

Part Two:

Five Case Studies

(Rome, Athens, Durham, Magdeburg, Vézelay)



Chapter Eight

Case Study: Italy, Restoration in Rome

8.1 Conservation in the Papal States, 1800-1809

After the Papal States were restored to the Pope with the withdrawal of the French in 1799, Pius VII (1800-1823) arrived in Rome to assume the throne of St. Peter in June 1800. His first concern was to re-establish the Papal administration; special emphasis was given to improved protection for the antiquities and works of art that had suffered during the French domination. There had been several edicts in the past to protect them and control their exportation (e.g. 1624, 1646, 1717, 1726, 1733, 1750). (1) However, these had not been efficiently enforced and with the impoverishment of the Papal States, the sale of art collections to foreigners had become common. Licenses were acquired rather easily, the percentage charged on the value of the object only encouraged the practice, and the Commissioner, who had almost no assistance, was not able to control the traffic. (2)

Organization and Legislation

During the early part of the nineteenth century, there was particular concern for the value of cultural property, partly because of the development of new artistic theories and concepts, partly because of the recent losses of works of art. The Secretary of State was Cardinal Ercole Consalvi (1757-1824), a liberal statesman and a patron of arts and sciences. Cardinal Giuseppe Doria-Pamphili, the head of the Camerlengato, was responsible for the administration and cultural affairs, and Cardinal Alessandro Lante was the chief treasurer; all were members of distinguished Roman families. Furthermore, in 1801 the lawyer and archaeologist Carlo Fea (1753-1836) was nominated Commissioner of Antiquities, and, the following year, the famous neo-classical sculptor Antonio Canova (1757-1822) was nominated Inspector of Fine Arts. All worked together to provide a theoretical and legal basis for the protection of monuments and works of art.

The Camera Apostolica, the Papal government, had two departments that had special responsibilities regarding the conservation of cultural property. One was the so called Camerlengato, the general administration of Papal States. Its director was called the Camerlengo. This office was responsible, among other duties, for the general legislation, inspection and evaluation of antiquities and works of art. The Inspector of Fine Arts and the Commissioner of Antiquities were nominated by the Camerlengo. The other office responsible for conservation was the Treasury, under the direction of the Chief Treasurer. His duties covered the financial aspects and corresponding legislative acts, as well as the execution of works. These included excavation, restoration and maintenance of ancient monuments. The Treasury had under it a commission, called the Consiglio d'arte, and architect inspectors, who were responsible for the projects and supervision of work. This division of responsibility for conservation between two departments caused various problems of interpretation. The Camerlengato was to decide what works were to be done; the Treasury had to care for the rest, allowing the Camerlengato, however, to check that the conceptual basis for the project and the quality in the execution corresponded to their requirements. Cost control was considered necessary so as to guarantee the continuation of funds. (3).

In the execution of the works, the Treasury relied on members and professors of the Accademia di San Luca. This institution, founded in 1593, had great prestige and influence, and its members were selected from leading artists in Italy and abroad, from Rubens and Bernini to Winckelmann. Those most involved in the conservation of ancient monuments were Giuseppe Camporesi (1736-1822), Raffaele Stern (1774-1820) and Giuseppe Valadier (1762-1839). Camporesi was made responsible for the inspection of ancient monuments in 1803. (4) He also worked as the architectural director of the excavations in the

Forum. Later, in 1818, Valadier was given a similar appointment. All three were nominated for specific restoration projects. Valadier, however, became the leading architect not only in restoration, but in contemporary, neoclassical, architecture as well. (5)

The Papal Chirograph of the first of October 1802, signed by Cardinal Doria Pamphili, became the basic law for the protection of cultural property in this period. It was revised in 1820 by Cardinal Pacca, but its principles remained unchanged until superseded by the laws of the United Kingdom of Italy after 1870s. The author of this edict was Carlo Fea (1753-1836), a lawyer and priest who had studied the history of Papal legislation and who had a special interest in archaeology. He had translated the works of Winckelmann and Mengs into Italian, and had written a dissertation on the history of the destruction of ancient monuments in Rome. (6) The introduction to the edict was written by Cardinal Doria-Pamphili himself. The edict referred consciously to earlier legislation, such as *Cum Almam Nostram Urbem* by Pius II in 1462 against destruction of ancient monuments, and *Quam provida* by Sixtus IV in 1474, which prohibited the removal of antique or otherwise valuable elements or objects from churches. Of the more recent laws, the new edict mentioned that of 1750 made under Benedict XIV. (7) The aim of the edict was to guarantee conservation of ancient monuments and works of art. This was clearly expressed in the introduction which listed the advantages in the following lines: "These precious remains of Antiquity give to the city of Rome an ornament that distinguishes her among all the most famous cities of Europe. They provide important subjects for the meditation of Scholars as well as most valuable models for Artists to inspire them with ideas of the Beautiful and the Sublime. They attract to this city foreigners who delight in studying these unique Rarities. They will give employment to many occupied in the field of Fine Arts, and finally the new products that come from their hands will promote a branch of commercial and industrial activities. More than anything, this last will be useful to the public and to the State." (8)

Thus, ancient monuments and works of art were considered the pride of Rome, giving it a unique position in Europe and attracting scholars and artists, promoting tourism, commerce and industry. All this was badly needed in this period of economic and political difficulties.

The edict emphasized the public character of ancient monuments and works of art. Fea's idea was

that it was impossible to set a price on an ancient monument. He praised the Vivaldi family, who gave their property of the Mausoleum of Augustus to the State, asking for compensation only on the modern structures and nothing on the monument itself. The contrary happened in the case of the Pantheon and in the house of the Crescentii (near Santa Maria in Cosmedin), where the owners insisted on their rights in the ancient structures. In the law, consequently, all antique objects and works of art were required to be registered with the State (9). All objects were divided into categories and subcategories including: any human or animal figures in marble or other material, antique paintings, mosaics or other coloured works, vases, gems, inscriptions and even simple fragments, in fact anything that could be called "antiquity". Architectural elements and ornaments such as columns, capitals, architraves, and various types of stones were also included. Paintings on canvas or on wood, either by classical artists or by their schools, that could be of value, were added to this list of objects that could not be exported from the Papal States and were subject to registration. Licences, when they were given, were free of charge in order to avoid corruption.

The general principle was to conserve the monuments in their original places. This included, for example, keeping paintings in the churches, from which they could be removed only with special permission, even for purposes of restoration or copying. Fea had bitter fights when trying to enforce this principle, because priests often wanted to raise income from collectors by selling a master's original painting and replacing it with a copy. Rich collectors, such as the English banker, Sir Hans Sloane were able to find ways to export objects. In fact, Sloane was brought to court because of illegal exportation and was fined, but the objects were already abroad. The integrity of historic buildings was not easily guarded. In the recent past, it had been common practice to reuse elements from other buildings for new projects. Architects were still doing this even now. Stern, for example, had great respect for ancient monuments but intended, nonetheless, to use old columns from a church in his plan for the museum Chiaramonti. (10) Papal museums were allowed a fixed annual budget for the acquisition of objects for their collections in compensation for the losses. For the same reason, excavations were encouraged, in the belief that there were still treasures underground. However, all excavations, whether on public or private land, were strictly licenced and directly controlled by

the Inspector of Fine Arts and the Commissioner of Antiquities.

Antonio Canova

Antonio Canova was born in the village of Possagno and studied in Venice and Rome. He became the leading neoclassical sculptor - rivalled only by Houdon and Thorvaldsen - and was considered by his contemporaries to be equal to the ancients - "the inimitable sculptor, equal to Phidias and Praxiteles". (11) He counted among his patrons the most important personalities of the time, including Pius VII and Napoleon. Canova's work followed the principles of Winckelmann, and his Perseus was conceived as an "imitation of the inimitable." It was, in fact, placed by Pius VII on the base that had remained empty when the Apollo of Belvedere had been taken to Paris. Canova made profound studies of classical sculpture and had a great respect to the authentic works of art. His refusal to restore the "Elgin Marbles" from the Parthenon was a clear proof of his beliefs; to him, it would have been a sacrilege to lay hands on these masterpieces that were "real flesh". (12) His personal opinion was that to copy from the ancients "servilely suffocates and freezes the genius", while to consult a major work of art for the purposes of study, comparing it with nature in order to understand its qualities, means to use it for creating a whole that could serve to define the right expression of the chosen subject - "as did the Greeks, when they chose from nature the greatest beauty". (13)

Canova was nominated Inspector of Fine Arts in 1802, thus becoming the successor to a long list of artists before him. Until his death in 1822, he remained influential in Rome, first as an Inspector, then as the President of the Accademia di San Luca. Canova, too, was appalled by the "bouquet" of Napoleon and attempted to have those works of art brought back from Paris. In 1805, he told Napoleon, who was proud of having almost all the major works of art from Italy in his collection, "Please, Your Majesty, leave at least something in Italy." (14)

In 1815, Canova was chosen by Pius VII to go to France and bring back the lost works. He also acted personally to keep antiquities in Rome; he bought the collection of the Giustiniani family, which otherwise would have been sold to France. Later, he presented it as a gift to the new Museum of Chiaramonti in the Vatican. (15) As Inspector, Canova received reports on conservation and excavation, and he intervened directly where necessary. Canova and Fea were in a good position to influence the concepts of conservation

both in legislation and in practical execution, and as a result work was generally limited to the minimum necessary to conserve a monument; in the case of the Colosseum, for example, restoration was not the aim, but conservation of all ancient fragments as part of the authentic historic monument.

Restoration and Conservation in Practice

Excavations had already been common practice in and around Rome for many centuries; the recent discoveries of Herculaneum and Pompeii fed a new enthusiasm, and in 1788 Baron von Fredenheim's excavations in Rome provided a further stimulus. In 1801, excavations had been started again in Ostia under the direction of Carlo Fea and Giuseppe Petrini, but because of malaria it was decided to transfer them to Rome in 1802. The Arch of Septimius Severus in the Forum Romanum was chosen as the starting point. Later, this decision was regretted, because it would have been more logical to start from the southern part of the Forum, near the Colosseum, and to work up-hill towards the Capitol. (16) Excavations were generally limited in extent, and concentrated on a few monuments or sites including the Colosseum, the baths of Titus and the Pantheon. Workmen were convicts, housed in tents on the site overnight. The most suitable seasons had to be chosen to avoid both the heavy rains and the intense heat and sunshine of the summer that hardened the soil; this latter was then believed to be the source of the pernicious fumes that caused malarial fever. Drainage was one problem; others included land-ownership and the need to demolish buildings on the site as well as disposing of the spoil.

The Arch of Septimius Severus was excavated down to the original ground level. The structure was then surrounded by a circular retaining wall

Figure 85. The Arch of Septimius Severus in the Forum Romanum, excavated and surrounded by a circular retaining wall (Rossini, 1822)



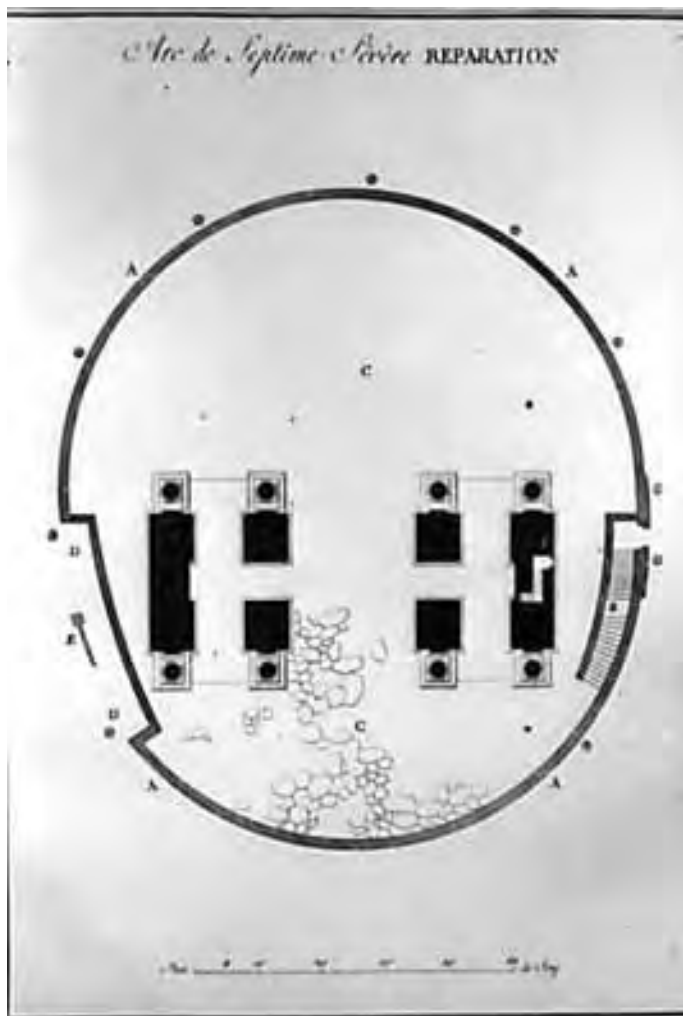


Figure 86. The Arch of Septimius Severus, Forum Romanum, the plan with the retaining wall

with steps allowing visitors down to the ground, completed in 1803 and commemorated with an inscription. (17). The wall was built to the design of the architect Zappati, re-using material from demolitions. Concerning the monument itself, Canova cautioned Camporesi to show great respect in the treatment: “with all the zeal and care that you feel towards these objects, so beloved to you, you must give full attention so that this monument will not suffer the slightest fracture,...” (18) Consolidation consisted of the most essential such as of securing a cracked marble column with iron rings; otherwise, works seem to have been limited to maintenance. (19) Fea was ordered to keep a diary on the progress of the excavation, while Camporesi reported on the architectural works.

A similar retaining wall was built around the Arch of Constantine in 1805 (20) after an excavation to free the entire monument which had been partly burned. In this same period, there were discussions about the continuation of excavations in the area between the Arch of Septimius Severus and the Arch of Titus (21). In the collective imagination, there were pictures of splendid ancient monuments that could

still be discovered underground. (22) Of the other monuments, the Pantheon attracted most attention, and plans were made for its liberation from the more recent accretions. Works were, however, limited to some excavation and repairs that were executed under the direction of Fea and Valadier. The latter was also responsible for the demolition of the defence tower on the Roman bridge Milvio and its reconstruction in the form of a gateway, in 1805. (23)

The Colosseum

Restoration and Protection of the Colosseum had been discussed already for a long time in order to avoid further destruction. On the other hand, repairs and restoration conflicted with the romantic ideas of conserving and appreciating it as an overgrown ruin. In 1805, Giuseppe Antonio Guattani, the secretary of the Accademia di San Lucca, wrote:

“What other theatrical pile could be more complex than this? Where can you find a more superb and imposing ruin? It is sufficient to see it, never to forget it. The picturesqueness that time has given to it through destruction has provided it with such a mysterious and interesting air that many might wish it were not restored. The future should content itself with the present state. However, time is destroying it more and more rapidly, and after another century, the interior will have disappeared altogether. Then, those who are curious will only be able to search for illustrations by people like Serlio, Desgodetz, Fontana, Overbeck, Piranesi, Maragoni, Maffei, Morelli, Carli and maybe even for this description of mine. Of course, there will then be the risk that this information will not suffice and may be even less convincing.” (24)

Figure 87. The Colosseum. Painting by Gaspar Van Wittel showing the structure before the nineteenth-century restorations



Built by the Flavian Emperors, Vespasian, Titus and Domitian, the Colosseum was inaugurated for the first time in 79 AD by Vespasian, and it was completed by Domitian as the largest amphitheatre in the Roman Empire. Constructed in brick and travertine in the form of an ellipse, it measured 188 m by 156 m in plan and almost 50 m in height providing seats for some 70,000 spectators. Externally, its surface was decorated with superimposed orders which presented a famous model for Roman and Renaissance architects. (25) Its sophisticated substructures allowed complex spectacles with special effects, much loved by the Romans. The last famous spectacle was organized by Theodoric in 523 AD in an attempt to revive the ancient way of living. Thereafter, the Colosseum passed into the “dark ages” along with the city of Rome and suffered from earthquakes, floods, and enemy attacks. It showed, however, such superior strength compared to other structures that the Venerable Bede (673-735) wrote his famous words saying:

“While stands the Coliseum, Rome shall stand
When falls the Coliseum, Rome shall fall
And when Rome falls - the world.” (26)

Built as an amphitheatre, it had been named Colosseum in the Middle Ages and was believed to have been a temple of the sun. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, this splendid ancient monument was more than 1700 years old. It had served the most varied purposes and had been recognized for its great architectural, artistic, historical, touristic and political values. Most recently, it had come to epitomize the romantic ruin.

Protection and Restoration of the Colosseum

The building was in a bad state of repair. Coach drivers used it as a night-shelter, building fires in it; and for many decades, too, it had been used as a store for a nearby gun-powder factory, for which purpose the first floor had been soaked in manure. All these abuses caused damage to the stone and blocked the corridors, making them inaccessible to visitors. There had been a serious earthquake at the beginning of the eighteenth century which caused the partial collapse of the fabric; the fallen material was then taken away and used in the construction of the Porto di Ripetta. Another earthquake in the first years of the nineteenth century further endangered the structure, especially the east side of the outer ring which had cracked and was out of plumb. These problems were pointed out in a memorandum written by Carlo Fea, the Commissioner of Antiquities, after an inspection

together with the architects Giuseppe Camporesi and Tommaso Zappati in June 1804. They suggested that in time these damages would be fatal and that it was necessary

“to clean and free the structure at least externally, and to take away the manure immediately. When the accretions are removed from the external arches, only a few palmi suffice to expose the entrance steps; with a little more effort we can free the entire first corridor that extends through half of the building. This would form a superb gallery and a walkway full of surprises. By a couple of restored stairs one could reach another well-conserved corridor; this would make an even better gallery. The top part of the structure is fine, but unfortunately the rubble is overloading the vaults and will break them with time. Having cleared these best conserved parts, it is necessary to consolidate the corner towards San Giovanni. This is under continuous danger of collapse and might make half of the rest fall down.” (27)

On the 22nd June 1804, a week after the report, there was an order from the Quirinale to the Chief Treasurer to have the Colosseum freed of abuses. (28) The excavations that had been proposed in 1803 were started in 1805. (29) At that time, too, a timber shoring was built to support the endangered east wall.

In 1806, further plans were prepared for the consolidation of the monument. The Treasury invited Giuseppe Palazzi, Camporesi and Stern to present individual proposals for the repair works. They were urged always to consider “the Economy, the Solidity, and the Conservation in a compatible way, in order to safeguard this magnificent building as the Pride of the Capital for the admiration of Foreigners and for the benefit of the Arts.” (30) All three architects proposed the construction of a plain buttress in good quality brickwork with a base of travertine, with the intention of stopping the lateral movement and forming a solid support that would be economically feasible and would respect the architectural and historical values of the monument. Stern emphasized that, while in this particular case, his professional goal and obligation was specifically to take special care of this precious work of art, his aim in all repairs had always been “to repair and to conserve everything - even though it were the smallest fragment.” (31)

There were, however, also critics complaining that the picturesque qualities of this magnificent ruin would be spoiled by such a monstrous buttress, and that such

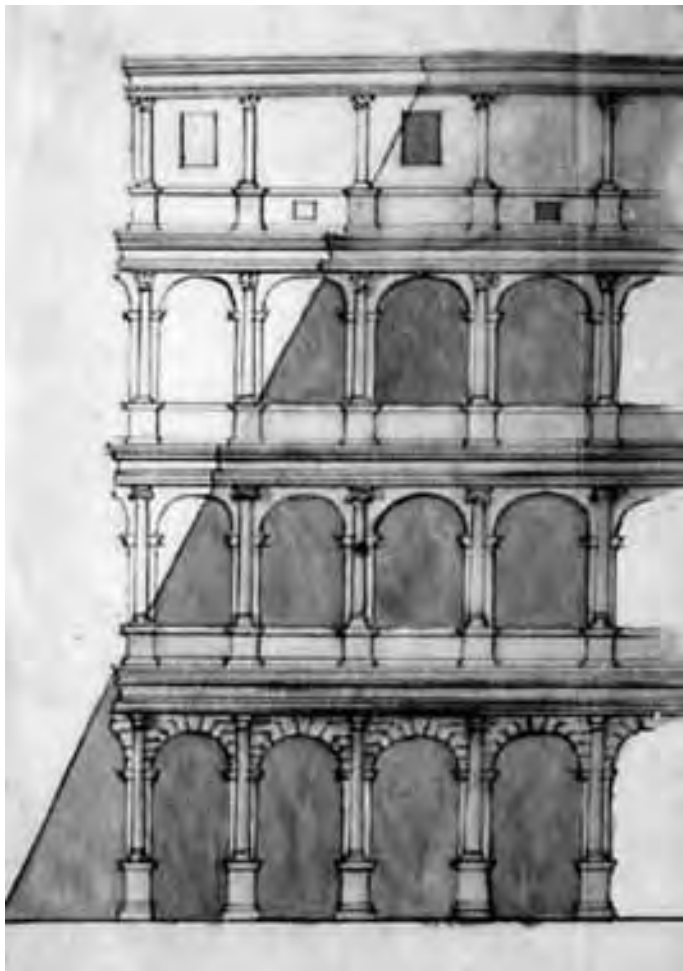


Figure 88. The Colosseum. Proposal for the repair of the east wall by demolishing a part of the original wall

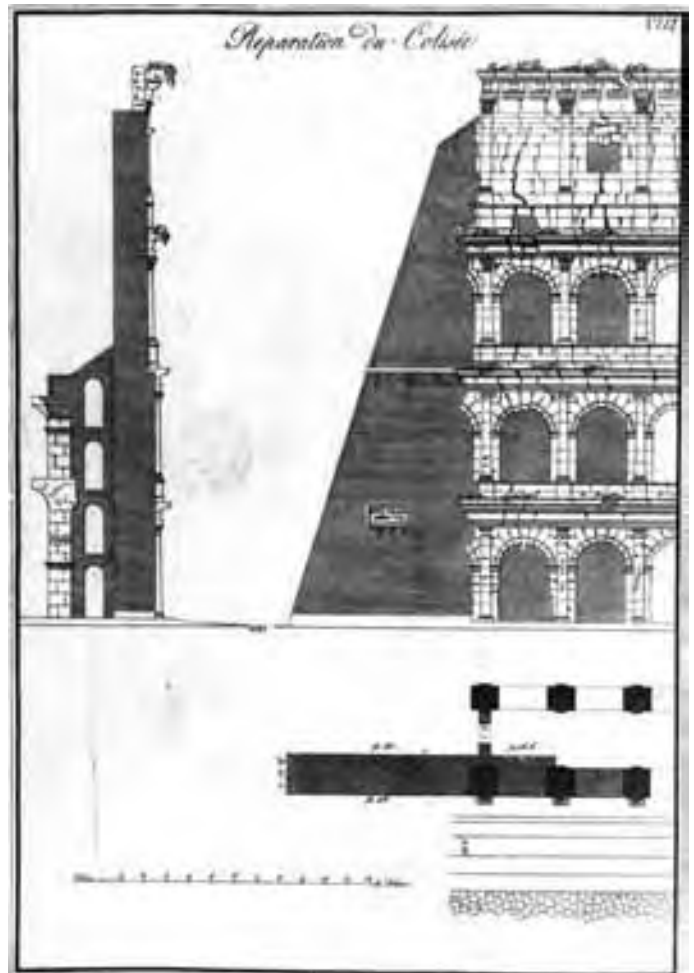
an intervention was completely out of character in the architectural context of the Colosseum. The solution was also criticised as a technical failure, as it was thought only to add extra weight without giving real support to the elliptically curved wall. Thus, it might hasten the collapse. As a counter proposal, it was suggested that the endangered part be formed into a “buttress” through demolition of the upper parts along an oblique line and by walling in some arches. This would have caused the destruction of a part of an arch in the first floor, a whole arch in the second, and two bays in the uppermost floor. Such an intervention, it was argued, would produce the appearance of a natural ruin and would also provide an easy starting point for rebuilding the Colosseum, if this were to be desired in the future. This proposal had been first suggested anonymously, but was later presented to the Pope in a letter signed by Domenico Schiavoni, possibly a master mason who had been assisted by an architect. (32)

The architects, Palazzi, Camporesi and Stern, who were nominated in a committee for the restoration, objected strongly to the proposal reporting that: “the shamelessness to present a similar sacrilegious project

to the Sovereign was unknown even to the Vandals and Goths; although then it was true that plans of this kind were carried out, at least the devastations were done without asking for the approval and financing of the government.” (33) Calculating the expenses of the work and the value of the material that the contractor would have gained from the demolitions, the committee concluded that the buttress as they had proposed

“with half the expense will secure the Colosseum, conserving it, as we hope, in its integrity and declaring to everybody, how highly the Fine Arts are valued today and how dear the precious relics of Roman grandeur are to us. These are objects that all People of the World come to admire and envy us for. It is of course clear, that if that kind of vandalistic operation had been approved, it would have been better to leave the endangered parts in their natural ruined state - instead of taking steps to secure them. In such case, we would at least have been accused of lacking the means, but never of being destroyers and barbarians.” (34)

Figure 89. The Colosseum. Accepted proposal for the consolidation of the east wall with a meticulous care to conserve each antique stone



In November 1806, Rome suffered yet another earthquake and, even if the wooden shoring prevented collapse, the Colosseum became even more out of plumb and the timber shores were bent to the point of breaking. The project of Palazzi, Camporesi and Stern was approved, and the master mason Antonio Valenti was put in charge of the execution. (35)

After the earthquake, Stern inspected the condition of the building and reported:

“The detachment of the masses of travertine is caused by vertical fractures that can be seen mainly in the second and third order. This had made the piers of the last two arches pull apart and the cuneiform keystones settle considerably. Consequently, the travertines of the upper entablatures have moved and been detached. Under the increased thrust of the keystones, that tend towards their centre of gravity, other cuneiform stones have had an increased thrust and moved laterally. As a result, the structure at present is at least three palmi out of plumb. It is in fact clear, that the construction of brick walls under the arches that have suffered will help to keep the keystones in their present position and prevent them from further movement; in this way, lateral thrust towards the worn-out part will be avoided. I consider the buttress a necessary counterpart that can give support to the end of the wall.” (36)

When the works started, the conditions of this part of the Colosseum were found to be even worse than expected. The last pillar, in fact, took most of the load, and its condition was such as to render doubtful the possibility of consolidation. The pillar had serious cracks that were constantly widening

Figure 90. The Colosseum. Start of the restoration work in the east wall

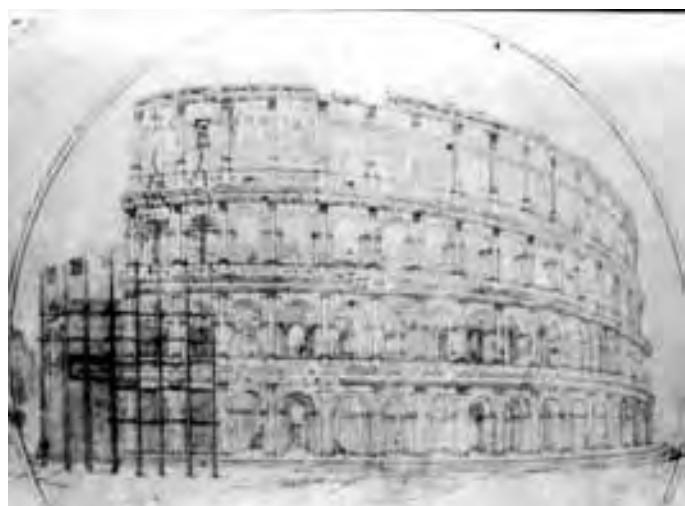


Figure 91. The Colosseum. The brick buttress built by R. Stern in 1806-07 to consolidate the east wall

and arousing deep concern. The first operation was, thus, to provide strong shores to support it against the thrust caused by detached elements. Secondly, the arches were walled in to consolidate them internally. Thirdly, it was necessary to build a cross wall in order to provide further lateral support and to link the buttress, the pillar and the walled in arches with the inner structure of the building. This cross wall was built in imitation of the original radial arched walls. Considering these additional works, the total cost was estimated at two thousand eight hundred scudi. (37) The works proceeded rapidly, and by 6th June 1807, they had advanced to a point where little was needed for completion. The masses of earth that had accumulated in the surrounding area were removed, and some hay-lofts that obstructed the facade were demolished. The recent excavations had also brought to light some interesting facts about the Colosseum, which was now better understood.

The Pope was very proud of this operation that had saved the magnificent ancient Roman monument from collapse, and the buttress came to be considered one



Figure 92. The Colosseum. The brick buttress built to support the east wall; a detail

of the most important building projects of the decade in the Papal States. An image of it was painted in the Galleria Clementina in the Vatican and a marble plate with an inscription was fixed in the new buttress, thus announcing in the traditional way his contribution to the conservation of this ancient monument. (38) The committee consisting of Stern, Camporesi and Palazzi had in principle divided the responsibility for the consolidation. However, judging from the zeal he expressed in numerous letters, Stern seems to have had a major share in it. Future generations have, in fact, associated the work with his name. It was Stern who described the intervention to the Chief Treasurer of the Pope in the following words:

“The Amphitheatre of the Flavians, called the Colosseum, that in its first construction represents the Grandeur and the Magnificence of the times of the Flavians and of Titus, shows equally the Care and the Zeal of the Wise Superiors of our times in the repair done under the patronage of the Immortal Pius VII in his happy reign and on the instructions of Your Most Reverend Excellency. And while this stately ancient building, the

largest that we know, assures us of the Splendour and the Learning of those centuries, its modern conservation under the present circumstances is a clear proof and an unalterable testimony of the veneration and the high esteem that we feel today towards these precious relics of the Fine Arts. This successful work brings us nearer to our ancestors and will show posterity that the present lack of works in our Epoch was caused only by deficiency of means that prevented their execution.” (39)

In fact, this first large-scale operation of the nineteenth century that consciously aimed at the conservation of each fragment paved the way for future interventions and for the development of modern conservation theory.

8.2 The French Period in Rome, 1809-1814

General Organization and Legislation

The pope was not successful in his resistance to Napoleon, and on 17 May 1809, the Papal States were declared annexed to the French Empire. They were subject to French legislation and administrative control. Rome became the “Imperial Free City”, the second capital of the Empire after Paris.(40) Rome had a special attraction for Napoleon, who even named his first-born son the King of Rome. At the same time, a taste for antique Roman culture became fashionable in Paris - in social life, the theatre and architecture. Consequently, the French took a special interest in making the city presentable and prepared programmes for her embellishment and the improvement of public facilities. These programmes also had a social purpose, since they provided occupation for the poor and unemployed.

The first decrees in the period to deal with historic buildings and ancient monuments in Rome date from 5 August and 3 September 1809. (41) The decree of 9 July 1810 provided 360.000 francs for embellishments and also established the Commission des monumens et batimens civils as the local direction for the intended works. The Commission was chaired by the Prefect of Rome, Baron Camille de Tournon, and its members consisted of the Mayor, Duke Braschi-Onesti, as well as several representative of old Roman families. The following year, a new decree of 27 July 1811 augmented the budget to one million francs and the earlier Commission was replaced with a new one called the Commission des embellissements de la ville de Rome. Its members were limited to three: the Prefect, Baron de Tournon, the Intendant to the



Figure 93. The Round Temple in the Forum Boarium, Rome, before its restoration in the early 19th century (L. Piranesi)

Crown, Martial Daru, and the Mayor, Duke Braschi-Onesti. The Commission was directly responsible to the Minister of the Interior, Montalivet, in Paris. (42)

In this period, the Accademia di San Luca came to play a more direct part in the conservation of ancient monuments. Beginning in the autumn of 1810, it was allocated special funds to be used for maintenance and repair works. These funds resulted from a visit of Canova to see the Emperor. In 1811, Canova was elected President of the Academy and later, in 1814, this was made an appointment for life. Thus his influence on the conservation of ancient monuments continued practically until his death in 1822.

Conservation of Ancient Monuments 1809-1814

The conservation of ancient monuments continued first along the lines that had been established in the first decade of the century. The earliest restoration during the French period was that of the circular temple in the Forum Boarium on the banks of the Tiber, dedicated to Hercules Victor - but generally called the 'Temple of Vesta'. The original building dated from the end of the 2nd century BC, but it had been substantially restored after the flood of 15 AD. Later, the temple had been transformed into a Christian church and the spaces between the columns had been walled in. During the years 1809 and 1810, Valadier and Fea directed works in the temple. The walls between the columns were removed, and consequently, the damaged columns and the wall of the cella had to be repaired. This was done partly in marble, reusing existing elements found near the site, and partly in mortar. The roof and cella walls were left in their pre-restoration state and the church, dedicated to St. Stephen, could continue to function afterwards. The site was also excavated during these works, resulting in the discovery of the original

entrance. Later, iron railings were erected between the columns. (43)

In 1810, the Accademia di San Luca decided to excavate and consolidate the remaining three columns of the Temple of Vespasian - called the 'Temple of Jupiter Tonans' - in the Roman Forum. After the excavation, the base under the columns was found to be in such a bad condition that it needed rebuilding. For this reason, the columns were taken down and re-erected on the new basement built to the design of Camporesi. Although the original temple was built of marble, the new material was travertine, taken mostly from the demolition of the Colosseum. Plaster casts were made of the very fine marble trabeation and Corinthian capital capitals before they were put back and fixed in position with iron cramps. This was a relatively minor essay in conservation but nevertheless set a standard and provided a model for subsequent works. (44)

On the other hand, the Colosseum remained one of the major tasks in conservation. The consolidation of the south side in 1806 and 1807 had only secured a small part of this vast complex, and further



Figure 94. The Temple of Vespasian and Titus, Forum Romanum, Rome. Dismantling of the architrave 1810-11

Figure 95. A-N. Normand: a plan showing the excavated area around the Arch of Septimius Severus in 1850





Figure 96. The Forum Romanum in 1818. The drawing shows the Temple of Vespasian and Titus restored

consolidation and maintenance were carried out by the Accademia on various parts of the building. Pillars and vaults had to be consolidated, for example, around the west entrance. Yet, in spite of this, a vault collapsed in November 1812 and the Intendant Daru accused Camporesi, the architect responsible, of inefficiency. (45) At the same time, excavation was carried out both outside and inside the Colosseum. The arena was excavated under the direction of Fea as part of the programme for embellishment of the city. The substructures were revealed in part and recorded. Most of these works were accomplished by the end of the French period in January 1814. However, this excavation reached a depth of only eleven feet, whereas the foundation would have been at least 21 feet under the street level. Outside the Colosseum, the aim was to excavate down to the original ground level and then form a sunken promenade around the building. One of the major problems in these excavations, especially in the arena, was the drainage of rainwater. Various proposals were made by the architects, Valadier and Camporesi, to use the newly discovered ancient drains. Fea, instead, suggested

Figure 97. The Temple of Vespasian and Titus: a detail of the architrave after the 19th-century restoration using metal cramps



rebuilding the ancient Roman fountain of Meta Sudante and using the rainwater to make it function for the inhabitants of the district. (46) However, no decisions were taken about the Colosseum at this time.

The Accademia received an annual sum of 75.000 francs for the maintenance and repair of monuments; excavations had a separate budget. This sum was relatively modest considering the amount of work that should have been done. Of necessity, therefore, work was limited to the minimum, consisting mainly of maintenance. In August 1811, Valadier and Camporesi proposed a system of inspection and the formation of a register of those ancient monuments that were under the care of the Accademia. The first list included about a hundred sites in Rome and several outside; temples, obelisks, baths, triumphal arches, mausoleums, theatres, bridges, etc. Outside Rome, it included sites in Tivoli, Palestrina, Frascati, Ostia and Via Appia. This was regarded as the first phase of an inventory that was intended to cover the entire Papal territory. A detailed report with descriptions of the state of the monuments and estimates of necessary repairs, classified according to urgency, were to form the bases of a balanced programme within the limits of the budget. Weekly reports were required on any conservation works - as was already the practice in the case of the Colosseum. Guards were also considered indispensable - at least for major sites such as the Colosseum. (47)

The Commission for Embellishment and the French Influence

The programme for the embellishment of Rome was defined in the decrees of 17 July and 9 August 1811. (48) It was to include the building of markets, improvement of navigability of the Tiber, the building and repair of bridges, the building of public promenades, the enlargement of squares, excavations and restorations. Markets were planned for various parts of the historic city; in some cases, it would have been necessary to demolish existing structures to make way for these new buildings. Such was the case in the projects for the Piazza San Marco, for the west side of the Pantheon, and for the area near the church of Madonna dei Monti. These projects were, however, never realized. Enlargement of urban squares in connection with public monuments was planned around the Pantheon, the Forum of Trajan, the Fountain of Trevi and in front of the basilica of St. Peter's to open up the view from the Castel Sant'Angelo. (49) In this same period, French suppression of convents and closing of churches by

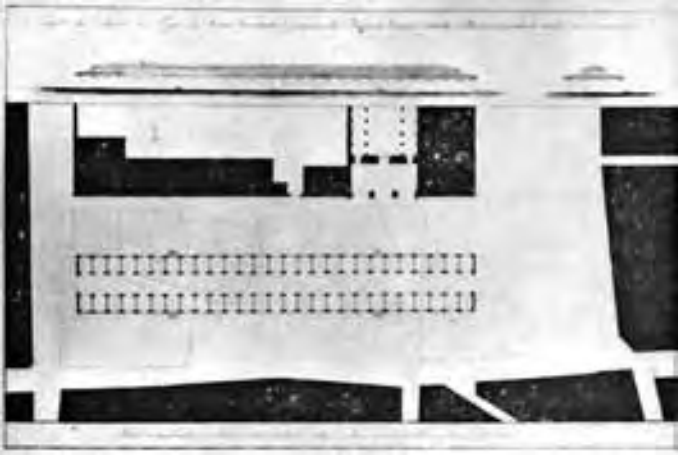


Figure 98. Valadier: plan for a covered market in Piazza S. Marco, Rome

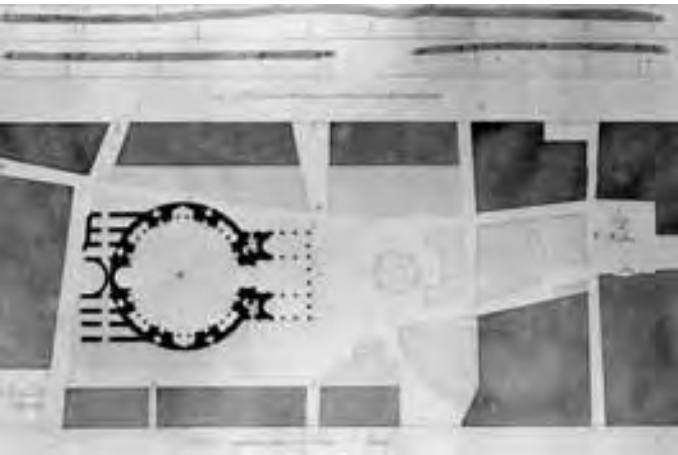


Figure 99. Plan for a piazza around the Pantheon, Rome

an edict of June 1810 resulted in further demolitions. This legislation caused an outcry for their re-opening and, during the autumn of 1810, the Commission for Embellishments employed architects to survey and report on the repair and annual maintenance of churches of special historic and artistic merit. 135 churches were declared worth conserving at public expense, including the basilicas of St. Peter's, Sant' Ignazio, and S. Eustachio. (50)

Two public promenades were planned, one on the hill of the Pincio - the 'Garden of the Great Caesar' -, the other in the area of the Forums called the 'Garden of the Capitol'. (51) Valadier, who since 1793 had been preparing projects for the Piazza del Popolo below the Pincio, was put in charge of the Garden of the Great Caesar, while Camporesi was made responsible for the Garden of the Capitol. Jointly, they prepared plans for other projects such as the Pantheon and the Forum of Trajan, and several proposals were sent to Paris for approval. Montalivet was, however, not completely satisfied either with the projects or with the work already executed in some cases. The French representatives in Rome also accused the Romans of inefficiency and poor quality work. (52)

At the end of 1812, Montalivet decided to send two French architects to Rome in order to report on the situation. One of them was Guy de Gisors (1762-1835), a member of the Conseil des batimens of Paris, and the other was Louis-Martin Berthault (-1823), a recognized landscape architect and disciple of Percier who had designed the gardens of Malmaison and Compiègne. These two architects arrived in Rome in February 1813 and stayed until May of the same year. Berthault was commissioned to work especially on the two public promenades; Gisors had to examine the other projects under the responsibility of the Commission for Embellishments, and to study the methods of excavation, consolidation and restoration of ancient monuments (53). Berthault felt that all earlier projects had concentrated too heavily on single monuments; they had attempted to make "a frame for each painting" instead of trying to link the monuments in a more general comprehensive plan. Of the two projects, he considered the Garden of the Capitol the more important. Berthault's intention was to make the Forum Romanum the focal point of the whole project, thus linking the Capitol and the

Figure 100. The Garden of the Capitol, Rome. The proposal of 1813 to 'beautify' the area around the Palatine with planted avenues and restored ancient monuments



existing ancient monuments with the Colosseum. On the Palatine, he planned a formal garden; a similar plan was also foreseen for the Pincio. Around the Palatine, he envisioned a system of promenades that extended from the Forum and the Colosseum to the Circus Maximus, the Arch of Janus and the two temples in front of S. Maria in Cosmedin on the banks of the Tiber. Ancient monuments were to be restored as a part of this master plan, providing both a reference to the history of Rome and a framework for the imperial ambitions of the present Emperor. (54)

The task of Gisors was more complex; he had to check all the demolition programmes and the planning of squares and public facilities, as well as to report on the conservation methods for ancient monuments. Daru had criticized the lack of a systematic method in the restorations of the Accademia di San Luca, and Gisors echoed him. He condemned the brick buttress to consolidate the Colosseum, as well as various other restorations executed before his arrival. To Gisors, in fact, ancient monuments ought to be integrated in the same way as the Laocoon group had been treated in the sixteenth century. He considered the integration of the portico of the Pantheon by Bernini an ideal example to follow in future restorations. (55) The integrity of the Pantheon had already been discussed earlier; Daru had proposed demolition of the two bell-towers (56) - actually carried out after the unification of Italy at the end of the century.

Gisors' principles for the restoration of ancient monuments were well expressed in a letter to Daru of August 1813:

“I think, that instead of making shutters, shores and props, in wrapping them in bandages - if I may use these expressions, all the collapsing parts of historic buildings should be reconstructed at least enough to give an exact idea of their original

form and proportions, doing it either in stone or in brick, but in such a way that the reconstruction exactly outlines the parts that it is supposed to define.” (57)

The Arch of Titus, which had been ‘shamefully’ left near the point of collapse, was in a convenient position in the planned Garden of the Capitol and, consequently, would have made an excellent example for a restoration according to these principles. In fact, Gisors proposed carefully dismantling the original elements and then reassembling them in position, rebuilding the missing parts to give an idea of the original whole. Reference was made to his proposals in a report of the Conseil des batimens of Paris in August 1813, and also in a letter of Montalivet to the Prefect of Rome in September; in the latter, the Roman authorities were urged to apply these principles in all future restorations. (58) The French left Rome too soon for any immediate effect to be apparent, but many later works were conceived along these lines, such as the proposed restoration of the Arch of Titus and the second major consolidation of the Colosseum.

8.3 Conservation in the Papal States after 1814

Organization and Legislation

The failure of the Russian campaign in 1812, the rising resistance of European nations and the lack of support from his allies, eventually brought Napoleon to the end of his reign. In January 1814, he had to give up the Papal States and in May of the same year, after a period of transition, Pius VII was able to return to Rome in great triumph. The French legislation and regulations were abolished, churches were re-opened and the situation more or less returned to what it had been five years earlier.

In the period of transition, the Commission for Embellishments retained their responsibility for antiquities, though the budget was reduced from what it had been during the French period and works were even more limited. During the summer of 1814, the Pope nominated various people to his Camera Apostolica. Cardinal Pacca was appointed the Camerlengo and Marquis Ercolani became the Chief Treasurer. The Chirograph of 1802 remained in force until it was revised with an edict of 7 April 1820. (59) A Papal Dispatch of 7 July 1818 also gave specifications for the executive branch of the Treasury, the Consiglio d’Arte. (60) The edict of 1820 redefined the position of the Camerlengato and

Figure 101. Plan for the excavation and presentation of the area around Trajan’s Column, Rome (1813)





Figure 102. Guënepin (1810): the Arch of Titus, Rome, showing the condition of the monument before beginning of the restoration

the Commissione delle belle Arti. The Accademia di San Luca was represented by two members in the Commission, thus retaining a position as a consultative body, but being no longer in possession of a budget for the purpose of restoration.

Conservation Activities

There was a new initiative, this time successful, to bring back to Italy the works of arts that the French had taken away at the end of the eighteenth century. Canova, President of the Accademia di San Luca, was sent to Paris in 1815; with the support of other nations, he was able to collect a great number

Figure 103. Guënepin: Arch of Titus ‘restored’



of these objects in Paris and have them returned to Italy. (61) The yearly budget for the acquisition of objects to the Vatican Museums, foreseen in the Edict of 1802, brought results; and, in 1817, the Pope commissioned Stern to build a new wing for the Museo Chiaramonti.

In July 1814, a special commission reviewed the situation of the projects for restoration and public promenades. After the French departure from Rome, the works continued on some sites, while others had been postponed until further decision. The works in the Forum of Trajan were almost completed and it was decided to finish them, especially the retaining wall. Other retaining walls were ordered for reasons of public safety around the Column of Phocas and in front of the temple of Antoninus and Faustina which had been excavated. The projects for the public promenades were re-examined; Valadier was asked to prepare a new and considerably reduced plan for the Pincio, while the park for the area around the Fora was discontinued. (62)

The area of the Forum Romanum remained a centre of interest. Some plans were made by Stern and Valadier for the layout, but these were limited to minor works. Some excavation was carried out under the direction of Fea, who continued as Commissioner for Antiquities. These were financed by foreigners - Portuguese, French and English. Excavations on a larger scale had to wait until 1827, when the area around the Arch of Septimius Severus and the Temple of Vespasian was exposed and a path opened to the Capitol. In this period, too, discussions began about the extent of the antique Forum as well as the exact position of various monuments which were still underground. (63) Restorations also continued. Various repairs were necessary in the Colosseum and were executed under the control of the Accademia (as will be discussed later). The first major restoration after the departure of the French administration was that of the Arch of Titus.

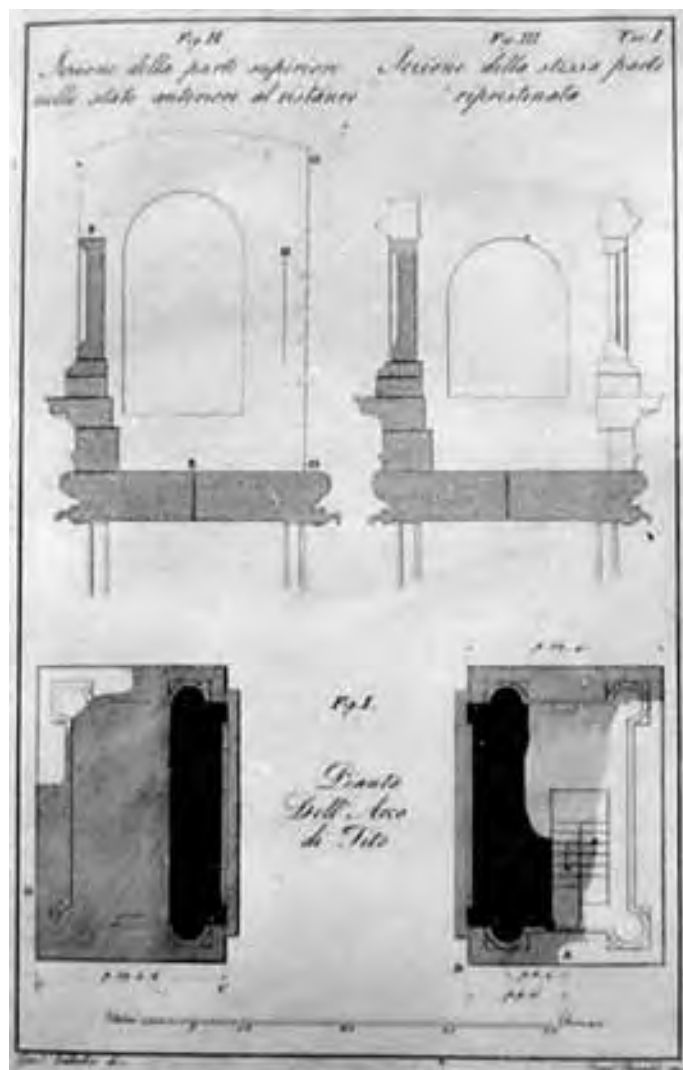
Restoration of the Arch of Titus

The Arch of Titus was erected, after 81 AD by Emperor Domitian in memory of his deified elder brother Titus, whose capture of Jerusalem was commemorated in the bas-reliefs of the Arch. The monument was originally built of white marble and had probably had a travertine core. During the Middle Ages, it had lost much of its material; the bronze cramps holding the marbles had been removed, and a brick structure had been added. In the 12th century, it became the property of the Frangipani family, and

the central part was preserved as a gateway to their fortification on the Palatine. A brick buttress was built to reinforce the structure in the fifteenth century, and further repairs were carried out in the early eighteenth century. (64) Even if the Arch had only partially survived, the artistic quality of its bas-reliefs attracted much attention. Theoretical reconstruction drawings had been prepared by Palladio, Dosio, Bellori and others. In 1815, the Accademia was presented with a small scale model in marble and gilded metal by Gioachino and Pietro Belli.

During the French administration, the convent buildings that had given some support to the Arch on its east side were demolished and, consequently, the condition of the monument became even worse. On the other hand, it had been chosen by Berthault as one of the key monuments in his plan for the Garden of the Capitol. After repeated requests by Daru, an inspection of the structure was made by a committee of the Accademia in April 1813. The Arch had settled in the centre due to the lack of lateral support and because the bronzecramps had been removed from

Figure 104. Valadier, Arch of Titus, plan and sections, showing results of excavation in the foundations



the marbles in the Middle Ages. The committee suggested consolidating the existing buttress and strengthening the piers. In addition, it was suggested that the “modern” brick walls, which had added extra weight on the top of the vault, be demolished. Nothing was done, however, and in 1816, a new commission, formed of Valadier, Camporesi and Stern, prepared a second report recommending the construction of a buttress. (65)

In 1817, Stern was finally nominated by the Treasury to be in charge of the restoration. The work was supervised by a committee consisting of Stern himself, Valadier and Camporesi. Stern prepared his project with the help of a young Venetian architectural student, and in 1818 he was ready to commission a mason named Giuseppe Ravaglini for the execution of the stone work. (66) According to a later report by Valadier, the first idea was “to use the well-known method of pushing the marbles back into position with the help of screws.” (67) On closer examination, this idea was abandoned, however, because it did not seem possible to keep the marbles in position.

Figure 105. Valadier, Arch of Titus: remaining fragments of the original monument toward the Forum Romanum





Figure 106. Valadier: Arch of Titus, proposed restoration of the elevation toward the Colosseum (south). Original part is in darker shading

Consequently, it was decided to dismantle the vault, re-erecting it afterwards with the required support.

The project did not entail pure conservation as recommended by the Commissions in 1813 and 1816, but rather the completion of the monument, rebuilding the missing parts according to Gisors' idea.

