) of Longinus’ treatise *Peri Hupsous* (first century AD: “On the Sublime”) in 1674, meaning ‘greatness of conception, elevation of diction, and emotional intensity’. Boileau himself defined the word as ‘the extraordinary, the surprising and the marvellous in discourse’; it was linked with great, wild, awe-inspiring and stupendous elements in natural scenery. (119)

English Garden Design: Vanbrugh, Kent, Brown

Through the contribution of poets and writers such as Henry Wotton (1568-1639), Francis Bacon (1561-1626), and John Evelyn (1620-1706) as well as John Milton (1608-74), these English aesthetic concepts led to a gradual development away from the formal Renaissance garden layouts towards freer design and variety. Milton’s *Paradise Lost* (1667) emphasized serpentine lines, natural treatment of water, rural mounds and wooded theatres. John Vanbrugh (1664-1726), a playwright and architect, was conscious of ‘picturesque design’; he created various classical buildings, the Rotondo, the Temple of Bacchus, the Pyramid, and so on, for the garden at Stowe, in 1720-25, as well as working at Castle Howard in Yorkshire, Claremont in Surrey, and Eastbury in Dorset. (120) At Blenheim, Oxfordshire, he made an attempt to save the ruined Woodstock Manor writing a justification where he referred to the historic and personal connections of the place as well as for its picturesque value in helping to shape and enrich the landscape:

“That part of the Park which is Seen from the North Front of the New building, has Little Variety of Objects Nor dos the Country beyond it Afford any of Vallue, It therefore Stands in Need

Figure 76. Woodstock Manor, Blenheim, the ruin that Vanbrugh tried to save from destruction in the early 18th century due to its historic and picturesque values



of all the helps that can be given, which are only Five; Buildings, And Plantations(.) These rightly dispos’d will indeed Supply all the wants of Nature in that Place. And the Most Agreeable Disposition is to Mix them: in which this Old Manour gives so happy an Occasion for; that were the inclosure filld with Trees ... Promiscuously Set to grow up in a Wild Thicket. So that all the Building left ... might Appear in Two Risings amongst ‘em, it wou’d make One of the Most Agreeable Objects that the best of Landskip Painters can invent. And if on the Contrary this Building is taken away; there then remains nothing but an Irregular, Ragged Ungovernable Hill, the deformitys of which are not to be cured but by a Vast Expense; And that at last will only remove an Ill Object but not produce a good One, whereas to finish the present Wall for the Inclosures, to forme the Sloops and make the Plantation ... wou’d not Cost Two Hundred pounds.” (121)

Vanbrugh’s attempt to save the building did not have positive results; it was demolished, and his plans have been lost, but the letter remains an important early statement in the development of evaluation of historic sites in view of their conservation.

After Vanbrugh, Willam Kent (c1685-1748) was the person who, as Horace Walpole said it, “leaped the fence, and saw that all nature was a garden.” (122) One can find the influence of stage design and of landscape painting in his work; and it was he who developed a spatial concept in garden design as well as introducing many of the basic architectural elements to be found in later designs. Indirectly, these architectural features contributed to a public awareness of antique monuments and fostered a conservation ethic. As one critic wrote: “His buildings, his seats, his temples, were more the works of his pencil than of his compasses. We owe the restoration of Greece and the diffusion of architecture to his skill in landscape.” (123) Kent worked on several important gardens such as Stowe, where he built replicas of classical buildings; in other cases, he used the Gothic, as at Merlin’s Cave in Richmond Park, Surrey, in 1735. (124) In the 1720s and 1730s, the writings of Batty Langley (1696-1751) and his designs of garden elements further contributed to this taste for building replicas or versions of classical ruins or Gothic buildings in gardens. (125)

As indicated previously, eighteenth-century gardens were first conceived as Elysiums with replicas of classical buildings and literary associations; in the 1740s and 1750s, however, Gothic taste and

Chinoiserie became fashionable (the first Chinese style buildings were built in Kew Gardens by William Chambers in 1749). (126) In the 1760s and 1770s, the leading garden designer was Lancelot (Capability) Brown (1716-83), who perhaps brought the English garden to its fullest expression. Walpole wrote about 'this very able master's' work referring to his ability in creating "a succession of pictures", and improving and embellishing the general views by variety. (127) Brown himself, while complaining about the lack of comprehension of the English ideas on "Gardening and Place-making" in France, insisted that, if rightly understood, these would "supply all the elegance and comforts which Mankind wants in the Country and (I will add) if right, be exactly fit for the owner, the Poet and the Painter." (128) The landscape garden on occasion included picturesque ruins of mediaeval abbeys and monasteries, such as Fountains Abbey - maybe the most prestigious among them, Rievaulx and Roche Abbeys. The inclusion of these ruins in the garden layout was not made, however, for the purposes of their conservation, but rather for their value as a picturesque ruin. (129)

Gilpin, Price, Chambers

Picturesque theories, specified particularly by Edmund Burke (1729-97) in *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, 1757, had their effect in the realms of painting and poetry as well; in the 1760s and 1770s, it became fashionable to make tours in the English countryside and select picturesque scenery that could be either interpreted in water-colour or described in words. The most notable of these tourists was Rev. William Gilpin (1724-1804), who defined that "roughness froms the most essential point of difference between the Beautiful and the Picturesque: as it seems to that particular quality, which makes objects chiefly pleasing in painting." (130) Gilpin had a preference for the Lake District and sublime mountain scenes, but he admitted the need for man-made 'amenities' to add variety and sentiment to a scene. The picturesque ruin again assumed importance, and the irregularity of its form, "the stains of weather and the incrustations of moss" (131) contributed to its appreciation. Looking at Tintern Abbey, he wrote that "a number of gable-ends hurt the eye with their regularity; and disgust by the vulgarity of their shape." (132)

Figure 77. A view of the Fountains Abbey in Yorkshire



The definition of the concepts, beauty, picturesque, sublime, was further developed by Uvedale Price (1747-1828) and Richard Payne Knight (1750-1824). In 1794, Price wrote his *Essay on the Picturesque* where he defined 'Picturesqueness' as appearing

“to hold a station between beauty and sublimity; and on that account, perhaps, is more frequently and more happily blended with them both than they are with each other. It is however, perfectly distinct from either; and first, with respect to beauty, it is evident, from all that has been said, that they are founded on very opposite qualities; the one on smoothness, the other on roughness; - the one on gradual, the other on sudden variation; - the one on ideas of youth and freshness, the other on that of age, and even of decay...” About 'sublimity', Price wrote: “In the first place, greatness of dimension is a powerful cause of the sublime; the picturesque has no connection with dimension of any kind (in which it differs from the beautiful also) and is often found in the smallest as in the largest objects. - The sublime being founded on principles of awe and terror, never descends to anything light or playful; the picturesque, whose characteristics are intricacy and variety, is equally adapted to the grandest and to the gayest scenery. - Infinity is one of the most efficient causes of the sublime; the boundless ocean, for that reason, inspires awful sensations: to give it picturesqueness you must destroy that cause or its sublimity; for it is on the shape and disposition of its boundaries that the picturesque in great measure must depend.” (133)

Nationalistic Values

In 1712, Lord Shaftesbury (1671-1713) wrote a letter from Italy, advocating “the creation of a national taste and a national style based on the spirit of national freedom - a freedom resulting from the British constitutional government. (134) Referring to the revolution of 1688, he sought for a balanced power within the nation, and wanted to make England the centre of 'liberal Arts'. In this, he had counted especially on the patronage of Richard Boyle, third Earl of Burlington (1794-1753) (135), to whom Johann Jakob Heidegger dedicated his libretto to Handel's opera *Amadigi* (1715), where the same ideas may be found. (136) Classicism in architecture and the English informal landscape garden both came to be considered expressions of this liberty and liberality, and as symbols of the British constitution. They were in opposition to the French absolute government, having Rococo style dominating, and the formal

garden layouts. James Thomson (1700-48), a Scottish poet, wrote in his *Liberty* (1735) about French parks and gardens, where “his haunts betrimmed, And Nature by presumptuous art oppressed, The woodland genius mourns...” (137) comparing it with England that to him was the “happy land! Where reigns alone the justice of the free!” (138)

When Brown created his landscapes based on current aesthetic theory, he destroyed many formal gardens; his creations were subsequently criticized for not being picturesque enough, and even thought to be rather boring. One of his critics was William Chambers, who wrote a *Dissertation* favouring oriental gardening. Even this was ridiculed by another, William Mason (1725-97) in the *Heroic Epistle to Sir William Chambers* (1773), where nationalistic feelings were given full expression, (139) and whose *The English Garden* (1772-82) together with *Modern Gardening* (1770) by Thomas Whateley, where to have important influence in France. Mason approved of classical ruins in pictures, but in a garden he preferred the native English tradition; if an artificial ruin was built, he felt, it should also have some use. (140) He preferred to propose constructions echoing the forms of 'native' architecture such 'a time-struck abbey'; to build fake Roman ruins or to mix influences, he considered a serious error. (141)

English Influence in France

In France, the 'poetique des ruines' was discovered by Denis Diderot (1713-84), philosophical writer, publisher, and critic. It has been said that to him time gained great importance, and 'the language of history replaced that of the gods', and he was 'shuddering' at the sight of broken columns and scattered marbles. (142) When observing the paintings of Robert, Diderot interpreted the ruins as a symbol of that which no longer existed. (143) He believed that 'great ruins' were more striking than completely preserved buildings. (144) The site of a ruin represented the site of love, and the site of truth, a place of solitude; the concept of a 'ruin' was related to ruins of important monumental buildings; beautiful buildings made 'beautiful ruins'! The remains of less important houses could only be 'ruined buildings'. (145)

The fashion for English gardens came to France in the 1770s and this included building artificial ruins. However, following the example of Mason and Whateley, some prudence was shown. Marquis Rene-Louis de Girardin (1735-1808) emphasized that a scene of a landscape garden - more than by an architect and a gardener, had to be composed by a poet

and a painter, “in order to involve both the eye and the spirit”. (146) He accepted the use of artificial ruins in order to add to the picturesque effect, but insisted that these should be used with prudence and in a proper way. (147) Others condemned artificiality altogether, and ridiculed the fake imitations of Palmyra in the French landscape, emphasizing the importance of true expression and authenticity, because only ‘real ruins’ of ancient architecture could “emanate an idea of the respectable things that have happened there, and of the famous people who have lived there”. (148)

Picturesque illustrations became fashionable in the same time; in 1781-86, Jean-Claude Richard abbé de Saint-Non (1727-91) published his *Voyage pittoresque ou description des Royaumes de Naples et de Sicile*, and a similar publication was prepared by Jean Houel (1753-1813) on Sicily, Malta and Lipari, in 1782-1787. (149) As a result of a tour to Greece in 1776, M.G.F.A. de Choiseul-Gouffier (-1817) published the first volume of his *Voyage pittoresque de la Grece* in 1817. (150) In the footsteps of painters and poets, who admired ruins of classical monuments, an interest was also raised for picturesque mediaeval structures. Gothic art and architecture, although generally condemned as not fashionable, had anyhow been recorded in illustrations, such as especially the publication of Bernard de Montfaucon. (151) In the 1780s another ambitious work was initiated by B. de la Borde, E. Beguillet, and J-E. Guettard, although interrupted by the revolution. The first volume was published in 1781, and it aimed at a general encyclopedic description of France in all its aspects; the second volume, instead, appearing three years later, in 1784, was conceived as an artistic itinerary that was to cover all France, and was called *Voyage pittoresque de la France*. (152) A continuation to this work was only achieved in the 1820s, when Ch. Nodier, J. Taylor and A. de Cailleux, with the help of numerous artists, initiated theirs, *Voyages pittoresques et romantiques dans l’Ancienne France, 1820-78*. (153) –

6.6 Restoration of Paintings

New Supports

During the eighteenth century, various techniques were developed especially regarding cleaning and the provision of new supports for damaged paintings. Techniques for detaching wall paintings by sawing or cutting them out of the wall, ‘stacco a massello’, had been known since the Renaissance, and were used, for example, in Herculaneum (154). In Santa Maria degli

Angeli, in Rome, where Luigi Vanvitelli renewed the interior in 1749, some frescoes were transported from the Basilica of St. Peter, where they were replaced by mosaics. (155) Techniques for the detachment of the paint layer, either fresco or oil paint, from its original, damaged support, were also developed during the eighteenth century. First established in Italy at the beginning of the century, these techniques were used extensively in France from the 1740’s onward, and came to England in the 1750’s. (156) The advantages of these developments were that some conservation problems were solved; if all went well, over-painting could be avoided, and even earlier ‘restorations’ could be removed thus showing ‘le pur pinceau’, the traces of the brush of the original artist. (157) In France, a fresco by Raphael, San Michele, was transferred onto canvas, meriting the great admiration of even the Academy of Painting. (158) There was, however, a serious risk of damage to the original painting during the transfer operation; sometimes parts of the paint-layer remained on the old support. In France, this method provoked a long public debate. (159)

The Concept of Patina

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it became fashionable to accept a brownish overall tonality, especially in ‘picturesque’ landscape paintings. Hogarth spoke of “the deep-rooted notion” that “time is a great improver of good pictures.” (160) This ‘patina’ was, in fact, partly produced by the alteration of materials, partly by the artists themselves. Claude Lorrain, Poussin, and Dughet, for example, used a black convex glass to help them to conceive the desired tonalities and to distinguish between light and shade more clearly. (161) Writers like Joseph Addison and John Dryden gave beautiful descriptions of this patina of time. Hogarth has quoted the following lines of Dryden:

“For time shall with his ready pencil stand,
Retouch your figures with his ripening hand;
Mellow your colours, and imbrown the tint;
Add every grace which time alone can grant;
To future ages shall your fame convey,
And give more beauties than he takes away.”
(162)

He himself was not convinced, however. Some oils took “a yellowish cast after a little time”, he said, but these were “apt to do more mischief hereby than good”; it was, therefore, best to use oil that was clearest and would “best keep its colour in oil-painting.” (163) Hogarth noted that some colours were produced from metal, earth, stone, and others of

more perishable materials, and that with the effect of time they all behaved differently:

“one changes darker, another lighter, one quite to a different colour, whilst another, as ultramarine, will keep its natural brightness even in the fire. Therefore how is it possible that such different materials, ever variously changing (visibly after a certain time) should accidentally coincide with the artist’s intention, and bring about the greater harmony of the piece, when it is manifestly contrary to their nature, for do we not see in most collections that much time disunites, untunes, blackens, and by degrees destroys even the best preserved pictures.” (164)

Questions related to methods of cleaning, varnishes, patina, and integration, were much discussed around the middle of the eighteenth century. Different methods of cleaning were tried with variable results. Some oils or varnishes were observed to have a damaging effect on old paintings, if used in their restoration. (165) To Luigi Crespi, an Italian painter, patina consisted of ‘sottilissime velature’, subtle ‘veiles’ as a finish over the paint-layer, sometimes created ‘with a slightly dirty brush’; with cleaning, he argued, all this would be lost - and “what will then be the value of this painting to an intelligent eye?” (166)

Pietro Edwards, who was made responsible for state-owned pictures in Venice in 1778, claimed in his report of 1786 that time was not to be blamed for the alteration of paintings but that it was only the measure of the action of destruction or preservation. (167) He realized that decay was caused by various external agents, humidity, fumes, sun, wind, loosening of the canvas, dust, and especially varnishes. There was no easy answer to the problems, and it was necessary to carry out research in order to find suitable methods. Edwards organized a programme of preventive maintenance to prevent damage to pictures. Detailed instructions were given about dusting, keeping surfaces clean, and inspecting regularly for any water infiltration. During restoration under his supervision, all smoke and dirt, cracked, swollen and faded paints, as well as insect droppings were removed from the surface of the paintings. (168) Also old over-paintings were removed, and colours brought back to their original tones where possible. (169) It can be said that in the restoration directed by Pietro Edwards, there was the beginning of a differentiation between superficial dirt and the alteration of the material itself, i.e. the patina.

Reintegration of Losses in Paintings

Concerning reintegration of losses, there is a certain analogy between the treatment of antique sculpture and treatment of paintings. The work of Cavaveppi (1716-99), the foremost restorer of sculpture in this period, was much praised by Ennio Quirino Visconti (1751-1818), the successor of Winckelmann as Commissioner of Antiquities and Museums in Rome. (170) Crespi, too, had spoken about reintegrations in 1756. He was reluctant to accept them, especially in frescoes, because in his view it was impossible to imitate the original. He insisted that reintegration of losses in old medals was faking, that the removal of their patina should be condemned and that it would be ridiculous to “mend an old letter in a memorial or tombstone”. (171)

The instructions issued by Pietro Edwards, instead, permitted the reintegration of paintings, but with full respect for the original. Lost heads, hands, draperies, etc. could be redone always taking care to imitate the character of the original. This was to be done so that the restorer “not even with the best intention of improving the work could remove something of the original or add something of his own, nor should he add or take away inscriptions.” (172) He also insisted that it should later be possible to remove any integrations without damage to the original painting, and that the materials used should not be harmful to the work of art. It is interesting that these concepts in many ways anticipated the architectural restorations of the nineteenth century.

Restoration: a profession

During the eighteenth century, in the climate of scientific and technical development, and of the debate on the relationship between the liberal and mechanical arts, there was also discussion about the position of the restorer. It was realized that he had to adjust to different styles; he also had to master special skills related to new working methods and techniques, which an ordinary artist did not have. In 1745, restoration gained official recognition in Milan, where it was ordered that restoration of public pictures and sculptures should only be permitted under special license.

“In order that good works, which merit survival forever, should not be destroyed, it is ordered and prohibited that any Painter, Sculptor, and Architect, and other professors, or non professors, both Academic and non Academic, should dare to destroy or retouch antique or modern paintings or sculptures in public ownership, without a prior inspection of the

Academy, under the penalty of twenty five Scudi...” (173)

Organization of Protection in Venice

In Venice, where the paintings in churches, schools and convents were considered an important patrimony of the State, some pictures had been sold abroad without notifying the authority. On 20 April 1773, the State recognized the necessity “of an immediate and valid measure, to assure the preservation and maintenance of such a rare and precious ornament of the Dominante, which attracts the admiration of Foreigners” (174) It was decided to nominate a general inspector to be responsible “to guard them, conserve them and to be responsible if any removal or loss would happen.” (175) Antonio Zanetti, whose publication on Venetian paintings was much acclaimed, was nominated the first inspector (176); he was succeeded by Prof. Giovan Battista Mengardi in 1778. (177) Each town had to keep a list, an inventory, of all public paintings, and all changes in their position were to be authorized by the inspector. At first, restoration was the responsibility of several professors and professional restorers. Due to poor results, however, it was decided to place one person in charge of all activities. As noted earlier, the chosen individual was Pietro Edwards. He worked in this position until 1796, when the Republic of Venice was dissolved; but later, in 1819, he proposed the establishment of a school for restorers. (178)

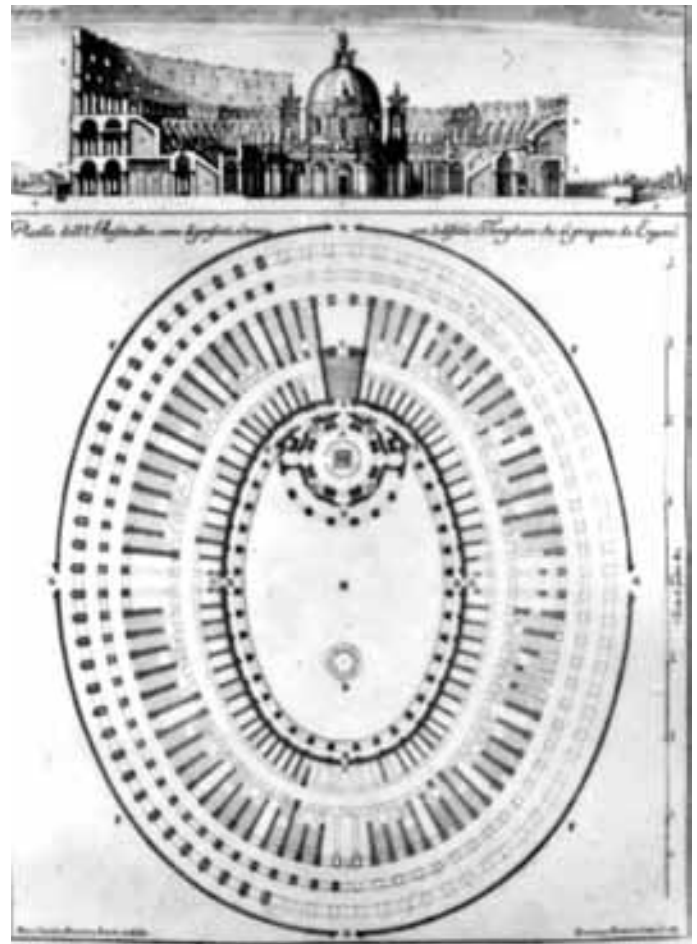


Figure 78. C. Fontana, proposal for a church in the Colosseum: elevation and plan. The ruins of the ancient structure were to be preserved as a ‘relic’ for its connections with Christian martyrs

Figure 79. The interior of the Colosseum with the series of altars and the chapel (Eckersberg, 1815)



6.7. Restoration of Classical Monuments in Italy

The Colosseum

In 1700, Clement XI had the arcades of the Colosseum closed with fences, transforming it into a manure deposit for the production of salpêtre. (179) In 1703, a part of the structure collapsed in an earthquake, and the fallen material was used for the building of the Porto di Ripetta. (180) Carlo Fontana (1638-1714), the architect and former collaborator of Bernini, felt compelled - due to “affection and obligation” - to inform the authority about the urgent need to consolidate the eastern part of the external wall, where there were stones loosened from their ties which indicated obvious ruin of that side. (181) Concerned because nothing was done, Fontana prepared a study in 1708 (published posthumously in 1725), proposing to restore the dignity of this ancient monument through its proper use as a Christian site.

The study included a careful survey and measured drawings of the building in its present state, a

reconstruction of the original architecture, and a proposal for the conservation of the remains of the fabric as well as plans for a church to be built in the eastern part of the arena. Considering the ‘obscene’ use of the amphitheatre at present, Fontana proposed to restore back to the people the remains of this building, that had seen sufferings of so many martyrs, “without destroying even the minutest fragment” (182) of it. The arena was to be separated from the rest of the fabric with an arcaded colonnade bearing the statues of 42 martyrs. In the western part of the arena, he proposed a fountain in imitation of the antique Meta Sudante, the remains of which stood in front of the Colosseum. (183)

Fontana’s proposal remained on paper, but in 1744 Benedict XIV (1740-58), the able and learned Pope who encouraged literature and science, commissioned the Governor of Rome to publish an edict to prohibit the violation of the Colosseum. It was forbidden to remove stones from the fabric, and the arena was consecrated to the memory of Christian martyrs. (184) In 1749, there was a further authorization for the building of permanent aedicules for the Easter Via Crucis around the arena, and a cross was erected in its centre. (185) Despite the orders of the Pope, a part of the arena was let for cattle, and the building was still used as a manure deposit. Nevertheless, the Colosseum was a popular site for travellers. The historian Edward Gibbon visited it for the first time in 1764, and during the same period, the Scottish man of letters James Boswell wrote of this “famous Colosseum, which certainly presents a vast and sublime idea of the grandeur of the ancient Romans ... a hermit has a little apartment inside. We passed through his hermitage to climb to where the seats and corridors once were ... It was shocking to discover several portions of this theatre full of dung.” (186)

Figure 81. The Arch of Constantine, Rome



Figure 80. The Arch of Constantine: head of a prisoner, restored in the 18th century

The Arch of Constantine

In the 1730s, the Arch of Constantine had received some attention. Though one of the best preserved monuments of antiquity in Rome, and considered a witness of much glory for the Christian religion, (187) still it had suffered during the centuries. The statues of Dacian prisoners had been decapitated in 1534 (188) and one of the columns in giallo antico on the north side of the arch had been removed at the end of the sixteenth century to be used under the organ in the transept of the Lateran basilica. (189) In 1731, Clement XII and the Conservatori of Rome ordered the restoration of the Arch under the supervision of Messrs. Marchesi Alessandro Capponi who “carefully and accurately, restored the columns and their cornices, mending the statues and bringing them back to their original form.” (190) A colossal block of marble that had recently been found near the Piazza della Pietra was used as material for the repairs; the heads of the prisoners were recarved, and various repairs were made to the cornices. Repairs can also be identified in some of the reliefs, possibly dating from this same restoration, when also the missing column was replaced with an antique one of white marble. (191) The work was completed in 1733. (192)



Figure 82. The Obelisk of Montecitorio, Rome, restored by the order of Pius VI at the end of the 18th century with a conscious attempt to avoid falsification and reconstruction of the hieroglyphs

Obelisks

The interest in obelisks continued even after Sixtus V, and two more were erected in the seventeenth century. The first, excavated from the Circus of Maxentius, was placed over the Fountain of the Four Rivers in Piazza Navona for Innocent X in 1651, and the other, discovered near the church of S. Maria sopra Minerva was erected in front of it for Alexander VII in 1667. Bernini was responsible for both projects, and showed a more dynamic and architectural approach in the treatment of the obelisks than had been the case in the sixteenth century, using them as an ornament in an architectural space. (193) During the eighteenth century, four obelisks were erected; the first one of these, which had been standing next to the church of Sant' Ignazio was placed with great skill over the sixteenth-century fountain of Giacomo della Porta in front of the Pantheon for Clement XI in 1711. (194) The other three were erected at the end of the century for Pius VI (1775-99) by Giovanni Antinori (1734-92), an architect who had worked in Lisbon. One,

which had been buried under Via Ripetta, was placed on the Quirinal hill, requiring a rearrangement of the statues of Dioscuri, previously restored by Domenico Fontana, and the building of a new fountain in front of the group. (195) Another one, which had originally been found in a garden near Porta Salaria, was erected on the top of the Spanish Steps in front of SS. Trinita de' Monti in 1789. The last one was placed in the centre of Piazza di Montecitorio in 1790-92. (196)

In 1703, when some buildings were demolished in the area of Montecitorio, a huge monolithic column (14.75 m high and 1.90 m in diameter) with its pedestal was discovered. It was of Egyptian red granite and had no decoration. The pedestal was made of Italian marble and was decorated with reliefs in addition to a dedication to the Roman emperor Antoninus Pius (AD 138-161). (197) The column was raised from the ground by Francesco Fontana (1668-1708), the son of Carlo, but no decision was made about its use. It, thus, remained under some sheds, and was finally damaged by fire in 1759. (198) The pedestal was restored in 1706-08 and erected in the centre of Piazza di Montecitorio by Ferdinando Fuga in 1741. In 1787, it was moved to the Vatican and placed in the niche of Michelangelo in the Garden of Pigna. (199)

For Sixtus V, the obelisks had symbolized the victory of the Christian Church over heathenism and were used to mark major places of pilgrimage in a liturgical context, in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries an emphasis had been given to the sculptural and architectural values of these monuments; Antinori had a different aim again. Although Sixtus V also had conceived the obelisks in the urban context of Rome marking the new pilgrim accesses, and although even now the obelisk of the Trinita de' Monti was placed in front of a church, the emphasis was given mainly to the townplanning aspect; its function was to mark an important location in the city as did the Quirinal obelisk facing the Porta Pia at the end of Via Venti Settembre. The obelisk of Montecitorio was placed to decorate the piazza in front of the Law Courts; and - according to the original function of the obelisk as part of Augustus' huge sun-dial - an attempt was made to use it again as a solarium, but without success. (200)

When Innocent X had the obelisk erected in Piazza Navona, he invited Anastasio Kircher, a Jesuit father, to interpret the hieroglyphs. Kircher did this - erroneously, but with such self-confidence that he proposed some "hieroglyphica genuina" of his own invention to integrate the missing parts. (201) By



Figure 83. Excavation of the obelisk of Montecitorio

the time Pius VI had the obelisks erected at the end of the eighteenth century, there had been a change in attitude towards a more archaeological respect for the original. In Antinori's contract, it was specifically stated that the missing hieroglyphs on the obelisk of Montecitorio were not to be reintegrated: "Repair properly the whole obelisk leaving the hieroglyphs intact. Missing parts should be added but without attempting to falsify them by adding decoration in reference to not-understood Egyptian mysteries." (202)

This change of approach in the policy of restoration was clearly a sign of more maturity of concepts and of a growing awareness of authenticity, as promoted especially by Winckelmann, whose writings had soon be translated into Italian. His critical surveys and detailed descriptions as well as his insistence on a clear distinction of modern work from the original in order to avoid misleading artists and art-critics had a long lasting effect in Italy. The restoration of the obelisk of Montecitorio can be considered maybe the first conscious attempt in a public monument to distinguish clearly the additions from the original. (203) This new approach was clearly felt in Rome at the beginning of the nineteenth century, when restoration of ancient monuments was initiated under the care of Carlo Fea, the translator of Winckelmann, and Antonio Canova, the famous Neo-classical sculptor, who both greatly admired him and showed a great respect towards every fragment that had survived from Antiquity. Later these concepts were further diffused, and soon became an established principle in the treatment of ruined monuments also in other countries.

Notes to Chapter Six:

1. Comte Franchi-Verney della Valletta, *L'Académie de France à Rome 1666-1903*, Paris 1904, 24; Jean-Baptiste Colbert signed the statutes of the Academy on 11 February 1666. "Comme nous devons faire en sorte d'avoir en France tout ce qu'il y a de beau en Italie, vous jugez bien qu'il est de conséquence de travailler incessamment pour y parvenir: c'est pourquoy appliquez-vous à rechercher avec soin tout ce que vous croirez digne de nous estre envoyé, et, pour cet effet, vous serez bien aise d'apprendre que je fais préparer les galeries basses et hautes de l'Hotel de Richelieu, pour y mettre tout ce qui nous viendra de Rome."
2. Ants. MS.268., Evans, Joan, *A History of the Society of Antiquaries*, Oxford 1956,
3. Evans, op.cit., 93; Manwaring, Elizabeth Wheeler, *Italian Landscape in Eighteenth Century England, a study of the influence of Claude Lorrain and Salvator Rosa on English Taste 1700-1800*, Oxford University Press, New York 1925. Girouard, Mark, *Life in the English Country House, A Social and Architectural History*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London 1978, 164ff.
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5. Wittkower, Rudolf, 'Lord Burlington and William Kent', *Palladio and English Palladianism*, Thames and Hudson, London (1974) 1983, 114ff.
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9. Walpole, Horace, *Correspondance, The Yale Edition: Letter to Richard West*, 16 April 1740.
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11. *The Letters of the Younger Pliny*, transl. by B. Radice, Penguin Books (1963) 1978, 171 (Letter 20, Book six)
- 12.
13. Leppmann, Wolfgang, *Pompeii in Fact and Fiction*, Elek Books Ltd., London 1968 (transl. from German), 48.
14. Leppmann, op.cit., 49. Winckelmann, J.J., *Sendschreiben von den Herculanischen Entdeckungen an den Hochgeborenen Herrn Heinrich Reichsgrafen von Brühl*, Dresden 1762. Winckelmann tells that d'Elboeuf kept the statues until his death; then they came to the hands of Mr Falletti, who sold them to the King of Spain. Successively the statues would have been restored in Rome, and presented to the Prince Eugenius in Vienna as a gift. After his death, they were bought by the King of

- Poland, and arrived in Dresden seven years prior to the Winckelmann's departure for Rome (i.e. 1748).
15. Leppmann, op.cit. Ruggiero, Michele, *Storia degli Scavi di Ercolano ricomposta su documenti superstiti*, Napoli 1885, xii ff.
 16. Leppmann, op.cit.; Fiorelli, Ios., *Pompeianarum antiquitatum Historia I-III*, Neapoli 1860. Pompeii was discovered in 1748, but the excavations only started in 1755. Excavations were carried out at Stabia beginning in 1749.
 17. Fleming, Robert Adam, op.cit., 155.
 18. Ruggiero, *Storia degli Scavi*, op.cit.; Leppmann, op.cit.
 19. Walpole, *Correspondance*, op.cit., Letter to Richard West, 14 June 1740.
 20. Ruggiero, *Storia degli Scavi*, op.cit.
 21. *Pompeii 1748-1980, i tempi della documentazione, a cura dell'Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione con la collaborazione della Soprintendenza Archeologica delle provincie di Napoli e di Caserta e della Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma*, Exhibition catalogue published by Ministero per i Beni Culturali ed Ambientali, Roma 1981, 133f.
 22. Ruggiero, op.cit.; Fiorelli, *Pompeianarum*, op.cit.
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 24. Idem.
 25. Emiliani, A., *Leggi, bandi e provvedimenti per la tutela dei beni artistici e culturali negli antichi stati italiani 1571-1860*, Edizioni Alfa, Bologna 1978, 227ff.
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 28. Zimmermann, 'Vorgeschichte...' op.cit.; Leppmann, *Pompeii...*, op.cit.
 29. Winckelmann, J.J., *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerei und Bildhauerkunst*, 1755.
 30. Leppmann, W., *Winckelmann*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York 1970; Justi, Carl, *Winckelmann und seine Zeitgenossen*, Leipzig 1898.
 31. Leppmann, *Winckelmann*, op.cit., 167ff.
 32. Idem.
 33. Winckelmann, *Sendschreiben*, op.cit.
 34. Winckelmann, *Sendschreiben*, op.cit.: "...dieser Mann war seiner Unerfahrenheit schuld an vielem Schaden und Verluste vieler schönen sachen."
 35. Winckelmann, *Sendschreiben*, op.cit.: "Wer völlig aufgedeckte vier Mauern sehen wollen können nach Pompei gehen, aber man will sich nicht so viel bemühen: dieses bleibt nur für die Engländer."
 36. Ruggiero, *Storia degli Scavi*, op.cit.: On 20 April 1761, the responsible Ministry gave the order to throw down "quelle tonache antiche colorite inutili". This order was criticized by the King in a note of 12 November 1763.
 37. Ruggiero, op.cit.; Winckelmann, *Sendschreiben*, op.cit.
 38. When La Vega was asked about excavations, he answered (13 January 1776) that the new method, which consisted of removing the earth and making the buildings visible, will take much more time than the earlier method, "nonostante non vi sia speranza di trovare cosa alcuna dove ora si scava in Pompei, stimo sia necessario continuarsi ... essendo tutti persuasi che si abbia a continuare a scavare sempre in un medesimo sito." (*Pompeii 1748-1980*, op.cit., 12f)
 39. La Vega proposed that a room decorated with paintings "restandosi in situazione da potersi coprire e anche custodire, facendovisi il suo tetto, porta e finestrino come era prima" would be "lasciato interamente come si era trovato" for the "soddisfazione al pubblico", and also because the paintings "altro pregio non avevano che quello della combinazione, la quale viene a mancare nel tagliarsi in pezzi". (*Pompeii, 1748-1980*, op.cit., 12f)
 40. Idem.
 41. In a report of 14 April 1792, La Vega insists on the importance of building a house "esattamente corrispondente e uniforme alle case degli antichi" to serve for instruction because it would be "il più sicuro mezzo di intendere gli avanzi che se ne sono trovati ... in Pompei." (*Pompeii, 1748-1980*, op.cit., 13)
 42. Ruggiero, *Storia degli Scavi*, op.cit.
 43. Winckelmann, J.J., *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums*, Dresden 1764. (*Winckelmanns Werke in einem Band*, Aufbau-Verlag, Berlin und Weimar, 1982, 310)
 44. Ruggiero, op.cit.
 45. Hegel, G.W.F., *Motto in Leppmann, Winckelmann*, op.cit.
 46. Winckelmann, J.J., *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerei und Bildhauerkunst*, 1755: "Es ist ein ewiges Denkmal der Grösse dieses Monarchen, dass zur Bildung des guten Geschmacks die grössten Schätze aus Italien, und was sonst Vollkommenes in der Malerei in andern Ländern hervorgebracht worden." (*Winckelmanns Werke*, op.cit., 2)

47. Winckelmann, Gedanken über die Nachahmung, op.cit.
48. Leppmann, Winckelmann, op.cit., 130.
49. Holzhauser, Helmut, 'Einleitung', Winckelmanns Werke, op.cit., xliii.
50. Winckelmann, Geschichte, op.cit., 195: "Die höchste Schönheit ist in Gott, und der Begriff der menschlichen Schönheit wird vollkommen, je gemässer und übereinstimmender derselbe mit dem höchsten Wesen kann gedacht werden, welches uns der Begriff der Einheit und der Unteilbarkeit von der Materie unterscheidet."
51. Winckelmann, Gedanken über die Nachahmung, op.cit., 11: "Die Nachahmung des Schönen der Natur ist entweder auf einen einzelnen Vorwurf gerichtet, oder sie sammelt die Bemerkungen aus verschiedenen einzelnen und bringt sie in eins. Jenes heisst, eine ähnliche Kopie, ein Porträt machen; es ist der Weg zu holländischen Formen und Figuren. Dieses aber ist der Weg zum allgemeinen Schönen und zu idealischen Bildern desselben, und derselbe ist es, den die Griechen genommen haben. Der Unterschied aber zwischen ihnen und uns ist dieser: die Griechen erlangten diese Bilder, wären auch dieselben nicht von schönern Körpern genommen gewesen, durch eine tägliche Gelegenheit zur Beobachtung des Schönen der Natur, die sich uns hingegen nicht alle Tage zeigt, und selten so, wie sie der Künstler wünscht."
52. Idem.
53. Idem.
54. Winckelmann, Gedanken über die Nachahmung, op.cit., 2: "Der einzige Weg für uns, gross, ja, wenn es möglich ist, unnachahmlich zu werden, ist die Nachahmung der Alten, und was jemand vom Homer gesagt, dass derjenige ihn bewundern lernt, der ihn wohl verstehen gelernt, gilt auch von den Kunstwerken der Alten, sonderlich der Griechen. Man muss mit ihnen, wie mit seinem Freunde, bekannt geworden sein, um den Laokoon ebenso unnachahmlich als den Homer zu finden. In solcher genauen Bekanntschaft wird man, wie Nicomachus von der Helena des Zeuxis, urteilen: 'Nimm meine Augen', sagte er zu einem Unwissenden, der das Bild tadeln wollte, 'so wird sie dir eine Göttin scheinen'."
55. Winckelmann, Geschichte, op.cit., 165, 'Vorrede': "Die Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums, welche ich zu schreiben unternommen habe, ist keine blosser Erzählung der Zeitfolge und der Veränderungen in derselben, sondern ich nehme das Wort Geschichte in der weiteren Bedeutung, welche dasselbe in der griechischen Sprache hat, und meine Absicht ist, einen Versuch eines Lehrgebäudes zu liefern."
56. Winckelmann, Gedanken über die Nachahmung, op.cit., 16: "Die Draperie der Vestalen ist in der Höchsten Manier. Die kleinen Brüche entstehen durch einen sanften Schwung aus den grössten Partien und verlieren sich wieder in diesen mit einer edlen Freiheit und sanften Harmonie des Ganzen, ohne den schönen Kontur des Nackenden zu verstecken."
57. Winckelmann, Beschreibung des Apollo im Belvedere, 1759: "Der Künstler derselben hat dieses Werk gänzlich auf das Ideal gebaut, und er hat nur eben so viel von der Materie dazu genommen, als nötig war, seine Absicht auszuführen und sichtbar zu machen." (Winckelmanns Werke, op.cit., 61)
58. Winckelmann, Beschreibung des Torso im Belvedere zu Rom, 1759: "In jedem Teile de Körpers offenbart sich, wie in einem Gemälde, der ganze Held in einer besonderen Tat, und man sieht, so wie die richtigen Absichten in dem vernünftigen Baue eines Palastes, hier den Gebrauch, zu welcher Tat ein jedes Teil gedient hat." This essay was first written in 1756 as a preparation for the History of Art; it was published in the Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freien Künste.
59. Winckelmann, Gedanken über die Nachahmung, op.cit., 13.
60. Winckelmann, Beschreibung des Torso, op.cit., 57f: "Die Wirkung und Gegenwirkung ihrer Muskeln ist mit einem weislichen Masse von abwechselnder Regung und schneller Kraft wunderwürdig abgewogen, und der Leib musste durch dieselbe zu allem, was er hat vollbringen wollen, tüchtig gemacht werden. So wie in einer anhebenden Bewegung des Meeres die zuvor stille Fläche in einer nebligen Unruhe mit spielenden Wellen anwächst, wo eine von der anderen verschlungen und aus derselben wiederum hervorgewälzt wird, ebenso sanft aufgeschwellt und schwebend gezogen fliesst hier eine Muskel in die andere, und eine dritte, die sich zwischen ihnen erhebt und ihre Bewegung zu verstärken scheint, verliert sich in jene, und unser Blick wird gleichsam mit verschlungen." (English translation: Leppmann)
61. Winckelmann, Gedanken über die Nachahmung, op.cit., 17f: "Das allgemeine vorzügliche Kennzeichen der griechischen Meisterstücke ist endlich eine edle Einfalt und eine stille Grösse, sowohl in der Stellung als im Ausdruck ... Der Schmerz, welcher sich in allen Muskeln und Sehnen des Körpers entdeckt und den man ganz allein, ohne das Gesicht und andere Teile zu betrachten, an dem schmerzlich eingezogenen Unterleibe beinahe selbst zu empfinden glaubt ... der Künstler musste die Stärke des Geistes in sich selbst fühlen, welche er seinem Marmor einprägte."
62. Winckelmann, Geschichte, op.cit., 278.
63. Winckelmann, Geschichte, op.cit., 166.
64. Winckelmann, Beschreibung der geschnittenen Steine des seligen Baron Stosch, Nürnberg 1797; original in French, published 1760; ref. Winckelmanns Werke, op.cit., 63ff.
65. Winckelmann, Briefe I (1742-1759), Berlin 1952, 242: Letter to Bianconi, Rome, 29 August 1756: "J'ose

faire des nouvelles recherches et observations sur les monumens de l'antiquité commençant par un Traité de la Restauration des Statues et de Bassereliefs ... il y a là des règles pour distinguer avec sureté le restauré d'avec l'original, le pastiche d'avec le vrai ... Je remarque les statues qui par leur restauration ont été transformées et pris un autre caractère et en meme tems les égaremens ou des Ecrivains celebres sont tombés."

66. Idem.

67. Montfaucon, Bernard de (1655-1741), *L'Antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures*, 1719. (15 volumes; English translation: *Antiquity Explained and Represented in Diagrams*, 1721-25)

68. Winckelmann, *Geschichte*, op.cit. 'Vorrede', 169f.

69. Idem, 168f. Jonathan Richardson (1655-1745); principal writings: *The Theory of Painting* (1715), *An Essay on the Whole Art of Criticism as it relates to Painting* (1719), *An Account of Some of the Statues, Bas-Reliefs, Drawings, and Pictures in Italy* (1722), the latter being extensively used as a guide-book by young Englishmen making the Grand Tour. (*The Oxford Companion to Art*, op.cit., 980)

70. Idem, 171.

71. Winckelmann tells that this had happened in Parma during the same year as he was writing the History; the statue represented the Jupiter. The head was placed at the Academy of Painting with a poorly repaired nose; two new figures made out of the rest were placed in the Ducal gardens. (*Winckelmann, Geschichte*, op.cit., 175)

72. Winckelmann, *Geschichte*, op.cit., 172: "Die Ergänzungen sollten in den Kupfern oder in ihren Erklärungen angezeigt werden".

73. Cavaceppi, B., *Raccolta di antiche statue, busti, bassirilievi ed altre sculture restaurate da Bartolomeo cavaceppi, scultore Romano, I-III, Roma 1768*: "Quello ci che farò richiesto ad ogni Tavola ove la rappresento, si é, qual sia la parte restaurata, quale l'antica, poiché il Disegno non lo dimostra; ma in che consiste il pregio di sì fatti lavori? In rendere, a vostro e mio avviso, affatto indistinti i restauri, non tanto da ciò che v'era rimasto d'antico, quanto dalla maniera con cui l'antico scultore avea lavorata la statua ... proporrò la maniera (da restaurare le statue) non la più convenevole, ma l'unica e vera."

74. Cavaceppi, op.cit. I: "Prima bisogna informarsi all'opera, con gli eruditi pratici della storia e della mitologia ... la storia antica e la mitologia non si son pervenute intere; e quando anche, non v'è tutta la notizia de' segni, co' quali gli antichi artefici furon soliti distinguere ... (All'incontro) una scultura esposta al Pubblico senza il rifacimento di que' tali segni, lascia agli eruditi di rinvenire un giorno, come tante volte é avvenuto, ciò che veramente ne rappresenta."

75. Cavaceppi, op.cit.: "Secondo osservi di che marmo é la scultura da restaurarsi ... e che se ne trovi l'uguale

per la restaurazione; ... non farà atto restauratore, se non colui, che con la lunga pratica non avrà acquistato uno stile versato in tutte le maniere: degno della perfetta pregevole alla mediocre ed alla inferiore. Imperocche il restauratore con convenienza questa e quella scultura, non consiste nel saper fare un bel braccio, una bella testa, una bella gamba, ma nell'aggiugliare ed estendere, dirò così, la maniera e l'abilità dell'antico scultore di quella statua alle parti, che vi si aggiungono di nuovo. Se vedrò essere state aggiunte ad una scultura antica già mutilata queste e quelle parti con sommo studio, per esempio, da un Michelangiolo, ma piuttosto a fin di correggere l'insufficienza o reale o pretesa dell'antico scultore, che d'imitarla; loderò per avventura le parti aggiunte per quel ch'elle sono in se stesse, non il restauro."

76. Cavaceppi, op.cit.: "Terzo: In terzo luogo la porzione moderna debba congiungersi con l'antico non terminata là dove far si debbono le commessure, e poscia darsi aggiugliare a poco a poco con esso; e ciò per evitare quel che, non avrei voluto vedere in più incontri, cioè, che per mancanza di questo accorgimento sia stato da taluni ritoccato in cotesti confini lo stesso antico. ... L'Impegno d'aggiugliare ha condotto talori i restauratori più oltre; e sino a reformare a lor modo una gran parte di ciò che in quella tale scultura ci era pervenuto dell'antica maestria. ... Non per altro si restaurano che per apprendervi; ritoccando questa e quella scultura (qualunque ne sia la bellezza) che lor viene alle mani..."

77. Cavaceppi, op.cit.: "Quarto: in quarto luogo le commessure delle restaurazioni, anziché farsi piane e diritte, dovranno definirsi in maniera che appariscano casuali ed irregolari, come appunto irregolari e casuali sono le rotture dell'antico ... I perni dovranno essere tanto forti ed internarsi talmente nella parte antica e moderna ... altrimenti non passerà guari che il restauro."

78. Cavaceppi, op.cit. II; (the second volume of Cavaceppi's publication dealt with: 'Degli inganni che si usano nel commercio delle antiche sculture'): "V'ha finalmente delle teste antiche, le quali a mio giudizio si debbono valutar molto meno delle moderne; quelle io vuol dire, che di Professori son dette col nome d'imbianchite. E perché con tal nome? ecco il perché. Verrà in poter di taluni una testa antica, stata pregevole per la sua bella maniera, ma non più tale per esserne la superficie troppo corrosa dall'ingiuria de' tempi. Or eglino si danno a sbaffare con la raspa cotesta superficie si scabra e corrosa, e a farla lustra colla ruota; talché o niun tratto più vi rimane dell'abilità dell'antico Scultore, o se alcuno, rimarrà però informe e guasto dal mal accordo di così fatto ripulimento. ... (non tutte saranno così lavorate) ma essersi così conservato ... la loro bianchezza sarà quella dell'avorio, ... ingiallita, ed il lor lustro sarà infatto, se attentamente si miri, dà una specie di tartaro, che più propriamente può chiamarsi col nome di corrosione continua ed insensibile nella superficie." Cavaceppi also advised to consult a reliable expert before going to spend a lot of money to buy sculptures: "... prima di sborsar certe rilevanti somme,

consigliarsi con qualche intendente, ma insieme leal persona, che ben esamini le cose.”

79. Cavaceppi, op.cit. III: “Maggiormente s’intenderà da questo la pazzia di coloro, che ardissero lavorar co’ Ferri la porzione antica per renderla più uniforme di stile al moderno Ristauo. Questo é cosa tanto intollerabile, ch’io non ho termini sufficienti per esprimerne la deformità: dirò solo che chi opera in tal guisa, tratta i preziosi monumenti antichi, come se fossero sassi grezzi usciti allora dalla cava. Se ciò sia mai per lo passato avvenuto io no sò, né cerco saperlo; ma se per disavventura accaduto fosse, altro a noi non rimane se non piangere tante belle cose irreparabilmente perdute.”

80. Cavaceppi, op.cit.: “Conviene avvertire ancora, perché il Diletto sia sostanziale, e non immaginario, che nelle cose restaurate sia maggiore la parte antica della moderna. Ridicola cosa sarebbe voler di un Naso, o poco più, comporre una Testa. ... Le commissure ben fatte, ed il tartaro artificioso, che si dà sopra i Restauri confonde facilmente il moderno coll’antico, ed un occhio non tanto purgato può di leggieri ingannarsi non ben discernendo l’uno dall’altro. Io convengo che l’antichità si trova per lo più maltrattata; ma desidero che in un lavoro siano almeno i due terzi antichi, e che non siano moderne le parti più interessanti ... Un bel frammento di una mezza Testa, di un Piede, o d’una Mano, meglio U goderlo così come egli é, che formarne un intero lavoro, al quale poi altro nome non conviene, che d’una solenne impostura.”

81. Winckelmann, *Geschichte*, op.cit., 290ff; Winckelmann, *Gedanken über die Nachahmung*, op.cit., 29ff; Winckelmann, J.J., ‘Abhandlung von der Fähigkeit der Empfindung des Schönen in der Kunst und dem Unterrichte in derselben’, *Anmerkungen über die Baukunst der Alten*, Leipzig 1762 (Winckelmanns Werke, op.cit. 158ff); Winckelmann, J.J., ‘Von der Zierlichkeit in der Baukunst’, *Anmerkungen*, op.cit., 135.

82. Winckelmann, *Geschichte*, op.cit., 186.

83. Winckelmann, *Anmerkungen über die Baukunst*, op.cit., 78: “Man muss sich wundern, dass viele Denkmale der Baukunst denjenigen, welche dieselben hätten berühren und beschreiben sollen, gar keine Aufmerksamkeit erweckt haben, wie es mit den übriggebliebenen Gebäuden der Stadt Posidonia oder Pästum, jetzt piesti oder auch Pesto, am Salernitanischen Meerbusen, die ich in den Anmerkungen verschiedenemal angeführt habe, ergangen ist.”

84. Winckelmann, *Geschichte*, op.cit., 174f: “Man kann nicht ohne Klagen die Nachrichten von so vielen alten Denkmalen der Kunst lesen, welche sowohl in Roma als anderwärts zu unserer Väter Zeiten vernichtet worden, und von vielen hat sich nicht einmal die Anzeige erhalten. Ich erinnere mich einer Nachricht in einem ungedruckten Schreiben des berühmten Peiresc und den Commendator del Pozzo von vielen erhobenen Arbeiten in den Bädern zu Pozzuolo bei Neapel, welche noch unter Papst Paul III. daselbst standen, auf welchen Personen mit allerhand

Krankheiten behaftet vorgestellt waren; dieses ist die einzige Nachricht, welche sich von denselben findet.”

85. Winckelmann, *Geschichte*, op.cit., 193f: “Die Farbe trägt zur Schönheit bei, aber sie ist nicht die Schönheit selbst, sondern sie erhebt dieselbe überhaupt und ihre Formen. Da nun die weisse Farbe diejenige ist, welche die meisten Lichtstrahlen zurückschickt, folglich sich empfindlicher macht, so wird auch ein schöner Körper desto schöner sein, je weisser er ist, ja er wird nackend dadurch grösser, als er in der Tat ist, erscheinen, so wie wir sehen, dass alle neu in Gips geformten Figuren grösser als die Statuen, von welchen jene genommen sind, sich vorstellen.”

86. Winckelmann, *Anmerkungen über die Baukunst*, op.cit., 123f: “Die Gebäude ohne Zierde ist wie die Gesundheit in Dürftigkeit, die niemand allein für glücklich hält ... Die Zierde hat ihren Grund in der Mannigfaltigkeit. In Schriften und an Gebäuden dient sie dem Geiste und dem Auge zur Abwechslung, und wenn die Zierde in der Baukunst sich mit Einfalt gesellt, entsteht Schönheit, denn eine Sache ist gut und schön, wenn sie ist, was sie sein soll. Es sollen daher Zieraten eines Gebäudes ihrem allgemeinen sowohl als besonderen Endzwecke gemäss bleiben. Sie sind als Kleidung anzusehen, welche die Blösse zu decken dient, und je grösser ein Gebäude von Anlage ist, desto weniger erfordert es Zieraten, so wie ein kostbarer Stein nur wie in einem goldenen Faden einzufassen wäre, damit er sich selbst in seinem völligen Glanze zeige.”

87. Winckelmann, *Anmerkungen über die Baukunst*, op.cit., 124: “Die Zierlichkeit war an den ältesten Gebäuden so selten als an den ältesten Statuen, und man sieht an jenen weder Hohlkehlen noch rundliche Bünde, so wenig als an den ältesten Altären, sondern die Glieder, an welche diese Zierlichkeit nachher angebracht wurde, gehen entweder gerade aus, oder sie sind wenig gesenkt und erhoben.” Winckelmann thought that in the older buildings, decorations were a later addition.

88. *Diz.Enc.Arch.*, op.cit.

89. Milizia, F., *Memorie degli Architetti antichi e moderni I*, 1785, xxvi (‘Prefazione’): “Dunque l’Architettura é un’arte d’imitazione al pari di tutte le altre belle arti. Il solo divario é, che alcune di loro hanno un modello naturale, su cui possono formare un sistema d’imitazione. Mance tal modello all’Architettura: ma ella ne ha un altro sostituito dalla industria degli uomini in costruire le loro prime abitazioni. La rozza capanna é l’Architettura naturale, e il modello della bellezza dell’Architettura civile.”

90. Milizia, *Memorie degli Architetti*, op.cit., xxvii: “Se l’Architettura é figlia della necessità, tutto il suo bello deve comparir necessario, e fatto per il bisogno. In niuna arte di piacere deve mai scoprirsi l’artificio; onde tutto quello, che si fa per mero ornamento é vizioso.” Milizia, F., *Principj di architettura civile*, Roma 1970, Iff. Ceschi, Carlo, *Teoria e storia del restauro*, Mario Bulzoni, Roma 1970, 34ff.

91. Milizia, *Memorie degli Architetti*, op.cit., II, 263ff: 'Luigi Vanvitelli'.
92. Milizia, op.cit., II, 73.
93. Milizia, op.cit., I, 78: "Possono questi Goti essere gl'inventori di quell'architettura, che si chiama volgarmente Gotica? E son essi que'barbari distruttori de'monumenti della bella Antichità? La Storia Ecclesiastica dà ai buoni Cristiani l'onore d'aver rovesciati tempj, e sfigurate statue in Italia, in Grecia, nell'Asia, nell'Egitto."
94. Diz.Enc.Arch. op.cit., IV, 54.
95. Walpole, H., *Correspondance*, Yale Edition.: Letter to R. West, 16 April 1740.
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98. Lichtenberger, H., Goethe, II, 76.
99. Guillermo, op.cit.; Schiller, J.C.F., 'Was heisst Universalgeschichte?'; Costamagna, A., 'Agesia Belemio (G.G. Bottari) e l'Accademia dell'Arcadia nel Settecento', *Quaderni sul Neoclassico III*, Miscellanea, Bulzoni, Roma, 1975, 43ff. Manigliano, Arnaldo, 'Ancient History and the Antiquarian', *Journal of Warburg*, XIII, 1950, 285ff; Bianchini, Francesco, *La Istoria Universale provata con monumenti e figurata con simboli degli antichi*, 1697.
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108. Scott, op.cit., 149ff.
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115. *Enc.Univ.Arte*, op.cit.; *Oxford Comp.Art*, op.cit., 'Picturesque the', 867ff.
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128. A request received in 1775 from the Rev. Thomas Dyer of Marylebone on behalf of a French friend of his, who wanted to lay out his garden in the English style. Brown's reply in 'Pakenham Correspondance', quoted from Stroud, *op.cit.*, 156f.
129. Hunt-Willis, *The Genius of the Place*, *op.cit.*
130. Gilpin, W., *Three Essays*, 1792, 6; *The Picturesque Tour in Northumberland and Durham*, c. 1720-1830, Tyne and Wear County Council Museums, 1982, 11f; *Manwaring, Italian Landscape*, *op.cit.*, 181ff.
131. Gilpin, W., *Observations on several parts of the counties of Cambridge, Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex etc.*, 1809, 121f.
132. Gilpin, W., *Observations of the River Wye*, 1782, 32f.
133. Price, *Uvedale, An Essay on the Picturesque*, 1794; Hunt-Willis, *The Genius*, *op.cit.*, 322ff.
134. Shaftesbury, Anthony Ashley Cooper, 3rd Earl of (1671-1713), 'Letter Concerning the Art, or Science of Design' (1712), published in: *Characteristicks of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times*, III, 1723, 395ff; in Wittkower, 'English Neo-Palladianism', *op.cit.*, 179f.
135. Wittkower, 'English Neo-Palladianism', *op.cit.*, 179ff.
136. *Idem.*
137. *Idem*, 183.
138. *Idem.*
139. Mason, W., *Heroic Epistle to Sir William Chambers*, (1773):
- "Knight of the Polar Star! by Fortune plac'd,
To shine the Cynosure of British taste;
Whose orb collects, in one refulgent view,
The scatter'd glories of Chinese Virtù;
...
To Richmond come, for see, untutor'd Brown
Destroys those wonders which were once thy own.
Lo, from his melon-ground the peasant slave
Has rudely rush'd, and levell'd Merlin's Cave;
Knock'd down the waxen Wizzard, seiz'd his wand,
Transform'd to lawn what late was Fairy land;
...
Tho' Europe's balance trembles on it's beam.
And Thou, Sir William! while thy plastic hand
Creates each wonder, which thy Bard has plann'd,
While, as thy art commands, obsequious rise
Whate'er can please, or frighten, or surprise,
- O! let that Bard his Knight's protection claim,
And share, like faithful Sancho, Quixote's fame."
140. Mason, W., *The English Garden (1772-82)*, IV, 91-93:
- "So shall each part, though turn'd to rural use
Deceive the eye with those bold feudal forms
That Fancy loves to gaze on."
141. Mason, *op.cit.*, IV, 408-410:
- "... who, on British ground,
Attempts the task, builds but a splendid lie,
Which mocks historic credence."
142. Mortier, R., *La Poétique des ruines en France, Ses origines, ses variations de la Renaissance à Victor Hugo*, Librairie Droz, Genève, 1974, 91.
143. Diderot in the *Salon de 1767* (éd. Sez nec, III, 227: 'Ruine d'un arc de triomphe, et autres monuments') (in Mortier, *op.cit.*, 93): "L'effet de ces compositions, bonnes ou mauvaises, c'est de vous laisser dans une douce mélancolie. Nous attachons nos regards sur les débris d'un arc de triomphe, d'un portique, d'une pyramide, d'un temple, d'un palais, et nous revenons sur nous-mêmes. Nous anticipons sur les ravages du temps, et notre imagination disperse sur la terre les édifices mêmes que nous habitons. A l'instant, la solitude et le silence règnent autour de nous. Nous restons seuls de toute une génération qui n'est plus; et voilà la première ligne de la poétique des ruines."
144. Diderot, 'Observations sur la sculpture et sur Bouchardon' (A.-T., XIII,43), written for the 'Correspondance littéraire' 1st to 15th March 1763 (in Mortier, *op.cit.*, 92): "je crois que de grandes ruines doivent plus frapper que ne feraient des monuments entiers et conservés ... La main du temps a semé, parmi la mousse qui les couvre, une foule de grandes idées et de sentiments mélancoliques... Je reviens sur les peuples qui ont produit ces merveilles et qui ne sont plus".
145. Diderot, *Encyclopédie*, "Ruine, se dit en Peinture de la représentation d'édifices presque entièrement ruinés: De belles ruines. On donne le nom de ruine au tableau même qui représente ces ruines. Ruine ne se dit que des palais, des tombeaux somptueux ou des monuments publics. On ne diroit point ruine en parlant d'une maison particulière de paysans ou bourgeois; on diroit alors bftimens ruinés." Lough, J., 'The Problem of unsigned articles in the *Encyclopédie*', *Studies on Voltaire and the 18th century*, XXXII, 1965, 379. Lough confirms that Diderot himself has written this article.
146. de Girardin, René-Louis, Marquis, *De la composition des paysages (1777)*, Editions du Champ Urbain, Paris, 1979, 20f: "Or, c'est uniquement dans l'effet pittoresque qu'on doit chercher la manière de disposer avec avantage tous les objets qui sont destinés a plaire aux yeux, car l'effet pittoresque consiste précisément dans le choix des formes las plus agréables, dans l'élégance des contours,

dans la dégradation de la perspective... Ce ne'est donc ni en Architecte, ni en Jardinier, c'est en Poète et en Peintre qu'il faut composer des paysages, afin d'intéresser tout à la fois l'oeil et l'esprit."

147. de Girardin, op.cit., 89f: "il faut bien prendre garde d'en abuser et de mal combiner la manière de les disposer; careil en est de cela comme de toute autre chose, rien n'est bien ou mal dans ce monde que ce qui est à sa place ou n'y est pas."

148. de Ligne, Charles-Joseph, Prince, Coup d'oeil sur Beloeil et sur les jardins des autres, (1781) (Mortier, op.cit., 112): "J'aime les ruines lorsqu'elles offrent une idée des choses respectables qui s'y sont passées et des gens célèbres qui y habitaient. Mais quand on voit la Grèce de plusieurs Anglais et la Gothie de M. Valpole, on est tenté de croire que c'est le délire d'un mauvais rêve qui a conduit leur ouvrage." Chabanon, Michel de, 'Epite sur la manie des jardins anglois, écrite l'an 1774', Oeuvres, 1788, 323ff (Mortier, op.cit., 118f):

"Au moins, dans vos Jardins Anglois,
Ne m'offrez plus la ridicule image
De ces monumens faux que l'art a contrefaits.
J'aime un vieux monument parce qu'il est antique:
C'est un témoin fidèle et véridique,
Qu'au besoin je puis consulter;
C'est un vieillard, de qui l'expérience
Sait à propos nous raconter
Ce qu'il a vu dans son enfance,
Et l'on se plaît à l'écouter.
Mais ce pont soutenu par de frêles machines,
Tout ce grotesque amas de modernes ruines,
Simulacres hideux dont votre art s'anplaudit..."

149. Richard, Saint-Claude abbé de Saint-Non, Voyage pittoresque ou description des Toyaumes de Naples et de Sicile, (5 Vols.) 1781-86. Houel, Jean, Voyage pittoresque des isles de Sicile, de Malte et de Lipari, Ou l'on traite des Antiquités qui s'y trouvent encore; des principaux Phénomènes que la Nature y offre; du Costume des Habitants, & de quelques Usages, (4 Vols.) Paris 1782-87.

150. de Choiseul-Gouffier, Marie Gabriel Florent Auguste, Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce, (3 Vols.) Paris 1782-1822.

151. Dom Bernard de Montfaucon, Les Monumens de la Monarchie française, qui comprennent l'histoire de France, avec les figures de chaque règne qu l'injure des temps a épargnées..., Paris 1729-33 (5 Vols.) This publication represented the first part of a much vaster work, which was supposed to deal with the principle churches of France, but for which he never found a publisher. (Le 'Gothique' retrouvé avant Viollet-le-Duc, Caisse Nationale des Monuments Historiques et des Sites, Paris 1979, 68.)

152. de la Borde, B., Béguillet, E., Guettard, J-E., Description générale et particulière de la France, Paris 1781-84 (4 Tomes); Voyage pittoresque de la France avec

la description de toutes ces provinces, ouvrage national dédié au Roi, Lamy 1784 (8 Tomes).

153. Nodier, Ch., Taylor, J., de Cailleux, Alph., Voyage pittoresque et romantiques dans l'Ancienne France, Paris 1820-1878 (21 Vols.)

154. Abbé de Saint-Non has given a description of the transportation of wall-paintings from Herculaneum (Conti, Storia del restauro, op.cit., 119): "Après avoir ouvert à petits coups de marteau la muraille autour du tableau qu'on veut transporter, on fait en sorte, autant qu'il est possible, que les quatre c"tés soient en ligne droite; après quoi on appuie dessus quatre morceaux de bois contenus et resserrés avec de longues clefs de fer. Cette opération faite, on scie le muraille par derrière et on enlève ensuite une table d'une espèce d'ardoise ou d'une pierre mince et noire appelée lavagna... Tous les tableaux de grandeur médiocre ont été détachés sans souffrir aucune altération. On n'a eu qu'à les soutenir avec des bandes de fer battu et les doubler de cette lavagna."

155. Touring Club Italiano, Roma e dintorni, Milano 1965, 319.

156. Domenico Michellini transported pictures on new supports in Rome since 1714; 1725-28 Antonio Conti, in Cremona and Ferrara, executed detachments of frescoes using the 'strappo' method (i.e. removing only the paint layer). In France, the best known restorer was Robert Picault; others were e.g. his son Jean-Michel Picault and his rival Jean-Louis Hacquin. (Conti, Storia del restauro, op.cit., 118; Conti, 'Vicende e cultura del restauro', Storia dell'arte italiana X, Einaudi, Torino 1981, 39ff)

157. Conti, Storia del restauro, op.cit., 134.

158. The transportation was decided by the Academy of Paintings after an inspection on 28 November, 1750, because the results of earlier works by Picault had been considered satisfactory, and especially because the condition of the Raphael's fresco was very poor, and because the alternative would have been to do an expensive over-painting - not leaving hardly anything from the original. On 7 October 1752, the Academy reported: "...les ouvrages des anciens mfitres seroient garantis de l'outrage des années et reprendroient une nouvelle vie par un secret auquel on ne pouvoit trop applaudir." (Conti, Storia del restauro, op.cit., 129)

159. Conti, Storia del restauro, op.cit., 129ff.

160. Hogarth, William, The Analysis of Beauty, Written with a view of fixing the fluctuating Ideas of Taste, London 1753 (repr. ed. J. Burke, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1955), 31.

161. Oxford Companion to Art, op.cit., 247, 'Claude Glass'.

162. Hogarth, The Analysis of Beauty, op.cit., 131.

163. Idem, 130.

164. Idem.

165. Conti, 'Vicende...' op.cit., 55ff.

166. Letter from Luigi Crespi to Francesco Algarotti: Bottari, *Raccolta di lettere sulla pittura, scultura ed architettura*, (Roma 1754-73) Milano 1822-25, III, 419ff: "Perché dunque e l'avanti e l'indietro, l'accordo, l'armonia e l'unione, non consiste in corpo di colore, o sia in colori e tinte di corpo, ma in sottilissime velature, ombreggiature semplicissime ed appannamenti superficialissimi, e talvolta in semplici sporcature fatte col solo pennello sporchetto, come dall'ispezione oculare diligentissima si riconosce; chi non vede che ripulendo un quadro scuro, insudiciato, ingiallito, e cose simili, chi non vede che tutto questo accordo e tutta quest'arte usata, se ne va con la ripulitura alla malora? E, perduta una tale unione ed una simile degradazione, cosa vale più il quadro all'occhio intelligente? Nulla affatto, mancandogli due cose delle principali e necessarie."

167. Venezia, Biblioteca del Seminario Patriarcale (MS 787/7, G): *Dissertazione preliminare al piano di custodia da istituirsi per la possibile preservazione e per il miglior mantenimento delle pubbliche pitture*; (MS 787/7 H): *Piano pratico per la generale custodia delle pubbliche pitture rassegnato agli Eccellentissimi Signori Provveditori al Sal ed Eccellentissimo Signor Savio Cassier del collegio in ordine alle commissioni dell'Eccellentissimo Senato 3 marzo 1785*. Presented on 6 April 1786 (Conti, 'Vidende...' op.cit., 61)

168. Idem.

169. Idem. Pietro Edwards (1744-1821) was born in Loreto; he was from a family of English origin, escaped from England during the 1688 revolution. He was a member of Liberal Collegio di Pittura (1767-83) and of Veneta Accademia (1775-); on 3 September 1778, he was nominated Direttore del restauro delle pubbliche pitture. In his work he had three professional restorers, Professori, and these could have four assistants each. During the period of 1778-86, 405 pictures of 32 sq.feet in average were restored by them.

170. Conti, *Storia del restauro*, op.cit., 173: The work of Cavaceppi was praised by Visconti, because this "introdusse miglior maniera ne' ristauri, egli adattò i marmi alle rotture più scabbie, aggiunse il mancante, senza toglier punto d'antico, introdusse un metodo il più giusto, il più vero, onde ritornare i monumenti all'antico splendore."

171. Bottari, *Raccolta*, op.cit., 387ff: "Chi volesse ad una medaglia antica, la cui rarità e segno di antichità fosse o la mancanza di qualche parte di essa, o la patina, chi volesse, dico, o ripulirla o farle aggiungere quel pezzo che vi mancasse, non sarebbe egli da tutti gli antiquari ed intendenui condannato? Chi si prendesse la briga di far accomodare un antico carattere in una memoria o lapide, non si renderebbe egli ridicolo?"

172. Edwards, 'Reports': see note 162 (Conti, 'Vicende' op.cit., 63): "neppure con buona intenzione di migliorar

l'opera levi cosa alcuna dall'originale o vi aggiunga qualche parte di proprio; né ponga o levi iscrizioni."

173. 'Maria Theresia dei Gratia, Regina Hungariae Bohemiae etc. Archidux Austriae etc. Dux Mediolani etc.' Milano, 13 April 1745, signed by Il Principe Lobkowitz: "... Ed accioché le opere buone, che sono meritevoli di vivere sempre non siano distrutte, si ordina, e proibisce a qualsivoglia Pittore, Scultore, ed Architetto, e ad altri professori, o non professori, tanto Accademici, quanto non Accademici, che non ariscano disfare, o ritoccare pitture, o sculture antiche, e moderne pubbliche senza prima d'essere dall'Accademia visitate, sotto pena di Scudi venticinque, comprendendo nelle medesime proibizioni e pene, li scalpellini, scavatori, calcinari, o siano Maestri di muro, Imbiancatori ed altri trasgressori del presente ordine, li quali s'intendono tenuti alla pena di sopra come se fosse stata loro personalmente intimata." (Emiliani, *Leggi, bandi...* op.cit., 155f)

174. 'Eccelso Consiglio dei X.' Venice, 20 April 1773: "Vanno l'uno all'altro succedendo a merito delli sudj, e delle zelanti sollecitudini degl'Inquisitori di Stato quei vantaggi che sono promossi nello scoprimento delli disordini dall'applicazione de rimedj... Presenti all'osservazioni loro quelli che derivati sono dall'irregolarità con che vengono custoditi li quadri più insigni opere di celebri autori esistenti nelle chiese, scuole, monasteri ed altri luoghi della città e dell'isole circonvicine, prestano questi ben degno argomento alla comunicata ora letta, che con distinta considerazione si accoglie e si aggradisce; Nella quale viene ad evidenza dimostrata la necessità d'un pronto e valido provvedimento, che assicuri la preservazione e manutenzione d'un così raro e pregevole ornamento della Dominante, che attrae l'amirazione de Forestieri..." (Emiliani, op.cit., 159)

175. 'Inquisitori di Stato', Venice, 31 July 1773: "Conoscendo la maturità del Consiglio X importante e necessario il togliere quella scandalosa facilità con cui furono arbitrariamente asportati e venduti anche a stranieri compratori delli migliori e più insigni quadri esistenti nelle Chiese, Scole e Monasteri della Dominante e dell'isole circonvicine... Formato avendo egli in obbedienza al comando ingiontogli un catalogo di tutti quei quadri che sono opera di celebri e rinomati autori, e tratta dal medesimo una nota a luogo per luogo di dette pitture, sta a carico dell'Ispettore il farne la consegna alli rispettivi Superiori, Parrochi, Direttori e Guardiani delle Chiese, Scole e Monasterj, non compresi quelli che sono di juspatronato di Sua Ser.tà e delli NN.UU. Procuratori di S. Marco, con debito tanto agli attuali che alli successori di custodirli, conservarli e di rendersi risponsabili di qualunque asporto o mancanza succedesse, dovendo essi rilasciare all'Ispettore corrispondente ricevuta ed obbligazione giusta la formula esistente presso il Tribunale, che a questo fine si é fatta stampare..." (Emiliani, op.cit., 160f)

176. Idem.

177. 'Inquisitori di Stato', Venice, 27 November 1778 (Emiliani, op.cit., 166)

178. Conti, Storia del restauro, op.cit., 145ff. Edwards, P., 'Pro- getto per una scuola di restauro delle pitture'. The proposal, written 1819, had the aim to train young restorers in the skill to imitate great masters and their painting techniques. (Conti, op.cit., 172)

179. Lanciani, R., The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome, A companion book for students and travellers, Cambridge 1897, 372f; Di Macco, Il Colosseo, op.cit., 86.

180. Lanciani, op.cit., 372f. The Amphitheatre is reported to have been used as a quarry also in 1697, when Dom. Ponziani, a contractor for municipal works, was removing material for the construction of roads. The earthquake is reported to have been on 3 February 1703.

181. Fontana, C., L'Anfiteatro Flavio descritto e delineato, Haia 1725, I, ix: Fontana refers to the occasion when he was surveying the structure of the Colosseum in 1708: "In occasione che habbiamo rintrecciato queste residuali Vestigie rimaste, s'è trovato che nella Pariete esterior, che guarda verso Levante, esservi nel fine alcuni Archi con Sassi sloccati dalle proprie legature, le quali mostrano evidentemente Rovina in quella Banda. Onde mossoci dall'Affetto e dall'Obligo, non habbiamo mancato di rappresentare ai Pontifici, e Superiori, l'Assistenza necessaria d'un Riparo valevole, in assicurare quella Parte rovinante; ma, per maggior Disgrazia, le nostre Preci ed Essortazioni sin'hora à nulla hanno servito."

182. Fontana, op.cit., V, i: "Libro quinto, del restituir l'onore all'Anfiteatro Flavio; cioè, desrizione dei edificii sacri da fare nella sua residual parte. Capitolo primo. Edificii Templari per restituire la venerazione che merita l'Anfiteatro Flavio.

Dalla prenarrata Sacra Istoria, in cui diffusamente s'è mostrata la generosa Costanza, colla quale gl'invitti Eroi della santa Fede sostennero entro 'l predetto Anfiteatro crudelissima Morte, incontrando con invito Core à fronte de'Tiranni più barbari inusitati Martirii, ed acerbissime Pene, evidentemente appare la be dovuta Venerazione à quel Terreno di già tante volte inaffiato col glorioso Sangue di così illustri Campioni... Da così detestabile Antecedente é nato in noi giusto Motivo di mondarlo da simili Lordure, e restituire al Popolo fedele lo Spicco di quelle Fabriche residuali, col Piano dell'antico Arenario, che servì, di Strato à tanti Martiri, con Custodia d'un Muro estensivo nella Parte esteriore, che faccia una difesa Circonvallazione per far restare illese quelle venerate Sacre Superficie, senza distruggere una minima Parte di quelle residuali Antiche Fabriche, che di presente si trovano in essere... nel Finimento del qual Tempio fossero, in vece di Lanterino, quattro Statue rappresentanti gli Evangelisti, che sono le quattro Basi fondamentali della nostra Religione; e più superiormente, la santa Fede Cattolica trionfante; tanto più, che la maggior Parte dei Profani Edificii Antichi, dedicati à falsi numi, furono da

Sommi Pontefici, e dai primitivi christiani, convertiti e tramutati in Onore del nostro Dio, ed à Gloria de' più rinomati Eroi della Fede; e ciò in specie accadde all'antico e famoso Pantheon, al Tempio della Minerva, à quello di Faustina, à quel di Romolo, à quel di Marte, all'Erario Publico, e finalmente per lasciarne tant'altri al celebre Tempio di Saturno."

183. Fontana, op.cit., V, i: "verrebbe impedita l'Introduzione in esso di Carrozze, et altro da che potesse venire disturbata in qualche parte la Quietè de' Divoti; essendo che le medesime potrebbero haver ricovero negli Antri antichi contigui. Mà, perche la Disposizione de' Portici porta seco l'Ornato di Colonne e Pilastrì, sopra de quali si sostenta una nobil Balaustrata ricorrente col Luogo da collocarsi 42 Statue de' sudetti più rinomati Martiri, come habbiamo detto... Mossi dunque da consimili Ragioni, ci cadde in Pensiero di proporre, che nel nuovo Sacro Edificio, vi fosse la sua Meta del Martirio, e nel medesimo tempo à quella della Gloria... Ci simiamo per tanto d'adattare quella Meta, coll'imitazione alla sudante, come propria dell'Anfiteatro, e come corrispondente à molti Fini primarii dell'antica: cioè, se quella (come s'è detto) serviva per torre l'Immundizie del Corpo di quei crudeli Gladiatori, l'Acqua di questa sacra Meta, adoperata nel Sacramento del Battesimo toglierà l'Immundizie dell'Anima macchiata del Peccato originale nel primo punto del nascere."

184. Di Macco, op.cit., 90; Marangoni, op.cit., 69; Colagrossi, op.cit., 219. (The two last mentioned publish the text of the edict.)

185. Colagrossi, op.cit., 221; Di Macco, op.cit., 90.

186. James Boswell visited Rome towards the end of March in 1765; his words are quoted from: Quennell, P., The Colosseum, The Reader's Digest Ass. Ltd, London 1971, 109f.

187. Gaddi, Monsignor Giambattista, Roma nobilitata nelle sue fabbriche dalla Santità di Nostro Signore Clemente XII, Roma 1736, 117.

188. Lanciani, Storia degli Scavi, op.cit., II, 28.

189. Lanciani, Storia degli Scavi, op.cit., IV, 187; Lanciani, The Ruins and Excavations, op.cit., 191f; Venuti, Antichità di Roma, I, 23: "...le otto grosse colonne di giallo in oro, una delle quali tolta da Clemente VIII, e posta per accompagnare l'altra di marmo bianco"

190. Gaddi, Roma nobilitata, op.cit., 117: "Signori Marchesi Alessandro Capponi Foriero Maggiore del Palazzo Apostolico, e Girolamo Teodoli, ambedue cavalieri Romani di gran sapere, e di tutta esperienza; ed essi eseguirono con tanta sollecitudine, e accuratezza gli ordini supremi della Santità Sua, che ristaurate le Colonne co' suoi Cornicioni, acconciate, e ritornate alla sua prima forma le statue, risarcito si vide in pochissimo tempo il maestoso Edificio, e restituito intieramente alla sua prima Magnificenza."

191. Lanciani, *The Ruins and Excavations*, op.cit., 191f.

192. The expenses for the 'Ristauramento' of the Arch of Constantine (Archivio di Stato, Rome, Camerale II, Ant. e B.Arte, b3): The total was 10.000 Scudi, paid to "Carlo Liardoni, Gettatore, per la formatura in gesso d'una delle otto statue + diversi perni di metallo... Pietro Bracci, scultore, per la scultura di otto teste di marmo, altrettante braccia e mani servite per le statue grandi sopra le colonne, per la scultura d'una statua fatta di nuovo e per No 13 teste di marmo alli otto bassi rilievi - scudi 805... Filippo Barigioni, architetto, rimborso spese 24:62; piombista - 8.4.1732 - 12.8.1733; ferraro - 3.4.1732 - 4.12.1733; muratore - 9.6.1732 - 31.12.1733; scarpellino - 9.6.1732 - 31.12.1733; Francesco Castiglioni, tenuta la scrittura - sett. 1732 - Febr.1734; falegname - 2.10.1732 - giugno 1733; 1300 scudi al Tesoriere Gen." The following inscriptions were placed on the Arch of Constantine:

"ARCUM CELEBERRIMUM/ IMPERATORI CAESARI FLAVIO CONSTANTINO/ CUI NOMEN MAGNO/ ANTIQUITUS MERITO' ERECTUM./ NON HOSTIUM INVIDIA DEFORMATUM/ CLEMENS XII.P.O.M./ COLUMNIS. AC STATUIS./ SUAE DIGNITATI REDDITIS./ AD PRIMAM QUAM POTUIT FORMAM/ REVOCAVIT."

On the side of the Forum Romanum:

"CLEMENTI.XII./ PONT. MAX./ QUOD. ARCUM./ IMP. CONSTANTINO. MAGNO/ ERECTUM./ OB. RELATAM. SALUTARI/ CRUCIS. SIGNO/ PRAECLARAM. DE. MAXENTIU/ VICTORIAM/ IAM TEMPORAUM INIURIA/ FATISCENTEM/ VETERIBUS. REDDITIS/ ORNAMENTIS. RESTITUERIT/ ANNO D.MD.CC.XXX.III/ PONT.III/ S.P.Q.R./ OPTINO. PRINCIPI/ AC. PRISTINAE MAIESTATIS/ URBIS. ADSERTORI/ POS."

Inside the attic of the Arch there were placed two inscriptions:

"F.S SCARCVA LAPICIDA F./ D. REG. LEPIDI A.D.MCVII" and: "ALEX. GRE. MARCHIO CAPPONIVS/ S. PAL. AP. FORERIVS. MAIOR/ HIERONYMUS. MARCHIO. THEODVLVS/ IN QVOS. CLEMENS XII. P.M./ TRIVMPHALIS. HVIVS. ARCVS./ RESTITVENDI/ CVRAM. CONTVLERAT/ INSCRIPTVM. LAPIDEM/ IN. SVPERIORE. ILLIVS. PARTE/ INVENTVM. HIC. SERVANDVM. POSS./ A.C.MDCCXXXIII."

193. D'Onofrio, *Gli Obelischi*, op.cit., 222ff, 230ff: Apart from the Vatican Obelisk, there were other two small ones standing - though not on their original site - before Sixtus V started his programme of erection of the 'Guglie'. One of these was standing on the Capitol Hill next to the church of Aracoeli, where it was first recorded at the beginning of the fifteenth century (by Antonio di Pietro dello Schiavo, 25 August 1407), and became a fashionable object for artists. Francesco Colonna may have had an inspiration from this obelisk for his *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, and

Cyriac of Ancona made it the centre point of a fantastic drawing. Heemskerck shows it in many of his drawings in the sixteenth century. In 1582, (11 September) it was given to Ciriaco Mattei as a present, who erected it in the Villa Celimontana (at the time Villa Mattei) on the side of the Villa. In 1817, it was moved to its present site in the same garden. The second small obelisk had been found near Sant'Ignazio, and erected on the side of the church at the end of the fourteenth century (Piazza di S. Macuto) on a simple base. From here it was moved to the Piazza di Pantheon in 1711.

194. D'Onofrio, op.cit., 250ff; see above (note 191).

195. D'Onofrio, op.cit., 256ff, 268ff, 280ff: The Quirinal Obelisk was originally one of the two standing at the entrance of the Mausoleum of Augustus. Proposals had already been made for the erection of an obelisk on the Quirinal in the seventeenth century (1685, Cornelio Meyer). Urban VIII had commissioned the removal of the name of Alexander and Buchefalus from the bases leaving only the names of the artists (Fidia, Praxiteles) because in his time it was understood that these horse statues could not have represented Alexander with his horse. (Gigli, G., *Diario romano*, op.cit., 147) Pius VI had an antique granite basin transported here from the Forum Romanum to serve as a fountain. Pius VII - on the proposal of Carlo Fea, the Commissioner of Antiquities, - commissioned Raffaele Stern to do the fountain as it stands today (more or less according to the idea of Antinori).

The Obelisk of Trinità de' Monti had been standing in the 'horti Sallustiani'. (Originally it had been plain without any inscriptions; the hieroglyphs had actually been copied from the obelisk of the Circus Maximus - already in the Antiquity.) This obelisk was mentioned in its broken state near Porta Salaria in various guidebooks since the fifteenth century. In 1734, Clement XII had planned to erect it in front of the Lateran Basilica near the other obelisk, but this intention remained only half done.

The obelisk of Montecitorio had been standing in the large sun-dial of Augustus. It was lying on the ground broken in five pieces, and the surface was damaged probably by fire. Sixtus V had planned to erect it but renounced probably due to its condition. In 1748, it was excavated and the pieces were raised from the ground by Niccolò Zabaglia on the commission of Benedict XIV. Antinori had the idea to erect this obelisk in the crossing of Via Due Macelli, where it would have been to mark the end of a long straight street line. Cavaliere D. Niccolò Azara, Ministro di S.M. Cattolica wanted to find a place "in cui veggasi il Salustiano, il Flaminio, e il Marzio. Questo punto lo veggio nella piazza di Spagna, ove posato il pie' nell'imbocco di Strada Condotti, girando intorno lo sguardo vedremo l'obelisco Flaminio, il Pincio, ed il Marzio, situato che questo sia verso il Collegio di Propaganda più lontano dalla Barcaccia che si può, perché l'occhio abbia in ogni linea conducente a questi oggetti un conveniente distanza." (Proposal by Giovanni Antolini, architect) (Archivio di Stato, Rome, A.St.Camerale II, Ant.e B.Arte, busta 6,

fasc. 150; a letter without date, but probably from the early 1787 - D'Onofrio, op.cit., 287f) Later azara preferred the square in front of 'Curia Innocenziana', the Law Courts of Palazzo Montecitorio (which became the Camera dei Deputati in 1870), and it was decided to use the column of Antoninus Pius for the restoration of the obelisk.

196. D'Onofrio, op.cit., 268ff.

197. Vogel, L., *The Column of Antoninus Pius*, Harvard University Press, 1973.; D'Onofrio, op.cit., 238ff.

198. Idem.

199. Idem.

200. D'Onofrio has published a water colour by Ferdinando Bonsignori, of 1792, illustrating the principle of the obelisk as a sun-dial. (op.cit., fig. facing 174)

201. Kircher, A., *Obeliscus Pamphilius*, Roma 1650; D'Onofrio, op.cit., 224. Kircher published also another study: Kircher, A., *Ad Alexandrum VII P.M. obelisci aegyptiaci nuper inter Isaei Romani rudera effossi interpretatio hieroglyphica*, Romae 1666.

202. Archivio di Stato, Rome, A.St., Camerale II, Ant. e B.Arti, busta 6, fasc. 150 (D'Onofrio, op.cit., 289): "Risarcire ad uso d'arte tutto l'obelisco, lasciando intatti i geroglifici, com'essi sono; aggiungendovi le facce mancanti, senza però richiamare sù d'esse per mezzo della impostura i non intesi egiziani misteri; sostituirvi il primo pezzo di nuovo..."

203. Permission to use the remains of the Column of Antoninus Pius was given on 4 August 1787 (Archivio di Stato, Camerale II, Ant. e B.Arti, busta 6, fasc. 150. (D'Onofrio, op.cit., 275)

Chapter Seven

The French Revolution

7.1 Destruction

The storming and demolition of the Bastille in 1789 has come to symbolize the beginning of the French Revolution; it also symbolically started an era of ravage and destruction of works of art and historic buildings in France. The suppression of monasteries in the same year and subsequent confiscation of the property of noble families and of the king, provided an opportunity for people to express their anger against their former masters. The destruction and vandalism that followed was supported and even guided by legal acts. In 1792, the National Assembly decreed: “considering that the sacred principles of liberty and equality no longer permit the monuments raised to pride, prejudice and tyranny to be left before the people’s eyes”, (1) and considering that the bronze doors of these monuments could serve in the production of arms for the defence of the ‘homeland’, any inscriptions, signs, monuments or symbols reminiscent of the king or of feudalism, were to be destroyed without delay. (2)

During the decade that followed, France lost important works of art and historic buildings; material was sold and reused, or otherwise ravaged and destroyed. In Paris alone, dozens of mediaeval churches and convents were demolished, or converted for other purposes. Rood screens, funeral monuments, and statues were demolished. The Notre Dame of Paris, for example, lost the row of the statues of kings in its west front; the church was mutilated in various parts and, in 1794, used as a storage for provisions. (3) Palaces and castles were forcibly entered and their collections and furniture sold or vandalized. (4) Although the Concordat of 1801 between Napoleon and Pius VII brought a formal peace between the state and the church, destruction continued well into the nineteenth century. Napoleon himself had great plans for his capital city. Had he lived two more decades - he wrote in his memoirs - there would have been nothing left of the old Paris! (5)

7.2 Orders for Protection

Since, after the Revolution, the property of the church, of the feudal lords and of the king was considered national property, the nation also had the responsibility for its care and protection. From the early years of the Revolution, there were, in fact, decrees ordering the municipal or state administrations to prepare lists of this property - particularly of manuscripts, books and movable objects, but also of monuments in general - and “to constitute guardians for them.” (6) In October 1790, the Commission des monuments, of which the painter Louis David was a member, was given the task of caring for works of art and of preparing inventories. (7) This commission depended partly on the committees of the National Assembly, and partly on the municipality of Paris.

On 14 October, 1791, the Comité d’instruction publique was created; part of its responsibility was the conservation of monuments. (8) In 1793, the Commission des monuments was abolished, and a new Commission des arts was formed, later called the Commission temporaire des arts. Its task was to survey and prepare an inventory of all objects “useful for public education, belonging to the Nation.” (9) Its members included several architects - for example, Francois-Joseph de Lannoy (1794) and Charles Percier (1795), both of whom had won the Grand Prix de Rome. (10) The Commission was dissolved at the end of December 1795. (11)

Although conditions during the years of the Revolution were certainly not favourable for conservation, still certain fundamental concepts were formulated; and the intervention of the commissions or individuals could sometimes be decisive in preventing the destruction of historic structures and works of art. The Commission temporaire des arts, for example, saved Chantilly Castle, the church of Franciade, the tower of Saint-Machon in Mantes, and the bronze doors of Saint-Denis. (12) In 1790,

Aubin-Louis Millin (1759-1818) presented the first volume of his *Antiquités nationales*, in which he established the concept of “monuments historiques”. (13) In 1793, the politician Joseph Lakanal (1762-1845) and the mathematician Charles Romme (1750-95) addressed the Convention on the question of vandalism and urged for more efficient protection of monuments and works of art. (14)

The same laws that authorized the destruction of feudal and royal symbols also decreed the conservation of objects of special value. The decree of 14 August 1792 charged the Commission des monuments “particularly to control the conservation of objects which may have a special interest for their artistic quality.” (15) Similarly, penalties were foreseen for those who damaged national property; the decree of 6 June 1792 ordered two years of imprisonment for such vandalism. (16) Furthermore, on 24 October 1793, after hearing the Comité d’instruction publique on the abuses of laws and the destruction of works of art, the Convention decreed that “it is forbidden to remove, destroy, mutilate or alter in any way - with the excuse of eliminating traces of feudalism or royalty - from libraries, collections, private galleries, public museums...” objects that interest “the arts, history and education.” (17) It was, in fact, understood that preservation of cultural heritage was important for educational purposes in order to maintain “the leading position of France in commerce and industry.” (18)

Instructions for Inventory and Conservation

The importance of the conservation of works of art and historic monuments was further emphasized in an important document called *Instruction sur la manière d’inventorier et de conserver dans toute l’étendue de la République, tous les objets qui peuvent servir aux arts, aux sciences et à l’enseignement*. The document was prepared by the Commission temporaire des arts; it was presented to the Comité d’instruction publique in January 1793, and was approved on 5 March of the same year. (19) Education was here given a fundamental role. “The people will not forget that reason is strengthened through solid and real education. Already, education has become for the people the best means toward rebirth and glory. It places within their grasp a lever of great force which they use to uplift their nations, to overthrow thrones and to reject for ever the monuments to error.” (20) The objects that were to serve these didactic purposes, it was stated, could be found in the institutions which had been suppressed, i.e. in libraries, museums, and collections. Never before had such a wealth of objects been offered to the people; it was now their

heritage, and it was their responsibility to learn from the lessons of the past that were imprinted on these objects, and “to hand them down to posterity along with new pages.” (21)

For this reason, it was also essential to guarantee the conservation of this heritage. The document stated:

“All you who because of your republican virtues, are the true supporters of the liberty that is emerging, come close and rejoice. However, you must ensure the strictest control in this respect. Indifference would be a crime here because you are merely the guardians of a heritage which our great family has the right to expect you to give account of. In those houses cowardly abandoned by your enemies you will find part of this heritage. In the name of reason we should ensure its appreciation... each one of you should behave as though he was truly responsible for these treasures the nation has entrusted to him.” (22)

This heritage was conceived as encompassing a vast panorama of the human intellect, ranging from the natural sciences and medicine to the antiquities, arts, and architecture. The classification was to be carried out using unified measurements and language, because all these fields of human activity were interrelated. Everything was to be classified according to the field of activity and location. In the field of architecture, historic monuments were to be listed in all districts of the country indicating their age, location, type of construction and decoration, as well as the structural solidity, need for repair, and recommended use. (23)

Abbe Grégoire

Closely related to the Instructions were the reports of Abbe Henri Grégoire (1750-1831), bishop of Blois and a member of the Comité d’instruction publique. His first report was written on the conservation of manuscripts and the organization of libraries; three others concentrated on vandalism, “the destructions due to vandalism and the means to repress it”. All date from 1794. (24) Also Grégoire drew attention to the educational reasons for the conservation of cultural heritage. The word ‘vandalism’ was invented by him in order to put an end to this activity, which he considered counter-revolutionary. It made the French look like barbarians in the eyes of other nations, he exclaimed, “Barbarians and slaves detest knowledge and destroy works of art; free men love and conserve them.” (25) Antique monuments, according to

Grégoire, were like medals and had to be conserved as a whole. Similarly, mediaeval and later structures had to be preserved with their inscriptions, which “often supplemented the archives with the facts they recorded; they establish the periods of history.” (26) Consciousness of what was beautiful and what was good constituted part of the “honesty of heart”. Dissemination of this feeling and of these virtues was, according to him, essential for the revival of the sciences and for the morality of the people.

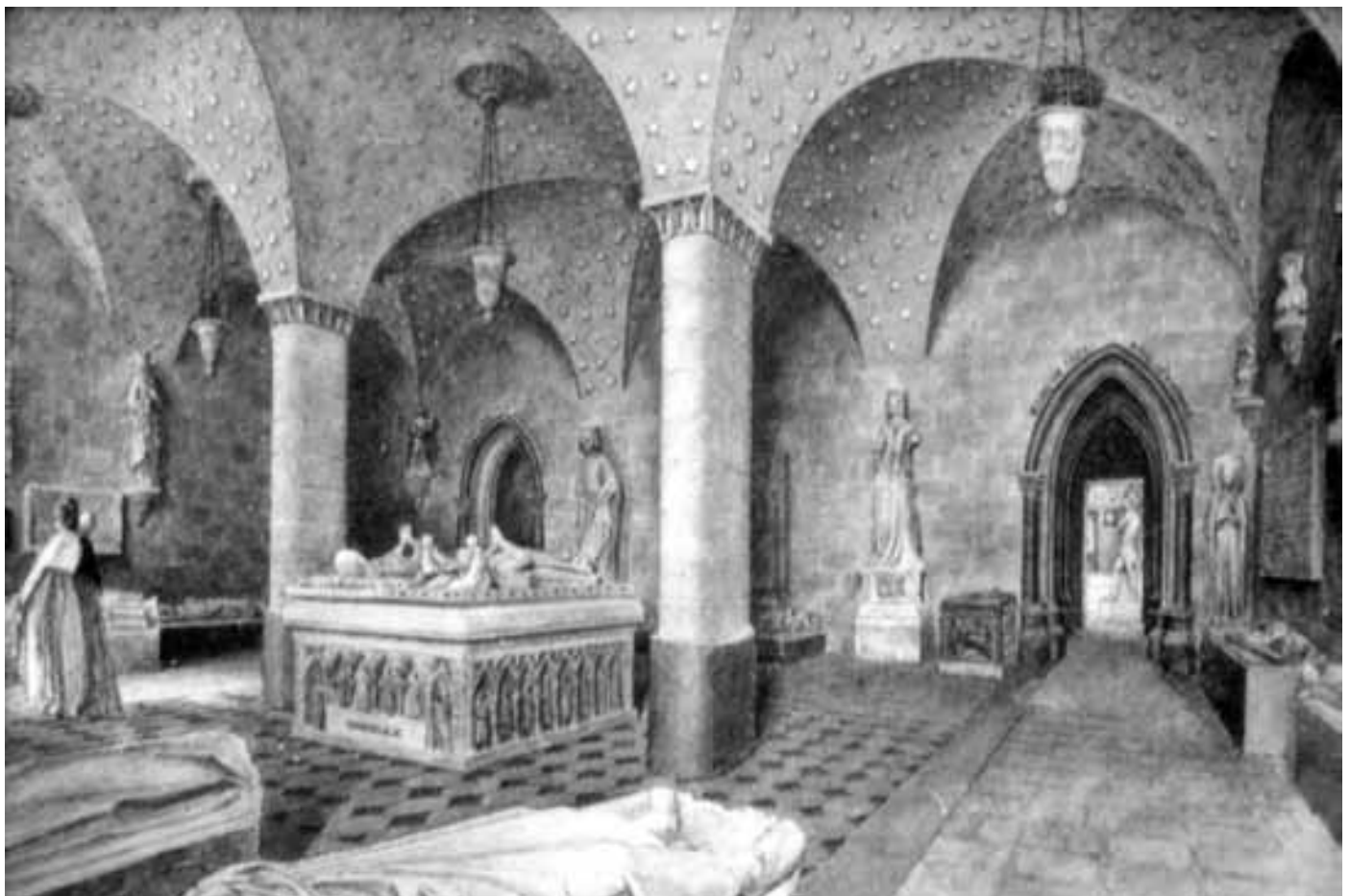
Grégoire emphasized the documentary value of historic monuments of all periods and the need to preserve them as a whole. He also insisted that the objects should be kept in their original location and could only be moved for purposes of conservation. This anticipated the concepts of the 1830’s, when the state became more organized for the care of historic monuments. The moral aspects of these documents also recall Winckelmann on the one hand and anticipate John Ruskin and the late nineteenth century conservation movement on the other. New decrees were drafted by the Comité d’instruction publique to meet the needs pointed out in the reports; the two year prison term for whoever damaged or destroyed “des monuments de sciences et d’arts” was reconfirmed. (27)

The opposition claimed that the destruction, cited in the reports of Grégoire, was exaggerated, but even though the work of the Committee helped to save some works of art, demolition still continued all over the country. The monastery of Cluny had been ravaged in 1793, and lay abandoned until its demolition in 1798. (28) A similar fate was to be faced by numerous other monasteries, churches, and palaces. In 1794, for example, the cathedral of Strasbourg lost 235 statues, and the cathedral of Albi 70, from their rood-screens. Although considerable legislative effort was made regarding the compilation of inventories of cultural property, positive results came only several decades later. (29)

Museums and Collections

Museums were regarded as possible shelters for the protection of movable objects; this had also been indicated in a decree of 1793. (30) The palace of the Louvre had already been opened as a museum since 1775. In 1791, some former atelier space was reserved for the display of works of art. The following year, the state collections were arranged there, and in 1793, the collections of Louis XVI were added (after the king had been beheaded). (31) While a substantial part of the art works of suppressed monasteries were

Figure 84. The Musée des Monuments Français, the room of the 13th century



destroyed, the remaining objects were either sold or brought into state deposits.

The convent of the Petits-Augustins was chosen as one of these deposits, and in 1791 Alexander Lenoir (1762-1839) was nominated its curator (later the title was changed to conservateur. (32)) Lenoir was first involved in the inventory of these objects. He then arranged the statues chronologically in rooms of the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; there was also an introductory room with an overview of the history of sculpture in France from antiquity to recent times. In 1795, the collection was opened to the public as Le Musée des Monuments français. (33)

At first, the collection contained objects from Paris and its surroundings, but later from other parts of France. There were, for example, several royal monuments from Saint-Denis. Lenoir arrived too late, however, to acquire sculptures from Cluny. Objects were selected and often brought to the museum for restoration. The arrangement, although systematic, was based on a limited knowledge of mediaeval art. Very often, pieces of different origin were put together to make one monument. This was the case, for example, with the funeral monument of Heloise and Abelard, which was placed in the attached garden of the Elysee. The garden, in fact, became part of the museum, and contained dozens of tombs of famous personalities such as Moliere, La Fontaine, and Montfaucon. (34)

Quatremère de Quincy

The museum and its garden became very popular during the Republic and the Empire. Many artists, among them David, Ingres and Hubert Robert, came to study there. The catalogue of the collection was printed eleven times (once even in English). However, there were also critics. After the Concordat of 1801, there was a desire to return religious objects to churches. Similarly, many artists would have preferred to see the works of art in their original locations. Then, too, although Lenoir had worked quite hard to organize his museum, he seems to have had little appreciation for the artistic qualities of mediaeval art. To him, the organization of the collection was mainly a didactic exercise. Also, the more insensitive restorations shocked many people. (35)

The final critical blow came from Antoine-Chrysostome Quatremère de Quincy (1755-1849), a classical archaeologist and art critic. He himself did

not appreciate the Middle Ages, and hated museums, being especially convinced that works of art should be kept in their original locations. Quatremère wrote: "The museum is the end of art. The fragments of history thus become dead artifacts and the lessons artists learn from them are dead too." (36)

In 1816, after the fall of Napoleon, Quatremère was nominated the secretary of the Academy of Beaux-Arts, as well as the Intendant général des arts et monuments publics. On 24 April of that year, he ordered that the objects that Lenoir had collected in the museum had to be returned to their original owners. (37) In some cases this could be done, while in others they were taken to other collections or were lost, because the original place did not exist any more.

Quatremère had travelled to Rome in 1776, and remained there for four years. He had read Winckelmann, had met Mengs and David, and had become a personal friend of Antonio Canova, the future director of museums and antiquities in Rome. He then continued his studies in France and England, was elected representative of Paris in 1789 and became a member of the Comité d'instruction publique in 1791. Quatremère was especially involved in defending the arts and artists, and also had a special interest in legislation. Unfortunately, he encountered political difficulties, and was first imprisoned and later exiled. (38)

When Napoleon, according to the peace treaty of Tolentino in 1797, obliged Pius VI to deliver to France the so called 'bouquet de Napoleon', Quatremère was outraged and wrote from his prison a series of letters, published as Letters to General Miranda, his protector. (39) The 'bouquet' included rare books and manuscripts as well as a hundred of the most famous Italian works of art such as the Apollo of Belvedere, the Laocoon, the Belvedere Torso, paintings of Raphael, Correggio and Guido Reni. (40) According to Quatremère, these works of art belonged to Italy, which was the great school of art. These works had a special significance in Italy which was lost if they were brought elsewhere. Antique Rome, he said, was like "a great book of which time had destroyed or scattered the pages. Every day modern research can fill in the gaps and repair the lacunae." (41) Rome was a museum, which was composed

"it is true, of statues, colossuses, temples, obelisks, triumphal columns, thermae, circuses, amphitheatres, triumphal arches, tombs, stuccoes, wall paintings, bas-reliefs, inscriptions,

fragments, ornaments, building materials, furnishings, tools etc. etc. However, it was also composed of places, sites, hills, positions with respect to the ruined villas, the topographical and other relationships, local traditions, customs still alive today, parallels and connections which can be made only in the country itself.” (42)

Quatremère maintained that Greek works, divorced from their country, lacked the humanity and tranquillity of Greece. Similarly, if the weathered River Gods were brought from the banks of the Tiber to Paris, they would only look like muddy pieces of stone. There would be no time to enjoy them; spectators would remain indifferent. To Quatremère, despoiling Italy of her classical masterpieces meant attacking Europe’s principal source of learning.

The strong message that works of art belonged in their cultural and geographical context was well received by other artists in France. The concept came to be applied in the French context: i.e. mediaeval sculptures were to remain in their architectural context. This was, in fact, one of Quatremère’s main arguments against Lenoir’s museum. Another analogous collection of antiquities had been undertaken in Toulouse by Alexander Du Mège (1786-1862), who was especially enthusiastic about the area of the Pyrenees concerning which he initiated the publication of *L’Archéologie pyrénéenne*. (43) Conscious of the destruction of the revolution, Du Mège wanted to provide protection for the works of art. He, thus, created the Musée du Midi de la République, which was housed in the convent of the Augustins in 1794. This collection, however, met with an opposition similar to that in Paris, and the ambitious plans of Du Mège were only partly realized. (44).

Whatever the problems, however, the people of France were brought - for the first time - to appreciate and reflect on the history of the country through these unknown works of art. In other words, France became conscious of national art. (45) This spirit of Nationalism was to be a decisive factor in the conservation movements of the nineteenth century, as illustrated in the following case studies.

Notes to Chapter Seven:

1. Decree, 14 August 1792: “L’Assemblée nationale, considérant que les principes sacrés de la liberté et de l’égalité ne permettent point de laisser plus longtemps sous les yeux du peuple français les monuments élevés à l’orgueil, au préjugé et à la tyrannie...” (Rücker,

Frédéric, *Les Origines de la Conservation des monuments historiques en France (1790-1830)*, Thèse pour le doctorat d’université (Lettres), Présentée à la Faculté des Lettres de l’Université de Paris, Paris 1913, 13)

2. Decree, 14 August 1792: “...Considérant que le bronze de ces monuments converti en canons servira utilement à la défense de la patria, décrète qu’il y a urgence,... Art. 1. ...Statues, bas-reliefs, inscriptions et autres monuments en bronze et en toute autre matière élevés sur les places publiques, temples, jardins, parcs et dépendances, maisons nationales, même dans celles qui étaient res. à la jouissance de roi... Art. 3. Les monuments, restes de la féodalité, de quelque nature qu’ils soient existant encore dans les temples ou autres lieux publics, et même à l’extérieur des maisons particulières, seront, sans aucun délai, détruits à la diligence des communes.” (Rücker, op.cit. 13)

3. Réau, Louis, *Histoire du Vandalisme, Les monuments détruits de l’Art français, I-II*, Librairie Hachette, Paris 1959, I, 296; II, 303ff.

4. *Idem*.

5. *Idem*; Pinkney, David, H., *Napoleon III and the Rebuilding of Paris*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1858.

6. E.g.: 7 and 14 November 1789 (The National Assembly ordered to “déposer aux greffes des sièges royaux ou des municipalités les plus voisines des états et catalogues des livres, particulièrement des manuscrits, et de s’en constituer gardiens.”), 14 August 1790 (“l’inventaire des caractères, poinçons, matrices, gravures et autres objets appartenant à la Nation se trouvant à l’imprimerie du Louvre.”), 13 and 23 October 1790, 10 June 1793, 27 January 1794. (Rücker, op.cit.)

7. The Commission des Monuments was created on 13 October 1790 and abolished on 12 October 1793. It depended directly on the ‘Comités réunis, on the ‘Comité des finances’, and on the Municipality of Paris. Its members included David, Doyen, Mouchy, Pajon. The Assembly also ordered the inventory and conservation of monuments in general at the same time. (Rücker, op.cit., 48); Réau, op.cit., 380ff.

8. The members included Gaudin, Quatresols de Marolles, Quatremère de Quincy (elected 28 October) and de Bry (elected 10 October) (Rücker, op.cit., 41ff)

9. The decrees for the Commission des Arts are: 12, 15 and 18 August 1793; its first meeting was on 1 September 1793. On 18 December 1793, it was transformed into La Commission temporaire des arts. The original task of the Commission was to do inventories of “statues, tableaux, livres, manuscrits et autres effets”; on 18 August 1793, this task was widened to all objects “utiles à l’instruction publique, appartenant à la Nation”. (Rücker, op.cit., 48, 86ff)

10. Architecture was first the responsibility of Auguste Cheval de Saint-Hubert, the City Architect of Paris; in

1794 and 1795 the number of architects was augmented, including: Julien-David Leroy (1724-1803), architect and archaeologist, member of the Academy of Architecture and Academy of Inscriptions, François-Joseph de Lannoy (1755-1835), architect, Grand-Prix de Rome. In 1795 was included also Charles Percier (1764-1838), architect, Grand-Prix de Rome. (Rücker, op.cit., 48, 86ff)

11. 26 December 1795 (Réau, op.cit., 382)

12. Rücker, op.cit., 94ff.

13. Réau, op.cit., 382.

14. Idem.

15. The same decree of 14 August 1792, which ordered the destruction (see note 2, above) of monuments, also ordered their conservation if they corresponded to specific qualifications: “Art. 4. La Commission des monuments est chargée expressément de veiller à la conservation des objets qui peuvent intéresser essentiellement les arts, et d’en présenter la liste au corps législatif, pour être statué ainsi qu’il appartiendra.” (Rücker, op.cit. 13ff)

16. Réau, op.cit., 380.

17. Decree of 24 October 1793: “Art.1. Il défendu d’enlever, de détruire, mutiler ni altérer en aucune manière, sous prétexte de faire disparaître les signes de féodalité ou de royauté dans les bibliothèques, les collections, cabinets, musées publics ou particuliers,... les livres imprimés ou manuscrits, les gravures et dessins, les tableaux, bas-reliefs, statues, médailles, vases, antiquités... qui intéressent les arts, l’histoire & l’instruction.” (Rücker, op.cit., 30)

18. The decree of 24 October 1793 emphasized that the destruction of “monuments des arts, de l’histoire et de l’instruction” caused the threat to France to lose its leading position in “industrie et commerce”. (Rücker, op.cit. 30); Réau, op.cit., 381; C.O.R.D.A., Les enjeux de la conservation du patrimoine, par ‘Tabula rasa’ (C. Gajdos, J.J. Lyon-Caen, R. Pastrana), Paris 1980, 107ff.

19. ‘Procès verbaux du Comité d’Instruction publique de la Convention’, III, 545. The Instructions were drafted by Félix Viecq d’Azur (1748-1794), and anatomist and writer, member of the Academy of Sciences. (Rücker, op.cit. 94.)

20. Instruction sur la manière d’inventorier et de conserver, dans toute l’étendue de la République, tous les objets qui peuvent servir aux arts, aux sciences, et à l’enseignement, proposée par la Commission temporaire des arts, et adoptée par le Comité d’Instruction Publique de la Convention Nationale, Imprimerie Nationale, Paris, l’an II de la République: “Le peuple n’oubliera point que c’est par une instruction solide et vraie que la raison se fortifie. Déjà mise à sa portée, l’instruction est devenue pour lui le moyen le plus puissant de régénération et de gloire, elle a placé dans ses mains un levier d’une force immense dont il se sert pour soulever les nations, pour ébranler les trônes et renverser à jamais les monuments

de l’erreur”. (C.O.R.D.A., Les enjeux de la conservation, op.cit., 107.; Rücker, op.cit.,94; Réau, op.cit. 381).

21. Instruction sur la manière d’inventorier et de conserver, op.cit.: “Les objets qui doivent servir à l’instruction, et dont un grand nombre appartenait aux établissements supprimés, méritait toute l’attention des vrais amis de la patrie. On les trouvera dans les bibliothèques, dans les musées, dans les cabinets, dans les collections sur lesquelles la République a des droits; dans les ateliers où sont rassemblés les instruments les plus nécessaires à nos besoins; dans les palais et dans les temples que décorent les chefs-d’oeuvres des arts; dans tous les lieux où des monuments retracent ce que furent les hommes et les peuples; partout, enfin, où les leçons du passé, fortement empreintes, peuvent être recueillies par notre siècle, qui saura les transmettre, avec des pages nouvelles, au souvenir de la postérité...”

22. Instruction sur la manière d’inventorier et de conserver, op.cit.: “Vous tous qui, par vos vertus républicaines, êtes les vrais appuis de la liberté naissante, approchez et jouissez; mais couvrez ce domaine de toute votre surveillance. L’indifférence ici serait un crime, parce que vous n’êtes que les dépositaires d’un bien dont la grande famille a droit de vous demander compte. C’est dans les maisons lâchement abandonnées par vos ennemis, que vous trouverez une partie de cet héritage; faites-le valoir au profit de la raison, si cruellement outragée par eux; éloignez-en toutes les mains suspectes, et que chacun de vous se conduise comme s’il était vraiment responsable de ces trésors que la Nation lui confie.”

23. Instruction sur la manière d’inventorier et de conserver, op.cit.

24. ‘Rapport de l’Abbé Grégoire sur les inscriptions’ 11 January 1794 (22 Nivose An II); ‘Rapport de Grégoire sur la Bibliographie, portant sur la conservation des manuscrits et l’organisation des bibliothèques’ 11 April 1794 (22 Germinal An II); ‘Rapport de Grégoire sur “les destructions opérées par le vandalisme et les moyens de le réprimer”’ 31 August 1794 (14 Fructidor An II); Deuxième rapport de Grégoire sur le vandalisme’ 24 October 1794 (8 Brumaire An III); ‘Troisième rapport de Grégoire sur le vandalisme’ 14 December 1794 (24 Frimaire An III). (C.O.R.D.A., Les enjeux de la conservation, op.cit., 107.; Rücker, op.cit.,94; Réau, op.cit. 381; Marot, Pierre, ‘L’abbé Grégoire et le vandalisme révolutionnaire’, ???) The Comité d’instruction publique noted on 31 March 1794: “Le citoyen Grégoire propose un projet de décret contre ceux des citoyens qui se permettent de briser ou mutiler les monuments divers qui se trouvent épars dans les départements. Le Comité arrête que le Comité (de salut publique) sera engagé d’autoriser le président du Comité à écrire aux différents districts de veiller sur la conservation des monuments qui y sont encore en leur entier.” (Proc.Verb. du Comité d’instr. publ. de la Convention, IV, 55) 15 July 1794, the Committee gave the task to Grégoire and Fourcroy to write the report. (Rücker, op.cit., 32)

25. Abbé Grégoire: 'Rapport sur vandalisme', op.cit.: "Les barbares et les esclaves détestent les sciences et détruisent les monuments des arts; les hommes libres les aiment et les conservent."
26. Abbé Grégoire: 'Rapport sur les inscriptions', 11.1.1794, op.cit., 9: "Les monuments antiques sont des médailles sous une autre forme, ils doivent être conservés dans leur totalité; et quel est l'homme sensé qui ne frémit pas à la seule idée de voir porter le marteau sur les antiquités d'Orange ou de Nêmes? Quant à ceux du moyen âge et des temps modernes, dont les inscriptions ne présentent rien de contraire aux principes de l'égalité et de la liberté, ils doivent être également conservés; ils suppléent souvent aux archives par les faits dont ils sont dépositaires; ils fixent les époques de l'histoire: les détruire serait une perte; les traduire serait une espèce d'anachronisme; ce serait les dénaturer sans utilité comme sans motif, et vous réprimerez sans doute la barbarie contre-révolutionnaire qui voudrait nous appauvrir en nous déshonorant."
27. On the basis of the reports of Grégoire, the Comité d'instruction publique proposed the following decree: "Art. 1. Les bibliothèques et tous les autres monuments de sciences et d'arts appartenant à la Nation, sont recommandés à la surveillance de tous les bons citoyens; ils sont invités à dénoncer aux autorités constituées les provocateurs et les auteurs de dilapidations et dégradations de ces bibliothèques et monuments. Art. 2. Ceux qui seront convaincus d'avoir, par malveillance, détruits ou dégradés des monuments de sciences et d'arts, subiront la peine de deux années de détention, conformément au décret du 13 avril 1793..." (Rücker, op.cit., 37)
28. Réau, op.cit., I, 327.
29. Idem, II, 305.
30. The decree of 24 October 1793 (Rücker, op.cit.)
31. Réau, op.cit., I, 384ff.
32. Réau, op.cit., I, 390ff.; Le 'Gothique' retrouvé avant Viollet-le-Duc, Caisse Nationale des Monuments Historiques et des Sites, Paris 1979, 77. Léon, Paul, La Vie des Monuments français, destruction, restauration, Editions A. et J. Picard et Cie, Paris 1951, 68ff.
33. 21 October 1795; Idem.
34. Léon, La vie des Monuments, op.cit., 85.
35. Idem.
36. Quatremère de Quincy, 'Rapport au Conseil général sur l'instruction publique, le rétablissement des bourses, le scandale des inhumanités actuelles, l'érection des cimetières, sur la restitution des tombeaux, mausolées', 15 thermidor an VIII. Considerations morales sur la destination des ouvrages de l'art, 1815: "Le musée est la fin de l'art. Les pièces de l'histoire en deviennent les extraits mortuaires; les leçons qu'y reçoivent les artistes sont des leçons mortes." (Léon, op.cit., 84f)
37. Léon, op.cit. 84f.
38. Schneider, R., Quatremère de Quincy et son intervention dans les arts (1788-1830), Thèse présentée à la faculté des lettres de l'Université de Paris, Paris 1910.
39. Quatremère de Quincy, Lettres sur l'enlèvement des ouvrages de l'art antique à Athènes et à Rome, écrites les unes au célèbre Canova, les autres au Général Miranda, Nouvelle édition, Paris 1836. Pinelli, Antonio, 'Storia dell'arte e cultura della tutela. Le 'Lettres à Miranda' di Quatremère de Quincy', Ricerche di Storia dell'arte ('Storia dell'arte e politica della tutela, scavi, processi, editti, musei, mercanti, ispettori, inventari restaurati'), 1978-79, VIII, La Nuova Italia Scientifica, Firenze 1979, 43ff.
40. Idem.
41. Quatremère de Quincy, 'Lettres au Général Miranda sur le préjudice qu'occasionneraient aux arts et à la science le déplacement des monuments de l'art de l'Italie, le démembrement de ses écoles, et la spoliation de ses collections, galleries, musées, etc.' (Seven letters and a petition to the government): "Qu'est-ce que l'antique à Rome, sinon un grand livre dont le temps a détruit ou dispersé les pages, et dont les recherches modernes remplissent chaque jour les vides, et réparent les lacunes?"
42. Quatremère de Quincy, 'Lettres au Général Miranda', op.cit.: "Le véritable muséum de Rome, celui dont je parle, se compose, il est vrai, de statues, de colosses, de temples, d'obélisques, de colonnes triomphales, de thèrnes, de cirques, d'amphithéâtres, d'arcs de triomphe, de tombeaux, de stucs, de fresques, de bas-reliefs, d'inscriptions, de fragments, d'ornemens, de matériaux de construction, de meubles, d'utensiles, etc. etc.; mais il ne se compose pas moins des lieux, des sites, des montagnes, des carrières, des contes antiques, des positions respectives des villes ruinées, des rapports géographiques, des relations de tous les objets entre eux, des souvenirs, des traditions locales, des usages encore existants, des parallèles et des rapprochemens qui ne peuvent se faire que dans le pays même."
43. Le 'Gothique' retrouvé, op.cit., 85ff.
44. Le 'Gothique' retrouvé, op.cit., 42; Léon, La vie des Monuments, op.cit., 71.
45. Léon, La vie des Monuments, op.cit., 71.

Part Two:

Five Case Studies

(Rome, Athens, Durham, Magdeburg, Vézelay)



Chapter Eight

Case Study: Italy, Restoration in Rome

8.1 Conservation in the Papal States, 1800-1809

After the Papal States were restored to the Pope with the withdrawal of the French in 1799, Pius VII (1800-1823) arrived in Rome to assume the throne of St. Peter in June 1800. His first concern was to re-establish the Papal administration; special emphasis was given to improved protection for the antiquities and works of art that had suffered during the French domination. There had been several edicts in the past to protect them and control their exportation (e.g. 1624, 1646, 1717, 1726, 1733, 1750). (1) However, these had not been efficiently enforced and with the impoverishment of the Papal States, the sale of art collections to foreigners had become common. Licenses were acquired rather easily, the percentage charged on the value of the object only encouraged the practice, and the Commissioner, who had almost no assistance, was not able to control the traffic. (2)

Organization and Legislation

During the early part of the nineteenth century, there was particular concern for the value of cultural property, partly because of the development of new artistic theories and concepts, partly because of the recent losses of works of art. The Secretary of State was Cardinal Ercole Consalvi (1757-1824), a liberal statesman and a patron of arts and sciences. Cardinal Giuseppe Doria-Pamphili, the head of the Camerlengato, was responsible for the administration and cultural affairs, and Cardinal Alessandro Lante was the chief treasurer; all were members of distinguished Roman families. Furthermore, in 1801 the lawyer and archaeologist Carlo Fea (1753-1836) was nominated Commissioner of Antiquities, and, the following year, the famous neo-classical sculptor Antonio Canova (1757-1822) was nominated Inspector of Fine Arts. All worked together to provide a theoretical and legal basis for the protection of monuments and works of art.

The Camera Apostolica, the Papal government, had two departments that had special responsibilities regarding the conservation of cultural property. One was the so called Camerlengato, the general administration of Papal States. Its director was called the Camerlengo. This office was responsible, among other duties, for the general legislation, inspection and evaluation of antiquities and works of art. The Inspector of Fine Arts and the Commissioner of Antiquities were nominated by the Camerlengo. The other office responsible for conservation was the Treasury, under the direction of the Chief Treasurer. His duties covered the financial aspects and corresponding legislative acts, as well as the execution of works. These included excavation, restoration and maintenance of ancient monuments. The Treasury had under it a commission, called the Consiglio d'arte, and architect inspectors, who were responsible for the projects and supervision of work. This division of responsibility for conservation between two departments caused various problems of interpretation. The Camerlengato was to decide what works were to be done; the Treasury had to care for the rest, allowing the Camerlengato, however, to check that the conceptual basis for the project and the quality in the execution corresponded to their requirements. Cost control was considered necessary so as to guarantee the continuation of funds. (3).

In the execution of the works, the Treasury relied on members and professors of the Accademia di San Luca. This institution, founded in 1593, had great prestige and influence, and its members were selected from leading artists in Italy and abroad, from Rubens and Bernini to Winckelmann. Those most involved in the conservation of ancient monuments were Giuseppe Camporesi (1736-1822), Raffaele Stern (1774-1820) and Giuseppe Valadier (1762-1839). Camporesi was made responsible for the inspection of ancient monuments in 1803. (4) He also worked as the architectural director of the excavations in the

Forum. Later, in 1818, Valadier was given a similar appointment. All three were nominated for specific restoration projects. Valadier, however, became the leading architect not only in restoration, but in contemporary, neoclassical, architecture as well. (5)

The Papal Chirograph of the first of October 1802, signed by Cardinal Doria Pamphili, became the basic law for the protection of cultural property in this period. It was revised in 1820 by Cardinal Pacca, but its principles remained unchanged until superseded by the laws of the United Kingdom of Italy after 1870s. The author of this edict was Carlo Fea (1753-1836), a lawyer and priest who had studied the history of Papal legislation and who had a special interest in archaeology. He had translated the works of Winckelmann and Mengs into Italian, and had written a dissertation on the history of the destruction of ancient monuments in Rome. (6) The introduction to the edict was written by Cardinal Doria-Pamphili himself. The edict referred consciously to earlier legislation, such as *Cum Almam Nostram Urbem* by Pius II in 1462 against destruction of ancient monuments, and *Quam provida* by Sixtus IV in 1474, which prohibited the removal of antique or otherwise valuable elements or objects from churches. Of the more recent laws, the new edict mentioned that of 1750 made under Benedict XIV. (7) The aim of the edict was to guarantee conservation of ancient monuments and works of art. This was clearly expressed in the introduction which listed the advantages in the following lines: "These precious remains of Antiquity give to the city of Rome an ornament that distinguishes her among all the most famous cities of Europe. They provide important subjects for the meditation of Scholars as well as most valuable models for Artists to inspire them with ideas of the Beautiful and the Sublime. They attract to this city foreigners who delight in studying these unique Rarities. They will give employment to many occupied in the field of Fine Arts, and finally the new products that come from their hands will promote a branch of commercial and industrial activities. More than anything, this last will be useful to the public and to the State." (8)

Thus, ancient monuments and works of art were considered the pride of Rome, giving it a unique position in Europe and attracting scholars and artists, promoting tourism, commerce and industry. All this was badly needed in this period of economic and political difficulties.

The edict emphasized the public character of ancient monuments and works of art. Fea's idea was

that it was impossible to set a price on an ancient monument. He praised the Vivaldi family, who gave their property of the Mausoleum of Augustus to the State, asking for compensation only on the modern structures and nothing on the monument itself. The contrary happened in the case of the Pantheon and in the house of the Crescentii (near Santa Maria in Cosmedin), where the owners insisted on their rights in the ancient structures. In the law, consequently, all antique objects and works of art were required to be registered with the State (9). All objects were divided into categories and subcategories including: any human or animal figures in marble or other material, antique paintings, mosaics or other coloured works, vases, gems, inscriptions and even simple fragments, in fact anything that could be called "antiquity". Architectural elements and ornaments such as columns, capitals, architraves, and various types of stones were also included. Paintings on canvas or on wood, either by classical artists or by their schools, that could be of value, were added to this list of objects that could not be exported from the Papal States and were subject to registration. Licences, when they were given, were free of charge in order to avoid corruption.

The general principle was to conserve the monuments in their original places. This included, for example, keeping paintings in the churches, from which they could be removed only with special permission, even for purposes of restoration or copying. Fea had bitter fights when trying to enforce this principle, because priests often wanted to raise income from collectors by selling a master's original painting and replacing it with a copy. Rich collectors, such as the English banker, Sir Hans Sloane were able to find ways to export objects. In fact, Sloane was brought to court because of illegal exportation and was fined, but the objects were already abroad. The integrity of historic buildings was not easily guarded. In the recent past, it had been common practice to reuse elements from other buildings for new projects. Architects were still doing this even now. Stern, for example, had great respect for ancient monuments but intended, nonetheless, to use old columns from a church in his plan for the museum Chiaramonti. (10) Papal museums were allowed a fixed annual budget for the acquisition of objects for their collections in compensation for the losses. For the same reason, excavations were encouraged, in the belief that there were still treasures underground. However, all excavations, whether on public or private land, were strictly licenced and directly controlled by

the Inspector of Fine Arts and the Commissioner of Antiquities.

Antonio Canova

Antonio Canova was born in the village of Possagno and studied in Venice and Rome. He became the leading neoclassical sculptor - rivalled only by Houdon and Thorvaldsen - and was considered by his contemporaries to be equal to the ancients - "the inimitable sculptor, equal to Phidias and Praxiteles". (11) He counted among his patrons the most important personalities of the time, including Pius VII and Napoleon. Canova's work followed the principles of Winckelmann, and his Perseus was conceived as an "imitation of the inimitable." It was, in fact, placed by Pius VII on the base that had remained empty when the Apollo of Belvedere had been taken to Paris. Canova made profound studies of classical sculpture and had a great respect to the authentic works of art. His refusal to restore the "Elgin Marbles" from the Parthenon was a clear proof of his beliefs; to him, it would have been a sacrilege to lay hands on these masterpieces that were "real flesh". (12) His personal opinion was that to copy from the ancients "servilely suffocates and freezes the genius", while to consult a major work of art for the purposes of study, comparing it with nature in order to understand its qualities, means to use it for creating a whole that could serve to define the right expression of the chosen subject - "as did the Greeks, when they chose from nature the greatest beauty". (13)

Canova was nominated Inspector of Fine Arts in 1802, thus becoming the successor to a long list of artists before him. Until his death in 1822, he remained influential in Rome, first as an Inspector, then as the President of the Accademia di San Luca. Canova, too, was appalled by the "bouquet" of Napoleon and attempted to have those works of art brought back from Paris. In 1805, he told Napoleon, who was proud of having almost all the major works of art from Italy in his collection, "Please, Your Majesty, leave at least something in Italy." (14)

In 1815, Canova was chosen by Pius VII to go to France and bring back the lost works. He also acted personally to keep antiquities in Rome; he bought the collection of the Giustiniani family, which otherwise would have been sold to France. Later, he presented it as a gift to the new Museum of Chiaramonti in the Vatican. (15) As Inspector, Canova received reports on conservation and excavation, and he intervened directly where necessary. Canova and Fea were in a good position to influence the concepts of conservation

both in legislation and in practical execution, and as a result work was generally limited to the minimum necessary to conserve a monument; in the case of the Colosseum, for example, restoration was not the aim, but conservation of all ancient fragments as part of the authentic historic monument.

Restoration and Conservation in Practice

Excavations had already been common practice in and around Rome for many centuries; the recent discoveries of Herculaneum and Pompeii fed a new enthusiasm, and in 1788 Baron von Fredenheim's excavations in Rome provided a further stimulus. In 1801, excavations had been started again in Ostia under the direction of Carlo Fea and Giuseppe Petrini, but because of malaria it was decided to transfer them to Rome in 1802. The Arch of Septimius Severus in the Forum Romanum was chosen as the starting point. Later, this decision was regretted, because it would have been more logical to start from the southern part of the Forum, near the Colosseum, and to work up-hill towards the Capitol. (16) Excavations were generally limited in extent, and concentrated on a few monuments or sites including the Colosseum, the baths of Titus and the Pantheon. Workmen were convicts, housed in tents on the site overnight. The most suitable seasons had to be chosen to avoid both the heavy rains and the intense heat and sunshine of the summer that hardened the soil; this latter was then believed to be the source of the pernicious fumes that caused malarial fever. Drainage was one problem; others included land-ownership and the need to demolish buildings on the site as well as disposing of the spoil.

The Arch of Septimius Severus was excavated down to the original ground level. The structure was then surrounded by a circular retaining wall

Figure 85. The Arch of Septimius Severus in the Forum Romanum, excavated and surrounded by a circular retaining wall (Rossini, 1822)



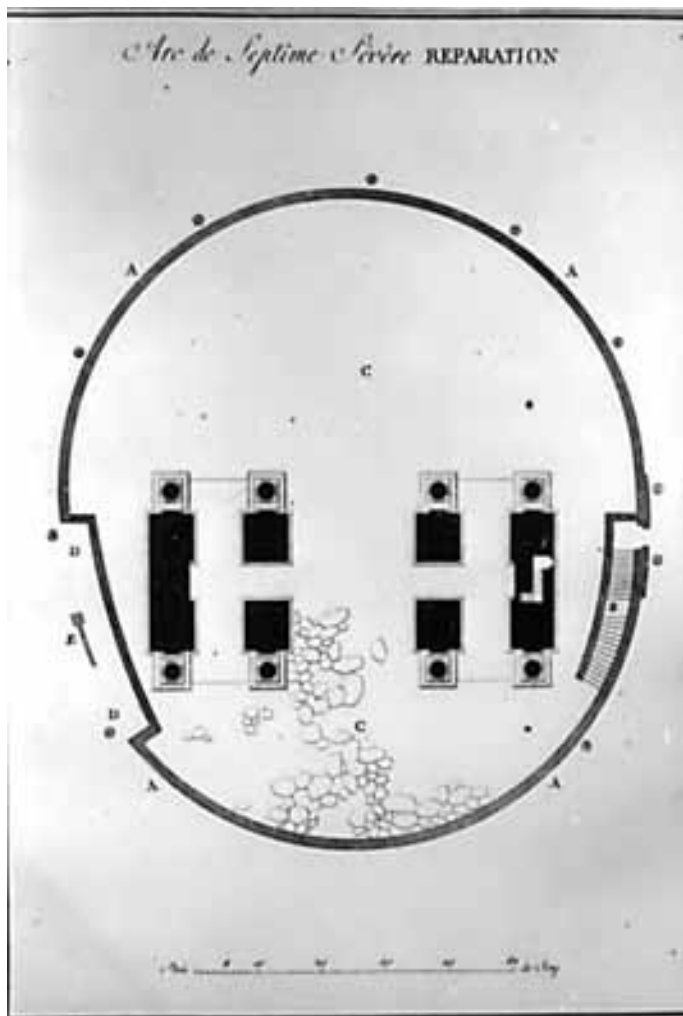


Figure 86. The Arch of Septimius Severus, Forum Romanum, the plan with the retaining wall

with steps allowing visitors down to the ground, completed in 1803 and commemorated with an inscription. (17). The wall was built to the design of the architect Zappati, re-using material from demolitions. Concerning the monument itself, Canova cautioned Camporesi to show great respect in the treatment: “with all the zeal and care that you feel towards these objects, so beloved to you, you must give full attention so that this monument will not suffer the slightest fracture,...” (18) Consolidation consisted of the most essential such as of securing a cracked marble column with iron rings; otherwise, works seem to have been limited to maintenance. (19) Fea was ordered to keep a diary on the progress of the excavation, while Camporesi reported on the architectural works.

A similar retaining wall was built around the Arch of Constantine in 1805 (20) after an excavation to free the entire monument which had been partly burned. In this same period, there were discussions about the continuation of excavations in the area between the Arch of Septimius Severus and the Arch of Titus (21). In the collective imagination, there were pictures of splendid ancient monuments that could

still be discovered underground. (22) Of the other monuments, the Pantheon attracted most attention, and plans were made for its liberation from the more recent accretions. Works were, however, limited to some excavation and repairs that were executed under the direction of Fea and Valadier. The latter was also responsible for the demolition of the defence tower on the Roman bridge Milvio and its reconstruction in the form of a gateway, in 1805. (23)

The Colosseum

Restoration and Protection of the Colosseum had been discussed already for a long time in order to avoid further destruction. On the other hand, repairs and restoration conflicted with the romantic ideas of conserving and appreciating it as an overgrown ruin. In 1805, Giuseppe Antonio Guattani, the secretary of the Accademia di San Lucca, wrote:

“What other theatrical pile could be more complex than this? Where can you find a more superb and imposing ruin? It is sufficient to see it, never to forget it. The picturesqueness that time has given to it through destruction has provided it with such a mysterious and interesting air that many might wish it were not restored. The future should content itself with the present state. However, time is destroying it more and more rapidly, and after another century, the interior will have disappeared altogether. Then, those who are curious will only be able to search for illustrations by people like Serlio, Desgodetz, Fontana, Overbeck, Piranesi, Maragoni, Maffei, Morelli, Carli and maybe even for this description of mine. Of course, there will then be the risk that this information will not suffice and may be even less convincing.” (24)

Figure 87. The Colosseum. Painting by Gaspar Van Wittel showing the structure before the nineteenth-century restorations



Built by the Flavian Emperors, Vespasian, Titus and Domitian, the Colosseum was inaugurated for the first time in 79 AD by Vespasian, and it was completed by Domitian as the largest amphitheatre in the Roman Empire. Constructed in brick and travertine in the form of an ellipse, it measured 188 m by 156 m in plan and almost 50 m in height providing seats for some 70,000 spectators. Externally, its surface was decorated with superimposed orders which presented a famous model for Roman and Renaissance architects. (25) Its sophisticated substructures allowed complex spectacles with special effects, much loved by the Romans. The last famous spectacle was organized by Theodoric in 523 AD in an attempt to revive the ancient way of living. Thereafter, the Colosseum passed into the “dark ages” along with the city of Rome and suffered from earthquakes, floods, and enemy attacks. It showed, however, such superior strength compared to other structures that the Venerable Bede (673-735) wrote his famous words saying:

“While stands the Coliseum, Rome shall stand
When falls the Coliseum, Rome shall fall
And when Rome falls - the world.” (26)

Built as an amphitheatre, it had been named Colosseum in the Middle Ages and was believed to have been a temple of the sun. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, this splendid ancient monument was more than 1700 years old. It had served the most varied purposes and had been recognized for its great architectural, artistic, historical, touristic and political values. Most recently, it had come to epitomize the romantic ruin.

Protection and Restoration of the Colosseum

The building was in a bad state of repair. Coach drivers used it as a night-shelter, building fires in it; and for many decades, too, it had been used as a store for a nearby gun-powder factory, for which purpose the first floor had been soaked in manure. All these abuses caused damage to the stone and blocked the corridors, making them inaccessible to visitors. There had been a serious earthquake at the beginning of the eighteenth century which caused the partial collapse of the fabric; the fallen material was then taken away and used in the construction of the Porto di Ripetta. Another earthquake in the first years of the nineteenth century further endangered the structure, especially the east side of the outer ring which had cracked and was out of plumb. These problems were pointed out in a memorandum written by Carlo Fea, the Commissioner of Antiquities, after an inspection

together with the architects Giuseppe Camporesi and Tommaso Zappati in June 1804. They suggested that in time these damages would be fatal and that it was necessary

“to clean and free the structure at least externally, and to take away the manure immediately. When the accretions are removed from the external arches, only a few palmi suffice to expose the entrance steps; with a little more effort we can free the entire first corridor that extends through half of the building. This would form a superb gallery and a walkway full of surprises. By a couple of restored stairs one could reach another well-conserved corridor; this would make an even better gallery. The top part of the structure is fine, but unfortunately the rubble is overloading the vaults and will break them with time. Having cleared these best conserved parts, it is necessary to consolidate the corner towards San Giovanni. This is under continuous danger of collapse and might make half of the rest fall down.” (27)

On the 22nd June 1804, a week after the report, there was an order from the Quirinale to the Chief Treasurer to have the Colosseum freed of abuses. (28) The excavations that had been proposed in 1803 were started in 1805. (29) At that time, too, a timber shoring was built to support the endangered east wall.

In 1806, further plans were prepared for the consolidation of the monument. The Treasury invited Giuseppe Palazzi, Camporesi and Stern to present individual proposals for the repair works. They were urged always to consider “the Economy, the Solidity, and the Conservation in a compatible way, in order to safeguard this magnificent building as the Pride of the Capital for the admiration of Foreigners and for the benefit of the Arts.” (30) All three architects proposed the construction of a plain buttress in good quality brickwork with a base of travertine, with the intention of stopping the lateral movement and forming a solid support that would be economically feasible and would respect the architectural and historical values of the monument. Stern emphasized that, while in this particular case, his professional goal and obligation was specifically to take special care of this precious work of art, his aim in all repairs had always been “to repair and to conserve everything - even though it were the smallest fragment.” (31)

There were, however, also critics complaining that the picturesque qualities of this magnificent ruin would be spoiled by such a monstrous buttress, and that such

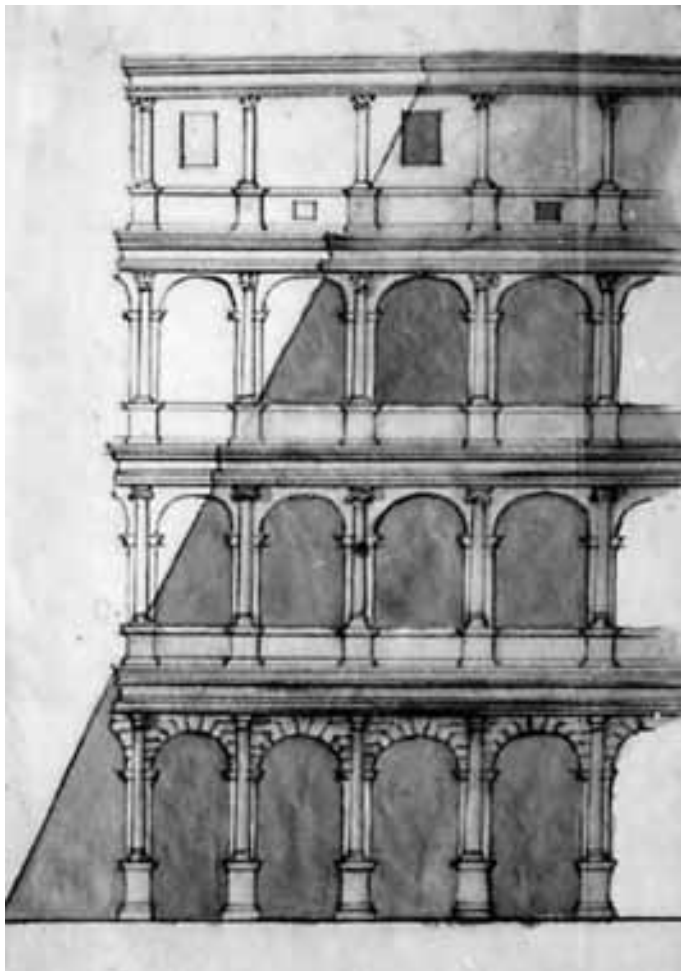


Figure 88. The Colosseum. Proposal for the repair of the east wall by demolishing a part of the original wall

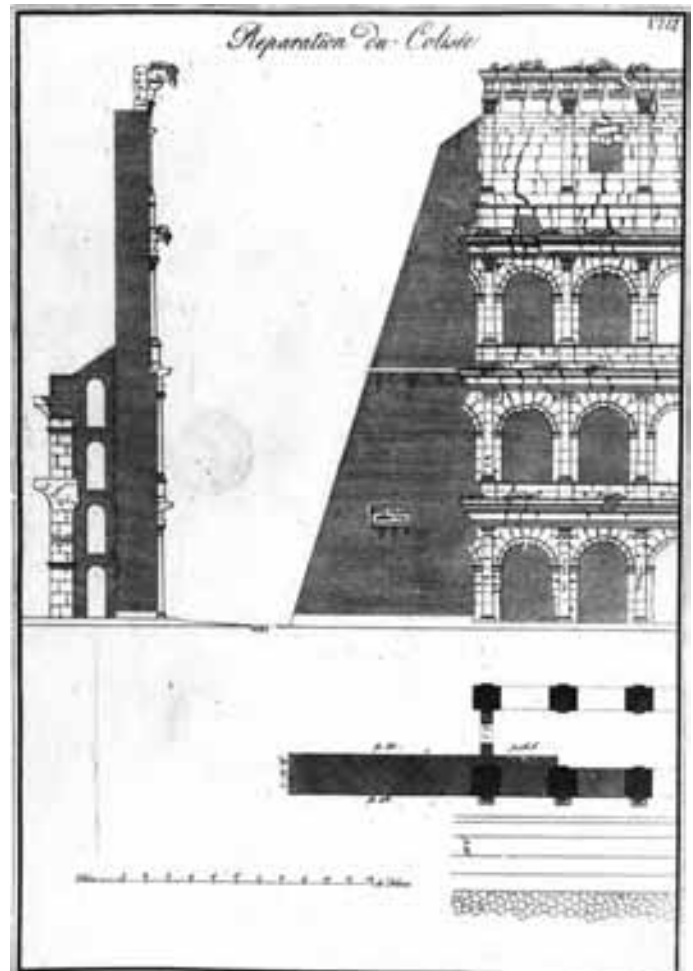
an intervention was completely out of character in the architectural context of the Colosseum. The solution was also criticised as a technical failure, as it was thought only to add extra weight without giving real support to the elliptically curved wall. Thus, it might hasten the collapse. As a counter proposal, it was suggested that the endangered part be formed into a “buttress” through demolition of the upper parts along an oblique line and by walling in some arches. This would have caused the destruction of a part of an arch in the first floor, a whole arch in the second, and two bays in the uppermost floor. Such an intervention, it was argued, would produce the appearance of a natural ruin and would also provide an easy starting point for rebuilding the Colosseum, if this were to be desired in the future. This proposal had been first suggested anonymously, but was later presented to the Pope in a letter signed by Domenico Schiavoni, possibly a master mason who had been assisted by an architect. (32)

The architects, Palazzi, Camporesi and Stern, who were nominated in a committee for the restoration, objected strongly to the proposal reporting that: “the shamelessness to present a similar sacrilegious project

to the Sovereign was unknown even to the Vandals and Goths; although then it was true that plans of this kind were carried out, at least the devastations were done without asking for the approval and financing of the government.” (33) Calculating the expenses of the work and the value of the material that the contractor would have gained from the demolitions, the committee concluded that the buttress as they had proposed

“with half the expense will secure the Colosseum, conserving it, as we hope, in its integrity and declaring to everybody, how highly the Fine Arts are valued today and how dear the precious relics of Roman grandeur are to us. These are objects that all People of the World come to admire and envy us for. It is of course clear, that if that kind of vandalistic operation had been approved, it would have been better to leave the endangered parts in their natural ruined state - instead of taking steps to secure them. In such case, we would at least have been accused of lacking the means, but never of being destroyers and barbarians.” (34)

Figure 89. The Colosseum. Accepted proposal for the consolidation of the east wall with a meticulous care to conserve each antique stone



In November 1806, Rome suffered yet another earthquake and, even if the wooden shoring prevented collapse, the Colosseum became even more out of plumb and the timber shores were bent to the point of breaking. The project of Palazzi, Camporesi and Stern was approved, and the master mason Antonio Valenti was put in charge of the execution. (35)

After the earthquake, Stern inspected the condition of the building and reported:

“The detachment of the masses of travertine is caused by vertical fractures that can be seen mainly in the second and third order. This had made the piers of the last two arches pull apart and the cuneiform keystones settle considerably. Consequently, the travertines of the upper entablatures have moved and been detached. Under the increased thrust of the keystones, that tend towards their centre of gravity, other cuneiform stones have had an increased thrust and moved laterally. As a result, the structure at present is at least three palmi out of plumb. It is in fact clear, that the construction of brick walls under the arches that have suffered will help to keep the keystones in their present position and prevent them from further movement; in this way, lateral thrust towards the worn-out part will be avoided. I consider the buttress a necessary counterpart that can give support to the end of the wall.” (36)

When the works started, the conditions of this part of the Colosseum were found to be even worse than expected. The last pillar, in fact, took most of the load, and its condition was such as to render doubtful the possibility of consolidation. The pillar had serious cracks that were constantly widening

Figure 90. The Colosseum. Start of the restoration work in the east wall

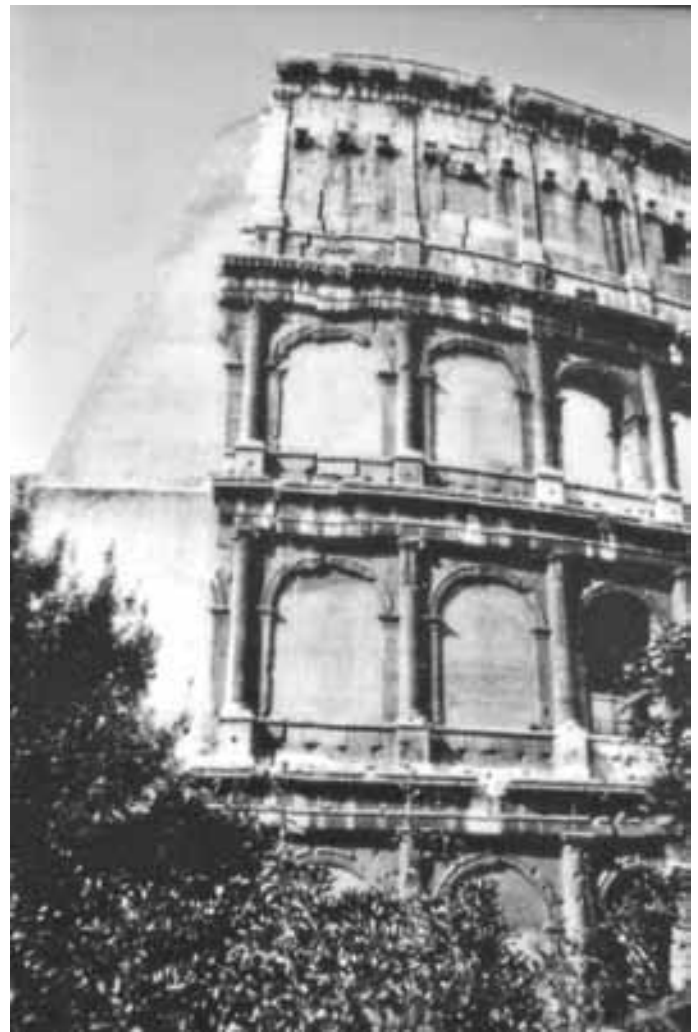
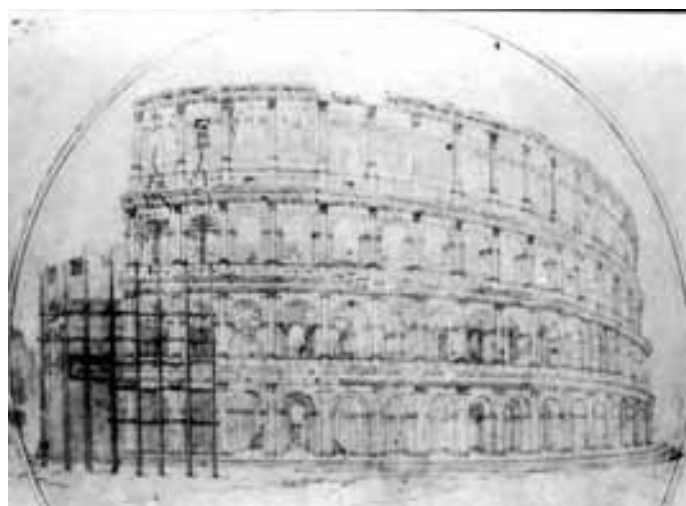


Figure 91. The Colosseum. The brick buttress built by R. Stern in 1806-07 to consolidate the east wall

and arousing deep concern. The first operation was, thus, to provide strong shores to support it against the thrust caused by detached elements. Secondly, the arches were walled in to consolidate them internally. Thirdly, it was necessary to build a cross wall in order to provide further lateral support and to link the buttress, the pillar and the walled in arches with the inner structure of the building. This cross wall was built in imitation of the original radial arched walls. Considering these additional works, the total cost was estimated at two thousand eight hundred scudi. (37) The works proceeded rapidly, and by 6th June 1807, they had advanced to a point where little was needed for completion. The masses of earth that had accumulated in the surrounding area were removed, and some hay-lofts that obstructed the facade were demolished. The recent excavations had also brought to light some interesting facts about the Colosseum, which was now better understood.

The Pope was very proud of this operation that had saved the magnificent ancient Roman monument from collapse, and the buttress came to be considered one



Figure 92. The Colosseum. The brick buttress built to support the east wall; a detail

of the most important building projects of the decade in the Papal States. An image of it was painted in the Galleria Clementina in the Vatican and a marble plate with an inscription was fixed in the new buttress, thus announcing in the traditional way his contribution to the conservation of this ancient monument. (38) The committee consisting of Stern, Camporesi and Palazzi had in principle divided the responsibility for the consolidation. However, judging from the zeal he expressed in numerous letters, Stern seems to have had a major share in it. Future generations have, in fact, associated the work with his name. It was Stern who described the intervention to the Chief Treasurer of the Pope in the following words:

“The Amphitheatre of the Flavians, called the Colosseum, that in its first construction represents the Grandeur and the Magnificence of the times of the Flavians and of Titus, shows equally the Care and the Zeal of the Wise Superiors of our times in the repair done under the patronage of the Immortal Pius VII in his happy reign and on the instructions of Your Most Reverend Excellency. And while this stately ancient building, the

largest that we know, assures us of the Splendour and the Learning of those centuries, its modern conservation under the present circumstances is a clear proof and an unalterable testimony of the veneration and the high esteem that we feel today towards these precious relics of the Fine Arts. This successful work brings us nearer to our ancestors and will show posterity that the present lack of works in our Epoch was caused only by deficiency of means that prevented their execution.” (39)

In fact, this first large-scale operation of the nineteenth century that consciously aimed at the conservation of each fragment paved the way for future interventions and for the development of modern conservation theory.

8.2 The French Period in Rome, 1809-1814

General Organization and Legislation

The pope was not successful in his resistance to Napoleon, and on 17 May 1809, the Papal States were declared annexed to the French Empire. They were subject to French legislation and administrative control. Rome became the “Imperial Free City”, the second capital of the Empire after Paris.(40) Rome had a special attraction for Napoleon, who even named his first-born son the King of Rome. At the same time, a taste for antique Roman culture became fashionable in Paris - in social life, the theatre and architecture. Consequently, the French took a special interest in making the city presentable and prepared programmes for her embellishment and the improvement of public facilities. These programmes also had a social purpose, since they provided occupation for the poor and unemployed.

The first decrees in the period to deal with historic buildings and ancient monuments in Rome date from 5 August and 3 September 1809. (41) The decree of 9 July 1810 provided 360.000 francs for embellishments and also established the Commission des monumens et batimens civils as the local direction for the intended works. The Commission was chaired by the Prefect of Rome, Baron Camille de Tournon, and its members consisted of the Mayor, Duke Braschi-Onesti, as well as several representative of old Roman families. The following year, a new decree of 27 July 1811 augmented the budget to one million francs and the earlier Commission was replaced with a new one called the Commission des embellissements de la ville de Rome. Its members were limited to three: the Prefect, Baron de Tournon, the Intendant to the



Figure 93. The Round Temple in the Forum Boarium, Rome, before its restoration in the early 19th century (L. Piranesi)

Crown, Martial Daru, and the Mayor, Duke Braschi-Onesti. The Commission was directly responsible to the Minister of the Interior, Montalivet, in Paris. (42)

In this period, the Accademia di San Luca came to play a more direct part in the conservation of ancient monuments. Beginning in the autumn of 1810, it was allocated special funds to be used for maintenance and repair works. These funds resulted from a visit of Canova to see the Emperor. In 1811, Canova was elected President of the Academy and later, in 1814, this was made an appointment for life. Thus his influence on the conservation of ancient monuments continued practically until his death in 1822.

Conservation of Ancient Monuments 1809-1814

The conservation of ancient monuments continued first along the lines that had been established in the first decade of the century. The earliest restoration during the French period was that of the circular temple in the Forum Boarium on the banks of the Tiber, dedicated to Hercules Victor - but generally called the 'Temple of Vesta'. The original building dated from the end of the 2nd century BC, but it had been substantially restored after the flood of 15 AD. Later, the temple had been transformed into a Christian church and the spaces between the columns had been walled in. During the years 1809 and 1810, Valadier and Fea directed works in the temple. The walls between the columns were removed, and consequently, the damaged columns and the wall of the cella had to be repaired. This was done partly in marble, reusing existing elements found near the site, and partly in mortar. The roof and cella walls were left in their pre-restoration state and the church, dedicated to St. Stephen, could continue to function afterwards. The site was also excavated during these works, resulting in the discovery of the original

entrance. Later, iron railings were erected between the columns. (43)

In 1810, the Accademia di San Luca decided to excavate and consolidate the remaining three columns of the Temple of Vespasian - called the 'Temple of Jupiter Tonans' - in the Roman Forum. After the excavation, the base under the columns was found to be in such a bad condition that it needed rebuilding. For this reason, the columns were taken down and re-erected on the new basement built to the design of Camporesi. Although the original temple was built of marble, the new material was travertine, taken mostly from the demolition of the Colosseum. Plaster casts were made of the very fine marble trabeation and Corinthian capital capitals before they were put back and fixed in position with iron cramps. This was a relatively minor essay in conservation but nevertheless set a standard and provided a model for subsequent works. (44)

On the other hand, the Colosseum remained one of the major tasks in conservation. The consolidation of the south side in 1806 and 1807 had only secured a small part of this vast complex, and further

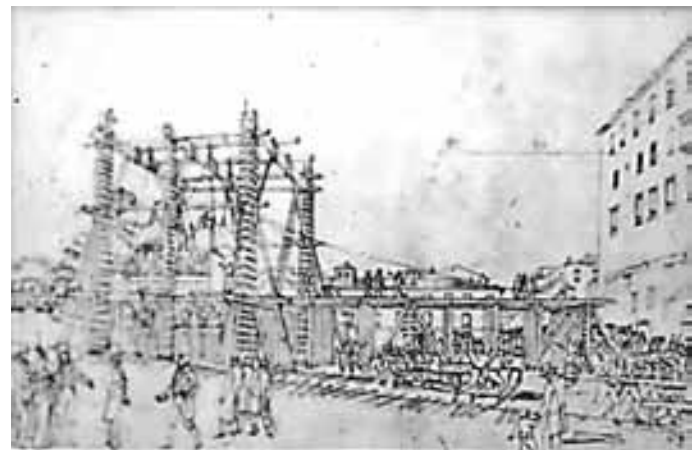


Figure 94. The Temple of Vespasian and Titus, Forum Romanum, Rome. Dismantling of the architrave 1810-11

Figure 95. A-N. Normand: a plan showing the excavated area around the Arch of Septimius Severus in 1850





Figure 96. The Forum Romanum in 1818. The drawing shows the Temple of Vespasian and Titus restored

consolidation and maintenance were carried out by the Accademia on various parts of the building. Pillars and vaults had to be consolidated, for example, around the west entrance. Yet, in spite of this, a vault collapsed in November 1812 and the Intendant Daru accused Camporesi, the architect responsible, of inefficiency. (45) At the same time, excavation was carried out both outside and inside the Colosseum. The arena was excavated under the direction of Fea as part of the programme for embellishment of the city. The substructures were revealed in part and recorded. Most of these works were accomplished by the end of the French period in January 1814. However, this excavation reached a depth of only eleven feet, whereas the foundation would have been at least 21 feet under the street level. Outside the Colosseum, the aim was to excavate down to the original ground level and then form a sunken promenade around the building. One of the major problems in these excavations, especially in the arena, was the drainage of rainwater. Various proposals were made by the architects, Valadier and Camporesi, to use the newly discovered ancient drains. Fea, instead, suggested

Figure 97. The Temple of Vespasian and Titus: a detail of the architrave after the 19th-century restoration using metal cramps



rebuilding the ancient Roman fountain of Meta Sudante and using the rainwater to make it function for the inhabitants of the district. (46) However, no decisions were taken about the Colosseum at this time.

The Accademia received an annual sum of 75.000 francs for the maintenance and repair of monuments; excavations had a separate budget. This sum was relatively modest considering the amount of work that should have been done. Of necessity, therefore, work was limited to the minimum, consisting mainly of maintenance. In August 1811, Valadier and Camporesi proposed a system of inspection and the formation of a register of those ancient monuments that were under the care of the Accademia. The first list included about a hundred sites in Rome and several outside; temples, obelisks, baths, triumphal arches, mausoleums, theatres, bridges, etc. Outside Rome, it included sites in Tivoli, Palestrina, Frascati, Ostia and Via Appia. This was regarded as the first phase of an inventory that was intended to cover the entire Papal territory. A detailed report with descriptions of the state of the monuments and estimates of necessary repairs, classified according to urgency, were to form the bases of a balanced programme within the limits of the budget. Weekly reports were required on any conservation works - as was already the practice in the case of the Colosseum. Guards were also considered indispensable - at least for major sites such as the Colosseum. (47)

The Commission for Embellishment and the French Influence

The programme for the embellishment of Rome was defined in the decrees of 17 July and 9 August 1811. (48) It was to include the building of markets, improvement of navigability of the Tiber, the building and repair of bridges, the building of public promenades, the enlargement of squares, excavations and restorations. Markets were planned for various parts of the historic city; in some cases, it would have been necessary to demolish existing structures to make way for these new buildings. Such was the case in the projects for the Piazza San Marco, for the west side of the Pantheon, and for the area near the church of Madonna dei Monti. These projects were, however, never realized. Enlargement of urban squares in connection with public monuments was planned around the Pantheon, the Forum of Trajan, the Fountain of Trevi and in front of the basilica of St. Peter's to open up the view from the Castel Sant'Angelo. (49) In this same period, French suppression of convents and closing of churches by

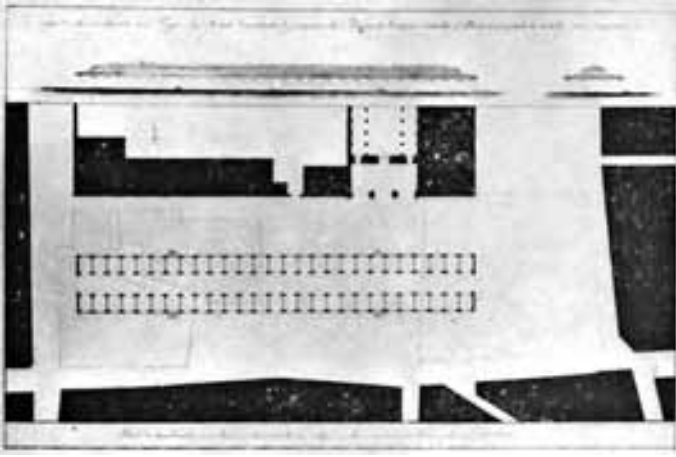


Figure 98. Valadier: plan for a covered market in Piazza S. Marco, Rome

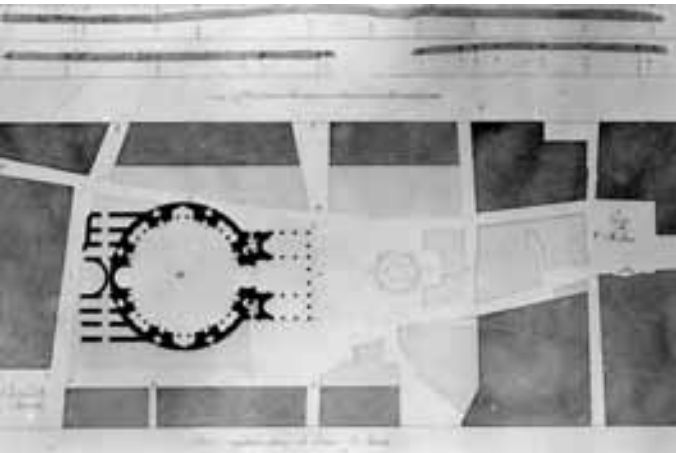


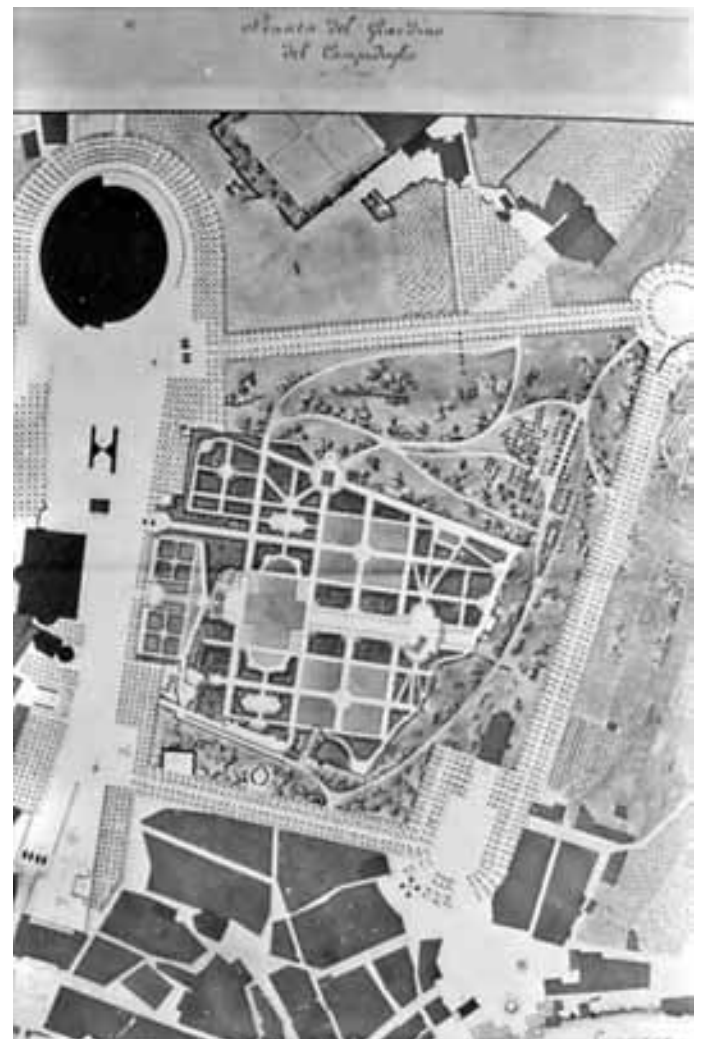
Figure 99. Plan for a piazza around the Pantheon, Rome

an edict of June 1810 resulted in further demolitions. This legislation caused an outcry for their re-opening and, during the autumn of 1810, the Commission for Embellishments employed architects to survey and report on the repair and annual maintenance of churches of special historic and artistic merit. 135 churches were declared worth conserving at public expense, including the basilicas of St. Peter's, Sant' Ignazio, and S. Eustachio. (50)

Two public promenades were planned, one on the hill of the Pincio - the 'Garden of the Great Caesar' -, the other in the area of the Forums called the 'Garden of the Capitol'. (51) Valadier, who since 1793 had been preparing projects for the Piazza del Popolo below the Pincio, was put in charge of the Garden of the Great Caesar, while Camporesi was made responsible for the Garden of the Capitol. Jointly, they prepared plans for other projects such as the Pantheon and the Forum of Trajan, and several proposals were sent to Paris for approval. Montalivet was, however, not completely satisfied either with the projects or with the work already executed in some cases. The French representatives in Rome also accused the Romans of inefficiency and poor quality work. (52)

At the end of 1812, Montalivet decided to send two French architects to Rome in order to report on the situation. One of them was Guy de Gisors (1762-1835), a member of the Conseil des batimens of Paris, and the other was Louis-Martin Berthault (-1823), a recognized landscape architect and disciple of Percier who had designed the gardens of Malmaison and Compiègne. These two architects arrived in Rome in February 1813 and stayed until May of the same year. Berthault was commissioned to work especially on the two public promenades; Gisors had to examine the other projects under the responsibility of the Commission for Embellishments, and to study the methods of excavation, consolidation and restoration of ancient monuments (53). Berthault felt that all earlier projects had concentrated too heavily on single monuments; they had attempted to make "a frame for each painting" instead of trying to link the monuments in a more general comprehensive plan. Of the two projects, he considered the Garden of the Capitol the more important. Berthault's intention was to make the Forum Romanum the focal point of the whole project, thus linking the Capitol and the

Figure 100. The Garden of the Capitol, Rome. The proposal of 1813 to 'beautify' the area around the Palatine with planted avenues and restored ancient monuments



existing ancient monuments with the Colosseum. On the Palatine, he planned a formal garden; a similar plan was also foreseen for the Pincio. Around the Palatine, he envisioned a system of promenades that extended from the Forum and the Colosseum to the Circus Maximus, the Arch of Janus and the two temples in front of S. Maria in Cosmedin on the banks of the Tiber. Ancient monuments were to be restored as a part of this master plan, providing both a reference to the history of Rome and a framework for the imperial ambitions of the present Emperor. (54)

The task of Gisors was more complex; he had to check all the demolition programmes and the planning of squares and public facilities, as well as to report on the conservation methods for ancient monuments. Daru had criticized the lack of a systematic method in the restorations of the Accademia di San Luca, and Gisors echoed him. He condemned the brick buttress to consolidate the Colosseum, as well as various other restorations executed before his arrival. To Gisors, in fact, ancient monuments ought to be integrated in the same way as the Laocoon group had been treated in the sixteenth century. He considered the integration of the portico of the Pantheon by Bernini an ideal example to follow in future restorations. (55) The integrity of the Pantheon had already been discussed earlier; Daru had proposed demolition of the two bell-towers (56) - actually carried out after the unification of Italy at the end of the century.

Gisors' principles for the restoration of ancient monuments were well expressed in a letter to Daru of August 1813:

“I think, that instead of making shutters, shores and props, in wrapping them in bandages - if I may use these expressions, all the collapsing parts of historic buildings should be reconstructed at least enough to give an exact idea of their original

form and proportions, doing it either in stone or in brick, but in such a way that the reconstruction exactly outlines the parts that it is supposed to define.” (57)

The Arch of Titus, which had been ‘shamefully’ left near the point of collapse, was in a convenient position in the planned Garden of the Capitol and, consequently, would have made an excellent example for a restoration according to these principles. In fact, Gisors proposed carefully dismantling the original elements and then reassembling them in position, rebuilding the missing parts to give an idea of the original whole. Reference was made to his proposals in a report of the Conseil des batimens of Paris in August 1813, and also in a letter of Montalivet to the Prefect of Rome in September; in the latter, the Roman authorities were urged to apply these principles in all future restorations. (58) The French left Rome too soon for any immediate effect to be apparent, but many later works were conceived along these lines, such as the proposed restoration of the Arch of Titus and the second major consolidation of the Colosseum.

8.3 Conservation in the Papal States after 1814

Organization and Legislation

The failure of the Russian campaign in 1812, the rising resistance of European nations and the lack of support from his allies, eventually brought Napoleon to the end of his reign. In January 1814, he had to give up the Papal States and in May of the same year, after a period of transition, Pius VII was able to return to Rome in great triumph. The French legislation and regulations were abolished, churches were re-opened and the situation more or less returned to what it had been five years earlier.

In the period of transition, the Commission for Embellishments retained their responsibility for antiquities, though the budget was reduced from what it had been during the French period and works were even more limited. During the summer of 1814, the Pope nominated various people to his Camera Apostolica. Cardinal Pacca was appointed the Camerlengo and Marquis Ercolani became the Chief Treasurer. The Chirograph of 1802 remained in force until it was revised with an edict of 7 April 1820. (59) A Papal Dispatch of 7 July 1818 also gave specifications for the executive branch of the Treasury, the Consiglio d'Arte. (60) The edict of 1820 redefined the position of the Camerlengo and

Figure 101. Plan for the excavation and presentation of the area around Trajan's Column, Rome (1813)

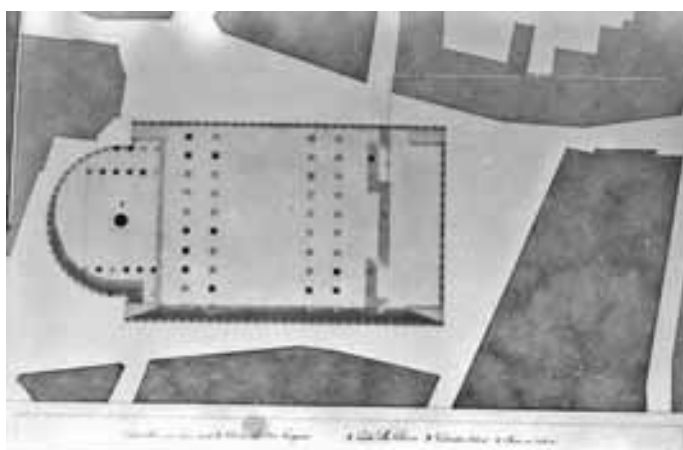




Figure 102. Guënepin (1810): the Arch of Titus, Rome, showing the condition of the monument before beginning of the restoration

the Commissione delle belle Arti. The Accademia di San Luca was represented by two members in the Commission, thus retaining a position as a consultative body, but being no longer in possession of a budget for the purpose of restoration.

