THE CONSERVATION MOVEMENT
A HISTORY OF ARCHITECTURAL PRESERVATION

ANTIQUITY TO MODERNITY

MILES GLENDINNING

The Conservation Movement: A History of Architectural Preservation

In many places across the world, particularly in Europe, old buildings form a prominent part of the built environment, and we often take it for granted that their contribution is intrinsically positive. How has that widely-shared belief come about, and is its continued general acceptance inevitable?

Certainly, ancient structures have long been treated with care and reverence in many societies, including classical Rome and Greece. But only in modern Europe and America, in the last two centuries, has this care been elaborated and energised into a forceful, dynamic ideology: a 'Conservation Movement', infused with a sense of historical destiny and loss, that paradoxically shared many of the characteristics of Enlightenment modernity. The close inter-relationship between conservation and modern civilisation was most dramatically heightened in periods of war or social upheaval, beginning with the French Revolution, and rising to a tragic climax in the twentieth-century age of totalitarian extremism; more recently the troubled relationship of 'heritage' and global commercialism has become dominant.

Miles Glendinning's new book authoritatively presents, for the first time, the entire history of architectural conservation, and traces its dramatic fluctuations in ideas and popularity, ending by questioning whether its recent international ascendancy can last indefinitely.

Miles Glendinning is Professor of Architectural Conservation at the University of Edinburgh and Director of the Scottish Centre for Conservation Studies. He has published extensively on modernist and contemporary architecture and housing: his books include the award-winning *Tower Block* (with Stefan Muthesius), *Modern Architect*, on the life and times of Sir Robert Matthew, and *Architecture's Evil Empire*, a polemical evaluation of contemporary 'iconic modernism'. His current research projects include an international history of mass social housing, focusing in particular on the experience of Hong Kong and Singapore.

The Conservation Movement: A History of Architectural Preservation

Antiquity to modernity

Miles Glendinning

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2013
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

Simultaneously published in the USA and Canada
by Routledge
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2013 Miles Glendinning

The right of Miles Glendinning to be identified as author of this work has been asserted by him/her in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

Every effort has been made to contact and acknowledge copyright owners. If any material has been included without permission, the publishers offer their apologies. The publishers would be pleased to have any errors or omissions brought to their attention so that corrections may be published at later printing.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data
Glendinning, Miles, 1956–
The conservation movement: a history of architectural preservation: antiquity to modernity/Miles Glendinning.
pages cm
(print) 1. Architecture–Conservation and restoration–History. I. Title.
NA105.G49 2013
720.28'8–dc23 2012022396

ISBN: 978–0–415–49999–6 (hbk)
ISBN: 978–0–415–54322–4 (pbk)
ISBN: 978–0–203–08039–9 (ebk)

Typeset in Minion
by Keystroke, Station Road, Codsall, Wolverhampton

– Contents –

Acknowledgements vii
List of Abbreviations ix

Introduction: The Conservation Movement: Stepchild of progress 1

PART I: PRE-1789
Foundations of the Movement: Care for old buildings in the pre-modern age 7

ONE
Harbingers of heritage: Antiquity, Christendom, Renaissance 9

TWO
Antiquarian antecedents: 17th and 18th centuries 35

PART II: 1789–1914
Growth of the Movement: First modern ideologies of conservation 63

THREE
International revolutions and national heritages: 1789–1850 65

FOUR
The life-force of age: Restoration and Anti-Scrape, 1850–90 116

FIVE
Militant monuments: Nationalist conservation rivalries, 1890–1914 138

PART III: 1914–45
Crisis of the Movement: Mass heritage, mass destruction 185

SIX
Monument wars: Devastation and rebuilding, 1914–39 187

SEVEN
Total war and cultural bombing: 1939–45 235

PART IV: 1945–89
Heyday of the Movement: Parallel narratives of postwar preservation 257

EIGHT
Parallel lives: New and old in the West, 1945–68 259

NINE
From counter-culture to control: Western triumphs of conservation, 1968–89 320

TEN
Heritage complexities in the socialist bloc: 1945–89 359

ELEVEN
Charters and conventions: The internationalisation of heritage, 1945–89 390

PART V: POST-1989
The Contemporary Story 415

TWELVE
Heritage in the age of globalisation: Post-1989 417

Epilogue 449

Notes 451
Bibliography 494
Image credits 510
Index 514

– Acknowledgements –

I would like to thank the following individuals and organisations for helping me in this project. In some cases, the help was immediately and specifically related to the text or illustrations, including commenting on drafts or bringing new points to my attention. In other cases, the input was more indirect, including organisational assistance, general advice on conservation-history matters, or more general support, sometimes over a period of years. Those whose names are asterisked contributed through participation in historical interviews, in some cases up to two decades ago.

Jane Anderson; Kerstin Barup; Ivan Blasi; Jonathan Blower; Allison Borden; Brownstone Coalition; Stephen Cairns; Ian Campbell; Louise Campbell; Maristella Casciato; Mark Cousins; Ellen Creighton; Catherine Croft; *Theo Crombie; Kitty Cruft; Audrey Dakin; Wessel de Jonge; Lynne DiStefano; DOCOMOMO-International; DOCOMOMO-Scotland; Emilie D'Orgeix; Marija Drėmaitė; Stuart Eydmann; Clive Fenton; Leslie Forsyth; Colum Giles; Margaret Gilfillan; Isla Glendinning; Ian Gow; Giovanna Guidicini; Peter Guillery; Ewan Harrison; Elain Harwood; Hubert-Jan Henket; Carsten Hermann; Amy Hickman; Yvonne Hillyard; Julian Holder; Alison, Amy-Felicity, Kitty, Margaret and Sali Horsey; John Hume; Jane Jacobs; Hazel Johnson; ICOMOS Australia; Jukka Jokilehto; Mart Kalm; *Lord Kennet; Janis Krastins; Gus Lamb; Leticia Leitão; Hannah Lewi; Sian Loftus; Elizabeth and Nancy Love; Aonghus MacKechnie; Kirsten McKee; Colin McWilliam; Debbie Mays; Suzannah Meade; Kasia Murawska; Michał Murawski; Stefan Muthesius; Miles Oglethorpe; Ali and Matthew Owens; David Page; Brian Park; Anne Raines; Lukas Rekevičius; Una Richards; Peter Robinson; Johnny Rodger; Richard Rodger; Dennis Rodwell; Joanna Roscoe; Indrė Ruseckaitė; Antonello Sanna; Achim Schröer; Moira Seftor; *Konrad Smigielski; Wolfgang Sonne; Chris Speed; Gavin Stamp; Geoffrey Stell; Fiona Stenke; Graeme Stewart; Ruxandra Stoica; *Herb Stovel; Ian Tan Yuk-Hong; Jessica Taylor; Dimitris Theodossopoulos; *Mary and Frank Tindall; Emily Tracey; Mark Tripney; Ola Uduku; Florian Urban; Rosman Wai; *David Walker; Diane Watters; Vicky Webster; Ola Wedebrunn; *David and Enid Whitham; Alfred Wood; *Roy Worskett; *Raymond Young.

– Abbreviations –

AHSS	Architectural Heritage Society of Scotland
AR	*Architectural Review*
ARQ	*Architectural Research Quarterly*
ASHPS	American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society
CA	conservation area
CHAC	Central Housing Advisory Committee
CIAM	International Congresses of Modern Architecture
CMH	Historic Monuments Commission (France)
COE	Council of Europe
CPS	Commons Preservation Society
CT	Civic Trust
DD	*Die Denkmalpflege*
DKD	*Deutsche Kunst und Denkmalpflege*
DHS	Department of Health for Scotland
DOCOMOMO	Documentation and Conservation of the Modern Movement (Modern architecture heritage group)
EAHY	European Architectural Heritage Year (1975)
ENTCC	Edinburgh New Town Conservation Committee
FDH	Freies Deutsches Hochstift
GDR	German Democratic Republic
GHND	Gesellschaft Historischer Neumarkt Dresden
GIA	General Improvement Area
GLC	Greater London Council
GRKG	*Geschichte der Rekonstruktion: Konstruktion der Geschichte*
HAA	Housing Action Area
HABS	Historic American Buildings Survey
HBCs	Historic Buildings Councils (for England and Scotland)
HTA	Housing Treatment Area
HUD	US Department of Housing and Urban Development
IBA	Internationale Bauaustellung Berlin
ICCROM	International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property
ICIC	International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
IFHTP	International Federation for Housing and Town Planning

IMO	International Museums Office
INTACH	Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage
IPHAN	National Institute for the Preservation of Historical and Artistic Heritage(Brazil)
ISMEO	Italian Middle and Far Eastern Institute
ISOCARP	International Society of City and Regional Planners
IUCN	International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources
JSAH	*Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*
LCC	London County Council
MH	*Les Monuments Historiques*
MHLG	Ministry of Housing and Local Government
MOMA	Museum of Modern Art
MoMo	sometimes used for Modern Movement
NHS	Neighborhood Housing Services (USA)
NPS	National Park Service
NSDAP	National Socialist German Workers' Party (Nazi Party)
NT	National Trust
NTS	National Trust for Scotland
OIRU	Society for Study of Russian Mansions
OPAH	Opérations programmes d'amélioration de l'habitat
OUV	[of] outstanding universal value
ÖZKD	*Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege*
PB	*Planning Bulletin*
PEEP	Piano per l'Edilizia Economica Popolare
PKZ	Monument Restoration Atelier (Poland)
PNF	National Fascist Party (Italy)
RCAHMS	Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland
RFAC	Royal Fine Art Commission (England)
RFACS	Royal Fine Art Commission (Scotland)
RIAS	Royal Incorporation of Architects in Scotland
RIBA	Royal Institute of British Architects
SAHGB	Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain
SCAPA	Society for the Checking of the Abuses of Public Advertising
SCT	Scottish Civic Trust
SDD	Scottish Development Department
SEM	Sociétés d'économie mixte
SHAC	Scottish Housing Advisory Committee
SLASH	Scottish Local Authorities Special Housing Group
SPAB	Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings
SPRND	School of Planning and Research for National Development
SÚRPMO	State Institute for the Reconstruction of Historic Towns and Monuments (Czechoslovakia)
TC	*The Theodosian Code*
TPRM	Trustees of Public Reservations in Massachusetts

TSNRM	Central Scientific Restorative Workshop (USSR)
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Vixoc	Victorian Society
VOOPIK	All-Russian Society for the Safeguarding of Historical and Cultural Monuments

Introduction

The Conservation Movement: Stepchild of progress

'I never saw anything like you clergymen,' said Eleanor; 'you are always thinking of fighting each other.' 'Either that,' said he, 'or else supporting each other. The pity is that we cannot do the one without the other. But are we not here to fight? Is not ours a church militant? What is all our work but fighting, and hard fighting, if it be well done?'

Anthony Trollope, *Barchester Towers*, 1857[1]

TODAY, in many developed societies, especially in Europe, the built environment is dominated not by outright modernity but by 'old' buildings and ensembles. These are known under a vast range of names: conservation, historic preservation, listed buildings, heritage, historic monuments, *Denkmalpflege*, *patrimoine*, *Altstadt*, *centro storico*, *monuments classés*, World Heritage Site, and so forth. Most people simply take this situation for granted and, in the most general terms, assume it to be not only a natural but a good thing. Any debates and controversies tend to be confined to relatively narrow circles of interest groups. These tend to focus either on the problems of individual monuments, or on hackneyed confrontations between intransigent conservationists railing against 'vandalism' and 'threat', and developer-led groups, indignant at hole-in-corner obstruction of 'progress', or at towns turned to 'museums' or 'Disney pastiche'. Yet change is unavoidable, even in the most cherished places. And conservation clearly plays an intimate part in that wider process of development and change in the existing built environment – a process that affects everyone in society.

Architectural conservation, in fact, is something that embraces not just architecture in all its various forms, but a vast range of other subjects – environmental politics, urban planning, housing, urban economics and tourism, and even wartime destruction and renewal. And it has attracted, and continues to attract, intense if intermittent attention not just from narrow interest groups, but from national politicians and media, who have at times seen it as a part of their own ideological self projection, as well as from increasingly influential international cultural organisations. Conservation is, and has always been, an integral part of modern society, and its environments, like all modern environments, did not just happen. They were 'made', chiefly during the 19th and 20th centuries, and sometimes also remade, or destroyed, several times over.

Heritage is not something that is just 'there' and has always been 'there'. It has a story, a dramatic history, firmly knitted into the wider trajectory of European, or Western, modernity. It is that story, of conservation as a constantly changing modern phenomenon, a future-oriented

'Movement' drawing on the past, which this book sets out to tell. Of course, societies throughout the world and across the centuries and millennia, from China to Central America and Africa, have treated old buildings and structures with care and reverence; but only in the societies dealt with in this account, the societies shaped by Western modernity, has that sense of respect been transformed into a dynamic historical narrative, a conscious ideology, a Movement.

The history of this Conservation Movement is a tale dominated, on the whole, not by high-flown, intellectually abstruse theories, but by more middle-brow, collective, sometimes even bureaucratic ways of thinking – ideas that are quite circumscribed in some ways, and yet are in other respects unusually eclectic, wide-ranging, even political. This is a narrative that combines broad, overarching themes with a great plethora of facts from many disciplines, including laws, policies and technical data. And it is a story that is not yet finished – which makes the historian's task especially relevant. The ancient Athenian historian, Thucydides, hoped that his *History* of the rise, excesses and final calamitous collapse of the 5th-century-BC Athenian Empire 'will be judged useful by those inquirers who desire an exact knowledge of the past as an aid to the interpretation of the future, which, human nature being what it is, must resemble it, if it does not actually reflect it'.[2] We will return later to the issue of whether the story contained in this book is a straightforward narrative of origins, growth and triumphant, open-ended ascendancy, or whether it also contains some early elements of 'decline and fall'.

Naturally, the story of the Conservation Movement is one that has long roots, stretching back to Western antiquity, in other words to Greece and Rome. Care for old structures in those ages stemmed from both practical and symbolic motives, including the diverse demands of polytheistic religion and the salvation narratives of Christianity; and the 15th–17th centuries saw early harbingers of more modern heritage values, for example in the Renaissance revival of the classical world, the work of the first antiquarians and the first concerted schemes of postwar reconstruction. As the modern world, with its unique sense of historical destiny, emerged out of the old timeless traditional religious society – with monotheistic Christianity as a kind of halfway house, partly embracing the idea of progress and human control and partly resisting it – old buildings gradually came to occupy a more important role, both rationally and emotionally.

