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eikonocity

Storia e Iconografia delle Città e dei Siti Europei - History and Iconography of European Cities and Sites



Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II
CIRICE - Centro Interdipartimentale
di Ricerca sull'Iconografia
della Città Europea
Associazione Eikonocity

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L'iconografia urbana: per una storia e un'identità della città e del paesaggio

Editoriale

Carla Fernández Martínez, Massimo Visone

1 | Introduzione: identità e storia della città e del paesaggio

Attualmente, la maggior parte dei ricercatori insiste sul valore del documento grafico per lo studio della storia della città. Le opere di artisti, viaggiatori, curiosi o semplicemente dilettanti non solo ci permettono di apprezzarne le qualità artistiche, ma testimoniano e illustrano a distanza di tempo i cambiamenti degli elementi fisici che hanno costruito la città stessa nel corso dei secoli, come gli edifici, le piazze, le strade, i giardini e le infrastrutture; inoltre, esse offrono anche informazione sui più svariati aspetti della vita urbana, dall'organizzazione politica alle attività economiche, così come delle sue tradizioni, le festività, le cerimonie, gli usi e i costumi degli abitanti che animano gli spazi pubblici. Il valore che ha acquisito l'iconografia urbana ha contribuito ad ampliare progressivamente le discipline che studiano e approfondiscono questa fonte come strumento di analisi e come mezzo per indagare l'identità delle popolazioni. In questo senso, i sette articoli che compongono il numero della presente rivista evidenziano, da diversi punti di vista, l'importanza delle vedute, nelle sue diverse espressioni tecniche e formali – cioè dallo schizzo di studio alla fotografia –, per approfondire lo studio della storia della città e per formulare strategie che favoriscano lo sviluppo di centri urbani sostenibili nel nostro prossimo futuro.

La pubblicazione si apre con la ricerca di Èmile Beck Saiello. Il suo studio ci porta alla città pontificia di metà Settecento attraverso la figura di tre ambasciatori francesi che esercitarono un importante lavoro di mecenatismo: Paul Hippolyte de Beauvillier, François-Claude de Montboissier ed Étienne François. L'autrice esamina, a partire da diverse fonti documentali, la rilevanza che acquistò il collezionismo come mezzo per raggiungere prestigio sociale e affermazione personale nella società, grazie soprattutto alla propria posizione diplomatica. La conoscenza di queste fonti consente di constatare il notevole ruolo raggiunto dai "ritratti di città", che erano considerati efficaci strumenti per manifestare la grandiosità delle proprie nazioni e per accentuare gli effetti di magnificenza che i rappresentanti reali sviluppavano sullo straniero. Nel Settecento la protezione degli artisti più apprezzati e più noti sul mercato, la conformazione di una ricca collezione e la rappresentazione della città divennero per pubblici mecenati una delle modalità più utilizzate per perpetuare la propria immagine nel tempo, lasciando infatti significative tracce nella storia dell'arte e vedute di città ancora utili per gli studi di storia urbana.

Grand Tour, letteratura di viaggio e vedutismo sono alcuni degli argomenti classici negli studi di iconografia urbana e a questo ambito appartiene il contributo di Anda-Lucia Spânu. La studiosa rumena ci proietta verso la fine del XVIII secolo, momento in cui l'itinerario del viaggio classico, solcato da *connosseur*, aristocratici e intellettuali del tempo, fu modificato a causa delle guerre napoleoniche. I nuovi viaggiatori ebbero attenzione non solo verso l'Italia o la Francia,

ma anche verso luoghi più lontani, anticipando il piacere per l'esotico e l'orientale, tipico del Romanticismo. Spânu si sofferma su un artista che si distinse per la dedizione al vedutismo: Luigi Mayer. Questo pittore acquistò un notevole prestigio grazie alla sua amicizia con sir Robert Ainslie, ambasciatore britannico in Turchia tra il 1776 e il 1794. L'interesse di Ainslie per le antichità e il viaggio favorì Mayer, che ebbe l'opportunità di accompagnarlo nelle sue lunghe escursioni, realizzando numerose testimonianze grafiche dei luoghi visitati. Il saggio concede particolare attenzione alle opere realizzate presso gli antichi Principati della Romania, pubblicati nel 1801. Inedite vedute di città, di paesaggi, spazi urbani, momenti di vita e del viaggio stesso che facilitano lo studio dell'architettura, ma anche dei costumi, dei modi di vita e dei lavori tradizionali, offrendo la possibilità di approfondire molteplici aspetti legati alla politica, all'economia, alla società e alla cultura locale dell'epoca.