Conservation Activities

There was a new initiative, this time successful, to bring back to Italy the works of arts that the French had taken away at the end of the eighteenth century. Canova, President of the Accademia di San Luca, was sent to Paris in 1815; with the support of other nations, he was able to collect a great number

Figure 103. Guënepin: Arch of Titus ‘restored’



of these objects in Paris and have them returned to Italy. (61) The yearly budget for the acquisition of objects to the Vatican Museums, foreseen in the Edict of 1802, brought results; and, in 1817, the Pope commissioned Stern to build a new wing for the Museo Chiaramonti.

In July 1814, a special commission reviewed the situation of the projects for restoration and public promenades. After the French departure from Rome, the works continued on some sites, while others had been postponed until further decision. The works in the Forum of Trajan were almost completed and it was decided to finish them, especially the retaining wall. Other retaining walls were ordered for reasons of public safety around the Column of Phocas and in front of the temple of Antoninus and Faustina which had been excavated. The projects for the public promenades were re-examined; Valadier was asked to prepare a new and considerably reduced plan for the Pincio, while the park for the area around the Fora was discontinued. (62)

The area of the Forum Romanum remained a centre of interest. Some plans were made by Stern and Valadier for the layout, but these were limited to minor works. Some excavation was carried out under the direction of Fea, who continued as Commissioner for Antiquities. These were financed by foreigners - Portuguese, French and English. Excavations on a larger scale had to wait until 1827, when the area around the Arch of Septimius Severus and the Temple of Vespasian was exposed and a path opened to the Capitol. In this period, too, discussions began about the extent of the antique Forum as well as the exact position of various monuments which were still underground. (63) Restorations also continued. Various repairs were necessary in the Colosseum and were executed under the control of the Accademia (as will be discussed later). The first major restoration after the departure of the French administration was that of the Arch of Titus.

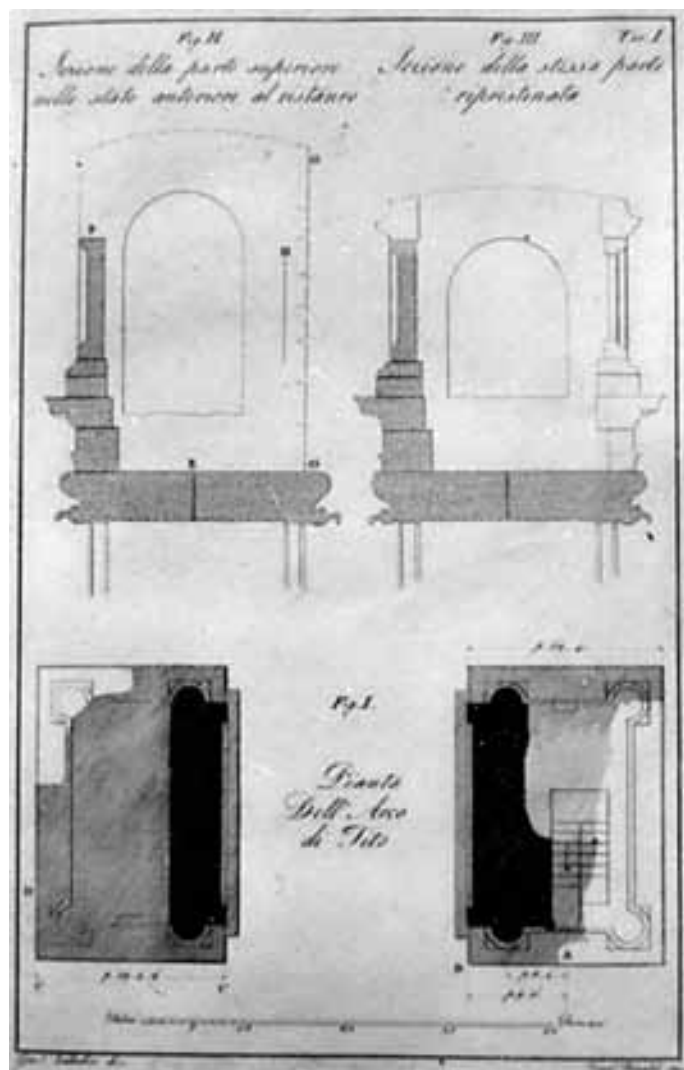
Restoration of the Arch of Titus

The Arch of Titus was erected, after 81 AD by Emperor Domitian in memory of his deified elder brother Titus, whose capture of Jerusalem was commemorated in the bas-reliefs of the Arch. The monument was originally built of white marble and had probably had a travertine core. During the Middle Ages, it had lost much of its material; the bronze cramps holding the marbles had been removed, and a brick structure had been added. In the 12th century, it became the property of the Frangipani family, and

the central part was preserved as a gateway to their fortification on the Palatine. A brick buttress was built to reinforce the structure in the fifteenth century, and further repairs were carried out in the early eighteenth century. (64) Even if the Arch had only partially survived, the artistic quality of its bas-reliefs attracted much attention. Theoretical reconstruction drawings had been prepared by Palladio, Dosio, Bellori and others. In 1815, the Accademia was presented with a small scale model in marble and gilded metal by Gioachino and Pietro Belli.

During the French administration, the convent buildings that had given some support to the Arch on its east side were demolished and, consequently, the condition of the monument became even worse. On the other hand, it had been chosen by Berthault as one of the key monuments in his plan for the Garden of the Capitol. After repeated requests by Daru, an inspection of the structure was made by a committee of the Accademia in April 1813. The Arch had settled in the centre due to the lack of lateral support and because the bronzecramps had been removed from

Figure 104. Valadier, Arch of Titus, plan and sections, showing results of excavation in the foundations



the marbles in the Middle Ages. The committee suggested consolidating the existing buttress and strengthening the piers. In addition, it was suggested that the “modern” brick walls, which had added extra weight on the top of the vault, be demolished. Nothing was done, however, and in 1816, a new commission, formed of Valadier, Camporesi and Stern, prepared a second report recommending the construction of a buttress. (65)

In 1817, Stern was finally nominated by the Treasury to be in charge of the restoration. The work was supervised by a committee consisting of Stern himself, Valadier and Camporesi. Stern prepared his project with the help of a young Venetian architectural student, and in 1818 he was ready to commission a mason named Giuseppe Ravaglini for the execution of the stone work. (66) According to a later report by Valadier, the first idea was “to use the well-known method of pushing the marbles back into position with the help of screws.” (67) On closer examination, this idea was abandoned, however, because it did not seem possible to keep the marbles in position.

Figure 105. Valadier, Arch of Titus: remaining fragments of the original monument toward the Forum Romanum





Figure 106. Valadier: Arch of Titus, proposed restoration of the elevation toward the Colosseum (south). Original part is in darker shading

Consequently, it was decided to dismantle the vault, re-erecting it afterwards with the required support.

The project did not entail pure conservation as recommended by the Commissions in 1813 and 1816, but rather the completion of the monument, rebuilding the missing parts according to Gisors' idea.

Figure 107. The Arch of Trajan, Ancona, which served as a model for the restoration of the Arch of Titus (Piranesi)



Figure 108. Arch of Titus, detail showing the distinction between original (in marble) and new (in travertine and simplified details)

He had, in fact, proposed to dismantle and reassemble the original elements

“having first rebuilt in stone or brick the mass of the missing parts of its pylons. From this operation, the result would be that, without spending much more than those shapeless supports would cost, this interesting monument would be re-established. Even if this were only in mass, it would still give an exact idea of the dimensions and proportions.” (68)

These ideas had been communicated to the Accademia di San Luca; later, they reappeared in a report of the Conseil des batimens in Paris and were recommended to the Municipality of Rome by Montalivet. In 1809-10, an alumnus of the French Academy in Rome, Auguste-Jean-Marie Guenepin (1780-1842) had also made a study of the monument preparing a restoration drawing of the better preserved elevation, which has great similarity with the project as actually carried out. (69)

Stern built a scaffolding and shored the endangered parts of the structure. Excavations were made to reveal the foundations and to verify the exact architectural form of the monument. By October 1818, the stonework was well advanced; it was then interrupted, however, due to Stern's sickness and other engagements as well as delayed payments to the mason. The work continued in June 1820 after appeals by art lovers and urgent requests by Cardinal Pacca. Soon thereafter, however, Stern died and Valadier was nominated his successor. He continued the work where it had been interrupted, following the conceptual line established by Stern. (70)

The project was based on a detailed measurement and inspection of the remaining elements of the Arch



Figure 109. Arch of Titus: the side toward the Colosseum after restoration (Rossini)



Figure 110. Arch of Titus: the side toward the Forum after restoration (Rossini)

and its excavated foundations. The triumphal arches of Trajan in Ancona and in Benevento were taken as models - thus following the example of various reconstruction drawings from the Renaissance onwards. The original elements were carefully countermarked and dismantled one by one using the support of a strong centering. After that, the Arch was rebuilt, reassembling the original elements on a new brick core. The reconstructed parts were faced with travertine, which harmonized well with the original marble elements. The new parts were left plain without repeating the decoration, the bas-reliefs or the fluting of the columns, so that “the visitor would have no doubt about what was authentic and what had been built only to give an impression of the whole” as Quatremere de Quincy wrote in his *Dictionnaire d’architecture* in 1825/1832. (71)

Later, however, Valadier justified the use of travertine instead of marble by referring to the economic limitations at the time. (72) The works continued so that by June 1823, the cornice and the inscriptions were in position. The most difficult part was over and the rest was to be completed by the end of the year. (73) After that, there remained only work on the surrounding area, including a circular retaining wall around the Arch.

This restoration, like others preceding it, received mixed criticism. It was admired by some. Filippo Aurelio Visconti, secretary of the Commission of Fine Arts, considered it elegant, (74) and Quatremere referred to it in his Dictionary as the ideal example of restoration when dealing with a building that had columns, ornaments and figures. (75) Others - not only in Rome, but also in foreign countries - were more critical of the result; Stendhal, for example, complained the whole original monument had been lost, and that there was now just a copy of it. (76)

Cardinal Consalvi and Cardinal Pacca had already questioned the methodological basis for the work in November 1822, when to their horror they discovered that

“instead of doing what was necessary for the conservation of the monument, a work of dismantling had started with the intention of reassembling it afterwards; that this tripled the cost, and that now the monument could be called the Arch of Pius - instead of the Arch of Titus, and that work had also caused damage to the bas-reliefs, breaking various parts...” (77)

Fea, too, said that he had not agreed with Valadier’s decisions; yet, although he had visited the site daily, he had never informed his superiors.

Valadier was asked to present an official justification for his work. This he did, making reference to the bad structural condition of the monument and saying that Stern had already brought the project to an advanced stage before his appointment. The justification was read at the Roman Academy of Archaeology in December 1821, and later published under the title of *Narrazione artistica dell’operato finora nel ristauo dell’Arco di Tito*. (78) Valadier was also asked to provide drawings to illustrate the project. These were published with the text, demonstrating the static conditions before restoration and the final appearance, differentiating between the original and the new elements. Cardinal Pacca accepted the justification, but there remained a feeling that the restoration had changed the monument for the worse, and that the new work dominated too heavily over the remnants of the original arch, and that the proportions might have been different in the original. In spite of all doubts and criticism, the restoration of the Arch of Titus laid some foundations for modern principles in

the treatment of historic buildings, and has later often been referred to as a model.

The Colosseum

The excavations in the arena of the Colosseum were discontinued after the departure of the French administration. The substructures were recorded and a cork model was made of them. Another model had also been made of the whole building to the scale of one to sixty (79). After 1814, the excavated arena was again filled in, because the problems of draining the rain water had not been solved. Externally, works continued with the intention of forming a tree-lined circular promenade and of building a retaining wall to consolidate the hill-side. The ground floor arches were freed of later structures and excavations were made to expose the original entrance level. Afterwards, security problems necessitated the closing of the arches with fences that were made of wood and painted a bronze colour. Even this was not sufficient to keep out visitors who wanted to follow Goethe's example and admire these romantic ruins under moonlight.

The plentiful vegetation was one of the aspects that attracted romantic minds. Minor areas had

Figure 112. Valadier: temporary timber shoring for the west wall of the Colosseum

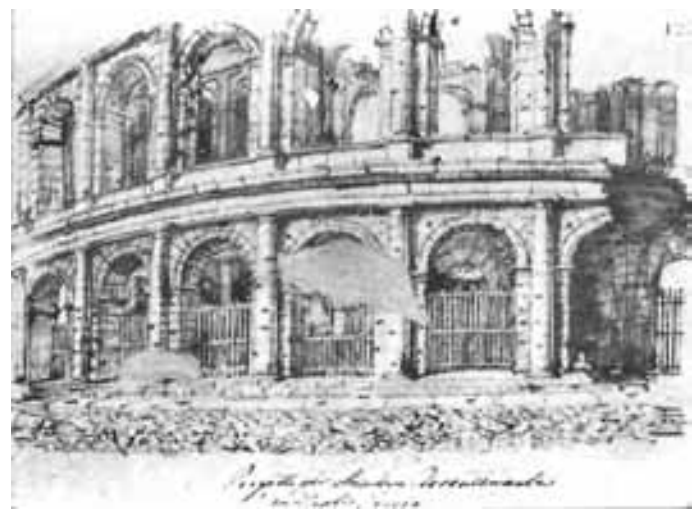
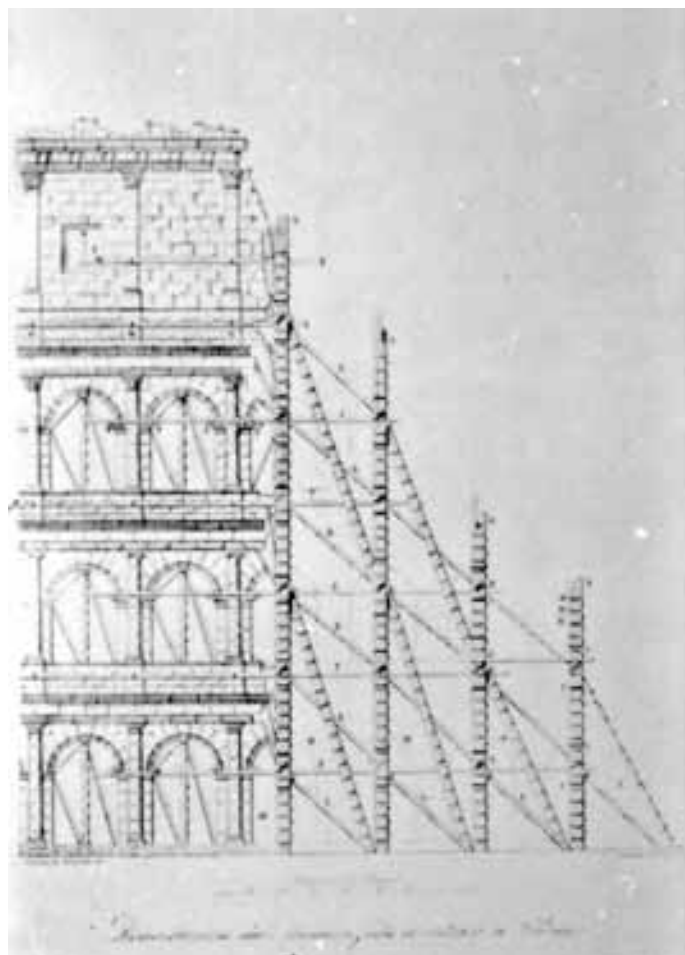


Figure 111. Valadier: proposal for fences in the arches of the Colosseum

been cleared during the French period, but it had practically “been changed by time into an amphitheatre of rocky hills overgrown by the wild olives, the myrtle, and the fig tree, and threaded by little paths, which wind among its ruined stairs and immeasurable galleries”, as Shelley described in a letter to Thomas Love Peacock in 1818. (80) As late as 1846, Dickens wrote: “To see it crumbling there, an inch a year; its walls and arches overgrown with green; its corridors open to the day; the long grass growing in its porches; young trees of yesterday, springing up on its ragged parapets, and bearing fruit; ... to climb into its upper halls, and look down on ruin, ruin, ruin...” (81) In 1815, Fea, proposed removing the roots which had caused damage especially in the upper stories, and consolidating the structure with iron straps. (82) Further proposals were made by the secretary of the Accademia di San Luca in the 1820's, but more thorough removal of the plants was carried out only thirty years later, in the 1850s. This also caused criticism, because it was thought to affect the picturesque qualities of the ruined monument. (83)

The Accademia di San Luca continued to have control over the conservation of the Colosseum, even if otherwise it had less responsibility after 1814. Valadier and Camporesi were in charge of the works and they continued to make inspections and minor repairs. In February 1814, they had presented an estimated cost of the work that was most urgently needed. However, nothing was done and the same estimate was presented again in August 1815. This time, the consolidation was carried out and completed by November of the same year. (84) Two areas were concerned. One was the entrance side facing the Lateran and the other was the south entrance where several arches were completely missing and the standing pillars were moving. It was proposed to use



Figure 113. The Colosseum after the construction of the buttress by Valadier for the consolidation of the west wall

iron straps around the pillars that were cracking, and metal cramps to consolidate smaller defects. In some parts, the missing travertine surface was to be remade; in one area, the fallen stone wall was to be rebuilt in brick in order to restore structural stability.

By the year 1820, the end of the Colosseum's outer range facing the Forum showed alarming signs of instability, and Valadier was instructed to build a timber shore to support it. This remained in place for three years until definitive consolidation work was finally started. Valadier's project involved rebuilding a part of the missing structure, thus forming a buttress. This would:

“imitate the antique even in minor details with the exception that, while the original was all in travertine, the new work - for economic reasons - had travertine only half way up the first pillars, in the springing points of the arches, column bases, the capitals and in the cornices. These were necessary for reasons of stability. All the rest is made in brick imitating carefully the ancient

mouldings, but being covered with a patina a fresco so that it looks as if it were travertine throughout.” (85)

Not everybody agreed with this proposal (e.g. Carlo Fea), but it was finally accepted by the Academy in December 1823. Work began soon afterwards and was completed in 1826. It was stated by Valadier that this method would facilitate the continuation and rebuilding of the entire Colosseum, if so desired. (86)

In October 1824, the Commission of Fine Arts came to inspect the restoration and voiced approval for the project. This commission was formed of Fea, Thorwaldsen and Visconti. Canova had died in 1822, and his disciple Albert Thorwaldsen (1770-1844), a Danish sculptor, had become the most influential figure in the Roman art world. He had been nominated the first professor of sculpture in the school of the Academy which had opened in 1812. Later, he was elected vice-president and, in 1827, president of the Academy. In 1817 he signed, together with Canova, Stern and other professors, the new statutes of the Academy which recommended the careful study and zealous care of ancient monuments. As artists, Canova and Thorwaldsen represented very different approaches, even if both could be classified as neoclassical. Canova, in the tradition of Winckelmann, studied the ancient works of art and nature to find inspiration for his own work; but he never would have copied. Thorwaldsen, instead, was interested in studying the proportions of ancient sculptures in order to emulate them. When Canova was asked to restore the Elgin marbles, he refused out of respect for these works of the ancient masters; Thorwaldsen, on the other hand, agreed to invent and restore the missing parts of the marbles from Aegina that Ludwig I of Bavaria had bought for Munich (1816-1817).

The difference between these two approaches is also reflected in the conservation of the Colosseum. When Canova was Inspector of Fine Arts, the first buttress was built by Stern, Camporesi and Palazzi in order to conserve even the smallest fragment of the monument as a document from the past, without any reconstruction. Twenty years later, when Thorwaldsen was in the Commission, Valadier constructed the second buttress which was intended as a partial reconstitution of the monument. These two approaches represent the extreme dialectic basis for the treatment of historic buildings. On one hand, there was the respect for and pure conservation of the original material; on the other, the supposedly



Figure 114. The Colosseum: south wall before restoration (Turner)

faithful reconstruction of the missing parts in order to reconstitute the architecture of the monument. A third, intermediate, approach is represented by the restoration of the Arch of Titus, based by Stern on the recommendations of Gisors and completed by Valadier. Here, the original elements were conserved and the missing parts outlined in a way that made the original whole visible, but clearly differentiated the new material from the genuine ancient elements. All three approaches were applied in successive restorations, with a number of variations according to the particular case.

In the years 1824 to 1826, the Colosseum absorbed the major part of the budget for ancient monuments. Apart from the buttress by Valadier, other works were needed continuously, and later, a fixed annual sum was foreseen for use on the Colosseum. Further important restorations were carried out in the 1840's and 1850's. By that time, the architect in charge was Luigi Canina (1795-1856), a neoclassicist who enlarged the Villa Borghese. He had a special interest in archaeology, publishing numerous volumes on ancient Roman architecture. Canina arrived in Rome

Figure 115. The Colosseum: south wall; detail of the part restored by L. Canina



in 1818 and wrote his first articles on the Colosseum, probably at the suggestion of Valadier, who became his teacher at the Academy. This article was later included in his *Gli Edifizj di Roma antica*. (87) The major restorations which he directed at the Colosseum were made in the western entrance towards the Forum, and completed in the reign of Pius IX in 1852. The reconstruction of the southern part, where eight arches were rebuilt in the time of Gregorius XVI, had already been completed in 1844. In both cases, the new constructions were made in yellow brick, using travertine only in some structurally important parts; the continuations of a wall was indicated with a rough surface in line with the earlier work of Valadier, but without the fresco imitation which he had applied. A partial rebuilding in travertine of a small area was also made above the northern entrance in 1852. At this time, more iron straps were used to consolidate the structure as well a smaller iron cramps for minor repairs. Since the 1870s, the sixteenth century chapel at the western entrance and the seventeenth-century altars have been demolished, when the arena has been again excavated, and some modern consolidation work carried out in the structures.

Notes to Chapter Eight:

1. Emiliani, Andrea, *Leggi bandi e provvedimenti per la tutela dei beni artistici e culturali negli antichi stati italiani 1571-1860*, Edizioni Alfa, Bologna 1978.
2. Rossi-Pinelli, O., 'Carlo Fea e il chirografo del 1802: cronaca, giudiziaria e non, delle prime battaglie per la tutela delle 'Belle Arti'', *Ricerche di Storia dell'Arte, La Nuova Italia Scientifica*, 1978-79, VIII, 27ff.
3. Cardinal Consalvi, letter of 17 November 1820 (Archivio di Stato, Rome: Camerale I, tit.IV, 40), describes the responsibilities of the Camerlengato and the Treasury in the conservation of ancient monuments, with a special reference to excavations, describing various cases where there had been differing interpretations on both sides. Fea, C., *Miscellanea filologica, critica e antiquaria, che contiene specialmente notizie di scavi di antichità*, Roma 1790-1836. Rossi-Pinelli, O., 'Carlo Fea e il chirografo del 1802', op.cit.
4. Letter of 23 August 1803 (Archivio di Stato, Rome: Camerale II, Ant. e B.Arte, b. 6, 192): "Giuseppe Camporesi chiamato da Antonio d'Este, quando faceva le veci de Sig. Canova Isp. B. A., che era a Parigi, prendere delle particolari ispezioni sui monumenti antichi di Roma e accennare quelli, che minacciando rovina, abbisognavano riparazione... G. Camporesi come architetto delle Belle Arti confermato da Canova e riconosciuto dall'Emo Sig. Car.le Seg.io di Stato e come tale é stato ricevuto dell'Emza Vra nel congresso tenuto nella scorsa Domenica... stabilmente fissato in architetto del Camerlengato per le Belle Arti."

5. Stoppani, 'Un francese a Roma, l'architetto Giuseppe Valadier', *Capitolium*, 1959, VI, 28ff. Visconti, P.E., *Biografia del Cavaliere Giuseppe Valadier*, Roma 1839. Matthiae, G., *Restauri del Valadier alle mura aureliane*, *Capitolium*, Roma 1942, 119f. Casiello, S., 'Aspetti della tutela dei beni culturali nell'ottocento e il restauro di Valadier per l'arco di Tito', *Restauro*, V, 1973, 77ff. Valadier, G., *Raccolta delle più insigni fabbriche di Roma Antica e sue adjacenze, misurate nuovamente e dichiarate dall'architetto Giuseppe Valadier, illustrate con osservazioni antiquarie da Filippo Aurelio Visconti, ed incise da Vincenzo Feoli*, Roma 1810-1826. Valadier, G., *Opere di architettura e di ornamento ideate ed eseguite da Giuseppe Valadier*, Roma 1833. Marconi, P. - Cipriani, A. - Valeriani, E., *I disegni di architettura dell'Archivio storico dell'Accademia di San Luca I-II*, Accademia Nazionale di San Luca, De Luca Editore, Roma 1974: 'Fondo Valadier' contains Valadier's drawings for the construction of the new gate of the Ponte Milvio (2665-2670), his proposal for the reconstruction of Basilica San Paolo fuori le mura, etc.
6. Fea, C., 'Dissertazione...
7. Edict, 1 October 1802, signed by 'Giuseppe del Titolo di S. Cecilia Prete Cardinal Doria Pamphilj della S.R.C. Pro-Camerlengo', in Emiliani, *Leggi, bandi e provvedimenti*, op.cit. 110ff.
8. Edict, 1 October 1802, op.cit.: "Questi preziosi avanzi della culta Antichità forniscono alla Città di Roma un ornamento, che la distingue tra tutte le altre più insigni Città dell'Europa; somministrano i Soggetti li più importanti alle meditazioni degli Eruditi, ed i modelli, e gli esemplari i più pregiati agli Artisti, per sollevare li loro ingegni alle idee del bello, e del sublime; chiamano a questa Città il concorso dei Forastieri, attratti dal piacere di osservare queste singolari Rarità; alimentano una grande quantità d'Individui impiegati nell'esercizio delle Belle Arti; e finalmente nelle nuove produzioni, che sortono dalle loro mani, animano un ramo di commercio, e d'industria più d'ogni altro utile al Pubblico, ed allo Stato, perché interamente attivo, e di semplice produzione, come quello che tutto è dovuto alla mano, ed all'ingegno dell'Uomo."
9. Fea, C., *Dei Diritti del Principato sugli antichi edifizj pubblici sacri e profani*, Roma 1806. Rossi-Pinelli, 'Carlo Fea e il chirografo del 1802', op.cit., 33ff. Emiliani, *Leggi, bandi e provvedimenti*, op.cit., 113.
10. Rossi-Pinelli, 'Carlo Fea e il chirografo del 1802', op.cit., 33ff.
11. Edict of 1 October 1802, op.cit.: "...Sono state queste le riflessioni, che dappresso all'illustre esempio, che la S.M. di Leone X, diede nella persona del gran Raffaello d'Urbino, ce hanno recentemente determinati ad eleggere l'incomparabile Scultore Canova, emolo dei Fidia, e dei Prassiteli, come quello lo fù degli Apelli, e dei Zeusi, in Ispettore generale di tutte le Belle Arti, e di tutto ciò, che alle medesime appartiene; ed a Lui durante la sua vita abbiamo conferite, colla sola dipendenza da Voi, le più estese, e superiori facultà per invigilare sopra tutto quello, che può influire al mantenimento, ed alla felice propagazione delle Arti del Disegno, e di quelli, che le professano." Rossi Pinelli, O., 'Artisti, falsari o filologi? Da Cavaceppi a Canova, il restauro della scultura tra arte e scienza', *Ricerche di Storia dell'Arte*, 1981, XIII-XIV, 41ff. Pinelli, A., 'La sfida rispettosa di Antonio Canova. Genesi e peripezie del 'Perseo trionfante'', *Ricerche di Storia dell'Arte*, 1981, XIII-XIV, 21ff.
12. Missirini, Melchior, *Della Vita di Antonio Canova*, Milano 1825, 374: "L'opera di Fidia sono una vera carne, cioè la bella natura, come lo sono le altre esinnee sculture antiche..."
13. D'Este, A., *Memorie di Antonio Canova*, Firenze 1864, 20: "Una cosa è il copiare che trascina servilmente all'arte sopprime e raffredda il genio; e un'altra è consultare i capi d'opera dell'arte per studio, confrontandoli con la natura, per quindi rilevarne i pregi, e servirsene all'uso proprio, e formarne poi un tutto che servir possa al soggetto che si vuole esprimere, come hanno praticato i Greci, scegliendo dalla natura il più bello; così son venuti a noi quei capolavori, i quali, niuno per tanti secoli ha mai osato di detronizzare dal posto sublime nel quale erano collocati e servono di esemplare a tutti... Chi copia anche con sommo magistero, sempre copista resta, e chi copia non è copiato, poiché le copie sono per lo più atte ad eseguirsi da quelli cui natura ha negato il genio dell'originalità... Consultare i capolavori, è una cosa, copiare è un'altra."
14. Missirini, Melchior, *Della Vita di Antonio Canova*, op.cit., 284: "Napoleon - 'Questo è il vostro centro; qui sono tutti i capi d'arte antichi; non manca che l'Ercole Farnese, ma avremo anche questo.' Canova - 'Lasci Vostra Maestà, risposi, lasci almeno qualche cosa all'Italia. Questi monumenti antichi formano catene e collezioni con infiniti altri che non si possono trasportare né da Roma, né da Napoli.'"
15. D'Este, A., *Memorie di Antonio Canova*, op.cit., 112.
16. Archivio di Stato, Rome, 'Camerale II, Ant. e B.Arte, b 6, 192.'
17. "PIUS VII P.M. RUDERIBUS CIRCUM EGESTIS ARCUM RESTITUENDUM ET MURUM SEPIENDUM CURAVIT AN.MDCCCIII" (Jonsson, M., *Monumentvårdens begynnelse, Restaurering och frilggning av antika monument i Rom 1800-1830*, 'Uppsala Studies in the History of Art' XVI, Uppsala 1976, 26.)
18. Letter of Antonio Canova, 23 June 1803 (Archivio di Stato, Rome, 'Camerale II, Ant. e B.Arte, b6, 192'): "Intanto si lusinga, che ella (Camporesi) col suo zelo, e premura p oggetti tanto a Lei cari, si prenderà tutto il pensiero, perché questo monumento non abbia a soffrire la più piccola lesione..."
19. Archivio di Stato, 'Camerale II, Ant. e B.Arte, b6, 192'.

20. Jonsson, M., *Monumentvårdens begynnelse*, op.cit., 26ff.
21. 'Diario di Fea, Commissario delle antichità sullo scavo intorno all'arco di Settimio Severo nel 1802 e 1803', (Archivio di Stato, 'Camerale II, Ant. e B.Arte, b6, 192').
22. Archivio di Stato, 'Camerale II, Ant. e B.Arte, b6, 192', (1800): "Nel congresso tenuto innanzi all'Emo Sig. Cardinal Camgo le intenzioni della Santità di N.S. che con sublimi vedute di erudizione, di politica, e di vera economia ha imaginato il discuoprimento de' più celebri monumenti di antichità, incominciando dall'arco di Settimio Severo fino al Colosseo inclusivamente..."
23. Jonsson, M., *Monumentvårdens begynnelse*, op.cit., 26ff. Valadier, G., *Raccolta delle più insigni fabbriche di Roma Antica*, op.cit.
24. Guattani, G.A., *Roma descritta ed illustrata*, (2nd ed.) Roma 1805, II, 2: "Anfiteatro Flavio, detto con ragione il Colosseo. Qual'altra mole teatrale vi poté essere più macchinosa di questa? E qual vi è ora più superba ed imponente rovina. Il pittoresco che il tempo nel distruggerlo vi ha insensibilmente introdotto, l'ha resa poi sì vaga ed interessante, che si giunge da molti a non desiderarne il ristauero. Potrebbero contentarsi l'età future di vederlo nello stato presente; ma lo sfacelo si avvanza a gran passi: di qua ad un secolo se n'anderà il resto dell'intrior tessitura, e farà d'uopo ai curiosi di ricorrere al Serlio, al Desgodetz, al Fontana, all'Overbeke, al Piranesi, al Marangoni, al Maffei, al Morcelli, al Carli, e forse ancora a questa mia descrizione; col pericolo di saperne poco, e persuadersene meno."
25. Coarelli, F., *Guida archeologica di Roma*, Mondadori, Verona 1974, 166ff.
26. Beda, *Opera*, ed. di Colonia 1612, III, 483: "Quamdiu stat Colysaeum, stabit et Roma: Quando cadet Colysaeum, cadet et Roma: Quando cadet Roma, cadet et mundus". Graf, A., *Roma nella memoria e nelle immagini del Medio Evo*, Torino 1915, 94. Di Macco, M., *Il Colosseo, funzione simbolica, storica, urbana*, Bulzoni, Roma 1971, 30. English version by Byron, G., *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* (1812), in Quennell, P., *The Colosseum*, Newsweek, New York 1971, 89.
27. A memorandum, 13 June 1804, on the inspection of the Colosseum, carried out by architects Camporesi and Zappati, written probably by C. Fea (Archivio di Stato, Rome, Camerale II, Ant. e B.Arte, b7, 207): "Danno maggiore, sono ormai 70 e più anni che per la vicinanza della lavorazione del salpietro, e polvere, si è portato lo stabbio a macerare nel primo piano, o corridore di quella fabrica. Oltre che la medesima resta così tutta ingombrata, e impraticabile ai curiosi di architettura, e di antichità, lo stabbio, col fermentare cuoce, e polverizza il travertino, pietra calcaria; e di più, specialmente nelle notti lunghe dell'inverno, i carrettieri accendono il fuoco addosso ai pilastri, e li divorano in modo, che in varie parti restano scholri, insufficienti coll'andare degli anni a sostenre tanta mole superiore... (It was recommended:) - ripulire e scoprire almeno della parte exterior, - portar via subito lo stabbio; quando si tolgono i murelli avanti per trovare la gradinata, e si facciano altre poche cose, si ha tutto il primo corridore per la metà dell'edificio libero e pulito da fare una superba galleria, e un passeggio sorprendente. Da questo corridore con un pajo di scale antiche ristabilite si monterà al secondo corridore conservatissimo, e si avrà un passeggio anche più ameno. In cima si allegrirà al quanto in varj punti dal calcinaccio, che stracarica le volte, e col tempo le manderebbe giù. Sgombrate in tal modo queste due parti principali, e più conservate, bisognerà fortificare la cantonata verso S. Giovanni, la quale di giorno in giorno minaccia maggior rovina, e strascinerebbe con sé forse la metà del rimanente... Il Commissario delle antichità, e gli architetti Sig. Giuseppe Camporesi, a Zappati hanno fatto replicate ispezioni sulla faccia dal luogo per tutte queste cose. E' desiderio generale, che simile operazione si faccia e si faccia presto. Il monumento richiama troppo la prima attenzione di tutti, e specialmente dei forestieri colti."
28. Quirinale to Monsig. Lante, Tesorier Genle, 22 June 1804 (Archivio di Stato, Rome: Camerale II, Ant. e B.Arte, b7, 207).
29. Archivio di Stato, Rome: Camerale II, Ant. e B.Arte, b7, 207.
30. Giuseppe Palazzi to Camerlengo, 19 November 1806 (Archivio di Stato, Rome: Camerale II, Ant. e B.Arte, b7, 207): "L'accesso sullo stesso Locale di Monsig. Illmo, e Rmo Nicolaj commiss. della R.C., in vece di Sua eccza Rma Monsig. Lante Tesorier Genle, allor assente dalla Città, per cui ne venne un foglio istruttivo a Noi Comprofessori Deputati, nel quale si legge = Rimarrà in seguito incaricata l'abilità, e Dottrina de' Sig. Architetti a dare quell'ulterior Progetto, che credeva opportuno per la maggior sicurezza della sudta Parte di Anfiteatro pericolante, formando i rispettivi scandagli, ed avendo sempre in vista l'Economia, la Solidità, e la conservazione nel modo conciliabile di sì grandioso Edificio per decoro della Capitale, per ammirazione degl'Esteri, e per utilità delle Arti.=" Giuseppe Camporesi to Mons. Nicola Nicolaj, 19 November 1806 (ibid): "Confermo pertanto il mio inalterabile sentimento di formare un Sperone dall'indicato lato, che vada a reggere la parte sconnessa, e quasi cadente & porra argine alla continua lateral pressione, che danno tutti i cunei degli archi, e vani di Finestre, giacché a mio senso ogn'altro Progetto, piuttosto effimero lo rputerei, e del tutto inadattabile alla natura, e circostanza dell'accennato batimento..."
31. Raffaele Stern to Camerlengo, 18 November 1806 (Archivio di Stato, Rome: Camerale II, Ant. e B.Arte, b7, 207): "L'oggetto della mia deputazione fù per l'appunto quello di ripararne, e conservarne qualunque benché minima parte."
32. Domenico Schiavoni to the Pope, 22 November 1806 (Archivio di Stato, Rome: Camerale II, Ant. e B.Arte, b7, 207): "A riparare la minacciata rovina non può a meno

di farsi un taglio. Esso in proporzione al tutto esistente di quella mole non è che un punto. Non abbraccia che una parte di un'arco del secondo piano, l'arco intero del terzo, e i due vani dell'ultimo piano sul confine di quella linea esistente fino alla naturale sua altezza dal lato di S. Giovanni in Laterano. Nel disegno marca questo taglio una linea obliqua sovrappostavi. Per la minacciata ruina esso è meramente necessario. Lungo quello, tutto è già fuori al suo appiombamento quasi tre buoni palmi. Dio non faccia che la più lieve scagliuzza si scateni. Basta questa a far precipitare quei massi sul momento. Ecco l'orribile pericolo, a cui stanno esposti centinaia di uomini.

Ogni altro riparo si rende inutile... L'ore si compromette all'istante far argine all'imminente rovina, e quindi nel suo appiombamento istesso trasportare l'un dopo l'altro quei massi dall'alto sul sottoposto terreno.

La linea in simil modo tagliata formerà un dente a seconda de' sassi, che vi saranno compresi. Si avranno così due intenti: l'uno, che, al vedere su quella linea di distacco tante morse, farà credere il taglio non fatto dall'arte, ma così ridotto dall'antica sua naturale rovina; l'altro, che venendosi un giorno alla determinazione di ripristinarlo intieramente vi si possono commettere sassi, senza bisogno di fabbricare il nuovo suo incasso.

Ciò fatto, per rinforzare quest'ala fa duopo murare quattro archi del primo piano, tre archi ed una gran parte del quarto arco del secondo, tre archi del terzo, e i due vani dell'ultimo piano.”

33. G. Palazzi, G. Camporesi and R. Stern to Camerale, 10 November 1806 (Archivio di Stato, Rome: Camerale II, Ant. e B.Arte, b7, 207): A meeting had been agreed to discuss the proposed plans of Schiavoni, who, however, sent his master mason: “Fummo però altamente sorpresi in primo luogo, in non vedere l'architetto intervenire al Congresso, e molto più quando il Capo Mro aveva il coraggio di comunicare a Voce il suo Progetto, il quale consiste nientemeno, che nella Demolizione di tutta quella parte di Colosseo, che si scorge partita, per lo ché dimanda settemila scudi, e tutt'i Travertini, che sarebbero per risultarne. Ha creduto di dimostrare la sua esecuzione con un inesattissimo Disegno, ove con una Linea obliqua ha tagliato un gran Pezzo di Colosse, che forse l'ha supposto fabricato di sughero piuttosto che di solidissimo Travertino, e ciò è stato tutto quello che si è potuto avere da lui...”

La peregrina sconsideratezza, che ha dettato questo Progetto s'al Muratore che al Valente Arch'to, puol' essere perdonabile, e degna piuttosto di commiserazione; ma l'impudenza di presentare al Sovrano un Piano Sagrilego a questo segno, era incognita anche a tempi de' Vandali, e de' Goti, giacché allora è vero che si eseguivano Piani consimili, ma non si cercava di garantire la devastazione con l'approvazione, e con i Denari del Governo. Di fatto l'ardire di proporre simile barbarica operazione, mentre noi seguendo l'intenzione di Zelanti superiori presentatoci nella nostra Deputazione, e col voto dell'intero Mondo

culto, ed intelligente, ci siamo seriamente occupati nella Conservazione anche de' piccoli Frammenti di questo interessante Edificio: mentre tuttociò è manifesto, egli ha il coraggio di chiamare di risparmio, e magnifico un Piano, il quale costa settemila scudi, e circa Tremila carrettate di Travertino con perni di Metallo, Piombi e vale a dire circa Ventimila scudi, ed ha per Base una Demolizione che sicuramente sarebbe a ragione vituperata da tutto il Mondo, e chiama Economico questo Progetto, mentre il nostro Piano con una spesa di circa la metà assicura il Colosseo, ne conserva, come speriamo, ogni sua parte, ed annuncia a tutti quanto ora si conosca il pregio delle belle Arti, e quanto si abbiamo a caro le preziose reliquie della Romana grandezza: oggetti per cui tutt'i Popoli del Mondo vengono ad ammirare, e quindi invidiarci. E' poi ben chiaro, che se si fosse vouta eseguire tale operazione vandalica, si sarebbe abbandonata quella parte minacciante alla sua naturale rovina previa le debite cautele, nel qual case almeno saremmo accusati per mancanza di mezzi, ma mai per distruttori, per Barbari. Analizzando pertanto questo indigesto Progetto, che molto male a voce ci fù enunciato, si puol' dubitare, che il ricorrente muratore unito a chiari Lumi del Valente Amico Architetto voglia profittare di quella immensa quantità di squisiti Travertini e che esiga dalla Ra Ce la spesa della Demolizione, dell'assistenza, e del Trasporto. Di fatti altro oggetto non puol rinvenirsi in un Piano, che importa il doppio del nostro, toglie al Governo l'onore, e quel vistoso Capitale, che da noi si studia di tenere in opera, e si oppone direttamente al buon senso, ed all'intenzioni del Sovrano e del Mondo... Le nostre Operazioni fatte fin'ora sono pubbliche, il nostro Piano di riparazione è noto a tutti, esigiamo dunque lo stesso da chiunque progetti altri Metodi per rendergliene giustizia, se lo meritano e per escluderli con ragioni evidenti, e Dimostrazioni infallibili.”

35. Aless.o Lante, Segr. GB., to D. Schiavoni, 14 December 1806, (Archivio di Stato, Rome: Camerale II, Ant. e B.Arte, b7, 207): “Sig. Palazzi, Giuseppe Camporesi e Stern unitamente e separatamente tanto in voce, che in scritto, e comunicato il progetto de' Med' e l'altro presentato a nome dell' Ore al Mattematico Sig. Tessuti: La Sua Sntà di SS.S. à ordinato, che si eseguisca la costruzione del progettito sperone all'anfiteatro Flavio nella parte verso Levante la quale minaccia ruina, e che il capo mastro muratore Antonio Valenti l'eseguisca con tutta quella solidità, che richiede la grandiosità del lavoro.”

36. Raffaele Stern to Camerlengo, 18 November 1806 (Archivio di Stato, Rome: Camerale II, Ant. e B.Arte, b7, 207): “L'ultima scossa di terremoto aumentò notabilmente lo strapiombamento laterale a quest'ala di esterna facciata, che ritrovò senza appoggio, e già inclinata, e sconnessa: lo scolocamento de' massi di travertino cagionato dalle aperture verticali, che segnatamente si osservano nel secondo, e terzo ordine, ha prodotto particolarmente ne' piedritti dei due ultimi archi una divergenza per la quale le pietre cuneiformi che ne compongono le chiavi sono notabilmente calate inforza della loro gravità:

Consequentemente gli altri travertini de' Superiori Cornicioni si sono mossi, e sconnessi, ed aumentando il peso delle chiavi, queste nel tendere al loro centro di gravità hanno a guisa di altrettanti cunei accresciuta lo strapiombo, il quale ora si rinviene non minore di tre palmi. E' dunque chiarissimo che la muratura de' vani patiti servirà per sostenere le indicate chiavi nel loro stato presente, ed impedire l'ulteriore discesa delle medesime onde non forzino lateralmente la parte sfiancata; e lo sperone lo giudico il necessario rincontro, che potrà sostenere la parte laterale della sua spinta. Questo Sperone costituisce la quantità di mille e venti canne di muro quadrate di palmi cento. Dev'essere lavorato a cortina e colla massima esattezza, e perfezione con basamento di travertino, e tutt'altro che la solidità, e la più scrupolosa diligenza saranno per dettare, ed eseguito colli debiti riposi ed inzappature a tempo da farsi sotto i denti, o specie di morse che formano le pietre medesime esistenti. Questo sperone importerà scudi Duemila ottocento in circa. Non è prevedibile la spesa di qualche puntello, e le pontate..."

37. Palazzi, Camporesi and Stern to 'Sua Eccellenza R.ma Monsignor D. Alessandro Lante, Tesorier Gen.le della R.C.A.', 6 June 1807 (Archivio di Stato, Rome: Camerale II, Ant. e B.Arte, b7, 207): "All'occasione, che gli Architetti Palazzi, Camporese e Stern posero mano alla grande opera della Riparazione dell'Anfiteatro Flavio d.tto il Colosseo, il primo loro pensiero fù di scuoprire, e sterrare l'ultimo Pilastro esistente verso il Laterano quello per l'appunto posto sotto l'ala scollegata e priva di rincontro minacciante spaventevole Rovina, ad oggetto di eseguire gli ordini dell'Eccza.Vra.Rma., cioè di murare No.11 vani e costruire lo sperone. Lo stato in cui gli architetti med. rinvennero l'indicato Pilastro fù al di là d'ogni loro aspettazione, giacché lo ritrovarono così infelice da porli nel dubbio di giungere in tempo all'assicurazione. Questo Pilastro unico sostegno di tutta quella Porzione rovinosa fu ritrovato con sensibili aperture, che instantaneamente dilatavano in modo da generare la più viva costernazione. Per prevenire l'orribili conseguenze di tale situazione di cose si sono post' in opera i più efficaci rimedi e mediante i mezzi i più sicuri che l'arte somministra in simili casi, sono giunti ad assicurarsi anche di questa imprevedibile critica circostanza, la quale però ha reso indispensabili i cangiamenti, che sono ora per esporre. - Primieramente si fu obbligati di subito assicurare il Pilastro con Puntelli e Sbadacci, proporzionati alla Spinta di quelle parti sconnesse e vi si prese una Fodera di mura, onde dare il necessario sostegno al di dentro, qual Fodera è stata collegata ad uso d'Arte con lo sperone e con la muratura dei vani. Si è dovuto inoltre costruire internamente una Traversa di Muro per dargli' il necess. rincontro, e con tal mezzo si è collegata la Fodera con la muratura dei Vani e con lo Speron' e Pilastro, per cui, formandosi un insieme con l'altra Linea di Pilastrici concentrici ed intatti dell'Anfiteatro med. si viene ad assicurare stabilmente questa parte, giacché in riguardo di tutto ciò, che era imprevedibile nell'Epoca dell'altra Relazione umiliata all'Eccza. Vra. R.ma.

Queste necessarie disposizioni inseparabili dall'esistenza di questo Prezioso Edificio, avendo portato qualche non tenue aumento nel totale dei Lavori esigono dall'Ecc.za Vra. Rma. una benign' Approvazione, onde vengano ultimate. Di tanto sono con la p.n.te a supplicarla i nominati Architetti, affinché possano corrispondere, mediante il buon esito di questa difficile interessante operazione al' loro Zelo infaticabile, ed alla comune aspettazione di tutto il Mondo e specialmente nel Sito degl' imparziali conoscitori del Bello in uno de' più Augusti Monumenti della Romana Grandezza.

Occupatisi altresì li med.mi Professori sull'apprezzamento delle Aumentat' esposte assicurazioni hanno considerato, che poss' ascendere alla Somma di Scudi Duemila Ottocento ad un bell'incirca."

38. "PIVS VII P.M. ANNO VII"

39. R. Stern to Alessandro Lante, Tesoriere Gen.le della Rev.Cam.Apostolica, undated (written after the completion of the buttress, i.e. after 1807; the date of 1802 has been added to the letter, but in a different handwriting) (Archivio di Stato, Rome: Camerale II, Ant. e B.Arte, b7, 207): "L'Anfiteatro Flavio detto il Colosseo come presenta nella sua prima costruzione la grandezza e la Magnificenza de' tempi di Flavio e di Tito, così nella sua riparazione eseguita sotto l'auspici dell'Immortale Pio VII. felicemente regnante d'ordine di Va. E. Rma. dimostra la cura ed il Zelo de' Saggi Superiori della nostra età: e mentre la imponente opera antica, assolutamente la più grande che si conosca, ci assicura del Lustrò e della Dottrina di quei secoli, la sua moderna conservazione eseguita nelle presenti circostanze, è un' attesto certo, ed inalterabile della venerazione e del pregio in cui sono attualmente le reliquie preziose delle Arti Belle; felice impresa che ci avvicina il più possibile ai nostri grandi antenati, ed insegnerà ai posteri che il Vuoto di grandi opere, che rinverranno nella nostra Epoca, devono rimproverarlo alla sola deficienza di mezzi che ce ne impedisce l'esecuzione.

Una decisa soddisfazione è di fatto comune a tutti gl' Uomini di Genio e di buon senso. La contemplazione del Colosseo minacciante rovina che resta tutt'ora rincontrabile nel suo allarmante strapiombo e lo Sperone felicemente finito in tempo per togliere questi preziosi imponenti vestigi alle ingiurie distrattrice dei Secoli, oltre l'onore eterno che farà a chi né ordinò la costruzione, è altresì un interessantissimo oggetto per ogni Artista che vi riconosce la tran difficoltà che vi erano da scoraggiare chiunque non fosse stato animato dal nostro vivissimo impegno, e la felice esecuzione del lavoro che sicuramente è il solo moderno che può sostenere il confronto delle antiche opere laterizie.

Tale sentimento di fatto nacque nell' E.V.Rma all' occasione che onore della sua presenza la grande opera per qui saggiamente ordinò la demolizione de quell' ammosso di Casuppoli ora ridotte a fienili, che ingombrano la veduta di questo interessante parallelo ... E annessa offerta del Capo Mro Valenti il quale pagherà sc. 200 - per il materiale

e Legname dei Tetti, fusti, d'ogni genere e sterramenti pone la R.C.A. nella situazione di sbarazzare quel sito con la tenue spesa di 200 - della quale viene eziando ad esserne in gran parte indennizzati dalla quantità non piccola de' materiali, Marmi, che si ricaveranno dalla demolizione.

Tanto devo in adempimento di mia incumbenza ed in esecuzione de' venerati comandi della Eccza. Va. Rma.

Raffaele Stern, Arch. Cam.le"

40. Rome became the Second City of the Empire in 1810 (Giornale del Campidoglio, 28 February 1810).

41. In 1809, referring to the decree of 13 April 1793 in France (14 fruttifero Anno 2), it was ordered that all libraries, museums, collections, as well as all public monuments of sciences, arts, were put under the control of public authority. (Giornale del Campidoglio, 16 September 1809).

42. Casiello, S., 'Aspetti della tutela dei beni culturali nell'ottocento e il restauro di Valadier per l'arco di Tito', *Restauro*, V, 1973, 77ff. Jonsson, M., *Monumentvårdens begynnelse*, op.cit. Marconi, P., 'Roma 1806-1829: un momento critico per la formazione della metodologia del restauro architettonico', *Ricerche di Storia dell'Arte*, VIII, 1979, 63ff. Radocanachi, E., *Les Monuments de Rome après la Chute de l'Empire*, Paris 1914. Tournon, C., *Etudes statistiques sur Rome et la partie occidentale des Etats romains*, Paris 1855.

43. Jonsson, M., *Monumentvårdens begynnelse*, op.cit., 56ff. 'Commissione sugli Abbellimenti di Roma', b1-9, Archivio di Stato, Rome.

44. Jonsson, M., *Monumentvårdens begynnelse*, op.cit., 56ff.

45. Correspondance at the Academy of San Luca about repairs at the Colosseum and other monuments in Rome (2467, Vol. 176, 23; 2375, Vol. 171, 93-95; 2343, Vol. 169, 10-153; 973, Vol.86, 33-78): Daru to Canova, 24 June 1811 (Acc. S.Luca, Vol 169, 119): refuses to employ Valadier, and offers employment to Camporesi or someone else; Report of 14 September 1811: reconstruction work continues in a collapsed section; 21 September 1811: the containing wall completed; 30 September 1811: continuation of consolidation of the Colosseum; 19 October 1811: works continue on Tempio Tonante, the Colosseum and the Pantheon (135); 28 July 1812 (95); Camporesi to Canova, 19 November 1812 (75): asks instructions for shoring due to the collapse of a pillar the previous night; 26 December 1812 (78): correspondance about the collapse, for which Daru accused the negligence of the Academy of San Luca.

46. Archivio di Stato, Rome, 'Commissione Abbellimenti Roma', b 1, 27 November 1814. Parker, J.H., *Excavations in Rome from 1438 to 1882*, London 1883. Fea, C., 'Osservazioni sull'Arena, e sul Podio dell'Anfiteatro Flavio dopo gli Scavi nel medesimo' (1813), *Miscellanea filosofica, critica e antiquaria*, op.cit. V.

47. Acc. S.Luca, Vol 169, 10: 'Modulo di un piano più esteso per i custodi, comprensivo di tutte le località di Roma, Agro Romano, Lazio e Sabina, porse ovunque di monumenti in gran parte negletti o sconosciuti, degnissimo di sorveglianza.' One guard was proposed for the area of Via Appia, one for Monte Celio, one for Monte Esquilino etc. Special guards were proposed for: '1. Colonna Antonina, 2. Colonna Trajana, 3. Arco di Settimio Severo e monumenti adiacenti, 4. Tempj di Antonino e Faustina, della Pace, di Venere e Roma, 5. Archi di Tito e di Costantino, il Colosseo, 6. Terme di Tito, 7. Terme di Caracalla, 8. Terme di Diocleziano, etc.'

48. Archivio di Stato, Rome, 'Commissione Abbellimenti Roma' b 1.

49. Archivio di Stato, Rome, 'Commissione Abbellimenti Roma' b 1. Marconi - Cipriani - Valeriani, I disegni di architettura dell'Archivio storico dell'Accademia di San Luca I-II, op.cit: 'Fondo Valadier' contains several drawings for proposed covered markets and other embellishment projects (2683-2724).

50. *Giornale del Campidoglio* (1809-1811), 9 May 1810: Suppression of ecclesiastical corporations; 4 July 1810: lists of suppressed abbeys and bishoprics. Archivio di Stato, Rome, 'Commissione sugli Abbellimenti di Roma', (b 9): There were many persons, including Duca Braschi, the Mayor, Don Giacomo Mac Cormick, the Custodian of S. Isidoro Agricolo, and Carlo Fea, who were concerned about the conservation of churches (October, 1810). Reports were also made on the condition with estimates on the maintenance of the most important churches, such as SS. 4 Coronati, S. Stefano del Cacca, Santa Francesca Romana, S. Louis des Français, S. Agnese in Piazza Navona, etc. (October, November, 1810) The decree for the maintenance of 135 churches at the expense of the municipality of Rome was given on 21 December 1810.

51. Archivio di Stato, Rome, 'Commissione sugli Abbellimenti di Roma', (b 9): 'Jardin du Grand César', Pincio and Piazza del Popolo, and 'Jardin du Capitole', on and around the Palatine.

52. Archivio di Stato, Rome, 'Commissione sugli Abbellimenti di Roma', (b 1): Valadier is given the responsibility of Jardin du Grand Cesar, and Camporesi on the Capitol (28 October 1811). 8 February 1812, 800 workers are reported to be employed in the project of the Capitol although the garden projects had not been approved by Paris. Jonsson, *Monumentvårdens begynnelse*, op.cit., 73ff.

53. Archivio di Stato, Rome, 'Commissione sugli Abbellimenti di Roma', (b 9)

54. Berthault to Tournon, 10 February 1813 (Archivio di Stato, Rome, 'Commissione sugli Abbellimenti di Roma', b 9). Jonsson, *Monumentvårdens begynnelse*, op.cit., 73ff.

55. Archivio di Stato, Rome, 'Commissione sugli Abbellimenti di Roma', b 9: about the Pantheon, Gisors

said that the restoration of the pediment (by Bernini) was a good example “refait entièrement sans dispartes, et sans rien faire perdre à l’ensemble admirable de ce magnifique monument”.

56. Daru to Canova, 29 May 1811: Daru proposes the demolition of the bell towers of the Pantheon. (Acc.S.Luca Vol.169, 112) On 2 June 1811, the Academy of San Luca voted for the demolition of the bell towers of the Pantheon (Acc.S.Luca, Reg. 56; Vol.169, 117)

57. Gisors to Daru, 26 August 1813: “Je pense donc qu’au lieu de contreventer, d’étayer, de contreficher, d’emmailloter, si je peux ainsi m’exprimer, toutes les parties chancelantes des monuments et édifices dont je vous occupe, on devrait reconstruire au moins les masses de ces parties dans leurs formes et leurs proportions, soit en pierre, soit en brique, mais de manière à ce que ces constructions représentassent exactement les lignes de ces parties auxquelles elles devraient suppléer.” Coulon, A., ‘Les plans de Rome conservés aux Archives Nationales’, *Revue des questions historiques*, 1904, 2ff. Jonsson, *Monumentvårdens begynnelse*, op.cit., 104f.

58. Montalivet to Tournon, 28 September 1813 (Arch. di Stato, Rome, Comm. sugli Abbellimenti di Roma, b 9, 12).

59. Edict, 7 April 1820, signed by the Camerlengo Card. Pacca, in Emiliani, *Leggi, bandi e provvedimenti*, op.cit., 130ff.

60. Card. Consalvi, Memorandum on the responsibilities shared by the Camerlengato and the Tesorierato, 17 November 1820 (Arch. di Stato, Rome, Cam. I, iv, b 40)

61. ???

62. Archivio di Stato, Rome, ‘Comm. Abb. Roma’, b 1, 114.

63. Jonsson, *Monumentvårdens begynnelse*, op.cit., 106ff. Academy of San Luca, 973, Vol. 86, 33.

64. On 7 May 1715, the Municipal Council of Rome encharged two conservators and the architect Alessandro Specchi to inspect the Arch of Titus. (Archivio Storico Capitolino, Cred. I, Vol.44, 56) The condition of the Arch was found to such to justify urgent action, and works of consolidation were carried out immediately - although paid only in 1721 (142,81 écus). Rodocanachi, E., *Les Monuments de Rome après la Chute de L’Empire*, Paris 1914, 136.

65. Accademia di San Luca, 973, Vol.86,33.

66. Archivio di Stato, Rome, Cam. I, iv, b 40.

67. Valadier, G., ‘Narrazione artistica dell’operato finora nel restauro dell’arco di Tito’ (cancelled title: ‘Giustificazione del Risarcimento dell’Arco di Tito’), 5 February 1822 (Arch.Stato, Rome, Cam. I, iv, b 40, 106): Speaking of Stern: “Immaginò egli prima quel bravo nostro Collega la ben nota maniera di servirsi della forza delle viti, per sollevare i pezzi ch’erano calati, ma rifletté al come poi

rilasciarli, se non si riavvicinavano li pezzi laterali, che dal peso, e dal non esser fermati con perni si erano allontanati? Egli dunque per assicurare il monumento in pericolo vi formò una valida puntellatura sulla quale li pezzi si fermarono. Quindi risolvette di smontare qué pezzi e di ridar loro l’opportuno appoggio, col ricostruire la massa di tutto l’arco, e rivestirla ragionevolmente di travertini; formando ed accompagnando l’andamento dell’antica decorazione; avendo perciò fatto eseguire le basi mancanti delle colonne, i capitelli, ed altri pezzi, che alla di lui morte ho ritrovato, quando ebbi l’onore di essere a lui surrogato dall’Emo Sig. Card. Pacca Camerlengo di Chiesa e da S.E.Rma Monsig. Tesoriere Generale, ed incaricato venni del proseguimento di questo rispettabile ristauro.” (This paper was read at the Accademia Romana di Archeologia, on 20 december 1821, and was published in 1822.)

68. Conseil des bftimens, Paris, 14 August 1813, Archives Nationales, Paris, F13, 1648a: “M. Gisors propose pour l’arc di Titus de l’étager et cintrer de toutes parts en charpente, pour pouvoir, dit-il, demonter et remonter, sans coup férir les parties de vousoir gravitantes qu’on retablirait le plus soigneusement possible sur les autres vousoirs inférieurs replacés eux m^mes en avant dans leurs positions après avoir refait soit en pierre soit en briques les masses des parties de pied droit cet arc est maintenant privé. Il résulterait de cette opération que sans avoir dépensé beaucoup plus que pour des constructions auxiliaires informes, on aurait consolidé cet interessant monument et l’on aurait rétabli ses principales parties, qui pour n^tre qu’en masse, ne demandent pas moins une idée éxacte de ses dimensions et proportions.” (Jonsson, *Monumentvårdens begynnelse*, op.cit., 108)

69. Roma Antiqua, Envois des architectes français (1788-1924), Forum, Colisée, Palatin, l’Académie de France à Rome etc. Rome 1985, 292ff.

70. Archivio di Stato, Rome, Cam. I, iv, b 40.

71. Quatremère de Quincy, A., *Dictionnaire d’architecture*, Paris 1832, ‘Restauration’: “il devra suffire de rapporter en bloc les parties qui manquent, il faudra laisser dans la masse leurs détails, de manière que le spectateur ne pourra se tromper sur l’ouvrage antique et sur celui que l’on aura rapporté uniquement pour compléter l’ensemble.”

72. Valadier, G., *Opere di architettura e di ornamento*, Roma 1833,

73. Valadier to Camerlengo, 1 June 1823, etc. (Arch.Stato, Rome, Cam. I, iv, b 40)

74. Visconti, F.A., 20 March 1824, Arch. Stato, Rome, ‘Cam. II, iv, b 166, 409.

75. Quatremère de Quincy, A., *Dictionnaire*, op.cit.

76. Stendhal, *Voyages en Italie*, Gallimard, Paris 1973, 846: “Arc de Titus... fut le plus élégant jusqu’à l’époque fatale où il a été refait par M. Valadier... Au lieu de soutenir l’arc de Titus, qui menaçait ruine, par des armatures de fer, ou par un arc-boutant en brique, tout à fait distinct du

monument lui-m[^]me, ce malheureux l'a refait. Il a osé tailler des blocs de travertin d'après la forme des pierres antiques, et les substituer à celles-ci, qui ont été emportées je ne sais où. Il ne nous reste donc qu'une copie de l'arc de Titus." See also Linstrum. D., 'Giuseppe Valadier et l'Arc de Titus', Monumentum, XXV, 1, 43ff; Jonsson, Monumentvårdens begynnelse, op.cit., 108ff; Casiello, S., 'Aspetti della tutela dei beni culturali nell'ottocento e il restauro di Valadier per l'arco di Tito', Restauro, V, 1973, 77ff.

77. Card. Pacca to Camerlengo, 5 November 1821 (Arch. Stato, Rome, Cam. I, iv, b 40): "Ieri mattina nella Sagrestia di S. Carlo al Corso il Cardinal Segretario di Stato colla miglior maniera, e buona grazia possibile, mi fece una lagnanza su di una operazione che ora si sta facendo, si può dir quasi per nostri ordine all'arco di Tito. Mi disse dunque, che dopo molti reclami, era stato Egli stesso ad osservare quel lavoro, ed era rimasto in vedere, che invece di far ciocché poteva servire alla conservazione del monumento si era intrapreso il lavoro di scomporto quasi, e di ricomporlo di nuovo; Che cio triplicava la spesa, Che si poteva allor dire l'Arco di Pio, e non di Tito, e che intanto quel lavoro aveva cagionati dei danni ai bassi rilievi rompendo varie cose; Ora mi aggiunse, che non vi era rimedio al mal fatto; e ch'egli aveva sgridato Fea, il qual ora dice, che egli era di sentimento contrario, mentre vi andava ogni giorno, e non aveva avvertito ne' me, ne' il Tesoriere. Io resto mortificato, ne' sappi, che rispondere. La prego di dunque ad informarmi come la cosa è andata; se il progetto di Valadier fù veduto ed approvato dalla Commissione o dal Consiglio d'Arte, e desidero che si use almeno questa diligenza per ciocché resta a far..."

78. E.g. Boito, C., Brandi, C.

79. Lucangeli, C., Il Colosseo di Roma della grandezza di palmi 2449 di circonferenza ridotto alla circonferenza di palmi 40-49-60, ultimata dal di lui genero Paolo Dalbono, Roma 1845.

80. Shelley to Thomas Love Peacock, 1818, in The Colosseum, op.cit., 120.

81. Dickens, C., Pictures from Italy, Deutsch, London 1973, 164.

82. Fea to Camerale, 3 November 1815, Arch. Stato, Rome, 'Comm. Abb. Roma', busta 1.

83. Deakin, R., Flora of the Colosseum, 1855: "The plants which we have found growing upon the Colosseum, and have here described, amount to no less a number than 420 species; in this number there are examples of 253 Genera, and illustrations of 66 of the Natural Orders of plants, a number which seems almost incredible. There are 56 species of Grasses - 47 of the order Compositae or Syngenerious plants - and 41 of the Leguminous or Pea tribe... The collection of the plants and the species noted has been made some years; but since that time, many of the plants have been destroyed; a circumstance that cannot but be lamented. To preserve a further falling of

any portion is most desirable; but to carry the restorations, and the brushing and cleaning, to the extent to which it has been subjected, instead of leaving it in its wild and solemn grandeur, is to destroy the impression and solitary lesson which so magnificent a ruin is calculated to make upon the mind..." (Quennell, The Colosseum, op.cit., 152)

84. Accademia di San Luca, 973, Vol.86, 33.

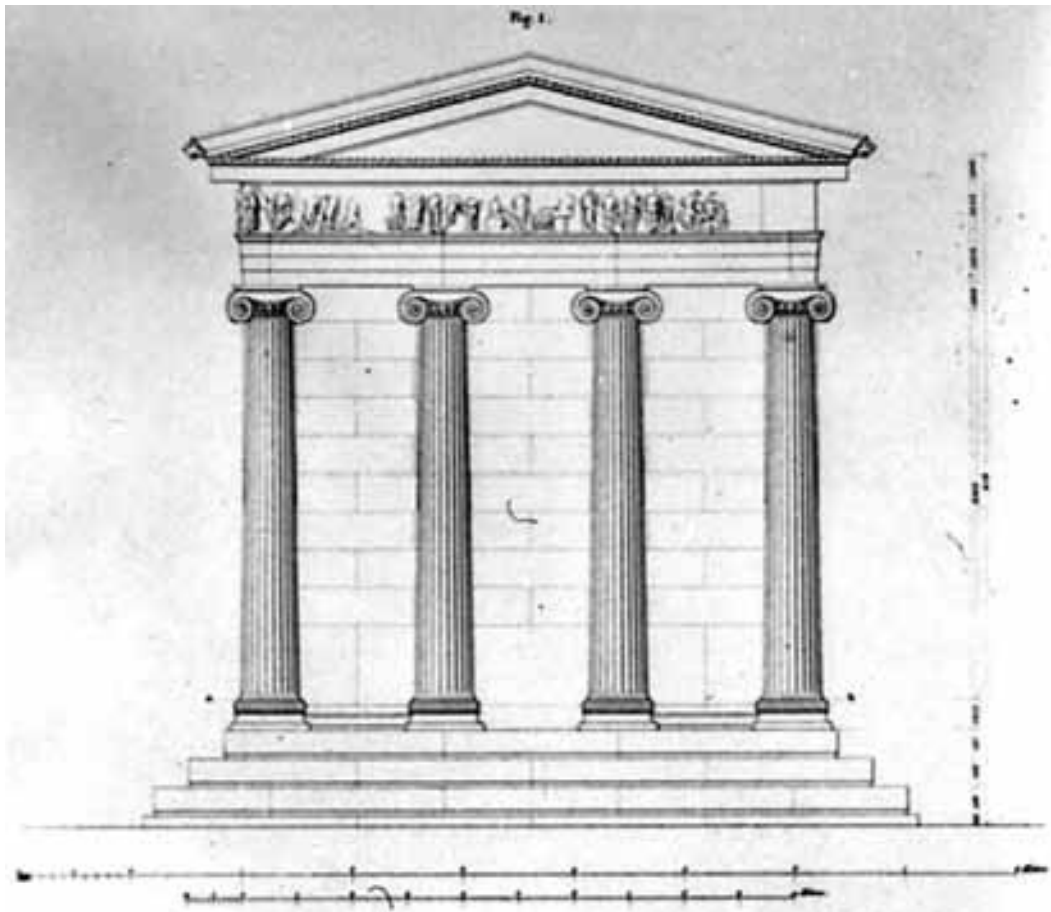
85. Valadier, G., Opere di architettura e di ornamenti, op.cit., 15: "In questa Tavola (III) si riporta il lavoro, come fu eseguito, imitando l'antico in ogni piccola parte, meno che il Monumento è tutto di travertino, ed il nuovo lavoro, per procurare la possibile economia, ha di travertino soltanto la metà dell'altezza de'primi piloni, le imposte degli archi, le basi delle colonne e rispettivi capitelli, e l'ultima membratura dei cornicioni, perché siano più stabili. Tutto il resto è di mattoni, con i quali si sono fedelmente imitate le antiche scorniciature, ed avendovi dato una patina a fresco generale, imitando l'antico, sembra di travertino intieramente."

86. Valadier, G., Opere di architettura e di ornamenti, op.cit., 15: "Questo metodo, oltre che non forma una natta addosso al monumento, volendo continuare la lavorazione, vi si presta con somma facilità, potendosi allora togliere i tre piccoli sproni lett. A, che per le altre arcuazioni che li seguissero, non sarebbero più necessarij, ma anzi ne guasterebbero l'aspetto. Né impedirebbe nulla se fosse mai eseguito ciò che disse la S.M. di Papa Pio VII allorquando venne a vederlo, cioè che se ogni Pontefice avesse fatto fare un arco, a quell'ora sarebbe tutto ristaurato, e ridonato a Roma il primo Anfiteatro del mondo. Qui cade a proposito di narrare che un Eminentissimo, che vi s'incontrò senza fargli corte gli disse, Vostra Santità ha dato un esuberante esempio, e ciò che disgraziatamente non è stato fatto, speriamo di quà a cento anni che si faccia."

87. Canina, L., Gli edificj di Roma antica, Roma 1851, 33: "In fine credo opportuno di accennare che, per servire a dare una più palese ed anche più universalmente convincente dimostrazione della vera forma che ebbe l'anfiteatro Flavio nella sua intera architettura, e nel tempo stesso impedire una maggiore rovina delle reliquie superstiti, fu da me stesso proposto ed in parte già ottenuto ed impresso ad eseguirsi, il ristabilimento della parte media interna del lato orientale, che si trova in miglior modo conservata. Tale restituzione si è impresa ad eseguire dal Governo con interessamento ed amore per i monumenti antichi, che sono di principale decoro alla città eterna, e si spera di poterlo portare sino al piano superiore della cavea, in cui corrispondeva il portico contenente i gradi di legno per le donne che assistevano allo spettacolo, e così collegare la cinta esterna, che propende a cedere in fuori, con la opera interna."

Chapter Nine

Case Study: Greece, Restoration in Athens



9.1 Restoration in the Nineteenth Century

The background to the rediscovery of Greek classical art and architecture in the second half of the eighteenth century through the publications of David Le Roy (1758) and of James Stuart and Nicholas Revett (1762-1816) supported by the Society of Dilettanti is well documented. So is the exaltation of Ancient Greece by Winckelmann, Goethe and Holderlin. More visitors travelled to Greece, more collectors were carrying away important works of art and arousing further enthusiasm as well as providing material for direct study; but they were also causing losses and damage to the already ruined heritage of Greece. The marbles taken by the Earl of Elgin from the Acropolis in 1801 reached London in 1812; and in 1822, the marbles of Aegina were found by Cockerell,

Haller, Stackelberg and Linckh, in excavations partly financed by Ludwig I of Bavaria. Greek taste was spreading all over Europe, but what was happening in Greece?

As consciousness of their classical heritage and of the deplorable present conditions of the country grew, Greek patriots formed secret societies in Athens (Hetaireias in 1814) in order to liberate the country - thus following the examples of other nationalistic uprisings in southern Europe. The leaders were Count Kapodistrias and Prince Ypsilanti, who looked for support abroad - especially from Russia and Bavaria. After a number of uprisings, Greece was declared independent in 1821. It was an event that was celebrated enthusiastically by philhellenes all over Europe: by Ludwig of Bavaria, Chateaubriand,

Holderlin, and by Lord Byron, whose death was regarded as a sacrifice for the sake of Greece and an ennoblement of the Greek patriots' aims. Sultan Mahmud was an exception; he did not accept the declaration, but tried to stifle the uprisings with the help of Egypt. Against him, however, was the allied power of England, France and Russia, and a treaty was reached in 1829 in Adrianople, ratified the year after in London, guaranteeing Greece its independence.

In February 1833, the newly chosen King of Greece, Otto I, the second son of Ludwig I of Bavaria, landed in Nauplia to take possession of his throne. This meant that the Bavarian government supported the young king, and many decisions were influenced by his father. One of the main interests of philhellenes, of whom Ludwig was one of the most committed, was the glorious past of Greece and the ancient monuments that evoked it; thus, the restoration and re-erection of these monuments also became one of the aims of the new government. The first great achievement was the discovery of the remains of the Temple of Athena Nike or the Wingless Victory on the Acropolis. This temple, known from ancient sources such as Pausanias (1), was mentioned for the last time by Spon and Wheeler (2), but had then been lost.

In summary, some two thousand years after their construction, the temples of Pericles and Phidias had been destroyed. The ancient site had been despoiled by the Romans, and used as a fortification. Later, in the seventh century, many of the surviving temples had been transformed into Christian churches. During the Middle Ages, with the successive occupations of the Franks, Catalans and Florentines, there were more changes. The Greek Orthodox churches were converted to accord with the Latin rite. The temple of Nike, the Propylaea and the Erechtheum were also used for housing or as schools. Later still, with the arrival of the Turks in 1458, the Acropolis was again turned into a fortification. Most of the major classical buildings were used as gun-powder magazines, leading inevitably to great destruction, notably when the Venetians troops bombed the Parthenon making it explode in 1687. Successively, the Temple of Nike was demolished to provide material for reinforcement of the fortifications, a new wall and bastion in the seventeenth century. A small mosque was built in the destroyed central part of the Parthenon.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, this destruction caused by centuries of occupying armies was completed by neglect, struggles for independence and treasure seekers like Lord Elgin. Its re-erection (1835-6) on the bastion in front of the Propylaea was

Figure 116. The Acropolis, Athens, with the Turkish houses (Dodwell)



seen as a symbolic reference to the resurrection of Greece as a nation. It also gave a special significance to the Greek word for restoration, *anastylosis*, later used to refer to this type of restoration in other countries as well.

9.2 Protection of Ancient Monuments

1. *Leo von Klenze*

In June 1834, Leo von Klenze (1784-1864), Hofbauintendant of Ludwig I, was sent to Greece on a diplomatic mission to support Otto against internal intrigues surrounding his throne; but the official reason for his visit was to advise on the planning and building of Athens as a new capital. Concerning the latter, Klenze divided his task into three parts: the master plan of Athens, the public buildings (especially the royal palace), and the question of the Acropolis. A masterplan had already been prepared by the architects Eduard Schaubert and Stamatios Kleanthes in consultation with Karl Friedrich Schinkel, and some buildings had already been started according to the plan. Consequently, even if Klenze did not agree with various aspects of the plan, he had to limit himself to proposing alterations to the existing project. He made several different proposals for the royal palace, but in the end it was built by his rival Friedrich von Gartner (1792-1847). On the other hand, his proposals for the Acropolis were of great significance, both for its protection and the restoration of its monuments, and also for the organization of the archaeological survey in Greece in general. (3)

Klenze was one of the principal architects of German Classicism, and he contributed to the building of neoclassical Munich. He built the Walhalla near Regensburg in the form of a classical temple as a monument symbolizing the unification of the German people. He was active in Paris, Rome, St. Petersburg, Berlin, London and Budapest, either preparing projects, building or in diplomatic missions. He was also a painter, engineer, planner, historian, and an archaeologist. He had travelled in Italy and studied the Greek temples in Sicily, and he had presented various papers on archaeological subjects, referring, for example, to the temples of Agrigento, and to the Elgin Marbles. He had studied in Berlin together with Schinkel under David and Friedrich Gilly, and Aloys Hirt; and his authority was recognized by honorary membership in archaeological societies in different countries. (4)

On his arrival in Greece, Klenze travelled through Corinth, Mycenae, Argos, Tiryns, Epidauros, and

Aegina; thus, he had many opportunities to observe the complete neglect of the remains of Greek antiquity. In Athens, this grew into a kind of nostalgia, that made him decide to use his diplomatic status to do something useful for these venerable and abandoned remains of Greek art and history. Klenze heard stories that showed the confused situation - an Austrian brig stealing antiquities from Delos, an Englishman prising off half a figure of the frieze of the Parthenon with a hammer, American officers trying to break and steal ornaments from the Erechtheion. (5) The truth is that many Greeks felt no concern for their monuments, and even Kapodistrias had not believed anything was to be learnt or derived from the monuments of the ancient Greece. (6) But Klenze wanted

“to safeguard them for the future and to prove to Europe that the young king and the Greek Government took more interest in them, than the disregard of many of its employees made one believe.” (7)

Klenze proposed to the Government that all the major monuments of Greece should be subject to regular supervision. His list included twelve major sites in additions to Athens. These were: Aegina, Eleusis, Delphi, Rhamnus, Sounion, Hieron of Asklepios near Epidauros, Corinth, Mycenae, Bassae, Messene, Delos and Olympia. He proposed that war invalids and pensioners should be used to guard the sites and accompany the visitors. He further proposed that the sites be regularly surveyed by provincial inspectors under the control of a Generalkonservator, a Chief Conservator. By 6 September 1834, this proposal was accepted by the government and the Acropolis, for example, was guarded by twelve pensioners.

Klenze also recommended that, so far as it was possible and convenient, it would be necessary to undertake the restoration of these ancient monuments, pointing out that if nothing was done to them, one could foresee the moment when the last trace of at least their plastic form would disappear. He proposed starting the excavation and restoration on the Acropolis, giving priority to the Parthenon, which was important to the city of Athens as a major monument, and also because it would add dignity to the status of the new nation. (8) In the city of Athens, Klenze listed thirty monuments or sites worthy of protection. Naturally, these included the principal monuments, the Acropolis, the Agora, the Thesion, the Gate of Hadrian, the Temple of Zeus, etc; but it also included much less obvious sites such as “ancient ruins”, “possible remains of a monument erected by Herodes Atticos”, and Klenze showed special interest



Figure 117. P. von Hess: The Reception of King Otto in Athens in 1835

in the small frescoed byzantine churches, threatened by destruction under the new development, which had been built out of the spoils of Antiquity. (9)

As to the organization, Klenze recommended that Dr, Ludwig Ross (1806-59), historian and archaeologist from Holstein, be nominated Generalkonservator, and that technical direction should be given to the architects Gustav Eduard Schaubert (1804-60) from Breslau and Stamatios Kleanthes (1802-62) from Macedonia, both students of Schinkel from Berlin (1825-8). Ross and Schaubert were accepted by the government, but instead of Kleanthes, the Danish architect Hans Christian Hansen (1803-83) was chosen. (10) Ross's family came originally from Scotland, but then lived near Hamburg. Ross had studied classical philology in Kiel, acted as a private tutor in Copenhagen, gained a travelling scholarship from the Danish Government in 1831, and spent a winter in Leipzig to prepare himself for Greece, where he arrived in May 1832. Klenze considered him to have a "thorough classical education, complete knowledge of Greece, its inhabitants and language, as well as an attractive personality" (11), and he was soon nominated Assistant Conservator in Nauplia.

Figure 118. Rörbye (1835): Greeks working in the ruins of the Acropolis



He acted as guide to Klenze, as well as to the royal family in their travels in Greece.

2. The Acropolis

The first excavations on the Acropolis had already taken place in the spring of 1833. The Athenian Kiriakos Pittakis (1798-1863), who as a young boy had gone enthusiastically to look for classical ruins, (12) had collected some private funds and, with the permission of Kapodistrias, had carried out a small excavation near the Parthenon. He was lucky enough to find three well-preserved panels of reliefs from the north side of the Parthenon, as well as some inscriptions. (13) One of the problems for the government in starting excavations officially on the Acropolis was that it was still occupied by the army as a fortification. Klenze proposed its demilitarisation, which was accepted by the government in September 1834. (14) This was also an opportunity "to make it for ever unsuitable for a military defense..." (15) by demolishing the fortifications and restoring the ancient temples. This work seemed also a proper way to "awake and retain the sympathy of civilized Europe by directing its eyes and interest on the restoration of the upper town of Athens..." (16) The military occupation was only cleared by March 1835; however, some works had already been carried out under Klenze, and these continued under Ross from the beginning of 1835.

When these works were started, in addition to the fortifications on the Acropolis, there was practically a small town of houses with their gardens; this can be seen in the eighteenth century drawings, which depict the remains of classical buildings - in ruins - emerging from the settlement. After the final battles of the last war, this area was a chaotic site; "between capitals of columns, smashed shafts, small and large blocks of marble, there were artillery shells, fragments of case shot balls, human skulls and bones, of which many were mainly piled up near the charming caryatids of the Erechtheum..." (17). The Erechtheum itself was almost completely ruined - its walls had been pulled down by soldiers in search of lead, and the north porch had collapsed. In 1827, the loft inside it had been used as a bomb-shelter and was protected by earth. Under the heavy weight, however, it collapsed, killing eleven people. One of the caryatids had been shot at and part had collapsed. (18) The Propylaea were in ruins and the whole entrance was walled in and blocked with fortifications; a so-called Frankish Tower rose above it on the southwest corner.



Figure 119. The Erechtheion, Athens. Watercolour by Christian Hansen (1836)

3. *Excavation and Restoration*

While still in Athens, Klenze wanted to organize a proper and solemn inauguration of the official restoration and excavation on the Acropolis. For this purposes, a celebration was planned in the presence of the king. The entrance through the Propylaea was opened and a way was cleared for the king to reach the north side of the Parthenon. A drum of the seventh column was prepared ready to be raised into position. Nearby, there was also a well-preserved panel of a frieze of the cella, which was to be “discovered” under a little layer of earth. A throne was prepared for the king inside the Parthenon and the celebration took place on 10 September 1834. Klenze himself made a speech concluding that

“traces of a barbaric era, the rubble and formless ruins, will disappear from here as well as all over Hellas, and the remains of the glorious Old Times will arise in new splendour. They will form the most reliable support for a more glorious present and future.” (19)

Klenze made careful studies of the Parthenon, giving special attention to the methods of construction and making detailed measured drawings of some parts

of it. He admired the quality of work, the precision, the extremely fine jointing. He assumed that the great number of metal cramps had been intended as protection against earthquakes. He appreciated the choice of materials from the point of view of maintenance, and made favourable comparisons with German cathedrals (Cologne, Strasbourg). He also observed some painted decoration. (20)

Before leaving for Munich, Klenze finally prepared a programme for the excavations and guidelines for the restoration work of which the main points were:

- a. Fortifications having no archaeological, constructional or picturesque (“malerisch”) interest, and being unsafe, should be removed.
- b. The Parthenon should be exposed and restored. A 20 feet wide excavation should be made around it, starting from the north side.
- c. The remaining sculptures should be deposited either in the mosque or in the Thesion. Architectural elements that could be used in the restoration should be kept on site. As for other decorative elements of interest (profiles, ornaments, fragments with painted decoration,



Figure 120. Bust of Ludwig Ross in Athens

etc.), if it were not possible to use them in the restoration, they should be conserved and grouped both inside and around the ruins in order to preserve the picturesque character these have acquired with time. Stones and marbles not included in these categories should be sold as building material. The rubble could be taken down to the Areiospagos and used later to build the terraces of the royal palace.

d. The restoration of the Parthenon should be started on the north side, which is the most visible from the town and from the palace. First, all the available columns should be raised using the original fallen drums. If in some cases one or two drums were missing, these could be made new of marble - "however, without concealing this restoration with affectation or trying to make it unrecognizable. Fragments of architraves, triglyphs, metopes, and ledges should be placed back in position respecting, as far as possible, the picturesque character of the building." (21) The same should be done with cella walls and the southern colonnade. Here some columns could

be left out without damage to the effect of the whole.

e. The existing spiral staircase at the west end should be removed, and a light modern structure built inside the cella if needed.

f. After the restoration of the Parthenon, the area on its western side should be freed for the construction of the museum. After this, the restoration of the Erechtheum and of the Propylaea should be carried out in the same manner as the Parthenon. If required, the necessary machinery could be ordered from Germany.

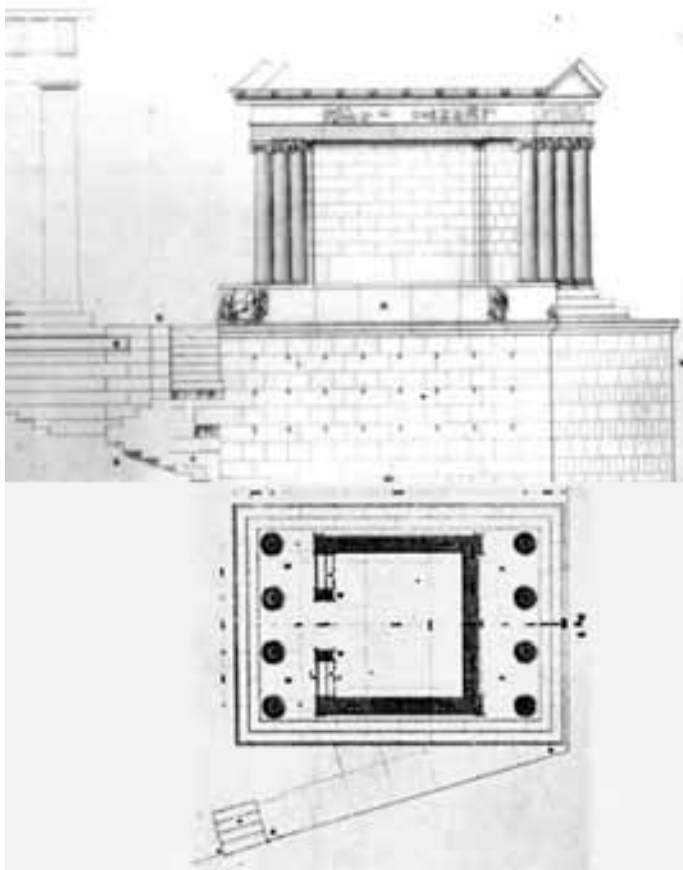
g. The original ancient ground levels should be conserved as such - with all the terraces, podia, substructures, etc. In the context of the masterplan of Athens, Klenze also included a recommendation concerning the Acropolis; for example, he was in favour of the conservation of some picturesque parts of the "later additions" such as the "Tower of Acciajuoli" or a "Venetian bastion" next to the Propylaea. (22)

Klenze was also specific about the conservation of the surroundings of the Acropolis, foreseeing the preservation of the "old Athens", i.e. the Plaka. In their first plans, Schaubert and Kleanthes had not obliterated this area, but intended to integrate it in the new development through some main streets. Klenze supported this and reaffirmed that the Acropolis should always retain its position as the major attraction and culmination of the city. (23)

4. Restoration of the Temple of Nike

In January 1835, Ross, Schaubert and Hansen started the works. The guards were organized, no outsider was allowed to enter this 'sanctuary' any more without Ross' permission, and 80 men were working on the demolition of the Turkish walls and clearing the rubble from the Parthenon. It was decided to throw the unusable rubble down the south side of the Acropolis because, according to ancient writers, no buildings were supposed to be found there.

Demolitions were started in front of the Propylaea, but the Turkish masonry was very solid and difficult to break. Later, Ross wrote in his memoirs: "We took down now, to start with, the Byzantine-Frankish-Turkish walls and fortifications in front of the Propylaea. Out of this appeared especially the remains of the demolished little temple of Nike Apteros, so that we were able to re-erect it on its ancient site during the next few months." (24)



Figures 121 and 122. The Temple of Athena Nike, side elevation and plan (Ross, Schaubert, Hansen, *Die Akropolis von Athen*)



Figure 123. The Temple of Athena Nike under reconstruction. Watercolour by C. Hansen

Two walls were found with a rubble core between them altogether 7m to 8m thick. The walls were of different dates, the more recent being built of architectural elements, ashlar, architraves, etc. while the core consisted of columns, Ionic capitals, fragments of friezes, all of which came from the Temple of Nike. After removing the structures that covered the bastion to the south of the entrance, they found the foundations of the temple still in situ. There were three steps and the entire base of the cella wall; in the south-east corner, two bases of column remained, and on one of these a drum was still in place. (25)

By July, all fragments were collected in an area in front of the Propylaea, where they remained for some months until reconstruction could start. In November 1835, Hansen reported to the Danish Academy:

“This summer the excavations on the Acropolis have been suspended for three months (i.e. from July 29 to November 14, 1835). Two days ago, the work was resumed and efforts are particularly directed towards the unearthing and restoration of the temple of Nike Apteros. All the parts of the frieze, except the third, which is in the British Museum, have been found. As these beautiful works have been employed as building material in the bastion they are considerably damaged and full of mortar. The small frieze is only about 0.80 metres high and ornamented with haut-reliefs. Also several seriously damaged fragments have come to light, from the frieze with the two Genii leading an ox (which I described in my last letter). To which temple these reliefs belong I have not yet discovered. We still lack some pieces in order to make a complete presentation of the fragments belonging to the temple of Nike for publication, but we expect to find some in the parapet which is now being torn down. We have made complete drawings of everything found.” (26)

The reconstruction of the Temple of Nike Apteros was carried out during the spring of 1836; it was well advanced by March and practically completed by May. In the same period, the demolitions were completed in the Propylaea except for the Tower of Acciajuolo, which remained standing until, after some discussion, it was demolished in 1874 financed by Heinrich Schliemann. (27)

Figure 124. The Temple of Athena Nike after the restoration, c. 1900



The temple was rebuilt using almost entirely original elements. Three broken columns were repaired with blocks of Pentelic marble following Klenze's guidelines. The new blocks were unfluted and a missing base was remade in marble. In the cella walls, some half-broken marble blocks were replaced with new ones in "Poros-stone". The temple was completed to the height of the architrave on the north and east sides, while on the south side part of the cella wall remained unfinished, and in the southwest corner a column was left short of the original height and without a capital. The site supervision was entrusted with E. Laurent, an architect from Dresden. (28)

In 1836, Ross was obliged to resign from the position of Chief Conservator due to a conflict with

the government. His position was given to Pittakis, who then continued the excavation and did some restoration work until 1842. Ross nevertheless continued for some months to occupy himself with the excavations and prepared a publication on the temple of Nike. He wrote the text and Schaubert and Hansen were responsible for the drawings. This was intended to be the first publication of a series on the excavations; but even if Schaubert and Hansen seem to have had illustrations ready for a second issue which would have dealt with painted fragments, this never came out. (29)

Paint and colour in classical architecture was a great discovery of the time. It interested not only Schaubert and Hansen, but also others such as Gottfried Semper

Figure 125. The Temple of Athena Nike c. 1900. The basreliefs have been replaced with terracotta copies from the originals in the British Museum (Elgin Marbles); losses have been integrated in simple forms with no details



from Dresden, who had also been making studies of the temples of the Acropolis. (30) In the Nike temple, however, no trace of colour was found during this period. During 1843-4, the Archaeological Society of Athens, founded in 1837, financed the second phase of the reconstruction of the temple of Nike and completed the southwest corner. The cella wall was built to the full height including the architrave, and the coffered ceiling was reconstructed. A new capital - showing the rough outline only - was made for the southwest column. The British Museum sent terracotta copies of the reliefs taken to England by Lord Elgin, and these were placed on the north and west sides of the temple, although a part of the terracotta was broken during the work. (31) A floor of limestone and bricks was built inside the temple in order to avoid damage from the penetration of rainwater into the foundations. The entrance of the temple was provided with metal grills between the antes. No attempt was made to rebuild the cornice. (32)

The plan was amphiprostyl-tetrastyle, that is, it had porticoes with four Ionic columns at both ends,



Figure 128. A. Paccard (1845/6): 'restoration' of the Parthenon

facing east and west. the Pronaos, with the entrance, on the eastern side had been combined with the cella in order to shorten the temple and make it fit better on its site, although it otherwise was identical with its sister temple on the Ilissus, which was that much longer. (33)

5. Other Restoration Work on the Acropolis

During the remainder of the nineteenth century, research on Greek architecture in general and on the Acropolis in particular made great advances. During this period in Greece, there was also an increasing participation of foreign institutions in excavation work, and foreign schools or academies were created on the model of those in Rome. The French Academy of Rome had at first been reluctant to allow their students to travel to Greece; however, from 1844-5 onward, this became possible, and several studies were prepared on the Acropolis and its monuments. These included the work of Th. Ballu on the Erechtheum in 1844-5, of Alexis Paccard on the Parthenon in 1845-6, of P. Titeux and L. Chaudet on the Propylaea in 1846, of J. Tetaz on the Erechtheum in 1847-8, and of P. Desbuisson on the Propylaea in 1848. The projects included very elaborate measured drawings, as well as hypothetical reconstructions with full polychromy and sculptural ornaments. Beul, also directed the excavations in front of the Propylaea in 1848-53, when he also made the restoration of the so called Beul,-gate. (34)

6. Kiriakos Pittakis

When Pittakis (1798-1863) was in charge of the works on the Acropolis, from 1836 to 1842, he worked both on the Erechtheum and on the Parthenon. Ross had already started the excavations on the north porch of the former, and Pittakis continued in other



Figure 126. L-F. Boitte: The Acropolis of Athens in 1864

Figure 127. The Erechtheion after the 19th-century restoration, c. 1900. The second caryatid from the left has been replaced with a terracotta copy from the original in British Museum. Losses are integrated in simple forms



parts trying to define the internal divisions and also the Christian elements in the building. At the same time, he was restoring certain parts of the structure. He fixed the three standing columns of the west front in the architrave, and made other repairs in the area. In the north porch, he reinforced and repaired two of the columns. The Caryatid porch was also repaired, and the Swiss sculptor E. Imhoff restored the second Caryatid from the east and put it back in place. In the Parthenon, Pittakis had two columns raised on the north side, the ninth and eleventh from the east, and two columns, the sixth and seventh, partly. On the south side, he raised in part the ninth column from the east. Ross, instead, had limited himself to some repairs of the old floor. (35)

The principle on which Pittakis worked was to respect the original material and to limit his restoration to what he could do with the original blocks. He preferred, in fact, to use blocks that were not damaged; and only resorted to fragments in exceptional cases, when it could not be avoided. He preferred to use externally visible iron rods or hoops for reinforcement. When internal connections were necessary, this was done with iron cramps. Broken parts were completed with bricks - as in the cella wall of the Parthenon. Pittakis also marked the parts that he had restored by putting a date on them.

The Archaeological Society of Athens, founded in 1837, took a certain responsibility for the works on the Acropolis, both in terms of financing and supervision of the execution. In 1844-5, they had the remains of the Turkish gun-powder magazine removed from the north porch of the Erechtheum and opened the north entrance. In 1846-7, Alexis Paccard completed the restoration of the Caryatid porch with financing from France. The internal caryatid on the east side was

repaired by the Italian sculptor, J. Andreoli, who had previously assisted Imhoff. The base of the porch and the architraves were repaired, using new marble in the missing parts. A terracotta cast was provided by the British Museum to replace the Caryatid in its collection; the necessary additional support was provided first by timber and then, in 1872, by iron members. (36) In 1854, a strong wind caused the collapse of the three columns at the west end. Nothing was done about them at first, but the committee called to inspect the situation recommended the clearance of the remains of Christian elements from the interior. (37)

7. The Twentieth-century Restorations

In the second half of the nineteenth century, various small excavations were carried out on different occasions; from 1885 to 1890, a major excavation of the whole Acropolis area was finally undertaken by P. Cavvadias and Georg Kameron (38).

Unfortunately, in 1894, an earthquake shook the Acropolis, causing damage to some monuments. Some pieces (in fact, already loose) fell down from the Parthenon. The largest block was 100 cm by 38 cm. An international committee consisting of Joseph Durm, Francis Granmer Penrose, and Lucien Magne, was invited to consider the situation and to propose measures for consolidation and reinforcement. (39) In 1895, Nicholas Balanos, a civil engineer, was nominated responsible for the Acropolis, and three years later, a long period of new restorations was begun. This lasted until Balanos' retirement and the completion of the second anastylosis of the Nike Temple in 1940. (40)

Works under Balanos began with the west facade of the Parthenon in 1898 to 1902; following this came

Figure 129. A. Paccard: the Parthenon, north elevation in 1845/6

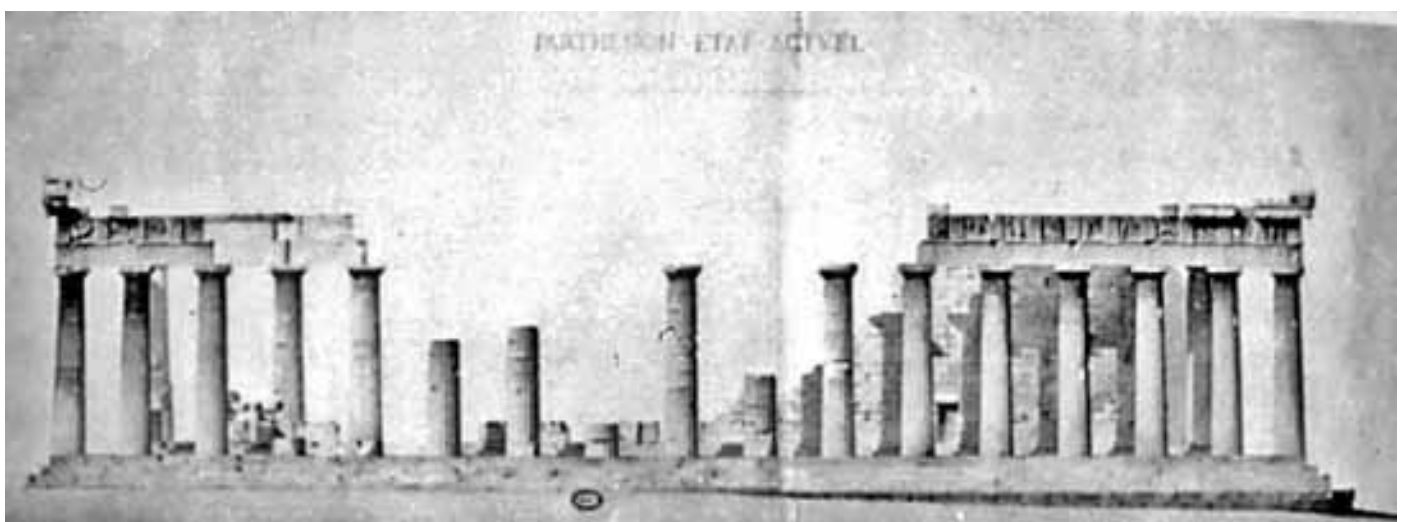




Figure 130. The Parthenon (c. 1900) before the 20th-century restorations, conducted by Balanos

the restoration of the Erechtheum from 1902 to 1909 and of the Propylaea from 1909 to 1917, the works on the Parthenon from 1922 to 1933, and finally the second reconstruction of the Temple of Nike from 1935 to 1940. (41)

The work on the Erechtheum consisted of reconstructing the north and south walls to their full height, raising the columns of the east porch, and restoring a part of them as well as reconstructing the Roman wall and windows between the semi-columns of the west facade on the basis of an engraving of 1751. The north porch was rebuilt to the level of the architrave and the coffered ceiling was added. The Caryatid Porch was dismantled, the foundations were repaired and the whole was re-erected with its coffered

ceiling. In the Propylaea, the eastern pediment and some architraves were reconstructed as well as a part of the coffered ceiling. In the Parthenon, the works started at the west front and the Opisthodomos. This part was consolidated during the period 1898-1902. In 1921, the Council of Archaeology in Athens approved the project for the raising of the north colonnade, which had already been discussed in an archaeological congress in Rome in 1912. The work lasted from 1922 until 1930. The west entrance was restored to its original dimensions with a lintel of reinforced concrete, in 1926. In 1931, the southeast corner of the temple was straightened and parts of the cornice were placed in position. From 1932 to 1933, the south colonnade was partly raised. (42)



Figure 131. The Parthenon, the interior of the cella c. 1900, showing the 19th-century restoration in brick

Like Pittakis, Balanos had a certain respect for the original architectural material. His restorations were limited to what could be done using basically original elements, but he was not concerned about the original position of each element in the building. In the Erechtheum, for example, he mixed the blocks of the north and south walls. In the Parthenon, he used available fragments in order to prepare suitable replacements for the reconstruction of the colonnade. In the Propylaea, he used four fragments of four different capitals to produce one whole Ionic capital; according to him, the perfect and identical carving of all the capitals of one order made this possible. (43)

Regarding the treatment of lacunae, Balanos, in 1938, referred to the principles formulated by his predecessors beginning with Ross, Schaubert and Pittakis, and defined by Cavvadias and Dorpfeld, according to which

“all complete restorations on the basis of the existing fragments were forbidden; only the re-erection of fallen authentic pieces of the monument could be admitted using appropriate methods of construction. The lost parts,

Figure 132. The Acropolis (c. 1900) before the 20th-century restoration works



necessary to support an important number of antique marbles, would be replaced with new materials. New parts in marble are still tolerated in the completion and consolidation of the architrave of a colonnade.” (44)

In the Erechtheum and in the Propylaea, he predominantly used marble to repair the losses. Concrete was used for structural reasons in the Caryatid Porch, where the architrave was supported with iron pillars between the Caryatids. The broken bits of the ashlar of the Erechtheum were repaired with new marble, after the broken surfaces of the original blocks had been cut straight to make the jointing easier. In the Parthenon, the architrave of the north colonnade was repaired and completed using marble. Twelve drums were repaired using available fragments, and five new drums were built with a core of Piraeus-stone and the surface (10 cm thick) in concrete coloured to match the marble. The fluting was made slightly deeper than the original.

Balanos claimed that his criteria for the use of concrete was purely aesthetic. He was not satisfied with the aging and patina of the new marble. Instead, having made some experiments in the Agora area, he believed he could make the concrete match better with the whole of the monument. Concrete was also considered reversible, and replaceable in the future when better materials might be available. (45) Unfortunately, this has later proven to be a serious mistake.

The blocks were connected together with iron cramps and dowels. Balanos had seen that this was what the ancient Greeks had used and he wanted to apply the same system. However, the work was roughly executed, and many of the original stones were damaged. In 1931, in the International Conference on the Restoration of Historic Monuments, organized in Athens, reservations were expressed about the use of iron, but Balanos guaranteed he had taken precautions to avoid rusting. These, however, have proved insufficient, and the rusting iron has become one of the great problems of the Acropolis. (46)

The 1931 conference examined the anastylosis of the monuments of the Acropolis, giving attention to the following questions:

- a - Re-erection of the northern colonnade of the Parthenon and of the southern peristyle;
- b - the use of cement as a coating for the substituted drums;



Figure 133. The Erechtheion: a block of marble restored by Balanos. The original stone has been cut in order to accommodate new marble. Iron cramps have since caused cracking of the original stone

c - choice of metals to be used for cramp irons and dowels;

d - advisability of using casts as complementary to anastylosis;

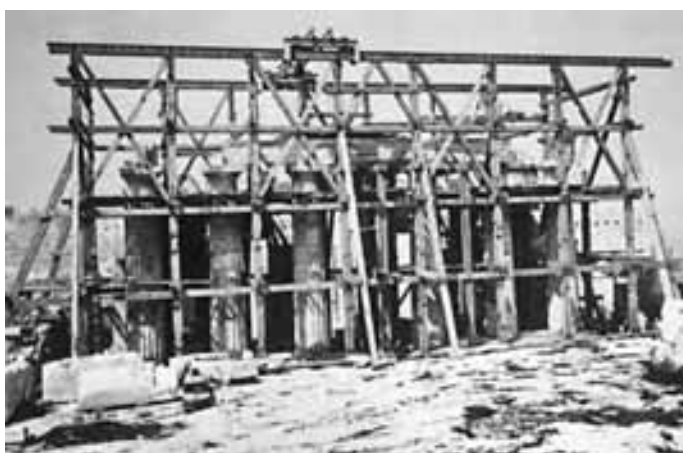
e - protection of the frieze against weather.

The first point was approved unanimously. On the second point, the experts refrained from expressing their general opinion on the question. On the third point, experts recalled “the regreatable consequences” which sometimes ensued when iron was used in connection with stone; other metals were considered preferable. A suitable roof was considered a good idea in the protection of the frieze. (47)

The Second Reconstruction of the Temple of Nike

The first reconstruction (completed in 1844) of the temple of Nike has been considered the first great achievement of Greek conservation, but it has also been criticized. The French archaeologist, M. Beul,, who excavated and rebuilt the so-called Beul,-Gate (a gate of Roman origin) that today forms the entrance to the Acropolis in front of the Propylaea, wrote:

Figure 134. The Propylaea under restoration, c. 1900



“The future may see the Propylaea, the Parthenon, and the Erechtheum with their remains re-assembled, just as now the temple of Victory has been re-erected, and thus be displayed more complete to the admiration of travellers ... more beautiful, I would not say. In great ruins and in great misfortunes, there is a poetry and a majesty which should not be touched. The iron ties and the mortar are like dirty stains, and antique works owe them less a new life than an old age profanated.” (48)

It was later felt that the restoration of the temple of Nike had perhaps been made in too great a hurry, and certainly with little or no experience; that it contained various mistakes from the archaeological point of view; and that aesthetically it left much to be desired, especially on close viewing. Certainly, the joints and other details were greatly inferior in quality to the original work of the ancient Greeks and of Callicrates from the fifth century BC. (49) Anastasios Orlandos, a Greek archaeologist who was a colleague and successor of Nicholas Balanos on the Acropolis, was especially critical of this reconstruction. In 1915, he published his comments, based on very careful measurements of each stone and on mathematical calculations of their ideal positions in the construction. Comparing his results with the work of Ross, Schaubert and Hansen, with their measured drawings, and with the measured drawings of M. Philippe Le Bas (50) he was able to point out various mistakes. (51)

One of the criticisms made by Orlandos was that in Ross’s reconstruction, many of the blocks of the cella walls had been replaced because of some defect. He had subsequently been able to collect the available rejected blocks, and many of his observations were based on the study of these. According to Orlandos, the cella walls had been reconstructed without proper attention to the position of each block. Sometimes they had been placed in the wrong course, sometimes even upside down. The blocks of the architrave were similarly placed in the wrong order. Orlandos also found the general measurements of the reconstructed temple to be mistaken. It was, thus, perhaps, fortuitous that subsequent events necessitated a second reconstruction of the temple.

In 1933, when Balanos was demolishing a remaining Turkish structure near the bastion of Nike, he noticed that the rock on which the bastion was standing was completely detached from the rest. Alarming cracks could be seen in the western front of the bastion reaching up to the base of the temple and the front

was leaning outwards. In the temple itself, he noticed an irregular settling especially on the southern side. (52) Consequently, the government was informed and a commission was appointed, chaired by the Minister of Education, to inspect the situation. The decision was to consolidate the bastion and, for this purpose, to dismantle and re-erect the temple a second time. (53)

The work started in 1935 under the direction of Balanos and continued until 1940 when it was concluded by Orlandos (54). The temple was completely dismantled except for the foundations and the lower step of the base on the north side. It was hoped to leave this and the north wall of the bastion untouched. During the excavation, the remains were found of the earlier temple on the site, of some Pelasgian walls, and of the foundations of an altar in front of the Nike temple. In addition, some Turkish structures containing more fragments of the Nike parapet were found. (55)

In this second reconstruction, the temple was built directly on the rock. The backfill, that had served as foundation from antiquity, was eliminated. The archaeological remains inside the bastion were accessible. The south side and the west side of

the bastion were reconstructed. The temple itself was first rebuilt tentatively in order to find the exact position of each element, before proceeding to the final 'anastylosis'. (56) In this work much more attention was paid to the proper placement of elements in this reconstruction than had been the case in earlier works at the Erechtheum, the Parthenon or the Propylaea. This was undoubtedly due to the influence of Orlandos. When Balanos retired in March 1939, the lower part of the temple was "fixed and leaded" definitively. The rest remained for Orlandos to complete. He did this, continuing his attempts to correct the mistakes he felt had been made in the first anastylosis. (57)

Concerning the lacunae, i.e. the losses, he preferred to complete them in old rather than new marble, because "its appearance harmonized with the antique sculptures". (58) Similarly, broken columns were reintegrated in marble, repeating the fluting (as opposed to the unfluted blocks preferred by Ross), and the block with simple geometrical forms earlier used to mark a lost capital was replaced with an exact replica. The base of the temple, with its steps, was repaired in a similar way. The blocks were fixed

Figure 135. The Temple of Athena Nike after the second reconstruction in the 1930s. Missing elements have here been produced as replicas from the originals. The bas-reliefs in British Museum have been replaced with casts in white cement (photo in 1980s)



together using cramps of an H-form (308 mm long). The terracotta casts of the first reconstruction were so blackened by this time that they were replaced with new casts in white cement, offered by the British Museum. Here again, much more attention was paid to the final aesthetic result, even though lacunae were filled with blatantly diverse materials. G. Ph. Stevens, who made a study of the Erechtheum, had discovered fragments that belonged to the cornice of the temple of Nike (1908). (59) Accordingly, these fragments were placed in position with some reintegration in order to show the form of the original. Significantly, these new fragments showed traces of painted decoration, fueling the discussion regarding colour in classical architecture. The second anastylosis of the temple of Nike was completed by the end of September 1940, revealing the temple again to the public, and providing a new appearance to this beautiful building, which - like the Arch of Titus - had become one of the symbols of modern restoration.

Notes to Chapter Nine

1. After the destruction of Athens by the Persians in BC 480-479, it took thirty years until the Athenians decided to rebuild the temples of Acropolis, which first had been left in their ruined state "as memorials of the impiety of the barbarians (Dinsmoor, W.B., *The Architecture of Ancient Greece*, New York 1975, 150). Under Pericles, the architects Callicrates and Ictinus built the Parthenon from BC 447 to 438 while Pheidias completed the pediment sculptures six years later. The Propylaea was built by Mnesicles from BC 437 to 432; the temple of Athena Nike or Nike Apteros was built from c. BC 427 to 424 by Callicrates, who built a similar but slightly smaller temple on the river Ilissus near Athens (Dinsmoor, *ibid*, 185), where it still existed in the eighteenth century, and was recorded by Stuart and Revett. The Erechtheum was built by Mnesicles and Callimachus during the period of BC 421 to 405.

These buildings were much admired already during the Antiquity; in the first century AD Plutarch wrote about these master pieces of Pericles, that "they were inimitable in the grace of their outlines, since the artists strove to exel themselves in the beauty of their workmanship... Each one possessed a beauty, which seemed venerable the moment it was born, and at the same time a youthful vigour, which makes them appear to this day as if they were newly built." (Plutarch, *The Rise and Fall of Athens*, Penguin Books, 1973, 179) In the second century AD, Pausanias spoke about the Propylaea to have "a roof of white marble, and down to the present day it is unrivalled for the beauty and size of its stones... On the right of the gateway is a temple of Wingless Victory. From this point the sea ss visible,

and here it was that, according to legend, Aegeus threw himself down to his death... On the left of the gateway is a building with pictures." (Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 'Attica', xxii, 4-6; Loeb, 110f).

During the Roman period, Athens lost much of its significance, and the Acropolis did not remain unharmed; Septimius Severus transformed it into a fortification. Although the decree of AD 435 ordered the closure of pagan temples, this was not followed up literally, and with the revival of Neo-Platonism the schools of Athens remained active until AD 520. Later, many of the temples, such as the Parthenon, were converted into Christian churches, but the temple of Athena Nike seems to have survived without religious function. After 1204, Athens was occupied by the Franks, the Catalans and the Forentines in turn; the Greek Orthodox church in the Parthenon was converted into Latin cult with some changes into the original structure, the Erechtheum was used for housing purposes, and the Propylaea were built into a splendid palace with a brick tower at the south-west corner. The temple of Nike is mentioned around 1456-60 in a publication Ueber die Theater und Lehranstalten in Athen ('Wiener Anonymus'): "Wenn wir nun in die Burg eintreten, finden wir eine kleine Schule, die den Musikern gehörte, die Pythagoras der Samier errichtet hatte." (Boetticher, A., *Die Akropolis von Athen nach den Berichten der Alten und den neuesten Erforschungen*, Berlin 1888, 23)

2. During the fifteenth century, when Cyriac of Ancona visited Athens, we have the first sketches of the Parthenon. In 1458, the Acropolis was taken over by the Turks, who converted the Parthenon into a mosque in 1460 building a minaret and making minor changes in the structure, but as a whole retaining still much of the original temple. In 1674, Athens was visited by Marquis Olier de Nointel, French Ambassador to the Sublime Porte, who commissioned Jacques Carrey (1649-1726) from Troyes to prepare measured drawings of the pediments of the Parthenon. (Bowie, T. - Thimme, D., *The Carrey Drawings of the Parthenon Sculptures*, London 1971) In 1676, the Acropolis was visited by George Wheler, an English Gentleman, and Dr Jacob Spon, a French physicist and antiquarian. Both published accounts of their visit, giving detailed descriptions of the buildings of the Acropolis; Wheler considered the Parthenon "the most beautiful piece of Antiquity remaining in the World". (Wheler, G., *A Journey into Greece*, London 1682, 352)

Also the temple of Nike was described by them briefly; Spon correctly defined it to be in Ionic order, while Wheler, who was less expert, spoke of Doric order in the English edition. Spon wrote: "Après l'on est entré tout-...-fait dans la Citadelle, on trouve ... main droite le Temple que Pausanias y a marqué fort precisement. Je métonne que Monsieur de la Guilletiere n'ait pas remarqué celui-cy qui est dans le grand chemin. C'est sans doute qu'il fut d'abord si frapé de la v-e de l'auguste Temple de Minerve, qu'il ne songea pas au reste. Ce petit Temple est donc celui que Pausanias appelle le Temple de la

Victoire sans aEles... Ce Temple est d'ordre Ionique avec de petites colonnes canelées, & la frise chargée d'un bas relief de petites figures d'assez bonne main, dont il y en a une assise, & neuf ou dix debout devant & derriere. Il n'a qu'environ quinze pieds de large, & il sert maintenant aux Turcs de magasin ... poudre." (Spon, I. - Wheler, G., Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grece, et du Levant, Fait és années 1675 & 1676, Lyon 1678, 137)

During the Turkish occupation, all major Classical buildings of the Acropolis were used as gunpowder magazines at some time. This caused often serious problems; the central part of the Propylaea, inhabited by the Turkish Aga, was destroyed in an explosion in 1656 killing the Aga and his family. In 1687, the Venetians, under the command of Morosini, besieged the Acropolis, and having learned that the Parthenon was used as a gunpowder magazine, they decided to shoot at it causing an explosion that destroyed the whole central part of the building in the afternoon of 28 September. The Venetians withdrew soon, however, and the Turks strengthened the fortifications of the Acropolis dismantling and using the material of the Temple of Athena Nike for this purpose. After this, later visitor especially during the eighteenth century often believed both Pausanias and Spon to have confused the Temple of Nike with the building opposite, described by Pausanias as a building for pictures. Stuart and Revett wrote: "The Temple of Victory is now generally understood to have been the 'Structure containing pictures'". (Stuart, J. - Revett, N., The Antiquities of Athens, II, London 1825, 14) (See also: Wilkins, W., Atheniensiæ or Remarks on the Topography and Buildings of Athens, London 1816, 92)

3. Hederer, O., Leo von Klenze, Persönlichkeit und Werk, München 1981, 88ff, 172ff. Hederer, O., Friedrich von Gärtner, 1792-1847, Leben, Werk, Schüler, München 1976, 197ff.

4. Hederer, Leo von Klenze, op.cit., 88ff. Demandt, A., 'Alte Geschichte an der Berliner Universität 1810-1960', Berlin und die Antike, Aufsätze, Berlin 1979, 69ff. Borbein, A.H., 'Klassische Archäologie in Berlin vom 18. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert', Berlin und die Antike, op.cit., 99ff.

5. von Klenze, L., Aphoristische Bemerkungen gesammelt auf seiner Reise nach Griechenland, Berlin 1838, 300.

6. When Kapodistrias was addressed by Pittakis in order to have protection for the ancient monuments, he refused that history would have any importance: "...Ferner höre ich, dass Sie altgriechisch verstehen, das Altertum lieben und sich damit beschäftigen. Das sind irrige Ideen, welche Sie aufgeben müssen. Sie beurteilen, wie die meisten Leute, die Alten falsch. Es waren unruhige Köpfe, von denen wir Neugriechen nichts Praktisches lernen können." (Seidl, W., Bayern in Griechenland, Die Geburt des griechischen Nationalstaates und die Regierung König Ottos, München 1981, 240) Ross, L., Erinnerungen und Mittheilungen aus Griechenland, Berlin 1863, 32.

7. von Klenze, L., Aphoristische Bemerkungen, op.cit., 300f: "Dies alles erweckte in mir den Gedanken, für diese Denkmale etwas zu thun, was sie für die Zukunft sichern und Europa bewähren könnte, dass der junge König und die Regierung Griechenlands mehr Interesse an ihnen nahme, als es die unpässliche Gestion mancher Beamten glauben liess. In Athen angelangt, machte ich der Regentschaft den doppelten Antrag, den Hauptdenkmalen Griechenlands eine regelmässige Aufsicht zu gewähren und die faktische Restauration dieser alten Bauwerke, insofern sie möglich und passlich erschiene, mit denen der Akropolis zu beginnen. Was den Monumenten fehte, was offenbar eine tüchtige Leitung der ganzen antiquarischen Administration und eine unmittelbare ununterbrochene topische Beaufsichtigung eines jeden Denkmals. Ich bezeichnete Athen, Aigina, Eleusis, Delphoi, Rhamnus, Sunion, das Hieron des Asklepios bei Epidauros, Korinth, Mykenai, Bassai, Messene, Delos und Olympia als die Orte, wo sogleich Wächter aus den Invaliden der regelmässigen oder auch der unregelmässigen griechischen Truppen aufgestellt werden müssten. Am 6. September erhielt dieser vorschlag die völlige Zustimmung der Regentschaft."

8. von Klenze, L., Aphoristische Bemerkungen, op.cit., 716ff: "Der Ruin dieser kostbaren Ueberbleibles der Vorzeit wird also täglich durch unbescheidene Neugierde de Fremden und deren Lust eine kleinere oder grössere Probe von den Skulpturen, Ornamenten oder auch nur von dem Steine der Denkmale mit sich forzunehmen, weiter geführt, und der Zeitpunkt ist im voraus zu berechnen, wo auch die letzte Spur derselben und wenigstens alles dessen, was deren plastischen Form konstituiert, verschwinden wird... Invaliden..., welche zur beständigen Aufsicht an Ort und Stelle sein müssen, und ohne welche kein Fremder die Denkmale besuchen und besehen dürfte... Wenn dann der generalkonservator und die Provinzial-Inspektoren die Denkmale zu gehöriger Zeit besuchen und so über die Aufseher eine wirkliche Kontrolle ausüben, dann ist es zu hoffen, dass dieselben der Nachwelt erhalten und so eine wohlbewärte Schuld der Mitwelt abgetragen werden."

9. The list of protected monuments of Athens, proposed by v.Klenze, included for example: "1. Theseustempel, 2. Erechthusfragment, 3. Gymnasium, 4. Portikus der Agora, 5. Reste der wasseleitung,... 17. Antike Trümmer, wahrscheinlich Spuren des Denkmals, welches dem Herodes Attikos hier errichtet wurde." (Hederer, Leo von Klenze, op.cit., 102ff) However, he was also concerned about later historic buildings, such as churches, indicating 39 out of 115: "Es schien mir dieses um so mehr zweckmässig, als diese Kirchen fast ohne alle Ausnahme in dem Befreiungskriege zerstört wurden und bei dem Wiederaufbau von Athen grösstentheils ganz verschwinden werden. Diese Kirchen sind alle sehr klein und waren nach byzantinischer Art aus antiken Materialien und zusammengetragenen Architekturtheilen oft auf die widersimmigste Art zusammengesetzt... Für die Kunstgeschichte äusserst wichtig ist der Anblick

der zahlreichen umfassenden und oft die ganzen inneren Räume bedeckenden christlichen Malereien, welche uns diese Kirchenruinen überall zeigen. Der Styl ist monoton, die Ausführung handwerksmässig, die Figuren durchaus typisch, die Physionomien ausdruckslos und ohne Werth nach unserem Massstabe gemessen. Aber es zeigt sich in diesen Werken einer von Geschlecht auf Geschlecht, von Vater auf Sohn ohne Unterbrechung und Kunstrevolution fortgepflanzten Kunstart der griechischen Kirche eine äusserst merkwürdige Verschiedenheit von den früheren Werken der lateinischen Kunstschulen."

10. von Klenze, Aphoristische Bemerkungen, op.cit., 286f; Haugsted, I., 'The Architect Christian Hansen, Drawings, letters and articles referring to the excavations on the Acropolis 1835-37', Analecta Romana Instituti Danici, X, 53ff; Seidl, Bayern in Griechenland, op.cit., 150ff.

11. von Klenze, Aphoristische Bemerkungen, op.cit., 286: Klenze wrote about Ross: "Eine durchgeführte klassische Bildung, vollkommene Kenntniss von ganz Griechenland, dessen Bewohnern und Sprache, so wie eine durchaus ansprechende Persönlichkeit machten mir diesen Begleiter höchst erwünscht und angenehm. Hätte man ihm freiere Hand gelassen, die Denkmale Griechenlands wären gewiss nicht in dem Zustande von Verlassenheit und Vernachlässigung gewesen, worin ich sie fand, und woraus ich nach besten Kräften beizutragen scuhte sie zu retten."

12. Kokkoy, A., Η ΜΕΡΙΜΝΑ ΤΙΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΤΗΤΕΣ ΣΤΗΝ, Athens 1977, 85ff.

13. Ross, L., Schaubert, E., Hansen, C., Die Akropolis von Athen nach den neuesten Ausgrabungen, I, 'Der Tempel der Nike Apteros', Berlin 1839.

14. von Klenze, Aphoristische Bemerkungen, op.cit., 380, 718.

15. von Klenze, ibid, 303: "...für immer unfähig zu einer militärischen Verteidigung".

16. von Klenze, ibid, 303: "Dann erschien auch eine solche Restauration besonders mit einigen äusserlichen Zeichen der Würdigung begleitet, eine Handlung um die Sympathie des gebildeten Europas zu erwecken und zu erhalten, und dessen Augen und Interesse auf den Wiederaufbau der hohen Stadt Athens zu lenken."

17. von Klenze, ibid, 290f: "Ich aber ging dann ein wenig später auf der Akropolis umher und betrachtete die bunt durcheinander aufgehäuften Marmorstücke. In diesem Chaos, zwischen Säulenkapitellen, zertrümmerten Säulen, kleinen und grossen Marmorstücken, fanden sich Geschützkugeln, Splitter von Kartätschenkugeln, menschliche Schädel und Gebeine, von denen viele hauptsächlich bei den anmutigen Karyatiden des Erechtheions aufgehäuft waren. Auf meine Anordnung - es war die erste, die ich als Burgkommandant gab - lasen die Soldaten diese Schädel und Gebeine zusammen und

brachten sie nach einem unterirdischen Raum südlich vom Parthenon, wo sie sich noch heute befinden."

18. Stevens, G.P., The Erechtheum, Cambridge 1927, 557.

19. von Klenze, Aphoristische Bemerkungen, op.cit., 380ff: "Die Spuren einer barbarischen Zeit, Schutt und formlosen Trümmer werden, wie überall in Hellas, auch hier verschwinden, und die Ueberreste der glorreichen Vorzeit werden als die sichersten Stützpunkte einer glorreichen Gegenwart und Zukunft zu neuem Glanze erstehen."

20. von Klenze, ibid, 363f.

21. The guidelines were written on 18 September 1834 (von Klenze, ibid, 392ff): "Alle zur wirklichen Restauration nöthigen und noch tauglichen Stücke würden bei der Ausgrabung so viel wie möglich sogleich and den Ort oder demselben so nahe wie möglich gebracht, wo sie aufgestellt und verwendet werden sollen. Alle Stücke, welche zu diesem Zwecke nicht mehr dienlich sind, müssten, wenn sie durch Erhaltung architektonischer Formen, Profile, Gesimse, Ornamente plastischer Arbeiten oder Malereien noch einiges Interesse gewähren, ebenfalls aufbewahrt und auf zweckmässige und malerische Art in und um die Ruine gruppiert und aufbewahrt werden, damit diese den ihr von der Zeit aufgedrückten und unvermeidlichen Charakter einer malerischen Ruine nicht verliere. Alle Stein- und Marmorstücke, welche ausser diesen drei Kategorien fallen, würden von der Burg hinab und dahin geschafft, woselbst man sie als Baumaterial am vortheilhaftesten verwenden könnte, oder sie würden an die Meistbietenden verkauft. Der eigentliche Schutt könnte, wie ich glaube, am vortheilhaftesten über die Mauern oder Felsenwände gegen den Areiospagos hinabgeworfen und von dort auf Wagen zum Anfüllen der Schlossterrassen geschafft werden, wodurch ein doppelter Zweck mit einfachen Kosten erreicht würde... Die Restauration würde in der Art stattfinden, dass man fürs erste alle Säulentambours verwendet, um die Säulen des Pribolos der Nordseite des Tempels ganz aufzustellen, da diese von der Stadt und dem Schlosse, also von den Hauptseiten aus, gesehen wird. Sollte, um eine Säule ganz aufstellen zu können, ein oder zwei Stücke fehlen, so würden diese aus dem vorhandenen Marmor neu gemacht, jedoch ohne diese Restauration gerade mit Affektation verstecken und unkenntlich machen zu wollen. Was von erhaltenen Architrav-, Triglyphen-, Metopen- und Gesimmstücken gefunden wird, müsste, so viel es möglich ist, auf malerische dem Charakter der Ruine entsprechende Weise wieder auf die Säulen aufgestellt, und so um den ganzen Bau fortgeföhren werden, indem man ebenfalls die Cellamauern, so weit es die vorhandenen Stücke gestatten, wieder aufrichtete. An der Südseite werden wahrscheinlich einige Säulen fehlen, und ohne Schaden für die Wirkung des Ganzen hinweggelassen werden können; übrigens ist sie wie die Nordseite zu behandeln. Die an der Westseite zwischen den Anten und Antensäulen eingebaute Wendeltreppe muss entfernt werden, und

kann, da es wünschenswert ist, auf die Höhe des Tempels gelangen zu können, durch ein leichtes Treppchen im Innern der Cella ersetzt werden.”

22. von Klenze, *ibid.*

23. von Quast, F., *Mittheilungen über Alt und Neu Athen*, Berlin 1834, 29ff. Koepf, F., ‘Eduard Schauberts handschriftlicher Nachlass’, *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch des Archäologischen Instituts, 1890, 133f. Russack, H.H., *Deutsche bauen in Athen*, Berlin 1942.

24. Ross, L., *Erinnerungen und Mittheilungen aus Griechenland*, Berlin 1863, 82: “Wir brachen nun zunächst die byzantinisch fränkisch-türkischen Mauern und Befestigungen vor den Propyläen ab, aus denen vor allem die Ueberreste des abgebrochenen kleinen Tempels der Nike Apteros hervorgingen, sodass wir diesen schon in den folgenden Monaten auf seiner alten Stelle wieder aufrichten konnten. Auch liess ich die Moschee im Parthenon sobald wie möglich abbrechen, um diesen Zaukapfel aus dem Wege zu räumen und eine neue Casernirung von Soldaten auf der Akropolis unmöglich zu machen.”

25. Boetticher, A., *Die Akropolis von Athen*, op.cit., Berlin 1888, 42ff; Ross - Schaubert - Hansen, *Die Akropolis von Athen*, op.cit. Haugsted, I., ‘The Architect Christian Hansen’ op.cit. 56ff.

26. Hansen to the Danish Academy, 21 November 1835 (RA, KU archive) (Haugsted, I., ‘The Architect Christian Hansen’ op.cit. 68)

27. Seidl, *Bayern in Griechenland*, op.cit., 46.

28. Ross - Schaubert - Hansen, *Die Akropolis von Athen*, op.cit. 3ff.

29. Ross - Schaubert - Hansen, *Die Akropolis von Athen*, op.cit. Haugsted, I., ‘The Architect Christian Hansen’ op.cit. 70; Koepf, F. ‘Eduard Schauberts handschriftlicher Nachlass’ op.cit. 129f. Rossbach, O., *Griechische Antiken des archaeologischen Museums in Breslau*, Breslau 1889.

30. Protzmann, H., ‘Polychromie und Dresdener Antiken-Sammlung’, *Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden*, Institut für Denkmalpflege, Gottfried Semper zum 100. Todestag, *Ausstellung im Albertinum zu Dresden*, Dresden 1979, 101ff.

31. Beulé, M., *L’Acropole d’Athènes*, Paris 1862, 124.

32. Cavvadias P. - Kawerau, G., *Die Ausgrabung der Akropolis vom Jahre 1885 bis zum Jahre 1890*, Athen 1906, 12ff.

33. Stuart - Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens*, op.cit., I, 29: “On the southern bank of the Ilissus, not far from the Fountain Emuacrunos, which at present has recovered its more ancient name, and is called Callirrho”e, stands a little Ionic Temple, the mouldings of which differ much from all the examples of that order, hitherto published; their forms are extremely simple, but withal so elegant, and the whole

is so well executed, that it may doubtless be reckoned among those works of antiquity which best deserve our attention.”

34. Beulé, M., *L’Acropole d’Athènes*, op.cit. 61.

35. Kokkoy, op.cit., 85ff. Cavvadias P. - Kawerau, G., *Die Ausgrabung der Akropolis*, op.cit., 10ff.

36. Balanos, N., *Les Monuments de l’Acropolis, relèvement et conservation*, Paris 1938, 30.

37. Stevens, *The Erechtheum*, op.cit. 493ff.

38. Cavvadias P. - Kawerau, G., *Die Ausgrabung der Akropolis*, op.cit.

39. Durm, J., *Der Zustand der antiken athenischen Bauwerke auf der Burg und in der Stadt*, *Befundbericht und Vorschläge zum Schutz vor weiterem Verfall*, Berlin 1895, 5ff.

40. Balanos, N., *Les Monuments de l’Acropolis*, op.cit. 89ff.

41. Orlandos, A.C., ‘Nouvelles observations sur la Construction du Temple d’Athéna Nike’, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, LXXI-LXXII, 1947-1948, 1ff.

42. Balanos, N., ‘Le relèvement des monuments de l’Acropole’, *Mouseion*, Office International des Musées, XIX, iii, Paris 1932, 135ff. also published in *La Conservation des Monuments d’Art et d’Histoire*, *The Conservation of Artistic & Historical Monuments*, Paris 1933, 274ff.

43. Balanos, N., *Les Monuments de l’Acropolis*, op.cit., 9. Balanos, N., ‘Le relèvement des monuments de l’Acropole’, op.cit.

44. Balanos, N., *Les Monuments de l’Acropolis*, op.cit., 9: “interdire toute restauration complète du monument d’après les quelques parties existantes; il n’admet que le relèvement des pièces authentiques du monument trouvés ... terres et remises ... leur place selon les méthodes de construction appropriées aux Monuments. Les pièces manquantes, nécessaires pour soutenir un nombre important de marbres antiques, sont remplacées par des matériaux nouveaux. De nouvelles pièces de marbre sont encore tolérées pour compléter et consolider l’architrave d’une colonnade.”

45. Balanos, N., ‘Le relèvement des monuments de l’Acropole’, op.cit.

46. Ministère de Culture et des Sciences etc, *La restauration de l’Erechtheion*, Athènes 1977, 392ff; Ministry of Culture and Sciences, etc., *Study for the Restoration of the Parthenon*, Athens 1983, 23ff.

47. *La Conservation des Monuments d’Art et d’Histoire*, op.cit.

48. Beulé, *L’Acropole d’Athènes*, op.cit., 41: “L’avenir verra peut-être les Propylées, le Parthénon et l’Erechthéion rassembler leurs débris comme le temple de la Victoire

s'est déjà relevé, et se présenter plus complets ... l'admiration des voyageurs... plus beaux, je ne saurais le dire. Il y a, dans les grandes ruines comme dans les grandes infortunes, une poésie et une majesté qui ne veulent point être touchées. Les légatures, le mortier, sont des souilleurs, et les oeuvres antiques leur doivent moins une nouvelle vie qu'une vieillesse profanée."

49. Gardner, E.A., *Ancient Athens*, London 1902, 374: "From a distance its effect is much what it always was; but it was of course impossible to put together the old stones of the temple with the precision that distinguishes fifth-century architecture, and consequently, on a near view, the impression produced is rather irregular and unsatisfactory. The pieces of the frieze taken to London have been replaced by terra-cotta casts, as in the case, of the Erechtheum."

50. Ross - Schaubert - Hansen, *Die Akropolis von Athen*, op.cit. Le Bas, P., *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure sous la direction de M. P. Le Bas, membre de l'Institut (1842-1844), Planches de Topographie, de Sculpture et d'Architecture, Gravées d'après les dessin de E. Laudron, publiées et commentées par Salomon Reinach, Ancienne membre de l'Ecole Française d'Athènes, Attaché des Musées Nationaux*, Paris 1888.

51. Orlandos, A.K., 'Zum Tempel der Athena Nike', *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*, XL, 1915, 27ff.

52. Balanos, N., *Les Monuments de l'Acropole*, op.cit., 89.

53. Balanos, N., *ibid.* Orlandos, A.C., 'Nouvelles observations sur la Construction du temple d'Athéna Nike', op.cit., 1.

54. 'News Items from Athens', *American Journal of Archaeology*, Second series, 1940, 537.

55. 'News Items from Athens', op.cit., 1936, 145.

56. 'Chronique des fouilles 1938', *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, Ecole Française d'Athènes, LXII, 1938, 448ff.

57. Orlandos, A.C., 'Nouvelles Observations', op.cit., 2f.

58. Orlandos, *ibid.*, 26: "Enfin les lacunes existantes ont été comblées par de vieux marbres dont l'aspect s'harmonise avec celui des sculptures antiques."

59. Stevens, G.P., 'The Cornice of the Temple of Athena Nike', *American Journal of Archaeology*, op.cit., 1908, 398ff.

Chapter Ten
Case Study: England,
Restoration of Durham Cathedral



10.1 First Period of Restoration

Great cathedrals and their restoration played an important part in the development of conservation concepts in England in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Many distinguished architects of contributed to their repair and improvement altering these buildings to correspond to new requirements imposed both by the revived services as well as by changing taste, influenced by the Gothic Revival. Architects from James Wyatt to William Atkinson, Anthony Salvin, and Sir George Gilbert Scott, were engaged to carry out the wishes of the Dean and chapters in the different cathedrals. These, frequently drastic operations of renewal and 'improvement' were contested by antiquarians and other culturally sensitive people, many of them members of the Society of Antiquaries - i.e. Richard Gough, Sir Henry Englefield, John Carter, Rev. John Milner. Later, John Ruskin and William Morris were the main personalities in the anti-restoration movement which gave birth to the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings. Towards the turn of the century, in England as in most other European countries, legislation was also developed to provide state protection for ancient monuments and historic buildings.

Figure 137. The north prospect of the Cathedral of Durham. Engraving by Daniel King showing the spires of the west towers, lost in the 17th century



Figure 136. City of Durham, central part of drawing by Samuel and Nathaniel Buck, 1745

Durham Cathedral, in the north of England, had been badly treated in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but had survived as one of the most magnificent pieces of Norman architecture in England. It became one of the most talked about early restorations in England, leading to the Wyatt's notoriety as 'the Destroyer'. Later, it was a typical example of the restorations of Salvin and Scott. As such, this cathedral provides a good, early case study for an understanding of the development of the concepts of conservation and conservative restoration into modern guide-lines.

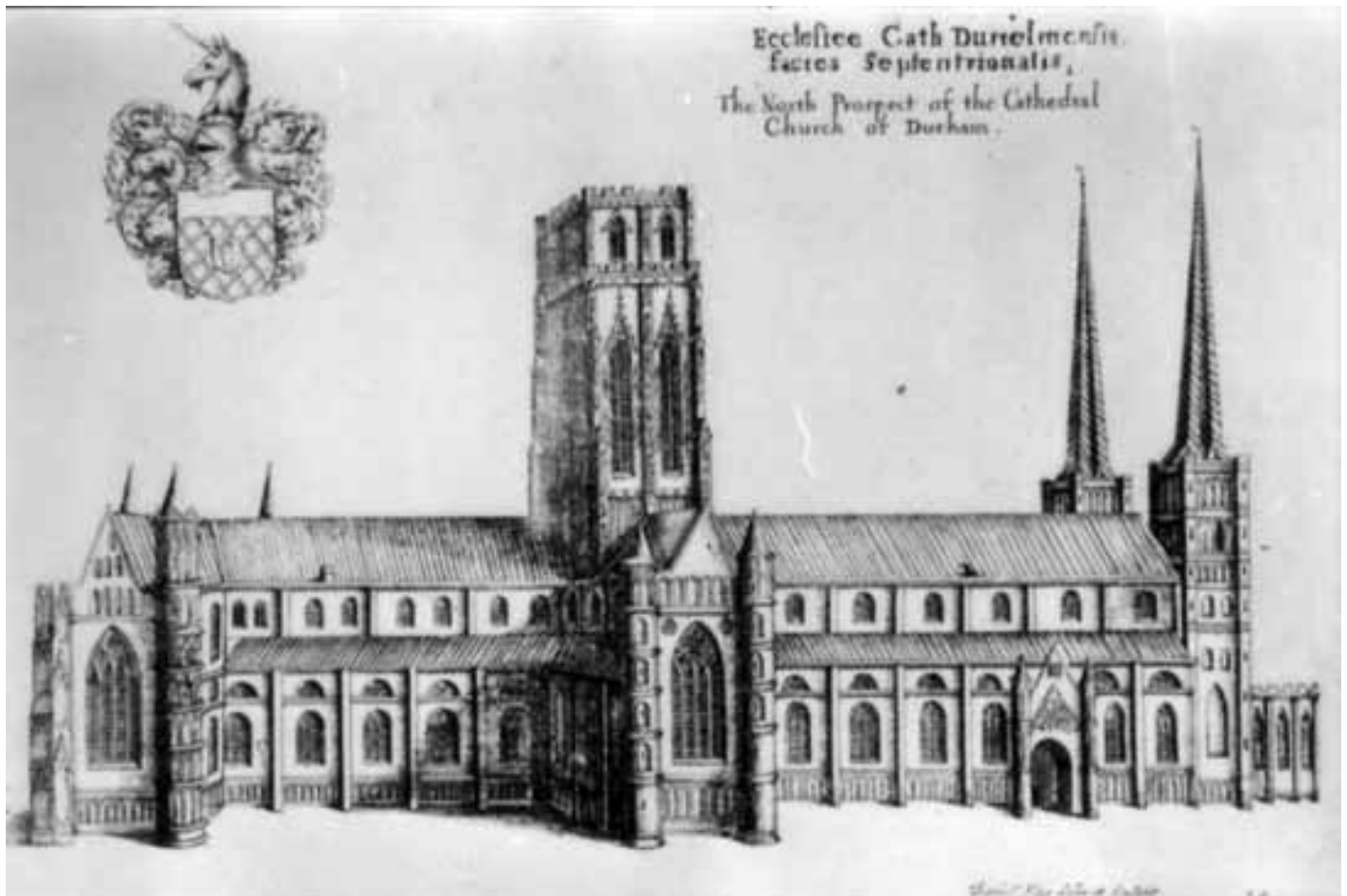




Figure 138. Durham Abbey by G. Nicholson in 1780, before the start of the restorations

The Building

The Durham Castle and Cathedral have been seen to have risen as “symbols of a new Latin civilization, superimposed on these wild Nordic lands by a foreign soldiery and clergy”. (1) The Cathedral was built in 1093-1133 by the Normans who, after conquering England in 1066, wanted to establish and reinforce their position in the country. To demolish the existing Saxon church, dedicated to St. Cuthbert, (2) and replace it with a new cathedral on the site was also a psychological assertion of power; yet the site served

especially for defense. Sir Walter Scott described it later as:

“Grey Towers of Durham,
Yet well I love
Thy mixed and massive piles,
Half church of God,
Half Castle ‘gainst the Scot.” (3)

The Cathedral was situated on the edge of a high plateau looking over the River Wear which curved around it forming a sort of peninsula. On the south side were the monastery buildings, and to the north the Castle, forming an impressive group of architecture for this little town which developed, on the south and east sides of the peninsula and down the hill to the north.

The Cathedral, that Nikolaus Pevsner has called “one of the great experiences of Europe to the eyes of those who understand architecture”, (4) was all built in stone, and had the first high rib vaults in Europe. (5) The flying buttresses are hidden under the aisle roofs. Its total length is 405 feet extending over the twelfth-century Galilee Chapel in the west, and the thirteenth-century Lady Chapel, so-called Chapel of Nine Altars, at the rear of the choir in the east; the nave and its two side aisles are separated from the

Figure 139. Durham Cathedral with the pinnacles and spires proposed for the completion of the towers in the 1780s

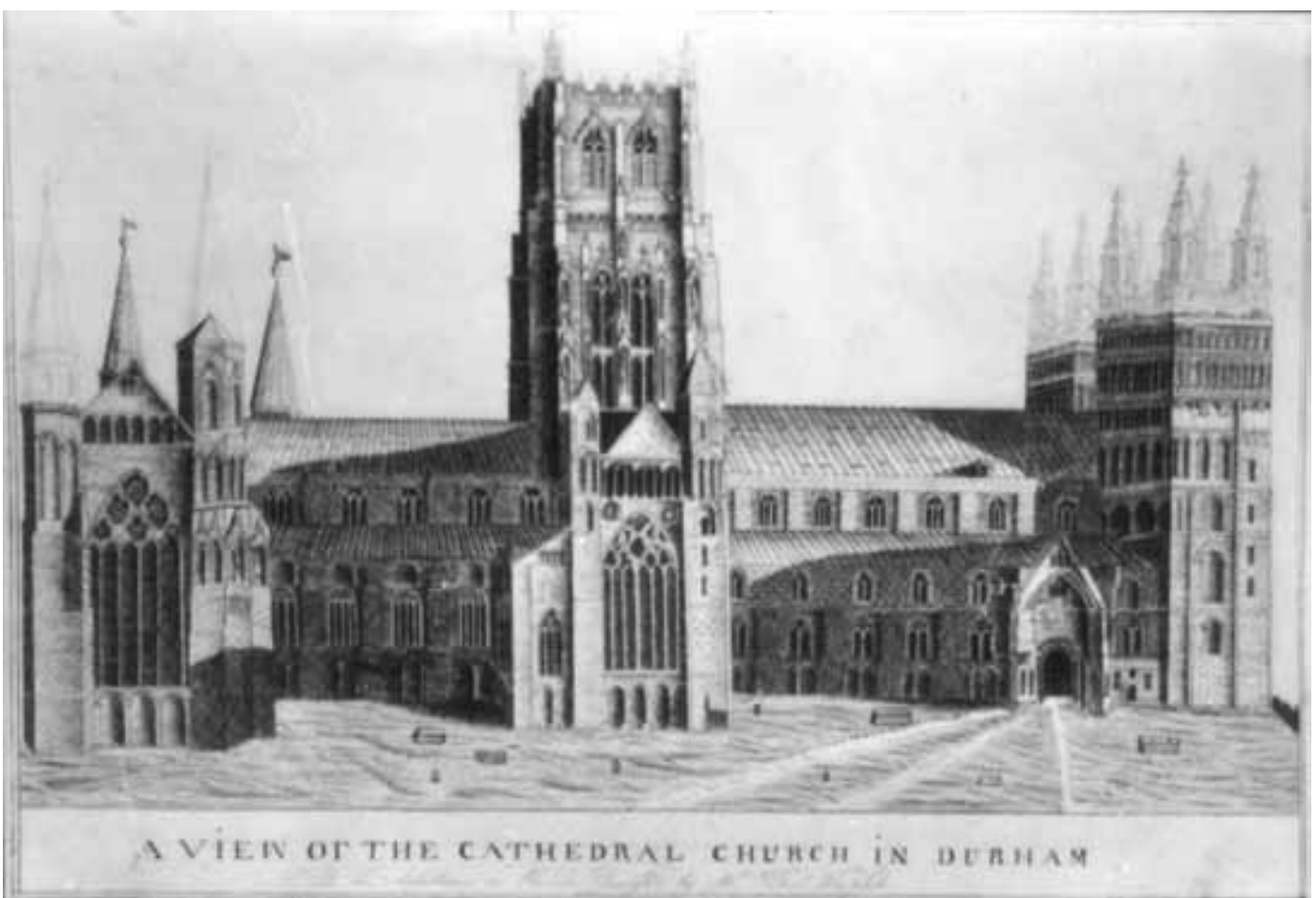


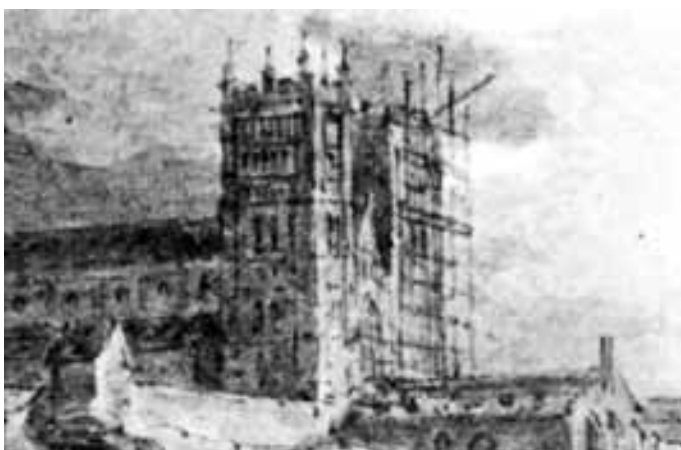


Figure 140. Durham Cathedral. Detail of watercolour by E. Dayes in 1795, showing the scaffolding for the construction of the pinnacles

long choir by a transept. Over the crossing is built a central tower, and at the west end, looking over the Wear, two towers, originally crowned by spires, lost in the seventeenth century. (6) The magnificent interior of the Cathedral is adorned by boldly carved heavy round pillars, with decorative themes similar to those to be found in Syria!

During the centuries following its construction, the Cathedral underwent several alterations and additions, although the general architectural appearance was kept. In the thirteenth century, the high vaults of the choir were rebuilt in Gothic forms at the same time as the Chapel of Nine Altars was built at the end of the choir to provide further support - with its floor level lower than that of the church. This Chapel also housed the tomb of St. Cuthbert. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the original Norman windows were replaced with Perpendicular windows. In 1380 John Lord Neville financed the High Altar and the Neville Screen, built in Caen stone and decorated with 107 alabaster figures. In 1459, the central tower was struck by lightning, and was extensively rebuilt

Figure 141. Durham Cathedral, seen through Flambard's Bridge; detail of water colour by E. Dayes in 1795



between 1460 and 1490. The monastic buildings were built at the same time as the Cathedral, started by the first Norman Bishop Walcher, and continued during the twelfth century, including the Chapter House (1133-41) and the dormitory (1144-52). Other structures such as the cloister and a new library were added in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. (7)

As a consequence of the dissolution of monasteries in 1536, Durham lost much of its treasures, but in 1541 it was refounded as the Cathedral Church of Christ and Blessed Virgin Mary. (8) Destruction and iconoclasm, however, continued for more than a hundred years, and the building and its interior suffered serious damage especially in 1650, when Cromwell used it to house Scottish prisoners during the cold winter. (9) After this, a better time came; money was raised and the endowment of the church was increased allowing for some repairs. These included a new organ and new furniture such as the choir stalls and the font at the west end. (10) In 1724, when Daniel Defoe visited Durham, he found the church "eminent for its wealth; the bishoprick is esteemed the best in England and the prebends and other church livings in the gift of the bishop, are the richest in England." (11)

Wooler-Nicholson

During the first half of the eighteenth century, there were only minor repairs to the Cathedral. The Pavement was renewed in the choir and in the aisles; the organ was repaired, the pulpit renewed, and the interior whitewashed. Repairs in the cloisters had been made from the beginning of the century. These continued into the 1760s, including the new tracery. (12)

As a result of the damage caused by heavy rains in 1771, a new bridge was needed at Newcastle. Robert Mylne (1734-1811), the architect of the Blackfriars Bridge and Surveyor to St. Paul's Cathedral in London, won the competition for this new bridge, and was then invited to report also on Durham Cathedral. He did this in September 1775, and sent the report to the Dean and Chapter in November. (13) Two years later, another report was requested, this time from John Wooler, who was assisting Mylne in Newcastle. He prepared the report using two assistants, Mr Gibbons and George Nicholson, and delivered it on 29 November 1777. (14)

The time had not been sufficient to go much into detail, and in this report Wooler limited himself to a general picture on the condition of the Cathedral as



Figure 143. Durham Cathedral, interior (1843) before the renewal of the organ screen

well as making proposals for repairs. At the end, he suggested some “ornaments or finishings” in order to “beautify” the church. This report was taken as a basis for the works under his guidance, and later, in February 1779, he wrote yet another report giving more detailed technical instructions.

In the first report, Wooler listed the following defects:

1. There was a ‘rent or opening’ in the south side of the nave vault;
2. The turrets of the Chapel of Nine Altars were decayed;
3. There was a “universal Decay or wasting Condition” of the stones on the exterior;
4. There was no rain water disposal system;
5. Many windows were so “moulder’d and decayed as to be scarcely sufficient to retain a hold on the Glass”.
6. The stone of the parapets and buttresses of the central tower was badly decayed. The same in

the parapets and corbels of the roofs of the nave and the aisles.

7. The same in the parapets and corbels of the roofs of the nave and the aisles.

8. The upper part of the north porch was “drawn off” from the wall.

9. There were some “trifling Defects” in the foundations of the Galilee Chapel.

The aim of the proposed repairs was to restore the whole to “as complete a State of Repair as the Structure itself may require, and the Nature of the Stone Materials wherewith it is built will allow of”. (15) It was proposed that the cracks in the nave vault be kept under observation, and the defects in the Galilee restored. The most urgent work, however, was considered to be the rebuilding of the northern turrets of the Chapel of Nine Altars.

The 1779 report dealt mainly with the technical execution of these works. The turrets were to be ‘unbuilt’ down to the level of the three niches above the statues of the cow and milkmaid in the north west corner. In this phase, for structural reasons, it was also considered necessary to remove the gable above the north window (Joseph window). The whole would then be rebuilt with proper spires. Although the southern turrets had retained their spires, and were less urgently in need of repair, “for the sake of uniformity”, however, it was proposed that these too would be rebuilt in the form “to be settled hereafter upon due consideration of the Elevation of the Building itself”. (16) The north porch had a small chapel above it, and the front was decorated with the Arms of Queen Elizabeth I. According to Wooler’s recommendations, this porch was “to be taken down and finished with a much less pitch of Elevation”. (17)

Figure 142. Durham Cathedral, entrance from the cloister; detail showing the effect of scraping the surface



The stones of the exterior were so badly weathered that many single stones were completely “perished and moulder’d away”. In order to “prevent the wet entering and lodging in the walls and thereby bringing on a more speedy Dissolution”, Wooler proposed “to chip or pare off their Outsides to the Depth of 1, 2 or 3 inches”, replace the perished stones, and fill up the joints and cavities with mortar struck with chips of flints. The aim was to bring the wall to a tolerably even surface. (18) It was proposed that the “Munnions and Side Jaumbs” of the decayed windows be renewed. While the scaffolding was up, it was also recommended that proper lead pipes be fixed on the walls for rain water disposal. These repairs were expected to bring the building to “as Perfect a State of Repair as they well can be, and may without any considerable expense, resist the Ravages of Time perhaps for Centuries to come.” (19)

As to the ‘beautification’ of the building, Wooler thought it necessary to try to “relieve the too Massy Appearance of the whole Structure” by adding four large and four smaller “Guadrangular Ragged Pinnacles of Stone” on the corners and in the middle of the sides of both western towers and of the central tower. According to Wooler, the cost of these ornaments would “scarcely deserve mentioning”. At the end of the report, he proposed to have four elevations and the plan of the building measured and drawn to the scale of 20 feet to an inch, to serve “as Canvas to point or mark out any necessary Alterations the Chapter may judge proper to Order”. (20) The task of preparing the drawings was given to Nicholson who was also employed as the clerk of works. (21)

In 1778, the Chapter agreed to reserve an annual sum of three hundred pounds for these works, but in reality the total for the period from 1779 to 1794 amounted to £15,187. (22) The works were started in February 1779. By 1787, much of the work on the north elevation had been carried out already; the north porch had been “rebuilt and highly ornamented”; (23) and the west front was under treatment, but the proposed pinnacles and new decorations had not yet been built. Watercolours of 1795 show the north-west tower already completed with its new pinnacles, while the southern tower is still under construction. (24) By 1797, the pinnacles seem to have been finished, but the scaffolding was still up. (25)

The pinnacles on the western towers, resembling those at York Minster, seem to have their origin in the sketches of Thomas Wright (1711-1786), a local teacher of mathematics, navigation and astronomy. The pinnacles on the western towers were drafted

as rather large in proportion, compared to those proposed for the central tower. The spires of the north transept were also suggested to be decorated; and spires were added to the turrets of the Chapel of Nine Altars as well. Nicholson has corrected the forms in his drawings which show the project as it was to be executed. (26)

These repairs and changes were not approved by all; amongst the critics was, for example, W. Hutchinson who in 1787, referring to a drawing by Nicholson that showed the building before the alterations strongly criticized the loss of the “ancient appearance”:

“As the proposed changes will effectually remove from the traveller’s eye the ancient appearance of this edifice, it was thought expedient to present the public with a representation of the church in the state it was before the repairs began; and not withstanding the elegance of the present design, it is apprehended some of the ornaments might have been chosen with greater propriety: Above the great window of the middle transept, in two roundels, were the figures of Benedictine monks, cut in relief; by the mode of the sculpture, expressive of the age of the building. They led the judicious eye immediately to the era, and gave an example of the state of that art: These roundels are now supplied with two fine new figures - the one a prior, seated in his installation chair; the other, an effigy of bishop Pudsey, cut from the figure on his episcopal seal, as given in the plate of his charter to the city of Durham. A century after this the figures will betray the spectator into an error, and had him to determine, that this part of the structure was erected, or at least rebuilt, by that prelate.” (27)

10.2 Wyatt – Morpeth

On 26 September 1794, the Chapter “agreed that Mr James Wyatt be wrote to come down to Inspect the repairs of the Cathedral, and to Give a Plan of the future Repairs and Improvements”. (28) Wyatt made his survey in July and August 1795; his drawings are dated September of the same year. These included eleven drawings and a reference. Neither the reference nor any written report has survived. In addition, there was a set of eight working drawings for the east front, which were dated 1797, but even these have disappeared. (29)

James Wyatt (1746-1813), the most fashionable country-house architect in England after the Adam brothers, had succeeded Henry Keene (1726-76) at

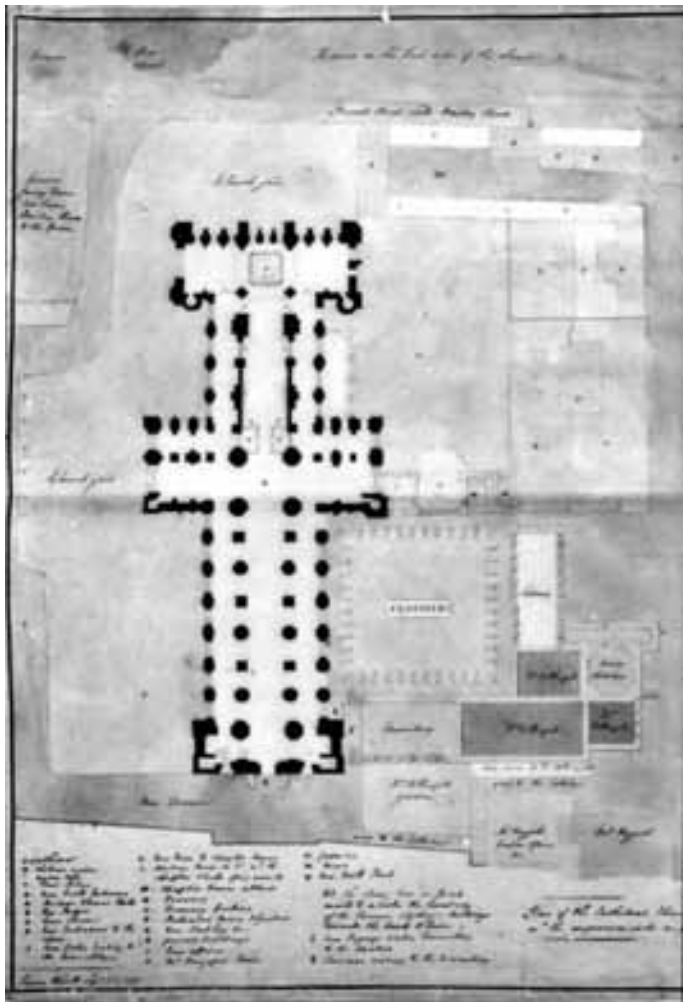


Figure 144. James Wyatt: the floor plan showing the proposed restoration of Durham Cathedral in 1795. The Galilee Chapel has been cancelled, and the main entrance opened from the west end; the main altar has been removed to the Chapel of Nine Altars

Oxford and as the Surveyor to Westminster Abbey. He had already been invited to survey and conduct improvements to the Cathedrals of Salisbury, Lichfield and Hereford according to the wishes of the Deans and Chapters. In 1791, the Bishop of Salisbury, Shute Barrington, was appointed to Durham, and he was happy to support the invitation to Wyatt not only to survey the Cathedral, but also to repair and improve his residences at Bishop Auckland and Durham Castle. In 1794, the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, James Earl Cornwallis, was selected as the new Dean of Durham; he also knew Wyatt from his earlier appointments and certainly supported the invitation.

Wyatt's plans

In September 1795, Wyatt presented his plans for the proposed repairs and alterations, in which he seems to have had two main objectives: one, to improve the building architecturally and make it stylistically more coherent, and two, to make some

functional improvements according to the wishes of the Dean and Chapter.

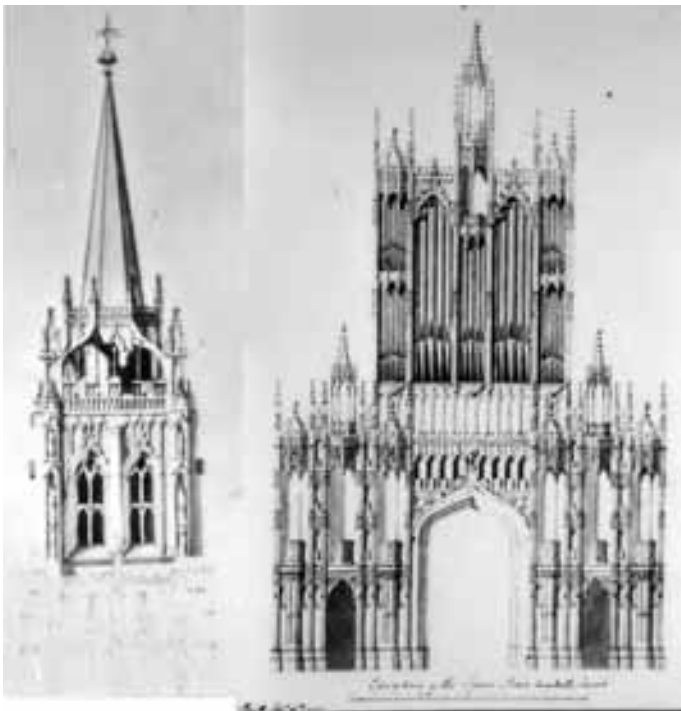
On the exterior the architecture was to be 'clarified' by demolishing the Galilee Chapel at the west end, and making a terrace on its site. The west entrance, closed in the fifteenth century and blocked by the tomb of Bishop Langley, was proposed to be reopened as the main access to the Cathedral; the north entrance with its recently rebuilt porch were erased from the plan. The east elevation of the Chapel of Nine Altars, which was under restoration when Wyatt visited Durham, was given by him yet a new elevation. The whole complex was given a stronger architectural emphasis by erecting a spire on the central tower.

Similarly in the interior, old partition walls, built for different purposes during the centuries, were abolished; the seventeenth-century font at the west end of the nave was to be removed; the choir was to be opened to the Chapel of Nine Altars and the floor of the Chapel brought to match the floor level of the church. The Neville Screen, the High Altar and the tomb of St. Cuthbert were proposed to be removed, and a new main altar was proposed to be built in the centre of the Chapel of Nine Altars. A new pulpit and throne were planned for the choir which also was to have new accesses from the aisles. The seventeenth-century organ which screened the choir from the nave, was proposed to be replaced by a new and lighter structure consisting of elements, to be taken, for example, from the old organ and from the dismantled Neville Screen, allowing thus a freer perspective through the entire building.

To the transept, a new entrance was opened from the north under the big Gothic window, and a new access from the south to a waiting room, above which there was the clerk's office. The Chapter House was

Figure 145. James Wyatt: "A North West view of Durham Cathedral shewing the intended Lanthorn and Spire designed by James Wyatt"





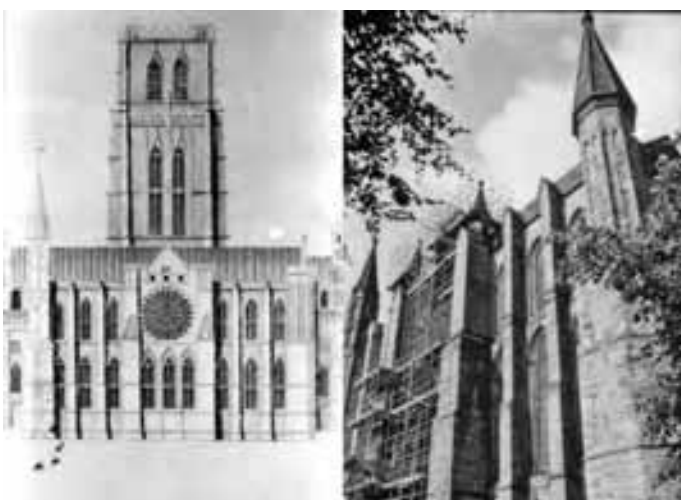
Figures 146 and 147. James Wyatt: elevations of ‘intended Lanthorn & Spire’ and ‘the Organ Screen towards the Nave’

proposed to be shortened by half, and rebuilt with a new circular apse. From the new west terrace, there were foreseen new accesses to the College area in the south and to the Cloisters. (30)

Morpeth and the execution of works proposed by Wyatt

As to the practical arrangements, Wyatt acted for the Cathedral as a consulting architect, and on the site the works were carried out under the control of an executive architect, William Morpeth, who also acted as the clerk of works. The relationship was similar to that of Wooler and Nicholson. When the fee was requested by Wyatt for his contribution, he only mentioned one visit to Durham; so it is most probable that Morpeth was responsible for all the rest. (31)

Figures 148 and 149. Durham Cathedral, east end before and after restoration by Wyatt



In the restoration of the east elevation of the Chapel of Nine Altars, the northern turrets had already been completed as well as the lower part of the elevation; the stained glass had been stored away, and works were going on in the upper part. This was now built according to the plans of Wyatt; the northern turrets were not touched, but the southern turrets were rebuilt to his proposal. (32)

On 20 November 1795, the Chapter ordered that “the Old Chapter House, being pronounced by Mr Wyatt on his survey thereof, to be in a ruinous state, be taken down by Mr Morpeth under contract also that a new room be erected on the same site according to the Plan given in by Mr Morpeth.” (33) The demolition followed and about two thirds of the building were pulled down on the east side. It was rebuilt by Morpeth in a square form - not with an apse as Wyatt had proposed, and completed in 1797.

Furthermore, according to Wyatt’s recommendations, in July 1796 it was agreed that the Bishop’s court was to be removed from the Galilee to the North Transept, and the registry to the Dormitory, in order to prepare for the demolition of this chapel and the building of the terrace. Permission was also given for the passages necessary for the new accesses to the Cloisters and to the College area. (34) This decision was made in the presence of the Subdean during a meeting held in the Cathedral, but was only registered later. The execution of this project commenced with partial demolition of the roof; the works were then stopped, however, and the roof was later repaired. (35)

In November 1797, the Chapter resolved that

“when the East End of the Church shall be finished Mr Morpeth shall undertake the complete repair of the roof of the Church, beginning at the West End, and that the old Lead shall be sold under the

Figure 150. J. Wyatt, proposed elevation for east end



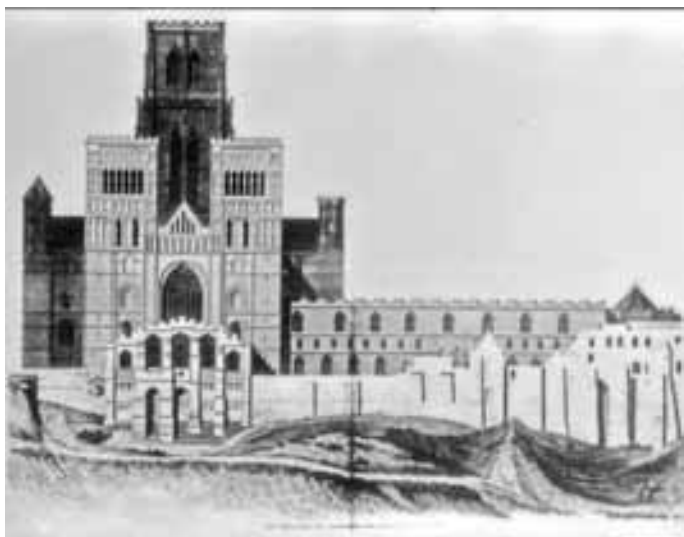


Figure 151. John Carter: Durham Cathedral, west elevation with reconstructed finishing of the west towers

Direction of the Clericus Operum and the Roof be covered with Slate according to Mr Wyatt's plan." (36)

On the Chapel of Nine Altars, the works were nearing completion. (37) After this, having also finished the new Chapter House, Morpeth was mainly occupied with the roof. It appears that the timbers of the nave roof were entirely renewed during 1802 to 1805. (38)

The total expenses for repairs during the period from 1795 to 1797 amounted to $\text{æ}5.616$. (39) Works also continued for the completion of the pinnacles and turrets of the western towers according to the plans of Wright-Wooler, as well as for the chiselling of the external surfaces of the north, west, and east elevations; the Cloister was treated similarly.

10.3 John Carter

The news of the proposed alterations to Durham Cathedral spread soon after Wyatt had presented his plans in September 1795. In October, 'Viator' wrote that

"enough has been said about the Cathedrals of Salisbury and Hereford to check, one would think, the spread of this reform in Gothic Architecture. But if I am not misinformed, it is extending to the church of Durham, one of the finest samples of the early stages of Gothic Architecture, where there were so many curious and interesting varieties, all on the point of vanishing before this magic art". (40)

On 26 November 1795, John Carter (1748-1817), antiquarian draughtsman and architect, presented his unfinished sketches of Durham Cathedral to the

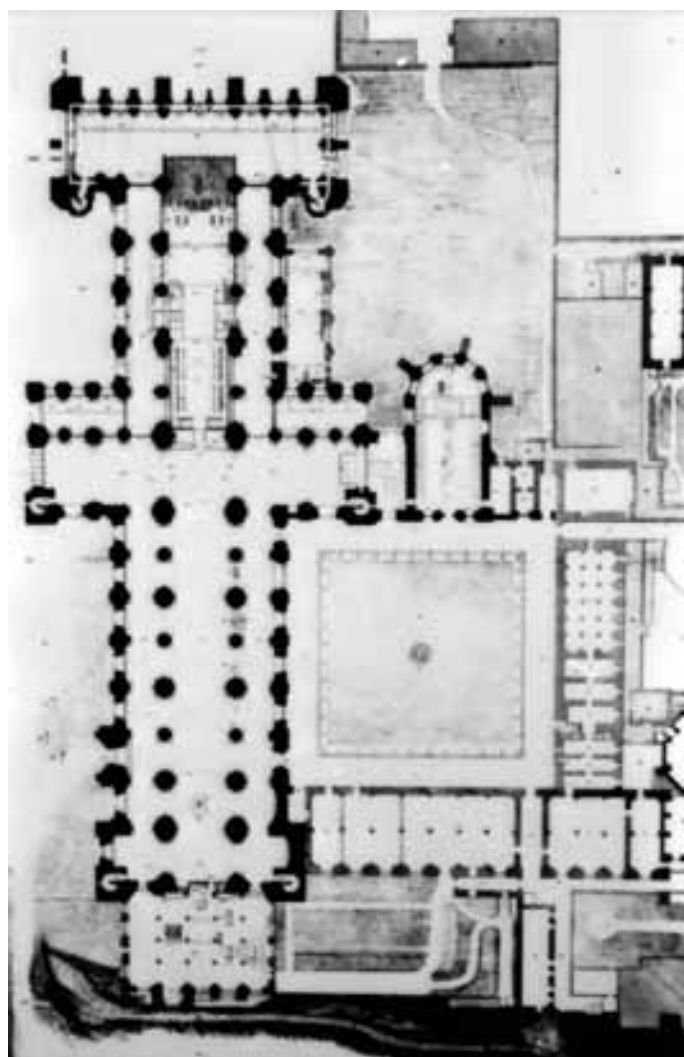
Society of Antiquaries; he had made these drawings the previous summer at the request of the Council of the Society. Carter was introduced by the Chairman of the meeting, Sir Henry Dh. Englefield, who apologized for the hasty presentation, but explained that it was necessary because

"the evils which this introduction is intended, if possible, to avert, are so immediately impending, that the smallest Delay may preclude the power of prevention. The Hammer of Destruction has already fallen on many venerable parts of the noble Cathedral of Durham and the Plan of Desolation extends wide indeed." (41)

Sir Henry explained that the highly respected architect of the Pantheon, James Wyatt was not personally to blame, but desired

"from the constant attention which for many years I have paid to the antient Buildings of our own Country, venture to express my Doubts whether Mr Wyatt has in those Reparations he has already executed in our noblest churches, entered fully into the spirit of that species of architecture.

