

Theory and History of Conservation

Calogero Bellanca



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PART I

Calogero Bellanca

with contributions by

Susana Mora Alonso-Muñoyerro and Ignacio Mora Moreno



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In this volume have collaborated specially these architect:
TOMMASO CICIARELLO and CECILIA ANTONINI LANARI

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Dedicated to
GIOVANNI CARBONARA

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Fourth volume

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Introduction

The volume addresses to historical and doctrinal aspects of restoration in some European countries, with particular attention to the terminological definitions and misunderstandings that have arisen in recent decades.

The first motivation arises from the need of finding a convergent platform, as requested by various international Institutions (UNESCO, ICOMOS, ICCROM). It should be noted that the attempt is not intended to be exhaustive, but to re-open some insights into periods and personalities.

If we remember, at many international congresses and conferences, we found ourselves with eminent specialists in the conservation sector from all over the world, sitting around a table and sometimes bogged down on questions, not of method and criteria, but of misunderstandings and maybe some cultural relations have entered into crisis. This seemed a first valid reason to carry forward this proposal.

The second motivation was justified by an ever-growing bibliography existing in English, expressed by authors of different nationalities.

However, even with the study of Jukka Jokilehto from 1986, published in 1999, some authors have not managed to enter with quite and objective critical distance into the history of Restoration, in particular for Central Europe, Spain and Italy and Roma in the early twentieth century.

To this end, we would like to remember some historic volumes that have indicated and inspired this contribution.

- J. JOKILEHTO, *A History of Architectural Conservation*, the contribution of English, French, German and Italian thought towards an International Approach to the Conservation of Cultural Property, in I-III volumes, University of York 1986;

- J. JOKILEHTO, *A History of Architectural Conservation*, Oxford 1999;

- J. JOKILEHTO, *A History of Architectural Conservation*, second edit., Abington-New York 2018;

- S. TSCHUDI-MADSEN, *Restoration and Anti-Restoration, a Study in English Restoration Philosophy*, Oslo 1976

- W. DENSLAGEN, *Architectural restoration in Western Europe: controversy and continuity*, Amsterdam 1994

- M. GLENDINNING, *The Conservation Movement, a history of Architectural Preservation, antiquity to modernity*, London-New York 2013

A particular attention was paid to the anthology of texts published by N. STANLEY-PRICE, M. KIRBY TALLEY JR, A. MELUCCO VACCARO, *Historical and Philosophical Issues in the Conservation of Cultural Heritage*, Getty Conservation Institute, Los Angeles 1996, who was the first collector and organized edition of the founding texts of the discipline, taking care of the translation into English.

And also referred to the two volumes published in the United States which address the topics from different perspectives:

- J. H., STUBBS, *Time Honored, a Global View of Architectural Conservation*, Hoboken, New Jersey 2009;

- J. H. STUBBS, E. G. MAKAS, *Architectural Conservation in Europe and American National Experiences and Practice*, Hoboken, New Jersey 2011.

But I want to remember some of the most prestigious texts in Italian due to:

- G. MIARELLI MARIANI, *Monumenti nel tempo, per una storia del restauro in Abruzzo e nel Molise*, Roma, 1979;

- G. CARBONARA, *Avvicinamento al Restauro*, Napoli, 1997;

- M. P. SETTE, *Profilo Storico*, in “Trattato di Restauro Architettonico”, edited by Giovanni Carbonara, vol. 1, Torino 1996, pp. 195-202;

- M. P. SETTE, *Il restauro in architettura: quadro storico*, Torino, 2001;

- *Verso una storia del restauro, dall'età classica al primo Ottocento*, a cura di Stella Casiello, Firenze, 2008.

For this reason, we preferred to retrace the historical events of the discipline from the mid-XVIII century with the necessary anticipations from the medieval age, to reach the threshold of the Second War.

In order not to affect the editorial characteristics, it seems appropriate to divide the material into two volumes. The next volume will cover the Second World War to the present day.

For the two chapters relating to Spain, it was deemed necessary to entrust the drafting to two specialists, prof. Susana Mora Alonso-Muñoyerro and Ignacio Mora Moreno.

So, the topics are divided into the ten chapters and divided into independent paragraphs in terms of references and bibliography, so as to be read usefully.

This measure perhaps produces a certain burden of notes and some repetition between the different chapters, but this was to offer a certain autonomy and completeness, although in a synthetic form for the different topics.

The desire is to constitute almost a series of monographic lessons on the individual topics covered, in order to facilitate reading.

The first chapter constitutes a broad re-working of the essay offered to Jukka Jokilehto *Conservation, restauration, restauro: brevi spigolature sulla terminologia architettonica*, in *Conserving the Authentic*, ICCROM, Conservation studies n. 10, edited by N. Stanley-Price and J. King, Roma 2009, and the contribution entered in *Current Trends in the Restoration and museum conversion of old buildings*, in *Methodological Approach to the Restoration of Historic Architecture*, edited by C. Bellanca, Firenze 2008.

The second, third, fourth and fifth chapters are unpublished.

The sixth chapter is an in-depth analysis of the published essay: *Alois Riegl, la tutela e il Restauro delle preesistenze tra Vienna e Roma*, in “Atti dei Convegni Lincei”, 236, Alois Riegl (1858-1905) un secolo dopo, Roma 2008, pp. 285-304; *L'Ottocento in Polonia, alcuni interventi sui Monumenti e una poco nota Carta del Restauro*, by C. Bellanca, in *Saggi in onore di Renato Bonelli*, edited by C. Bozzoni, G. Carbonara, G. Villetti, Roma 1992, pp. 925-934, and of the contribution presented at the international conference dedicated to the centenary of the death of Max Dvořák 2021, in Wien and Bratislava.

The seventh and the eighth chapters are written by two Spanish authors, S. Mora Alonso-Muñoyerro and I. Mora Moreno.

The chapters nine and ten are a draft summarized from the monograph, C. Bellanca, *Antonio Muñoz. La politica di tutela dei monumenti di Roma durante il Governatorato*, Roma, 2003.

It will be necessary to precise that the antologia of the terminological definition in the principal European languages, presented in the appendix, needs an extended bibliography.

For this reason, the historic fonts will be presented annexed in the second volume, together with other conceptual definitions from the Second World War to nowadays, which have expressed for centuries, the complexity and liveliness of the study of the conservation and restoration of architecture in the culture history.

So, the work is a reflection about “restauro” restoration, ideas that have being matured in nearly forty years of studies and research, in Roma, in Italy and in many other European countries.

I will like to remember with gratitude the teaching received from historic professors of this matter because without their taught and passion, I will not be able to arrive to this definition.

It's appropriate to remember that for studying and going into detail (as in my case) the sacred fire of history and restoration of architecture since the firsts 80 years of the XX century during the years of the specialization in “Restauro”, I had begun to approach Europe with stays in Poland, Hungary, Austria, Germany, France, Belgium, Spain, England, to know better the matter.

So, during the same years I was studying in the roman School of Architecture of Guglielmo De Angelis d'Ossat and Giovanni Carbonara; during first 80's I entered in contact with the scientific and cultural opinions with the Hertziana Library and with the French culture, with Genevieve Viollet-le-Duc, André Chastel and with the International Organizations as ICOMOS, knowing Piero Gazzola, Roberto Pane, Raymond Lemaire, Miklós Horler, Krzysztof Pawłowski, Ernst Bacher, Michael Petzet and Martin Kubelík, and, in particular, with the International Centre of Conservation in Roma (ICCROM), I had the chance of collaboration, first of all with Italo Carlo Angle, Director of the “Ufficio Studi” of the “Ministero dei Beni Culturali” and also with Paul Philippot, Cevat Erder, Andrzej Tomaszewski, Nicolas Stanley-Price, Mounir Bouchenaki, Andreas Lehne, Stefano De Caro, Jukka Jokilehto and other friends as Koen Van Balen, Krista de Jong from Katholischen University, Leuven.

I cannot forget dialogues with Richard Krautheimer, Ernst Kitzinger, Christoph Luitpold Frommel, Hellmut Hager, Wolfgang Wolters and Stanislaw Mossakowski.

The intention of the volume is to make easier the complex questions about restoration, to students, specialists, phds and professionals, and make reflections about the science of conservations through the architects.

The single parts, those unknown and others known, but all of theme re-elaborated, are in a constant way nearer the conservation and restoration, in particular those from the first quarter of XXI century.

The selection of the examples, positive and negative, and the arguments produced, have being thought without spirit of polemic, but only to illustrate the different theoretical and practical positions.

The whole parts of the work come from showing new ideas to make large the horizon, not only of the rationality, because I think it can join reason that underlines the authentic whole of a new humanism.

A particular thanks to Sapienza University Press that have being possible this work with care and patient.

I want to thank proff. Paolo Fancelli, Maria Piera Sette and the Director of Dipartimento di Storia, Disegno e Restauro, Daniela Esposito, for discussing some topics.

I am grateful to Cecilia Antonini Lanari for some illustrations and Tommaso Ciciarello for taking care of the work. Particular thought to Susana Mora Alonso-Muñoyerro who has asked me continually to put in order the studies done during my life to finish this essay. To her who shares every day the passion and enthusiasm for the architecture and restoration, I only can say “grazie”.

Chapter 1

Historic introduction and recall to basic concepts, linking the definition of Conservation/Restoration

Terminology

Preparatory reading to “Introduction and recall to basic concepts, linking the definition of Conservation/Restoration. Terminology”.

Introduction

In this first part of the year 2024, I had the chance of rereading some diaries of the different travels and studies made in Europe from the early eighties for the study of architectures, restorations and museum adaptations.

In those pages, one could distinctly see a different political and cultural climate and, at the same time, a highly differentiated sector of contemporary architecture in Europe, and hence, that of restoration interventions and of museography.

In recent years, there has been an elevated number of interventions on existing architecture, especially accentuated in some countries for various reasons. One of the occurrences which determined the most significant consequences in the urban transformations and in the interventions on monuments present in cities was that of the German reunification and the end of the Warsaw Pact. Indeed, following these events, complex architectural projects were witnessed in Berlin, Dresden and other cities of the former German Democratic Republic, as well as in other urban settings of central Europe, which underwent a change in their image.

A few years later, in Italy, an event full to the brim of historical and religious significance, the Great Jubilee of 2000, caused ripples in many cities, particularly Roma. These complex historical, political and religious realities produced an articulated series of initiatives of varying dimensions, giving rise to works carried forth to their conclusion, others that have commenced or planned and some that have, alas, been shut down.

The attitude towards existing elements today shows a certain prevalence of operations aimed at restoring original conditions or enacting drastic maintenance work on ancient façades; only in a small proportion can one see qualified insertions of contemporary architecture and there are even fewer instances of restoration interventions grounded on a true and respectful understanding of the ancient work¹.

United Kingdom – *conservation*
 USA – *preservation*
 France – *restoration*
 Italy – *restauro, conservazione*
 Germany, Austria – *restaurierung (denkmalflege)*
 Spain – *conservación, restauración*
 Portugal – *restauração*
 Poland – *zabytkow konserwacja*
 Hungary – *építészeti restauráció*
 Lithuania – *architektūrinis restauravimas*

1.1 Historic introduction

Krautheimer recalls that between 1145 and 1150, Henry bishop of Winchester, went to Roma and stocked up on ancient sculptures to bring back home. Again, in the XII century, other travellers combined the veneration and regret for the ancient Roma, with the observation that the future had been prepared by God, so that Christian one could be realized.

The ancient, in any case, can be overcome but not restored, what is destroyed cannot be remade, not even with the help of the most refined architectural arts; this concept is expressed by some effective verses:

“Non tamen aut fieri par stanti machina muro,

Aut restaurari sola ruina potest.

Tantum restat adhuc, tantum ruit, ut neque pars stans

Aequari possit, diruta nec refici”².

The prevailing attitude is that of a “change on to better use” according to the expression of John Capgrave (1450), the concept of appropriation and reuse rather than conservation; so, something different from Restoration³.

If “reuse” has already existed, even as an artistic and construction practice, in the late ancient world and especially in the proto-Christian and then medieval ones, a totally original form can be observed⁴.

In the XIV century the expression of Francesco Petrarca in his *Hortatoria di Cola di Rienzo* are worth remembering: “... so little by little the ruins disappear, so huge testimonies of the greatness of the ancient disappear”⁵.

In the XVI century more concrete interests can be found for the ancient testimonies with Pope Eugenio IV, who freed the Pantheon from the improper additions, that were attached to it, with Sisto V, who restored the Temple of Vesta and the first isolations of the arch of Titus, and again with Santo Stefano Rotondo (1453) with results contrasting. In this case, a few years later Francesco Di Giorgio wrote: “Rafacionollo Papa Nicola, ma molto più lo guastò”⁶.

Also, in the XIV century, we remember with Pius II that on 28 April 1462 he promulgated the Bolla “Cum aliam nostrum urbem”, for the protection of ancient monuments and ruins. Furthermore in 1519 Raffaello and Baldassarre Castiglione wrote a letter to Pope Leone X, recognizing the hope and commitment to ensure that the image of ancient Roma remains, safeguarding the monuments for their memory value.

In the 1535 Paolo III, in a subsequent Bolla, invites the conservation of the monuments of Roma, which is extremely significant even if not decisive⁷.

In the Renaissance, Cagianò de Azevedo writes: “one is not a restorer if one is not an artist and the ideal consisted in blending in with the ancient, the new work could not be distinguished from the old and the artist was better able to imitate the ancient, the more restoration was appreciated and praised”⁸.

In Roma at the end of the sixteenth century the conservative consciences began to emerge. In Santa Prassede, Card. Borromeo, for the needs of Conservation and presentation of the relics, makes insertions elsewhere where the contrast between antiquity and religion does not exist. Card. Cesare Baronio had the mosaic of the triumphal arch restored with coloured stucco in the church of Santi Nereo and Achilleo, while in the apse he replaced with a fresco repeating the iconographic theme. Finally, it implements an extensive conservation program of ancient monuments.

We can remember that Bernini in the XVII century refused to decorate the vault of Pantheon “... di non aver talent bastevole di ciò fare”⁹.

While Borromini complains of having been forced by Pope to observe the ancient form of the Church of San Giovanni, Ciacconio, regarding the same theme, recommends that “simul, et vetustas servaretur, et venustas adderetur” by preserving the antiquity, so the beauty, and the permanence of the sacred cements in guaranteed¹⁰.

It seems important to mention the different interpretation proposed by Max Dvořák, according to which the pre-existence does not constitute an obstacle for the architect. Borromini was able to preserve only what needed to be preserved from the ancient¹¹.

Thinking on how many medieval churches throughout Europe present additions and transformations from the Baroque age, in many cases we cannot speak of conservation, not even of restoration or integration, but renovation.

Sandro Benedetti recognized three prevalent ways of intervention: a minimum one, of re-employed pre-existing elements, adapting them to the taste of the time, an intermediate one which aims at the transformation of organism, and finally a third aimed at seeking an almost total transformation with respect to what already exists.

Protection of the material that constitutes the novelty compared to the Renaissance tradition, attentive to antiquities especially as a form and model, the distinction manifests itself around the concrete defence of ancient material indicative of a modern conception of protection which until a few years ago was thought to be acquired.

The term *restauration* from the great Italian dictionaries confirms the derivation from the latin “*restituere*”, or “*reficere*”. From the Dictionary of the Accademia della Crusca (1612): “to redo the damaged parts of a thing and those that are missing due to age or other accident”.

This definition is confirmed by the Tuscan Dictionary of the Arts of Drawings by Filippo Baldinucci (1682) and again, after a few years, by the *cours d'Architecture* by Augustine Charles d'Aviler (Paris, 1694) where “*restauration c'est la refection de toutes les parties d'un bâtiment dégradé et déperí par mal-façon ou par succession de temps, en sorte qu'il est remis en sa première forme, et même augmenté considérablement*”.

From the mid-eighteenth century it is also necessary to refer to the aesthetic statements of Baumgarten and Kant with the affirmation of critical judgement.

But let's not forget the impact with the ancient favoured by the excavations and rediscoveries of Ercolano and Pompei.

Thinking on the excavations of Ercolano and Pompeii and the re-emerging world which caused a fervour of investigations aimed at understanding the consistency of their material and preserving it from further damage¹².

It is necessary to remember Winckelmann's work which introduces the Historical periodization and categories of reading of the history of art.

Until we find other important advances in 1756, outlined by Canon Crespi, in particular the concept of Conservation distinct from restoration, then those of reversibility and patina¹³.

The concept of minimal intervention, is found in Baldassarre Orsini, and those of maintenance and prevention are recurrent in Bottero (1730) and in Crespi (1756). From there assertion to the first statements of Carlo Fea, in an incipient climate of modern restoration, the step will be short.

It seems appropriate to remember again that other anticipations can be found in Sicily, with the protection of the landscape in 1745: "on the conservation of the wonderful trees of the Carpinetto"¹⁴.

John Vanbrock's commitment to defending the medieval ruin of Woodstock in Blenheim in which the landscape and poetic nature linked to the picturesque merges still deserves to be remembered in Europe¹⁵.

To this end, the concept of restoration manifests itself between the end of the XVIII and the beginning of the XIX century and architecture is conceived through a reflex act, different and autonomous from creation. The past and present until now united diverge, posing themselves as two opposing moments. The modern concept of restoration saw rapid maturation between the end of the XVIII and the beginning of the XIX century. Since its inception it has been characterized as an act of culture, and not as it might seem from the mere practical needs to maintain ancient pre-existences in good condition or adopt them to new uses.

In these years, in 1778, with Pietro Edwards the restoration manifested itself as an autonomous activity, to be carried out by specialist, restorers distinct from ordinary painters.

Thus, we can find some guiding concepts of modern restoration, such as reversibility, minimal intervention and patina. Hence Antonio Canova's determination against the cleaning of the Partenone marbles.

In the neoclassical age around 1786, we must remember a decalogue by Bartolomeo Cavaceppi.

As Carbonara wrote, with the second half of the XVIII century and after a labour of about two centuries, a conceptual and methodological turning point was found which marked the birth of restoration, distinct from the customs of renewal, reuse, or in any case maintenance practical purposes. The act of restoration is identified with something that is prompted by a cultural judgement and is conducted with cautions¹⁶.

This definition is found in the "Restauration", entry the Enciclopedia of Diderot and D'Alembert, to which Francesco Milizia will refer for the compilation of the "Restauration" in *Principi di "Architettura Civile"* (1781): "la ristaurazione è la rifazione di qualcosa o di tutte le parti di un edificio degradato o perito per cattiva

costruzione ... così che si rimette nella sua prima forma o si aumenta anche considerevolmente o più si abbellisce”.

This definition is also included in the *Restauration of Dictionnaire Historique d'Architecture* (Paris, 1832) trad. It. 1842-1844 of Quatremère de Quincy.

A text that influences many generations of Architects trained between the early and mid-nineteenth century, whose incipit was “to restore or renovate: re-establish the damaged parts of something and those that are missing due to age or other accident...”. It is precisely with the authority of this concept; to restore, to re-establish, to reproduce that Viollet starts his activity.

The consequences of this definition will arouse reactions in favour of conservation, for example Victor Hugo, *Guerre aux démolisseurs* (1825) *Notre Dame de Paris* (1832) and the position of conservation as a replacement for restoration is established and spread with many authors.

Ruskin casts the bait in 1849. Restoration: 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...

Thirty years later William Morris founded the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB) in London, also called Anti-Restoration or Antiscrape Movement, which proved to be very active and sensitive to Italian events.

“It is for all these buildings, therefore, of all times and styles, that we plead and call upon those who have to deal with them to put Protection in the place of Restoration...”.

Therefore, through the Congresses of Italian Architects and Engineers (IV) in 1883, we reach the statement that “the Architectural monuments of the past must be respected with religious scruple ... like documents in which even a slight modifications, which may seem originary, misleads and leads to wrong deductions ... when the needs to intervene is demonstrated, they must be consolidated rather than repaired, rather repaired than restored, avoiding with every study the additions and renovations”.

In this period (1889-1913) there was a convergence with Austrian (Riegl, Dvořák) and German reflection (Dehio, Clemen), thanks to the *Denkmalpflege Kongressakte* and the instructions promoted from K. K. Central Commission für die Erforschung und Erhaltung der Kunst und Historischen Denkmale.

At the same time, it seems appropriate to recall some statements contained in a publication that has remained little widespread, *Criteria* of 1893, this writing, which is part of the Italian educational process for the protection and restoration of monuments, contains some important statements that seem to anticipate Louis Cloquet's codifications clearly. In this process, see again the 1903 Congress of Historical Sciences held in Roma in which Strzygowski observed that “at no cost should imitations of the ancient be made with the claim of bringing improvements”.

In drafting the volume, it was seemed appropriate to fill some existing gaps in the history of restoration, with some insights for Spain thanks to the drafting of two chapters written by Spanish authors who know the reality of the disciplines.

Finally, the book concludes with two chapters dedicated to the Philological/Scientific restoration with the experiences of Boito, Giovannoni and Muñoz, without forgetting the fundamental Restoration Charter of 1931, 1932 and the Instructions of 1938. It is believed that a clear separation, not only temporally, but conceptually with the disasters of the Second War and the new doctrinal elaborations in the next volume.

1.2 On restoration

Nevertheless, it seems opportune to remember that, in these episodes between the end and the beginning of the new century, we can find lexical misunderstandings in the doctrinal terminology as well as in the implementational directives of restoration, conservation and maintenance. Firstly, one must stress that “restoration is not merely simple repriming, consolidation of a structure, functional repair,... neither is it the more or less integral reconstruction of an artefact,... nor is it the so-called reuse, with its derivatives and analogies, such as revitalization and re-evaluation, reanimation, recycling or recovery”, regeneration, conversion, innovation or modernization. Restoration is not safeguarding, maintenance or prevention either, ... all these are important interventions but they nonetheless remain in the field of conservation¹⁷. To better understand the differences between these interventions, it would be useful to recall some of the definitions formulated in recent years in Italy, at least. The enunciations of restoration underline a substantial convergence in the recognition of the respect for the historical and critical process of the oeuvre and the insertions of the new, or rather, of the contemporary for consolidation or for functional adaptation.

While Renato Bonelli states (1959) that “restoration is hence begun with a true critical process aimed at the qualification and characterization of the monument”¹⁸, Cesare Brandi, in 1963, stresses that “by restoration, one generally means any intervention aimed at returning to efficiency a product of human activity... restoration constitutes the methodological moment of the recognition of the work of art in its physical consistency and in the two-fold aesthetic-historical polarity, in view of its transmission to the future”¹⁹.

The theoretical contribution was refined further by Giovanni Carbonara, who in 1988 insisted, with efficacy, on the concept that “restoration that can be defined as ‘critical’ moves from the affirmation that every intervention constitutes a case in itself, which defies categorization, ... it does not respond to preset rules or dogma of any kind, but should rather be reinvented with originality, time after time, case by case, in its criteria and methods. It will be the oeuvre itself, carefully investigated with historical and critical sensitivity and with technical competence, which will suggest to the restorer the best way to proceed”²⁰.

These are, in brief, some of the theoretical cornerstones of the current debate over the centrality of restoration both as a university discipline and as an operational activity.

Conservation prevalently tends towards the arresting of the process of the oeuvre, at least when it is understood as pure conservation with the explicit aim of halting any advance of aestheticity and of critique itself.

A significant contribution was made by Paul Philippot, a Belgian scholar, though also an Italian by adoption, who, in 1972, stated that “any long-term conservation

policy will have to fight the causes, rather than repair the consequences of deterioration”²¹.

In 1986, Amedeo Bellini said that “the most correct attitude would seem to be that of the integral conservation of the artefact in its physical consistency without any kind of editing, without selections based on formal evaluations, with the final aim of the reduction and, where possible, the elimination of the causes of deterioration”²².

To these formulations we can also add a definition by Giovanni Carbonara from 1987, in which he urges conservation as “a work of prevention, conducted firstly on the environment and then on objects, a work of safeguarding and constant maintenance, to be implemented namely to avoid intervening with restoration, which always constitute a traumatic event”²³. This last consideration facilitates the introduction of the analyses on the misunderstandings of the concept of maintenance. maintenance should be understood as the collection of preventive operations so as to avoid resorting to continuous reconstruction and reprimatation, which are foreign to restoration, negating authenticity and the criteria of distinguishability and reversibility.

It is important to recall the Italian Restoration charter of 1972, (appendix B), “it is recommended that utmost care be taken to monitor the constructions in view of measures of preventive character, also to avoid interventions of larger scale”²⁴. The same year, Paul Philippot explained that “even regular maintenance is ineffective if the causes are not removed... The original state is a myth, an ahistorical idea, which sacrifices the work of art and an abstract concept in order to represent it in a state which never existed”²⁵.

From these initial considerations, it emerges that in the architectural books and magazines of these last two decades, there has been an exponential growth or, rather, a collection of images, at times copied repeatedly throughout modern information systems, documenting the growing globalization and a certain levelling off of interventions. The recently published Phaidon Atlas of Contemporary World Architecture, as well as the websites maintained by some architects show the state of the art in the sector. This reflection on restoration and on the topic of its use should be considered more closely with the subject of the refunctionalization of existing elements and, more specifically, with that of the museums set up in historical edifices²⁶.

Considerations

These brief reflections urge one to consider the museums of our time not as closed locations reserved for scholars. They are open to the world community, but must not be merely testimonies of globalization and of technical or technological efficiency, rather, they must continue to present and guard our memories, promoting knowledge and fruition in a correct equilibrium between the ancient and the new.

The rediscovery and the conservation of values must be one of the major issues of our society; one should endeavour not to indulge only in commercialization and facilities, but to transmit to young people the passion and respect for the memory and the past, so that it be bequeathed to posterity²⁷.

1.3 Stylistic Restoration

A very important case is the façade of Santa Maria del Fiore in Firenze.



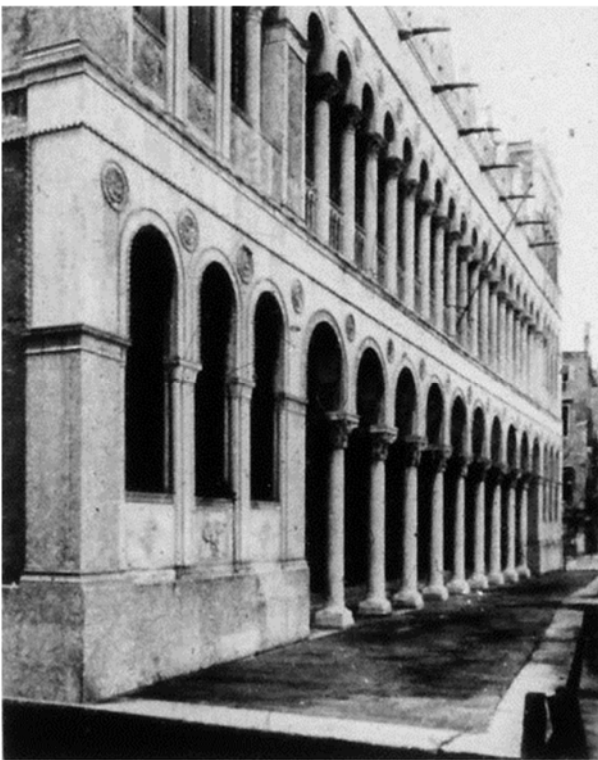
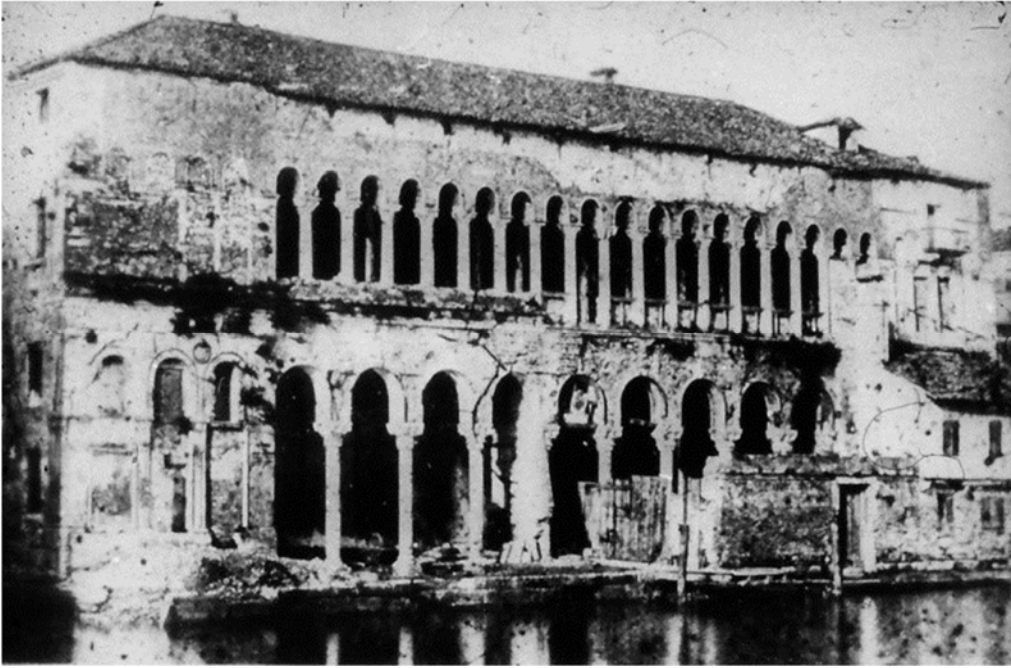
Fig. 1. Firenze, Santa Maria del Fiore. The unfinished façade in XIX century.
(Private collection CB)



Fig. 2. Firenze, Santa Maria del Fiore. After a competition E. De Fabris in 1868 realized a stylistic restoration.
(CB 1992)

A case of unity of “style”

We must remember the spirit of E. E. Viollet-le-Duc: “Both the word and the thing are modern. To restore an edifice means neither to maintain it, not to repair it, not to rebuild it, it means to re-establish it in a finished state, which may in fact never have actually existed at any given time ... the architect in charge of restoration must have exact knowledge not only of the styles assignable to each period of art, but also of the styles belonging to each school...both the earliest parts and the modified parts of the edifice need to be restored. Should the unity of style simply be restored without taking into account the latter modifications? Or should the edifice be restored exactly as it was, that is, with an original style and later modifications? It is in cases like this that opting absolutely for one or the other of the restoration solutions could be perilous...”²⁸ (Figg. 1-2).



Figg. 3-4. Venezia, Fondaco dei Turchi, before the restoration and after work by F. Berchet (1860 – 1869): to complete and finish a monument.

(From R. CODELLO, *La ricostruzione del fondaco dei Turchi*, in “*La Parabola del restauro stilistico nella rilettura di sette casi emblematici*”, edited by G. Fiengo, A. Bellini, S. Della Torre, Milano 1994)

We can consider another example of stylistic restoration, Fondaco dei Turchi (Venezia). A much criticized “rebuilding” by John Ruskin.

Roberto Pane: “Così a Venezia la grigia e neutra facciata del Fondaco by Turchi che non conserva neppure qualche traccia di quella varietà di episodi plastici che distingueva quella meraviglia di colore che era la facciata primitiva...”²⁹ (Figg. 3-4).

1.4 Anti-restoration Movement

John Ruskin has written in 1849 *The Lamp of Memory*, II, 18: "... 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 ... (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 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 ... there was yet in the old same 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..."³⁰ (Fig. 5).



Fig. 5. Surroundings of Ambleside, 1837.
Drawing by John Ruskin, work II, 290.

1.5 Scientific/Philological restoration



Fig. 6. Heidelberg. A ruin, a romantic site. (CB 1984)

We can see the protection with mortar and capping and the conservation action, without reconstruction.

In Heidelberg castle, we read an intermediate solution between stylistic restoration and anti-restoration movement.

We must remember Georg Gottfried Dehio, considered the founder of modern German conservation. “Conserve, only conserve ... and argued the proposed restoration would be performed at the cost of the structure’s authenticity”³¹ (Fig. 6).

Fig. 7. Roma, Santa Sabina. Schola Cantorum (1933-1936). Ancient authentic marble and reintegration with an engrave Francesco Mazzanti e Antonio Muñoz. (CB 1992)



Restoration was to be based on a study of the pre-existence and its historical modification, followed by a judgement.

The monument was not limited to the first structure, all the subsequent alteration and addition were considered equally valid as historical documents and therefore to be preserved as such. We can see in part the fragment of panel of Middle Ages and the “reintegration”. The authenticity is respected.

The Boito’s document from 1883 recommends:

“The minimum intervention, and advises clearly marking all new parts either by using different material, a date, or simplified geometrical forms. New additions were recommended to be made clearly in contemporary style, but in a way not to contrast much with the origin. All works should be well documented, and the date of intervention should be indicated on the monument”³² (Fig. 7).

1.6 The drama of World War II: reconstruction? Restoration!



Fig. 8. Napoli. Church of Santa Chiara was damaged in bombing and fire and the baroque interior was almost completely lost (4 July 1943).
(Archivio Soprintendenza Napoli)

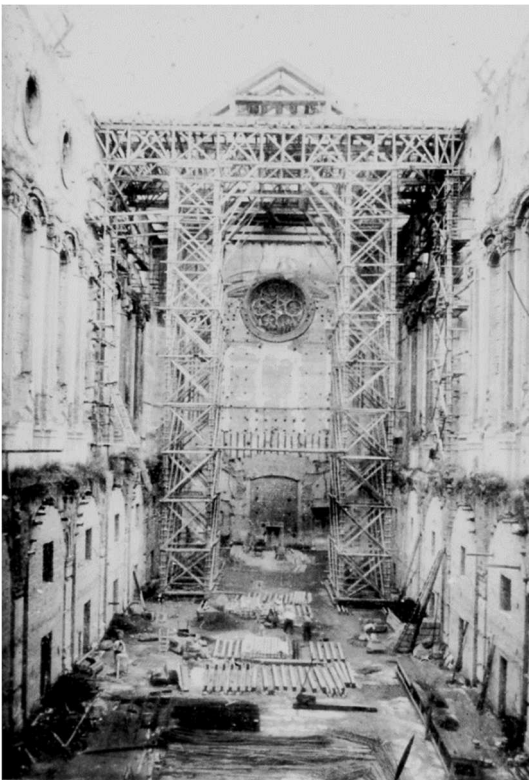


Fig. 9. Napoli. Church of Santa Chiara: the first scaffolding.
(Archivio Soprintendenza Napoli)

The beginning of critic restoration?

After a critical assessment, it was decided to conserve the remaining structures, and to complete the architectonic organism in simplified form. The medieval retail was reintegrated through an intervention in modern forms.



Fig. 10. Napoli. Church of Santa Chiara after a new roof. (CB 1995)

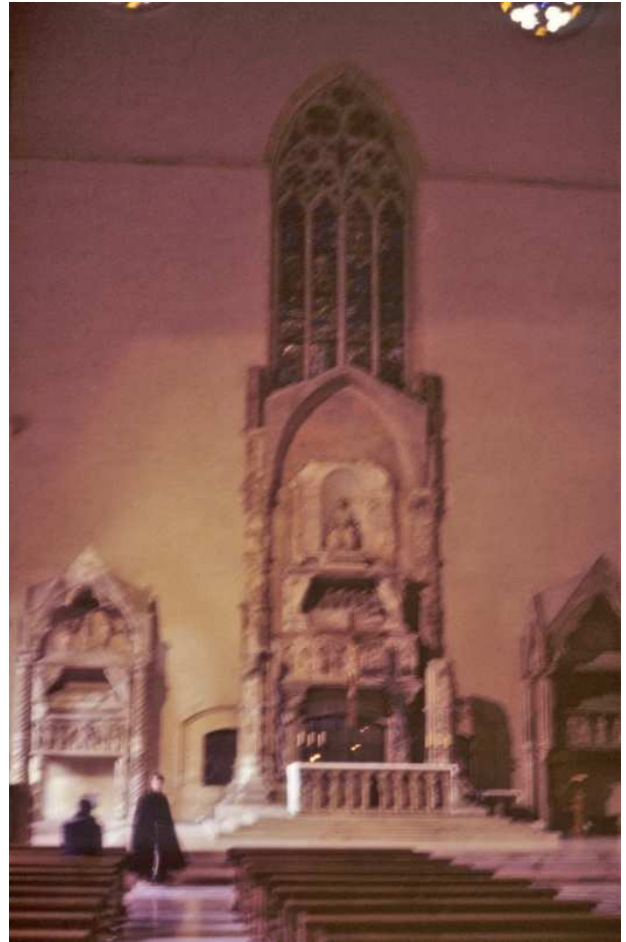


Fig. 11. Napoli, Church of Santa Chiara. The Medieval fragments are conserved and restored, but now is possible to see the form, the space, without Baroque decorations. After the Vatican Council II it is possible to read the liturgical functional design. (CB 1989)

Instead restoration should be conceived in a new dimension, including a creative element.

Roberto Pane wrote: “L’impossibilità di ricomporre l’interno barocco di S. Chiara appare evidente al primo sguardo. ... Il restauro offre una sola possibilità dal punto di vista dell’indirizzo formale: quella che consiste nel ripetere le linee trecentesche continuando a scoprire ciò che il fuoco ha già parzialmente scoperto...”³³.

And continues: “Concepito in pura funzione statica, il restauro dovrà limitarsi a rifare, là dove occorre, qualche elemento portante in forma riassuntiva e schematica, in maniera che esso appaia riconoscibile dal resto per il suo reverso carattere, pur collaborando a ricostituire una visione d’insieme e giovando a proteggere ciò che resta da una successiva rovina”³⁴ (Figg. 8-11)

Problems



Fig. 12. Rimini. Ex Church of San Nicola da Tolentino. (from ph. R. Bonelli 1960-1970)

The modern additions applied after the second world war, without conscience and respect of the values of the heritage cannot be considered restorations...but improper additions!

In many countries we have problems about additions, but this is an exaggerated example. Architecture is space, volume, is not only a small part.

Insensitive relationship can destroy the historic monument with its contest³⁵ (Fig. 12).

After World War II another complex work is in Palermo. The spirit of “reconstruction” is dominant in the office for Superintendence of Architectural Heritage in Italy.



Figg. 13-14.
Palermo, Palazzo
Abatellis. Before the
Second World War.
(Private collection
CB)



Figg. 15-16.
Palermo, Palazzo
Abatellis. After
World War II.
Restoration and
museal conversion.
(CB 1980)

After the first work directed by the Superintendence of Architectural Heritage in Palermo, Carlo Scarpa worked in Palermo since 1954 in Palazzo Abatellis (a Renaissance palace with many different additions of baroque period).

This palace is modelled in two storeys around a courtyard. The door and the windows openings in the inside wall of the large “loggia” and the porch was redistributed and given new dimension. The architect prefers to return to Renaissance period and he cancelled the processuality of architecture³⁶ (Figg. 13-16)

1.7 Critic Restoration. Architectural study and restoration: preparatory study for restoration

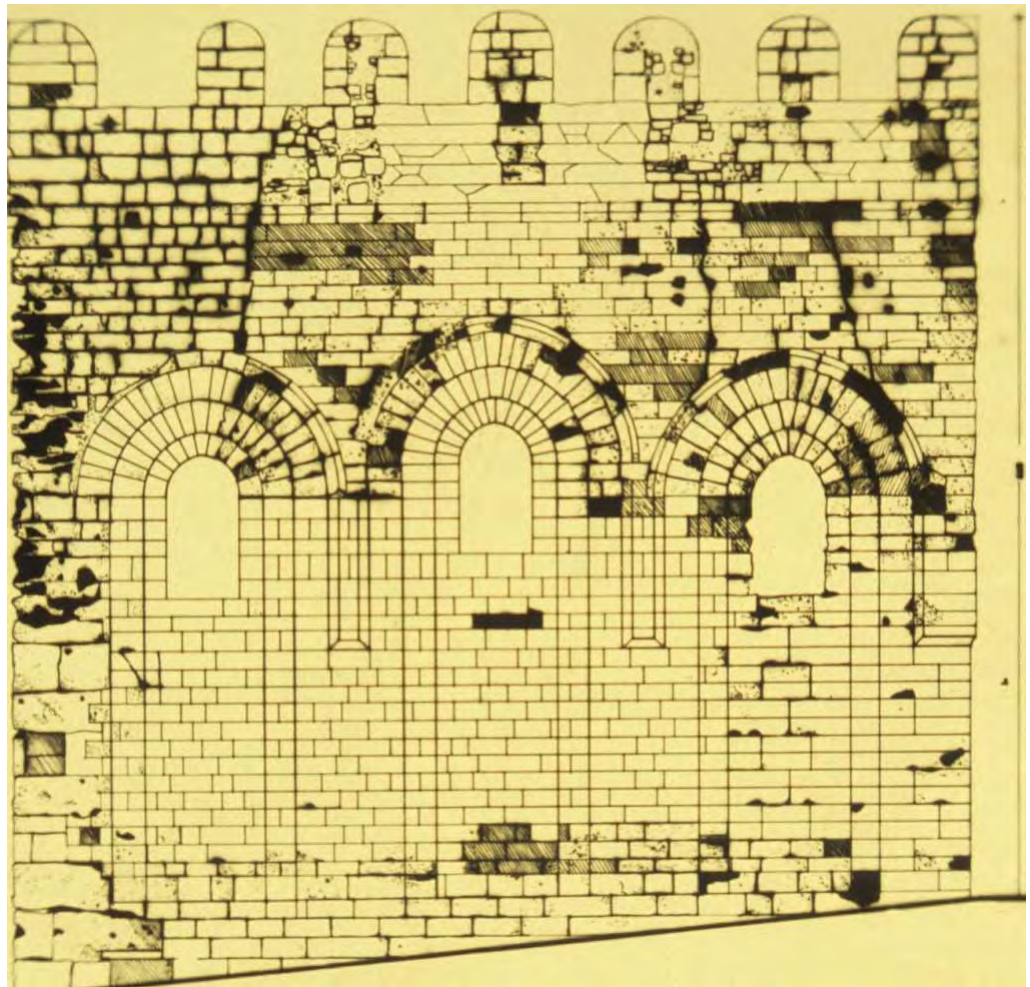


Fig. 17. Mazara del Vallo, San Nicolò Reale. Architectonic survey by Franco Minissi. (Private collection CB)

Survey, decay and deterioration of the material, before conservation and restoration program.

A dominating aspect in the understanding of the analysis of the current state of the existent architecture is that of the appropriate reading and identification both of the disturbances in the various structures and the deterioration of the individual material. Specific graphic representations are expected on the structural reading and the overall systematic description of the cracks present, illustrated with attention for graphic comprehension.

In this case we have a “pre-normal” graphic classification. The defects are: fissures, fracking, alveolization, erosion and absence of material (Fig. 17).

Constructive systems: analogies and differences

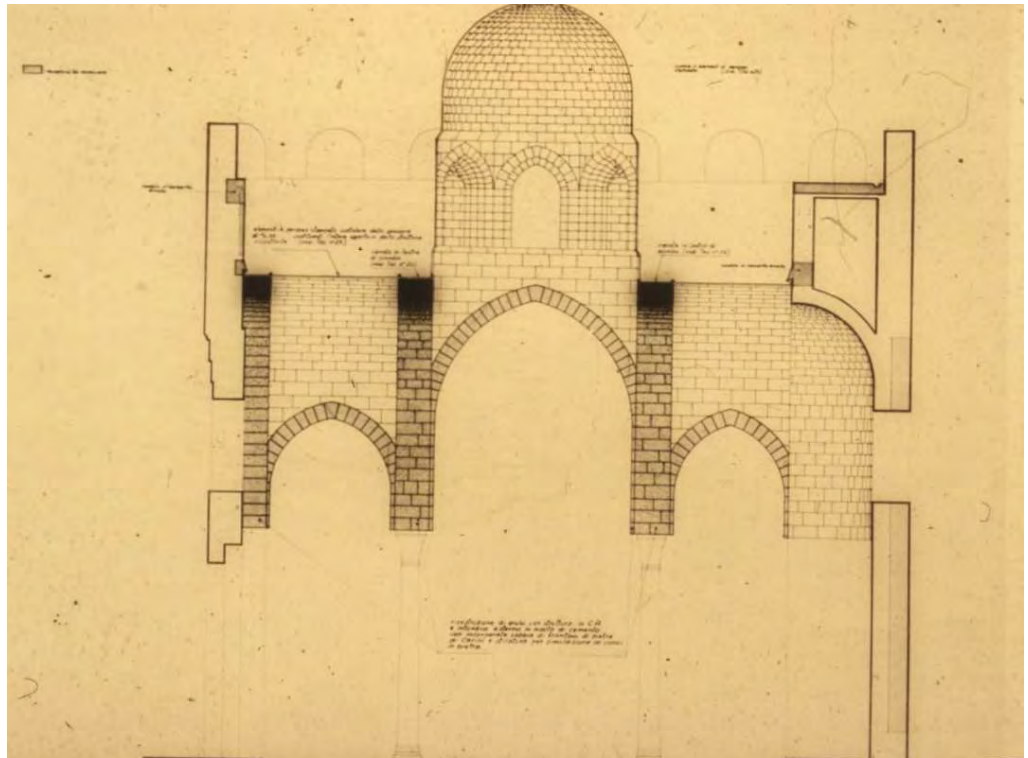


Fig. 18.
Castelvetro, Trinità
di Delia. A medieval
church with some
dimension and spatial
characteristics.
(CB 1984)



Figg. 19-20. Mazara del Vallo, San Nicolò Regale. Restoration project by Franco Minissi, reintegration of image. A slim metal structure for a new reintegration walling. The plastic materials used is perspex laminate from factory Imperial Chemical Industries.
(CB 1981)

Fig. 21. Mazara del Vallo, San Nicolò Regale. Restoration project by Franco Minissi., with the reintegration of image. One of the first use of laminated plastics (acrylic resins). (Private collection CB)



The authentic parts of the monument, integrated by the restoration are kept completely visible. It is possible to realize reintegration, so that the sharp differentiation of the monument's first (origin) parts from the "reconstruction" clearly indicates the hypothesis of the reconfiguration, without the risk of those often-arbitrary imitation in pre-existence. The material's transparency in fact gives to the restitution the value of a resign realized in space.

Finally for protecting and preserving monuments, the lightness and transparency of laminated plastics enable one to use thin supporting structures, which by limiting the obstruction, avoid the abuse of superstructures on the remaining parts of the pre-existence, besides conforming to the internal volumes and spaces which even without any aims for "reconstruction" serve to suggest the volume and spaces of the authentic monument.

From F. Minissi presentation project: "Physical characteristics of transparent laminates of acrylic resins, plexiglass or Perspex:

- a) complete adaptability, with hot-pressing, into any shape.
- b) vaste range of colouring.
- c) negligible distortion from changes of temperature given the hot-pressing.
- d) slow combustion.
- e) complete impermeability.
- f) high level of unbreakableness.
- g) welding of elements in a perfect seal.
- h) supply on the market in any thickness.

But the maintenance will be necessary. In fact, today, after many years, this solution has been dismantled (Figg. 18-21).

Palermo, Church of San Salvatore

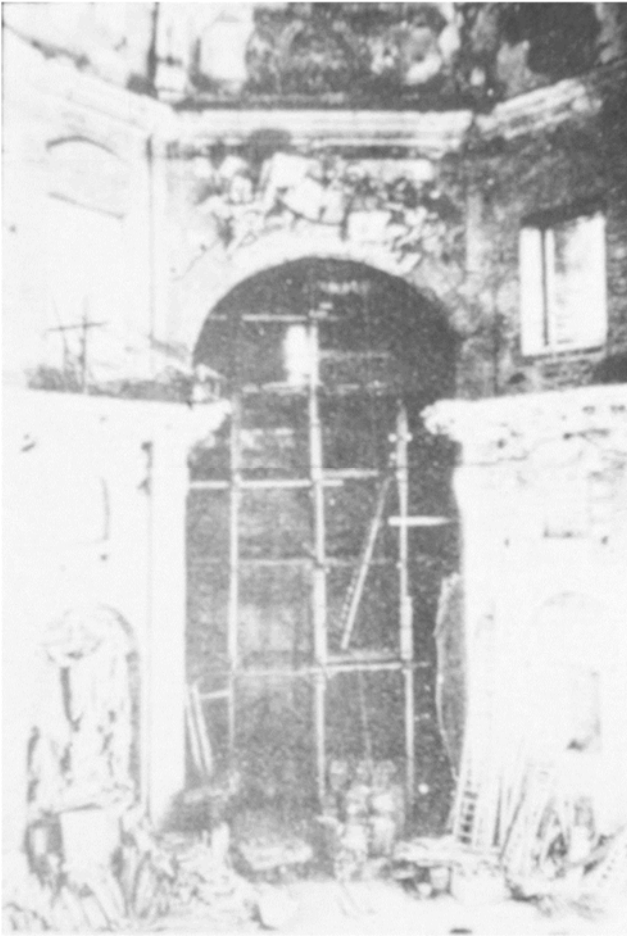


Fig. 22. Palermo, Church of San Salvatore, war damage during the World War II.
(Archivio Soprintendenza Beni architettonici e ambientali, Palermo)

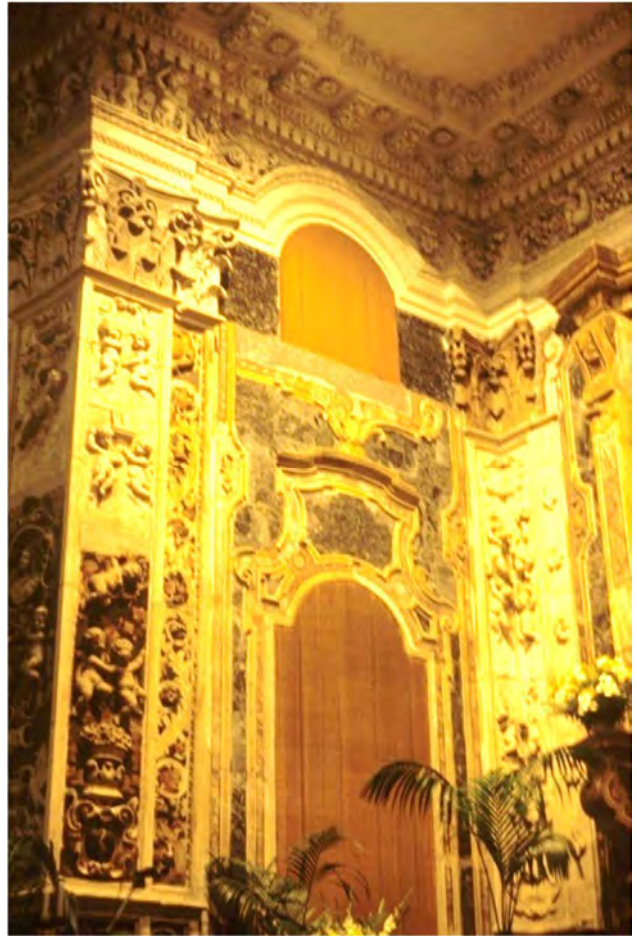


Fig. 23. Palermo, Church of San Salvatore. The distinguishability of marble is clear. The integration of marble helps the comprehension and the respect of authenticity. The new marble is white and the historic baroque decoration "mischis and tramischis" has been consolidated.
(CB 1982)



Fig. 24. Palermo, Church of San Salvatore. The theme of the reintegration and the lacuna in the dome decoration.
(CB 1982)



Fig. 25. Palermo, Church of San Salvatore, adaptation to auditorium.
(CB 1982)

The conversion into an auditorium for classical music. It is a significant expression for a new use. The furniture is designed by Franco Minissi, with chair and the attention for curtain (velvet) and tissue for acoustic solution. This work received an award, as mentioned in n. 127 of *“Architettura”*³⁷ (Figg. 22-25).

Visegrad, Salomon Tower



Figg. 26-27. Visegrad, Hungary, Salomon Tower. Medieval Donjon. Restoration with reinforced concrete. The theme of the reintegration of the image is clear.
(CB 1980)

The restoration of the Salomon Tower in Visegrad, on the south side a very large portion had collapsed and the vaulted ceiling has fallen in. It is visible to show the extent of the reconstructions and the restored section can be clearly distinguished both by its structure and by the material used. It is a theoretical “reconstruction” give idea of what the interior of the pre-existence. We have a clear case of reintegration of image, with distinguishability, new materials and the reversibility for the vaults (Figg. 26-27).

Roma, Istituto San Michele



Fig. 28. Roma, Complesso San Michele, the ancient "stenditoio", Roma. Before the restoration. (Private collection CB)



Fig. 29. Roma, Complesso San Michele, the ancient "stenditoio", Roma. During the general Assembly of ICOMOS in Roma (1981). (CB 1981)

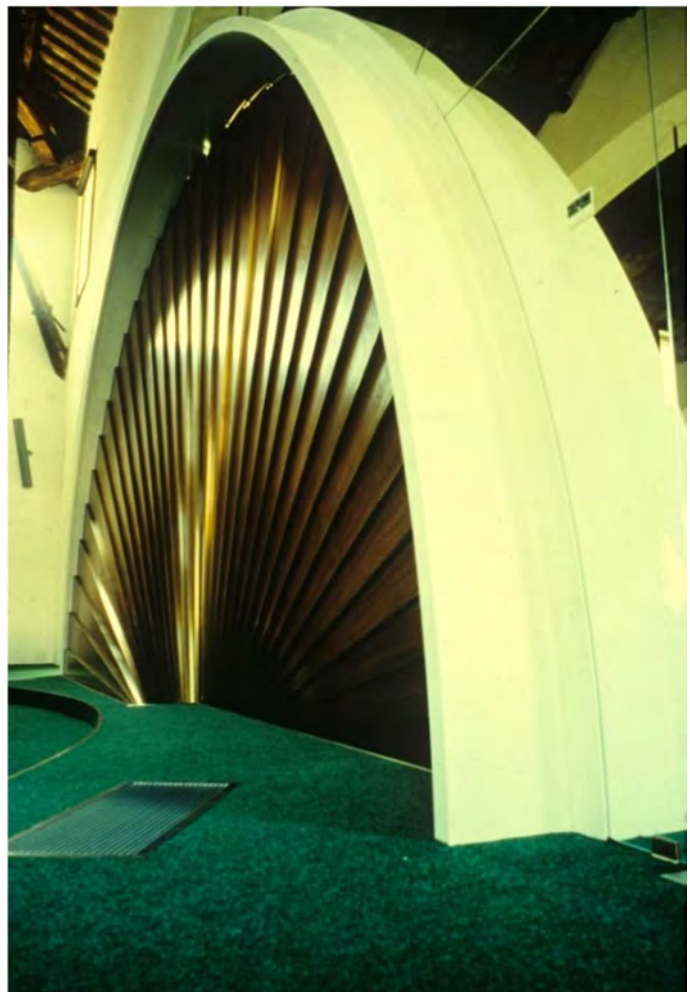


Fig. 30. Roma, Complesso San Michele, Ministry of Cultural Heritage. Ancient *Sala dello «stenditoio»*, after restoration and adaptation. Project by Franco Minissi and Gaetano Miarelli Mariani. The large hall converted into a venue for cultural events. The insertion of two fans permits the division of the space. In the last period, it is closed for new maintenance and arrangement. (CB 1981)

Agrigento, Archeological Museum



Fig. 31. Agrigento, Convent of San Nicola. Destruction during the war (1943-1944). (Archivio Soprintendenza Agrigento)



Fig. 32. Agrigento, new archaeological museum (1965-1970). Project of restoration and adaptation by Franco Minissi. (CB 1981)

Ancient convent has been readapted to the new function with special attention to historical pre-existence. In the courtyard the “dialogo” between old and new is clear. New insertions are identified without mimetic solution and Minissi introduced the modern language (Figg. 31-32).

Città del Vaticano, Cappella Sistina



Fig. 33. Città del Vaticano, Cappella Sistina, after the restoration.
(Image by Direzione Monumenti Musei e Gallerie Pontificie Città del Vaticano)

The Vatican Museum organizes studies researches, analysis in laboratory with different specialists (Fig. 33). In these few lines it is possible to summarize the construction events, the history and the techniques of the Sistine Chapel. In this sheet it seems appropriate to present the state of conservation and restoration of this masterpiece, an expression of Faith, History and Art.

The Michelangelo's frescoes on the chapel vault had suffered damage over time, some irreversible, while others completely reversible.

The roof let rain water pass which slowly filtered along the sides of the vault, the numerous candles that burned during liturgical functions produced a large quantity of smoke that rises towards the vault and settled on the frescoes. For the cleaning of the frescoes of the vault after the necessary tests and the choice will be made solvent mixture, studied and published by Paolo and Laura Mora, signed AB57, to remove the calcium carbonate crusts that formed on some lunettes it was necessary to add EDTA to the mixture. The dry painted parts have been cleaned with different methods. They were fixed, considered and waterproofed with a solution of Paraloid B72.

1.8 Pure conservation

Milano, Palazzo della Ragione



Fig. 34. Milano, Palazzo della Ragione (1978-1982). We can see the Middle Age structure with the Baroque additions (during Maria Teresa Kingdom). (CB 1989)



Fig. 35. Milano, Palazzo della Ragione (1978-1982). Surface treatment. The conservation project and the direction of the works has been done by Marco Dezzi Bardeschi. The consolidation of the surface and the wooden windows, without making disappear the history, but including some functional detail when are necessities. (CB 1989)



Fig. 36. Milano, Palazzo della Ragione. New insertion of the mosaic floor.
(CB 1989)

This palace is a middle ages expression of Architecture with a last store of XVIII century (during Austrian administration).

The pavement is a new insertion with mosaic stone in different colour. It is a symbolic expression for Milano (Figg. 34-36).

1.9 Critic-conservative Restoration (Giuseppe Zander)

The definition was created by Giovanni Carbonara, in the essay: *Restauro, tra conservazione e ripristino, note sui più attuali orientamenti di metodo*, in "Palladio", 6, July-December, 1990, in part. 70-72.

San Pietro in Vaticano



Fig. 37. Città del Vaticano, Basilica di San Pietro, Loggia delle Benedizioni. Restoration by Giuseppe Zander (1984-1986). Cleaning of the stone surface and protection. Biocide treatment and stucco applications to prevent the penetration of water in the travertine. (CB 1986)

The restoration directed by G. Zander (1985, 1986) is confirmed further today by the fact that the delicacy used in cleaning the travertine made it possible to avoid losing the valuable traces of colour washes by prof. S. Benedetti discovered.

Zander had noted the reddish colouring, applied almost as if to make the travertine around the “Loggia delle Benedizioni” imitate porphyry. Zander at that time had not opted for a bland manual cleaning with sorghum-bristle brushes and today accurate preliminary studies had not been carried out, with Eni's aid, and a more modern, but delicate and controllable, cleaning system such as Jos had not been chosen we would have lost the possibility to understand Carlo Maderno's intention of emphasizing the central block of the façade.

On the other hand, in the case of the façade of St. Peter's, a virtuous circle was established among historic research, critical understanding, and the resulting restoration method; the latter, in both the planning on the contribution of architectural history research but, at the same time, because of how it was carried out, it was able to provide fresh new knowledge and information for artistic historiography, within a system which is, so to speak, self-regulating by successive refinements.

In conclusion, this restoration is the expression of both the solid technical capacity mentioned and a theoretical and methodological rigor which was the best guarantee for attaining the results achieved: a methodology which we could call critical and conservative at the same time. No school-dictated or partisan dogmas are given on the subject of restoration, but everything derives from the critical interpretation of the individual monument being studied, with a commitment that must be reactivated *ex novo* time by time (Fig. 37).

It is important to remember the long and fruitful scientific and professional activity of Giuseppe Zander and some fundamental writings on Restoration collected in:

- G. ZANDER, *Scritti sul Restauro dei Monumenti architettonici*, Roma 1993.

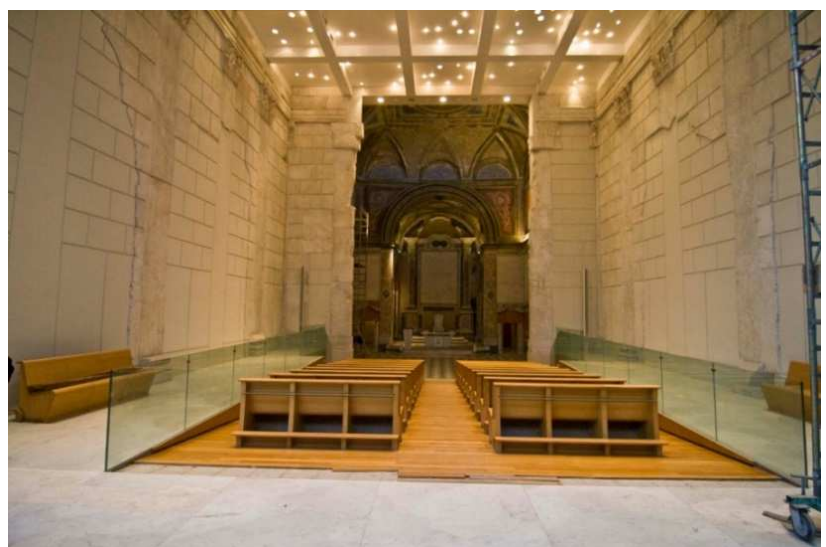
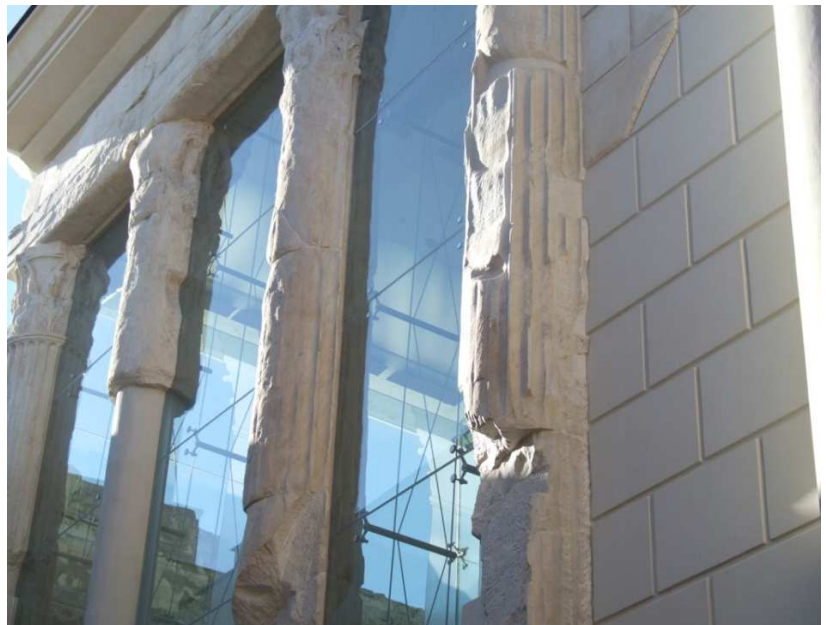
Church of S. Barbara dei Librai



Fig. 38. Roma, Santa Barbara dei Librai, a work of Istituto Centrale del Restauro from 1983. Reintegration of the image is clear with the “*rigatino*” treatment in loss of yellow marble. (CB 1989)

The intervention in the church was a pilot experiment, involving students on an educational construction site.

An important choice of the intervention was the integration of the missing parts from the XVII century floor borrowed the “*rigatino*” technique³⁸ (fig. 38).

Pozzuoli, Tempio-Cattedrale (Marco Dezzi Bardeschi)

Figg. 39-43. The consolidation and restoration of Pozzuoli cathedral by Marco Dezzi Bardeschi. The destruction caused by earthquakes showed the old temple, and so Dezzi Bardeschi wanted to leave all the superpositions of history. The church is closed with glass and old columns climb into the baroque walls and vaults. It is a very important example of restoration nowadays. (CB 2015)

1.10 Pristine state-reconstruction



Fig. 44. Roma, San Giorgio in Velabro, after vandalic act, morning of 28 July 1993.
(CB 1993)



Fig. 45. Roma, San Giorgio in Velabro.
After the reconstruction.
(CB 2002)

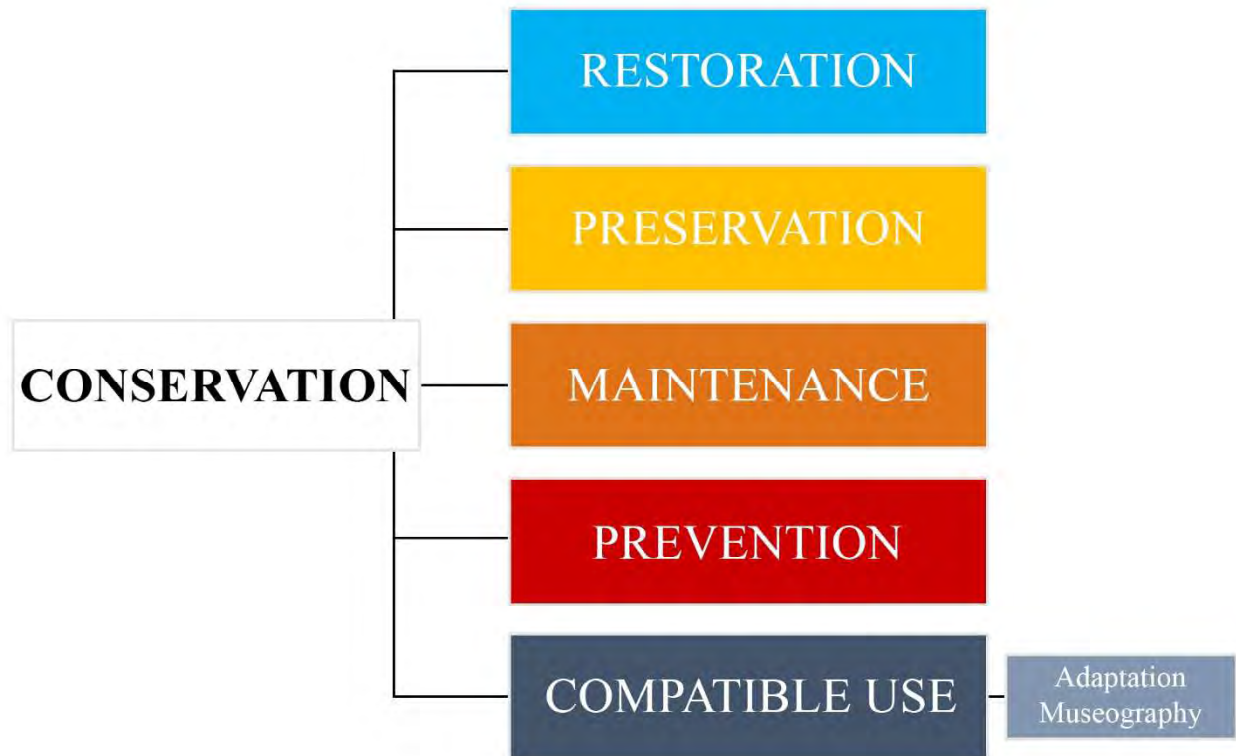
A particular case is the reconstruction after a vandalism act, a bomb exploded during the night between 27 and 28 July 1993.

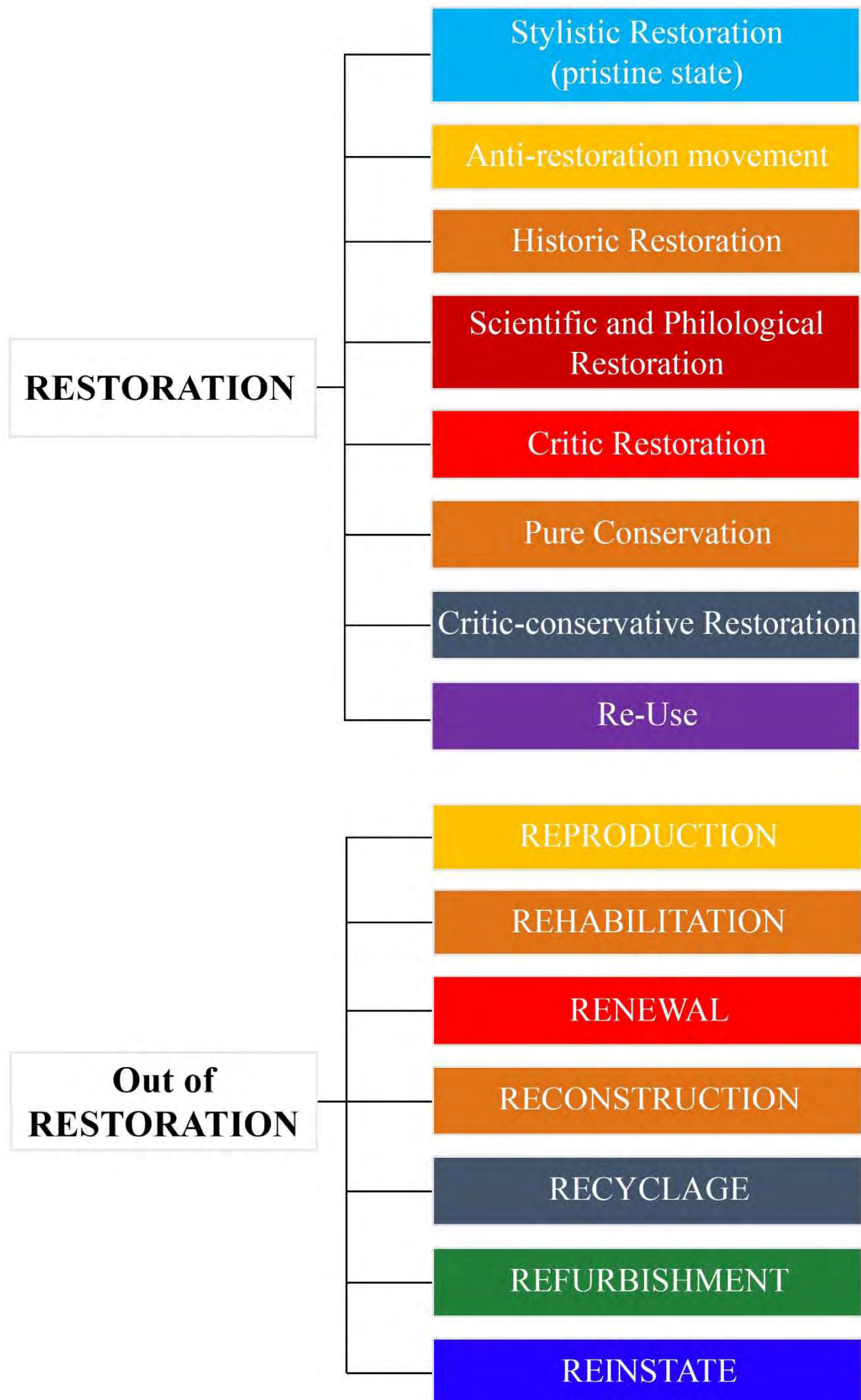
As there were so many pictures and drawings of the façade before the destruction, and the fragments were in the surroundings, it was decided to do a “reconstruction”, “recomposition” of fragments, “anastylosis”. And so, we can see it now (Figg. 44-45).

1.11 Synthesis: conservation, restauration, restauro

For architectonic terminology in restoration, without misunderstandings.

The world of Architectural conservation history had seen exponential growth in recent years. To the end, to facilitate those approaching, we would like to provide some diagrams. You might think of a tree with several branches or a flower with numerous petals.





Synthesis

Fig. 46. Stylistic Restoration



Fig. 47. Scientific Restoration



Fig. 48. Critic Restoration



Fig. 49. Critic Conservative

Notes

All photos are by the author (CB) except when indicated.

1. A recent essay is N. DUSHKINA, *Historic reconstruction: prospects for heritage preservation or metamorphoses of theory?* In *Conserving the authentic, Essays in Honour of Jukka Jokilehto*, edited by Nicholas Stanley-Price and Joseph King, ICCROM Conservation Studies 10, Roma 2009, pp. 83-94; and also in C. BELLANCA, *Roberto Pane e le vicende della ricostruzione post-bellica nell'Europa centrale*, in *Roberto Pane tra storia e restauro. Architettura, città, paesaggio*, edited by Stella Casiello, Andrea Pane, Valentina Russo, Venezia 2010, pp. 337-345.
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Chapter 2

The History of Conservation: France after 1789 and Roma The first years of XIX century

Until the beginning of the 19th century, it was improper to speak about restoration, as we understand it today, that is, a complex of “operations aimed at returning the monument to its historically determined world” (R. Bonelli, 1963, coll. 344). These actions must be understood in the sense to “update” the works of the past by adapting them to spiritual, material and aesthetic needs.

Until the end of the XVIII century, operations on pre-existences were guided by the idea of being operating in condition of substantial continuity with past times; that is without distinguishing the present to the pasts. Each new intervention is grafted onto the existing one.

In summary, these interventions sent to make the work of the past congenial to the present. Hence a set of actions, aimed at modifying, rather than preserving or bringing back to life values from past periods.

All this constitutes the basis of various interventions, destructions, reconstructions, transformations, motivated by political, religious, functional motivations, which can affect a part of all the pre-existences.

The work of the past was not perceived as a concluded historical event, but as an open theme, capable of incorporating new developments. Therefore, the connection between the present and the past with its own architectural and historical-artistic expression is manifested.

There are well-explained operations, that can be easily referred to the latin voice “restaurare” which it replaced the verb “instaurare” in the meaning “ricominciare” (to start again), then “restituire (to restore), therefore to renew.

The restoration, understood as remaking or recreation, requires some concepts, to avoid some misunderstandings.

For these reasons, some definitions are necessary to remember the terminology in the history of Conservation/Restoration.

2.1 France: after the Revolution

In France, during the period of French Revolution and in Napoleon age (1790-1815) many destructions of ancient monuments have taken place for several reasons: from ideological ones to others economic and speculative nature, aimed at reemployed of materials. Monuments like Saint-Denis Abbey, with his royal tombs, the Grand Chatêlet and Saint Germain-des-Prés, with the two apsidal towers, the Cluny Abbey, were subject of vandalism, and often of complete demolition, and then suffered serious destruction, a few years or decades, after a restoration in many cases (Fig. 1).

In this the history of the events relating to the origins of conservation in France, we must refer to Rücker's basic text; many of the instructions and reports relating to conservation are attached in this volume.

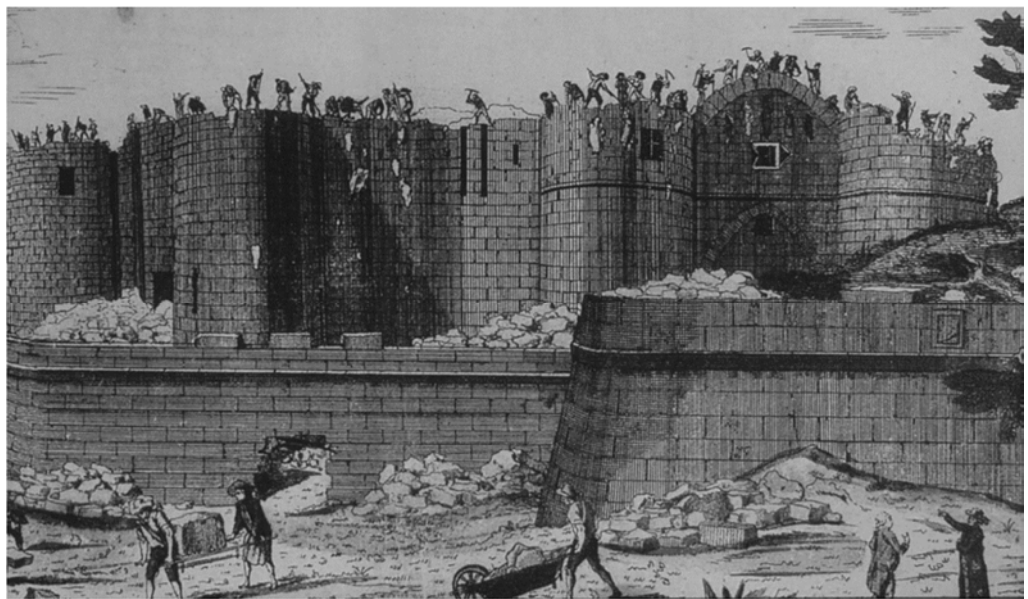


Fig. 1. The demolition of the Bastille (17 July 1789). From (P. LÉON, *La vie des monuments Français, destruction, restauration*, Paris 1951)



Fig. 2. Vandalism act in many monuments, Hubert Robert, 1793, “*Violation des tombeaux de Saint-Denis*”. (From P. LÉON, *La vie des monuments Français, destruction, restauration*, Paris 1951, p. 67)

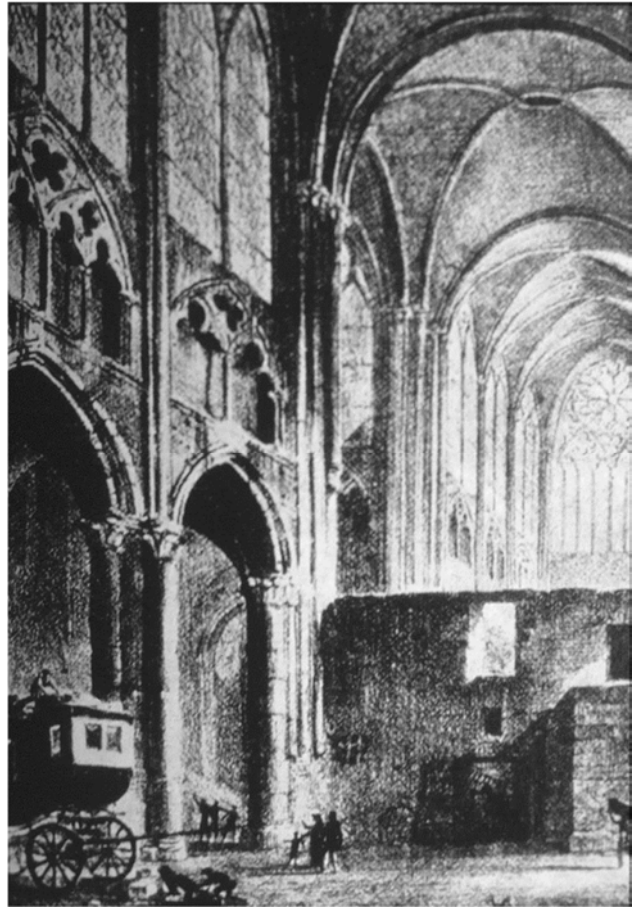


Fig. 3. Vandalism, deterioration and improper use of the church. (From P. LÉON, *La vie des monuments Français, destruction, restauration*, Paris 1951)

The vandalism and out of use caused demolition aimed at recovering materials, particularly in many churches and desecration of graves. The spoliation was partial, because the finest materials were limited. The demolition sites remained opened, leaving the destructive task to nature (Figg. 2-5).

Rücker writes: “Joseph Lakanal (1762-1845) dans un rapport qu’il presente le 6 juin 1793 à la Convention, demanda l’extension de ces mesures à toutes les propriétés nationales et aux oeuvres d’art en general... Il est temps que la Convention arrête ces funestes excès: déjà elle a adopté une mesure de rigueur pour la conservation des morceaux précieux de sculpture qui décorent le jardin national des Tuileries... c’est donc les droits de la cite entire à la moin que je vous demande de protéger les arts contre les Nouvelles pertes dont sont menaces”¹.

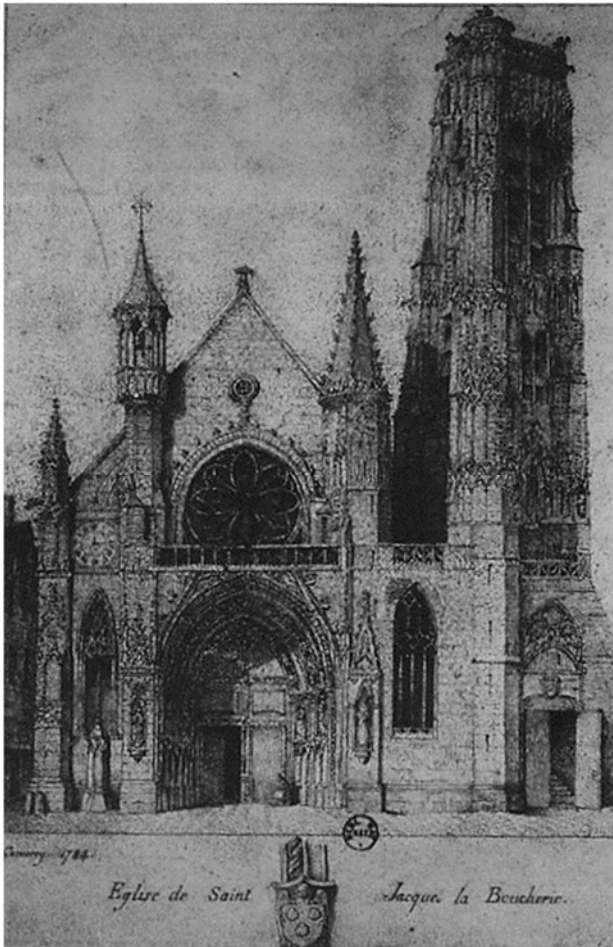


Fig. 4. Paris, Saint-Jacques before French revolution (1784).
(From P. LÉON, *La vie des Monuments Français, destruction, restauration*, Paris 1951)

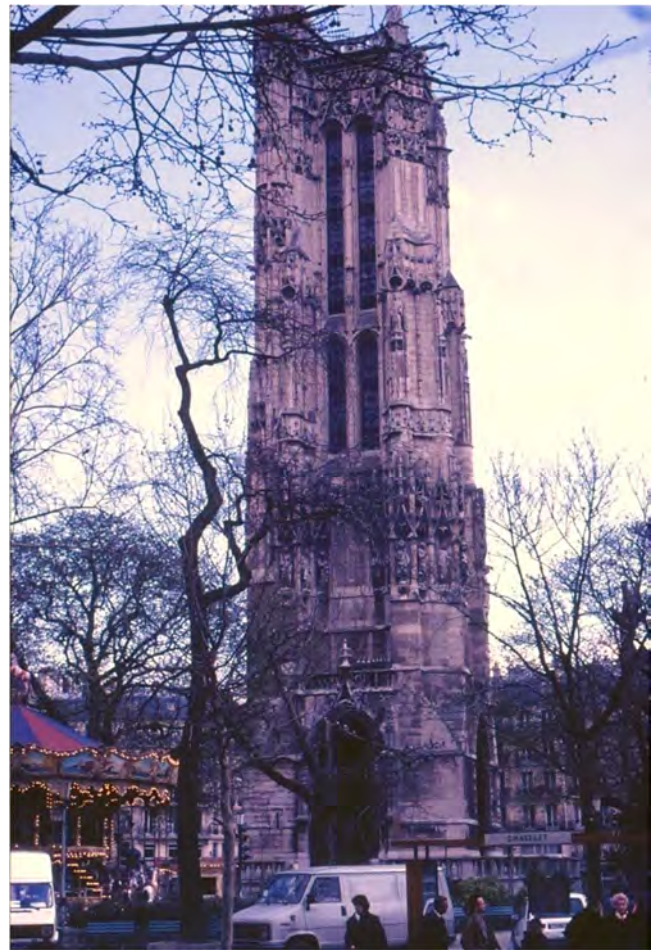


Fig. 5. Paris, Saint-Jacques after the destruction of the church during French Revolution. It remains just the tower bell.
(CB 1983)

Protection and inventory

Jukka Jokilehto writes: “from the early years of the Revolution, there where, in fact, decrees ordering the municipal or State administrations to prepare lists of this property, ... and to constitute guardians from them”². In October 1790 the Commission des monuments of which the painter Louis David was given the task to care for works of art and prepare inventories.

The different laws that authorized the destruction of ancient symbols also decreed the conservation of pre-existences with special value.

The decree of 14 August 1792 was born “particularly to control the conservation of objects which may have an interest for their artistic quality”³.

The Convention decreed that it was forbidden to remove, destroy, mutilate ... in any way ... traces of “ancient regime”, ... that interest the arts, history and education from libraries, collections, public museums⁴.

The importance of the conservation of works of art and monuments was specified in an important document. This was prepared by the “Commission Temporaire des Artes”, presented to the “Comité d’Instruction publique” in January 1793. In this period Abbé Henri Grégoire (1750-1831) take in an important role as member of the Comité d’Instruction publique. The word “vandalism” was invented by him⁵, in a decree of 1793, when the reality of the time is grasped: “Les monuments antiques, ... sont des médailles sous une autre forme, ils doivent être conservés dans leur totalité. Le citoyen Grégoire propose un projet de décret contre ceux des citoyens qui se permettent de briser ou mutiler les monuments divers qui se trouvent épars dans les départements”⁶.

Another important aspect will be: “Les depots et Musée”. The Louvre Palace is opened as a museum since 1775. At the same time, Alexandre Lenoir (1762-1839) was nominated curator of the convent of the Petit Augustins, and the collection was opened to the public in 1795 (“Musée des Monuments Français”)⁷ (Figg. 6-7).



Fig. 6-7. Paris, the Museum of Historic Monuments, before last adaptation. First case of preservation and conservation of the different architectonic detail.
(CB 1983)

Gregoire: “seul s’attaque à cette besogne, qui devait le rendre célèbre. C’est le fameux rapport sur les destructions opérées par le vandalisme, et sur les moyen de le réprimer” (Gregoire, Séance 14 fructidor).

Rücker: “Les barbares et les esclaves détestent les sciences et détruisent les monuments des arts; les hommes libres les aiment et les conservent”⁸.

