

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

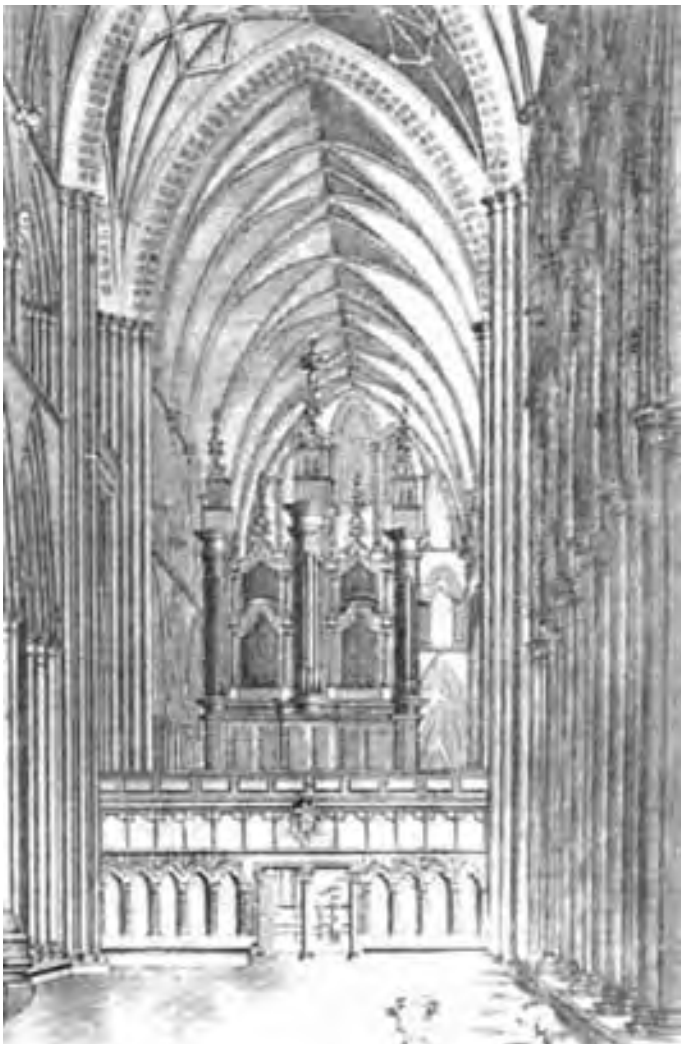


Figure 210. Salisbury Cathedral, the nave looking east before restoration by J. Wyatt



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 phenomenon, 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. Linstrom, 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, exepting 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

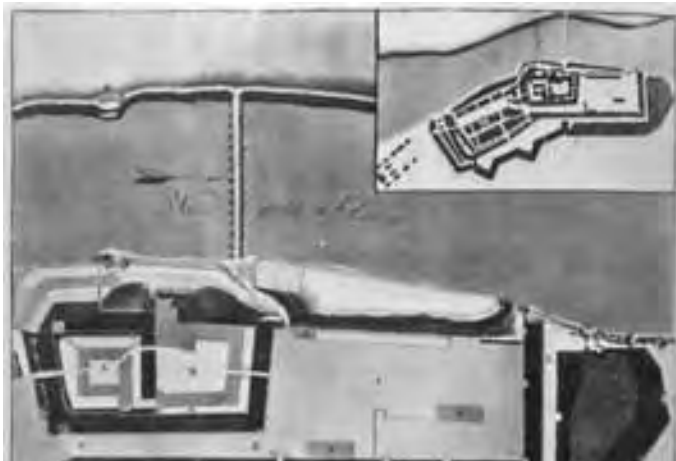


Figure 221. The Castle of Marienburg, floor plan by Frick

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 (Heimatsmuseum). 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 #

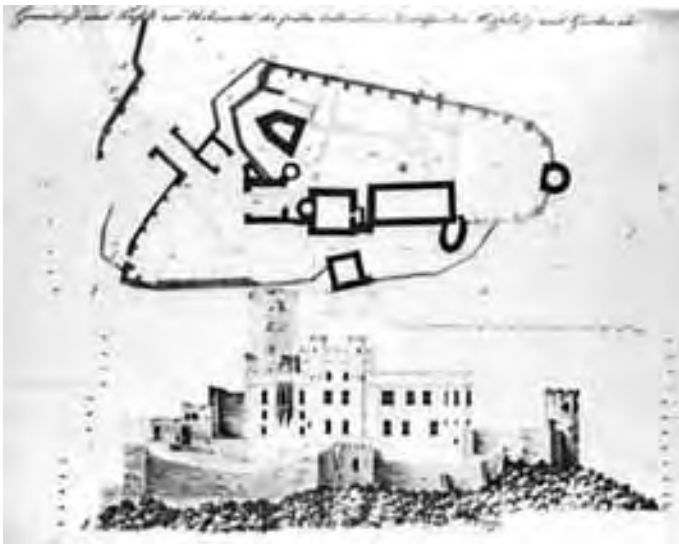


Figure 227. Stolzenfels Castle. K.F. Schinkel: ground plan and view after reconstruction

“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

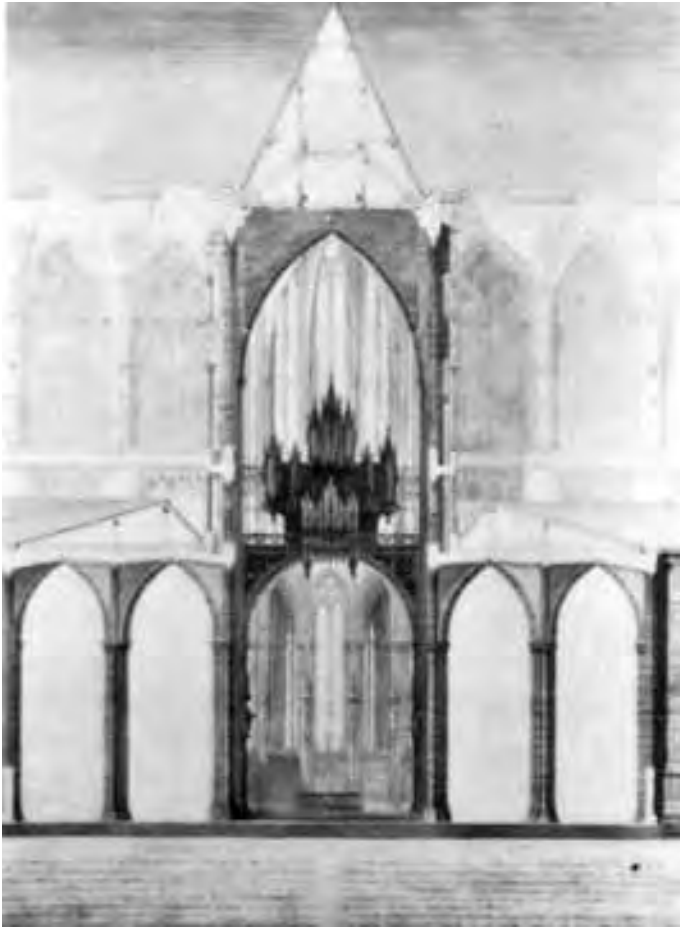
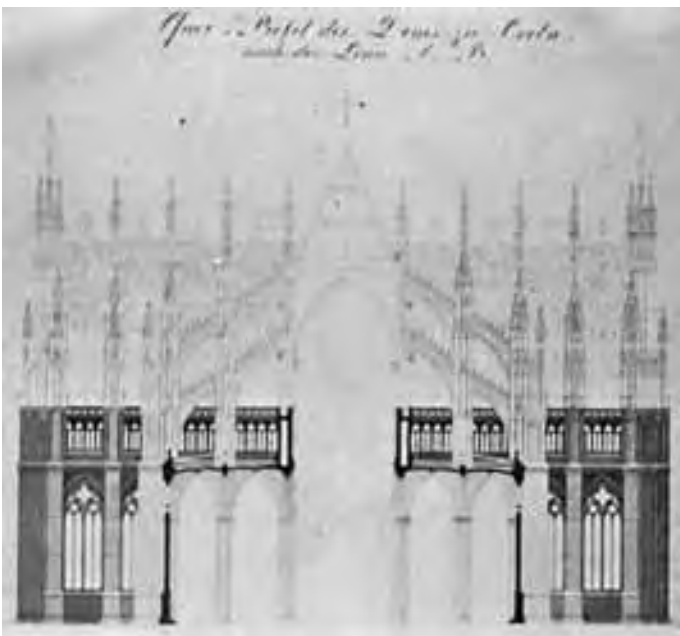


Figure 230. K.F. Schinkel: section of the Cologne Cathedral, proposing the restoration with simplified external structures, while providing for more elaborate detailing in the interior (1834)

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)