Figure 107. The Arch of Trajan, Ancona, which served as a model for the restoration of the Arch of Titus (Piranesi)



Figure 108. Arch of Titus, detail showing the distinction between original (in marble) and new (in travertine and simplified details)

He had, in fact, proposed to dismantle and reassemble the original elements

“having first rebuilt in stone or brick the mass of the missing parts of its pylons. From this operation, the result would be that, without spending much more than those shapeless supports would cost, this interesting monument would be re-established. Even if this were only in mass, it would still give an exact idea of the dimensions and proportions.” (68)

These ideas had been communicated to the Accademia di San Luca; later, they reappeared in a report of the Conseil des batimens in Paris and were recommended to the Municipality of Rome by Montalivet. In 1809-10, an alumnus of the French Academy in Rome, Auguste-Jean-Marie Guenepin (1780-1842) had also made a study of the monument preparing a restoration drawing of the better preserved elevation, which has great similarity with the project as actually carried out. (69)

Stern built a scaffolding and shored the endangered parts of the structure. Excavations were made to reveal the foundations and to verify the exact architectural form of the monument. By October 1818, the stonework was well advanced; it was then interrupted, however, due to Stern's sickness and other engagements as well as delayed payments to the mason. The work continued in June 1820 after appeals by art lovers and urgent requests by Cardinal Pacca. Soon thereafter, however, Stern died and Valadier was nominated his successor. He continued the work where it had been interrupted, following the conceptual line established by Stern. (70)

The project was based on a detailed measurement and inspection of the remaining elements of the Arch



Figure 109. Arch of Titus: the side toward the Colosseum after restoration (Rossini)



Figure 110. Arch of Titus: the side toward the Forum after restoration (Rossini)

and its excavated foundations. The triumphal arches of Trajan in Ancona and in Benevento were taken as models - thus following the example of various reconstruction drawings from the Renaissance onwards. The original elements were carefully countermarked and dismantled one by one using the support of a strong centering. After that, the Arch was rebuilt, reassembling the original elements on a new brick core. The reconstructed parts were faced with travertine, which harmonized well with the original marble elements. The new parts were left plain without repeating the decoration, the bas-reliefs or the fluting of the columns, so that “the visitor would have no doubt about what was authentic and what had been built only to give an impression of the whole” as Quatremere de Quincy wrote in his *Dictionnaire d’architecture* in 1825/1832. (71)

Later, however, Valadier justified the use of travertine instead of marble by referring to the economic limitations at the time. (72) The works continued so that by June 1823, the cornice and the inscriptions were in position. The most difficult part was over and the rest was to be completed by the end of the year. (73) After that, there remained only work on the surrounding area, including a circular retaining wall around the Arch.

This restoration, like others preceding it, received mixed criticism. It was admired by some. Filippo Aurelio Visconti, secretary of the Commission of Fine Arts, considered it elegant, (74) and Quatremere referred to it in his Dictionary as the ideal example of restoration when dealing with a building that had columns, ornaments and figures. (75) Others - not only in Rome, but also in foreign countries - were more critical of the result; Stendhal, for example, complained the whole original monument had been lost, and that there was now just a copy of it. (76)

Cardinal Consalvi and Cardinal Pacca had already questioned the methodological basis for the work in November 1822, when to their horror they discovered that

“instead of doing what was necessary for the conservation of the monument, a work of dismantling had started with the intention of reassembling it afterwards; that this tripled the cost, and that now the monument could be called the Arch of Pius - instead of the Arch of Titus, and that work had also caused damage to the bas-reliefs, breaking various parts...” (77)

Fea, too, said that he had not agreed with Valadier’s decisions; yet, although he had visited the site daily, he had never informed his superiors.

Valadier was asked to present an official justification for his work. This he did, making reference to the bad structural condition of the monument and saying that Stern had already brought the project to an advanced stage before his appointment. The justification was read at the Roman Academy of Archaeology in December 1821, and later published under the title of *Narrazione artistica dell’operato finora nel ristauo dell’Arco di Tito*. (78) Valadier was also asked to provide drawings to illustrate the project. These were published with the text, demonstrating the static conditions before restoration and the final appearance, differentiating between the original and the new elements. Cardinal Pacca accepted the justification, but there remained a feeling that the restoration had changed the monument for the worse, and that the new work dominated too heavily over the remnants of the original arch, and that the proportions might have been different in the original. In spite of all doubts and criticism, the restoration of the Arch of Titus laid some foundations for modern principles in

the treatment of historic buildings, and has later often been referred to as a model.

The Colosseum

The excavations in the arena of the Colosseum were discontinued after the departure of the French administration. The substructures were recorded and a cork model was made of them. Another model had also been made of the whole building to the scale of one to sixty (79). After 1814, the excavated arena was again filled in, because the problems of draining the rain water had not been solved. Externally, works continued with the intention of forming a tree-lined circular promenade and of building a retaining wall to consolidate the hill-side. The ground floor arches were freed of later structures and excavations were made to expose the original entrance level. Afterwards, security problems necessitated the closing of the arches with fences that were made of wood and painted a bronze colour. Even this was not sufficient to keep out visitors who wanted to follow Goethe's example and admire these romantic ruins under moonlight.

The plentiful vegetation was one of the aspects that attracted romantic minds. Minor areas had

Figure 112. Valadier: temporary timber shoring for the west wall of the Colosseum

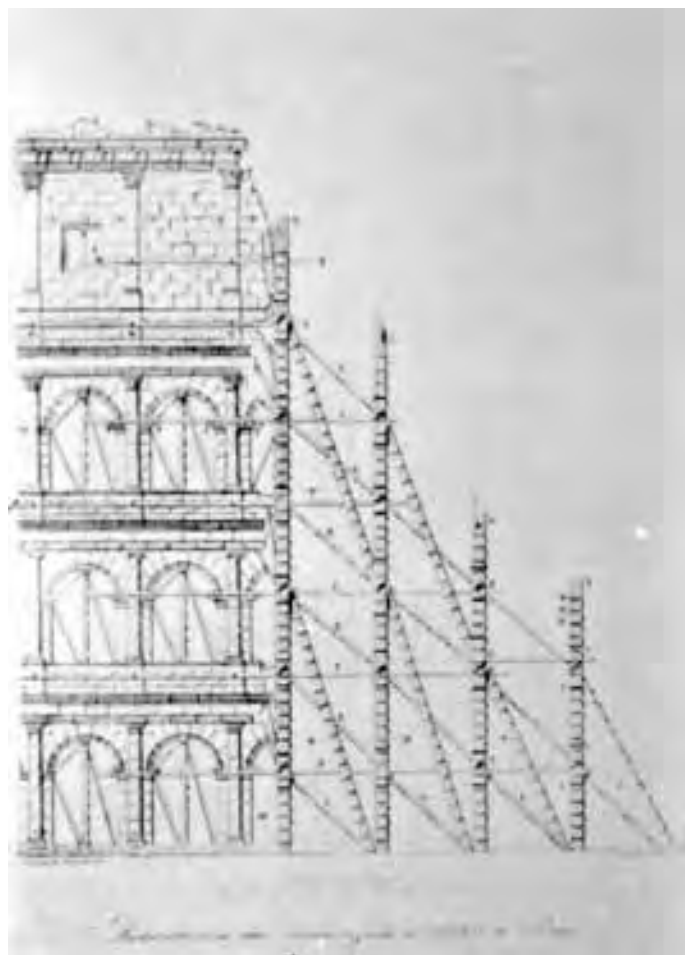


Figure 111. Valadier: proposal for fences in the arches of the Colosseum

been cleared during the French period, but it had practically “been changed by time into an amphitheatre of rocky hills overgrown by the wild olives, the myrtle, and the fig tree, and threaded by little paths, which wind among its ruined stairs and immeasurable galleries”, as Shelley described in a letter to Thomas Love Peacock in 1818. (80) As late as 1846, Dickens wrote: “To see it crumbling there, an inch a year; its walls and arches overgrown with green; its corridors open to the day; the long grass growing in its porches; young trees of yesterday, springing up on its ragged parapets, and bearing fruit; ... to climb into its upper halls, and look down on ruin, ruin, ruin...” (81) In 1815, Fea, proposed removing the roots which had caused damage especially in the upper stories, and consolidating the structure with iron straps. (82) Further proposals were made by the secretary of the Accademia di San Luca in the 1820's, but more thorough removal of the plants was carried out only thirty years later, in the 1850s. This also caused criticism, because it was thought to affect the picturesque qualities of the ruined monument. (83)

The Accademia di San Luca continued to have control over the conservation of the Colosseum, even if otherwise it had less responsibility after 1814. Valadier and Camporesi were in charge of the works and they continued to make inspections and minor repairs. In February 1814, they had presented an estimated cost of the work that was most urgently needed. However, nothing was done and the same estimate was presented again in August 1815. This time, the consolidation was carried out and completed by November of the same year. (84) Two areas were concerned. One was the entrance side facing the Lateran and the other was the south entrance where several arches were completely missing and the standing pillars were moving. It was proposed to use



Figure 113. The Colosseum after the construction of the buttress by Valadier for the consolidation of the west wall

iron straps around the pillars that were cracking, and metal cramps to consolidate smaller defects. In some parts, the missing travertine surface was to be remade; in one area, the fallen stone wall was to be rebuilt in brick in order to restore structural stability.

By the year 1820, the end of the Colosseum's outer range facing the Forum showed alarming signs of instability, and Valadier was instructed to build a timber shore to support it. This remained in place for three years until definitive consolidation work was finally started. Valadier's project involved rebuilding a part of the missing structure, thus forming a buttress. This would:

“imitate the antique even in minor details with the exception that, while the original was all in travertine, the new work - for economic reasons - had travertine only half way up the first pillars, in the springing points of the arches, column bases, the capitals and in the cornices. These were necessary for reasons of stability. All the rest is made in brick imitating carefully the ancient

mouldings, but being covered with a patina a fresco so that it looks as if it were travertine throughout.” (85)

Not everybody agreed with this proposal (e.g. Carlo Fea), but it was finally accepted by the Academy in December 1823. Work began soon afterwards and was completed in 1826. It was stated by Valadier that this method would facilitate the continuation and rebuilding of the entire Colosseum, if so desired. (86)

In October 1824, the Commission of Fine Arts came to inspect the restoration and voiced approval for the project. This commission was formed of Fea, Thorwaldsen and Visconti. Canova had died in 1822, and his disciple Albert Thorwaldsen (1770-1844), a Danish sculptor, had become the most influential figure in the Roman art world. He had been nominated the first professor of sculpture in the school of the Academy which had opened in 1812. Later, he was elected vice-president and, in 1827, president of the Academy. In 1817 he signed, together with Canova, Stern and other professors, the new statutes of the Academy which recommended the careful study and zealous care of ancient monuments. As artists, Canova and Thorwaldsen represented very different approaches, even if both could be classified as neoclassical. Canova, in the tradition of Winckelmann, studied the ancient works of art and nature to find inspiration for his own work; but he never would have copied. Thorwaldsen, instead, was interested in studying the proportions of ancient sculptures in order to emulate them. When Canova was asked to restore the Elgin marbles, he refused out of respect for these works of the ancient masters; Thorwaldsen, on the other hand, agreed to invent and restore the missing parts of the marbles from Aegina that Ludwig I of Bavaria had bought for Munich (1816-1817).

The difference between these two approaches is also reflected in the conservation of the Colosseum. When Canova was Inspector of Fine Arts, the first buttress was built by Stern, Camporesi and Palazzi in order to conserve even the smallest fragment of the monument as a document from the past, without any reconstruction. Twenty years later, when Thorwaldsen was in the Commission, Valadier constructed the second buttress which was intended as a partial reconstitution of the monument. These two approaches represent the extreme dialectic basis for the treatment of historic buildings. On one hand, there was the respect for and pure conservation of the original material; on the other, the supposedly



Figure 114. The Colosseum: south wall before restoration (Turner)

faithful reconstruction of the missing parts in order to reconstitute the architecture of the monument. A third, intermediate, approach is represented by the restoration of the Arch of Titus, based by Stern on the recommendations of Gisors and completed by Valadier. Here, the original elements were conserved and the missing parts outlined in a way that made the original whole visible, but clearly differentiated the new material from the genuine ancient elements. All three approaches were applied in successive restorations, with a number of variations according to the particular case.

In the years 1824 to 1826, the Colosseum absorbed the major part of the budget for ancient monuments. Apart from the buttress by Valadier, other works were needed continuously, and later, a fixed annual sum was foreseen for use on the Colosseum. Further important restorations were carried out in the 1840's and 1850's. By that time, the architect in charge was Luigi Canina (1795-1856), a neoclassicist who enlarged the Villa Borghese. He had a special interest in archaeology, publishing numerous volumes on ancient Roman architecture. Canina arrived in Rome

Figure 115. The Colosseum: south wall; detail of the part restored by L. Canina



in 1818 and wrote his first articles on the Colosseum, probably at the suggestion of Valadier, who became his teacher at the Academy. This article was later included in his *Gli Edifizj di Roma antica*. (87) The major restorations which he directed at the Colosseum were made in the western entrance towards the Forum, and completed in the reign of Pius IX in 1852. The reconstruction of the southern part, where eight arches were rebuilt in the time of Gregorius XVI, had already been completed in 1844. In both cases, the new constructions were made in yellow brick, using travertine only in some structurally important parts; the continuations of a wall was indicated with a rough surface in line with the earlier work of Valadier, but without the fresco imitation which he had applied. A partial rebuilding in travertine of a small area was also made above the northern entrance in 1852. At this time, more iron straps were used to consolidate the structure as well a smaller iron cramps for minor repairs. Since the 1870s, the sixteenth century chapel at the western entrance and the seventeenth-century altars have been demolished, when the arena has been again excavated, and some modern consolidation work carried out in the structures.

Notes to Chapter Eight:

1. Emiliani, Andrea, *Leggi bandi e provvedimenti per la tutela dei beni artistici e culturali negli antichi stati italiani 1571-1860*, Edizioni Alfa, Bologna 1978.
2. Rossi-Pinelli, O., 'Carlo Fea e il chirografo del 1802: cronaca, giudiziaria e non, delle prime battaglie per la tutela delle 'Belle Arti', *Ricerche di Storia dell'Arte, La Nuova Italia Scientifica*, 1978-79, VIII, 27ff.
3. Cardinal Consalvi, letter of 17 November 1820 (Archivio di Stato, Rome: Camerale I, tit.IV, 40), describes the responsibilities of the Camerlengato and the Treasury in the conservation of ancient monuments, with a special reference to excavations, describing various cases where there had been differing interpretations on both sides. Fea, C., *Miscellanea filologica, critica e antiquaria, che contiene specialmente notizie di scavi di antichità*, Roma 1790-1836. Rossi-Pinelli, O., 'Carlo Fea e il chirografo del 1802', op.cit.
4. Letter of 23 August 1803 (Archivio di Stato, Rome: Camerale II, Ant. e B.Arte, b. 6, 192): "Giuseppe Camporesi chiamato da Antonio d'Este, quando faceva le veci de Sig. Canova Isp. B. A., che era a Parigi, prendere delle particolari ispezioni sui monumenti antichi di Roma e accennare quelli, che minacciando rovina, abbisognavano riparazione... G. Camporesi come architetto delle Belle Arti confermato da Canova e riconosciuto dall'Emo Sig. Car.le Seg.io di Stato e come tale é stato ricevuto dell'Emza Vra nel congresso tenuto nella scorsa Domenica... stabilmente fissato in architetto del Camerlengato per le Belle Arti."

5. Stoppani, 'Un francese a Roma, l'architetto Giuseppe Valadier', *Capitolium*, 1959, VI, 28ff. Visconti, P.E., *Biografia del Cavaliere Giuseppe Valadier*, Roma 1839. Matthiae, G., *Restauri del Valadier alle mura aureliane*, *Capitolium*, Roma 1942, 119f. Casiello, S., 'Aspetti della tutela dei beni culturali nell'ottocento e il restauro di Valadier per l'arco di Tito', *Restauro*, V, 1973, 77ff. Valadier, G., *Raccolta delle più insigni fabbriche di Roma Antica e sue adjacenze, misurate nuovamente e dichiarate dall'architetto Giuseppe Valadier, illustrate con osservazioni antiquarie da Filippo Aurelio Visconti, ed incise da Vincenzo Feoli*, Roma 1810-1826. Valadier, G., *Opere di architettura e di ornamento ideate ed eseguite da Giuseppe Valadier*, Roma 1833. Marconi, P. - Cipriani, A. - Valeriani, E., *I disegni di architettura dell'Archivio storico dell'Accademia di San Luca I-II*, *Accademia Nazionale di San Luca*, De Luca Editore, Roma 1974: 'Fondo Valadier' contains Valadier's drawings for the construction of the new gate of the Ponte Milvio (2665-2670), his proposal for the reconstruction of Basilica San Paolo fuori le mura, etc.
6. Fea, C., 'Dissertazione...
7. Edict, 1 October 1802, signed by 'Giuseppe del Titolo di S. Cecilia Prete Cardinal Doria Pamphilj della S.R.C. Pro-Camerlengo', in Emiliani, *Leggi, bandi e provvedimenti*, op.cit. 110ff.
8. Edict, 1 October 1802, op.cit.: "Questi preziosi avanzi della culta Antichità forniscono alla Città di Roma un ornamento, che la distingue tra tutte le altre più insigni Città dell'Europa; somministrano i Soggetti li più importanti alle meditazioni degli Eruditi, ed i modelli, e gli esemplari i più pregiati agli Artisti, per sollevare li loro ingegni alle idee del bello, e del sublime; chiamano a questa Città il concorso dei Forastieri, attratti dal piacere di osservare queste singolari Rarità; alimentano una grande quantità d'Individui impiegati nell'esercizio delle Belle Arti; e finalmente nelle nuove produzioni, che sortono dalle loro mani, animano un ramo di commercio, e d'industria più d'ogni altro utile al Pubblico, ed allo Stato, perché interamente attivo, e di semplice produzione, come quello che tutto è dovuto alla mano, ed all'ingegno dell'Uomo."
9. Fea, C., *Dei Diritti del Principato sugli antichi edifizj pubblici sacri e profani*, Roma 1806. Rossi-Pinelli, 'Carlo Fea e il chirografo del 1802', op.cit., 33ff. Emiliani, *Leggi, bandi e provvedimenti*, op.cit., 113.
10. Rossi-Pinelli, 'Carlo Fea e il chirografo del 1802', op.cit., 33ff.
11. Edict of 1 October 1802, op.cit.: "...Sono state queste le riflessioni, che dappresso all'illustre esempio, che la S.M. di Leone X, diede nella persona del gran Raffaello d'Urbino, ce hanno recentemente determinati ad eleggere l'incomparabile Scultore Canova, emolo dei Fidia, e dei Prassiteli, come quello lo fù degli Apelli, e dei Zeusi, in Ispettore generale di tutte le Belle Arti, e di tutto ciò, che alle medesime appartiene; ed a Lui durante la sua vita abbiamo conferite, colla sola dipendenza da Voi, le più estese, e superiori facultà per invigilare sopra tutto quello, che può influire al mantenimento, ed alla felice propagazione delle Arti del Disegno, e di quelli, che le professano." Rossi Pinelli, O., 'Artisti, falsari o filologi? Da Cavaceppi a Canova, il restauro della scultura tra arte e scienza', *Ricerche di Storia dell'Arte*, 1981, XIII-XIV, 41ff. Pinelli, A., 'La sfida rispettosa di Antonio Canova. Genesi e peripezie del 'Perseo trionfante'', *Ricerche di Storia dell'Arte*, 1981, XIII-XIV, 21ff.
12. Missirini, Melchior, *Della Vita di Antonio Canova*, Milano 1825, 374: "L'opera di Fidia sono una vera carne, cioè la bella natura, come lo sono le altre esinnee sculture antiche..."
13. D'Este, A., *Memorie di Antonio Canova*, Firenze 1864, 20: "Una cosa è il copiare che trascina servilmente all'arte sopprime e raffredda il genio; e un'altra è consultare i capi d'opera dell'arte per studio, confrontandoli con la natura, per quindi rilevarne i pregi, e servirsene all'uso proprio, e formarne poi un tutto che servir possa al soggetto che si vuole esprimere, come hanno praticato i Greci, scegliendo dalla natura il più bello; così son venuti a noi quei capolavori, i quali, niuno per tanti secoli ha mai osato di detronizzare dal posto sublime nel quale erano collocati e servono di esemplare a tutti... Chi copia anche con sommo magistero, sempre copista resta, e chi copia non è copiato, poiché le copie sono per lo più atte ad eseguirsi da quelli cui natura ha negato il genio dell'originalità... Consultare i capolavori, è una cosa, copiare è un'altra."
14. Missirini, Melchior, *Della Vita di Antonio Canova*, op.cit., 284: "Napoleon - 'Questo è il vostro centro; qui sono tutti i capi d'arte antichi; non manca che l'Ercole Farnese, ma avremo anche questo.' Canova - 'Lasci Vostra Maestà, risposi, lasci almeno qualche cosa all'Italia. Questi monumenti antichi formano catene e collezioni con infiniti altri che non si possono trasportare né da Roma, né da Napoli.'"
15. D'Este, A., *Memorie di Antonio Canova*, op.cit., 112.
16. *Archivio di Stato*, Rome, 'Camerale II, Ant. e B.Arte, b 6, 192.'
17. "PIUS VII P.M. RUDERIBUS CIRCUM EGESTIS ARCUM RESTITUENDUM ET MURUM SEPIENDUM CURAVIT AN.MDCCCIII" (Jonsson, M., *Monumentvårdens begynnelse, Restaurering och frilggning av antika monument i Rom 1800-1830*, 'Uppsala Studies in the History of Art' XVI, Uppsala 1976, 26.)
18. Letter of Antonio Canova, 23 June 1803 (*Archivio di Stato*, Rome, 'Camerale II, Ant. e B.Arte, b6, 192'): "Intanto si lusinga, che ella (Camporesi) col suo zelo, e premura p oggetti tanto a Lei cari, si prenderà tutto il pensiero, perché questo monumento non abbia a soffrire la più piccola lesione..."
19. *Archivio di Stato*, 'Camerale II, Ant. e B.Arte, b6, 192'.

20. Jonsson, M., *Monumentvårdens begynnelse*, op.cit., 26ff.
21. 'Diario di Fea, Commissario delle antichità sullo scavo intorno all'arco di Settimio Severo nel 1802 e 1803', (Archivio di Stato, 'Camerale II, Ant. e B.Arte, b6, 192').
22. Archivio di Stato, 'Camerale II, Ant. e B.Arte, b6, 192', (1800): "Nel congresso tenuto innanzi all'Emo Sig. Cardinal Camgo le intenzioni della Santità di N.S. che con sublimi vedute di erudizione, di politica, e di vera economia ha imaginato il discuoprimento de' più celebri monumenti di antichità, incominciando dall'arco di Settimio Severo fino al Colosseo inclusivamente..."
23. Jonsson, M., *Monumentvårdens begynnelse*, op.cit., 26ff. Valadier, G., *Raccolta delle più insigni fabbriche di Roma Antica*, op.cit.
24. Guattani, G.A., *Roma descritta ed illustrata*, (2nd ed.) Roma 1805, II, 2: "Anfiteatro Flavio, detto con ragione il Colosseo. Qual'altra mole teatrale vi poté essere più macchinosa di questa? E qual vi è ora più superba ed imponente rovina. Il pittoresco che il tempo nel distruggerlo vi ha insensibilmente introdotto, l'ha resa poi sì vaga ed interessante, che si giunge da molti a non desiderarne il ristauero. Potrebbero contentarsi l'età future di vederlo nello stato presente; ma lo sfacelo si avvanza a gran passi: di qua ad un secolo se n'anderà il resto dell'intrior tessitura, e farà d'uopo ai curiosi di ricorrere al Serlio, al Desgodetz, al Fontana, all'Overbeke, al Piranesi, al Marangoni, al Maffei, al Morcelli, al Carli, e forse ancora a questa mia descrizione; col pericolo di saperne poco, e persuadersene meno."
25. Coarelli, F., *Guida archeologica di Roma*, Mondadori, Verona 1974, 166ff.
26. Beda, *Opera*, ed. di Colonia 1612, III, 483: "Quamdiu stat Colysaeum, stabit et Roma: Quando cadet Colysaeum, cadet et Roma: Quando cadet Roma, cadet et mundus". Graf, A., *Roma nella memoria e nelle immagini del Medio Evo*, Torino 1915, 94. Di Macco, M., *Il Colosseo, funzione simbolica, storica, urbana*, Bulzoni, Roma 1971, 30. English version by Byron, G., *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* (1812), in Quennell, P., *The Colosseum*, Newsweek, New York 1971, 89.
27. A memorandum, 13 June 1804, on the inspection of the Colosseum, carried out by architects Camporesi and Zappati, written probably by C. Fea (Archivio di Stato, Rome, Camerale II, Ant. e B.Arte, b7, 207): "Danno maggiore, sono ormai 70 e più anni che per la vicinanza della lavorazione del salpietro, e polvere, si è portato lo stabbio a macerare nel primo piano, o corridore di quella fabrica. Oltre che la medesima resta così tutta ingombrata, e impraticabile ai curiosi di architettura, e di antichità, lo stabbio, col fermentare cuoce, e polverizza il travertino, pietra calcaria; e di più, specialmente nelle notti lunghe dell'inverno, i carrettieri accendono il fuoco addosso ai pilastri, e li divorano in modo, che in varie parti restano scholri, insufficienti coll'andare degli anni a sostenire tanta mole superiore... (It was recommended:) - ripulire e scoprire almeno della parte exterior, - portar via subito lo stabbio; quando si tolgono i murelli avanti per trovare la gradinata, e si facciano altre poche cose, si ha tutto il primo corridore per la metà dell'edificio libero e pulito da fare una superba galleria, e un passeggio sorprendente. Da questo corridore con un pajo di scale antiche ristabilite si monterà al secondo corridore conservatissimo, e si avrà un passeggio anche più ameno. In cima si allegrirà al quanto in varj punti dal calcinaccio, che stracarica le volte, e col tempo le manderebbe giù. Sgombrate in tal modo queste due parti principali, e più conservate, bisognerà fortificare la cantonata verso S. Giovanni, la quale di giorno in giorno minaccia maggior rovina, e strascinerebbe con sé forse la metà del rimanente... Il Commissario delle antichità, e gli architetti Sig. Giuseppe Camporesi, a Zappati hanno fatto replicate ispezioni sulla faccia dal luogo per tutte queste cose. E' desiderio generale, che simile operazione si faccia e si faccia presto. Il monumento richiama troppo la prima attenzione di tutti, e specialmente dei forestieri colti."
28. Quirinale to Monsig. Lante, Tesorier Genle, 22 June 1804 (Archivio di Stato, Rome: Camerale II, Ant. e B.Arte, b7, 207).
29. Archivio di Stato, Rome: Camerale II, Ant. e B.Arte, b7, 207.
30. Giuseppe Palazzi to Camerlengo, 19 November 1806 (Archivio di Stato, Rome: Camerale II, Ant. e B.Arte, b7, 207): "L'accesso sullo stesso Locale di Monsig. Illmo, e Rmo Nicolaj commiss. della R.C., in vece di Sua eccza Rma Monsig. Lante Tesorier Genle, allor assente dalla Città, per cui ne venne un foglio istruttivo a Noi Comprofessori Deputati, nel quale si legge = Rimarrà in seguito incaricata l'abilità, e Dottrina de' Sig. Architetti a dare quell'ulterior Progetto, che credeva opportuno per la maggior sicurezza della sudta Parte di Anfiteatro pericolante, formando i rispettivi scandagli, ed avendo sempre in vista l'Economia, la Solidità, e la conservazione nel modo conciliabile di sì grandioso Edificio per decoro della Capitale, per ammirazione degl'Esteri, e per utilità delle Arti.=" Giuseppe Camporesi to Mons. Nicola Nicolaj, 19 November 1806 (ibid): "Confermo pertanto il mio inalterabile sentimento di formare un Sperone dall'indicato lato, che vada a reggere la parte sconnessa, e quasi cadente & porra argine alla continua lateral pressione, che danno tutti i cunei degli archi, e vani di Finestre, giacché a mio senso ogn'altro Progetto, piuttosto effimero lo rputerei, e del tutto inadattabile alla natura, e circostanza dell'accennato batimento..."
31. Raffaele Stern to Camerlengo, 18 November 1806 (Archivio di Stato, Rome: Camerale II, Ant. e B.Arte, b7, 207): "L'oggetto della mia deputazione fù per l'appunto quello di ripararne, e conservarne qualunque benché minima parte."
32. Domenico Schiavoni to the Pope, 22 November 1806 (Archivio di Stato, Rome: Camerale II, Ant. e B.Arte, b7, 207): "A riparare la minacciata rovina non può a meno

di farsi un taglio. Esso in proporzione al tutto esistente di quella mole non è che un punto. Non abbraccia che una parte di un'arco del secondo piano, l'arco intero del terzo, e i due vani dell'ultimo piano sul confine di quella linea esistente fino alla naturale sua altezza dal lato di S. Giovanni in Laterano. Nel disegno marca questo taglio una linea obliqua sovrappostavi. Per la minacciata ruina esso è meramente necessario. Lungo quello, tutto è già fuori al suo appiombamento quasi tre buoni palmi. Dio non faccia che la più lieve scagliuzza si scateni. Basta questa a far precipitare quei massi sul momento. Ecco l'orribile pericolo, a cui stanno esposti centinaia di uomini.

Ogni altro riparo si rende inutile... L'ore si compromette all'istante far argine all'imminente rovina, e quindi nel suo appiombamento istesso trasportare l'un dopo l'altro quei massi dall'alto sul sottoposto terreno.

La linea in simil modo tagliata formerà un dente a seconda de' sassi, che vi saranno compresi. Si avranno così due intenti: l'uno, che, al vedere su quella linea di distacco tante morse, farà credere il taglio non fatto dall'arte, ma così ridotto dall'antica sua naturale rovina; l'altro, che venendosi un giorno alla determinazione di ripristinarlo intieramente vi si possono commettere sassi, senza bisogno di fabbricare il nuovo suo incasso.

Ciò fatto, per rinforzare quest'ala fa duopo murare quattro archi del primo piano, tre archi ed una gran parte del quarto arco del secondo, tre archi del terzo, e i due vani dell'ultimo piano.”

33. G. Palazzi, G. Camporesi and R. Stern to Camerale, 10 November 1806 (Archivio di Stato, Rome: Camerale II, Ant. e B.Arte, b7, 207): A meeting had been agreed to discuss the proposed plans of Schiavoni, who, however, sent his master mason: “Fummo però altamente sorpresi in primo luogo, in non vedere l'architetto intervenire al Congresso, e molto più quando il Capo Mro aveva il coraggio di comunicare a Voce il suo Progetto, il quale consiste nientemeno, che nella Demolizione di tutta quella parte di Colosseo, che si scorge partita, per lo ché dimanda settemila scudi, e tutt'i Travertini, che sarebbero per risultarne. Ha creduto di dimostrare la sua esecuzione con un inesattissimo Disegno, ove con una Linea obliqua ha tagliato un gran Pezzo di Colosse, che forse l'ha supposto fabricato di sughero piuttosto che di solidissimo Travertino, e ciò è stato tutto quello che si è potuto avere da lui...”

La peregrina sconsideratezza, che ha dettato questo Progetto s'al Muratore che al Valente Arch'to, puol' essere perdonabile, e degna piuttosto di commiserazione; ma l'impudenza di presentare al Sovrano un Piano Sagrilego a questo segno, era incognita anche a tempi de' Vandali, e de' Goti, giacché allora è vero che si eseguivano Piani consimili, ma non si cercava di garantire la devastazione con l'approvazione, e con i Denari del Governo. Di fatto l'ardire di proporre simile barbarica operazione, mentre noi seguendo l'intenzione di Zelanti superiori presentatoci nella nostra Deputazione, e col voto dell'intero Mondo

culto, ed intelligente, ci siamo seriamente occupati nella Conservazione anche de' piccoli Frammenti di questo interessante Edificio: mentre tuttociò è manifesto, egli ha il coraggio di chiamare di risparmio, e magnifico un Piano, il quale costa settemila scudi, e circa Tremila carrettate di Travertino con perni di Metallo, Piombi e vale a dire circa Ventimila scudi, ed ha per Base una Demolizione che sicuramente sarebbe a ragione vituperata da tutto il Mondo, e chiama Economico questo Progetto, mentre il nostro Piano con una spesa di circa la metà assicura il Colosseo, ne conserva, come speriamo, ogni sua parte, ed annuncia a tutti quanto ora si conosca il pregio delle belle Arti, e quanto si abbiamo a caro le preziose reliquie della Romana grandezza: oggetti per cui tutt'i Popoli del Mondo vengono ad ammirare, e quindi invidiarci. E' poi ben chiaro, che se si fosse vouta eseguire tale operazione vandalica, si sarebbe abbandonata quella parte minacciante alla sua naturale rovina previa le debite cautele, nel qual case almeno saremmo accusati per mancanza di mezzi, ma mai per distruttori, per Barbari. Analizzando pertanto questo indigesto Progetto, che molto male a voce ci fù enunciato, si puol' dubitare, che il ricorrente muratore unito a chiari Lumi del Valente Amico Architetto voglia profittare di quella immensa quantità di squisiti Travertini e che esiga dalla Ra Ce la spesa della Demolizione, dell'assistenza, e del Trasporto. Di fatti altro oggetto non puol rinvenirsi in un Piano, che importa il doppio del nostro, toglie al Governo l'onore, e quel vistoso Capitale, che da noi si studia di tenere in opera, e si oppone direttamente al buon senso, ed all'intenzioni del Sovrano e del Mondo... Le nostre Operazioni fatte fin'ora sono pubbliche, il nostro Piano di riparazione è noto a tutti, esigiamo dunque lo stesso da chiunque progetti altri Metodi per rendergliene giustizia, se lo meritano e per escluderli con ragioni evidenti, e Dimostrazioni infallibili.”

35. Aless.o Lante, Segr. GB., to D. Schiavoni, 14 December 1806, (Archivio di Stato, Rome: Camerale II, Ant. e B.Arte, b7, 207): “Sig. Palazzi, Giuseppe Camporesi e Stern unitamente e separatamente tanto in voce, che in scritto, e comunicato il progetto de' Med' e l'altro presentato a nome dell' Ore al Mattematico Sig. Tessuti: La Sua Sntà di SS.S. à ordinato, che si eseguisca la costruzione del progettito sperone all'anfiteatro Flavio nella parte verso Levante la quale minaccia ruina, e che il capo mastro muratore Antonio Valenti l'eseguisca con tutta quella solidità, che richiede la grandiosità del lavoro.”

36. Raffaele Stern to Camerlengo, 18 November 1806 (Archivio di Stato, Rome: Camerale II, Ant. e B.Arte, b7, 207): “L'ultima scossa di terremoto aumentò notabilmente lo strapiombamento laterale a quest'ala di esterna facciata, che ritrovò senza appoggio, e già inclinata, e sconnessa: lo scolocamento de' massi di travertino cagionato dalle aperture verticali, che segnatamente si osservano nel secondo, e terzo ordine, ha prodotto particolarmente ne' piedritti dei due ultimi archi una divergenza per la quale le pietre cuneiformi che ne compongono le chiavi sono notabilmente calate inforza della loro gravità:

Consequentemente gli altri travertini de' Superiori Cornicioni si sono mossi, e sconnessi, ed aumentando il peso delle chiavi, queste nel tendere al loro centro di gravità hanno a guisa di altrettanti cunei accresciuta lo strapiombo, il quale ora si rinviene non minore di tre palmi. E' dunque chiarissimo che la muratura de' vani patiti servirà per sostenere le indicate chiavi nel loro stato presente, ed impedire l'ulteriore discesa delle medesime onde non forzino lateralmente la parte sfiancata; e lo sperone lo giudico il necessario rincontro, che potrà sostenere la parte laterale della sua spinta. Questo Sperone costituisce la quantità di mille e venti canne di muro quadrate di palmi cento. Dev'essere lavorato a cortina e colla massima esattezza, e perfezione con basamento di travertino, e tutt'altro che la solidità, e la più scrupolosa diligenza saranno per dettare, ed eseguito colli debiti riposi ed inzappature a tempo da farsi sotto i denti, o specie di morse che formano le pietre medesime esistenti. Questo sperone importerà scudi Duemila ottocento in circa. Non è prevedibile la spesa di qualche puntello, e le pontate..."

37. Palazzi, Camporesi and Stern to 'Sua Eccellenza R.ma Monsignor D. Alessandro Lante, Tesorier Gen.le della R.C.A.', 6 June 1807 (Archivio di Stato, Rome: Camerale II, Ant. e B.Arte, b7, 207): "All'occasione, che gli Architetti Palazzi, Camporese e Stern posero mano alla grande opera della Riparazione dell'Anfiteatro Flavio d.tto il Colosseo, il primo loro pensiero fù di scuoprire, e sterrare l'ultimo Pilastro esistente verso il Laterano quello per l'appunto posto sotto l'ala scollegata e priva di rincontro minacciante spaventevole Rovina, ad oggetto di eseguire gli ordini dell'Eccza.Vra.Rma., cioè di murare No.11 vani e costruire lo sperone. Lo stato in cui gli architetti med. rinvennero l'indicato Pilastro fù al di là d'ogni loro aspettazione, giacché lo ritrovarono così infelice da porli nel dubbio di giungere in tempo all'assicurazione. Questo Pilastro unico sostegno di tutta quella Porzione rovinosa fu ritrovato con sensibili aperture, che instantaneamente dilatavano in modo da generare la più viva costernazione. Per prevenire l'orribili conseguenze di tale situazione di cose si sono post' in opera i più efficaci rimedi e mediante i mezzi i più sicuri che l'arte somministra in simili casi, sono giunti ad assicurarsi anche di questa imprevedibile critica circostanza, la quale però ha reso indispensabili i cangiamenti, che sono ora per esporre. - Primieramente si fu obbligati di subito assicurare il Pilastro con Puntelli e Sbadacci, proporzionati alla Spinta di quelle parti sconnesse e vi si prese una Fodera di mura, onde dare il necessario sostegno al di dentro, qual Fodera è stata collegata ad uso d'Arte con lo sperone e con la muratura dei vani. Si è dovuto inoltre costruire internamente una Traversa di Muro per dargli' il necess. rincontro, e con tal mezzo si è collegata la Fodera con la muratura dei Vani e con lo Speron' e Pilastro, per cui, formandosi un insieme con l'altra Linea di Pilastrici concentrici ed intatti dell'Anfiteatro med. si viene ad assicurare stabilmente questa parte, giacché in riguardo di tutto ciò, che era imprevedibile nell'Epoca dell'altra Relazione umiliata all'Eccza. Vra. R.ma.

Queste necessarie disposizioni inseparabili dall'esistenza di questo Prezioso Edificio, avendo portato qualche non tenue aumento nel totale dei Lavori esigono dall'Ecc.za Vra. Rma. una benign' Approvazione, onde vengano ultimate. Di tanto sono con la p.n.te a supplicarla i nominati Architetti, affinché possano corrispondere, mediante il buon esito di questa difficile interessante operazione al' loro Zelo infaticabile, ed alla comune aspettazione di tutto il Mondo e specialmente nel Sito degl' imparziali conoscitori del Bello in uno de' più Augusti Monumenti della Romana Grandezza.

Occupatisi altresì li med.mi Professori sull'apprezzamento delle Aumentat' esposte assicurazioni hanno considerato, che poss' ascendere alla Somma di Scudi Duemila Ottocento ad un bell'incirca."

38. "PIVS VII P.M. ANNO VII"

39. R. Stern to Alessandro Lante, Tesoriere Gen.le della Rev.Cam.Apostolica, undated (written after the completion of the buttress, i.e. after 1807; the date of 1802 has been added to the letter, but in a different handwriting) (Archivio di Stato, Rome: Camerale II, Ant. e B.Arte, b7, 207): "L'Anfiteatro Flavio detto il Colosseo come presenta nella sua prima costruzione la grandezza e la Magnificenza de' tempi di Flavio e di Tito, così nella sua riparazione eseguita sotto l'auspici dell'Immortale Pio VII. felicemente regnante d'ordine di Va. E. Rma. dimostra la cura ed il Zelo de' Saggi Superiori della nostra età: e mentre la imponente opera antica, assolutamente la più grande che si conosca, ci assicura del Lustrò e della Dottrina di quei secoli, la sua moderna conservazione eseguita nelle presenti circostanze, è un' attesto certo, ed inalterabile della venerazione e del pregio in cui sono attualmente le reliquie preziose delle Arti Belle; felice impresa che ci avvicina il più possibile ai nostri grandi antenati, ed insegnerà ai posteri che il Vuoto di grandi opere, che rinverranno nella nostra Epoca, devono rimproverarlo alla sola deficienza di mezzi che ce ne impedisce l'esecuzione.

Una decisa soddisfazione è di fatto comune a tutti gl' Uomini di Genio e di buon senso. La contemplazione del Colosseo minacciante rovina che resta tutt'ora rincontrabile nel suo allarmante strapiombo e lo Sperone felicemente finito in tempo per togliere questi preziosi imponenti vestigi alle ingiurie distrattrice dei Secoli, oltre l'onore eterno che farà a chi né ordinò la costruzione, è altresì un interessantissimo oggetto per ogni Artista che vi riconosce la tran difficoltà che vi erano da scoraggiare chiunque non fosse stato animato dal nostro vivissimo impegno, e la felice esecuzione del lavoro che sicuramente è il solo moderno che può sostenere il confronto delle antiche opere laterizie.

Tale sentimento di fatto nacque nell' E.V.Rma all' occasione che onore della sua presenza la grande opera per qui saggiamente ordinò la demolizione de quell' ammosso di Casuppoli ora ridotte a fienili, che ingombrano la veduta di questo interessante parallelo ... E annessa offerta del Capo Mro Valenti il quale pagherà sc. 200 - per il materiale

e Legname dei Tetti, fusti, d'ogni genere e sterramenti pone la R.C.A. nella situazione di sbarazzare quel sito con la tenue spesa di 200 - della quale viene eziando ad esserne in gran parte indennizzati dalla quantità non piccola de' materiali, Marmi, che si ricaveranno dalla demolizione.

Tanto devo in adempimento di mia incumbenza ed in esecuzione de' venerati comandi della Eccza. Va. Rma.

Raffaele Stern, Arch. Cam.le"

40. Rome became the Second City of the Empire in 1810 (Giornale del Campidoglio, 28 February 1810).

41. In 1809, referring to the decree of 13 April 1793 in France (14 fruttifero Anno 2), it was ordered that all libraries, museums, collections, as well as all public monuments of sciences, arts, were put under the control of public authority. (Giornale del Campidoglio, 16 September 1809).

42. Casiello, S., 'Aspetti della tutela dei beni culturali nell'ottocento e il restauro di Valadier per l'arco di Tito', *Restauro*, V, 1973, 77ff. Jonsson, M., *Monumentvårdens begynnelse*, op.cit. Marconi, P., 'Roma 1806-1829: un momento critico per la formazione della metodologia del restauro architettonico', *Ricerche di Storia dell'Arte*, VIII, 1979, 63ff. Radocanachi, E., *Les Monuments de Rome après la Chute de l'Empire*, Paris 1914. Tournon, C., *Etudes statistiques sur Rome et la partie occidentale des Etats romains*, Paris 1855.

43. Jonsson, M., *Monumentvårdens begynnelse*, op.cit., 56ff. 'Commissione sugli Abbellimenti di Roma', b1-9, Archivio di Stato, Rome.

44. Jonsson, M., *Monumentvårdens begynnelse*, op.cit., 56ff.

45. Correspondance at the Academy of San Luca about repairs at the Colosseum and other monuments in Rome (2467, Vol. 176, 23; 2375, Vol. 171, 93-95; 2343, Vol. 169, 10-153; 973, Vol.86, 33-78): Daru to Canova, 24 June 1811 (Acc. S.Luca, Vol 169, 119): refuses to employ Valadier, and offers employment to Camporesi or someone else; Report of 14 September 1811: reconstruction work continues in a collapsed section; 21 September 1811: the containing wall completed; 30 September 1811: continuation of consolidation of the Colosseum; 19 October 1811: works continue on Tempio Tonante, the Colosseum and the Pantheon (135); 28 July 1812 (95); Camporesi to Canova, 19 November 1812 (75): asks instructions for shoring due to the collapse of a pillar the previous night; 26 December 1812 (78): correspondance about the collapse, for which Daru accused the negligence of the Academy of San Luca.

46. Archivio di Stato, Rome, 'Commissione Abbellimenti Roma', b 1, 27 November 1814. Parker, J.H., *Excavations in Rome from 1438 to 1882*, London 1883. Fea, C., 'Osservazioni sull'Arena, e sul Podio dell'Anfiteatro Flavio dopo gli Scavi nel medesimo' (1813), *Miscellanea filosofica, critica e antiquaria*, op.cit. V.

47. Acc. S.Luca, Vol 169, 10: 'Modulo di un piano più esteso per i custodi, comprensivo di tutte le località di Roma, Agro Romano, Lazio e Sabina, porse ovunque di monumenti in gran parte negletti o sconosciuti, degnissimo di sorveglianza.' One guard was proposed for the area of Via Appia, one for Monte Celio, one for Monte Esquilino etc. Special guards were proposed for: '1. Colonna Antonina, 2. Colonna Trajana, 3. Arco di Settimio Severo e monumenti adiacenti, 4. Tempj di Antonino e Faustina, della Pace, di Venere e Roma, 5. Archi di Tito e di Costantino, il Colosseo, 6. Terme di Tito, 7. Terme di Caracalla, 8. Terme di Diocleziano, etc.'

48. Archivio di Stato, Rome, 'Commissione Abbellimenti Roma' b 1.

49. Archivio di Stato, Rome, 'Commissione Abbellimenti Roma' b 1. Marconi - Cipriani - Valeriani, I disegni di architettura dell'Archivio storico dell'Accademia di San Luca I-II, op.cit: 'Fondo Valadier' contains several drawings for proposed covered markets and other embellishment projects (2683-2724).

50. *Giornale del Campidoglio* (1809-1811), 9 May 1810: Suppression of ecclesiastical corporations; 4 July 1810: lists of suppressed abbeys and bishoprics. Archivio di Stato, Rome, 'Commissione sugli Abbellimenti di Roma', (b 9): There were many persons, including Duca Braschi, the Mayor, Don Giacomo Mac Cormick, the Custodian of S. Isidoro Agricolo, and Carlo Fea, who were concerned about the conservation of churches (October, 1810). Reports were also made on the condition with estimates on the maintenance of the most important churches, such as SS. 4 Coronati, S. Stefano del Cacca, Santa Francesca Romana, S. Louis des Français, S. Agnese in Piazza Navona, etc. (October, November, 1810) The decree for the maintenance of 135 churches at the expense of the municipality of Rome was given on 21 December 1810.

51. Archivio di Stato, Rome, 'Commissione sugli Abbellimenti di Roma', (b 9): 'Jardin du Grand César', Pincio and Piazza del Popolo, and 'Jardin du Capitole', on and around the Palatine.

52. Archivio di Stato, Rome, 'Commissione sugli Abbellimenti di Roma', (b 1): Valadier is given the responsibility of Jardin du Grand Cesar, and Camporesi on the Capitol (28 October 1811). 8 February 1812, 800 workers are reported to be employed in the project of the Capitol although the garden projects had not been approved by Paris. Jonsson, *Monumentvårdens begynnelse*, op.cit., 73ff.

53. Archivio di Stato, Rome, 'Commissione sugli Abbellimenti di Roma', (b 9)

54. Berthault to Tournon, 10 February 1813 (Archivio di Stato, Rome, 'Commissione sugli Abbellimenti di Roma', b 9). Jonsson, *Monumentvårdens begynnelse*, op.cit., 73ff.

55. Archivio di Stato, Rome, 'Commissione sugli Abbellimenti di Roma', b 9: about the Pantheon, Gisors

said that the restoration of the pediment (by Bernini) was a good example “refait antièrement sans disparate, et sans rien faire perdre à l’ensemble admirable de ce magnifique monument”.

56. Daru to Canova, 29 May 1811: Daru proposes the demolition of the bell towers of the Pantheon. (Acc.S.Luca Vol.169, 112) On 2 June 1811, the Academy of San Luca voted for the demolition of the bell towers of the Pantheon (Acc.S.Luca, Reg. 56; Vol.169, 117)

57. Gisors to Daru, 26 August 1813: “Je pense donc qu’au lieu de contreventer, d’étayer, de contreficher, d’emmailloter, si je peux ainsi m’exprimer, toutes les parties chancelantes des monuments et édifices dont je vous occupe, on devrait reconstruire au moins les masses de ces parties dans leurs formes et leurs proportions, soit en pierre, soit en brique, mais de manière à ce que ces constructions représentassent exactement les lignes de ces parties auxquelles elles devraient suppléer.” Coulon, A., ‘Les plans de Rome conservés aux Archives Nationales’, *Revue des questions historiques*, 1904, 2ff. Jonsson, *Monumentvårdens begynnelse*, op.cit., 104f.

58. Montalivet to Tournon, 28 September 1813 (Arch. di Stato, Rome, Comm. sugli Abbellimenti di Roma, b 9, 12).

59. Edict, 7 April 1820, signed by the Camerlengo Card. Pacca, in Emiliani, *Leggi, bandi e provvedimenti*, op.cit., 130ff.

60. Card. Consalvi, Memorandum on the responsibilities shared by the Camerlengato and the Tesorierato, 17 November 1820 (Arch. di Stato, Rome, Cam. I, iv, b 40)

61. ???

62. Archivio di Stato, Rome, ‘Comm. Abb. Roma’, b 1, 114.

63. Jonsson, *Monumentvårdens begynnelse*, op.cit., 106ff. Academy of San Luca, 973, Vol. 86, 33.

64. On 7 May 1715, the Municipal Council of Rome encharged two conservators and the architect Alessandro Specchi to inspect the Arch of Titus. (Archivio Storico Capitolino, Cred. I, Vol.44, 56) The condition of the Arch was found to such to justify urgent action, and works of consolidation were carried out immediately - although paid only in 1721 (142,81 écus). Rodocanachi, E., *Les Monuments de Rome après la Chute de L’Empire*, Paris 1914, 136.

65. Accademia di San Luca, 973, Vol.86,33.

66. Archivio di Stato, Rome, Cam. I, iv, b 40.

67. Valadier, G., ‘Narrazione artistica dell’operato finora nel restauro dell’arco di Tito’ (cancelled title: ‘Giustificazione del Risarcimento dell’Arco di Tito’), 5 February 1822 (Arch.Stato, Rome, Cam. I, iv, b 40, 106): Speaking of Stern: “Immaginò egli prima quel bravo nostro Collega la ben nota maniera di servirsi della forza delle viti, per sollevare i pezzi ch’erano calati, ma rifletté al come poi

rilasciarli, se non si riavvicinavano li pezzi laterali, che dal peso, e dal non esser fermati con perni si erano allontanati? Egli dunque per assicurare il monumento in pericolo vi formò una valida puntellatura sulla quale li pezzi si fermarono. Quindi risolvette di smontare qué pezzi e di ridar loro l’opportuno appoggio, col ricostruire la massa di tutto l’arco, e rivestirla ragionevolmente di travertini; formando ed accompagnando l’andamento dell’antica decorazione; avendo perciò fatto eseguire le basi mancanti delle colonne, i capitelli, ed altri pezzi, che alla di lui morte ho ritrovato, quando ebbi l’onore di essere a lui surrogato dall’Emo Sig. Card. Pacca Camerlengo di Chiesa e da S.E.Rma Monsig. Tesoriere Generale, ed incaricato venni del proseguimento di questo rispettabile ristauro.” (This paper was read at the Accademia Romana di Archeologia, on 20 december 1821, and was published in 1822.)