Lenoir: “Développera tous ces essais restés en germe utilisation des église comme musées, réunion des tombeaux des rois, recherche des notes des grands hommes... il tendait à former un véritable musée: où l’on retrouvera les âges de la sculpture française dans des salles particulières ... le caractère, la physionomie exacte du siècle qu’elles devaient représenter”⁹.

In the same period, a prominent personality was Antoine-Chrysostome Quatremère de Quincy (1775-1849), archaeologist, who, after the fall of Napoleon, was nominated secretary of the Academy of Beaux-Arts, as “Intendant Général des Art et Monuments publiques”. He ordered that the object we had collected in the museum should be returned to their authentic sites.

We can add to this picturesque and pre-romantic fashion, the push of the catholic revival movement. In England we have Augustus Charles and Augustus Welby Pugin. They will be able to give aesthetic and architectural form to the widest diffusion of ideas. Pugin started also the “revival” of traditional crafts.

2.2 French principles and Quatremère de Quincy in Roma

In Roma, classical antiquities home, where the protection of ancient monuments had been developed since the Renaissance, but it had always been there. In 1796 Quatremère had travelled to Roma remaining there for years. He had read Winckelmann and had met Mengs and Canova.

In 1801 Carlo Fea (1753-1836) was nominated “Commissario delle Antichità”, and the following year Antonio Canova (1757-1822) became “Ispettore delle Belle Arti”.

Roma, in recent years is the reference center of Neoclassical culture. The city had been the headquarter to the Institute of Archaeological Correspondance since 1829, a meeting point for architects, archaeologist and artist interested in the study of antiquity. In this climate the first legislative measures for the protection of Antiquities were determined.

In particularly we remember: the Chirograph of Pius VII Chiaramonti (1802), which will constitute the basis of the Pacca Edit (1820) and the subsequent regulation.

In this period of French Administration, with the presence of Commission des Monuments et Bâtiment Civils, the prefect of Roma, Camille de Tournon decided “to establish particularly programme for Roma”¹⁰. The different project included the navigability of the Tevere, to join bridges, public promenades, excavations and restorations. Two public promenades were planned, one on the hill of Pincio, the other in the area of the Forums, “garden of the Capital”. Valadier prepare a project for Piazza del Popolo¹¹ (Fig. 8).

For the repair of the ruins in Roma, Napoleon had placed them under his special protection to see them reduced to a better state. In 1810 the archaeological excavations were handed over the “charity” and Valadier, Camporesi and Mons. Carlo Fea became directly responsible.

On 9 July the extraordinary Council appoints Baron de Tournon prefect of Roma. He plans the restoration of all the sacred and civil monuments of Roma. It is of great interest and is the proposal of a plan for the establishment of Roma. The prefect of Roma proposes to transform “Campo Vaccino” into an archaeological park to restore dignity to the ancient forum.

At the same time the prefect fears the abandoned of many sacred buildings could lead to destruction and urges the administration to worry about their conservation.

Another restoration during the French period was the circular temple in Forum Boarium, generally called Tempio di Vesta. From 1809 to 1810, the walls between the columns were removed, and the space was filled with ancient fragments and in lime mortar¹².

We must remember Montalivet, during 1812 and 1813, send two French architects to Roma. Here we have some different positions. Guy-Alexandere-Jean-Baptiste de Gisors (1762-1835) and Louis-Martin Berthault. In detail Gisors studied the method of excavations, consolidation and restoration, but ... wrote “Ancient Monument were to be restored as a part of master plan, providing both a reference to the history of Roma...”.

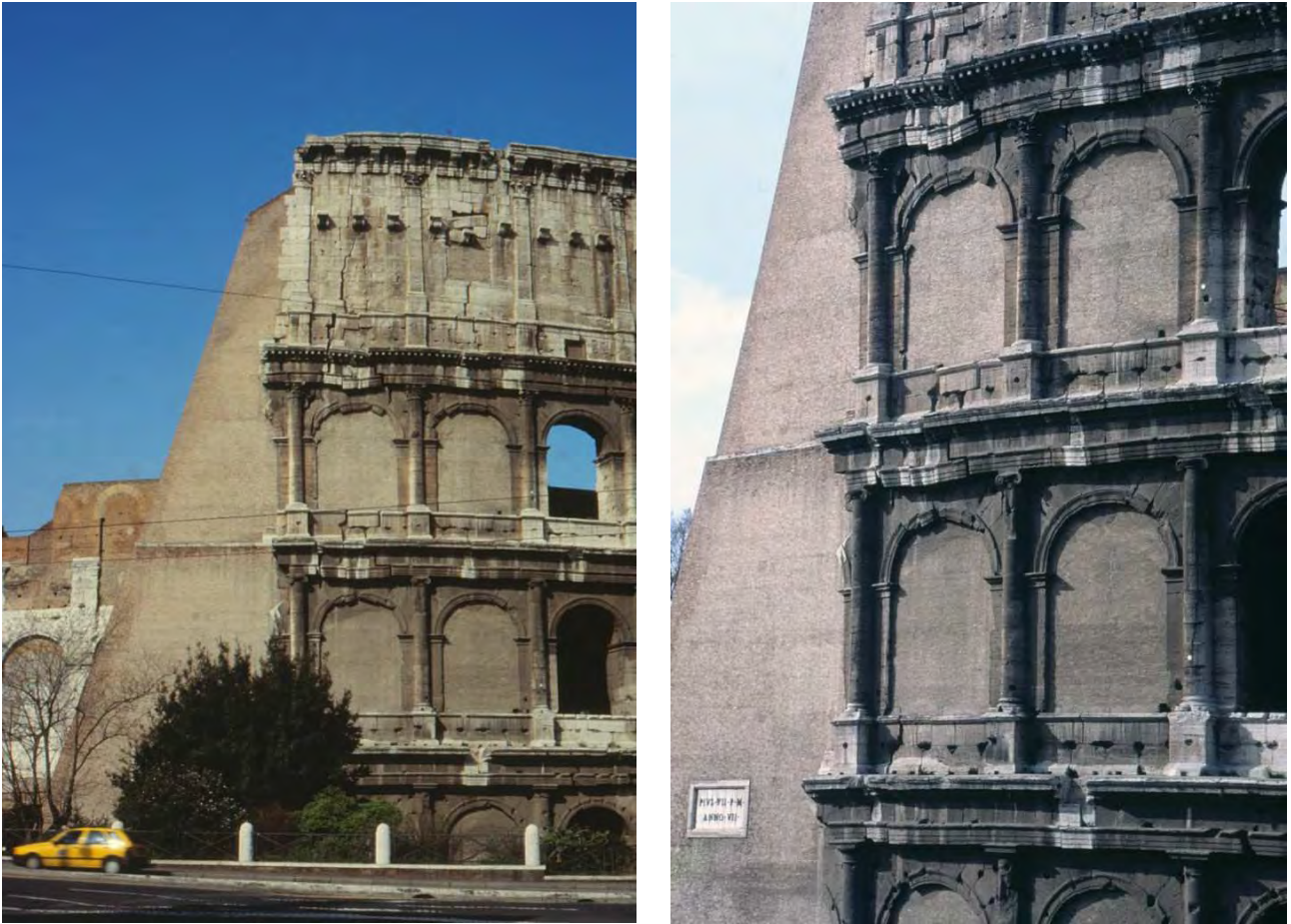
Gisors' principles were written in a letter to Daru of August 1813: "... all collapsing parts of historic buildings should be reconstructed at least enough to give an exact idea of their original form and proportion ..."¹³.

The rich dossier conserved in the National Archives in Paris allows us to make precise clarifications on the state of Roma's monuments, the new intervention criteria continue, although following that of the Papal government, in fact it is no coincidence that the same architects will continue to work on the monuments. Girors writes: "at least the masses of these parts should be reconstructed into shapes and proportions, both in stone and in brick, but in such a way that these constructions present exactly the lines of these parts that they will have to replace"¹⁴.



Fig. 8. Roma, Piazza del Popolo. On the left we can see the Church of Santa Maria dei Miracoli and at the end "Pincio gardens". (TC 2024)

2.3 Roma during the first years of XIX century, Colosseo



Figg. 9-10. Roma, Colosseo, consolidation of the eastern section (1806-1807). The large buttress is placed to support the arches which threatened ruin. The arches are not recomposed, but on the contrary are fixed in unstable position in which they are found.
(CB 1985)

Pio VII appointed a Commission composed of the Pontifical architect Giuseppe Palazzi, the academic architect of San Luca Giuseppe Camporesi and the chamber architect Raffaele Stern. The three opposing the solution, proposed by others to demolish the unsafe part, proposed in 1806 to build a brick buttress, which was at the same time modern insertion to be compared with the ancient. Stern also proposed walling up the arches that had lowered keystones (Figg. 9-10).

Stern turns out to be the real author responsible for the intervention and writes: "... an important work that brings us as close as possible to our ancestors ... and continues the buttress happily finished in time to remove these precious vestiges from destructive insults ... It is a very interesting object for every artist"¹⁵.

And it was precisely to highlight the intervention carried out with the buttress that Papa Pio VII, ordered the demolition of some adjacent barns and stables. The description made by Stern always assumed that it was in the curtain, while a fresco preserved in the Clementine Gallery in the Vatican Museum presents it as “beautifully whitened”, but the documents make no explicit reference to the finishes. The buttress is written to be worked as a curtain, and with the greatest precision with a travertine base¹⁶.

After the earthquake Raffaele Stern, inspected the static conditions of Colosseo and proposed a plain brick buttress, with a base of travertine, forming a solid support and respecting the pre-existence and historical values to stop the lateral movement.

The intervention on Colosseo explains the full respect of monuments and the development of modern conservation theory in a paradigmatic way. This intervention is aimed at the conservation of each fragment, and it does not cancel the dramatic moment (Fig. 11).

Stern's words, the aim was: “... to repair and to conserve everything”¹⁷.



Fig. 11. Roma, Colosseo. Detail of crash moment of the arc and "architrave". (CB 1985)



Fig. 12. Roma, Colosseo. 1824-1826: the western section was restored by Valadier, who aimed at a partial reconstitution of the architectural forms. Valadier justified the use of brick instead of stone for economic reasons. (CB 1985)

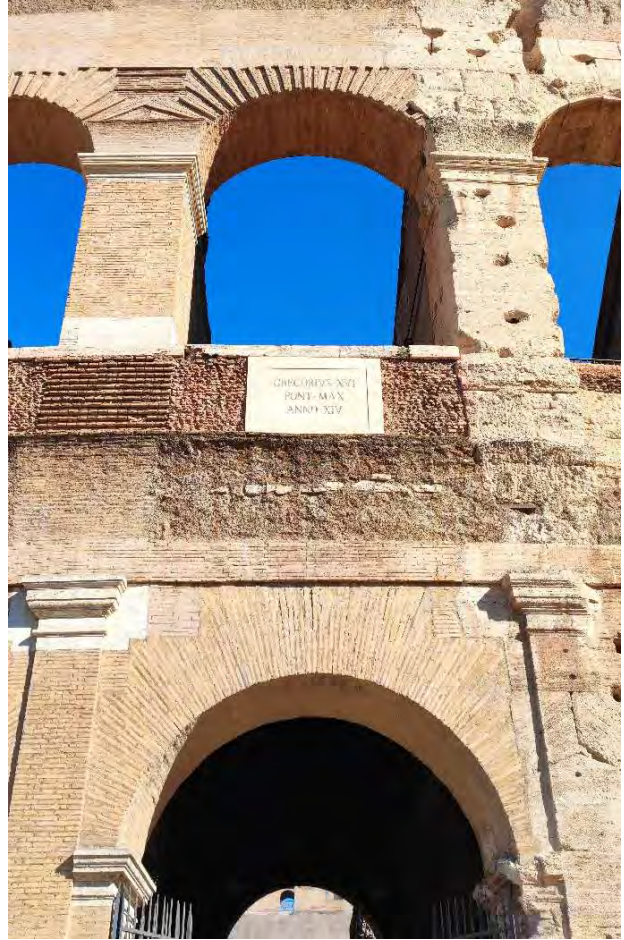


Fig. 13. Roma, Colosseo. 1844-1852: the southern section was restored by Luigi Canina. (TC 2024)

During the French Administration, the arena of Colosseo was excavated, but in 1820 the monument showed signs of instability and Valadier became the responsible of the new work. Stern's interventions were not appreciated by the French, and Gisors formulated new principles on which future works should be based. Thus, it will happen in 1826, he played the opposite side of the Colosseum with Valadier with different criteria.

The monument presented several instabilities attributable to the presence of unregimented water coming from Labicana, and several instabilities on the side of the Arch of Constantin. In 1815 Valadier prepared the project which envisaged the closure of the Colosseo with gates, and only in 1823 he began to work on the western wing (Fig. 12).

He created arches in decreasing numbers, starting from the lowest level, with a little barbican for each order. The restoration was completed in 1826 during the pontificate of Leone XII.

Valadier intervention was born from static needs, but pursues the objective of respecting the aesthetic value of the monument by using travertine-treated plaster. The solution was different and the project involves a partial “reconstruction”. Valadier writes: “imitate the antique even in minor details with the exception that, while the origin was all in travertine, the new work – for economic reason – had travertine only half way up the first pillars”¹⁸.

Another intervention was this one made by Luigi Canina (1795-1856) in the southern section during Gregorio XVI. Here we have eight arches “rebuilt” between 1844 and 1852. The reintegration was made in yellow brick using travertine only for structural parts. It is interesting the treatment of the new brick surface¹⁹ (Fig. 13).

We must remember different drawings for Colosseo, before Valadier restoration in pencil and watercolour.

2.3.1 Arco di Tito

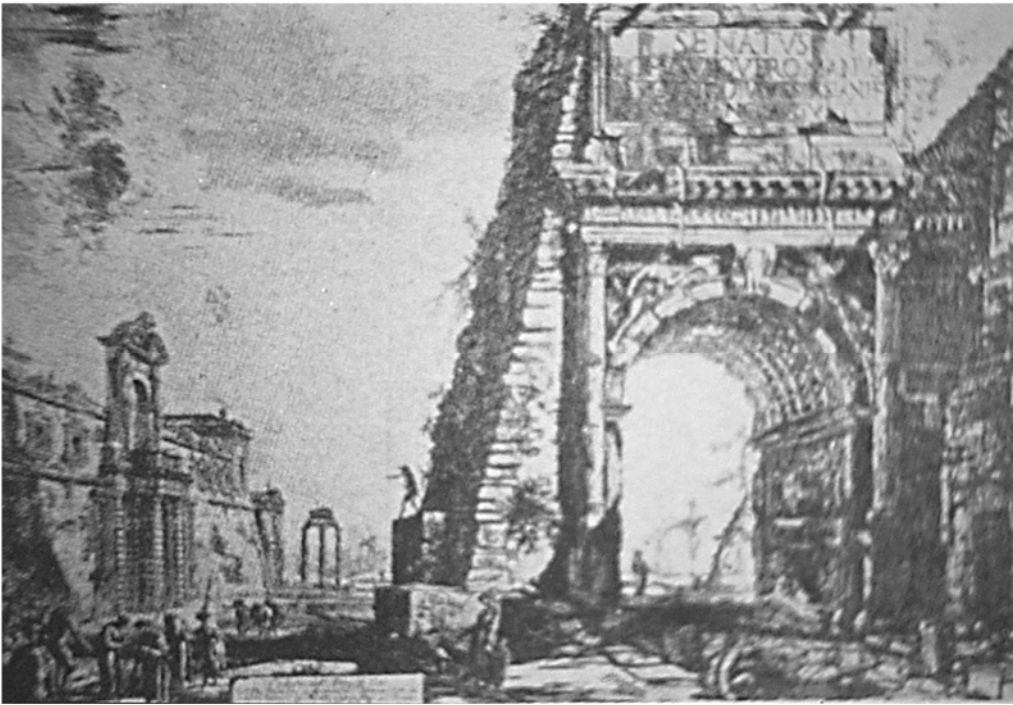


Fig. 14. Arco di Tito, in ruins. We must remember the arch was enclosed within the walls of the convent of S. Francesca Romana. It appears isolated and in need of repairs, the arch is mutilated in the upper part of the attic, missing the cladding and the corner columns. (M. JONSSON, *La cura dei monumenti alle origini. Restauro e scavo di monumenti antichi a Roma 1800-1830*, Stockholm 1976)

After the French departure from Roma, the Forum Romanum remained a centre of interest. The principal work is dedicated to the Arco of Tito. The Arco of Tito was erected after 81 AD by emperor Domitian. The monument was initially built of white marble.

Between the two restorations of Colosseo, can be inserted the significant history of Arco of Tito (Fig. 14).

Valadier wrote that he began his work after the death of his young colleague Raffaele Stern. He found the fragment in “travertino” ready to use in substitution of lost marbles; the reintegration was done with different material, but similar to marble as the travertine but in simplified form (Fig 15).



Fig. 15. Stern and Valadier "complete" the lost part in simplified form as the had suggested (1818-1824). (CB 1985)

The Arco di Tito becomes one of the exemplary monument restorations and will serve as a model for other interventions on the archaeological heritage. It begins with the liberations from 1812-1813 with the so-called “pristine” of the arch between 1818-24.

The opportunity to discover the construction system of the arch and the static instability is provided by Valadier during the dismantling and reassembly of ashlar.

But it must be remembered that Stern had started the shoring, so he decided to dismantle those pieces and reconstruct the entire mass of the arch and cover it with travertines, forming and accompanying the adaptation of the ancient decoration.

Valadier, after Stern’s death, did not fail to acquire all possible knowledge and continue the work. He takes care to mark the individual pieces that he dismantles to carry out an “anastylosis” operation.

The arch was “rebuilt”, reassembling the authentic fragments, and adopting the travertine which harmonized well with the ancient/origin marble elements, without the decoration (Figg. 16-17).

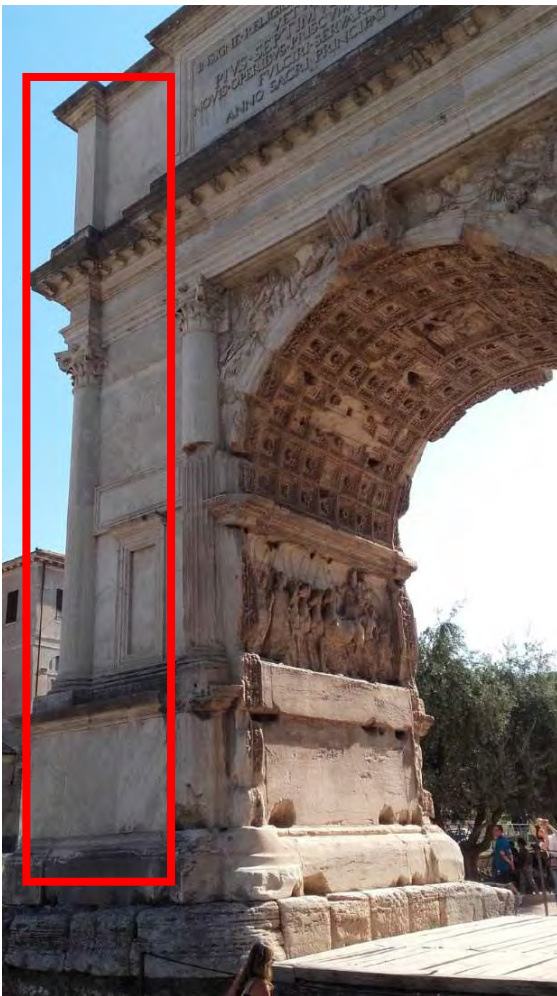


Fig. 16. Roma, Arco di Tito.
(CB 2016)

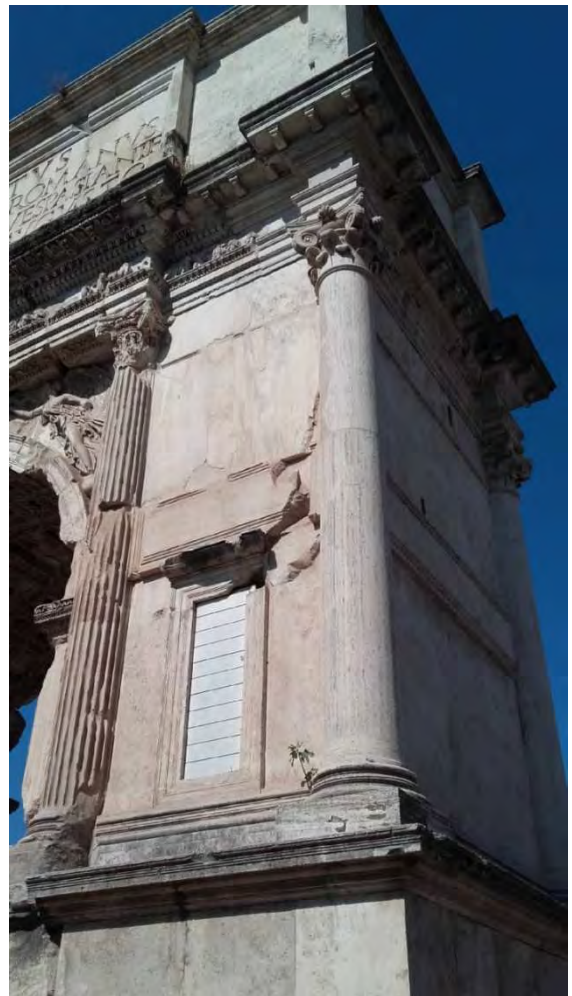


Fig. 17. Roma, Arco di Tito. In detail showing new part in travertine without details, thus distinguishability them from first marble (to repair and conserve).
(CB 2016)



Fig. 18. Roma, Arco di Tito.
(CB 2016)

This Restoration is another element of modern guideline. The example of the Arch of Tito was accepted by Quatremère de Quincy when he wrote the word “Restoration” in his *Dictionnaire* in 1832. Quatremère de Quincy writes: “S’il est question d’une edifice compose de colonnes avec des entablements ornés defrises, soit sculptées en rinceaux, soit remplies d’autres figures, avec des profils taillés et décorpés par le ciseau antique, il devra suffire de rapporter en bloc les parties qui manquent, il faudra laisser dans la masse leur details de manière que le spectateur ne pourra se tromper sur l’ouvrage antique et sur celui que l’on aura rapport uniquement pour completer l’ensamble”²⁰.

Between Quatremère’s oppositors, Stendhal writes: “invece di rafforzare l’arco che pericolava con delle “armature” di ferro e con una gettata di mattoni assolutamente distinte dal monumento, pensò bene di ricostruirlo di nuovo”²¹.

I would like to conclude this reflection on which we can see the different attitude of Stern and Valadier about the Colosseo, and certain aspects about Arco of Tito. And all within the discipline of restoration, embodying the two extremes: from a cultural grandfather of “pure conservation” in buttress of Colosseo on one, and of the intervention of reintegration on the other for Arco of Tito, the dialectic between historicity and aesthetics of the pre-existences (Fig. 18).

2.4 Roma in the XIX century

It seems appropriate to remember that in the early years of the 19th century two trends were discernible; the first aimed at a conservative and reintegrative attitude on the archaeological pre-existence, the other towards the monuments of the subsequent eras.

Pietro Camporesi had completed the upper part of the façade of S. Maria in Aquiro, as well as the new façades erected by Pasquale Belli for S. Andrea delle Fratte and S. Maria della Consolazione. In the first, the architect took up the members of the lower order, while, for the second case, he proposed the sixteenth-century Roman language with two superimposed orders.

We must remember that in recent years Valadier has been involved in the construction of the Piazza del Popolo, and in the arrangement of the slopes of the Pincio and in various completions.

To this end, we would like to recall the interventions in San Pantaleo, designed in 1806, and the completion of the façade of the Basilica of the Santi Apostoli.

2.4.1 San Paolo Basilica

The fire that broke out on the night between 15 and 16 July 1823 had partially destroyed the Basilica of San Paolo. Pope Leone XII found himself deciding on the different methods of intervention. As can be read in the documents, different proposal emerged²².

Valadier was the first of the Roman architects to take an interest and prepared some projects, but there were unrelated to the characteristics of the ancient Basilica. Its construction would have erased every memory of the ancient one.

One cannot help but observe the opponent contradiction between Valadier's position for San Paolo and the intervention at the Colosseo.

From the large existing documentation on the fire, which had destroyed the roofs, ruining part of the colonnade and calcining many columns, the destruction was not so total as to require the reconstruction of the entire Basilica (Fig. 19).

The current against Valadier prevailed and Leone XII, after having established a Commission, dictated the criteria for the reconstruction on 18 November 1825. Leone XII, closes the controversy over reconstruction: "Niuna innovazione dovrà introdursi nelle forme e proporzioni architettoniche e niune negli ornamenti del risorgente edificio, se ciò non sia per escludere alcune cose che in un tempo posteriore alla sua prima fondazione potè introdursi per il capriccio dell'età seguente". The pontifical document constitutes the natural culmination of a long, lively and articulated debate that developed in the Roma world in reference to this reconstruction.

The works were entrusted to Pasquale Belli. But only after 1832 did the work begin with Pope Gregorio XVI. In the end, the result achieved was a compromise between the "original" desire to have an early Christian Basilica back and the need for that new symmetry and regularity. After Belli's death, Luigi Poletti was called, who worked there for about 35 years.

This was a time full of controversy which had seen scholars and antiquarians opposing the group of architects to identify the methods to be adopted in the reconstruction of the "ostiense basilica" and more generally in the restoration interventions.

In essence, Leone XII's document on the criteria to be adopted in the reconstruction of San Paolo can be considered as the first codification of the restoration understood as reintegration of the "original" state, or of the so-called stylistic restoration. For correctness it is necessary to recall the concepts already expressed in the previous edict of the cardinal Pacca (1820) (Fig. 20).

It seems appropriate to recall in this essay of the history of Restoration that before the 19th century there were numerous anticipations of restoration understood as a re-proposal of its "original" state. We would like to remember that "returning to the primitive state" was present in Vasari (1550), while in more recent times, the concept of stylistic reintegration was expressed by various authors in the 18th century (Winckelmann, 1764; Giovanni Casanova, 1770; Bartolomeo Cavaceppi, 1780)²³.

Fig. 19. Roma, San Paolo fuori le Mura. Internal view of the Basilica after the fire. Antonio Acquaroni 1823.
(From M. DOCCI, *San Paolo fuori le mura: dalle origini alla basilica delle origini*, Roma 2006)



Fig. 20. Roma, San Paolo fuori le Mura. The colonnade of the right lateral nave reconstructed by Poletti after 1834.
(From M. Docci, 2006)



2.5 Activity in France

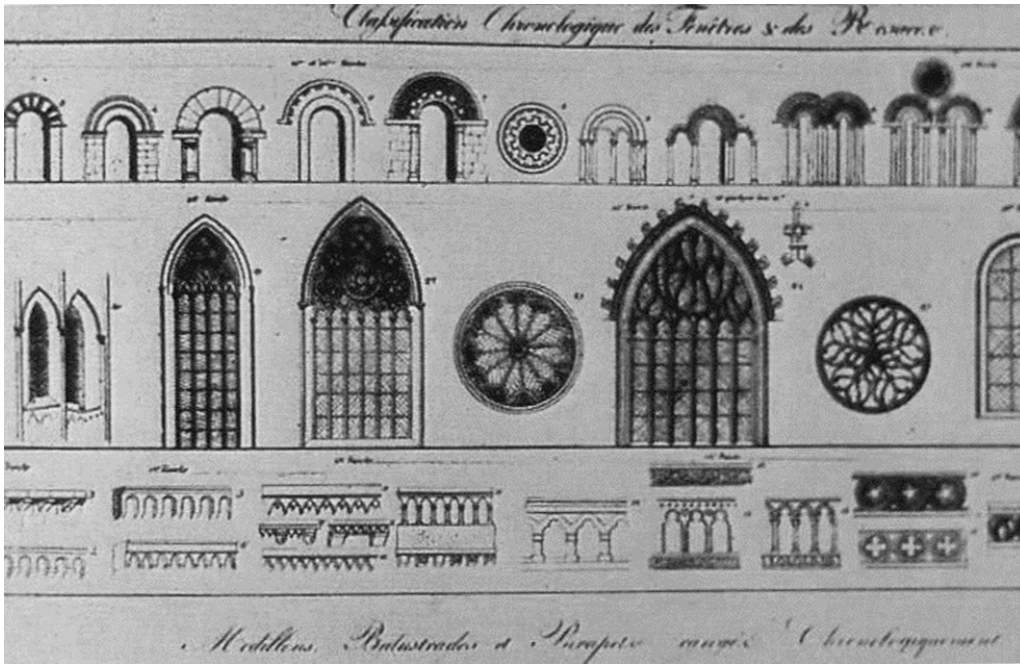


Fig. 21. The first moment for the protection of ancient monuments is by inventory and catalogue. (From A. DE CAUMONT, *Gothic details. From Cours d'Antiquités Monumentales*, Paris 1831)

In the practice of restoration, from the first half of XIX century, it has become established the Stylistic Reintegration, as style means a historically and formal reality, unitary and coherent, well defined over time. Each monument is considered as the product of a given style, achieved with greater or lesser coherence. The restorer's task will be to restore the pre-existence to the lost unity of style, corresponding with its primitive state or with an ideal situation of stylistic perfection.

In the same years we assist, in France, to the phenomena of the interest in the Middle Ages: with different author in literature, poetry and historiography. We can remember François René Viconte de Chateaubriand (1768-1848), Arcisse de Caumont (1801-1873). First of all, F. R. de Chateaubriand, who open the history values of the Middle Ages and the ruins to the people. He wrote, *Génie du Christianisme ou Beautés de la Religion Chretienne*, and in the "troisième partie", dedicated to Beaux Arts et Literature: "a monument only becomes venerable after past history has left its marks, so to speak, on its beams blackened over the century"²⁴.

It is important to remember: "in 1820 la sortie du premiere volume des voyages pittoresques et romantiques dans l'ancienne France, par Nodier, Taylor et Cailleux; en 1824, la création, par Arcisse de Caumont de la Société d'Antiquaires et que, la même année, Caumont public son Essai sur l'Architecture religieuse du Moyen Age"²⁵ (Figg. 21-22).

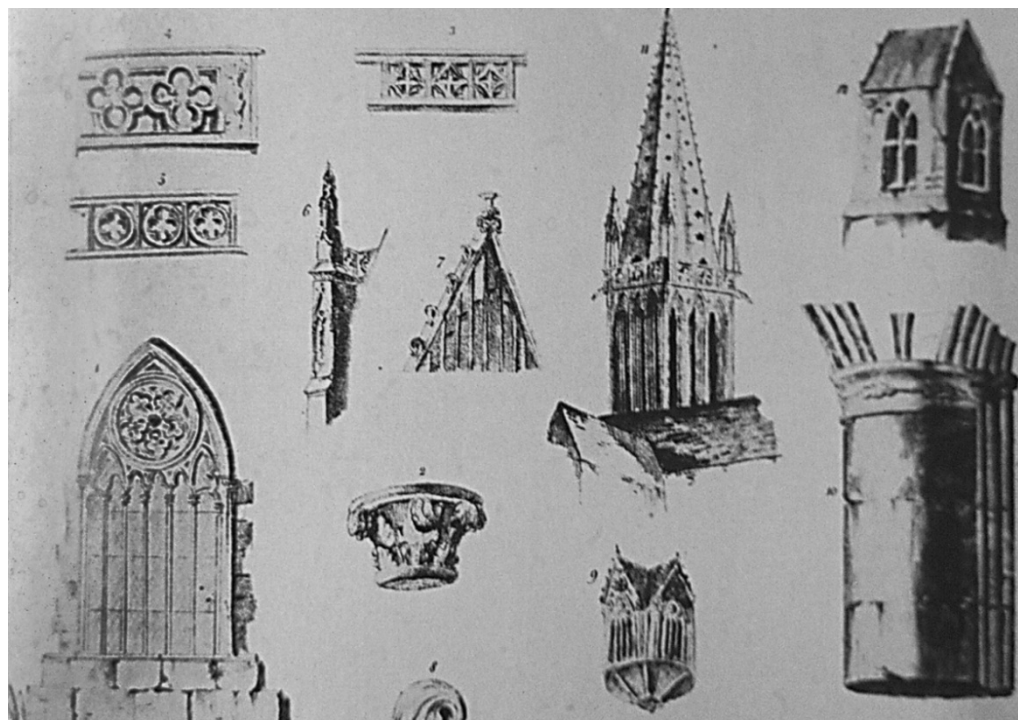


Fig. 22. From Arcisse de Caumont, *Gothic details*. From *Cours d'Antiquités Monumentales*, Paris 1831

Arcisse de Caumont, found in 1834 the “Société française d’Archéologie”, with the task of promoting and coordinating the research, and the fight against vandalism in all countries²⁶.

In the same period in England we met the fundamental figure of Walter Scott (1771-1832), father of historic romance, and Horace Walpole (1717-1797), initiator of the Gothic taste and its architecture. In France, Victor Hugo, father of the historic novel, is personally committed to the defence of the medieval monuments (Notre Dame de Paris, 1831). This book has the cathedral as its protagonists. When he glorified Notre Dame, the Queen of the French Cathedrals, he opened the research of monuments, as a part of the study of historic town.

We must remember that he wrote it in the same years *Guerre aux démolisseurs* (1832) in “Revue des Deux Mondes” and Montalambert in the same magazine, *Du vandalisme en France* (1833).

A fundamental date to remember is 21 October 1830, when Guizot, at that time Ministry of Interior, suggest dans un rapport to Louis-Philippe, the creation of the role of Inspecteur Général des Monuments Historiques. Guizot wrote: “Parcouvrièr successivement tous les départements de la France, s’assurer sur les lieux de l’importance historique ou du mérite d’art des monuments, recueillir tous les renseignements qui se rapportent ... en constater l’existence dans tous les dépôts, archives, musées, bibliothèques ou collection particulières ... éclairer les propriétaires et les détenteurs sur l’intérêt des édifices sont la conservation depend de leurs soins ... et sans que les autorités competentes aient tenté tous les efforts convenables pour assurer leur preservation”²⁷.

Between the protagonists: Ludovic Vitet (1802-1873) “Inspecteur general des Monuments historiques”, and President of the Commission des Monuments Historiques for many years.

He travels “pour étudier les monuments en Belgique, en Hollande, en Allemagne. Quand s’éclate la revolution de 1830, il se trouve en tour archéologique dans la basse Normandie”.

“Il persuade Guizot de l’intérêt qu’il y aurait à créer un poste d’Inspecteur général des Monuments historiques. Il y est appelé le 23 octobre 1830”²⁸ and “à prosuivre et à populariser la restauration des ancien monuments de la France”²⁹. For Vitet was necessary “remettant l’Art medieval en honneur et en valeur, Vitet se préoccupe d’en conserver les vestiges... Il propose d’établir, à titre d’exemple, un relevé conforme aux méthodes appliquées pour l’analyse des monuments antiques. C’est une restauration pour laquelle il ne faudra ni piene ni ciment, mais seulement quelques feuilles de papier³⁰... c’est ce qu’il fait très exactement en se limitant toutefois aux édifices antérieurs au XVII^e siècle, il ignore systématiquement l’époque Classique³¹”.

During early 1830s, several organizations were created for the protection and restoration of architectonic pre-existence and work of art. Jokilehto offers a summary: the Comité des Artis, created by Guizot in 1830, changed its name to the Comité des Travaux Historiques and in 1837 Comte de Montalivet (1801-1880) created the Commission des Monuments Historiques. The aim of this commission was to support the prefect, and also to assist the Inspector General in his work of evaluation of historic monument, and deciding priorities for their prestoration (Decree 29 January 1838)³².

In conclusion Vitet wrote: “afin de retablir un édifice sur la vue de simples fragments, non par hypothese ou caprice, mais par une sevére induction. La premiere mérite d’une restauration c’est de passer inaperçue”³³.

The other great personality of the time was Prosper Mérimée (1803-1870). “La Revolution de 1830 le trouve absent come Vitet et plus éloigné que lui”.

He replaced Vitet from 27 May 1834 as General Inspector of Monuments.

“Il rompt nettement avec le sentimentalisme romantique qui, dans l’architecture gothique, a surtout aimé les ruines”. In his first letter to Arcisse de Caumont: “... des réparateurs sont peut-être aussi dangereux que les destructeurs”. Over the next 18 years, from 1834 to 1852, he travels around France, on inspection tours, without forgetting his other travel to Europe.

He will remain faithful to the tradition of Laborde and Taylor: “in ne sépare pas le monument de la nature qui l’entoure. On lui doit une précieuse anthologie des paysages de la France...”³⁴.

“Il cherche à conserver ce qui existe”.

In many occasion, Mérimée is attracted to minor construction: “dans une petite rue en face de l’église, on voit une maison qui paraît avoir été construite à la même époque ... il serait bien à desirer qu’on prît quelque soin de conserver cette maison qui offre un modèle precieux de l’architecture civile du Moyen Âge”³⁵.

As Léon pointed out, Mérimée doesn't worry "à des conclusions doctrinales". But Mérimée, is indignant towards new episodes of vandalism having found a ruin: "tout en disputant sur son origine ... ne prennent aucun soin de sa conservation, et le trou qu'on y a pratiqué pour la sonder, est maintenant occupé par une famille de porcs"³⁶.

And still report bad cases of adaptation: "Il est à regretter qu'une église aussi vaste, et à certain égards aussi remarquable, quelle celle de Noirlac ... ait reçu une destination qui la dénature complètement". And citing Vitet's theory: "Il faut se dévotiller de toute idée actuelle, oublier les temps où l'on vit pour se faire le contemporain de tout ce qu'on restaure, des artistes que l'on a construits". In reference to the bell tower of Saint-Sernin at Toulouse: "ce clocher, moderne relativement au reste de l'édifice, a été élevé dans le XIV^e siècle avec l'intention évidente de se conformer au style général de la construction primitive ... Je ne connais pas d'autre exemple d'une restauration aussi bien entendue, et les architectes de notre temps devraient prendre exemple sur cette scrupuleuse exactitude à éviter des contrastes de style dont l'effet est presque toujours désagréable à la vue"³⁷.

The official doctrine of Stylistic Restoration was codified on 26 February 1849: "Instruction pour la conservation, l'entretien et la restauration des édifices diocésains et particulièrement des cathédrales"³⁸.

The job of General Inspector of historical Monuments, he concludes: "c'est d'être *vox clamantis in deserto*"³⁹. He relied on the collaboration of the Commission des Monuments Historiques, we can remember baron Justin Taylor, Auguste Leprévost, Charles Lenormant, A. N. Caristie and Jacques Duban. These will be correspondents in all parts of the country. An important period managed by Mérimée will be the conflict between classicists and medievalists. He showed sensitivity to the complaints already raised by Vitet, Hugo and Montalambert against any form of alteration of the monuments and in particular that resulting from bad restoration and added. Mérimée wrote to Thiers: "Les réparateurs sont peut-être aussi dangereux que les destructeurs ... j'ai demandé que toutes les réparations projetées pour les monuments historiques fussent soumises au Conseil des Bâtiments civils"⁴⁰.

He adds precise proposals for the interventions to be carried out, Mérimée offers solutions in style. Since every restorative action must be aimed to reconstitute the expressive value of the work. Mérimée proposes the analogical criteria to the general rules of style codified by Vitet.

He finds the advisor in Viollet-le-Duc, so it's a perfect match. We can conclude by stating that many monuments in France exist thanks to him⁴¹.

Notes

All photos are by the author (CB) and Tommaso Ciciarello (TC) except when indicated.

1. F. RÜCKER, *Les Origines de la conservation des monuments historiques en France*, Paris 1913, pp. 29-30.
2. Decree: protection of heritage. 2 October 1789, 6 December 1790, in F. Rücker, *Les Origines de la conservation des monuments historiques en France*, Paris 1913, pp. 43-44, 48-49
3. The decree of 14 August 1792, Art. 4, republished in J. Jokilehto, *A History of Architectural Conservation*, Oxford 1999, p. 96
4. The decree of 24 October 1793, Art. 1, in *Ibidem*
5. F. RÜCKER, *Les Origines de la conservation des monuments historiques en France*, Paris 1913, pp. 31-102. It is important to see some chapters of F. CHOAY, *Allégorie du Patrimoine*, Paris 1992, in detail: ch. III La Revolution Française, with the “classement du Patrimoine, le Valeurs, la consecration du monument historique”; ch. IV, with some pages dedicated to “la Restauration comme discipline”.
6. *Ibidem*, p. 33
7. *Ibidem*, p. 104-121
8. F. RÜCKER, *Les Origines de la conservation des monuments historiques en France*, Paris 1913, p. 37.
9. *Ibidem*, p. 108, p. 117. See also: L. COURAJOD, *Alexander Lenoir, son journal et le musée des Monument Français*, Paris 1878-1887. A recent summary on Musée des Monuments français is in “Dossier de l’Art”, n. 144; in *Le Musée des Monuments Français* and *Dossier Cité de l’Architecture*, in “Monumental”, n. 1, 2007.
10. P. PINON, *Tournon et les embellissements de Rome*, in *Camille de Tournon, le préfet de la Rome Napoléonienne (1809-1814)*, Roma 2001.
11. P. MARCONI, *Giuseppe Valadier*, Roma 1964.
12. A. C. QUATRÈMERE DE QUINCY, PIO VII CHIARAMONTI, *Lo studio delle Arti e il Genio dell’Europa*, introduzione di A. Emiliani, Bologna 1989.
13. M. JONSSON, *La cura dei monumenti alle origini. Restauro e scavo di monumenti antichi a Roma 1800-1830*, I ed. it. Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae, series 8, VIV, Stockholm 1986, p. 82.
14. Archive National Paris, F/13/1646 A.
15. Archivio di Stato di Roma, Cam. II, b. 6, fascicolo 193, Relazione di Raffaele Stern riguardanti i restauri del Colosseo.
16. P. MARCONI, *Roma 1806-1829, momento critico per la formazione della metodologia del restauro architettonico*, in “Ricerche di Storia dell’Arte”, n. 8, 1979, pp. 63-72.
17. Stern scrive al Camerlengo (18 November 1806), in ASR, Cam. IIA e BA, b.7, 207. “L’oggetto della mia [...] fu per l’appunto quello di ripararne e conservarne qualunque benché minima parte”.
18. G. VALADIER, *Opere di Architettura e Ornamento*, Roma, 1833. See also: L. Canina, *1785-1856, architetto e teorico del classicismo*, a cura di Augusto Sistri, Milano 1995.

19. L. CANINA, *Sul ristabilimento e riparazione della parte media verso l'Esquilino dell'Anfiteatro Flavio*, in "Dissertazioni nella Pontificia Accademia di Archeologia in Roma", XIV, Roma 1860, pp. 169-177. See also: S. CASIELLO (a cura di), *Verso una storia del Restauro: dall'età classica al primo Ottocento*, Firenze 2008.
20. Quatremère de Quincy writes: "se si tratta di un edificio composto di colonne con trabeazioni ornate di fregi scolpiti a fogliame, o riempiti di altre figure, con profili intagliati dallo scalpello antico, basterà riportare insieme le parti mancanti, converrà lasciare nella massa i loro dettagli, di maniera che l'osservatore possa distinguere l'opera antica e quella riportata per completare l'insieme" (A. C. QUATREMÈRE DE QUINCY, *Dictionnaire historique d'Architecture, comprenant dans son plan les notions historiques, descriptives, archeologiques, biographiques, théoriques, didactiques et pratiques de cet art*, Paris 1832, ed. it. Antonio Mainardi, Mantova, 1842-44, vol. II, pp. 387-388. See also: D. LINSTRUM, *Giuseppe Valadier et l'Arc de Titus*, in "Monumentum", 25, 1° March 1982.
21. STENDHAL, *Les Promenades dans Rome*, Roma, 1829, ed. it. 1957, Firenze vol. I, p. 239.
22. M. DOCCI, *San Paolo fuori le mura: dalle origini alla basilica delle origini*, Roma 2006.
23. C. FEA, *Aneddoti sulla basilica ostiense di S. Paolo, riuniti nel 1823, dopo l'incendio, e recitati nell'Accademia Archeologica il di 27 gennaio 1825*, Roma 1825; C. FEA, *Rivista di varie opinioni riprodotte in stampa da un sedicente scalpellino sulle colonne da farsi nella basilica ostiense di S. Paolo*, Roma 5 February, 1826.
24. In detail Chateaubriand writes: "à parler de la vénérabilité des monuments sur lesquels une longue histoire du passé a laissé ses empreintes", in F. R. DE CHATEAUBRIAND, *Génie du Christianisme ou Beautés de la Religion Chrétienne*, Paris ed. 1966
See also F. RÜCKER, *Les Origines de la conservation des monuments historiques en France*, Paris 1913, p. 158.
25. P. M. AUZAS, *Introduction* in P. MÉRIMÉE, *Notes de Voyage en France, 1835-1840*, ed. it., p. 1.
26. A. DE CAUMONT, *Gothic details. From Cours d'Antiquités Monumentales*, Paris 1831. See also: W. SCOTT, *Border antiquities of England and Scotland*, London 1814-1816; W. SCOTT, *Ivanhoe*, London 1820; V. HUGO, *Notre Dame de Paris*, Paris 1831; H. WALPOLE, *The Castle of Otranto, a gothic story*, London 1766.
27. F. GUIZOT, *Mémoire pour servir à l'histoire de notre temps*, deuxième édition, t. II, Paris 1859, *Pièces Historiques*, IV, pp. 385-389.
28. L. VITET, *Monographie de l'église Notre Dame de Noyon*, Paris 1845. See also P. LÉON, *La vie des monuments Français, destruction, restauration*, Paris 1951, p. 189.
29. F. GUIZOT, *Ibidem*, t. II, p. 67.
30. *Ibidem*, p. 191.
31. P. M. AUZAS, *Introduction* in P. MÉRIMÉE, *Notes d'un Voyage dans le Midi de la France, 1835-40*, Paris ed. 1989.
32. J. JOKILEHTO, 1999, p. 130.
33. L. VITET, *Fragments et mélanges*, 1846, p. 282; and P. LÉON, *La vie des monuments Français, destruction, restauration*, Paris 1951, p. 192.
34. P. LÉON, *La vie des monuments Français, destruction, restauration*, Paris 1951, pp. 196-198.
35. P. MÉRIMÉE, *Note de voyages*, ed. Paris 1971, pp. 186-187.

36. Ibidem, pp. 69-70.

37. Ibidem, p. 234.

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39. Letter to Grille de Beuzelin, 17 juillet 1853. See also P. MÉRIMÉE, *Des Monuments de la France*, Moniteur universal, Janvier 1853.

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Documentary appendix: some definitions

Restoration

F. MILIZIA, 1797

"Metter mano nelle opere altrui insigni alterate dal tempo, è un deformatle, il che è peggio che distruggerle".

B. ORSINI, 1801

"Ristaurazione - La rifazione di qualcuna, o di tutte le parti dell'edifizio, che sia degradato per la sua cattiva costruzione, o pel corso di molti anni; di maniera che si rimetta nella sua antica forma, o si aumenti e si abbellisca".

p. 151

The Shorter Oxford Dictionary, 1801

Defines restoration as "the action or process of restoring something to an unimpaired or perfect condition".

Ed. 1824

Was defined as "the process of carrying out alterations or repairs with the idea of restoring a building to something like its original form".

A. CANOVA, 1803

"poiché sarebbe un sacrilegio da parte sua o di chicchessia ... di toccarli con uno scalpello"

J. CARTER, 1804

"Repairing: when adverting to our ancient 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".

p. 328

"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 sensible perceive they have very little or no connection, resemblance, or proportion, to the old of art suffering under their inattentive hands".

p. 328

A. C. QUATREMER DE QUINCY, 1824

"Qu'est -ce qu'une Restauration? C'est la conjecture la plus probable appuyée d'autorités, de la forme, de la figure et des proportions d'un monument, aujourd'hui en ruines, et de ce qu'il pouvait être au temps de sa splendeur: c'est aux recherches, aux études, à la sagacité de l'artiste à approcher le plus près de la vérité".

(Rapport de l'Institut sur les ouvrages envoyés par les Architectes Pensionnaires de L'academie de France à Rome)

[Archives de la Villa Médicis, carton n.30]

F. MILIZIA, 1817, ed. 1853,

"La ristaurazione, o sia il riattamento, è la rifazione di qualcuna o di tutte le parti di un edificio degradato o perito per cattiva costruzione, o per lasso degli anni, così che si rimette nella sua prima forma, o si aumenta anche considerevolmente, o più si abbellisce"

p. 495

"Se in gran parte è sano e robusto, e in qualche parte leso o per vizio di costruzione, o per accidente, convien rifare la parte lesa, ma colle necessarie precauzioni che il nuovo legghi bene col vecchio: il che è molto difficile"

p. 495

" Si debbono perciò impiegare in questa sorte di ristaurazioni materiali scelti e bene stagionati ".

p. 495

" Non è male replicare che le restaurazioni fatte solo per abbellire producono un effetto contrario: imbruttiscono. Molte fabbriche gotiche si sono ristaurate e abbellite alla greca, o alla romana, e sono riuscite deformi. Perdono allora ogni carattere, e divengono un ammasso di assurdità".

p. 497

N. CAVALIERI SAN-BERTOLO, 1827

"Ma tutte le cure primordiali potrebbero divenire infruttuose, qualora non si vigilasse di poi assiduamente, a vedere se qualche sconcerto con l'andar del tempo apparisse nella fabbrica, prodotto sia da originari vizi di costruzione, ... o non si accorresse prontamente a rimediare con opportuni ripari".

p. 180

"...ed altro non occorre che di applicare al danno l'opportuno rimedio locale: vale a dire che le fenditure e i distacchi si dovranno chiudere murandoli con tutta l'accuratezza; gli strapiombi si dovranno correggere ripigliando dal basso all'alto il muro, che è quanto dire; finalmente, trattandosi di decadimenti parziali del materiale, basterà di demolire e di rinnovare tutte quelle parti, alle quali si estende il danno".

p. 184

V. HUGO, 1831, ed. 1988

"...trois sortes de ravages défigurent aujourd'hui l'architecture gothique ...Mutilations, amputations, dislocation de la membrure, *restaurations*, c'est le travail grec, romain et barbare des professeurs selon Vitruve et Vignole Cet art magnifique que les vandales avaient produit, les académies l'ont tué".

p. 159

V. HUGO, 1832, ed. 1988

"Faites réparer ces beaux et graves édifices.
Faites les réparer avec soin, avec intelligence, avec sobriété.
Surtout que l'architecte restaurateur soit frugal de ses propres imaginations; qu'il étudie curieusement le caractère de chaque édifice, selon chaque siècle et chaque climat ...".

p. 660

L. VITET

"Il faut se dépouiller de toute idée actuelle, oublier le temps où l'on vit pour se faire le contemporain de tout ce qu'on restaure, des artistes qui l'ont construit, des hommes qui l'ont habité.

Il faut connaître à fond tous les procédés de l'art, non seulement dans ses principales époques, mais dans telle ou telle période de chaque siècle, afin de rétablir un édifice sur la vue de simples fragments, non par hypothèse ou caprice, mais par une sévère induction.

Le premier mérite d'une restauration, c'est de passer inaperçue".

p. 192

P. MÉRIMÉE, 1835

(Carcassonne)

"Malheureusement des réparations multipliées ont rendu très difficile de reconnaître et de classer les constructions successives exécutées sans doute à des intervalles peu éloignés".

p. 225

(Toulouse)

"une restauration bien fâcheuse, qui a couvert les murs d'une couche de plâtre, empêche l'oeil de saisir facilement les détails de l'ornementation en pierre sculptées; ...

p. 233

"Le portail occidental a été restauré ou plutôt complètement défiguré".

p. 234

"Ce clocher, moderne relativement au reste de l'édifice, a été élevé dans le XIV siècle avec l'intention évidente de se conformer au style général de la construction primitive".

"Je ne connais pas d'autre exemple d'une restauration aussi bien entendue, et les architectes de notre temps devraient prendre exemple sur cette scrupuleuse exactitude à éviter des contrastes de style dont l'effet est presque toujours désagréable à la vue".

p. 234

"L'architecte, dans sa restauration, a copié assez exactement ce qui restait de l'édifice ancien ...".

pp. 83-84

"Sans parler des dépenses qu'entraînerait cette restauration, on serait obligé d'inventer à chaque instant; il faut se borner à réparer les ornements extérieurs, supprimer les cloisons, refaire le meneaux, enlever les planchers modernes; en un mot, il faut restaurer ce qui a été endommagé, mais non pas remplacer ce qui a été complètement perdu".

p. 472

"mais il est difficile de s'en assurer, car elles viennent d'être restaurées complètement, c'est -a -dire replâtrées et badigeonnées".

p. 281

A. N. W. PUGIN, 1836

"J 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 J have before stated, can they be regained but by a restoration of the ancient feelings and sentiments".

p. 43

"...the detailes individually are accurate and well worked, but the principle of the design is so contrary to the ancient arrangement, that j do not hesitate to say the effect is little short of detestable ...".

p. 43

(ruined) "... Heaven forbid that they should ever be restored to anything less than their former glory".

p. 55

COMMISSION DES MONUMENTS HISTORIQUES, 1836

"se conformer au style primitif pour la restauration de toute partie intégrante de ces édifices ou pour leur achèvement ou agrandissement".

P. MÉRIMÉE, 1837 (trad.it. C. Boito, 1884)

"...Non si ripete mai abbastanza che, in fatto di restauri, il primo e inflessibile principio è questo, di non innovare, quand'anche si fosse spinti alla innovazione dal lodevole intento di compiere o di abbellire.

M. BOUTARD, 1838 (diz. Hert)

"Restauration = operation ayant pour objet de réparer, de restaurer , un vieux tableau, une statue mutilée, on bien encore de suppléer, d'imaginer, ce que le temps a détruit et fait disparaître d'un édifice antique. cfr Les restaurations de l'architecture se bornent d'ordinaire au projet tracé sur le papier, et, dans ce cas, on ne dit pas restaurer, mais faire ou composer une restauration..."

p. 581

"Restaurer un tableau, une statue, un monument, c'est les rétablir en l'état où ils étoient avant que le temps, les mutilations ou d'autres accidents les eussent défigurés, tronqués, détruits, mis en état de ruine..."

Restaurer un édifice, c'est relever ou reconstruire effectivement les parties qui ont été renversées ou détruites par le temps. Il ne se dit qu'en parlant de monuments antiques, ou d'édifices modernes d'une certaine importance, déjà en état de ruine".

S'il s'agissoit que de dégradations ordinaires occasionnées par l'usage journalier, ou quelque accident imprévu, il faudroit dire réparer, rebâtir, réparations, grosses réparations, reconstruction..."

p. 582

Restaurer: "...et à les conserver en l'état de ruine dans le quel ils sont parvenus ...".

p. 582

Cambridge Camden Society, Report 1840, Cambridge, 1841 (cfr Madsen o Harvey)

"The object of the Society shall be, to promote the study of Ecclesiastical Architecture and Antiquities, and the restoration of mutilated architectural remains".

p. 31

P. MÉRIMÉE, 1840, preface

"les restaurations doivent être exécutées rapidement et d'une manière complète, ...les secours lents et partiels ... retarder le moment ou un abandon définitif".

p. 20

"pour être vraiment utiles, les restaurations doivent être exécutées rapidement et d'une manière complète; que des secours lents et partiels suffisent à peine pour pallier les progrès de la destruction, et n'ont, en dernière analyse, d'autre résultat que de retarder le moment où il faut opter entre une restauration entière ou un abandon définitif".

DESSAURET, 1842, in P. Léon 1917

"La restauration complète de la métropole de Paris, faite avec intelligence et dans le sentiment le plus pur de l'art, servirait de type aux villes et aux localités secondaires toujours empressées à imiter la capitale".

p. 278

The Ecclesiologist, 1842, I, 65

"we must, whether from existing evidence or from supposition, recover the original scheme of the edifice as conceived by the first builder, or on the other hand must retain the addition or alterations of subsequent ages, repairing them when needing it, ..."

Conservation

Vocabolario della Crusca, 1686

"Conservare; tener nel suo essere, saluare, mantenere, e difendere ...".

pp. 226-227

"Conservativo; atto e acconcio a conseruare e che conserua.

Conservazione; e conseruagione, conserruamento".

p. 227

Card. A. ALBANI, 1763

"...la conservazione delle quali non solo conferisce molto all'erudizione sì sagra che profana, ma ancora porge incitamento à forestieri di portarsi alla medesima città per vederle e ammirarle".

p. 31

Abbé GREGOIRE, 1794

" Le barbares et les esclaves détestent les sciences et détruisent les monuments des arts ; les hommes libres les aiment et les conservent...".

cfr p. 37 e ss., p. 97

Card. DORIA PAMPHILJ, Pro Camerlengo, 1802

"...proibiamo sotto le stesse pene a chiunque di demolire o in tutto o in parte, qualunque avanzo di antichi Edificj ...riservando a Voi per via di visita ...la facoltà di accordare la licenza per ruinare quelli Ruderj, la conservazione delli quali si conoscesse non essere di alcuna importanza. ...quanto perchè siano le antiche fabbriche restaurate, ripulite nelle occorrenze, e conservate colla maggiore esattezza". (art.8)

Card. PACCA, Camerlengo, 1820

"Riconoscendosi meritevole di particolare riguardo, e conservazione il monumento scoperto, sarà nostra cura indennizzare il Proprietario della perdita del suolo, facendovi costruire a pubbliche spese ciò, che sarà necessario alla conservazione stessa del monumento ed a renderlo accessibile". (punto 46)

Reglement constitutif de la societe francaise pour la conservation des monuments historiques, 1834

"II. Elle fera tous ses efforts. 1). pour empêcher la destruction des anciens édifices, et les dégradations qui résultent de restaurations mal entendues; 2) pour obtenir le dénombrement et la conservation de pièces manuscrites déposées dans les archives ".

p. 34

P. MÉRIMÉE, 1834

"Il serait bien à désirer qu'on prêt quelque soin de conserver cette maison qui offre un modèle précieux de l'architecture civile au moyen-âge, et qui suivant toute apparence...".

p. 187

P. MÉRIMÉE, 1836

"...Il m'a semblé, dans les travaux qu'on y a exécutés, on avait été préoccupé plutôt de la rendre propre à cette destination, que de lui conserver son aspect et son caractère original ...".

p. 422

F. GUIZOT, 1837, 29 September

"...de dresser le classement de tous les édifices du territoire français présent, ...de proposer toutes les mesures de nature à assurer la conservation de nos monuments et à empêcher les alterations que pourraient leur faire subir des restaurations inintelligentes".

p. 211

F. GUIZOT, 1837, 18 December

"...de faire dessiner et graver pour les conserver à l'avenir les oeuvres remarquables de l'architecture, de peinture, de sculpture, ... de donner des instructions sur la conservation materielle des ruines, ...cathédrales".

p. 211

P. MÉRIMÉE, 1837

"Vous les classerez dans leur ordre d'importance et vous indiquerez les sommes qui seraient nécessaires pour les conserver ou remettre en bon état" .

P. MÉRIMÉE, 1837, trad.it. in C. Boito, 1884

"Non si ripete mai abbastanza che, in fatto di restauri, il primo e inflessibile principio è questo, di non innovare, quand'anche si fosse spinti alla innovazione dal lodevole intento di compiere o di abbellire. Conviene lasciare incompleto e imperfetto tutto ciò che si trova incompleto e imperfetto. Non bisogna permettersi di correggere le irregolarità, i difetti di simmetria sono fatti storici pieni d'interesse, i quali spesso forniscono i criteri archeologici per riscontrare un'epoca, una scuola, una idea simbolica. Nè aggiunte, nè soppressioni".

A. DIDRON, 1839

"Quand il s'agit des monuments morts il faut, dirons-nous plutot consolider que reparer, plutot reparer que restaurer; et quand il s'agit les monuments vivants plutot restaurer que refaire, plutot refaire qu'embellir".

A. DIDRON, 1839

"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 ... En terminant ces réflexions, nous unirons de grand Coeur et avec grande joie nos éloges à ceux que le noble et généreux pais donne à M. M. Lassus et Viollet-le-Duc. Les deux jeunes architects aiment et connaissent les monuments chrétiens, parce qu'il en reparent et surtout parce qu'ils en font --- M. M. Lassus et Viollet-le-Duc sont architects et, comme tells, enclins, malgré eux, à faire de neuf".

p. 123, 128

A. DIDRON, 1839

" Je me prononce contre les restauration quelles qu'elles soient. Une restauration est un replâtrage qui cache, mais ne guérit pas une maladie; on peut même dire qu'elle aggrave le danger en le déguisant... Une restauration n'est utile qu'aux architectes à qui elle fournit de la besogne et du profit, mais tout le reste en est victime".

p. 311

P. MÉRIMÉE, 1841

"Lorsqu'il reste quelque chose de certain, rien de mieux que de réparer, voire même de refaire, mais lorsqu'il s'agit de supposer, de suppléer, de recréer, je crois que c'est non seulement du temps perdu, mais qu'on risque de se fourvoyer et de fourvoyer les autres ".

p. 9

P. MÉRIMÉE, 1843

"...Qu'il appartient surtout de veiller à la conservation des édifices remarquables qu'ils possèdent ".

p. 27

J. SCHMIT, 1844

"Le grand et beau principe de la conservation des monuments est un principe tout nouveau qui ne fut connu proprement ni de l'Antiquité ni du Moyen Age ".

p. 221

Chapter 3

The History of Conservation: Conservation vs. Restoration The age of Romanticism in France

The development of romantic literature, the birth of national history, the awake of Catholicism, in France in 1830, will push the government to place the conservation of monuments under the protection of the State.

These different orientations will converge in restoration, destined to take an exemplary role for the cathedral of Notre-Dame in Paris, and we remember Victor Hugo (1802-1885) and Charles René comte de Montalembert (1810-1820), with the collaboration of Vitet, trustworthy man of François Guizot (1787-1874, Interior Minister).

Among the protagonists of this season we must remember Arcisse de Caumont (1801-1873), archaeologist and art historian, and Ludovic Vitet (1802-1873), Inspecteur General des Monuments Historiques (until 1834).

He owes himself incomparable documentation of Archives des Monuments Historiques and have drawn up a complete program for the conservation of monuments. He moved from history, to archaeology and catalogue up to restoration. Jukka Jokilehto writes: "He recommended the conservation and repair of the spire of the cathedrals of Senlis"¹.

His method asked to the restaurator, strip yourself of every current idea, and now it's time to forget what you remember. For Vitet the first merit of a restoration is to go unnoticed. He wrote: "Le premier merite d'une restauration, c'est de passer inaperçue"².

In 1831, he undertook his first tour to survey and report on the country's cultural heritage. Vitet selected historic pre-existence that offered most interest to the architecture and history of art.

After Vitet, we have Prosper Mérimée (1803-1870), General Inspector of Monuments from 1834 to 1860 and senator from 1853. He wants to preserve the monuments, with maintenance or turning them back, without doubts.

With Vitet, adopts the centrality of the methods and control of Paris in its individual departments, promoting the spread of knowledge and protection.

Mérimée was driven by great intellectual curiosity and he is author of famous *Notes de voyage and many reports on the conservation*; but not being able to realize his intuition, he found in E. E. Viollet-le-Duc the advisor and indispensable guide.

Without Mérimée, many monuments in France today would not exist. In this period it is worth remembering Lenoir, author of several instructions and *Manuel des inspecteurs des édifices diocésains* and Falloux, Minister of Education and religion known for his work *Instructions pour la conservation, l'entretien et la restauration des édifices diocésains* (26 February 1849), where restoration is defined as a sad necessity.

The figure of “Architecte des Monuments Historiques” is mentioned for the first time in a circular from February 1841; it is important to remember who was Mérimée in 1840. Mérimée wrote Vitet in reference to the restoration of the León cathedral: “we only have three or four architects we can count on”³. So Viollet-le-Duc is sent to Vézelay, Questel to Moissac, Achille-François-René Leclère to Périgueux, Labrousse to Nantes, Lassus to Lambard, Duban to Blois and Boeswillwald to León.

Already in 1825 Victor Hugo stated that in the monument coexists the use and the beauty. In this period in France, first nation in Europe, where begin the definition of a system of catalogues for the protection and restoration of monuments “par décision du 29 septembre 1837, le comte de Montalivet institue la Commission des Monuments historiques. Elle comprend sept membres: Ludovic Vitet, le comte de Montesquiou député, Auguste le Prevost député et antiquaire normand, le baron Taylor, l'architecte Caristie, Duban, architecte de l'école des Beaux-Arts, Mérimée, inspecteur general, remplit les fonctions de secrétaire”. From this moment the Commission of Historical Monuments, with Vitet as president, has stated that “it is better to leave incomplete and imperfect everything that is found incomplete and imperfect ... because the symmetry defects are full of interest...”⁴. In 1844 for Notre-Dame in Paris Mérimée wrote a new axiom and change the guidelines. “For restoration we mean the conservation, of what exists, and the reproduction of what ‘existed’ ... the more interesting is to copy analogue motifs, in a restoration you don't have to invent anything”⁵. The wisest thing is to copy similar motifs.

In the alternation of doctrinal codifications in 1849 we have

Alfred-Frédéric-Pierre Falloux: “Architects must never forget, the goal of their efforts is conservation of monument, and best means to achieve this goal is maintenance. The restoration is always a sad necessity”⁶.

The official doctrine was codified on February 26, 1849, through *Instruction pour la Conservation, l'entretien et la restauration des édifices diocésains et particulièrement des cathedrales*, published in “Bulletin des Comités historiques” (Archéologie et Beaux Arts, T. I., 1849, pp. 131-155).

“Architects attaché au service des edifices diocésains ... ne doivent jamais perdre de vue que le but de leur efforts est la conservation de ces édifices, et que le moyen d'atteindre ce but est l'attention apportée à leur entretien. Quelque habile que soit la restauration d'une edifice, c'est toujours une nécessité fâcheuse, un entretien intelligent doit toujours la prévenir...”.

In the text we note the importance attributed to masonry: “tous les matériaux enlevés seront toujours remplacés par des matériaux de même nature, de même forme, et mis en oeuvre suivent les procédés primitivement employés... L'appareil des pierres neuves sera absolument semblable à l'appareil anciens ... la plus grande attention sera apportée à l'exécution des tailles, des parements et moulures ...”.

Otherwise Adolphe Didron, director of “Annales Archéologiques”, in two different dates, 1839 and then 1845, stated famous axiom on the restoration: “En fait de monuments anciens, il vaut mieux consolider que réparer que restaurer; mieux restaurer que refaire; mieux refaire qu’embellir; en aucun cas, in ne faut rien ajouter, surtout rien retrancher”⁷.

In these axioms of Vitet, Mérimée, Falloux, Didron and instructions we can read some of the different statement, and basic historic “lexical misunderstandings”. Didron tries to resize the stylistic integration to favour consolidation and maintenance, limiting renewal to only damage parts.

In the same years we have some reflections; the first of Bourassé, who presents the state of the monuments in France at that time. The reflections on are divided in two statements:

1. The first which want the pre-existences to be “preserved” as they have come down to us, ... they are authentic documents of stone;
2. Other which see these monuments at the service of liturgical celebration ... churches live but needing to be protected.

We must be happy with storing up these ruins⁸. The fragment thus remains as pieces justificatives to guarantee the fidelity of the new work.

Another author is Jean Philippe Schmit, a responsable for ecclesiastic monuments, his study *The Nouveau Manual Complet de l'Architecte des Monuments Religieux, ou Traité d'application pratique de l'archéologie chrétienne à la construction, à l'entretien, à la restauration et à la décoration des églises à usage du clergé, des fabriques, des municipalités et des artistes*, Paris, 1845. He did not receive due appreciation, because Viollet was a contemporary author; but Alphonse Didron made a review of his study, in “Annales Archeéologique”, II, 1945, p. 576: “A part quelques differences, assez fondamentales du reste ces doctrine sont les notes”.

Schmit concluded his consideration on monuments: “the original character of the monument must be preserved and not destroyed by an ambitious restoration. An old man loses his dignity when his grey hairs are dyed, his wrinkles masked and he is dressed in modern clothes; he become, then, an old young man, a ridiculous caricature. In other words, what would be the reaction of a painter should revive the darkened colours of an old masterpiece of the Italian School with new colours?”.

Schmit book met with letter responses and Viollet did not mention it in his “Restoration”.

3.1 Viollet-le-Duc age

Among the architects emerges the figure of E. E. Viollet-le-Duc (1814-1879), original historian of medieval architecture, and of the so-called theoretical minor-arts, author of many fundamental publications. The name of Viollet-le-Duc has become synonymous with monumental restoration. His works have provoked admiration and at the same time harsh criticism.

Anthyme Saint Paul wrote a few years after his death, in 1881⁹: “Par lui, les choses vivent, parlent, et, plus que toute chose, les pienes. il a, comme Michelet, le don de la résurrection”¹⁰.

In the manner of the romantics Viollet-le-Duc “au retour d’Italie, la carrière se dessomme rapidement”¹¹.

Paul Léon wrote that Viollet considered architecture as a part of the history of society.

“The publication of the ten volumes of *Dictionnaire d’Architecture* (1854-1868), of the six volumes of *Dictionnaire du mobilier français, de l’époque carolingienne à la Renaissance* (Paris, 1858-1873), of *Les Entretiens sur l’Architecture* (Paris, 1863-1872), *Histoire d’une maison* (Paris, 1873) and many different essays on monuments which are the tangible in European culture in XIX century.

He is considered an autodidact trained through the direct study of monuments, analysed graphically with extraordinary attention, and influenced by Arcisse de Caumont, Mérimée and Vitet. His approach is cultural, reasoned, rational and logic.

The restoration method proposed by Viollet-le-Duc is distinguishable in two alternative proposals:

1. It is proposed to remove from the monument all the parts added in different (architectonic) periods, subsequent to the initial constructive phase, to lead back to the primitive unity and stylistic purity;
 2. whether the destruction caused void and loss, it’s about “rebuilding the missing parts, completing the monument according to what it should have been”. It is important to remember that complex definition of restoration: “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...”. It is not only the historic opening sentence that many authors have cited for almost two centuries, but a detailed theoretical and operational analysis of the restoration of the 19th century, and a basis for the future.
- The architect must know different styles in every period of history of art;
 - Every stone removed must be replaced with one of higher quality;
 - The best way to maintain a pre-existence is to find a destination.

Among the interventions selected to express the case history of interventions in France in the 19th century, it is believed to include:

3.1.1 Vézelay, la Madeleine



Fig. 1. Vézelay, La Madeleine
(CB 1984)

The devastated church was transformed into a stable at the time of the French Revolution.

“Mérimée avait dessiné dans la nef sous une pluie de pierre. Si l’on tarde encore, écrivait-il, à secourir la Madeleine, il faudra prendre le parti de l’abattre. Mais où trouver un architecte capable d’entreprendre une telle restauration?”¹². When in 1840 it was in danger of collapse, Mérimée assigned Viollet-le-Duc for the restoration¹³.

After 14 years Mérimée observed that the young architect also turned out to be a good archaeologist.

- The indications received required respecting the ancient constructive system, reconstruction was permitted only when it was impossible to conserve.
- But the church had insufficient buttresses, vaults poorly executed, ineffective chains.

Viollet moves on to rebuild in flying buttresses, then he changed the slope of the roof, returned to the original level, improved the water flow system and reopened the windows in the apse area.

Viollet refuses to dismount the tower, he re-established the different walls closing the gaps, and replacing with new materials the worn on. Finally, he restored stability to the pre-existence.

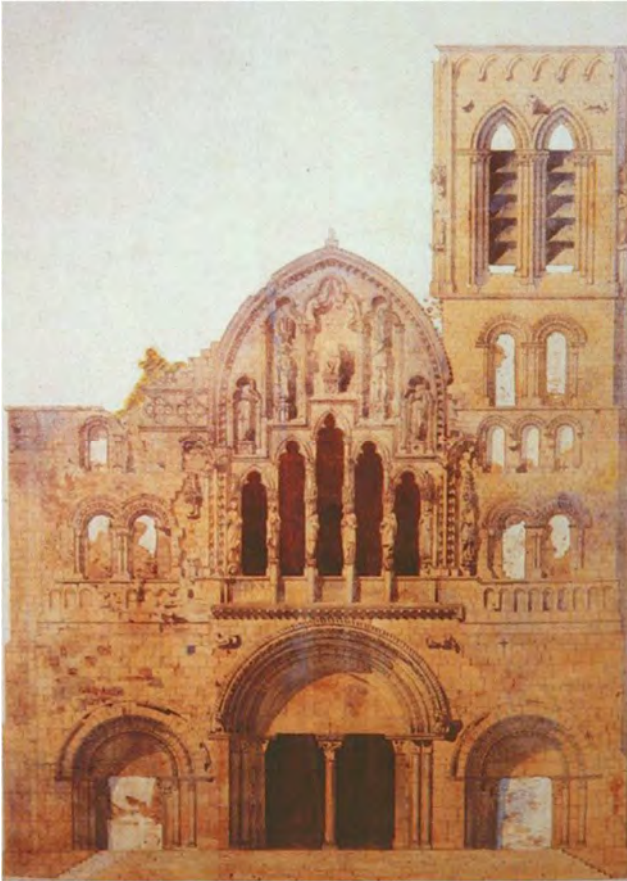


Fig. 2. Vézelay, La Madeleine, Viollet-le-Duc, drawing before “restoration” with decay. It is a very interesting drawing, or better a survey in watercolour. This survey is an analysis of the current state of existences architecture. It is an appropriate reading and identification of the decay in the various structures and the deterioration of the individual materials. (Arch. Phot. Paris, CNMHS)

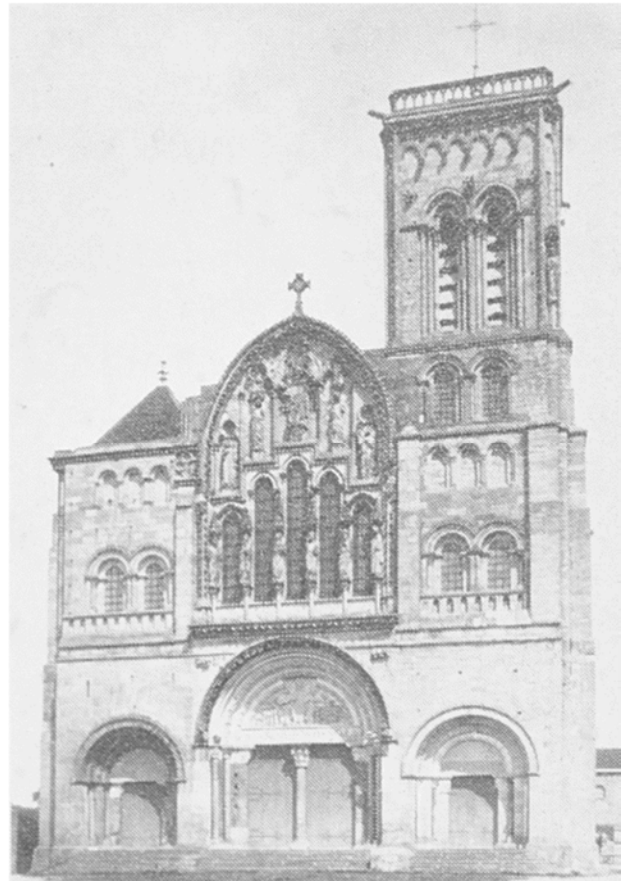


Fig. 3. Vézelay, La Madeleine, Viollet-le-Duc, photo after “restoration”

The photo after the restoration shows the consolidation in the tower, the construction of the roof, the protection for endings, treatment of different windows and different reintegration of the walls. In this first work we can say Viollet conserve the monument with consolidation and reintegration”.

(In AA.VV., *Viollet-le-Duc*, Paris 1980)

Paul Léon has written in the second edition of *La vie des monuments français: destruction, restauration* in 1951: “La restauration de la Madeleine de Vézelay eut une importance capitale. Elle a été, en quelque sorte, l’acte de baptême du Service de Monuments Historiques; elle a fondé la réputation de Viollet-le-Duc et orienté sa carrière. Elle demeurait pour la France un vestige et un symbole. Vézelay est à l’origine de ce mouvement communal qui était alors, pour Guizot et pour Augustin Thierry, le fondement même de la civilisation française. Devastée par plusieurs sièges, convertie pendant la Révolution en manège et en écurie, la Madeleine présentait en 1830 le contraste d’un prestige historique sans égal et d’un état proche de la ruine”¹⁴.

Mérimée wrote about Viollet: “... Quant à la pratique d’une restauration, tout était à inventer. M. Viollet-le-Duc se montre aussi habile architecte qu’archéologue intelligent. L’église est maintenant restituée de la manière la plus complète et, si l’un de ses abbés du XIV^e siècle revenait au monde, il retrouverait telle qu’il l’avait laissée ...”¹⁵.

Léon wrote: “Par une série d’opérations prudentes, savantes et, jusque-là, sans précédent, il reprend partie par partie, bouchant les vides, substituant, pierre par pierre, des matériaux neufs aux matériaux usés, rendant à l’édifice sa stabilité compromise”¹⁶.

In the over two hundred drawings for the work in progress, Viollet draws almost stone by stone. This is a clear demonstration of the need for preliminary studies and in this attitude we can find the correct methodological approach that continues today (Fig. 1-3).

3.1.2 Paris, Sainte-Chapelle

Jean-Baptiste-Antoine Lassus (1807-1857) was a promoter of gothic revival in France. He worked in this important church with his colleagues Duban, Boeswillwald and the younger Viollet-le-Duc. The approach of Lassus to restoration of historic monument was “strictly scientific and positivistic and the creative artist had to be pushed aside”¹⁷.

From 1835, archeologists and writers, demanded that the church must be preserved and restored medieval state. In 1840 under king Louis-Philippe, a campaign of restoration began. It was faithful to the “original howings”, the spire was constructed, between 1853 and 1855 the present spire was rebuilt by Lassus from 1852.

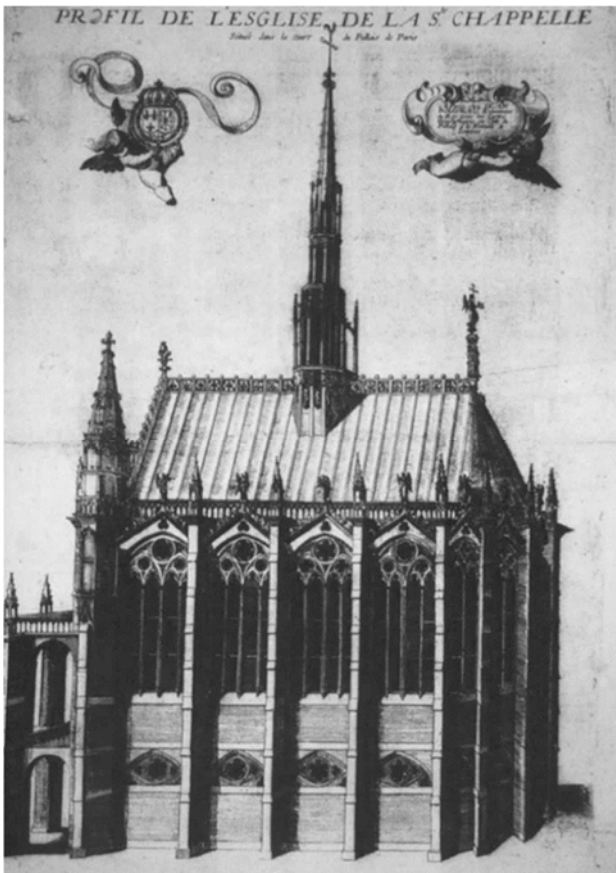


Fig. 4. Paris, Sainte-Chapelle, historic iconography. (AA. VV., Viollet-le-Duc, Paris, 1980)

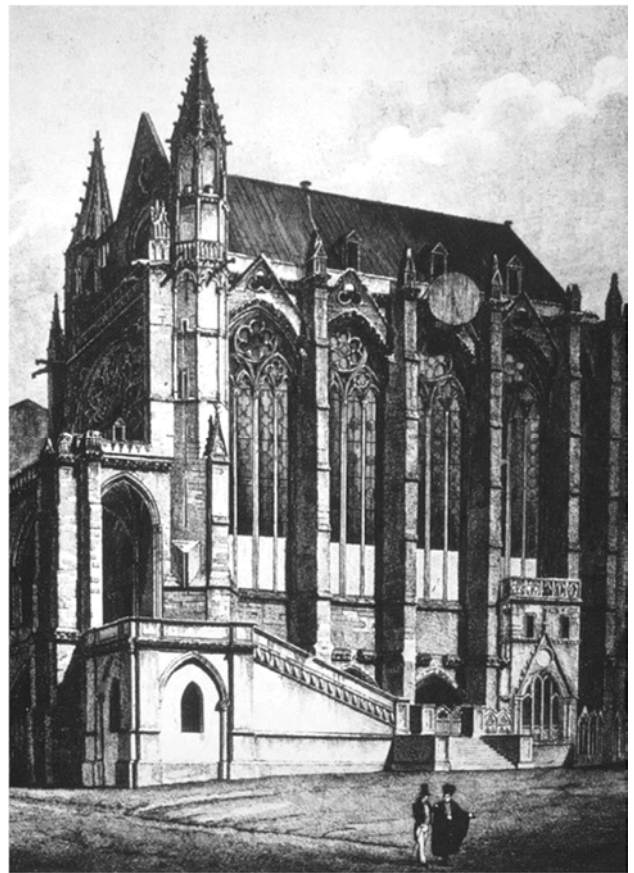


Fig. 5. Paris, Sainte-Chapelle, the revolution period when was destroyed the spire. The state before the intervention, drawings are not dated and was drawn in pencil, pen and watercolour. (AA. VV., Viollet-le-Duc, Paris, 1980)

“... A Lassus reviennent en propre l'érection de la flèche et l'aménagement des abords dans la construction du palais, la restauration des vitraux et l'achèvement du décor de la chapelle haute; a Boeswillwald, la conduite à bonne fin des travaux entrepris dans la chapelle basse. Avant sa démission datée de juillet 1849, Duban avait terminé la plus grande partie des travaux de maçonnerie et lancé les lignes principales de la restitution du décor de la chapelle haute”¹⁸.

The goal of two principal architects of the XIX century, Duban and Lassus, was to recreate the interior, as much as possible, as it appeared in the 13th century (Figg. 4-6).



Fig. 6. Paris, Sainte-Chapelle, the modern spire by Lassus, with modern iron. Insertion of the “flèche” and recovery (re-establishment) of the portico and completion of the pinnacles. (CB 1983)

3.1.3 Paris, Notre-Dame

Léon wrote that if the restoration of the Madeleine was a “revelation”, for Viollet that of Notre-Dame became the apotheosis. Lassus and Viollet-le-Duc, those in charge of the restoration, presented the project in 1843. “L’église doit reprendre sa santé, sa solidité, retrouver ses éléments constitutifs antérieurs, son identité de forme”¹⁹.

“Les quatre concurrents, Arveuf, Danjou et le tandem Lassus et Viollet, furent appelés à déposer leur projets, textes et dessins. La réponse au concours se composait d’un rapport de quarante pages imprimées et de vingt-deux feuilles de dessins”.

Lassus has been established itself in 1836 with careful restoration at Saint-Chapelle. Viollet had already engaged in the restoration of the Madelaine for three years. In the 1843 report Viollet and Lassus demonstrated extreme prudence. “Every added part, to whatever era it belongs to, must be preserved, consolidated and restored in its own style”. It was necessary to decipher the text and consult the document. This research for documentation before the restoration was exceptional at that time²⁰.

In 1845 Léon de Maleville, “... stated that his absolute respect is clear for a ruin, it is not for monument whose destination recommends it to the respect of the people... rebuild a bell tower, seal a joint, consolidate an arch, replace a mutilated decoration ...”²¹.

“Remplacer une pierre qui cède par une pierre qui résiste, sceller de nouveau une assise que temps à détachée, raviver une arête qui s’émousse, reveler un clocheton qui chancelle, reproduire une ornementation mutilée, ce n’est pas profaner le monument, c’est le faire revivre...”²².

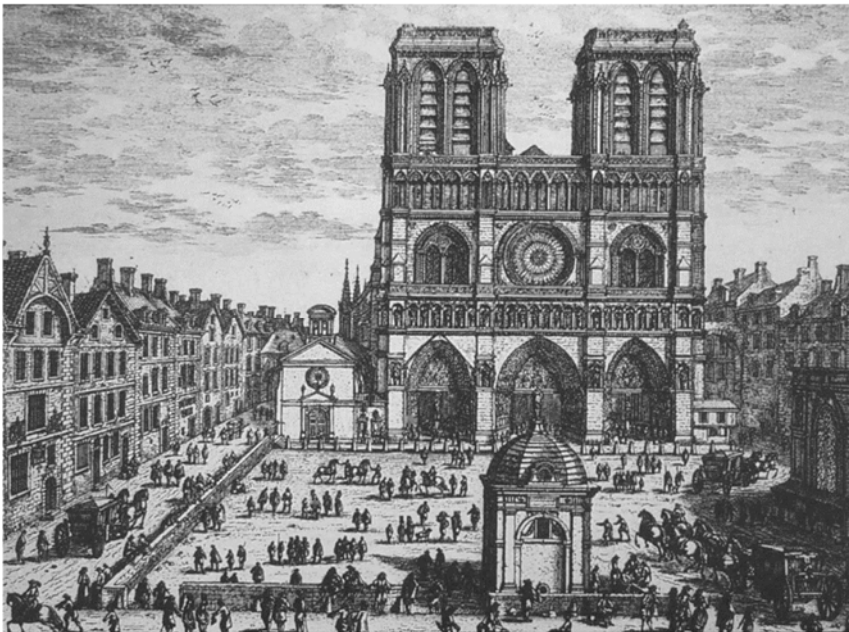


Fig. 7. Paris, Notre-Dame, view during the Baroque period.