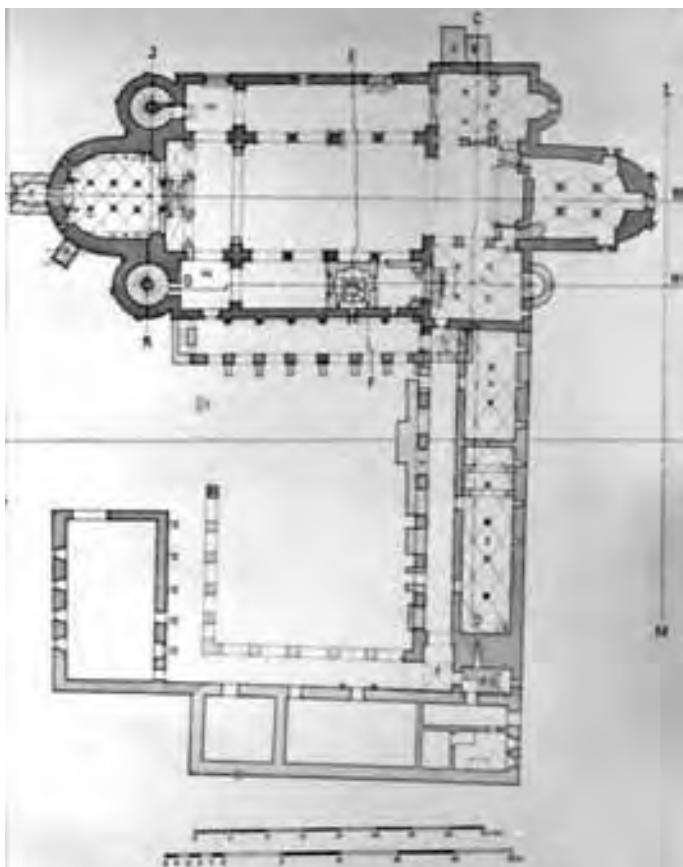
The tasks of the Conservator, similar to those established in France in 1830 were defined in a ministerial circular dated 24 Januar 1844. (94) This aimed at improving the basis for the conservation of “artistic monuments” in public ownership, widening the knowledge of the value of these monuments, and 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”.
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8. Alexander, Markgraf zu Bayreuth: ‘Landesväterliches Ausschreiben’ (1780), Huse, N., *Denkmalpflege, Deutsche Texte aus drei Jahrhunderten*, München 1984, 27ff.
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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, gewallfahrtet 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 lebendig-wimmelnde 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 ff).

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 empfinde. 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



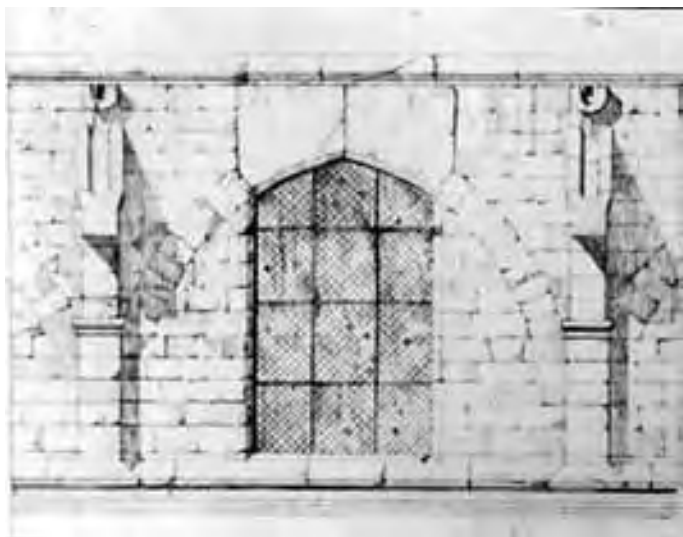


Figure 250. Notre-Dame, Paris, survey of the choir windows. Drawing by J.B. Lassus and E. Viollet-le-Duc

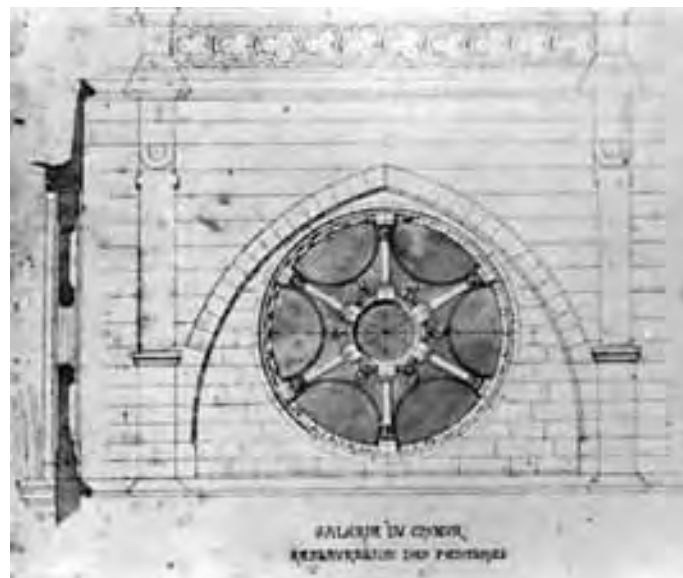


Figure 251. Notre-Dame, proposal for restoration of the choir windows by Lassus and Viollet-le-Duc

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

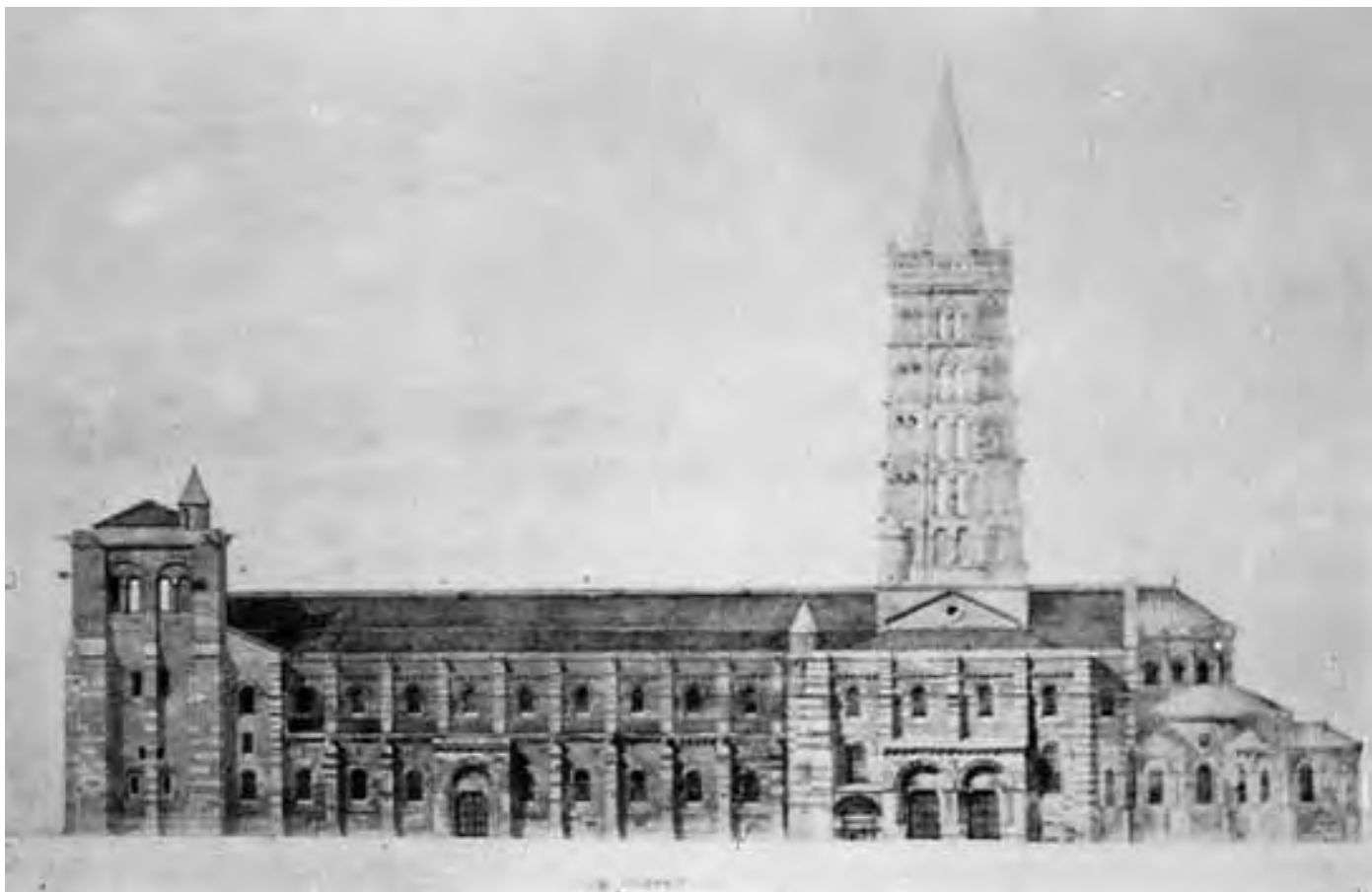


Figure 256 (above). Toulouse, the church of Saint-Sernin, south elevation before restoration. Survey drawing by Viollet-le-Duc

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 s'ait 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 souvenir 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 déclurés 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 monuments 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