But conservation as a concerted, modern phenomenon only really emerged in the late 18th century, in the violent political, social and economic modernisations in Europe, especially the French Revolution of 1789. Conservation, as an ideology, only became seen as a necessity once the juggernaut of Enlightenment Progress got underway, unleashing an all-embracing upheaval that, many felt, urgently demanded stabilisation. Like many other children and stepchildren of the Enlightenment, the Conservation Movement was imprinted with its ideas, stamped from one end to the other, like a stick of seaside rock, with the values of historical Progress. Stimulated by these, it developed its own specific values and ideologies – values that were furiously contested by rival groups, and changed radically over time. From this point, conservation became a Movement in the broad modern sense, just like socialism, nationalism, environmentalism, or other more issue-specific cultural or political groupings, such as the anti-slavery or Prohibition movements – or, of course, the Modern Movement in architecture and planning, which became almost an *alter ego* to the Conservation Movement during the course of the 20th century.

The story of the Conservation Movement, it should be stressed, is a specifically 'Western' story, not least because it has been so strongly bound up with the Western drive for a codified, rational, secular exercise of power and knowledge. Although conservation often presents itself as a non-

modern, even anti-modern phenomenon, and certainly as something 'traditional', it also in many ways *exemplifies* Western modernity. The history of conservation, above all, has been about exploiting the past for useful modern purposes, especially as a way of underpinning or counterbalancing the drive for modern progress and for rational control of the world. It was no coincidence that modern conservation really came into its own after the French Revolution overthrew the last significant bastions of traditional religious society. It helped provide an anchor against revolutionary chaos, or, occasionally, even itself participated in modern upheavals, as in the case of its deep complicity in the late-19th- and early-20th-century craze of militaristic, aggressive nationalism.

This, therefore, is a story that in some ways becomes more coherent and unified in more recent centuries, as we move from the unstructured, confused, *ad hoc* practices of the Middle Ages or even the early 18th century, to the ideologies and organised structures of the modern age. But that increasing cohesion was disguised by the apparent chaos and conflict of the many competing ideological factions in the modern history of the Movement. This paradoxical character emerged most forcibly in the closest external relationship of the Conservation Movement, at least in the late 19th and 20th centuries: its intimate but troubled relationship with modern nationalism. Theirs was a relationship that brought with it a combination of bitter yet superficial antagonism between separate national traditions, with unifying ideological currents below the surface. Later in the 20th century, however, the unifying pressures began gradually to emerge into the open and gain the upper hand, as the rival conservation nationalisms were gradually outweighed and replaced by an overt internationalism. Alongside this geopolitical development of conservation, our account will also trace a variety of long-running, relatively autonomous intellectual debates within the Movement, often championed by bitterly opposed factions – including the centuries-old controversy over the rights and wrongs of restoration, the post-1918 demand for building of facsimiles of war-destroyed buildings and the rumbling mid-20th-century architectural tensions between the Conservation Movement and the Modern Movement.

These debates were often conducted with extreme passion, focusing intensely on specific issues such as authenticity, or on condemnation of 'fakes' and 'pastiche', the proper relationship between conservation and community, or the constantly fluctuating relationship between conservation and new architecture. At some times in past centuries, certain strands of conservation became almost identical to trends within contemporary architecture: for instance, the early history of the Gothic Revival in England and the role within it of church restoration, from the late 18th to the mid-19th centuries. In general, however, by comparison with the often highly legible narratives of new architecture, the progression of conservation theories and values, and their relation to the built fabric, were more oblique, roundabout and even circular.

The lack of 'legibility' of the history of conservation, in today's built fabric, can be illustrated by just one example, from the North German town of Hildesheim, which has at its core a tightly planned market square, dominated by a spectacularly gabled, timber-framed building, the Knochenhauer-Amtshaus. Historic photographs from the 19th century appear exactly the same as today, suggesting an exceptional case of heritage continuity; only minor details of today's ensemble hint at any date more modern than the 16th or 17th centuries. There is nothing at all to suggest that almost the whole of today's square, including the Knochenhauer-Amtshaus, in fact only dates from the 1980s, when a facsimile of an 'original' building was constructed, and that during the 40 preceding years since 1945, the site was initially an empty bomb-site, and then was occupied by a completely different street layout, including a much larger square and a modern multi-storey hotel

Figure 0.1 The inscrutability of conservation: from 'new' to 'old' in the Hildesheim Marktplatz

(a) 1972 view of the west side of the Marktplatz, showing the Hotel Rose (opened 1963 and demolished 1985); (b) 2005 view of the same site, now occupied by the facsimile Knochenhauer-Amtshaus (completed 1989)

block. We will return in a later chapter to that specific, extraordinary case, together with its implications for the 20th and early 21st centuries' increasingly passionate debates about facsimile-building and authenticity. Its importance here is to emphasise the frequent impossibility of 'reading' the history of conservation itself in the fabric and appearance of the built environment.

Conservation was a part of modernity that travelled not at the front but at the side or the back, shifting and moulding itself, chameleon-like, in reaction to developments elsewhere. Often, it served as a mirror of modernity, developing its values in reaction to the mainstream – old as opposed to new, static as opposed to dynamic, mixed as opposed to segregated, and so forth. Yet, often, that opposition-principle became muddied: in the mid-20th century, for example, modern architects and conservation leaders were in agreement on the need for absolute segregation and legibility of new and old. But at other times the Conservation Movement directly reproduced the most driving modern values, as in the mania for clearing wide open spaces around monuments, or the sharp 'newness-value' of the radical restorations by architect Viollet-le-Duc.

It goes without saying, of course, that this book takes no sides in any of these debates – in contrast to many conservation texts that declare certain key values (such as the opposition to restoration or facsimiles) to be sacrosanct, or one building to be superior to another in conservation terms. For example, Coventry Cathedral (1951–62, by Basil Spence) and the Dresden Frauenkirche (1993–2005) present two very different responses, by two different generations, to the task of building a new replacement for a cathedral bombed in World War II, incorporating fragments of the old in the new fabric. Coventry embraces the stabilised ruin of the old cathedral as a memorial

annexe to a large new building in a 'modern-traditional' style. The Frauenkirche takes the form of a facsimile of the old building on exactly the same site, in which are physically embedded its surviving fragments, discernible at the moment by their darker colour. Which is the better work of conservation? Which is the more 'authentic'? This book makes no attempt to answer questions such as these. Its task is instead to record the often extreme opinions held about them by others. One of the Conservation Movement's foremost and most pugnacious theorists, John Ruskin, spoke of old buildings as having a 'life' of their own. In this book, the Conservation Movement emerges as a phenomenon with its own life, interacting constantly and at times passionately with architecture, politics, culture and society, but never quite tied to any of them.

How, then, is the book laid out? In order to keep constantly before the reader the fact that the Conservation Movement was a modern, dynamic, historical movement, it takes the form of an overarching narrative, within which a variety of complex strands and ideas are traced over time. Overall, the book is arranged chronologically, with a special emphasis on the 20th century, the prime century of mass movements and thus, arguably, the spiritual heartland and climax of the Conservation Movement itself. The story of conservation in the 18th and 19th centuries, and earlier, has already been covered extensively in previous accounts, including those of Erder, Choay, and Murtagh – and above all in Jukka Jokilehto's monumental *History of Architectural Conservation* (1999/2004).[3] As the numerous note references in the earlier chapters (especially 1–4) make clear,

Architect Tells of 'Idea That Took Hold of Me'

DESIGN 'STANDS FOR NEW LIFE AFTER SACRIFICE'

Inspiration in the Cathedral

By SIR BASIL SPENCE

'Tears came to my Eyes'

Figure 0.2 How to rebuild a war-damaged cathedral

(a), (b) Sir Basil Spence's solution at Coventry in 1951–62: new cathedral adjoining preserved ruins; (c) The Dresden Frauenkirche, 1993–2005: facsimile building incorporating ruin fragments

my account of those earlier centuries draws extensively on these works. The chapters dealing with the 20th century, however, are completely new, and deal with the story at comparatively greater length. Chapters 1–7 follow a single, linear narrative but, in the most complex phase of our story, the years 1945–89, when conservation rose to ascendancy in the built environment of many countries, the text is divided into parallel narratives, reflecting the sharp geopolitical division into competing blocs, and allowing both the competitive differences and the underlying commonalities to be expressed.

Geographically, the arrangement of the book reflects the especially strong interactions between the Conservation Movement and the modern ideology of nationalism. As we noted above, there was a constant tension between conservation theories common to most countries – such as the emphasis on 'rediscovery' of neglected masterpieces, or the restoration-versus-repair debate – and the forcibly competing national variations and trends. The book's layout is also shaped by the need to present a balanced variety of those many national trends and traditions in the 19th and 20th centuries, and to supply readers with the basic facts about key nations, bearing in mind also that the primary readership will be in the UK and the anglophone countries. For that latter reason, the story in Britain is given consistent prominence: each chapter from 2 onwards (except 10 and 11) presents not only an international overview of developments throughout the European and American territory of the Conservation Movement, but also a specific account of developments in Britain – including a proper acknowledgement of the strong and persisting differences in ideas and policies between England and Scotland. Among the other principal centres of conservation, the developments in Italy, France and the USA have been very fully covered in previous accounts. Although they, too, are dealt with at some length in this account, there is also a compensatory additional emphasis on the often seminal developments and debates in the German-speaking world – an area of conservation history distinctly under-represented in English-language publications.

The book finishes with a more speculative chapter, tracing developments in the two decades since the end of the Cold War, drawing strands together and looking to the future – as conservation has always done throughout its history. But here we face something of a paradox. If the Conservation Movement has always, despite its own propaganda, been a child of Progress and Western modernity, a product of the ideal of using the past for useful modern progress, then where does it stand today, in an era of postmodern relativism that has deconstructed the old modern certainties of grand narratives and normative values? We will return again to that unsettling question in Chapter 12 and the 'Epilogue'.

– PART I: PRE-1789 –

Foundations of the Movement

Care for old buildings in the pre-modern age

– 1 –

Harbingers of heritage

Antiquity, Christendom, Renaissance

Some people were talking about the temple and the fine stones and votive offerings with which it was adorned. He said, 'Those things you are gazing at – the time will come when not one stone of them will be left upon another; all will be thrown down.'

Luke 21, 5–7[1]

THE story of the modern Conservation Movement that dominates this book belongs overwhelmingly to Europe and America, and to the two centuries following the French and Industrial Revolutions. But the Movement's roots are long, stretching right back to classical Greece and Rome. Indeed, the very fact that the Conservation Movement can be interpreted as a 'movement' at all, is a consequence of the momentous changes that began in classical antiquity, in how people saw the relationship of past, present and future – a relationship within which the built environment played a central role.

In pre-classical civilisations, in the Middle East, India or China, there was little concept of historical progression, and the combination of ingrained social hierarchies and polytheistic religion encouraged a tremendous stability, often symbolised through monumental architecture: many sacred sites experienced multiple layering and reappropriation over millennia. In Ancient Egypt, everything was assumed to stay exactly the same, including the monarchy, with its dynasties spanning over two millennia and its pharaonic religion, interrupted only by the brief, monotheistic aberration of the reign of Akhenaten (1364–47 BCE). This unchanging cultural character was expressed in the stone-built monumentality of its architectural set pieces, such as the vast temple complex of Western Thebes, revered from 2000 BC to about AD 500 as the seat of Amun-Re, king of the gods. Reflecting Egyptian belief in the circular character of time, Amun was thought to return annually to be reborn in the Luxor temples (built cumulatively over several hundred years in *c.*1500–1230 BC). To the north was the massive Karnak Temple where Amun 'lived' for the rest of the year. Across the river in the 'land of the dead', the Valley of the Kings and of the Queens housed the royal dead of the New Kingdom in a succession of grand mortuary temples, such as that of Amenhotep III (builder of most of Luxor Temple) – a landscape that fused natural and built environments. Although these mortuary precincts often fell into ruin or were looted, their rise and fall followed no conscious framework of 'progress': the monumental commemorative statues that dotted them were not monuments in the modern sense, but religious objects, invested with unchanging divine force, like the buildings themselves. In the Mesopotamian civilisations, a similar theocratic traditionalism prevailed and sites

Figure 1.1 David Roberts, grand portico of the Temple of Philae, Nubia (from *Views of Egypt and Nubia*, *c.*1847–9)

such as the multi-layered ziggurats of Babylon were constantly reused. Later and more advanced civilisations elsewhere, such as China in the age of Confucius (551–479 BC), also emphasised stability and deference to ancestral practices and to the family unit.[2]

In all these eras and places, there was often an intense care for old structures, varying in character depending on whether local building tradition stressed masonry (as in the Middle East) or timber (requiring periodical renewal). Nowhere, however, was there conscious conservation in the modern sense, still less historically informed concepts such as 'authenticity'. Polytheistic religion encouraged a static view of a world in which the sacred was completely intermingled with perceptible reality, and in which everyday objects or places could be invested by gods or ancestral spirits. These had a real call on the respect of the living – and, in turn, their sacred aura could help bolster the ruling order among the living.