68. Conseil des bftimens, Paris, 14 August 1813, Archives Nationales, Paris, F13, 1648a: “M. Gisors propose pour l’arc di Titus de l’étager et cintrer de toutes parts en charpente, pour pouvoir, dit-il, demonter et remonter, sans coup férir les parties de vousoir gravitantes qu’on retablirait le plus soigneusement possible sur les autres vousoirs inférieurs replacés eux m^mes en avant dans leurs positions après avoir refait soit en pierre soit en briques les masses des parties de pied droit cet arc est maintenant privé. Il résulterait de cette opération que sans avoir dépensé beaucoup plus que pour des constructions auxiliaires informes, on aurait consolidé cet interessant monument et l’on aurait rétabli ses principales parties, qui pour n^tre qu’en masse, ne demandent pas moins une idée éxacte de ses dimensions et proportions.” (Jonsson, *Monumentvårdens begynnelse*, op.cit., 108)

69. Roma Antiqua, Envois des architectes français (1788-1924), Forum, Colisée, Palatin, l’Académie de France à Rome etc. Rome 1985, 292ff.

70. Archivio di Stato, Rome, Cam. I, iv, b 40.

71. Quatremère de Quincy, A., *Dictionnaire d’architecture*, Paris 1832, ‘Restauration’: “il devra suffire de rapporter en bloc les parties qui manquent, il faudra laisser dans la masse leurs détails, de manière que le spectateur ne pourra se tromper sur l’ouvrage antique et sur celui que l’on aura rapporté uniquement pour compléter l’ensemble.”

72. Valadier, G., *Opere di architettura e di ornamento*, Roma 1833,

73. Valadier to Camerlengo, 1 June 1823, etc. (Arch.Stato, Rome, Cam. I, iv, b 40)

74. Visconti, F.A., 20 March 1824, Arch. Stato, Rome, ‘Cam. II, iv, b 166, 409.

75. Quatremère de Quincy, A., *Dictionnaire*, op.cit.

76. Stendhal, *Voyages en Italie*, Gallimard, Paris 1973, 846: “Arc de Titus... fut le plus élégant jusqu’à l’époque fatale où il a été refait par M. Valadier... Au lieu de soutenir l’arc de Titus, qui menaçait ruine, par des armatures de fer, ou par un arc-boutant en brique, tout à fait distinct du

monument lui-m[^]me, ce malheureux l'a refait. Il a osé tailler des blocs de travertin d'après la forme des pierres antiques, et les substituer à celles-ci, qui ont été emportées je ne sais où. Il ne nous reste donc qu'une copie de l'arc de Titus." See also Linstrum. D., 'Giuseppe Valadier et l'Arc de Titus', Monumentum, XXV, 1, 43ff; Jonsson, Monumentvårdens begynnelse, op.cit., 108ff; Casiello, S., 'Aspetti della tutela dei beni culturali nell'ottocento e il restauro di Valadier per l'arco di Tito', Restauro, V, 1973, 77ff.

77. Card. Pacca to Camerlengo, 5 November 1821 (Arch. Stato, Rome, Cam. I, iv, b 40): "Ieri mattina nella Sagrestia di S. Carlo al Corso il Cardinal Segretario di Stato colla miglior maniera, e buona grazia possibile, mi fece una lagnanza su di una operazione che ora si sta facendo, si può dir quasi per nostri ordine all'arco di Tito. Mi disse dunque, che dopo molti reclami, era stato Egli stesso ad osservare quel lavoro, ed era rimasto in vedere, che invece di far ciocché poteva servire alla conservazione del monumento si era intrapreso il lavoro di scomporto quasi, e di ricomporlo di nuovo; Che cio triplicava la spesa, Che si poteva allor dire l'Arco di Pio, e non di Tito, e che intanto quel lavoro aveva cagionati dei danni ai bassi rilievi rompendo varie cose; Ora mi aggiunse, che non vi era rimedio al mal fatto; e ch'egli aveva sgridato Fea, il qual ora dice, che egli era di sentimento contrario, mentre vi andava ogni giorno, e non aveva avvertito ne' me, ne' il Tesoriere. Io resto mortificato, ne' sappi, che rispondere. La prego di dunque ad informarmi come la cosa è andata; se il progetto di Valadier fù veduto ed approvato dalla Commissione o dal Consiglio d'Arte, e desidero che si use almeno questa diligenza per ciocché resta a far..."

78. E.g. Boito, C., Brandi, C.

79. Lucangeli, C., Il Colosseo di Roma della grandezza di palmi 2449 di circonferenza ridotto alla circonferenza di palmi 40-49-60, ultimata dal di lui genero Paolo Dalbono, Roma 1845.

80. Shelley to Thomas Love Peacock, 1818, in The Colosseum, op.cit., 120.

81. Dickens, C., Pictures from Italy, Deutsch, London 1973, 164.

82. Fea to Camerale, 3 November 1815, Arch. Stato, Rome, 'Comm. Abb. Roma', busta 1.

83. Deakin, R., Flora of the Colosseum, 1855: "The plants which we have found growing upon the Colosseum, and have here described, amount to no less a number than 420 species; in this number there are examples of 253 Genera, and illustrations of 66 of the Natural Orders of plants, a number which seems almost incredible. There are 56 species of Grasses - 47 of the order Compositoe or Syngenerious plants - and 41 of the Leguminous or Pea tribe... The collection of the plants and the species noted has been made some years; but since that time, many of the plants have been destroyed; a circumstance that cannot but be lamented. To preserve a further falling of

any portion is most desirable; but to carry the restorations, and the brushing and cleaning, to the extent to which it has been subjected, instead of leaving it in its wild and solemn grandeur, is to destroy the impression and solitary lesson which so magnificent a ruin is calculated to make upon the mind..." (Quennell, The Colosseum, op.cit., 152)

84. Accademia di San Luca, 973, Vol.86, 33.

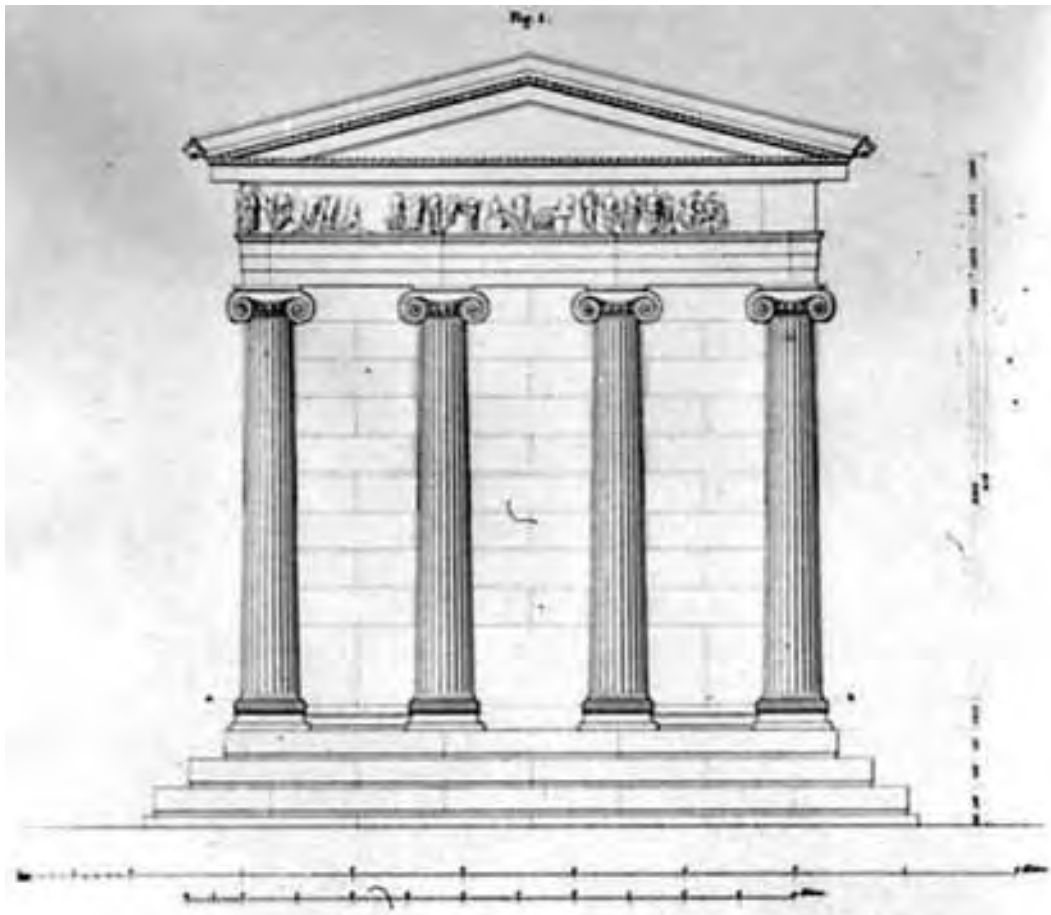
85. Valadier, G., Opere di architettura e di ornamenti, op.cit., 15: "In questa Tavola (III) si riporta il lavoro, come fu eseguito, imitando l'antico in ogni piccola parte, meno che il Monumento è tutto di travertino, ed il nuovo lavoro, per procurare la possibile economia, ha di travertino soltanto la metà dell'altezza de'primi piloni, le imposte degli archi, le basi delle colonne e rispettivi capitelli, e l'ultima membratura dei cornicioni, perché siano più stabili. Tutto il resto è di mattoni, con i quali si sono fedelmente imitate le antiche scorniciature, ed avendovi dato una patina a fresco generale, imitando l'antico, sembra di travertino intieramente."

86. Valadier, G., Opere di architettura e di ornamenti, op.cit., 15: "Questo metodo, oltre che non forma una natta addosso al monumento, volendo continuare la lavorazione, vi si presta con somma facilità, potendosi allora togliere i tre piccoli sproni lett. A, che per le altre arcuazioni che li seguissero, non sarebbero più necessarj, ma anzi ne guasterebbero l'aspetto. Né impedirebbe nulla se fosse mai eseguito ciò che disse la S.M. di Papa Pio VII allorquando venne a vederlo, cioè che se ogni Pontefice avesse fatto fare un arco, a quell'ora sarebbe tutto ristaurato, e ridonato a Roma il primo Anfiteatro del mondo. Qui cade a proposito di narrare che un Eminentissimo, che vi s'incontrò senza fargli corte gli disse, Vostra Santità ha dato un esuberante esempio, e ciò che disgraziatamente non è stato fatto, speriamo di quà a cento anni che si faccia."

87. Canina, L., Gli edificj di Roma antica, Roma 1851, 33: "In fine credo opportuno di accennare che, per servire a dare una più palese ed anche più universalmente convincente dimostrazione della vera forma che ebbe l'anfiteatro Flavio nella sua intera architettura, e nel tempo stesso impedire una maggiore rovina delle reliquie superstiti, fu da me stesso proposto ed in parte già ottenuto ed impreso ad eseguirsi, il ristabilimento della parte media interna del lato orientale, che si trova in miglior modo conservata. Tale restituzione si è impresa ad eseguire dal Governo con interessamento ed amore per i monumenti antichi, che sono di principale decoro alla città eterna, e si spera di poterlo portare sino al piano superiore della cavea, in cui corrispondeva il portico contenente i gradi di legno per le donne che assistevano allo spettacolo, e così collegare la cinta esterna, che propende a cedere in fuori, con la opera interna."

Chapter Nine

Case Study: Greece, Restoration in Athens



9.1 Restoration in the Nineteenth Century

The background to the rediscovery of Greek classical art and architecture in the second half of the eighteenth century through the publications of David Le Roy (1758) and of James Stuart and Nicholas Revett (1762-1816) supported by the Society of Dilettanti is well documented. So is the exaltation of Ancient Greece by Winckelmann, Goethe and Holderlin. More visitors travelled to Greece, more collectors were carrying away important works of art and arousing further enthusiasm as well as providing material for direct study; but they were also causing losses and damage to the already ruined heritage of Greece. The marbles taken by the Earl of Elgin from the Acropolis in 1801 reached London in 1812; and in 1822, the marbles of Aegina were found by Cockerell,

Haller, Stackelberg and Linckh, in excavations partly financed by Ludwig I of Bavaria. Greek taste was spreading all over Europe, but what was happening in Greece?

As consciousness of their classical heritage and of the deplorable present conditions of the country grew, Greek patriots formed secret societies in Athens (Hetaireias in 1814) in order to liberate the country - thus following the examples of other nationalistic uprisings in southern Europe. The leaders were Count Kapodistrias and Prince Ypsilanti, who looked for support abroad - especially from Russia and Bavaria. After a number of uprisings, Greece was declared independent in 1821. It was an event that was celebrated enthusiastically by philhellenes all over Europe: by Ludwig of Bavaria, Chateaubriand,

Holderlin, and by Lord Byron, whose death was regarded as a sacrifice for the sake of Greece and an ennoblement of the Greek patriots' aims. Sultan Mahmud was an exception; he did not accept the declaration, but tried to stifle the uprisings with the help of Egypt. Against him, however, was the allied power of England, France and Russia, and a treaty was reached in 1829 in Adrianople, ratified the year after in London, guaranteeing Greece its independence.

In February 1833, the newly chosen King of Greece, Otto I, the second son of Ludwig I of Bavaria, landed in Nauplia to take possession of his throne. This meant that the Bavarian government supported the young king, and many decisions were influenced by his father. One of the main interests of philhellenes, of whom Ludwig was one of the most committed, was the glorious past of Greece and the ancient monuments that evoked it; thus, the restoration and re-erection of these monuments also became one of the aims of the new government. The first great achievement was the discovery of the remains of the Temple of Athena Nike or the Wingless Victory on the Acropolis. This temple, known from the ancient sources such as Pausanias (1), was mentioned for the last time by Spon and Wheeler (2), but had then been lost.

In summary, some two thousand years after their construction, the temples of Pericles and Phidias had been destroyed. The ancient site had been despoiled by the Romans, and used as a fortification. Later, in the seventh century, many of the surviving temples had been transformed into Christian churches. During the Middle Ages, with the successive occupations of the Franks, Catalans and Florentines, there were more changes. The Greek Orthodox churches were converted to accord with the Latin rite. The temple of Nike, the Propylaea and the Erechtheum were also used for housing or as schools. Later still, with the arrival of the Turks in 1458, the Acropolis was again turned into a fortification. Most of the major classical buildings were used as gun-powder magazines, leading inevitably to great destruction, notably when the Venetians troops bombed the Parthenon making it explode in 1687. Successively, the Temple of Nike was demolished to provide material for reinforcement of the fortifications, a new wall and bastion in the seventeenth century. A small mosque was built in the destroyed central part of the Parthenon.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, this destruction caused by centuries of occupying armies was completed by neglect, struggles for independence and treasure seekers like Lord Elgin. Its re-erection (1835-6) on the bastion in front of the Propylaea was

Figure 116. The Acropolis, Athens, with the Turkish houses (Dodwell)



seen as a symbolic reference to the resurrection of Greece as a nation. It also gave a special significance to the Greek word for restoration, *anastylosis*, later used to refer to this type of restoration in other countries as well.

9.2 Protection of Ancient Monuments

1. *Leo von Klenze*

In June 1834, Leo von Klenze (1784-1864), Hofbauintendant of Ludwig I, was sent to Greece on a diplomatic mission to support Otto against internal intrigues surrounding his throne; but the official reason for his visit was to advise on the planning and building of Athens as a new capital. Concerning the latter, Klenze divided his task into three parts: the master plan of Athens, the public buildings (especially the royal palace), and the question of the Acropolis. A masterplan had already been prepared by the architects Eduard Schaubert and Stamatios Kleanthes in consultation with Karl Friedrich Schinkel, and some buildings had already been started according to the plan. Consequently, even if Klenze did not agree with various aspects of the plan, he had to limit himself to proposing alterations to the existing project. He made several different proposals for the royal palace, but in the end it was built by his rival Friedrich von Gartner (1792-1847). On the other hand, his proposals for the Acropolis were of great significance, both for its protection and the restoration of its monuments, and also for the organization of the archaeological survey in Greece in general. (3)

Klenze was one of the principal architects of German Classicism, and he contributed to the building of neoclassical Munich. He built the Walhalla near Regensburg in the form of a classical temple as a monument symbolizing the unification of the German people. He was active in Paris, Rome, St. Petersburg, Berlin, London and Budapest, either preparing projects, building or in diplomatic missions. He was also a painter, engineer, planner, historian, and an archaeologist. He had travelled in Italy and studied the Greek temples in Sicily, and he had presented various papers on archaeological subjects, referring, for example, to the temples of Agrigento, and to the Elgin Marbles. He had studied in Berlin together with Schinkel under David and Friedrich Gilly, and Aloys Hirt; and his authority was recognized by honorary membership in archaeological societies in different countries. (4)

On his arrival in Greece, Klenze travelled through Corinth, Mycenae, Argos, Tiryns, Epidauros, and

Aegina; thus, he had many opportunities to observe the complete neglect of the remains of Greek antiquity. In Athens, this grew into a kind of nostalgia, that made him decide to use his diplomatic status to do something useful for these venerable and abandoned remains of Greek art and history. Klenze heard stories that showed the confused situation - an Austrian brig stealing antiquities from Delos, an Englishman prising off half a figure of the frieze of the Parthenon with a hammer, American officers trying to break and steal ornaments from the Erechtheion. (5) The truth is that many Greeks felt no concern for their monuments, and even Kapodistrias had not believed anything was to be learnt or derived from the monuments of the ancient Greece. (6) But Klenze wanted

“to safeguard them for the future and to prove to Europe that the young king and the Greek Government took more interest in them, than the disregard of many of its employees made one believe.” (7)

Klenze proposed to the Government that all the major monuments of Greece should be subject to regular supervision. His list included twelve major sites in additions to Athens. These were: Aegina, Eleusis, Delphi, Rhamnus, Sounion, Hieron of Asklepios near Epidauros, Corinth, Mycenae, Bassae, Messene, Delos and Olympia. He proposed that war invalids and pensioners should be used to guard the sites and accompany the visitors. He further proposed that the sites be regularly surveyed by provincial inspectors under the control of a Generalkonservator, a Chief Conservator. By 6 September 1834, this proposal was accepted by the government and the Acropolis, for example, was guarded by twelve pensioners.

Klenze also recommended that, so far as it was possible and convenient, it would be necessary to undertake the restoration of these ancient monuments, pointing out that if nothing was done to them, one could foresee the moment when the last trace of at least their plastic form would disappear. He proposed starting the excavation and restoration on the Acropolis, giving priority to the Parthenon, which was important to the city of Athens as a major monument, and also because it would add dignity to the status of the new nation. (8) In the city of Athens, Klenze listed thirty monuments or sites worthy of protection. Naturally, these included the principal monuments, the Acropolis, the Agora, the Thesion, the Gate of Hadrian, the Temple of Zeus, etc; but it also included much less obvious sites such as “ancient ruins”, “possible remains of a monument erected by Herodes Atticos”, and Klenze showed special interest



Figure 117. P. von Hess: The Reception of King Otto in Athens in 1835

in the small frescoed byzantine churches, threatened by destruction under the new development, which had been built out of the spoils of Antiquity. (9)

As to the organization, Klenze recommended that Dr, Ludwig Ross (1806-59), historian and archaeologist from Holstein, be nominated Generalkonservator, and that technical direction should be given to the architects Gustav Eduard Schaubert (1804-60) from Breslau and Stamatios Kleanthes (1802-62) from Macedonia, both students of Schinkel from Berlin (1825-8). Ross and Schaubert were accepted by the government, but instead of Kleanthes, the Danish architect Hans Christian Hansen (1803-83) was chosen. (10) Ross's family came originally from Scotland, but then lived near Hamburg. Ross had studied classical philology in Kiel, acted as a private tutor in Copenhagen, gained a travelling scholarship from the Danish Government in 1831, and spent a winter in Leipzig to prepare himself for Greece, where he arrived in May 1832. Klenze considered him to have a "thorough classical education, complete knowledge of Greece, its inhabitants and language, as well as an attractive personality" (11), and he was soon nominated Assistant Conservator in Nauplia.

Figure 118. Rörbye (1835): Greeks working in the ruins of the Acropolis



He acted as guide to Klenze, as well as to the royal family in their travels in Greece.

2. The Acropolis

The first excavations on the Acropolis had already taken place in the spring of 1833. The Athenian Kiriakos Pittakis (1798-1863), who as a young boy had gone enthusiastically to look for classical ruins, (12) had collected some private funds and, with the permission of Kapodistrias, had carried out a small excavation near the Parthenon. He was lucky enough to find three well-preserved panels of reliefs from the north side of the Parthenon, as well as some inscriptions. (13) One of the problems for the government in starting excavations officially on the Acropolis was that it was still occupied by the army as a fortification. Klenze proposed its demilitarisation, which was accepted by the government in September 1834. (14) This was also an opportunity "to make it for ever unsuitable for a military defense..." (15) by demolishing the fortifications and restoring the ancient temples. This work seemed also a proper way to "awake and retain the sympathy of civilized Europe by directing its eyes and interest on the restoration of the upper town of Athens..." (16) The military occupation was only cleared by March 1835; however, some works had already been carried out under Klenze, and these continued under Ross from the beginning of 1835.

When these works were started, in addition to the fortifications on the Acropolis, there was practically a small town of houses with their gardens; this can be seen in the eighteenth century drawings, which depict the remains of classical buildings - in ruins - emerging from the settlement. After the final battles of the last war, this area was a chaotic site; "between capitals of columns, smashed shafts, small and large blocks of marble, there were artillery shells, fragments of case shot balls, human skulls and bones, of which many were mainly piled up near the charming caryatids of the Erechtheum..." (17). The Erechtheum itself was almost completely ruined - its walls had been pulled down by soldiers in search of lead, and the north porch had collapsed. In 1827, the loft inside it had been used as a bomb-shelter and was protected by earth. Under the heavy weight, however, it collapsed, killing eleven people. One of the caryatids had been shot at and part had collapsed. (18) The Propylaea were in ruins and the whole entrance was walled in and blocked with fortifications; a so-called Frankish Tower rose above it on the southwest corner.



Figure 119. The Erechtheion, Athens. Watercolour by Christian Hansen (1836)

3. *Excavation and Restoration*

While still in Athens, Klenze wanted to organize a proper and solemn inauguration of the official restoration and excavation on the Acropolis. For this purposes, a celebration was planned in the presence of the king. The entrance through the Propylaea was opened and a way was cleared for the king to reach the north side of the Parthenon. A drum of the seventh column was prepared ready to be raised into position. Nearby, there was also a well-preserved panel of a frieze of the cella, which was to be “discovered” under a little layer of earth. A throne was prepared for the king inside the Parthenon and the celebration took place on 10 September 1834. Klenze himself made a speech concluding that

“traces of a barbaric era, the rubble and formless ruins, will disappear from here as well as all over Hellas, and the remains of the glorious Old Times will arise in new splendour. They will form the most reliable support for a more glorious present and future.” (19)

Klenze made careful studies of the Parthenon, giving special attention to the methods of construction and making detailed measured drawings of some parts

of it. He admired the quality of work, the precision, the extremely fine jointing. He assumed that the great number of metal cramps had been intended as protection against earthquakes. He appreciated the choice of materials from the point of view of maintenance, and made favourable comparisons with German cathedrals (Cologne, Strasbourg). He also observed some painted decoration. (20)

Before leaving for Munich, Klenze finally prepared a programme for the excavations and guidelines for the restoration work of which the main points were:

- a. Fortifications having no archaeological, constructional or picturesque (“malerisch”) interest, and being unsafe, should be removed.
- b. The Parthenon should be exposed and restored. A 20 feet wide excavation should be made around it, starting from the north side.
- c. The remaining sculptures should be deposited either in the mosque or in the Thesion. Architectural elements that could be used in the restoration should be kept on site. As for other decorative elements of interest (profiles, ornaments, fragments with painted decoration,



Figure 120. Bust of Ludwig Ross in Athens

etc.), if it were not possible to use them in the restoration, they should be conserved and grouped both inside and around the ruins in order to preserve the picturesque character these have acquired with time. Stones and marbles not included in these categories should be sold as building material. The rubble could be taken down to the Areiospagos and used later to build the terraces of the royal palace.

d. The restoration of the Parthenon should be started on the north side, which is the most visible from the town and from the palace. First, all the available columns should be raised using the original fallen drums. If in some cases one or two drums were missing, these could be made new of marble - "however, without concealing this restoration with affectation or trying to make it unrecognizable. Fragments of architraves, triglyphs, metopes, and ledges should be placed back in position respecting, as far as possible, the picturesque character of the building." (21) The same should be done with cella walls and the southern colonnade. Here some columns could

be left out without damage to the effect of the whole.

e. The existing spiral staircase at the west end should be removed, and a light modern structure built inside the cella if needed.

f. After the restoration of the Parthenon, the area on its western side should be freed for the construction of the museum. After this, the restoration of the Erechtheum and of the Propylaea should be carried out in the same manner as the Parthenon. If required, the necessary machinery could be ordered from Germany.

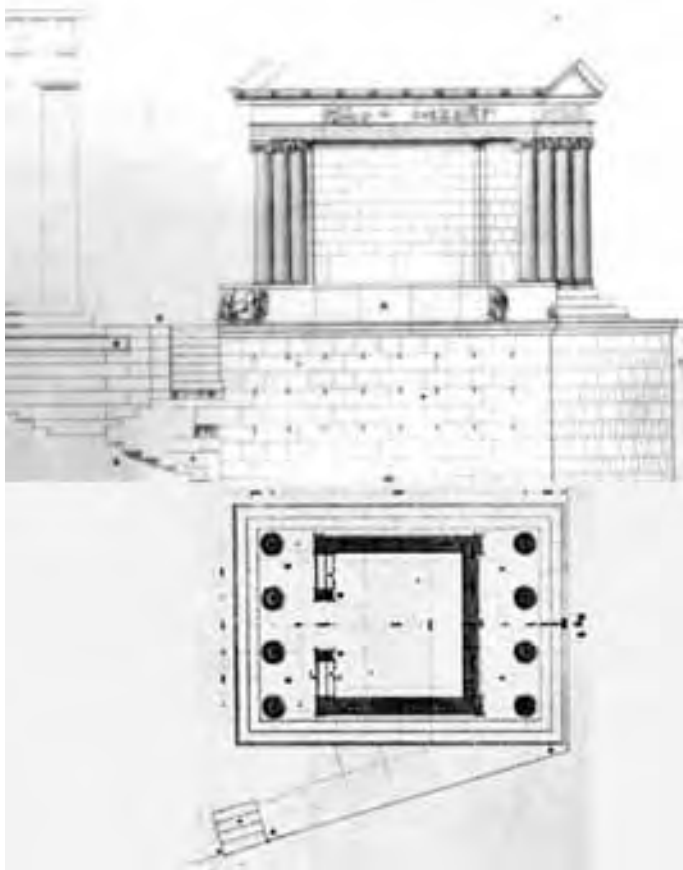
g. The original ancient ground levels should be conserved as such - with all the terraces, podia, substructures, etc. In the context of the masterplan of Athens, Klenze also included a recommendation concerning the Acropolis; for example, he was in favour of the conservation of some picturesque parts of the "later additions" such as the "Tower of Acciajuoli" or a "Venetian bastion" next to the Propylaea. (22)

Klenze was also specific about the conservation of the surroundings of the Acropolis, foreseeing the preservation of the "old Athens", i.e. the Plaka. In their first plans, Schaubert and Kleanthes had not obliterated this area, but intended to integrate it in the new development through some main streets. Klenze supported this and reaffirmed that the Acropolis should always retain its position as the major attraction and culmination of the city. (23)

4. Restoration of the Temple of Nike

In January 1835, Ross, Schaubert and Hansen started the works. The guards were organized, no outsider was allowed to enter this 'sanctuary' any more without Ross' permission, and 80 men were working on the demolition of the Turkish walls and clearing the rubble from the Parthenon. It was decided to throw the unusable rubble down the south side of the Acropolis because, according to ancient writers, no buildings were supposed to be found there.

Demolitions were started in front of the Propylaea, but the Turkish masonry was very solid and difficult to break. Later, Ross wrote in his memoirs: "We took down now, to start with, the Byzantine-Frankish-Turkish walls and fortifications in front of the Propylaea. Out of this appeared especially the remains of the demolished little temple of Nike Apteros, so that we were able to re-erect it on its ancient site during the next few months." (24)



Figures 121 and 122. The Temple of Athena Nike, side elevation and plan (Ross, Schaubert, Hansen, *Die Akropolis von Athen*)



Figure 123. The Temple of Athena Nike under reconstruction. Watercolour by C. Hansen

Two walls were found with a rubble core between them altogether 7m to 8m thick. The walls were of different dates, the more recent being built of architectural elements, ashlar, architraves, etc. while the core consisted of columns, Ionic capitals, fragments of friezes, all of which came from the Temple of Nike. After removing the structures that covered the bastion to the south of the entrance, they found the foundations of the temple still in situ. There were three steps and the entire base of the cella wall; in the south-east corner, two bases of column remained, and on one of these a drum was still in place. (25)

By July, all fragments were collected in an area in front of the Propylaea, where they remained for some months until reconstruction could start. In November 1835, Hansen reported to the Danish Academy:

“This summer the excavations on the Acropolis have been suspended for three months (i.e. from July 29 to November 14, 1835). Two days ago, the work was resumed and efforts are particularly directed towards the unearthing and restoration of the temple of Nike Apteros. All the parts of the frieze, except the third, which is in the British Museum, have been found. As these beautiful works have been employed as building material in the bastion they are considerably damaged and full of mortar. The small frieze is only about 0.80 metres high and ornamented with haut-reliefs. Also several seriously damaged fragments have come to light, from the frieze with the two Genii leading an ox (which I described in my last letter). To which temple these reliefs belong I have not yet discovered. We still lack some pieces in order to make a complete presentation of the fragments belonging to the temple of Nike for publication, but we expect to find some in the parapet which is now being torn down. We have made complete drawings of everything found.” (26)

The reconstruction of the Temple of Nike Apteros was carried out during the spring of 1836; it was well advanced by March and practically completed by May. In the same period, the demolitions were completed in the Propylaea except for the Tower of Acciajuolo, which remained standing until, after some discussion, it was demolished in 1874 financed by Heinrich Schliemann. (27)

Figure 124. The Temple of Athena Nike after the restoration, c. 1900



The temple was rebuilt using almost entirely original elements. Three broken columns were repaired with blocks of Pentelic marble following Klenze's guidelines. The new blocks were unfluted and a missing base was remade in marble. In the cella walls, some half-broken marble blocks were replaced with new ones in "Poros-stone". The temple was completed to the height of the architrave on the north and east sides, while on the south side part of the cella wall remained unfinished, and in the southwest corner a column was left short of the original height and without a capital. The site supervision was entrusted with E. Laurent, an architect from Dresden. (28)

In 1836, Ross was obliged to resign from the position of Chief Conservator due to a conflict with

the government. His position was given to Pittakis, who then continued the excavation and did some restoration work until 1842. Ross nevertheless continued for some months to occupy himself with the excavations and prepared a publication on the temple of Nike. He wrote the text and Schaubert and Hansen were responsible for the drawings. This was intended to be the first publication of a series on the excavations; but even if Schaubert and Hansen seem to have had illustrations ready for a second issue which would have dealt with painted fragments, this never came out. (29)

Paint and colour in classical architecture was a great discovery of the time. It interested not only Schaubert and Hansen, but also others such as Gottfried Semper

Figure 125. The Temple of Athena Nike c. 1900. The basreliefs have been replaced with terracotta copies from the originals in the British Museum (Elgin Marbles); losses have been integrated in simple forms with no details



from Dresden, who had also been making studies of the temples of the Acropolis. (30) In the Nike temple, however, no trace of colour was found during this period. During 1843-4, the Archaeological Society of Athens, founded in 1837, financed the second phase of the reconstruction of the temple of Nike and completed the southwest corner. The cella wall was built to the full height including the architrave, and the coffered ceiling was reconstructed. A new capital - showing the rough outline only - was made for the southwest column. The British Museum sent terracotta copies of the reliefs taken to England by Lord Elgin, and these were placed on the north and west sides of the temple, although a part of the terracotta was broken during the work. (31) A floor of limestone and bricks was built inside the temple in order to avoid damage from the penetration of rainwater into the foundations. The entrance of the temple was provided with metal grills between the antes. No attempt was made to rebuild the cornice. (32)

The plan was amphiprostyl-tetrastyle, that is, it had porticoes with four Ionic columns at both ends,



Figure 128. A. Paccard (1845/6): 'restoration' of the Parthenon

facing east and west. the Pronaos, with the entrance, on the eastern side had been combined with the cella in order to shorten the temple and make it fit better on its site, although it otherwise was identical with its sister temple on the Ilissus, which was that much longer. (33)

5. Other Restoration Work on the Acropolis

During the remainder of the nineteenth century, research on Greek architecture in general and on the Acropolis in particular made great advances. During this period in Greece, there was also an increasing participation of foreign institutions in excavation work, and foreign schools or academies were created on the model of those in Rome. The French Academy of Rome had at first been reluctant to allow their students to travel to Greece; however, from 1844-5 onward, this became possible, and several studies were prepared on the Acropolis and its monuments. These included the work of Th. Ballu on the Erechtheum in 1844-5, of Alexis Paccard on the Parthenon in 1845-6, of P. Titeux and L. Chaudet on the Propylaea in 1846, of J. Tetaz on the Erechtheum in 1847-8, and of P. Desbuisson on the Propylaea in 1848. The projects included very elaborate measured drawings, as well as hypothetical reconstructions with full polychromy and sculptural ornaments. Beul, also directed the excavations in front of the Propylaea in 1848-53, when he also made the restoration of the so called Beul,-gate. (34)

6. Kiriakos Pittakis

When Pittakis (1798-1863) was in charge of the works on the Acropolis, from 1836 to 1842, he worked both on the Erechtheum and on the Parthenon. Ross had already started the excavations on the north porch of the former, and Pittakis continued in other



Figure 126. L-F. Boitte: The Acropolis of Athens in 1864

Figure 127. The Erechtheion after the 19th-century restoration, c. 1900. The second caryatid from the left has been replaced with a terracotta copy from the original in British Museum. Losses are integrated in simple forms



parts trying to define the internal divisions and also the Christian elements in the building. At the same time, he was restoring certain parts of the structure. He fixed the three standing columns of the west front in the architrave, and made other repairs in the area. In the north porch, he reinforced and repaired two of the columns. The Caryatid porch was also repaired, and the Swiss sculptor E. Imhoff restored the second Caryatid from the east and put it back in place. In the Parthenon, Pittakis had two columns raised on the north side, the ninth and eleventh from the east, and two columns, the sixth and seventh, partly. On the south side, he raised in part the ninth column from the east. Ross, instead, had limited himself to some repairs of the old floor. (35)

The principle on which Pittakis worked was to respect the original material and to limit his restoration to what he could do with the original blocks. He preferred, in fact, to use blocks that were not damaged; and only resorted to fragments in exceptional cases, when it could not be avoided. He preferred to use externally visible iron rods or hoops for reinforcement. When internal connections were necessary, this was done with iron cramps. Broken parts were completed with bricks - as in the cella wall of the Parthenon. Pittakis also marked the parts that he had restored by putting a date on them.

The Archaeological Society of Athens, founded in 1837, took a certain responsibility for the works on the Acropolis, both in terms of financing and supervision of the execution. In 1844-5, they had the remains of the Turkish gun-powder magazine removed from the north porch of the Erechtheum and opened the north entrance. In 1846-7, Alexis Paccard completed the restoration of the Caryatid porch with financing from France. The internal caryatid on the east side was

repaired by the Italian sculptor, J. Andreoli, who had previously assisted Imhoff. The base of the porch and the architraves were repaired, using new marble in the missing parts. A terracotta cast was provided by the British Museum to replace the Caryatid in its collection; the necessary additional support was provided first by timber and then, in 1872, by iron members. (36) In 1854, a strong wind caused the collapse of the three columns at the west end. Nothing was done about them at first, but the committee called to inspect the situation recommended the clearance of the remains of Christian elements from the interior. (37)

7. The Twentieth-century Restorations

In the second half of the nineteenth century, various small excavations were carried out on different occasions; from 1885 to 1890, a major excavation of the whole Acropolis area was finally undertaken by P. Cavvadias and Georg Kameron (38).

Unfortunately, in 1894, an earthquake shook the Acropolis, causing damage to some monuments. Some pieces (in fact, already loose) fell down from the Parthenon. The largest block was 100 cm by 38 cm. An international committee consisting of Joseph Durm, Francis Granmer Penrose, and Lucien Magne, was invited to consider the situation and to propose measures for consolidation and reinforcement. (39) In 1895, Nicholas Balanos, a civil engineer, was nominated responsible for the Acropolis, and three years later, a long period of new restorations was begun. This lasted until Balanos' retirement and the completion of the second anastylosis of the Nike Temple in 1940. (40)

Works under Balanos began with the west facade of the Parthenon in 1898 to 1902; following this came

Figure 129. A. Paccard: the Parthenon, north elevation in 1845/6

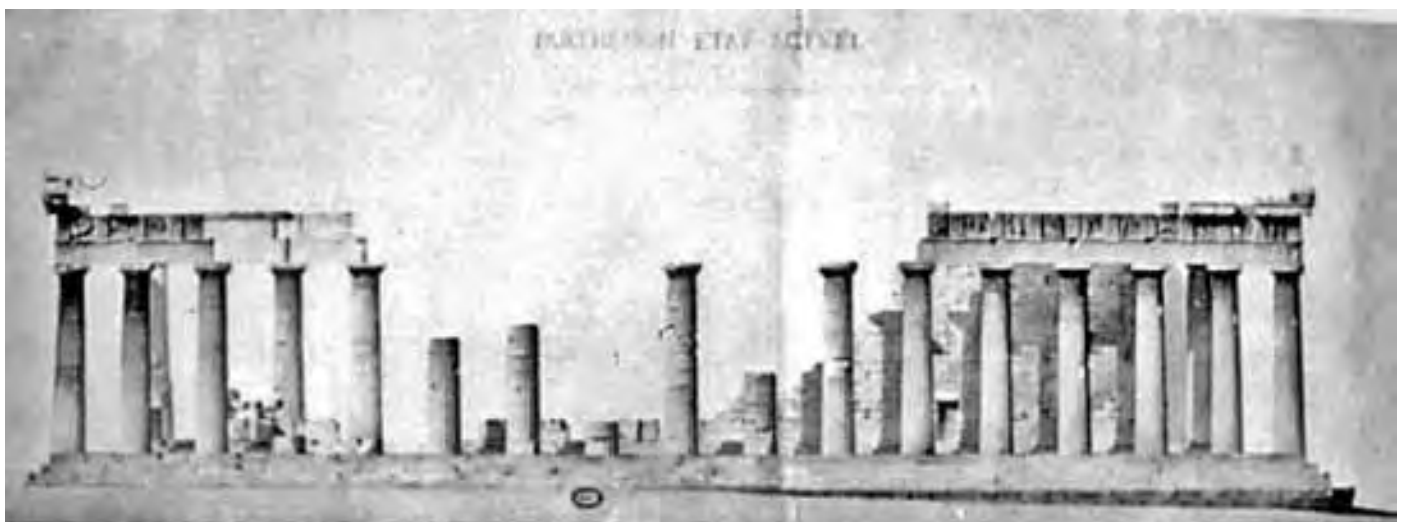




Figure 130. The Parthenon (c. 1900) before the 20th-century restorations, conducted by Balanos

the restoration of the Erechtheum from 1902 to 1909 and of the Propylaea from 1909 to 1917, the works on the Parthenon from 1922 to 1933, and finally the second reconstruction of the Temple of Nike from 1935 to 1940. (41)

The work on the Erechtheum consisted of reconstructing the north and south walls to their full height, raising the columns of the east porch, and restoring a part of them as well as reconstructing the Roman wall and windows between the semi-columns of the west facade on the basis of an engraving of 1751. The north porch was rebuilt to the level of the architrave and the coffered ceiling was added. The Caryatid Porch was dismantled, the foundations were repaired and the whole was re-erected with its coffered

ceiling. In the Propylaea, the eastern pediment and some architraves were reconstructed as well as a part of the coffered ceiling. In the Parthenon, the works started at the west front and the Opisthodomos. This part was consolidated during the period 1898-1902. In 1921, the Council of Archaeology in Athens approved the project for the raising of the north colonnade, which had already been discussed in an archaeological congress in Rome in 1912. The work lasted from 1922 until 1930. The west entrance was restored to its original dimensions with a lintel of reinforced concrete, in 1926. In 1931, the southeast corner of the temple was straightened and parts of the cornice were placed in position. From 1932 to 1933, the south colonnade was partly raised. (42)



Figure 131. The Parthenon, the interior of the cella c. 1900, showing the 19th-century restoration in brick

Like Pittakis, Balanos had a certain respect for the original architectural material. His restorations were limited to what could be done using basically original elements, but he was not concerned about the original position of each element in the building. In the Erechtheum, for example, he mixed the blocks of the north and south walls. In the Parthenon, he used available fragments in order to prepare suitable replacements for the reconstruction of the colonnade. In the Propylaea, he used four fragments of four different capitals to produce one whole Ionic capital; according to him, the perfect and identical carving of all the capitals of one order made this possible. (43)

Regarding the treatment of lacunae, Balanos, in 1938, referred to the principles formulated by his predecessors beginning with Ross, Schaubert and Pittakis, and defined by Cavvadias and Dorpfeld, according to which

“all complete restorations on the basis of the existing fragments were forbidden; only the re-erection of fallen authentic pieces of the monument could be admitted using appropriate methods of construction. The lost parts,

Figure 132. The Acropolis (c. 1900) before the 20th-century restoration works



necessary to support an important number of antique marbles, would be replaced with new materials. New parts in marble are still tolerated in the completion and consolidation of the architrave of a colonnade.” (44)

In the Erechtheum and in the Propylaea, he predominantly used marble to repair the losses. Concrete was used for structural reasons in the Caryatid Porch, where the architrave was supported with iron pillars between the Caryatids. The broken bits of the ashlar of the Erechtheum were repaired with new marble, after the broken surfaces of the original blocks had been cut straight to make the jointing easier. In the Parthenon, the architrave of the north colonnade was repaired and completed using marble. Twelve drums were repaired using available fragments, and five new drums were built with a core of Piraeus-stone and the surface (10 cm thick) in concrete coloured to match the marble. The fluting was made slightly deeper than the original.

Balanos claimed that his criteria for the use of concrete was purely aesthetic. He was not satisfied with the aging and patina of the new marble. Instead, having made some experiments in the Agora area, he believed he could make the concrete match better with the whole of the monument. Concrete was also considered reversible, and replaceable in the future when better materials might be available. (45) Unfortunately, this has later proven to be a serious mistake.

The blocks were connected together with iron cramps and dowels. Balanos had seen that this was what the ancient Greeks had used and he wanted to apply the same system. However, the work was roughly executed, and many of the original stones were damaged. In 1931, in the International Conference on the Restoration of Historic Monuments, organized in Athens, reservations were expressed about the use of iron, but Balanos guaranteed he had taken precautions to avoid rusting. These, however, have proved insufficient, and the rusting iron has become one of the great problems of the Acropolis. (46)

The 1931 conference examined the anastylosis of the monuments of the Acropolis, giving attention to the following questions:

- a - Re-erection of the northern colonnade of the Parthenon and of the southern peristyle;
- b - the use of cement as a coating for the substituted drums;



Figure 133. The Erechtheion: a block of marble restored by Balanos. The original stone has been cut in order to accommodate new marble. Iron cramps have since caused cracking of the original stone

c - choice of metals to be used for cramp irons and dowels;

d - advisability of using casts as complementary to anastylosis;

e - protection of the frieze against weather.

The first point was approved unanimously. On the second point, the experts refrained from expressing their general opinion on the question. On the third point, experts recalled “the regreatable consequences” which sometimes ensued when iron was used in connection with stone; other metals were considered preferable. A suitable roof was considered a good idea in the protection of the frieze. (47)

The Second Reconstruction of the Temple of Nike

The first reconstruction (completed in 1844) of the temple of Nike has been considered the first great achievement of Greek conservation, but it has also been criticized. The French archaeologist, M. Beul,, who excavated and rebuilt the so-called Beul,-Gate (a gate of Roman origin) that today forms the entrance to the Acropolis in front of the Propylaea, wrote:

Figure 134. The Propylaea under restoration, c. 1900



“The future may see the Propylaea, the Parthenon, and the Erechtheum with their remains re-assembled, just as now the temple of Victory has been re-erected, and thus be displayed more complete to the admiration of travellers ... more beautiful, I would not say. In great ruins and in great misfortunes, there is a poetry and a majesty which should not be touched. The iron ties and the mortar are like dirty stains, and antique works owe them less a new life than an old age profanated.” (48)

It was later felt that the restoration of the temple of Nike had perhaps been made in too great a hurry, and certainly with little or no experience; that it contained various mistakes from the archaeological point of view; and that aesthetically it left much to be desired, especially on close viewing. Certainly, the joints and other details were greatly inferior in quality to the original work of the ancient Greeks and of Callicrates from the fifth century BC. (49) Anastasios Orlandos, a Greek archaeologist who was a colleague and successor of Nicholas Balanos on the Acropolis, was especially critical of this reconstruction. In 1915, he published his comments, based on very careful measurements of each stone and on mathematical calculations of their ideal positions in the construction. Comparing his results with the work of Ross, Schaubert and Hansen, with their measured drawings, and with the measured drawings of M. Philippe Le Bas (50) he was able to point out various mistakes. (51)

One of the criticisms made by Orlandos was that in Ross’s reconstruction, many of the blocks of the cella walls had been replaced because of some defect. He had subsequently been able to collect the available rejected blocks, and many of his observations were based on the study of these. According to Orlandos, the cella walls had been reconstructed without proper attention to the position of each block. Sometimes they had been placed in the wrong course, sometimes even upside down. The blocks of the architrave were similarly placed in the wrong order. Orlandos also found the general measurements of the reconstructed temple to be mistaken. It was, thus, perhaps, fortuitous that subsequent events necessitated a second reconstruction of the temple.

In 1933, when Balanos was demolishing a remaining Turkish structure near the bastion of Nike, he noticed that the rock on which the bastion was standing was completely detached from the rest. Alarming cracks could be seen in the western front of the bastion reaching up to the base of the temple and the front

was leaning outwards. In the temple itself, he noticed an irregular settling especially on the southern side. (52) Consequently, the government was informed and a commission was appointed, chaired by the Minister of Education, to inspect the situation. The decision was to consolidate the bastion and, for this purpose, to dismantle and re-erect the temple a second time. (53)

The work started in 1935 under the direction of Balanos and continued until 1940 when it was concluded by Orlandos (54). The temple was completely dismantled except for the foundations and the lower step of the base on the north side. It was hoped to leave this and the north wall of the bastion untouched. During the excavation, the remains were found of the earlier temple on the site, of some Pelasgian walls, and of the foundations of an altar in front of the Nike temple. In addition, some Turkish structures containing more fragments of the Nike parapet were found. (55)

In this second reconstruction, the temple was built directly on the rock. The backfill, that had served as foundation from antiquity, was eliminated. The archaeological remains inside the bastion were accessible. The south side and the west side of

the bastion were reconstructed. The temple itself was first rebuilt tentatively in order to find the exact position of each element, before proceeding to the final 'anastylosis'. (56) In this work much more attention was paid to the proper placement of elements in this reconstruction than had been the case in earlier works at the Erechtheum, the Parthenon or the Propylaea. This was undoubtedly due to the influence of Orlandos. When Balanos retired in March 1939, the lower part of the temple was "fixed and leaded" definitively. The rest remained for Orlandos to complete. He did this, continuing his attempts to correct the mistakes he felt had been made in the first anastylosis. (57)

Concerning the lacunae, i.e. the losses, he preferred to complete them in old rather than new marble, because "its appearance harmonized with the antique sculptures". (58) Similarly, broken columns were reintegrated in marble, repeating the fluting (as opposed to the unfluted blocks preferred by Ross), and the block with simple geometrical forms earlier used to mark a lost capital was replaced with an exact replica. The base of the temple, with its steps, was repaired in a similar way. The blocks were fixed

Figure 135. The Temple of Athena Nike after the second reconstruction in the 1930s. Missing elements have here been produced as replicas from the originals. The bas-reliefs in British Museum have been replaced with casts in white cement (photo in 1980s)



together using cramps of an H-form (308 mm long). The terracotta casts of the first reconstruction were so blackened by this time that they were replaced with new casts in white cement, offered by the British Museum. Here again, much more attention was paid to the final aesthetic result, even though lacunae were filled with blatantly diverse materials. G. Ph. Stevens, who made a study of the Erechtheum, had discovered fragments that belonged to the cornice of the temple of Nike (1908). (59) Accordingly, these fragments were placed in position with some reintegration in order to show the form of the original. Significantly, these new fragments showed traces of painted decoration, fueling the discussion regarding colour in classical architecture. The second anastylosis of the temple of Nike was completed by the end of September 1940, revealing the temple again to the public, and providing a new appearance to this beautiful building, which - like the Arch of Titus - had become one of the symbols of modern restoration.

Notes to Chapter Nine

1. After the destruction of Athens by the Persians in BC 480-479, it took thirty years until the Athenians decided to rebuild the temples of Acropolis, which first had been left in their ruined state "as memorials of the impiety of the barbarians (Dinsmoor, W.B., *The Architecture of Ancient Greece*, New York 1975, 150). Under Pericles, the architects Callicrates and Ictinus built the Parthenon from BC 447 to 438 while Pheidias completed the pediment sculptures six years later. The Propylaea was built by Mnesicles from BC 437 to 432; the temple of Athena Nike or Nike Apteros was built from c. BC 427 to 424 by Callicrates, who built a similar but slightly smaller temple on the river Ilissus near Athens (Dinsmoor, *ibid*, 185), where it still existed in the eighteenth century, and was recorded by Stuart and Revett. The Erechtheum was built by Mnesicles and Callimachus during the period of BC 421 to 405.

These buildings were much admired already during the Antiquity; in the first century AD Plutarch wrote about these master pieces of Pericles, that "they were inimitable in the grace of their outlines, since the artists strove to exel themselves in the beauty of their workmanship... Each one possessed a beauty, which seemed venerable the moment it was born, and at the same time a youthful vigour, which makes them appear to this day as if they were newly built." (Plutarch, *The Rise and Fall of Athens*, Penguin Books, 1973, 179) In the second century AD, Pausanias spoke about the Propylaea to have "a roof of white marble, and down to the present day it is unrivalled for the beauty and size of its stones... On the right of the gateway is a temple of Wingless Victory. From this point the sea ss visible,

and here it was that, according to legend, Aegeus threw himself down to his death... On the left of the gateway is a building with pictures." (Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 'Attica', xxii, 4-6; Loeb, 110f).