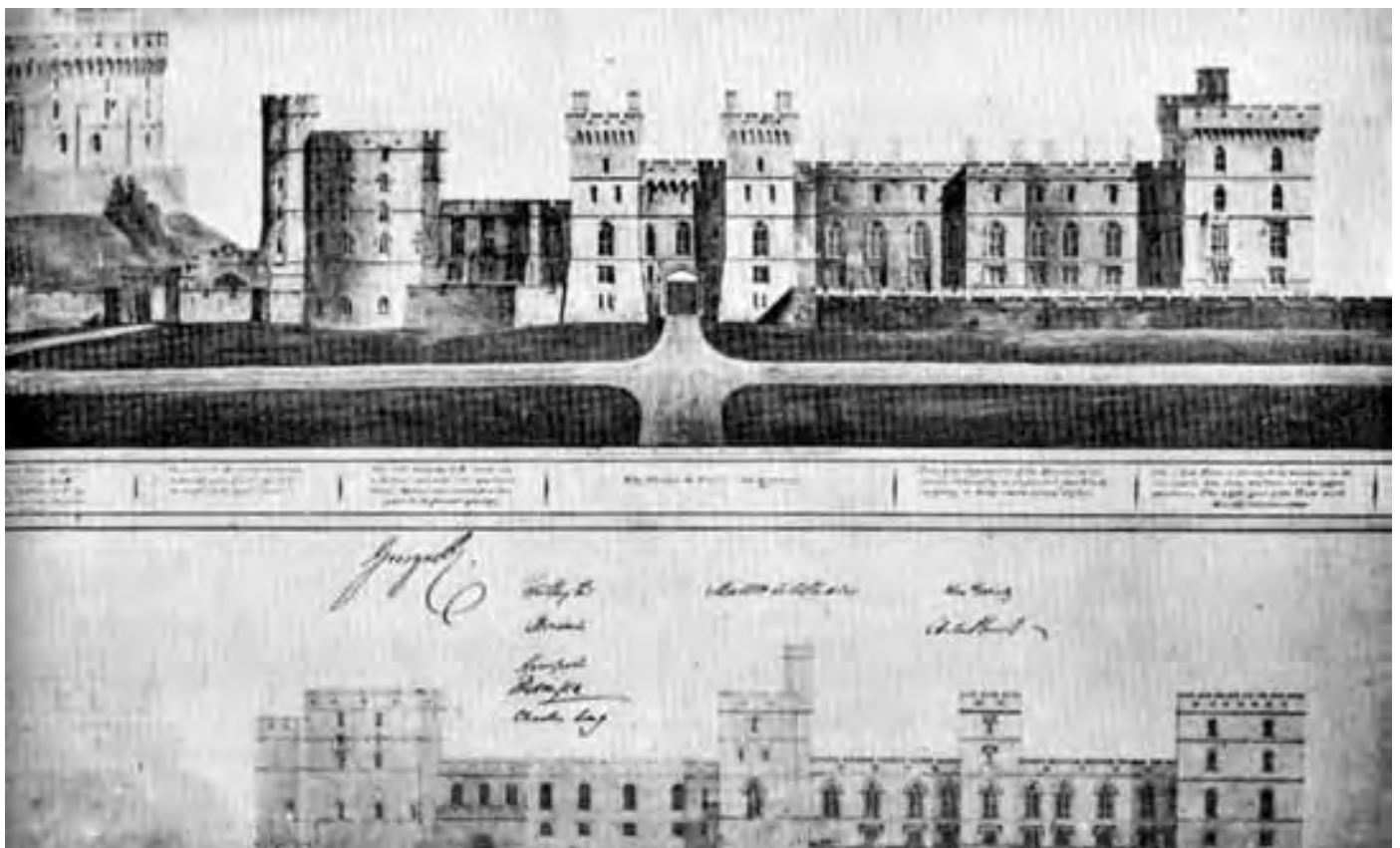
17.1. The Gothic Revival and Restoration

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 Jeffrey 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

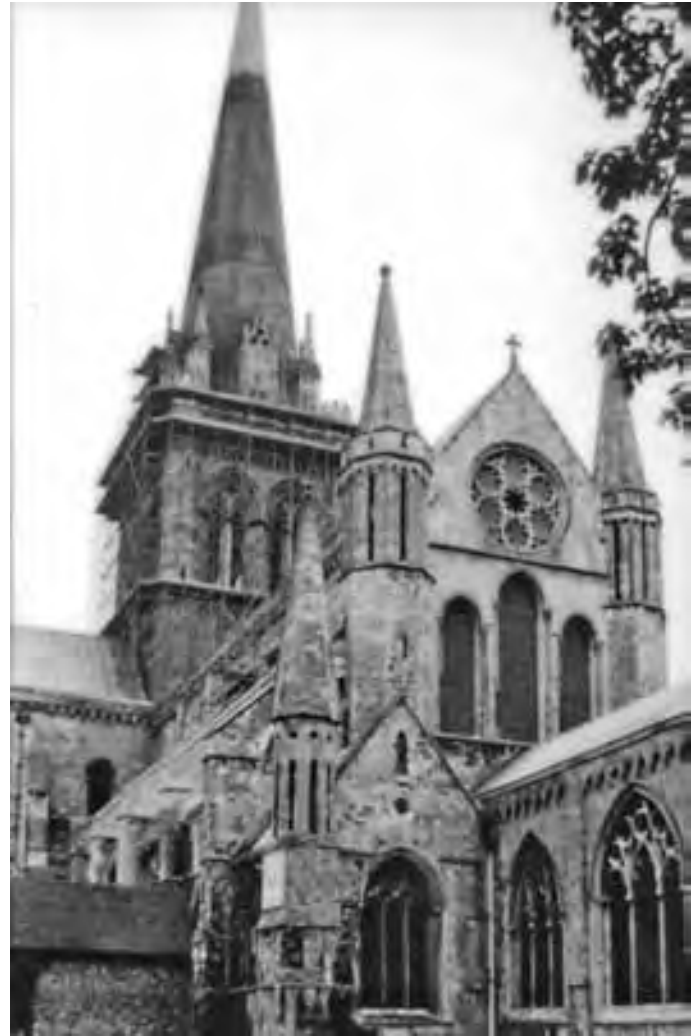


Figure 276. Chichester Cathedral with the spire rebuilt by Sir George Gilbert Scott (photo 1979)

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)

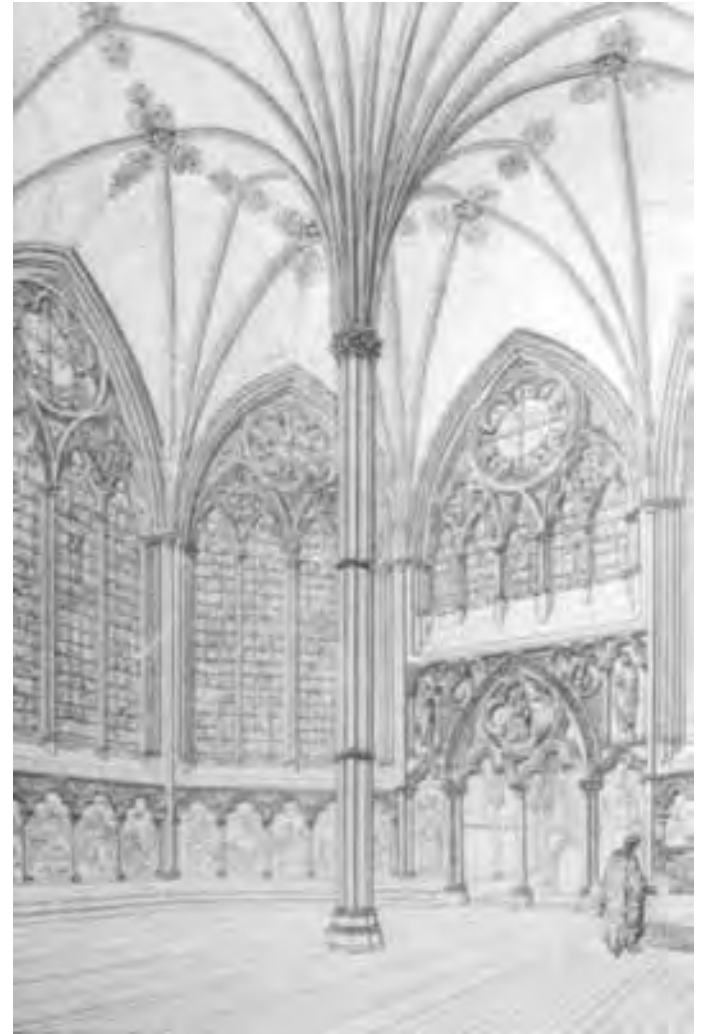
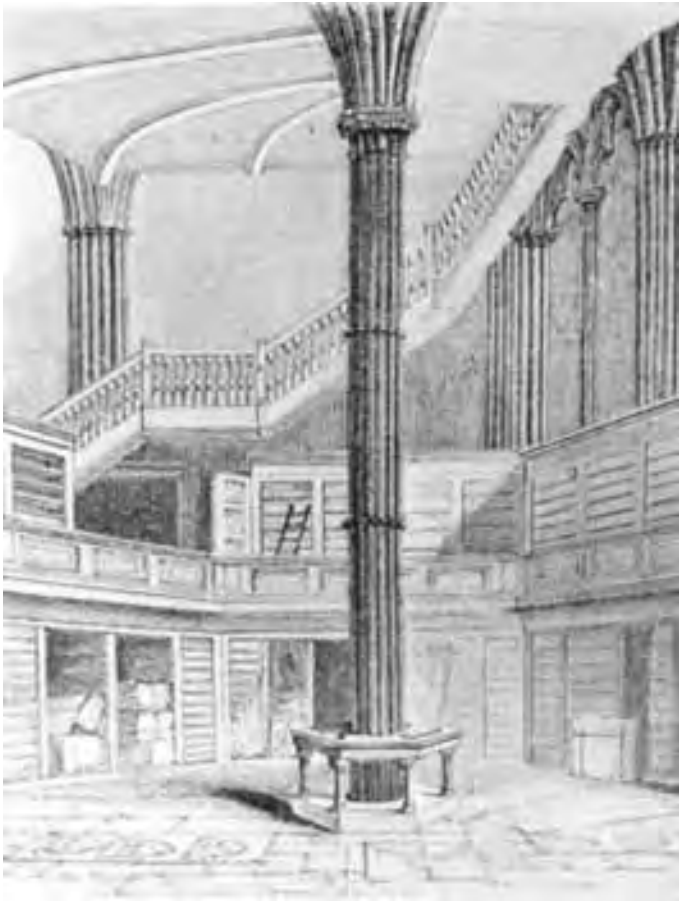


Figure 278 (left). Chapter House in Westminster Abbey before restoration

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 its 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).