This situation only began to alter a little in Mycenean Greece – one of the first societies where *change*, rather than stability, became a norm. Traces of this process, the first 'fashions' in artefacts, are discernible through archaeological investigation, with pot-sherds traceable to a specific century. The restless, seafaring Greeks no longer assumed that the best thing was that which had existed since time immemorial: civilisation began to 'go faster'. And inevitably, in due course, that new restlessness was consciously articulated, in 5th-century-BC Athens's outpouring of written and built celebrations of the rise of its civilisation. In classical Athens, we have almost arrived at a concept of historical progress, with a semi-secular nation-state commissioning built monuments to its own advances. In 5th-century Athens, concepts, fashions and leaders followed each other with bewildering rapidity:

condemnation hot on the heels of praise. More happened here in a hundred years than in a millennium and a half in Egypt, and the Athenian Oath looked on to the future, pledging that 'we will transmit the city, not only not less, but greater and more beautiful than when transmitted to us'; the reconstruction of the Acropolis Wall after the Persian War emphasised the visible heritage of surviving masonry.[3]

But classical Greece, including the diverse Hellenistic world established by Alexander's descendants, was still a polytheistic society. Its most costly and monumental constructions were almost invariably associated with religion, and thus were mixed together with the need for respect to the gods and ancestors. Within the house, that meant maintaining household shrines – whose aura underlined the authority of the master over family and slaves. The same principle was displayed publicly, on a greater scale, in temples of priestly cults, supplemented by the monuments erected by great men to their achievements and conquests, including statues, triumphal arches, inscriptions, great public buildings and their own tombs. It was the duty of subsequent generations to honour and maintain these, as it was their duty to honour the gods.

In Greek art, the principle of imitation generally prevailed, and there was a strong concern for repair and restoration of old statues and temples. The intermixing of religion and secular life bolstered the ruling order, which invariably claimed the sanction of the gods, through founding myths or the claim of monarchies that their leaders were semi-divine themselves. In Greece, the word for the public built evocation of religious respect was *mnema* or *mnemeton* – literally, a spur to memory. In the built environment, this represented an ethical codification of the universal principle of respect and reappropriation of sacred sites. Destruction of temples was universally seen as a violation of morality. But the same could apply to secular monuments too. For example, in the 4th century BC, when Alexander the Great overthrew the Achaemenid Persian empire, he showed careful respect to the tomb of Cyrus the Great, 6th-century BC founder of the Persian empire. Shocked that it had been plundered by robbers, he had it repaired and had Cyrus's memorial inscription reproduced in Greek.[4] Destruction of temples, a much greater sacrilege, could be commemorated through leaving 'intentional ruins'. Following the second Persian invasion of Greece in 480–79 BC, an inscription at Plataea recorded that 'I will not rebuild any of the temples that have been burnt and destroyed by the barbarians, but I will let them be left as a memorial to those who come after, of the sacrilege of the barbarians'. And indeed, very few temples were built in Greece in the 30 years after the Persian War.[5]

Classical antiquity also saw the first restorations, not only of buildings but also of paintings and sculpture – for example, of the Parthenon in 398 BC after the Peloponnesian War. But by the Hellenistic period and later antiquity, sites such as the Athenian Agora, and the Delos and Olympia complexes had become vast open-air museums. In the description of Greece by Pausanias, a traveller of the 2nd century AD, renowned ancient monuments were recorded as still in use, often through like-for-like replacement of decayed elements – as with the wooden columns of the 500-year-old Temple of Hera at Olympia. The Temple of Zeus in that complex, originally built in *c.*470–50 BC, was repeatedly rebuilt in the following centuries, until finally the statue of Zeus was removed by a private collector to Constantinople in the 5th century AD. Plutarch, writing around AD 75, related the story of the boat of Theseus, allegedly preserved by the Athenians until 310 BC by successive replacement of rotted planks: contemporaries had speculated whether the resulting object was the 'real' boat or not. The first secular relics were bound up with religious sites: Vitruvius recorded that 'in Athens, there is on the Areopagus an example of ancient building roofed with clay to this day'.[6]

Figure 1.2 The Temple of Hera at Olympia, following the German excavations and reconstructions of the late 19th and early 20th centuries (1975 view)

Pietas and polytheistic heritage in classical Rome

As in other fields, the Romans vastly elaborated these Greek themes. Rome's relationship with Greece, however, was quite different from that of modern civilisation to classical antiquity. Certainly, Rome embraced not only Greek classical architecture but also Greek art-collecting. This had begun in the Hellenistic period with the Attalids and Pergamon, and influential Romans followed suit: beginning with the destruction of Corinth in 146 BC and culminating in the systematic plunder by the dictator Sulla (from 82 BC) and the corrupt governor Verres, a tradition became established of the accumulation of private collections of looted Greek art. Equally, Greek civilisation was seen as a model, to be admired and protected: under the rule of Augustus, the Athenian Agora was augmented by a 5th-century-BC Temple of Ares, relocated from Acharnai, and the Hellenophile, 2nd-century-AD emperor Hadrian collected Greek art on a vast scale, especially in his Tivoli villa complex, and helped to preserve Greek cities themselves.[7]

But there was no sense of separation from Greece: its monuments were not seen as 'historic'. Rome's attitude to Greek religion was one of unstructured continuity; building on the same pantheon, they recognised a similar duty of self-interested respect to the world of the sacred, including gods and ancestors, a duty for which the Latin word was *pietas*. This meant something very different to its modern derivative, piety. The Latin equivalent of *mnemeton*, *monumentum*, carried the added overtone of warning, from *monere*, to warn. In the Roman world, a monument was a physical focus of *pietas*. The scope of the term was surprisingly wide, including not just statues or individual buildings but also 'cultural property' in almost a modern sense, including even entire

towns. Monumentality in imperial Rome implied not only durable and imposing structures capable of evoking the past, but also a degree of sumptuousness that would perpetuate the fame of the patron and help uphold wider social norms and power structures.[8]

In Rome, with its driving sense of imperial mission, the public demands of *pietas* also encompassed the glorification of the city's power and history, and of its '*dignitas*' in general. The power of the empire and the emperors was bound up with the gods and their temples. The goddess Vesta in Rome was the goddess of hearth and home *and* the protector of the Roman nation. From the founding of the principate (imperial system) by Augustus at the end of the first century BC, there was an increasing shift towards an explicitly historical and secular approach to *pietas*, including ideas of continuity between past and future.

This was most explicitly articulated in literature, in the *Aeneid*, the epic written by the poet Virgil to exalt Rome's destiny. Here, symbolic objects, and the *pietas* of the poem's hero, are shown as bound up with the historicised future of the city, and the epic literary heritage of Greece and Homer is appropriated for the Roman cause. In Book 8, echoing the *Iliad*, Aeneas' mother, the goddess Venus, gives him a special shield on which Vulcan had 'wrought the story of Italy and the triumphs of Rome', including, of course, those of Augustus; Aeneas looked in wonder at these scenes and then 'lifted on to his shoulder the glory and destiny of his heirs' (*atollens umero famamque et fata nepotum*). Earlier, in Book 6, he had witnessed in the underworld Rome's unborn heroes, 'souls of renown now awaiting life, who shall succeed to our name' and build great cities 'which are now nameless places, but whose names shall be famous one day'.[9] Although expressed in the semi-religious language of classical mythology and epic poetry, the *Aeneid* was actually a secular manifesto in all but name. We should remember its language of destiny, and of the conscious interrelationship

Figure 1.3 Public *pietas* in Augustan Rome

(a) The Ara Pacis, a monument to the peace secured by Augustus's victories, was consecrated in 9 BC by the Senate. It was gradually recovered and excavated and, under fascism, incorporated in a purpose-designed pavilion by Vittorio Morpurgo (1938). This detail of the Ara Pacis shows Aeneas sacrificing after his arrival in Italy to the household gods rescued from Troy; (b) 'Virgil reading to Emperor Augustus': detail of 1642 fresco by Pietro da Cortona in the Palazzo Pitti, Florence

of past and future, when tracing the dynamic ideologies of more recent centuries – including the Conservation Movement.

Rome's own fabric, although looked on with reverence, was highly unstructured in character. There was no concept of public land to allow concerted urban planning. Unlike the rigid Roman grid plan of smaller provincial cities and military settlements, or the memorable 'iconic' structures that dominated some smaller centres, such as Alexandria or Athens, within the *caput mundi* itself monumental, processional splendour was informally jumbled together with private squalor. The city's rich complexity was encapsulated in every fragment, but, by the 4th century AD, it was considered sacred as a whole, and visitors tended to follow standard itineraries, beginning at the Palatine and proceeding to the Forum complexes. That veneration of cities as organic amalgams of public and private applied throughout the empire: Plutarch argued that 'A city, like a living thing, is a united and continuous whole. It does not cease to be itself as it changes in growing older, nor does it become one thing after another . . . but is always at one with its former self in feeling and identity'.[10]

Within this framework (misleadingly resembling 20th-century conservation's rhetoric of the informal, 'living' town), the individual elements of the urban fabric were of lesser importance, especially given the frequent fires and destructions that afflicted public and domestic buildings during peacetime: Pompeii was only the most dramatic example of this. The built substance of the shrines around Rome's Forum was frequently renewed, as Augustus boasted in his *Res Gestae*; in turn, Septimius Severus restored the Portico of Octavian in 203, and in 203 and 250 the upper storeys of the Colosseum. During the empire, formal provisions for protection of the built fabric of Rome and other urban centres coalesced. Hadrian's principate saw a 'code of private building', prescribing stringent penalties for sale of private houses for demolition; similar penalties for demolition were recorded earlier in Herculaneum.[11] The ahistoric character of *pietas* meant that repairs and alterations to older buildings, however respectful, were not invested with any kind of sense of historical rigour or legibility, as modern conservation ethics demands: for example, when Hadrian built the Pantheon in the 2nd century AD, he crowned it with an inscription referring to the predecessor building on the site, built by Augustus's general, Agrippa.

The extreme mutability of symbolically venerated built fabric in Rome was highlighted in the fate of one idiosyncratic group of structures on the Palatine Hill, residence of Augustus and his successors. This group embodied both humble-family and grand-national *pietas*, and they were preserved not for their grandeur but as exemplars of spartan modesty – a cherished element of Roman traditional morality. By the late Republic, the focus of the group was a circular, thatch-roofed structure, which supposedly represented the hut of Faustulus, foster-father of Romulus and Remus. In its form, the hut resembled the small circular buildings used to house funerary urns during the first millennium BC in central Italy; it was constantly hailed by moralists as an example of the humble origins of Rome's glory. However, its substance was several times renewed following fire – first in 38 BC during a ritual, when burning altar sacrifices landed on its roof, and then again in 12 BC. In each case, the hut was 'restored' again at once and, throughout the early Christian era, it survived in good repair. Also on the Palatine, Augustus's own ostentatiously modest home was preserved alongside the palaces of later emperors. On the Capitoline Hill, a further thatched 'hut of Romulus' was preserved, to remind citizens (in Vitruvius's words) of 'the ancient ways and their memory'.[12] Although these structures seemed to prefigure the modern age's preserved 'houses of great men' in their mixture of humble-family and grand-national 'memory', they were still rooted in the religio-secular world of *pietas*.

Decay, recycling and *spolia* in early Christian Rome

BEGINNING with the emperor Constantine in the 4th century AD, a shift began in the interwoven relationship of old and new in Rome. Grand buildings were no longer constructed out of fresh materials, but made out of stone procured by demolishing older structures – a predatory relationship that would continue, in various forms, down the centuries to the present. People were in two minds about this process, condemning it in others if it went too far or too fast, while often practising it themselves. As early as the 1st century BC, Augustus initiated one of the first systematic campaigns of 'international monument plunder', following his annexation of Egypt, when he ordered the transporting of several obelisks to Italy (in 13–10 BC), at massive cost and effort.[13] From the reign of Constantine onwards, it became perfectly respectable to display parts of venerated older buildings as '*spolia*' on new buildings: *pietas* was compatible with cannibalising other buildings for approved ideological purposes. The Arch of Constantine (AD 315) has columns and part of an entablature from an Antonine building, and reliefs and statues from Trajanic, Hadrianic and Antonine monuments, all built by 'good' emperors. These *spolia* were freely doctored where required: for example, by removing a head of Hadrian from a relief, and substituting one of Constantine. Following damage or fire, surviving elements were reassembled at will, or incorporated into successor buildings – as with the Temple of Saturn in Rome, after a fire in the 5th century AD.[14]

Away from the capital, the fate of public buildings was a more haphazard affair. Within Italy, even small towns were normally equipped with a standard collection of public buildings, including town walls, paved streets, baths, temples, forum buildings and statues. For these, though, there was no systematic provision of maintenance, leading to cycles of neglect followed by major civic repairs to structures that were recorded as 'collapsed from age' or 'derelict from long neglect': especially vulnerable were fragile structures such as aqueducts.[15] By the 2nd century AD, a law of Antoninus Pius exhorted repair rather than unnecessary new building – a preference which would be repeatedly echoed in later centuries.

From the 4th century AD, the monumental legacy of past Roman glory was ever more disrupted by the irresistible forces of imperial disintegration and monotheistic religion, rising to a climax in the rule of Constantine. He decided in 330 to move the capital to the renamed Constantinople – a move followed by the usual mass migration of works of art from across the empire to the new capital. The secular pride in Rome, the Universal City, continued, and Christianity strove to appropriate it. But with most temples rendered redundant, the old supporting networks of public shrines and household altars began decaying away.

Christian theologians, whose own discourse and sacred book were also arranged in strongly narrative form, wrestled with the problem of human history. In the early 5th century, St Augustine argued that time was continuous and irreversible, stretching from the creation to the present, and in the 19th century, John Henry Newman would argue that 'in a higher world it is otherwise, but here below to live is to change, and to be perfect is to have changed often'.[16] But there was a profound ambivalence: history, or *tempus*, time, was a reality, but negative and transitory, a litany of trials: Christians, looking towards God's glory and the end of the world at any time, had no real need of history. In terms of secular conceptions of the monument, Christianity was a step back by comparison with the *Aeneid* and the Age of Augustus. The practical effects of this on the integrated public-private infrastructure ethos of *pietas* were very destructive. This seemed puzzling to Christian Rome, which had appropriated the imperial chosen-city rhetoric, but now faced the fact that it was

(a)

(b)

(c)

(d)

actually declining under Christianity where it had flourished under the 'pagans'. In the long run, however, the crusading passion of monotheistic religion would enhance the force of all 'missionary' secular movements – including modern conservation.[17]

Within a monotheistic system, inanimate objects lost much of their potential aura of sacredness – although ordinary objects could still be invested with a symbolic charge: in the Book of Exodus, an ordinary object – manna – symbolised the continuity of 'chosen' status. Within Judaism, the sharp polarisation between oppressive everyday reality and heavenly promise had assigned a metaphoric role to architecture: 'Let us build a city and tower that reaches to the heavens, to make a name for ourselves.' This language was reinforced by Christianity. Rather than the literal Rome, the *caput mundi*, now the aspiration was the heavenly city: 'the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God'. And buildings' ruination and decay could be seen as a metaphor for the transience of human existence and mortal pride.[18]

Two tendencies now began running in parallel, and at an ever increasing pace and scale: attempts to stave off the decline and disintegration of old structures, and construction of new buildings using materials from old. This interplay between protection and active destruction would continue into the modern age, mutating eventually into the 19th and 20th centuries' combination of mass preservation and destruction.