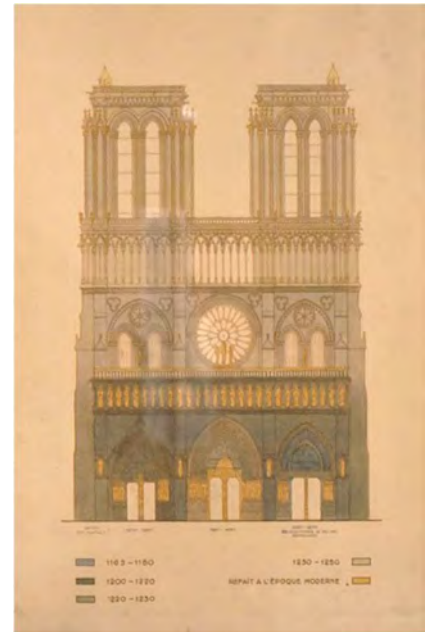


Fig. 8. Paris, Notre-Dame, survey during the conservation program (1983) for conserving and respect the Viollet-le-Duc work. (CB 1983)



Fig. 9. Paris, Notre-Dame, Viollet-le-Duc and Lassus' project for the façade, January 1843.



Fig. 10. Paris, Notre-Dame, detail before the restoration of the '80s. (CB 1983)

The restoration work began in 1845 according a detailed estimate, Lassus and Viollet were opposed to the idea of completing Notre-Dame with the initially planned spires. Things went differently with regard to the spire of the cruise, destroyed in 1792, and whose base was still visible in 1844. Viollet created the spire after Lassus death, moving from an initial design and adding the statues of the apostles and himself.

The pillar of the main entrance, and the church also had suffered from vandalism, during the revolution (the 26 kings on the west front had been removed).

Viollet respected the multi-layered nature of Notre-Dame:

- having found traces of a rose-window, he decided to re-establish the type of window;
- he also changed the double-sloped roofs of minor naves, replacing with terraces to facilitate water disposal;
- he reconstructed the “flèche” on the transept following a previous design;
- for two towers Mérimée, opposed the spires, and Viollet proposed a more respectful project and re-opened the main portal. Mérimée wrote in the rapport of 11 march 1844: “Dans une restauration, lorsque les traces de l'état ancien sont perdues, le plus sage est de copier les motifs dans un edifice du même temps et de la même province”²³.

- Viollet did not resign himself to leave the medieval pillars, incorporated by classical additions, and re-establishes the mural paintings.

François Bercé wrote: “Le project de restauration de Lassus et Viollet-le-Duc s’incrimait dans la logique de l’histoire du monument qu’il fallait non compléter, ou achever, mais rétablir dans son état ancien”.

“... La restauration de la façade fut conduite de mai 1845 à mars 1846. Le chantier était difficile: les colonnes de la galeries de Rois était brisées, plusieurs ne tenaient que par des pièces de fer, toutes furent refaites à l’exception d’une au nord; certains astregales furent ragrées en plomb, autant que possible les bases anciennes furent conservées ...”²⁴.

Paul Léon, maintains that the doctrine of stylistic restoration, it was “originally” conservative, because it wanted to prevent clumsy repairs²⁵.

In detail for the flèche: “Il faut pris par le suit pour un projet téméraire. Il n’en allait pas de même de la flèche de la croisée du transept détruit en 1792, et dont la souche était encore visible en 1844. Les architectes proposèrent un projet qui s’inspirait de l’ancienne fleche connue par un dessin de Garneray. Viollet se chargea de l’exécuter après la mort de Lassus et réalise une oeuvre d’une grande beauté de dessin”²⁶. Léon finishes repeating the Rapport of Dessauvret (1842): “La Restauration complete de la metropole de Paris, fait avec intelligence et dans le sentiment le plus pur de l’art, servirait de type aux villes aux localités secondaires toujours empressées à imiter la capitale”²⁷ (Fig. 7-12).



Fig. 11. Paris, Notre-Dame, the spire rebuilt with a wooden structure lead coated by Viollet-le-Duc. (CB 1983)



Fig. 12. Paris, Notre-Dame, one of the first lighting project for a new illumination of the monument. (CB 1983)

3.1.4 Paris, Saint-Denis

François Bercé wrote: “Les divergences d’interprétation sur ce que devait être la restauration d’un monument se firent virulentes pour l’ancienne abbatale de Saint-Denis. Debret voulait faire de Saint-Denis une sorte d’abrégé de l’histoire de la royauté, comparable à Saint Paul a Londres”²⁸. Didron launches his attacks on Debret’s intervention in Saint-Denis, taking inspiration from the collapse of the spire. Didron writes: “Les substitutions de terrasses dallées aux anciens combles en charpente est venue aussi changer complètement le physionomie de cette partie de l’édifice. Les contraforts trouvent ainsi déchaussés jusqu’à leur base, et produisent à l’oeil l’effet d’un homme ivre, qui vacille en cherchant un point d’appui qui lui manque”²⁹. Léon retrace Debret’s story in Saint-Denis: “Vitet dénonce cette restauration d’un système déplorable, mélangeant le faux et le vrai. Lenormant refuse de se trouver en présence de l’architecte et demande sa mise en tutelle. ... Les événements allaient démontrer combien elles étaient fondées. La flèche de Saint-Denis, frappée par la foudre en 1837, avait été reconstruite par Debret en matériaux trop lourds, les résistances étaient mal calculées”³⁰.



Fig. 13. Paris, Saint-Denis abbey, drawing from Luigi Canella (1826-1827) before the restoration and before the dismantling of the north spire.
(In AA. VV. *Viollet-le-Duc e il restauro degli edifici in Francia*, Milano 1981, p. 45)



Fig. 14. Paris, Saint-Denis abbey, drawing for unity of style by Viollet-le-Duc. The facade in a restoration project drawing made in pen and watercolour, 1870, signed by Viollet.
(In *Ibidem*, p. 42)

Viollet accepted the commission in 1847. He proposes a new façade with pristine style for north spire (dismantled in 1846), but above all to “rebuild” an identical one on the south tower. He changed the elevation of the two towers with new opening and another rebuild for the sculptures³¹.

The work was blocked until Napoleon III decided in 1858 to choose Saint-Denis as his burial place. Viollet proposed to build a new tower and to modify the height of the two, restoring the sculptures on the piers of the portals.

The project was rejected and the façade remained in 1847 condition. The restoration was demanding and it was preferable to preserve Saint-Denis rather than change its appearance (Figg. 13-15).



Fig. 15. Paris, Saint-Denis abbey, after a conservation programme by Viollet-le-Duc with only consolidation. He carries out foundation works.
(CB 1983)

3.1.5 Carcassone

In 22 may 1846 Mérimée, general inspector of Monuments, commissioned Viollet-le-Duc, who already restored the Church of Sant-Nazaire, to prepare a report about the Narbonnaise door, which was presented in January 1849. He took care to underline the differences and different construction systems and materials characteristic, for example in the Visigoth tower.

Finally, Viollet presented a profile of the fortified system as a whole, that links Carcassone to the historic centres of the cities in the North of Loire.

One of the most interesting reconstruction was that of the “castle”, when Viollet created the terminal parts of the Castle and returned to the pristine character the balconied wooden towers. One of the options was the choice of slate for the roofing.



Fig. 16. Carcassone, the walls before the reconstruction. (AA.VV., *Viollet-le-Duc e il restauro degli edifici in Francia*, Milano 1981, p. 49)



Fig. 17. Carcassone, the walls after reconstruction from 1855 to death, and the works continued until 1910 with Paul Boeswillwald. (Ibidem, p. 49)



Fig. 18. Carcassone, a general view. (CB 2019)



Fig. 19. Carcassone, a view of the courtyard. (CB 2019)

As a conclusion, we must say that he had studied the history of the different defence towers, and so he would like to conserve them. He has been a real architect, and not a “returner to the pristine style”, working in different ways as the problem needed. He has adapted solutions to the different problems, and also the relation between city, fortress and landscape. When we come near the walls, we can notice that Viollet in many occasions didn’t destroy the old parts that remained, but continue the construction naturally, without copying exactly the old way of doing.

In detail: “La restauration des rempart de Carcassonne en rétablissant le couronnement de créneaux et les toitures des tours a transformé un ensemble de ruines Languedociennes en cité médiévale fortement marquée par l’architecture du nord de la Loire ... En effet Viollet a opté pour l’ardoise et le toit en poivrière et non pour la tuile méridionale”.

At a distance you can see the complete work on the walls, but when you approach to different sections you can see the various ways of how to treat the problems of the walls, with different stones, plans and finishes; and also the roofs. An anticipation, a modern Viollet (Figs. 16-23).



Fig. 20. Carcassonne. The external walls with two different types of towers.
(CB 2019)



Fig. 21. Carcassonne. The walk between the two walls.
(CB 2019)



Fig. 22. Carcassonne. View of the castle, with the external wooden balcony.
(CB 2019)



Fig. 23. Carcassonne. Inside the wooden balcony.
(CB 2019)

Saint-Nazaire Cathedral

When you enter into the cathedral you find interesting solutions. On the vaults of the right nave, the reintegrations are undercut.

There are conserved some additions of different times. The walk along the walls is stimulant even for tourists and architects. The treatment of walls, the carpentry, the study of the routes is didactic experience, specially the wooden works (Figg. 24-25).

Viollet was writing and designing and also working in construction at the same time.



Fig. 24. Carcassonne, Saint-Nazaire Cathedral. Lateral nave where we can see different level of the reintegration. (CB 2019)



Fig. 25. Carcassonne Saint-Nazaire Cathedral, Right nave, where you can see the reintegration, separating old and new. (CB 2019)

3.1.6 Pierrefonds

The castle is an expression of “bigness” of French history in the Middle Ages, a desire of Napoleon III.

It is a matter a refined exercise in stylistic composition, a real restoration.

In 1848 the castle was declared a historical monument and in 1857 restoration work began, with the aim of having “a very pleasant residence”.

At the beginning it was a question of adapting the keep to a residence for Napoleon III, leaving all the other parts in ruins. The project was approved and implemented, but after 1861, it became more ambitious. The intention is to “restore” all castle.

In the interior, Viollet verified his theories on stylistic unity: he designed the furniture, the boiseries, the sculptures. In this castle the 19th century architecture dreams are realized, but the internal decoration will never be finished.

Anatole France wrote: “... L’ambition, sans doute, est grande et généreuse. Je l’ai moi-même ressentie après les maîtres. Et aujourd’hui encore j’admire infiniment les talent puissants qui s’efforcent de resusciter le passé dans la poésie et dans l’art. Ou pourrait se demander, toutefois, s’il est possible de réussir complètement dans une telle tentative et si notre connaissance du passé est suffisante à la faire renaître avec ses forms, sa couleur, sa vie propres. ... 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 extérieures ont repris leur aspect primitif. Mais enfin les vieilles pierres, les vieux témoins, ne sont plus là, et ce n’est plus le château de Louis d’Orleans; 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”³² (Fig. 26-28).

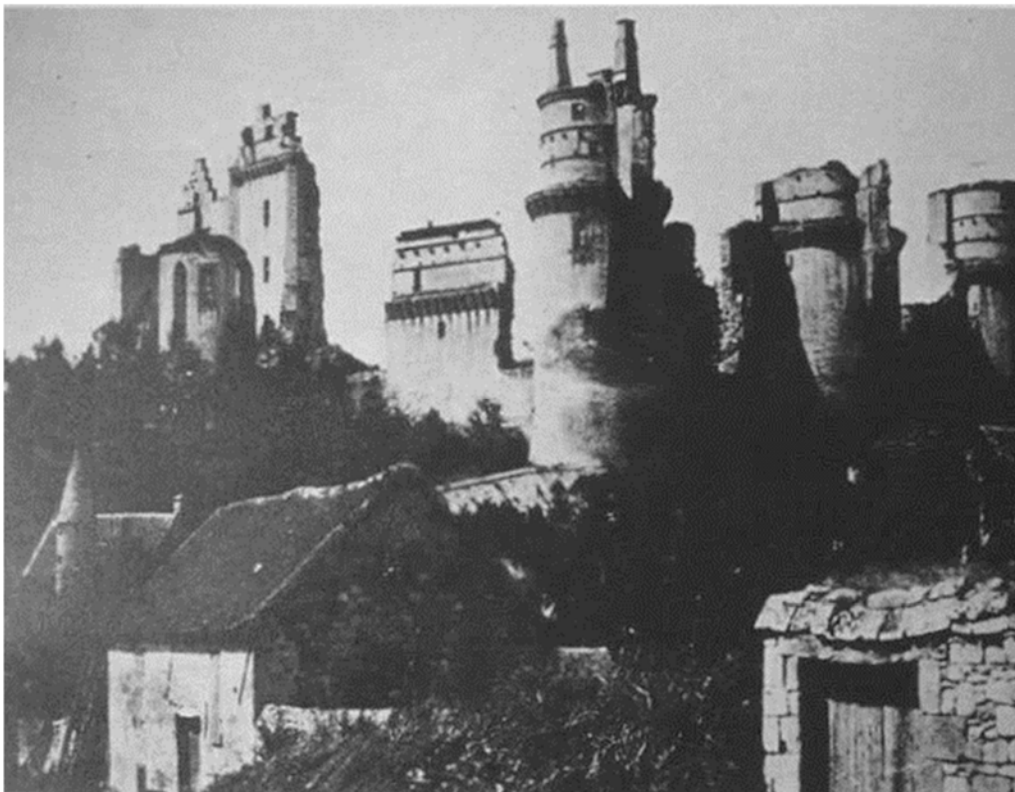


Fig. 26. Pierrefonds, the ruins of the Castle. The ancient photo shows a ruin of the medieval castle, ruins of the wall without signs of the decoration of the interiors. (AA.VV., *Viollet-le-Duc e il restauro degli edifici in Francia*, Milano 1981)

Fig. 27. Pierrefonds. Façade and courtyard. The drawing is an example of an “executive project” with all the details. The project is the clear demonstration of stylistic restoration, not only for architecture, but in all details. (The authors are Luciane Wyganowski, Maurice Ouradou, 1886, in AA.VV., *Viollet-le-Duc e il restauro degli edifici in Francia*, Milano 1981 p. 63)

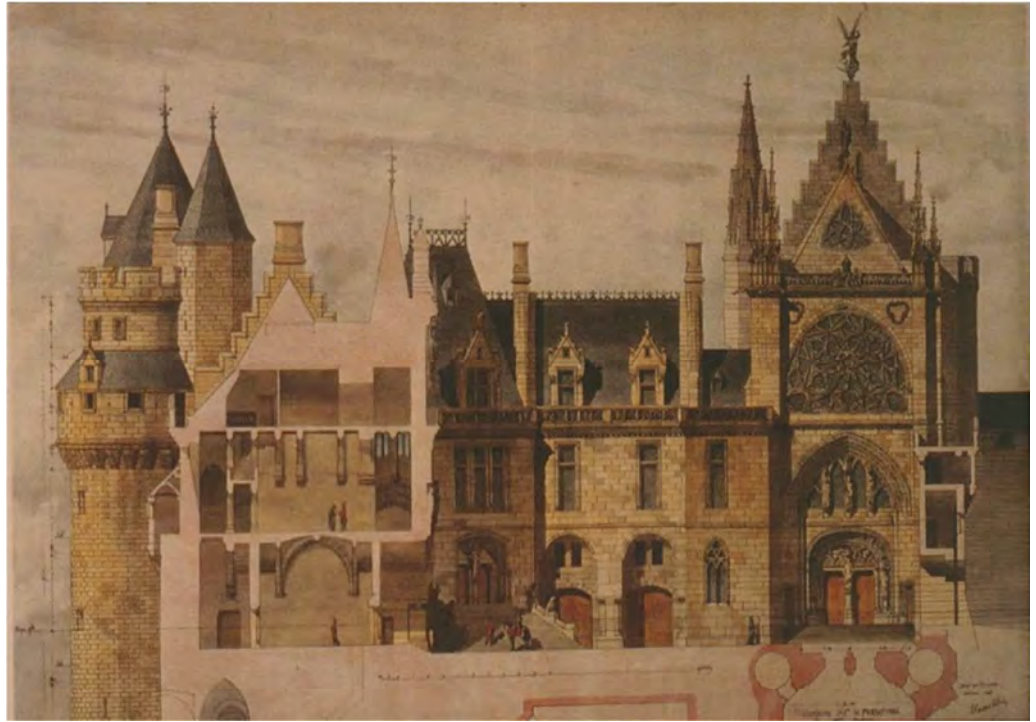


Fig. 28. Pierrefonds. The reconstruction with the unity of style by Viollet-le-Duc, from 1857 and continued until 1885, after the death. (CB 1987)



3.1.7 Toulouse, Saint-Sernin

The basilique of Saint-Sernin was included in the historical monument list in 1838 by Prosper Mérimée. “Le 18 avril 1845, sur rapport de Mérimée, la Commission ... confie une étude complète de Saint-Sernin à Viollet ‘artiste habile et expérimenté’ seul capable de se voir confier un “monument aussi remarquable”.

“L’Architecte commence ses relevés le 20 août de la même année, aide de son élève et ami, E. Millet et de J. Esquié”³³.

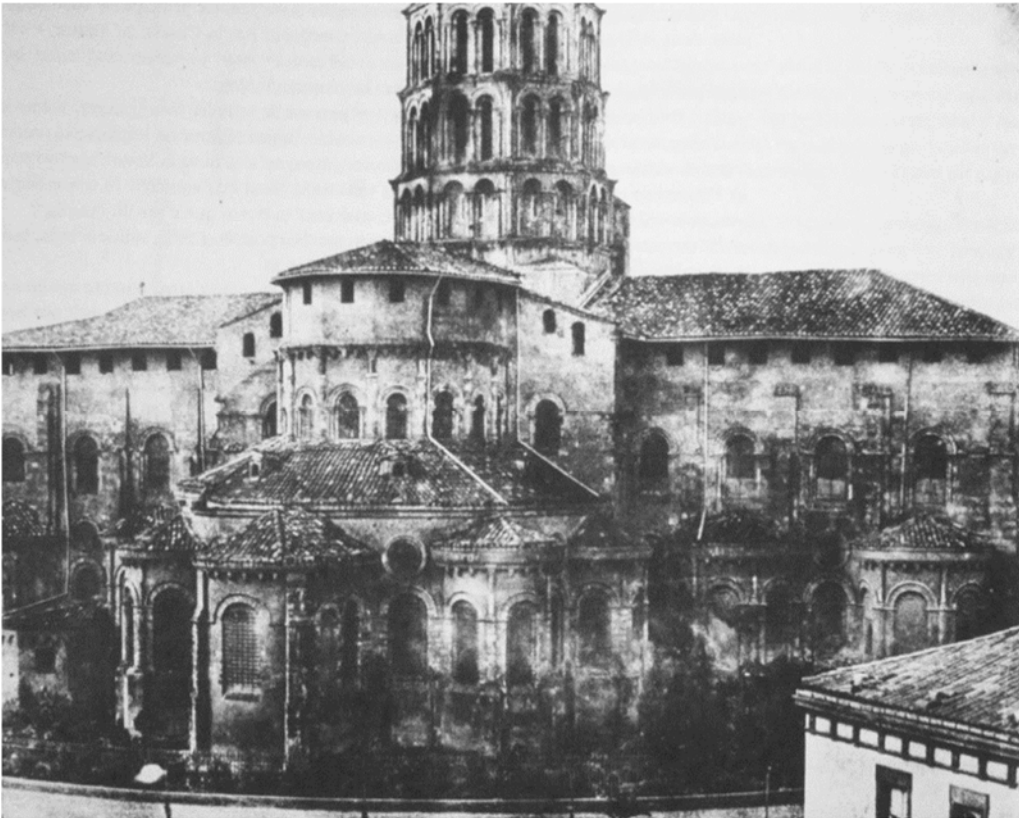


Fig. 29. Toulouse, Saint-Sernin before the restoration by Viollet-le-Duc, from 1860.

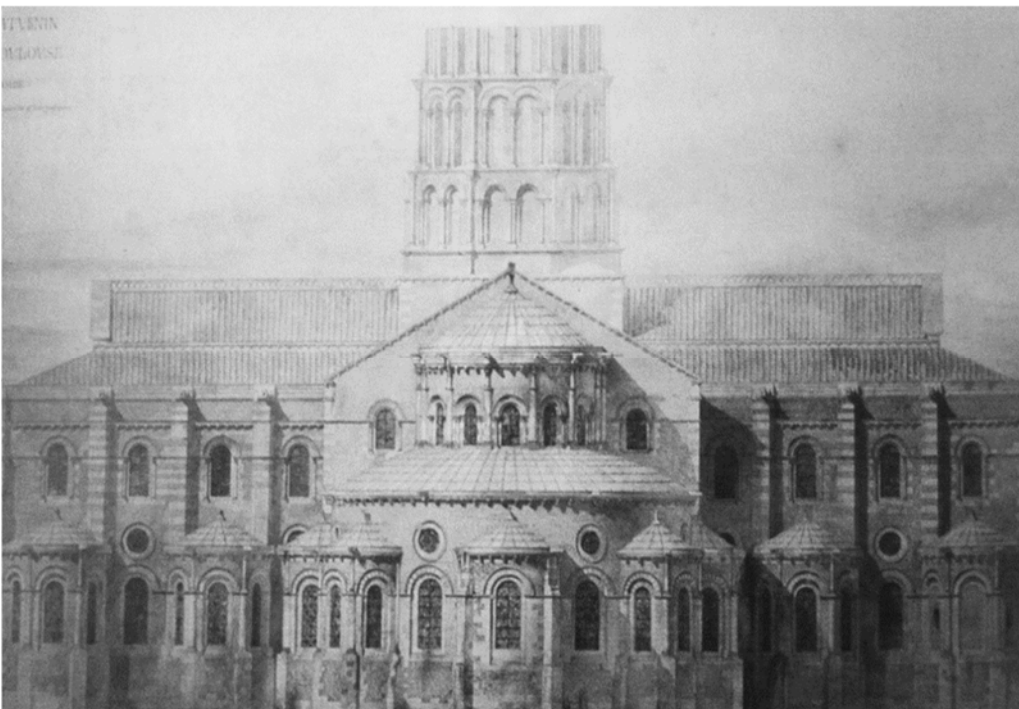


Fig. 30. Toulouse, Saint-Sernin. The project includes the apse solution, the double arches on the left side. Viollet-le-Duc, 1846, (In F. Bercé, 2014, p. 73)



Fig. 31. Toulouse, Saint-Sernin, “chevet avant restauration”, 1851.
(In F. Bercé, 2014, p. 74)



Fig. 32. Toulouse, Saint-Sernin, “chevet après”
restauration”, vers 1865-1870.
(In Ibidem, p. 75)

The “restoration” works began in 1860 outdoor in the new configuration, while in the interior in 1872. “A peine réalisée, l’oeuvre provoque les plus vives réactions, notamment de la part de la Société archéologiques du Midi ... Le président, l’abbé Carrière, il dénonce la technique même de la restauration, un parti d’uniformisation dans l’exécution de l’appareil mural, générateur de sécheresse et ayant en pour effet de faire disparaître certains témoins des époques antérieures”³⁴.

The abbatial housing and the cloister were demolished between 1804-1808. A large part of the basilica’s heritage has been lost.

Viollet works in Saint-Sernin by replacing the roofing and reconstituting the different heights between the roofs of the central nave and the lateral ones. He also planned the erection of two towers on the facade, separated by a large rose window. Viollet replaced the modest tiled roofs (however made them too heavy for the solidity), reconstituted a roof strat corresponding to the interior separations and created an ornate cornice.

Viollet emphasized on structural honesty, functionality and a rational approach to design, enduring impact on the field of architecture and historic preservation. Viollet “gothicized” (during 1860-1877, “the new stone, la pierre de Carcassone s’est révélée defecteuse, however, has also failed and a century later in the 1980s, has been one of the reasons justifying “de-restoration” conducted by Yves Boiret in order to give” the preexistence its Romanesque appearance again. In 1967, Boiret began his work in Saint-Sernin “revisiting” a large part of Viollet’s work (Figg. 29-35).

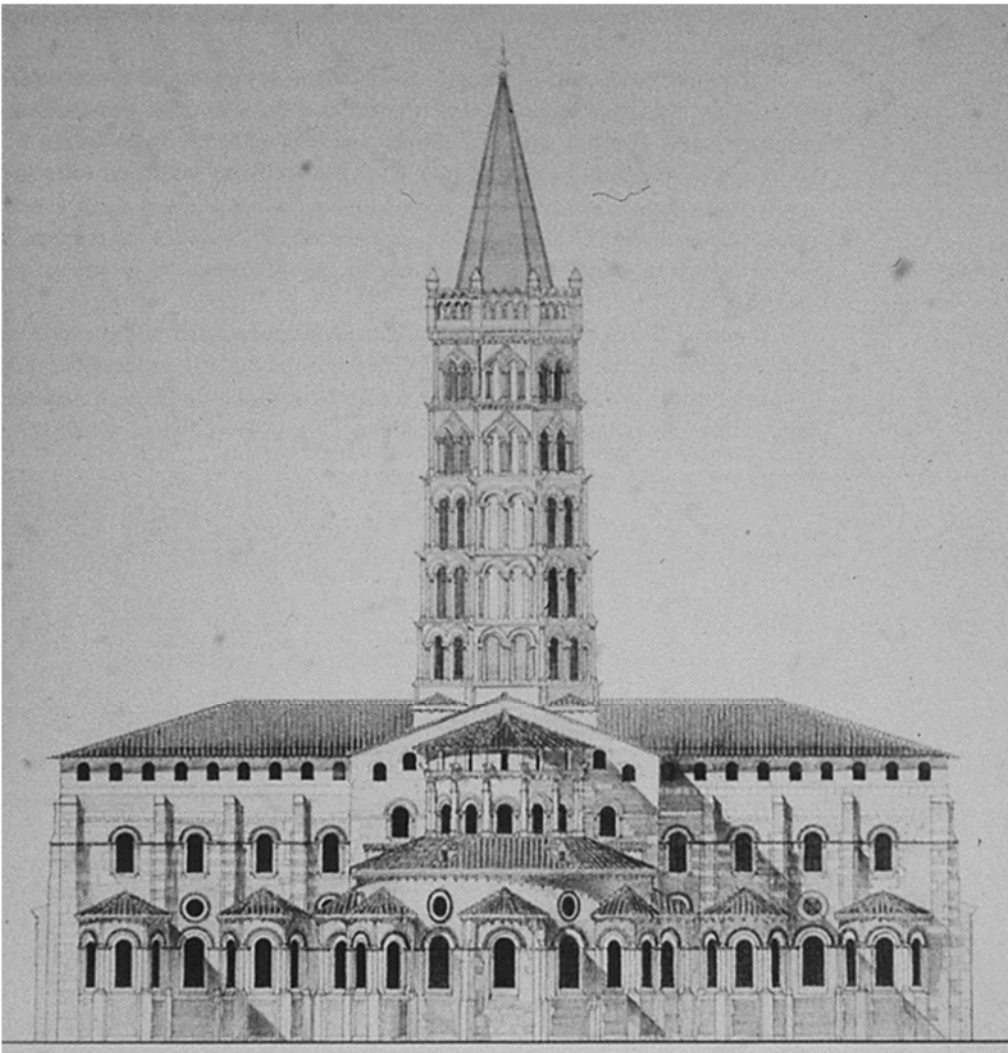


Fig. 33. Toulouse, Saint-Sernin drawing by Y. Boiret during the project of the “de-restoration”.

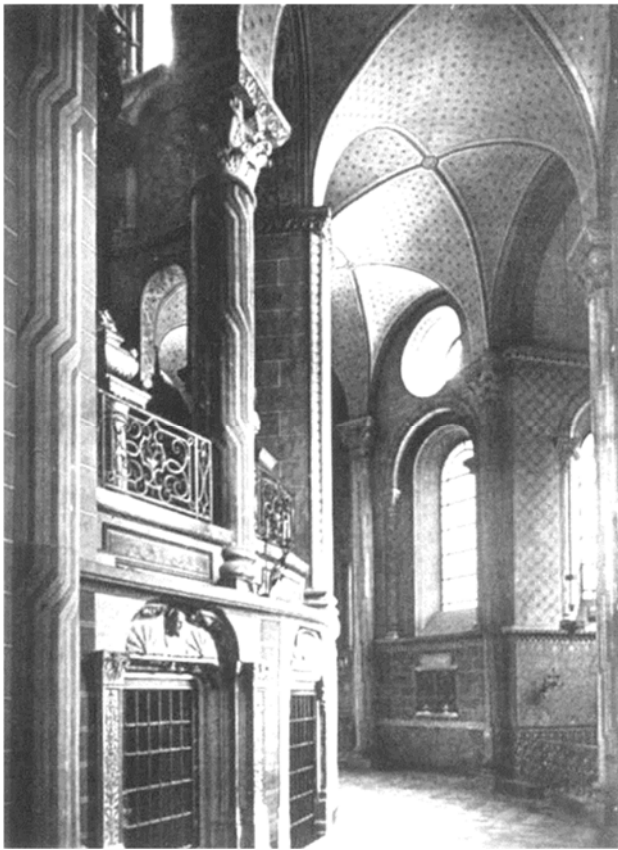


Fig. 34. Toulouse, Saint-Sernin before a recent restoration. (Viollet-le-Duc, Paris, 1980, p. 108)



Fig. 35. Toulouse, Saint-Sernin after the restoration. These works were done during the first centenary of Viollet-le-Duc death. (CB 1996)

The diffusion of Viollet-le-Duc theory and its restorations in Europe and throughout the world was widespread. This has been explored in depth since the *Actes du Colloque International Viollet-le-Duc*, Paris, 1980, and the Italian journal "Restauro" n. 47-48-49, which dedicated large pages to "*Fortuna critica in Italy*". To this and it seems appropriate to dedicate a few pages in the following chapters to a European country.

We must remember the second generation: Emile Boeswillwald (1815-1896), restorer of the cathedral of Léon, Adolphe- Étienne Lance (1813-1874) restoration in Sens and Soissons, Eugène-Louis Millet (1819-1879) successors of Lassus at the cathedral of Moulins, and Paul Gout (1852-1923), pupil of Viollet, restorer of the Abbey Church of Mont-Saint-Michel.

Notes

All photos are by the author (CB) except when indicated.

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4. P. LÉON, *Ibidem*, p. 126.
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6. A. F. P. FALLOUX, from *Instructiones*, 1849, ...
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9. A. SAINT-PAUL, *Viollet-le-Duc, ses travaux d'art et son système archéologique*, Paris 1881, p. 201.
10. *Letter of Viollet-le-Duc*, collected and annotated for his daughter, 1902.
11. P. LÉON, *La vie des monuments français: destruction, restauration*, Paris 1951, pp. 202-204. For the voyage, see: *Lettres sur la Sicile à propos des événements du Juin et Juillet*, 1860, Paris 1860, ed. it. introduction V. Frosini, Palermo 1972; AA. VV., *Le voyage d'Italie d'Eugene Viollet-le-Duc (1836-1837)*, Paris 1987.
12. P. LÉON, *La vie des monuments français: destruction, restauration*, Paris 1951 p. 371.
13. Archive Monuments Historiques, *Letter from Mérimée to Viollet-le-Duc*, 13 February 1840; P. LÉON, *La vie des monuments français: destruction, restauration*, Paris 1951, p. 371.
14. P. LÉON, *La vie des monuments français: destruction, restauration*, Paris 1951, pp. 371-377.
15. P. MÉRIMÉE, *Le Dictionnaire d'Architecture de Viollet-le-Duc*, "Moniteur universel", 30 Décembre, 1854.
16. P. LÉON, *La vie des monuments français: destruction, restauration*, Paris 1951, p. 376.
17. J. JOKILEHTO, *A History of Architectural Conservation*, Oxford, 1999, p. 139.
18. J. M. LENIAUD, *Felix Duban, architecte de la Sainte-Chapelle*, in AA. VV., *Felix Duban, 1798-1870, Les Coleurs de l'Architecte*, Paris 1996, p. 73.
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20. J. B. LASSUS, E. E. VIOLLET-LE-DUC, *Projet de restauration de Notre-Dame de Paris*, Rapport adressé à M. le Ministre de la Justice et des Cultes, annexé au projet de restauration, remis le 31 janvier 1843, Paris, 1843.

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22. P. LÉON, *La vie des monuments français: destruction, restauration*, Paris 1951, p. 379.
23. P. LÉON, *Ibidem*, p. 384.
24. F. BERCÉ, *Viollet-le-Duc*, Paris 2013, pp. 58, 64.
25. P. LÉON, *La vie des monuments français: destruction, restauration.*, 1951, pp. 371-387.
26. A. E. BRANDEBURG, *La Restauration de Notre-Dame*, in AA. VV., *Viollet-le-Duc*, Paris 1980, pp. 72-81.
27. P. LÉON, *La vie des monuments français: destruction, restauration.*, Paris 1951, p. 391.
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29. A. N. DIDRON, *Saint-Denis, Restauration de l'église royale*, "Annales Archéologiques", I, 1844, pp. 230-236, in detail p. 234.
30. P. LÉON, *La vie des monuments français: destruction, restauration.*, Paris 1951, p. 391.
31. P. LÉON, *Op. cit.*, pp. 230-233, 240-245.
32. A. FRANCE, P. NOZIÈRE, *Promenades de Pierre Nozière en France*, Paris ed. 1926, pp. 177-178. See also A. FRANCE, *Les lys rouge*, Paris 1894.
33. G. COSTA, *Viollet-le-Duc et le decor, intérieur des Chapelles du chevet de l'église Saint-Sernin de Toulouse*, in AA. VV., "Actes du Colloques International Viollet-le-Duc", Paris 1980, p. 105.
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Documentary appendix: some definitions

Restoration

To this end, given the complexity of the different theoretical statements, an anthology is proposed in the different languages and we can see how in the same years different, sometimes conflicting, conceptions emerge between stylistic restoration and anti-restoration, and then, a third way in the second mid-19th century.

J. B. LASSUS - E.E. VIOLLET-LE-DUC, 1843

"Une restauration peut être plus désastreuse pour un monuments que les rabages des siècles et les fureurs populaires, ... 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".

Aussenrestaurationen, 12 dezember 1843

"Es dürfe sich die Restauration nur auf die wesentlichen, entweder jetzt oder in Zukunft Gefahr bereitenden Schaden erstrecken, um diese so unscheinbar als möglich, aber dabei solid herzustellen zu suchen ...".

p. 53

L. de MALLEVILLE, 1844, ed. 1981

"Idee ristrette di certi spiriti pedanti, che considerano qualsiasi tentativo di restauro come un'impresa sacrilega e barbara e che lascerebbero cadere in rovina l'oggetto della loro ammirazione piuttosto che mettervi le mani per salvarlo".

p. 14

10 June 1845, in P. Léon 1917

"Remplacer une pierre qui cède par une pierre qui résiste, sceller de nouveau une assise que le temps a détachée, raviver une arête qui s'emousse, relever un clocheton qui chancelle, reproduire l'ornementation mutilée, c'est pas profaner le monument, c'est le faire revivre. L'intérêt de sa perpétuité ne reside pas dans l'identité des matériaux, qui servirent à sa construction, mais dans l'identité de ses formes et de ses proportions"

p. 264

"(Sostituire una pietra che cede con una che resiste, ricostruire una muratura danneggiata dal tempo, riparare un angolo ormai smussato, raddrizzare un pinnacolo vacillante, riprodurre una decorazione mutilata, non significa profanare il monumento, bensì farlo rivivere)".

p. 14

P. MÉRIMÉE, 1845

"Par Restaurations nous entendons la conservation de ce qui existe et la reproduction de ce qui a manifestement existé".

"... Dans une restauration, on ne doit rien inventer, ajoutant le rapporteur, lorsque les traces de l'état ancien sont perdues, le plus sage est de copier les motifs analogues dans un édifice du même temps et de la même province"

p. 270

p. 15

A. C. QUATREMERIE de QUINCY, ed.it. 1844

Restaurare o Ristaurare - (Restaurer) -

"Rifare a una cosa le parti guaste e quelle che mancano o per vecchiezza o per altro accidente. ...

Così la misura di queste restaurazioni deve dipendere dal maggiore o minor interesse che vi si associa, e dal grado di deterioramento in cui si trova il monumento".

p. 357

" In secondo luogo, se si tratta di un edificio composto di colonne, con trabeazioni ornate di fregi scolpiti a fogliame, o riempiti di altre figure con profili intagliati dallo scalpello antico, basterà riportare insieme le parti mancanti, converrà lasciare nella massa i loro dettagli, di maniera che l'osservatore possa distinguere l'opera antica e quella per completare l'insieme".

p. 357

"Quello che viene da noi proposto, è messo in pratica a Roma da poco tempo rispetto al famoso arco trionfale di Tito, il quale è stato felicemente sgombrato da tutto ne riempiva l'insieme, ed anche restaurato nelle parti mutilate, precisamente nel modo e nella misura che abbiamo indicato".

p. 358

Restaurazione (Restauration)

"Dicesi, secondo il significato proprio della parola, del rifacimento delle parti di un fabbricato più o meno deteriorato, a fine di ridurlo in buono stato".

Restaurazione dicesi in architettura (in ripristino)

A. DIDRON, 1845

"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".

A. DIDRON, 1845

"Par Restaurations, nous entendons le rajournissement d'une edifice, cette inutile remise à neuf qu'on déjà fait subir ou qu'on inflige en ce moment à presque toutes nos cathédrales et surtout à eglise royale de Saint Denis. Mais raffermir un monument qui menace ruine, l'empêcher de tomber nettoyer un édifice malpropre, en réparer la couverture, y ménager l'écoulement de la pluie, voilà des travaux de consolidation, l'entretien et non pas de restauration; ..."

pp. 19-20

J. B. LASSUS, 1845

"...une restauration était une oeuvre d'archéologue et non d'artiste et d'architecte, dans une restauration, devait anéantir en lui toute imagination".

p. 79

E. E. VIOLLET-LE-DUC, 1846

"D'un côté, voici des monuments qui durent depuis six ou sept cents ans, malgré un climat destructeur, malgré, des restaurations souvent plus funestes que l'abandon même, malgré les incursions et les révolutions; des monuments qui sont encore d'un usage journalier, qui sont commodes, et ne demandent souvent que des restaurations qui équivalent à un simple entretien".

p. 339

A. DIDRON, 1847, in A.A.t.VII, décembre

"En fait de restaurations, je crains tout; mais je ne m'attendais pas encore, je vous le confesse, à ce que j'ai vu de mes yeux. Il n'y a qu'en ce point malheureusement, où la réalité dépasse l'idéal.

... Le restaurateur a bien refait la patène, mais il l'a passée à plat sur une serviette, absolument comme, à la clôture du chœur de la même cathédrale; on voit un des cuisiniers ...".

p. 332

P. MÉRIMÉE-E.E. VIOLLET-LE-DUC, Instructions, 1849 (Falloux et Durieu)

"Quelque habile que soit la restauration d'un édifice, c'est toujours une nécessité fâcheuse; un entretien intelligent doit toujours la prévenir".

p. 132

" Dans les travaux de réparation et d'entretien, on ne remplacera que les parties des anciennes constructions reconnues pour être dans un état à compromettre la solidité et la conservation du monument".

p. 136

J. RUSKIN, 1849

" Restoration so called, is the worst manner of destruction.

It means the most total destruction which a building can suffer; a destruction out accompanied with false description of the thing destroyed".

(False, also in the manner of parody -the most loathsome manner of falsehood)".

And as for direct and simple copy, 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; ...".

p. 354

"Do not let 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

...Accept it as such, pull the building down, throw its stones into neglected corners, make ballast of them, or mortar, if you will; but do it honestly, and do not set up a Lie in their place. And look that necessity in the face before it comes, and you may prevent it".

p. 356

G. G. SCOTT, 1850

"A restored church appears to lose all its truthfulness, and to become as an example of ancient art, as if it had been rebuilt on a new design".

p. 21

"It is against this system of so- called restoration, a system which threatens to deprive us of all authentic examples of the humbler forms of this sacred art, that I wish to take this opportunity of Protesting".

p. 21

"The great danger in all restoration is doing too much; and the great difficulty is to know where to stop".

p. 29

"Let not the restorer give undue preference to the remains of any one age...".

p. 31

P. MÉRIMÉE, 1854

"Autant l'imitation la plus exacte est recommandable dans la restauration d'un edifice ancien, autant elle est blâmable et ridicule lorsque dans un bâtiment moderne elle ne tient compte ni de sa convenance, ni de sa destination".

Executive Committee of the Society of Antiquaries, 1855, in Harvey, 1972)
Restoration (Evans, 1956)

"...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 practice, and wholly opposed to the judgment of the best Archaeologist".

p. 209-210

p. 50

Kaiserl. Konigl. Central Commission, Grundzuge Einer, Instruction, 1856
Die Restauration (8) ... "In solchen Fallen, wo Ergänzungen eine gediegene Künstlerische Durchführung unbedingt erheischen , hat die Central - Commission die dahin abzielenden Anträge zu stellen".

p.13

Reparaturen (12) ... "die nothigen Reparaturen nach dem grade ihrer Nothwendigkeit zu bestimmen".

p.7

S. SERVETTI, 1853

"per riparare, riparazioni, riattamento

p. 336

"per ristaurare, rinzaffare ed intonacare i muri delle faccie e fianchi,

"per ristaurare e rimettere in buono stato,

"per ristauramenti, racconciamenti, rinnovazioni,

"per ristaurazioni e risarcimenti

p. 346

Executive Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1855

"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 untrue in art, unjustifiable in taste, destructive in practice, and wholly opposed to the judgment of the best Archaeologist".

p. 209

G. G. SCOTT, 1858

"The general principle which I hold to is this: - that remains which are valuable *only* on historical grounds, and as relics of antiquity, while demanding the most careful protection, must never on any pretext be *restored*".

p. 229

"All this applies in full force to the restoration of ancient houses and mansions, as it is clear that in carrying out such works all that is in any degree valuable from its art or antiquity should be most faithfully preserved".

p. 230

"I can conceive of no task more delightful than the faithful restoration of what remains of this most perfect phase of mediaeval art, ...".

p. 233

"These possess the same claims for preservation and conservative restoration which I have advocated for other works which are at once relics of antiquity and specimens of ancient art".

p. 233

G. G. SCOTT, 1862

"I could almost wish the word '*restoration*' expunged from the architectural vocabulary and that we could be content with the more commonplace term '*reparation*'. One *perfectly longs* after an untouched church ...".

"We are all of us offenders in the matter".

p. 70

"Even Carcassonne, so famous and so interesting, as a city almost deserted before the close of the Middle Ages, and consequently a wonderfully genuine specimen of a medieval city, is as I learn from Mr. Lewis, being renewed and made into a model of that of which it was the venerable and dilapidated original".

p. 80

N. TOMMASEO, 1865-1869

"Riparare-Restaurare - Ristorare - Restauro-Restauramento-Restaurazione-Ristoro. Si restaura, rinnovando in parte, rendendo alla cosa o forza o lustro, si ripara, raccomandando ridando alla meglio l'apparenza di prima, togliendo i mali.

Ristaurare è più.

p. 730

"Riparare, Risarcire, Restaurare, Ristabilire, Ristabilimento, Riparazione, Risarcimento Restauro".

Si restaura, ricostruendo o riformando; si ristabilisce, rifondando.

Si risarcisce, rimettendo a nuovo quel ch'era rotto e logoro" (etc.).

p. 731

E. E. VIOLLET LE DUC, 1866, t. VIII

"Le mot et la chose sont modernes. Restaurer un édifice, ce n'est pas l'entretenir, le réparer ou le refaire, c'est le retablir dans un état complet qui peut n'avoir jamais existé à un moment donné..."

p. 14

"Les Romains restituèrent, mais ne restauraient pas, et la preuve, c'est que le latin n'a pas de mot qui corresponde à notre mot restauration, suivant la signification qu'on lui donne aujourd'hui. Instaurare, reficere, renovare, ne veulent pas dire restaurer, mais rétablir, refaire à neuf ...".

p. 14

"Couvrir de stucs l'architecture du temple de la Fortune Virile, à Rome, ce n'est pas non plus ce qu'on peut considérer une restauration; c'est une mutilation".

p. 15

Viollet writes to conclude his report on the monuments of the northern provinces, for which he visited the ruins of Château de Coucy, addressed to the Minister: "en terminant ici ce qui concerne les monuments et leur conservation, laissez-moi, monsieur le Ministre, dire encore quelques mots: ... A la vérité d'est une restauration pour laquelle il ne faut 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 assemblage; en un mot, lui rendre sa forme, sa couleur, et, si j'ose le 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".

p.19

"cette église de Saint-Denis fut comme le cadavre sur lequel s'exercent les premiers artistes entrant dans la voie de restaurations. Pendant trente ans elle subit toutes les mutilations possibles, si bien que sa solidité étant compromise ...".

p. 22

"...chaque édifice ou chaque partie d'un édifice doivent être restaurés dans le style qui leur appartient, non-seulement comme apparence, mais comme structure. 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".

pp. 22-23

"S'il s'agit de restaurer les parties primitives et les parties modifiées, faut-il ne pas tenir compte des dernières et rétablir l'unité de style dérangée, ou reproduire exactement le tout avec les modifications postérieures?"

p.23

" Ces dernières voûtes, à leur tour, menacent ruine ; il faut les reconstruire. Les rétablira-t-on dans leur forme postérieure, ou rétablira-t-on les voûtes primitives? Oui, parce qu'il n'y a nul avantage à faire autrement, et qu'il y en a un considérable à rendre à l'édifice son unité "

p. 24

" Dans les restaurations, il est une condition dominante qu'il faut toujours avoir présente à l'esprit. C'est de ne substituer à toute partie enlevée que des matériaux et des moyens plus énergiques ou plus parfaits ".

p. 26

"L'Architecte, dans ce cas difficiles qui se présentent souvent pendant les restaurations, doit avoir tout prévu jusqu'aux effets le plus inattendus, et doit avoir en réserve, sans prévenir les conséquences désastreuses".

"Les travaux de restaurations qui, au point de vue sérieux, pratique, appartiennent à notre temps, lui feront honneur..."

p. 28

Il est, en fait de restauration, un principe dominant dont il ne faut jamais et sous aucun prétexte s'écarter, c'est de tenir compte de toute trace indiquant une disposition".

pp. 33, 34

P. SELVATICO, 1867

"Nell'architettura particolarmente i restauri sono argomento degno di grande considerazione, perché fatti bene e da tempo assicurano la solidità di un edificio e non ne snaturano il carattere, fatti invece tardi e disattentamente, mandano l'edificio in rovina, o gli tolgono l'originale bellezza ".

p. 510

D. RAMEE, 1868

"Restauration, s. f., action de restituer et de faire des ouvrages à un bâtiment , afin de le remettre le plus possible dans son état primitif ".

p. 374

"Retablir , refaire des parties ruinées d'un bâtiment ou de ses dépendances, des ornements, des moulures et autres menus détails que l'on répare ".

p. 375

M. BECHERELLE, 1869

"Restauration, operation ayant pour objet de réparer, de restaurer un vieux tableau, une statue mutilée ... (Archit.) Retablissement qu'on fait des parties d'un bâtiment plus ou moins dégradé , pour le remettre en bon état. Travail qui consiste à retrouver, d'après les restes , les débris ou les descriptions d'un monument , sons ancien ensemble , et le complément de ses mesures , de ses proportions et de ses détails" .

p. 1176

G. CARENA, 1869

" Sodezza: é quella condizione la quale fa che un edificio non corra pericolo di rovinare, o facilmente deteriorare, ma anzi possa durare lunghissimo tempo

p. 41

The Builder, 1871, 18 november

"The restoration of an old Gothic church would seem to be, to a certain extent, a straightforward sort of work, to consist simply of undoing all that the last century did in it. Galleries are pulled down, all the closed pews are condemned ; the walls and roof are well scraped ,and whitewash and yellow-wash got rid of , and the bare wall-surface is made visible ; the old pulpit , reading- desk and clerk's desk come down; the quaint communion-table makes way for a more imposing piece of church furniture;and ,in short, by the time all is done , no one going into the building could possibly know it for the same structure; it all looks so new and dainty! This is called ' restoration 'i.e;. the church is restored to what it may be supposed to have looked like four or five centuries ago ".

p. 900

A. DUCLOS, 1874 (bulletin)

"Restaurer c'est retâbler un monument dans son état primitif et le compléter au besoin, conformément au style dans lequel il a été conçu".

p. 17

A. LEROY-BEAULIEU, 1874

"...la restauration n'exclut pas la conservation. Avec un sage entretien, dit-il, un monument peut être éternel, grâce, à la substitution d'une pierre neuve à une pierre usée ".

p. 352

J. THORNE, 1876, handbook to the Environs of London, London, 1876
restored- i.e. rebuilt

p. 16

W. MORRIS, 1877, Times 7 June 1877

"I think that these learned restorations are good on paper to be kept in portfolios, but not good in new stone for the use of people who are busy and in earnest".

W. MORRIS, 1877, 23 June, No. 2591

"... from this lack and this gain arose in men's minds the strange idea of the Restoration of ancient buildings; a strange and a most fatal idea, which, by its very name, implies that it is possible to strip from a building this, that and the other part of its history ...

"But those who make the changes wrought in our day under the name of Restoration, while professing to bring back a building to the best time of its history , have no guide but each his own individual whim to point out to them what is admirable and what contemptible; while the very nature of their task compels them to destroy something, and to supply the gap by imagining what the earlier builders should or might have done ".

p. 807

STEVENSON, 1877

"The idea of Restoration is a product of quite recent civilisation, due to our modern historical consciousness ".

p.5

"An old church has not been restored is an absolutely trustworthy historical document, a continuous record of English history".

pp.5-6

"Some restores include in the modern work which it is their duty to destroy any additions or alterations in the perpendicular style to the original design of the building".

p. 21

The Builder, 1879, vol. XXXVII

"Restoration is generally speaking, a modern euphemism for wholesale destruction and the worst of desecration".

p. 238

A. SAINT-PAUL, 1881, in vol. 47

"...malgré les préceptes de Viollet Le Duc celu de la restauration et du travestissement à outrance".

p. 698

A. DUCLOS, 1874, J. NÈVE, Brussel, 1896.

"Restaurer c'est rebâtir un monument dans son état primitive et completer, au besoin, conformément au style dans lequel il a été conçu".

pp. 32-48

p. 20

Conservation

E. E. VIOLLET LE DUC, 1844

"Il est temps de penser à la conservation de tout ce qui en reste encore, ... et nous espérons que le gouvernement viendra en aide".

p. 261

E. E. VIOLLET LE DUC, 1844

"Le monuments longtemps abandonnes tombaient en ruine; il fallait songer à les conserver comme oeuvres d'art, et comme monuments religieux ou civils".

p.180

"...Cet aperçu pourra petêtre oussi arreter dans bien des cas les architectes charges de restaurer les anciens monuments; lorsqu'il s'agira de reconstruire des parties détruites, il pourra leur fair sentir qu'il est aussi important de conserver, dans les restaurations, le mode de construction adopté par chaque époque, que la forme des profils et des ornements".

p. 181

"...L'Eglisé est entamée par les démolisseurs; cepedant il serait temps encore d'en arrêter la ruine. Nous avons dernièrement visitée afin de pouvoir au moins en conserver le souvenir.

Que les lignes suivantes lui servent donc d'acte de décès, si nous ne reussissons pas à faire prolonger l'esistence de cet élégant édifice..."

p. 230

MONTALEMBERT, 1845

" Elle exhorte les jeunes architectes qui nourrissent ces ambitions dépla= cées , à renfermer leur activité dans une sphère plus humble, mais plus utile et plus féconde, à étudier l'art de consolider les monuments qu'ils prétendent embellir ".

p. 120

J. J. BOURASSE, 1845

"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 vie même ... La postérité nous demandera compte aussi bien de notre inaction que d'un empressement trop hâtif".

p. 242

Circulaire, 1848, 25 julliet

"...Le travaux inhabilement entrepris, loin de consolider les monuments, ont rendu leur situation plus prècaire. ... Des réparations maladroites les ont transformés, et ont fait disparaîtrejusqu'au caractère historique de leur architecture. Les ravages du temps étaient moins cruels".

p. 124

FALLOUX-DURIER, 1949

Instruction pour la Conservation, l'entretien et la restauration des édificies diocésans. ...

"La conservation des édificies dépend, non-seulement du soin qu'on prend de les entretenir; elle peut être encore subordonnée à des causes extérieures que l'architecte doit etudier: tels sont l'isolement des constructions, l'assainissement du sol, l'écoulement facile des eaux".

p.132

Conservation Fund, 1855

conserving ancient monuments..."in the sense of preservation from the further ravages of time or negligence without any attempt to add, alter or restore".

p. 50

K. K. Central Commission, 1856, E. S. and C.B. 1992

" Zur Erhaltung der Baudenkmale gehört insbesondere die Beseitigung aller den Verfall oder die Zerstörung herbeiführenden Umstände " . p.12
(...Serve l'eliminazione di tutti gli elementi -le cause -che provocano distruzioni e degradi).

G. G. SCOTT, 1865

"In the restoration of decayed stonework, no scraping or tooling of the surface under any circumstance"...

Furthermore...the whole of the old work should be preserved and exposed to view, so as to show the history of the fabric, with its successive alterations, as distinctly as possible".

p. 56

G. G. SCOTT, 1865

"In all cases the colour which stone has obtained by exposure to the weather should be preserved " .

p. 122

N. TOMMASEO-B. BELLINI, 1865-1879

"Salvare-Conservare-Mantenere-Serbare.

Metter in serbo, in salvo si bada di conservare quel che potrebbe alterarsi o guastarsi , si salvare quel ch'è in pericolo. Si mantiene conservando nel medesimo o in simile stato".

p. 756

The Builder, 1868, XXVI

"Maxim in all cases is ' conservation not destruction ' , being of the opinion that every feature of an ancient building tending to show its history should be carefully preserved " .

p. 414

M. BESCHERELLE, 1869

"Conservation...maintenir. Action par laquelle une chose, une personne est conservée.Veiller à la conservation d'un monument.

...de préserver, par divers procédés et par différentes précautions,...des altération ou de la corruption , de l'humidité qu'ils pourraient subir par l'influence de l'air, ...".

p. 746

S. HUGGINS, 1871

"...It is futile to say that this treatment of our cathedrals is for their preservation for it renders them not worth preserving".

p. 279

E. RENAN, 1876

"Il barocco è espressivo a suo modo che altro è la storia se non la più ironica e la più incongrua associazione d'idee?...un monumento dev'essere accettato come il passato ce lo lega; per quanto è possibile bisogna non impedirne la distruzione, ecco tutto. In Francia si è oltrepassata questa misura poichè sotto il pretesto di ricondurre gli edifizi a una pretesa unità d'epoca, che non ebbero mai, si è distrutto, modificato, terminato, completato e preparato con le maledizioni degli archeologi dell'avvenire il cui compito sarà stato reso singolarmente difficile da questi indiscreti ritocchi".

p.11

AITCHISON, 1877, in *The Builder*, XXXV

"What you are compassing by the so-called restoration of ancient buildings is the destruction of the records which are committed to you safe. Keeping, and in my opinion, you are destroying them with the same right that you have to destroy one of Shakespeare's plays or a book of the Bible".

p. 984

A. P. ZORZI, 1877

"...Il restauro suppone innovazioni, secondo il bisogno; la conservazione le esclude affatto. Il restauro 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 riuscire assolutamente dannoso un restauro fatto alla maniera moderna".

Chapter 4

The History of Conservation: the age of Romanticism England during the XIX century

In the country there are many gothic churches built during the seventeenth century.

The gothic revivalists were so much a part of the Oxford movement: an example is St. John's College.

Above all, the antiquarians made gothic ruins their quarry; they are the principal conveyors of gothic sentiment. Antiquarians appeared long before gothic architecture, ... and the study, the literature impulse, if anything, can be called the true starting point of the gothic-revival. A phenomenon characterized by at least three important moments in different European countries: the Construction of Horace Walpole's gothic house, Johann Wolfgang Goethe's hymn to Strasbourg Cathedral (1772) and the establishment of Alexander Lenoir's museum of French historical Monuments in Paris (1791).

Kenneth Clark wrote: "Early in the eighteenth-century poets began to exploit what we call the gothic mood" ... They, of course, are Spencer and Milton. Spencer invented almost all the stage properties of Gothicism which were to furnish the scenery of later poets...

Milton's Gothicism is more retrained, and more artful.

It is not emphasizing the connection between the literature and gothic architecture. During the first half of the century the two leading factors in the revival, the poets and the antiquaries, had made their ways separately. But towards the middle of the century then appeared a group of men who write poetry and archaeology, and who deserve to be remembered as the founders of the gothic-revival. One of this was Thomas Gray (1716-1771).

We must remember *the letter of Thomas Gray* edited by Duncan Tovey. Gray's earliest references to gothic were made on his continental travels with Walpole (1717-1797) in 1739.

"He is consulted by the Strawberry Hill, committee and even trusted to select gothic wallpaper ... He found in Strawberry "purity and propriety of Gothicism ... which I have not seen elsewhere".

The famous gallery of Strawberry was not completed till 1763. During this period, we have a "creation" of new ruins, park, garden, picture and monument. For the ruins we can see: in June of 1764 Walpole dreamed that he was in an ancient castle, and in two months he had completed *The Castle of Otranto: a gothic story*. This book was well suited to the uncritical romanticism.

Strawberry Hill becomes an historical document of great importance we have some idea for the fashion of Gothic. There were at least the architects involved in the restoration although Walpole remains the creator between 1747 and 1764. Richard Bentley is probably the one who characterized Strawberry Hill in his neo-gothic atmosphere.

He was perhaps the proponent of Gothic who insisted on the need to copy works from the past. In particular by the light gothic characters as highlighted by the same plan of the villa.

In the elevations we can read the characters of a small castle with spiers and pinnacles, among other things, home to a collection. At the same time, it started the fashion for domestic and wild nature (Figg. 1-2).

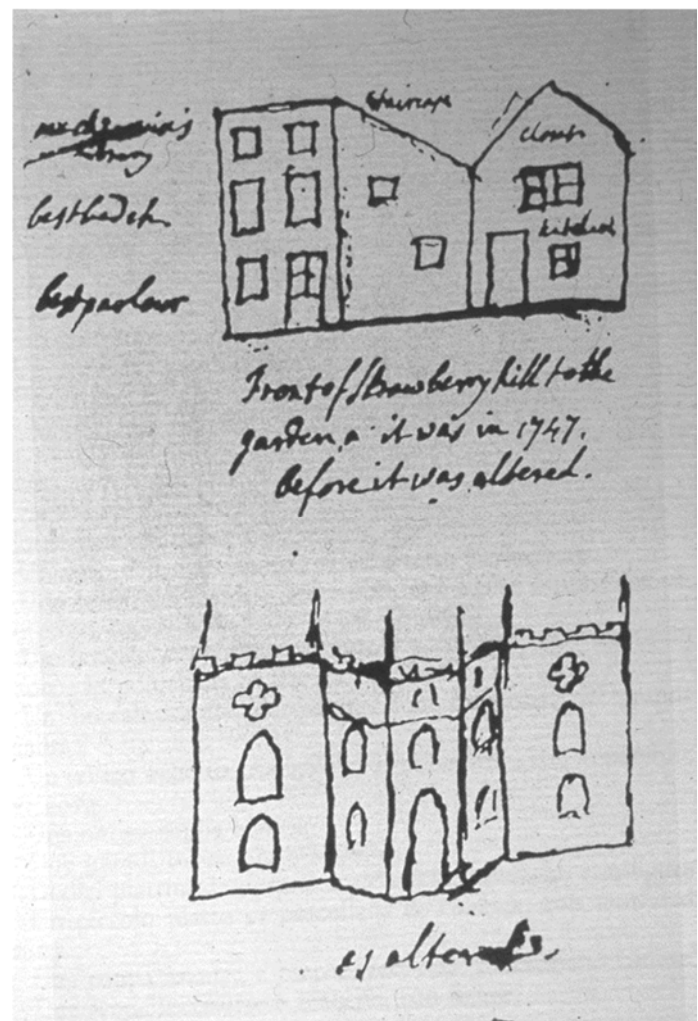


Fig. 1. Strawberry Hill, drawing before and after, by Horace Walpole, 1753. In the elevations we can read the characters of a small castle, with spiers and pinnacles, among other things, home to a collection. At the same time, it started the fashion for domestic and wild nature. (In Strawberry Hill, Lewis Walpole Library, 1774, ed. It. Palermo 1990)

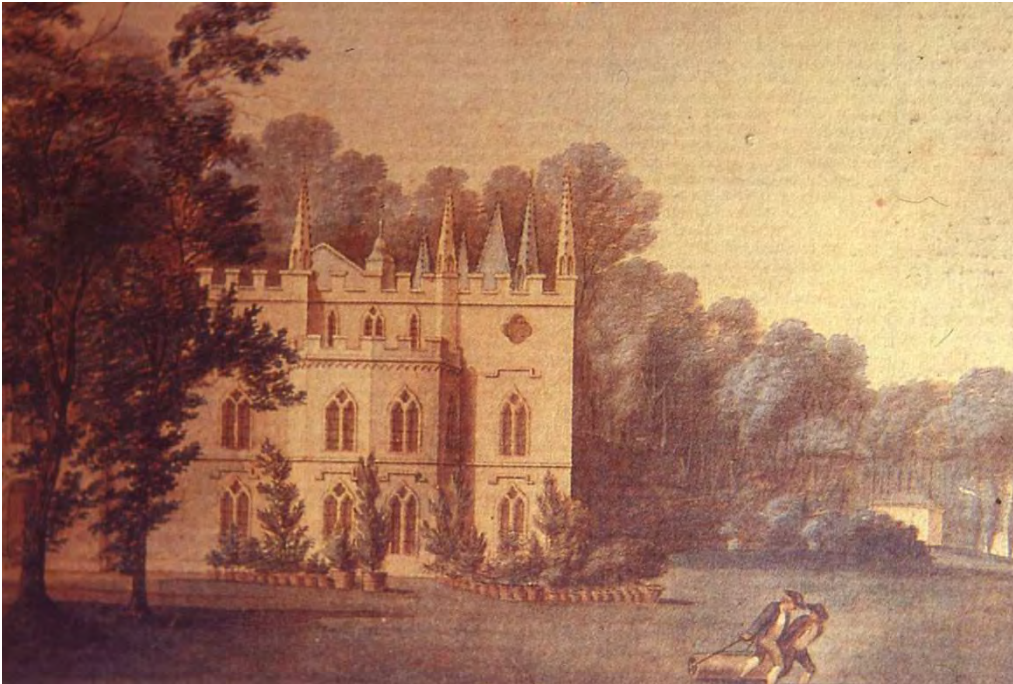


Fig. 2. View from South of Strawberry Hill, by Horace Walpole, 1753. (In Strawberry Hill, 1774, Lewis Walpole Library ed.it. Palermo 1990, edited by G. Franci)

James Wyatt (1746-1813) worked for Walpole at Strawberry Hill and used the Gothic style in his projects, such as Fonthill Abbey for William Beckford (Fig. 3).

Then he worked in Durham “not only to survey the cathedral, but also to repair and improve the bishop’s residence at bishop Auckland and Durham Castle”.

Wyatt presented his plans for the proposed repairs and alterations. There were two main objectives in these plans: first to improve the building architecturally and to make it stylistically more coherent, and secondly, to make some functional improvement according to the wishes of the Dean of Chapter.

Wyatt was commissioned to resign a ruined gothic abbey in 1796 from William Beckford, which would become his residence from 1807. Fonthill, summarizes all the romanticism of the end of the 18th century and constitutes a singular testimony to the neo-gothic. In 1825 the tower collapsed, ruining the remains of the building. Today few traces remain.

In the United Kingdom John Britton, from 1805 to 1818, completed the repertoire of English medieval monuments, collected in the “*Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain*”, with the aim of encouraging the transition from the romantic picturesque phase to that of Stylistic rigor and a certain “formal orthodoxy”.

At the same time, at the end of the eighteenth century in Great Britain, garden architecture took a great importance, directly connected to the return to Gothic. One of the first studies is due to P. Decker (*Gothic Architecture*, London 1759). At this point it was thought that it was not enough to leave nature in its wild state, because the picturesque effect could be enhanced with chapels, caves, pavilions. The theme of ruin from England will spread throughout Europe.

It seems appropriate to remember Edmund Burke for the concept of permanence and the idea of the aesthetic value of the ruin.

Throughout the nineteenth century two positions will be distinguished: the first that sees a new work in the ruin, therefore an intertwining of art and nature, the other which highlights a mutilated but recognizable testimony of a work or human event and therefore considers it as a material document of history.



Fig. 3. Wiltshire,
Fonthill Abbey. It was
built from 1796 by J.
Wyatt's design.
(From S. Tschudi-
Madsen, 1976)

4.1 A. W. Pugin

In England, in the same period, prevail the figures of George Gilbert Scott and Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin. Pugin (1812-1852), during the years of his short life, published a lot.

Pugin became one of the key figures in the development 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 Gothic as the only morally acceptable Christian architecture for churches. He attached Classicism and Protestantism, and deplored the baroque “luxury” (Fig. 4).

His first book *Contrasts*, published in Salisbury in 1836, was a comparison of medieval and present-day buildings.

Then he published:

- *Gothic ornaments from Ancient buildings in England and France*, London, 1831, expresses a conception of the restoration of churches as also being of a religious nature. “A restoration of the ancient feelings and sentiments”;
- *Gothic furniture in the style of the Fifteenth Century*, London, 1835;
- *The True principles of Pointed or Christian architecture*, London, 1841;
- *The Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England*, London, 1843;
- In the introductory panel, that constitutes the frontispiece, *An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture* of 1843. We can see 22 churches and chapel, a new Gothic Jerusalem. This romantic representation highlights and adherence to the Gothic spirit, where his contribution to the definition of the Principles according to which the Gothic Revival was to be conducted;
- *Glossary of ecclesiastic ornament and furniture*, London, 1844.

Pugin maintained contact with Montalambert and wrote for “Bulletin Archéologique” (1843), and he was cited by Didron in the first volume of the “Annales Archéologique” (1844). Didron’s action was translated and published in the journal “The Ecclesiologist” (1846, V, p. 59).

The restoration, in this period, was conceived as the restitution of the pre-existence at the moment in which it was created. This belief guided the restoration from the beginning of the century until the middle, the so called “Principle of preference”.

Jokilehto wrote: “Pugin felt encouraged, however, and recognized and improvement in certain recent restoration of cathedrals and other churches, regarding especially the accuracy of moulding and technical details”.

He remained concerned, though that “the principles which influenced ancient compositions, and the soul which appears in all the former works ... tis they alone that can restore pointed architecture to its former glorious state; without it all is done will be a same and heartless copy, true as for as the mechanism of the style goes, but utterly wanting in that sentiment and feeling that distinguishes ancient design”. (Pugin 1836, p. 43)

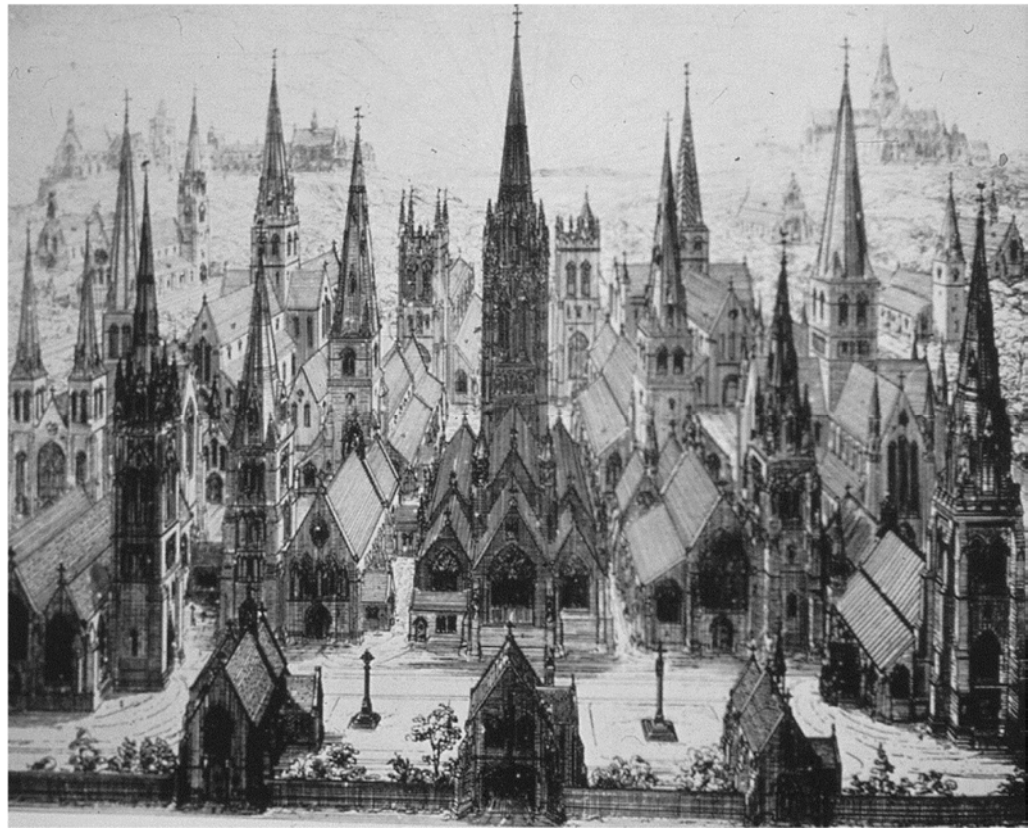


Fig. 4. A. W. Pugin, *The Present Revival of Christian Architecture*, frontispiece to *The Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture*, 1843.

After 1850, critical attitudes began to emerge oriented towards greater respect for historical phases. These anticipations date back to the beginning of the century. Remember that Lord Byron (1788-1824) already averse to restorations, which Ruskin would call in 1854 “restoration mania” and to the attitude of some architects who build: “new buildings of correctest conformation and throw down old, which he called restoration”¹.

The first to raise the question of principles was Edward Augustus Freeman (1823-1892) (*Principles of Church Restoration*, 1846, and *The Preservation and Restoration of Ancient Monuments*, 1852). He distinguished two types of restoration: a destructive one typical of ancient practice, in which the interventions were carried out in the manner of the time; the other conservative tending to reproduce the details in the restoration according to their precise ancient language, so as to make the restoration appear: “in its new state a new facsimile”.

Freeman added a third which he calls eclectic and intermediate solution between historical and aesthetic qualities. He appreciates Scott’s first works at St. Mary’s Church in Stafford. Here the author brought the roof of the choir back to its initial shape, preserving the claristorium and the roof of the nave. This was the individual focused approach that Freeman was referring to.

Between 1841 and 1854, John Louis Petit in his publications had criticized Scott (1811-1878), no longer conservative, seeing a dualism in the architect’s behaviour. Petit called for the preservation of the pre-existence as it had been known and appreciated for centuries, even if it was not its initial configuration.

4.2 G. G. Scott

In 1847 George Gilbert Scott received his first assignment as restorer of a cathedral, Ely (then Westminster, Hereford, Lichfield, Ripon, Salisbury), and its characteristic difference between writings and practical activity reappears.

In its first publication *A Plea for the Faithful Restoration of our Ancient Churches*, London, 1859, Scott protests against the “so-called restoration” of the humblest forms of sacred art, states that conservationism should apply and that, in restoration, the most serious damage depends on doing too much and “the great difficulty is to know where to stop”².

It is important remember from *Remarks on Secular & Domestic Architecture* (1858): “Here, in restoring original portions we should, as in other styles, adhere scrupulously to what we find, but in making additions we may fearlessly make use of our own developments; for here no diversity of character will exist, our own style being the very same, applied to and enriched by the wants and inventions of our own day. I can conceive of no task more delightful than the faithful restoration of what remains of this most perfect phase of medieval art ...”³.

And also: “These possess the same claims for preservation and conservative restoration which I advocated for other works which are at once relics of antiquity and specimens of ancient art. They should be most religiously protected, and so far – and so far only – as is necessary, from time to time, receive such repairs as are required for their conservation”⁴.

Finally, he denies that the restorer can undue preference for one historical phase over the others.

Scott could not have known Ruskin at that time, because the *Seven Lamps of Architecture* was written in that period.

His source of inspiration was John Louis Petit (1801-1868). Scott, in a conference at Riba in 1862 reiterated the dangers of “over-restoration” and cited Ruskin’s thoughts on the need for continuous maintenance. He contrasts the term “restoration”, which is to be forgotten for architecture with the simpler term “reparation” and naturally the more pertinent conservation.

Scott criticized Viollet and the restoration of Carcassonne, which from a genuine example of a medieval city had become, after the restoration and erudite model of the lost “original”.

However, Scott distanced himself from the principles and he preached and remained closer to Pugin, than to Ruskin.

Its restoration activity can be divided into three groups:

1. Saving the pre-existing structure at all costs, attentive to the solution of material problems for conservation;
2. When he worked as an architect, a reconstructor, sacrificing the pre-existences, for example, he destroyed the eastern part of the cathedral in Oxford to rebuild it with Norman characters and applying the Unity of style, even if he claimed the opposite;
3. Influenced by Victorian taste, by an excess of decorativism, with an attitude guided by empirism.

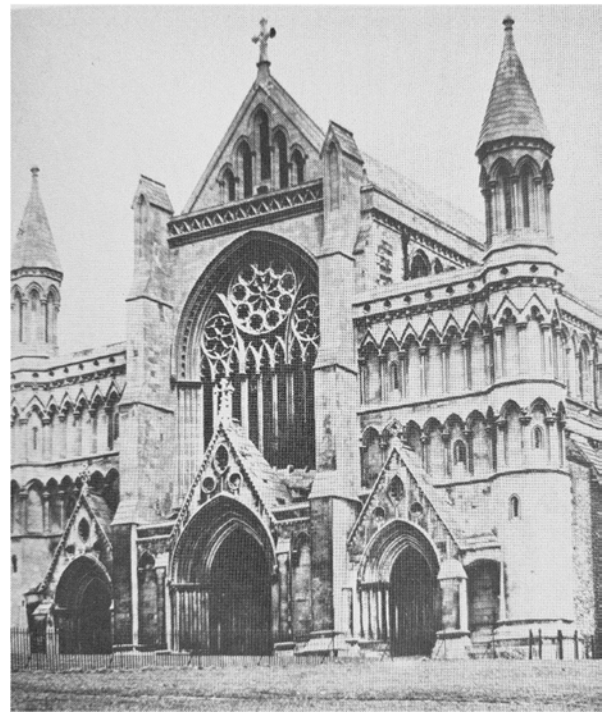
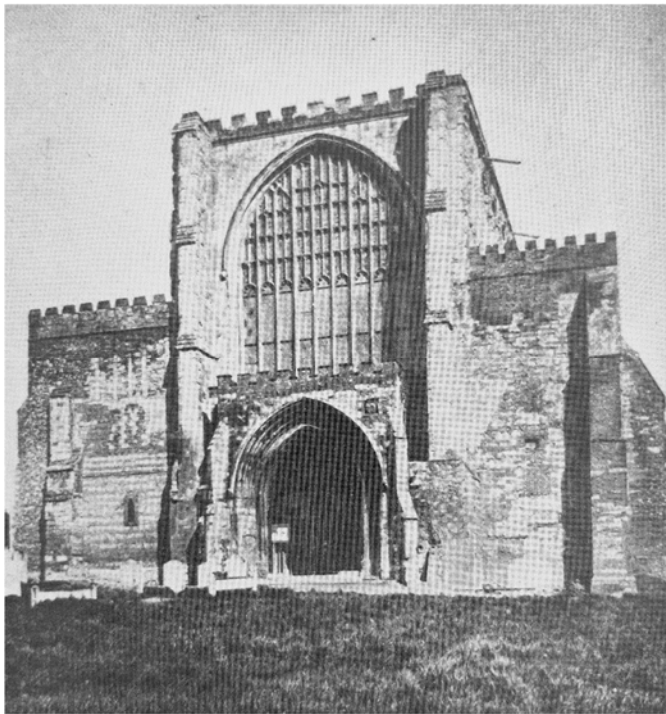


Fig. 5-6. Sir George Gilbert Scott, St. Albans Abbey, before and after restoration (G.G. Scott, *A plea for the faithful restoration of our ancient church*, Oxford 1850).
(From S. Tschudi-Madsen, 1976)

In Stafford, church of Saint Mary “was in a wretched state when Scott was called in and he went ahead with draining and securing of walls and tower. He removed the late 15th century clerestory, from the same date and rebuilt the south and east walls”⁵.

“... every stone, whether moulding or ashlar, was replaced in its exact size and form so that the whole jointing of the wall is a perfect transcript of that which preceded it”⁶.

After Scott had completed his restoration of St. Mary’s Church in Stafford, he concluded: “The fittings of St. Mary’s were not very successful; but, as whole, it was beyond question the best restoration then carried out, nor have many since been in the main much better”⁷ (Fig. 5-8).



Fig. 7-8. Sir George Gilbert Scott, St. Mary, Stafford, before and after the restoration (1840-41). Scott himself called it “the best restoration then carried out”.

From S. Tschudi-Madsen, *Restoration and anti-restoration. A study in English restoration philosophy*, Oslo-Bergen-Trømsø, 1976, tav. III-IV

4.3 G. E. Street

Another important figure of reference was George Edmund Street (1824-1881), Scott's student. He built more than 300 works, in Roma the American Protestant Church of San Paolo, in via Nazionale, and the Anglican Church of All Saints, in via del Babuino, and restored around 400 churches.

In the early years of "Roma Capitale" two churches were built: the American one of S. Paolo, and the English one of All Saints. The architect Street designed with the collaboration of Edward Coley Burne-Jones (1833-1898) and William Morris (1834-1896) for the decoration (Fig. 9-10).

Eclectic culturalism pushed them to adapt Italian art, with Italian Gothic. The result expresses a façade with a bell tower with Pisan echoes due to the white and dark banded stripes, foreign to the Roman environment. The interior highlights the mosaics of Burne-Jones, an authentic document of the Pre-Raphaelite School of Painting. Morris' influence is due to the resign of the wooden ceiling that delimits the central nave with a certain originality that preludes the floreal.



Fig. 9. Façade of the protestant church of Saint Paul in via Nazionale, Roma.
(TC 2024)



Fig. 10. Nave of Saint Paul, Roma.
(TC 2024)



Fig. 11. External view of the church of All Saints in via del Babuino, Roma.
(TC 2024)

The other church, the English evangelical one of All Saints, created by Street with the collaboration of Italian architects Barucci and Cannizzaro. In the church the brick curtain predominates, used as a decorative and colourful element, on which the stone ornaments of the portal and windows on the façade stand out. The interior shows two stone pilasters, cornices and capitals.

Street created an example of the Gothic Revival with the bell tower that recalls the characteristics of English architecture⁸ (Fig. 11).

His knowledge of Gothic was so thorough that it fooled Scott himself, who mistook one of his churches for an authentic one from the 14th century.

In the addition of the Stewkley church, he destroyed and rebuilt the façade, replacing every stone in its place, without altering the colour. He preferred complete restitution, this derived from functional and religious reflections.

In theory he was against the unity of style: “let the history of the fabric, for good or ill, be treated as a sacred record, then it is there let it be”.

Diffusion

The spread of his ideas in Italy is documented by the 1861 translation of his speech, read at the London Architecture Exhibition, in which he confirmed his conservative line.

There are three ways of destructive restoration:

- 1 – throwing down and rebuilding in a new style;
- 2 – throwing down and rebuilding in the same style;
- 3 – cleaning and scraping every stone, so that everything takes on the appearance of being new.

The destructive restoration must be replaced by the so called conservative one: “evidence of antiquity is something which, above all else, must be taken into account”.

He continues by explaining that simple shoring and repairs are preferred to reconstructions, and also the safeguarding of ancient materials, down to the single stone, to be marked “where it was placed”. These are reflections that are influenced by John Ruskin (1819-1900), but a mixture of conservationism and romantic protection of all the values on monuments.

The essay concludes with an invitation to provide specialist training for architects and workers.

In the rest of Europe, the so-called stylistic ... spread rapidly assuming a prevalent role for many years.

4.4 J. Ruskin

Ruskin was largely self-taught, although he graduated from Oxford (Bachelor of Arts, 1842). He was an aesthete, a romantic and a Victorian and still an art critic (modern painters, 1843, 1860). He finds his premises in English culture, think of Walpole, of ruinism, of the love for nature and landscape in the face of the increase in urbanism and industrialisation (Fig. 12, 16, 20-21).

For all Ruskin's works in English: J. RUSKIN, *The complete works of John Ruskin*, vol. 1-39, London, 1903-1912.

In Italy there was a wide diffusion of Ruskin's thoughts and works. He himself loved Italy and various authors both in the nineteenth centuries studied and translated his work.

Roberto Di Stefano specifies that Ruskin was not a poet, art historian, naturalist, architect, sociologist, economist, writer, perhaps he was all these things together, where they meet in their common root in the universality of culture. It seems appropriate to remember:

- R. Di Stefano, *Presentazione*, John Ruskin, *Le sette lampade dell'Architettura*, Milano, 1982, pp. 11-12.

Roberto Pane was committed to protest against the alienation that industrial society was beginning to implement, both to the detriment of nature and to the detriment of man.

It is easy to understand from these premises that, for the testimonies of the past, a religious respect is required, such as is due to precious relics, the monument must not be touched, much less restored, or worse, return to pristine unity, this would be a complete betrayal of its nature and its evocative change.

Among the components of Ruskinian thought, we can recall the influences of Keats (1785-1821) for whom the beauty of art "is based on the concept of its venerable permanence". Then of Pugin and Petit, finally the preferences for decorated Gothic.



Fig. 12. J. Ruskin,
Alpine landscape.
(From Macugnaga
1845, Yale Center of
British Art)

There is a desire for sincerity, spontaneity and the absolute respect for the ancient monument. The rejection of stylistic conceptions aimed at restoring unity appears evident. What Ruskin writes for monuments, he repeats for paintings, for which simple cleaning is destruction and restoration and retouching, total destruction.

The nature of Gothic in the Stone of Venice gives some of the key elements for understanding his concept of architecture. He defines the characters of moral elements of Gothic as savageness, love of nature and architectural ornaments into three categories:

- Rural areas: Ruskin maintained a deep admiration and love for nature. He had a special admiration for mountains, crystals and minerals, for natural landscape (Fig. 13).
- Beauty: beauty was the essence of Ruskin's life and it results from an intrinsic harmony and repose. Perfect beauty was in God ... and as a reflection of God was found in nature and in art.
- Picturesque: the expression "picturesque" is often used in connection with ruined buildings and even to mean universal decay, this Ruskin called parasitical sublimity. Picturesque, a combination of beauty and the sublime, expressed in the different characteristic and intentions in art (Fig. 14).



Fig. 13. Surroundings of Ambleside, 1837
Drawing by John Ruskin, work II, 290

In this drawing we notice a certain attention to the construction details even of a so-called minor architecture. Ruskin begins the study of vernacular architecture.



Fig. 14. Abbeville, Church of St. Wulfram, 1868,
drawing by John Ruskin, Sheffield, Ruskin Gallery.

In the *Seven Lamps of Architecture* (London, 1849), chapter 6, John Ruskin wrote:

10. Every human action gains in honor, in grace, in all true magnificence, by its regard to things that are to come. It is the far sight, the quiet and confident patience, that, above all other attributes, separate man from man, and near him to his Maker; and there is no action nor art, whose majesty we may not measure by this test. Therefore, when we build, let us think that we build for ever. Let it not be for present delight, nor for present use alone; let it be such work as our descendants will thank us for, and let us think, as we lay stone on stone, that a time is to come when those stones will be held sacred because our hands have touched them, and that men will say as they look upon the labor and wrought substance of them, "See! this our fathers did for us." For, indeed, the greatest glory of a building is not in its stones, nor in its gold. Its glory is in its Age, and in that deep sense of voicefulness, of stern watching, of mysterious sympathy, nay, even of approval or condemnation, which we feel in walls that have long been washed by the passing waves of humanity. It is in their lasting witness against men, in their quiet contrast with the transitional character of all things, in the strength which, through the lapse of seasons and times, and the decline and birth of dynasties, and the changing of the face of the earth, and of the limits of the sea, maintains its sculptured shapeliness for a time insuperable, connects forgotten and following ages with each other, and half constitutes the identity, as it concentrates the sympathy, of nations; it is in that golden stain of time, that we are to look for the real light, and color, and preciousness of architecture; and it is not until a building has assumed this character, till it has been entrusted with the fame, and hallowed by the deeds of men, till its walls have been witnesses of suffering, and its pillars rise out of the shadows of death, that its existence, more lasting as it is than that of the natural objects of the world around it, can be gifted with even so much as these possess, of language and of life.