Notes to Chapter Seventeen

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Series, III, London 1955, 31ff. Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, op.cit., 722

3. Walpole to Gough, August 1789; *Farington Diary*; Clark, op.cit., 85.
4. Linstrum, D., *Sir Jeffry Wyatville, Architect to the King*, Oxford 1972, 166; Colvin, op.cit., 729.
5. Linstrum, op.cit., 181.
6. Ashton, J., *Illustrations of Windsor Castle by the late Sir Jeffry Wyatville R.A. (1841)*, in Linstrum, op.cit., 170.
7. Linstrum, op.cit., 183.
8. Ferrey, B., *Recollections of A.N. Welby Pugin and his Father Augustus Pugin*, London 1861, 50.
9. Colvin, op.cit., 480.
10. Linstrum, op.cit., 191.
11. Ferrey, op.cit., 53.
12. Pugin, A.N.W., *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture*, 1841, 40ff.
13. Ferrey, op.cit., 54.
14. Pugin, A.N.W., *Contrasts* (1836), Leicester Univ. Press, 1973, 38.
15. Pugin to Osmond, Saint Laurence, 27 October 1833, Ferrey, op.cit., 80.
16. Pugin to Osmond, Island of Ely, January 1834, Ferrey, op.cit., 85f.
17. Pugin to Osmond, *ibid*, Ferrey, op.cit., 87f.
18. Pugin, *Contrasts*, op.cit., 40.
19. Pugin, *ibid*., 41.
20. Germann, G., *Gothic Revival in Europe and Britain: Sources, Influences and Ideas*, London 1972, 105.
21. Briggs, *Goths and Vandals. A Study of the Destruction, Neglect and Preservation of Historical Buildings in England*, London 1952, 152f.
22. Briggs, op.cit., 153.
23. Briggs, *ibid*, 152.
24. Colvin, op.cit., 79.
25. Colvin, *ibid*.; Briggs, op.cit., 154.
26. Colvin, op.cit., 49. Briggs, op.cit., 153.
27. Pugin, *Contrasts*, op.cit., 43.
28. Pugin, *ibid*., 52f.
29. Pugin, *ibid*., 54.
30. Pugin, *ibid*., 55.
31. Pugin, *ibid*.
32. Pugin, *ibid*., 55.

33. White, J.F., *The Cambridge Movement, the Ecclesiologists and the Gothic Revival*, Cambridge 1962; Germann, *Gothic Revival*, op.cit., 104ff; Pevsner, N., *Some Architectural Writers*, op.cit., 123ff; Tschudi-Madsen, S., *Restoration and Anti-Restoration*, Oslo 1976, 24ff.
34. Pugin, A.W.N., *An Apology for the Revival of Christian architecture*, London 1843.
35. *Ecclesiologist*, 1842, I, 65.
- 36.
37. Clark, K., *The Gothic Revival*, op.cit., 173.
38. Germann, *Gothic Revival*, op.cit., 99ff.
39. Briggs, *Goths and Vandals*, op.cit., 201.
40. Circular by the Cambridge Camden Society, White, op.cit., 161.
41. Ruston, M., *Holy Sepulchre Church. The Round Church*, Cambridge, London, 14.
42. Quiney, A., *John Loughborough Pearson*, Yale Univ. Press, New Haven and London 1979, 40.
43. Pearson's account of his work at Stinchcombe, CB 1867 223 114f. (Quiney, op.cit., 41).
44. 'G' in the Builder (B 1889, 56, 209), in Quiney, op.cit., 252.
45. He was to become a member of several archaeological societies as a result of the research he undertook when restoring churches. (Quiney, *ibid*, 42.)
46. Quiney, op.cit., 195, 243.
47. Quiney, *ibid*, 192, 279.
48. Morris, W., 'Concerning Westminster Abbey', SPAB, London 1893: the western towers of Westminster Abbey, built by Hawksmoor, were considered by Morris as "monuments of the incapacity of the seventeenth and eighteenth-century architects to understand the work of their forefathers". Wyatt, Blore and Scott had, in Morris' opinion done works, which were "well meant, ill-wonceived, and disastrous pieces of repair of degrees of stupidity". Pearson's work was considered by him "most unsatisfactory". Quiney has written about Pearson's work: "Today it is hard to judge the north transept as architecture. Were it part of Truro Cathedral it could be praised, but the history of its construction must unfortunately be taken into account. Pearson may be excused for completing Scott's scheme, for completing what the Caen and Chapter were resolved to complete, for making a real and scholarly attempt to reproduce the original design. He may be excused for paying scanty regard, as all previous generations of architects had done, to an earlier but recent building; that he did it more drastically than had been done before was only a matter of degree. To the SPAB they were just excuses and entirely unacceptable." (op.cit., 193)
49. Thompson, P., *William Butterfield*, London 1971, 415.
50. Butterfield to Sir William Heathcote, 1 and 17 June 1861 (Winchester College Archives), Thompson, op.cit., 415.
51. RIBA-Journal, 1900, VII, 242.
52. Scott, G.G. Sir, *Personal and professional recollections*, ed. by G.G. Scott Junior, 1879, xvii.
53. Cole, D., *The Work of Sir Gilbert Scott*, London 1980, 86, 102.
54. Scott, *Recollections*, op.cit., 373.
55. Cole, op.cit., 35, 54.
56. Scott, G.G., 'General specification of works required to be done in the Proposed Restoration of Barnstable Church', Cole, op.cit., Appendix 3, 229ff.
57. Moore, L.T., article, *The Architect's Journal*, 17 January 1923; Cole, op.cit., 31.
58. Scott, G.G., in *The Ecclesiologist*, 1866, XXVII, 297f. (Cole, op.cit., 32.)
59. Petit, J.L., *Remarks on Church Architecture*, 1841, 'Restorations', in Scott, G.G., *A Plea for the Faithful Restoration of our Ancient Churches*, Oxford, 1850, 38.
60. Petit, op.cit.
61. Scott to Petit, 1841, reproduced in 'Reply by Sir Gilbert Scott, R.A., to Mr J.J. Stevenson's Paper on 'Architectural Restoration: Its Principles and Practice'', read at a meeting of RIBA, 28 May 1877 (*Recollections*, op.cit., 400, Appendice C.)
62. *Idem*.
63. *Idem*.
64. Pevsner, *Some Architectural Writers*, op.cit., 171.
65. Linstrum, D., *West Yorkshire. Architects and Architecture*, London 1978, 171.
66. The front was bought by the Hon. George Chapple Norton. Scott wrote later: "I never repented but once, and that is ever since ... I am filled with wonder to think how I ever was induced to consent it at all", *Recollections*, op.cit., 101f. The new Caen stone, however, decayed even faster than the original! (Linstrum, op.cit., 172)
67. Scott to Petit, 1841, op.cit.
68. *Idem*.
- 69.
70. Mr. Godwin in the discussion on Mr. G.G. Scott's paper 'on the Conservation of Ancient Monuments', 3 February 1862, Papers read at RIBA Session 1861-1862, London 1862, 91.
71. Freeman, E.A., *Principles of Church Restoration*, 1846, (Tschudi-Madsen, *Restoration and Anti-Restoration*, op.cit., 40f.)
72. *Idem*.