In the matter of simple decay and destruction, one particular building type, the temple, experienced particularly precarious fortunes in later imperial Rome. The classical gods were officially banned, and labelled 'pagan', in 341.[19] At that point, in a harbinger of later 'reformations', the temples were simply closed, but remained state property. As with the later mass redundancy of Catholic religious buildings following the Reformation, the question of what to do with them was far from straightforward. They could not be converted wholesale to churches: their grand scale and orientation towards external processions and display of statuary made them unsuited to the more private, introverted character of Christian worship. Likewise, with the decline of public *pietas* and the emergence of church art, the collecting of works of art went into decline: some statues were removed from temples and put on public display.

In the late 4th century, the emperors Julian the Apostate and Symmachus briefly revived tolerance towards the older religion; in most of Italy, from the 380s, temples were allowed to rot slowly. But this was followed by a fresh burst of Christian zeal; in 399 Arcadius and Honorius demanded fresh efforts to root out 'idols' and sacrificial altars, while stressing that the buildings themselves must 'remain unimpaired', becoming public property and transferred to other uses where possible. Elsewhere in the empire, 'pagan' remains from other civilisations suffered similarly: in Egypt, the replacement of the pharaonic religion by Christianity, and later Islam, led to systematic recycling of tomb and monument structures, to remove all traces of the former cults. Some were converted to hermitages, houses or churches; others were dismantled for building materials. As a result, the religious complexes of northern Egypt largely disappeared. In other provinces, overrun by 'barbarians' with no concept of *pietas*, the built fabric was simply abandoned, as with the towns of Roman Britain.[20]

facing page

Figure 1.4 Reuse of classical monuments in Rome

(a) The Arch of Constantine (AD 315), faced with sculptural *spolia* from Trajanic, Hadrianic and Antonine monuments; (b) The church of SS. Cosmas and Damian (converted AD 526–30); (c) The Pantheon (2nd century AD; converted into a church after 608); (d) The church of S. Lorenzo in Miranda (built in the 8th century AD inside the cella of the temple of Antoninus and Faustina)

During the early empire, the gradual appropriation process continued the long-standing practice of recycling building materials and *spolia.* Within 40 years of the removal of the capital to Constantinople, decrees were issued forbidding the construction of new buildings in the 'Eternal City of Rome' out of old materials. Much of this destruction was clearly being carried out by public officials. In 376, the emperors Valentinian, Gratian and Valens forbade public magistrates to

> undertake any new structure in the renowned City of Rome [rather than] improving the old. If any person should wish to undertake any new building in the city, he must complete it with his own money and labour, without quarrying out of old buildings, digging up the foundations of noble buildings, obtaining renovated stones from the public, or tearing away pieces of marble by the mutilation of despoiled buildings.[21]

A series of similar laws followed, usually forbidding despoliation of old buildings for new or appropriation of monumental spaces by private residences, and stipulating removal of shoddy private infill structures from grand public buildings – a plague that equally affected the new capital of Constantinople. To combat decay, building maintenance in Rome was stepped up, under the control of the urban prefect. There were also sporadic efforts at repair outside Rome, for example of the baths at Antium (Arezzo) in 379–82. But, by the 5th century, several massive church-building projects were underway – the Basilicas of St John Lateran and St Peter – requiring large quantities of antique materials: both incorporated over 100 reused columns, not counting courtyards (for comparison, one of the largest of the old temples, that of Venus and Rome, only had 58 peristyle columns). From the 5th century, Rome was above all famed as the seat of the see of St Peter, with pilgrims flocking to the sites of 'martyrdom'.[22]

The following century, following the Visigothic sack of 410, the pace of destruction in Rome accelerated considerably, and a law of the emperors Leo and Maiorian of 458, issued in Ravenna, forbade plundering of stone and bricks from old buildings, arguing that, 'in order that something small may be repaired, great things are being destroyed'.[23] After the fall of the western empire, a determined effort to stem the tide of decay was made by the Ostrogoth king, Theodoric (493–526), whose outlook was shaped less by Christianity than by his classical education in Constantinople. However, he venerated Rome chiefly for its past glory, rather than as a living organism, arguing that

> these excellent buildings are my delight, the noble image of the empire's power and the witnesses of its grandeur and its glory. It is my wish that you shall preserve in its original splendour all that is excellent, and that whatever you may add will conform to it in style.[24]

In 500, Theodoric appointed an *architectus publicorum* and *curator statuarum* and began patching up major monuments such as the Colosseum and Theatre of Pompeius; statues were moved from outlying temples to the Forum to protect them from theft. Theodoric's chief minister, Cassiodorus, records a special concern for commemorative monuments and inscriptions: 'the forest of walls and the population of statues which make up Rome' were under constant threat from evil-doers, despite penalties rather more severe than those of modern conservation laws: 'Rightly does the public grief punish those who mar the beauty of the ancients with amputation of limbs, inflicting on them that which they have made our monuments to suffer.' At night, when the possibilities of theft were most

tempting, the statues gave forth a tell-tale 'ringing sound . . . under the blows of the thief'. Increasingly, permission was granted for disused porticoes in the Forum to be converted into private houses, or churches: in 526–30, Pope Felix IV converted a public building on the north of the Forum into the church of SS. Cosmas and Damian, adding an elaborate new Christian mosaic. But any care and protection was always precarious: by 536, during a fresh sack of Rome by Goths, the city's defenders were reduced to pelting the attackers with Greek statues from the top of the Mausoleum of Hadrian.[25]

The dispersal of 'monumental Rome'

By the 7th and 8th centuries, the general replacement of the Roman empire by the spiritual empire of 'Christendom' (or Islam) had stimulated a growing stress on local diversity, in the burgeoning national monarchies. Alongside the political successor empires (Byzantine, Holy Roman), Christendom appropriated the Roman empire's sense of destiny and heritage, beginning to cast Rome itself as a seductive lost vision that could inspire attempts at revival, or 'renaissance'. During the period of Byzantine control after the fall of the Ostrogothic kingdom, a degree of public control survived, with attitudes to historic fabric wildly fluctuating between care and plunder. In Rome, when Pope Boniface IV (608–15) proposed to convert the Pantheon into a church, he had to petition the emperor Phocas for permission; but in 663/4, a personal visit by the emperor Constans II resulted in the pillaging of all bronze roofing from city monuments, including the Pantheon. After the 7th century, control of Rome's ruinous public buildings passed decisively to the popes. Building resources were diverted from traditional secular patronage to the construction of churches, especially in Rome, Milan and Ravenna, while security worries encouraged systematic adaptation of Roman town walls.[26]

Between the 8th and 12th centuries, the antique seemed both impenetrable and near at hand. With the lack of any systematic concept of historical age, sections of ancient Roman buildings were gradually incorporated into churches in Rome or exported throughout Italy and beyond; in the beginnings of 'archaeology', Christian *loca sancta* ('holy places' connected with saints) were often excavated. Antique building fragments could be very valuable: in 821, for instance, Aripert, rector of San Donato in Lucca, exchanged four stone columns for a piece of land. For much of the Middle Ages, Rome was basically a huge quarry of raw material, its population ebbing away. By the mid-8th-century visit of the unknown Swiss monk who compiled the *Einsiedeln Itinerarium* – the first 'guide' to the city – the Forum was largely a field of ruins. The few major surviving buildings were concentrated around the steps of the Capitol: the Arch of Septimius Severus, the temples of Concord and Vespasian. Others had disappeared or become churches; in 625–38 the Curia Iulia (Julian Senate House), repaired by Diocletian following a fire in 283, became the church of S. Adriano: this was probably a *pietas*-driven act of conservation, safeguarding the core building of Roman government. In the 8th century, the church of S. Lorenzo in Miranda was built inside the cella of the temple of Antoninus and Faustina in the Roman Forum. Other monuments had been encased in fortified complexes, such as the Arch of Titus, incorporated in the castle of the Frangipane barons, or Hadrian's Mausoleum, which was fortified from the mid-6th century by the Byzantines and the Goths and then, from the 9th century, used as a redoubt by the popes in opposition to the city. By 1000, only 25 per cent of the area of the ancient city was still inhabited.[27]

(a)

(b)

Frequently, classical architectural *spolia* were reused in new buildings, although this was seen as a slightly inferior solution to newly cut masonry. Theodoric's new palace in Ravenna comprised a mixture of newly carved marble and *spolia* from Rome; Charlemagne's new palace chapel at Aachen (*c.*AD 800), with its resemblance to Theodoric's church of San Vitale in Ravenna, was internally lined with columns, mosaics and marble slabs from Rome and Ravenna, as local stone was not available. In a series of 8th- and 9th-century churches in Rome and elsewhere in Italy, *spolia* predominated in the building materials. One of Charlemagne's scholars, Alcuin, bemoaned that Rome was 'now a pitiful ruin, the wreck of its glory of old'. And the Byzantine emperor Justinian's grand new church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople (532–7) was adorned with lavish *spolia* from across the eastern empire – although, subsequently, this showpiece was repeatedly wrecked by earthquakes and fires.[28]

Outside Rome, the substance of towns gradually mutated through decay or adaptation. In Verona, a description of *c.*800 and a 10th-century drawing indicated the great amphitheatre still intact. In Spoleto, the amphitheatre was converted into a fortress by the Goths during their mid-6th-century war with the Byzantines, while, in Arles, the amphitheatre was infilled with a huddle of later dwellings. In 7th-century Syracuse, the Doric columns of the 5th-century-BC Temple of Athena were encased in a new cathedral (whose present Baroque facade dates from 1725–53). Especially persistent were the orthogonal town plans of the Roman provincial settlements, in places such as Pavia, Florence and Verona, through public control of the alignments of the *via publica*, even as the magnificent Roman paving was allowed to decay. Two-thirds of the Augustan towns of Italy survived late antiquity and the early Middle Ages in some form. However, there were still acts of systematic destruction, as when Pope Boniface VIII in 1298 ordered the destruction of the classical complex of Palestrina, near Rome.[29]

In Greece, as with Rome under Theodoric, the Byzantine period saw determined attempts to revive the past glories of classical Athens in Christianised form, including conversion of the Parthenon into a church (later, cathedral) and centre of pilgrimage. Restored following severe damage in AD 267 and 396 (when it was sacked by the Goths), the Parthenon reached the apogee of its Christian fortunes in the 12th century, with an interior richly glowing with mosaics. After the conquest of Athens (and Constantinople) by Crusaders in 1204, the exiled bishop Michael Choniates bemoaned the despoliation of 'the holy Acropolis of Athens . . . and the most holy Parthenon of the Mother of God upon it, which has now become a den of thieves'. Subsequently, under Ottoman rule, the building underwent an extended period as a mosque prior to its destruction by the Venetians in the late 17th century and its post-1800 elevation into an object of international secular veneration.[30]

Outside the Mediterranean core of the empire, the old universal narrative of classical Rome faded from view, and the concept of *monumentum* narrowed again to a restricted definition of inscriptions and statues. The principle of *pars pro toto* became very important, with relics and fragments symbolising continuity in tradition. In Charlemagne's Aachen chapel of *c.*AD 800, the royal precedent of Theodoric was evoked by incorporating antique columns from Ravenna. Conversely, the early-11th-century St Michael, Hildesheim, incorporated small relics set into the capitals of new columns – the objects being far 'holier' than any entire old building could be.[31]

facing page

Figure 1.5 Decline and fall

(a), (b) Reconstruction views of the Forum of Nerva, Rome, when newly completed, *c.*AD 100, and during the early Middle Ages

Figure 1.6 Hagia Sophia, Constantinople: 1984 interior view

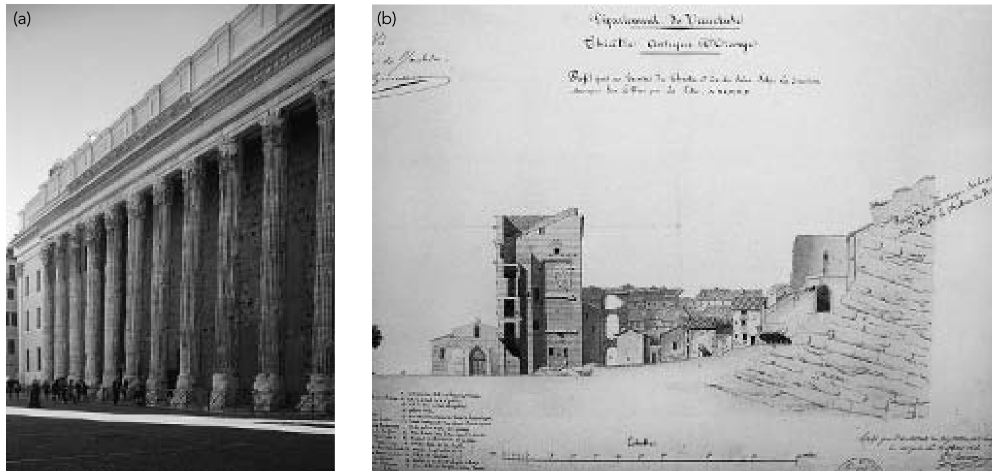


Figure 1.7 The embedding of classical remains

(a) Colonnade of the Temple of Hadrian, built in AD 145 by Antoninus Pius, incorporated in Carlo Fontana's late-17th-century Borsa Valori di Roma (Stock Exchange); (b) 19th-century cross-section of the Roman Theatre at Orange, France (built in the 1st century AD and closed in 391), showing medieval infilling with houses. The theatre was steadily restored during the 19th century, beginning in 1825 at the instigation of Prosper Mérimée; a 'Roman Festival' was inaugurated in 1869, and the tiered seating was installed by the end of century