During the Roman period, Athens lost much of its significance, and the Acropolis did not remain unharmed; Septimius Severus transformed it into a fortification. Although the decree of AD 435 ordered the closure of pagan temples, this was not followed up literally, and with the revival of Neo-Platonism the schools of Athens remained active until AD 520. Later, many of the temples, such as the Parthenon, were converted into Christian churches, but the temple of Athena Nike seems to have survived without religious function. After 1204, Athens was occupied by the Franks, the Catalans and the Forentines in turn; the Greek Orthodox church in the Parthenon was converted into Latin cult with some changes into the original structure, the Erechtheum was used for housing purposes, and the Propylaea were built into a splendid palace with a brick tower at the south-west corner. The temple of Nike is mentioned around 1456-60 in a publication Ueber die Theater und Lehranstalten in Athen ('Wiener Anonymus'): "Wenn wir nun in die Burg eintreten, finden wir eine kleine Schule, die den Musikern gehörte, die Pythagoras der Samier errichtet hatte." (Boetticher, A., *Die Akropolis von Athen nach den Berichten der Alten und den neuesten Erforschungen*, Berlin 1888, 23)

2. During the fifteenth century, when Cyriac of Ancona visited Athens, we have the first sketches of the Parthenon. In 1458, the Acropolis was taken over by the Turks, who converted the Parthenon into a mosque in 1460 building a minaret and making minor changes in the structure, but as a whole retaining still much of the original temple. In 1674, Athens was visited by Marquis Olier de Nointel, French Ambassador to the Sublime Porte, who commissioned Jacques Carrey (1649-1726) from Troyes to prepare measured drawings of the pediments of the Parthenon. (Bowie, T. - Thimme, D., *The Carrey Drawings of the Parthenon Sculptures*, London 1971) In 1676, the Acropolis was visited by George Wheler, an English Gentleman, and Dr Jacob Spon, a French physicist and antiquarian. Both published accounts of their visit, giving detailed descriptions of the buildings of the Acropolis; Wheler considered the Parthenon "the most beautiful piece of Antiquity remaining in the World". (Wheler, G., *A Journey into Greece*, London 1682, 352)

Also the temple of Nike was described by them briefly; Spon correctly defined it to be in Ionic order, while Wheler, who was less expert, spoke of Doric order in the English edition. Spon wrote: "Après l'on est entré tout-...-fait dans la Citadelle, on trouve ... main droite le Temple que Pausanias y a marqué fort precisement. Je métonne que Monsieur de la Guilletiere n'ait pas remarqué celui-cy qui est dans le grand chemin. C'est sans doute qu'il fut d'abord si frapé de la v-e de l'auguste Temple de Minerve, qu'il ne songea pas au reste. Ce petit Temple est donc celui que Pausanias appelle le Temple de la

Victoire sans aEles... Ce Temple est d'ordre Ionique avec de petites colonnes canelées, & la frise chargée d'un bas relief de petites figures d'assez bonne main, dont il y en a une assise, & neuf ou dix debout devant & derriere. Il n'a qu'environ quinze pieds de large, & il sert maintenant aux Turcs de magasin ... poudre." (Spon, I. - Wheler, G., Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grece, et du Levant, Fait és années 1675 & 1676, Lyon 1678, 137)

During the Turkish occupation, all major Classical buildings of the Acropolis were used as gunpowder magazines at some time. This caused often serious problems; the central part of the Propylaea, inhabited by the Turkish Aga, was destroyed in an explosion in 1656 killing the Aga and his family. In 1687, the Venetians, under the command of Morosini, besieged the Acropolis, and having learned that the Parthenon was used as a gunpowder magazine, they decided to shoot at it causing an explosion that destroyed the whole central part of the building in the afternoon of 28 September. The Venetians withdrew soon, however, and the Turks strengthened the fortifications of the Acropolis dismantling and using the material of the Temple of Athena Nike for this purpose. After this, later visitor especially during the eighteenth century often believed both Pausanias and Spon to have confused the Temple of Nike with the building opposite, described by Pausanias as a building for pictures. Stuart and Revett wrote: "The Temple of Victory is now generally understood to have been the 'Structure containing pictures'". (Stuart, J. - Revett, N., The Antiquities of Athens, II, London 1825, 14) (See also: Wilkins, W., Atheniensiæ or Remarks on the Topography and Buildings of Athens, London 1816, 92)

3. Hederer, O., Leo von Klenze, Persönlichkeit und Werk, München 1981, 88ff, 172ff. Hederer, O., Friedrich von Gärtner, 1792-1847, Leben, Werk, Schüler, München 1976, 197ff.

4. Hederer, Leo von Klenze, op.cit., 88ff. Demandt, A., 'Alte Geschichte an der Berliner Universität 1810-1960', Berlin und die Antike, Aufsätze, Berlin 1979, 69ff. Borbein, A.H., 'Klassische Archäologie in Berlin vom 18. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert', Berlin und die Antike, op.cit., 99ff.

5. von Klenze, L., Aphoristische Bemerkungen gesammelt auf seiner Reise nach Griechenland, Berlin 1838, 300.

6. When Kapodistrias was addressed by Pittakis in order to have protection for the ancient monuments, he refused that history would have any importance: "...Ferner höre ich, dass Sie altgriechisch verstehen, das Altertum lieben und sich damit beschäftigen. Das sind irriige Ideen, welche Sie aufgeben müssen. Sie beurteilen, wie die meisten Leute, die Alten falsch. Es waren unruhige Köpfe, von denen wir Neugriechen nichts Praktisches lernen können." (Seidl, W., Bayern in Griechenland, Die Geburt des griechischen Nationalstaates und die Regierung König Ottos, München 1981, 240) Ross, L., Erinnerungen und Mittheilungen aus Griechenland, Berlin 1863, 32.

7. von Klenze, L., Aphoristische Bemerkungen, op.cit., 300f: "Dies alles erweckte in mir den Gedanken, für diese Denkmale etwas zu thun, was sie für die Zukunft sichern und Europa bewähren könnte, dass der junge König und die Regierung Griechenlands mehr Interesse an ihnen nahme, als es die unpässliche Gestion mancher Beamten glauben liess. In Athen angelangt, machte ich der Regentschaft den doppelten Antrag, den Hauptdenkmalen Griechenlands eine regelmässige Aufsicht zu gewähren und die faktische Restauration dieser alten Bauwerke, insofern sie möglich und passlich erschiene, mit denen der Akropolis zu beginnen. Was den Monumenten fehte, was offenbar eine tüchtige Leitung der ganzen antiquarischen Administration und eine unmittelbare ununterbrochene topische Beaufsichtigung eines jeden Denkmals. Ich bezeichnete Athen, Aigina, Eleusis, Delphoi, Rhamnus, Sunion, das Hieron des Asklepios bei Epidauros, Korinth, Mykenai, Bassai, Messene, Delos und Olympia als die Orte, wo sogleich Wächter aus den Invaliden der regelmässigen oder auch der unregelmässigen griechischen Truppen aufgestellt werden müssten. Am 6. September erhielt dieser vorschlag die völlige Zustimmung der Regentschaft."

8. von Klenze, L., Aphoristische Bemerkungen, op.cit., 716ff: "Der Ruin dieser kostbaren Ueberbleibles der Vorzeit wird also täglich durch unbescheidene Neugierde de Fremden und deren Lust eine kleinere oder grössere Probe von den Skulpturen, Ornamenten oder auch nur von dem Steine der Denkmale mit sich forzunehmen, weiter geführt, und der Zeitpunkt ist im voraus zu berechnen, wo auch die letzte Spur derselben und wenigstens alles dessen, was deren plastischen Form konstituiert, verschwinden wird... Invaliden..., welche zur beständigen Aufsicht an Ort und Stelle sein müssen, und ohne welche kein Fremder die Denkmale besuchen und besehen dürfte... Wenn dann der generalkonservator und die Provinzial-Inspektoren die Denkmale zu gehöriger Zeit besuchen und so über die Aufseher eine wirkliche Kontrolle ausüben, dann ist es zu hoffen, dass dieselben der Nachwelt erhalten und so eine wohlbewärte Schuld der Mitwelt abgetragen werden."

9. The list of protected monuments of Athens, proposed by v.Klenze, included for example: "1. Theseustempel, 2. Erechthusfragment, 3. Gymnasium, 4. Portikus der Agora, 5. Reste der wasseleitung,... 17. Antike Trümmer, wahrscheinlich Spuren des Denkmals, welches dem Herodes Attikos hier errichtet wurde." (Hederer, Leo von Klenze, op.cit., 102ff) However, he was also concerned about later historic buildings, such as churches, indicating 39 out of 115: "Es schien mir dieses um so mehr zweckmässig, als diese Kirchen fast ohne alle Ausnahme in dem Befreiungskriege zerstört wurden und bei dem Wiederaufbau von Athen grösstentheils ganz verschwinden werden. Diese Kirchen sind alle seht klein und waren nach byzantinischer Art aus antiken Materialien und zusammengetragenen Architekturtheilen oft auf die widersimmigste Art zusammengesetzt... Für die Kunstgeschichte äusserst wichtig ist der Anblick

der zahlreichen umfassenden und oft die ganzen inneren Räume bedeckenden christlichen Malereien, welche uns diese Kirchenruinen überall zeigen. Der Styl ist monoton, die Ausführung handwerksmässig, die Figuren durchaus typisch, die Physionomien ausdruckslos und ohne Werth nach unserem Massstabe gemessen. Aber es zeigt sich in diesen Werken einer von Geschlecht auf Geschlecht, von Vater auf Sohn ohne Unterbrechung und Kunstrevolution fortgepflanzten Kunstart der griechischen Kirche eine äusserst merkwürdige Verschiedenheit von den früheren Werken der lateinischen Kunstschulen."

10. von Klenze, Aphoristische Bemerkungen, op.cit., 286f; Haugsted, I., 'The Architect Christian Hansen, Drawings, letters and articles referring to the excavations on the Acropolis 1835-37', Analecta Romana Instituti Danici, X, 53ff; Seidl, Bayern in Griechenland, op.cit., 150ff.

11. von Klenze, Aphoristische Bemerkungen, op.cit., 286: Klenze wrote about Ross: "Eine durchgeführte klassische Bildung, vollkommene Kenntniss von ganz Griechenland, dessen Bewohnern und Sprache, so wie eine durchaus ansprechende Persönlichkeit machten mir diesen Begleiter höchst erwünscht und angenehm. Hätte man ihm freiere Hand gelassen, die Denkmale Griechenlands wären gewiss nicht in dem Zustande von Verlassenheit und Vernachlässigung gewesen, worin ich sie fand, und woraus ich nach besten Kräften beizutragen suchte sie zu retten."

12. Kokkoy, A., Η ΜΕΡΙΜΝΑ ΤΙΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΤΗΤΕΣ ΣΤΗΝ ..., Athens 1977, 85ff.

13. Ross, L., Schaubert, E., Hansen, C., Die Akropolis von Athen nach den neuesten Ausgrabungen, I, 'Der Tempel der Nike Apteros', Berlin 1839.

14. von Klenze, Aphoristische Bemerkungen, op.cit., 380, 718.

15. von Klenze, ibid, 303: "...für immer unfähig zu einer militärischen Verteidigung".

16. von Klenze, ibid, 303: "Dann erschien auch eine solche Restauration besonders mit einigen äusserlichen Zeichen der Würdigung begleitet, eine Handlung um die Sympathie des gebildeten Europas zu erwecken und zu erhalten, und dessen Augen und Interesse auf den Wiederaufbau der hohen Stadt Athens zu lenken."

17. von Klenze, ibid, 290f: "Ich aber ging dann ein wenig später auf der Akropolis umher und betrachtete die bunt durcheinander aufgehäuften Marmorstücke. In diesem Chaos, zwischen Säulenkapitellen, zertrümmerten Säulen, kleinen und grossen Marmorstücken, fanden sich Geschützkugeln, Splitter von Kartätschenkugeln, menschliche Schädel und Gebeine, von denen viele hauptsächlich bei den anmutigen Karyatiden des Erechtheions aufgehäuft waren. Auf meine Anordnung - es war die erste, die ich als Burgkommandant gab - lasen die Soldaten diese Schädel und Gebeine zusammen und

brachten sie nach einem unterirdischen Raum südlich vom Parthenon, wo sie sich noch heute befinden."

18. Stevens, G.P., The Erechtheum, Cambridge 1927, 557.

19. von Klenze, Aphoristische Bemerkungen, op.cit., 380ff: "Die Spuren einer barbarischen Zeit, Schutt und formlosen Trümmer werden, wie überall in Hellas, auch hier verschwinden, und die Ueberreste der glorreichen Vorzeit werden als die sichersten Stützpunkte einer glorreichen Gegenwart und Zukunft zu neuem Glanze erstehen."

20. von Klenze, ibid, 363f.

21. The guidelines were written on 18 September 1834 (von Klenze, ibid, 392ff): "Alle zur wirklichen Restauration nöthigen und noch tauglichen Stücke würden bei der Ausgrabung so viel wie möglich sogleich and den Ort oder demselben so nahe wie möglich gebracht, wo sie aufgestellt und verwendet werden sollen. Alle Stücke, welche zu diesem Zwecke nicht mehr dienlich sind, müssten, wenn sie durch Erhaltung architektonischer Formen, Profile, Gesimse, Ornamente plastischer Arbeiten oder Malereien noch einiges Interesse gewähren, ebenfalls aufbewahrt und auf zweckmässige und malerische Art in und um die Ruine gruppiert und aufbewahrt werden, damit diese den ihr von der Zeit aufgedrückten und unvermeidlichen Charakter einer malerischen Ruine nicht verliere. Alle Stein- und Marmorstücke, welche ausser diesen drei Kategorien fallen, würden von der Burg hinab und dahin geschafft, woselbst man sie als Baumaterial am vortheilhaftesten verwenden könnte, oder sie würden an die Meistbietenden verkauft. Der eigentliche Schutt könnte, wie ich glaube, am vortheilhaftesten über die Mauern oder Felsenwände gegen den Areiospagos hinabgeworfen und von dort auf Wagen zum Anfüllen der Schlossterrassen geschafft werden, wodurch ein doppelter Zweck mit einfachen Kosten erreicht würde... Die Restauration würde in der Art stattfinden, dass man fürs erste alle Säulentambours verwendet, um die Säulen des Pribolos der Nordseite des Tempels ganz aufzustellen, da diese von der Stadt und dem Schlosse, also von den Hauptseiten aus, gesehen wird. Sollte, um eine Säule ganz aufstellen zu können, ein oder zwei Stücke fehlen, so würden diese aus dem vorhandenen Marmor neu gemacht, jedoch ohne diese Restauration gerade mit Affektation verstecken und unkenntlich machen zu wollen. Was von erhaltenen Architrav-, Triglyphen-, Metopen- und Gesimmstücken gefunden wird, müsste, so viel es möglich ist, auf malerische dem Charakter der Ruine entsprechende Weise wieder auf die Säulen aufgestellt, und so um den ganzen Bau fortgeföhren werden, indem man ebenfalls die Cellamauern, so weit es die vorhandenen Stücke gestatten, wieder aufrichtete. An der Südseite werden wahrscheinlich einige Säulen fehlen, und ohne Schaden für die Wirkung des Ganzen hinweggelassen werden können; übrigens ist sie wie die Nordseite zu behandeln. Die an der Westseite zwischen den Anten und Antensäulen eingebaute Wendeltreppe muss entfernt werden, und

kann, da es wünschenswert ist, auf die Höhe des Tempels gelangen zu können, durch ein leichtes Treppchen im Innern der Cella ersetzt werden.”

22. von Klenze, *ibid.*

23. von Quast, F., *Mittheilungen über Alt und Neu Athen*, Berlin 1834, 29ff. Koepf, F., ‘Eduard Schauberts handschriftlicher Nachlass’, *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch des Archäologischen Instituts, 1890, 133f. Russack, H.H., *Deutsche bauen in Athen*, Berlin 1942.

24. Ross, L., *Erinnerungen und Mittheilungen aus Griechenland*, Berlin 1863, 82: “Wir brachen nun zunächst die byzantinisch fränkisch-türkischen Mauern und Befestigungen vor den Propyläen ab, aus denen vor allem die Ueberreste des abgebrochenen kleinen Tempels der Nike Apteros hervorgingen, sodass wir diesen schon in den folgenden Monaten auf seiner alten Stelle wieder aufrichten konnten. Auch liess ich die Moschee im Parthenon sobald wie möglich abbrechen, um diesen Zaukapfel aus dem Wege zu räumen und eine neue Casernirung von Soldaten auf der Akropolis unmöglich zu machen.”

25. Boetticher, A., *Die Akropolis von Athen*, op.cit., Berlin 1888, 42ff; Ross - Schaubert - Hansen, *Die Akropolis von Athen*, op.cit. Haugsted, I., ‘The Architect Christian Hansen’ op.cit. 56ff.

26. Hansen to the Danish Academy, 21 November 1835 (RA, KU archive) (Haugsted, I., ‘The Architect Christian Hansen’ op.cit. 68)

27. Seidl, *Bayern in Griechenland*, op.cit., 46.

28. Ross - Schaubert - Hansen, *Die Akropolis von Athen*, op.cit. 3ff.

29. Ross - Schaubert - Hansen, *Die Akropolis von Athen*, op.cit. Haugsted, I., ‘The Architect Christian Hansen’ op.cit. 70; Koepf, F. ‘Eduard Schauberts handschriftlicher Nachlass’ op.cit. 129f. Rossbach, O., *Griechische Antiken des archaeologischen Museums in Breslau*, Breslau 1889.

30. Protzmann, H., ‘Polychromie und Dresdener Antiken-Sammlung’, *Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden*, Institut für Denkmalpflege, Gottfried Semper zum 100. Todestag, *Ausstellung im Albertinum zu Dresden*, Dresden 1979, 101ff.

31. Beulé, M., *L’Acropole d’Athènes*, Paris 1862, 124.

32. Cavvadias P. - Kawerau, G., *Die Ausgrabung der Akropolis vom Jahre 1885 bis zum Jahre 1890*, Athen 1906, 12ff.

33. Stuart - Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens*, op.cit., I, 29: “On the southern bank of the Ilissus, not far from the Fountain Emuacrunos, which at present has recovered its more ancient name, and is called Callirrho”e, stands a little Ionic Temple, the mouldings of which differ much from all the examples of that order, hitherto published; their forms are extremely simple, but withal so elegant, and the whole

is so well executed, that it may doubtless be reckoned among those works of antiquity which best deserve our attention.”

34. Beulé, M., *L’Acropole d’Athènes*, op.cit. 61.

35. Kokkoy, op.cit., 85ff. Cavvadias P. - Kawerau, G., *Die Ausgrabung der Akropolis*, op.cit., 10ff.

36. Balanos, N., *Les Monuments de l’Acropolis, relèvement et conservation*, Paris 1938, 30.

37. Stevens, *The Erechtheum*, op.cit. 493ff.

38. Cavvadias P. - Kawerau, G., *Die Ausgrabung der Akropolis*, op.cit.

39. Durm, J., *Der Zustand der antiken athenischen Bauwerke auf der Burg und in der Stadt*, *Befundbericht und Vorschläge zum Schutz vor weiterem Verfall*, Berlin 1895, 5ff.

40. Balanos, N., *Les Monuments de l’Acropolis*, op.cit. 89ff.

41. Orlandos, A.C., ‘Nouvelles observations sur la Construction du Temple d’Athéna Nike’, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, LXXI-LXXII, 1947-1948, 1ff.

42. Balanos, N., ‘Le relèvement des monuments de l’Acropole’, *Mouseion*, Office International des Musées, XIX, iii, Paris 1932, 135ff. also published in *La Conservation des Monuments d’Art et d’Histoire*, *The Conservation of Artistic & Historical Monuments*, Paris 1933, 274ff.

43. Balanos, N., *Les Monuments de l’Acropolis*, op.cit., 9. Balanos, N., ‘Le relèvement des monuments de l’Acropole’, op.cit.

44. Balanos, N., *Les Monuments de l’Acropolis*, op.cit., 9: “interdire toute restauration complète du monument d’après les quelques parties existantes; il n’admet que le relèvement des pièces authentiques du monument trouvés ... terres et remises ... leur place selon les méthodes de construction appropriées aux Monuments. Les pièces manquantes, nécessaires pour soutenir un nombre important de marbres antiques, sont remplacées par des matériaux nouveaux. De nouvelles pièces de marbre sont encore tolérées pour compléter et consolider l’architrave d’une colonnade.”

45. Balanos, N., ‘Le relèvement des monuments de l’Acropole’, op.cit.

46. Ministère de Culture et des Sciences etc, *La restauration de l’Erechtheion*, Athènes 1977, 392ff; Ministry of Culture and Sciences, etc., *Study for the Restoration of the Parthenon*, Athens 1983, 23ff.

47. *La Conservation des Monuments d’Art et d’Histoire*, op.cit.

48. Beulé, *L’Acropole d’Athènes*, op.cit., 41: “L’avenir verra peut-être les Propylées, le Parthénon et l’Erechthéion rassembler leurs débris comme le temple de la Victoire

s'est déjà relevé, et se présenter plus complets ... l'admiration des voyageurs... plus beaux, je ne saurais le dire. Il y a, dans les grandes ruines comme dans les grandes infortunes, une poésie et une majesté qui ne veulent point être touchées. Les légatures, le mortier, sont des souilleurs, et les oeuvres antiques leur doivent moins une nouvelle vie qu'une vieillesse profanée."

49. Gardner, E.A., *Ancient Athens*, London 1902, 374: "From a distance its effect is much what it always was; but it was of course impossible to put together the old stones of the temple with the precision that distinguishes fifth-century architecture, and consequently, on a near view, the impression produced is rather irregular and unsatisfactory. The pieces of the frieze taken to London have been replaced by terra-cotta casts, as in the case, of the Erechtheum."

50. Ross - Schaubert - Hansen, *Die Akropolis von Athen*, op.cit. Le Bas, P., *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure sous la direction de M. P. Le Bas, membre de l'Institut (1842-1844), Planches de Topographie, de Sculpture et d'Architecture, Gravées d'après les dessin de E. Laudron, publiées et commentées par Salomon Reinach, Ancienne membre de l'Ecole Française d'Athènes, Attaché des Musées Nationaux*, Paris 1888.

51. Orlandos, A.K., 'Zum Tempel der Athena Nike', *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*, XL, 1915, 27ff.

52. Balanos, N., *Les Monuments de l'Acropole*, op.cit., 89.

53. Balanos, N., *ibid.* Orlandos, A.C., 'Nouvelles observations sur la Construction du temple d'Athéna Nike', op.cit., 1.

54. 'News Items from Athens', *American Journal of Archaeology*, Second series, 1940, 537.

55. 'News Items from Athens', op.cit., 1936, 145.

56. 'Chronique des fouilles 1938', *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, Ecole Française d'Athènes, LXII, 1938, 448ff.

57. Orlandos, A.C., 'Nouvelles Observations', op.cit., 2f.

58. Orlandos, *ibid.*, 26: "Enfin les lacunes existantes ont été comblées par de vieux marbres dont l'aspect s'harmonise avec celui des sculptures antiques."

59. Stevens, G.P., 'The Cornice of the Temple of Athena Nike', *American Journal of Archaeology*, op.cit., 1908, 398ff.

Chapter Ten
Case Study: England,
Restoration of Durham Cathedral



10.1 First Period of Restoration

Great cathedrals and their restoration played an important part in the development of conservation concepts in England in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Many distinguished architects of contributed to their repair and improvement altering these buildings to correspond to new requirements imposed both by the revived services as well as by changing taste, influenced by the Gothic Revival. Architects from James Wyatt to William Atkinson, Anthony Salvin, and Sir George Gilbert Scott, were engaged to carry out the wishes of the Dean and chapters in the different cathedrals. These, frequently drastic operations of renewal and 'improvement' were contested by antiquarians and other culturally sensitive people, many of them members of the Society of Antiquaries - i.e. Richard Gough, Sir Henry Englefield, John Carter, Rev. John Milner. Later, John Ruskin and William Morris were the main personalities in the anti-restoration movement which gave birth to the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings. Towards the turn of the century, in England as in most other European countries, legislation was also developed to provide state protection for ancient monuments and historic buildings.

Figure 137. The north prospect of the Cathedral of Durham. Engraving by Daniel King showing the spires of the west towers, lost in the 17th century



Figure 136. City of Durham, central part of drawing by Samuel and Nathaniel Buck, 1745

Durham Cathedral, in the north of England, had been badly treated in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but had survived as one of the most magnificent pieces of Norman architecture in England. It became one of the most talked about early restorations in England, leading to the Wyatt's notoriety as 'the Destroyer'. Later, it was a typical example of the restorations of Salvin and Scott. As such, this cathedral provides a good, early case study for an understanding of the development of the concepts of conservation and conservative restoration into modern guide-lines.





Figure 138. Durham Abbey by G. Nicholson in 1780, before the start of the restorations

The Building

The Durham Castle and Cathedral have been seen to have risen as “symbols of a new Latin civilization, superimposed on these wild Nordic lands by a foreign soldiery and clergy”. (1) The Cathedral was built in 1093-1133 by the Normans who, after conquering England in 1066, wanted to establish and reinforce their position in the country. To demolish the existing Saxon church, dedicated to St. Cuthbert, (2) and replace it with a new cathedral on the site was also a psychological assertion of power; yet the site served

especially for defense. Sir Walter Scott described it later as:

“Grey Towers of Durham,
Yet well I love
Thy mixed and massive piles,
Half church of God,
Half Castle ‘gainst the Scot.” (3)

The Cathedral was situated on the edge of a high plateau looking over the River Wear which curved around it forming a sort of peninsula. On the south side were the monastery buildings, and to the north the Castle, forming an impressive group of architecture for this little town which developed, on the south and east sides of the peninsula and down the hill to the north.

The Cathedral, that Nikolaus Pevsner has called “one of the great experiences of Europe to the eyes of those who understand architecture”, (4) was all built in stone, and had the first high rib vaults in Europe. (5) The flying buttresses are hidden under the aisle roofs. Its total length is 405 feet extending over the twelfth-century Galilee Chapel in the west, and the thirteenth-century Lady Chapel, so-called Chapel of Nine Altars, at the rear of the choir in the east; the nave and its two side aisles are separated from the

Figure 139. Durham Cathedral with the pinnacles and spires proposed for the completion of the towers in the 1780s





Figure 140. Durham Cathedral. Detail of watercolour by E. Dayes in 1795, showing the scaffolding for the construction of the pinnacles

long choir by a transept. Over the crossing is built a central tower, and at the west end, looking over the Wear, two towers, originally crowned by spires, lost in the seventeenth century. (6) The magnificent interior of the Cathedral is adorned by boldly carved heavy round pillars, with decorative themes similar to those to be found in Syria!

During the centuries following its construction, the Cathedral underwent several alterations and additions, although the general architectural appearance was kept. In the thirteenth century, the high vaults of the choir were rebuilt in Gothic forms at the same time as the Chapel of Nine Altars was built at the end of the choir to provide further support - with its floor level lower than that of the church. This Chapel also housed the tomb of St. Cuthbert. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the original Norman windows were replaced with Perpendicular windows. In 1380 John Lord Neville financed the High Altar and the Neville Screen, built in Caen stone and decorated with 107 alabaster figures. In 1459, the central tower was struck by lightning, and was extensively rebuilt

Figure 141. Durham Cathedral, seen through Flambard's Bridge; detail of water colour by E. Dayes in 1795



between 1460 and 1490. The monastic buildings were built at the same time as the Cathedral, started by the first Norman Bishop Walcher, and continued during the twelfth century, including the Chapter House (1133-41) and the dormitory (1144-52). Other structures such as the cloister and a new library were added in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. (7)

As a consequence of the dissolution of monasteries in 1536, Durham lost much of its treasures, but in 1541 it was refounded as the Cathedral Church of Christ and Blessed Virgin Mary. (8) Destruction and iconoclasm, however, continued for more than a hundred years, and the building and its interior suffered serious damage especially in 1650, when Cromwell used it to house Scottish prisoners during the cold winter. (9) After this, a better time came; money was raised and the endowment of the church was increased allowing for some repairs. These included a new organ and new furniture such as the choir stalls and the font at the west end. (10) In 1724, when Daniel Defoe visited Durham, he found the church "eminent for its wealth; the bishoprick is esteemed the best in England and the prebends and other church livings in the gift of the bishop, are the richest in England." (11)

Wooler-Nicholson

During the first half of the eighteenth century, there were only minor repairs to the Cathedral. The Pavement was renewed in the choir and in the aisles; the organ was repaired, the pulpit renewed, and the interior whitewashed. Repairs in the cloisters had been made from the beginning of the century. These continued into the 1760s, including the new tracery. (12)

As a result of the damage caused by heavy rains in 1771, a new bridge was needed at Newcastle. Robert Mylne (1734-1811), the architect of the Blackfriars Bridge and Surveyor to St. Paul's Cathedral in London, won the competition for this new bridge, and was then invited to report also on Durham Cathedral. He did this in September 1775, and sent the report to the Dean and Chapter in November. (13) Two years later, another report was requested, this time from John Wooler, who was assisting Mylne in Newcastle. He prepared the report using two assistants, Mr Gibbons and George Nicholson, and delivered it on 29 November 1777. (14)

The time had not been sufficient to go much into detail, and in this report Wooler limited himself to a general picture on the condition of the Cathedral as



Figure 143. Durham Cathedral, interior (1843) before the renewal of the organ screen

well as making proposals for repairs. At the end, he suggested some “ornaments or finishings” in order to “beautify” the church. This report was taken as a basis for the works under his guidance, and later, in February 1779, he wrote yet another report giving more detailed technical instructions.

In the first report, Wooler listed the following defects:

1. There was a ‘rent or opening’ in the south side of the nave vault;
2. The turrets of the Chapel of Nine Altars were decayed;
3. There was a “universal Decay or wasting Condition” of the stones on the exterior;
4. There was no rain water disposal system;
5. Many windows were so “moulder’d and decayed as to be scarcely sufficient to retain a hold on the Glass”.
6. The stone of the parapets and buttresses of the central tower was badly decayed. The same in

the parapets and corbels of the roofs of the nave and the aisles.

7. The same in the parapets and corbels of the roofs of the nave and the aisles.

8. The upper part of the north porch was “drawn off” from the wall.

9. There were some “trifling Defects” in the foundations of the Galilee Chapel.

The aim of the proposed repairs was to restore the whole to “as complete a State of Repair as the Structure itself may require, and the Nature of the Stone Materials wherewith it is built will allow of”. (15) It was proposed that the cracks in the nave vault be kept under observation, and the defects in the Galilee restored. The most urgent work, however, was considered to be the rebuilding of the northern turrets of the Chapel of Nine Altars.

The 1779 report dealt mainly with the technical execution of these works. The turrets were to be ‘unbuilt’ down to the level of the three niches above the statues of the cow and milkmaid in the north west corner. In this phase, for structural reasons, it was also considered necessary to remove the gable above the north window (Joseph window). The whole would then be rebuilt with proper spires. Although the southern turrets had retained their spires, and were less urgently in need of repair, “for the sake of uniformity”, however, it was proposed that these too would be rebuilt in the form “to be settled hereafter upon due consideration of the Elevation of the Building itself”. (16) The north porch had a small chapel above it, and the front was decorated with the Arms of Queen Elizabeth I. According to Wooler’s recommendations, this porch was “to be taken down and finished with a much less pitch of Elevation”. (17)

Figure 142. Durham Cathedral, entrance from the cloister; detail showing the effect of scraping the surface



The stones of the exterior were so badly weathered that many single stones were completely “perished and moulder’d away”. In order to “prevent the wet entering and lodging in the walls and thereby bringing on a more speedy Dissolution”, Wooler proposed “to chip or pare off their Outsides to the Depth of 1, 2 or 3 inches”, replace the perished stones, and fill up the joints and cavities with mortar struck with chips of flints. The aim was to bring the wall to a tolerably even surface. (18) It was proposed that the “Munnions and Side Jaumbs” of the decayed windows be renewed. While the scaffolding was up, it was also recommended that proper lead pipes be fixed on the walls for rain water disposal. These repairs were expected to bring the building to “as Perfect a State of Repair as they well can be, and may without any considerable expense, resist the Ravages of Time perhaps for Centuries to come.” (19)

As to the ‘beautification’ of the building, Wooler thought it necessary to try to “relieve the too Massy Appearance of the whole Structure” by adding four large and four smaller “Guadrangular Ragged Pinnacles of Stone” on the corners and in the middle of the sides of both western towers and of the central tower. According to Wooler, the cost of these ornaments would “scarcely deserve mentioning”. At the end of the report, he proposed to have four elevations and the plan of the building measured and drawn to the scale of 20 feet to an inch, to serve “as Canvas to point or mark out any necessary Alterations the Chapter may judge proper to Order”. (20) The task of preparing the drawings was given to Nicholson who was also employed as the clerk of works. (21)

In 1778, the Chapter agreed to reserve an annual sum of three hundred pounds for these works, but in reality the total for the period from 1779 to 1794 amounted to £15,187. (22) The works were started in February 1779. By 1787, much of the work on the north elevation had been carried out already; the north porch had been “rebuilt and highly ornamented”; (23) and the west front was under treatment, but the proposed pinnacles and new decorations had not yet been built. Watercolours of 1795 show the north-west tower already completed with its new pinnacles, while the southern tower is still under construction. (24) By 1797, the pinnacles seem to have been finished, but the scaffolding was still up. (25)

The pinnacles on the western towers, resembling those at York Minster, seem to have their origin in the sketches of Thomas Wright (1711-1786), a local teacher of mathematics, navigation and astronomy. The pinnacles on the western towers were drafted

as rather large in proportion, compared to those proposed for the central tower. The spires of the north transept were also suggested to be decorated; and spires were added to the turrets of the Chapel of Nine Altars as well. Nicholson has corrected the forms in his drawings which show the project as it was to be executed. (26)

These repairs and changes were not approved by all; amongst the critics was, for example, W. Hutchinson who in 1787, referring to a drawing by Nicholson that showed the building before the alterations strongly criticized the loss of the “ancient appearance”:

“As the proposed changes will effectually remove from the traveller’s eye the ancient appearance of this edifice, it was thought expedient to present the public with a representation of the church in the state it was before the repairs began; and not withstanding the elegance of the present design, it is apprehended some of the ornaments might have been chosen with greater propriety: Above the great window of the middle transept, in two roundels, were the figures of Benedictine monks, cut in relief; by the mode of the sculpture, expressive of the age of the building. They led the judicious eye immediately to the era, and gave an example of the state of that art: These roundels are now supplied with two fine new figures - the one a prior, seated in his installation chair; the other, an effigy of bishop Pudsey, cut from the figure on his episcopal seal, as given in the plate of his charter to the city of Durham. A century after this the figures will betray the spectator into an error, and had him to determine, that this part of the structure was erected, or at least rebuilt, by that prelate.” (27)

10.2 Wyatt – Morpeth

On 26 September 1794, the Chapter “agreed that Mr James Wyatt be wrote to come down to Inspect the repairs of the Cathedral, and to Give a Plan of the future Repairs and Improvements”. (28) Wyatt made his survey in July and August 1795; his drawings are dated September of the same year. These included eleven drawings and a reference. Neither the reference nor any written report has survived. In addition, there was a set of eight working drawings for the east front, which were dated 1797, but even these have disappeared. (29)

James Wyatt (1746-1813), the most fashionable country-house architect in England after the Adam brothers, had succeeded Henry Keene (1726-76) at

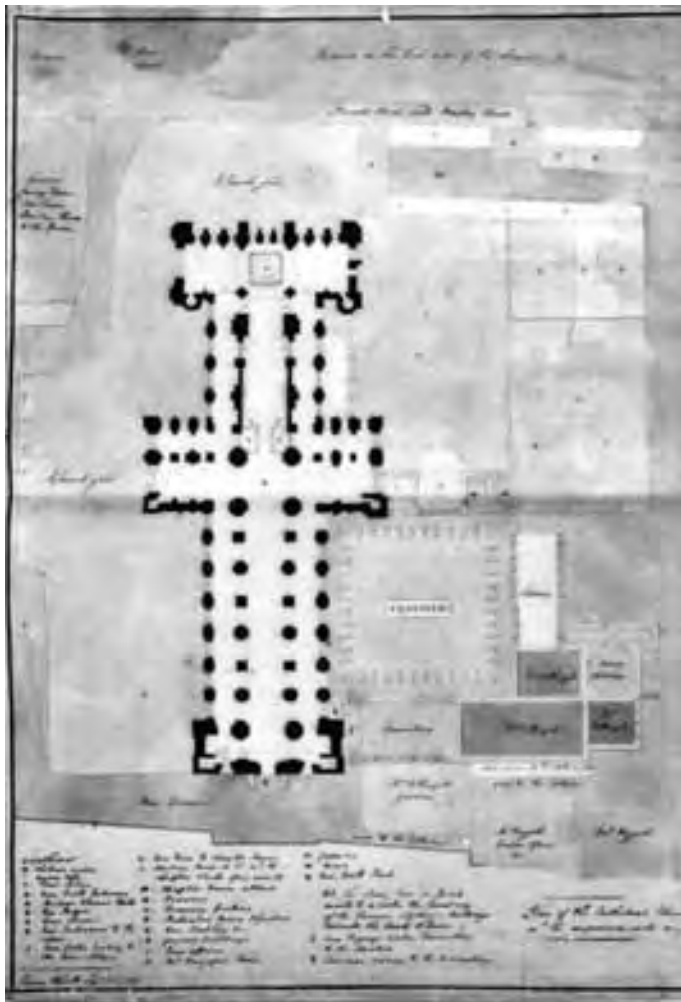


Figure 144. James Wyatt: the floor plan showing the proposed restoration of Durham Cathedral in 1795. The Galilee Chapel has been cancelled, and the main entrance opened from the west end; the main altar has been removed to the Chapel of Nine Altars

Oxford and as the Surveyor to Westminster Abbey. He had already been invited to survey and conduct improvements to the Cathedrals of Salisbury, Lichfield and Hereford according to the wishes of the Deans and Chapters. In 1791, the Bishop of Salisbury, Shute Barrington, was appointed to Durham, and he was happy to support the invitation to Wyatt not only to survey the Cathedral, but also to repair and improve his residences at Bishop Auckland and Durham Castle. In 1794, the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, James Earl Cornwallis, was selected as the new Dean of Durham; he also knew Wyatt from his earlier appointments and certainly supported the invitation.

Wyatt's plans

In September 1795, Wyatt presented his plans for the proposed repairs and alterations, in which he seems to have had two main objectives: one, to improve the building architecturally and make it stylistically more coherent, and two, to make some

functional improvements according to the wishes of the Dean and Chapter.

On the exterior the architecture was to be 'clarified' by demolishing the Galilee Chapel at the west end, and making a terrace on its site. The west entrance, closed in the fifteenth century and blocked by the tomb of Bishop Langley, was proposed to be reopened as the main access to the Cathedral; the north entrance with its recently rebuilt porch were erased from the plan. The east elevation of the Chapel of Nine Altars, which was under restoration when Wyatt visited Durham, was given by him yet a new elevation. The whole complex was given a stronger architectural emphasis by erecting a spire on the central tower.

Similarly in the interior, old partition walls, built for different purposes during the centuries, were abolished; the seventeenth-century font at the west end of the nave was to be removed; the choir was to be opened to the Chapel of Nine Altars and the floor of the Chapel brought to match the floor level of the church. The Neville Screen, the High Altar and the tomb of St. Cuthbert were proposed to be removed, and a new main altar was proposed to be built in the centre of the Chapel of Nine Altars. A new pulpit and throne were planned for the choir which also was to have new accesses from the aisles. The seventeenth-century organ which screened the choir from the nave, was proposed to be replaced by a new and lighter structure consisting of elements, to be taken, for example, from the old organ and from the dismantled Neville Screen, allowing thus a freer perspective through the entire building.

To the transept, a new entrance was opened from the north under the big Gothic window, and a new access from the south to a waiting room, above which there was the clerk's office. The Chapter House was

Figure 145. James Wyatt: "A North West view of Durham Cathedral shewing the intended Lanthorn and Spire designed by James Wyatt"





Figures 146 and 147. James Wyatt: elevations of ‘intended Lanthorn & Spire’ and ‘the Organ Screen towards the Nave’

proposed to be shortened by half, and rebuilt with a new circular apse. From the new west terrace, there were foreseen new accesses to the College area in the south and to the Cloisters. (30)

Morpeth and the execution of works proposed by Wyatt

As to the practical arrangements, Wyatt acted for the Cathedral as a consulting architect, and on the site the works were carried out under the control of an executive architect, William Morpeth, who also acted as the clerk of works. The relationship was similar to that of Wooler and Nicholson. When the fee was requested by Wyatt for his contribution, he only mentioned one visit to Durham; so it is most probable that Morpeth was responsible for all the rest. (31)

Figures 148 and 149. Durham Cathedral, east end before and after restoration by Wyatt



In the restoration of the east elevation of the Chapel of Nine Altars, the northern turrets had already been completed as well as the lower part of the elevation; the stained glass had been stored away, and works were going on in the upper part. This was now built according to the plans of Wyatt; the northern turrets were not touched, but the southern turrets were rebuilt to his proposal. (32)

On 20 November 1795, the Chapter ordered that “the Old Chapter House, being pronounced by Mr Wyatt on his survey thereof, to be in a ruinous state, be taken down by Mr Morpeth under contract also that a new room be erected on the same site according to the Plan given in by Mr Morpeth.” (33) The demolition followed and about two thirds of the building were pulled down on the east side. It was rebuilt by Morpeth in a square form - not with an apse as Wyatt had proposed, and completed in 1797.

Furthermore, according to Wyatt’s recommendations, in July 1796 it was agreed that the Bishop’s court was to be removed from the Galilee to the North Transept, and the registry to the Dormitory, in order to prepare for the demolition of this chapel and the building of the terrace. Permission was also given for the passages necessary for the new accesses to the Cloisters and to the College area. (34) This decision was made in the presence of the Subdean during a meeting held in the Cathedral, but was only registered later. The execution of this project commenced with partial demolition of the roof; the works were then stopped, however, and the roof was later repaired. (35)

In November 1797, the Chapter resolved that

“when the East End of the Church shall be finished Mr Morpeth shall undertake the complete repair of the roof of the Church, beginning at the West End, and that the old Lead shall be sold under the

Figure 150. J. Wyatt, proposed elevation for east end





Figure 151. John Carter: Durham Cathedral, west elevation with reconstructed finishing of the west towers

Direction of the Clericus Operum and the Roof be covered with Slate according to Mr Wyatt's plan." (36)

On the Chapel of Nine Altars, the works were nearing completion. (37) After this, having also finished the new Chapter House, Morpeth was mainly occupied with the roof. It appears that the timbers of the nave roof were entirely renewed during 1802 to 1805. (38)

The total expenses for repairs during the period from 1795 to 1797 amounted to $\text{£}5,616$. (39) Works also continued for the completion of the pinnacles and turrets of the western towers according to the plans of Wright-Wooler, as well as for the chiselling of the external surfaces of the north, west, and east-elevations; the Cloister was treated similarly.

10.3 John Carter

The news of the proposed alterations to Durham Cathedral spread soon after Wyatt had presented his plans in September 1795. In October, 'Viator' wrote that

"enough has been said about the Cathedrals of Salisbury and Hereford to check, one would think, the spread of this reform in Gothic Architecture. But if I am not misinformed, it is extending to the church of Durham, one of the finest samples of the early stages of Gothic Architecture, where there were so many curious and interesting varieties, all on the point of vanishing before this magic art". (40)

On 26 November 1795, John Carter (1748-1817), antiquarian draughtsman and architect, presented his unfinished sketches of Durham Cathedral to the

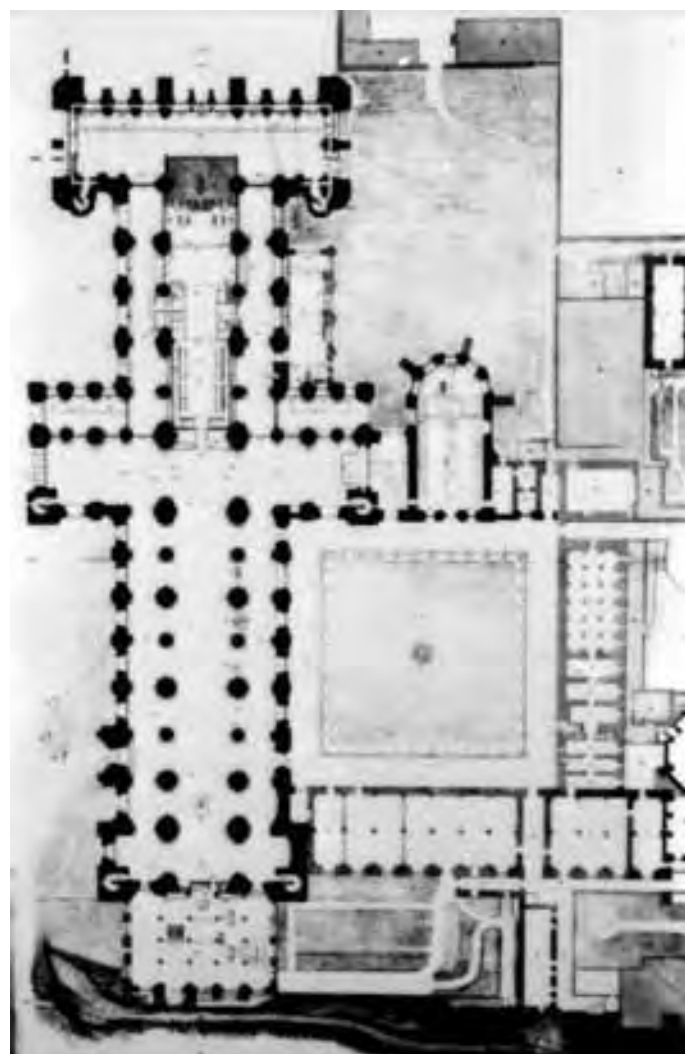
Society of Antiquaries; he had made these drawings the previous summer at the request of the Council of the Society. Carter was introduced by the Chairman of the meeting, Sir Henry Dh. Englefield, who apologized for the hasty presentation, but explained that it was necessary because

"the evils which this introduction is intended, if possible, to avert, are so immediately impending, that the smallest Delay may preclude the power of prevention. The Hammer of Destruction has already fallen on many venerable parts of the noble Cathedral of Durham and the Plan of Desolation extends wide indeed." (41)

Sir Henry explained that the highly respected architect of the Pantheon, James Wyatt was not personally to blame, but desired

"from the constant attention which for many years I have paid to the antient Buildings of our own Country, venture to express my Doubts whether Mr Wyatt has in those Reparations he has already executed in our noblest churches, entered fully into the spirit of that species of architecture.

Figure 152. John Carter: Durham Cathedral, floor plan



Although Dirt and neglect are certainly to be reprobated, yet there is a trim neatness, which is equally to be avoided, when we renew these piles of antient Days. The rich Tints, produced by Time, on stone, both within and without a Cathedral, no man of Taste would venture, without necessity, to remove, the irregular Intricacy of their plan, though often the effect of chance, is so happy a source of grand and picturesque effect. that symmetry but ill repays what is lost by reducing them to strict regularity. The solemn Elevation of the Bishop's throne, the rich Tracery of the altar, which however faintly, the sketches now exhibited, will give some Idea of: the perspective of the East window seen beyond the altar: the grovelike Intricacy of the Galilee, the theatrical effect of the Chapter House, all doomed to be sacrificed to I know not what Ideas of Regularity - shall they fall... and not a Voice be lifted up to stay the cruel Devastation? Added to the causes of Regret already mentioned, is the consideration that these devoted Piles are so curious & rare Examples of different Styles of antient Art, as they are beautiful in their general Effect. As Guardians and preservers of the antiquities of our Island, shall we not endeavour to save them from Destruction?

“When I hear that a gravel walk is to be substituted for the Galilee, when I know that the areas round other Cathedrals have been reduced to the same insipid state of trim neatness, a sort of ludicrous Indignation fills my mind, and I should not wonder if I saw the Knights, recumbent on the Tombs within, dressed out in silk stockings and neat Buckles. Surely the turf ‘heaving in many a mould’ring heap’, Nay even the Thistles and Nettles, that flourish with melancholy Luxuriance amongst the ashes of past Generations, accord better with the grey walls of the stately Pile, which rises amidst them, than this poor shaven substitute, which gives no Idea beyond a Tea Garden and Bowling Green.” (42)

John Carter shared Sir Henry's feelings about the Cathedral where he had arrived in 1795, and had soon caught “the inspiration of the place”, and glowed to capture on paper “the beauties” of all he saw. (43) He appreciated the “pleasing Diversity of Forms so general in our ancient Buildings”, the “uncommon and striking Effect” of the west front, as well as the great central tower “in all the magnificence of ancient splendour”. (44)

In the interior, he saw

“the magnificent Display, not only of the Saxon, but of the Norman architecture ... here Columns, Arches, Windows, Stalls, Screens, Monuments, and other Ornaments combine to charm the Eye and inform the mind of the real Antiquary, unrivalled by any of those foreign Piles, which have too long, with a delusive partiality, been the Theme of modern panegyrie!” (45)

In the Galilee, he pointed out especially “its singularity of style, its uncommon Design, of being divided into five Ailes in the north and south, and four Ailes in the east and west Directions.” (46) He also noticed “the unusual Effect of the Light and Shade”, (47) and exclaimed “when I stood to take the sketch for this Drawing, I was several times so entranced, from the sublimity of the scene, that I forgot my office: and it was with much difficulty I resisted a Renewal of so delightful a contemplation, in order that I might complete my task.” (48)

Carter was conscious of the historic values of the Cathedral, but the visual effect, the picturesqueness and the sublimity seemed to him as important if not more. In the case of the Galilee, he emphasized its structural support to the church - exaggerating somewhat, because it was the Chapel itself that had needed buttresses in the past. He predicted that when “it was no more, the church, to which It was (I consider) one vast Buttress, would fall a stupendous Ruin!” (49)

Carter worked for three months measuring and drawing the Cathedral, and came to know the situation fairly well. He was told that the works had been going on for the preceding fourteen to fifteen years. (50) He was also informed that two architects had been involved in the repairs,

“one, who had got the start of the other, and who has since given place to his rival in the race for glorious change, has laid his new architectural dressing over the West and North fronts; and his successor was at it with professional fervour on the East front; convincing thereby the Durhamites of his powers, by the introduction of his novel appearance thereon”. (51)

Carter was horrified by the alterations already carried out: the pinnacles and parapets on the western towers, similar features on the turrets of the north transept, and particularly the north porch, which to him was

“such a Farrago of Imitations of Saxon, pointed arch and modern workmanship, that it stands a



Figure 153. J. Carter: Durham Cathedral, north elevation

Monument of the Innovating system pursued by Architects of the present Day, when employed to repair our Religious Structures; who but rarely pay that due attention to the Edifice, so intrusted to their care by the Reverend Guardians of these sacred Walls, but introduce a variety of new Forms, which they would make their Employers believe, have improved the original antient Design.” (52)

Carter was so disgusted by the changes that he refused to draw them; instead he made use of old prints and drawings in order to make a reconstruction drawing of the building as it had been prior to the start of the works. He made historical studies, and referred, for example, to the History of Hutchinson (53) and his earlier criticism of the repairs.

Carter showed the exterior of the building slightly idealized with neat battlements on the western towers. His drawings included the floor plan of the building, the west and north elevations, two sections, perspectives of the Galilee and the Chapter House, various details of the interior, altars, funeral monuments, statues, etc. (54) The east front and the south elevation were missing; on the east front the works were in progress, and he had not been able to find enough original elements to justify the measurement. He, thus, limited himself to some window details, that had not yet been removed. (55)

The stained glass had been stored away, but was not cared for; it was thus partly broken, partly stolen

before the moment came to put it back several years later. (56) The upper part of the east front was taken down and rebuilt twice, as the first ‘restoration’ had not been considered satisfactory. (57) The ten-foot high statues that once had decorated the central buttresses of the front, had been brutally smashed and renewed; Carter found their fragments along with tombstones from the pavement of the church and the Elizabethan arms from the north porch half buried in the ground, and recorded all. (58)

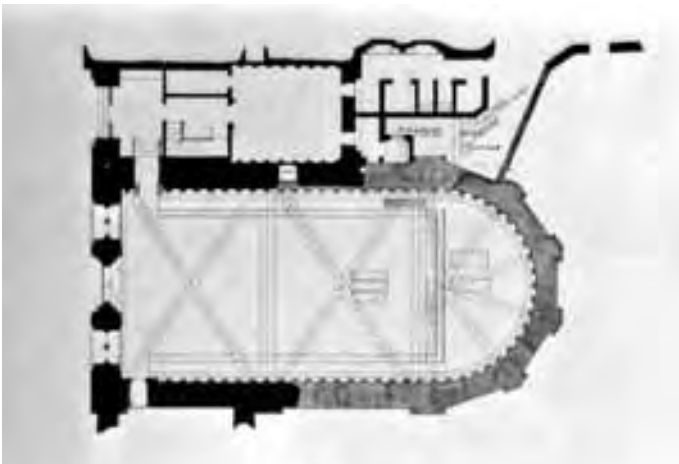
At the November 1795 meeting of the Society of Antiquaries, Carter drew attention to the intended demolitions at Durham as well as to those already carried out in other cathedrals, and proposed an appeal to a ‘Superior Power’, the Royal patron of the Society, in order to prevent this “effacing of our ancient magnificence”. (59) Later, in 1797 and 1798, he made a series of presentations of his eleven drawings, and gave a detailed account of the building, its history, its architecture, its present state, as well as the intended alterations.