18. ... 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... [I]t 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... 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...

19.

Do not let us talk then of restoration. The thing is a Lie from beginning to end... But, it is said, there may come a necessity for restoration! Granted. Look the necessity full in the face, and understand it on its own terms. It is a necessity for destruction.

Accept it as such, pull the building down, throw its stones into neglected corners, make a ballast of them, or mortar, if you will; but do it honestly, and do not set up a Lie in their place. And look that necessity in the face before it comes, and you may prevent it... Take proper care of your monuments, and you will not need to restore them... 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; better a crutch than a lost limb; and do this tenderly, and reverently, and continually, and many a generation will still be born and pass away beneath its shadow. Its evil day must come at last; but let it come declaredly and openly, and let no dishonoring and false substitute deprive it of the funeral offices of memory.

20.

... We have no right *whatever to touch* [the buildings of past times]. They are not ours. They belong partly to those who built them, and partly to all the generations of mankind who are to follow us. The dead have still their right in them: that which they labored for, the praise of achievement or the expression of religious feeling, or whatsoever else it might be which in those buildings they intended to be permanent, we have no right to obliterate. What we have ourselves built, we are at liberty to throw down; but what other men gave their strength, and wealth, and life to accomplish, their right over does not pass away with their death; still less is the right to the use of what they have left vested in us only. It belongs to all their successors... For a mob it is, and must be always; it matters not whether enraged, or in deliberate folly; whether countless, or sitting in committees; the people who destroy anything causelessly are a mob, and Architecture is always destroyed causelessly... The very quietness of nature is gradually withdrawn from us; thousands who once in their necessarily prolonged travel were subjected to an influence, from the silent sky and slumbering fields, more effectual than known or confessed, now bear with them even there the ceaseless fever of their life; and along the iron veins that traverse the frame of our country, beat and flow the fiery pulses of its exertions, hotter and faster every hour.

During his travel in Verona, he highlights how the study of the monument and collections of memories is connected to the loss of historical value (letter, 7 september 1845) (Fig. 15).



Fig. 15. Verona, Ruskin. Juliet's House.



Fig. 16. Amalfi, Ruskin, 1841
The most famous watercolour of Amalfi due to its Turner influences. Here we notice the sensitivity towards beauty but a tormented vision. (From Cambridge, Massachusetts, Fogg Art Museum)

In the letter sent from Pisa on 13 May 1845, he defines surveying as a preliminary operation for preservation, as opposed to repairing intervention: “and their foul engravings are worse than their plasterers, the one destroys, but other malign, falsify and dishonour” (Figg. 17-19).



Figg. 17-18-19. Pisa, Santa Maria della Spina, 1845. Collections of the Guild of St. George Sheffield, Ruskin Gallery.



Fig. 20. Ruskin, Path among the vineyards, 1874, Ruskin Library, Lancaster University. An emotional perception of natural beauty, attributable to an aesthetic feeling that creates a link between nature and architecture, for example in rural areas.



in a perfectly vertical column,
 two thousand feet higher. and with
 a perfectly visible motion like that of
 volcanic slow smoke, at this distance
 - 15 miles.
 the slightest sketch will be better
 than a volume of words. Look here.
 - the sky was green & pure - the
 smoke column, where it was dense
 - caught the rose light of ~~sunrise~~ sunrise
 like a white cloud - but when it
 became thin, came dark on the sky
 - slowly drifting away and returning
 in a nearer line, across the pillar
 of fire, which glowed through it
 - all in the most tender hues,
 but with the glowing Italian depth
 in them, which - is at least not to
 be done thus - in a flat

Fig. 21. Ruskin, Etna's dawn, 1874, letter to Joan Severn, Ruskin Library, Lancaster University. The description of Etna seen from Taormina seems to achieve the synthesis between the pictorial works, the depth of Etna, and the ruins of the theatre. In Sicily he tries to understand the evocative mechanism of places; through drawing, so, attention to the landscape and natural elements.



Ruskin returns several times to Firenze, in 1840-41, in the summer of 1845, then again in 1846 when he travelled with his parents and again in 1872. In 1875 he presented *Mornings in Florence* which remains a fundamental text for understanding artistic taste of Europe at the time.

Again, in letters sent from Firenze, Ruskin associates the restoration with an act of destruction: “I went up to San Miniato ... which I see now for the last time, for it is going to be restored”. (letter, 25 June 1845) (Fig. 22).



Fig. 22. Ruskin, San Miniato al Monte, 1846, watercolor and pencil (from Oxford, Ashmolean Museum). Ruskin analyzes the façade which he defines as “one of the most singular mixtures of classical ornament”.

As we read in his notebooks, he began the study of Venetian monuments from the Doge's Palace, and is based on inspections measurements and real-life surveys (Fig. 23-25).

The centre of the description are the observations of the details, of the plastic, chromatic and decorative transformations.



Fig. 23. Ruskin, Venezia, Tower Bell of San Marco, London British Museum 1845



Fig. 24. Ruskin, Venezia, detail of same pilasters of the Basilica, London British Museum 1879

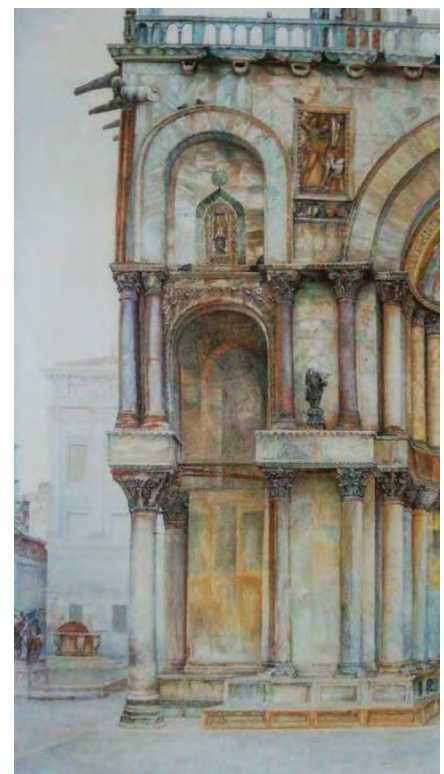


Fig. 25. Ruskin, Venezia, watercolor, 1846, Oxford Ashmolean Museum.

The Cathedral of Amiens deserves the name that Viollet-le-Duc gave to it, the “Pantheon of Gothic architecture”, where one of the objectives was to let in as much light as was compatible with its solidity. Ruskin quotes Viollet several times, in the development of these ogives through which the light of the East shines (Fig. 26).

All had seen in England, France and Italy him react born the definition and in the third edition of *Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1880), he added: “False, also, in the manner of parody, the most loathsome manner of falsehood ... do not let us talk then of restoration. The thing is a lie from beginning to end ... Take proper care of your monuments, and you will not need to restore them”⁹.

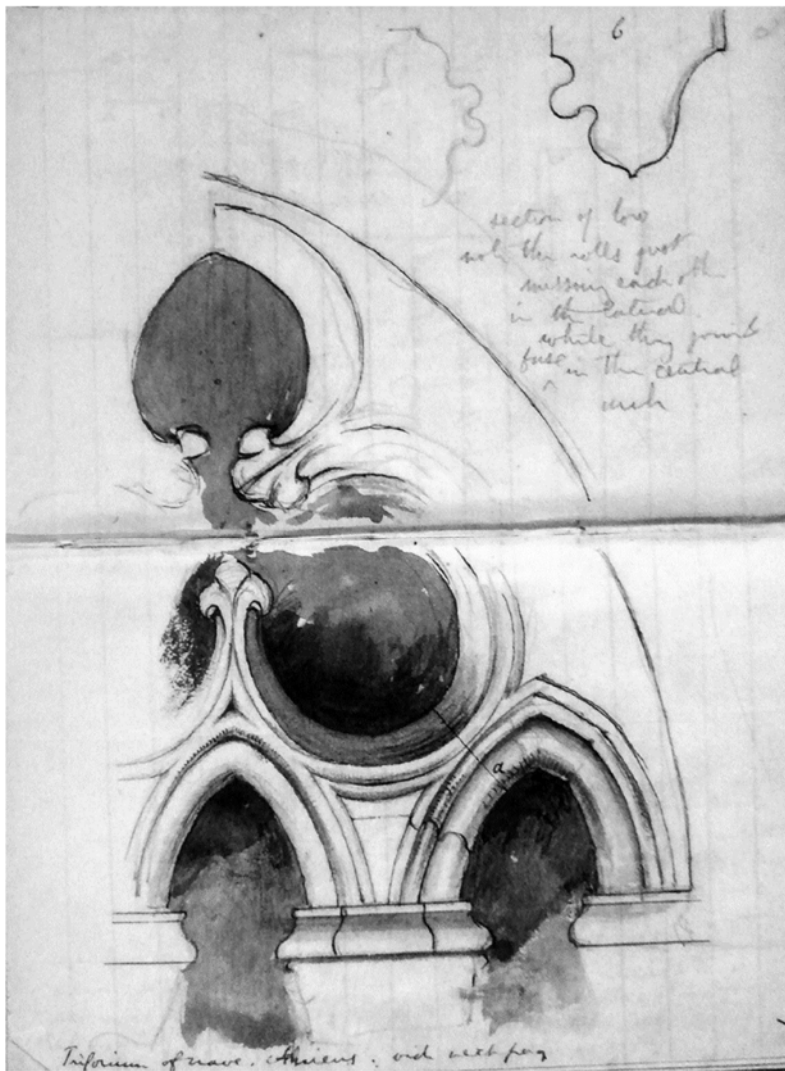


Fig. 26. Ruskin, Amiens. Notebook 1849, Ruskin Foundation, Ruskin Library, Lancaster University.

From 1870 the debate on restoration in Great Britain began to register the effects of conservation guidelines. The debate on restoring gradually spread to wider circles.

The periodical had in a way outlived its usefulness and the debate in detail: “Athenaeum”, “The Builder” and “The Church Builder”.

Tschudi-Madsen wrote: the first had a broadminded outlook; its scope was wide and covered all forms of art, and in the course of the 1870’s this periodical devoted a good deal of space to criticism and debate. The Builder was a more technically inclined architectural periodical, and opened its columns to more practical, technical as well as theoretical discussion on principles of restoring. For example, George Truefitt “Paper read at Worcester Architectural Society”, “The Builder”, 1855, 13 October, pp. 489-490, and “The Church Builder” was published in connection with the “Incorporated Church Building Society”, from 1862.

Between several authors we can remember Samuel Huggins, who had written in “Athenaeum”: “It is futile to say that this treatment of our cathedrals is for their preservation for it renders them not worth preserving”¹⁰.

John Piggot in 1872 had expressed the opinion that Historic Monuments ought to come under the protection in France and Belgium¹¹.

James Piggot Pritchett (1789-1868): “maxim ... in all cases is ‘conservation not destruction’, being of the opinion that every feature of an ancient building tending to show its history should be carefully preserved”¹².

For a general view, see also Tschudi-Madsen, *Restoration and ...*, pp. 64-65

Tschudi-Madsen wrote “it was thought to divide the architects into two groups: high restorationists, who followed the principle of preference for one style, and low restorationists, who aimed at minimal intervention”¹³.

The establishment of Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB) in 1877, by William Morris, based on an idea by Ruskin from 1854¹⁴, represented an important assertion of Ruskin’s anticipation

Remember that Ruskin has joined the Commons Preservation Society in 1865 against building speculation, and the progressive spread abroad of the Anti-restoration movement known as Anti-scrape contributed to the spread of conservative principles.

4.5 W. Morris

Morris, with the help of some exponents of the cultural and political world (Philipp Webb, author of the Red House, Thomas Carlyle and Edward Burne Jones) translated Ruskin's doctrines into practice and provided a contribution of active experience¹⁵.

However, Ruskin must be given credit for the first initial formulation of ideas and the identification of the relationship between art and society, and of the duties of protection.

In a letter published on 10 March 1877 in the "Athenaeum" magazine, Morris protested against the restoration program of Tewkesbury Abbey, carried out by Scott, and expressed the hope that "an Association could be set up for the purpose of protecting the Ancient Monuments and to protest against all restorations ..."¹⁵.

On 22 March 1878 SPAB was founded in London, Morris was elected Honorary Secretary and the host took care of the drafting of the Society's Manifesto.

"A Society coming before the public with such a name as that above written must needs explain how, and why, it proposes to protect those ancient buildings which, to most people doubtless, seems to have so many and such excellent protectors. This, then, is the explanation we offer.

No doubt within the last fifty years a new interest, almost like another sense, has arisen in these ancient monuments of art; and they have become the subject of one of the most interesting of studies, and of an enthusiasm, religious, historical, artistic, which is one of the undoubted gains of our time; yet we think that if the present treatment of them be continued, our descendants will find them useless for study and chilling to enthusiasm. We think that those last fifty years of knowledge and attention have done more for their destruction than all the foregoing centuries of revolution, violence, and contempt.

For Architecture, long decaying, died out, as a popular art at least, just as the knowledge of mediaeval art was born. So that the civilized world of the nineteenth century has no style of its own amidst its wide knowledge of the styles of other centuries. From this lack and this gain arose in men's minds the strange idea of the Restoration of ancient buildings; and a strange and most fatal idea, which by its very name implies that it is possible to strip from a building this, that, and the other part of its history – of its life that is – and then to stay the hand at some arbitrary point, and leave it still historical, living, and even as it once was.

In early times this kind of forgery was impossible, because knowledge failed the builders, or perhaps because instinct held them back. If repairs were needed, if ambition or piety pricked on to change, that change was of necessity wrought in the unmistakable fashion of the time; a church of the eleventh century might be added to or altered in the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth, or even the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries: but every change, whatever history it destroyed, left history in the gap, and was alive with the spirit of the deeds done midst its fashioning. The result of all this was often a building in which the many changes, though harsh and visible enough, were, by their very contrast, interesting and instructive and could by no possibility mislead.

But those who make the changes wrought in our day under the name of Restoration, while professing to bring back a building to the best time of its history, have no guide but each his own individual whim to point out to them what is admirable and what contemptible; while the very nature of their task compels them to destroy something and to supply the gap by imagining what the earlier builders should or might have done. Moreover, in the course of this double process of destruction and addition the whole surface of the building is necessarily tampered with; so that the appearance of antiquity is taken away from such old parts of the fabric as are left, and there is no laying to rest in the spectator the suspicion of what may have been lost; and in short, a feeble and lifeless forgery is the final result of all the wasted labour.

It is sad to say, that in this manner most of the bigger Minsters, and a vast number of more humble buildings, both in England and on the Continent, have been dealt with by men of talent often, and worthy of better employment, but deaf to the claims of poetry and history in the highest sense of the words.

For what is left we plead before our architects themselves, before the official guardians of buildings, and before the public generally, and we pray them to remember how much is gone of the religion, thought and manners of time past, never by almost universal consent, to be Restored; and to consider whether it be possible to Restore those buildings, the living spirit of which, it cannot be too often repeated, was an inseparable part of that religion and thought, and those past manners. For our part we assure them fearlessly, that of all the Restorations yet undertaken the worst have meant the reckless stripping a building of some of its most interesting material features; while the best have their exact analogy in the Restoration of an old picture, where the partly-perished work of the ancient craftsman has been made neat and smooth by the tricky hand of some unoriginal and thoughtless hack of today. If, for the rest, it be asked us to specify what kind of amount of art, style, or other interest in a building, makes it worth protecting, we answer, anything which can be looked on as artistic, picturesque, historical, antique, or substantial: any work in short, over which educated, artistic people would think it worthwhile to argue at all.

It is for all these buildings, therefore, of all times and styles, that we plead, and call upon those who have to deal with them to put Protection in the place of Restoration, to stave off decay by daily care, to prop a perilous wall or mend a leaky roof by such means as are obviously meant for support or covering, and show no pretence of other art, and otherwise to resist all tampering with either the fabric or ornament of the building as it stands; if it has become inconvenient for its present use, to raise another building rather than alter or enlarge the old one; in fine to treat our ancient buildings as monuments of a bygone art, created by bygone manners, that modern art cannot meddle with without destroying.

Thus, and thus only, shall we escape the reproach of our learning being turned into a snare to us; thus, and thus only can we protect our ancient buildings, and hand them down instructive and venerable to those that come after us"¹⁷.

In the second year of the existence of the society, the SPAB manifesto was translated into French, German, Dutch and Italian. It was considered most important that the principles of the Society should be spread everywhere.

4.6 J. J. Stevenson

Another important contribution had been made by J. Stevenson (1832-1908), a Scottish architect remembered principally for school buildings in the Queen Anne period. He was especially shocked by the restoration of lost parts in such a way that new and old became indistinguishable. As an example, he told about his visit to the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris, guided by Viollet-le-Duc.

In a conference at the RIBA he reiterated two points: the consideration of the monument as a historical record and the abandonment of the preference for the Middle Ages, recognizing equal dignity of every historical period; the principle of equivalence was therefore invoked instead of that of preference, based on unity of style, in case of doubt, furthermore one had to abstain from doing so. But I think that is very important to remember some sentences. "The historical monuments of the country are the property not of any one man or of any one age, but of the race; and no single person, or generation, which has them in its keeping for the time, has the right to destroy them or falsify them".

He continues: "to illustrate the present practice of restoration the present practice of restoration, I have taken my instances from the practice of Sir G. G. Scott, Mr Streets and others, ... An old church which has not been restored is an absolutely trustworthy historical document, a continuous record of English history ... The church is picturesque in the sense that it would make a picture charming in colour, bringing home to us the life of the generations of simple villagers... But it is full of picturesque effect and charming of colour. It has a true harmony, not of form but of spirit.

It raises a horrible idea of the extent to which ancient monuments have been destroyed by restoration that such advice should have been necessary.

Some restorers include in the modern work which it is their duty to destroy any additions or alterations in the perpendicular style to the original design of the building.

Sometimes, however, they alter and destroy even early work. One church I know of had as its east window three early English lancets of equal height. This was unusual, and the restoring architect thought improper ...

From this we may judge of the glorious uncertainty of the restoration, and its authenticity in telling us what the old work was.

For it is the knowledge and skill of the architect which destroys the authenticity of the building as a record of the past. He is by profession a clever forger of old documents ...

In a restored church we can never tell whether the new windows we see are old ones renewed, or the product only of the architect's imagination; and this doubt is cast on the authenticity of every part of the building".

As restorers we have no style, we only forge old ones¹⁸. In a short time SPAB established two Committees, the *Restoration Committee* and *Foreign Committee*, and thanks to the latter it spread its activity in Europe and Asia, the Manifesto was translated in 1879 into French, German, Dutch and Italian, so much so that people of great conservative sensibility, such as Giacomo Boni, who was active in Venezia at the time, drew inspiration.

In 1895 in France the Sixth chapter of the *Seven Lamps* was translated and all the volume in 1900. Marcel Proust (1871-1922) recognized Ruskin's thought in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts* and in the Introduction of the Bible of Amiens.¹⁹

The SPAB had contacts with the Society “l’Ami des Monuments”²⁰. Anatole France (1844-1924), who attacked Viollet-le-Duc for many works, wrote about Pierrefonds, in his *Pierre Nozière* of 1899: “the ancient stones, or witnesses, are no longer there, and this is no longer the château d’Orleans, it is the representation in survey, and in life size, and in natural size of this manor”, and more, and once upon a time, the architect demolished to making it younger; today he demolished to grow old. The monument is returned to its “original state”. If you make it better, you put it back in state it should have been in”²¹. This was the unmistakable sign of the spread of a different sensitivity and new ideas.

Notes

All photos are by the author (CB) and by Tommaso Ciciarello (TC) except when indicated.

1. L. BYRON, *Don Juan*, Canto XVI, Stanza LVIII, ed. 1833, but written in 1818, also in T. Schudi-Madsen, op. cit. p. 38.
2. S. TSCHUDI-MADSEN, *Restoration and anti-restoration. A study in English restoration philosophy*, Oslo-Bergen-Trømso 1976, pp. 27-29, 79-80.
3. G. G. SCOTT, *Remarks on Secular & Domestic Architecture*, London 1858, p. 233.
4. G. G. SCOTT, *Ibidem*, p. 234.
5. S. TSCHUDI-MADSEN, *Restoration and anti-restoration. A study in English restoration philosophy*, Oslo-Bergen-Trømso 1976, p. 42.
6. G. G. SCOTT, *Some accounts of the restoration of St. Mary's Church*, in J. MASFEN, *Views of the Church of St. Mary at Stafford with an Account of its Restoration*, London 1852, pp. 15-34.
7. G. G. SCOTT, *Personal and professional recollection*, London 1879, p. 98.
8. C. CESCHI, *Le chiese di Roma dagli inizi del Neoclassico al 1961*, Rocca San Casciano 1963, pp. 131-132. See also: J. RICE MILLON, *St. Paul within the walls*, Dublin-New Hampshire, 1982; P. MARCONI, *Arte e Cultura della Manutenzione dei Monumenti*, Roma-Bari, 1984, p. 209.
9. J. RUSKIN, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, London ed. 1880.
10. S. HUGGINS, *Restoration of our cathedrals and abbey church*, in "Athenaeum", 1871, n. 2276, p. 278.
11. J. PIGGOT, in "Athenaeum", 1872, 22 June, n. 2330, republished in S. Tschudi-Madsen, *Restoration ...*, 1976, p. 63.
12. J. PIGGOT PRITCHETT, in "The Builder", 1868, XXVI, p. 64. See also: E. ROYLE, *James Piggott Pritchett, Congregational Deacon and Architect of Victorian York and Yorkshire*, Burthwick Paper, 133.
13. S. TSCHUDI-MADSEN, *Restoration and anti-restoration. A study in English restoration philosophy*, Oslo-Bergen-Trømso 1976, p. 50.
14. See the initial documents of the conservation fund, established on 11 January 1855 with the aim of catalog the ancient buildings and preserving them from bad restorations, inspired by Ruskin.
15. P. WEBB, *Pioneer of Arts & Crafts Architecture*, Chichester, 2005.
16. W. MORRIS, *Restoration*, in "Athenaeum", 2576, 10 March 1877, p. 326.
17. W. MORRIS, *The Principles of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings*, in "Builder", 25 August 1877.
18. J. STEVENSON, *Architectural restoration: its principles and practice*, RIBA, Transaction 11 June 1877, pp. 5-34.
19. M. PROUST, *Introduction* in John Ruskin, *La bibbia di Amiens*, ed. Milano 1988, pp. 11-65.

20. We must remember, “L’Ami des Monuments et des Arts” is organ du Comité des Monuments Français, adopté comme organe international des Monuments et Oeuvres d’Art, fondé et dirigé par Charles Normand. In this periodical you can retrace the history of Conservation since the end of the 18th century: R. DE LASTEYRIE, *Conservation ou Restauration*, in “L’Ami des Monuments”, vol. III, 1888, pp. 36-41; ANGE DE LASSUS, *A propos de la conservation des monuments*, in “L’Ami des Monuments”, vol. IV, 1890, pp. 8-12; T. W. NORWOOD, *A plea for the protection of ancient building, for the sake and history, art and religion*, the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, 8th Annual meeting, London 1885.

21. Is cited by one extract of 1841 A. FRANCE, *Pierre Nozière*. See also A. FRANCE, *Le lys rouge*, Paris 1894. We can remember that in Italy, a diffusion of SPAB’s ideas is in G. LA MONICA, *L’ideologia del Restauro, da Ruskin a Morris*, in “Psicon”, 10, 1979, pp. 5-51.

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In the second year of the existence of the society, the SPAB manifesto was translated into French, German, Dutch and Italian. It was considered most important that the principles of the Society should be spread everywhere.

Chapter 5

Followers of Stylistic

Restoration in Italy

Some examples

The different theories of Restoration saw an almost simultaneous formulation in different European countries in the 19th century, however in delving into the history of the discipline it was seen that many intuitions attributed to some can be traced back to others who preceded them.

We can remember Quatremere de Quincy and his definition of the *Dictionnaire* (1832), and again Didron's well-known axiom (1845), Ruskin's aphorism n. 31, in the *Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849) and others. It can also be remembered that in Viollet-le-Duc itself, in some passages, there are convergences with Ruskin.

From a doctrinal point of view, the figure of Carlo Cattaneo and the role of the magazine "il Politecnico" emerge in Italy. From the first issue of 1839, with an essay on the Restoration of some pre-existences in Milano, one can read an early attempt to recognize the "supremacy of historical data over aesthetic ..." for which non selective intervention, much less artistic, was shoreable.

A few years after Camillo Boito's enunciations of 1883, we find Alfredo Melani and his statements in 1899. In the letter: "restoring should be synonymous with conserving, fortifying, not restoring and unifying...".

But despite these statements, in the second half of the 19th century we find a wide diffusion of interventions in which we can read the epigones of Stylistic Restoration. Numerous examples can be found throughout Italy on the liberation of medieval church from baroque additions and trasformations, considered at that time to be worthless.

Alfredo Cesar Reis Freire de Andrade (1839-1925) conducted many restorations in Piemonte, Aosta valley and Liguria. In particular we remember: that of the castle of Fénis, already in ruins and restored by him in all its parts, the other of the "Sacra di San Michele" in the Susa valley, in Turin the Palazzo Madama and the contruction of the medieval village, in the Valentino park for the 1884 exhibition.

Federico Berchet (1830-1909) reconstructs the Fondaco dei Turchi in Venice, while in Murano, he intervenes on the church of Santa Maria and Donato. In Bologna, another expression of stylistic restoration, intervenes Rubbiani in Palazzo delle Mercanzie, Palazzo Re Enzo, Palazzo del Podestà and San Francesco. With the restoration of the basilica some chapels were demolished to bring the tombs of the Glossators back into view.

An intervention that Rubbiani considers essential to trace the purity and sincerity of the document. He connects to Viollet and his rules of stylistic reintegration. In fact, dealing with French culture means facilitating stylistic remakes and additions.

So, to remember other examples we recall the stylistic projects of Carlo Maciachini (1818-1899), for different churches in Milano: San Simpliciano, San Marco and Santa Maria del Carmine.

Along this same line, also in Napoli, Federico Travaglini had intervened in San Domenico Maggiore and in other pre-existing churches. In addition, to recomposing the stylistic unity, he pays attention to the decorations.

Errico Alvino designed and built the new façade of the Duomo in Napoli (1880), eliminating the eighteenth-century additions and designing the authentic Gothic portals with a new Gothic architecture punctuated by pointed arches, cusps, pinnacles.

An attitude that is found in Pietro Selvatico in his operational activity, in particular in Trento for the solution of the façade of the church of San Pietro (1848-1850).

In Southern Italy many interventions are found: “improvements”, liberations, stylistic completations, mostly implemented by eliminating baroque character. In Sicily, there have been many restorations in detail on pre-existing medieval churches. In Palermo, the Martorana, San Cataldo, as well as Trinity of Delia, even in the first decades of the century after the Messina’s earthquake, the interventions on the Messina cathedrals met the criteria of stylistic unity.

It seems necessary to remember that the protection services is going through a phase of normalization with the measures launched between 1875 and 1880.

I will like to excuse me, because is impossible to explain the great number of stylistic restorations in Italy.

5.1 Roma, Pantheon

The two bell towers of the Pantheon had been added in the Seventeenth century, at the time of Alexander VII (1627). The monument as a church needed bell towers which remained until 1885 (Fig. 1-2).

The work desired by Fea, the demolition of the oven in Via della Palombella, was begun on 20 July 1882 on the initiative of Minister Baccelli and will continue until 1885, also involving the ancient sacristy which was demolished as well as the two bell towers¹.

At the moment, the so called superior archaeological and architectural value prevailed over an addition, even if was mad by Maderno, with the collaboration of young Francesco Borromini.

Our generation would have preserved both the documentary and artistic value, and because it expressed a need of the time.



Fig. 1. Roma, Pantheon. Drawing with two towers bell, by Carlo Maderno. (Private Collection CB)



Fig.2. Roma, Pantheon. After "restoration" in the last years of XIX century. (CB 1991)

5.2 Firenze, Santa Croce

In reality in Firenze, the completion in style of the new façade first of Santa Croce and then of Santa Maria del Fiore is underway. In Santa Croce, Niccolò Matas (1798-1872) replicates Gothic form and styles that develop a fragment of a marble facing still present on the front, believed to be part of a project by Simone del Pollaiuolo. Accordingly to the ancient imposes the Gothic choice that the architect identified in the definitive project (1854), articulated in a tricuspid solution, then transformed to adapt it to the Arnolfian canons of the church. A choice that the architect from Ancona when he was commissioned to draw up the project for the “facciate” of S. Maria del Fiore (1842), which also based on the same stylistic character.

Santa Croce had its neo-gothic new bell tower designed by Gaetano Baccani in 1847. Matas completed it, in 1868, “in the Florentine Gothic Church”.

In detail, the use of the two-tone facing is resumed with the white marbles squares and underlined by the dark bands, but the design reveals the academic invention and mechanical workmanship (Figg. 3-5).

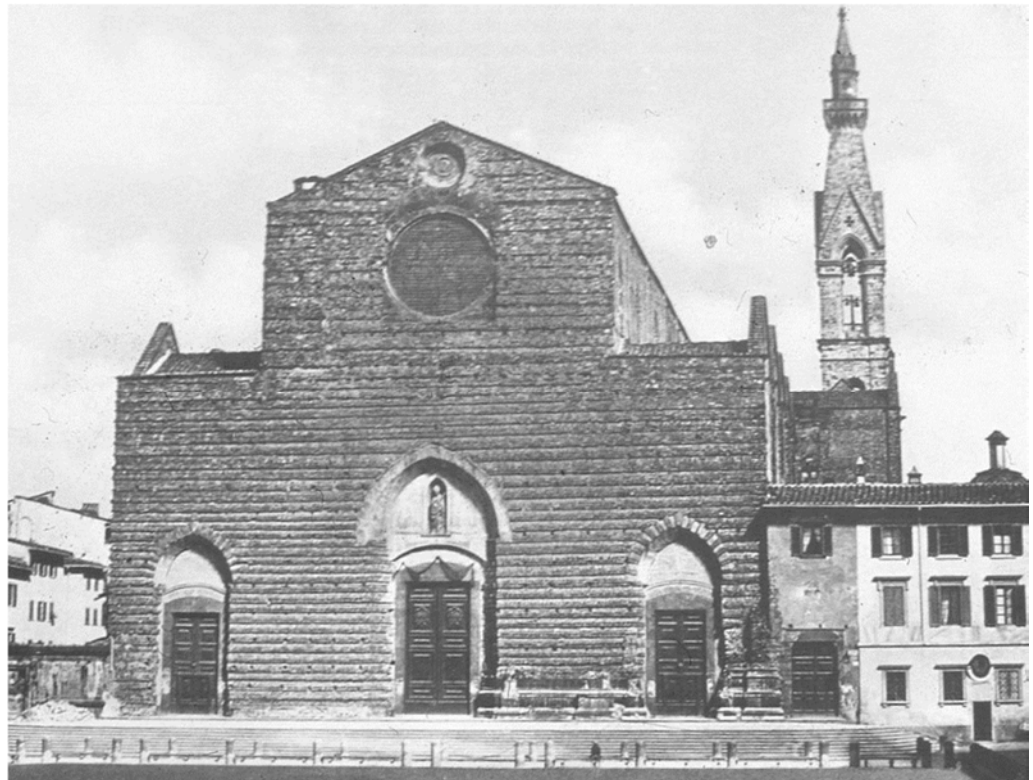


Fig. 3. Firenze, Santa Croce, before the restoration.

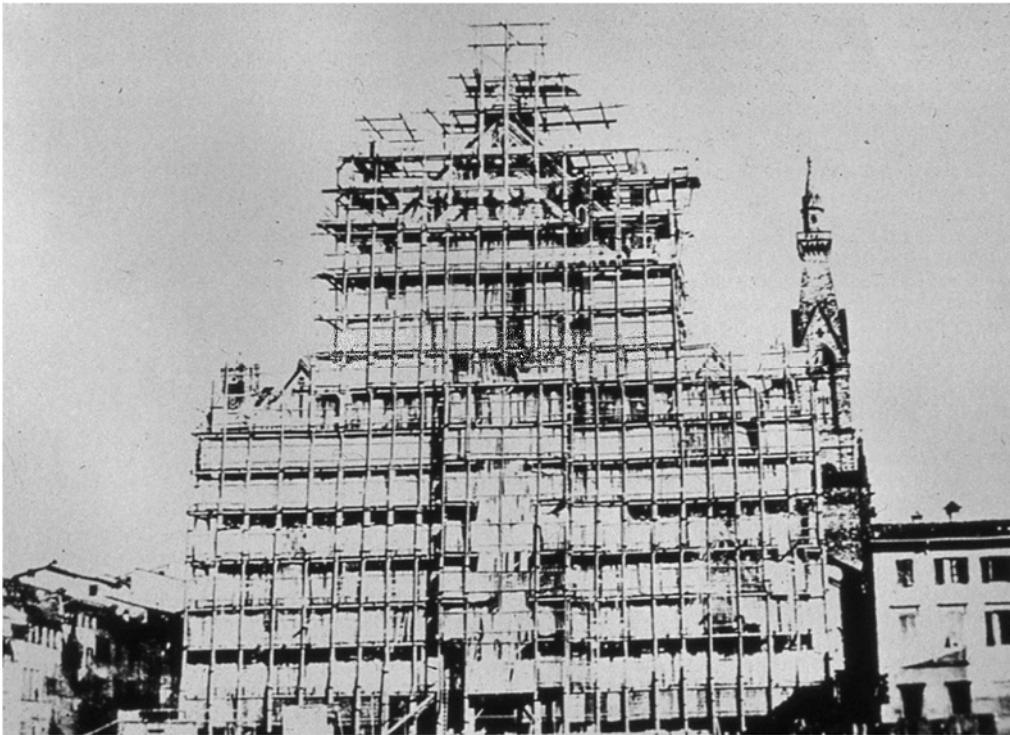


Fig. 4. Firenze, Santa Croce, during the stylistic restoration. (Private collection CB)



Fig. 5. Firenze, Santa Croce, after the addition of the new façade. (CAL 2024)

5.3 Firenze, Santa Maria del Fiore

A choice that the architect from Ancona when he was commissioned to draw up the project for the “facciate” of S. Maria del Fiore (1842), also based on the same stylistic character.

While the solution for the façade of Santa Maria del Fiore was much more complex.

It was created by Emilio De Fabris between 1876 and 1883, after three different competitions (1860, 1864, 1867) and numerous variations and indecisions which had occupied various commissions for over fifteen years. It seems appropriate to point out that Pietro Selvatico states that “when a pre-existence in the majority of its parts present a certain character, reason dictates that its façade conforms with that character”².

In 1864 Viollet-le-Duc was also asked for his opinion, but he was busy at Pierrefonds at the time and apologized for not being able to participate. He participates in the debate by sending opinions (in 1865 and 1866), he also recommends the medieval solution and suggest adapting to Arnolfo’s ideas.

The greatest dispute was over the top part, which could be tricuspid as in the cathedrals Siena and Orvieto, and as Matas had done in Santa Croce or with a spire on the central part and the inclined lateral slopes inclined or flat with horizontal frames. The solution chosen was the latter with a timid hint of a tympanum in the centre. The façade had remained unfinished and had been plastered and decorated with painted architecture in Seventeenth century, until in the 19th century these additions seemed jarring with the Arnolfian architecture of bell tower, and the competition to restore stylistic unity began (Figg. 6-7).



Fig. 6. Firenze, Santa Maria del Fiore. The unfinished façade in XIX century. (Private collection CB)



Fig. 7. Firenze, Santa Maria del Fiore. After a competition E. De Fabris in 1868 realized a stylistic restoration. (CB 1992)

5.4 Amalfi, Cathedral

Alvino himself, together with Dalla Corte, also reshaped the façade of the Amalfi cathedral between 1880 and 1894, in the so-called Amalfi style, replacing the partially collapsed Baroque addition.

Under the Eighteenth-century addition, it was not clear what remained of the medieval period; the tympanum and the central part of the large window had been destroyed.

What does not seem justifiable is the solution of the central “portico”.

Here, the central arch has been raised with the insertion of a pair of columns above the old ones to support a new pointed arch.

In summary the Amalfi cathedral is an example of the artistic culture that was learned in the academies and in some manuals for composing in the different styles in the different Italian regions.

The revival of traditions, in this period linked to the Gothic revival, proposes actions aimed at strengthening in “medieval” nature of pre-existence through the re-proposal of forms derived from ancient models (Figg. 8-9).



Fig. 8. Amalfi, Duomo, with the baroque additions. (In P. Benoist, *Amalfi, the cathedral*, lithography Le Mercier, Paris 1850).

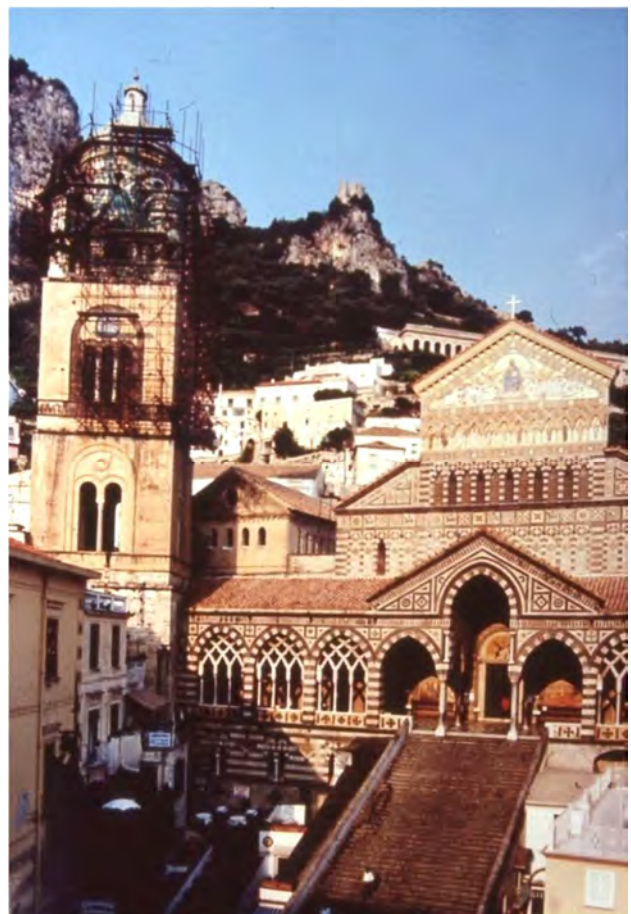


Fig. 9. Amalfi, Duomo, after restoration by Errico Alvino in unity of style. (CB 1988)

5.5 Roma, Santa Maria in Cosmedin

The façade in its Eighteenth-century composition by G. Sardi (1718) takes up the widespread of the continuity of the present with the past in many monuments. G. B. Giovenale wrote: “The problem of restoration has not yet found its solution in a single formula. We will therefore gladly refrain from establishing ... principles ... The façade, once Sardi’s baroque screen was demolished at the top and the plaster was peeled off at the bottom, was recognized that the roofing of the small rooms superimposed on the portico no longer occupied the ancient position, but had been raised”³.

S. Maria in Cosmedin, the current façade is the result of the “liberation intervention”, implemented according to stylistic criteria by G. B. Giovenale between 1892 and 1899. Recent studies in reference to Giovenale send to demonstrate that it is a historical restoration rather than a stylistic one, as the monument is not as it should have been, but as it actually appeared at a certain date in 1123.

“... the final result of various compromises is that, for the interior, it appears to us as the result of a much more modern conception of restoration than it is in reality, as a coherent application of Scientific principles”⁴.

A recent intervention (has further modified the connections and joints, erasing what remained of the medieval character.

The recent result highlights a classic case of “old brand new”, to resume statements already proposed since the eighties of the last century, when some attitudes towards the treatments of surface in Central Europe were realized (Figg. 10-11).



Fig. 10. Roma, Santa Maria in Cosmedin, before Giovanni Battista Giovenale works (from G. B. GIOVENALE, *La basilica di S. Maria in Cosmedin*, Roma 1927).

In this photo dating back to the end of 19th century we can see the baroque addition, by G. Sardi, 1718.



Fig. 11 Roma, Santa Maria in Cosmedin, now with the return to the unity of style. (TC 2024)

5.6 Palermo, “la Martorana”

The set of attitudes towards pre-existences during the 19th century, particularly in the seventies and eighties, reflects in the microcosm of the Martorana, some Italian and European restoration positions conceived both stylistic restorations and as conservation of architectural stratifications. Even if the restoration in the due style, carried out by Patricolo with the elimination of the baroque decorations from the nucleus of the Norman age, will prevail, it seems appropriate to recall a little-known but effective writing in respect of the continuity of making architecture, by Ernesto Renan, forerunner of Anatole France, who in 1876 stated that what can we say about the Martorana, that “what can we say about the Martorana that little masterpiece of a church with its Arabic and Greek inscriptions, which has bizarrely become chapels and religious women, who without much altering the primitive parts, adapted them to their uses by means of additions of a very pretentious style, yet pleasant in its simplicity?”. The question of restoration arises here in all its clarity⁵ (Fig. 12-15).

Fig. 12. Palermo, la Martorana, façade before the stylistic restoration, realized from “Genio Civile” in 1874 for the demolition of the “Altana” and the Baroque additions. (C. BELLANCA, *Niccolò Palma a Santa Maria dell’Ammiraglio (La Martorana) a Palermo*, in “Storia dell’Architettura”, IX, 1-2, 1986, pp. 127)

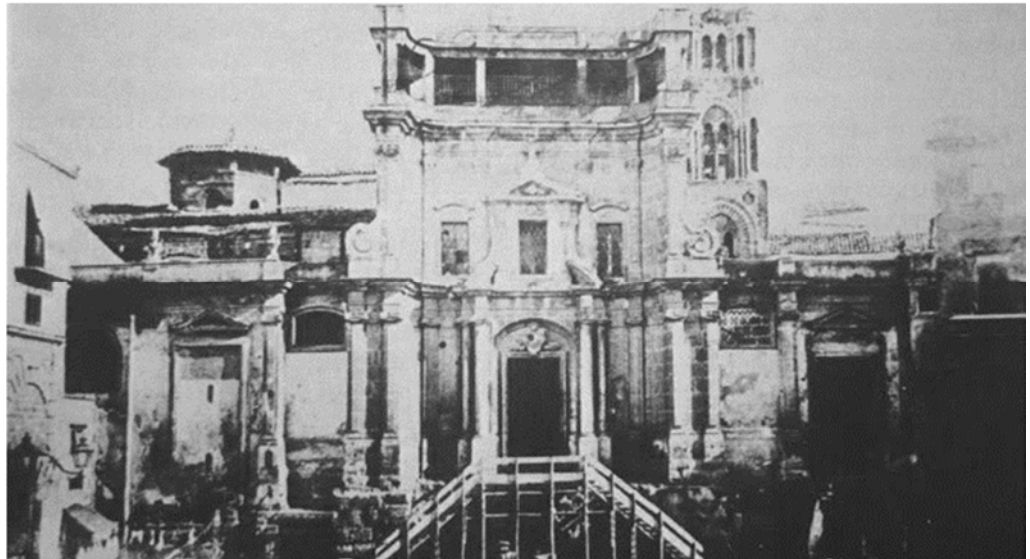


Fig. 13. Palermo, la Martorana, general view of the northern front from Bellini square, with the Ammiraglio’s church, and on the right the S. Cataldo’s one. (CB 1985)





Fig. 14. Palermo, Martorana, internal view during 18th century. We can see the different baroque decorations and the ecclesiastical furnishings in the “Cappellone” designed by Paolo Amato (1683-1686). In the space under the choir we can glimpse some frescoes by Guglielmo Borremans and two side small choirs for the Benedictine nuns. Finally, it should be noted that the drawing was created before the insertion of the baroque floor of 1738 by Niccolò Palma.

(Private Collection CB)



Fig. 15. Palermo, la Martorana, internal view of the Norman age space, with floors with Byzantine insertions and re-employed of ancient fragments. The ancient Norman apse is replaced by the large baroque chapel.

(CB 1990)

Messina, Cathedral

The most relevant episode is the reconstruction of the church after the 1908 earthquake. Regarding the façade, eliminate the additions including the baroque completion. The architectural part of the reconstruction was entrusted to Francesco Valenti, while Aristide Giannelli was responsible for static aspects. The discussion focused on the dual possibility of preserving the remains by pre-existence, a new factory or, alternatively, restoring the “original” form. The latter solution prevails and was implemented by Valenti, in a true complete “renovation” project.

Finally, to comply with the new seismic regulations made mandatory in 1908, the new load-bearing structure designed by Giannelli is made up of closed reinforced concrete frames hidden in the walls (Figg. 16-18).



Fig. 16. Messina, Cathedral. View of the façade of tower bell and of the dome Before the 1894 earthquake. (From S. Boscarino, 1987, p. 518)



Fig. 17. Messina, Cathedral. Façade before the 1908 earthquake, after the restoration project by Patricolo. (From S. Boscarino, 1987, p. 518)



Fig. 18. Messina, the Cathedral after the reconstruction. (CB 2018)

Final considerations

Throughout the XIX century, Viollet's school had a prevalence in contemporary men way of thinking. It must be recognized that Ruskin's theories lived beyond his death and echoed today for the interventions on pre-existences.

The most rigorous method acquired by the Roman architects, in the restoration of ancient monuments were confirmed in the first middle of the 19th century, in Italy. We can talk about completions in style and about the so-called liberation restoration.

The stylistic culture that was learned in the Academies and in Manuals provided the architects with the necessary language to compose in different styles, even with regional differences.

We agree with different authors of *La parabola del Restauro stilistico nella rilettura di sette casi emblematici*, Milano, 1994.

About Napoli, see also the well-known volume of R. Picone with introduction of Stella Casiello, *Il restauro e la questione dello "stile", il secondo Ottocento nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia*, Napoli 2012.

The design component prevailed, which gave primacy to the architectural composition not to respect the authenticity, and not to the coincidence between the "original state", and the ideal state. Later in Italy, when the monument's administration had developed, the figure of a restorer-conservator assert itself, more careful in defining the intervention criteria.

Notes

All photos are by the author (CB), by Tommaso Ciciarello (TC) and by Cecilia Antonini Lanari (CAL) except when indicated.

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Chapter 6

Alois Riegl, Max Dvořák and the activity of the Central Commission in Central Europe Austria, Poland and Hungary

Alois Riegl (1857-1905) had studied law, philosophy, history and art history, completing his studies in Roma in 1884 and 1887. He became a teacher at the University of Wien and Professor of Art History in 1897.

In 1903, on 16th January Riegl became member of the “K.K. Central Commission für Erforschung und Erhaltung der Kunst-und Historischen Denkmale” (Imperial and Royal Central Commission for the Study and Conservation of Monuments). From 1904 he was appointed General Conservator and he will dedicate himself to the protection and conservation, and to investigative initiatives with advice on restoration projects¹.

He has regularly published reports on the discussions held at the Central Commission and was the author of the first systematic analysis of heritage values and of a theory of restoration.

The results of his studies were published on *Moderne Denkmalkultus: Sein Wesen Und Seine Entstehung* (The Modern Cult of the Monuments: Its Character and Its Origin) in 1903, where the author’s historical-critical beliefs emerge². Riegl orients his essays firstly deepening the values that derive from the recognition of the works of art, then from the resulting act of protection and restoration, that are the historic value and the artistic value.

These elaborations find their genesis in the Instructions of 1850 and in the additional codification of 1853, that represent the origins of his thinking on the protection and on the restoration of monuments. To this end, it is considered useful to return to some significant concepts from the norms issued in 1853: «... 7) The importance of the maintenance of the monument,... to avoid destructions and further degradation... ; 8) On the restoration of the monument... when the use takes on a different function than the original,... the intervention must be conducted without removing anything or (destroying) parts that belongs to the historic value or to the artistic value... »³.

The path between the Instructions of the Imperial and Royal Central Commission of 1853 and the Riegl’s cult of monuments of 1903 was punctuated, especially in the territories of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, by the architecture of the *Historismus*⁴. Moreover, we should remember the action taken by Josef Alexander Freiherr von Helfert, President of the Central Commission, who was the Riegl’s real mentor⁵.

In the same time, it is worth recalling that Riegl was one of the most relevant members of the *Wiener Schule* of the art historians and conservators, parallel to that of architects⁶ (Figg. 1-2).

It is still appropriate to recall that, in 1900 the first German edition of John Ruskin's work was published, *The Seven Lamps of architecture*, translated by W. Schöllumann and published in Leipzig; while the manifesto of the *Wiener Werkstätte*, by Josef Hoffmann, dates back to 1905 always with clear inspirations to Ruskin.

6.1 Riegl and Roma

Like so many young German and Austrian scholars Riegl at 26 years old makes his first study tour in Italy; and especially in Roma first in 1884 and later in 1887. As you can read in his work report, a real diary of the stay in Roma, unpublished for a century and then published by the author in *Alois Riegl, la tutela e il restauro delle preesistenze tra Vienna e Roma* in Alois Riegl (1858-1905) un secolo dopo, Atti dei Convegni Lincei 236, Roma 30 Novembre 1-2 Dicembre 2005, Roma 2008, pp. 285-304, where with meticulous precision he notes daily his days of study, it is evident that from the first days he makes inspections in San Lorenzo fuori le Mura, on January 21, in Santa Maria Maggiore, Santa Prassede, and in San Giovanni in Laterano on January 24⁷.

Among the pages of the diary he notes a consideration on the sidelines, in which he complains about too many holidays for the carnival period: in fact, from 20 to 26 February the libraries had remained closed⁸. From these statements it can be agreed that he has achieved his goal. In fact, in his essay on *Zur Entstehung der altchristlichen Basilika* of 1903, he takes up and recalls the Roman stay summarizing some concepts already more extensively covered in the volume *Spättrömische Kunstindustrie* of 1901 in the dedicated chapter on architecture⁹. «Of course I was also looking for the spatial and perspective effect. In San Paolo fuori le Mura (although it is only a copy, it can be considered a valid testimony for spatial relations)»¹⁰.

Riegl in the same period during the month of February, visit the excavations at the Palatine and the Roman Forum. Here he notes with admiration of the progress: «now there is a greater care and respect than in the past, when there was more falsification... » and again after a hike in Tivoli, in reference to Villa Adriana reports that: «... the set was underestimated by Jacob Burkhardt ... only with careful examination between medieval and ancient history you will be able to grasp the true value of those ancient pieces... »¹¹.

For his studies on the history of art he makes other visits; in particular remember the one at the Basilica of the Minerva: «Gothic architecture in Roma is more complex than what is believed... The construction and ornaments have taken a lot from this style... But the Minerva is not the only church that has these characters... »¹².

Riegl still studies the late Roman's relationships and the architectural ornaments of the Paleo-Christian period and believes that these medieval architectural elements derive from the Roman ones. For this reason, he remembers Ravenna and in particular the Mausoleum of Teodorico and Sant'Apollinare in Classe, but from the pages of the diary it is not noted a trip to Ravenna, although a void emerges during the Easter holidays¹³.

Some descriptions of the architecture of Roman monuments remain extremely significant for the historical and artistic literature¹⁴.

But what was the reality of the protection, conservation and restoration in Roma at the end of the 19th century that the future General Conservator had observed carefully in his days of studies and frequent inspections? The episodes to be considered are numerous, just remember the intervention recently made at the presbytery of San Pietro in Vincoli by Vespignani, 1876-77, and again the ciborium of Santa Maria in Trastevere, the latter with «neo-mannerist inclinations», where he highlights the tendency «to reproducibility of the architectural element to be repeated in an undifferentiated way in different situations»¹⁵.

The 1884 season presented at the same time the maturation of philological restoration with the theoretical statements and application guidelines proposed by Camillo Boito.

The young Riegl, while studying the topics of the history of architecture, continues to keep up with the events concerning the protection and conservation in Italy, embracing this new theoretical system that don't represent only the balancing of different instances but a real and concrete step forward from other European realities¹⁶.

In order to provide a useful juxtaposition to the Italian reality, which Alois Riegl will prove to know and receive, we must also recall the decree of 12 July 1882 drafted by the Director General Giuseppe Fiorelli. This document provides precise information on the “*studio dei restauri*” (study of restorations, meaning historical-artistic examination, documentary research, identification of construction phases, evaluation from every point of view of the individual elements of the building).

A few years later, thanks to the Law n.1035 of 29 September 1891, the *Uffici Regionali per la conservazione dei Monumenti* (Regional Offices for the Preservation of Monuments) will be established, the future *Soprintendenze* (Superintendencies).

At this point in tracing Riegl's formative path between Wien and Roma, the other great figure of protection and conservation, the peer Corrado Ricci (1858-1934), fits in. Ricci, as he is known, played an essential role in the establishment of the Ravenna Superintendence in 1897, becoming the first Italian Superintendent.

The events between the two protagonists of the protection and preservation of Italian and Austrian heritage seem to intervene in these years between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Corrado Ricci lives the initial experience of going against the current, for the modernity of his choices, against the almost unanimous orientation in favor of the removal of the eighteenth-century frescoes of the dome and the *nicchione* of San Vitale of Ravenna, expressed in the 9th meeting of Italian Engineers and Architects. He remains doubtful about the usefulness of the removal of the frescoes, motivating his choice contrary to the opinion of the most who would like to eliminate the juxtaposition of styles. In fact, he insists on the doctrinal aspect because «it will never be possible to reconstruct the authentic image»¹⁷.

From a handwritten note existing in the Fondo Ricci in Ravenna, it seems that Riegl, cited as a professor at the University of Wien was in Ravenna in 1898, and therefore had the opportunity to learn directly about the controversy over the conservation of frescoes of San Vitale¹⁸.

However, the scientific relations between Riegl and Ricci seem to have precedents. They are believed to have met in Wien in 1889 on some study trips by Corrado Ricci, interested, among other things, in the arrangement of the museums, and later, in 1893 and 1894 while Riegl held the position of conservator of the *Museum für Angewandte Kunst*, where works from 1886 to 1897.

It is recalled that Corrado Ricci from 1894 was in charge of Galleria di Parma, so in 1897 he was engaged for the first staging of Brera in Milan, finally of some Florentine museums between 1903 and 1906¹⁹.

6.2 Alois Riegl, 1903, *The cult of Monuments*

It is important to remember some Riegl thoughts from “The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Essence and Its Development.

In “Values of Monuments and Their Historical Development”: “When we speak of the modern cult of monuments or historic preservation, we rarely have “deliberate” monuments in mind. Rather, we think of “artistic and historical monuments”, the official term to date at last in Austria. ... Historical value is apparently the more comprehensive and may therefore be elaborated on first. We call historical all things that once were and are no longer. ... At this point it is important to realize that every monument of art is, without exception, a historical monument as well, since it represents a particular stage in the development of the fine arts for which no entirely equivalent replacement can be found. Conversely, every historical monument is also a monument of art ... The ‘monument of art’ in this sense is really an ‘art-historical monument’; its value from this point of view is not ‘artistic value’ (*Kunstwert*) but ‘historical value’”; “Consequently, ‘artistic value’ has to be defined differently, depending on the earlier or more recent point of view. According to the older definition, a work of art was considered to possess artistic value if it corresponded to the requirements of an allegedly objective”.

In “The Relationship of Commemorative Values to the Cult of Monuments”: “In discussing commemorative value (*Gewollte Erinnerungswert*), naturally we have to begin with age value, not only because it is the most modern one and the one that will prevail in the future, but especially because it applies to the largest proportion of monuments.

A. Age Value (*Alterswert*)

The age of value a monument reveals itself at first glance in the monument's outmoded appearance. ... Age value is revealed in imperfection, a lack of completeness, a tendency to dissolve shape and color, characteristics that are in complete contrast with those of modern, i.e., newly created, works”. “The fundamental aesthetic principle of our time based on age value may be formulated as follows: From the hand of man we expect complete works as symbols of necessary and lawful production; from nature working over time, on the other hand, we expect the dissolution of completeness as a symbol of an equally necessary and lawful decay”.

“B. *Historical Value (Historische Wert)*

The historical value of a monument is based on the very specific yet individual stage the monument represents in the development of human creation in a particular field. ... historical value is far more concerned with preserving the most genuine document possible for future restoration and art-historical research. Historical value knows that all human calculation and restoration is prone to individual error”.

In “The Relationship between Present -Day Values and the Cult of Monuments”:

“A. *Use Value (Gebrauchswert)*

... The fact that innumerable secular and ecclesiastical monuments can still be put to practical use today and are actually being used does not need to be proved. If they were to go out of use, substitutions would be required in most cases. This demand is so compelling that age value's counterclaim to leave monuments to their natural fate could only be considered if one intended to produce substitutions of at least equal quality.

However, the practical realization of this demand is only possible in relatively few exceptional cases”;

“... The question is not only justified, the answer to it is clearly no. Age value is based on the perception of the lively play of natural forces, an essential part of which would be irredeemably lost if a monument were not used by man. Who would want to view the dome of St. Peter's in Roma, for instance, without the lively entourage of modern visitors or religious ritual practices? Even the most radical adherent of age value would consider a residential building that was destroyed by lightning-even if remains indicated that the building had been built several centuries ago-or the ruins of a church on a well-traveled street more disturbing than evocative: we are used to seeing such structures used by man and find it disturbing when they have lost their familiar use and create an impression of violent destruction, unbearable even to the cult of age value...”.

“*Newness Value (Neuheitswert)*

Every monument, depending on its age and other favorable or unfavorable circumstances, must have experienced to a greater or lesser extent the disintegrating effect of natural forces. The monument will therefore simply never attain the completeness of form and color that newness value requires. This is the reason why strikingly aged works of art have always, even up to the present day, appeared more or less unsatisfactory in terms of the modern *Kunstwollen*. The conclusion is obvious: If a monument bearing signs of disintegration is to appeal to the modern *Kunstwollen*, the traces of age must be removed first of all, and through restoration of its form and color appear once again like a newly created work. Newness character can therefore only be preserved by means that are absolutely contradictory to the cult of age value. ... According to the masses, only the new and complete is beautiful; the old, fragmentary, and discolored is considered ugly. This view of youth being undoubtedly preferable to age has become so deeply rooted over the past millennium that it will be impossible to eradicate in a couple of decades. For the majority of modern men, it is considered entirely self-evident that a chipped edge of a piece of furniture will be replaced by a new one or that sooty wall plaster will be taken down and replaced by fresh plaster. The great resistance that the apostles of age value encountered on their first appearance may be clearly explained by such a perspective.

More than that, all of preservation of the nineteenth century was based essentially on this traditional point of view, or, to be more precise, on an intimate fusion of newness value and historical value: any striking trace of natural decay was to be removed, any loss or fragment was to be repaired, the work was to be restored to a complete, unified whole. The reinstatement of a document into its original state was the openly admitted and zealously propagated goal of all rational preservation of the nineteenth century"; "... Wherever age value collides with newness value in a monument of continuous use, it will seek as much as possible to resign itself to newness value, not only for practical considerations (of use value, which was discussed in the previous section), but also out of ideal (elementary artistic) considerations ... Practical use value corresponds aesthetically to newness value as well; for its own sake, the cult of age value will, at least at its present stage of development, have to tolerate a certain degree of newness value in modern and usable works.

If, for example, a Gothic town hall were to lose the crown of its baldachin in a highly visible place, the proponents of age value would certainly prefer to allow the trace of age to remain undisturbed. Today, however, it does not cause any real controversy when, in the name of decorum, the adherents of newness value advocate the restoration of the crown to its (indisputably verified) original form. The vehement controversy in which the proponents of both values engaged during the nineteenth century refer to another conclusion derived from newness value and in favor of historical value. This controversy concerns monuments that have not been entirely preserved in their original form, but have, through the course of time, been subject to various stylistic additions through the hand of man. At a time when the cult of historical value for its own sake was still the most decisive and was based on the clear recognition of an original form, efforts were drawn toward the removal of all subsequent additions (cleaning, exposure) and the restoration of the original forms, whether these had been documented accurately or not...".

6.3 The action of protection and restoration

Riegl was able to teach art history in 1889, so he became extraordinary professor in 1895 and will be appointed as an ordinary professor of the University of Wien in 1897, in the same year he left the management of the textile section of the *Museum für Angewandte Kunst* to devote itself entirely to teaching.

Since 1902, with the new function of conservator, his activity becomes frantic and begins to publish some essays on the protection, conservation and restoration²⁰. Of the many studies published, it seems appropriate to analyze more in particular at least three (Figg. 3-6).

One of the first is the essay *Das Riesentor zu St. Stephan*, published in "Neue Freie Presse", (on the project of Restoration of the St. Stephan's Gate) (Figg. 7-8). Riegl takes up the previous events of 1882 and recalls when the architect of Wien's Cathedral Friederich von Schmidt had presented a project for the restoration and art historian Prof. Moritz Thausing had initiated the defense against the "*Phylloxera Renovatrix*". Also the public opinion actively participated in the dispute between "artists and art historians" with the result of rejecting Schmidt's project. In 1902 after twenty years the affair is reopened with a greater participation. The portal it does not come "from a single creative act" but at least from two moments, the Romanesque and the Gothic.

He wrote: «Those who approach the portal from the outside see a quadrangular avant- body, interrupted in the center by a large pointed arch which is thus revealed a work of the Gothic period».

Riegl points out that the Imperial and Royal Central Commission has to deal «of the conservation and not of the destruction... » (Figg. 26-28,31-32).

By the way, it is recognized that the ancient Romanesque portal is not intact, so it isn't possible to destroy something and then rebuild a fake without no value: «... better a rough 14th century Gothic arch than a 19th-century Romanesque refined».

He concludes by wishing, before taking any decision, to investigate the matter further with serious studies that can demonstrate the results of the research with publications and thus help both the management of the *Opera del Duomo* and the Imperial and Royal Central Commission²¹ to take appropriate decisions.

In the second essay *Zu Frage der Restaurierung von Wandmalereien* (On the problem of restoration of mural paintings) Riegl analyses the various positions aimed at the knowledge of historical truth and precise: «those who claim that no action will be initiated... others who tends to restoration». In common is the aversion to «what is incomplete, lacking, fragmentary in the form and in the colour».

He reiterates that conservators and art historians want to see the margins and form concluded and unified.

The Conservator recalls how in recent years one hears the watchword: “conservation not restoration”. He states that «conservation without restoration is, after all, unthinkable» (Figg. 10-15).

But what was the reality of the protection, conservation and restoration in Roma at the end of the 19th century that the future General Conservator had observed carefully in his days of studies and frequent inspections? The episodes to be considered are numerous, just remember the intervention recently made at the From this moment in Riegl the whole problem of the treatment of the *lacuna* emerges clearly.

He is committed to clarifying certain aspects, in particular where “there are notable lacks, both in contours and in pictorial surfaces, they always insist on the request for completion because the lacune present to their eyes an element of disturbance and take most of the value out of the whole.” All in all, the paintings when do not allow clear recognition of what they represent and how they represent it, no longer need in their eyes any preservation. ».

The Conservator proposes the criteria of behaviour for two different cases: the first, the simplest case, when the mural paintings have to be only conserved; the second, more complicated, when the mural paintings must be integrated.

These conservation methodologies do not imply any iconographic content, and do not alter the visual consistency. Analysing these claims there can be no doubt that persists in Riegl the problem of applying a protective product, and he also calls for the enhancement of the studies in Austria and in other countries.

The research reiterates that it must be fundamental in finding a system of protection that does not alter chromatism at all, or only in an insignificant way; and looking back on the integration process, he hopes to find the most intoned and discreet ones possible.

For this reason, he continues to state that: «...imitation of the ancient is to be rejected...» and still that the task of integration does not require any creative artistic contribution²².

A third essay is *Bericht über die Restaurierbedürftigkeit der Pfarrkirche zu St. Wolfgang und des Pacher-Altars darinnen* (On restorations in the parish Church of St. Wolfgang and the altar of Pacher inside).

Riegl's second report of 13/7/1903 shows that: «the Central Commission can agree to a cautious clean-up, advising against reviving the gilding fatal would be a new polychrome coloration of the whole».

Some considerations for Michel Pacher's altar intervention are extremely positive as it shows respect for authenticity and the invitation to constant maintenance²³.

Riegl died in 1905, still young, but his legacy, among others, will be collected by Max Dvořák who will continue his magisterium. In fact, he was his successor in the post of General Conservator, and at the same time the Bohemian founded in 1911 of the Institute of History of Art of the State Superintendence for Monuments²⁴.

Among the initiatives that seem best to continue the teachings of the General Conservator is an important symposium held in 1908 in Wien. This is the eighth International Congress of Architects and there is a certain convergence between theories and operational activities, therefore between the art historians themselves and the architects.

Julius Deininger, Max Dvořák's close collaborator, addresses the issue of conservation in a report on the preservation of public monuments.

From the latter it seems appropriate to recall the significant conclusions: «that the ancient monuments more or less ruined by time should be conserved, as far as possible, in their present state and that the reconstructions and completions in style still so much in vogue in the second half of the last century, seem not to accord with the taste artistic of our time»²⁵.

This congress regulates the overcoming of the style completions and calls for the adoption with some caution of the modern requirements of restoration.

At the subsequent X International Congress of the History of Art in 1910 held in Roma, at the Accademia dei Lincei, we note, among others, a report by Bartolomeo Nogara: «Scopi e limiti dei restauri dei monumenti» (Purposes and limits of the restoration of monuments).

The rapporteur examines the theoretical positions of the time states that the principle of conservation should be applied²⁶. These statements also reflect echoes of Riegl and his Cult of Monuments. In the light of these events it seems that Riegl's thinking has penetrated almost immediately even in Italy, albeit in a narrow circle, also because of the linguistic and political-cultural difficulties.

Final considerations

The passion and the very motivations of protection, conservation and restoration were already present in the fathers of protection and restoration in the nineteenth century with great effectiveness, but Alois Riegl among the first shows a greater cultural and scientific formation as well as more vast horizons.

After an historical overview of the development of restoration principles, he defines values and concepts related to modern conservation, distinguishing between “intended monument” and “unintended monument”.

Riegl divides in two main groups:

1. Memorial values: age value, historical value and intended memorial value.
 2. Present-day values: use value, art value, newness value and relative art value.
- Concerning history as a linear process.



Fig. 1. Historic centre of Wien before the construction of the Ring.
(R. Wagner Rieger, Ring Strasse, Wien 1981).



Fig. 2. Wien, during the construction of the Ring.
(Archivum of K.K. Central Commission)



Fig. 3. Aquileia, Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta. Partial view of the exterior. (CB 1982)



Fig. 4. Aquileia, Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta. Images from the last years of XIX century. (From W. FRODL, *Idee und Verwirklichung, Das Werden der Staatlichen Denkmalpflege in Österreich*, Wien-Köln-Graz 1988)

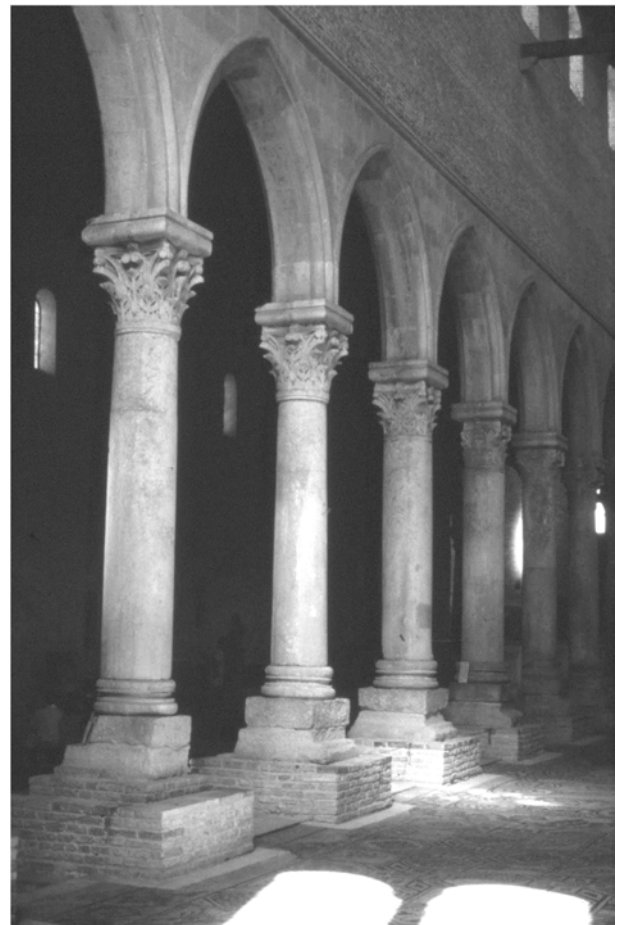


Fig. 5. Aquileia, Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta. Partial view of the interior. (CB 1982)



Fig. 6. Basilica of Mariazell, Steiermark.
(CB 1998)



Fig. 7. Wien. Stephan Platz before designing a new space for the square in lasts years of XIX century.
(Archivium K.K. Central Commission)

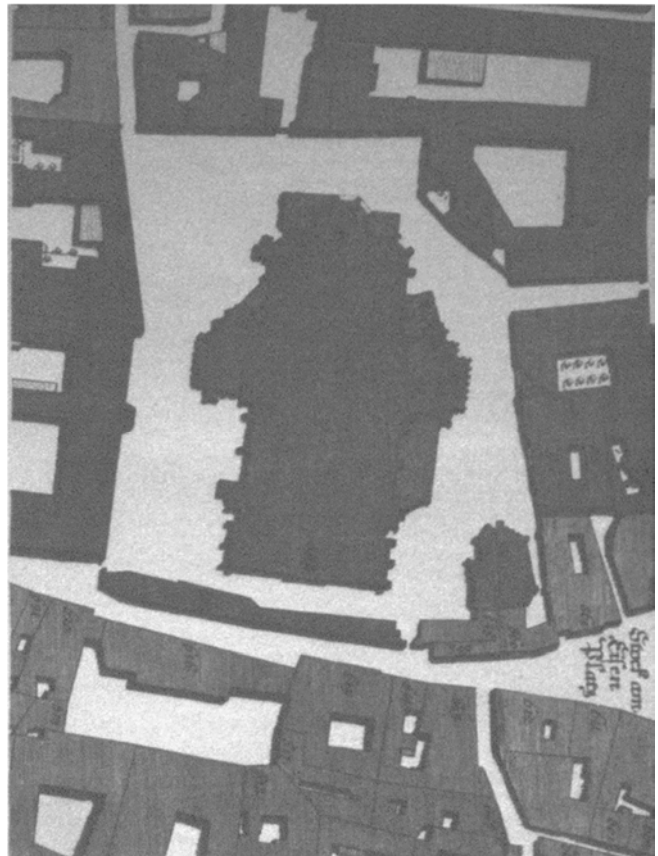


Fig. 8. Wien. Stephan Platz before designing a new space for the square in lasts years of XIX century.
(Archivium K.K. Central Commission)

Fig. 9. Krakow, Wawel Cathedral, study and restoration and respect of “lacuna”. “Heiligk reuzkapelle des domes auf dem Wawel zu Krakau...”. Riegl, 1904. (CB 2005)



Fig. 10. Stams, Parish Church, lasts years of XIX century the respect of the additions. (Archivium of K.K.Central Commission)



Fig. 11. Stams, Parish Church, after the restoration of the firsts years of XX century. (CB 1994)



Fig. 12. Stams, Parish Church, interior in XIX century, the respect of the baroque addition in the medieval church.
(Archivium K.K. Central Commission)



Fig. 13. Stams, Parish Church, interior, the respect of the baroque addition in the medieval church, but with the new gilding.
(CB 1994)



Fig. 14. Cividale del Friuli, Tempietto Longobardo.
(CB 1994)



Fig. 15. Udine, Cividale del Friuli, Tempietto Longobardo.
(CB 1994)

6.4 Max Dvořák and his cultural rapport in Roma and *Katechismus* (1916)

This chapter continues the essay presented in International Symposium, Max Dvořák and Heritage care, 11-14 October 2021, Bratislava-Wien, C. Bellanca, *Max Dvořák and his cultural rapport with Rome*.

Max Dvořák has begun his work on conservation area in 1901. From his theoretical-practical essay about restauration and conservation, *Katechismus der Denkmalpflege*, 1916, we can recognize the “storical-critical ideas of the author²²”.

This reflection is generated from a second discovery of inedited diary un Roma, in Osterrehich Historischen Institut (2020), also some years before, between 2004 and 2005 for Alois Riegl when preparing in Roma a Congress dedicated to Alois Riegl (1858-1905), after one century.

As so many Austrian and German students, Dvořák at 26 years old travelled to Roma for the first time. Italy was considered the land for artistic training.

His first stay as intern of the Austrian historic Institute, runs from 1901-1902 at palazzo Venezia.

As we can read in his unpublished real travel diary in Roma an Italy, he described precisely his work, his studies and visits. As has being usual for his predecessor, as Alois Riegl, make contact with the officials in the general administration of antiquities and arts²⁸.

Since the first day he took notice in his diary about the medieval paintings in Roma. In particularly he put his attention on Santa Maria Antiqua. He said: “in Santa Maria Antiqua the ancient paintings may be conserved not repainted, leave them untouched”. From these first reflections we can see that his position is near to conservation criteria without “completing” or “remaking”.

He studied preciously the painting from Cavallini discovered in Santa Cecilia in Trastevere and the churches San Lorenzo fuori le mura, San Giorgio in Velabro and San Giovanni in Laterano. And refers to the senese’s painting of the second part of the 13th century. As his “maestro” Alois Riegl, he studied the codice’s miniatures in “Barberiniana” and the manuscripts of “Casanatense”, etc. He stayed for 2 days in Subiaco, the “medieval old painting of sacro Speco”. In some period Dvořák realize another deside, and went to Ravenna, where he prepared a first catalogue²⁹.

In this period in Roma, he met Mariano Armellini, Federico Hermanin, Tito Venturini Papari and Corradi Ricci from these meetings, he receives many suggestions to study some church of the city, and with his indications “discovered” different old paintings in S. Saba, S. Urbano alla Caffarella and studied its stratifications and restorations and some mistaken expressions. With Federico Hermanin he takes again the idea of studying palazzo Venezia³⁰.

But it may be suggested the contacts with Camillo Boito. Boito had been in Wien between 1872 and 1873, In this travel, he met Moritz von Thausing, author of an essay on *Philoxera renovatrix*, in opposition to the works done for S. Stefano³¹. Next year he returned in Italy on March and he studied in Firenze and Venezia (8/1). The first week of March, he studied at Uffizi in Firenze, in particular some designs in “Gabinetto disegni e stampe”: in Firenze, he suffered on seeing the destruction of the walls. From 12 to 24 March, he went to Venezia.

One of the first things he noticed “with great satisfaction is that most of the Tintoretto’s pictures are in the churches; and in the places where they were planned, and didn’t change place” (from 8/1 Venezia to 31/3. On 4 June 1903 he finished his rapport). From these first notes, resulted some reflections about conservation of work of art, in place, and about contacts with some Italian personalities, and most of all about conservation. The scientific and cultural ideas of Dvořák is clearly. It has been clear since his first works: *Topographie der historischen und Kunstdenkmale im Konigreich Bohem*, in “Mitteilungen des Instituts fur Osterreichische Geschichtsforschung”, 23, 1902; *Bericht uber die Wandmalereien in der Pfarrikirchen zu Dublovice, Kosteletz und Teindles*, in “Mitteilungen der K. K. Zentralkommission”, 3, f. 2, 1903, coll. 377-381.

A second part is the return to Wien. Dvořák may collect in first person the inherit of his master. Se he continues in his work with the lines that Riegl traced: “i valori che derivano dal riconoscimento delle opera, poi dal conseguente atto di tutela e intervento di restauro, ovvero un equilibrio tra valore storico e quello artistico”.

In Riegl, one of the most significative essays of this time is that dedicated to the master, that remind in *Alois Riegl*, in “Mitteilungen der K. K. Zentralkommission”, 3, F. 4 1905, coll. 255-276.

In this publication we can see how Dvořák tries to complete what his master has not finished, beginning his first studies about the “Barocco” in Roma. These are the re-elaborations of the lessons given during the winter courses 1894/1895 and 1898/1899 in Wien University.

In 1905, when Riegl died, he was nominated “General Conservator of Central Commission fud Erforschung und Erhaltung der Kunst -und- Historischen Denkmale”, but he continued scientific and cultural rapports with his italian colleagues as Corrado Ricci, Federico Hermanin and Antonio Muñoz.

About Venezia Palace, you can say that the works done during the 20s of 20th, from Ricci, Hermanin and Marangoni, continued those made by the Austrian companion³².

“The values that derive of the knowledge of the monuments, them of the conservation acts and restoration project and so a balance between historic and artistic values”.

We must remember that Max Dvořák gave lessons at the “Istituto di Storia dell’Arte sul Denkmalpflege” of the Wien University, in the summer courses from 1906 to 1910, in particular about the organization of the conservation of monuments and about the teaching of the conservation.

The first cycle showed the values of the monuments, and the growing of the artistic values sensibility, while the second about the monument’s concept and about the conservation practice.

In particular the part treated by Dvořák, is about “interni e ad un excursus” as Giovannoni says, and has objective to study the big mosaic of the apse of half of 7th century to the 11th. He makes the comparison with the Santa Maria Antiqua paintings and found some similitudes with the old Cristian paintings, more than with the Italian administration. Although this seems a new page of the history of restoration, the roman culture began to receive the Riegl reflections, and the Italian considerations about intermediate theory arrived to Wien.

It will be important to remember some phrases of his essays: "... in analysing, that each moment has the higher consideration; but they differ in the way of knowing and put in practice the criteria: the first are for the wants that the respect to the monument may be only for the originally structure and form, but the second one wants that the respect stands to all the forms that had the monument through generations to nowadays. And Nogara continues: "today the concept of respect to the monument may be spread in the arts who will see on historic, scientific value although the aesthetic one. And with the base of this criteria, it will be possible to work in restauration".

Prof. Nogara affirms that the pure conservation of monuments, with respect of art of all times, is more scientist than the "stylistic" restoration. This affirmation reminds Riegl's ideas in "*Culto dei Monumenti*", and the idea of values, and the assertion of restauration without prejudice³³. On the ceremony, on 22 October 1912, the permanent committee has formed with Paul Clemen, Herman Egger, Adolf Foldschmidt, Puig I Cadafalch, Pietro Toesca, Andreas Aubert, Max Dvořák, Federico Hermanin, Henri Lemonnier, Roberto Papini, Adolfo Venturi³⁴.

Dvořák had seeing recently the works in San Nicola a Capo di Bove, in Appia Antica. In this significant case for the history of restauration, you can find a different intervention from the usual "restauro stilistico", as have being done some years before in Santa Maria in Cosmedin. This intervention enters in a new way, scientific and conservative. From these group of different solutions, theoretical and practical, in monuments and surroundings in Roma and with the reflection of the Congress of 1910, we can find influence from *Katechismus der Denkmalpflege*, 1916, that Dvořák wrote for Francesco Ferdinando.

We must not forget the great number of important Congress on German language from 1889 to 1913, which talk about the important results of the Congress dedicated to the conservation of monuments. This brought light through important aspects of the Restoration history, and the connections between the roman ambience and this from Wien, during the first years of the 20th.

From the first part, the dangers that threaten the monuments are written: "refurbishing and modernization, without aesthetics and bad taste". We can find reflections about old values of historic heritage and false restoration "avoid big transformations and reconstructions of ancient monuments ...". Dvořák proposed that "damages may be repaired as better as possible for the monument conservations; restoration as gone farther than the conservation measures necessities". And "is not consolidate all that remained, but it has been substituted all that was missing".

In the section of practical advices there are echoes from recent interventions in Roma. About ruins he says; "it must not be destroyed what is the singular fascination of ruin ... a rebuilt ruin is not a ruin, but a medium building". Through the general practice, section V, Dvořák proposes: "to fill out the cracks, consolidate the walls, reinforce the parts that are separate, but leaving its irregular forms, eliminate vegetation..."³⁵. A reference to the conservation of buildings in use, a constant manutention protection from humidity. For restoration of ancient monuments, is necessary a great experience and be familiar with them.

Final considerations

We can see the roman influence of his education in the importance given to the direct studies of documents and of the architectonic and historic-artistic elements. From his writings we can see the good attitude, readiness and specially the balance judgement and common sens of the restorer.

We can say that with Dvořák and Riegl, had been possible to join different cultural approaches for the protection, conservation and restoration of the heritage of these two countries.

6.5 Reflections about conservation in Germany

In the annual *Denkmalpflege congresses*, mainly attended by specialist from Austria, Germany and central european countries topics of restoration, modern art, style problems are addressed together with technical questions and solutions for individual monuments.

It is important to clarify the concept of *Denkmalpflege*, the term in german is composed of two words: *Denkmal* (monument) and *Pflege* (take care). The first is a composed word: *denken* (thought) and *mal* (sign). In consequence the monument is basically a sign of human's sign, and after time of its creation the object (made) became a tangible memory of human's work. The evolution of the concept of *denkmalpflege* seems completely separate of this of the monument in constant development. Is important to know how the concept has acquired a maturity that was not known at the beginning of XIX century, that's why was difficult to assign a clear idea of its use, to the studios of the 800.

The necessity of using a new concept was borned at the end of the XIX century, from the desire of using only one word to describe every practical work in the monument. Till the 80s of the 800, the words used in German language were *Erhaltung* (conservation), and *Wiederherherstellung* (restoration).

In a famous publication of 1885, it was written that the conservation of monuments was done with the maintenance, that will prevent the possible damages in the materials, and although these appeared, a restoration may be done (restauration) that can be properly used as *Wiederherstellung*. Hugo Loersch in 1897 took notice of the French concept restauration equivalent to the German *Wiederherstellung*³⁶. Because of the existence of two different words to explain the practical works in monuments, is natural to ask if the method and the results were different. These concepts have been written by Gottfried Semper in 1843. Talking about the Meissen Cathedral in Sassonia, he defined the "restauration" as the perfect re-proposal of its magnificent originality. From his definitions, we can define the conservation by analysing for exclusion all the interventions that cannot enter in the first concept³⁷.

There were represented by the word *reparaturen* (riparazione), and there were not about the recovery of the first image of the monument. It may be done a simple action of maintenance, to avoid the increase of the damages in the authentic structures, and make necessary the restoration.

In Germans of 19th century, the difference between conservation and restoration, is based only in the proposal of intervention, if it is or not in its first form.

The beginning of the critical fortune of the term *Denkmalpflege*, has being during the second half of the nineteenth of last century. One of the authors was Paul Clemen, who in 1896, named his first publication of his experiences as general conservator in Renania, *Die Denkmalpflege in der Rheinprovinz*. The *Denkmalpflege* for Clemen had its reason in maintaining our relationship with past time, living a life our testimonials, restablishing their values”.

It remains to understand how, at the beginning of last century the concepts of conservation and restoration, differs one of each other. Paul Clemen, opened the century saying “Erhalten, nicht Wiederherstellen”, thinking that the obsession of reconstruction practiced by the architects nowadays must finish, living space to the conservation action (maintenance, studies).

Besides *Denkmalpflege*, it may be *Denkmalschutz* (tutela of monuments), which complained conceptually all the legislative actions to conserve and restore the monuments.

In detail, in the Dresden conference (1900), norms are established, in the Erfurt congress (1903), attention is paid to Meissen Cathedral and in other reflections are made on Heidelberg Castle. On these topics the congress ...are committed to different positions. For example, remember the different opinions between George Dehio and Cornelius Gurlitt regarding the Meissen Cathedral. The first supports the preservation of the status quo, while Gurlitt proposes the restoration of the situation before to the fire of 1764³⁸.

In the well-known case of Heidelberg Castle, the reconstruction project proposed by Carl Schafer in 1874 was opposed by Otto Wagner and George Dehio. Dehio in parallel with Dvořák associates the concept of monument with that of res publica and carries forward the concept of protection as a task of the community³⁹. Dehio wrote in 1901: “The aesthetic value of Heidelberg Castle is not on its details, but in the incomparable all-embracing harmony of the whole, which is more that could be achieved by purely architectural means”⁴⁰.

Thus, in Germany and in other central European countries two prevailing attitudes emerge that of the “innovators”, made up of architects, and the other that of the “conservator”, more moderate made up above all of art historians. Among the first we can consider Paul Tornow (1848-1921), architect of the Metz Dom, who continues the stylistic line, according to the spirit of the “primitive Architect”⁴¹, while the more intermediate position (in Germany) is found with Paul Clemen (1866-1947), art historian and first superintendent of the Renania⁴². For Tornow, Clemen in his fundamental text *Die Deutsche Kunst und die Denkmalpflege* (1933), reiterates the need to conserve and not restore and still divides monuments into living and dead and deals with the professional preparation of a good conservator which he summarizes in respect and prudence. And again, for Clemen, the expression care of monuments means a treatment of pre-existing to be preserved. He distinguishes Conservation from Restoration, the former is aimed at maintaining what exists, the second aims at return “pristine state”. This statement still creates misunderstandings that persist in the architectural tradition of some restoration in Central Europe.

In this volume we haven't the possibility for writing about H. von Geymüller (Lausanne), J. Zemp (Zurich), J. Strzowski (Graz).

See also for Norbert Huse, *Denkmalpflege, Deutsche Texte aus drei Jahrhunderten*, München 1996.