Figure 152. John Carter: Durham Cathedral, floor plan



Although Dirt and neglect are certainly to be reprobated, yet there is a trim neatness, which is equally to be avoided, when we renew these piles of antient Days. The rich Tints, produced by Time, on stone, both within and without a Cathedral, no man of Taste would venture, without necessity, to remove, the irregular Intricacy of their plan, though often the effect of chance, is so happy a source of grand and picturesque effect. that symmetry but ill repays what is lost by reducing them to strict regularity. The solemn Elevation of the Bishop's throne, the rich Tracery of the altar, which however faintly, the sketches now exhibited, will give some Idea of: the perspective of the East window seen beyond the altar: the grovelike Intricacy of the Galilee, the theatrical effect of the Chapter House, all doomed to be sacrificed to I know not what Ideas of Regularity - shall they fall... and not a Voice be lifted up to stay the cruel Devastation? Added to the causes of Regret already mentioned, is the consideration that these devoted Piles are so curious & rare Examples of different Styles of antient Art, as they are beautiful in their general Effect. As Guardians and preservers of the antiquities of our Island, shall we not endeavour to save them from Destruction?

“When I hear that a gravel walk is to be substituted for the Galilee, when I know that the areas round other Cathedrals have been reduced to the same insipid state of trim neatness, a sort of ludicrous Indignation fills my mind, and I should not wonder if I saw the Knights, recumbent on the Tombs within, dressed out in silk stockings and neat Buckles. Surely the turf ‘heaving in many a mould’ring heap’, Nay even the Thistles and Nettles, that flourish with melancholy Luxuriance amongst the ashes of past Generations, accord better with the grey walls of the stately Pile, which rises amidst them, than this poor shaven substitute, which gives no Idea beyond a Tea Garden and Bowling Green.” (42)

John Carter shared Sir Henry's feelings about the Cathedral where he had arrived in 1795, and had soon caught “the inspiration of the place”, and glowed to capture on paper “the beauties” of all he saw. (43) He appreciated the “pleasing Diversity of Forms so general in our ancient Buildings”, the “uncommon and striking Effect” of the west front, as well as the great central tower “in all the magnificence of ancient splendour”. (44)

In the interior, he saw

“the magnificent Display, not only of the Saxon, but of the Norman architecture ... here Columns, Arches, Windows, Stalls, Screens, Monuments, and other Ornaments combine to charm the Eye and inform the mind of the real Antiquary, unrivalled by any of those foreign Piles, which have too long, with a delusive partiality, been the Theme of modern panegyrie!” (45)

In the Galilee, he pointed out especially “its singularity of style, its uncommon Design, of being divided into five Ailes in the north and south, and four Ailes in the east and west Directions.” (46) He also noticed “the unusual Effect of the Light and Shade”, (47) and exclaimed “when I stood to take the sketch for this Drawing, I was several times so entranced, from the sublimity of the scene, that I forgot my office: and it was with much difficulty I resisted a Renewal of so delightful a contemplation, in order that I might complete my task.” (48)

Carter was conscious of the historic values of the Cathedral, but the visual effect, the picturesqueness and the sublimity seemed to him as important if not more. In the case of the Galilee, he emphasized its structural support to the church - exaggerating somewhat, because it was the Chapel itself that had needed buttresses in the past. He predicted that when “it was no more, the church, to which It was (I consider) one vast Buttress, would fall a stupendous Ruin!” (49)

Carter worked for three months measuring and drawing the Cathedral, and came to know the situation fairly well. He was told that the works had been going on for the preceding fourteen to fifteen years. (50) He was also informed that two architects had been involved in the repairs,

“one, who had got the start of the other, and who has since given place to his rival in the race for glorious change, has laid his new architectural dressing over the West and North fronts; and his successor was at it with professional fervour on the East front; convincing thereby the Durhamites of his powers, by the introduction of his novel appearance thereon”. (51)

Carter was horrified by the alterations already carried out: the pinnacles and parapets on the western towers, similar features on the turrets of the north transept, and particularly the north porch, which to him was

“such a Farrago of Imitations of Saxon, pointed arch and modern workmanship, that it stands a

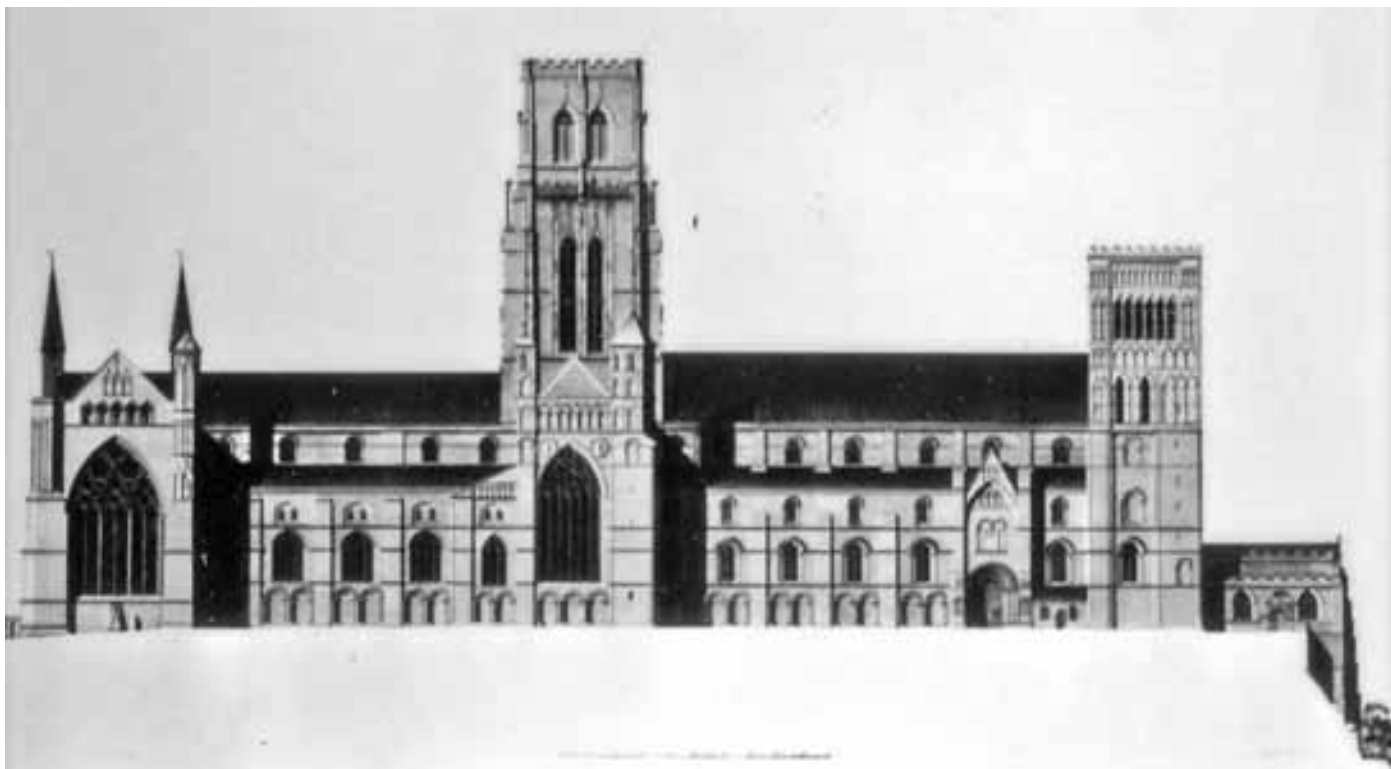


Figure 153. J. Carter: Durham Cathedral, north elevation

Monument of the Innovating system pursued by Architects of the present Day, when employed to repair our Religious Structures; who but rarely pay that due attention to the Edifice, so intrusted to their care by the Reverend Guardians of these sacred Walls, but introduce a variety of new Forms, which they would make their Employers believe, have improved the original antient Design.” (52)

Carter was so disgusted by the changes that he refused to draw them; instead he made use of old prints and drawings in order to make a reconstruction drawing of the building as it had been prior to the start of the works. He made historical studies, and referred, for example, to the History of Hutchinson (53) and his earlier criticism of the repairs.

Carter showed the exterior of the building slightly idealized with neat battlements on the western towers. His drawings included the floor plan of the building, the west and north elevations, two sections, perspectives of the Galilee and the Chapter House, various details of the interior, altars, funeral monuments, statues, etc. (54) The east front and the south elevation were missing; on the east front the works were in progress, and he had not been able to find enough original elements to justify the measurement. He, thus, limited himself to some window details, that had not yet been removed. (55)

The stained glass had been stored away, but was not cared for; it was thus partly broken, partly stolen

before the moment came to put it back several years later. (56) The upper part of the east front was taken down and rebuilt twice, as the first ‘restoration’ had not been considered satisfactory. (57) The ten-foot high statues that once had decorated the central buttresses of the front, had been brutally smashed and renewed; Carter found their fragments along with tombstones from the pavement of the church and the Elizabethan arms from the north porch half buried in the ground, and recorded all. (58)

At the November 1795 meeting of the Society of Antiquaries, Carter drew attention to the intended demolitions at Durham as well as to those already carried out in other cathedrals, and proposed an appeal to a ‘Superior Power’, the Royal patron of the Society, in order to prevent this “effacing of our ancient magnificence”. (59) Later, in 1797 and 1798, he made a series of presentations of his eleven drawings, and gave a detailed account of the building, its history, its architecture, its present state, as well as the intended alterations.

In 1797 he referred to the last point drafting a picture of the present situation in the organization of restoration works pointing out the problems that derived from negative attitude towards this type of architecture on one hand, and the lack of information on the other:

“I now take this opportunity to assert that these Mechanics, who have the care of the executive Business of the Repairs and alterations made in antient Buildings, profess the utmost contempt

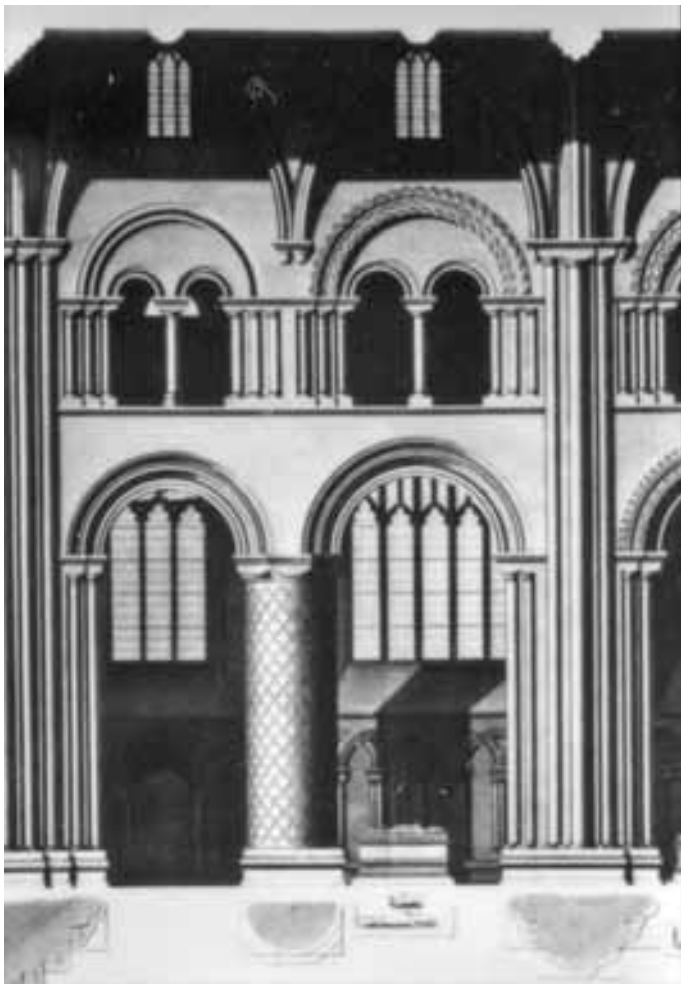
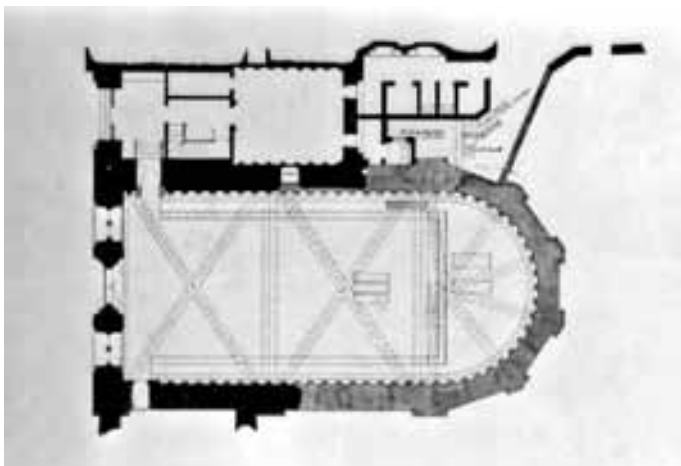


Figure 154 (above). Carter: Durham Cathedral, interior
 Figure 155 (below). Carter: Durham Cathedral, Chapter House, floor plan indicating demolished part



for such Works taking every opportunity to vilify and deface their several parts, substituting what they, like their Masters, (the Architects) call an improved manner in their Room.

“The Architect himself, living in a distant part of the Kingdom, sends to these Foremen of the works, a small shaded Drawing (which from its pretty effect of Light and Shade and some novel Ideas, has been approved of for Execution for the intended alterations) unaccompanied with

any Detail of the parts at large for his proper Information (as is the usual practice in modern architecture). He is left entirely to his own Discretion, he takes this opportunity to show his hatred to the ancient architectural works of his native country in favour of the Roman and Grecian Styles (in the professions of which He has been brought up) and we have soon to lament the heterogeneous Mass displayed on the dishonoured Walls of these our wonderful Buildings.” (60)

During his stay at Durham, Carter tried his best to convince the local authorities, and had expressed similar views to the Deans of Durham and Rochester regarding Wyatt’s proposed alterations to the Galilee Chapel. He spoke warmly about the artistic values in question, and tried to make them sensitive to the dangers of the demolition. He had also mentioned that undoubtedly the Society of antiquaries would express much regret if the Galilee, containing such important memorials as that of Venerable Bede, were to give place to a terrace.

The Dean of Durham seems to have been sensitive to his arguments, although Carter remained with the contrary impression about the results of their conversation. Having left Durham immediately afterwards, he did not know how the matters went, and so late as in 1797, he told the Society that the Chapel would have been demolished. (61) Nevertheless, this was not the case; the Chapel survived, and its roof, already partly dismantled, was rebuilt and used as an office or workshop. It is probable that it was saved mainly due to the insistence by Carter. Also the other proposals concerning the interior, such as the unification of the choir and the Chapel of Nine Altars, were not carried out, although partly realized later, in the nineteenth century under Salvin.

Repairs and maintenance work on the Cathedral continued after Wyatt under the supervision of Morpeth who acted both as the clerk of works and in the quality of the ‘college architect’; his contracts were extended until about 1824. He carried out repairs on the roofs, working especially on the Nave and the North Transept. Following Wyatt’s recommendations, lead was replaced with slate. In 1812-13, Morpeth had the south-east turret of the Chapel of Nine altars pulled down and rebuilt according to Wyatt’s design. After this, the works under his responsibility were limited to repairs of the pavements, windows and of the organ, as well as having the interior whitewashed. (62)

10.4 Restoration of Durham Cathedral after Wyatt

William Atkinson

However, another architect was also consulted for the restoration. He was William Atkinson (1773-1839) of Durham, a former pupil of Wyatt and later his successor in the Ordnance Office, from 1813 to 1829, the year of the abolition of the department. He worked as a country-house architect and “excelled in alterations to existing buildings”. (63) In 1804, he prepared a report to the Dean and Chapter on the Cathedral, making some observations on earlier methods of repair and recommending a plan for future repairs - especially regarding the Great Tower. According to him, it was important that the character of the tower be preserved, and that “the Repairs should be done in the most substantial manner”. (64) The earlier methods had not met this criteria, according to him; instead,

“besides reducing in size the small parts of Buttresses, pillars & tracery Work on the Walls - in many Instances these must inevitably be cut away or disfigured and consequently the Character and Beauty is lost. But this is not the greatest mischief that has been done. An old Stone new faced seldom stands the Weather.” (65)

Atkinson was well aware of the popular picturesque theories referring, for example, to Burke’s dissertation. (66) Consequently, as a general policy, he recommended that intact parts of the Cathedral should not be touched - to the point that “if there should be moss upon them care should be taken not to remove it”! (67) He proposed repairing the weathered parts with what was called ‘Parker’s Cement’, a recently discovered variety of natural cement with a colour similar to dark Bath stone, recommended for decorations, mouldings as well as for repairs, and shipped also abroad. (68) He insisted that repairs with this product would cost considerably less than cutting corresponding bits in stone, and even more important, he said, was that its colour matched well with moss, and added “highly to the Sublimity of the Building”. (69) On the other hand, Atkinson was himself involved in the commercial production of this cement for London market.

In July 1806, Atkinson and an Italian plasterer, Francesco Bernasconi who had worked at York Minster from 1803 to 1805, were invited to give their estimates for the repairs. At this point, after the departure of Wyatt, the picturesque influence

was felt also in the specifications of the work, where it was emphasized that these had to be carried out with special attention to the “Effect of Roughness & the appearance of antiquity”. (70) The works were initiated the same year in the upper part of the tower, and all the statues were taken down. (71) While the repairs continued, doubts were, however, raised as to the suitability of the methods proposed by Atkinson. Finally, in November 1808, the Great Chapter had come to the conclusion that the method was a failure, and consequently it resolved that the plastering of the Tower as well as all other work under the responsibility of Atkinson should be discontinued, and he himself to be informed immediately of the decision. (72) The work was later completed by a plasterer from Newcastle.

Ignatius Bonomi

In 1827, the Bishop of St. David’s, John Banks Jenkinson, became the new Dean of Durham; in the same year, repairs on the Cathedral were started on a greater scale. The clerk of works was Edward Fairclough, who was appointed in 1824, and served until 1838. (73) The architect who was consulted in this period was Ignatius Bonomi (1787-1870), the son of Joseph Bonomi, the Italian neoclassical architect who had been called from Rome by the Adam brothers, and had remained in England. (74) Ignatius Bonomi had come to Durham through his father’s contacts, and obtained the post of a county

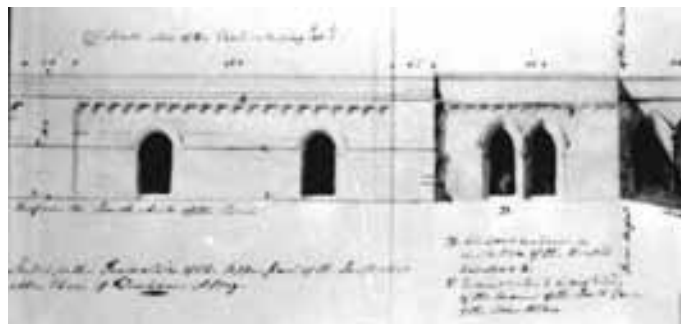


Figure 156. Bonomi: Durham, sketch for the restoration of the upper part of the south side of the choir (1830)

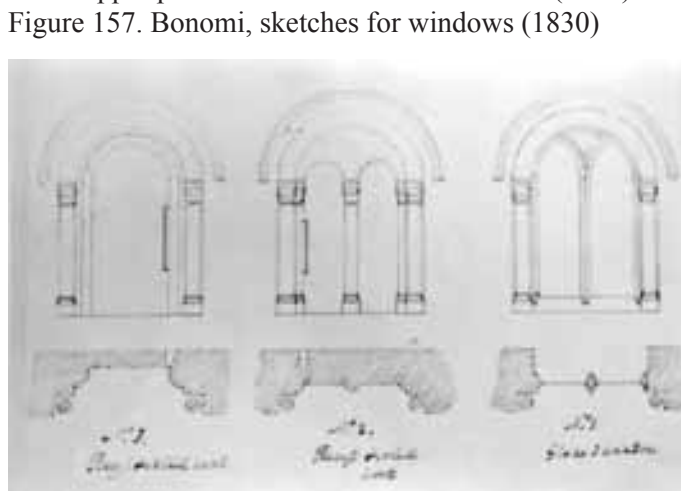


Figure 157. Bonomi, sketches for windows (1830)

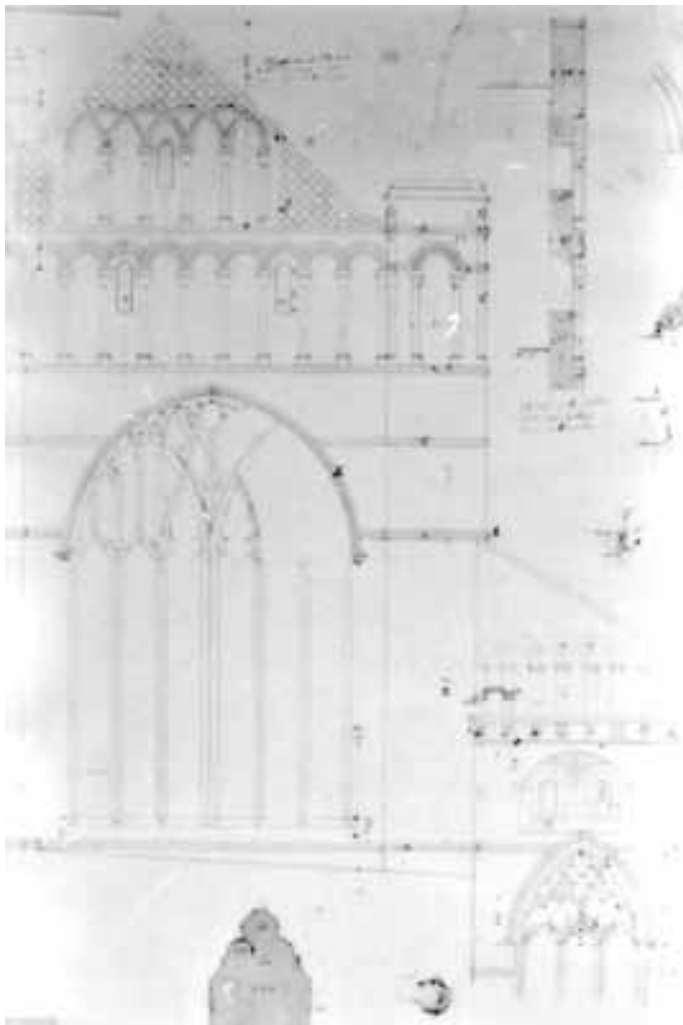


Figure 158. Bonomi, working drawing for the restoration of the south transept elevation.

surveyor. He was competent in different styles, Neo-Norman, Perpendicular, Gothic, and Neoclassical. His activities covered churches and other public buildings, as well as domestic architecture; he worked in Durham, Northumberland and Yorkshire.

When he got involved with the works at Durham Cathedral, in 1827, he was first consulted about the pediment of the Nine Altars, and he seems to have continued to remain in contact until about 1835. (75) During this period, attention was given especially to the repairs on the south elevation - including the Chapel of Nine Altars and the South Transept. The Galilee Chapel and the clerestory windows were also restored. According to Bonomi, the aim of all repairs to the Cathedral was to do them to the best possible standard, and he recommended that “the Building itself should be consulted for coeval authorities wherever the parts are too much mutilated to be copied”. (76) Amongst his works on the Cathedral were the reconstruction of the south-west turrets, and the restoration of the south gable and part of the west elevation of the Chapel of Nine Altars. In the overall design of the turret, he followed Wyatt’s plans, but in

the details he looked for models in the original details of the Chapel interior using mouldings and figures to enrich the work and to give it ‘a more faithful’ appearance. Also the Galilee Chapel was repaired, repaved and furnished with benches; later its northern door was restored, and the windows newly glazed.

In the restoration of the clerestory windows, he looked for analogous models, copying, for example, a window from the west elevation of the Chapel of Nine Altars. He did not seem to prefer any particular style, retaining both Norman and Perpendicular features, and, in 1834, in the case of the gable of the South Transept, he considered two alternatives: one, to retain the existing large window, second, to replace it by five smaller Norman windows arranged in two stories. The first alternative was chosen, and the restoration included the two turrets over the gable as well as the clerestory windows of the Transept. In January 1830, the Chapter decided that the condition of the northern clerestory windows of the Nave was such as to necessitate complete renewal. Bonomi considered the existing windows too large because little light was needed under the roof, and large windows only resulted in an unnecessary heat loss. In addition, the windows had been altered from the original in what he considered a “discordant” manner. Consequently, Bonomi recommended the reconstruction of these windows as recesses with round arches, adapting forms from the south side of the building so as to give “a character to suit the date of the Building”. (77)

The state of the ashlar on the south side of the choir was extremely poor. Bonomi had made a trial repair, paring down a portion by some three inches. He noted, however, that the quality of the masonry and especially of the joints was not good enough, and the appearance would not have been satisfactory. In the end, it was decided to reface this part of the building using a similar quality of sandstone as in Wyatt’s work on the Chapel of Nine Altars. Bonomi was aware that repairing the building in successive portions required a policy which would ensure that each repair harmonized with preceding works. Only the stones that were in poor condition were replaced, however, and later this has resulted in a patchy look and further corrosion of the older stones.

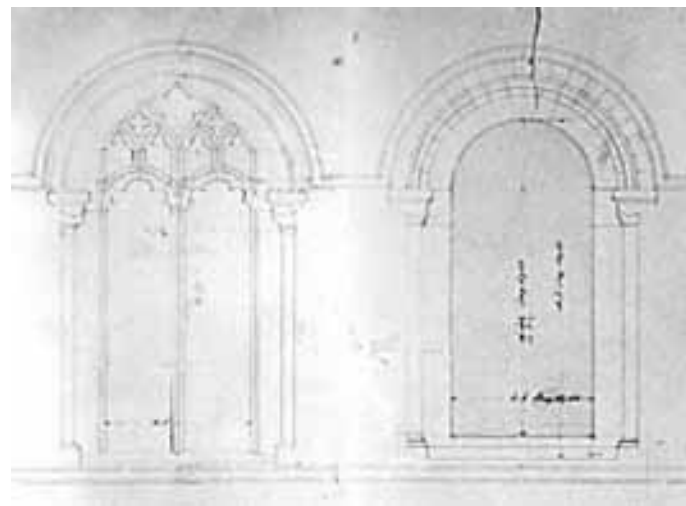
The successive generations of repairers during the past fifty years of so, had contributed to the outlook of the building in different ways. In the first phase, during the period of Wooler and Nicholson, the decoration of the western towers with turrets and parapets was initiated, as well as the scraping of the exterior

carried out on three sides during the last decade of the eighteenth century. Next came Wyatt and Morpeth, and the proposals to 'classicize' the Cathedral with the successive uproar of protests that emphasized the historic and picturesque values. William Atkinson, who followed, was concerned with the picturesque appearance of the building, and consequently aimed at the protection of existing surfaces experimenting - unsuccessfully - with the use of Parker's cement. The last responsible, Ignatius Bonomi, placed an emphasis on the correctness of the details showing an emphasis towards the beginning of a stylistic restoration which was then becoming fashionable in England. This period was concluded with the very exact measured drawings by R.W. Billings, published in 1843, which form a good record of the state of the Cathedral at the end of the works by Bonomi. (78)

10.5 G. Waddington and A. Salvin

Edward Maltby was the Bishop of Durham from 1836 to 1856 and the Dean was George Waddington (1840-69). Waddington was a learned man and church historian, who had travelled in Italy and made an adventurous voyage along the Nile to Ethiopia. He was a founding member of the Athenaeum and a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. As Dean he was very popular, and in this period Durham was fairly prosperous, second only to Westminster Abbey. The capitular income came from the woods, mines and quarries, as well as from generous gifts, and it was thus possible to spend money on repair works and restorations. The external work of renewing the ashlar were continued after Bonomi, and in 1842, the clerk of works, George Jackson, made substantial repairs on the south wall of the choir. The four large windows were restored as found except that some irregularities were corrected. The Norman Triforium was also restored as found, and some corbels were

Figure 161. Durham Cathedral, north elevation after the restoration carried out by 1821



Figures 159-160. Pickering: north nave windows, existing state (left) and proposed restoration (right) 1847-48

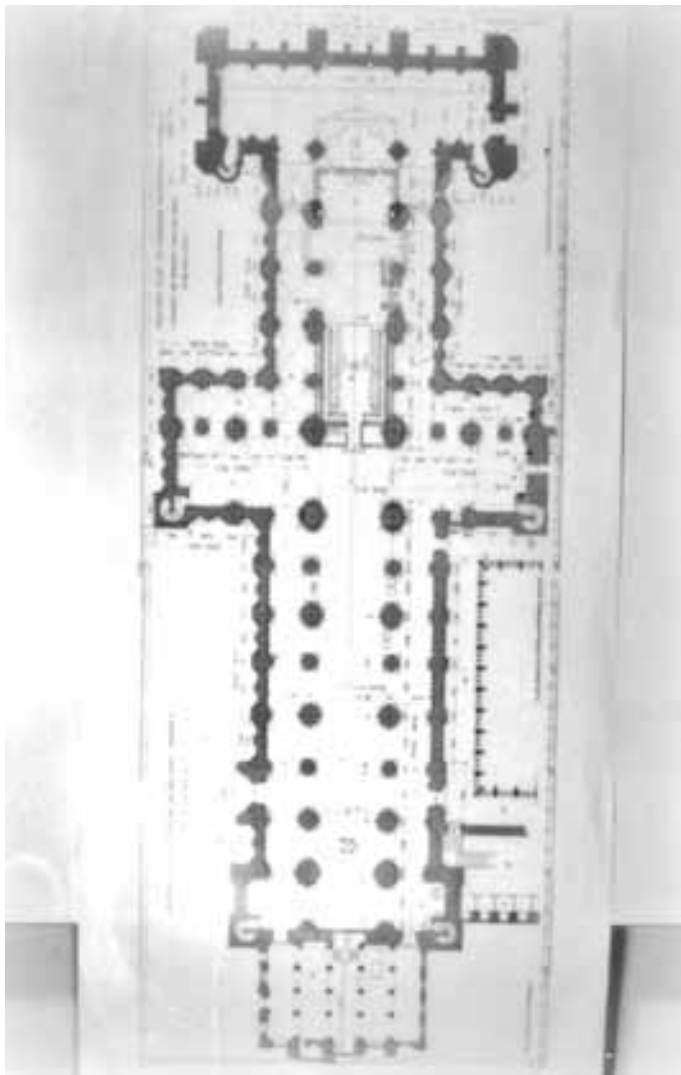
renewed. All principal walks on the banks were relaid and gravelled. (79)

Anthony Salvin, an Ecclesiologist

In 1843, the crypt of the southern part of the Cloisters gave way, putting a great part of the building above in an immediate danger. Anthony Salvin, an architect who came from Durham but had his practice in London, was called in to advise on the repair. Salvin, who worked for the Government on the restoration of mediaeval castles and fortifications, had already been working for the Dean and Chapter since 1832, and was currently involved in the construction of a new grammar school. He was one of the favoured architects of the Cambridge-Camden Society, the religious-political movement who promoted the stylistic restoration of churches to a form that would correspond to the newly revived church rituals. (80)

During the 1840s and 1850s, when Salvin was involved at Durham, some of the most drastic changes were carried out here as well. Following the earlier models, Salvin himself was based in London, while the execution of the works was in the hands of the clerk of works, Jackson until 1842, and George Pickering thereafter. The decisions were naturally made by the Dean and Chapter.

After the repair of the cloister crypts, Salvin concentrated on the Cathedral itself. After the criticism levelled against Wyatt's plans, the interior had been touched but little, and it was still divided by wooden partition walls according to the needs of various functions. These were all taken down. In 1844, a high wooden screen (probably from the fifteenth century) surrounding the Sanctuary was replaced by a stone coping. The aisle of the South



Transept which had been used as a vestry, was opened in 1845; the aisle of the North Transept, used as the Consistory Court, was opened in 1846. The wooden doors closing the aisles of the Choir were replaced by iron gates. At the same time, the central part of the Choir was entirely re-arranged. The floor was raised and the area widened. The old pews and a gallery were removed, and the stalls and seats were designed by Salvin during the years 1844 to 1846. (81)

Obviously, these works were partly dictated by the needs of functional improvements corresponding to the newly revived ideas of religious ceremonies; on the other hand, considering the importance of Durham Cathedral, it seems to have been very much the aesthetic requirement that made the Dean and Chapter decide to go ahead with the full liberation of the church interior of all obstacles that could hinder the free perspective from the west end right through to the Chapel of Nine Altars in the east. The great west entrance, blocked by the tomb of Cardinal Langley, was re-opened in 1845, and the monuments were moved to the north-west angle of the Nave. In order to obtain the 'grand vista' of the entire Cathedral, the seventeenth-century "Marble Italian Font, of comparatively modern workmanship" with its carved wooden canopy was moved from the centre of the Nave to the south-west angle. In 1846, it was replaced with a large new font in a Norman style, "better suited to the building", designed by the librarian of the Dean and Chapter. (82)

Figure 162. Durham Cathedral, floor plan in 1842
 Figure 163 (below left). South elevation showing windows before restoration and traces of aisle gables
 Figure 164 (right). Drawing for the reconstruction of gables

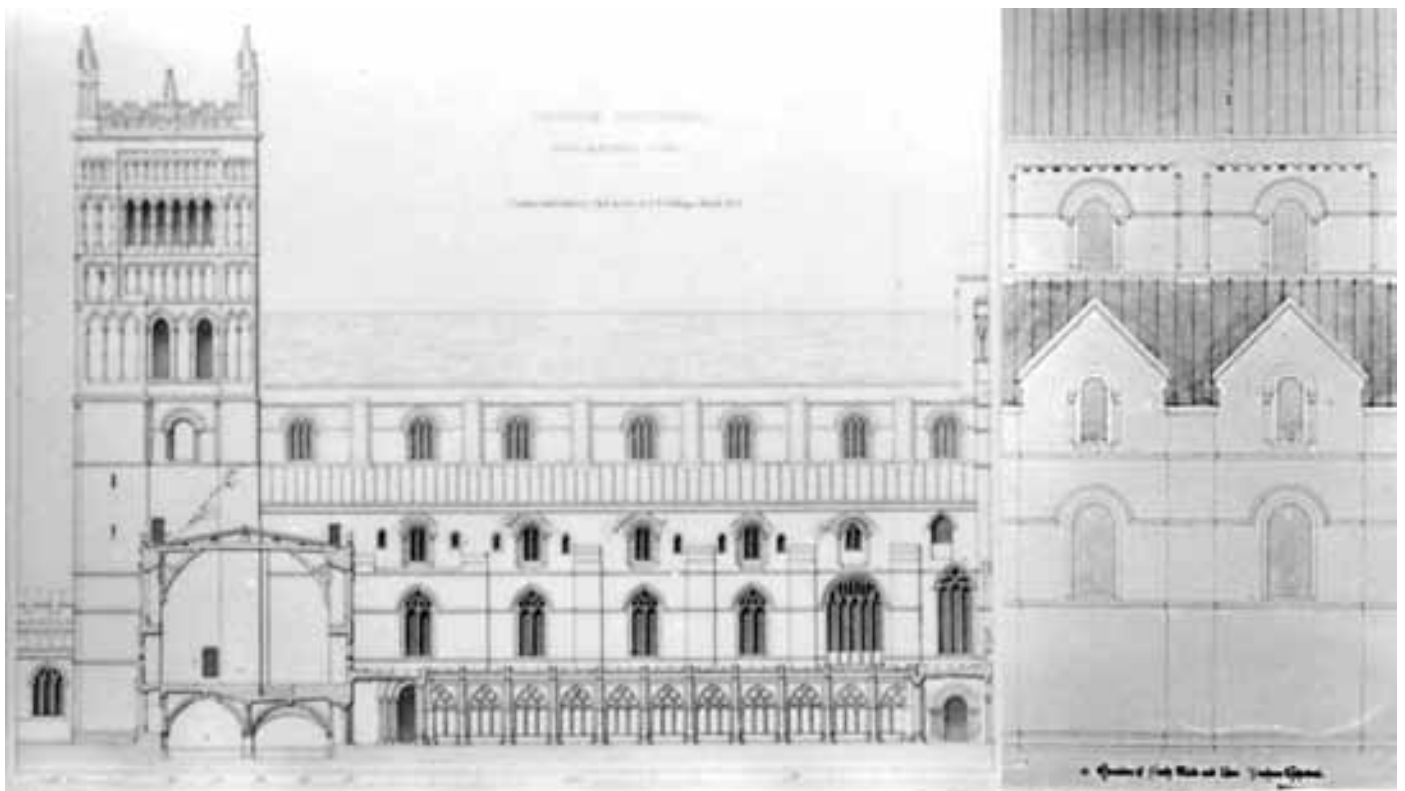




Figure 165. Durham Cathedral, north elevation after restoration

The fourteenth-century altar screen was restored at the same time. In 1847, the Dean and Chapter decided that they wanted to see how the interior would look if the organ and its seventeenth-century screen were removed. The design of the screen also was considered “wholly inappropriate to a place of worship”. (83) The screen was removed, and the organ placed on the north side of the Choir under an arch facing Bishop Hatfield’s monument. After a few months, the situation was reviewed and found satisfactory. (84)

More work was carried out in the Choir, including the renewal of pews, lowering of the eastern part of the floor to the level of the western part, and renewal of the old oak altar railing “of a bad age and in a corrupt style” in stone. This was done by local designers in the Early English style, and “in conformity with the character of the Eastern end of the Cathedral”, (85) while Salvin was responsible for the gates. Various parts of the building were repaved, and some obstructing monuments removed from the

west end of the Nave, thus completing the opening of the interior of the Cathedral.

In October 1849, Pickering prepared a report stating the conditions of the south front of the Nave. (86) The outer facing of a great part of the elevation was extremely loose, almost to the point of falling down. Besides this, four-fifths of the stones were improperly laid, i.e. not resting on their natural beds. Consequently, it was decided to renew the entire facade. The new ashlar was well linked to the structure behind with headers, and the eastern windows extended through the entire thickness of the old wall. In addition, iron cramps were used; these were tinned or galvanized and painted to avoid rusting. (87) Part of the casing of the south-west end of the Nine Altars, restored in 1826-28, was also getting loose and was repaired in a similar manner in 1853-54. (88)

Prior to Pickering’s work on the south elevation of the Nave, Salvin had also made proposals for its restoration. At the time, there were still visible traces of the gable ends that had existed above the aisle - as recorded in the drawings of Billing. Accordingly, Salvin had proposed to rebuild these gables, and to restore the existing windows in the Norman style. The easternmost window was Decorated; next to it there was a large round-headed window with Perpendicular tracery; the others in the lower row were original in size, but with pointed arches. In the upper row, there were small lancet windows on both sides of the original Norman openings. In the end, the gables were not rebuilt; instead, the windows were all ‘restored’ to the Norman style, and the lancet windows were walled in. (89)

During the years 1847 to 1850, practically all the windows of the northern side were also restored and/or reglazed. The large northern window of the Chapel of Nine Altars and the large Decorated window of the North Transept were both reglazed. Of the northern windows of the Choir, the easternmost was restored and reglazed by Salvin in 1847; three others were found in a ‘debased’ Decorated style - these he ‘improved’ all in a more appropriate Norman style, copying the details from churches in Lincolnshire and Kent. (90) Similarly, also other windows were restored in the Norman form. In the 1850s, attention was mainly concentrated on the dormitory, the cloisters, the library, and the Refectory, which were repaired and provided with battlements, thus concluding another active phase in the restoration of the Cathedral, a phase, which corresponded to the full blooming of stylistic restoration in England. (91)



Figure 166. Sir George Gilbert Scott's idea for a central tower in Durham Cathedral (never built)

10.6 Sir George Gilbert Scott

After all these repairs, the most apparent remaining problem at Durham Cathedral was the Central Tower which had been restored with cement by Atkinson. Problems had already appeared during the works and were evidently more advanced some forty years later. In the spring 1859, the Dean and Chapter decided to commence the complete restoration of the Tower, trusting the work to "the celebrated medieval Architect" George Gilbert Scott (1811-78). (92) By this time, Scott had already proved himself the most successful architect of the Victorian era, especially when it came to church-building and restoration. In 1848, he had been called to Ely Cathedral, and this was followed by Westminster Abbey, Hereford, Lichfield and Peterborough. In 1859, apart from Durham, he was engaged at Chester and Salisbury, and later, most other major cathedrals were to fall into his hands. (93)

Scott's contribution at Durham was fairly modest, being limited to the Central Tower and some internal work; in his Recollections he does not even mention

the Central Tower. (94) The site work was in the hands of Edward Robert Robson (1835-1917), a Durham born architect who had been working in Scott's office from 1854 to 1859, and was responsible for the working drawings for the Cathedral. (95)

The work on the Central Tower consisted mainly in rebuilding in stone the part done in cement. Scott also presented his proposal for decorating the Tower with a spire in the form of a crown supported on flying buttresses, similar to the one at St. Nicholas, Newcastle, which he restored as well. In the case of Durham, however, Robson advised against Scott's proposal on the grounds of structural stability, (96) and the spire was never built. It was decided to restore the Tower to its appearance before the works by Atkinson. All the buttresses of the Tower were rebuilt somewhat lower than the extent of the cement. The parts which had been pared away were thickened, and the whole structure seems to have been made bolder and higher than it was in cement. The 27 figures that Atkinson had removed were re-instated in their original niches, and 13 new figures were added



Figure 167. Durham Cathedral interior with the screen designed by Scott

Figure 168. Durham Cathedral, the west elevation in the 1980s



to fill up the empty niches. The work was completed in 1860.

In the 1870s Scott was called back to Durham to re-arrange the Choir and to close or at least articulate the ‘long vista’, which did not please the church authorities any more. He designed a three-arched open screen in the Lombardian Gothic style, a sort of standard design from his practice, which has been greatly criticized as not being suited to the Norman Cathedral. Along with it, he designed a pulpit in a kind of ‘Cosmatic’ work in mosaics, and a lectern in the form of a pelican. The choir was restored as far as possible to the appearance it had prior to Salvin’s period. The floors of the Choir and the Sanctuary were designed in the ‘Opus Alexandrium’, and built in marble. It is said that the Dean and Chapter of Durham were so eager to get Scott’s name linked with these works, that they waited until he had toured Italy in 1875, and even then the works were mainly in the hands of local technicians, while Scott was already sick and too busy elsewhere. (98)

Notes to Chapter Ten

1. Trevelyan, G.M. History of England, London 1926, 120.
2. The Saxon church had been built by the followers of St. Cuthbert (634-687), who had carried the mummified body of the saint looking for a place safe from the Danish

invadors. In 995, they found this site on a hill in the loop of the river Wear, called Dunholme - today Durham. Here they built the church, completed in 1017, and erected a shrine for St. Cuthbert, which was later preserved also in the new cathedral. (Stranks, C.J., *This Sumptuous Church, the Story of Durham Cathedral*, London 1973, 6ff.) Snape, M.G., 'Documentary Evidence for the Building of Durham Cathedral and its Monastic Buildings', *Mediaeval Art & Architecture at Durham Cathedral*, British Archaeological Ass. Conf. Transactions, 1980, 20ff.

3. Scott, Sir Walter (1771-1832): the inscription in the bridge over the Wear at Durham.

4. Pevsner, N. - Metcalf, P., *The Cathedrals of England, Midland, Eastern & Northern England*, Viking Books, Middlesex, 1985, 72.

5. Bilson, J., 'Durham Cathedral: the Chronology of its Vaults', *The Archaeological Journal*, The Council of the Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, London, March-December 1922, 101ff. Durham Cathedral "was planned by a master of exceptional ability as a completely vaulted church, and its earliest ribbed vaults, over the eastern bays of the choir aisles, must have been built by 1096. The whole of the eastern arm together with the eastern side of the transept as far as the top of the triforium, was completed in accordance with the conception of the first master." (ibid, 159) Fletcher, Sir Banister, *A History of Architecture*, London 1975, 588, 'Gothic in France': "The earliest known pointed-arch vaults are those above the ambulatory at Morienval, Oise (c. 1120), but the Abb, Suger is generally given credit for introducing the 'Ogival' system, when he applied it to the choir roof of the Benedictine Abbey of S. Denis, on the outskirts of Paris (1144)."

6. Cates, A., 'The Galilee of Durham Cathedral: its name and its nature', *RIBA, Transactions*, VI, New Series, London 1890, 141ff. Stranks, C.J., *This Sumptuous Church*, op.cit., 59ff.

7. Snape, M.G., 'Documentary Evidence', op.cit., 26ff. Stranks, ibid, 22ff.

8. Knowles, D., *Bare Ruined Choirs*, Cambridge 1976, 44ff. Stranks, ibid, 41ff.

9. Idem.

10. Stranks, ibid, 59ff.

11. *Historic Durham City*, Newcastle upon Tyne, 1976, 6.

12. *Record of Works Done in and upon the Cathedral Church and Collegiate Buildings of Durham*, Durham 1842, xxv f.

13. Mylne to Hogg, the Clericus Operum of Durham Cathedral, 20 November 1775, reference to Mylne's report, which has not survived (Dean and Chapter Additional MS No. 217; Curry, Ian, *The Cathedral Church of Christ and Blessed Mary the Virgin in Durham, 'Restoration and Repairs to the Fabric 1777 to 1876'* Charlewood, Curry,

Wilson & Atkinson, Architects, Unprinted, August 1980, 4)

14. 'Durham Dean and Chapter Minutes', II, 582; Wooler, J., 'Report', 29 November 1777 included in Dean and Chapter Additional MSS. (Curry, ibid, 5ff):

"To the right worshipfull the Dean & Chapter of Durham. Dear Sir, In obedience to your Pleasure signified to me by Dr. Sharp one of your Body, I have surveyed the Sundry Parts of your Cathedral with much attention in order to discover every defective part of the Fabric. The magnitude of the work itself requires a long Detail of various matters, but the want of many particular Measurements joyn'd to the Shorthness of the Time will not allow me to say much on the Occasion. I shall therefore beg leave to confine myself to the general Outline in Order from thence to establish a kind of rough Estimate of the Expense that may be expected to accrue in restoring the whole into as complete a State of Repair as the Structure itself may require, and the Nature of the Stone Materials wherewith it is built will allow of.

1. In the first place I must beg leave to mention a Defect which I discovered yesterday for the first time, which is a rent or opening in the South Side of the Vault of the Nave running nearly from the great Tower, to the Marble Line near the Joint at the West end of it. As this Defect had not been taken notice of before by either of my Assistants, Messrs. Gibbon and Nicholson, I examined particularly the walls abutting on the Nave to the South, but found no circumstances that could any way favour a Conjecture of this being a recent fracture ... there is nevertheless a probability that this may be of a pretty long standing and the Detail therefore of the proper Measures to be taken for its future stability may not be necessary to be entered into for the present ...

2. The Second Defect I beg leave to take notice of is in the 4 Turrets on the North and South ends of the Chappel called the 9 Altars, the two great Buttresses on the East side thereof, and the two turrets at the North end of the great Cross Aile, most of which it seems absolutely necessary to take down to the great Offset in the Walls between 40 and 50 above the Ground, and to rebuild them again with the best Stone materials that can be easily procured, in as regular and uniform a Manner as can well be done, and then to capp or finish them with the proper Pinacles. It may also be proper for the sake of uniformity to finish the Turrets at the South end of the said Cross Aile in the same Manner the Shape or Form of the Turrets and their Pinacles to be settled hereafter upon due Consideration of the Elevation of the Building itself.

3. The third great Defect I now take the Liberty to mention is obvious indeed to everybody and that is the almost universal Decay or wasting Condition of the Stones on the outside of the whole Structure. To prevent the wet entering and lodging in the walls and thereby bringing on a more Speedy Dissolution, and to afford all the Remedy that can properly be applied on this Occasion, it will be necessary

to chip or pare off their Outsides to the Depth of 1, 2 or 3 inches, as may be particularly required, to bring the upright of the Wall to a tolerable even or Straight Surface at the same time taking out & replacing such Stones as are almost totally perished and moulder'd away and filling up the joints and beds of the whole with a proper mortar struck in with the Chips or Splinters of Flints and Gallets, as full as it well can be. It wou'd be proper also while the Scaffolding for this Purpose is up, to fix on the Walls the proper Lead wall Pipes, to convey the Main water from the various parts of the Roofs to the Ground. The Walls will thus be brought to as Perfect a State of Repair as they well can be, and may without any very considerable expence, resist the Ravages of Time perhaps for Centurys to come! I must also mention the necessity there will be at the same time to renew Munnions and side Jaumbs of a great number of the Windows, which are so much moulder'd and decayed as to be scarcely sufficient to retain a hold in the Glass.

4. The Defect in the 4th and last place which I shall take the liberty to mention are the Decays of the Stones of the loops and crease parapets or Open parapets on the top and round the Bell Ringers Gallery of the great Tower. The Defect in the upper part of the long Buttresses that support the Angles of that Tower and in Sundry parts of the Parapets of the Roofs of the Nave and Side and Cross Ailes, the consoles or Corbels supporting which are in many Places much Cedayed and wasted away.

The upper part of the Porch on the North side of the Cathedral being parted or drawn off from the Wall ought to be taken down and finished with a much less pitch or Elevation. There are also some trifling Defects in the Foundation of the Galilee Chappel which ought to be restor'd.

5. Having passed over the Defects, I shall not detain the Chapter very much with what may be offered as Ornaments or finishings to this Structure in Case they should think of it to undertake a complicated Repair.

The first will be to place 4 larger and 4 smaller Quadrangular Ragged Pinacles of Stone on the Corners & middle of the Sides of the top of the great Tower, and the same number on the Tops of the two Western Towers, together with Loop & crease or open Parapets as above mentioned. The Ragged Pinacles will relieve greatly the too Massy Appearance of the whole Structure and the costs of the whole will scarcely deserve mentioning.

6. I shall now endeavour to give the Chapter the best account I can of the Total Expence that may be expected to accrue on this Occasion. (He calculates it would take 40 men eight years to complete the work, at a total cost of Pounds 9.000).

I must now conclude with expressing my wishes that the Chapter would be pleased to Order Mr. Nicholson or some proper Person to taking necessary measurements and draw out from a scale of 20 feet to an Inch, Correct Elevations of the 4 Sides of the Cathedral to correspond exactly with its

Plan to be correctly drawn from the same scale. The whole will serve as Canvas to point or mark out any necessary Alterations the Chapter may judge proper to Order in the elevations of the Turrets or any other Parts of the Building. I submit the whole to the Candid Consideration of the Chapter, begging Leave to tender them my best Services on this or any future Occasion and am with great Regard,

Dear Sirs, Yours most obed & humble Servt.

John Wooler

Durham, 29th Nov. 1777.”

15. Idem.
16. Idem.
17. Idem.
18. Idem.
19. Idem.
20. Idem.
21. Curry, *ibid*, 9. ‘Dean & Chapter Minutes’, II, 582ff.
22. Record, *op.cit.*, xxvii.
23. Hutchinson, W., *The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham*, II, Newcastle 1787, 226.
24. Dayes, Edward (1763-1804), ‘Durham Cathedral’ 1795, watercolour, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection (No. B1977.14.4239). Dayes, E., ‘Durham Cathedral seen through Flambard’s Bridge’, 1797, The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
25. Girtin, Thomas (1775-1802), ‘Durham Cathedral’ 1797-8, water- colour, British Museum (*The Picturesque Tour in Northumberland and Durham*, c.1720-1830, Tyne and Wear County Council Museums, Newcastle upon Tyne 1982, 68) The artist may have completed the southern tower considering that Dayes has another watercolour (see above, 24) with the same date, where the scaffolding is still visible.
26. Print No. 51 (1780) and 55 (‘A View of the Cathedral Church in Durham’): “N.B. the Additions in Pencil Design’d by Mr. Tho. Wright” (*Durham Dean & Chapter Muniments*). Simpson, F.G. - Richmond, I.A., ‘Thomas Wright of Durham and Immanuel Kant’, *Durham University Journal*, XXXIII, New Series II, 1940-1941, 111ff.
27. Hutchinson, W., *The History and Antiquities*, *op.cit.*, 226.
28. *Durham Dean & Chapter Minutes*, II, 629.
29. James Wyatt Plans for the Cathedral, *Dean & Chapter Muniments*; The bill shows a list of drawings (1795).
30. See Wyatt’s plans.
31. *Dean & Chapter Library*.
32. Curry, *The Cathedral Church*, *op.cit.*, 15ff.
33. *Durham Dean & Chapter Minutes*, II, 635.

34. Durham Dean & Chapter Minutes, II, 637.
35. S.A.L. Minutes XXVI, 400; Curry, *ibid*, 16.
36. 20 November 1797, Durham Dean & Chapter Minutes, II, 645.
37. Record, *op.cit.*, xxvii.
38. *ibid*, xxviii.
39. *Idem*.
40. GM (*Gentleman's Magazine*), 1795, 924.
41. S.A.L. Minutes (*Society of Antiquaries, London*), 1793-1796, Vo. XXV, 486.
42. S.A.L. Minutes, XXV, 486ff.
43. GM, 1801, 1091.
44. S.A.L. Minutes, XXVI, 353f.
45. 22 June 1797, *Ibid*, 372.
46. 9 November 1797, *Ibid*, 400.
47. *Ibid*, 400.
48. *Ibid*, 401.
49. *Ibid*, 401.
50. 8 February 1798, *Ibid*, XXVII, 2.
51. GM, 1802, 228.
52. 15 June 1797, S.A.L. Minutes, XXVI, 361
53. Hutchinson, *History, op.cit.*
54. Dean & Chapter Library, Durham.
55. GM, 1802, 230.
56. S.A.L. Minutes, XXVII, 2ff.
57. GM, 1802, 327.
58. S.A.L. Minutes, XXVII, 44f.
59. *Idem*.
60. 15 June 1797, S.A.L. Minutes, XXVI, 362.
61. 9 November 1797, S.A.L. Minutes, XXVI, 401ff.
62. Record, *op.cit.*, xxix; Curry, *The Cathedral Church, op.cit.*, 27.
63. Colvin, H.M., *A Biographical Dictionary of English Architects, 1660-1840*, London 1954, 47.
64. Atkinson, W., Report to the Dean and Chapter of Durham, 1804 (D & C Additional MS; Curry, *op.cit.*, 24f): "As it is intended by the Dean & Chapter of Durham to restore and put in complete repair the great Tower of their Cathedral, an Object well worthy of their attention and in which every care ought to be taken for its durability and for the preservation of its Original Character. I hope the Dean & Chapter will excuse me for making a few Observations on the method that has been adopted in restoring the Cathedral, whilst I recommend a plan for any future Repairs.

It is an Object of the greatest importance that the Character of the Great Tower shall be preserved & that the Repairs should be done in the most substantial manner; The plan that has been pursued for several years past (in facing and cutting straight the surface of the old Walls) has been highly injurious to the Buildings. Besides reducing in size the small parts of Buttresses, pillars & tracery Work on the Walls - in many Instances these must inevitably be cut away or disfigured and consequently the Character and Beauty is lost. But this is not the greatest mischief that has been done. An old Stone now faced seldom stands the Weather. In cutting the Walls the face of those Stones that have stood for Ages have been cut away to be made straight with the mutilated parts so that the Walls are daily decreasing in thickness and Strength.

In Restoring the Great Tower or any other part of the Walls the Stones that are perfect with their original face should remain & if there should be moss upon them care should be taken not to remove it. Where the Stone is very much decayed & to a considerable depth, it should be replaced with new, but in general the mutilated parts may be brought out to a proper face with Parker's Cement. The old Stones should be carefully wet when the Cement is laid on, and Holes may be drilled to give a stronger tie. This Cement is particularly useful in restoring Ornaments & Mouldings & at a considerable less expense than cutting them in Stone. It is nearly the colour of the Moss upon the Tower. But what is of still greater importance, its Brown Tint adds highly to the Sublimity of the Building."

65. *Idem*.
66. Burke, E., *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, London 1757.
67. Atkinson, *op.cit.*
68. 'Atkinson Cement' or 'Parker's Cement', a variety of natural cement, argillo-calcareous nodules, Whitby, Yorkshire, estate of Marquis of Normancy; also called 'Mulgrave Cement' or 'Yorkshire Cement'. Contains 30% clay and 70% lime; colour = dark Bath stone; "supposed to be good for stucco, mouldings, ornaments, but if plenty of sand not used (3 to 1), liable to crack." (*The Dictionary of Architecture*, ed. Wyatt Papworth for the Architectural Publication Society, 8 vols., 1852-92)
69. Atkinson, *op.cit.*
70. Dean & Chapter Minutes, II, 672, 21 July 1806: "south Side shall be done with Cement as far as the Bell Ringers' walk... Mr Atkinson and Mr Bernasconi be directed to make an estimate ... to complete the whole Tower including the Battlements & Figures and that they will include in this estimate the charge of producing the Effect of Roughness & the appearance of antiquity and that they be requested to produce such opinion as can be supported."
71. Record, *op.cit.*, XXVIII. 1806-1809.
72. S.A.L. Minutes, 21 November 1808: it was "Resolved that the Plaistering of the East side of the Great Tower

and all the works under the care of Mr. Atkinson be from this time discontinued, and that he be informed of this immediately.”

73. Curry, op.cit., 28.

74. Colvin, op.cit., 83.

75. Curry, op.cit., 30ff.

76. Bonomi, I., Report to the Dean & Chapter, January 1830 (Dean & Chapter Muniments; Curry, op.cit., 31ff): “It has, I think, been properly determined to carry on the Repairs of the Abbey in successive portions adjoining the work last done, so as completely to restore the South side of the Building from its Eastern extremity. In conformity with this intention the restoration of the upper part of the West side of the Nine Altars and of the upper part of the Choir should be begun...

It is obvious to the eye even at a distance, that the stone on the South side of the Choir about the Aisles is extremely persihed. I apprehend that the surface is so deeply honeycombed that little or no part of the stone even by paring down can be made to form a part of the new surface. In the attempt to repair a portion of this front next the Nine Altars, the surface has been pared down but I don’t perceive that any of the old facing stone has been saved by the operation, in fact if it becomes necessary to pare down above three inches in depth (in consequence of the erosion of the surface), the joints at that depth are not found to hold good and present the appearance of very imperfect masonry. I don’t immediately advise the refacing without paring but I suggest the propriety of a trial being made by an experienced mason, in order to ascertain if it be expedient or not.

The object of all repairs to Cathedral Buildings being to restore in the best way, I recommend that the Building itself should be consulted for coeval authorities wherever the parts are too much mutilated to be copied. I have therefore in explanation of the sketch, referred to such parts of the Building as I propose to copy in order to supply those which are decayed.

It may not be irrelative to mention that it is hardly possible to make an accurate estimate of a work of this nature, for the value of the labour is not referable to any common standard of Building, this consideration induces me to think that the preferable way of carrying on the work, is to hire Masons and place them under the superintendence of a Master and Working Mason of known ability and experience; I am the more inclined to recommend this course as it has I believe been adopted and persevered in at York, indeed a knowledge of the detail of the proceeding followed at York in regulating the works there, might be useful in determining the Dean and Chapter, as to their proceedings. The prospect of continued employment will enable the Chapter to select the best hands and opportunity of encouragement will occur in the working of Capitals etc. which may (in summer time especially) be done by the piece; if however after all, the plan of employing men

by day should not prove advantageous, the accounts will show the cost of the labour, and a criterion will be obtained whereby to ascertain what might safely be given for a portion of the work let by Contract.

Durham, January 1830, (signed) Ign. Bonomi.”

77. ‘Bonomi’s recommendations, 1830’, Chapter Minutes, 9 January 1830 (Durham Dean & Chapter Muniments):

“The Treasurer reported that many of the windows of the Church, and particularly those of the Nave, are in such a state of dilapidation, that it is needless expense to continue to repair them. They require to be entirely renewed. The lead and ironwork are for the most part decayed, much of the stonework of the mullions is crumbling away, and the Glaziers have found it so impracticable in amny places to fit in glass, that, to keep the wind out, they have stopped up many of the holes and crevices with mortar, to the great disfigurement of the Fabric.

In reference to the windows which light the space over the roof of the North Aisle, and which are exposed to be broken as soon as they are mended by the boys of the Town, or of the Grammar School, the Treasurer presented to the Chapter the annexed Report by Mr. Bonomi, Architect.

‘To the Hoble. Very Revd. The Dean & Chapter of Durham: Of the annexed sketches, No.1 is intended to represent one of the windows on the North side of the Abbey which light the space under the roof of the Aisle (it is not drawn from measurement).

The glazing of this series of windows is so imperfect, that it is desirable to consider whether the expense of reglazing them should be incurred; it does not appear requisite that these windows should be so large as the only object of admitting light is to enable workmen to tread safely along and light enough for this purpose would be derived from the Church windows, at all events chink-windows or such small windows as exist on the South side of the Building would amply suffice and if substituted for the large windows No. 1, would have a great tendency to keep the Building warmer.

It is very observable that the Window No. 1 has been altered; the Mullion dividing it is certainly not original, and is moreover very discordant and inappropriate. This circumstance alone would induce me to recommend the Chapter to hesitate before undertaking so extensive a repair of Glass which as a consequence will perpetuate the incongruity complained of, and it appears to me preferable to adopt some such form of Recess as is shown No. 2 & No. 3, taking care, after accurately measuring the exterior arch, to adapt to its Form an inner one of parallel shape and of a Character to suit the date of the Building.

Ign: Bonomi Archt.”

78. Billings, Robert William, Architectural Illustrations and Description of the Cathedral Church at Durham, London 1843.

79. Record, op.cit., xxxi ff. Stranks, op.cit., 90ff.

80. Pevsner, N., *Some Architectural Writers of the Nineteenth Century*, Oxford 1972, 123ff; Germann, G., *Gothic Revival in Europe and Britain: Sources, Influences and Ideas*, London 1972, 104ff.

81. Record, op.cit., xxxi ff.

82. Ibid, xxxiv f.

83. Ibid, xxxvi. Dean & Chapter Minutes, 985, 19 February 1847: "The following proposals were made by the Dean and agreed by the Chapter. That the organ shall be removed and placed under the arch opposite to the Bishop's Throne according to the plan last suggested by Mr. Bishop at the sole expense of Mr. Dean. ... their success and failure shall be decided by the next November."

84. Dean & Chapter Minutes, 990, 20 November 1847: "The alterations in the removal of the Organ and Screen, carried into effect under the order of Chapter of 19 Feb. last, were considered, and it was the opinion of the Chapter that their success was fully proved. - Agreed that Mr Salvin's report on the Cathedral be copied and kept, and that such part of it as relates to the opening of the Hatfield Monument, the erection of new seats in front of it, and the lowering of the East end of the choir be adopted, subject to any alterations that may be agreed in by the weekly chapter and assuming that the cost will not exceed Pounds 300.-."

85. Record, op.cit., xxxiv f, xliii f.

86. "Mr. Pickering's Reports on the Restoration of the South Front of the Nave of Durham Cathedral" [Report A.]

Durham, October 5th, 1849.

Rev. Sir,

According to your request I beg to submit a statement of the circumstances which led to the removal of all the old ashlar facing of that part of the South front of the Cathedral now undergoing restoration.

In the greater portion of the front, that is from the top to about the heads of the lower windows, the decay of the mortar and the outer facing of stone had completely detached the latter from the solid bulk of the walls. This facing was so loose that it was with very much difficulty great quantities of it could be prevented from falling down upon the Cloister roof.

The Eastern part of the remaining portion had not suffered so much from the decay of the mortar; but the ashlar were so narrow upon the bed, and consequently had so little hold of the bulk of the wall behind them, that the support which they gave to the body of the wall was very trifling - besides not less than four-fifths of them standing up edgewise, that is, they were not resting upon their natural beds or the beds on which they lie in the earth.

An attempt, however, would have been made to proceed with the new facing, allowing a portion of the old to remain, had it not been for the circumstance of the very

rotten state of the two courses of ashlar at the level of the Cloister roof, and of the large holes or places like caves hollowed out of the wall. These holes were large enough to contain a large dog in a lying posture. They contained a quantity of bones, one of which, and three teeth, I have in my possession.

Having, therefore, to withdraw and renew the two last mentioned courses, I considered that the narrow bedded old ashlar above would not remain sufficiently firm after the operation of wedging between between them and the new ones.

From the method now being pursued in the restoration, I am confident that the new masonry is substantial, and that a firm connexion between it and the old work will be effected. I am, Rev. Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

Geo. Pickering.

The Very Rev. The Dean of Durham."

87. Pickering, 'Report B.' 'Description of the Manner in which the new Masonry is Built and Connected with the Old Wall.' (Record, xlii ff.)

88. Record, xlv.

89. Record, xxxvii ff.

90. Idem.

91. Record, xlv ff.

92. Record, xiv, December 31, 1859.

93. Cole, D., *The Work of Sir Gilbert Scott*, London 1980.

94. Scott, G.G. *Personal and Professional Recollections*, London 1879.

95. Cole, op.cit., 173f.

96. Curry, op.cit., 52: Curry maintains that Robson was certainly right in his advice.

97. Record, xv f, December 31, 1860. Dean & Chapter Minutes, 1130.

98. Cole, op.cit., 174.

Chapter Eleven

Case Study: Germanic Countries, Restoration of Magdeburg Cathedral

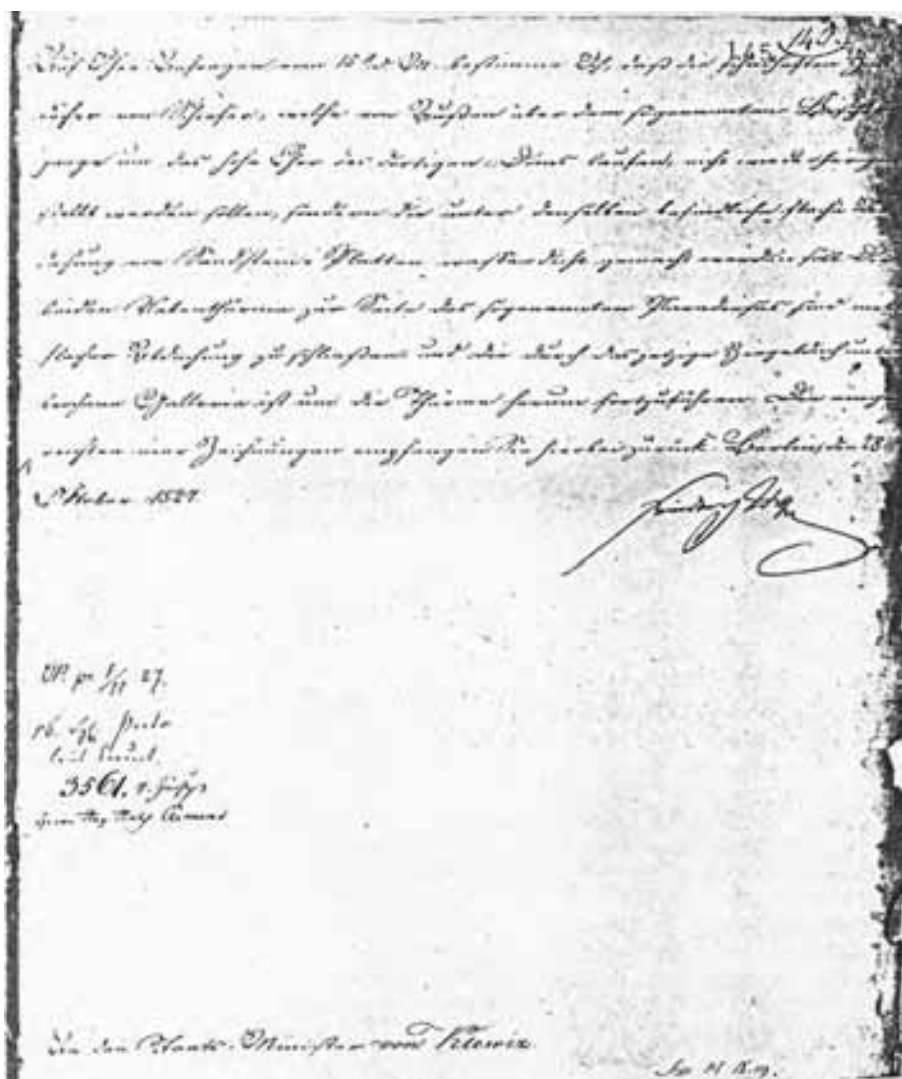


Plate ch. 11: Letter by King Friedrich Wilhelm to Staatsminister von Klewitz, 10 February 1826 (Rep.C.20 II Nr.44 Vol.I,10; Magdeburg Archiv), authorising the expenditure for the restoration of Magdeburg Cathedral

11.1 The Cathedral; Historical Background

Magdeburg was one of the early mediaeval settlements on the river Elbe in the heart of the Germanic countries. In the tenth century, it became important through the intervention of King Otto I the Great, who was crowned Emperor in Rome 962, and chose Magdeburg as his favoured residence; he built his palace there and next to it he founded a Benedictine Monastery. (1) After the battle of Lechfeld, in 955, he started building a new church over the tomb of his wife Editha. Ancient marble columns were brought from Ravenna, and relics were placed in the capitals. At the completion of the church Magdeburg was declared the seat of an archbishop and the church became a cathedral. In 1207 this first cathedral burnt down, and although there were many who did not agree the standing walls were pulled down to build a new cathedral on the same site. It was consecrated in 1363, although the construction work continued until 1520. (2)

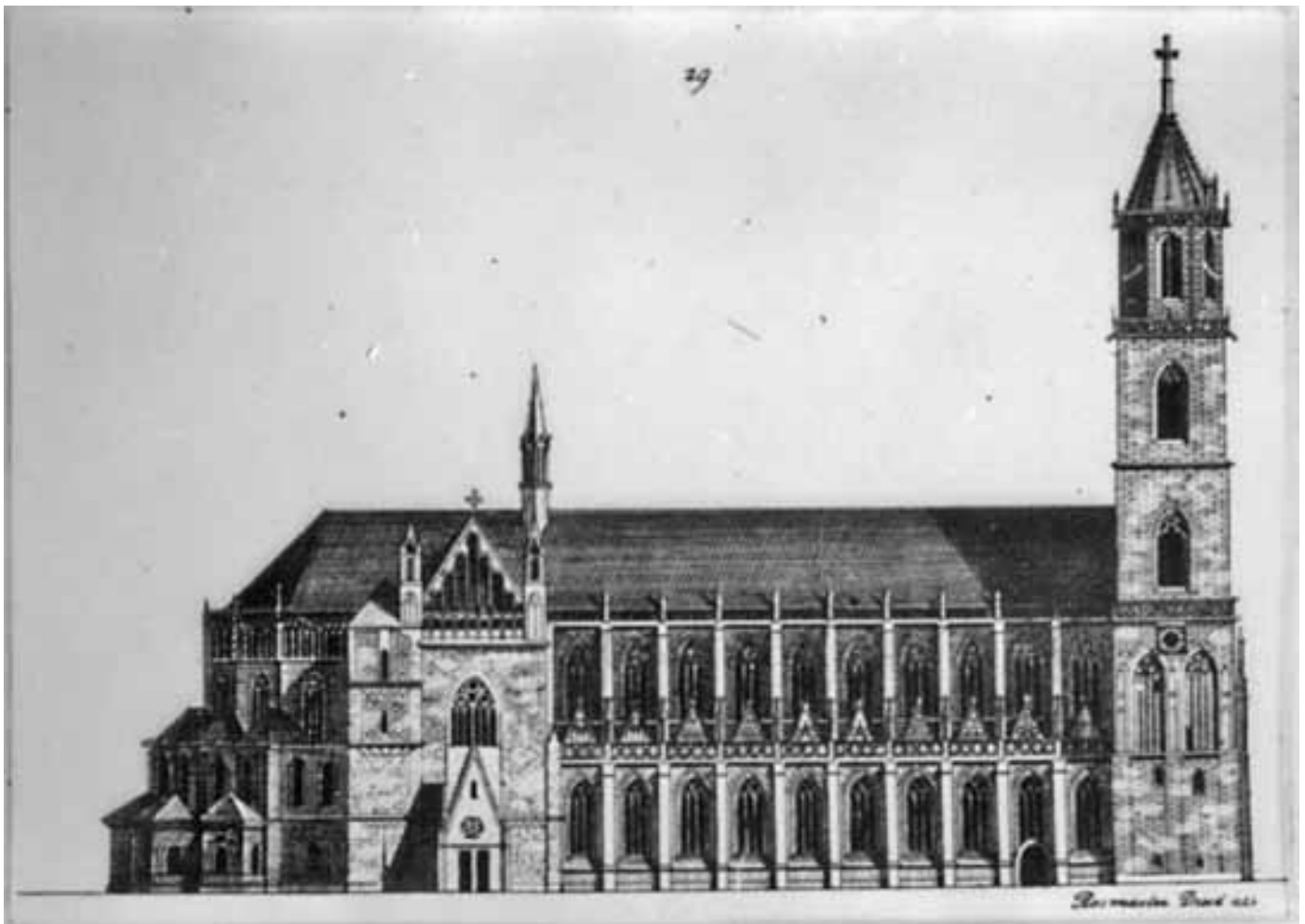
Magdeburg Cathedral was the earliest Gothic building in Germany, probably due to the influence of Archbishop Albert who had studied in Paris and Bologna, and had travelled widely in Europe. (3) The



Figure 169. Magdeburg Cathedral. Engraving by G. Badenehr

building, a Latin cross in plan with a three-aisled nave and two western towers, was built of sandstone and limestone, and vaulted. The relatively short choir has an ambulatory with five chapels in the French manner. The lower part of the choir and its chapels still reflect Romanesque principles in their proportions, while the rest of the building becomes gradually Gothic in character. The Cathedral's best known feature is its sculptured decoration, especially the famous Paradise porch at the north end of the transept, consisting of

Figure 170. Magdeburg Cathedral, north elevation before restoration (Rosmaster, 1823)



a small separate building with the famous thirteenth-century statues representing Wise and Foolish Maidens. Decorations were also reused from the Ottonian building, and grouped mainly in the choir; here were placed the antique columns from Italy, and provided with capitals made in the antique manner. (4)

As soon as the Cathedral was completed, in 1520, it began to face problems; Luther had just nailed his theses at the nearby Wittenberg, and burnt there the Papal Bull. Although Protestantism spread rapidly in Germany, Magdeburg remained Catholic and gave rise to conflicts and iconoclasm in the Cathedral, breaking of images on the altars and mutilation of statues. The Cathedral also suffered when the town was besieged by the troops of Maurice of Saxony in 1550-51. (5) During the Thirty Years War, Magdeburg was besieged by the troops of General Tilly, who ravaged the town in 1631, and the Cathedral suffered from damage by fire. Again during the Napoleonic wars, from 1811 to 1813, the French troops used the nave of the church as a store for groceries, while church services were held in the choir. At the end of the war, the whole church was turned into a storeroom and sheepfold. In May 1814, the Prussians reconquered Magdeburg, and, on

Figure 171. C.G.A. Hasenpflug (1828): Magdeburg Cathedral, proposed restoration of the west front



29 May, a service of thanksgiving was held in the Cathedral. (6)

The Administrative Context

After the liberation of the territories occupied by the French, the Prussian Government commissioned Karl Friedrich Schinkel (1781-1841), an architect and the chief representative of German Classicism as well as a member of the General Directorate of Public Works, die Oberbaudeputation, to report on the condition of public buildings in these areas. In his report Schinkel emphasized the national importance of historic buildings, and recommended to the Government to take action for their protection and restoration. As a result, a cabinet order of 4 October 1815 requested all public authorities to report to the General Directorate any intended “substantial change in public buildings or monuments”. (7) Following this order, any important restorations came thus under the control of the Central Government, and were referred to the King in the case of a dispute. Schinkel who became a leading authority was thus in the position to influence the policy of restoration in the whole country. Amongst the first major restoration projects, which included Cologne Cathedral and Marienburg Castle, was also Magdeburg Cathedral. (8)

11.2 Restoration of the Cathedral

After the damage caused during the French occupation there was concern about repairs to the Cathedral. In 1819 the local government notified that major repairs would be needed, and proposed to demolish the so-called ‘lead tower’ over the crossing of the church, in order to save maintenance costs. This proposal was strongly objected to by the religious authority, who considered that it was questionable to steal an ornament from “a venerable building of old German art”. (9) The General Directorate was consulted about the matter, and while confirming that this building, “one of the foremost and most beautiful monuments of old German architecture” (10) in the country, was badly in need of repairs, they maintained that it was not acceptable to change the architectural form by removing the ‘lead tower’. This feature was considered of great architectural importance, as it articulated the otherwise long roof-line, and indicated the point of the crossing. Consequently the Directorate requested the preparation of an estimate for the repair of the tower in its present form, as well as an urgent start on repairs in the church itself. Special attention was drawn to the upper parts of the western towers, which had suffered much damage.



Figure 172. Hasenpflug (1828): Magdeburg Cathedral, the interior, proposed restoration

Considering, however, the condition of the building and its ornaments, it was proposed to carry out a detailed survey of the entire structure in order to have a full understanding of the situation, and to prepare plans for the repair of the whole building.

C.J. Costenoble, the architect of the Cathedral and author of *Deutsche Architektur und ihr Ursprung* (1812), started working on the first estimates in February 1821. A few years earlier he had already been recommended by Schinkel for the restoration of Marienburg, although the works were later carried out by others. (11) In March 1822, he presented the General Directorate with a plan and some drawings for the restoration of the Cathedral, but this was not considered sufficient as a basis for the work. (12) At the same time, proposals were prepared also by another architect, C.A. Rosenthal, who was chosen to continue the project instead of Costenoble. During 1826 to 1828, an architectural painter C.G.A. Hasenpflug (1802-58) was commissioned by the King to prepare paintings of the Cathedral showing both its present condition and the intended appearance after the restoration. The building was here shown in a

romantically idealized context, surrounded by trees, restored to its former appearance and later additions removed. It seems that Hasenpflug also contributed to the preparation of the restoration plans, and he may have been responsible for some of the drawings. (13)

In February 1826, King Frederick William of Prussia issued a cabinet order addressed to the Minister of State in Magdeburg, giving his formal approval and the first financial contribution from his personal budget towards the restoration of the Cathedral:

“From what I have heard, considerable sums will be required in order to conserve and restore the Cathedral Church of Magdeburg to its structural dignity. The old venerable building must not fall into disrepair. There will be, though, difficulties to provide for the financing from the public funds, and I will thus give sixty-thousand Thaler from my Chatouille.” (14)

The local direction of the restoration was in the hands of a Building Commission. Its members included the Minister of State A.W. von Klewitz as the chairman, the Dean von Krosigk, as well as local building administrators, J.A. Clemens, F.A.J. Mellin and C.A. Rosenthal, who had the technical responsibility for the restoration project, for all necessary drawings and for the execution of the works. (15) Survey reports and quarterly reports on the progress of the works, were signed by Clemens, while detailed plans were prepared by Mellin and Rosenthal. Documentation of the project in five volumes, including plans, elevations, sections and details, was published together with comments on the history of the building as *Der Dom zu Magdeburg from 1830 to 1852*. (16) The published plans do not, however,

Figure 173. Hasenpflug (1828): Magdeburg Cathedral from the east, proposed restoration



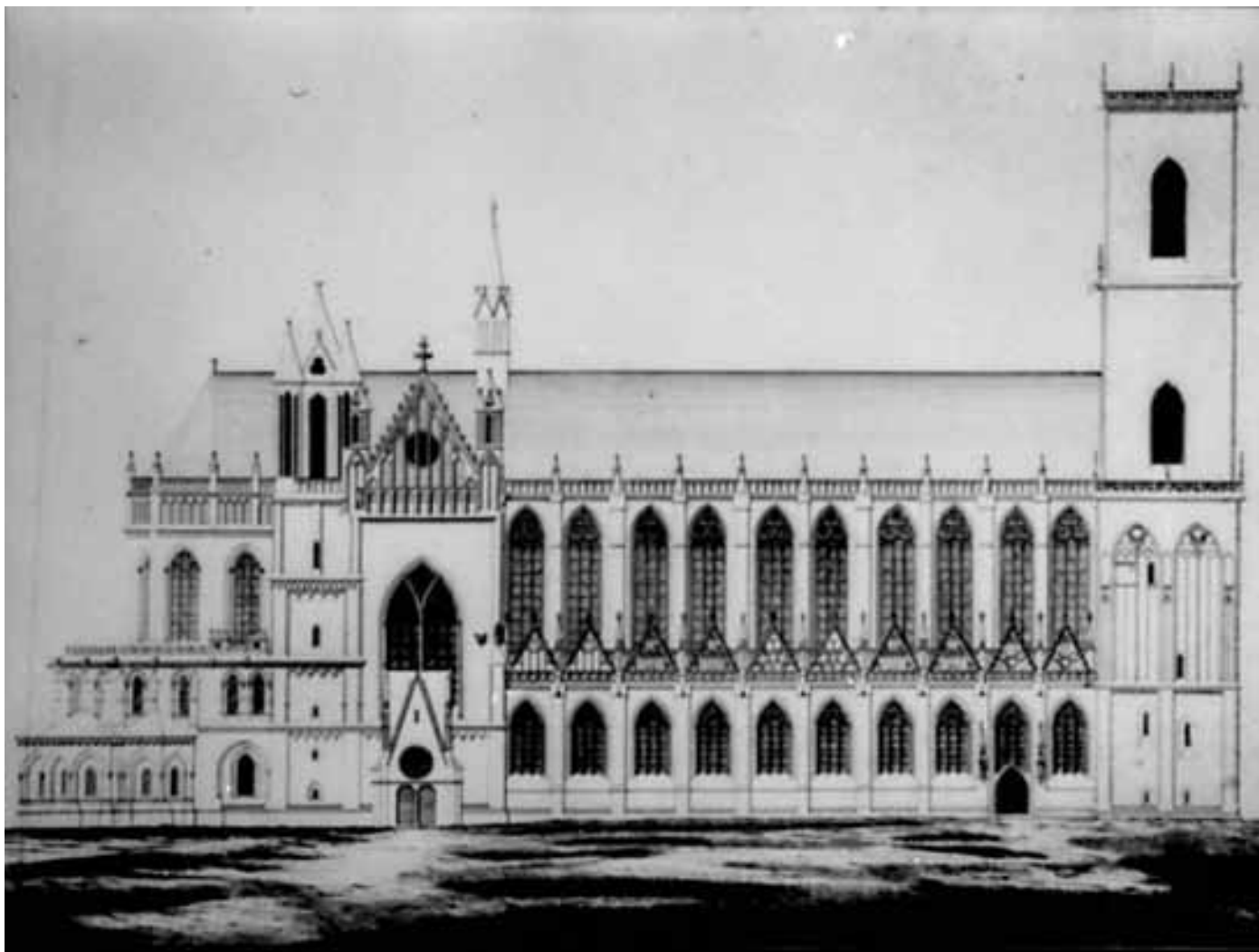


Figure 176. Clemens, Mellin, Rosenthal: Magdeburg Cathedral, north elevation, proposed restoration

correspond to the actual restoration in all details due to modifications decided during the works, and the working drawings for the restoration have not been preserved. All plans and proposals for the restoration had to be approved by the General Directorate in Berlin, and the decisions were communicated to the local authority through cabinet orders.

Restoration Plans

The plans were the result of an intense correspondence between the building commission and the General Directorate, and the plans, working schedules and estimates were revised several times. In February 1826, the works were planned to consist of twelve items, e.i. the restoration of the choir, the transept, the nave, the north and south towers, the central building between the towers, the interior of the church, the completion of the two eastern towers, the renewal of the 'lead tower', the renewal of tile-roofs in slates, the treatment of the whole building with oil, reinforcements and the construction of scaffolding. The restoration was estimated to cost about 310.000 Thaler and take fifteen years. The works were scheduled to start from the transept and choir, and then move to the nave, the aisles,

the roof structures, and lastly to the repair of the towers and the restoration of the interior. (17) This estimate was considered too high, however, and the Commission proposed alternative plans reducing the construction schedule to nine, ten or eleven years and the necessary funds accordingly to 200.000-226.000 Thaler. (18) Priority was given to the transept which was considered to be in urgent need of repair, as well as to the 'lead tower', the roofs and the choir. On the

Figure 175. Clemens, Mellin, Rosenthal: Magdeburg Cathedral, floor plan

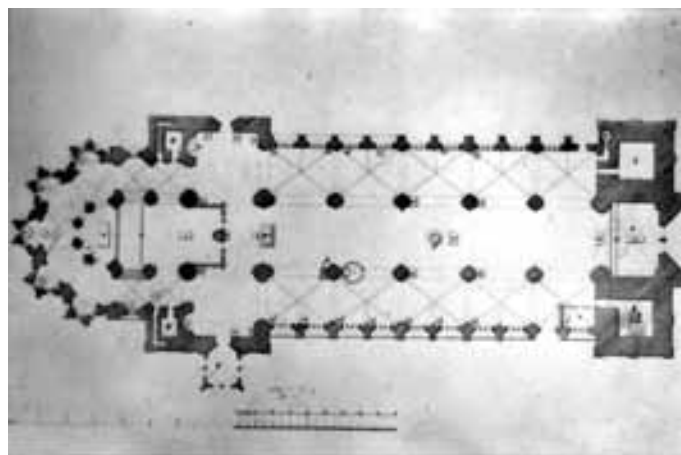




Figure 176. Magdeburg Cathedral, north side in 1979

other hand, it was considered possible to make some savings in the restoration of the western towers, in the interior, as well as by not carrying out the intended completion of the unfinished transept towers. (19)

The budget for the restoration was confirmed at 204.000 Thaler and another 8.400 were added to this bringing the total to 212.400 Thaler. The works started in April 1826. As a result of good administration, it was possible to make further savings and gain interest from the bank where the annual contributions were deposited, thus allowing some repairs to be done that would otherwise not have been included in the budget such as repairing ornaments. (20)

Conservation of Ornaments

The General Directorate (die Oberbaudeputation) discussed the project in office in Berlin on the basis of plans and reports without inspecting the building itself. Their general impression was that these were sufficiently clear and had been well prepared although the work was complex; the working schedule was thought to be “fully rational”. (21) The tendency was to try to save funds where possible, and attention was drawn particularly to the restoration of ornaments.

Considering that especially the buildings dating from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries needed extensive repairs, it would be too heavy a burden for the State to care for all ornamental details.

“To preserve to future generations all the excessive amount of small and more or less repetitive ornaments and details that cover these buildings, which only show an intricate playing with mechanical schematism (ein mechanischer Schematismus), and which do not meet the real tasks of the Fine Arts to provide ‘an ideal perception of the conditions of human beings and nature’, would mean using enormous funds for the conservation of artistic features that only would serve to teach how not to do it!” (22)

It was further observed that most of these ornaments were actually independent from the structure, and that they could thus be “left to their destiny”. (23) It was recommended, for the sake of art history, to preserve a small part of them, but to leave the rest, which would still last for a long time; the decaying parts could be removed when they were about to fall, and the places treated so as to avoid weathering

Figure 177. The original statue of St. Mauritius, placed in the interior of Magdeburg Cathedral



problems. The results might even provide further attraction “to the imagination of such romantics who in the future still were to like them”. (24) After having lost their insignificant parts, the Directorate considered these buildings having most probably gained rather than lost. Concerning the repairs, ‘Roman Cement’ imported from England by a firm in Hamburg, seemed most suitable for fixing the places of broken ornaments due to its capacity to increase in volume when mixed with water thus filling all cracks and gaining “such a strength that no more dampness could penetrate from outside”. (25) On the other hand, it was considered better not to have embedded in cement the copper pipes of the rainwater disposal system, because this would make their future maintenance impossible. Rather it was proposed to treat the inner side of the stone gutters with cement before introducing the copper pipes, which thus could remain detached from the structure.

These observations were not accepted without reservations, and the members of the local government and of the Building Commission drew the attention of the General Directorate to the importance of the richness of ornaments to the character of Gothic architecture. They insisted that the ornaments were an expression of the skill of the builders; they were an essential part of the building, and would “augment the impression that these buildings give to an unprejudiced connoisseur and art lover due to the contrast with their imposing size”. (26) The Chairman of the Commission von Klewitz decided to send Clemens to Berlin to speak with Schinkel and convince him about the preservation of the ornaments. (27) An agreement was reached, and during the restoration most of the external carved decorations were renewed; amongst these works was included the preparation of copies of the statue of ‘Shepherd’ on the north side of the transept in 1827,

Figure 178. Magdeburg Cathedral, the foolish virgins of the Paradise Gate

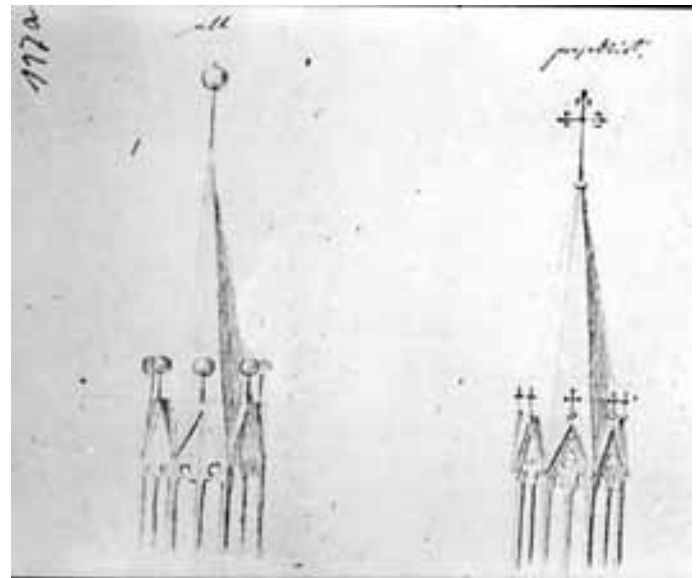


Figure 179. The Lead Tower, the old form and the proposed restoration (illustration in manuscript)

which had not been initially foreseen, as well as the statues of St. Catharine and St. Mauritius, the patrons of the Cathedral. The originals of these statues were placed in the interior church. (28) The famous statues of the virgins in the Paradise Porch were, instead, conserved in their original condition, although the porch itself was extensively renewed by replacing decayed stonework.

The ‘Lead Tower’

Amongst the first undertakings was the renewal of the ‘lead tower’. Concerning this, in August 1826 a proposal was made by two members of the Commission, Mellin and Rosenthal, to renew it in ‘a more appropriate’ form to correspond better to the architectural character of the building. They maintained that it was visually confusing to have the tower of the same material as the roof, and that the decorative elements, the round finials placed over the gables of the tower, were “rather strange to the Old German Architecture” (29) especially comparing them with the more decorative finials of the other towers and gables of the Cathedral. They proposed that the ‘lead tower’ be rebuilt using metal plates that could be painted, and that it be decorated with ornamental crosses. In his answer, Clemens pointed out the importance of keeping a clear and unified policy in the decisions regarding the restoration; according to him the ‘lead tower’ formed one whole with the roof structures and was thus correct and justified exactly in the form as it was. He also referred to other buildings of the same period confirming that the same ornamental elements had been used in these as well, and that there were many examples of the durability of lead in historic buildings, while of

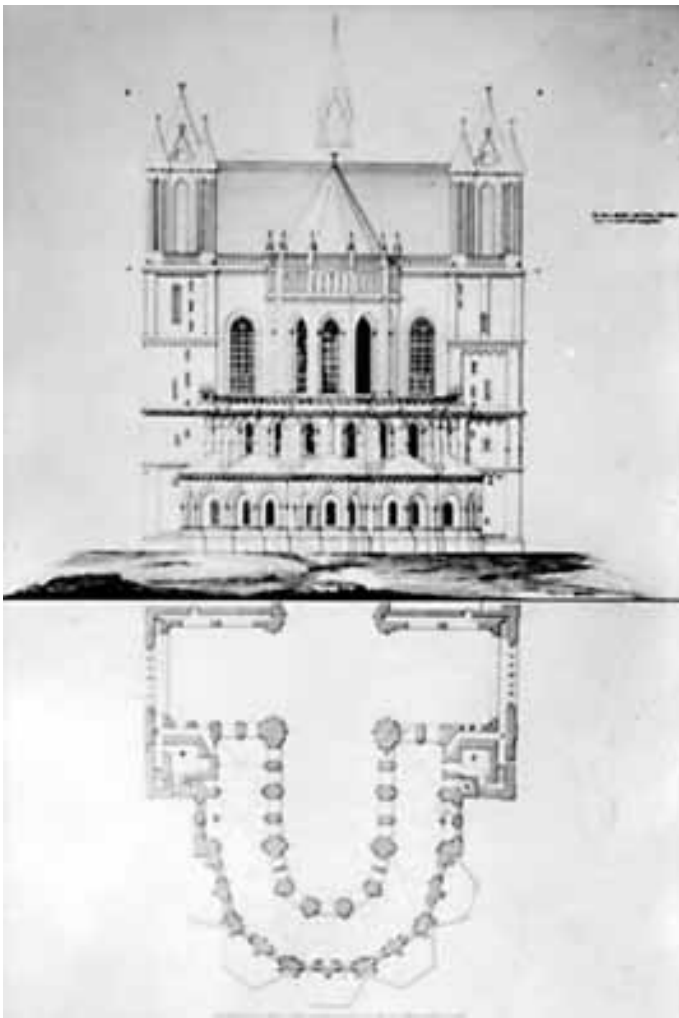


Figure 180. Clemens, Mellin, Rosenthal: Magdeburg Cathedral, east elevation, proposed restoration

painted metal plates there was little experience. (30) On these grounds, it was decided that there was no reason to change the design, and that the ‘lead tower’ should be repaired as originally planned. (31) On 22 June 1827, when the repair was finished, there was a simple celebration, and the round finial on the top of the tower was placed in position; inside there were the cabinet order of 10 February 1826 for the restoration of the Cathedral, as well as a newspaper, some coins and medals. (32)

The Choir and Transept Towers

One of the principles in the restoration, stated by von Klewitz, was “the duty to remain in every way faithful to the original”. (33) As in French Gothic, the choir of Magdeburg Cathedral was surrounded by an ambulatory, called ‘Bishop’s walk’, which opened to chapels. According to the survey of Clemens, this ambulatory had been originally covered by a terrace built in sandstone slabs, but towards the end of the eighteenth century a roof had been built over it leaving the terrace underneath. Although there were similar roofs elsewhere in the Cathedral, this particular one was considered too irregular and it also covered up

the windows of the choir. So it was suggested not to rebuild it but to restore the terrace instead, because: firstly, it had not existed originally; secondly, the choir would have a much more beautiful appearance once the windows were freed; thirdly, the illumination of the interior would be improved; fourthly, the cost would be the same whether one repaired the roofs or water-proofed the terrace. Clemens also pointed out that, the roofs were not well built, and while the repair of these terraces might have caused problems in the past, “the more accurate work of today, and the possibility of using the advantages of cement would eliminate all difficulties”! (34)

This question was related to another one concerning the side towers of the north and south transept. These had never been completed, but built only to the height of the main cornice of the Cathedral. In the first restoration plans, and also in those which were published, the intention had been to build them in their complete form. This intention had to be reconsidered, however, due to financial limitations, and various alternatives were discussed. A walkway running around the choir, the transept and the nave

Figure 181. Magdeburg Cathedral, the choir exterior in 1979



of the church on the level of the main cornice, was interrupted by the roofs of the unfinished towers. While accepting the ‘non-completion’ of the towers, it was suggested to continue the walkway over them thus providing a convenient passage, and also gaining aesthetically a “more clean and noble” appearance. (35) The question was whether to provide both towers with the present form of the southern roof which would interrupt the walkway and create certain practical problems of accessibility, or whether to make them flat in order to allow the continuation of the passage. Clemens also maintained that as the original idea of the builders was clearly visible in the construction, this should “not be obscured by the poor appearance” of a temporary roof. (36) Both the proposed restoration of the terrace over the ‘Bishop’s walk’ as well as the flat roofs and the continuation of the passage over the transept towers were accepted by the Directorate, and confirmed by the King on 28 October 1827. (37)

Restoration of the Aisle Gables

In 1828, scaffolding was raised over the nave where repairs were started on both sides. The buttresses were repaired using stone facings instead of rebuilding them in whole blocks. The windows and cornices were repaired and rebuilt where necessary; all windows were reglazed. (38) The row of gables over the south aisle, which had originally been left as ‘blind wooden gables’ were rebuilt in stone and brick using a simple vertical division of five pointed arches in each, inspired on the rich decorative patterns of the northern gables. These decorations had a particular rhythm; the gables formed five pairs respecting the internal division of bays. The gables of each pair had the same decorative pattern, but it was different from other pairs. Two (the second and the fourth) were, however, the same giving an impression of an almost symmetrical elevation. The restoration was carried

Figure 183. Magdeburg Cathedral, south aisle gables in 1979

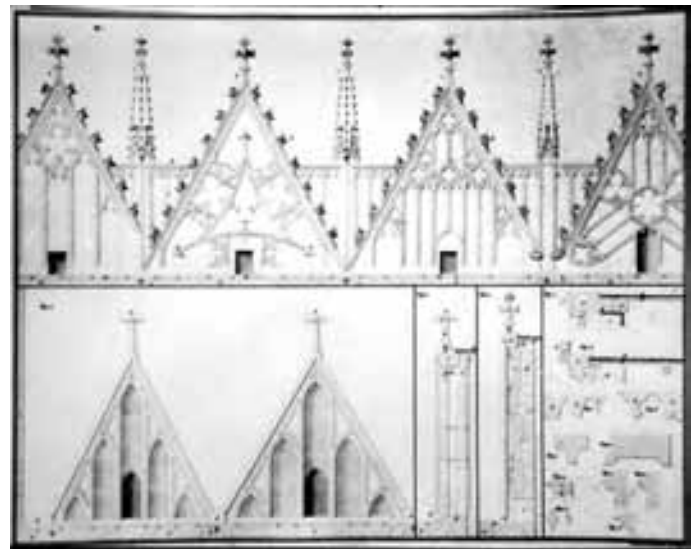


Figure 182. Clemens, Mellin, Rosenthal: Magdeburg Cathedral, proposed restoration of north and south aisle gables. Although north aisle gables were richly ornamented, the south aisle gables were proposed to be left with timber structures. In the restoration, these were proposed to be built in with masonry and brick in the spirit of the north aisle

out respecting the original form, but later when the plans were published, some criticism was raised about this symmetry, which was found “disturbing” in an otherwise asymmetrical facade. (39)

The Interior

The repairs in the interior were so organized that the use of the Cathedral could continue even during the restoration. (40) During the works, many of the 64 altars and monuments of different ages (especially those from Renaissance and Baroque periods) were removed, but some were considered ‘beautiful’ and preserved. The seventeenth and eighteenth-century furnishings, described as “irregularly placed and most disadvantageous to the understanding of the sermon, box-like, white-yellow painted, formless ... worm-eaten, and dilapidated” (41), were removed and replaced with benches in an ‘appropriate style’ - indicated by Klewitz. The thirteenth-century altar in the middle of the nave was considered an obstacle for the regular arrangement of the seats, and so was the thirteenth-century Chapel of the Holy Tomb with the statues of Otto I and his wife, removed to a side chapel.

The mediaeval lime rendering was removed (with much difficulty) from the walls and from the vaults, and completely renewed. The painted decoration of ashlar imitation on the original rendering was copied on the new plaster. The wall paintings of the mediaeval chapel at the west entrance were completely repainted copying the original. The floors were all rebuilt, the

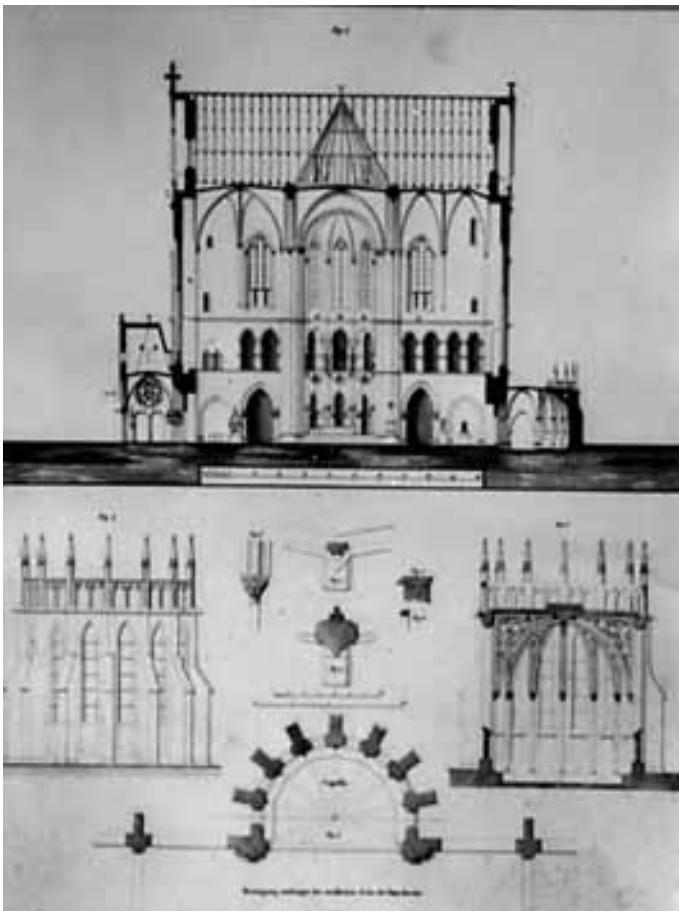


Figure 184. Clemens, Mellin, Rosenthal: Magdeburg Cathedral, proposed restoration of the choir

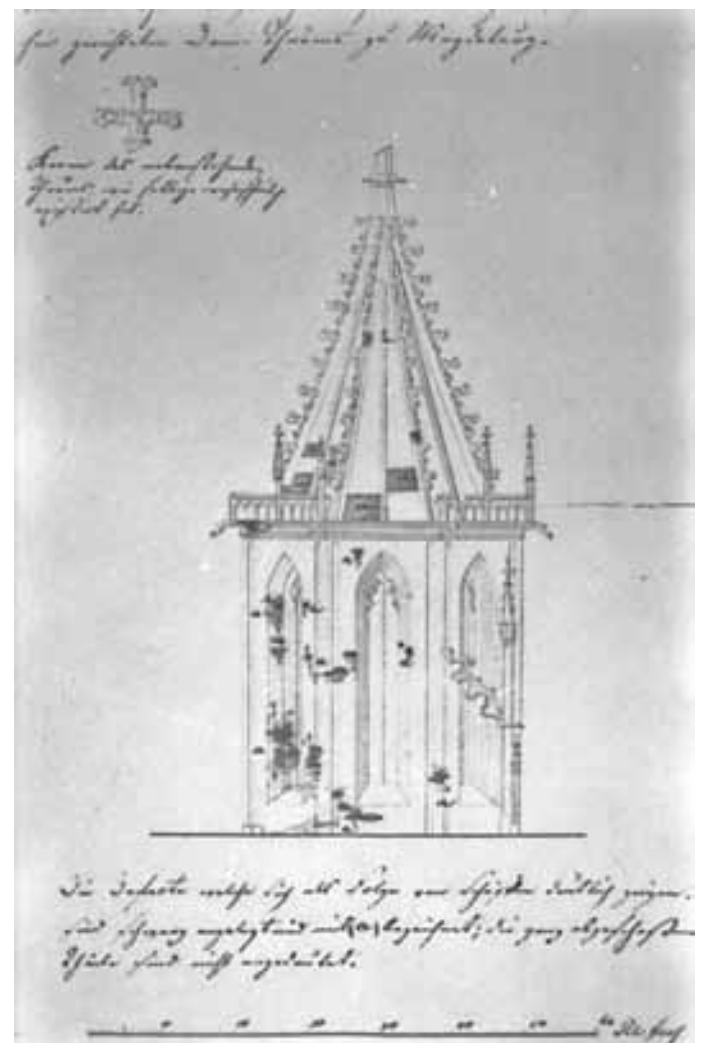
tombstones taken out to the cloister and fixed on the wall; important inscriptions of the tombs of bishops were recarved on the new floor. While on the exterior of the Cathedral, the carved ornaments were mostly remade, sculptural decorations in the interior were well preserved and were kept intact. (42) Necessary structural reinforcements in the interior were made with visible devices; iron bands were used for the piers; the central rib of the choir vault was reinforced by fixing a cast-iron element under it. In 1830, the tombs of three archbishops were discovered under the floor and excavated. A number of interesting objects were found, and although proposals were made for keeping them on display in the church, it was decided to put them back in the tombs, respecting the last will of one of the bishops. Casts were made, however, of the most interesting objects. (43) The tomb of Otto I, in the centre of the choir, built in the form of a sarcophagus out of ancient marbles, was also carefully studied. It remained in place and was surrounded with a decorative iron fence. (44)

The Western Towers

Repair of roof structures started together with the choir, but the work lasted until 1834 - being the last to be completed. All tile roofs were relaid in slates, considered lighter in weight and also architecturally

better suited to the style of the building. (45) This, however, changed its character and made it look more austere. The restoration of the western towers had originally been planned before the interior, but was delayed, and done only after it. (46) The north-west tower was thus repaired beginning in 1829, and the south-west tower was scaffolded the following year. The southern tower especially had problems with the stonework, and much stone had to be renewed in the whole west front. The finial of the northern tower was consolidated in 1831, but the missing finial of the south tower caused some discussion. According to a legend, this had been shot down during the siege of General Tilly in 1629-1631. (47) Investigations were made to find out whether this could have been possible with the canons of the time; and the answer was considered positive. Later it was discovered that the finial had actually been missing already before the siege of Tilly, and other stories gave it to have been blown down by a storm in the sixteenth century. (48) Nevertheless, considering that the missing finial had become characteristic of the Cathedral, and also that there were the legends related to it - whether true or

Figure 185. Magdeburg Cathedral, drawing of the south tower, indicating damages (manuscript)



not, it was decided to leave the tower without its finial as a “historic monument”. (49)

The Completion of the Restoration

The restoration proceeded according to the schedules and was completed in time. Building materials were available in sufficient quantities, and while the works went on also the skill of the workmen improved. No accidents were reported during the work. Klewitz was able to give a favourable report to the King on the contribution of all those who had worked in the restoration. However, Clemens had died in 1831, and Kurella, his colleague had left Magdeburg in 1832. (50) Once the Cathedral was restored, it was decided to pay some attention to its surroundings. Some buildings from the south-eastern corner had already been demolished in 1826 to free the building. Now the surrounding areas were planted, and iron railings constructed around the Cathedral. French troops had damaged the Lindenalleen, the tree-planted streets surrounding the square on the north-side. It was decided to consult Schinkel and have them replanted. (51) On the completion of this “most beautiful monument” of the Fatherland, a marble inscription was fixed in the interior stating: “The piety of His Majesty King Friedrich Wilhelm III is to be thanked for the complete restoration of this venerable Cathedral during the years 1825 to 1836.” (52) On 18 January 1835, the Bishop held a sermon of thanksgiving for the successful completion of the work.

Although Schinkel, as a member of the General Directorate, had not favoured the restoration of sculptural ornaments in this or similar buildings, he had still contributed to saving the ‘lead tower’ in its original form. In the interior, various ‘inappropriate’ monuments were destroyed or removed in order to open a free perspective through the building as had become fashionable in England. Here, too, Schinkel helped to protect the fifteenth-century choir screen considering it “appropriate in relieving somewhat the empty and naked feeling, so easily received in newly restored churches.” (53) Having the interior newly rendered and painted in relatively light colours, made the space look full of light; this effect was only intensified by the plain glass windows. This result was met also with some criticism; in 1832, Franz Kugler, professor of art history, wrote in his diaries about this ‘dazzling white’ paint and the excessive light coming through unpainted windows, and lamented that “the magic semi-darkness, that speaks to us like a beautiful pious saga of bygone times, and fills the breast with a quiet longing, and which is like a shadow of the holy

martyr-glowing window-pictures; that historic spell has been robbed!” (54)

The bombardments towards the end of the Second World War destroyed the city of Magdeburg almost totally. The Cathedral itself was badly damaged. The west front was opened by bomb explosions, 300 sq.m of vaults of the side aisles collapsed, the interior suffered badly of fire, and all windows were destroyed. The precious twelfth- and thirteenth-century sculptures, however, survived without damage under the protection of reinforced concrete structures. Immediately after the end of the war, restoration started, and by 1949 the roofs and windows had already been repaired; by 1955, the restoration was again completed. In this work, full respect was given to the nineteenth-century restoration. In cases where ornamental parts had been lost, these were replaced by new artistic work (by H. Apel). In the interior, while preserving the general appearance, some of the monuments and chapels, removed in the previous restoration, such as the so-called Otto-Edith-Kapelle, were brought back to their original place in the Cathedral. (55)

Figure 186. Magdeburg Cathedral, western towers in 1979



Notes to Chapter Eleven

1. Sello, H., 'Dom Altertümer', Geschichts-Blätter für Stadt und Land Magdeburg, XXVI, 1891, II, 108ff.
 2. Sello, *ibid*; Dehio, G., Handbuch der deutschen Kunstdenkmäler, 'Der Bezirk Magdeburg', Berlin 1974, 265.
 3. Brandt, C.L., Der Dom zu Magdeburg, eine Jubelschrift zur Feier seiner 500 jährigen Weihe, Magdeburg 1863, 9ff.
 4. Dehio, *ibid*, 272.
 5. Brandt, *ibid*, 18ff.
 6. Brandt, *ibid*, 26.
 7. 'Allerh.KO. vom 14. Oktober 1815 (GS.S.206) betr. wesentl. Veränderung an Denkmälern': "...bei jeder wesentlichen Veränderung an öffentlichen Gebäuden oder Denkmälern..." (Weimers, Handbuch für die Denkmalpflege, Hannover 1912, 434). Rave, P.O., 'Schinkel als Beamter, Ein Abschnitt preussischer Bauverwaltung', Karl Friedrich Schinkel, Architektur, Malerei, Kunstgewerbe, (Exh.Cat.) Berlin 1981, 75ff.
 8. See Chapter fifteen.
 9. Von Alterstein and von Schreckmann to the King, 1 February 1826, (BI 45-48, Rep C20 II Nr 44 II, Magdeburg Archiv): (BI 45)
"...wodurch einem ehrwürdigen Gebäude altdeutscher Kunst eine Zierde beraubt werden würde, bedenklich schien."
- The entire report reads as follows:
- "Schon im Jahre 1819 zeigte die Regierung zu Magdeburg an dass die dortige Domkirche einer Haupt-Reparatur bedürftig sei. Dabei reichte sie zugleich die Auskläge von den notwendigsten Reparaturen ein und trug darauf an den Bleiturm oder den sogenannten Reiter, welcher auf der Mitte des Kirchendachs angebracht ist, zur Ersparung der Unterhaltungskosten abtragen zu lassen. Da nun dem Minister der geistlichen 5.5. Angelegenheiten ein solcher Beitrag wodurch eine Zierde beraubt werden würde bedenklich schien, so forderte ich die Ober-Bau-Deputation zum Gutachten auf, in wiefern dieser Auftrag für zulässig erachtet werden könne und erforderte zugleich deren nähere Zusage welche Reparaturen an diesem Gebäude die dringenden und daher sofort zu bewirken sein möchten. Die Ober-Bau-Deputation erklärte hierauf, dass man sich durchaus kein Recht anmassen dürfe, an einem der ersten und schönsten Monumente altdeutscher Baukunst in Eur. Königl. Majestät Staaten einer Veränderung der Form vorzunehmen, und die Abtragung des Bleiturms um so weniger nachgegeben werden könne, da schon bei der blossen Betrachtung des Gebäudes der erste Anblick dem Beschauer desselben tragen müsste, dass dem Architekten bei der Anordnung des Bleiturms das sehr richtige Gefühl geleitet habe, dadurch der langen Linie des Kirchendaches eine Unterbrechung zu

geben, die zugleich den Mittelpunkt über dem Chor oder dem Kreuz äusserlich bezeichnen soll. Die Ober-Bau-Deputation trug daher darauf an, wegen Reparatur des Bleiturms ganz in seiner jetzigen Form einen Anschlag anfertigen zu lassen und mit den höchst dringenden Reparaturen der Kirche nach den Anschlägen schon vor ihrer Revision den Anfang zu machen. Dabei bemerkte die Ober-Bau-Deputation im allgemeinen dass die ganze Architektur dieses achtungswürdigen Denkmals in einem sehr zerrütteten Zustand sich befinde, und besonders die oberen Teile der beiden grossen Türme viel gelitten hätten. Ihr Anschlag dahin eine vollständige Aufnahme und Veranschlagung aller am Dom zu Magdeburg wonach alsdann auf einer Reihe von Jahren die Ausführung der zu bewirkenden Reparaturen reportiert werden können, indem so bedeutende Arbeiten insbesondere die Herstellung aller vorhandenen Sandstein Ornamente an diesem Gebäude erfordern, schon der Kosten wegen nicht mit einem Male zu bewirken seien und es zuch zweckmässig sein würde, inzwischen das Gebäude selbst der grösseren Sorge und Obhut unserer sachverständigen an zu vertrauen, die unterdessen eine genauere Kenntniss seiner Teile und dessen was zu ihrer Erhaltung not tut, sich würden verschafft haben. Die Regierung zu Magdeburg ist non hiernach angewiesen worden, die dringenden Reparaturen nach den Anschlägen sofort bewirken zu lassen übrigens aber wegen Aufnahme anderweiter Anschläge nicht nur zu Herstellung des Bleiturms sondern auch zur ... baulicher Instandsetzung der ganzen Domkirche nach den Bewirkungen der Ober-Bau-Deputation zu verfahren, und diese Anschläge unter Vorlegung der Zeichnungen und Zubehör mit ihren gutachtlichen Vorschlägen begleitet, vorher einzureichen.

Eur. Königl. Majestät erlauben wir uns hiernach die demgemäss von der Regierung eingesandten vollständigen Anschläge und Zeichnungen von der Reparatur aenderung in Magdeburg nebst den dazugehörigen hbrigen ausarbeitungen in tiefer Ehrfurch vorzulegen.

Nach dem Inhalt des Haupt-Erläuterungs wird zur völligen Instandsetzung ein Kostenaufwache von 310.056rt 28pgb 3ch erforderlich sein, nämlich:

1. zur Herstellung des hohen Chors: 18.793rt, 12 pgb, 2ch
2. ... der Kreuzarm: 18.793rt, 12pgb, 2ch
3. ... des Schiffes der Kirche: 14.918rt, 19pgb, 11ch
4. ... des nördlichen Turms:
5. ... des südlichen Turms:
6. ... des Mittelgebäudes:
7. ... des Inneren der Kirche:
8. ... Vollendung der beiden östlichen Türme:
9. ... Erneuerung des Bleiturms oder sog. Aufreiters:
10. ... Umdeckung der Ziegeldächer in Schiefer und Reparatur der übrigen

Alle diese Reparaturen würden in einem Zeitraum von 15 Jahren ausgeführt werden können, wenn dazu jährlich 20.000 rt bestimmt werden möchten. Am zweckmässigsten könnte dann die ganze Reparatur des Doms in folgender Ordnung ausgeführt werden:

1. Im ersten Jahre: Die Herstellung der beiden Kreuzarme
2. Im zweiten: Die Arbeiten am hohen Chor
3. Im dritten: Die Reparatur des Mittelschiffes
4. Im vierten: Die Reparatur an den Beidseiten des Doms
5. Im fünften: Die Erneuerung des Bleitürms und die Dachdeckung
6. Im sechsten: Die Vollendung der Dacharbeiten, Bearbeitung der Rüstungen zum südlichen Turm.
7. Im siebenten: Die Arbeiten am südlichen Turm selbst.
8. Im achten: Die Vollendung dieser Arbeiten.
9. Im neunten: Die Herstellung des ganzen Mittelgebäudes.
10. Im zehnten: Die Reparaturen des nördlichen Turms.
11. Im elften: Die Beendigung dieser Arbeiten.
12. Im zwölften sowie
13. Im dreizehnten und
14. Im vierzehnten Jahre: Die Beendigung aller Arbeiten im Inneren des Gebäudes und endlich,
15. im fünfzehnten Jahre Die Vollendung der beiden östlichen Türme. Wird nur das nötigste gemacht und auf eigentliche Vollständigkeit der Herstellung wozu die Vollendung der beiden östlichen Türme die Umwandlung des Daches in ein Schieferdach und das Abreiben und Oelen des ganzen Gebäudes gehört, verzichtet, so sind nur 226.856 rt 22 pgb 9 ch erforderlich und so wird in diesem Falle bei einer Bewilligung von jährlich 20.000 rt die ganze Reparatur des Doms in 10 bis 11 Jahren bewirkt werden können.

Die Ober-Bau-Deputation hat sich mit den ihr vorgelegten fälligen Anschlägen, welche jedoch bei einer solchen bedeutenden Reparatur immer nur als Uebersichten gelten können, im allgemeinen einverstanden erklärt. Zwar hat sie auf die Frage ob die bedeutenden Kosten dieses Reparaturbaus, welche Fiskus als Nachfolger des aufgehobenen Domstifts zu tragen hat, nicht noch ermässigt werden können, anheim gestellt, die Menge kleiner sich mehr oder weniger immer wiederholender Ornamente nur Gliederungen in den Sandstein ... womit dieses Gebäude überdeckt ist, und welche zum grössten Teil unabhängig von der Construction der übrigen Kosten seien, seinem Schicksal zu werden würden; wenn man nur von Zeit zu Zeit dafür sorgte, dasjenige was davon herabzufallen droht, sogleich wegschaffen und den Ort wo es sass, so bearbeiten zu lassen, dass die Witterung keinen Einfluss

mehr darauf haben kann, indem es genügen würde, wenn man allenfalls der Kunstgeschichte wegen einen kleinen Teil des Gebäudes in seiner ganzen Vollständigkeit Conservierte, im übrigen aber einzig und allein nur das berhecksichtigte was zur Erhaltung des Reste in statisch constructiver Hinsicht nutzbar sei, weil für die ersten der folgenden Jahrhunderte die bunte Wirkung solcher alten Bauwerke immer noch mit der Hälfte der Ornamente erreicht werde, wenn auch die andere Hälfte theils ganz fehlen, theils in einem unvollkommenen Zustande gesehen werden müsste. Durch die Ausführung dieses Prinzips glaubt die Ober-Bau-Deputation sogar dass das Dom und ähnliche Gebäude in noch späterer Zeit, wenn sie erst alle unwesentlichen Teile verloren hätten, in ihrem Zustand eher gewinnen als verlieren dürften. Wir können indes diese Meinungen und Ansichten der Ober-Bau-Deputation nicht teilen, glauben vielmehr, dass wenn das Domgebäude in Magdeburg die von ihr als unwesentlich bezeichneten Ornamente der gothischen Baukunst einst verloren haben wird das ganze Ansehen dieses ehrwürdigen und in der Geschichte sehr merkwürdigen Denkmals altdeutscher Baukunst eher verlieren als gewinnen müssen. Die grosse Anzahl kleiner Verzierungen, in denen ein Reichtum künstlerischer Ideen und ... Laune der Baumeister sich kund gibt, kann man wohl nicht zu den unwesentlichen Theilen solcher Gebäude zählen, sie sind vielmehr dazu geeignet bei dem vermutlich freien Kunstkenner und Kunstfreunde den Eindruck zu erhöhen den diese Bauwerke, in Gegensatz dieser Ornamente, durch ihre imponierende Grösse und Masse hervorbringen. Es scheint uns, dass bei richtiger Würdigung des Gegenstandes sich auch hierunter ein richtiges Maass halten, und das wesentlichere von dem ganz unwesentlichen ausscheiden lässt so wie auch dass bei einer richtigen Einleitung, solche Gebäude wohl vollständig repariert werden können, ohne übermässige Summen auf einmal nötig zu machen, wenn nur mit Vorsicht und Geschick darauf gedacht wird, die namentlich bei den Ornamenten sich ergebenden Verstümmelungen und gebrochen nach und nach wiederherzustellen.

Unter solchen Umständen können Eure Königl. Majestät allerhöchsten Entscheidung wir nur in tiefster Ehrfurcht anheim stellen ob und in welcher Art die Reparatur des Doms in Magdeburg ausgeführt werden soll, und ob allerhöchst dieselben geruhen wollen, die Kosten aus dem Extraordinaire der General-Staats-Kasse innerhalb 10 oder 15 Jahren, je nach dem die ganze Herstellung des Doms mit einem Kostenaufwand von 310.056 rt 28 pgb 3 ch oder nur des notwendigen Theils zum Betrage von 226.856 rt 22 pgb 9 ch bewirkt werden soll, alljährlich mit 20.000 Talern allergnädigst anweisen zu lassen. Schliesslich erlauben wir uns noch ehrfurchtsvoll zu bemerken, dass nach der Angabe der Ober-Bau-Deputation die Herstellung der beiden Kreuzarme höchst dringend erscheint und die grösste Gefahr im Verzuge dieser Instandsetzung zu befürchten ist.

Berlin den 1ten Februar 1826

Ihre Exzellenzen die Hohen Wirklichen Geheimen Staatsminister Freiherrn von Altenstein und von Schreckmann.”

10. Ibid, (BI 45) “einem der ersten und schönsten Monumente altdeutscher Baukunst in Eur. Königl. Majestät Staaten”

11. See chapter fifteen.

12. (Rep.C. 20.II Nr.44 Vol.I, 6) Report, 1 May 1825, Costenoble had given to Klewitz the first estimates for the work on 12 February 1821. (ibid, 8), Clemens Pro Mem., 12 June 1825: On 3 March 1822, Costenoble had provided the Ober-Bau-Deputation with some sketches and plans, which were, however, not considered sufficient as a basis for the work.

13. Fritsche, H.A., ‘Der Architekturmaler Carl Georg Adolf Hasenpflug (*1802,+1858), ein Wegbereiter der Denkmalpflege’, Jahrbuch der Denkmalpflege in der Provinz Sachsen und in Anhalt, 1937/38, 93ff.

14. The King to Staatsminister von Klewitz, 10 February 1826 (Rep.C.20 II Nr.44 Vol.I,10; Magdeburg Archiv):

“Wie Ich vernommen habe, sind grosse Kosten erforderlich, um die Dom-Kirche in Magdeburg in baulichen Würden zu erhalten und herzustellen. Das alte ehrwürdige Gebäude darf nicht verfallen, die bedeutenden Kosten der Reparatur aus öffentlichen Fonds zu bereiten, wird aber seine Schwierigkeit haben, und Ich will daher Sechszigtausend Thaler aus Meiner Chatouille dazu verwenden lassen, welche Sie von dem Geheimen Cammerier Timm zur weitem Verfügung empfangen werden.

Berlin, den 10ten Februar 1826,

Friedrich Wilhelm

An den Staats-Minister von Klewitz zu Magdeburg.”

15. Klewitz to the King, 3 March 1828 (Sign.2.2.1. Nr.22113, 21-21v, Zentrales Staatsarchiv, Merseburg) Burchardt, J.H.B., Momente zur Geschichte des Dom-Reparatur-Baues in Magdeburg, 1826-1834, Magdeburg 1835, 16ff. Harms, ‘Von dem Wiederherstellungsbau des Magdeburger Domes 1826 bis 1834’, Die Denkmalpflege, VI, xii, 21.9.1904, 96ff.

16. Clemens-Mellin-Rosenthal (fortgesetzt von Clemens-Rosenthal), Der Dom zu Magdeburg, I-V, Magdeburg 1830-1852.

17. Von Altenstein and von Schreckmann to the King, 1 February 1826, op.cit.

18. Clemens to Klewitz, 17 February 1826 (Rep.C 20 II, Nr.44 II, BI 22ff, Magdeburg Archiv)

19. Clemens, P.M., 3 March 1826 (Rep.C 20 II, Nr.44 II, BI 50ff, Magdeburg Archiv).

20. Klewitz to the King, 27 December 1834 (Sign. 2.2.1. Nr. 22113, 75ff, Zentrales Staatsarchiv, Merseburg).

21. Die Königliche Ober-Bau-Deputation (Eytelwein, Schinkel, Bauer, Crelle) to the Ministers, von Altenstein and von Bülow, 30 May 1825 (Rep.C 20 II, Nr.44 II, BI 24ff, Magdeburg Archiv): “vollkommen zweckmässig”.

The whole document reads as follows:

“Die von Euren Excellenzen unterm 28ten d.M. uns zugefertigten weitläufigen Anschläge zur Reparatur des Doms zu Magdeburg haben wir, so weit es sich ohne Ort und Stelle zu sein, und überhaupt bei einem so komplizierten Reparaturbau tun liess, nach den sehr vollständig bearbeiteten Erläuterung ... rediviert, und müssten uns im Ganzen damit einverstanden erklären. Wir finden ganz besonders auch die Folge, in welcher die Arbeiten zur Ausführung kommen sollen vollkommen zweckmässig. Im Allgemeinen bemerken wir, dass für speziellsten Anschläge immer nur als Ueberschläge betrachtet werden können, weil alles das was im Verlauf der Ausführung möglicherweise vorkommen kaum vorher mehr zu berechnen ist. In Betracht der bei den bedeutenden Summen dieser Anschläge zu machenden Ersparungen glauben wir nicht dass weiter damit gegangen werden dürfte, als vorläufig die eingereichte Uebersicht Lit B.E.E. angibt, welche mit der Kostensumme von 226.856 rl 22 gl 9 ch abschliesst, wenn man nicht überhaupt bei Herstellung von dergleichen Bauwerken des 12ten bis 15ten Jahrhunderts ein ganz anderes Prinzip walten lassen will. Es ist nicht zu leugnen dass sämtliche Bauwerke dieser Zeit deren Baufähigkeit in unseren Tagen zuerst recht sichtbar wird und kunftig hin in Progressionen wächst mit einer so vollkommenen Sorgfalt für jedes einzelne Detail wie in den vorliegenden Anschlägen erhalten weren sollen, dem Staat eine fast unerschwingliche Last aufgebürdet wird. Die übermässige Anzahl kleiner sich mehr oder weniger immer wiederholender Ornamente und Gliederungen, womit diese Gebäude überdeckt sind, in denen nur ein mechanischer Schematismus fein erkünsteltes Spiel treibt, aber die eigentlichen Aufgaben der Schönen Kunst: ‘ideale Auffassung menschlicher und Natur Zustände angeben und aufgelöst sind, diese Ornamente sämtlich mit pedantischer Sorgfalt auf die Nachwelt zu bringen’, hiesse mit enormen Mitteln welche würde das Eigentümliche einer Kunsthandlung erhalten, welches allein dazu da wäre zu zeigen, wie man es nicht machen solle. Ein sehr grosses Teil dieser Ornamente ist unabhängig von der Konstruktion der Massen, wenn daher dieses Teil seinem Schicksal überlassen würde, wenn von Zeit zu Zeit dafür gesorgt würde, dasjenige was davon herab zu fallen droht, wegzuschaffen und den Ort wo es sass so zu bearbeiten dass die Witterung keinen Einfluss mehr darauf haben kann, wenn man allenfalls der Kunstgeschichte wegen, einen kleinen Teil des Gebäudes in seiner ganzen Vollständigkeit konserwirte, im übrigen aber einzig und allein das berücksichtigte, was zur Erhaltung der Masse in statisch Constructiver Hinsicht nötig ist, so würden ausserordentliche Summen erspart, und für die ersten der folgenden Jahrhunderte wird die bunte der Ornamente erreicht, wenn auch die andere Hälfte teils ganz fehlen,

teils in unvollkommenen Zustände gesehen werden sollte; vielleicht dürfte gerade das Fehlende die Pfantasie solcher Romantiker die daran auch künftig noch Geschmack finden sollten, noch mehr aufreizen und den Gegenstand noch interessanter machen. Dass aber ein noch späterer Zeit, wenn diese Gebäude alle unwesentliche Teile verloren haben werden, ihr Žusseres eher gewinnen als verlieren dürften, ist wenigstens bei sehr vielen derselben wahrscheinlich. Sollten nun nach einem solchen Prinzip bei dem vorliegenden Gegenstande verfahren werden so bedürfte es einer ganz anderen Bearbeitung der Anschläge und wir müssten die Entscheidung hierüber Euren Exzellenzen ganz gehorsamst anheimstellen. Hinsicht der Construction und Ausführung einzelner Teile dieses Reparaturbaues bemerken wir nur, dass wir uns mit den Arbeiten der angegriffenen Mauerflächen im Innern der Domkirche sowohl als in einzelnen Teilen des Žusseren nicht einverstanden erklären, weil Steine die durch lange eingedrungene Fluchtigkeit eine solche äussere Zerstörung zeigen wie die Erläuterungen der Anschläge sei darstellen, gewöhnlich im inneren auf gleiche Weise aufgelöst sind. Wir würden vorziehen, in diesem Falle die äusseren Flächen mit dem sehr vorzüglichen römischen Zement, der aus England hber Hamburg durch das Haus - Tode et Comp. - beschafft wird, zu überziehen und glatt zu putzen. Dieser Zement ernährt sich durch die Feuchtigkeit, wieht solche aus der inneren Mauere an sich, und gewinnt nachher eine solche Festigkeit, dass von aussenher die Feuchtigkeit nicht mehr eindringen kann. Die Ort wie die Abfallrinnen von Kupfer in den äusseren Pfeilern der Kirche mittelst festen verzinckten in Zementmörtel angebracht werden sollen, würden wir deshalb nicht zweckmässig halten, weil dadurch die Reparatur der Rinnen unmöglich wird, indem künftig eine solche kupferne Rinne, ohne den ganzen Pfeiler einzureissen gar nicht herausgenommen werden kann. Wenn es möglich ist die steinernen Rinnen vor Einbringung der kupfernen Röhren inwendig zu zementieren, und nach Erhärtung des Zements die kupfernen Rinnen mit hinreichendem Spielraum einzulassen, so würde dies sehr wünschenswert sein jedoch kaum dies nur in dem Fall stattfinden, dass von Distanz zu Distanz, der Höhe nach Oeffnungen von hinreichender Grösse zu einer Steinrinne findet oder machen kann und mittelst hölzerner Formen, in welche der Zementmörtel eingegossen wird und die nachher herausgenommen werden, der Raum für die kupfernen Rinnen vorgerichtet wird. Wir bemerken noch im Allgemeinen, dass die Herstellung der beiden Kreuzarme der Kirche vor allen Dingen höchst dringend erscheint und die grösste Gefahr im Verzuge zu befürchten ist. Die Zeichnungen die Anschläge die Erläuterungen und sämtliche übrigen Stücke reichen wir gehorsamst zurück.

Berlin, den 30ten Mai 1825,

Königliche Ober-Bau-Deputation

(gez.) Eytelwein, Schinkel, Bauer, Crelle

An den Königlichen wirklichen Geheimen Staatsminister Herrn Freiherrn von Altenstein, Exzellenz, und an den Königlichen wirklichen Geheimen Staatsminister Herrn Grafen von Bülow, Exzellenz.”

22. Idem.

23. Idem. “...seinem Schicksal überlassen würde”.

24. Idem. “...vielleicht dürfte gerade das Fehlende die Pfantasie solcher Romantiker die daran auch künftig noch Geschmack finden sollten, noch mehr aufreizen und den Gegenstand noch interessanter machen.”

25. Idem, “...gewinnt nachher eine solche Festigkeit, dass von aussenher die Feuchtigkeit nicht mehr eindringen kann.”

26. Clemens to Klewitz, 17 February 1826, op.cit.: “... das Schreiben der Ober-Bau-Deputation vom 30ten Mai d.J. in Abschrift mit dem Bemerken ganz ergenst hierbie, dass ich mit den darin ausgesprochenen Meinungen und Ansichten derselben nach denen die vielen Ornamente gothischer Bauwerken für unwesentlich erklärt und deren vollständige Reparatur nicht für nötig erachtet wird, nicht einverstanden bin. Dies habe ich bereits gegen den Herrn Geheimen Staats-Minister von Schreckmann Exzellenz erklärt welcher meiner Meinung begetreten ist. Die grosse Anzahl kleiner Verzierungen an Gothischen Gebäuden, in denen sich ein unendlicher Fleiss, oft sogar ein Reichtum künstlerischer Ideen und genialer Laune der Baumeister kund gibt, kann man wohl nicht wie die Ober-Bau-Deputation vermeint, zu den unwesentlichen Teilen solcher Gebäude zählen; sie sind vielmehr dazu geeignet, bei dem vorurtheilsfreien Kunstkenner und Kunstfreunde den Eindruck zu erhöhen den diese Bauwerke im Gegensatz dieser Ornamente, durch ihre imponierende Grösse und Masse hervorbringen. Mir scheint es auch hierunter ein richtiges Maas halten, und das wesentlichere von dem ganz unwesentlichen füglich ausscheiden lässt, Einteilung solcher Gebäude wohl vollständig repariert werden können ohne übermässige Summen auf einmal nutig zu machen, wenn nur mit Vorscht und Geschick darauf gedacht wird, die namentlich auch bei den Ornamenten des Doms sich ergebenden Verstümmelungen und Gebrechen nach und nach wieder herzustellen. Dieser Ansicht würde auch in dem jetzt zurückgelegten Immediat-Bericht Seiner Majestät dem Könige in eben dieser Art vorgetragen worden seien.” These comments had been taken further by von Altenstein and von Schreckmann in their letter to the King, 1 February 1826 (op.cit.).

27. Klewitz to the King, 28 May 1826 (Sign. 2.2.1. Nr.22113, 6v, Zentrales Staatsarchiv, Merseburg): “Unter diesen Umständen war es mir zunächst wichtig durch den Regierungsbaurat Clemens, zu dessen Geschäftskreis dieser Bau gehört, mit dem Geheimen Ober-Bau-Rat Schinkel mündliche Rücksprache nehmen zu lassen. Hiernach be der Wiederherstellung des Gebäudes auf den Zusammenhang des ganzen Rücksicht zu nehmen sein, um die so seltene Reinheit des Styls zu erhalten, rücksichtlich des gegenwärtigen Zustandes der Ornament

so tritt dagegen die Notwendigkeit, den Dom in seinen rohen Massen darzustellen, noch nicht ein und es wird nur eine zu grosse Aengstlichkeit mildern und das wahrhaft unwesentliche ausgeschieden werden müssen. Von diesem Gesichtspunkte ausgehend erachtet der a Clemens zu der sonach beschränkten Ausführung der vorliegenden Anschläge von 204.000 Taler für notwendig, womit innerhalb eines Zeitraumes von 9 bis 10 Jahren folgende Arbeiten auszuführen sein würden. Im Jahre 1826. Die Herstellung des nördlichen Kreuzarmes, eines Teils des südlichen und mehrere Vorarbeiten des ganzen Baues, 21.000.

Im Jahre 1827. Die Vollendung der Kreuzarme, die Erneuerung des Bleitürms und die Reparatur eines Teils des hohen Chors, 22.500.

In den Jahren 1828 und 1829. Herstellung des Schiffs, 35.000.

In den Jahren 1830 bis 1832. Die Arbeiten an den beiden grossen Türmen und dem Mittelgebäude, 68.000.

In den Jahren 1833 und 1834. Die Herstellung des Inneren der Kirche, und die Beendigung des ganzen Baues, 32.000; zur Bestreitung der Dacharbeiten, 5.400; und die Kosten der Rüstungen, 20.000.”

28. Klewitz to the King, 3 March 1828 (Sign. 2.2.1. Nr. 22113, 21ff, Zentrales Staatsarchiv, Merseburg).

29. Mellin and Rosenthal to Kurella and Clemens, 4 August 1826 (Rep.C 20 II, Nr.45, BI 117-118, Magdeburg Archiv):

“Magdeburg am 4ten August 1826

An den Königlichen Regierungsrat Kurella, Hochwohlgeboren, und an den Königl. Regierung und Baurath Herrn Clemens Hochwohlgeboren, hier.

Bei der jetzt in Ausführung begriffenen Erneuerung des sogenannten Bleitürms auf dem Domkirchendache haben wir darüber nachgedacht, auf welche Weise wohl das ausdrückliche und mit dem Ganzen gar nicht harmonisierende Ansehn des alten Turms bei dem neueren Turm auf eine dem Charakter des Dom's entsprechende Weise vermieden werden mögte. Wenn es nun wohl nicht zu läugnen ist 1 dass die Bleikleidung der Wände und Pfeiler nicht zu billigen ist weil indem sie den unterschied zwischen diesem und dem gleichmässig mit Blei bedeckten Dache vermischt, die Hutlichkeit also auch der Ausdruck vermindert und dann besonders, weil ein solcher Schutz der Würde, wenn er sichtbar wird, das hinfällige Material zu sehr verrät und dadurch eine gewisse Zmlichkeit ausspricht und 2. dass die auf der Hauptspitze und den 6 kleinen Giebfeldern des alten Bleitürms aufgesetzten einfachen runden Knöpfe dem altdeutschen Baustyl im allgemeinen ziemlich fremd sind und hier im Vergleich zu den zierlichen Spitzen und Kronen, mit denen am Dom die übrigen Turm und Giebelspitzen auf bei weitem schwereren Massen gekrönt und geschmückt sind, besonders unangenehm auffallen. So glauben wir nicht

zu fehlen, wenn wir folgende unmaasgebliche Ratschläge uns erlauben:

Ad 1. Das Dach des neuen Bleitürms mit Blei, die Wände aber mit starkem Pontonblech zubekleiden, und dieses mit einer passenden TMfarbe anzustreichen, wodurch zugleich um circa 300 Taler die Kosten bedeutend vermindert, die Dauer vermehrt und die Gesimse und Durchbrechungen weit schönere Profile erhalten würden.

Ad 2. Statt der runden Knöpfe ode Kugeln einfach verzierte Kreuze, die mit dem altdeutschen Baustyl im Allgemeinen sowohl als auch besonders hiermit den, dem Bleturm am nächsten liegenden Teilen des Gebäudes in besserer Uebereinstimmung stehen, zu wählen. Zur näheren Prüfung des letzten Punktes fügen wir gehorsamst eine Skizze vom alten und eine dergl. vom projektierten neuen Turme bei, und erlauben uns noch schliesslich zur Rechtfertigung dieser Abweichungen vom gegenwärtigen Zustande anzuführen, dass die rohe und zu den anderen Teilen des Gebäudes so wenig passende Form dieses sogenannten Bleitürms genugsam seine spätere und nicht nach dem ersten Bauplan ausgeführten Erbauung erreichen dürfte, also eine Znderung der ursprünglichen Formen, welche sonst überall ganz treu beibehalten und resp. wieder hergestellt werden müssen, durch die vorgeschlagene Ausführungsweise, gar nicht vorgenommen wird.

Schliesslich bitten wir recht dringend um möglichst gewogentliche Beschleunigung der Entscheidung auf die hier vorgeschlagenen Vorschläge, da in etwa 3 Wochen schon mit dem Aufrichten des Holzverbandes vom neuen Bleiturm angefangen werden wird, auch sogleich zu dessen Eindeckung geschritten werden muss.

Mellin, Rosenthal”

30. Comments by Clemens, 6 August 1826, on the same letter (ibid).

31. Klewitz to Mellin and Rosenthal, 14 August 1826, on the same letter (ibid).

32. Burchardt, Momente zur Geschichte, op.cit., 25.

33. Klewitz to the King, 15 October 1827 (Sign.2.2.1. Nr.22113, 14-19v; Zentrales Staatsarchiv, Merseburg; 14): “Die Pflicht der baulichen Herstellung des hiesigen Doms dem Ursprünglichen auf jede Weise treu zu bleiben, gebietet nur, Euer Königlichen Majestät zwei Gegenstände zur allerhöchsten Entscheidung vorzutragen...”

34. Clemens, ‘III. Pro-Memoria’, 3 October 1827 (Sign.2.2.1. Nr. 22113, 16-17v; Zentrales Staatsarchiv, Merseburg):

“III. Pro-Memoria Die Wiederherstellung der ursprnglichen Bedachung über dem Bischofsgang am hohen Chor des Doms zu Magdeburg betreffend.

Das hohe Chor der hiesigen Domkirche ist, wie bei allen älteren grössen Kirchen ungleich früher als das Schiff und die Haupttürme nach Abend, welche 150 Jahr später vollendet - erbaut worden.

Der Styl in diesem übrigens sehr schönen Chor ist deshalb mehr byzantinisch und erst am Mittelbau und an den Haupt-Türmen geht derselbe in den mehr ausgebildeten altdeutschen Styl über. Es findet sich daher am hohen Chor eine grosse Zahl dem späteren Styl ganz femder Blumenverzierungen, Halbkreis-Verzierungen u.s.w.

Ebenso sind hier unrsprünglich flache Abdachungen angewendet, wie solches der unteren Etage zeigen.

Gleichmässig flach war auch ursprünglich, so wie auf der hierbeigehenden Zeichnung no. I durch ABCD angedeutet. Die zweite Etage, oder der sogenannte Bischofsgang abgedacht und erst später, vielleicht in den Jahren 1684-1686. (wo die unteren Capellen mit Kupfer gedeckt wurden) sind die jetzt hier noch vorhandenen spitzwincklichten Zeltdächer so wie solche auf der Zeichnung no.

II. durch EFGHIK bezeichnet sind, aufgesetzt. Dass diese Abdachung so wie sie auf Blatt I angegeben, ursprünglich construiert ist, leidet darum durchaus keine Zweifel, weil selbige unter den aus Holz zusammengesetzten und mit Schiefer gedeckten Zeltdächern noch gegenwärtig fast vollkommen, vollständig aus Sandsteinplatten construiert, vorhanden ist.

2. weil hinter den Dächern die Einfassungen und Rundstäbe der oberen hohen Chorfenster vollständig bearbeitet ganz so herunter gehen, wie solches auf Blatt I angegeben, so dass selbst die Rundstäbe da wo selbige auf der ursprünglichen sandsteinernen Bedachung stehen gehörig ausgearbeitete Basen haben.

3. weil die Fensteröffnungen so weit solche jetzt von den Zeltdächern bedeckt werden, nur mit ganz rohen Steinen höchst nachlässig zugemauert sind,

4. weil diese Dächer höchst unregelmässige Formen und ebenso unpassende Stellungen haben, bei welchen zum Teil gar keine Rücksicht auf die unteren Vorsprünge und Winkel und noch weniger auf die oberen Chorfenster genommen ist.

Hiergegen könnte nun zwar angeführt werden dass in den Längenseiten der Kirche doch auch auf den Abseiten ähnliche kleine Dächer stehen, aber bei diesen ist zu berücksichtigen:

1. dass dieser Teil des Gebäudes schon bei weitem mehr in dem leichteren deutschen Baustyl gehalten,

2. dass diese Dächer ganz unregelmässig gegen die Pfeiler und Fenster stehen und diese letzteren nicht verdecken,

3. dass die runderen Giebel dieser Dächer aus Steinen construiert sind und guten aus Sanstein Verzierungen versehen sind.

Bei der jetzigen Herstellung des Gebäudes kann daher der Wunsch nicht unterdrückt werden, dass die Zeltdächer über dem Bischofsgang forfallen:

1. weil ursprünglich solche nicht vorhanden gewesen,

2. weil durch ihre Einnahme eine bei weitem schönere äussere Ansicht des hohen Chors mit den freien oberen Fenstern wieder gewonnen wird,

3. weil hierdurch die Beleuchtung des Inneren ausserordentlich gewinnt und die jetzt sich sehr hbelghaltende rohe Ausmauerung der unteren Fensterteile fortfällt, und

4. weil die Wiederherstellung der fortzuwünschenden unregelmässigen Zeltdächer, fast denselben Kostenaufwand erfordert als die Herstellung und wasserdichte Instandsetzung der darunter vorhandenen schönen Sandstein-Bedachungen.

Schliesslich wird noch hinsichtlich der Veranlassung des Baus der fortzunehmenden Zeltdächer bemerkt, wie solche am wahrscheinlichsten darin zu suchen ist, dass man in früheren Zeiten die flache sandsteinerne Abdachung nicht wasserdicht erhalten konnte, welches aber bei der jetzigen accurateren Arbeit und der dabei in Anwendung zu bringenden vorzüglichen Cemente gar keine Schwierigkeiten unterworfen ist; auch ist dieser Zweck durch die Zeltdächer keinesweges erreicht worden, da durch die vielen Kohlen und Rinnen, welche durch selbige gebildet werden, dass Wasser gegenwärtig bei weitem stärker durchdringt als auf denjenigen Stellen von welchen ein Teil dieser Dächer Behufs der Rüstungen hat eingenommen werden müssen, ohne hier bereit eine Verkittung der flachen Abdachung vorgenommen worden wäre. Magdeburg, den 3ten Oktober 1827, (gez.) Clemens."

35. Klewitz to the King, 15 October 1827, op.cit. 15v: "Bei fortgesetzten Gallerie dürfte die Ansicht gewinnen und die Nichtvollendung der Neben-Türme sich reiner und edler aussprechen. Eurer Königlichen Majestät Befehlen darüber sehe ich aller unterthänigst entgegen:

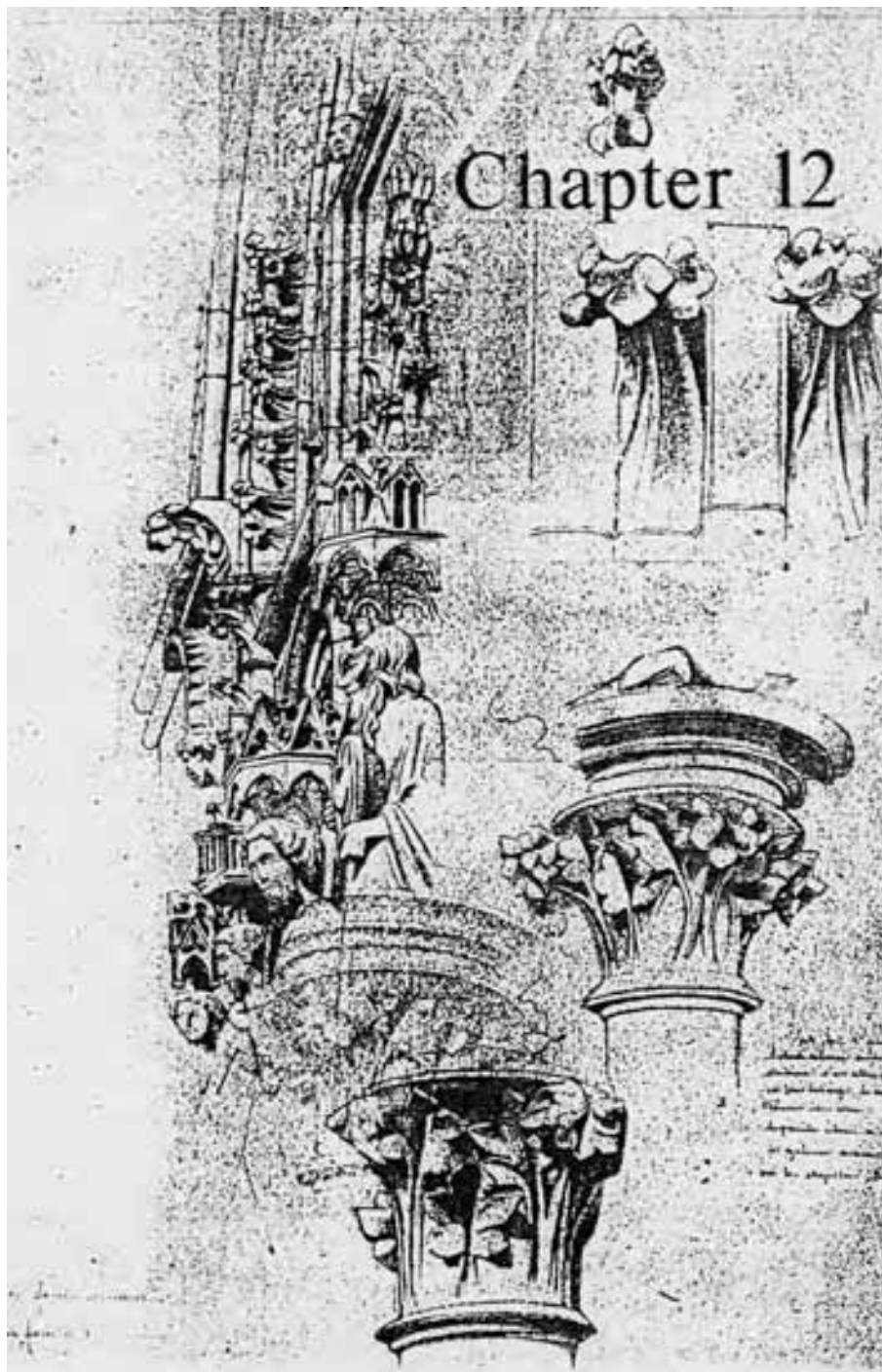
ob das Dach der beiden Neben-Türme so wie es auf dem südlichen bisher was oder ob die Neben-Türme mit flacher Abdachung und Gallerie herum abgeschlossen werden sollen?

Bei beiden Gegenständen werden die Kosten der einen oder anderen allerhöchster Entscheidung keinen erheblichen Unterschied machen dass er nicht aus Ersparungen sollte gedeckt werden können."

36. Clemens, 'Promemoria. Bedachung der auf der Morgenseite an den kreuzarmen des Doms zu Magdeburg stehenden Nebenthürme', 12 October 1827 (Sign.2.2.1. Nr. 22113, 18-19v; Zentrales Staatsarchiv, Merseburg, 19): "... Für die Construction ad b sprechen hingegen folgende sehr in Betrachtung zu ziehende Gründe: 1. Man erkennt bei solcher auf den ersten Blick, dass diese Türme noch unvollendet sind und dies ist ganz in der Ordnung, denn die ursprüngliche Idee des Baumeisters darf durch ein intermischtes Dach welches hier ein schlechtes Ansehen gewähre nicht im mindesten verdunkelt werden."

37. The King to Klewitz, 28 October 1827 (Rep. C 20 II, Nr.44 II; Magdeburg Archiv): “Auf Ihre Anfragen vom 15. d.M. bestimme Ich, dass die schadhaften Zeltdächer von Schiefer, welche von aussen über den sogenannten Bischofsgänge um das hohe Chor des dortigen Domes laufend nicht wieder hergestellt werden sollen, sondern die unter denselber befindliche flache Abdachung von Sandsteinplatten wasserdicht gemacht werden soll. Die beiden Nebentürme zur Seite des sogenannten Paradieses sind mit flacher Abdachung zu schliessen und die durch das jetzige Ziegeldach unterbrochene Gallerie ist um die Türme herum fortzuführen. Die eingereichten vier Zeichnungen empfangen Sie hierbei zurück.
Berlin, 28ten Okt. 1827,
Friedrich Wilhelm
An den Staats-Minister von Klewitz.”
38. Klewitz to the King, 24 November 1830 (Sign.2.2.1. Nr.22113, 53-54; Zentrales Staatsarchiv, Merseburg), 3 April 1829 (Rep.C 20 II, Nr.50, 68; Provinzialarchiv zu Magdeburg).
39. Clemens-Mellin-Rosenthal, Der Dom zu Magdeburg, op.cit., II, Tafel II. Klewitz to the King, 21 November 1829 (Sign.2.2.1. Nr.22113, 41-42v; Zentrales Staatsarchiv, Merseburg).
40. The King to Klewitz, 19 March 1828 (Burchardt, Momente zur Geschichte, op.cit., 21)
41. Burchardt, *ibid*, 86: “unregelmässig aufgestellten und für das Verstehen der Predigt höchst nachteiligen, kastenghnlichen, weiss und gelb angestrichenen und unförmlichen Stühle, Fensterloggen und Emporkirchen, welche bei ihrer grosser Baufähigkeit ohnehin nicht wieder hergestellt werden konnten, sind einfache in einem passenden Styl construierte Bänke, alle unter sich gleich, regelmässig aufgestellt.”
42. Klewitz to the King, 1 February 1829 (Rep.C 20 II, Nr.50, 58; Provinzialarchiv zu Magdeburg), 3 April 1830 (*ibid*, 93), 4 April 1830 (*ibid*, 101), 1 April 1831 (*ibid*, 107); 24 November 1830 (Sign.2.2.1. Nr.22113, 53; Zentrales Staatsarchiv, Merseburg).
43. Friedrich Wilhelm to Klewitz, 3 March 1830 (Burchardt, op.cit., 23); Klewitz to the King, 24 September 1830 (Burchardt, *ibid*, 52f)
44. Klewitz to the King, 22 December 1831 (Sign.2.2.1. Nr.22113, 58-60v; Zentrales Staatsarchiv, Merseburg).
45. The King to Klewitz, 3 February 1827 (Burchardt, *ibid*, 19f); Clemens, ‘Jahresbericht’, 13 April 1827 (Rep.C 20 II, Nr.50, 12; Provinzialarchiv, Magdeburg).
46. The King to Klewitz, 19 March 1828 (Burchardt, *ibid*, 21).
47. Klewitz to the King, 9 March 1829 (Burchardt, *ibid*, 52).
48. Brandt, Der Dom zu Magdeburg, op.cit., 18: it is possible that the South-Crown was never built! *Ibid*, 24: Coins of 1614-1622 show only one Crown on the western towers. Schultzen, C. Auf- und Abrechnen der löblichen Stadt Gardelegen etc. Gardeleger Chronik, Stendahl 1668: “A.C. 1540 schlug das Wetter in den Thum zu Magdeburg, warf herunter eine Rose, und that an diesem schönen Gebäude merklichen Schaden” (Brandt, *ibid*, 25).
49. The King to Klewitz, 19 March 1829: “Einverstanden mit dem in Ihrem Bericht von 9ten v.M. enthaltenen Gutachten will Ich, dass der südliche Thurm des dortigen Doms, als geschichtliches Denkmal, ohne Krone bleibe. Die eingereichte Zeichnung erfolgt zurück. Berlin, den 19ten März 1829, Friedrich Wilhelm.”
50. Klewitz to the King, 21 November 1829 (Sign.2.2.1. Nr.22113, 41-42v; Zentrales Staatsarchiv, Merseburg); Klewitz to the King, 27 December 1834 (Sign.2.2.1. Nr.22113, 75-76v; Zentrales Staatsarchiv, Merseburg).
51. Klewitz to the King, 27 December 1834 (op.cit.).
52. “Der Frömmigkeit Sr. Majestät des Königs Friedrich Wilhelm III. verdankt dieser ehrwürdige Dom seine vollständige Herstellung in den Jahren 1825-1834.” (Burchardt, Momente zur Geschichte, op.cit., 78)
53. “geeignet, das Leere und Nackte, welches die neurestaurierten Kirchen leicht innerlich gewinnen, einigermaßen aufzuheben” (Fritsche, ‘Der Architekturmaler... Hasenpflug’, op.cit., 100)
54. Kugler, F., ‘Reiseblätter vom Jahre 1832’, Museum, 1833, IV: “...man hat das Innere um den architektonischen Eindruck noch zu erhöhen, um die Verhältnisse des Ganzen und seiner Theile noch deutlicher hervortreten zu lassen, mit einer blendend weissen Farbe angestrichen und durch die unbemalten Fenster fällt überdies überflüssiges Licht herein ... Jenes magische Halbdunkel, welches wie eine schöne, fromme Sage vergangener Zeiten zu uns spricht und die Brust mit einer stillen Sehnsucht füllt und welches gleichsam ein Schatten ist der heiligen, martyrerghlühenden Fensterbilder - jener geschichtliche Zauber ist geraubt.” (Fritsche, *ibid*, 100)
55. Berger, Hans, ‘Die Wiederherstellung des Magdeburger Doms von 1945 bis 1955’, Architektur der DDR, X, 1982,

Chapter Twelve
Case Study: France,
Restoration of la Madeleine, Vézelay



12.1 French administration

The 1830 July Revolution in France, prepared by the historian and editor of *National*, Adolphe Thiers (1797-1877), forced Charles X to abdicate; the throne was taken by Louis Philippe I, Duke of Orleans (1830-48), who initiated the 'golden age' of the propertied bourgeoisie. Capitalism and industrialism gained ground. With the help of François-Pierre Guillaume Guizot (1787-1874), historian and Minister of the Interior, the King established a 'conservative-personal' regime. The demolition and the destructive use of historic buildings, initiated with the French Revolution of 1789, still continued.

At the same time, however, the Romantic movement and a growing sense of nationalism had focussed attention on the Middle Ages. Chateaubriand had 'introduced history into literature', and Victor Hugo became the father of the historic novel in France - following the example of Sir Walter Scott and his *Ivanhoe*. English travellers had discovered Normandy, and their example gave rise to a growing interest in archaeology and historic studies, resulting in the foundation of special societies in the 1820s, concerned also about conservation of historic structures. The leading personality in this regard was Arcisse de Caumont (1802-73), who in 1832 created a league between the different provincial societies, becoming later the *Société française d'archéologie* (1834). (1)

The efforts started with the French Revolution for an inventory and the protection of national architectural heritage, culminated in the creation of the position of the Inspector General for Historic Monuments by the Minister of the Interior François Guizot in October 1830; he himself was also a professor of modern history at Sorbonne, and had translated Shakespeare into French, as well as editing documents related to the history of France. His intention was

“to introduce the old France into the memory and intelligence of the new generations, to restore amongst us a feeling of justice and of sympathy towards ancient French society, who had lived with much effort and glory during fifteen centuries in order to build up the heritage that we have received.” (2)

The first Inspector General was Ludovic Vitet (1802-73), a literary figure committed to art and history, but also a politician who later held several positions in the Government. Vitet was succeeded, on 27 May 1834, by Prosper Mérimée, who continued to be the central

personality in the Service of Historic Monuments for the next two decades. The role of the Inspector was twofold; on one hand he was to see that an exact and complete list was prepared of all buildings and monuments that merited serious attention by the Government, on the other hand he was responsible for the control of restoration work. Later, in 1837, was established the Commission for Historic Monuments to assist the Inspector in his task.

The architectural heritage of France was extremely rich, but its condition was pitiful. Mérimée reported in 1840,

“our buildings of the Middle Ages represent perhaps the most remarkable types of all architecture from the eleventh century to the Renaissance. No other country owns such a wealth, and nevertheless, no other country has destroyed or permitted destruction of so much of it...” (3)

As a reaction to the often unskilled repairs and changes which were carried out in historic buildings, many people raised their voice insisting on more research and better knowledge of historic architecture, as well as more attention to proper consolidation and conservation rather than restoration or reconstruction. Amongst the critics were persons such as Victor Hugo, A.N. Didron, as well as Mérimée himself, who aimed at developing an organization with professional restoration architects and skilled workers. Available resources were limited, and it was not an easy task to administer them. Instead of concentrating its funds on a few exceptional buildings, the Commission decided to divide the cases into several categories and designate larger sums when these were needed “to complete the works or at least greatly to advance the restoration”; (4) in other cases, these were intended “only to delay the progress of destruction until such time as sufficient resources could be made available”. (5)

12.2 The Restoration of La Madeleine, Vézelay

In the first list of monuments requiring Government assistance, published in 1840 as an appendix to Mérimée's report, one of the few buildings to receive a fairly large fund for its restoration was the church of La Madeleine in Vézelay, to south-east of Paris. This project was entrusted to the twenty-six year old Eugène Viollet-le-Duc (1814-79), who can be considered the most important restorer of France in his time. In his *La Vie des Monuments Français*,

Paul Léon has given it prime importance because it had been, in a way, “the act of baptism” of the Service of Historic Monuments; it had also provided “the foundation for the reputation of Viollet-le-Duc and given direction to his career”. (6) Two years later, when the first phase of the restoration was already completed, Mérimée wrote to the Minister, emphasizing again the importance of this work:

“When Germany undertakes immense works in order to complete Cologne Cathedral; when England pours out wealth to restore its old churches ... doubtless France will not remain less generous in repairing the monument cited above, as the most perfect example of the architecture of the Middle Ages. The Commission flatters itself, Monsieur le Ministre, that you will not hesitate to ask the Chambers for the means to execute this great work, that is so much in the interest of our national glory.” (7)

La Madeleine, Historical Background

The church of Vézelay was one of the buildings that Mérimée visited during his first tour in France as the Inspector General, in 1834. He found the little town of Vézelay on a rock in the middle of a valley “like a pyramid shining of light”, forming a magnificent spectacle. (8) When he reached the church, however, his initial image was scattered by the sight of the Gothic ‘restorations’ of the Romanesque church, and the pitiable state of the building. He concluded that the north tower of the west front had been pulled down by protestants in 1569, the sculptural reliefs of the tympanum had been hammered away during the French Revolution, and the south tower had been transformed into a sort of “octagonal observatory, in the form of a tent, of a most ridiculous aspect”. (9)

The interior, however, warmed his spirits with the magnificent Romanesque sculptural decorations, and he declared:

“it is here that I have seen some of the most beautiful Romanesque architecture. The bas-reliefs and the capitals are admirable and, once approved of their Baroque style, have an enormous effect.” (10) “It is especially the richness and the variety of the ornamentation that distinguish the church of Vézelay. The capitals, I speak only of the most ancient ones, are all different. Some represent biblical subjects, others the tortures of the damned; some depict hunting scenes, or fantastic animals invented by the sculptor’s imagination. In some, one can see devils with horns and tails

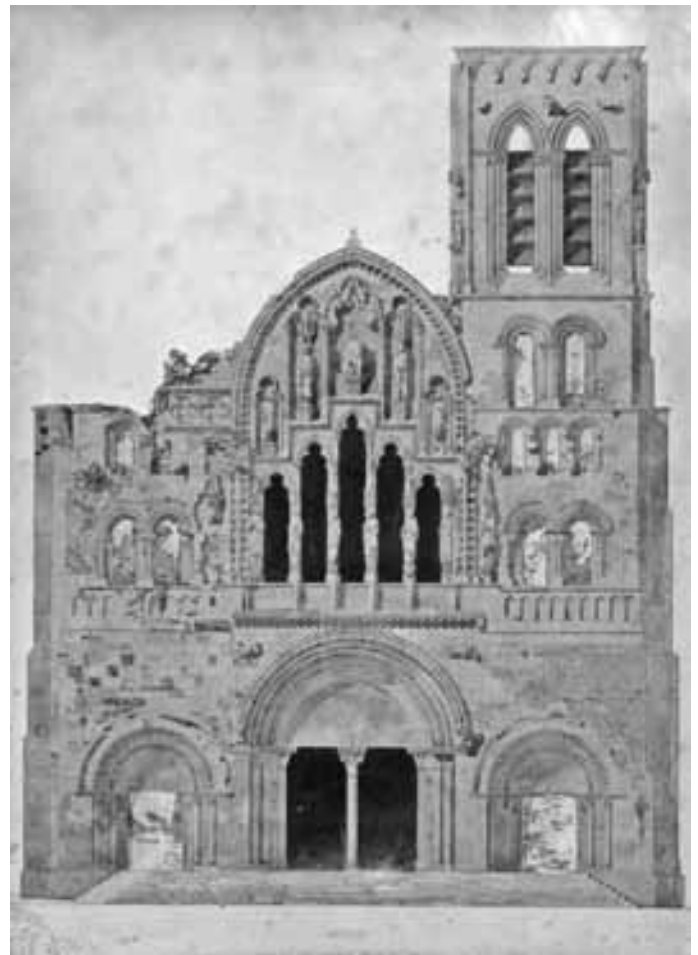


Figure 187. The Madeleine, Vézelay, the west elevation. Measured drawing before restoration by E. Viollet-le-Duc,

tormenting the damned. A few capitals illustrate bizarre ornamentation or else foliage arranged whimsically. Several are adorned with flowers, including roses that are really well done...” (11)

The history of the church goes back to the ninth century, when the first monks established themselves on this site in AD 875 in the times of Charlemagne. The first monastery suffered various attacks and was burnt. Later a small convent was built; the existing church was started in 1096, the nave being constructed from 1120 to 1140. In the eleventh century, word spread that the body of Saint Mary Magdalen was buried beneath the church, and Vézelay rapidly became a place of pilgrimage. The narthex was added later, and finally the Choir. The intended transformation of the west front in Gothic style was interrupted. In the thirteenth century, there was a rumour that the real relics of Saint Mary Magdalen had been discovered in Provence, and from that time the abbey began to decline. (12)

The church of Vézelay holds a significant place in the history of French architecture; its nave is an admirable specimen of Romanesque tradition, while

the Choir with its light pointed arches and ribbed vaults already marks the transition towards the Gothic in the twelfth century. It had a profound influence on early Gothic buildings in Burgundy and northern France. During the Crusades, it became an important site; Bernard of Clairvaux preached there for the Second Crusade in 1146, and the French and English Kings Philippe-August and Richard the Lionheart set out from there for Jerusalem in 1190 on the Third Crusade.

Due to its architectural and historical values, the church has recently been included in the World Heritage List of Unesco. (13) The abbey was secularized as a college for canons in 1537, led by an abbot, nominated by the King. It suffered from destruction during the Huguenot wars, and was repaired in the seventeenth century. This last work included the buttresses, the renewal of the stalls and the construction of the High Altar. However, its decay continued and on 6 December 1790 the college of canons was suppressed. All convent buildings were demolished, but the church was saved to serve the parish. The furnishings were removed and the sculptures of the tympanums of the west front were destroyed; only minor repairs were made in the early nineteenth century. (14)

The Condition of the Building

When Mérimée arrived at Vézelay in 1834, he wrote about La Madeleine: “the whole building was in a pitiful state; water pours in when it rains, and trees as thick as an arm grow between the stones”. (15) When he was sitting in the interior, he could hear small stones falling down from the vaults. The trouble is increasing every day, he warned, “if assistance to the Madeleine is delayed much longer, it will be necessary soon to take the decision to demolish it in order to avoid accidents”. (16)

Mérimée was able to allocate 6000 francs for the church repairs. Half of this was reserved for 1835, and the rest for 1836. (17) However, the money was not used. On 30 October 1838, a local architect, M.E. Leblanc, was nominated by the local authority to prepare a restoration project. He started his inspection in the spring of 1839, and also did some clearance in the building, but he failed to produce a report. The 6000 francs had been reduced to 5000 in the mean time, and the Minister wrote several letters in order to see that it was acted upon. Hearing nothing, he approached a Parisian architect, M. Macquet for the work, an action that understandably led to some confusion at Vézelay. The work of Leblanc

was temporarily interrupted in 1839. (18) Later, Macquet’s appointment was cancelled, and Leblanc was given the permission to continue his work, but he did not produce his report until 17 February 1840; (19) too late, because other action had already been taken. In order to produce some positive results, Mérimée put forward the name of Eugène Viollet-le-Duc, on 11 February 1840. (20) The appointment was approved by the Minister two days later, and Viollet-le-Duc left for Vézelay immediately.

12.3 Eugène Viollet-le-Duc

The architect of this restoration, Eugène Viollet-le-Duc (1814-79), has been one of the most discussed personalities - if not the most discussed - in the history of restoration in France, and his influence has also been felt - for good and bad - practically in all European countries. Eugène was the son of Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, Conservator of royal residences residing in the Tuileries, and of Eugénie Delécluze, daughter of a builder whose widow kept a ‘salon’ in Paris, where such figures as Ampère, Stendhal, Girardin or Saint-Beuve met on Fridays. The young Eugène received a literary education from his father and ‘a taste for the arts’ from his uncle, Etienne J. Delécluze; he travelled widely, and became an excellent draughtsman, able to gain his living designing textiles and furniture. He practiced in architectural studios, and worked for the Directorate of Public Works. Having married in 1834, he toured in Italy in 1837 to 1838, making brilliantly accomplished drawings, watercolours and measured drawings of classical monuments as well as mediaeval and Renaissance buildings. Never having entered the official school of architecture, the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, he made his own studies, the results of which later came out in numerous publications. (21)

Having returned from Italy in August 1838, he attended the meetings of the Council of Historic Buildings as an observer, and was nominated an Assistant Inspector to the construction works at the royal archives; the following year, he inspected the church of Saint-Just in Narbonne for repairs. His life and work could be seen as divided between his interests as an archaeologist-historian, conservator-restorer, and an architect-creator; his approach was always systematic, based on a thorough analysis of each case. Mérimée summarized this by saying that

“he is a very just and well-done spirit. He knows how to reason, which is a great point in architecture, because the objective of this art art



Figure 188. La Madeleine, the west elevation in 1980

being essentially usefulness, an error of reasoning could not be made without it being an error against art in the same time.” (22)

As a result of his successful report, as well as for the good impression Mérimée and other members of the Commission had received of the young architect, he was then recommended for the work at Vézelay; one of his most significant projects on which he continued

Figure 189, Viollet-le-Duc, sketch of the interior of La Madeleine



to work until 1859 - through the most important part of his career.

The Report by Viollet-le-Duc

Viollet-le-Duc's first report from Vézelay was presented to the Commission on 29 March before he had completed the drawings because he considered the condition of the church such as to require immediate action in order to prevent collapse especially in the nave and choir. He later added a fine set of drawings presenting the building as it was before the restoration started as well as indicating the proposed modifications. (23) He estimated that the proposed 40.000 francs would be sufficient to guarantee the conservation of the structure. Later this was augmented to 54.000 francs. (24) The narthex which was of great artistic value, was not in such immediate danger, but it would need repairs in the future. As a result of the report, the Commission proposed to the Minister to entrust the restoration to Viollet-le-Duc, authorize him to nominate a surveyor on the site during his absence, fix the prices for different types of work, and start with the consolidation of the nave and the choir - leaving the narthex for the time being. (25)

The report was divided into five sections dealing with the following arguments: construction, state of the structure, urgent repairs, restoration, and building materials. Although emphasis was given to technical aspects in the work, historical and architectural values were constantly referred to as integral considerations. Some five years earlier, Mérimée had already published a description of the building with a historic account in his *Notes d'un Voyage* (26) - and these were certainly available to Viollet-le-Duc. At the end of the report, he listed the different types of building stones indicating their characteristics, and, when possible, the quarry; an example of Viollet-le-Duc's exemplary thoroughness.