In 1797 he referred to the last point drafting a picture of the present situation in the organization of restoration works pointing out the problems that derived from negative attitude towards this type of architecture on one hand, and the lack of information on the other:

“I now take this opportunity to assert that these Mechanics, who have the care of the executive Business of the Repairs and alterations made in antient Buildings, profess the utmost contempt



Figure 154 (above). Carter: Durham Cathedral, interior
 Figure 155 (below). Carter: Durham Cathedral, Chapter House, floor plan indicating demolished part



for such Works taking every opportunity to vilify and deface their several parts, substituting what they, like their Masters, (the Architects) call an improved manner in their Room.

“The Architect himself, living in a distant part of the Kingdom, sends to these Foremen of the works, a small shaded Drawing (which from its pretty effect of Light and Shade and some novel Ideas, has been approved of for Execution for the intended alterations) unaccompanied with

any Detail of the parts at large for his proper Information (as is the usual practice in modern architecture). He is left entirely to his own Discretion, he takes this opportunity to show his hatred to the ancient architectural works of his native country in favour of the Roman and Grecian Styles (in the professions of which He has been brought up) and we have soon to lament the heterogeneous Mass displayed on the dishonoured Walls of these our wonderful Buildings.” (60)

During his stay at Durham, Carter tried his best to convince the local authorities, and had expressed similar views to the Deans of Durham and Rochester regarding Wyatt’s proposed alterations to the Galilee Chapel. He spoke warmly about the artistic values in question, and tried to make them sensitive to the dangers of the demolition. He had also mentioned that undoubtedly the Society of antiquaries would express much regret if the Galilee, containing such important memorials as that of Venerable Bede, were to give place to a terrace.

The Dean of Durham seems to have been sensitive to his arguments, although Carter remained with the contrary impression about the results of their conversation. Having left Durham immediately afterwards, he did not know how the matters went, and so late as in 1797, he told the Society that the Chapel would have been demolished. (61) Nevertheless, this was not the case; the Chapel survived, and its roof, already partly dismantled, was rebuilt and used as an office or workshop. It is probable that it was saved mainly due to the insistence by Carter. Also the other proposals concerning the interior, such as the unification of the choir and the Chapel of Nine Altars, were not carried out, although partly realized later, in the nineteenth century under Salvin.

Repairs and maintenance work on the Cathedral continued after Wyatt under the supervision of Morpeth who acted both as the clerk of works and in the quality of the ‘college architect’; his contracts were extended until about 1824. He carried out repairs on the roofs, working especially on the Nave and the North Transept. Following Wyatt’s recommendations, lead was replaced with slate. In 1812-13, Morpeth had the south-east turret of the Chapel of Nine altars pulled down and rebuilt according to Wyatt’s design. After this, the works under his responsibility were limited to repairs of the pavements, windows and of the organ, as well as having the interior whitewashed. (62)

10.4 Restoration of Durham Cathedral after Wyatt

William Atkinson

However, another architect was also consulted for the restoration. He was William Atkinson (1773-1839) of Durham, a former pupil of Wyatt and later his successor in the Ordnance Office, from 1813 to 1829, the year of the abolition of the department. He worked as a country-house architect and “excelled in alterations to existing buildings”. (63) In 1804, he prepared a report to the Dean and Chapter on the Cathedral, making some observations on earlier methods of repair and recommending a plan for future repairs - especially regarding the Great Tower. According to him, it was important that the character of the tower be preserved, and that “the Repairs should be done in the most substantial manner”. (64) The earlier methods had not met this criteria, according to him; instead,

“besides reducing in size the small parts of Buttresses, pillars & tracery Work on the Walls - in many Instances these must inevitably be cut away or disfigured and consequently the Character and Beauty is lost. But this is not the greatest mischief that has been done. An old Stone new faced seldom stands the Weather.” (65)

Atkinson was well aware of the popular picturesque theories referring, for example, to Burke’s dissertation. (66) Consequently, as a general policy, he recommended that intact parts of the Cathedral should not be touched - to the point that “if there should be moss upon them care should be taken not to remove it”! (67) He proposed repairing the weathered parts with what was called ‘Parker’s Cement’, a recently discovered variety of natural cement with a colour similar to dark Bath stone, recommended for decorations, mouldings as well as for repairs, and shipped also abroad. (68) He insisted that repairs with this product would cost considerably less than cutting corresponding bits in stone, and even more important, he said, was that its colour matched well with moss, and added “highly to the Sublimity of the Building”. (69) On the other hand, Atkinson was himself involved in the commercial production of this cement for London market.

In July 1806, Atkinson and an Italian plasterer, Francesco Bernasconi who had worked at York Minster from 1803 to 1805, were invited to give their estimates for the repairs. At this point, after the departure of Wyatt, the picturesque influence

was felt also in the specifications of the work, where it was emphasized that these had to be carried out with special attention to the “Effect of Roughness & the appearance of antiquity”. (70) The works were initiated the same year in the upper part of the tower, and all the statues were taken down. (71) While the repairs continued, doubts were, however, raised as to the suitability of the methods proposed by Atkinson. Finally, in November 1808, the Great Chapter had come to the conclusion that the method was a failure, and consequently it resolved that the plastering of the Tower as well as all other work under the responsibility of Atkinson should be discontinued, and he himself to be informed immediately of the decision. (72) The work was later completed by a plasterer from Newcastle.

Ignatius Bonomi

In 1827, the Bishop of St. David’s, John Banks Jenkinson, became the new Dean of Durham; in the same year, repairs on the Cathedral were started on a greater scale. The clerk of works was Edward Fairclough, who was appointed in 1824, and served until 1838. (73) The architect who was consulted in this period was Ignatius Bonomi (1787-1870), the son of Joseph Bonomi, the Italian neoclassical architect who had been called from Rome by the Adam brothers, and had remained in England. (74) Ignatius Bonomi had come to Durham through his father’s contacts, and obtained the post of a county

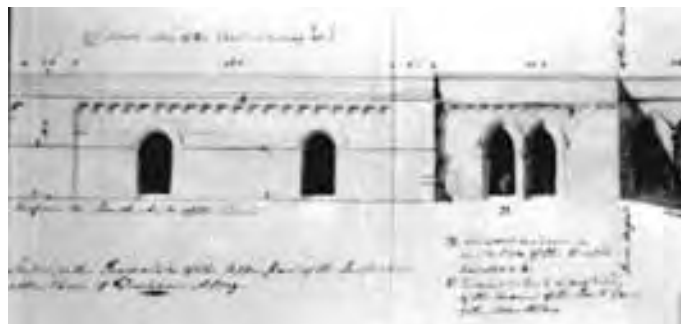


Figure 156. Bonomi: Durham, sketch for the restoration of the upper part of the south side of the choir (1830)

Figure 157. Bonomi, sketches for windows (1830)

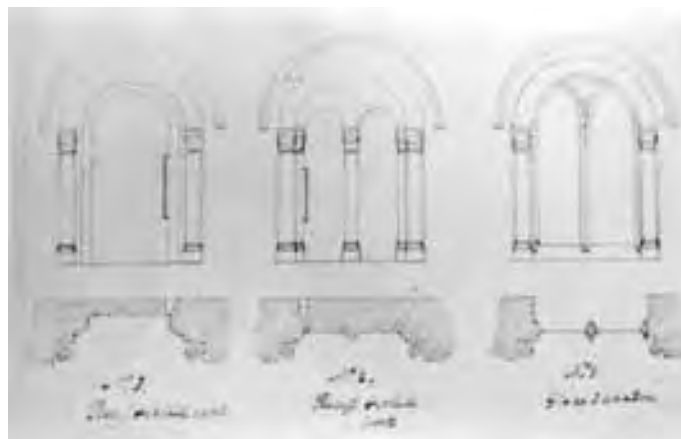




Figure 158. Bonomi, working drawing for the restoration of the south transept elevation.

surveyor. He was competent in different styles, Neo-Norman, Perpendicular, Gothic, and Neoclassical. His activities covered churches and other public buildings, as well as domestic architecture; he worked in Durham, Northumberland and Yorkshire.

When he got involved with the works at Durham Cathedral, in 1827, he was first consulted about the pediment of the Nine Altars, and he seems to have continued to remain in contact until about 1835. (75) During this period, attention was given especially to the repairs on the south elevation - including the Chapel of Nine Altars and the South Transept. The Galilee Chapel and the clerestory windows were also restored. According to Bonomi, the aim of all repairs to the Cathedral was to do them to the best possible standard, and he recommended that “the Building itself should be consulted for coeval authorities wherever the parts are too much mutilated to be copied”. (76) Amongst his works on the Cathedral were the reconstruction of the south-west turrets, and the restoration of the south gable and part of the west elevation of the Chapel of Nine Altars. In the overall design of the turret, he followed Wyatt’s plans, but in

the details he looked for models in the original details of the Chapel interior using mouldings and figures to enrich the work and to give it ‘a more faithful’ appearance. Also the Galilee Chapel was repaired, repaved and furnished with benches; later its northern door was restored, and the windows newly glazed.

In the restoration of the clerestory windows, he looked for analogous models, copying, for example, a window from the west elevation of the Chapel of Nine Altars. He did not seem to prefer any particular style, retaining both Norman and Perpendicular features, and, in 1834, in the case of the gable of the South Transept, he considered two alternatives: one, to retain the existing large window, second, to replace it by five smaller Norman windows arranged in two stories. The first alternative was chosen, and the restoration included the two turrets over the gable as well as the clerestory windows of the Transept. In January 1830, the Chapter decided that the condition of the northern clerestory windows of the Nave was such as to necessitate complete renewal. Bonomi considered the existing windows too large because little light was needed under the roof, and large windows only resulted in an unnecessary heat loss. In addition, the windows had been altered from the original in what he considered a “discordant” manner. Consequently, Bonomi recommended the reconstruction of these windows as recesses with round arches, adapting forms from the south side of the building so as to give “a character to suit the date of the Building”. (77)

The state of the ashlar on the south side of the choir was extremely poor. Bonomi had made a trial repair, paring down a portion by some three inches. He noted, however, that the quality of the masonry and especially of the joints was not good enough, and the appearance would not have been satisfactory. In the end, it was decided to reface this part of the building using a similar quality of sandstone as in Wyatt’s work on the Chapel of Nine Altars. Bonomi was aware that repairing the building in successive portions required a policy which would ensure that each repair harmonized with preceding works. Only the stones that were in poor condition were replaced, however, and later this has resulted in a patchy look and further corrosion of the older stones.

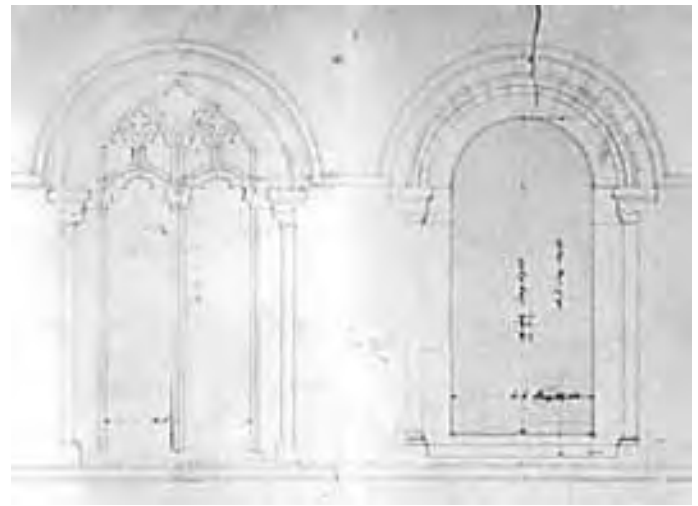
The successive generations of repairers during the past fifty years of so, had contributed to the outlook of the building in different ways. In the first phase, during the period of Wooler and Nicholson, the decoration of the western towers with turrets and parapets was initiated, as well as the scraping of the exterior

carried out on three sides during the last decade of the eighteenth century. Next came Wyatt and Morpeth, and the proposals to 'classicize' the Cathedral with the successive uproar of protests that emphasized the historic and picturesque values. William Atkinson, who followed, was concerned with the picturesque appearance of the building, and consequently aimed at the protection of existing surfaces experimenting - unsuccessfully - with the use of Parker's cement. The last responsible, Ignatius Bonomi, placed an emphasis on the correctness of the details showing an emphasis towards the beginning of a stylistic restoration which was then becoming fashionable in England. This period was concluded with the very exact measured drawings by R.W. Billings, published in 1843, which form a good record of the state of the Cathedral at the end of the works by Bonomi. (78)

10.5 G. Waddington and A. Salvin

Edward Maltby was the Bishop of Durham from 1836 to 1856 and the Dean was George Waddington (1840-69). Waddington was a learned man and church historian, who had travelled in Italy and made an adventurous voyage along the Nile to Ethiopia. He was a founding member of the Athenaeum and a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. As Dean he was very popular, and in this period Durham was fairly prosperous, second only to Westminster Abbey. The capitular income came from the woods, mines and quarries, as well as from generous gifts, and it was thus possible to spend money on repair works and restorations. The external work of renewing the ashlar were continued after Bonomi, and in 1842, the clerk of works, George Jackson, made substantial repairs on the south wall of the choir. The four large windows were restored as found except that some irregularities were corrected. The Norman Triforium was also restored as found, and some corbels were

Figure 161. Durham Cathedral, north elevation after the restoration carried out by 1821



Figures 159-160. Pickering: north nave windows, existing state (left) and proposed restoration (right) 1847-48

renewed. All principal walks on the banks were relaid and gravelled. (79)

Anthony Salvin, an Ecclesiologist

In 1843, the crypt of the southern part of the Cloisters gave way, putting a great part of the building above in an immediate danger. Anthony Salvin, an architect who came from Durham but had his practice in London, was called in to advise on the repair. Salvin, who worked for the Government on the restoration of mediaeval castles and fortifications, had already been working for the Dean and Chapter since 1832, and was currently involved in the construction of a new grammar school. He was one of the favoured architects of the Cambridge-Camden Society, the religious-political movement who promoted the stylistic restoration of churches to a form that would correspond to the newly revived church rituals. (80)

During the 1840s and 1850s, when Salvin was involved at Durham, some of the most drastic changes were carried out here as well. Following the earlier models, Salvin himself was based in London, while the execution of the works was in the hands of the clerk of works, Jackson until 1842, and George Pickering thereafter. The decisions were naturally made by the Dean and Chapter.

After the repair of the cloister crypts, Salvin concentrated on the Cathedral itself. After the criticism levelled against Wyatt's plans, the interior had been touched but little, and it was still divided by wooden partition walls according to the needs of various functions. These were all taken down. In 1844, a high wooden screen (probably from the fifteenth century) surrounding the Sanctuary was replaced by a stone coping. The aisle of the South

Transept which had been used as a vestry, was opened in 1845; the aisle of the North Transept, used as the Consistory Court, was opened in 1846. The wooden doors closing the aisles of the Choir were replaced by iron gates. At the same time, the central part of the Choir was entirely re-arranged. The floor was raised and the area widened. The old pews and a gallery were removed, and the stalls and seats were designed by Salvin during the years 1844 to 1846. (81)

Obviously, these works were partly dictated by the needs of functional improvements corresponding to the newly revived ideas of religious ceremonies; on the other hand, considering the importance of Durham Cathedral, it seems to have been very much the aesthetic requirement that made the Dean and Chapter decide to go ahead with the full liberation of the church interior of all obstacles that could hinder the free perspective from the west end right through to the Chapel of Nine Altars in the east. The great west entrance, blocked by the tomb of Cardinal Langley, was re-opened in 1845, and the monuments were moved to the north-west angle of the Nave. In order to obtain the 'grand vista' of the entire Cathedral, the seventeenth-century "Marble Italian Font, of comparatively modern workmanship" with its carved wooden canopy was moved from the centre of the Nave to the south-west angle. In 1846, it was replaced with a large new font in a Norman style, "better suited to the building", designed by the librarian of the Dean and Chapter. (82)

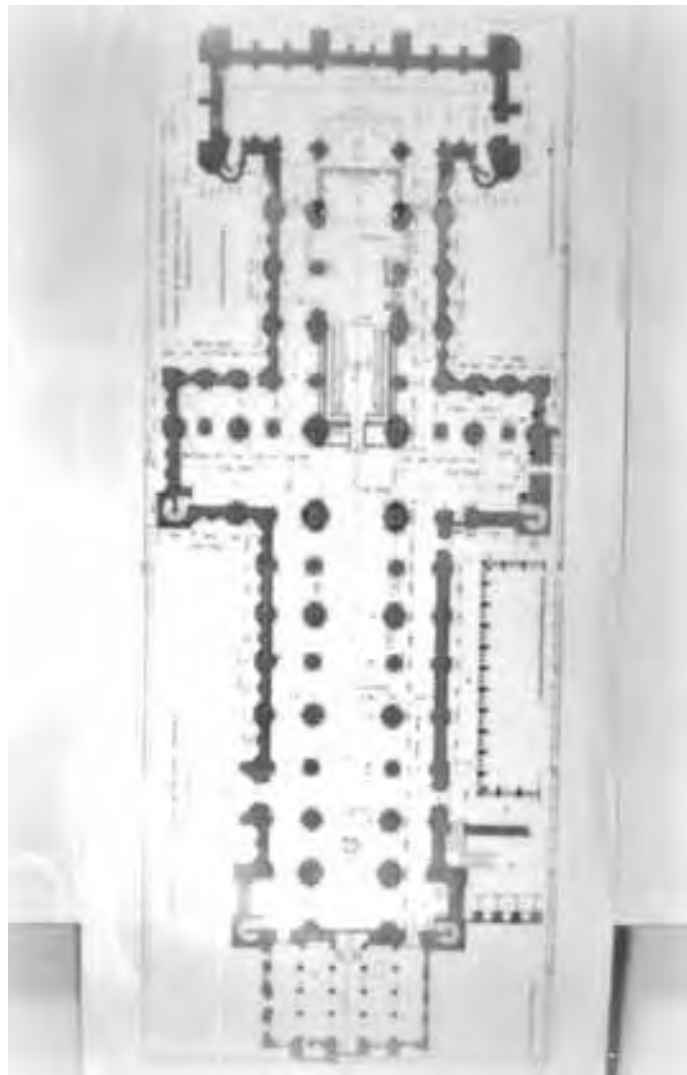


Figure 162. Durham Cathedral, floor plan in 1842
 Figure 163 (below left). South elevation showing windows before restoration and traces of aisle gables
 Figure 164 (right). Drawing for the reconstruction of gables

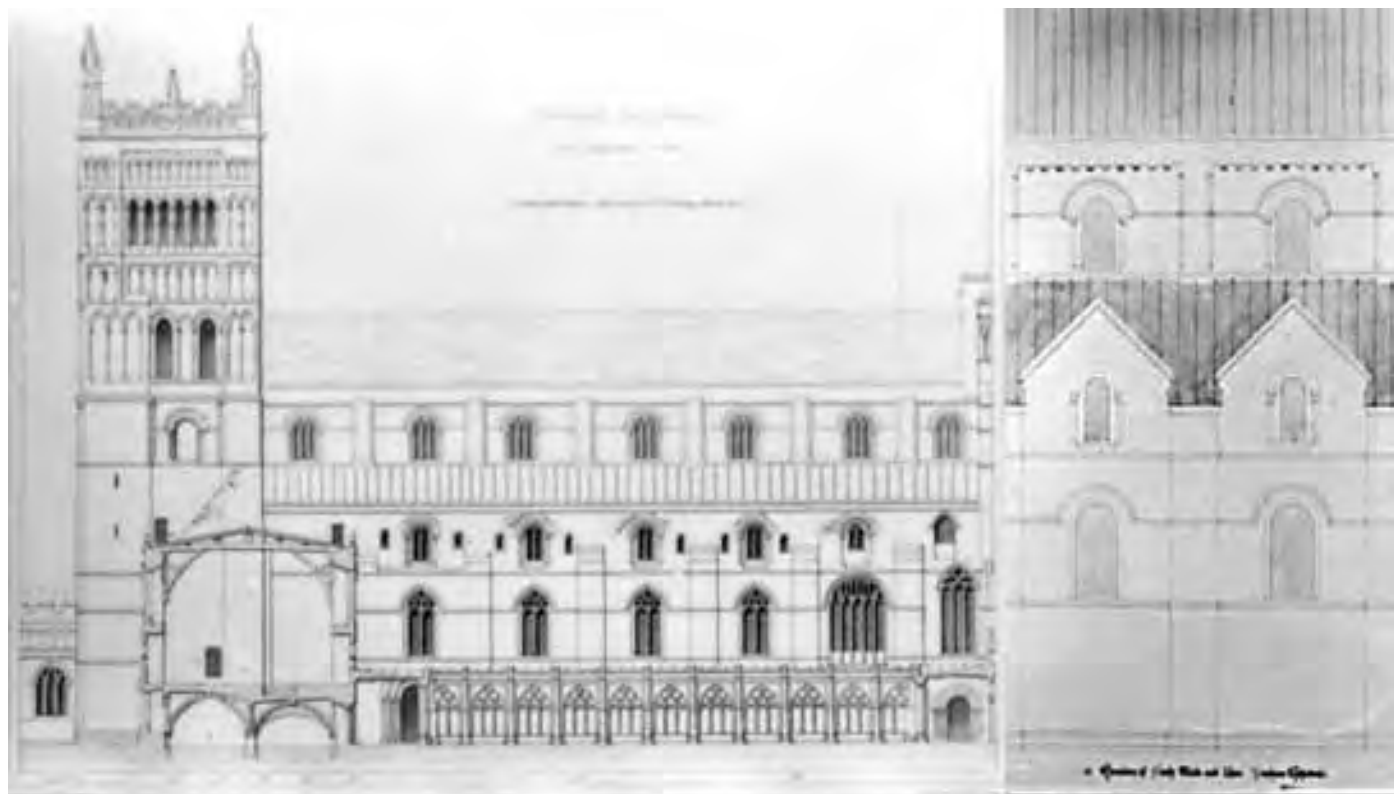




Figure 165. Durham Cathedral, north elevation after restoration

The fourteenth-century altar screen was restored at the same time. In 1847, the Dean and Chapter decided that they wanted to see how the interior would look if the organ and its seventeenth-century screen were removed. The design of the screen also was considered “wholly inappropriate to a place of worship”. (83) The screen was removed, and the organ placed on the north side of the Choir under an arch facing Bishop Hatfield’s monument. After a few months, the situation was reviewed and found satisfactory. (84)

More work was carried out in the Choir, including the renewal of pews, lowering of the eastern part of the floor to the level of the western part, and renewal of the old oak altar railing “of a bad age and in a corrupt style” in stone. This was done by local designers in the Early English style, and “in conformity with the character of the Eastern end of the Cathedral”, (85) while Salvin was responsible for the gates. Various parts of the building were repaved, and some obstructing monuments removed from the

west end of the Nave, thus completing the opening of the interior of the Cathedral.

In October 1849, Pickering prepared a report stating the conditions of the south front of the Nave. (86) The outer facing of a great part of the elevation was extremely loose, almost to the point of falling down. Besides this, four-fifths of the stones were improperly laid, i.e. not resting on their natural beds. Consequently, it was decided to renew the entire facade. The new ashlar was well linked to the structure behind with headers, and the eastern windows extended through the entire thickness of the old wall. In addition, iron cramps were used; these were tinned or galvanized and painted to avoid rusting. (87) Part of the casing of the south-west end of the Nine Altars, restored in 1826-28, was also getting loose and was repaired in a similar manner in 1853-54. (88)

Prior to Pickering’s work on the south elevation of the Nave, Salvin had also made proposals for its restoration. At the time, there were still visible traces of the gable ends that had existed above the aisle - as recorded in the drawings of Billing. Accordingly, Salvin had proposed to rebuild these gables, and to restore the existing windows in the Norman style. The easternmost window was Decorated; next to it there was a large round-headed window with Perpendicular tracery; the others in the lower row were original in size, but with pointed arches. In the upper row, there were small lancet windows on both sides of the original Norman openings. In the end, the gables were not rebuilt; instead, the windows were all ‘restored’ to the Norman style, and the lancet windows were walled in. (89)

During the years 1847 to 1850, practically all the windows of the northern side were also restored and/or reglazed. The large northern window of the Chapel of Nine Altars and the large Decorated window of the North Transept were both reglazed. Of the northern windows of the Choir, the easternmost was restored and reglazed by Salvin in 1847; three others were found in a ‘debased’ Decorated style - these he ‘improved’ all in a more appropriate Norman style, copying the details from churches in Lincolnshire and Kent. (90) Similarly, also other windows were restored in the Norman form. In the 1850s, attention was mainly concentrated on the dormitory, the cloisters, the library, and the Refectory, which were repaired and provided with battlements, thus concluding another active phase in the restoration of the Cathedral, a phase, which corresponded to the full blooming of stylistic restoration in England. (91)



Figure 166. Sir George Gilbert Scott's idea for a central tower in Durham Cathedral (never built)

10.6 Sir George Gilbert Scott

After all these repairs, the most apparent remaining problem at Durham Cathedral was the Central Tower which had been restored with cement by Atkinson. Problems had already appeared during the works and were evidently more advanced some forty years later. In the spring 1859, the Dean and Chapter decided to commence the complete restoration of the Tower, trusting the work to "the celebrated medieval Architect" George Gilbert Scott (1811-78). (92) By this time, Scott had already proved himself the most successful architect of the Victorian era, especially when it came to church-building and restoration. In 1848, he had been called to Ely Cathedral, and this was followed by Westminster Abbey, Hereford, Lichfield and Peterborough. In 1859, apart from Durham, he was engaged at Chester and Salisbury, and later, most other major cathedrals were to fall into his hands. (93)

Scott's contribution at Durham was fairly modest, being limited to the Central Tower and some internal work; in his *Recollections* he does not even mention

the Central Tower. (94) The site work was in the hands of Edward Robert Robson (1835-1917), a Durham born architect who had been working in Scott's office from 1854 to 1859, and was responsible for the working drawings for the Cathedral. (95)

The work on the Central Tower consisted mainly in rebuilding in stone the part done in cement. Scott also presented his proposal for decorating the Tower with a spire in the form of a crown supported on flying buttresses, similar to the one at St. Nicholas, Newcastle, which he restored as well. In the case of Durham, however, Robson advised against Scott's proposal on the grounds of structural stability, (96) and the spire was never built. It was decided to restore the Tower to its appearance before the works by Atkinson. All the buttresses of the Tower were rebuilt somewhat lower than the extent of the cement. The parts which had been pared away were thickened, and the whole structure seems to have been made bolder and higher than it was in cement. The 27 figures that Atkinson had removed were re-instated in their original niches, and 13 new figures were added



Figure 167. Durham Cathedral interior with the screen designed by Scott

Figure 168. Durham Cathedral, the west elevation in the 1980s



to fill up the empty niches. The work was completed in 1860.

In the 1870s Scott was called back to Durham to re-arrange the Choir and to close or at least articulate the 'long vista', which did not please the church authorities any more. He designed a three-arched open screen in the Lombardian Gothic style, a sort of standard design from his practice, which has been greatly criticized as not being suited to the Norman Cathedral. Along with it, he designed a pulpit in a kind of 'Cosmatic' work in mosaics, and a lectern in the form of a pelican. The choir was restored as far as possible to the appearance it had prior to Salvin's period. The floors of the Choir and the Sanctuary were designed in the 'Opus Alexandrium', and built in marble. It is said that the Dean and Chapter of Durham were so eager to get Scott's name linked with these works, that they waited until he had toured Italy in 1875, and even then the works were mainly in the hands of local technicians, while Scott was already sick and too busy elsewhere. (98)

Notes to Chapter Ten

1. Trevelyan, G.M. History of England, London 1926, 120.
2. The Saxon church had been built by the followers of St. Cuthbert (634-687), who had carried the mummified body of the saint looking for a place safe from the Danish

invadors. In 995, they found this site on a hill in the loop of the river Wear, called Dunholme - today Durham. Here they built the church, completed in 1017, and erected a shrine for St. Cuthbert, which was later preserved also in the new cathedral. (Stranks, C.J., *This Sumptuous Church, the Story of Durham Cathedral*, London 1973, 6ff.) Snape, M.G., 'Documentary Evidence for the Building of Durham Cathedral and its Monastic Buildings', *Mediaeval Art & Architecture at Durham Cathedral*, British Archaeological Ass. Conf. Transactions, 1980, 20ff.

3. Scott, Sir Walter (1771-1832): the inscription in the bridge over the Wear at Durham.

4. Pevsner, N. - Metcalf, P., *The Cathedrals of England, Midland, Eastern & Northern England*, Viking Books, Middlesex, 1985, 72.

5. Bilson, J., 'Durham Cathedral: the Chronology of its Vaults', *The Archaeological Journal*, The Council of the Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, London, March-December 1922, 101ff. Durham Cathedral "was planned by a master of exceptional ability as a completely vaulted church, and its earliest ribbed vaults, over the eastern bays of the choir aisles, must have been built by 1096. The whole of the eastern arm, together with the eastern side of the transept as far as the top of the triforium, was completed in accordance with the conception of the first master." (ibid, 159) Fletcher, Sir Banister, *A History of Architecture*, London 1975, 588, 'Gothic in France': "The earliest known pointed-arch vaults are those above the ambulatory at Morienval, Oise (c. 1120), but the Abb, Suger is generally given credit for introducing the 'Ogival' system, when he applied it to the choir roof of the Benedictine Abbey of S. Denis, on the outskirts of Paris (1144)."

6. Cates, A., 'The Galilee of Durham Cathedral: its name and its nature', *RIBA, Transactions*, VI, New Series, London 1890, 141ff. Stranks, C.J., *This Sumptuous Church*, op.cit., 59ff.

7. Snape, M.G., 'Documentary Evidence', op.cit., 26ff. Stranks, ibid, 22ff.

8. Knowles, D., *Bare Ruined Choirs*, Cambridge 1976, 44ff. Stranks, ibid, 41ff.

9. Idem.

10. Stranks, ibid, 59ff.

11. *Historic Durham City*, Newcastle upon Tyne, 1976, 6.

12. *Record of Works Done in and upon the Cathedral Church and Collegiate Buildings of Durham*, Durham 1842, xxv f.

13. Mylne to Hogg, the Clericus Operum of Durham Cathedral, 20 November 1775, reference to Mylne's report, which has not survived (Dean and Chapter Additional MS No. 217; Curry, Ian, *The Cathedral Church of Christ and Blessed Mary the Virgin in Durham, 'Restoration and Repairs to the Fabric 1777 to 1876'* Charlewood, Curry,

Wilson & Atkinson, Architects, Unprinted, August 1980, 4)

14. 'Durham Dean and Chapter Minutes', II, 582; Wooler, J., 'Report', 29 November 1777 included in Dean and Chapter Additional MSS. (Curry, ibid, 5ff):

"To the right worshipfull the Dean & Chapter of Durham. Dear Sir, In obedience to your Pleasure signified to me by Dr. Sharp one of your Body, I have surveyed the Sundry Parts of your Cathedral with much attention in order to discover every defective part of the Fabric. The magnitude of the work itself requires a long Detail of various matters, but the want of many particular Measurements joyn'd to the Shorthness of the Time will not allow me to say much on the Occasion. I shall therefore beg leave to confine myself to the general Outline in Order from thence to establish a kind of rough Estimate of the Expense that may be expected to accrue in restoring the whole into as complete a State of Repair as the Structure itself may require, and the Nature of the Stone Materials wherewith it is built will allow of.

1. In the first place I must beg leave to mention a Defect which I discovered yesterday for the first time, which is a rent or opening in the South Side of the Vault of the Nave running nearly from the great Tower, to the Marble Line near the Joint at the West end of it. As this Defect had not been taken notice of before by either of my Assistants, Messrs. Gibbon and Nicholson, I examined particularly the walls abutting on the Nave to the South, but found no circumstances that could any way favour a Conjecture of this being a recent fracture ... there is nevertheless a probability that this may be of a pretty long standing and the Detail therefore of the proper Measures to be taken for its future stability may not be necessary to be entered into for the present ...

2. The Second Defect I beg leave to take notice of is in the 4 Turrets on the North and South ends of the Chappel called the 9 Altars, the two great Buttresses on the East side thereof, and the two turrets at the North end of the great Cross Aile, most of which it seems absolutely necessary to take down to the great Offset in the Walls between 40 and 50 above the Ground, and to rebuild them again with the best Stone materials that can be easily procured, in as regular and uniform a Manner as can well be done, and then to capp or finish them with the proper Pinacles. It may also be proper for the sake of uniformity to finish the Turrets at the South end of the said Cross Aile in the same Manner the Shape or Form of the Turrets and their Pinacles to be settled hereafter upon due Consideration of the Elevation of the Building itself.

3. The third great Defect I now take the Liberty to mention is obvious indeed to everybody and that is the almost universal Decay or wasting Condition of the Stones on the outside of the whole Structure. To prevent the wet entering and lodging in the walls and thereby bringing on a more Speedy Dissolution, and to afford all the Remedy that can properly be applied on this Occasion, it will be necessary

to chip or pare off their Outsides to the Depth of 1, 2 or 3 inches, as may be particularly required, to bring the upright of the Wall to a tolerable even or Straight Surface at the same time taking out & replacing such Stones as are almost totally perished and moulder'd away and filling up the joints and beds of the whole with a proper mortar struck in with the Chips or Splinters of Flints and Gallets, as full as it well can be. It wou'd be proper also while the Scaffolding for this Purpose is up, to fix on the Walls the proper Lead wall Pipes, to convey the Main water from the various parts of the Roofs to the Ground. The Walls will thus be brought to as Perfect a State of Repair as they well can be, and may without any very considerable expence, resist the Ravages of Time perhaps for Centurys to come! I must also mention the necessity there will be at the same time to renew Munnions and side Jaumbs of a great number of the Windows, which are so much moulder'd and decayed as to be scarcely sufficient to retain a hold in the Glass.

4. The Defect in the 4th and last place which I shall take the liberty to mention are the Decays of the Stones of the loops and crease parapets or Open parapets on the top and round the Bell Ringers Gallery of the great Tower. The Defect in the upper part of the long Buttresses that support the Angles of that Tower and in Sundry parts of the Parapets of the Roofs of the Nave and Side and Cross Ailes, the consoles or Corbels supporting which are in many Places much Cedayed and wasted away.

The upper part of the Porch on the North side of the Cathedral being parted or drawn off form the Wall ought to be taken down and finished with a much less pitch or Elevation. There are also some trifling Defects in the Foundation of the Galilee Chappel which ought to be restor'd.

5. Having passed over the Defects, I shall not detain the Chapter very much with what may be offered as Ornaments or finishings to this Structure in Case they should think of it to undertake a complicated Repair.

The first will be to place 4 larger and 4 smaller Quadrangular Ragged Pinacles of Stone on the Corners & middle of the Sides of the top of the great Tower, and the same number on the Tops of the two Western Towers, together with Loop & crease or open Parapets as above mentioned. The Ragged Pinacles will relieve greatly the too Massy Appearance of the whole Structure and the costs of the whole will scarcely deserve mentioning.

6. I shall now endeavour to give the Chapter the best account I can of the Total Expence that may be expected to accrue on this Occasion. (He calculates it would take 40 men eight years to complete the work, at a total cost of Pounds 9.000).

I must now conclude with expressing my wishes that the Chapter would be pleased to Order Mr. Nicholson or some proper Person to taking necessary measurements and draw out from a scale of 20 feet to an Inch, Correct Elevations of the 4 Sides of the Cathedral to correspond exactly with its

Plan to be correctly drawn form the same scale. The whole will serve as Canvas to point or mark out any necessary Alterations the Chapter may judge proper to Order in the elevations of the Turrets or any other Parts of the Building. I submit the whole to the Candid Consideration of the Chapter, begging Leave to tender them my best Services on this or any future Occasion and am with great Regard,

Dear Sirs, Yours most obed & humble Servt.

John Wooler

Durham, 29th Nov. 1777.”

15. Idem.
16. Idem.
17. Idem.
18. Idem.
19. Idem.
20. Idem.
21. Curry, *ibid*, 9. ‘Dean & Chapter Minutes’, II, 582ff.
22. Record, *op.cit.*, xxvii.
23. Hutchinson, W., *The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham*, II, Newcastle 1787, 226.
24. Dayes, Edward (1763-1804), ‘Durham Cathedral’ 1795, watercolour, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection (No. BI977.14.4239). Dayes, E., ‘Durham Cathedral seen through Flambard’s Bridge’, 1797, The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
25. Girtin, Thomas (1775-1802), ‘Durham Cathedral’ 1797-8, water- colour, British Museum (*The Picturesque Tour in Northumberland and Durham*, c.1720-1830, Tyne and Wear County Council Museums, Newcastle upon Tyne 1982, 68) The artist may have completed the southern tower considering that Dayes has another watercolour (see above, 24) with the same date, where the scaffolding is still visible.
26. Print No. 51 (1780) and 55 (‘A View of the Cathedral Church in Durham’): “N.B. the Additions in Pencil Design’d by Mr. Tho. Wright” (*Durham Dean & Chapter Muniments*). Simpson, F.G. - Richmond, I.A., ‘Thomas Wright of Durham and Immanuel Kant’, *Durham University Journal*, XXXIII, New Series II, 1940-1941, 111ff.
27. Hutchinson, W., *The History and Antiquities*, *op.cit.*, 226.
28. *Durham Dean & Chapter Minutes*, II, 629.
29. James Wyatt Plans for the Cathedral, *Dean & Chapter Muniments*; The bill shows a list of drawings (1795).
30. See Wyatt’s plans.
31. *Dean & Chapter Library*.
32. Curry, *The Cathedral Church*, *op.cit.*, 15ff.
33. *Durham Dean & Chapter Minutes*, II, 635.

34. Durham Dean & Chapter Minutes, II, 637.
35. S.A.L. Minutes XXVI, 400; Curry, *ibid*, 16.
36. 20 November 1797, Durham Dean & Chapter Minutes, II, 645.
37. Record, *op.cit.*, xxvii.
38. *ibid*, xxviii.
39. *Idem*.
40. GM (*Gentleman's Magazine*), 1795, 924.
41. S.A.L. Minutes (*Society of Antiquaries, London*), 1793-1796, Vo. XXV, 486.
42. S.A.L. Minutes, XXV, 486ff.
43. GM, 1801, 1091.
44. S.A.L. Minutes, XXVI, 353f.
45. 22 June 1797, *Ibid*, 372.
46. 9 November 1797, *Ibid*, 400.
47. *Ibid*, 400.
48. *Ibid*, 401.
49. *Ibid*, 401.
50. 8 February 1798, *Ibid*, XXVII, 2.
51. GM, 1802, 228.
52. 15 June 1797, S.A.L. Minutes, XXVI, 361
53. Hutchinson, *History, op.cit.*
54. Dean & Chapter Library, Durham.
55. GM, 1802, 230.
56. S.A.L. Minutes, XXVII, 2ff.
57. GM, 1802, 327.
58. S.A.L. Minutes, XXVII, 44f.
59. *Idem*.
60. 15 June 1797, S.A.L. Minutes, XXVI, 362.
61. 9 November 1797, S.A.L. Minutes, XXVI, 401ff.
62. Record, *op.cit.*, xxix; Curry, *The Cathedral Church, op.cit.*, 27.
63. Colvin, H.M., *A Biographical Dictionary of English Architects, 1660-1840*, London 1954, 47.
64. Atkinson, W., Report to the Dean and Chapter of Durham, 1804 (D & C Additional MS; Curry, *op.cit.*, 24f): "As it is intended by the Dean & Chapter of Durham to restore and put in complete repair the great Tower of their Cathedral, an Object well worthy of their attention and in which every care ought to be taken for its durability and for the preservation of its Original Character. I hope the Dean & Chapter will excuse me for making a few Observations on the method that has been adopted in restoring the Cathedral, whilst I recommend a plan for any future Repairs.

It is an Object of the greatest importance that the Character of the Great Tower shall be preserved & that the Repairs should be done in the most substantial manner; The plan that has been pursued for several years past (in facing and cutting straight the surface of the old Walls) has been highly injurious to the Buildings. Besides reducing in size the small parts of Buttresses, pillars & tracery Work on the Walls - in many Instances these must inevitably be cut away or disfigured and consequently the Character and Beauty is lost. But this is not the greatest mischief that has been done. An old Stone now faced seldom stands the Weather. In cutting the Walls the face of those Stones that have stood for Ages have been cut away to be made straight with the mutilated parts so that the Walls are daily decreasing in thickness and Strength.

In Restoring the Great Tower or any other part of the Walls the Stones that are perfect with their original face should remain & if there should be moss upon them care should be taken not to remove it. Where the Stone is very much decayed & to a considerable depth, it should be replaced with new, but in general the mutilated parts may be brought out to a proper face with Parker's Cement. The old Stones should be carefully wet when the Cement is laid on, and Holes may be drilled to give a stronger tie. This Cement is particularly useful in restoring Ornaments & Mouldings & at a considerable less expense than cutting them in Stone. It is nearly the colour of the Moss upon the Tower. But what is of still greater importance, its Brown Tint adds highly to the Sublimity of the Building."

65. *Idem*.
66. Burke, E., *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, London 1757.
67. Atkinson, *op.cit.*
68. 'Atkinson Cement' or 'Parker's Cement', a variety of natural cement, argillo-calcareous nodules, Whitby, Yorkshire, estate of Marquis of Normancy; also called 'Mulgrave Cement' or 'Yorkshire Cement'. Contains 30% clay and 70% lime; colour = dark Bath stone; "supposed to be good for stucco, mouldings, ornaments, but if plenty of sand not used (3 to 1), liable to crack." (*The Dictionary of Architecture*, ed. Wyatt Papworth for the Architectural Publication Society, 8 vols., 1852-92)
69. Atkinson, *op.cit.*
70. Dean & Chapter Minutes, II, 672, 21 July 1806: "south Side shall be done with Cement as far as the Bell Ringers' walk... Mr Atkinson and Mr Bernasconi be directed to make an estimate ... to complete the whole Tower including the Battlements & Figures and that they will include in this estimate the charge of producing the Effect of Roughness & the appearance of antiquity and that they be requested to produce such opinion as can be supported."
71. Record, *op.cit.*, XXVIII. 1806-1809.
72. S.A.L. Minutes, 21 November 1808: it was "Resolved that the Plaistering of the East side of the Great Tower

and all the works under the care of Mr. Atkinson be from this time discontinued, and that he be informed of this immediately.”

73. Curry, op.cit., 28.

74. Colvin, op.cit., 83.

75. Curry, op.cit., 30ff.

76. Bonomi, I., Report to the Dean & Chapter, January 1830 (Dean & Chapter Muniments; Curry, op.cit., 31ff): “It has, I think, been properly determined to carry on the Repairs of the Abbey in successive portions adjoining the work last done, so as completely to restore the South side of the Building from its Eastern extremity. In conformity with this intention the restoration of the upper part of the West side of the Nine Altars and of the upper part of the Choir should be begun...

It is obvious to the eye even at a distance, that the stone on the South side of the Choir about the Aisles is extremely persihed. I apprehend that the surface is so deeply honeycombed that little or no part of the stone even by paring down can be made to form a part of the new surface. In the attempt to repair a portion of this front next the Nine Altars, the surface has been pared down but I don’t perceive that any of the old facing stone has been saved by the operation, in fact if it becomes necessary to pare down above three inches in depth (in consequence of the erosion of the surface), the joints at that depth are not found to hold good and present the appearance of very imperfect masonry. I don’t immediately advise the refacing without paring but I suggest the propriety of a trial being made by an experienced mason, in order to ascertain if it be expedient or not.

The object of all repairs to Cathedral Buildings being to restore in the best way, I recommend that the Building itself should be consulted for coeval authorities wherever the parts are too much mutilated to be copied. I have therefore in explanation of the sketch, referred to such parts of the Building as I propose to copy in order to supply those which are decayed.

It may not be irrelative to mention that it is hardly possible to make an accurate estimate of a work of this nature, for the value of the labour is not referable to any common standard of Building, this consideration induces me to think that the preferable way of carrying on the work, is to hire Masons and place them under the superintendence of a Master and Working Mason of known ability and experience; I am the more inclined to recommend this course as it has I believe been adopted and persevered in at York, indeed a knowledge of the detail of the proceeding followed at York in regulating the works there, might be useful in determining the Dean and Chapter, as to their proceedings. The prospect of continued employment will enable the Chapter to select the best hands and opportunity of encouragement will occur in the working of Capitals etc. which may (in summer time especially) be done by the piece; if however after all, the plan of employing men

by day should not prove advantageous, the accounts will show the cost of the labour, and a criterion will be obtained whereby to ascertain what might safely be given for a portion of the work let by Contract.

Durham, January 1830, (signed) Ign. Bonomi.”

77. ‘Bonomi’s recommendations, 1830’, Chapter Minutes, 9 January 1830 (Durham Dean & Chapter Muniments):

“The Treasurer reported that many of the windows of the Church, and particularly those of the Nave, are in such a state of dilapidation, that it is needless expense to continue to repair them. They require to be entirely renewed. The lead and ironwork are for the most part decayed, much of the stonework of the mullions is crumbling away, and the Glaziers have found it so impracticable in amny places to fit in glass, that, to keep the wind out, they have stopped up many of the holes and crevices with mortar, to the great disfigurement of the Fabric.

In reference to the windows which light the space over the roof of the North Aisle, and which are exposed to be broken as soon as they are mended by the boys of the Town, or of the Grammar School, the Treasurer presented to the Chapter the annexed Report by Mr. Bonomi, Architect.

‘To the Hoble. Very Revd. The Dean & Chapter of Durham: Of the annexed sketches, No.1 is intended to represent one of the windows on the North side of the Abbey which light the space under the roof of the Aisle (it is not drawn from measurement).

The glazing of this series of windows is so imperfect, that it is desirable to consider whether the expense of reglazing them should be incurred; it does not appear requisite that these windows should be so large as the only object of admitting light is to enable workmen to tread safely along and light enough for this purpose would be derived from the Church windows, at all events chink-windows or such small windows as exist on the South side of the Building would amply suffice and if substituted for the large windows No. 1, would have a great tendency to keep the Building warmer.

It is very observable that the Window No. 1 has been altered; the Mullion dividing it is certainly not original, and is moreover very discordant and inappropriate. This circumstance alone would induce me to recommend the Chapter to hesitate before undertaking so extensive a repair of Glass which as a consequence will perpetuate the incongruity complained of, and it appears to me preferable to adopt some such form of Recess as is shown No. 2 & No. 3, taking care, after accurately measuring the exterior arch, to adapt to its Form an inner one of parallel shape and of a Character to suit the date of the Building.

Ign: Bonomi Archt.””

78. Billings, Robert William, Architectural Illustrations and Description of the Cathedral Church at Durham, London 1843.

79. Record, op.cit., xxxi ff. Stranks, op.cit., 90ff.

80. Pevsner, N., *Some Architectural Writers of the Nineteenth Century*, Oxford 1972, 123ff; Germann, G., *Gothic Revival in Europe and Britain: Sources, Influences and Ideas*, London 1972, 104ff.

81. Record, op.cit., xxxi ff.

82. Ibid, xxxiv f.

83. Ibid, xxxvi. Dean & Chapter Minutes, 985, 19 February 1847: "The following proposals were made by the Dean and agreed by the Chapter. That the organ shall be removed and placed under the arch opposite to the Bishop's Throne according to the plan last suggested by Mr. Bishop at the sole expense of Mr. Dean. ... their success and failure shall be decided by the next November."

84. Dean & Chapter Minutes, 990, 20 November 1847: "The alterations in the removal of the Organ and Screen, carried into effect under the order of Chapter of 19 Feb. last, were considered, and it was the opinion of the Chapter that their success was fully proved. - Agreed that Mr Salvin's report on the Cathedral be copied and kept, and that such part of it as relates to the opening of the Hatfield Monument, the erection of new seats in front of it, and the lowering of the East end of the choir be adopted, subject to any alterations that may be agreed in by the weekly chapter and assuming that the cost will not exceed Pounds 300.-."

85. Record, op.cit., xxxiv f, xliii f.

86. "Mr. Pickering's Reports on the Restoration of the South Front of the Nave of Durham Cathedral" [Report A.]

Durham, October 5th, 1849.

Rev. Sir,

According to your request I beg to submit a statement of the circumstances which led to the removal of all the old ashlar facing of that part of the South front of the Cathedral now undergoing restoration.

In the greater portion of the front, that is from the top to about the heads of the lower windows, the decay of the mortar and the outer facing of stone had completely detached the latter from the solid bulk of the walls. This facing was so loose that it was with very much difficulty great quantities of it could be prevented from falling down upon the Cloister roof.

The Eastern part of the remaining portion had not suffered so much from the decay of the mortar; but the ashlar were so narrow upon the bed, and consequently had so little hold of the bulk of the wall behind them, that the support which they gave to the body of the wall was very trifling - besides not less than four-fifths of them standing up edgewise, that is, they were not resting upon their natural beds or the beds on which they lie in the earth.

An attempt, however, would have been made to proceed with the new facing, allowing a portion of the old to remain, had it not been for the circumstance of the very

rotten state of the two courses of ashlar at the level of the Cloister roof, and of the large holes or places like caves hollowed out of the wall. These holes were large enough to contain a large dog in a lying posture. They contained a quantity of bones, one of which, and three teeth, I have in my possession.

Having, therefore, to withdraw and renew the two last mentioned courses, I considered that the narrow bedded old ashlar above would not remain sufficiently firm after the operation of wedging between between them and the new ones.

From the method now being pursued in the restoration, I am confident that the new masonry is substantial, and that a firm connexion between it and the old work will be effected. I am, Rev. Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

Geo. Pickering.

The Very Rev. The Dean of Durham."

87. Pickering, 'Report B.' 'Description of the Manner in which the new Masonry is Built and Connected with the Old Wall.' (Record, xlii ff.)