73. Scott, A Plea, op.cit., 21f.
74. Scott, *ibid.*, 22, foot note.
75. Scott, *ibid.*, 1, 'Introduction'.
76. Scott, *ibid.*, 26.
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.
81. Scott, *ibid.*, 21.
82. Scott, *ibid.*, 26.
83. Scott, *ibid.*, 28f.
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. Linstrom, 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; Linstrom, 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 Laocoon, 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 Giosuè 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)

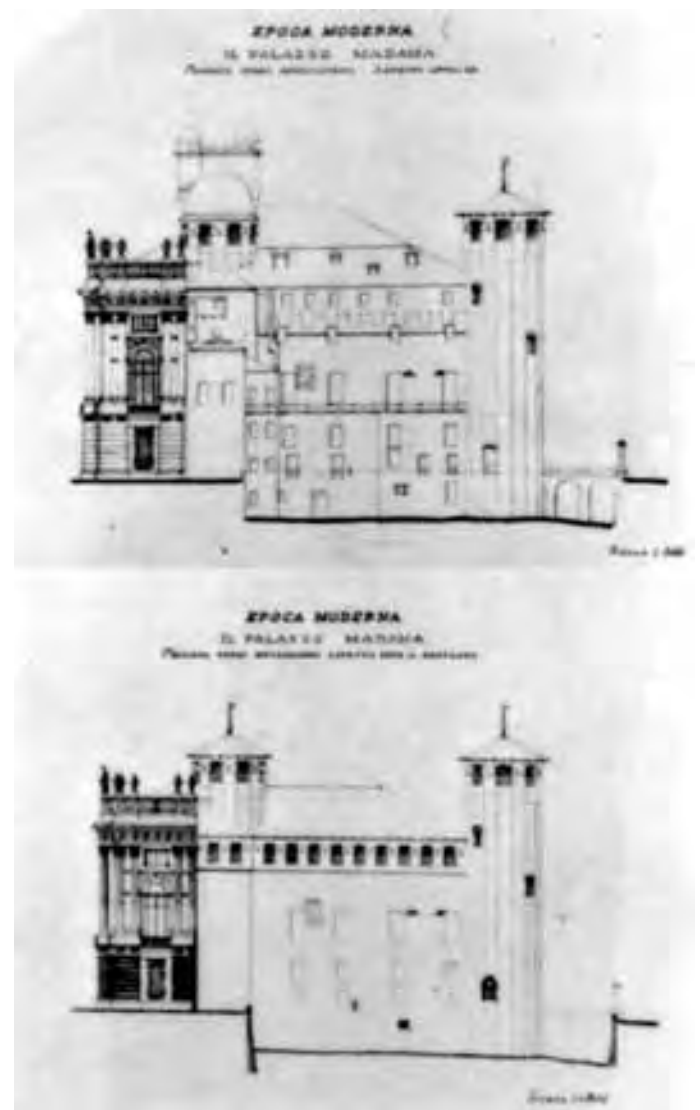


Figure 306. Palazzo Madama, Turin, before and after restoration by d'Andrade (1884-1902)

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’ (restauro 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)

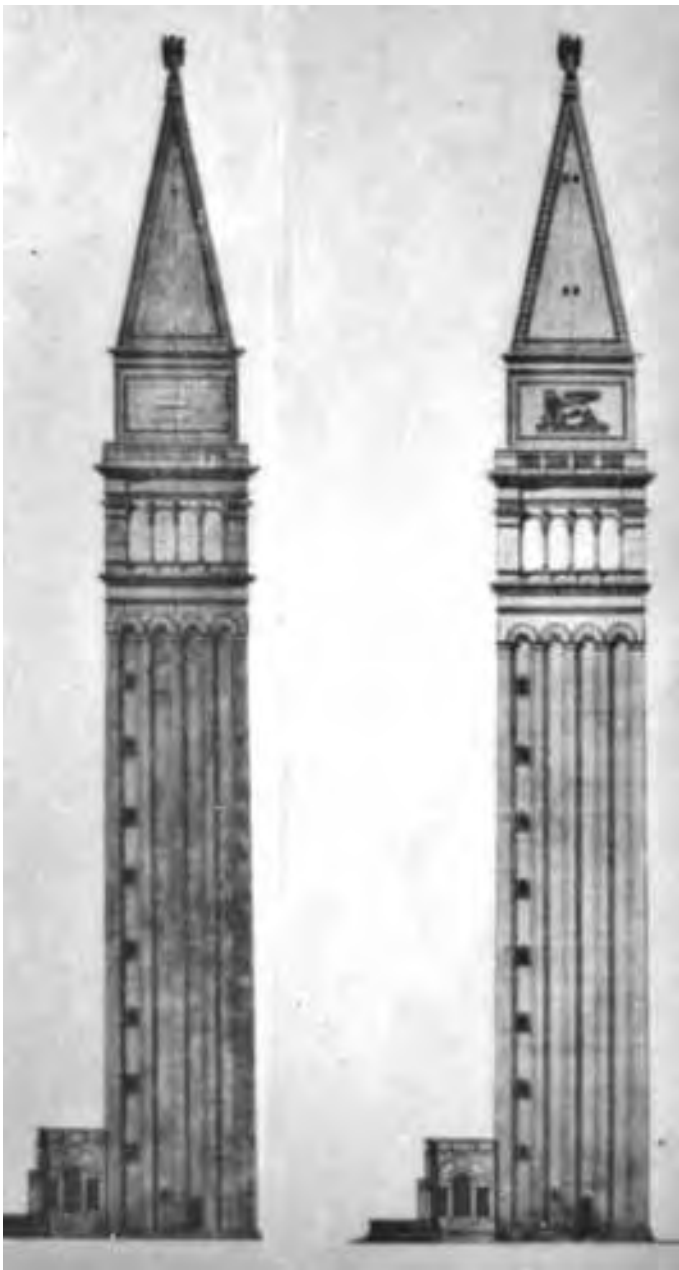


Figure 308. The Campanile of San Marco, Venice, before the collapse in 1902 (left) and after its reconstruction

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'.

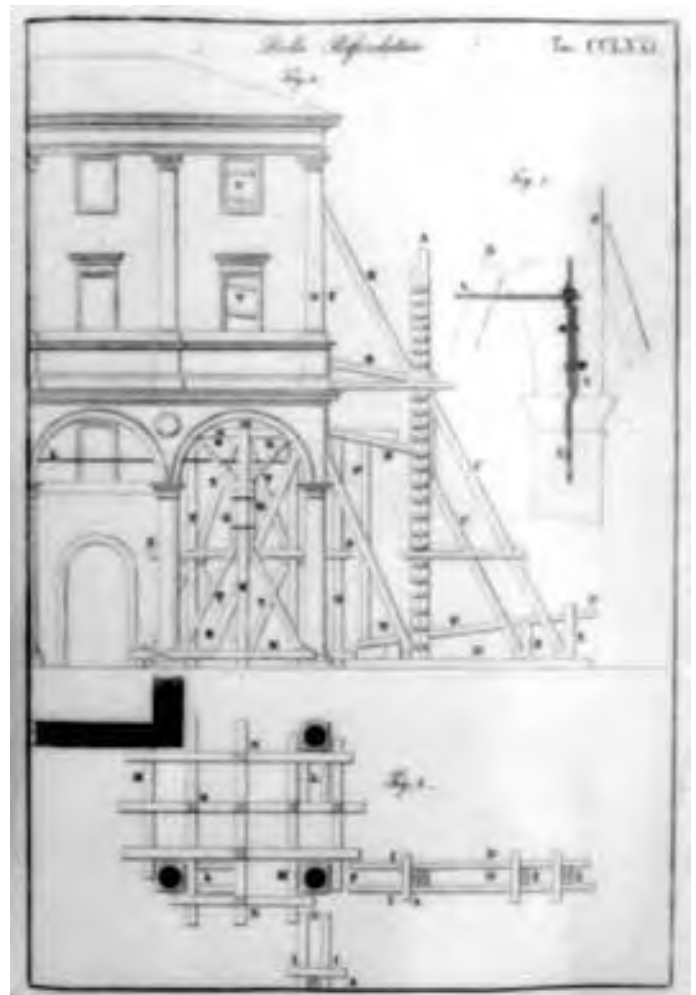
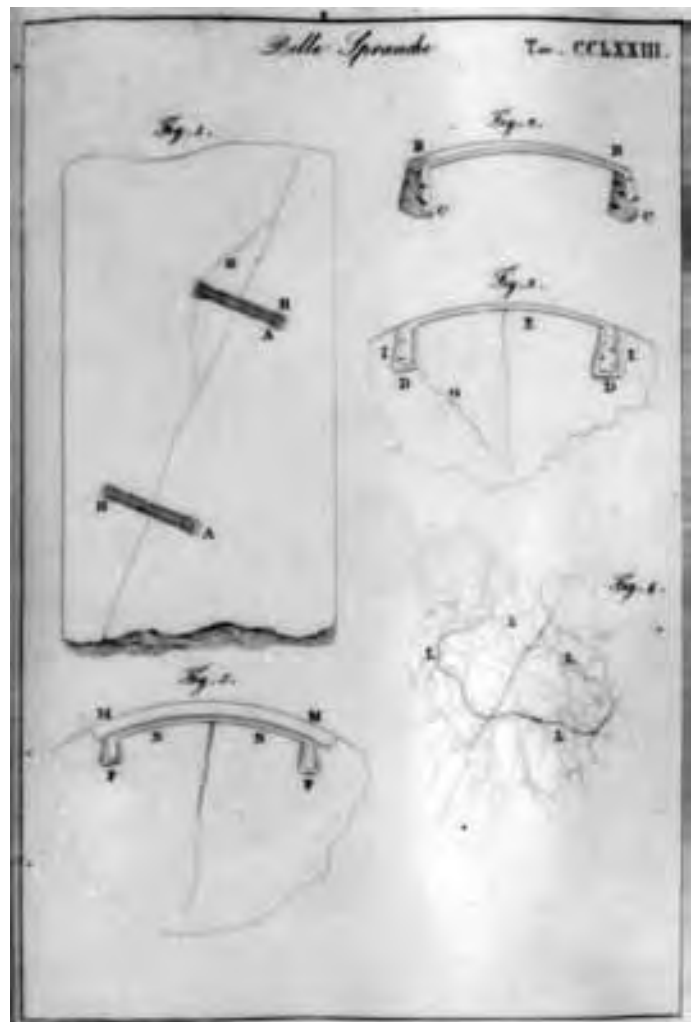
“Not having been possible for his artistic sense to accept that Eclecticism, which alone can lead to a deep understanding not so much of the styles in themselves as of their mutual connections, Ruskin was confined, stiffened in the indeterminateness of individual impressions, which were fatally pedantic 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