Viollet-le-Duc started his description of the building at the narthex, then moving to the nave, the transept and the choir; he dealt with the exterior, the west elevation, the tower of the south transept, and completed the description with the roof structure. He found the narthex the only part of the ancient structure that did not threaten collapse, even though it was completely decayed in details; the arches were intact and the walls stable, but the vaults had suffered from humidity, were cracked, had holes in them, and had lost their rendering. At the gallery level there had originally been two large halls; these had been destroyed and replaced with wooden structures. The

small arches of the gallery had been walled-in; so had the two side doors of the west front and the low windows of the Narthex. The great west windows had lost their glazing and so with the west wind the rain was driven in to the end of the narthex.

The Romanesque nave was badly deteriorated. In Viollet-le-Duc's view, it had been poorly built originally, and the buttresses which had been added later, had not given sufficient support. The north wall leaned outwards by 27 cm, and the south wall by 25 cm. The vaults, built in rubble stone, were held up only by the groin of their extrados, and had longitudinal cracks up to 10 to 12 cm each. In the thirteenth century, the upper part of the last three bays of the nave before the choir had been rebuilt "in the taste of the period" (27) in Gothic form. These new vaults were raised considerable above the old level, thus leaving the last Romanesque arch without support and subject to deformation. The roof structures of the nave, of the transept, and of the choir necessitated extensive repairs being rotted by water infiltration. The aisle roofs had been rebuilt at higher level than originally thus blocking the nave windows; the cornice of the aisles was almost totally destroyed, letting water run down the wall and into open joints. The transept was found to be in a relatively good condition, although here too infiltration of water had caused damage to the vaults. The exterior of the choir was in the same sad condition as the rest of the building, but the interior was fairly well preserved. Viollet-le-Duc found the west front being built "in a fairly poor taste". (28) The south tower had been repaired in 1821 after damage from lightning, and although not good in quality, there was no urgent need to interfere except for glazing the windows.

The most urgent work in the Church, Viollet-le-Duc considered to be shoring up the nave and aisle walls, as well as centering and supporting the flying buttresses and the vaults. After this he proposed to proceed to rebuild in good masonry and to a proper design the flying buttresses, and to dismantle and rebuild some of the transversal arches of the nave. He further proposed to reconstruct the aisle roofs in their original position in order to liberate the nave windows, to put in order and repair the narthex, to lower the pavement because at present it was much above the original level and covered the bases of the columns. He maintained, that in this way,

"this well-proportioned narthex with a very beautiful plan, would take a severe and grand aspect of unique appearance. In fact, nothing is so bad as its present arrangement, and one is



Figure 190. Viollet-le-Duc, La Madeleine, section of the porch with proposed restoration (1840)

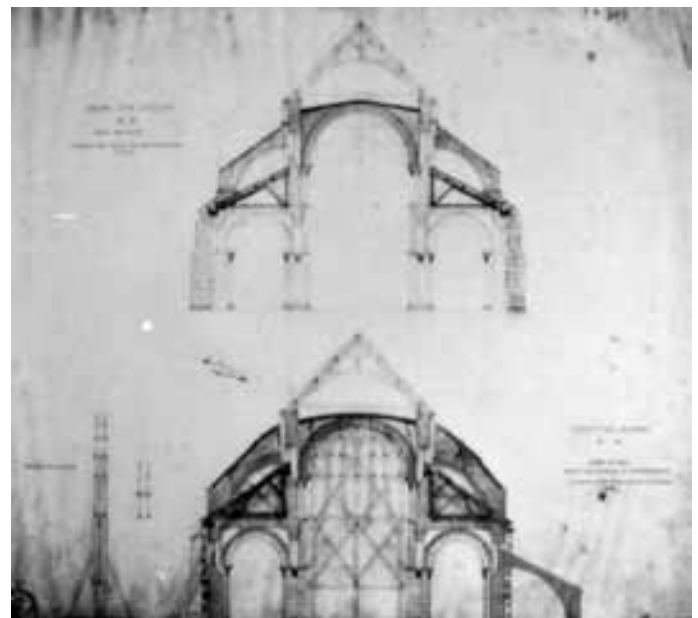
distracted by the numerous points of deterioration, that mutilate it, not allowing one to appreciate today the imposing appearance that the narthex would have if it were restored. I think that if something should be conserved in this church of Vézelay, it is the narthex, that I have found to be the most beautiful of its kind in France." (29)

On the exterior, he proposed repointing and replacement of broken stones, rebuilding of the cornices of the side aisles and of the choir, as well as repairing the roofs, and installing lightning conductors.

The Restoration Work

The final approval for the project of restoration was given on 30 May 1840, although Viollet-le-Duc had started working already earlier; on 15 May he nominated a clerk of works. Preparatory works on the site started in June, and the construction of centerings and shorings began in July. Work was

Figure 191. Viollet-le-Duc: section of the nave before and after restoration (1840)



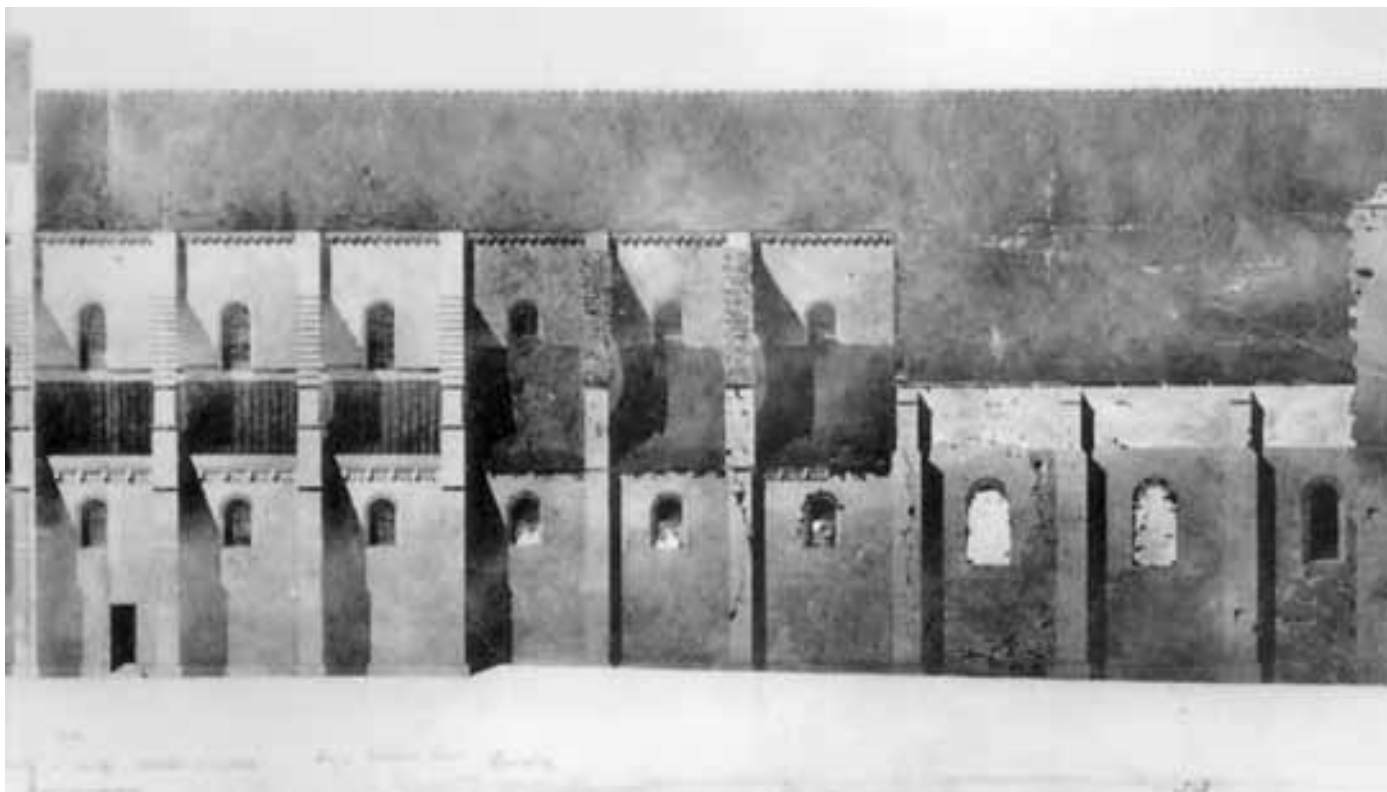


Figure 192. Viollet-le-Duc, La Madeleine, the north elevation before and after restoration (1840)

Figure 193. La Madeleine, the exterior of the choir in 1980



concentrated on the nave, its transversal arches, the flying buttresses, and on the roof structures of the side aisles. Masons could only start working in November, beginning with the demolition and reconstruction of buttresses and walls. The delay was due to some misunderstandings with the local authorities, who were offended by the the Central Government's intervention, and refused to collaborate with Viollet-le-Duc. The works were interrupted for the winter, but by July 1841, eleven nave buttresses had been demolished and rebuilt to the height of the cornice of the side aisles; two nave vaults had been demolished, as well as the gable separating the low and high sections of the nave. By the end of the year, thirteen buttresses, twelve flying buttresses, as well as three nave vaults and the corresponding transverse arches had been rebuilt. (30)

Viollet-le-Duc had proposed zinc as the covering material for roofs, but the Commission - having discussed the matter - preferred to maintain the same type of tiles (*tuiles creuses*) as there had been previously. (31) The existing seventeenth-century flying buttresses did not fulfil their required function. Viollet-le-Duc redesigned them giving them a structurally more correct form, and built them in good ashlar. The transversal arches of the nave were rebuilt in their original semicircular form, except for the first three arches from the west that were repaired and left in their deformed condition. The new vaults were built lighter in weight than the original ones. (32)

While the works proceeded the requirements were also increased, and in February 1842, Viollet-le-Duc already estimated that 300.000 francs would be necessary for the completion of the work, including also the restoration of five choir chapels, repairing of all the roofs, crowning of the west tower, cleaning of the interior of previous whitewashes, and repairing of sculptures and ornaments. (33)

In January 1842, M. Lenormant, member of the Commission, referred to his visit to Vézelay, and insisted on giving the priority to the works of consolidation before undertaking any ‘restoration’, although this attitude had caused some local criticism. Lenormant also insisted that the church’s principal merit lay in the beauty of its immense nave, and that external ornaments should not be made more elaborate than they had been previously. (34) In the same year, Mérimée wrote in his report to the Minister that the structurally delicate first phase of the restoration had been successfully terminated - merit to the skill of Viollet-le-Duc. He concluded:

“Undoubtedly, important works are still needed as well as considerable expenditure; but for those who are aware of the situation of this church, the achievement is tremendous, and its complete restoration will now be a question only of time and money.” (35)

In June 1844, the consolidation of the nave and choir was completed. (36)

Restoration of the Vaults

There remained, however, an important problem to solve: the consolidation or reconstruction of the four Gothic vaults at the east end of the nave. Viollet-le-Duc reported that these had probably been rebuilt after the collapse of the last Romanesque vaults. The reconstruction had been made in a hurry and without any ‘care or art’ using the pillars and walls of the eleventh century, which were still standing. It was in no way connected with the old walls, and its condition seemed to worsen every day. The fourth vault, between the towers of the transept next to the choir, was structurally safe, while the others were considered to need rebuilding; the question arose about the manner in which this should be approached.

In the opinion of Viollet-le-Duc, these vaults were best restored according to the earlier, Romanesque, form like the rest of the nave,

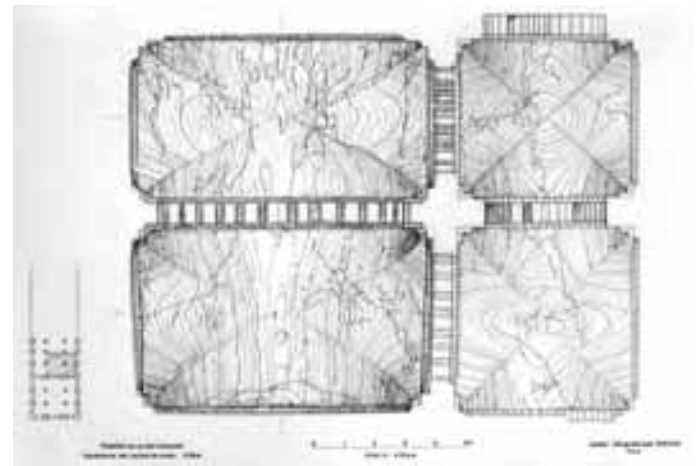


Figure 194. La Madeleine, photogrammetric recording of the vaults that were not rebuilt in 19th century, showing their deformed state

“because the capitals carrying the semicircular transversal arches are still well preserved and the springing points of these arches can still be identified. For the most part, the Romanesque windows and arched heads still exist. If the pointed vaults offered any chance of resistance, I would not dare to propose, Monsieur le Ministre, such an important modification in the present state of the monument, but considering that we will be obliged to rebuild these vaults, I believe, that in relation to 1. solidity, 2. the general aspect of the building, and 3. economy, it is preferable to reconstruct them according to their earlier Romanesque style. This beautiful nave of the eleventh century will then be complete and in good condition.” (37)

This operation would also permit all the vaults of the nave to be at the same level, thus giving a better structural support to each other - instead of having them divided into the lower Romanesque and the higher Gothic section, the connection of which caused difficulties at present. The fourth vault could be left in its Gothic form, first because it was intact, and secondly because it would form a link between

Figure 195. La Madeleine, section of vaults (re. fig 194)

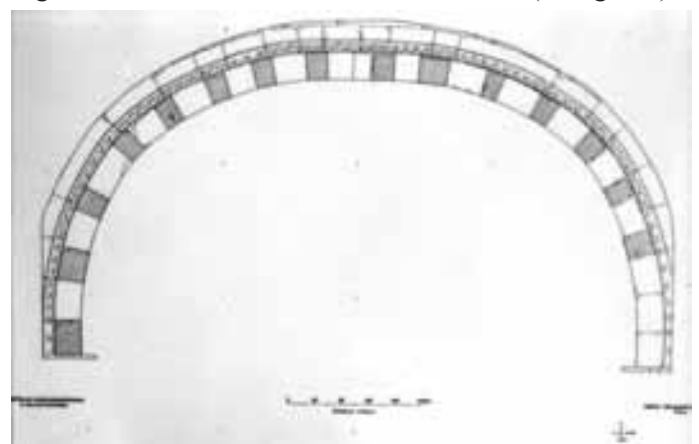




Figure 196. La Madeleine, the interior in 1980

rebuilt anyway. (40) The Commission agreed with this proposal, although emphasizing that the reason was mainly structural, and the works were carried out accordingly. In March 1845, Mérimée could report that “the latest repairs have been perfectly directed, and the building is now in a very satisfactory state.” (48)

‘Complete Restoration’

Mérimée reminded the Commission that even if the main aim of the works had been the consolidation, the Commission had also expressed the intention to proceed to “a complete restoration as soon as the state of its finances would allow it.” (42) Now, at the completion of the most important structural works, there was a moment to consider this. Already, more work had been done than originally foreseen; instead of just repairing or doing partial rebuilding, in many instances it had been considered necessary to proceed to a full reconstruction. This was the case with the transept gables, the bell-tower, the northern transept tower and the upper part of the north-west tower; in the interior, the vaults of the narthex had been completely rebuilt. The gallery around the choir had been restored in its original form; roof structures

Figure 197. La Madeleine, the transept tower in 1980



the “beautiful vaults of the choir and the transept.” (38)

In June 1844, Lenormant reported this proposal to the Commission, posing the question:

“Should one repair the vaults as they were rebuilt in the fourteenth century or reproduce in three bays the vault of the eleventh century while leaving that of the fourteenth century between the towers? This is the question that - contrary to the principles we have often defended - we now ask for a decision, in agreement with the suggestions of the architect, to reconstruct the three bays in accordance with those conserved from the eleventh century.” (39)

Although it is clear from Lenormant’s statement that this case was considered an exception to the established conservative principles according to which one should not have carried out demolitions and reconstructions, Mérimée himself pointed out the importance of recreating the unity of character in the nave, ‘disturbed’ by the Gothic interference, and he reminded that in both cases the vaults should be



Figure 198. La Madeleine, the south elevation in 1980

of the nave and choir had been completely rebuilt in timber instead of just repairing them; various works on the restoration of sculpture had already started.

In November 1850, Mérimée presented the Commission with further estimates concerning the west front, still covered with vegetation, the central door, mutilated during the Revolution, as well as the sculptural decoration, repair of damaged capitals in the nave, and stained glass windows for the narthex. A new choir altar was proposed in another estimate; the present late-Renaissance altar that masked the newly restored choir was considered “just a confused pile of mouldings, one above the other, being so heavy that it will crush the vaults of the crypt”. (43) The panellings and stalls covering the pillars of the nave and transept were to be removed and altars provided for the chapels. The third estimate dealt with the restoration of the sacristy and reconstruction of a part of the cloisters. In this second phase of

Figure 199. La Madeleine, original statues from the west front deposited in storage by Viollet-le-Duc; today these are part of a site exhibition



the restoration, attention was given mainly on the aesthetic aspects of the work.

The west front of the church had been modified in the thirteenth century, receiving a majestic gable with five large windows and several life-size statues, but never completed. Partly due to structural reasons, Viollet-le-Duc made certain changes to the existing situation, giving it a more symmetrical form. He added three buttresses to support the upper part of the front; two of these were built on either side of the central windows. In the process some thirteenth-century work was removed, only one of the quatrefoils of the north side was left. He designed round-arched windows symmetrically on both sides of the gable following the model of the south side, believing that there had been two matching towers originally.

Restoration of Ornaments

The restoration of the sculptural decorations of the front was an important part of the work. The reliefs of the tympanum of the central entrance seem to have dated from the twelfth century, and represented Christ in Glory surrounded by the symbols of the four evangelists, but they had been hammered away in 1793. The original tympanum, on which traces could still be read of the outline of the figures of Christ and holy women, was taken down and placed against the south elevation of the church. (44) In 1856-1857, Viollet-le-Duc designed a new relief for the tympanum, changing, however, the subject to represent the Last Judgement. Some of the figures of the upper part of the gable were replaced with copies, but the headless seated Christ figure in the centre was left as it was, although Viollet-le-Duc made some sketches for its restoration. (45) The broken cross over the gable and other sculptural details such as some doorway capitals were replaced with copies. The south tower was topped by a balustrade and gargoyles around a new pitched roof. The north tower was tidied and provided with a roof as well.

The narthex had suffered in a fire, its upper part was destroyed and the sculptured capitals were badly damaged. The northern gallery, closed with a wooden structure, was reopened and reconstructed similar to the southern gallery. All capitals except one were remade. The narthex was the most renewed part of the building, while in the nave, where the capitals were in a better condition, relatively few had to be repaired or replaced. Two were completed with new work, ten replaced with exact copies, and twelve with new design. Seventy original figured capitals



Figure 200. La Madeleine, preserved example of original capital from the west front

Figure 201. La Madeleine, the new capital replacing the old in the west front

remained intact; forty out of forty-six ‘basket’ capitals were preserved, six renewed. (46)

In the restoration and repair of sculptural elements, Viollet-le-Duc followed the method of systematic documentation. He made sketches and drawings of various elements, even if these were not intended to be touched, in order to have a better understanding of the original artistic principles. Damaged capitals were measured and drawn carefully or cast in plaster before the work started, because during the removal they could suffer further damage due to their often fragile state. Before the final execution of a new element, the sculptor had to present a model for an approval by Viollet-le-Duc. The reason for the replacement of damaged capitals was mainly structural; if the work could be limited to the repair of the original, this was also done. (47)

The Monastic Buildings

The monastic buildings had been almost entirely demolished during the Revolution, only some fragments remaining from the eastern section next

to the Chapter House. It was decided to restore the Chapter House, and in connection with it also the eastern part of the cloister. The first idea was to rebuild the Chapter House in Gothic style, but having discovered a Romanesque capital in the excavations, in 1850, Viollet-le-Duc decided to adopt this style instead. The reconstruction of the cloister was considered necessary in order to give support to the new vaults of the Chapter House. (48) These works continued even after Viollet-le-Duc had already left Vézelay.

The restoration of La Madeleine was considered a great achievement of the Service des Monuments Historiques, and the works had proceeded better than many had thought possible at the beginning. There were, however, those who did not agree with the Commission; M. François Garnier, a member of the Parliament, had written to the Minister accusing those responsible for the restoration of corruption, poorly planned works, unskilled technology and waste of public funds.

Notes to Chapter Twelve

1. Lukàcs, G., *The Historical Novel*, Penguin Books, 1981. Léon, P., *La vie des monuments Français, destruction, restauration*, Paris 1951, 90ff.

2. Guizot wrote: “J’avais à coeur de faire rentrer la vieille France dans la mémoire et l’intelligence des générations nouvelles, de ramener parmi nous un sentiment de justice et de sympathie envers nos anciens souvenirs, envers cette ancienne société française qui a vécu laborieusement et glorieusement pendant quinze siècles pour amasser affaiblissement chez une nation que l’oubli et le dédain de son passé. Quand les générations qui possèdent pour un moment la patrie ont l’absurde arrogance de croire qu’elle leur appartient à elles seules et que le passé en face du présent c’est la mort en face de la vie, quand elles repoussent l’empire des traditions et des liens qui unissent les générations, c’est le caractère et l’honneur du génie humain, c’est son destin qu’elles renient.” (Léon, op.cit., 114)

3. Mérimée, P., ‘Rapport de Mérimée, 1840’ (4. 1483; Archives des Monuments Historiques, Paris): “Nos édifices du moyen âge présentent peut-être les types les plus remarquables de tous les styles d’architecture, qui se sont succédé depuis le XIe siècle jusqu’à la Renaissance.

Figure 203. La Madeleine, detail of an original decoration in the west front



Figure 202. La Madeleine, the south entrance in 1980, where the decoration was designed by Viollet-le-Duc

These accusations were all answered by Mérimée without any problems. He maintained that there had been no corruption; instead, it had been advantageous to obtain local building materials, and although there had been a certain lack of collaboration with the local authorities, decisions on conservation or eventual rebuilding had always been under a full control of the Commission, and the architect had carried out his work in an excellent manner, (49) In June 1847, having read the report, the Minister was able to write to the prefect of Yonne:

“The conclusion from his report is that not only is none of the complaints in question true, but that the architect in charge of the restoration of these two buildings deserves the administration’s praise for the skilled manner in which he had conducted the works, which leave nothing to be desired either from the artistic point of view or from the point of view of stability.” (50)

Aucun pays ne possède aucun de richesses en ce genre, et pourtant aucun n'en aussi grand nombre."

4. Mérimée, *ibid*: "En présence des besoins nombreux que chaque jour lui révèle, la Commission ne pouvait concentrer toutes ses ressources sur quelques monuments exceptionnels, n'accordant aux autres que des promesses dont quelquefois ils n'auraient pu attendre l'effet. Elle a donc cru devoir diviser le secours de votre département en plusieurs catégories: les uns assez considérables pour compléter ou du moins pour avancer notablement la restauration des édifices auxquels ils s'appliquent..."

5. Mérimée, *ibid*: "...les autres destinés seulement à retarder les progrès de la destruction et à permettre d'attendre le moment où l'on pourra disposer de ressources suffisantes."

6. Léon, *La vie des monuments*, op.cit., 371: "La restauration de la Madeleine de Vézelay eut une importance capitale. Elle a été, en quelque sorte, l'acte de baptême du Service des Monuments historiques; elle a fondé la réputation de Viollet-le-Duc et orienté sa carrière."

7. Mérimée, P., *Rapport de Mérimée*, 1842, Paris 1843 (4. 1484; Arch. Mon. hist.): "Lorsque l'Allemagne entreprend des travaux immenses pour terminer la cathédrale de Cologne, lorsque l'Angleterre prodigue des trésors pour restaurer ses vieilles églises*, la France ne se montrera pas moins généreuse, sans doute, pour achever le monument que l'on cite partout comme le modèle le plus parfait de l'architecture religieuse au moyen âge. La Commission se flatte, Monsieur le Ministre, que vous n'hésitez pas à demander aux Chambres les moyens d'exécuter un beau travail qui intéresse à un si haut degré la gloire nationale." * = N.1: "Les réparations de la seule uglise du Temple à Londres, ont conté déjà plus de 40.000 œ.st. (plus de 1.000.000 de francs) une somme de 80.000 œ.st. doit être employée aux réparations de Lincoln's Inn."

8. Mérimée, P., *Notes de Voyage*, Paris 1971, 55: "La petite ville de Vézelay est bâtie sur un rocher calcaire qui s'élève abruptement au milieu d'une vallée profonde, resserrée par des collines disposées en amphithéâtre. On découvre d'assez loin les maisons semées sur une pente rapide, qu'on prendrait pour les degrés d'un escalier, des restes de fortifications en terrasse, et surtout l'église, qui, placée sur le point culminant de la montagne, domine tous les environs. - Je venais de traverser des bois bien plantés, par une route commode, au milieu d'une nature sauvage, que l'on admire sans être ditrait par les cahots. Le soleil se levait. Sur le vallon régnait encore un épais brouillard percé çà et là par les cimes des arbres. Au dessus apparaissait la ville comme une pyramide resplendissante de lumière, tels que les paysagistes anglais en inventent avec tant de bonheur. Le spectacle était magnifique, et ce fut avec une prédisposition à l'admiration que je me dirigeai vers l'église de la Madeleine."

9. Mérimée, *ibid*: "La première vue du monument me refroidit un peu. La façade offre une ancienne restauration gothique, maladroitement ajoutée aux parties basses, qui

appartiennent au style roman. La tour de gauche a été renversée par les protestans en 1569; pendant la révolution, les bas-reliefs des tympans ont été détruits; et pour que le jè]e siècle ne le cédât pas en vandalisme, on vient d'élever, au-dessus de la tour qui reste, une espèce d'observatoire octogone, en forme de tente, de l'aspect le plus ridicule."

10. Mérimée to Lingay, 9 August 1834, *Correspondance de Mérimée*, I, 306: "C'est d'ailleurs ci que j'ai vu de plus beau en fait d'architecture romane. Les bas reliefs et les chapiteaux sont admirable et une fois admis, leur style baroque est du plus grand effet."

11. Mérimée, *Notes de Voyage*, op.cit., 62: "C'est surtout la richesse et la variété de l'ornementation qui distinguent l'église de Vézelay. Les chapiteaux, je ne parle que des plus anciens, sont tous différens. Les uns représentent des sujets bibliques, d'autres les supplices des damnés, quelques-uns des chasses, ou bien des animaux inventés par le caprice du sculpteur. On y voit des diables pourvus de cornes et de queues, tourmentant les damnés. D'autres chapiteaux, mais en plus petit nombre, offrent des ornemens bizarres, ou bien des feuillages capricieusement agencés. Plusieurs sont ornés de fleurs, entre autres de roses, assez bien exécutées. La forme générale de tous est une pyramide tronquée, dont les angles sont arrondis. Presque toutes les bases sont garnies de moulures, de perles ou de palmettes. Pour l'ornementation, les piliers de la partie ogivale de la nef ne diffèrent en rien de ceux de la portion la plus ancienne; quant à ceux du choeur, ils n'ont que de simples moulures surmontées d'un tailloir."

12. Salet, F., *La Madeleine de Vézelay*, Paris 1948; Créal, J., *La Basilique de Vézelay*, Editions franciscaines, Paris (n.d.); Hohl, C., Di Matteo, C., *La sculpture oubliée de Vézelay*, oeuvres déposées par Viollet-le-Duc, Auxerre 1979.

13. Unesco, *A Legacy for All*, Paris 1982, 120f.

14. Salet, F., 'Viollet-le-Duc à Vézelay', *Les Monuments historiques de la France*, 1965, I-II, 33ff.

15. Mérimée to Lingay, 9 August 1834, op.cit.: "Elle est dans un état pitoyable: il pleut à verse et, entre les pierres, poussent des arbres gros comme le bras."

16. Mérimée, *Notes de Voyage*, op.cit., 63: "La ville de Vézelay, qui n'a guère qu'un millier d'habitans, est pauvre, sans industrie, uloignée de grandes routes, dans une position peu accessible. Il lui est impossible de subvenir, je ne dis pas aux réparations nécessaires, mais même à celles qui n'auraient pour but que d'empêcher les progrès de la destruction. Aussi le mal s'accroît tous les jours. Si l'on tarde encore à donner des secours à la Madeleine, il faudra bien"t prendre le parti de l'abattre pour éviter les accidens."

The condition of the church had been a subject of concern already ten years earlier, and an attempt had been made to get funds from the Central Government to assist in the repairs: Département de Lyonne, 'Procès verbal des Délibérations du Conseil Général, Session de 1824'

(Arch.Mon.hist.): “Le Conseil d’arrondissement d’Avallon fait observer que l’Eglise de Vézelay qui est un des beaux monuments de l’architecture Gothique et qui rappelle des époques historiques, intéressantes, est menacé d’une ruine prochaine, par les défauts de réparation qui sont trop considérables pour être faites en entier par la commune, il pense que le Gouvernement devait être prié de contribuer à une partie de cette dépense. Le Conseil Général appelle la bienveillance de Sa Majesté.”

17. Ministère de l’Intérieur, 30 May 1835, approved 6.000 francs for 1835 (1/2) and 1836 (1/2). (Vézelay, 1586-1, Arch.Mon.hist.) The newspapers spread the rumour that 80.000 francs would have been allocated, which caused the Mayor to write to the Ministère de l’Intérieur, 27 October 1837, for clarification. (Idem)

18. Ministère to Préfecture de l’Yonne, 22 January 1839, enquired about the use of the funds, reduced to 5.000 francs (22 June 1838). Préfecture to Ministère, 1 February 1839: “Je chargeai un Architecte capable de préparer un projet général des travaux à exécuter ... j’ai craint qu’en faisant exécuter ... les travaux de restauration dont il s’agit, le caractère de ce monument fut dénaturé, mais ces travaux étant considérables, la remise du projet que j’ai demandé n’a pu encore m’être faite.” Préfecture to Ministère, 6 September 1839: “M. Leblanc avait été, par moi, chargé d’étudier les réparations à faire à l’Eglise de Vézelay, et il était prêt à mettre la main à l’oeuvre, pour l’emploi des 5.000 f. lorsque m’est parvenue votre lettre du 11 mai qui chargeait M. Macquet de la restauration de cet Eglise. Cet incident a suspendu les travaux de M. Leblanc et j’ai longtemps attendu, pour les faire reprendre...”

19. Leblanc, E., ‘Rapport sur l’Eglise de Vézelay, 17 February 1840 (Vézelay, 1586-1, Dir. Patr. Arch. Mon.hist.): “Plan de la Restauration: J’ai commencé par faire déblayer l’emplacement de l’ancienne chapelle sépulchrale dont les décombres entretenaient une humidité désastreuse pour tels Maçonneries avec tels quelle étaient en contact.

On doit donner un adjudication la fourniture de la pierre de la Mance et en faire l’emploi sur une série de prix en raison: 1. de la hauteur à laquelle elle doit être employée, 2. de son cube. ...

J’ai divisé mon travail de restauration en 4 parties différentes:

1. La restauration de Portail extérieur et la reprise de toutes les dégradations dans les faces des piliers butants de l’Eglise des Cathécumènes.

2. La reconstruction de la charpente des bas cotés de la nef, la restauration de tous les arcs boutants des contreforts de la grande nef ainsi que la reprise d’une partie de la voûte et des lézardes.

3. J’ai à proposer un nouveau système de couverture pour la chapelle du chœur, elles n’ont pas assez de pente, malgré qu’elles masquent à moitié les fenêtres du chœur; sans ce changement on empêchera difficilement les eaux

de s’infiltrer et de continuer les dégradations que nous cherchons à arrêter.

4. Et enfin les Tours, principalement celle de la Façade dont l’incendie de 1820 a calciné une grande partie des pierres du parment intérieur; dans cette partie je propose également la construction de la flèche.

Ces travaux déjà avancés et qui reposent sur un grand nombre de plans formeront l’ensemble de la Restauration de l’Edifice.

Auxerre, le 17 Février 1840.

E. Leblanc.”

20. Mérimée to Ministre, 11 February 1840 (Vézelay, 1586-1, A.M.H.): “Mission donnée à M. Viollet-le-Duc parce que les efforts de l’administration n’ont pas eut des résultats... L’architecte du Département M. le Blanc chargé de la Direction des travaux par le préfet n’a point adressé le projet ... demandé un autre architecte M. Macquet ... n’a jamais rendu compte. ... Il servit essentiel qu’elle fut de nouveau confiée à un artiste dont les études spéciales assureront la bonne exécution de ces travaux. Sur l’avis de la Commission, j’ai en conséquence l’honneur de proposer à votre Excellence de proposer Viollet-le-Duc.”

21. Auzas, P-M., Eugène Viollet-le-Duc, 1814-1879, Paris 1979, 15ff. Viollet-le-Duc, Geneviève, ‘Eléments biographiques’, Viollet-le-Duc, Paris 1980, 30ff. Le voyage d’Italie d’Eugène Viollet-le-Duc 1836-1837, Paris 1980. ‘Viollet-le-Duc’, Monuments Historiques de la France, I-II, 1965.

22. Mérimée to Sainte-Beuve, 13 February 1864 (Mérimée, P., Correspondance générale, Privat 1958, VI, 1864-65, 54: “En ce qui concerne Viollet-le-Duc, il me semble que c’est un esprit très bien fait et très juste. Il sait raisonner, ce qui est un grand point en architecture, car le but de cet art étant essentiellement utile, on ne peut faire une faute de raisonnement qui ne soit en même temps une faute contre l’art. Viollet-le-Duc est un des premiers qui ait soutenu la doctrine, si peu suivie aujourd’hui, de faire des édifices pour leur destination et non pour leur apparence extérieure. Sa doctrine est que la disposition d’un bâtiment est commandée par l’usage qu’on en veut faire. L’ornementation à laquelle aujourd’hui on sacrifie tout, ne vient qu’en seconde ligne et elle doit, comme la disposition générale, tirer son caractère de sa destination.”

23. Viollet-le-Duc, E., ‘Rapport sur l’état actuel d’ancienne Eglise de la Madeleine à Vézelay (Yonne) et sur les réparations à faire à cet édifice’, 21 March 1840 (Vézelay, 1586-1, A.M.H.):

“Construction.

La porche des cathécumènes ou vestibule, est avec la nef, ce qui reste des premières constructions de la basilique de l’abbaye.

Les piliers de ce vestibule sont construits en pierres rouges par assises très hautes, les chapiteaux en pierre blanche, les

arcs doubleaux en pierres rouges blanches alternées. Les rhens des voutes sont en moellons irrégulièrement posés, et reliés par un mortier fort grossier. Les murs sont en petites pierres grises.

La nef romane est construite dans le même système mais avec moins de soins.

Le transept & le chœur ainsi que la partie supérieure du portail élevés dans le XIII^e siècle, sont construits d'une manière plus régulière, les piles, les murs, les arc-doubleaux, arêtes éperons sont d'une pierre blanche zanutre assez dure; les colonnes du chœur sont d'un seul morceau, ainsi que la plupart des colonnettes des chapelles, et des croisées qui ne font pas corps avec la maçonnerie, les rhens des voutes sont seuls en moellon ainsi que ceux des voutes de la nef.

Etat des Constructions.

Vestibule

Le vestibule est la seule partie des anciennes constructions qui ne menace pas ruine, il est cependant complètement dégradé dans des détails. Les arcs ont conservé leurs premières courbes et les murs sont d'aplomb, mais les voutes exposées longtemps à l'humidité sont remplies de lézardes et de trous. Le crepi qui revêtissait les rhens en moellons est totalement tombé. Les petits arceaux de la tribune de droite sont bouchés et presque entièrement détruits. Deux grandes salles voutées qui, audessus des bas cotés du vestibule faisaient tribune, sont demeurées depuis longtemps et remplacées par une charpente en bois. Les bas cotés ne sont pas couronnées non plus que les tribunes. Les fenêtres percées pour éclairer les bas cotés sont bouchées ainsi que les deux portes latérales de la façade & les deux autres donnant du vestibule dans les bas cotés de la nef.

Nef

La nef presque entièrement romane est dans un état complet de dégradation. Mal construite originellement elle a subi des altérations dans sa construction primitive. Ainsi, les contreforts, n'offrant pas une résistance suffisante à la poussée des voutes, ont été repris à plusieurs époques, et enfin, les grands arcs doubleaux de la nef ayant fait verser les murs de chaque côté, on a cherché, il y a déjà longtemps, à prévenir la poussée constante des voutes de la nef en construisant des arcs boutants assis sur la tête des contreforts des bas cotés, et venant butés contre les éperons de la nef.

Dans le XIII^e siècle la partie supérieure des trois dernières travées de la nef a été refaite dans le goût de l'époque, les ogives ont remplacé les pleins cintres, et les grandes voutes ont été élevées à 4 mètres rien ne venant plus maintenir le dernier arc doubleau plein cintre, il a subi la poussée des voutes inférieures, et s'est considérablement déformé.

Tous les autres arcs doubleaux plein-cintres de la nef sont totalement sortis de leur courbure primitive, car malgré

les éperons et les arcs-boutants placés après coup, ces voutes ont toujours poussé les murs de la nef en dehors. Aujourd'hui le mur nord est déversé de 0 m 27 centimètres, et le mur sud de 0 m 25 centimètres, les claveaux des arcs ne tiennent plus que par l'arête de l'extrados, et ont été calés en dessous par des coins en bois qui ne contribuent pas peu à aggraver un état aussi dangereux. Les voutes en moellon entre ces arcs-doubleaux ont dans presque toute la longueur de la nef trois lézardes replatées à plusieurs reprises, mais qui n'ont pas moins chacune de 10 à 12 centimètres de largeur.

Les arcs-boutants extérieurs sont presque tous dans un état complet de dégradation; construits en mauvais petits moellons irréguliers, et chargés d'une masse inutile de maçonnerie maljointe, ils se sont tous séparés par la moitié dans leur longueur, et plusieurs semblent ne pouvoir être touchés sans tomber en poussière. Quelques uns sont étayés, et chaque jour il s'en détache quelques morceaux.

Le mur nord des bas cotés, vers le milieu de la nef, est déversé en dehors de 0 m 18 centimètres, et déjà un contrefort beaucoup plus saillant que les anciens a été refait à neuf dans cette partie pour empêcher le mal d'empirer.

Dans le siècle dernier la charpente des bas cotés nord et sud a été totalement refaite à neuf, mais beaucoup plus inclinée que la charpente primitive car aujourd'hui les fenêtres de la nef sont à moitié engagées dans la partie supérieure de ce comble, ce qui cause sans cesse des infiltrations d'eaux pluviales. En outre cette charpente en mauvais bois a été posée sur des masses de gravois qui chargent les voutes des bas cotés. Ces gravois tassent continuellement, de sorte que jamais ce comble ne reste attaché au mur de la nef. Les entrants de cette charpente sont pourris, brisés pour la plupart, et posent en plein sur les gravois dont je viens de parler. Les anciens jets-d'eau destinés à garantir la jonction du comble et du mur se voient maintenant au dessous des fenêtres dans le comble des bas cotés. La corniche des bas cotés est presque entièrement détruite, il n'en reste que des fragments, de sorte que les eaux coulent le long du mur et pourrissent tous les joints, plusieurs contreforts sont lézardés par le poids des énormes arcs-boutants qui le chargent, et presque tous les claveaux des fenêtres sont délités et tombent en poudre.

Transsept

Cette partie de l'édifice est en bon état relativement à la nef, mais les combles qui la couvrent laissent à leur jonction avec leurs tours pénétrer toutes les eaux pluviales à la base des noues nord-ouest & sud-ouest. Cette humidité pourrit chaque jour les rhens des voutes au dessous de ces noues, et peut nécessiter bien tôt des réparations considérables s'il on n'apporte promptement remède à ce mal, les éperons extérieurs qui maintiennent le pignon nord sont fort endommagés à leur base.

Chœur

Le chœur est intérieurement bien conservé, si ce n'est le premier pilier à gauche qui je crois a été frappé de la

foudre, et se trouve lézardé & mutilé à la naissance des arcs.

Extérieurement le chœur est en mauvais état tout autant que le reste de l'Édifice, un seul arc boutant est intact, tous les autres ont besoin d'être refaits ou restaurés. Ces arcs boutants sont bien contruits, légers en pierres détaillées bien appareillées, et se combinant avec la construction intérieure. Mais les murs percés de fenêtres des chapelles demi-circulaires qui font le tour du chœur, ont leur corniche détruite et sont fort endommagés. Les toits qui couvrent ces chapelles les bas cotés qui entourent le chœur, ont de même que ceux de la nef été refaits plus inclinés que les combles primitifs, de sorte qu'ils bouchent les fenêtres et du chœur et des galeries des bas-cotés, ils masquent l'architecture de ces différentes divisions. Ces combles sont tellement irréguliers qu'il est impossible d'empêcher l'infiltration des eaux. D'ailleurs la charpente est toute aussi mauvaise que celle des bas cotés.

Les fenêtres des chapelles du rond point, aussi bien que toutes celles de l'Église sont aux trois quarts bouchées, ce qui produit intérieurement et extérieurement l'effet le plus pitoyable.

Façade

La Façade de l'Église bâtie dans le 13^{ème} siècle est d'un assez mauvais goût, la tour du sud est conservée et a été réparée en 1821 après un incendie causé par la foudre qui avait brûlé sa flèche en bois. Ces restaurations ont été mal faites, et sous le rapport du goût et sous celui de la solidité, mais cependant aucune des parties de la tour ne demande aujourd'hui à être réparée. Dans la partie supérieure de la façade, sont percées des fenêtres ogivales qui donnent du jour dans le vestibule. Ces fenêtres sont privées de leurs vitres depuis longtemps, et la pluie poussée par le vent d'Ouest est chassée par ces ouvertures jusqu'au fond de ce vestibule, ce qui entretient dans ces vieilles constructions une humidité préjudiciable à leur conservation.

Tour du transept Sud.

La tour du transept Sud a été frappée par le tonnerre à plusieurs reprises. Sa flèche en pierre est tronquée ainsi que les quatre clochetons qui l'entouraient. Il y a peu d'années encore la foudre a broyé une grande quantité de pierres à son angle nord-ouest et chaque jour il en tombe des fragments. Les grandes fenêtres plein-cintrées sont bouchées par de la maçonnerie.

Grands-Combles.

Les combles de la nef, du transept, et du chœur, ont besoin de grandes réparations, les entrants des fermes du chœur s'appuient sur les voutes, et les noues du transept ne sont retenues par aucun entrant. Les jambes de force posent sur les rhens de la voute et ces noues n'étant pas recouvertes de plomb, l'eau passe facilement la charpente ainsi que les voutes qu'elles doivent protéger.

Le pignon du transept sud est dégradé, sa corniche est presque entièrement tombée.

Réparations urgentes.

Vestibule.

Il est nécessaire de vitrer les grandes fenêtres de la façade, de réparer celles des bas cotés, les déboucher et les vitrer. Les quatre portes des bas cotés devraient être aussi débouchées, et leurs vantaux refaits, les voutes rejointoyées.

Nef

Je pense que le meilleur moyen d'empêcher la ruine imminente de cette partie de l'Église, consiste à étayer provisoirement les murs des bas cotés, au droit des arcs doubleaux qui se sont affaissés, de cintrer les arcs boutants extérieurs, & les arcs doubleaux intérieurs, ainsi que les voutes; en étayant également les murs de la nef. De démolir ces arcs-boutants qui tombent en poussière, de les refaire avec soin en pierres de taille, en prenant garde de bien les unir aux éperons du mur de la nef. Puis de démonter les arcs-doubleaux & les reposer en remplaçant quelques claveaux de manière à bien serrer la construction. Cette opération faite à trois des arcs-doubleaux, et à tous les arcs boutants de la nef, on n'aurait plus de crainte à avoir sur la durée de cette partie de l'Église, et le deversement des murs serait fixé par les arcs boutants neufs. Il faudrait aussi refaire en leur donnant une saillie plus forte que celle actuelle, quelques uns des éperons des bas cotés du nord afin d'arrêter le mouvement de devers que sont les murs en dehors. D'autres éperons sont lézardés et ont besoin d'être repris et rejointoyés.

Transept

Il n'y aurait de réparation imminente à faire dans cette partie de l'Église que la reprise de la base des éperons extérieurs du pignon nord.

Chœur

Tous les arcs boutants extérieurs du chœur ont entièrement besoin d'être réparés, moins un, qui est en bon état. Les chapelles basses nécessitent aussi quelques reprises; la partie supérieure des fenêtres de ces chapelles est endommagée et quelques archivoltas ont besoin d'être repris à la naissance des arcs.

Façade

Quelques statues qui ornent cette façade tombent, n'étant plus retenues par les fers qui se sont oxydés, avec une somme assez faible on prévendrait leur chute en remplaçant ces fers et ces crampons.

Grand Comble

La rencontre de ces combles avec les tours du transept doit être couverte et bouchée afin d'empêcher la pluie de tomber sur les rhens des voutes du transept. Sur les noues doivent être faits des chenaux en plomb.

Combles des bas cotés et des chapelles du chœur.

Tous ces combles sont pourris et doivent être refaits en totalité en ayant le soin de les reconstruire dans leur état

primitif, de manière à démasquer toutes les fenêtres du chœur et de la nef. Alors ils doivent être couverts en tuiles creuses ainsi qu'ils l'étaient autrefois car la pente étant moins rapide que celle des combles, actuellement existants, les tuiles plates ne seraient pas d'un bon usage.

Restaurations

Vestibule.

Ce vestibule doit être dallé sur toute sa superficie, les voutes recrépées, et la galerie du nord retablee comme dans celle du sud. Les piliers, les chapiteaux et les grands bas reliefs au dessus des portes de la nef débadigeonnés, les trois petites arcades de la tribune donnant sur la nef débouchées. Alors, ce vestibule d'une bonne proportion, et dont le plan est fort beau, prendrait un aspect sévère et grandiose qui frapperait singulièrement. Rien n'est plus grave en effet que ces dispositions, et l'oeil distrait par les nombreuses dégradations qui le mutilent ne peut comprendre aujourd'hui l'aspect imposant que prendrait ce porche s'il était restauré.

Je pense que si quelque chose doit être conservé dans l'Eglise de Vézelay c'est ce vestibule, qui m'a paru la plus belle chose en ce genre qu'il y ait en France.

Nef, Transsept & chœur, intérieur.

Pour restaurer complètement toutes ces parties, il faudrait avant tout, d'boucher toutes les fenêtres et les vitrer, puis laver partout le badigeon qui ne tenant plus que par places, produit l'effet le plus triste, et couvre des constructions en pierres de différentes couleurs, remplacer trois chapiteaux de la nef qui sont brisés, & remanier tout le dallage qui est beaucoup au dessus de son ancien niveau, et cache des bases de colonnes.

Extérieur

Toute la corniche des bas cotés, qui est fort belle, est détruite, ou rongée par les eaux. Au midi, de lourds chénaux en pierre posés dans le XIII^e siècle l'ont remplacée. Cette corniche devrait être refaite ne fut-ce que pour la conservation des murs qu'elles doit couvrir.

Adossée au bas coté du midi est une baraque qui appartient par portions égales, à la fabrique, et à un particulier. Il serait bon de la démolir pour démarquer cette partie de l'Eglise. Ce mur du coté sud, a totalement besoin d'être rejointoyé et même repris dans certaines parties.

La corniche des chapelles du chœur est détruite sauf deux ou trois mètres de longueur elle devrait être aussi refaite en entier. La corniche du pignon du transept sud exige aussi une réparation presque complète.

Les combles des chapelles et des bas cotés du chœur étant refaite à neuf, et baissés, suivant leur première inclinaison, cette partie de l'Eglise prendra un aspect fort différent de celui qu'elle a aujourd'hui, toutes ces différentes parties, étant enserelées sous un comble onduleux et gauche, qui n'a ni forme ni solidité, et qui déshonore le monument.

Grands Combles

La charpente du comble de la nef nécessitera plus tard aussi des réparations considérables, elle est mal combiée et dans la partie du transept et du chœur, elle pose autant sur les voutes, que sur les murs. Le système des moues est des plus vicieux.

Tour du transept sud.

Il me paraît aussi fort nécessaire de réparer les effets de la foudre sur cette tour, tant intérieurement, qu'extérieurement. Du reste cette dépense ne sera pas très considérable et se bornera presque à un rejointoyement.

Enfin je propose pour prévenir les accidents qui ont tant de fois causé des désastres dans l'Eglise de Vézelay, d'établir tant sur les grands combles de ce monument, que sur les deux tours, sept paratonnerres avec leurs conducteurs.

Matériaux

J'ai dû pendant mon séjour à Vézelay rechercher quels étaient les matériaux qui avaient servi à la construction de l'Eglise de la Madeleine, afin d'employer les mêmes s'il est possible dans les travaux de restauration.

J'ai déjà mentionné ces différentes espèces de matériaux dans le premier paragraphe du rapport.

1. Une pierre grise avec grandes taches jaunâtres, grès, Carrière inconnue.
2. Une pierre dure grossière ... Grès. Je crois carrières proche Vézelay encore ouvertes aujourd'hui.
3. Une pierre moins dure que la précédente, calcaire assez fin, carrières dites de la Mance, encore exploitées. 3 livres de Vézelay.
4. Une pierre très blanche, calcaire, carrière inconnue.
5. Une pierre blanche jaunâtre assez dure, calcaire recevant le poli. Carrières de Coutanou encore exploitées 7 lieux de Vézelay.
6. Une pierre blanche jaunâtre très fine calcaire, c'est avec cette pierre que sont faites les colonnes monolithes du chœur. Je crois que cette pierre vient de Tonerre.
7. Moellon calcaire se délitant facilement, appelé lave dans le pays. Extrait autour de Vézelay.

Il sera joint à ce rapport un travail graphique donnant l'état actuel des constructions de l'Eglise de la Madeleine, et les réparations proposées avec le système d'étayement et de cintrage des voutes et des arcs boutants qui doivent être refaits.

Faits par l'architecte soussigné, le 21 Mars 1840,

E. Viollet Leduc."

24. On 6 April 1840, the Direction des Beaux-Arts approved Viollet-le-Duc's project, and the budget of 40.000 francs. (1586-1, A.M.H.) The estimate prepared by Viollet-le-Duc, and approved by the Conseil des Bâtiments Civils on 29 August 1840: 'Devis général estimatif des travaux à faire pour la restauration de l'Eglise de la Madeleine': "I section, restauration de la partie de la nef

qui est en mauvais état; II section, le mur de pignon; III section, les sept contreforts; IV section, les combles, la couverture des bas-côtés et la corniche sous le pied des chevrons ainsi que les chaineaux et tuyaux de descente...

I section, 1. étaie (démolition des 3 voutes et arcs doubleaux) 10,309.00; 2. démolition 868.13; 3. reconstruction 5,932.00 = 17,109.13

II " 1. démolition 167.21; 2. reconstruction 3,054.31 = 3,221.52

III " 1. Etaient 898.68; 2. Démolition 662.76; 3. Reconstruction 18,979.87 = 20,541.31

IV " 11,022.08

Total 51,895.32; Imprévis 2,104.68 "

Le 2e Devis':

Ch. 1er. Démolition contreforts, arcs-boutans

Ch. 2eme. Reconstruction contreforts et arcs-boutans en pierre Mance; Reconstr. arcs-doubleaux extradosses en pierre Mance; Corniche et Chenau, Taille superficielle ragréement; Fondations en moellon

Ch. 3eme Comble de bas cotés en charp. neuve

Ch. 4eme Couverture en tuiles creuses

Ch. 5eme Journées du charpentier

Total 28,830.76 "

25. Commission des monuments historiques, Procès-verbaux, 29 March 1840 (Bercé, F., Les premiers travaux de la commission des monuments historiques 1837-1848, Paris 1979, 55)

26. Mérimée, P., Notes d'un voyage dans le Midi de la France, Paris 1835 (Repr. in Mérimée, P., Notes de Voyage, Paris 1971)

27. Viollet-le-Duc, 'Rapport sur l'état actuel' op.cit.: "Dans le XIIIe siècle la partie supérieure des trois dernières travées de la nef a été refaite dans le gout de l'Epoque."

28. Viollet-le-Duc, ibid: "La Façade de l'Eglise batie dans le 13ème siècle est d'un assez mauvais gout."

29. Viollet-le-Duc, ibid: "Alors, ce vestibule d'une proportion, et dont le plan est fort beau prendrait un aspect severe et grandiose qui frapperait singulièrement. Rien n'est plus grave en effet que ces dispositions, et l'oeil distrait par les nombreuses dégradations qui le mutilent ne peut comprendre aujourd'hui l'aspect imposant que prendrait ce porche s'il était restauré. Je pense que si quelque chose doit être conservé dans l'Eglise de Vézelay c'est ce vestibule, qui m'a paru la plus belle chose en ce genre qu'il y ait en France."

30. Viollet-le-Duc to the Commission des Monuments historiques, 3 July 1841; Viollet-le-Duc to the Minister, 8 January 1842 (Vézelay, 1586-1, A.M.H.)

31. Commission des Monuments historiques, 'Procès verbaux', 26 August 1840, (Bercé, op.cit., 88).

32. Answering the criticism of M. François Garnier, Mérimée wrote to Vitet, 5 June 1847, commenting the accusation of having constructed too heavy vaults, "Je ne comprends pas et je n'ai rien vu de semblable. Les vo-tes nouvelles sont beaucoup plus légères que les anciennes. Peut-être Mr Garnier veut-il parler de deux arcs de la nef dont les claveaux très anciennement brisés doivent être repris. Les arcs sont cintrés provisoirement. Vous savez combien la pierre employée par les anciens architectes de Vézelay est mauvaise. Elle se fendille comme de l'argile et les claveaux sur plusieurs points ne tiennent que par la pression qu'ils éprouvent. Lorsqu'on les enlève de leur place, on les brise comme de la mie de pain sèche. Cette reprise à exécuter n'a rien de commun avec celle des vo-tes." (Mérimée, Correspondance, op.cit., V, 99)

33. Viollet-le-Duc, '3. Devis Général Estimatif de Travaux à faire pour la restauration complète de l'Eglise de la Magdeleine', 19 February 1842 (1586-1; A.M.H.):

"- Maçonnerie 57,171.47; - Charpente 15,083.36;

- Couverture 12,468.60; - Serrurerie 2,720.25

- Plomberie 4,393.15 ; = 91,836.83

- Répar. murs extér. 61,197.41

- Débadigeonnage 5,000.00

- Racords inter. murs sculptures 10,000.00

- Dallage intér. 8,439.60

- Reconstr. totale des croisees 12,373.44 = 188,847.28

- Imprévis 18,884.73 = 207,732.01

- Hon. archit., frais de voyage etc. 1/10 20,773.20

Total = 228,505.21

34. Commission M.H., 'Procès verbaux', 7 January 1842 (Bercé, op.cit., 164f): "... M. Lenormant qui a vu l'édifice cette année pendant le cours de la campagne approuve tout ce que vient de dire M. Viollet-le-Duc pour sa satisfaction et celle de son employé. Il pense qu'il fallait d'abord s'occuper de consolider avant de restaurer et insiste d'abord sur le mérite principal de l'église de Vézelay, qui consiste d'abord dans la beauté de son immense vaisseau. A l'extérieur il ne faut que réparer sans luxe un édifice dont l'ornementation a toujours été négligée."

35. Mérimée, P., 'Rapport 1842', op.cit.: "M. Viollet-le-Duc a triomphé heureusement de toutes les difficultés. Aujourd'hui la consolidation des vo-tes et des murs latéraux est accomplie. Les opérations qui offraient un danger réel ont été terminées sans accidents. On peut dire que la Madeleine est sauvée. Sans doute, de grands travaux seront encore nécessaires, les dépenses considérables; mais pour ceux qui connaissent la situation de cette église, le résultat obtenu est immense, et sa restauration complète, qu'on a pu croire impossible, n'est plus maintenant qu'une affaire de temps et d'argent."

36. Viollet-le-Duc to the Minister, 3 June 1844 (Vézelay, 1586-1/ 1824-48; A.M.H.).

37. Viollet-le-Duc to the Minister, *ibid*: referring to the intention to “commencer restauration complete... ce dernier travail terminé, il ne restera ... qu’un seul point faible ... les trois voûtes du XIV^{ème} siècle, ceux quelles nous n’avons pas touché, et qui dans la nef continuent les voûtes plein-cintres. Cette reconstruction refaite probablement après la chute des dernières voûtes romanes de la nef, fut montée à la hâte, et sans soins, sans art, sur les anciennes piles et les anciens murs du 11^{ème} siècle restés debout. Ne se reliant d’aucune façon avec les vieux murs, elle paraît de détériorer chaque jours. Mal contrebutées, ces voûtes ... longtemps déformées, brisées, et ouvertes ... Je pense que les trois voûtes d’arêtes du XIV^{ème} siècle, qui suivent immédiatement les arcs romans de la nef, devraient être reconstruites, non pas telles qu’elles sont aujourd’hui, mais ainsi qu’elles existaient, et ainsi que nous avons refait les autres voutes de la nef; car, les chapiteaux qui portaient les arcs-doubleaux plein-cintres sont encore bien conservés, le commencement de ces arcs eux-même est encore en place, les fenêtres romanes et même les arcs formerets existent encore en grande partie. Si ces voûtes d’arêtes offraient encore quelques chances de durée, je n’oserais pas proposer, Monsieur le Ministre, une modification aussi importante à l’état actuel du monument; mais dans la nécessité ou nous allons nous trouver de refaire ces voûtes, je crois que sous les différents rapports, 1. de la solidité, 2. de l’aspect général de l’édifice, et 3. de l’économie, il est préférable de les reconstruire romanes ainsi qu’elles existaient. Cette belle nef du XI^{ème} siècle sera donc alors complète, et placées dans de bonnes conditions. En effet, cette opération me permettra de reporter le mur pignon qui sépare aujourd’hui la nef haute de la nef basse, et pesa de tout son poids sur le dernier arc-doubleau qui nous avons reconstruit, de reporter dis-je entre les deux tours qui précèdent le Transept. Là, il sera maintenu de façon non plus charger les voûtes et ne pourra plus pousser au vide.”

38. Viollet-le-Duc, *ibid*: “Je laisserais entière alors la 4^{ème} voûte du XIV^{ème} siècle qui est entre ces deux tours et précède le transept, parceque d’abord, cette voûte toujours bien contrebutée, s’est conservée en très bon état, et parce qu’ensuite elle ... les belles voûtes du chœur et du transept.”

39. Commission M.H., 14 June 1844 (Bercé, *op.cit.*, 324): “M. Lenormant, rapporteur, expose que l’édifice sera bien restauré à l’exception des voûtes des quatre travées de la nef, qui ont été reconstruites au XIV^{ème} siècle et qui paraissent à l’architecture et à M. l’Inspecteur Général être dans un état fort menaçant. Faut-il réparer les voûtes comme elles ont été refaites au XI^{ème} siècle, ou reproduire dans trois travées la voûte du XI^{ème} siècle sauf à laisser entre les deux tours celle du XIV^{ème} siècle? Telle est la question que contrairement aux principes généraux qu’il a souvent défendus, le rapporteur propose de décider, conformément aux propositions de l’architecte, en reconstruisant les trois travées semblables à celles du XI^{ème} siècle qui sont conservées. En effet les chapiteaux sont encore restés à

leur place, ainsi que l’origine des arcs doubleaux, il n’y a rien à refaire que des travaux de constructions faciles à imiter, d’ailleurs la surélévation du fragment de voûte du XIV^{ème} siècle a nécessité la construction d’un pignon qui surcharge un des arcs doubleaux de la nef, cet inconvénient n’existera plus pour la dernière travée du côté du chœur qui est soutenue par deux tours, et qui servira de transition du style de la nef à celui du chœur.”

40. Mérimée to Vitet, 5 June 1847, (Mérimée, *Correspondance*, *op.cit.*, 98f): “Le premier soin de l’architecte avait été de consolider les murs qui se déversaient en refaisant ou établissant partout des contreforts. Cette opération achevée, l’architecte a proposé à la Commission il y a 3 ans le choix entre deux systèmes:

Le premier, le rétablissement des voûtes ogivales du XIV^{ème} siècle pour les 3 travées en question, c.a.d. le rétablissement ou plutôt la conservation d’une restauration ancienne maladroite qui altérerait l’unité de caractère que présentait la nef.

Le second, le rétablissement des voûtes de ces trois travées suivant le plan primitif et dans le style de la partie romane de la nef.

Observez que dans les deux cas, les voûtes étaient à refaire. On n’y avait pas encore touché. La commission a préféré le second système qui en conservant à la nef son caractère roman rendait plus facile la construction de la toiture.”

41. Mérimée, note of 13 March 1845 (Vézelay, *op.cit.*, A.M.H.): “Les dernières réparations ont été parfaitement dirigées, et l’édifice est maintenant dans un état très satisfaisant.”

42. Mérimée to the Commission, 19 March 1847 (Vézelay, *op.cit.*, A.M.H.): “...jusqu’à présent la Commission ne s’est occupée que de la consolidation de l’église de Vézelay, mais elle a toujours annoncée l’intention d’axion a une restauration complète aussitôt que l’état de ses finances le lui permettraient. Le moment est venu de prendre sur parti à cest égard.”

43. Viollet-le-Duc, ‘Rapport sur la situation des travaux au 1^{er} janvier 1847’ (1586-1; A.M.H.): Viollet-le-Duc informs that out of the previously accepted budget of 344.154,- francs, 247.937,77 francs had been spent, and 77.377,88 francs rest to pay, leaving 18.832,35 francs to be spend. “...Ainsi, le maître d’autel refait à la fin de la Renaissance, et qui ne présente qu’un amas confus de moulures les unes sur les autres, est tellement lourd qu’il écrase les voûtes de la crypte, et masque d’ailleurs le fond du chœur restauré entièrement aujourd’hui; des grilles en bois de diverses hauteurs viennent former les chapelles du chœur et entourer les colonnes et les bases, rien n’est plus misérable. Des boiseries et des stalles engagent encore des piliers du transept et de la nef les petites chapelles du chœur restaurées, sont dépourvues d’autels. De tout cela il résulte, que l’aspect du monument soit à l’extérieur soit à l’intérieur, n’à rien de complet, et que en comparaison de

celles déjà faites la Madeleine de Vézelay est toujours un édifice abandonné, et livré aux ouvriers.”

44. Salet, F., ‘Viollet-le-Duc à Vézelay’, *Les Monuments historiques de la France*, 1965, I-II, 33ff.

45. Salet, *ibid.*

46. Salet, *ibid.*

47. Salet, *ibid.*; Hohl - Di Matteo, *La sculpture oubliée*, *op.cit.*; Pressouyre, L., ‘Viollet-le-Duc et la restauration de la sculpture’, *Viollet-le-Duc*, Paris 1980, 144ff; Saulnier, L., ‘Vézelay: la restauration de la sculpture’, *Viollet-le-Duc*, *op.cit.*, 150ff. Mérimée, Report to the Commission, 15 November 1850 (Vézelay, 1587-2, 1848-70; A.M.H.): ‘nouveau devis supplémentaire 186.000 francs’:

“1. rétablir portion du cloître, 2. l’achèvement du Porche, façade, etc., 3. travaux de décoration, bas reliefs de la façade, peinture de la porche des Catéchumènes, vitraux en grisaille du porche”; *Viollet-le-Duc*, request of authorization for the restoration of sculptural decorations, 5 May 1854 ; authorization by the Ministry, 20 May 1854. (A.M.H. *ibid*)

48. Mérimée, Report to the Commission, 15 November 1850; *Viollet-le-Duc*, Report 19 May 1855: a section of the reconstructed cloister vaults collapsed due to cold weather and freezing. ‘Etat des travaux exécutés au 31 mars 1858’ *Viollet-le-Duc* to the Minister, 20 October 1859, reports that his work has been completed, and proposes the appointment of M. Piéplu to finish what remains, as well as to be responsible for maintenance. This was approved 11 November 1859 by Le Conseiller d’Etat, Secrétaire Général à Son Excellence le Ministre d’Etat; ‘Arrête’, 11 November 1859: Piéplu replaces *Viollet-le-Duc* (Vézelay, 1587-2, 1848-70; A.M.H.).

49. Mérimée to Vitet, 5 June 1847 (Mérimée, *Correspondance*, *op.cit.*, V, 49ff).

50. Ministre de l’Intérieur to Préfet de l’Yonne, 18 June 1847 (Vézelay, 1586-1, A.M.H.; Mérimée, *ibid*, 101): “Mr le Préfet, A l’occasion de quelques plaintes qui m’ont été adressées sur la manière dont les travaux entrepris aux églises de Vézelay et de Montréal ont été conduits, j’ai d’ordonner une enquête sur le faits. Mr l’Inspecteur général s’est rendu sur les lieux. Il résulte de son rapport que non seulement aucune des plaintes dont il s’agit n’était fondée, mais que l’architecte chargé de la restauration de ces deux édifices mérite les éloges de l’administration pour la manière habile dont il a dirigé les travaux qui ne laissent rien à désirer tant sous le rapport de l’art que sous celui de la solidité. Mais en même temps que Mr l’Inspeteur général s’enquerrait des faits que je lui avais signalés, des réclamations lui ont été présentées par les entrepreneurs et les agents employés aux travaux, au sujet des retards apportés par l’administration locale à la délivrance des mandats de paiements. ...”

(*Viollet-le-Duc*, ‘Rapport’, 19 May 1855)

Part Three: Development of Conservation Theories



Chapter Thirteen

Restoration of Classical Monuments

13.1 Principles created during the French Revolution

The French Revolution became the moment of synthesis to the various developments in the appreciation and conservation of cultural heritage. Vandalism and destruction of historic monuments (concepts defined during the revolution) gave a 'drastic contribution' toward a new understanding of the documentary, scientific and artistic values contained in this heritage, which so far had been closed away and forbidden to most people. Now for the first time, ordinary citizens had the opportunity to come in contact with these unknown works of art. The lessons of the past had to be learnt from these objects in order to keep France in the leading position even in the world of economy and sciences. It was also conceived that this heritage had to be preserved in situ in all parts of the country; it had to be inventorised, classified, and conserved to pass it with eventual 'new pages' to the memory of future generations. Within the Comité d'instruction publique there were commissions, who were legally put in charge as representatives of the Nation to act for the survey and control of the monuments and their preservation, and to guide local administrations in this task. Each citizen, nowever, had his or her moral responsibility in this regard and had to give account to the Nation not only today but also for the future. (1)

Heritage was conceived according to the widest panorama of human intellect; here the architecture and arts of the past centuries and especially of the middle ages, had clearly an important position. However, the strong links of the legislators and professionals with the academic tradition of classicism were still dominant. Greek style was fashionable, and Napoleon himself conceived his throne as an inheritance of Roman emperors; the public buildings and monuments such as the Arc de Triomphe de l'Etoile or the obelisk of Place de la

Concorde, symbolized this attitude. Consequently, it was not until 1830s before mediaeval structures had gained a lasting appreciation and a more firmly established policy for their conservation.

13.2 Restoration of Classical Monuments in the Papal State

In Italy, the home country of classical antiquity, where legislation for the protection of ancient monuments had already been developed since the Renaissance (or infact from the times of antiquity!), and where the position of a chief Conservator existed since the times of Raphael, patriotic expressions had often justified acts of preservation. During the revolutionary years, when the French troops occupied Italian states, and plundered or carried away major works of art, these feelings were again reinforced. When Pius VII took the Papal Sea in 1800, one of his first concerns was to see to the protection and eventual restoration of ancient monuments as well as to initiate excavations in the hope of discovering more antiquities to replace the lost ones. The act of 1802. signed by Cardinal Pamphilj, emphasized the political, educational and economic significance of the ancient works of art for the present state: "These precious remains from the times of Antiquity provide the city of Rome with an ornament which distinguishes it from all the other more famous cities of Europe". (2)

The Heritage of Bellori and Winckelmann

The concept of respecting the original material in the process of restoration, had matured during the eighteenth century especially through the writings of Bellori and Winckelmann, and it was reflected in the restoration and re-erection of the obelisks in Rome in the time of Pius VI at the end of that century. During the major restoration campaign of the monuments of the Forum Romanum in the first decades of the nineteenth century, the respect for the authenticity of the material consistency of the monuments was



Figure 204. The Arena of Nîmes at the end of 18th cent.

reconfirmed. Antonio Canova and Carlo Fea, both disciples of Winckelmann, surveyed zealously the maintenance, care and consolidation of the ancient monuments in order to preserve them in their minutest details. This was very clear, for example, in the consolidation of the eastern wall of the Colosseum through a solid brick buttress in 1806, when the ancient stones were all scrupulously kept in place even with the displacements caused by earthquakes. After the second French occupation and especially the intervention of the French architects sent to Rome by Count Montalivet, the Minister of the Interior, in 1813, a somewhat different approach was applied. The aim then was to emphasize the architectural values of the ancient monuments, and make at least partial reconstructions when necessary to display them to the visitors as part of the historic urban decor. The second consolidation of the Colosseum by Valadier in 1822, was conceived according to these lines; the buttress, though still in brick, was built in imitation of the original architectural forms of the monuments. A parallel example - in the field of sculpture - was the refusal by Canova to touch the Elgin Marbles from the Parthenon due to his high respect of the original works of art. On the other hand, Thorvaldsen, who was in charge during the second restoration of the Colosseum, accepted to restore and complete the Aeginetan Marbles in Munich. These two approaches, in fact, mark the extremes, and thus help to define the various approaches to restoration in general.

The Concept of 'Restoration' by Quatremère de Quincy

The restoration of archaeological monuments in Rome in this period provided examples which were often referred to in later discussions on the policy of conservation. A classic example in this regard has become the restoration of the Arch of Titus by Stern and Valadier, in 1818-21. Here, though completed in its architectural form, the monuments allows for the visitor to distinguish the old from the new in a way that there is no attempt to falsify the original.

This example was also taken by Quatremère de Quincy, when he defined the word 'restoration' in his Dictionnaire in 1832. Restoration meant, according

Figure 205. The Arena of Nîmes in 1809. Measured drawing by architect Grangent showing mediaeval houses still standing as well as those already demolished



to him, first: the work on a building, and second: a graphic illustration of a ruined monument in its original appearance. He emphasized the educational value of the restoration of monuments, but wanted to limit it to really significant ones.

“What remains of their debris should only be restored with a view to conserving that which can offer models for art or precious references for the science of antiquity... “ (3)

Referring further to the Arch of Titus, he indicated the guidelines according to which a classical monument, decorated with freezes and sculptures, should be restored:

“it should suffice to rebuild the whole of the missing parts, whilst the details should be left aside, so that the spectateur cannot be confused between the ancient work and the parts that have been rebuilt merely to complete the whole.” (4)

Recording and study of ancient monuments in Rome was already a long tradition; from the middle of the eighteenth century, the architectural competitions of the Accademia di San Luca had continued to keep alive this tradition. The work of the students of the French Academy in Rome also contributed to an increasingly accurate archaeological survey of ancient monuments in these years. Since 1787, this study had become obligatory, and it included a careful and detailed study of a classical monument, a recording of its present state, a study of ‘authorities’, i.e. approved texts and well known monuments of similar characteristics, as well as a graphic restoration on paper. An early example of this sort of study was the work on the Arch of Titus by A.J.M. Guénépin in 1809. (5) This method of study came to influence also

Figure 207. The Triumphal Arch of Orange (1980)



Figure 206. La Maison Carrée, Nîmes (1980)

the approach to mediaeval structures in the nineteenth century.

13.3 Restoration of Classical Monuments in France

During the years of the important restorations of Rome, work was done on classical monuments also in France. These restorations, mainly on the amphitheatre of Nîmes and the triumphal arch of Orange, were carried out with reference to the laws established during the Revolution at the end of the eighteenth century. In 1807, the Conseil des Batiments recommended that methods of consolidation should be studied for the amphitheatre of Nîmes, so as to “respect the character of the Roman buildings, not to change anything of the state of the ruins as they are at present, and to strive to strengthen them for a long period of time.” (6) The Roman remains were to be preserved in their actual state - including the cracks; a similar approach as in the case of the first consolidation of Colosseum in 1806. The actual works were carried out during 1809-13, and consisted of the consolidation of some internal structures as well as of the restoration of the arena. The mediaeval buildings, instead, that had been built in the arena area and around it, were demolished. (7)

During 1807 through 1809, the triumphal arch of Orange was consolidated with full respect to the original structures; the lost parts were completed with plain masonry without any attempt to reconstruct. These works, carried out by the city of Orange, with the financial aid of the Government and the support of Count of Montalivet, were completed in 1824 by architect A-N. Caristie. (8)

13.4 Restoration of Classical Monuments in Greece

In the 1830s, after the Greek independence, these 'Roman principles', defined also by Quatremère, were applied in the re-erection of the ancient monuments of the Acropolis in Athens. Especially the rebuilding of the little temple of Athena Nike, destroyed in the seventeenth century, came to symbolize - not only the resurrection of the Greek Nation after centuries of suppression, but also a method of rebuilding, where the material authenticity of the ancient structure was fully respected. (9) In 1834, the kingdom of Greece received a law on the protection of historic monuments, which was fairly elaborate and contained especially a statement that has often been quoted since: "all objects of antiquity in Greece, as the productions of the ancestors of the Hellenic people, are regarded as the common national possession of all Hellenes". At the end of the act, there was another statement, "those objects also which have been handed down from the earlier epochs of Christian art, and from the so-called Middle Ages, are not exempt from the provisions of the present law." (10) With this law, prepared with the assistance of German advisors, professor Ludwig Maurer, (11) Greece became - alongside with Hesse-Darmstadt, one of the foremost lands in terms of conservation legislation in Europe. (12)

Notes to Chapter Thirteen

1. See Chapter Seven.
2. Edict, 1st October 1802, signed by Card. Doria Pamphilj: "Questi preziosi avanzi della culta Antichità forniscono alla Città di Roma un ornamento, che la distingue tra tutte le altre più insigni Città dell'Europa..." (Emiliani, A., *Leggi, bandi e provvedimenti per la tutela dei beni artistici e culturali negli antichi stati italiani 1571-1860*, Bologna 1978, 111)
3. Quatremère de Quincy, C., *Dictionnaire*, 1832, 'Restauration': "on ne doit restaurer ce qui existe de leurs débris que dans la vue d'en conserver ce qui est susceptible d'offrir à l'art des modèles ou à la science de l'antiquité des autorités précieuses..."
4. Quatremère, *ibid.*: "s'il est question d'un édifice composé de colonnes, avec des entablements ornés de frises, soit sculptées en rinceaux, soit remplies d'autres figures, avec des profils taillés et découpés par le ciseau antique, il devra suffire de rapporter en bloc les parties qui manquent, il faudra laisser dans la masse leurs détails, de manière que le spectateur ne pourra se tromper sur l'ouvrage antique et sur celui que l'on aura rapporté uniquement pour compléter l'ensemble. Ce que nous

proposons ici vient d'avoir lieu à Rome, depuis assez peu de temps, à l'égard du célèbre Arc triomphal de Titus, que l'on a fort heureusement dégagé de tout ce qui en obstruait l'ensemble, et que très sagement encore on a restauré dans ses parties mutilées, et précisément de la manière et dans la mesure qu'on vient d'indiquer."

5. Bérard, F., 'L'Arc de Titus', *Roma Antiqua, Envois des architectes français (1788-1924)*, Forum, Colisée, Palatin, Rome 1985, 292ff.
6. Conseil des Bâtiments, 1807: "...tenir du caractère des constructions romaines et ne rien changer dans l'état de ruines où le tout se trouve, et se borner à le soutenir pour longtemps." (Bonnell, E., 'Amphithéâtre de Nîmes. Notes sur un projet de consolidation du 18 pluviôse an XIII', *Les Monuments historiques de la France*, III, 1957, 113ff)
7. Bonnell, E., 'Protection des Arènes de Nîmes au début du XIXe siècle', *Les Monuments historiques de la France*, V, 1959, 134ff.
8. Bonnell, E., 'La restauration et l'aménagement de l'Arc de Triomphe d'Orange sous l'Empire', *Les Monuments historiques de la France*, XII, 1966, 286ff.
9. See Chapter Nine.
10. Brown, G.B., *The Care of Ancient Monuments, an Account of the Legislative and Other Measures Adopted in European Countries for Protecting Ancient Monuments and Objects and Scenes of Natural Beauty, and for Preserving the Aspect of Historical Cities*, Cambridge 1905, 217f.
11. Dehio, G., 'Denkmalschutz und Denkmalpflege im neunzehnten Jahrhundert', Dehio, G., *Kunsthistorische Aufsätze*, München 1924, 271.
12. Decree of Louis X, Grand Duke of Hesse-Darmstadt, 22 January 1818 (Moller, G., *Denkmäler der deutschen Baukunst, Leipzig – Darmstadt - London*, n.d.; Harvey, J., *Conservation of Buildings*, London 1972, 208f)

Chapter Fourteen

English Antiquarianism

14.1 English Connections with the Classicism

During the eighteenth century, England had strong connections with the sources of classicism; artists and architects were trained in ‘grand tours’ to the Mediterranean; educated gentlemen were to acquire collections of classical antiquities and other works of art. Although not fashionable after the introduction of Classicism in England, Gothic was never really extinct in the country as seen in the verses of John Milton c.1631:

“But let my due feet never fail
To walk the studious Cloysters pale,
And love the high embowed Roof,
With antick Pillars massy proof,
And storied Windows richly dight,
Casting a dimm religious light.” (1)

Sir Christopher Wren

Even some of the main architects of Classicism such as Sir Christopher Wren, although critical, nevertheless appreciated the workmanship of mediaeval builders; the repairs that he did at Salisbury Cathedral, and the western towers that he and Nicholas Hawksmoor designed for Westminster Abbey, were conceived in harmony with the architectural whole. The fashion of garden and landscape design had been first linked with classical landscape ideals, but gradually turned towards picturesque mediaeval ruins and structures, as was seen in the statement of John Vanbrugh on Woodstock Mannor in 1709, and in the publications of Batty Langley, who introduced Gothic designs in garden structures in the 1740s. (2)

Sir Horace Walpole

In 1750, Horace Walpole (1717-97), Earl of Oxford and son of Sir Robert Walpole, initiated a series of alterations in Gothic style in his country house, Strawberry Hill, near Twickenham, contributing to the growth of the taste for Gothic in the period of

Rococo. This also inspired him to write *The Castle of Otranto* (1765) and set the fashion for novels of Gothic horrors.

14.2 James Essex and the Gothic

The later Gothic features in his house were designed by James Essex (1722-84), son of a Cambridge carpenter, known as a ‘Gothic architect’, and considered the first practising architect to take an antiquarian interest in mediaeval architecture. As early as 1756, he made proposals for publishing measured drawings of King’s College Chapel; he wrote several pioneering papers on Gothic architecture, and was elected a member of the Society of Antiquaries in 1772. (3) He repaired and restored numerous buildings at Cambridge University, and carried out extensive repairs at Ely and Lincoln Cathedrals, as well as reporting or working on other buildings as well. (4)

The Restorations by Essex

Although some repairs were done during the ‘Age of Reason’, many major churches and cathedrals were neglected, and badly in need of repair; these repairs were initiated in the 1770s and 1780s, aiming chiefly at bringing the structure back to a complete state of repair, but also intending to satisfy new functional requirements, and, up to a certain point, ‘improving’ or ‘beautifying’ the architecture, generally in the spirit of classicism. Although Essex did not necessarily argue the conservation of original structures, he made an exception to the general rule in basing his work on an antiquarian survey of the buildings trying to adhere to the original intentions of the builders. Having surveyed the western screen wall at Lincoln Cathedral, in 1775, he wrote: “In order to correct the disagreeable appearance of this wall, I was desirous of tracing the original state of this part of the church, and if possible restoring it to the state which the builders intended it.” (5)



Figure 208. Ely Cathedral before 1863 with the octagon designed by J. Essex

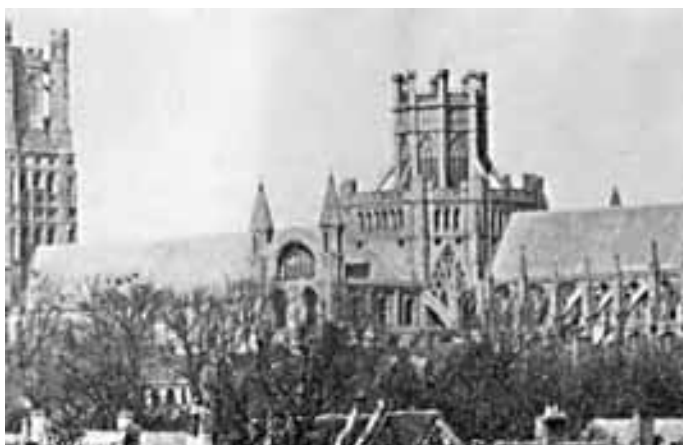
2. Documentation of Mediaeval Monuments

From the 1770s onward, there was an increasing interest in historic studies and measured drawings of mediaeval buildings; a number of publications were prepared by authors such as Rev. Michael Young, Rev. G.D. Whittington, Rev. John Milner, Richard Gough, John Carter, James Dallaway, Thomas Rickman and John Britton, many of whom were members of the Society of Antiquaries, founded in the first part of the century. (6) The general tendency to rearrange, change, remove or destroy original features, such as rood screens, chapels, organs and tombs, upset many antiquarians, notably Milner, Gough and Carter, who appreciated Essex's example, (7) and came forward criticizing and accusing the architects and the Deans and Chapters for ignorance and lack of appreciation of Gothic, for the destruction of this sublime, grand and picturesque architecture, as well as for the demolition of antiquities and of historic evidence. (8)

14.3 Restorations by James Wyatt

In this period, Gothic buildings were viewed by architects, who had received classical training, and who appreciated uniformity and 'beautiful simplicity'

Figure 209. Ely Cathedral after restoration by Scott



(9) ignoring the real character of Gothic. In 1790, Gough complained that there were "so many proofs of the grossest ignorance in almost every architect who has attempted to imitate, restore, or even repair, the best specimens". (10) The most criticized was James Wyatt (1746-1813), whose work at Durham has been described earlier. He was invited to deal with the cathedrals of Lichfield (1787-95), Salisbury (1787-92), and Hereford (1788), where the west tower had collapsed in 1786; he was also the surveyor of Westminster Abbey. Apart from structural and functional improvements, Wyatt and the Dean and Chapters generally aimed at the unification of the whole internal space by removing any hindering obstacles; as a result screens and fonts were removed, chapels were opened, and main altars placed at the far end of the building. At Hereford, the nave was shortened by one bay, and the west front rebuilt without a tower. Wyatt, however, was not ignorant of Gothic forms; he executed Essex's plans for Walpole at Strawberry Hill, and used Gothic style in his projects, such as Fonthill Abbey for William Beckford. (11)

Criticism of Wyatt's work

There were those who defended Wyatt's work, and were pleased that these buildings were finally repaired and put in order after decades of neglect and misuse. These people, however, clearly lacked any sensitivity for the mediaeval artifacts. For example at Salisbury, the chapels were considered to have already lost their 'pristine elegance' long ago, and the painted decorations were seen to represent "uncouth, disproportioned figures, the offspring of some humble bruth, probably in the reign of Edw.IV or Henry VII, which have been the constant laughing stock of every intelligent observer." (12) Effacing the paintings and covering them with a wash "will give harmony, propriety, and effect, to the columns, arches, and ceiling". (13)

On the other hand, there were those who appreciated Gothic architecture, and at Salisbury, with Gough, considered it

"of the boldest and lightest style, the design uniform and elegant, the execution equal to its situation, and the lofty spire the wonder of the kingdom. For disposition and character, as well as number of monuments, this church had few rivals. The tout ensemble of this cathedral was perfect in its kind for 500 years from its erection." (14)

Wyatt's plans, however, threatened this

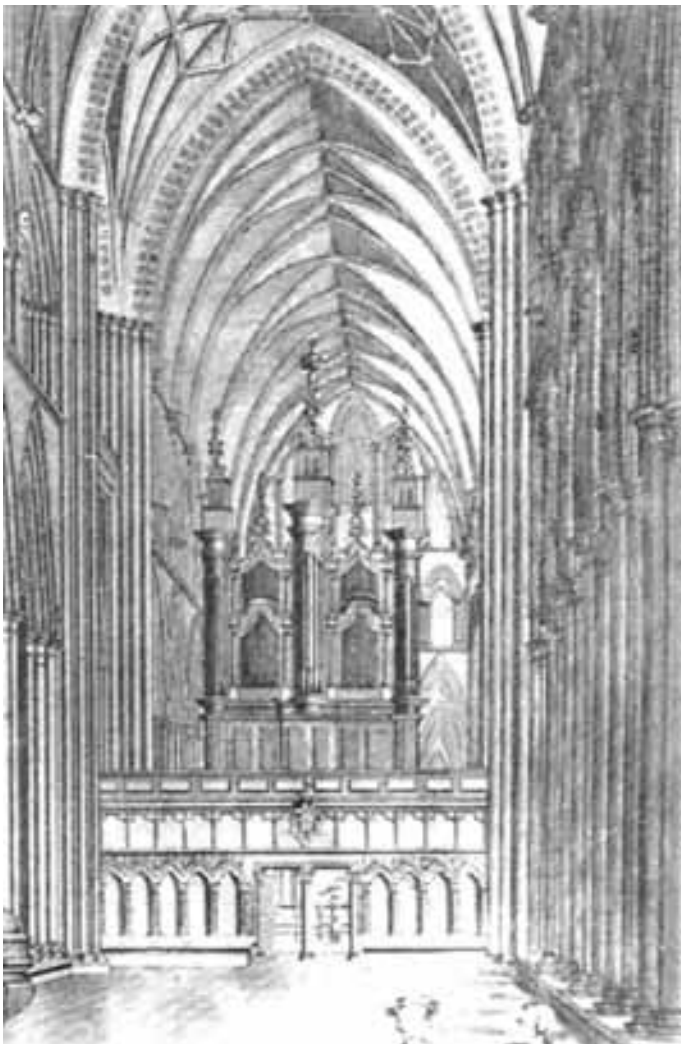


Figure 210. Salisbury Cathedral, the nave looking east before restoration by J. Wyatt

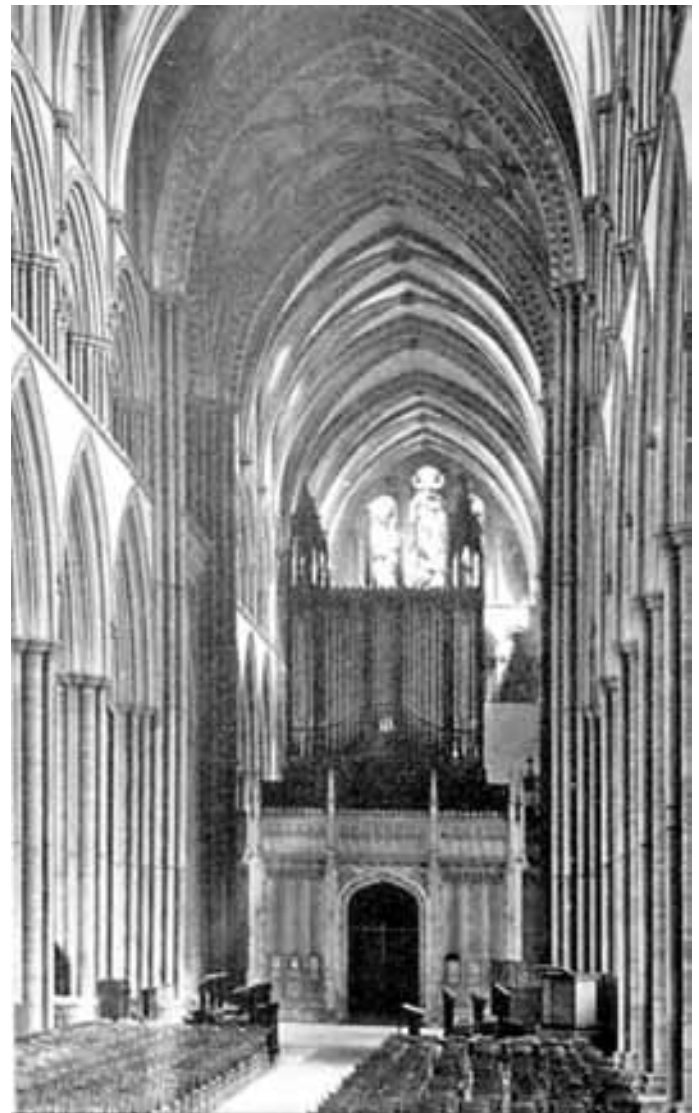


Figure 211. Salisbury Cathedral, c. 1865, showing screen designed by Wyatt

“under pretence of giving uniformity to the building, by laying the Lady Chapel into the choir, already of a length adapted to every purpose, has removed the monuments from the chapel, broken into the graves beneath them, raised the floor of the chapel so as to bury the bases of the slender clustered columns at least eighteenth inches... Nor has the rage of reformation stopped here, it has doomed to destruction the two side chapels, the South porch, leading into the presbytery, and the North porch, leading into the upper North transept... The monuments... are to be ranged on each side of this elongation, as it may be called, of the choir, or perhaps on each side of the nave.” (15)

Another critic wrote in the *Gentleman’s Magazine*: “I am a very old man; I have seen many strange things come to pass; but I little thought I should ever read in Your valuable Magazine, that ‘the beauty of the nave (of the church, Mr Urban) was totally destroyed by being crowded with pews.’” (16)

Gough tried to convince Walpole - as a friend of Wyatt’s - to intervene, but the only result were regrets of the “scandalous, nay, dishonest abuse” of the tombs. (17) A little later, in 1798, Milner published his *Dissertation on the Modern Style of Altering Ancient Cathedrals as Exemplified in the Cathedral of Salisbury*, where he again attacked Wyatt for the destruction of tombs and chapels, as well as his tendency to reduce the original spatial character and design of these buildings into modern uniformity. However, in 1797, Wyatt was elected to the Society of Antiquaries with a great majority in his favour in the second balloting. As a consequence, Gough resigned from the Society’s directorship. (18)

14.4 John Carter

Another person, who was offended by the election was John Carter (1748-1817), Wyatt’s fierce critic at Durham, who was accused for false criticism and was forbidden to bring essays or drawings to the meetings of the Society without special invitation. Carter

learnt to draw from his father, and spent much time in studying historic buildings such as Westminster Abbey. There he came to know members of the Society of Antiquaries, and later worked as draughtsman, for example for Gough. In 1792, the Society decided to employ him for preparing measured drawings of mediaeval structures. His drawings of St. Stephen's Chapel at Westminster, of the Cathedrals of Exeter and Durham, as well as of the Abbey Church of Bath, were later published. In addition, Carter published several volumes on English mediaeval art and architecture, but his best known literary work probably is the series of 212 articles, 'Pursuits of Architectural Innovation', that he published under the pseudonym 'An Architect' in the Gentleman's Magazine starting after Wyatt's election, in 1798 till his death. (19)

The 'Pursuits' were first intended as a critical survey of mediaeval buildings and their restoration, but gradually this really developed into a history of English architecture. It had the subtitle: 'Progress of Architecture in England', and it covered the subject from the early times till the reign of Queen Anne. He travelled extensively to various parts of the country - including Wales, and usually described one building in each article; more important ones, such as some cathedrals, Westminster Abbey and Windsor Castle, needed several articles. He seldom gave praise, though it happened sometimes - as was the case even at Salisbury, where he thought the cloisters to be "in good hands". (20) However, he did not spare criticism either, and concluded his article on Salisbury:

"Before I quit this cathedral, let me once more shed a tear in pity for the innovated and modernized architectural state of the service part of the arrangement, and sepulchral relics remaining therein; where new-fangled decorations have been set up, utterly irrelevant to the style of the fabrick, without order or propriety; where monuments have been either destroyed, removed, or their particular parts huddled together, to the confusion of Architectural design and historical evidence." (21)

Carter's Concepts

Carter's vocabulary contained such concepts as: alteration, beautifying, damage, destruction, improvement, innovation, repairing, and restoration, which all, in the end, meant different degrees of negative or destructive treatment to historic buildings.

To Carter 'Beautifying' was "whitewashing the interiors of our antient churches, new-glazing the windows... knocking out their mullions and tracery altogether; filling up the aisles and body of the churches with pews..." (22)

'Improvement' was "either the total extirpation of partial subversion of the several works raised by the genius of old times". (23)

'Innovation' meant "changing or bringing about any considerable alteration in our antient buildings such as demolishing particular portions of their works, removing or mutilating their decorations, disarranging their plans, introducing new fantastic embellishments on those parts dispoiled, disorganizing the very state of such edifices as originally set forth to the administration of mankind." (24)

'Alteration' was understood, as relating to 'antient churches & c.'

"as removing the tombs and monuments of Founders and Patrons from their original and appropriate situations at the East ends to the West ends of such holy fabricks; driving out the choirs (first taking down the altar-screens) into the Lady-Chapel ... reworking and making additions in the Roman and Grecian styles to some parts of these structures; and, finally, to pull down and destroy their several appendeges, such as chapter-houses, altar-screens, monuments, & c." (25)

'Repairs', to him, were too often 'militations' against the remaining precious memorials resulting in careless imitations or mutilations. (26)

'Restorations' were just one step further; in practice these were left to the inattentive hands of workmen, who had "very little or no connection, resemblance, or proportion to the old works of art". (27) Of Henry The Eight's Chapel at Westminster Abbey, he exclaimed,

"when Restoration comes - why then the original will be no more. For my part, I am for no restoration of the building; I am content with it even as it is. For repair, indeed, I am ready enough to agree to that; such as carefully stopping open joints, making good some of the mullions of the windows, putting the glazing of the windows in proper conditions; but no further would I go." (28)

It is probable that Carter's reluctance to accept restorations resulted partly from his detestation of the early forms of Gothic Revival architecture of his

time, “a sort of taste that just glances at our antient pointed arch style, and catches much from the Chinese manner”. (29) He thought that the architects of his day “soil the historic page with a blackening stain”, and asked whether they were really qualified “to hold up to public view the fate of our national works? who have not either professional knowledge or skill, devoid of impartial discussion, unblest with delienary patience, and curst with foreign Virtu?” (30)

He insisted that the imitation of original architectural details should be properly understood so that the work would “become of consequence from its historic reference, and continue as example of genuine taste and true imitation.” (31) Here Carter anticipated Pugin’s criticism of Gothic Revival, although from purely antiquarian and aesthetic point of view.

On paper, he himself made some restorations; for example at Durham, he ‘restored’ the cathedral back to the state before the repairs of the 1790s had been carried out by Wooler and Nicholson. At Lichfield, he presented a drawing of the west front of the cathedral, ‘restored’ with the statues that had been removed earlier. (32) These were, however, side issues, and the main effort of Carter was for the defense of the historical and documentary values of the buildings, as well as their picturesque patina of age. He thus anticipated also John Ruskin, his great successor. In his time, Carter and his few friends lacked general support and enthusiasm for their cause, and their efforts seem to have remained a rather isolated pheonomenon, but it was a beginning, and one could sympathize with the closing words of his last article, in 1817:

“If the Society of Antiquaries be disposed as doubtless they will, to ‘give credit to the yielding disposition’ of him who saves the devoted pile; can other minds, claiming possession of ‘taste’ and sensibility like them, refrain from heartily rejoicing? We once more cry out in joyful strain, thanks! and conclude with this self-congratulating effusion - OUR LABOURS ARE NOT IN VAIN! - ‘AN ARCHITECT’” (33)

The City Walls of York and the General Public

With industrial development, growing prosperity and increase of urban population, there were complaints about the shabbiness of old mediaeval quarters, narrow streets, and old town walls, which created an obstacle for traffic as well as for the growth of cities. In York, decisions had already been made at the end of the eighteenth century to tear down the

old defensive walls, and to use the material for the improvement of streets and rebuilding of bridges. The protests by antiquarians such as Carter were supported in 1807 and 1812 by legal challenges by the Archbishop for his rights to collect tolls. (34)

It was not until the 1820s, however, when the newspapers started giving more space to the debate, that the local population was informed about the problem. The Yorkshire Philosophical Society, founded in 1822, became active in defending historic monuments, including the city walls, and in 1825-7 even the City Corporation, who had originally wanted to demolish them, undertook some restoration work. In 1831, a special Restoration Committee started collecting funds for this purpose, and gradually, with the help of public opinion, the conservation of the walls was guaranteed. (35) In this period one could also trace a general increase in the attention towards historic buildings and their restoration in England as was the case in other countries as well.

Notes to Chapter Fourteen

1. Milton, J., ‘Il Penseroso’ (155-160), (c.1631), *The Complete Poetry of John Milton*, ed. J.T. Shawcross, Anchor Books 1971.
2. Pevsner, N., *Some Architectural Writers of the Nineteenth Century*, Oxford 1972. Watkin, D., *The Rise of Architectural History*, London 1980. Clark, K., *The Gothic Revival, An Essay in the History of Taste* (1928), USA 1974. Germann, G., *Gothic Revival in Europe and Britain: Sources, Influences and Ideas*, London 1972. Honour, H., *Romanticism*, Pelican Books 1981.
3. D’Moundt, R., ‘Remarks on Gothic Buildings’, *Gentleman’s Magazine*, 1782, 480: concerning St. Catherine’s Church near the Tower of London, “We are requested by this author, to pay due attention to the beautiful simplicity, visible through the whole of this fabric. If there had been no division or interstitial breaks in this edifice, no separation of their choir from the main body of the building, much of this simplicity might be expected. But when we see a rustic arch, formed as an opening to the choir, and a screen, which terminates the first part of the church, and this done according to the old preposterous mode of chancelling a church, for doing which there was no occasion here as this church is a Peculiar, and so not under the jurisdiction of the Ordinary, bu such shapeless contrivances as these, the perspective is broke, and the uniformity destroyed. The true simplicity in building arises from a subsidiary combination of parts,

to form an even and equal whole: So that the rays of vision must never be embarrassed, nor the constructive parts recede from uniform regularity.”

4. Gough, R., *Gentleman's Magazine*, January 1790, 1194f.

5. Frew, J.M., ‘Richard Gough, James Wyatt and Late 18th-Century Preservation’, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, XXXVIII, iv, 1979, 366ff. Colvin, H.M., *A Biographical Dictionary of English Architects 1660-1840*, 722ff. Linstrum, D., *The Wyatt Family, Catalogue of the Drawings Collection of the Royal Institute of British architects*, London 1973. Turnor, R., *James Wyatt*, London 1950. Colvin, H.M.- Crook, J.M.-Port, M.H., *The History of King's Works*, VI, 1782-1851, London 1973, 49ff. Dale, A., *James Wyatt*, Oxford 1956. Lees-Milne, J., *William Beckford*, Compton Russell 1976.

6. *Gentleman's Magazine*, December 1789, 1065.

7. *Idem*.

8. ‘R.G.’ (Richard Gough), *Gentleman's Magazine*, 21 October 1789, 873.

9. ‘R.G.’, *Gentleman's Magazine*, October 1789, 874.

10. ‘WW’, *Gentleman's Magazine*, February 1796, 98.

11. Walpole to Gough, 24 August 1789, *Letters*, ed. P. Cunningham, Edinburgh 1906, IX, 212, ‘2487’.

12. Evans, J., *A History of the Society of Antiquaries*, Oxford 1956, 209: On 9 November 1797, J.T. Groves presented a drawing of Galilee to show that it was still standing, and J. Carter another to show Wyatt's intentions. On 7 December 1797, Mr Lysons denied that the destruction of Galilee had been intended by Wyatt; the Chapter had wanted to remove it, and he, instead, favoured a partial demolition and rebuilding. On 21 December 1797, Carter replied that the east end of the Chapter House had been pulled down. In December 1797, Wyatt was elected a member of the Society in the second balloting (143/20), and on 12 December, Gough resigned. His letter was read at the meeting of 23 January 1798, and accepted.

13. ‘Memoir of the late Mr. John Carter, F.A.S.’, *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1817 II, 363ff: “As antiquarian Draftsman his abilities were truly estimable; - he was extremely faithful in his delineations, - delicate and elaborate in his drawings; but they were the unadorned and absolute fac-similes of the objects portrayed.” In his tombstone it was stated: “He was distinguished for his superior Knowledge in Antient English Architecture; in which, as a Profession, he pre-eminently excelled. His zeal for the preservation of Antient Buildings and Remains of Antiquity was equal to his Judgement and Science; and he had the high satisfaction of knowing that his active and steady Perseverance had been the means of saving from Destruction several Antient Structures, valuable Monuments of the skill of our Ancestors.” (Tombstone on South-side of Hampstead Church in London). Carter

had told having worked with Dixon and Holland, as well as with Wyatt “superintending the workmen in the buildings upon which that gentleman was engaged”. (*idem*) His own architectural activity was limited to a few works, including a small oratory, four alms-houses in Kent, design of the great west window at Exeter Cathedral, St. Peter's Chapel, Winchester, for John Milner. (Colvin, *English Architects*, op.cit., 125ff) Carter's publications included: *Specimens of Ancient Sculpture and Painting* (1780-94), *Views of Ancient Buildings in England*, 6 vol. (1786-93), reprinted as *Specimens of Gothic Architecture* (1824), *Ancient Architecture of England* (1795-1814), ‘Pursuits of Architectural Innovation’, *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1798-1817.

14. Carter, ‘Pursuits’, op.cit., GM, 1803, 642.

15. Carter, *ibid*, 1810, 511.

16. Carter, *ibid*, 1802, 1118: “Beautifying; Whitewashing the interiors of our antient churches, new-glazing the windows in the modern quarry or sash manner, cutting out their tracery, or the double and treble turns within their sweeps; knocking out their mullions and tracery altogether; filling up the aisles and body of the churches with pews; substituting new pavement for the old; introducing and placing Buzaglo stoves and pulpits before the altars, &c. By which specimens of modern refinement, the walls have their innumerable historic paintings washed out; the windows lose some of the most scientific masonic beauties that can possibly be conceived; the columns cut into, and monuments hid to make pew-room; the pavements deprived of their ancestral brasses; and, in conclusion, we witness thsoe objects indecent and unclerical raised up to obstruct our pious attention and the table of the Lord.”

‘Antient’ = “That which relates to old times. In this list, it is to be considered as comprehending that lapse of time from the first knowledge of the Antient Britons to the conclusions of the reign of Henry VIII.” (*ibid*, 1802, 1021)

‘Antiquary’ “studies, admires, elucidates ... one who on all occasions is ready, maugre the great man's frown, or the prospect of place or pensions, to defend and protect the causes and remains of Antiquity among us.” (*idem*.)

‘Architecture’ = “The art and science of constructing edifices of every denomination, from the artizan's dwelling to the princely castle, from the simple parish-church to the gorgeous cathedral...” (*idem*.)

‘Decorate’, “The act of adorning buildings, so as to diffuse over them an air of splendour and magnificence...” (Carter, *ibid*, 1803, 334)

17. Carter, *ibid*, 1803, 1025f.

18. Carter, *ibid*, 1803, 1026.

19. ‘Alteration’, “In this list, to be understood as relating to the change, or innovations, made in our antient churches, & c. such as removing the tombs and monuments of Founders and Patrons from their original and appropriate situations

at the East ends to the West ends of such holy fabricks; driving out the choirs (first taking down the altar-screens) into the Lady-chapel; obliterating the several finall chapels dedicated to saints and other historical characters; taking the antient painted glass and mullions from windows, and substituting modern paintings and masonry in their stead; reworking and making additions in the Roman and Grecian styles to some parts of these structures; and, finally, to pull down and destroy thier several appendiges, such as chapter-houses, altar-screens, monuments, & c.” (Carter, *ibid*, 1802, 1021)

‘Damage’, “Understood by Antiquarians as the act of knocking, cutting, or otherwise dilapidating our works of antiquity...” (Carter, *ibid*, 1803, 334)

20. ‘Repairing’, “When adverting to our antient works, the practice of repair militates against the precious memorials left, either in a careless imitation of decayed parts, mutilating others, or by totally obliterating each curious particular altogether.” (Carter, *ibid*, 1804, 328)

21. Carter, *ibid*: “Restoration; Much the same signification as the foregoing article, with this addition; that it is pretended the attempts made in this way are faithful restorations of the originals put into the power of workmen; when, by what they perform, we too sensibly perceive they have very little or no connection, resemblance, or proportion, to the old works of art suffering under their inattentive hands.”

22. Carter, *ibid*, 1804, 739.

23. Carter, *ibid*, 1799, 92. Carter did not accept the term ‘Gothic’, but would have preferred to call this architecture ‘Norman’, which to him was nearer to its national significance to England: “‘Gothic’, ... a term of reproach, a barbarous appellation, an invidious designation, a vulgar epithet, an ignorant by-word, a low nick-name, given to hold up to shame and ignominy our antient English Architecture, the pride of human art, and the excellence of all earthly scientific labours.” (*ibid*, 1801, 413)

Carter also spoke about the ‘Fantastic order of Architecture’, “This order owes its origin purely to the inventive genius of modern times, Prejudice, Innovation, Improvement, mixing their films together, engendered this prodigy, and sent it into the world as something new; yet at the same time it was proclaimed out as something old ... a mixture of styles ... In short, this order may be said to be at odds with architectural propriety, precedent and common sense, insulting Antiquity in England, and that of Greece and Rome...” (*ibid*, 1803, 525)

24. Carter, *ibid*, 1801, 310.

25. *Idem*.

26. Carter, *ibid*, 1810, 403: “In the annexed view of Lichfield Cathedral, liberty has been taken to introduce statues into all the niches, excepting those niches in the dado under the great window and the Centre Porch; they still retaining their original series. The statues that have

occupied the above vacant niches were thrown down some years back by order of the then Dean; he (as is reported, but it can scarcely be credited) fancying that they nodded at him as he entered the Church...”

27. Carter, *ibid*, 1817, 225.

28. Curr, G.G., *The Struggle to Preserve the Town Defences of York: 1800-1835*, Diploma of Conservation Studies, IAAS, York 1976, 16ff.

29. Curr, *op.cit.*, 35ff.

Chapter Fifteen

Early Restoration in Germanic Countries

15.1. German Nationalism and Historic Monuments

The literary background of modern nationalism in Europe has been conceived as having its roots in the Puritan movement in England, from the writings of Milton and Locke to French and German writers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. John Milton (1608-74) envisaged the idea of liberty spreading from Britain to all corners of the world, and John Locke (1632-1704) gave a final form to this idea in his political philosophy. Jean Jacques Rousseau's (1712-78) *Social Contract* (1762) became "a bible" for the French Revolution, and also strongly influenced German writers, such as Kant, Hegel and Herder, who in turn laid the foundations for the modern world in their philosophy.

J.W. von Goethe

Primitive popular traditions and folklore were revealed as the creative forces of a nation, becoming the source of inspiration for German nationalism and romanticism. Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803) especially gained a new understanding of art and civilization. He discovered the writings of Shakespeare, and looked for similar expressions in German literary history. In 1770 he met Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832), who was completing his studies in Strasbourg, and inspired a fundamental change in the young man's interests. As a consequence, Goethe discovered the splendours of Gothic architecture in Strasbourg Cathedral, and wrote his famous article on the building and its long dead architect Erwin von Steinbach. This was published in 1772 under the title *Von deutscher Baukunst*. (1)

Goethe referred to the prejudice and the many misunderstandings which had contributed to showing the Gothic in a poor light during the eighteenth century; it had been considered "undefined, disorganized, unnatural, patched-together, tacked-on,

overloaded" (2) as he remembered. Now, to him, this Gothic structure, was, instead, revealed as the most splendid achievement of the German spirit; and, addressing Erwin von Steinbach, he exclaimed: "Yet, what need you a memorial. You have erected the most magnificent one for yourself, and although your name does not bother the ants who crawl about it, you have the same destiny as the Architect who piled up his mountains to the clouds..." (3) For Goethe, this was the highest expression of nationalism; it was "German architecture, our architecture". (4) He called all his fellow Germans to come and acknowledge the deepest feeling for truth and beauty of proportion, created by the strong, rugged German soul on the narrow, gloomy, priest-ridden stage of the *medii aevi*. (5)

Figure 212. Strasbourg Cathedral (Guttermann, 1819)





Figure 213. Wörlitz park, 'gotisches Haus'

Early Orders of Protection and the Gothic Revival

It was some time before this patriotic praise was to have wider echoes in Germanic countries, although it was not the only sign of respect for mediaeval buildings. In 1756 the castle of Wartburg had been considered a "Monument of German Antiquity", (6) and in 1774, when Frederick the Great had the mediaeval castle of Marienburg, near Danzig, transformed into a flour store an inscription was fixed on the wall indicating that this ancient monument had been saved from ruin and preserved for posterity. (7) The earliest orders to respect historic monuments were made in the same period; Alexander, Margrave of Bayreuth, made an order in 1771, and another in 1780 (8); Friedrich II, Landgrave of Hessen, also made an order regarding monuments and antiquities in 1779 (9). In the 1770s, Germany began to be aware of the English landscape garden, and the first one was built in Wörlitz, near Halle.(10) In 1779-85, Christian Cay Laurenz Hirschfeld published the first theory of landscape art in Germany, *Theorie der Gartenkunst*; in it he wrote of preferring Gothic ruins in the landscape, because these looked more real than the slightly "artificial" Greek ruins. (11) Later, especially

Figure 214. Speyer Cathedral in 1776. North side with the west front designed by Neumann



in the nineteenth century, romantic picturesque castles or artificial ruins became fashionable feature in the gardens. One of the first Gothic Revival buildings in Germany, the so-called "Gothic House", was built in 1773 in the Wörlitz garden to the plans of Friedrich Wilhelm von Erdmannsdorff (1736-1800), one of the masters of German Neoclassicism.(12)

As in eighteenth-century England, in German countries, too, there were examples of respect for the original style when repairing, reconstructing or redecorating mediaeval buildings. The Romanesque Cathedral at Speyer had been half destroyed during the French attacks in 1689; it lost most of its nave, and later also the whole western part with its towers collapsed. The Cathedral was rebuilt during the period 1697 through 1778. In the nave, the reconstruction followed the original Romanesque model; the west end was modified from the original although still inspired on the remaining mediaeval structures. Several leading architects of the time were consulted including the famous Baroque architect Balthasar Neumann. His son, Franz Ignaz Michael Neumann (1733-85), was responsible for the construction of the west end, in 1772-75. (13) The son was also the designer of a new spire over the west transept of Mainz Cathedral in 1767, which was built in imitation of the existing Gothic east spire. (14) Purity of style was the criterion when deciding about an addition to the exterior of the Stephanskirche in Vienna in 1783, because otherwise it "would not match properly the old Gothic building".(15) Similar respect was shown in the Augustinerkirche (1784) and in the Minoritenkirche (1785), also in Vienna, (16) and in 1790, in Berlin, one of the chief exponents of German Neoclassicism, Carl Gotthard Langhans (1732-1808), built the spire of the Marienkirche reflecting the original Gothic architecture of the church.(17) From the 1780s onwards an increasing number of small residences were built in the Gothic Revival style - especially in Berlin-Potsdam, Kassel, Dessau-Wörlitz, Weimar and Vienna.(18)

W.H. Wackenroder

Following in Goethe's footsteps, there were some writers who appreciated the old Gothic cathedrals; one was Wilhelm Heinse (1749-1803), who spoke about the "solemn Gothic cathedral and its enormous space created by rational barbarians" (19) (1787), and another was Georg Forster (1754-94), who had travelled widely in Asia, and who always liked to visit the Cologne cathedral, "this splendid temple, to feel the thrill of the sublime", because, as he wrote in 1790, "In the face of such bold masterpieces,

the spirit prostrates itself, full of amazement and admiration; then it rises again, and soars upwards beyond these works, which were just one conception of a congenial spirit..." (20) In 1795, the magazine *Der Neue Teutsche Merkur* wrote about the situation of the cultural heritage in France, the legislation that had been established during the Revolution, and about the reports of Abbé Gregoire. (21) In the same year, the magazine also referred to "national monuments", such as the ruins of the former Abbéy of Paulinzella, inviting the readers to give attention to these, and not to look only at "far-away countries" such as Greece and Rome. (22) Another impetus was given to the romantic admiration of the Middle Ages in 1796, when an anonymously published small book of essays, *Herzensergiessungen eines kunstliebenden Klosterbruders*, by Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder (1773-98), aroused the enthusiasm of a wider public; in this book Albrecht Dürer and other old German masters were praised for their achievements in national art and architecture. The "art-loving monk" wandered around the old curved streets of Nuremberg admiring the "ancestral houses and churches", the product of the creative spirit of the fatherland, and Germany's national heritage. (23) He deplored, however, seeing these solemn sites of the city, where the mortal remains of Albrecht Dürer rested, "once the beauty of Germany, in fact of all Europe", now forgotten and rarely visited. (24) The monk was followed by others, and in the nineteenth century Nuremberg, Wartburg, and many other mediaeval sites became places of pilgrimage and



Figure 215. The Cathedral of Mainz

patriotic festivities; later they were to become objects of restoration and reconstruction. (25) Romantic painters such as Gaspar David Friedrich (1774-1840) emphasized the sublime and religious content relating their subjects often to ruined mediaeval structures; later the group of painters, called the Nazarenes, founded by Friedrich Overbeck and Franz Pforr in Vienna in 1809, reflected nationalistic mediaeval features in all aspects of life. (26)

Friedrich Gilly

At the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, national monuments still often found expression in a classical language in the tradition of Winckelmann. In the 1790s the brilliant young Friedrich Gilly (1772-1800), teacher

Figure 216. The ruins of the Abbey Church of Paulinzella





Figure 217. The Castle of Wartburg

of the foremost German architects, Karl Friedrich Schinkel (1781-1841) and Leo von Klenze (1784-1864), presented an entry based on the concept of a classical Greek temple in the competition for the national monument to Frederick the Great (27) In 1807, the Crown Prince Ludwig of Bavaria (1786-1868), feeling “the deepest disgrace” of the divided Germany, conceived the idea of erecting a national monument to the unification of the German people. (28) This monument, which was given the name Walhalla, was built in 1830-42, as soon as Ludwig had taken the crown, near the city of Regensburg in Bavaria and in the form of a classical temple - similar to the monument designed by Gilly. The architect was Klenze, who had won the competition. (29) The plunderings of the French revolutionary troops in German countries further strengthened patriotic feelings; poets such as Johann Christian Friedrich Hölderlin (1770-1843) and Joseph von Eichendorff (1788-1857) promoted patriotism on the Greek model, and sung the glory of those who sacrificed their lives for the fatherland. Interest in the study and conservation of historic monuments was also growing, and around 1820 societies were founded for this purpose in different German states. (30)

In 1794, when Friedrich Gilly accompanied his father David on an inspection of the Marienburg Castle, he took advantage of the opportunity to prepare several fine drawings both of the ruinous exterior and of the fine vaulted interiors. Two years later the drawings were exhibited at the Berlin Academy with great success, and were later engraved by Friedrich Frick. (31) Gilly considered the castle an important monument, both to an antiquarian and because of its association with events in national history. He admired the daring construction, and compared them with the palaces of Venice. In 1803, the journal *Der Freimuthige* in Berlin published an outcry about



Figure 218. The ‘Walhalla’, near Regensburg

the continuous destruction of the castle, written by Ferdinand Max von Schenkendorf who had seen how the vaults and decorations were broken down, and how “this sacred rubble” was used to fill in floors. He considered that “of all remains of Gothic architecture in Prussia the Marienburg Castle occupied pride of place. Foreigners and citizens have for years been crowding to admire it.” (32) There was an immediate reaction by a high-ranking personality, Minister Freiherr von Schrotter, who brought the matter to the Council of Ministers, and in the following year the King gave an order for the protection of the building. (32) It took more than ten years, however, before anything concrete was done in order to provide funds for its repair and restoration.

The Brothers Boisserée

During this same time national folklore, traditional German customs, music, art and architecture, were revived. The rocky landscape of the Rhine valley, with the romantic ruins of its castles, attracted painters both from abroad - such as Turner, and from

Figure 219. The Castle of Marienburg. Engraving by F. Frick after a drawing by F. Gilly





Figure 220. The Castle of Marienburg, the great refectory. Engraving by F. Frick after a drawing by F. Gilly

German countries. (34) Poets such as Eichencorf, and the music of Schumann and Schubert, introduced these images to the enjoyment of all countries. Later, for example, Franz Liszt organized concerts in aid the safeguarding of ancient ruined monuments, such as Rolandsbogen. (35) Old German art began to attract collectors; amongst the first and the foremost were the brothers Johann Sulpiz Melchior Dominicus Boisserée (1783-1854) and Melchior Hermann Joseph Boisserée (1786-1851), whose collection was much appreciated by Goethe, and was later acquired and taken to Munich by Ludwig I, who also employed Sulpiz Boisserée as the chief conservator in 1835. (36) The Boisserées, members of a merchant family from Cologne and of Dutch origin, studied first in Hamburg and then in Paris, where they became close friends of the German writer, philosopher and orientalist, Friedrich von Schlegel (1772-1829). In 1804 the friends left together for a trip along the Rhine from the Netherlands to Switzerland and France, and Schlegel remained in Cologne until 1806, when he published an account of the trip, *Briefe auf einer Reise*, later elaborated and published as the

Figure 222. City of Cologne in 1531, showing the torso of the cathedral dominating the townscape

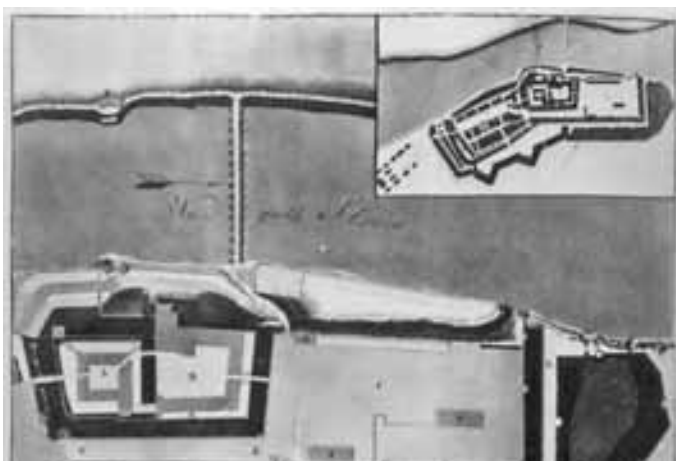


Figure 221. The Castle of Marienburg, floor plan by Frick

Grundzüge der gotischen Baukunst (1823). During the trip special emphasis was given to the study of mediaeval architecture, and Gothic architecture gained for him a special significance, suggesting something of the Divine, and being able to “represent and realize the Infinite in itself through mere imitation of Nature’s fullness”. (37) Special appreciation was accorded to the great torso of Cologne Cathedral, where construction had been started in the thirteenth century but interrupted in the sixteenth when only the choir had been completed. Of the western towers only a small portion was built - marking thus the full extent of the building. The structure of the choir was closed with a blank wall toward the unbuilt transept, and over the area of the planned nave there was a low temporary construction to satisfy the functional needs of the church. Many travellers over the centuries, who had admired the enormously tall interior of the choir, had expressed the wish to continue and complete this cathedral, which would then be the grandest in Germany. (38) Forster exclaimed: “If the mere design, when complete in the mind’s eye, can move us so mightily, how overpowering might not the actual structure have been.” (39)

Cologne Cathedral

At this stage, Sulpiz Boisserée decided to start working towards the completion of the cathedral. In 1807 he was able to convince the local authorities, the municipality of Cologne and the church administration to share the expenses for urgent repairs, which were carried out beginning in 1808. (40) The condition of the building was, however, found to be worse than expected, and on 30 September 1811 Boisserée was able to have the structure inspected by a professional surveyor, Baurath Georg Möller (1784-1852), an architect and architectural historian from Darmstadt, together with local technicians and Boisserée himself.

All agreed that the situation was alarming; the walls of the choir had moved out of plumb, and the wooden structures of the roof were worm-eaten with loose joints. It was decided to take down the small tower from the roof of the choir before the winter, and to anchor the free-standing walls of the choir. (41) In November 1811 the Emperor Napoleon visited Cologne and the cathedral with 15,000 citizens in attendance. Since support had already been given to Milan Cathedral, His Majesty was approached with an appeal for funds for Cologne, but without result. (42)

In 1810, Boisserée wrote to Goethe asking for his support for the continuation of the construction, and sending him drawings of the cathedral made by himself for a projected publication. (43) Although Goethe, after his Italian tours, had become a supporter of classicism, he was convinced by the young man's enthusiasm, and became instrumental in obtaining the blessing of the highest authorities. In 1814, when the Rhineland was liberated from the French troops, the Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm of Prussia visited the cathedral and promised central government funds for the repair of the roofs; he also showed interest

Figure 223. Mediaeval drawing (c. 1300) for the west elevation of the Cologne Cathedral

Figure 224. Cologne Cathedral in anticipated completion, painting by C.G. Hasenpflug

Figure 225. Cologne Cathedral, the interior in its imagined completion. G. Moller, 1811-13 (engr. Leisner)



in the eventual completion of the building. (44) In September of the same year, a mediaeval drawing was found in the Cologne archives, recognized by Möller to be part of the west front of the cathedral. Later Boisserée was able to obtain another part of the same elevation drawing from Paris, and a ground plan was found in Vienna. On the basis of these mediaeval documents drawings were prepared in order to illustrate the cathedral in its complete state. (45) In November of the same year, Johann Joseph Görres (1776-1848), the powerful writer and fighter for freedom, published a strong manifesto advocating the completion of the cathedral in his journal *Rheinische Merkur*, which Napoleon had called “The Fifth Great Power”. (46)

The following year, in the summer of 1815, Goethe made a visit with the Minister Freiherr von und zum Stein, admiring the craftsmanship and architecture of the existing section of the building, and he too wondered whether this would not be a suitable moment to start working for the completion. He gave various practical suggestions, proposing that “the first thing of all were to establish an organization, which would take over the full maintenance of the building.” (47) He emphasized the need of maintenance in any case, whether or not there was a continuation of the construction, and for that not only was cash needed, but, “in complete fulfilment of the master's will, craftsmanship must be revived again today.” (48) Goethe also advised Boisserée on his intended



Figure 226. The ruins of Moritzburg, Halle (c. 1816).
Drawing by K.F. Schinkel

publication, suggesting that efforts should be made to document the historical context of the cathedral by collecting drawings and engravings from all parts of Germany and especially from the Rhineland; these would illustrate the development of German architecture from the first Christian buildings to the thirteenth century, the time when the construction of the cathedral was initiated. Boisserée published his magnificent drawings of the cathedral in 1823, and ten years later he followed with the history of architecture in the Rhineland from the seventh to the thirteenth century, following Goethe's suggestions. Möller contributed an important work on the history of German architecture, *Denkmäler der deutschen Baukunst* (1815-21), which became widely known abroad too. (49)

15.2 K.F. Schinkel and State Care of Monuments

The care of public buildings in Prussia was in the hands of the Ober-Bau-Departement, founded in 1770, of which David Gilly (1748-1804) also was a member. Since 1804 it had been called Technische Ober-Bau-Deputation, and in 1810 it was subject to administrative changes. Any new public buildings were subject to approval by Ober-Bau-Deputation; repairs to existing buildings were not necessarily their responsibility, but they did have the right of inspection in the whole country. For castles, there was a special commission, Schloss-Bau-Kommission. Buildings which did not belong directly to the central government, were under the care of provincial administrations. (50) Karl Friedrich Schinkel, architect, planner and painter, who had travelled widely in Italy, and later in England, (51) became the leading Prussian classical architect, and the greatest authority on architecture in all German countries. He was also the planner of the centre of

the capital, Berlin, with its museums, churches, and theatres, (52) In 1810, he was nominated a member of the Ober-Bau-Kommission, of which he was later, in 1830, the director, after the retirement of Ober-Bau-Direktor Eytelwein. (53) In 1815, after the withdrawal of the French troops from the Rhineland and other occupied areas, which were given to Prussia at the Vienna Conference, Schinkel was sent to these areas by the Government with the task of reporting on the state of the public buildings. As a result of the reports, the Ober-Bau-Deputation presented to the King a document which became fundamental for the conservation of cultural heritage in Prussia, "The basic principles for the conservation of ancient monuments and antiquities in our country". (54) This document laid down a proposal for the establishment of a special state organization for the listing and conservation of valuable historic monuments. The first task of this new organization was an inventory covering all the provinces, which also recorded the condition of all monuments, including indications for their preservation. After having thus gained a general picture of the whole country, the next step was to "make a plan of how these monuments could be saved, in order to have the people respond to a national education and interest in their country's earlier destinies". (55)

Like Winckelmann and Goethe, Schinkel also gave great importance to education, in which he considered the historic buildings had an essential role. He deplored that so much had been lost in German countries, emphasizing that "if quite general and fundamental measures are not taken in order to hinder the way things are going at present, we will soon have a terribly naked and bare land - like a new colony that has not been lived in before." (56) Schinkel, who was also a planner and a painter, did not limit himself only to single monuments, but was able to see these in their context. The objects that he suggested should be listed included: "Buildings, both completely preserved and in ruins, of all types such as churches, chapels, cloister and convents, castles,... gates, town walls, memorial columns, public fountains, tombstones, town halls, etc." (57) He did not approve of bringing objects from the provinces to large central museums, but recommended keeping them in their original site, thus contributing to the establishment of local museums (Heimatismuseum). He also preferred to keep original objects in their historic buildings, and to display them as a part of the education of visitors. As to the restoration, he insisted that the monuments #

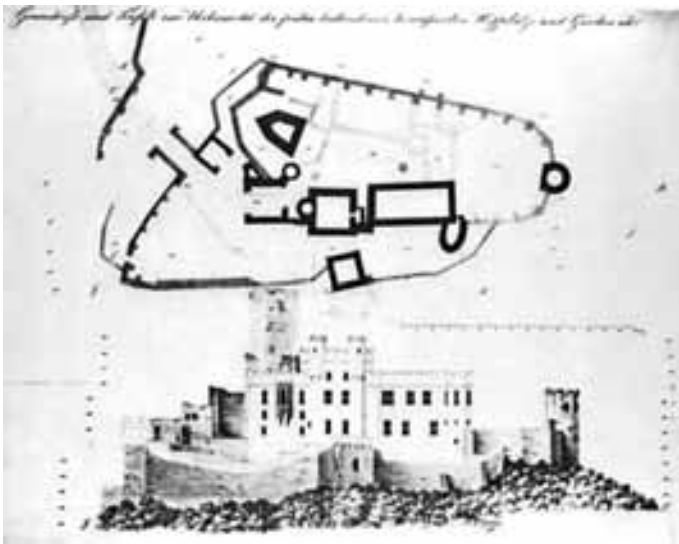


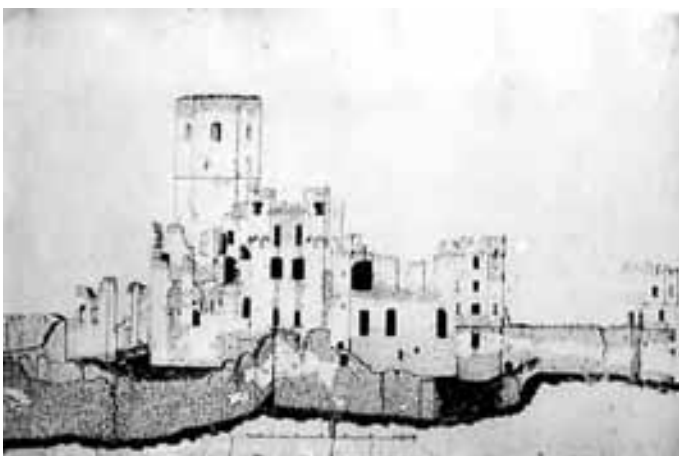
Figure 227. Stolzenfels Castle. K.F. Schinkel: ground plan and view after reconstruction

“which through the destinies of time may partly have become unenjoyable - and often unrecognizable to the people, and for this reason until now nearly lost to them, should be given back in a renewed form by the State. The only way to do this successfully so that the treasures were again brought to light, would be to establish institutions capable of carrying out skilfully this difficult task, even risking the value of the thing itself, and restore them back to their old splendour as far as possible.” (56)

Government Protection

An immediate result of the report was a cabinet-order, signed by the King on 14 October 1815, which changed the tasks of the Ober-Bau-Deputation regarding existing buildings. It was ordered “that in the case of any substantial change in public buildings or monuments, the responsible state department must communicate with the Ober-Bau-Deputation

Figure 228 (right). Stolzenfels Castle. Survey of the ruins in 1823 by J.C. von Lassaux



in advance”. (59) It is this order in fact which initiated the state concern for the conservation of historic buildings in Prussia. Further circulars were released in the following years: in 1819 one related to the safeguarding of castles and convents that were not in use, (60) in 1823, 1824, and 1830 others on the care and protection of historic monuments against changes that would cause damage or loss of character. (61) In 1830, there was another cabinet-order on the preservation of city defences, followed by instructions signed by several ministers. (62) In 1835, the Ministry of Culture reserved the right to check all conservation works related to any buildings that had “historical, scientific and technical value and interest”. (63) Although conservation of historic buildings in public ownership had thus been brought under state control, practically since the first order of 1815, Schinkel’s proposal for a proper organization was not followed up until 1843, when, on 1 July, the King signed a cabinet order nominating a Conservator of Art Monuments (Konservator der Kunstdenkmäler). (64)

In the years following the order of 1815, Schinkel was personally involved in a great number of reports and also restorations. In Wittemberg, where he made an inspection in the same year, and emphasized the patriotic importance of the buildings, he proposed a renovation of the Schlosskirche for the 300th anniversary of Luther’s 95 theses on indulgences of 1517. His proposals included a reconstruction of the destroyed interior of 1760 with its balconies and vaults, but this was not carried out due to opposition by the religious authorities. (65) In Halle he made suggestions for the use of the fifteenth-sixteenth-century, partly ruined castle, Moritzburg for the local university, proposing that a new roof should be built while respecting the original masonry. (66) In the 1830s he was responsible for the project of partial reconstruction of the Castle of Stolzenfels on the Rhine. (67) Schinkel emphasized the duty of administrators to take care and maintain even ruined structures, although, in the same time, he was concerned about a proper use of historic monuments; in 1817 at Chorin, he reported on the thirteenth-century ruined convent buildings, used for agricultural purposes, proposing their protection as a national monument. (68) Schinkel was conversant with different architectural styles, and his practice - although mainly on classical lines, also included Gothic Revival buildings. He was not necessarily in favour of pure conservation, but he specifically planned to re-establish a historic building to its old architectural form, if this had been lost. He was,



Figure 229. Cologne Cathedral in 1846 by W. v. Abbema

however, conscious of certain limits, and preferred to proceed cautiously, searching for the most rational and also economical solutions. Three of the most important restorations in Prussia in this period were those carried out on Cologne Cathedral, on the Marienburg Castle, and on Magdeburg Cathedral; in all of these Schinkel was also involved as a member of the Ober-Bau-Deputation. The first one, Cologne, was important as the greatest monument in the Gothic style, of which Germany was supposed to have been the initiator; Marienburg was associated with the mediaeval history of German Orders of Knights, while Magdeburg symbolized the heart of the fatherland and the Ottonic Empire.

In August 1816, Boisserée was able to have Schinkel come and survey the cathedral in Cologne. The architect greatly admired the boldness of the structure, which “lies completely in a correct counterbalance of forces, of which each works in a specific area, and if one element is moved, the whole system is destroyed.” (69) Like the architects working on the consolidation of the Colosseum in Rome some ten years earlier, he considered it a privilege to work on such a great structure, and reported that

“artistic undertakings such as this, through which alone true art can exist, are totally missing in our time. Past generations have left us with too much property everywhere, and for the last half a century we have now been working on the

destruction of this heritage with such systematic barbarism that in great emulation we have left the unplanned barbarism of the time of Attila behind us long ago ... In this situation, the man’s worthiest determination seems to be to conserve with all care and respect what the efforts of past generations have left to us.” (70)

In the five years that had passed since the last inspection, the situation had become even worse, partly due to the earlier repairs. The roof structures were rotten and the vaults cracked; the rainwater disposal did not work, but allowed the water to penetrate into the masonry joints; there was green moss covering everything; the quantity of water that remained on the roofs in rainy seasons was a considerable risk factor. Schinkel helped Boisserée to approach the government for the necessary funds for restoration.

In 1821, the archbishopric was brought back to Cologne, and the King promised to cover the cost of the maintenance of the fabric as well as emergency repairs. In 1823 the works finally started, and continued slowly with some interruptions; the sixteenth century temporary closing wall of the choir was properly anchored, and the timber roof of the choir was rebuilt. In the 1830s, when a special administration was appointed for the construction work, more funds were collected, and restoration started with greater force. Decayed elements were systematically replaced with better materials, and most of the buttress-systems were rebuilt. Schinkel followed the works with great interest, although the site was in the hands of local technicians, and he much regretted the loss of old material due to the attempt to guarantee the solidity of the structure. While the works were going on, it seemed advisable to undertake the continuation of the construction - apart from its nationalistic significance and its religious-romantic appeal, there were also problems of structural stability in the high choir and in the other structures. In 1829, Schinkel suggested that the nave should be constructed in a partial way by completing the interior up to the vault level, and leaving the exterior only as a plain structure with the ornaments worked “en bloc”. The towers could be left unbuilt. One would thus gain “the beautiful and unique effect” of the interior, the whole building would be statically safe, and the expense would not be too great. (71)

E.F. Zwirner

In July 1833, a new surveyor was employed on the site, Ernst Friedrich Zwirner (1802-61), a Gothic

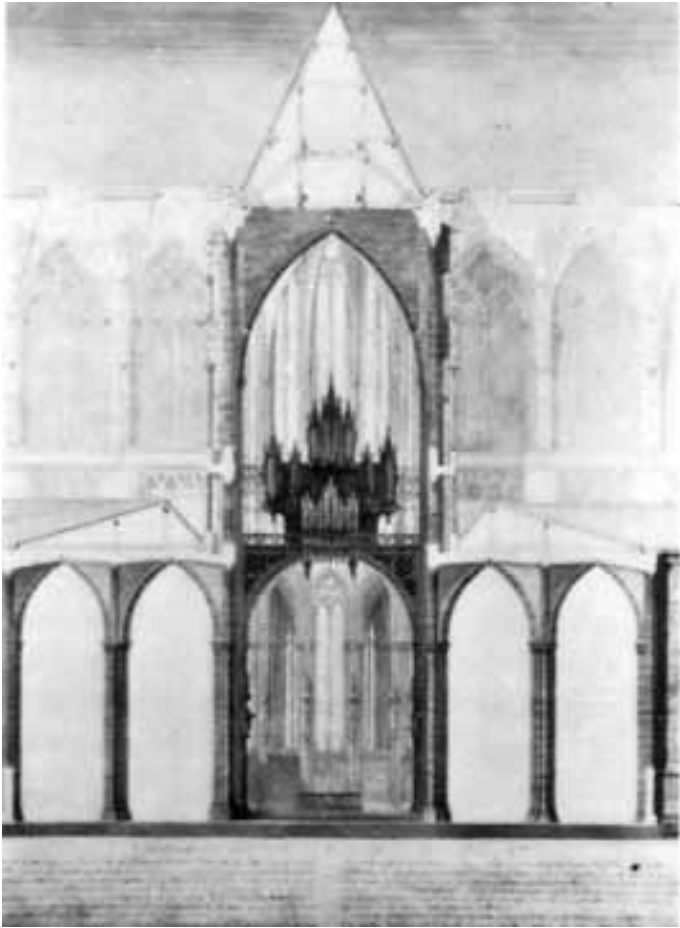
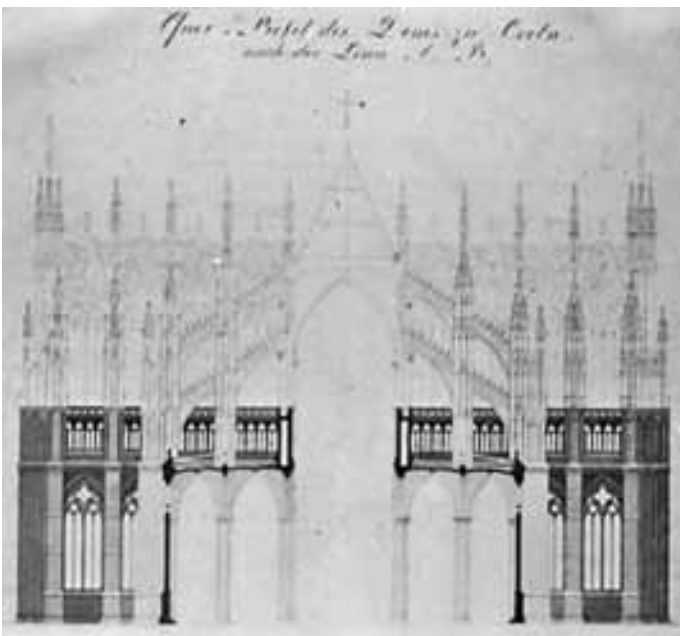


Figure 230. K.F. Schinkel: section of the Cologne Cathedral, proposing the restoration with simplified external structures, while providing for more elaborate detailing in the interior (1834)

Figure 231. E.F. Zwirner: Cologne Cathedral, a section with the proposal for complete restoration also of the exterior (1833)



Revival architect and former student of Schinkel's, who now started elaborating the plans for the completion of the cathedral together with Schinkel, and bringing new spirit to the work. He revived the mediaeval traditions - as Goethe had suggested, and restored the Dombauhutte again to an honourable position. His ambitions differed from those of Schinkel in that he aimed at the completion of the building in all its details. Gradually he was able to have his plans accepted also by his master, who visited the cathedral for the last time in 1838. (72) When Friedrich Wilhelm IV succeeded his father on the Prussian throne in 1840, he also gave more concrete form to his interest in historic buildings, already shown while he was the Crown Prince. In December 1841, the order was given to continue and complete the construction work according to the mediaeval project as elaborated by Schinkel and Zwirner. A special foundation, Dombauverein, was established to collect funds, which would be matched by the State. In the first general assembly there were already 3000 members, and by the following year there were 10.000. Many heads of state contributed, including Ludwig I of Bavaria, Emperor Franz Joseph of Austria, Queen Victoria of England, King Vilhelm of the Netherlands, as well as Crown Prince Umberto of Italy. On 4 September 1842, thousands were present when Friedrich Wilhelm IV and Archbishop Johannes von Geissel laid the first stone of the continuation. The mediaeval crane that had waited almost three centuries for "the right masters to arrive" (73) was used to lift it in position, and to start the construction of this "eternal memorial of piety, concord and faith of the united families of German nation on the holy site". (74)

This was almost the last chance to start the work, because very soon Germans too came to accept that the Gothic was not necessarily a German product. Their patriotic fervour calmed down, and when this great monument was finally complete in 1880, the event passed almost unnoticed. The work continued, however, to have a great importance in the restoration world; a large number of restoration architects, technicians, and craftsmen were trained on this site to go to work all over the Germanic countries, Austria, Switzerland and northern Italy. One such was Friedrich von Schmidt (1825-91), the chief exponent of the Gothic Revival in Austria, who worked in Cologne in 1843, on Milan Cathedral 1857-8, and was nominated the surveyor of the Stephanskirche in Vienna 1863, which also was subject to major restoration projects. In Germany there were numerous other churches which were restored or completed in a similar



Figure 232. Cologne Cathedral with its surroundings during the construction, 1855 (photo J.F. Michiels)

manner; these included the cathedrals of Bamberg, Regensburg, Speier, by Friedrich von Gärtner (1792-1847), the well-known Classical architect of Bavaria, as well as the churches of Dinkelsbühl, Nördlingen and Rothenburg by Carl Alexander von Heidelöf (1789-1865). Apart from repairing eventual defects in the structures, the restorations generally meant

Figure 233. Cologne Cathedral, south transept entrance including also modern statues from restoration after the Second World War



removal of all Baroque features, and reconstruction of the ‘originally intended form’. (75)

Marienburg

The second important restoration in Prussia was Marienburg Castle, discovered by Friedrich Gilly in the 1790s. This thirteenth-century castle of the Teutonic Knights, which Georg Möller had considered inferior only to the Alhambra, (76) was seen as an incorporation of the history of the whole nation. Being in the eastern part of the country, it had also changed hands several times in its history; in 1772 it came back to Prussia, was used as military barracks first, and later as a flour store. (77) The castle had suffered much from ill-treatment, and looked sad to the visitor in 1815; parts of it were destroyed, the Ritter Saal was divided into smaller rooms at two levels, providing space for a teacher’s lodging, but being mainly unused; the Refectory with its splendid vaults, also divided in two levels, was used as a salt store. (78) In 1816 the provincial direction at Danzig was taken over by Theodor von Schoen as the Ober-Präsident of West-Prussia, and although he had no legal position or specific order concerning Marienburg, he took the matter to heart, and “the great Spirit that reigned in the castle gave strength and life” to him to become the principal promoter of its restoration. (79) He had in mind a sort of “Westminster”, where the King and the nobles of the nation could feel themselves at home, and was convinced that Marienburg would be most suitable to become its German counterpart. In order to have the finance arranged, he insisted therefore that this important national monument should be treated in the same category as the royal residences in Berlin, Charlottenburg and Potsdam. (80) However, he also raised funds from private sources. [Fig.267-270]

His efforts brought results soon. In 1816 Schinkel proposed that the architect Johann Conrad Costenoble from Magdeburg should come and prepare the plans for its restoration under his own control. In 1817 these were accepted as the basis for the works, but Costenoble himself did not continue. (81) In the same year the works started, and in 1818 the Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm came to visit the site. Schinkel continued - with some interruption - to work on its restoration, and designed for example new stained-glass windows for the main hall of the castle. (82) He saw this castle as having special significance for the history of architecture, considering that it was one of the very few representative lay buildings of the period still surviving; even though in part ruined, it was still a magnificent piece of architecture. This uniqueness and lack of other examples was, however,

Figure 234 (left). Marienburg Castle, glass painting showing the castle in its restored form (Hochmeister receives an English delegation)

Figure 238 (centre left). the refectory, c. 1900

Figure 236 (centre right). restored battlements, c. 1900

Figure 235 (bottom of page). Marienburg Castle seen from the river c. 1900





also one of the reasons why its restoration was not an easy task, and Schinkel could see that “there was easily the temptation to indulge in phantasy.” (83) For this reason, the works were divided into two categories; first: the parts, such as the Refectory and the Ritter-Saal, where “the more complete state of preservation and the availability of all data, would allow the immediate reproduction of single lost elements in their pure form.” The second category was reserved for the parts of the castle where “the original form and destination had become doubtful due to successive changes”, and where a systematic research and clearance were needed in order to collect sufficient “data, according to which to be able to complete the fully destroyed and missing elements with certainty.” (84) Compared with other buildings in Germany, Italy or the Netherlands, Schinkel felt there was none that “combined simplicity, beauty, originality and consistency in such an harmonious way as in Marienburg.” (85) While the work went on, Schinkel felt like a treasure hunter; restoration of the unexpected and most beautiful architectural details that were discovered under the rubble and later structures “would allow the monument to gain infinitely more in its essential character, originality and beauty”. (86) As a result, the plans prepared by Costenoble at the beginning needed revision. However, collaboration between Schinkel and von Schoen did not always run smoothly, and they faced periods of conflict, when Schinkel refused to have anything to do with the restoration. The works suffered from lack of experience, and often in the demolitions some of the original mediaeval parts could also be destroyed and rebuilt according to invented forms - as happened with the doorway in the court of the Mittel-Schloss. (87) In 1822 a great celebration was held in the castle to emphasize its national importance; again in 1856 there was one in honour of Ober-Präsident von Schon and his work at the castle. The restoration proceeded aiming at a full reconstitution of the building’s mediaeval character, including furniture, objects, and model figures in costume. The works continued for more than a century, first under the direction of August Stüler, and finally under Conrad Steinbrecht, architect and archaeologist, who completed the restoration and reconstruction during the period from 1882 to 1922. In the Second World War, the monument suffered

Figures 239 and 240. K.F. Schinkel (1834) Proposal for a palace on the Acropolis; the great reception hall, and the site plan

severe damage, and has since been rebuilt another time. (88)

15.3 Ferdinand von Quast, State Conservator

Prussia was one of the first countries in Europe to have an organized state control for the protection and restoration of historic buildings, first, beginning in 1815, under the direction of Ober-Bau-Deputation and especially the personal influence of Schinkel, and later, after his death, under the direction of a chief conservator, nominated in 1843 by the romantic Friedrich Wilhelm IV, who was enthusiastic about historic buildings and their restoration. The early ministerial circulars emphasized the responsibility of various authorities to report on any changes in historic buildings, and in no case to go on to destroy anything of historic, scientific, technical and artistic value. Later these orders became more specific and technical; in 1843, a circular specified that “it could never be the aim of restoration to cancel all minor defects, which contribute to the character of the structure as traces of past centuries, and to give thus a new aspect to the building.” (89) In these words one can almost hear the voice of Victor Hugo in his writings in France some ten years earlier. In the restoration of the cathedral of Magdeburg, there had also been the case of the broken spire-ending on one of the western towers, preserved as an “historic monument”. The attitude of Schinkel in the same restoration, partly for financial reasons, had been not to recarve decayed ornaments, but to leave the originals to be broken off by time. According to the 1843 document, instead of worrying about the surface, it was the responsibility of the restorer to concentrate on the problems that could undermine the stability of the building. It was stated that “the most complete restoration would be the one where the improvement of all essential defects would not be noticeable at all.” (90) It was emphasized that putting some lime mortar on the surface was not sufficient to cure the real problems in an historic structure; attention was given to correct pointing of masonry, as well as to correct tonality in new mortar. Gardening and finishing up the surroundings were notified as well.

The first person to be nominated Conservator, Konservator der Kunstdenkmaler, was Ferdinand von Quast (1807-77). He was an architect and historian, who had studied under Schinkel since 1827; he travelled extensively, studied classical monuments in Italy in 1838-39 and prepared a German edition of H.W. Inwood’s study on the Erechtheum (1834)

(91). He was impressed by the finds on polychromy; he defended the old town of Athens, and was shocked that the old sites were used for new buildings without any consideration to their historic values. However, he agreed on the removal of the Venetian and Turkish walls from the Acropolis, and supported the plans of Schinkel to erect there the royal residence because, he thought, this would further emphasize the value of these ancient masterpieces. (92)

Von Quast developed an early interest in historic buildings and in their conservation; in 1837, he drafted a ‘Pro Memoria’ concerning the conservation of Antiquities in Prussia; which prepared the ground for his own nomination as the first Conservator of the country. He regretted the lack of proper knowledge and appreciation of historic buildings and traditional technology. He also referred to England as a country, where the conservation of historic buildings was already met with much broader understanding on the side of the general public, and where the historic monuments, in his opinion were well taken care of. As Conservator he travelled much reporting on historic buildings and on their condition in Germany, but he also travelled abroad participating in international meetings as a representative of the Prussian Government, in France (Lille 1845, Paris 1855), Austria (Vienna 1850), England (London 1857), the Netherlands (Antwerpen 1867), and Sweden (Stockholm 1874), where questions related to architectural history and archaeology were discussed. Von Quast was himself involved in some restorations, e.g. the collegiate church of Gernrode, and he also wrote the history of Marienburg, published in 1856. (93)

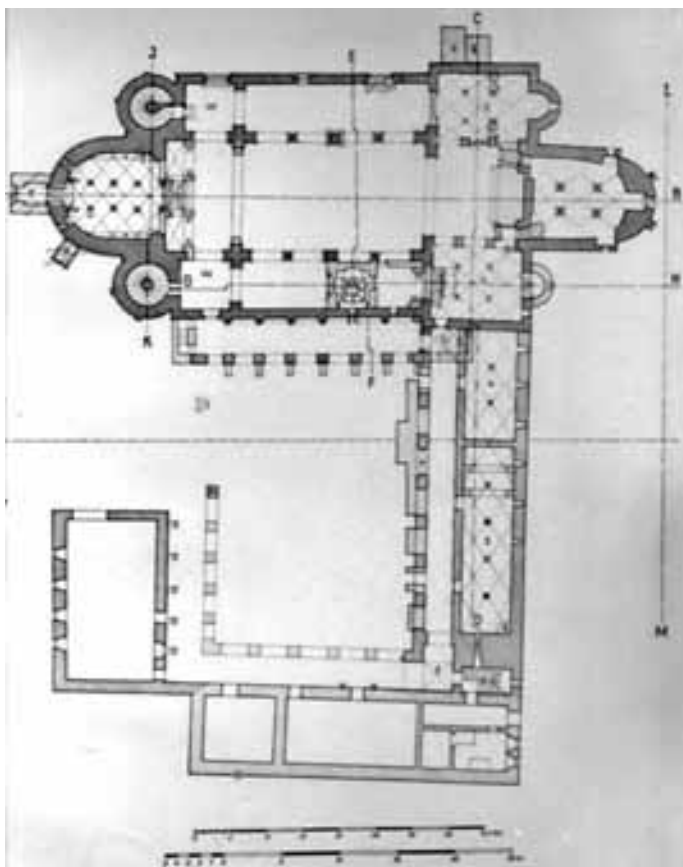
The tasks of the Conservator, similar to those established in France in 1830 were defined in a ministerial circular dated 24 Januar 1844. (94) This aimed at improving the basis for the conservation of “artistic monuments” in public ownership, widening the knowledge of the value of these monuments, and providing more precise, more unified and broader principles for their conservation and restoration. It was considered important to stop destruction and damage of historic monuments, and in specifying the concept of a monument no distinction was made #

“whatever type of construction this was, as long as it had any artistic or monumental significance, or if it was pictures, paintings, art-works or similar; nor, if the objects concerned were of royal or municipal property, or in the ownership of corporations, or if they were given to the care



Figure 241. Abbey church of Gernrode from the south (Puttirsch, 1841)

Figure 242. Abbey church of Gernrode, floor plan, drawn in 1941



of private persons under the responsibility of maintaining them in statu quo”. (95)

This left out only “free private property”. In his task, the conservator had to rely on local and provincial authorities in case there was any need for intervention; he had to develop “friendly relationship” with local associations, teachers, priests, and other people who could influence preservation, and awaken their interest in this matter. It was his responsibility to travel annually in all parts of the country, to keep himself well informed of the cultural properties, to work for the completion of precise inventories according to fixed forms, to report on the state of the historic buildings, and to advise and comment on restorations. In special cases, the Conservator had the power to interfere with immediate effect to restrain the local authority until the decision was followed up by the ministry. He had also the responsibility to keep the most valuable monuments, as well as those most in need of care, under special observation; once the inventory was completed, his task was to prepare a systematic plan for the execution of all restoration works considered necessary.

Abbey Church of Gernrode

Von Quast was called to Gernrode in 1858, when the repairs of the roof of the church were about to start. He made careful historical, archaeological, and structural surveys of the building, prepared measured drawings, and presented a proposal for its restoration. His plans were approved in 1859.

The foundation of the Abbey went back to the Ottonian time in the tenth century, but it had been subject to various changes, especially in the twelfth and sixteenth centuries, which had resulted in a three-nave structure, built mainly in limestone, with apses at the east and west. The eastern choir, was separated from the nave by a transept. After the Reformation, the monastic function was discontinued, and the church was retained for the use of the parish. The building suffered from neglect, and various modifications and repairs were carried out in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. More light was required in the church, and for this reason the earlier painted decorations were removed and replaced with whitewash, and windows were changed. The south aisle wall was modified for structural reasons. The nave roof had a counter ceiling covering the original beams. Part of the convent was destroyed.

When von Quast came to the site, he found the building in fairly poor conditions, including

especially structural problems. His idea was to try to display and restore the Ottonian structures, so far as this was possible without destroying the twelfth-century or some of the later constructions. The eighteenth and early nineteenth-century works, which he did not value highly, were generally removed in the restoration, and the earlier form was re-established. These changes were, however, fairly limited, and the general aspect of the building was maintained, although some criticism has been made of the rebuilt sections being too “regular”. (96) One of the key issues was the transept crossing, where von Quast decided to rebuild the longitudinal arches, a decision that has met with approval much later. (97) The triforium arches of the nave, closed in the twelfth century, were rediscovered and opened. The western apse had to be taken down and rebuilt due to its poor structural condition. The south aisle wall was freed from the eighteenth-century reinforcements, and built up to the original height. In the restoration, von Quast used first the original type of limestone, but later when the available stone became too porous and poor in quality, he preferred to use sandstone instead. In smaller repairs in the columns and capitals, he used cement. The roofs of the church were reconstructed to the Ottonian form; the eighteenth-century nave ceiling was removed and the oak beams were exposed

in a newly designed ceiling with decorative paintings. It was known from documents that the Ottonian building was covered with wall paintings although these had been lost, and von Quast decided to design new wall paintings for both main apses, ceilings, windows and arches, holding them back in a discrete manner, while giving the other surfaces a “stone grey” appearance. He also designed stained glass windows for the church. (98)

The principles of von Quast were to avoid “artistic” or “archaeological” restorations, and so-called “purifications”, which he considered destructive; instead he wanted to restore the building with respect for all parts of the structure and for monuments of any age that had artistic or historic value. (99) Where the later structures covered the older material, one should use critical judgement in deciding when the older part could be restored at the price of losing the later. Only quite faulty, and in all aspects poor and valueless, parts should be removed. “The improvements should be limited to the minimum, only to what is necessary, so far the safety of the building and the characteristic general appearance will allow this. The master builder needs above all respect for the original, and

Figure 243. Abbey church of Gernrode, the interior in 1979



cautiousness for the so-called improvement.” (100) At Gernrode, he aimed at changing as little as possible in the architecture, and restoring the Ottonian form only where this was feasible. The “Holy Tomb” in the crypt, an eleventh-century imitation of Christ’s tomb in the rock, which had been forgotten for centuries, was rediscovered and identified by him. Considering the religious value of the tomb, he decided to leave it exactly in the condition in which he found it; “here any renewal would have been a sin against the Old”. (101) The condition of the western towers, which had some deformation already in the time of von Quast, became worse towards the end of the century, and then had to be taken down stone by stone and rebuilt on new foundations in 1907-10. (102) The only new structure that he proposed for Gernrode was a “new house” in Romanesque style on the site where the convent buildings had been, but this project was never carried out.

The work as the Conservator for the whole country, and without proper personnel, was a heavy task. Although a commission was appointed for the investigation and safeguarding of monuments in 1853, and local correspondants were established for it in 1854, the commission soon came to an end due to the lack of funds. (103) Von Quast complained later in his life, saying that he had done all he could under the circumstances, and would not have been able to improve on it any more. (104) One of the “problems” may have been his great respect for historic structures, and his refusal to accept the “artistic and archaeological” restorations, which otherwise were only too common in his time. His work on the inventories was continued later in the century by Georg Dehio, who produced an impressive series of volumes on the historic buildings of the country. (105) It was not until 1891 that Provincial Commissions and Provincial Conservators were appointed in Prussia to assist the Chief Conservator. (106) Of the other German states, Bavaria had a General Inspector of Monuments of Plastic Art since 1835, and in 1868 a General Conservator was appointed for Monuments of Art and Antiquity. In Wurtemberg an inventory was started in 1841, and a General Conservator of Monuments was appointed in 1858. Baden had an edict regarding Roman antiquities as early as 1749, but a Conservator was appointed only in 1853; in Saxony this happened as late as 1894. On the other hand, the Grand Duke of Hesse and Rhine had drafted a decree which was very advanced in its concepts compared with other European countries; in 1818 the Ober-Baukolleg was instructed that

“all remains of ancient architecture that merited preservation regarding history or art, should be brought into an exact inventory, with an indication of their present condition as well as of old works of art, paintings, sculpture or similar, that they contained.” (107)

In most Germanic countries legislation for the protection of historic buildings was, however, generally formulated only at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Notes to Chapter Fifteen

1. Klapheck, R., *Goethe und das Rheinland*, Düsseldorf 1982. Gage, J., *Goethe on Art*, London 1980, 103ff.
2. von Goethe, J.W., ‘Von deutscher Baukunst’ (1771): “Als ich das erste mal nach dem Münster ging, hatte ich den Kopf voll allgemeiner Erkenntnis guten Geschmacks. Auf Hörensagen ehrt ich die Harmonie der Massen, die Reinheit der Formen, was ein abgesagter Feind der verworrenen Willkürlichkeiten gotischer Verzierungen. Unter die Rubrik Gotisch, gleich dem Artikel eines Wörterbuchs, häufte ich alle synonymischen Missverständnisse, die mir von Unbestimmtem, Ungeordnetem, Unnatürlichem, Zusammengestoppeltem, Aufgeflicktem, Überladnem jemals durch den Kopf gezogen waren.” (English edition: Gage, op.cit., 107: ‘On German Architecture’)
3. von Goethe, op.cit.: “Was brauchst’s dir Denkmal! Du hast dir das herrlichste errichtet; und kümmerst die Ameisen, die drum krabbeln, dein Name nichts, hast du gleiches Schicksal mit dem Baumeister, der Berge auftürmte in die Wolken.”
4. *ibid.*
5. *ibid.*
6. Herzog Ernst August Constantin, ‘Regierungsakten’, v.d.Gabelentz, *Die Wartburg*, München 1931, 103 (Noth, W., *Die Wartburg und ihre Sammlungen*, Leipzig 1972, 16): “Denkmal des deutschen Altertums”.
7. Neumeyer, A., ‘Die Erweckung der Gotik in der deutschen Kunst des späten 18. Jahrhunderts. Ein Beitrag zur Vorgeschichte der Romantik.’ *Gesammelte Schriften, Collectanea Artis Historiae*, München 1977, 181f.
8. Alexander, Markgraf zu Bayreuth: ‘Landesväterliches Ausschreiben’ (1780), Huse, N., *Denkmalpflege, Deutsche Texte aus drei Jahrhunderten*, München 1984, 27ff.
9. Friedrich II., Landgraf zu Hessen: ‘Verordnung, die im Lande befindlichen Monumente und Altertümer betreffend’ (1779), Huse, op.cit., 26f.

10. Dehio, G., Handbuch der deutschen Kunstdenkmäler, 'Der Bezirk Halle', Berlin 1976, 518f.
11. Hirschfeld, C.C.L., Theorie der Gartenkunst, I-V, Leipzig 1779-1785. Hartmann, G., Die Ruine im Landschaftsgarten, Ihre Bedeutung für den frühen Historismus und die Landschaftsmalerei der Romantik, Worms 1981.
12. Dehio, op.cit., 518. Diz.Enc.Arch., op.cit., II, 270.
13. Kubach, H.E. - Haas, W., Der Dom zu Speyer (Bornheim gen. Schilling, ed., Die Kunstdenkmäler von Rheinland-Pfalz, V), 3 Vols. München 1972, Textband, 815ff.
14. Neumeyer, A., 'Die Erweckung der Gotik in der deutschen Kunst des späten 18. Jahrhunderts. Ein Beitrag zur Vorgeschichte der Romantik' (Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft, IL, 1928, 3ff), Gesammelte Schriften, Collectanea Artis Historiae, München 1977, 175ff.
15. A document of 1783 regarding a construction to be added to the Stephanskirche in Vienna (Wien, Statthalterarchiv, 1327, Fasc. E 4, Gutachten Sartori): "Das an der Kirche für das Kirchenpersonal aufzuführen kommende Stöckel könnte, wenn es nicht nach gotischer Bauart gleich der Kirche hergestellt würde, mit dem alten gotischen Bau nicht schicklich verbunden werden." Tietze, H., 'Wiener Gotik im XVIII. Jahrhundert', Kunstgeschichtliches Jahrbuch der K.K. Zentral-Kommission für Erforschung und Erhaltung der Kunst- und Historischen Denkmale, Herausgegeben von Prof. M. Dvorak, III, Wien 1909, 162ff.
16. Tietze, 'Wiener Gotik', op.cit. Neumeyer, 'Die Erweckung der Gotik', op.cit.
17. Neumeyer, ibid.
18. Neumeyer, ibid.
19. Heinse, W., Ardinghello und die glückseligen Inseln, eine Italiänische Geschichte aus dem sechszehnten Jahrhundert, 2 Vols, I, 56: "Ein feyerlicher gothischer Dom mit seinem freyen ungeheuren Raume, von vernünftigen Barbaren entworfen..." (Germann, Gothic Revival, op.cit., 84.)
20. Forster, G., Ansichten vom Niederrhein, von Brabant, Flandern, Holland, England und Frankreich, im April, Mai und Junius 1790, 2 parts in 2 vols., Berlin 1791: "So oft ich Kölln besuche, geh ich immer wieder in diesen herrlichen Tempel, um die Schauer des Erhabenen zu fühlen. Vor der Kühnheit der Meisterwerke stürzt der Geist voll Erstaunen und Bewunderung zur Erde; dann hebt er sich wieder mit stolzem Flug über das Vollbringen hinweg, das nur Eine Idee eines verwandten Geistes war..." (Germann, ibid., 85)
21. Huse, Denkmalpflege, op.cit., 22.
22. Der Neue Teutsche Merkur vom Jahre 1795, I, 77ff. and 168ff.: "Wenn die Liebhaberey für das Studium der Alterthümer das forschende Auge auf ferne Gegenden zu heften vermag; so ist es billig, dass wir dabey den ähnlichen Gegenständen, welche uns das Vaterland in der Nähe darbeut, auch einen Seitenblick gönnen. Jene vergegenwärtigen uns die Herrlichkeiten der sinnreichen Griechen- und der mächtigen Römer-Welt; diese sind gleichsam halb verblichene Urkunden, welche auf die dunkle Geschichten unsrer Vorfahren ein dämmerndes Licht werfen, und zugleich das Spiel unserer Fantasie bey der Enträthselung solcher scher Beziehung haben müssen, beleben. Mit ähnlichen Gedanken trug ich mich kürzlich, als ich zu den Ruinen von Paulinzella, ehemals einer Benediktiner Abtey für Mönche und Nonnen im Rudolstädtschen, gewallfahret war. Ihr Anblick erregte mir mehr Vergnügen und Bewunderung, als ich nach der mündlichen Geschreibung einiger Reisenden bereits erwartet hatte; daher ich nichts Undankbares zu unternehmen glaube, wenn ich in öffentlichen Blättern die Aufmerksamkeit des Liebhabers, welchem die Nachbarschaft oder das Reisen Gelegenheit, seine Neugierde angenehm zu befriedigen anbietet, rege zu machen, und einen Überrest des Althertums der Vergessenheit aufs neue zu entreissen suche." (Huse, ibid, 22.)
23. Wackenroder, W.H. - Tieck, L., Herzenergiessungen eines kunstliebenden Klosterbruders, Stuttgart 1969, 50, 'Ehrengedächtnis unsers ehrwürdigen Ahnherrn Albrecht Dürers, Von einem kunstliebenden Klosterbruder': "Nürnberg! du vormals weltberühmte Stadt! Wie gerne durchwanderte ich deine krummen Gassen; mit welcher kindlichen Liebe betrachtete ich deine altväterischen Häuser und Kirchen, denen die feste Spur von unsrer alten vaterländischen Kunst eingedrückt ist! Wie innig lieb' ich die Bildungen jener Zeit, die eine so derbe, kräftige und wahre Sprache führen! Wie ziehen sie mich zurück in jenes graue Jahrhundert, da du Nürnberg, die lebendigwimmelnde Schule der vaterländischen Kunst warst ... da Meister Hans Sachs und Adam Kraft, der Bildhauer, und vor allem, Albrecht Dürer ... noch lebten!"
24. Wackenroder, op.cit., 51: "Aber jetzt wandelt mein trauerer Geist auf der geweihten Stätte vor deinen Mauern, Nürnberg; auf dem Gottesacker, wo die Gebeine Albrecht Dürers ruhen, der einst die Zierde von Deutschland, ja von Europa war. Sie ruhen von wenigen besucht, unter zahllosen Grabsteinen, deren jeder mit einem ehernen Bildwerk, als dem Gepräge der alten Kunst, bezeichnet ist..."
25. Noth, Die Wartburg, op.cit., 16ff. Brix, M., 'Die Sebalduskirche im 19. Jahrhundert', 600 Jahre Ostchor St. Sebald, 1379-1979, Nürnberg 1979, 52ff. Findeisen, P., 'Wittenberg und Eisleben', Martin Luther, Stätten seines Lebens und Wirkens, DDR-Berlin 1983, 135ff. Bornheim gen. Schilling, W., 'Burgenbau in der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts. Zum Wiederaufbau des Rolandsbogens 1840', Denkmalpflege in Rheinland-Pfalz, XXIX-XXX, 1974-75, 94ff.
26. Vaughan, W., German Romantic Painting, Yale Univ. Press, 1982.