Francesco Zecchino è l'autore del terzo articolo. Il suo contributo costituisce un'interessante riflessione sulla valenza dell'iconografia urbana per lo studio dello sviluppo della città, delle sue trasformazioni e delle sue persistenze nella città moderna. L'autore si sofferma in una delle collezioni più copiose per la conoscenza dei Napoli e dei centri minori della provincia: la Fondazione Pagliara dell'Università degli Studi Suor Orsola Benincasa di Napoli. Il repertorio è ricco di documenti e di oggetti di valore storico-artistico, tra i quali si trovano numerose vedute di città. In questo caso, si tratta di due album, intitolati *Contorni di Napoli* e *Ansichten von Neapel und Umgegend*, di ampio interesse per l'analisi di Napoli e dei suoi dintorni alla fine del XVIII secolo, cioè, in un momento nel quale era uno dei centri culturali più attivi dell'Europa e meta indiscutibile per i viaggiatori e i curiosi del *Grand Tour*. Queste vedute ci avvicinano alle testimonianze dell'antichità, a paesaggi e ad ambiti urbani, ma hanno anche interesse per le nuove costruzioni, come Capodimonte o l'Albergo dei poveri, promosse dai Borbone per rinnovare il processo di costruzione della capitale ed esaltare la magnificenza del governo.

Il valore della fonte grafica cresce davanti alla mancanza di altra documentazione storica, specialmente in quei paesi con un patrimonio più vulnerabile. A questo contesto appartiene il lavoro di Massimo Lesseri e Martín López Lara, autori di un interessante studio sull'architettura dei Caraibi colombiano. Grazie alla rigorosa indagine sulle fonti grafiche storiche, questi due studiosi hanno potuto ricostruire la storia visiva di uno degli edifici più significativi di quest'area geografica: il Centro Culturale Cerete, emblema del mercato fluviale della zona. Il contributo manifesta il ruolo storico del commercio nella costa caraibica e le implicazioni che ebbe nell'architettura vernacolare. Con questo caso studio di un edificio singolare, gli autori enfatizzano l'interesse dell'iconografia urbana e come, in particolare, l'informazione che questa testimonianza permette di supplire alla carenza di altre fonti in funzione della sua valorizzazione e del suo recupero. Immagine e identità si abbracciano, contribuendo a creare vincoli più vicini tra i cittadini e lo spazio urbano.

Negli ultimi anni è aumentato l'interesse per il patrimonio industriale, proponendo diverse modalità di intervento per la sua salvaguardia e il riuso del patrimonio architettonico. Questo è l'argomento dell'articolo di Julia Sowinska, studiosa di Lodz, un caso studio che sta assumendo un rilievo di scala internazionale nel settore. Lodz divenne famosa nel XIX secolo grazie allo sviluppo intensivo dell'industria tessile. Dopo il 1989, la città ha dovuto affrontare una rapida crisi industriale e la deindustrializzazione. Dagli anni Novanta, la città ha iniziato a lavorare per rilanciare una nuova immagine urbana e per ridefinire una nuova identità collettiva, ma senza rinnegare il proprio passato, anzi! La città ha inteso definire tutto ciò proprio mediante il riadattamento e il riuso del patrimonio architettonico legato alla sua immagine di città cardine del

processo di industrializzazione nazionale, come è esemplificato in una veduta che mostra Lodz come città operaia della Polonia. Con una solida conoscenza di precedenti esperienze internazionali e di altre proposte fatte in ambito europeo, l'autrice illustra il processo storico-culturale che ha portato alla risemantizzazione di questo patrimonio collettivo, facendo attenzione allo sviluppo sostenibile e ai valori in maniera tale da consolidare il rapporto tra i cittadini e la storia, anche quella più recente. Nell'articolo si analizzano i principali problemi di questo *iter*, non solo per le condizioni in cui versavano alcuni dei complessi industriali presenti in città, ma anche per i lavori di recupero di immobili con interesse storico-artistico. Sowinska espone con dettaglio le difficoltà che comporta il riuso di un edificio, ma, innanzitutto, analizza come il cambiamento di uso incida nei rapporti che stabiliamo con l'ambiente urbano, a cui si conferiscono nuovi significati e valori culturali e sociali.

Memoria, identità e perdita del patrimonio sono tre concetti chiave nel contributo di Begoña Fernández Rodríguez sulle trasformazioni urbane nella Spagna franchista. L'autrice studia il contesto storico dell'epoca ricordando i danni provocate dalla guerra civile alle città e al paesaggio rurale per soffermarsi nei piani di lavori pubblici promossi dal governo. Uno di questi, noto ma poco studiato, fu la realizzazione di opere di ingegneria idraulica, un'operazione che causò profonde modifiche dello spazio e che portò al trasloco di monumenti e di interi centri urbani. Nella maggior parte degli interventi si cercò di eliminare il palinsesto per dare priorità ed evidenza ad alcuni stili artistici e architettonici su altri, modificando i valori del bene e dello spazio. Portomarin è la protagonista del lavoro di Fernández; un paese della provincia di Lugo, in Galizia, che fu "traslato" in altro luogo negli anni Sessanta del Novecento per la costruzione della diga di Belesar. Nella nuova ubicazione si trattò di ricostruire alcuni degli elementi più emblematici, come la chiesa di San Juan, ma si impose un nuovo tessuto urbano poco rispettoso verso le caratteristiche dell'architettura vernacolare originaria e dell'identità della vecchia Portomarin, che ancora oggi dorme sotto l'acqua.