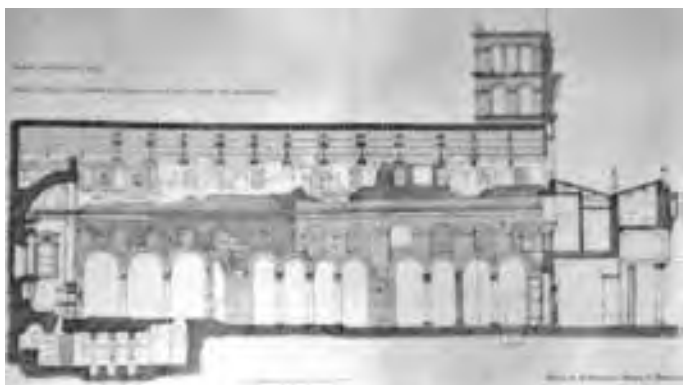


Figure 316. A 17th-century drawing showing Santa Maria in Cosmedin before the intervention of Sardi

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), Giovanni 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 Giovanni 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, Giovanni 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 Giovanni'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)

Giovanni 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 Giovanni 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 Giovanni 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 nef, 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: gli'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 Edifici Monumentali.

Comunico a codesta Prefettura alcune disposizioni relative ai restauri degli Edifici 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’Edificio 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’Edificio 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: "Si? 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'Uffizio 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 visse 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 anziché 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, rappresentino 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 nei casi in cui si tratti di espressioni geometriche prive di individualità decorativa;

8. che in ogni 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, sicché 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 devesi 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” (Menschheitsgefuhl), 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 Verfallenen 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 präbendieren 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 ... Oeften 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 abjeht. 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 Baugedanken 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 Schaulstellung 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 Malmo (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 demolisseurs* 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 uop† 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 Bauk□tten des Mittelalters*, 1844. The concept of the mediaeval ‘Bauk□tte’ 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 Karakter. ... 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

Acropolitan 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 Stanislav 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

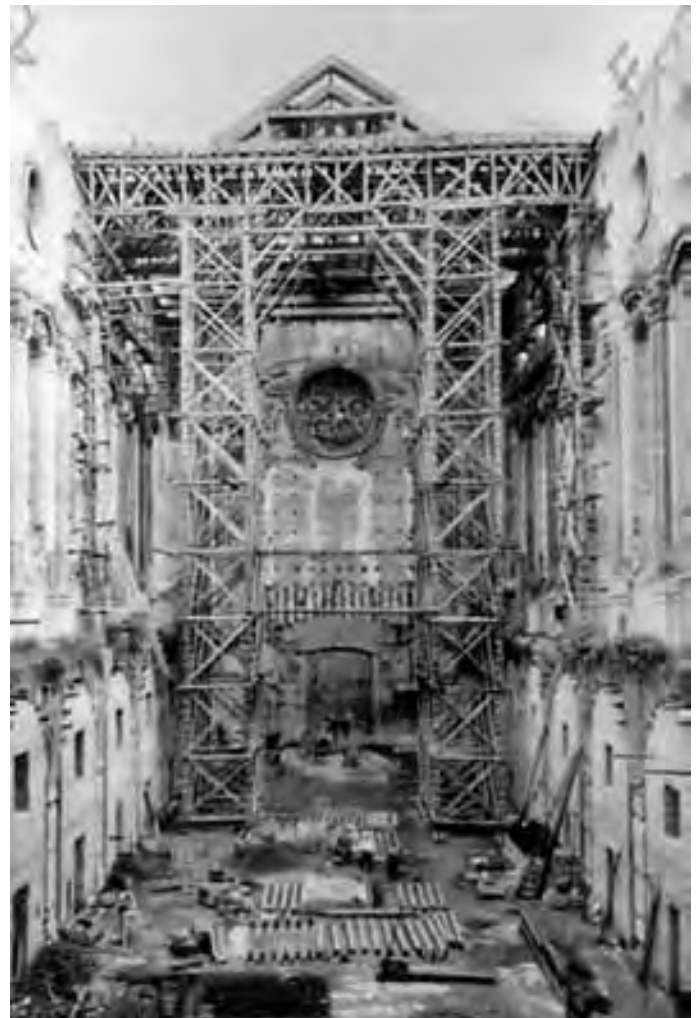
following the outlines of the general typical pattern of the destroyed buildings, although these new structures would otherwise conform with modern hygienic and functional requirements. This solution was adopted in Florence in the area around Ponte Vecchio, although the results have been later criticized. (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 prodotta 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, lxx 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.

LIBRARIES, ARCHIVES, SOURCES

ATHENS

- 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'.
- Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele II.
- Biblioteca dell'Istituto Nazionale di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte: Drawings Collection.
- Biblioteca Herziana: Photographic Collections.
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151. Durham Cathedral, the West Elevation. Drawing by John Carter, Plate III, 1801. (Durham, the Dean and Chapter Library)
152. Durham Cathedral, the Floor Plan. Drawing by John Carter, Plate II, 1801. (Durham, the Dean and Chapter Library)
153. Durham Cathedral, the North Elevation. Drawing by John Carter, Plate IV, 1801. (Durham, the Dean and Chapter Library)
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155. Durham Cathedral, the Chapter House, floor plan indicating the demolished part. (Durham, The Dean and Chapter Muniments, Architectural Drawings, 74/2)
156. Durham Cathedral. Sketch for the restoration of the upper part of the south side of the choir. Bonomi's Recommendations, 1830. (Durham, the Dean and Chapter Muniments)
157. Durham Cathedral. Sketches for recessed and glazed windows. Bonomi's Recommendations, 1830. (Durham, the Dean and Chapter Muniments)
158. Durham Cathedral. Bonomi: working drawing for south transept elevation. (Durham, the Dean and Chapter Muniments, Architectural Drawings, 20/2)
159. Durham Cathedral. Pickering: North nave windows, existing state, detail (1847-48). (Durham, the Dean and Chapter Muniments, Architectural Drawings, 40/1)
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161. North Front View of Durham Cathedral. James and Edward Terry, 1821. (Durham, the Dean and Chapter Library, Robson 3)
162. The Floor Plan of Durham Cathedral. T.& W.Boone, & R.W. Billings, 1842. (Durham, the Dean and Chapter Library)
163. Durham Cathedral, South Elevation. T.& W.Boone, & R.W. Billings, 1842. (Durham, the Dean and Chapter Library)
164. Elevation of South Aisle and Nave, Durham Cathedral. Reconstruction drawing. (Durham, the Dean and Chapter Muniments, Architectural Drawings, 3/14)
165. Durham Cathedral, north elevation. (JJ)
166. Sir G.G. Scott's idea of a central tower. (Durham, the Dean and Chapter Library, 'Robson 27')
167. Durham Cathedral, the screen designed by Sir G.G. Scott. (JJ)
168. Durham Cathedral, the west elevation at present. (JJ)
169. Magdeburg Cathedral. Engraving by G. Badenehr. (Magdeburg, Staatsarchiv, Allgemeine Kartensammlung, BV Nr.1c 2,3)
170. Magdeburg Cathedral, north elevation. Engraving by Rosm.,ster, 1823. (Institut für Denkmalpflege, Arbeitstelle Halle; Platte 13/18 Nr.26681)
171. Magdeburg Cathedral, proposed restoration of the west front. Painting by C.G.A. Hasenpflug 1828. (Magdeburg, City Museum)
172. Magdeburg Cathedral, the interior, proposed restoration. Painting by C.G.A. Hasenpflug 1828. (Jahrbuch der Denkmalpflege in der Provinz Sachsen und in Anhalt, 1937-38)
173. Magdeburg Cathedral, proposed restoration. Painting by C.G.A. Hasenpflug 1828. (Jahrbuch der Denkmalpflege in der Provinz Sachsen und in Anhalt, 1937-38)
174. Magdeburg Cathedral, north elevation, proposed restoration. Clemens, Mellin, Rosenthal, Der Dom zu Magdeburg. (Institut für Denkmalpflege, Arbeitstelle Halle, Platte 13/18 Nr.29757)
175. Magdeburg Cathedral, floor plan. Clemens, Mellin, Rosenthal, Der Dom zu Magdeburg. (Institut für Denkmalpflege, Arbeitstelle Halle, Platte 13/18 Nr.29759)
176. Magdeburg Cathedral, north elevation. (JJ)
177. Magdeburg Cathedral, the original statue of St. Mauritius placed in the interior of the church. (JJ)
178. Magdeburg Cathedral, the foolish virgins of the Paradise gate. (JJ)

