A History of Architectural Conservation

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

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ABSTRACT

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

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Introduction

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

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

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

The period of study has been defined as beginning with the Italian Renaissance, through the French Revolution at the end of the eighteenth century, to the international policy guidelines after the Second World War, these marking three moments of particular significance in the development. Originally, the intention was to limit the study to the philosophies in three countries, i.e. England, France and Italy, and on their influence especially on Austria, Germany, Greece, Holland, and Scandinavia. During the study the importance of the contribution of Germanic countries to conservation theory has, however, turned out to be so significant that its treatment in more detail has been considered necessary. The work has been based on a critical selection of the most significant aspects in the development of theories and the relationship with current practice in the relevant cultural context. The discussion of influences outside England, France, Italy, Prussia and Austria has been limited to examples mainly in Greece, the Netherlands and the Scandinavian countries. The general development of concepts is accompanied by five in-depth case studies, based on archival research, to show practical examples of the treatment of historic buildings in a period extending from the French Revolution approximately to the middle of the nineteenth century. These case studies consist of the restoration of the Colosseum in Rome, the Temple of Athena Nike in Athens, Durham Cathedral in England, Magdeburg Cathedral in Prussia, and the abbey church of the Madeleine at Vézelay in France.

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

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

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

Although the first reaction of the Italian Renaissance was to condemn mediaeval art and architecture, which appeared alien to the aims of the new artistic goals, there was at the same time a more general respect for the achievement of past generations, as reflected in the approach of Leon Battista Alberti, and seen in a certain reluctance to destroy even mediaeval structures. The Italian example was soon influential elsewhere; in England local antiquities such as Stonehenge became an object of interest and speculations, and in Sweden rune stones and mediaeval churches even of protective measures. Further developments in England, Germanic countries and Italy resulted in a maturing of historic consciousness, clearly expressed in the events of the French Revolution. With the evolution of nationalism and romanticism in European countries, the desire to protect and restore national monuments as concrete evidence of a nation's history became a wide-spread movement. Particularly with relation to mediaeval buildings, 'restoration' aimed at the completion and recreation of an architectural whole according to its original intentions or its most significant period, using historical research and analogy with other buildings of the same style as a reference - as is shown in the work of Sir George Gilbert Scott in England and Eugène Viollet-le-Duc in France. The 'historical' significance of a building was seen - not so much related to continuity and stratification in time - but rather to a particular moment or period in history, especially that of the first architectural concept. National monuments thus tended to become 'frozen illustrations' of particular moments in the history of the nation.

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

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

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

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

In France, the example of English and German historians, the establishment of a State organization for the protection of national monuments and the criticism by writers such as Victor Hugo were the foundation for a systematic study of mediaeval art and architecture. With the development of this into 'science' and the confidence gained through vast practice in restoration, 'faithful' as it may have been at the beginning, analogical reconstructions and 'stylistic restorations' became an officially accepted result. Leading personalities, such as Prosper Mérimée, who emphasized full respect for all historic periods, at the same time were responsible for directing 'complete restorations', which could mean purification from historic additions, as well as construction of parts that never had existed.

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

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

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

Part One:
Early Approach to Conservation

Chapter One
Beginnings in the Renaissance

1.1 Early Approach

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.2 Filippo Brunelleschi

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

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

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

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

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

1.3 Humanists

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

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

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

1.4 Poets

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

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

Figure 2, The Colosseum with architectural remains (Heemskerck)

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

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

> Thou stranger, which for Rome in Rome here seekest,
> And nought of Rome in Rome perceiv'st at all,
> These same olde walls, olde arches, which thou seest,
> Olde Palaces, is that which Rome men call.
> ...
> Rome now of Rome is th'only funerall,
> And onely Rome of Rome hath victorie,
> ... (24)

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

1.3 Painters

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

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

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

Notes to Chapter One

1. Mortier, Roland, La poétique des ruines en France, Ses origines, ses variations de la Renaissance à Victor Hugo, Librairie Droz, Genève (1974), 28.

2. Panofsky, Erwin, Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art, Paladin, UK (1970), 10.

3. Panofsky, op.cit., 113.

4. Panofsky, op.cit., 112; Mortier, op.cit., 28.

5. Petrarch to Paulo Annibaldensi romano (Petr., Carm., ii 12), Levati, Ambrogio, Viaggi di Francesco Petrarca in Francia, in Germania ed in Italia, Milano (1820), i 268. "Queste relique che attestano quanta un di' fosse la gloria dell'intera Roma, e che non furono atterrate né dall'impeto e dall'ira dell'inimico, sono ora infrante dai piu cospicui cittadini. Oh rabbia! Accorri ad impedire siffatti danni. Io vorrei in alcune cose vederti degenere da' tuoi antenati. Abbi il lor valore; imita le loro imprese; ama al par di essi i cavalli, i cani, le foreste, la caccia; spendi l'oro a piene mani: ecco ciò che conviene à tuoi natali, alla tua fama. Ma guardati, come finora facesti, dall'immergere le mani parricide nel seno della tua patria; non atterrar le sue torri, i suoi edifici; quest'opera è propria soltanto dell'inimico. I tuoi avi persuasi che il sangue di Annibale scorreva nelle loro vene, credettero forse che lor fecero coll'ariete ciò che le armi di quel gran capitano non avevano potuto fare. Non abbagli una gloria falsa e mal intesa; il tuo avolo ha ecclissato con azioni indegne lo splendore acquistato colle grandi sue imprese; parlo cose manifeste e conte. Ma

no; io non credo che il sangue di quel feroce Cartaginese scorre nelle tue vene..." de Nolhac, Pierre, Petrarque et l'humanisme, Paris (1907), Nouvelle edition, Torino (1959), 15

6. Panofsky, op.cit.; Wright, John, The Life of Cola di Rienzo, Pontificial Inst. of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto (1975); Ghisalberti, A.M. edit., La vita di Cola di Rienzo, Firenze - Roma - Ginevra (1928). Cola di Rienzo and some other Romans, especially of the family of Colonna, studied the ancient monuments in Rome trying to identify them. Cola di Rienzo also lamented the condition of these ancient glorious structures.

7. Boccaccio, Decameron, vi 5, (Giotto) "ebbe uno ingegno di tanta eccellenzia, che ni una cosa dë la natura, madre di tutte le cose et operatrice, col continuo girar de' cieli, che egli con lo stile e con la penna o col pennello non dipingesse si simile a quella, che non simile, anzi piu' tosto (generata or prodotta) dessa paresse, in tanto che molte volte nelle cose da lui fatte si truova che il visivo senso degli uomini vi prese errrore, quello credendo esser vero che era dipinto. E per cio', avendo egli quella arte ritornata in luce, che molti secoli sotto gli error d'alcuni, che piu' a dilettar gli occhi degl'ignoranti che a compiacere allo 'ntelletto de savj dipingendo, era stata sepulta, meritamente una delle luci della fiorentina gloria dir si puote..." Translation, Panofsky, op.cit., 13.

8. Vasari, Giorgio, Le vite de' piu' eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori scritte da Giorgio Vasari pittore Aretino con nuove annotazioni e commenti di Gaetano Milanese, Firenze (1906), reprinted by G.C.Sansoni S.p.A., Firenze (1973), ii, 337.

9. Battisti, Eugenio, Filippo Brunelleschi, Electa, Milano (1981), 13; Argan,C.A., Brunelleschi, Mondadori, Milano (1978), 10ff.

10. Vasari, op.cit., ii, 337: "vedendo la grandezza degli edifizj, e la perfezione de'corpi dei tempj, stava astratto, che pareva fuor di sè."

11. Vasari, op.cit., ii, 337f, 338 n.1.

12. Vasari, op.cit., ii, 337, 337 n.

13. Vasari, op.cit., ii, 338.

14. Weiss, Roberto, The Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity, Basil Blackwell, Oxford (1969, reprinted 1973).

15. Idem.

16. Idem.

17. Idem.

18. Dizionario Enciclopedico di Architettura e Urbanistica, diretto da Paolo Portoghesi, Istituto Editoriale Romano, Roma 1968, III,390f.

19. Mortier, op.cit., 32f.

20. Idem.

21. Idem, 36ff.

22. Idem, 37ff.

23. Idem, 39ff.

24. Idem, 46ff; Complaints, containing sundrie small poemes of the World's Vanitie, Ponsonbie, London 1591.

25. Du Bellay, J., Antiquitéz de Rome, composed in 1554; Mortier, op.cit., 46ff.

26. Mortier, op.cit.

27. Argan,G.C., Storia dell'arte italiana, Sansoni 1968, ed. 1975, 289ff.

28. Chiappini,L., An Illustrated Guide to Ferrara, Bologna 1981, 74ff.

29. Il paesaggio nel disegno del cinquecento europeo, Roma 1972, Catalogue of exhibition.

30. Il paesaggio... op.cit.; Diz.Enc.Arch., op.cit., II.

Chapter Two
Fifteenth-century Architectural Treatises

2.1 Vitruvius Rediscovered

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

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

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

"He must have both a natural gift and also readiness to learn.   (For neither talent without instruction nor instruction without   talent can produce the perfect craftsman.)   He should be a man of   letters, a skilful draughtsman, a mathematician, familiar with   historical studies, a diligent student of philosophy, acquainted with music; not ignorant of medicine, learned in the responses of   juriconsults, familiar with astronomy and astronomical   calculations." (9)

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

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

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

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

2.2 L.B. Alberti

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Alberti's Advice for the Repair of Buildings

When dealing with repairs of buildings, he insisted, the architect needed a good knowledge of the causes of the faults; just like a medical doctor, he had to understand the disease to be able to cure it. (35) The defects could depend either on external causes or arise out of the construction of the building; in the latter case, they were the responsibility of the architect. Not all defects were curable. Alberti reminded his readers that we are all part of nature and thus mortal. Even the hardest materials will deteriorate under the sun and in chilly shade, or due to frost and winds. There are also various disasters, such as fire, lightning, earthquakes, floods, and other unforeseen accidents, that may cause the sudden destruction of any architectural concept. (36) Not all the mistakes of an architect can be repaired either; when everything is wrongly made from the beginning, it is difficult to do much about it afterwards. (37)

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

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

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

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

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

Alberti's Criteria for the Protection of Historic Structures

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

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

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

The reasons which led Alberti to protect historic structures can be summarized as follows: 1. inherent architectural qualities, solidity and beauty; 2. didactic values; 3. historic values. He tells of having seen historic buildings so solid that they could resist decay for many centuries. Today, we might call these substantial values! The aesthetic appearance, the beauty of the building, was another reason for protection. Beauty was so important that even barbarians and Time were defeated by it.

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

2.3 Filarete

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.4 Francesco di Giorgio Martini

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

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

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

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

2.5 Leonardo da Vinci

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

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

Leonardo was specially interested in structural behaviour. He proposed experiments to define the load-bearing capacity of arches of different forms by connecting counter-weights under the arch to the springing points. (71) He analyzed the problems of structural failure, formation of cracks, foundations, drying of walls after construction, etc., suggesting repairs or preventive measures. (72) He also dealt with timber structures and treatment of wood when in contact with masonry; he observed that waterproof or
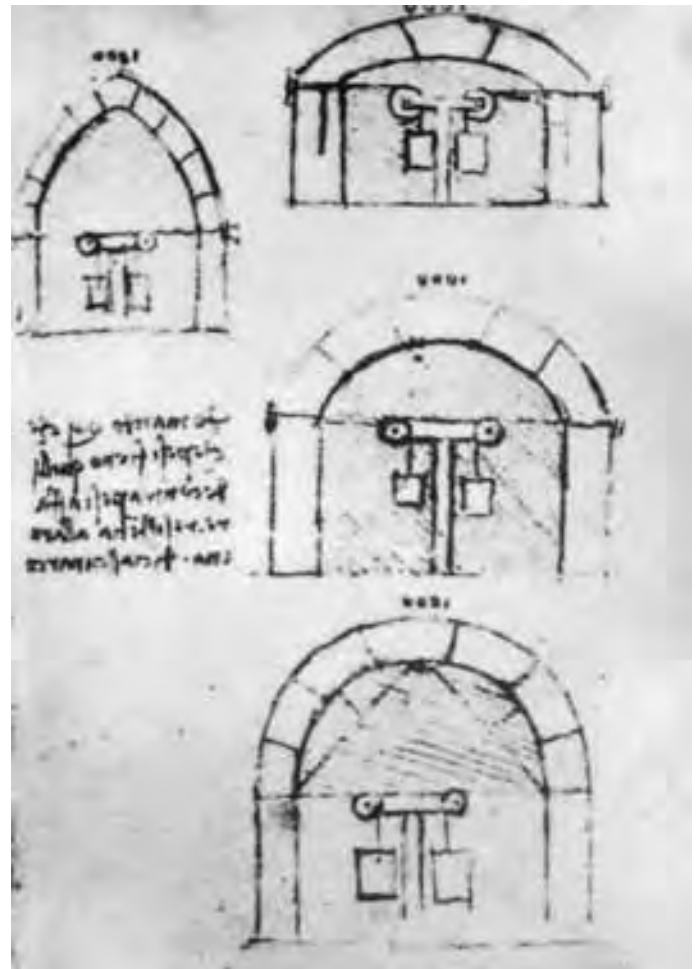
Figure 6, Leonardo's experiments on the strength of arches.

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

The 'Tiburio' of Milan Cathedral

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

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

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

Notes to Chapter Two

1. Borsi,F.,ed., Roma antica e i disegni di architettura agli Uffizi di Giovanni Antonio Dosio, Officina, Roma 1976.

2. Vitruvius, De Architectura, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge Mass., London 1970, I xiv, 'Introduction'.

3. Idem.

4. Vitruvius,op.cit., I,xvi,'Introduction'.

5. Tafuri,M., 'Cesare Cesariano e gli studi vitruviani nel quattro-cento', Scritti rinascimentali di architettura, Edizioni il Polifilo, Milano 1978, 392f.

6. Idem.

7. Idem.

8. Idem, 397ff.

9. Vitruvius, op.cit.,I,i,3, (Loeb,I,7f): "Quare videtur utraque parte exercitatus esse debere, qui se architectum profiteatur. Itaque eum etiam ingeniosum oportet esse et ad disciplinam docilem. Neque enim ingenium sine disciplina aut disciplina sine ingenio perfectum artificem potest efficere. Et ut litteratus sit, peritus graphidos, eruditus geometria, historias complures noverit, philosophos diligenter audierit, musicam scierit, medicinae non sit ignarus, responsa iurisconsultorum noverit, astrologiam caelique rationes cognitas habeat."

10. Idem, VI,iv,1-2 (Loeb,II,35).

11. Portoghesi, Paolo, 'Introduzione', Alberti, Leon Battista, L'Architettura (De re aedificatoria), Edizioni il Polifilo, Milano 1966.

12. Alberti, op.cit., 443.

13. Borsi, F., Leon Battista Alberti, L'opera completa, Electa Editrice, Milano 1980, 33ff; Vagnetti, L., "La 'Descriptio urbis Romae' di L.B. Alberti", Università degli Studi di Genova, Facoltà di Architettura e rilievo dei monumenti, Quaderno, I, ottobre 1968, 68ff; Vagnetti, L., "Lo studio dei Roma negli scritti albertiani", contributo al Convegno internazionale su L.B. Alberti, Accademia dei Lincei, aprile 1972.

14. Alberti, op.cit., V,xii (Polifilo, 338); Borsi, op.cit., 33.

15. Portoghesi,P., 'Introduzione', Alberti,op.cit.

16. Borsi,op.cit., 376.

17. Alberti, op.cit.,457, "Itaque superiorum exemplis et peritorum monitis et frequenti usu, admirabilium operum efficiendorum absolutissima cognitio, ex cognitione praecepta probatissima deprompta sunt; quae qui velint - quod velle omnes debemus - non ineptissimi esse aedificando, prorsus neglexisse nulla ex parte debeant."

18. Alberti, op.cit., 94ff, 166, 472, 852ff.

19. Alberti, op.cit., 865f, "Maxima quaeque aedificatio ob vitae hominis brevitate et operis magnitudinem vix nunquam dabitur, ut per eundem absolvi possit, qui posuerit. At nos procaces qui sequimur, omnino aliquid innovasse contendimus et gloriamur; ex quo fit, ut aliorum bene inchoata depraventur et male finiantur. Standum quidem censeo auctorum destinationibus, qui per maturitatem illas excogitarunt."

20. Borsi, op.cit., 80ff.

21. Alberti, op.cit., e.g. see Book VIII.

22. Idem.

23. Alberti, op.cit., 444.

24. Alberti, op.cit., 816. See also Wittkower,R., Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism, Academy Editions, London 1973 (4th edition), 'Alberti's Approach to Antiquity in Architecture', 33ff.

25. Alberti, op.cit., 448.

26. Wittkower, 'The Problem of Harmonic Proportion in Architecture', op.cit., 101ff.

27. Alberti, op.cit., 470f.

28. Idem, 682.

29. Idem, 322.

30. Idem, 604.

31. Idem, 614.

32. Vitruvius, op.cit.,III,i,9.

33. Alberti, op.cit., 810, 246, 232, 452f.

34. Milizia, F., Le vite de' piu' celebri architetti d'ogni nazione e d'ogni tempo, 1768, "ho troppo del gotico, o sia del tedesco". Quatremère De Quincy, Encyclopédie Méthodique, Architecture, 1788. Borsi, op.cit.

35. Alberti, op.cit., 868.

36. Idem, 470.

37. Idem, 870.

38. Alberti, op.cit., Book X.

39. Alberti, op.cit., 988.

40. Idem.

41. Idem, 990.

42. Idem, 992f.

43. Idem, 996.

44. Alberti, op.cit., 869f: "Adde his hominum inurias. Me superi! interdum nequeo non stomachari, cum videam aliquorum incuria (nequid odiosum decerem: avaritia) ea deleri, quibus barbarus et furens hostis ob eorum eximiam dignitatem pepercisset, quaeve tempus pervicax rerum prosternator aeterna esse facile patiebatur."

45. Alberti, op.cit., 174ff.

46. Idem, 450.

47. Idem, 441f: "Restabant vetera rerum exempla templis theatrisque mandata, ex quibus tanquam ex optimis professoribus multa discerentur: eadem non sine lachrymis videbam in dies deleri; et qui forte per haec tempora aedificarent, novis inepriarum deliramentis potius quam probatissimis laudatissimorum operum rationibus delectari; quibus ex rebus futurum negabat nemo, quin brevi haec pars, ut ita loquar, vitae et cognitionis penitus esset interitura."

48. Idem, 856.

49. Idem, 460.

50. Idem, 460f.

51. Antonio Averlino detto il Filarete: Trattato di architettura, Testo a cura di Anna Maria Finoli e Liliana Grassi, Edizioni il Polifilo, Milano 1972, 29: "Tu potresti dire: lo edificio non si amala e non muore come l'uomo. Io ti dico che così fa proprio l'edificio: lui s'amala quando non mangia, cioé quando non é mantenuto, e viene scadendo a poco a poco, come fa proprio l'uomo quando sta senza cibo, poì si casca morto. Così fa proprio l'edificio e se ha il medico quando s'amala, cioé il maestro che lo racconcia e guarisce, sta un buon tempo in buono stato."

52. Idem, 29f: "Così poi continuamente bisogna mantenerlo e riguardarlo da bruttura e da troppa fatica, perché così come l'uomo per troppa fatica s'amala e dimagrasi così l'edificio, per bruttura marcisce il corpo dello edificio come quello de l'uomo, e così nel troppo si guasta e muore come l'uomo proprio, come é detto di sopra."

53. Idem, 429f: "Bisogna avere prudenzia, acciò provega anzi al tempo alle cose che fanno bisogno all'edificio, acciò non per questo mancamento venga a ricevere danno, che solo in quello bisogna la cosa s'abbia a provederla, innanzi tempo sia preparata."

54. Idem, 31f: "...vedi Templum Pacis, che v'é ancora una colonna di marmo di smisurata grandezza ... Dove é il Campidoglio che ancora si legge che era così mirabile con quattro cavalli nella sommità dorati? Dove é il palazzo di Nerone, che aveva le porte di bronzo intagliate, secondo che per le sue medaglie ancora scolpito si vede?"

55. Idem, 34: "El Coliseo lascerò e molti altri al presente; e lascerò il tempio del Panteon, cioé Santa Maria Ritonda, perché è più integra, e questo è stato perché gli è pure stato dato da mangiare per rispetto della religione."

56. Idem, 35; Filarete mentions also the other opinion that the Romans would have taken the bronze and lead out of the structure, and thus made the holes that one still sees today e.g. in the Colosseum. This, in fact, seems to be the real reason, but Filarete considered this cause rather improbable.

57. Idem, 36ff: "... e come si muore uno più presto che un altro e ha più e meno sanità, molte volte proccede per la compressione, cioé d'essere nato sotto migliore pianeto o miglior punto."

58. Grassi, Liliana, 'Introduzione', Il Filarete, op.cit., xv-xliii.

59. Idem, 227ff, 250ff.

60. Vasari, op.cit., II, 457.

61. Colonna, F., Hypnerotomachia Poliphili, Venice 1499; reprinted in Scritti Rinascimentali di Architettura, Edizioni il Polifilo, Milano 1978, 279ff.

62. Francesco di Giorgio Martini: Trattati di Architettura, Ingegneria e Arte Militare, a cura di Corrado Maltese, Edizioni il Polifilo, Milano 1976. The full name of the author was: Francesco Maurizio di Giorgio di Martino.

63.   Maltese, C., 'Introduzione', Francesco di Giorgio Martini, op.cit.

64.   Francesco di Giorgio Martini, op.cit., 275, f.71, Tav.129 (Plan, elevation and section of the Colosseum): "Poi che l'antica cictà di Roma (sic) per li continovi assedioni et ghuerre cominciò a mancare e grandi hedifitii spogliando e diruendo et in più parti ruinare in modo che al presente tucti machati sonno.   Unde mosso da huno aceso desiderio di volere quelle innovare, il che essendo presso al fine in poco tempo in tucto spente verranno, sì per la vetustà loro ed anco per li molti et continovi ghuastatori et pertanto el meglio ched ò possuto non con micola fatica investighando in Roma et fuore molti vari et dengni edifitii ho raccholto perbenché molto ruinati sieno et la dengnità degli ornamenti loro poco se ne vede..."

65.   Giovanni Santi, Cronaca rimata, 1490, Hotzinger, Stuttgart 1897; Santi consideres Martini an excellent architect and also "restauratore delle ruine antiche, e delle spente un supremo inventore". (Diz.Enc.Arch., Roma 1969, III, 501)

66. Francesco di Giorgio Martini, op.cit. 'Introduction'.

67. Idem.

68.   Diz.Enc.Arch., op.cit., III, 370ff;   Maltese, C., 'Nota introduttiva' to 'Leonardo da Vinci, Frammenti sull'architettura', Scritti Rinascimentali, op.cit., 279ff.