27. Oncken, A., Friedrich Gilly 1772-1800, Berlin 1981, 42ff. Oechslin, W., 'Friedrich Gillys kurzes Leben, sein 'Friedrichsdenkmal' und die Philosophie der Architektur', Friedrich Gilly 1772-1800 und die Privatgesellschaft junger Architekten, (Exh. Cat.) Berlin 1984, 21ff. von Simson, J., 'Friderico Secundo Patria, Antikenrezeption in den Entwürfen zum Denkmal Friedrichs des Grossen in Berlin', Berlin und die Antike, Aufsätze, Berlin 1979, 379ff.
28. Traeger, J., Die Walhalla, Idee, Architektur, Landschaft, Regensburg, 1979, 19: "Teutschlands tiefster Schmach". At the inauguration of Walhalla, on 18 October 1830, Ludwig I spoke the following words: "Möchte Walhalla förderlich seyn der Erstarkung und Vermehrung deutschen Sinnes! Möchten alle Deutschen, welchen Stammes sie auch seyen, immer fühlen, dass sie ein gemeinsames Vaterland haben, ein Vaterland, auf das sie stolz seyn können; und jeder trage bei, soviel er vermag, zu dessen Verherrlichung". (Traeger, *ibid*, 13; also engraved in a stone at Walhalla.)
29. Traeger, *ibid*, 19ff.
30. In the early 1820s most German States had societies "deren Zweck es war, die noch hbrigen Denkmale der vaterländischen oder künstlerischen Werth haben - möglichst zu erforschen, bekannt zu machen und für ihre fernere Erhaltung zu sorgen." Mittheilungen des Königlichen Sächsischen Vereins für Erforschung und Erhaltung der vaterländischen Alterthümer, I, 1835, iii. The Society of Saxony was founded in 1824 with the involvement of official members of the Government, such as Cabinetminister und Staatssekretair Graf von Einsidel.
31. Frick, F., Schloss Marienburg in Preussen (1799 & 1803); Gilly, F., 'Ueber die vom Herrn Oberhof-Bauamts-Kondukteur Gilly im Jahr 1794, aufgenommenen Ansichten des Schlosses der deutschen Ritter zu Marienburg in Westpreussen', Kosmann, J.W.A.-Heinsius, T., Denkwürdigkeiten und Tagesgeschichte der Mark Brandenburg, I, 1796, 667ff. Boockmann, H., Die Marienburg im 19. Jahrhundert, Berlin 1982. Kilarski, M., 'Schinkel und Marienburg (Malbork)', Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft, XXXV, 1/4, Berlin 1981, 95ff.
32. von Schenkendorff, F.M., 'Ein Beispiel von der Zerstörung in Preussen', Der Freimüthige, Berlinische Zeitung für gebildete, unbefangene Leser, CXXXVI, 26 August 1803; (Schmid, B., Oberpräsident von Schön und die Marienburg, 1940, 221f; Boockmann, Die marienburg, *op.cit.*, 137ff): "Unter allen Überbleibseln Gothischer Baukunst in Preussen, nimmt das Schloss zu Marienburg die erste Stelle ein. Aus- und Einländer eilten seit Jahren in Menge dahin, um es zu bewundern. ... Mit dem heiligen Schutte füllt man die kostbaren Gewölbe an, die in mehreren Stockwerken unter dem Schlosse fortlaufen, und nicht nur von der Riesenkraft, sondern auch von der Sorgfalt ihrer Erbauer sprechen,..."
33. Minister Freiherr von Schrötter took the matter to the attention of the King, who gave an order for the protection of the castle on 13 August 1804. (Schmid, B., Die Wiederherstellung der Marienburg, Königsberg, 1934, 7)
34. Tauch, M., Rheinische Landschaften, Gemälde und Aquarelle aus dem 19. und 20. Jahrhundert, Neuss 1974. Wilton, A., Turner Abroad, France, Italy, Germany, Switzerland, London 1982. Turner's first European tour was in 1802, when he travelled in France and Switzerland; in 1817, he travelled in Rhineland, where he also returned later.
35. Bornheim, 'Burgenbau' *op.cit.*, 99.
36. Firmenich-Richartz, E., Die Brüder Boisser,e, Jena 1916. Klapheck, Goethe und das Rheinland, *op.cit.*, 16ff; Eichholz, R., 'Sulpiz Boisser,e und der Dom zu Köln. Versuch einer Biographie', Der Kölner Dom im Jahrhundert seiner Vollendung, II, Essays, Köln 1980, 17ff.
37. von Schlegel, F., Grundzüge der Gotischen Baukunst aus einer Reise durch die Niederland, Rheingegenden, die Schweiz und einen Theil von Frankreich in dem Jahre 1804 bis 1805, 1823 (Sämmtliche Werke, Wien 1846, VI, 202): "Das Wesen der gothischen Baukunst besteht also in der naturähnlichen Fülle und Unendlichkeit der inneren Gestaltung und äussern blumenreichen Verzierungen. Daher die unermüdlichen und unzähligen steten Wiederholungen der gleichen Zierathen, daher das Pflanzenähnliche derselben, wie an blühenden Gewächsen. Und daher auch das Innigergreifende, das rührend Geheimnisvolle, das feudig Liebliche und Belebende des Eindrucks bei dem Erstaunen über die Grösse. Die gothische Baukunst hat eine Bedeutung, und zwar die höchste; und wenn die Malerei sich meistens nur mit Schwachen, unbestimmten, missverständlichen, entfernten Andeutungen des Göttlichen begnügen muss, so kann die Baukunst dagegen, so gedacht und so angewandt, das Unendliche gleichsam unmittelbar darstellen und vergegenwärtigen, durch die blosse Nachbildung der Naturfülle, auch ohne Anspielungen auf die Ideen und Geheimnisse des Christenthums, welche allerdings auf die Entstehung und Ausbildung der Kirchenbaukunst nicht geringen Einfluss gehabt haben."
38. Bayer, J., Köln um die Wende des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts (1770-1830) Geschildert von Zeitgenossen, Köln 1912.
39. Forster, G., Ansichten vom Niederrhein, *op.cit.*, 71f: "Es ist sehr zu bedauern, dass ein so prächtiges Gebäude unvollendet bleiben muss. Wenn schon der Entwurf, in Gedanken ergünzt, so mächtig erschüttern kann, wie hätte nicht die Wirklichkeit uns hingerissen!"
40. Boisser,e already in 1807, 1808 and 1809 convinced the 'Kirchenvorstand der Dompfarre wie die städtische Verwaltung' to do something to stop the decay of the Cathedral. In 1807, the

- Municipality of Cologne decided ('Protocole des d,liberations du Conseil Municipal', fol. 214): "In Anbetracht, dass der Dom, dieses hehre Baudenkmal, den Schmuck und den Ruhm der Stadt Köln ausmache, und der Nachkommenschaft die schwersten Vorwürfe auf sich lade, wenn er ein solches Bauwerk, welches immerdar die Bewunderung aller fremden erregt habe, zu Grunde gehen liesse, bewillige er vorläufig die Summe von 2807 francs 44 centimes für die allernöthigsten Reparaturen." (Ennen, L., *Der Dom zu Köln von seinem Beginne bis zu seiner Vollendung*, Festschrift gewidmet der Freunden und Gönnern aus Anlass der Vollendung vom Vorstande des Central Dombauvereins, Köln 1880, 106.
41. The church administration gave for the repairs 6890 francs 3 centimes in 1808-09. The repairs for a period of six years were estimated at 23.546 francs 30 centimes, divided between the Municipality and the Church, but even this was considered insufficient in the present condition of the structure. In 1811, the Municipality decided to commission the inspection, which was done 30 September 1811 ('Französische Verwaltungsakten', Caps. 26 A, 46ff): All construction was found "fehlerhaft und schwach, die sechs Hauptpfosten und das meiste Holzwerk desselben vom Wurm angefressen und aus der Verbindung gelöst befunden..." It was suggested: "den Thurm abzutragen, die Spiessen unter den Balken durch eine zweckmässige Construction zu erletzen und bei Errichtung eines neuen Thurmes einen frischen Durchzug zu legen; dann, um fernem Weichen der Mauern und weiterem Reitzen des Giebels und Gewölbes vorzubeugen, die beiden freistehenden Mauern, welche den Anfang zum Kreuz der Domkirche bildeten und damals als Widerlagen des letzten Bogens des Giebelgewölbes dienten, durch einen starken, unwendig zweckmässig angebrachten eisernen Anker zu verbinden." (Ennen, op.cit., 108)
42. Ennen, *ibid*, 109.
43. Klapheck, *Goethe und das Rheinland*, op.cit., 16ff.
44. Ennen, *ibid*, 110.
45. Dieckhoff, R., 'Die konkrete Utopie', *Der Kölner Dom im Jahrhundert seiner Vollendung*, I, Katalog, Köln 1980, 259ff.
46. Görres, J., 'Der Dom in Köln' *Rheinische Merkur*, 1814 (Dieckhoff, op.cit., 260; Huse, *Denkmalpflege*, op.cit., 55f).
47. Goethe, J.W., *Kunstschätze am Rhein, Main und Neckar*, 1814 und 1815. (Bayer, op.cit., 116ff): "Das erste vor allen Dingen wäre daher, an eine Stiftung zu denken zu vollkommener Erhaltung des Gebäudes. Erhaltung ist aber nicht zu bewirken, wenn man den Vorsatz des Fortbauens gänzlich aufgibt; denn nicht allein Baarschaft reicht hin zu solchen Bedürfnissen, sondern es will auch bei gegenwärtiger vollkommener Einsicht in den Willen des Meisters Kunst und Handwerk aufs Neue erregt und belebt sein."
48. Goethe, op.cit.: See above n.47.
49. Watkin, D., *The Rise of Architectural History*, London 1980, 7. Pevsner, N., *Some Architectural Writers of the Nineteenth Century*, Oxford, 1972, 23ff.
50. Rave, P.O., 'Schinkel als Beamter. Ein Abschnitt preussischer Bauverwaltung', *Karl Friedrich Schinkel, Architektur, Malerei, Kunstgewerbe*, Berlin 1981, 79ff.
51. Schinkel, K.F., *Reisen nach Italien, Tagebücher, Briefe, Zeichnungen, Aquarelle*, DDR, Berlin 1979.
52. Pundt, H., *Schinkel's Berlin. A Study in Environmental Planning*, Cambridge Mass., 1972. Waagen, G.F., *Karl Friedrich Schinkel als Mensch und als Künstler (1844)*, Düsseldorf 1980. *Karl Friedrich Schinkel 1781-1841*, DDR Berlin 1981.
53. Rave, P.O., 'Schinkel als Beamter', op.cit., 79ff.
54. Schinkel, K.F., 'Die Grundsätze zur Erhaltung alter Denkmäler und Altertümer in unserem Lande', 1815 (Kadatz, H-J., 'Karl Friedrich Schinkel und die Anfänge der Denkmalpflege in Preussen', *Architektur der DDR*, II, 1981, 113ff; Deiters, L., 'Karl Friedrich Schinkel und die Denkmalpflege', *ibid*, X, 1982, x f).
55. Schinkel, 'Grundsätze', op.cit.: "...nachdem die Organisation der nötigen Schtzdeputations vollendet ist, (wird) deren erstes Geschäft sein: Verzeichnisse alles dessen anzufertigen, was sich in ihrem Bezirk vorfindet, und diese Verzeichnisse mit einem Gutachten über den Zustand der Gegenstände und über die Art, wie man sie erhalten könne, zu begleiten. Nachdem man durch diese Verzeichnisse eine Übersicht erlangt, liesse sich nun ein Plan machen, wie diese Monumebnte gehalten werden könnten, um dem Volke anzusprechen, nationale Bildung und Interesse an das frühere Schicksal des Vaterlandes zu befördern."
56. Schinkel, 'Grundsätze', op.cit.: "So geschah es, dass unser Vaterland von seinem schönsten Schmuck so unendlich viel verlor, was wir bedauern müssen, und wenn jetzt nicht ganz allgemeine und durchgreifende Massregeln angewendet werden, diesen Gang der Dinge zu hemmen, so werden wir in kurzer Zeit unheimlich nackt und kahl, wie eine neue Colonie in einem früher nicht bewohnten Lande dastehen."
57. Schinkel, *ibid*: "Bauwerke, sowohl in vollkommen erhaltenem Zustande als in Ruinen liegend, von allen Gattungen als Kirchen, Capellen, Kreuzgänge und Klostergebäude, Schlösser, einzelne Wahrten, Tore, Stadtmauern, Denksäulen, öffentlich Brunnen, Grabmale, Rathäuser, Hallen usw."
58. Schinkel, *ibid*: "Jedem Bezirk müsste das Eigenthum dieser Art als ein ewiges Heiligtum verbleiben; fedoch müssten diese mannigfaltigen Gegenstände, welche zum Theil durch die Schicksale der Zeit ungeniessbar, sehr häufig unkenndbar für das Volk geworden und deshalb bis jetzt für dasselbe beinah verloren waren, demselben in einer erneuten Gestalt vom Staate wiedergegeben werden. Dies würde nun vorzüglich dadurch zu erreichen

sein, dass diese verlorenen Schätze wieder an das Licht gezogen würden, dass Anstalten getroffen würden, sie auf geschickte Weise, so weit es bei diesem schwierigen, für den Wert der Sachen, selbst gefährlichen Geschäft möglich ist, wieder in ihrem alten Glanz herzustellen...”

59. ‘Allerh. KO.’, 14 October 1815 (GS.S.206), ‘betr. Wesentl. Veränderung an Denkmälern’: “Auf Ihren Bericht vom 27. v. Mts. setze Ich hierdurch fest, dass bei jeder wesentlichen Veränderung an öffentlichen Gebäuden oder Denkmälern diejenige Staatsbehörde, welche solche vorzunehmen beabsichtigt, zuvor mit der oberbaudeputation kommunizieren und, wenn diese nicht einwilligt, an den Staatskanzler Fürsten von Hardenberg zur Einholung Meines Befehls, ob die Veränderung vorzunehmen, berichten soll. Paris, den 4. Oktober 1815. gez. Friedrich Wilhelm.” (Reimers, Handbuch für die Denkmalpflege, Hannover 1912, 434)

60. ‘Runderlass d. Fin. Min. vom 6. April 1819, betr. Veränderung fiskalischer Denkmäler’ (Reimers, op.cit., 434ff.): “Beim Finanzministerium ist die sorgfältigere Erhaltung zur Sprache gekommen, welche diejenigen als Denkmäler der Vorzeit und Kunst ehrwürdigen alten Schloss-, Stifts-, und Klostergebäude verdienen, die nicht zu gottesdienstlichen Zwecken beibehalten sind, um zu verhüten, dass solche nicht verändert und demnächst abgerissen werden oder sonst aus Mangel an Aufsicht verfallen...”

61. ‘Runderlass’, 15 December 1823, ‘betr. Fürsorge für die Denkmäler’; ‘Runderlass’, 18 March 1824, ‘betr. Veränderung an Denkmälern’; ‘Runderlass’, 28 January 1830, ‘betr. Erhaltung von Denkmälern, besonders auch von Glasmalereien’ (Reimers, op.cit., 435.)

62. ‘Allerh. KO.’, 20 June 1830 (GS.S.113), ‘betr. Erhaltung von Stadtbefestigungen’: “Ich bin den im Bericht des Staatsministeriums vom 5 v. M. entwickelten Ansichten darin einverstanden, dass den Stadtgemeinden die willkürliche Abtragung ihrer Stadtmauern, Tore, Türme, Bälle und anderer zum Verschluss sowohl als zur Verteidigung der Städte bestimmten Anlagen weder in polizeilicher, noch in militärischer, noch in finanzieller Rücksicht gestattet werden kann, ...” ‘Die Instruktionen hierzu ist erlassen durch Runderlass der Minister des Krieges, der Finanzen, des Innern und der Polizei vom 31. October 1830. (Reimers, op.cit., 436ff.): “Im Verfolg der Allerhöchsten Kabinettsorder vom 20. Juni d.J. unter 1 enthaltenen Vorschrift werden sämtliche Königliche Regierungen in Hinsicht ihres Verfahrens wegen Abtragung städtischer Mauern, Tore und anderer Anlagen dieser Art mit folgender Instruktion versehen: 1. Die Königlichen Regierungen haben sich durch die den Bezirk bereisenden Departementsräte eine möglichst genaue Kenntnis von dem Zustande der Mauern, Tore, Türme und anderer zum Verschluss der Städte dienenden Bauwerke zu verschaffen und durch Anweisung der Magisträte und Polizeibehörden dafür zu sorgen, dass nicht diese Bauwerke öffentlich oder heimlich deterioriert werden, um durch Vorbereitung ihres

Einsturzes die Einwilligung der Behörden zu erzwingen...” (Reimers, ibid, 436)

63. ‘Runderlass’, 27 March 1835, ‘betr. Übertragung der Denkmalpflege auf das Kultusministerium’. (Reimers, ibid, 438)

64. ‘Allerh. KO.’, 1 July 1843, ‘betr. Anstellung des Konservators der Kunstdenkmäler’. (Reimers, ibid, 440)

65. Bellmann, F.- Harksen, M-L. - Werner, R., Die Denkmale der Lutherstadt Wittenberg, Weimar 1979, 92.

66. Hildebrand, S., ‘Schinkel-Werke im Bezirk Halle’, Architektur der DDR, II, 1981, 122f.

67. Kadatz, ‘Karl Friedrich Schinkel’, op.cit. 116f. Findeisen, P., ‘Moritzburg Halle. 1829’, Karl Friedrich Schinkel 1781-1841, op.cit., 321ff.

68. Schinkel, report on the condition of Kloster Chorin in 1817: “Bei der Seltenheit solcher Denkmäler in dieser Provinz wird die Erhaltung eines solchen zur Pflicht, und wir ersuchen eine hochlöbliche sechste Generalverwaltung, durch die Regierung gefälligst veranlassen zu wollen, dass dem Amtmann zu Chorin die Erhaltung aller alten, zum Kloster gehörigen Gebäude zur Pflicht gemacht werde, auch könnten sich die Baumeister der Provinz dafür interessieren, damit wenigstens das willkürliche Einreißen und Verbauen dieser Altertümer vermieden und auf dem Lande der schöne Schmuck solcher Denkmäler erhalten werde.” (Badstübner, E., ‘Kloster Chorin/Mark.1817’, Karl Friedrich Schinkel 1781-1841, op.cit., 320)

69. Schinkel to Berlin, 3 September 1816: “Die Kühnheit des Baues besteht einzig und allein in dem richtigen Gegenwicht der gegeneinander strebenden Kräfte, deren jede am rechten Orte wirkt und, wo eine einzige weggenommen, das ganze System zerstört.” (Ennen, Der Dom zu Köln, op.cit., 114)

70. Schinkel, op.cit.: “Was man übrigens über den Beruf unserer Zeit zum Fortbau des Domes in Köln und über die Zweckmässigkeit eines solchen Unternehmens abgesehen von der Nothwendigkeit derselben in Beziehung auf die Erhaltung des Vorhandenen, in Betracht ziehen mag, so bleibt es doch gewiss, dass es der neuen Zeit an grossen Kunstaufgaben einer Art, wodurch doch allein die wahre Kunst bestehen kann, gänzlich mangelt; überall hat uns die Vorzeit zu viel hinterlassen, und wir arbeiten nun schon ein halbes Jahrhundert and der Vernichtung dieses Erbtheils mit einer so barbarischen Planmässigkeit, dass wir die planlose Barbarei von Attila’s Zeit im grossen Wetteifer schon längst hinter uns zurück gelassen haben. Wenn aber die Aufgaben der Kunst zufällig sich fänden, so würden wir in dem Zustande, wie wir noch sind, höchstens uns als gute und verständige Nachahmer der Vorzeit zeigen können und noch keineswegs gewürdigt sein, von einem Genius begünstigt zu werden, der uns wahrhaft schöpferisch machte, wie es die Griechen waren und die Vorfahren in unserem Vaterlande. In einem solchen Zustande scheint die würdigste Bestimmung des Menschen, mit aller sorgfalt dasjenige zu erhalten, was die Kraft eines

frühern Geschlechtes uns hinterliess und welches wir nicht ohne Ehrfurcht betrachten können, und es liegt ein Trost darin, mit einer ehrenvollen Thätigkeit über eine Zeit hinweg zu kommen, die so wenig Veranlassung zu einer genügenden Wirksamkeit dieser Art gibt. Was sich übrigens an technischer Schicklichkeit bei einem solchen Unternehmen entwickelt und ob nicht während der Beschäftigung mit einem so zürdigen Gegenstande ein neues Licht am ersten aufgehen könne, wäre besonders in Ueberlegung zu ziehen; dass uns aber die Nachwelt für das Bemühen, ein gross angefangenes Werk ihr vollständig zu überliefern, Dank wissen wird; si würde uns aber weit mehr noch es die Gegenwart verdammen, wenn durch unsere Fahrlässigkeit ein Werk dieser Art zu Grunde gehen sollte.” (Ennen, *ibid*, 115)

71. Schinkel to Boisser, e, 8 August 1829: “In Betreff des Kölner Domes werden Sie viele Constructionen der Restauration solider als die alten, auch das Material besser gewählt finden; es ist leider zu bedauern, dass um in jeder Art das Gebäude sicher zu stellen, viel Altes fortgenommen werden muss, aber der enormen Kosten wegen nicht wieder gemacht werden können. Nach meiner Ansicht möchte ich, wenn die Sicherstellung des Baues bewirkt ist, eine Pro Fabrica fortlaufende Einnahme der Cathedralsteuer und was sonst sich dann noch durch die Einwirkung des Herrn Erzbischofs Spiegel von Desenberg für Mittel vorfinden werden, darauf verwenden, allein das Innere des ganzen Domes vollständig in seinen Gewölben auszuführen, wenn nur en bloc gearbeitet bliebe. Hierdurch würde ausser der schönen und einzigen Wirkung, welche das vollständige innere Verhältnis darböte, auch die Sicherstellung des ganzen Gebäudes erreicht. Die Kosten würden gar nicht so gewaltig sein, vorausgesetzt, dass ausserhalb gleichfalls Alles roh bliebe; denn sich auf die Unendlichkeit der Ornamente und Gliederungen einzulassen, würde ich vorläufig für ganz unangemessen halten.” (Ennen, *ibid*, 121) Wolff, A., ‘Die Baugeschichte des Kölner Domes im 19. Jahrhundert’, *Der Kölner Dom im Jahrhundert seiner Vollendung*, op.cit., 24ff. Rode, H., ‘Ernst Friedrich Zwirners Planentwicklung für den Ausbau des Kölner Domes 1833-1844’, *Kölner Domblatt, Jahrbuch des Zentral-Dombauvereins*, XX, 1961-62, 45ff.

72. Rode, ‘Ernst Friedrich Zwirners Planentwicklung’, op.cit.; *Der Kölner Dom im Jahrhundert seiner Vollendung*, op.cit. Ennen, *ibid*.

73. von Schenkendorff, M., 1814: “Seh’ich immer noch erhoben/ Auf dem Dach den alten Krahn,/ Denk’ich, dass das Werk verschoben,/ Bis die rechten Meister nah’n.” (Ennen, *ibid*, 234)

74. King Friedrich Wilhelm IV, 3 September 1840: “als ein ewiges Denkmal die Erinnerung aller grossen Ereignisse alter und neuer Zeiten”. (Ennen, *ibid*, 121)

75. Heider, G., ‘Die Restauration des St. Stephans-Domes in Wien’, *Mittheilungen der k.k. Central-Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Denkmale*, Wien 1857, I.

1. Hederer, O., *Friedrich von Gärtner 1792-1847, Leben, Werk, Schüler*, München 1976, 205ff.

76. Schön to Frick, 24 February 1819 (Schlossarchiv, Marienburg, Fol.5d): refers to the words of Moller: “Nur von Alhambra wird Marienburg übertroffen. Ausser Alhambra ist kein Gebäude (Kirchen stehen besonders), welches so viel Interessantes darböte, als Marienburg.” (Schmid, B., *Oberpräsident von Schön und die Marienburg*, Halle 1940, 235)

77. Schmid, B., *Führer durch das Schloss Marienburg in Preussen*, Berlin 1934.

78. Schön to Staatskanzler, 22 November 1815, Schmid, *Oberpräsident von Schön*, op.cit., 226.

79. Schön to the King, 6 July 1856 (Danzig, Archiwum Panstwowe I, 63a Nr.5 fol. 74r-80r): “So ging die Wiederherstellung Marienburgs bis zum Jahre 1824 ihren Weg ruhig fort. Mein verhältnis zum Schloss war durch kein Gesetz, durch keine Vorschrift, durch keine Instruction geregelt und festgestellt. Zu dem, was ich that, gab der grosse Geist, welcher in dem Schlosse waltete, Kraft und Leben, und meine Stellung war mehr Stellung der öffentlichen Meinung als staatliche Position. Diese machte mich allerdings mächtiger als irgendein positiver Befehl oder eine positive Instruction hätte machen können. Allein dem Schlosse selbst fehlte eine staatliche Basis.” (Boockmann, *Die Marienburg*, op.cit., 154ff.)

80. Schön, *ibid*.

81. Schinkel to Staatskanzler von Hardenberg, 11 November 1819, *Aus Schinkels Nachlass*, III, Berlin 1863, 208. Schmid, B., *Die Wiederherstellung der Marienburg*, op.cit., 11ff.

82. Boockmann, op.cit., fig. 30.

83. Schinkel to Hardenberg, 11 November 1819, op.cit.: “Sei es nun ... als das schönste und prächtigste jener Zeit, - solches ist es selbst in seinen Trümmern noch, - auf unsere Zeiten gekommen (indem wir wohl in Deutschland eine grosse menge ebenso prächtiger Monumente and Kirchen, Kapellen und Klöstern besitzen, aus denen für den Styl religiöser Gebäude sich manches sichere Princip deduciren lässt, jedoch für eine höhere Architektur an Schlössern uns ausser Marienburg fast gar nichts von Bedeutung übrig geblieben ist, und folglich dieser Styl allein an jenem Monumente zu finden ist); - so wird in beiden Fällen die Conjectur höchst schwierig für den Baumeister, der die Wiederherstellung besorgt, weil er vor allem leicht verführt werden kann, in’s Phantastische zu gerathen.”

84. Schinkel, *ibid*: “einmal: diejenigen Theile, deren vollständigere Erhaltung eine Wiederherstellung einzelner verlorener Theile ohne Bedenken zulässt, und wozu sich alle Data vorfinden, gleich in ihrer Reinheit wieder hinzustellen ... - zweitens: diejenigen Theile, deren ursprüngliche Form und Bestimmung durch die Veränderungen in späteren Zeiten zweifelhaft geworden, duch ein Planmässiges Nachsuchen und Aufräumen ihren

Grundformen wieder näher zu bringen und dabei so viel Data zu sammeln, um danach das ganz Zerstörte und Fehlende mit Sicherheit ergänzen zu können. Die zweite Art ... den Character einer Art von Schatzgräberei, im besseren Sinne des Wortes, angekommen.”

85. Schinkel, *ibid.*: “...bei keinem so, wie beim Schlosse Marienburg, Einfachheit, Schönheit, Originalität und Konsequenz durchaus harmonisch verbunden sind.”

86. Schinkel, *ibid.*: “Man ist, seit der practischen Ausführung der Pläne, auf eine Mänge höchst unerwarteter, schöner architektonischer Anordnungen gestossen, die unter der Decke von schlechtem, fremdartigen Gewebe versteckt sassen, und durch deren Wiedergeburt das Monument an wesentlichem Character, Originalität und Schönheit unendlich noch gewinnen wird.”

87. Schmid, B., *Die Wiederherstellung der Marienburg*, *op.cit.*, 18f.

88. Boockmann, *Die Marienburg*, *op.cit.*, 35ff. Schmid, B., *Führer durch das Schloss Marienburg*, *op.cit.* Frych, J., *Restauracja i konserwacja zabytkow architektury w polsce w latach 1795-1918*, Warszawa 1975, 251.

89. ‘Runderlass v.Min.v.g.N. u. M.A.’, 12 December 1843, ‘betr. Die Ausführung von Wiederherstellungsarbeiten an alten Bauwerken’: “Die Königliche Ober-Baudeputation hat bei Gelegenheit der Superrevision eines Bauplanes zur Herstellung eines alten Bauwerkes bemerkt, dass es nie der Zweck einer Restauration sein könne, jeden kleinen Mangel, der als die Spur vorübergegangener Jahrhunderte zur Charakteristik des Bauwerkes beitrage, zu verwischen, und dem Gebäude dadurch das Ansehen eines neuen zu geben.” (Reimers, *op.cit.*, 440)

90. ‘Runderlass’, *ibid.*: “Es dürfe sich die Restauration nur auf die wesentlichen, entweder jetzt oder in Zukunft Gefahr bereitenden Schäden erstrecken, um diese so unscheinbar als möglich, aber dabei solid herzustellen suchen. Diejenige Restauration wäre die vollkommenste zu nennen, welche bei Verbesserung aller wesentlichen Mängel gar nicht zu bemerken wäre.” (Reimers, *ibid.*)

91. von Quast, A.F., *Das Erechtheion zu Athen nebst mehreren noch nicht bekannt gemachten Bruchstücken der Baukunst dieser Stadt und des übrigen Griechenlands nach dem Werke des H.W. Inwood mit Verbesserungen und vielen Zusätzen*, Berlin (1834) 1862.

92. von Quast, A.F., *Mittheilungen über Alt und Neu Athen*, Berlin 1834, 31ff: “Stets als ein fremdes Element würde das alte Athen dem neuen gegenüber stehen, keine Verbindung wäre denkbar. Die Vermittelung, welche zwischen alter und neuer Zeit so gut wie fehlt, müssen wir irgend wie zu bilden suchen. Wir dürfen zunächst nichts zerstören, was noch vorhanden ist, sondern das vorhandene zu erweitern und auszubilden suchen. ... Drei Bauwerke ersten Ranges aus dem Alterthume behaupten bekanntlich auf der Burg ihren alten Platz. Die Propyläen, das Erechtheion und der Parthenon bieten noch in den Rinnen ein anschauliches Bild ihres ehemaligen Glanzes dar. ...

Schinkel sucht die Werke des Iktinos und Kallikrates in ihrer ganzen Auszeichnung hervorzuheben, und dennoch dürfen sich seine Königshallen den hohen Vorbildern anschliessen; ihre Schönheit wird darum nicht geringer sein, weil sie jenen den Vorrang freiwillig überlassen.”

93. von Quast, F., ‘Pro Memoria in Bezug auf die Erhaltung der Altertümer in den Königlichen Landen’ (1837), *Deutsche Kunst und Denkmalpflege*, 1977, 132ff: “Einerseits ist es nicht zu leugnen, dass gerade die Wiederherstellung solcher Gebäude, wenn sie auch das Ganze vom Verderben rettet, leider das Einzelne, gewissermassen die Blüte des Werks, nur zu oft zerstört. Die Baukunst jener Zeiten liegt unseren Technikern im Ganzen so fern, dass es ihnen äusserst schwer wird, sich ihren Formen anzuschliessen; man bildet sich neue Regeln, und wo das Alte sich diesen nicht anschliessen will, muss letzteres oft weichen, um einer vermeinten Symmetrie nicht störend entgegen zu treten. So ist es vorgekommen, dass dem neueren Baumeister die Details der Architektur zu sehr ausgearbeitet schienen, - es war bequemer, einige der zarten Strebepfeiler-Krönungen wegzulassen, damit aber dieser Unterschied nicht auffalle, wurden auch die älteren Teile schonungslos ihres Schmuckes beraubt. ... Ein anderer Grund, dass so viele schöne Altertümer noch immer zu Grunde gehen, liegt in der leider noch so wenig verbreiteten anhänglichkeit an dieselben. Wie anders ist es in dieser Hinsicht in England, wo kaum jemand im untersten Volke gefunden wird, der nicht eine gewisse Ehrfurcht für die Reste einer früheren Zeit empfände. Daher kommt es auch, dass dort den Altertümern gewissermassen kein Haar gekrümmt wird, dass ohne Beaufsichtigung von oben herab, auch kein Stein dem Mutwillen oder der Laune preisgegeben ist, und dass Wiederherstellungen ganz auf Kosten der Privaten in der vorzüglichsten Weise vollführt werden.”; Kohte, J., ‘Ferdinand von Quast (1807-1877), Konservator der Kunstdenkmäler des Preussischen Staates. Eine Würdigung seines Lebenswerkes.’ *Deutsche Kunst und Denkmalpflege*, 1977, 114ff.

94. ‘Zirkularerlass v.Min.v.U.u.M.A.’, 24 January 1844, ‘betr. Die Aufgaben, Rechte und Pflichten des Konservators der Kunstdenkmäler’, and ‘Instruktion für den Konservator der Kunstdenkmäler v. 24. Januar 1844’, Weimers, *Handbuch*, *op.cit.*, 441ff: “1. Der Konservator der Kunstdenkmäler ist ein dem Königlichen Ministerium der geistlichen usw. Angelegenheiten unmittelbar unterordneter Beamter. Seine Berichte, Anträge, Gutachten und dergleichen geben demgemäss unmittelbar an das Ministerium, von welchem sowohl ihm, als auch den Provinzialbehörden die auf Konservation der Altertümer bezüglichen Anweisungen werden erteilt werden.”

95. ‘Zirkularerlass’, 24 January 1844, *op.cit.*: “Sehr häufig ist der Fall vorgekommen, dass den Ortsbehörden, den Korporationen usw. eine genügende Kenntnis des artistischen oder monumentalen Wertes der ihrer Obhut untergebenen Denkmäler fehlt und dass sie sich zu Veränderungen derselben veranlasst finden, die oft, selbst wenn es wohlgemeinte Restaurationen sind, diesen

Wert sehr beeinträchtigen oder ihn gänzlich aufheben. Häufig geht aus Unkenntnis desselben oder aus anderen Gründen auch völlige Zerstörung der Denkmäler oder Verschleuderung derselben durch Verkauf hervor. Massregeln solcher Art dürften aber den Allerh. Absichten Seiner Majestät des Königs bei rnenennung des Konservators der Kunstdenkmäler sehr entschieden zuwiderlaufen und die Tätigkeit desselben in vielfacher Beziehung unwirksam machen. Die sämtlichen betreffenden Behörden und Korporationen des Regierungsbezirks sind demnach gemessenst anzuweisen, von jeder beabsichtigten Veränderung eines Kunstdenkmals der Königlichen Regierung vorher Anzeige zu machen, worüber dieselbe an mich zu berichten haben wird; von erfolgtem Bescheide von meiner Seite darf nicht zur Ausführung der beabsichtigten Massregeln geschritten werden. Es macht hierbei keinen Unterschied, ob es sich um Baulichkeiten irgend einer Art, sofern diese nur irgend eine artistische oder monumentale Bedeutung haben, oder um Bildwerke, Gemälde, Kunstgeräte und dergleichen handelt; ebensowenig, ob die betreffenden Gegenstände Königliches oder städtisches Eigentum oder im Besitz von Korporationen oder ob sie Privatpersonen gegen die Verpflichtung, sie in statu quo zu erhalten, übergeben sind, so dass von dieser Vorschrift nur die Gegenstände des unbeschränkt freien Privateigentums ausgeschlossen bleiben. Ebenso ist von jedem etwa neu aufgefundenen Gegenstände von artistischer oder monumentaler Bedeutung, der in eine der gedachten Kategorien gehören dürfte, mir durch die Königliche Regierung ungesäumt Anzeige zur weiteren Bestimmung über denselben zu machen.”

96. Voigtländer, K., Die Stiftskirche zu Gernrode und ihre Restaurierung 1858-1872, DDR Berlin 1980, 26ff.

97. Voigtländer, op.cit., 40ff.

98. Voigtländer, ibid, 42ff.

99. von Quast, F., ‘Gernrode’, Zeitschrift für Bauwesen, XVI, 1866, 310 (Voigtländer, ibid, 24): “Bei der Restauration ... waltete das Bestreben vor, den Gegensatz von künstlerischer und archäologischer Restauration zu vermitteln. An der Architektur wurde daher möglichst wenig geändert und der ursprüngliche Zustand, soweit es anging, erneuert”.

100. Bergau, R., ‘Quast, Ferdinand von’, Allgemeine Deutsche Biografie, XXVII, 1888, 26ff: “In Betreff der Restauration der Baudenkmäler hielt Q(uast), entgegen der von vielen Seiten beliebten, sogenannten Purification der Baudenkmäler, welche zu grossem Vandalismus führt und ihren Zweck doch niemals erreicht, streng an dem Grundsatz fest, dass das Gebäude in seiner Gesamterscheinung als historisch gewordenes Baudenkmal erhalten und vor weiterem Verfall geschützt werden müsse, dass also Gebäudetheile und Monumente aller Perioden, wenn sie nur irgendwie künstlerisch oder historisch von Werth sind, gleich zu achten und nebeneinander zu erhalten sind. Nur wo ein Conflict

zwischen dem Älteren und Neuern eintritt, d.h. wo z.B. ein jüngerer Bautheil einen älteren verdeckt, soll die Kritik eintreten und entscheiden, welchen von beiden Theilen als dem wertvolleren, der Vorzug gebührt. Durchaus zu beseitigen ist nur das absolut und in jeder Beziehung Schlechte und Fehlerhafte oder gänzlich Werthlose. Die Ausbesserungen sollen auf das geringste Mass, auf das Nothwendige, soweit es durch die Sicherheit des Gebäudes und die charakteristische Gesamtwirkung desselben geboten erscheint, beschränkt bleiben. Dem ausführenden Baumeister ist vor allem Pietät vor dem Überlieferten und Scheu vor dem sogenannten Bessermachen nothwendig.” (The above concepts have been recorded in discussions with von Quast.)

101. Siebigk, F., Das Herzogtum Anhalt, Dessau 1867, 616: Quast stated that he had “mit Recht nichts wieder herzustellen versucht, sondern alles in dem trümmerhaften Zustande gelassen, wie es sich befand. Hier würde jede Erneuerung eine Versündigung gegen das Alte gewesen sein.” (Voigtländer, op.cit., 102)

102. Voigtländer, ibid, 62ff.

103. Brown, The Care of Ancient Monuments, op.cit., 102.

104. Jahn, F., ‘Ferdinand von Quast und sein konservatorischer Nachlass im Architekturarchiv der Technischen Hochschule zu Berlin’, MS. Berlin 1936. (Voigtländer, ibid, 23.)

105. Dehio, G., Handbuch der deutschen Kunstdenkmäler, op.cit.

106. Brown, op.cit., 102.

107. ‘Decree of Louis X, Grand Duke of Hesse-Darmstadt, 22 January 1818’ (Moller, G., Denkmäler der deutschen Baukunst (2.ed. n.d.); Harvey, J., Conservation of Buildings, London 1972, 208f): “In Erwägung, dass die noch vorhandenen Denkmäler der Baukunst zu den wichtigsten und interessansten Urkunden der Geschichte gehören, indem sich aus ihnen auf die frühern Sitten, Geistesbildung und den bürgerlichen Zustand der Nation schliessen lässt, und daher die Erhaltung derselben höchst wünschenswert ist, verordnen Wir Folgendes: 1. Unser Ober-Baukolleg wird beauftragt, alle in dem Grossherzogthum Hessen befindliche Ueberreste alter Baukunst, welche in Hinsicht auf Geschichte oder Kunst verdienen erhalten zu werden, in ein genaues Verzeichniss bringen zu lassen, wobei der gegenwärtige Zustand zu beschreiben und die in ihnen befindlichen alten Kunstwerke, als Gemälde, Bildsäulen und dergleichen mit zu bemerken sind...”

Chapter Sixteen

France: Stylistic Restoration

16.1 Early Efforts for Conservation

To return to France and her mediaeval architecture; after the Revolution, Chateaubriand is considered to have been the person, who, in his *Génie du christianisme*, published in 1802, immediately after the Concordat between French Government and the Pope, opened the public mind to its historic values. Comparing Classical style with Gothic churches, Chateaubriand wrote that to “worship a metaphysical God” one needed these Notre-Dames of Reims and Paris, “these basilica, covered in moss, housing generations of dead and the souls of his ancestors”, more than the elegance of newly built classical temples; “a monument only becomes venerable after past history has left its mark, so to speak, on its beams blackened over the centuries”. (1) This important concept of ‘continuous history’ was emphasized also by Madame de Staël in her *De l’Allemagne*, published in 1813; she spoke about the nationalistic significance of churches:

“No building can be as patriotic as a church; it is the only one which brings to mind not only the public events but also the secret thoughts and intimate feelings which leaders and citizens have shared within its walls.” (2)

She was also the first to introduce the French to German literature, to Winckelmann, to Goethe, to Schiller.

After the revolution, the question of an inventory of France’s historic monuments was again promoted in 1810 by Comte de Montalivet and Alexandre de Laborde (1774-1842), a manysided personality and much travelled specially in Spain and England. They addressed a circular to prefects, asking for reports on historic castles, convents, and other objects in each prefecture, with an architectural description, information on history, location, the condition and use. In addition, the Ministry looked for possible correspondents in each area. (3) By 1818, only a

hundred answers had been received, but Laborde, then at the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, urged another circular, sent the following year with a wider scope. It embraced all types of antiquities, “the Greek, Roman and French monuments, tombs, epitaphs, inscriptions, charters, chronicles and indeed any source of enlightenment on the main features of our records and the families and institutions of the nation.” (4) Now a better response was achieved giving a clearer picture of the patrimony in the 1820’s. (5)

Figure 244. Notre-Dame, Paris, before the 19th-century restorations



English influence had already been felt in the eighteenth century and illustrated publications on picturesque tours had been prepared, (6) and later visitors such as the Pugins contributed to the publication of mediaeval architecture and antiquities. (7) Looking at the historic studies that were carried out in England and Germany, travellers such as Laborde or Charles Nodier (1780-1844) became conscious of the lack of historic information in France. Since the early 1820s the Ministry of Interior disposed of a budget for restoration of historic monuments. (8) An example of the restorations in this period is the convent of Elne in Maine-et-Loire. Here the idea of restoration had been proposed already in 1808, but the project was finally approved in 1827. Even though considered a 'restoration', this work consisted of demolishing the upper floor of the cloister and various other parts considered 'useless'; the material was used for the improvement of the ground floor, which was appreciated as a 'rare monument'! (9) But in 1835, in an issue of the *Voyage pittoresques*, this restoration was declared 'la *barbarie'. (10)

Victor Hugo

'Barbarity' continued in the country, however, and there was not a single town where some historic monument was not being destroyed either by the authorities or by individual citizens. Against this destruction the loudest was the voice of Victor Hugo (1802-85), who in 1823 published his first poem against vandalism, and who in 1825 wrote the first version of his *Guèrre aux Demolisseurs*, reprinted in 1832 in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. He attacked those who claimed that monuments were just useless products of fanaticism and feudalism, and insisted that "these monuments are our wealth!"(11) They attracted rich foreigners to France, and gave a much higher revenue than the cost of their maintenance. It was time, he exclaimed, to break the silence.

"There should be a universal appeal so that new France comes to the aid of the old one. All kinds of profanation, decay and ruin are threatening the little left to us of those admirable monuments from the Middle Ages which recall past kings and traditions of the people. Whilst I don't know how many hybrid buildings, neither Greek nor Roman, are being built at great expense, other original buildings are being left to fall into ruin just because they are French." (12)

The following year, Charles Comte de Montalembert (1810-70) supported his accusations in an article published in the same magazine on *Le Vandalisme*

en France. Montalembert, who was born in London, became one of the most brilliant defenders of liberal Catholicism in France; together with Hugo he was a member in the *Comité des arts*, created in 1830 at the Ministry of Education. (13) In 1831, Hugo published the popular *Notre-Dame de Paris*, where he glorified this 'old queen of the French cathedrals', and made her alive to the great public, showing how the gigantic masses

"unfold themselves to the eye, in combination unconfused, with their innumerable details of statuary, sculpture, and carving in powerful alliance with the tranquil grandeur of the whole - a vast symphony in stone,... the colossal work of a man and of a nation - combining unity with complexity." (14)

He pointed out that these buildings of transition from the Romanesque to the Gothic were not less valuable than a pure product of a style; they expressed

"a gradation of the art which would be lost without them." They also make us understand that "the greatest productions of architecture are not so much the work of individuals as of society - the offspring rather of national efforts than of the conceptions of particular minds - a deposit left by a whole people - the accumulation of ages... Great edifices, like great mountains, are the work of ages. Often the art undergoes a transformation while they are yet pending - pendent opera interrupta - they go on again quietly, in accordance with the change in the art. The altered art takes up the fabric, incrusts itself upon it, assimilates it to itself, develops it after its own fashion, and finishes it if it can." (15)

Hugo, who here drafted a basis for modern evaluation, did not see the cathedral as an isolated monument, but most importantly as a part of the historic town of Paris, and he continues with "a bird's-eye view of Paris" as it would have been in the fifteenth century, describing also the changes that had occurred since. Paris, to him, had become a "collection of specimens of several different ages" of architecture, and the finest had already disappeared; modern ugly dwellings were only too rapidly replacing historic fabric. "So also the historical meaning of its architecture is daily wearing away." (16)

16.2 Organization and Administration

When François Guizot (1787-1874), as Minister of the Interior, proposed to the King the establishment of

the position of an Inspecteur general des monuments historiques de la France, in 1830, he emphasized that the historic monuments did not represent one historic phase only, but they formed a continuous chain of historic evidence, “an admirable continuation of our national antiquities”. (17) And although, he claimed, much had been lost, such as the ‘fatal dispersion’ of the Musée des monuments français, the meticulous studies and the science of history had shown encouraging results; research centres had been formed, and many monuments had been saved from destruction and thoughtless change. A firm authority, an Inspector, was now needed on one hand in order to contribute to the scientific coordination, evaluation and reporting of the protection of historic monuments, on the other hand to give administrative guidance to local authorities on the matter by travelling and keeping in contact with local correspondents. (18)

Ludovic Vitet

Ludovic Vitet (1802-73), the first Inspecteur général, reported to the Minister of the Interior on his first tour in 1831. His possibilities to interfere were very limited, and in many cases he could only try to convince the local authority to avoid demolition of certain monuments if this was not really necessary for traffic or similar reasons. Vitet was interested in trying to find some remains from the period prior to 1000, but was not successful. The buildings that mostly drew his attention dated from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries. He selected those that offered most interest to the history of art and architecture. In Reims, the church of Saint-Remi attracted him particularly, because, as he said, he had “never seen a monument where the different period of its construction could better be perceived and more clearly read so to speak”. (19) He warmly recommended the conservation and repair of the spire of the Cathedral of Senlis, which he considered “unique of its type”. (20) A small church of Braisne, connected with Robert IV, which was known for its architecture, he found as not having yet

“the elevation, the purity and the majestic simplicity of the true thirteenth century churches; nor did I find the same charm as attracts me to some monuments of transition where the semi circular arch and the pointed arch are, so to speak, interlaced, and compete gracefully and nobly; instead a beautiful distribution, a perfect regularity, delicate and ingenious details though somewhat monotonous; finally the date of its foundation (1152), which undermines the constant unity of plan, bears witness to the singularly

bold genius of the first architect in those times of hesitation and transition; here are some good reasons for interest in the church at Braisne.” (21)

Part of the church had been demolished during the revolution, but since 1827, repairs had been undertaken, and Vitet insisted that the ministry find sufficient funds for them to be continued so as “to put the monument into a state of conservation at least provisionally.” (22) On this issue a separate report was delivered by him.

In many cases, Vitet had to fight for the preservation even of parts of buildings; in Noyon, for example, a pretty little cloister had been demolished a couple of years prior to his visit without any reason what so ever. Vitet insisted that at least the two or three remaining arches should be kept. Similarly, in Saint-Omer, the remains of the historically important abbey of Saint-Bertin, which even in their present state were “of great effect and inspired strong admiration in travellers”, (23) were threatened by demolition in order to get building material for the new town hall, as well as for reasons of safety. The intention was to create an open market on its site. The inhabitants of the city were found quite indifferent to these ruins; to his frustration, Vitet could only find some English visitors, who would have been eager to save them. In Soissons he was more fortunate finding the city architect sympathetic with the protection of local monuments. Also in the ancient abbey of Ourscamp, which had been partly modernized, he could be complimentary for the preservation of a large beautiful hall, la Salle des Morts, “without trying to be too crudely obvious”. (24) For the Cathedral of Reims he reserved a separate report indicating the necessary repairs. The buildings that he found without any artistic or historic interest, or which were in good condition, were left to the care of local administrations. At the end of his report, he finally drew attention on the ancient castle of Concy which he considered one of the most important buildings seen during the tour, but which was now in ruins. His proposal was to “rebuild or rather reconstitute in its whole and every detail” this fortress, “to reproduce its interior decoration and even its furnishings, briefly to give it back to its form, its colour and, if I may say so, its original life”. (25) He did not, however, want restore it on the actual ruin, but rather on paper! Later, this passage was referred to by Viollet-le-Duc, who was pleased to announce to have gone one step further, and to have realized the dream in real stone - instead of drawing it on paper. (26) [Fig.275-276]

Vitet was conscious that the State only could protect a very small number of historic buildings, i.e. those which were in its direct ownership. For the rest, the only way was to make the owners interested. This was a difficult task; the links with the past had been broken, and the new generation seemed to have little or no interest in ancient monuments. Even the most scientific inventories, he thought, and the whole field of archaeology, left lay persons cold. History, to him, seemed the only answer; these monuments had been made to speak to everybody, if they were to be identified with the history they actually had to be seen as evidence.

“History, like a clever sculptor, gives life and youth back to monuments by reviving the memories decorating them; it reveals their lost meaning, renders them dear and precious to the towns of which they are witness of the past and provoke public revenge and indignation against the vandals who would plan their ruin.” (27)

In 1833, Hugo in fact had done exactly this; he had made Notre-Dame speak to the people through its history, he had made history alive. In the same year also Vitet published a volume with the same purpose; this was the first volume of an intended series *Histoire des anciennes villes de France*, which dealt with the town of Dieppe in Normandy. He wanted to make this publication an architectural history of the city, and make its monuments tell their story. But he not only was interested in monuments made of stone; also “the traditions, the old local customs, the buried illustrations and the unjustly forgotten famous were also historic monuments.” (28)

Vitet resigned from the post of the *Inspecteur* in 1834 for a political career, but remained always in close contact with his successor, Prosper Mérimée; he also chaired the *Commission des monuments historiques* for many years, being with Mérimée one of its key persons. Viollet-le-Duc wrote later that Vitet may not have brought great archaeological knowledge - which in fact no-one then could possess, but he brought “a spirit of criticism and of analysis which first threw light on the history of our ancient buildings”. (29) In this regard his report of 1831 was a masterpiece, “a vivid and methodical report”, which opened the minds to unknown treasures. The mediaeval craftsmen who had created the statuary had so far been considered “nothing more than rude and uncultivated masons”, as he himself had said, were given a proper respect. Vitet was aware of the recent discoveries of polychromy in ancient Greek architecture, and he pointed out that similar fashion

had existed even in mediaeval buildings, though often later hidden under layers of whitewash. Viollet-le-Duc insisted that

“M. Vitet was the first to interest himself seriously in the restoration of our ancient buildings; he was the first to enunciate practical views on this subject: the first to bring criticism to bear on work of this kind. The way was opened; other critics and other men of learning have entered upon it, and artists have followed in their track.” (30)

Prosper Mérimée

Mérimée, who was nominated *Inspecteur general* in 1834, became a leading personality in the *Service des monuments historiques* for a period of twenty years. Even after his formal resignation in 1853, he still remained in charge for several more years. During this period there were several organisms created to work for the historic buildings and works of art. The *Comité des arts*, mentioned above, which had been created by Guizot in 1830, changed its name in *Le Comité des Travaux Historiques*, and came under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education. (31) In 1837, the Minister of the Interior, Camille Bachasson Comte de Montalivet (1801-80), son of Jean-Pierre, who had been responsible for the survey of 1810, created in his own ministry the *Commission des Monuments Historiques*. The aim of this Commission to “ensure greater importance and give more guarantees to the Prefect’s work and the General Inspector’s research”. (32) The Commission had in fact the task to assist the General Inspector in his work of evaluation and classification of historic monuments, and to decide priorities for restorations. The Commission was responsible for state-owned buildings - except for the cathedrals; these, instead, came under the administration of the *Direction générale de l’administration des cultes* at the *Ministère des Cultes*. In 1848 the *Commission des édifices religieux* was formed, which chose its own, so-called ‘diocesan architects’ to work on cathedral restorations. Earlier these works had been entrusted to local architects.

The work of Mérimée included a lot of travelling; his first tour, from the end of July to the middle of December 1834, lasted four and a half months, and extended to the south of France. During his directorship, he continued with similar tours almost yearly, apart from shorter trips during the rest of the time. He relied on the collaboration of the *Commission des Monuments Historiques*; although

he did the major part of the work other members of the commission assisted him in reporting, including Baron Justin Taylor, Auguste Leprévost, Charles Lenormant, A-N. Caristie and Jacques Duban. In addition, there were correspondents in all parts of the country. They were members, secretaries or chairmen of local archaeological societies - and especially members of the Société des Antiquaires de France and of the Société française d'archéologie. The tasks of these correspondents were, however, never clearly defined, and gradually their role diminished. (33)

Architects had traditionally been trained at the Académie des Beaux-Arts with its strong links with Rome and the classical tradition; Quatremère-de-Quincy as the secretary of the Academy continued being inflexible about his attitude toward mediaeval architecture, and there was practically no teaching on this subject until the 1880s. The conflict between the supporters of classical tradition and the medievalists reached its culmination during the polemics of the 1840s and 1850s. (34) This meant that one of the most important tasks of the Service des Monuments Historiques was to train the architects for their task as restorers of mediaeval buildings. This in fact was not only a problem for architects but also for all the technicians and craftsmen who were needed in the work. The group of architects employed by the Commission was relatively small, and they were mostly based in Paris; local architects, surveyors and technicians were used on the work sites. This concentration to Paris often caused problems due to the proud refusal of locals to respect the guide-lines of the Parisians. Conflicts existed also between different administrations. (35) According to the judgement of Mérimée, the most competent amongst these architects were Eugene Viollet-le-Duc (1814-79), Emile Boeswillwald (1815-96), and Ch.A. Questel (1807-88), and much of the work load came on their shoulders. (36) Many of the key personalities, such as Mérimée and Viollet-le-Duc, were members of different committees at the same time, and they also could work for different administrations simultaneously.

In 1837, the budget for restoration was increased, and, consequently, a circular was sent to the prefects to invite them to submit requests for government funds for restoration projects. There were in all 669 requests from 83 prefectures, and some of these the Commission earmarked as specially important. The funds were not sufficient to satisfy all requests; so it was necessary to make a choice: one could either decide to concentrate on a few of the most important

restorations letting the others wait, or one could divide the available funds between a larger number of buildings - trying to satisfy the real needs so far as possible in each case. At this stage, this latter choice was preferred, and as the funds would not have been sufficient to carry out the works, the prefectures were also expected to share the expenses. In some cases in fact the central government funds were only symbolic, intended as an encouragement for the local authority. Priority was given to urgent repairs in order to stop the decay until a complete restoration could be carried out. There were a few buildings, however, such as the Roman amphitheatres of Arles and Nîmes, the church of Vézelay, and Sainte-Chapelle in Paris, which were given special treatment in the programmes due to their architectural and historical values, and due to their urgent need for repairs. (37)

Later, when the budget was considerably increased, it was decided to give priority to 'complete restorations' of the most significant buildings. In 1842 Mérimée in fact recommended "to designate the most outstanding of these buildings, and carry out all the necessary consolidation works immediately, and, consequently, to concentrate administration resources on them until the main restorations were completed." (38) In 1845, Montalembert had similar intentions when he wrote about Notre-Dame of Paris: "it is really an act of the highest and purest patriotism since one is peeling the ravages of time and of barbarous ignorance off the buildings which bear witness to the supremacy of French genius during the Middle Ages and which still form today the most beautiful ornament of the nation." (39)

The monuments listed by the Commission passed from 934 in 1840 to nearly 3000 in 1849. Most of these were religious and mediaeval buildings; the second largest group were Roman antiquities, and the rest were relatively few. Many of the more recent buildings were in fact in private ownership, and thus not under state control. (40) Guizot's ambition had been to prepare a record of all existing historic buildings in France; for this purpose he had also established an appropriate committee. The task of this committee was later divided, and architectural documentation remained the task of the Comité des arts. On the other hand, also the Commission des Monuments Historiques had share in this work having measured drawings prepared for the purposes of subventions and restorations. For archaeological and research purposes, the Commission subsequently considered it indispensable to have a broader basis in their documentation, and especially buildings

that were threatened by demolition were taken in the recording programme for their archives. (41)

One of the principles of Mérimée was that all restoration work had to be preceded by a careful archaeological survey and recording. When Viollet-le-Duc had been nominated responsible for the project of Vézelay, Mérimée in fact wrote a letter making this point as well as reminding him of a due respect for the original monument.

“The Commission for Historic Monuments felt that it was not necessary to remind Mr. Leduc to respect in his plans for restoration all the ancient arrangements for the church. Should some parts of the building need to be completely rebuilt, this should only be the case if it was impossible to conserve them ... The Commission would be pleased if Mr. Leduc could provide some drawings of the decoration of the church, especially of the catechumen doorway.” (42)

Before starting the work of restoration, the architect in fact prepared detailed and carefully watercoloured measured drawings in scale one to hundred. These included the present state as well as the proposed scheme of restoration, later completed by numerous others according to the need. (43)

As to the principles of restorations by Mérimée, these were illustrated by works such as the restoration of the Madeleine in Vézelay, as carried out by Viollet-le-Duc. It was in fact generally approved by Mérimée, who only found certain details to criticize - such as the new moulded cornice under the roof line of the side aisles. He did not consider the historic evidence sufficient to justify this work, and thought it was a waste of money. (44) The restoration consisted also of a number of changes in the structure; new buttresses were designed and built, the aisle roofs were rebuilt in their original form and position under the line of nave windows; the Gothic vaults in three bays of the nave were reconstructed back to their earlier Romanesque appearance - in harmony with the rest of the nave; part of the west front was restored in a form which made it more symmetrical and changed certain historic features. These works were carried out with the approval of the Commission. Even Adolphe Napoleon Didron (1806-67), archaeologist, glass painter, and the founder of *Les Annales Archéologiques* (1844), who was one of the foremost critics of restorations in France in the 1840s, accepted the work of Vézelay as a credit to its author, although he considered it not so much a restoration, but rather a reconstruction. (45)

Adolphe Napoléon Didron

In 1839, Didron had already summarized the early principles of restoration in words that were later repeated by many others:

“Regarding ancient monuments, it is better to consolidate than to repair, better to repair than to restore, better to restore than to rebuild, better to rebuild than to embellish; in no case must anything be added and, above all, nothing should be removed.” (46)

This, although in reality a rather broad approach, showed an attitude which was best illustrated in monuments such as the Triumphal Arch of Orange. Here Mérimée appreciated the conservative treatment and especially the ‘good taste’ of the restorers for not having attempted any reconstruction. In Nîmes, he considered the reconstruction to have gone too far, and that it would have been wiser to limit the work on the consolidation of the original structure. (47) In the case of the crypt of Saint-Laurent in Grenoble (Isère) he found it of great interest

“because of the information it can provide for the history of architecture. It is a plague of history, somewhat mutilated, but it would be unwise to want to complete or rebuild it. M. Maguin intends to replace the destroyed capitals, to rebuild the columns and to put them back in place ... I believe that this operation, however well it is carried out, will result in the disappearance of, or at least make uncertain, all the important traces of the building from an archaeological point of view.” (48)

In principle, Mérimée considered all periods and all styles to have their values, and thus to merit protection; state intervention, however, had to be limited, and he thus recommended “to call for your protection, M. Minister, only for those monuments that really deserved it.” (49) State protection should not depend only on superficial or personal opinions, but it should be based on thorough scientific research and analysis. The instructions that were given for the restoration of these protected buildings

“recommend expressly that all innovation should be avoided, and the forms of the conserved models should be faithfully copied. Where no trace is left of the original, the artist should double his efforts in research and study by consulting monuments of the same period, of the same style, from the same country, and should reproduce

these types under the same circumstances and proportions.” (50)

These principles, as expressed in Mérimée’s 1843 report, while insisting on the faithful preservation of the original architecture and its presentation to the posterity ‘intact’, also allowed for the reconstruction of lost features on the basis of analogy. He thus pointed towards the principles of ‘stylistic restoration’, later exploited by Viollet-le-Duc in France and Sir Gilbert Scott in England. The fact was, on the other hand, that the historic buildings had suffered much from mutilations in recent decades, many had been abandoned, and often unskillful repairs had made the situation even worse. (51)

16.3 Discussion about Restoration Principles in France

J-J. Bourassé

How far a restoration should go; whether these mutilations and traces of time should be repaired or not; this was a matter for discussion. There were those who supported conservative treatment, and there were those who favoured a full scale restoration. The discussions were summarized in 1845 by M. J-J. Bourassé, correspondent of the *Comités historiques* in Tours. The first question posed by him dealt with structural safety and repair of what was essential for the normal use of the building after a disaster or accident. He insisted that these damages had to be repaired as quickly as possible;

“it would be a crime just to allow a monument to decay out of respect for art... We must not treat the relics of our Christian and national architecture violently or sacrilegiously, but nor should we hesitate to act with respect and kindness. Prosperity will render us just as responsible for inaction as for too hasty action.” (52)

Secondly, there remained the question of ornamentation. Here he referred to those, who “want our buildings from the Middle Ages to be exactly conserved as they had come down to us through the centuries of upheavals. They consider them as historic monuments and they will only be acceptable as wittiness as long as no-one intervenes with misleading false additions and weird interpolations. They are authentic stone records no less important than those paper or parchment ones. Why should we allow for some what would never be accepted for the others? Furthermore, they all radiate an aura of antiquity which would disappear for ever

if new forms were to replace the old ones... Our churches have been penetrated by architects as though they were newly conquered countries. God knows and we know too what deplorable repairs they have carried out, what awful restorations they have imposed on them as well as spoiling them with their detestable decorations! When confronted one can but understand the complaints of those sincere friends of Christian art. Who would not be disgusted by these repairs? One would refuse to confide to the knife of a surgeon whose knowledge was doubtful one’s own body which could only be made healthy again through such necessary cruelty. Why then do we dare to entrust to the trowel and rape of an ignorant mason our works of art whose loss would generate everlasting regrets?” (53)

The partisans of the other opinion, instead, did not consider old buildings only as historic monuments:

“They see them as still housing the celebration of the same cult and the same ceremonies, giving refuge to those Christians who associate their uninterrupted traditions with the authors of these great architectural works. Whilst deeply moved by these recollections they are fully aware of present-day religious needs. They are easily convinced that since our cathedrals and churches are still in use they need protection against the ravages of time but not as we protect a mummy over the centuries in its tomb. They therefore energetically refuse to accept for these monuments the same principles they consider essential for other types of monuments. They admit that there are certain buildings and ruins whose whole importance lies in their recollections of the past and in their artistic details.

It is understandable that the restoration of the Roman Arches in Orange and Autan should be strictly prohibited in the interests of science and good sense. That all action against the ancient gaul-roman ruins which recall in such a striking and picturesque way the memory of so many events is also prohibited... but the same is not to be said for our religious monuments.

We appreciate not only their considerable artistic beauty and admirable symmetry but we can still contemplate with joy the expression of all that is great and holy in the heart of man! So we ask, given our convictions and our position, will we allow our sacred monuments to be torn apart by the un pitying weapons of vandals, murdered by their hammers, mutilated by their axes so that our



Figure 245. The Abbey Church of Saint-Denis before the early 19th-century restorations

grand#childs will be able to see for their own eyes that vandals had passed through! Unfortunately if we want to hand down to posterity traces of the tragedy of our visceral disputes we already have enough ruins in our towns and countryside for this, these ruins will surely be eloquent enough to be understood!” (54)

M. Bourassé exposed several important issues concerning restoration, issues that have continued being some of the main topics of discussion. One of these was the question of traditional continuity. He accepted that ancient Roman monuments, which were part of a distant civilization - “a closed chapter” in the history, should be treated as a document or as a fragment of a document, and preserved in their present state as best you could.

The Christian churches, instead, represented to him a living tradition that it was his responsibility to maintain and take care of in order to guarantee its functioning as a part of the society; in fact there was later a division into “dead” and “living” monuments.

Bourassé, considering that also these “living” monuments could be important achievements of man as works of art and architecture, recommended that any repairs should be carried out by skilled professionals who were able to guarantee the necessary quality of work. He referred to the ongoing restoration of the Cathedral in his home town, Tours, where the architect, C-V.Guérin (1815-81) had carefully placed original fragments of ornaments in a local museum, and skillfully reproduced new work on the building itself. The original fragments remained thus as “pièces justificatives” to guarantee the fidelity of the new work. In buildings like this cathedral, the aim should thus be the completion of the artistic idea - with due respect to documentary evidence.

The Case of Saint-Denis

In this period of the emerging Gothic Revival training of craftsmen was a necessity, and Mérimée was well aware that “those who repair can be just as dangerous as those who destroy!” The case of the Abbey Church of Saint-Denis showed clearly the dangers involved. After the ravages of the Revolution, there had been repairs in the church since 1805, but without proper understanding of the structural system of the building; new bases had been introduced damaging its structural stability. The cracks that later appeared were only treated superficially by filling them in. (55) In June 1837, lightning struck the top of the spire of the north west tower, and the repairs of the damages were entrusted to M. François Debret (1777-1850), a member of the Conseil des batimens civils, who, instead of repairing the damaged part, demolished both the spire and the tower down to the platform above the main entrance. Then, without a proper survey of the causes of the cracks that were apparent in the lower structure, he built a new tower with a much heavier structure than the old one, in 1838. As soon as the scaffoldings were removed, new cracks appeared; these were repaired with cement and iron ties, but the situation became worse, and in 1844 the minister of public works gave an order to demolish the new structure. Considering that even the remaining part of the church had been “scratched, scraped and grazed in such an awful way”, and that the main door had already lost too much of the original, Didron wrote in 1844,

“we would not see much harm if, whilst at it, they were to demolish the whole portal. We add in all frankness that Saint- Denis would no longer be of any interest to us. We would rather that this monument be destroyed rather than humiliated in



Figure 247. Abbey Church of Saint-Denis in 1979, showing the 19th-century restoration by Viollet-le-Duc

such a way... There are many who would prefer death to dishonour!” (56)

These words, that anticipated John Ruskin, had an effect; M.Duban, nephew of Debret who resigned, refused to take over the work from his uncle. The restoration was successively entrusted to Viollet-le-Duc, who limited himself to the consolidation of the church without an attempt to build a new tower.

Etienne-Hippolyte Godde

The restoration of the fifteenth century flamboyant church Saint-Germain l’Auxerrois, in front of Louvre in Paris, was the first school for sculptors, glass painters and other craftsmen as well as for restoration architects - although the work itself was much contested at the time. (57) In a meeting in March 1839 of the Comité des arts et monuments, Victor Hugo denounced the destruction of the charnel house and of two chapels in the sacristy; the windows of a chapel and four oratories had been closed, some fifteenth century window bars had been removed, and there was an intention to remove the roofs of the little entrance pavilions, and to scrape the church interior to

the depth of three millimetres. (58) The works were under the responsibility of the municipality of Paris, and the architect in charge was Etienne-Hippolyte Godde (1781-1869), who worked on several churches in Paris, including Notre-Dame and Saint-Germain des Pres; he also restored the Hotel de Ville of Paris, and repaired Amiens Cathedral. As a restorer, Godde received all possible blame; he was accused for using cement and iron bars that made stones crack; he was accused for not having understood the real causes of structural problems and having only made surface repairs with paint; he was accused of confusing the styles, and for “costly, superficial and inaccurate” restorations. (59) Didron, one of his most ardent critics, called his work: “style goddique”! (60)

Jean-Baptiste Lassus

Hugo did not win his cause against Godde; the restorations were carried out as intended. However, it was not all so bad, and even Hugo accepted that the restitution of the main entrance porch was exemplary, “gentle, scholarly, conscientious”, based on carefully made records of the destroyed original. (61) The porch as well as the rose window above had been in fact the responsibility of Godde’s young inspector, Jean-Baptiste Lassus (1807-57), an enthusiastic promoter of Gothic Revival in France, who worked later on important restoration projects, especially on Sainte-Chapelle, and, together with Viollet-le-Duc, on Notre-Dame of Paris. For the restoration of Notre-Dame, there was a competition in 1842, in which Lassus and Viollet-le-Duc were authorized to participate unofficially. Didron was very impressed by them and wrote:

“Among the young architects there were, thank goodness, a few valid ones. One of them (Lassus), who is the most knowledgeable, the most intelligent among these artists of our times to whom profound study and strict practice of Gothic architecture has attributed great value, was designated and selected by all those interested in the Notre-Dame of Paris.” (62)

In 1844 Lassus and Viollet-le-Duc were preferred, but they had to present a new proposal, which was finally approved in 1845.

The approach of Lassus to restoration of historic monuments was strictly ‘scientific’; the creative artist had to be pushed aside, and the architect,

“forgetting his tastes, preferences and instincts must have as his only, constant aim to conserve, consolidate and add as little as possible and

also worked on an edition of the notebook of Villard de Honnecourt. (64)

The Cathedral of Notre-Dame

The Cathedral of Notre-Dame, which had been founded in the twelfth century, had gone through many transformations; of the original choir little was left, and it had now a late seventeenth century aspect in its interior. The appearance of the nave had also changed - regarding especially the windows. The main entrance had been modified in a unfortunate way in the eighteenth century; many of the statues, including the twenty eight kings of the west front, had been destroyed, and the church had suffered from vandalism during the Revolution. Recent repairs by Godde had not improved its condition. Conscious of the situation, Lassus and Viollet-le-Duc presented a long historical essay on the building as a basis for its evaluation. In their mind, one could never be too prudent and discrete; a poor restoration could be

Figure 249. The flèche designed by Viollet-le-Duc on the roof of Notre-Dame to replace the burned original

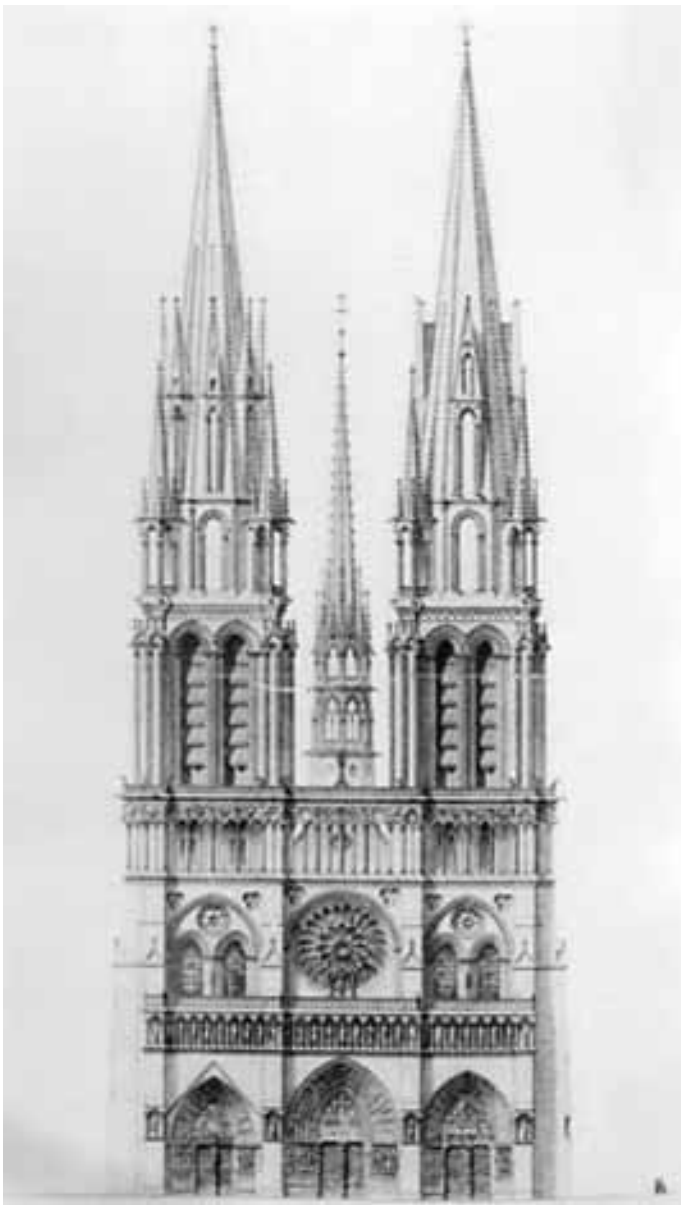
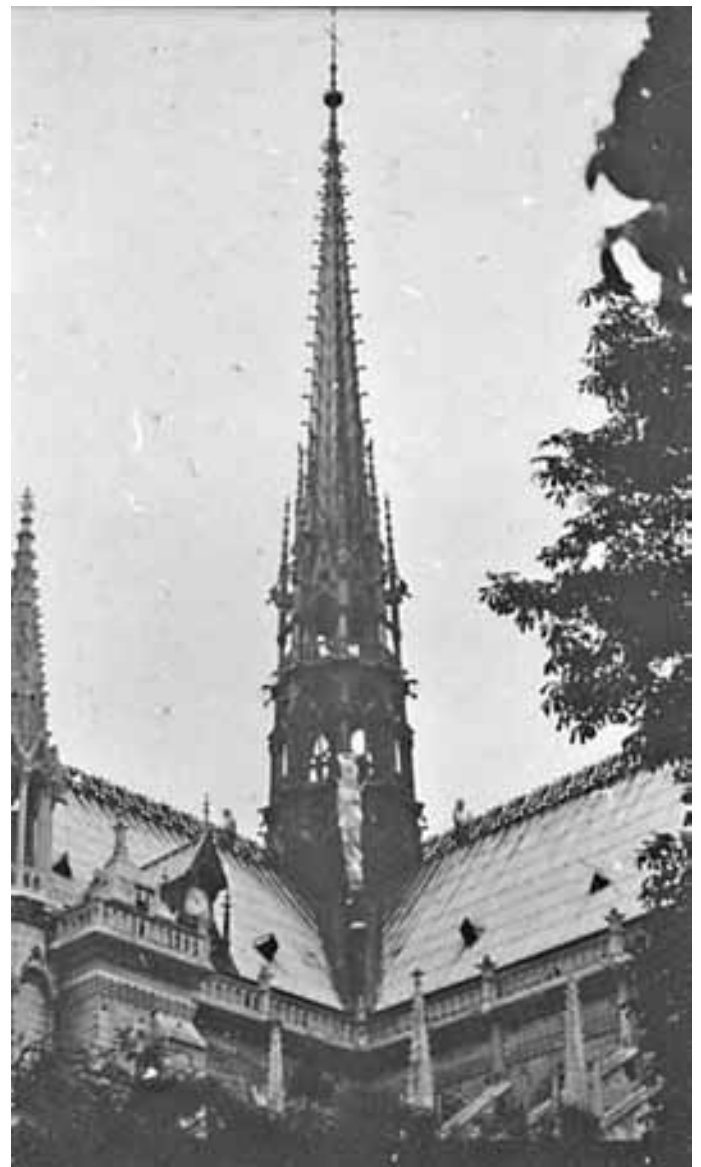


Figure 248. Viollet-le-Duc: proposal for the construction of spires for the west front of Notre-Dame of Paris

only when it is a matter of urgency. With almost religious respect he should inquire as to the form, the materials and even to the ancient working methods since this exactitude and historic truth is just as important for the building as the materials and the form. During a restoration it is essential that the artist constantly bears in mind the need for his work to be forgotten and all his efforts should ensure that no trace of his passage can be found on the monument. We see it, this is merely science, this is just archaeology.” (63)

In this statement, published by Lassus in the *Annales archéologiques* in 1845, he crystallized the intentions of the restoration based on a scientific methodology, on the “archéologie nationale” that aimed at a clarification of the history of mediaeval architecture. Lassus himself was recognized for his studies in this field; in 1837 he had already proposed to publish a monograph on Sainte-Chapelle, and he



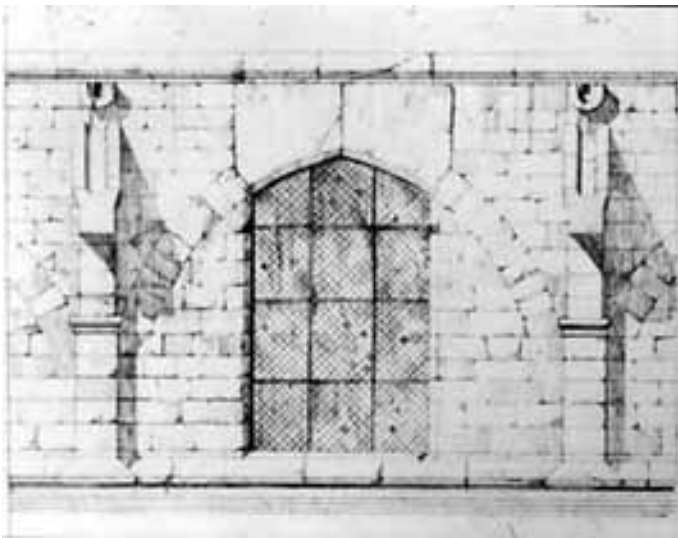


Figure 250. Notre-Dame, Paris, survey of the choir windows. Drawing by J.B. Lassus and E. Viollet-le-Duc

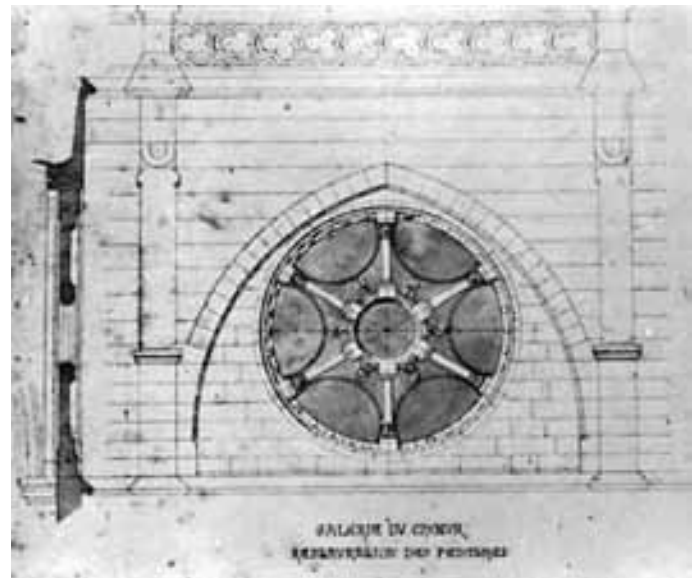


Figure 251. Notre-Dame, proposal for restoration of the choir windows by Lassus and Viollet-le-Duc

more disastrous than the ravages of centuries, and new forms could “cause the disappearance of many remains whose scarcity and state of ruin increases our interest.” (65) A restoration could also transform an old monument into new, and destroy all its historic interest.

Consequently, the authors were absolutely against the removal of later additions and bringing the monument to its first form; on the contrary they insisted that

“every addition, from whatever period it be, should in principle be conserved, consolidated and restored in its own style. Moreover, this should be done with absolute discretion and without the slightest trace of any personal opinion.” (66)

However, through careful restoration they believed to be able to give back to the monument the richness and splendour it had lost, and to conserve for posterity “the unity of the appearance and the interest of the details of the monument”. (67) They planned to reestablish the partition walls of the chapels in the side aisles with their decoration; they proposed to remove the layers of whitewash in the interior and redecorate them. They presented a hypothetical drawing of the choir as it would have looked before the seventeenth century changes, but the existing evidence was considered too scarce to justify restoration. On the exterior, they thought it impossible for a modern sculptor to be able to imitate the primitive character of the reliefs, “this naivety from centuries past!” (68) But they proposed the restoration of the entrances to the cathedral, including the recarving of the statues of the kings on the west front, which were “too important a page of the history to be forgotten”. (69)

There were those who found it doubtful that this ‘more or less vague’ ideal plan could actually be carried out. One of these critics was César Denis Daly (1811-93), a diocesan architect, born of an English father; he was specially doubtful about the intention to restore the ancient splendour and the unity of details, which he considered rather risky from the conservation point of view. (70) There were in fact many problems that came out during the twenty years of hard work to realize the plans, and it was often difficult for the architects to decide which way to proceed, Lassus, who had been the older and probably the more decisive partner at the beginning, died in 1857, and Viollet-le-Duc remained to continue the work alone, completed in 1864.

One of the problems was caused by the nave windows and their poor condition. Rebuilding was considered necessary; but should this be done according to their existing form which was not satisfactory architecturally, or should they be built to harmonize with one of the styles present in the cathedral! (71) The answer was found in some traces of a twelfth century rose window, which served as a model. This also caused problems, and some windows had to remain blind while others were open. In the choir, the decision was finally to show some of the remaining twelfth century form, sacrificing so the later architecture in part. (72)

Lassus was reluctant to build the spires on the top of the western towers, although this was proposed, on the grounds that they never had existed before. Viollet-le-Duc prepared a drawing to show how the spires might look if built. As to the flèche over the crossing there was still a trace on the transept of

what had been destroyed in 1792. The new flèche, however, was only planned and constructed after the death of Lassus by Viollet-le-Duc. (73)

The main entrance and its details, transformed by Soufflot in the eighteenth century, were reproduced on the basis of a drawing considered reliable, “just as they emerged from the ideas of the twelfth century architects”. (74) The statues of the kings were proposed to be carved on the basis of some fragments that had been found, as well as according to the existing originals of the same date at Reims and Chartres. Similarly were also found models for the stained glass windows that were remade while keeping the existing fragments as an evidence of what there had been. (75)

Didron was ready with his comments already in 1845 when the works were proposed, and he was assured by the architects that they would seriously reflect on the question of statues. Didron in fact commented that there was really no evidence that the kings would have been similar to those in the other cathedrals, especially because the period, the style and the dimensions were different! Also for the

Figure 252. Notre-Dame, Paris, photographed in 1979



Figure 253. Notre-Dame, Paris, west front, the row of statues of kings recarved to the design of Viollet-le-Duc

stained glass windows he expressed his doubts: “How can this three storey poem on glass, which stretches the whole length of Notre-Dame, be re-established! Who is able to say what was there? Who would dare to replace the Gothic idea, the creation of the Middle Ages, by his own idea, his own creation?” (76)

Didron himself was a painter of glass! He had, on the other hand, sympathy with the two architects due to their love and knowledge of ‘Christian monuments’, not only because they had repaired some previously, but also because they had built some. Although he had always suspected architects of being inclined to do something new, the principles dictated by Lassus and Viollet-le-Duc sounded fairly convincing to him, and corresponded to the “severe prescriptions of the new school of archaeology”. (77)

16.4 Viollet-le-Duc and the Theory of ‘Stylistic Restoration’

Instructions to Diocesan Architects

The year 1848 brought into power Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, the nephew of the Emperor; later he established the second empire and became Napoleon III. His great dream was to rebuild Paris as Augustus had done in Rome, and he employed Baron Georges-Eugene Haussmann (1809-91) for this task. During 1852-1870 a huge organization demolished entire quarters of Paris, including the Isle de Paris, one of the worst centres of cholera. According to the model of London, where modernization of sanitation, of public utilities, and of transportation facilities had already started, a huge operation was begun including the construction of broad avenues and boulevards, parks and public buildings, as well as new residential areas. The new road system also served for the purposes of

security allowing police forces to be brought to any part of the city with rapidity. (78)

Also the Service of Historic Monuments had to face problems during this period; Mérimée had to fight hard for the sake of the monuments, to defend their budget, and to argue with other administrations about proper use of historic buildings that had public functions. In 1848, a commission within the Direction générale de l'Administration des cultes was established, Commission des Arts et Edifices religieux, which organized the work of diocesan architects for religious properties. In 1849, the commission published a document called Instruction for the conservation, maintenance and the restoration of religious buildings and particularly cathedrals, which was based on a report written by *Mérimée and Viollet-le-Duc. (79) The aim of this document was to clarify any misunderstandings about the objectives and methods of restoration, considering that this work had so far been mainly in the hands of local architects, over whom the Service had little control - although some like Viollet-le-Duc actually worked for both administrations.

Figure 255. Notre-Dame of Beaune in 1980



Figure 254. Viollet-le-Duc, drawing of the church of Notre-Dame, Beaune, before restoration

In this little guide of some twenty pages, emphasis was given to the question of maintenance as the best means for the conservation of historic buildings; “however well-done, the restoration of a building is always a regrettable necessity which intelligent maintenance must always prevent”! (80) The guide touched on many practical aspects of restoration starting with the organization of work sites and building of scaffoldings, and dealing with masonry, rain water disposal systems, fire protection, building materials, ornaments, sculpture, stained glass and furniture. Instructions were given for drawings (using colour codes) as well as for detailed descriptions to be prepared for the execution of works. Decayed original materials, such as stone, were advised to be replaced with new material

“of the same type and form, and used according to the original methods adopted... Special attention will be given to the execution of cuttings, trimmings and profilings. The architect must observe to which period and to which style these cuttings belong since they differ considerably.” (81)

A proper system of rain water disposal was considered of importance in order to avoid water damage in the structures and leakage into the foundations; the original form was preferred as far as possible.

The spirit of the instructions was extremely practical and modern, giving emphasis on maintenance and the quality of restoration work. This document in fact marked a new stage in the clarification of the principles. In the 1830s the main concern of the Inspector and of archaeologists had been in the protection of historic monuments. As a

result of this respect of the original character of the buildings, but also due to the lack of funds and of skilled workmen, restoration was recommended as a minimum intervention;. During the next decade, however, when archaeological research had been established with a firm basis, better knowledge was acquired of the history of mediaeval architecture, architects and workmen were trained, and building methods developed, more emphasis was given to “complete restoration” of the most valuable historic monuments. A part of the funds were always reserved for maintenance and minor restorations as well. This development also led to the reconsideration of the values involved and to a redefinition of what actually was intended by ‘restoration’.

Eugène Viollet-le-Duc

One of the leading figures in this development was Eugène Viollet-le-Duc (1814-79), whose name has been firmly linked with the restoration theory of the nineteenth century. After his employment for the restoration of La Madeleine in Vézelay in 1840, he rapidly advanced in his career and was nominated the chief of the Bureau of Historic Monuments in 1846; two years later he was a member of the Commission des Arts et Edifices religieux, in 1853 he was appointed General Inspector of diocesan buildings, and in 1857 Diocesan Architect. His intense studies in art and architecture, and his interests in other fields such as mountains and geology, gave him material to write great numbers of articles in dozens of periodicals and journals, including *Annales archéologiques*. During 1854-68 he published the ten volumes of the Dictionary of French Architecture, and in the following years there were several other publications on the history of architecture, furniture, etc. (82)

Viollet-le-Duc was an excellent draughtsman. His main restoration projects included the Cathedrals of Paris, Amiens, Reims and Clermont-Ferrand, the churches of Saint-Just in Narbonne, La Madeleine in Vézelay, Saint-Père-sous-Vézelay, Beaune, Saint-Denis, Saint-Sernin of Toulouse, and Eu, as well as the fortified old town of Carcassonne, the Synodal Hall of Sens, the Castle of Coucy, the Castle of Pierrefonds, and the ramparts of Avignon. His direct or indirect influence was felt all over France and abroad; he was involved in restorations in Belgium, the Netherlands and Switzerland. He worked as architect for new buildings, as designer for furniture and interiors - including the design of the imperial train. He was interested in teaching contributing especially to decorative arts and crafts.

The Concept of ‘Restoration’ by Viollet-le-Duc

In the eighth volume of his Dictionary, published in 1866, he wrote his article on ‘Restoration’ that starts with the definition:

“The term Restoration and the thing itself are both modern. To restore a building is not to preserve it, to repair, or to rebuild it; it is to reinstate it in a condition of completeness which may never have existed at any given time.” (83)

Modern restoration, according to Viollet-le-Duc, had only been exercised since the first quarter of the nineteenth century. In theoretical studies on ancient art, England and Germany had preceded France, and since then also Italy and Spain had developed a critical approach. The new method of restoration consisted in the principle that “every building and every part of building should be restored in its own style, not only as regards appearance but structure”. (84) Previously, in fact since the Antiquity, people had carried out repairs, restorations, and changes on existing buildings in the style of their own time. On the other hand, few buildings, particularly during the Middle Ages, had been completed at one time, and consisted thus often of different types of modifications and additions. It was therefore essential, prior to any work, to carry out a critical survey, “to ascertain exactly the age and character of each part, - to form a kind of specification based on trustworthy records, either by written description or by graphical representation”. (85) The architect should also be exactly acquainted with the regional variations of the different styles as well as different schools.

The Concept or ‘Style’

The concept of style was usually given as independent from the object and it would vary according to the culture. There existed also the concept of ‘relative style’, which depended on the type of function of the building; e.g. a church would have a different relative style from a residential building. Architecture, according to Viollet-le-Duc, was not an art of imitation, but a creation of man. Forms and proportions existed in the universe, and it was the task of man to discover them and to develop the principles of construction according to the requirements of his cultural context. Just like in nature, specific conditions gave birth to specific types of crystals, which in turn were the basis to the formation of mountains, also the constructions of man resulted from the logical development of certain basic forms according to intrinsic principles, or laws. The style resulted from the harmony that man’s intellect

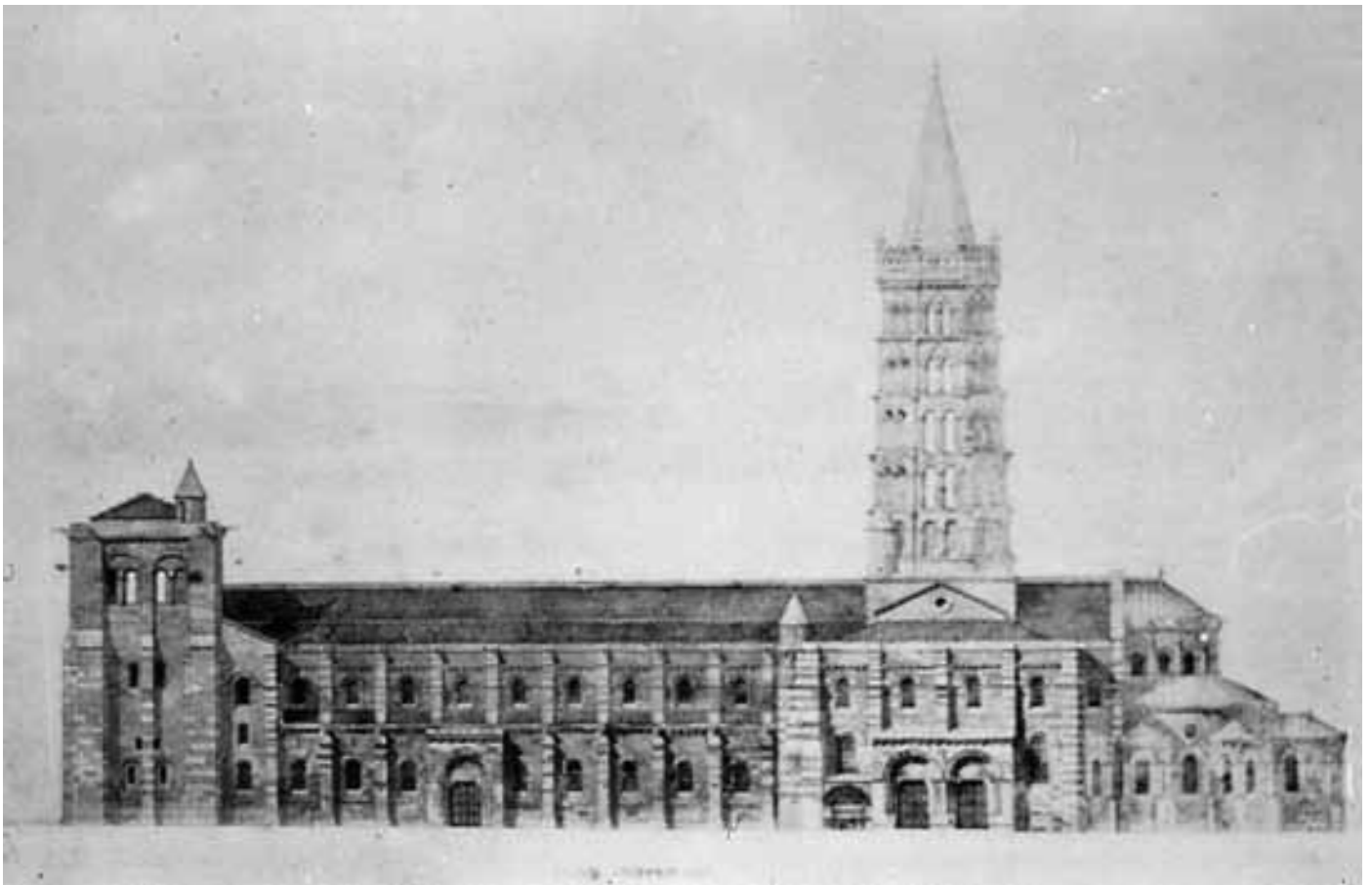


Figure 256 (above). Toulouse, the church of Saint-Sernin, south elevation before restoration. Survey drawing by Viollet-le-Duc

Figure 257 (below). Toulouse, Saint-Sernin, north elevation after Viollet-le-Duc's restoration. The building was transformed from Romanesque to Gothic (photo 1980)





Figure 258. Sens, Bishop's Palace before restoration (photo 1851)

was able to create between the forms, the means, and the object; "the style is the illustration of an ideal based on a principle." (86)

In a way, in the mediaeval France there was really no style, or at least there were no styles that the builders could choose from. Instead, there was a cultural development, which, in different parts of the country could produce different forms that were characteristic to those particular areas. The form of architecture was a logical consequence of the structural principles, which depended on building materials, on structural necessities, on the programmes that had to be satisfied as well as on the logical deduction of the thus established law from the whole to the minutest detail. "Only logic can establish the link between the parts, allocating a place for each, and giving the work not only cohesion but also an appearance of cohesion through the series of operations which are to create it." (87) The unity that so resulted was the first and foremost rule of art. It was one and indivisible; it was reflected in the plan and elevations of the building as well as in all its details and especially in its structure.

In Classical buildings, such as Doric temples, the principles of the architectural order produced a unity with relatively limited possibilities of variations. In Gothic architecture, instead, while respecting the principles of construction the imagination of the architect could create infinite numbers of different results depending only on particular needs. It was important to start with the first principle, and to follow the intrinsic rules of the law, "the truth always, from the first idea through to the very last touches on the work". (88) Hellenistic art has created its immortal master pieces, as has the French Gothic, but these two have followed different laws, which are incompatible between themselves. This was

the reason why Viollet-le-Duc or Lassus did not accept additions or modifications in Classical style to mediaeval buildings. In fact, for example Lassus usually preferred to restore Baroque choirs back to their original mediaeval form. (89)

Evaluation of Historic Phases

Viollet-le-Duc insisted that a restoration architect should not only have good knowledge of the working methods in different periods and in different schools, but that he should also be able to make critical assessments. Ancient building methods were not necessarily of equal quality, and could also have their defects. This had to be taken into account when evaluating historic monuments, and if an originally defective element of the building had later been improved in a repair - e.g. introduction of gutters to the roof structure, it was certainly justified to preserve this later modification. On the other hand, if later repairs had weakened the original structure without other merits, it was justified to restore the building back to its original unity. Preservation of later changes and additions could be justified, instead, if these were significant from the point of view of the history of architecture. He recommended preservation of "changes which in respect of the progress of art, are of great importance", (90) as well as the joints and marks that indicated that certain parts of a building had been a later addition. One has to remember all the time, however, that he spoke about 'restorations', and intended that, in the case these building elements were to be renewed, the new work should respect the original forms. He did not speak of conserving the original material in this case! In Vézelay, Viollet-le-Duc replaced the defective flying buttresses of La Madeleine with new ones to give necessary structural stability in a form that a mediaeval architect would have built - although they had never existed in that period. The aisle roofs were restored back to the

Figure 259. Sens, Bishop's Palace in 1980



original form, which not only corresponded to the architectural unity of the church but was necessary for technical reasons as well. In Chartres, Lassus gave considerable attention to the repair of roofs; the fifteenth century gargoyles were preserved in order “not to destroy the traces of an interesting primitive arrangement”, (91) and their preservation consequently influenced the decisions about the rest as well. When certain capitals or sculptures were replaced in La Madeleine with new carvings due to their defectiveness, the originals were deposited in the church as an evidence; the same was done in the Cathedral of Troyes and in Notre-Dame.

Viollet-le-Duc saw restoration always as a trial for the building due to vibrations and shocks, and consequently he recommended that care should be taken to improve the structure where possible; new parts should be made with additional strength, and particular care should be given to the choice of materials - if possible to have them of better quality than the originals. Underpinnings and shorings had to be made with full understanding of the behaviour of the structure; any sinking should be avoided during the works, and time should be allowed for the new work to settle before removing the supports. The architect in fact had to understand well the structure, its anatomy and its temperament,

“for it is essential above all that he should make it live. He ought to have mastered every detail of that structure, just as if he himself had directed the original building; and having acquired this knowledge, he should have at command means of more than one order for undertaking the work of renewal. If one of these fails, a second and a third should be in readiness.” (92)

It may be noted here that when Viollet-le-Duc started the restoration of La Madeleine, he surveyed all the ancient quarries in the neighbourhood in order to find exactly the same type of stone as had been used originally in the building. In the case of Saint-Sernin of Toulouse which he ‘gothicized’ during 1860-77, he chose a harder and apparently stronger stone than the original that had not weathered well. The new stone has, however, also failed a century later and given justification for a ‘derestoration’ in order to bring the building back to its Romanesque appearance. (93)

The Development into ‘Stylistic Restoration’

In the 1830s, when the first efforts were made in France to save historic buildings, the main attention was given to artistic and documentary values. When



Figure 260. Carcassonne, Le Cité after restoration, photo in 1980

activities increased, it became clear that restoration also served practical purposes. The provinces that due to centralised administration (much criticized by Mérimée and Viollet-le-Duc) had suffered from a lack of qualified workers, had now gained a great number of devoted and skilled craftsmen, who were able to work together with the architects and assist them in solving various difficulties that arose on the site. In addition there were utilitarian requirements resulting from the daily use of the buildings. Although some ‘speculative archaeologists’, according to Viollet-le-Duc, would not have always agreed, he insisted that “the best means of preserving a building is to find a use for it, and to satisfy its requirements so completely that there shall be no occasion to make any changes.” (94)

Viollet-le-Duc showed a strong belief in the skills of the designer, as well as in the final perfection of life and development. The task was rather delicate and it was necessary for the architect to restore the building on one hand with a respect to its architectural unity, and on the other to find ways to minimize

Figure 261. Carcassonne, the church of Saint-Nazaire after restoration by Viollet-le-Duc (photo 1980)





Figure 262. The Castle of Pierrefonds before restoration

the alterations that a new use might require. As a positive example he gave the adaptation of the beautiful refectory of Saint-Martin-des-Champs to library use for the Ecole des Arts et Metiers. In such circumstances, he argued,

“the best plan is to suppose one’s self in the position of the original architect, and to imagine what he would do if he came back to the world and had the programme with which we have to deal laid before him.” (95)

From a total respect and intention to preserve historic monuments with all their changes and historical modifications, as well as to avoid modern additions, some thirty years earlier, Viollet-le-Duc now opened the door for the restorer to act in the position of the creative original architect, which concept was rapidly borrowed to other countries as well. The restoration of La Madeleine reflects this development in some way, having started as a consolidation work and ended up with the completion of ornamental details even where nothing of the sort

Figure 263. The Castle of Pierrefonds after reconstruction by Viollet-le-Duc (photo 1980)



had existed earlier. The idea, however, of restoring a monument to its ideal form seems to have existed in the mind of Viollet-le-Duc already around 1842, when he reported about a church that “total abandon was preferable to a misconceived restoration” (96) intending to say that it was better to wait until there were skilled workmen for the job rather than spoil the building through unqualified work. In Paris, demolition of historic buildings around Sainte-Chapelle and Notre-Dame did not necessarily shock the architects, and Lassus insisted that having the opportunity all obstructing buildings should be cleared; he was only worried that new constructions should not obstruct the monuments. (97)

Although the statement of Lassus of 1845 and the Instruction of 1849 emphasize conservation aspects, utilitarian requirements and the question of maintenance, they already indicated a new justification for the recreation of an architectural unity. First, recarving of sculptural details - as in Notre-Dame, had been accepted only as an exception. Later, changes and even new subjects could be allowed as happened in the case of La Madeleine. The elevation of the Synodal Hall of Sens was rebuilt on the basis of some fragments, and the Romanesque Saint-Sernin of Toulouse was restored into a Gothic form. (98) There were those who objected to the completion of destroyed parts; Didron wrote on Reims Cathedral in 1851:

“Just as no poet would want to undertake the completion of the unfinished verses of the Eneid, no painter would complete a picture by Raphaël, no sculptor would finish off one of Michelangelo’s works, so no reasonable architect can consent to the completion of the cathedral.” (99)

However, the wish of the Emperor was to rebuild the ruined Castle of Pierrefonds, north of Paris, as his summer residence. Viollet-le-Duc, who had known these picturesque ruins since his youth, was reluctant at first, but then accepted a complete reconstruction, including sculptural ornaments, painted decoration and furniture; he was even proud for having given life back to the castle just as Vitet had proposed in the graphic reconstruction of the Castle of Coucy; this time in stone and mortar. This was one of Viollet-le-Duc’s late works, and he worked here from 1858 to 1870. In the Cite of Carcas#sonne, where he rebuilt the destroyed upper part of the defense wall (1855-72), the church of Saint-Nazaire was considered to be in such poor conditions that the only way for its consolidation were its ‘full restoration’.



Figure 264. Castle of Pierrefonds, detail of decoration

“The architecture of the choir of this church is so light and so rich that, by making every effort to prevent the building’s collapse and neglecting to reestablish the profusion of decoration which covered it, one would completely alter its character and replace admirable ruins by a ridiculous construction.” (100)

Modern building materials and new additions to historic buildings had been a subject of cautiousness in the early days of the administration. The

Figure 265. Viollet-le-Duc: the ideal cathedral



reestablishment of the original structural system was one of the main objectives of restoration, and in principle this was to be done with materials similar to the original. Viollet-le-Duc, however, accepted also the use of modern materials, such as steel instead of timber in roof structures - under condition that the original structural ideal was maintained, and the weight of the structure not increased. This solution was used in the new sacristy of Notre-Dame, built by him on the south side of the Cathedral - and not in the interior where it would have damaged the architectural unity.

Restoration had so come to mean, as Viollet-le-Duc had defined it, reinstating a building “in a condition of completeness which might never have existed at any given time”. (102) In the same time it also meant replacement of much of the original material with new stone, and although pieces of evidence were stored as justification, it was lost on the building itself. This sort of restoration was approved generally not only in France, but also abroad; recognitions for the work of Viollet-le-Duc arrived from different countries: in 1855 he was nominated an honorary member of the RIBA in England, where he had also travelled five years earlier; in 1858 he became a member of the Academy of Fine Arts in Milan, and later was honoured by various other institutions in the Netherlands, Lisbon, Belgium, Spain, Cote-d’Or, Mexico, Austria, United States of America, and so on. (103) Some were, however, sorry for having lost the aspect of age from the buildings, as M. Castagnary, who wrote in 1864:

“I am among those who believe that decay suits a monument. It gives it a human aspect, shows its age and by bearing witness to its sufferances reveals the spirit of those generations it passed by in its shadow.” (104)

Notes to Chapter Sixteen

1. Chateaubriand, *Génie du Christianisme*, Paris 1966, I, 399f: “On aura beau bâtir des temples grecs bien élégants, bien éclairés, pour rassembler le bon peuple de saint Louis, et lui faire adorer

un Dieu métaphysique, il regrettera toujours ces Notre-Dame de Reims et de Paris, ces basiliques, toutes moussues, toutes remplies des générations des décédés et des âmes de ses pères: il regrettera toujours la tombe de quelques messieurs ... c’est qu’un monument n’est vénérable qu’autant qu’une longue histoire du passé est pour ainsi dire empreinte sous ces voûtes toutes noires de

siècles. Voilà pourquoi il n'y a rien de merveilleux dans un temple qu'on a vu bâtir, et dont les échos et les d'ames se sont formés sous nos yeux. Dieu est la loi éternelle; son origine et tout ce qui tient à son culte doit se perdre dans la nuit des temps."

2. Madame de Stael, *De l'Allemagne*, Paris 1968, I, 83: "Aucun édifice ne peut être aussi patriotique qu'une église; c'est le seul dans lequel toutes les classes de la nation se réunissent, le seul qui rappelle non seulement les événements publics, mais les pensées secrètes, les affections intimes que les chefs et les citoyens ont apportées dans son enceinte. Le temple de la divinité semble présent comme elle aux siècle écoulés."

3. *Les enjeux de la conservation du patrimoine*, op.cit., 18ff.

4. Le Ministre de l'intérieur (Comte Decazes) to the Prefects, 8 April 1819: "Dans une série de questions qu'elle a rédigée, elle ne se borne plus aux seuls objets dont il avait été fait mention dans le principe; elle y comprend aussi les monumens grecs, romains, gaulois, les tombeaux, les épitaphes, les titres, les chartes, les chroniques, et enfin tout ce qui peut fournir des éclaircissemens sur les traits principaux de nos annales, l'illustration des familles, les institutions de la patrie." (*Les enjeux de la conservation*, op.cit., 22)

5. Léon, P., *La vie des monuments français*, op.cit., 80.

6. Léon, *ibid*, 97.

7. Pugin, A.C.- Britton, J.- *Le Keux*, *Specimens of the Architectural Antiquities of Normandy*, 1826-8.

8. Léon, *ibid*, 80ff; Poisson, O., 'La restauration du cloître d'Elne', *Les cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, 1982, 333ff.

9. Poisson, op.cit.

10. Taylor, Nodier, de Cailleux, *Voyages Pittoresques et Romantiques dans l'ancienne France*, Paris 1835, II: "Dans ces derniers temps, on a eu la barbarie de détruire, pour réparer la toiture, le premier étage qui servait autrefois d'école publique".

11. Hugo, V., *Guerre aux Démolisseurs*, 1832 (Réau, op.cit., II, 118): "ces monuments sont des capitaux!"

12. Hugo, *ibid*: "Il faut qu'un cri universel appelle enfin la nouvelle France au secours de l'ancienne. Tous les genres de profanation, de dégradation et de ruine menacent à la fois le peu qui nous reste de ces admirables monuments du Moyen Age auxquels s'attachent la mémoire des rois et la tradition du peuple. Tandis que l'on construit à grands frais je ne sais quels édifices bâtards qui ne sont ni romains ni grecs, on laisse tomber en ruine d'autres édifices originaux dont le seul tort est d'être

français."

13. Bercé, F., *Les premiers travaux de la commission des monuments historiques 1837-1848*, *Procès-verbaux et relevés d'architectes*, Paris 1979, 3.

14. Hugo, V., *Notre-Dame de Paris*, London 1953, 101f.

15. Hugo, *ibid.*, 106f.

16. Hugo, *ibid*, 128.

17. Guizot, 'Rapport au Roi sur la création d'une inspection générale des monuments historiques', 23 October 1830: "Les monuments historiques dont le sol de la France est couvert font l'admiration et l'envie de l'Europe savante. Aussi nombreux et plus variés que ceux de quelques pays voisins, ils n'appartiennent pas seulement à telle ou telle phase isolée de l'histoire, ils forment une série complète et sans lacunes; depuis les druides jusqu'à nos jours, il n'est pas une époque mémorable de l'art et de la civilisation qui n'ait laissé dans nos contrées des monuments qui la représentent et l'expliquent. ... Tel est le spectacle que présente cet admirable enchaînement de nos antiquités nationales, et qui font de notre sol un si précieux objet de recherches et d'études." (*Les enjeux de la conservation*, op.cit. 24)

18. Guizot, op.cit.

19. Vitet, L., 'Rapport présenté au Ministre de l'Intérieur sur la conservation des Monuments Historiques de France' 1831 (4.Bz,787, A.M.H.): "Saint-Remi est un monument d'une si haute importance historique, et son architecture est à la fois si noble, si originale, si variée et si instructive, qu'il y aurait sacrilège à l'abandonner. Je n'ai jamais vu de monument où l'on pût mieux distinguer et lire plus couramment, pour ainsi dire, les différentes dates de sa construction." (*Exposition Universelle de Vienne*, 330)

20. Vitet, op.cit., (324): "...cette flèche tout en pierre est non-seulement très-belle, mais à peu près unique en son genre, dans tout le pays que je viens de visiter."

21. Vitet, *ibid* (329): "...l'Eglise de Braisne a toujours été très-renommée comme oeuvre d'architecture. Elle n'a pourtant pas encore l'élévation, la pureté, la simplicité grandiose des églises du XIIIe siècle proprement dit; je ne lui ai point trouvé non plus le charme qui me séduit dans certains monuments de transition, où le plein cintre et l'ogive s'entrelacent pour ainsi dire, et luttent de grâce et de noblesse: mais une belle distribution, une régularité parfaite, des détails délicats et ingénieux, quoiqu'un peu monotones; enfin la date de la fondation (1152), qui, mise en regard de l'unité constante du plan, atteste chez le premier architecte un génie singulièrement précoce et hardi pour cette époque de tâtonnements et de transitions; voilà certainement bien des motifs pour qu'on s'intéresse à l'église de Braisne, qui, à demi démolie pendant la Révolution, ne peut manquer de s'écrouler si on ne lui prête secours."

22. Vitet, *ibid*: "...de mettre le monument dans un état de conservation au moins provisoire".

23. Vitet, *ibid* (332): "Cette grande cage tout à jour était du plus bel effet et causait aux voyageurs une vive admiration. Mais le conseil municipal, qui probablement ne partageait pas cette admiration, ordonna, il y a trois mois environ,

que l'église serait démolie dans l'hivers; et vite, à l'aide de la mine et de la pioche, on se mit en besogne. C'était, disait-on, une occupation comme une autre pour les pauvres gens sans ouvrage, et d'ailleurs on avait besoin de pierres et de moellons pour bâtir le nouvel hôtel de ville".

24. Vitet, *ibid*, (326): "On a conservé, sans chercher à en tirer trop grossièrement parti, une grande et belle salle, dite la salle des Morts ou des Mores, car on varie sur le sens du mot."

25. Vitet, *ibid* (334): "... A la vérité, c'est une restauration pour laquelle il ne faudra ni pierres ni ciment, mais seulement quelques feuilles de papier. Reconstruire ou plutôt restituer dans son ensemble et dans ses moindres détails une forteresse du moyen âge, reproduire sa décoration intérieure et jusqu'à son ameublement, en un mot lui rendre sa forme, sa couleur, et, si j'ose dire, sa vie primitive, tel est le projet qui m'est venu tout d'abord à la pensée en entrant dans l'enceinte du château de Coucy."

26. See Viollet-le-Duc's restoration at Pierrefonds and his work at Coucy.

27. Vitet, L., *Histoire des anciennes villes de France*, 1re série, Haute Normandie, Dieppe, 2 Vols., Paris 1833, I, viii: "L'histoire, comme un habile sculpteur, redonne aux monuments la vie et la jeunesse, en ravivant les souvenirs qui les décorent; elle révèle leur signification perdue, les rend chers et précieux aux cités dont ils attestent l'antique illustration, et provoque les vengeances de l'indignation publique contre les vandales qui méditeraient leur ruine."

28. Vitet, L., *Histoire*, *op.cit.*, ix f.: "J'avais voulu d'abord procéder par provinces; mais l'histoire d'une province, pour être complète, exigeait trop de détails étrangers à mon sujet, et m'eût entraîné trop loin du but. J'ai préféré m'enfermer dans les villes et dans un rayon de quelques lieues à l'entour. De cette manière je touche leurs monuments de plus près, pour ainsi dire; mes yeux ne s'en écartent jamais: ce seront, je le sais, des portraits plutôt que des tableaux, des biographies plutôt que de l'histoire; mais qu'importe, si par là je me donne le moyen de mieux étudier l'individualité des physionomies, si je parviens plus aisément à la ressemblance. ... Je serais quelquefois beaucoup plus bref, même dans des lieux où de plus riches églises, de plus imposants châteaux-forts, arrêteront nos regards; car les monuments de pierre ne sont pas les seuls auxquels je doive consacrer mes recherches. Les traditions, les vieilles mœurs locales, les illustrations enfouies, les renommées injustement éteintes, sont aussi des monuments historiques. Enfin, toutes les fois que d'importants manuscrits me tomberont sous la main, je me ferai en quelque sorte un devoir de les publier ou de les extraire."

29. Viollet-le-Duc, E., *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XIe au XVIe siècle*, 10 Vols. 1854-1868, XIII, 'Restauration'.

30. Viollet-le-Duc, *op.cit.*

31. Bercé, *Les premiers travaux*, *op.cit.*, 10.

32. Decree signed by the Minister of the Interior, comte de Montalivet, 29 January 1838: "...pour donner plus d'importance et plus de garanties au travail des préfets et aux recherches de l'Inspecteur général". (*Exh.Cat.*, 'Mérimée', *Les Monuments historiques de la France*, 1970)

33. Bercé, *Les premiers travaux*, *op.cit.*, 10ff. Léon, *La vie des monuments*, *op.cit.*, 75ff.

34. Patetta, L., *La polemica fra i Goticisti e i Classicisti dell'Accademia di Belle Arti, Francia 1846-47*, Milano 1974.

35. Mérimée, P., 'Rapport au Ministre de l'Intérieur', 17 July 1850 (*Les enjeux de la conservation*, *op.cit.*, 259ff).

36. Bercé, *op.cit.*, 14.

37. Mérimée, P., 'Rapport au Ministre de l'Intérieur', 1838 (4.1482, A.M.H.); Mérimée, P., 'Rapport au Ministre de l'Intérieur', 1840 (4.1483, A.M.H.); Bercé, *ibid*, 14; Léon, *op.cit.*, 125ff.

38. Mérimée, P., 'Rapport au Ministre de l'Intérieur', 1842, Paris 1843 (4.1484, A.M.H.): "...désigner les plus remarquables de ces édifices - y faire exécuter promptement tous les travaux de consolidation nécessaires, et, par conséquent, à concentrer sur eux les ressources de l'administration jusqu'à ce que les principales restaurations soient terminées."

39. Comte de Montalembert - Didron, 'Réparation de la Cathédrale de Paris', *Annales archéologiques*, August 1845, 113: "C'est enfin un acte de patriotisme le plus élevé et le plus pur, puisqu'il s'agit de dérober aux atteintes du temps et d'une ignorance barbare, des édifices qui attestent la suprématie du génie de la France au moyen âge, et qui forment encore aujourd'hui le plus bel ornement de la patrie."

40. Bercé, *op.cit.*, 14.

41. *Exh.Cat.*, Mérimée, *Les Monuments historiques de la France*, 1970.

42. Mérimée to Mme Georges Viollet-le-Duc, February 1840: "La commission des monuments historiques croit n'avoir pas besoin de recommander à Mr Leduc de respecter exactement dans son projet de restauration toutes les dispositions anciennes de l'Eglise. Si quelques parties de l'Edifice devaient être reconstruites à neuf, ce ne serait que dans le cas où il serait impossible de les conserver." (*Bibliothèque Nationale, Prosper Mérimée, Exposition organisée pour commémorer le cent cinquantième anniversaire de sa naissance*, Paris 1953, 54f)

43. In the archives of the Centre de Recherche des Monuments Historiques, Palais de Chaillot, Paris, there are some 175 drawings by Viollet-le-Duc related to the restoration works at Vézelay.

44. See Case Study on Vézelay.

45. Montalembert, Didron, 'Réparation de la cathédrale de Paris', *op.cit.*: Didron speaking of Viollet-le-Duc and

Lassus: "... quand depuis cinq ans, comme l'un et comme l'autre, on répare avec une intelligence très-rare et toujours, peu s'en faut, parfaitement heureuse, la Sainte-Chapelle de Paris, on reconstruit, pour ainsi dire, la Madeleine de Vézelay, on crée Saint-Nicolas de Naintes, certes on a tout ce qu'il faut pour consolider Notre-Dame de Paris."

46. Didron, *Bulletin Archéologique*, I, 1839, 47 (Montalembert, Didron, op.cit.): "En fait de monuments anciens, il vaut mieux consolider que réparer, mieux réparer que restaurer, mieux restaurer que refaire, mieux refaire qu'embellir; en aucun cas, il ne faut rien ajouter, surtout rien retrancher."

47. Mérimée, *Notes de Voyage*, op.cit., 194f.

48. Mérimée report on Saint-Laurent, Grenoble (Isère): "...la crypte de l'église de Saint-Laurent est surtout intéressante par les renseignements qu'elle peut fournir pour l'histoire de l'architecture. C'est une page d'histoire, mutilée, mais qu'il serait imprudent de vouloir compléter et refaire. M. Manguin propose de remplacer les chapiteaux détruits, de refaire des colonnes et de les remettre en place ... Je crains que cette opération quelque bien conduite qu'elle soit n'ait pour résultat de faire disparaître ou du moins de rendre incertaines toutes les traces importantes au point de vue archéologique de la construction..." (Exh.Cat. 'Mérimée' 1970, op.cit.)

49. Mérimée, P., 'Rapport au Ministre 1842', op.cit., 81: "La Commission, Monsieur le Ministre, croit remplir vos intentions en combattant de tout son pouvoir ces fâcheuses tendances. Elle sait que les secours de Gouvernement ne doivent pas être employés à glorifier telle ou telle époque aux dépens de telle ou telle autre: elle cherche le beau dans tous les styles; tout ce qui présente un intérêt historique sérieux a des droits à son intérêt, et son étude constante est de ne réclamer votre protection que pour des monuments qui en soient vraiment dignes."

50. Mérimée, *ibid*: "Les instructions qu'elle donne aux architectes chargés par vous de restaurations importantes leur recommandent expressément de s'abstenir de toute innovation et d'imiter avec une fidélité scrupuleuse les formes dont les modèles se sont conservés. Là où il ne reste aucun souvenir du passé, l'artiste doit recouler de recherches et d'études, consulter les monuments du même temps, du même style, du même pays, et en reproduire les types dans les mêmes circonstances et les mêmes proportions."

51. Mérimée to de Caumont, *Corresp. générale*, I, 287ff.: "Vous savez mieux que personne, Monsieur, à combien d'ennemis nos antiquités sont exposées. Les réparateurs sont peut-être aussi dangereux que les destructeurs..." (Prosper Mérimée, 1953, op.cit., 45.)

52. Bourassé, J-J., 'Conservation des monuments', *Annales Archéologiques*, 1845, 272ff.: "Ce serait un crime que de laisser périr un monument par respect pour l'art. Ne serait-ce pas une ridicule retenue que celle qui s'abstiendrait de porter secours à un édifice menacé dans

sa vie même, sous le sol prétexte qu'il ne faudrait pas gâter l'oeuvre de nos devanciers? Ne portons pas des mains violentes et sacrilèges sur les reliques de notre architecture chrétienne et nationale, mais aussi n'hésitons pas à y porter des mains respectueuses et amies. La postérité nous demandera compte aussi bien de notre inaction que d'un empressement trop hâtif."

53. Bourassé, op.cit.: "Les uns veulent que nos édifices du moyen âge soient absolument conservés, tels qu'ils sont arrivés jusqu'à nous, à travers les siècles et les agitations des hommes. Ils les regardent comme des monuments historiques, qui ne seront des témoins irrécusables qu'autant qu'une main étrangère ne viendra pas y insérer de mensongères additions et des interpolations funestes. Ce sont des chartes authentiques en pierre, dont la signification n'est pas moins importante que celle des chartes en papier ou en parchemin; ce que nul ne permettra jamais pour les autres? Il y a d'ailleurs un parfum d'antiquité qui s'exhale des unes et des autres et qui disparaîtra pour jamais, si des formes nouvelles remplacent les caractères anciens ... les architectes sont entrés dans nos églises comme dans un pays conquis. Dieu sait et nous savons aussi quelles déplorables réparations ils ont commises, quelles horribles restaurations ils leur ont infligées, de quels détestables embellissements ils les ont souillées! C'est en face de ces hideuses opérations, que l'on comprend toute l'étendue des plaintes des sincères amis des arts chrétiens! Qui n'éprouverait d'insurmontables répugnances en voyant ces réparations ou plutôt ces destructions irréparables? On refuse de confier au fer d'un chirurgien, dont la science est équivoque, ses membres qu'une cruauté salutaire doit rendre à la santé; qui donc oserait confier à la truelle et à la râpe d'un maçon ignorant des chefs-d'oeuvres dont la perte laissera d'éternels regrets?"

54. Bourassé, op.cit.: "...les partisans d'une autre opinion. Ceux-ci ne considèrent pas uniquement nos vieux édifices comme des monuments historiques des âges passés; ils les voient toujours servant à la célébration du même culte, abritant les mêmes cérémonies, prêtant asile à des chrétiens que lient des traditions non interrompues aux auteurs de ces grandes oeuvres architecturales. Vivement émues par les souvenirs de l'histoire, ils n'en sont pas moins sensibles aux besoins actuels et quotidiens du culte. Ils se persuadent facilement que nos cathédrales et nos belles églises sont vivantes et qu'elles ont besoin qu'on les protège contre les ravages du temps, mais non comme on garde une momie descendue depuis des siècles dans le tombeau. Par conséquent ils refusent avec une louable énergie d'admettre pour ces monuments les mêmes principes qu'ils regardent comme incontestables pour les monuments d'une autre nature. Ils avouent qu'il existe certaines constructions, des débris, des ruines dont toute l'importance gît dans les souvenirs d'autrefois et dans les détails artistiques. Que l'on défende sévèrement, au nom de la science et du bon sens, de restaurer les arcs romains d'Orange ou d'Autun, cela ça conçoit. Que l'on prohibe toute action aux vieux restes gallo-romains, où

sont gravés d'une façon si frappante et si pittoresque des souvenirs si nombreux ... On gémit sur une ruine irremédiable; mais on ne s'en préoccupera pas davantage. Il n'en est pas de même de nos monuments religieux. Des populations tout entières sont vivement intéressées à leur conservation; elles aiment leur grandeur, leur richesse et leur magnificence. ... Nous y reconnaissons non-seulement des beautés artistiques d'un ordre élevé et les lois d'une admirable symétrie; mais nous y contemplons encore avec ravissement l'expression de tout ce qu'il y a de grand et de saint dans le coeur de l'homme! Et, nous le demandons, avec nos convictions et dans notre position, laisserons-nous nos monuments sacrés déclamés par les armes impies des vandales, meurtris par leurs marteaux, mutilés par leurs haches, afin que nos neveux voient de leurs propres yeux que les vandales ont passé par là! ... Hélas! si nous voulons laisser à la postérité des témoins qui racontent les malheurs de nos discordes intestines, nous avons assez de débris dans nos villes et dans nos campagnes; ces ruines parleront un langage assez intelligible et assez éloquent!"

55. Didron, 'Flèche de Saint-Denis', *Annales Archéologiques*, 1846, 175ff. Leniaud, J-M., Jean-Baptiste Lassus (1807-1857) ou le temps retrouvé des cathédrales, Paris 1980, 78.

56. Didron, 'Flèche de Saint-Denis', op.cit.: "Les lézardes, on le voit à merveille, ne s'arrêtent pas à la tour; elles plongent jusqu'au portail, et le malheureux Clovis, le chef de la monarchie française, qu'a fait caricaturer récemment M. Debret, est rayé d'une assez jolie crevasse. Si, pendant qu'on y sera, on démolissait le portail entier, nous n'y verrions pas grand dommage; Saint-Denis, nous le disons en toute franchise, ne nous offre plus aucun intérêt. De monument-là, nous aimerions mieux le voir détruit que déshonoré comme il est; il y a beaucoup de gens qui préfèrent la mort à la honte."

57. Darcel, A., 'Lassus, architecte', *Annales Archéologiques*, 1857, XVII, 309. Leniaud, Jean-Baptiste Lassus, op.cit., 57.

58. Leniaud, *ibid*, 58.

59. Guilhermy, 9 February 1843, *l'Univers* (Leniaud, op.cit., 62): "On lui reprochait également de réaliser des dispositions vicieuses, notamment dans l'écoulement des eaux; on lui reprochait de confondre les styles et de compléter les parties sculptées au mépris de toute archéologie; bref, on reprochait à ses restaurations d'être coûteuses, éphémères et infidèles."

60. Didron, 3 December 1842, *l'Univers* (Leniaud, op.cit., 58).

61. Hugo, meeting of 27 March 1839, (Leniaud, op.cit., 59): "...douce, savante, consciencieuse".

62. Didron, 'Notre-Dame', *l'Univers*, 11 October 1842 (Leniaud, op.cit., 62): "Parmi les jeunes architectes, il y avait grâce à Dieu, plus qu'un concurrent sérieux. L'un d'eux (Lassus) qui est le premier, qui est le plus instruit, qui est le plus intelligent parmi ces artistes de notre âge

auxquelles l'étude profonde et la pratique sévère de l'architecture gothique, ont donné une haute valeur, était désigné et désiré par tous ceux qui s'intéressaient à Notre-Dame de Paris."

63. Lassus, J-B., 'De l'art et de l'archéologie', *Annales Archéologiques*, 1845, 529ff.: "Lorsqu'un architecte se trouve chargé de la restauration d'un monument, c'est de la science qu'il doit faire. Dans ce cas, ainsi que nous l'avons déjà dit ailleurs, l'artiste doit s'effacer complètement: oubliant ses goûts, ses préférences, ses instincts, il doit avoir pour but unique et constant, de conserver, de consolider et d'ajouter le moins possible et seulement lorsqu'il y a urgence. C'est avec un respect religieux qu'il doit s'enquérir de la forme, de la matière, et même des moyens anciennement employés pour l'exécution; car l'exactitude, la vérité historique, sont tout aussi importantes pour la construction que pour la matière et la forme. Dans une restauration il faut absolument que l'artiste soit constamment préoccupé de la nécessité de faire oublier son oeuvre, et tous ses efforts doivent tendre à ce qu'il soit impossible de retrouver la trace de son passage dans le monument. On le voit, c'est là, tout simplement de la science, c'est uniquement de l'archéologie."

64. Lassus, *L'Album de Villard-de-Honnecourt*, 1858.

65. Lassus, Viollet-le-Duc, 'Projet de restauration de Notre-Dame de Paris', 31 January 1843: "Dans un semblable travail, on ne saurait agir avec trop de prudence et de discrétion; et nous le disons les premiers, une restauration peut être plus désastreuse pour un monument que les ravages des siècles et les fureurs populaires, car le temps et les révolutions détruisent, mais n'ajoutent rien. Au contraire, une restauration peut, en ajoutant de nouvelles formes, faire disparaître une foule de vestiges dont la rareté et l'état de vétusté augmentent même l'intérêt." (Auzas, P-M., Eugène Viollet-le-Duc 1814-1879, Paris, 1979, 62f.)

66. Lassus, Viollet-le-Duc, op.cit.: "Cependant, nous sommes loin de vouloir dire qu'il est nécessaire de faire disparaître toutes les additions postérieures à la construction primitive et de ramener le monument à sa première forme; nous pensons, au contraire, que chaque partie ajoutée, à quelque époque que ce soit, doit en principe être conservée, consolidée et restaurée dans le style qui lui est propre, et cela avec une religieuse discrétion, avec une abnégation complète de toute opinion personnelle."

67. Daly in *Revue d'architecture et des travaux publics*, 1843, IV, 137ff.: "l'unité d'aspect et d'intérêt des détails du monument".

68. Lassus, Viollet-le-Duc, *ibid*.: "Nous croyons qu'il est impossible de l'exécuter dans le style de l'époque, et nous sommes convaincus que l'état de mutilation, peu grave d'ailleurs, dans lequel ils se trouvent, est de beaucoup préférable à une apparence de restauration qui ne serait que très éloignée de leur caractère primitif; car, quel est

le sculpteur qui pourrait retrouver, au bout de son ciseau, cette naïveté des siècles passés!”

69. Lassus, Viollet-le-Duc, *ibid.*: “...l’on ne peut laisser incomplète une page aussi admirable sans risquer de la rendre inintelligible.”

70. Leniaud, *op.cit.*, 81.

71. Leniaud, *ibid.*, 93.

72. Erlande-Brandenburg, A., ‘Paris: la restauration de Notre-Dame’, Viollet-le-Duc, *op.cit.*, 75.

73. Erlande-Brandenburg, *op.cit.*, 74f.

74. Montalembert in Montalembert, Didron, ‘Réparation de la cathédrale de Paris’, *op.cit.*, 117: “Depuis 70 ans, l’ogive bâtarde et les colonnes difformes de Soufflot sont restées comme une injure sur la face glorieuse de Notre-Dame. On les fera disparaître et on reproduira d’après un dessin fidèle, le trumeau et le tympan de cet admirable portail, tels qu’ils sortirent de la pensée des architectes de XIIIe siècle.”

75. Montalembert, *ibid.*; Leniaud, *op.cit.*, 89ff.

76. Didron, in Montalembert, Didron, ‘Réparation de la cathédrale de Paris’, *op.cit.*: “... Cette perte est irréparable et d’autant plus cruelle qu’elle pourrait amener une restauration indique du monument. Comment rétablir la poème sur verre qui se déroulait, sur trois étages, dans toute la longueur de Notre-Dame! Qui pourra dire ce qu’il y avait là; qui osera mettre son idée, sa création, à la place de l’idée gothique, de la création du moyen âge!”

77. Didron, *ibid.*: “Toutefois, le rapport qu’ils ont adressé, le 31 janvier 1843, à M. le Ministre de la Justice et des Cultes, est, en général, si bien dicté par les sévères prescriptions de la nouvelle école d’archéologie en fait de réparations, que la crainte exprimée plus haut est certainement excessive. Nous prions cond nos amis de ne pas trop nous en vouloir si nous avons pu manifester le plus léger doute à cet égard.”

78. ‘Hausmann, Georges-Eugène, Baron’, *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Chicago 1984, IV, 952. Pinkney, D., *Napoleon III and the Rebuilding of Paris*, Princeton 1972, 1ff.

79. ‘L’Instruction pour la conservation, l’entretien et la restauration des édifices diocésains et particulièrement des cathédrales’, based on the report by Viollet-le-Duc, Mérimée, 26 February 1849, published in *Bulletin des Comités historiques (Archéologie et Beaux-Arts)*, I, 1849, 131ff.

80. ‘L’Instruction’ *op.cit.*: “...quelque habile que soit la restauration d’un édifice, c’est toujours une nécessité fâcheuse, un entretien intelligent doit toujours la prévenir”!

81. ‘L’Instruction’, *ibid.*: “...de même nature, de même forme, et mis en oeuvre suivant les procédées primitivement employés ... La plus grande attention sera apportée à l’exécution des tailles, des parments et

moultures. L’architecte devra observer à quelle époque et à quel style appartiennent ces tailles, qui diffèrent entre elles.”

82. For bibliographies, see: Viollet-le-Duc, 1980, *op.cit.*; Auzas, Eugène Viollet-le-Duc, *op.cit.*, and *Architectural Design*, III-IV, 1980.

83. Viollet-le-Duc, E., ‘Restauration’, *Dictionnaire raisonné de l’architecture*, *op.cit.*, VIII, 14: “Le mot et la chose sont modernes. Restaurer un édifice, ce n’est pas l’entretenir, le réparer ou le refaire, c’est le rétablir dans un état complet qui peut n’avoir jamais existé à un moment donné.”

84. Viollet-le-Duc, *ibid.*, VIII, 22: “Ce programme admet d’abord en principe que chaque édifice ou chaque partie d’un édifice doivent être restaurés dans le style qui leur appartient, non-seulement comme apparence, mais comme structure.”

85. Viollet-le-Duc, *ibid.*, VIII, 22f.: “Il est peu d’édifices qui, pendant le moyen âge surtout, aient été bâtis d’un seul jet, ou s’ils l’ont été, qui n’aient subi des modifications notables, soit par des adjonctions, des transformations ou des changements partiels. Il est donc essentiel, avant tout travail de réparation, de constater exactement l’âge et le caractère de chaque partie, d’en composer une sorte de procès-verbal appuyé sur des documents certains, soit par des notes écrites, soit par des relevés graphiques.”

86. Viollet-le-Duc, ‘Style’, *Dictionnaire*, *op.cit.*, VIII, 475ff.: “Le style est la manifestation d’un idéal établi sur un principe.”

87. Viollet-le-Duc, ‘Unité’, IX, 345: “L’architecture n’est pas une sorte d’initiation mystérieuse; elle est soumise, comme tous les produits de l’intelligence, à des principes qu’ont leur siège dans la raison humaine. Or, la raison n’est pas multiple, elle est une. Il n’y a pas deux manières d’avoir raison devant une question posée. Mais la question changeant, la conclusion, donnée par la raison, se modifie. Si donc l’unité doit exister dans l’art de l’architecture, ce ne peut être en appliquant telle ou telle forme, mais en cherchant la forme qui est l’expression de ce que prescrit la raison. La raison seule peut établir le lien entre les parties, mettre chaque chose à sa place, et donner à l’oeuvre non-seulement la cohésion, mais l’apparence de la cohésion, par la succession vraie des opérations qui la doivent constituer.”

88. Viollet-le-Duc, *ibid.*, IX, 344: “Nous disons: en architecture, procédez de même; partez du principe un, n’ayez qu’une loi, la vérité; la vérité toujours, dès la première conception jusqu’à la dernière expression de l’oeuvre. Nous ajoutons: voici un art, l’art hellénique, qui a procédé ainsi à son origine et qui a laissé des ouvrages immortels; voilà un autre art, sous une autre civilisation, la n^otre, sous un autre climat, le n^otre, l’art du moyen âge français, qui a procédé ainsi à son origine et qui a laissé des ouvrages immortels. Ces deux expressions de l’unité

sont cependant dissemblables. Il faut donc, pour produire un art, prodéder d'après la même loi."

89. Leniaud, Lassus, *op.cit.*, 96ff.

90. Viollet-le-Duc, 'Restauration', *op.cit.*, VIII, 24f.: "Il s'agit de reprendre en sous-oeuvre les piliers isolés d'une salle, lesquels s'écrasent sous sa charge, parce que les matériaux employés sont trop fragiles et trop bas d'assises. A plusieurs époques, quelques-uns de ces piliers ont été repris, et on leur a donné des sections qui ne sont point celles tracées primitivement. Devrons-nous, en refaisant ces piliers à neuf, copier ces sections variées, et nous en tenir aux hauteurs d'assises anciennes, lesquelles sont trop faibles? Non; nous reproduirons pour tous les piliers la section primitive, et nous les élèverons en gros blocs pour prévenir le retour des accidents qui sont la cause de notre opération. Mais quelques-uns de ces piliers ont eu leur section modifiée par suite d'un projet de changement que l'on voulait faire subir au monument; changement qui, au point de vue des progrès de l'art, est d'une grande importance, ainsi que cela eut lieu, par exemple, à Notre-Dame de Paris au XIV^e siècle. Les reprenant en sous-oeuvre, détruirons-nous cette trace si intéressante d'un projet qui n'a pas été entièrement exécuté, mais qui dénote les tendances d'une école? Non; nous les reproduirons dans leur forme modifiée, puisque ces modifications peuvent éclaircir un point de l'histoire de l'art."

91. Viollet-le-Duc, *ibid*, VIII, 25: "Dans un édifice du XIII^e siècle, dont l'écoulement des eaux se faisait par les larmiers, comme à la cathédrale de Chartres, par exemple, on a cru devoir, pour mieux régler cet écoulement, ajouter des gargouilles aux chéneaux pendant le XV^e siècle. Ces gargouilles sont mauvaises, il faut les remplacer. Substituerons-nous à leur place, sous prétexte d'unité, des gargouilles du XIII^e siècle? Non; car nous détruirions ainsi les traces d'une disposition primitive intéressante. Nous insisterons au contraire sur la restauration postérieure, en maintenant son style."

92. Viollet-le-Duc, *ibid*, VIII, 27: "Si l'architecte chargé de la restauration d'un édifice doit connaître les formes, les styles appartenant à cet édifice et à l'école dont il est sorti, il doit mieux encore, s'il est possible, connaître sa structure, son anatomie, son tempérament, car avant tout il faut qu'il le fasse vivre. Il faut qu'il ait pénétré dans toutes les parties de cette structure, comme si lui-même l'avait dirigée, et cette connaissance acquise, il doit avoir à sa disposition plusieurs moyens pour entreprendre un travail de reprise. Si l'un de ces moyens vient à faillir, un second, un troisième, doivent être tout prêts."

93. Durliat, M., 'La restauration de Saint-Sernin de Toulouse, Aspects doctrinaux', *Monuments historiques*, CXII, 1980, 50ff; Boiret, Y., 'Problèmes de la restauration', *Monuments historiques*, *op.cit.*, 54ff.

94. Viollet-le-Duc, 'Restauration', *op.cit.*, VIII, 31: "D'ailleurs le meilleur moyen pour conserver un édifice, c'est de lui trouver une destination, et de satisfaire si bien à

tous les besoins que commande cette destination, qu'il n'y ait pas lieu d'y faire des changements."

95. Viollet-le-Duc, *ibid.*, VIII, 31: "Dans des circonstances pareilles, le mieux est de se mettre à la place de l'architecte primitif et de supposer ce qu'il ferait, si, revenant au monde, on lui posait les programmes qui nous sont posés à nous-mêmes."

96. Viollet-le-Duc, E., Report on Saint-Front (n.d.) in Secret, J., 'La restauration de Saint-Front au XIX^e siècle', *Monuments historiques*, 1956, II, 145ff.: "Des restaurations maladroites, au lieu de consolider, ont compromis davantage les anciennes constructions... Déjà une chapelle neuve a été faite, en harmonie soi-disant avec l'ancienne architecture; cette chapelle déshonore le transept sud. Dans ce cas, je crois que l'abandon total est préférable à une restauration mal entendue."

97. Leniaud, *op.cit.*, 116.

98. Viollet-le-Duc, 1980, *op.cit.*, 144ff; Leniaud, *op.cit.*, 104ff.

99. Didron, 1851 (Leniaud, *op.cit.*, 80): "De même qu'aucun poète ne voudrait entreprendre de compléter les vers inachevés de l'Enéide, aucun peintre de terminer un tableau de Raphael, aucun statuaire d'achever une statue de Michel-Ange, de même aucun architecte sensé ne saurait consentir à achever la cathédrale."

100. Mérimée, Report to the Commission, 25 March 1845: "...l'architecture du choeur de cette église est d'une telle légèreté, et d'une si grande richesse, qu'en se bornant à empêcher l'édifice de tomber, en négligeant absolument de rétablir l'ornementation répandue à profusion dans toutes ses parties, on dénaturerait complètement son caractère et on substituerait à leur admirable ruine une bâtisse ridicule." (Mérimée, *Exh.Cat.* 1970, *op.cit.*)

101. Modern equipment was used for making copies of sculptures. (Leniaud, *op.cit.*, 107)

102. Viollet-le-Duc, 'Restauration', see above n.83.

103. Auzas, Viollet-le-Duc, *op.cit.*, 209ff.

104. Castagnary, *Libres propos*, Paris 1864, 138 (Leniaud, *op.cit.*, 81): "Je suis un peu de ceux qui croient que la dégradation sied bien à un monument. Elle lui donne une physionomie humaine, marque son âge et en témoignant de ses souffrances révèle l'esprit des générations qu'il a vu passer à ses pieds."

Chapter Seventeen

England, Morality and Restoration

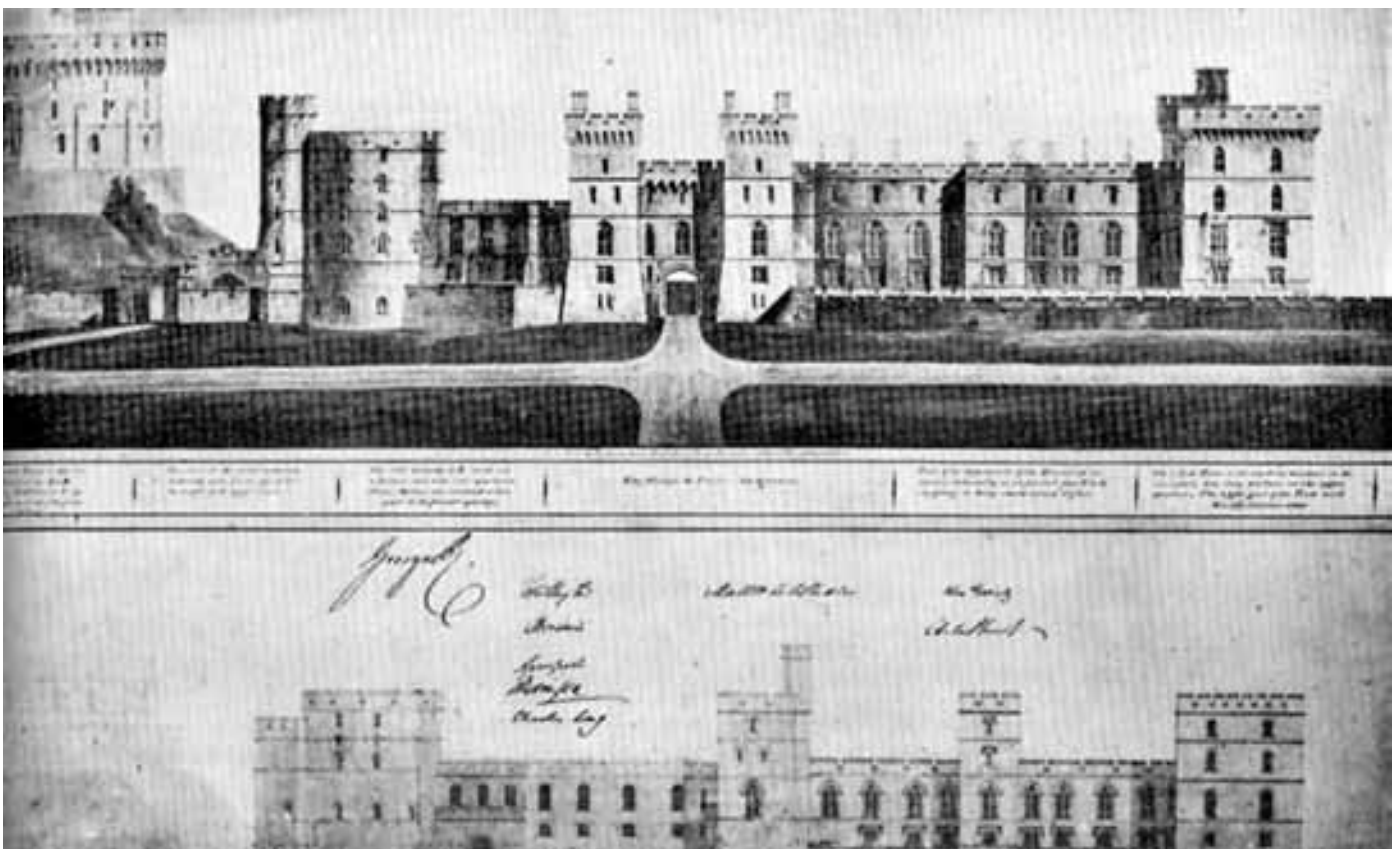
17.1. The Gothic Revival and Restoration

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, many architects who had had a classical training, including Robert Adam, George Dance Junior, Robert Smirke, John Nash and James Wyatt, were commissioned by their romantically minded patrons to design mansions and villas, and to remodel residences in the revived Gothic style. In reality, at that time a Gothic mansion was an eighteenth-century country house “with just enough of the scenic elements of Gothic - pointed arches, battlements and towers - to convince the owner that he lived in an ancestral home.” (1) The original Gothic churches, instead, remained for a long time a symbol of popery, which was looked upon with a certain suspicion or even superstition.

Of all these architects, James Wyatt was the one who probably understood Gothic best, which is

shown in his country houses, (2) and he even seems to have deplored some of the destructions at Durham for which he was not responsible. (3) At the end of the century, he had also been commissioned by George III to do some remodelling and build a new staircase at Windsor Castle; these works he did in Gothic style. (4) In 1824, it was the turn of his nephew, later knighted as Sir Jeffry Wyattville (1766-1840), to be commissioned by George IV. According to his plans major works were carried out, and this “imposing and grand mass”, the symbol of English sovereigns, (5) was transformed into a comfortable and picturesque residence for the king. The royal quarters were completed by 1828 “worthy of the monarch and the nation”, (6) but the works continued until 1840. Sir

Figure 266. Windsor Castle. The south front of the Upper Ward before and after the proposed remodelling



Jeffrey had some 'inconvenient' constructions cleared away within the castle precinct, and the towers and the upper ward were either remodelled or rebuilt with battlements and machicolations; the Round Tower was raised by 33 feet making it a dominant feature in this picturesque composition.

Though there was some regret for the demolition of some of the mediaeval structures, remodelling and especially the rehabilitation according to the needs of the court were generally appreciated by the critics. George IV was well aware of the scenic qualities of Windsor Castle, and of the historic connections of the building; he also understood that Gothic style had always been linked with great events of the nation and that it symbolized historical continuity and a firmer political basis to the throne. (7)

Pugin's Criticism of Restorations

For the completion of interiors and the design of furniture, the task was entrusted to Messrs. Morel and Seddon. Morel, a French upholsterer, was aware of "the superior knowledge of Gothic architecture" (8) of another French emigre', Augustus Charles Pugin (1762-1832), who had worked for Nash and had measured and drawn historic buildings for the publications of R. Ackermann, J. Britton and E.W. Brailey. (9)

Pugin, however, passed this 'great responsibility' to his son Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (1812-52), who had shown great talent as a draughtsman and had accompanied his father to record historic structures even in Normandy. Pugin's designs for Windsor can now be considered 'dignified and simple', (10) and his biographer and colleague Benjamin Ferrey (1810-80) doubted "whether any person but Pugin could have designed such a multitude of objects with equally happy results", (11) although he himself was rather critical. (12) It was the King's desire also to reuse some building elements such as fire places from a demolished London residence, and he even considered removing a fine sixteenth century roof from the Banqueting Hall of Eltham Palace to Windsor, but this was found too decayed to stand removal "from its legitimate position". (13)

Pugin Junior became one of the key figures in the development of the Gothic Revival in England, and he was well known abroad. One of his most important undertakings was the collaboration with Sir Charles Barry to design the interiors and the furniture of the new Houses of Parliament, which symbolized the culmination of the national importance of the Gothic

Revival in England. He was an extremely hard worker and designed a great number of buildings, but he was also an active writer and promoted the Gothic as the only morally acceptable Christian architecture for religious buildings. He attacked classicism and Protestantism, accusing their supporters of the destruction of the Gothic heritage of the country, but he did not save even Catholic priests from his accusations. He worked earnestly for a Catholic revival, and himself took the Catholic faith, although he deplored the Baroque luxury that surrounded the Pope in Rome.

His first book, *Contrasts*, published in 1836, was a comparison of mediaeval and present day buildings. It gave a brief history of the neglect and destruction of mediaeval churches in England, and attacked especially their ignorant treatment in recent times. The *True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture* of 1841, and *An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture* of 1843, were his contribution to the definition of the principles according to which the Gothic Revival was to be conducted.

During his study tours, Pugin had already come across Wyatt's work in various cathedrals, and he took up again the criticism voiced by Carter. Bishop Barrington and Wyatt deserved the

"severest censure" at Salisbury for their "improvements", where "the venerable bell tower, a grand and imposing structure, which stood on the north-west side of the church, was demolished, and the bells and materials sold; the Hungerford and Beauchamp chapels pulled down, and the tombs set up in the most mutilated manner between the pillars of the nave; and a host of other barbarities and alterations too numerous to recite". (14)

Figure 267. Hereford Cathedral after collapse in 1786





Figure 268. Lichfield Cathedral

At Hereford, he rushed to the Cathedral;

“but horror! dismay! the villain Wyatt had been there, the west front was his. Need I say more? No! All that is vile, cunning, and rascally is included in the term Wyatt, and I could hardly summon sufficient fortitude to enter and examine the interior.” (15)

Also at Lichfield, he was informed that thirty years earlier Mr Wyatt had improved and beautified the Cathedral.

“Yes, this monster of architectural depravity - this pest of cathedral architecture - has been here; need I say more? I wound myself up to the pitch to bear the sight of the havoc he had committed. Of course here his old trick of throwing the Lady Chapel into the choir by pulling down the altar screen; then he had pewed the choir and walled up the arches of the choir, making the aisles nothing but dark passages.” (16)

A different picture was presented to him at the Cathedral of Ely, which had suffered neglect and decay but not restoration:

“I have been at the Cathedral all the morning. How I am delighted! how I am pained! Here is a church, magnificent in every respect, falling into decay through gross neglect. Would you believe it possible? there is no person appointed to attend to the repairs of the building, and the only person who has been employed during the last sixty years is a bricklayer. Not even common precautions are taken to keep the building dry. The lantern never was completed, and I fear never will be; but its effect is truly magnificent as it is, and makes one long to see it as originally intended by its great architect. The fine western tower is falling into great decay, and alarming fissures have taken place and are becoming menacing to various portions of the western end which receive the pressure of the tower. I truly regret to say that in my travels I am daily witnessing fresh in stances of the disgraceful conduct of the greater portion of the established clergy.” (17)

Although the absence of restoration was a positive virtue to Pugin on one hand, it was certainly negative on the other. The problem was that either the churches were adapted to the requirements of the protestant faith by providing seating for the congregation, good visibility and good acoustics, as well as getting rid of the symbols of popery, which meant rearrangement of chapels; or if not, then the church was abandoned. In Westminster Abbey he was utterly critical about the “most inappropriate and tasteless monuments” (18) that had been erected in the church. In *Contrasts* he wrote that

“the neglected state of this once glorious church is a national disgrace. While tens of thousands are annually voted for comparatively trifling purposes, and hundreds of thousands have been very lately expended in mere architectural deformity, not even a small grant to keep the sepulchral monuments of our ancient kings in repair, has ever been proposed; and it is quite surprising to see the utter apathy that exists amongst those who, both by their birth and station, might be looked upon as the legitimate conservators of our national antiquities.” (19)

Restorations in the 1820s and 1830s

Concerned by internal unrest in their own country after the French Revolution, the English considered strengthening of the Established Church to be one way of counteracting this tendency and the fervour of Nonconformist sects. As a result, a ‘National Society for the Education of the Poor in the Principles of

the Established Church' was founded in 1811, and in 1818 Parliament was persuaded to pass a Church Building Act providing a million pounds sterling for the building of new churches. (20) Concerned mainly about providing the largest possible space for the least cost, the church building commissioners adopted a simplified pointed arch style in a majority of these buildings, called by Pugin a "mere architectural deformity". Although Gothic mansions had become popular, architects so far had no experience of churches in this style.

Even if the Act did not provide for the restoration of existing churches, there were, however, a number of cathedrals where repairs were carried out in the 1820s and 1830s with varying results. These repairs were mainly for reasons of stability and preservation rather than embellishment, and 'Roman cement' was widely used (e.g. at Durham and Lichfield); at Ripon Edward Blore (1787-1879) used papier mache' to repair the vaults over the transept. (21) Between 1827 and 1840, Salvin renewed much of the external masonry at Norwich, replacing Perpendicular by Norman, as was done also at Durham. (22) At Rochester, the



Figure 269. Canterbury Cathedral before restoration

Figure 270. Canterbury Cathedral after restoration



major works between 1825 and 1830 included the renewal of roofs, rebuilding of part of the leaning south wall, and the reconstruction of the central tower with new pinnacles. The architect was Lewis Nockalls Cottingham (1787-1847), who also worked at St. Albans, where he rebuilt the central tower and removed the spire. (23) Blore, whose restorations have been judged 'unnecessarily destructive', (24) worked at Peterborough, and he restored Merton College Chapel at Oxford, Glasgow Cathedral and Lambeth Palace. (25) In 1820, George Austin (1786-1848) became surveyor to Canterbury Cathedral, which he found in a dangerous condition; he carried out extensive repairs including the rebuilding of the vault and gable of the transept, restoration of the north nave aisle to Perpendicular, as well as pulling down the decayed Norman north-west tower, and rebuilding it to match the fifteenth-century south-west tower (1832-34). (26)

Pugin's Moral Concepts in Restoration

Regarding the restorations of this period, Pugin wrote in *Contrasts*:

“I am willing, however, to allow that there has been a vast improvement of late years in the partial restorations which have been effected in certain cathedral and other churches, as regards the accuracy of moulding and detail.

The mechanical part of Gothic architecture is pretty well understood, but it is the principles which influenced ancient compositions, and the soul which appears in all the former works, which is so lamentably deficient; nor, as I have before stated, can they be regained but by a restoration of the ancient feelings and sentiments. ‘Tis they alone that can restore pointed architecture to its former glorious state; without it all that is done will be a tame and heartless copy, true as far as the mechanism of the style goes, but utterly wanting in that sentiment and feeling that distinguishes ancient design.

It is for this reason that the modern alterations in the choirs of Peterborough and Norwich ... have so bad an effect; the details individually are accurate and well worked, but the principle of the design is so contrary to the ancient arrangement, that I do not hesitate to say the effect is little short of detestable. The same thing may be remarked at Canterbury, where I am happy to make honourable mention of the restorations. A great deal of money has been expended, and, I may add, judiciously; indeed, the rebuilding of the north-western tower is an undertaking quite worthy of ancient and better days.” (27)

To Pugin everything about English churches was Catholic. Society, instead, had become Protestant, and consequently the original concept of the church had been lost. The same had happened on the Continent as well, where, for example in France, the ravages of the Revolution and the ‘pagan influences’ had caused even more damage than in England, and Pugin felt “thoroughly disgusted” upon entering one of the churches, which often were surrounded or in part even replaced by the “hideous modern Italian features”. In England at least there were “the advantages of neglect” due to Protestant apathy, and he felt that the churches had here retained more of their original features. (28)

The first thing to do, according to him, was to promote a fundamental change in the minds of modern Catholics, and “to render them worthy of these stupendous monuments of ancient piety”. (29) Although the emergence of archaeology had provided more accuracy in the restoration of details

of historic buildings, he felt that these remained abstract and empty, if they were not preceded by a full understanding of the intrinsic ‘true principles’ of the traditional form and arrangement of the church.

Pugin rejected the word ‘style’ because there was only one way to build truly Christian architecture. He was the first writer to judge the values of art and architecture on the grounds of moral worth of their creator. Morality extended even to the details of the construction, where all had to be real and a true expression of necessity. Protestants had ignored the traditional form of the church and destroyed much for the sake of their practical requirements, which according to Pugin were not sympathetic with the original form. And so it was necessary to re-establish: “a chancel set apart for sacrifice, and screened off from the people”, a stone altar, an elevated roodloft for the Holy Gospel, chapels, a sacristy, a font for baptism, a southern porch for penitents and catechumens, a stoup for hallowed water, and a bell tower. (30)

He was not concerned about the preservation of the actual original material, but rather about the fulfilment of the original idea in the church. The reconstruction of the north-western tower of Canterbury Cathedral was thus accepted by him as “quite worthy of ancient and better days”, (31) and speaking about ruined churches, he exclaimed: “Heaven forbid that they should ever be restored to anything less than their former glory!” (32)

The Ecclesiologists

Following the ideas of Pugin, two graduates of Cambridge University, John Mason Neale (1818-69) and Benjamin Webb (1819-85), founded the Cambridge Camden Society to promote Catholic ritual, proper church building and knowledgeable restoration. In the same year, 1839, another society was founded at Oxford for the study of Gothic architecture, later called the Oxford Architectural and Historical Society. (33) Amongst the first members of the Cambridge society were e.g. Rickman, Salvin and Cockerell, and many restoration architects were influenced by its principles, including Street, Butterfield and George Gilbert Scott. These principles were launched in a journal, *The Ecclesiologist*, first published in 1841, as well as in numerous other publications by the members of the society. Their polemical approach and criticism soon provoked a reaction; the society was accused of conspiring to restore popery. It was dissolved and refounded as the Ecclesiological Society in 1845.

One of the objectives of the Society was the restoration of mutilated architectural remains. According to Pugin, everything had to be 'real' in a church; but reality was interpreted as 'truth and seriousness of purpose'. (34) Churches had to be restored back to their former glory to the best and purest style, sometimes Early English, but more often Decorated or Middle Pointed.

Considering that English churches had been modified and received additions in many different periods, there was the question of either restoring all to one style or preserving each part in its own form; the former alternative was chosen without hesitation, as declared in *The Ecclesiologist* in 1842:

"We must, whether from existing evidence of from supposition, recover the original scheme of the edifice as conceived by the first builder, or as begun by him and developed by his immediate successors; or, on the other hand must retain the additions or alterations of subsequent ages, repairing them when needing it, or even carrying out perhaps more fully the idea which dictated them ... For our own part we decidedly choose the former; always however remembering that it is of great importance to take into account the age and purity of the later work, the occasion for its addition, its adaptation to its users, and its intrinsic advantages of convenience." (35)

This usually meant demolitions and a 'fearless' reconstruction, "a through and Catholick restoration", and it was considered a "sign of weakness to be content to copy acknowledged perfection". (36) Sir Kenneth Clark has later written about these restorations:

"It would be interesting to know if the Camden Society destroyed as much mediaeval architecture as Cromwell. If not it was lack of funds, sancta paupertas, the only true custodian of ancient buildings." (37)

But, he pointed out, the Camdenians also had their admirable and sympathetic qualities; they could love old buildings especially if these were of the right age, and save them from destruction more often than destroy them.

This was clearly different from the principles of John Carter forty years earlier, who had emphasized the preservation of original material, and a church's historic and picturesque qualities. It was also different from the ideas developed in France, and represented by men like A.N. Didron, Comte de Montalembert, M,rim,e, or even Viollet-le-Duc, who when accepting

a restoration or reconstruction in the original form, emphasized the archaeological evidence or at least chose a model reasonably near to what there could have been before. On the other hand, the 'true principles' and their full understanding as a basis for any restoration were shared both by Pugin and by Viollet-le-Duc.

Connections existed between architects in England, France and Germany; the editors of the principal journals of the Gothic Revival, *The Ecclesiologist*, *Annales Arch,ologiques*, and *K"lner Domblatt*, all established in the early 1840s, kept up correspondence with one another, published articles and reports on experiences in the other countries, and also met during travels. August Reichensperger, editor of *K"lner Domblatt*, who visited England in 1846, meeting Pugin, Barry, Scott and Didron, the editor of the *Annales* who also was in visit, and again in 1851. Montalembert, M,rim,e, Viollet-le-Duc, Didron and Lassus travelled extensively, and so did Pugin, who was well known abroad through his publications. (38)

Anthony Salvin

One of the favourite architects of the *Ecclesiologists* was Anthony Salvin, who also was a fellow of the Oxford Society, and of the Society of Antiquaries. He had a large practice in his London office, working on the Cathedrals of Durham, Norwich and Wells, on several parish churches, and remodelling a number of castles, including the Tower of London, Windsor Castle (since 1861), Alnwick, Caernarvon, Carisbrooke, etc. (39)

In 1845 he was involved in the restoration of a small round Norman church in Cambridge, the Holy Sepulchre. The building was evidently in a poor state of repair, and a portion of the aisle vaulting had fallen down. Seeing this as a good opportunity to demonstrate their principles, the Society offered to take a main share in its restoration, with the intention of "restoring this curious and venerable fabrick to some of its former beauty". (40)

The church consisted of a circular two storied embattled tower supported on a two-storied colonnade and surrounded by a circular aisle. The fifteenth-century upper part of the central tower, was removed, and the church was covered with a conical roof. The interior was rearranged according to the new liturgical requirements, including a stone altar, which caused intense controversy and brought the subject to the highest church court, the Court of Arches. The



Figure 271. St. Sepulchre's, 'the Round Church', in Cambridge in 1814, before the transformation

Figure 272. St. Sepulchre's after 'ecclesiological restoration' by Salvin in 1845 (photo c. 1980)



judgement was based on the fact that the Church of England, according to the New Testament, holds that Christ's death is "a full perfect and sufficient sacrifice ... for the sins of the whole world" never needing to be repeated. (41) A table therefore, as supported by the Vicar of the church, signified a commemorative meal, while an altar would imply a repeated sacrifice. On this ground the Vicar won the case, and the stone altar was replaced by a table.

J.L. Pearson

John Loughborough Pearson (1817-96) was brought up in Durham, and trained by Ignatius Bonomi and Salvin, who introduced him to the Ecclesiological principles. He coordinated a vast practice of church building and restoration, restoring or rebuilding more than a hundred parish churches and working on several cathedrals. In 1870 he was nominated surveyor of Lincoln Cathedral and in 1879 successor to Scott at Westminster Abbey.

His method of work consisted of taking down the damaged parts and rebuilding them stone by stone, using original material as much as possible. However, improvements dictated by necessity or by aesthetic preference were introduced, such as building a higher pitch to the roof, as he did at Exton in Rutland, where the church had been struck by lightning in 1843, and was rebuilt on the old foundations. (42)

In the case of a "very dilapidated and ill built" (43) sixteenth-century church of Prevoist at Stinchcombe, he found stones from an earlier Decorated church, which provided the basis for the reconstruction. He used to number the stones in order to guarantee accuracy; in St. Pancras at Exeter, the chancel was pulled down by him and "restored" so cleverly that even an expert may be excused if he thinks the building is of original Early English work with Decorated additions". (44)

He tried to justify his work on the basis of archaeological evidence, as for example in St. Mary at Stow-in-Lindsay, Lincolnshire, where he found the remains of four Norman windows in the east wall and parts of the old vault that had collapsed in a fire in the Middle Ages. As a result he was able to rebuild the east wall and the vault in what was believed to be their original form, receiving much merit and being elected an honorary member of the Archaeological Institute of Lincoln; later he was also accepted as a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries (1853). (45)

In general, he followed the recommendations of the Ecclesiologists; in St. Michael at Braintree, Essex

(1855-66), for example, the galleries and fittings were removed, the north nave aisle and the chancel arch were widened, the nave clerestory, the windows, the roofs and the floors were renewed, the tower and spire repaired, and new furniture put in. (46) In Peterborough Cathedral he rebuilt the crossing in 1883-97, refurnished the choir and restored the west front. (47) At Westminster Abbey his continuation of the rebuilding of the north transept, and repairing of nave walls, caused much opposition from William Morris and his friends. (48)

William Butterfield

William Butterfield (1814-1900) was another favourite of the Camdenians; he introduced an individual, idiosyncratic interpretation of Gothic architecture and favoured strong polychromy. In restoration he insisted on a good standard both in the structure and in the arrangements, aiming systematically at making the building 'sound and efficient'. (49)

He used underpinning, damp-proof courses, floor ventilation, and introduced proper gutters, drains and heating. He removed the galleries, and designed a new altar with steps leading to it, new altar rails and choir screens, and a font - if this did not exist already. He did not necessarily favour restoration to one single period, but respected historic changes; in many cases he saved seventeenth-century furniture.

In 1861, when he rebuilt the chapel tower at Winchester College, his instructions were to use "as much of the old work as possible in the reconstruction", but on close inspection he discovered that the surface was more decayed than expected,

"Stones which looked in good condition peeled off when touched with a penknife, and mouldings which looked sound, crumbled between my thumb and finger. A great deal of the new external work will be necessary. A few more years would put the surface of the Tower in a far worse state than it is now. I should carefully save and reuse every old moulding and surface stone which is at all likely to last, even though it may be in some respect in an imperfect state." (50)

Also Butterfield became a target for the later anti-restoration movement, and in 1900, the RIBA Journal wrote about him:

"We are wrapt in wonder that he could appreciate so much and spare so little. He despised the insipid and empty renovations of Scott, he was altogether

blind to the tender and delicate abstention of Pearson ... We can regret for our own sake and for his reputation's that he was ever called in to deal with a single ancient fabric." (51)

17.2 Sir George Gilbert Scott

During the 1840s a new debate began in England on the principles of conservation and restoration of historic buildings, and especially of mediaeval churches. This debate divided the people into two opposing groups, restorers and anti-restorationists, who gradually contributed to the clarification of the principles in architectural conservation. Although, looking at the debate from a general point of view, both sides seemed to have much in common, both often speaking of conservation; the basic difference was in the definition of the object. The restorers were mainly concerned about the faithful 'restoration' and, if necessary, reconstruction of the original architectural form emphasizing the practical and functional aspect.

The anti-restorationists, instead, were conscious of the 'historic time' insisting that each object or construction belonged to its specific historic and cultural context, and that it was not possible to recreate this with the same significance in another period; the only task that remained possible was the protection and conservation of the authentic material of the original object of which the cultural heritage finally consisted. Results of this debate were gradually felt in the public awareness and in the practice of restoration, which was guided towards a more conservative approach. The principal protagonists of this debate were Sir George Gilbert Scott (1811-78), the most successful Victorian architect with a massive practice of church restorations, and John Ruskin (1819-1900), a controversial intellectual and art critic, who shook the foundations of the traditionally accepted judgement of works of art. In 1877, the debate culminated in the foundation of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB) by William Morris (1834-96), artist, writer, promoter of ideal socialism and of the Arts and Crafts movement. It took several more years, however, until a legislative basis and administration were established in the country.

Scott dedicated himself entirely to his work, and had an "indomitable energy and unflagging zeal, as well as the enlightened spirit in which he pursued his lofty calling". (52) His practice extended to more than 800 buildings, including the Foreign Office, St. Pancras Hotel and the Albert Memorial. In 1858

he had 27 assistants in his office. A large portion of his work dealt with historic buildings; for example between 1845 and 1865 out of 300 new projects started by his office, 200 were restorations. (53) His interest in Gothic came from reading Pugin's publications (54), and in 1842 when 31 years old he joined the Cambridge Camden Society. In the field of restoration he has often been compared with Viollet-le-Duc in France; he worked in all parts of England as well as in Wales, on more than twenty cathedrals, abbeys, and dozens and dozens of parish churches. In 1844, he won the competition in Hamburg for the Nikolaikirche, and travelled in France and Germany measuring and studying Continental Gothic; in 1851 he toured Italy, meeting Ruskin in Venice and renewing the contact of eight years earlier. (55)

In 1835, Scott set up his first office with William Bonython Moffat (c1812-87). In the early 1840s the partners received ten church restorations, and in 1847 Scott was appointed architect for the restoration of Ely Cathedral where James Essex and Blore had worked before him. In 1849 he succeeded Blore as Surveyor to the Fabric of Westminster Abbey. In the 1850s he had his greatest successes and continued to collect cathedrals; in 1855 Hereford, Lichfield and Peterborough, in 1859 Durham, Chester and Salisbury, and others followed later.

His church restorations followed the general pattern of the period based on Camdenian principles, and were often destructive. Generally, pews, galleries and other 'modern' fittings were removed and replaced with new designs; floors were taken up after having first recorded the position of all 'monumental slabs', and a new floor with the slabs in their original position was laid over a sixinch deep concrete layer; roofs were taken down and rebuilt with new tiles, gutters and a proper drainage system; faulty sections of the structures were taken down and rebuilt using several 'bond stones' and iron ties to strengthen them; the foundations were consolidated and underpinned where necessary; the layers of whitewash were cleaned from the interior exposing the 'natural clean surface' to view, paying attention, however, to any old mural paintings, which might be preserved, although the plaster was often removed to expose masonry. Often changes were made in the plan; aisles could be enlarged or added and chancel arches widened. Elements representing 'unfashionable' or non-conforming styles were removed and 'corrected'.

"Generally, all works to be done in the best manner, with the best materials, and no material or workmanship to be omitted necessarily connected



Figures 273 and 274. St Mary's, Stafford, before and after restoration by Sir George Gilbert Scott



with the proper execution of all the works." (56) In the church of All Saints at Chesterfield, the Perpendicular east window was changed into Decorated; galleries were added despite the opposition of Scott, a displaced rood screen was re-erected. The twisted timber spire was left as "giving character and quaint antiquity to the building". (57)

The restoration of St. Mary's at Stafford was referred to the Oxford and Cambridge societies for approval as a result of some criticism. It was a 'large cross church with central tower' originating from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but had undergone successive alterations.

"In removing the decayed later work, details of the earlier design were found embedded in the walls ... so that there is hardly a detail of the smallest kind on which there is room for doubt as to its being an exact reproduction of the old design. This applies to the south transept, the south side of the chancel, the east end of the chancel, and its south side." (58)

Other parts were restored as found, according to Scott. One of his critics was Rev. John Louis Petit (1801-68), who published his Remarks on Church



Figure 275. Chichester Cathedral after collapse of the central tower in 1861

Architecture in 1841 with a chapter on ‘Modern Repairs and Adaptations’, where he complained about the work of ‘ignorant and presumptuous restorers’. He opened the chapter with a poem:

“Delay the ruthless work awhile - O spare,
Thou stern, unpitying demon of Repair,
This precious relic of an early age!

...

It were a pious work, I hear you say,
To drop the falling ruin, and to stay
The work of desolation. It may be
That ye say right; but, O! work tenderly;
Beware lest one worn feature ye efface -
Seek not to add one touch of modern grace;
Handle with reverence each crumbling stone,
Respect the very lichens o’er it grown ...” (59)

In his criticism of the work at St. Mary’s his proposals, however, remained rather vague; he mentioned the possibility of giving a Perpendicular appearance to the upper parts of the church in harmony with the existing style of the clerestory, “clearing it of undoubted faults and imperfections”! (60)

In his answer in 1841, Scott clearly presented concepts close to those that had developed in France since the Revolution. He regarded an ancient edifice

“as a national monument, as an original work of the great artists from we learn all we can know of Christian architecture, and as a work which when once restored, however carefully, is to a certain extent lost as an authentic example”. (61)

In a similar spirit, he emphasized historic and documentary values:

“I do not wish to lay down as a general rule that good taste requires that every alteration which from age to age has been made in our churches should be obliterated, and the whole reduced to

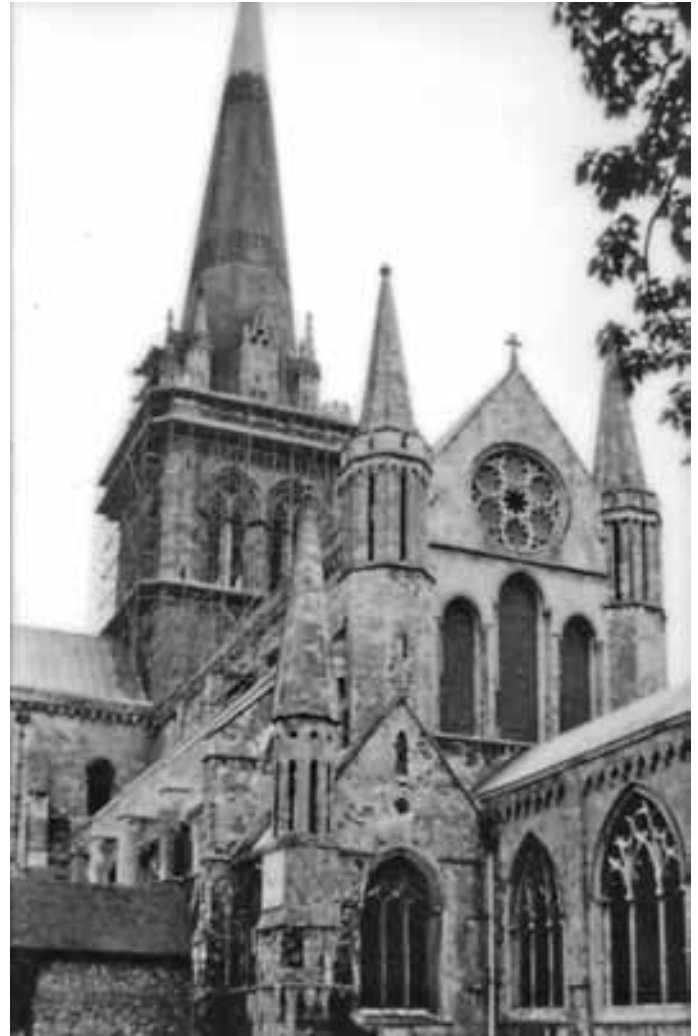


Figure 276. Chichester Cathedral with the spire rebuilt by Sir George Gilbert Scott (photo 1979)

its ancient uniformity of style. These varieties are indeed most valuable, as being the standing history of the edifice, from which the date of every alteration and repair may be read as clearly as if it had been verbally recorded; and in many cases the later additions are as valuable specimens of architecture as the remains of the original structure, and merit an equally careful preservation.” (62)

One can almost hear the voice of Guizot and Victor Hugo in these lines. He further distinguished between two types of monuments: there are the ancient structures of a past civilization, and there are churches which apart from having to be used, were also God’s House, and consequently had to be presented in the best possible form, as Pugin and the Camdenians insisted. Scott maintained that

“if our churches were to be viewed, like the ruins of Greece and Rome, only as original monuments from which ancient architecture is to be studied, they would be more valuable in their present condition, however mutilated and decayed, than

with any, even the slightest degree of restoration. But taking the more correct view of a church as a building erected for the glory of God and the use of Man (and which must therefore be kept in a proper state of repair), and finding it in such a state of dilapidation that the earlier and later parts - the authentic and the spurious - are alike decayed and all require renovation to render the edifice suitable to its purposes, I think we are then at liberty to exercise our best judgement upon the subject, and if the original parts are found to be 'precious' and the late insertions to be 'vile', I think we should be quite right in giving perpetuity to the one, and in removing the other." (63)

Scott's statement formed the basis of his concept of 'faithful restoration', which was further developed by him in successive papers, but which clearly left space for interpretation. Two years later, on the occasion of the restoration of a church at Boston, he again specified that

"the object of every repair should be the faithful restoration of those features of the original building which yet remain, and their preservation from further injury ... and no alteration should be attempted which is not the renewal of some ancient feature which has been lost, or absolutely necessary for rendering the building suitable to the present wants of the parishioners; and this should be done in strict conformity with the character and intention of the building." (64)

In this same church, however, in 1851, he inserted a new window, not based on any evidence, but simply copied from one in Carlisle Cathedral. Also in the case of St. Mary-on-the-Bridge, at Wakefield, "famous as the finest remaining example of a not uncommon mediaeval building type, though few can have matched its elaboration", (65) he made a decision that he later much regretted. Having found some debris of destroyed decorations in the river wall, he prepared the project for the restoration, intended as 'conservative'; he let himself, however, be persuaded by a stone carver to allow him to sell the original west elevation of the church - later erected as a boat house at Kettlethorpe, and have a replica made in its place. (66)

Proposals for Governmental Protection

In his answer to Petit, in 1841, Scott further stated that he was aware that the 'well-meant' 'modern system of radical restoration' was putting the authenticity of these historic buildings at greater risk

than it had been in the hands of any former 'fanatics' or 'wardens', and proposed the establishment of a sort of consultant authority to assist in this respect. Considering that

"an erroneous judgement might lead to unfortunate results, this is just one of those points on which the opinion of a kind of Antiquarian Commission might advantageously be taken." (67) This could be a group of "two or three non-professional and disinterested parties, well known to understand the subject." (68)

This proposal of an advisory organ, could be seen as a more modest counterpart to the French Commission created in 1837. There had been, however, already a previous attempt to organize a government body for the protection of ancient monuments following the model of the French system. In 1840, John Britton, the well-known English medievalist, had catalogued a number of interesting buildings in London, and, in 1841, had contacted Joseph Hume (1777-1855), a Member of Parliament, to have a Committee of Inquiry nominated at the House of Commons.