88. Record, xlv.

89. Record, xxxvii ff.

90. Idem.

91. Record, xlv ff.

92. Record, xiv, December 31, 1859.

93. Cole, D., *The Work of Sir Gilbert Scott*, London 1980.

94. Scott, G.G. *Personal and Professional Recollections*, London 1879.

95. Cole, op.cit., 173f.

96. Curry, op.cit., 52: Curry maintains that Robson was certainly right in his advice.

97. Record, xv f, December 31, 1860. Dean & Chapter Minutes, 1130.

98. Cole, op.cit., 174.

Chapter Eleven

Case Study: Germanic Countries, Restoration of Magdeburg Cathedral



Plate ch. 11: Letter by King Friedrich Wilhelm to Staatsminister von Klewitz, 10 February 1826 (Rep.C.20 II Nr.44 Vol.I,10; Magdeburg Archiv), authorising the expenditure for the restoration of Magdeburg Cathedral

11.1 The Cathedral; Historical Background

Magdeburg was one of the early mediaeval settlements on the river Elbe in the heart of the Germanic countries. In the tenth century, it became important through the intervention of King Otto I the Great, who was crowned Emperor in Rome 962, and chose Magdeburg as his favoured residence; he built his palace there and next to it he founded a Benedictine Monastery. (1) After the battle of Lechfeld, in 955, he started building a new church over the tomb of his wife Editha. Ancient marble columns were brought from Ravenna, and relics were placed in the capitals. At the completion of the church Magdeburg was declared the seat of an archbishop and the church became a cathedral. In 1207 this first cathedral burnt down, and although there were many who did not agree the standing walls were pulled down to build a new cathedral on the same site. It was consecrated in 1363, although the construction work continued until 1520. (2)

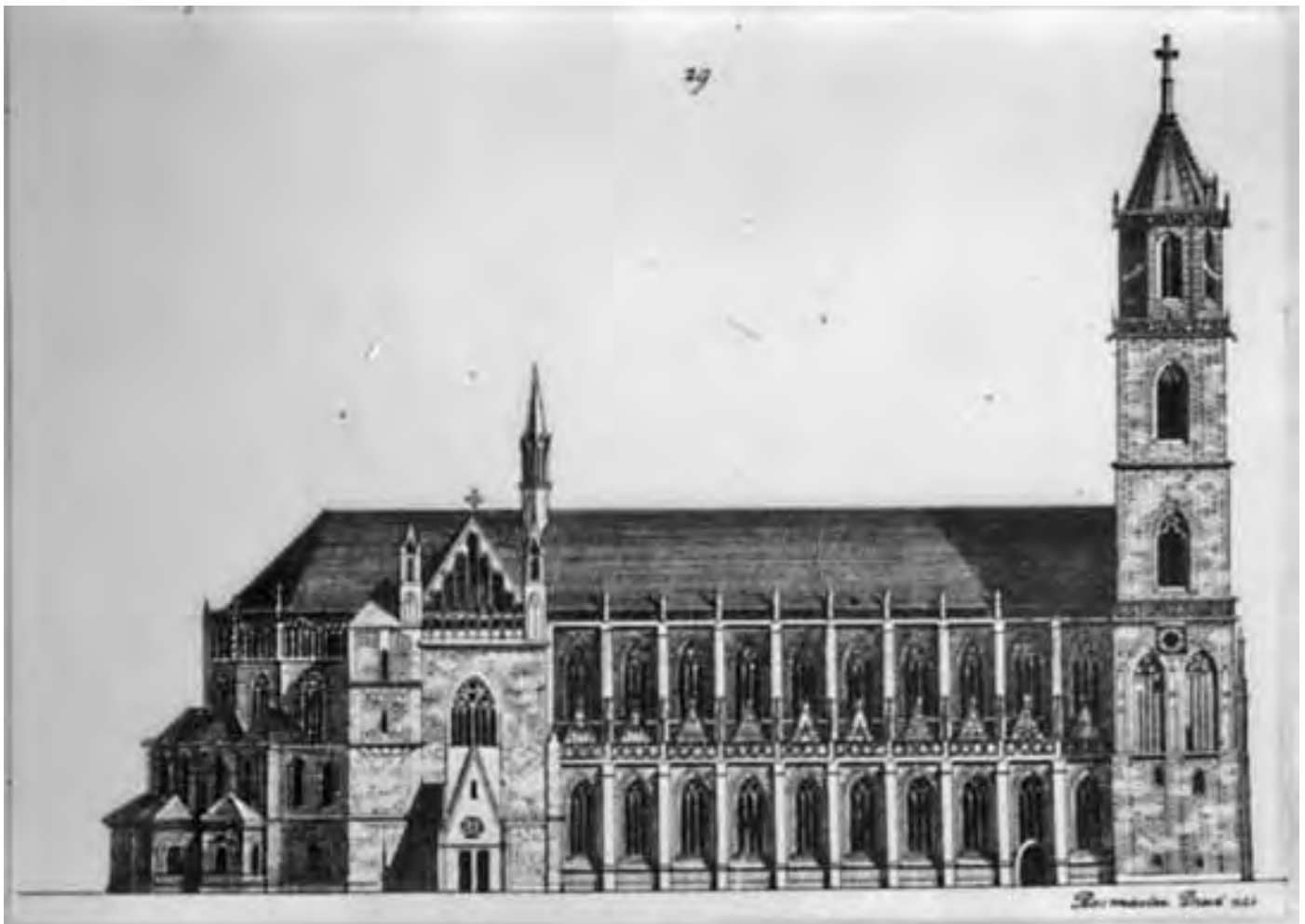
Magdeburg Cathedral was the earliest Gothic building in Germany, probably due to the influence of Archbishop Albert who had studied in Paris and Bologna, and had travelled widely in Europe. (3) The



Figure 169. Magdeburg Cathedral. Engraving by G. Badenehr

building, a Latin cross in plan with a three-aisled nave and two western towers, was built of sandstone and limestone, and vaulted. The relatively short choir has an ambulatory with five chapels in the French manner. The lower part of the choir and its chapels still reflect Romanesque principles in their proportions, while the rest of the building becomes gradually Gothic in character. The Cathedral's best known feature is its sculptured decoration, especially the famous Paradise porch at the north end of the transept, consisting of

Figure 170. Magdeburg Cathedral, north elevation before restoration (Rosmäster, 1823)



a small separate building with the famous thirteenth-century statues representing Wise and Foolish Maidens. Decorations were also reused from the Ottonian building, and grouped mainly in the choir; here were placed the antique columns from Italy, and provided with capitals made in the antique manner. (4)

As soon as the Cathedral was completed, in 1520, it began to face problems; Luther had just nailed his theses at the nearby Wittenberg, and burnt there the Papal Bull. Although Protestantism spread rapidly in Germany, Magdeburg remained Catholic and gave rise to conflicts and iconoclasm in the Cathedral, breaking of images on the altars and mutilation of statues. The Cathedral also suffered when the town was besieged by the troops of Maurice of Saxony in 1550-51. (5) During the Thirty Years War, Magdeburg was besieged by the troops of General Tilly, who ravaged the town in 1631, and the Cathedral suffered from damage by fire. Again during the Napoleonic wars, from 1811 to 1813, the French troops used the nave of the church as a store for groceries, while church services were held in the choir. At the end of the war, the whole church was turned into a storeroom and sheepfold. In May 1814, the Prussians reconquered Magdeburg, and, on

Figure 171. C.G.A. Hasenpflug (1828): Magdeburg Cathedral, proposed restoration of the west front



29 May, a service of thanksgiving was held in the Cathedral. (6)

The Administrative Context

After the liberation of the territories occupied by the French, the Prussian Government commissioned Karl Friedrich Schinkel (1781-1841), an architect and the chief representative of German Classicism as well as a member of the General Directorate of Public Works, die Oberbaudeputation, to report on the condition of public buildings in these areas. In his report Schinkel emphasized the national importance of historic buildings, and recommended to the Government to take action for their protection and restoration. As a result, a cabinet order of 4 October 1815 requested all public authorities to report to the General Directorate any intended “substantial change in public buildings or monuments”. (7) Following this order, any important restorations came thus under the control of the Central Government, and were referred to the King in the case of a dispute. Schinkel who became a leading authority was thus in the position to influence the policy of restoration in the whole country. Amongst the first major restoration projects, which included Cologne Cathedral and Marienburg Castle, was also Magdeburg Cathedral. (8)

11.2 Restoration of the Cathedral

After the damage caused during the French occupation there was concern about repairs to the Cathedral. In 1819 the local government notified that major repairs would be needed, and proposed to demolish the so-called ‘lead tower’ over the crossing of the church, in order to save maintenance costs. This proposal was strongly objected to by the religious authority, who considered that it was questionable to steal an ornament from “a venerable building of old German art”. (9) The General Directorate was consulted about the matter, and while confirming that this building, “one of the foremost and most beautiful monuments of old German architecture” (10) in the country, was badly in need of repairs, they maintained that it was not acceptable to change the architectural form by removing the ‘lead tower’. This feature was considered of great architectural importance, as it articulated the otherwise long roof-line, and indicated the point of the crossing. Consequently the Directorate requested the preparation of an estimate for the repair of the tower in its present form, as well as an urgent start on repairs in the church itself. Special attention was drawn to the upper parts of the western towers, which had suffered much damage.



Figure 172. Hasenpflug (1828): Magdeburg Cathedral, the interior, proposed restoration

Considering, however, the condition of the building and its ornaments, it was proposed to carry out a detailed survey of the entire structure in order to have a full understanding of the situation, and to prepare plans for the repair of the whole building.

C.J. Costenoble, the architect of the Cathedral and author of *Deutsche Architektur und ihr Ursprung* (1812), started working on the first estimates in February 1821. A few years earlier he had already been recommended by Schinkel for the restoration of Marienburg, although the works were later carried out by others. (11) In March 1822, he presented the General Directorate with a plan and some drawings for the restoration of the Cathedral, but this was not considered sufficient as a basis for the work. (12) At the same time, proposals were prepared also by another architect, C.A. Rosenthal, who was chosen to continue the project instead of Costenoble. During 1826 to 1828, an architectural painter C.G.A. Hasenpflug (1802-58) was commissioned by the King to prepare paintings of the Cathedral showing both its present condition and the intended appearance after the restoration. The building was here shown in a

romantically idealized context, surrounded by trees, restored to its former appearance and later additions removed. It seems that Hasenpflug also contributed to the preparation of the restoration plans, and he may have been responsible for some of the drawings. (13)

In February 1826, King Frederick William of Prussia issued a cabinet order addressed to the Minister of State in Magdeburg, giving his formal approval and the first financial contribution from his personal budget towards the restoration of the Cathedral:

“From what I have heard, considerable sums will be required in order to conserve and restore the Cathedral Church of Magdeburg to its structural dignity. The old venerable building must not fall into disrepair. There will be, though, difficulties to provide for the financing from the public funds, and I will thus give sixty-thousand Thaler from my Chatouille.” (14)

The local direction of the restoration was in the hands of a Building Commission. Its members included the Minister of State A.W. von Klewitz as the chairman, the Dean von Krosigk, as well as local building administrators, J.A. Clemens, F.A.J. Mellin and C.A. Rosenthal, who had the technical responsibility for the restoration project, for all necessary drawings and for the execution of the works. (15) Survey reports and quarterly reports on the progress of the works, were signed by Clemens, while detailed plans were prepared by Mellin and Rosenthal. Documentation of the project in five volumes, including plans, elevations, sections and details, was published together with comments on the history of the building as *Der Dom zu Magdeburg from 1830 to 1852*. (16) The published plans do not, however,

Figure 173. Hasenpflug (1828): Magdeburg Cathedral from the east, proposed restoration



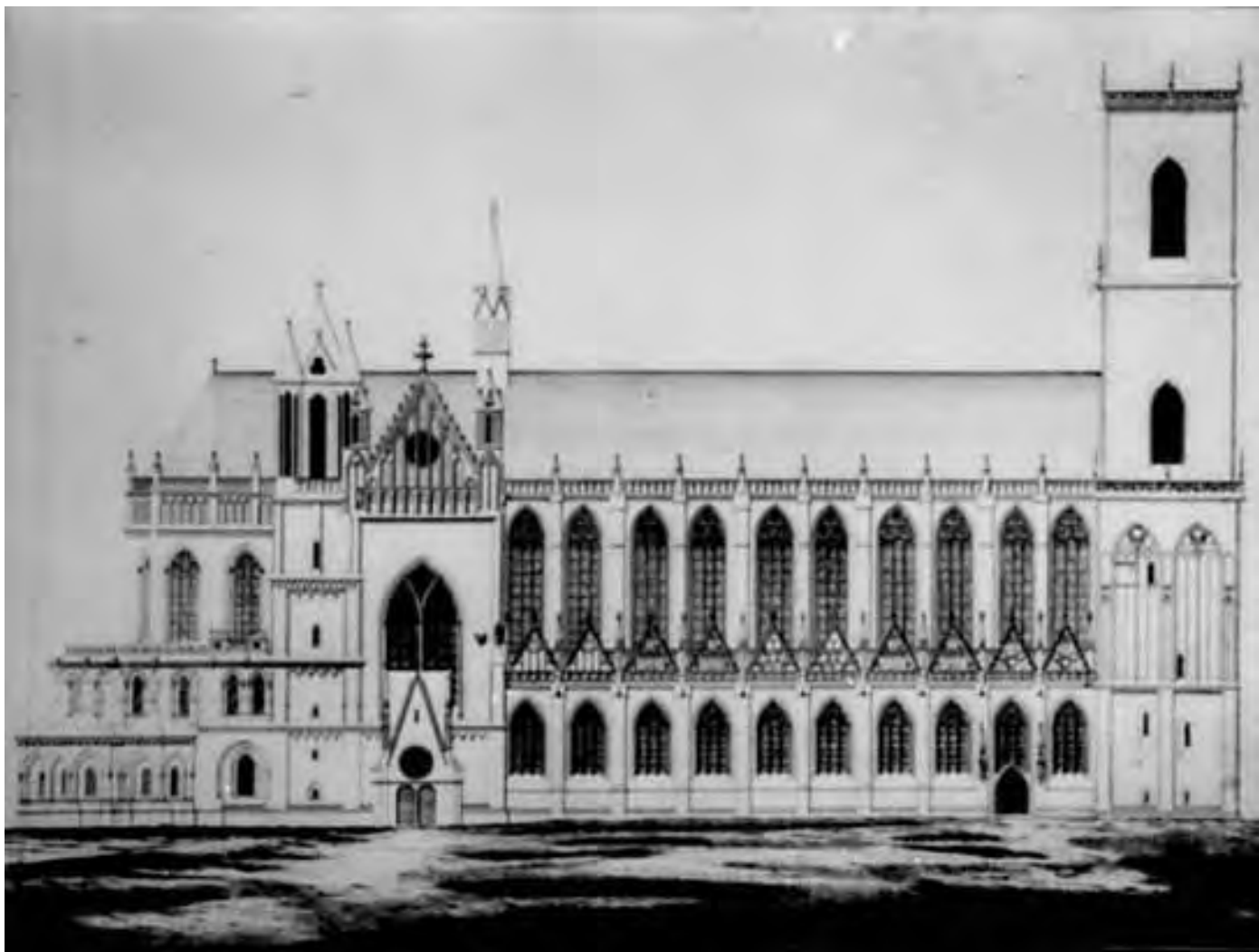


Figure 176. Clemens, Mellin, Rosenthal: Magdeburg Cathedral, north elevation, proposed restoration

correspond to the actual restoration in all details due to modifications decided during the works, and the working drawings for the restoration have not been preserved. All plans and proposals for the restoration had to be approved by the General Directorate in Berlin, and the decisions were communicated to the local authority through cabinet orders.

Restoration Plans

The plans were the result of an intense correspondence between the building commission and the General Directorate, and the plans, working schedules and estimates were revised several times. In February 1826, the works were planned to consist of twelve items, e.i. the restoration of the choir, the transept, the nave, the north and south towers, the central building between the towers, the interior of the church, the completion of the two eastern towers, the renewal of the ‘lead tower’, the renewal of tile-roofs in slates, the treatment of the whole building with oil, reinforcements and the construction of scaffolding. The restoration was estimated to cost about 310.000 Thaler and take fifteen years. The works were scheduled to start from the transept and choir, and then move to the nave, the aisles,

the roof structures, and lastly to the repair of the towers and the restoration of the interior. (17) This estimate was considered too high, however, and the Commission proposed alternative plans reducing the construction schedule to nine, ten or eleven years and the necessary funds accordingly to 200.000-226.000 Thaler. (18) Priority was given to the transept which was considered to be in urgent need of repair, as well as to the ‘lead tower’, the roofs and the choir. On the

Figure 175. Clemens, Mellin, Rosenthal: Magdeburg Cathedral, floor plan

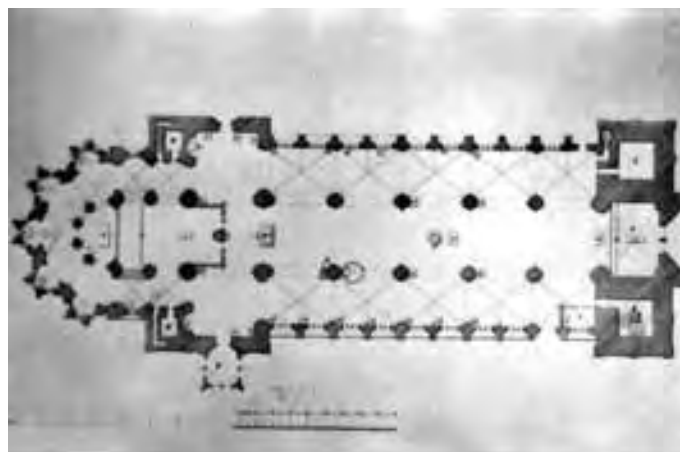




Figure 176. Magdeburg Cathedral, north side in 1979

other hand, it was considered possible to make some savings in the restoration of the western towers, in the interior, as well as by not carrying out the intended completion of the unfinished transept towers. (19)

The budget for the restoration was confirmed at 204.000 Thaler and another 8.400 were added to this bringing the total to 212.400 Thaler. The works started in April 1826. As a result of good administration, it was possible to make further savings and gain interest from the bank where the annual contributions were deposited, thus allowing some repairs to be done that would otherwise not have been included in the budget such as repairing ornaments. (20)

Conservation of Ornaments

The General Directorate (die Oberbaudeputation) discussed the project in office in Berlin on the basis of plans and reports without inspecting the building itself. Their general impression was that these were sufficiently clear and had been well prepared although the work was complex; the working schedule was thought to be “fully rational”. (21) The tendency was to try to save funds where possible, and attention was drawn particularly to the restoration of ornaments.

Considering that especially the buildings dating from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries needed extensive repairs, it would be too heavy a burden for the State to care for all ornamental details.

“To preserve to future generations all the excessive amount of small and more or less repetitive ornaments and details that cover these buildings, which only show an intricate playing with mechanical schematism (ein mechanischer Schematismus), and which do not meet the real tasks of the Fine Arts to provide ‘an ideal perception of the conditions of human beings and nature’, would mean using enormous funds for the conservation of artistic features that only would serve to teach how not to do it!” (22)

It was further observed that most of these ornaments were actually independent from the structure, and that they could thus be “left to their destiny”. (23) It was recommended, for the sake of art history, to preserve a small part of them, but to leave the rest, which would still last for a long time; the decaying parts could be removed when they were about to fall, and the places treated so as to avoid weathering

Figure 177. The original statue of St. Mauritius, placed in the interior of Magdeburg Cathedral



problems. The results might even provide further attraction “to the imagination of such romantics who in the future still were to like them”. (24) After having lost their insignificant parts, the Directorate considered these buildings having most probably gained rather than lost. Concerning the repairs, ‘Roman Cement’ imported from England by a firm in Hamburg, seemed most suitable for fixing the places of broken ornaments due to its capacity to increase in volume when mixed with water thus filling all cracks and gaining “such a strength that no more dampness could penetrate from outside”. (25) On the other hand, it was considered better not to have embedded in cement the copper pipes of the rainwater disposal system, because this would make their future maintenance impossible. Rather it was proposed to treat the inner side of the stone gutters with cement before introducing the copper pipes, which thus could remain detached from the structure.

These observations were not accepted without reservations, and the members of the local government and of the Building Commission drew the attention of the General Directorate to the importance of the richness of ornaments to the character of Gothic architecture. They insisted that the ornaments were an expression of the skill of the builders; they were an essential part of the building, and would “augment the impression that these buildings give to an unprejudiced connoisseur and art lover due to the contrast with their imposing size”. (26) The Chairman of the Commission von Klewitz decided to send Clemens to Berlin to speak with Schinkel and convince him about the preservation of the ornaments. (27) An agreement was reached, and during the restoration most of the external carved decorations were renewed; amongst these works was included the preparation of copies of the statue of ‘Shepherd’ on the north side of the transept in 1827,

Figure 178. Magdeburg Cathedral, the foolish virgins of the Paradise Gate

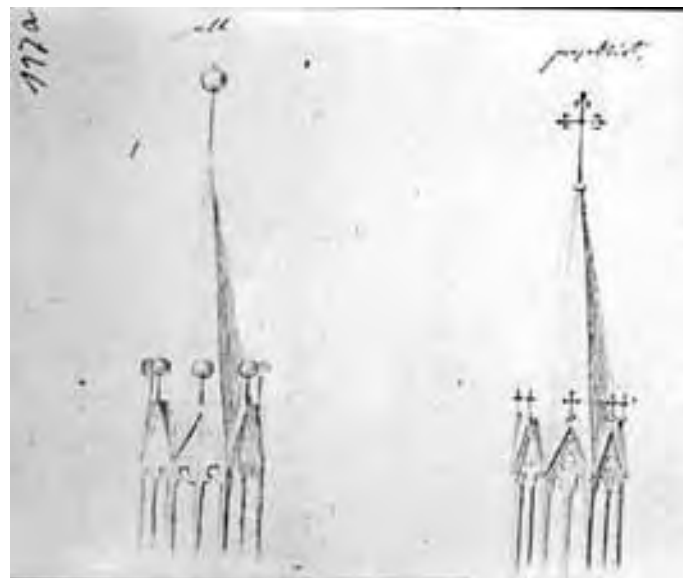


Figure 179. The Lead Tower, the old form and the proposed restoration (illustration in manuscript)

which had not been initially foreseen, as well as the statues of St. Catharine and St. Mauritius, the patrons of the Cathedral. The originals of these statues were placed in the interior church. (28) The famous statues of the virgins in the Paradise Porch were, instead, conserved in their original condition, although the porch itself was extensively renewed by replacing decayed stonework.

The ‘Lead Tower’

Amongst the first undertakings was the renewal of the ‘lead tower’. Concerning this, in August 1826 a proposal was made by two members of the Commission, Mellin and Rosenthal, to renew it in ‘a more appropriate’ form to correspond better to the architectural character of the building. They maintained that it was visually confusing to have the tower of the same material as the roof, and that the decorative elements, the round finials placed over the gables of the tower, were “rather strange to the Old German Architecture” (29) especially comparing them with the more decorative finials of the other towers and gables of the Cathedral. They proposed that the ‘lead tower’ be rebuilt using metal plates that could be painted, and that it be decorated with ornamental crosses. In his answer, Clemens pointed out the importance of keeping a clear and unified policy in the decisions regarding the restoration; according to him the ‘lead tower’ formed one whole with the roof structures and was thus correct and justified exactly in the form as it was. He also referred to other buildings of the same period confirming that the same ornamental elements had been used in these as well, and that there were many examples of the durability of lead in historic buildings, while of

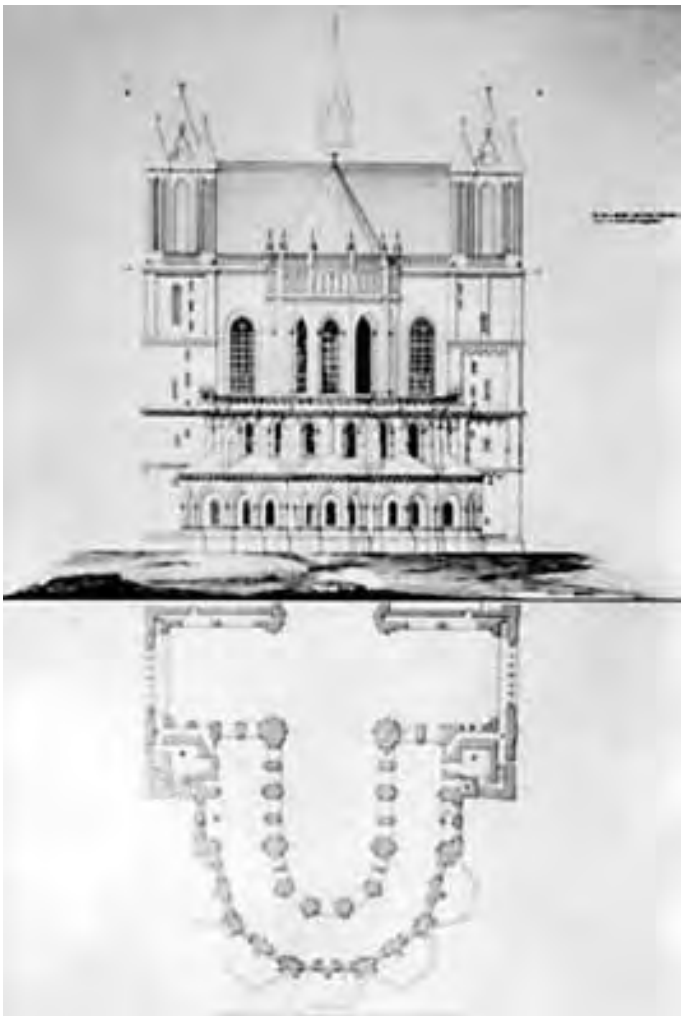


Figure 180. Clemens, Mellin, Rosenthal: Magdeburg Cathedral, east elevation, proposed restoration

painted metal plates there was little experience. (30) On these grounds, it was decided that there was no reason to change the design, and that the ‘lead tower’ should be repaired as originally planned. (31) On 22 June 1827, when the repair was finished, there was a simple celebration, and the round finial on the top of the tower was placed in position; inside there were the cabinet order of 10 February 1826 for the restoration of the Cathedral, as well as a newspaper, some coins and medals. (32)

The Choir and Transept Towers

One of the principles in the restoration, stated by von Klewitz, was “the duty to remain in every way faithful to the original”. (33) As in French Gothic, the choir of Magdeburg Cathedral was surrounded by an ambulatory, called ‘Bishop’s walk’, which opened to chapels. According to the survey of Clemens, this ambulatory had been originally covered by a terrace built in sandstone slabs, but towards the end of the eighteenth century a roof had been built over it leaving the terrace underneath. Although there were similar roofs elsewhere in the Cathedral, this particular one was considered too irregular and it also covered up

the windows of the choir. So it was suggested not to rebuild it but to restore the terrace instead, because: firstly, it had not existed originally; secondly, the choir would have a much more beautiful appearance once the windows were freed; thirdly, the illumination of the interior would be improved; fourthly, the cost would be the same whether one repaired the roofs or water-proofed the terrace. Clemens also pointed out that, the roofs were not well built, and while the repair of these terraces might have caused problems in the past, “the more accurate work of today, and the possibility of using the advantages of cement would eliminate all difficulties”! (34)

This question was related to another one concerning the side towers of the north and south transept. These had never been completed, but built only to the height of the main cornice of the Cathedral. In the first restoration plans, and also in those which were published, the intention had been to build them in their complete form. This intention had to be reconsidered, however, due to financial limitations, and various alternatives were discussed. A walkway running around the choir, the transept and the nave

Figure 181. Magdeburg Cathedral, the choir exterior in 1979



of the church on the level of the main cornice, was interrupted by the roofs of the unfinished towers. While accepting the ‘non-completion’ of the towers, it was suggested to continue the walkway over them thus providing a convenient passage, and also gaining aesthetically a “more clean and noble” appearance. (35) The question was whether to provide both towers with the present form of the southern roof which would interrupt the walkway and create certain practical problems of accessibility, or whether to make them flat in order to allow the continuation of the passage. Clemens also maintained that as the original idea of the builders was clearly visible in the construction, this should “not be obscured by the poor appearance” of a temporary roof. (36) Both the proposed restoration of the terrace over the ‘Bishop’s walk’ as well as the flat roofs and the continuation of the passage over the transept towers were accepted by the Directorate, and confirmed by the King on 28 October 1827. (37)

Restoration of the Aisle Gables

In 1828, scaffolding was raised over the nave where repairs were started on both sides. The buttresses were repaired using stone facings instead of rebuilding them in whole blocks. The windows and cornices were repaired and rebuilt where necessary; all windows were reglazed. (38) The row of gables over the south aisle, which had originally been left as ‘blind wooden gables’ were rebuilt in stone and brick using a simple vertical division of five pointed arches in each, inspired on the rich decorative patterns of the northern gables. These decorations had a particular rhythm; the gables formed five pairs respecting the internal division of bays. The gables of each pair had the same decorative pattern, but it was different from other pairs. Two (the second and the fourth) were, however, the same giving an impression of an almost symmetrical elevation. The restoration was carried

Figure 183. Magdeburg Cathedral, south aisle gables in 1979

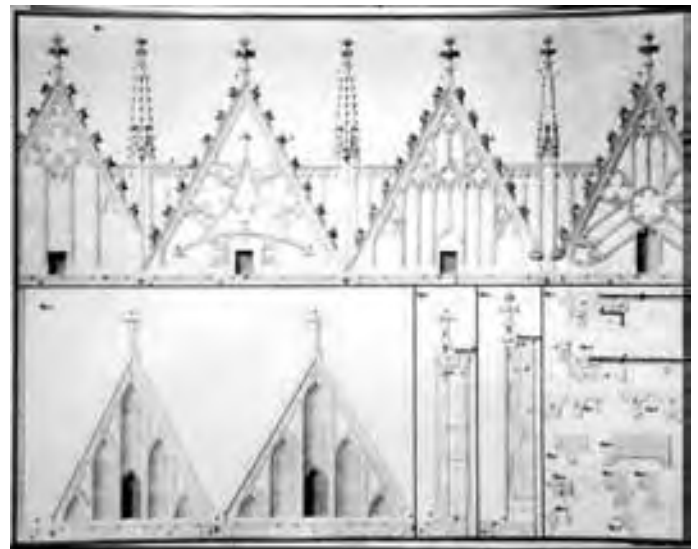


Figure 182. Clemens, Mellin, Rosenthal: Magdeburg Cathedral, proposed restoration of north and south aisle gables. Although north aisle gables were richly ornamented, the south aisle gables were proposed to be left with timber structures. In the restoration, these were proposed to be built in with masonry and brick in the spirit of the north aisle

out respecting the original form, but later when the plans were published, some criticism was raised about this symmetry, which was found “disturbing” in an otherwise asymmetrical facade. (39)

The Interior

The repairs in the interior were so organized that the use of the Cathedral could continue even during the restoration. (40) During the works, many of the 64 altars and monuments of different ages (especially those from Renaissance and Baroque periods) were removed, but some were considered ‘beautiful’ and preserved. The seventeenth and eighteenth-century furnishings, described as “irregularly placed and most disadvantageous to the understanding of the sermon, box-like, white-yellow painted, formless ... worm-eaten, and dilapidated” (41), were removed and replaced with benches in an ‘appropriate style’ - indicated by Klewitz. The thirteenth-century altar in the middle of the nave was considered an obstacle for the regular arrangement of the seats, and so was the thirteenth-century Chapel of the Holy Tomb with the statues of Otto I and his wife, removed to a side chapel.

The mediaeval lime rendering was removed (with much difficulty) from the walls and from the vaults, and completely renewed. The painted decoration of ashlar imitation on the original rendering was copied on the new plaster. The wall paintings of the mediaeval chapel at the west entrance were completely repainted copying the original. The floors were all rebuilt, the

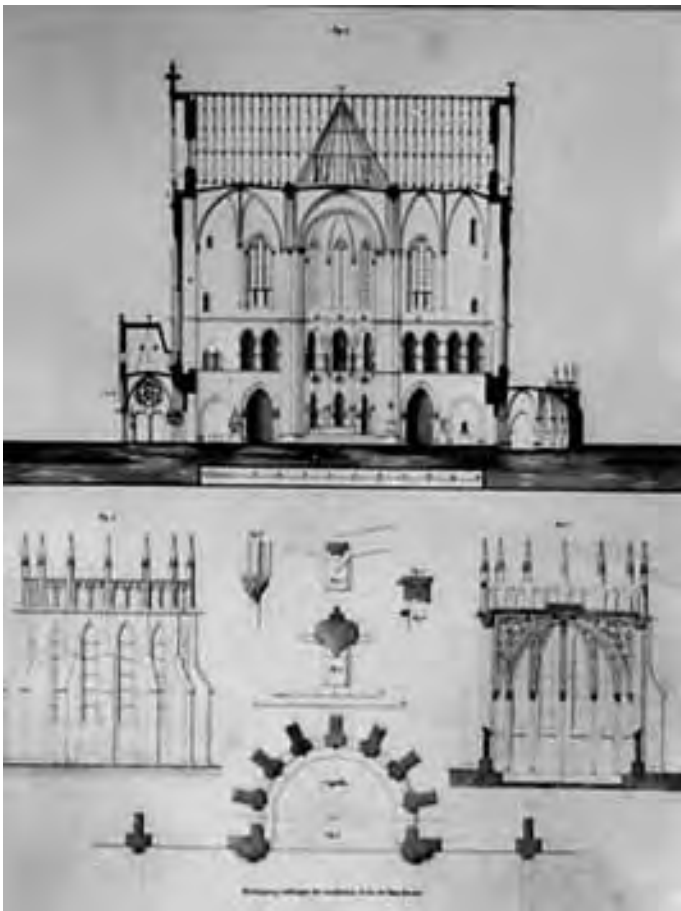


Figure 184. Clemens, Mellin, Rosenthal: Magdeburg Cathedral, proposed restoration of the choir

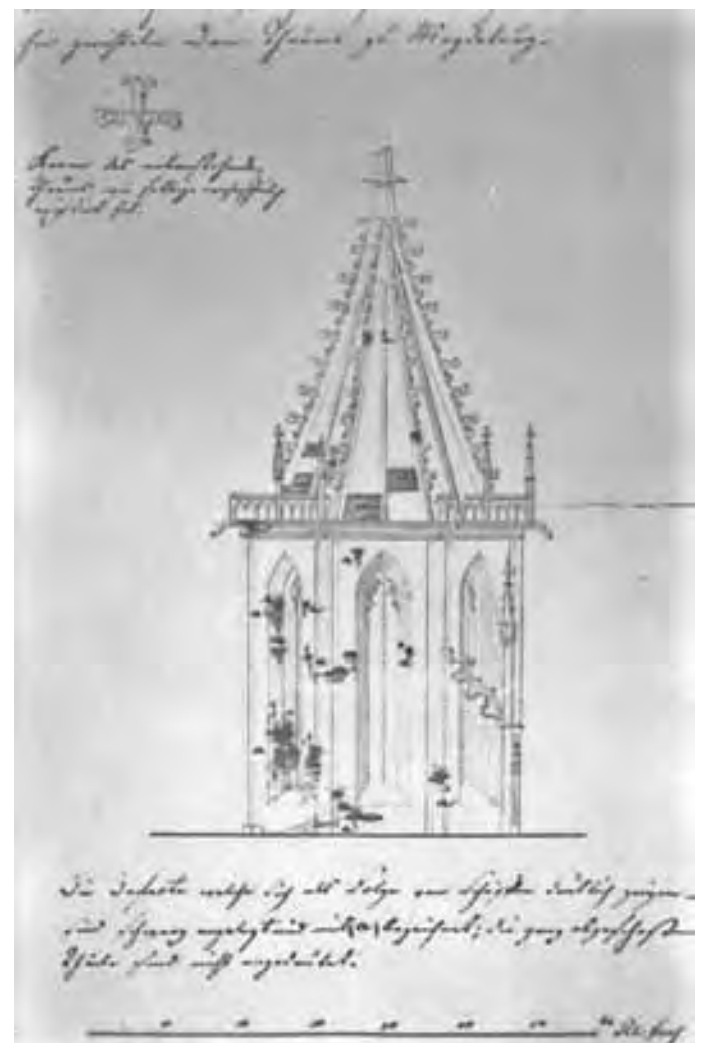
tombstones taken out to the cloister and fixed on the wall; important inscriptions of the tombs of bishops were recarved on the new floor. While on the exterior of the Cathedral, the carved ornaments were mostly remade, sculptural decorations in the interior were well preserved and were kept intact. (42) Necessary structural reinforcements in the interior were made with visible devices; iron bands were used for the piers; the central rib of the choir vault was reinforced by fixing a cast-iron element under it. In 1830, the tombs of three archbishops were discovered under the floor and excavated. A number of interesting objects were found, and although proposals were made for keeping them on display in the church, it was decided to put them back in the tombs, respecting the last will of one of the bishops. Casts were made, however, of the most interesting objects. (43) The tomb of Otto I, in the centre of the choir, built in the form of a sarcophagus out of ancient marbles, was also carefully studied. It remained in place and was surrounded with a decorative iron fence. (44)

The Western Towers

Repair of roof structures started together with the choir, but the work lasted until 1834 - being the last to be completed. All tile roofs were relaid in slates, considered lighter in weight and also architecturally

better suited to the style of the building. (45) This, however, changed its character and made it look more austere. The restoration of the western towers had originally been planned before the interior, but was delayed, and done only after it. (46) The north-west tower was thus repaired beginning in 1829, and the south-west tower was scaffolded the following year. The southern tower especially had problems with the stonework, and much stone had to be renewed in the whole west front. The finial of the northern tower was consolidated in 1831, but the missing finial of the south tower caused some discussion. According to a legend, this had been shot down during the siege of General Tilly in 1629-1631. (47) Investigations were made to find out whether this could have been possible with the canons of the time; and the answer was considered positive. Later it was discovered that the finial had actually been missing already before the siege of Tilly, and other stories gave it to have been blown down by a storm in the sixteenth century. (48) Nevertheless, considering that the missing finial had become characteristic of the Cathedral, and also that there were the legends related to it - whether true or

Figure 185. Magdeburg Cathedral, drawing of the south tower, indicating damages (manuscript)



not, it was decided to leave the tower without its finial as a “historic monument”. (49)

The Completion of the Restoration

The restoration proceeded according to the schedules and was completed in time. Building materials were available in sufficient quantities, and while the works went on also the skill of the workmen improved. No accidents were reported during the work. Klewitz was able to give a favourable report to the King on the contribution of all those who had worked in the restoration. However, Clemens had died in 1831, and Kurella, his colleague had left Magdeburg in 1832. (50) Once the Cathedral was restored, it was decided to pay some attention to its surroundings. Some buildings from the south-eastern corner had already been demolished in 1826 to free the building. Now the surrounding areas were planted, and iron railings constructed around the Cathedral. French troops had damaged the Lindenalleen, the tree-planted streets surrounding the square on the north-side. It was decided to consult Schinkel and have them replanted. (51) On the completion of this “most beautiful monument” of the Fatherland, a marble inscription was fixed in the interior stating: “The piety of His Majesty King Friedrich Wilhelm III is to be thanked for the complete restoration of this venerable Cathedral during the years 1825 to 1836.” (52) On 18 January 1835, the Bishop held a sermon of thanksgiving for the successful completion of the work.

Although Schinkel, as a member of the General Directorate, had not favoured the restoration of sculptural ornaments in this or similar buildings, he had still contributed to saving the ‘lead tower’ in its original form. In the interior, various ‘inappropriate’ monuments were destroyed or removed in order to open a free perspective through the building as had become fashionable in England. Here, too, Schinkel helped to protect the fifteenth-century choir screen considering it “appropriate in relieving somewhat the empty and naked feeling, so easily received in newly restored churches.” (53) Having the interior newly rendered and painted in relatively light colours, made the space look full of light; this effect was only intensified by the plain glass windows. This result was met also with some criticism; in 1832, Franz Kugler, professor of art history, wrote in his diaries about this ‘dazzling white’ paint and the excessive light coming through unpainted windows, and lamented that “the magic semi-darkness, that speaks to us like a beautiful pious saga of bygone times, and fills the breast with a quiet longing, and which is like a shadow of the holy

martyr-glowing window-pictures; that historic spell has been robbed!” (54)

The bombardments towards the end of the Second World War destroyed the city of Magdeburg almost totally. The Cathedral itself was badly damaged. The west front was opened by bomb explosions, 300 sq.m of vaults of the side aisles collapsed, the interior suffered badly of fire, and all windows were destroyed. The precious twelfth- and thirteenth-century sculptures, however, survived without damage under the protection of reinforced concrete structures. Immediately after the end of the war, restoration started, and by 1949 the roofs and windows had already been repaired; by 1955, the restoration was again completed. In this work, full respect was given to the nineteenth-century restoration. In cases where ornamental parts had been lost, these were replaced by new artistic work (by H. Apel). In the interior, while preserving the general appearance, some of the monuments and chapels, removed in the previous restoration, such as the so-called Otto-Edith-Kapelle, were brought back to their original place in the Cathedral. (55)

Figure 186. Magdeburg Cathedral, western towers in 1979



Notes to Chapter Eleven

1. Sello, H., 'Dom Altertümer', Geschichts-Blätter für Stadt und Land Magdeburg, XXVI, 1891, II, 108ff.
2. Sello, *ibid*; Dehio, G., Handbuch der deutschen Kunstdenkmäler, 'Der Bezirk Magdeburg', Berlin 1974, 265.
3. Brandt, C.L., Der Dom zu Magdeburg, eine Jubelschrift zur Feier seiner 500 jährigen Weihe, Magdeburg 1863, 9ff.
4. Dehio, *ibid*, 272.
5. Brandt, *ibid*, 18ff.
6. Brandt, *ibid*, 26.
7. 'Allerh.KO. vom 14. Oktober 1815 (GS.S.206) betr. wesentl. Veränderung an Denkmälern': "...bei jeder wesentlichen Veränderung an öffentlichen Gebäuden oder Denkmälern..." (Weimers, Handbuch für die Denkmalpflege, Hannover 1912, 434). Rave, P.O., 'Schinkel als Beamter, Ein Abschnitt preussischer Bauverwaltung', Karl Friedrich Schinkel, Architektur, Malerei, Kunstgewerbe, (Exh.Cat.) Berlin 1981, 75ff.
8. See Chapter fifteen.

9. Von Alterstein and von Schreckmann to the King, 1 February 1826, (BI 45-48, Rep C20 II Nr 44 II, Magdeburg Archiv): (BI 45)

"...wodurch einem ehrwürdigen Gebäude altdeutscher Kunst eine Zierde beraubt werden würde, bedenklich schien."

The entire report reads as follows:

"Schon im Jahre 1819 zeigte die Regierung zu Magdeburg an dass die dortige Domkirche einer Haupt-Reparatur bedürftig sei. Dabei reichte sie zugleich die Auskläge von den notwendigsten Reparaturen ein und trug darauf an den Bleiturm oder den sogenannten Reiter, welcher auf der Mitte des Kirchendachs angebracht ist, zur Ersparung der Unterhaltungskosten abtragen zu lassen. Da nun dem Minister der geistlichen 5.5. Angelegenheiten ein solcher Beitrag wodurch eine Zierde beraubt werden würde bedenklich schien, so forderte ich die Ober-Bau-Deputation zum Gutachten auf, in wiefern dieser Auftrag für zulässig erachtet werden könne und erforderte zugleich deren nähere Zusage welche Reparaturen an diesem Gebäude die dringenden und daher sofort zu bewirken sein möchten. Die Ober-Bau-Deputation erklärte hierauf, dass man sich durchaus kein Recht anmassen dürfe, an einem der ersten und schönsten Monumente altdeutscher Baukunst in Eur. Königl. Majestät Staaten einer Veränderung der Form vorzunehmen, und die Abtragung des Bleiturms um so weniger nachgegeben werden könne, da schon bei der blossen Betrachtung des Gebäudes der erste Anblick dem Beschauer desselben tragen müsste, dass dem Architekten bei der Anordnung des Bleiturms das sehr richtige Gefühl geleitet habe, dadurch der langen Linie des Kirchendaches eine Unterbrechung zu

geben, die zugleich den Mittelpunkt über dem Chor oder dem Kreuz äusserlich bezeichnen soll. Die Ober-Bau-Deputation trug daher darauf an, wegen Reparatur des Bleiturms ganz in seiner jetzigen Form einen Anschlag anfertigen zu lassen und mit den höchst dringenden Reparaturen der Kirche nach den Anschlägen schon vor ihrer Revision den Anfang zu machen. Dabei bemerkte die Ober-Bau-Deputation im allgemeinen dass die ganze Architektur dieses achtungswürdigen Denkmals in einem sehr zerrütteten Zustand sich befinde, und besonders die oberen Teile der beiden grossen Türme viel gelitten hätten. Ihr Anschlag dahin eine vollständige Aufnahme und Veranschlagung aller am Dom zu Magdeburg wonach alsdann auf einer Reihe von Jahren die Ausführung der zu bewirkenden Reparaturen reportiert werden können, indem so bedeutende Arbeiten insbesondere die Herstellung aller vorhandenen Sandstein Ornamente an diesem Gebäude erfordern, schon der Kosten wegen nicht mit einem Male zu bewirken seien und es zuch zweckmässig sein würde, inzwischen das Gebäude selbst der grösseren Sorge und Obhut unserer sachverständigen an zu vertrauen, die unterdessen eine genauere Kenntniss seiner Teile und dessen was zu ihrer Erhaltung not tut, sich würden verschafft haben. Die Regierung zu Magdeburg ist non hiernach angewiesen worden, die dringenden Reparaturen nach den Anschlägen sofort bewirken zu lassen übrigens aber wegen Aufnahme anderweiter Anschläge nicht nur zu Herstellung des Bleiturms sondern auch zur ... baulicher Instandsetzung der ganzen Domkirche nach den Bewirkungen der Ober-Bau-Deputation zu verfahren, und diese Anschläge unter Vorlegung der Zeichnungen und Zubehör mit ihren gutachtlichen Vorschlägen begleitet, vorher einzureichen.

Eur. Königl. Majestät erlauben wir uns hiernach die demgemäss von der Regierung eingesandten vollständigen Anschläge und Zeichnungen von der Reparatur aenderung in Magdeburg nebst den dazugehörigen hbrigen ausarbeitungen in tiefer Ehrfurch vorzulegen.

Nach dem Inhalt des Haupt-Erläuterungs wird zur völligen Instandsetzung ein Kostenaufwache von 310.056rt 28pgb 3ch erforderlich sein, nämlich:

1. zur Herstellung des hohen Chors: 18.793rt, 12 pgb, 2ch
2. ... der Kreuzarm: 18.793rt, 12pgb, 2ch
3. ... des Schiffes der Kirche: 14.918rt, 19pgb, 11ch
4. ... des nördlichen Turms:
5. ... des südlichen Turms:
6. ... des Mittelgebäudes:
7. ... des Inneren der Kirche:
8. ... Vollendung der beiden östlichen Türme:
9. ... Erneuerung des Bleiturms oder sog. Aufreiters:
10. ... Umdeckung der Ziegeldächer in Schiefer und Reparatur der übrigen

Alle diese Reparaturen würden in einem Zeitraum von 15 Jahren ausgeführt werden können, wenn dazu jährlich 20.000 rt bestimmt werden möchten. Am zweckmässigsten könnte dann die ganze Reparatur des Doms in folgender Ordnung ausgeführt werden:

1. Im ersten Jahre: Die Herstellung der beiden Kreuzarme
2. Im zweiten: Die Arbeiten am hohen Chor
3. Im dritten: Die Reparatur des Mittelschiffes
4. Im vierten: Die Reparatur an den Beidseiten des Doms
5. Im fünften: Die Erneuerung des Bleitürms und die Dachdeckung
6. Im sechsten: Die Vollendung der Dacharbeiten, Bearbeitung der Rüstungen zum südlichen Turm.
7. Im siebenten: Die Arbeiten am südlichen Turm selbst.
8. Im achten: Die Vollendung dieser Arbeiten.
9. Im neunten: Die Herstellung des ganzen Mittelgebäudes.
10. Im zehnten: Die Reparaturen des nördlichen Turms.
11. Im elften: Die Beendigung dieser Arbeiten.
12. Im zwölften sowie
13. Im dreizehnten und
14. Im vierzehnten Jahre: Die Beendigung aller Arbeiten im Inneren des Gebäudes und endlich,
15. im fünfzehnten Jahre Die Vollendung der beiden östlichen Türme. Wird nur das nötigste gemacht und auf eigentliche Vollständigkeit der Herstellung wozu die Vollendung der beiden östlichen Türme die Umwandlung des Daches in ein Schieferdach und das Abreiben und Oelen des ganzen Gebäudes gehört, verzichtet, so sind nur 226.856 rt 22 pgb 9 ch erforderlich und so wird in diesem Falle bei einer Bewilligung von jährlich 20.000 rt die ganze Reparatur des Doms in 10 bis 11 Jahren bewirkt werden können.

Die Ober-Bau-Deputation hat sich mit den ihr vorgelegten fälligen Anschlägen, welche jedoch bei einer solchen bedeutenden Reparatur immer nur als Uebersichten gelten können, im allgemeinen einverstanden erklärt. Zwar hat sie auf die Frage ob die bedeutenden Kosten dieses Reparaturbaus, welche Fiskus als Nachfolger des aufgehobenen Domstifts zu tragen hat, nicht noch ermässigt werden können, anheim gestellt, die Menge kleiner sich mehr oder weniger immer wiederholender Ornamente nur Gliederungen in den Sandstein ... womit dieses Gebäude überdeckt ist, und welche zum grössten Teil unabhängig von der Construction der übrigen Kosten seien, seinem Schicksal zu werden würden; wenn man nur von Zeit zu Zeit dafür sorgte, dasjenige was davon herabzufallen droht, sogleich wegschaffen und den Ort wo es sass, so bearbeiten zu lassen, dass die Witterung keinen Einfluss

mehr darauf haben kann, indem es genügen würde, wenn man allenfalls der Kunstgeschichte wegen einen kleinen Teil des Gebäudes in seiner ganzen Vollständigkeit Conservierte, im übrigen aber einzig und allein nur das berhecksichtigte was zur Erhaltung des Reste in statisch constructiver Hinsicht nutzbar sei, weil für die ersten der folgenden Jahrhunderte die bunte Wirkung solcher alten Bauwerke immer noch mit der Hälfte der Ornamente erreicht werde, wenn auch die andere Hälfte theils ganz fehlen, theils in einem unvollkommenen Zustande gesehen werden müsste. Durch die Ausführung dieses Prinzips glaubt die Ober-Bau-Deputation sogar dass das Dom und ähnliche Gebäude in noch späterer Zeit, wenn sie erst alle unwesentlichen Teile verloren hätten, in ihrem Zustand eher gewinnen als verlieren dürften. Wir können indes diese Meinungen und Ansichten der Ober-Bau-Deputation nicht teilen, glauben vielmehr, dass wenn das Domgebäude in Magdeburg die von ihr als unwesentlich bezeichneten Ornamente der gothischen Baukunst einst verloren haben wird das ganze Ansehen dieses ehrwürdigen und in der Geschichte sehr merkwürdigen Denkmals altdeutscher Baukunst eher verlieren als gewinnen müssen. Die grosse Anzahl kleiner Verzierungen, in denen ein Reichtum künstlerischer Ideen und ... Laune der Baumeister sich kund gibt, kann man wohl nicht zu den unwesentlichen Teilen solcher Gebäude zählen, sie sind vielmehr dazu geeignet bei dem vermutlich freien Kunstkenner und Kunstfreunde den Eindruck zu erhöhen den diese Bauwerke, in Gegensatz dieser Ornamente, durch ihre imponierende Grösse und Masse hervorbringen. Es scheint uns, dass bei richtiger Würdigung des Gegenstandes sich auch hierunter ein richtiges Maas halten, und das wesentlichere von dem ganz unwesentlichen ausscheiden lässt so wie auch dass bei einer richtigen Einleitung, solche Gebäude wohl vollständig repariert werden können, ohne übermässige Summen auf einmal nötig zu machen, wenn nur mit Vorsicht und Geschick darauf gedacht wird, die namentlich bei den Ornamenten sich ergebenden Verstümmelungen und gebrochen nach und nach wiederherzustellen.

Unter solchen Umständen können Eure Königl. Majestät allerhöchsten Entscheidung wir nur in tiefster Ehrfurcht anheim stellen ob und in welcher Art die Reparatur des Doms in Magdeburg ausgeführt werden soll, und ob allerhöchst dieselben geruhen wollen, die Kosten aus dem Extraordinaire der General-Staats-Kasse innerhalb 10 oder 15 Jahren, je nach dem die ganze Herstellung des Doms mit einem Kostenaufwand von 310.056 rt 28 pgb 3 ch oder nur des notwendigen Theils zum Betrage von 226.856 rt 22 pgb 9 ch bewirkt werden soll, alljährlich mit 20.000 Talern allergnädigst anweisen zu lassen. Schliesslich erlauben wir uns noch ehrfurchtsvoll zu bemerken, dass nach der Angabe der Ober-Bau-Deputation die Herstellung der beiden Kreuzarme höchst dringend erscheint und die grösste Gefahr im Verzuge dieser Instandsetzung zu befürchten ist.