69. Leonardo da Vinci, 'Lettera ai fabbricieri del Duomo di Milano' (1487-90), Scritti Rinascimentali, op.cit., 349.

70.   Leonardo da Vinci, MSS, Institut de France, Paris, 50r, 'Frammenti sull'architettura' (1490), Scritti Rinascimentali, op.cit., 292: "Arco non è altro che una fortezza causata da due debolezze, imperò che l'arco negli edifizi è composto di 2 parti di circulo, i quali quarti circuli, ciascuno debolissimo per sé, desidera cadere, e opponendosi alla ruina l'uno dell'altro, le due debolezze si convertano in unica fortezza."

71.   Leonardo da Vinci, MSS, Codice Foster, ii,2,92r, South Kensington Museum, London (1496), Scritti Rinascimentali, op.cit., 292, Tavola XI.

72. Leonardo da Vinci, MSS, Codice Arundel, 138r, 141v, 157r, 157v, 158r, 158v, 180v, British Museum, London (appr.1508), Scritti Rinascimentali, op.cit., 295ff.

73.   Leonardo da Vinci, MSS, Institut de France, Paris (1492), 53r, Scritti Rinascimentali, op.cit., 294.

74. Leonardo da Vinci, 'Lettera ai fabbricieri del Duomo di Milano', Scritti Rinascimentali, op.cit., 349ff.

75. 'Consiglio dato da Francesco di Giorgio sopra il modo di voltare la cupola del Duomo di Milano' (1490), Scritti Rinascimentali, op.cit., 379ff.

76.   'Bramanti opinio super domicilium seu templum magnum', Scritti Rinascimentali, op.cit., 367ff.

77. Idem.

Chapter Three
Early Practice and Protection

3.1. Protective Measures before the Renaissance

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Gradually Rome took a double significance; it continued to remind the people of its greatness as the capital of a world empire, but in the same time it assumed the symbolic function as the capital of the Christian Church. Although lost its economic power, Rome retained its symbolic value, and became a centre of pilgrimage as well as an ambitious target for conquerors during the Middle Ages. Enemy attacks, floods and earthquakes on the one hand, and demolition for the reuse of building materials on the other, gradually reduced the magnificent monuments
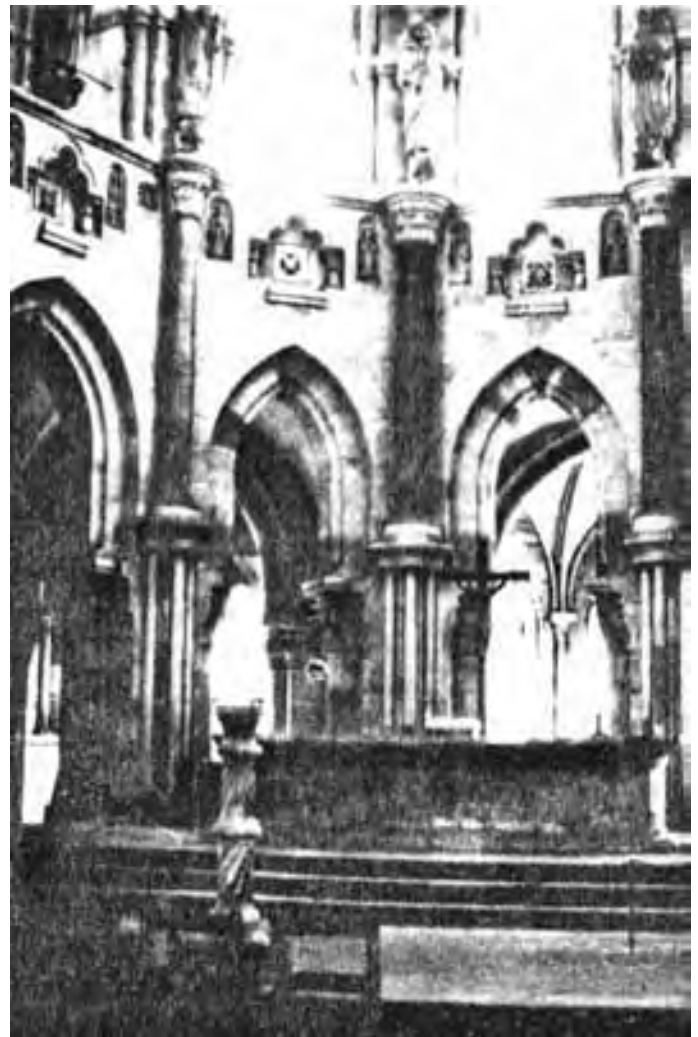
Figure 10. Antique columns in the choir of the cathedral of Magdeburg as a 'relic' of ancient Rome

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.3. Treatment of Buildings in the Fifteenth Century

Papal Measures for Protection

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

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

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

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

Martin V (1417-31)

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

Nicholas V (1447-55)

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

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

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

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

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

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

Castel Sant'Angelo

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

St. Peter's

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Figure 16, A plan of S. Peter's, Rome, showing project by Rossellino and Alberti for the new basilica.
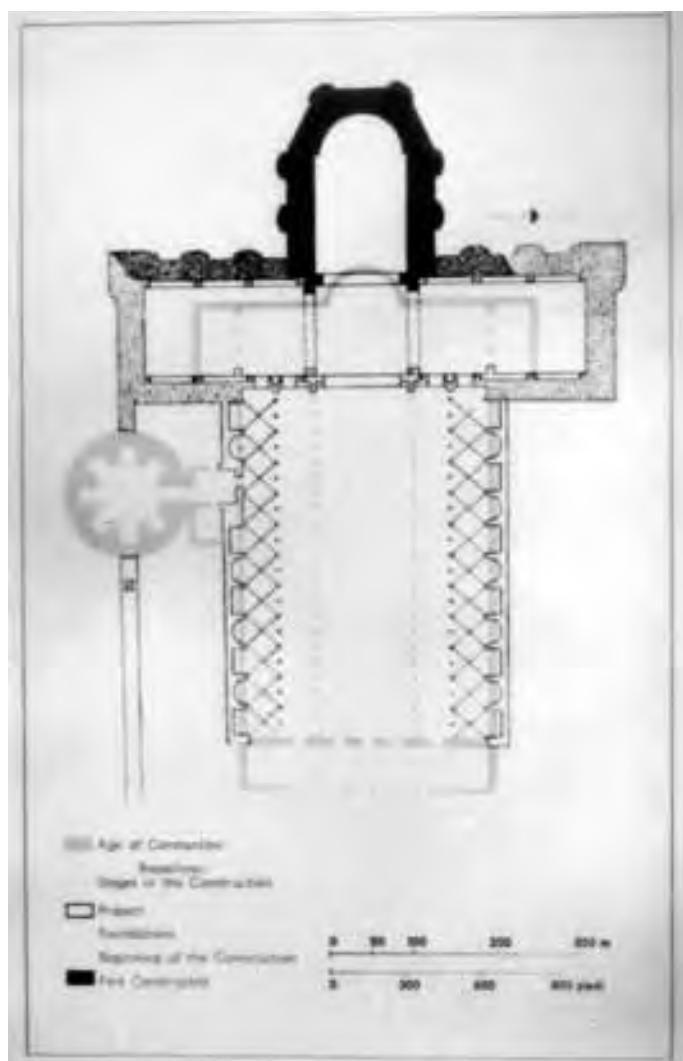
San Pietro, which he had designed to make so vast, so rich, and so splendidly adorned, that it were better to be silent respecting it than to commence the recital." (32) The plans have been attributed mainly to Rossellino, even though the contribution of Alberti has been generally recognized. (33) The new basilica seems to have been conceived as if encasing the old building within a new structure. Though the old nave was left intact, the transept was considerably enlarged and a completely new choir of monumental proportions was planned behind the old apse. (34)

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

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

Other Restoration Projects

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Figure 18, Schematic drawing of S. Stefano Rotondo, showing the antique lay-out on the right and the Renaissance repair on the left.
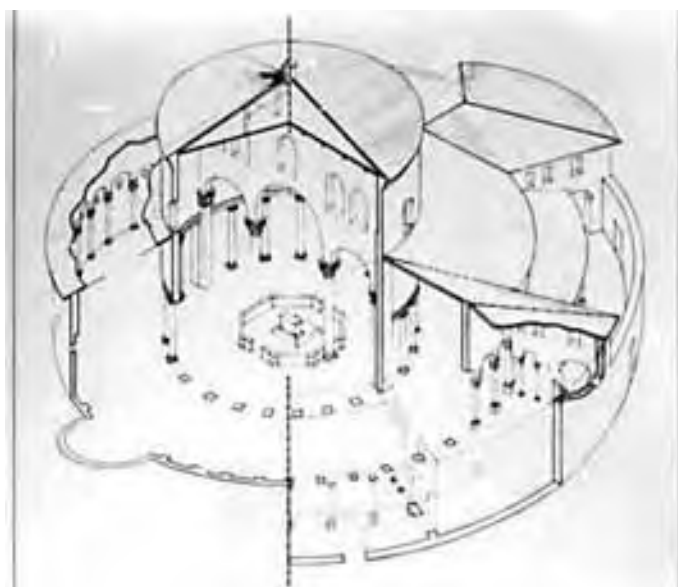
and Franco Borsi point out especially that the restorer "remodelled the early-christian space, subordinating archaeological respect to the requirements of the day," (50) and that the earlier concept of "continuous space" was transformed into a closed "centrality" according the ideal of the Renaissance. (51) Reference has also been made to the concepts of Alberti, who gives preference to the use of columns with architraves and square pillars with arches. The closing of the arcaded colonnade and its transformation into a decorative feature is so in full agreement with his thesis. (52)

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

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

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

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

Pius II (1458-64)

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

Paul II (1464-71)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Restoration of Classical Monuments

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

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

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

It is not known exactly what works the papal and municipal administrators ("Conservatorii") carried out on the triumphal arches. Most probably, these were relatively minor interventions, since, for example, the mediaeval structures over the Arch of Septimius Severus were still in position during the following century. (74) Intervention on the statues of the Dioscuri was similarly minor. Originally part of a colossal Temple of the Sun on the Quirinal, these equestrian statues were so much a part of the place that even the hill was called after them "Monte Cavallo". The fifteenth century repair was limited to simple reinforcement and the building of brick supporting walls in order to display the statues on their bases. (75)

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

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

Sixtus IV (1471-84)

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

3.4. Collections and Restoration of Objects

Collections in the Ancient Rome

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

Renaissance Collections

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Restoration of Sculpture

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.5. Architectural Treatises in the Sixteenth Century

Palladio

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

Figure 29. Sixteenth-century drawing of the Arch of Titus in Rome possibly by Palladio.
Figure 30. Proposal for reuse of antique ornaments (Serlio)

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

Serlio

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

Figures 31 and 32. Proposals for the restoration of old buildings in the style of the Renaissance (Serlio).
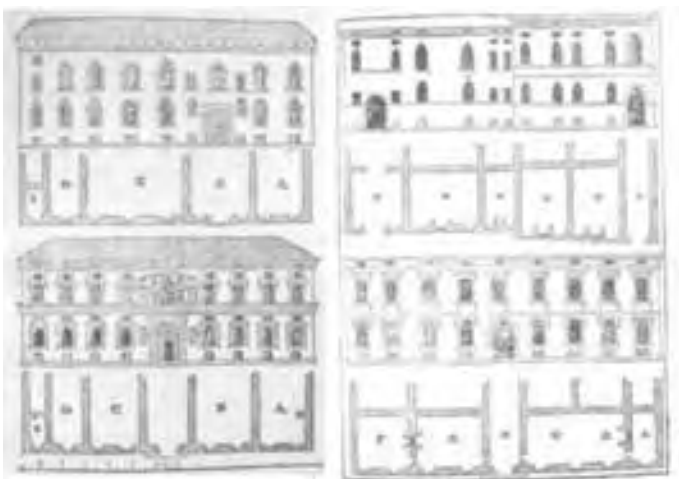
seventh book, published in 1584, he presented a series of proposals for an elegant use of buildings elements, especially columns acquired from ancient structures or found in excavations. He showed different types of solutions, where columns of different sizes and different orders had been adapted to the requirements of ornamenting elevations of palaces and houses. (110) He made suggestions too regarding the modernization of existing mediaeval structures. Considering that 'ancient Romans', when they "had abandoned the good Architecture", had formed irregular sites in cities in part due to arbitrariness in construction, in part because of later divisions, it was often desirable for a decent habitation to be rearranged so as to have at least a regular appearance. Consequently, Serlio proposed examples where the buildings had been made regular within the limits of the site and through exchange of pieces of land with the neighbours or with the city. (111) In the case of a Gothic building, left alone in a 'modernized' context, he proposed to change the elevation into a centrally oriented Classical form in order to harmonize with the environment. (112) In another case where the owner had bought two separate buildings next to each other, the block was provided with a new Classical elevation and a central entrance while preserving the structure behind. (113)

3.6. Treatment of Buildings in the Sixteenth Century

Leo X (1513-21)

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Latin text speaks of "monumenta", here translated as memorial. This derives from the verb "moneo", which means: to remind, to recall, to admonish, to warn, to suggest, to advise. "Monumentum" so means: memory, memorial, funeral monument, document, something that recalls memories, and it was used in reference to buildings, statues, or writings. (122) One could thus see the remains of classical buildings, so far as they had inscriptions on them, as the 'bearers' of a message or memory of past divine spirits; such remains were a reminder or warning to obedience, as in ancient Rome. In fact, there had been several quite severe laws in Imperial Rome stipulating the protection of ancient monuments and existing buildings. (123)

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

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

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

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

and other buildings, is nevertheless built of lime produced from an tique marbles." (126)

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

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

One of the reasons for the preservation of classical remains was claimed to be to have them as models for new magnificent buildings, which should equal them and, if possible, exceed them, in order to sow the holy seed of peace and Christian principles!
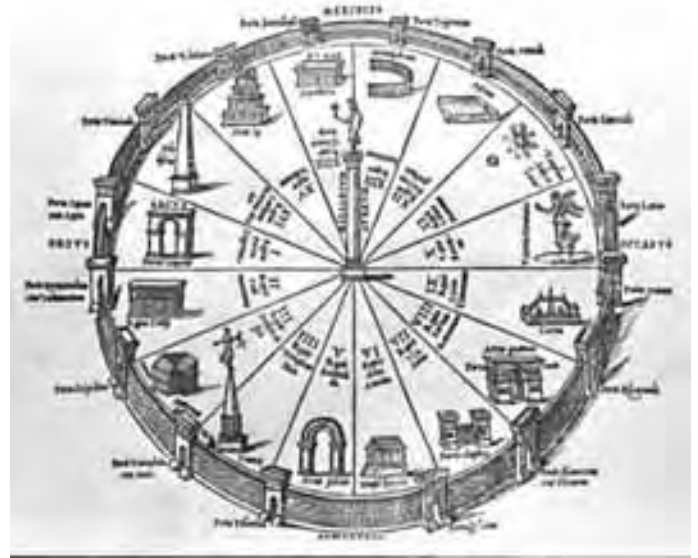
Figure 33. Division of Rome into regions in the book of Calvus M. Fabius, *Antiquae Vrbis Ronae cum regionibus simulachrum*, 1527

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

Figure 34. 'Via Fori Romani' in the book of Calvius M. Fabius (see: fig. 33)
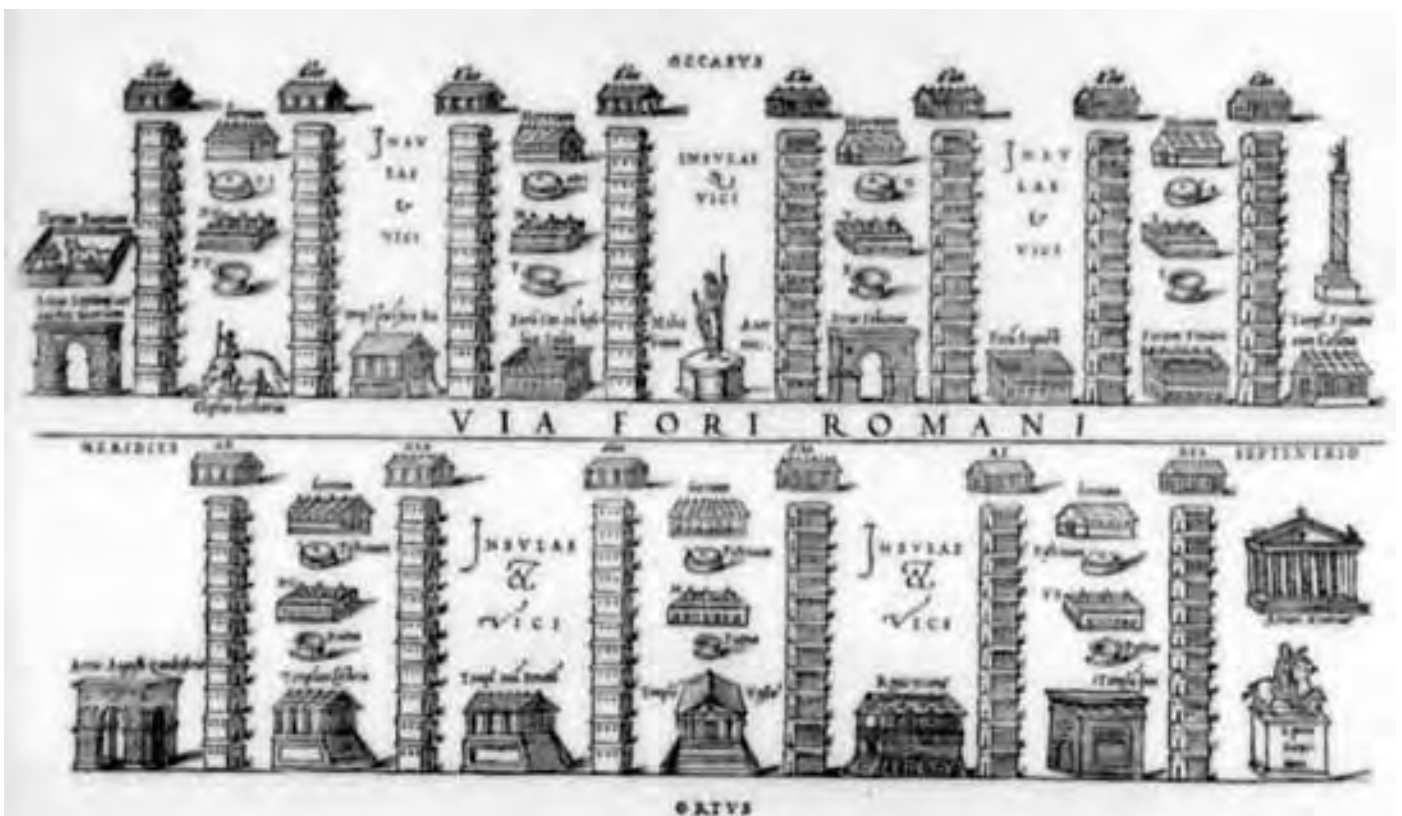
Figure 35. The Arch of Constantine in: Mazochius, *Epigrammata antiquae urbis*, 1521

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

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

Paul III (1534-49)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Figure 39. The plan of the Thermae of Diocletian by Serlio
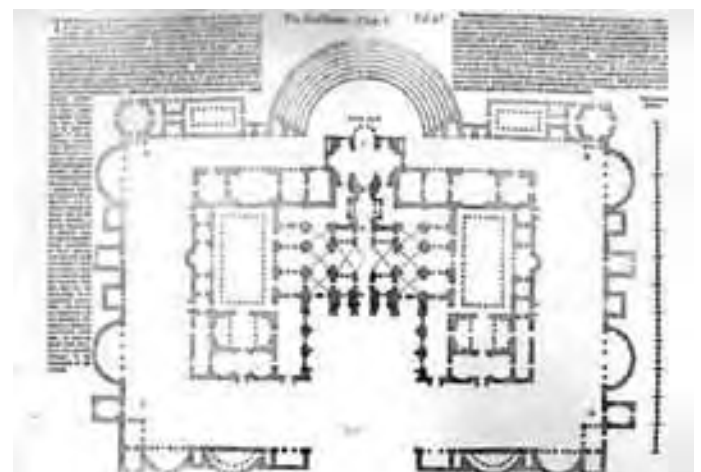
'correspond to the beauty of this ancient monument'. However, these proposals, although approved by the City Council, seem to have remained on paper during the period concerned. (141)

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

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

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

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

Pius IV (1559-65)

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

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

The 86 year old Michelangelo was consulted, together with other architects, about the project and "made a handsome design which has since been carried out by many skilful architects for the Carthusian friars, to the admiration of the Pope, prelates and courtiers, at his judgment in using the shell of the baths and forming a handsome church contrary to the opinion of all architects, thus winning great praise and honour." This was written by Vasari in his 1568 edition of the Lives. (152) The foundation stone was laid in 1561, but the construction did not begin until 1563. The first mass was celebrated in 1565. Pius IV himself was buried in the church which was completed in 1566. (153) Michelangelo conceived the project as a minimum intervention,
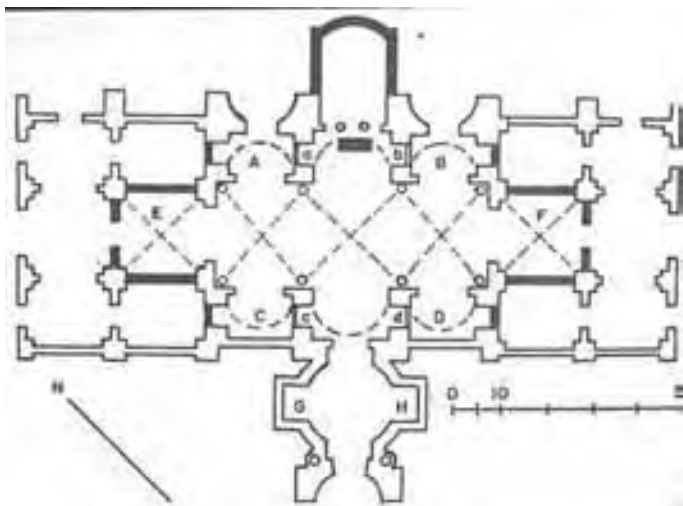
adding new structures or changes only where absolutely necessary. The large cross-vaulted hall in the centre became a kind of transept, which also was the main body of the church. There were three entrances, one from the north, one from the west, and one from the south. The main altar was placed in the centre of the north side in one of the three lower barrel-vaulted spaces, which was continued behind the altar as a choir extending as a new construction over the ancient natatio. On the west side, the corresponding barrel-vaulted space led into a round tepidarium and further into a large, partly ruined calidarium, which formed the entrance from the exedra. The other four barrel-vaulted rooms opened inot the main hall and were conceived as future chapels. The south and north entrances led into the main hall through lower cross-vaulted spaces. (154)

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

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

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

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

Pius V (1566-72) was hostile to this project because of its pagan implications (161), and it remained for Gregory XIII (1572-85) to continue the building. Sixtus V, in turn, quarried some 90,000 m 3 of material from the Thermae for use in building roads and other structures in the area of his neighboring Villa di Montalto. (162) It was probably at this time that the calidarium was demolished. Transformations in the interior gradually changed the concept of Michelangelo. In particular, the works carried out under Luigi Vanvitelli after 1749 gave a new look to the building. (163)