The Committee was supposed to consist of architects, antiquarians, amateurs, and private gentlemen; it was to be supported by public funds, and to advise on the repair and preservation of national monuments, such as churches, castles, and private houses, "everything which illustrates history, whether with regard to historical facts, society, or manners". (69) The Committee was formed, and collected evidence for a report which, however, was buried. In 1845, the matter was taken up again in order to create a museum of national antiquities, including a Commission for the conservation of national monuments. Although this initiative did have some support, Parliament did not take it seriously, and journalists shut their notebooks because they did not think this would interest general public. (70)

E.A. Freeman and the 'Eclectic' Principles

In 1846, Edward Augustus Freeman (1823-93), author of the *History of the Norman Conquest*, published a book on the *Principles of Church Restoration*, in which he distinguished between three different approaches, 'destructive', 'conservative' and 'Eclectic'.

a. The first of these, the 'destructive', was basically the practice of earlier centuries, when past forms of styles had not been taken into consideration in new additions or alterations.

b. According to the ‘conservative’ system, the intention was to “reproduce in repairing a building the exact details of every piece of ancient work which presents itself at the time the reparation is taken in hand”. (71) As a result the church would be “in its new state a new facsimile”. (72)

c. As to the third approach, the ‘Eclectic’ this represented a mid way, where the building was evaluated on the basis of its distinctive qualities and its history, and repaired or remodelled accordingly in order to reach the best possible result.

In 1847, in the annual meeting of the Ecclesiological Society, this subject was brought into what Scott later described as a “very unhappy discussion” (73). As a result the Society gave a statement in favour of the ‘Eclectic’ method of restoration, which was also Freeman’s preference. Scott feared that although some of the remarks in the meeting had been intended “in a semi-jocose sense”, this sort of discussion could have very serious results, because many could take these notions in earnest, and the “jokes have thus become no laughing matter”. (74)

Figure 277. Exeter Cathedral with the reredos restored by Sir George Gilbert Scott



Consequently, in 1848 he prepared a paper that was read at the first annual meeting of the Architectural and Archaeological Society for the County of Buckinghamshire, and repeated the following year at the joint meeting of the Architectural Societies for the Archdeaconry of Northampton and the County of Bedford. In 1850 this paper was published with notes as *A Plea for the Faithful Restoration of our Churches*.

Scott’s Principles of ‘Faithful Restoration’

Scott’s aim was to try to do ‘some good’ making an appeal on behalf of “a more tender and conservative way of treating” ancient churches. (75) He conceived the development of Roman basilicas into Christian churches as a “chain, every link of which is necessary to its future uses”, whether in their earlier or later forms, in their “humbler or more glorious examples, as the one vast treasury of Christian art, wonderfully produced, and as wonderfully preserved for our use”. (76) “Every ancient church, however simple and rustic, must then be viewed as a portion of the material of Christian art, - as one stone set apart for the foundation of its revival.” (77) Like the French before him Scott saw this heritage as “a jewel not handed down for our use only, but given us in trust, that we may transmit it to generations having more knowledge and more skill to use it aright.” (78)

He saw very clearly the difference between mediaeval and modern architects. The earlier builders were earnestly pressing forward to reach an almost ‘superhuman zeal’ in order to create something better than ever had existed before. All changes were in a sense adopted “not in addition to, but to the exclusion of, its predecessors”. (79) It was through this development, he believed, that we have arrived both to the great richness and to the decay of Christian art. The position of presentday architects was totally different, because now it was not a case of originating a style, but of reawakening one;

“and it is absurd to argue that, because those who originated it did not scruple, during its progress, at destroying specimens of the earlier varieties, to make way for what they thought better, we are equally free to destroy their works to make way for our own. It is from these works that we learn all we know of Christian architecture, and shall the first-fruits of our discipleship be the destruction of the works of our masters, where they do not chance to agree with some ideal standard of our own?” (80)

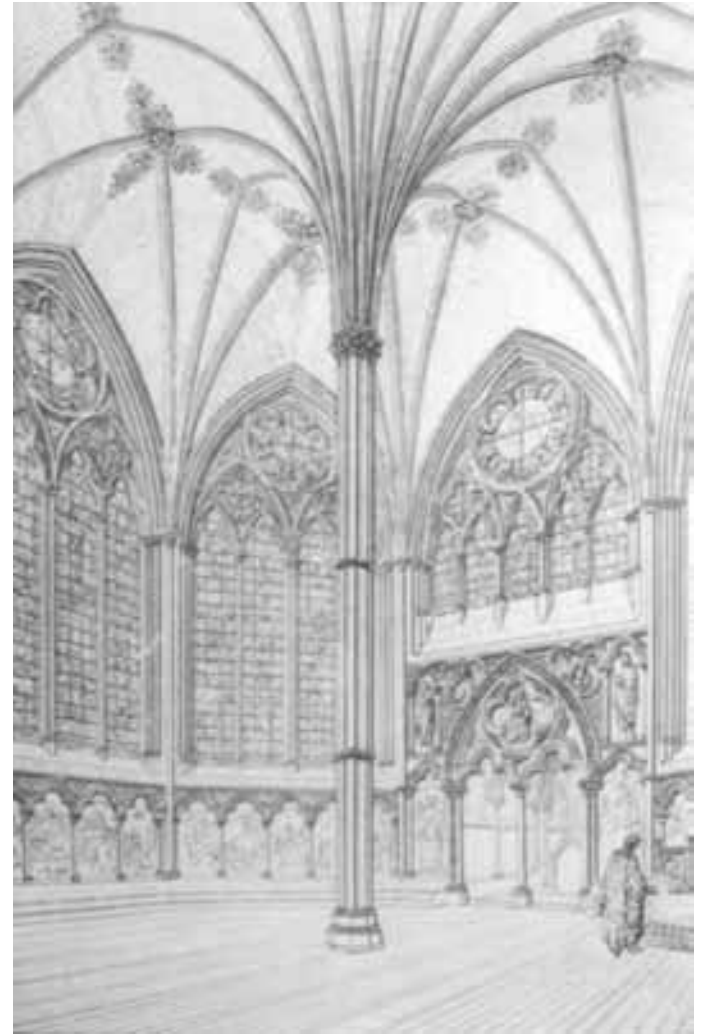
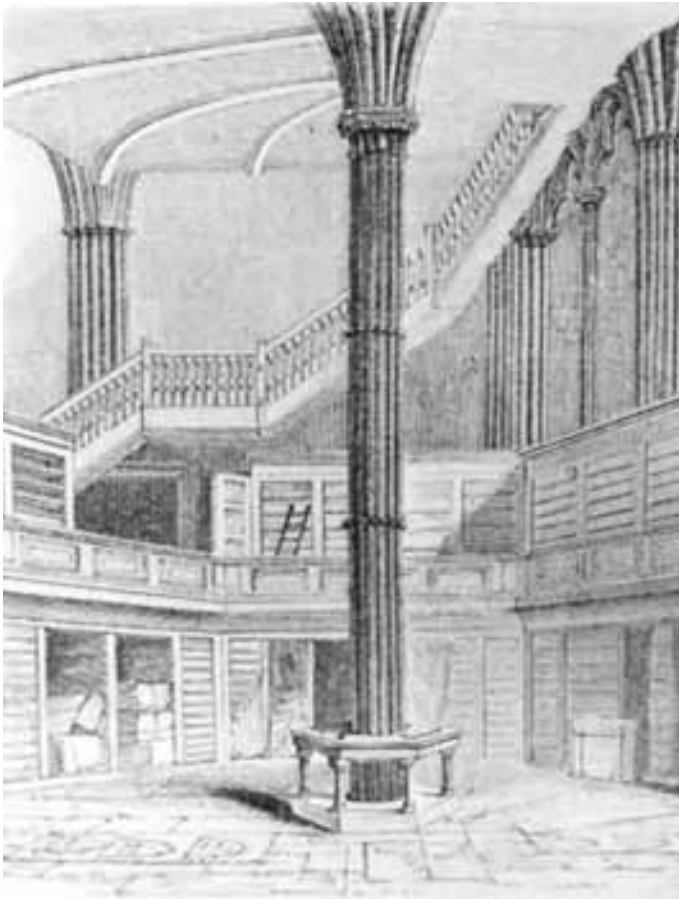


Figure 278 (left). Chapter House in Westminster Abbey before restoration

Figure 279 (right). Chapter House after restoration by Sir George Gilbert Scott in 1864-65

Out of his own experience, Scott could, however, say that it was not at all so easy to be ‘conservative’. “A restored church appears to lose all its truthfulness, and to become as little authentic, as an example of ancient art, as if it had been rebuilt on a new design.” (81) The advocates of the so-called ‘destructive’ method of restoration maintained that when dealing with a House of God, one had to do the very best that knowledge and funds would permit, without reference to historical or antiquarian connections. But Scott advocated that “‘conservatism’ should be the great object - the very keynote of Restoration”. (82) It was, however, not so easy, as Scott confessed, to find the “right tone of feeling” nor to find any definite rules for the solution of these problems. (83) The great danger in restoration was “doing too much, and the great difficulty is to know where to stop.” (84)

Scott maintained that with a certain talent, one would be able to repair or to reconstruct the walls and roofs

“without losing their design, or even their identity. Even entire rebuilding, if necessary, may be effected conservatively, preserving the precise forms, and often much of the actual material and

details of the original; and it is often better effected by degrees, and without a fixed determination to carry it throughout, than if commenced all at once.” (85)

The general rule was to preserve all the various styles and irregularities that indicated the growth and the history of the building, and which also added to the interest of more modest churches as well as to their picturesque character. However, Scott pointed out that there were often exceptions to this rule and, on the basis of a critical evaluation, one had to establish whether the older or the newer parts should be given preference in the restoration. In any case, he insisted that “some vestige at the least of the oldest portions should be always preserved, as a proof of the early origin of the building”, (86) and the same of later parts, if these were of little interest, and the earlier could be restored “with absolute certainty”. Here, sound judgement was clearly needed, and he proposed as another rule that

“an authentic feature, though late and poor, is more worthy than an earlier though finer part conjecturally restored - a plain fact, than an ornamental conjecture. Above all, I would urge

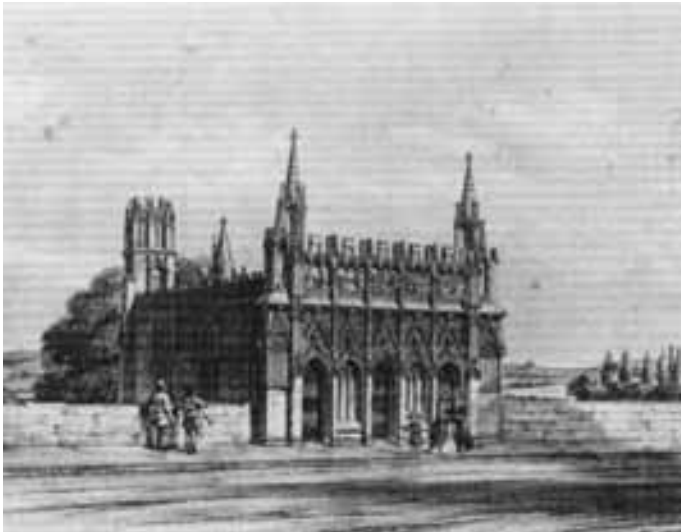


Figure 280. St. Mary-on-the-Bridge, Wakefield, where Scott allowed the original elevation to be removed and sold

that individual caprice should be wholly excluded from restorations. Let not the restorer give undue preference to the remains of any one age, to the prejudice of another, merely because the one is, and the other is not, his own favourite style.” (87)

Scott urged, in addition, a constant cooperation with the clergy as well as a strict control of the execution of the work in order to guarantee that the results really were to correspond to what had been planned by the architect.

Scott was a professional and he was an architect who was sensitive to historic values, but he was also practical, and he qualified his advice. Though ‘conservatism’ represented ‘an approximate definition’ of what one should aim at in restoration, the solutions had to be arrived at case by case. After all, he considered every restorer ‘eclectic’ whether he chose to be ‘conservative’ or ‘destructive’ in his work. He often referred to Mr Petit and his conservative principles, and he also pointed out that even Petit approved the rebuilding of the north-west tower of Canterbury Cathedral, because it was needed and justifiable in this specific case:

“That the Metropolitan Church of England”, wrote Petit, “should have an irregular imperfect front, was justly deemed objectionable, and in this case there was no fear of error, the part already before the architect served as a model for that which was to be undertaken”. (88)

What ‘faithful restoration’ or ‘conservative restoration’ meant to Scott, was based on respect for the original design, not for the original material nor for the form achieved through history. Good

documentation and archaeological evidence justified restoration, that is rebuilding of what had been lost or damaged - and additional evidence could be looked for in the region. Here his approach more or less coincided with the principles that were developing in France at the same time. Viollet-le-Duc and his work were well known in England, and in 1854, already an honorary member of the RIBA, he was offered the gold medal of the Institute.

17.3 John Ruskin

Although Scott was always proclaiming “conservatism, conservatism and again conservatism”, Prof. Sidney Colvin saw no difference between his principles and those against which he claimed. (89) Colvin was not the only critic, and especially in the 1860s and 1870s there was a growing ‘anti-restoration movement’, stimulated by John Ruskin’s (1819-1900) sharp eye and denunciation of any sort of restoration. In 1849, he exclaimed in the *Seven Lamps of Architecture*:

“Neither by the public, nor by those who have the care of public monuments, is the true meaning of the word restoration understood. It means the most total destruction which a building can suffer: a destruction out of which no remnants can be gathered: a destruction accompanied with false description of the thing destroyed. Do not let us deceive ourselves in this important matter; it is impossible, as impossible as to raise the dead, to restore anything that has ever been great or beautiful in architecture. That which I have above insisted upon as the life of the whole, that spirit which is given only by the hand and eye of the workman, can never be recalled. Another spirit may be given by another time, and it is then a new building; but the spirit of the dead workman cannot be summoned up, and commanded to direct other hands, and other thoughts. And as for direct and simple copying, it is palpably impossible. What copying can there be of surfaces that have been worn half an inch down? The whole finish of the work was in the half inch that is gone; if you attempt to restore that finish, you do it conjecturally; if you copy what is left, granting fidelity to be possible, (and what care, or watchfulness, or cost can secure it,) how is the new work better than the old?”

“There was yet in the old some life, some mysterious suggestion of what it had been, and of what it had lost; some sweetness in the gentle

lines which rain and sun had wrought. There can be none in the brute hardness of the new carving. Look at the animals which I have given in Plate 14, as an instance of living work, and suppose the markings of the scales and hair once worn away, or the wrinkles of the brows, and who shall ever restore them? The first step to restoration (I have seen it, and that again and again - seen it on the Baptistery of Pisa, seen it on the Casa d'Oro at Venice, seen it on the Cathedral of Lisieux,) is to dash the old work to pieces; the second is usually to put up the cheapest and basest imitation which can escape detection, but in all cases, however careful, and however laboured, an imitation still, a cold model of such parts as can be modelled, with conjectural supplements; and my experience has as yet furnished me with only one instance, that of the Palais de Justice at Rouen, in which even this the utmost degree of fidelity which is possible, has been attained, or even attempted."

"Do not let us talk then of restoration. The thing is a Lie from beginning to end. You may make a model of a building as you may of a corpse, and your model may have the shell of the old walls within it as your cast might have the skeleton, with what advantage I neither see nor care: but the old building is destroyed, and that more totally and mercilessly than if it had sunk into a heap of dust, or melted into a mass of clay: more has been gleaned out of desolated Nineveh than ever will be our of rebuilt Milan." (90)

Where Ruskin differed from Scott was his absolute defence of the material truth of historic architecture. It was the authentic monument and memorial of the past that he conceived as the nation's heritage; there were but two "strong conquerors of the forgetfulness of men, Poetry and Architecture", and in a sense the latter included the former. (91) Homer, though one of his favourite authors, was surrounded with darkness, while Pericles, his architecture and sculpture, could tell us more about ancient Greece than all her sweet singers or soldier historians. If indeed one wanted to learn anything from the past, or be remembered in the future, there were two essential duties

"respecting national architecture whose importance it is impossible to overrate: the first, to render the architecture of the day historical; and, the second, to preserve, as the most precious of inheritances, that of past ages". (92)

It was a moral duty in the Christian society to build one's dwellings

"with care, and patience, and fondness, and diligent completion, ... and build them to stand as long as human work at its strongest can be hoped to stand; recording to their children what they had been, and from what ... they had risen." (93)

The basic factor in Ruskin's conceptions and especially in his writings about art, was God. One of the essentials in art was beauty; the perception of beauty was a moral act. He was not the only one in his time to see these moral implications; there were others (e.g. Shelley and Wordsworth) (94), and he was well read in late eighteenth-century moral philosophers such as Adam Smith and his *Theory of the Moral Sentiments* (1759). The basic text, however, was the Bible that his mother taught him to know by heart in daily reading sessions and discussions on questions of conscience, free will, and responsibility. (95) The evangelical faith that he received from his parents lasted until he was about thirty; then followed two decades of gradual increase of doubts and a loss of faith until in his fifties he regained a personal interpretation of Christianity that he kept till the end. Ruskin's concepts and aesthetic theories were based on studies of classical authors, such as Aristotle and Plato, as well as Bacon, Pope, Johnson, Wordsworth, Reynolds; he knew also Homer, Burke, Cellini, Leonardo, Schiller, Walter Scott, Winckelmann and Fuseli. (96) He had a special appreciation of Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881), with whom he shared an enthusiasm for the Middle Ages. Ruskin had also read at least the early publications of Pugin, for whom he seems to have had some respect, but possibly due to differences in their religious views he only accepted having received facts from Pugin's writings. (97) In his youth, J.M.W. Turner (1775-1851) was his favourite painter; his major work, *Modern Painters* (1843-60), was originally intended as a defence of Turner who, according to him, had given him the colours, just as Byron had given him the verse. (98) Later, alongside Turner, he placed also Giotto and Tintoretto.

All through his life, Ruskin maintained a deep admiration and love for nature, where he found perfect beauty and the presence of God. In his youth he was much influenced by William Wordsworth (1770-1850), his love for the Lake District and description of humble rural cottages in the *Guide Through The District Of The Lakes* (1835) as if grown out of the native rock and "received into the bosom of the living principle of things" expressing the tranquil course of Nature, along which the inhabitants have been led for generations. (99) Ruskin had a special admiration

for mountains, crystals and minerals, to which he dedicated a part of the fourth volume of *Modern Painters* (1856).

Ruskin's powers of description were already evident in *The Poetry of Architecture*, first published under the nom-de-plum 'Kata Phusin' in 1837, two years after his second tour to the Continent, when still only eighteen. He had already some mastery in drawing and landscape painting, and dedicated much time to architecture, keeping a diary of his observations. His drawings were of a high quality, some pencil sketches achieving "an almost professional standard of touch and composition". (100) In *The Poetry of Architecture* he described and compared the national characteristics of cottage and villa architecture in England, France, Italy and Switzerland, paying special attention to 'age-value' and "the unity of feeling, the basis of all grace, the essence of all beauty". (101) Admiring how the fading beauty of English cottages worked on imagination, he regretted their destruction due to development.

Ruskin accorded great importance to teaching and lectured extensively all over the country between 1855 and 1870. He was the first Slade Professor at Oxford (1870-79) and again in 1883-84. Many of his publications have the self-confident tone of a teacher. He also wrote guide books for visitors; in a way *The Stones of Venice* (1851-53), a case study on the development of Gothic, is the most important of these. He wrote a small book for a visit of six Mornings in Florence and another one called *The Bible of Amiens*, an introduction to Amiens Cathedral, and the first volume of an intended series on the history of Christendom.

It is fascinating to follow Ruskin in his tours, and understand his meticulous concern for finding the truth of each artist through his art. Like Winckelmann before him, he considered it essential to distinguish the original from restoration. In Florence, he chooses Giotto as the main theme for visits to illustrate his artistic development. As a background, he first gives a brief but thorough historical survey to the topographical, social and religious situation. The visitor is then conducted (with 'your Murrays's Guide') to Santa Croce to see St. Louis of Toulouse high up in a chapel, a key figure for the understanding of Giotto, painted in his most mature period. On the way, an explanation is also given on why Arnolfo da Cambio has not vaulted the church but built a simple wooden ceiling, and why there is no apse.

Ruskin liked to use extreme comparisons to clarify his intentions; he compares for example the crossing of the Cathedral (a visit of two minutes) with the so-called 'Spanish Chapel' in the cloister of Santa Maria Novella, in order to convince the reader of "the first law of noble building, that grandeur depends on proportion and design - not, except in a quite secondary degree, on magnitude". (102) When doing his survey, Ruskin worked systematically to clarify the iconography of each figure, and the composition of the whole of the architectural space. He spent five weeks in the Spanish Chapel working on the scaffolding in order to observe at close quarters.

Giotto was, to him, the rediscoverer of colour; "Suddenly, Giotto threw aside all the glitter, and all the conventionalism; and declared that he saw the sky blue; the tablecloth white, and angels, when he dreamed of them, rosy." (103) He wanted to paint what really had happened. When it came to fire, it was less important whether the fire was 'luminous or not', than that it was 'hot'; the colours of figures depended also on their position in relation to the fire! If these figures were overpainted or restored, the exact expression and tonality were seldom or never reproduced. However, though "of all destructive manias, that of restoration is the frightfullest and foolishhest" (104) a restored painting may still be worth to look at.

"When, indeed, Mr Murray's Guide tells you that a building has been 'magnificently restored', you may pass the building by in resigned despair; for that means that every bit of the old sculpture has been destroyed, and modern vulgar copies put up in its place. But a restored picture or fresco will often be, to you, more useful than a pure one; and in all probability - if an important piece of art - it will have been spared in many places, cautiously completed in others, and still assert itself in a mysterious way - Leonardo's *Cenacolo* does - though every phase of reproduction." (105)

He further drew attention to a particular area:

"This is the only fresco near the ground in which Giotto's work is untouched, at least, by the modern restorer. So felicitously safe it is, that you may learn from it at once and for ever, what good fresco painting is - how quiet - how delicately clear - how little coarsely or vulgarly attractive - how capable of the most tender light and shade, and of the most exquisite and enduring colour." (106)



Figure 281. Amiens Cathedral

Ruskin had worked so hard on the critical analysis and evaluation, that although he confessed having still much to learn, he felt “simply the only person who can at present tell you the real worth of any” of Giotto’s work; and he said this rather with sorrow than pride. (107)

The Seven Lamps of Architecture

Lets us return to The Seven Lamps of Architecture, where he developed his architectural theories; the book opens with the definition: “Architecture is the art which so disposes and adorns the edifices raised by man, for whatsoever uses, that the sight of them may contribute to his mental health, power, and pleasure.” (108) He distinguished between Architecture and Building. Building is seen as the actual construction according to the requirements of intended use; “Architecture concerns itself only with those characters of an edifice which are above and beyond its common use.” (109) This seems to bring Architecture conceptually rather near to what is considered ornamentation and sculpture, i.e. artistic treatment that adds to the aesthetic appreciation of the Building. Speaking of decay, he claimed that

“the whole finish of the work was in the half inch that is gone” (110), and that ‘restoration’ meant that “every bit of the old sculpture has been destroyed”! (111) Ruskin was the first to give such an emphasis on ornamentation in the context of the architectural whole. On the other hand, he understood that good architecture needed a good building, and although he liked to distinguish clearly between these two aspects, he saw them together, contributing to one whole. (112)

At Amiens, Ruskin considered important to find the right route to approach the Cathedral, although he himself had not quite decided which was the best. He recommended, in case the visitor had time, to walk down the main street “across the river, and quite out to the chalk hill”, from where one could “understand the real height and relation of tower and town”. (113) Coming back towards the Cathedral, he advised to go straight to the south transept.

“It is simple and severe at the bottom, and daintily traceried and pinnacled at the top, and yet seems all of a piece - though it isn’t - and everybody must like the taper and transparent fretwork of the fleche above, which seems to bend to the west wind, - though it doesn’t”. (114)

Entering it, Ruskin considered the most noble experience in any cathedral,

“the opposite rose being of exquisite fineness in tracery, and lovely in lustre; and the shafts of the transept aisles forming wonderful groups with those of the choir and nave; also, the apse shows its height better, as it opens to you when you advance from the transept into the mid-nave, than when it is seen at once from the west end of the nave ... and in this first quarter of an hour, seeing only what fancy bids you - but at least, as I said, the apse from mid-nave, and all the traverses of the building, from its centre. Then you will know, when you go outside again, what the architect was working for, and what his buttresses and traceries mean. For the outside of a French cathedral, except for its sculpture, is always to be thought of as the wrong side of the stuff, in which you find how the threads go that produce the inside of right side pattern.” (115)

The idea for the title of the Seven Lamps came to Ruskin from the words of his favourite Psalm 119:

“Thy word is a lamp unto my feet, and a light unto my path ... Thy testimonies have I taken as an heritage for ever: for they are the rejoicing of my heart. I have



Figure 282. Watercolour by John Ruskin showing houses around the Strasbourg Cathedral

inclined mine heart to perform thy statutes away, even unto the end.”(116)

The Lamps were conceived as the seven fundamental and cardinal laws to be observed and obeyed by any conscientious architect and builder. They were not intended as the only rules to follow, but in Ruskin’s opinion they were the important ones. Some of these aspects had already been developed by him earlier, in *Modern Painters*. In the first volume, in 1843, he discussed concepts related to ‘Truth’ in art, and in the second volume, in 1846, he concentrated on the theory of ‘Beauty’. Having written the Seven Lamps, his faith in God underwent a crisis, he started accepting other influences, giving more attention to man’s relationship to man. This also led him to study and discuss social and economic questions, which brought him many enemies, but which were later taken up by William Morris and the Arts and Crafts movement. Ruskin contributed to a significant

change in the approach to the evaluation of historic buildings. So far attention had been concentrated on monumental and public buildings, especially churches; he introduced the values of domestic architecture.

The Concept of the Quality of Architecture

This keen interest and appreciation of simple forms of art was shown when Ruskin observed a bullfinch’s nest, an “intricate Gothic boss of extreme grace and quaintness”, which had apparently been made with much pleasure, and with ‘definitive purpose’ of obtaining an ornamental form. He concluded by drawing a lesson from the modesty of this little builder:

“if we are, indeed, the highest of the brute creation, we should, at least, possess as much unconscious art as the lower brutes; and build nests which shall be, for ourselves, entirely convenient; and may, perhaps, in the eyes of superior beings, appear more beautiful than to our own.” (118)

This sort of nest building could be seen in the architecture of the old houses of Strasbourg, which brought much pleasure to the peasant, “adapted, as it was, boldly and frankly to the size of his house and the grain of the larch logs of which he built it - infinitely more than the refined Italian enjoyed the floral luxuriance of his marble”. (119)

When Ruskin spoke about the sacrifice that he expected from the architect and the builder, he meant that each should give his best and sacrifice other pleasures for the sake of architecture. This did not mean that one should bring marble to every village; on the contrary, it was better to use locally available materials, but to select the best quality for each specific purpose so as to make a true and honest contribution toward an aesthetic enjoyment and durability of the building. Ruskin hated imitations, and he insisted that both building materials and working methods must be honestly what they appear to be; no fakes. The creator’s intention was essential; in the sacrifice what actually was done was less important than how and with what intention one did it. He did not accept timber painted to imitate stone, but he could accept painted architecture by Michelangelo in the Sistine Chapel because there it was clearly understood in the context. He fought against industrial methods of production, and promoted traditional workmanship because he feared that industrialization would alienate man from enjoying his work, and the result would thus remain empty and lifeless. One of the

reasons for his rejecting restoration was the same; copies produced in a restoration lacked the life and the ‘sacrifice’ of the originals. (120)

Beauty’

Beauty was the essence of Ruskin’s life, and it resulted from an intrinsic harmony and repose. Perfect beauty was in God, and as a reflection of God it was found in nature and in art. He divided beauty into ‘typical’ and ‘vital’, the former consisting of forms and qualities of forms, such as curved lines, the latter concerned with expression, happiness and energy of life. (121) In architecture, he conceived forms to be beautiful so far as they derived from nature, because man was not able to produce beauty by himself. On the other hand, he also accepted that age in itself also contributed to beauty; the marks of age could be seen as such an essential element in an object, that it could only be considered ‘mature’ in its beauty when it had reached several centuries of age. Classical architecture, which in his opinion was not based on the imitation of nature, except in certain details such as the Corinthian capital, did not meet the requirements of beauty; and so Renaissance

Figure 283. The Cathedral and the Bell Tower of Giotto in Florence. Daguerrotype in Ruskin’s collection



Figure 284. Salisbury Cathedral

architecture or Tudor, an imitation of Classical, was rejected with few exceptions - such as Raphael and Michelangelo. (122) Gothic, instead, and especially Italian Gothic, to which he had been introduced through Prof. Robert Willis’ publications, was entirely based on natural forms. He paid attention to the way sculpture and ornamentation had been conceived as an integral but subordinate part of the architectural whole, how detailing was balanced according to the distance from which it was to be seen, how the relief was reached for proper depth of shadow, and how variety was introduced through naturally coloured stone.

A perfect example of Gothic architecture in this sense was the Campanile of Giotto in Florence, which he compared with Salisbury Cathedral in England in his most eloquent prose in the “Lamp of Beauty”. One of the differences between Ruskin and many modern historians was that he actually visited the buildings that he described, studying them under different conditions, during the day, and in the moonlight, as well as measuring them, drawing them, and writing detailed descriptions. He could return to the same building several times, and his views could change while his mind was at work. At first the Campanile of Giotto had seemed strange and flat to him, but gradually he became accustomed to it and then full of admiration:

“The contrast is indeed strange, if it could be quickly felt, between the rising of those grey walls out of their quiet swarded space, like dark and barren rocks out of a green lake, with their rude, mouldering, rough-grained shafts, and triple lights, without tracery or other ornament than the martin’s nests in the height of them, and that bright, smooth, sunny surface of glowing jasper,



Figure 285. Drawing by Ruskin of the northern porch of Amiens Cathedral before restoration

those spiral shafts and fairy traceries, so white, so faint, so crystalline, that their slight shapes are hardly traced in darkness on the pallor of the Eastern sky, that serene height of mountain alabaster, coloured like a morning cloud, and chased like a sea shell.” (123)

Historical Values

The “Lamp of Memory” in a certain way was the culmination of Ruskin’s thinking in terms of architecture, especially in relation to its national significance and its role in the history of society. If we want to learn anything from the past, he pointed out, and we have any pleasure in being remembered in the future, we need memory, we need something to which to attach our memories. With poetry, architecture was one of the ‘conquerors’ of time, and Ruskin insisted on our principal duties in its regard: first to create architecture of such quality that it could become historical, and secondly, “to preserve, as the most precious of inheritances, that of past ages.”(124) Ruskin divided architecture into five categories, devotional, memorial, civil, military, and domestic,

and it is interesting, that though giving due respect to the importance of public buildings, he dedicated more space to domestic architecture. Looking at countries which had given birth to some of the world’s greatest architecture, Italy and France, he emphasized that the interest of their ‘fairest cities’ did not depend so much of the richness of some isolated palaces, but “on the cherished and exquisite decoration of even the smallest tenements of their proud periods.” (125) In Venice, some of the best architecture could be found on the tiny side canals, and they were often small two or three-storey buildings; and in Florence he was horrified that a whole street near the Cathedral “very narrow & Italian”, was pulled down in the early 1840s. (126)

Emotional Values

Concerning emotional values, Ruskin saw a ‘good man’s house’ as a personification of the owner, his life, his love, his distress, his memories; it was much more a memorial to him than any that could be erected in a church, and it was the duty of his children and their descendants to take care of it, protect it, and conserve it. He saw this also a task of Christianity; God is present in every household, and it would be a sacrilege to destroy His altar. Consequently, the house belongs to its first builder; it is not ours, though it also belongs to his descendants, and so it is our duty to protect it, to conserve it and to transmit it to those who come after us. We have no right to deprive future generations of any benefits, because one of the fundamental conditions of man is to rely on the past; the greater and farther the aims are placed the more we need self-denial and modesty to accept that the results of our efforts should remain available to those who come after. Architecture with its relative permanence, will create continuity through various transitional events, linking different ages, and contributing to the nation’s identity. (127) One can hear echoes of Alberti, and of the French Revolution, which Ruskin had taken further; no longer was he speaking of single national monuments, but of national architectural inheritance, including domestic architecture and even historic towns.

Picturesque Values

‘Picturesque’ was a word that often been used in connection with ruined buildings, and even been given to mean ‘universal decay’; this sort of picturesqueness Ruskin called ‘parasitical sublimity’. (128) To him picturesque meant a combination of beauty and the sublime, and it could be expressed in the different characteristics and intentions in art. For



Figure 286. Abbey ruins in Yorkshire: Ruskin's message has been well received when dealing with ruins

example Gothic sculpture was picturesque due to the way shadows and masses of shadows were handled as a part of the composition, while classical sculpture - like the metopes of the Parthenon - was not because it was intended to be seen against a darker background, and shadows were used mainly to clarify the subject. Artists could also treat their subject in a picturesque way, for example in the arrangement of the hair. Concerning historic buildings, the accidental, ruinous picturesqueness was not the main thing; it was the 'noble picturesque', "that golden stain of time", the marks of ageing on the materials, which give it character. Considering that a building would thus be 'in its prime' only after four or five centuries, it was important to be careful in the choice of building materials to make them stand weathering for such a long time. (130)

Ruskin's criticism of Italian 'Restorations'

During his travels, Ruskin saw decay and restoration everywhere. In his letters to his father from Italy, there are pages and pages of anger for the loss of familiar works of art, such as the destruction of two Giotto's frescoes in the Campo Santo of Pisa; he exclaimed his feelings for the "Poor old Baptistery - all its precious old carving is lying kicking about the grass in front

of it - the workmen are wonderful at the 'knockin' down', like Sam Weller (Pickwick Papers, ch. 37-38)". (131) In Verona, he was just in time to see

"the last of the rich weeds and waving ivy on the massy brick tower, just in time to catch one idea of the grand range of Venetian arches in its inner court. Down they all go - or are being bricked up, the mouldings dashed off the square window frames, regular Mr Snell - in a month or two more it will be all in order, and as tidy as Waterloo Place, only the architecture not so good." (132)

In Venice, "on the Ca' d'Oro, the noblest Palace of the grand Canal, the stonemasons are hard at work, and of all its once noble cornice there remains one fragment only." (133)

"I am but barely in time to see the last of dear old St. Mark's. They have ordered him to be 'pulito', and after white-washing the Doges Palace, and daubing it with the Austrian national distillation of coffings & jaundice, they are scraping St. Mark's clean. Off go all the glorious old weather stains, the rich hues of the marble which nature, mighty as she is, has taken ten centuries to bestow ..." (134)

In Italy he found the "whole nation employed in destroying the most precious of its heritages, and sinking deeper & deeper every day into apathy, ignorance, & sensuality." (135) And he wrote to his father that he had to prolong his stay in order to be able to make at least a drawing of all the treasures that were being destroyed.

Maintenance and Care

Even the Campanile of Giotto was under "chipping & cleaning, & putting in new bits, which though they are indeed of the pattern of the old ones, are entirely wanting in the peculiar touch & character of the early chisel. So that it is no longer Giotto - it is a copy... whose power of addressing the feelings as a whole, is quite gone." (136) What should be done then with these historic buildings in order not to lose their historical values? Ruskin wrote in June 1845, "This I would have. Let them take the greatest possible care of all they have got, & when care will preserve it no longer, let it perish inch by inch, rather than retouch it." (137)

This phrase that he later included in the "Lamp of Memory", has almost become Ruskin's 'trade mark'. He did not mean, however, that one should not face the need of repair; what he wanted to avoid, was the



Figure 287. Detail of Giotto's Bell Tower in Florence

'necessity of restoration', which was often given as an excuse. He mentions the Abbey of St. Ouen which he says was pulled down in order to give work to some 'vagrants'. (138) He insisted that proper care be taken of buildings, keeping their roofs in good repair, and the gutters free of dead leaves, so as to make them last longer.

"Watch an old building with an anxious care; guard it as best you may, and at any cost, from every influence of dilapidation. Count its stones as you would jewels of a crown; set watches about it as if at the gates of a besieged city; bind it together with iron where it loosens; stay it with timber where it declines; do not care about the unsightliness of the aid ..." (139)

The question of maintenance was taken up by William Morris later as one of the main principles of conservation. Ruskin was also concerned about new development in urban areas, and the loss of identity of old towns if their buildings were destroyed to make way for new squares and wider streets. He warned against taking false pride in these, and drew attention instead to the values found in the old districts and the dark streets of the old town. (140)

Ruskin's Proposal for an Association

In 1854, Ruskin was invited to give the opening speech at the new Crystal Palace, and he used this opportunity to make an appeal for the sake of works of art and historic buildings. He was not so concerned for the new streets and boulevards being built in Paris, because of its "peculiar character of bright magnificence", but he was seriously worried about its effect all over Europe on the existing historic cities. He mentioned the old Norman houses at Rouen, which were to be completely renewed and whitewashed in order to respect the newness of the recent hotels and offices, not to speak of the destructions that had already started in other towns. He utterly condemned the restoration of the principal cathedrals of France under the Second Empire; although these pretended to have been done with 'mathematical exactness' and great skill. He appealed to all those who had any concern for antiquities and archaeology or works of art, to give up some personal desires, and make a contribution toward the saving of works now lying and rotting without care, and to provide care for historic buildings. he proposed that

"An association might be formed, thoroughly organized so as to maintain active watchers and agents in every town of importance, who, in the first place, should furnish the society with a perfect account of every monument of interest, and then with a yearly or half-yearly report of the state of such monuments, and of the changes proposed to be made upon them." (141)

He proposed further that a fund should be formed in order to buy threatened properties, or assist their owners in keeping them up, as well as help the association to influence to prevent 'unwise restoration and unnecessary destruction'. (142)

These proposals had no immediate effect because his audience was not prepared to accept this sort of action. However, Ruskin approached the Society of Antiquaries, trying to persuade them to consider this task; but while refusing the proposal to act as watchmen, the Society acted favourably on the idea of a conservation fund. In January 1855, the Executive Committee proposed the conditions for the fund, which were approved by Ruskin, who paid £25 to start it. (143) In March a paper was circulated, based on the principles of preservation of old churches from further damage, but of not attempting any restoration. This paper, however, met with opposition from the Church, which complained that it would be an offence against those who in recent years had done

their best to improve God's House for His glory and accommodate the needs of the increasing population. (144) This was practically the end of the story, because although a few more pounds were given, and a couple of minor repairs were done, the rest of the money was still waiting to be used some twenty years later.

Development of Conservation Principles

The failure of this initiative was much regretted, (145) but although archaeological societies existed in most parts of the country, there was little interest yet in interference in preservation activities. The churches needed to be used, and consequently repaired and kept as healthy as possible in terms of wetness both from the roof and from the ground. The influence of both Ruskin and Scott was, however, becoming felt, and at least some speakers (such as Henry E.J. Dryden at Leicester and J.H. Markland at Worcester) at the architectural and archaeological societies began to draw attention to the manner in which repairs and restorations were being carried out. Restoration could at the time be defined as "a putting something into a state different from that in which we find it; but similar to that in which it once was". (146) First of all it was recommended not to try to restore to the 'original', of which often only a corner may remain, but to content with the nearest to the best; the use of cement could now be tried to consolidate faulty sections of structures, without dismantling them. The question of authenticity and avoidance of anything leading to deception were specially emphasized. The proposal was made to cut a date in a window reproduced on the basis of an old model. Attention was further given to avoid scraping of 'scaling' old weathered stones as had happened at Durham earlier in the century. Methods of pointing were looked at critically; and the preservation of any surfaces with decorative painting, and fragments of stained glass, was strongly recommended. The question of style in modern additions to an old fabric had already been touched on by Scott in his Plea. Considering that the 'favourite modern style' corresponded to the Gothic of the thirteenth century, one had to be careful in using this in order not to create a controversial and confusing situation; in 1854 Dryden returned to the subject giving examples of what to avoid in restoration - such as building a fourteenth-century high pitched roof over fifteenth-century walls. (147)

Scott's Reaction to Ruskin's Principles

Having read the "Lamp of Memory", Scott thought that Ruskin had gone far beyond him in his conservatism. He considered the refusal of restoration

quite appropriate in the case of antique sculptures or ruined structures, but pointed out, that buildings that were not only monuments but had to be used, such as churches, could not stay without repairs from time to time. He reminded that the damage had already been done in the past. (148) In 1862, he presented a lengthy paper at a meeting of the RIBA developing the argument in further detail, and taking care to apply Ruskin's principles as far as possible. (149) He divided ancient architectural remains into four categories: the 'mere antiquities' such as Stonehenge, ruins of ecclesiastical or secular buildings, buildings in use, and fragmentary remains in more modern buildings. He emphasized that the last category included valuable fragments of domestic architecture, which were "of great practical importance to the student of our old architecture". (150) He did not think that the first category present any special problems, while the second needed urgent action due to rapid decay of structures exposed to weather. Here he recommended Ruskin's receipt of protecting the wall tops, grouting where necessary, bonding, underpinning or buttressing if absolutely necessary, but doing it all so as not to change the original appearance and picturesqueness of the ruin, and he added that if any new work were needed, "it will be best to make the new work rough, and of old materials, but in no degree to mask it, but rather to make it manifest that it is only added to sustain the original structure". (151) He himself had consolidated the west front of the ruined Crowland Abbey in this manner. (152)

As to buildings in use, he agreed with Ruskin that the aim of restoration was the preservation of the "greatest possible amount of ancient work intact", but he confessed: "we are all offenders"! (153) To avoid a restoration resulting in a complete 'blank', however, and in order to ensure that a building should maintain the maximum of its historic material, he recommended as a 'beau-ideal' of restoration, that it should be carried out "in a tentative and gradual manner ...and rather feeling one's way and trying how little will do than going on any bold system". (154) He thought it better to undertake the work in small contracts rather than one large, for the architect he recommended a complete survey, small scale repairs and consolidation of weathered elements "from time to time", as well as

"absolute measured drawings with minute descriptions of all he discovers, and all which he is able fairly to infer from the evidence thus obtained, he may be able at last to make (with more or less certainty) a restoration on paper of the lost

and partially recovered design, which in any case would be most useful, but which, if a restoration de facto were at any future time determined on, would be absolutely invaluable.” (155)

In the discussion, G.E. Street (1824-81), restorer of York Minster, further emphasized the importance of the architect being personally involved in all phases of the detailed inspection of buildings, “it was impossible that a man could thoroughly understand a building till he had measured and drawn every part of it himself”. (156) He believed too that supervision should never be left to the clerk of the works; most mistakes were done in the architect’s absence. (157)

17.4 The Anti-Restoration Movement

RIBA Guidelines for Conservation

Scott admired Professor Willis’ skill in finding archaeological evidence for reconstructions, comparing this sort of work to that of a palaeontologist, and he believed that a historical building could be rebuilt on the basis of logical analogy like a skeleton. However, he was still very critical of the restoration practice in France. This argument was taken up in the discussion also by Street; while admiring the great energy, zeal and skill of French professionals, their excellent cataloguing of all important buildings of the country, and the valuable reports by Mérimée, he insisted that there would be a great danger in entrusting the architectural heritage of Britain to the hands of the Government, which was clearly demonstrated in the system of ‘wholesale restorations’ in France. (158) He preferred that the legal guardians of churches, bishops, archdeacons and rural deans, should consult recognized professionals when dealing with restoration. Nevertheless George Godwin maintained that although Britton and Ruskin had not been successful in their attempts, the time might now be ripe for the Government to be involved. (159) At the end, the RIBA Council was requested to nominate a Committee:

“to draw up a series of practical rules and suggestions for the treatment of ancient buildings requiring reparation, and to put themselves in communication with other architectural and antiquarian societies, with a view of obtaining their co-operation in considering such measures as their united wisdom may suggest for the promotion of the faithful and authentic conservation of ancient monuments and remains, and to report on the same to this Institute.” (160)

As an immediate result of the meeting, a Committee was appointed, and in 1865 were published a set of practical rules and suggestions, under the heading Conservation of Ancient Monuments and Remains. It was in two parts, “General advice to promoters of the restoration of ancient buildings” and “Hints to workmen engaged on the repairs and restoration of ancient buildings”. To have legal protection for ancient monuments was to take two more decades. (161) The 1865 document was drafted mainly on the basis of Scott’s paper. In the title ‘conservation’ was preferred to ‘restoration’ - obviously Ruskinian, but also in agreement with what Scott had suggested in his paper.

It was considered most important to carry out a careful archaeological and historical survey, and prepare measured drawings of the building before anything was decided about eventual alterations. The building was to be well photographed before any works started, as well as making a careful search “for indications of ancient doorways, - window openings, - reredos”, etc. (162) Special concern was given to the conservation of all building periods, as well as of monuments, effigies, stained glass, wall paintings, etc.

It was further emphasized that every building had a historic value, and that this would be gone if its authenticity was destroyed. There were specific recommendations for the conservation in situ of anything that could have any value, such as fragments of decorated plaster, stained glass, details of metal fittings, and inscriptions. Scraping of old surfaces was forbidden, cement was recommended for consolidation and re-fitting loose stones, white shellac and a solution of alum and soap were advised for stone consolidation.

Following Street’s recommendations, it was preferred to avoid re-plastering in order to expose and show “the history of the fabric with its successive alterations as distinctly as possible”. (163) There was, however, still some lingering influence of the Cambridge Camden Society, for example in the “clearance of obstructions”, including “wall linings, - pavements, - flooring, - galleries, - high pews, - modern walls, - partitions, - or other incumbrancies, as may conceal the ancient work”. (164) This document contributed to a new approach to the conservation of historic buildings, although some of its technical recommendations such as the removal of renderings, and the use of cement and stone consolidants have later caused their problems.

Conservation Principles

The period from the later 1860s through the 1870s was an active one for discussion about restoration and anti-restoration; Scott himself participated. During the years 1873 to 1875, he served as President of the RIBA, and each year his inaugural address dealt with questions related to the destructive restoration of mediaeval buildings; he was ready to curse “the day when the then youthful Cambridge Camden Society, all too sanguine and ardent, adopted for their motto the ominous words so sadly realized, ‘Donce Templā refeceris’.” (165) In 1874, Ruskin was offered the Gold Medal of the RIBA, but he refused on the grounds that so much destruction of works of art and historic buildings was still going on all over Europe,

“for we have none of us, it seems to me, any right remaining either to bestow or to receive honours; and least of all those which proceed from the Grace, and involve the Dignity, of the British Throne.” (166)

Although Scott believed that he had fought for the sake of ‘conservation’ all his life, he now found himself to be one of the accused. In 1877, he answered an article on “Thorough Restoration” by Rev. W.J. Loftie (167) with his own called “Thorough Anti-Restoration”, (168) in which he defended his work, and commented that

“while Mr Loftie does not think it worth while to say much about the common run of restoration, such as those which have provoked my most earnest protests, he devotes himself with a special gusto to writing down some of my own which I had flattered myself were unassailable, or to which I had at least devoted special love and earnest anxiety.” (169)

Scott found that almost his very words had been taken out of his mouth and adduced to his own condemnation.

Sidney Colvin

The thoughts and words of Ruskin were gradually diffused and taken as their own by many others. In 1877, Sidney Colvin (1845-1927), Slade Professor of Fine Arts at Cambridge, summarized the concepts in his *Restoration and Anti-Restoration*. He conceived a building as a work of art, but different from a picture or a statue, which were completed at one time and for good; buildings instead, may exhibit the action of many modifying forces, or else have an uneventful simple life; but the more they bear the marks of such

forces, the greater is their historic value and interest; in other words,

“an ancient building is at once a work of art and a monument of history, and the one character is as essential to it as the other”. (170)

Although this concept was present in Ruskin’s writings, it was here formulated in a way that resembles later conservation theories, such as that of Cesare Brandi in Italy (171). Referring to Ruskin, Colvin stated that due to its picturesqueness and age-value, an historic building had a twofold charm; it was venerable, which implied, first, “that old workmanship in architecture is more beautiful than new; and second, that it is more interesting and suggests more solemn thoughts.” (172)

History, however, did not stop in the Middle Ages, as it had for Scott, but included all periods, such as Queen Anne, in which fine workmanship could be found, but which were not appreciated by medievalists. He accused the restorers of lacking “a true historical sense”, which would value each period and its contribution in its own right, and would not destroy blindly, as the ‘fanatics’ advocated.

“The right lover of art can see the virtue of one style without being blind to the virtue of another. He is perfectly sensible that the great, the inspired system of Middle Age architecture during its organic periods is a thing of very much higher beauty and import than the systems of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and he acknowledges that history often thus leaves its mark at the expense of art, and that a building, in accumulating historical value, often deteriorates in artistic value. But all the same, he can see that Queen Anne design is rich, well- proportioned, and appropriate in many uses, especially indecorative woodwork; and he will infinitely rather have the genuine product of that age than the sham mediaeval product of to-day.” (173)

He quoted another writer’s words, who had said that “an old church is frequently not one, but many churches in one” (174), and maintained that it was madness to destroy later structures for the sake of archaeological research, ritual propriety, artistic continuity, or with the excuse of repair. He brought out the recently translated article by Viollet-le-Duc, “On Restoration” (175), in which restoration was accepted as a shock to the building, and insisted that whatever discoveries might be made, they were



Figure 288. St Alban's Cathedral before restoration
 Figure 289. St Alban's Cathedral after rebuilding of the west front by Lord Grimthorpe



“at the cost of the integrity of the structure and the continuity of its history”. (176)

J.J. Stevenson

Following the same line of thought as Colvin was John James Stevenson (1832-1908), a Scottish architect remembered principally for school buildings in the Queen Anne style; he was especially shocked by the restoration of lost parts in such a way that the new and old became indistinguishable, and as an example he told about his visit to Sainte-Chapelle in Paris where he was guided by Viollet-le-Duc. In describing the pains and care taken in the restoration and repainting of some polychrome niches, Viollet-le-Duc had appeared “unintentionally amusing”. He had related that

“after portions had been restored in exact imitations of the old colouring, it was found

necessary sometimes completely to repaint them, in consequence of the discovery in the old work of some colour with which the new work would not harmonize. From this we may judge of the uncertainty of the restoration, and its authenticity in telling us what the old work was.” (177)

He insisted that a manufactured document of a later date than the time it professed to belong to, was “worse than useless”; it was misleading and a falsification, and he referred to Carlyle, who had stressed “his reverence for absolute authenticity”, and contributed to the ending of this sort of faking in the field of literature. (178) He also pointed out the example of the mutilated Elgin Marbles which sculptors earlier would have liked to complete and restore, but who were now prevented from this “by their culture”. (179)

Lord Grimthorpe

Stevenson also attacked the work of Sir Edmund Beckett (later Lord Grimthorpe) for his proposed rebuilding of the west front of St. Alban's Abbey, accusing him of destroying valuable historic documents. Beckett answered him, refusing to accept any of the criticism:

“The fact is that the west front of St. Alban's ceased to exist as architecture, except the central part, and became brick walls long ago; and now the central part is also simply dead of old age, bad construction, worse building, and stone entirely unfit for external use, and has only two alternatives - to fall down or be rebuilt before it falls. Fortunately, enough remains of the inside of the porches to enable them to be, in the common sense of the word, restored, that is to say, retained some of the old stones, together with some new ones copying the old; many of the external arch stones of the central porch have also been found used as rubble in the modern walls. That being so, the only question is the mode of rebuilding the west front, except the porches; and that has nothing to do with the subject of ‘Historical Documents’, as Mr Stevenson absurdly calls it, as if any good were to be done by using common words in a sense in which no man understands them. It can never be an historical monument (to speak English and not nonsense) again. Even if anyone proposed to copy it, there is absolutely no architecture to copy, except that vile Perpendicular window, about the ugliest in England. Bad as it is, I contemplated letting it alone if it would have stood being let alone. But it would not, and I



Figure 290. Tewksbury Abbey before restoration. Its proposed restoration by Scott caused William Morris to write a letter in the *Athenaeum* and call a meeting for the foundation of SPAB

will certainly not spend sixpence in rebuilding or copying such a thing, which is the real meaning of ‘restoring’ it in its present condition.” (180)

Earlier, Stevenson had also attacked Scott for his schemes in the same building, and Scott, rather taken aback, had given a lengthy answer to him. Becketts plans were actually carried out, leaving “little to be enjoyed outside” the church. (181)

The Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings

On 5 March 1877, a letter written by William Morris (1834-96) was published in *The Athenaeum*, opposing destructive restoration and proposing an association in defence of historic buildings:

“My eye just now caught the word ‘restoration’ in the morning paper, and, on looking closer, I saw that this time it is nothing less than the Minster of Tewkesbury that is to be destroyed by Sir Gilbert Scott. Is it altogether too late to do something to save it - it and whatever else of beautiful or historical is still left us on the sites of the ancient buildings we were once so famous for? Would it not be of some use once for all, and with the least delay possible, to set on foot an association for the purpose of watching over and protecting these relics, which, scanty as they are now become, are still wonderful treasures, all the more priceless in this age of the world, when the newly- invented study of living history is the chief joy of so many of our lives?” (182)

On 22 March, the new Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, SPAB, was formally founded at a meeting called by Morris. Amongst the early members of the Society, there were many distinguished personalities, such as Carlyle (who made a special

appeal for Wren’s London churches), Ruskin, Prof. James Bryce, Sir John Lubbock, Lord Houghton, Prof. Sydney Colvin, Edward Burne-Jones and Philip Webb, the last two amongst Morris’ closest friends. Morris, who had been the initiator of the Society, was elected its honorary secretary, and was the driving force in its activities. (183) The Society had an important role to play in uniting the forces against conjectural restoration, and promoting maintenance and conservative treatment. Its influence was felt not only in England, but also in other countries, such as Italy, France, Germany, Egypt, and India.

William Morris

To look briefly at the background of Morris, he spent several years with his family in Woodford Hall, a Palladian mansion in Epping Forest, where he could enjoy a rural idyll, and develop his love of nature, which were always to be felt in his art and approach to life. He also enjoyed reading the romantic historical novels of Sir Walter Scott, and when he started his studies at Oxford in 1853, he was strongly influenced by Carlyle’s *Past and Present*, Charlotte Yonge’s *The Heir of Redclyffe* (1853), and especially by Ruskin’s *The Stones of Venice*, which was published during the first year of his studies. (184) Through Ruskin’s writings Morris and his friend Burne-Jones, were also introduced to the Pre-Raphaelite movement. In 1854 and 1855, the two toured Belgium and northern France to study Flemish painting and Gothic architecture. Morris expressed himself as writer and poet, studying for example the folklore of Iceland; his main works were much appreciated by contemporaries, and Ruskin himself admired his poems. (162a) When Morris completed his university degree, he was already well instructed in mediaeval studies, and in 1856, he entered G.E. Street’s office as an apprentice. Here he made friends with Philip Webb (1831-1915), Street’s chief assistant, who later became his close collaborator. However, architect’s work did not interest Morris, and so after a few months he let himself be persuaded by D.G. Rossetti (1828-82) to leave the office and take up painting. Webb, who had made serious studies of English Gothic architecture, came to see that “modern medievalism was an open contradiction”; he left Street with the intention of trying to make buildings of the present day pleasant without pretences of style. (185)

The Lesser Arts

In 1861 Morris, with some friends including Rossetti and Webb, decided to set up a firm to provide services as ‘Fine Art Workmen in Painting,

Carving, Furniture and the Metals', named Morris, Marshall, Faulkner & Co. (186) The aim of the firm, as promoted by Ruskin, was to involve the artists in the actual process of production, following the ideal of the mediaeval artist-craftsmen. Morris understood Ruskin's message that "Art is man's expression of his joy in labour". (187)

He was especially impressed by the central chapter of the Stones of Venice, "On the Nature of Gothic, and the Office of the Workman therein", in which Ruskin described how the mediaeval workman gradually developed his carving not only to express nature but also his creative freedom, pleasure and happiness in the work. Ruskin invited people to go and have another look at an old cathedral:

"examine once more those ugly goblins, and formless monsters, and stern statues, anatomiless and rigid; but do not mock at them, for they are signs of life and liberty of every workman who struck the stone; a freedom of thought, and rank in scale of being, such as no laws, no charters, no charities can secure; but which it must be the first aim of all Europe at this day to regain for her children". (188)

According to Morris, everything made by man's hands had a form, either beautiful or ugly, "beautiful if it is in accordance with Nature, and helps her; ugly if it is discordant with Nature, and thwarts her". (189) He extended the concept of art beyond that of the traditional trio, architecture, sculpture and painting, the greater arts, to what he called the 'lesser arts', the artistically creative design of all objects used by man; forms did not necessarily 'imitate' nature, but the artist's hand had to be guided "to work in the way that she does, till the web, the cup, or the knife, look as natural, nay as lovely, as the green field, the river bank, or the mountain flint". (190) It was through this transformation of dull and repetitive work into a creative process, that Morris saw work becoming man's enjoyment. Although Morris, like Ruskin, was reluctant to accept mechanical machine production because this would kill man's contact with his work, he accepted that a part of the production could be made with machinery, leaving the essential parts to be worked by hand. Beauty consisted in the well-designed functional form of useful objects.

The Concept of 'Historical Context'

Morris conceived all art to be a product of historical development. Arts may have been made use of by tyranny, by luxury, or superstition, but they have

also been the product of the most vigorous and free times of nations, and even among oppressed people arts could give a form of freedom; all people express themselves in forms that they think beautiful, and some are only known for the forms they have produced. He insisted that the bond between history and decoration was so strong that no-one could actually

"sit down and draw the ornament of a cloth, or the form of an ordinary vessel or piece of furniture, that will be other than a development or a degradation of forms used hundreds of years ago". (191)

The arts were "a part of a great system invented for the expression of a man's delight in beauty", (192) and the teachers of the artist-craftsmen had to be Nature on one hand, and History on the other; it would be difficult for anybody - except maybe a genius - to do anything at present without a good knowledge of history. So it was essential to study the ancient monuments, which "have been altered and added to century after century, often beautifully, always historically; their very value, a great part of it, lay in that". (193)

Although the products of Morris & Co. were ideally intended for every household, the process itself was very expensive, and as a result only wealthy people could afford them; he even designed wallpapers for Balmoral, Queen Victoria's new house in Scotland. (194) In the 1870s Morris became increasingly uneasy about the conflict between his ideals and his work, causing him to reconsider his approach to art and society. He found that most people were "careless and ignorant" about art, and as a result the less intellectual or decorative art "as a spontaneous and popular expression of the instinct for Beauty" did not exist at all. (195) He returned to the writings of Carlyle and especially of Ruskin, from whom he conceived that "the art of any epoch must of necessity be the expression of its social life, and that the social life of the Middle Ages allowed the workman freedom of individual expression, which on the other hand our social life forbids him." (196) Such thinking led him to the socialist party, which he joined in 1883, becoming a 'practical socialist'. (197) This development had been for him a continuous logical process, and art and the joy of work remained always central in his life. A contemporary critic, while speaking about Morris and of the generous warmth of his expressed obligations to Ruskin, suggested that

"the despairing tone of Mr. Ruskin, and the qualified but unextinguished hopefulness of



Figures 291 and 292. Oxford Cathedral: the east end before and after restoration by Scott

Mr. Morris, are both justified by the social and political preconceptions which determine their attitude towards the practical problems of art and industry.” (198)

Morris believed that because of this great difference in the social conditions of the Middle Ages and the nineteenth century a revival of Gothic architecture was impossible without changing the basis of Victorian society, and consequently also restorations were out of the question; a modern workman was not an artist as the ancient craftsman, and would not be able to ‘translate’ his work. “Such an ordinary thing as a wall, ashlar or rubble, cannot at the present day be built in the same way as a mediaeval wall was”. (199) Looking at the small English churches, where the main interests were the patina of age and the mixture of additions and changes from different periods, one could feel as if these were ‘skinned alive’ when restored. It was a murder. “You see, it’s my grandmother”, Webb used to say. (200) Antiquity meant being old; Gothic belonged to the Middle Ages,

and any imitation in the nineteenth century would be a forgery.

Until 1877, the year of the foundation of the SPAB, Morris & Co. had collaborated in the restoration of churches; one-third of their stained glass production went for old buildings. That year, Morris decided to “undertake no more commissions for windows in ANCIENT buildings”. (201) Partly this was because he did not consider modern glass suitable for ancient buildings, but also because he was now opposed to any restoration. One of the decisive factors had been the ‘restoration’ of the fourteenth-century east end of Oxford Cathedral according to a Norman design by Scott. (202) Morris now thought that if repairs had to be made in old windows, he preferred to use modern plain glass broken up by lead. (203)

The Manifesto of the SPAB

There were certain particular restorations, such as Burford parish church and Lichfield Cathedral, which had already made Morris write a first letter of protest in September 1876, though this was not published. On hearing the news of the proposed restoration of Tewkesbury Abbey in March 1877,

however, he reacted and called the meeting at which the SPAB was founded. (204) He then proceeded to draft a Manifesto for the new Society, which has been reprinted in every annual report ever since. While referring to the past changes in ancient buildings, which themselves became historic and instructive, modern 'restorations' that pretended to put the monument "at some arbitrary point" in its history, were condemned as "a feeble and lifeless forgery". Ancient buildings, whether considered "artistic, picturesque, historical, antique, or substantial: any work, in short, over which educated artistic people would think it worth while to argue at all", (205) were to be regarded as a whole with their historic alterations and additions, and the aim was to conserve them materially and "hand them down instructive and venerable to those that come after us". (206)

The Manifesto formed the basis for modern conservation policy; by implication protection was not limited any more to specific styles, but based on a critical evaluation of the existing building stock. The other essential consideration was that ancient monuments represented certain historic periods only so far as their authentic material was undisturbed and preserved in situ; any attempt of restoration or copying would only result in the loss of authenticity and the creation of a fake. The philosophy of the SPAB was 'conservative repair', "to stave off decay by daily care". (207)

Active Protection by the SPAB

In the SPAB, the 'Anti-Scrape Society', Morris and Webb continued for many years to be the driving force. Morris and his friends persuaded new people to become members of the Society, and in order to collect funds for it, he delivered a series of lectures, in which he developed his ideas about art and socialism, later published as *Hopes and Fears for Art* (1882). Members of the SPAB sent in reports of churches that were threatened by 'restoration' or destruction, and the Society also printed a form which was used collecting information on all churches that had not been restored so far. In 1878, this figure was 749. (208) Morris himself visited buildings for the Society in the early years, and encountered problems and some hostility. Webb wrote a number of reports on old buildings, and he constantly had to warn the builders of the difference between an ancient structure compared to building a new one. "New wine put into old bottles!" (209)

The influence of the SPAB was gradually increasing and although there were several, or practically

continuous, disappointments, there were also successes; schemes to add to the Westminster Abbey and rebuild the Weston Hall, to demolish the old school buildings at Eton and two classical churches in London, St. Mary at Hill and St. Mary-le-Strand, were dropped after protests by the SPAB. (210) The picturesque ruined Kirkstall Abbey at Leeds, for which Scott had already prepared a restoration scheme in the 1870s, but which had not been executed, was threatened to decay so fast as to be soon beyond repair. After the SPAB had been approached about this in 1882, there was a long campaign to find the necessary funds for its repair, until in 1890 Colonel J.T. North, 'the Nitrate King', bought the ruins and presented them to the citizens of Leeds. In 1885, in order to combine certain congregations in York, and to improve their churches, it was proposed to demolish half a dozen old churches. As a result of pressure organized with the support of the SPAB in public meetings and newspapers, the Archbishop agreed finally to guarantee 'no harm' to the buildings. (211)

One of the outcomes of the activities of the SPAB was that repair of historic buildings came to be considered a highly specialized branch of architecture, for which not only the architects needed special preparation, but also and especially the workmen "should have so true an instinct for the right treatment of materials as to deserve the title of artist as well as that of mechanic". (212) In order to help meet these requirements, the Society published its influential Guidelines in 1903, and later A.R. Powys, who was secretary for the Society from 1911 to 1936, published a handbook on the Repair of Ancient Buildings, which summarized the principles and showed how the duties of caring for ancient buildings "may be performed so that work may be done with the least alteration to the qualities which make a building worthy of notice, namely - workmanship, form, colour, and texture". (213)

Legal Protection in England

During the 1870s and 1880s a fresh action was taken to obtain legal protection for ancient monuments; Sir John Lubbock, one of the founding members of the SPAB, had worked on the preparation of a Bill for Parliament since 1871, and three years later it came to the first Parliamentary debate. It met with considerable opposition because of its 'interference with the rights of private property'. Even the Society of Antiquaries; of London was reluctant to give its support until 1879, when the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland and the Royal Irish Academy also agreed. After several hearings it finally became law as the

Ancient Monuments Act on 18 August 1882. The new Act, however, was limited to protection for tumuli, dolmens, or stone circles, of outstanding importance; the first list embraced sixty-eight monuments or groups of monuments such as Stonehenge, most of which were pre-historic. For a time the protection of historic buildings remained mainly dependent on the initiative of amenity societies and on the good will of the owners. (214)

Influences of SPAB in other countries

Morris and his ideas have had a fundamental importance in the development of modern architecture and design; his influence was felt in England in the Arts and Crafts movement during the last decades of the nineteenth century, on Philip Webb, William Richard Lethaby (1857-1931), Richard Norman Shaw (1831-1921), and others; it was felt also outside England by Frank Lloyd Wright, Henry van de Velde, Adolf Loos, Hermann Muthesius, Deutsche Werkbund, and the Bauhaus. (215) The members of the SPAB were in correspondance with several countries and their restoration practice. Of particular interest was the case of St. Mark's in Venice. Ruskin had been complaining about its restorations in the 1840s, but from 1860 there had been a major campaign to renew the decayed marbles of the facades. Since 1877, Ruskin and his friend, Count A.P. Zorzi, were involved in a campaign in order to save the building. In 1879 Zorzi published a book in which he sharply criticized the restoration; (216) this was noticed in the British press, Morris and the SPAB joined the protestors. In November and December 1879, some thirty articles were published on the subject in Britain, many quoted in Italy. Morris himself gave public lectures on the subject, and a petition with over a thousand signatures was presented to the Italian Ministry of Education, protesting against the restoration, which would have involved a rebuilding of the west front of the church. The Italian Government reacted and halted the works, giving instructions for more conservative treatment (as will be discussed later).

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75. Scott, *ibid.*, 1, 'Introduction'.
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77. Scott, *ibid.*, 18.
78. Scott added his hope that future generations would be better equipped for the use of their heritage. Scott, *ibid.*, 20.
79. Scott, *ibid.*, 24.
80. Scott, *ibid.*, 25f.
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82. Scott, *ibid.*, 26.
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84. Scott, *ibid.*, 29.
85. Scott, *ibid.*, 29.
86. Scott, *ibid.*, 40.
87. Scott, *ibid.*, 31. In 1857, Scott touched on the question of 'style' in additions to historic buildings (Scott, G.G., *Remarks on Secular & Domestic Architecture, Present & Future*, 2nd.ed. London 1858, 232ff): "...in making additions to an Elizabethan building, the question as to whether those additions should be Elizabethan would depend upon the extent and merits of the existing works. If they are more extensive than the additions, and are in themselves good, I think they should be followed; but not so rigorously as to forbid our refining and improving it by giving it a little of the feeling of our own style. ... If, however, the old remains are small as compared with our proposed work, or in themselves inferior, I would not hesitate at throwing off all fetters, and strike out boldly in our own style. ... In dealing with a building of a late Gothic period, the same rule, or rather the same liberty, holds good. Here no discordance is created by adding to it in our own way, the styles being so intimately allied. Nor, if the magnitude of the building and its historical associations seem to forbid a departure from its general character, need we in the least fear to tone our own works so as to harmonize them in some degree to the style we prefer, particularly, by avoiding such features as we feel to be debased or corrupt, and be falling back upon Nature for our foliated decoration." In working with historic buildings of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Scott maintained to "adhere scrupulously to what we find, but in making additions we may fearlessly make use of our own developments; for there no diversity of character will exist, our own style being the very same..." Scott further considered that the definition of a 'falsehood' is the "intention to deceive". (*ibid.*, 246)
88. Petit quoted by Scott, *A Plea*, op.cit., 123.
89. Colvin quoted by Scott, *Recollections*, op.cit., 364.
90. Ruskin, J., *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, London 1925, 'The Lamp of Memory', xviii-xix.
91. Ruskin, op.cit., 'Lamp of Memory', ii.
92. Ruskin, *ibid.*
93. Ruskin, *ibid.*, 'Lamp of Memory', iv.
94. Landow, G.P., *The Aesthetic and Critical Theories of John Ruskin*, Princeton 1971, 221.
95. Ruskin, J., *Praeterita*, Oxford 1978, 117.
96. Landow, *The Aesthetic and Critical Theories*, op.cit., 14ff., 243f.
97. Conner, P.R.M., 'Pugin and Ruskin', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XLI, London 1978, 344ff.
98. Ruskin, J., *Praeterita*, op.cit., (I,viii,167), 134.
99. Walton, P.H., *The Drawings of John Ruskin*, Oxford 1972, 33.
100. Walton, op.cit., 27.
101. Ruskin, J., *Poetry of Architecture*, New York 1883, 6.
102. Ruskin, J., *Mornings in Florence: being Simple Studies of Christian Art, for English Travellers*, 1881, 101.
103. Ruskin, op.cit., 38.
104. Ruskin, *ibid.*, 85.
105. Ruskin, *ibid.*, 85f.
106. Ruskin, *ibid.*, 86, footnote.
107. Ruskin, *ibid.*, 155.
108. Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps*, op.cit., 13, 'The Lamp of Sacrifice', i.
109. Ruskin, *ibid.*, 16.
110. Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps*, 354 ('The Lamp of Memory', xviii); Unrau, J., *Looking at Architecture with Ruskin*, London 1978.
111. Ruskin, *Mornings in Florence*, op.cit., 85f: "When, indeed, Mr. Murray's Guide tells you that a building has been 'magnificently restored', you may pass the building by in resigned despair; for that means that every bit of the old sculpture has been destroyed, and modern vulgar copies put up in its place. But a restored picture or fresco will often be, to you, more useful than a pure one; and in all probability - if an important piece of art - it will have been spared in many places, cautiously completed in others, and still assert itself in a mysterious way - as Leonardo's *Cenacolo* does - through every phase of reproduction."
112. Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps*, 15 ('The Lamp of Sacrifice', i.): "It may not be always easy to draw the line so sharply, because there are few buildings which have not some pretence or colour of being architectural; neither can there be any architecture which is not based on

buildings, nor any good architecture which is not based on good building; but it is perfectly easy, and very necessary, to keep the ideas distinct, and to understand fully that Architecture concerns itself only with those characters of an edifice which are above and beyond its common use.”

113. Ruskin, J., ‘Our Fathers have told us’, *The Bible of Amiens*, London 1897, iv, 6 (173f).

114. Ruskin, *op.cit.*, iv, 7 (175).

115. Ruskin, *ibid*, iv, 8 (178).

116. The Bible, ‘Psalms’, 119, 105-112. Bradley, J.L., Ruskin, *The Critical Heritage*, London 1984, 96ff.: An unsigned review, ‘*Examiner*’, 16 June 1849, 373: “By the ‘seven lamps of architecture’ we understand Mr Ruskin to mean the seven fundamental and cardinal laws, the observance of and obedience to which are indispensable to the architect who would deserve the name. The lamps are the lights the architect must work work by. The lamp of sacrifice relates chiefly to great works of a religious or other public character. It is the conviction that their construction is an offering up of something which the offerers deem precious, on the shrine of duty. The lamp of truth is that enlightenment, moral or intellectual, which causes the mind to reject wiht distaste all tawdry substitutes for real beauty, and all deceptive appearance of a richness of material, or costly expeniture of labour, that are beyond the means of the constructor. The lamp of power is the sense that tedfastness and durability are essential elements in architectural grandeur. The lamp of beauty is that delicate sense of the graceful which rejects the mixture of all incoherent loveliness in form or colour, and every ornament which is not in harmony with the purpose and design of a building. The lamp of life is that instinctive vitality in the architect which enables him, even when he adopts suggestions of form and combinations from others, to impart originality to his work, and escape the risk of reproducing a mere lifeless copy. The lamp of memory is that abiding impression of historical fitness which teaches the architect the necessity of conforming to the requirements and habits of the society amid which he lives. The lamp of obedience is the resolution on the part of the young architect to condescend to remain long a learner before he aspires to be a master in his art; and the avoidance of the self-pride which leads beginners to fancy themselves superior to rules.”

117. Landow, *Theories of John Ruskin*, *op.cit.*, 26ff.

118. Ruskin, J., *The Eagle’s Nest*, 1872, iii, 48ff.

119. Ruskin, *op.cit.*, v, 86ff.

120. Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps*, *op.cit.*, ‘The Lamp of Truth’.

121. Landow, *op.cit.*, 110ff.

122. Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps*, *op.cit.*, ‘The Lamp of Memory’.

123. Ruskin, *ibid.*, ‘The Lamp of Beauty’, xliii (267f.).

124. Ruskin, *ibid.*, ‘The Lamp of Memory’, ii (324f.)

125. Ruskin, *ibid.*, v (330f.).

126. Ruskin to his father, Florence 30 May 1845 (Ruskin in Italy. *Letters to his Parents 1845*, ed. H.I. Shapiro, Oxford 1972, 88.)

127. Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps*, *op.cit.*, ‘The Lamp of Memory’, iii-vi.

128. Ruskin, *ibid*, xii.

129. Ruskin, *ibid*, x.

130. Ruskin, *ibid*, xvi.

131. Ruskin to his father, Pisa 13 May 1845 (*Letters*, 61.); 21 May 1845 (*Letters*, *op.cit.*, 72.).

132. Ruskin to his father, Verona 7 September 1845, (*Letters*, 196.).

133. Ruskin to his father, Venice 21 September 1845, (*Letters*, 208).

134. Ruskin to his father, Venice 14 September 1845, (*Letters*, 201).

135. Ruskin to his father, Florence 25 June 1845, (*Letters*, 128).

136. Ruskin to his father, Florence 17 June 1845, (*Letters*, 119).

137. Ruskin to his father, Florence 17 June 1845, (*Letters*, 119).

138. Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps*, *op.cit.*, ‘The Lamp of Memory’, xix, (356).

139. Ruskin, *ibid.*, xix (357).

140. Ruskin, *ibid.*, xx (360).

141. Ruskin, J., ‘The Opening of the Crystal Palace Considered in some of its Relations to the Prospects of Art, 1854’, 19-20. (Tschudi-Madsen, S., *Restoration and Anti-Restoration*, *op.cit.*, 118.)

142. Ruskin, ‘The Opening’, *op.cit.*

143. Evans, J., *A History of the Society of Antiquaries*, Oxford 1956, 309f.: On 9 November and 7 December, 1854, the Executive Committee of the Society of Antiquaries studied Ruskin’s proposal, and reported to the Council: “It appears to the Committee that the objects which Mr. Ruskin has in view, although in themselves highly laudable, would in their entirety, be more extensive than this Society with reference to its other objects could properly undertake: but at the same time, the Conservation of ancient monuments is strictly within the scope of this Society; and it does not appear to the Committee that it would be inappropriate that this Society should undertake to receive funds entrusted for that purpose and to apply them through the medium of this Committee, and the local secretaries, confining their operations, at least in the first instance, to the preservation of remains in Great Britain and Ireland, and without entering into the larger question of the

purchase of such buildings, or more extended operations in foreign countries.” (‘Executive’, 7 December 1854)

144. Evans, op.cit., 311f.: on 29 March 1855 the Executive Committee prepared the paper that was passed as a resolution by Council, was read at the meeting on 3 May 1855, and was later circulated to the members of the Society: “Restoration. The numerous instances of the Destruction of the character of Ancient Monuments which are taking place under the pretence of Restoration, induce the Executive Committee, to which the Society of Antiquaries has entrusted the management of its ‘Conservation Fund’, to call the special attention of the Society to the subject, in the hope that its influence may be exerted to stop, or at least moderate, the pernicious practice. The evil is an increasing one; and it is to be feared that, unless a strong and immediate protest be made against it, the monumental remains of England will, before long, cease to exist as truthful records of the past...”

The Committee strongly urge that, except where restoration is called for in Churches by the requirements of Divine Service, or in other cases of manifest public utility, no restoration should ever be attempted, otherwise than as the word ‘restoration’ may be understood in the sense of preservation from further injuries by time or negligence: - they contend that anything beyond this is untrue in art, unjustifiable in taste, destructive in practice, and wholly opposed to the judgement of the best Archaeologists.” An answer was received from the Rev.E.T. Yates, addressed to the President, 26 May 1855: “...It will be a great public calamity and destruction to the well-being of thousands if private endeavours are thus discouraged, particularly when such attempts are made to do away with that rate with which our ancestors in their holy zeal endowed our Churches for their perpetual preservation. And what is the preservation of a few antiquated relics to the general welfare of the public?”

145. Henry Harrod, F.S.A., (Gleanings among the Castles and Convents of Norfolk, Norwich 1857, v f.) complained that while the public was “fully alive to the importance of preserving our ancient manuscripts intact: the value of an original over a facsimile, be the latter ever so good, is at once seen and appreciated; but our more material records in wood and stone are suffered to be destroyed and replaced by at best poor imitations of ancient art, not only without censure, but in many cases with approbation. Meanwhile the evil goes on increasing, and in the course of another half century, unless public opinion can be brought to bear upon the matter, there will scarcely be any ancient buildings left in the land. In dealing with an increasing evil like this, nothing is to be done except by earnest, steady, uncompromising energy; any other course only serves to produce irritation, without any compensating results. I had hoped, with many others, that the Society of Antiquaries was about to rouse itself and to deal energetically with the giant evil. But, alas! the Council having delivered itself in the year 1855 of a strong Resolution, has apparently ceased to trouble itself with

the difficult task. This Resolution, I submit, with all due deference, ought to have been followed up by strong representations in every quarter where the matter could have been dealt with, and some feasible plan suggested for a supervision and conservation of our ancient monuments; and I still hope, although much valuable time has been lost, that the Council will yet bestir itself on a subject of such national importance. For our Churches are not only records of the History of English Architecture, but also of the History of the Church itself; and I would myself deal as gently with works of the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods as with the works of earlier times, except where they are undoubted obstructions to Public Worship.”

146. Dryden, Henry E.L., ‘On Repairing and Refitting Old Churches’ (read at the Public Spring Meeting of the Architectural Societies of the Diocese of Lincoln and of the Archdeaconry of Northampton, at Leicester, May, 1854), Associated Architectural Societies: Reports and Papers, 1854, III, i, 11ff.: “Restoration may be defined to be a putting something into a state different from that in which we find it; but similar to that in which it once was. There are many who, with Mr. Ruskin, deny that there is such a thing as restoration; but whether you or I agree with Mr. Ruskin or not, the public opinion is for using these old buildings for public worship, in which opinion, I for one cordially agree; and it is evident that if they are to be so used, repairs must often be made, and in some cases reconstructions. The principle on which I set out is, that there shall be no attempt at deception. Deception in architecture is an imitation in one material of the appearance of another in a place where the imitated material ought to be or might be: or a putting up of new work sufficiently like old work to be mistaken for old work, but which we cannot affirm is exactly like the original work. ... I have set out with the rule that there shall be no deception; but this does not hinder the use of cement for mending, where stone could not so similarly be used. Often a patch of cement renders it unnecessary to cut away a considerable portion of old work. ... If I was obliged to rebuild a chancel or aisle, not being able to rebuild all its parts correctly, according to any old state, I should generally rebuild it in the style which I found predominant in it; supposing that to be one of the church styles. You must not put a style over a later one. ... In restoring painting on screens, or walls, I would advise you, first, to make a drawing of what remains, and consider well what you are going to do.” Markland, J.H., Esq., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., ‘On the Ecclesiastical Architecture of England, as it has been affected by the Taste and Feeling of Past and Present Times’, A Paper read at the Annual Meeting of the Worcester Diocesan Architectural Society, Sept. 25th, 1854., Associated Architectural Soc., op.cit., 120ff. Markland gives a brief history of restoration of historic buildings, starting with the foundation of a society of antiquaries in the sixteenth century (1572), with Inigo Jones, Christopher Wren to Scott and his Plea for Faithful Restoration. Lastly, he discusses the idea of an architectural museum, proposed by Scott in 1852, and

recommends the collection of manuscripts, and documents clarifying e.g. polychromy.

147. Dryden, 'On Repairing and Refitting', op.cit.

148. Scott, A Plea for Faithful Restoration, op.cit., 120f (Note B.): "Mr. Ruskin, in his Lamp of Memory, goes far beyond me in his conservatism; so far, indeed, as to condemn, without exception, every attempt at restoration, as inevitably destructive to the life and truthfulness of an ancient monument. He urges the care and preservation of our ancient buildings by every possible means, but deprecates the very thought of their restoration. Were our old churches to be viewed merely as monuments of the architecture of bygone days, I confess that I should cordially agree with him; for who would dream of restoring the sculptures of the Parthenon, or the hieroglyphics of Thebes? Again, were it possible by present care to nullify the effects of past neglect, I would heartily fall in with his advice. I would 'watch an old building with an anxious care'. I would 'guard it as best I might, and at any cost, from every influence of dilapidation'. I would 'count its stones as you would the jewels of a crown; set watches about it as if at the gates of a besieged city; bind it together with iron where it loosens; stay it with timber when it declines': or do anything and everything I could to preserve it from the influences of time or the hand of the spoliator. But, alas! The damage is already effected; the neglect of centuries and the spoiler's hand has already done its work; and the building being something more than a monument of memory, being a temple dedicated, so long as the world shall last, to the worship and honour of the world's Creator, it is a matter of duty, as it is of necessity, that its dilapidations and its injuries shall be repaired: though better were it to leave them untouched for another generation, than commit them to irreverent hands, which seek only the memory of their own cunning, while professing to think upon the stones, and take pity upon the dust of Sion."

149. Scott, G.G., 'On the Conservation of Ancient Architectural Monuments and Remains.' Read at the Ordinary General Meeting of the Royal Institute of British Architects, 6th January, 1862, Papers Read at RIBA, Session 1861-1862, London 1862, 65ff.

150. Scott, 'On the Conservation', op.cit., 66.

151. Scott, *ibid.*, 69.

152. Scott, *ibid.*, 69. Cole, The Work of Sir Gilbert Scott, op.cit., 83f.: "The west front at Crowland Abbey leaned outward to a frightful degree and suggestions for its repair had always foundered on likely cost. Late in 1856 Scott, perhaps having come across an account of Thornton's righting of one of the transept ends at Beverley Minster in 1717, offered to correct in inexpensively. He formed a timber cradle around the wall, cleared a space where it joined the rest of the building, raised the wall perpendicular with jacks, underpinned it, and joined it up to the body of the church, and all with success." Scott praised especially two persons, 'Mr Sharpe and Mr Potter', for their work

at ruined monuments (Scott, *ibid.*, 69). Samuel Sharp (-c.1860) was awarded the Soane medal of RIBA for a restoration of St. Mary's Abbey at York, and in 1839 another for the restoration of Sheriff Hutton Castle, Yorkshire. (Colvin, Biographical Dictionary, op.cit., 536)

153. Scott, *ibid.*, 70: Scott maintained that "in speaking of ruined buildings, I have fully and cordially adopted Mr. Ruskin's principle of mere sustentation. For such remains it is clearly right. This, however, cannot be strictly acted upon in dealing with churches and other buildings still in use... The great principle to start upon, is, to preserve the greatest possible amount of ancient work intact; never to renew a feature without necessity, but to preserve everything which is not so decayed as to destroy its value as an exponent of the original design; never to add new work except in strict conformity with the evidences of its original form; never to work over or smarten up old work for the sake of making it conformable with new; never to 'restore' carved work or sculpture, but to leave it to speak for itself; and generally, to deal with an ancient work as with an object on which we set the greatest value, and the integrity and authenticity of which are matters which we view as of paramount importance."

154. Scott, *ibid.*, 73: "This would be done, not on a wholesale principle such as could be described in a specification, but in a tentative and gradual manner; first replacing the stones which are entirely decayed, and rather feeling one's way and trying how little will do than going on any bold system. Every new stone would, thus be a perfect transcript of that which it replaced; and this would, so far as possible, extend to its dimensions and the mode of workmanship, for there is a character even in the proportions of Ashlar stones, still more in the mode of working them. Where a part is wholly or in any great degree wanting, it is questionable whether it would be supplied beyond the extent of existing evidence; when later features have been interpolated, it is yet more questionable whether they would be removed; such questions must depend upon circumstances, such as the merits of the original, and of the interpolation, whether the latter is in a state to demand thorough reparation, and whether the original features preponderate and give their character to the building."

155. Scott, *ibid.*, 78: Scott also proposed that there should be a museum at every cathedral "where all authentic fragments of carving and specimens, at least, of all replaced mouldings, &c. should be carefully conserved."

156. Street, G.E. in the 'Discussion on Mr. G.G.Scott's Paper On The Conservation Of Ancient Monuments', 3 February 1862, Papers Read at RIBA, op.cit., 87. In earlier discussion Street had suggested that it were desirable for "every architect who restores a church to chronicle all the facts of the restoration and to deposit them among the parish records." (Scott, *ibid.*, 78, footnote)

157. Street, 'Discussion', op.cit., 87f.

158. Street, *ibid*, 86. In his paper, Scott had emphasized the great value of French Gothic buildings as a universal heritage: “the French architects and art-historians, by shewing (whether we fully admit it or no) that theirs is the mother-country of Gothic architecture, have made its productions the property of Europe and of the world, and that, on their own shewing all lovers of Gothic architecture have an almost equal claim upon them for their authenticity and conservation.” (Scott, *op.cit.*, 81)
159. Godwin, ‘Discussion’, *op.cit.*, 90.
160. ‘Discussion’, *op.cit.*, 94.
161. Brown, G.B., *The Care of Ancient Monuments*, *op.cit.*, 148ff.
162. R.I.B.A., *Conservation of Ancient Monuments and Remains, General Advice to Promoters. Hints to Workmen.*, 1865.
163. R.I.B.A., *op.cit.*, 4.
164. R.I.B.A., *op.cit.*, 11.
165. Scott, G.G., ‘Opening Address’, RIBA, 1874, (Recollections, *op.cit.*, 404.)
166. Ruskin, J. to C.L.Eastlake, Secretary of RIBA, 20 May 1874, *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, 10 February 1900, 143f.
167. Loftie, W.J., ‘Thorough Restoration’, *Macmillan’s Magazine*, 1877, 136ff.
168. Scott, G.G., ‘Thorough Anti-Restoration’, *Macmillan’s Magazine*, 1877, 228ff.
169. Scott, ‘Thorough Anti-Restoration’, *op.cit.*, 228.
170. 1877, 456.
171. Brandi, C., *Teoria del restauro*, Roma 1963, 34: “il restauro costituisce il momento metodologico del riconoscimento dell’opera d’arte, nella sua consistenza fisica e nella sua duplice polarità... estetica e storica, in vista della sua trasmissione al futuro.”
172. Colvin, S., *Restoration and Anti-Restoration*, *op.cit.*, 457.
173. Colvin, *ibid*, 460.
174. Champneys, B., in *Portofolio*, May 1874, quoted by Colvin, *op.cit.*, 464.
175. Viollet-le-Duc, E., *On Restoration*; Wethered, C., *A Notice on his Works in Connection with the Historical Monuments of France*, London 1875.
176. Colvin quoting Viollet-le-Duc, Colvin, *op.cit.*, 465.
177. Stevenson, J.J., ‘Architectural Restoration: Its Principles and Practice.’ RIBA Transactions, 11 June 1877, 229. G.G. Scott replied to this paper, Scott, G.G., ‘A Reply to Mr. Stevenson’s Paper’, *ibid*, 242ff.
178. Stevenson, J.J., ‘Historical Documents’, RIBA Transactions, 28 March 1881, 181.
179. Stevenson, J.J., ‘Historical Documents’, *op.cit.*, 183.
180. Beckett, Sir Edmund, in reply to Stevenson’s paper, RIBA Transactions, *op.cit.*, 187.
181. Clifton-Taylor, A., *The Cathedrals of England*, London 1977, 272. See also: Ferriday, P., *Lord Grimthorpe 1816-1905*, J.Murray 1957, 93.
182. Morris, W., ‘To the Editor’, *The Athenaeum*, 10 March 1877, 326 (*The Collected Letters of William Morris*, ed. N.Kelvin, I, 1848-1880, Princeton 1984, 351f.)
183. *The Collected Letters of William Morris*, *Op.cit.*, 352.
184. Bradley, I., *William Morris and his World*, London 1978, 6ff.
185. Lethaby, W.R., *Philip Webb and his Work*, London 1979, 18.
186. Bradley, I., *William Morris*, *op.cit.*, 29.
187. Morris, W., ‘Art under Plutocracy’, lecture, read 14 November 1883, published in *To-Day*, February-March 1884 (*Collected Works*, XXII, 164ff. Morton, A.L., ed. *Political Writings of William Morris*, London 1973, 67)
188. Ruskin, J., *The Stones of Venice*, New York 1887, ‘The Nature of Gothic’, VI, xiv, (163).
189. Morris, W., *The Lesser Arts*, the first of Morris’ lectures under the title of ‘The Decorative Arts’, given to the Trades Guild of Learning in London, 12 April 1877, published as a pamphlet in 1878 (*Collected Works*, XXII, 3ff; Morton, *op.cit.*, 33)
190. Morris, W., *The Lesser Arts*, *op.cit.* (Morton, *op.cit.*, 33)
191. Morris, W., *The Lesser Arts*, *op.cit.* (Morton, *op.cit.*, 35)
192. Morris, *ibid*.
193. Morris, *ibid.* (Morton, *op.cit.*, 47)
194. Bradley, I., *William Morris*, *op.cit.*, 67.
195. Morris, W., ‘Art under Plutocracy’, *op.cit.* (Morton, *op.cit.*, 62)
196. Morris, W., ‘The Revival of Architecture’, *Fortnightly Review*, May 1888, (Pevsner, N., *Some Architectural Writers*, *op.cit.*, 319.)
197. Morris, W., ‘How I Became a Socialist’, *Justice*, 16 June 1894, (Morton, *op.cit.*, 241ff.)
198. Simcox, E., ‘Review’, *Fortnightly Review*, June 1882, xxxi, 771ff (Faulkner, P., ed. *William Morris, The Critical Heritage*, London 1984, 270f.)
199. Morris, W., in *Collected Works*, I, 110, 154; Thompson, P., *The Work of William Morris*, London 1967, 58: If a revival of Gothic architecture was impossible

without changing Victorian society it followed that any attempts to reconstruct or restore mediaeval buildings must fail for the same reasons. "The workman of today is not an artist as his forefather was; it is impossible, under his circumstances, that he could translate the work of the ancient handicraftsman" (Collected Works, I, 123)

200. Lethaby, W.R., Philip Webb and his Work, op.cit., 144.

201. O'Connor, D., 'Morris stained glass: 'an art of the Middle Ages'', William Morris and Middle Ages, ed. J.Banham, J.Harris, Oxford 1984, 54.

202. Lethaby, W.R., Philip Webb and his Work, op.cit., 245.

203. O'Connor, D., 'Morris stained glass', op.cit., 46.

204. Kelvin, N., ed., The Collected Letters, op.cit., I, 352.

205. Morris, W., 'Manifesto' of SPAB, reprinted in annual reports of the Society (Kelvin, op.cit., 359f.)

206. Morris, *ibid.*

207. Morris, *ibid.*

208. Lethaby, W.R., Philip Webb and his Work, op.cit., 148.

209. Lethaby, *ibid.*, 151.

210. Thompson, P., The Work of William Morris, op.cit., 61.

211. Linstrum, D., West Yorkshire. Architects and Architecture., op.cit., 182f, 151. Dellheim, C., The Face of the Past, The Preservation of the Mediaeval Inheritance in Victorian England, Cambridge Univ. Press, USA 1982, 99ff.

212. Powys, A.R., Repair of Ancient Buildings (SPAB,1929), London 1981, 1.

213. Powys, *ibid.*, 3.

214. Evans, J., A History of the Society of Antiquaries, op.cit., 330ff; Brown, G.B., The Care of Ancient Monuments, Cambridge 1905, 151ff; Linstrum, D., West Yorkshire, op.cit., 183.

215. Goldzamt, E., William Morris und die sozialen Ursprünge der modernen Architektur, Dresden 1976, 99ff. Davey, P., Arts and Crafts Architecture: The Search for Earthly Paradise, London 1980, 8ff. Vogliazzo, M., 'Das englische Haus: Proposta per un 'manuale'', Muthesius, Milano 1981, 10ff. Manieri Elia, M., William Morris e l'ideologia dell'architettura moderna, Bari 1975. Macleod, R., Style and Society, Architectural Ideology in Britain 1835-1914, London 1971, 40ff.

216. Zorzi, A.P., Le Osservazioni intorno ai restauri interni ed esterni della Basilica di San Marco, 1877. Dalla Costa, M., La Basilica di San Marco e i restauri dell'Ottocento, Le idee di E.Viollet-le-Duc, J.Ruskin e le 'Osservazioni' di A.P.Zorzi, Venezia 1983. Unrau, J., Ruskin and St.Mark's, Thames and Hudson 1984.

Chapter Eighteen

Restoration Influences in Italy

18.1 Stylistic Restoration in Italy

Italy has a long history of protection of ancient monuments, including legislation to control excavations and export of works of art. This, however, varied depending on the part of the country; the Papal States had established the post of a Commissioner for Antiquities since the time of Raphael, and although the main attention had been given to classical antiquities, there were papal measures for the protection of churches and oratories such as the *Quam provida* by Sixtus IV in 1474. In the edict of 1802 this order is again confirmed, but Carlo Fea, who was responsible for surveillance, had great difficulties in seeing that it would actually be respected. (1) In 1820, Cardinal Pacca renewed the same orders, and in 1821 the office of Commissioner of Antiquities was reinforced, as had been done by the Austrian Government in Venice in 1818, when the *Commissione artistica per la tutela delle opere d'arte di interesse pubblico* had been established. (2) Also in Lombardy a provision was made for the protection of works of art in churches. (3) In Tuscany, instead, edicts for similar purposes were abolished in 1780. The situation was extremely variable in different parts of the country, and even after the unification of Italy in 1860-70, old laws were reconfirmed for each particular region until a unified administration had been established and a new legislation confirmed over the turn of the century.

Although Italians were in contact with Central Europe and England through numerous cultural tourists from Chateaubriand to Viollet-le-Duc and Ruskin, it took relatively long before deeper interest was shown in the protection and conservation of mediaeval or later buildings. Due to this relative lateness, the Italians were able to draw from the experience of other countries, England, France and Germany, which had preceded them. As a result, different attitudes were introduced more or less at the same time, causing a continuous debate on these questions. It is out of

this debate that an Italian approach then emerged, being based partly on the principles established in the restoration of archaeological monuments, in part on German romanticism, on the principles of the French Government, and on the approach shown in England by John Ruskin and the SPAB.

San Paolo fuori le Mura

In the early nineteenth century, the tradition still prevailed of completing or changing historic buildings in the fashion of the time; this was seen in Rome, for example, in the work of Giuseppe Valadier in the completion of the facades of San Pantaleo (1806) and SS. Apostoli, or in the little church of San Benedetto in Piscinula in Trastevere by Pietro Camporese the Younger 1843-44. Similar examples existed in Milan, where plans were made even for neoclassical elevations to the fifteenth-century Sforza Castle. (4) During past centuries there had been numerous proposals for the completion of the unfinished west fronts of some major churches, such as Milan Cathedral, San Petronio of Bologna, Santa Croce and Florence Cathedral. These plans had often been in classical style, but sometimes harmonizing with the mediaeval character of the building. (5) In 1823, there was an important problem, when the Early-Christian Basilica of San Paolo fuori le mura was

Figure 293. S. Paolo fuori le Mura, Rome after rebuilding



badly damaged in a fire. Valadier quickly prepared several proposals for its reconstruction, taking the viewpoint that it was not conceivable to rebuild the damaged nave as it had been. Instead, he proposed to keep the transept and apse that had survived, and complete it in a modern fashion. Another attitude, however, prevailed, and in 1825 Leo XII decided to have the burnt part rebuilt in its earlier form. The work was entrusted to Pasquale Belli (1752-1833) and began in 1831; it was completed after his death in 1869 by Luigi Poletti (1792-1869), a pupil of Raffaele Stern. Ruskin, who visited the church at the end of the restoration, was impressed, considering the basilica to have “the grandest interior in Europe”, and the restoration to be “nobly and faithfully done”. (7) Others were ‘more Ruskinian’ and would have preferred to have the building kept as a ruin in memory of early Christianity. (8)

Carlo Cattaneo

In the 1830s the poor economic situation of Italy gradually began to improve, bringing new prosperity and causing urban renewal programmes in larger cities such as Milan and Florence. The widening of streets and construction of new buildings resulted in the destruction of historic urban fabric, deplored by Ruskin in his letters from Italy in 1845. (9) There was also local opposition to this destruction; one of the strongest critics was Carlo Cattaneo (1801-69), publicist and intellectual, whose writings significantly contributed to the national revival, the *Risorgimento*, and whose contribution in the cultural fields was later echoed by others such as Carlo Tenca (1816-83), editor of the periodical *Il Crepuscolo*, Camillo Boito, and Luca Beltrami.

Cattaneo, who had very broad cultural, scientific and political interests, was much influenced by Locke and other English thinkers; also his wife was English. (10) He admired the municipal organization of the Middle Ages, and he considered the concept of the city one of the ideal principles of Italian civilization. In 1839 he founded the periodical *Il Politecnico* to promote governmental reforms, and he also vigorously defended historic towns against destruction. (11) One of his major targets was the proposal to form a monumental open square in front of the Milan Cathedral. (12) He thought that the architectural effect of this imposing building would be badly damaged if it was left without the support of its urban context; but he also deplored the destruction of the historic urban fabric. He was equally against the introduction of massive modern traffic in the narrow tortuous streets and, while advocating the

linking of Milan and Venice by railway, he strongly recommended keeping the railway and the stations outside existing historic towns in order to avoid destruction. (13) In 1862, he proposed the foundation of an association for the protection of national monuments, *patrii monumenti*, as Ruskin had done in England a few years earlier. (14)

Pietro Selvatico

In Italy, cultured society had in general remained conservative, regarding historic monuments as bearers of messages from the past, and there had been a certain reluctance to allow the fashion to restore ancient buildings, especially churches. (15) Amongst the first restorations of mediaeval buildings were the town hall of Cremona, a thirteenth-century palace, previously modified in classical style, and restored in its original style in 1840 (16), as well as the church of San Pietro in Trento for which a new front was built in Gothic style in 1848-50. This latter was the work of Pietro Selvatico Estense (1803-80), the first important exponent of the Gothic Revival in Italy. (17)

Selvatico had travelled in England in 1836 and in Germanic countries in 1844, and was influenced by German romanticism. His aim was to establish “a national architecture in conformity with Christian thinking”, and he recommended the Italian mediaeval styles as the most appropriate, because these were the true expression of the people. (18) From 1850 to 1856, he was professor of architecture at the Academy of Venice, and his students included Camillo Boito, the architect and writer who later contributed to the formation of Italian conservation theory, and became Selvatico’s successor at the Academy.

Florence Cathedral

In the 1840s, new proposals were prepared for the west fronts of Santa Croce and Santa Maria del Fiore, the Cathedral of Florence; the first proposal for Santa Croce by Nicolo Matas had been made in 1837, and was in a neo-classical style, while his second, dated 1854, was based on a study of Tuscan thirteenth and fourteenth-century Gothic. This latter was the basis for the execution of the facade in 1857-62. (19) In 1842 he was involved in forming an association for the promotion of the facade of Santa Maria del Fiore, and prepared several proposals together with G. Muller. (20)

Between 1859 and 1868, there were three architectural competitions, for which Selvatico and Viollet-le-Duc were consulted. These lengthy competitions were accompanied by polemical



Figure 294. Florence Cathedral with its 19th-century west front

debates as to the most appropriate style; the winner, Emilio de Fabris (1808-83), professor of architecture at Florence Academy, had to defend his project in several writings. The remains of the original facade were supposed to have been demolished in 1657 with the intention of building a classical front to the church; this having never been done, the front had been painted a fresco in 1688. No survey had been done until 1871, when the new facade was started and part of the original mediaeval construction was found under the plaster surface and then destroyed. (21)

G.D. Partini in Siena

One of the competitors in Florence was Giuseppe Domenico Partini (1842-95), a young architect from Siena, who was one of the six top participants in 1861. This was the year when he had completed his studies at the Academy of Siena, and was invited to remain as a teacher; in 1866 he was nominated professor of architecture. (22) Siena Cathedral had been under repair work since 1863; in 1865, some sculptures on the front threatened to fall, and Partini was invited to prepare designs for the restoration. Two years later he

was appointed surveyor of the Cathedral and worked on it until his death in 1895.

Practically all the principal parts of the building were renewed under the responsibility of Partini. These included the west front and its sculptural decoration and the mosaics, as well as the restoration of all decayed sections of the famous mosaic floor in the interior. The large nave windows which had been covered under side roofs were now freed and restored; the dome, which suffered from fire in 1890, was rebuilt. (23) The thirteenth-century lower part of the west front had been designed by Giovanni Pisano, whose original sculptures were now taken down and placed in the Museo dell'Opera Metropolitana, established in 1870. The old sculptures formed a suggestive comparison with the new ones, which were displayed there to public before being placed in the Cathedral.

In his enthusiasm, Partini took certain liberties in the restoration. The new elevation, for example, did not follow exactly the original design, to the point that this aroused some perplexities even amongst his supporters, who complained that "although the ancient models had always and in all details been faithfully reproduced, the facade appears very different from what it was before." (24) In the interior, all the 'decadent' Baroque additions were removed as had been done also in the Cathedrals of

Figure 295. Siena, figures removed from the cathedral exterior during restoration by Partini, now displayed in the Cathedral Museum



Florence, Pisa and Arezzo, in order to restore to it 'its original beauty'. (25)

Partini's many architectural works and restorations have been seen to reflect the 'purism' that was born in Italy under the influence of the German Nazarene painters, and for which the Academy of Siena was the centre. (26) Especially when he dealt with Romanesque or even Renaissance buildings and their restoration, it was not so much their artistic values that Partini appreciated as their 'oldness' (*vetusta*). He restored them in their original form in a sort of 'disinterested' and severe manner. (27)

When dealing with Gothic buildings, he let his love and creative spirit run free, as he did in the Siena Cathedral, and his enthusiasm for craftsmanship led him to decorate the buildings with fresco paintings, mosaics, metal work, etc. The historian Franco Borsi has emphasized how past and present were not conceived as separate realities in his work, but were raised 'above the historical time in a sort of identity of method'. (28) His work has often been taken as original mediaeval construction, and as an architect he has hardly been mentioned by historians.

18.2 Conservation Movement in Italy

Restoration of St Mark's in Venice

During the Austrian rule in Venice, from 1815 till 1866, many large undertakings were initiated including the building of the railway bridge from the mainland and the improvement of the harbour. In 1818 the Commission of Artistic Property had been established. In 1843, a long term restoration programme was started in St. Mark's, and in the same period also in the Ducal Palace. The restoration of St. Mark's dealt with the renewal of the marble panels on the north side, and the works continued here until 1865.

In 1856 the Emperor formed a special fund for this restoration, and Professor Selvatico was invited to report on the building and its further repairs. His 'proposals for the conservation and care' of the building were published as a part of the report of 1859. (29) The proposals included a radical consolidation and reinforcement of the structure with iron chains, however, "without removing its architectural character"; (30) the sixteenth-century Zeno Chapel was considered 'discordant' with the rest of the building, and was suggested to be demolished. He also proposed the restoration of the old decayed mosaics, capitals and column bases.



Figure 296. Siena Cathedral, west front after restoration

These indications formed the basis for the restorations that followed.

From 1860 the responsibility was entrusted to Giovan Battista Meduna (1810-80), who had restored the Fenice Theatre in Venice in Neo-Rococo style after a fire in 1836, and who had been attached to the Fabric of St. Mark's since 1836. He continued working on the north side until 1865, and then on the south side until 1875; after that works were foreseen on the west front and the mosaic pavement. (31)

Reaction by Viollet-le-Duc to St Mark's

These restorations were approved by many. Viollet-le-Duc, who had visited Venice in 1837, had described how the whole structure was moving and cracking, and how it looked like "an old pontoon destined to founder back in the lagoon from where it had come." (32) Seeing the church again in 1871 during the works, he complimented the Venetians, who had not let themselves be discouraged, but had started working on the building. He considered that the works on the north side as well as the on-going works on the south side were essential in order to provide the building with two solid walls, and thus give it a longer life.

Reaction by Ruskin

Ruskin, who visited Venice in the winter of 1876, when the scaffolding had been removed from the south side, had a completely different reaction; he was in despair. And when, during his visit in January 1877, Count A.P.Zorzi (1846-1922) approached him with the proposal to publish a protest, he agreed to write a preface and even to provide funds for the printing of the text. (33) He remembered the earlier "happy and ardent days" when he had passed his time in the Piazzetta.

“No such scene existed elsewhere in Europe, in the world: so bright, so magically visionary... I pass the same place now with averted eyes. There is only the ghost, - nay, the corpse, - of all that I so loved.” (34)

He further remembered the mosaics of the upper facade, how these “were of such exquisite intricacy of deep golden glow between the courses of small pillars, that those two upper arches had an effect as of peacock’s feathers in the sun, when their green and purple glitters through and through with light. But now they have the look of a peacock’s feather that has been dipped in white paint!” (35)

Ruskin did recognize the necessity of consolidation, but was against the current methods of doing this. He considered the saving of this important building as a religious responsibility, and more than just for the sake of Venice; it was urged for the sake of all Europe. (36)

Reaction by Count Zorzi

In the *Osservazioni intorno ai restauri interni ed esterni della Basilica di San Marco* (1877), Zorzi conceived St. Mark’s not so much as an ‘architectural monument’, but as a ‘museum of architecture’, and consequently it needed special treatment from the artistic and archaeological point of view. He insisted on the fundamental difference between ‘restoration’ and ‘conservation’:

“Restoration presupposes innovations according to needs; Conservation excludes them completely. Restoration is applicable to anything that has no archaeological importance, but purely artistical; Conservation aims at the safeguarding from decay of what, for its antiquity and for historic reasons, has a special merit superior to art, symmetry, architectural orders, and good taste. Even more necessary will this conservation be, when to the archaeological interest is added the artistic value, and when the object, in its whole and its details, has such a mark of history that this would be completely destroyed in a restoration carried out in the modern fashion.” (37)

He maintained that St. Mark’s, in all respects, fulfilled perfectly all the requisites to make it the most interesting monument in Italy, and unique in the whole Occident. In the current restoration, he insisted, these requirements had not been considered, and many serious errors had been made which he grouped in seven categories (like the Seven Lamps of Ruskin!).

- One: the restorers had scraped off the precious stain that time had given the marble columns;
- two: had replaced old marble panels with new ones that had a different pattern;
- three: had changed the form and scale of certain string courses and details;
- four: had been excessively abusive in the replacement of original capitals and other carved marbles;
- five: had removed the altar from the Cappella Zenò and replaced it with inappropriate new marbles;
- six: they had restored mosaic figures with glass tesserae in places where the use of stone would have been more correct; and
- seven: they had executed poor workmanship in the repair of the floors.

Zorzi further referred to the problems of stabilization through renewal of brickwork, which often caused the demolition and rebuilding of larger areas; instead, he recommended ‘consolidation’ of the existing structures with modern methods even though these might be somewhat more expensive, in order to conserve the original material of the building. He also pointed out that in any case the cost of the restoration had so far been two or three times the estimate.

The *Observations*, dedicated to Ruskin, “English by birth, Venetian by heart”, were distributed abroad, and in 1879, when news arrived of the intended rebuilding of the west front and restoration of the mosaic floors, the SPAB and Morris reacted, sending a protest to the Italian Government. In the same year, G.E. Street and J.J. Stevenson came to Venice to inspect the building in order to have a first-hand understanding of the situation. In 1880, Street published an article in the *Times*, confirming that the only problems he could detect were those caused by the previous restoration, and that no ‘rebuilding’ was necessary. (38)

The Italian reaction to the involvement of foreigners in this restoration was not altogether positive; especially those responsible felt hurt. This was seen in an article by Pietro Saccardo, one of Meduna’s assistants, in late 1879. (39) As a result of protests, however, the works were interrupted, Meduna was removed from this task, and the work was entrusted to Saccardo and F. Berchet. Berchet was the architect who had restored the thirteenth-century Byzantine palace, *Fondaco dei Turchi*, on the Grand Canal, a



Figure 299. Giacomo Boni at Oxford

much criticized rebuilding in hypothetical form in 1860 to 1869. (40)

Giacomo Boni

One of the Venetians who remained in continuous correspondence with the English about the repairs to St. Mark's, was Giacomo Boni (1859-1925), archaeologist and architect, whom Ruskin had met in 1876. He was such an excellent draughtsman that Ruskin employed him to measure and draw historic buildings for him. (41) He was well read in classical literature and languages, and had learnt English specifically to read Ruskin.

In 1879, Boni was employed in the restoration of the Ducal Palace in Venice, and was so in a position to influence the works, even if not to take decisions. The restoration dealt with the colonnade, where certain capitals had to be replaced with new, and where the south side was freed from seventeenth-century fillings. In St. Mark's, he was later able to report that certain demolitions had been avoided, and the use of a mechanical saw had been forbidden in the restoration of the mosaic floors; all original tesserae had to be put back in their original position, and broken areas repaired in harmony with their surroundings without

levelling the undulations of the floor. Marbles had to be cleaned with pure water and sponge; regilding was forbidden. (42)

Boni seems to have been involved in promoting a letter on Venetian monuments, signed by some fifty artists, and sent to the Government in 1882. The document referred to Ruskin's words, and announced: "The artists of Venice and the whole Italy watch over these famous monuments in the same manner as one would watch over the glory and honour of the nation." (43)

Boni made careful studies of Venetian monuments, including Ca' d'Oro, and he prepared a detailed historical survey of St. Mark's, documenting damages and studying the chromatic variations of its marbles. In these studies he collaborated with the English architect, William Douglas Caroe, who worked in Italy. In the Ducal Palace he could still find and document gilding and colours, found to be lead white and red painted over the marble surface. (44) He made a particular study of irregularities in buildings considering them to have been made on purpose, not resulting from structural deformations - and thus not to be corrected in a restoration. (45) In the case of the Porta della Carta, where the intention was to put back the figures of the Doge and the Lion, Boni wrote to Caroe that even if he also thought the gate would look better with these statues, he considered it a historic fact that the group was there no longer. (46)

In 1885, he made a stratigraphic excavation around the foundations of the Campanile of St. Mark's. (47) In the same year, he wrote to Philip Webb, with whom he had become a close friend, about his trip to Rome to prepare "the ground for our new law of protection of those monuments which, being the property of private people or separate communities, have been under no control whatever until now." (48) In 1888, he was called to Rome to prepare regulations for conservation of antiquities. Later, he was appointed the first architect for conservation of historic buildings at the General Direction of Antiquities. (49)

Boni was an active writer, and he wanted to do for Italy what Ruskin and Morris had done in England; (50) he fought against demolitions in the historic fabric of Venice in order to open new streets, and he wanted to improve the hygienic conditions of the houses, at least to provide a dry floor. He was worried about the lack of official initiatives to provide Venice with an economic basis for its survival. He also defended the lagoon area, understanding that the existence of Venice depended on its functioning;

he criticized certain fillings to make harbour enlargements, and pointed out that keeping the canals sufficiently deep for the water to flow contributed to making the city a more hygienic place in which to live. (51) Boni was actively involved in various schemes to develop modern technology for use in the conservation of ancient monuments. He had an interest in the consolidation of stone, and in the use of stainless steel.

In his general philosophy, and his concepts of the picturesque, Boni was much influenced by Ruskin. However, he did not limit himself only to the Middle Ages, but had a great admiration of classical antiquity as well. (52) In his work for the conservation of ancient monuments, his main concern was to defend their authenticity. Like Winckelmann and the Neo-Platonic philosophers, he conceived a work of art as a reflection of the 'Godly Idea' of an immortal origin. To destroy such a work was to commit an act of offence against the Divinity. (53)

Boni was too involved in his research to be able to collaborate in the preparation of the new legislation; being a Government architect, his influence was felt, however, in many restorations around the whole country and especially in the south. In the last phase of his life he concentrated on the major excavation campaign in Rome in the Forum Romanum and on the Palatine as the Director of this office; here he developed the principles of stratigraphic method of excavation. (54)

18.3 'Restauro filologico' in Italy

Camillo Boito

During the process of the unification of the Kingdom of Italy, there were various initiatives for national legislation and protection of ancient monuments and works of art in all parts of the country, e.g. G.B. Cavalcaselle (1819-97) and G. Azzurri. (55) In 1872 the Ministry of Education established the first General Directorate, *Direzione generale degli scavi e musei*, transformed in 1881 as *Direzione generale delle antichità e belle arti*. In 1882 this General Directorate prepared and circulated provisional guide-lines for the restoration of historic buildings. This document was signed by the Director General, Giuseppe Fiorelli, an archaeologist who had been working in the excavation of Pompeii. (56) The aim of these instructions was to promote a better knowledge of the monuments in order to avoid unnecessary destruction, and to avoid errors in restorations which often respected the original neither in form nor in content.

It was considered essential that any restoration work should be based on a thorough survey and study of the building, its construction and all modifications that had occurred; a critical evaluation of all parts of the building should provide the basis for a judgement of what was important as history or as art, and thus had to be conserved, and what could be removed without damage to the monument. The aim was, further, to understand what had been the 'normal state' of the building originally, and what was its 'actual state' at present, and then to 'suppress' this difference, "reactivating and maintaining as far as possible the normal state in all that has to be conserved." (57) Restoration of lost or damaged features was accepted on condition that clear evidence of the original form existed, or - even - if this was justified by the need of structural stability. If later additions were not important from the historic or artistic point of view, their demolition could be justified; reconstructions should, however, be kept to the minimum, and the main attention be given to the conservation of the original.

These guide-lines, which reflected the approach of the French administration, did not have much impact; the criteria and the materials used in restoration continued to vary in different parts of the country. On the other hand, the relatively young administration still had to define its responsibilities, there was a lack of funds and of qualified personnel, and many posts were honorary. (58) One of those whose influence was felt in this circular was Camillo Boito (1836-1914), an architect of the Italian Eclectism, professor of architecture in Venice first, and since 1860 in Milan. (His brother was Arrigo Boito, the composer and poet, collaborator of Giuseppe Verdi.) In 1879 Boito had presented to a congress of engineers and architects a paper on the restoration of ancient monuments, and the discussion which followed resulted in the preparation of the 1882 circular. (59) Not satisfied with the results, Boito presented a new paper to the Third Congress of Engineers and Architects, held in Rome toward the end of 1883. In this paper he summarized his recommendations in seven points, thus forming the first Italian Charter of conservation, which was presented to the Ministry of Education for their consideration. (60)

The theme proposed by him for the Congress was the question whether restorations should imitate the original architecture, or whether, on the contrary, additions and completions should be clearly indicated. The first alternative, which as a result of the influence of the French school had become current practice in

Italy, was the line taken in the circular; Boito himself took now the line of the second alternative. Being both an academic and a writer, Boito's architectural practice was limited; his few restorations, such as that of a city gate of Milan, Porta Ticinese, in 1861, reflected the influence of Viollet-le-Duc. (61) He was very familiar with French culture and writings on conservation and he had travelled extensively. Even if Boito now had changed his position, taking a conservative approach, he did not want to exclude restoration, but rather to pay attention to the criteria according to which the monuments were to be consolidated and conserved in order to give them a longer life. (62)

The Charter of 1883 starts with the statement that ancient monuments are to be considered as documents that reflect the history of the past in all their parts.

“Considering that architectural monuments from the past are not only valuable for the study of architecture but contribute as essential documents to explain and illustrate all the facets of the history of various peoples throughout the ages. They should, therefore, be scrupulously and religiously respected as documents in which any alteration, however slight, if it appears to be part of the original could be misleading and eventually give rise to erroneous assumptions.” (63)

The monument was not only the ‘original’ structure, but all successive alterations and additions were to be considered equally valuable as historic documents, and preserved as such. There was thus a distinct difference in approach compared with the previous circular, which had been based on an evaluation of the historic and artistic value of the various changes in the monuments. As for restoration, this was to be kept to the minimum, and all new parts should be clearly marked either by using a different material, by dating them, or by using simplified geometrical forms - as in the restoration of the Arch of Titus. New additions should be made clearly in the contemporary style of architecture, and in such a way that they would not contrast too much with the original. All works had to be well documented and photographed, and the date of the conservation work indicated on the monument. In 1893, he published a revised version of the Charter in eight short statements - adding the idea of an exhibition of the old fragments that had been removed from the monument to be organized nearby. (64)

In June 1884, Boito further clarified his concepts in a paper read at the Turin Exhibition. (65) He discussed

the two approaches, restoration and conservation, in terms of sculpture, paintings, and architecture. Taking the view point that the sculptures of the past were both works of art and historic documents, any attempt at restoration would immediately mean falsification. It was impossible for a modern sculptor to recreate the nose of a portrait with the exactly right expression - it was bound to be a fake. Thus the simple rule for the conservation of sculpture, according to Boito, was:

“No restorations; and throw down immediately, without redoing anything, all those that have been done so far, recent or old.” (66)

This was to be done in many cases, such as the Laocöon, and the Aegina marbles; Boito's was the same as Canova's approach earlier in the century. As for the restoration of paintings, he was happy to refer to the modern techniques used for the conservation of the original paint layers, opposing any over-paintings and mechanical treatments. Considering the delicacy of paintings, he recommended not to go too far.

“Now, in the restoration of paintings here is the snag: To stop in time! And here is the wisdom: to be satisfied with as little as possible!” (67)

Concerning architecture, Boito then compared the two principal approaches, Ruskin and Viollet-le-Duc, criticizing both. He described the result of a ‘non-intervention’ as it might look like in Venice:

“The enormous aisles of the Church of Frari are seen destroyed; from the distance the solid dome of the Salute will dominate unmoved; behind that the church of Santi Giovanni e Paolo will be a pile of rubbish... As to the Ducal Palace, the most magnificent palace of the world, leaving it as it was, it would not have been able to wait for a thousand or two thousand years, maybe not even a hundred or ten, before being reduced to the indicated ideal state of picturesque beauty.” (68)

Boito took a simplified view of Ruskin's approach; he did not consider that either Ruskin or Zorzi, although critical about the current restoration method of St. Mark's, had accepted the necessity of consolidating the structure, proposing that this should be done in a contemporary manner - actually on the lines of the recommendations of Boito himself. He also criticized an English proposal for the consolidation of the capitals of the Ducal Palace, according to which the core of the capital should have been remade, and the original sculptures reapplied around it.

“Yes? And do you believe that these capitals, already split and broken, thus reduced to a thin belt, would not have been dissolved in dust after some years? Once destroyed, who would have admired them any more? Was it not better to copy them, and preserve the originals nearby, where the present and future students can comfortably go and study them? We have to do what we can in this world; but not even for monuments does there exist the fountain of youth so far.” (69)

On the other hand, considering the theory of Viollet-le-Duc, he was equally critical.

“How is it possible? One puts oneself in the place of the original architect, and guesses what this would have done having the opportunity to complete the structure. This approach is full of risks. It has no theory, it has no understanding, which would save it from free invention: and free invention is a lie, a falsification of the antique, a trap for posterity. The better the restoration has been carried out, the better more successfully the lie will triumph. What would you say, Ladies and Gentlemen, of an antiquarian, who having discovered, say, a new manuscript by Dante or by Petrarch, with losses and largely illegible, would with his own great knowledge go and fill in the lacunae in a manner that it would not be possible to distinguish the additions from the original? Would you not curse the great skill of this falsifier?” (70)

For his part, Boito insisted that one had to do everything possible, and impossible, in order to maintain the old artistic and picturesque aspect of the monument, and that any falsifications should be out of the question. (71)

He divided architecture into three categories according to its age: antique, mediaeval, and modern since the Renaissance. Each of these categories has its particular character, distinguished by archaeological importance in the first category, by picturesque appearance in the second, and by architectural beauty in the third. Accordingly, the aim of restoration and conservation of buildings belonging to these categories, should be conceived respecting these characteristics. Thus, in the case of antiquity, one would speak of ‘archaeological restoration’ (*restauro archeologico*), in the case of mediaeval architecture of ‘pictorial restoration’ (*restauro pittorico*), and in the case of later buildings of ‘architectural restoration’ (*restauro architettonico*). (72)

The monuments of Antiquity had an intrinsic importance in all their parts, and even the most modest remains could become essential for the study of a monument. Consequently, excavations had to be carried out with the utmost care, recording the position of each single fragment in relation to the monument and to the other fragments, as well as keeping a detailed diary of the work and the findings. The aim of restoration was to preserve what remained of the original monument, and where support or reinforcement was necessary, this had to be done in such a way that it could be distinguished from the antique. Boito could refer to the restorations of the Colosseum and the triumphal arches by Stern and Valadier in the early decades of the century as the most laudable examples of archaeological restoration. He was not equally happy about the work of Canina, who had recomposed ancient monuments such as the Temple of Dei Consenti in front of the Tabularium, as well as having restored part of the Colosseum. The work of Fiorelli at Pompeii, and his influence in Italy as the Director General of Antiquities, was considered by him most beneficial. (73)

Boito liked to remember an old Chinese saying, “A shame to mislead contemporaries, an even greater shame to mislead posterity.” (74) This synthesized his approach to the conservation of ancient monuments. Dealing with more recent structures, he was ready to accept that they could need repair and consolidation, and that sometimes it was a sort of ‘least bad’ solution to even replace some original elements, as was the case with the Ducal Palace in Venice. Similarly, he accepted that in St. Mark’s the decayed brick walls, arches and vaults could be rebuilt in order to provide a sound structure on which to attach the marble ornaments and mosaics. It was important, however, especially in mediaeval buildings to keep their picturesque appearance, and the greatest compliment to a long restoration work would be complaints that nothing had been done. This was the principle of pictorial restoration, and was applicable especially to mediaeval buildings. (75)

Dealing with more recent architecture, Boito accepted that it was easier for us to imitate the original forms, and even replace decayed elements one by one where necessary - except where important archaeological and historical values would be involved. Boito recommended caution in reconstructions, but he agreed to accept them exceptionally when there were clear documents to justify them (such as original drawings, old paintings etc.). In relatively recent structures, he could even

accept stylistic completions, as was the case in Piazza della Scala in Milan, where a group of houses, Palazzo Marino, was given a unified facade based on an existing elevation. He could also allow demolition of later additions when these could be considered without any special historical or aesthetic value, and especially when these additions could be seen as ‘disturbing’. (76)

In principle, Boito placed all styles in the same position; he conceived an historic monument as a stratification of contributions of different periods, which should be respected. To evaluate the different elements on the basis of their age and beauty was not, however, an easy matter; generally the older parts were seen as most valuable but, on the other hand, sometimes beauty could triumph over age. (77) He saw a fundamental difference between ‘conservation’ and ‘restoration’; restorers were almost always “superfluous and dangerous”; conservation was often, except in rare cases, the ‘the only wise thing’ to do. (78) Leave the things alone and at most, liberate them from the “more or less old, more or less poor restorations”. (79) He insisted that the conservation of ancient works of art was an obligation, not only of any civilized government, but also of local authorities, of institutions, and of “every man who was not ignorant or vile”. (80)

With his principles Boito laid the foundations of modern conservation policy in Italy. He became a leading figure in his country, and his influence was felt also in the organization of a national administration for the protection and restoration of historic buildings, which so far had been the responsibility of the Department of Public Works. In 1889, twelve General Commissioners of Fine Arts were established for different regions of the country, and in 1891 the *Uffici regionali per la conservazione dei monumenti* were established; four years later they were divided into separate *Soprintendenze* responsible for buildings, art galleries, excavations and museums. Boito also contributed to the preparation of national legislation, which had been under preparation since the 1860s. Several bills were presented in the 1870s without much effect; another was proposed in 1888, but the law was only approved in 1902, with successive modifications in 1904, 1906, and 1909. The last remained in force until a new law replaced it in 1939. (81) Boito’s principles can also be recognized in later international recommendations.

Although his theory seemed very clear, Boito often showed a certain ambiguity in application. He was in the commission for the monument for Vittorio

Emanuele II in Rome, and supported the winning project in a classical style because this represented a contemporary creative effort literally to erect a ‘monument’ which would represent that era to future generations. (82) And, although he had written, speaking of Venice, that “it is not enough in an important city to preserve only its monuments for the admiration of contemporaries and of posterity; it is necessary to preserve the environment for these monuments”, (83) his sensitivity toward the historic environment around the Capitol Hill was limited to the protection of monuments of Antiquity. Other constructions, mediaeval, Renaissance or later, he considered of little significance in comparison with the new monument. He thus approved the demolition of part of a convent, “a building of little artistic or historic value, from which it was easy to save the few details that merited conservation”. (84) Similarly he agreed with the demolition of the so-called Tower of Paul III, connected with the Palazzo Venezia, where he found only some mural paintings worthy of conservation. He accepted that it was pity to demolish these historic buildings, but thought that they were, however, less important than the new monument, and that the loss was thus justified. “A sin, but a venial sin!” (85) The massive construction by Giuseppe Sacconi (1854-1905), which has been much criticized for its lack of sensitivity in relation to the existing environment, was seen by Boito as “the grandest monumental work of modern times”. (86)

Alfonso Rubbiani

In order to see better Boito’s intentions it is interesting to study the work of contemporary restorers, especially some with whom he was in close contact. One was Alfonso Rubbiani (1848-1913), a journalist and artist, who became a self-taught restoration architect working for the ‘embellishment’ of Bologna; another was Alfredo D’Andrade (1839-1915), an architect, painter and archaeologist of Portuguese origin, who became the chief restorer and representative of the central government for the regions of Liguria and Piedmont. The third personality was Luca Beltrami (1854-1933), architect, painter and writer, a pupil of Boito, who was active particularly in Milan and later in Rome. Rubbiani was well aware of the French restoration theories, and often quoted from them in his writings. (87) D’Andrade travelled extensively in France studying the works of Viollet-le-Duc, especially in fortifications such as Carcassonne. (88) Beltrami actually studied and worked in Paris, participating in the restoration of the Hotel de Ville, and preparing reconstruction drawings



Figure 300. Palazzo del Podestà in Bologna, restored by A. Rubbiani

of ancient monuments for the Comité des Monuments Historiques. He was the first Italian to attend the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris. (89)

Rubbiani's idealized picture of mediaeval society was akin to William Morris' Utopia. The flights of his historical imagination were encouraged by Giosué Carducci (1835-1907), a poet inspired by heroic ideals, (90) and Rubbiani felt his vocation was to rebuild this vision. It was in the early 1880s, when he was working in the administration of a small municipality near Bologna, that he was first involved in restoration; it was a small castle, San Martino, which was restored on the basis of a sixteenth-century description. (91) In 1886, he became a member of the Commission and was nominated in charge of the restoration of San Francesco, a mediaeval church complex in Bologna, which had been in military use since the suppression of religious orders in 1866. Working together with an excellent draughtsman, Edoardo Collamarini (1864-1928), Rubbiani prepared the project for its restoration, according to which his intention was to "restore it to its primitive state as it had been left and imagined by its builders. This rigorous demand exists only today. Thus science will reassure the arts in the work of restoration." (92) In this spirit of Viollet-le-Duc, the north side of the church was first 'liberated' of later structures, and rebuilt in its 'primitive form' (1886-87); the building was then stripped of its layers of plaster rendering in order to display the original brickwork and eventual remains of 'primitive' plaster and painted decoration. Successively, the south side was treated similarly (1900-01), and, in the last phase, wooden stalls were built in the apse (1907-). (93)

Almost from the beginning of his work, Rubbiani had to meet with criticism; in 1877 the first polemics were about the demolition of chapels, and as a result the Gothic chapel of San Bernardino was saved. (94) Following this, Professor Cattaneo from Venice

focused on the scraping, pointing out that painted decoration made one whole with the architecture:

"from Sainte-Chapelle in Paris to San Francesco in Assisi, the decorative painting, and not whitewashing, is not limited to the sole vaults and walls, but covers even the ribs of arches, the pillars, the capitals and the bases, although of natural stone: for a Viollet-le-Duc, for a Rubbiani and for a Collamarini this must be the maximum of sham and falsehood. - But this is history." (95)

Rubbiani participated in the competition for the completion of the west front of San Petronio in Bologna in 1886, though this remained undecided. (96) In 1889 he restored the Loggia di Mercanzia, though the critics questioned the necessity of this work insisting that the building was in perfect condition. (97) In 1896, Rubbiani began to restore the chapels of San Petronio, and in the following decade he worked on a great number of palaces and houses in Bologna, including the main public buildings, the town hall, Palazzo Re Enzo, and Palazzo dei Notai, all around the main square of the city. (98) In 1900 he was also involved in the battle against the demolition of the city walls of Bologna; but this was lost, and the walls were destroyed in order to provide work for unemployed masons. (99)

In 1913 he published his justification for his work, *Di Bologna riabbellita*, in which he defined his aims:

"To restore to ancient architecture damaged by time and men, the pristine integrity according to the ways and limits suggested by their remaining forms and by documents, in order to be ... clear testimonies of the past in the swarming of modern life, a neat contribution to the cultivation of people, useful motives to the formation of the sentiments and the consciousness of the public, is a very recent idea." (100)

In the words of Carducci, he exclaimed: "Bologna is beautiful!" (101) The ancient Bologna had addressed herself to the poets, who had lived there, and through whom she was immortalized. It was this vision of the past, when towns had been decorated with singular monuments, like with gems, "dramatic and picturesque in the surprises of its streets, the piazzas, of the towers, so symphonic in the harmonies of its purple colour", (102) that Rubbiani wanted to recreate. It was to this purpose that he worked, restoring to the buildings and streets their 'primitive' appearance according to available, often scanty, documentation; later additions were removed and

replaced with mullioned windows, battlements and other 'typical' mediaeval features. In 1898, Rubbiani was a founding member of Aemilia Ars, modelled on the English Arts and Crafts, and in the following year he also helped found the Comitato per Bologna Storica ed Artistica, an association which in 1902 published guide-lines for the treatment of historic buildings so as to give due respect to their artistic, picturesque and historic features. (103)

Rubbiani firmly believed in his vocation, and had the official approval for his projects, including that of Corrado Ricci, the Director General of Antiquities, Luca Beltrami, and Camillo Boito. (104) But criticism grew, and in 1910 Giuseppe Bacchelli (1849-1914), a lawyer and Member of Parliament, gave the final blow in publishing his pamphlet 'Giu' le mani!' dai nostri monumenti antichi. Bacchelli, a member of the Bologna Storica ed Artistica, had long been fighting against Rubbiani's restoration. He thought that "restoration, just because it must not go beyond the restitution of the antique, must be more science than art. And it is for this reason that it can never reach the art it pretends to imitate." (105) Rubbiani, instead, went beyond the limits of science, using his intuition and analogies in creating what were often fantasies: "the restorer becomes an aesthetist and a reconstructor. Historic precision is replaced by an arbitrary vision of romantic and scenographic beauty!!" (106) A restoration project consists thus of the demolition of existing historic structures, and of the reconstruction of what had existed previously. This was the case, for example, in the project for the restoration of Palazzo di Re Enzo and Palazzo Bentivolesco. (107) And what resulted was only scenography!

"And yet it is believed that this scenography be a page of history!!!" (108) Similarly, Palazzo dei Notai, "I say that the terra-cottas of the mouldings of the six large windows had the authentic colour that only five centuries can give to the stones. I say that the walls of this beautiful building had the authentic colour that only time can give to monuments. Well then, with the restoration concluded, and that the new would not discord with the old, one takes a vulgar brush of whitewash and covers the terra-cottas and walls with a unifying, dreary, falsifying, ugly paint! And then we wait that a heavy shower would take care of an historic and artistic purification. Oh Ruskin, Ruskin, how many times your help would be invoked to master also our restorers!!" (109) And Bacchelli concluded by maintaining

that laying hands on ancient monuments was an historic and artistic sacrilege. "I would like to have the voice of Gladstone and shout in piazza his immortal 'Hands off!' Yes, hands off from our monuments. Lets conserve them with love, with tenderness, with the respect that we have for our parents: but let us not think of changing them. Above all let us not think of making them look younger. There is nothing worse than an old redyed and made look younger!" (110)

Alfredo D'Andrade

D'Andrade was a close friend and colleague of Boito, with whom he participated in many Commissions in various parts of Italy. Although of Portuguese nationality, he became a significant personality in Italian cultural life. He was invited to represent Italy in organizing exhibitions; he was involved in teaching, and had a special interest in industrial design; he was a member of Commissions for public buildings and restorations, such as St. Mark's, urban planning projects for Venice and Florence, Milan Cathedral, the restoration of Castel Sant'Angelo, the arrangement of the tomb of Umberto I in the Pantheon, the competition for the Vittorio Emanuele Monument in Rome, etc. In many of these Commissions he worked with Boito, and could take the role of a mediator, as in the case of Bologna, where he proposed that Rubbiani should provide more detailed documentation to justify his proposals. He received his first official nomination in 1882, in the Commission for the preparation of the Turin Exhibition of 1884; in 1884 he became the delegate for Piedmont in the preparation of inventories of historic monuments; in 1886 he was nominated the director of the office responsible for the conservation of monuments in Piedmont and Liguria; in 1891 this nomination was renewed in the new organization; in 1904 he was a member of the Central Commission of Antiquities and Fine Arts in Rome. He received many honours in Italy, as well as in Portugal, Spain and France. (111)

Having arrived in Italy in 1853 for the first time, D'Andrade dedicated himself to painting; in the 1860s, however, his interests were drawn toward archaeology and architecture, which became his field of study. His studies of historic buildings, with measured drawings and photographic documentation, formed a basis for his official responsibility in the inventory beginning in 1884, and continuing until the end of his life. In 1896, on his own initiative, he presented the first report on the results of the work. (112) In 1902 the Ministry of Education published



Figure 301. The Borgo in Turin, consisting of a complex of replicas of mediaeval military architecture of Piedmont by A. d'Andrade for Turin Exhibition in 1884

the first list of historic buildings in Italy, and in 1906 the Ministry nominated a Commission chaired by D'Andrade to evaluate the buildings so far included on the list. In 1911-14 this resulted in the publication of a revised list. (113)

On the occasion of the 1884 Turin Exhibition, the idea was launched to build a group of model buildings, decorated and furnished to illustrate the development of fine arts in Italy from the eleventh to the seventeenth century, including a museum display of original objects, and a didactic collection of prints and documents. On D'Andrade's proposal, this undertaking was limited to a sample of fifteenth-century Piedmont architecture and art; instead of famous examples such as Palladian buildings, he proposed to build examples of vernacular and military architecture that were threatened by ignorant destruction. Together with a group of colleagues D'Andrade, who already was familiar with the province, spent one year in preparing the project, which was based on carefully measured drawings in minute detail of selected examples of fortified and civil architecture, especially from the Valley of Susa. This little fortified village was built to a slightly reduced scale, but it was built to last. (114) Boito, who gave a talk on restorers in the hall of the fort in 1884, understood fully the educational importance of this project, which was conceived by D'Andrade as an Italian counterpart to Viollet-le-Duc's Dictionary of French Architecture. (115) It promoted a widening of interest in the studies of Piedmontese architecture, and later D'Andrade as the Soprintendente was able to work for the protection and restoration of these buildings. (116) In 1900-02, for example, he convinced the municipality of Avigliana to buy Casa Senore, a half-ruined building, which was then restored and partly rebuilt as a kindergarten with the

help of D'Andrade and his office. In the restoration, the lost parts were rebuilt on the basis of details from similar houses in the neighbourhood. (117)

Castellated architecture was of special interest to D'Andrade, who had been working to measure and draw this important part of Piedmont's and Liguria's heritage, since the time of his early tours in the region. He also worked hard to protect and conserve these buildings, convincing the State to buy properties when these were threatened by destruction or damage. This was the case with the castle of Verres, bought in 1894, and the castle of Fénis, bought in 1895. Both castles were subsequently restored by D'Andrade and his office. Fénis was one that he especially appreciated, and he chose the courtyard of this castle to be rebuilt in the fort of the exhibition village of Turin in 1884. D'Andrade's aim was to guarantee healthy conditions for the buildings which were his responsibility, and in certain cases this could lead to extensive reconstructions. In Fénis, general maintenance and consolidation works were carried out first, followed by the rebuilding of the roofs of the towers, and

Figure 302. Castle of Fénis, Piedmont: courtyard before restoration (prior 1897). This castle served as a model for the 'Borgo' in 1884





Figures 303 and 304. Castle of Fénis, Piedmont, before and after restoration by d'Andrade



restoration and rebuilding of the battlements. On the whole, however, the general picturesque aspect of the building was fairly well preserved, and the reconstructions were limited. (118)

In private restorations, and especially in the castle of Pavone which he bought for his own residence, reconstruction could be much more extensive. In Pavone, he carried out meticulous research and prepared careful measured drawings in order to understand the forms of the lost features. During nearly two decades, he contributed to the restoration and reconstruction of this castle, completed by his son Ruy, who also installed a decorated wooden ceiling from the castle of Strambino, and the interior decoration of a chapel, both bought by him earlier. (119)

In certain cases, D'Andrade respected the guide-lines of Boito practically to the letter; this was especially so when dealing with ancient Roman monuments, such as the remaining defence tower of the fortifications of Aosta, Torre di Pailleron. The original masonry was carefully preserved, and a portion was rebuilt over the existing structure both to protect it and to indicate better the original form. The new parts were built in a different material in order to distinguish them from

the original. (120) In reintegrating mediaeval or later buildings, his intentions, on the contrary, aimed at complete simulation of the original architecture both in form and in craftsmanship, as did Viollet-le-Duc, whose principles were well known to him. When there was no trace or document available of the lost parts of a building, these were completed by basing them on the 'most probable' evidence found in other buildings in the region. This was done with some churches, and the twelfth-century town gate of Genova, Porta Soprana. (121)

The restoration of the gate was based on a thorough research of the existing structures, and D'Andrade also travelled in France to see the recent works by Viollet-le-Duc at Carcassonne, and the restoration of the fortifications at Aigues-Mortes. The battlements of the gate no longer existed, and for the reconstruction D'Andrade decided to use the Ghibellini form "comforted by valid contemporary examples"; (122) to justify his work, he decided to prepare an inscription indicating the point up to which no hypothesis had been used.

A slightly different case was the convent and church complex of Sacra di San Michele, built on the top of a mountain, and seriously damaged in a earthquake in 1886. In addition to the consolidation and restoration of these buildings, it was considered necessary to provide the church with additional support, and to build for its nave a series of flying buttresses in the style of the original architecture though these had never existed before. Examples on which to base the construction were also sought in France, in Vézelay, Dijon, Bourges, Amiens, etc. (123)

In principle D'Andrade appreciated all historic periods. This was clearly shown in the restoration of Palazzo Madama in Turin, an ancient decuman gate, turned into a fortress in the thirteenth to fifteenth

Figure 305. Castle of Pavone during restoration (1893)



centuries, and partially transformed into a Baroque palace by Filippo Juvarra in the eighteenth century; it was the latter's monumental staircase which so impressed Napoleon that the building was saved from demolition. (124) The restoration work, in which D'Andrade was involved from 1884, consisted of a careful research and stratigraphic excavation of the Roman period (which was displayed to the public), and of the restoration and consolidation of the rest of the building, including the repair and cleaning of Juvarra's work. (125) The mediaeval part was restored back to its earlier appearance, while certain later additions were removed, and the roofs were rebuilt. It was about this sort of work that Boito wrote, when congratulating D'Andrade on his restorations:

“The old buildings hold no secrets from the insight of his mind; his eye pierces inside the thick walls and penetrates under the ground; if it cannot see, it predicts. The most trivial details serve him as a guide and offer him a clue; feeling in the dark the surface of old stones, he can often tell their age by the marks left by the chisel and the gradine. He brings to life the ways of the old masters as if he had grown up with them.” (126)

18.4 'Restauro Storico' in Italy

Luca Beltrami

Although D'Andrade proceeded with some caution to reconstruction, basing it - so far as possible - on reliable documentation, he was still clearly in the tradition of stylistic restoration. The same could be said of Luca Beltrami (1854-1933), a pupil of Boito's, who had studied and worked in Paris for about three years. In 1880 he returned to Milan, and dedicated himself to the protection and restoration of historic buildings in Italy. He became a leading personality in artistic and cultural life, writing frequently in journals about various subjects. In 1881 he entered the competition for the completion of Milan Cathedral with good success, although finally his proposal was not chosen for the building. (127) Another completion was that of Palazzo Marini in Piazza della Scala in Milan, where Beltrami designed a new arrangement for the Piazza including a new facade for the side of the palace facing it. This was taken by Boito as an example of 'architectural restoration'. (128) Beltrami justified his work with some archival documents that he found related to the original plans of the palace by its Renaissance architect, Galeazzo Alessi (1512-72). (129)

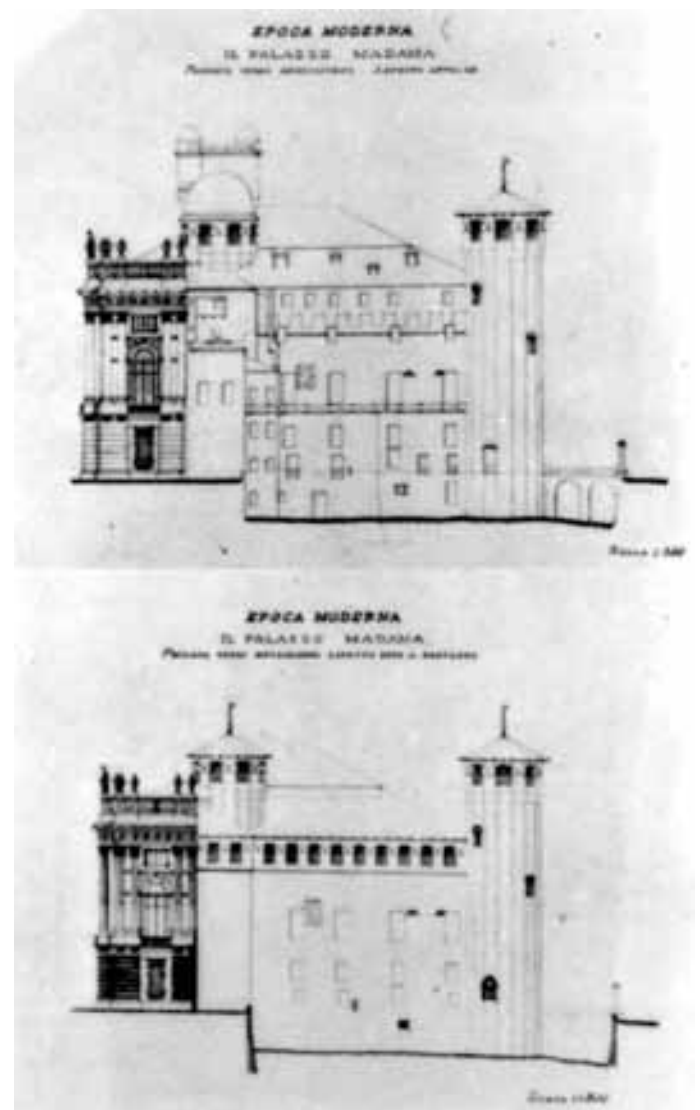


Figure 306. Palazzo Madama, Turin, before and after restoration by d'Andrade (1884-1902)

One of Beltrami's most important works was the restoration of the Sforza Castle in Milan, which was condemned to be demolished to give way to private villas and new streets. In 1883, he started his campaign to save this 'muraglione' (massive wall) from destruction, and was able to get the support of official societies such as Società Storica Lombarda, as well as to obtain the commission from the Ministry of Education to prepare measured drawings and the project for the restoration, which he did together with his colleague Gaetano Moretti. (130) The campaign succeeded, and in 1893 the castle was handed over to the municipality of Milan, and the first works were initiated. The building was to be used for museums, for a school of industrial arts, and as headquarters for some societies. (131) The restoration consisted of a great deal of reconstruction, based on existing documents both from the Renaissance and from French archives. Beltrami also insisted on the reconstruction of a Renaissance tower, so-called Torre di Filarete, built by Filarete in 1480, and destroyed in

1521, which was now rebuilt in memory of Umberto I and completed in 1905. (132)

In principle, Beltrami insisted that restoration should not be based on imagination, but on concrete data in the monument itself; however, he distinguished between different cases according to the monument - as had done Boito. An ancient Greek temple could be recomposed, if one had

“sufficient fragments to define the lines of the whole and the architectural and decorative details, achieving the archaeological intentions even if it were not possible to use scrupulously the same original materials and exactly the same construction methods; and one could equally restore a ruin of Roman period, limiting the reconstruction to the structural brickwork, and avoiding too detailed restoration of the decorative part in marble.” (133)

According to Beltrami, an important factor in these recompositions was the exactness of the execution which, at least in Greek monuments, had to be calculated almost by the millimetre. He considered the situation to be different in mediaeval military monuments, and in the case of the Torre di Filarete, he maintained, that

“the result at which the restoration aimed, could naturally not be determined by the requirement to arrive at a material and scrupulous exactness of the original structure, since the difference of some metres in the height or some decimetre in the details could in itself not cause a depreciation of the restoration work, which will have its significance and its effect essentially in the design of the whole, and in the general movement of the masses.” (134)

The Torre di Filarete had appealed to him from the beginning of his campaign as an essential feature, by the reconstruction of which the integrity of the monument would finally be safeguarded.

Although Beltrami was aware of the difficulty in achieving a reconstruction (‘restoration’), which would exactly correspond to the original; “in the concept of the work of restoration we always have to foresee something relative in respect to the monument as well as to the workmanship.” (135) He insisted that it was essential for good results, always to “know how to find the way to follow, the means to adopt, and that limits of respect, from the study of the monument”. (136) This meant a thorough archaeological and



Figure 307. Palazzo Sforzesco, Milan, after restoration

historical research on the monument itself, as well as studies of documents and other analogous structures.

He could find some traces of the Torre di Filarete indicating its original position; the project was based on the plans and descriptions of Filarete himself, as well as on contemporary sketches (e.g. by Leonardo da Vinci), on studies of other towers of the period, and on research on polychromy. This insistence by Beltrami on the importance of documentation as a basis of any restoration, has justified a later definition of his restoration approach as ‘historical restoration’ (restaurò storico) (137), different from the ‘stylistic restoration’ à la Viollet-le-Duc, which in its extreme form could result in works of pure fantasy. The restoration of Sforza Castle was well received by D’Andrade, who complimented Beltrami on his restoration scheme already in 1885, and by Giacomo Boni, who was pleased that life had been given back to this monument. (138)

St Mark’s Campanile

On 14 July 1902, the Campanile of St. Mark’s in Venice collapsed, to the great shock of Venetians and of all Europe. Boni, who had studied the Campanile already in the 1880s, was sent from Rome to Venice to assist in the examination of the remains. The site was inspected by Boni, Moretti and Beltrami, and it was decided to save as much from the original fragments as possible - relating especially to the delicate carvings and sculptural decorations of Sansovino’s Loggia which had been pushed along the walls of the Ducal Palace by the pressure of the collapsing tower. (139) Initiatives were taken immediately to restore the bronzes and the figure of the Madonna, a fine terra-cotta statue which was broken into more than one thousand six hundred fragments. These and the Loggia were carefully and patiently restored back to their original appearance, using as much original material as possible, and referring to the photographic documentation that fortunately existed. (140)

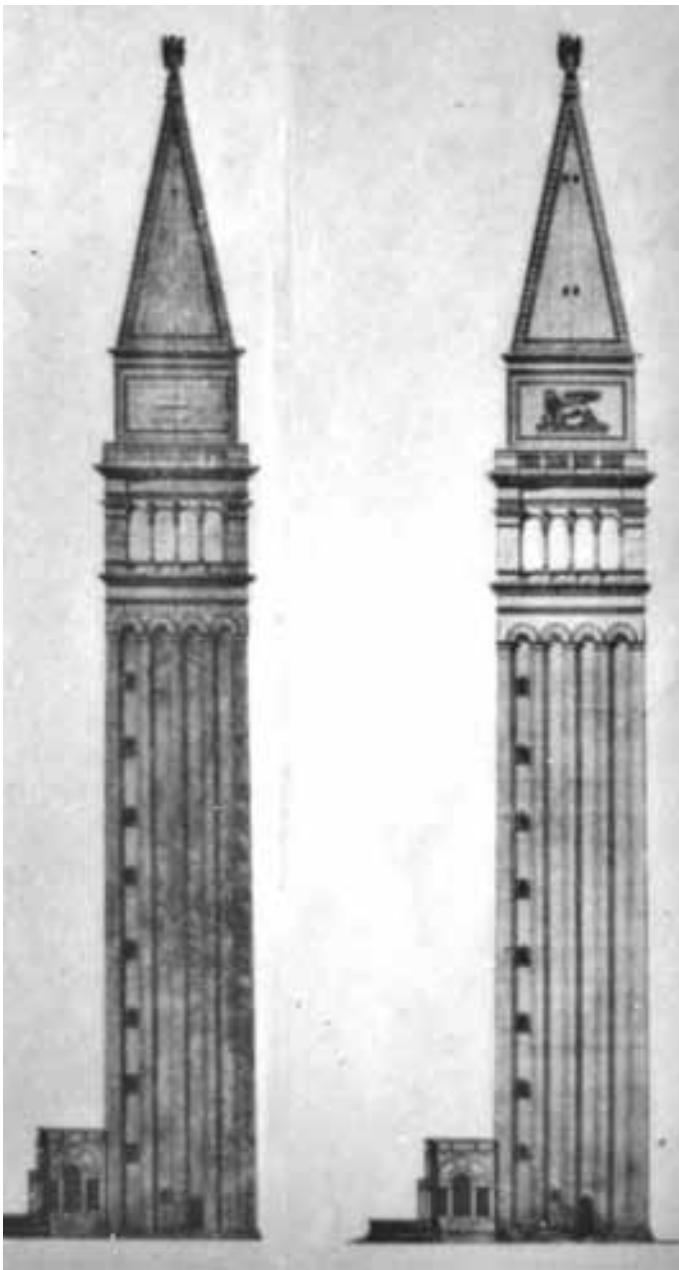


Figure 308. The Campanile of San Marco, Venice, before the collapse in 1902 (left) and after its reconstruction

What to do about the Campanile itself started a long debate which involved people not only in Italy but also in many foreign countries, especially in France and England. Opinions were strongly divided into two camps: those who wanted to rebuild it, and those who were against reconstruction. The Academy of Fine Arts in Milan even organized a competition to find contemporary solutions to replace the old one. Very soon, however, especially in Venice, the desire to rebuild the Campanile in its old form prevailed, “Dov’era e com’era!” (141) This was justified especially on account of its significance in the Venetian townscape and its function as a counterpoint to the Cathedral; it was necessary to rebuild it, because the exquisite Loggia of Sansovino could not have been rebuilt without it, and it was necessary because of its symbolic value to Venice. (142)

The collapse was considered to have been caused by the gradually increased overloading of the structure, assisted by the vibration of the bells, and the breaking of horizontal ties for the installation of lifts. (143) The Campanile had originally been rendered, but this had been scraped away, and it was decided that the new Campanile would be built with a brick surface. The project for the reconstruction was prepared by Beltrami, who conceived the new tower as a copy of the original in its basic form, though having a reinforced concrete structure, and being slightly taller than the old one. Due to various conflicts in the planning phase, however, Beltrami resigned in 1903; the building was completed in 1910. (144) A direct effect of the collapse in Venice, was that a general survey of all important buildings was carried out immediately by the Regional Office of Conservation, including the foundations of Ponte Rialto; this resulted in temporary reinforcement works in many cases. (145)

St Peter’s

In 1920 Beltrami left Milan for Rome, where he was appointed the Surveyor to St. Peter’s, which had suffered in recent earthquakes. (146) In this task, he faced certain alternatives of restoration, including the possible reintegration of the statues foreseen by Michelangelo as a counter-weight to balance the dome. For structural reasons, he came to the conclusion, however, that this would not have been conceivable without disturbing the balance reached through centuries. From an aesthetic point of view too, he was reluctant to do anything because, although the dome did not exactly correspond to Michelangelo’s plan, the present form had a satisfactory continuity between the tambour and the curvature of the dome. On the other hand, he considered that in architecture there could be variations to the original plans, which “were approved by time”. (147) Such was the case, for example, with the spires of Notre Dame in Paris, which had been never carried out, and would not be desirable today, because “they would alter the characteristic and traditional line of the whole of the Cathedral”. (148) Beltrami carried out an historical-structural survey of St. Peter’s, finding out the reasons for the damages - and noting that the structure was no longer moving and so limited himself to repairing and replacing the broken stones in the buttresses.

It seems that only towards the end of his life could Beltrami accept history with its ‘imperfections’ as a value in itself. All his life, he seems to have given priority to the architectural appearance and its restoration without any emphasis or distinction on

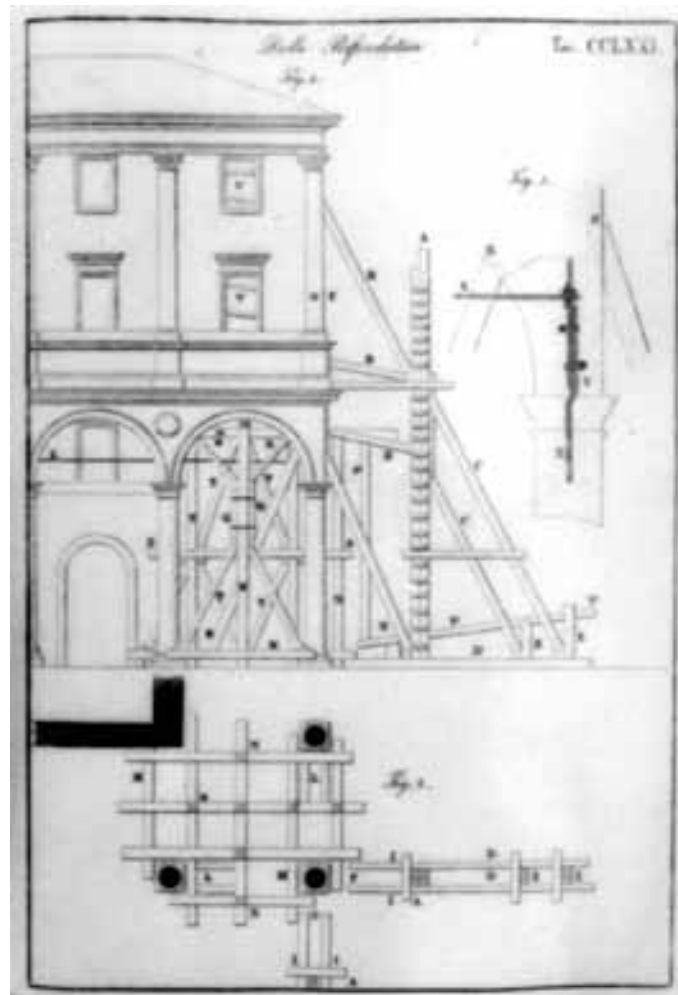
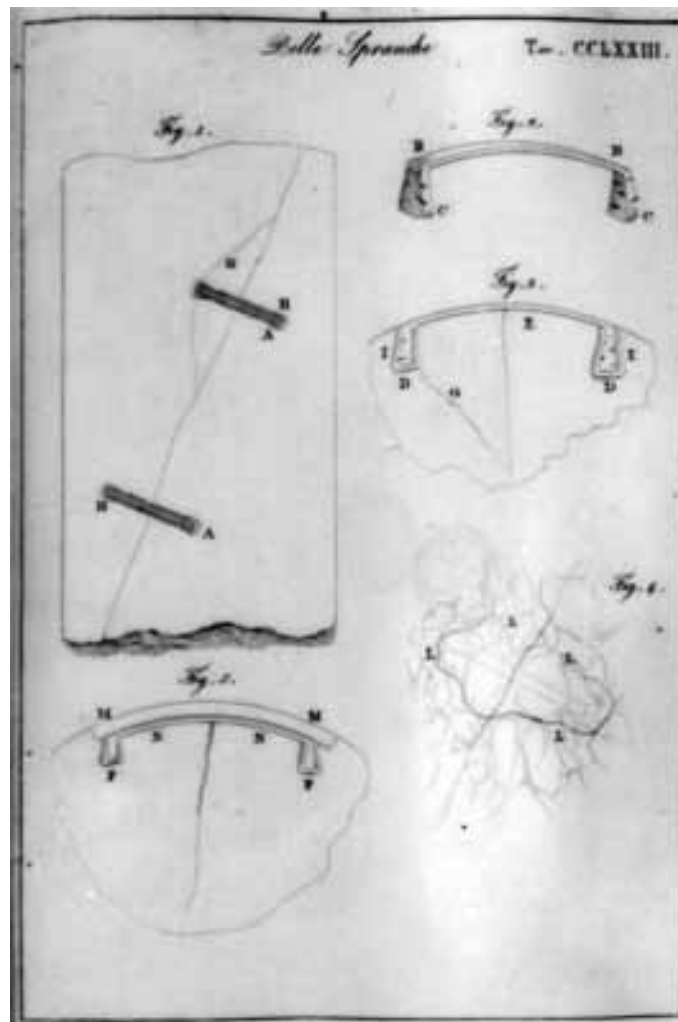
what was original and what was modern. Even in St. Peter's he felt tempted by the idea of correcting the architecture of the dome! (149) Although a good friend of Boni, with whom he had worked both in Venice and on the Pantheon in Rome, he could not accept Ruskin, who, he argued, was much too limited in his approach to art, accepting only the mediaeval period, and thus bringing the sense of art to a sort of 'over-exitement'.

“Not having been possible for his artistic sense to accept that Eclecticism, which alone can lead to a deep understanding not so much of the styles in themselves as of their mutual connections, Ruskin was confined, stiffened in the indeterminateness of individual impressions, which were fatally pedantic and lacking in the substratum of tradition.” (150)

Beltrami remained closely linked with the nineteenth-century eclectic concepts of architecture and stylistic restoration. Although emphasis has been laid on his concern for the exactness of reproduction compared with the original, this had of course been an accepted practice in France too, before the extreme development of stylistic restorations.

Conservation and Restoration in Rome

The example of urban renewal in the Haussmann's Paris was felt also in Italy, and many of the larger cities, including Milan, Florence, Naples and Bologna, underwent similar treatment in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Rome had remained relatively unchanged since the end of the Napoleonic period, but there had been gradual changes in the appearance of historic houses and palaces. Many buildings had been restructured, additional stories being built over the existing part, and a new elevation given to unify the street facade. (151) These changes affected also some of the more important palaces, causing complaints by archaeologically and architecturally conscious observers, such as P.M.Letarouilly. (152) Although an order existed that a measured drawing of the existing state had to be presented together with the project for building permission, it was not until 1864 that the municipality was able to start having any control over these changes. (153) Special attention was given to the maintenance and repair of existing building stock, resulting in extensive lime-washing



Figures 309 and 310. G. Valadier: pages from the manual for architects (*L'architettura pratica*), instructing on the conservation of historic structures

of facades during the period 1871 to 1873. (154) In addition, in 1866, there was another code prohibiting the construction of additional stories over buildings which “due to their character and style” merited “being conserved in their integrity”. (155)

Until now, a certain respect had prevailed towards important palaces, sumptuous churches, fountains and monuments, and it had not been considered feasible to open new streets and squares in the historic fabric. (156) After 1870, when Rome had become the capital of the United Kingdom of Italy, this attitude started changing. Although the building code of 1873 reinforced protection, the new masterplan of the same year indicated widening of a number of existing streets, and breaking new ones through the old fabric. (157) In later master plans these cuttings were further increased, resulting in the widening of the Corso, cutting of the Corso di Vittorio Emanuele, building of the Lungotevere-streets along the Tiber, and clearance of the Ghetto near the Theatre of Marcellus. These changes extended also to the area of Trastevere, and to other parts of Rome, where large ministerial buildings were built for the new central government. (158)

In 1870, the Minister of Education had given the first order to prepare lists of protected buildings; two years later this became law. (159) The intention was to prepare two lists, one of buildings that were historically or artistically of national importance to be conserved at the expense of the State, the other of buildings of local significance, protected by the municipality or the province. In Rome the preparation of these lists began in 1871, and a draft was published in 1875. (160) The monuments of Antiquity were recorded by the Office of Antiquities, and later buildings by the Accademia di San Luca. Following a national meeting in 1886 to clarify the criteria, a new building code was published in Rome in 1887 basing conservation of historic buildings on these lists, and forbidding, subject to special permission, any work

“tending to modify the disposition of their parts, or to compromise the stability in any way: i.e. additional floors, closing or moving of rooms, modification of cornices or other architectural members, painting of ashlar ornaments, etc. This order is applicable both to the exterior of these buildings as to their interiors and to the courtyards and to their surroundings, because the artistic and historic character that have been referred to exist in the interior as well.” (161)

The list was finally published in 1912 together with the building code of that year. (162)

Associazione artistica

In 1890 an association was formed in Rome with special concern for historic buildings, Associazione artistica fra i cultori di architettura. Its principal aims were the study, the protection and the ‘good conservation’ of historic buildings, similar to the aims of other associations that already existed, such as the SPAB. (163) The members of this association included government officers, regional delegates for conservation, provincial commissioners, professors of the Accademia di San Luca, and restoration architects such as Boito, D’Andrade, Partini. (164) Its members were involved in administration, legal protection, and in the promotion of historic research and restoration of historic buildings. It became instrumental in the preparation of records and measured drawings following the code of 1887. Buildings were divided into three categories according to their importance; the first included buildings of historic and artistic character with a conservation order, which should not be “destroyed, nor moved, or transformed”. (165) In the second category were buildings or parts of buildings which, although having historic or artistic value, could be moved to a new site without serious damage if required by works of public utility; and the third category included buildings, “which though not being unique memories of a period, nor characteristic types of a style, or masterpieces of an artist, could still have a great interest for the history of art”. (166) In practice, legal protection was only proposed for buildings in the first category, but it was of great importance that attention was given to buildings in the other categories too, which after all formed the substance of the historic city. (167)

Santa Maria in Cosmedin

Amongst the restorations promoted by the Association were the church of Santa Maria in Cosmedin, the church of Santa Saba, and the so-called Torre degli Anguillara, a fifteenth-century house in Trastevere. (168) The restoration of Santa Maria in Cosmedin is of special interest. The site, which dates back to the period before the foundation of Rome, had an altar, Ara Maxima, dedicated to Hercules Invictus; next to it there was a later building, a colonnaded podium of the fourth or fifth century AD, around which was built the first little church, enlarged by Hadrian I in the eighth century, and handed over to the Greek colony. (169) During successive centuries the building was several times restored, transformed,



Figures 312 and 313. Santa Maria in Cosmedin, Rome, before and after restoration in 1893-99



and increased; a bishop's palace was built on its south side. In 1718, Giuseppe Sardi (1680-1753) gave it a Baroque facade and the interior was greatly transformed by constructing a fake vault.

In 1891 systematic studies were started, measured drawings were prepared, and a draft project was made for restoration, which was carried out between 1893 and 1899 by the Ministry of Education under a commission, chaired by Giovanni Battista Giovenale (1849-1934). (170) When presenting the restoration project in 1895, Giovenale, then chairman of the Association stated that if the church were not a 'living monument', it would be easy to decide about its restoration: make it a national museum, and display all antique structures. However, as the building had to be used for worship, the question was raised to which period it should be restored.

"Of the pagan temple and of the statio annonae it can not be the question, nor of the diacony which was so much smaller than the present church. - Concerning the basilica of Hadrian, you will remember how many uncertainties remain. Well then? Well, either Calixtus II or Boniface VIII. Under the same conditions one should prefer the first period because it is more rare example. From 1300 then there only remain the ciborium and the

designs of facade, which was an addition too, nothing more rational than the Baroque screen of Clemence XI. All agreeable then to restore the basilica to the twelfth century!" (171)

The eighteenth-century front, a fine example of Sardi's architecture, was hardly mentioned; just enough "to strip the elevation and the bell-tower of the renderings and brickwork of the past century". (172)

After the first studies had been completed, it was considered possible to make the restoration on a relatively secure basis; most elements or fragments still existed in the building, "little we have to ask from contemporary monuments, nothing from fantasy." (173) On the other hand, following Boito's advice, all new elements were to be marked and dated in order to make them "recognizable and subject to criticism by scholars". (174) In reality, although traces of the altar, the schola cantorum and other details existed or were found during excavations, much had to be left to the interpretation of contemporary examples. After the demolition of the eighteenth-century nave vaults,



Figures 314 and 315. Santa Maria in Cosmedin, interior before and after restoration



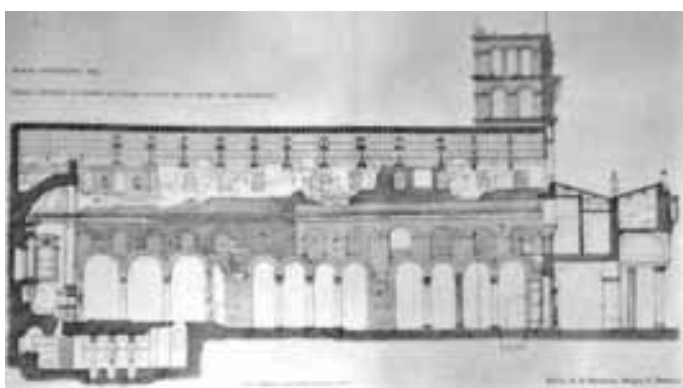


Figure 316. A 17th-century drawing showing Santa Maria in Cosmedin before the intervention of Sardi

fragments of two periods of painted decoration were visible.

The first idea was to detach these placing them in a museum room, and to make *ex integro* a new decoration without the problem of comparison. Due to some criticism, it was decided to preserve the paintings in situ, and not even reintegrate the areas where original paintings had been lost. (175) Concerning the main front of the church, it was possible to restore the lower part on the basis of existing evidence and using San Clemente as a model since it dated from the same period. Nothing remained from the original upper part, and so it was decided to build a gable with three windows similar to those in the nave. Later, Giovenale regretted this solution thinking that “it would have been preferable not to terminate the front in gable form, but give it rather a square ending like in Sant’Agnese fuori le mura, and in San Bartolomeo all’isola”. (176) This would probably have been nearer to the original,

Figure 317. Santa Maria in Cosmedin, longitudinal section, drawn by G.B. Giovenale and C. Pistrucchi



which seems to have had a round window in the centre. (177)

Although this restoration clearly belongs to the tradition of stylistic restorations in its attempt to bring the building back to its twelfth-century form, partly based on evidence in the building itself, partly on analogy, it is interesting to note Boito’s principles present throughout, himself a member of the Association. The work was based on a systematic study and analysis of the building and its history in order to minimize interventions based on analogy and invention. New elements were differentiated to distinguish from the original; inscriptions were placed to mark all major restorations; a site museum was established in the building; the work was carefully documented by drawings and photographs, as well as published (even though much later, in 1927). (178) Gustavo Giovannoni, Boito’s disciple in conservation theory, and chairman of the Association at the time of the publication, expressed a hidden criticism on the restoration in the preface:

“The accurate preliminary recording, the detailed analytical inventory of each stone, of each carving, of each structural disposition, the surveys on the monument so as to identify, so to speak, the stylistic and technical stratifications of its many elements, the research for testimonies of the different transformations, have represented as many but complementary phases in a long and patient work. And although, as in all human activities where one is acting positively, some criteria could be subject of discussion, certainly it is not the case with the secure documentation which summarizes the abundant material, and which takes a definitive place in the still fragmentary and defective studies on Roman Middle Ages.” (179)

Archaeological restorations

The period at the turn of the century was distinguished especially by its overwhelming archaeological interests, not only in Italy but also in other countries; in Greece, the important campaign for the restoration of the monuments on the Acropolis was started in these years. Pompeii and Herculaneum were again taken into active care and excavations and restorations continued first under the direction of Giuseppe Fiorelli, the Director General of Antiquities, in the 1920s under Amedeo Maiuri. (180) In 1893-1901, Rodolfo Amedeo Lanciani (1847-1929), archaeologist and topographer, published the *Forma Urbis Romae*, an archaeological map drawn

to the scale one to a thousand, recording all known architectural remains of the Antiquity in Rome. In 1887 Professor Guido Baccelli, Member of the Parliament, proposed to define and protect a large monumental archaeological area extending from the Capitol Hill and Forum Romanum to the Palatine, the Domus Aurea, Circus Maximus, the Thermae of Caracalla, and along the Via Appia to the south. The proposed area covered about 227 ha of which 60% was privately owned. In July of the same year the bill became a law, and a long process of acquisition of the lands, excavations, clearance of later structures and restoration of ancient monuments started. (181) In 1910 the cultural associations of Rome prepared a joint report drafted by Giovannoni, opposing large-scale excavations in the area, recommending to keep it as a park with its naturally undulating ground, and to forbid vehicular traffic in the area. Complaints were concerned with cases like that of a villa by Vignola, which had been demolished on structural grounds and rebuilt on another site, fearing that similar work might happen on other historic buildings too. (182)

The area of the Roman Forum, the valley of the Colosseum, and the Palatine became a large excavation site. Lanciani had been the director of excavations since 1878, and in 1899 Boni was nominated director of the office. (183) The whole Forum area between the Capitol Hill and the Arch of Titus was excavated

down to the Roman level - sometimes five to six metres under ground. Considering that the church of Santa Maria in Cosmedin was in the area of Forum Boarium, and thus also part of the monumental zone, one can understand the alternative proposal to restore it as a 'museum of Antiquity'. There were other similar cases; the Curia Iulia (built c. 29 BC), preserved as a part of the seventh-century church of Sant'Adriano, was restored to its antique form in 1930 to 1936 removing all later architecture. (184) Again, in the church of Santa Maria degli Angeli, the eighteenth-century elevation by Carlo Fontana was removed in order to display the Roman Thermae. (185) Archaeological monuments were restored following the principles of Boito. In the Thermae of Caracalla, the new brickwork was built slightly set back from the original face in order to show the difference between old and new. In 1892, Beltrami was involved in a structural survey of the Pantheon on behalf of the Ministry of Education, and in the following year, during the restoration the two seventeenth-century bell-towers were removed in order to re-establish the stylistic unity of the monument. (186)

Figure 311. The 'Zona monumentale' in Rome, i.e. the archaeological park protected by law in 1887



18.5 Gustavo Giovannoni and 'Restauro Scientifico'

The concepts of protecting the historic buildings of Rome had gradually matured during the last two decades of the nineteenth century, and already in 1891 the building code had forbidden work which would damage or destroy "the integrity, the authenticity, and picturesque appearance" of the buildings included in the municipal list of protective inventory. (187) In 1910, on the occasion of the exhibition of measured drawings made by members of the Associazione artistica in the Castel Sant'Angelo, Gustavo Giovannoni (1873-1947), newly nominated president of the association, drew attention to the significance of the 'minor architecture' in giving continuity to the urban fabric of a historic city. These "modest elements of the environment, which often represent better than the masterpieces the architectural traditions, and which more than these are subject to perils and dangers", (188) needed maintenance and restoration as well as the more important buildings. This became an important theme in his activities as a planner of Rome later.