Berlin den 1ten Februar 1826

Ihre Exzellenzen die Hohen Wirklichen Geheimen Staatsminister Freiherrn von Altenstein und von Schreckmann.”

10. Ibid, (BI 45) “einem der ersten und schönsten Monumente altdeutscher Baukunst in Eur. Königl. Majestät Staaten”

11. See chapter fifteen.

12. (Rep.C. 20.II Nr.44 Vol.I, 6) Report, 1 May 1825, Costenoble had given to Klewitz the first estimates for the work on 12 February 1821. (ibid, 8), Clemens Pro Mem., 12 June 1825: On 3 March 1822, Costenoble had provided the Ober-Bau-Deputation with some sketches and plans, which were, however, not considered sufficient as a basis for the work.

13. Fritsche, H.A., ‘Der Architekturmaler Carl Georg Adolf Hasenpflug (*1802,+1858), ein Wegbereiter der Denkmalpflege’, Jahrbuch der Denkmalpflege in der Provinz Sachsen und in Anhalt, 1937/38, 93ff.

14. The King to Staatsminister von Klewitz, 10 February 1826 (Rep.C.20 II Nr.44 Vol.I,10; Magdeburg Archiv):

“Wie Ich vernommen habe, sind grosse Kosten erforderlich, um die Dom-Kirche in Magdeburg in baulichen Würden zu erhalten und herzustellen. Das alte ehrwürdige Gebäude darf nicht verfallen, die bedeutenden Kosten der Reparatur aus öffentlichen Fonds zu bereiten, wird aber seine Schwierigkeit haben, und Ich will daher Sechszigtausend Thaler aus Meiner Chatouille dazu verwenden lassen, welche Sie von dem Geheimen Cammerier Timm zur weitem Verfügung empfangen werden.

Berlin, den 10ten Februar 1826,

Friedrich Wilhelm

An den Staats-Minister von Klewitz zu Magdeburg.”

15. Klewitz to the King, 3 March 1828 (Sign.2.2.1. Nr.22113, 21-21v, Zentrales Staatsarchiv, Merseburg) Burchardt, J.H.B., Momente zur Geschichte des Dom-Reparatur-Baues in Magdeburg, 1826-1834, Magdeburg 1835, 16ff. Harms, ‘Von dem Wiederherstellungsbau des Magdeburger Domes 1826 bis 1834’, Die Denkmalpflege, VI, xii, 21.9.1904, 96ff.

16. Clemens-Mellin-Rosenthal (fortgesetzt von Clemens-Rosenthal), Der Dom zu Magdeburg, I-V, Magdeburg 1830-1852.

17. Von Altenstein and von Schreckmann to the King, 1 February 1826, op.cit.

18. Clemens to Klewitz, 17 February 1826 (Rep.C 20 II, Nr.44 II, BI 22ff, Magdeburg Archiv)

19. Clemens, P.M., 3 March 1826 (Rep.C 20 II, Nr.44 II, BI 50ff, Magdeburg Archiv).

20. Klewitz to the King, 27 December 1834 (Sign. 2.2.1. Nr. 22113, 75ff, Zentrales Staatsarchiv, Merseburg).

21. Die Königliche Ober-Bau-Deputation (Eytelwein, Schinkel, Bauer, Crelle) to the Ministers, von Altenstein and von Bülow, 30 May 1825 (Rep.C 20 II, Nr.44 II, BI 24ff, Magdeburg Archiv): “vollkommen zweckmässig”.

The whole document reads as follows:

“Die von Euren Excellenzen unterm 28ten d.M. uns zugefertigten weitläufigen Anschläge zur Reparatur des Doms zu Magdeburg haben wir, so weit es sich ohne Ort und Stelle zu sein, und überhaupt bei einem so komplizierten Reparaturbau tun liess, nach den sehr vollständig bearbeiteten Erläuterung ... rediviert, und müssten uns im Ganzen damit einverstanden erklären. Wir finden ganz besonders auch die Folge, in welcher die Arbeiten zur Ausführung kommen sollen vollkommen zweckmässig. Im Allgemeinen bemerken wir, dass für speziellsten Anschläge immer nur als Ueberschläge betrachtet werden können, weil alles das was im Verlauf der Ausführung möglicherweise vorkommen kaum vorher mehr zu berechnen ist. In Betracht der bei den bedeutenden Summen dieser Anschläge zu machenden Ersparungen glauben wir nicht dass weiter damit gegangen werden dürfte, als vorläufig die eingereichte Uebersicht Lit B.E.E. angibt, welche mit der Kostensumme von 226.856 rl 22 gl 9 ch abschliesst, wenn man nicht überhaupt bei Herstellung von dergleichen Bauwerken des 12ten bis 15ten Jahrhunderts ein ganz anderes Prinzip walten lassen will. Es ist nicht zu leugnen dass sämtliche Bauwerke dieser Zeit deren Baufähigkeit in unseren Tagen zuerst recht sichtbar wird und kunftig hin in Progressionen wächst mit einer so vollkommenen Sorgfalt für jedes einzelne Detail wie in den vorliegenden Anschlägen erhalten weren sollen, dem Staat eine fast unerschwingliche Last aufgebürdet wird. Die übermässige Anzahl kleiner sich mehr oder weniger immer wiederholender Ornamente und Gliederungen, womit diese Gebäude überdeckt sind, in denen nur ein mechanischer Schematismus fein erkünsteltes Spiel treibt, aber die eigentlichen Aufgaben der Schönen Kunst: ‘ideale Auffassung menschlicher und Natur Zustände angeben und aufgelöst sind, diese Ornamente sämtlich mit pedantischer Sorgfalt auf die Nachwelt zu bringen’, hiesse mit enormen Mitteln welche würde das Eigentümliche einer Kunsthandlung erhalten, welches allein dazu da wäre zu zeigen, wie man es nicht machen solle. Ein sehr grosses Teil dieser Ornamente ist unabhängig von der Konstruktion der Massen, wenn daher dieses Teil seinem Schicksal überlassen würde, wenn von Zeit zu Zeit dafür gesorgt würde, dasjenige was davon herab zu fallen droht, wegzuschaffen und den Ort wo es sass so zu bearbeiten dass die Witterung keinen Einfluss mehr darauf haben kann, wenn man allenfalls der Kunstgeschichte wegen, einen kleinen Teil des Gebäudes in seiner ganzen Vollständigkeit konserwirte, im übrigen aber einzig und allein das berücksichtigte, was zur Erhaltung der Masse in statisch Constructiver Hinsicht nötig ist, so würden ausserordentliche Summen erspart, und für die ersten der folgenden Jahrhunderte wird die bunte der Ornamente erreicht, wenn auch die andere Hälfte teils ganz fehlen,

teils in unvollkommenen Zustände gesehen werden sollte; vielleicht dürfte gerade das Fehlende die Pfantasie solcher Romantiker die daran auch künftig noch Geschmack finden sollten, noch mehr aufreizen und den Gegenstand noch interessanter machen. Dass aber ein noch späterer Zeit, wenn diese Gebäude alle unwesentliche Teile verloren haben werden, ihr Žusseres eher gewinnen als verlieren dürften, ist wenigstens bei sehr vielen derselben wahrscheinlich. Sollten nun nach einem solchen Prinzip bei dem vorliegenden Gegenstande verfahren werden so bedürfte es einer ganz anderen Bearbeitung der Anschläge und wir müssten die Entscheidung hierüber Euren Exzellenzen ganz gehorsamst anheimstellen. Hinsicht der Construction und Ausführung einzelner Teile dieses Reparaturbaues bemerken wir nur, dass wir uns mit den Arbeiten der angegriffenen Mauerflächen im Innern der Domkirche sowohl als in einzelnen Teilen des Žusseren nicht einverstanden erklären, weil Steine die durch lange eingedrungene Fluchtigkeit eine solche äussere Zerstörung zeigen wie die Erläuterungen der Anschläge sei darstellen, gewöhnlich im inneren auf gleiche Weise aufgelöst sind. Wir würden vorziehen, in diesem Falle die äusseren Flächen mit dem sehr vorzüglichen römischen Zement, der aus England hber Hamburg durch das Haus - Tode et Comp. - beschafft wird, zu überziehen und glatt zu putzen. Dieser Zement ernährt sich durch die Feuchtigkeit, wieht solche aus der inneren Mauere an sich, und gewinnt nachher eine solche Festigkeit, dass von aussenher die Feuchtigkeit nicht mehr eindringen kann. Die Ort wie die Abfallrinnen von Kupfer in den äusseren Pfeilern der Kirche mittelst festen verzinckten in Zementmörtel angebracht werden sollen, würden wir deshalb nicht zweckmässig halten, weil dadurch die Reparatur der Rinnen unmöglich wird, indem künftig eine solche kupferne Rinne, ohne den ganzen Pfeiler einzureissen gar nicht herausgenommen werden kann. Wenn es möglich ist die steinernen Rinnen vor Einbringung der kupfernen Röhren inwendig zu zementieren, und nach Erhärtung des Zements die kupfernen Rinnen mit hinreichendem Spielraum einzulassen, so würde dies sehr wünschenswert sein jedoch kaum dies nur in dem Fall stattfinden, dass von Distanz zu Distanz, der Höhe nach Oeffnungen von hinreichender Grösse zu einer Steinrinne findet oder machen kann und mittelst hölzerner Formen, in welche der Zementmörtel eingegossen wird und die nachher herausgenommen werden, der Raum für die kupfernen Rinnen vorgerichtet wird. Wir bemerken noch im Allgemeinen, dass die Herstellung der beiden Kreuzarme der Kirche vor allen Dingen höchst dringend erscheint und die grösste Gefahr im Verzuge zu befürchten ist. Die Zeichnungen die Anschläge die Erläuterungen und sämmtliche übrigen Stücke reichen wir gehorsamst zurück.

Berlin, den 30ten Mai 1825,

Königliche Ober-Bau-Deputation

(gez.) Eytelwein, Schinkel, Bauer, Crelle

An den Königlichen wirklichen Geheimen Staatsminister Herrn Freiherrn von Altenstein, Exzellenz, und an den Königlichen wirklichen Geheimen Staatsminister Herrn Grafen von Bülow, Exzellenz.”

22. Idem.

23. Idem. “...seinem Schicksal überlassen würde”.

24. Idem. “...vielleicht dürfte gerade das Fehlende die Pfantasie solcher Romantiker die daran auch künftig noch Geschmack finden sollten, noch mehr aufreizen und den Gegenstand noch interessanter machen.”

25. Idem, “...gewinnt nachher eine solche Festigkeit, dass von aussenher die Feuchtigkeit nicht mehr eindringen kann.”

26. Clemens to Klewitz, 17 February 1826, op.cit.: “... das Schreiben der Ober-Bau-Deputation vom 30ten Mai d.J. in Abschrift mit dem Bemerken ganz ergenst hierbie, dass ich mit den darin ausgesprochenen Meinungen und Ansichten derselben nach denen die vielen Ornamente gothischer Bauwerken für unwesentlich erklärt und deren vollständige Reparatur nicht für nötig erachtet wird, nicht einverstanden bin. Dies habe ich bereits gegen den Herrn Geheimen Staats-Minister von Schreckmann Exzellenz erklärt welcher meiner Meinung begetreten ist. Die grosse Anzahl kleiner Verzierungen an Gothischen Gebäuden, in denen sich ein unendlicher Fleiss, oft sogar ein Reichtum künstlerischer Ideen und genialer Laune der Baumeister kund gibt, kann man wohl nicht wie die Ober-Bau-Deputation vermeint, zu den unwesentlichen Teilen solcher Gebäude zählen; sie sind vielmehr dazu geeignet, bei dem vorurtheilsfreien Kunstkenner und Kunstfreunde den Eindruck zu erhöhen den diese Bauwerke im Gegensatz dieser Ornamente, durch ihre imponierende Grösse und Masse hervorbringen. Mir scheint es auch hierunter ein richtiges Maas halten, und das wesentlichere von dem ganz unwesentlichen füglich ausscheiden lässt, Einteilung solcher Gebäude wohl vollständig repariert werden können ohne übermässige Summen auf einmal nutig zu machen, wenn nur mit Vorscht und Geschick darauf gedacht wird, die namentlich auch bei den Ornamenten des Doms sich ergebenden Verstümmelungen und Gebrechen nach und nach wieder herzustellen. Dieser Ansicht würde auch in dem jetzt zurückgelegten Immediat-Bericht Seiner Majestät dem Könige in eben dieser Art vorgetragen worden seien.” These comments had been taken further by von Altenstein and von Schreckmann in their letter to the King, 1 February 1826 (op.cit.).

27. Klewitz to the King, 28 May 1826 (Sign. 2.2.1. Nr.22113, 6v, Zentrales Staatsarchiv, Merseburg): “Unter diesen Umständen war es mir zunächst wichtig durch den Regierungsbaurat Clemens, zu dessen Geschäftskreis dieser Bau gehört, mit dem Geheimen Ober-Bau-Rat Schinkel mündliche Rücksprache nehmen zu lassen. Hiernach be der Wiederherstellung des Gebäudes auf den Zusammenhang des ganzen Rücksicht zu nehmen sein, um die so seltene Reinheit des Styls zu erhalten, rücksichtlich des gegenwärtigen Zustandes der Ornament

so tritt dagegen die Notwendigkeit, den Dom in seinen rohen Massen darzustellen, noch nicht ein und es wird nur eine zu grosse Aengstlichkeit mildern und das wahrhaft unwesentliche ausgeschieden werden müssen. Von diesem Gesichtspunkte ausgehend erachtet der a Clemens zu der sonach beschränkten Ausführung der vorliegenden Anschläge von 204.000 Taler für notwendig, womit innerhalb eines Zeitraumes von 9 bis 10 Jahren folgende Arbeiten auszuführen sein würden. Im Jahre 1826. Die Herstellung des nördlichen Kreuzarmes, eines Teils des südlichen und mehrere Vorarbeiten des ganzen Baues, 21.000.

Im Jahre 1827. Die Vollendung der Kreuzarme, die Erneuerung des Bleitürms und die Reparatur eines Teils des hohen Chors, 22.500.

In den Jahren 1828 und 1829. Herstellung des Schiffs, 35.000.

In den Jahren 1830 bis 1832. Die Arbeiten an den beiden grossen Türmen und dem Mittelgebäude, 68.000.

In den Jahren 1833 und 1834. Die Herstellung des Inneren der Kirche, und die Beendigung des ganzen Baues, 32.000; zur Bestreitung der Dacharbeiten, 5.400; und die Kosten der Rüstungen, 20.000.”

28. Klewitz to the King, 3 March 1828 (Sign. 2.2.1. Nr. 22113, 21ff, Zentrales Staatsarchiv, Merseburg).

29. Mellin and Rosenthal to Kurella and Clemens, 4 August 1826 (Rep.C 20 II, Nr.45, BI 117-118, Magdeburg Archiv):

“Magdeburg am 4ten August 1826

An den Königlichen Regierungsrat Kurella, Hochwohlgeboren, und an den Königl. Regierung und Baurath Herrn Clemens Hochwohlgeboren, hier.

Bei der jetzt in Ausführung begriffenen Erneuerung des sogenannten Bleitürms auf dem Domkirchendache haben wir darüber nachgedacht, auf welche Weise wohl das ausdrückliche und mit dem Ganzen gar nicht harmonisierende Ansehn des alten Turms bei dem neueren Turm auf eine dem Charakter des Dom's entsprechende Weise vermieden werden mögte. Wenn es nun wohl nicht zu läugnen ist 1 dass die Bleikleidung der Wände und Pfeiler nicht zu billigen ist weil indem sie den unterschied zwischen diesem und dem gleichmässig mit Blei bedeckten Dache vermischt, die Hutlichkeit also auch der Ausdruck vermindert und dann besonders, weil ein solcher Schutz der Würde, wenn er sichtbar wird, das hinfällige Material zu sehr verrät und dadurch eine gewisse Zmlichkeit ausspricht und 2. dass die auf der Hauptspitze und den 6 kleinen Giebelfeldern des alten Bleitürms aufgesetzten einfachen runden Knöpfe dem altdeutschen Baustyl im allgemeinen ziemlich fremd sind und hier im Vergleich zu den zierlichen Spitzen und Kronen, mit denen am Dom die übrigen Turm und Giebelspitzen auf bei weitem schwereren Massen gekrönt und geschmückt sind, besonders unangenehm auffallen. So glauben wir nicht

zu fehlen, wenn wir folgende unmaasgebliche Ratschläge uns erlauben:

Ad 1. Das Dach des neuen Bleitürms mit Blei, die Wände aber mit starkem Pontonblech zubekleiden, und dieses mit einer passenden TMfarbe anzustreichen, wodurch zugleich um circa 300 Taler die Kosten bedeutend vermindert, die Dauer vermehrt und die Gesimse und Durchbrechungen weit schönere Profile erhalten würden.

Ad 2. Statt der runden Knöpfe ode Kugeln einfach verzierte Kreuze, die mit dem altdeutschen Baustyl im Allgemeinen sowohl als auch besonders hiermit den, dem Bleturm am nächsten liegenden Teilen des Gebäudes in besserer Uebereinstimmung stehen, zu wählen. Zur näheren Prüfung des letzen Punktes fügen wir gehorsamst eine Skizze vom alten und eine dergl. vom projektierten neuen Turme bei, und erlauben uns noch schliesslich zur Rechfertigung dieser Abweichungen vom gegenwärtigen Zustande anzuführen, dass die rohe und zu den anderen Teilen des Gebäudes so wenig passende Form dieses sogenannten Bleitürms genugsam seine spätere und nicht nach dem ersten Bauplan ausgeführten Erbauung erreichen dürfte, also eine Znderung der ursprünglichen Formen, welche sonst überall ganz treu beibehalten und resp. wieder hergestellt werden müssen, durch die vorgeschlagene Ausführungsweise, gar nicht vorgenommen wird.

Schliesslich bitten wir recht dringend um möglichst gewogentliche Beschleunigung der Entscheidung auf die hier vorgeschlagenen Vorschläge, da in etwa 3 Wochen schon mit dem Aufrichten des Holzverbandes vom neuen Bleiturm angefangen werden wird, auch sogleich zu dessen Eindeckung geschritten werden muss.

Mellin, Rosenthal”

30. Comments by Clemens, 6 August 1826, on the same letter (ibid).

31. Klewitz to Mellin and Rosenthal, 14 August 1826, on the same letter (ibid).

32. Burchardt, Momente zur Geschichte, op.cit., 25.

33. Klewitz to the King, 15 October 1827 (Sign.2.2.1. Nr.22113, 14-19v; Zentrales Staatsarchiv, Merseburg; 14): “Die Pflicht der baulichen Herstellung des hiesigen Doms dem Ursprünglichen auf jede Weise treu zu bleiben, gebietet nur, Euer Königlichen Majestät zwei Gegenstände zur allerhöchsten Entscheidung vorzutragen...”

34. Clemens, ‘III. Pro-Memoria’, 3 October 1827 (Sign.2.2.1. Nr. 22113, 16-17v; Zentrales Staatsarchiv, Merseburg):

“III. Pro-Memoria Die Wiederherstellung der ursprhnglichen Bedachung über dem Bischofsgang am hohen Chor des Doms zu Magdeburg betreffend.

Das hohe Chor der hiesigen Domkirche ist, wie bei allen älteren grössen Kirchen ungleich früher als das Schiff und die Haupttürme nach Abend, welche 150 Jahr später vollendet - erbaut worden.

Der Styl in diesem übrigens sehr schönen Chor ist deshalb mehr byzantinisch und erst am Mittelbau und an den Haupt-Türmen geht derselbe in den mehr ausgebildeten altdeutschen Styl über. Es findet sich daher am hohen Chor eine grosse Zahl dem späteren Styl ganz femder Blumenverzierungen, Halbkreis-Verzierungen u.s.w.

Ebenso sind hier unrsprünglich flache Abdachungen angewendet, wie solches der unteren Etage zeigen.

Gleichmässig flach war auch ursprünglich, so wie auf der hierbeigehenden Zeichnung no. I durch ABCD angedeutet. Die zweite Etage, oder der sogenannte Bischofsgang abgedacht und erst später, vielleicht in den Jahren 1684-1686. (wo die unteren Capellen mit Kupfer gedeckt wurden) sind die jetzt hier noch vorhandenen spitzwincklichten Zeltdächer so wie solche auf der Zeichnung no.

II. durch EFGHIK bezeichnet sind, aufgesetzt. Dass diese Abdachung so wie sie auf Blatt I angegeben, ursprünglich construiert ist, leidet darum durchaus keine Zweifel, weil selbige unter den aus Holz zusammengesetzten und mit Schiefer gedeckten Zeltdächern noch gegenwärtig fast vollkommen, vollständig aus Sandsteinplatten construiert, vorhanden ist.

2. weil hinter den Dächern die Einfassungen und Rundstäbe der oberen hohen Chorfenster vollständig bearbeitet ganz so herunter gehen, wie solches auf Blatt I angegeben, so dass selbst die Rundstäbe da wo selbige auf der ursprünglichen sandsteinernen Bedachung stehen gehörig ausgearbeitete Basen haben.

3. weil die Fensteröffnungen so weit solche jetzt von den Zeltdächern bedeckt werden, nur mit ganz rohen Steinen höchst nachlässig zugemauert sind,

4. weil diese Dächer höchst unregelmässige Formen und ebenso unpassende Stellungen haben, bei welchen zum Teil gar keine Rücksicht auf die unteren Vorsprünge und Winkel und noch weniger auf die oberen Chorfenster genommen ist.

Hiergegen könnte nun zwar angeführt werden dass in den Längenseiten der Kirche doch auch auf den Abseiten ähnliche kleine Dächer stehen, aber bei diesen ist zu berücksichtigen:

1. dass dieser Teil des Gebäudes schon bei weitem mehr in dem leichteren deutschen Baustyl gehalten,

2. dass diese Dächer ganz unregelmässig gegen die Pfeiler und Fenster stehen und diese letzteren nicht verdecken,

3. dass die runderen Giebel dieser Dächer aus Steinen construiert sind und guten aus Sanstein Verzierungen versehen sind.

Bei der jetzigen Herstellung des Gebäudes kann daher der Wunsch nicht unterdrückt werden, dass die Zeltdächer über dem Bischofsgang forfallen:

1. weil ursprünglich solche nicht vorhanden gewesen,

2. weil durch ihre Einnahme eine bei weitem schönere äussere Ansicht des hohen Chors mit den freien oberen Fenstern wieder gewonnen wird,

3. weil hierdurch die Beleuchtung des Inneren ausserordentlich gewinnt und die jetzt sich sehr hbelghaltende rohe Ausmauerung der unteren Fensterteile fortfällt, und

4. weil die Wiederherstellung der fortzuwünschenden unregelmässigen Zeltdächer, fast denselben Kostenaufwand erfordert als die Herstellung und wasserdichte Instandsetzung der darunter vorhandenen schönen Sandstein-Bedachungen.

Schliesslich wird noch hinsichtlich der Veranlassung des Baus der fortzunehmenden Zeltdächer bemerkt, wie solche am wahrscheinlichsten darin zu suchen ist, dass man in früheren Zeiten die flache sandsteinerne Abdachung nicht wasserdicht erhalten konnte, welches aber bei der jetzigen accurateren Arbeit und der dabei in Anwendung zu bringenden vorzüglichen Cemente gar keine Schwierigkeiten unterworfen ist; auch ist dieser Zweck durch die Zeltdächer keinesweges erreicht worden, da durch die vielen Kohlen und Rinnen, welche durch selbige gebildet werden, dass Wasser gegenwärtig bei weitem stärker durchdringt als auf denjenigen Stellen von welchen ein Teil dieser Dächer Behufs der Rüstungen hat eingenommen werden müssen, ohne hier bereit eine Verkittung der flachen Abdachung vorgenommen worden wäre. Magdeburg, den 3ten Oktober 1827, (gez.) Clemens."

35. Klewitz to the King, 15 October 1827, op.cit. 15v: "Bei fortgesetzten Gallerie dürfte die Ansicht gewinnen und die Nichtvollendung der Neben-Türme sich reiner und edler aussprechen. Eurer Königlichen Majestät Befehlen darüber sehe ich aller unterthänigst entgegen:

ob das Dach der beiden Neben-Türme so wie es auf dem südlichen bisher was oder ob die Neben-Türme mit flacher Abdachung und Gallerie herum abgeschlossen werden sollen?

Bei beiden Gegenständen werden die Kosten der einen oder anderen allerhöchster Entscheidung keinen erheblichen Unterschied machen dass er nicht aus Ersparungen sollte gedeckt werden können."

36. Clemens, 'Promemoria. Bedachung der auf der Morgenseite an den kreuzarmen des Doms zu Magdeburg stehenden Nebenthürme', 12 October 1827 (Sign.2.2.1. Nr. 22113, 18-19v; Zentrales Staatsarchiv, Merseburg, 19): "... Für die Construction ad b sprechen hingegen folgende sehr in Betrachtung zu ziehende Gründe: 1. Man erkennt bei solcher auf den ersten Blick, dass diese Türme noch unvollendet sind und dies ist ganz in der Ordnung, denn die ursprüngliche Idee des Baumeisters darf durch ein intermischtes Dach welches hier ein schlechtes Ansehen gewähre nicht im mindesten verdunkelt werden."

37. The King to Klewitz, 28 October 1827 (Rep. C 20 II, Nr.44 II; Magdeburg Archiv): “Auf Ihre Anfragen vom 15. d.M. bestimme Ich, dass die schadhafte Zeltdächer von Schiefer, welche von aussen über den sogenannten Bischofsgänge um das hohe Chor des dortigen Domes laufend nicht wieder hergestellt werden sollen, sondern die unter denselben befindliche flache Abdachung von Sandsteinplatten wasserdicht gemacht werden soll. Die beiden Nebentürme zur Seite des sogenannten Paradieses sind mit flacher Abdachung zu schliessen und die durch das jetzige Ziegeldach unterbrochene Gallerie ist um die Türme herum fortzuführen. Die eingereichten vier Zeichnungen empfangen Sie hierbei zurück.
Berlin, 28ten Okt. 1827,
Friedrich Wilhelm
An den Staats-Minister von Klewitz.”
38. Klewitz to the King, 24 November 1830 (Sign.2.2.1. Nr.22113, 53-54; Zentrales Staatsarchiv, Merseburg), 3 April 1829 (Rep.C 20 II, Nr.50, 68; Provinzialarchiv zu Magdeburg).
39. Clemens-Mellin-Rosenthal, Der Dom zu Magdeburg, op.cit., II, Tafel II. Klewitz to the King, 21 November 1829 (Sign.2.2.1. Nr.22113, 41-42v; Zentrales Staatsarchiv, Merseburg).
40. The King to Klewitz, 19 March 1828 (Burchardt, Momente zur Geschichte, op.cit., 21)
41. Burchardt, *ibid*, 86: “unregelmässig aufgestellten und für das Verstehen der Predigt höchst nachteiligen, kastenghnlichen, weiss und gelb angestrichenen und unförmlichen Stühle, Fensterloggen und Emporkirchen, welche bei ihrer grosser Baufälligkeit ohnehin nicht wieder hergestellt werden konnten, sind einfache in einem passenden Styl construierte Bänke, alle unter sich gleich, regelmässig aufgestellt.”
42. Klewitz to the King, 1 February 1829 (Rep.C 20 II, Nr.50, 58; Provinzialarchiv zu Magdeburg), 3 April 1830 (*ibid*, 93), 4 April 1830 (*ibid*, 101), 1 April 1831 (*ibid*, 107); 24 November 1830 (Sign.2.2.1. Nr.22113, 53; Zentrales Staatsarchiv, Merseburg).
43. Friedrich Wilhelm to Klewitz, 3 March 1830 (Burchardt, op.cit., 23); Klewitz to the King, 24 September 1830 (Burchardt, *ibid*, 52f)
44. Klewitz to the King, 22 December 1831 (Sign.2.2.1. Nr.22113, 58-60v; Zentrales Staatsarchiv, Merseburg).
45. The King to Klewitz, 3 February 1827 (Burchardt, *ibid*, 19f); Clemens, ‘Jahresbericht’, 13 April 1827 (Rep.C 20 II, Nr.50, 12; Provinzialarchiv, Magdeburg).
46. The King to Klewitz, 19 March 1828 (Burchardt, *ibid*, 21).
47. Klewitz to the King, 9 March 1829 (Burchardt, *ibid*, 52).
48. Brandt, Der Dom zu Magdeburg, op.cit., 18: it is possible that the South-Crown was never built! *Ibid*, 24: Coins of 1614-1622 show only one Crown on the western towers. Schultzen, C. Auf- und Abrechnen der löblichen Stadt Gardelegen etc. Gardeleger Chronik, Stendahl 1668: “A.C. 1540 schlug das Wetter in den Thum zu Magdeburg, warf herunter eine Rose, und that an diesem schönen Gebäude merklichen Schaden” (Brandt, *ibid*, 25).
49. The King to Klewitz, 19 March 1829: “Einverstanden mit dem in Ihrem Bericht von 9ten v.M. enthaltenen Gutachten will Ich, dass der südliche Thurm des dortigen Doms, als geschichtliches Denkmal, ohne Krone bleibe. Die eingereichte Zeichnung erfolgt zurück. Berlin, den 19ten März 1829, Friedrich Wilhelm.”
50. Klewitz to the King, 21 November 1829 (Sign.2.2.1. Nr.22113, 41-42v; Zentrales Staatsarchiv, Merseburg); Klewitz to the King, 27 December 1834 (Sign.2.2.1. Nr.22113, 75-76v; Zentrales Staatsarchiv, Merseburg).
51. Klewitz to the King, 27 December 1834 (op.cit.).
52. “Der Frömmigkeit Sr. Majestät des Königs Friedrich Wilhelm III. verdankt dieser ehrwürdige Dom seine vollständige Herstellung in den Jahren 1825-1834.” (Burchardt, Momente zur Geschichte, op.cit., 78)
53. “geeignet, das Leere und Nackte, welches die neurestaurierten Kirchen leicht innerlich gewinnen, einigermaßen aufzuheben” (Fritsche, ‘Der Architekturmaler... Hasenpflug’, op.cit., 100)
54. Kugler, F., ‘Reiseblätter vom Jahre 1832’, Museum, 1833, IV: “...man hat das Innere um den architektonischen Eindruck noch zu erhöhen, um die Verhältnisse des Ganzen und seiner Theile noch deutlicher hervortreten zu lassen, mit einer blendend weissen Farbe angestrichen und durch die unbemalten Fenster fällt überdies überflüssiges Licht herein ... Jenes magische Halbdunkel, welches wie eine schöne, fromme Sage vergangener Zeiten zu uns spricht und die Brust mit einer stillen Sehnsucht füllt und welches gleichsam ein Schatten ist der heiligen, martyrerghlühenden Fensterbilder - jener geschichtliche Zauber ist geraubt.” (Fritsche, *ibid*, 100)
55. Berger, Hans, ‘Die Wiederherstellung des Magdeburger Doms von 1945 bis 1955’, Architektur der DDR, X, 1982,

Chapter Twelve
Case Study: France,
Restoration of la Madeleine, Vézelay



12.1 French administration

The 1830 July Revolution in France, prepared by the historian and editor of *National*, Adolphe Thiers (1797-1877), forced Charles X to abdicate; the throne was taken by Louis Philippe I, Duke of Orleans (1830-48), who initiated the 'golden age' of the propertied bourgeoisie. Capitalism and industrialism gained ground. With the help of François-Pierre Guillaume Guizot (1787-1874), historian and Minister of the Interior, the King established a 'conservative-personal' regime. The demolition and the destructive use of historic buildings, initiated with the French Revolution of 1789, still continued.

At the same time, however, the Romantic movement and a growing sense of nationalism had focussed attention on the Middle Ages. Chateaubriand had 'introduced history into literature', and Victor Hugo became the father of the historic novel in France - following the example of Sir Walter Scott and his *Ivanhoe*. English travellers had discovered Normandy, and their example gave rise to a growing interest in archaeology and historic studies, resulting in the foundation of special societies in the 1820s, concerned also about conservation of historic structures. The leading personality in this regard was Arcisse de Caumont (1802-73), who in 1832 created a league between the different provincial societies, becoming later the *Société française d'archéologie* (1834). (1)

The efforts started with the French Revolution for an inventory and the protection of national architectural heritage, culminated in the creation of the position of the Inspector General for Historic Monuments by the Minister of the Interior François Guizot in October 1830; he himself was also a professor of modern history at Sorbonne, and had translated Shakespeare into French, as well as editing documents related to the history of France. His intention was

“to introduce the old France into the memory and intelligence of the new generations, to restore amongst us a feeling of justice and of sympathy towards ancient French society, who had lived with much effort and glory during fifteen centuries in order to build up the heritage that we have received.” (2)

The first Inspector General was Ludovic Vitet (1802-73), a literary figure committed to art and history, but also a politician who later held several positions in the Government. Vitet was succeeded, on 27 May 1834, by Prosper Mérimée, who continued to be the central

personality in the Service of Historic Monuments for the next two decades. The role of the Inspector was twofold; on one hand he was to see that an exact and complete list was prepared of all buildings and monuments that merited serious attention by the Government, on the other hand he was responsible for the control of restoration work. Later, in 1837, was established the Commission for Historic Monuments to assist the Inspector in his task.

The architectural heritage of France was extremely rich, but its condition was pitiful. Mérimée reported in 1840,

“our buildings of the Middle Ages represent perhaps the most remarkable types of all architecture from the eleventh century to the Renaissance. No other country owns such a wealth, and nevertheless, no other country has destroyed or permitted destruction of so much of it...” (3)

As a reaction to the often unskilled repairs and changes which were carried out in historic buildings, many people raised their voice insisting on more research and better knowledge of historic architecture, as well as more attention to proper consolidation and conservation rather than restoration or reconstruction. Amongst the critics were persons such as Victor Hugo, A.N. Didron, as well as Mérimée himself, who aimed at developing an organization with professional restoration architects and skilled workers. Available resources were limited, and it was not an easy task to administer them. Instead of concentrating its funds on a few exceptional buildings, the Commission decided to divide the cases into several categories and designate larger sums when these were needed “to complete the works or at least greatly to advance the restoration”; (4) in other cases, these were intended “only to delay the progress of destruction until such time as sufficient resources could be made available”. (5)

12.2 The Restoration of La Madeleine, Vézelay

In the first list of monuments requiring Government assistance, published in 1840 as an appendix to Mérimée's report, one of the few buildings to receive a fairly large fund for its restoration was the church of La Madeleine in Vézelay, to south-east of Paris. This project was entrusted to the twenty-six year old Eugène Viollet-le-Duc (1814-79), who can be considered the most important restorer of France in his time. In his *La Vie des Monuments Français*,

Paul Léon has given it prime importance because it had been, in a way, “the act of baptism” of the Service of Historic Monuments; it had also provided “the foundation for the reputation of Viollet-le-Duc and given direction to his career”. (6) Two years later, when the first phase of the restoration was already completed, Mérimée wrote to the Minister, emphasizing again the importance of this work:

“When Germany undertakes immense works in order to complete Cologne Cathedral; when England pours out wealth to restore its old churches ... doubtless France will not remain less generous in repairing the monument cited above, as the most perfect example of the architecture of the Middle Ages. The Commission flatters itself, Monsieur le Ministre, that you will not hesitate to ask the Chambers for the means to execute this great work, that is so much in the interest of our national glory.” (7)

La Madeleine, Historical Background

The church of Vézelay was one of the buildings that Mérimée visited during his first tour in France as the Inspector General, in 1834. He found the little town of Vézelay on a rock in the middle of a valley “like a pyramid shining of light”, forming a magnificent spectacle. (8) When he reached the church, however, his initial image was scattered by the sight of the Gothic ‘restorations’ of the Romanesque church, and the pitiable state of the building. He concluded that the north tower of the west front had been pulled down by protestants in 1569, the sculptural reliefs of the tympanum had been hammered away during the French Revolution, and the south tower had been transformed into a sort of “octagonal observatory, in the form of a tent, of a most ridiculous aspect”. (9)

The interior, however, warmed his spirits with the magnificent Romanesque sculptural decorations, and he declared:

“it is here that I have seen some of the most beautiful Romanesque architecture. The bas-reliefs and the capitals are admirable and, once approved of their Baroque style, have an enormous effect.” (10) “It is especially the richness and the variety of the ornamentation that distinguish the church of Vézelay. The capitals, I speak only of the most ancient ones, are all different. Some represent biblical subjects, others the tortures of the damned; some depict hunting scenes, or fantastic animals invented by the sculptor’s imagination. In some, one can see devils with horns and tails



Figure 187. The Madeleine, Vézelay, the west elevation. Measured drawing before restoration by E. Viollet-le-Duc,

tormenting the damned. A few capitals illustrate bizarre ornamentation or else foliage arranged whimsically. Several are adorned with flowers, including roses that are really well done...” (11)

The history of the church goes back to the ninth century, when the first monks established themselves on this site in AD 875 in the times of Charlemagne. The first monastery suffered various attacks and was burnt. Later a small convent was built; the existing church was started in 1096, the nave being constructed from 1120 to 1140. In the eleventh century, word spread that the body of Saint Mary Magdalen was buried beneath the church, and Vézelay rapidly became a place of pilgrimage. The narthex was added later, and finally the Choir. The intended transformation of the west front in Gothic style was interrupted. In the thirteenth century, there was a rumour that the real relics of Saint Mary Magdalen had been discovered in Provence, and from that time the abbey began to decline. (12)

The church of Vézelay holds a significant place in the history of French architecture; its nave is an admirable specimen of Romanesque tradition, while

the Choir with its light pointed arches and ribbed vaults already marks the transition towards the Gothic in the twelfth century. It had a profound influence on early Gothic buildings in Burgundy and northern France. During the Crusades, it became an important site; Bernard of Clairvaux preached there for the Second Crusade in 1146, and the French and English Kings Philippe-August and Richard the Lionheart set out from there for Jerusalem in 1190 on the Third Crusade.

Due to its architectural and historical values, the church has recently been included in the World Heritage List of Unesco. (13) The abbey was secularized as a college for canons in 1537, led by an abbot, nominated by the King. It suffered from destruction during the Huguenot wars, and was repaired in the seventeenth century. This last work included the buttresses, the renewal of the stalls and the construction of the High Altar. However, its decay continued and on 6 December 1790 the college of canons was suppressed. All convent buildings were demolished, but the church was saved to serve the parish. The furnishings were removed and the sculptures of the tympanums of the west front were destroyed; only minor repairs were made in the early nineteenth century. (14)

The Condition of the Building

When Mérimée arrived at Vézelay in 1834, he wrote about La Madeleine: “the whole building was in a pitiful state; water pours in when it rains, and trees as thick as an arm grow between the stones”. (15) When he was sitting in the interior, he could hear small stones falling down from the vaults. The trouble is increasing every day, he warned, “if assistance to the Madeleine is delayed much longer, it will be necessary soon to take the decision to demolish it in order to avoid accidents”. (16)

Mérimée was able to allocate 6000 francs for the church repairs. Half of this was reserved for 1835, and the rest for 1836. (17) However, the money was not used. On 30 October 1838, a local architect, M.E. Leblanc, was nominated by the local authority to prepare a restoration project. He started his inspection in the spring of 1839, and also did some clearance in the building, but he failed to produce a report. The 6000 francs had been reduced to 5000 in the mean time, and the Minister wrote several letters in order to see that it was acted upon. Hearing nothing, he approached a Parisian architect, M. Macquet for the work, an action that understandably led to some confusion at Vézelay. The work of Leblanc

was temporarily interrupted in 1839. (18) Later, Macquet’s appointment was cancelled, and Leblanc was given the permission to continue his work, but he did not produce his report until 17 February 1840; (19) too late, because other action had already been taken. In order to produce some positive results, Mérimée put forward the name of Eugène Viollet-le-Duc, on 11 February 1840. (20) The appointment was approved by the Minister two days later, and Viollet-le-Duc left for Vézelay immediately.

12.3 Eugène Viollet-le-Duc

The architect of this restoration, Eugène Viollet-le-Duc (1814-79), has been one of the most discussed personalities - if not the most discussed - in the history of restoration in France, and his influence has also been felt - for good and bad - practically in all European countries. Eugène was the son of Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, Conservator of royal residences residing in the Tuileries, and of Eugénie Delécluze, daughter of a builder whose widow kept a ‘salon’ in Paris, where such figures as Ampère, Stendhal, Girardin or Saint-Beuve met on Fridays. The young Eugène received a literary education from his father and ‘a taste for the arts’ from his uncle, Etienne J. Delécluze; he travelled widely, and became an excellent draughtsman, able to gain his living designing textiles and furniture. He practiced in architectural studios, and worked for the Directorate of Public Works. Having married in 1834, he toured in Italy in 1837 to 1838, making brilliantly accomplished drawings, watercolours and measured drawings of classical monuments as well as mediaeval and Renaissance buildings. Never having entered the official school of architecture, the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, he made his own studies, the results of which later came out in numerous publications. (21)

Having returned from Italy in August 1838, he attended the meetings of the Council of Historic Buildings as an observer, and was nominated an Assistant Inspector to the construction works at the royal archives; the following year, he inspected the church of Saint-Just in Narbonne for repairs. His life and work could be seen as divided between his interests as an archaeologist-historian, conservator-restorer, and an architect-creator; his approach was always systematic, based on a thorough analysis of each case. Mérimée summarized this by saying that

“he is a very just and well-done spirit. He knows how to reason, which is a great point in architecture, because the objective of this art art



Figure 188. La Madeleine, the west elevation in 1980

being essentially usefulness, an error of reasoning could not be made without it being an error against art in the same time.” (22)

As a result of his successful report, as well as for the good impression Mérimée and other members of the Commission had received of the young architect, he was then recommended for the work at Vézelay; one of his most significant projects on which he continued

Figure 189, Viollet-le-Duc, sketch of the interior of La Madeleine



to work until 1859 - through the most important part of his career.

The Report by Viollet-le-Duc

Viollet-le-Duc's first report from Vézelay was presented to the Commission on 29 March before he had completed the drawings because he considered the condition of the church such as to require immediate action in order to prevent collapse especially in the nave and choir. He later added a fine set of drawings presenting the building as it was before the restoration started as well as indicating the proposed modifications. (23) He estimated that the proposed 40.000 francs would be sufficient to guarantee the conservation of the structure. Later this was augmented to 54.000 francs. (24) The narthex which was of great artistic value, was not in such immediate danger, but it would need repairs in the future. As a result of the report, the Commission proposed to the Minister to entrust the restoration to Viollet-le-Duc, authorize him to nominate a surveyor on the site during his absence, fix the prices for different types of work, and start with the consolidation of the nave and the choir - leaving the narthex for the time being. (25)

The report was divided into five sections dealing with the following arguments: construction, state of the structure, urgent repairs, restoration, and building materials. Although emphasis was given to technical aspects in the work, historical and architectural values were constantly referred to as integral considerations. Some five years earlier, Mérimée had already published a description of the building with a historic account in his *Notes d'un Voyage* (26) - and these were certainly available to Viollet-le-Duc. At the end of the report, he listed the different types of building stones indicating their characteristics, and, when possible, the quarry; an example of Viollet-le-Duc's exemplary thoroughness.

Viollet-le-Duc started his description of the building at the narthex, then moving to the nave, the transept and the choir; he dealt with the exterior, the west elevation, the tower of the south transept, and completed the description with the roof structure. He found the narthex the only part of the ancient structure that did not threaten collapse, even though it was completely decayed in details; the arches were intact and the walls stable, but the vaults had suffered from humidity, were cracked, had holes in them, and had lost their rendering. At the gallery level there had originally been two large halls; these had been destroyed and replaced with wooden structures. The

small arches of the gallery had been walled-in; so had the two side doors of the west front and the low windows of the Narthex. The great west windows had lost their glazing and so with the west wind the rain was driven in to the end of the narthex.

The Romanesque nave was badly deteriorated. In Viollet-le-Duc's view, it had been poorly built originally, and the buttresses which had been added later, had not given sufficient support. The north wall leaned outwards by 27 cm, and the south wall by 25 cm. The vaults, built in rubble stone, were held up only by the groin of their extrados, and had longitudinal cracks up to 10 to 12 cm each. In the thirteenth century, the upper part of the last three bays of the nave before the choir had been rebuilt "in the taste of the period" (27) in Gothic form. These new vaults were raised considerable above the old level, thus leaving the last Romanesque arch without support and subject to deformation. The roof structures of the nave, of the transept, and of the choir necessitated extensive repairs being rotted by water infiltration. The aisle roofs had been rebuilt at higher level than originally thus blocking the nave windows; the cornice of the aisles was almost totally destroyed, letting water run down the wall and into open joints. The transept was found to be in a relatively good condition, although here too infiltration of water had caused damage to the vaults. The exterior of the choir was in the same sad condition as the rest of the building, but the interior was fairly well preserved. Viollet-le-Duc found the west front being built "in a fairly poor taste". (28) The south tower had been repaired in 1821 after damage from lightning, and although not good in quality, there was no urgent need to interfere except for glazing the windows.

The most urgent work in the Church, Viollet-le-Duc considered to be shoring up the nave and aisle walls, as well as centering and supporting the flying buttresses and the vaults. After this he proposed to proceed to rebuild in good masonry and to a proper design the flying buttresses, and to dismantle and rebuild some of the transversal arches of the nave. He further proposed to reconstruct the aisle roofs in their original position in order to liberate the nave windows, to put in order and repair the narthex, to lower the pavement because at present it was much above the original level and covered the bases of the columns. He maintained, that in this way,

"this well-proportioned narthex with a very beautiful plan, would take a severe and grand aspect of unique appearance. In fact, nothing is so bad as its present arrangement, and one is



Figure 190. Viollet-le-Duc, La Madeleine, section of the porch with proposed restoration (1840)

distracted by the numerous points of deterioration, that mutilate it, not allowing one to appreciate today the imposing appearance that the narthex would have if it were restored. I think that if something should be conserved in this church of Vézelay, it is the narthex, that I have found to be the most beautiful of its kind in France." (29)

On the exterior, he proposed repointing and replacement of broken stones, rebuilding of the cornices of the side aisles and of the choir, as well as repairing the roofs, and installing lightning conductors.

The Restoration Work

The final approval for the project of restoration was given on 30 May 1840, although Viollet-le-Duc had started working already earlier; on 15 May he nominated a clerk of works. Preparatory works on the site started in June, and the construction of centerings and shorings began in July. Work was

Figure 191. Viollet-le-Duc: section of the nave before and after restoration (1840)





Figure 192. Viollet-le-Duc, La Madeleine, the north elevation before and after restoration (1840)

Figure 193. La Madeleine, the exterior of the choir in 1980



concentrated on the nave, its transversal arches, the flying buttresses, and on the roof structures of the side aisles. Masons could only start working in November, beginning with the demolition and reconstruction of buttresses and walls. The delay was due to some misunderstandings with the local authorities, who were offended by the the Central Government's intervention, and refused to collaborate with Viollet-le-Duc. The works were interrupted for the winter, but by July 1841, eleven nave buttresses had been demolished and rebuilt to the height of the cornice of the side aisles; two nave vaults had been demolished, as well as the gable separating the low and high sections of the nave. By the end of the year, thirteen buttresses, twelve flying buttresses, as well as three nave vaults and the corresponding transverse arches had been rebuilt. (30)

Viollet-le-Duc had proposed zinc as the covering material for roofs, but the Commission - having discussed the matter - preferred to maintain the same type of tiles (*tuiles creuses*) as there had been previously. (31) The existing seventeenth-century flying buttresses did not fulfil their required function. Viollet-le-Duc redesigned them giving them a structurally more correct form, and built them in good ashlar. The transversal arches of the nave were rebuilt in their original semicircular form, except for the first three arches from the west that were repaired and left in their deformed condition. The new vaults were built lighter in weight than the original ones. (32)

While the works proceeded the requirements were also increased, and in February 1842, Viollet-le-Duc already estimated that 300.000 francs would be necessary for the completion of the work, including also the restoration of five choir chapels, repairing of all the roofs, crowning of the west tower, cleaning of the interior of previous whitewashes, and repairing of sculptures and ornaments. (33)

In January 1842, M. Lenormant, member of the Commission, referred to his visit to Vézelay, and insisted on giving the priority to the works of consolidation before undertaking any ‘restoration’, although this attitude had caused some local criticism. Lenormant also insisted that the church’s principal merit lay in the beauty of its immense nave, and that external ornaments should not be made more elaborate than they had been previously. (34) In the same year, Mérimée wrote in his report to the Minister that the structurally delicate first phase of the restoration had been successfully terminated - merit to the skill of Viollet-le-Duc. He concluded:

“Undoubtedly, important works are still needed as well as considerable expenditure; but for those who are aware of the situation of this church, the achievement is tremendous, and its complete restoration will now be a question only of time and money.” (35)

In June 1844, the consolidation of the nave and choir was completed. (36)

Restoration of the Vaults

There remained, however, an important problem to solve: the consolidation or reconstruction of the four Gothic vaults at the east end of the nave. Viollet-le-Duc reported that these had probably been rebuilt after the collapse of the last Romanesque vaults. The reconstruction had been made in a hurry and without any ‘care or art’ using the pillars and walls of the eleventh century, which were still standing. It was in no way connected with the old walls, and its condition seemed to worsen every day. The fourth vault, between the towers of the transept next to the choir, was structurally safe, while the others were considered to need rebuilding; the question arose about the manner in which this should be approached.

In the opinion of Viollet-le-Duc, these vaults were best restored according to the earlier, Romanesque, form like the rest of the nave,

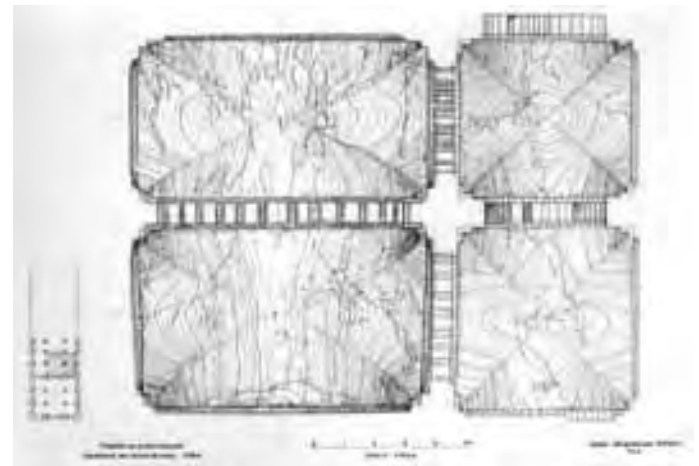


Figure 194. La Madeleine, photogrammetric recording of the vaults that were not rebuilt in 19th century, showing their deformed state

“because the capitals carrying the semicircular transversal arches are still well preserved and the springing points of these arches can still be identified. For the most part, the Romanesque windows and arched heads still exist. If the pointed vaults offered any chance of resistance, I would not dare to propose, Monsieur le Ministre, such an important modification in the present state of the monument, but considering that we will be obliged to rebuild these vaults, I believe, that in relation to 1. solidity, 2. the general aspect of the building, and 3. economy, it is preferable to reconstruct them according to their earlier Romanesque style. This beautiful nave of the eleventh century will then be complete and in good condition.” (37)

This operation would also permit all the vaults of the nave to be at the same level, thus giving a better structural support to each other - instead of having them divided into the lower Romanesque and the higher Gothic section, the connection of which caused difficulties at present. The fourth vault could be left in its Gothic form, first because it was intact, and secondly because it would form a link between

Figure 195. La Madeleine, section of vaults (re. fig 194)

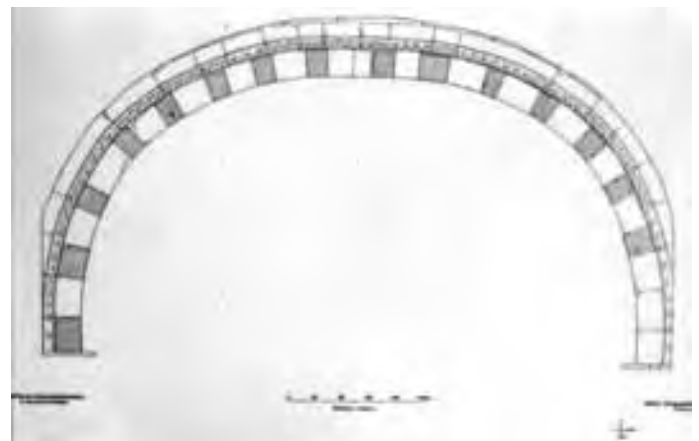




Figure 196. La Madeleine, the interior in 1980

the “beautiful vaults of the choir and the transept.” (38)

In June 1844, Lenormant reported this proposal to the Commission, posing the question:

“Should one repair the vaults as they were rebuilt in the fourteenth century or reproduce in three bays the vault of the eleventh century while leaving that of the fourteenth century between the towers? This is the question that - contrary to the principles we have often defended - we now ask for a decision, in agreement with the suggestions of the architect, to reconstruct the three bays in accordance with those conserved from the eleventh century.” (39)

Although it is clear from Lenormant’s statement that this case was considered an exception to the established conservative principles according to which one should not have carried out demolitions and reconstructions, Mérimée himself pointed out the importance of recreating the unity of character in the nave, ‘disturbed’ by the Gothic interference, and he reminded that in both cases the vaults should be

rebuilt anyway. (40) The Commission agreed with this proposal, although emphasizing that the reason was mainly structural, and the works were carried out accordingly. In March 1845, Mérimée could report that “the latest repairs have been perfectly directed, and the building is now in a very satisfactory state.” (48)

‘Complete Restoration’

Mérimée reminded the Commission that even if the main aim of the works had been the consolidation, the Commission had also expressed the intention to proceed to “a complete restoration as soon as the state of its finances would allow it.” (42) Now, at the completion of the most important structural works, there was a moment to consider this. Already, more work had been done than originally foreseen; instead of just repairing or doing partial rebuilding, in many instances it had been considered necessary to proceed to a full reconstruction. This was the case with the transept gables, the bell-tower, the northern transept tower and the upper part of the north-west tower; in the interior, the vaults of the narthex had been completely rebuilt. The gallery around the choir had been restored in its original form; roof structures

Figure 197. La Madeleine, the transept tower in 1980





Figure 198. La Madeleine, the south elevation in 1980

of the nave and choir had been completely rebuilt in timber instead of just repairing them; various works on the restoration of sculpture had already started.