Sixtus V (1585-90)

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

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

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

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

As the Column of Marcus Aurelius received the figure of St.Paul, Trajan's Column received the figure of St. Peter. (165) 0 0Both statues were cast from material from twelfth century bronze doors. (166) Trajan's Column had been erected in AD 113 in the library court of Trajan's Forum to commemorate the Dacian Wars, and it had survived fairly well. It was necessary to repair the upper part of the column, restore the small dome with the entrance to the spiral staircase and prepare a base for the statue. An inscription was carved in the little platform over the capital of the column. (167)

Figure 44. The Column of Marcus Aurelius, Rome: detail of the restoration by Fontana, showing the method of using replicas (on the right) to reintegrate losses
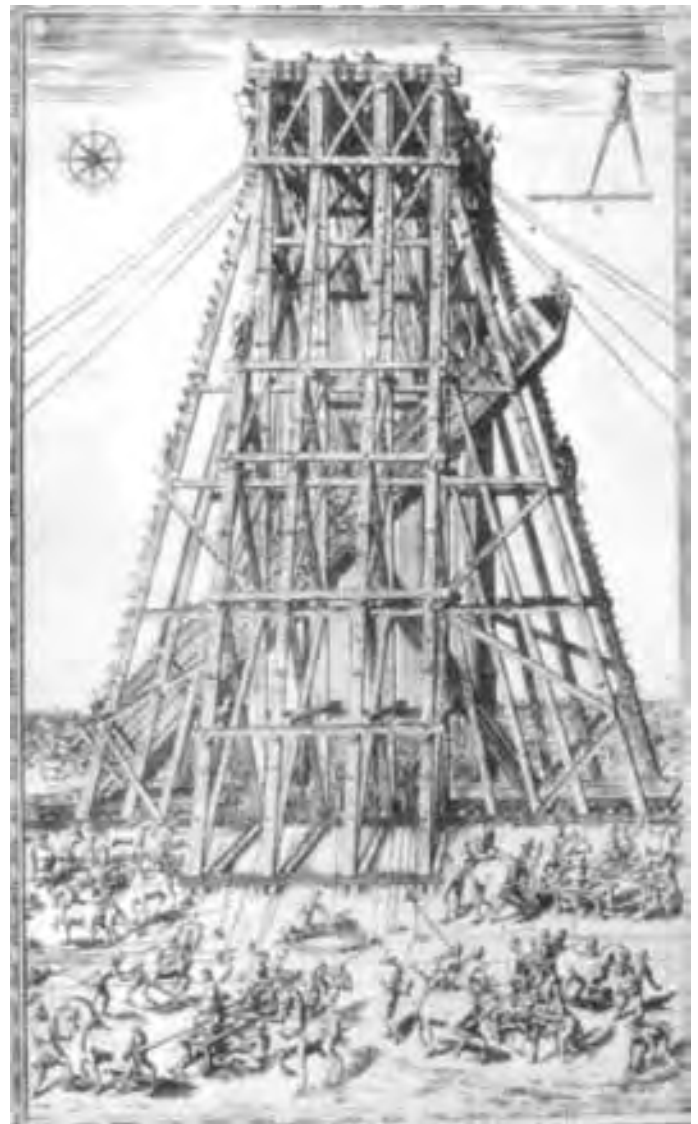
Figure 43. Transportation of the Vatican Obelisk to the square in front of S. Peter's by Domenico Fontana

The other column, erected at the end of the second century in honour of Marcus Aurelius, illustrated the wars against the Germans and the Sarmatians. It had suffered badly from earthquakes and fire. It had cracked lengthwise, and large portions had broken off. The upper drums were displaced by an earthquake and they had rotated so as to be several inches away from the original position. The capital was so badly cracked that workmen had difficulties constructing the necessary lifting machinery on top of the column. The base of the column (partly under ground) was also in poor condition. Fontana had the surface of the base with the reliefs cut away, and the core enclosed in a new marble base, for which the material was taken from the demolished Septizonium. The cracks in the column itself were tied across with iron cramps leaded below the surface level, so that the reliefs could be repaired in plaster afterwards. The missing parts of the column were integrated with new marble, on which the reliefs were carved. The new blocks were cut straight on the edges, but were
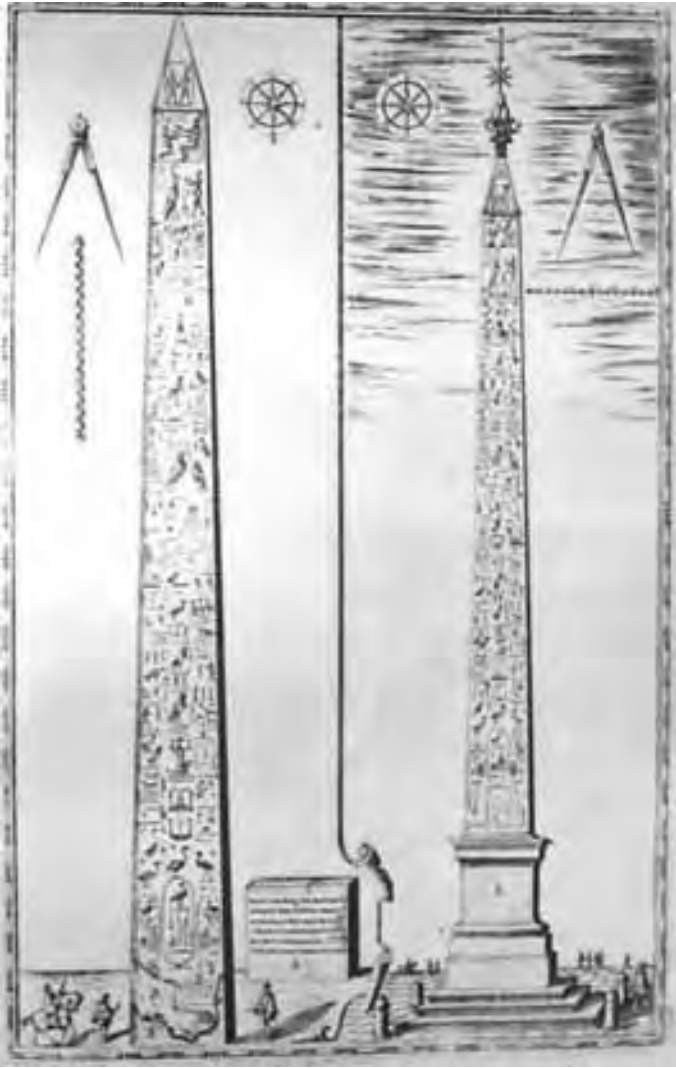
Figure 45. The Latean Obelisk before and after restoration

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

Obelisks

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Colosseum

The last great project of Fontana concerned the Colosseum. The first idea of Sixtus had been to demolish this monument to provide space for a road, but, after the insistance of the Romans, the proposal was put forward to adapt it for a socially and economically useful function. The idea was to support industrial activities which gave working opportunities to the poor and unemployed, and in this way also to strengthen the economical situation of the city. (176) Fontana prepared a project for its use as a wool factory, providing workshops and workers' housing for the wool guild. Each worker and his family was planned to have a small section of this enormous building with a workshop, two rooms for living purposes and a loggia. (177) These were to be arranged on two floors, and the intention seems to have been to rebuild at least part of the collapsed southern section of the amphitheatre. Fountains were planned to be built on the arena for the use of the industry as well as for the inhabitants. The Pope had already given fifteen thousand scudi to merchants to promote this activity, and a hundred men with sixty carts and horses were working to level the surrounding area, when he suddenly died. (178) All plans were suspended and Fontana himself was forced to leave Rome for Naples.

Notes to Chapter Three

1. The Great Temple of Abu-Simbel was built by Ramses II (1304-1237 BC), and one of the colossal seated statues of the builder had its broken arm supported by blocks of stone by Sethi II (1216-1210 BC). In Egypt, a painted or sculptured image was believed to have itself a spirit, and could see the material of the statue thus containing an almost religious significance.

2. The Persians devastated Athens in 480-479 B.C. Before the battle of Plataea in 479 B.C., the Athenians had sworn an oath that "the sanctuaries which have been burnt and thrown down by the barbarians" were not to be rebuilt, but to be left "as memorials of the impiety of the barbarians". Consequently, temples were left in ruins not only on the Acropolis, but also in other parts of the Greece, described by Herodotus, Strabo and Pausanias.

Figure 48. The plan by D. Fontana to use the Colosseum, Rome, as a wool factory. Each worker and his family were supposed to have an appartment with a workshop
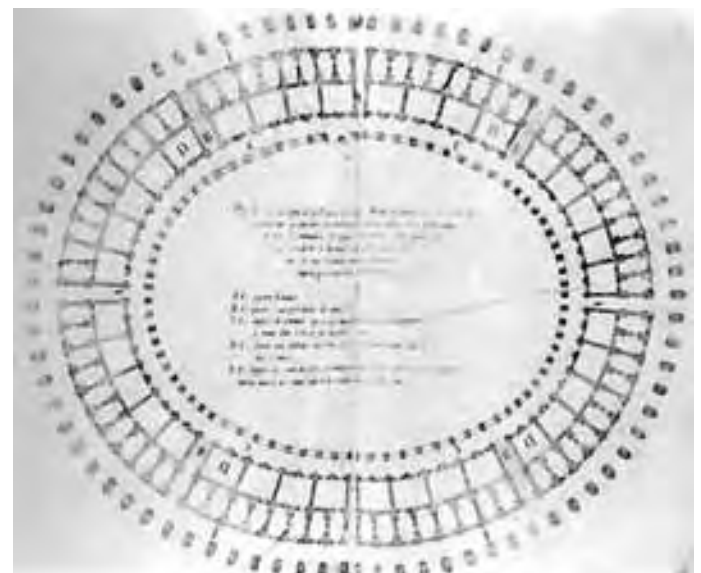
The column drums can still be seen in the northern wall of the Acropolis. Dinsmoor, William Bell, The Architecture of Ancient Greece, New York, 1975, 150f. D'Ooge, M.L., The Acropolis of Athens, New York, 1909, 69.

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

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

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

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

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

7. Theodosianus, The Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmondian Constitutions, Princeton Univ. Press, 1952, 553f. (See below.) Although there were numerous orders for the destruction of temples and shrines in the fourth and fifth centuries AD, there were also orders for protection and repair. On 6 August 365, the Emperors Valentinian and Valens ordered to the Prefect of Rome: "Since We desire to restore the condition of the Eternal City and to provide for the dignity of the public buildings, We order that a solidus shall be paid to each limeburner and lime transporter for each wagon load of lime." (Ibid, 412) On 8 July 357, Emperor Constantine to Flavianus, Proconsul of Africa. "No man shall suppose that municipalities may be deprived of their own ornaments, since indeed it was not considered right by the ancients that a municipality should lose its embellishments, as though they should be transferred to the buildings of another city." (Ibid, 423) 25 May 364, Emperors Valentinian and Valens Augustuses to Symmachus, Prefect of the City. "None of the judges shall construct any new building within the Eternal City of Rome if the order therefor of Our Serenity should be lacking. However, We grant permission to all to restore those buildings which are said to have fallen into unsightly ruins." (Ibid, 424) On 21 June 395, Emperors Arcadius and Honorius Augustuses to Eusebius, Count of the Sacred Imperial Largesses. "In order that the splendid cities and towns may not fall into ruins through age, We assign a third part of the income from the farms belonging to a municipality to be used for the repair of public works and the heating of baths." (Ibid, 427) 11 July 458, Emperors Leo and Majorian Augustuses to Aemilianus, Prefect of the City of Rome,

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

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

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

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

An Italian translation has been published by Francesco Milizia in Memorie degli architetti antichi e moderni, Bassano 1785, 75ff. To the Prefect of Rome, Theodoric addressed a 'formula', 'Formula ad praefectum urbis de architecto faciendo in urbe Roma' (Cassiodorus, 'Variae', VII, 15, ed. Mommsen, op.cit., 211f.): "Romanae fabricae decus peritum convenit habere custodem, ut illa mirabilis silva moenium diligentia subveniente servetur et moderna facies operis affabris dispositionibus contruatur. hoc enim studio largitas nostra non cedit, ut et facta veterum exclusis defectibus innovemus et nova vetustatis gloria vestiamus. Proinde illum illustris magnitudo tua Romanis arcibus ab illa indictione datum architectum esse cognoscat. et quia iustis commodis stodia constat artium nutrienda, ad eum volumus pertinere quicquid decessores eius constat rationabiliter consecutos. videbit profecto meliora quam legit, pulchriora quam cogitare potuit, statuas illas, auctorum suorum scilicet adhuc signa retinentes, ut quamdiu laudabilium personarum opimio superesset, tamdiu et similitudinem vivae substantiae imago corporis custodiret: conspiciet expressas in aere venas, nisu quodam musculos tumentes, nervos quasi gradu tensos et sic hominem fusum in diversas similitudines, ut credas potius esse generatum. ..." (Italian translation published by Milizia, op.cit., 77ff.)

10. 'Theoderich (d. Gr.)', Pauli - Winowa, Realencyclopedie, V, 2, 1770.

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

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

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

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

Miscellanea Pontificiae, edita a Facultate Historiae Ecclesiasticae, in Pontificia Universitate Gregoriana, XLV, Università Gregoriana Editrice, Roma 1979, 425ff. Lanciani, R., Storia degli scavi di Roma e notizie intorno le collezioni romane di antichità, Roma 1902-1912, ristampa A. Forni, Roma 1975, I, 11ff.

15. Lanciani, Storia..., op.cit., I, 51f.

16. von Pastor, L., Storia dei Papi, Roma 1942, I, 643.

17. von Pastor, L., op.cit., 510: "Cinque grandi imprese erano fitte nella mente del papa: il rassettamento delle mura urbane, degli acquedotti e ponti, il restauro delle 40 chiese cosidette stazionali, la nuova costruzione del Borgo Vaticano, del palazzo papale e della chiesa di S. Pietro." See also: Borsi, F., Leon Battista Alberti, *L'opera completa*, Electa Editrice, Milano 1980, 37; Müntz, Eugène, *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes pendant le XVe et le XVIe siècle, recueil de documents inédits, tirés des archives et des bibliothèques romaines*, Paris 1878, I,340f. (Repr. Georg Olms Verlag, Hildesheim-Zürich-New York, 1983).

18. Vasari,G., *Le Vite de' più eccellenti Pittori, Scultori ed Architettori*, scritte da Giorgio Vasari, pittore Aretino, con nuove annotazioni e commenti di Gaetano Milanesi, Firenze 1906, III, 101: "E chi crederà che egli volesse farvi un teatro per le coronazioni de'pontefici? ed i giardini, logge e acquidotti, fontane, cappelle, librerie; ed un conclavi appartato, bellissimo? Insomma, questo (non so se palazzo, castello o città debbo nominarlo) sarebbe stata la più superba cosa che mai fusse stata fatta dalla creazione del mondo, per quello che si sa, insino a oggi."

19. Vasari, op.cit., II,538, "Capitando Leon Batista a Roma al tempo di Nicola V, che aveva col suo modo di fabbricare messo tutta Roma sottosopra." (English translation: Foster,J.)

20. Magnusson, T., 'The Project of Nicholas V for Rebuilding the Borgo Leonino in Rome', *Art Bulletin*, XXXVI, 1954, 115. Borsi, Leon Battista Alberti, op.cit., 57.

21. Vasari, op.cit., II, 538, "Bernardo Rossellino ... Costui avendo messo mano a rassettare il palazzo del papa, ed a fare alcune cose in Santa Maria Maggiore, come volle il papa, da indi innanzi si consigliò sempre con Leon Batista; onde il pontefice col parere dell'uno di questi duoi, e coll'eseguire dell'altro, fece molte cose utili e degne di esser lodate: come furono il condotto dell'acqua Vergine..." (English transl. Foster,J.)

22. Vasari, op.cit., III, 99: "In Roma, ristaurò ed in molti luoghi rinnovò le mura della città, che per la maggior parte erano rovinate; aggiungendo loro alcune torri, e conprendendo in queste una nuova fortificazione che fece a Castel Sant'Angelo di fuora, e molte stanze ed ornamenti che fece dentro." (English transl. Foster,J.)

23. Coarelli, F., *Guida archeologica di Roma*, Mondadori, Milano 1974, 322ff.

24. Krautheimer, R., *Profile of a City*, op.cit., 267ff.

25. Müntz, Les Arts, op.cit., I, 345.

26. Alberti, L'Architettura, op.cit., VII, iv, 549: "Demum, ubi templum colloces, esse oportet celebre illustre et, uti loquuntur, superbum, et ab omni profanorum contagio ex/ /peditum. Ea re pro fronte habebit amplam et se dignam plateam, circuetur stratis laxioribus vel potius plateis dignissimis, quoad undevis praeclare conspicuum sit."

27. Krautheimer, R., *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, The Pelican History of Art, Penguin Books (1965) 1975, 55ff.

28. Idem, 59f.

29. Alberti, L'Architettura, op.cit., I,75: "Atqui adverti in basilica Petri Romae, id quod res ipsa prae se fert, factum inconsultissime, ut supra crebras et continuatas aperiones praelongum et praelatum parietem decerent nullis flexis lineis corroboratum, nullis fulturis communitum; quodve considerasse oportuit, totam ipsam alam parietis nimium frequenti aperione suffossam perquam sublimem tetendit, posuitque, ut impetuosissimis aquilonibus excipiendis extarent. Quo factum est, ut iam tum primum assidua ventorum molestia pedes mlus sex ab perpendiculi rectitudine in pronum cesserit; neque dubito futurum, ut olim levi appulsu modicove motu corruat. Quod ni trabeationibus tectorum contineretur, procul dubio sponte sua iam inchoata obliquitate rueret."

30. Barberine, XXXIV, 50f, 431, (Müntz, Les Arts, op.cit. I, 118).

31. Alberti, op.cit., X, 999: "Apud Romam ad // basilicam Petri maximam, quod alae parietum in columnis a perpendiculo declinantes ruinam tectis minentur, sic excogitaram. Pronam parietis singulam partem eam, quam columna quaevis substineat, institueram abscidere atque e medio amovere; idque parietis, quod demptum esset, restituere opere ordinario ad perpendiculum, relictis inter struendum hinc atque hinc dentibus lapideis anseolisque validissimis, quibus reliqua structurae innovatio annecteretur. Denique ad tectum trabem, cui proclinata muri pars subadimenda esset, commendassem capreis machinis supra tectum erectis, firmatis hinc atque hinc machinarum pedibus in tecti parietisque parte stabiliore. Hoc deinceps in alteris atque alteris columnis, quantum res postulasset, effecissem."

32. Vasari, op.cit., III, 101, "La quinta delle cinque cose che il medesimo aveva in idea di fare, era la chiesa di San Pietro, la quale aveva disegnata di fare tanto grande, tanto ricca e tanto ornata, che meglio é tacere che metter mano, per non poter dirne anco una minima parte." (English transl. Foster,J.)

33. Borsi, Leon Battista Alberti, op.cit., 52, 57. Heydenreich, L.H., Lotz, W., *Architecture in Italy 1400-1600, The Pelican History of Art*, Penguin Books 1974, 29.

34. Heidenreich-Lotz, op.cit., 30.

35. Müntz, Les Arts, op.cit., I, 120ff.

36. Borsi, Leon Battista Alberti, op.cit., 52f.

37. Palmieri, M., De temporibus etc., 241, in Heydenreich-Lotz, op.cit., 334,fn 12/IV.

38. Borsi, Leon Battista Alberti, op.cit., 53.

39. Wittkower, R., *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism*, Academy Editions, London 1973, 37ff. Borsi, Leon Battista Alberti, op.cit., 127ff. Heydenreich-Lotz, op.cit., 27ff.

40. Vasari, op.cit., II, 539: "Dopo andato al signor Sigismondo Malatesti d'Arimini, gli fece il modello della chiesa di San Francesco, e quello della facciata particolarmente, che fu fatta di marmi; e così la rivolta della banda di verso mezzo giorno, con archi grandissimi, e sepolture per uomini illustri di quella città. Insomma, ridusse quella fabbrica in modo, che per cosa soda, ell'é uno de'più famosi tempj d'Italia."

41. Vasari, op.cit., III, 99f: "Parimenti aveva il detto pontefice in animo, e la maggior parte condusse a buon termine, di restaurare e riedificare, secondo che più avevano di bisogno, le quaranta chiese delle stazioni già instituite da San Gregorio I, che fu chiamato, per soprannome, Grande. Così restaurò Santa Maria Trastevere, Santa Prasedia, San Teodoro, San Pietro in Vincula, e molte altre delle minori. Ma con maggior animo, ornamento e diligenza fece questo in sei delle sette maggiori e principali; cioé San Giovanni Laterano, Santa Maria Maggiore, Santo Stefano in Celio monte, Sant'Apostolo, San Paolo e San Lorenzo extra muros..."

42. Müntz, Les Arts, op.cit., I, 139 (T.S. 1453, fol. 33): "1000 duc. per lo lastricho e incholatura di santo Stefano Cielimonte; - 236 duc. per le finestre del vetro di detto luogho ... - 445 duc. 12 b. per le lo lavoro del tetto di santo Apostolo; - 254 duc. 10 b. per lo lavoro di santa Maria Ritondo; - 2000 duc. per santo Todaro; - 109 duc. 58 b. per le finestre del marmo e del fero per la chapella di santa Maria dela Febre ..."

43. Müntz, Les Arts, op.cit., I, 141ff. Borsi, Leon Battista Alberti, op.cit., 42.

44. Krautheimer, Early Christian, op.cit., 96. Borsi, Leon Battista Alberti, op.cit., 42ff. Ceschi, Carlo, *Teoria e storia del restauro*, Mario Bulzoni Editore, Roma 1970, 11f.

45. Flavio Biondo, *Roma instaurata*, I, lxxx; Müntz, Les Arts, op.cit., 141: "Ecclesia sancti Stephani rotunda, de ipso monte Coelio cognomen habens, quam tecto nunc carentem, marmoreis columnis et crustatis varii coloris marmore parietibus musivoque opere inter primas urbis ecclisias ornatissimam fuisse judicamus".

46. *Bullarium Vaticanium*, II, 146f, 11 August 1454; Müntz, Les Arts. op.cit., I, 141, fn1: "Hinc est quod nos, qui dudum miserati deformi ruinae venerabilis ecclisiae sancti Stephani in Coelio monte de Urbe, tamdiu ... per multa tempora collapsae, et divino cultu penitus destitutae, eamdem ecclesiam non sine magnis sumptibus, deo opitulante, instauravimus, et ad decentem stateum reduximus, ac in ea ordinem fratrum sancti Pauli primi heremitae sub regula sancti Augustini regularique observantia degentium..."

47. Borsi, Leon Battista Alberti, op.cit., 41ff. Ceschi, op.cit., 11f. Mack, C.R., *Studies in the Architectural Career of Bernardo di Matteo Chamberelli called Rossellino*, University of N. Carolina at Chapel Hill, PhD., 1972, Fine Arts.