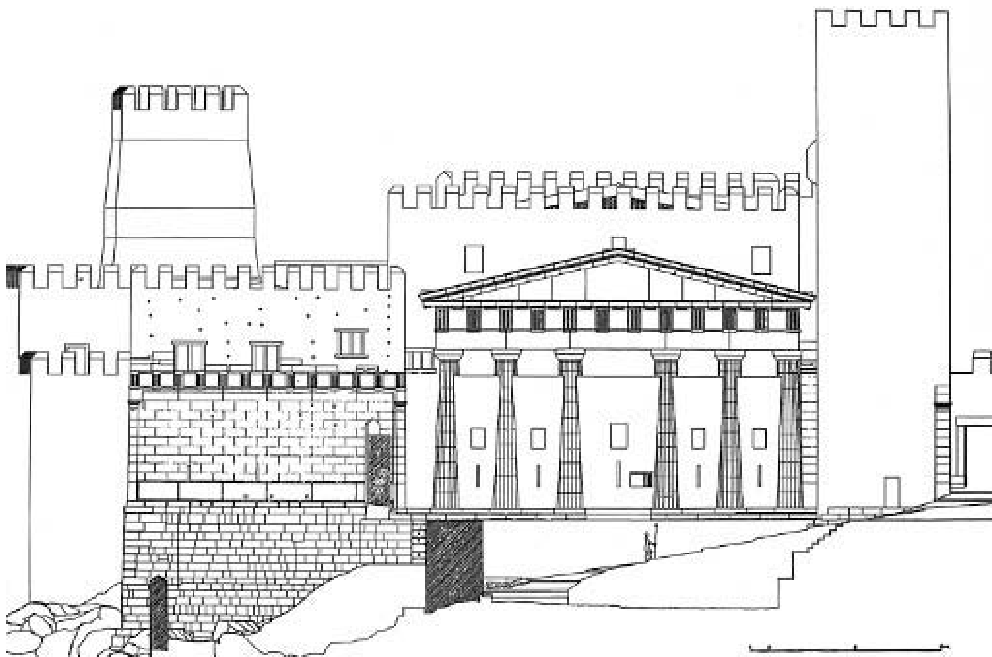


Figure 1.8 Reconstruction elevation of the Propylaea of the Athenian Acropolis as at *c.*1450

Figure 1.9 Aachen Cathedral

(a) External view, showing the Chapel of c.AD 800 at the centre; (b) Interior of the Chapel (taken c. 1900), showing reused antique columns from Ravenna

By the 10th century, Rome's remaining cultural prestige was sustained through the power of the papacy. Every emperor of the German Holy Roman Empire from Otto I in AD 962 to Karl IV in 1355 had to make the long journey south to be crowned by the Pope, and even after the worst-ever sack of Rome in 1084 by the Normans, it remained the destination for large numbers of pilgrims and other visitors. For their benefit, the surviving columns of Marcus Aurelius and Trajan were repaired in the early and mid-12th century; and the *Mirabilia Urbis Romae* – a 'guidebook' based on the Einsiedeln Itinerary – was produced.[32]

The Middle Ages: local narratives of care and conservation

During the early Christian centuries, Christianity's spread to outlying parts of Europe was generally respectful of local cultural traditions. In 601, Gregory the Great instructed St Augustine's mission to convert the Anglo-Saxons that they should avoid destroying shrines except where they were actively anti-Christian. Just as in the prehistoric era, with its repeated appropriations of older sites, there were many instances of churches being built at holy wells, stone circles or sacred hills, or of standing stones being converted to crosses: the Pictish standing stone tradition, for instance, was respectfully Christianised with cross motifs. But there are also reports in Bede of shrines being destroyed. There was also, throughout the Middle Ages, a trend to reuse earlier Christian holy sites, as well as the cult of saints' relics – as with the preservation for a time of the stake on which St Cuthbert used to tie himself up and pray in the sea at Inner Farne, north-east England. The concept of national heritage was only at an embryonic stage: Geoffrey of Monmouth's 12th-century *History of the Kings of Britain* claimed Stonehenge had been magically brought from Ireland in 483 by the wizard Merlin. But the pattern of local initiatives of care and reuse of ancient structures had been decisively set.[33]

In medieval Italy, the processes of appropriation and adaptation were more complex – as epitomised in the case of Syracuse Cathedral. Many churches comprised successive layers of *spolia*,

used to add antique authority. For example, in the 12th-century Santa Maria in Trastevere, the nave arcade incorporates materials from the Baths of Caracalla. Individual works of public art often underwent complicated sequences of ownership: the 'Horses of San Marco', originally Roman 2nd- and 3rd-century (AD) statues, passed to Constantinople in the 4th century, Venice in the 13th and, briefly, later in the 19th century to the Arc du Carousel in Paris, before their eventual 'return' to Venice.[34]

Medieval Italian towns presented a radically different image from those of classical antiquity: Rome, Florence and others were dominated by forests of fortified noblemen's towers. With its perpetuation of a strong tradition of civic life, it is unsurprising that 13th-century Italy saw the first attempts at civic control of the built heritage. In San Gimignano a 1282 law made it illegal to demolish anything, except as part of an enhancement scheme. In Siena, 1295 saw a pioneering urban planning measure, regulating shape of windows and distance between buildings. The concept that a city's political strength was tied to its physical condition, originating in the early 14th century if not before, was expressed in Ambrogio Lorenzetti's 1338–40 'Allegory of Good and Bad Government' murals in the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena, with declining morals symbolised by dilapidated buildings.[35]

Figure 1.10 The nave arcade of the 12th-century St Maria Trastevere, Rome, showing *spolia* from the Baths of Caracalla

With the fading in power of the Roman centre and growth in national and local diversity in the Middle Ages, local narratives of care and conservation emerged and became more prominent. Owing to the difficulty of travel, contemporary medieval architecture, with its local variations and rapid fluctuations in styles, was often mistakenly seen by contemporaries as offering an accurate reflection of the Christian heritage of Rome or Jerusalem. From Abelard onwards, the Temple of Solomon was an ever-recurring ideal image, even in its proportions. But these constant changes and variations in the styles of medieval architecture – so different from the essentially unitary tradition of classical antiquity – posed designers new problems in reconciling the styles of new and old work, completing unfinished structures, or putting right damage or destruction.[36] These problems of reconciling new and old, and the diversity of architectural responses, have continued ever since. We should not, however, anachronistically project modern culture's sharply defined historical awareness onto the medieval world, where the old-new relationship was very imprecise – not least because the most monumental structures of the Middle Ages were only achieved through building programmes protracted over centuries, with little or no concept or expectation of a unified design. Eventually, Renaissance figures such as Alberti would turn that system upside down.

Within 'completion' schemes, some designers did straightforwardly use the style of their day, disregarding the existing buildings. For example in England, at Bolton Abbey, in 1520, a tower in the latest Perpendicular style was planted by Prior Richard Moon in front of the 13th-century Early Pointed nave: his scheme was abandoned uncompleted in 1539 at the Dissolution of the Monasteries. A frequent medieval pattern was the fusion of a later church in a new style, with an older tower. In the Champagne church of Notre-Dame de Donnemarie-en-Montois, a tall 12th-century tower was embedded in an early-13th-century church in the modish style of Reims Cathedral. Likewise, in the 14th century, Abbe Suger demolished part of the abbey of St Denis as part of his building scheme.[37]

In other cases, old styles were perpetuated for ideological reasons that can only be conjectured. In 1377, Henry Yevele rebuilt the nave of Canterbury Cathedral in the latest Perpendicular style, whereas in 1387–1400, continuing works by John Palterton commissioned in 1375–6 by Abbot Litlyngton to complete the 13th-century nave of Westminster Abbey, he copied the by-then-unfashionable style of Henry III's church. Some extension works evoked a more archaic period of architecture, such as the Romanesque: for example, in the 14th-century crossing arcade of Bamberg's Carmelite Abbey, or the south tower of Xanten Cathedral, or the much later (16th-century) additions to the Vienna Stephansdom, and a number of buildings in the Augsburg/Regensburg area. In 15th-century Scotland, at Dunfermline Abbey, upgrading of the nave combined contemporary late Gothic with a 'neo-Romanesque' matching the older parts of the building. Perhaps the neo-Romanesque of later medieval Scotland was a reaction to the 'Perpendicular' fashion of contemporary England – but there was not yet, in the late Middle Ages, anything resembling modern nationalism. Nor was there any question of specific ideas of historical authenticity, although, in the frequent efforts at reconstruction or restitution of damage, there was certainly some inchoate awareness of historical context.[38]

What is difficult for us, today, is to differentiate between practical conservatism and ideologically charged love of the past, given the diversity of individual approaches and lack of documentary evidence. During the Middle Ages, there are plenty of examples of what at first glance seem to be conservative repairs. For example, in a Byzantine church just outside Constantinople, damaged in an earthquake in 869, which the Emperor Basil wanted to completely replace, he was dissuaded and restored only the parts which had fallen down – such as the dome. Later, when the choir at Canterbury Cathedral was rebuilt after a fire in 1174, there were attempts to salvage the

Figure 1.11 Westminster Abbey's 13th-century nave, extended 'in keeping' from 1375 (by masons John Palterton and Henry Yevele) and western towers (completed in 1735–45 to designs by Thomas Hawksmoor)

remnants of the Romanesque 'Conrad's Choir': William of Sens was engaged to do the job, as he claimed he would retain much of the fabric. In the event, he failed to do so, causing consternation when the scaffolding came down.[39]

In Germany, two post-fire rebuilding schemes of *c.*1200 were both seemingly shaped by symbolic considerations, with strongly contrasting built outcomes. In Bamberg, a fire of 1185 gutted the cathedral, built in 1012 by Heinrich II (who was buried there). Following protracted debates about replacement, eventually it was decided to replace the ruins with an entirely new structure, evoking the old plan-form, with both an east and a west choir, and incorporating saints' relics: heated debate within the chapter about whether the new roof should be flat (like the old cathedral) or stone vaulted (in the contemporary fashion) was resolved in favour of the latter, 'modernising' option. At Magdeburg, by contrast, a 1207 fire, which destroyed Otto the Great's 10th-century cathedral, with its *spolia* columns from Ravenna, was followed by a rebuilding scheme that physically incorporated surviving antique columns in the apse, but within a completely new, Gothic design and layout. Both extremes showed respect for the past, but within a *pars pro toto* approach not requiring preservation or restoration of old buildings. As earlier at Aachen and Hildesheim, either the incorporation of small fragments in new fabric, or generalised evocation, was enough.[40]

The tension between conservatism and 'modernity' in rebuilding projects continued into the later Middle Ages. At Reims, the 15th century saw completion of the west towers in a style matching

Figure 1.12 The many restorations of Bamberg Cathedral

(a) Exterior view of the cathedral as rebuilt following the 1185 fire; (b) Present-day interior view, 2010, showing the outcome of a succession of 19th-century 'purifying' restorations (by F K Rupprecht, 1828–31, K A von Heideloff, 1831–4 and Friedrich von Gärtner, 1834–7) which first banished 17th-century Baroque decorations and then vied with each others' interpretations of authenticity

the *c.*1250 body of the cathedral, and a major repair scheme to the arcading around the base of the roof, conforming in general massing to the original, but with late medieval detailing. Several other French cathedrals, such as St Quentin, Evreux and Auxerre, also underwent late medieval restorations that balanced conformity and innovation. At the abbey church of St Pierre de Corbie in Picardy, demolition of an old Romanesque church in 1502 was followed by an extraordinarily protracted replacement project, beginning with a 'contemporary' late Gothic choir and crossing and only completed with a neo-Gothic nave and towered west facade (in the general style of Notre-Dame de Paris) in the 18th and 19th centuries. In detail, too, care was often taken to respect existing fabric: an early-15th-century repair of the 12th/13th-century stained glass of Chartres Cathedral attempted to repair damaged sections in a '13th-century' style.[41] We will see in Chapter 2 how the challenges of reconstruction became more urgent from the 16th and 17th centuries, with widespread war damage to architecturally significant monuments – beginning with the Huguenot wars of 1562–89, when dozens of cathedrals and hundreds of abbeys and parish churches were destroyed. Indeed, the interrelationship of conservation and mass warfare is one of the most enduring themes of our story, forming one of the chief stimuli for the emergence of the modern Conservation Movement.

The Renaissance: antiquity as a 'mirror of modernity'

THE late Middle Ages saw a burgeoning diversity of built solutions to the challenge of care and reuse of old buildings, following the break-up of antiquity. But we need now to return again to the 'centre', where a momentous cultural movement was brewing, that would take the narrative of

conservation a stage further forward, by setting up a more deliberate, intellectualised tension between 'local' and 'universal', that would continue through to the present and shape the development of the modern Conservation Movement from the late 18th century.