6.6 Reflections about conservation in Hungary

In Hungary until the first World War the procedures were in line with the Guidelines of the Central Commission. However, a stylistic current remains with Imre Stendl (1839-1902) and Frigyes Schulek (1841-1919), the latter author of the “Restoration Stylistic” of the church of Our Lady as Matyas Church in Budapest. Despite these permanences, the so called, philological restoration asserts itself with the works of the architect Istvan Moller (1860-1934), e Lazlo Gyalus (1855- 1941) and Kalmar Lux (1860-1961). In particular Gyalus restored the Romanesque benedictine basilica of Jak and he worked on Royal Chapel in Esztergom. For example, with the restoration of the Jak Church (1896-1904), the work was executed with a meticulous care unusual for the period took the place (Fig. 17). But this monument conserves a romantic aspect. These two exemplary cases present a substantial uniformity of method from consolidation, to anastylosis, to exemplary recomposition, in short, the authenticity is respected by not falsifying and embellishing and also for Zsámbék Premontre Monastery (Figg. 16,18-19).

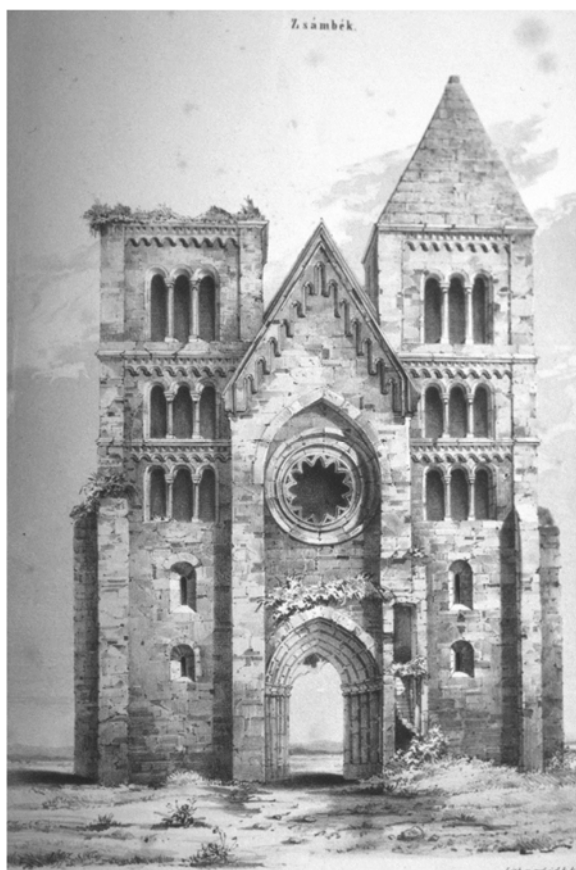


Fig. 16. Hungary, Zsámbék, Premontre Monastery Church, 1220-1258.
(From W. FRODL, *Idee und Verwirklichung, Das Werden der Staatlichen Denkmalpflege in Österreich*, Wien-Köln-Graz 1988, tav. XV)

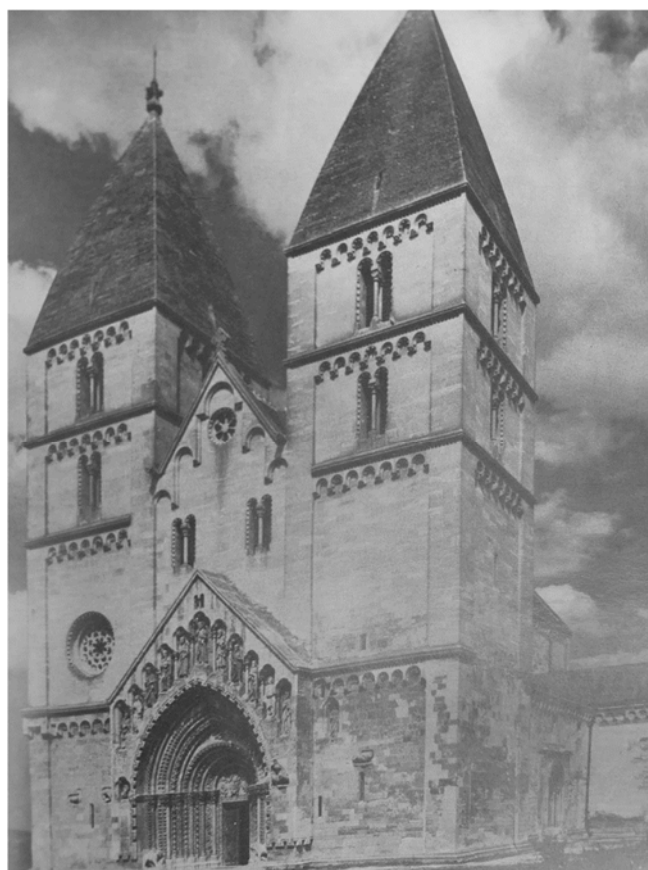


Fig. 17. Jak Church, after the restoration.
(CB 1981)



Fig. 18. Hungary, Zsámbék, Premontre Monastery Church, 1220-1258.
(CB 1993)



Fig. 19. Hungary, Zsámbék, Premontre Monastery Church, 1220-1258.
(CB 1993)



Fig. 20. Wien, St. Stephen's Cathedral.
(CB 2023)



Fig. 21. Prague, St. Vitus Cathedral.
(CB1982)



Fig. 22. Budapest, the Matthias Church, before restoration. (From Dezső Dercsényi, *Historical Monuments in Hungary*, Budapest, 1969, tav. 85)

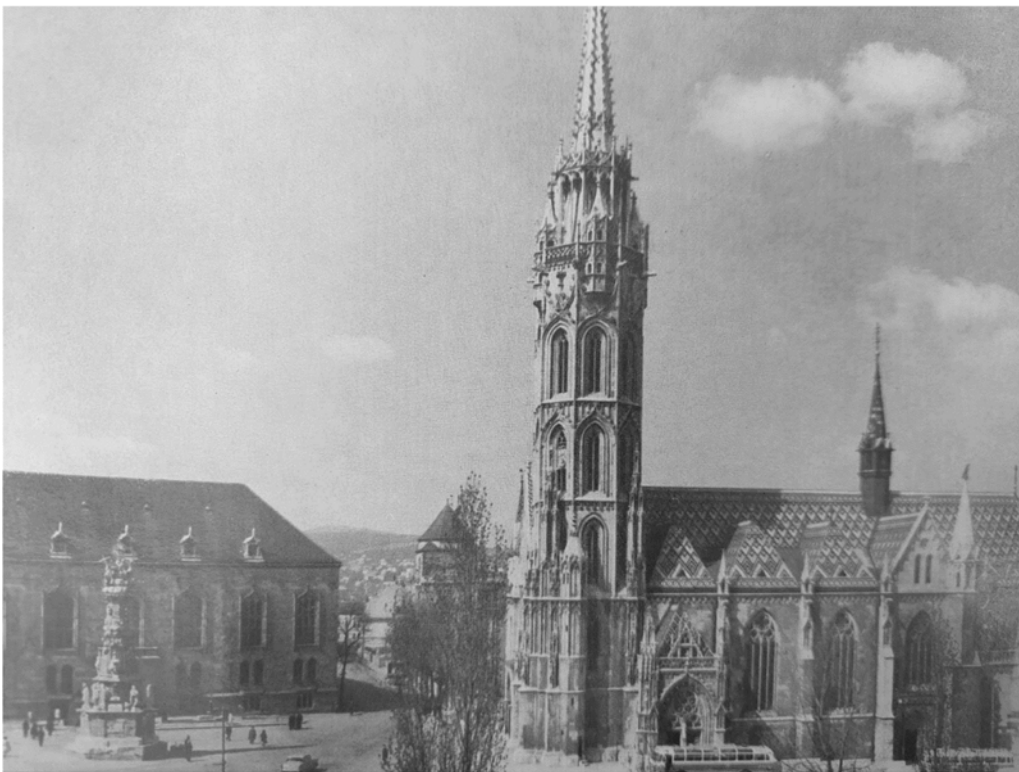


Fig. 23. Budapest, the Matthias Church, after restoration. (CB 1979)

6.7 Reflections about conservation in other countries in Central Europe, with special attention to Poland

In 1909 the conference of conservators organized in Warsaw by the Association for the protection of Monuments, issued an interesting document called the Polish “Charter of Restoration”. It well highlighted in its statements the substantial European cultural unity, reflecting in the diversity of national areas⁴³, “attitudes towards the preexistences differently assessed over time”⁴⁴, in the various regions of Poland.

Since the end of the 18th century, during the reign of Stanisław August Poniatowski (1764-1795)⁴⁵, we see a growing awareness, intended to draw from the nation’s past the conditions to protect its cultural identity; when with the treaty of 24 October 1795, the third partition was reached in Poland, it “was cancelled from political map of the continent, but remained the nation”⁴⁶.

The nineteenth century, also for the Poland, can be “defined as the century of restorations”: as elsewhere this “very active period of stylistic restoration provoked regrets and contrasts”⁴⁷.

A second period, between 1820 and 1840, includes the first interventions on the preexistences driven by a romantic attitude; about it I would like to remind the projects for the Warsaw Cathedral, for the Cloth Hall, for the town hall and for the Royal Palace of Krakow.

Between 1840 and 1870 as elsewhere also in Poland “were exalted free experiences... referees and destruction were legitimized... in a persecuted unity of style”⁴⁸ (projects for the Cathedral of Krakow and for many other city monuments). The city of Krakow infact is in a sense transformed in a large construction site; interventions are devolved from the door of San Florian in 1834, at Barbacane (Figg. 31-32) between 1838-41 then to *Collegium Maius* from 1839 to 1870 and finally to the Church of the Franciscans 1850 to that of Dominican in 1876-77⁴⁹.

Reflecting the various positions of the European culture of restoration, the interventions fluctuate between extreme opposites, from total respect, to no less complete destruction, to subverting measures. Reflecting the various positions. From 1870 to 1890, there is a greater adherence to the international debate development, although with differences in the various regions of the country (Figg. 24-27); especially in Galicia they approach the Viennese school and the thought of Riegl, while the operational action is realized through the central Austrian operational structure. Finally, in the period between 1890 and the early twentieth century, acknowledge of the thought of Camillo Boito (1883) and of Riegl’s wording⁵⁰ spreads, in the same period the works at the cathedral and the royal palace in Krakow are concluded (Fig. 9).

A monument that sums up some aspects of the story restoration in the 19th century, with proposals that are also substantially diversified throughout the century, is the Cloth Hall (Sukiennice or Tuchhalle) in Krakow⁵¹.

At the beginning of the 19th century it presented itself as the *Palazzo della Ragione*⁵² or as the side of a ‘medieval cathedral’, wrapped in a continuous and almost homogeneous series of constructions charged along the major sides up to the height of the upper saloon, with shops and other use destinations⁵³. A first project to isolate it dates back to 1820. The intervention was aimed at a ‘reconfiguration’ of the whole from a neoclassical perspective.

It was not until 1875 that T. Prylinski drew up the final design for the Sukiennice.

We are already at a time when “there is a full adherence to consider as Viollet-le-Duc, the restoration within a cultural action of great importance, which is the reconstruction and interpretation of the heritage of Gothic architecture”⁵⁴.

At the same time, the opinion of the *K.K. Zentralkommission für die Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale* (Royal and Imperial Central Commission for the study and restoration of the Monuments) is heard several times in Krakow. The intervention considers it crucial to restore the ground floor with “gothic” characters for the loggia, freeing it from the additions (the same author claims to refer to the loggia of the Ducal Palace of Venezia), while for the upper floor suggests to preserve the characters of the Polish Renaissance. Above the central fornices, a few external stairs are completed and windows with frames reminiscent of Renaissance ones are opened. Finally, the use of the central gallery of the ground floor is restored.

The thought and works of Viollet-le-Duc in Poland had an immediate and wide spread. An unknown but significant episode in this regard is the entrustment of an assignment to Viollet-le-Duc for a major altar project in the crypt of St. Leonardo’s Chapel in Wawel Cathedral (fig. 35). The project is known to us by some drawings, dated march 1876, bears the signature Viollet-le-Duc and highlights a plan, a section and an elevation all regularly quoted. The other drawing shows a detail with a capital profile and the upper molding⁵⁵.

French documents do not confirm the Polish tradition of a Viollet-le-Duc trip to Krakow and Goulchów in 1875; However, his son-in-law, the architect Maurice Auguste Ouradou, is confirmed. Contacts between the Polish environment and Viollet-le-Duc had been facilitated by Prince Vladislao Czartoryski and his sister Isabella Dzialynska, already at the time of the Ecole Polonaise project in Paris in 1862⁵⁶. It is also certain that Viollet has provided some advice for the restoration of Goluchów Castle and for the adaptation of the College of Piarists in the Czartoryski Museum in Krakow. The projects in both cases were carried out by M. Ouradou. The intervention in Goluchów Castle was carried out between 1875 and 1888 and features a study for the courtyard and the main entrance⁵⁷; a certain reference can be found in some stylistic characters derived from the French nineteenth century, such as the re-proposal of the octagonal towers, while other details of the Polish constructive repertoire such as the attika for the crowning. At the end of the century, restoration work at Krakow Cathedral took place (Figg. 30-32, 36-37), similar to the other cathedrals in the capital cities of Central Europe, Wien (Fig. 20), Budapest (Figg. 22-23) and Prague⁵⁸ (Figg. 21, 33-34). Ultimately, these last elaborations, despite some contradictions, should not surprise us, because they pave the way for the drafting of the Charter of the Restoration of 1909. This document expresses and clarifies many concepts and demonstrates the overcoming of those linguistic-cultural and historical-political barriers that have in a certain sense, albeit wrongly isolated some Central European countries. It shows that it is not an unoriginal reposition in a provincial key of, while up-to-date, documents produced elsewhere.

In fact, it has quite specific points about the needs of the country, although it expresses a constant attention to the Italian, Austrian and French models.

It is divided into two parts and immediately puts the distinction between conservation and restoration (Figg. 28-29).

We report the full text at the conclusion of the excursus on the Polish culture of restoration throughout the previous century.

6.8 Charter of the Restoration of 1909

I. Act intensively only towards conservation, to preserve as many monuments as possible with modest costs.

For the preservation of the monument it is necessary:

- a) verify the current status and identify the causes of damage and lesions;
- b) make a rigorous graphic survey, describe, photograph the entire monument and its parts; the history of the monument;
- c) to draw up the conservation project and an expenditure forecast;
- d) in conservation limit to the mere repair or replacement of the ancient parts, if this is essential for the maintenance (preservation) of the entire monument;
- e) if the ancient parts that are replaced have a scientific, artistic or historical importance, to keep them in a museum.

I. In the restoration of monuments must be respected the following postulates:

- a) the shape (consistency) of the monument must be preserved despite the possible plurality of styles present in the same monument;
- b) later superfetations and ancillary structures can be eliminated if they do not have an artistic-historical significance;
- c) the removal of superfetations, additions, etc. can only be implemented with the approval of a conservation Commission specifically constituted;
- d) the restoration must adapt to the character of the monument both as a technique and as a material. Large restoration projects require caution and expectation of partial adjustments.

IIa. The replacement of materials or structural parts can be decided by the conservators in a very exceptional way.

IIb. If it is necessary to insert a new building structure into a monument, it is not necessary for the new part to be built in the same style of the old building. The character of this new structure will be determined by the talent and creative strength of the artist whose project will still have to be approved by the special conservation Commission.

1. Modern techniques and materials can be used in the foundations, but the condition that it does not damage architectural interiors such as cellars, crypts, etc.

2. All the details that constitute an artistic characteristic of the monument must be preserved, even if the material used is not homogeneous.

3. Degraded parts must be replaced in wooden buildings.

The interior, in case they have undergone an artistic transformation following the construction of the monument, should not be traced back to its original state.

4. It is necessary to preserve the current state of doors, windows and similar material, although partly transformed relatively to the long time, must be preserved without taking into account the responsiveness of the material used, compared to the traditional style.

5. A new liturgical furniture does not have to be adapted to the liturgical furnishings of the past.

6. Wooden liturgical furnishings (altars, confessionals, stalls, benches) as well as stone monuments, should be preserved in situ, unless there is an absolute need for displacement.

7. The roofs which constitute a significant part of the architectural monument, must be preserved and strengthened as far as possible.

8. The roofs that have existed for a long time must be preserved without taking into account the responsiveness of the material used with regard to the traditional style.

9. All stone monuments must be cleaned by oily colorants or patinas deposited by time.

10. If the cusps of the bell towers do not have a character that conforms to the entire building, it is not necessary to transform them.

11. If traces of ancient polychromes are insufficient for a restoration action, new polychromes can be reproduced as long as they are in harmony with the entirety of the interior of the church. In this case, special attention must be paid to the characteristics and state of the plaster, they must be preserved and strengthened, as far as possible⁵⁹.

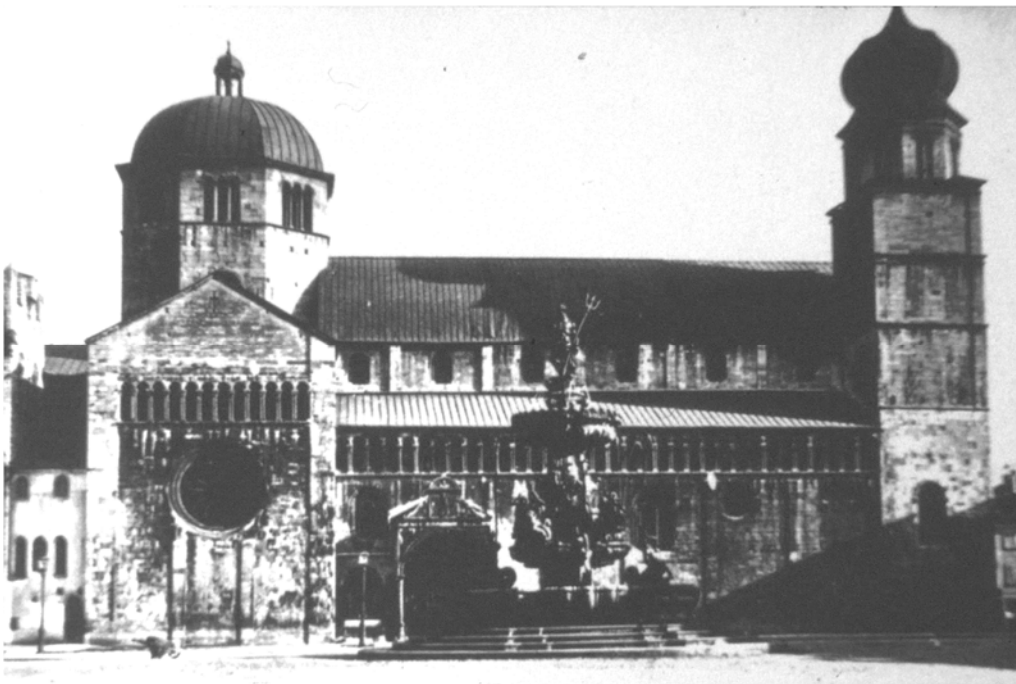


Fig. 24. Trento, Cathedral. View of the longitudinal elevation before the restorations.



Fig. 25-26. Restoration project of Trento Cathedral, by August Essenwein, 1858-1859. (Private collection CB)

Fig. 27. Trento,
Cathedral
(CB 1996)



Fig. 28. Schloß Runkelstein
(Castelroncolo, Bolzano)
study before the restoration,
Archivium of K. K. Central
Commission
(Private collection CB)

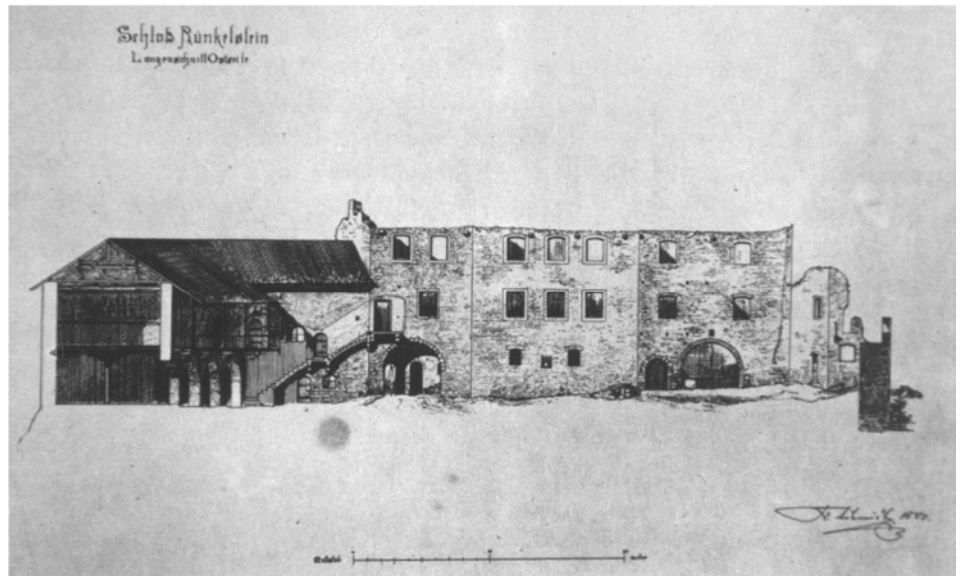
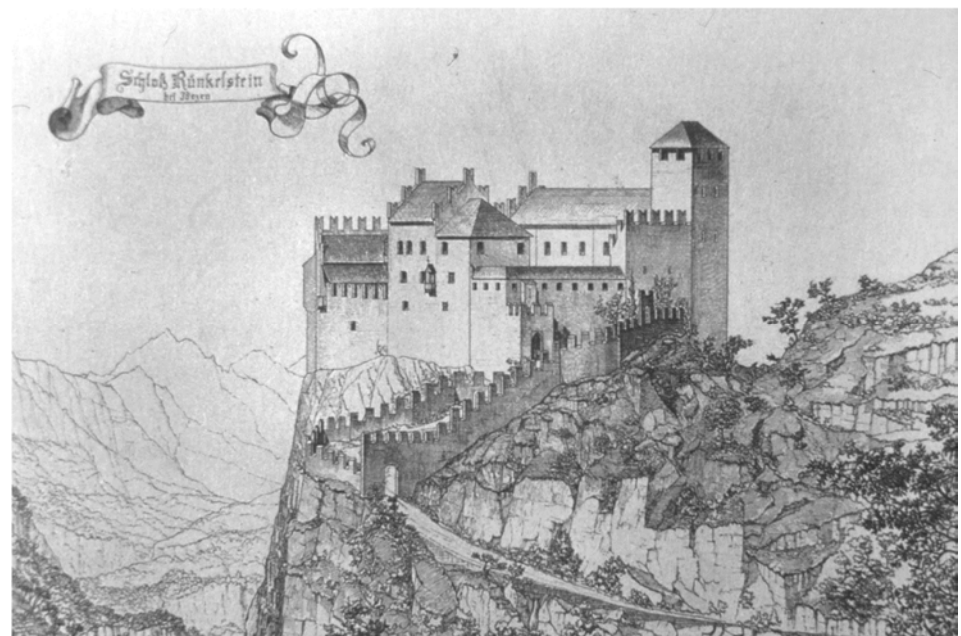


Fig. 29. Schloß Runkelstein
(Castelroncolo, Bolzano)
proposal for the restoration,
Archivium of K. K. Central
Commission
(Private collection CB)



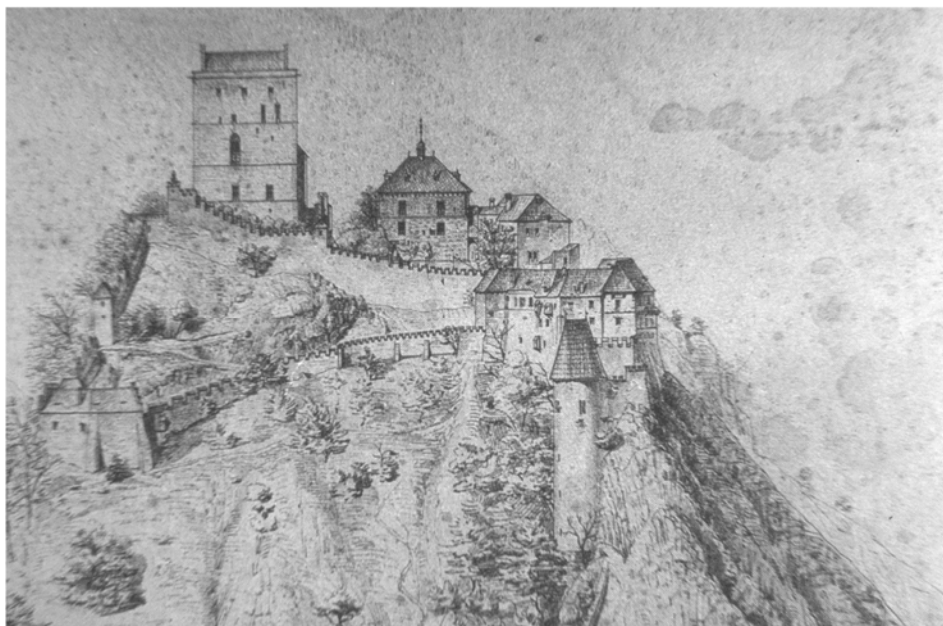


Fig. 30. Karlštejn Castle (Czech Republic). Drawing before the restorations. (In the Archivium Museum History in Wien City, f. Schmidt)

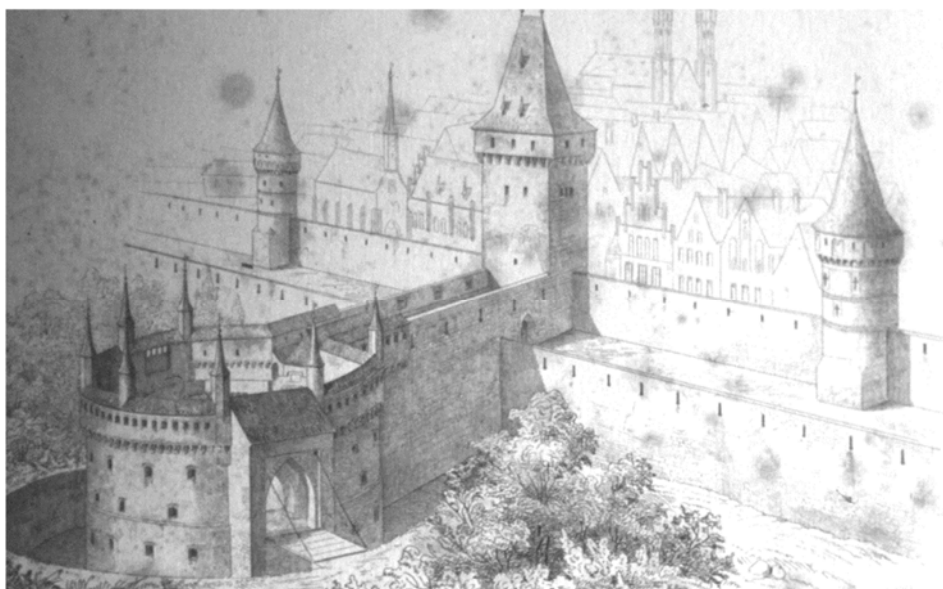


Fig. 31. Krakow, Barbakan project for the "reconstruction" in unity of style, by August Essenwein. Drawing from the Archivium of K. K. Central Commission.

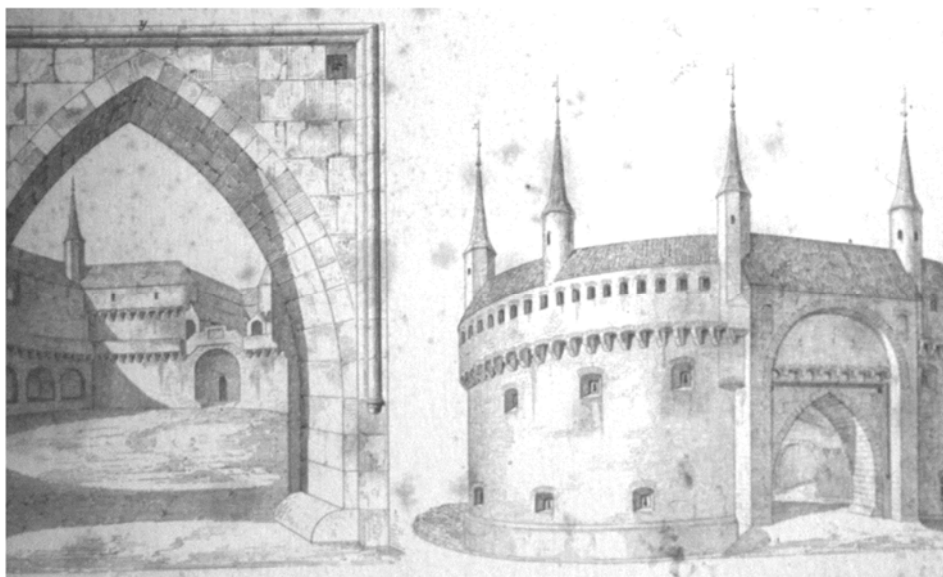


Fig. 32. Krakow, Barbakan details from the project for the "reconstruction" in unity of style, by August Essenwein. Drawing from the Archivium of K. K. Central Commission.

Fig. 33-34. Agram
(Zagreb) Cathedral
1859.
(From W. FRODL,
1988, tav. XVII)

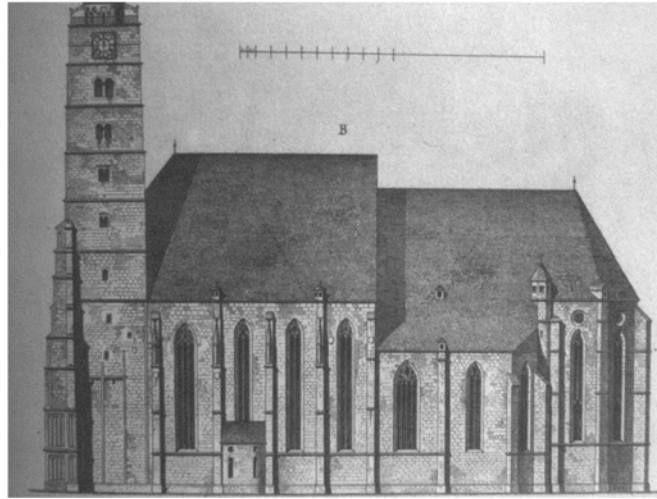
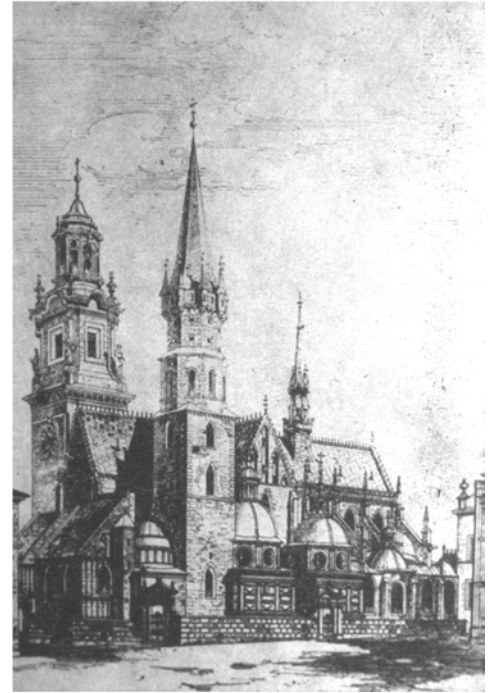


Fig. 35. Krakow,
Wawel, Cathedral.
(CB 1989)





Figg. 36-37. Krakow, Cathedral. Two different projects: the first return to medieval in unity of style, the second partial respect of all period (arch. S. Odrzywolski, 1892).

(A. Essenwein, *Die Mittelalterlichen Kunstdenkmale* ..., 1869; «Architekt», 1901, in C. Bellanca «L'Ottocento in Polonia» in *Scritti di storia e restauro dell'architettura tra Italia e Polonia*, Varsavia-Roma 1999, pp.78-96)

Notes

All photos are by the author (CB) except when indicated.

I would like to dedicate this reflection to Ernst Bacher, former Conservative General of the Bundesdenkmalamt, who died suddenly in 2005. He had been invited to the Roman conference and with his usual courtesy and friendship he had agreed to participate also to return one of the frequent study visits made by the writer in 1994.

1. Refer to E. BACHER, *Alois Riegl e la conservazione dei monumenti*, in S. SCARROCCHIA (a cura di), *Alois Riegl, Teoria e prassi della conservazione, antologia di scritti, discorsi, rapporti 1898-1905 con una scelta di saggi critici*, Bologna 1995, p. 18. For the beginnings of protection in Austria, please refer to: N. HELFGOTT, *Die Rechtsvorschriften für den Denkmalschutz*, Wien 1979, e E. BACHER, *Öffentliches Interesse und öffentliche Verpflichtung. Zur Geschichte und zum Verständnis des Österreichischen Denkmalschutzgesetzes*, "Österreichischen Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege" XLV (1990), pp. 152-160.

2. To this end, it is recalled that as early as 1929 the text was republished by the famous K. M. SWOBODA, in the form of an anthology of some of A. RIEGL's writings with the introduction of Hans Sedlmayr, entitled, *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, Augsburg-Wien 1929.

3. The full Instructions are found in: *Gesetzliche Bestimmungen über den Wirkungskreis der k. k. Central – Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale, der Konservatoren und Baubeamten* developed in 1853, republished in summary by W. FRODL, *Idee und Verwirklichung, Das Werden der Staatlichen Denkmalpflege in Österreich*, Wien-Köln-Graz 1988, pp. 196-201. This book is the most comprehensive contribution to the history of conservation and restoration in Austria in conjunction with that of O. DEMUS, *Die Österreichische Denkmalpflege, in 100 Jahre Unterrichtsministerium 1848-1948. Festschrift des Bundesministerium für Unterricht in Wien*, Wien 1948. According to the Instruction (1853) the tasks of Central Commission included: inventory, documentation, protection and acceptance of conservation/restoration project. The definition of Baudenkmal (historic building, monument) was pre-existence or remains of earlier structures that present historical memories or had artistic value (Instruktionen für die K.K. Baubeamten). "... Restoration should be limited to regular maintenance repointing cleaning and prevention of damage; completion of such parts that were vital for the preservation of the ... monument could be accepted, but not the completion of characteristic or stylistic elements even if such completions were intended in the spirit of these remains".

4. In the long term that includes the *Historismus*, a vast architectural activity aimed at both preexistence and new realizations can be traced. In Wien we could recall the urban and architectural ensemble carried out on the Ring or the various restorations carried out by Friedrich von Schmidt (1825-1891). His name is inside the group of called *Historismus*. He worked on Cologne Cathedral from 1843, taught at the Academy in Milan and prepared projects for the "Gothicization" of Duomo of Milan. In 1863 he was nominated surveyor to the St Stephan's dome in Wien, and restored many church and historic monument in Central Europe. We can remember Karlstein Castle (1870), Zagreb cathedral, Klosterneuburg and St. Veit Cathedral in Prague. See also: *Der Traum vom Glück, Die Kunst des Historismus in Europa*, edited by Hermann Fillitz and Werner Telesco, Wien-München 1996.

5. We can only recall the figure of Josef von Helfert president of the Central Commission from 1863 to 1910 and we remember one of his writings, J. A. von HELFERT, *Denkmalpflege, Öffentliche Obsorge für Gegenstände der Kunst und des Altertums nach dem neuesten Stande der Gesetzgebung in den verschiedenen Kulturstaaten*, Wien-Leipzig 1897, so see an essay by M. OLIN, *The Cult of Monuments as a State Religion in late 19th century Austria*, "Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte" XXXVIII (1985), pp. 177-198. But for a correct historic interpretation, we must remember, first denomination was Central-Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung von Baudenkmalen later called: K. K. Central-Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Kunst-und historischen Denkmale. We must remember the first person who has created Central-Commission was Karl Freiherr von Czernig (1804-1889) president between 1853 and 1863. See also in W. Frodl, 1988. In detail, pp. 85-173, where we can read the:

- 1. Anfänge der Organisation und Wirksamkeit;
- 2. Die Erforschung der Denkmäler;
- 3. Die Erhaltung der Denkmäler;
- 4. Historische theoriebildung;
- 5. Restaurierungen;
- 6. Die Tätigkeit im Lombardo Venetianischen königreich;
- 7. Die Zuordnung der Central Commission zum Ministerium für Kultus und Unverricht (1859).

6. Franz Wickhoff (1853-1909) was the real founder of the famous Wiener Schule der Kunstgeschichte, followed by Alois Riegl (1858-1905), Max Dvořák (1874-1921), Julius von Schlosser (1866-1938), Karl Maria Swoboda (1889-1977). For a first profile, see J. Von SCHLOSSER, *Die Wiener Schule der Kunstgeschichte*, Wien 1934. While we can talk about Neue Wiener Schule der Kunstgeschichte con Hans Sedlmayr (1896-1984), Otto Pächt (1902-1988), Otto Demus (1902-1990) and Renate Wagner-Rieger (1921-1980) up to contemporaries like Artur Rosenauer

7. The travel journal (Reisentagebuch) consists of several handwritten pages kept in the Archivio dei Borsisti dell'Istituto Storico Austriaco, under heading *Alois Riegl*, pp. 1-2. Now published in C. BELLANCA, *Alois Riegl, la tutela e il restauro delle preesistenze tra Vienna e Roma*, in "Alois Riegl (1858-1905), un secolo dopo", Convegno Internazionale organizzato d'intesa con l'Istituto Archeologico Germanico, l'Istituto Storico Austriaco, la Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, l'Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Filosofici, Roma, 30 novembre-1 e 2 dicembre 2005), Atti dei Convegni Lincei, 236, Roma, 2008, pp. 285-304.

8. From the travel journal, february, p. 1.

9. A. RIEGL, *Spätromische Kunstindustrie*, Wien 1901, ed. it. Firenze 1981, (curated by) B. FORLATI e M. T. RONGA LEONI. See in particular the chapter on architecture.

10. *Ibidem*, february, pp.1-2. See also A. RIEGL, *Sull'origine della Basilica cristiana*, in *Alois Riegl: teoria e prassi della conservazione* cit., pp. 246-247.

11. *Ibidem*, february, pp. 2-3.

12. *Ibidem*, march, p. 2.

13. *Ibidem*, april, pp. 1-2; A. RIEGL, *Spätromische Kunstindustrie*, ed. it. cit., pp. 64-65 e 69-70.

14. A. RIEGL, *Spätromische Kunstindustrie*, ed. it. cit. See for the Pantheon in particular pp. 23, 38-47, Santa Costanza pp. 47-50, Terme di Caracalla p. 51, Tempio della Minerva Medica pp. 44-46 and again for the Christian Basilicas pp. 5, 4-56, 60.

15. A. M. RACHELI, *Restauro a Roma 1870-1990, Architettura e città*, Venezia 1995, p. 47.

16. C. BOITO, *Gite di un artista*, Milano 1884, p. 60; in fact "per mostrare che un'opera d'aggiunta e di compimento non è antica" (to show that a work of addition and completion is not ancient) Camillo Boito president of the 4th Congress of Italian Engineers and Architects held in Roma in 1883 suggested the famous eight points. To this end, see Atti del Quarto Congresso degli Ingegneri ed Architetti italiani, Roma 1884, especially pp. 122-127.

17. For the events related to the San Vitale see the writings of C. RICCI, *Lettera di Ricci a I. Bocchi 15 gennaio 1900*, Biblioteca Classense Ravenna, in carteggio Ricci, monumenti, 1900, doc. 15; minuta by Ricci to the general director Giuseppe Fiorelli may 1900, in carteggio Ricci, monumenti, 1900, doc. 55; *Relazione pel concordato o referendum intorno alla soppressione delle pitture barocche*, Ravenna 14 june 1900, in carteggio Ricci, 1900, doc. 158; then C. RICCI, *Concordato artistico, Le pitture della cupola di San Vitale in Ravenna*, "Emporium" (july 1900), p. 69, ID., *Le pitture della cupola di San Vitale in Ravenna*, Roma 1900; ID. *Ravenna Notizie su San Vitale*, "Rassegna d'arte" (january 1901), p. 14.

More recently, there has been a reflection of G. MARIELLI MARIANI, *Su Corrado Ricci e l'Istituzione delle nuove Soprintendenze*, "Bollettino del Centro di Studi per la Storia dell'Architettura" 36 (1990), pp. 93-95 and then (curated by) Eleonora Maria STELLA, *Corrado Ricci fra Restauro e conservazione*, Ravenna 1997, pp. 44-81. Then C. BELLANCA, *Antonio Muñoz, la politica di tutela dei monumenti a Roma durante il Governatorato*, Roma 2003.

18. I thank for the reporting of the former director of Classense Prof. Donatino Domini with Claudia Giuliani and their collaborators. In fact, in the fondo carte Ricci, you can read in the volume Suppl. to 1898-1899, a reference to Riegl. One of the first hypotheses of the relations Ricci-Riegl is found in D. DOMINI, *Corrado Ricci nella cultura italiana tra Ottocento e Novecento*, "Studi Romagnoli" XXXVII (1986), pp. 139-147. See also the recent contribution S. CECCHINI, *Corrado Ricci e il restauro tra testo, immagine e materia*, in *Atti del convegno Internazionale di Studi La teoria del Restauro nel Novecento da Riegl a Brandi*, curated by Maria Andaloro, Firenze 2006, pp. 82-83.

19. Some profiles on Alois Riegl can be found in M. DVOŘÁK, *Alois Riegl*, "Mitteilungen der K.K. Zentral-Kommission für Erforschung und Erhaltung der Kunst und historischen Denkmale" III (1905), pp. 255-276; H. TIETZE, *Alois Riegl in Neue Österreichische Biographie* 8 (1935), p. 148; then W. FRODL, *Denkmalbegriffe und Denkmalwerte und ihre Auswirkung auf die Restaurierung*, Wien 1963, ID., *Concetti e valori del monumento*, Roma 1962-63. ID., *Idee und Verwirklichung. Das Werden der staatlichen Denkmalpflege in Österreich*, Wien-Köln 1988, and also in the anthology curated by E. BACHER, *Alois Riegl Kunstwerk oder Denkmal? Alois Riegls Schriften zur Denkmalpflege*, Wien-Köln 1995. Among the Italian scholars emerges for his constant deepening S. SCARROCCHIA. The archive sources in Wien unfortunately suffer from some devastating losses recorded during the Second World War. In fact, the historical archive of the Bundesdenkmalamt preserves only a few sheets with a curriculum and obituaries. At the same time at the Österreichische Staatsarchiv, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Ministerium für Kultus und Unterricht, we find only Fasz. 642, sign 4 (Universitäts Professoren, Universität Wien, Philosophische Fakultät, Riegl Alois, ZII. 13714/1889; 13804/1894; 27589/1897). Finally, the archive of the Institute of Art History of the University of Wien also preserves some manuscripts and sketches by Alois Riegl.

20. Riegl's essays on the protection, conservation and restoration, as well as the *al Entwurf einer gesetzlichen Organisation der Denkmalpflege in Österreich*, Wien 1903, we have to remember: A. RIEGL, *Das Riesentor zu St. Stephan*, "Neue Freie Presse" (february 1902), pp. 1-4, ID., *Zu Frage der Restaurierung von Wandmalereien*, "Mitteilungen der k. k. Zentral-Kommission" 3/II (1903), pp. 14-31; ID., *Bericht über eine im Auftrage des Präsidiums der k. k. Zentral-Kommission zur Wahrung der Interessen der mittelalterlichen und neuzeitlichen Denkmale innerhalb des ehemaligen Diocletianischen Palastes zu Spalato durchgeführte Untersuchung*, "Mitteilungen der k. k. Zentral-Kommission" III, vol. 2 (1903), pp. 333-341; ID., *Die Restaurierung der Wandmalereien in der Heiligenkreuzkapelle des Domes auf dem Wawel zu Krakau*, "Mitteilungen der K. K Zentral-Kommission" 3/III (1904), pp. 272-292; ID., *Neue Strömungen in der Denkmalpflege*, "Mitteilungen der K.K. Zentral-Kommission" 3/IV (1905), pp. 85-104; ID., *Das Denkmalschutzgesetz*, "Neue Freie Presse" (27 february 1905); ID., *Bericht über die Restaurierungsbedürftigkeit der Pfarrkirche zu St. Wolfgang und des Pacher-Altars darinnen*, Bundesdenkmalamt Wien, Archiv, Topographische Akten, Oberösterreich, St. Wolfgang, ZI. 1274/CC 14 june 1903; ZI. 1374/CC 27 june 1904.

21. A. RIEGL, *Das Riesentor zu St. Stephan*, "Neue Freie Press", 1 february 1902, pp. 1-4.

22. A. RIEGL, *Zu Frage der Restaurierung von Wandmalereien*, "Mitteilungen der k. k. Zentral Kommission" 3/II (1903), pp. 14-31. It should be remembered that on the intervention conducted at the Wawel chapel in Krakow you can find some reflections in: J. FRYCZ, *Restauracja i Konserwacja Zabytków Architektury w Polsce w Latach 1795- 1918*, Warsaw 1975, in particular pp. 205-212; then C. BELLANCA, *L'Ottocento in Polonia. Alcuni interventi sui monumenti e una poco nota Carta del Restauro*, in (curated by) C. Bozzoni, G. Carbonara, G. Villetti, *Saggi in onore di Renato Bonelli*, Roma 1992, pp. 925-934; then W. ZALEWSKI, *The Russian Byzantine Chapel Wallpaintings, History of Conservation of the Byzantine Paintings in Swietokrzyska chapel at the Wawel Cathedral*, "Biuletyn Informacyjny Konserwarorów Dziel Sztuki" IX (1998), pp. 2-15 e 70-75.

23. A. RIEGL, *Bericht über die Restaurierbedürftigkeit der Pfarrkirche zu St. Wolfgang und des Pacher-Altars darinnen*, "Bundesdenkmalamt Wien, Archiv, Topographische Akten" cit. More recently on the altar see N. WIBIRAL, *Der Pacher-Altar in St. Wolfgang, Untersuchung, Konservierung und Restaurierung 1969-1976*, Wien-Graz 1981.
24. We also remember: M. DVOŘÁK, Alois Riegl, "Mitteilungen der K.K. Zentral-Kommission für Erforschung und Erhaltung der Kunst und historischen Denkmale" IV (1904), pp. 255-276; ID., *Einleitung zum ersten Band der Österreichischen Kunsttopographie*, "Österreichischen Kunsttopographie" I (1907); ID., *Denkmaltus und Kunstentwicklung*, "Kunstgeschichtliches Jahrbuch der k. k. Zentral-Kommission" IV (1910), pp. 1-32; ID. *Denkmalpflege in Österreich*, Berlin 1911; ID., *Katechismus der Denkmalpflege*, Wien 1916.
25. To this end, for all contributions, see *Bericht über den VIII Internationalen Architekten Kongress*, Wien 1908. The congress is chaired by Otto Wagner and also records the participation of Joseph Hoffmann and Julius Koch. The section dedicated to the preservation of monuments was the fifth. For a summary, please refer to C. BELLANCA, *Antonio Muñoz, la politica di tutela dei monumenti di Roma durante il Governatorato*, Roma 2003, p.41.
26. Refer to *Atti del X Congresso Internazionale di Storia dell'Arte*, Roma 1910, but 1922, pp. 477-484. Despite the latent political crisis of the time between the two countries, the representatives of protection and conservation were on good terms and shared the presidency of the congress. In fact, two of the four presidents were Max Dvořák and Corrado Ricci. See also: C. BELLANCA, *Antonio Muñoz, la politica di tutela dei monumenti di Roma durante il Governatorato*, Roma 2003, p. 36.
27. C. BELLANCA, Alois Riegl, *ibidem*.
28. *Ibidem*.
29. M. DVOŘÁK, *The travel journal* consists of several handwritten pages kept in the Archivio dei Borsisti dell'Istituto Storico Austriaco, under heading Max Dvořák.
30. P. DENGEL, M. DVOŘÁK, H. EGGER, *Der Palazzo di Venezia in Roma*, Wien, 1909
See also the presentation by G. Giovannoni, in "Archivio della R. Società Romana", vol. XXXVI, Fasc. I-II, pp. 287-296.
31. A. LEHNE, *Alcune osservazioni su Boito e il restauro in Austria*, in *Camillo Boito moderno*, edited by Sandro Scarrocchia, vol. II, Udine, 2018, pp. 615-617; C. BELLANCA, *La ricezione delle enunciazioni dottrinarie di Camillo Boito in Europa Centrale*, con particolare riferimento alla Carta del Restauro polacca del 1909, *ibidem*, pp. 643-650.
32. A. BURDA, M. DVOŘÁK, *Die entstehung de Barockkunst in Rom Akademische Vorlesungen Alois Riegl*, Wien, 1908; M. DVOŘÁK, *Francesco Borromini, als Restaurator*, in "Kunstgeschichtliches Jahrbuch der K. K. Zentralkommission", 1, 1907, coll. 89-98.
33. C. BELLANCA, *Antonio Muñoz*, *ibidem*, p. 39.
34. The International Congress of Art History, Roma, 1910.
35. M. DVOŘÁK, *Katechismus der Denkmalpflege*, Wien, 1918; M. DVOŘÁK, *Denkmalpflege, in Österreich*, in *Gemeinsame tagung für Denkmalpflege und Heimatschutz*, Salzburg, 14-15 September, 1911. See also: W. FRODL, *Katechismus der Denkmalpflege*, in *Österreichische Zeitschrift für kunst und Denkmalpflege*, XXVIII, 1974, 3, pp. 90-105; S. SCARROCCHIA, *Sviluppi della tutela in Austria, Riegl, Dvořák e Sedlmayer*, "Ananke", 54, 2008, pp. 26-37.
36. H. LOERSCH, *Das französische Gesetz vom 20. März 1887. Ein Beitrag zum Recht der Denkmalpflege*, Bonn, 1897.

37. G. SEMPER, *Unmaßgebliche Vorschläge zur Erhaltung und Wiederherstellung des Domes zu Meißen*, in "Aktenstücke", 1904, 8-11.
38. C. GURLITT, *Die Pflege der Kirchlichen Kunstdenkmäler*, Leipzig 1921.
39. G. DEHIO, *Was wird aus dem Heidelberger Schloss werden* (1901); ID, *Denkmalschutz und Denkmalpflege in neunzehnten Jahrhundert* (1905); ID, *Handbuch der deutschen Kunstdenkmäler*, Berlin 1906.
40. G. DEHIO, *Was wird aus dem Heidelberger Schloss werden*, 1901, reprinted in 1914, pp. 247-259, in detail p. 258.
41. P. TORNOW, *Denkschrift betreffend den Ausbau der Hauptfront des Domes zu Metz*, Metz, 1891; ID, *Rapport sur le voyage d'études en France, entrepris par l'architecte de la Cathédrale à l'occasion de l'élaboration du projet relative à la reconstruction du portal principal de la Cathédrale de Metz*, in "Bulletin de l'oeuvre de la Cathédrale de Metz", 1893, VIII-IX, 14-26; ID, *Das Neue Hauptportal des Metzzer Domes Kurze Beschreibung des figürlichen Schmuckes und Notizen zur Geschichte des Portales*, Metz 1903.
42. P. CLEMEN, *Erhaltung der Kunstdenkmäler in Deutschland*, "Kunsthistorischen Kongresses", VI, Lübeck, pp. 16-19, September 1900; ID, *Die Straßburger Ausstellung der Denkmalpflege im Elsaß*, "Die Denkmalpflege", VIII, 1906, 6, pp. 46-47; ID, *Entwicklung und Ziele der Denkmalpflege in Deutschland*, in "Tagung für Denkmalpflege und Heimatschutz", 14-15 Salzburg 1911; ID, *Unser Schutz der Kunstdenkmäler im Krieg*, "Internationale Monatschrift für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Technik", IX, 1914, V, 303-316.
43. A. GIEYSTOR, *History of Poland*, Warszawa 1979, ed. it. Milano 1983, especially chapters XVI-XVII-XVIII-XXI; on these arguments see: T.G. JORDAN, *The European Culture Area* (1973), ed. it. *Geografia Culturale dell'Europa*, Milano 1980, pp. 250-253; G. RUDE, *Europe in the Eighteenth Century*, London 1972, ed. it. *L'Europa del Settecento, storia e cultura*, Bari 1974, p. 335.
44. G. DE ANGELIS D'OSSAT, *Restauro: architettura sulle preeesistenze diversamente valutate nel tempo*, in "Palladio", XXVII, 1978, 2, pp. 51-68.
45. In the last years of Stanisław August Poniatowski, a commission was set up for National Education; on patronage and European art of the king, there is a wide documentation (he was appointed Honorary Academic of Accademia di San Luca in 1793). Extremely important is the paperwork held with Count August Mozyński, architect, his envoy in France and Italy and especially the letters sent from Roma in 1785 and from Napoli in 1786. A. MOSZYŃSKI, *Dziennik podróży do Franji I Włoch architekta J.K.M. Stanisława Augusta Poniatowskiego*, 1784-1786 (Travel Diary in France and Italy of the architect of Her Majesty Stanisław August Poniatowski 1784-1786). Some profiles on this particularly significant period found in: L. CHODZKO, *Le regne du roi de Pologne Stanislaw Augusto Poniatowski*, Wilno 1819 - Paris 1839, J. FABRE, *Poniatowski et l'Europe des Lumiers*, Paris 1952, E. ROSTOWOROSWKI, *Stanislaw August Poniatowski*, Warsaw 1956, and in S. LORENTZ, *Relazioni Artistiche fra la Polonia e l'Italia nel secolo dell'Illuminismo*, in "Palladio", VI, 1956, 1, pp. 68-77, A. BUSIRI VICI, *I Poniatowski e Roma*, Firenze 1972, pp. 7-63.
46. B. BILINSKI, *Prolegomena al dialogo culturale e scientifico*, in *Polonia e Italia. Relazioni Artistiche dal Medioevo al XVIII secolo*, Atti del Convegno held in Roma, 21-22 May 1975 (Quaderno n. 77, Polish Academy of Sciences, Scientific Centre in Roma), Warsaw 1979, p. 19.
47. G. DE ANGELIS D'OSSAT, *Restauro...*, cit., p. 51.
48. G. DE ANGELIS D'OSSAT, *Ibidem*, p. 51.

49. This period can be identified as training of a 'Polish school' in fact, at the same time as the spread of writings by Pugin, Merimée and Viollet-le-Duc, extensive scientific activity due to the conservators and/or restorers. J. FRYCZ, *Restauracja I Konserwacja Zabytków Architektury w Polsce w Latach 1795-1918* (Restoration and Conservation of architectural monuments in Poland 1795-1918), Warsaw 1975, pp. 89-90.

50. A. RIEGL, *Der moderne Denkmalkultus, sein wesen, seine Entstehung*, (The modern cult of monuments, its essence its development), Wien 1903.

51. The Cloth Hall realized at the beginnings of the 14th century, after the fire was rebuilt by G. Mosca said "the Padovano", around 1555; displays Renaissance characters, especially in stairs, lodges and windows of the smaller sides. G. FIOCCO, *Il Mosca a Padova*, in *Venezia e la Polonia nei secoli dal XVIII al XIX Secolo*, Atti del Convegno (Venezia 28 Maggio-2 Giugno 1968), Venezia 1969, pp. 43-52. W. TATARKIEWICZ, *Dodici generazioni di Architetti Italiani in Polonia*, "Palladio", VII, 1957, fasc. II, pp. 119-120.

52. In reference to external reality, our Cloth Hall, resumes a recurring appearance throughout 19th century and the first forty years of this century in Europe, that of monument 'wrapped' by a series of adjacent buildings. More specifically for Krakow this similarity is to be reconnected with the Palazzi della Ragione of northern Italy and especially with the one of Padua. C. SEMENZATO, *L'Architettura del Palazzo*, in *Il Palazzo della Ragione di Padova*, Venezia 1964, pp. 23-44.

53. It is ultimately a problem similar to the one that Renato Bonelli analyzed for the outer flank of the Ferrara's Dome, the Portico dei Merciai. R. BONELLI, *Architettura e Restauro*, Venezia 1959, pp. 69-70.

54. S. CASIELLO, *La fortuna critica in Italia. Viollet Le Duc e il Restauro dei monumenti*, in "Restauro", IX, 47-48-49, 1980, p. 58.

55. The decidedly eclectic taste project is conserved in the Jagiellonian University museum in Krakow (*teka Lepkowski*), and it has been inserted in the catalogue of the First Centenary Exhibition of the death, Viollet-le-Duc (Liste des Realisation), Paris 1980, p. 393. A few years earlier, in 1966, this project had been documented in an essay by T. JAKIMOWICZ, *Viollet Le Duc, architect-konservator J jego Zwiaski z Polska* (Viollet-le-Duc architect-restorer and his relations with Poland), "Ochrona Zabytków", XIX, 1966, 74, pp. 3-12.

56. The project of the Ecole Polonaise in Paris, in bd. Montparnasse 80, is conserved in the Centre des Recherches sur Monuments Historiques, *Viollet-le-Duc*, n. 1482, also see the catalogue Viollet-le-Duc, cit., p. 393.

57. The project is conserved at the archive of Monuments Conservator of Poznan.

58. At St. Stephen's Cathedral in Wien, the architect Friedrich Schmidt between 1860 and 1864, he placed the spire on the tower and completed the work started in 1853-54. A. KIESLINGER, *Die Steine von St. Stephen*, Wien 1949. In Budapest, the restoration was started in 1874 with the direction of Frigyes Schulek, who brought the monument back to that ideal form that was believed to have been, inserting the spire and completing the tower, as well isolating the church from the constructions that were leaning over it. G. ENTZ, *L'Eglise de la Vierge dite Eglise Mathias à Buda et le bastion des pêcheurs*, Budapest 1965 e D. DERCZENYI, *Historical Monuments in Hungary, Restoration and Preservation*, Budapest 1969. F. JANOS, *Matyas Templom*, Budapest, 1995; P. FARBAKY, L. FARBAKY DEKLAVA, A. VEGH, *Matyas Templom*, Budapest, 2005

59. From the conference of the conservators, published in "Architekt", 10, 1909, pp. 108-111 and republished by J. FRYCZ, *Restauracja...*, cit., pp. 219-220.

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Chapter 7

The beginning of Architectural Restoration in Spain (1840-1936) *Theory and Practice*

Susana Mora Alonso-Muñoyerro

7.1 Introduction. The theory

The passage of time means traverse a path in reverse, losing aesthetic and functional values, to acquire values from history and antiquity.

In Spain, after the fire of the old Alcazar of Madrid, the Italian architects in charge of the construction of the new Palace, noticed the differences in the technical preparation of their Spanish assistants.

The intellectual support of the *Academia de Bellas Artes*, during its first years, is influenced by the texts that Olivieri asked to be brought from Roma. But the ascent to the throne of Charles III, meant the introduction of a new artistic concept. Under his reign, the discoveries of Pompeii and Ercolano took place and it was him who ordered their diffusion by means of prints. The *Academia* began to focus on the meaning of antiquity and ruins, but not as an element of interest to an erudite collector, but by attributing them a value as an architectural fact of the past. It is a question of creating an order, a call to the art and to the reason and not to the senses. The interest in the study through the use of prints began¹.

José de Hermosilla sent the plan of the facade of the Palazzo dei Conservatori in the Campidoglio during his study and research stay in Roma. He defended the study of Architecture through the direct measurement of the ruins, in the manner of Desgodetz. Hermosilla was commissioned to draw up the plans for the Monastery of San Lorenzo del Escorial. The work was completed in 1755, having been proposed as an architectural analysis.

In 1756 the academics of Fine Arts expressed the desire of the institution to “preserve and extend the memory of the ancient monuments of the Iberian Peninsula and especially those that were more likely to disappear over the time”. Ignacio de Hermosilla, the Secretary of the *Academia de Bellas Artes*, complains to the Chancellery of Granada about the poor condition of the paintings of the Alhambra in Granada and proposes that they be copied. The *Academia* wishes to promote the publication of engravings of the monuments, as a means to gain their esteem, as well as a document to be preserved.

To begin with, the Palace of La Granja de San Ildefonso is chosen, possibly as Bedat points out, as a matter of national pride, to show that there is also a Versailles in Spain. But the king does not judge it convenient and he encourages to make known national buildings that were unknown, especially to other countries. This is how the Alhambra of Granada was chosen, and Diego Sánchez Saravia was commissioned to copy the frescoes, coffered ceilings, plans and so forth. The work was completed by him in 1766.

Julián Bort and Isidro González Velázquez had been commissioned in 1751 and 1750 to travel and locate antiquities. Attempts were numerous, but rarely become established. Saravia's work was considered the starting point for other studies, such as that of José de Hermosilla, assisted by Pedro Arnal and Juan de Villanueva, regarding the arab monuments of Cordoba and Granada².

In 1777, by decree, the *Academia de Historia* was entrusted with the conservation and surveillance of ancient monuments, as well as with the restoration works, to be carried out by trained personnel.

This would lead to an interest in knowing the existing monuments, as well as to scientifically grounding the knowledge of the remains of the past. The scholarship stays in Roma were an established tradition but the funds depended on the royal arbitrariness. So, it was necessary to regulate them according to the Statutes of the *Academia* of 1757.

From Neoclassicism to Romanticism. The first attempts for a cataloging

Isidoro Bosarte played a very important role in the academic and erudite environment of the 18th and early 19th centuries, when neoclassical rationalism began to be accompanied by an appreciation of sentimentalism and subjective appreciation. He states that "it is not necessary that the arts pass by tradition from some people to others and it is enough the human talent excited by sociality to invent them"³.

In 1790, in his comments on the fine arts in classical antiquity until the conquest of Greece by the Romans, we can see a hint of romanticism in the appreciation of individual gift. Some years before, in 1786, Bosarte had made a "Dissertation about the ancient monuments in Barcelona", where he pointed out the need to directly address the columns of Paradise street, so that they can be understood and to find out how was the building to which they belonged to. But he doesn't forget the remains themselves and he wonders what to do with them: Should be dismantle the walls and partitions that have the columns embedded? Should be the remains protected with a fence? Should be dig as much as possible without damaging the foundations of the building to look for a floor plan?

He does not propose the replacement for the damaged elements but a half concealment with perfectly distributed plant layouts. In this case the ruin is studied, drawn and measured in order to be classified, but it is also preserved itself⁴.

Bosarte had expressed the need for a History of Spanish Architecture "to get to know the buildings that exist in the nation belonging to all periods of art". He saw an opportunity to start it when, after Ponz's death, he was appointed to continue his work, of which 18 volumes had been already published. Bosarte understood the journey not as a topographical description of places, but as an outline of the history of the arts. He limited Ponz's social dimension and resolved to order materials.

His eagerness for history makes him feel respect for the architectural elements of the past, which were still far from his aesthetic ideals. For him, old buildings should remain as a sign of appreciation for their antiquity. However, his criteria for the continuations and supplements of old works is different. He says that continuations must be made in their own style, but the new existing work is not subject to the old style.

As Azorín points out, Jovellanos symbolizes the link between the critical and intellectual 18th century, and the romantic, sensitive and emotional 19th century⁵. The individualized vision of the work of art typical of romantic thought is beginning to emerge. The work of art is unique, individual and unrepeatable. This is a vital characteristic in the history of art because a history based on styles, pointing out what is common to the different works, periods or artists, will have only a relative validity if it does not highlight what is individual and non-transferable within the general.

The journeys come and go, but many years will have to pass until a list of existing monuments in all the provinces, from all periods and styles, will be available.

The work "*Monumentos Arquitectónicos de España*"⁶ collects the graphic information of those monuments that had been capturing the interest of many travelers, especially those who were closer to the new topic of Romanticism.

The book "*España Artística y Monumental*" is published in 1842⁷. This one is followed by another book so called "*Recuerdos y Bellezas de España*"⁸. In both works, value judgments are also included regarding additions, unity of style and what the restorations works should have been.

In 1844, the "*Comisiones de Monumentos auxiliaadoras de la Central*" were created⁹. The first emergency interventions began. Before than that, there had already been a few interventions on Arab monuments.

A little bit of theory

The period coincides with the appearance of the first publications of aesthetics. The concepts of style or type continue with this obsession of classification, which will make Leroy Bealieu, around 1870, express himself in the following way:

"It is the same with architecture as with natural history: our divisions, classifications, definitions and formulas have become more separate and differentiated than the things themselves did: they have led to the creation of a kind of ideal type of abstract and theoretical art to which we are tempted to adapt the monuments of the past.

But a monument is not only a work of art, it is something more than art, it is a document. Is the falsification of written monuments forgiven? Will the reissue of Jonville and Charles d'Orleans correct errors and faults by taking advantage of the progress of philology? The issue is not to remake it better, but to respect what exists".

For others, it will not cease to be original the artist who "taking an idea from other one, would make it so much and in such a way of his own, that it appears in it all the necessary spontaneity will appear to make him forget his own personality"¹⁰.

According to the referred criteria, it is evident that the reconstructions are not only considered licit, but necessary to provide the monument with the unity that it never had before.

But a rigorous study of the edifice will be necessary to determine what was the originary style of the building, including its stylistic school, according to its geographical location and exact time at which it was created. Viollet will be felt for many decades to come, but with a few exceptions attending to an exclusively formal interpretation.

With this background, we will go through the main opinions that are beginning to be made public in relation to the subject. Manifestations that generally take place as a consequence of significant interventions.

There has been a flight from a classification by stylistic school, preferring the exposition of the main evidences as they occur over time:

In one of the first art magazines, *"El Artista"* (1835-1836), Count of Campo Alange expressed himself as follows: "The subject is delicate when it comes to acting on monuments of the arts, very few of them manage to be penetrated by a well understood spirit of conservation which must preside over such works so that, they do not become works of destruction. Whenever something entirely new is going to be done, it should exactly copy what it used to exist. If possible, the recent work, should be given a certain air of old age, which would make the illusion more complete and more fruitful. It is a matter of preserving an ancient effigy, just as our grandparents left it to us: not of changing it into a modern portrait, replacing its own primitive finery, with ornaments that alter its physiognomy and make it appear grotesque like an Egyptian sphinx with a vestal crown"¹¹.

From 1859, Matías Laviña is in charge of the restoration of the Cathedral of León. He was an architect with a classical training in Roma, where he arrived in 1817. As a defender of the unity of style, he studied the primordial style of the temple, the defects of its construction and the desecration that had been done to the art through the heterogeneous additions made in the subsequent centuries¹².

Nevertheless, when the problem of saving the building arose, he proposed two very different options:

- To keep it with all its construction defects.
- To restore it completely according to the genius and purity of the art that had preceded it in its conception.

Matía Laviña's position fluctuates between somewhat of the 18th century fetishist observation and proto-scientific analysis.

Laviña uses materials from his own time, but does not leave them visible. On the main entrance, he uses emptied hydraulic lime bricks with reliefs imitating the originals. Even for the most practical observers, there were doubts whether or not they were made of stone, so that, the new is not distinguished from the old.

For Laviña, as for Manjarrés, the illusion of reality and not the reality itself, will be the desired effect, the effect that art demands¹³.

The use of these materials does not seem to be influenced by their stay in Roma, although Laviña had to know the important restorations that were carried out, such as that of the Arch of Titus, where travertine replaces the original marble in the rebuilt areas; but his criteria is closer to the industrialization processes. However, his proposal for the Cathedral's mud coating recalls the treatment of the remains of classical architecture in Roma which it was frequent at that time.

When Rafael Contreras took over from his predecessors in the Alhambra in Granada and carried out his first restoration trials, he proposed to eliminate the corrosive work of time, despite the fact that years later he wrote “it was not our purpose to carry out the restorations until the point of painting and gilding with the exuberance that the Arabs did. With regard to the restoration of works of art, we hold the opinion to preserve them as much as humanly possible and after the work falls down broken or pulverized, to replace it, covering the hole with another similar one so that the new one can hold the old one that is at risk of disappearing as well. This theory is not at all applicable to buildings and it can admit modifications in painting and sculpture; but when it is well guided, it will indefinitely prolong the life of the monument, without revealing what intervention corresponds to each period of restoration”¹⁴.

Certain similarity with Paolo Cavaceppi, (Roman school of restoration of the 600's) is found where the restorer is required to recognize the veracity of the style of the work rather than of the material, without interfering with solutions of a personal nature.

Any intervention which is not in accordance to the ancient, is understood as false. The efforts will be directed to the decipher-reconstruct relationship.

And this will be his criterion when criticising the old interventions in the Alcazares of Seville¹⁵.

Viollet's School and Juan de Madrazo

When Juan de Madrazo begins to work on the Cathedral of León, he understands that it must be “to return the Cathedral to its primitive state, by works in exact harmony with the character and style of the building, without incongruities or anachronisms that dishonour us”¹⁶.

Once again, efforts are directed towards interpretation. But the difference will be in the extent of interpretation, whether it remains only in the formal aspects, or they are a conclusion of other aspects.

Madrazo is the Spanish architect closest to Viollet. They both know the constructive and structural system of Gothic buildings, for both of them essentially logical, and that is the basis of their admiration.

They possess a very rational concept of architecture, (architecture is not art when the conception is not based on the means of execution), and both relate the artistic forms with the purpose, the place and the circumstances in which they are applied. “In the Middle Ages, when a coffered ceiling was made, it was the structure of the ceiling that determined the distribution of the compartments and the place for decoration. Today, coffered ceilings are pieces of plaster glued under the beams. In the past, walls were made with exposed wooden frames, from whose arrangement great advantage was taken. Nowadays, these frames are hidden under a stucco, simulating that the wall is made of stone.

Today, arches are made that would not stand up if it were not for the wooden or iron beams that are hidden above...” says Madrazo in his reply to the Cathedral's Chapter in 1878¹⁷.

The understanding that for Winckelmann represents codifying the structure, fixes a rule that will be a necessary premise to identify the element and to understand substantiality and occurrence rate. But, it is done in order to arrive at a true and proper translation, with the loss of original text, where the complete legibility of a work prevails over the respect for the original.

One of the most interesting controversies arose with the restoration of San Vicente de Avila, led by Mr. Lázaro and Mr Marín Baldo (1884).

Lázaro touches a raw nerve when he states that no architect is capable of undertaking when knowing the demolition of a monument, but “what does an architect think is worthy of respect?” For Lázaro, the good sense of any restorer must focus “on the specific point of what must be respected and that is absolutely everything of a monumental nature, whether it has an excellent or a bad taste, and as long as it is linked to the history and vicissitudes of the building to which it belongs”.

Marín Baldo agrees with Lázaro in his general reasoning but not absolutely. He defends the demolition of what by clumsiness, ignorance or caprice has come to be built damaging of the building to be restored, returning it to the primitive form of its plant, or discovering its true face and tearing off the mask that covers it¹⁸. This is the so-called splendid restoration (“*restauración espléndida*”).

Elias Rogent is also in favour of the unitary image and the splendid restoration but, he defends the good constructive principles as a circumstance that allows to distinguish the original and the reconstructed, but only to the eyes of an expert. It could be compared to the translation of a text, which is always accompanied by serious losses of content. Having each language and a series of rules recognized and codified, and having fixed the minimum indivisible units -phonemes-, the hypothesis of re-composition can be advanced because, only in certain circumstances, a specific phoneme can complete a text. This will justify the reproduction of elements by virtue of a canon, outside their material context¹⁹. Demetrio de los Ríos continues the works of the Cathedral of León, and in 1887 presents two projects for the west gable.

The first one looks for the style of the 13th century. The second one would defend the aesthetic theories of the status quo, with all its vicissitudes and irregularities. But, far from what it might be initially considered, his respect is only due to his preference for a particular style, the bramantesque Renaissance, which Ríos prefers in the case of acting as a free composer.

Ríos wants to place himself in an intermediate position between the so-called followers of Viollet and the supporters of conservation, mainly because of his practical experience. He points out that both methods, preventive repair or rebuilding, have always been used. He makes a paragon with medicine by equating what he calls reconstruction of the new-build with surgery.

For him, the substance of the architectural element is not the most important thing to be saved, because he considers it is a changeable one. For Mr. Ríos, the essential thing to respect is the form and, therefore, he considers the replacement of elements to be licit.

When in 1883 he planned to free the apses, a controversy arose regarding what was considered to be artistic merit and historical value. For him, as for the Academia de San Fernando, the artistic merit prevails over the historical one, and the demolitions continue their course. It is a question of deconsecration, of converting the model, which is unreal, into a fetish, by means of restoration²⁰.

The Value of Authenticity

In 1895, Urioste elaborated a project for Santa María de Lebeña. He proposed the demolition of the tower built around 1830, which was in bad shape over the Main Chapel. He designs another exempt tower, in harmony with the main building.

When Simeon Avalos, Secretary of the Academia de San Fernando, reported on the project, he proposed the two masonry stoneworks, old and new, be diversified. He recommends the characteristic Latin-Byzantine forms of the tower be modified, so that the work has the modern character that it should have²¹. Earlier, in 1882, in relation to the façade project for Barcelona Cathedral, the press expressed its opinion which was generally in accordance with the search for guidelines in the origin of the monument.

It is remarkable that S. Sampere and Miguel says in the newspaper “*La Publicidad*” that the 19th century must also leave its trace on the temple, as the previous centuries did. He refers to Schinckel or Semper to those who may argue that there is no art or architecture of the 19th century. If someone thinks that there is no such thing as artistic genius, he recommends waiting for the next century to complete the façade, since it had already waited four centuries.

7.2 The Congresses and the Restorers

The VI International Congress of Architects that takes place in Madrid, in April 1904, summarizes the following conclusions:

To distinguish between living and dead monuments. Dead monuments should be preserved; living ones should be restored for further use. Restorations should be done in the original style of the monument²².

In 1904, Manuel Vega y March defended the careful conservation of what already exists. But, in countless cases of ruined monuments “for the sake of imitation, is it preferable to produce a false work that reveals only the impotence of today’s artists (with a few exceptions) or to carry out the real work of an architect-artist, modern, as it is alive, as it was done for example in the *Transparente* of the Cathedral of Toledo. For him, the choice is not in doubt.

Vicente Lampérez

As early as 1899, he noted that for many french people, Viollet was considered a desecrator of the monuments of the past.

From then on, he tried to systematize the different theoretical positions regarding the restoration of monuments. In 1907, in the magazine “*Arquitectura y Construcción*”, he defined the word “Restoration: to rebuild the ruined parts or those about to be ruined, in the same original architectural style”. He mentioned that the concept emerged as such in the second third of the 19th century.

For Lampérez, restoration in the original style is possible and feasible.

However, he points out that it should be invented as little as possible. Although he believes that it is very difficult to give rules, he systematizes his opinions, following the classification of Schmit and Cloquet.

He is in favour of the originarious construction procedures. Nonetheless, he understands that other systems can be used when the elements are not seen or have not a great value. This is the case with the replacement of roof structures with metal elements.

For him, it is chronologically impossible to make restorations in the modern style because, he says, that style does not exist. He is very concerned about the practical issue²³.

The Anti-restorers

The Marquis of Vega Inclán, will be one of his greatest defenders of the so called “anti-restoration” movement in Spain, with his criticism of Cendoya’s interventions in the Alhambra in Granada.

He criticizes, not only the completion of pieces that disappeared from the ancient ornaments and the cladding of arabesques and base boards, but also the fact that once they have been removed and emptied in the workshops, they are reworked, filed, tormented, their edges sharpened and then placed “plus beau que nature”. In this search for unity, the mosaic made up of different fragments, old and new ones, is not possible. The restorer, who is fond of his work, continues to improve everything and fatally makes the ruin disappear, which is precisely the only thing he was supposed to preserve²⁴.

The Marquis of Vega Inclán is aware that the substance of the artistic object can communicate data of interest for the knowledge of the object and its environment. Therefore, the works must be limited to consolidate without disturbing, replacing or adding foreign elements. Similarly to the Abbot Crespi in Italy in the 17th century, he saw the impossibility of restoring artistic elements that could not be touched up because of their specific characteristics, as Crespi observed for the frescoes.

The Count of Santibáñez del Río follows the theoretical criteria of the Marquis of Vega Inclán. He synthesizes the restorative and anti-restorative positions and sees an intermediate position, which he calls the eclectic one, and propose the substitution of expired elements for other more simplified ones (it is what will later be called the “capable solid”)²⁵.

The Reproduction as Restoration

The restoration by the reproduction is a position already defended by Luis Cabello Lapiedra, in relation to the Cartuja de Jerez.

Amós Salvador exclaims: “And since when is It lawful to use the ugly for the preservation of beauty? To preserve an artistic monument by spoiling it?” he exclaims. In his opinion, time is a negative factor. It is not a question of conserving the work of time, but that of the artist, the creation, the invention.

It is a mistake not to intend to study them as they were when they were, but as they are today when they are worthless, Amós Salvador says.

Contrary to what happens in other arts, in architecture, its creator invents but does not execute. Therefore, it can always be reproduced if you have the necessary elements, he affirms. For him, authenticity does not depend on the conservation of materials, or what the work is, but on the conservation of the thought imagined by the artist²⁶.

Torres Balbás

At the VIII National Congress of Architects held in Zaragoza in October 1919, Leopoldo Torres Balbás presented his criteria for “preserving buildings as they have been handed down to us, preserving them from ruin, supporting them, consolidating them, always with great respect for the old works and never completing or redoing the existing parts”²⁷. He continued and gave new impetus to the criteria of the Marquis de Vega Inclán and Jerónimo Martorell among others. These criteria are based on the new construction procedures, especially with reinforced concrete. Can we say that, at least theoretically, the criteria are almost unanimous? Puig i Cadafalch, Teodoro Anasagasti and so forth.

Is there a Ortega’s influence? For Lafuente Ferrari, Ortega restores the value of personality in art, as opposed to rules and materialism, by introducing intimacy expressed and conducted in the work.

The magazine “*Arquitectura*” in January 1933, published Torres Balbás definition of Restoration, Repairing and Consolidation of an ancient monument.

Restoration as a Technical Problem

It is what Modesto Lopez Otero will understand. For him, to preserve the life of the architectural organism is a constructive problem. According to the means put into action, fidelity to what is authentic will be more or less feasible.

He defends a methodology that, starting from the knowledge of the building, will lead to a diagnosis. New technologies such as photogrammetry, injections, etc... will come to help in the endeavour²⁸.

7.3 And the practice

Often, it is very difficult to follow in practice what is defended in idea. Not all those who defend a theoretical position have had the opportunity to bring it to reality.

But, monuments suffer modifications, reforms, ...restorations. Let’s go over some of interest, in various historical periods:

Half of the 19th century: Matías Laviña and the The Stylistic Manifesto

Matías Laviña was appointed restorer of the Cathedral of León, on 3 May, 1859. After the report and previous recognition of Pascual and Colomer, he begins with the verifications of pillars’ verticality, that respond to the scarce support of the high areas, reason why the dismantling of the pillars of 1710 is proposed (Fig. 1).

After a detailed study of the essential style of the temple, he presents two projects in 1861. One of the projects is a general cable-bracing structure for the temple, probably influenced by roman anastylosis, with minimal interventions. Formal aspects were not modified except by the insertion of technological elements of that period (Fig. 2).

But his second proposal is very different: it consists of the demolition and reconstruction of those parts of the building in bad condition, removing the additions to restore its original character²⁹.

This is the project approved by the Academia de San Fernando. Laviña projects a new dome, more in accordance with the general lines of the building (Fig. 3). He was very possibly influenced by the Roman situation, so familiar to him, when he faced the Cathedral, and he knew, without a doubt, the Edict of Leon XII, known as the “Manifesto of the Stylistic Restoration”, of 18th September 1825: “No innovation should be introduced in the forms and architectural proportions and none in the ornamentation of the new building, if not to exclude something that in subsequent periods after its primitive creation was introduced at the whim of the time”.

Fig. 1. Catedral de León. Pascual y Colomer. Previous recognition, 1859.

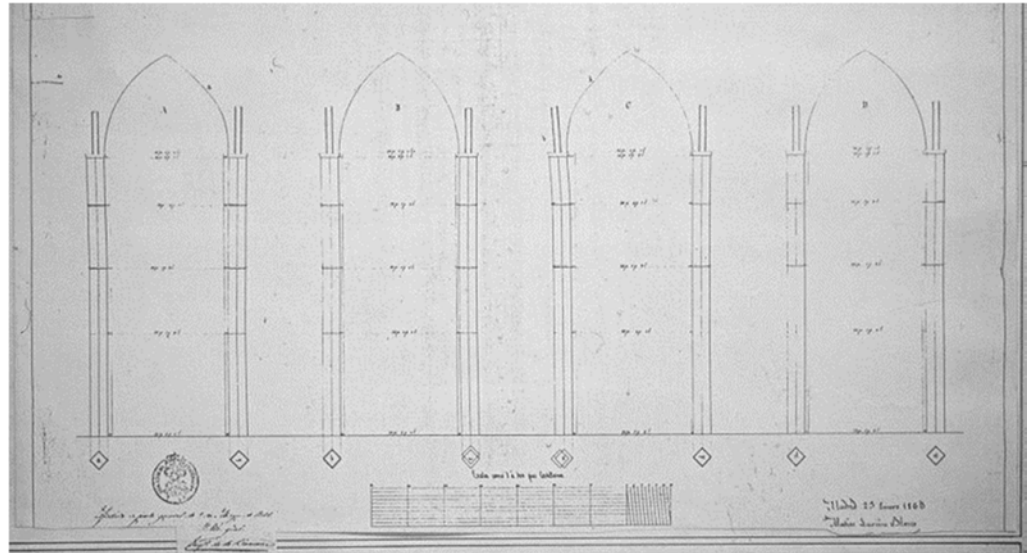
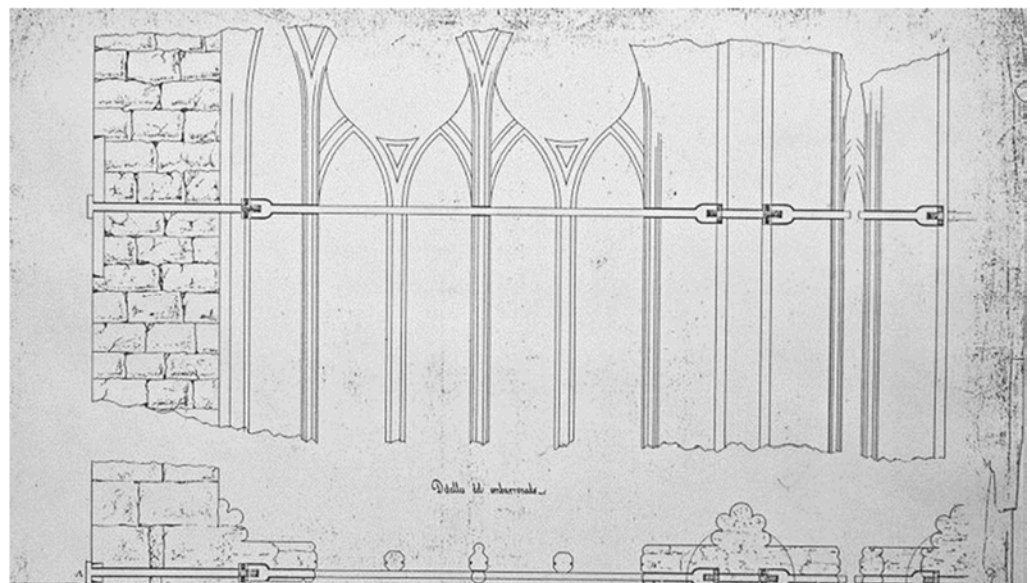


Fig. 2. Catedral de León. Matias Laviña. General cable-bracing structure, 1861.



Its southern façade project was completed in a gallery, over a rose window similar to the northern one, and a triforium. It was far from the true concept of the gable that would serve as a guideline for his successors.

As proposed for the basilica of San Paolo Fuori le Mura, after the fire of 1823, Laviña tries the regularization of the Cathedral, the need to have it in a correct, regular and symmetrical form.



Fig. 3. Catedral de León. Matias Laviña. Project for a new dome, 1861.

He never followed construction procedures similar to the original ones: he used hydraulic mortar to mend capitals, iron wheels to fix lintels and tympanum and, in the main doorway, hydraulic lime cast bricks with leaf relief to replace the stone. The demolished vaults were reconstructed with four-thick partitions. Their interventions were not understood either by the supporters of the *status quo*, or by those who were later called supporters of the “splendid restoration”. However, they must be understood with the naturalness that Italian tradition gave to the technicians who carried them out.

Academicism. San Jerónimo el Real

Without a main façade and in poor condition, the temple of San Jerónimo el Real in Madrid was the subject of a project by Narciso Pascual y Colomer in 1852, who uses materials from his time, but masked³⁰.

Andrés Hernández Callejo published in 1849 a study on the basilica of San Vicente de Avila, assessing the artistic merit of an addition such as the portico of light architecture and good style. He deals with the evolution of the temple, its continuous reforms and so forth. He projects a solution of reinforcement of the wall, in case it continues to collapse, consisting of the backing of the wall between buttresses up to the height of the impost, finishing in a similar way in order to twin all this repair with the rest of the building. Not only does it aim to repair, but to take advantage of the opportunity to contribute to the magnificence of the building. Using this criterion he will build the 2nd section of the south tower and repair the first one.

This desire to regularize will guide the intervention in the Archbishop’s Palace of Alcalá de Henares.