179. Magdeburg Cathedral, the Lead Tower: the old form and the proposed restoration. (Magdeburg Staatsarchiv, Rep C20II Nr 45 BI 117 a)
180. Magdeburg Cathedral, the east elevation, proposed restoration. (Clemens, Mellin, Rosenthal, Der Dom zu Magdeburg. Institut für Denkmalpflege, Arbeitsstelle Halle, Platte 13/18 Nr.29756)
181. Magdeburg Cathedral, the east elevation after restoration. (JJ)
182. Magdeburg Cathedral, aisle gables, proposed restoration. (Clemens, Mellin, Rosenthal, Der Dom zu Magdeburg. Institut für Denkmalpflege, Arbeitsstelle Halle, Platte 13/18 Nr.29760)
183. Magdeburg Cathedral, south aisle gables after restoration. (JJ)
184. Magdeburg Cathedral, the choir, proposed restoration. (Clemens, Mellin, Rosenthal, Der Dom zu Magdeburg. Institut für Denkmalpflege, Arbeitsstelle Halle, Platte 13/18 Nr.29758)
185. Magdeburg Cathedral, the south tower. Drawing indicating damages. (Magdeburg Staatsarchiv, BI221 RepC20II Nr44II)
186. Magdeburg Cathedral, the main towers. (JJ)
187. The Madeleine, Vézelay, the west elevation. Measured drawing before restoration by E. Viollet-le-Duc, 1840. (Paris, Centre de Recherche des Monuments historiques, Palais de Chaillot)
188. The Madeleine, Vézelay, the west elevation after restoration. (JJ)
189. The Madeleine, Vézelay, the porch before restoration. Pencil drawing by Viollet-le-Duc. (Paris, Fonds Viollet-le-Duc; Auzas, Viollet-le-Duc 1814-1879)
190. The Madeleine, Vézelay, Section of the porch. Drawing by E. Viollet-le-Duc, 1840. (Paris, Centre de Recherche des Monuments historiques)
191. The Madeleine, Vézelay, section of the nave after and before restoration. Drawing by E. Viollet-le-Duc, 1840. (Paris, Centre de Recherche des Monuments historiques)
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193. The Madeleine, Vézelay, the choir after restoration.
194. The Madeleine, Vézelay, a photogrammetric recording of the vaults that were not rebuilt by Viollet-le-Duc. (Paris, Institut Géographique National)
195. The Madeleine, Vézelay, a photogrammetric section of the vaults that were not rebuilt by Viollet-le-Duc. (Paris, Institut Géographique National)
196. The Madeleine, the interior after restoration.
197. The Madeleine, the transept tower after restoration. (JJ)
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199. The Madeleine, original statues from the west front deposited by Viollet-le-Duc; today in exhibition. (JJ)
200. The Madeleine, original capital from the west front deposited by Viollet-le-Duc. (JJ)
201. The Madeleine, the west front; restored capital. (JJ)
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205. The Arena of Nîmes in 1809. Measured drawing by Architect Grangent showing mediaeval houses still standing as well as those already demolished. (Nîmes, Musée du Vieux-Nîmes)
206. La Maison Carrée, Nîmes. (JJ)
207. The triumphal arch of Orange. (JJ)
208. Ely Cathedral before 1863 with the octagon designed by J.Essex. (Cobb, English Cathedrals, 1980)
209. Ely Cathedral after Scott's restoration. (Cobb, English Cathedrals, 1980)
210. Salisbury Cathedral, the nave looking east. Engraving by Biddlecomb, 1754. (Cobb, English Cathedrals, 1980)