Within Italy, the severance of the awareness of a unitary classical civilisation was almost complete by the 12th and 13th centuries. The 12th-century *Mirabilia Urbis Romae* described imperial monuments as if they were the magical remains of a distant age, with classical and Christian martyrdom associations freely mixed together. Now, the way was clear for a more calculated, distanced 'revival' of classical antiquity. Partly, the stage was set in 1420 by Martin V's return to Rome after the papacy's prolonged exile in Avignon: the city's population duly recovered from 17,000 in 1400 to 110,000 in 1600. Other Italian cities, such as Florence, would also play a key role in the Renaissance: an essential element was, indeed, a competitive sense of civic pride, as organisations and individuals throughout Italy built proud monuments and palaces to express and extend their influence.[42]

Within this new world-outlook, monuments of antiquity could begin to play the role of a consciously defined, reflexive mirror of modernity, a role that has continued in differing forms to today. Thinkers like Francesco Petrarch (1304–74) were beginning to argue that secular history had its own autonomous validity, as distinct from universal, salvation-oriented religious history, and that it had its own internal narrative of evolution and change, focused on the three eras of the ancient, middle and modern ages. Petrarch played a key role in reviving respect for Rome as a centre of cultural and political life: the 1340s saw a short-lived movement for restoration of a Roman 'republic' in opposition to the nobility, led by Petrarch's friend and fellow-admirer of antiquity, Cola di Rienzo.[43]

On his first visit to decayed Rome in 1337, Petrarch was moved to tears. A new, intense regret at the '*deploratio urbis*' (ruination of the city) began to establish itself; something detached from the ahistorical antique idea of *pietas*, and which pointed forward to the Romantic Movement of the 18th century. In an almost proto-Romantic gesture, in 1341 Petrarch was presented with a laurel wreath on the Capitoline Hill. During the 1340s, Cola di Rienzo began systematically recording the city's classical monuments on a plan, collecting and deciphering inscriptions; and in 1375 Giovanni Dondi, humanist and friend of Petrarch, was also busy measuring antique remains. After 1500, there was a fashion for a neo-Latin literature of ruins, and sculptor-architect Jacopo Sansovino – driven by the 1527 sack of Rome to flee to Venice, which he helped build up as a 'new Rome' – began to interpret classical ruins as a metaphor of the frailty of human existence. The new historical sensibility highlighted the polarity between universal and local/national: one could research the culture and remains of Roman antiquity, as a universal legacy of lost grandeur and a testimony of potential regeneration but, at the same time, one could develop distinct national narratives.[44]

A further strand of the new 'universal narrative' of the Renaissance was a new, intense concept of Art, based partly on neo-Platonic ideas of innate ideal beauty, and partly on a new socio-economic demand for art-collecting. This, in turn, created a new standing for the individual artist – with Raphael in the early 16th century the first to be accepted on the same level as the aristocracy. The new cult of Art and the artist-creator – unlike the cult of *deploratio urbis* – was something completely modern, as nothing was known about artists or art-collecting in antiquity. Following the literary efforts of the 14th century, the early 15th saw a new emphasis on aesthetic connoisseurship, and galleries and collections began to appear on an informal basis. In Florence, the 'Uffizi' were adapted in 1581 to a gallery, and the first gallery in England was created in 1615.[45]

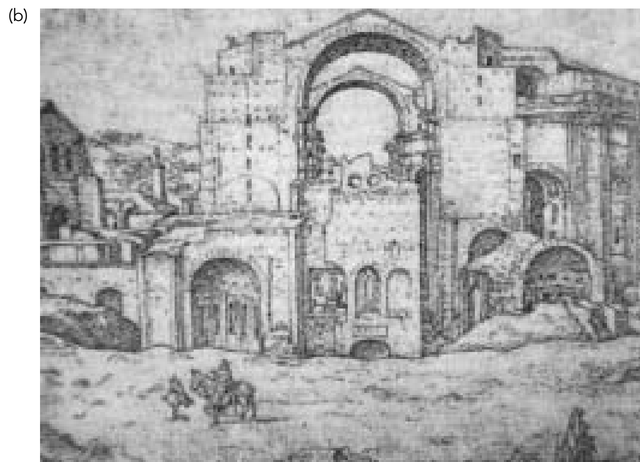
From the early Renaissance onwards, influential people began collecting antique figures for study and, by the end of the 15th century, there were some 40 collections in Rome alone. They included not just statues and freestanding sculpture, but also, as in the age of Constantine, cannibalised reliefs – for example fragments of Augustus' *Ara Pacis*, incorporated into the Villa Medici. The 16th century saw a huge increase in collecting, fuelled by demand from abroad, as other up-and-coming countries sought to appropriate a chunk of universal antique prestige for themselves. This internationalisation of the cult of the antique, and the new, systematic art-collecting, began to take on distinct overtones of 'tourism'. Already, by the 16th century, it was common for educated northern Europeans to visit Rome to make engravings – as in the case of Hieronymus Cock's 1540s' drawings or those of Heemskerck the previous decade. In response, the first 'tourist guidebooks' began to appear. Following Cola di Rienzo's pioneering surveys, 1444–6 saw the first, inaccurate attempts to inventorise ancient monuments in print, in Flavio Biondo's *Roma Instaurata* (Rome revised). By the 16th century, a range of publications was available: for instance, the architect Palladio's enormously popular 1554 guide to Rome, or Pirro Ligorio's 1553 *Libro delle Antichita di Roma*, with its categorised accounts of amphitheatres, circuses and theatres. By this time, too, earlier misconceptions about classical architecture were beginning to clear: for example, the supposition,

Figure 1.13 Heritage depictions in the Renaissance

(a) Part of Pirro Ligorio's 1562 reconstruction plan of classical Rome; (b) Marten van Heemskerck's 1536 drawing of the progress of the St Peter's demolition and reconstruction project

(a)

(b)



based on the Pantheon, that antique temples had generally been circular in plan.[46] The beginnings of cultural tourism to Rome were unambiguously elitist, culminating in the 18th-century Grand Tours by rich northern Europeans, but eventually the interrelationship of heritage and tourism would become bound up with the upsurge of 'mass society'.

It was from the Renaissance cult of Art, and from the collecting of classical sculpture – itself only indirectly 'architectural' – that there now arose another of the enduring narratives of architectural conservation: the conflict between restoration and conservative repair. From around 1500, there were the first systematic efforts at completion of antique statues lacking arms and legs. The discovery in 1506 of a statue of Laocoon and his sons being attacked by snakes led to a vigorous debate about completion of a truncated arm – should it be straight or bent? – with Michelangelo and Giulio de Sangallo both proposing 'completions'. In 1550, Vasari argued that restored antiquities had more 'grace' than truncated ones.[47]

How did all this connect with the conservation of old buildings? As a matter of principle, the building of new architectural projects in overtly classical forms – beginning with Brunelleschi's Ospedale dei Innocenti, Florence (from 1421) – went hand in hand with a growing respect for ancient buildings: the rediscovery of Vitruvius in 1414 spawned a host of imitation treatises, including Alberti's ten-book *De re aedificatoria*, published in 1485. Echoing Vitruvius's distinction between the three architectural values of beauty (*uenustas*), practical utility (*utilitas)* and good construction (*firmitas*), Alberti hailed antique buildings as worthy of protection both for their resilience and their beauty. The planning of the many new noblemen's *palazzi* was also profoundly influenced by the vague ideas of what ancient houses actually looked like. Ruins stimulated architects, not just as a spur to laments of lost glory, but through their fragmented or incomplete character, which allowed scope for exercise of creative imagination.[48]

The revival and destruction of classical Rome

THE experience 'on the ground' of the relationship between antique survivals and new classical architecture was to be much more fraught and confrontational. The Renaissance potentially revitalised conservation values, opening up ways of interpreting old buildings based on the new artistic and historic self-consciousness rather than the old symbolic values of Christendom. But this growth of interest in the past also coincided with a vast programme of building to celebrate the glory of the resurgent papacy. It was here, in 16th-century Rome, that we see the roots of the intense interrelationship of destruction and preservation that would continue into modern centuries. The overtones of hypocrisy that attended this relationship, with the same agency protecting and destroying, were already displayed in 16th-century Rome, where a succession of popes and their officials trumpeted classical humanism while pillaging the surviving built legacy of the emperors for their own construction programmes.

At first, in the 'Renewal of Rome' following the return of the papacy in 1420, the emphasis was largely on restoration of the old churches, including St John Lateran and St Peter, which was in a decayed state, with nave walls leaning dangerously outwards. For this, the most convenient source of building materials, as always, was the ancient monuments. Pope Martin V, inaugurated in 1425, was the first to try to bring order back to the city. He releaded the roof of the Pantheon – which was, of course, now a church. His successor, Eugenius IV (1431–47), issued an edict to protect the Colosseum

from stone thieves, while himself using stones from it to repair the Lateran Basilica, and took marbles from the Senate House and other monuments for the Lateran Palace. Marble was excavated for use both as a building material and also for burning for lime – as in 1426, when the paving of the Basilica Iulia in the Forum was removed for burning. When early-15th-century Romans discovered even marble sculptures and inscriptions, they usually melted them down into mortar. A century later, all that had changed: these antique marbles had assumed their revered modern role as works of art in dozens of private collections, above all the Vatican Belvedere. This first generation of antique art collections was, in turn, dispersed in the devastating 1527 sack of Rome by the troops of Charles V – the worst since the Normans in 1084 – but the precedent for classical art-collecting was now set.[49]

As the pace of the classical revival increased, so did the threat of destruction of antiquities. Poggio Bracciolini recorded that, when he first went to Rome in 1431, the temple of Saturn (as rearranged in the 5th century) was virtually intact, whereas by 1447 only the portico was left – as today. Under the 'restoring' regime of Pope Nicholas V (1447–55), attempts at protection were matched by destruction, for example, of the Arch of Valentinian and Gratian; a contractor was allowed to remove 2,522 cartloads of travertine from the Colosseum in nine months. Some destruction was caused directly by war or conflict – notably in 1527. But more usually there was a circular process, in which destruction was stimulated by the classical revival then, in turn, provoked measures of protection, often by the agents most energetically pursuing the destruction! The most basic level of protection was to direct the destructions along the least damaging channels. For example, it was the south side of the Colosseum, and the interior, that suffered the most extensive quarrying and damage, whereas the north side, facing the main ceremonial route from St Peter's to St John Lateran, was left relatively intact – an asymmetrical profile that had established itself as early as the 8th century.[50]

Active protection regulations were also gradually introduced, especially once the old aristocratic barons like the Frangipane were squeezed out by resurgent civic spirit. The year 1363 saw the first recorded civic statutes in medieval Rome forbidding destruction of ancient remains. In the Colosseum, as early as the 12th century, civic magistrates had established control over the intact northern half; by the 15th century, officers of the *Comune* such as Lorenzo Caffarelli were rigorously controlling any excavations and protecting the building's external arcades, while a religious community (the Salvatore confraternity) occupied the ruinous southern third. Alberti carried out numerous remodellings of early Christian and medieval buildings, preserving older cores behind classical facades, as in his Tempio Malatestiano, Rimini. And, from the 15th century, the returned papacy, which enjoyed much stronger powers than the civic *Comune* (via the *curia apostolica*), attempted to introduce protective measures to moderate the destructive effects of the rebuilding campaigns. These, however, were generally as ineffective as the edicts of the later Roman empire. For example, Pope Pius II issued an edict in 1462 protecting ancient monuments, but broke it himself in the collection of building material for the Vatican Benediction Loggia – whose design, ironically, was inspired by the Colosseum! In 1466 there were repairs to the Arch of Titus by Florentine masons, and Pope Sixtus IV (1471–84), self-styled *Restaurator Urbis*, repaired many palaces and churches (ancient and modern) and issued a bull of 1474 against damage and despoliation of religious buildings – while in 1471 allowing the Vatican architects to dig where they wanted for building stones.[51]

The dichotomy between destruction and protection culminated in the event which unleashed more destruction than any other – the decision taken by Julius II in 1506 to rebuild Old St Peter. This decision, by a pope who considered himself a new 'Caesar', to destroy the most venerable

Christian monument outside the Holy Land, albeit through demolition by gradual stealth, led to an enormous demand for building materials during his lifetime – quite apart from the destructive effects on church unity of the insatiable financial demands made by the papacy. The project was so large that it could only progress very gradually, and the next Pope, Leo X (1513–22), a significant patron of antiquarian research, slowed down its progress. In 1515, Raphael, who was also chief architect of St Peter's, wrote to Leo X, complaining generally of the pace of destruction, but especially of the use of marble for lime-burnings. In part-compensation for the destruction, he was appointed 'curator of monuments', but as his title (Prefect of Marbles and Statues) implied, protection only extended to stones bearing inscriptions or sculpture – an interesting order of priorities that implied the persistence of the old ideas of *pietas*. Raphael prepared a map of classical monuments in the city, including excavation sites; in 1521, he issued the first list of protected inscriptions, and in 1527 his colleagues published the first study of Rome's antiquities.[52]

Protests at the destruction came not just from Raphael but also from the municipal *Comune*, frustrated at its weakness in relation to the Pope. When a senator wanted to complete the loggia on the Campidoglio, he was granted permission to take stone from the Arch of Septimius Severus, but the *Comune* stipulated that work should be inspected by ten citizens to ensure the structure of the arch was safeguarded. The attitude of the *Comune* was contradicted by that of the *Fabbrica di S. Pietro* – the papal-controlled building organisation. Around 1540, Paul III decided to get the St Peter's project moving again, with Antonio di Sangallo as architect, and gave the *Fabbrica* permission to dismantle more classical remains, despite protests from the *Comune* at removal of stones from the Forum and Via Sacra.[53]

The Forum regained its old splendour momentarily in 1536, when Paul III celebrated the entry of Charles V into Rome after his victory over the Turks: he created a temporary triumphal way from the Arch of Septimius Severus to the Arch of Titus – prototype of countless processional tableaux until the 18th century. But the destruction only accelerated after this, expanding from opportunistic plunder to methodical excavation, almost archaeological in its systematic character, but destructive in its intentions. Large areas around the Forum were excavated during the 1540s and '50s, in preparation for the building of St Peter's, and countless monuments were destroyed: white marble was usually burnt down for lime, only inscriptions being spared. The areas round the temples of Saturn and Vespasian, the Curia Iulia, the Basilica Aemilia, the Temple of the Castores and the road from the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina to the Arch of Titus were all turned into quarries. Structures such as the Temple of Divus Iulius were simply obliterated for building material, sometimes in the course of a single month.[54]

In some of the original projects, such as the enlargement of St John Lateran, the age-old practice of incorporating classical columns as *spolia* continued, as part of the process of appropriation of antique forms for modern progress. In 1537, Paul III initiated the systematisation of the hitherto informally planned Capitoline, with its towered, medieval Palazzo Senatorio built on the foundations of the Roman Tablinum (public records office). He commissioned Michelangelo to transfer the classical equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius to the Capitoline, and began the regularisation of the piazza around it into a classical, symmetrical, three-sided composition of civic buildings and an art gallery, the Palazzi Senatorio, dei Conservatori, and Nuovo – a project doggedly pursued by successive popes, and not definitively completed until the 18th century.[55]

The tension between Roman revival and destruction continued into the late 16th century. The Counter-Reformation fuelled further aggressive surgery of 'pagan' monuments, and under Sixtus V

(1585–99), the papal architect/planner Domenico Fontana implemented a grand plan for the stately systematisation of the city fabric, in the face of fierce citizen protests. His plans involved the construction of wide new axes linking key religious sites. Principal intersections were marked by open spaces in which were set existing monuments (such as the columns of Marcus Aurelius and Trajan) or relocated structures, including four obelisks. Here we see the earliest roots of the concept of enhancing the impact and status of historic monuments by clearing vast spaces around them – a philosophy that would carry on until the 20th century, under various names in various countries. More generally, Sixtus's strategy required sweeping demolition: Fontana was to 'tear down the ugly old and repair the worthwhile'.[56] Yet, despite threatening demolition of 'pagan' structures, including the tomb of Caecilia Metella, Sixtus also commissioned Fontana to restore principal monuments.