48. Francesco di Giorgio Martini, Trattati, op.cit., 283, f84, tav.155: "heditio ruinato le cholonne et circulatione dele volte di fore el qual fu ornatissimo. Rafationallo papa Nichola. Ma molto più lo ghuastò. Dicesi Scto Stefano Ritondo."

49. Ceschi, op.cit., 11: "...nessuna preoccupazione evidente di ripristinare l'antico, ma soprattutto quella di ridare una funzione ed una forma attuale all'edificio."

50. Zevi, Bruno, 'Alberti', Enciclopedia Universale dell'Arte, I, 197: "L'intervento di Santo Stefano Rotondo è quanto mai significativo. L'Alberti restaura il colonnato del cerchio interno, demolisce la cinta muraria continua esterna e racchiude l'edificio nel perimetro dell'ultimo colonnato di cui mura l'intercolumnio. Con queste operazioni egli rivoluziona lo spazio paleocristiano, sottomettendo il rispetto archeologico all'attualità figurativa; la storia del gusto, la conoscenza del testo antico alla ragione creativa."

51. Borsi, Leon Battista Alberti, op.cit., 43: "Dal continuum orientaleggiante, dove il rapporto tra esterno e interno viene filtrato e reso segreto e variabile secondo il giro della luce solare, si passa alla 'centralità' rinascimentale che propone l'edificio come un oggetto avulso dall'esterno, concluso nella sua configurazione volumetrica, nella sua vocazione geometrica."

52. Idem, 50ff.

53. Flavio Biondo, op.cit., III, lxiv-lxvi; Müntz, Les Arts, op.cit., 34 fn2: "Ejus stupendum fornicem vetustate ipsa et terremotibus scissum ruinamque minantem, tua, pontifex Eugeni, opera impensaque, instauratum et chartis plumbeis alicubi deficientibus coopertum laeta inspicit curia. Et quum ipsa insignis ecclesia caeteras facile superans multis ante saeculis celsas quibus attlitur columnas habuisset: sordidissimis diversorum tabernis quaestuum a nudata mirabilis aedificii pulchritudinem ostendunt: acceduntque decori strata tiburtino lapide subjecta templo area: et quae ad aetatis nostrae campum Marium ducit via."

54. *Opera di Andrea Fulvio della antichità della Città di Roma, & delli edificij memorabili di quella*, Tradotta nuovamente di Latino in lingua toscana, per Paulo dal Rosso cittadino Fiorentino in Vinegia M.D.XLIII. Con il priuilegio del sommo Pontefice Paulo III. E l del illustriss. Senatoc Veneto, per anni X., 207: "Dicesi che il tetto il quale fu restaurato pochi anni fa da Nicolao Quinto, & hora è coperto di piastre di piombo, appresso di gli antichi era coperto di piastre d'Argento, le quali Costantino terzo

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

66. Tomei, L'Architettura, op.cit., 84ff.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

83. Müntz, Les Arts, op.cit. I.

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

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

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

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

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

89. Idem.

90. Idem.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Quo magis postquam omnis Idolatriae cultus ab ipsa urbe sublatus est et templa Idolis dicata in Dei nostri et, sanctorum cultum abierunt, debuissent antiqua Urbis Monimenta conservari, ut in ipsis Templis, ad aeternitatem et splendorem aedificatis et divina magnificentius et duturnius celebrarentur ut ab invisentibus Urbis ruinas Deo laudes redderentur, qui tantas opes et potentiam hominibus concessisset.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

136. Idem.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

146. Palladio wrote about the baths of Diocletian: "Le Diocletiane edificate da Diocletiano sono anchora in piedi la maggior parte, vicino à la chiesa di santa Susanna, di stupenda gràdezza, ne l'edificationi de le quali Diocletiano tenne molti anni .140. mille Christiani à edificarle." (Palladio, A., L'Antichità di Roma, Roma 1554 - repr. Five Early Guides to Rome and Florence with an introduction by Peter Murray, Gregg International Publ. Ltd., 1972)

147. Serlio, Il Terzo Libro di Sebastiano Serlio, bolognese, nel qual si figurano, & descriuono le antichità di Roma, & le altre, che sono in Italia, & fuori d'Italia, Venetia 1584: "Le Therme Diocletiane sono veramente vn ricchissimo edificio, per quanto si comprende nel le rouine, che ancora si veggono sopra terra, & oltra gli appartamenti grandissimi, & di varie forme, che vi sono con ricchi ornamenti, il gran numero di colonne, & di buona grossezza che vi erano, è gran testimonio della grandezza sua." (English translation: Serlio, The Five Books of Architecture, An Unabridged Reprint of the English Edition of 1611, Dover Publ. New York 1982.

148. Zevi, B., 'Santa Maria degli Angeli', Portoghesi, P.-Zevi, B., Michelangelo Architetto, Einaudi 1964, 761ff; Bernardi Salvetti, C., S. Maria degli Angeli alle Terme e Antonio lo Duca, Desché & C. Editori Pontifici, Città di Castello 1965.

149. Zevi, op.cit.

150. Zevi, op.cit.; Bernardi, op.cit.

151. Idem.

152. Vasari, op.cit., VII, 261: "prevalse un suo disegno, che fece, a molti altri fatti da eccellenti architetti, con tante belle considerazioni per comodità de' frati Certosini, che l'hanno ridotto oggi quasi a perfezione; che fe stupire Sua Santità e tutti i prelati e signori di corte delle bellissime considerazioni che aveva fatte congiudizio, servendosi di tutte l'ossature di quelle terme: e se ne vedde cavato un tempio bellissimo, ed una entrata fuor della openione di tutti gli architetti; dove ne riportò lode ed onore infinito."

153. Decretor. po. ro. Credenzone I, xxi, seduta 14 agosto 1561; Lanciani, Storia degli scavi op.cit., III, 230f: "Conoscendo Sua Santità la fabbrica di Termine più tosto andar ogni giorno in rovina, che conservarsi senza profitto alcuno del publico o del privato ha liberamente concesso dello loco (alla relig. de i Certosini) consacrandolo et dedicandolo alla gloriosa Regina del cielo ... Perilché si verrà à far una fabbrica et un luogo bellissimo che sarà meritamente celebrato per tutto il mondo et non solo ne resterà mità." The adaptation of the ruined ancient baths into a church and convent was carried out using new bricks from the factories of the Vatican in Tivoli and Monticelli, and new tufa-stone quarried from Santa Saba. See also Bernardi Salvetti, S. Maria degli Angeli op.cit.

154. Ricci, C., 'S. Maria degli Angeli e le Terme diocleziane', Bollettino d'Arte, 1909, X, 361ff. Zevi, 'Santa Maria degli Angeli', op.cit.; Pinna, A., 'Catalogo dell Opere', Michelangelo, Architettura, Pittura, Scultura,

Bramante Editrice, Milano 1964, 44 (Plan of the church: fig. 36, p. 29).

155. Titi, Guida, in Ricci, 'S. Maria degli Angeli...' op.cit., 362: "Per ridur la parte maggiore a questo uso sacro, Pio IV ne incaricò il Bonarroti, che col suo grandissimo ingegno ridusse il maggior cavo, e più saldo, di queste rovine a una delle più maestose e proporzionate chiese, e insieme più regolari che sia in Roma. Questo grand'uomo ... trovò tra questi avanzi rovinosi una gran sala o tribuna o basilica che dir vogliamo, fatta in volta, retta sopra maggiori che si sien vedute ... Tra l'una e l'altra colonna rimanevano sei archi smisurati, due nelle estremità e due nel mezzo, i quali trapassavano altrove, come si dirà. Sotto i detti archi estremi erano quattro cavità, come se fossero quattro gran cappelle, al qual comodo si potevano facilmente ridurre, e sarebbero state come tante competenti chiesette ... aperse una sontuosa porta ricca di travertini, architettati sul buon gusto greco, la qual porta guardava verso Villa Negroni ... Lasciando le altre cavità rozze per ridurle a cappelle quando che fosse..."

156. Titi, Guida, op.cit. see note 145.

157. There are few illustrations of the work of Michelangelo; amongst the few are some prints by Alò Giovannoli, 1616, sketches from the interior by Francesco Bianchini, as well as the drawings by Israel Silvestre (Bernardi Salvetti, Santa Maria degli Angeli op.cit.; Gamucci, Antichità di Roma; Ricci, 'S. Maria degli Angeli...' op.cit.; Zevi, 'Santa Maria degli Angeli' op.cit.)

158. De Tolnay, Michelangelo, V, 'The Final Period', Princeton 1960, 14.

159. Idem, 15.

160. Idem, 92.

161. Zevi, 'Santa Maria degli Angeli' op.cit., 767.

162. Lanciani, R., La distruzione di Roma antica, Milano 1971, 217ff: 74124 cub.m of the structures of Diocletian's Baths were destroyed in order to obtain material for the construction of roads in 1586.

163. Pane, R., 'L'Attività di Luigi Vanvitelli fuori del Regno delle Due Sicilie', in Di Stefano, R. (editor), Luigi Vanvitelli, Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, Napoli 1973. Milizia, F., Memorie degli architetti antichi e moderni, I-II, Bassano 1785 (repr. A. Forni, Bologna 1978), I, 213f: Milizia refers to the church of Michelangelo and to the changes made by Vanvitelli, and especially to the criticism by G. Bottari of Vanvitelli's work.

164. Fontana, D., Della trasportatione dell'obelisco vaticano et delle fabriche di nostro Signore Papa Sisto V fatte dal Cavallier Domenico Fontana, architetto di Sua Santità I-II, Roma 1590, Napli 1603-04, I,86: "E, perché si come Nostro Signore hebbe intentione d'amplificare il culto della Croce, così anche ha havuto sempre intetione principale di levar via tutte le gentilità de gli antichi dalla Città di Roma, e di tutti gli altri luoghi della Christianità: in esecuzione di questo suo santo proponimento, cominciò

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

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

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

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

168. Idem.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

178. Fontana, op.cit., II.

Chapter Four
Seventeenth Century

4.1. Archaeological interest and collections

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

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

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

Early Greek explorations

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

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

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

Figure 50. Destruction of the Parthenon in 1687

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

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

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

The Venetians held Athens for only a short period, and after their withdrawal the Ottomans again fortified the Acropolis. The little temple of Athena Nike, Wingless Victory, was dismantled and used for the building of the ramparts in front of the Propylaea. A small mosque was also built inside the ruined Parthenon. (11)

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

Roman excavations and collections

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

4.2. Giovan Pietro Bellori

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Restoration of Paintings

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

Restoration Concepts of Bellori and Maratta

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

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

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

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

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

marbles, 80 bronzes, and other objects in the already remarkable collections in Brandenburg. (42) In 1696-1701, Beger published a selected catalogue in three volumes of the collections. (43) In the same period, two large thesauri were published. One of these on Greek antiquities was prepared by Jacob Gronovius (13 volumes, published 1694-1701); the other, on Roman antiquities, was the work of Johann Georg Graevius (12 volumes, published 1694-1699). Both were the responsibility of Peter van der Aa, a book seller from Leiden. (44) At about the same time, from 1698-1701, a Benedictine monk, Bernard de Montfaucon (1655-1741), philologist and church historian, travelled around Italy collecting material for his ten volumes of *L'Antiquité expliquée et representée en figures*, published in 17l9, and soon translated into English and German. (45) The work included 40,000 illustrations and 1200 plates. Though an impressive undertaking, the material was not properly ordered, and the figures were without any scale so that on the same page one could have a small bronze and a life size marble statue drawn to the same size. In this period several edicts were published in different parts of Italy (Tuscany 1597, 1600, 1602, 1610; Rome 1624, 1646, 1686, etc.) allowing excavations only under licence, and forbidding exportation of antiquities, gems and precious stones. (46)

4.3. Restoration of Classical Monuments

Alexander VII

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Pantheon

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

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

Figure 53. Bernini's plan to redecorate the interior of the Pantheon as a mausoleum for Alexander VII
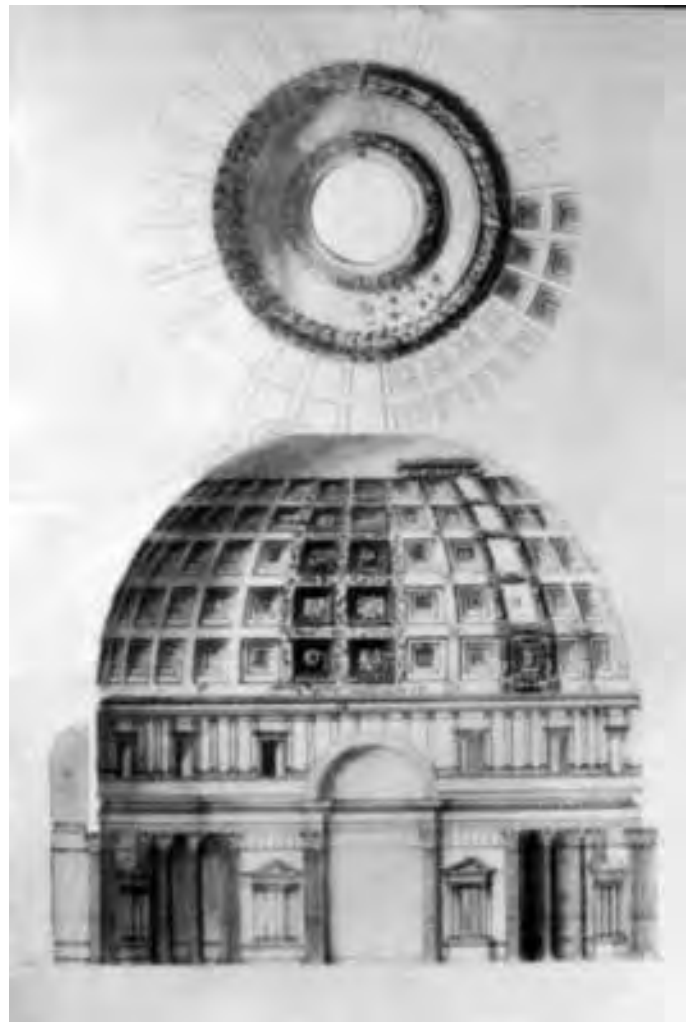
Figure 54. The Pantheon in the early 17th century. Two columns and three capitals of the portico are missing. The pediment is broken; a bell tower marks its use as a church

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

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

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

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

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

Figure 56. The Pantheon after removal of the bell towers

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

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

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

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

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

The Colosseum

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

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

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

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

The plans of de'Tomasi and Bernini were never carried out, but Clement X had the lower arches walled and the entrances provided with wodden gates. A large wooden cross was placed on top of the amphitheatre on the occasion of the 1675 Jubileum; it was consecrated to the memory of martyrs. Marble plates with inscriptions were placed over the main entrances. (78)

Notes to Chapter Four:

1. Rubens, Albert, *Dissertatio de Gemma Augustea*, written by the son of Peter Paul Rubens between 1643 and 1651; published after the death of the author, in 1665.

2. Iunius, Franciscus, De pictura veterum libri tres, 1637.

3. Heres, Gerald, 'Archäologie im 17. Jahrhundert', *Archäologie zur Zeit Winckelmanns*, Eine Aufsatzsammlung herausgegeben von Max Kunze, (Beiträge der Winckelmann-Gesellschaft, Stendal, Band 2) Stendal 1975

4. Peacham, Henry, *The Compleat Gentleman*, 1634, 107: "I cannot but with much reverence mention the every way Right honourable Thomas Howard, lord high Marshal of England, as great for his high birth and place, to whose liberal charges and magnificence, this angle of the world oweth the first sight of Greek and Roman statues, with whose admired presence he began to honour the gardens and galleries of Arundel house about twenty years ago and hath ever since continued to transplant old Greece into England."

5. Heres, op.cit., 24ff. Cagiano de Azevedo, M., *Il gusto nel restauro delle opere d'arte antiche*, Roma 1948, 38: The restorers were H. le Soeur and F. Fanelli.

6. De Laborde, Le Cte, *Athènes aux XVe, XVIe et XVIIe siècles*, I-II, Paris 1854, I, 128. Carrey, J., 'Fronton occidental ou de l'Opisthodome', *The Carrey Drawings of the Parthenon Sculptures*, edited by T. Bowie and D. Thimme, Indiana University Press, London 1971. The drawings of the pediments were executed from November through December 1674. They were acquired by the Bibliothèque Royale in 1770. The drawings were known to Montfaucon, but not to Stuart and Revett. They have been cited and/or copied by Quatremère de Quincy. In the early nineteenth century they were bound in a volume for the Bibliothèque Nationale, in Paris; in 1814, they were copied for the British Museum.

7. Wheler, George Esq., *A Journey into Greece by George Wheler Esq. in Company of Dr Spon of Lyons*, London 1682, 352.

8. Idem, 357.

9. Spon, Iacob & Wheler, George, *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce, et du Levant Fait és années 1675 & 1676 par Iacob Spon Docteur Medecin Aggregé à Lyon, & George Vvheler Gentilhomme Anglois*, I-II, A Lyon Chez Antoine Cellier le fils, rue Merciere, à la Constance, 1678. Wheler, op.cit.

10. Ivanovic, Cristoforo, *History of the Holy League Against the Turk*, 1688; Green, P., *The Parthenon*, New York 1973, 144. De Laborde, op.cit., II, 149; Dietrichson, L., 'Zum 200. Gedächtnis der Zerstörung des Parthenon', *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, Leipzig 1887, XXII, 367; Beulé, M., L'Acropole d'Athènes, Paris 1862 (nouv.edit.), 35ff. Beulé gives the date of the explosion as 28 September 1687, while De Laborde and Green give 26 September 1687.

11. Beulé, op.cit.; De Laborde, op.cit.

12. Heres, 'Archäologie...', op.cit., 26f. Pitton de Tournefort started his journey to explore the Greek islands in 1699, commissioned by the Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, (founded by Colbert in 1679). Corneille le Bruyn found Palmyra and published the first illustrations at the end of the century. Also a German visited Athens in this period; he was Johann Georg Transfeldt, an adventurer. Browning, Palmyra.

13. Haskell, Francis, Patrons and Painters, *A Study in the Relations Between Italian Art and Society in the Age of the Baroque*, Icon Editions, Harper & Row Publishers, New York, Evanston, San Francisco, London, 1971 (1963), 101.

14. Idem.

15. Previtali, G., 'Introduzione', Bellori, G.P., *Le vite de' pittori, scultori e architetti moderni*, Einaudi, Torino 1976, xvii ff.

16. Previtali, op.cit.; 'Bellori, Giovanni Pietro', *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*.

17. Bellori, Le vite op.cit., 163.

18. Bellori, Le vite op.cit., 617n. Maratti also restored the antique fresco called 'Nozze Aldobrandine', discovered 1604 or 1605.

19. Bellori, Le vite op.cit., 300 (Duquesnoy), 399ff (Algardi).

20. Bellori, G.P., 'L'Idea del pittore, dello scultore e dell'architetto, Scelta dalle bellezze naturali superiore alla Natura', Discorso di Giov. Pietro Bellori, Detto nell'Accademia romana di San Luca la terza Domenica di Maggio MDCLXIV, Essendo Principe dell'Accademia il Signor Carlo Maratti, Bellori, Le vite, op.cit. 13ff.

21. Bellori, 'L'Idea del pittore...', op.cit., 14: "Il perché li nobili pittori e scultori quel primo fabbro imitando, si formano anch'essi nella mente un esempio di bellezza superiore, ed in esso riguardando, emendano la natura senza colpa di colore e di lineamento. Questa idea, overo dea della pittura e della scoltura, aperte le sacre cortine de gl'altri ingegni de i Dedali e de gli Apelli, si svela a noi e discende sopra i marmi e sopra le tele; originata dalle natura supera l'origine e fassi originale dell'arte, misurata dal compasso dell'intelletto, diviene misura della mano, ed animata dall'immaginativa dà vita all'immagine."

22. Letter of Raphael to B. Castiglione, Golzio, V., Raffaello nei documenti, nelle testimonianze... op.cit., 30: "Vorrei trouar le belle forme degli edifici antichi, né so se il volo sarà d'Icaro. Me porge una gran luce Vitruuio, ma non tanto che basti. Della Galatea mi terrei un gran maestro, se ui fossero la metà delle tante cose, che V.S. mi scriue; ma nelle sue parole riconosco l'amore che mi porta, et le dico, che per dipingere una gella, mi bisogneria ueder più belle con questa conditione, che V.S. si trouasse meco a far scelta del meglio. Ma essendo carestia e di belle donne, io mi servo di una certa idea che mi viene in mente." (English transl. Panofsky, E., Idea A Concept in Art Theory, Icon Editions, Harper & Row, 1968, 60. Originally published in German: 'Idea: Ein Beitrag zur Begriffsgeschichte der älteren Kunsttheorie', Studien der Bibliothek Warburg, V, B. Taubner Verlag, Leipzig 1924)

23. 'Bellori', Dizionario biografico degli italiani, op.cit.

24. Idem.

25. Bellori, G.P., Veteres Arcus Augustorum Triumphis Insignes ex Religuiis quae Romae adhuc Supersunt cum imaginibus triumphalibus restituti Antiquis Nummis Notisquae Io: Petri Bellorii illustrati Nunc primum per Io: Iacobum de Rubeis, Aeneis typis vulgati, Romae, M.DC.XC. Ad Templum sanctae Mariae de Pace, Cum Privilegio Sum. Pontificis.

26. 'Bellori', Diz,Biogr.Ital., op.cit.

27. Dent Weil, Phoebe, 'Contributions toward a History of Sculpture Techniques: 1. Orfeo Boselli on the Restoration of Antique Sculpture', Studies in Conservation, IIC, 1967, XII, 3.

28. Idem.

29. Baldinucci, Filippo, Vocabolario toscano dell'arte del disegno, Firenze 1681.

30. Conti, Alessandro, Storia del restauro e della conservazione delle opere d'arte, Electa Editrice, Milano (undated, appr.1960s), 98ff. Conti, A., 'Vicende e cultura del restauro', Storia dell'arte italiana X, Einaudi, Torino 1981, 39ff.

31. Conti, Storia... op.cit., 102: A letter, dated 1699, from Gran Principe Ferdinando to Niccolò Cassana recalls the adaptation of paintings to the requirements of the Galleria Palatina in Florence: "Ella mi farebbe piacere a fare una scorsa qua per restaurare il quadro del Parmigianino (la 'Madonna dal collo lungo'), quale é già tutto stuccato, ed il battizzo di Paulo, quale fu incollato sopra il telaro onde è molto dipinto sopra il telaro istesso, e bisognando adesso ritirarlo, sarà necessario giuntarvi della tela e redipingere quei pezzi che restano sopra il telaro, che sono di considerazione..."