Giovannoni had studied engineering and architecture, as well as being a planner and architectural historian. He was the director of the school of architecture in Rome from 1927 to 1935, and was instrumental in the creation of an independent faculty of architecture, at which he himself was professor of the restoration of historic monuments from 1935 till his death in 1947. In 1924, he founded together with his planner colleague M. Piacentini the Istituto di Studi Romani. Through his teaching and numerous writings on the history of architecture, and on the conservation and restoration of historic buildings and towns, Giovannoni consolidated the basis for a modern Italian approach to conservation. He had great respect for his master, Camillo Boito, whose concepts he developed. According to him, Boito had shown the "way to follow in modern restorations, determining firmly what can be called the official criterion on a complex theme, certainly more arduous in Italy than in any other nation due to the grandiosity of her monumental heritage." (189) He considered that "the formula of Boito implies a respect of the expressions of various periods superimposed on the monument on condition that they have artistic value, the prevalence given to structural restoration over artistic, and assurance of modest character and modern aspect in the works that technical reasons of reinforcement or practical reasons of rehabilitation require to add to the old building." (190) On this basis he founded his own

theory of restoration, formulating it in the form of a charter in 1931.

The Theory of 'Diradamento'

Apart from some minor building activity and restorations, Giovannoni's professional career concentrated mainly on urban planning. This was further reinforced by his position as a leading member of the Associazione artistica, who also actively participated in the debate on the planning of the historic city of Rome by proposing alternative solutions. According to the theories of Joseph Hermann Stubben (1845-1936), the German architect and planner who in 1890 had published his influential text, *Der Städtebau*, a modern city had to be developed over the existing historic city and take advantage of the existing local conditions. In Rome, this resulted in further cuttings of new road lines as in the master-plan of 1908, where a major east-west axis was proposed parallel to the Corso Vittorio Emanuele, but further north from Piazza Barberini to Piazza Colonna, and passing over the north end of Piazza Navona along Via dei Coronari; other cuttings were planned to ease the access to the Tiber and to the bridges. (191)

Giovannoni took a very critical attitude toward these proposals in a article in 1913, (192) and he later followed with other writings which developed his theories, and illustrated the results of his studies of architectural and urban history. (193) He saw the problem to consist in a conflict between two different concepts, life and history, which seemed to require different approaches, on one hand the requirements of modern development and modern life, on the other a respect of the historic and artistic values and of the environment of the old cities.

"The innovators insist: the cities are not museums or archives, but they are made to be lived in the best possible manner, and we must not compromise the development and stop the path of civilization... The conservators respond: the life must not only be moved by a utilitarian material concept, without an ideal, without a search for beauty; even less than the life of an individual can this be the collective life of cities, which must contain the elements of moral and aesthetic education, and which can not leave out of consideration the traditions where it shares so much of the national glory." (194)

Giovannoni regretted that old towns were often connected mainly with sad memories of social

decay, and it was forgotten that they also reflected the happiest days of society. He was more and more convinced that the important element in historic towns was the so-called minor architecture, which in the end was the main protagonist and represented the populace and their ambitions better than the glorious palaces. In Rome, his favourite area was the so-called Quartiere del Rinascimento, the Renaissance Quarter, where he made much research about the history and the typology of its fabric. (195) He was conscious that a town developed through time, and different styles were introduced in different periods. This had happened also in the 'Renaissance Quarter', but there, as was clearly seen in the example of Piazza Navona, the character of the area was still expressed in the "unique substratum which forms the feeling of art and proportion of Rome". (196)

Like Camillo Sitte (1843-1903) in his *City Planning According To Artistic Principles* first published in German in 1889 (197), Giovannoni also emphasized visual and picturesque values, and the sudden surprises caused by the contrast between sumptuous palaces, convents, churches on one hand, and the 'minor architecture', 'the architectural prose', on the other. (198) He considered that Art represented to Italy 'a preliminary source of energy', and that "the intelligent conservation of the architectural and monumental heritage of the past, must represent in our cities an unbreakable condition, to be accepted not with poorly concealed intolerance, as is still the case in the lack of conscience of many, but with a deep religious sense founded on duty, on the consciousness of love". (199) It was clear to Giovannoni that the only way to reach this consciousness was through meticulous study and recording of a building and of an historic area.

In this period of Futurism, when F.T. Marinetti (1876-1944) had written his manifesto, "We will destroy museums, libraries, and fight against moralism, feminism, and all utilitarian cowardice..." (200), and when Functionalistic planning ideals were glorified, Giovannoni often remained alone to defend historic towns. In order to find a compromise, he formed a theory for the treatment and modernization of historic areas, which he considered still respectful to the cultural values contained in them. This theory, first presented in 1913 (201), he called 'diradamento edilizio' ('thinning-out' of urban fabric). It meant keeping major traffic flows outside these areas so as to avoid cutting new streets into them; it also meant the improvement of the social and hygienic conditions as

well as the conservation and restoration of the historic buildings.

To reach this, he wrote, it was necessary to "demolish here and there a house or a group of buildings, and to create in their place a piazza or a garden, small lungs for the old quarters; then the street would get narrower to become wider again a little later, adding a variety of movements, associating effects of contrast to the original type of architecture, which thus will maintain completely its artistic and environmental character." (202)

It is interesting, at this point, to compare Giovannoni's approach with the conclusions of the meeting of the CIAM in Athens in 1933. These conclusions, written and later edited by Le Corbusier (203), accepted that architectural values of the past should be conserved if this corresponded to 'a general interest', and did not mean that the residents should live in unhealthy conditions. In order to avoid destruction, it was proposed to keep major traffic outside significant historic areas. On the other hand, if destruction of old buildings was justified for hygienic and health reasons, Le Corbusier suggested that this would give an opportunity to introduce some greenery, and to emphasize the architectural values of single monuments by providing more space around them. (204)

Giovannoni had the opportunity to contribute to the practical application of his theory, both in Rome where he was consulted for the revision of the 1908 master-plan, and in some other towns such as Venice, Bari and Bergamo, where the diradamento was introduced. Although the theory sounded excellent, in practice it was not always so successful; in Rome, where Giovannoni had first proposed to plan the new central activities outside the historic area in the direction of the railway station, in the end there were major changes also in the historic fabric. The only area preserved with some respect was the Renaissance Quarter, and even that was 'thinned out'!

In the first phase Giovannoni participated in the work of a special commission for the planning of this area, which reported in 1919 (205) giving guidelines for the infrastructures, and provision of hygienic conditions for the residents; the effects for the diradamento were still limited as proposed by the commission. Later, in the 1920s, there were further interventions, such as Corso del Rinascimento, broken through the old fabric alongside Piazza Navona. From the late 1920s until the early 1940s, in the Fascist Era, demolition of the historic fabric continued, and the access of modern

technology and motor vehicles was guaranteed in the monumental areas. Mussolini identified himself with the ancient Roman emperors and, while demolishing the mediaeval ‘slums’, he had the ancient classical monuments restored and excavated. Demolitions started in the area of Trajan’s Market and the Imperial Fora in 1924, continuing in 1930 in the area of Nerva and proceeding to the Colosseum to form the Via dei Fori Imperiali, inaugurated by Mussolini in 1932. In 1925, demolitions started around the Arch of Janus and the temples of Fortuna Virilis and ‘Vesta’, proceeding to the liberation of the Theatre of Marcellus, and forming the Via del Mare from the south which reached the foot of the Capitol Hill and Piazza Venezia in 1932. (206)

The excavations and restorations were carried out under the direction of the Soprintendente Antonio Munoz (1884-1960), who was responsible for most works on ancient monuments during the Mussolini’s time. These monuments were restored according to the established principles, and for example, after having removed part of the Renaissance palace from the Theatre of Marcellus, this was consolidated following the example of the Colosseum almost literally; the south end of the elevation was reinforced by a plain brick buttress, while the north end was continued as a reconstruction. Of the buildings demolished near the Capitol Hill, the church of Santa Rita was later rebuilt near the Theatre of Marcellus. (207) Other clearances included the area of Largo Argentina where four Republican temples were excavated and restored in 1928 (208), the area around the Augusteum, where also the recently excavated Ara Pacis was placed under a special cover in 1931-32, and the new street opened in front of St. Peter’s by demolishing the so-called Borgo, started in 1936 and completed only after the end of the Fascist Era in 1950. (209)

Some of these interventions had already been foreseen in the early master-plans of 1873 to 1908, as well as in the plan for the monumental zone of 1887, as for example the area of Forum Boarium in front of the church of Santa Maria in Cosmedin; others such as the clearance of the area of Via dei Fori Imperiali were conceived during Mussolini’s time.

The significance of the historic town of Rome was naturally well known to many foreign visitors as well, and in 1905 G.Balwin Brown, while recognizing that much thought had been given to the conservation of historic buildings in Italy and to the problems of ‘modern treatment of ancient cities’, was deeply concerned about the danger that the ancient



Figure 318. Forum Romanum, Rome, after demolitions and restorations at the time of Mussolini

Figure 319. The Imperial Forum, Rome, after Mussolini’s intervention



monuments of this country “may be summoned to an artistic ‘risorgimento’, which will ‘restore’ away half their charm, and that the straight broad monotonous streets borrowed from a Housmannized Paris may drive away the genius loci of the seven hills”. Unfortunately, this is what really was done during the active decades and, partly because of the political situation, few Italians had the courage to raise their voice in criticism. One of the few was Giovannoni, who strongly criticized the demolition of the Borgo and the opening of the new Via di Conciliazione in front of St. Peter’s. (211)

Giovannoni’s Theory of Restoration

Apart from working with planning issues, Giovannoni was a member of the Consiglio superiore delle Belle Arti and its different commissions for more than twenty-five years, collaborating with state authorities and municipalities in the restoration of historic buildings. He was also the major theorist of his time in Italy. In 1936, he wrote an article on ‘restoration’ in the Enciclopedia Italiana, and started with a statement:

“The intention to restore the monuments, both in order to consolidate them repairing the injuries of time, and to bring them back to a new living function, is a completely modern concept, parallel to the attitude of philosophy and culture which conceives in the constructive and artistic testimonies of the past, whatever period they belong to, a subject of respect and of care.” (212)

There is here a fundamental difference compared with the statement of Viollet-le-Duc some seventy years earlier, of which it is almost the antithesis; restoration is seen as a cultural problem of evaluation, and rehabilitation of monuments with respect to all their significant periods - instead of reconstructing them to their ideal form. Giovannoni considered Viollet-le-Duc's theory to be 'anti-scientific', causing falsifications and arbitrary interventions, presupposing the building to be created by a single architect in one period, and presupposing also “proudly in the architect-restorer and in the builders the capacity of understanding the monument in its vicissitudes and in its style which they do not feel any more.” (213) On the other hand, he referred to some recent tendencies to use modern architectural forms in historic buildings - customary in the past practically until Neo-Classicism in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. This, however, he considered a complete failure due to the lack of a proper and representative style of modern architecture, as well as a lack of sensitivity in using this. Taking the example of the Campanile of St. Mark's, he agreed with the reconstruction, “*dov'era e com'era*”, considering that a new structure “in the soft Liberty style” of the time would now be completely out of date in addition to having ruined the marvellous Piazza. (214)

The position he himself supported was that based on the concepts of Boito, and seen as an 'intermediate theory' - between stylistic restoration and pure conservation. (215) Even Giovannoni had, however, first been attracted by the theories of Viollet-le-Duc. This may be seen in an early article on restoration (1903), in which he stated that a restorer had to be a historian, a constructor and an artist, who based his work on careful study, “as if he were living in that time, and in his mind would instill the creative idea”. (216) His concepts matured later along the lines of Boito, finding a full expression in 1929 in *Questioni di Architettura nella storia e nella vita*. He placed emphasis on maintenance, repair and consolidation, and in the last case, if necessary, could also accept the use of modern technology. The aim of the work was essentially to preserve the authenticity of the structure,

and respect the whole 'artistic life' of the monument, not only the first phase. Any modern additions should be dated and considered rather an integration of the mass than an ornament, as well as being based on absolutely sure data. For the environment of the building he recommended, “even if this was not the original one, but a continuation of its relationships in masses and colours, the same cures and the same criteria as for the intrinsic conditions”. (217)

In 1931 he presented these principles at the International Congress in Athens, contributing to the formulation of the Charter of Athens (which will be discussed later). Having returned to Rome, he prepared the text for an Italian Charter, *Norme per il restauro dei monumenti*, which was approved by the Direction of Antiquities and Fine Arts in December of the same year, and published officially in January 1932. (218) These norms developed the same concepts that had been expressed by Giovannoni two years earlier, taking notice also of the Charter of Athens in introducing e.g. the concept of 'anastylosis', i.e. “the recomposition of existing dismembered parts with the eventual addition of the neutral elements which form the minimum indispensable to reintegrate its lines, and assure the conditions for conservation”. (219) The main emphasis was laid on maintenance and consolidation, as well as on the preservation of the authenticity of the monument. The general criteria that all should be considered in connection with each other were summarized as being

“the historic reasons which do not allow the cancellation of any of phases through which the monument was formed, nor falsified its understanding with additions that would mislead scholars, nor to disperse the material that analytical research brings to light; the architectural concept that aims at bringing the monument back to artistic function and, as far as possible, to a linear unity (not to be confused with stylistic unity); the criterion that comes from the feeling of the citizens, from the spirit of the city, with its memories and nostalgies; and, finally, the indispensable criterion resulting from administrative necessities due to the means of execution and a useful function”. (220)

Comparing the spirit of the norms with those of Boito, where the monument was conceived primarily as an historic document, there is here a much broader approach including the architectural aspects, the historic context and environment, as well as the use of the building.

In 1938 the Ministry published a further series of instructions to complete the norms, prepared by a group of experts amongst whom were Giovannoni and Professor Guglielmo De Angelis d'Ossat, the future Director General of Antiquities and founder of the School of Specialization in Restoration. (221) Special emphasis was laid here on certain administrative aspects, on continuous maintenance and timely repairs, on a methodical and immediate conservation and consolidation of archaeological sites and finds, on the necessity of conservation in situ, the conservation and respect of urban areas having historic and artistic values, as well as insisting that "for obvious reasons of historical dignity and for the necessary clearness of modern artistic consciousness" it should be absolutely forbidden to build "in historic styles" even in areas that had no specific monumental or landscape interest. (222) In the following year, 1939, Italy also received a new law on the conservation of 'objects of historic and artistic interest', which remained in force until 1980. (223) In the same year another law was approved for the protection of sites of natural beauty. (224)

Looking back later at his twenty-five years of service in the central direction of antiquities, and at the various types of problems he had faced, Giovannoni thought that the Charter of restoration which he, as a theorist of restoration, had compiled could be compared with a treatise of medicine and surgery facing clinical cases. He regretted the many destructions that had been carried out without considering the efforts of the authorities or private people to stop them, as had been the case in Bologna, where three mediaeval towers had been demolished in an extremely interesting corner of the city despite the appeal by Gabriele d'Annunzio and an offer of compensation by the Ministry of Education; in Verona he remembered the beautiful fourteenth-century cloister of the Magdalene, which was demolished because some Communists had been hiding there; in Milan and Genova industrial growth had caused pressure to demolish almost all the parks and villas that would have provided some greenery to these cities, and were instead suffocated by the tall modern constructions. On the other hand, he was pleased that in 1937, Venice had received a law for the protection of the historic town. (225)

Giovannoni divided restoration activities into four types or categories: restoration by consolidation, restoration by recomposition (anastylosis), restoration through liberation, and restoration through completion or renovation. (226) He agreed with Boito that the best restorations are those where it

seems that nothing has been done; and he agreed that in many cases this could be achieved using modern methods and technology, for example grouting with cement, using metal structures, or, as in the case of the reconstruction of Messina Cathedral, using an invisible reinforced concrete as a safeguard against earthquakes. On the other hand, he insisted that this should not go so far that the historic building would suffer. In Grado Cathedral, he considered that the proposed concrete frame would have caused practically a complete reconstruction of the building, and he so preferred that the columns of the ancient fabric should be taken out one by one, cut in pieces, and reinforced, before being placed back again. Also in the abbey church of Pomposa, he rejected the insertion of a concrete frame, and preferred the construction of "robust external buttresses, honestly indicated, as at the edges of the Colosseum". (228) In the case of modern concrete structures built at Pavia Cathedral, he was very critical of the arrogant 'modernity', and would have preferred a softer way, as for example "masonry and even cornices and ornaments, similar to the old in their mass and outline, but simpler", so as to harmonize better with the historic fabric. (229)

Giovannoni expressed his concern about the fact that there were still even cultured people who continued to persist in the "concepts of the dangerous theory of Viollet-le-Duc of restoration", (230) and who could sacrifice any 'inharmonious' or late element from the historic monument, and "adding imagined parts in a similar style, e.i. promoting systematically the fake". (231) On the other hand there were those who over-emphasized the use of modern architecture; the question was to find a balanced judgement between the different aspects and values present in the monument, which should not be considered solely for the "use for study, but especially for art, made for the city and for the people. For this, compromises are inevitable. The essential is to control and document them, and not let oneself be carried away by that egotism that puts the restorer in the place of the monument." (232) He could thus accept the removal of the two bell-towers from the Pantheon, the demolition of the later structures from the Parthenon, and the restoration of the Maison Carree of Nimes by removing the Gothic structures from within. In the same way, he also felt sympathy with the decision to restore the Curia building in the Roman Forum to its antique appearance, which meant the demolition of historic stratification from the sixth to the seventeenth century in a church which was still in use. It did not seem to be possible in this case to display simultaneously all

historic phases, and although the significance of the historic continuity of Rome prolonged the debate, at the end the decision was reached to let antique Rome dominate. (233)

Until the fifteenth century, he agreed, architecture had expressed an individuality, irregularity, lack of symmetry, and a vibration as described by Ruskin in his *Lamp of Life*, that one had to “humbly confess” the impossibility of reproduction. Since the sixteenth century, however, buildings were made with such geometrical regularity that, he thought, it was quite possible to “be reproduced in a perfect manner”. (234) He was thus in favour of continuing the building of Palladio’s Loggia di Capitanio in Vicenza by at least two arcades in order better to enclose the architectural form of the square, as had been done in Napoleon’s time in St. Mark’s Square in Venice. On the other hand, Giovannoni was firmly opposed to the completion of the incomplete facade of the mediaeval San Petronio in Bologna, as well as to the building of battlements over the palace of Podesta’ on the same square. As this latter construction would have been a pure hypothesis, he thought it would have been not only a fake but also an offence against one of the most significant of Italian monuments. (235) Although Giovannoni, at times, could show a certain ambiguity, and has been accused afterwards of not having shown sufficient firmness against destructions, he has to be seen in the context of his time, as Professor Carlo Ceschi has said, and that “a history of modern restoration cannot leave out of consideration, as has been universally recognized, the presence of Gustavo Giovannoni”. (236)

Notes to Chapter Eighteen

1. See Case Study, Chapter eight.
2. Rocchi, G., ‘Camillo Boito e le prime proposte normative del restauro’, *Restauro*, XV, 1974, 5ff, 5.
3. Rocchi, *ibid.*
4. Ceschi, C., *Teoria e storia del restauro*, Roma 1970, 53.
5. Wittkower, R., *Gothic versus Classic. Architectural Projects in Seventeenth-Century Italy*, London 1974. Ceschi, *Teoria e storia*, *op.cit.*
6. Ceschi, *ibid.*, 61.
7. Ruskin, J., *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, *op.cit.*, 145.
8. Ceschi, *op.cit.*, 62f.: The Parisian Louis Delatre, in exile in Rome in 1863: “S. Paolo non poteva, non doveva

essere rifabbricato. Voler rifabbricare S. Paolo era come ricostruire il Colosseo. Era meglio lasciarlo quale l’incendio l’aveva ridotto, e serbarlo come una reliquia dei primi tempi del cristianesimo ... Non è più il tempo in cui si resuscitano i morti. La chiesa

stessa non ha più questo dono.”

9. Reports of the destruction of the old town of Milan due to the widening of streets, were published in Vienna; *Mittheilungen der K.K. Central-Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale*, I, Vienna 1856, 87f. Ruskin’s letters: See Chapter seventeen.
10. Cattaneo, C., *La città come principio*, a cura di Manlio Brusatin, Padova 1972. Rocchi, ‘Camillo Boito’, *op.cit.*, 12.
11. Rocchi, *ibid.*, 14. Cattaneo, C., *La città come principio*, *op.cit.*: ‘La città come principio ideale delle istorie italiane’ (7ff), ‘Sulle antichità di Milano’ (54f), ‘Osservazioni sulle guide di Pisa, Torino, Firenze e Padova’ (80ff).
12. Cattaneo, *op.cit.*: ‘Sulla Piazza del Duomo di Milano’ (56ff).
13. Rocchi, *op.cit.*, 20ff. Cattaneo, *op.cit.*: ‘Tre nuovi progetti per la strada ferrata da Milano a Venezia’, 1837 (92ff), ‘Di una nuova linea per la strada ferrata Lombardo-Veneta’, 1837 (96ff).
14. Rocchi, *op.cit.*, 36.
15. Rocchi, *ibid.*, 41ff.
16. *Mittheilungen der K.K. Central-Commission*, *op.cit.*, 1856, 87.
17. Rocchi, *op.cit.*
18. ‘Boito, Camillo’, *Diz.Biogr.Ital.*, XI, 237ff.
19. ‘Matas, Nicolò’, *Diz.Enc.Arch.*, III, 512.
20. Beltrami, Luca, *Storia della Facciata di S.Maria del Fiore in Firenze*, Milano 1900, 50ff.
21. Beltrami, L., *Storia della Facciata*, *op.cit.*, 53ff.
22. Buscioni, C., *Giuseppe Partini, Architetto del Purismo senese*, Electa, Firenze 1981, 18.
23. Buscioni, *ibid.*, 147f.
24. Rubini, F., *Dei restauri eseguiti nella Chiesa Metropolitana di Siena dal 1 settembre 1869 al 31 dicembre 1878*, Siena 1879; Buscioni, *op.cit.*, 44: “sebbene con fedeltà scrupolosa si riproducessero sempre e in tutto gli antichi esemplari, la facciata presente par cosa molto diversa da quella di prima”.
25. Mussini, L., *Scritti d’arte*, Firenze 1880, 158, Buscioni, *op.cit.*, 45: “Ogni ordine di cittadini si compiace nel pensiero ... di restituire all’interno del Tempio la pristina venustà, removendo, come fu fatto nelle Cattedrali di Firenze, Pisa ed Arezzo, tutte le brutture ed i fronzoli coi quali, in epoche posteriori di decadenza e di barocchismo, vennero questi monumenti deturpati.”

26. Buscioni, op.cit., 16ff.
27. Buscioni, op.cit., 41ff.
28. Borsi, F., 'Giuseppe Partini: La verità del falso', Buscioni, op.cit., 9: "Chi volesse liquidare il tema con una battuta potrebbe dire che il Partini architetto sta a Siena come l'involucro di carta stampata carico di messaggi antichizzanti sta al panforte. Eguale in fondo è l'identità coltivata con amore e con rigore attraverso il tempo, a tacere del campanilismo, ed insieme un suo modo di accedere all'universale, di collocarsi in una sfera soprastorica in cui passato e presente non contano come realtà distinte ma come, appunto, identità processuale."
29. Dalla Costa, M., *La Basilica di San Marco e i restauri dell'Ottocento. Le idee di E.Viollet-le-Duc, J.Ruskin e le 'Osservazioni' di A.P.Zorzi*, Venezia 1983, 24.
30. Selvatico, P., 'Proposte per la conservazione e custodia' (1852), *Monumenti artistici e storici delle province venete*, Milano 1859; in Dalla Costa, op.cit., 24.: "per risarcirla radicalmente, senza togliere il suo carattere architettonico".
31. Dalla Costa, op.cit., 24ff.
32. Viollet-le-Duc, E., 'La restauration des anciens édifices en Italie', *Encyclopédie d'architecture*, 1872, I, 15f.: "...Mais ces revêtements splendides, ces colonnes de marbre, de granit, de porphyre prodiguées, épaulaient la bâtisse, et l'enveloppe maintenait tant bien que mal ce qu'elle contenait. Cependant est arrivé un jour où tout a craqué. On voyait ces revêtements boucler sous l'effort des massifs intérieurs qui s'affaissaient, les colonnes et chapiteaux s'épauffrir, les bandeaux de marbre sculpté se briser. C'est en cet état que je vis Saint-Marc pour la première fois en 1837. Il semblait que cette antique église fût destinée à sombrer, comme un vieux ponton, dans la algune dont elle était sortie. Sans se presser, mais sans se décourager, les Vénitiens se sont mis à l'oeuvre, et, dans trois ou quatre années, l'église de Saint-Marc aura renouvelé son bail de vie. ... Quand le vieil édifice sera pris ainsi entre deux solides parois, grâce à son peu d'élévation et à la grosseur de ses piliers intérieurs, il pourra durer encore longtemps."
33. Zorzi, op.cit. Unrau, J., *Ruskin and St.Mark's, Thames and Hudson* 1984, 192ff. Robotti, C., 'Le idee di Ruskin ed i restauri della Basilica di S.Marco attraverso le 'Osservazioni' di A.P.Zorzi', *Bollettino d'Arte*, 1976, I-II, 115ff.
34. Ruskin, J., *The Works of John Ruskin*, ed. E.T.Cook and A.Wedderburn, 1903-12, XXIV, 405f.
35. Ruskin, op.cit., XXIV, 407f.
36. Ruskin to Zorzi, Dalla Costa, op.cit., 64f.; Ruskin, J. (Dalla Costa, op.cit., 53): "L'uso delle sculture sul legno e dorate per sostegno permanente interno, aggiungerebbe piuttosto all'effetto pittorico dell'edificio, che non lo scemerebbe. Delle sbarre di ferro dovrebbero essere impiegate nell'esteriore, per il sostegno dei mure, dove la rovina non ammette riparazioni, senza pericoli. Gran numero di abbazie in Inghilterra, le quali felicemente sono situate nelle terre private dei gentiluomini, furono di questa maniera conservate nella bellezza e nella stabilità per sempre; e la conservazione degli archi più lati dell'Anfiteatro di Verona, nella loro posizione, sono un esempio ammirabile d'una consimile sollecitudine in Italia."
37. Zorzi, *Osservazioni*, op.cit.: "Il Ristauro suppone innovazioni, secondo il bisogno; la Conservazione le esclude affatto. Il Ristauro è applicabile a tutto ciò che non ha importanza archeologica, ma puramente artistica; la Conservazione mira a salvare soltanto dal deperimento quello, che per antichità, e per ragioni storiche ha un merito speciale, superiore all'arte, alla economia simmetrica, all'ordine, al buon gusto stesso. Più necessaria poi diventa codesta conservazione, quando all'interesse archeologico s'aggiunga il valore artistico e l'oggetto da conservarsi abbia nel suo complesso e nel dettaglio, una impronta storica tale, da riescire assolutamente dannoso un ristauro fatto alla maniera moderna."
38. Street, G.E., in *The Times*, 18 May 1880; Unrau, *Ruskin and St.Mark's*, op.cit., 201f. Ruskin himself withdrew from the protest by the English, claiming that he had done enough already.
39. Saccardo, P., *S.Marco: gl'inglesi e noi*, Venice 1879; Unrau, op.cit., 198.
40. Unrau, op.cit., 204f.; Whittick, A. ed., *Ruskin's Venice*, London 1976, 27f., 113f.; La Regina, F., *Restaurare o conservare. La costruzione logica e metodologica del restauro architettonico*, Napoli 1984, fig. 6-7.
41. 'Boni, Giacomo', *Diz.Biogr.Ital.*, XII, 75ff.; Beltrami, L., *Giacomo Boni*, Milano 1926, 25ff. Tea, E., *gia omo Boni nella vita del suo tempo*, 2 Vols., Milano 1932, I, 17ff.
42. Tea, op.cit., II, 238.
43. Tea, *ibid*, I, 43.: "Gli artisti di Venezia e di tutta Italia vegliano sulla conservazione di questi insigni monumenti alla stessa guisa che si veglia sulla gloria e sull'onore della nazione." The signatures included: Cav.G.Favretto, S.G.Rotta, F.Marsili, G.Laudi, E.Tito, E.Ferruzzi, A.Alessandri.
44. Boni to Caroe, Tea, *ibid*, I, 21.: "Ho fatto altri studi sulle dorature e i colori di Pal. Ducale. Disegni di ornati d'oro su azzurro o cremisi; preziose reliquie ancora intatte: dipinture a bianco di piombo e rosso sui marmi che rivestono la parete: il colore considerato come un dono della Natura, in conformità con il tempo, la posizione, i materiali."
45. After Penrose had made studies on the curvature of the Parthenon, and Goodyear of mediaeval churches; in 1880 Caroe came to Italy to do similar studies finding Boni at work already. Tea, op.cit., I, 25.

46. Boni to Caroe, Tea, *ibid*, I, 43.: “Io pure penso che la Porta stesse meglio completa e mi dolgo come tutti che sia guasta; ma avendo una certa propensione per la storia, ritengo parte della storia il fatto che il gruppo non ci sia più.”

47. Boni, G., ‘La Torre di San Marco di Venezia’, *Nuova Antologia*, 1 May 1912, Roma 1912, 12ff.

48. Boni to Webb, 6 May 1885, (Lethaby, Philip Webb and his Work, *op.cit.*, 165.

49. Boni to Webb, 9 May 1888 (Lethaby, *op.cit.*, 168): “I have been called to Rome as architect of the General Direction of Monuments - the most noble occupations to look after beautiful noble old buildings ... I should be grateful for the statutes of the Soc.P.A.B. I want your wise word and suggestions. You will know that among those who would be disposed to agree upon and follow them none is more affectionate to you than, yours ever, Giacomo.” ‘Boni, Giacomo’, *Diz.Biogr.Ital.*, XII, 75.

50. In 1887, Boni met Primo Levi, editor of *La Riforma*, with whom he wrote a series of articles, some under the heading: Venezia, monumento nazionale. Levi also assured, through his connections with the Government, that Boni would be placed in Rome. Beltrami, Giacomo Boni, *op.cit.*, 32.

51. Boni, G., *Il cosiddetto sventramento di Venezia*, Roma 1887. Boni, G., *Difendiamo la laguna di Venezia*, Roma 1898.

52. Beltrami, *op.cit.*, 25f.: Boni was deeply influenced by Ruskin, but not of his “negative sides” and “one-sidedness”; “Boni aveva una visione quasi olimpica, limpida, del mondo antico”.

53. Boni wrote (quoted from: Tea, Giacomo Boni, *op.cit.*, 110): Boni looked for a philosophical system as a structure for his theory of conservation, and “giunse alla definizione e alla difesa del principio di autenticità traverso un sillogismo di carattere platonico. Se un’idea, pur ridotto al minimo, colui che distrugge o guasta un’opera d’arte, intercetta ai futuri questo raggio dell’infinito: commette una colpa di lesa divinità, o secondo l’espressiva frase di Boni, ‘un peccato contro lo Spirito Santo’.” (Tea, *op.cit.*, 113.): “Il pittoresco non è che la ripresa di possesso delle forze naturali sulla materia, in cui l’uomo ha impreso i segni della propria intelligenza. Oltre che un fattore di bellezza, esso è un documento di autenticità, quando proviene dall’azione secolare degli agenti naturali sopra l’opera d’arte e le crea una personalità simile a quella che gli anni creano nelle anime che non vivono invano. Dipendendo dal tempo - cioè da un fattore ultra umano - è infinitamente prezioso e insostituibile.”

54. In 1892, Boni, together with L.Beltrami and G.Sacconi studied the Pantheon. 1895-96, he directed the Ufficio Regionale dei Monumenti di Roma; in 1898, he was in charge of the excavations in the Forum Romanum. He drafted the norms for stratigraphic excavation (*Nuova Antologia*, Roma, 16.7.1901). In 1899-1905,

came the most important results of the excavations in the Forum (Tempio di Cesare, Tempio di Vesta, Arch of Septimius Severus, Regia, etc.). 1906, the excavation in Trajan’Forum, in 1907 on the Palatine. On 3 March 1923, Boni was nominated Senator. (‘Boni, Giacomo’, *Diz.Biogr.Ital.*, XII, 75ff.)

55. Pavan, G., ‘L’organizzazione dei servizi per le antichità e belle arti in Romagna e la conservazione dei monumenti ravennati dal 1860 al 1892’, *Felix Ravenna*, CXVI, II, 1978, 103ff.

56. (Doc. dell’archivio della Soprintendenza ai Monumenti della Romagna e Ferrara, Cartella: Alessandro Ranuzzi, Doc.1.; Repr. Pavan, *op.cit.*, 131ff.):

“Roma, 21 luglio 1882.

REGNO D’ITALIA

Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Direzione Generale delle Antichità e Belle Arti,

Ai Prefetti Presidenti delle Commissioni Conservatrici dei Monumenti del Regno.

‘Circolare’

Oggetto: Sui restauri degli Edifizi Monumentali.

Comunico a codesta Prefettura alcune disposizioni relative ai restauri degli Edifizi Monumentali, le quali devono essere adottate provvisoriamente, in attesa del riordinamento necessario del servizio per la conservazione dei Monumenti.

E per assicurarne la migliore interpretazione vi aggiungo alcuni chiarimenti, di cui si dovrà pure tener conto, per quanto sia possibile, nei lavori che si stanno eseguendo.

Le disposizioni per la studio dei restauri mirano ad ottenere che si conoscano bene i Monumenti, e si sappiano evitare gli errori in cui ora per lo più si cade ricorrendo a rifacimenti non indispensabili che spesso non rispettano né per forma né per sostanza l’antico, a ripristinamenti per cui si sopprimono importanza per la storia o per l’arte, a completamenti non studiati a sufficienza che impongono interpretazioni discutibili, le quali possono forse anche essere dimostrate erronee.

Queste disposizioni devono essere applicate avvertendo che, per avere una perfetta cognizione di un monumento, è necessario rifare su di esso tutto il lavoro delle menti che lo hanno ideato.

Cosiché quanto al concetto è d’uopo che si riconoscano, colla scorta dei documenti storici e collo studio diretto delle costruzioni, le esigenze dei tempi in cui l’Edifizio fu elevato o modificato, ed i mezzi coi quali si è soddisfatto a queste esigenze; e quindi il fine cui si è mirato e la distribuzione e le proporzioni adottate per rispondervi nell’atto in cui l’Edifizio fu determinato ed in quello in cui se ne determinarono le modificazioni.

E quanto alla esecuzione occorre che si riconoscano, ancora mercè i documenti storici e lo studio diretto delle

costruzioni, i mezzi di cui si è potuto o dovuto disporre, ed i modi coi quali si è data la forma e la bellezza al concetto primitivo ed alle successive modifiche; e quindi la natura e la lavorazione dei materiali prescelti, e la tecnica eruzione e la decorazione cui si è ricorso.

La quale formola di studio mette in grado di determinare con piena sicurezza di giudizio, il vero valore nei riguardi storici, tecnici ed artistici dei singoli elementi e delle singole modificazioni dell'Edificio, e lo stato in cui erano allorché cominciarono ad esistere, ossia lo stato normale, dando così una cognizione perfetta del Monumento.

Inoltre le dette disposizioni devono essere applicate avvertendo che per evitare gli errori accennati, è necessario dirigere i restauri alla migliore conservazione di tutto quello che interessa la Storia o l'Arte, determinando colla massima cura i lavori atti ad eliminare i danni sofferti ed impedire nel miglior modo possibile che si rinnovino.

Per la qual cosa è d'uopo che, distinguendo quanto ha vera importanza per la Storia o per l'Arte e deve essere rispettato, da quanto non ha tale importanza e può essere variato o soppresso, si stabilisca esattamente tutto quello che deve essere conservato; e confrontandone lo stato normale coll'attuale si mettano in evidenza le differenze e i danni sofferti, cioè le corrosioni, le demolizioni, le aggiunzioni, le ricostruzioni, le variazioni di stabilità, che hanno alterato la economia del Monumento.

Precisati a questo modo i danni, occorre che si deducano da essi i lavori da eseguire, mirando a sprimere le differenze fra lo stato attuale ed il normale, ossia riattivando e mantenendo per quanto sia possibile lo stato normale in tutto quello che deve essere conservato.

Quando si tratta di corrosioni si distingue se derivino dall'azione del tempo o da quella dell'uomo, e nell'uno e nell'altro caso se lascino sicura o no la stabilità dell'edificio.

Secondo che derivano dall'azione del tempo o da quella dell'uomo, si arriva ai mezzi indicati dalla scienza o dall'arte, per eliminare queste azioni od evitarne i danni laddove non possano essere eliminate.

E secondo che è sicura o no la stabilità si determinano le tassellature od i rifacimenti parziali atti a ridonare alle masse costruttive o decorative la continuità antica, riproducendo per forma e sostanza quanto si sostituisce di queste masse.

I tasselli ed i rifacimenti parziali devono essere limitati in guisa che non sostituiscano più del necessario nelle masse antiche, ed eseguito con gran cura, affinché non presentino poi rappezzi che mettano i Monumenti in condizioni peggiori di prima.

Quando si tratta di demolizioni avvute, si distingue se modificano semplicemente alcuna parte del Monumento e se inoltre ne possano alterare la stabilità.

Per le prime si ricorre a ricostruzioni parziali o totali a seconda del bisogno, purché sia dimostrato che

l'alterazione dell'antico, la quale si vuole sopprimere, non ha valore alcuno per se, né ha dato luogo ad opera che abbia valore per la Storia o per l'Arte; e sia dimostrato inoltre che si può con le ricostruzioni riprodurre esattamente per forma e sostanza quello che esisteva prima.

E quando, oltre a sopprimere l'alterazione dell'antico, occorre provvedere alla garanzia della stabilità, si determina di ricostruire quanto occorre, se anche non si abbia la certezza di riprodurre esattamente l'antico, purché le alterazioni derivate dalle demolizioni o rese possibili da esse non abbiano valore alcuno.

Quando si tratta di aggiunzioni fatte, si mette in rilievo se nascondano semplicemente alcuna parte del Monumento e se inoltre ne possano alterare la stabilità.

E nel primo caso si ricorre alle demolizioni necessarie per rimettere in evidenza l'antico, purché sia dimostrato che quanto si vuole demolire non ha valore, e per contro quanto si vuol scoprire ha importanza notevole e merita di essere posto in evidenza.

Nel secondo caso, trattandosi di evitare che sia pure alterata la stabilità si determinano le demolizioni necessarie, se anche l'antico non abbia importanza tale da meritare assolutamente di essere scoperto, purché quanto è da demolire non abbia valore né per la Storia né per l'Arte.

E per l'antico che si scopre, il quale abbia sofferto corrosioni e demolizioni, si provvede come per quanto già era scoperto.

Per le ricostruzioni alle quali il Monumento sia stato soggetto, si distingue il caso in cui ricordino l'antico e quello in cui non lo ricordino.

Nel primo si stabiliscono le sole riparazioni necessarie, a meno che si abbia l'assoluta certezza di poter sostituire ad esse un'opera nuova che riproduca esattamente l'antica, la quale opera può essere adottata o in tutto od in parte a seconda del bisogno.

Nel secondo si stabilisce di sostituire parzialmente o totalmente, ancora a norma del bisogno, le ricostruzioni con opera nuova che riproduca o per meno ricordi nel miglior modo possibile l'antica.

Per le variazioni di stabilità, tenuto conto della natura ed estensione loro, si distinguono i casi in cui si possano ridonare al Monumento le condizioni statiche normali senza sostituire materiale nuovo allo antico, e quelli in cui sia indispensabile tale sostituzione.

Cosiché si riconosca dove occorra adottare la composizione delle parti in cui la stabilità è alterata e la ricomposizione loro col materiale antico, e dove ricorre a rifacimenti, e si possa arrivare ai legamenti ed agli altri lavori di rinforzo o di consolidamento, che per avventura risultino necessari per impedire il rinnovamento di danni.

La scomposizione delle parti in cui la stabilità è alterata e la ricomposizione loro col vecchio materiale

si determinano in guisa che riproducano esattamente le condizioni statiche antiche.

I rifacimenti necessari si determinano distinguendo le opere delle varie epoche, cosiché si ottenga in ciascuna opera, come con le tassellature, una riproduzione esatta per forma e sostanza di quanto esisteva.

E se la scomposizione e la ricomposizione non sono possibili, o se si ha ragione di temere un rinnovamento dei danni dopo che siano eseguite, o dopo che siano eseguiti i rifacimenti parziali, si determinano i legamenti di rinforzo o gli altri lavori che nei vari casi particolari risultano necessari, in modo che si garantisca la stabilità senza nulla alterare del Monumento.

In ogni caso poi di tassellature, di rifacimenti parziali, di ricostruzioni parziali o totali, etc., occorre che, se anche si creda possibile, non si tenti di far meglio negli antichi, ma quanto si debba assolutamente rifare si rifaccia tale quale era affinché il Monumento resti col suo vero carattere a testimoniare il lavoro delle varie epoche, per le quali è passato.

Studiati i restuari con tali criteri e rappresentati con opportuni disegni, evidentemente si può procedere, a norma di quanto stabiliscono le disposizioni qui unite, alla compilazione del progetto ed alla esecuzione dei lavori, colla fiducia di aver reso possibile un risultato soddisfacente.

per il Ministro

Firmato Fiorelli

Per copia conforme

Il Capo ingegnere

F.Lanciani”

57. ‘Circolare’, 21 July 1882, op.cit.: “riattivando e mantenendo per quanto sia possibile lo stato normale in tutto quello che deve essere conservato.”

58. Pavan, ‘L’Organizzazione dei servizi’, op.cit., 103ff.

59. Ceschi, Teoria e storia del restauro, op.cit., 109.

60. (Boito, C., Questioni pratiche di belle arti, Restauri, concorsi, legislazione, professione, insegnamento. Milano 1893, 28ff), “Risoluzione del III Congresso degli ingegneri ed architetti, Roma 1883

Considerando che i monumenti architettonici del passato, non solo valgono allo studio dell’architettura, ma servono quali documenti essenzialissimi, a chiarire e ad illustrare in tutte le sue parti la storia dei vari tempi e dei vari popoli, e perciò vanno rispettati con iscrupolo religioso, appunto come documenti, in cui una modificazione anche lieve, la quale possa sembrare opera originaria, trae in inganno e conduce via via a deduzioni sbagliate;

La prima sezione del III Congresso degli ingegneri ed architetti, presa cognizione delle circolari inviate dal Ministro della pubblica Istruzione ai prefetti del Regno

intorno ai restauri degli edifizii monumentali, raccomanda le seguenti massime:

1. I monumenti architettonici, quando sia dimostrata incontrastabilmente la necessità di porvi mano, devono piuttosto venire consolidati che riparati, piuttosto riparati che restaurati, evitando in essi con ogni studio le aggiunte e le rinnovazioni.

2. Nel caso che le dette aggiunte o rinnovazioni tornino assolutamente indispensabili per la solidità o per altre cause invincibili, e nel caso che riguardino parti non mai esistite o non più esistenti e per le quali manchi la conoscenza sicura della forma primitiva, le aggiunte o rinnovazioni si devono compiere con carattere diverso da quello del monumento, avvertendo che, possibilmente, nell’apparenza prospettica le nuove forme non urtino troppo con il suo aspetto artistico.

3. Quando si tratti invece di compiere cose distrutte o ultimate in origine per fortuite cagioni, oppure di rifare parti tanto deperite da non poter più durare in opera, e quando nondimeno rimanga il tipo vecchio da riprodurre con precisione, allora converrà in ogni modo che i pezzi aggiunti o rinnovati, pure assumendo la forma primitiva, siano di materia evidentemente diversa, o portino un segno inciso o meglio la data del restauro, sicché neanche su ciò possa l’attento osservatore venire tratto in inganno. Nei monumenti dell’antichità, o in altri, ove sia notevole la importanza propriamente archeologica, le parti di compimento, indispensabili alla solidità ed alla conservazione, devono essere lasciate coi soli piani semplici e con le sole riquadrature geometriche dell’abbozzo, anche quando non appriscano altro che la continuazione od il sicuro riscontro di altre parti antiche sagomate ed ornate.

4. Nei monumenti, che traggono la bellezza, la singolarità, la poesia del loro aspetto dalla varietà dei marmi, dei musaici, dei dipinti, oppure dal colore della loro vecchiezza, o dalle circostanze pittoresche in cui si trovano, o perfino dallo stato rovinoso in cui giacciono, le opere di consolidamento, ridotte allo strettissimo indispensabili, non dovranno scemare possibilmente in nulla coteste ragioni intrinseche ed estrinseche di allettamento artistico.

5. Saranno considerate per monumenti e trattate come tali quelle aggiunte o modificazioni, che in diversi tempi fossero state introdotte nell’edificio primitivo, salvo il caso in cui, avendo un’importanza artistica e storica manifestamente minore dell’edificio stesso e nel medesimo tempo svisando o mascherando alcune parti notevoli di esso, sia da consigliarne la remozione o la distruzione, In tutti nei quali riesca possibile e ne valga la spesa, le opere di cui si parla verranno servate o nel loro insieme od in alcune parti essenziali, possibilmente accanto al monumento da cui furono rimosse.

6. Dovranno eseguirsi, innanzi di por mano ad una opera anche piccola di riparazione o di restauro le fotografie del monumento, poi di mano in mano le fotografie dei

principali periodi del lavoro, e finalmente le fotografie del lavoro compiuto. Questa serie di fotografie sarà trasmessa al Ministero della pubblica Istruzione insieme coi disegni delle piante, degli alzati e dei dettagli, ed occorrendo con gli acquarelli colorati, ove figurino con evidente chiarezza tutte le opere conservate, consolidate, rifatte, rinnovate, modificate, rimosse o distrutte. Un resoconto preciso e metodico delle ragioni e del procedimento delle opere e delle variazioni di ogni specie accompagnerà i disegni e le fotografie. Una copia di tutti i documenti ora indicati dovrà rimanere depositata presso le fabbricerie delle chiese restaurate o presso l'ufficio cui spetta la custodia del monumento.

7. Una lapide da infiggersi nell'edificio ricorderà le date e le opere principali del restauro."

61. 'Boito, Camillo', Diz.Biogr.Ital., XI, 237ff.; Grassi, L., Camillo Boito, Milano 1959.

62. Rocchi, G., 'Camillo Boito e le prime proposte normative del restauro', *Restauro*, XV, 1974, 46ff.

63. Boito, 'Risoluzione', op.cit., See above: n.60.

64. Boito, C., *Questioni pratiche di belle arti*, op.cit., 24.: "1. Differenza di stile fra il nuovo e il vecchio; 2. differenza di materiale da fabbrica; 3. soppressione di sagome o di ornati; 4. Mostra dei vecchi pezzi rimossi, aperta accanto al monumento; 5. incisione in ciascun pezzo rinnovato della data del restauro o di un segno convenzionale; 6. Epigrafe descrittiva incisa sul monumento; 7. descrizione e fotografie dei diversi periodi del lavoro, deposte nell'edificio o in luogo prossimo ad esso, oppure descrizione pubblicata per le stampe; 8. notorietà."

65. Boito, C., *I Restauratori*, Conferenza tenuta all'Esposizione di Torino, il 7 giugno 1884, Firenze 1884.

66. Boito, C., *I Restauratori*, op.cit., 18.: "Restauri niente; e buttar via subito, senza remissione, tutti quelli che sono stati fatti sinora, recenti o vecchi."

67. Boito, *ibid*, 27.: "Ora, nei restauri della pittura qui sta il busilli: Fermarsi a tempo; e qui sta la saviezza: Contentarsi del meno possibile."

68. Boito, *ibid*, 28f.: "La chiesa dei Frari mostrerà sventrate le sue navi enormi; di lontano la salda supola della Salute dominerà impassibile; più distante il tempio de'Santi Giovanni e Paolo sarà un mucchio di rovine, salvo nelle cinque absidi, e resterà intatto il Colleoni sul piedestallo informe, ma gli ornati dell'Ospedale, così fini, così gentili, bisognerà cercarli fra le macerie e i rottami. La piazza di San Marco, che stupore! Tre cupole della basilica, barcollanti, non saranno ancora cadute; i mosaici delle volte interne si vedranno dal di fuori, attraverso agli squarci delle muraglie smantellate, splendere d'oro, e i marmi e i porfidi e gli alabastrini delle colonne rotte manderanno, in quella tristezza sepolcrale, degli strani scintillamenti. Quanto al Palazzo Ducale, il più maravigliosa palazzo del mondo, non sarebbe riescito necessario, lasciandolo come stava, di aspettare mille o

duemila anni, né forse cento o dieci innanzi di vederlo ridotto all'indicato ideale di pittoresca bellezza."

69. Boito, *ibid*, 29: "Sì? E credete voi che questi capitelli, già spezzati e sgretolati, ridotti così ad una sottile impiallacciatura, non si sarebbero, dopo qualche anno, disciolti in polvere? Una volta distrutti, chi li avrebbe ammirati più? Non è stato meglio riprodurli appunto, e serbare gli antichi in una sala lì accanto, dove gli studiosi presenti e futuri potranno cercarli a loro bell'agio? Si fa quel che si può a questo mondo; ma neanche per i monumenti s'è trovata sinora la Fontana di gioventù."

70. Boito, *ibid*, 31: "Come si fa? Ci si mette al posto dell'architetto primitivo, e s'indovina ciò che avrebbe fatto se i casi gli avessero permesso di ultimare la fabbrica. Questa teoria è piena di pericoli. Con essa non c'è dottrina, non c'è ingegno, che valgano a salvar dagli arbitrii: e l'arbitrio è una bugia, una falsificazione dell'antico, una trappola tesa ai posteri. Quanto meglio il restauro è condotto, tanto più la menzogna riesce insidiosa e l'inganno trionfante. Che cosa direste, signori, di un antiquario, il quale, avendo scoperto, mettiamo, un nuovo manoscritto di Dante o del Petrarca, monco ed in gran parte illeggibile, si adoperasse a riempierne di suo capo, astutamente, sapientemente, le lacune, per modo che non fosse più possibile distinguere dalle aggiunte l'originale? Non maledireste all'abilità suprema di questo falsario? E anche pochi periodi, pochi vocaboli interpolati in un testo, non vi riempiono l'animo di fastidio e il cervello di dubbi? Ciò che sembra tanto riprovevole nel padre Piaggio e in monsieur Silvestre, sarà all'opposto cagione di lode per l'architetto restauratore?"

71. Boito, *ibid*, 33: "1. Bisogna fare l'impossibile, bisogna fare miracoli per conservare al monumento il suo vecchio aspetto artistico e pittoresco; 2. Bisogna che i complementi, se sono indispensabili, e le aggiunte, se non si possono scansare, mostrino, non di essere opere antiche, ma di essere opere d'oggi."

72. Boito, 'I restauri in architettura', *Questioni pratiche*, op.cit., 15ff.

73. Boito, *ibid*, 17.

74. Boito, *ibid*, 3: "Vergogna ingannare i contemporanei, vergogna anche maggiore ingannare i posteri."

75. Boito, *ibid*, 18.

76. Boito, *ibid*, 18ff.

77. Boito, C., 'Lo stile futuro dell'architettura italiana', *Architettura del Medio Evo in Italia*, Milano 1880. Contorni, G., 'Camillo Boito (1836-1914)', Brandinelli, Contorni, Lamberini, *Contributi alla Cultura e alla Teoria del Restauro dei Monumenti*, Firenze 1983, 14.

78. Boito, *I restauratori*, op.cit., 10f.: "E' dura! Saper fare una cosa tanto bene, e doversi contentare o di astenersene o di disfare! Ma qui non si discorre di conservazione, che anzi è obbligo di ogni governo civile, d'ogni provincia, d'ogni comune, d'ogni consorzio, d'ogni uomo non

- ignorante e non vile, il procacciare che le vecchie opere belle dell'ingegno umano vengano lungamente serbate all'ammirazione del mondo. Senonchè, altro è conservare, altro è restaurare, anzi molto spesso l'una cosa è il contrario dell'altra; e la mia cicalata s'indirizza, non ai conservatori, uomini necessari e benemeriti, bensì ai restauratori, uomini quasi sempre superflui e pericolosi.”
79. Boito, *ibid.*, 10: “lasciarle in pace, o, quando occorra, liberarle dai più o meno vecchi, più o meno cattivi restauri.”
80. See above, n. 78.
81. Rocchi, G., ‘Camillo Boito e le prime proposte normative del restauro’, *op.cit.*, 33ff. Contorni, G., ‘Camillo Boito’, *op.cit.*, 19.
82. Torsello, P., *Restauro architettonico, padri, teorie, immagini*, Milano 1984, 131.
83. Boito, C., *Gite di un'artista*, Milano 1884, 60: “E non è a dire che in una città monumentale basti a serbare all'ammirazione dei contemporanei e dei posteri i monumenti; conviene serbare ai monumenti l'ambiente. Quando continuassero a inferrare i rivi, quando le callette e le fondamenta, e le salizzate, fossero ridotte tutte alla larghezza e alla bianchezza delle nuove e scipite vie Vittorio Emanuele e 22 Marzo, la stessa miracolosa Basilica di S.Marco e il Palazzo dei Dogi, parrebbe fuori posto: da cose vive diventerebbero mummie.” (Rocchi, ‘Camillo Boito’, *op.cit.*, 53.)
84. Boito, *Questioni pratiche*, *op.cit.*, 204ff.: “Ecco la necessità di demolire una parte del convento, edificio di piccolo pregio artistico e storico, dal quale era facile cavare i pochi particolari degni di venire custoditi...”
85. Boito, *ibid.*: “...ed ecco la necessità di distruggere la così detta torre di Paolo III, contenente alcuni dipinti murali decorativi meritevoli di conservazione, e già unita, col mezzo di un lungo cavalcavia e corridoio pensile, al palazzo Venezia ed alla basilica di San Marco. Peccato, ma peccato veniale.”
86. Boito, C., ‘Il monumento di Campidoglio’, in ‘Boito, Camillo’, *Diz.Biogr.Ital.*, XI, 237ff.: “la più grande opera monumentale moderna”
87. Mazzei, O., Alfonso Rubbiani, la maschera e il volto della città, Bologna 1979, 25ff.
88. Cerri, M-G., ‘Alredo d'Andrade: dottrina e prassi nella disciplina del restauro’, Cerri, Fea, Pittarello, Alfredo d'Andrade, tutela e restauro, Torino 1981, 11ff.
89. Armato, M.M., Luca Beltrami 1854-1933; L'uomo sulla scorta di documenti inediti, Tesi presentata alla Facoltà di Filosofia dell'Università di Friburgo nella Svizzera, Firenze 1954, 8ff.
90. Jokilehto, J., ‘F.Solmi and M.D.Bardeschi: Alfonso Rubbiani: i veri e i falsi storici’, *Monumentum, The International Journal of Architectural Conservation*, XXV, IV, 1982, 294f.
91. Solmi, Bardeschi, Alfonso Rubbiani: i veri e i falsi storici, Bologna 1981, 54.
92. Rubbiani, A., *La chiesa di S.Francesco in Bologna*, Bologna 1886, in Mazzei, Alfonso Rubbiani, *op.cit.*, 34: “...restituirlo allo stato primitivo, quale lo avevano lasciato o pensato i costruttori. Quest'esigenza rigorosa è soltanto d'oggi. Così la scienza rassicura l'arte nelle opere di ristauro.”
93. Solmi, Bardeschi, Alfonso Rubbiani, *op.cit.*, 54f.
94. Solmi, Bardeschi, *ibid.*, 49.
95. Cattaneo, C., *Alcune parole intorno ai restauri del San Francesco di Bologna*, Venezia 1887, in Solmi, Bardeschi, Alfonso Rubbiani, *op.cit.*, 49: “Se il sig. Collamarini, il cui voto non è certo da confondere con quello dei Bolognesi, amasse la bella chiesa come la amo io, amerebbe ancora tutte le sue belle cappelle gotiche; e se comprendesse la ingenua bellezza di quella di S.Bernardino, si guarderebbe bene dal bestemmiare chiamandola una ‘deprevole aggiunta’ ... dalla Santa Cappella di Parigi, al San Francesco di Assisi, nelle quali la pittura decorativa policroma e non imbianchina, non si limita soltanto alle volte e alle pareti, ma copre perfino le nervature degli archi, i piloni, i capitelli e le basi, benchè di viva pietra: lacchè per il Viollet-le-Duc, per il Rubbiani e per il Collamarini dev'essere l'apogeo della finzione e della menzogna. - Ma questa è storia.”
96. Solmi, Bardeschi, *ibid.*, 59.
97. Solmi, Bardeschi, *ibid.*, 49.
98. Solmi, Bardeschi, *ibid.*, 60ff.
99. The Comune of Bologna to the Director of the Ufficio Regionale per la Conservazione dei Monumenti dell'Emilia, R.Faccioli, 21 October 1902 (A.S.M.Bo.) in Solmi, Bardeschi, *ibid.*, 62.
100. Rubbiani, A., *Di Bologna riabbellita*, Bologna 1913: “Restituire alle antiche architetture guaste dal tempo e dagli uomini, la pristina integrità nei modi e nei limiti suggeriti dagli avanzi di lor forme e dai documenti, onde, provvisto con decoro durevole alla loro conservazione, esse stieno chiari testimoni del passato nel brulichio della vita moderna, nitido contributo alla coltura della gente, utili motivi alla formazione del sentimento e della coscienza pubblica, è pensiero al tutto recente.” (Solmi, Bardeschi, *op.cit.*, 603)
101. Rubbiani, *op.cit.*: “E così ‘Bologna è bella’ ancora; disse Giosuè Carducci.”
102. Rubbiani, *ibid.*: “Questa avvertenza della propria bellezza, così espressiva del suo passato, gemmata di singolari monumenti, drammatica e pittoresca nelle sorprese delle vie, delle piazze, delle torri, così sinfonica nelle armonie del suo colore porporino cogli azzurri del cielo e gli opalescenti vapori delle colline, Bologna molto l'ebbe in dono dalla moderna locale poesia. Una poesia nudrita di storia, e dalla coltura fatta agile alla vendetta degli spiriti e delle forme d'ogni bellezza che fosse dimenticata.”

103. 'Comitato per Bologna Storica e Artistica ai Capimastri Ai Signori Capi-mastri - Decoratori - Imbianchini', Bologna, 1902. The letter was signed by the leading members of the Committee, including the President, Comm. Gaetano Tacconi, and Cav. Alfonso Rubbiani. Repr. in Solmi, Bardeschi, op.cit., 248f.
104. Corrado Ricci to Rubbiani, 1910 (A.BO.S.A.), Solmi, Bardeschi, op.cit., 254. Mazzei, Alfonso Rubbiani, op.cit., 166, 214 (fn.119).
105. Bacchelli, G., 'Giù le mani!' dai nostri monumenti antichi, Bologna 1910 (Solmi, Bardeschi, op.cit., 619): "Il restauro, appunto perchè non deve oltrepassare la restituzione dell'antico, deve essere molto più scienza che arte. Ed è perciò che non può mai raggiungere quell'arte che esso pretende di imitare."
106. Bacchelli, op.cit.: "Il solitario Rubbiani de' bei tempi del San Francesco ora è accompagnato, come egli stesso scrive, da una gilda o ghilda di artefici, che lo sospinge fuori dai confini del restauro. Al rigore della storia e della scienza si sostituisce il proprio intuito. All'esame obiettivo si sostituisce la propria fantasia. Si procede per divinazioni, per analogie, è sostituita dalla visione arbitraria di una bellezza romantica e scenografica!!"
107. Bacchelli, *ibid.*
108. Bacchelli, *ibid.*: "Cosa rimaneva allora del Progetto? Rimaneva quello che c'era prima: la scenografia, niente altro che la scenografia. Eppure si credè che quella scenografia fosse una pagina di storia!!"
109. Bacchelli, *ibid.*: "Altro esempio è il restauro del Palazzo dei Notari. Lasciamo andare certe pitture nell'interno, e la porta; e lasciamo andare quello stemmino dorato che il pubblico arguto chiamò un francobollo. Io dico che le terre cotte delle ghiera delle sei finestre grandi avevano il colore autentico che soltanto cinque secoli possono dare alle pietre. Io dico che i muri del bello edificio avevano il colore autentico che soltanto il tempo dà ai monumenti. Ebbene, fatto il restauro, e perchè il nuovo non stoni col vecchio, si dà mano a un volgare pennello da imbianchino e si coprono di una tintaccia uniforme, squallida, falsificatrice e le terre cotte e i mure! E poi si aspetta che un acquazzone faccia lui la purificazione storica ed artistica. Oh Ruskin, Ruskin, che fosti tante volte invocato a maestro anche dai nostri restauratori!! ... Ecco dove conduce il sentimento dell'esteta quando sopraffà il dovere del restauratore!"
110. Bacchelli, *ibid.*: "...Ho scritto per l'affetto e la devozione che io sento pei nostri gloriosi monumenti. Altri crederà che possano essere materia di esercitazioni storiche ed artistiche. Io penso e sento che porvi la mano sopra è un sacrilegio storico ed artistico. Io vorrei avere la voce di Gladstone e gridare in Piazza il suo immortale 'Hands off!' Sì, giù le mani, dai nostri monumenti. Conserviamoli coll'amore, colla tenerezza, col rispetto che abbiamo pei nostri vecchi: ma non pensiamo di cambiarli. Sopra tutto non pensiamo di ringiovanirli. Non c'è niente che sia meno rispettabile di un vecchio ritinto e ringiovanito!"
111. Cerri, 'Alfredo d'Andrade', op.cit., 13; Biancolini-Fea, D., 'L'Attività tra il 1884 e il 1915 da regio delegato a soprintendente', Alfredo d'Andrade, tutela e restauro, op.cit., 67.
112. Vitulo, C., 'Elenco ministeriale degli edifici di interesse storico artistico', Alfredo d'Andrade, op.cit., 78.
113. Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Elenco degli edifici monumen- tali in Italia, Roma 1902. Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Elenco degli edifici monumentali, Roma 1911.
114. Bartolozzi, Daprà, 'La Rocca e il Borgo Medioevale di Torino (1882-84); Dibattito di idee e metodo di lavoro', Alfredo d'Andrade, op.cit., 189ff.
115. Maggio Serra, R., 'Uomini e fatti della cultura piemontese nel secondo Ottocento intorno al Borgo Medioevale del Valentino', Alfredo d'Andrade, op.cit., 37. 'Andrade, d', Alfredo', Diz.Enc.Arch., I, 107f.
116. Maggio Serra, op.cit., 38.; Dondi, A.M., 'Case di abitazione in Valle di Susa', Alfredo d'Andrade, op.cit., 259.; Vinardi, M.G., 'L'immagine di un territorio e la sua tutela', Alfredo d'Andrade, op.cit., 325ff.
117. Maggio Serra, op.cit., 259ff.
118. Orlandon, B., 'Castello di Fénis', Alfredo d'Andrade, op.cit., 363ff. From 1860 until the end of the century, d'Andrade organized numerous campaigns for the recording of castellated architecture in Piedmont (Vinardi, op.cit., 327).
119. Biancolini Fea, D., 'Castello di Pavone', Alfredo d'Andrade, op.cit., 311ff.
120. Prola, D., 'Torre del Pailleron in Aosta', Alfredo d'Andrade, op.cit., 391ff.
121. Dufour Bozzo, Dagnino, Di Fabio, 'Porta Soprana', Alfredo d'And- rade, op.cit., 447ff.
122. D'Andrade on Porta Soprana, in Dufour Bozzo, Dagnino, Di Fabio, 'Porta Soprana', op.cit., 449: "...confortato da validi esempi di costruzioni contemporanee".
123. Delmastro, F., 'Sacra di S.Michele', Alfredo d'Andrade, op.cit., 296ff.
124. Bruno, A., 'Palazzo Madama a Torino. L'evoluzione di un edificio fortificato', Castellum, XIV, Roma 1971, 94.
125. Bruno, Nivolo, 'Palazzo Madama', Alfredo d'Andrade, op.cit., 215ff.
126. Boito, C., Questioni pratiche di belle arti, op.cit., 590: "I vecchi edifici non hanno segreti per l'acume della sua mente: il suo occhio si caccia per entro ai grossi muri, penetra sotto terra: se non vede, indovina. Le più volgari minuzie gli servono di guida e di indizio: palpando con

la mano al buio le pareti di vecchie pietre conosce spesso la loro età dalle tracce che vi lasciarono lo scaopello e la gradina. Rivive nelle consuetudini dei maestri antichi, come se fosse cresciuto fra loro. Ha del geologo nelle sue ricerche: sotto all'architettura di Filippo Javara, sotto alle torri del fiero castello, trova l'opera romana, la sviscera, la misura, la disegna e la ricopia, ma verificare la giustezza dei fatti; poi fra la costruzione romana e quella del medioevo, fra la costruzione del medioevo e quella barocca scorge le transizioni, i passaggi, e rifà in 26 tavole la carta del palazzo Madama a sezioni sovrapposte, con sedimenti architettonici, con una evidenza palmare. Nello stesso modo studia le stoviglie dal 1400 al 1700, esaminando strato a strato nel medesimo palazzo, metodicamente, sapientemente, un pozzo nero abbandonato, ove, durante i vari secoli, furono gettati i cocci.”

127. 'Beltrami, Luca', Diz.Biogr.Ital., VIII, 71ff.

128. Boito, C., Questioni pratiche, op.cit., 30.

129. Beltrami, L., 'Un disegno inedito del Palazzo Marino, di Galeazzo Alessi', Archivio storico dell'arte, I, 1888, 145ff. Relazione della Giunta Municipale al Consiglio Comunale per la costruzione della facciata del Palazzo Marino, 12 febbraio 1886, Milano 1886. Relazione alla Commissione conservatrice dei monumenti per la provincia di Milano sul progetto di completamento del Palazzo Marino nella fronte verso Piazza della Scala, Milano 1886. Beltrami, L., 'Primi studi per la costruzione del Palazzo Marino', Raccolta milanese di storia, geografia ed arte, febbraio 1888, 25. Beltrami, L., 'I lavori di restauro e di compimento del Palazzo Marino in Milano', L'Edilizia moderna, V, 1896, 10, 57ff, 67ff.

130. Beltrami, L., 'In difesa del Castello di Milano', La Perseveranza, 13 and 15 October, 1893. Armato, M.M., Luca Beltrami, op.cit., 30.

131. Beltrami, Moretti, Resoconto dei Lavori di Restauro eseguiti al Castello di Milano col contributo della sottoscrizione cittadina (40.000 Lit.), Milano 1898, 27.

132. Beltrami, Moretti, op.cit.; Beltrami, L., Indagini e documenti riguardanti la Torre Principale del Castello di Milano ricostruita in memoria di Umberto I, Milano 1905.

133. Beltrami, Indagini e documenti, op.cit., 65.: Speaking of the reconstruction of the Torre di Filarete, Beltrami maintained: "Certamente non potrebbe tale compito prefiggersi di conseguire quella scrupolosa esattezza che si esige invece per un'epoca di restauro strettamente archeologica, vincolata a rigorose modalità di stile: poichè, se - per fare un esempio - nella ricomposizione di un monumento di architettura greca, la inesattezza di qualche millimetro è già sufficiente per snaturare il carattere e la bellezza di un profilo, oppure nell'architettura romana, l'effetto di un restauro può fallire per la semplice trascuranza di accorgimenti che si ritengono secondari nella disposizione delle membrature, non è per un'opera di carattere prevalentemente militare, eseguita col materiale

laterizio concidente per sè stesso una certa libertà di rapporti, che potrà il risultato della ricostruzione consistere soltanto in una scrupolosa esattezza di dimensioni, o di accorgimenti. L'efficacia del risultato, non solo dipenderà dall'impiego degli stessi materiali che hanno composto l'originaria struttura, e dall'adozione degli stessi procedimenti costruttivi, ma dipenderà anche da una larga assimilazione alle tendenze estetiche dell'epoca, alla quale appartiene il monumento. Infatti, si potrà ricomporre un tempio greco, di cui si abbiano frammenti bastevoli a precisarne le linee d'assieme ed i particolari architettonici e decorativi, raggiungendo l'intento archeologico quand'anche non risulti possibile lo scrupoloso impiego degli stessi materiali originali e l'adozione dei medesimi procedimenti costruttivi: e si potrà altresì restaurare un rudere di epoca romana, limitando solo l'opera di ricostruzione alle masse in laterizio che ne formano la struttura, e rinunciando al troppo arduo ripristino della parte decorativa in marmo”.

134. Beltrami, ibid.: "...per la ricostruzione di un edificio militare del medioevo, le esigenze sono d'altra natura, pur non essendo minori: e nel caso della torre principale del Castello Sforzesco, il risultato che si intende di raggiungere col ripristino, non può certo essere determinato dallo scopo di arrivare alla materiale e scrupolosa esattezza dell'originaria struttura, giacchè l'eventuale divario di qualche metro nell'altezza complessiva, o di qualche decimetro nelle dimensioni dei particolari, non potrebbe per sè stesso cagionare un deprezzamento nell'opera del ripristino, il cui significato e la cui efficacia si affidano essenzialmente alla linea d'assieme, ed al movimento generale delle masse.”

135. Beltrami, L., 'Il restauro dei monumenti e la critica', Il Marzocco, 18 December 1901: "Nel concetto dell'opera di restauro noi dobbiamo sempre intravedere qualcosa di relativo, sia nei rapporti del monumento, sia nei rapporti dell'artefice. Possiamo deplorare restauri disastrosi, tanto per l'insufficienza intellettuale di chi li eseguì, quanto per l'erroneo concetto adottato nel determinare il metodo e l'estensione, ma la condizione essenziale per il buon risultato consisterà sempre nel sapere dallo studio del monumento ritrarre l'indice della via da seguire, dei mezzi da adottare, dei limiti da rispettare.”

136. See above, n.135.

137. Bonelli, R., 'Il restauro architettonico', Enc.Univ.Arte, XI, 346.

138. Armato, Luca Beltrami, op.cit., 33, 39.

139. Beltrami, L., 72 Giorni ai lavori del Campanile di S.Marco, 1903. Il Campanile di San Marco Riedificato, Studi, Ricerche, Relazioni a cura del Comune di Venezia, Venezia 1912.

140. Il Campanile di San Marco Riedificato, op.cit., 223ff.

141. A bibliography has been published in Il Campanile di San Marco Riedificato, op.cit. Istituzione Vittadini,

Concorso di architettura: 'Progetto per il nuovo campanile di S.Marco in Venezia, da edificarsi nel medesimo luogo del campanile crollato', Programmi dei concorsi della R.Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano per l'anno 1903, Milano 1903. Beltrami, L., 'Il campanile di S.Marco', Gazzetta di Venezia, 1 January 1903 (concerning the competition).

142. Il Campanile di San Marco Riedificato, op.cit., vii.

143. Beltrami, 72 Giorni ai lavori del Campanile, op.cit., 110.

144. Beltrami, 72 Giorni ai lavori del Campanile, op.cit., 119; Il Campanile di San Marco Riedificato, op.cit., vii.

145. Cronaca dei restauri, dei progetti e dell'azione tutta dell'Ufficio Regionale ora Soprintendenza dei Monumenti di Venezia, Venezia 1912, 13: 'La caduta del Campanile e il panico che ne seguì': The collapse of the Campanile was followed by inspections in the whole city of Venice, and dozens of historic buildings, churches and bell-towers were reported to be in danger of collapse; accordingly, provisional reinforcement and restoration was carried out.

146. Beltrami, L., La Cupola Vaticana, Città del Vaticano 1929. Beltrami lists the following earthquakes: 23.10.1801, 25.10.1801, 18.2.1811 (strong), 22.3.1811 (strong; damage in S.Peter's, S.Maria Maggiore, the Colosseum), as well as others in 1819, 1855, 1873, 1895, 1915 (again damage in St.Peter's). He does not mention the earthquake of 1806, which was the cause for the reinforcement of the Colosseum by R.Stern. (See Case Study, Chapter eight.)

147. Beltrami, La Cupola Vaticana, op.cit., 113ff.: "...sta il fatto che in architettura vi possono essere delle varianti rispetto alle linee ideate originariamente, che il tempo ha sanzionato"

148. Beltrami, *ibid.*: "...tale è il caso delle torri di Notre-Dame a Parigi, rimaste interrotte là dove avrebbero dovuto prendere lo slancio quelle flèches che oggi non sono desiderate, perchè modificherebbero la caratteristica e tradizionale linea di assieme di quella cattedrale."

149. Beltrami, *ibid.*

150. Beltrami, L., Giacomo Boni, op.cit., 25f.: "Tutto assorto nell'analisi prevalentemente suggestiva dell'arte medievale, Ruskin non seppe altrettanto comprendere, né l'arte che l'aveva preceduta, né quella che seguì: a questa limitazione del campo visuale, egli cercò di supplire, portando il senso dell'arte ad una sovraeccitazione, che si convenne di qualificare estetismo, alla quale sarebbe difficile però, dare una definizione meno vaga ed astratta. Non potendo assegnare al suo senso artistico quell'ecclettismo, che solo può condurre ad una cognizione profonda, non tanto degli stili considerati per se stessi, quanto delle reciproche loro connessioni, il Ruskin si confinò, si irrigidì nella indeterminazione delle impressioni

individuali fatalmente cattedratiche e prive del substrato della tradizione."

151. Giovanetti, Pasquali, 'Ornato pubblico e rinnovo delle fabbriche, 1826-1870', Roma Capitale 1870-1911. Architettura e urbanistica; Uso e trasformazione della città storica, Venezia 1984, 56ff.

152. Letarouilly, P.M., Edifices Modernes de Rome, Paris 1840,v,1, Tav.iv (Giovanetti, Pasquali, op.cit., 71).

153. 'Regolamento edilizio e di pubblico ornato per la città di Roma', 30 April 1864. Pallottino, E., 'Tutela e restauro delle fabbriche. I regolamenti edilizi a Roma dal 1864 al 1920', Roma Capitale 1870-1911, op.cit., 86ff.

154. In 1871, the Comune of Rome orders the whitewashing of buildings. This is criticized because although "ha ridotto le vie di aspetto più decente guadagnando in pulizia e nell'igiene, ha però nuociuto all'aspetto artistico di esse, facendo scomparire da un'infinità de' nostri grandiosi palazzi e da parecchi nobili edifici quel prezioso, inimitabile colorito che il tempo vi aveva impresso..." (Renazzi, E., Notizie dei lavori e delle opere fatte eseguire dal Comune di Roma, 1871-1874, Roma 1874, 28f., in Pallottino, *ibid.*, 87) Only in the 'Regolamento edilizio' of 1873, attention is given to the painting of elevations in a more coherent manner: "Le fronti poste alla vista del pubblico, tanto delle case esistenti, quanto delle nuove fabbriche, o dovranno essere in opera a cortina che metta in bella vista i materiali della costruzione, ovvero dovranno avere gli intonachi dipinti con mezze tinte, ove sia imitato il colore delle pietre o dei laterizi che s'impiegano nelle costruzioni, salvo ogni altro ornamento migliore in marmi e stucchi ed opere di belle arti." (Pallottino, *ibid.*, 87f.) In the same 'Regolamento' of 1873 Article 15 allows the completion of unfinished buildings, under condition that this is done following the same design throughout: "Quante volte però queste fabbriche classiche si trovassero incomplete, potranno essere portate a compimento con lo stesso disegno in tutte le loro parti ..." (Pallottino, *ibid.*, 90)

155. 'Regolamento sull'altezza delle fabbriche', 15 December 1866: "Art.6. E' inibito di costruire piani o attici nelle fabbriche di classici autori, e nei palazzi e nelle case, che pel carattere e stile che li distingue, meritino per la storia dell'arte di essere conservati nella loro integrità." (Pallottino, E., 'Tutela e restauro delle fabbriche', op.cit., 89)

156. Dall'Olio, L., Di alcuni allineamenti e allargamenti delle strade e piazze della città, 1865 (Giovanetti, Pasquali, 'Ornato pubblico..', op.cit., 56): "Si deve riflettere che la città di Roma presenta tali ostacoli per la sua fisionomia monumentale, che difficilmente potrebbero in essa attuarsi progetti messi in opera a Parigi, ove, postasi sott'occhio la pianta topografica e tirate alquante linee parallele, venne ordinata la demolizione di vecchi miserabili abituri: o in Firenze, ove furono demolite alcune schifose casipole di un miserabile vicololetto chiamato via Calzajoli, per aprire una larghissima strada, ora detta corso degli Adimari,

giancheggiata da bellissime case. In Roma però se tu prendi in mano la pianta topografica, e vuoi tirare due linee rette per tracciare nel mezzo una larga strada, intoppi ad ogni passo in palazzi colossali o pregevoli per disegno, in chiese sontuose ricche di pitture e sculture, in fontane, in obelischi, o in antichi ruderi della Romana grandezza che conviene pur rispettare; talmenteché riuscirebbe cosa difficilissima far eseguire quei lavori che hanno eseguite altre città.” Dall’Olio, a lawyer, had been in charge of the streets (Conservatore delle acque e strade) for the municipality from 1858 to 1862.

157. The Master Plan of Rome, 1873.

158. Roma Capitale 1870-1911, op.cit., 295ff.

159. Pallottino, ‘Tutela e restauro delle fabbriche’, op.cit., 90.

160. Pallottino, ibid., 90, 99 (footnote 37).

161. ‘Regolamento edilizio’, 1887, III, Art.20. “E’ assolutamente inibito di eseguire nei fabbricati compresi nell’Elenco di cui sopra qualunque lavoro tendente a modificare la disposizione delle loro parti, o a comprometterne in qualunque modo la stabilità: cioè sopraelevazioni, chiusure o spostamenti di vani, variazioni di cornici, od altre membrature architettoniche, tinteggiature sopra decorazioni in pietra da taglio ecc. Tale disposizione è applicabile tanto ai prospetti esterni di detti fabbricati, quanto agli interni dei medesimi ed ai loro cortili ed adiacenze, qualora anche nell’interno di detti fabbricati esistano i richiamati caratteri artistici e storici. Art.21. Solo in via eccezionale può permettersi dall’Autorità comunale la esecuzione di un qualche lavoro nei suddetti fabbricati; e ciò unicamente dietro speciale opinamento della Commissione Edilizia e dell’assenso del R.Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione.” (Pallottino, ibid., 93)

162. ‘L’Elenco delle fabbriche aventi carattere storico ed artistico’, Regolamento edilizio, 1912.

163. The ‘Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione’ had already established contacts with the ‘Société des Amis des Monuments Parisiens’ and the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (ACS, ‘Ministero della pubblica istruzione, Direzione generale delle antichità e belle arti, 1860-1890’, b.366,2.; Pallottino, op.cit., 100, n.52)

164. Pallottino, ibid., 100, n.53.

165. Associazione Artistica fra i Cultori di Architettura, ‘Inventario dei monumenti di Roma’, Annuario, VI, 1896, 40: In the list of the ‘Associazione’ the class I included: “gli edifici esistenti in Roma e suburbio, che avendo speciali caratteri artistici e storici, i quali impongono la loro assoluta conservazione, cadono sotto il disposto dell’articolo 20 del vigente regolamento edilizio, e che non possono quindi essere né distrutti, né spostati, né trasformati.” (Pallottino, ibid., 95)

166. ‘Inventario’, op.cit., 41ff. The class II included: “quegli edifici, o parti di edifici ed in genere quei monumenti, che

pur presentando speciali caratteri artistici e storici, che ne impongano la conservazione, possono pur tuttavia senza grave danno essere spostati, allo scopo di non impedire la esecuzione di qualche opera moderna di pubblica utilità, e ciò temperando le disposizioni dell’art.21 del regolamento edilizio.” (Pallottino, ibid., 95)

167. ‘Inventario’, op.cit., 22.: The concept ‘Monument’ was defined as follows: “Con la parola monumento intendiamo per brevità indicare ogni edificio pubblico o privato di qualunque epoca ed ogni rudere: che presentino caratteri artistici o memorie storiche importanti; come anche ogni parte di edificio, ogni oggetto mobile od immobile ed ogni frammento: che presentino tali caratteri.”

168. Pallottino, op.cit., 94. Tomei, P., L’Architettura a Roma nel quattrocento, Roma 1977, 89ff: ‘La Casa degli Anguillara’, “Il restauro, compiuto dall’architetto Fallani, non ostante che abbia falsato un pò lo spirito dell’edificio, dandogli un certo tono antiquario fiorentineggiante, in fondo ne ha rispettato abbastanza la struttura. Possiamo ancora riconoscervi il corpo centrale unito alla torre per mezzo del portichetto a pilastri ottagonali, il cortile fiancheggiato dal vecchio portico, la scala esterna, il forte arco ribassato che copre l’androne.”

169. Coarelli, F., Guida archeologica di Roma, Mondadori, Verona 1974, 288.

170. Giovenale, G.B., La Basilica di S.Maria in Cosmedin, Roma 1927, 1ff.

171. Giovenale, G.B., La Basilica, op.cit., 382.: “Il problema del restauro, dicevano, non ha ancora trovato in una formula unica la sua soluzione. Volentieri quindi ci asterremo dallo stabilire principii astratti. Certo è che se la chiesa di S.Maria in Cosmedin non dovesse essere restituita al culto, se fosse ciò che chiamasi un monumento morto, facili sarebbero i provvedimenti da consigliare: mettere a nudo tutte le antiche strutture e ridurre la chiesa a museo nazionale; ma la chiesa di S.Maria in Cosmedin è monumento vivente, deve essere restituito al culto. Il problema si presenta complesso ed occorre procedere con cautele per salvare le ragioni storiche ed artistiche dei diversi monumenti che la chiesa racchiude. Importa innanzi tutto stabilire a quale momento storico convenga restituirla. Del tempio pagano e della statio annonae non accade parlarne e neppure della diaconia che era tanto più piccola della chiesa attuale. - In quanto alla basilica di Adriano ricorderete quali incertezze rimangono. Dunque? Dunque o Callisto II o Bonifacio VIII. A parità di condizioni è da preferir la prima epoca perchè esempio più raro. Del 1300 poi non rimangono che il ciborio e i disegni della facciata, che era anch’essa una superfetazione niente più razionale del paravento barocco di Clemente XI. Unanimi dunque tutti nel riportare la basilica al XII secolo!”

172. Giovenale, ibid., 382.: “...spogliare prospetto e campanile dagli intonaci e dalle murature del secolo passato”.

173. Giovenale, *ibid.*: “Per queste restituzioni quasi tutti gli elementi abbiamo nella chiesa, pochissimo dobbiamo chiedere ai monumenti coevi, nulla alla fantasia.”
174. Giovenale, *ibid.*: “E’ necessario purtuttavia che gli elementi aggiunti siano sempre riconoscibili e soggetti alla critica degli studiosi. Ogni marmo, ogni mattone, in una parola, ogni nuovo elemento, porterà scolpita una sigla indelebile e l’anno del restauro; frequenti lapidi dichiareranno ove finisce l’antico, ove comincia il nuovo.”
175. Giovenale, *ibid.*, 385.: “...tutto il residuale progetto di decorazione è rimasto in carta, perchè: da un lato, considerazioni economiche ... dall’altro, le obiezioni già proposte contro la esecuzione integrale del programma, furono corroborate dal risultato non del tutto soddisfacente dei saggi eseguiti nelle absidi, ove la imitazione delle ingenuità medioevali aveva preso involontariamente il sopravvento, dando ai quadri un non desiderato aspetto di contraffazione mal riuscita.”
176. Giovenale, *ibid.*, 385.: “...sarebbe forse stato preferibile non terminare il prospetto a timpano, ma dare più tosto al tetto una falda frontale, come è in S.Agnese fuori le mura, ed in S.Bartolomeo all’isola.”
177. Massimi, G., *S.Maria in Cosmedin* (in *Schola Graeca*), Roma 1953, Tav. xvi, ‘Prospetto della Facciata di S.Maria in Cosmedin prima del riempimento della piazza cauato dalla platea di trauertini e dalle colonnine trouate sotto terra”.
178. Giovenale, *op.cit.*
179. Giovannoni, G., ‘Prefazione’, Giovenale, *op.cit.*: “Non è vano orgoglio per l’Associazione artistica fra i Cultori d’Architettura, che quegli studi e quei lavori promosse e tenacemente persegui, l’affermare che rare volte un restauro si è iniziato ed attuato con così preciso metodo scientifico. L’accurato rilievo preliminare, il minuzioso inventario analitico di ogni pietra, di ogni intaglio, di ogni disposizione costruttiva, le indagini sul monumento per stabilirne, per così dire, le stratificazioni e le interferenze, lo studio dei caratteri stilistici e tecnici dei tanti elementi, la ricerca delle testimonianze relative alle varie trasformazioni, hanno rappresentato altrettanti fasi, tra loro integrantisi, del lavoro lungo e paziente; e se pure, come per tutte le cose umane in cui si agisce positivamente, taluni criteri possono essere oggetto di discussione, non lo I la sicura documentazione che riassume appunto quel copioso materiale e che prende posto definitivo negli studi, ancor frammentari e manchevoli, sul medioevo romano...”
180. Maiuri, A., ‘Pompei. Restauri ai monumenti’, *Bollettino d’arte*, XII, 1930-1931, 563ff. Maiuri, A., *Saggi di varia antichità*, Venezia 1954: ‘Trent’anni di scavo a Pompei (1924-1954)’. Maiuri, A., *Mestiere d’archeologo*. *Antologia di scritti* a cura di Carlo Belli, Milano 1978.
181. *La zona monumentale di Roma e l’opera della Commissione Reale*, Roma 1914, 16ff.
182. *Associazioni Artistiche, Tecniche, Storiche, Archeologiche di Roma, La Zona Monumentale*, Roma 1910 (text by G.Giovannoni).
183. Tea, G.Boni, *op.cit.*, II, 34.
- 184.
185. Aurigema, S., *The Baths of Diocletian and the Museo Nazionale Romano*, Roma 1974, 10f.: “The restoration of the Baths began ideally ever since Felice Barnabei, with noble perseverance and fervour, started to put into practice in 1889 a plan for the creation of the Museo Nazionale Romano, in the cloister of Diocletian’s Baths. Since then public opinion took an interest in the restoration of the Baths, until it was finally approved by an Act of the Italian Parliament on the 11th July 1907. Rodolfo Lanciani and the Committee of the Archaeological Exhibition, which was to take place in the Baths on the Fiftieth anniversary of the proclamation of the Kingdom of Italy, were responsible for the isolation and the restoration of a considerable portion of the Baths during the years 1908 to 1911.”
186. Ceschi, *Teoria e storia del restauro*, *op.cit.*, 104.
187. Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, ‘Circolare’, 26 June 1891, (*Roma Capitale*, *op.cit.*, 99.): “2. E’ vietato di scemare o di distruggere la integrità, l’autenticità e l’aspetto pittoresco degli edifizii, compresi nel suddetto elenco. Il proprietario, prima di mettere mano ad alcun lavoro, dovrà chiederne il permesso alla Commissione Edilizia.”
188. Giovannoni, G., in *Ass.Art.*, *Annuario*, 1910-11, 6f.: “Figurano principalmente in tali rilievi le piccole case di abitazione, le minori opere architettoniche, i semplici elementi d’ambiente, che rappresentano spesso meglio che i grandi capolavori la continuità nella tradizione architettonica e che più che quelli subiscono insidie e pericoli: taluni già travolti dalle recenti vicende edilizie, sicché il nostro rilievo ne rappresenta unico ricordo; altri minacciati dalle future trasformazioni di strade e di edifici”. (*Pallottino*, *op.cit.*, 97)
189. Giovannoni, G., ‘Boito, Camillo’, *Enciclopedia Italiana di scienze, lettere ed arti*, VII, 1930, 295.: “In questo campo appunto del restauro dei monumenti egli è stato, ed in parte può dirsi è ancora, il legislatore indiscusso. Con gli scritti, coi pareri dati in seno alla Giunta Supriore delle Belle Arti, a cui ha appartenuto per un lunghissimo periodo, ed un poco anche con la sua diretta opera di restauratore, ad esempio nel S.Antonio di Padova, egli ha tracciato la via da seguirsi nei restauri moderni, determinando saldamente quello che può dirsi il criterio ufficiale sul complesso tema, più arduo certo in Italia che non in qualunque altra nazione per la grandiosità e la varietà del suo patrimonio monumentale.”
190. Giovannoni, *ibid.*: “E la formula del B(oito) implica il rispetto alle espressioni di vario tempo, sovrapposte sul monumento purché abbiano intenzione d’arte, la prevalenza data al restauro costruttivo su quello artistico, e l’affermazione del carattere di semplicità e di aspetto

moderno in quelle opere che ragioni tecniche di rinforzo o ragioni pratiche di adattamento richieggano di aggiungere all'edificio antico."

191. Fraticelli, V., *Roma 1914-1929. La città e gli architetti tra la guerra e il fascismo*, Roma 1982, 34ff.

192. Giovannoni, G., 'La teoria del diradamento dei vecchi centri. Il quartiere del Rinascimento in Roma', *Nuova Antologia*, July 1913.

193. Del Bufalo, A., *Gustavo Giovannoni, Note e osservazioni integrate dalla consultazione dell'archivio presso il Centro di Studi di Storia dell'Architettura*, Roma 1982: See Bibliography.

194. Giovannoni, G., 'Il piano regolatore del centro di Roma', *Ass.Art. Annuario*, 1906-1907, 13.: "Questa divergenza di criteri ha tutta l'apparenza di un contrasto irreducibile tra due concezioni opposte, tra la Via e la Storia; sembra che tutte da un lato siano le esigenze positive dello sviluppo moderno e del moderno modo di vivere, dall'altro il rispetto per i ricordi storici ed artistici, per le condizioni d'ambiente in cui si svolse la vecchia città. E la lotta ferve appunto su tali questioni di principio. I novatori dicono: le città non sono musei od archivi, ma son fatte per vivervi nel miglior modo possibile, e noi non possiamo compromettere lo sviluppo e fermare il cammino della civiltà ... Rispondono i conservatori: non può la vita essere mossa soltanto da un materiale concetto utilitario, senza un ideale, senza una ricerca di bellezza; meno ancora della vita dell'individuo può esserlo la vita collettiva delle città, che deve contenere in sé elementi di educazione morale ed estetica, e che non può prescindere dalla tradizione in cui è tanta parte della gloria nazionale." (Fraticelli, *op.cit.*, 42.)

195. Giovannoni, G., (Relazione della Commissione all'on. Consiglio Comunale) *Sistemazione edilizia del Quartiere del Rinascimento in Roma*, Roma 1919. Giovannoni, G., *Il Quartiere Romano del Rinascimento*, Roma 1946.

196. Giovannoni, *Il Quartiere Romano del Rinascimento*, *op.cit.*, 47.: "In pubblici spazi, quali ad esempio la piazza Navona, gli stili di due secoli sono rappresentati senza che ne derivino stonature perchè in tutti c'è un substrato unico che è il sentimento d'arte e di proporzione di Roma. Si può quindi parlare di quartiere del Rinascimento anche là dove l'abitato ha subito rinnovamenti radicali, e, pur mantenendo la persistenza del piano, non è più quello dei secoli XV e XVI."

197. Sitte, C., *Der Städtebau nach seinen künstlerischen Grundsätzen*, Vienna 1889 (4th ed. of 1909, repr. 1983) Sitte emphasized the analysis of particular significant elements of urban fabric, especially the squares, and presented a summary of the development of their design since the Antiquity. For this purpose, he studied especially Italian, German and Austrian cities. He compared the late nineteenth-century planning concepts with those of previous centuries, showing how the earlier examples were aesthetically and functionally better in quality.

198. Giovannoni, *Il Quartiere Romano*, *op.cit.*, 32.

199. Giovannoni, G., *Città vecchia ed edilizia nuova*, Torino 1931: "L'Italia ha l'Arte come la sua unica 'energia prima', ha la Storia come grande titolo verso l'avvenire. ... la conservazione intelligente del patrimonio edilizio e monumentale del passato, deve pertanto nelle nostre città rappresentare condizione inderogabile, da accettarsi non con mal celata intolleranza, come ancora avviene nell'incoscienza di molti, ma col profondo senso religioso basato sul dovere, sulla conoscenza, sull'affetto." (Lamberini, D., 'Gustavo Giovannoni (1873-1947). Un equilibrio difficile.' Brandinelli, Contorni, Lamberini, *Contributi alla cultura e alla teoria del restauro dei monumenti*, Firenze 1983, 71f.)

200. Marinetti, F.T., *The Manifesto of 'Futurism'*, published in *Le Figaro* in 1909. (*Enc.Brit.*, IV, 367.)

201. Giovannoni, G., 'Il diradamento edilizio dei vecchi centri, il Quartiere della Rinascenza a Roma', *Nuova Antologia*, CMXCVII, 1913.

202. Giovannoni, G., 'La teoria del diradamento', *op.cit.*: *Diradamento edilizio* porta "non unità regolare di vie nuove, ma spicciolo allargamento irregolare, demolizione qua e là di una casa o di un gruppo di case e creazione in loro vece di una piazzetta e di un giardino in essa, piccolo polmone nel vecchio quartiere; poi la via si restringa per ampliarsi di nuovo tra poco, aggiungendo varietà di movimenti, associando effetti di contrasto al tipo originario edilizio, che permarrà così in tutto il suo carattere di arte e di ambiente. Solo vi si farà strada qualche raggio di sole, si aprirà qualche nuova visuale e respireranno le vecchie case troppo strette tra loro." (*Sistemazione edilizia del Quartiere del Rinascimento*, *op.cit.*, 10.) Giovannoni, G., *Il Quartiere Romano*, *op.cit.*, 81.: "...la teoria consiste nel considerare a parte le questioni della viabilità, incanalandole razionalmente nel sistema cinematico cittadino, ma senza pretendere di risolvere, mediante i così detti sventramenti o i tracciati di vie nuove, quelle del risanamento e della valorizzazione artistica; nell'unire invece queste due, apparentemente diverse, esigenze in una soluzione unica, col mantenere lo schema urbanistico del quartiere, libero ormai dei larghi a diminuire la densità fabbricativa e quella demografica, e riportarvi finestre di aria e di luce, col ripristinare i vecchi edifici nella loro massa e nella loro dignità d'arte."

203. Le Corbusier, *La Charte d'Athènes*, Paris 1957. Gerosa, G., 'La Declaration finale du 4eme CIAM', *Actualité de la Charte d'Athènes*, Deuxième colloque sur la crise de l'environnement et de l'habitat, l'Arbresle, France, 22-24 Octobre 1976, Strassbourg 1977, 27ff. Drocourt, D., 'Centres urbains historiques et la position du IVe Congrès des CIAM', *Actualité de la Charte d'Athènes*, *op.cit.*, 166ff.

204. Le Corbusier, *La Charte d'Athènes*, *op.cit.*, 65-70. 'Patrimoine historique des villes'.

205. (Giovannoni:) 'Relazione della Commissione all'on consiglio Comunale', Sistemazione edilizia del Quartiere del Rinascimento in Roma, Roma 1919.

206. Insolera, I., Roma moderna. Un secolo di storia urbanistica, Torino 1971. Cederna, A., Mussolini urbanista. Lo sventramento di Roma negli anni del consenso, Roma-Bari, 1980. Quaroni, L., Immagine di Roma, Bari 1976. Insolera, Perego, Archeologia e città. Storia moderna dei Fori di Roma, Roma-Bari 1983.

207. Cederna, Mussolini urbanista, op.cit., 121ff. Munoz, A., Il restauro del tempio della Fortuna Virile, Roma 1925.

208. Coarelli, Guida archeologica di Roma, op.cit., 250ff. Cederna, op.cit., 97ff.

209. Cederna, op.cit., 233ff.

210. Brown, G.B., The Care of Ancient Monuments, op.cit., 127.

211. Giovannoni, G., 'Edilizia romana vecchia e nuova', Architetture di pensiero e pensieri sull'architettura, Roma 1945, 146ff.

212. Giovannoni, G., 'Restauro', Enciclopedia Italiana, XXIX, 127ff.: "Il proposito di restaurare i monumenti, sia per consolidarli riparando alle ingiurie del tempo, sia per riportarli a nuova funzione di vita, è concetto tutto moderno, parallelo a quell'atteggiamento del pensiero e della cultura, che vede nelle testimonianze costruttive e artistiche del passato, a qualunque periodo esse appartengano, argomenti di rispetto e di cura."

213. Giovannoni, G., Il restauro dei monumenti, Roma 1945, 28.: "...orgogliosamente nell'architetto restauratore e negli esecutori la facoltà di comprendere il monumento nelle sue vicende e nel suo

stile, che non sentono più".

214. Giovannoni, Il restauro dei monumenti, op.cit., 29f.: "...nel morbido stile liberty".

215. Giovannoni, ibid., 30.

216. Giovannoni, G., I restauri dei monumenti e il recente congresso storico, Roma 1903, 6.: "L'architetto restauratore deve essere insieme uno storico, un costruttore e un artista; deve conoscere i minimi elementi dell'insieme esistente; deve vagliarli con la maggior cura per trarre fedelmente da essi gli elementi della costruzione nuova; deve infine rendersi conto di tutte le molteplici condizioni d'ambiente, di tutte le cause permanenti ed occasionali da cui l'opera è risultata ed a quell'ambiente, a quelle cause deve riannodare la sua opera, quasi che egli vivesse in quel tempo, e nella sua mente si trasfondesse l'idea creatrice." (Del Bufalo, op.cit., 121.)

217. Giovannoni, G., Questioni di Architettura nella storia e nella vita, 1929: "...anche se non è l'originario, ma ne prosegue i rapporti di massa e di colore, le stesse cure e gli stessi criteri

che per le condizioni intrinseche".

218. (Giovannoni, G.) Ministero della Educazione Nazionale, 'Norme per il restauro dei monumenti', (Bollettino d'Arte, January 1932):

"Il Consiglio superiore per le Antichità e Belle Arti, portando il suo studio sulle norme che debbono reggere il restauro dei monumenti, il quale in Italia si eleva al grado di una grande questione nazionale, e edotto delle necessità di mantenere e di perfezionare sempre più il primato incontestabile che in tale attività, fatta di scienza, di arte e di tecnica, il nostro paese detiene:

- convinto della multipla e gravissima responsabilità che ogni opera di restauro coinvolge (sia che si accompagni o no a quella dello scavo), con l'assicurare la stabilità di elementi fatiscenti; col conservare o riportare il monumento a funzione d'arte; col porre le mani su di un complesso di documenti di storia ed arte tradotti in pietra, non meno preziosi di quelli che si conservano nei musei e negli archivi, col consentire studi anatomici che possono avere per risultato nuove imprevedute determinazioni nella storia dell'arte e della costruzione; convinto perciò che nessuna ragione di fretta, di utilità pratica, di personale suscettibilità possa imporre in tale tema manifestazioni che non siano perfette, che non abbiano un controllo continuo e sicuro, che non corrispondano ad una bene affermata unità di criteri, e stabilendo come evidente che tali principi debbano applicarsi sia ai restauri eseguiti dai privati, sia a quelli dei pubblici enti, a cominciare dalle stesse Soprintendenze, preposte alla conservazione e alla indagine dei monumenti;

- considerato che nell'opera di restauro debbano unirsi ma non elidersi, neanche in parte, vari criteri di diverso ordine: cioè le ragioni storiche che non vogliono cancellata nessuna delle fasi attraverso cui si è composto il monumento, nè falsata la sua conoscenza con aggiunte che inducano in errore gli studiosi, nè disperso il materiale che le ricerche analitiche pongono in luce; il concetto architettonico che intende riportare il monumento ad una funzione d'arte e, quando sia possibile, ad una unità di linea (da non confondersi con l'unità di stile); il criterio che deriva dal sentimento stesso dei cittadini, dallo spirito della città, con i suoi ricordi e le sue nostalgie; e infine, quello stesso indispensabile che fa capo alle necessità amministrative attinenti ai mezzi occorrenti e alla pratica utilizzazione;

- ritiene che dopo oltre un trentennio di attività in questo campo, svoltasi nel suo complesso con risultati magnifici, si possa e si debba trarre da questi risultati un complesso di insegnamenti concreti a convalidare e precisare una teoria del restauro ormai stabilita con continuità nei deliberati del Consiglio superiore e nell'indirizzo seguito dalla maggior parte delle Soprintendenze alle Antichità e all'Arte medioevale e moderna; e di questa teoria controllata dalla pratica enuncia i principi essenziali. Esso afferma pertanto:

1. che al di sopra di ogni altro intento debba la massima importanza attribuirsi alle cure assidue di manutenzione e alle opere di consolidamento, volte a dare nuovamente al monumento la resistenza e la durevolezza tolta dalle menomazioni o dalle disgregazioni;

2. che il problema del ripristino mosso dalle ragioni dell'arte e dell'unità architettonica, strettamente congiunte col criterio storico, possa porsi solo quando si basi su dati assolutamente certi forniti dal monumento da ripristinare e non su ipotesi, su elementi in grande prevalenza esistenti anzichè su elementi prevalentemente nuovi;

3. che nei monumenti lontani ormai dai nostri usi e dalla nostra civiltà, come sono i monumenti antichi, debba ordinariamente escludersi ogni completamento, e solo sia da considerarsi la anastilosi, cioè la ricomposizione di esistenti parti smembrate con l'aggiunta eventuale di quegli elementi neutri che rappresentino il minimo necessario per integrare la linea e assicurare le condizioni di conservazione;

4. che nei monumenti che possono dirsi viventi siano ammesse solo quelle utilizzazioni non troppo lontane dalle destinazioni primitive, tali da non recare negli adattamenti necessari alterazioni essenziali all'edificio;

5. che siano conservati tutti li elementi aventi un carattere d'arte o di storico ricordo, a qualunque tempo appartengano, senza che il desiderio dell'unità stilistica e del ritorno alla primitiva forma intervenga ad escluderne alcuni a detrimento di altri, e solo possano eliminarsi quelli, come le murature di finestre e di intercolumni di portici che, privi di importanza e di significato, rapprestino deturpamenti inutili; ma che il giudizio su tali valori relativi e sulle rispondenti eliminazioni debba in ogni caso essere accuratamente vagliato, e non rimesso ad un giudizio personale dell'autore di un progetto di restauro;

6. che insieme col rispetto pel monumento e per le sue varie fasi proceda quello delle sue condizioni ambientali, le quali non debbono essere alterate da inopportuni isolamenti, da costruzioni di nuove fabbriche prossime invadenti per massa, per colore, per stile;

7. che nelle aggiunte che si dimostrassero necessarie, o per ottenere il consolidamento, o per raggiungere lo scopo di una reintegrazione totale o parziale, o per la pratica utilizzazione del monumento, il criterio essenziale da seguirsi debba essere, oltre a quello di dare ad essi un carattere di nuda semplicità e di rispondenza allo schema costruttivo; e che solo possa ammettersi in stile simile la continuazione di linee esistenti eni casi in cui si tratti di espressioni geometriche prive di individualità decorativa;

8. che in goni caso debbano siffatte aggiunte essere accuratamente ed evidentemente designate o con l'impiego di materiale diverso dal primitivo, o con l'adozione di cornici di involuppo, semplici e prive di intagli, o con l'applicazione di sigle o di epigrafi, per modo che mai un restauro eseguito possa trarre in inganno gli studiosi e rappresentare una falsificazione di un documento storico;

9. che allo scopo di rinforzare la compagine stante di un monumento, e di reintegrare la massa, tutti i mezzi costruttivi modernissimi possono recare ausili preziosi e sia opportuno valersene quando l'adozione di mezzi costruttivi analoghi agli antichi non raggiunga lo scopo; e che del pari, i sussidi sperimentali delle varie scienze debbano essere chiamati a contributo per tutti gli altri tempi minuti e complessi di conservazione delle strutture fatiscenti, nei quali ormai i procedimenti empirici debbono cedere il campo a quelli rigidamente scientifici;

10. che negli scavi e nelle esplorazioni, che rimettono in luce antiche opere, il lavoro di liberazione debba essere metodicamente e immediatamente seguito dalla sistemazione dei ruderi e dalla stabile protezione di quelle opere d'arte rinvenute, che possano conservarsi in situ;

11. che come nello scavo, così nel restauro dei monumenti sia condizione essenziale e tassativa, che una documentazione precisa accompagni il lavoro mediante relazioni analitiche raccolte in un giornale del restauro e illustrate da disegni e da fotografie, sicchè tutti gli elementi determinati nella struttura e nella forma del monumento, tutte le fasi delle opere di ricomposizione, di liberazione, di completamento, risultino acquisite in modo permanente e sicuro.

Il Consiglio, convinto infine che in tempi così ardui e complessi, in cui ciascun monumento e ciascuna fase del suo restauro presentano questi quesiti singolari, l'affermazione dei principi generici debba essere completata e fecondata dall'esame e dalla discussione sui casi specifici, esprime i seguenti voti:

a) che il giudizio del Consiglio superiore sia sistematicamente richiesto prima dell'inizio dei lavori per tutti i restauri di monumenti che escono dall'ordinaria attività conservatrice, sia che detti restauri vengano promossi e curati da privati, o da pubblici enti o dalle stesse Sovrintendenze;

b) che sia tenuto ogni anno in Roma un convegno amichevole (i cui atti potrebbero essere pubblicati nel 'Bollettino d'Arte' del Ministero dell'Educazione Nazionale) nel quale i singoli Sovrintendenti espongono i casi e i problemi che loro si presentano per richiamare l'attenzione dei colleghi, per esporre le proposte di soluzione;

c) che sia fatto obbligo della compilazione e della conservazione metodica dei suddetti giornali del restauro, e che possibilmente dei dati e delle notizie analitiche da quelli risultanti sicuri la pubblicazione scientifica in modo analogo a quello degli scavi."

219. 'Norme per il restauro', op.cit.: "...la ricomposizione di esistenti parti smembrate con l'aggiunta eventuale di quegli elementi neutri che rappresentino il minimo necessario per integrare la linea e assicurare le condizioni di conservazione."

220. See above, n.218.

221. Ministero di Educazione Nazionale, 'Istruzione per il restauro dei monumenti', 1938 (Di Stefano, R., 'La tutela dei beni culturali in Italia; norme e orientamenti', *Restauro*, I, 1972, 13ff.)
222. 'Istruzione per il restauro', op.cit.: "2. costituisce esigenza fondamentale il prevenire tempestivamente, attraverso un'attenta manutenzione, ogni causa di deperimento dei monumenti e delle opere d'arte; a tale garanzia preventiva, diretta alla conservazione del dato storico nella sua integrità, deve particolarmente indirizzarsi l'attività degli Uffici governativi preposti alla tutela del patrimonio artistico, con la partecipazione di tutti gli Enti pubblici e privati comunque interessati. ... 8. Per ovvie ragioni di dignità storica e per la necessaria chiarezza della coscienza artistica attuale, è assolutamente proibita, anche in zone non aventi interesse monumentale o paesistico, la costruzione di edifici in 'stili' antichi, rappresentando essi una doppia falsificazione, nei riguardi dell'antica e della recente storia dell'arte."
223. The Law, n.1089, 1 June 1939, 'Tutela delle cose d'interesse artistico e storico', *Gazzetta Ufficiale*, CLXXXIV, 8 August 1939.
224. The Law, n.1497, 29 June 1939, 'Protezione delle bellezze naturali', *Gazzetta Ufficiale*, CCXLI, 14 October 1939.
225. Giovannoni, G., 'Quesiti di restauro dei monumenti', *Architetture di pensiero e pensieri sull'architettura*, Roma 1945, 173ff.
226. Giovannoni, 'Restauro', *Enc.Ital.*, op.cit.
228. Giovannoni, 'Quesiti di restauro dei monumenti', op.cit., 183.: "Miglior partito, anziché turbare tutto l'equilibrio dell'edificio e praticamente ricostruirlo in gran parte e danneggiare gli importantissimi affreschi della parte alta, è sembrato quello di costruire dal lato del cedimento robusti speroni esterni, onestamente indicati, come nei margini del Colosseo, la loro funzione statica di ripari: e poi rendere rigida l'armatura del tetto e con questo solidale tutto lo schema trasversale della basilica."
229. Giovannoni, *ibid*, 184.: "...ma invero avrei preferito altra forma di testimonianze, come quelle di lapidi murate ed anche di cornici e di ornati simili agli antichi come massa e come linea, ma più semplici, secondo il sistema del sincretismo, dei particolari."
230. Giovannoni, *ibid*, 186.: "...il tenace permanere nelle persone quasi colte dei concetti della teoria pericolosa del Viollet-le-Duc per i restauri: per cui si dovrebbe tendere all'unità artistica ed architettonica, sacrificando ogni elemento inarmonico e tardo ed aggiungendo cose immaginate in stile simile, cioè promovendo sistematicamente il falso."
231. See above, n.230.
232. Giovannoni, *ibid*, 186.: "...restauratore, il quale ha da svolgere opera concreta tra i tanti coefficienti che si presentano, e deve considerare nel monumento non sola funzione di studio, ma soprattutto quella d'arte, fatta per la città e per il popolo. Per esso le transazioni sono inevitabili. Tutto sta nel controllarle e nel documentarle e nel non lasciarsi prendere da quel sentimento di egotismo che colloca il restauratore al posto del monumento."
233. Giovannoni, *ibid.*, 188ff.
234. Giovannoni, *ibid.*, 190.: "Per quanto riguarda l'esecuzione, c'è da osservare che un'architettura della fine del Cinquecento è così regolarmente geometrizzata da poter esser riprodotta alla perfezione; assai diversa dall'opera medioevale o da quella del Quattrocento, dove ancora il particolare ha carattere individuale e tutto l'insieme, nella irregolarità delle misure e nella frequente disimmetria, ha una vibrazione che accende quella che il Ruskin chiama la 'lampada della vita'; nel qual caso dev'essere umilmente confessare che il problema è insolubile."
235. Giovannoni, *ibid.*, 193.
236. Ceschi, *Teoria e storia del restauro*, op.cit., 114.: "Gli uomini vanno giudicati nel clima del loro tempo, alla stregua della loro formazione e per quanto di positivo hanno saputo lasciarci. Per questo una storia del restauro moderno non può prescindere, come del resto è universalmente riconosciuto, dalla presenza di Gustavo Giovannoni."

Chapter Nineteen

Germanic Countries, 'Denkmalkultus'

19.1 Early Protection in Austrian Empire

In the nineteenth century, the Austrian Empire covered a large area of Central Europe including Bohemia, Austria, Lombardy and Venice in the west, Galicia, Transylvania and Hungary in the east, and extending to the south along the Dalmatian coast as far as Dubrovnik and Kotor. The earliest orders for the protection of cultural property in Austria were mainly concerned about movable heritage, including an order of 1802 forbidding the removal of objects from old castles and ruins. (1)

In Lombardy and Venice there were special commissions for the conservation of artistic objects already in the early part of the nineteenth century, but the establishment of a Central Commission for the Research and Conservation of Historic Buildings only dated from 1850. (2) In 1873, this was enlarged to cover all "Artistic and Historic Monuments" from pre-historic times and Antiquity to the end of the eighteenth century. (3) Honorary Conservators were appointed for the different districts of the country; the authorities were invited to support their activities, but the conservators had no jurisdictional compulsory power until the 1911 statutes established a new basis for the organization. (4)

Adalbert Stifter, the first Conservator in Austria

The first honorary Conservator for the northern part of the country, appointed in 1852, was Adalbert Stifter (1805-67), a landscape painter, teacher of natural sciences, and writer. He supported the quietest virtues, loving simple life, and described natural beauty with emotional intensity. His educational novel, *Der Nachsommer* (Indian Summer), published in 1857, took restoration as a theme, and was the first to draw the attention of Austrian public to the conservation and restoration of historic buildings and works of art.

In a dreamlike "Indian Summer", as the name says, the works of art of the past are restored back to the present to be lived and enjoyed once again. Stifter describes the growing-up of a person into a human being in a context that he himself would have liked to experience. The past takes an important place of reference in the educational process - in fact the word "old" becomes a synonym of "right" or "beautiful"; history itself is referred to history of art and to a sense of styles.

The novel also records one of the first works done under Stifter's supervision, the restoration of a wooden altarpiece at Kefermarkt. This restoration, although done with great love and enthusiasm, in reality suffered very badly from lack of experience, and was in fact partly destroyed as a result of cleaning with soap, water and brushes. (5) In his "Indian Summer" Stifter referred to a house museum, where the interior was created with original pieces of the epoch, restored if necessary, and, if not available, completed with replicas, marked with a silver plate and text, "so as not to mislead anybody". (6)

Although Stifter was proud for his work in restoring historic buildings, and although he had great respect to their historical character, he gave an emphasis on a romantic revival of the ancient form of these buildings, thus adhering to the tradition of stylistic restoration; the first example of his work was the restoration of the parish church of Steyer, where he removed later changes, and restored the church back to its Gothic form. Many churches in Austria, similarly, lost their Baroque features, and were 'purified' to their mediaeval form. (7)

19.2 Conservation Movement in Germanic Countries

The romantic movement of the nineteenth century that had started the preservation of historic monuments in Germany, as in other countries, pushed this activity

always further towards restoration, completion and reconstruction especially of churches and castles following the examples of Cologne and Marienburg. This fashion continued well into the twentieth century, when many practitioners were still in favour of the methods of Viollet-le-Duc. Even in 1938, Hans Hörmann in his *Methodik der Denkmalpflege*, already well conscious of alternative developments, referred to the French master as the great authority. (8)

The beginnings of a concern for the loss of the historic authenticity of restored buildings, could be seen, however, already in the middle of the nineteenth century - also in Germany. The principles of the first Prussian Conservator, von Quast, who had travelled much in other countries, were in favour of conservation. So were those of August Reichensperger, who emphasized in 1856 that “the first and main rule in all restorations is: to do as little as possible and as unnoticeable as possible”. (9) Although Reichensperger would allow the integration of missing parts “in the spirit of the original”, he emphasized the need for respect to the history and the particular individuality of an old building, and especially of a church. Decisions for the removal of any parts should be based on ‘good taste’, technical experience, and on secure tact; ‘later elements’ could only be removed from a historic building if they were “clearly in contradiction with its style and use, and had no art-value”. (10) In practice, however, the ideas of Reichensperger were rather lonely, and the general fashion favoured stylistic restoration.

The Case of Frauenkirche in Munich

The first time there was real criticism about restorations in Germany, was in the case of the restoration of the Frauenkirche in Munich. In 1852, the archbishop started promoting the restoration of “this noble Minster to its earlier beautiful shape”. (11) When the restoration was completed and the newly shaped church was presented to the public, in 1861, it caused an outcry of accusations which were strongly reflected in the press.

Wilhelm Lübke

One of the writers was Wilhelm Lübke, who wrote about “the restoration fever” that during the recent years had spread from one end of the country to the other. (12) Although on one hand it was good for a nation to take care of its monuments, on the other this had now gone too far; restoration had:

”become a fever that in its rage aimed at the destruction of the magnificent monuments of our



Figure 320. Meissen Cathedral with its towers constructed in the 19th century

ancestors. Already more than one lofty work of ancient art has fallen victim to it. A few more steps on this way, and our monuments will be deprived of their characteristic expressions achieved through centuries, just for the sake of this new fanatic competition.” (13)

As to the Frauenkirche, he saw it nearly destroyed by restoration.

“It has been purified, i.e. the altars and monuments that were not built in Gothic style, but in ‘plaited forms’, have been removed. The broad Renaissance arches have been taken away that so happily interrupted the perspective and provided the church with a sort of missing transept. This raging against the ‘plait’ is a real art-historical plait that only goes with one-sided fanaticism. If it had only meant the liberation of noble architectural forms from covering additions! Instead, the removal has touched the still effective constructions that have sympathetically hidden the bareness of a construction that in itself is ugly and unarticulated.” (14)

Referring to other important churches, in Danzig, Breslau, Mainz, and Vienna, Lübke emphasized the importance of their historical stratigraphy that reflected the whole life and piousness of the community. "After all, these buildings were not erected for the sake of an abstract ideal of beauty, but for a living consciousness of God." (15) In 1891, he was a member of a commission formed of representatives of Germanic countries to recommend on the treatment of the sixteenth century Heidelberg Castle ruined by French troops at the end of the seventeenth century. The verdict was a refusal to reconstruct any lost parts, allowing only conservation of existing remains. (16)

Hermann Muthesius and Arts and Crafts

Although the protest of Munich was a symptom of a more general antirestoration attitude, it was not until the turn of the century, when a stronger movement was on its way - this time following the English example. One of the first to introduce this new approach to Germanic countries was Hermann Muthesius (1861-1927), an architect who loved classical music and literature - especially Goethe. He worked for a period in Japan, spent a year in Italy, and in 1896-1903 worked as a technical and cultural attache in London. Here he learnt to know William Morris, who had his atelier in the neighbourhood; he

also met Charles Rennie Mackintosh and others, and made a systematic study of English architecture. (17)

Later these studies resulted in the publication of numerous articles, beginning in 1897 on Morris and the training of English architects, and followed by several every year. In 1900 and 1901, he published translations of Ruskin's texts in German, and in 1904-5, came from the print his important *Das Englische Haus*, much appreciated also by Lethaby and other English architects. (18)

In his article on restoration in Germany, in 1902, he regretted the completion of Cologne Cathedral, thinking that the original torso would have told us much more about its original builders and their overwhelming ambitions than the cold pedantic nineteenth century structure ever can do. He emphasized the documentary value of even the most modest historic structures, and considered reconstructions completely idiotic, a sort of teething trouble; it was like children who want to destroy their toys in order to see what they contain!

"Maintenance instead of reconstruction; that is the general aim of conservation. Additions in the sense of an artistic completion of the ruined or missing can in no way be allowed. These could

Figure 321. Heidelberg Castle



only be temporary measures, and should clearly be marked as such, i.e. not to pretend any artistic forms, and least of all anything that apes the architecture of the monument.” (19)

Muthesius referred to the modern movement in England, claiming that this should be a mature basis also for dealing with historic structures; his ideas were echoed for example by Konrad Lange four years later. Lange emphasized that

“each restored piece - even without a date or inscription, must tell the observer: There is the ancient, here is the new. The ancients have created out of the spirit of their time, we must create out of ours; but we do not want to outdo the ancients.” (20)

Theodor Fischer

Another architect, Theodor Fischer (1862-1938), one of the avant-garde in reinforced concrete, referring to the reconstruction proposals for the Castle of Heidelberg, complained about

“the uneasy feeling of doubt” that one had in nearly all restored buildings about their authenticity. He considered that at least fifty restorations out of a hundred were unnecessary, merely done out of ambition to match a neighbour. Most often some little repair would have been quite sufficient, and, he insisted, “the modern exact ruler-man needs much self discipline to learn to see the harmony of the whole despite the details bleached or broken by time.” (21)

Paul Clemen

In the early 1900 also Paul Clemen, the Conservator of Rhineland since 1893, wrote articles about Ruskin and the English conservation movement. He referred to John Ruskin as “the most severe, the most eloquent, and the most influential opponent of the restoration of historic buildings” anyway, and to William Morris as his most enthusiastic prophet. (22) Although overwhelmed by the second chapter of the Seven Lamps with

“its call for truth in architecture, with the condemnation of all hypocrisy in the structure, in material, in decoration, with its cruel enmity against all surrogates, all disguising, all over-pasting, and the proof that all great architecture had particularly had great respect for material,” (23)

Clemen appreciated Ruskin’s comments about ‘national architecture’; he was, however, fairly critical about Ruskin’s general approach. This, he observed, characteristically always started from ethical concepts deducing everything from them, and

“confusing there the moods that a work of art produces with those, out of which it is born. In this way he drives back the purely artistical as well as the technical side. Thus, especially in architecture, he arrives at completely wrong basic concepts.” (24)

For a historian, Ruskin, according to Clemen, lacked objectivity; he only accepted a very brief historic period; “he was as one-sided in his love as he was in his hate”, and he missed especially “the great cleaning bath of Greek art”. The key for the understanding of “these half-measures” was in his development as a youth; “he has the freshness and the originality, but also the crooked one-sidedness of a self-educated person.” (25)

Concerning consolidation of ruins, Clemen saw a very strong influence from the English anti-restorationists and the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, who wanted to protect historic monuments from over-zealous architects. He mentioned Ruskin’s interference in the case of St Mark’s in Venice, and remembered his furious letter about the planned restoration of the abbey church at Dunblane in Scotland, that he had called “the most vulgar brutality”. (26)

Clemen agreed that picturesqueness and the appeal of a historic building were easily lost in consolidation work, and that over-enthusiasm was an enemy of the most fragile and delicate parts. He preferred the renewal of small bits at a time, and reminded the reader that conservation of monuments, die Denkmalpflege, “was not to be aimed at the next decade, but at the next century.” (27) Pierrefonds he considered a kind of “Neronic” fantasy of Napoleon III, and although “the best reconstruction till Steinbrecht’s work at Marienburg,” it looked today “cold and dry”.

On the other hand, he was not too displeased about the work at Carcassonne and Aigues-Mortes, considering their silhouette to have gained on the completion of the walls and towers, and appreciating these restorations interesting for their didactic merits, which he considered also one of the important tasks of conservation. (28)

He admired the mastery skill of Viollet-le-Duc in the restoration of Notre-Dame of Paris, where the

general impression was such that it made one forget how much there was completely new - despite much hardness especially in the sculptures and ornaments. He also appreciated the care that Viollet-le-Duc had shown in the finishing of the environment of the cathedral, which, in his opinion, was much superior to the timid attempts in Cologne.

On the other hand, Clemen stated, "the great sickness of the century, the unhappy search for purity of style, had been indulged in here as well", (29) and he regretted that all the seventeenth century furnishings, especially carved choir stools, as in Sens, and Amiens, had been sacrificed to it. The same, in fact, had happened in the great Gothic cathedrals of Germany as well. He maintained, however, that the French had recovered from it much earlier than Germans, and had tried to formulate the basic principles for restoration that would give full justice to the historic character of a building.

This discussion he considered extremely important for the whole question in order to give healthy reaction against a blind restoration rage.

"The disastrous effect of the many technical measures that have been committed, and that have caused the falsification of art-historical documents, are castigated; the working off of ornaments and sculptural decorations, le grattage, is presented with all its bad consequences, and the erasing of the art-historically original character is signalled in a great number of restorations." (30) He recalled the recommendation of the Ami des Monuments, i.e.: 'Conservation, not restoration!'

19.3 Die Denkmaltage

The economic development in the German states at the end of the nineteenth century, improvement of streets for traffic, private speculation, and the lack of sympathy from the side of higher administrators, were amongst the reasons that caused many towns to lose their historic fabric; Nuremberg was one of those that still had retained its character, although this was threatened. In 1899, when *Die Denkmalpflege*, the new magazine dedicated to conservation, was first published, one of the topics for discussion was: *The Old Nuremberg in Danger*. It was argued that the beauty of a historic town had its value; it even represented capital due to the hundreds of thousands of Marks that were brought in by visitors. (31)

Meeting in Strasbourg 1899

In the same year, on 27-28 September, the main assembly of the Association of German Societies for History and Antiquity, in Strasbourg, gave a resolution reminding administrations that:

"The careful preservation and restoration of historic monuments as the most important and most noble testimony of the national past of all peoples requires considerably larger funds than have been available so far. The Congress, therefore, considers it indispensable that according to the example of leading cultural states in the field of conservation, there should be everywhere regular sums included in the State budget for this purpose." (32)

On the basis of the proposal of a committee, of which Clemen also was a member, it was decided that regular meetings should be organized for the conservationists of all German states. These became in fact yearly events, and the first of these so-called "Days for Conservation", "Tage für Denkmalpflege", was organized in Dresden in 1900. (33) They gave an excellent opportunity for the representatives of different states to compare and exchange experiences, to discuss the principles, inventories, as well as the administrative and legislative questions, which were of special interest in this period when many of the states were in the process of getting their legal protection in force. Concerning attitudes there were clearly two lines, one in favour of conservation, the other of restoration.

In Dresden, in 1900, Baurath Paul Tornow-Metz, who was one of those who favoured restoration in the 'spirit of the ancients', presented a list of basic principles giving attention especially to questions of style. According to the first principle, conservation extended to all monuments that could be considered to belong to "the historic styles", i.e. from the oldest times to the end of the eighteenth century. According to the second, all styles should be considered equal from the conservation viewpoint.

It was further recommended to treat the monuments with respect, not to change old forms, use durable materials in restoration, prepare a good documentation with measured drawings, descriptions, casts, and photographs, to bring replaced originals in museums, and to publish a chronicle of the works. The intention was to preserve in the historic building all its character, and any replacements should be done with full respect to the original. The only exception would be "the correction of structural errors, and the

unquestionable improvement of the technical value” of the building. (34)

The ninth principle, finally, recommended that, after the completion of the restoration, regularly repeated detailed inspections should be continued on all parts of the building. Although these guidelines sound modern in their concepts, Tornow, who represented the opinion of many practitioners, was still strongly following the tradition of stylistic restorations.

Weber and the Dead and Living Monuments

One of the questions that came up in the meetings, was the division of historic monuments in two categories, “the dead” and “the living”. This question, already discussed at an international meeting at Madrid in 1905, (35) was again touched in Trier in 1909 by Prof. C. Weber from Danzig, who who especially concentrated on the question of style in integrations.

Weber spoke about “pure ruins” with no specific artistic value; these could be left with a minimum of protection against weathering. He next discussed the “dead buildings”, which still had their roof, but no use; these should be maintained so that they will not become ruins. The category of “dead buildings” that were of great artistic and historic value, but that had no roof and no windows - like the castle of Heidelberg, the preservation and eventual reconstruction of which had in fact been subject of long discussions in this period. To leave these structures to a “beautiful death” would have been ridiculous according to Weber, and the question of restoration needed to be discussed case by case.

As to the so-called “living buildings” that still were used for their intended function, Weber maintained giving priority to their artistic values;

“the aim of any such restoration must be, that at the completion of the works - and I think of churches, when the building is handed over to the parish, the impact on the lay man, to whom the work is intended anyway, must be the same as when looking at a new church.” (36)

For Weber, the removal of Baroque altars from the cathedrals of Strasbourg, Augsburg, Cologne, and from the Frauenkirche of Munich was “an artistic act”, necessary for the appreciation of the sense of monumentality in these buildings.

Weber, in his approach to reviving a historic building in its artistic appearance at the cost of its historic and archaeological values, claimed to represent the so-

called “historical school” in restoration. This was opposed by others, from the “modernist school”, who wanted to keep the historic integrity of the building, and, if additions were needed, do these in the style of the day - the approach in fact of William Morris and Camillo Boito. The problem was that many did not accept that were such a thing as “modern style”!

Dr Cornelius Gurlitt, from Dresden, was convinced that future generations would be very critical about the destructions that had been made in the name of styles in the nineteenth century; he was especially concerned about the cases where the old object had been corrected in the restoration so as to be “completely right”. (37) He emphasized that apart from having destroyed “irreplaceable nationally significant values”, the restorers have introduced an element of uncertainty into these buildings; “how far they really are venerable monuments, and how far they are works of the nineteenth century!” There had been few attempts so far to try to introduce the “expression of our day” into restoration, he reminded, and “such things should not be met with mockery!” (38)

Georg Dehio

One of the subjects for discussion in 1901, was the newly proposed reconstruction of the castle of Heidelberg, against which the commission of 1891 had already taken a position. The promoter of a revision of the earlier decision, was architect Karl Schafer, who prepared plans for the rebuilding of the so-called Ottheinrichsbau, of which the facade was still standing. His plans were enthusiastically supported by his architect colleagues, who considered it first of all a necessary construction in order to guarantee the stability of the ruin, and on the other hand an “original” and a “magnificent artistic achievement in the spirit of the ancients”. (39)

One of the opponents of this project was an art-historian, prof. Georg Gottfried Dehio, from Strasbourg, whose name has practically become a by-word as the author and initiator of the series of standard manuals for historic buildings in German speaking countries. (40) He has also been considered the founder of the modern approach in German conservation. (41)

Dehio referred to the 1891 commission, insisting that there had been a general acceptance of the recommendation of no reconstruction, confirmed also by architects. In 1896, in the general assembly of German architectural and engineering societies, even

architect Steinbrecht, the restorer of Marienburg, had declared that the castle of Heidelberg was a typical example of a case where one should not reconstruct. The commission had shown, first of all, that the existing ruins had no structural problems, and secondly, there was not enough documentation of the buildings, and not even Schafer could know what they had looked like originally.

Dehio insisted on the principles, reached after many experiences and difficult mistakes:

“to conserve and only to conserve! to complete only when conservation has become materially impossible; what has fallen can only be rebuilt under quite specific and limited circumstances”. (42)

Apart from the fact that the proposed construction would be hypothetical, it would also create a dissonance in the whole complex.

“It is a psychologically deeply founded demand that the old must look old with all the traces of past experiences whether these were then wrinkles, cracks or wounds.” (43)

In the case of Heidelberg, especially,

“we would lose the authentic and gain an imitation; lose what has become historical and gain what is timelessly arbitrary; we would lose the ruins, the age gray and still so living to us, and gain a thing, which neither old nor new, a dead academic abstraction. Between these two we must choose.” (44)

“What is then this architect?” he asked in 1901, and what is his relationship to historic buildings; (45) a question that he returned to at Erfurt two years later. He saw the architect generally partly as a technician, a man of applied sciences, partly as an artist. The work on historic buildings, however, did not need a creator, but a research scientist; it needed “nothing less than that the whole man must be newly oriented”. (46)

This was to him the fundamental question, because “architecture is art, and conservation, in all its requirements and aims, belongs to sciences.” (47) These two aspects could hardly survive together; a conservator who had forced back his creative temperament, remained always a danger to monuments. Conservation, on the other hand, was also a full time occupation. It required a full “penetration of the historic spirit” that could only be reached through meticulous education, started already at home.

In the same context, in Erfurt, the questions of education and training were discussed at all levels: at elementary and secondary schools as well as at the universities, considering the various disciplines, arts and crafts schools, technical universities, and archaeological faculties. (48)

19.4 Alois Riegl

Since 1856, the activities of the Central Commission were published in a regular newsletter; (49) in 1901 its editorship was offered to a professor of the history of art at the University of Vienna, Alois Riegl (1857-1905), who soon afterwards was appointed the General Conservator of the Central Commission, and was the author of the first systematic theory of conservation.

Riegl had first studied jurisprudence, philosophy and history; he then changed to art-history, completing his studies at the Austrian Institute of Historic Research; this also included a scholarship in Rome. In 1886, he entered the Austrian Museum of Art and Industry as a volunteer, and was presently appointed as an assistant custodian. Three years later he was qualified as a university lecturer; in 1895 he was nominated an assistant professor and in 1897 professor. (50)

Although Riegl was hardly 48 when he died, he made a very significant contribution to the field of the history of art. Already in his first publication, on Oriental textiles in 1891, (51) he demonstrated the common ground of European and Asian civilizations, and provided thus a new foundation for a scientific study of Oriental history. Two years later he published *Die Stilfragen* (Questions of Style), dealing with the history of ornaments in the ancient Greece, but enlarging the subject to illustrate the historic continuity in the development of Hellenic, Hellenistic, Roman, and Oriental ornaments from a few original basic motives.

In this research, Riegl introduced, for the first time, “a teleological conception of art”; he saw “the work of art as being the result of a certain purposeful *Kunstwollen* that emerges in the battle against use, matter, and technique”. (52) He rejected earlier theories, according to which works of art of different periods could be evaluated on the basis of common, absolute criteria. Instead, he insisted, all periods have their particular conditions and requirements, within which artistic production achieves its character, and which must be known in order to define the artistic values proper to the period. (53)

Practically as a demonstration of his thesis, Riegl wrote his study on Late-Roman arts and crafts, (54) He demonstrated that this period, a dark spot on the map of art-historical studies, and usually considered inferior compared to the earlier ones, had its own characteristic art concepts that should be understood in their own value.

Riegl's aim as an art-historian was to be as objective as possible, and this aim characterized also his work as the General Conservator. As a part of the attempts to reorganize the Austrian conservation services, Riegl was commissioned to write a study to define the theoretical aspects of the work. The result of this study, an essay, *The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and Its Origin*, was first published in 1903. (55)

Riegl described briefly the development of the concern for monuments in a general historical context, defining the different values, particularly historic values and contemporary values, on which the treatment of historic buildings and monuments depends. Starting with the concept 'monuments of art and history' (*die Kunst- und historischen Denkmale*), he referred to the general definition of a work of art as "a palpable, visual, or audible creation by man which possesses an artistic value"; (56) on the other hand, "everything that has been and is no longer we call historical, in accordance with the modern notion that what has been can never be again, and that everything that has been constitutes an irreplaceable and irremovable link in a chain of development." (57)

Considering that there are no universally absolute criteria for the evaluation of works of art, the art-values of a by-gone epoch can be appreciated only so far as they correspond to the modern *Kunstwollen*, and, consequently, should in fact be seen as contemporary values. Therefore, art-value ceases being a commemorative value and, strictly speaking, should not be included in the notion of a monument. Accordingly, Riegl, in his text, speaks only of 'historical monuments' (*historische Denkmale*).

He distinguished between "intentional monuments", memorials, built to commemorate a specific event, person, etc., and 'unintentional monuments', buildings that were primarily built to satisfy contemporary practical and ideal needs, and that only afterwards have been taken as 'historical monuments'.

"It is not their original purpose and significance that turn these works into monuments, but rather our modern perception of them. Both intentional

and unintentional monuments are characterized by commemorative value, and in both instances we are interested in their original, uncorrupted appearance as they emerged from the hands of their maker and to which we seek by whatever means to restore them." (58)

Apart from the historical value of a monument, which arises from the "particular, individual stage it represents in the development of human activity in a certain field", (59) it can also have another commemorative value, the "age-value" (*Alterswert*), which refers to the weathering, the "patina", and the eventual changes caused to it since its first construction; "its incompleteness, its lack of wholeness, its tendency to dissolve form and colour set the contrast between age-value and the characteristics of new and modern artifacts." (60)

Of the two values, 'historical' and 'age-value', the latter is the most comprehensive, covering even ruins or fragments that would not necessarily have any specific "historical" value. On the other hand, intentional monuments were a small part of the larger group of historical monuments.

Considering the general development of these concepts, Riegl noted that in the ancient Orient monuments were mainly intentional, erected by single persons or families, while in the ancient Greece and Rome already patriotic monuments were created, which appealed to larger circles of interest - thus guaranteeing a longer life for them. Also the Middle Ages were mainly interested in intentional monuments. A monument such as Trajan's Column, although respected due to some surviving Roman patriotism, could only be seen as safe after the fourteenth century.

The notion of a historical monument in its general sense can be considered to have existed since the Italian Renaissance of the fifteenth century, when also the division into "art-monuments" and "historical monuments" could be justified. Its major diffusion occurred during the nineteenth century, when also a major effort was made for the legal protection of these monuments as well as for their restoration. The belief that a part of the absolute art-values could be found in the objects of all periods, justified this action. (61)

The most modern of these values was the age-value that really appeared only at the end of the nineteenth century although there had been some signs of it already in the past - for example during the late Roman Empire. It is only now, when the cultural history has

gained ground, that attention has been given to the minutest details and fragments as an irreplaceable part of the cultural heritage. "Historical value, which was tied to particulars, transformed itself slowly into developmental value, for which particulars were ultimately unimportant." (62) This developmental value was nothing else but the age-value, which thus was born out of the historical value through a process that went back to the seventeenth century.

Concerning man's creative activity, Riegl defined this to be "the organization of a number of dispersed and/or shapeless elements in nature into a self-contained whole, delimited through form and colour." (63) The "newness" of an artifact would thus be generally judged - not so much on the basis of its style, which could be imitated, but rather on its flawless wholeness; age-value, on the contrary, would be seen in the lack of this wholeness and the tendency to dissolve its form and colour as a part of the life cycle in nature.

A premature decay in a new object would in fact be just as disturbing as a too striking restoration in an old object.

"From the standpoint of age-value one need not worry about the eternal preservation of monuments, but rather one should be concerned with the constant representation of the cycle of creation". (64)

According to its definition, historical value, instead, is the higher the more faithfully the monument's original state has been preserved.

"The objective of historical value is not to conserve the traces of age which have been produced by nature since its creation, but rather to maintain as genuine as possible a document for future art-historical research." (65)

From the preservation standpoint, these two values thus look opposed to each other; the higher the historical value, the less the age-value.

This would not be the case always, however, as for example in the case of a fresco threatened by sudden destruction without any protection. In this case, it would be in the interest also from the age-value standpoint to build a protective cover over it. (66) The intentional monument, being built for the specific purpose of preserving a message, as an extreme case against age-value, "fundamentally requires restoration" in order to keep the message intact. (67)

As to the question of copies or replicas, Riegl maintained that, although full documentary significance could only be given to the original documents, these could also have some value even from the historical point of view, if the originals were irretrievably lost, as in the case of the tower of St. Mark's in Venice. (68)

Apart from their commemorative values, most historical monuments also represent values for present-day life, such as 'use-value'. Being in use, buildings must be maintained and repaired in order to keep them safe and functional. Although this activity will mean wear and tear to the original fabric, it also will allow the up-keep of a building, which otherwise might be abandoned and lost.

Concerning the different values, Riegl maintained that "we have not yet gone so far as to apply age-value indiscriminately; thus we still distinguish between older and more recent monuments, more or less usable ones, and therefore we are concerned with, in the former case, historical value, and in the latter, use-value along with age-value." (69)

Where there is a conflict between use-value and historical value, "the deliberations on how to treat a monument will above all have to take into account the fundamental conflict with age-value. However, historical value proves to be more flexible vis-à-vis use-value." (70) On the other hand, sudden destruction is not the aim of age-value, and the use of a building, allowing its maintenance, would thus not be necessarily against it.

Another aspect was "art-value", which, according to Riegl's definition, depended on how far the monument corresponded to the requirements of modern *Kunstwollen*. This could be either "newness-value" (*der Neuheitswert*), which in itself already contains an elementary art-value, or "relative art-value" (*der relative Kunstwert*). The newness-value, which traditionally has always had strong support of people, is in fact the most formidable opponent of age-value. During the entire nineteenth century, the practice of preservation "rested essentially on the traditional notion of a complete amalgamation of newness-value and historical value: the aim was to remove every trace of natural decay, to restore every fragment to achieve the appearance of an integral whole," (71) as the building had been at the moment of its creation.

Only at the end of the century, when age-value was getting supporters, did the conflict become

appearant. This was especially striking in the cases where the monuments had not been preserved in their original form, but had undergone stylistic alterations over time. As historical value was considered to depend largely on the “clear recognition of the original condition”, (72) it was often decided to remove all later additions, and to restore the original forms, whether there was any trace of them or not, because - even if only approximate, stylistic unity was preferred to the more authentic but stylistically unrelated forms. “Nineteenth-century preservation of monuments rested essentially on the two premises of the originality of style (its historical value) and the unity of style (its newness-value).” (73) This approach was most strongly opposed by the supporters of the age-value. Infact, the removal of the additions and contributions of later periods from an historic building was an offense against all that the age-value represented, and it was so natural that the fight became bitter.

Riegl had conceived his theory in a most abstract and condensed form, which is not easy to read. It has, however, certainly had influence especially in the German speaking countries, and is still considered of fundamental importance in the Austrian conservation approach. In foreign countries, his influence has apparently been little apart from Italy. Later his theory has been criticized for having placed the ultimate aims of conservation on a “religious enjoyment” of the natural cycle of creation and death, and that taken to the extreme, this would mean the “self abolition of conservation”. (74)

Of Riegl’s contemporaries, Georg Dehio reacted to his theory by referring to it in a speech on conservation in the nineteenth century, held at the Strasbourg University of Kaiser-Wilhelm in 1905. (75) In his speech, Dehio described the development of the concepts of restoration and conservation basically on the same lines as Riegl, giving a great merit to the nineteenth century historicism and historical spirit for having established the real basis for conservation of ancient monuments, accepting also Riegl’s concept of age-value as the last phase in this development. Dehio again attacked restorers and those who relied on artistic inventions, drawing attention to the irreversibility of restorations, and he exclaimed: “God save us from ingenious restorers!” (76)

Debate about Nationalist-socialistic values

Where Dehio did not agree with Riegl was in the aims of conservation; he emphasized that the aesthetic-scientific approach was not sufficient

anymore, but that one needed an inner motivation for the cult of monuments: #

“We do not conserve a monument, because we consider it beautiful, but because it is a part of our national existence. To protect monuments does not mean to look for pleasure, but to practice piety. Aesthetic and even art-historical judgements vary; here lie unchanging distinguishing features for value.” (77) #

As a consequence, he also mentioned another side of modern conservation, its socialistic character. Considering the national importance of architectural heritage, and due to conflicts with Liberalism, he emphasized that its protection was not easily conceivable in the prevailing economic system and legislative frame work.

Riegl answered Dehio in an article on the new trends in conservation, only published after his death, in 1906, agreeing in principle that the concept of “artistic and historical monuments” of the nineteenth century was no more suitable for today, and that the real motivation for the “cult of monuments” depended on an altruistic motivation. However, the purely nationalistic approach seemed to him too narrow, and he thought that Dehio was still under the influence of “the spell of the nineteenth century notion, that fundamentally looked for the significance of the monument in the ‘historic’ momentum.” (78)

Riegl was infact conscious of the international trend for conservation, and he marked that the conservation of the heritage of countries that were not necessarily one’s own, must be based on a much broader motivation; this could be a “feeling of humanity” (Menschheitsgefühl), of which the nationalistic feeling would be a part. He insisted on the general approach to conservation, taking also the example of nature protection, which infact was gaining in popularity in Germany in this period, (79) and noted that here the last bit of “egoism” had to give place to full altruism.

He thus came back to his earlier conclusion: “Monuments attract us from now on as testimonies for the fact that the great context, of which we ourselves make part, has existed and created already long before us.” (80) He confessed that it was difficult to find the right word for this feeling that urged us to the cult of cultural heritage. Even to provide a rational legal framework, and to be able to count on its success would not be possible without “the existence and general diffusion of a feeling, akin to

religious feeling, independent from special aesthetic and historic education, inaccessible to reasonings, that would simply make the lack of its satisfaction unbearable.” (81) This could be almost taken as a testament for a man who looked beyond his time.

In the few years that Riegl could work for the conservation of historic buildings in Austria-Hungary, his main attention was given to the promotion of due respect to the historic monuments in all their phases of transformation. The influence of the French restoration, and the construction of Cologne Cathedral were felt also in Austria, for example in the work of Friedrich von Schmidt, the surveyor of Stephanskirche in Vienna, and the restorer of the church of Klosterneuburg, where the Baroque towers were replaced with Gothic structures in the name of stylistic unity. Riegl did not accept straight away the out-cry, “to conserve, not to restore”. He considered pure conservation impossible, because already the fact for example that a painting was cleaned, meant an intervention by modern man. (82) If, on the other hand, a public building in use were to lose a visible element of its decoration, Riegl considered legitimate to have it reproduced. (83)

Riegl’s position was generally in favour of a minimum intervention, and for the limitation of restorations to what was strictly necessary for the preservation of the object. In his restoration activities, Riegl was guided by the principle of respect for the age-value of the monument, and its protection from premature destruction. In the case of the mediaeval parish church of Altmuenster, he was pleased to report that the decision for the demolition of its Baroque choir and replacement with a Gothic Revival structure, was finally withdrawn, and the old choir conserved. (84)

Riegl also participated in the commission for the restoration of Diocletian’s Palace in Split, in 1904, where he was against the reconstruction of the bell-tower, but lost this battle. He was also very strongly of the opinion that the historic centre of the city of Split was so closely linked with the remains of the antiquity, that it was indispensable to conserve the whole, and not just the Roman remains - as some extremists had proposed. Many of the recommendations of the commission are very practical, referring for example to the use of lime mortar instead of cement in repointing. (85)

Max Dvorak

Riegl was conscious of the need to educate people for a mature understanding of the values of cultural heritage, and he considered the nineteenth century historical value to have been like a “battering ram” that had cleared the way for the more subtle age-value, the value for the twentieth century. In Austria, his work was carried further by his disciple Max Dvorak, who was responsible for the inventory of Austrian artistic and architectural patrimony as a basis for the legal protection in the country. The first volume was published in 1907. (86)

Max Dvorak became one of the leading conservators in Austria in promoting conservation of nature and environment, (Heimatschutz). In his approach to the evaluation of historic monuments he took a middle way between Riegl and Dehio, considering that it was reasonable to allow for some patriotic value as well. (A much more extreme line in this regard was taken by Clemen, whose “confession”, a conclusion of his life experiences, was published in 1933, basing conservation of historic buildings on their symbolic national values.) (87)

An important contribution by Dvorak to the general public was his *Katechismus der Denkmalpflege*, published by the Central Commission in 1916. In this small book, Dvorak emphasized that conservation should not only be extended to all styles of the past, but give special attention to keeping the local and historical characteristics “that we are not authorized to change in any way, because these corrections usually will destroy just what gives the irreplaceable value to modest monuments.” (88)

He attacked false restorations, giving a series of examples of restorations in the interiors of churches, such as the parish church of Enns, or stylistic restorations, such as Jakobskirche in Laibach, the parish church in Slatinan in Bohemia, or the abbey church of Klosterneuburg, where the Baroque style had been removed and rebuilt in Gothic Revival forms. He listed some of the major threats to historic monuments and historic environment both in the countryside and in towns, emphasizing the responsibilities of everybody for the protection of the national patrimony, which extended from single works of art, to interiors, to historic buildings, to the conservative planning of townscapes, and to the protection of nature.

The concept of aiming at the conservation of the whole field of cultural heritage was shared also by others such as Adolf Loos (1870-1933), one of the

promoters of modern movement in architecture, in his article of 1919. (89) According to this concept, heritage was conceived as extending from monuments to historic areas, and from significant natural features to whole landscapes, and it became the foundation for the policy of Austrian conservation administration.

Notes to Chapter Nineteen

1. Hörmann, H., *Methodik der Denkmalpflege. Wege und Ziele der Instandsetzung bei Bauwerken der Antike und des Mittelalters*, München 1938.
2. Reichensperger, A., *Einige Andeutungen in Bezug auf die Restaurationen geschichtlicher Baudenkmäler*, 1845, 399ff.: “Die erste und hauptsächlichste Regel bei jeder Restauration ist sonach die: so wenig wie möglich und so unwahrnehmbar wie möglich zu restaurieren, dem Alten nur seinen Fortbestand zu sichern und das Fehlende oder Abhandengekommene genau nach dem Originale oder doch, in Ermangelung eines solchen, möglichst im Geiste des Originales wieder herzustellen. Wir haben wohlbedächtig gesagt: ‘das Fehlende oder Abhandengekommene’, weil wir durchaus nicht der Ansicht sind, dass man alles zu einem Bauwerke im Verlaufe der Zeiten Hinzugekommene wegschaffen oder mit dem Style des Hauptbaues in Einklang bringen solle, wie solches leider nur gar zu häufig seitens unserer eifrigen Puristen in der besten Absicht geschieht. Im Gegentheil sind wir der Ansicht, dass man auch in dieser Beziehung die Geschichte respectiren soll (ganz besonders, wenn es sich um kirchliche Gebäude handelt), und dass man nur dann ans Wegschaffen des später Eingedrungenen oder angefügten denken soll, wenn die Zuthaten offenbar und handgreiflich zweck- und stylwidrig sind und keinerlei Kunstwerth haben. Um hier ein sicheres Urtheil fällen zu können, bedarf es inde# nicht bloß einer allgemeinen Geschmacksbildung, sondern überdies noch vielfacher technischer Erfahrung und eines sehr sichern Tactes. ... Es ist auch nicht genug, dass man z.B. an eine im gothischen Style erbaute Kirche ein gleichfalls in demselben Style ganz regelrecht entworfenes Beiwerk fügt. Jedes echte, wahrhaft bedeutende Monument hat seine besondere Individualität, welche sich nur dem tiefem Verständnisse erschliesst; gerade aus dieser Individualität heraus muss aber dasjenige gedacht sein, was sich dem Ganzen organisch, wie ein Glied an seinem Körper, anfügen soll.” (Huse, N., *Denkmalpflege. Deutsche Texte aus drei Jahrhunderten*, München 1984,97.)
3. See above, n.2.
4. Helfgott, N., *Die Rechtsvorschriften für den Denkmalschutz*, Wien 1979, 1ff.
5. ‘Allerhöchste Entschliessung’, 31 December 1850, foundation of the ‘Central-Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung von Baudenkmalen’, later called: ‘K.k. Central-Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Kunst- und historischen Denkmale’. (Helfgott, op.cit., 3.)
6. Ministerium für Cultus und Unterricht, Statute, 21 July 1873 (RGBl 1873/131): “Objekte der prähistorischen Zeit und der antiken Kunst ... Objekte der Architektur, Plastik, Malerei und der zeichnenden Künste (kirchliche und profane) des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit bis zum Schlusse des 18. Jahrhunderts”. (Helfgott, ibid., 4.)
7. Minister für Cultus und Unterricht, ‘Statut der Zentralkommission für Denkmalpflege’, 2 August 1911 (RGBl 1911/153, idF RGBl 1914/37, and 1916/110), (Helfgott, ibid., 4.)
8. Stifter, A., *Bericht über die Restaurierung des Kefermarkter Altars an den Statthalter von Österreich ob der Enns*, 1853 (Huse, *Denkmalpflege*, op.cit., 99f.) Stifter, A., *Der Nachsommer*, München 1977. Killy, W., ‘Nachwort’, Stifter, *Der Nachsommer*, op.cit., 732ff.
9. Stifter, *Der Nachsommer*, op.cit., 259.: “Viele Dinge sind so unwiederbringlich verloren gegangen, dass es fast unmöglich ist, eine ganze Wohnung mit Gegenständen aus derselben Zeit einzurichten, dass kein notwendiges Stück fehlt. Wir haben daher lieber solche Stücke im alten Sinne neu gemacht als alte Stücke von einer ganz anderen Zeit zugemischt. Damit aber niemand irre geführt werde, ist an jedem solchen altneuen Stücke ein Silberplättchen eingefügt, auf welchem die Tatsache in Buchstaben eingegraben ist.”
10. Dvorak, M., *Katechismus der Denkmalpflege*, Wien 1918.
11. Knopp, N., ‘Die Restaurierung der Münchener Frauenkirche im 19. Jahrhundert’, *Festschrift Luitpold Dussler*, München 1972, 393ff. (Huse, *Denkmalpflege*, op.cit., 89.): “Alles Fremde, Störende und Baustylwidrige zu entfernen und so diesem ehrwürdigen Münster seine frühere schöne Gestalt wieder zu schaffen.”
12. Lübke, W., ‘Das Restaurationsfieber’, 1861, (Huse, op.cit., 100ff.).
13. Lübke, op.cit.: “...die Restaurationslust ist bei uns auf diesem gefährlichen Punkt angelangt. Sie ist zum Fieber geworden, das in seiner Raserei im Begriff steht die herrlichen Denkmale unserer Vorfahren zu Grunde zu richten. Schon ist mehr als ein erhabenes werk alter Kunst ihr zum Opfer gefallen. Noch einige Schritte weiter auf dieser Bahn, und man wird in blindem wetteifer unsre Monumente, diesem neuesten Fanatismus zu Liebe, um den charaktervollen Ausdruck bringen den die Jahrhunderte ihnen aufgeprägt haben.”
14. Lübke, ibid.: “Man hat sie purificirt, d.h. man hat jene Altäre und Denkmäler daraus entfernt welche nicht im gothischen Styl, sondern in ‘Zopfformen’ erbaut waren. Man hat den breiten Renaissancebogen beseitigt, der

eine glückliche Unterbrechung der Perspektive gewährte, und der Kirche gleichsam das mangelnde Querschiff ersetzte. Dieses Wüthen gegen den 'Zopf' ist ein wahrhafter kunsthistorischer Zopf, der nur einseitigem Fanatismus anhaftet. Wenn es nun noch gegolten hätte die edlen Formen einer durchgebildeten Architektur von verhüllenden Zuthaten zu befreien! Aber statt dessen hat man die immerhin decorativ wirkungsvollen Einbauten entfernt, welche die Kahlheit einer an sich hässlichen, ungegliederten Construction mitleidig verdeckten. Nun steigen die rohen Baksteinpfeiler in erschreckender Nüchternheit bis zum Gewölbe empor - eine Monotonie, die jedes künstlerisch geübte Auge, ja selbst jeden unbefangenen Laien verletzen muss."

15. Lübke, *ibid.*: "Sind ja doch diese Bauten nicht einem abstracten künstlerischen Schönheitsideal, sondern einem lebendigen Gottesbewusstsein zuliebe errichtet."

16. Dehio, G., 'Was wird aus dem Heidelberger Schloss werden?', *Kunsthistorische Aufsätze*, München-Berlin 1914, 250ff.

17. Muthesius, E., 'La vita descritta dal figlio e allievo', Muthesius, Milano 1981, 42.

18. Muthesius, *op.cit.*, 125ff. Bibliography.

19. Muthesius, H., 'Die Wiederherstellung unserer alten Bauten' (1902), *Kultur und Kunst*, Leipzig 1914, 142ff.: "Instandhaltung statt Wiederherstellung, das ist das alleinige Ziel der Denkmalpflege. Ergänzungen im Sinne einer künstlerischen Vervollständigung von Verfallenem oder Fehlendem sind auf keinen Fall zulässig. Es kann sich nur um etwa anzusetzende Hilfskonstruktionen handeln, die dann aber deutlich als solche zu kennzeichnen sind, d.h. keine künstlerische Form präntendieren dürfen, am allerwenigsten eine solche, die die Formensprache des Denkmals nachäfft." (Huse, *op.cit.*, 120)

20. Lange, K., *Die Grundsätze der modernen Denkmalpflege*, Tübingen 1906, 29f.: "Nicht ergänzen, sondern erhalten, das sei die Lösung. Wo aber einmal ergänzt werden muss, da tue man es, ohne durch Stilechtheit täuschen zu wollen. Jedes restaurierte Stück soll auch ohne Jahreszahl und Inschrift dem Beschauer sagen: Dort ist das Alte, hier das Neue. Die Alten haben aus dem Geist ihrer Zeit heraus geschaffen, wir schaffen aus dem Geist unserer Zeit heraus. Aber wir wollen die Alten nicht übertrumpfen." (Huse, *op.cit.*, 122)

21. Fischer, T., 'Über das Restaurieren', *Der Kunstwart*, XVI, 1902, 298ff.: "In fünfzig Fällen von hundert wäre eine wesentliche Veränderung überhaupt nicht nötig. Ein wenig abgefallener Putz, ein verwitterter Stein, ein schadhaftes Dach, das alles gebessert, und es ginge wieder viele Jahrzehnte. Oft ist es der Ehrgeiz, der die Leute plagt ... Oefter aber ist es nur ein übertriebenes Ordnungs- und Sauberkeitsbedürfnis ... Es gehört demnach viel Selbstverleugnung dazu für den modernen exakten Linealmenschen, über die von der Zeit gebleichten oder zerstückten Einzelheiten hinweg die Harmonie des

Ganzen zu sehen. Und doch ist dies der erste und der letzte Satz der alten Kunst gegenüber: *Quieta non movere*. Habt Achtung vor der Einheit des Gewordenen!" (Huse, *op.cit.*, 117f.)

22. Clemen, P., 'Frankreichs Führerstellung in der Denkmalpflege', *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, Düsseldorf, 1948, 154ff.: "William Morris war ein begeisterter Apostel und Anhänger von John Ruskin, dem heftigen, beredtesten und einflussreichsten Gegner der Wiederherstellungen historischer Bauwerke überhaupt."

23. Clemen, P., 'John Ruskin', *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, Leipzig 1900, 17.: "Das zweite Kapitel ('Seven Lamps') ist vielleicht das gewaltigste mit seinem Ruf nach Wahrhaftigkeit in der Architektur, mit der Konstruktion, im Material, im Schmuck, mit seiner grimmigen Feindschaft gegen alle Surrogate, alle Verkleidungen, alle Überkleisterungen, and dem Nachweis, dass alle grosse Architektur zumal die Ehrfurcht vor dem Material gehabt. Und das letzte Axiom, in dem die ganzen Ausführungen gipfeln, ist das: 'dass die Architektur eines Volkes nur gross ist, wenn sie ganz allgemein und so befertigt ist wie eine Sprache - und wenn provinziale Unterschiede des Stiles nichts mehr sind als eben so viele Dialekte'."

24. Clemen, 'John Ruskin', *op.cit.*, 31.: "Das eigentlich Charakteristische in Ruskin's ganzer Ästhetik ist, dass er immer von ethischen Begriffen ausgeht und alles von ihnen ableitet. Er verwechselt dabei die Stimmungen, die ein Kunstwerk erzeugt, mit denen, aus denen heraus es geboren ist. Das rein künstlerische drängt er hierbei zurück, ebenso aber das Technische. So kommt er vor allem in der Architektur zu ganz falschen Grundbegriffen."

25. Clemen, *ibid.*, 32.: "Zum Historiker fehlt ihm vor allem die gleichmässige Beachtung aller Perioden ohne Voreingenommenheit. Er ist einseitig in seiner Liebe und einseitig in seinem Hass. Im Grunde genommen, lässt er doch von alter Kunst nur das 13., 14. und 15. Jahrhundert gelten. In der Renaissance des 16. Jahrhunderts sieht er Abwendung und Verfall. Es fehlt ihm vor allem das grosse Reinigungsbad griechischer Kunst. Den Schlüssel zur Erklärung dieser Halbheiten giebt er auch in dem 'Praeterita' - die Lösung liegt in seiner Jugendentwicklung: er hat die Frische und die Originalität, aber auch die schiefe Einseitigkeit des Autodidakten."

26. Clemen, 'Frankreichs Führerstellung', *op.cit.*: "Auch in Deutschland bekannt ist ja sein zorniger Brief über die geplante Wiederherstellung der Abteikirche zu Dunblau, die er the most vulgar brutality nennt".

27. Clemen, *ibid.*: "Die Denkmalpflege soll überhaupt nicht für das nächste Jahrzehnt, sondern immer für das nächste Jahrhundert arbeiten."

28. Clemen, *ibid.*

29. Clemen, *ibid.*: "Der grossen Zeitkrankheit, der unglücklichen Sucht nach Stilreinheit ist freilich auch hier gefrönt worden: die ganze Ausstattung des 17.

Jahrhunderts, vor allem die skulptierten Chorstühle sind dem zum Opfer gefallen.”

30. Clemen, *ibid.*: “Aber Frankreich hat diese Krankheit sehr viel früher überwunden als etwa Deutschland. In den letzten Jahrzehnten haben eine Reihe der besten Köpfe, voran Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu, Baron von Geymüller und Robert de Lasteyrie sich bemüht, die Hauptgrundsätze für eine dem historischen Charakter eines Bauwerkes vollständig gerechtwerdende Wiederherstellung zu formulieren. Diese für Frankreich höchst wichtigen Erörterungen stellen zunächst eine gesunde Reaktion gegen das Zuviel in den Wiederherstellungen und die blinde Restaurationswut dar. Die verhängnisvolle Wirkung vieler technischer Massnahmen, die kunstgeschichtlichen Urkundenfälschungen, die dadurch begangen werden, werden gezeigelt, das Abarbeiten der Ornamente und des statuarischen Schmuckes, le grattage, wird mit all seinen schlechten Folgen vorgeführt, die Verwischung des kunstgeschichtlich originalen Charakters bei einer ganzen Reihe von Restaurationen signalisiert. Die Lösung, die der Ami des Monuments vor allem ausgehen hat, heisst: ‘Erhalten, nicht wiederherstellen!’”

31. ‘Alt-Nürnberg in Gefahr’, *Die Denkmalpflege*, I, 1899, 6.: “In neuerer Zeit ist insofern einige Besserung eingetreten, als wenigstens in einem Theile der Gemeindeverwaltung die Erkenntnis Platz gegriffen hat, dass die Schönheit der alten Stadt auch etwas werth ist, ja, dass sie sogar ein Capital darstellt, welcher zu erhalten die Stadtverwaltung alle Ursache hat. Tausende von kunstliebenden Fremden werden dadurch angezogen und Hunderttausende von Mark bringen sie alljährlich in die Stadt.”

32. ‘Hauptversammlung der deutschen Geschichts- und Altertumsvereine’, Strassburg, 27-28 September 1899 (*Die Denkmalpflege*, 17 October 1900, 104.): “Die sorgfältige Erhaltung und Wiederherstellung der Denkmäler als der wichtigsten und ehrwürdigsten Zeugen der nationalen Vergangenheit jedes Volkes werden in jedem Staate bei weitem grössere Mittel, als bisher aufgewendet, beanspruchen. Der Congress hält es deshalb für unerlässlich, dass nach dem Vorbilde der auf dem Gebiete der Denkmalpflege führenden Culturstaaten überall regelmässige Summen hierfür in den Staatshaushalt eingesetzt werden.”

33. During the first decade of the twentieth century, meetings, called ‘Tag für Denkmalpflege’, were organized in the following German cities: Dresden 1900, Freiburg i.B. 1901, Düsseldorf 1902, Erfurt 1903, Mainz 1904, Bamberg 1905, Braunschweig 1906, Mannheim 1907, Lübeck 1908, Trier 1909, Danzig 1910, Halberstadt 1912. *Denkmalpflege*, Auszug aus den stenografischen Gerichten des Tages für Denkmalpflege, ed. A.v.Oechelhaeuser, Leipzig 1910-1913.

34. Tornow-Metz, Baurat, ‘Grundsätze für die Wiederherstellung alter Baudenkmäler (Stilfragen)’, Dresden 1900, *Denkmalpflege*, *op.cit.*, 46ff.

35. ‘The Sixth International Congress of Architects’, 4-13 April 1904, Madrid.

36. Weber, C., ‘Die Stilfrage bei Wiederherstellung alter Baulichkeiten’, *Denkmalpflege*, *op.cit.*, 95ff.: “Das Ziel jeder derartigen Wiederherstellung muss das sein, dass, wenn das Gebäude fertig ist - ich denke an Kirchen - und von dem Architekten der Gemeinde übergeben wird, der Eindruck auf den Laien, auf den es ja doch schliesslich ankommt, für den wir ja doch bauen, genau der gleiche ist, als wenn es in eine ganz neue Kirche kommt. Sie muss ihm genau so schön sein, genau einen so unmittelbaren Eindruck machen wie ein Neubau. Wenn sie den Eindruck nicht macht, ist der Bau schlecht, gerade wie ein Neubau schlecht ist, wenn er keinen Eindruck macht. ... wenn man die grossen gotischen Dome, wenn man Strassburg, Augsburg, Köln, wenn man die Frauenkirche in München befreit hat von der barocken Riesenaltären, die den Massstab der Gebäude gänzlich verdorben hatten, so war es eine künstlerische Tat. Es zeugt dieses Befreien der Dome von den Einbauten von einem Gefühl für architektonische Monumentalität, die unserer Zeit ja leider abgeht. Wir sind von Haus aus alle mehr auf das Malerische gestimmt. Ich glaube aber, dass die Fähigkeit des Architekten monumental zu bauen um für monumentale Bagedanken empfänglich zu sein, die höchste Fähigkeit ist, die der Architekt in sich ausbilden muss.”

37. Dr Cornelius Gurlitt, in discussion, Trier 1909 *Denkmalpflege*, *op.cit.*, 115.: “Es ist meine Überzeugung, dass künftige Jahrhunderte sagen werden, unter allen Zerstörern der überlieferten Kunst ist keiner schlimmer und fürchterlicher gewesen als das stilvoll schaffende neunzehnte Jahrhundert. Am allerschlimmsten aber ist es dort gewesen, wo diese historischen Kenntnisse so weit gediehen waren, dass nun tatsächlich das Alte vollständig richtig bei der Restaurierung nachgebildet wurde. ... Das ist aber die richtige Form des Restaurierens nicht! Da sind unersetzliche, nicht nur für den Kunsthistoriker, sondern für die ganze Nation hochbedeutende Werte verloren gegangen. Vor allen Dingen haben wir in diese Bauten eine Unsicherheit getragen, inwiefern sie tatsächlich ehrwürdige Denkmäler sind und inwiefern sie Arbeiten des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts sind! ... Wenn ... mein Freund Gräbner den Versuch macht, als einer der ersten und einer der wenigen, die es überhaupt bisher gewagt haben, an solche historischen Bauten heranzutragen, um nun mit seiner Individualität, so gut wie er es kann und nicht kann, unsere eigene Zeit zum Ausdruck zu bringen, da sollen wir solchen Dingen nicht mit Hohn entgegenzutreten.”