Increasingly, key structures were restored rather than totally rebuilt. Michelangelo had designed a conversion of the *frigidarium* of the Baths of Diocletian into a church for Pius IV in 1563–4 with minimum alteration, and Borromini drastically remodelled the Lateran Basilica while incorporating the old structure underneath, reusing antique columns as *spolia*. In the 1650s, Alexander VII changed the Pantheon into a mausoleum for his family, without major reconstruction.[57] But, by then, as we will see in the next chapter, a much more explicit discourse of care for antiquities was beginning to evolve, not just in 'universal' Rome but throughout the emergent countries of western and northern Europe. In the process, the foundations were being laid from which the modern Conservation Movement could develop, in those countries, in the late 18th and 19th centuries.

Figure 1.14 *Spolia* and shells

(a) The Villa Medici in Rome, showing the classical *spolia* incorporated following its 1576 acquisition by Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici; (b) Michelangelo's 1563–4 reconstruction of part of the Baths of Diocletian into the church of Santa Maria degli Angeli

– 2 –

Antiquarian antecedents

17th and 18th centuries

Quod non fecerunt barbari, fecerunt Barberini.[1]
(The Barberini did what the barbarians failed to do)

Warfare and restoration in the 'Confessional Age'

During the 17th and 18th centuries, the old universal narrative of heritage gradually fragmented into a constellation of competing narratives. There was a new diversity in interpretations of classical antiquity; but there were also emergent national heritages, each a microcosm of the universal tradition. This was not the same as the aggressive, disciplined nationalisms whose competition in the 19th and 20th centuries would profoundly affect the world of monuments. The conflicts of this earlier age were focused not on nationality but on religion: the Reformation broke up the old unity of western Christendom, provoking a crescendo of conflicts culminating in the Thirty Years War of 1618–48. Throughout northern and western Europe, these inflicted a repeated and massive devastation on the urban and rural landscape. In reaction, the built fabric underwent a sharp collective 'valorisation', as its set pieces became charged with cultural significance and valued as subjects both of loss and of potential restoration – sentiments previously commanded only by the ruins of antiquity. This valorisation was focused on the great medieval religious buildings, numbers of which suffered severe damage, sometimes amounting to virtual destruction, as the locus of conflict moved around Europe. Nor was it just wars that caused damage: peacetime convulsions such as the 1536–41 Dissolution of the Monasteries in England could render an entire building-class redundant at a stroke.

Although previous conflicts had endangered particular building-types, such as the over 1,000 castles and abbeys attacked by peasants in the 1524–6 *Bauernkrieg* in present-day southern Germany and Austria, the first war in which monumental architecture was systematically targeted for ideological reasons was the Huguenot conflict of 1562–89.[2] Dozens of cathedrals and hundreds of monasteries and parish churches across France were ruined and stripped of ornamentation, in a deliberate campaign of cultural decapitation motivated by the belief that (in the words of a Swiss Calvinist) 'once their nest is destroyed, the storks will not come back'. At the same time, the northern Netherlands witnessed in 1566 a so-called *Beeldenstorm* of Calvinist iconoclasm, targeting mainly sculpture and relics rather than buildings, and leaving churches stripped of fittings and stained glass, and whitewashed internally.[3]

From 1600 or so, under Henri IV, a post-Huguenot wave of restoration began across France, in some cases immediately, in others after a lapse of time beyond the lifespan of the generation that had experienced the destruction. In cases of only partial destruction the task was often confined to details, for example in Auxerre Cathedral, where much 13th-century stained glass had been smashed, and surviving fragments were concentrated in the choir, mixed together with little regard for iconographic coherence. Where the entire church was destroyed, the demands of reconstruction were naturally more far-reaching and the potential choices more varied, although in most cases rebuilding in practice was in a late Flamboyant Gothic even if the original churches had been largely Romanesque. In the case of Mende, for example, where the Huguenots had blown up the entire cathedral in 1580 except for the towers, the building was reconstructed in 1600–20 exactly as it had been, in a strict late-Gothic style, to demonstrate Catholic continuity. In the abbey of St Maixent l'Ecole, in Poitou, the pre-destruction church was a mixture of Romanesque and 13th-century Gothic. Almost like 19th-century architects, the monks debated whether the rebuilding should be in a Gothic, Romanesque or contemporary classical Baroque style. Eventually the first was selected, and so in 1670–82 a church of relatively strict 15th-century-Gothic style was built, showing its modernity only in details. At the cathedral of St Apollinaire in Valence, conversely, the pre-destruction church was largely 12th century in date. So the 1604–19 reconstruction, by architect Jean Thuillier and mason Jacques Blanc, partly financed by Henri IV, followed a tolerably exact Romanesque style, incorporating surviving capitals as *spolia*.[4]

The most remarkable, and protracted, of all the post-Huguenot restitution schemes was the rebuilding of Sainte-Croix Cathedral in Orleans, targeted by retreating Protestants in 1568 and so comprehensively blasted by mines placed at the crossing that there survived only two bays of the nave and fragments of choir and transepts, together with the Porte de l'Évêque. The pre-1568 cathedral was an extensive, multi-period structure, intermittently under construction since 1287. With uncanny symmetry, the post-1568 reconstruction took almost as long, despite the enthusiastic patronage of successive kings, including Louis XIV, anxious to showcase their Catholic fidelity. The first stage of rebuilding was planned in 1601 by Henri IV, and the structure was only finished in 1829. Despite this protracted process, the rebuilding followed a remarkably unified late-Gothic style, derived from the details of the surviving nave bays. The surviving choir fragments were earlier in date (13th and 14th centuries), but were integrated carefully into the 16th-century image, to reinforce the impression of a perfect Flamboyant cathedral. The late-17th-century work focused on the north and south transepts, the former started in 1636 under Louis XIII, the latter in 1675 under Louis XIV. Both combined an overall Gothic form with intriguing classical details (including fully fledged pedimented doorways of 1693–6 by Claude Godard): the tracery of the rose windows featured Louis XIV's sun-motif, repeated inside the building.[5] The 18th-century work, pushed forward by Louis XV, culminated in the completion of the western towers, designed in an elaborately tiered, intricately arcaded neo-Gothic style by a succession of architects including Jacques Gabriel and built in 1773–90. This reconstruction was not motivated by romantic eclecticism in the 19th-century manner:

facing page

Figure 2.1 Pre-modern cultural destruction

(a) Plundering of castles in Upper Franconia during the 1525–6 'Peasants' War' in southern Germany; (b) Orleans Cathedral, present-day view of the exterior as reconstructed after 1568, showing the south portal (started 1675); (c) Interior view of Orleans, rebuilt as a 'perfect Flamboyant cathedral': the nave design was extrapolated from the two surviving pre-1568 bays

(a)

(b)

(c)

indeed, Victor Hugo attacked it as an 'odious church that makes so many promises from afar and breaks them all, close-up'.[6] Rather, it was driven by a determination to turn the clock back to the *status quo ante* and emphasise the evils of the Reformation.

But the Huguenot conflict was only a curtain-raiser to successive decades of destruction during the 17th century, including the continent-wide Thirty Years War and the later campaigns of Louis XIV. Even within peacetime France, Louis's grandiose urban visions prompted the systematic destruction of much medieval fabric: in Paris, houses were cleared from several city bridges, as were 17 small churches from around Notre-Dame.[7] On campaigns abroad, the destruction was yet more radical, with widespread devastation in the Palatinate and the Low Countries, and systematic demolitions not unlike those perpetrated by the Huguenots. At Speyer, the expulsion of the townspeople and the burning of the town in 1689 was followed by a systematic attempt by the French army to demolish the Romanesque cathedral by explosive mines: by the time the cathedral dean persuaded Marshal Duras to stop the demolition, the western half of the cathedral was a heap of rubble – a loss compounded by further demolition in the 1750s. This French destruction of a national imperial German shrine (the largest Romanesque church to the east of France) had long-lasting consequences stretching over several centuries, not only in provoking a succession of attempted restorations, but also in exacerbating the feelings of resentment that would fuel the eventual military expansionism of reunified Germany.[8]

In the late 17th century, we encounter the first conscious replica-rebuilding of a destroyed urban ensemble (a task that became a dominant theme of conservation in the 20th century), when Louis XIV's Marshal de Villeroy, on a punitive campaign in the Netherlands in 1695, shelled and burned to the ground the old centre of Brussels, including the already famous Grand' Place. Although few civilians were killed, the area was reduced to rubble. However, the Grand' Place was immediately (1697–1700) rebuilt as a partial copy of the spiky Northern Renaissance gabled facades that had existed before, with no change to the street plan other than modest street-widening. Authorised by the City Council, the reconstruction comprised individual houses whose details were ingeniously derived from those of two surviving house-facades; it was proudly commemorated in date inscriptions on the ornate gables. When discussing the 20th century's many postwar reconstructions, we should not forget this pioneering example.[9] Only 30 years earlier, the greater destruction inflicted on the non-monumental fabric of London by the Great Fire had provoked a very different response, in Sir Christopher Wren's proposal to sweep away the medieval street plan and substitute an ordered classical layout more reminiscent of absolutist France. The compromise eventually implemented retained the medieval layout, but stocked this with completely new buildings, including a new, classical St Paul's Cathedral, and an array of new parish churches.

Iconoclasm and rescue in 17th-century Britain and Ireland

Appropriately enough, it was at this time of conflict that many modern heritage words began to assume their present meanings, including the word 'monument' in England and France, and '*Denkmal*' in Germany – a word said to have been originally coined by Martin Luther.[10] The concept of antiquarianism, too, was emerging in a number of countries, especially those involved in fighting and expansionism. In aggressively imperialist Sweden, 1630 saw the appointment of a royal Director General of Antiquities and 1666 the passing of an antiquities ordinance (the first outside Italy) to

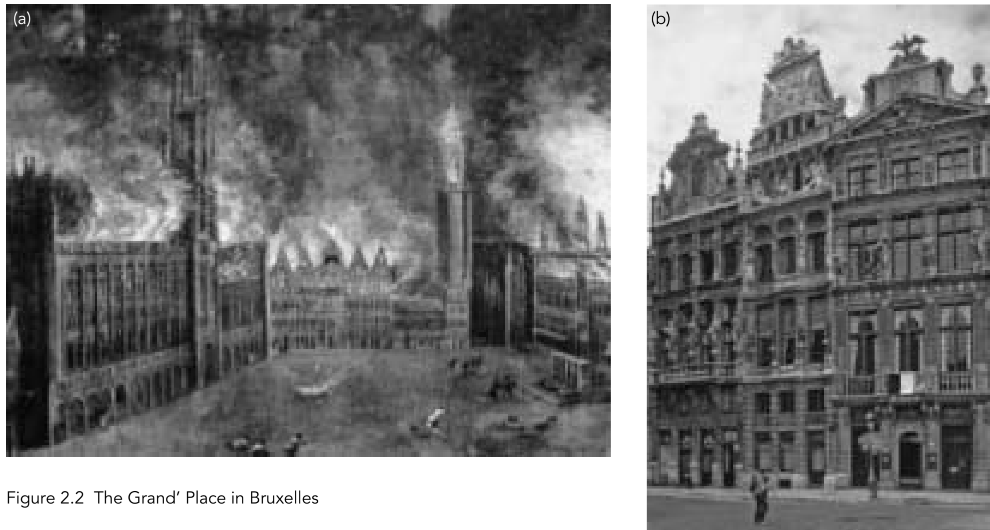


Figure 2.2 The Grand' Place in Bruxelles

(a) View during the 1695 bombardment by Marshal Villeroy's forces;
(b) Present-day view of the same frontage as rebuilt, including 1690s' commemorative plaques

protect old objects and remains, both moveable and fixed – although little preservation activity actually ensued. A year later an antiquarian and archaeological studies institute (*Collegium Antiquitatum*) was founded at Uppsala.[11]

It was, however, chiefly in England, a country that experienced relative peace during the 16th and 17th centuries, that the principles of modern antiquarianism, an expertise that would be a precondition for effective heritage protection, were developed. At this stage, as with art-collecting and proto-tourism in Italy, this was a strictly small-scale, elite practice, unlike the mass public enthusiasm that would swell up in the 19th century.