In November 1850, Mérimée presented the Commission with further estimates concerning the west front, still covered with vegetation, the central door, mutilated during the Revolution, as well as the sculptural decoration, repair of damaged capitals in the nave, and stained glass windows for the narthex. A new choir altar was proposed in another estimate; the present late-Renaissance altar that masked the newly restored choir was considered “just a confused pile of mouldings, one above the other, being so heavy that it will crush the vaults of the crypt”. (43) The panellings and stalls covering the pillars of the nave and transept were to be removed and altars provided for the chapels. The third estimate dealt with the restoration of the sacristy and reconstruction of a part of the cloisters. In this second phase of

Figure 199. La Madeleine, original statues from the west front deposited in storage by Viollet-le-Duc; today these are part of a site exhibition



the restoration, attention was given mainly on the aesthetic aspects of the work.

The west front of the church had been modified in the thirteenth century, receiving a majestic gable with five large windows and several life-size statues, but never completed. Partly due to structural reasons, Viollet-le-Duc made certain changes to the existing situation, giving it a more symmetrical form. He added three buttresses to support the upper part of the front; two of these were built on either side of the central windows. In the process some thirteenth-century work was removed, only one of the quatrefoils of the north side was left. He designed round-arched windows symmetrically on both sides of the gable following the model of the south side, believing that there had been two matching towers originally.

Restoration of Ornaments

The restoration of the sculptural decorations of the front was an important part of the work. The reliefs of the tympanum of the central entrance seem to have dated from the twelfth century, and represented Christ in Glory surrounded by the symbols of the four evangelists, but they had been hammered away in 1793. The original tympanum, on which traces could still be read of the outline of the figures of Christ and holy women, was taken down and placed against the south elevation of the church. (44) In 1856-1857, Viollet-le-Duc designed a new relief for the tympanum, changing, however, the subject to represent the Last Judgement. Some of the figures of the upper part of the gable were replaced with copies, but the headless seated Christ figure in the centre was left as it was, although Viollet-le-Duc made some sketches for its restoration. (45) The broken cross over the gable and other sculptural details such as some doorway capitals were replaced with copies. The south tower was topped by a balustrade and gargoyles around a new pitched roof. The north tower was tidied and provided with a roof as well.

The narthex had suffered in a fire, its upper part was destroyed and the sculptured capitals were badly damaged. The northern gallery, closed with a wooden structure, was reopened and reconstructed similar to the southern gallery. All capitals except one were remade. The narthex was the most renewed part of the building, while in the nave, where the capitals were in a better condition, relatively few had to be repaired or replaced. Two were completed with new work, ten replaced with exact copies, and twelve with new design. Seventy original figured capitals



Figure 200. La Madeleine, preserved example of original capital from the west front

remained intact; forty out of forty-six 'basket' capitals were preserved, six renewed. (46)

In the restoration and repair of sculptural elements, Viollet-le-Duc followed the method of systematic documentation. He made sketches and drawings of various elements, even if these were not intended to be touched, in order to have a better understanding of the original artistic principles. Damaged capitals were measured and drawn carefully or cast in plaster before the work started, because during the removal they could suffer further damage due to their often fragile state. Before the final execution of a new element, the sculptor had to present a model for an approval by Viollet-le-Duc. The reason for the replacement of damaged capitals was mainly structural; if the work could be limited to the repair of the original, this was also done. (47)

The Monastic Buildings

The monastic buildings had been almost entirely demolished during the Revolution, only some fragments remaining from the eastern section next



Figure 201. La Madeleine, the new capital replacing the old in the west front

to the Chapter House. It was decided to restore the Chapter House, and in connection with it also the eastern part of the cloister. The first idea was to rebuild the Chapter House in Gothic style, but having discovered a Romanesque capital in the excavations, in 1850, Viollet-le-Duc decided to adopt this style instead. The reconstruction of the cloister was considered necessary in order to give support to the new vaults of the Chapter House. (48) These works continued even after Viollet-le-Duc had already left Vézelay.

The restoration of La Madeleine was considered a great achievement of the Service des Monuments Historiques, and the works had proceeded better than many had thought possible at the beginning. There were, however, those who did not agree with the Commission; M. François Garnier, a member of the Parliament, had written to the Minister accusing those responsible for the restoration of corruption, poorly planned works, unskilled technology and waste of public funds.

Notes to Chapter Twelve

1. Lukàcs, G., *The Historical Novel*, Penguin Books, 1981. Léon, P., *La vie des monuments Français, destruction, restauration*, Paris 1951, 90ff.

2. Guizot wrote: “J’avais à coeur de faire rentrer la vieille France dans la mémoire et l’intelligence des générations nouvelles, de ramener parmi nous un sentiment de justice et de sympathie envers nos anciens souvenirs, envers cette ancienne société française qui a vécu laborieusement et glorieusement pendant quinze siècles pour amasser affaiblissement chez une nation que l’oubli et le dédain de son passé. Quand les générations qui possèdent pour un moment la patrie ont l’absurde arrogance de croire qu’elle leur appartient à elles seules et que le passé en face du présent c’est la mort en face de la vie, quand elles repoussent l’empire des traditions et des liens qui unissent les générations, c’est le caractère et l’honneur du génie humain, c’est son destin qu’elles renient.” (Léon, *op.cit.*, 114)

3. Mérimée, P., ‘Rapport de Mérimée, 1840’ (4. 1483; *Archives des Monuments Historiques*, Paris): “Nos édifices du moyen âge présentent peut-être les types les plus remarquables de tous les styles d’architecture, qui se sont succédé depuis le XI^e siècle jusqu’à la Renaissance.

Figure 203. La Madeleine, detail of an original decoration in the west front



Figure 202. La Madeleine, the south entrance in 1980, where the decoration was designed by Viollet-le-Duc

These accusations were all answered by Mérimée without any problems. He maintained that there had been no corruption; instead, it had been advantageous to obtain local building materials, and although there had been a certain lack of collaboration with the local authorities, decisions on conservation or eventual rebuilding had always been under a full control of the Commission, and the architect had carried out his work in an excellent manner, (49) In June 1847, having read the report, the Minister was able to write to the prefect of Yonne:

“The conclusion from his report is that not only is none of the complaints in question true, but that the architect in charge of the restoration of these two buildings deserves the administration’s praise for the skilled manner in which he had conducted the works, which leave nothing to be desired either from the artistic point of view or from the point of view of stability.” (50)

Aucun pays ne possède aucun de richesses en ce genre, et pourtant aucun n'en aussi grand nombre."

4. Mérimée, *ibid*: "En présence des besoins nombreux que chaque jour lui révèle, la Commission ne pouvait concentrer toutes ses ressources sur quelques monuments exceptionnels, n'accordant aux autres que des promesses dont quelquefois ils n'auraient pu attendre l'effet. Elle a donc cru devoir diviser le secours de votre département en plusieurs catégories: les uns assez considérables pour compléter ou du moins pour avancer notablement la restauration des édifices auxquels ils s'appliquent..."

5. Mérimée, *ibid*: "...les autres destinés seulement à retarder les progrès de la destruction et à permettre d'attendre le moment où l'on pourra disposer de ressources suffisantes."

6. Léon, *La vie des monuments*, op.cit., 371: "La restauration de la Madeleine de Vézelay eut une importance capitale. Elle a été, en quelque sorte, l'acte de baptême du Service des Monuments historiques; elle a fondé la réputation de Viollet-le-Duc et orienté sa carrière."

7. Mérimée, P., *Rapport de Mérimée*, 1842, Paris 1843 (4. 1484; Arch. Mon. hist.): "Lorsque l'Allemagne entreprend des travaux immenses pour terminer la cathédrale de Cologne, lorsque l'Angleterre prodigue des trésors pour restaurer ses vieilles églises*, la France ne se montrera pas moins généreuse, sans doute, pour achever le monument que l'on cite partout comme le modèle le plus parfait de l'architecture religieuse au moyen âge. La Commission se flatte, Monsieur le Ministre, que vous n'hésitez pas à demander aux Chambres les moyens d'exécuter un beau travail qui intéresse à un si haut degré la gloire nationale." * = N.1: "Les réparations de la seule uglise du Temple à Londres, ont conté déjà plus de 40.000 œ.st. (plus de 1.000.000 de francs) une somme de 80.000 œ.st. doit être employée aux réparations de Lincoln's Inn."

8. Mérimée, P., *Notes de Voyage*, Paris 1971, 55: "La petite ville de Vézelay est bâtie sur un rocher calcaire qui s'élève abruptement au milieu d'une vallée profonde, resserrée par des collines disposées en amphithéâtre. On découvre d'assez loin les maisons semées sur une pente rapide, qu'on prendrait pour les degrés d'un escalier, des restes de fortifications en terrasse, et surtout l'église, qui, placée sur le point culminant de la montagne, domine tous les environs. - Je venais de traverser des bois bien plantés, par une route commode, au milieu d'une nature sauvage, que l'on admire sans être ditrait par les cahots. Le soleil se levait. Sur le vallon régnait encore un épais brouillard percé çà et là par les cimes des arbres. Au dessus apparaissait la ville comme une pyramide resplendissante de lumière, tels que les paysagistes anglais en inventent avec tant de bonheur. Le spectacle était magnifique, et ce fut avec une prédisposition à l'admiration que je me dirigeai vers l'église de la Madeleine."

9. Mérimée, *ibid*: "La première vue du monument me refroidit un peu. La façade offre une ancienne restauration gothique, maladroitement ajoutée aux parties basses, qui

appartiennent au style roman. La tour de gauche a été renversée par les protestans en 1569; pendant la révolution, les bas-reliefs des tympans ont été détruits; et pour que le jè]e siècle ne le cédât pas en vandalisme, on vient d'élever, au-dessus de la tour qui reste, une espèce d'observatoire octogone, en forme de tente, de l'aspect le plus ridicule."

10. Mérimée to Lingay, 9 August 1834, *Correspondance de Mérimée*, I, 306: "C'est d'ailleurs ci que j'ai vu de plus beau en fait d'architecture romane. Les bas reliefs et les chapiteaux sont admirable et une fois admis, leur style baroque est du plus grand effet."

11. Mérimée, *Notes de Voyage*, op.cit., 62: "C'est surtout la richesse et la variété de l'ornementation qui distinguent l'église de Vézelay. Les chapiteaux, je ne parle que des plus anciens, sont tous différens. Les uns représentent des sujets bibliques, d'autres les supplices des damnés, quelques-uns des chasses, ou bien des animaux inventés par le caprice du sculpteur. On y voit des diables pourvus de cornes et de queues, tourmentant les damnés. D'autres chapiteaux, mais en plus petit nombre, offrent des ornemens bizarres, ou bien des feuillages capricieusement agencés. Plusieurs sont ornés de fleurs, entre autres de roses, assez bien exécutées. La forme générale de tous est une pyramide tronquée, dont les angles sont arrondis. Presque toutes les bases sont garnies de moulures, de perles ou de palmettes. Pour l'ornementation, les piliers de la partie ogivale de la nef ne diffèrent en rien de ceux de la portion la plus ancienne; quant à ceux du choeur, ils n'ont que de simples moulures surmontées d'un tailloir."

12. Salet, F., *La Madeleine de Vézelay*, Paris 1948; Créal, J., *La Basilique de Vézelay*, Editions franciscaines, Paris (n.d.); Hohl, C., Di Matteo, C., *La sculpture oubliée de Vézelay*, oeuvres déposées par Viollet-le-Duc, Auxerre 1979.

13. Unesco, *A Legacy for All*, Paris 1982, 120f.

14. Salet, F., 'Viollet-le-Duc à Vézelay', *Les Monuments historiques de la France*, 1965, I-II, 33ff.

15. Mérimée to Lingay, 9 August 1834, op.cit.: "Elle est dans un état pitoyable: il pleut à verse et, entre les pierres, poussent des arbres gros comme le bras."

16. Mérimée, *Notes de Voyage*, op.cit., 63: "La ville de Vézelay, qui n'a guère qu'un millier d'habitans, est pauvre, sans industrie, uloignée de grandes routes, dans une position peu accessible. Il lui est impossible de subvenir, je ne dis pas aux réparations nécessaires, mais même à celles qui n'auraient pour but que d'empêcher les progrès de la destruction. Aussi le mal s'accroit tous les jours. Si l'on tarde encore à donner des secours à la Madeleine, il faudra bien"t prendre le parti de l'abattre pour éviter les accidens."

The condition of the church had been a subject of concern already ten years earlier, and an attempt had been made to get funds from the Central Government to assist in the repairs: Département de Lyonne, 'Procès verbal des Délibérations du Conseil Général, Session de 1824'

(Arch.Mon.hist.): "Le Conseil d'arrondissement d'Avallon fait observer que l'Eglise de Vézelay qui est un des beaux monuments de l'architecture Gothique et qui rappelle des époques historiques, intéressantes, est menacé d'une ruine prochaine, par les défauts de réparation qui sont trop considérables pour être faites en entier par la commune, il pense que le Gouvernement devait être prié de contribuer à une partie de cette dépense. Le Conseil Général appelle la bienveillance de Sa Majesté."

17. Ministère de l'Intérieur, 30 May 1835, approved 6.000 francs for 1835 (1/2) and 1836 (1/2). (Vézelay, 1586-1, Arch.Mon.hist.) The newspapers spread the rumour that 80.000 francs would have been allocated, which caused the Mayor to write to the Ministère de l'Intérieur, 27 October 1837, for clarification. (Idem)

18. Ministère to Préfecture de l'Yonne, 22 January 1839, enquired about the use of the funds, reduced to 5.000 francs (22 June 1838). Préfecture to Ministère, 1 February 1839: "Je chargeai un Architecte capable de préparer un projet général des travaux à exécuter ... j'ai craint qu'en faisant exécuter ... les travaux de restauration dont il s'agit, le caractère de ce monument fut dénaturé, mais ces travaux étant considérables, la remise du projet que j'ai demandé n'a pu encore m'être faite." Préfecture to Ministère, 6 September 1839: "M. Leblanc avait été, par moi, chargé d'étudier les réparations à faire à l'Eglise de Vézelay, et il était prêt à mettre la main à l'oeuvre, pour l'emploi des 5.000 f. lorsque m'est parvenue votre lettre du 11 mai qui chargeait M. Macquet de la restauration de cet Eglise. Cet incident a suspendu les travaux de M. Leblanc et j'ai longtemps attendu, pour les faire reprendre..."

19. Leblanc, E., 'Rapport sur l'Eglise de Vézelay, 17 February 1840 (Vézelay, 1586-1, Dir. Patr. Arch. Mon.hist.): "Plan de la Restauration: J'ai commencé par faire déblayer l'emplacement de l'ancienne chapelle sépulchrale dont les débris entretenaient une humidité désastreuse pour tels Maçonneries avec tels quelle étaient en contact.

On doit donner un adjudication la fourniture de la pierre de la Mance et en faire l'emploi sur une série de prix en raison: 1. de la hauteur à laquelle elle doit être employée, 2. de son cube. ...

J'ai divisé mon travail de restauration en 4 parties différentes:

1. La restauration de Portail extérieur et la reprise de toutes les dégradations dans les faces des piliers butants de l'Eglise des Cathécumènes.

2. La reconstruction de la charpente des bas cotés de la nef, la restauration de tous les arcs boutants des contreforts de la grande nef ainsi que la reprise d'une partie de la voûte et des lézardes.

3. J'ai à proposer un nouveau système de couverture pour la chapelle du chœur, elles n'ont pas assez de pente, malgré qu'elles masquent à moitié les fenêtres du chœur; sans ce changement on empêchera difficilement les eaux

de s'infiltrer et de continuer les dégradations que nous cherchons à arrêter.

4. Et enfin les Tours, principalement celle de la Façade dont l'incendie de 1820 a calciné une grande partie des pierres du parment intérieur; dans cette partie je propose également la construction de la flèche.

Ces travaux déjà avancés et qui reposent sur un grand nombre de plans formeront l'ensemble de la Restauration de l'Edifice.

Auxerre, le 17 Février 1840.

E. Leblanc."

20. Mérimée to Ministre, 11 February 1840 (Vézelay, 1586-1, A.M.H.): "Mission donnée à M. Viollet-le-Duc parce que les efforts de l'administration n'ont pas eut des résultats... L'architecte du Département M. le Blanc chargé de la Direction des travaux par le préfet n'a point adressé le projet ... demandé un autre architecte M. Macquet ... n'a jamais rendu compte. ... Il servit essentiel qu'elle fut de nouveau confiée à un artiste dont les études spéciales assureront la bonne exécution de ces travaux. Sur l'avis de la Commission, j'ai en conséquence l'honneur de proposer à votre Excellence de proposer Viollet-le-Duc."

21. Auzas, P-M., Eugène Viollet-le-Duc, 1814-1879, Paris 1979, 15ff. Viollet-le-Duc, Geneviève, 'Eléments biographiques', Viollet-le-Duc, Paris 1980, 30ff. Le voyage d'Italie d'Eugène Viollet-le-Duc 1836-1837, Paris 1980. 'Viollet-le-Duc', Monuments Historiques de la France, I-II, 1965.

22. Mérimée to Sainte-Beuve, 13 February 1864 (Mérimée, P., Correspondance générale, Privat 1958, VI, 1864-65, 54: "En ce qui concerne Viollet-le-Duc, il me semble que c'est un esprit très bien fait et très juste. Il sait raisonner, ce qui est un grand point en architecture, car le but de cet art étant essentiellement utile, on ne peut faire une faute de raisonnement qui ne soit en même temps une faute contre l'art. Viollet-le-Duc est un des premiers qui ait soutenu la doctrine, si peu suivie aujourd'hui, de faire des édifices pour leur destination et non pour leur apparence extérieure. Sa doctrine est que la disposition d'un bâtiment est commandée par l'usage qu'on en veut faire. L'ornementation à laquelle aujourd'hui on sacrifie tout, ne vient qu'en seconde ligne et elle doit, comme la disposition générale, tirer son caractère de sa destination."

23. Viollet-le-Duc, E., 'Rapport sur l'état actuel d'ancienne Eglise de la Madeleine à Vézelay (Yonne) et sur les réparations à faire à cet édifice', 21 March 1840 (Vézelay, 1586-1, A.M.H.):

"Construction.

La porche des cathécumènes ou vestibule, est avec la nef, ce qui reste des premières constructions de la basilique de l'abbaye.

Les piliers de ce vestibule sont construits en pierres rouges par assises très hautes, les chapiteaux en pierre blanche, les

arcs doubleaux en pierres rouges blanches alternées. Les rhens des voutes sont en moellons irrégulièrement posés, et reliés par un mortier fort grossier. Les murs sont en petites pierres grises.

La nef romane est construite dans le même système mais avec moins de soins.

Le transept & le chœur ainsi que la partie supérieure du portail élevés dans le XIII^e siècle, sont construits d'une manière plus régulière, les piles, les murs, les arc-doubleaux, arêtes éperons sont d'une pierre blanche zuanatre assez dure; les colonnes du chœur sont d'un seul morceau, ainsi que la plupart des colonnettes des chapelles, et des croisées qui ne font pas corps avec la maçonnerie, les rhens des voutes sont seuls en moellon ainsi que ceux des voutes de la nef.

Etat des Constructions.

Vestibule

Le vestibule est la seule partie des anciennes constructions qui ne menace pas ruine, il est cependant complètement dégradé dans des détails. Les arcs ont conservé leurs premières courbes et les murs sont d'aplomb, mais les voutes exposées longtemps à l'humidité sont remplies de lézardes et de trous. Le crepi qui revêtissait les rhens en moellons est totalement tombé. Les petits arceaux de la tribune de droite sont bouchés et presque entièrement détruits. Deux grandes salles voutées qui, audessus des bas cotés du vestibule faisaient tribune, sont demeurées depuis longtemps et remplacées par une charpente en bois. Les bas cotés ne sont pas currelées non plus que les tribunes. Les fenêtres percées pour éclairer les bas cotés sont bouchées ainsi que les deux portes latérales de la façade & les deux autres donnant du vestibule dans les bas cotés de la nef.

Nef

La nef presque entièrement romane est dans un état complet de dégradation. Mal construite originellement elle a subi des altérations dans sa construction primitive. Ainsi, les contreforts, n'offrant pas une résistance suffisante à la poussée des voutes, ont été repris à plusieurs époques, et enfin, les grands arcs doubleaux de la nef ayant fait deverser les murs de chaque côté, on a cherché, il y a déjà longtemps, à prévenir la poussée constante des voutes de la nef en construisant des arcs boutans assis sur la tête des contreforts des bas cotés, et venant butés contre les éperons de la nef.

Dans le XIII^e siècle la partie supérieure des trois dernières travées de la nef a été refaite dans le goût de l'Époque, les ogives ont remplacé les pleins cintres, et les grandes voutes ont été élevées à 4 mètres rien ne venant plus maintenir le dernier arc doubleau plein cintre, il a subi la poussée des voutes inférieures, et s'est considérablement déformé.

Tous les autres arcs doubleaux plein-cintres de la nef sont totalement sortis de leur courbure primitive, car malgré

les éperons et les arcs-boutans placés après coup, ces voutes ont toujours poussé les murs de la nef en dehors. Aujourd'hui le mur nord est déversé de 0 m 27 centimètres, et le mur sud de 0 m 25 centimètres, les claveaux des arcs ne tiennent plus que par l'arête de l'extrados, et ont été calés en dessous par des coins en bois qui ne contribuent pas peu à aggraver un état aussi dangereux. Les voutes en moellon entre ces arcs-doubleaux ont dans presque toute la longueur de la nef trois lézardes replatées à plusieurs reprises, mais qui n'ont pas moins chacune de 10 à 12 centimètres de largeur.

Les arcs-boutans extérieurs sont presque tous dans un état complet de dégradation; construits en mauvais petits moellons irréguliers, et chargés d'une masse inutile de maçonnerie maljointe, ils se sont tous séparés par la moitié dans leur longueur, et plusieurs semblent ne pouvoir être touchés sans tomber en poussière. Quelques uns sont étayés, et chaque jour il s'en détache quelques morceaux.

Le mur nord des bas cotés, vers le milieu de la nef, est deversé en dehors de 0 m 18 centimètres, et déjà un contrefort beaucoup plus saillant que les anciens a été refait à neuf dans cette partie pour empêcher le mal d'empirer.

Dans le siècle dernier la charpente des bas cotés nord et sud a été totalement refaite à neuf, mais beaucoup plus inclinée que la charpente primitive car aujourd'hui les fenêtres de la nef sont à moitié engagées dans la partie supérieure de ce comble, ce qui cause sans cesse des infiltrations d'eaux pluviales. En outre cette charpente en mauvais bois a été posée sur des masses de gravois qui chargent les voutes des bas cotés. Ces gravois tassent continuellement, de sorte que jamais ce comble ne reste attaché au mur de la nef. Les entrants de cette charpente sont pourris, brisés pour la plupart, et posent en plein sur les gravois dont je viens de parler. Les anciens jets-d'eau destinés à garantir la jonction du comble et du mur se voient maintenant au dessous des fenêtres dans le comble des bas cotés. La corniche des bas cotés est presque entièrement détruite, il n'en reste que des fragments, de sorte que les eaux coulent le long du mur et pourrissent tous les joints, plusieurs contreforts sont lézardés par le poids des énormes arcs-boutans qui le chargent, et presque tous les claveaux des fenêtres sont délités et tombent en poudre.

Transsept

Cette partie de l'Édifice est en bon état relativement à la nef, mais les combles qui la couvrent laissent à leur jonction avec leurs tours pénétrer toutes les eaux pluviales à la base des noues nord-ouest & sud-ouest. Cette humidité pourrit chaque jour les rhens des voutes au dessous de ces noues, et peut nécessiter bien tôt des réparations considérables s'il on n'apporte promptement remède à ce mal, les éperons extérieurs qui maintiennent le pignon nord sont fort endommagés à leur base.

Chœur

Le chœur est intérieurement bien conservé, si ce n'est le premier pilier à gauche qui je crois a été frappé de la

foudre, et se trouve lézardé & mutilé à la naissance des arcs.

Extérieurement le chœur est en mauvais état tout autant que le reste de l'Édifice, un seul arc boutant est intact, tous les autres ont besoin d'être refaits ou restaurés. Ces arcs boutants sont bien contruits, légers en pierres détaillées bien appareillées, et se combinant avec la construction intérieure. Mais les murs percés de fenêtres des chapelles demi-circulaires qui font le tour du chœur, ont leur corniche détruite et sont fort endommagés. Les toits qui couvrent ces chapelles les bas cotés qui entourent le chœur, ont de même que ceux de la nef été refaits plus inclinés que les combles primitifs, de sorte qu'ils bouchent les fenêtres et du chœur et des galeries des bas-cotés, ils masquent l'architecture de ces différentes divisions. Ces combles sont tellement irréguliers qu'il est impossible d'empêcher l'infiltration des eaux. D'ailleurs la charpente est toute aussi mauvaise que celle des bas cotés.

Les fenêtres des chapelles du rond point, aussi bien que toutes celles de l'Église sont aux trois quarts bouchées, ce qui produit intérieurement et extérieurement l'effet le plus pitoyable.

Façade

La Façade de l'Église bâtie dans le 13^{ème} siècle est d'un assez mauvais goût, la tour du sud est conservée et a été réparée en 1821 après un incendie causé par la foudre qui avait brûlé sa flèche en bois. Ces restaurations ont été mal faites, et sous le rapport du goût et sous celui de la solidité, mais cependant aucune des parties de la tour ne demande aujourd'hui à être réparée. Dans la partie supérieure de la façade, sont percées des fenêtres ogivales qui donnent du jour dans le vestibule. Ces fenêtres sont privées de leurs vitres depuis longtemps, et la pluie poussée par le vent d'Ouest est chassée par ces ouvertures jusqu'au fond de ce vestibule, ce qui entretient dans ces vieilles constructions une humidité préjudiciable à leur conservation.

Tour du transept Sud.

La tour du transept Sud a été frappée par le tonnerre à plusieurs reprises. Sa flèche en pierre est tronquée ainsi que les quatre clochetons qui l'entouraient. Il y a peu d'années encore la foudre a broyé une grande quantité de pierres à son angle nord-ouest et chaque jour il en tombe des fragments. Les grandes fenêtres plein-cintrées sont bouchées par de la maçonnerie.

Grands-Combles.

Les combles de la nef, du transept, et du chœur, ont besoin de grandes réparations, les entrants des fermes du chœur s'appuient sur les voutes, et les noues du transept ne sont retenues par aucun entrant. Les jambes de force posent sur les rhens de la voute et ces noues n'étant pas recouvertes de plomb, l'eau passe facilement la charpente ainsi que les voutes qu'elles doivent protéger.

Le pignon du transept sud est dégradé, sa corniche est presque entièrement tombée.

Réparations urgentes.

Vestibule.

Il est nécessaire de vitrer les grandes fenêtres de la façade, de réparer celles des bas cotés, les déboucher et les vitrer. Les quatre portes des bas cotés devraient être aussi débouchées, et leurs vantaux refaits, les voutes rejointoyées.

Nef

Je pense que le meilleur moyen d'empêcher la ruine imminente de cette partie de l'Église, consiste à étayer provisoirement les murs des bas cotés, au droit des arcs doubleaux qui se sont affaissés, de cintrer les arcs boutants extérieurs, & les arcs doubleaux intérieurs, ainsi que les voutes; en étayant également les murs de la nef. De démolir ces arcs-boutants qui tombent en poussière, de les refaire avec soin en pierres de taille, en prenant garde de bien les unir aux éperons du mur de la nef. Puis de démonter les arcs-doubleaux & les reposer en remplaçant quelques claveaux de manière à bien serrer la construction. Cette opération faite à trois des arcs-doubleaux, et à tous les arcs boutants de la nef, on n'aurait plus de crainte à avoir sur la durée de cette partie de l'Église, et le deversement des murs serait fixé par les arcs boutants neufs. Il faudrait aussi refaire en leur donnant une saillie plus forte que celle actuelle, quelques uns des éperons des bas cotés du nord afin d'arrêter le mouvement de devers que sont les murs en dehors. D'autres éperons sont lézardés et ont besoin d'être repris et rejointoyés.

Transept

Il n'y aurait de réparation imminente à faire dans cette partie de l'Église que la reprise de la base des éperons extérieurs du pignon nord.

Chœur

Tous les arcs boutants extérieurs du chœur ont entièrement besoin d'être réparés, moins un, qui est en bon état. Les chapelles basses nécessitent aussi quelques reprises; la partie supérieure des fenêtres de ces chapelles est endommagée et quelques archivoltas ont besoin d'être repris à la naissance des arcs.

Façade

Quelques statues qui ornent cette façade tombent, n'étant plus retenues par les fers qui se sont oxydés, avec une somme assez faible on prévendrait leur chute en remplaçant ces fers et ces crampons.

Grand Comble

La rencontre de ces combles avec les tours du transept doit être couverte et bouchée afin d'empêcher la pluie de tomber sur les rhens des voutes du transept. Sur les noues doivent être faits des chenaux en plomb.

Combles des bas cotés et des chapelles du chœur.

Tous ces combles sont pourris et doivent être refaits en totalité en ayant le soin de les reconstruire dans leur état

primitif, de manière à démasquer toutes les fenêtres du chœur et de la nef. Alors ils doivent être couverts en tuiles creuses ainsi qu'ils l'étaient autrefois car la pente étant moins rapide que celle des combles, actuellement existants, les tuiles plates ne seraient pas d'un bon usage.

Restaurations

Vestibule.

Ce vestibule doit être dallé sur toute sa superficie, les voutes recrépées, et la galerie du nord retablee comme dans celle du sud. Les piliers, les chapiteaux et les grands bas reliefs au dessus des portes de la nef débadigeonnés, les trois petites arcades de la tribune donnant sur la nef débouchées. Alors, ce vestibule d'une bonne proportion, et dont le plan est fort beau, prendrait un aspect sévère et grandiose qui frapperait singulièrement. Rien n'est plus grave en effet que ces dispositions, et l'oeil distrait par les nombreuses dégradations qui le mutilent ne peut comprendre aujourd'hui l'aspect imposant que prendrait ce porche s'il était restauré.

Je pense que si quelque chose doit être conservé dans l'Eglise de Vézelay c'est ce vestibule, qui m'a paru la plus belle chose en ce genre qu'il y ait en France.

Nef, Transsept & chœur, intérieur.

Pour restaurer complètement toutes ces parties, il faudrait avant tout, d'boucher toutes les fenêtres et les vitrer, puis laver partout le badigeon qui ne tenant plus que par places, produit l'effet le plus triste, et couvre des constructions en pierres de différentes couleurs, remplacer trois chapiteaux de la nef qui sont brisés, & remanier tout le dallage qui est beaucoup au dessus de son ancien niveau, et cache des bases de colonnes.

Extérieur

Toute la corniche des bas cotés, qui est fort belle, est détruite, ou rongée par les eaux. Au midi, de lourds cheneaux en pierre posés dans le XIIIe siècle l'ont remplacée. Cette corniche devrait être refaite ne fut-ce que pour la conservation des murs qu'elles doit couvrir.

Adossée au bas coté du midi est une baraque qui appartient par portions égales, à la fabrique, et à un particulier. Il serait bon de la démolir pour démarquer cette partie de l'Eglise. Ce mur du coté sud, a totalement besoin d'être rejointoyé et même repris dans certaines parties.

La corniche des chapelles du chœur est détruite sauf deux ou trois mètres de longueur elle devrait être aussi refaite en entier. La corniche du pignon du transsept sud exige aussi une réparation presque complète.

Les combles des chapelles et des bas cotés du chœur étant refaite à neuf, et baissés, suivant leur première inclinaison, cette partie de l'Eglise prendra un aspect fort différent de celui qu'elle a aujourd'hui, toutes ces différentes parties, étant enserelées sous un comble onduleux et gauche, qui n'a ni forme ni solidité, et qui déshonore le monument.

Grands Combles

La charpente du comble de la nef nécessitera plus tard aussi des réparations considérables, elle est mal combiée et dans la partie du transept et du chœur, elle pose autant sur les voutes, que sur les murs. Le système des moues est des plus vicieux.

Tour du transsept sud.

Il me paraît aussi fort nécessaire de réparer les effets de la foudre sur cette tour, tant intérieurement, qu'extérieurement. Du reste cette dépense ne sera pas très considérable et se bornera presque à un rejointoyement.

Enfin je propose pour prévenir les accidents qui ont tant de fois causé des désastres dans l'Eglise de Vézelay, d'établir tant sur les grands combles de ce monument, que sur les deux tours, sept paratonnerres avec leurs conducteurs.

Matériaux

J'ai dû pendant mon séjour à Vézelay rechercher quels étaient les matériaux qui avaient servi à la construction de l'Eglise de la Madeleine, afin d'employer les mêmes s'il est possible dans les travaux de restauration.

J'ai déjà mentionné ces différentes espèces de matériaux dans le premier paragraphe du rapport.

1. Une pierre grise avec grandes taches jaunâtres, grès, Carrière inconnue.
2. Une pierre dure grossière ... Grès. Je crois carrières proche Vézelay encore ouvertes aujourd'hui.
3. Une pierre moins dure que la précédente, calcaire assez fin, carrières dites de la Mance, encore exploitées. 3 livres de Vézelay.
4. Une pierre très blanche, calcaire, carrière inconnue.
5. Une pierre blanche jaunâtre assez dure, calcaire recevant le poli. Carrières de Coutanou encore exploitées 7 lieux de Vézelay.
6. Une pierre blanche jaunâtre très fine calcaire, c'est avec cette pierre que sont faites les colonnes monolithes du chœur. Je crois que cette pierre vient de Tonerre.
7. Moellon calcaire se délitant facilement, appelé lave dans le pays. Extrait autour de Vézelay.

Il sera joint à ce rapport un travail graphique donnant l'état actuel des constructions de l'Eglise de la Madeleine, et les réparations proposées avec le système d'étayement et de cintrage des voutes et des arcs boutants qui doivent être refaits.

Faits par l'architecte soussigné, le 21 Mars 1840,

E. Viollet Leduc."

24. On 6 April 1840, the Direction des Beaux-Arts approved Viollet-le-Duc's project, and the budget of 40.000 francs. (1586-1, A.M.H.) The estimate prepared by Viollet-le-Duc, and approved by the Conseil des Bâtiments Civils on 29 August 1840: 'Devis général estimatif des travaux à faire pour la restauration de l'Eglise de la Madeleine': "I section, restauration de la partie de la nef

qui est en mauvais état; II section, le mur de pignon; III section, les sept contreforts; IV section, les combles, la couverture des bas-cotés et la corniche sous le pied des chevrons ainsi que les chaineaux et tuyaux de descente...

I section, 1.étaient (démolition des 3 voutes et arcs doubleaux)10,309.00; 2. démolition 868.13; 3. reconstruction5,932.00 = 17,109.13

II “ 1. démolition 167.21; 2. reconstruction 3,054.31 = 3,221.52

III “ 1. Etaient 898.68; 2. Démolition 662.76; 3. Reconstruction 18,979.87 = 20,541.31

IV “ 11,022.08

Total 51,895.32; Imprévis 2,104.68 “

Le 2e Devis’:

Ch. 1er. Démolition contreforts, arcs-boutans

Ch. 2eme. Reconstruction contreforts et arcs-boutans en pierre Mance; Reconstr. arcs-doubleaux extradosses en pierre Mance; Corniche et Chenau, Taille superficielle ragréement; Fondations en moellon

Ch. 3eme Comble de bas cotés en charp. neuve

Ch. 4eme Couverture en tuiles creuses

Ch. 5eme Journées du charpentier

Total 28,830.76 “

25. Commission des monuments historiques, Procès-verbaux, 29 March 1840 (Bercé, F., Les premiers travaux de la commission des monuments historiques 1837-1848, Paris 1979, 55)

26. Mérimée, P., Notes d’un voyage dans le Midi de la France, Paris 1835 (Repr. in Mérimée, P., Notes de Voyage, Paris 1971)

27. Viollet-le-Duc, ‘Rapport sur l’état actuel’ op.cit.: “Dans le XIIIe siècle la partie supérieure des trois dernières travées de la nef a été refaite dans le gout de l’Epoque.”

28. Viollet-le-Duc, ibid: “La Façade de l’Eglise batie dans le 13ème siècle est d’un assez mauvais gout.”

29. Viollet-le-Duc, ibid: “Alors, ce vestibule d’une proportion, et dont le plan est fort beau prendrait un aspect severe et grandiose qui frapperait singulièrement. Rien n’est plus grave en effet que ces dispositions, et l’oeil distrait par les nombreuses dégradations qui le mutilent ne peut comprendre aujourd’hui l’aspect imposant que prendrait ce porche s’il était restauré. Je pense que si quelque chose doit être conservé dans l’Eglise de Vézelay c’est ce vestibule, qui m’a paru la plus belle chose en ce genre qu’il y ait en France.”

30. Viollet-le-Duc to the Commission des Monuments historiques, 3 July 1841; Viollet-le-Duc to the Minister, 8 January 1842 (Vézelay, 1586-1, A.M.H.)

31. Commission des Monuments historiques, ‘Procès verbaux’, 26 August 1840, (Bercé, op.cit., 88).

32. Answering the criticism of M. François Garnier, Mérimée wrote to Vitet, 5 June 1847, commenting the accusation of having constructed too heavy vaults, “Je ne comprends pas et je n’ai rien vu de semblable. Les vo-tes nouvelles sont beaucoup plus légères que les anciennes. Peut-être Mr Garnier veut-il parler de deux arcs de la nef dont les claveaux très anciennement brisés doivent être repris. Les arcs sont cintrés provisoirement. Vous savez combien la pierre employée par les anciens architectes de Vézelay est mauvaise. Elle se fendille comme de l’argile et les claveaux sur plusieurs points ne tiennent que par la pression qu’ils éprouvent. Lorsqu’on les enlève de leur place, on les brise comme de la mie de pain sèche. Cette reprise à exécuter n’a rien de commun avec celle des vo-tes.” (Mérimée, Correspondance, op.cit., V, 99)

33. Viollet-le-Duc, ‘3. Devis Général Estimatif de Travaux à faire pour la restauration complète de l’Eglise de la Magdeleine’, 19 February 1842 (1586-1; A.M.H.):

“- Maçonnerie 57,171.47; - Charpente 15,083.36;

- Couverture 12,468.60; - Serrurerie 2,720.25

- Plomberie 4,393.15 ; = 91,836.83

- Répar. murs extér. 61,197.41

- Débadigeonnage 5,000.00

- Racords inter. murs sculptures 10,000.00

- Dallage intér. 8,439.60

- Reconstr. totale des croisees 12,373.44 = 188,847.28

- Imprévis18,884.73 = 207,732.01

- Hon. archit., frais de voyage etc. 1/10 20,773.20

Total = 228,505.21

34. Commission M.H., ‘Procès verbaux’, 7 January 1842 (Bercé, op.cit., 164f): “... M. Lenormant qui a vu l’édifice cette année pendant le cours de la campagne approuve tout ce que vient de dire M. Viollet-le-Duc pour sa satisfaction et celle de son employé. Il pense qu’il fallait d’abord s’occuper de consolider avant de restaurer et insiste d’abord sur le mérite principal de l’église de Vézelay, qui consiste d’abord dans la beauté de son immense vaisseau. A l’extérieur il ne faut que réparer sans luxe un édifice dont l’ornementation a toujours été négligée.”

35. Mérimée, P., ‘Rapport 1842’, op.cit.: “M. Viollet-le-Duc a triomphé heureusement de toutes les difficultés. Aujourd’hui la consolidation des vo-tes et des murs latéraux est accomplie. Les opérations qui offraient un danger réel ont été terminées sans accidents. On peut dire que la Madeleine est sauvée. Sans doute, de grands travaux seront encore nécessaires, les dépenses considérables; mais pour ceux qui connaissent la situation de cette église, le résultat obtenu est immense, et sa restauration complète, qu’on a pu croire impossible, n’est plus maintenant qu’une affaire de temps et d’argent.”

36. Viollet-le-Duc to the Minister, 3 June 1844 (Vézelay, 1586-1/ 1824-48; A.M.H.).

37. Viollet-le-Duc to the Minister, *ibid*: referring to the intention to “commencer restauration complete... ce dernier travail terminé, il ne restera ... qu’un seul point faible ... les trois voûtes du XIV^eme siècle, ceux quelles nous n’avons pas touché, et qui dans la nef continuent les voûtes plein-cintres. Cette reconstruction refaite probablement après la chute des dernières voûtes romanes de la nef, fut montée à la hâte, et sans soins, sans art, sur les anciennes piles et les anciens murs du 11^eme siècle restés debout. Ne se reliant d’aucune façon avec les vieux murs, elle paraît de détériorer chaque jours. Mal contrebutées, ces voûtes ... longtemps déformées, brisées, et ouvertes ... Je pense que les trois voûtes d’arêtes du XIV^eme siècle, qui suivent immédiatement les arcs romans de la nef, devraient être reconstruites, non pas telles qu’elles sont aujourd’hui, mais ainsi qu’elles existaient, et ainsi que nous avons refait les autres voutes de la nef; car, les chapiteaux qui portaient les arcs-doubleaux plein-cintres sont encore bien conservés, le commencement de ces arcs eux-même est encore en place, les fenêtres romanes et même les arcs formerets existent encore en grande partie. Si ces voûtes d’arêtes offraient encore quelques chances de durée, je n’oserais pas proposer, Monsieur le Ministre, une modification aussi importante à l’état actuel du monument; mais dans la nécessité ou nous allons nous trouver de refaire ces voûtes, je cois que sous les différents rapports, 1. de la solidité, 2. de l’aspect général de l’édifice, et 3. de l’économie, il est préférable de les reconstruire romanes ainsi qu’elles existaient. Cette belle nef du XI^eme siècle sera donc alors complete, et placées dans de bonnes conditions. En effet, cette opération me permettra de reporter le mur pignon qui sépare aujourd’hui la nef haute de la nef basse, et pesa de tout son poid sur le dernier arc-doubleau qui nous avons reconstruit, dela reporter dis-je entre les deux tours qui précèdent le Transept. Là, il sera maintenu de façon non plus charger les voûtes et ne pourra plus pousser au vide.”

38. Viollet-le-Duc, *ibid*: “Je laisserais entière alors la 4^eme voûte du XIV^eme siècle qui est entre ces deux tours et précède le transept, parceque d’abord, cette voûte toujours vien contrebutée, s’est conservée en très bonne état, et parce qu’ensuite elle ... les belles voûtes du chœur et du transept.”

39. Commission M.H., 14 June 1844 (Bercé, *op.cit.*, 324): “M. Lenormant, rapporteur, expose que l’édifice sera bien restauré à l’exception des voûtes des quatre travées de la nef, qui ont été reconstruites au XIV^eme siècle et qui paraissent à l’architecture et à M. l’Inspecteur Général être dans un état fort menaçant. Faut-il réparer les voûtes comme elles ont été refaites au XI^eme siècle, ou reproduire dans trois travées la voûte du XI^eme siècle sauf à laisser entre les deux tours celle du XIV^eme siècle? Telle est la question que contrairement aux principes généraux qu’il a souvent défendus, le rapporteur propose de décider, conformément aux propositions de l’architecte, en reconstruisant les trois travées semblables à celles du XI^eme siècle qui sont conservées. En effet les chapiteaux sont encore restés à

leur place, ainsi que l’origine des arcs doubleaux, il n’y a rien à refaire que des travaux de constructions faciles à imiter, d’ailleurs la surélévation du fragment de voûte du XIV^eme siècle a nécessité la construction d’un pignon qui surcharge un des arcs doubleaux de la nef, cet inconvénient n’existera plus pour la dernière travée du coté du chœur qui est soutenue par deux tours, et qui servira de transition du style de la nef à celui du chœur.”

40. Mérimée to Vitet, 5 June 1847, (Mérimée, *Correspondance*, *op.cit.*, 98f): “Le premier soin de l’architecte avait été de consolider les murs qui se déversaient en refaisant ou établissant partout des contreforts. Cette opération achevée, l’architecte a proposé à la Commission il y a 3 ans le choix entre deux systèmes:

Le premier, le rétablissement des voûtes ogivales du XIV^eme siècle pour les 3 travées en question, c.a.d. le rétablissement ou plutôt la conservation d’une restauration ancienne maladroite qui altérerait l’unité de caractère que présentait la nef.

Le second, le rétablissement des voûtes de ces trois travées suivant le plan primitif et dans le style de la partie romane de la nef.

Observez que dans les deux cas, les voûtes étaient à refaire. On n’y avait pas encore touché. La commission a préféré le second système qui en conservant à la nef son caractère roman rendait plus facile la construction de la toiture.”

41. Mérimée, note of 13 March 1845 (Vézelay, *op.cit.*, A.M.H.): “Les dernières reparations sont été parfaitement dirigées, et l’édifice est maintenant dans un état très satisfaisant.”

42. Mérimée to the Commission, 19 March 1847 (Vézelay, *op.cit.*, A.M.H.): “...jusqu’à present la Commission ne s’est occupée que de la consolidation de l’église de Vézelay, mais elle a toujours annoncée l’intention d’axion a une restauration complete aussitot que l’état de ses finances le lui permettaient. Le moment est venu de prendre sur parti à cest égard.”

43. Viollet-le-Duc, ‘Rapport sur la situation des travaux au 1er janvier 1847’ (1586-1; A.M.H.): Viollet-le-Duc informs that out of the previously accepted budget of 344.154,- francs, 247.937,77 francs had been spent, and 77.377,88 francs rest to pay, leaving 18.832,35 francs to be spend. “...Ainsi, le maître d’autel refait à la fin de la Renaissance, et qui ne présente qu’un amas confus de moulures les unes sur les autres, est tellement lourd qu’il écrase les voûtes de la crypte, et masque d’ailleurs le fond du chœur restauré entièrement aujourd’hui; des grilles en bois de diverses hauteurs viennent former les chapelles du chœur et entourer les colonnes et les bases, rien n’est plus misérable. Des boiseries et des stalles engagent encore des piliers du transept et de la nef les petites chapelles du chœur restaurées, sont dépourvues d’autels. De tout cela il résulte, que l’aspect du monument soit à l’extérieur soit à l’intérieur, n’à rien de complet, et que en comparaison de

celles déjà faites la Madeleine de Vézelay est toujours un édifice abandonné, et livré aux ouvriers.”

44. Salet, F., ‘Viollet-le-Duc à Vézelay’, *Les Monuments historiques de la France*, 1965, I-II, 33ff.

45. Salet, *ibid.*

46. Salet, *ibid.*

47. Salet, *ibid.*; Hohl - Di Matteo, *La sculpture oubliée*, *op.cit.*; Pressouyre, L., ‘Viollet-le-Duc et la restauration de la sculpture’, *Viollet-le-Duc*, Paris 1980, 144ff; Saulnier, L., ‘Vézelay: la restauration de la sculpture’, *Viollet-le-Duc*, *op.cit.*, 150ff. Mérimée, Report to the Commission, 15 November 1850 (Vézelay, 1587-2, 1848-70; A.M.H.): ‘nouveau devis supplémentaire 186.000 francs’:

“1. rétablir portion du cloître, 2. l’achèvement du Porche, façade, etc., 3. travaux de décoration, bas reliefs de la façade, peinture de la porche des Catéchumènes, vitraux en grisaille du porche”; *Viollet-le-Duc*, request of authorization for the restoration of sculptural decorations, 5 May 1854 ; authorization by the Ministry, 20 May 1854. (A.M.H. *ibid*)

48. Mérimée, Report to the Commission, 15 November 1850; *Viollet-le-Duc*, Report 19 May 1855: a section of the reconstructed cloister vaults collapsed due to cold weather and freezing. ‘Etat des travaux exécutés au 31 mars 1858’ *Viollet-le-Duc* to the Minister, 20 October 1859, reports that his work has been completed, and proposes the appointment of M. Piéplu to finish what remains, as well as to be responsible for maintenance. This was approved 11 November 1859 by Le Conseiller d’Etat, Secrétaire Général à Son Excellence le Ministre d’Etat; ‘Arrête’, 11 November 1859: Piéplu replaces *Viollet-le-Duc* (Vézelay, 1587-2, 1848-70; A.M.H.).

49. Mérimée to Vitet, 5 June 1847 (Mérimée, *Correspondance*, *op.cit.*, V, 49ff).

50. Ministre de l’Intérieur to Préfet de l’Yonne, 18 June 1847 (Vézelay, 1586-1, A.M.H.; Mérimée, *ibid*, 101): “Mr le Préfet, A l’occasion de quelques plaintes qui m’ont été adressées sur la manière dont les travaux entrepris aux églises de Vézelay et de Montréal ont été conduits, j’ai d’ordonner une enquête sur le faits. Mr l’Inspecteur général s’est rendu sur les lieux. Il résulte de son rapport que non seulement aucune des plaintes dont il s’agit n’était fondée, mais que l’architecte chargé de la restauration de ces deux édifices mérite les éloges de l’administration pour la manière habile dont il a dirigé les travaux qui ne laissent rien à désirer tant sous le rapport de l’art que sous celui de la solidité. Mais en même temps que Mr l’Inspeteur général s’enquerrait des faits que je lui avais signalés, des réclamations lui ont été présentées par les entrepreneurs et les agents employés aux travaux, au sujet des retards apportés par l’administration locale à la délivrance des mandats de paiements. ...”

(*Viollet-le-Duc*, ‘Rapport’, 19 May 1855)