38. See above, n.37.

39. Dehio, G., ‘Was wird aus dem Heidelberger Schloss werden’, *op.cit.*, 108ff.: “Die Freunde des Schäferschen Projekts empfehlen es aus zwei Gründen: 1. es sei das technische beste Mittel zur Erhaltung des bestehenden; 2. es sei an und für sich von grossartiger ‘Originalität und Schönheit’.” (*ibid.*, 111)

40. Dehio, G., *Handbuch der deutschen Kunstdenkmäler*, op.cit.
41. Huse, op.cit., 124ff.
42. Dehio, 'Was wird aus dem Heidelberger Schloss werden', op.cit., 110.: "Nach langen Erfahrungen und schweren Missgriffen ist die Denkmalspflege nun zu dem Grundsatz gelangt, den sie nie mehr verlassen kann: erhalten und nur erhalten! ergänzen erst dann, wenn die Erhaltung materiell unmöglich geworden ist; Untergegangenes wiederherstellen nur unter ganz bestimmten, beschränkten Bedingungen."
43. Dehio, *ibid.*, 115.: "Dass Altes auch alt erscheinen soll mit allen Spuren des Erlebten, und wären es Runzeln, Risse und Wunden, ist ein psychologisch tief begründetes Verlangen."
44. Dehio, *ibid.*, 115.: "Verlust und Gewinn im Falle fortgesetzter Verschäferung des Schlosses lassen sich deutlich übersehen. Verlieren würden wir das Echte und gewinnen die Imitation; verlieren das historisch Gewordene und gewinnen das zeitlos Willkürliche; verlieren die Ruine, die altersgrau und doch so lebendig zu und sprechende, und gewinnen ein Ding, das weder alt noch neu ist, eine tote akademische Abstraktion. Zwischen diesen beiden wird man sich zu entscheiden haben."
45. Dehio, *ibid.*, 110.: "Was ist denn ein Architekt? und in welchem Verhältnis steht er qua Architekt zu den Denkmälern der Vergangenheit?"
46. Dehio, G., 'Vorbildung zu Denkmalpflege', *Denkmalpflege*, op.cit., 17.: "Der Übergang vom praktisch-architektonischen Schaffen zur Denkmalpflege bedeutet nichts geringeres, als dass der ganze innere Mensch neu orientiert werden muss. Denn das bleibt bestimmend für die ganze Frage und muss an jedem Punkte, laut oder stillschweigend, wiederholt werden: Architektur ist Kunst, und Denkmalpflege gehört nach allen Voraussetzungen und Zielen zur Wissenschaft. Man kann wohl beide Tätigkeiten vorübergehend einmal nebeneinander betreiben, dauernd nicht. Man wäre denn eine Proteusnatur, wie sie nur das Märchen, aber nicht die Wirklichkeit kennt. Ein Konservator mit zurückgedrängten Schaffenslust ist für die Denkmäler immer eine Gefahr, selbst der Gewissenhafteste kann sich vor seinem Temperament nicht schützen."
47. *ibid.*
48. *ibid.*
49. *Mittheilungen der Kaiserl. Königl. Central-Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale*, Herausgegeben unter der Leitung des k.k. Sections-Chefs und Präses der k.k. Central-Commission Karl Friedrich von Czoernig, Redacteur Karl Weiss, I Band Jahrgang 1856, Wien 1856.
50. Dvorak, M., 'Alois Riegl', *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kunstgeschichte*, München 1929, 279ff. Holly, M.A., Panofsky and the Foundations of Art History, Ithaca-London 1984, 69ff. Pächt, O., 'Alois Riegl', *Methodisches zur kunsthistorischen Praxis*, München 1980, 141ff. Riegl, A., *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, Augsburg/Wien 1929. (Bibliography)
51. Riegl, A., *Altorientalische Teppiche*, Leipzig 1891.
52. Riegl, A., *Spätromische Kunstindustrie*, Vienna 1927, 9.: "Im Gegensatz zu dieser mechanistischen Auffassung vom Wesen des Kunstwerkes habe ich - soviel ich sehe, als Erster - in den Stilfragen eine teleologische vertreten, indem ich im Kunstwerke das Resultat eines bestimmten und zweckbewussten Kunstwillens erblicke, das sich im Kampfe mit Gebrauchszweck, Rohstoff und Technik durchsetzt." (Transl. Holly, Panofsky, op.cit., 73.) Riegl, A., *Stilfragen*, Berlin 1893.
53. Holly, *ibid.*, 74.: "The Kunstwillen itself - that which Gombrich translates as a 'will-to-form', Pächt as 'that which wills art', and Brendel as 'stylistic intent' - has both a collective and an individual side. On the one hand, the Kunstwillen is the immovable mover, a kind of inescapable historical compulsion, forcing styles of art to change one into the other [in Gombrich's memorable words, 'a ghost in the machine, driving the wheels of artistic developments according to 'inexorable laws' (Gombrich, *Art and Illusion: A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation*, Princeton 1961, 19.). Yet, on the other hand, it seems to denote the individual artist's need to solve particular artistic problems: a burst of creative energy emanating from one artist who singlehandedly alters the course of stylistic development. Riegl's emphasis on psychology and individuality differentiates his concerns from Wölfflin's in this respect. Riegl's definition 'demands a degree of freedom for the arts to express a deliberate choice. It loses all meaning when no choice is left to the artist to exercise a 'formative will'. (Brendel, O., *Prolegomena to the Study of Roman Art*, (1953) Newhaven 1979, 37.)" Dr. Gertrude Tripp has preferred the expression by Henri Bergson: 'lan vital' to describe the Kunstwillen. (Unpublished lecture note, 1984, ICCROM) This might be translated: the 'life spirit' or the 'life vigour'.
54. Riegl, A., *Die spätromische Kunstindustrie nach den Funden in Österreich-Ungarn*, Wien 1901.
55. Riegl, A., *Der moderne Denkmalkultus, sein Wesen, seine Entstehung*, Wien 1903.
56. Riegl, *Der moderne Denkmalkultus*, op.cit., 2.: "Nach der gemein üblichen Definition ist Kunstwerk jedes tast- und sichtbare oder hörbare Menschenwerk, das einen künstlerischen Wert aufweist, historisches Denkmal jedes ebensolche Werk, das historischen Wert besitzt."
57. Riegl, *ibid.*, 2.: "Historisch nennen wir alles, was einmal gewesen ist und heute nicht mehr ist; nach modernsten Begriffen verbinden wir damit noch die weitere Anschauung, dass das einmal Gewesene nie wieder sein kann und jedes einmal Gewesene das unersetzliche und unverrückbare Glied einer Entwicklungskette bildet."

58. Riegl, *ibid.*, 6f.: “Da die einstigen Hersteller mit diesen Werken, die uns heute als historische Denkmale erscheinen, hauptsächlich bloss gewissen praktischen oder idealen Bedürfnissen ihrer selbst, ihrer Zeitgenossen und höchstens deren nächster Erben genügen wollten und in der Regel wohl gar nicht daran gedacht haben, damit den Nachlebenden in späteren Jahrhunderten Zeugnisse ihres (der Hersteller) künstlerischen und kulturellen Lebens und Schaffens zu hinterlassen, kann die Bezeichnung ‘Denkmale’, die wir diesen Werken trotzdem zu geben pflegen, nicht in objektivem, sondern bloss in subjektivem Sinne gemeint sein, nicht den Werken selbst kraft ihrer ursprünglichen Bestimmung kommt Sinn und Bedeutung von Denkmalen zu, sondern wir moderne Subjekte sind es, die ihnen dieselben unterlegen. In beiden Fällen - den gewollten wie den ungewollten Denkmalen - handelt es sich um einen Erinnerungswert, und deshalb sprechen wir ja auch da wie dort von ‘Denkmalen’; in beiden Fällen interessiert uns ferner das Werk in seiner ursprünglichen unverstümmelten Gestalt, in der es aus der Hand seiner Urheber hervorgegangen ist, und in der wir es zu schauen oder doch in Gedanken, in Wort oder Bild wiederherzustellen trachten; aber im ersteren Falle wird uns der Erinnerungswert von anderen (den einstigen Urhebern) oktroyiert, im letzteren wird er durch uns selbst bestimmt.”

59. Riegl, *ibid.*, 29.: “Der historische Wert eines Denkmals ruht darin, dass es uns eine ganz bestimmte, gleichsam individuelle Stufe der Entwicklung irgend eines Scharfensgebietes der Menschheit repräsentiert.”

60. Riegl, *ibid.*, 22.: “Der Alterswert eines Denkmals verrät sich auf den ersten Blick durch dessen unmodernes Aussehen. Und zwar beruht dieses unmoderne Aussehen nicht so sehr auf der unmodernen Stilform, denn diese liesse sich ja auch imitieren, und ihre richtige Erkenntnis und Beurteilung wäre fast ausschliesslich dem verhältnismässig engen Kreise gelernter Kunsthistoriker vorbehalten, während der Alterswert den Anspruch erhebt, auf die grossen Massen zu wirken. Der Gegensatz zur Gegenwart, auf dem der Alterswert beruht, verrät sich vielmehr in einer Unvollkommenheit, einem Mangel an Geschlossenheit, einer Tendenz auf Auflösung der Form und Farbe, welche Eigenschaften denjenigen moderner, das heisst neuentstandener Gebilde schlankweg entgegengesetzt sind.”

61. Riegl, *ibid.*, 14ff.

62. Riegl, *ibid.*, 16.: “Der historische Wert der unlösbar am Einzelnen klebte, musste sich allmählich zu einem Entwicklungswert umgestalten, dem das Einzelne als Objekt gleichgültig wurde. Dieser Entwicklungswert ist eben der Alterswert, den wir vorhin kennen gelernt haben: er ist sonach das folgerichtige Produkt des ihm in der Ausbildung vier Jahrhunderte vorangegangenen historischen Wertes.”

63. Riegl, *ibid.*, 22f.: “Alle bildende Tätigkeit der Menschen ist nichts anderes, als das Zusammenfassen

einer Anzahl in der Natur verstreuter oder Formlos in der Allgemeinheit der Natur aufgehender Elemente zu einem geschlossenen, durch Form und Farbe begrenzten Ganzen.”

64. Riegl, *ibid.*, 27.: “Vom Standpunkte des Alterswertes muss eben nicht für ewige Erhaltung der Denkmale einstigen Werdens durch menschlichen Tätigkeit gesorgt sein, sondern für ewige Schaustellung des Kreislaufes vom Werden und Vergehen, und eine solche bleibt auch dann garantiert, wenn an Stelle der heute existierenden Denkmale künftighin andere getreten sein werden.”

65. Riegl, *ibid.*, 30.: “Dem historischen Wert handelt es sich nicht darum, die Spuren des Alters, die in der seit der Entstehung verflossenen Zeit durch Natureinflüsse bewirkten Veränderungen zu konservieren, die ihm mindestens gleichgültig, wo nicht unbequem sind; es handelt sich ihm vielmehr nur darum, eine möglichst unverfälschte Urkunde für eine künftige Ergänzungstätigkeit der kunstgeschichtlichen Forschung aufzubewahren.”

66. Riegl, *ibid.*, 35.

67. Riegl, *ibid.*, 39.: “Das Grundpostulat der gewollten Denkmale bildet somit die Restaurierung.”

68. Riegl, *ibid.*, 38.

69. Riegl, *ibid.*, 43f.: “Wir sind also noch nicht so weit, den reinen Massstab des Alterswertes in vollkommen gleicher Weise an alle Denkmale ohne Wahl anzulegen, sondern wir unterscheiden noch immer, ähnlich wie zwischen älteren und jüngeren, auch mehr oder minder genau zwischen gebrauchsfähigen und gebrauchsunfähigen Werken, und berücksichtigen somit wie im ersteren Falle den historischen, so im letzteren den Gebrauchswert mit und neben dem Alterswert.”

70. Riegl, *ibid.*, 45.: “Die Behandlung eines Denkmals im Falle eines Konfliktes zwischen Gebrauchswert und historischem Wert braucht hier nicht im Besonderen untersucht zu werden, weil in solchem Falle ohnehin ein Konflikt mit dem Alterswerte bereits an und für sich gegeben ist; nur wird sich der historische Wert vermöge seiner geringern Sprödigkeit den Anforderungen des Gebrauchswertes leichter anzuschmiegen vermögen.”

71. Riegl, *ibid.*, 47.: “...die ganze Denkmalpflege des XIX.Jh. basierte zu einem wesentlichen Teile auf dieser traditionellen Anschauung, genauer gesagt, auf einer innigen Verschmelzung des Neuheitswertes mit dem historischen Werte: jede auffallende Spur der Auflösung durch die Naturkräfte sollte beseitigt, das Lückenhafte, Fragmentarische ergänzt, ein geschlossenes einheitliches Ganzes wieder hergestellt werden. Die Wiedereinsetzung der Urkunde in den ursprünglichen Werdezustand war im XIX.Jh. das offen eingestandene und mit Eifer propagierte Ziel aller rationellen Denkmalpflege.”

72. Riegl, *ibid.*, 51f.: “Da der historische Wert in der klaren Erkenntnis des ursprünglichen Zustandes beruht,

so lag zur Zeit, als der Kultus des historischen Wertes um seiner selbst willen noch der massgebendste gewesen war, das Bestreben nahe, alle späteren Veränderungen zu beseitigen (Reinigung, Freilegung) und die durch die letzteren verdrängt gewesenen ursprünglichen Formen wiederherzustellen, ob sie nun genau überliefert waren oder nicht; denn selbst ein dem Ursprünglichen nur Ähnliches, wenn es auch moderne Erfindung war, schien dem Kultus des historischen Wertes doch noch befriedigender als die zwar echte, aber stillfremde frühere Zutat. Mit diesem Bestreben des historischen verband sich der Kultus des Neuheitswertes insofern, als das Ursprüngliche, das man wiederherstellen wollte, als solches auch ein geschlossenes Aussehen zeigen sollte, und das man jede nicht dem ursprünglichen Stile angehörige Zutat als eine Durchbrechung der Geschlossenheit, ein Symptom der Auflösung empfand. Es ergab sich daraus das Postulat der Stileinheit, das schliesslich dazu geführt hat, selbst solche Teile, die ursprünglich gar nicht vorhanden gewesen und erst in einer späteren Stilperiode ganz neu hinzugefügt worden waren, nicht allein zu beseitigen, sondern auch in einer dem Stile des ursprünglichen Denkmals angepassten Form zu erneuern.”

73. Riegl, *ibid.*, 52.: “Man kann füglich sagen, dass auf den Postulaten der Stilursprünglichkeit (historischer Wert) und Stileinheit (Neuheitswert) die Denkmalbehandlung des XIX.Jh. ganz wesentlich beruht hat.”

74. Huse, *Denkmalpflege*, *op.cit.*, 128.: “Die letzte Konsequenz dieser Theorie wäre die Selbstaufhebung der Denkmalpflege.”

75. Dehio, G., ‘Denkmalschutz und Denkmalpflege im neunzehnten Jahrhundert’, *Festrede an der Kaiser-Wilhelms-Universität zu Strassburg*, 27 January 1905, (*Kunsthistorische Aufsätze*, München, 1924, 263ff.)

76. Dehio, ‘Denkmalschutz’, *op.cit.*, 280.: “Gott bewahre die Denkmäler vor genialen Restauratoren!”

77. Dehio, *ibid.*, 268.: “Wir konservieren ein Denkmal nicht, weil wir es für schön halten, sondern weil es ein Stück unseres nationalen Daseins ist. Denkmäler schützen heisst nicht Genuss suchen, sondern Pietät üben. Ästhetische und selbst kunsthistorische Urteile schwanken, hier ist ein unveränderliches Wertkennzeichen gefunden.”

78. Riegl, A., ‘Neue Strömungen in der Denkmalpflege’, *Mittheilungen der K.K.Zentralkommission für Erforschung und Erhaltung der Kunst- und historischen Denkmale*, III, iv, 1905, 85ff.: “Diese Fassung dünkt uns, um es gleich zu sagen, eine zu enge; Dehio steht damit offenbar doch noch unter der Nachwirkung des Bannes der Anschauung des XIX.Jh., welche die Bedeutung des Denkmals wesentlich im ‘historischen’ Momente gesucht hatte.” (Huse, *op.cit.*, 147.)

79. Riegl, ‘Neue Strömungen’, *op.cit.*

80. Riegl, *ibid.*: “Die Denkmale entzücken uns hienach als Zeugnisse dafür, dass der grosse Zusammenhang, von dem

wir selbst einen Teil bilden, schon lange vor uns gelebt und geschaffen hat.”

81. Riegl, *ibid.*: “Aber selbst wenn man die im vorstehenden gegebene Analyse und Erläuterung des Gefühls, das man angesichts eines Denkmals empfindet, nicht zutreffend finden sollte: das eine wird man sich endlich klar und deutlich eingestehen müssen, dass es ein unwiderstehlich zwingendes Gefühl ist, das uns zum Denkmalkultus treibt, und nicht ästhetische und historische Liebhabereien. ... Nur auf dem Vorhandensein und der allgemeinen Verbreitung eines Gefühls, das, verwandt dem religiösen Gefühle, von jeder ästhetischen oder historischen Spezialbildung unabhängig, Vernunftwägungen unzugänglich, seine Nichtbefriedigung einfach als unerträglich empfinden lässt, wird man mit Aussicht auf Erfolg ein Denkmalschutzgesetz begründen können.”

82. Riegl, A., ‘Zur Frage der Restaurierung von Wandmalereien’, *Mitteilungen der k.k. Zentralkommission*, III, ii, 120.

83. Riegl, *Der moderne Denkmalkultus*, *op.cit.*, 51.

84. Riegl, *ibid.*, 53.

85. Riegl, A., *Report on Split*, 6 November 1902; (ref. Tripp, G., *unp. lecture notes*, 1984, ICCROM)

86. Dvorak, M., *Österreichische Kunsttopographie*, 1907.

87. Clemen, P., *Die deutsche Kunst und die Denkmalpflege*, *Ein Bekenntnis*, Berlin 1933.

88. Dvorak, M., *Katechismus der Denkmalpflege*, Wien 1915, 28.: “So muss sich aber der Denkmalschutz nicht nur auf alle Stile der Vergangenheit erstrecken, sondern überell auch die lokale und historische Eigenart der Denkmäler erhalten, die nach irgendwelche Regeln zu korrigieren wir nicht befugt sind, weil wir durch solche Korrekturen in der Regel gerade das zerstören, was auch den bescheidenen Denkmälern einen unersetzlichen Wert verleiht.”

89. Loos, A., ‘Richtlinien für ein Kunstamt’, *Der Friede*, III, 1919, 234ff.

Chapter Twenty

International Concern in Cultural Heritage

20.1 Protection of Historic Buildings in Other Countries

Various countries in Europe as well as outside, established an administrative structure and legal protection for historic buildings and ancient monuments during the latter part of the nineteenth century and in the early decades of the twentieth. In Portugal the earliest law for the preservation of antiquities dated already from 1721; this was revised in 1802 and the responsibility for the care was given to the National Library.

In Spain, 'Monument Commissions' were established both at the State level and in the provinces by a Royal decree in 1844, followed by a code of regulations in 1865. The influence of France was strong, and various important buildings were restored and reconstructed with the aim of obtaining a unity of style, such as the cathedrals of Leon, Burgos and Segovia. Since the 1920s, however, after long debates between art-historians, archaeologists and architects, a more conservative approach was adopted; this new attitude was represented by L. Torres-Balbas, the conservator of the Alhambra. (1)

In Switzerland, as in the German Lande, the different Cantons were responsible for their protective legislation; but orders were also given at the Federal level in 1886 and 1887. (2) In order to have a picture of the way the impact of the theories and attitudes discussed above was felt, some examples of their influence are briefly described below.

Belgium and the Netherlands

In Belgium the earliest orders for the protection of churches go back to the time of union with Holland; in 1823 a decree to this effect was issued in East-Flanders, and other regions followed. In 1835 the 'Commission Royale des Monuments' was founded, which in 1912 was enlarged to include sites. Amongst the first stylistic restorations were the

town halls of Louvain (1829-40) and Bruges (1854-71). The principal promoter of the Gothic Revival in Belgium was Baron de Bethume (1821-94), who had studied glasspainting with English artists, and was a good friend of Pugin. He was responsible for the restoration of the H. Bloedkapel in Bruges (from 1860). (3) The direct influence of Viollet-le-Duc was felt, especially in the 1860s and 1870s when he was consulted about several restoration works in the country, including the town hall of Ghent in 1871. In 1866 he was nominated an associate member of the Academy of Antwerp. (4)

The theory of stylistic unity was still strongly favoured towards the end of the century; in 1893, Louis Cloquet (1849-1920), an engineer from Ghent who promoted the Gothic as a rational structural system, made a division of monuments into 'dead monuments', such as pyramids, temples, and ruins, having mainly documentary value, and into 'living monuments', such as churches, palaces, manor houses, buildings that had a contemporary use. (5) He could accept 'the English formula' of 'conservation rather than restoration' so far as 'dead' monuments were concerned, although even then he saw it restrictive, but he considered it totally unacceptable for 'living' monuments. It was obvious to him that eighteenth-century furnishings should be removed from mediaeval buildings, and that these should be restored to their original form.

In the Netherlands, the ideas of the Gothic Revival found an echo around the middle of the nineteenth century. Amongst its principal promoters were J.A. Alberdingk Thijm, an editor of *Dietsche Warande* and of *Spectator*. He was a follower of Montalembert and Pugin, and wrote about the Christian aspects, as well as of the treatment, of mediaeval art. (6)

The Dutch received influences also from Germanic countries; the architect Alfred Tepe from Utrecht and the 'Sint Bernulphus gilde', a society for Catholic

art chaired by G.W. Van Heukelom, represented this impact. On the other hand, Dr Petrus Josephus Hubertus Cuypers (1827-1921) from Roermond, a Gothic Revival architect and restorer, who worked in Amsterdam, was one of the principal followers of Viollet-le-Duc; he was known as ‘the Dutch Viollet-le-Duc’, and was responsible for numerous restorations in this spirit. Cuypers, who had known Viollet-le-Duc since 1854, consulted him in the 1860s about the much discussed restoration of the exterior of the Munsterkerk of Roermond. Advice was also taken from James Weale from Bruges and Franz Bock from Aachen, and as a result the church was ‘purified’ to its Romanesque form. (7) Cuypers rebuilt the ruined mediaeval water castle Kasteel de Haar in the fashion of Pierrefonds, and restored in style churches such as those of St. Odilienberg and Susteren. (8)

In 1873, Victor E.L. de Stuers, (b.1843), a lawyer from The Hague and Member of Parliament, published his *cri-de-coeur*, *Holland op zijn smalst*, (‘Holland at its narrowest’) complaining, as had Victor Hugo in France half a century earlier, that historic buildings were not being taken care of, but treated with ignorance and recklessness. (9) Following the outcry by de Stuers, action was taken by the Government,

and on 8 March 1874 an Advisory Council of Historic and Artistic Monuments was established (10), with responsibility for providing measures for the inventory and protection of objects and monuments that were important for the nation’s history. The Council was chaired by D. Fock and C. Leemans, and the members included Cuypers and de Stuers.

A representative of the younger generation, Dr Jan Kalf (1873-1954), introduced a new, more conservative approach to the treatment of historic buildings. In a report published in 1911, which attacked Cuypers and de Stuers, he considered any stylistic restoration a fake, and emphasized the documentary value of the original material. In 1917 he wrote an introduction to the new conservation law, referring to the various approaches in the history of restoration, both to stylistic restorations and to the attacks against restoration by John Ruskin. His own approach was in favour of a continuous use of historic buildings, and he maintained that any additions should be made in the style of the time in order to avoid falsification. (11)

In 1938, Canon Raymond Lemaire, Professor at the University of Louvain, in Belgium, published *La Restauration des Monuments anciens*, in which he divided the approaches to the treatment of historic buildings into two groups, ‘the maximalists’ and ‘the minimalists’. The first group included persons such as Montalembert, Pugin, Tornow or Merimee, who aimed at a unity of style. The second group included Ruskin and those whose aim was the conservation of the original archaeological and documentary values of the monuments.

For his part, Lemaire maintained that historic buildings could have four types of values: use-value, artistic value, historical-archaeological value, and picturesque value, and that the aim of restoration should be to maintain or augment each of these values as far as possible. In a case when there was a risk that one of these values might be diminished, the results should be judged from the point of view of benefit to the whole. Lemaire accepted the division of historic buildings into ‘living’ and ‘dead’, and considered that some values, such as the picturesque, were of less importance when dealing with ‘living’ historic buildings. (12)

Northern Europe

The account by Friedrich von Schlegel of his trip along the Rhine, including descriptions of important Gothic structures, which had been first published in



Figures 322 and 323. The water castle, Kasteel de Haar, in the Netherlands, before and after restoration by Cuypers



German in 1806, was translated and printed in Swedish in 1817. (13) Although the translator expressed some reservations about the validity of Mediaeval buildings in general, he hoped that the publication would stimulate further studies, especially as the need to repair old churches had recently caused an increasing number of such works in his own country. In Sweden the office of the National Antiquary in association with the Swedish Academy had existed since the seventeenth century, but its activities had been related mainly to academic studies. After an attempt to revive the protection of Antiquities in 1814, a new National Antiquary was appointed in 1828. He was J.G.Liljengren (1826-37), who brought into the country the winds of German Romanticism; the 1666 Ordinance on Ancient Monuments was revived and replaced by a new Ordinance in 1828. Later the existing decrees and ordinances were summed up in a decree in 1867, reissued in 1873 and 1886, leading to the establishment of the Central Office of National Antiquities, which became responsible for the care of cultural monuments. (14)

The influences of the Gothic Revival began to be felt in the 1830s. When the spire of Riddarholm church in Stockholm was damaged by fire in 1835, it was rebuilt in Gothic form by P.F.Robinson (1776-1858), an English architect and designer of picturesque cottages. (15) The first serious representative of the Mediaeval Revival in Sweden was, however, Carl Georg Brunius (1793-1869), Professor of Greek at Lund University and a self-taught architect, who was responsible for the restoration of the twelfth-century Romanesque Cathedral of Lund. (16) Brunius had already participated actively in Nordic archaeological studies carried out by the Universities of Lund and Copenhagen; he had also had some experience in the structural repairs of the masonry of water canals. When holding the position of the Rector of Lund University in 1830-31, he was involved in the repairs and restoration of the Cathedral, becoming a member of the Cathedral Council and being appointed in charge of the works, which he directed until his retirement in 1859. In 1836, he had published a monograph on the building's history and architecture (17), followed by other publications on historic architecture in Scandinavia, all of which made him an authority in this field. He also promoted the protection of mediaeval structures against all too frequent destruction. On his request the university library acquired recently published technical literature on mediaeval architecture, especially from Germany by authors such as Georg Moller, Christian Ludwig Stieglitz and Carl Heideloff. (18)

The first phase of the repairs to the Cathedral, which lasted from 1833 till 1836, started with the need to place a new organ in the church and to rationalize the use of the interior. The old screen, that separated the choir from the nave, considered a later addition, was removed in order to provide more space for the congregation and to open up an uninterrupted perspective through the whole building; at the same time repairs were made of damaged and decayed parts, using traditional techniques. The second phase was started in 1837. During this time the building was restored with the intention of harmonizing the whole with its original Romanesque appearance, causing for example changes in windows and doors. (19) Due to his experience at Lund, Brunius became a widely consulted expert in the repair and enlargement of mediaeval architecture. He was invited to deal with some fifty buildings, churches, mansions and manorhouses. His restorations included also the Cathedrals of Vaxsjo and Linkoping. (20) He usually concentrated on structural consolidation, and insisted on preserving the original ornaments, but he also regularized windows and doors, and pulled down smaller later additions which he thought spoiled the unity of the original architecture. If an enlargement were required, in order to preserve the original structure, a transept could be added, the nave extended westwards, or a new choir built.

After Brunius resigned from the restoration of Lund Cathedral, the responsibility was given to Helgo Nikolaus Zettervall (1831-1907). He was a young architect who had travelled widely in Germany, France, and northern Italy, and was well aware of continental theories of restoration, especially as promoted by Viollet-le-Duc. Zettervall had studied at the Swedish Academy in Stockholm, and entered the office of the Superintendent of Antiquities in 1860, becoming later its director. In 1862-64, he prepared the plans for the restoration of Lund Cathedral in consultation with Danish colleagues, (21) and with the support of F.W. Scholander (1816-81), the former director of the Swedish Academy. According to the plans, the building was to be practically rebuilt in order to give it stylistic unity.

These plans met with strong opposition, led by Brunius, but they were approved at the end, and the restoration was completed in 1880. When Brunius heard of the decision to rebuild the western towers, he suffered a stroke and died two weeks later. (22) The whole of the exterior was changed with the exception only of the apse; the buttresses were demolished, the roofs rebuilt in a new form, and windows and

doors redesigned; the nave vaults were rebuilt, and the interior was painted according to models found in German cathedrals such as Worms and Speyer. (23) Zettervall became one of the leading restoration architects of the northern countries, restoring a number of important buildings in Sweden, including the Town Hall of Malmö (1865-69), and the cathedrals of Kalmar (1879), Uppsala (1885-93), and Skara (1886-94). (24)

In Denmark, after its decline as a world power, patriotic feelings emerged in the nineteenth century. Research into mediaeval architecture was promoted, especially by Niels Lauritz Høyen (1798-1870), who translated Victor Hugo's *Guerre aux démolisseurs* into Danish, and became the leading art-historian in his country. Danish architects and artists were also active abroad contributing to the restoration of ancient monuments in Greece.

From the early 1830s, Høyen studied national antiquities, and made plans for Viborg Cathedral with the aim of removing the constructions made after

Figure 234. Trondheim Cathedral (Norway)



the fire of 1726, and restoring it back to its original mediaeval appearance, which he identified with the German Romanesque tradition. (25) His ideas had to wait, however, until 1859, when, after a disastrous fire, the decision was made to rebuild Fredericksborg Castle in its original form as a national monument. (26) Having inspected the Cathedral of Viborg in the early 1860s, Høyen managed to convince the authorities of the building's poor structural condition and have it closed; the repairs then started. A 'thorough restoration' was planned and initiated by Høyen together with the architect N.S. Nebelong in 1863, and it was completed in 1876 by Nebelong's pupil H.B. Storck (1839-1922), who has been called 'Denmark's Zettervall'; the result was practically a reconstruction of the building in a Romanesque form. (27)

Storck's restoration fame started with his work on Helligandskirken in Copenhagen (1878-80), which was rebuilt on the basis of a seventeenth-century document. (28) This was followed by a long series of restorations of Danish churches which, however, also provided the basis for a better understanding both of the buildings and of their treatment. (29) To Storck, 'restoration' meant "keeping the style and character of the monument ... hand in hand with restoration often go reconstructions of lost parts". (30) He had little concern about keeping the additions or changes made to a building after its first construction. An example is his work on the little round church of Bjernede, in which he changed a rather attractive saddle-back formed roof into a conical, thus changing drastically the appearance of the building. (31)

It is interesting to note that, following Høyen's proposal, the idea of bringing old churches back to their 'original style' whenever possible, was even expressed in the Danish law for church protection (*Lov om kirkesyn*) of 19 February 1861 (32). As a result of long debates in the early twentieth century, the order was finally removed in 1922, and the treatment of historic buildings was based on careful building-archaeological studies, represented by the work of Mogens Clemmensen (33).

The 1861 law included orders for annual inspections, as well as for the establishment of a special board of experts, an historian and two architects, which could be called upon when church restoration required special professional consultancy. At the beginning, ten of the most important churches were under their control, including the Cathedrals of Viborg, Aarhus, Ribe and Roskilde. (34) The restoration of Roskilde Cathedral, the 'Westminster' of Danish kings, which

was approved in 1859, was carried out with a certain respect for later constructions, and especially Baroque monuments. The aim was to take into consideration both the historical-scientific, as well as artistic aspects. This restoration included the display of ancient wall-paintings, but there was also extensive renewal of earlier decoration. (35)

The separation of Norway from Denmark, and its union with Sweden in 1814, brought out strong patriotic feelings, which were reflected in the approach towards the country's past, and its historic buildings. In the same year, the unfinished Cathedral of Trondheim, which was of mediaeval origin, was named Norway's coronation church. Following the example of Cologne Cathedral, plans were made for its completion by Heinrich Ernst Schirmer (1814-87), a German-born architect, who had also worked in England and in Normandy. In 1869, the restoration started with repairs to the Chapter-house, which were completed by Captain Otto Krefling in 1872. The work was then taken over by architect Eilert Christian Brodtkorb Christie (1832-1906) until his death, and has since been continued by others, resulting in a construction of which the older structures form only a relatively small part. (36)

During the same time, due to a need to provide more space for congregations, many of the mediaeval stave churches were pulled down, and replaced with new constructions. In some cases the old church could be transformed to meet the functional and aesthetic requirements of the parish, as in the case of Kaupanger church, which was provided with a great number of new windows and covered with new wooden boarding, in 1862. There had been, however, an early attempt to protect historic buildings by J.C. Dahl, a Norwegian artist and Professor at the University of Dresden, who founded the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings in Norway in 1841, and in the 1870s an open-air museum was established in Oslo. (37)

Finland, which had been part of Sweden until 1809, had become a Grand Duchy of Russia, and around the middle of the nineteenth century there developed a strong patriotic movement, which aimed at making Finnish culture equal amongst other cultures, with the use of Finnish as a national language and the creation of Finnish literature. (38) In 1870 a Society of Antiquities was founded with the aim of promoting the study of churches, mediaeval paintings, and other works of art and history. As a part of Sweden, Finland had been affected by the law of 1666. In 1872 a bill was presented to the Parliament for a new law for the



Figure 325. Turku Cathedral (Finland)

protection of ancient monuments, and in 1877 the establishment of a Board of Antiquities was proposed. The law was approved in 1883, and the Board appointed the following year. (39) This law could be used to protect ancient remains of forts, churches or other public buildings, as well as inscriptions, wall paintings or decorations, which were part of buildings in use; it was required that the original technology and material that had documentary value should be preserved. (40) Like the other northern countries, Finland heard echoes of 'stylistic restoration', although these were much quieter than elsewhere; no 'Zettervalls' were born here, although many churches and the main castles were restored during this period. (41) The main Cathedral of Finland, that of Turku, which had been founded in the Middle Ages but had later undergone many transformations, was subject to various proposals for its restoration. Models for this were looked for from Nordic restorations, such as Lund, Uppsala, Roskilde and Trondheim, as well as from Germany and France. In 1870, for example, a publication illustrating Viollet-le-Duc's restoration of the Notre-Dame of Paris was brought to Finland

especially to serve as a model for similar work planned in Turku Cathedral. (42)

Towards the end of the century, however, the debate about restoration principles brought out voices against too drastic restorations and reconstructions, and more attention was paid towards conservative treatment. Restorations, such as those of the Cathedrals of Lund, Uppsala and Trondheim, were condemned. One of the early anti-restorationists in Sweden was Verner von Heidenstam, who published a small book on Modern vandalism in 1894, and declared: “Quod non fecerunt barbari fecerunt - arkitekterna” (what was not done by barbarians was done by architects) (43). He soon had followers; in Finland, protagonists of the developing national architecture such as Lars Sonck (1870-1956), emphasized the importance of respecting historic stratification (44); another Finnish architect, Bertel Jung, referred to the conservation policy of Heidenstam and Ruskin, pointing out that there had been leading authorities, such as C. Gurlitt and O. Wagner, who had strongly opposed the rebuilding of the Campanile of St. Mark’s in Venice after its collapse in 1902. (45)

Armas Lindgren (1874-1929), the colleague of Eliel Saarinen, referred to discussions related to conservation of historic buildings, at an international meeting of architects in Brussels in 1897. At this meeting it had been agreed that there was no general answer to the problem of how to treat ‘errors’ in historic buildings; it had been recommended that enlargement and completion of historic structures could be allowed, if done ‘prudently’; and that the removal or demolition of any parts of the building with the excuse of achieving stylistic unity must not be allowed under any condition. (46)

Gradually this debate had an impact also on the official principles of protection of historic buildings; in the early twentieth century these concepts were influenced especially by German and Austrian conservation theories; an emphasis was given to inventory and documentation, as well as to repair and consolidation of historic structures as they were. (47) In Sweden the principles of the treatment of historic buildings were re-established in new legislation; the administrative structure was renewed as the Central Office of National Antiquities, and the new generation of conservators was represented by Sigurd Curman, who was appointed National Antiquary in 1923, and held this office until 1945. (48)

20.2 The Conservation Movement in France

In France, after Viollet-le-Duc, there were various administrative changes in the Service des Monuments historiques and in the administration of Edifices diocesains, which came under the same Ministry; a national law for the protection of historic buildings was finally passed on 30 March 1887, and this formed an important reference to many other countries, then in the stage of preparing their own legislation. Amongst these were especially the countries of North Africa, which were under French influence, such as Algeria, Tunis and Morocco; these soon adopted similar legal measures. (49)

Concerning the methods and principles of restoration in France, various differences of opinion started appearing - often between architects and archaeologists, and also public opinion became more aware of the need to avoid unnecessary demolition. William Morris’ Manifesto had been translated into French as well as into German, Dutch and Italian in 1879, and contacts had been established with the society L’Ami des monuments, which in 1887 founded a periodical with the same name. (50)

There was an increasing number of critics, particularly archaeologists such as Comte R. de Lasteyrie, Andre Michel and A. Guillon, who condemned hypothetical reconstruction, and disagreed with the policy of Merimee and Viollet-le-Duc, according to which Government funds were to be concentrated on some selected important monuments and their ‘complete restoration’; voices in this spirit were heard also in the Parliament. (51) In 1892, Antonin Proust, when presenting the budget of the Beaux-Arts, could report: “Useless restorations are avoided more and more, and with good reason, in order to concentrate on repairs that are strictly necessary.” (52)

The critics included Anatole France (1844-1924), who strongly attacked Viollet-le-Duc for his restorations at Pierrefonds and Notre-Dame of Paris, and like Victor Hugo, emphasized the importance of preserving the national memory in the authentic stones not only of historic buildings but of historic towns. Anatole France maintained that there were too many new stones in Pierrefonds, and that now it was no more the Castle of Louis d’Orleans. To him, an historic building could be compared with a book, in which the pages of the whole had been written by different hands of different generations; after its restoration the Notre-Dame of Paris had changed into



Figure 326. The historic city of Fez in Morocco was protected by law in 1912

‘an abstract cathedral’ from being a living historic building. (53) Anatole France was also sensitive to an historic towns which he considered the mother of civilization, where all its stones and buildings, its fortunes and misfortunes, together made up the memory of the people. In his book on Pierre Noziere, he let an old town speak for herself:

“Look; I am old, but I am beautiful; ... I am a good mother; I teach the work and the arts of peace. I feed my children in my arms ... They pass; but I remain to guard their memory. I am their memory. That is why they owe me everything, man is man because he has his memory.” (54)

Around the turn of the century, Ruskin’s thinking too was introduced into France. The first presentation of his ideas had been as early as 1864 by J.Milsand (55), but it was not until the publication of *L’esthétique anglaise: étude du M. John Ruskin* by Robert de la Sizeranne in 1899 (56) that there was a more substantial analysis of Ruskin and his writings. Also in 1899, Ruskin’s *Seven Lamps of Architecture* was translated into French, and other works followed. (57)

During this same year Ruskin was discovered by Marcel Proust (1871-1922), who was overwhelmed by the revelation of beauty in nature and in Gothic

architecture, seen as symbols of man confronted with eternity. In 1900, he travelled to Venice with his mother as well as starting to visit churches in France. In the same year also, he started publishing articles about Ruskin (58); in 1904 followed the translation of *The Bible of Amiens* (59), and two years later he published the translation of *Sesame and Lilies* (60). In his preface to *The Bible of Amiens*, having first described Ruskin’s concepts about beauty and religion, he concluded by stating: “Dead, he continues to illuminate us, like those dying stars, from which the light still reaches us ...” (61)

In 1905 the Church was separated from the State, and the *Service des Edifices diocesains* suppressed. The *Service des Monuments historiques* remained the only State administration responsible for the care of historic buildings. In the same year, a new law provided for a ‘complementary’ listing of representative buildings. (62) Until this time the State had refused to take part in the maintenance of historic monuments, insisting on addressing their funds only for ‘restoration’, but it was realized that local authorities were not able to do their part; lack of maintenance became a major threat to these buildings. Thus, the attitude of the Central Government gradually changed, and in 1914 the *Commission des Monuments historiques* could report that “works in a building of the tenth class, that

threatened to collapse, are always given priority over less urgent works in a more important monument.” (63) More than half of the subventions were at the time less than 5.000 francs, over 3/4 not more than 10.000 francs. This new policy was reflected in the new law of 31 December 1913. (64)

Restoration of the Parthenon

In 1904, in the first issue of a new periodical, *Le Musée, Revue d'Art antique*, its editor Georges Toudouze referred to the concepts of ‘restoration’ and ‘restitution’, complaining that the latter was often used as a pretext to make archaeological reconstructions on the basis of just a few pieces of original material. He maintained that:

“the great mistake, when an attempt is made to transform ancient art history into a science, comes precisely from the impossibility of assessing that incalculable element which is the artist’s vision. That is the mysterious X which incorporates his vibrant personality, free will and eloquence, and his capacity to laugh at and ignore rules, methods and constraints. It is impossible to rediscover the soul: the god of sculpture, Michelangelo himself, could not do it. And, for any practitioner to make a restitution of the losses suffered by a statue, would be to betray completely the master who should be glorified.” (65)

In the next issue, in 1905, the Director of the periodical, Arthur Sambon, referred to the spirit of Toudouze’s statement, and recalled the news that had arrived from Athens about the intended restoration of the Parthenon. Together with Toudouze, he drafted a letter presented as the ‘Protest of writers and artists against the restoration of the Parthenon’. (66) In this letter they insisted that this ancient monument, like an antique sculpture, reflected the vision of a bygone genius, and that it should not be replaced by modern hypotheses, however exact these might be.

“The Parthenon does not need anything or anybody; it can and it must stay as it is, what it has been made by the slow wearing by time and the brutal injuries by man. Like all masterpieces of human intellect, whatever their homeland or their age, it is an integral part of the intellectual heritage of mankind, an international property, which we must prevent from destruction, and which must in no way be changed.” (67)

Dozens of letters were received by the editors, and many of these were published either complete or in part. Amongst the writers were poets, writers,

painters, sculptors, such as Auguste Rodin, who not only were concerned about the Parthenon, but referred also to the restoration of castles, cathedrals and other historic structures both in France and in other countries. The words of Victor Hugo were recalled, and Rodin invited all to join forces with Ruskin. (68) Many, he claimed, knew the Parthenon only through the fame of its beauty, but the cathedrals were there for all to admire.

“Chartres is Olympian archaism, Beauvais is the harmonious splendour of the Parthenon, Reims is a setting sun, the symbol of Apollo. Must we give you the names of your Greek brothers in order to defend you?” (69)

He insisted that his century had not been able to protect their patrimony that the Greeks would have admired: “In cathedrals, it is the medicine that kills them.” (70)

The discussion was continued in other periodicals and newspapers as well, and there seems to have been a unanimous agreement defining the limits of intervention in such a way as to allow for the conservation of the ancient stones of the Greek temple as they were, to consolidate the existing structures, and to stop restoration as soon as it was not based on secure facts, but on hypothesis. The Director of the works of restoration, N. Balanos, was interviewed and described as a man of ‘secure science and prudent taste’, who was perfectly aware of his responsibilities.

There were some voices in France which claimed that it was not unreasonable to re-erect the original elements that had fallen to the ground. On the other hand, fears were expressed about the preservation of the authenticity of the monument as a result of a rather extensive restoration, which was to include the rebuilding of the northern colonnade. Although a certain amount of original material, triglyphs and drums of columns could be reused, there still remained much new work to be added. It was recalled that the works on the Acropolis were, at least in theory, under the control of a Commission, of which the directors of foreign schools and institutes were members; but in practice this Commission had not been consulted. (71)

At the First International Congress of archaeology, held in 1905 in Athens, the restoration of the Acropolis was also discussed. A special file, containing the formal French protest and the letters of support, was addressed to the organizers of this meeting.



Figure 327. The Parthenon, Athens, after restoration by Balanos

However, no answer was received to this initiative, and the restoration was carried out according to the plans of Balanos. His first programme had included the restoration of the west front of the temple in 1898-1902; then from 1923 to 1933, he continued the reconstruction, especially of the northern colonnade.

Opposition existed, however, even at the national level; this came out in debates as early as 1905, when the anti-restorationists raised their voices (72), and especially later, in 1922, when the second phase of the planned restoration was about to start. One of the protagonists in this debate, who reported against Balanos' plans, (73) was Anastasios Orlandos. He measured, studied, and restored ancient monuments in Greece for many decades, and became the leading archaeologist and Professor of Greek archaeology. Later he was Balanos' successor on the Acropolis, completing the second 'Anastylosis' of the Temple of Athena Nike in the 1940s.

20.3 International Developments

The concept of 'a universal heritage' which was gradually developing during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was eventually to reach a formal expression in international agreements and conventions. Already in the eighteenth century,

Emmerich de Vattel (1714-67), a Swiss jurist, in *Le Droit des gens* ('The Law of Nations', 1758) touched on the question of works of art being the common heritage of mankind, and the consequences of this concept in warfare. He maintained that

"For whatever cause a country is ravaged, we ought to spare those edifices, which do honour to human society, and do not contribute to increase the enemy's strength, - such as temples, tombs, public buildings, and all works of remarkable beauty". (74)

This question was brought to a test in the case of Napoleon who took to France, on the basis of different treaties, works of art from occupied country, especially Italy and the German States. When he had been defeated, these countries insisted on having their treasures back, because they claimed they had been obtained contrary to all the rules of warfare. A similar question was also raised, although without result, concerning the Greek marbles that Lord Elgin had carried away from Athens, and which had been declared to be of British ownership by an Act of Parliament. (75)

The principles expressed by de Vattel were followed in the United States of America where Dr. Francis Lieber (1800-72), a jurist of German origin,



Figure 238. Notre-Dame of Saint-Lô destroyed in the Second World War

drafted A Code for the Government of Armies, issued in 1863, for the codification of protection in the case of warfare. Eleven years later, following the Franco-Prussian war (1870-71), Emperor Alexander II of Russia called the first international conference in Brussels to discuss this question. A 'Project of an International Declaration Concerning the Laws and Customs of War' was adopted by the Conference on 27 August 1874. (76)

In this document, culture was declared to belong to the common heritage of mankind, artistic treasures once destroyed were considered irreplaceable, and their cultural worth was declared to be of value to all men, not just to the nation in whose country they were situated. It was also proposed to design a visible sign to identify the buildings under protection.

This declaration remained on paper, but in 1899 and in 1907, conferences were organized in The Hague for the preparation of an international convention. The occupying State was here recommended to be regarded only 'as administrator and usufructuary' of the public buildings and estates belonging to the occupied country. Accordingly it should

“safeguard the capital of these properties, and administer them in accordance with the rules of usufruct, the right of temporary possession and use.” (77) It was further recommended that, in the case of sieges and bombardments, “all necessary steps must be taken to spare as far as possible, buildings dedicated to religion, art, science, ... historic monuments”. (78)

The First World War

Unfortunately, this document was not sufficient to prevent cultural disasters during the First World War (1914-18), such as burning the very important University Library of Louvain in Belgium in August 1914, or the bombardement of Rheims Cathedral in France, as well as many other historic buildings and towns in Central Europe. Due to a general outcry, these disasters were recognized at an official level, and in 1914 the German army attached special 'art officers' to military units to identify and protect cultural property. One of them was P.Clemen, Conservator of Rhineland, who initiated an inventory of damages. (79)

Belgium had rapidly been occupied and had become a theatre of warfare. Many historic towns, such as Dinant, Vise, Mechelen, Lier and Antwerp were seriously damaged; Ypres was completely destroyed, and of Louvain one eighth. The Belgian government in exile soon initiated provisions for the restoration and reconstruction of the damaged buildings and towns. According to a law of 1919, compensation was guaranteed to all those who had suffered damage. Destroyed public buildings were to be replaced by equivalent structures, and historic monuments should be rebuilt to their pre-war appearance. (80)

The debate about the reconstruction of Ypres moved in three directions; there were those who wanted to keep the ruins as a memorial for the destruction, there were those who wanted to profit from the recent developments in town-planning and prepared proposals for a garden city lay-out, and there were those who were concerned for the symbolic value of the mediaeval city and insisted on rebuilding it exactly as it had been before the destruction. It was this third solution which was finally accepted. After similar debates in Louvain, the bombed University Library was rebuilt exactly as it had been, and destroyed town houses were rebuilt by their owners - mostly as a replica, but in some case as a free composition of surviving elements. (81)



Figure 329. Arras, the Renaissance square rebuilt after the First World War

In France, where damage and destruction in 1914 included Rheims and Soissons cathedrals, the sixteenth-century Hotel de Ville and the splendid Renaissance squares of Arras, and subsequently even the Notre-Dame of Paris, the country had to mobilise its forces for the restoration and reconstruction of these structures. Fortunately in many cases it had been possible to save treasures from destruction by evacuating them to safe places; in 1917 the Ministry of War had also protected the important stained glass windows of the cathedrals of Rouen and Chartres.

At the end of the war, the Commission des Monuments being in charge, listing of buildings was extended to cover hundreds more, and not only single monuments but also historic areas, such as all the hill of Vezelay, where the church of La Madeleine stands. In 1932 there were 8.100 listed historic buildings; out of these 3.000 were churches. The supplementary list was also rapidly increasing, and in 1934 it contained 12.000 entries.

In the post-war restoration, there was no longer question of keeping strictly to conservation, but it was necessary to accept the reconstruction of the destroyed parts of damaged buildings. This then led necessarily to a reconsideration of both the principles and the techniques applied. Much use was made of modern technology, and especially reinforced concrete. In ten years, more than 700 buildings were restored or rebuilt. (82)

20.4 The International Meeting at Athens, 1931

Questions relating to the history of art and architecture had been discussed at numerous international meetings during the nineteenth century; and more recently, e.g. in Lubeck in 1900

or Paris in 1921, questions relating specifically to the conservation of ancient monuments were considered. As a result of the General Assembly of the German Societies of History and Antiquities, at Strasbourg in 1899, it was decided to arrange regular annual meetings to discuss matters related to the restoration and conservation of historic monuments, these were initiated at Dresden the following year and continued for a long period of time.

International Congresses of Architects also were concerned with the problem of restoration, and this was a topic in Brussels in 1897, as well as in Madrid in 1904. The Madrid Congress, which included participants from a number of countries in Europe and America, (e.g. H.P.Berlage, The Netherlands, H.Muthesius, Germany, and L.Cloquet, Belgium,) drafted a recommendation concerning 'The Preservation and Restoration of Architectural Monuments'. This document, which still strongly reflected the principles of stylistic restoration, was based on a paper presented by Louis Cloquet, the Belgian engineer and follower of Viollet-le-Duc. It was proposed, as had already been discussed at several occasions in the nineteenth century, to divide monuments into two classes,

“dead monuments, i.e. those belonging to a past civilisation or serving obsolete purposes, and living monuments, i.e. those which continue to serve the purposes for which they were originally intended.” (83)

The former should be consolidated and preserved, while the latter ought to be “restored so that they may continue to be of use, for in architecture utility is one of the bases of beauty”. (84) It was further recommended that such restoration should respect the stylistic unity, and that the works should be entrusted only to qualified architects.

At the end of the World War, in the Paris Peace Conference of 1919, the victorious Allied powers established the League of Nations, an organization for international cooperation, which had its offices at Geneva. Within this organization was founded the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, which had its first meeting at Geneva in 1922, under the presidency of Henri Bergson (1859-1941), the French philosopher.

Concern for conservation was amongst the cultural activities of this Institute; and for this purpose an International Museums Office was created in 1926, becoming the predecessor of the International Council

of Museums (ICOM), which was founded after the Second World War in 1946. In 1927 the Office, placed in Paris, started publishing a periodical, *Museion*, under international editorship. The activities of the Office were mainly related to museums and the conservation of works of art, but it also organized international meetings to discuss common problems. In October 1930 an International Conference for the Study of Scientific Methods for the Examination and Preservation of Works of Art was organized in Rome (85), and at this meeting it was considered necessary to organize another meeting especially to discuss architectural monuments. This was held in Athens from 21 to 30 October 1931.

The chairman of the meeting was Jules Destree, President of the International Museums Office, and the various sessions were chaired by Paul Leon (France), Gustavo Giovannoni (Italy), as well as delegates from Greece, Norway, Spain and England. Papers were presented by over a hundred experts representing more than twenty countries. (86) The sessions were oriented according to seven major topics, which formed the basis for recommendations, i.e. 1. Doctrines and general principles, 2. Administrative and legislative measures regarding historical monuments, 3. Aesthetic enhancement of ancient monuments, 4. Restoration materials, 5. The deterioration of ancient monuments, 6. The technique of conservation, and 7. The conservation of monuments and international collaboration. A special recommendation was approved concerning the anastylosis of Acropolis monuments.

In the discussions it was considered necessary to confront the principles of the past with those of the present, and this was based on the very informative papers by several participants who summarized the developments in their countries, such as those of Paul Leon, the Director General of the Beaux-Arts, for France, Prof. Gustavo Giovannoni for Italy, Prof. Leopoldo Torres Balbas, Conservator of Alhambra, for Spain, and A.R. Powys, Secretary of the SPAB, and Sir Cecil Harcourt-Smith, Surveyor of Works of Art to H.M. the King, for England.

A general tendency was conceived to avoid restoration and to favour conservation of the authenticity of historic monuments:

“Whatever may be the variety of concrete cases, each of which are open to a different solution, the Conference noted that there predominates in the different countries represented a general tendency to abandon restorations in toto and to avoid the

attendant dangers by initiating a system of regular and permanent maintenance calculated to ensure the preservation of the buildings.

“When, as the result of decay or destruction, restoration appears to be indispensable, it recommends that the historic and artistic work of the past should be respected, without excluding the style of any given period.

“The Conference recommends that the occupation of buildings, which ensures the continuity of their life, should be maintained but that they should be used for a purpose which respects their historic or artistic character.” (87)

It was further recognized that the community had a certain right to extend their control even to monuments in private ownership, and it was recommended that each country should provide powers to public authorities to take appropriate measures in cases of emergency. Attention was given to the conservation of the picturesque character of historic areas, and in the case of single structures it was recommended that the work of consolidation should be concealed in order to preserve the appearance and character of the monument. For this the “judicious use of all the resources at the disposal of modern technique and more especially of reinforced concrete” was approved. (88)

The Conference expressed the opinion that “the removal of works of art from the surroundings for which they were designed is, in principle, to be discouraged”. (89) In the case of ruined structures, steps could be taken:

“to reinstate any original fragments that may be recovered (anastylosis), whenever this is possible; the new materials used for this purpose should in all cases be recognizable.” (90)

When the conservation of excavated architectural remains was not considered feasible, it was recommended that they should be buried after accurate records had been prepared. Special attention was given to international co-operation between countries, who were invited to allow qualified institutions and associations to be given an opportunity of manifesting their interest in the protection of works of art; this co-operation was recommended in technical matters, in forming an international centre of documentation, as well as promoting educational aspects in respect of monuments both for the general public and for school children in particular.

The additional recommendation regarding the restoration of the monuments of the Acropolis approved in principle the reconstruction of the northern colonnade of the Parthenon, and although recognizing the positive results obtained in the use of modern restoration techniques, it expressed a certain concern about the use of cement and ironcramps. The plans of Balanos were later carried out, and the decades that have passed since the Resolution have shown that this concern was in fact justified. Some fifty years later the concrete and the rusting ironcramps have become a serious problem, in great part responsible for the cracking and decay of original marble blocks. (91)

This resolution, the ‘Athens Charter’, was later adopted by the International Committee of Intellectual Co-operation, which recommended a closer co-operation between Member-States to ensure the conservation of monuments and works of art. It also stressed the importance of teaching children and young people to respect monuments

“whatever the civilisation or period to which they belong and that this educative action also be extended to the general public with a view to associating the latter in the protection of the records of any civilisation.” (92)

Similarly, the Assembly of the League of Nations approved these resolutions, recommending their communication to the Member Governments. (93) The Charter marked the end of a phase in the development of the concepts of conservation, abandoning stylistic restoration and emphasizing the conservation of authentic historic monuments and works of art, and providing guidelines for their respectful restoration. It was the first policy document accepted at an intergovernmental level, and thus marked the beginning of the formulation of international guidelines and recommendations aiming at the preservation of cultural heritage. It also formed a model, which was soon followed by the Italian National Charter for Conservation, drafted by Giovannoni, one of the co-authors of the Athens Charter.

In 1933, the *Congres internationaux d’Architecture moderne* (C.I.A.M.) held a meeting at Athens to discuss the principles of modern town-planning; the conclusions of the meeting were later edited and published anonymously in Paris by Le Corbusier as *la Charte d’Athenes* (1941). A section of this Charter dealt with historic towns, emphasizing the preservation of their historic values, refusing

any modern constructions in style, and taking into consideration social and hygienic problems, as well as traffic. (94)

Notes to Chapter Twenty

1. Monumentos Nacionaes Portuguezes, Legislaçao, Lisboa 1910, 3ff Torres Balbas, L., ‘Restauration des Monuments dans l’Espagne d’aujourd’hui’, *Mouseion*, XVII-XVIII, i, 1932, 23ff.
2. Brown, G.Baldwin, *The Care of Ancient Monuments*, Cambridge 1905, 172ff.
3. De Naeyer, André, *Monumentenzorg*, Antwerpen-Amsterdam 1975, 79f, 87.
4. Auzas, P-M, Eugène Viollet-le-Duc 1814-1879, Paris 1979, 225.
5. Cloquet, L., ‘La Restauration des monuments anciens’, *Bulletin du cercle historique et archéologique de Gand*, 1894, I, 23ff, 49ff, 77ff. The same article also in: *Revue de l’art chrétien*, 1901, XLIV, 498ff, 1902, XLV, 41ff. See also: Tschudi-Madsen, S., *Restoration and Anti-Restoration*, Oslo 1976, 90, 98f.
6. Tillema, J.A.C., *Geschiedenis Monumentenzorg*, Staatsuitgeverij - ‘s-Gravenhage 1975, 88.
7. *Ibid*, 97. Auzas, P-M., *Op.cit.*, 235.
8. Tillema, J.A.C., *Op.cit.*, 100ff.
9. *Ibid*, 259: de Stuers wrote: “Restauratie is in Nederland een groote uitzondering; een natie, welke niet eens de monumenten die in goeden staat verkeeren onderhoudt, is zelden te bewegen een ruine te herstellen”, and that restoration was carried out “met zooveel onkunde en roekeloosheid”.
10. *Ibid*, 267. The ‘College van Rijksadviseurs voor de Monumenten van Geschiedenis en Kunst’ was established by the Royal Order of 8 March 1874, No. 14, on the initiative of the Minister J.H. Geertsema Czn.
11. The 1911-report of Kalf was published in the *Tijd*, 23 December 1911. (*Ibid*, 311ff.) The introduction to the law, December 1917, was named: ‘Grondbeginselen en voorschriften voor het behoud, de herstelling en de uitreiding van oude bouwwerken’ (‘Principles and prescriptions for the conservation, the repair and the extension of old buildings’) (*Ibid*, 53.).
12. Lemaire, R. Chan., *La Restauration des Monuments anciens*, Anvers 1938, 43ff. According to Lemaire, historic buildings could be seen from four points of view: a) “Toute oeuvre architecturale doit être considérée premièrement du point de vue de son rendement utile”, b) “Mais l’architecture ne vise pas uniquement à réaliser l’utile; elle est aussi un art”, c) “Elle est notamment un

document historique et archéologique”, d) “En dehors de ce triple caractère: utile, artistique, documentaire, tout édifice peut en avoir un quatrième: le caractère pittoresque”. (Lemaire, Op.cit., 64ff)

He further stated that judgement should be based on the following:

a) “Etablir aussi exactement que possible les coefficients des diverses valeurs actuelles de l’édifice, en se plaçant aux quatre points de vue énoncés plus haut.” b) “Examiner ce que deviendraient ces coefficients en cas d’intervention et en cas d’abstention.” c) “Faire le compte et voir quelle solution donnera à l’édifice, dans l’avenir, le maximum de valeur.” (Lemaire, Op.cit., 73)

13. Schlegel, F., *Bref upp† en Resa genom Nederländerne, Nejderne kring Rhen, Schweiz och en del af Frankrike*, Stockholm 1817.

14. Östergren, S., ‘Care of Cultural Monuments in Sweden: the historical background’, ICOMOS Bulletin, VI, 1981, ‘The Cultural Heritage in Sweden’, Stockholm 1981, 24ff.

15. Grandien, B., *Drömmen om medeltiden*, Carl Georg Brunius som byggmästare och idéförmedlare, Lund 1974, 535f.

16. Ibid, 524. The plans for the restoration were prepared by architect Axel Nyström.

17. Brunius, C.G., *Nordens äldsta metropolitankyrka*, 1836. The first monographic study of its kind in the Scandinavian countries.

18. Stieglitz, C.L., *Von altdeutscher Baukunst* (2 Vols.), Leipzig 1820; Moller, G., *Denkmäler der deutschen Baukunst* (3 Vols.), Darmstadt 1815-21; Heideloff, v.C.A., *Die Bauhütten des Mittelalters*, 1844. The concept of the mediaeval ‘Bauhütte’ became very important as an ideological driving force for mediaevalists. (Grandien, B., *Drömmen om medeltiden*, op.cit., 345ff. Germann, G., *Gothic Revival*, op.cit., 177ff.)

19. Grandien, B., *Drömmen om medeltiden*, op.cit., 527f.

20. Ibid, 539ff.

21. Knapas, M.T., *Turun Tuomiokirkon restaurointisuunnitelmat vuosilta 1896 ja 1901*. Kansallisia ja kansainvälisiä tavoitteita rakennusmuistomerkkien hoidon alkutaipaleelta, MA. University of Helsinki, Institute of Art History, Unpublished, March 1983, 108.

22. Grandien, B., *Drömmen om medeltiden*, op.cit., 545.

23. Knapas, M.T., *Turun Tuomiokirkon*, op.cit., 109.

24. *Diz.Enc.Arch.*, VI, 505.

25. Ottosen, M., *Dansk bygningsrestaurerings historie*, en indføring, Arkitektskolen i Aarhus, 1984, 9f. Knapas, op.cit., 102.

26. Ottosen, op.cit., 7.

27. Ibid, 10f.

28. Clemmensen, M., ‘H.B. Storck’ (Necrology), *Arkitekten*, 1922, 306.

29. Ibid.

30. Storck, H., ‘Om restaurering’, *Arkitekten*, 1903-04, 454f.: “...men ved ‘Restaurering’ maa naermast forstaas, at man ved det, der foretages, fastholder Monumentets Stil og Charakter. ... Haand i Haand med Restaureringer gaar ofte Rekonstruktioner af forsvundne Partier, men saadan foretages vel i Reglen nu kun der, hvor Bygningens Anlaeg og arkitektoniske Ordning paa en følelig Maade lider under Afsavnet af de forsvundne Partier, og hos os vil man endda naeppe foretage dem, uden at det kan ske med Sandsynlighed for at komme det forsvundne nogenlunde naer.”

31. Ottosen, op.cit., 21.

32. ‘Lov om Kirkesyn’, 19 February 1861, 3: “Enhver Kirke skal, saavidt andre Hensyn tilstede det, vedligeholdes saavel indvendig som udvendig paa en Maade, der stemmer overeens med dens oprindelige Stiil; ... nar passende Anledning dertil maatte tilbyde sig / skal der / arbeides hen til, at den føres tilbage til samme Stiil”.

33. Ottosen, op.cit., 21ff.

34. Knapas, op.cit., 104.

35. Ibid, 105.

36. Fischer, D.P., *Nidaros Cathedral*, Trondheim 1981, 6.

37. Bjerknes, K., Lidén, H-E., *The Stave Churches of Kaupanger*, 52. In 1840 J.C. Dahl, saved the stave church of Vang in South Norway from demolition by obtaining a bank loan and buying it. The loan was paid back by King Friedrich Wilhelm of Prussia, and the church was brought to Obergebirge, Schlesien (today in Poland). Successively Dahl founded the Society for the Protection of Ancient Monuments, called ‘Foreningen til norsk Fortidminnesmerkers Bevaring’. (1841) The office of the State Conservator (Riksantikvar) was established in 1912.

38. Knapas, op.cit., 119ff.

39. The law: 2 April 1883, The Board of antiquities that consisted of seven members representing various cultural institutions, was appointed on 19 June 1884.

40. Knapas, op.cit., 121.

41. Zachris Topelius (1818-98), one of the most important national-romantic writers of Finland in the nineteenth century, referred to the restoration of Cologne Cathedral in the letters from his European travels, published in *Helsingfors Dagblad*, in 1857. (Knapas, op.cit., 11.)

42. The publication called: *Peintures murales des Chapelles de Notre Dame* (1870), was acquired to Turku. (Knapas, op.cit., 18)

43. Heidenstam, V., *Modern vandalism*, 1894. (Storck, ‘Om Restaurering’, op.cit., 457.)

44. Knapas, op.cit., 91.

45. Ibid, 163.
46. Ibid, 165.
47. Ibid, 191.
48. Östergren, S., 'Care of Cultural Monuments in Sweden', op.cit. 24f.
49. Verdier, P., 'Le Service des Monuments historiques, son histoire, organisation, administration, législation (1830-1934)', Congrès Archéologique de France, XCVIIe session (2 Vols.), Paris 1934, I, 137. Brown, The Care of Ancient Monuments, op.cit., 230ff. Algeria was a Département of France, and thus subject to French legislation.
50. Tschudi-Madsen, S., Restoration and Anti-Restoration, Oslo 1976, 77.
51. A Member of the Parliament declared, 5 December 1888: "Les architectes marchent à la suite d'un homme que'est devenu pour ainsi dire le pontife de leur école, d'un homme d'un immense talent, de M. Viollet-le-Duc, qui a exercé l'influence la plus néfaste sur la conservation de nos monuments historiques en substituant le système de la restitution et de la réfection à celui de la consolidation et de la conservation." (Verdier, 'Le Service des Monuments', op.cit., 153)
52. Verdier, op.cit., 153.
53. France, Anatole, Pierre Nozière, Calmann-Lévy, Editeurs, Paris (n.d.), 178: "Vraiment il y a trop de pierres neuves à Pierrefonds. Je suis persuadé que la restauration entreprise en 1858 par Viollet-le-Duc et terminée sur ses plans, est suffisamment étudiée. Je suis persuadé que le donjon, le château et toutes les défenses estérieures ont repris leur aspect primitif. Meis enfin les vieilles pierres, les vieux témoins, ne sont plus là, et ce n'est plus le château de Louis d'Orléans; c'est la représentation en relief et de grandeur naturelle de ce manoir. Et l'on a détruit des ruines, ce qui est une manière de vandalisme." Ibid, 243: "Il allait jusqu'à sacrifier des oeuvres vénérables et charmantes et à transformer, comme à Notre-Dame de Paris, la cathédrale vivante en cathédrale abstraite. ... Il a vécu, et tant qu'il a vécu il s'est transformé. Car le changement est la condition essentielle de la vie. Chaque âge l'a marqué de son empreinte. C'est un livre sur lequel chaque génération a écrit une page. Il ne faut altérer aucune de ces pages. Elles ne sont pas de la même écriture parce qu'elles ne sont pas de la même main. Il est d'une fausse science et d'un mauvais goût de vouloir les ramener à un même type. Ce sont des témoignages divers, mais également véridiques." See also: France, Anatole, Le Lys rouge, Paris 1923, 92: Speaking of an architect-restorer, named Philippe Decharte, who disagreed with Viollet-le-Duc: "Faire disparaître les anachromismes et ramener un édifice à son unité première, lui semblait und barbarie scientifique aussi redoutable que celle de l'ignorance. Il disait, il répétait sans cesse: 'C'est un crime que d'effacer les empreintes successives imprimées dans la pierres par la main et l'âme de nos aieux. Les pierres neuves taillées dans un vieux style sont de faux témoins.' Il voulait que la tâche de l'architecte archéologue fût bornée à soutenir et à consolider les murailles. Il avait raison."
54. France, A., Pierre Nozière, op.cit., 240: "Voyez; je suis vieille, mais je suis belle; mes enfants pieux ont brodé sur ma robe des tours, des clochers des pignons dentelés et des beffrois. Je suis une bonne mère; j'enseigne le travail et tous les arts de la paix. Je nourris mes enfants dans mes bras. Puis, leur tâche faite, ils vont, les uns après les autres, dormir à mes pieds, sous cette herbe o— paissent les moutons. Ils passent; mais je reste pour garder leur souvenir. Je suis leur mémoire. C'est pourquoi ils me doivent tout, car l'homme n'est l'homme que parce qu'il se souvient. Mon manteaux a été déchiré et mon sein percé dans les guerres. J'ai reçu des blessures qu'on disait mortelles. Mais j'ai vécu parce que j'ai espéré. Apprenez de moi cette sainte espérance qui sauve la patrie. Pensez en moi pour penser au delà de vous-mêmes. Regardez cette fontaine, cet hôpital, ce marché que les pères ont légués à leurs fils. Travaillez pour vos enfants comme vos aieux ont travaillé pour vous. Chacune de mes pierres vous apporte un bienfait et vous enseigne un devoir. Voyez ma cathédrale, voyez ma maison commune, voyez mon Hôtel-Dieu et vénérez le passé. Mais songez à l'avenir. Vos fils sauront quels joyaux vous aurez enchâssés à votre tour dans ma robe de pierre."
55. Milsand, J., L'esthétique anglaise: étude du M John Ruskin, Paris 1864.
56. De la Sizeranne, Robert., Ruskin et la religion de la beauté, 1899 (The book was translated into English in the same year, and the seventh French edition was printed in 1907.)
57. Ruskin, J., Les Sept Lampes de l'Architecture, Paris 1899. A chapter from the Sesame and Lilies was published in French traslation in 1895; a chapter from the Wild Crown of Olive in 1898, the whole work soon after this. Unto this Last was translated in 1902.
58. Since 1900 Proust published in Mercure de France: 'Ruskin à Notre-Dame d'Amiens'. Pierre-Quint, L., Marcel Proust, Paris 1946, 34.
59. Translation by Proust: Ruskin, J., La Bible d'Amiens, 1904.
60. Translation by Proust: Ruskin, J., Sésame et les Lys, 1906.
61. Proust, M., 'Introduction', La Bible d'Amiens, 1904: "Mort, il continue à nous éclairer, comme ces étoiles éteintes dont la lumière nous arrive encore, et on peut dire de lui ce qu'il disait à la mort de Turner: 'C'est par ces yeux, fermés à jamais au fond du tombeau, que des générations qui ne sont pas encore nées verront la nature.'" (Reprinted: Ruskin, J., Les Sept Lampes de l'Architecture, Les Presses d'Aujourd'hui, 1980, 252.)
62. The law: 9 December 1905, Art. 16.: "Classement complémentaire des édifices servant à l'exercice public du

culte, dans lequel devront être compris tous ceux de ces édifices représentant dans leur parties une valeur artistique ou historique.” (Verdier, P., ‘Le Service des Monuments historiques’, op.cit., 168.)

63. The Report of the ‘Commission des Monuments historiques’, 13 March 1914: “Une classification des édifices d’après leur valeur artistique n’entraînerait pas un changement dans les règles suivies. C’est ainsi que les travaux à faire dans un édifice de dixième ordre qui menace ruine seront toujours exécutés de préférence à des travaux peu urgents dans un monuments plus important.” (Verdier, op.cit., 178)

64. Verdier, op.cit., 178.

65. Toudouze, G., ‘L’impiété des restaurations’, Le Musée, I, Paris 1904, 74: “Comment, en effet, est-il possible de retrouver, deux mille ans écoulés, l’âme évanouie du créateur? Nul génie, même équivalent, ne pourrait refaire ce qu’un autre a fait; et la grande erreur, quand on transforme l’histoire de l’Art Antique en science, vient précisément de ce qu’on ne peut mettre dans le calcul du théorème cet insaisissable élément: la vision de l’artiste, cette X mystérieuse, cette vibrante personnalité, et son libre arbitre, et son âme d’éloquence, et son esprit de passion qui se rit des règles, des méthodes et des jougs. Retrouver une âme est impossible: le dieu de la sculpture, Michel Ange lui-même, ne le pourrait pas. Et quant à faire restituer les vides d’une statue par un quelconque praticien, ce serait trahir trop complètement le maître qu’on veut glorifier.”

66. Sambon, A., Toudouze, G., ‘La Protestation des écrivains et des artistes contre la restauration du Parthénon’, Le Musée, II, Paris 1905, 1ff.

67. Ibid: “Le Parthénon n’a besoin de rien ni de personne, il peut et doit rester ce qu’il est, ce que l’ont fait l’usure lente du temps et les injures brutales des hommes. Comme tous les chefs-d’oeuvre de l’esprit humain, quels que soient leur patrie ou leur âge, il fait partie intégrante du patrimoine intellectuelle de l’humanité, il est une propriété internationale, dont nous devons empêcher la destruction, mais à laquelle nul ne peut rien changer.”

68. Toudouze, G., ‘Le Parthénon en danger’, Le Musée, II, 1905, 5ff.

69. Rodin, A., ‘Le Parthénon et les Cathédrales’, Le Musée, II, 1905, 66ff.: “Chartres c’est l’archaïsme d’Olympie, Beauvais c’est le splendeur harmonieuse du Parthénon, Reims c’est un soleil couchant, symbole d’Apollon. Faut-il donc vous donner les noms de vos pères grecs pour vous défendre?”

70. Ibid: “Nos Cathédrales, c’est le médecin qui les tue.” In 1914, Rodin published an enlarged version of his article; this was later translated into English: *Cathedrals of France, Country Life*, 1965.

71. Le Musée, II, 1905, 114ff.

72. ‘L’Affaire du Parthénon’, Le Musée, II, 1905, 113f. ‘Internationaler Archäologischer Kongress 7-13.4.1905 in Athen’, *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch des Archäologischen Instituts, 1905, 119ff: P. Kavvadias was one of those who protested against the intended restorations, maintaining that through these works the authenticity of the monument would be lost. The proposal was also made to create an international association to assist in the documentation of the existing archaeological remains, and also to protect against falsifications. Vasnier, H.A., ‘La question du Parthénon’, *Revue Archéologique*, VI, 1905, 327ff.: refers to the debate on reconstructions, restorations, and conservation in fragmentary state.

73. Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, 1922, 485. Study for the Restoration of the Parthenon, Ministry of Culture and Sciences, Committee for the Preservation of the Acropolis Monuments, English Summary, Athens 1983, 20.

74. de Vattel, E., *The Law of Nations* (ed. Ghitty), 1844, 367ff. (Williams, Sharon A., *The International and National Protection of Movable Cultural Property. A Comparative Study*, New York 1978, 6.)

75. Williams, op.cit., 8ff.

76. Ibid, 16.

77. ‘The Hague Convention IV’, 1907, Art.55. (Williams, op.cit., 17f.)

78. Ibid.

79. Garner, J.W., *Some Questions of International Law in the European War*, 1915, 101; Posner, *Public Records under Military Occupation*, 1944, 49 *Am.Hist.Rev.*213. Williams, op.cit., 20. De Naeyer, A., ‘La reconstruction des monuments et des sites en Belgique après la première guerre mondiale’, *Monumentum*, XX-XXII, 1980, 167ff.

80. The law of 10 May 1919. See De Naeyer, A., ‘La reconstruction des monuments...’ op.cit., 169f.

81. Ibid, 172ff. The Canon R. Lemaire has reported on the debate on the reconstruction in Louvain: Lemaire, R. Chanoine, *La reconstruction de Louvain*, Rapport présenté au nom de la Commission des Alignements, Louvain 1915. Lemaire emphasizes the historic and aesthetic values on one hand, on the other he considers the hygienic and material needs of proper utilization, and the financial aspects. In the planning of the reconstruction reference was made to the theories of Camillo Sitte, and attention was given on an appropriate relationship of important historic buildings to their environment.

82. Verdier, ‘Le Service des Monuments historiques’, op.cit., 195ff.

83. ‘The Sixth International Congress of Architects’, Madrid 1904, Subject II: ‘The Preservation and Restoration of Architectural Monuments’, Recommendations:

“1. Monuments may be divided into two classes, dead monuments, i.e. those belonging to a past civilisation or

...serving obsolete purposes, and living monuments, i.e. those which continue to serve the purposes for which they were originally intended.

2. Dead monuments should be preserved only by such strengthening as is indispensable in order to prevent their falling into ruin; for the importance of such a monument consists in its historical and technical value, which disappears with the monument itself.

3. Living monuments ought to be restored so that they may continue to be of use, for in architecture utility is one of the bases of beauty.

4. Such restoration should be effected in the original style of the monument, so that it may preserve its unity, unity of style being also one of the bases of beauty in architecture, and primitive geometrical forms being perfectly reproducible. Portions executed in a different style from that of the whole should be respected, if this style has intrinsic merit and does not destroy the aesthetic balance of the monument.

5. The preservation and restoration of monuments should be entrusted only to architects 'diplomés par le Gouvernement', or specially authorised and acting under the artistic, archaeological, and technical control of the State.

6. A society for the preservation of historical and artistic monuments should be established in every country. They might be grouped for common effort and collaborate in the compilation of a general inventory of national and local treasures." (Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects, 23 April 1904, 344.)

84. Ibid.

85. An English version of the Conclusions of the meeting in Rome (13-17 October 1930) are published: *Mouseion*, XIII, 1931, 162ff.

86. The proceedings of the Athens meeting were first published in several issues of the *Mouseion*, in 1932-33; later these were collected in one volume, *Les Monuments d'Art et d'Histoire*, Paris 1933.

87. The 'Athens Charter' 1931 (*Les Monuments d'Art et d'Histoire*, op.cit., 448ff.):

"A. - Conclusions of the Athens Conference

I. Doctrines. General Principles.

The Conference heard the statement of the general principles and doctrines relating to the protection of monuments.

Whatever may be the variety of concrete cases, each of which are open to a different solution, the Conference noted that there predominates in the different countries represented a general tendency to abandon restorations in toto and to avoid the attendant dangers by initiating a system of regular and permanent maintenance calculated to ensure the preservation of the buildings.

When, as the result of decay or destruction, restoration appears to be indispensable, it recommends that the historic and artistic work of the past should be respected, without excluding the style of any given period.

The Conference recommends that the occupation of buildings, which ensures the continuity of their life, should be maintained but that they should be used for a purpose which respects their historic or artistic character.

II. Administrative and Legislative Measures Regarding Historical Monuments.

The Conference heard the statement of legislative measures devised to protect monuments of artistic, historic or scientific interest and belonging to the different countries.

It unanimously approved the general tendency which, in this connection, recognises a certain right of the community in regard to private ownership.

It noted that the differences existing between these legislative measures were due to the difficulty of reconciling public law with the rights of individuals.

Consequently, while approving the general tendency of these measures, the Conference is of opinion that they should be in keeping with local circumstances and with the trend of public opinion so that the least possible opposition may be encountered, due allowance being made for the sacrifices which the owners of property may be called upon to make in the general interest.

It recommends that the public authorities in each country be empowered to take conservatory measures in cases of emergency.

It earnestly hopes that the International Museums Office will publish a repertory and a comparative table of the legislative measures in force in the different countries and that this information will be kept up to date.

III. Aesthetic Enhancement of Ancient Monuments.

The Conference recommends that, in the construction of buildings, the character and external aspect of the cities in which they are to be erected should be respected, especially in the neighbourhood of ancient monuments, where the surroundings should be given special consideration. Even certain groupings and certain particularly picturesque perspective treatment should be preserved.

A study should also be made of the ornamental vegetation most suited to certain monuments or groups of monuments from the point of view of preserving their ancient character.

It specially recommends the suppression of all forms of publicity, of the erection of unsightly telegraph poles and the exclusion of all noisy factories and even of tall shafts in the neighbourhood of artistic and historic monuments.

IV. Restoration Materials.

The experts heard various communications concerning the use of modern materials for the consolidation of ancient monuments.

The approved the judicious use of all the resources at the disposal of modern technique and more especially of reinforced concrete.

They specified that this work of consolidation should whenever possible be concealed in order that the aspect and character of the restored monuments may be preserved.

They recommended their adoption more particularly in cases where their use makes it possible to avoid the dangers of dismantling and reinstating the portions to be preserved.

V. The Deterioration of Ancient Monuments.

The Conference noted that, in the conditions of present day life, monuments throughout the world were being threatened to an ever-increasing degree by atmospheric agents.

Apart from the customary precautions and the methods successfully applied in the preservation of monumental statuary in current practice, it was impossible, in view of the complexity of cases and with the knowledge at present available, to formulate any general rules.

The Conference recommends:

- 1) That, in each country, the architects and curators of monuments should collaborate with specialists in the physical, chemical and natural sciences with a view to determining the methods to be adopted in specific cases;
- 2) That the International Museums Office should keep itself informed of the work being done in each country in this field and that mention should be made thereof in the publications of the Office.

With regard to the preservation of monumental sculpture, the Conference is of opinion that the removal of works of art from the surroundings for which they were designed is, in principle, to be discouraged. It recommends, by way of precaution, the preservation of original models whenever these still exist or, if this proves impossible, the taking of casts.

VI. The Technique of Conservation.

The Conference is gratified to note that the principles and technical considerations set forth in the different detailed communications are inspired by the same idea, namely:

In the case of ruins, scrupulous conservation is necessary, and steps should be taken to reinstate any original fragments that may be recovered (anastylosis), whenever this is possible; the new materials used for this purpose should in all cases be recognizable. When the preservation of ruins brought to light in the course of excavations is found to be impossible, the Conference recommends that they be buried, accurate records being of course taken before filling-in operations are undertaken.

It should be unnecessary to mention that the technical work undertaken in connection with the excavation and preservation of ancient monuments calls for close collaboration between the archaeologist and the architect.

With regard to other monuments, the experts unanimously agreed that, before any consolidation or partial restoration is undertaken, a thorough analysis should be made of the defects and the nature of the decay of these monuments. They recognised that each case needed to be treated individually.

VII. The Conservation of Monuments and International Collaboration.

a) Technical and moral co-operation.

The Conference, convinced that the question of the conservation of the artistic and archaeological property of mankind is one that interests the community of the States, which are wardens of civilisation,

Hopes that the States, acting in the spirit of the Covenant of the League of Nations, will collaborate with each other on an ever-increasing scale and in a more concrete manner with a view to furthering the preservation of artistic and historic monuments;

Considers it highly desirable that qualified institutions and associations should, without in any manner whatsoever prejudicing international public law, be given an opportunity of manifesting their interest in the protection of works of art in which civilisation has been expressed to the highest degree and which would seem to be threatened with destruction;

Expresses the wish that requests to attain this end, submitted to the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation of the League of Nations, be recommended to the earnest attention of the States.

It will be for the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, after an enquiry conducted by the International Museums Office and after having collected all relevant information, more particularly from the National Committee on Intellectual Co-operation concerned, to express an opinion on the expediency of the steps to be taken and on the procedure to be followed in each individual case.

The members of the Conference, after having visited in the course of their deliberations and during the study cruise which they were able to make on this occasion, a number of excavation sites and ancient Greek monuments, unanimously paid a tribute to the Greek Government, which, for many years past, has been itself responsible for extensive works and, at the same time, has accepted the collaboration of archaeologists and experts from every country.

The members of the Conference there saw an example of activity which can but contribute to the realisation of the aims of intellectual co-operation, the need for which manifested itself during their work.

b) The role of education in the respect of monuments.

The Conference, firmly convinced that the best guarantee in the matter of the preservation of monuments and works of art derives from the respect and attachment of the peoples themselves;

Considering that these feelings can very largely be promoted by appropriate action on the part of public authorities;

Recommends that educators should urge children and young people to abstain from disfiguring monuments of every description and that they should teach them to take a greater and more general interest in the protection of these concrete testimonies of all ages of civilisation.

c) Value of international documentation.

The Conference expresses the wish that:

1) Each country, or the institutions created or recognised competent for this purpose, publish an inventory of ancient monuments, with photographs and explanatory notes:

2) Each country constitute official records which shall contain all documents relating to its historic monuments;

3) Each country deposit copies of its publications on artistic and historic monuments with the International Museums Office;

4) The Office devote a portion of its publications to articles on the general processes and methods employed in the preservation of historic monuments;

5) The Office study the best means of utilising the information so centralised.

B. - Proceedings of the Conference on the Anastylis of the

Acropolitian Monuments.

It had been arranged that one of the sessions of the Conference of the International Museums Office would be held on the Acropolis and the members of the Conference all the more appreciated the facilities accorded to them in this connection when it was learned that M. Balanos, Director of Works on the Acropolis, kindly announced that he would hold himself at the disposal of the delegates to furnish them with any information they might need regarding the works in progress and to enable them to ask detailed questions and express their views.

This session was held on the morning of Sunday October 25th, under the chairmanship of M. Karo. During the first part of this meeting, the members of the Conference heard a statement by M. Balanos on the work of reinstatement already carried out at the Propylaea as well as at the Parthenon.

In the second part of his statement, M. Balanos explained the nature of the works to be undertaken in the later programme and concluded by asking the members of the Conference to express their personal opinion on this programme. Under the guidance of M. Karo, the

delegates took part in a long exchange of views, chiefly on the following points: a) Re-erection of the northern colonnade of the Parthenon and of the southern peristyle. b) The use of cement as a coating for the substituted drums. c) Choice of metals to be used for cramp irons and dowels. d) Advisability of using casts as complementary to anastylosis. e) Protection of the frieze against weather.

In regard to the first point, the members of the Conference unanimously approved of the reinstatement of the northern colonnade of the Parthenon as well as of the partial re-erection of the southern peristyle according to M. Balanos' plans, which provide for no restoration beyond the mere reinstatement of the columns.

With reference to the use of cement as a coating for the substituted drums, the experts stressed the special character of the works effected at the Parthenon and, while noting the satisfactory results of the preliminary operations carried out under the supervision of M. Balanos in this special case, refrained from expressing their general opinion on this question.

The choice of metal to be used for cramp-irons and dowels engaged the attention of the experts, who took advantage of this opportunity to explain the experiments each had made in this matter. M. Balanos stated that, in the case of the Acropolis, iron could be used without any disadvantage owing to the precautions taken and the special climatic conditions of the country. Certain of the experts, while recognising that the reasons advanced by M. Balanos justified the use of iron in work undertaken on the Acropolis, recalled the regrettable consequence which sometimes ensued when iron was used in connection with the preservation of stones and expressed their preference for metals less subject to decay.

As regards the fourth point raised by M. Balanos concerning the use of casts as a complement to anastylosis, certain experts recommended that the greatest caution should be exercised and emphasised the necessity of carrying out trials beforehand.

In so far as the protection of the frieze against weather was concerned, the members of the Conference expressed their approval of the measures advocated by M. Balanos, which consisted in

protecting the frieze by a suitable roof."

88. Ibid, Art.IV.

89. Ibid, Art.V.

90. Ibid, Art.VI.

91. Study for the Restoration of the Parthenon, op.cit., 23ff.

92. 'Resolution Adopted by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation on July 23rd, 1932', Les Monuments d'Art et d'Histoire, op.cit., 454.

93. 'Recommendations Adopted by the Assembly of the League of Nations on October 10th 1932', Les Monuments d'Art et d'Histoire, op.cit., 454.

94. 'La Charte d'Athènes' of the Congress of C.I.A.M., held in Athens in 1933: The section concerning historic towns, as edited by Le Corbusier (Le Corbusier, La Charte d'Athènes, Paris 1957, 87ff.):

“Patrimoine historique des villes’

(65) Les valeurs architecturales doivent être sauvegardées (édifices isolés ou ensembles urbains).

(66) Elles seront sauvegardées si elles sont l'expression d'une culture antérieure et si elles répondent à un intérêt général...

(67) Si leur conservation n'entraîne pas le sacrifice de populations maintenues dans des conditions malsaines...

(68) S'il est possible de remédier à leur présence préjudiciable par des mesures radicales: par exemple, la déviation d'éléments vitaux de circulation, voire même le déplacement de centres considérés jusqu'ici comme immuables.

(69) La destruction de taudis à l'entour des monuments historiques fournira l'occasion de créer des surfaces vertes.

(70) L'emploi de styles du passé, sous prétexte d'esthétique, dans les constructions neuves érigées dans les zones historiques, a des conséquences néfastes. Le maintien de tels usages ou l'introduction de telles initiatives ne sera toléré sous aucune forme.”

Chapter Twenty One

Towards International Guidelines

21.1 The Second World War

On the first of September 1939, the German army attacked Poland, and initiated the Second World War. This was to involve the whole of Europe as well as other continents, and it ended only in 1945 after some 55 million people had died, and after two atomic bombs had been dropped on Japan. Concerning historic buildings and historic towns, the War had disastrous effects - on a much larger scale than that of the First World War. In France alone, about 460.000 buildings had been destroyed; out of 8.000 listed buildings of national importance 1270 had been damaged, half of them seriously, and among them were buildings such as Rouen Cathedral. Leaving aside the enormous losses suffered among Italian cultural treasures, many important historic towns had suffered; among these

were London, Berlin, Dresden, Warsaw, Saint-Malo, and Florence - the list is endless.

During the war 75% of the city of Warsaw was destroyed, and 95% of its historic buildings lost. On 1 February 1945, Warsaw was again declared the capital of Poland, and an office for its reconstruction was set up. Following a decision of December 1944, the historic core of the city was rapidly rebuilt in the same form as it had been before the war, being mostly completed by 1953. The reconstruction, which was justified by its national significance for the identity of the Polish people, was carried out by reference to measured drawings, prints, paintings (such as

Figure 330. The centre of Warsaw rebuilt after destruction in the Second World War



those by Bernardo Bellotto), and other pre-war documents. The new Warsaw, however, corresponds to the old one only externally; few interiors have been reconstructed, and various changes were made in order to accommodate modern facilities. Still, the effort of rebuilding Warsaw as a national monument has been universally recognized as a unique event and of special significance, and as Stanislaw Lorentz, the Director General of Museums and Protection of Historic Monuments, stated “by reconstructing historic buildings we at least save the authentic remains of the original edifices”. (1)

At the same time reconstruction work started all over Europe, and this was followed by many debates about the way it should be carried out; how far a replica of what had been lost was acceptable, and when one should use the language of modern architecture. Similar problems had been raised after the destruction of the First World War, when for example in Belgium, it had been considered that the whole country would have become a cemetery if the ruins had been left untouched. (2) Answers to this problem were sought at both extremes as well as in different compromises. In England, the ruins of the mediaeval cathedral of Coventry were left ‘untouched’ as a memorial, and a modern cathedral was erected on its side. (3) In London, the area around St. Paul’s was rebuilt completely modern, leaving only some of the

surviving churches and secular buildings standing in the modern surroundings. Although an attempt was made to follow the old street lines, the scale of the new construction outweighs the old.

In Belgium, the damages caused by the Second World War were less extensive than those caused by the First. Attention was given more to restoration and cleaning of historic buildings, and, for the first time, the Government was able to provide a coherent planning structure. In restoration, it became fashionable to remove renderings, and to ‘clean’ the surfaces down to the structural brick or stone. This was apparent in the restorations in Louvain in the 1950s by Professor Raymond Lemaire, nephew of Canon Lemaire and one of the future authors of the Venice Charter. While emphasizing the respect for the original material, it was thought justified to remove later phases, if of little interest compared to the earlier ones, such as removing the eighteenth-century rendering in a church interior in order to expose the early thirteenth-century limestone walling and improve the appreciation of the original spatial quality of the building. (4) Similar principles were applied in the project of the Grand Beguinage, an area of over six hectares south-west of the historic centre of Louvain, acquired by the Catholic University of

Figure 331. The centre of London rebuilt after destruction in the Second World War





Figure 332. Transportation of the elevation of the former municipal theatre of Amiens after the Second World War
 Figure 333. A window frame in the church of Talmont, France, restored in the 19th century. This type of restoration was strongly criticized in France after the Second World War



Louvain and converted under the direction of Lemaire into service buildings for the university and student lodgings, beginning in 1963. In the restoration this area, consisting mainly of sixteenth and seventeenth-century buildings, was integrated with new structures of modern design but built in traditional materials, and the work has been claimed to be the first time that the “potential combination of monument preservation and a modern practical use was proved”. (5)

In the Netherlands, there were two approaches in the reconstruction; one was to apply a completely modern criterion, as in the case of Rotterdam, where the destroyed historic town centre was rebuilt according to modern planning criteria forming a reference for contemporary architecture. At the

same time, however, in other parts of the country, devastated historic areas were rebuilt identical to what they had been before the war. (6)

A sort of compromise was looked for in France, and the rebuilding of historic towns, such as Strasbourg, although in modern forms was guided towards a scale, that was acceptable to the historic structures. An exception was made in Saint-Malo, where the entire walled city was rebuilt as a replica. (7) At Orleans, the streets of the old town were widened, but some historic elevations were rebuilt as a part of the new construction. (8) Occasionally, if required by new planning programmes, surviving buildings could also be removed to a new site. (9) Concerning sculptures, stained glass windows and important works of art in churches and other public buildings, provisions had been made for their protection with reinforced concrete structures and sandbags, or by removing and storing them in a safe place before bombardments started. (10) In the restoration of historic buildings, modern building technology was applied including grouting, reinforced concrete and steel structures. Adaptation of historic buildings to contemporary functions was recognized as a necessity, but on the other hand conservation of their historic values was emphasized. Considering the vast destruction, and the need for restoration and reconstruction, a natural reference was made to the work of Viollet-le-Duc. At the same time, a respect and eventual reconstitution of the artistic character of important historic buildings was seen as one of the aims of restoration: “It is not enough to conserve, to maintain or to repair historic monuments; it is equally indispensable to preserve their particular character, their setting and their environment, which together form their attraction. Thus, a proper presentation of these monuments and of their surroundings is of capital importance.” (11) Instead of using ‘neutral’ replacements for lost

Figure 334. The Zwinger in Dresden restored after damages in the Second World War



original sculptured elements, it was preferred to propose the use of replicas produced in the original type of material in order to harmonize with the artistic whole and to allow natural weathering. (12)

In the divided Germany, similar efforts were made in order to save and restore surviving historic buildings and historic areas, although in cases such as Berlin, Leipzig, or Dresden, much of the ruined urban fabric was demolished for political reasons. The heavily bombed cities of Nuremberg and Munich were rebuilt largely in modern architectural forms, while respecting the scale and urban form of the lost historic areas. In Munich, some nineteenth-century buildings such as the Pinakothek by Leo v. Klenze and the Siegestor by Friedrich v. Gartner were restored with the utmost respect for the original material without any attempt to reconstruct the lost parts. In Magdeburg and Naumburg, the restoration of the Cathedrals started soon after the war damage, and was carried out with respect limiting reconstructions to masonry, roofs and other elements, not containing specifically artistic work, such as sculptures. Attempts were also made to use contemporary design in the integration of losses. In the restoration of the Royal Residence of Munich and the Semper Opera of Dresden, completed only in the 1980s, reconstruction of destroyed artistic decorations was carried much further, while still allowing for some difference between old and new at close examination. (13)

In summary, one can see a maturing of consciousness in the restoration of historic buildings; the principles as laid out in the Charter of Athens of 1931 were present as a reference. On one hand, there was often a total refusal to reconstruct destroyed historic buildings in their original form, or to make a 'pastiche'. On the other hand, instead, it was seen that abrupt violent destruction of buildings,

Figure 335. The Pinakothek, Munich, restored after the Second World, respecting historic material



Figure 336. The Siegestor (Gate of Victory) in Munich, restored as a monument for peace

which only yesterday were standing there, called for new concepts in their restoration and eventual reconstruction, not foreseen in the earlier guidelines. In many cases it was considered necessary to go beyond the limits established earlier, and to allow the reconstitution of the artistic character of historic buildings even if this would mean reconstruction of lost artistic decorations. Growing attention was also given to historic towns and the urban environment, of which historic buildings were seen an integral part. All these aspects were clearly displayed in the debate and formulation of restoration theories in Italy, discussed below in more detail.

21.2 'Restauro Critico' in Italy

Benedetto Croce

One of the leading figures in the Italian anti-fascist movement had emerged as Benedetto Croce (1866-1952), who together with Henri Bergson has been referred to the so-called 'contextualist' line in modern philosophy of aesthetics, and whose great scholarship, humour and common sense inspired the rebuilding of modern Italy. (14) His thinking was based on the 'organistic' Hegelian school in classical Romantic philosophy. He conceived History as the unique 'mediational' principle for all moments of human consciousness, which itself remained completely spontaneous, without a predetermined structure. (15) He created a method of aesthetic appreciation, which was independent of practical as well as of social and economical implications. He emphasized the quality of the whole of an object over the qualities of its details. He saw as one of the main problems of Aesthetics the restoration and defence of classicism against romanticism, seeing there the essence of pure art against the emotions. (16) Croce formed the conceptual basis for later restoration theory, the

so-called 'restauro critico', as expressed especially in Italy by Argan, Pane, Bonelli and Brandi, who in turn were influential in the formulation of the principles of the International Charter of Restoration in 1964 - the Venice Charter.

G.C. Argan

After the first museum laboratories had been established in Berlin (1888) and London (1919), others followed in Cairo, Paris (1925), in the USA, Munich, Brussels, and Rome (in the 1930s). (17) The idea of creating in Rome a central national institute for the conservation of works of art was formulated in 1938 by Giulio Carlo Argan, Inspector in the General Directorate of Fine Arts and Professor of the History of Modern Art, born in Turin in 1909. The institute started its work under the directorship of Cesare Brandi the following year. On the same occasion in 1938, Argan, one of the foremost art-historians in Italy, defined also the principles of restoration. (18) During the 1930s, the concepts of architectural restoration had been discussed at length, and the general guidelines defined, while the treatment of movable works of art and frescoes needed updating. He emphasized the scientific character of restoration which, rather than artistic skill, required historical and technical competence as well as great sensitivity. He believed it should be based on a philological survey of the work of art, and "aimed at the rediscovery and display of the original 'text' of the object through the elimination of all sorts of alterations and additions so as to allow a clear and historically exact reading of that text." (19)

He distinguished between 'conservative restoration' (restauro conservativo) and 'artistic restoration' (restauro artistico), the former being given priority and aiming at consolidation of the material of the work of art as well as the prevention of decay. (20)

Figure 337. Ponte Pietra in Verona, being reconstructed after the Second World War destruction



The latter, the 'artistic restoration', was conceived as a series of operations based on a historical-critical evaluation of the work of art, and it aimed at the enhancement of the aesthetic (stylistic) qualities of the object, if disturbed or obscured by over-paintings, poor restorations, oxidized varnishes, dirt or losses (lacunae). It excluded any arbitrary integrations, and any addition of figures or new tonalities, even if considered 'neutral'. The cleaning of a painting aimed at showing all its remaining original parts, including the final touches of the artist; it had to be based on a critical examination of the work of art considering its style and its significance in the author's output. (21) In addition, the critical and scientific qualification necessary for restoration was not based only on the critical historical examination of the work of art and all relevant documentation, but required also highly specialized laboratory techniques and analyses. (22)

Argan emphasized, however, that the contribution of sciences to restoration was limited to the phase of preparation; it provided essential factual information to the restorer, but was not a substitute for his work. Thus the strictly conservative approach towards the treatment of a work of art, according to him, simply meant "shifting restoration activity from an artistic to a critical sphere". (23) As Brandi has later commented, it was this critical approach towards the appreciation of the work of art that represented the novelty in the formulation of the task, which only indirectly could be considered mechanical, and really belonged to the 'liberal arts'. (24) Considering that although each case had to be seen in its own right, it was possible to foresee a unification of criteria and methods, and considering also the richness of Cultural Heritage in Italy, he proposed the foundation of a Central Institute of Restoration (Istituto Centrale del Restauro). He conceived this institute as working alongside other authorities responsible for the care of cultural property, and suggested that it should be given all technical and scientific means necessary for the collection and selection of the methods and criteria of restoration as well as a deeper study of experiences gained.

With these definitions, Argan enlarged the basis of restoration theory and - together with Croce - provided the foundations for later developments of concepts by Brandi as the Director and instructor of the Institute. Apart from being concerned about works of art, Argan has been deeply conscious of social aspects as well, and has emphasized the urban character of art. He has also maintained, with Riegl, that it is not the official 'court art' that counts, but

rather the provincial production which forms the basis of civilization. (25) It is not by chance that in 1977, he was elected the Mayor of Rome and held this position for three years. In this task, he was able to promote conservation of the whole city in all its aspects, interfering at significant moments to protect its historic character. (26)

Post-War Reconstructions in Italy

The destruction caused by the Second World War came as a shock to the Italians. An immediate reaction by many was the feeling that these destroyed historic buildings and historic towns should be restored and rebuilt, even though this seemed to go against the established conservative guidelines. It seemed difficult to find generally applicable rules, as each case appeared to be special. (27) The situation was summarized in a meeting at Perugia in 1948 by Guglielmo De Angelis d'Ossat, born in Rome in 1907, then the Director General of Antiquities and Fine Arts, later Professor of Restoration at the University of Rome. (28) He divided cases of war damage into three categories. The first included buildings with limited damage, which could be repaired with reasonable efforts both in material and economic terms. The second category included buildings that had suffered major damage, and the third those considered practically destroyed. In the second category, there were many problems, and the opinions tended to go along two main directions, reconstruction and restoration in the previous form as in the case of the Loggia di Mercanzia in Bologna, or reconstruction in a form that did not repeat but rather conserved what was left, and allowed for a reinterpretation of the lost parts, as was the case in Santa Chiara in Naples or San Francesco in Viterbo. In the case of substantial reconstructions, De Angelis refused to accept the reconstruction of



Figure 338. San Lorenzo fuori le mura, Rome, rebuilt after damages in the Second World War

complex artistic interiors such as those in Baroque buildings, but referred to the method of anastylosis as a possible solution. (29) This was applied in the case of the Temple of Augustus in Pula, (now in Yugoslavia,) rebuilt using original elements. (30) In Verona, Piero Gazzola (1908-79), the Superintending Architect in the Region, emphasized the importance not only of important artistic monuments, but also of 'artisan structures' in urban fabric. On this basis, he insisted on the reconstruction of two historic bridges in Verona, blown up towards the very end of the war. In the case of Ponte Pietra, following careful archaeological work, it was possible to find and identify a great part of the masonry for an anastylosis of the Roman section, and the rest, consisting of Mediaeval and Renaissance brick structures, was rebuilt on the basis of laborious studies of existing documentation. (31)

In the case of Alberti's Tempio Malatestiano in Rimini, the masonry had moved leaving open cracks, and the Gothic choir was completely destroyed.

Figures 339 and 340. Tempio Malatestiano, Rimini, after bombardment



After a long debate, it was decided essential to re-establish the exact geometrical proportions of Alberti's architecture by bringing the blocks back into their original position. The roofs, the choir and the presbytery were rebuilt as they had been. (32) The richly decorated sixteenth-century church of SS. Annunziata in Genoa, had been partly destroyed in the war, and was rebuilt in its original form using original marbles as far as possible, and completing the rest in stucco work. (33) In the Early Christian basilica of San Lorenzo fuori le mura, in Rome, the destroyed portico was rebuilt, completing missing pieces in new plain marble so as to show the difference from the original. The collapsed brick walls were rebuilt in plain newbrick work without any painted decoration. (34) The Renaissance church of Imruneta in Florence, with Baroque additions in its interior, was so badly damaged that it was preferred to reconstruct its earlier, Renaissance appearance, for which sufficient elements were found. (35) Concerning historic urban areas, which had suffered major damages, such as Genoa, Vicenza, Viterbo, Treviso, Palermo, Ancona, Bolzano, and especially Florence, De Angelis recommended reconstruction

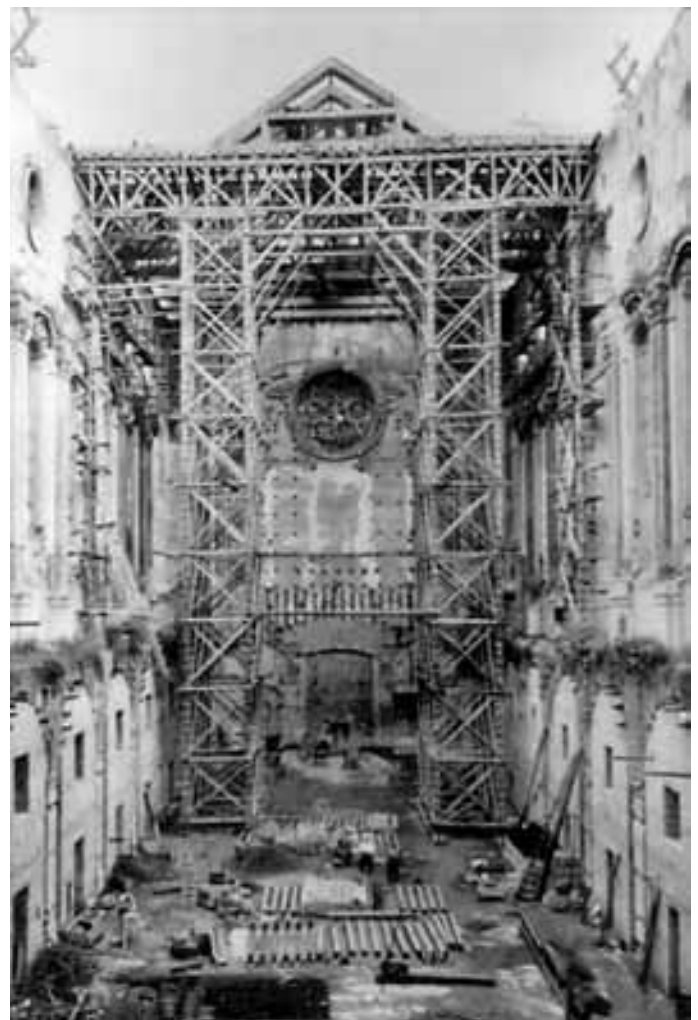
following the outlines of the general typical pattern of the destroyed buildings, although these new structures would otherwise conform with modern hygienic and functional requirements. This solution was adopted in Florence in the area around Ponte Vecchio, although the results have been later criticized. (36)

Roberto Pane

In his theory, Argan had conceived the aim of restoration to be the rediscovery of a work of art in its material consistency. At first sight, this could seem contrary to what was intended by architectural restoration based, as defined by Gazzola, on “the necessity to respect the monuments in the form in which they have come to us”. (37) In reality, however, both were based on an accurate historical critical as well as material analysis, conceived as “expressions of that cultural maturity, which forms the primary element of any valid achievement”, (38) allowing significant additions and elements in the work of art or historic monument to be conserved. In the post-war period, the principles of architectural restoration were again brought into discussion, this time on a new basis with reference to the recent drastic destruction.

Figure 341. Santa Chiara, Naples, before destruction

Figure 342. Santa Chiara after destruction



One of the principal contributors in this debate was Roberto Pane, born in Taranto in 1897, Professor at the Faculty of Architecture of the University of Naples, who specified the concepts of the so-called 'restauro critico' in terms of architecture.

He condemned the nineteenth-century approach of restoration architects, represented by Viollet-le-Duc's statement of putting oneself in the place of the original architect; his criticism included also the work of Luca Beltrami in Milan and Alfonso Rubbiani in Bologna. He referred, instead, to the 'charter' of Gustavo Giovannoni as a document dictated "by a healthy and illuminated sense of art and history". (39) Pane accepted the principle of limiting reconstructions to anastylosis, as well as making a difference between old and new in restorations. As to the requirement of conserving all additions to an historic building, whatever period or style they might represent, because of their documentary value, he expressed some reserve. Although considering this a legitimate requirement, he maintained that it should not exclude the possibility of a choice based on a critical appreciation; certainly ugly things belonged to history as well as beautiful ones, but he doubted whether the former really needed the same care as the latter. He maintained that "each monument should

be seen as a unique case, because as such it is as a work of art, and as such must be its restoration." (40)

He thus took a similar line to Argan's respecting the conservation of movable works of art, accepting the 'liberation' of the hidden aesthetic qualities of an historic building from insignificant obstructing additions. This, he insisted, could only be possible through "a creative act, where the person responsible for the work will not find other support except in himself", (41) and should certainly not be deceived into looking for assistance from the ghost of the primitive creator. The sudden destruction caused by the war had accentuated the situation with many monuments, and Pane took the example of the church of Santa Chiara in Naples, where the Baroque interior of this mediaeval building had been almost totally destroyed. Instead of trying to rebuild it in its pre-war form, it was decided to conserve only the remaining mediaeval structures, and to complete the rest in modern architectural forms. The problem that Pane posed, referring to this restoration, was not so much the technical execution but rather how to realize the work so that it could give new life to the church, and present its historic and modern aspects in a balanced way. He felt that the limits imposed by the earlier norms were too rigid and unable to permit a satisfactory solution to the problem. Instead, he conceived restoration in a new dimension, in which it should include a creative element, and he concluded that, if well done, "restoration itself is a work of art." (42)

Figure 343. Santa Chiara restored after Second World War destruction



Renato Bonelli

The concepts presented by Pane, were conceived in a somewhat different form by Renato Bonelli, born in 1911, Professor of history of architecture at the University of Rome. He defined restoration as "a critical method and then a creative act, the one as an intrinsic premiss of the other". (43) He saw the possible approaches towards a historic monument to be either respect for its existing condition as a document full of human richness from the past, or a responsible initiative to modify the present form in order to increase the value of the monument, to "possess it fully, participating in the recreation of its form as far as to add or remove some parts of it in order to reach that formal quality which corresponds to the architectural ideal of the present period." (44) This desire to purify architectural works of art from their later stratifications so as to reach their ideal form, was not intended as a restoration of the 'stylistic' ideal as in the nineteenth century, but rather as an attempt



Figure 344. Ferrara Cathedral with the small shops on the south side possible removal of which was discussed with the purpose to display the entire church elevation

to restore the monument to ‘a unity of line’ (*unita di linea*), a concept already defined by Giovannoni. This was interpreted by Bonelli as the most complete form the monument had reached in its history, consisting of coherent geometrical forms and having ‘a function of art’ (*funzione d’arte*). (45) Bonelli emphasized the dominance of aesthetic values over historical, and has insisted on the eventual removal of stylistically ‘alien’ elements from buildings that otherwise have preserved their original architectural unity. Such would be the case of a Baroque altarpiece in a church by Brunelleschi, because it ‘spoils’ or obstructs the spatial quality and linear unity of the Renaissance building; he has also proposed the removal of the row of fifteenth-century shops along the south side of Ferrara cathedral, in order to allow full appreciation of the Mediaeval monument. Although Bonelli strongly condemned ‘stylistic restoration’, the difference may sometimes be too subtle, and his approach was strongly criticized by Pane. (46)

Cesare Brandi

Born in Siena in 1906, Cesare Brandi studied law and humanities, beginning his career in 1930 with the Soprintendenza of Monuments and Galleries, passing later to the Administration of Antiquities and Fine Arts. An active writer and art-critic, Brandi lectured from 1934 at the University of Rome, and later at other institutions, on the history of art, as well as on the history, theory and practice of restoration. Since 1948, he has acted as an expert to Unesco and has carried out several missions abroad. In 1961, he was nominated Professor at the University of Palermo. Having been founded in 1939, with Brandi as its first Director, the Central Institute of Restoration

was immediately fully employed in the protection, safeguarding and restoration of endangered or damaged works of art. This forced the conservators to find practical solutions to many problems, such as that of reintegration of ‘lacunae’. As the head of the Institute Brandi further developed and specified the theory of restoration of works of art.

He distinguished between restoration of works of art and of ‘industrial products’, the latter aiming mainly at the repair of an object into working order. Although his theory was conceived mainly for the restoration of works of art, historic buildings could still be included in its sphere. Like Croce, Brandi ‘purified’ the works of art from any practical aspects, such as ‘use-value’. A work of art was conceived in its material, aesthetic and historic aspects. Restoration thus consisted in the method of the definition of a work of art in its material consistency, and in its aesthetic and historic values, with the aim of passing it on to the future. (47) Restoration could find various forms, ranging from ‘simple respect’ to the most radical operation, as for example when mural paintings are detached from their original base. Considering, however, that

Figure 345. The fragments of an antique sculpture of Hermes from Herculaneum recomposed at the National Museum of Naples after damages in the Second World War





Figure 346. A fresco painting by Giotto after restoration by G. Bianchi in 1852 (above), and the same painting after removal of the re-integrations and restoration by L. Tintori in 1959

the medium of the work of art is its material, the first principle of restoration is: “you only conserve the material of the work of art”. (48) Once the material has been used to produce the work of art, it has become historic, and cannot be replaced with another material even if chemically the same, without committing an offence against historic time. Material, as the manifestation of the work of art, can be conceived as ‘appearance’ and as ‘structure’. Of these, what forms the appearance is the essence, while the structure could be reinforced or even replaced in part, if this were the only way to guarantee its conservation. This would be the case, for example, if the wooden panel supporting a painting is rotten so that it does not fulfil its function, or if a structure has been weakened and partly collapsed due to an earthquake.

The second principle of the restoration of works of art states that: “restoration must aim at the re-establishment of the potential unity of the work of art, so far as this is possible without committing a fake, and without cancelling traces of its history.” (49) A work of art must be considered as a ‘whole’ which manifests itself in an indivisible unity that potentially

may continue to exist in its parts, even if the original work of art is broken in pieces. On the other hand, a work of art is not the sum of its parts; for example, the tesserae of a mosaic alone are not works of art, even a collection of these tesserae in itself does not make a work of art. The ‘whole’ of a work of art is not an organic unity and cannot be deduced from partial evidence on the basis of rules. It can only be what is visible. Concerning reintegration of damaged works of art, this is conceivable so far as it can be considered a restoration and not a reconstruction. Reintegrations should always remain recognisable on close inspection, although from a distance they should not disturb the unity that it is the intention to re-establish. Restorations should not prevent future operations for the conservation of works of art, but rather facilitate them. Considering the treatment of ‘lacunae’, Brandi refers to the concepts developed in Gestalt psychology, stating that what is lost is less serious than what is added. ‘Neutral treatment’ does not exist. If a ‘lacuna’ is treated in a wrong way, it may become visually a disturbance to the reading of the work of art itself. A reversible method in thin vertical lines was in fact developed at the Institute for the reintegration of ‘integratable’ losses in a painting, aiming at the appreciation of the unity of the whole work of art while revealing the restoration on close inspection. (50)

Historic time, in relation to any work of art, is seen by Brandi in three distinct aspects; the period of creation, the time from the end of the first period till the present, and the actual moment of perception of the work of art in our consciousness. Restoration cannot be conceivable during the time before the conclusion of the formation of the work of art, because it would presuppose time to be reversible and result in fantasy (as was often the case in ‘stylistic restoration’). It could not be conceived in the second period either, because this would cancel a part of the history of the object. Thus the only legitimate moment for restoration is the present. This includes conservation also of the patina of time, caused by weathering and resulting in material alterations, which are unavoidable and often irreversible. The removal of later additions should always be considered an exception. Considering, however, that the uniqueness of a work of art, when compared with other human products, mainly depends on its artistic quality, aesthetic values would dominate over historic in the case of a conflict. This would be evident, for example, in the case of secondary over-paintings and poor restorations, which could be removed if this was necessary for the re-establishment of the potential

unity of an underlying valuable work of art. Instead, if the over-paintings were a significant change in the role of the work of art, say, a mediaeval painting used as a part of a Baroque altar piece, they should be preserved. In the case of a work of art that has been destroyed so badly that it has lost its potential unity, no reintegration should be allowed, because this would easily result in the domination of the 'new reality' and in the destruction of the authenticity of the historic object. In that case the existing remains should be preserved as a ruin. For this reason, Brandi has criticized the reconstruction of the Stoa of Attalos in the Athenian Agora, made in 1953-56. He has also disagreed with the re-erection of the temples of Selinunte in Sicily in the 1960s, because after lying in the ground for centuries the drums of the columns had already lost their original form, and accepted a new reality.

In his theory, Brandi has summarized the essential concepts of conservation in relation to works of art; he has emphasized the role of historical critical definition as a basis for any intervention and has underlined the importance of the conservation of authenticity. Although conceived mainly in terms of works of art, Brandi considers them essentially relevant to architecture as well. In this way, his theory forms a sort of grammar, the use of which requires a mature historical consciousness. Compared with Pane's approach, however, Brandi, although working from a similar base, would hesitate to reach the same conclusion in terms of modern creative input. (51) In the early years of practice in the Institute, an emphasis in the policy was on the avoidance of any reintegrations that would involve interference in artistically sensitive parts; with the passing of time references have broadened, especially when dealing with mural paintings, as pointed out by Paul Philippot, Director Emeritus of ICCROM, and Laura and Paolo Mora, Chief Conservators at the Institute of Restoration in Rome. (52) Considered as part of architecture in effect, their reintegration can be seen to depend on the definition of the Gesamtkunstwerk, the architectural whole, of which they are part, and may justify some interventions that for a painting alone might not be proper.

Architecture, on the other hand, does create problems different from those applying to movable objects. One question is related to its structure, the only tangible evidence of its historic and sometimes of its past aesthetic values, being formed of the contributions of many generations, but covered by a more recent appearance. In certain cases it has

become fashionable to make an attempt to provide 'archaeological windows' in the wall surface, a sort of artificial lacunae, showing evidence of earlier phases of the construction, such as fragments of blocked windows, doors, arches. This has been the case, for example, in the rebuilt Warsaw, or in the Old Buda, where it may be understood as a part of the documentary justification of the rebuilding itself, which in fact has been considered a protection for these remains. When these remains have been amalgamated as part of later historic architecture, their indiscriminate display could hardly be justified, although it has become a fashion in many parts of the world, as it usually means destruction of the unity of a later architectural whole. (53)

21.3 International Recommendations

The destruction caused by the Second World War had shown to the world that it was necessary to provide more efficient international organisations by means of which eventual misunderstandings between nations could be settled without armed conflicts, and others which would promote educational, scientific and cultural co-operation at an international level, as well as assisting in providing means for the protection, conservation and restoration of cultural heritage. Thus, at the end of the War, in 1945, the old League of Nations gave way to the new United Nations Organization, the International Committee of Intellectual Cooperation was succeeded by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (Unesco), and in 1946 the International Museums Office, that had been forced to reduce its activities during the war, was formed into the International Council of Museums (ICOM).

In the first years, Unesco's cultural interests were limited to museums, but in October 1949 it called a Meeting of Experts on Historical Sites and Ancient Monuments in Paris, in which fourteen countries were represented including countries outside Europe, such as India, China, Brazil as well as USA. At this Meeting, it was recommended that Unesco should establish an International Committee of Monuments. The statutes of this Committee were approved in 1951, and it held its first meetings in Paris and Istanbul. In a report presented at its second meeting in Paris, the Committee drew attention particularly to legislative and administrative questions at a national level, on international collaboration, as well as proposing the publication of a manual on the restoration of historic monuments. (54) In 1951, it was decided to send to Peru the first mission organized by Unesco, to assist

the authorities in the reconstruction of the city of Cuzco, seriously damaged in an earthquake. In the same year, a second mission was organized to Ochrid in Yugoslavia to advise on the restoration of fresco paintings; Cesare Brandi participated in this mission. Further missions were organized to Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Egypt, and other Asian and African countries.

In 1950, at an Assembly of Unesco in Florence, a proposal was made to prepare an international convention for the establishment of a fund for the conservation of monuments, already discussed in the 1949 meeting, and also recommended by the General Assembly of the International Alliance of Tourism in May 1949. (55) It was preferred, instead, to propose the foundation of an International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM); this was officially approved at the Assembly in New Delhi in 1956, and after the necessary number of States had adhered the organization started working at its offices in Rome in 1959. (56)

As we have seen, the question of protecting cultural heritage in the case of war or armed conflict had already been the subject of international conventions and agreements, especially the Conventions of The Hague in 1899 and 1907, as well as the so-called Washington Pact of 1935. (57) Commissioned by the League of Nations, the International Museums Office had prepared a study on the protection of monuments and works of art in the case of war, published in 1939. (58) In 1950, the question was again discussed on the initiative of the Italian Government at an Assembly of Unesco in Florence, resulting in an intergovernmental meeting in 1954. This meeting was again organized by the Netherlands in The Hague, where the previous conventions had been drafted. Here, 39 States ratified the 'Convention on the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict'. This Convention established an 'International Register of Cultural Property under Special Protection', marked with a special emblem, and demanded the High Contracting Parties to provide an organization under a Commissioner General to ensure respect and protection by both the occupied and the occupying State. An important item in the Convention was the definition of cultural heritage covering "movable or immovable property of great importance to the cultural heritage of every people, such as monuments of architecture, art or history, whether religious or secular; archaeological sites; groups of buildings which, as a whole, are of historical or artistic interest" (59) as well as collections and archives and their

covering buildings. This definition, which thus covered not only single monuments but also groups of buildings, pointing out their universal value, showed the way towards other Unesco conventions and recommendations, such as the 'World Heritage Convention' of 1972. (60)

Paris Meeting in 1957

In 1957, the French authorities organized in Paris, under the patronage of Unesco, an International Meeting of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments, attended by representatives of twenty five countries. The President was Jules Formige (France), and the various sections were chaired by G. De Angelis d'Ossat (Italy), E.H. Ter Kuile (The Netherlands), M. Winders, (Belgium), F. Iniguez (Spain), A. Orlandos (Greece), and G. Webb, (Great Britain). The main problems discussed in the Meeting were the training and collaboration of the various technicians, craftsmen, architects, archaeologists, and urban planners who should contribute to the conservation of the architectural heritage, as well as technical means, problems of maintenance, and the harmonization of new with old. In reference to the question of training and related aspects, special mention was made of ICCROM and its future tasks in this field. It was recommended that restorations should be entrusted only to qualified architects and specialists. Several papers were presented on the question of modern design in an historic context, both in the repair of a building as well as in historic areas. Criticism was raised, especially by French speakers, against modern elements of too simple geometrical forms, which were considered to differ too drastically from the original decorative patterns, and which thus spoiled the concept of the artistic whole of a historic building. Attention was drawn also to the interrupted tradition of the building crafts, and the difficulty of modern artists in adapting themselves to the spirit of an environment of a different age, although positive results were not excluded. (61)

The Venice Charter

Following an invitation at the end of the 1957 meeting, presented by De Angelis d'Ossat on behalf of the Italian Government, another international meeting on architectural restoration was organized in Venice from 25 to 31 May 1964. This IInd International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments had delegations from Unesco, the Council of Europe, ICCROM, ICOM, the Istituto Internazionale dei Castelli, Italia Nostra, and 61 countries from Europe, the Americas, Africa,

Asia and Australia; altogether over 500 participants attended. The first section of the Meeting, on the theory of conservation, was chaired by C. Flores Marini (Mexico) with Raymond Lemaire (Belgium) as rapporteur; the other sections dealt with problems of research, legislation, contributions made by the restoration of monuments to history of art and civilization, as well as the protection of cultural property against public works and in the event of armed conflict. (62)

The resolutions of the Meeting included an International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites, the Venice Charter, which has had a much wider influence than the previous Athens Charter of 1931, and has become a fundamental international document in conservation theory, since reflected in many national legislations, and translated into 'regional charters' in different parts of the world. (63) Part of this wide diffusion is certainly due to the International Council of Monuments and Sites, ICOMOS, founded at the same Meeting, which has since taken the Venice Charter as its ethical guideline. (64) On the other hand, ICCROM, which participated in the drafting of the document, has always referred to it especially in its training activities. Amongst these is especially the Architectural Conservation Course, already in existence at the University of Rome under the direction of Prof. De Angelis d'Ossat, taken over by ICCROM in 1965 and given an international basis following the recommendation of the Venice Meeting. (65)

There were several members of the meeting who contributed towards the clarification of conservation principles. Especially noteworthy amongst these were Piero Gazzola and Roberto Pane, who referred to the Athens Charter of 1931 and the Italian Charter of 1932 drafted by Giovannoni, proposing the latter to be taken as a basis for a new recommendation. (66) They recalled various errors made in recent restorations, and underlined the importance of Art.5/1932, concerning the conservation of all periods and refusal of stylistic restoration; this was adopted as Art.11 of the 1964 Charter as follows:

“The valid contribution of all periods to the building of a monument must be respected, since unity of style is not the aim of a restoration. When a building includes the superimposed work of different periods, the revealing of the underlying state can only be justified in exceptional circumstances and when what is removed is of little interest and the material which is brought

to light is of great historical, archaeological or aesthetic value, and its state of preservation good enough to justify the action. Evaluation of the importance of the elements involved and the decision as to what may be destroyed cannot rest solely on the individual in charge of the work.”

The spirit of this article was certainly present in the Charter of Athens, but in a much clearly defined way; (67) now it was formed into a firm statement and launched at an international level. The Venice Charter clearly reflected the maturing consciousness towards all historic periods and all types of historic structures. This development of consciousness since the Renaissance was referred to also by various speakers, particularly by the Earl of Euston who spoke about the principles of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, and H.A. Meek who spoke about changing attitudes referring to Raphael, Hugo, Viollet-le-Duc, Scott, Ruskin, Morris, Boito and Giovannoni. (68) Pane himself referred to the recently defined principles of 'restauro critico' mentioning the words of Brandi in an article on 'Restoration' in the *Enciclopedia Universale dell'Arte*, but criticized the definition of Bonelli in the same article for being in conflict with the previous one and giving artistic values an absolute predominance. (69)

The balance between historic and artistic values had shifted from one to the other; since the end of the nineteenth century, emphasis had mostly been given to historic and documentary values, but after the Second World War the tendency had been towards artistic aspects - as was still felt in the 1957 meeting in Paris. In his theory Brandi, although speaking of works of art and naturally recalling their specific interests, provided a basis for a balanced critical judgement of these two aspects, and this was reflected in the Charter of Venice. Gazzola and Pane proposed to cancel certain lines of the earlier recommendations, in which emphasis had been laid on a too distinct difference between old and new. While remaining firm on the principle of distinction and refusal of any falsification, art.3,9 and 12 of the Venice Charter attempt a more general form for this principle, and attempt to balance both aspects. The intention of conserving monuments “no less as works of art than as historical evidence” is specified in art.3, and art.9 declares:

“The process of restoration is a highly specialised operation. Its aim is to preserve and reveal the aesthetic and historic value of the monument and is based on respect for original material and authentic documents. It must stop at the

point where conjecture begins, and in this case, moreover, any extra work which is indispensable must be distinct from the architectural composition and must bear a contemporary stamp..." Art.12 completes by stating: "Replacements of missing parts must integrate harmoniously with the whole, but at the same time must be distinguishable from the original so that restoration does not falsify the artistic or historic evidence."

Here, the spirit of the Charter could be referred to Brandi's consideration of Gestalt psychology, according to which there is no 'neutral' element; a plain simple geometrical form in a richly decorated context could easily become disturbing to the object itself, as was pointed out in the 1957 meeting in Paris as well. The solution for the best policy thus remains to be decided in each case guaranteeing that restoration in any case be "preceded and followed by an archaeological and historical study of the monument." (Art.9) The concept of 'dead' and 'living' monuments was not considered appropriate, because all monuments, even those in ruins, were considered 'living' and capable of transmitting their message. Concerning archaeological sites, reconstructions were ruled out "a priori", allowing only 'anastylosis'. Due to various interpretations in the post-war period, it was considered necessary to specify the meaning of this concept as: "the re-assembling of existing but dismembered parts" (Art.15) using the minimum of modern material necessary for consolidation.

The Charter was concentrated almost exclusively on guidelines for architectural restoration, although in the definitions the concept of an historic monument was enlarged to embrace "not only the single architectural work but also the urban or rural setting in which is found the evidence of a particular civilisation, a significant development or an historic event." (Art.1) Attention was given to their maintenance on a permanent basis (Art.4), and on their use "for some socially useful purpose" (Art.5). There are further statements in two articles, Art.7 and 14, in which a monument is considered "inseparable from the history to which it bears witness and from the setting in which it occurs" (Art.7), and where concern is given to the protection of this setting. The Charter does not mention historic towns, although these were given due attention by numerous speakers, who complained of the imminent threats caused by development and lack of sensitivity by planning authorities on the conservation of 'historic centres'. To meet this problem, a separate document was drafted at the Meeting concerning the

'Protection and Rehabilitation of Historic Centres', and urging national and international bodies to take appropriate steps to provide legislation and means for their conservation and integration with contemporary life. (70) One can see this document pointing towards the resolution of the meeting which concluded the European Architectural Heritage Year in Amsterdam in 1975. After a two-year campaign in various European countries, this resolution, the 'Amsterdam Charter', defined the concept of 'integrated conservation' and thus gave a firm basis for conservation planning in historic towns. (71)

Conclusions

The Venice Charter has been criticized by many for being too rigid in its approach as well as limited in the types of structures and materials to which these principles have mainly been conceived, or for not containing various aspects considered important especially in urban conservation. It has been regarded as too European, and not having sufficiently taken into account the many-sided problems that have to be faced in Third World countries, often particularly rich in history and historic monuments, but lacking in financial and technical means for their care. These complaints may be true in their own right, but they do not necessarily undermine the value of the Charter.

The Meeting in Venice was truly international with participants from all parts of the world, who presented their experiences and their problems. The Charter was drafted by a Committee chaired by Gazzola, and including representatives of Unesco and ICCROM. Considering, that it followed the model of the Italian Charter of the 1930s, one may think justified the criticism that it is maybe too European. It has to be remembered though that the Charter has to be understood as a whole, and experience in different countries around the world has shown that its basic considerations have universal validity. The Meeting of Venice had gathered some of the foremost experts of the world in this field, and its principles certainly did not result by accident, but were consciously formulated. The emphasis was laid on the necessity to respect and maintain the authenticity of historic monuments as well as to safeguard them in appropriate use "no less as works of art than as historical evidence". (Art.3) These aspects, in fact, form the essence of the theories of conservation, the questions around which debates had been going on for more than a century, and where opinions had often been divided.

The Venice Charter thus brings this debate to a certain conclusion by forming a declaration that poses the questions at an international level, and draws them to the attention of all countries. It is in fact also a beginning; Unesco had gained its first experiences in international campaigns, ICCROM had been working only for five years, and the foundation of ICOMOS was decided in this same meeting. Few countries had training programmes in restoration and conservation activities, including Rome, New York and Ankara. It is from this period on that a broader based international collaboration was started, including technical missions, campaigns, documentation and especially training. Although many countries had established their legislation for the protection of cultural heritage in the first decades of the century, the Venice Charter was a stimulus for their updating and completion.

Professor Lemaire has stressed that the Charter was never intended as a dogma; the intention was rather to provide some basic principles which could be interpreted and even changed if time and circumstances showed the necessity for this. (72) It has been seen, however, that the various attempts to 'modernize' the Charter, as in Moscow in 1978, have not brought results. (73) A decade after its writing, Cevat Erder, Director of the School of Restoration at the Middle East Technical University in Ankara, and subsequently Director of ICCROM, has stated in a critique of the Charter that although it may contain certain weaknesses it had performed its function; it could be viewed as a reference point, as well as being a valid document for educational purposes, and that the "Charter is worthy of the respect devoted to an historic monument and should be preserved according to the principles proposed for the preservation of an historic monument." (74)

Notes to Chapter Twenty One

1. Report by S. Lorentz, in Pane, R., 'Some Considerations on the Meeting of Experts held at Unesco House, 17-21 October 1949', Museum, III, 1950, 49ff.
2. Ref. to Canon Raymond Lemaire's studies, in De Angelis d'Ossat, G., 'Danni di guerra e restauro dei monumenti', Atti del V Convegno nazionale di storia dell'architettura, (Perugia, 1948), Roma 1952. (Perogalli, C., Monumenti e metodi di valorizzazione; Saggi, storia e caratteri delle teorie sul restauro in Italia, dal medioevo ad oggi, Milano 1954, 104) Chanoine R. Lemaire, La reconstruction de Louvain, Rapport présenté au nom de la Commission des Alignements, Louvain 1915. See also De Naeyer, A., 'La reconstruction des monuments et des sites en Belgique après la première guerre mondiale', Monumentum, XX-XXII, 1980, 167ff.
3. Pevsner, N., Metcalf, P., The Cathedrals of England, Midland, Eastern & Northern England, Viking, Great Britain, 1985, 62ff.
4. Linstrum, D., 'The World of Conservation; An Interview with Raymond Lemaire', Monumentum, XXVI, 1983, 83ff. Lemaire has said: "Many restorations may be correct in form, but they are dead, hard and dry because they have not understood the sensitivity and life in the old materials". (Ibid, 93.)
5. De Naeyer, A., 'Preservation of Monuments in Belgium since 1945', Monumentum, XX-XXII, 1980, 153ff., 155. Linstrum, D., 'An Interview with Raymond Lemaire', op.cit., 91ff.
6. Tillema, J.A.C., Geschiedenis Monumentenzorg, 's-Gravenhage 1975, 436ff. There were several historic buildings and even historic town areas that were reconstructed after the war; such was the the Town Hall of Middelburg.
7. Léon, P., La Vie des Monuments français, op.cit., 537f.
8. Ibid, 536.
9. Sallez, A., Revillon, A., 'Déplacement de la façade de l'ancien théâtre municipal d'Amiens', Techniques & Architecture, XI-XII, November 1950, 58.
10. Léon, La Vie des Monuments français, op.cit., 525.
11. Trouvelot, J., 'De la restauration des monuments historiques', Techniques & Architecture, XI-XII, November 1950, 50: "Il ne suffit pas de conserver, d'entretenir ou de réparer les monuments historiques; il est aussi indispensable de leur garder leur caractère particulier, leur cadre et l'ambiance que en font l'attrait. Leur présentation et celle de leurs abords a, de ce fait, une importance capitale."
12. Ibid, 49: "Eglise de Talmont (Charente-Maritime). Des claveaux des arcs durent être remplacés au milieu du 19me siècle, pour consolider les arcs tombant en ruine; ils

n'ont pas été sculpté, l'aspect de ces pierres est brutal et détruit l'harmonie de la composition.”

13. Schicksale deutscher Bau Denkmale im zweiten Weltkrieg, Eine Dokumentation der Schäden und Totalverluste auf dem Gebiet der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, I-II, Berlin, DDR, 1980. Linstrum, D., 'The World of Conservation: an Interview with Ludwig Deiters', Monumentum, The International Journal of Architectural Conservation, Vol. XXVII, i, 1984, 3ff. Magirius, H., 'Conservation in Action: the reconstruction of the Dresden State Opera House', Monumentum, XXVI, iii, 1983, 165ff.

14. 'Croce, Benedetto', The New Encyclopaedia Britannica, Macropaedia V, 1984, 286. 'Literature, Western', Ibid, X, 1237. Croce published his works starting in 1902. These included the periodical La Critica, 1903-44.

15. Croce, B., La storia come pensiero e come azione, 1938.

16. Croce, B., Aesthetica in nuce, Laterza, Roma-Bari 1979. Written in 1928 for the Encyclopaedia Britannica ('Aesthetics').

17. Philippot, P., 'Restauro; Istituti e laboratori di restauro', Enciclopedia Universale dell'Arte, 352.

18. Argan, G.C., 'Restauro delle opere d'arte. Progettata istituzione di un Gabinetto Centrale del restauro', Le Arti, I, ii, 1938/39 (La Monica, G., Ideologia e prassi del restauro, Palermo 1974, 83ff.) Brandi, C., 'Argan e il restauro', Il pensiero critico di Giulio Carlo Argan, Studi in onore di Giulio Carlo Argan, iii, Roma 1985, 33ff.

19. Argan, G.C., 'Restauro delle opere d'arte', op.cit.: "Il restauro delle opere d'arte è oggi concordemente considerato come attività rigorosamente scientifica e precisamente come indagine filologica diretta a ritrovare e rimettere in evidenza il testo originale dell'opera, eliminando alterazioni e sovrapposizioni di ogni genere fino a consentire di quel testo una lettura chiara e storicamente esatta. Coerentemente a questo principio, il restauro, che un tempo veniva esercitato prevalentemente da artisti che spesso sovrapponevano una interpretazione personale alla visione dell'artista antico, è oggi esercitato da tecnici specializzati, continuamente guidati e controllati da studiosi: a una competenza genericamente artistica si è così sostituita una competenza rigorosamente storicistica e tecnica.”

20. Argan, G.C., Ibid: "Il restauro conservativo – consolidamento materiale delle opere e provvedimenti precauzionali per metterle in grado di resistere alle varie cause di deterioramento ...”

21. Ibid: "Il restauro 'artistico' - cioè il complesso di operazioni dirette a mettere in valore le qualità stilistiche dell'opera disturbate od offuscate da ridipinture, cattivi restauri, vernici ossidate, sudiciume, lacune, ecc. - viene condizionato a precise esigenze d'ordine critico.

Escludendosi ogni integrazione arbitrario delle lacune e qualsiasi introduzione di elementi figurati o di nuovi valori coloristici - anche se ritenuti 'neutri' - nell'unità stilistica dell'opera, il restauro dei dipinti si limita - dopo che siano stati compiuti gli atti necessari per il consolidamento delle varie parti - alla pulitura della superficie dipinta ed all'eventuale attenuamento delle dissonanze coloristiche provocate dalle lacune. Alla pulitura, che deve mettere in evidenza tutte le parti originali conservate rispettando i ritocchi finali o i possibili pentimenti dell'artista, non può procedersi solo in base a dati meccanici (ad es.: la resistenza della materia ai solventi) o a criteri vagamente prudenziali, ma in base alla precisa coscienza del risultato da raggiungere e cioè attraverso l'esame critico della qualità stilistica dell'opera e della sua posizione nello sviluppo cronologico dell'autore.”

22. Ibid: "La preparazione critica e scientifica necessaria per condurre rigorosamente un restauro - cioè la conoscenza completa delle qualità stilistiche, delle vicende esterne, delle condizioni di conservazione dell'opera da restaurare - non si compie soltanto attraverso l'esame critico e storico dell'opera e lo studio di tutta la documentazione ad essa relativa, ma anche attraverso una serie di indagini tecniche, alle quali la scienza moderna offre oggi importantissimi mezzi: radiografia, lampada di Wood, analisi chimica dei colori e delle materie successivamente sovrapposte, ecc.”

23. Ibid: "L'apparente limitazione del restauro a compiti puramente conservativi non rappresenta dunque una vittoria della meccanica sulla attività intelligente del restauratore, ma sposta semplicemente l'attività del restauro dal campo artistico al campo critico.”

24. Brandi, C., 'Argan e il restauro', op.cit., 34: "Questa era la novità maggiore dell'impostazione: il restauro come lettura critica dell'opera d'arte, operazione solo indirettamente manuale: arte liberale, infine, e non meccanica.”

25. Argan, G.C., 'La storia dell'arte' (1969), Storia dell'arte come storia della città, Roma 1984, 19ff.

26. Brandi, C., 'Argan e il restauro', op.cit., 36. Ferrari, O., 'L'impegno nella politica della tutela', Il pensiero critico di Giulio Carlo Argan, op.cit., 37ff.

27. Annoni, A., Scienza ed arte del restauro architettonico, Science and Art of Architectural Restoration, Milano 1946, 15: "The only teacher is the work of art itself, the only rule to follow the one dictated by love and knowledge.”

28. De Angelis d'Ossat, G., 'Danni di guerra e restauro dei monumenti', op.cit.

29. Ibid: "Ma tali ricostruzioni 'ex novo' o pressochè totali costituiscono assai rare eccezioni per casi speciali, nei quali riesca inoltre possibile risolvere il problema del fedele ripristino. Ciò è infatti irrimediabilmente negato a quei monumenti rivestiti all'interno o all'esterno di una ricca decorazione plastica o pittorica, come avviene, per esempio, nelle chiese barocche, dove sculture, affreschi,

stucchi, marmi, intarsi e legni scolpiti costituiscono non una suppellettile, ma sono viva parte del risultante aspetto architettonico.”

30. Ceschi, C., *Teoria e storia del restauro*, Roma 1970, 180f.

31. Gazzola, P., *Ponte Pietra a Verona*, Firenze 1963.

32. Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, *La ricostruzione del patrimonio artistico italiano*, Roma 1950, 95ff.

33. *Ibid*, 33, 42f; Ceschi, *op.cit.*, 174.

34. Ceschi, *op.cit.*, 191f.; *La ricostruzione del patrimonio*, *op.cit.*, 25ff.

35. *La ricostruzione del patrimonio*, *op.cit.*, 24ff.

36. Perogalli, C., *Monumenti e metodi di valorizzazione*, *op.cit.*, 109f. Berenson, Bernard, ‘On the Reconstruction of Florence’ (March 1945), *Essays in Appreciation*, London 1958, 1ff. Berenson is in favour of the conservation of the remaining structures and their reconstruction at least externally against those who wanted to modernize the area.

37. Gazzola, P., *Ponte Pietra*, *op.cit.*, 119: “Nel restauro architettonico si è scoperta solo in questi ultimi decenni la necessità di rispettare i monumenti nella forma in cui ci sono pervenuti: ma questo dovere, pur applicato fin dal secolo scorso nel restauro delle opere letterarie, non è ancora esattamente compreso. Cause di questa difficoltà di penetrazione delle nuove norme sono per lo più— la scarsa preparazione filologica, la conseguente carenza di critica e l’irriducibile presunzione, che solo superficialmente fa negare la tradizionale teoria del progresso nell’arte.”

38. *Ibid*: “Il restauro - dovendo infatti collegarsi con la storia analitica del monumento - presuppone una conoscenza non sommaria della storia dell’architettura e insieme di quei fattori complessi che apparentemente sono solo un supplemento della erudizione storico-estetica di uno specialista, ma in realtà sono espressione di quella maturità culturale che è elemento primario per qualsiasi realizzazione valida.”

39. Pane, R., ‘Il restauro dei monumenti e la chiesa di S. Chiara in Napoli’, *Architettura e Arti figurative*, Venezia 1948, 10: “Tale insieme costituisce un documento di vivo interesse e, sebbene abbia l’infelice titolo di ‘Carta del restauro’, avrà certamente migliore fortuna di molte altre analoghe Carte, perché appare, nel complesso, dettato da un sano ed illuminato senso dell’arte e della storia. Nella sua fondamentale impronta esso mostra di ispirarsi ad una concezione nettamente antitetica a quella predicata dal Viollet-le-Duc.”

40. *Ibid*, 12: “Ogni monumento dovrà, dunque, essere visto come un caso unico, perché tale è in quanto opera d’arte e tale dovrà essere anche il suo restauro.”

41. *Ibid*: “Ma è possibile che basti al restauratore avere sensibilità e cultura di critico? Se pensiamo che già la sola superficie di un intonaco e l’apparente neutralità di

un tono di raccordo possono impegnare il gusto creativo e che il più— scrupoloso rispetto delle migliori esperienze può portare, malgrado tutto, ad un risultato negativo, dobbiamo concludere che non bastano. Per quanto si possa procedere esclusivamente sul cammino tracciato dagli elementi più— controllati e sicuri, verrà sempre il momento in cui sarà necessario gettare un ponte, operare una congiunzione, e ciò potrà essere fatto soltanto grazie ad un atto creativo nel quale chi opera non troverà altro aiuto se non in se stesso, né potrà, come avveniva una volta, illudersi che gli stia accanto a guidarlo il fantasma del primitivo creatore.”

42. *Ibid*, 17: “Ma la maggiore difficoltà non consisterà nella sistemazione delle parti superstiti dei monumenti alle quali soccorreranno i numerosi mezzi che la moderna tecnica pone a nostra disposizione, bensì nell’attribuire una forma estetica a tutto il vasto insieme; cosa che, procedendo con la maggiore sobrietà e cautela, dovrà pur essere compiuta. Ora è proprio in questo senso che, anche seguendo il concetto di ‘nuda semplicità e di rispondenza allo schema costruttivo’ opportunamente raccomandate dalle suddette norme del restauro, dovrà essere realizzata un’opera che, nel suo dar nuova vita alla chiesa, riesca insieme antica e moderna. I vincoli del restauro imporranno i loro giusti e rigorosi limiti al gusto ed alla fantasia, ma saranno sempre e soltanto questi ultimi a fornire una soddisfacente soluzione del problema. Ora, se ciò è vero, quale conclusione è legittimo trarne? Che il restauro è stesso un’opera d’arte.”

43. Bonelli, R., ‘Il restauro come forma di cultura’, *Architettura e restauro*, Venezia 1959, 13: “Processo critico e poi atto creativo, l’uno come intrinseca premessa dell’altro; così resta ormai definito il restauro monumentale.” See also: Bonelli, R., ‘Principi e metodi nel restauro dei monumenti’ (1945), and ‘Danni di guerra, ricostruzione dei monumenti e revisione della teoria del restauro architettonico’ (1953); Pica, A., ‘Attualità del restauro’, *Costruzioni-Casabella*, CLXXXII, Feb. 1943.

44. Bonelli, R., ‘Il restauro come forma di cultura’, *op.cit.*, 14: “...ancora oggi, quando si passa al caso concreto di un determinato monumento precisamente definito ed alla scelta dei criteri operativi da adottare, due diversi impulsi sorgono e si contrappongono: quello di mantenere un atteggiamento di rispetto verso l’opera in esame, considerata nella sua conformazione attuale, e l’altro di assumere l’iniziativa e la responsabilità di un intervento diretto a modificare tale forma, allo scopo di accrescere lo stesso valore del monumento. In tale contrasto il primo impulso obbedisce ad una valutazione testimoniale dell’edificio quale documento del passato, ma anche al riconoscimento del valore substorico degli elementi concettuali, etici e psicologici che lo hanno originato e lo caratterizzano, e che in esso divengono immagine individuata e prodotto di gusto, forma vivente carica di tutta l’umana ricchezza di un incombente passato. Il secondo è mosso dal desiderio di possedere pienamente il monumento, di farlo proprio partecipando alla ricreazione

della sua forma fino ad aggiungere o togliere alcune parti di esso, ed è sollecitato dallo scopo di pervenire a quella qualità formale che corrisponde all'ideale architettonico dell'epoca presente. E' chiaro che la seconda posizione costituisce la logica conseguenza e l'inevitabile superamento della prima; entrambe riconoscono il valore storico e formale dell'opera, se l'una accentua la valutazione nel rispetto del monumento così come si trova, l'altra muove da quella stessa valutazione per affermare la necessità di sovrapponendo il presente al passato, nello sforzo di fondere in una vera unità l'antico e il nuovo."

45. Bonelli, R., 'Principi e metodi nel restauro dei monumenti' (1945), *Architettura e restauro*, op.cit., 30ff.

46. Pane, R., 'Conférence introductive', ICOMOS, *The Monument for the Man, Records of the II International Congress of Restoration (Venezia, 25-31 May 1964)*, Padova-Bologna, 1971, 1ff. (4).

47. Brandi, C., *Teoria del restauro*, Roma 1963, 34: "Il restauro costituisce il momento metodologico del riconoscimento dell'opera d'arte, nella sua consistenza fisica e nella sua duplice polarità estetica e storica, in vista della sua trasmissione al futuro."

48. Ibid, 35: "Si restaura solo la materia dell'opera d'arte".

49. Ibid, 36: "Il restauro deve mirare al ristabilimento della unità potenziale dell'opera d'arte, purchè ciò sia possibile senza commettere un falso artistico o un falso storico, e senza cancellare ogni traccia del passaggio dell'opera d'arte nel tempo."

50. The restoration of paintings has been divided into categories according to the nature of the losses, the 'lacunae', their position, size, and depth; it can depend on whether or not the lost part of the picture is known on the basis of documentation or in the context; it can depend on the artistic significance of the lost area (a part of cloth or background is easier to reintegrate than some parts of the face of a person). See: Mora,P.&L., Philippot,P., *La Conservation des peintures murales*, ICCROM, Bologna 1977, 347ff.

51. Concerning the restoration of Santa Chiara, Naples, Brandi would have preferred to leave the Gothic remains in the state of ruins, seeing them more powerful in that form. (Brandi, *Teoria del restauro*, op.cit., 59f.)

52. Mora-Mora-Philippot, *La Conservation des peintures murales*, op.cit.

53. Philippot, P., 'Historic Preservation: Philosophy, Criteria, Guidelines', *Preservation and Conservation; Principles and Practices*, Proceedings of the North American International Regional Conference, Williamsburg, Virginia, and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, September 10-16, 1972, ICCROM, Washington 1976, 367ff.

54. The proceedings of the Meeting of Experts on Historical Sites and Ancient Monuments, published in *Museum*, III, 1950, i, edited by R.Pane.

55. Ref. in 'Message of J.Torres Balbas, Director General of Unesco', *Museum*, III, 1950, 7: "The general assembly of the International Alliance of Tourism requests the competent international organizations to have regard to the need for ensuring the protection and safeguarding of architectural, artistic and historical monuments, which are the common heritage of all civilized nations, by bringing their national laws into line and by organizing as a matter of urgency international financial assistance to countries which are the guardians of these monuments." 56. Daifuku, H., 'The Rome Centre - Ten Years After', ICCROM, *The First Decade, 1959-1969*, Rome 1969, 11ff. Gazzola, P., 'La cooperazione internazionale nel campo della tutela del patrimonio monumentale', *Architettura e restauro*, Milano (n.d.) (Gurrieri, F., *Teoria e cultura del restauro dei monumenti e dei centri antichi*, Firenze 1977, 115ff.)

54. 'Washington Pact for the Protection of Artistic and Scientific Institutions and of Historic Monuments' ('Roerich Pact'), 15 April 1935.

58. *La Protection des monuments et oeuvres d'art en temps de guerre*, Paris 1939.

59. *Final Act of the Intergovernmental Conference on the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict*, The Hague, 1954, Unesco 1954, 8: Art. 1, a.

60. See: 'The World Heritage Convention', *Monumentum*, Special Issue, 1984.

61. Proceedings published in: *Congrès international des Architectes et Techniciens des monuments historiques*, Paris 1957.

62. ICOMOS, *The Monument for the Man, Records of the II International Congress of Restoration*, Venezia, 25-31 maggio 1964, Padova-Bologna 1971.

63. Ibid, lxxix ff.: 'Venice Charter': "International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of

Monuments and Sites. Imbued with a message from the past, the historic monuments of generations of people remain to the present day as living witnesses of their age-old traditions. People are becoming more and more conscious of the unity of human values and regard ancient monuments as a common heritage. The common responsibility to safeguard them for future generations is recognized. It is our duty to hand them on in the full richness of their authenticity. It is essential that the principles guiding the preservation and restoration of ancient buildings should be agreed and be laid down on an international basis, with each country being responsible for applying the plan within the framework of its own culture and traditions. By defining these basic principles for the first time, the Athens Charter of 1931 contributed towards the development of an extensive international movement which has assumed concrete form in national

documents, in the work of ICOM and UNESCO and in the establishment by the latter of the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and the Restoration of Cultural Property. Increasing awareness and critical study have been brought to bear on problems which have continually become more complex and varied; now the time has come to examine the Charter afresh in order to make a thorough study of the principles involved and to enlarge its scope in a new document. Accordingly, the IInd International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments, which met in Venice from May 25th to 31st 1964, approved the following text:

‘Definitions’

Article 1. The Concept of an historic monument embraces not only the single architectural work but also the urban or rural setting in which is found the evidence of a particular civilisation, a significant development or an historic event. This applies not only to great works of art but also to more modest works of the past which have acquired cultural significance with the passing of time.

Article 2. The conservation and restoration of monuments must have recourse to all the sciences and techniques which can contribute to the study and safeguarding of the architectural heritage.

Article 3. The intention in conserving and restoring monuments is to safeguard them no less as works of art than as historical evidence.

‘Conservation’

Article 4. It is essential to the conservation of monuments that they be maintained on a permanent basis.

Article 5. The conservation of monuments is always facilitated by making use of them for some socially useful purpose. Such use is therefore desirable but it must not change the lay-out or decoration of the building. It is within these limits only that modifications demanded by a change of function should be envisaged and may be permitted.

Article 6. The conservation of a monument implies preserving a setting which is not out of scale. Wherever the traditional setting exists, it must be kept. No new construction, demolition or modification which would alter the relation of mass and colour must be allowed.

Article 7. A monument is inseparable from the history to which it bears witness and from the setting in which it occurs. The moving of all or part of a monument cannot be allowed except where it is justified by national or international interests of paramount importance.

Article 8. Items of sculpture, painting or decoration which form an integral part of a monument may only be removed from it if this is the sole means of ensuring their preservation.

‘Restoration’

Article 9. The process of restoration is a highly specialised operation. Its aim is to preserve and reveal the aesthetic and historic value of the monument and is based on respect for original material and authentic documents. It must stop at the point where conjecture begins, and in this case, moreover, any extra work which is indispensable must be distinct from the architectural composition and must bear a contemporary stamp. The restoration in any case must be preceded and followed by an archaeological and historical study of the monument.

Article 10. Where traditional techniques prove inadequate, the consolidation of a monument can be achieved by the use of any modern technique for conservation and construction, the efficacy of which has been shown by scientific data and proved by experience.

Article 11. The valid contributions of all periods to the building of a monument must be respected, since unity of style is not the aim of a restoration. When a building includes the superimposed work of different periods, the revealing of the underlying state can only be justified in exceptional circumstances and when what is removed is of little interest and the material which is brought to light is of great historical, archaeological or aesthetic value, and its state of preservation good enough to justify the action. Evaluation of the importance of the elements involved and the decision as to what may be destroyed cannot rest solely on the individual in charge of the work.

Article 12. Replacements of missing parts must integrate harmoniously with the whole, but at the same time must be distinguishable from the original so that restoration does not falsify the artistic or historic evidence.

Article 13. Additions cannot be allowed except in so far as they do not detract from the interesting parts of the building, its traditional setting, the balance of its composition and its

relation with its surroundings.

‘Historic Sites’

Article 14. The sites of monuments must be the object of special care in order to safeguard their integrity and ensure that they are cleared and presented in a seemly manner. The work of conservation and restoration carried out in such places should be inspired by the principles set forth in the foregoing articles.

‘Excavations’

Article 15. Excavations should be carried out in accordance with scientific standards and the recommendation defining international principles to be applied in the case of archaeological excavation adopted by UNESCO in 1956.

Ruins must be maintained and measures necessary for the permanent conservation and protection of architectural features and of objects discovered must be taken. Furthermore, every means must be taken to facilitate the

understanding of the monument and to reveal it without ever distorting its meaning.

All reconstruction work should however be ruled out a priori. Only anastylosis, that is to say, the re-assembling of existing but dismembered parts can be permitted. The material used for integration should always be recognisable and its use should be the least that will ensure the conservation of a monument and the reinstatement of its form.

‘Publication’

Article 16. In all works of preservation, restoration or excavation, there should always be precise documentation in the form of analytical and critical reports, illustrated with drawings and photographs.

Every stage of the work of clearing, consolidation, rearrangement and integration, as well as technical and formal features identified during the course of the work, should be included. This record should be placed in the archives of a public institution and made available to research workers. It is recommended that the report should be published.

The following persons took part in the work of the Committee for drafting the International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments: Mr Piero Gazzola (Italy), Chairman; Mr Raymond Lemaire (Belgium), Reporter; Mr José Bassegoda-Nonell (Spain); Mr Luis Bonavente (Portugal); Mr Djurdje Boskovic (Yugoslavia); Mr Hisroshi Daifuku (U.N.E.S.C.O.); Mr P.L. de Vrieze (Netherlands); Mr Harald Langberg (Denmark); Mr Mario Matteucci (Italy); Mr Jean Merlet (France); Mr Carlos Flores Marini (Mexico); Mr Roberto Pane (Italy); Mr S.C.J. Pavel (Czechoslovakia); Mr Paul Philippot (ICCRUM); Mr Victor Pimentel (Peru); Mr Harold Plenderleith (ICCRUM); Mr Deoclecio Redig de Campos (Vatican); Mr Jean Sonnier (France); Mr François Sorlin (France); Mr Eustathios Stikas (Greece); Mrs Gertrude Tripp (Austria); Mr Jan Zachwatowicz (Poland); Mr Mustafa S. Zbiss (Tunisia).”

64. ‘Resolution concerning the creation of an International Non-Governmental Organisation for Monuments and Sites’, Document 2, ICOMOS, *The Monument for the Man*, op.cit., lxxii ff. The organizing Committee was chaired by De Angelis d’Ossat. The first meeting of ICOMOS took place in Warsaw in 1965.

65. ‘Resolution concerning the teaching of preservation and restoration of monuments’, Document 3, Ibid, lxxiv.

66. Gazzola-Pane, ‘Proposte per una Carta Internazionale del Restauro’, Ibid, 14ff. R. Lemaire, P. Philippot, Assistant Director of ICCROM, and Jean Sonnier were the persons who drafted the text of the Charter “in a day and a night”. (Linstrum, D., ‘An Interview with Raymond Lemaire’, op.cit., 90.)

67. ‘Athens Charter’, Art.I.: “Whatever may be the variety of concrete cases, each of which are open to a different

solution, the Conference noted that there predominates in the different countries represented a general tendency to abandon restorations in toto and to avoid the attendant dangers by initiating a system of regular and permanent maintenance calculated to ensure the preservation of the buildings. When, as the result of decay or destruction, restoration appears to be indispensable, it recommends that the historic and artistic work of the past should be respected, without excluding the style of any given period...”

68. The Earl of Euston, ‘The Principles of Conservation and Repair’, *The Monument for the Man*, op.cit., 25ff. Meek, H.A., ‘Changing Attitudes to Restoration’, ibid, 29ff.

69. ‘Restauro’, *Enciclopedia Universale dell’Arte*,

70. ‘Motion concerning protection and rehabilitation of historic centres’, Document 8. In this connection reference should be made to the work of the Civic Trust in Great Britain, founded in 1957 in order to draw people’s attention to the environment. It works through a national network of local amenity societies observing the state of the built environment, and carrying out positive schemes of environmental improvement, beginning with the Magdalene Street, Norwich, continued with other proposals of which the latest is that of Wirksworth, Derbyshire, 1980 onward.

71. The ‘European Charter of the Architectural Heritage’ was adopted by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe, on 26 September 1975, and it was proclaimed at the Congress of the European Architectural Heritage in Amsterdam from 21 to 25 October 1975. Considering that the European architectural heritage consists not only of important monuments, but also of ‘groups of lesser buildings in our old towns and characteristic villages in their natural or manmade settings’, considering that this heritage is ‘a capital of irreplaceable spiritual, cultural, social and economic value’, and recognizing that this heritage is threatened by various types of dangers, the Charter proclaims: “7. Integrated conservation averts these dangers. Integrated conservation is achieved by the application of sensitive restoration techniques and the correct choice of appropriate functions. In the course of history the hearts of towns and sometimes villages have been left to deteriorate and have turned into areas of substandard housing. Their restoration must be undertaken in a spirit of social justice and should not cause the departure of the poorer inhabitants. Because of this, conservation must be one of the first considerations in all urban and regional planning.

It should be noted that integrated conservation does not rule out the introduction of modern architecture into areas containing old buildings provided that the existing context, proportions, forms, sizes and scale fully respected and traditional materials are used.”

It is further stated that integrated conservation depends on legal, administrative, financial and technical support,

and that it is necessary “to develop training facilities and increase prospects of employment for the relevant managerial, technical and manual skills.”

72. Linstrum, D., ‘An Interview with Raymond Lemaire’, *op.cit.*, 90f.

73. Nevertheless some countries have produced their own regional charters such as ‘Las Normas de Quito’ in Latin America (1967) and the ‘Burra Charter’ in Australia (1979). In the USA, The Secretary of the Interior’s Standards for Rehabilitation and Guidelines for Rehabilitating Historic Buildings (1979) have been strongly inspired on the principles of the Venice Charter, as well as the more recent ‘Appleton Charter’ in Canada, written in 1983.

74. Erder, C., ‘The Venice Charter under Review’, first published in Turkish in the Journal of Faculty of Architecture, Middle East Technical University, Ankara, 1977, III, ii, 167ff.

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- American School of Classical Studies.
- Bennakis Museum: Drawings Collection.
- Deutsches Archäologisches Institut.
- Gennadeion Library.

BERLIN, DDR.

- Kupferstich Kabinett.
- Drawings Collection.

COLOGNE

- Bayerisches Hauptstaatarchiv.

COPENHAGEN

- Kunstakademiets Bibliotek, Charlottenburg Samlingen af Arkitekturtegninger

DRESDEN

- Institut für Denkmalpflege, Arbeitsstelle Dresden.
- Sächsische Landesbibliothek zu Dresden.

DURHAM

- Dean & Chapter Library; Dean & Chapter Muniments: Abstracts of Chapter Minutes, II (1726-1829), III (1829-1867). Drawings Collection. Survey Reports.

LONDON

- Library of the Society of Antiquaries: Society of Antiquaries Minutes.
- RIBA Library

MAGDEBURG

- Staatsarchiv: Files of Cologne Cathedral, Magdeburg Cathedral, Marienburg Castle.

MERSEBURG

- Zentrales Staatsarchiv, Dienststelle Merseburg: Files of Cologne Cathedral, Magdeburg Cathedral, Marienburg Castle.

NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE

- Laing Art Gallery

NEW HAVEN CONNETICUT

- Yale Center for British Art

OXFORD

- Ashmolean Museum, Department of Western Art

PARIS

- Archives de la Commission des Monuments Historiques: Files of La Madeleine, Vézelay (1586, 1587)
- Centre de Reserche des Monuments Historiques, Palais de Chaillot: Drawings Collection (Viollet-le-Duc)

ROME

- Accademia di S. Luca, The Library, The Archives: Correspondance and reports concerning ancient monuments (Particularly the Colosseum, the Arch of Titus), Drawings Collection.
- American Academy, The Library, Photographic Collection.
- Archivio di Stato: 'Abbellimenti di Roma', 'Buon Governo', 'Camerale', 'Camerlengato', 'Consiglio d'Arte Istruzione'.
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- Deutsches Archäologisches Institut.
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10. The cathedral of Magdeburg, DDR: antique columns in the choir (JJ).
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12. The Arch of Septimius Severus, Rome, with remains of Mediaeval structures. Drawing by Matheijs Bril (1550-83). (Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des dessins; *Il paesaggio nel disegno del cinquecento europeo*, op.cit., 167)
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16. St. Peter's, Rome, showing the Renaissance project. (Heydenreich-Lotz, *Architecture in Italy 1400-1600*)
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20. S. Marco, Rome, the interior. (JJ)
21. Nicolas Beatrizet for Lafrery, 'Dioscuri', Rome, c. 1550 (Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe, Rome, F.N. 22204).
22. One of the statues of the 'Dioscuri', the Capitol, Rome. (JJ)
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25. Villa Medici, Rome, the courtyard elevation. (JJ)
26. M. Dente, 'Laocoon before restoration' (16th Century), Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe, Rome.
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44. The Column of Marcus Aurelius, Rome, detail of restoration by D. Fontana. (JJ)
45. The Lateran Obelisk (Engraving by Guerra, Bonifacio, Fontana).
46. The Lateran Obelisk, Rome. (JJ)
47. The Lateran Obelisk, Rome, detail showing the sixteenth-century restoration. (JJ)
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123. The Temple of Athena Nike under reconstruction. Water colour by Christian Hansen. (The Royal Academy of Fine Arts, Copenhagen).

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130. The Parthenon, c.1900. (Institut für Denkmalpflege, Berlin DDR)

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132. The Acropolis c.1900. (Institut für Denkmalpflege, Berlin DDR)

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134. The Propylaea under restoration, early 1900s. (Institut für Denkmalpflege, Berlin DDR)

135. The Temple of Athena Nike in 1984. (JJ)

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RESOLUTION OF THE THIRD CONGRESS OF ENGINEERS AND ARCHITECTS, ROME, 1883

(Boito, Camillo, Questioni pratiche di belle arti, restauri, concorsi, legislazione, professione, insegnamento, Hoepli, Milano 1893, 28ff. English Translation/ JJ/DL)

“Considering that architectural monuments from the past are valuable not only for the study of architecture, but also contribute as essential documents to explain and illustrate all the facets of the history of various peoples throughout the ages, they should, therefore, be scrupulously and religiously respected as documents in which any alteration, however slight, if it appears to be part of the original could be misleading and eventually give rise to erroneous assumptions;

The first section of the Third Congress of Engineers and Architects, in view of the circular letters concerning the restoration of historic buildings, sent to the Prefects of the Kingdom by the Minister of Education, recommends the following guidelines:

1. When it has been shown without a shadow of doubt that there is a need to intervene, architectural monuments should be consolidated rather than repaired, repaired rather than restored, taking great pains to avoid any additions or renovations.

2. Should additions or renovations prove absolutely essential for the solidity of the structure or for other serious and unavoidable reasons, and in the case that these should involve parts that never have existed or that no longer exist, or parts where there is no exact knowledge as to their original form, such additions or renovations should be executed in a different character from that of the monument, taking care that the new work should not unduly disturb the appearance of the old building.

3. Should the question be, instead, of constructing parts that have been destroyed or that for fortuitous reasons were originally never completed, or of rebuilding ashlar that is so decayed that it cannot remain in the structure, or when there is still the old form to be reproduced with accuracy, it would be advisable anyhow that the additional or renewed blocks, whilst taking the original form, should still be made of obviously different material, or that they be clearly marked with an engraved sign or better still with the date of the restoration, so that not even here a careful observer be misled. In monuments of Antiquity and in others of particular archaeological

interest, any parts which must be completed for structural or conservation purposes should only be built with plain surfaces and using only the outlines of solid geometry - even when they do not appear to be other than the continuation or a firm attachment to other moulded or ornamental antique parts.

4. In monuments, which derive their beauty, their uniqueness and the poetry of their appearance from a variety of marbles, mosaics and painted decoration, or from the patina of their age, or from their picturesque setting, or even from their ruinous condition, the works of consolidation should be strictly limited to the essential. Such works should not diminish in any way these intrinsic and extrinsic sources of their artistic attraction.

5. Any additions or alterations which have been made to the first structure in different periods of time will be considered as monuments and treated as such, except in the case that they are obviously inferior artistically and historically to the building itself, and at the same time detract or obscure some important parts of it; then removal or demolition of these alterations or additions appears advisable. In all cases where feasible or worth-while, the elements that have been discussed above should be preserved, either completely or in their essential parts, if possible near the monument from which they were removed.

6. Photographs should be taken of the monument prior to the initiation of even minor repairs or restorations, then gradually of all principal stages of the work, and finally of the completed work. This series of photographs should be sent to the Ministry of Education together with drawings of the plans, elevations and details, using water-colour where necessary, to indicate clearly all parts that have been conserved, consolidated, rebuilt, renewed, altered, removed or demolished. A clear and methodical report on the reasons for the works and their progress, should accompany the drawings and photographs. A copy of all the above-mentioned documents should be deposited with the authorities responsible for the restoration of churches, or at the office in charge of the restored monument.

7. An inscription should be fixed on the building to record the date of the restoration and the main works undertaken.

ITALIAN NORMS FOR THE RESTORATION OF MONUMENTS 1932

(‘Norme per il restauro dei monumenti’ by the Consiglio Superiore per le Antichità e le Belle Arti, published in Bolletino d’Arte, January 1932. English Translation/ JJ/DL)

The Superior Council for Antiquities and Fine Arts, turning its attention to the norms which should regulate restoration of monuments - which in Italy is a matter of great national concern, and guided by the need to maintain and continuously improve the undoubted supremacy which our country has in this field of scientific, artistic and technical activity:

- convinced of the multiple and serious responsibilities which every restoration operation entails (whether accompanied by excavations or not), by the consolidation of crumbling parts; by the conservation or the rehabilitation of the monument in a correct way; by the interventions on built artistic and historic documents which are no less valid than those preserved in museums and archives, permitting structural studies able to throw new light on elements of importance for the history of art and building; convinced therefore that no reason of haste, of practical necessity or personal desire can justify that such activities should not correspond to a well-defined series of criteria and stating as obvious that such principles should apply both to restoration works aimed at the conservation and/or study of monuments carried out by private entities as well as by public bodies such as the superintendents:

- considering that restoration work should take into account but not eclipse even partially various types of criteria: that is to say the historic reasons whereby none of the phases which comprise the monument should be eliminated or falsified by additions which might mislead scholars, nor should the material brought to light through analytical research be lost; the architectural concept which aims at the correct rehabilitation of the monument and, whenever possible, to a unity of form (not to be confounded with a unity of style); the criteria based on public sentiment, on civic pride, on its memories and nostalgia; and finally on what is considered essential by the appropriate administration in line with the means available and eventual practical use;

- believes that, after over thirty years of activity in this sphere, attaining on the whole excellent results, a series of practical lessons can and should be drawn from these results to refine and validate a restoration

theory by now well-established through the Superior Council’s discussions and the direction taken by most of the Superintendents of Antiquities and Mediaeval and Modern Art. Essential principles stem from this theory as applied in practice.

It thereby states:

1. that over and above any other consideration the utmost importance must be given to constant maintenance and consolidation works in order to ensure the monument’s resistance and survival, which would otherwise be lost through mis-use or neglect;

2. that the possibility of rehabilitation initiated for artistic and architectural reasons, in close connection with historic criteria, should only be considered when based on completely reliable data on the said monument to be rehabilitated and not on hypotheses, on elements already well-known as well as on certain new ones;

3. that for those monuments, which today are far removed from modern civilization and uses, such as ancient monuments, any completion should normally be excluded and only anastylosis should be considered, that is to say the repositioning of existing broken parts with the eventual addition of those neutral elements which are the minimum necessary to integrate the form and ensure conservation conditions;

4. that in the so-called ‘living’ monuments only those uses are accepted that are not too far removed from the original use in order to avoid drastic alterations to the building during any necessary adaptations;

5. that all those elements of artistic or historic importance be conserved, no matter what period they date from, so that the desire for stylistic unity or a return to an original form does not intervene to exclude some elements to the detriment of others. Only those, such as walled-in windows or blocked-in arcades can be eliminated, if they have no importance or meaning and are considered to be unnecessary eyesores. Any evaluation of such considerations and eventual eliminations must in any case be carefully assessed and not left to the personal judgement of the author of a restoration project;

6. alongside these considerations on the respect of the monument through its various phases, the environment should also be given due attention so that its surroundings are not altered by unsuitable isolation or neighbouring new buildings which by their mass, colour and style overwhelm the monument;

7. that any alterations which should prove necessary to consolidate the building or to achieve a partial or total re-integration or for the practical use of the monument, the essential criterion to be applied, over and above the need to limit any such new elements to a minimum, should be that of making these alterations as simple and bare as possible and in conformity to the structural form. The continuation of existing lines in similar style can be accepted only if these lines are geometrical patterns without any specific decorative characteristics;

8. that in any case any such additions must be carefully distinguished in an obvious way with the use of materials different from the original or with the use of simple, undecorated borders or by the use of initials or signs so that scholars might never be misled by a restoration which would thus be falsification of an historic document;

9. that, in order to reinforce the frail parts of a monument and to reintegrate the whole, all modern building techniques can be extremely valuable tools and should be used when traditional building techniques are insufficient. At the same time the results of research must be applied in the complex, detailed activities, involved in the conservation of dilapidated structures and ad-hoc, empirical solutions must be put aside in favour of strictly scientific ones;

10. that, in excavations and explorations to bring to light ancient works, any exposing of ruins must be carried out in a methodical way and immediately followed up by the presentation and ordering of the site and the permanent protection of the said works of art which can be left in situ;

11. that in excavations as well as in the restoration of monuments it is essential and urgent that detailed documentation record the works, by means of analytical reports in a restoration logbook along with drawings and photographs as well as all other important elements regarding the structure and the form of the monument, all the recomposition, liberation and completion phases of the works which have been carried out on a secure and permanent basis.

The Council, moreover, convinced that because of the complexity of such work when each monument and each phase of its restoration gives rise to specific problems, general principles have to be complemented by the study and discussion of each case, expresses the following requirements:

a) that the opinion of the Superior Council be systematically sought for all restoration of monuments before the beginning of works over and above regular conservation/maintenance activities, whether these restoration works be carried out by private individuals, public bodies or by the Superintendencies themselves;

b) that once a year a gathering be organized in Rome so that each Superintendency can discuss its cases and problems with colleagues and review proposed solutions (the reports of such meetings could be published in the *Bollettino d'Arte*);

c) that it should be compulsory to keep and methodically fill in the above-mentioned restoration log-book, and if possible data and analytical information in them should be published scientifically in a similar way to that resulting from excavations.