The Romantic Movement

The speech entitled “Originality of Arab Architecture”, given by Francisco Enríquez y Ferrer in 1859 at the Academia de San Fernando, proposes a new architectural idea to oppose the intolerant classicism. The Arab monuments serve as a model for new buildings and they are considered with the same criteria. But what was their situation?

The Alcazares of Seville had suffered constant modifications, but the most important reform was undertaken by Zintora before 1810. The desire for regularity was not merely a proposal, and since 1833, the retouching of decorative elements were continuous³¹.

In the Alhambra, the complaints of illustrious travellers around 1830 caused embarrassment, despite the fact that, in 1828, José Contreras had been in charge of the fortification and security works. By 1840 the somewhat uncontrolled works continue, but the same will not happen in the following decade. After his appointment as an ornamental restorer, and after claiming to have found the original molds used to make the plasterwork, Rafael Contreras began a long period of reproduction of ornaments³².

The main problem is, that Nasrid art is essentially decorative and if the decoration were lost, nothing would remain. So, the issue is posed in very different terms to other architecture works. It is very difficult to apply the theory of conservation because, in this case and at this time, conservation is equivalent to rebuilding, to reconstructing.

The Monuments as National Symbols

After the secularization of the Monastery, Ripoll would offer a desolate appearance, even though a part of the building was used for other purposes, it became a symbol of the Reconquest: “For the Catalans, Ripoll means that in the most flourishing period of the Western Caliphate, the northern part of the Principality was already independent and free, it was socially and politically constituted and in our Pyrenean valleys the Arabs did not achieve any permanent and regular occupation. A symbol just like Covadonga for Asturias and San Juan de la Peña for Aragon”³³.

The analogies, which years before would be sought in international architectural elements, will now be sought in the region. Elias Rogent believes that the elements missing in Ripoll will be found in the valleys of Comflent or Pla des Bajes, and it is the architect who must only order and compile them. Thus, while in the 1860’s, analogies are sought in the apse and crypt of Nuestra Señora del Puerto de Clermont, or in the nartex of Maurmoutir, in the 1880s, they are sought in San Martí de Canigó, San Llorens de Munt or San Miguel de Cuxá. The pictorial decoration that Rogent designs, seeks its sources from those found in San Martín de Canigó or San Miguel de Cuxá.

The Poblet Monastery also suffered from the abandonment of the monks in 1835. Continuous plundering makes archaeologists and sculptors, for fear that nothing remains, to dismantle the most valuable or symbolic pieces for their preservation elsewhere. This occurred in the Cardona’s Pantheon. Its remains were piled up in a basement for many years, only to return to their place many years later.

The Search for Unity

The Cathedral of Seville is considered that it cannot remain any longer in the situation in which it is, without portals on the transept. So, in 1866 a contest is announced, which Demetrio de los Rios wins.

It must be its most important ornament, along with the cover of the nave. However, he does not think this is correct, as it shows some mistakes, both in its construction and in its composition because it was built, he says, “when the pattern or card of the Vignola exercised its tyrannical influence”.

Ríos looks for a contemporary model and finds it in the Puerta de los Leones of Toledo Cathedral. The façades were never built but his proposal included elements of terracotta, or masonry work facing. It reminds us of what Laviña will do in the southern façade of León Cathedral.

The rupture between the criteria of composition and the constructive ones is evident. We are still very far from understanding the violletian efforts of architectural rationality, from explaining the gothic stylistic grammar from constructive identifications³⁴.

7.4 The Viollet Trail

As it has been mentioned, in Spain it is common to associate any restoration in which historicist models are formally followed with the criteria of Viollet le Duc. But, as Rafael Moneo points out, for Viollet “the possibility of codifying Gothic architecture lies precisely in its rationality”³⁵.



Fig. 4. Catedral de León. Juan de Madrazo. Completion of the west façade.

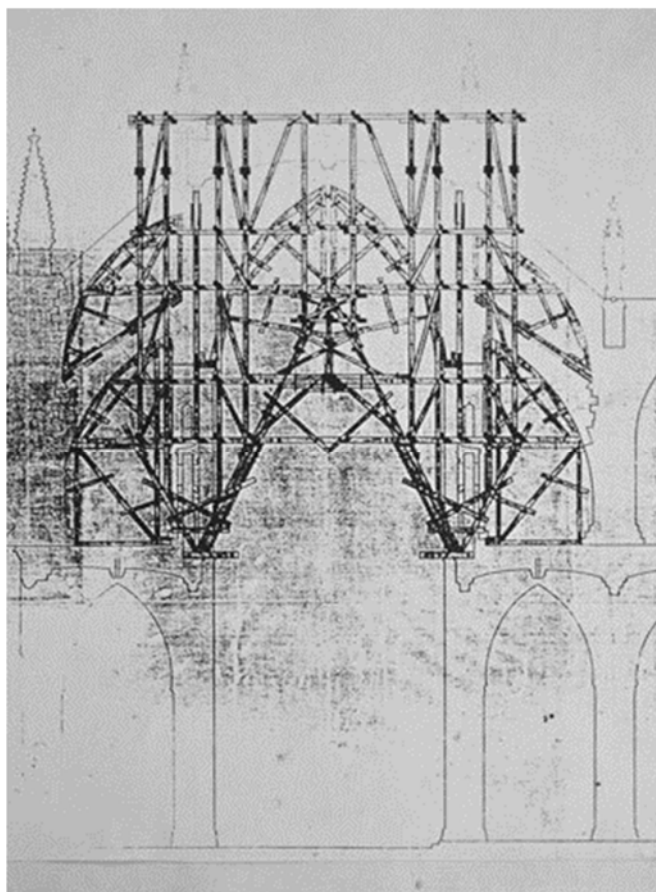


Fig. 5. Catedral de León. Juan de Madrazo. Project of arch centering and falseworks, 1877.

It will be Juan de Madrazo one of the few spanish architects dedicated to restoration, who will capture his intentions in depth. It is said that it was Viollet who influenced his appointment as restorer of the Cathedral of León from 1868 (Fig. 4).

First of all, from 1874 to 1877, Juan de Madrazo tries to contain the ruin with his project of arch centering and falseworks. His detailed description, the calculations for the high vaults and for the bonding conditions between timber pieces, give an idea of the care taken when he proposes the project. In 1880. This project was awarded at the National Exhibition of Fine Arts (Fig. 5).

Certainly, his most representative project is the completion of the South façade. The report begins with the definition of the authentic concept of gable, which he says comes from an unquestionable authority (Viollet le Duc). He disagrees with the Laviña triforium, and brings it down in order to establish the exact correspondence between the exterior and interior blind arcades of the latter area and to provide the pillars with counterbalance, as well as proportioned thickness to the rest of elements according to their corresponding purpose³⁶.

Demetrio de los Rios, who continued Madrazo's work in León, is an interesting and difficult to classify architect. In March 1880, the Cathedral must have had a worrying appearance, with the arch centering placed, the triforium of the south gable reconstructed, raised the south and south-west pillars of the south side above the triforium raised, the secondary ones of the same side reconstructed,

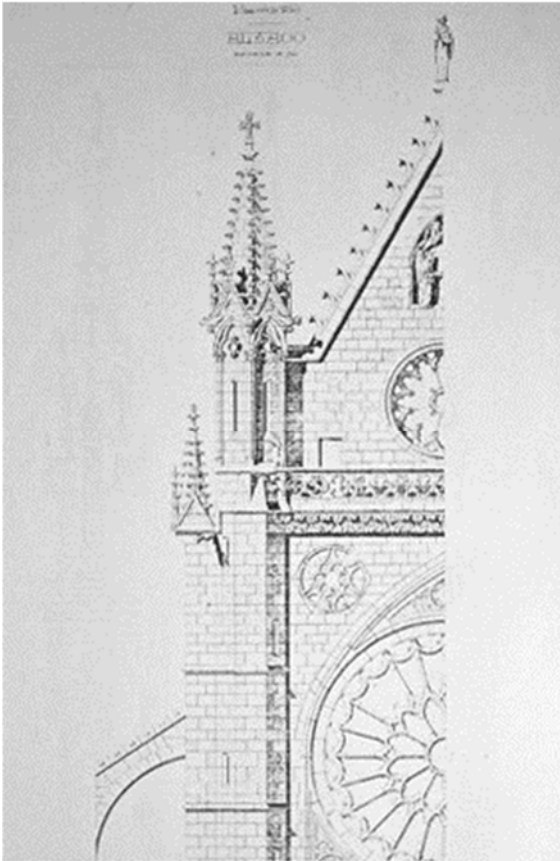


Fig. 6. Catedral de León. Demetrio de los Ríos. Project chosen for the south façade, 1880.



Fig. 7. Catedral de Sevilla. The southwest corner pillar collapse. 1st august 1888.

raised 8 rows of spandrels of vaults raised and so forth. Ríos, shares criteria with Madrazo and keeping with this line he proposes the centering encasement of the apse vault, the completion of the south facade and the “Projects of partial repairs to open the church to the worship of 1883-1885”.

In 1883, he undertook the demolition of the Treasury and the restoration of the apse chapels when the studies of Camillo Sitte were not yet known (Fig. 6)³⁷. He studied the foundations, discovering their precariousness, and conducted an unusual exploration work in that time, resulting in an unusual floor plant. Concerned about the stability, he began to reinforce the foundations with a stepped footing, and to rebuild piles by combining the cutting to leave a solid soul and stapling ashlar with typical double lead pieces. He defended the substitution of material in bad condition and even improved the construction deficiencies.

He did suffer criticism because too much intervention, as his predecessors had suffered because the low progress of the works. He is, somewhat, confused by the turnaround that in terms of formal criteria is occurring in a few years, but, he is an expert on the constructive aspects.

Adolfo Fernández Casanova is a great connoisseur of gothic masonry stone works, as he shows in the solution proposed for the Cathedral of Seville in 1882, to solve the problem of the reactions to maintain the balance of the parts to be demolished, due to their dangerous state.

But once the demolitions are executed, the construction system must be improved, if the existing one is deemed to be inconvenient. And in the reconstruction he proposes on the ruined pillar, he designs masonry, although it was surely not the original construction procedure.

On July 5th 1888, Fernandez Casanova reports the completion of a very risky task: the emptying of the ruinous pillar that divided the collaterals in the southern side of the transept.

But on August 1st 1888, the southwest corner pillar collapses (Fig. 7)³⁸.

When Velázquez Bosco planned the restoration of Santa Cristina de Lena, carried out by J.B. Lázaro, he based himself on the ideal restoration led by Jerónimo de la Gándara in “Monumentos Arquitectónicos de España” in 1877. It is proposed to replace the existing wooden structure with a stone vault. This will be done using existing stone on the site, and stone that is believed to have come from the collapses.

The end of the 800. The movement of the pendulum

In 1875, Juan de Madrazo had issued a report on the works that still needed to be done to ensure the stability of the Cathedral of León, including those on the west façade. But, Demetrio de los Ríos will be the one to undertake them from 1887, when he observes that the works on the transept and the South side are finished. The western Gable showed collapses, the cause of which Ríos studies.

He believed them to be due to:

- The foundation of the spiral piles was out of correspondence with the massif in the most exposed part.
- Lack of balance in the interlocking of the gable wall with the turrets.
- Awful election of the type of stone.
- The work executed in the 16th century was loading on the external beam of the supporting element.
- Projected elements out of the outer face of the gable.
- Lack of connection between the western wall and the perpendicular and lateral walls of the temple.
- Excessive elevation of the gable without protection.

According to Ríos, the aforementioned construction defects cannot be solved by partial restorations. Therefore, he proposes they to be dismantled.

However, he proposes two very different solutions for their replacement.

The first one is a proposal in harmony with the southern gable, a 13th century gothic one.

The second one will consist of putting back in its place the attic of the Badajoz family, correcting the constructive defects if possible.

As a restorer, Ríos sees the proposal clearly, in accordance with the true concept of gable that had guided Madrazo in the South solution. But he cannot avoid giving free rein to his personal taste. Therefore, it is not rigor or respect for the pages of different periods that moves Ríos, since surely this proposal would not have been made if the style had been different.

In 1888, when the Academia de Bellas Artes reported on the projects, opted for the 1st solution, clarifying that the Section of Architecture understood that the modifications of style and character introduced by outstanding artists should be respected, without destroying them. Even though some rigid criteria could judge them as unacceptable anachronisms, it could not happen in this case, due to their poor condition which impeded their conservation³⁹.

Whatever the compositional solution was, its execution was carried out after a meticulous study of its constructive system and the cutting of the successive rows, leaving nothing to chance, as it can be seen in the documents of the corresponding to the settlement.

The lantern tower of the Cathedral of Seville

On August 1, 1888, the pillar of the transept of the Cathedral collapsed, taking with it part of the vaults that supported it (Fig. 7).

D. Adolfo Fernández Casanova had been designing different solutions for the area of the transept since 1882, and in the report after the earthquake of October 1882, he proposed an external galvanized iron strap.

A new earthquake, on Christmas Day in 1884, made it necessary to work on the Gospel Pillar, made up of a brick masonry core wrapped in ashlar.

By reinforcing it in different points, Casanova is aware that its total repair will correspond to the day, perhaps not so far away, when it will be essential to undertake the reconstruction of this vault and the three adjoining ones.

But Casanova is not an architect who is satisfied with a mere consolidation, so he proposes, as a response to the collapse, the reconstruction of the old lantern over the crossing tower, at a higher height than the one existing in 1888.

He says that, if it is carried out, “it will be an extremely important and extraordinary work that will mark a glorious date in the monument; it will bear witness to the true times the degree of culture and scientific-artistic knowledge that this century has reached, and the deep love and respect that the rich artistic jewels that his predecessors left him deserve”. The Academia de Bellas Artes is opposed to the reconstruction of the ancient lantern over the lantern tower.

Fernandez Casanova addresses the Superiority, when in August 1888 during the beginning of the preparations for the reconstruction of the collapsed pillar, he observes errors in the mounting of the old pillars. As opposed to the criterion maintained by the Superiority about respecting the elements that have been partially saved from the sinking, Casanova considers that his state is pitiful and he does not feel in the mood to save the mentioned elements, for which he presents his resignation on August 27th 1.889⁴⁰.

“The Academia understands how difficult and distressing it is for an artist to confine himself merely to restoring or completing what has been started, especially if it struggles with his judgement; but such is his mission and not making a monument as he sees it, even if his judgement is very clear and enlightened”.

This reflection is made by Simeón Avalos, the Secretary of the Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, with respect to the Cathedral of Tarragona and the architects Elias Rogent and Augusto Font in relation to their proposal to dismantle the unfinished pediment. For them, it represents the regret of its author, but the Academia is against the demolition, pointing out that architectural works superimposed on the older and more valuable ones, must be respected. Simeón Avalos y Agra expressed his opinions in “Discursos en la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando” in Madrid, 1875.

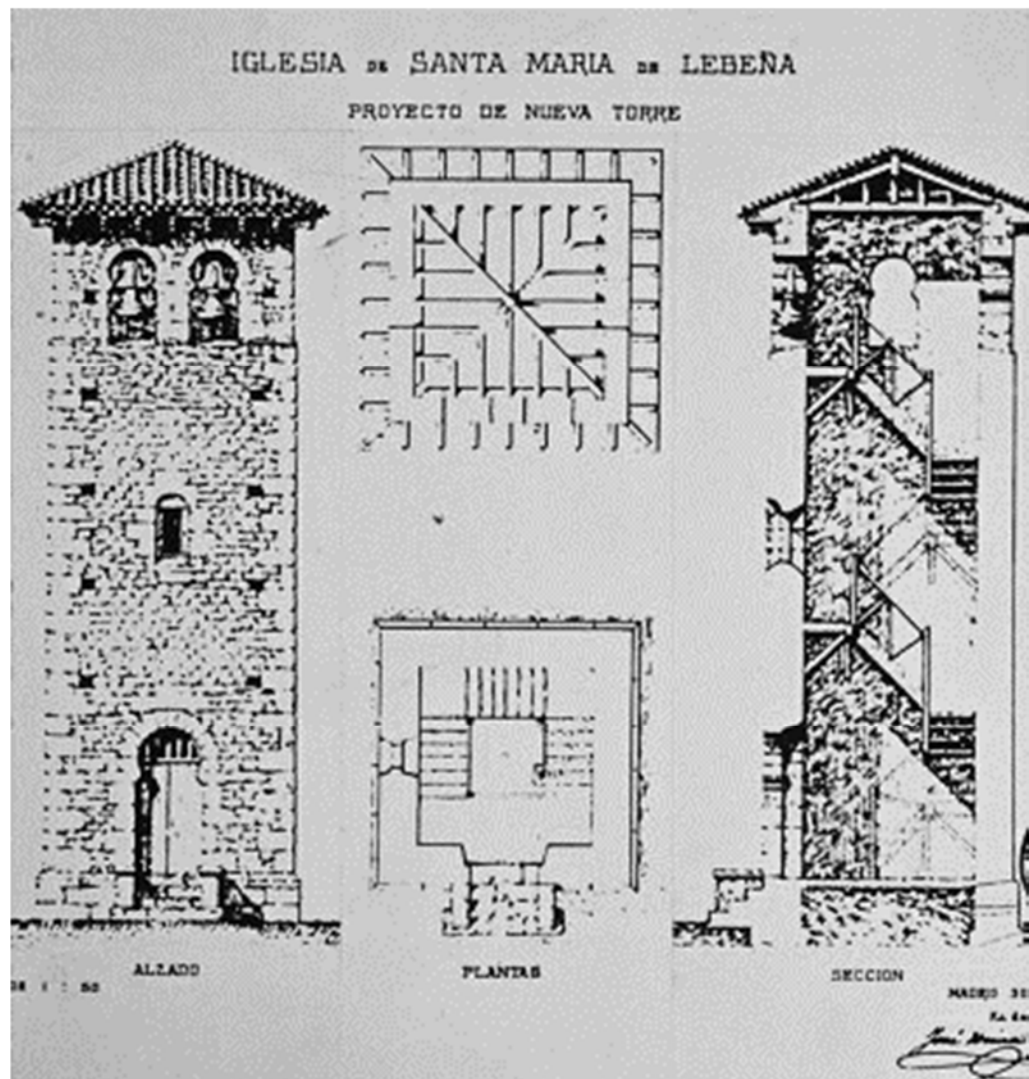


Fig. 8. Santa Maria de Lebeña. Jose Urioste. Project for the tower, 1895.

Lebeña

In 1895, José Urioste presented a restoration project for Santa María de Lebeña and did not exactly propose to rebuild it. However, the study of the deterioration suffered by the temple leads him to diagnose that the main cause of this damage is the breakage of the side walls of the Main Chapel around 1830, which was executed in order to load the tower on them.

For this reason, the only element whose disappearance he proposes is the aforementioned tower. However, he believes it would be better to build an isolated bell tower. Its design must be in harmony with the style of the monument, with ultra-semicircular arches at the entrance door reminiscent of those in the naves, and brackets and impost blocks equal in size and shape to those of the temple (Fig. 8)

Simeon Avalos, as Secretary of the Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando reported on the project in October 1895. He indicated to the author, the convenience of modifying the characteristic latin-byzantine forms of some of its details, in order to assign it the modern character that it should have.

The identification of authenticity of the forms is required, and not only in the materiality of the architectural object⁴¹.

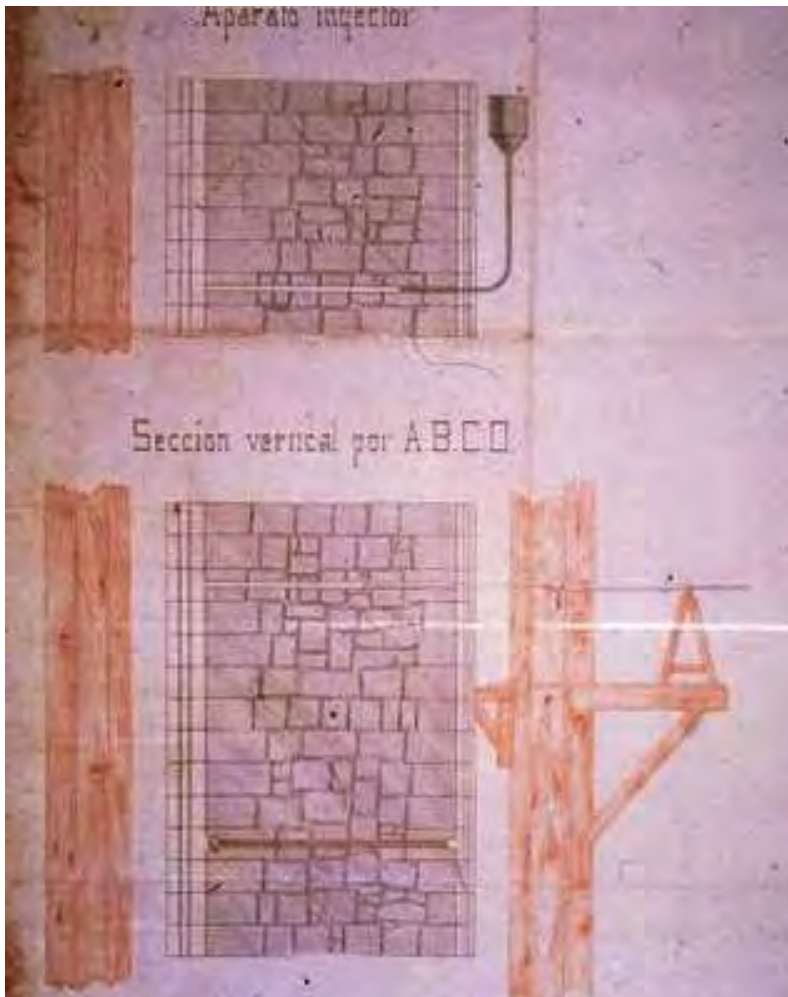


Fig. 9. Catedral de Sevilla. J. Fernández. Project for consolidation of the pillars.

The Splendid restoration

In spite of what we observe, the criteria of unity of style, completion of the constructive elements that had remained unfinished, or the reinterpretation of those that disappeared due to the disasters - even after using the alibi of their lack of stability -, will be the general rule for many years.

The so-called “splendid restoration” (“restauracion esplendida” in Spain) is sought since consolidation and conservation actions are not sufficiently valued. Fernandez Casanova is in charge of the drafting of the projects for the façades of the arms of the transept of the Cathedral of Seville. He tackles the study of the secondary façades in order not to fall into the errors that, in his opinion, the main one presents.

He concludes that the old façades correspond to a unique scheme, although with some variation, the same as the ornamentation. The façade for the southern arm was started to study in 1885, while the northern façade was tackled later, in 1896. Its construction was due to the need to provide a firm base for the upper part of the wall, which remained hanging, as nothing else had been built except the inner leaf of the inner Gothic wall, with large cracks that separated it from the outer buttresses, and independent of the ashlar that decorated the perimeter of the upper rose window⁴².

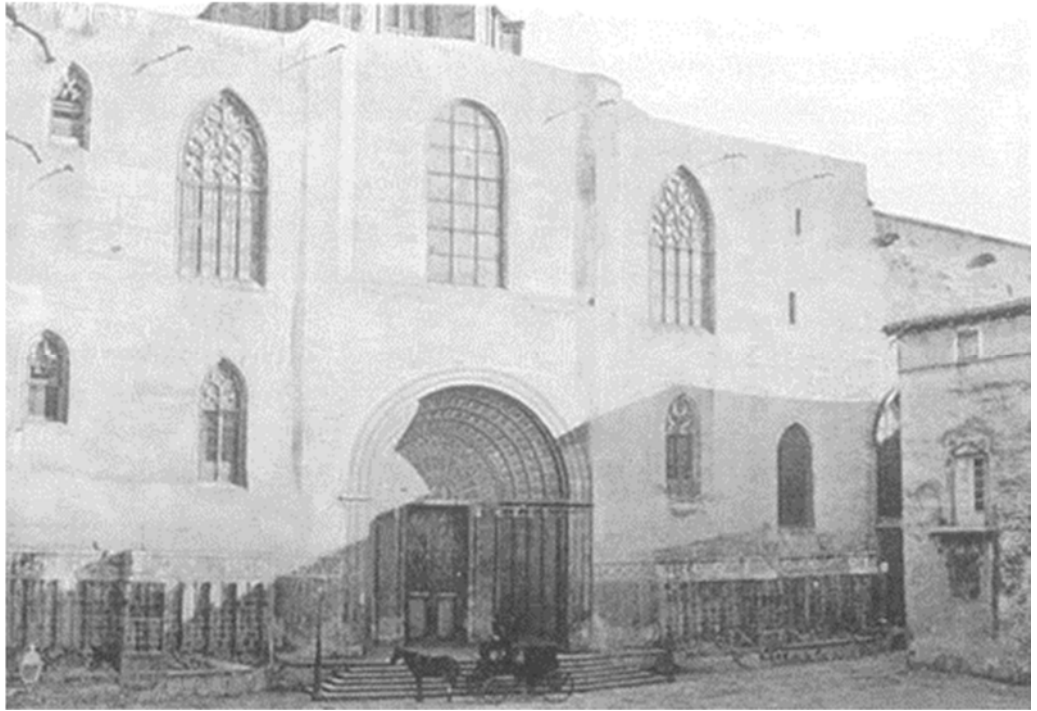


Fig. 10. Catedral de Barcelona. Main façade before the restoration.

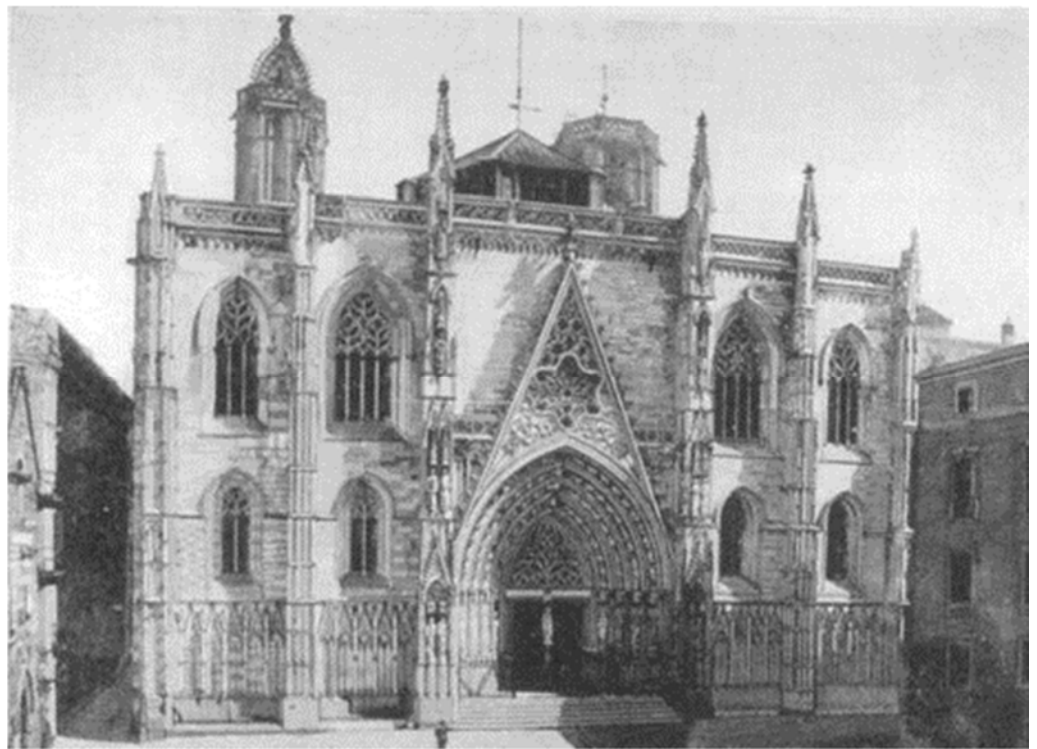


Fig. 11. Catedral de Barcelona. Main façade after the first part of the restoration of Oriol Mestre.

In 1886, a donation was made to carry out the North façade, so it was proposed that this would be done with the project for the South arm, which had already been drawn up. The problem is approached with theoretical criteria, without taking into account the specific aspects.

The Cathedral of Barcelona



Fig. 12. Catedral de Barcelona. After the restoration of the main façade and towers.

The Cathedral of Barcelona remained unfinished for a long time, centuries; unfinished on its façade and crowning. In 1863 a competition had been called for the façade, but after numerous vicissitudes its execution was not approved until 1887. As a basis for the project, a parchment was taken with a drawing that was said to have been the original façade⁴³.

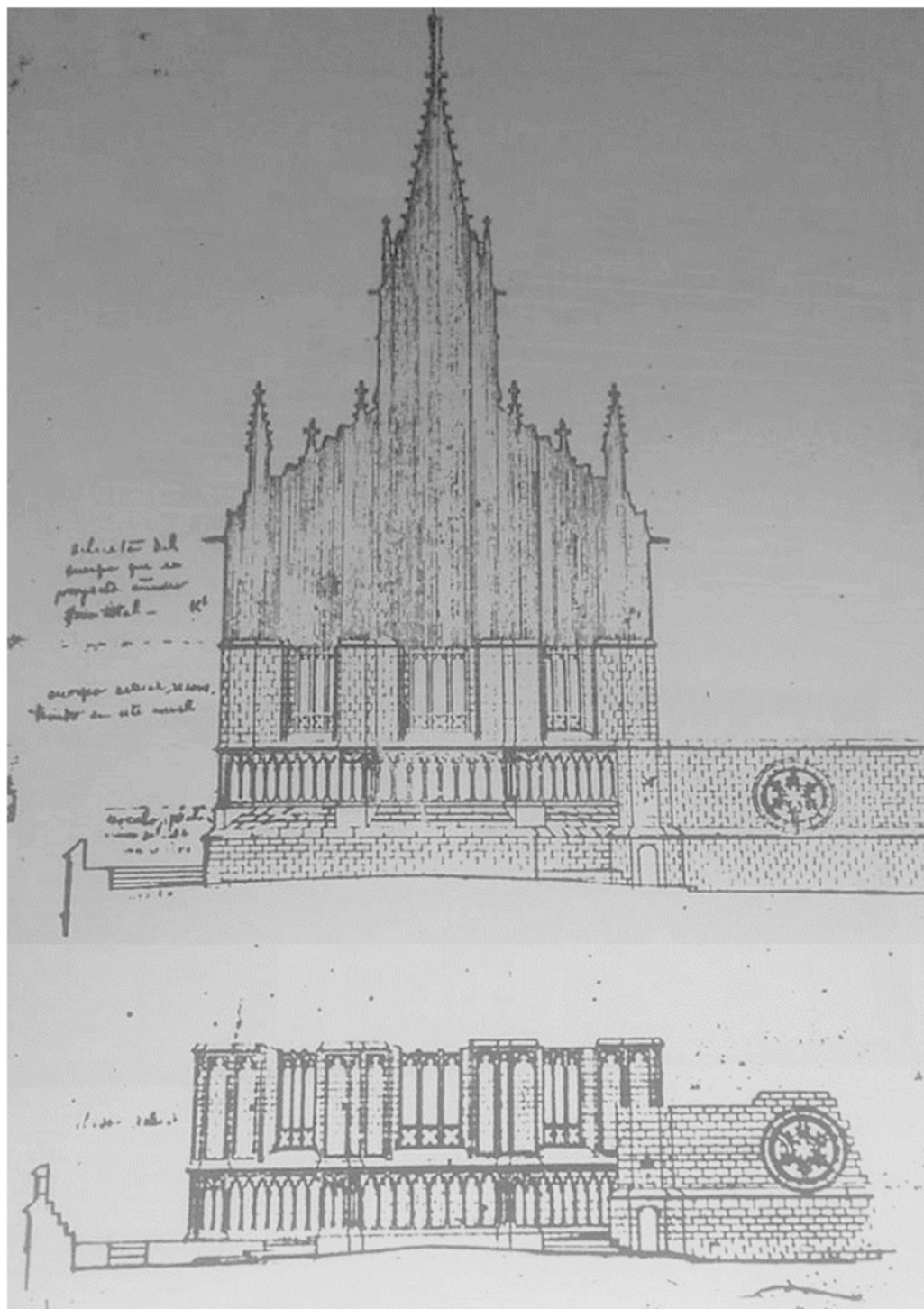


Fig. 13. Catedral de Barcelona. Studies for the lantern tower. Archive COACB.



Fig. 14. Catedral de Barcelona. The construction of the new arches for the lantern.

That same year, when the work began, the existing part was not respected because the stone was worn out, but the foundations were used, as stated in the document that Oriol Mestre, the architect directing the work, sent to the donor Mr. Manuel Girona, after the demolition of the stairs leading to the main door. The solution for the main façade was in response to the agreements made by a commission of architects, in relation to the following questions formulated by the Cathedral Chapter.

What kind of Gothic architecture should the façade adopt? Is it convenient and possible to raise the lantern tower?

Should there be a rose window over the door? Should towers be erected at the corners?

It was agreed that the type of architecture should be radial or 14th century Gothic; that the spire lantern tower should be raised and the other points left to the discretion of the designer. The discussions were centered on the choice of the best interpretation of the style of an era in a given place (Figg. 10-14).

In the case of the façade, José Oriol Mestre's solution was chosen, although Juan Martorell's was more accepted, as the Academia considers that Martorell's solution was ostentatious and does not seem to be in line with the sober decoration or the modest proportions of the building.

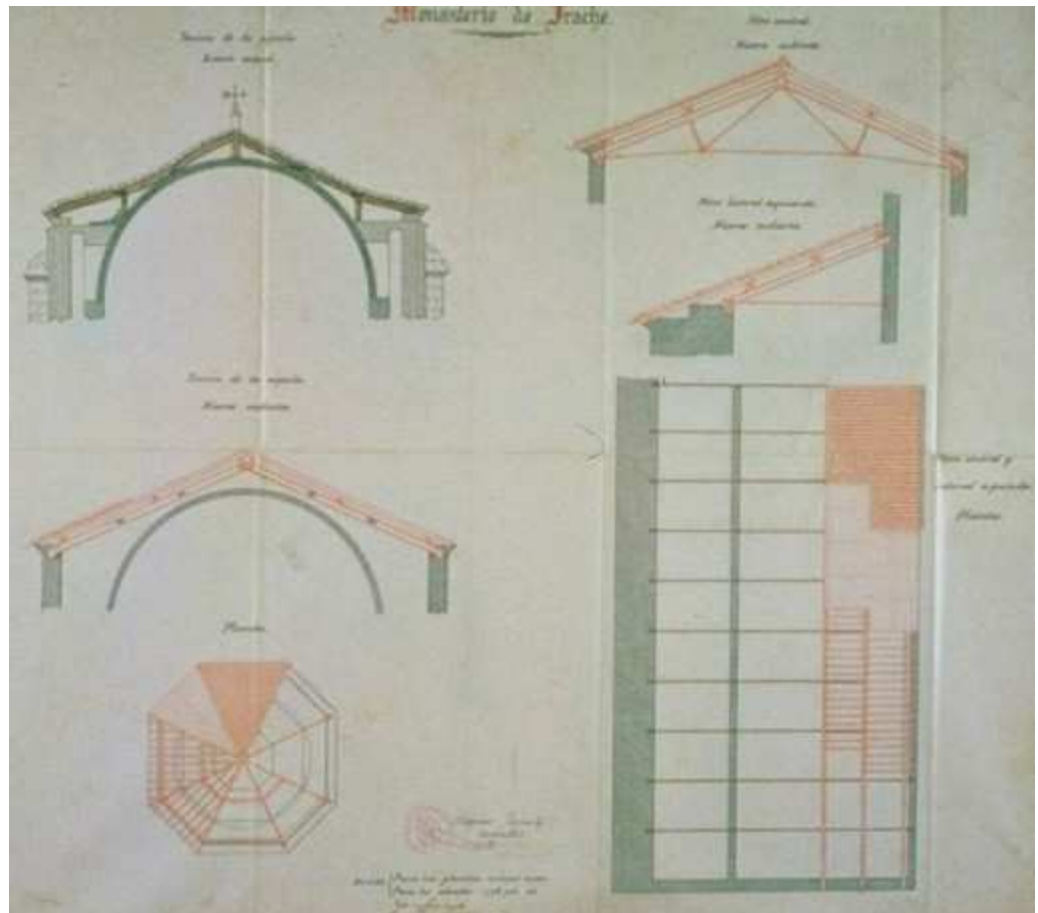


Fig. 15. Monasterio de Irache. Maximo Goizueta. Project for the new roof.

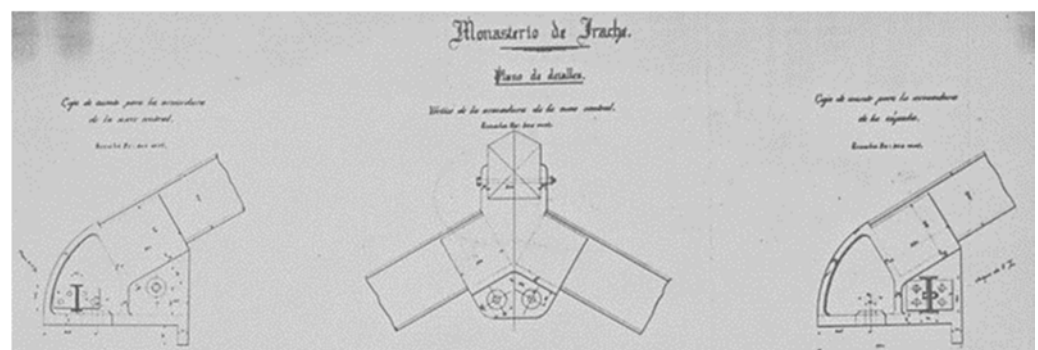


Fig. 16. Monasterio de Irache. Maximo Goizueta. Details of iron trusses.

But what it is considered more exaggerated is that the central spire cannot have the necessary solidity and consistency, because the abutments and pillars on which it has to rest and exert its pressures, are insufficient to resist the load. Once the façade has been completed, the lantern tower, side towers and finishing touches will be made. It will be some time later.

In the same way we must not forget other examples as San Pedro el Viejo in Huesca, the Giralda in Seville and the Alcazar in Segovia.

Rationalism in the use of new materials

In 1886, Ramiro Amador de los Rios drew up a project for the Monastery of San Salvador de Leire which, in theory, was very respectful towards the monument, not only in its formal aspects, but also in its materiality.

As opposed to some demolitions such as those of buildings attached to the apses, or the replacement of the church's atrium, for the rest of the buildings, it proposes a consolidation in which only the stones with cracks are replaced, the holes are filled with mortar and the joints with slabs.

The project wants to preserve the original rough character of the eastern façade, for which it proposes to blind only the putlog holes corresponding to constructions added later and already missed. But for the roofs, he prefers to use a modern material of that period such as iron. He only uses iron in the new roof of the atrium, and combined with wood, forming trusses in the structure of the church.

Maximo Goizueta, wrote in 1893 "With the constructive system used in Irache in the 12th and 16th centuries and taking into account the richness demonstrated in the choice of materials and labour, repair work would hardly be necessary today for its conservation if this monastery had been cared for as its importance and value require ..."⁴⁴.

But the abandonment and the plundering make necessary an intervention, although far from any attempt of splendid restoration. The roofs and the foundations of the cloister are the areas that require the greatest attention.

The roofs of the church, which Goizueta believes were made of stone slabs, have disappeared and been replaced by unworked poplar wood rafters and slats less than 1 cm thick, on which the roof tile was placed without being wedged with mud. The architect does not hesitate to dismantle them and replace them with new ones (Figg. 15, 16).

The new roof will be made of iron trusses, purlins and pine wood rafters, on which the roofing boards will be nailed. The metal structure will rest on cast iron boxes, which will be fixed by two screws corresponding to two wings, which each box will have on its sides. These will be fastened to oak wall plates or sleepers of about 25 x 15 cm., fixed to knuckles strongly anchored to the walls. Trusses will consist of double tees of 24 cm. thick, forming the rafters, and rods 3-4 cm thick as braces. The purlins will be fixed to the metal structure by means of iron cleats. For the dome, a polygonal structure is designed, joining the ends of the beams by means of braces⁴⁵.

The new technical knowledge is put to the service of the monuments, for their protection. If the existing roof has no documentary value and does not fulfill its purpose, it is replaced by another one that is eminently functional and respects what it is supposed to cover. It is not a matter of giving an image but of protecting what is of interest.

Mosque of Cordoba and S. Gregorio in Valladolid

For Velázquez Bosco, the Mosque of Cordoba must be freed from "the innumerable eyesores that, without any artistic criteria, have been added everywhere in all periods and which have ended up disfiguring it completely".

One of the elements that was in worse condition was the roof, in addition to having undergone major modifications during the eighteenth century. It was then that the old roof carpentry was dismantled and barrel vaults were built with plaster and wattle. And for the roof structure, gabled wooden frames were built including reused elements.

Velázquez proposes replacing the wooden frames with a metal structure, with a dual purpose: to secure the roofs and to collect all the old elements that have been reused. The project, drawn up in 1891, began to be executed in the buildings adjacent to the Mihrab. Velázquez, who was a defender of the unity of style, was not averse to the use of new constructive systems in places where they remained hidden, although without making them evident.

The former college of San Gregorio in Valladolid posed serious problems which led to the dismantling and reconstruction of the cloister galleries and the reform of the roof.

In 1885, Teodosio Torres proposed a mixed system of iron and wood with braces formed by metal angles. This proposal, which is all that remains, was followed by another one based on a totally metallic structure, which was cheaper and required less labour⁴⁶.

Conservation and consolidation interventions

The Cathedrals of Salamanca present problems, which will be addressed from 1878 by José Secall. They do not seek an alibi for tearing down what already exists in order to give an interpretation of how it should have been, but rather to preserve the forms.

But what it is really done is to pursue a better constructive solution. It is not a matter of protecting the old constructive system, when faced with the need to repair elements, but rather, they are built with what they understand to be better materials. There are disintegration of ashlar joints, broken crest fragments, loss of battens and skirting board mouldings. Secall believes that these are due to the dampness caused by the lack of several rows of granite stone at the foot of the wall.

For this reason, he created this base where he believes it is needed. Today, he says, it is still time to restore without missing a single moulding, but if it is abandoned, it will be possible to act only by comparison⁴⁷.

The constructive aspects must be improved, without it becoming evident. The formal aspects must be respected. Partial action will also be taken on the roofs.

D. Enrique Repullés plans a careful repair of the framework of the sacristy of the new temple. He does it only for economic reasons, since his desire would have been to be able to replace it with iron.

7.5 The hidden structure

When the material of the work of art is divided into structure and appearance, according to Cesare Brandi, we find a wide range of solutions.

The crucial problem is to accept or not the passage of time through the monument, in the interval between the end of the creative process and the moment of impact on the modern observer. As it is accepted with the stratifications that the intermediate period has been accumulating, it is obvious that these are manifested in the irreversible physical transformations of matter and in the modifications of the conditions of vision.

When the physical transformation of the old matter makes it incapable to fulfil its function, either the partial substitution was the norm or, the alibi for the recreation of elements close to what it should have been.

Reinforced concrete will be of vital importance, in terms of the ease with which it can replace the structure while preserving its appearance, in that duality of matter according to Brandi.

Having not accepted other solutions that broke the figurative unity, but that conserved the duality of the structure-appearance, this material opens an interesting path.

In 1894, D. Enrique Repullés y Vargas, in his project of restoration of San Vicente de Avila, considers the consolidation of pillars by means of the use of injections of cement slurry.

The pillars, possibly dating from the 13th century, consisted of an external cladding 20-30 cm thick without ties, and a central core of irregular lime and sand mortar masonry, decomposed by the passage of time which causes pressure on the external cladding, which in many cases is already broken (Fig. 17, 18). Repullés does not find it acceptable to rebuild the pillar after it has been dismantled, so he decides to consolidate it with injections. To do so, he provisionally ties the pillar, and then makes several perforations under the capitals, through which the grout is injected. Once it has set, the outer cladding is replaced with ashlar⁴⁸.

Repullés defends the preservation of the portico, as well as the replacement of its roof only where it exists, since its completion would hide the buttress copings and the arches of the tower's base. Moreover, it would always seem provisional as it ends in an arch, making difficult to close it and the rafter of the roof.

The publication of the article *Restoration of ancient monuments by injection of cement mortar* had⁴⁹, as an immediate consequence, that similar interventions carried out in Spain were known, such as the aforementioned consolidation of S. Vicente de Ávila.

For example, Santa Maria de Castro Urdiales, a church with three naves from the 13th century which suffered serious collapses.

The first thing that is done is a rigorous survey of plans that highlights the significant deformations of the building, which are then studied in detail. After calculating the stresses to which the pillars are subjected at different points, the conclusion reached is that the deformation is due to the pressure when the side naves are pulled out and the carelessness with which they are executed.

A cement injections reinforcement is proposed, once a cleaning has been carried out by injecting water to eliminate disintegrated mortar and so forth, but the system was not accepted. In 1897 the magazine "Resumen de Arquitectura" publishes an article complaining for the use of hydraulic cements and greasy limes instead of compact stone. It is seen only as a practical and economical solution, but not a correct one.

And probably the architects who used them would also see it that way, but the fact is that this technique prevented large demolitions that, until then, were the only solution for elements with stability problems.

Fig. 17. San Vicente de Avila. Enrique Repullés. Project of consolidation of piles with injections of cement slurry.

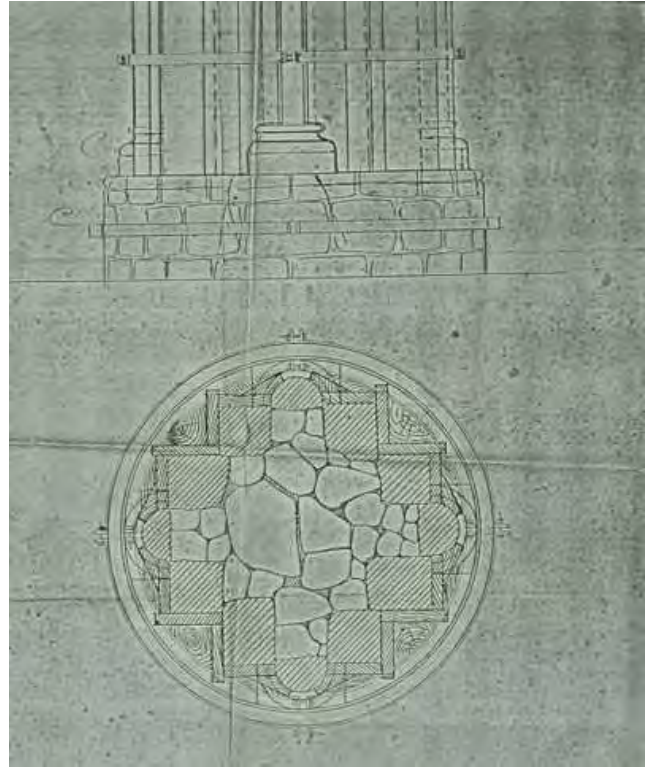
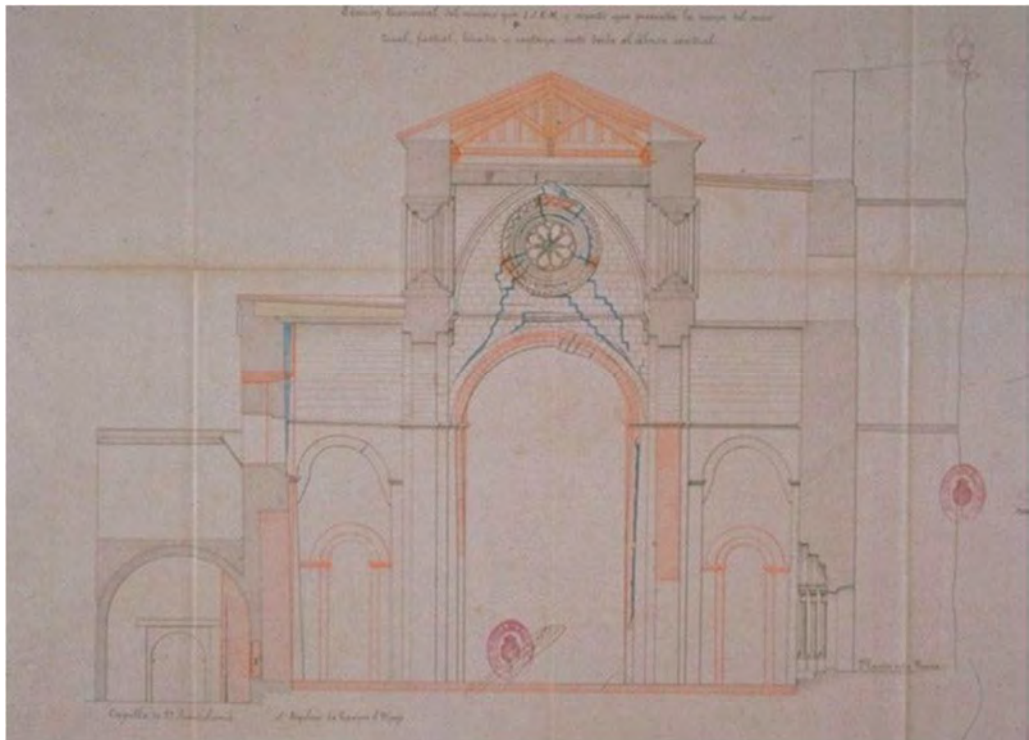


Fig. 18. San Pedro el Viejo Huesca. Project by Juan Nicolas, AGA.



A similar procedure was designed for the Cathedral of Seville in the consolidation of pillars after the collapse in 1888. After presenting a project for the reconstruction of the collapsed pillar and a detailed study of it as well as the foundations, Joaquín Fernandez changes his criteria when he observes that the lower area is covered with loose stones and not well fastened bricks, while the upper area is well built. For this reason, he proposes not demolishing, but rather achieving stability by means of a grout that joins the disintegrated masonry, and the masonry with the external ashlar (Fig. 9).

The procedure will consist of making two holes of 6 cm diameter per plane, facing each other every two meters. First, water will be introduced to clean them; then a bronze rod of about 3 cm of diameter, by each plane, alternating the directions. Then, pressurized grout, and finally, the exterior ashlar will be repaired. The Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, when informed it, does not approve this solution, preferring the reconstruction of pillars⁵⁰.

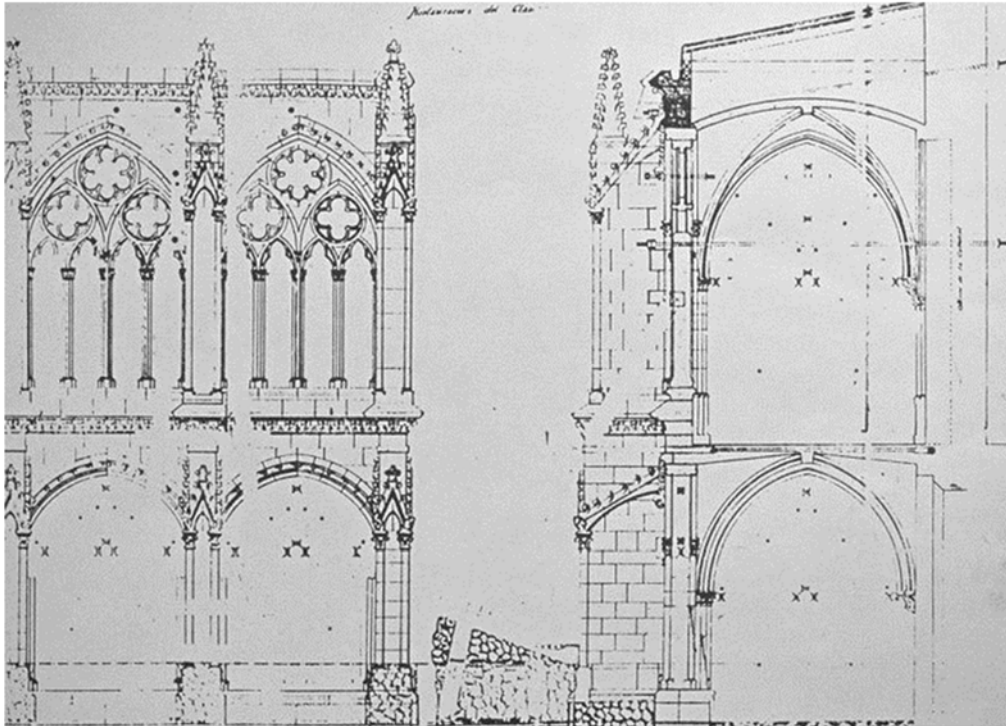


Fig. 19. Catedral de Burgos. R. Velazquez Bosco. Project for the cloister. Demolition of top level, AGA.

The beginning of the century. The interpretation continues

In 1895, after an initial examination of the church of San Martín de Frómista, the damage was deemed irreparable. So, the Academia de Bellas Artes authorized Mr. Manuel Aníbal Álvarez to undertake the work of demolishing what he considered to be necessary. The architect understood that the rebuilding work had to be started at the same time in order to have the model in view.

Although he does not intend to introduce any non-existent part, in reality, the demolitions extend to the central apse, right-hand side apse, 8 pillars of the central nave and others, barrel vaults and ribbed arches of the central nave, right-hand side façade and so on. The damage was apparently due to the excessive weight of the roof and the bad quality mortars. To solve the problem, a new deck layout was being considered.

A little later, to reinstate the cult, a solution for the main façade is planned. Anibal Álvarez will finally execute a very similar solution to the one on the left side façade, as he does not agree with his first proposal. This one incorporated a frieze decorated by the style of the one of Santiago de Carrión and of the church of Moarbes; a window on the door, similar to the one of Notre Dame de Poitiers or Sto. Domingo de Soria; domes on the towers, similar to the mentioned one of Poitiers or to the Torre del Gallo of the Cathedral of Salamanca. Far from a possible prototype of the Romanesque churches in the region, what had been proposed was almost a catalogue of brilliant solutions⁵¹.



Fig. 20. Catedral de Cuenca.
Vicente Lamperez. One of the
projects for the façade, 1907.

Theory and Practice

The lower body of the cloister of Burgos Cathedral was used as a warehouse for the shops that occupied the strategic places. With this use, numerous mullions of the cloister were destroyed and a third floor was built, which was probably the cause of the collapse of the façade.

R. Velázquez Bosco in his report of 1889, points out the need to intervene in this area⁵¹. A project is drawn up in which it is proposed to demolish the attached buildings, to lower the level of the cloister and pave it, to demolish the top floor and the distribution partitions, and to reconstruct the mullions and tracery of the windows on the ground floor.

From 1892, the work was directed by Mr. Vicente Lamperez. He is not only a great theorist, but also an experienced professional and a great connoisseur of the French restorations. But he looks for a middle way, because although he defends the restorations, he is aware that important mistakes are often made and he sees them as a lesser of two evils (Fig. 19).

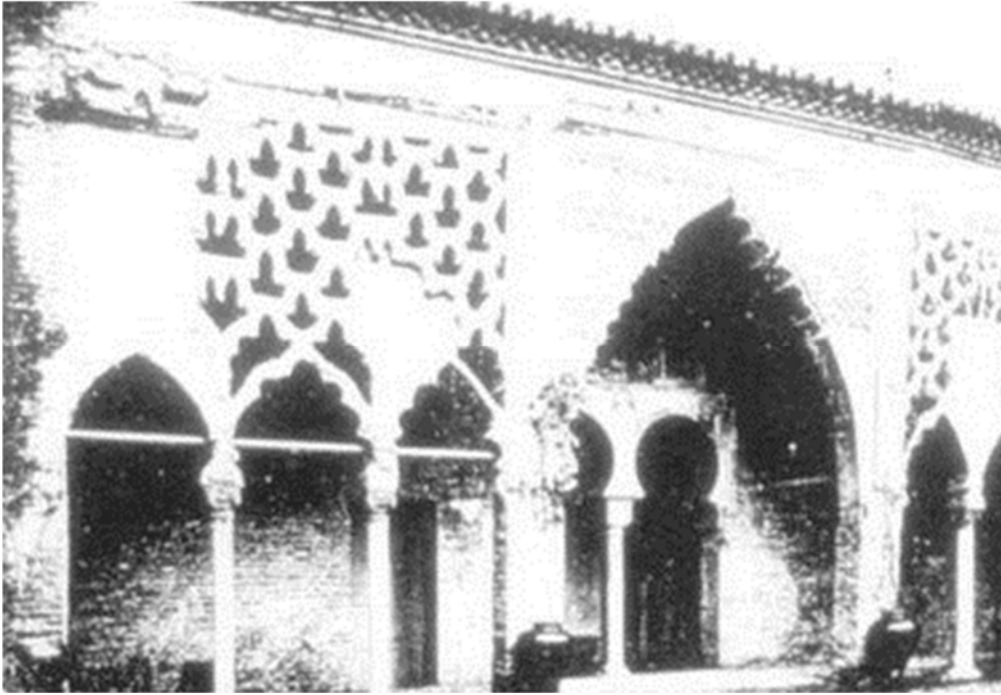


Fig. 21. Patio del Yeso. Reales Alcázares de Sevilla. Consolidation with the ideas of Marquis de Vega Inclán. Architect Jose Gomez Millán.

Lampérez, agrees with the use of modern techniques, but wrapped up in the language of the predominant period in the building, and is not in favour of proposing reinforcing elements that remain visible.

In 1900, he presented a proposal for the reinforcement of the buttresses of the cloister, improving the constructive system, varying the cutting and introducing ties, and underpinning. It also tighten with copper rims and iron hardeners at various levels⁵³.

From 1907 Lampérez will be in charge of the support and restoration works of the Cathedral of Cuenca.

The lantern of the transept is dismantled in order to avoid its ruin, as a highly valued example in an incessant effort to classify which still exists⁵⁴.

The main façade, dating from the 17th century, also presents problems of stability, so, a scaffold is erected to serve for dismantling and rebuilding.

The problem is catalogued as artistic-archaeological for reconstitution with the least possible freedom, for the façade that the monument had, compiling the few graphic and documentary data that exist and keeping to the characters of a school of which no other monument exists in Spain, lacking therefore sources of inspiration (Fig. 20).

Lampérez proposes two solutions, with a common basis, consistent with what he classifies in the third case of his theories⁵⁵. This corresponds to the problem in which the original procedures used in the monument are known, where many elements are preserved, its history and so forth.

The first stone of the new facade was laid in September 1910.

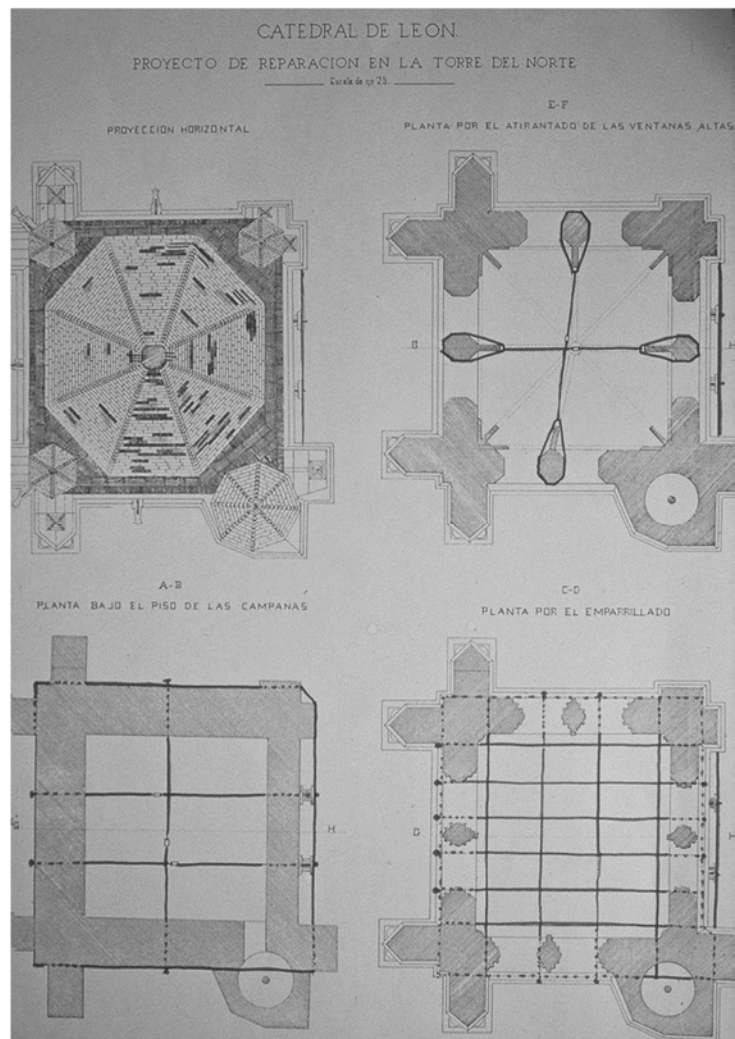


Fig. 22. Catedral de León. Juan Bautista Lázaro. Consolidation of the North tower.

Ornamentation again

As it is known, the problems of the Mosque of Cordoba during the last ten years of the 19th century are not of stability itself, but the materials and the type of construction make it difficult to separate decoration and construction.

This is the case of the Chapel of Villaviciosa, where Velázquez Bosco proposed in the restoration of the decoration of its walls in 1907⁵⁶.

His desire to know the Alhambra in its primitive state makes him jump from one point to another, with the anxiety of carrying out an investigation for which he had no means. Probably, those research desires lead him to think about the demolition of the rooms of Washington Irving looking for the old Nasrid constructions, and also to propose the demolition of San Francisco, following Zabala⁵⁷.

But research tasks offer more difficulties and are less immediately rewarding, and Cendoya elaborates a long list of restoration works, reproducing or inventing ornaments, as in the Oratorio del Partal and in the second room of the eastern wing of the Patio de los Arrayanes.

The important actions of Cendoya should not be forgotten. He arrived at the Alhambra with clear ideas, such as re-establishing the sewage and drainage network, and the study of the topography of the land in close relation to it⁵⁸.

In order to tackle this task, Mr. Modesto Cendoya was bothered by the trees, so he removed those that collided directly with the monument, understanding it as the Nasrid Alhambra. His earthworks and tree felling were the cause of as much controversy as his exaggerated reconstructions of ornaments.

The disagreements between the members of the Special Commission and the attacks on Cendoya led to the creation of the “Patronato de Amigos de la Alhambra” in 1913⁵⁹. The Marquis of Vega Inclán will issue a harsh report on the works (Fig. 22).

Isolations and demolitions

The desire to contemplate isolated the most important monuments comes from ancient times. But in addition to the problem of urban character that this implies, demolition will bring many others.

Such is the case of the isolation of Burgos Cathedral, where demolitions have been taking place around it since the 16th century. But it will be in 1913, when the construction of a new Archbishop's Palace and the demolition of the old house is proposed.

This was carried out in 1914 and, as the Cathedral was halfway up the slope, a series of elements appeared, including a vaulted gallery at square level.

The foothill of all the constructions at superior level, was obtained by means of the low vaulted gallery, that is conserved, and for whose consolidation a plane facing is proposed. Lampérez's desire is to invent as little as possible, defining his intervention as a purely architectural work, since he believes it is impossible to restore by converting what was the interior wall into a façade. But this is in disagreement with the decorum he intends for the façades that demanded cornice and parapet⁶⁰.

Around 1910, the Cathedral of León still suffers demolitions in the walls that joined it to the Episcopal Palace⁶¹.

In 1913, Gustavo Giovannoni published in *Nueva Antología* his opinions regarding the demolitions and the environment surrounding the monuments. But in Spain, contempt for minor architecture as opposed to the model monument which is musealized in the open air, has already caused much destruction.

The “constructive orthopedics”

The Marquis of Vega Inclán not believed it to be sufficient to expose only in theory, his opinion on the criteria to be followed in the conservation of the Alhambra. In 1915, he exposed to public opinion the work practiced in the Patio del Yeso of the Reales Alcázares in Seville. He called it exploration and consolidation, and was carried out together with the architect José Gómez Millán (Fig. 21).

The *patio* is shown by Tubino in his drawings from 1885, and the intervention could be included in the group that Camillo Boito calls *pictorial restauro*, with an intervention that cannot eliminate the beauty, singularity, poetry, colour and patina of the element.

To stop in time, that is the secret, since the matter in this case is plaster and has very bad consolidation. That is why the proposal consists of creating elements that serve as support for the existing ones such as arches, columns, walls, and that the reinforcement elements are immediately understood as they are⁶².

The braces, struts, etc. remain seen, and the base of the fitting that constitutes the ornamentation, in those points where it is essential for the original to be supported, it is reconstructed with a totally different and bare material.

The structure is reconstructed where it is unavoidable, but never the appearance. The gaps constitute a neutral background.

The second decade of the century. Ornaments as recreation of environments

In view of the difficulties of the Patronato de Amigos de la Alhambra, in January 1914 the Patronato de la Alhambra was created⁶³. In its creation, its president Mr. Guillermo J. de Osma, makes a declaration of principles: “The mission of the Patronato is to preserve, consolidate and respect the Alhambra... to provide the possibility of its destruction to avoid it... not forgetting that the personality of the monuments is integrated over the centuries...”. And then “The Alhambra is for us, what it was, more than what it has been”.

For him, it is essential to restore the solidity, not the appearance. Finally, there is another order of actions that is lawful for the Patronato: that is to explore and to do what it is possible, to revive what still exists and is hidden.

The fact that so many works have been started is criticized. Cendoya has a list of them classified as sanitation, excavation and consolidation works. The sanitation work is practically recognized as complete, except for the water supply to the Daraxa fountains, the Patio de los Cipreses and the Sala de Camas de los Baños, and sewerage system for the Patio de Machuca and Daraxa Garden.

Excavations are deeply linked to sanitation, in many cases justifying the leveling earthwork with moisture removal.

As for the consolidation works, he considered the Mexuar and Comares Rooms to be the most urgent, but he still had to carry out the Machuca and Harem Patios quickly.

In his list of works, Cendoya describes the elements found, which lead to the problems of interpretation, or the incidence that the solution to a specific problem of a given space, poses in the adjacent ones.

Thus, he points out the need to continue the research in the connections in the east wing of the Patio de los Arrayanes, providing a provisional solution to the forced passage of visitors.

It seems that Cendoya will not be in charge of the less important works, nor will he draw up the projects of the larger ones, such as that of the Patio del Harem, with whose criteria Osma seems to agree.

When the restoration of the ornaments came to a standstill, many workers were left unemployed, causing a tense situation, as the work was carried out by the Patronato even without the architect, which caused the architect to obstruct the work to a great extent. Osma resigns and the fall of Cendoya is being prepared, which Mr Manuel Gómez Moreno will propose by relying on Tormo, Velázquez Bosco and Vega Inclán.

After a parliamentary debate, Alfonso XIII's visit to Seville will tip the balance on Cendoya's side, who will continue in his position until 1923. The Patronato will be dissolved and decisions regarding the monument will be left to the care of the Dirección General de Bellas Artes.

A General Works Plan of Works is being drawn up, with Velázquez Bosco being responsible for drafting the proposals on a regular basis, despite the fact that their incompatibility was pointed out due to his work in Córdoba. This General Works Plan of Works was not approved until 1918⁶⁴.

Although a first impression when observing Cendoya's works in the Alhambra is one of continuity with his predecessors, Mr. Modesto Cendoya assumed a rather uncomfortable role in a time when there were changes of criteria. Perhaps he only accepted from a theoretical point of view, without taking into account the great difficulties it had in practice.

For many years, the term archaeologist was applied to those criteria that encouraged ideal reconstruction, a return to what it should have been. Rigour was understood in the interpretation of time and style. The discoveries were often due to chance, or to demolitions, but in very few cases to research, being studied to hide them later, and in the worst case, to destroy them.

Cendoya proposes the recovery of original levels and a research for ancient drainage, with the aim of cleaning up the site, an essential problem to be solved. The site has not yet been completely determined, with areas hidden by undergrowth, debris and so forth.

All this denotes a desire to address the problem of intervention in the Alhambra in a global manner, bringing to the fore the greatest number of problems, whose knowledge was necessary in order to provide a better solution as a whole. However, Cendoya may not have had the means to carry out this task rigorously and effectively.

The underpinning of the towers and sections of walls are other of his works of considerable interest. However, his excessive reconstructions were possibly due to the enormous difficulty of consolidating the constituent material of the decoration in a monument in which architecture and ornamentation are so closely linked. In this case, the raw form over the material: the environment is of interest, since the original fragments of ornaments from different periods, can be studied in a museum.

Cendoya uses modern material, such as metal joists, in the eastern nave of the Patio de Arrayanes. He also makes the floor with hollow bricks from the rooftop terrace of the Torre de los Picos. But, he uses it for convenience, always where it cannot be seen.

In 1914, Cendoya opposed the proposal to cover the Torre de la Cautiva with a flat glass roof, provisionally, but it was covered that same year.

Fig. 23. Alhambra de Granada, Patio del Harem. Before the restoration of L. Torres Balbás.



Torres Balbás

Nevertheless, Modesto Cendoya, will not theoretically defend any position, as it is not the case of his successor, Mr. Leopoldo Torres Balbás, who had been defending his criteria in articles, congresses and so on⁶⁵.

When he arrived at the Alhambra, as he later explained, his criterion was one of strict conservation and respect for the ancient work, but without dogmatism or attempts to apply *a priori* theories to their ultimate consequences. He says that each old building poses a different problem and must be treated differently.

From 1923, Torres Balbás will carry out the most urgent restorations that had been left pending, such as that of the Patio del Harem and the Machuca Gallery⁶⁶, the fitting out of the old access to the Casa Real and the consolidation of the Torre de las Damas (Fig. 23).

In 1925, he tackled the project of restoring the existing corridor between the Sala de Comares (Ambassadors' Hall) and the Sala de la Barca, blinded in the 17th century by the signs of ruin in the tower. It gave access to the staircase leading up to the tower and possibly down to the basement. South wall was replaced, up to a height of 5 m. of decomposed concrete, by stone ashlar, wedged with stone and brick.

As the wall was thicker, decorative elements were dismantled and later replaced. It seems that the problems of the tower were due to the thrust of the domical vault that covered the paneled ceiling, so it was replaced by a wooden structure.

Torres Balbás proposes to reopen the passages to restore a disfigured disposition, and to discover the undoubtedly interesting remains of decoration of absolute authenticity. To do this, he had to brush the ashlar left in the 17th century as ties with the filling; to redo the destroyed part of the entrance arch, leaving the new part smooth; to reconstruct the wooden ceiling of the passage, with its sizes reflected in the putlog holes found, and plane planking.

Torres Balbas also looks for the Nasrid Alhambra, which it pursues through its typology and its architectural structure, not its ornamentation; there is no recreation of atmosphere.

The project to repair the western nave of the Patio de Arrayanes (1925) seeks not only to consolidate it, but also to decipher any unknowns that may have been embedded in its walls, as they were disfigured to serve as rooms for mayors and governors and on the ground floor, as the main entrance to the Casa Real. In the project, the wooden beams were not dismantled, but were left hanging from the new double tees. In the southern area, a staircase was sought which was known to have been used, and which Torres Balbás proposes to replace. Also, the replacement of the partly modern and bad roof with another one with a principal rafter and collar beam as the existing ones.

There will be a room where photographs will be exhibited and another one for the appeared remains of plaster and so on.

Next, the Project for the consolidation of the galleries and pavilions of the Patio de los Leones is drawn up. Being the most fragile area, it had already been continuously repaired, but it was damaged by the garden that was planted in the courtyard at the beginning of the 19th century.

With the construction of the concrete sewer pipe, Cendoya left the Patio practically free of humidity, but the collapses of the columns were evident. Torres Balbás did not want to correct them, for which it would be necessary to remove decorations, which Velázquez Bosco had already prohibited. He proposes dismantling the modern roofs to gain access to the back of the ceilings, which would be reinforced. They will be bolted to the new independent structures, in some cases made of iron and in others of wood, forcing them to avoid deformation. The eaves will not be dismantled, but will be fixed with straps and plates screwed to a sill.

In the Project Reports, Torres Balbás shows a deep knowledge of the place and the original elements that are preserved, clearly differentiating them from those carried out in the restorations.

The rest of the galleries in the Patio de la Alberca are also restored by Torres Balbas, in accordance with the projects of 1926. After the fire of 1890, the east wing was the most disfigured, as it lost the roof which was later rebuilt, but with a lesser slope. Torres Balbás proposes its reconstruction with the old slope.

He also proposes the restoration of the large arch between the Patio de la Alberca and the Patio de los Leones, which Cendoya reduced in size to leave a fragment of the old roof visible.

He studies the Plano de los Académicos and the opposite wing⁶⁷.

In the south wing, he proposes to raise the roofs to rebuild them with enough thickness and well-tauten woods. He proposes something similar for the Sala de Dos Hermanas, sitting the roof tile on a double sheet of hollow brick. Fills from under the floor of the bedrooms are removed in order to place metal joists and in-floor bricks to hang the ceilings.

In 1928, work was carried out in the rooms of Charles V and the following year in the Casa de los Gobernadores. In the same year, the Project for the Peinador de la Reina is prepared, with the replacement of the roof, the opening of blinded holes and the completions of ornaments, only in volume, plane with the bulk envelope criterion.

For the cube of the Alcazaba, the project proposes the construction of a reinforced concrete platform, from which to enjoy the landscape.

Fig. 24. Alhambra de Granada. Comares tower. New structure and new beam by L. Torres Balbás. Foto by Susana Mora.

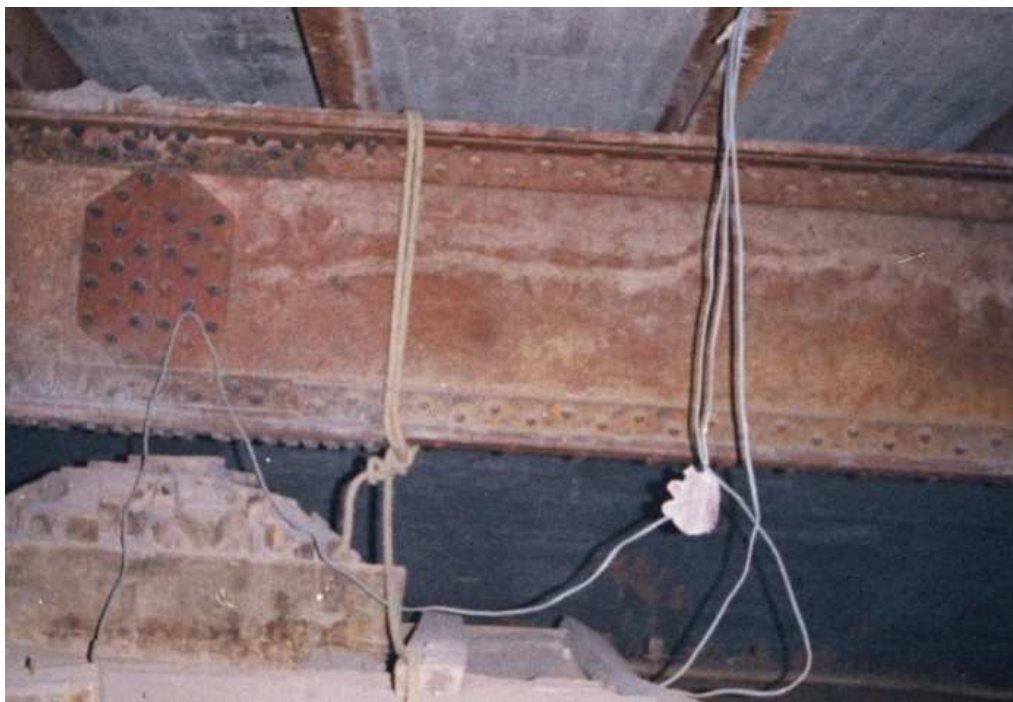
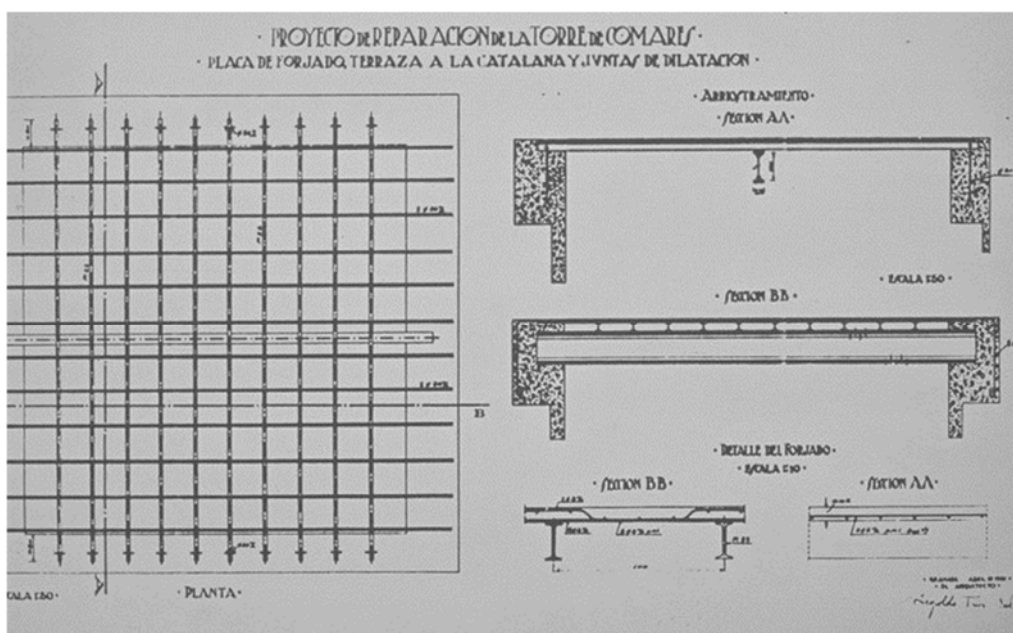


Fig. 25. Alhambra de Granada. Comares Tower. Project for the roof by L. Torres Balbás. Plan and sections.



In 1931, when he wrote the Project for the Repair of the Torre de Comares, Torres Balbás believed that he still had to perform works of no great importance, such as dismantling the small towers on the roof of the Sala de la Barca, and reforming the roofs of the kiosks in the Patio de los Leones, both the 19th and 17th century ones.

As for the Torre de Comares, he shares the criteria of Velázquez Bosco in his Plan of 1917-1918, thinking that the badly placed roof should be removed, without rebuilding the vault which would also not be seen, and replacing the terrace, as in the towers of the Vela and the Alcazaba, replacing the roof with an iron structure that would both chain and brace the tower. All of this with modern materials, following the criteria set out at the Zaragoza Architects' Congress in 1919 (Figg. 24, 25).

To this end, he proposes the installation of a 12.30 metres beam embedded in the walls, on which will be placed double 22 metre joists separated by one metre and an 8-centimetre concrete slab reinforced with 30 millimetres rods perpendicular to the joists. Above, a terrace on small partitions. Previously, the walls will be consolidated with concrete, eliminating the patches of different materials made previously. The inner side of the tower wall will be demolished in its upper part, to redo it of concrete, linking it with metal staples to the preserved outer side. The cleaning and securing of the plaster decorations inside Comares will be planned later on.

The practice of restoration is more difficult for the defenders of a defined theoretical position. Torres Balbás, which was in favour of consolidations, was not in favour of finishing with diverse materials and, as a defender of modern materials, proposes concrete, leaving the remains of the wall of the building to be saved, as a formwork of the new resistant wall, which makes reversibility impossible.

The approaches of Torres Balbás lead to the fact that, in many cases, the architectural elements are no more than a mere scenery, supported by the new ones which remain hidden.

Torres Balbás contribution to surface treatments is highly sensitive, with great respect for the materiality of the original element, for which the Patio del Harem is an evidence.

For the Convent of San Francisco, he proposes its use in addition to its restoration⁶⁸. In other monuments of Granada, Torres Balbas will perform similar interventions; thus, in the Bañuelo, it backs up the vaults with river sand and cement, finishing off with tar and redoing the old star holes.

In the Corral del Carbón he carries out a more careful work without dismantling before plumb, and with perforated plate on the old joists ceilings, which he then pour concrete. In this case, he presents some plans that he says would be those of the Corral already restored due to the difficulty of survey the current state, because of the deformations, since it would demand a meticulous work of triangulation.

As a result of the demolitions related to the layout of the Gran Vía de Granada, Torres Balbás wrote numerous articles in defence of the so-called minor architecture and the urban layout.

Jeronimo Martorell

Jerónimo Martorell, who had already declared himself in favour of conservation, will be in charge of conducting the Restoration Project of the church of San Pedro de Camprodón, in 1930. Due to the ruin and the abandonment of part of the baroque decoration, the oldest remains appeared under it.

The documents of the project were very elementary, being understood as a necessary previous step for the awarding and beginning of the works. These, will basically consist in the construction of the roof, repair of surfaces, lowering of the ground level around the church, paving and arrangement of the façade. For San Pedro de Roda, he proposes the conservation and study of the ruin, taking into account its landscape value.

He considers necessary to reinforce the apse, since the columns have been torn out and are very damaged; for this he believes that the most convenient thing to do is to build some simple semicircular arches on pillars, to reinforce the foundations, to demolish the remains of decorations from the XVII and XVIII centuries, to clean the top of the vaults of vegetation and then, to form slopes with concrete and to place the cover of curved roof tiles and to protect the heads of the walls with concrete. Martorell proposes the consolidation by finishing with masonry trying to give it the appearance of old work, as he says for this specific case.

As a result of the interior refurbishment, the Chapel of Santa Águeda in Barcelona, now shows walls that were previously hidden. It is reinforced with Portland cement, injecting cement into the cracks, breaking the surface of plaster, repairing the side facade, the vaults of the apse, the coffered ceiling and elements of some windows are reconstructed.

What was done at the Roman Theatre in Sagunto, with a project dated 15 October 1930, will be of great interest. It was very simple, leaving the work to the site management.

This is reduced to consolidation, especially of the large massifs on which the cave rests, made with concrete and masonry, but very clearly delimiting the intervention, which is on a different plane, set back from the old masonry work⁶⁹.

The use and strict maintenance

Leopoldo Torres Balbás is a clear defender of the use of old buildings as a conservation system.

Along history, this has been a common procedure when, for reasons of economy, a building whose use had become obsolete, was used for public functions. But often, the demands of functionality will disturb the spatial conditions of the building from which the decorative or highly representative elements will be preserved.

Monasteries and convents become huge containers, whose new use will lead to the search for comfort requirements that they did not have before. The roofs and drains, which keep humidity away from the building, will be the focus of attention.

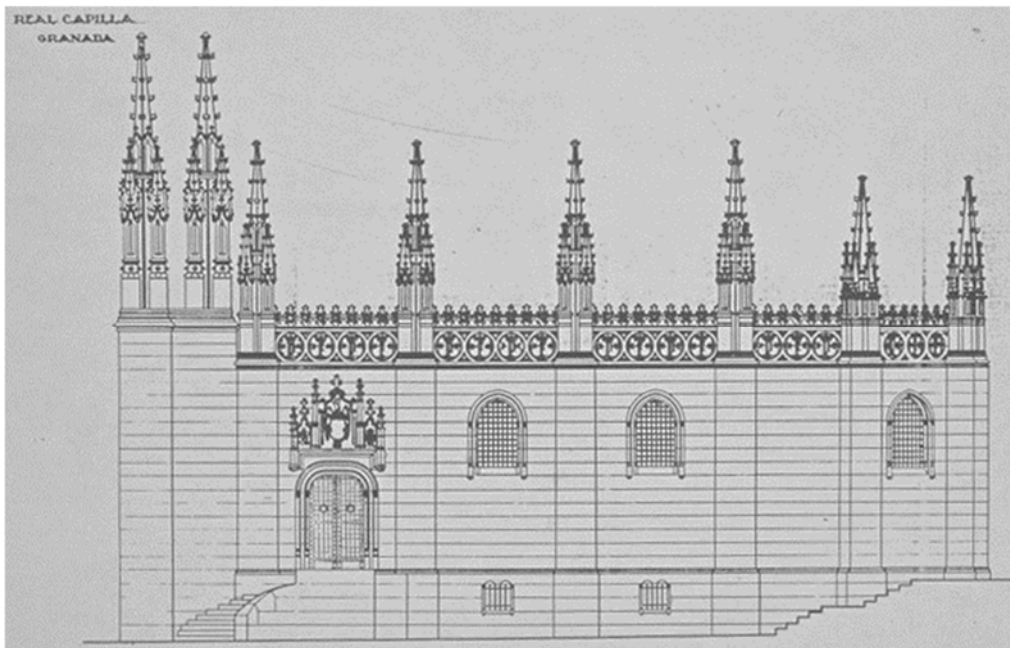


Fig. 27. Catedral de Granada. Teodoro Anasagasti Project of the de Museo Capilla Real, 1917.

Transfers, completions and surroundings

The church of San Pedro de la Nave, declared a National Monument in 1912, was moved despite the opposition of the Academia de la Historia in 1920. They requested the change of location of the dam or the construction of a dike.

Similar operation to the one carried out in the Cathedral of Barcelona many years before, will be the one that takes place in the Cathedral of Seville, to finish the façade and the Archivo y Contaduría rooms. In the 1921 project, Javier de Luque proposed a simply ornamental finish with a balustrade made of the same type of stone.

The Museum of Capilla Real of Granada is designed by Teodoro Anasagasti, on the remaining site between the Gran Vía and the Sacristy of the Chapel. The proportions, volumes and decorative elements are suggested, he says, by those of the ancient monument with which it has to harmonize in disposition and aspect.