32. Idem, 101.

33. Bellori, 'Vita ed opera di pitture del Signor Carlo Maratti', Le vite, op.cit., 602f: "Correndo intanto l'anno 1672 Carlo (Maratta) di nuovo fece passaggio alla patria, già lungo tempo che non vi si era trasferito, ove per motivo

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

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

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

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

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

38. Bellori, Descrizione, op.cit.

39. Idem.

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

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

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

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

43. Idem, 53.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

50. Gigli, Giacinto, Diario romano (1608-70), ed. G. Ricciotti, Rome 1958, 93; Hibbard, H., Carlo Maderno and Roman Architecture 1580-1630, A. Zwemmer, London 1971, 230: "fece smantellare il Portico ... il quale era maravigliosamente coperto di bronzo, con Architravi sopra le colonne di metallo bellissimi, et di una manifattura, et havendo disfatto trovò che quel metallo era in gran parte mescolato di oro et argento, tal che non era in tutto a proposito per l'artiglierie, ma il Popolo, che andava curiosamente a vedere disfare una tanta opera, non poteva far di meno non sentir dispiacere, et dolersi che una si bella Antichità, che sola era rimasta intatta delle offese de' Barberi, et poteva dirsi opera veramente eterna, fosse hora disfatta."

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

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

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

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

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

56. The church of Ariccia resembles the Pantheon in the arrangement of its urban context; it has streets on both sides - as was sketched for the Pantheon by Bernini. There are no campanili! (Bordini, op.cit. 55ff) As a building the Ariccia church repeats the essential architectural features of the Pantheon.

57. Bordini, op.cit., 81.

58. Idem, 72.

59. According to Bordini, it may have been Bernini to suggest the use of the Pantheon as a mausoleum to Alexander VII. In 1665, when Bernini was in Paris, he referred to the tombs of kings in a discussion saying: "Qu'il avait estimé que l'on devait construire un lieu pour les papes, comme il avait dit pour les rois." (Chantelou, P.F., Journal de voyage du Cavalier Bernin en France (1655), ed. L. Lalanne, Paris 1885, 170ff) The idea may have come to him from the Bourbon Chapel in Saint-Denis; the Pantheon came to symbolize the continuity of eternal values and the universality of the ideas of Christianity. (Bordini, op.cit., 72)

60. Bordini, op.cit.; Borsi, Bernini Architetto, op.cit., 98ff; Bernini in Vaticano (exhibition cataloque), De Luca Editore, Rome 1981, 192ff.

61. Idem.

62. The Brief of 27 March 1657 forbade "ai Droghieri, Speziali, Calzolai, Pollaroli, Pizzicaroli, Fruttaroli, Pescivendoli, ed altri qualsivoglia persone ed Artisti, che non ardiscano né abbino in qualsivoglia modo ardire sotto qualsiasi pretesto avanti detta chiesa, Fontana ed Urna, né in altro luogo di detta piazza in dette strade ... mettere, stendere, vendere, né ritenere delle loro robbe e mercantie". Another Brief, 24 July 1662, ordered the Cardinal Camerlengo to provide funds for the demolition of houses in the piazza and attached to the portico. The Brief of 5 August 1662 refers to the demolitions carried out by the Maestri delle Strade. The market had been moved from this piazza to the Piazza della Pietra in the neighbourhood. Further demolition is ordered "senza citare, o udire li Canonici, e Capitolo di quella, e senza alcuna solennità o tela di giudizio, ma de fatto, e manu regia facciate demolire le case, botteghe, ed altri edifici adiacenti in quella parte, che a voi parerà, e piacerà, senza fare alcuna stima delle dette case, e senza pagarne il loro prezzo..." It was further ordered to lower the level of the piazza. (Fea, Dei Diritti del Principato, op.cit., 65ff)

63. The Brief of 4 November 1662: "...per il restauro del portico della Rotonda e per le colonne trovate nella piazza di S. Luigi dei Francesi". (Fea, op.cit., 65ff)

64. This Arch is referred to by Dante ('Purgatorio', X, 73ff); it was called Arco della Pietà with reference to one of its reliefs. Lanciani, R., L'Antica Roma, Laterza, Roma 1981, 20f (transl. from English: Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries).

65. Alexander VII, the Brief of 2 February 1667, (Fea, op.cit.,114): "far rimettere le due colonne, che mancavano al fianco destro del portico del Tempio, con tutti gli accompagnamenti di basa, capitelli, architravi, fregio e cornici conforme gli altri esistenti in detto portico, e di far ristuccare per di dentro la cupola conforme il disegno da lui approvato, di far pulire e lustrare le colonne che adornano le cappelle, e di fare una vitriata all'occhio per di sopra alla cupola".

66. Fraschetti, S., Il Bernini, la sua vita, la sua opera, il suo tempo, Milano 1900, 299 (Cod.Vat. 8235, 'scritture spettanti alla Fontana di Trevi, carte 8); "Il Cav. Lorenzo Bernino fu da Sa. Me. di Alessandro VII interrogato della cupola del Pantheon e fu gli dal medesimo ben per tre volte risposto di non aver talento bastante di ciò fare, e che solo poteva usarsi del pennello in rifare i pilastrini quando la spesa necessaria per rifarli in marmo fosse dispiaciuta." (Bordini, op.cit., 64)

67. D'Onofrio, Gli Obelischi, op.cit., 230ff.

68. Alexander VII, the Brief of 21 August 1662: "demolire l'arco di A. Aurelio e Lucio Vero, detto di Portogallo, per ampliare la strada del Corso" (Fea, op.cit., 62f)

69. Tertullian (160-240) had condemned the games in amphitheatres (Tertullianus, 'De spectaculis', ed. Migne, P., Pathologiae Latinae, Paris 1866, XIX, 726). The sources for connecting martyrs with the theatres date from the fourth century AD. (Di Macco, Michela, Il Colosseo, funzione simbolica, storica, urbana, Bulzoni, Roma 1971, 79)

70. Da Modena, N., 'Martirio di San Sebastiano' (engraving); Maestro di San Sebastiano, 'Martirio di San Sebastiano' (Philadelphia, Johnson collection); Callot, J., 'Martirio di San Sebastiano' (engraving); Da Cortona, Pietro, 'Flaggellazione di Santa Bibiana' (Rome, Santa Bibiana). (Di Macco, op.cit., Fig. 95-100)

71. Panciroli, O., I tesori nascosti nell'alma città di Roma, Roma 1600, 269; Di Macco, op.cit., 210n.

72. Martinelli, F., Roma di nuovo esattamente ricercata nel suo sito..., Roma 1725, 101. For the lists of martyrs: Marangoni, G., Delle memorie sacre e profane dell'Anfiteatro Flavio, Roma 1746.

73. M. Maroni Lumgroso, Martini, A., Le confraternite romane nelle loro chiese, Roma 1963, 198.

74. A note of 2 September 1587 (Urb. lat. 1055, 383) (D'Onofrio, op.cit., 115f, 26n): "Ha il papa levato il dubbio à Romani che havevano di vedere a terra qualche pezzo del Coliseo per l'apertura della nuova strada da Campidoglio a San Gio. Laterano con palesarli il pensiero che ha, di risarcirlo tutto et dedicarlo un giorno al culto divino con una piazza bella d'ogni d'intorno senza invidia di quelle bellezze de suoi primi architetti et fondatori".

75. De Tomasi, C., 'Breve relazione dell'Anfiteatro, consacrato col sangue prezioso dei Martiri, serrato; e dedicato in onore dei medesimi, l'anno del Giubileo

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

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

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

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

Chapter Five
Treatment of Mediaeval Buildings after the Reformation

5.1 The Reformation

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

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

Italy

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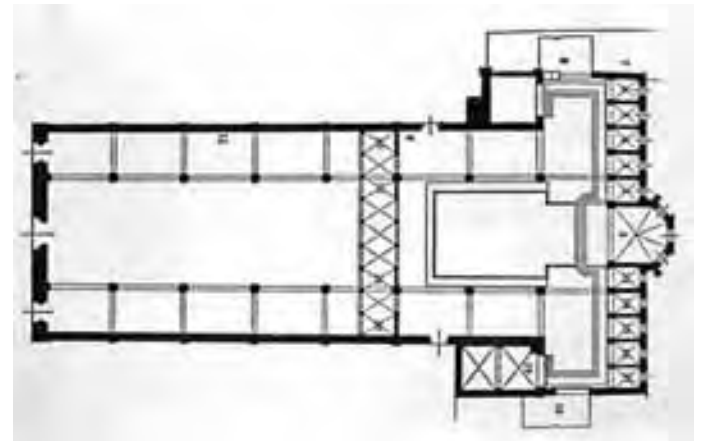

Figure 58. S. Croce, Florence, before restoration

Figure 59. S. Croce after restoration by Vasari: removal of the screen and construction of chapels in the nave
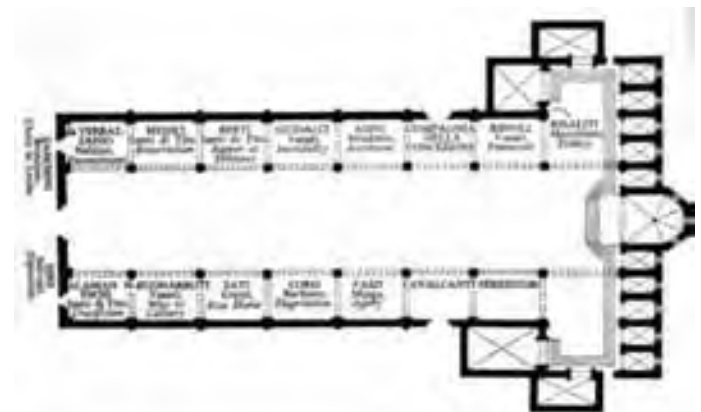
Croce and Santa Maria Novella at Florence by Giorgio Vasari. (1)

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

North of the Alps

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

In France mediaeval buildings suffered damage, especially during the conflicts with the Huguenots in the early seventeenth century, and the Italian Renaissance had an effect on the treatment of mediaeval structures; Philibert de l'Orme, however, recommended transformation instead of destruction. On the other hand, as in other parts of Europe, mediaeval traditions survived under a Classical appearance, and there were many cases where Gothic forms were still applied in religious buildings, as in the Cathedral of Sainte-Croix at Orleans, which was completed in Gothic form only in the eighteenth century. The Abbey of Saint-Maixent, destroyed by the Huguenots, was rebuilt by the Benedictines towards the end of the seventeenth century; the cloister was made in a classical style, while the church was rebuilt in its original mediaeval form. (7) In Germanic countries, where building in the Gothic style survived long into the seventeenth century, the conflict with Classicism was felt only in the eighteenth century. (8)

England

There had been an internal attempt to reform monasteries in Spain and France in the early sixteenth century; as part of the reform in England, Cardinal Thomas Wolsey (c1475-1530) had ordered the suppression of many religious houses, especially those under foreign administration. In conflict with the Pope, and with all those who dared to oppose his intended marriage, Henry VIII (1491-1547) declared himself the supreme head of the Church of England in 1534. In 1535 he appointed a commission under Thomas Cromwell (c1485-1540) to report on the state of the monasteries, and an act was passed for the suppression of all monasteries with a revenue under œ200 a year. (9)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Hawksmoor's contribution to the consolidation of Beverley Minster should be recorded as a highly significant work in the early eighteenth century. In order to conserve the leaning centre part of the north transept elevation, an ingenious machinery of timber structure was built to push it back to a vertical position. To make this possible, vertical cuts were made in the masonry, and rebuilt afterwards. For this work Hawksmoor also prepared an appeal for the collection of funds in 1716. (22)

Sweden

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

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

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

Notes to Chapter Five

1.   Hall, M.B., Renovation and Counter-Reformation, Vasari and Duke Cosimo in Sta Maria Novella and Sta Croce 1565-1577, Oxford-Warburg Studies, Oxford 1979.

2.   Vasari, G., Le Vite, op.cit., 'Introduzione' (iii), I, 137: "Ecci un'altra specie di lavori che si chiamano tedeschi, i quali sono di ornamenti e di proporzione molto differenti dagli antichi e dai moderni. Nè oggi s'usano per gli eccellenti, ma son fuggiti da loro come mostruosi e barbari, dimenticando ogni lor cosa di ordine; che più tosto confusione o disordine si può chiamare,..."

3.   Ibid, 138: "Iddio scampi ogni paese dal venir tal pensiero ed ordine di lavori; che, per essere eglino talmente difformi alla bellezza delle fabbriche nostre, meritano che non se ne favelli più che questo."

4.   Ibid, 'Giorgio Vasari', VII, 674.

5.   Ibid, 'Proemio alla seconda parte', II, 103: "Ma chi considererà la qualità di que'tempi, la carestia degli artefici, la difficultà de'buoni aiuti, le terrà non belle, come ho detto io, ma miracolose". See: Panofsky, E., 'The First Page of Giorgio Vasari's 'Libro', A Study on the Gothic Style in the Jugdement of the Italian Renaissance. With an Excursus on Two Façade Designs by Domenico Beccafumi', Meaning in the Visual Arts, Penguin Books, 1970, 206ff.

6.   Knowles, D., Bare Ruined Choirs, Cambridge 1976, 64ff.

7.   Léon, P., La vie des monuments français, op.cit., 19ff.

8.   Panofsky, E., 'The First Page of Giorgio Vasari's 'Libro'', op.cit., 220ff.

9.   Knowles, op.cit., 71ff.

10.   Boulting, N., 'The law's delays: conservationist legislation in the British Isles', The Future of the Past, Attitudes to Conservation 1147-1974, Edit. J. Fawcett, London 1976, 11.

11.   Jones, Inigo, The most notable Antiquity of Great Britain vulgarly called Stone-heng on Salisbury Plain. Restored. London 1655, 1.

12.   Jones, I., Ibid.

13.   Linstrum, D., 'Il restauro architettonico nell'Inghilterra del XVII secolo', Restauro, XVIII, 1975, 5ff.

14.   Wren, C., Parentalia, or Memoirs of the Family of the Wrens, London 1750 (Repr. 1965), 273.

15.   Lang, J., Rebuilding St. Paul's after the Great Fire of London, Oxford Univ. Press, London 1956, 4ff.

16.   Briggs, Goths and Vandals, A Study of the Destruction, Neglect and Preservation of Historical Buildings in England, London 1952, 70ff.

17.   Lang, J., op.cit., 21ff.

18.   Wren, C., Parentalia, op.cit., 304.

19.   Linstrum, D., 'Il restauro architettonico', op.cit., 29ff. William Dickinson (?-1702) is said to have collaborated to the drawing of the elevations under the guidance of Wren. After Hawksmoor's death the building was completed by John James in 1744-45. Downes, K., Hawksmoor, London 1979, 215.

20.   Hawksmoor to Dr George Clarke (All Souls College), 17 February 1715, known as the 'Explanation', Downes, K., op.cit., 241.

21.   Ibid.

22.   Linstrum, D., 'Il restauro architettonico', op.cit., 36.

23.   Schück, H., Kgl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, Dess Förhistoria och Historia, Stockholm 1932, I, 5.

24.   La Svezia e Roma, quattro momenti della cultura svedese a Roma, Roma 1980, 15ff.

25.   Ibid, 35.

26.   Schück, H., Kgl. Vitterhets Historie, op.cit., 40ff.

27.   Schück, H., Kgl. Vitterhets Historie, op.cit., 40ff. Östergren, S., 'Care of Cultural Monuments in Sweden: the Historical Background', ICOMOS Bulletin 6 1981, 'The Cultural Heritage in Sweden', Stockholm 1981, 24ff.

28.   'Antiquities Ordinance', (in Schück, H., Kgl. Vitterhets Historie, op.cit., 264ff.): "Kongl: Mayst:s Placat och Påbudh Om Gamble Monumenter och Antiquiteter.

Wij Carl, medh Gudz Nådhe, Sweriges, Göthes och Wendes Konung och Arf-Förste, Stoor-Förste til Finland, Hertigh vthi Skåen, Estland, Liffland, Carelen, Bremen, Vehrden, Stetin-Pommern, Cassuben och Wenden, Förste til Rügen, Herre öfwer Ingermanland och Wiszmar; Så och Pfaltz-Grefwe widh Rhein i Beyern, til Gülich, Clewe och Bergen Hertigh, etc. Göre witterligit, allthenstund Wij medh stoort Miszhag förnimme, huruledes icke allenast the vhrgambla 'Antiquiteter' qwarlefwor och efterdömen, som alt ifrån Hedendomen, vthaff framfarne Sweriges och

Götha Konungars, sampt andre theras Förnämlige Mäns och Vndersåthares Manlige Bedriffter, som för thetta öfwer heele Wårt Rijke, deels vthi stoore Borger, Skantzar och Steenkumbel, deels vthi Stoder och andre Stenar medh Runaskrifter ingraffne, deels vthi theras Griffter och Žttebacker vthi temmelig myckenheet bestådt hafwa, medh sådan wårdlööszheet och olofligit Sielffzwåld handteras, at the dageligen mehr och mehr förderfwade och vthödde blifwa; vthan och the 'Monumenter' som både aff Konungar, Drottningar och Förstar, sampt andre Förnähme aff Ridderskapet och Clerkeriedt vthi Wåre Christne Kyrckior til theras Heder och åtminnelse, hafwe warit lämbnade, alldeles förödas, och aff androm försåtheligen intagas och åwerkas, hwilket såmyckit mehra står til at ogilla och affwäria, som sådane 'Monumenter' böre skattas ibland the ting, hwilke så aff sig sielff som för insticktelsen skull, från all wahrycht och ohelgelse frij och försäkrade, jemwäl til Wåra Förfäders och heele Wårt Rijkes odödelige Beröm merckeligen ländande äre. Ty hafwe Wij aff then serdeeles nit Wij til föllie aff Wåre Förfäder Swerides Konungar öfwer alt sådant billigt böre draga, så wäl til at offentligen betyga thet misznöye Wij til een slijk oreda, som ofwanbemelt är, fattat hafwe, såsom och at här efter beskydda och handhafwa alle sådanne ting för wijdare olofligh handtering, för gott och nödwendigt ansett at biuda och befalla alle Wåre trogne Vndersåtare som thetta i någon måtto angå, eftersom Wij här medh och i kraft aff thetta Wårt allmenne 'Placat' them biude och befalle, först, at ingen ehoo han är, skal effter thenne dagh, vnderstå sigh på någrehanda sätt at nederbryta eller föröda the Borger, Huus, Fästen, Skantzar eller Steenkumbel, som ännu på een eller annan Orth kunna wara tilfinnandes, ehuru ringa ock thess Aflefwor wara måge, icke heller i någon måtto förspilla the Stoder eller Steenar, som medh någon Runaskrifft kunne wara ritade, vthan them alldeeles orubbade på sine rätte forne ställen blifwa låta, tillijka medh alle stoore hoopburne Jordhögar och Žttebakker, ther månge Konungar och andre Förnähme, sine Grafwar och Hwijlorum stadgat hafwe, efftersom Wij alle sådane gamble 'Monumenter', som vppå någon Wår enskylte Egendom, alldeles frijkalle, och vthi Wår Konungzlige Hägn och Beskydd anamma låte; Förseendes Oss i thet öfrige til Wåre trogne Vndersåtare aff Ridderskapet och Adelen, at om någre sådane 'Antiquiteter' på någon theras vhrminnes egne Frelsejord belägne wore, the icke theszmindre wille om thess 'Conservation' draga then Försorg, som thenne Wår nådige 'Intention', Saksens wichitgheet, och theras egen Heder kan wara lijkmätigt. Sedan biude Wij och, at ingen Högh eller Lågh, Andelig eller Werdzlig, aff hwadh Stånd eller wilkor then och wara må, skal wara loff- eller tillåterligit at röfwa eller råna the Konungzlige, Förstlige eller andre Förnehme Persohners Griffter, som ännu antingen vthi the ödelagde eller än stående Kyrckor och Closter kunne quarre finnas, mycket mindre them til sine egne Grafwar at förbyta, eller på något sätt tilfoga theras gamble och rätte ägander ther widh något Meen eller Intrång; Effter som Wij ther hoos wele at alle Kyrkior och Clöster sampt theras Tygh, Redskap, Prydnat på Wägger och Fönster, Målningar eller hwariehanda innandöme, som något tänckwärdigt kunne innehålla, tillijka medh alle the dödas och afflidnas Grafwar och Graffstellen in vthi Kyrkior eller vthe på Kyrkiogårdarne, then Wårdnat, Frijd och Säkerheet bewijsas må, som medh theras Christelige Instichtelser, Bruuk och Öffning enligit är, så at sluteligen alla the Ting, the wari sigh så ringa som the för någons ögon Historisk Bedrifft, Person, Orth eller Slächt lända kan, måge granneligen tagas i acht och skiötzel, och icke gifwas någrom tilstånd thet ringeste ther aff at spilla eller förderfwa; Och ther någon skulle vnderstå sigh her emoot i någon måtto at giöra coh Wår Befalning öfwerträda, wele Wij at then samme icke allenast therföre, som för all annor Wår Budz Föracht och olaglig åwerckan, plichta, vthan och Wår höga Onåde vndergifwin wara skal; Skulle och något Miszbruuk, Oreda eller üwerkan aff någrom tilförende föröfwat wara emoot något aff the Ting som i thetta Wårt 'Placat' ihugkomne finnes, tå befalle Wij alfwarligen, at alt sådant behördligen coh vthan någons anseende rättas, och vthi förrige tilstånd sättias må. Hwarföre Wij och i synnerheet befalle icke allenast Wår ÖffwerStåthållare i Stockholm, 'General-Gouverneurer', 'Gouverneurer', Landzhöffdingar, Ståthållare, Borgmästare och Rådh i Städerne, Befalningz- Lähns- Fierdingz- och Sexmän å Landet, at the öfwer thetta Wårt 'Placat' noga och alfwarligen hand hålla; Vthan och Erchiebiskopen, Biskoperne, 'Superintendenterne', Prowesterne och Kyrkioherderne öfwer hele Wårt Rijke, at the hwar å sin Orth thet allmenneligen förkunna, och jemwäl wackta på the Ting som i theras Stiffter, 'Contracter' och Församblingar finnes, och aff ofwanberörde Art bestå, til hwilden ände Wij och befalle alle i Gemeen som om händer, at the sådant hoos sine Kyrkieherder eller och Wåre Befaningzmän angifwa, på thet Wij igenom them ther om kungiorde, måge wijdare om thess 'Communication' beställa bör, hafwe sigh hörsamligen at effterrätta. Til yttermehra wisso hafwe Wij thetta medh Wårt Kongl: 'Secret' och Wår högst-ährade Elskelige käre FruModers, sampt the andre Wåre och Wårt Rijkes 'respective' Förmyndares och Regerings Vnderskrifft, bekräffta låtit.

Datum Stockhom then 28. Novembris Anno 1666.

Hedewig Eleonora."