211. Salisbury Cathedral, the nave looking east, c.1865, showing the screen designed by J.Wyatt. (Cobb, English Cathedrals, 1980)
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213. Wörlitz, 'gotisches Haus' in the park. (Denkmale der Geschichte und Kultur, 1976)
214. The Cathedral of Speyer in 1776. North side with Neumann's west front. (Drawing by J.Braun; Kubach, Haas, Der Dom zu Speyer, 1972)
215. The Cathedral of Mainz. (JJ)
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217. The Castle of Wartburg. (JJ)
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219. The Castle of Marienburg. Engraving by F. Frick after a drawing by F. Gilly. (Boockmann, Die Marienburg, 1982)
220. The Castle of Marienburg, the great refectory. Engraving by F. Frick after a drawing by F. Gilly. (Boockmann, Die Marienburg, 1982)
221. The Castle of Marienburg. Floor plan by F. Frick. (Boockmann, Die Marienburg, 1982)
222. A view of the city of Cologne in 1531 by A. Woensam von Worms, detail. (Der Kölner Dom im Jahrhundert seiner Vollendung, 1980)
223. The mediaeval drawing for the west elevation (c.1300). (Cologne, Dombauarchiv; Der Kölner Dom im Jahrhundert seiner Vollendung, 1980)
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225. The Cathedral of Cologne, the interior in its imagined completion. Georg Moller, 1811-13, engraving by A. Leisnier. (Cologne, Stadtmuseum; Der Kölner Dom im Jahrhundert seiner Vollendung, 1980)
226. The ruins of Moritzburg, Halle (c.1816). Drawing by K.F. Schinkel. (Karl Friedrich Schinkel, Reisen nach Italien, 1979)
227. Stolzenfels Castle. Ground plan and view of the castle after the reconstruction. Drawing by Schinkel and Naumann. (Potsdam, the Main State Archive; Bornheim gen. Schilling, Stolzenfels Castle, 1978)
228. Stolzenfels Castle. Survey of the Ruins in 1823 by J.C. Von Lassaulx. (Berlin, Schinkel Museum; Bornheim gen. Schilling, Stolzenfels Castle, 1978)
229. Cologne Cathedral in 1846 by W.v.Abbema. (Der Kölner Dom im Jahrhundert seiner Vollendung, 1980)
230. Cologne Cathedral, section. Proposal for restoration by K.F. Schinkel (1834). (Cologne, Stadtmuseum; Der Kölner Dom im Jahrhundert seiner Vollendung, 1980)
231. Cologne Cathedral, section. Proposal for restoration by E.F. Zwirner (1833). (Cologne, Stadtmuseum; Der Kölner Dom im Jahrhundert seiner Vollendung, 1980)
232. Cologne Cathedral under construction. (Photo by J.F.Michiels, 1855. A.Wolff, Dombau in Köln, Stuttgart 1980)
233. Cologne Cathedral, the south transept elevation. (JJ)
234. Marienburg Castle, glass painting. K.W. Kolbe, 'The Hochmeister receives an English legation'. (Boockmann, Die Marienburg, 1982)
235. Marienburg Castle from the river (c.1900). (Berlin, Die Institut für Denkmalpflege)
236. Marienburg Castle, detail of restored battlements (c.1900). (Berlin, Die Institut für Denkmalpflege)
237. Marienburg Castle, corridor (c.1900). (Berlin, Die Institut für Denkmalpflege)
238. Marienburg Castle, the refectory (c.1900). (Berlin, Die Institut für Denkmalpflege)
239. K.F. Schinkel: Proposal for a palace on the Acropolis, Athens (1834), 'the great reception hall'. (Karl Friedrich Schinkel 1781-1841, 1980)
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241. The abbey church of Gernrode seen from the south. Drawing by Puttrich 1841. (Voigtlander, Die Stiftskirche zu Gernrode, 1980)
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243. The abbey church of Gernrode, the interior. (JJ)
244. The Notre Dame, Paris. Anonymous colored engraving, 19th century. (Dorka, Musée Carnavalet; Winston, Notre-Dame de Paris, 1971)
245. The Abbey Church of Saint-Denis before restoration. (Réau, Histoire du vandalisme, 1959)
246. The Abbey Church of Saint-Denis, proposal for the restoration by E. Viollet-le-Duc (1860). (Paris, Centre de Recherche des Monuments historiques, M.S.C.2629; Viollet-le-Duc, 1980)
247. The Abbey Church of Saint-Denis after restoration. (JJ)
248. The Notre Dame, Paris, proposal by Viollet-le-Duc for the west elevation with spires. (Viollet-le-Duc, Entretiens sur l'architecture, 1863-1872)
249. The Notre Dame, Paris, the spire designed by Viollet-le-Duc. (JJ)
250. The Notre Dame, Paris, survey of choir windows. Drawing by J.B. Lassus and E. Viollet-le-Duc. (Paris, Centre de Recherche des Monuments historiques, M.S.C.2103; Viollet-le-Duc, 1980)
251. The Notre Dame, Paris, restoration of choir windows. Drawing by J.B. Lassus and E. Viollet-le-Duc. (Paris, Centre de Recherche des Monuments historiques, M.S.C.2104; Viollet-le-Duc, 1980)
252. The Notre Dame, Paris. (JJ)
253. The Notre Dame, Paris, west front, statues of the kings. (JJ)
254. Beaune, the church of Notre-Dame, west elevation before restoration. Drawing by E. Viollet-le-Duc. (Paris, Centre de Recherche des Monuments historiques, M.S.C.200; Viollet-le-Duc, 1980)
255. Beaune, the church of Notre-Dame, west elevation after restoration. (JJ)
256. Toulouse, the church of Saint-Sernin, south elevation before restoration. Survey drawing by Viollet-le-Duc. (Paris, Centre de Recherche des Monuments historiques, M.S.C.228.M.H.3578; Viollet-le-Duc, 1980)
257. Toulouse, the church of Saint-Sernin, north elevation after restoration. (JJ)
258. Sens, Bishop's Palace before restoration (1851). (Paris, Centre de Recherche des Monuments historiques, M.S.C.1314; Viollet-le-Duc, 1980)
259. Sens, Bishop's Palace after restoration. (JJ)
260. Carcassonne, Le Cité after restoration. (JJ)
261. Carcassonne, the church of Saint-Nazaire after restoration. (JJ)
262. The Castle of Pierrefonds before restoration.
263. The Castle of Pierrefonds after restoration. (JJ)
264. The Castle of Pierrefonds after restoration, detail of a decoration. (JJ)
265. E. Viollet-le-Duc: The ideal cathedral. (Viollet-le-Duc, Dictionnaire raisonné, II, 324)
266. Windsor Castle. The south front of the Upper Ward after and before the proposed remodelling. (Windsor Castle; Linstrum, Sir Jeffrey Wyattville, 1972)
267. Hereford Cathedral. West end after collapse of 1786. (Engraving of 1830. (Pevsner, Metcalf, The Cathedrals of England)
268. Lichfield Cathedral. View from the north-west corner of the close. (Pevsner, Metcalf, The Cathedrals of England)
269. Canterbury Cathedral. The west end in 1822. (Pevsner, Metcalf, The Cathedrals of England)
270. Canterbury Cathedral. The west end after restoration. (Pevsner, Metcalf, The Cathedrals of England)
271. Cambridge, St. Sepulchre's 'the Round Church' in 1814. (Ackermann, History of Cambridge)
272. Cambridge, St. Sepulchre's 'the Round Church' after restoration. (Ruston, The Round Church, Cambridge)
273. Stafford, St. Mary's, before restoration by Sir George Gilbert Scott. (Fawcett, The Future of the Past)
274. Stafford, St. Mary's, after restoration by Sir George Gilbert Scott. (Fawcett, The Future of the Past)
275. Chichester Cathedral after the collapse of the central tower in 1861. (Illustrated London News; Cobb, English Cathedrals)
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277. Exeter Cathedral. The reredos restored by Sir George Gilbert Scott. (Cole, *The Work of Sir Gilbert Scott*)
278. Westminster Abbey, Chapter House before restoration. (Gleanings from Westminster Abbey; Cole, *The Work of Sir Gilbert Scott*)
279. Westminster Abbey, Chapter House after restoration by Scott in 1864-65. (Gleanings from Westminster Abbey; Cole, *The Work of Sir Gilbert Scott*)
280. Wakefield, St. Mary-on-the-Bridge. (Linstrum, *West Yorkshire, Architects and Architecture*)
281. Amiens Cathedral, the west front. (JJ)
282. Strasbourg. Pencil and watercolour by John Ruskin, 'Tower of Strasbourg Cathedral'. Undated. (Whitworth Art Gallery, University of Manchester; Unrau, *Looking at Architecture with Ruskin*)
283. Florence, the Cathedral and the Belltower of Giotto (1845-56). Daguerrotype in the collection of John Ruskin. (Costantini, Zannier, *I dagherrotipi della collezione Ruskin*)
284. Salisbury Cathedral.
285. Amiens Cathedral, northern porch before restoration. Drawing by J. Ruskin. (Ruskin, *The Bible of Amiens*)
286. Yorkshire, abbey ruins. (JJ)
287. Florence, the bell tower of Giotto, detail. (JJ)
288. St Albans Cathedral. The west front before restoration by Lord Grimthorpe. (Fawcett, *The Future of the Past*)
289. St Albans Cathedral. The west front after restoration by Lord Grimthorpe. (Pevsner, Metcalf, *The Cathedrals of England*)
290. Tewkesbury Abbey before restoration. (National Monuments Record; Cole, *The Work of Sir Gilbert Scott*)
291. Oxford Cathedral. The east end before restoration by Scott. (Fawcett, *The Future of the Past*)
292. Oxford Cathedral. The east end after restoration by Scott. (Fawcett, *The Future of the Past*)
293. S. Paolo fuori le mura, Rome, after rebuilding. (JJ)
294. Florence Cathedral. (JJ)
295. Siena, a figure removed from the cathedral during restoration by Partini. (Siena, Cathedral Museum) (JJ)
296. Siena Cathedral, west front after restoration. (JJ)
297. Venice, St. Mark's, west front. (JJ)
298. Venice, north-west angle of the façade of St. Mark's, 1852. (Watercolour by John Ruskin; Unrau, *Ruskin and St Mark's*)
299. Giacomo Boni at Oxford. (Courtesy to P. and L.Mora)
300. Bologna, Palazzo del Podest... restored by Rubbiani. (JJ)
301. Turin, replicas of mediaeval military architecture of Piedmont by A. d'Andrade for Turin Exhibition 1884. (Cerri, Alfredo d'Andrade)
302. Castle of Fénis, Piedmont. Courtyard before restoration (prior 1897). (Cerri, Alfredo d'Andrade)
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304. Castle of Fénis, Piedmont after restoration (prior 1897). (Cerri, Alfredo d'Andrade)
305. Castle of Pavone during restoration in 1893. (Cerri, Alfredo d'Andrade)
306. Turin, Palazzo Madama before and after restoration by d'Andrade from 1884 to 1902. (Cerri, Alfredo d'Andrade)
307. Milan, Palazzo Sforzesco after restoration by Beltrami.
308. Venice, the Campanile before collapse and after reconstruction.
309. Valadier, G., *L'architettura pratica*, V, 1839, Tav. CCLXXIII. (Courtesy Biblioteca Hertziana, Rome)
310. Valadier, G., *L'architettura pratica*, V, 1839, Tav. CCLXXI. (Courtesy Biblioteca Hertziana, Rome)
311. Rome, 'Zona monumentale', the archaeological park protected by the law of 1887.
312. Rome, Santa Maria in Cosmedin before restoration.

313. Rome, Santa Maria in Cosmedin after restoration. (JJ)
314. Rome, Santa Maria in Cosmedin, the interior before restoration. (Storia dell'arte italiana, X, Einaudi 1981)
315. Rome, Santa Maria in Cosmedin, the interior after restoration. (Storia dell'arte italiana, X, Einaudi 1981)
316. Rome, Forum Boarium in 1603. (Collection Curtis Bear; R. Krautheimer, *Corpus basilicarum christianarum Romae*, 1937-76)
317. Rome, Santa Maria in Cosmedin, longitudinal section by G.B. Giovenale and C. Pistrucchi. (Centro di Studi per la Storia dell'Architettura; R. Krautheimer, *Corpus basilicarum christianarum Romae*, 1937-76)
318. Rome, Forum Boarium after the demolitions and restorations in the time of Mussolini. (JJ)
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320. Meissen Cathedral. (JJ)
321. Heidelberg Castle. (JJ)
322. The water castle of Kasteel de Haar before restoration by Cuypers. (Tillema, *Geschiedenis Monumentenzorg*)
323. The water castle of Kasteel de Haar after restoration by Cuypers. (Tillema, *Geschiedenis Monumentenzorg*)
324. Trondheim Cathedral. (JJ)
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326. Morocco, the city of Fez. (JJ)
327. Athens, the Parthenon after restoration by Balanos. (JJ)
328. Notre-Dame of Saint-Louis after destruction during the Second World War. (Techniques & Architecture, XI-XII, 1950)
329. Arras, the Renaissance squares rebuilt after the First World War. (JJ)
330. Warsaw after reconstruction. (JJ)
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332. Transportation of the elevation of the former municipal theatre of Amiens after the Second World War. (Techniques & Architecture, XI-XII, 1950)
333. The church of Talmont, (Charente Maritime) France, window restored in the middle of the nineteenth century. (Techniques & Architecture, XI-XII, 1950)
334. Dresden, DDR, the Zwinger restored after the Second World War damages. (JJ)
335. Munich, FRG, the Pinakothek restored after the Second World War. (JJ)
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337. Verona, Italy, the Ponte Pietra. Reconstruction after the demolition during the Second World War. (Gazzola, *Ponte Pietra a Verona*, 1963)
338. Rome, San Lorenzo fuori le mura. Reconstruction after the damages of the Second World War. (JJ)
339. Rimini, Tempio Malatestiano after bombardment. (La ricostruzione del patrimonio, 1950)
340. Rimini, Tempio Malatestiano after bombardment, detail. (La ricostruzione del patrimonio, 1950)
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342. Naples, Santa Chiara after destruction in the Second World war. (La ricostruzione del patrimonio, 1950)
343. Naples, Santa Chiara after restoration. (Ceschi, *Teoria e storia del restauro*)
344. Ferrara Cathedral with the small shops on the south side. (JJ)
345. The fragments of an antique sculpture of Hermes recomposed by the National Museum of Naples after damages in the Second World War. (La ricostruzione del patrimonio, 1950)
346. Giotto: 'Apparizione di san Francesco al vescovo ed a frate Agostino', c.1320-28. After restoration by Gaetano Bianchi in 1852 and after restoration by Leonetto Tintori in 1959. Florence, Santa Croce. (Storia dell'arte italiana, X, 'Conservazione, falso, restauro', Einaudi 1981)

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.