He proposes modifying the level of Mesarredonda street, which will allow to arrange ventilation holes in the tank. The material chosen is stone, similar to that of the Capilla Real. The roof is made of ceramic panels, but the grilles, windows frames and stained glass windows will be similar to the existing ones. He is the same Anasagasti who in 1917 publishes *Arquitectura de pandereta* (Fig. 27).

Torres Balbas designs the enclosure of the site, which arose as a result of the demolition of the College of San Fernando, next to the Capilla Real of Granada, in 1929.

The site is divided into three plateaus, with a paved passageway for the entrance to the Cathedral. The rest is paved with fine black and white pebbles according to the traditional custom of Granada. On the two upper plateaus orange trees are planted, and cypresses on the lower one, to help the grading of the volumes and to conceal dividing walls. The new closing elements, are designed to give a unitary vision, again.

Torbado complains about the disappearance of the constructions that joined the southern façade of the Cathedral of León with the Episcopal Palace, and which gave rise to a space that had to be closed and ordered, in 1930. It is closed with an iron gate between stone pilasters, and paved with limestone slabs of 10 cm. minimum thickness, similar to the existing ones. It is only a matter of tidying up and protecting the immediate surroundings. Something similar will be designed for San Isidoro in 1932.

A large part of the walls of Tarragona remain hidden, and it is difficult to visit them when, in 1932, their historical and artistic value was recognized, and the architect Jerónimo Martorell saw the convenience of enhancing the monument. The criterion adopted was to respect the integrity of the monument, carrying out the least possible amount of consolidation work and complementing the walls of the bastions and the elements to contain vegetation.

7.6 Conclusions

Over the course of these pages, we have been able to observe the lack of appreciation that has generally been given to the existing architectural object during this historical period.

The destructions have been general.

Sometimes, under the excuse of the dangerousness of the existing elements, and the lack of technical resources to solve the problem, they are taken as an alibi in the search for a formal response in accordance with the aesthetics of the times. Other times, they are used to solve construction systems considered defective, reproducing the existing forms with improved systems.

But the conclusions are even worse when the destruction is not sought, but little by little, the authentic elements disappear, for not knowing how to put limits to the new resources, which in principle, should be aimed at protecting the damaged element.

With the generalization of the use of new technologies, without application offers few differences with respect to new works (with some exceptions, as we have seen).

The eternal destruction and reconstruction, according to the aesthetic canons of the moment, can no longer be admitted. Let us recall the proposals of openings for the Almudaina of Palma de Mallorca, which were made in the 1930s by the architect Benassar. Long before that, it was a question of deciphering, but then, it seems that it was chosen by catalogue.

The effort must be directed towards the study and conservation of what has come to us, and then to opt for the most appropriate responses, but always with scientific rigour.

Notes

1. J. CAVEDA, *Memorias para la Historia de la Real Academia de San Fernando*, Manuel Tello, Madrid 1867.
2. As Carlos Sambricio said in the prologue to *La Arquitectura y los arquitectos en la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando*, Alicia Quintana. Edic. Xarait, Madrid 1983.
3. In *Colección de muchos papeles curiosos de escritores antiguos y modernos de la nación*, Barcelona 1798, p. 120.
4. When it was expected that he explains how to reconstruct the temple, he wrote this in *Disertación sobre los monumentos antiguos que se hallan en la ciudad de Barcelona*, Barcelona 1786.
5. José Martínez Ruiz, known as "Azorín", who was a very important writer of the "98th Generation", spoke about Melchor Gaspar de Jovellanos in the newspaper ABC on 7 september 1928.
6. As it was ordered in the "Real Orden de 19 octubre de 1856", with the creation of a Commission integrated with Jose de Madrazo, Anibal Alvarez and José Caveda, to do "exacts and beautiful drawings".
7. The book *España Artística y Monumental vistas y descripciones de los sitios y monumentos más notables de España* was edited by Alberto Hanser in Paris, 1842. With texts and drawings by Patricio de la Escosura, Becquer, Pizarro, Carderera.
8. The twelve volumes of *Recuerdos y Bellezas de España* with drawings by Francisco Javier Parcerisa, and texts by J.M. Quadrado, Piferrer, Pi y Margall y Pedro Madrazo, are published from 1839 to 1865 in Barcelona.
9. There were created by "Real Orden (R.O) 13 junio 1844" to help the "Comisión Central de Monumentos Históricos y Artísticos". Explained in *Memorias para la Historia de la R.A. de S. Fernando* edit. Tello, Madrid 1867.
10. For these see G. ROCCHI, *Camilo Boito e le prime normative del Restauro*, in "Restauro", XV, 1974, p. 35 and J. DE MANJARES, *Teoría estética de la Arquitectura*, Madrid 1875.
11. Revista "El Artista". Tomo II. It was a magazine edited in Madrid since 1835 to 1836. Printed in J.Sancha. It was used lithography for the graphics. It is an example of Romanticism.
12. M. M. FERNANDEZ Y GONZALEZ, *La Catedral de León. Memoria sobre su origen, instalación, nueva edificación, vicisitudes y obras de restauración por D.Matias Laviña*, Madrid 1875, p. 65.
13. The aesthetic ideas of this moment are explained in the book written by J. DE MANJARRÉS, *Teoría estética de la Arquitectura*, Madrid 1875, p. 15.
14. R. CONTRERAS, *La Alhambra, el Alcazar y la Gran Mezquita de Occidente o Estudios Descriptivos de los Monumentos árabes de Granada, Sevilla y Cordoba*, Madrid 1855 p. 277.
15. Recollected by VALLADAR in the article *La Alhambra hace más de sesenta años* in the magazine "La Alhambra", XV, nº 341, 1912.
16. See A. FERNANDEZ CASANOVA *La Catedral de León salvada por el ingenio del arquitecto D. Juan de Madrazo*, Establecimiento tipo-litografico Real, Madrid 1881, p. 7.
17. In *Contestación que da D. Juan de Madrazo, arquitecto director de las obras de restauración al M.I. Cabildo de esta*. 11 de agosto 1878, Imprenta Garcia Perez, León.

18. See “Revista de Arquitectura”, Madrid 31 october 1884, where J.B. LÁZARO and M. BALDO explains their theories; and also see G. GALEANI NAPIONE, count of Cocconato, (Turín 1748-1830) storic and writer, who wrote *Monumenti dell’Architettura Antica*, Pisa 1820, with letters to count Giuseppe Franchi di Pont.
19. Elias Rogent y Amat (Barcelona 1821-1897) was architect and Director of the Barcelona’s School of Architecture. He was the author of the restoration of the monastery of Santa Maria de Ripoll, and wrote *Informe sobre las obras realizadas en la basilica de Santa Maria de Ripoll, y las fuentes de la restauración*, Barcelona 1887, where he explain his ideas.
20. D. DE LOS RIOS explained this in *La Catedral de León*, Monografía Tomo II, Imprenta Sagrado Corazón, Madrid 1895. pp. 110 et seq.
21. Simeón Avalos, Secretary of the Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, reported the project, and it is written in the “Boletín de la R.A.de Bellas Artes de San Fernando” on 12 october 1895, p. 273.
22. Luis Maria Cabello Lapiedra defends these ideas on the “Sixieme session” of the VI Congress Internacional des Architectes which took part in Madrid on 6 to 13 april 1904. Mr. Cannizaro (Italy), Cuypers (Holland), Suzzor (Russia), and Hove, agree with him. The Acts were published by J. SASTRE, Madrid 1904, p. 276 et seq. These congresses of architects have being first in Paris 1889, Belgium 1897, and in Paris 1900.
23. Vicente Lamperez y Romea dictate a conference in the “II Conferencia para el Progreso de las Ciencias”, published by Francisco Mora in “Arquitectura y Construcción”, 1910. Another one has being published in the magazine “Ateneo”, in february 1907. His theories are expressed in *La Restauración de los monumentos arquitectónicos*, published in the magazine “La Construcción Moderna” 1916 and in “Boletín de la Sociedad Central de Arquitectos” 1917, pp. 17 et seq.
24. Marqués de Vega Inclán have expressed his opinions on document to the Excmo. Ministro de Instrucción Pública y Bellas Artes on 2 may 1913. By “Real Decreto R.D. 14 marzo 1913” was created il Patronato de la Alhambra, and Marqués de Vega Inclán is nominated “Vocal” and wanted that his opinions were written on the acts. And so was “La Comisaría Regia del Turismo y Cultura Artística” febrero 1915, edit. Mateu, Madrid, *La Comisaría Regia de Turismo en la Alhambra de Granada*.
25. He explained it in the “Escuela Tecnica Superior de Ingenieros de Caminos, Canales.y Puertos”, in the prof. Machimbarrena’s catedra, on 15 january 1916.
26. He wrote this in “Revista de la Sociedad Central de Arquitectos” 1917 and 1918. And these ideas are published in “Boletin de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando”, 1918, p. 43.
27. VIII Congreso Nacional de Arquitectos, Zaragoza 30 september-7 october, 1919. Speaker: Leopoldo Torres Balbás.
28. VIII Congreso Nacional de Arquitectos, Zaragoza 30 september-7 october, 1919. Speaker: Leopoldo Torres Balbás.
29. In “El Arte en España”, 1863, G.Cruzada Villamil describe the “dangerous” situation of the Leon’s Cathedral, and so the “Academia de Bellas Artes” named a Comission (formed by Alvarez, Peyronet y Enriquez) to study it.
30. Narciso Pascual y Colomer, academia, was comissioned for the “Ministro de Gracia y Justicia” on 6 july 1858, to recognize the Cathedral of Leon.
31. As Miguel Olivares, architect of the new Cathedral of Cadiz, certified on 10 January 1810.

32. Rafael Contreras have created a “salon oriental” in the “Palacio Real de Aranjuez”, and another in the “Palacio de Vista Alegre” in Carabanchel, Madrid, and in private palaces such as these of Lassala or Xifré, in Madrid.
33. As the architect Elias Rogent wrote in “Informe sobre las obras realizadas en la basilica y las fuentes de la restauración”, Barcelona, december 1886.
34. The Project of Demetrio de los Rios was shell by the Academia de San Fernando on 25 february 1867, but alter the beginning of the works asked Demetrio de los Rios to change some details “to armonize the new elements with the old”. On 1 july 1886 Simeón Avalos, Secretary of the Academia de San Fernando, signed a document saying that this Project must not continue, but the works on the south façade must be down under the direction of the architect Adolfo Fernandez Casanova. The ideas of Demetrio de los Rios were written in his book *Teoría del Arte*, Madrid 1870.
35. The architect Rafael Moneo wrote this in *Booknotes about Pugin, Ruskin and Viollet*, “Apuntes sobre Pugin, Ruskin y Viollet le Duc”, while he was professor in Barcelona, Escuela Técnica Superior de Arquitectura de Barcelona (ETSAB), 1975.
36. So many projects have being done by Juan de Madrazo during the 1870’s; the project about arch centering (1874) has won the first prize in the “Exposición Nacional de Bellas Artes”, Madrid 1881. All these projects are conserved in the A.G.A (Archivo General de la Administración) Alcalá de Henares, Madrid. The project about the completion of the south façade, is L 8847-7.
37. It was an interesting polemic about the meaning of “artistic value” and about “historic value”, and also about the isolation of monuments. The magazine “El Liberal” on Monday 17 december 1883 writes in opposition with the idea of leaving the apse completely isolated, in an artificial way as Notre Dame in Paris.
38. But on 1 august 1888, the southwest corner pillar collapse. The “Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando” defends the unity of art, that propose the monument as type and not a particular case.
39. The “Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando” informs the Project on 21 june 1888, saying it “complements the beautiful cathedral with unity, and integrity, style and school”.
40. On 21 august 1889 Fernandez Casanova wrote a letter to the Director General de Obras Hidráulicas explaining the situation and the errors he saw, after beginning to prepare the works of the column. Finally, on 27 august Fernandez Casanova present his resignation.
41. We don’t know if Simeon Avalos knows Camillo Boito, but here his ideas are very near to him in this report which changed the criteria about conservation in Spain.
42. Approved by R. Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, on 1 july 1886, and on 2 april 1888 one commission formed by Alejandro Ferrant, marquis de Cuba and other was preoccupied for the sculpture and so, for the statues of the facade, there was the collaboration of the sculptor Ricardo Bellver.
43. A design was found in the Cathedral archive, now in the CACB Archive. The report of the R. Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando 30 march 1887 autorized the Bishop to begin the façade with the Oriol Mestre’s project.
44. The architect Maximo Goizueta signed the “Proyecto de Reparación general o de Conservación del Monasterio” de Irache, on 10 february 1893.
45. The project signed by Maximo Goizueta is conserved in the AGA (Archivo General de la Administración),Alcalá de Henares, Madrid, L7-leg12.

46. The “Proyecto de Restauración del patio principal del ex colegio de San Gregorio de Valladolid”, modified with new structure for the roof was signed by Teodosio Torres on 15 december 1888.
47. The architect Joaquin de Vargas wrote a report about the conservation of the Old Cathedral of Salamanca, on 12 march 1892, after the restoration works of José Secall from 1878.
48. I must thank Juan Moya who gave me the information and drawing about this work.
49. In the magazine “Arquitectura y Construcción” 1903 is the article “Times Engineering Supplement”, signed by F. Fox.
50. This is expressed in “Real Decreto (R.D.) 28 march 1890” and “Real Decreto (R.D.) 30 may 1890”.
51. Manuel Anibal Alvarez, architect of the projects, explained this in the Memory of the restoration project from 5 october 1896.
52. Ricardo Velazquez Bosco wrote a solicitude to the Director General de Instituciones Públicas on 1887, to intervene in the cloister and as consequence wrote the “Memoria sobre el estado de la Catedral de Burgos y obras de restauración necesarias” on 15 august 1889.
53. The first works in the cloister of Burgos cathedral began on 20 august 1896, by Vicente Lamperez y Romea.
54. The cathedral of Cuenca was declared “Monumento Nacional” on 1902.
55. The theories of Vicente Lamperez were published in the article *Teorías y opiniones* in “Arquitectura y Construcción”, 1907.
56. Ricardo Velásquez Bosco, “Proyecto de restauración de la capilla de Villaviciosa” 28 november 1907.
57. The architect Manuel Zavala y Gallardo informs about la Alhambra, by “Real Orden. (R.O.) 1 may 1907”.
58. Modesto Cendoya Busquet was nominated architect of Alhambra by “R.O. 1 may 1907”.
59. Il “Patronato de Amigos de la Alhambra” was created by “Real Decreto (R.D.) 14 marzo 1913”. The President was Duque de Alba, with Gomez Moreno, Alcalde de Granada, and the Inspector of the Monument, and the Marquis of Vega Inclán, D. Benigno Vega Inclán.
60. When the new Bishop arrived from Vitoria, and wanted to reform the palace, the Townhall propose to build a new one, and demolished the old one. The bishop sent the architect Mr. J. de Luque, who said that it was a ruin. So, the order to demolish it was by “Real Orden (R.O) 28 abril 1914”. And the works began immediatly.
61. The demolitions around the Cathedral of León were directed by the architect Juan Bautista Torbado, who was not accord with it years later.
62. The architect Vicente Lamperez y Romea said about it “ortopedia constructiva sin vestidura estética” when he explained his ideas in “Boletín de la Sociedad Central de Arquitectos” 1917.
63. As we know the “Patronato de la Alhambra” was created by “Real Decreto R.D. 16 enero 1914”.

64. From 23 april 1915, the works in Alhambra were under the protection of “Direccion General de Bellas Artes”. In this period is Ricardo Velazquez Bosco the responsible to redact the plan of works necessities. This General Plan was aprobed by “Real Decreto R.D. 28 junio 1918”.

65. Leopoldo Torres Balbás defended his ideas in the “VII Congreso Nacional de Arquitectos, Zaragoza 1919”. Were published a little later by the “Sociedad Central de Arquitectos” in Madrid

66. Those are very important and significant restorations, this of Patio de Harem, a consolidation protecting the document values, and the one on Galeria de Machuca with elements as archs of green.

67. These drawings, so called “Plano de los Academicos”, was drawn by P. Arnal, D. Villanueva and J. Hermosilla, and published by the “Imprenta Real” in 1804.

68. These ideas about the use in monuments were exposed in *La utilización de los edificios antiguos*, in the magazine, “Arquitectura” july 1920.

69. Jeronimo Martorell is an important architect, as he was the first “Cap del Servei de Restauracio Monumental. Diputacio de Barcelona”.

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Chapter 8

The consolidation project of Vicente Lampérez The demolition of the archiepiscopal palace of Burgos Cathedral

Ignacio Mora Moreno

Introduction

Burgos Cathedral is a national Historic-Artistic Monument since 1885¹ and was declared World Heritage in 1984.

Being one of the most important Gothic works in Spain, it has been collecting the different artistic trends throughout the centuries. Since the transfer of the royal palace of Alfonso VI in 1075 for the construction of the Romanesque church, the subsequent construction of the cathedral begun in 1221 by Bishop Don Mauricio following Gothic patterns, and even being this the predominant style (in two clearly identifiable phases: the classic Gothic style of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and a second flamboyant Gothic style starring the Colonia family), also has important Renaissance and Baroque elements (Fig. 1).



Fig. 1. South elevation of the cathedral of Burgos from the Plaza Rey San Fernando.

The one in Burgos is the only Spanish cathedral that has the distinction of UNESCO independently, without being linked to the historic center of the city or together with other buildings.

The Archbishop's Palace was an important part of the cathedral complex, residence of bishops and the kings of Castilla, place of important historical events, and full of symbolism.

8.1 Architectural transformation of the Cathedral

For centuries, the transformations undertaken in the cathedral were aimed at the growth and expansion of the spaces.

First with the aim of Bishop Don Mauricio in the thirteenth century to build a cathedral according to the time. Then, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when it underwent major changes. During the second half of the nineteenth century important works of extension and improvement were undertaken in the southern part of the cathedral, within the archbishop's palace. At the end of that century and the first years of the twentieth century, with the entrance as architects in charge of the cathedral, first of Ricardo Velázquez Bosco, and later with the designation of Vicente Lampérez and Romea, important restoration work was carried out in the cathedral. It is precisely at this time when, instead of adding new elements, the elimination of accessory parts, not necessary, is sought in an ideal search for a unitary image of the monuments.

The isolation of the monuments

The elimination of the constructions annexed to the great temples was a current widespread throughout Europe and that in Spain especially affected the Gothic temples of León and Burgos. The search for a total vision of the monument was one of the main conditions of this movement.

One of the voices that rises in Spain against this movement is Leopoldo Torres Balbás, continuing what was started years before by Gustavo Giovannoni², who in 1919 charges in an article opposing the promoters of the idea³. For Torres Balbás, the search for the isolated monument had nothing to do with the context and the perception with which they were projected and built.

But in the case of Burgos, this idea is unstoppable, and will be carried out from the last years of the 19th century until the 20th years of the following century.

Modifications in the Archbishop's Palace

Since the 13th century, enlargements are being made by the prelates, by purchase or transfer of buildings and land, which turn the palace into an excessive and formless building. Bishop Luis de Acuña already proposed in 1486 to move the palace and proceed with its demolition so that the church remained clear to the door of Sarmental. Subsequently there are numerous attempts to make the palace disappear.

The one who best summarizes the difficulties encountered in carrying it out is Martínez Sanz⁴:

«But the project had no result, it is neither convenient nor possible that it ever be carried out, since the link that part of the cathedral has in some places with the palace, and the irregular dependencies of the church that he conceals would present an unpleasant aspect, and not to doubt it would be necessary after the demolition, to raise a wall that covered what now covers the Archbishop's palace.»

8.2 The restoration theories of Lampérez

Vicente Lampérez y Romea (1861-1923) is an architect, historian, and an expert and disseminator of Spanish architecture.

Lampérez's attitude about architectural restoration, as a follower of the theories of Viollet-le-Duc, is clear throughout his career and remains almost immovable until this project, which makes him doubt and change, with an approach to theories of Camillo Boito.

For Lampérez, restoring "means redoing a building or one of its parts, just as it was primitively"⁵.

Lampérez was the first in Spain to write down some criteria of the Restoration school, defending them and attacking the Anti-Restoration movement. His historicist character is reflected in his works and interventions.

Previous restoration work of Lampérez

He begins in restoration, being still a student of the School of Architecture of Madrid, with Demetrio de los Ríos in 1886 in the cathedral of León, a Violletian project initiated by Juan de Madrazo. His restoration practice extended to other monuments such as the cathedral of Cuenca, the Casa del Cordón (also in Burgos), the castle of Manzanares el Real (Madrid) or the church of Nuestra Señora de la Antigua (Valladolid).

By the resignation of Velázquez Bosco, he takes the direction of the works of the cathedral of Burgos in 1891, carrying out numerous works in the cathedral before the demolition of the palace: restoration of the cloister, restoration of the towers, demolition of the houses next to the chapel Santísimo Cristo for its restoration and other minor works.

In the 1899 project to reconstitute the cathedral of Burgos, he tries to repeat what was done in León. But neither the architecture nor the context are similar.

These projects allow him to gain the affection, love and respect of the authorities and the people of Burgos.

Vicente Lampérez in the Cathedral of Burgos

Lampérez's knowledge, not only of the cathedral of Burgos, but of the history of the architecture of numerous cathedrals is indisputable, it would be enough to review the general bibliography of the architect and the specific one dedicated to this cathedral.

In these writings, referring to the cathedral of Burgos, he recognizes the historical, documentary and artistic value not only of the temple but of its modifications and additions.

Lampérez also highlights the strong transformation of the cathedral in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, when numerous works of artistic importance will be carried out, including the construction of the new lantern after its collapse on March 4, 1539. Period covered until the end of the 16th century, when Lampérez considers that the important works have been finished (the following will be for him rather to regret).

Attempts to demolish the palace

In addition to the previous purposes of the late fifteenth century, in 1816 there is another attempt to demolish by the City Council. Various reports of architects, engineers and academics of the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, will support or disapproval the elimination of the palace, with the state of ruin as justification, always counting on the bishop's opposition to its demolition. It is taken up in 1822 and 1849, but again without success (Fig. 2).



Fig. 2. Exterior view of the Cathedral of Burgos with the Archbishop's Palace in demolition. Alfonso Vadillo, 1914. Archivo Municipal de Burgos.

In the second half of the 19th century, renovation works are carried out inside the palace by Archbishop Don Fernando de la Puente. In these works he eliminates the chapel of San Pablo, and Romanesque remains appear, attributed to the palace of Alfonso VI of the eleventh century.

In 1895, the town hall, with the support of writers and journalists, together with the people of Burgos⁶, took up the idea of demolition with the main purpose of isolating the temple. There is the idea of reconstruction on the same site of a new palace, but it is opposite to the general position. The pressure now on the bishop is intense and unanimous, so he ends up giving in and is favorable to isolation.

To support the idea, they add the opinions of the technicians. Velázquez Bosco is favorable to the elimination for the beautification of the Cathedral⁷, while Lampérez proposes some premises, among which stand out: do not lower to the level of the square to avoid the danger in the foundation of the monument; make a strong retaining wall; fill in the “polygon” that remains at the level of the pavement of the church with an atrium or elevated square.

Although the demolition was finally approved in 1895, work does not begin until 1914⁸.

The initial restoration project. Lampérez's premises

Lampérez's position is ambiguous with respect to demolition. On the one hand he is in favor of the disappearance of the Palace in what corroborates his theories, but he is able to anticipate the problems that will occur as a result of the demolition. At no time he vetoes the elimination, but he is limited to give observations, highlighting the problems that will appear with the demolition, and that a valid solution cannot be given for everyone.

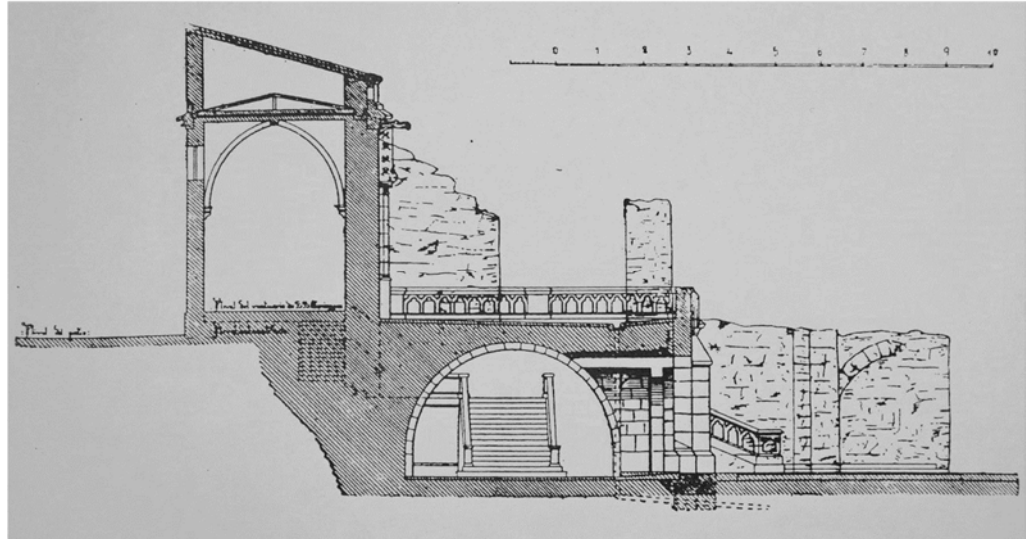
Although it is possible to consider the reconstruction of the palace, for Lampérez architecturally possible and limited by the economy and time, it is decided to consolidate and reintegrate this part after the demolition.

For all of these reasons, the demolition would involve different artistic and constructive problems. From the constructive point of view, when the cathedral is located halfway up a hill, there is a great difference between the level of the pavement of the cathedral and that of the square. The solution would be to build a strong retaining wall, with the perimeter marked by the staircase and the south façade of the cloister, and forming an elevated platform (level with the cathedral) with access from the square. Regarding the artistic part, although in the upper part different elements would stand out and would be better shown (“torn windows, slender buttresses and openwork windows”), the lower part would bring to light chapels and sacristies never intended to be seen from the outside, “a heterogeneous whole, without unity or beauty”.

He argues that it is possible to beautify all this (there are modern means for this), but that it could be a “palliative” solution to conserve the wall of the *old claustra* and restore it in the same way that he has already proposed for the chapel of the Santísimo Cristo. It is also possible to save part (Lampérez speaks of everything) of the existing of the first three centuries of the construction of the cathedral.

Lampérez, although not in favor, will not be able to stop the demolition. At least, he gives directions, volunteers and takes the initiative to save, as much as possible, the void that will remain, and above all, save the static of the monument without forgetting the aesthetics.

Fig. 3. Section of the intervention project of Vicente Lampérez after the demolition of the archbishop's palace.



Modification of the project after the demolition

Lampérez describes in the report of the restoration project the demolished parts and the actions to be carried out later.

He recognizes, for the first time, both the importance of the Palace and its condition of origin of the cathedral.

He explains that he has saved certain parts of the palace from demolition, then the idea of total isolation and complete demolition was a reality.

As some areas are revealed in the south wing of the cathedral (chapels and old claustra), works to reintegrate these parts are inescapable. For this purpose, he determines a series of premises that divides into techniques, artistic and archeological, based on respect for the old, using sobriety, simplicity and harmony as criteria (Fig. 3).

Lampérez establishes respect for all the remaining parts: for their “archaeological value”, for their “outstanding merit” and for their “historical and cult” meaning (the last one could be assimilated to the use or functional value). The lower parts of the cathedral on the south side, act as a bracket for the parts of the upper levels, as is the example of the *tunnel*, which now dates Lampérez at the end of the 12th century. As it serves to contain the land where the chapels settle, they must be conserved from a technical, archaeological and economic point of view.

The outer wall of the *tunnel*, which will remain visible, does not present a good state in the facing although the core presents a good quality. Lampérez proposes, introducing a major innovation in this regard, to improve solidity (consolidate) while recovering the image (reintegrate).

When the palace was demolished, there appeared inside a wall, supposedly solid, twin arches of Romanesque transition style, dated by Lampérez from the time of Alfonso VIII in the Huelgas of Burgos (12th century). What Lampérez does identify is that they were a facade, because of the walls in which they are located. Although the remains of the arches are insignificant, he gives them great historical and archaeological interest, so he determines their conservation.

It has another series of minor adjustments: conserve certain parts of the wall of the *old claustra* by eliminating recently added modern brick walls; a lateral access to the lower part of the stairway of the Sarmental; solve the southwest corner where the ovens are located and the replacement of the heating by removing the chimney; the repair of the holes that were supporting floors of wood and the roofs of the chapels of Lerma and Cartagena; different roof and parapets finishing. For all this, Lampérez already raises the future appearance of complementary projects (Fig. 4).

The platform over the *tunnel*, as it intends to make it accessible and crossable, he proposes to protect it by copying the defenses that finish off the cathedral's nave, keeping the old arches appeared in the great hall.

He also projects the placement of a stone slab in the basement to justify all his intervention.

He consolidates, as he had proposed, the wall of the *old claustra*. When the plaster is removed, the masonry is found up to a height of 5.50 m, which he requires preserving due to its age (demonstrated by irregular cutting and stonework marks). From the height of 5.50 m, the brick and rubble masonry continues, so he proposes its demolition and rebuild it with stone courses, cutting similar to the lower ones and "mark them with a sign or letter that indicates their modernity". To finish this wall, he projects a cornice and parapet similar to that of the other cloister. On this wall, Lampérez believes in principle necessary to place two extreme buttresses as reinforcement, although he will later recognize that they are not needed because consolidation was successful.

Regarding the new roofs, he establishes as a premise to leave as much visibility as possible. To do this, he proposes a lowered iron truss, with brick boards and slate roof.



Fig. 4. Detailed image of the current state of the double window found in the demolition of 1914 and preserved by Lampérez.

Final acknowledgments of Lampérez

Lampérez writes a report justifying the demolition and subsequent intervention. What he intends is to “historize” the works, record what was found and what is left.

He justifies the demolition with the search to show the cathedral isolated. He recognizes that after the demolition there were amorphous parts (walls, roofs...) as well as “artistic and valuable remains”. Therefore, not only organizes this chaos but proposes a restoration project.

He now recognizes both the existence of the palace at least since the beginning of the thirteenth century (prior to the construction of the Gothic cathedral) and that the palace was the habitual and frequent residence of the kings, at least until the fifteenth century.

The demolition brings to light hidden elements, poorly known or little appreciated: the *tunnel* and a large hall on the upper floor. He therefore recognizes the great importance of the remains found and their value as a historical and artistic document.

For all of these reasons, he embarks on a purely architectural work (“putting order and decorum in everything”), marking three principles (which will end up being four): paucity of interventions; respect for the existing; harmony of the parts with each other; and ends by adding: inventing the absolutely indispensable. The shortage of decorations and additions has a more economical than technical justification. Respect for the existing, rather than as conservation, is due to reasons of stability of the cathedral. The solutions that he proposes for the conservation of the existing and the repair of the damage, he does so by repeating similar elements of the cathedral, but in many cases eliminating materiality. To improve the composition he adds ornamental elements to the new facades (pinnacles, statues)⁹. His initial idea of leaving the upper wall smooth, is modified by the appearance of a window with tracery and fence in a demolition. According to his new premises, it must now be preserved. The impossibility of doing it in the same place, forces him to replicate the window in the elevation, with compositional purposes.

By way of explanation of the intervention, he decides to leave in the same work (in the lower wall, under the double window) a plaque with the historical data (it is currently illegible). Lampérez proposes the following text:

«Year of 1914. Being Archbishop Mr. José Cadena y Eleta, and Mayor of the City Mr. Manuel de la Cuesta, the Episcopal Palace, located here, was demolished. And having found architectural remains of the old building, they have been preserved in their place, as venerating historical and artistic memories of the building that housed the Kings of Castilla and the Prelates of Burgos.»

As he says, he does not make a simple restoration, but an intervention that totally changes the perception of the monument. But also its functionality, its use, and the elimination of one of its originally constituent elements.

Conclusions

With the removal of the palace, there is a clear search to isolate the cathedral and remove the buildings that “prevent” the vision of perspectives that never existed. But for this, a building originally from the cathedral is destroyed with found elements dating from the eleventh century, an important testimony of its history is destroyed and urban environmental conditions are modified.

Another reason given for the demolition is that the cathedral was contemplated in pieces, in fragments. But this had been the result of its architectural evolution over time.

Values shown *a posteriori* should have served to preserve the palace and not tear it down. At least, detect the parts of it to conserve, but never completely demolish it. This search for isolation of the monument leads to seek the enhancement of the values of artistic and unity, but in return make disappear those of historicity, documentary and constructive.

Once he realizes his initial mistake, Lampérez gives in and changes his initial project idea. He incorporates the remains found, places an explanatory plate and disseminates the intervention in articles and exhibitions.

Despite maintaining a stylistic posture, there is in Lampérez a change in his mindset, introducing innovative aspects in restoration. He sacrifices his project to record what he finds seeking harmony with the old, choosing consolidation over the idealization of the (supposed) past.

Notes

1. By Real Orden of April 8, 1885, the cathedral is declared a national historical and artistic monument.
2. G. GIOVANNONI, *La teoria del diradamento edilizio. Il quartiere della rinascenza in Roma*, in “*Nuova Antologia*”, vol. 166, Roma, July 1, 1913, pp. 53-76.
3. L. TORRES BALBÁS, *El aislamiento de nuestras Catedrales* in “*Arquitectura*”, vol. II, n. 20, 1919, p. 359-362.
4. M. MARTÍNEZ SANZ, *Historia del templo catedral de Burgos*, Imprenta D. Anselmo Revilla, Burgos, 1866.
5. V. LAMPÉREZ Y ROMEA, *La Catedral de Burgos* (obras últimamente ejecutadas), in “*Arquitectura y Construcción*”, Barcelona, pp. 5-20, 1918.
6. A subscription is requested through the press to thank Mayor Manuel de la Cuesta and Archbishop José Cadena y Eleta (Diario de Burgos, July 28, 1914).
7. For Velazquez Bosco, with the demolition of the palace, the cathedral would also gain a lot in solidity.
8. The demolition begins on July 20, 1914, coinciding with the 693 anniversary of the laying of the first stone of the cathedral.
9. It is curious that he does not respect a previous intervention by Juan de Colonia because Lampérez himself dedicates a very complete and even awarded study to it (V. LAMPÉREZ Y ROMEA, *Juan de Colonia: estudio biográfico crítico*, Imprenta La nueva Pincia, Valladolid, 1904).

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Chapter 9

The Conservation Movement in Italy in the last years of XIX and the beginning of XX century Scientific/Philological Restoration

The Conservation Movement in Italy

During the process of the unification of the Kingdom of Italy (1860-1870), there were various initiatives for national legislation and the protection of ancient monuments and works of art in all parts of the country.

In 1872, the Ministry of Education established the first General Directorate “Direzione Generale degli scavi e dei musei”, transformed in 1881 into “Direzione Generale delle Antichità e Belle Arti”.

In 1889, the General Commission of Fine Arts (“Commissione Generale delle Belle Arti”) were established for the different regions of the country and, in 1891, the Regional Offices for the Conservation of Monuments (Uffici regionali per la Conservazione dei Monumenti) were divided into separate “Soprintendenze” (Government Offices responsible for historic buildings, art, galleries, excavations, museum).

In this period, we have many voices, who were interested in Conservation of Monuments, like Italian writers, intellectuals, publicists.

Alvise Piero Zorzi (1846-1922) published in 1877 *Osservazioni intorno ai restauri interni ed esterni a San Marco* with interesting definitions: “Restoration presupposes innovation according to needs; Conservation excludes them completely. Restoration is applicable to anything that has no archaeological importance, ... Conservation aim the safeguarding of decay of what, ...”¹.

One of the Venetians who remained in continuous correspondence with Ruskin, was Giacomo Boni (1859-1925). Boni was involved in promoting a letter on the protection of Venetians Monuments. In 1888 he was called in Roma for preparing Regulations for the Conservation of Antiquities. He is most important in all world for his work in Foro Romano².

The first Office for Monuments in Italy was in Ravenna, and the first Superintendent was Corrado Ricci³ (1858-1934). In this period, one of the most important work was realized in San Vitale, a byzantine church. In this monument was present the artistic and architectural dialogue between Baroque insertions and Byzantine architecture and inside.

In this intervention he chose the respect for all the periods with an economic solution.

It was necessary to attenuate the visive contrast through the byzantine and the baroque decorations, protecting them. That's how was find the solution for the insertion of the pieces of "selenite" from the nearer quarries of Brisighella, in the stained glasses. The solution was found by C. Ricci with the support of Alois Riegl during their travel to Ravenna.

9.1 Luca Beltrami in Milano

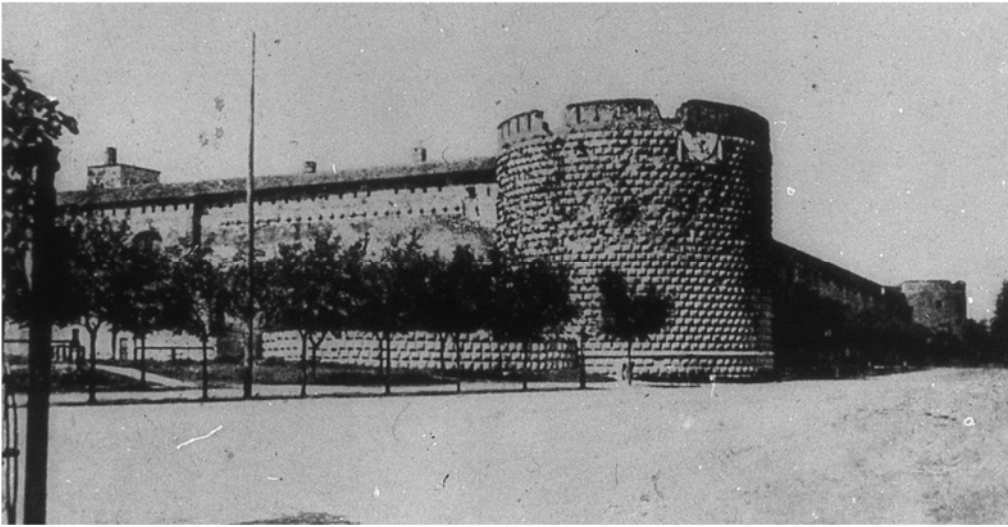


Fig. 1. Milano, Castello Sforzesco before the restoration. The remains of the external walls and the nineteenth century corner.

(From A. BARBACCI, *Il restauro dei monumenti in Italia*, Roma 1956, fig. 88)

In Milano, the city, where Camillo Boito taught, the difficult restoration of the Castello Sforzesco was begun, and Luca Beltrami designed even the smallest details. Beltrami wrote: "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"⁴.

He proposed the high central tower, on the traces of the Filarete drawings and the documentation of numerous paintings from a "graffiti" Cascina Pozzobonelli, and Leonardo project, but above all on the model of Vigevano.

At the same time, it is important to read the new insertion with clear distinguishability and simplified shapes built with bricks. The success and the echoes of this work were notable, also because a new view was being taken in restoration, the so called "Historical Restoration" (Figg. 1-4).

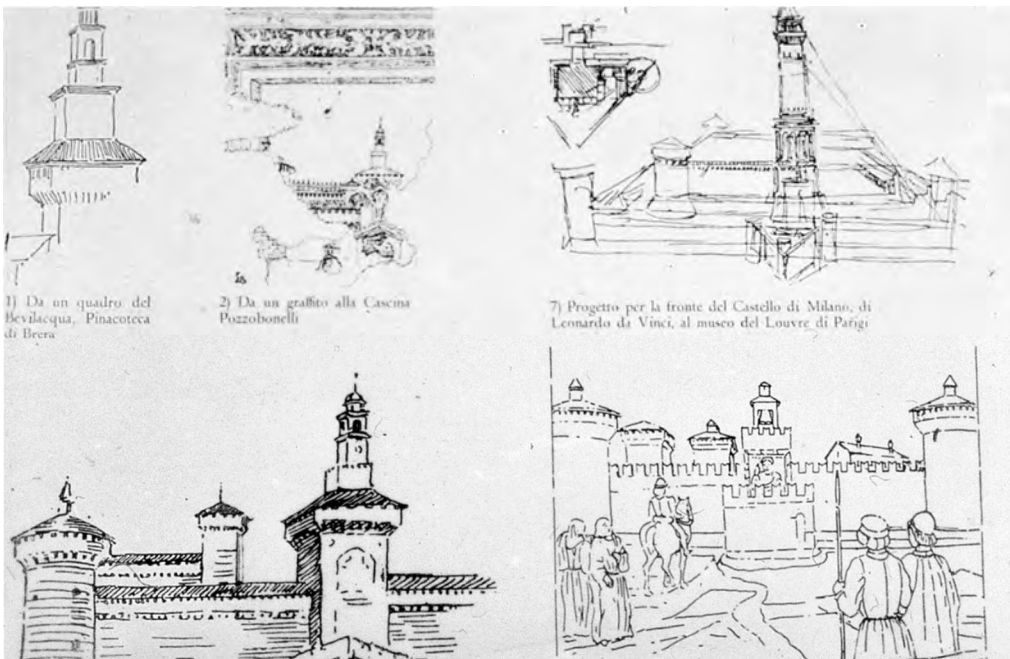


Fig. 2. Milano, Castello Sforzesco, study and analogies. (From L. GRASSI, *Storia e cultura dei monumenti*, Milano 1960)



Figg. 3-4. Milano, Castello Sforzesco, the different red bricks help the comprehension of the historic restoration. (CB 1990)

Luca Beltrami's intense activity between Milano and Roma cannot be complete presented in these few pages, but we must refer to the studies of Amedeo Bellini: *Luca Beltrami*, in *La cultura del Restauro, teorie e fondatori*, a cura di Stella Casiello, Venezia 1996, pp. 223-237, and *Luca Beltrami architetto*, in *Luca Beltrami architetto, Milano tra Ottocento e Novecento*, a cura di Luciana Baldrighi, Milano 1997, pp. 92-139.

9.2 Venezia, the bell tower of San Marco

The tower bell suddenly collapsed on itself on 14 July 1902 causing long controversies between opposing tendencies. The Belfry built in the XII century was completely destroyed, it was no longer a question of restoration, but reconstruction. Someone even proposed not to rebuild it in the square anymore, but beyond the Basilica, then they discussed how and in what “style”. The different tendencies between reproduction with the form of the “ancient” and the “new” with the architectural characteristics of the time were compared (for example, a liberty tower bell).

The urban ensemble was the result of a composite of different (multi-stratificated) architecture from Middle Ages to the early nineteenth century with the Napoleonic wing, therefore an insertion like the one proposed could be hypothesized from Wiener Schule.

The controversy over the bell tower lasted a few years, but in Venezia the monuments were the square, the combination of the two squares. An architecture with high symbolic value and a vertical “pivot” due to its functions.

For this reason, it was consequent to rebuild it in the same place, with the same height and volume. But we know that modern materials and technique were used and we can see some details in simplified form. In principle “how it was and where it was”.

The tower bell was rebuilt, as a copy, an architectural fake. The sentimental factor of the Venetians who wanted their bell tower should not be overlooked, the one that so many generations had admired, the one that for centuries, navigators wanted to see again returning from their travels. The symbol of faith and their city and their city. A set of unique and indispensable value (Figg. 5-12).



Fig. 5. Venezia, tower bell before the drama of the collapse. In this image the structural lesions are evident (June 1902). (From *Il campanile di San Marco. Il Crollo e la Ricostruzione*, 14 luglio 1902-25 aprile 1912, Milano 1992, p. 57)



Fig. 6. Venezia, the day after the tower bell was ruined (14 July 1902). (C. CESCHI, *Teoria e storia del restauro*, Roma 1970, fig. 152)



Fig. 7. Venezia, the day after the drama (14 July 1902). (*Il campanile di San Marco. Il Crollo e la Ricostruzione, 14 luglio 1902-25 aprile 1912*, Milano, 1992, p. 39)



Fig. 8. Venezia, cover of the daily news "La Domenica del Corriere" (27 July 1902). (Private collection CB)

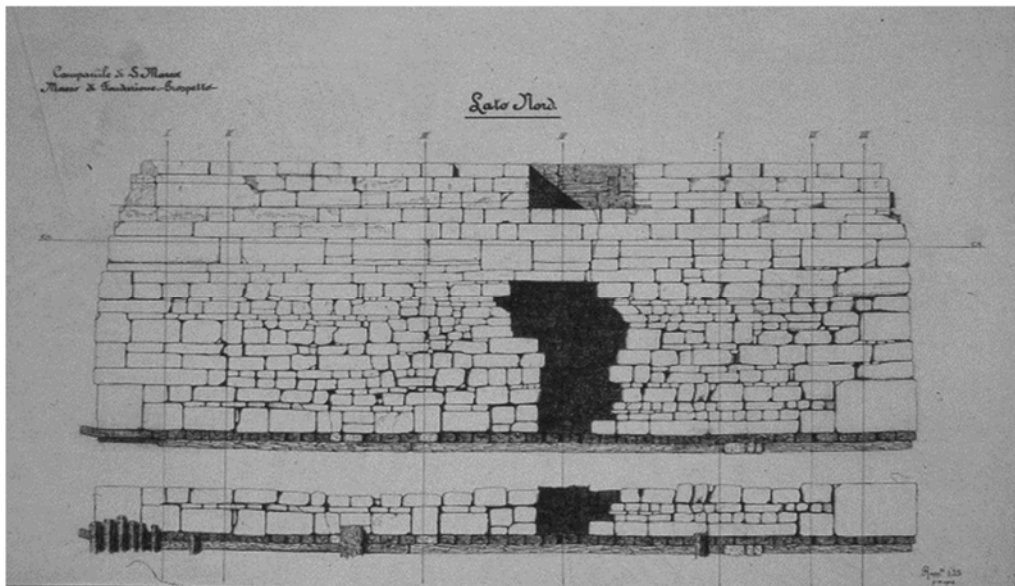


Fig. 9. Graphic relief of the foundation rock of the ancient bell tower, north side (From *Il Campanile*, 1992, p. 86)



Fig. 10. F. Graetz, satirical table on the hypothesis expressed verbally by Otto Wagner for the reconstruction of the bell tower in "modern" style". (from *Il Campanile di San Marco* 1992, p. 13)



Fig. 11. Venezia, aerial view of the bell tower in Piazza San Marco. (Private collection CB)

Fig. 12. Venezia, view
of the bell tower
today.
(CB 1989)



9.3 Camillo Boito

During last years, the studies about the contribution of Camillo Boito (1836-1914) and his historic period have been intensified. For example, we remember the conference proceedings: *Camillo Boito moderno*, ed. Mimesis, edited by Sandro Scarrocchia, 2018, and different essays by G. Carbonara, S. Casiello, A. Bellini. Boito was the personality who emerged in architectonic restoration, in the second half of XIX century in Italy.

He was born in Roma in 1836 and received a European education, studying in Germany and in Poland, then taught and planned in Padova and Venezia, and then arriving in Milano, where he would teach at the Brera Academy.

As an architect, he belonged to the eclectic and romantic period with a predilection for the Middle Ages. At the same time, he founded the magazine “Arte Italiana Decorativa e Industriale”, and collected the decorations of all times in one volume “*Ornamenti di tutti gli stili*”, edited Milano, 1880.

As a historian who had published “*Architetture del Medioevo in Italia*” and “*Questioni pratiche di Belle Arti*” in 1893, his concepts on the restoration of monuments are set out in these volumes. He uses the experiments of Viollet-le-Duc, but in the light of Ruskin’s reflections he manages to find an intermediate solution. In fact, his most significant contribution is found in the methodological approach of the restoration. He reacts to Ruskin’s position, refusing to accept the end of a monument, and at the same time condemning stylistic restorations, that demonstrate the fake.

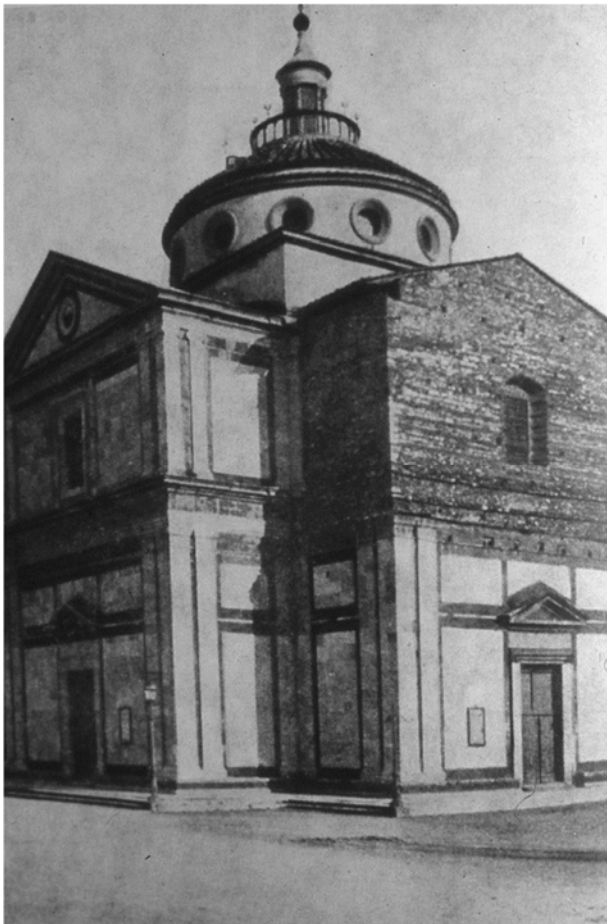


Fig. 13. Prato, Santa Maria delle Carceri.
(CB 1983)



Fig. 14. Padova, Museo Civico, entrance.
(CB 1989)



Fig. 15. Gallarate,
Ospedale
(CB 1989)

Therefore, one will find in his statements a balanced disposition which constitutes the basis of the modern Italian school of restoration. Camillo Boito took care to highlight the errors of stylistic restoration and states that he prefers poorly some restorations that do not generate doubts and do not compromise the authentic parts.

He confirms the fundamental concept of the distinction of the added parts from the original ones and of the limitation to what is necessary.

Boito invites to caution because every stratification has its value and must be respected. His theoretical approach had been presented to the Congress of 1879, with a report on the restoration of the monuments, which is received by the Ministry of Public Education, through a series of circulars spread throughout the National territory. Boito proposed these directives again at the third Congress of Engineers and Architects 1883 in Roma. These concepts contained in this document can be considered as the first Charter of Restoration.

We can summarize the fundamental principles in eight points:

1. Difference in style between the new and the old.
2. Differences in materials.
3. Suppression of shapes and decorations.
4. Exhibition of the pieces removed near the monument.
5. Engraving in new materials of the date of restoration.
6. Descriptive epigraph engraved on the pre-existence.
7. Description and photographs of the different periods of the works, preserved "in situ", or nearby, publish the works.
8. Notoriety⁵.

The document states the value of all the construction characteristics to whatever period they belong to. It is specified that, when it is necessary to start a restoration, it must be done only in cases of necessity.

Boito takes the well-known axiom from Didron: monuments must be consolidated, rather than repaired, rather repaired than restored; if necessary, additions and renovations have a different character. Furthermore, Boito insists that the intervention must not take away anything from the beauty, colour, patina of time.

In a conference held at the Torino Exhibition of 1884, published with the title “*I Restauratori*”, he also deals with the restoration of paintings and sculptures criticizing: “Fermarsi a tempo, e qui sta la saviezza: contentarsi del meno possibile”. In the 1885, in a test of completion of the marble covering of the upper part of the facades of the church S. Maria delle Carceri, it stops at the head with the chapels of a single arm of the Greek cross. And again, in an essay published “*Nuova Antologia*” dated 16 December 1889, he supported the need for a law on the organization of regional offices for monuments (Fig. 13).

It seems appropriate to mention that in the book “*Questioni Pratiche di Belle Arti*” (Milano, 1893), in the chapters dedicated to architectural restorations, some key concepts are rhymed.

“Serbar io devo ai vecchi monumenti,
l’aspetto venerando e pittoresco.
E se a scansar aggiunte o compimenti
Con tutto il buon volere non riesco.
Fare devo così che ognun discerna
Esser l’opera mia tutta moderna”⁶.

Boito’s authority had a notable influence on the politics of the arts and oriented the law for the “Conservazione dei Monumenti e degli Oggetti d’Antichità e d’Arte”, 12 June 1902, n. 185. This law was replaced by law n. 364 of 1909, which remained in force thirty years (Figg. 14-17).



Fig. 16. Padova, Basilica of Sant’Antonio da Padova.
(CB 1989)



Fig. 17. Milano, Porta Ticinese.
(From Private collection CB)

9.4 Roma in the first half of XX century

During the first years of the 20th century, Antonio Muñoz (1884-1960) got into service in the National Direction of Fine Arts with the position of Inspector at the Superintendence of Monuments in Roma and Lazio since 1909. Among his early works, we can consider the ruins of the Church San Nicola a Capo di Bove in Via Appia, medieval church without barrel roof and without truss. Only walls and some medieval plaster remain. The intervention proposal consisted in a capping (about a meter of high), with different stones, and the pointed arch with red bricks and the addition with pilaster (counterfortes). The project planned to conserve the holes made to prepare the construction of the structure. The survey presented the different restorations during the time (Fig. 18).

In the same period, Muñoz worked on the Mausoleum of Cecilia Metella, which was adapted as Antiquarium, and reconfigured the Medieval Castle.

Green insertion with cypress trees was planted along Via Appia, as he will do in future, during the “Governatorato” periode in Colle Oppio (Fig. 20).

It's possible to see some archaeological fragments insert in the wall in the interior of the Mausoleum. The case presented was one of the earliest examples of museum adaptation of an archaeological pre-existence (Fig. 19).

After many years of abandonment, today the space looks improved, as it resumed only in part the vision of Muñoz.

During these years, in the ancient convent of Santa Maria degli Angeli, Corrado Ricci (1858-1934) organized a first section of the National Archaeological Museum. In this work it is important to see the different periods of the History of Architecture (from antiquity to Baroque, through Renaissance and up to Modern) (Fig. 22).

The thermal “Aula” was adapted in a museum; we can see the historic adaptation for ancient marbles, sarcophagi, and the restoration of the space with reintegration of walls, ancient thermal windows, and was realized a new roof with wooden trusses.

Another important detail is noted in the pre-existence roof. In some parts, it is preserved the ruin of the vault, which is obviously consolidated. Corrado Ricci did not work as some followers of Stylistic Restoration, looking for the “pristine” appearance cover system.

Elements, made up of hurdles and glass, as diaphragms, were also added to create museum space.

But the late Baroque façade by Vanvitelli was destroyed in 1911, and turned to its “pristine state”, a niche in the shape of an exedra with two arched entrances.



Fig. 18. Via Appia, San Nicola a Capo di Bove.
(CB 1994)



Fig. 19. Roma, Mausoleo di Cecilia Metella a Capo di Bove. The photo shows the Mausoleum, the medieval castle and the arboreal insertion of cypresses. We can see some archaeological fragments inserted on the wall. But this is an ancient photo, now the situation, after the new arrangements, is better.
(CB 1994)

Fig. 20. Colle Oppio,
drawings by Antonio
Muñoz.
(Archivio X
Ripartizione, Comune
di Roma)



From the fashion of ruins to museum

Among the firsts, we must mention the so-called museum of via Appia, started since 1 December 1909 within the Caetani enclosure. In this first museum experience, Muñoz made use of the directives formulated by the 1883 Congress, and at the same time approaches similar experiences in the nascent “Museo Forense” by Giacomo Boni⁷.

However, in restoration projects on the environment, we must consider that too much green can be very dangerous for ancient walls.

Also caring about the picturesque side of the Historic street, there were planted 100 pines and 300 cypresses, arranged not regularly in rows, but in groups, especially on the right side of the way from Roma, so as not to take away the view of the Tuscolan mountains. In several cases it seemed appropriate to fix, by walling them up or plastering them, inscription and fragments⁸.



Fig. 21. Roma, Pantheon, Drawing and project by Antonio Muñoz. (“Vita d’Arte”, V, 1912, published in C. Bellanca, 2003, p. 65)



Fig. 22. Roma, Terme di Diocleziano. With the first arrangements for the National Roman Museum. (CB 1983)

In the Pantheon we have a modern insertion to show better the Raphael sarcophagus in the “*arcosolio*”. The minimum intervention by Antonio Muñoz was done on the occasion of the Centenary of Raphael. He proposed a thoughtful project discussed and approved in October 1911⁹ (Fig. 21).

9.4.1 Roma, Santa Prassede

The new pavement is done with the authentic ancient materials (granite, porphyry) and new small mosaic tiles (1913-1918). The design is driven by the need to reintegrate the ancient pavement with mosaic. This episode expresses an intervention in analogy with cosmatesque criteria. For the pavement of Santa Prassede, Muñoz wrote on 25 May 1916: "It must be worked by hammer and not by machine"¹⁰ (Fig. 23-24).

In Santa Prassede we can still read other interventions, such as the reopening of the Chapel of Crocefisso. Today is used as a weekday chapel, with partial adaptation to a lapidary and the conservation program from some mural paintings in the small tower bell¹¹.

When the ancient accesses to the crypt was reopened, the floor may be done before, so as not to destroy it¹².

Muñoz attention was also directed to numerous chapels such as the Olgiati one, where humidity phenomena were noted. He proposed repairing the roof with an appropriate slope for water drainage.

Finally, it seems appropriate to remember the "conflict" with Giovannoni about the reconstruction of a hypothetical medieval "ciborio" with the fragments preserved in the church, in the courtyard and in the "portico".

Muñoz defended in this case the authenticity of the fragments which remained exposed and defended the baroque "baldacchino"¹³.



Fig. 23. Roma, proposal for the pavement of Santa Prassede, drawing scale 1:1, by Antonio Muñoz.
(Archivio Soprintendenza dei Beni Architettonici e Ambientali di Roma, published in C. Bellanca, 2003, p. 66)



Fig. 24. Roma, Church of Santa Prassede. New pavement with the insertion of ancient marble.
(CB 1994)

The most significant works

The experiences that we present (some exemplary cases) perhaps the best known, but at the same time articulated and complex, through which it is possible to find restoration principles and methods, despite the specific executive differences. In the case of Santi Quattro Coronati Church it is evident the theme of reintegration, together with that of the conservation of the frescoes, as well as the reconfiguration of the cloister.

For the Temple of Portuno, the themes ranging from “liberation” to “isolation”, to actual restoration with the criteria of distinguishability, also through the use of modern techniques and materials (are addressed).

In Santa Sabina we find a set of themes that include the aspect of the spatial reconfiguration, leading to the reintegration of some elements of liturgical furnishing and concluding with a museal adaptation.

9.4.2 Roma, Santi Quattro Coronati

The Santi Quattro Coronati Church is a complex on the Celio Hill. We will illustrate the interventions on the convent, where the Agostinian cloistered nuns live. In the essay A. Muñoz, *Il restauro della chiesa e del chiostro dei Ss. Quattro Coronati*, Roma, 1914, we find the first study of the monumental complex and its restorations.

The intervention implemented included various phases of works carried out from 1911 to 1914, especially on the cloister, the entrance tower and the S. Silvestro Chapel inside the church. Muñoz wrote reports about the progresses of the works and different moments of the execution, in some of the essays that he published from 1912¹⁴ (Figg. 25-27).



Figg. 25-26. Roma, Santi Quattro Coronati. The tower was realized during Charles the Great period and present the typical brickwork and quadrifora, and the ancient plaster, with two or three coat plaster with lime. (CB 1994)

The church

On the floor he prefers to leave the inscriptions in their place except in a few cases and adds some columns of granite and cipollino with ionic capitals, which were brought to light in the last restoration, because they were embedded in the perimeter walls of the church¹⁵.

The cloister

Muñoz worked to ensure that “some restauration can be carried out on the cloister which has deteriorated due to a long abandonment”. In fact, were no gutters and descenders for the water disposal, the environmental is attacked by humidity.

Furthermore, the galleries were closed with small fake constructions, partitions, fireplaces, seats: the twin columns have been replaced by relief arches, resting on marble pillars and masonry pillars. The intervention was dedicated to recomposing the architectural image (of the whole), with the ancient fountain re-employed in the cloister, and the baroque surface was conserved and cleaned¹⁶.



Fig. 27. Roma, Monastery of Santi Quattro Coronati, detail of the inscription. The inscription in marble inserted on the walls. This is one of the Boito points for a correct restoration intervention. (CB 1994)

San Silvestro Chapel

Muñoz described the state of the chapel and the various works with the discovery as the thirteenth century decoration and the system adopted in the convent for listening to the functions.

The two deeps funnels communicated with a terracotta duct which ends up in the Gothic hall, a mouthpiece.

Finally, he reports in the document dated on 11 January 1915 that “it is necessary to stop the plaster of the vault, which threatens to fall, to restore parts of the decoration that are lost and to match the foundations with neutral colours¹⁷.”

A few years later, in 1925, Muñoz fully protected the convent by forbidden new constructions. In the interventions various attitudes can be distinguished from the initial solution of the humidity, in the cloister, leave it free from superfetation, and continue with the reconfigurations through reintegrations.

However, it seems necessary to point out that some seventeenth-eighteenth century decorations present in the cloister have been preserved in full respect of the stratifications. We recognize, throughout the work, his constant search for understanding the architectural phases of the monument.

We begin to outline what will be one of the dominant motifs of Muñoz's activity, the link between the restoration and the understanding of the architectural organism.

This work will constitute an important guidance for Krautheimer's subsequent studies, as Muñoz has been recognized by his German master.

9.4.3 Roma, Temple of Portuno

In this contribution we mainly mention Muñoz's intervention, but also with the necessary explanations of works done in the XIX century¹⁸.

The temple is a "Ionic pseudoperipteral tetrastyle" on a podium, in which the stone *opus quadratum* covers an internal wall core in *opus coementicium*.

Note the "Asian Ionic entablature" which can be recognized by the strong development of the subframe, therefore by a certain Hellenistic inspiration and by the corner volute of the *capitello*¹⁹.

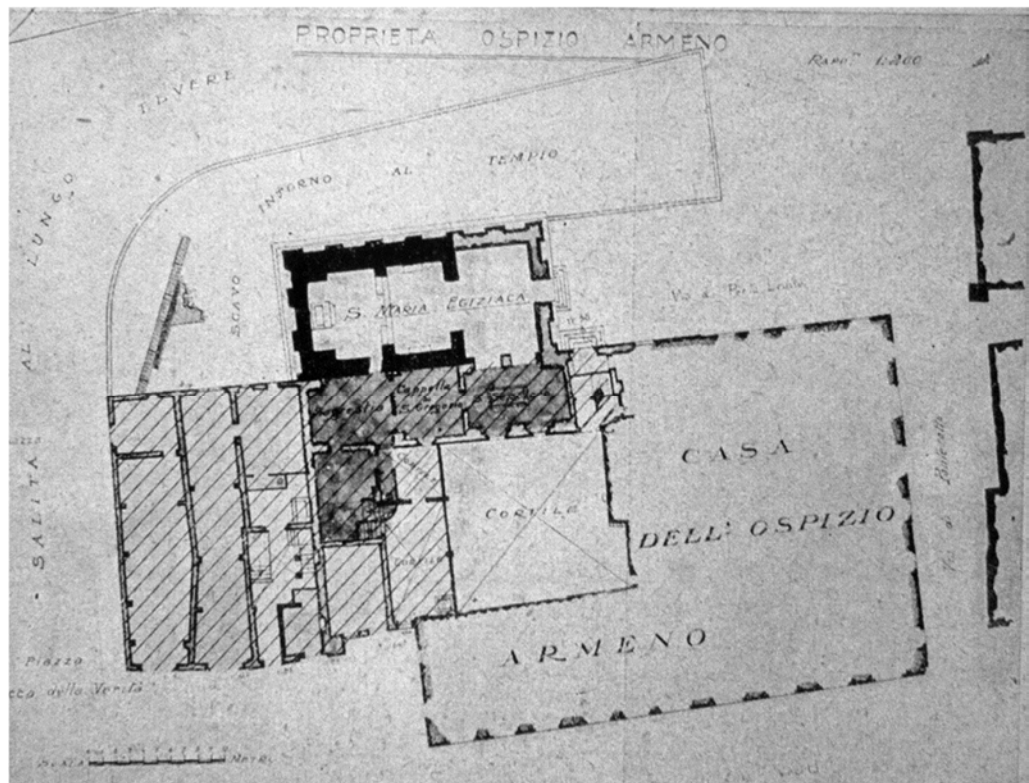


Fig. 28. Roma, Temple of Portuno before restoration by Antonio Muñoz. (Archivio Soprintendenza dei Beni Architettonici e Ambientali di Roma)

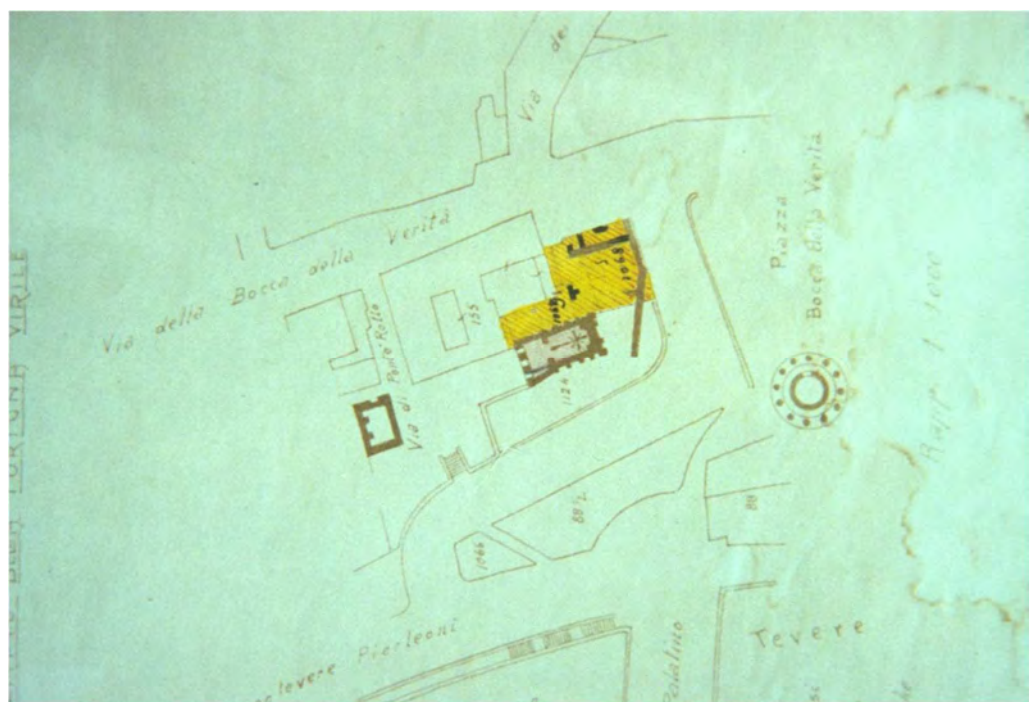


Fig. 29. Roma, Temple of Portuno before restoration by Antonio Muñoz. (From C. Bellanca, *Spigolature sul tempio di Portuno, cosiddetto della Fortuna Virile, nei disegni di Leonardo Paterna Baldizzi*, in "Studi romani", XLVII, 1999, n. 3-4, pp. 385-386)

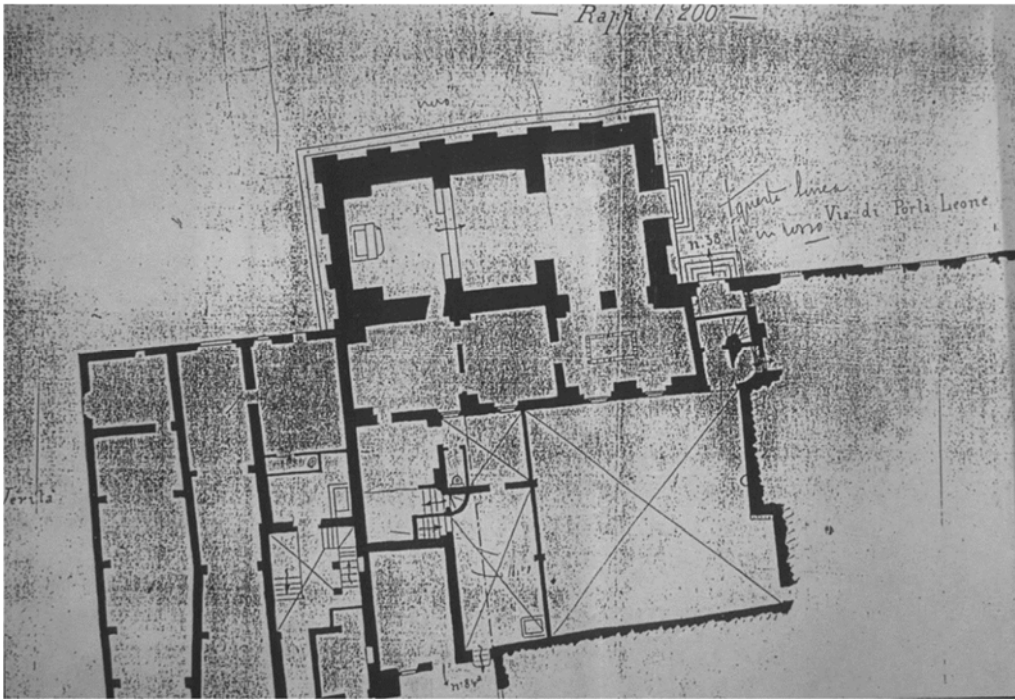


Fig. 30. Roma, Temple of Portunus, Santa Maria Egiziaca, plan of the church at the beginning of XX century. (C. Bellanca, 2003, p. 77)

Summary of the construction events

A summary of the construction events can be traced through the monograph: Antonio Muñoz, *Il Restauro del Tempio della Fortuna Virile*, Roma, 1925, and then in the essay published in “Capitolium”, January 1926, *Il tempio della Fortuna Virile isolato e restaurato*, until the most recent study conducted by Jean Pierre Adam, *Le Temple de Portunus au Forum Boarium*, Roma, 1994.

As Muñoz writes, the temple “owes its relatively good conservation to the fact of having been adapted into church”²⁰.

At the time of Pio IV, in 1560, the church was granted to the Armenians, and was restored²¹. At the time of Pope Clement XI, part of the complex was raised and the entire frieze on the left side was demolished²².

At the beginning of the XIX century, at the time of the French Administration, the first excavation and liberation work on the green side of the River was started. But we had to wait for the activity of Valadier who, in October 1826, planned to demolish the bell tower and started the subsequent restoration of two columns “of the near side of the temple, whose modern workmanship is in fact easily recognizable even today”²³.

Interventions

After the unification of Italy and the first laws on Roma, the debate on the isolation of the temple reopened. What made the matter complex was the Armenian college, which tries to seize its assets²⁴.

Giovannoni insisted on the necessity of the isolation, which he deals with in an article in *Tempio della Fortuna Virile e il Forum Boarium* and hopes for maintenance and restoration. But Giovannoni, referring to the liberation, achieved in France, in last century in Nîmes and Vienne in homage to Viollet-le-Duc’s theory, ends up being fascinated by it²⁵.

In 1916 the Commission established within the Associazione Artistica fra i Cultori di Architettura presented a proposal: "the monument returns free ... the restoration of the *pronaos* is required, of which the intervals must be reopened and the back wall must be recovered²⁶.

From these considerations we will see how Muñoz's project will be structured differently, will have isolation as its basic orientation, but will not aim at an absolute restoration²⁷.

Antonio Muñoz in his extensive report explains the project and decides, in agreement with the garden manager, to use the free area resulting from the demolition as greenery. But most of all, he felt the need to preserve some evidence of the eighteenth-century church and to let both realities be seen.



Figg. 31-32. Roma, Temple of Portuno. Photos taken during the demolitions (1921). (Archivio Soprintendenza dei Beni Architettonici e Ambientali di Roma, published in C. Bellanca, 2003, pp. 83-85)

In fact, it continues: “the first problem was that of the conservation of the church ... those altars, those frescoes, the choir, the balustrade, the reproduction of the Holy Sepulcher ... peeped out here and there, in that walled pronao, in which the fluted columns appeared, they constituted an overall picture so picturesque, that it was spontaneous desire to preserve it, ... but this was not possible because the Ospizio Armeno requested the delivery of all the movable furnishings ..., therefore the church was abandoned”²⁸.

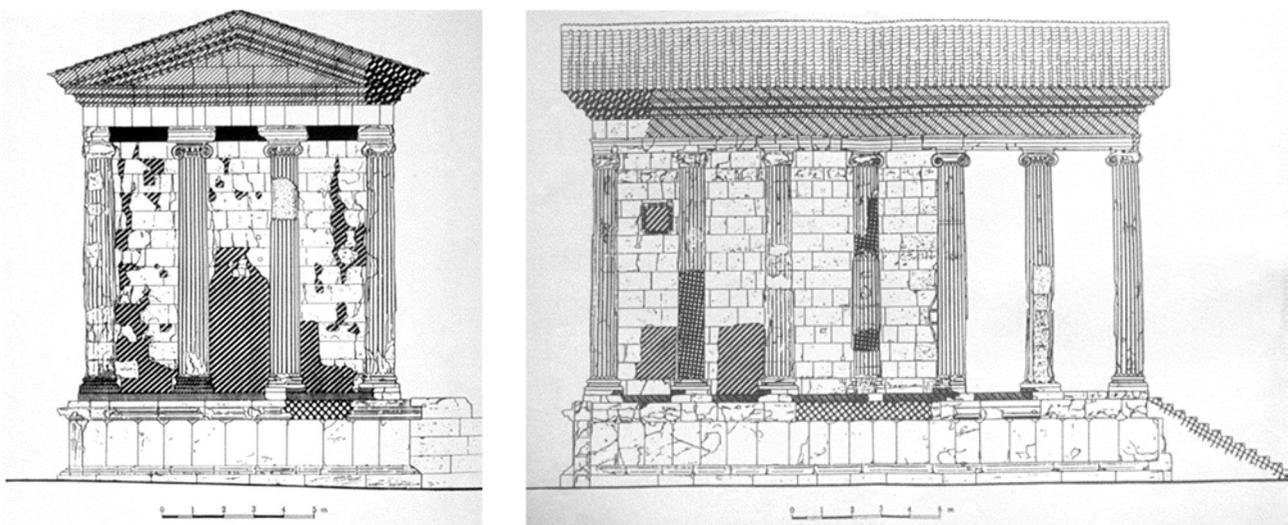
He continued his work, but wondered how he should consider the temple, whether “as a red ruin and therefore keep it religiously intact, without the slightest restoration work, or whether of should be regarded as a still living pre-existence”²⁹.

Muñoz concludes by stating: “because two reasons made me follows this second view, without hesitation, one aesthetic, the other practical, thus he codifies this restoration as the only one to be carried out, as a *restoration of analogy*, which could be carried out with absolute certainty of respecting the ancient, mentioning the need to complete the architrave by reintegration the missing part”³⁰.

In the execution “I wanted to distinguish it from the ancient parts by making it in brick masonry instead of tuff, with rustic plaster painted in grey”³¹.

Muñoz summarizes the individual interventions carried out through a meticulous analysis of the various table, which can be read with the help of appropriate graphs³².

The northern front highlights the reinstatement of the brick staircase in front and the partial reconfiguration of the tympanum. The southern front present a series of works, almost of re-tessellations for an overall reintegration. The upper frame of the podium is covered with bricks, the architrave is recomposed in reinforced concrete³³. We can see how, through this operation, Muñoz wanted to get closer, but at the same time distinguish himself from Valadier’s intervention. On the western front, the closures of the windows are highlighted threatened a gap to be filled. The eastern front presents a wide range of interventions. The reintegrations are presented in bricks as in the staircase and in the frame of the podium (Figg. 28-34, 36-39).



Figg. 33-34. Graphic representation of the state of conservation, southern elevation on the left and eastern elevation on the right, survey by J.P. Adam and identification of the interventions of Antonio Muñoz by Calogero Bellanca, 1995. (in C. Bellanca, 2003, pp. 92-93)

Consideration on the intervention

Muñoz's restoration did not intend to restore a hypothetical state of the monument, but rather offered a complex architectural interpretation of the concept of distinctive reintegration. He limited himself to isolating the monument, then preserving some traces of the past, and finally restoring, through appropriate operations, some architectural elements, such as the corner of the entablature and part of the missing "timpano".

In this intervention, he distances himself from those previous graphics essays of restitution, that during the nineteenth century had been dedicated to the temples, such as that of Leonardo Paterna Baldizzi (1868-1942)³⁴ (Fig. 35).

We can observe in this solution of 1925 a concrete anticipation of the "Norme of 1932", and also of the famous premises on Critical Restoration of Giulio Carlo Argan of 1938³⁵.

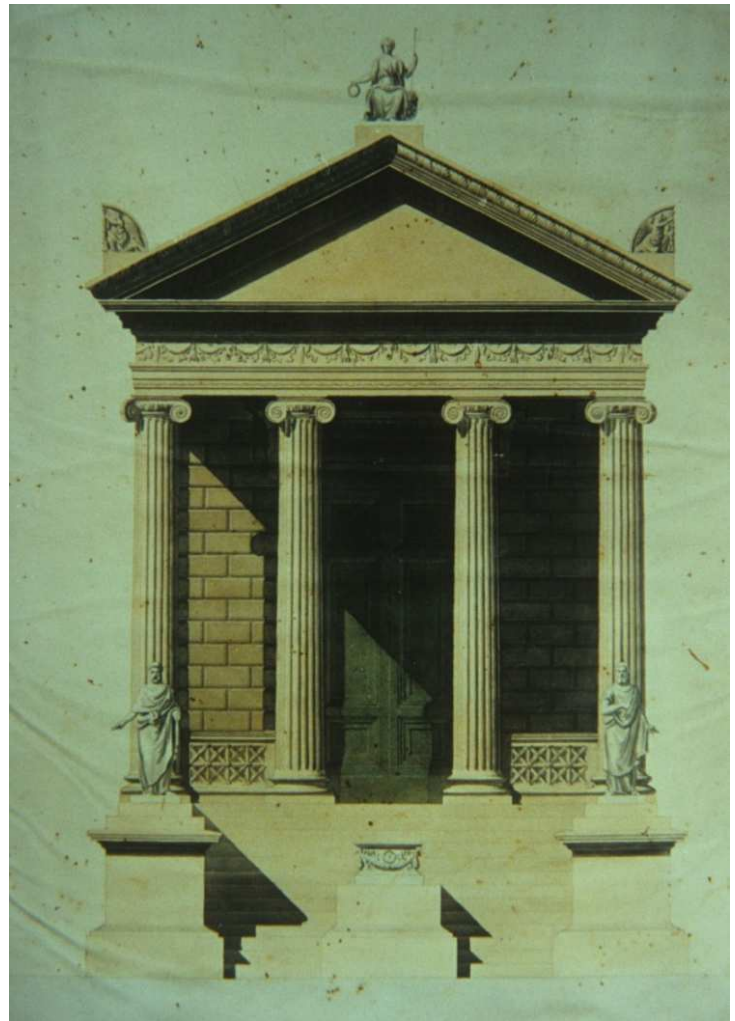


Fig. 35. Temple of Portuno, graphic restitution by Leonardo Paterna Baldizzi. (in C. Bellanca, *Spigolature*, 1999)

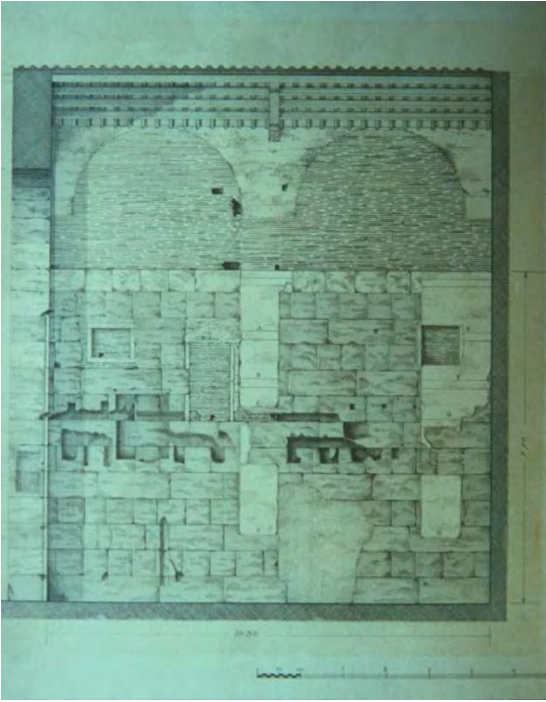


Fig. 36. Roma, Temple of Portuno, survey during the restoration (1925).
(Archivio Soprintendenza dei Beni Architettonici e Ambientali di Roma, published C. Bellanca 2003, p. 86)



Fig. 37. Roma, Temple of Portuno after restoration by Antonio Muñoz.
(CB 1995)



Fig. 38-39. Roma, Temple of Portuno, details.
(CB 1995)

9.4.4 Roma, Santa Sabina

Antonio Muñoz in 1913, supported by the success of the work in Ss. Quattro Coronati, begun the first investigations related to the Basilica of Santa Sabina on the Aventino hill. The interventions followed studies and conclusions which will be published by Muñoz in the same years (Fig. 40).

The interventions implemented in Santa Sabina can be divided into two phases. The first intervention took place between 1914 and 1919. It was on this occasion that the windows were re-opened and the selenite hedges applied, the main altar was reconfigured, the walls that closed certain arches were demolished. Muñoz partially created the *schola cantorum*, and he reintegrated the cathedra and the seat of the apse, the fresco of the basin was re-opened the small windows and the remains of an old pre-existence were brought to light under the floor of the central nave. The roof was also repaired, and the walls and plaster were consolidated (Fig. 42).

The second phase, carried out between 1933 and 1936, included the intervention on all the marble floor of the church, in squares with polychrome inlays, a wooden coffered ceiling was placed under the roof, on the model of existing parts. New traces of *schola cantorum* were discovered, the one rebuilt in 1918 was demolished and the new was raised. The entire apsidal basin was covered with rich marble, the roof had been repaired, and a heating system was installed by placing pipes under the ground, which made the basilica less humid³⁶.

Interior before Muñoz

If you had visited the church before 1914, the first thing that would have struck you may be the lack of light as compared to nowadays.

The *schola cantorum* did not exist, but instead the floor ran to a flight of three steps just beyond the third pair of columns. This ran across the width of the nave but was interrupted by a small confessio in front of the high altar. There, a gate in a balustrade led down into a little crypt containing the shrine of the relics of the martyrs. The main altar itself had lost its 16th century “baldacchino” at some stage before the late 19th century (Fig. 45).

There was no ceiling, but instead the roof was open except for horizontal truss beam. The spandrels of the triumphal arch were decorated with Baroque rosettes and curlicues in stucco.

The “*lapis diaboli*” on its little column, now in the narthex, was in the middle of the nave floor.

There were several side chapels. The near end of the right-hand aisle had an internal chapel formed by inserting blocking walls into the first bay of the aisle. Off the same aisle were entrances to three external chapels; the middle one survives. At the end of the right-hand aisle was the apsidal chapel of San Domenico, now walled off, which used to contain the Sassoferato altarpiece now in the Cappella d’Elci. This was stolen in 1901, and when it was eventually recovered it was installed in the new location.

At the end of the left-hand aisle, the last four bays had been converted into the chapel of Our Lady of the Rosary in the 16th century restoration.



Fig. 40. Roma,
Church of Santa
Sabina, XIX
century.
(Private collection
CB)



Fig. 41. Roma,
Church of Santa
Sabina, after the re-
opening of medieval
windows.
(CB 2003)

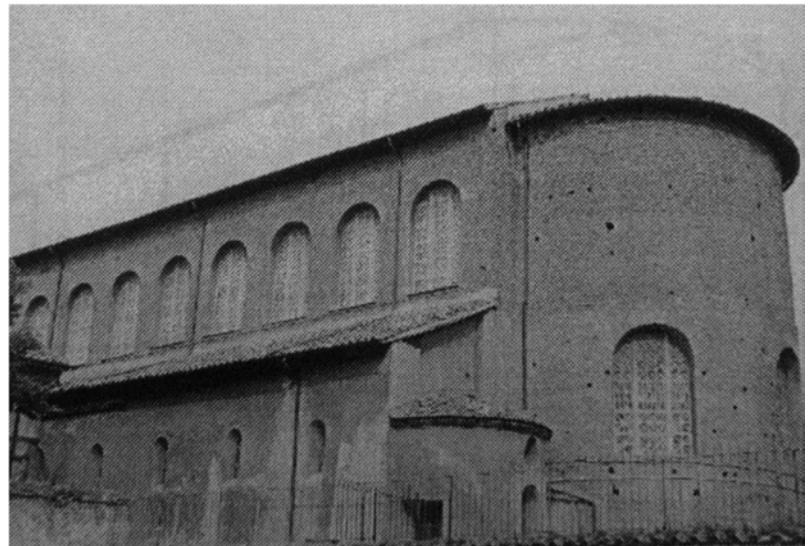
Description of the interventions: 1914-1919

The first intervention for the *schola contourum* dates back to 1918, when the authentic fragments that had been placed by Mazzanti were used along the left alley near the bell tower. In the first intervention, 1914-1919, Muñoz posed the problem of understanding the reasons for the narrowing of the naves. For both the left and right aisles, he tried to provide an explanation for the presence of pre-existing underground structures, on which the church has come up. In the right aisle, the granite column would certainly explain why the boundary wall at that time constitutes an angle, which proves that the column that belongs to an older construction should have an historical memory value. An examination of the basilica shows the closing of two chapels in the right aisle, the wall is reduced to the apse. There is then the desire to make the basilica a more regular architectural organism with the only presence of two chapels placed symmetrically on the sides of the aisles³⁷ (Fig. 41, 43-44, 47-48).