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

Chapter Six
Neoclassicism and the Picturesque

6.1. Archaeological Interests in the Age of Enlightenment

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

Collections and Publications: France

The desire to explore history more deeply together with the Classical Revival, made Rome once more the cultural centre of the world. Already in 1666, the French Finance Minister Jean Baptiste Colbert, had signed the statutes of the French Academy in Rome, with the statement:

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

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

England

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

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

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

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

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

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

6.2 Archaeological Discoveries in Italy

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

Pompeii, Herculaneum

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

Figure 64. Stabia, plan and section of the amphitheatre (1748)
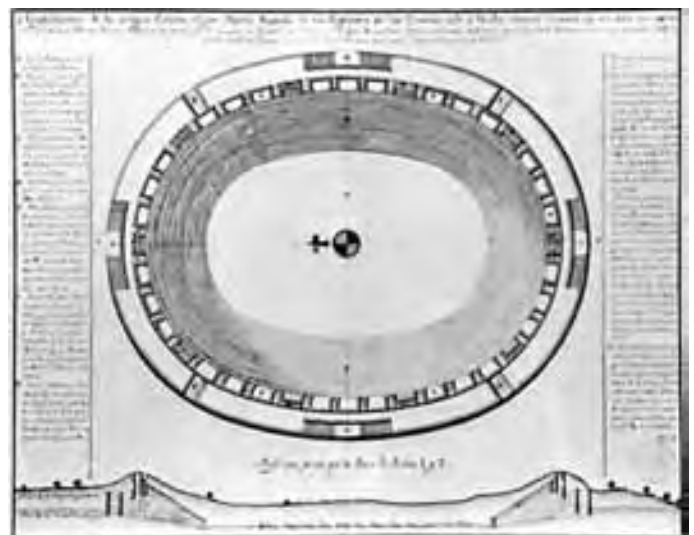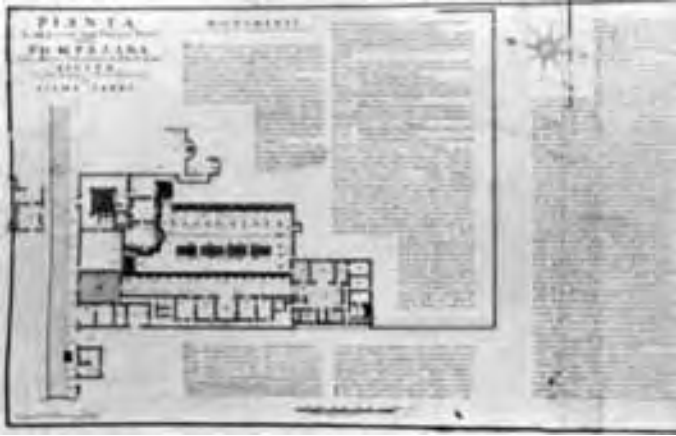
Figure 65. Villa di Giulia Felice; plan with notes by C.Weber

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

When Horace Walpole visited Herculaneum in 1740, he wrote:

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

The first plan of the theatre of Herculaneum had been prepared by Alcubierre (20) in 1739, showing

Figure 66. The 'Herkulanerinnen'; detail of one of the statues discovered by d'Elboeuf in Herculaneum in early 18th century (Dresden, collection of antiquities)

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

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

6.3. J.J. Winckelmann

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Winckelmann's scholarship

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

Figure 67. Belvedere Apollo (Vatican Museum)

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

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

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

Figure 68. Belvedere Torso (Vatican Museum)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Cavaceppi and the Restoration of Sculptures

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Winckelmann on Painted Decoration

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

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

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

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

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

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

F. Milizia

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

Figure 73. A street in excavated Herculaneum

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

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

6.4. Publications about Antiquities

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

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

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

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

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

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

J.B. Fischer von Erlach

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

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

James Stuart and Nicholas Revett

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

The drawings of Stuart and Revett were praised for their accuracy, which was not the case with another publication. Julien David Le Roy (7124-1803), a
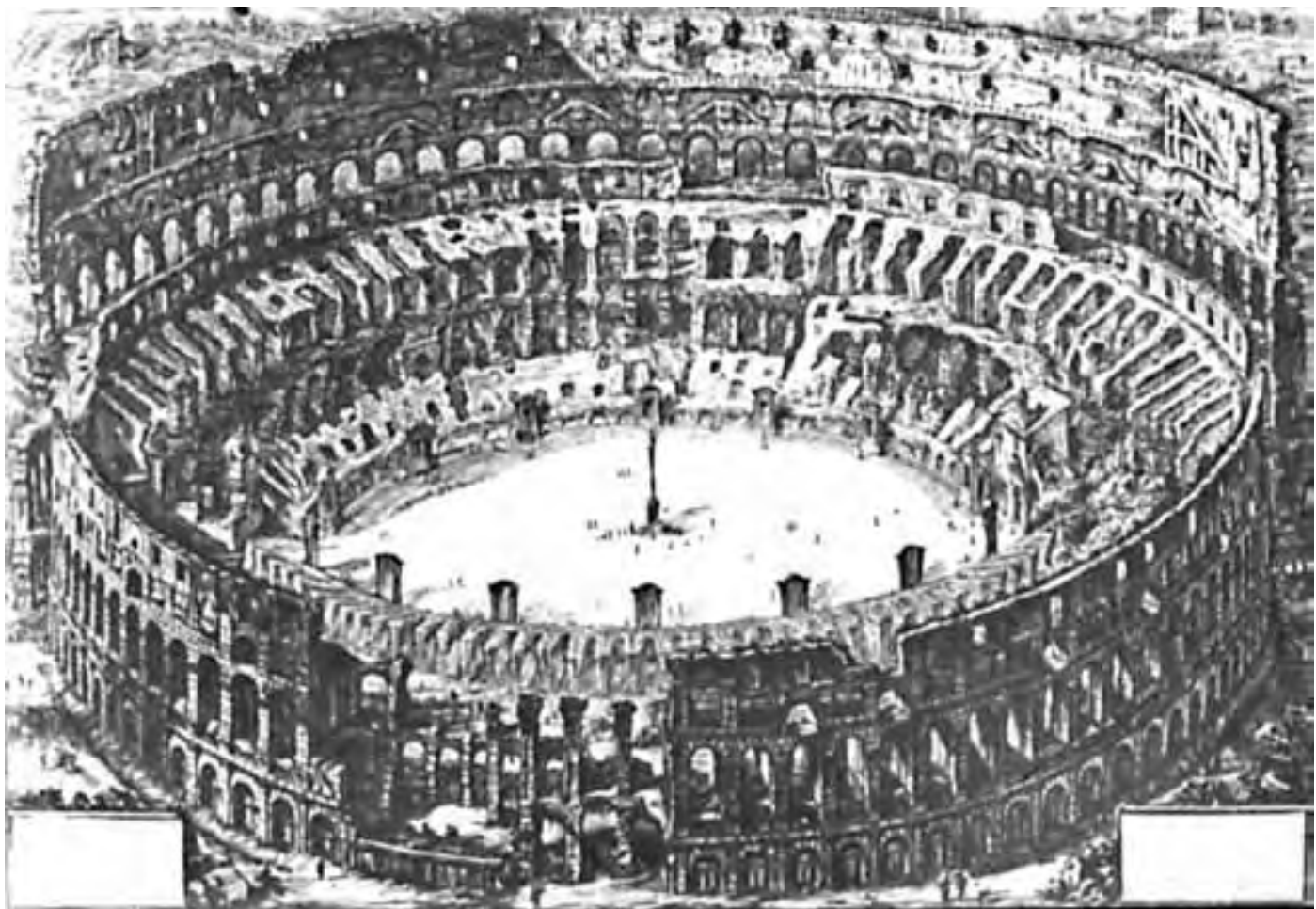
Figure 74. A bird's-eye view of the Colosseum, Rome, by G. Piranesi

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

Giambattista Piranesi

From his first Vedute in the 1740's, Piranesi quickly established himself as the leading engraver of Roman antiquities, and his Antichita romane of 1756 was an 'international event' which brought him the honorary membership in the Society of Antiquaries of London in 1757. (107) While authorities like Winckelmann and the theorists of the rational movement in architecture were leaning toward the 'noble simplicity' of Greek architecture and were reluctant to accept rich ornamentation, Piranesi took a different stand. He admired the abundant Baroque-like richness of Roman buildings.

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

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

Vedutisti

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

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

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

6.5. English Aesthetic Theories

The Picturesque, the Sublime

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

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

English Garden Design: Vanbrugh, Kent, Brown

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Gilpin, Price, Chambers

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

Figure 77. A view of the Fountains Abbey in Yorkshire

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

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

Nationalistic Values

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

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

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

English Influence in France

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

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

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

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

6.6 Restoration of Paintings

New Supports

During the eighteenth century, various techniques were developed especially regarding cleaning and the provision of new supports for damaged paintings. Techniques for detaching wall paintings by sawing or cutting them out of the wall, 'stacco a massello', had been known since the Renaissance, and were used, for example, in Herculaneum (154). In Santa Maria degli Angeli, in Rome, where Luigi Vanvitelli renewed the interior in 1749, some frescoes were transported from the Basilica of St. Peter, where they were replaced by mosaics. (155) Techniques for the detachment of the paint layer, either fresco or oil paint, from its original, damaged support, were also developed during the eighteenth century. First established in Italy at the beginning of the century, these techniques were used extensively in France from the 1740's onward, and came to England in the 1750's. (156) The advantages of these developments were that some conservation problems were solved; if all went well, over-painting could be avoided, and even earlier 'restorations' could be removed thus showing 'le pur pinceau', the traces of the brush of the original artist. (157) In France, a fresco by Raphael, San Michele, was transferred onto canvas, meriting the great admiration of even the Academy of Painting. (158) There was, however, a serious risk of damage to the original painting during the transfer operation; sometimes parts of the paint-layer remained on the old support. In France, this method provoked a long public debate. (159)

The Concept of Patina

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Reintegration of Losses in Paintings

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

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

Restoration: a profession

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

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

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

Organization of Protection in Venice

In Venice, where the paintings in churches, schools and convents were considered an important patrimony of the State, some pictures had been sold abroad without notifying the authority. On 20 April 1773, the State recognized the necessity “of an immediate and valid measure, to assure the preservation and maintenance of such a rare and precious ornament of the Dominante, which attracts the admiration of Foreigners” (174) It was decided to nominate a general inspector to be responsible “to guard them, conserve them and to be responsible if any removal or loss would happen.” (175) Antonio Zanetti, whose publication on Venetian paintings was much acclaimed, was nominated the first inspector (176); he was succeeded by Prof. Giovan Battista Mengardi in 1778. (177) Each town had to keep a list, an inventory, of all public paintings, and all changes in their position were to be authorized by the inspector. At first, restoration was the responsibility of several professors and professional restorers. Due to poor results, however, it was decided to place one person in charge of all activities. As noted earlier, the chosen individual was Pietro Edwards. He worked in this position until 1796, when the Republic of Venice was dissolved; but later, in 1819, he proposed the establishment of a school for restorers. (178)
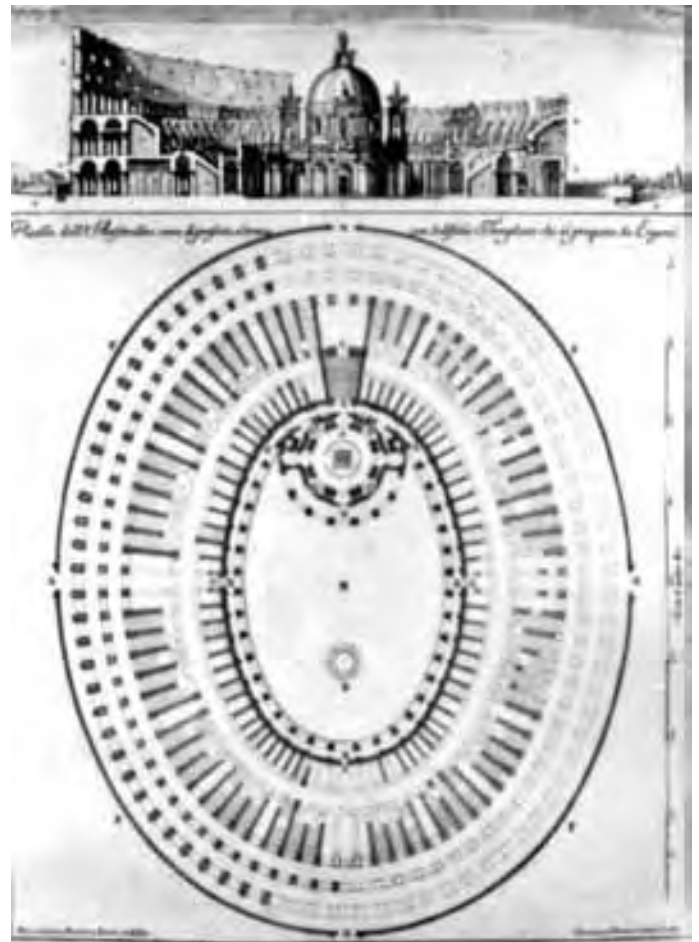
Figure 78. C. Fontana, proposal for a church in the Colosseum: elevation and plan. The ruins of the ancient structure were to be preserved as a ‘relic’ for its connections with Christian martyrs

6.7. Restoration of Classical Monuments in Italy

The Colosseum

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

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

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

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

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

Figure 81. The Arch of Constantine, Rome

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

The Arch of Constantine

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

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

Obelisks

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

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

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

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

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

Figure 83. Excavation of the obelisk of Montecitorio

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

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

Notes to Chapter Six:

1. Comte Franchi-Verney della Valletta, L'Académie de France à Rome 1666-1903, Paris 1904, 24; Jean-Baptiste Colbert signed the statutes of the Academy on 11 February 1666. "Comme nous devons faire en sorte d'avoir en France tout ce qu'il y a de beau en Italie, vous jugez bien qu'il est de conséquence de travailler incessamment pour y parvenir: c'est pourquoy appliquez-vous à rechercher avec soin tout ce que vous croirez digne de nous estre envoyé, et, pour cet effet, vous serez vien ayse d'apprendre que je fais préparer les galeries basses et hautes de l'Hotel de Richelieu, pour y mettre tout ce qui nous viendra de Rome."

2. Ants. MS.268., Evans, Joan, A History of the Society of Antiquaries, Oxford 1956,

3. Evans, op.cit., 93; Manwaring, Elizabeth Wheeler, Italian Landscape in Eighteenth Century England, a study of the influence of Claude Lorrain and Salvator Rosa on English Taste 1700-1800, Oxford University Press, New York 1925. Girouard, Mark, Life in the English Country House, A Social and Architectural History, Yale University Press, New Haven and London 1978, 164ff.

4. Manwaring, Italian Landscape, op.cit., 25.

5. Wittkower, Rudolf, 'Lord Burlington and William Kent', Palladio and English Palladianism, Thames and Hudson, London (1974) 1983, 114ff.

6. Wittkower, Palladio and English Palladianism, op.cit. Fleming, John, Robert Adam and his Circle in Edinburgh and Rome, John Murray, London (1962) 1978, 109ff.

7. Braham, Allan, The Architecture of the French Enlightenment, Thames and Hudson, London 1980, 29ff.

8. 'Vatican Museums', Oxford Companion to Art, Ed. by Osborne, H., Oxford University Press, Oxford 1979, 1178.

9. Walpole, Horace, Correspondance, The Yale Edition: Letter to Richard West, 16 April 1740.

10. Massa, Aldo, The World of Pompeii, Minerva, Genève 1972, 127.

11. The Letters of the Younger Pliny, transl. by B. Radice, Penguin Books (1963) 1978, 171 (Letter 20, Book six)

12.

13. Leppmann, Wolfgang, Pompeii in Fact and Fiction, Elek Books Ltd., London 1968 (transl. from German), 48.

14. Leppmann, op.cit., 49. Winckelmann, J.J., Sendschreiben von den Herculanischen Entdeckungen an den Hochgeborenen Herrn Heinrich Reichsgrafen von Brühl, Dresden 1762. Winckelmann tells that d'Elboeuf kept the statues until his deaty; then they came to the hands of Mr Falletti, who sold them to the King of Spain. Successively the statues would have been restored in Rome, and presented to the Prince Eugenius in Vienna as a gift. After his death, they were bought by the King of

Poland, and arrived in Dresden seven years prior to the Winckelmann's departure for Rome (i.e. 1748).

15. Leppmann, op.cit. Ruggiero, Michele, Storia degli Scavi di Ercolano ricomposta su documenti superstiti, Napoli 1885, xii ff.

16. Leppmann, op.cit.; Fiorelli, Ios., Pompeianarum antiquitatum Historia I-III, Neapoli 1860. Pompeii was discovered in 1748, but the excavations only started in 1755. Excavations were carried out at Stabia beginning in 1749.

17. Fleming, Robert Adam, op.cit., 155.

18. Ruggiero, Storia degli Scavi, op.cit.; Leppmann, op.cit.

19. Walpole, Correspondance, op.cit., Letter to Richard West, 14 June 1740.

20. Ruggiero, Storia degli Scavi, op.cit.

21. Pompei 1748-1980, i tempi della documentazione, a cura dell'Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione con la collaborazione della Soprintendenza Archeologica delle provincie di Napoli e di Caserta e della Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma, Exhibition catalogue published by Ministero per i Beni Culturali ed Ambientali, Roma 1981, 133f.

22. Ruggiero, op.cit.; Fiorelli, Pompeianarum, op.cit.

23. Pompeii as Source and Inspiration: Reflections in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Art, An Exhibition organized by the 1976-77 Graduate Students in the Museum Practice Program, April 7 - May 15, 1977, University of Michigan, Museum of Art, Ann Arbor.

24. Idem.

25. Emiliani, A., Leggi, bandi e provvedimenti per la tutela dei beni artistici e culturali negli antichi stati italiani 1571-1860, Edizioni Alfa, Bologna 1978, 227ff.

26. Idem.

27. Zimmermann, K., 'Vorgeschichte und Anfänge der Dresdener Skulpturensammlung', Die Dresdener Antiken und Winckelmann, op.cit., 9ff. Berlin und die Antike, Katalog, op.cit., 45.

28. Zimmermann, 'Vorgeschichte...' op.cit.; Leppmann, Pompeii..., op.cit.

29. Winckelmann, J.J., Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerei und Bildhauerkunst, 1755.

30. Leppmann, W., Winckelmann, Alfred A. Knopf, New York 1970; Justi, Carl, Winckelmann und seine Zeitgenossen, Leipzig 1898.

31. Leppmann, Winckelmann, op.cit., 167ff.

32. Idem.

33. Winckelmann, Sendschreiben, op.cit.

34. Winckelmann, Sendschreiben, op.cit.: "...dieser Mann war seiner Unerfahrenheit schuld an vielem Schaden und Verluste vieler schönen sachen."

35. Winckelmann, Sendschreiben, op.cit.: "Wer völlig aufgedeckte vier Mauern sehen wollen können nach Pompei gehen, aber man will sich nicht so viel bemühen: dieses bleibt nur für die Engländer."

36. Ruggiero, Storia degli Scavi, op.cit.: On 20 April 1761, the responsible Ministry gave the order to throw down "quelle tonache antiche colorite inutili". This order was criticized by the King in a note of 12 November 1763.

37. Ruggiero, op.cit.; Winckelmann, Sendschreiben, op.cit.

38. When La Vega was asked about excavations, he answered (13 January 1776) that the new method, which consisted of removing the earth and making the buildings visible, will take much more time than the earlier method, "nonostante non vi sia speranza di trovare cosa alcuna dove ora si scava in Pompei, stimo sia necessario continuarsi ... essendo tutti persuasi che si abbia a continuare a scavare sempre in un medesimo sito." (Pompei 1748-1980, op.cit., 12f)

39. La Vega proposed that a room decorated with paintings "restandosi in situazione da potersi coprire e anche custodire, facendovisi il suo tetto, porta e finestrino come era prima" would be "lasciato interamente come si era trovato" for the "soddisfazione al pubblico", and also because the paintings "altro pregio non avevano che quello della combinazione, la quale viene a mancare nel tagliarsi in pezzi". (Pompei, 1748-1980, op.cit., 12f)

40. Idem.

41. In a report of 14 April 1792, La Vega insists on the importance of building a house "esattamente corrispondente e uniforme alle case degli antichi" to serve for instruction because it would be "il più sicuro mezzo di intendere gli avanzi che se ne sono trovati ... in Pompei." (Pompei, 1748-1980, op.cit., 13)

42. Ruggiero, Storia degli Scavi, op.cit.

43. Winckelmann, J.J., Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums, Dresden 1764. (Winckelmanns Werke in einem Band, Aufbau-Verlag, Berlin und Weimar, 1982, 310)

44. Ruggiero, op.cit.

45. Hegel, G.W.F., Motto in Leppmann, Winckelmann, op.cit.

46. Winckelmann, J.J., Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerei und Bildhauerkunst, 1755: "Es ist ein ewiges Denkmal der Grösse dieses Monarchen, dass zur Bildung des guten Geschmacks die grössten Schätze aus Italien, und was sonst Vollkommenes in der Malerei in andern Ländern hervorgebracht worden." (Winckelmanns Werke, op.cit., 2)

47.   Winckelmann, Gedanken über die Nachahmung, op.cit.

48. Leppmann, Winckelmann, op.cit., 130.

49.   Holzhauer, Helmut, 'Einleitung', Winckelmanns Werke, op.cit., xliii.

50.   Winckelmann, Geschichte, op.cit., 195: "Die höchste Schönheit ist in Gott, und der Begriff der menschlichen Schönheit wird vollkommen, je gemässer und übereinstimmender derselbe mit dem höchsten Wesen kann gedacht werden, welches uns der Begriff der Einheit und der Unteilbarkeit von der Materie unterscheidet."

51.   Winckelmann, Gedanken über die Nachahmung, op.cit., 11: "Die Nachahmung des Schönen der Natur ist entweder auf einen einzelnen Vorwurf gerichtet, oder sie sammelt die Bemerkungen aus verschiedenen einzelnen und bringt sie in eins. Jenes heisst, eine ähnliche Kopie, ein Porträt machen; es ist der Weg zu holländischen Formen und Figuren. Dieses aber ist der Weg zum allgemeinen Schönen und zu idealischen Bildern desselben, und derselbe ist es, den die Griechen genommen haben. Der Unterschied aber zwischen ihnen und uns ist dieser: die Griechen erlangten diese Bilder, wären auch dieselben nicht von schönern Körpern genommen gewesen, durch eine tägliche Gelegenheit zur Beobachtung des Schönen der Natur, die sich uns hingegen nicht alle Tage zeigt, und selten so, wie sie der Künstler wünscht."

52. Idem.

53. Idem.

54.   Winckelmann, Gedanken über die Nachahmung, op.cit., 2: "Der einzige Weg für uns, gross, ja, wenn es möglich ist, unnachahmlich zu werden, ist die Nachahmung der Alten, und was jemand vom Homer gesagt, dass derjenige ihn bewundern lernt, der ihn wohl verstehen gelernt, gilt auch von den Kunstwerken der Alten, sonderlich der Griechen. Man muss mit ihnen, wie mit seinem Freunde, bekannt geworden sein, um den Laokoon ebenso unnachahmlich als den Homer zu finden. In solcher genauen Bekanntschaft wird man, wie Nicomachus von der Helena des Zeuxis, urteilen: 'Nimm meine Augen', sagte er zu einem Unwissenden, der das Bildd tadeln wollte, 'so wird sie dir eine Göttin scheinen'."

55.   Winckelmann, Geschichte, op.cit., 165, 'Vorrede': "Die Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums, welche ich z, schreiben unternommen habe, ist keine blosse Erzählung der Zeitfolge und der Veränderungen in derselben, sondern ich nehme das Wort Geschichte in der weiteren Bedeutung, welche dasselbe in der griechischen Sprache hat, und meine Absicht ist, einen Versuch eines Lehrgebäudes zu liefern."