In England, the late 16th and 17th centuries saw the emergence of various competing strands of 'national meaning', reflecting the dynastic-religious tensions of the post-Reformation years, and often somewhat pessimistic in character.[12] The mid-17th-century civil wars in Britain, although less destructive than the contemporary continental conflicts, still claimed numerous prominent architectural casualties, such as Basing House, Hampshire, one of England's largest country houses. A vast, double-courtyard complex of 1535, Hampton Court-like in scale and owned by the royalist Marquess of Winchester, Basing was besieged and razed by Cromwell's parliamentary troops in 1645. Roman masonry in Colchester Castle was bombarded by Parliamentary forces, and London's Roman wall was plundered for stone. By the end of the 17th century, only 42 out of 395 manor houses in Hertfordshire, for example, were still as intact as in 1540.[13] To this was added a continuing rumble of Protestant iconoclasm, admittedly milder than the militancy of the Huguenots. The fundamentalist Protestant position on the First Commandment resembled the early Christian attacks on 'pagan idols'. Here, though, images of anything whatever were destroyed – statues, glass, or pictures of saints. In England, attitudes were more ambiguous and potentially conservative than in Calvinist Scotland, where many churches were simply abandoned, such as the vast St Andrews Cathedral, or drastically remodelled for preaching-centred worship, as in the case of St Giles, in Edinburgh (subdivided not only into several churches but also, ultimately, municipal chambers and a fire

station). In England, the Dissolution of the Monasteries of 1536–41 had been followed by an initial wave of organised destruction, with detailed records, for example, chronicling the 1537 dismantling of the Cluniac Priory of St Pancras in Lewes (on which see also Chapter 3). This campaign of iconoclasm and abandonment provoked a September 1560 decree from Elizabeth I, forbidding the 'defacing of Monuments of antiquity, being set up in the churches or other public places for memory, and not for superstition', and instructed 'that no such barbarous disorder be hereafter used, and to repair as much of the said Monuments as conveniently may be'.[14]

Ironically, unlike the widespread removal of screens in Counter-Reformation Catholic churches, following the Council of Trent, Anglican churches, generally conservative regarding ecclesiastical institutions and liturgy, often deliberately preserved their late medieval interior

Figure 2.3 Iconoclasm in Britain

(a) The English Civil War: Victorian painting of the 1645 siege and destruction by Parliamentary forces of the early-16th-century Basing House, Hampshire ('Cromwell at the Storming of Basing House', 1900, by Ernest Crofts); (b) The Scottish Reformation: 19th-century painting of the 1579 defence of Glasgow Cathedral from Calvinist iconoclasts, by members of the town's Trades House

(a)

(b)

arrangements, including the '*pulpitum*' or choir screen blocking off an open view of the choir, as in York Minster. The 16th-century damage was mostly confined to abbey and priory churches, although there was insidious neglect of the two dozen or so cathedral-size churches. The first Stuart kings of England, James I and Charles I, addressed this neglect through a programme of restorations, culminating in that of Old St Paul's, London, on which around £100,000 was spent in 1634–44 on improvements authorised by Charles I. Inigo Jones encased the Romanesque nave and transepts in a classical shell, while the Gothic choir was left as it stood. The mid-century conflicts took a further toll on the cathedral: William Dugdale bemoaned its 'lamentable condition' in 1660,

> being made a horse quarter for soldiers during the whole time of the late Usurpation; the stately Portico, with beautiful Corinthian pillars, being converted into shops for the seamstresses, and other trades . . . for the fitting whereof to that purpose those stately pillars were shamefully hewed and defaced for the support of timber work.[15]

More generally, the 1640s' civil wars in Britain unleashed a fresh wave of iconoclasm and damage to churches. In 1641 the House of Commons ordered 'Commissions to be sent into all Counties, for the Defacing, Demolition, and quite taking away of all Images, Altars or Tables turned Altarwise, Crucifixes, superstitious Pictures, Monuments, and Relicts of idolatry, out of all Churches and Chapels.' A lengthy account records the activities of William Dowsing, an official commissioner appointed under this ordinance, who toured churches in Norfolk in 1643–4 smashing images. The iconoclasm of the French Revolution here seems a relatively short distance away. Churches suffered war damage, too: Lichfield Cathedral was besieged three times, losing its spire, roofs and much vaulting. Extreme Protestants were vehemently opposed to any maintenance of the great churches. With the Restoration of King Charles II, conversely, once more the stress was on identification of the monarch with the Church of England, and renewed attention to restoration projects such as Westminster Abbey.[16]

The sharper ethnic and religious confrontations in contemporary Ireland were reflected in a more diverse instrumentalisation of heritage. During the Stuart age, key Protestant and Catholic building patrons systematically reused Romanesque building fragments in new projects, like Roman *spolia*, as ideological devices to emphasise either their patriotic zeal or the antiquity of their ancestry and the legitimacy of their presence in Ireland. Examples include a gateway erected in 1611 at Lismore Castle, Co. Waterford, by the Protestant Richard Boyle, 1st Earl of Cork, incorporating Romanesque carved stones, or the 'Main Guard' at Clonmel, Co. Tipperary, *c.*1675, one of Ireland's first fully classical buildings, which also contains quantities of salvaged Romanesque piers (possibly from the 12th-century Cistercian abbey of Inislounaght). Early Christian monuments were also appropriated by devout Catholics in the late 17th century, sometimes reusing ancient sites.[17]

Early antiquarians and medievalists in northern Europe

ALONGSIDE all this conflict, there was a growing practical consensus in England over a canon of patriotic relics. By the Restoration in 1660, the armouries of the Tower of London – previously an arsenal for the 14th-century White Tower, opened occasionally to important visitors since 1489 – were accessible to paying visitors. These domestic tourists could view an array of new displays

commemorating historic English victories, including a 'Spanish armoury' supposedly salvaged from wrecks of the Armada, and the 'Line of Kings' – a row of mounted, armoured effigies on horses, with associated portrait paintings of monarchs. From 1696 onwards, the Grand Storehouse at the Tower was used for exhibitions of historic weapons.[18]

In response to all this, the phenomenon of the 'antiquarian', studying the post-classical past, emerged in England, rather earlier than elsewhere. These antiquarians tended to be royalist in their political sympathies and compensated for lack of scholarly precision with a nostalgic zeal echoing Petrarch's '*deploratio urbis*' language. In their work, revulsion against religious iconoclasm shaded into criticism of aggressive modernity, anticipating the 19th century's fierce attacks against demolitions of old buildings and the bewildering fluctuations of opinion about whether restoration was a creative or destructive practice.[19] As early as the late 15th century, educated topographer-travellers, such as William Worcestre (in 1478–80), had begun touring historic relics. In 1535–43, the *Itinerary* of John Leland (King's Antiquary since 1533) signalled the first systematic search for antiquities – ironically, just as the Dissolution of the Monasteries was creating new 'monuments' for the future. And in 1586, William Camden's *Britannica* attempted to classify prehistoric relics. In 1620, reflecting the growing interest in ancient monuments, Inigo Jones surveyed Stonehenge, but declared it was of Roman origin.[20]

Renaissance humanism in England could not cope adequately with non-classical remains and sites, rejecting the proposition that Aeneas and Brutus were the first British rulers, but providing no alternative to fill the gap between Old Testament and Renaissance: even in the early 18th century, William Stukely's research still envisaged the great field monuments as the work of Druids. The Restoration was followed by the first upsurge of archaeological discovery in England, including surveying of medieval structures, by scholars such as John Aubrey, Roger Dodsworth and William Dugdale, Elias Ashmole and William Drydale. In 1657, Anthony Wood at Evesham was 'wonderfully struck with a veneration of the stately, yet much lamented ruins of the abbey', and Aubrey's 'Chronologia Architectonica' of 1656–86 pioneered the chronological analysis of medieval styles. Edward Lhuyd and Robert Sibbald charted Celtic remains in Wales and Scotland. Destruction continued alongside this: in the early 18th century Stukely recorded that hundreds of cartloads of Roman brick were removed from St Albans for road-making.[21]

Only in the late 17th century did similar antiquarian tendencies emerge across Europe, including Michel Germain's *Monasticon Gallicanum*, and the 1690s' studies by Giovanni Giustino Ciampini; in Germany, 1692–1715 saw the first 'castle guidebook' published, in four editions (to the Saxon stronghold of Königstein).[22] But by the early 18th century, echoing the late 17th-century Swedish innovations, England had moved on again, towards a more systematic 'national' apparatus of antiquarianism, focused on a new Society of Antiquaries of London, founded in 1707: this claimed to be a revival of an Elizabethan society of 1585 and focused on English archaeological remains. Although Protestant public opinion in the early 18th century was still suspicious of preservation of medieval monuments, seeing antiquarians as Catholic and Jacobite sympathisers, that opinion was shifting. While, in 1733, Bristol citizens advocated demolition of the town's High Cross as a 'ruinous and superstitious Relick' symbolising 'Popery', in 1771 the Society of Antiquaries paid ten shillings 'for setting down two oak posts to save Waltham Cross from injury by carriages'.[23]

During the 17th and 18th centuries, there was still a lack of consensus concerning the merits of English medieval architecture. There was, as in most European countries, still a distrust of its irregularity. In 1664, diarist John Evelyn, in his *Account of Architects and Architecture*, decried Gothic

buildings as 'congestions of heavy, dark, melancholy and Monkish Piles', and as late as 1771, Tobias Smollett's old-fashioned Mrs Bramble in *The Expedition of Humphrey Clinker* argued that 'the external appearance of an old cathedral cannot but be displeasing to the eye of every man who has any idea of propriety and proportion'.[24]

Yet medieval architecture had never been rejected absolutely in any country. When the 1689 war-damaged Speyer Cathedral was eventually rebuilt in 1772–8, nearly a century after its part-destruction, the bishop decided it should be reconstructed in facsimile, and engaged Franz Ignaz Neumann, son of southern Germany's foremost Baroque architect, to draw up a scheme. Neumann's design copied the surviving 11th-century nave bays so exactly that one cannot tell the two apart. Shortage of money made it impracticable to rebuild the towered *Westbau* at full scale. That had to await a later, neo-medieval scheme of 1854–8 by Heinrich Hübsch. However, the enduring resentment over the French destruction of the cathedral left each generation of Speyer restorers unhappy with its predecessors' contribution, and ultimately provoked a 'purifying' 20th-century restoration that expunged Hübsch's rich 19th-century decoration. In Bologna, the 250-year part-completion saga of San Petronio Church saw Gothic rib vaults erected as late as 1658, while the early 1700s witnessed pioneering eclecticism and 'Gothic revival' in Ferdinando Galli Bibbiena's theatre designs.[25]

Figure 2.4 Speyer Cathedral, destroyed in 1689 by French forces and rebuilt in 1772–8 by F I Neumann

(a) Present-day external view showing the five surviving 11th-century nave bays on the right and Neumann's work on the left (in lighter masonry); (b) Inside, a richly polychromatic scheme of 1846–58 by Heinrich Hübsch was expunged in a 'purifying' restoration of 1957–63 by Rudolf Esterer

In England, too, medieval buildings were never completely reviled, and there was a long, complicated phase of Gothic survival, including, as in France, repair of damaged buildings. The war-damaged Lichfield Cathedral was carefully reinstated after 1660 in only seven years, its Perpendicular Gothic tracery and vaulting carefully replaced by local masons, and enhanced by a vast new west window of eccentric design. When part of the Romanesque north transept of Ely Cathedral collapsed in 1699, the authorities rebuilt it 'exactly in the same manner and on the same foundation it stood before'.[26] Gothic churches were still built in England throughout the 17th and early 18th centuries, the last significant example being the nave of St Margaret's, King's Lynn, from 1742. By then, as we will see shortly, the Gothic survival had become revival, aided by the first Gothic pattern books; from here, the story of conservation and restoration overlaps substantially with the very well-known mainstream architectural history of the early Gothic Revival in England.

The conflicting English values of the age were exemplified in the work of the leading (royalist) architect of the day, Sir Christopher Wren – whose advice had prompted the Ely rebuilding plan. Before the Great Fire of London in 1666, Wren proposed a conservative restoration of Old St Paul's,

Figure 2.5 Gothic survival or revival? Christopher Wren's Gothic entrance tower at Christ Church, Oxford, 1681–2. Wren had successfully argued that its design 'ought to be Gothick to agree with the Founders worke'

and even his all-new, post-fire design adopted a 'Gothic' plan complete with concealed flying buttresses, arguing that its medieval predecessor had been a 'monument of power and mighty zeal in our ancestors'.[27] Subsequently (1681–2), Wren completed Christ Church, Oxford, in Gothic rather than the 'better forms of architecture', to avoid an 'unhandsome medley': the tower 'ought to be Gothick to agree with the Founders worke'. After Wren's appointment in 1697 as Surveyor to Westminster Abbey, he began a 50-year, £100,000 restoration programme. This focused initially on simple repair, with fenestration renewed as existing, but eventually became more ambitious, including simplified rebuilding of the north transept and rose window, and completion of the western towers in a style that (like the earlier transepts at Orleans) was Gothic in outline and classical in detail. After Wren's death in 1714, his pupil, William Hawksmoor, completed the towers after 1735 and continued repairs. Hawksmoor also consolidated Beverley Minster in 1716 against collapse, using timber framing. But by the early 18th century, as we will see later, attitudes to Gothic architecture were changing, and a new, generalised Gothic detailing became accepted as a legitimate way to obtain a sense of 'period'.[28]

Ancients versus moderns: the distancing of antiquity in Enlightenment Europe

In parallel with the devolution of 'antiquity' to the new nation-states, the same principles of precise research reached back towards the 'centre', as the new classical mania spread to northern Europe. Along with bold, monumental new classical buildings, there was a new enthusiasm for classical collecting and archaeology, with large collections sold to France or England, and antiquarians travelling to the Mediterranean to measure or research. Although as early as 1575 French antiquarian Etienne du Perac had published a protest tract against destruction in Rome, *Vestigi dell'Antichità di Roma*, the movement of classical antiquarianism was first seriously initiated in the late-17th-century France of Louis XIV. There, a lively debate arose between 'ancients' and 'moderns'. Both believed in classical architectural principles, but the 'ancients' believed that reason was immanent in history, whereas the 'moderns', led by Charles Perrault, believed that they were independent of each other. Charles's architect brother Claude, designer of the new, grand east façade of the Louvre (1667–74), tried to devise a new, 'modern classical Order' to replace the traditional, inherited ones – as did M Ribart de Chamoust a century later, just before the Revolution (1776).[29]

This conscious foregrounding of the 'modern', in contrast to antiquity, is of the greatest importance in our story, presaging the consciously dialectical polarisation between the Old and the New that characterised the mature Conservation Movement. This dialectic would grow gradually in force, until its climax in the mid-20th-century Modernist concept of sharply differentiated, but complementary, old buildings and modern architecture. This new, more detached attitude to antiquity naturally required the best-quality research. The French Academy in Rome, founded in 1666 by Louis XIV, tried to establish a two-way traffic of ideas between France and Italy and to appropriate for France the best of antiquity, and publications like Desgodetz's *Les edifices antiques* of 1682 raised scholarly expectations. The 1670s saw the first drawings of the Parthenon, before its devastation in a 1687 explosion during a Venetian siege: the lack of an impact in Europe of this destruction of a once-cherished monument, owing to the inaccessibility of Ottoman-ruled Greece, illustrates the vital role of location and communication in the 'valorisation' (and 'devalorisation') of monuments. Corresponding to the new scholarship of the antique, a distinctive French