Fig. 42. Roma, Church of Santa Sabina, opening of the windows (1914-1919) (Archivio fotografico della Soprintendenza dei Beni Architettonici e Ambientali di Roma, published in C. Bellanca 2003, p. 109)



Fig. 43. Roma, Church of Santa Sabina, from piazza Pietro d'Illiria. (CB 1994)



Description of the interventions: 1936-1938

The ceiling was laid in the second series of interventions in 1936. The operation involved inserting rectangular chests after dividing the ceiling into four spans and decorating it with white stars. Thus, the correct proportion of the ratio between height, width and depth has been restored to the basilica. In the last restorations, an exact relief of the perimeter of *schola cantorum* has been found; this one was reconfigured in proportions more faithful to the “original”, which made it possible to put in place the other parts of the old *schola cantorum*. In this second intervention, the two “ambos” have also been inserted, that of the Epistola and the Gospel, with very simple lines, because there is no indication of their form³⁸ (Figg. 46, 49-52).



Fig. 44. Roma, Church of Santa Sabina, detail of windows with selenite barriers. (CB 1994)

The Basilica after Muñoz

Muñoz gave a list of some shortcomings, referring to past interventions. For him it would be because of the time, the state of mind during the restorations. In 1919, he explained in three fundamental points his work in the Basilica of Santa Sabina:

1. His restoration work was carried out in the scrupulous respect of the old of each element, each fragment, however, he did not take into account any analysis, investigation previously done on the basilica.
2. In the absence of some clues, he had to add some elements, while distinguishing them from already existing parts, present using different means like the diversity of the materials or like the recording of the appropriate dates.
3. He respected and preserved all that had a certain artistic value as the frescoes of the end of the XVI century, the baroque monuments or the decorations of the XVIII century³⁹ (Fig. 53).



Fig. 45. Roma, Church of Santa Sabina, last years of XIX century.
(Private collection CB)



Fig. 46. Roma, Church of Santa Sabina, apsis after restoration work by Muñoz.
(CB 1994)

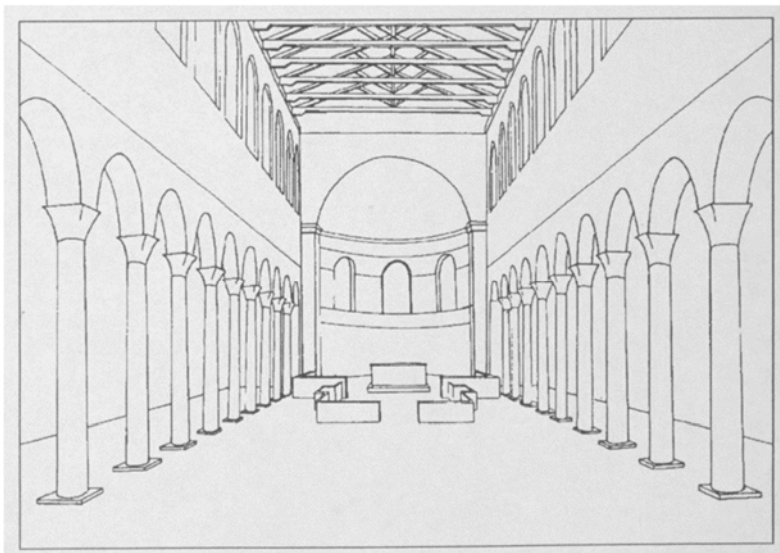
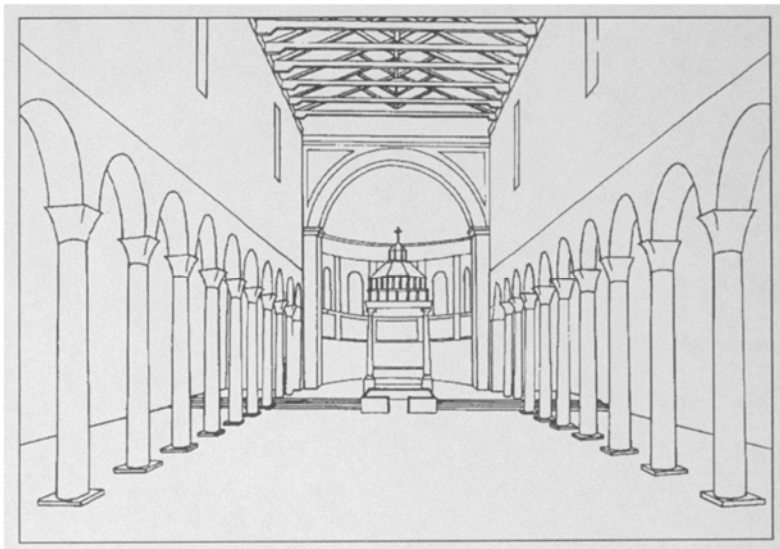


Fig. 47-48. Roma, Church of Santa Sabina. Graphic representation of the Muñoz works by Calogero Bellanca. (in C. Bellanca, 2003, p. 113)

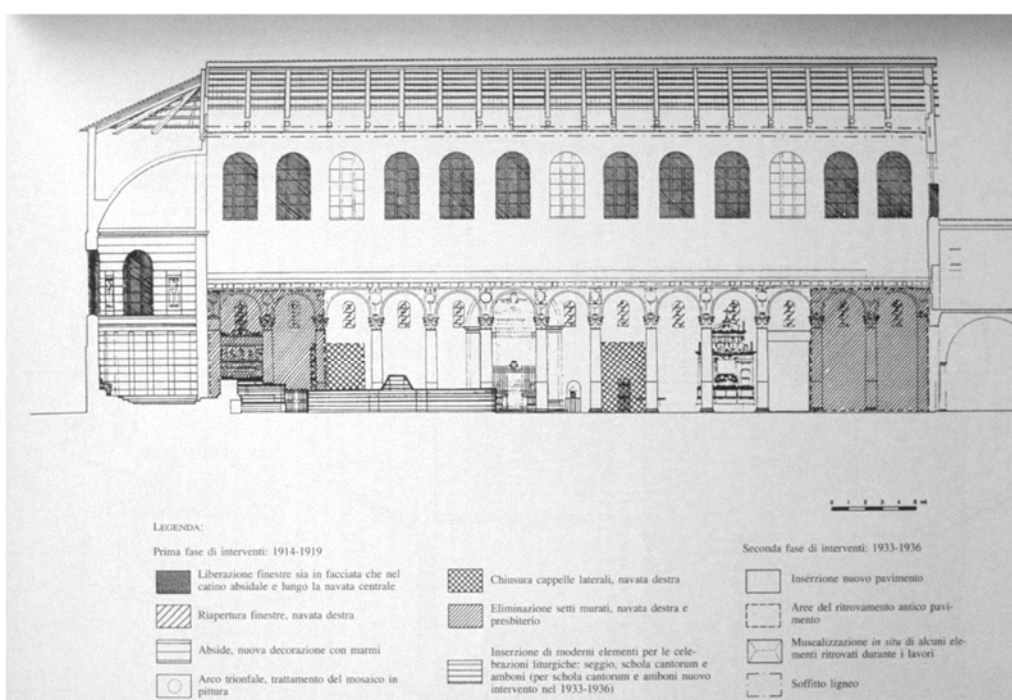


Fig. 49. Roma, Church of Santa Sabina. Longitudinal section, with identification of intervention. (in C. Bellanca, 2003, p. 113)

Fig. 50. Roma,
Church of Santa
Sabina. Detail of
pluteo's
reintegration
(CB 1994)



Fig. 51. Church of
Santa Sabina,
detail of the
surface treatment
of the pluteo of
schola cantorum.
Graphic
representation by
Calogero
Bellanca.
(in C. Bellanca,
2003, p. 113)

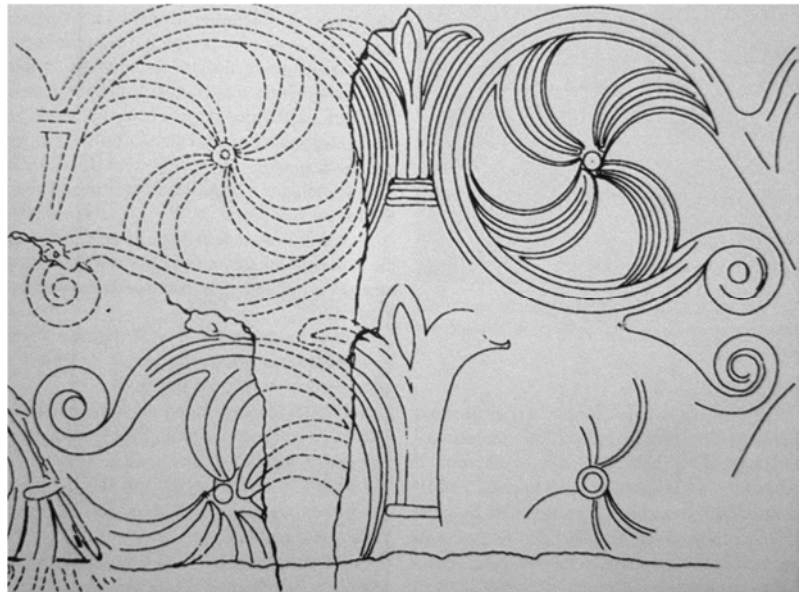


Fig. 52. Roma,
Santa Sabina, detail
of medieval
pavement and the
new, graphic
representation by
Calogero Bellanca
1994-1995.
(in C. Bellanca,
2003)

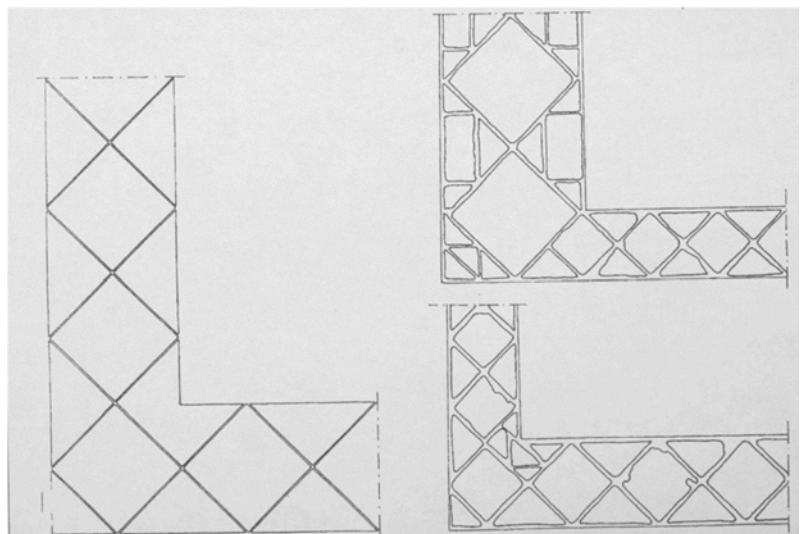




Fig. 53. Antonio Muñoz, together with Corrado Ricci, Gustavo Giovannoni and father Bertier, in Santa Sabina s.d., but 1930, before the construction of the new convent. In this photo it is possible to see together three of the main interpreters of study and restoration of monuments in Italy, in the first 40 years of the 20th century. (From Archivio generale Ordine Padri Predicatori, published in C. Bellanca, 2003, p. 23)

Notes

All photos are by the author (CB) except when indicated.

1. A. P. ZORZI, *Osservazioni intorno ai restauri interni ed esterni a San Marco*, Venezia, 1877
2. In the recent years the bibliography on Giacomo Boni has been endless. We must remember:
 - G. BONI, *Il metodo delle esplorazioni archeologiche*, in "Bollettino d'Arte", VI, 1911-12, pp. 43-72;
 - G. BONI, *La conservazione dei ruderi, ed oggetti di scavo*, in "Bollettino d'Arte", VII, 1913, pp. 19-24.
 See also:
 - A. CAPODIFERRO, P. FORTINI (edited by), *Gli scavi di Giacomo Boni al foro Romano, Documenti dell'Archivio Disegni della Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma*, Roma, 2003;
 - M. PILUTTI NAMER, *Giacomo Boni, storia, memoria, archeologia*, Roma, 2019;
 - *Giacomo Boni, l'alba della modernità*, edited by Alfonsina Russo, Roma, 2021.
3. C. Ricci, archaeologist and art historian, Director General of Antiquities and Fine Arts, then Senator of the Kingdom of Italy. He was responsible for numerous interventions in Ravenna, then in Tuscany and Roma. The bibliography is boundless; however, we would like to remind you of Roma:
 - C. RICCI, *Santa Maria degli Angeli e le terme di Diocleziano I, Piano parziale di sistemazione*, in "Bollettino d'Arte", III, 1909, 10, pp. 361-372;
 - C. RICCI, *Isolamento e sistemazione delle terme di Diocleziano*, in "Bollettino d'Arte", III, 1909, 11, pp. 401-405;
 - C. RICCI, *Il fervore dei pochi*, in "Bollettino d'Arte", VI, 1912, 11-12, pp. 409-417;
 - C. RICCI, *Restauri e Monumenti Ravennati*, in "L'Arte", II, 1899, p. 140;
 - C. RICCI, *Il colore di Roma*, in "Bollettino d'Arte", X, 1916, pp. 82-85;
 - C. RICCI, *Il colore di Roma*, in "Capitolium", VI, 1930, 6, pp. 261-266;
 - C. RICCI, *Il mercato di Traiano*, Governatorato di Roma, Roma, 28 October 1929
4. L. BELTRAMI, *Il restauro dei monumenti e la critica*, in "Il Marzocco", n. 49, 8 December 1901
5. *Atti del Quarto Congresso degli ingegneri e architetti italiani*, Roma, 1883. See also C BELLANCA, Antonio Muñoz. *La politica di tutela dei monumenti di Roma durante il Governatorato*, Roma 2003, pp. 35-36.
6. Published in C. BOITO, *Questioni pratiche di Belle Arti*, Milano, 1893, p. 14
7. About the activity of Giacomo Boni, see first of all the monograph dedicated to him by Eva Tea, *Giacomo Boni, nella vita del suo tempo*, Milano, 1932.
8. A. MUÑOZ, *Restauri e nuove indagini su alcuni monumenti della via Appia*, Roma, 1913.
9. - A. MUÑOZ, *La tomba di Raffaello nel Pantheon e la sua nuova sistemazione*, in "Vite d'Arte", V, 1912, pp. 1-30.
 - C. BELLANCA, Antonio Muñoz. *La politica di tutela dei monumenti di Roma durante il Governatorato*, Roma 2003, p. 65. See also "Appendice documentaria Santa Maria ad Martyres".
10. C. BELLANCA, Antonio Muñoz. *La politica di tutela dei monumenti di Roma durante il Governatorato*, Roma 2003, p. 322.
11. Ibidem, pp. 321-322.
12. Ibidem, p. 322.
13. Ibidem, pp. 322-323.

14. Ibidem, p. 256.
15. Ibidem, p. 69.
16. Ibidem, p. 221.
17. Ibidem, p. 73. See also "Appendice documentaria", pp. 325-330.
18. Ibidem, pp. 76-79.
19. - G. ZANDER, *Il corso di storia dell'architettura I, Anno accademico, 1984-1985*, Roma, 15/11/1984, p. 130.
- C. BELLANCA, Antonio Muñoz. *La politica di tutela dei monumenti di Roma durante il Governatorato*, Roma, 2003, p. 78
20. A. MUÑOZ, *Il Restauro del Tempio della Fortuna Virile*, Roma, 1925, p. 78.
21. Ibidem, p. 14.
22. Ibidem, p. 16.
23. Ibidem, p. 19. This work was visible since the first years of XXI century, when it was standardized.
24. C. BELLANCA, Antonio Muñoz. *La politica di tutela dei monumenti di Roma durante il Governatorato*, Roma 2003, p. 79.
25. G. GIOVANNONI, *Il Tempio della Fortuna Virile ed il "Forum Boarium"*, in "Nuova Antologia", estratto del 1° May 1914, p. 6.
See also, G. GIOVANNONI, *Questioni di architettura nella storia e nella vita*, Roma, 1925, p. 107.
26. C. BELLANCA, Antonio Muñoz. *La politica di tutela dei monumenti di Roma durante il Governatorato*, Roma 2003, p. 81.
27. Ibidem.
28. Ibidem, p. 82-83.
29. Ibidem, p. 86.
30. Ibidem, p. 83.
31. Ibidem, p. 89.
32. Ibidem, pp. 58-64.
33. Ibidem, p. 87.
34. Ibidem, p. 95
35. Ibidem.
36. - J. J. BERTIER, *L'église de Sainte Sabine à Rome*, Roma, 1910;
- A. MUÑOZ, *Il restauro della basilica di Santa Sabina*, Roma, 1938.
37. A. MUÑOZ, *La Basilica di Santa Sabina in Roma*, Roma, 1919;
See also: A. MUÑOZ, 1938.

38. - A. MUÑOZ, 1938;

- R. KRAUTHEIMER, S. CORBETT, W. FRANKL, *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae*, vol. IV, Città del Vaticano, 1976, pp. 69-94;

- C. BELLANCA, 2003, pp. 104-122.

39. -É. MALÉ, *Études. Sur les Églises Romaines*, in “Revue des deux mondes”, 1938, 1° June, pp. 557-568;

- F. M. D. DARSY, *Recherches archéologique à Sainte-Sabine sur l’Aventin*, in “*Monumenti dell’antichità cristiana*”, s. II, IX, Città del Vaticano, 1968

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Documentary appendix: some definitions

Restoration

C. BOITO, 1884

"Bisogna che i compimenti, se sono indispensabili, e le aggiunte se non si possono scansare, mostrino, non di essere opere d'oggi".

p. 31

A. DE BAUDOT, 1887

"Il s'agit pour les élèves, non de copier les expressions et les formes de l'art du moyen âge, mais d'y preiser l'habitude du raisonnement, de la composition, l'amour de la sincérité, le goût des solutions franches, qualités sans lesquelles l'architecte ne peut prétendre résoudre les résoudre les problèmes de son temps".

p. 134

W. B. RICHMOND, 1891 (SPAB)

"...restoration is a fallacy and an impossibility...".

p. 47

RIGUTINI-FANFANI, 1893

"Restaurare. tr. Rifare a una cosa le parti guaste, e quelle che mancano o per vecchiaia o per altro accidente, e riferiscesi specialmente, a edifizii antichi, od opere d'arte, ect".

p. 1006

E. BOSC, s.d. (80's of XIX century)

"Action de restaurer; réfection des parties ruinées ou dégradées d'un bâtiment: c'est sa mise en bon état. On restaure les monuments historiques pour prolonger leur durée".

p. 126

Bulletin Gand, 1894

" Faut-il-restaurer les monuments anciens, ou y toucher seulement, lorsque par leur, état de dégradation, ils menacent la sécurité publique?"

p. 26

DE CEULENEER

"Il serait difficile, ...de restaurer complètement les monuments dont il ne nous reste qu'une minime partie, par la bonne raison que, dans une restauration complète ... des constructions seraient nouvelles et devraient être faites d'après des exemples plus ou moins authentiques, qu'on peut trouver ... on n'est jamais certain d'avoir rétabli le monument dans son état primitif".

p. 29

L. CLOQUET

"...il faut y faire les réparations nécessaires et ces réparations exigent quelquefois un commencement de restauration".

p. 31

"La restauration doit être absolument révérencieuse ou point de vue de l'archéologie".

p. 32

"Il y a d'abord une formule que je considère comme détestable, c'est celle de la restauration à outrance. Elle consiste à améliorer, rectifier, compléter ou refaire même l'édifice".

p. 43

A. DUTRY

"...le vœu de voir appliquer, à chaque monument, le minimum de restauration possible".

p. 34

J. NEVE, 1896

"Restaurés les monuments ne sont que des copies dépourvues d'authenticité, d'habiles fac-similés indignes d'arrêter un instant l'attention d'un antiquaire".

p. 8

"...dire que toute restauration doit être réduite au minimum, au strict nécessaire, c'est énoncer une formule qui peut se passer de démonstration; grâce à son élasticité".

p. 10

"Le monument restauré dans ces conditions, quelles que soient l'importance et l'étendue du travail exécuté, n'est en somme qu'une nouvelle édition du même texte, ...".

p. 21

"Jamais on n'admettra qu'une restauration puisse rendre nécessaire la démolition et la reconstruction presque totale d'un monument".

p. 23

"...toute restauration, pour ne pas dépasser le but, doit s'inspirer des idées les plus conservatrices".

p. 28

G. B. GIORGINI, 1897

"Restauro, lavoro fatto per rendere una cosa allo stato primitivo; per ripa = rare i danni patiti da un oggetto qualsiasi; fare ad una cosa ciò ch'è guasto; rotto o sciupato".

p. 48

L. CLOQUET, 1901

"...et que la restauration correcte des monuments soit pour nous chose impossible".

p. 499

"La restauration s'impose alors, si l'on dispose des matériaux anciens propres à être remis en oeuvre".

Ibidem

L. CLOQUET, 1902

"Nous demandons qu'on insère le plus possible dans une facade restaurée des fragments de la construction primitive, permettant de contrôler les réfections quant à la nature de matériaux, ...".

p. 44

"Il est bien entendue qu'une restitution partielle, si elle procure l'harmonie d'un ensemble, ne prétend pas émouvoir, ni instruire comme le monument authentique. Ce privilège est réservé aux parties anciennes restaurées avec discrétion".

Ibidem

"Une restauration intégrale se confond avec une restitution. Un monument restauré d'une manière trop radicale est perdu ...".

Ibidem

C. BULS, 1903

"... Restauration doit se faire avec une grande prudence, en conservant autant que possible des témoins des matériaux anciens".

p. 21

"...suivre les règles de Viollet Le Duc sans exagérer la restauration. On peut maintenir des parties détériorées, mais ne compromettent pas la solidité de l'edifice".

p. 32

A. RIEGL, 1903

"...fragen der Restaurierung, die mit Veränderung von Form und Farbe verbunden ist, ...".

p. 37

R. LEMAIRE, 1938

"Restaurer c'est renouveler, c'est changer, donc fair oeuvre de faussaire.
Celui qui complèterait à sa manière une charte ancienne commettrait un faux;
celui qui remplace les pierres d'un édifice ancien ne fait pas autre chose ...".

p. 57

"... Restaurer est d'ailleurs une chose pratiquement impossible".

Ibidem

J. STRZYGOWSKI, 1904

" Restauration ist die das Gebäude oder dessen einzelne Bestandteile auf der
Grundlage kunstgeschichtlicher Untersuchung in seiner ursprünglichen
Zustand zuruckversetzende Wiederherstellung ".

p. 68

MURRAY (Oxford English Dictionary)

Restore: "To give back, to make return, to build up again and ...
to bring back to original state".

p. 15

G. DEHIO, 1905

"Restaurationen und Purifikationen haben auch noch das an sich, dass
sie Schritte sind, die nie zuruckgeten werden können".

p. 100

EBHARDT, 1905

"...il restauro deve imitare esattamente le forme che precedentemente
esistevano in quel determinato punto, oppure, nel caso in cui ciò non
possa più stabilirsi con precisione, esso deve essere almeno copiato o
riprogettato secondo modelli autentici dello stesso periodo".

p. 148

"...la migliore conservazione è appunto il restauro, e che tutti i tentativi
di conservazione senza restauro sono risultati finora artisticamente orri=
pilanti...".

p. 150

"... il restauratore tende solo alla fedeltà storica, ...

p. 153

"...ammette altresì che il restauro non si risolve in una mera imitazione di
modelli storicamente accertati ...".

Ibidem

KONFERENCJI KONSERWATORSKIEJ WARSZAWA, 1909, in J. FRYCZ, 1975

II a) "forma zabytku winna byc zachowana bez wzgledu na roznołitosc zawartych w nim stylow ".

p. 219

(la forma del monumento deve essere preservata nonostante l'eventuale pluralità di stili presenti nello stesso monumento), P.S. e C.B.

d) "restauracja winna przystosowac sie do charakteru zabytku materialem i technika. Wieksze restauracje nalezy uwidocznic tablica z odpowiednim napisem".

p. 219

(il restauro deve adattarsi al carattere del monumento sia come tecnica che come materiali.

Per i restauri di grande entità occorre procedere con particolare cautela e prevedere parziali adattamenti), P.S e C.B.

G. BACCHELLI, 1910

"Il restauro, appunto perché non deve oltrepassare la restituzione dell'antico, deve essere molto più scienza che arte".

p. 619

"...lasciata la parola si parla apertamente di integrazione degli antichi nostri monumenti. Questa è la mala via che ormai si tiene e per la quale si precipita!".

p. 620

G. GIOVANNONI, in "Bollettino d'Arte", 1913

"Il concetto del restauro dei monumenti è essenzialmente moderno, come moderne ne sono la scienza e la tecnica. Esso risponde nella forma più positiva alla tendenza che è in noi di far rivivere il passato nella Scienza e nell'Arte e di conservare gelosamente le testimonianze, che i ricordi circondano di venerazione e di poesia".

p. 2

M. DVOŘÁK, ed. 1918

"Man sicherte nicht nur bei den sogenannten Restaurierungen das Bestehende, sondern ersetzte auch alles fehlende und erneuerte das beschädigte".

p. 30

(... Il restauro è andato al di là delle misure di conservazione necessarie. Nei cosiddetti restauri non si è consolidato soltanto ciò che rimaneva, ma si è sostituito anche tutto ciò che mancava e si sono rinnovate le parti danneggiate). ed.it.

p. 49

M. DVOŘÁK

"Durch solche Restaurierungen werden alte Denkmäler nicht vor dem Verfall geschützt, sondern im Gegenteil in jeder Beziehung zugrunde gerichtet".

p. 31

(Con restauri di tal sorta gli antichi monumenti non vengono protetti dalla rovina ma, al contrario vanno alla malora sotto ogni rispetto). ed.it.

p. 49

G. GIOVANNONI, 1925

"Non considerare il restauro come un fatto lieto e come occasione di sviluppare una attività architettonica e decorativa che meglio potrà avere per oggetto organismi nuovi, ma come necessità per la vita del monumento; seguire la legge del; ...rispettare tutte le manifestazioni sovrapposte che abbiano carattere d'arte, e designare onestamente le aggiunte non evitabili...".

p. 112

Carta del Restauro, 1931 (Consiglio Superiore per le Antichità e Belle Arti)

Norme per il restauro dei monumenti in Bollettino d'Arte, 1932

"...per modo che mai un restauro eseguito possa trarre in inganno gli studiosi e rappresentare una falsificazione di un documento storico".

(from art. 8)

L. REAU, 1930

"Refection des parties ruinées ou dégradées d'un bâtiment, ...

Trop de monument soi-disant restaurés ont été presque entièrement refaits c'est-à-dire irrémédiablement ruinés au point de vue de l'archéologue et de l'artiste. Autant il est louable de consolider les oeuvres d'art qui menacent ruine, autant il est absurde et néfaste de les compléter.

Il ne faut pas confondre, comme on le fait trop souvent, restauration et restitution. Si les restaurations sont souvent désastreuses, les restitutions sont toujours inoffensives: car se sont des restaurations sur le papier".

pp. 401-402

A. R. POWYS, 1931

"La restauration consiste au contraire à rétablir les parties détruites ou endommagées, en leur donnant soit la forme qu'elles avaient à l'origine, sur la foi d'informations suffisantes, soit la forme que des études archéologiques peuvent leur attribuer presque à coup sûr".

p. 70

Carta di ATENE, 1931 (art II)

"Nel caso in cui un restauro appaia indispensabile, in seguito a degradazioni o distruzioni raccomanda di rispettare l'opera storica ed artistica del passato, senza prescrivere lo stile di ciascuna epoca".

Norme per il restauro dei monumenti, 1932

"...ogni opera di restauro coinvolge ...con l'assicurare la stabilità di elementi fatiscenti, col conservare o riportare il monumento a funzione d'arte... 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, né falsata la sua conoscenza...".

(from introduction)

"...mai un restauro eseguito possa trarre in inganno gli studiosi e rappresentare una falsificazione di un documento storico".

(from art. 8)

THE SHORTER OXFORD ENGLISH DICTIONARY, 1933 (ed. 1959), vol. II

Restoration: "The action of restoring to a former state or position; the fact of being restored or reinstated. The process of carrying out alterations and repairs with the idea of restoring a building to something like its original form ..."

p. 1719

G. GIOVANNONI, 1936

"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, argomento di rispetto e di cura".

p. 127

"...si è fatta strada una teoria intermedia ...Essa propugna di dare la massima importanza alle opere di manutenzione e di consolidamento, volte a salvare l'organismo stesso della fabbrica; limita i casi del ripristino a quelli in cui sia dimostrata la legittimità e l'utilità, ma piuttosto che dell'unità architettonica, si preoccupa della salvaguardia, nel monumento, di tutte le opere di vario tempo che abbiano un carattere d'arte".

p. 128

"...Un'altra classificazione può farsi nei riguardi dell'argomento prevalente nei restauri: restauri di consolidamento, ...restauri di ricomposizione..., restauri di liberazione..., restauri di completamento e di rinnovazione".

Ibidem

BOTTAI, in "Le Arti", 1938

"...Restaurare non significa soltanto conservare e consolidare, ma interperare criticamente".

p. 78

G. C. ARGAN, in "Le Arti", 1938

"...ogni restauro presenta particolari problemi ed esige appropriate soluzioni, sia possibile giungere praticamente ad un coordinamento e ad un'unificazione dei criteri e dei metodi del restauro, dato che ogni restauro implica una preparazione scientifica, nella quale non può ammettersi disparità di metodo o diversità di rigore".

p. 134

Istruzioni del 1938, in Lazzari, 1942

" Nel restauro dei monumenti e delle opere d'arte è tassativamente da escludersi ogni opera di completamento o di ripristino o comunque l'aggiunta di elementi che non siano strettamente necessari per la stabilità, la conservazione e la comprensione dell'opera ".

p. 3

R. LONGHI, 1940

"Negli ultimi tempi non s'è mancato di avvertire che il cosiddetto restauro si identifica alla fin fine col. ...Restauro di accompagnamento ...consiste di solito in certe campiture o tinteggiature che vanno riempiendo lacune, sgraffi, ... Restauro neutro, o a tinte neutre senonchè, una volta inserita nella cerchia di una calcolata sintassi cromatica nessuna tinta è neutra".

M. LAZZARI, 1942

"...Il principio generale del restauro come conservazione e restituzione del testo originale...".

p. 3

"Il restauro è l'atto per eccellenza del Soprintendente: rappresenta il suo servizio spirituale: quello, appunto, che lo abilita a una missione incommensurabilmente più estesa ".

p. 6

"Del resto il restauro ristabilisce la verità storica, così la sistemazione ambientale deve ristabilire le condizioni più opportune per apprezzare in tutta la sua portata quella verità storica".

p. 166

G. GIOVANNONI, s.d. (ma 1945)

"Il restauro dei monumenti architettonici di ogni tempo, qual è praticato dai popoli civili nel periodo moderno non solo si riannoda al concetto storico di salvare tali nobili testimonianze delle passate civiltà, ben più schiette, eloquenti e durevoli di quelle basate sui documenti spesso manchevoli e sulle cronache spesso partigiane, ma anche ha per movente di conservare e porre in valore i segnapoli d'arte delle nostre città, interessanti anche se mutili e completati dalla fantasia e dai ricordi, punti di riferimento di una tradizione, senza la quale non si possono compiere che esperimenti effimeri".

p. 20

"...e forse anche l'assenza d'un vero stile nazionale moderno, invadente e durevole come nei secoli scorsi, hanno fatto di questi restauri una delle espressioni più caratteristiche del nostro tempo creando nei concetti che li guidano una vera scienza".

Ibidem

"Prima cura deve essere, quasi senza eccezioni, quella di salvare ciò che resta dalla completa distruzione delle coperture, immagazzinamento di tutti i frammenti architettonici e decorativi affinché non si disperdono e non siano esposti al saccheggio, e sia possibile la paziente ricomposizione di elementi minuti d'intonachi dipinti, di mosaici, di stucchi; poi la fase di studio e di rilievo di ciò che rimane; e quindi le proposte di restauro, le quali potranno lasciare i resti in forma di rudero o avviarsi verso la reintegrazione".

p. 43

"I restauri dei monumenti possono essere di vario tipo: restauri di consolidamento, di ricostruzione, di liberazione, di completamento, d'innovazione, ...".

p. 45

Historical Restoration

L. BELTRAMI, 1901

"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".

Scientific Restoration

C. BOITO, in Atti Congresso Ingegneri e Architetti, Roma 1883

"non bisogna ingannare né il prossimo né i posteri. E per non ingannarli, cioè per mostrare che un'opera d'aggiunta o di compimento non è antica, voglio suggerire niente meno che otto modi da seguire secondo le circostanze:

- 1) Differenza di stile fra il nuovo e il vecchio
- 2) Differenza di materiali da fabbrica
- 3) Soppressione di sagome o ornati
- 4) Mostra di 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
- 8) Notorietà.

G. GIOVANNONI, 1925

"E nei restauri ...questa documentazione analitica dovrebbe essere condizione essenziale, per il controllo all'onesta dell'opera. ...Non un ricordo deve sfuggire alla cronaca ...non un rilievo alla determinazione di ciascuna fase, ...

"La documentazione del restauro dovrebbe poi proseguire nell'ordinata conservazione degli oggetti e degli elementi architettonici".

p. 165

Conservation

C. BOITO, 1884, ed. 1893

"...bisogna fare l'impossibile, bisogna fare miracoli per conservare al monumento il suo vecchio aspetto artistico e pittoresco...".

p.14

C. G. ESTLANDER, 1887, trad.it. S. Cavallari

"...Dico ciò non per vaghezza di voler fare una sistematica opposizione ai rifacimenti a nuovo, larvati sotto il pretesto di restaurare, ma perché ho la ferma convinzione, e con tutti coloro che professano un sincero e verace culto per l'arte che degli antichi monumenti si deve solo conservare quello che esiste, perchè essi devono servire esclusivamente allo studio e non a soddisfare la vista di tutte le categorie di viaggiatori ...".

pp. 20-21

C. BOITO, 1893

"...Il restauro deve considerarsi pur sempre una triste necessità. Un mantenimento intelligente deve sempre prevenirla".

p. 14

RIGUTINI-FANFANI, 1893

"Conservare, fare che una cosa mantenga l'esser suo. Guardarla da tutto ciò che potrebbe alterarla, o scemarla, o distruggerla.

p. 323

A. FRANCE, 1894, in ed.1991, presses pocket

"C'est un crime que d'effacer les empreintes successives imprimées dans la pierre par la main et l'ame de nos aieux. Le pierres neuves taillées dans un viux style sont de faux témoins.

p. 64

CLAEYS, Bulletin Gand, 1894

"Conserver ce qui subsiste encore de nos monuments en ruines ;
Conserver nos monuments vivants, ...ceux encore affectés à leur destination, afin d'éviter qu'ils tombent en ruines ...".

p. 33

A. DUTRY, 1894

"Le Travaux de Conservation s'appliqueraient aux ruines présentant quelque intérêt archéologique. Là, il faut évidemment conserver ce qui subsiste encore".

p. 34

Abbé VAN DEN GHEYN, 1894

"...de conserver au monument le caractère d'harmonieuse variété qu' on y trouve ".

p. 46

C. BULS, 1903

"Il faut donc préserver les monuments anciens de la ruine par l'entretien, ... la préservation est le meilleur antidote de la restauration ".

p. 7

A. RIEGL, 1903

"Das Konservative vertritt der historische wert, denn dieser will alles erhalten wissen, und zwar alles in seinem heutigen Zustande".

pp. 36-37

(Quello conservativo rappresenta il valore storico, perché quest'ultimo esige una conservazione di tutto). ed.it.

p. 168

A. RIEGL, 1903

"Ewige erhaltungist eben über haupt nicht möglich ; denn die Naturkräfte sind am ende stärker als aller Menschenwitz...".

p. 37

(La conservazione eterna non é possibile, perché le forze della natura in ultima istanza sono più forti di tutta l'intelligenza umana). ed.it.

p. 168

G. DEHIO, 1905

"Abweisung jedes gedankens an wiederherstellung heute nicht mehr vorhandener teile , allein Erhaltung des bestehenden ".

p. 34

(Bisogna evitare ogni completamento di parti inesistenti, solamente conservare le parti esistenti). C.B. 1992

G. DEHIO, 1905

"Nach langen Erfahrungen und schweren Mißgriffen ist dieDenkmalspflege 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 ".

p. 36

(Dopo lunghe esperienze e gravi sbagli la cura dei monumenti ha trovato questi principi che non può tralasciare; conservare! e solo conservare, ricostruire solo ad una condizione, se il mantenimento è diventato impossibile. Ricostruire cose sparite, solo con limitate condizioni). C.B. 1992

G. DEHIO, 1905

"Er will hier nicht Denkmalspflege in dem oben definierten sinne, sondern Denkmalserneuerung betreiben".

p. 37

(Noi dobbiamo fare la conservazione dei monumenti e non il rinnovamento ...)
C.B. 1992

G. DEHIO, 1905

"Der Historismus des 19Jahrhunderts hat aber ausser seiner echten tochter, der Denkmalpflege, auch ein illegitimes kind gezeugt, das Restaurationswesen. Die Denkmalpflege will bestehendes erhalten, die Restauration will Nichtbestehendes wiederherstellen".

p. 97

(Lo storicismo del 19secolo ha come figlia legittima la Cura dei monumenti - conservazione, ma anche uno illegittimo il restauro. La conservazione vuole mantenere/ conservare l'esistente, mentre il restauro vuole ricostruire l'inesistente).

C.B. 1992

G. DEHIO, 1905

"...Nicht Restaurieren -woll eber Konservieren...Nichts ist der Konservierung abträglicher gewesen, als dass die Architekten das Restaurieren interessanter und ruhmvoller fanden".

p. 98

(Il noto principio è ... non restaurare ma conservare...Si conservi finché è possibile come ultima ratio solo.... Niente era più nocivo alla conservazione degli architetti che trovano più interessante e glorioso il restauro). C.B. 1992

J. ADELIN, s.d.

"Se dit des fonctions d'un conservateur et de l'ensemble des services places sous sa direction".

p. 116

KONFERENCJI KONSERWATORSKIEJ W WARSZAWA, 1909

" Rozwinac dzialalnosc jak najszersza tylko w kierunku konserwacji, aby przy niewielkich kosztach zachowac jak najwieksza ilosc zabytkow, przy czym przystepujac do konserwacji zabytku nalezy : ...

d) ograniczac sie konserwacji do prostej naprawy i wymiany uszkodzonych czesci na nowe, o ile to jest niezbedne dla utrzymania calosci zabytku.

(Agire intensamente solo verso la conservazione, in modo da preservare con costi modesti il maggior numero possibile di monumenti. Per la conservazione del monumento occorre: ...

d) nella conservazione limitarsi alla mera riparazione o ... se ciò è indispensabile per la preservazione dell'intero monumento". (P. Stepień. e C. Bellanca 1989)

G. BACCHELLI, 1910

"Di una statua rotta da un iconoclasta si può salvare qualche frammento. Di un quadro restaurato da un professore: di una torre medievale rinnovata ed integrata nei tempi non rimane più niente di quello che la rendeva preziosa e rispettabile".

p. 616

"I nostri cari vecchi vengono ritinti, imparruccati, imbellettati e rimessi nei loro costumi antichi, fatti però da sarti moderni!...".

p. 621

"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!".

p. 623

M. DVOŘÁK, 1916, ed. 1918

"...Solche Schäden müssen selbstverständlich der erhaltung der Denkmäler wegen nach Möglichkeit behoben werden ".

p. 30

(Questi danni devono essere ovviamente riparati nel miglior modo possibile per la conservazione del monumento). ed.it.

p. 48

P. LÉON, 1917, da P. Mérimée

"...On la conserve, comme on conserve les perdrix à Pithiviers, c'est-a-dire en la mettant dans un paté dont le cou passe seul au dehors".

p. 121

Chapter 10

Scientific/Philological Restoration

*Antonio Muñoz, Gustavo Giovannoni
and the Athens Charter (1931)*

In 1928, Muñoz left the Superintendence of Monuments to take over the direction of the office “Antichità e Belle Arti”, the “X Ripartizione of the Governatorato di Roma”, at the invitation of the governor Francesco Boncompagni Ludovisi.

From that moment, he will dedicate himself mainly to take care of the mayor urban planning projects of those years, which will culminate with the isolation of the Campidoglio, with the direction of the works on “Via dell’Impero” and “Via del Mare”, and with the arrangement of the Temple of Venere and Roma and the area of Foro Olitorio¹.

He was caught in the most important works promoted by fascism when Colini recalled him and had no time to cultivate his favourite studies².

It can be stated that the period between 1929 and 1944, when Muñoz’s presence was in the “Governatorato”, energetically marks the final phase of the urban operations started in Roma from the second half of the nineteenth century³ (Fig. 1).



Fig. 1. Roma, aerial view of the district “Rinascimento”, thinning-out of urban fabric.
(From *Atlante di Roma. La forma del centro storico in scala 1:1000 nel fotopiano e nella carta numerica*, edited by I. Novelli, Venezia 1991)

It is remembered that the city administration was developing the new masterplan during the 30's of the XX century, and Muñoz was one of its interpreters⁴.

The action of the officials of the "X Ripartizione" during last years had been oriented in two directions: the first, responding to archaeological research and restoration; the second, to different intervention as demolitions, renovations and first experiences of "renewal".

In the field of the study of pre-existences and restoration, there is the time of Scientific/Philological restoration and we find ourselves in those historical processes, including Camillo Boito (1885, 1885, 1893) and Gustavo Giovannoni (1913, 1925, 1936), with contributions of Giacomo Boni (1913), Guido Calza (1917) and Giulio Quirino Giglioli (1924)⁵.

Muñoz sent a communication to the director of the "Governatorate gardens" for the protection of the apse of S. Maria in Domnica in 1938-1939, inviting the pruning of the cypresses, verifying the vibration induced by traffic, in the proximity of the Basilica of San Paolo fuori le Mura, and giving notice of the improper painting given to the vault and walls of the portico of the Church of Santi Apostoli⁶.

It can be remembered that, if the idea of the regime's for Roma was based on the so-called "restoration" of its monumental face, it will be the merit of the director of the "X Ripartizione" to have put the limits to Roma's exaggerated plan.

Before analysing some of the main works implemented in these years of the Governatorato, it seems appropriate to recall some statements linked to the principles of urban conservation, for identifying the most significant values and references.



Fig. 2. Roma, Theatre of Marcello, 1928, before the different interventions.
(Archivio fotografico X Ripartizione Comune di Roma, C. Ceschi, 1970, fig. 169)

10.1 Urban culture and masterplans in this period

The ideas for the city and its monuments were influenced by the theoretical-cultural ferment that had started in the last decades of the 19th century, as a reflection of the models of Paris (1852-1875) and Vienna (1859-1885).

This climate can also be seen in some newspapers of the time, including “Nuova Antologia”, in which there are essays of Camillo Boito, Luca Beltrami, Domenico Gnoli, and even writings by Boni, who try to preserve the historic city from the demolition picks.

For the arrangement of the Fori, Boni contrasts the civil engineers plan (“Genio Civile”) for the demolition, with solutions inspired by “the art of reconstructing archaeological areas; uses path to highlight the monuments”, envelops the ruins in patches of laurel, myrtle, cypress and oleander.

At the same time, the fundamental contribution for the conservation of the city must be considered due to Camillo Sitte⁷.

The “Associazione Artistica fra i Cultori di Architettura” connected to the European specialists, assumed an important position for the issues of the city and historic centers in the years of the century.

We must remember the invitation addressed to Charles Buls (one of the foreigners involved in the Association) to hold a Conference.

This association will enunciate the principles of integral conservation and of the environment that must be preserved, including Gustavo Giovannoni and Marcello Piacentini, even before the twenty years of fascism⁸.

From Giovannoni’s first writings and initial projects we can see how, since 1913, he tried to reconcile the various needs of conservation and innovation, through the theory of building thinning which derives from Sitte’s statements⁹.

These ideas found application in some projects, including that of Via dei Coronari, and the “Quartiere Rinascimento”, later included in the 1931 masterplan.

We will see how this ideal point of intersection of the city of Roma, between greatness and necessity, will end up revolving around Piazza Venezia. This node becomes the place in which the problems of the city and the conflicts between ancient and modern were concentrated¹⁰ (Figg. 2-3).



Fig. 3. Roma, Theatre of Marcello, after the restoration work during the years of “Governatorato”. The monument conserves the Renaissance addition by Baldassarre Peruzzi (Palazzo Orsini) for historical and aesthetic values. (CB 1995)

The analysis of the masterplan also includes the opinions expressed by the “Superior Council for Antiquities and Fine Arts”, the latter made up of Caetani, Oppo, Giovannoni, Chierici, Romanelli, Hermanin, Majuri, Giglioli, Salmi, Pace, Portaluppi e Paribeni: this organism is indicative for some suggestions for defending the fabric of the ancient city¹¹.

Finally, the Council recognized the need for the “reconstruction” of the Church of Santa Rita in the corner of the Ara Coeli, but this was ignored. The task given to Muñoz in 1928 to direct the “Fine Arts Office of the Governatorato” seems guided by the desire of finding a high official, a specialist, but also an architect, that would stem the unscrupulous initiatives of the regime as much as possible (as can be seen in some confidential communications of those years) (Figg. 4-7).

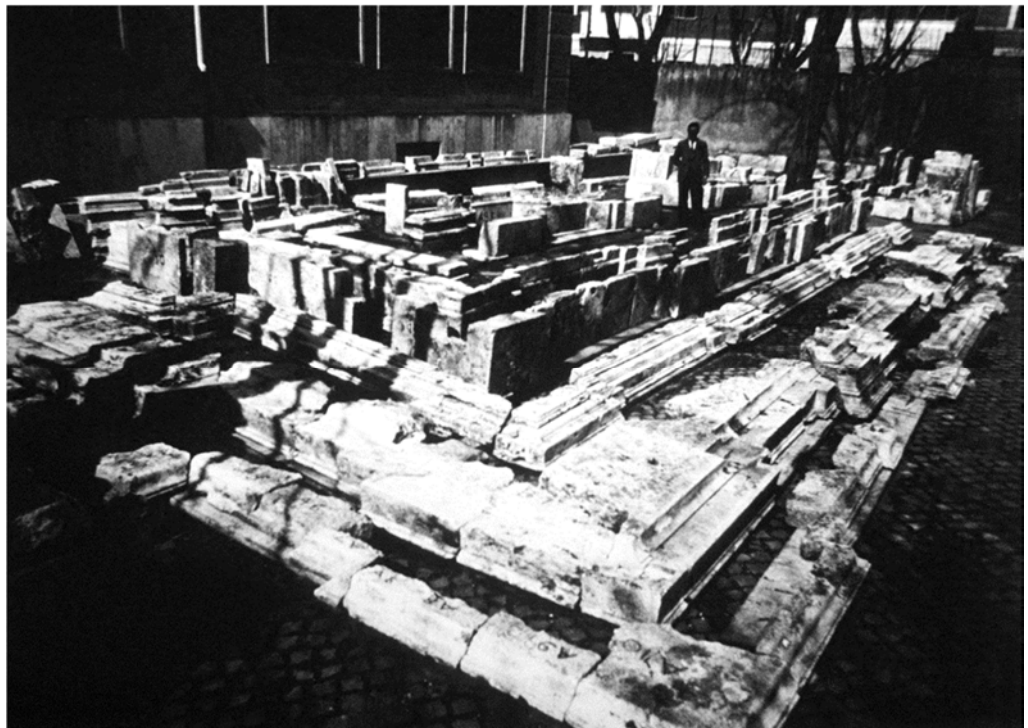


Fig. 4. Roma, Church of Santa Rita. The deposit of the fragments in Testaccio. (Archivio fotografico X Ripartizione Comune di Roma, published in C. Bellanca, 2003, p. 149)



Fig. 5. Roma, Church of Santa Rita today. After the recomposition during the “Governatorato” period. The treatment of surface is recent (2000). Instead, in Santa Francesca Romana the surface from 1930’s is preserved. (CB 1994)

10.2 Criteria and operational method in Restoration

In the years between the two wars the operations on the ruins and the archaeological restorations took place as one of the themes of greatest importance and is one of the main tasks entrusted to the “Governatorato”.

Muñoz, as demonstrated in the previous chapter, followed the guidelines of scientific restoration; in this phase he tries to apply the same principles both in individual monumental realities and interventions on the urban dimension, within the limits permitted by the superior will of the regime.

At the same time, the Superintendence, throughout the national territory, records the fruitful collaboration between archaeologists and architects. We can remember the works carried out with the scientific method, codified in Atene in 1931 (more or less, with oscillations depending on the circumstances and the people)¹².

The works of liberation and repairs of the Arco di Augusto in Rimini, anastylosis and recomposing of the Brescia Capitulum in 1938 have been very important among many others. The other great line of work will still be dedicated to the liberation of many medieval churches in Roma. Giovannoni contributes to the restoration of the atrium of San Lorenzo in Lucina, and above all to the “complete” restoration of Santo Stefano degli Abissini.



Fig. 6. Drawing by Antonio Muñoz for the recomposition of the portal of the Horti Palatini. (Archivio X Ripartizione, published in C. Bellanca, 2003, p. 159)



Fig. 7. Roma, medieval residences, Albergo della Catena. Example of external finishing treatment. (CB 1994)

In this cultural climate, one of the first intervention of the “Governatorato” from 1926 was that relating to the sacred area of Torre Argentina. There we find the themes relating to the liberation, consolidation and partial anastylosis of fragmentary columns¹³.

Among the isolations, we can highlight some works carried out in S. Nicola’s area, with Foro Olitorio, and Stadio di Domiziano, in relations with “Quartiere Rinascimento”. While for San Nicola in Carcere and Foro Olitorio, the archaeological aspects are connected to the new road axis, for the Stadio di Domiziano the relationship is mainly with the new construction¹⁴.

For the Stadio di Domiziano, Muñoz specifies on 29 January 1937 that “the remains of the Stadium will have to be respected ... therefore saving their integrity, but also their vision”¹⁵.

As regards the treatment of ruins, Muñoz shows himself to be attentive to the recomposition, as long as it occurs, using authentic fragments and is not excessive, therefore not arbitrary.

Furthermore, he always thinks about distinguishability and the intervention through the recognition of the materials¹⁶.

Another series of operations for which the “X Ripartizione” has evolved a significant role concerns some medieval and Renaissance residences, among which: the Casa del Burcardo, the Casina del Cardinale Bessarione, the Torre dei Conti, the Albergo dell’Orso and the Casina dei Vallati.

There are mainly restoration and adaptation works for a new use of the architectural structures, always carried out in compliance with current laws, instructions, charters, even if we have different tendencies in Restoration.

The most significant works

In the first episode, the one relating to the Campidoglio interventions, can be identified some architectural insertions, ending with museum adaptation, liberation and consolidation.

A second experience is offered by the Temple of Venere and Roma, where the theme of architectural reconfiguration is addressed through a partial reintegration of the image implemented with a “refined” use of green solutions. The third episode refers to the complex story of the opening of “Via dei Fori Imperiali”.

A fourth example concerns the Mausoleum of Augusto, in which the themes range from liberation to isolation, and to the protection of the walls and the insertion of trees.

A final one consists in the recomposition of the remains of the Temple of Apollo Sosiano.

10.3 Campidoglio

A first series of initiatives dates back to the arrangement of the adjacencies of the Hill and the access ramps, while for the surroundings of the Monument to Vittorio Emanuele II, it was decided to realize green wings composed of gardens and trees in order to respect the pre-existence¹⁷.

He wrote that the route cannot be drawn in a fixed way, but will be subordinated to the natural and archaeological conditions that will be found¹⁸ (Fig. 8).

This is how he summarized the “isolation program in 1943 of Colle Capitolino”: “... not addition of architectural elements that would have brought too new to the historic hill, but absolute respect for the natural elements, especially the remains of the rock, and completion with neutral masonry and cladding of latin plants”¹⁹ (Fig. 9).

Also, in the period between 1929 and 1944, there were other works conceived and directed by Muñoz and dedicated to both external and internal arrangements of different sizes. Among the most significant, there is a first series of operation at the *Tabularium*. In fact, the beginning of the opening of the arches dates back to February 1938²⁰. From the text of 10 October it appears that the reconstruction of the pillar and counter pillars “with new peperino blocks and the pillars leaning against the internal wall are worn out by atmospheric agents and erosion”, the restoration of the transverse arches was carried out “through tessellation of the ashlar and replacement of some blocks”, then we proceeded with the reconstruction of the transversal arches²¹.

In a letter to Governor dated 27 June 1939, Muñoz wrote about the discovery of a cella temple preceded by a tetrastyle pronaos and a staircase, during the works for the construction of the junction gallery of the Capitoline places²².

The construction of the “tunnel” is part of the long and debated project aimed at finding a solution to connect the Capitoline palaces. The construction of the underground way must be traced back to the conduction of the works for the overpass, to connect the Protomoteca room with Palazzo Senatorio²³.

A particular chapter in the context of the works on the “Colle” remains the theme of the pavement of the square, created by Muñoz in 1940. The drawing was translated “according to Michelangelo’s drawing, handed down from the engraving by Étienne Dupérac and adapted to the elliptical shape of the square”. To conclude the review of interventions on the Capitoline hill, museum experiences in 1931 can also be included (Fig. 13-14).

Fig. 8. Drawing by Antonio Muñoz for “Colle Capitolino”. (Museo di Roma, fondo Muñoz, published in C. Bellanca, 2003, p. 169)

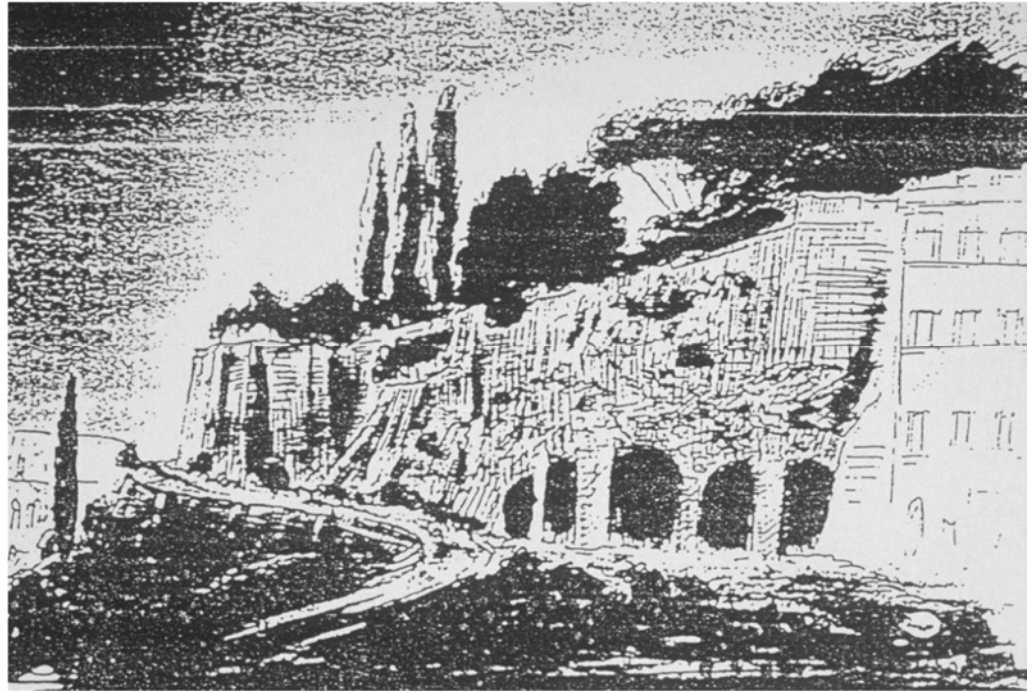


Fig. 9. Roma, Rupe Tarpea, from Piazza della Consolazione, with intervention carried out from 1929-1944. (CB 1995)



Considerations on the interventions

First of all, it seems that the simple insertion of vegetation and the design of some pedestrian path among the greenery has managed to stem the unrealistic proposal of the built of porticoes and arches along the axis of the “Via del Mare”, it deserves a positive judgement for environmental sensitivity.

In the liberation of the arches of the *Tabularium* we find the attentive study, which urges technical caution in the use of reinforced concrete (Fig. 10).

For the treatment of the ruins, Muñoz declares himself in favour of the thoughtful operations of recombination of the architectural elements and, at the same time, expresses himself clearly his respect for authenticity (Fig. 11).

This way of bringing the theme of distinguishability to the foreground through the immediate recognition of the materials used in the restoration constitutes one of the most significant moments of his activity²⁴.

Finally, as regards the connecting tunnel, it seems such an architectural solution that is close to our times and respectful of the pre-existing structures has been devised.



Fig. 10. Roma, underground path to the *Tabularium*. (Musei Capitolini, Archivio fotografico, published in C. Bellanca, 2003, p. 173)



Fig. 11. Roma, the tunnel connecting the Capitoline palaces. (Musei Capitolini, Archivio fotografico, published in C. Bellanca, 2003, p. 174)

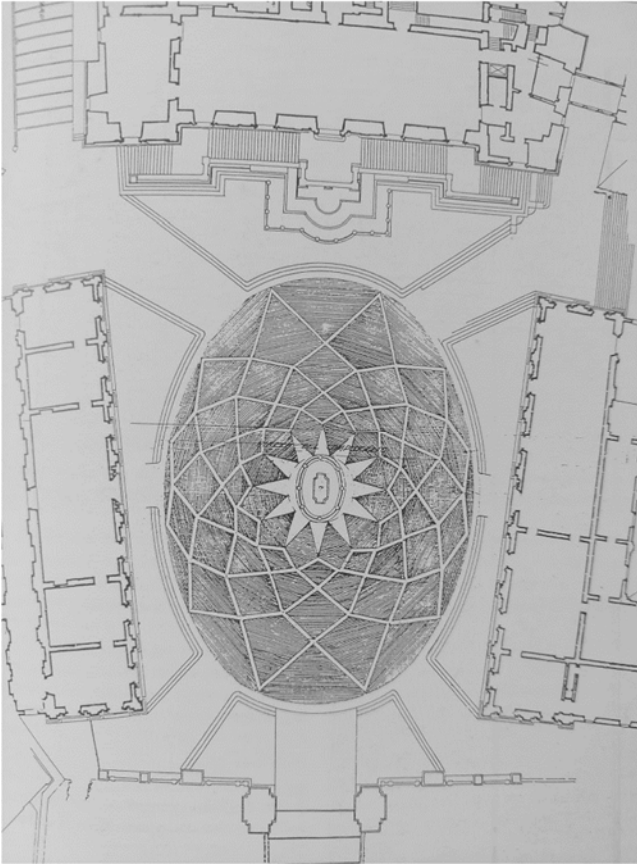


Fig. 12. The paving project for the Piazza del Campidoglio by Antonio Muñoz, 1940.
(Archivio fotografico X Ripartizione Comune di Roma, published in C. Bellanca, 2003, p. 175)



Fig. 13. Roma, Via del Mare and the green area of the Campidoglio.
(CB 1995)

10.4 Temple of Venere and Roma

In this work, started on 29 December 1934, it appears that the archaeological investigations were conducted by Antonio Maria Colini, while the arrangements were carried out by Antonio Muñoz.

After Nibby's excavations, Muñoz recalls that "the remains of the temple and the 'platea' didn't changes until around 1890, where some small and not very rational restorations were carried out towards the Colosseo ..."²⁵

The rest of the "platea" was not accessible and almost abandoned, the few ruins barely emerged from the earth ... with the opening of 'Via dell'Impero' in October 1932, the temples stalls came into full view ... the problem of its accommodation arises"²⁶ (Fig. 14).



Fig. 14. Roma, Temple of Venere and Roma, start of works, 1934. (Archivio fotografico X Ripartizione Comune di Roma, published in C. Bellanca, 2003, p. 180)

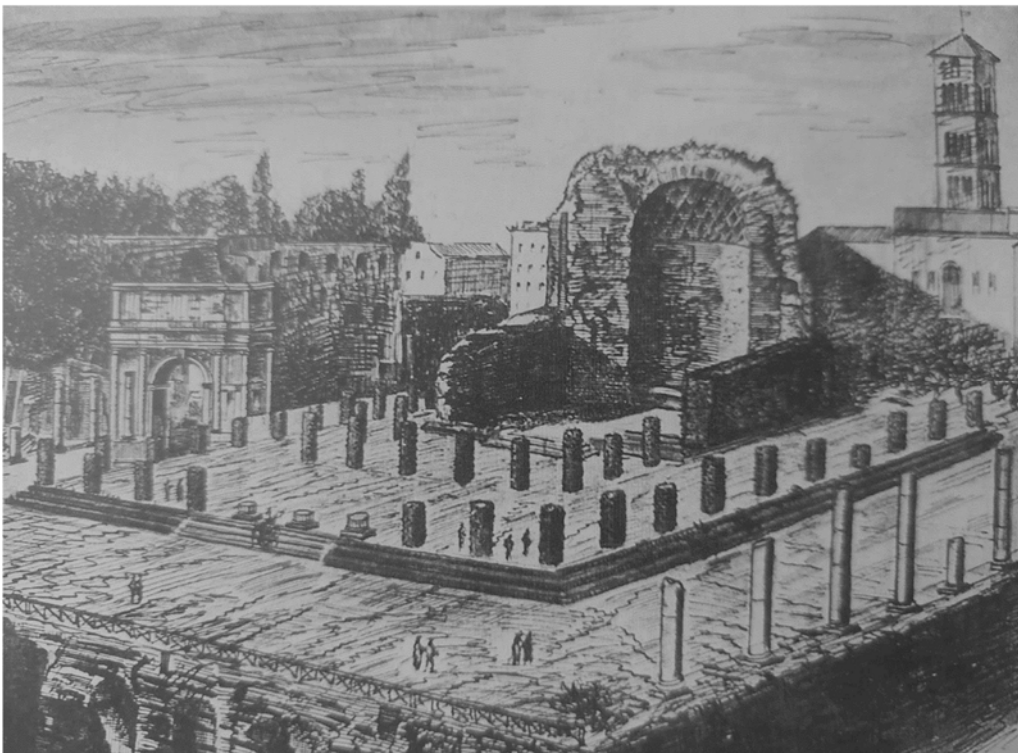


Fig. 15. Project for the Temple of Venere and Roma by Antonio Muñoz, 1935. ("*Capitolium*" XV, 1935, n. 5, published in C. Bellanca, 2003, p. 181)

From February 1935 more interesting remains were found for the foundations, a complete one was preserved and blocks of others on the right and left²⁷.

To these notes you can connect the dates provided by the works journal, at least until February 11th.

In fact, we remember that, on Friday 8 of February, we had a visit from Bottai, Saladino, our director. Inspector Colini and director Muñoz visited the work in progress daily.

Considered that, we proceed with the numbering and calibration of all the hums, which number around 70.

Muñoz describes the intervention carried out: “it was a double job to be done, the raising of the granite columns, forming the two lateral porticoes, and the arrangement of the remains of the temple. There were around sixty grey granite trunks which resulted in the reconfiguration of 22 columns, 12 on the ‘Via dell’Impero’ side, and 10 towards the ‘Via Sacra’”.

“The bases of the columns were made in travertino, for those columns that could not be completely rebuilt, given the look of some intermediate trunk, the restoration of the missing parts was done with cement and grit in order to obtain a matching colour effect with the stone part, but still recognizable” (Fig. 16).

The arrangement of the temple’s stalls was carried out according to criterion which I believe had its first application here, that is, by means of vegetal elements (Fig. 15).



Fig. 16. Roma, Temple of Venere and Roma. Detail of a column with reintegration. (CB 1995)

The access stairs to the stalls on which the columns rest are made with *buxus sempervirens* steps, the right wall of the cell in *laurus nobilis* the white marble columns that replaced the peristilio were made with variegated *ligustro*²⁸.

Muñoz in concluding the presentation of his work, forcefully points out that “the arrangement mad in this way is intended to constitute not only an example, but also an artistic protest against the widespread practice in recent times of remaking too easily what the time had destroyed ... An architectural garden was created here, a *Viridarium Veneris et Romae*”²⁹.

The final report issued in April 1935, states that: “the restoration was limited to the recomposition and raising of the granite columns and the lateral porticoes, the fragments of which lay, as has been remembered, dispensed all around the area”³⁰.

Considerations on the interventions

The restoration did not intend to return to pristine state any part and, as the author himself firmly points out, it offered a clear interpretation of the distinguishability criteria in the interventions. The work focuses on two types of operations: the first can be assimilated to a sort of indirect anastylosis, as it limits itself to lifting the shafts of the column, filling the missing part with different materials.

The second demonstrates even more a thoughtful application of the statements of the Athens Restoration Charter of 1931 and the Italian Restoration Charter of 1932³¹.

This Restoration in conceptual terms seems to anticipate ways of future critical orientation and presents itself as a highly innovative example, however isolated and singular (Fig. 17).



Fig. 17. Roma, Temple of Veneris and Roma, overall view, 1935. (Archivio fotografico X Ripartizione Comune di Roma, published in C. Bellanca, 2003 p. 184)

10.5 Mausoleum of Augusto

The masterplan coordinated by Edmondo Sanjust in 1909, providing the implementation of the road to connect the Cavour bridge, had started a process of approaching the Mausoleum. The proposal was taken up again in the 1925-1926 variant by the “Burbera” group, coordinated by the architect Enrico Del Debbio.

The new project involves further demolitions around the Augusteo, the isolation of the apse of San Carlo and the churches of San Rocco and San Girolamo, the variant was not approved, but attention towards the hidden monument grew³². Spaced and not rigid porticoes are envisaged, but above all the Mausoleum is left in its essence as a theatre-structure in the belief that the use of the ruin can facilitate its preservation.

The work began on 22 October 1934 with the first blow of Mussolini’s pickaxe, and, unfortunately, they were carried out hastily.

Colini, in a subsequent relation of March 1937, mentions the descriptions of the remains that were able to be explored, therefore Muñoz receives orders so that the exploration is not carried out and the excavations proceed³³.

The works inside the Augusteo began after the last concert on 13 May 1936 with the demolition of the dome and the concert hall.

In the general climate of great participation for the future destination of the Mausoleum, a project by Adalberto Libera, dated 1° August 1936, is also worth mentioning.

Another hypothesis of Muñoz must be remembered nowadays. The proposals for arranging the ruin vary from a first re-proposal inspired by Dupérac’s design, with greenery inside, to a second in which it is proposed to arrange it according to Strabone’s description with a sequence of cypresses³⁴.

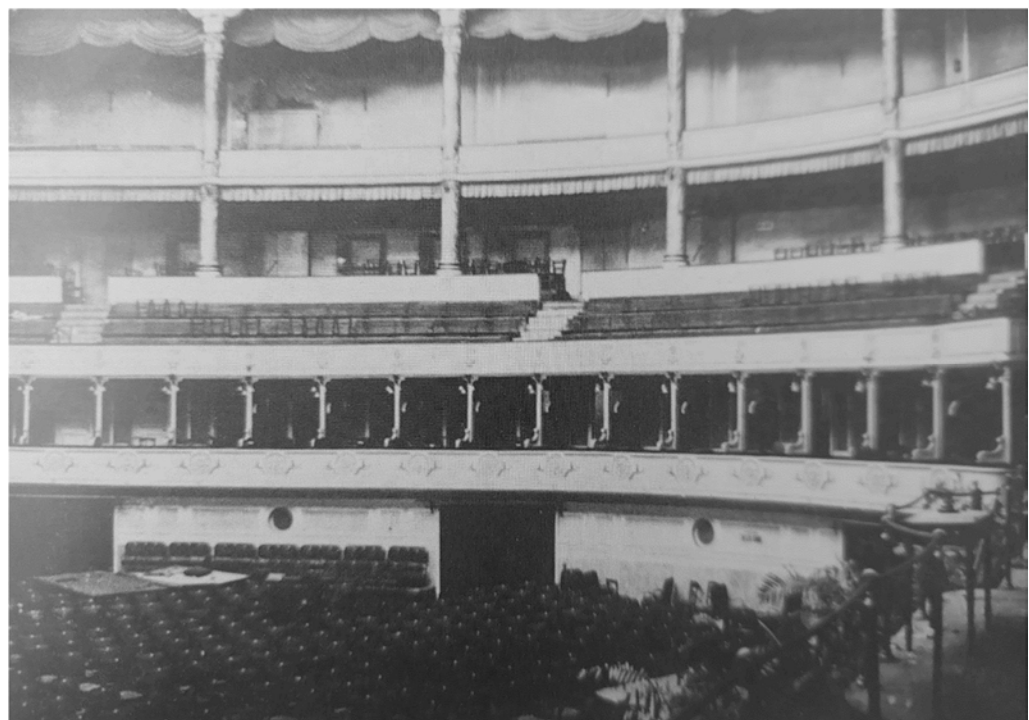


Fig. 18. Roma, Mausoleum of Augusto, concert hall, December, 1936 (Museo di Roma, archivio fotografico comunale, published in C. Bellanca, 2003, p. 201)

Muñoz described the restoration work: “I imagined raising a large tree cone on the external circular wall, then persuaded by the studies of Gatti and Poscetti, in a second project I limited the planting of cypresses ... to the area between the external base and the remains of a second ‘tamburo’. Ultimately, the restoration work was respectful of the ancient monument. Nothing new or arbitrary has been added ... and the origin parts have been freed from the patching and repairing that altered them and the gaps closed with brick masonry”³⁵.

Muñoz hopes for a resolution of the presence of water in relation to the proximity of the water table, but above all reiterates that the monument has only been isolated and repaired³⁶.

In concluding the presentation of the works, he explains its limitations and does not consider the so-called “architectural restitution”, possible due to the conditions of the remains³⁷.



Fig. 19. Roma, Mausoleum of Augusto. Interventions on the walls and removal of the fountain. (Museo di Roma, Archivio fotografico, published in C. Bellanca, 2003. p. 202)



Fig. 20. Mausoleum of Augusto. Model with insertion of tree essences. (Museo di Roma, Archivio fotografico, published in C. Bellanca, 2003. p. 202)

Considerations on the interventions

This episode highlights the limitation of the intervention and therefore the difficult balance or compromise reached for the conservation and presentation of the ruin.

Giglioli, Muñoz, Colini, also with the support by Del Debbio, they tried to maintain the use of the auditorium as long as possible, being aware of the enormous difficulties that a demolition would entail, they tried to respect the ancient walls, in order to study them later (Fig. 18).

For the surroundings square, the task entrusted to Morpurgo who expands the space and places, the monument, at the centre of the new urban vision seems to be inserted as a fragment of “Romanite” in a futurist vision.

Finally, Muñoz identifies in reference to Boni, in the “Flora” the element that helps to mentally reconfiguration the lines and profiles of the pre-existence (Figg. 19-21).



Fig. 21. Roma,
Mausoleum of
Augusto, mid-1990's.
(CB 1995)

10.6 Temple of Apollo Sosiano

During the works of isolation and liberation of the Theatre of Marcello, the drum of three columns and fragments of the entablature were found “in a fallen position”, which on the basis of their decoration were recognized as pertaining to the Temple of Apollo³⁸.

After the discovery in 1928, stonecutters from Carrara arrived in Roma who recognized, with joy and pride, the origin from a quarry in Luni. At the same time Colini began the study of the architectural elements and a series of surveys, managing to identify the various materials among which travertine covered with stucco can be seen³⁹.

In Muñoz’s report of 17 march 1939 the theoretical intent of the intervention appears clear: “in the recomposition of the architectural elements that will have to be raised”. This reintegration must be carried out with the “affixation of pins and clamps for which holes and notches must be made, which require specialized, guided and supervised personnel”⁴⁰.

Muñoz on 7 December 1939, provided the Instruction for preparing plaster molds to study the joining of the marble pieces; that it will be necessary to integrate the capitals, bases and entablature and that the missing parts of the columns will have to be made of “travertino” instead of bricks⁴¹.

In early January 1940, the order arrived to complete the work by October, so the study group and operators were forced to meet the executive orders for February 1940 (Figg. 22-23).



Fig. 22. Roma, Temple of Apollo Sosiano, overall view. (CB 1995)

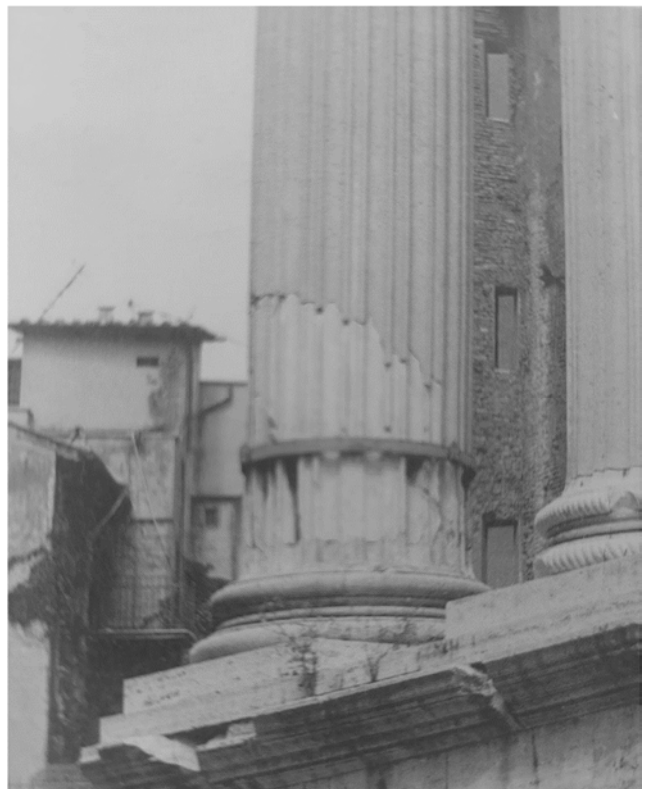


Fig. 23. Roma, Temple of Apollo Sosiano. Detail with reintegration. (CB 1995)

Considerations on the interventions

The architectural reintegration of the temple responds only to the desire to “reconstruct” the corner of the “pronaos”. It consists of a reintegration of the image in which the criteria of authenticity and discrete distinguishability are identified.

In fact, “travertino” and white cement are chosen to mitigate the shortcomings and not the more obvious brick.

Also for this intervention, they seem to put in practice the statements of the Athens Charter of 1931, the Italian Charter of 1932 and of the more recent Instructions of 1938.

With these solutions, the work seems to express one of the most advanced interventions in the field of archaeological restoration of those years; in fact, it demonstrates: the renunciation of gratuitous and unjustified formal inventions, the care in controlling the images produced by the intervention⁴².

Notes

All photos are by the author (CB) except when indicated.

1. AA. VV., *Gli anni del Governatorato (1926-1944). Interventi urbanistici, scoperte archeologiche, arredo urbano, restauri*, edited by L. Cardilli, Roma, 1985.
2. A. COLINI, *Studioso ed artista*, in “L’Urbe”, XXIII, 1960, 2-3, p. 20.
For general considerations see also: C. BELLANCA, *Antonio Maria Colini, Antonio Muñoz e il Governatorato*, in “Atti del Convegno di studio Antonio Maria Colini, archeologo a Roma, L’opera e l’eredità”, Roma, 18 November, 1998, edited by M. Buonocore, G. Pisani Sartorio, “Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia”, serie IV, vol. LXX, 1997-1998, pp. 18-24.
3. See: *Atti of XXIV Congresso di Storia dell’Architettura, Roma 10-12 gennaio 1991*, edited by Gianfranco Spagnesi, *L’Architettura delle trasformazioni urbane 1870-1940*, Roma, 1992.
4. The events of PRG are collected in the volume edited by the Governorship of Roma, *Piano Regolatore di Roma, 1931*, Milano-Roma, 1931
5. C. BELLANCA, *Antonio Muñoz. La politica di tutela dei monumenti di Roma durante il Governatorato*, Roma, 2003, p. 141.
6. Ibidem, pp. 141-144.
7. We must consider the fundamental contributions to the conservation of cities due to C. SITTE, *Der Städtebau nach seinen künstlerischen Grundsätzen. Ein Beiträge zur Lösung modernster Fragen der Architektur und monumentalen Plastik unter besonderer Beziehung auf Wien*, Wien, 1889 and C. BULS, *Esthétique des villes*, Bruxelles, 1893. The themes of *Art Public* and of *Stadtbaukunst* were also spread in our country by the writings of Ernst Brinkmann and Raymond Unwin, then by Joseph Stübben and Baldwin Brown.
8. It is also useful to see: M. PIACENTINI, *Sulla Conservazione della Bellezza di Roma e sullo sviluppo della città moderna*, Roma, 1916.
9. - G. GIOVANNONI, *Vecchie città ed edilizia nuova, il quartiere Rinascimento*, in “Nuova Antologia”, V serie, maggio-giugno 1913, vol. CCLIX, pp. 449-472.
- G. GIOVANNONI, *Vecchie città ed edilizia nuova*, Torino, 1931.
See also the recent edition edited by S. W. SEMES, F. SIRAVO, J. CODY, *New Building in Old Cities*, Getty Conservation Institute, Los Angeles, 2024.
10. C. BELLANCA, *Antonio Muñoz. La politica di tutela dei monumenti di Roma durante il Governatorato*, Roma, 2003, p. 148.
11. G. GIOVANNONI, *Relazione sulla sistemazione edilizia del Colle Capitolino e sulle sue adiacenze*, in “Bollettino d’Arte”, XIV, 1920, 1, pp. 49-72.
12. C. BELLANCA, *Antonio Muñoz. La politica di tutela dei monumenti di Roma durante il Governatorato*, Roma, 2003, p. 150-168.
See also: G. CARBONARA, *Avvicinamento al Restauro*, Napoli, 1997, pp. 231-251.
13. See also Appendice documentaria, Area Sacra Torre Argentina, in C. BELLANCA, *Antonio Muñoz. La politica di tutela dei monumenti di Roma durante il Governatorato*, Roma 2003, pp. 366-367.
14. See also Appendice documentaria, Foro Olitorio, in Ibidem pp. 368-369.
15. See also Appendice documentaria, in Ibidem pp. 385-386.

16. C. BELLANCA, *Antonio Muñoz. La politica di tutela dei monumenti di Roma durante il Governatorato*, Roma, 2003, p. 158.
17. The Commission is composed by Rodolfo Lanciani (president), Corrado Ricci, Giovanni Battista Giovenale, Manfredo Manfredi, Antonio Muñoz, Roberto Paribeni, Pio Piacentini, Filippo Galassi, Annibale Sprega, Alessandro Susinno and Gustavo Giovannoni, as relator.
18. Ibidem, p. 2.
19. A. MUÑOZ, *L'isolamento del Colle Capitolino*, Roma, 1943, pp. 10-11.
20. Archivio del Governatorato, Archivio della Ripartizione Antichità e Belle Arti 1920-1953, Comune di Roma, Ripartizione X, tit. 17, classe 4, *Tabularium* 1938-1939, B 193, fasc. 3.
21. Ibidem, 10 October 1939.
22. Ibidem, 27 June 1939.
23. C. BELLANCA, *Antonio Muñoz. La politica di tutela dei monumenti di Roma durante il Governatorato*, Roma, 2003, p. 176.
24. Ibidem, p. 177.
25. A. MUÑOZ, *Il Tempio di Venere e Roma*, in "Capitolium", XI, 5, Roma, 1943, pp. 217-282. Further informations on the architecture of the temple in: F. CASTAGNOLI, *Topografia e Urbanistica di Roma Antica*, Bologna, 1969, p. 84.
26. A. MUÑOZ, *Il Tempio di Venere e Roma*, in "Capitolium", XI, 5, Roma, 1943, p. 232.
27. A. M. COLINI, *Appunti degli Scavi di Roma*, edited by C. Buzzetti, G. Ioppolo, G. Pisani Sartorio, Roma, 1998, vol. I, pp. 80-93.
28. A. MUÑOZ, *Il Tempio di Venere e Roma*, in "Capitolium", XI, 5, Roma, 1943.
29. Ibidem, p. 234.
30. C. BELLANCA, *Antonio Muñoz. La politica di tutela dei monumenti di Roma durante il Governatorato*, Roma, 2003, pp. 178-186, 378-381.
31. See also the Charter of Athens 1931, Institut de Cooperation Intellectuelle, Office International des Musées, Paris, 1933, and the Italian charter, published in "Bollettino d'Arte", January 1932.
32. Studies and reflections from the 1920s and 1930s on the Mausoleum of Augustus and the adjacent neighbourhood are consistent: A. M. COLINI, G. Q. GIGLIOLI, *Relazione della prima campagna di scavo al Mausoleo di Augusto*, in "Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma", LIV, 1926, pp. 191-234; R. A. CODINGLEY, I. A. RICHMOND, *The Mausoleum of Augustus*, in "Papers of the British School at Roma", X 1927, pp. 23-35; A. M. COLINI, G. Q. GIGLIOLI, *Le vicende del Mausoleo dal Medio Evo ai nostri giorni*, in "Capitolium", IX 1930, 10, in detail pp. 551-567; A. MUÑOZ, *L'isolamento del Mausoleo di Augusto*, in "L'Illustrazione Italiana", 1934, 44, pp. 704-706; G. GATTI, *Nuove osservazioni sul mausoleo di Augusto*, in "L'Urbe", III, 1938, 8, pp. 1-17; G. LUGLI, *L'isolamento del Mausoleo di Augusto*, in "Pan", II, 1° luglio 1934, 7, p. XII; E. PONTI, *Come sorse e come scomparire il quartiere attorno al Mausoleo di Augusto*, in "Capitolium", XI, 1935, pp. 235-250. They recently were published some valid contributions both on the work on the Mausoleum, and on the arrangement of Piazza Augusto Imperatore. See also: H. v. HESBERG, *Das Mausoleum des Augustus*, in "Kaiser Augustus und die verlorene Republik", Berlin 1988; A. CAMBEDDA-M.G. TOLOMEO SPERANZA, *La sistemazione di piazza Augusto Imperatore*;

P. VIRGILI, *I lavori al Mausoleo*; A. LIO, *L'Arciconfraternita di san Rocco e la sistemazione del piazzale di accesso all'Augusteo*, in *Gli anni del Governatorato*, cit. note 1, pp. 93-97, 99-104, 105-108.

33. Archivio X Ripartizione, cartella *Mausoleum Divi*.

See also C. BELLANCA, 2003, pp. 374-377.

34. C. BELLANCA, Antonio Muñoz. *La politica di tutela dei monumenti di Roma durante il Governatorato*, Roma, 2003, p. 203.

35. Ibidem, p. 205.

36. A. MUÑOZ, *La sistemazione del Mausoleo di Augusto*, in "Capitolium", XIII, Roma, 1938, pp. 498-507.

37. Ibidem, p. 507.

38. Since 1750 the existence of the republican podium was known, already recognized by Rodolfo Lanciani in the second half of the nineteenth century. Antonio Muñoz in the volume dedicated to the *Via dei Monti and Via del Mare*, Roma 1932, provides some information on the discovery, p. 38. For the necessary further study see A. VISCOGLIOSI, *Il tempio di Apollo in «Circo» e la formazione del linguaggio architettonico augusteo*, Roma 1996, p. 8; and the more recent P. CIANCIO ROSSETTO, *Tempio di Apollo: nuove indagini sulla fase repubblicana*, in "Atti del Convegno di Studi, Antonio Maria Colini, archeologo a Roma". *L'opera e l'eredità*, Roma 1998, edited by M. Buonocore e G. Pisani Sartorio, *Rendiconti Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, serie III, LXX, 1997-1998, Città del Vaticano 2000, pp. 177-178.

39. A. M. COLINI, *Il Tempio di Apollo*, in "Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica del Governatorato di Roma", LXVIII, Roma, 1940, pp. 13, 15.

40. See also Appendice documentaria, Tempio di Apollo Sosiano, in C. BELLANCA, Antonio Muñoz. *La politica di tutela dei monumenti di Roma durante il Governatorato*, Roma, 2003, pp. 391-392.

41. See also Appendice documentaria, in C. BELLANCA, Antonio Muñoz. *La politica di tutela dei monumenti di Roma durante il Governatorato*, Roma, 2003.

42. In the 80's studies on the pre-existence and recomposition of the frontal sculptures were resumed, resulting in the exhibition held at Palazzo dei Conservatori: E. LA ROCCA, *Amazzonomachia, le sculture frontonali del tempio di Apollo Sosiano*, Roma, 1985, in detail pp. 11-24, 83-102, E. LA ROCCA, *Der Apollo Sosianus-Tempel*, and A. VISCOGLIOSI, *Die Architektur. Dekoration der Cella des Apollo-Sosianus-Tempels*, in *Kaiser Augustus und die verlorene Republik*, Berlin, 1988, pp. 121-129, 136-140.

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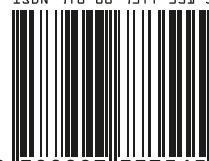
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