56.   Winckelmann, Gedanken über die Nachahmung, op.cit., 16: "Die Draperie der Vestalen ist in der Höchsten Manier. Die kleinen Brüche entstehen durch einen sanften Schwung aus den grössten Partien und verlieren sich wieder in diesen mit einer edlen Freiheit und sanften Harmonie des Ganzen, ohne den schönen Kontur des Nackenden zu verstecken."

57. Winckelmann. Beschreibung des Apollo im Belvedere, 1759: "Der Künstler derselben hat dieses Werk gänzlich auf das Ideal gebaut, und er hat nur eben so viel von der Materie dazu genommen, als nötig war, seine Absicht auszuführen und sichtbar zu machen." (Winckelmanns Werke, op.cit., 61)

58. Winckelmann, Beschreibung des Torso im Belvedere zu Rom, 1759: "In jedem Teile de Körpers offenbart sich, wie in einem Gemälde, der ganze Held in einer besonderen Tat, und man sieht, so wie die richtigen Absichten in dem vernünftigen Baue eines Palastes, hier den Gebrauch, zu welcher Tat ein jedes Teil gedient hat." This essay was first written in 1756 as a preparation for the History of Art; it was published in the Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freien Künste.

59.   Winckelmann, Gedanken über die Nachahmung, op.cit., 13.

60. Winckelmann, Beschreibung des Torso, op.cit., 57f: "Die Wirkung und Gegenwirkung ihrer Muskeln ist mit einem weislichen Masse von abwechselnder Regung und schneller Kraft wunderwürdig abgewogen, und der Leib musste durch dieselbe zu allem, was er hat vollbringen wollen, tüchtig gemacht werden. So wie in einer anhebenden Bewegung des Meeres die zuvor stille Fläche in einer nebligen Unruhe mit spielenden Wellen anwächst, wo eine von der anderdn verschlungen und aus derselben wiederum hervorgewälzt wird, ebenso sanft aufgeschwellt und schwebend gezogen fliesst hier eine Muskel in die andere, und eine dritte, die sich zwischen ihnen erhebt und ihre Bewegung zu verstärken scheint, verliert sich in jene, und unser Blick wird gleichsam mit verschlungen." (English translation: Leppmann)

61.   Winckelmann, Gedanken über die Nachahmung, op.cit., 17f: "Das allgemeine vorzügliche Kennzeichen der griechischen Meisterstücke ist endlich eine edle Einfalt und eine stille Grösse, sowohl in der Stellung als im Ausdruck ... Der Schmerz, welcher sich in allen Muskeln und Sehnen des Körpers entdeckt und den man ganz allein, ohne das Gesicht und andere Teile zu betrachten, an dem schmerzlich eingezogenen Unterleibe beinahe selbst zu empfinden glaubt ... der Künstler musste die Stärke des Geistes in sich selbst fühlen, welche er seinem Marmor einprägte."

62. Winckelmann, Geschichte, op.cit., 278.

63. Winckelmann, Geschichte, op.cit., 166.

64.   Winckelmann, Beschreibung der geschnittenen Steine des seligen Baron Stosch, Nürnberg 1797; original in French, published 1760; ref. Winckelmanns Werke, op.cit., 63ff.

65. Winckelmann, Briefe I (1742-1759), Berlin 1952, 242: Letter to Bianconi, Rome, 29 August 1756: "J'ose

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

66. Idem.

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

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

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

70. Idem, 171.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

90. Milizia, Memorie degli Architetti, op.cit., xxvii: "Se l'Architettura é figlia della necessità, tutto il suo bello deve comparir necessario, e fatto per il bisogno. In niuna arte di piacere deve mai scoprirsi l'artifizio; onde tutto quello, che si fa per mero ornamento é vizioso." Milizia, F., Principj di architettura civile, Roma 1970, 1ff. Ceschi, Carlo, Teoria e storia del restauro, Mario Bulzoni, Roma 1970, 34ff.

91. Milizia, Memorie degli Architetti, op.cit., II, 263ff: 'Luigi Vanvitelli'.

92. Milizia, op.cit., II, 73.

93. Milizia, op.cit., I, 78: "Possono questi Goti essere gl'inventori di quell'architettura, che si chiama volgarmente Gotica? E son essi que'barbari distruttori de'monumenti della bella Antichità? La Storia Ecclesiastica dà ai buoni Cristiani l'onore d'avere rovesciati tempj, e sfigurate statue in Italia, in Grecia, nell'Asia, nell'Egitto."

94. Diz.Enc.Arch. op.cit., IV, 54.

95. Walpole, H., Correspondance, Yale Edition,: Letter to R. West, 16 April 1740.

96. Letter of Boyer d'Argens, in Guillermo, Jacques, 'La naissance au XVIIIe siècle du sentiment de responsabilité collective dans la conservation', Gazette des Beaux-Arts, LXV, 1965, 155ff.

97. Goethe, J.W. 'Studien zur Weltlitteratur', Werke, Weimar, 1907, XLII, 503.

98. Lichtenberger, H., Goethe, II, 76.

99. Guillermo, op.cit.; Schiller, J.C.F., 'Was heisst Universalgeschichte?'; Costamagna, A., 'Agesia Beleminio (G.G. Bottari) e l'Accademia dell'Arcadia nel Settecento', Quaderni sul Neoclassico III, Miscellanea, Bulzoni, Roma, 1975, 43ff. Manigliano, Arnaldo, 'Ancient History and the Antiquarian', Journal of Warburg, XIII, 1950, 285ff; Bianchini, Francesco, La Istoria Universale provata con monumenti e figurata con simboli degli antichi, 1697.

100. Fischer von Erlach, Johann Bernard, Entwurf einer historischen Architektur, In Abbildung unterschiedener berühmten Gebäude des Alterthums und fremder Völker, und aus den Geschicht-büchern, Gedächtnis-müntzen, Ruinen, und eingeholten wahrhaften Abrissen vor Augen zu stellen. Wien 1721.

101. Winckelmann, Anmerkungen über die Baukunst, op.cit., 83. Peter Pancrazi was the first to publish illustrations on Sicilian temples. Campisi, Michele, Cultura del restauro e cultura del revival, il dibattito sulle antichità in Sicilia nel contesto della cultura neoclassica europea, 1764-1851, Centro Stampa Facoltà di Ingegneria, Palermo, 1981 (Dissertation; tutor Prof. Paolo Marconi).

102. Winckelmann, Anmerkungen über die Baukunst, op.cit.; Winckelmann, J.J., Anmerkungen über die Baukunst der alten Tempel zu Girgenti in Sizilien, 1759.

103. Colvin, H.M., A Biographical Dictionary of English Architects 1660-1840, London 1954, 581ff, 493ff. Watkin, David, Athenian Stuart, Pioneer of the Greek Revival, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1982. Crook, J.Mordaunt, The Greek Revival, Neo-Classical Attitudes in British Architecture 1760-1870, John Murray, 1972, 1ff.

104. D'Onofrio, Gli Obelischi di Roma, op.cit., 280ff.

105. Colvin, op.cit., 493ff, 581ff; Watkin, op.cit.

106. Colvin, op.cit.; Watkin, op.cit.; Scalabroni, Luisa, Giuseppe Vasi 1710-1782, Multigrafica, Roma 1981; Scott, Jonathan, Piranesi, Academy Editions, London, St. Martin's Press, New York, 1975.

107. Scott, op.cit., 126.

108. Scott, op.cit., 149ff.

109. Piranesi, G., Rovine del Castello dell'Acqua Giulia (1761); Lapides Capitolini (1762); Campo Marzio dell'antica Roma (1762); Descrizione dell'emissario del Lago Albano (1763); Antichità di Albano e di Castel Gandolfo (1764); Antichità di Cora (1764).

110. Scott, op.cit., 166ff, 183.

111. Muratori, Le Piante di Roma.

112. Scott, op.cit.; Fleming, J., Robert Adam and his Circle, J. Murray, London 1962.

113. Links, J.G., Canaletto and his Patrons, Paul Elek, London 1977; Camesasca, Ettore, L'Opera completa del Bellotto, Rizzoli, Milano 1974. Oxford Companion to Art, op.cit. Krönig, W., 'Philipp Hackerts Ansichten griechischer Tempel in Sizilien (1777)', Berlin und die Antike, Aufsätze, Berlin 1979, 363ff. Roncuzzi Roversi Monaco, Valeria, 'Le grandi scoperte archeologiche in Italia nei libri del secolo XVIII', L'immagine dell'antico fra settecento e ottocento, Libri di archeologia nella Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, Comune di Bologna, 1983, 21ff. Bersani, C., 'I monumenti archeologici nelle opere degli artisti e dei viaggiatori stranieri dei secoli XVIII e XIX', L'immagine dell'antico, op.cit., 75ff.

114. Enciclopedia Universale dell'Arte, Istituto per la collaborazione culturale, Sansoni, Firenze 1963, X, 616ff: 'Pittoresco': "proprio della pittura o dei pittori".

115. Enc.Univ.Arte, op.cit.; Oxford Comp.Art, op.cit., 'Picturesque the', 867ff.

116. Idem.

117. Idem.

118. Idem.

119. Oxford Comp. Art, op.cit., 1112, 'Sublimity'.

120. Hunt, J.D. and Willis, P. edit., The Genius of the Place, The English Landscape Garden 1620-1820

121. Vanbrugh, John, 'Reasons Offer'd for Preserving some Part of the Old Manor at Blenheim (11 June 1709)', in Hunt-Willis, The Genius of the Place. op.cit., 313.

122. Walpole, H., The History of the Modern Taste in Gardening, 1771-80; in Hunt-Willis, op.cit., 313.

123. Walpole, op.cit., 314.

124. Colvin, op.cit., 344.

125. Idem, 354f.

126. Wittkower, R., 'English Neo-Palladianism, the Landscape Garden, China and the Enlightenment', in Wittkower, R., Palladio and English Palladianism, Thames and Hudson (1974) 1983, 177ff.

127. Stroud, Dorothy, Capability Brown, Faber & Faber, London (1950) 1975, 156.

128. A request received in 1775 from the Rev. Thomas Dyer of Marylebone on behalf of a French friend of his, who wanted to lay out his garden in the English style. Brown's reply in 'Pakenham Correspondance', quoted from Stroud, op.cit., 156f.

129. Hunt-Willis, The Genius of the Place, op.cit.

130. Gilpin, W., Three Essays, 1792, 6; The Picturesque Tour in Northumberland and Durham, c. 1720-1830, Tyne and Wear County Council Museums, 1982, 11f; Manwaring, Italian Landscape, op.cit., 181ff.

131. Gilpin, W., Observations on several parts of the counties of Cambridge, Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex etc., 1809, 121f.

132. Gilpin, W., Observations of the River Wye, 1782, 32f.

133. Price, Uvedale, An Essay on the Picturesque, 1794; Hunt-Willis, The Genius, op.cit., 322ff.

134. Shaftesbury, Anthony Ashley Cooper, 3rd Earl of (1671-1713), 'Letter Concerning the Art, or Science of Design' (1712), published in: Characteristicks of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times, III, 1723, 395ff; in Wittkower, 'English Neo-Palladianism', op.cit., 179f.

135. Wittkower, 'English Neo-Palladianism', op.cit., 179ff.

136. Idem.

137. Idem, 183.

138. Idem.

139. Mason, W., Heroic Epistle to Sir William Chambers, (1773):

"Knight of the Polar Star! by Fortune plac'd,
To shine the Cynosure of British taste;
Whose orb collects, in one refulgent view,
The scatter'd glories of Chinese Virtù;
...
To Richmond come, for see, untutor'd Brown
Destroys those wonders which were once thy own.
Lo, from his melon-ground the peasant slave
Has rudely rush'd, and levell'd Merlin's Cave;
Knock'd down the waxen Wizzard, seiz'd his wand,
Transform'd to lawn what late was Fairy land;
...
Tho' Europe's balance trembles on it's beam.
And Thou, Sir William! while thy plastic hand
Creates each wonder, which thy Bard has plann'd,
While, as thy art commands, obsequious rise
Whate'er can please, or frighten, or surprise,
O! let that Bard his Knight's protection claim,
And share, like faithful Sancho, Quixote's fame."

140. Mason, W., The English Garden (1772-82), IV, 91-93:

"So shall each part, though turn'd to rural use'
Deceive the eye with those bold feudal forms
That Fancy loves to gaze on."

141. Mason, op.cit., IV, 408-410:

"... who, on British ground,
Attempts the task, builds but a splendid lie,
Which mocks historic credence."

142. Mortier, R., La Poétique des ruines en France, Ses origines, ses variations de la Renaissance à Victor Hugo, Librairie Droz, Genève, 1974, 91.

143. Diderot in the Salon de 1767 (éd. Seznec, III, 227: 'Ruine d'un arc de triomphe, et autres monuments') (in Mortier, op.cit., 93): "L'effet de ces compositions, bonnes ou mauvaises, c'est de vous laisser dans une douce mélancolie. Nous attachons nos regards sur les débris d'un arc de triomphe, d'un portique, d'une pyramide, d'un temple, d'un palais, et nous revenons sur nous-mêmes. Nous anticipons sur les ravages du temps, et notre imagination disperse sur la terre les édifices mêmes que nous habitons. A l'instant, la solitude et le silence règnent autour de nous. Nous restons seuls de toute une génération qui n'est plus; et voilà la première ligne de la poétique des ruines."

144. Diderot, 'Observations sur la sculpture et sur Bouchardon' (A.-T., XIII,43), written for the 'Correspondance littéraire' 1st to 15th March 1763 (in Mortier, op.cit., 92): "je crois que de grandes ruines doivent plus frapper que ne feraient des monuments entiers et conservés ... La main du temps a semé, parmi la mousse qui les couvre, une foule de grandes idées et de sentiments mélancoliques... Je reviens sur les peuples qui ont produit ces merveilles et qui ne sont plus".

145. Diderot, Encyclopédie, "Ruine, se dit en Peinture de la représentation d'édifices presque entièrement ruinés: De belles ruines. On donne le nom de ruine au tableau même qui représente ces ruines. Ruine ne se dit que des palais, des tombeaux somptueux ou des monuments publics. On ne diroit point ruine en parlant d'une maison particulière de paysans ou bourgeois; on diroit alors bƒtimens ruinés." Lough, J., 'The Problem of unsigned articles in the Encyclopédie', Studies on Voltaire and the 18th century, XXXII, 1965, 379. Lough confirms that Diderot himself has written this article.

146. de Girardin, René-Louis, Marquis, De la composition des paysages (1777), Editions du Champ Urbain, Paris, 1979, 20f: "Or, c'est uniquement dans l'effet pittoresque qu'on doit chercher la manière de disposer avec avantage tous les objets qui sont destinés a plaire aux yeux, car l'effet pittoresque consiste précisément dans le choix des formes les plus agréables, dans l'élégance des contours,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

152. de la Borde, B., Béguillet, E., Guettard, J-E., Description génerale et particulière de la France, Paris 1781-84 (4 Tomes); Voyage pittoresque de la France avec la description de toutes ces provinces, ouvrage national dédié au Roi, Lamy 1784 (8 Tomes).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

163. Idem, 130.

164. Idem.

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

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

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

168. Idem.

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

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

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

172. Edwards, 'Reports': see note 162 (Conti, 'Vicende' op.cit., 63): "neppure con buona intenzione di migliorar l'opera levi cosa alcuna dall'originale o vi aggiunga qualche parte di proprio; né ponga o levi iscrizioni."

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

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

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

176. Idem.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

On the side of the Forum Romanum:

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

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

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

193. D'Onofrio, Gli Obelischi, op.cit., 222ff, 230ff: Apart from the Vatican Obelisk, there were other two small ones standing - though not on their original site - before Sixtus V started his programme of erection of the 'Guglie'. One of these was standing on the Capitol Hill next to the church of Aracoeli, where it was first recorded at the beginning of the fifteenth century (by Antonio di Pietro dello Schiavo, 25 August 1407), and became a fashionable object for artists. Francesco Colonna may have had an inspiration from this obelisk for his Hypnerotomachia Poliphili, and Cyriac of Ancona made it the centre point of a fantastic drawing. Heemskerck shows it in many of his drawings in the sixteenth century. In 1582, (11 September) it was given to Ciriaco Mattei as a present, who erected it in the Villa Celimontana (at the time Villa Mattei) on the side of the Villa. In 1817, it was moved to its present site in the same garden. The second small obelisk had been found near Sant'Ignazio, and erected on the side of the church at the end of the fourteenth century (Piazza di S. Macuto) on a simple base. From here it was moved to the Piazza di Pantheon in 1711.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

198. Idem.

199. Idem.

200. D'Onofrio has published a water colour by Ferdinando Bonsignori, of 1792, illustrating the principle of the obelisk as a sun-dial. (op.cit., fig. facing 174)

201. Kircher, A., Obeliscus Pamphilius, Roma 1650; D'Onofrio, op.cit., 224. Kircher published also another study: Kircher, A., Ad Alexandrum VII P.M. obelisci aegyptiaci nuper inter Isaei Romani rudera effossi interprtatio hieroglyphica, Romae 1666.

202. Archivio di Stato, Rome, A.St., Camerale II, Ant. e B.Arti, busta 6, fasc. 150 (D'Onofrio, op.cit., 289): "Risarcire ad uso d'arte tutto l'obelisco, lasciando intatti i geroglifici, com'essi sono; aggiungendovi le facce mancanti, senza però richiamare sù d'esse per mezzo della impostura i non intesi egiziani misteri; sostituirvi il primo pezzo di nuovo..."

203. Permission to use the remains of the Column of Antoninus Pius was given on 4 August 1787 (Archivio di Stato, Camerale II, Ant. e B.Arti, busta 6, fasc. 150. (D'Onofrio, op.cit., 275)

Chapter Seven
The French Revolution

7.1 Destruction

The storming and demolition of the Bastille in 1789 has come to symbolize the beginning of the French Revolution; it also symbolically started an era of ravage and destruction of works of art and historic buildings in France. The suppression of monasteries in the same year and subsequent confiscation of the property of noble families and of the king, provided an opportunity for people to express their anger against their former masters. The destruction and vandalism that followed was supported and even guided by legal acts. In 1792, the National Assembly decreed: "considering that the sacred principles of liberty and equality no longer permit the monuments raised to pride, prejudice and tyranny to be left before the people's eyes", (1) and considering that the bronze doors of these monuments could serve in the production of arms for the defence of the 'homeland', any inscriptions, signs, monuments or symbols reminiscent of the king or of feudalism, were to be destroyed without delay. (2)

During the decade that followed, France lost important works of art and historic buildings; material was sold and reused, or otherwise ravaged and destroyed. In Paris alone, dozens of mediaeval churches and convents were demolished, or converted for other purposes. Rood screens, funeral monuments, and statues were demolished. The Notre Dame of Paris, for example, lost the row of the statues of kings in its west front; the church was mutilated in various parts and, in 1794, used a a storage for provisions. (3) Palaces and castles were forcibly entered and their collections and furniture sold or vandalized. (4) Although the Concordat of 1801 between Napoleon and Pius VII brought a formal peace between the state and the church, destruction continued well into the nineteenth century. Napoleon himself had great plans for his capital city. Had he lived two more decades - he wrote in his memoirs - there would have been nothing left of the old Paris! (5)

7.2 Orders for Protection

Since, after the Revolution, the property of the church, of the feudal lords and of the king was considered national property, the nation also had the responsibility for its care and protection. From the early years of the Revolution, there were, in fact, decrees ordering the municipal or state administrations to prepare lists of this property - particularly of manuscripts, books and movable objects, but also of monuments in general - and "to constitute guardians for them." (6) In October 1790, the Commission des monuments, of which the painter Louis David was a member, was given the task of caring for works of art and of preparing inventories. (7) This commission depended partly on the committees of the National Assembly, and partly on the municipality of Paris.

On 14 October, 1791, the Comité d'instruction publique was created; part of its responsibility was the conservation of monuments. (8) In 1793, the Commission des monuments was abolished, and a new Commission des arts was formed, later called the Commission temporaire des arts. Its task was to survey and prepare an inventory of all objects "useful for public education, belonging to the Nation." (9) Its members included several architects - for example, Francois-Joseph de Lannoy (1794) and Charles Percier (1795), both of whom had won the Grand Prix de Rome. (10) The Commission was dissolved at the end of December 1795. (11)

Although conditions during the years of the Revolution were certainly not favourable for conservation, still certain fundamental concepts were formulated; and the intervention of the commissions or individuals could sometimes be decisive in preventing the destruction of historic structures and works of art. The Commission temporaire des arts, for example, saved Chantilly Castle, the church of Franciade, the tower of Saint-Machon in Mantes, and the bronze doors of Saint-Denis. (12) In 1790,

Aubin-Louis Millin (1759-1818) presented the first volume of his Antiquités nationales, in which he established the concept of "monuments historiques". (13) In 1793, the politician Joseph Lakanal (1762-1845) and the mathematician Charles Romme (1750-95) addressed the Convention on the question of vandalism and urged for more efficient protection of monuments and works of art. (14)

The same laws that authorized the destruction of feudal and royal symbols also decreed the conservation of objects of special value. The decree of 14 August 1792 charged the Commission des monuments "particularly to control the conservation of objects which may have a special interest for their artistic quality." (15) Similarly, penalties were foreseen for those who damaged national property; the decree of 6 June 1792 ordered two years of imprisonment for such vandalism. (16) Furthermore, on 24 October 1793, after hearing the Comité d'instruction publique on the abuses of laws and the destruction of works of art, the Convention decreed that "it is forbidden to remove, destroy, mutilate or alter in any way - with the excuse of eliminating traces of feudalism or royalty - from libraries, collections, private galleries, public museums..." ojects that interest "the arts, history and education." (17) It was, in fact, understood that preservation of cultural heritage was important for educational purposes in order to maintain "the leading position of France in commerce and industry." (18)

Instructions for Inventory and Conservation

The importance of the conservation of works of art and historic monuments was further emphasized in an important document called Instruction sur la maniere d'inventorier et de conserver dans toute l'etendue de la Republique, tous les objects qui peuvent servir aux arts, aux sciences et a l'enseignement. The document was prepared by the Commission temporaire des arts; it was presented to the Comité d'instruction publique in January 1793, and was approved on 5 March of the same year. (19) Education was here given a fundamental role. "The people will not forget that reason is strengthened through solid and real education. Already, education has become for the people the best means toward rebirth and glory. It places within their grasp a lever of great force which they use to uplift their nations, to overthrow thrones and to reject for ever the monuments to error." (20) The objects that were to serve these didactic purposes, it was stated, could be found in the institutions which had been suppressed, i.e. in libraries, museums, and collections. Never before had such a wealth of objects been offered to the people; it was now their

heritage, and it was their responsibility to learn from the lessons of the past that were imprinted on these objects, and "to hand them down to posterity along with new pages." (21)

For this reason, it was also essential to guarantee the conservation of this heritage. The document stated:

> "All you who because of your republican virtues, are the true supporters of the liberty that is emerging, come close and rejoice. However, you must ensure the strictest control in this respect. Indifference would be a crime here because you are merely the guardians of a heritage which our great family has the right to expect you to give account of. In those houses cowardly abandonned by your enemies you will find part of this heritage. In the name of reason we should ensure its appreciation... each one of you should behave as though he was truly responsible for these treasures the nation has entrusted to him." (22)

This heritage was conceived as encompassing a vast panorama of the human intellect, ranging from the natural sciences and medicine to the antiquities, arts, and architecture. The classification was to be carried out using unified measurements and language, because all these fields of human activity were interrelated. Everything was to be classified according to the field of activity and location. In the field of architecture, historic monuments were to be listed in all districts of the country indicating their age, location, type of construction and decoration, as well as the structural solidity, need for repair, and recommended use. (23)

Abbe Grégoire

Closely related to the Instructions were the reports of Abbe Henri Grégoire (1750-1831), bishop of Blois and a member of the Comité d'instruction publique. His first report was written on the conservation of manuscripts and the organization of libraries; three others concentrated on vandalism, "the destructions due to vandalism and the means to repress it". All date from 1794. (24) Also Grégoire drew attention to the educational reasons for the conservation of cultural heritage. The word 'vandalism' was invented by him in order to put an end to this activity, which he considered counter-revolutionary. It made the French look like barbarians in the eyes of other nations, he exclaimed, "Barbarians and slaves detest knowledge and destroy works of art; free men love and conserve them." (25) Antique monuments, according to

Grégoire, were like medals and had to be conserved as a whole. Similarly, mediaeval and later structures had to be preserved with their inscriptions, which "often supplemented the archives with the facts they recorded; they establish the periods of history." (26) Consciousness of what was beautiful and what was good constituted part of the "honesty of heart". Dissemination of this feeling and of these virtues was, according to him, essential for the revival of the sciences and for the morality of the people.

Grégoire emphasized the documentary value of historic monuments of all periods and the need to preserve them as a whole. He also insisted that the objects should be kept in their original location and could only be moved for purposes of conservation. This anticipated the concepts of the 1830's, when the state became more organized for the care of historic monuments. The moral aspects of these documents also recall Winckelmann on the one hand and anticipate John Ruskin and the late nineteenth century conservation movement on the other. New decrees were drafted by the Comité d'instruction publique to meet the needs pointed out in the reports; the two year prison term for whoever damaged or destroyed "des monuments de sciences et d'arts" was reconfirmed. (27)

The opposition claimed that the destruction, cited in the reports of Grégoire, was exaggerated, but even though the work of the Committee helped to save some works of art, demolition still continued all over the country. The monastery of Cluny had been ravaged in 1793, and lay abandoned until its demolition in 1798. (28) A similar fate was to be faced by numerous other monasteries, churches, and palaces. In 1794, for example, the cathedral of Strasbourg lost 235 statues, and the cathedral of Albi 70, from their rood-screens. Although considerable legislative effort was made regarding the compilation of inventories of cultural property, positive results came only several decades later. (29)

Museums and Collections

Museums were regarded as possible shelters for the protection of movable objects; this had also been indicated in a decree of 1793. (30) The palace of the Louvre had already been opened as a museum since 1775.In 1791, some former atelier space was reserved for the display of works of art. The following year, the state collections were arranged there, and in 1793, the collections of Louis XVI were added (after the king had been beheaded). (31) While a substantial part of the art works of suppressed monasteries were

Figure 84. The Musée des Monuments Français, the room of the 13th century

destroyed, the remaining objects were either sold or brought into state deposits.

The convent of the Petits-Augustins was chosen as one of these deposits, and in 1791 Alexander Lenoir (1762-1839) was nominated its curator (later the title was changed to conservateur. (32)) Lenoir was first involved in the inventory of these objects. He then arranged the statues chronologically in rooms of the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; there was also an introductory room with an overview of the history of sculpture in France from antiquity to recent times. In 1795, the collection was opened to the public as Le Musée des Monuments français. (33)

At first, the collection contained objects from Paris and its surroundings, but later from other parts of France. There were, for example, several royal monuments from Saint-Denis. Lenoir arrived too late, however, to acquire sculptures from Cluny. Objects were selected and often brought to the museum for restoration. The arrangement, although systematic, was based on a limited knowledge of mediaeval art. Very often, pieces of different origin were put together to make one monument. This was the case, for example, with the funeral monument of Heloise and Abelard, which was placed in the attached garden of the Elysee. The garden, in fact, became part of the museum, and contained dozens of tombs of famous personalities such as Moliere, La Fontaine, and Montfaucon. (34)

Quatremère de Quincy

The museum and its garden became very popular during the Republic and the Empire. Many artists, among them David, Ingres and Hubert Robert, came to study there. The catalogue of the collection was printed eleven times (once even in English). However, there were also critics. After the Concordat of 1801, there was a desire to return religious objects to churches. Similarly, many artists would have preferred to see the works of art in their original locations. Then, too, although Lenoir had worked quite hard to organize his museum, he seems to have had little appreciation for the artistic qualities of mediaeval art. To him, the organization of the collection was mainly a didactic exercise. Also, the more insensitive restorations shocked many people. (35)

The final critical blow came from Antoine-Chrysostome Quatremère de Quincy (1755-1849), a classical archaeologist and art critic. He himself did not appreciate the Middle Ages, and hated museums, being especially convinced that works of art should be kept in their original locations. Quatremère wrote: "The museum is the end of art. The fragments of history thus become dead artifacts and the lessons artists learn from them are dead too." (36)

In 1816, after the fall of Napoleon, Quatremère was nominated the secretary of the Academy of Beaux-Arts, as well as the Intendant général des arts et monuments publics. On 24 April of that year, he ordered that the objects that Lenoir had collected in the museum had to be returned to their original owners. (37) In some cases this could be done, while in others they were taken to other collections or were lost, because the original place did not exist any more.

Quatremère had travelled to Rome in 1776, and remained there for four years. He had read Winckelmann, had met Mengs and David, and had become a personal friend of Antonio Canova, the future director of museums and antiquities in Rome. He then continued his studies in France and England, was elected representative of Paris in 1789 and became a member of the Comité d'instruction publique in 1791. Quatremère was especially involved in defending the arts and artists, and also had a special interest in legislation. Unfortunately, he encountered political difficulties, and was first imprisoned and later exiled. (38)

When Napoleon, according to the peace treaty of Tolentino in 1797, obliged Pius VI to deliver to France the so called 'bouquet de Napoleon', Quatremère was outraged and wrote from his prison a series of letters, published as Letters to General Miranda, his protector. (39) The 'bouquet' included rare books and manuscripts as well as a hundred of the most famous Italian works of art such as the Apollo of Belvedere, the Laocoon, the Belvedere Torso, paintings of Raphael, Correggio and Guido Reni. (40) According to Quatremère, these works of art belonged to Italy, whcih was the great school of art. These works had a special significance in Italy which was lost if they were brought elsewhere. Antique Rome, he said, was like "a great book of which time had destroyed or scattered the pages. Every day modern research can fill in the gaps and repair the lacunae." (41) Rome was a museum, which was composed

> "it is true, of statues, colossuses, temples, obelisks, triumphal columns, thermae, circuses, amphitheatres, triumphal arches, tombs, stuccoes, wall paintings, bas-reliefs, inscriptions,

fragments, ornaments, building materials, furnishings, tools etc. etc. However, it was also composed of places, sites, hills, positions with respect to the ruined villas, the topographical and other relationships, local traditions, customs still alive today, parallels and connections which can be made only in the country itself." (42)

Quatremère maintained that Greek works, divorced from their country, lacked the humanity and tranquillity of Greece. Similarly, if the weathered River Gods were brought from the banks of the Tiber to Paris, they would only look like muddy pieces of stone. There would be no time to enjoy them; spectators would remain indifferent. To Quatremère, despoiling Italy of her classical masterpieces meant attacking Europe's principal source of learning.

The strong message that works of art belonged in their cultural and geographical context was well received by other artists in France. The concept came to be applied in the French contect: i.e. mediaeval sculptures were to remain in their architectural context. This was, in fact, one of Quatremère's main arguments against Lenoir's museum. Another analogous collection of antiquities had been undertaken in Toulouse by Alexander Du Mège (1786-1862), who was especially enthusiastic about the area of the Pyrenees concerning which he initiated the publication of L'Archéologie pyrénéenne. (43) Conscious of the destruction of the revolution, Du Mège wanted to provide protection for the works of art. He, thus, created the Musée du Midi de la Republique, which was housed in he convent of the Augustins in 1794. This collection, however, met with an opposition similar to that in Paris, and the ambitious plans of Du Mège were only partly realized. (44).

Whatever the problems, however, the people of France were brought - for the first time - to appreciate and reflect on the history of the country through these unknown works of art. In other words, France became conscious of national art. (45) This spirit of Nationalism was to be a decisive factor in the conservation movements of the nineteenth century, as illustrated in the following case studies.

Notes to Chapter Seven:

1. Decree, 14 August 1792: "L'Assemblée nationale, considérant que les principes sacrés de la liberté et de l'égalité ne permettent point de laisser plus longtempts sous les yeux du peuple français les monuments élevés à l'orgueil, au préjugé et à la tyrannie..." (Rücker,

Frédéric, Les Origines de la Conservation des monuments historiques en France (1790-1830), Thèse pour le doctorat d'université (Lettres), Presentée à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Paris, Paris 1913, 13)

2. Decree, 14 August 1792: "...Considérant que le bronze de ces monuments converti en canons servira utilement à la défense de la patria, décrète qu'il y a urgence,... Art. 1. ...Statues, bas-reliefs, inscriptions et autres monuments en bronze et en toute autre matière élevés sur les places publiques, temples, jardins, parcs et dependances, maisons nationales, même dans celles qui etaient res. à la jouissance de roi... Art. 3. Les monuments, restes de la féodalité, de quelque nature qu'ils soient existant encore dans les temples ou autres lieux publics, et même à l'exterieur des maisons particulières, seront, sans aucun délai, détruits à la diligence des communes." (Rücker, op.cit. 13)

3. Réau, Louis, Histoire du Vandalisme, Les monuments détruits de l'Art français, I-II, Librairie Hachette, Paris 1959, I, 296; II, 303ff.

4. Idem.

5. Idem; Pinkney, David, H., Napoleon III and the Rebuilding of Paris, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1858.

6. E.g.: 7 and 14 November 1789 (The National Assembly ordered to "déposer aux greffes des sièges royaux ou des monicipalités les plus voisines des états et cataloques des livres, particulièrement des manuscripts, et de s'en constituer gardiens."), 14 August 1790 ("l'inventaire des caractères, poinçons, matrices, gravures et autres objects appartenant à la Nation se trouvant à l'imprimerie du Louvre."), 13 and 23 October 1790, 10 June 1793, 27 January 1794. (Rücker, op.cit.)

7. The Commission des Monuments was created on 13 October 1790 and abolished on 12 October 1793. It depended directly on the 'Comités réunis, on the 'Comité des finances', and on the Municipality of Paris. Its members included David, Doyen, Mouchy, Pajon. The Assembly also ordered the inventory and conservation of monuments in general at the same time. (Rücker, op.cit., 48); Réau, op.cit., 380ff.

8. The members included Gaudin, Quatresols de Marolles, Quatremère de Quincy (elected 28 October) and de Bry (elected 10 October) (Rücker, op.cit., 41ff)

9. The decrees for the Commission des Arts are: 12, 15 and 18 August 1793; its first meeting was on 1 September 1793. On 18 december 1793, it was transformed into La Commission temporaire des arts. The original task of the Commission was to do inventories of "statues, tableaux, livres, manuscripts et autres effets"; on 18 August 1793, this task was widened to all objects "utiles à l'instruction publique, appartenant à la Nation". (Rücker, op.cit., 48, 86ff)

10. Architecture was first the responsibility of Auguste Cheval de Saint-Hubert, the City Architect of Paris; in

1794 and 1795 the number of architects was augmented, including: Julien-David Leroy (1724-1803), architect and archaeologist, member of the Academy of Architecture and Academy of Inscriptions, François-Joseph de Lannoy (1755-1835), architect, Grand-Prix de Rome. In 1795 was included also Charles Percier (1764-1838), architect, Grand-Prix de Rome. (Rücker, op.cit., 48, 86ff)

11. 26 December 1795 (Réau, op.cit., 382)

12. Rücker, op.cit., 94ff.

13. Réau, op.cit., 382.

14. Idem.

15. The same decree of 14 August 1792, which ordered the destruction (see note 2, above) of monuments, also ordered their conservation if they corresponded to specific qualifications: "Art. 4. La Commission des monuments est chargée expressement de veiller à la conservation des objects qui peuvent intéresser essentiellement les arts, et d'en présenter la liste au corps legislatif, pour être statué ainsi qu'il appartiendra." (Rücker, op.cit. 13ff)

16. Réau, op.cit., 380.

17. Decree of 24 October 1793: "Art.1. Il defendu d'enlever, de détruire, mutiler ni altérer en aucune manière, sous prétexte de faire disparaŒtre les signes de féodalité ou de royauté dans les bibliothèques, les collections, cabinets, musées publics ou particuliers,... les livres imprimés ou manuscrits, les gravures et dessins, les tableaux, bas-reliefs, statues, médailles, vases, antiquitités... qui intéressent les arts, l'histoire & l'instruction." (Rücker, op.cit., 30)

18. The decree of 24 October 1793 emphasized that the destruction of "monuments des arts, de l'histoire et de l'instruction" caused the threat to France to loose its leading position in "industrie et commerce". (Rücker, op.cit. 30); Réau, op.cit., 381; C.O.R.D.A., Les enjeux de la conservation du patrimoine, par 'Tabula rasa' (C. Gajdos, J.J. Lyon-Caen, R. Pastrana), Paris 1980, 107ff.

19. 'Procés verbaux du Comité d'Intruction publique de la Convention', III, 545. The Instructions were drafted by Félix Viecq d'Azyr (1748-1794), and anatomist and writer, member of the Academy of Sciences. (Rücker, op.cit. 94.)

20. Instruction sur la manière d'inventorier et de conserver, dans toute l'étendue de la République, tous les objets qui peuvent servir aux arts, aux sciences, et à l'enseignement, proposée par la Commission temporaire des arts, et adoptée par le Comité d'Instruction Publique de la Convention Nationale, Imprimerie Nationale, Paris, l'an II de la République: "Le peuple n'oubliera point que c'est par une instruction solide et vraie que la raison se fortifie. Déjà mise à sa portée, l'instruction est devenue pour lui le moyen le plus puissant de régénération et de gloire, elle a placé dans ses mains un levier d'une force immense dont il se sert pour soulever les nations, pour éblanler les tr"nes et renverser à jamais les monuments

de l'erreur". (C.O.R.D.A., Les enjeux de la conservation, op.cit., 107.; Rücker, op.cit.,94; Réau, op.cit. 381).

21. Instruction sur la manière d'inventorier et de conserver, op.cit.: "Les objets qui doivent servir à l'instruction, et dont un grand nombre appartenait aux établissements supprimés, méritait toute l'attention des vrais amis de la patrie. On les trouvera dans les bibliothèques, dans les musées, dans les cabinets, dans les collections sur lesquelles la République a des droits; dans les ateliers o— sont rassemblés les instruments les plus nécessaires à nos besoins; dans les palais et dans les temples que décorent les chefs-d'oeuvres des arts; dans tous les lieux o— des monuments retracent ce que furent les hommes et les peuples; partout, enfin, o— les leçons du passé, fortement empreintes, peuvent être recueillies par notre siècle, qui saura les transmettre, avec des pages nouvelles, au souvenir de la postérité..."

22. Instruction sur la manière d'inventorier et de conserver, op.cit.: "Vous tous qui, par vos vertus républicaines, ètes les vrais appuis de la liberté naissante, approchez et jouissez; mais couvrez ce domaine de toute votre surveillance. L'indifférence ici serait un crime, parce que vous n'ètes que les dépositaires d'un bien dont la grande famille a droit de vous demander compte. C'est dans les maisons lƒchement abandonnées par vos ennemis, que vous trouverez une partie de cet héritage; faites-le valoir au profit de la raison, si cruellement outragée par eux; éloignez-en toutes les mains suspectes, et que chacun de vous se conduise comme s'il était vraiment responsable de ces trésors que la Nation lui confie."

23. Instruction sur la manière d'inventorier et de conserver, op.cit.

24. 'Rapport de l'Abbé Grégoire sur les inscriptions' 11 January 1794 (22 Nivose An II); 'Rapport de Grégoire sur la Bibliographie, portant sur la conservation des manuscrits et l'organisation des bibliothèques' 11 April 1794 (22 Germinal An II); 'Rapport de Grégoire sur "les destructions opérées par le vandalisme et les moyens de le réprimer"' 31 August 1794 (14 Fructidor An II); Deuxième rapport de Grégoire sur le vandalisme' 24 October 1794 (8 Brumaire An III); 'Troisième rapport de Grégoire sur le vandalisme' 14 December 1794 (24 Frimaire An III). (C.O.R.D.A., Les enjeux de la conservation, op.cit., 107.; Rücker, op.cit.,94; Réau, op.cit. 381; Marot, Pierre, 'L'abbé Grégoire et le vandalisme révolutionnaire', ???) The Comité d'instruction publique noted on 31 March 1794: "Le citoyen Grégoire propose un projet de décret contre ceux des citoyens qui se permettent de briser ou mutiler les monuments divers qui se trouvent épars dans les départements. Le Comité arrète que le Comité (de salut publique) sera engagé d'autoriser le président du Comité à écrire aux différents districts de veiller sur la conservation des monuments qui y sont encore en leur entier." (Proc.Verb. du Comité d'instr. publ. de la Convention, IV, 55) 15 July 1794, the Committee gave the task to Grégoire and Fourcroy to write the report. (Rücker, op.cit., 32)

25. Abbé Grégoire: 'Rapport sur vandalisme', op.cit.: "Les barbares et les esclaves détestent les sciences et dutruisent les monuments des arts; les hommes libres les aiment et les conservent."

26. Abbé Grégoire: 'Rapport sur les inscriptions', 11.1.1794, op.cit., 9: "Les monuments antiques sont des médailles sous une autre forme, ils doivent être conservés dans leur totalité; et quel est l'homme sensé qui ne frémit pas à la seule idée de voir porter le marteau sur les antiquités d'Orange ou de NŒmes? Quant à ceux du moyen ƒge et des temps modernes, dont les inscriptions ne présentent rien de contraire aux principes de l'égalité et de la liberté, ils doivent être également conservés; ils suppléent souvent aux archives par les faits dont ils sont dépositaires; ils fixent les époques de l'histoire: les détruire serait une perte; les traduire serait une espèce d'anachronisme; ce serait les dénaturer sans utilité comme sans motif, et vous réprimerez sans donte la barbarie contre-révolutionnaire qui voudrait nous appauvrir en nous déshonorant."

27. On the basis of the reports of Grégoire, the Comité d'instruction publique proposed the following decree: "Art. 1. Les bibliothèques et tous les autres monuments de sciences et d'arts appartenant à la Nation, sont recommandés à la surveillance de tous les bons citoyens; ils sont invités à dénoncer aux autorités constituées les provocateurs et les auteurs de dilapidations et dégradations de ces bibliothèques et monuments. Art. 2. Ceux qui seront convaincus d'avoir, par malveillance, détruits ou dugradé des monuments de sciences et d'arts, subiront la peine de deux années de détention, conformément au ducret du 13 avril 1793..." (Rücker, op.cit., 37)

28. Réau, op.cit., I, 327.

29. Idem, II, 305.

30. The decree of 24 October 1793 (Rücker, op.cit.)

31. Réau, op.cit., I, 384ff.

32. Réau, op.cit., I, 390ff.; Le 'Gothique' retrouvé avant Viollet-le-Duc, Caisse Nationale des Monuments Historiques et des Sites, Paris 1979, 77. Léon, Paul, La Vie des Monuments français, destruction, restauration, Editions A. et J. Picard et Cie, Paris 1951, 68ff.

33. 21 October 1795; Idem.

34. Léon, La vie des Monuments, op.cit., 85.

35. Idem.

86. Quatremère de Quincy, 'Rapport au Conseil général sur l'instruction publique, le rétablissement des bourses, le scandale des inhumanations actuelles, l'érection des cimetières, sur la restitutions des tombeaux, mausolées', 15 thermidor an VIII. Considerations morales sur la destination des ouvrages de l'art, 1815: : "Le musée est la fin de l'art. Les pièces de l'histoire en deviennent les extraits mortuaires; les leçons qu'y reçoivent les artistes sont des leçons mortes." (Léon, op.cit., 84f)

37. Léon, op.cit. 84f.

38. Schneider, R., Quatremère de Quincy et son intervention dans les arts (1788-1830), Thèse présentée à la faculté des lettres de l'Université de Paris, Paris 1910.

39. Quatremère de Quincy, Lettres sur l'enlèvement des ouvrages de l'art antique à Athènes et à Rome, écrites les unes au célèbre Canova, les autres au Général Miranda, Nouvelle edition, Paris 1836. Pinelli, Antonio, 'Storia dell'arte e cultura della tutela. Le 'Lettres à Miranda' di Quatremère de Quincy', Ricerche di Storia dell'arte ('Storia dell'arte e politica della tutela, scavi, processi, editti, musei, mercanti, ispettori, inventari restauri'), 1978-79, VIII, La Nuova Italia Scientifica, Firenze 1979, 43ff.

40. Idem.

41. Quatremère de Quincy, 'Lettres au Général Miranda sur le préjudice qu'occasionneroient aux arts et a la science le déplacement des monuments de l'art de l'Italie, le démembrement de ses écoles, et la spoliation de ses collections, galleries, musées, etc.' (Seven letters and a petition to the government.): "Qu'est-ce que l'antique à Rome, sinon un grand livre dont le temps a détruit ou dispersé les pages, et dont les recherches modernes remplissent chaque jour les vides, et réparent les lacunes?"

42. Quatremère de Quincy, 'Lettres au Général Miranda', op.cit.: "Le véritable muséum de Rome, celui dont je parle, se compose, il est vrai, de statues, de colosses, de temples, d'obélisques, de colonnes trimphales, de thèrmes, de cirques, d'amphithéatres, d'arcs de triomphe, de tombeaux, de stucs, de fresques, de bas-reliefs, d'inscriptions, de fragmens, d'ornemens, de matériaux de construction, de meubles, d'utensiles, etc. etc.; mais il ne se compose pas moins des lieux, des sites, des montagnes, des carrières, des contes antiques, des positions respectives des villes ruinées, des rapports géographiques, des relations de tous les objets entre eux, des souvenirs, des traditions locales, des usages encore existants, des parallèles et des rapprochemens qui ne peuvent se faire que dans le pays même."

43. Le 'Gothique' retrouvé, op.cit., 85ff.

44. Le 'Gothique' retrouvé, op.cit., 42; Léon, La vie des Monuments, op.cit., 71.

45. Léon, La vie des Monuments, op.cit., 71.