Il numero si chiude con l'articolo di Joana Couceiro che costituisce un'interessante riflessione sul dialogo creato nell'architettura di Lisbona dopo le due grandi catastrofi che la colpirono: il terremoto del 1755 e l'incendio del 1988. Sulla base di un'analisi storico-architettonica, l'autrice studia il protagonismo che hanno assunto le facciate degli edifici nei processi di ricostruzione. Dopo il sisma del 1755, la ricostruzione cercò di creare un modello architettonico uniforme, promosso dal marchese di Pombal, che servì di esempio per l'Europa e per l'America spagnola. Quasi tre secoli dopo, Álvaro Siza è stato l'architetto progettista nell'intervento di recupero nel Chiado, seguendo il disegno delle facciate pombaline per dare continuità allo spazio urbano. A partire dalla documentazione grafica conservata – soprattutto il *Cartulario Pombalino* e i disegni di Siza – la studiosa offre un'interessante riflessione sull'importanza che hanno nell'immagine urbana alcuni elementi, come le facciate, che rimangono, a prescindere, dai cambiamenti della Storia.

Questa breve rassegna, senza la presunzione di voler abbracciare in maniera esaustiva la ricchezza concettuale di queste ricerche in ambiti nazionali molto diversi e distanti tra loro, intende però contribuire a illustrare in maniera esemplificativa gli sviluppi multidisciplinari raggiunti dagli studi sull'iconografia urbana in ambito internazionale.

2 | Alcuni cenni su cinquant'anni di iconografia urbana

La cartografia e il vedutismo mostrano luoghi lontani, rilevano le opere dell'uomo e illustrano le città, ma testimoniano anche di viaggi di intellettuali e di artisti e fanno vedere frammenti della storia, scene di vita umana e momenti di sociale comunità, ma a loro volta anche queste vedute

hanno viaggiato e la loro trasmissione e le persone che le hanno possedute, osservate e studiate portano a moltiplicare in modo vertiginoso i modelli e le memorie collettive in una fitta rete di relazioni territoriali e culturali la cui maglia non è sempre facile da ricostruire, se non al di fuori di una compartimentazione dei saperi specialistici. Condividendo la posizione di chi ha insistito sull'opportunità di un approccio ai documenti cartografici e iconografici non più circoscritto al solo esame e alla sola descrizione degli elementi presenti nella mera rappresentazione, per l'individuazione dei criteri scientifici adottati e dei mezzi tecnici usati nella elaborazione delle vedute, per l'identificazione degli autori e per la contestualizzazione storica, si analizzano criticamente in questo ambito di studi «le effettive ragioni con cui essi si sono espressi per soddisfare quelle ragioni, il tipo di cultura che li ha realizzati e l'impronta che essi hanno lasciato nelle forme e nei gradi di cognizione delle realtà territoriali, la loro connessione con altre espressioni figurative e con altre fonti informative, le modalità e i fini con cui sono stati usati» [Gambi 1984, 10].

Oggi sembra normale ricorrere all'iconografia urbana – individuando in questa definizione il più vasto insieme del vedutismo e delle cartografia storica – quando si parla di un edificio o di una città, sia in ambito storico quanto in ambito progettuale, ma in realtà non è sempre stato così. Per molto tempo, in particolare, la cartografia storica è stata oggetto di studi, ma essenzialmente nel campo della geografia, della storia dell'editoria, mentre il vedutismo è stato quasi esclusivamente legato al mondo della storia dell'arte. Fino agli anni Sessanta, l'iconografia urbana era usata solo occasionalmente per studiare la forma della città e dell'architettura, era piuttosto considerata come uno dei tanti altri oggetti custoditi in musei o collezioni private per illustrare le memorie di famiglia e della città.

Nel frattempo, il crescente approccio filologico ha spinto la ricerca nel campo della storia dell'architettura verso una documentazione archivistica più ampia, ma soprattutto verso nuove fonti grafiche, quasi esclusivamente indagando le raccolte di piante e disegni. L'esigenza di studi scientifici e un incremento della domanda hanno contribuito ad alimentare l'interesse verso fonti diverse e alternative, allargando in tal senso i propri orizzonti [*Gli archivi per la storia dell'architettura* 1999]. La cartografia storica e l'iconografia urbana sono venuti incontro a queste istanze con uno sviluppo e un rilievo crescente negli studi di storia della città e di storia urbana, con dati innovativi nei più recenti studi monografici, promuovendo in maniera progressiva prospettive e interessi multidisciplinari per contestualizzare l'oggetto d'indagine.

Nel 1969 Cesare de Seta pubblica la *Cartografia della città di Napoli. Lineamenti dell'evoluzione urbana*, che ha segnato indubbiamente una svolta nella fitta rete delle conoscenze a lungo *in nuce* sull'iconografia della città, in particolare in ambito napoletano. Come dichiara l'autore nel sintetico contributo *Alcuni cenni sulla «fortuna» della Cartografia Napoletana*, l'opera in tre volumi «vuole essere un primo contributo alla schedatura dell'iconografia di Napoli» [de Seta 1969, 213] allora nota ed è introdotta dalla prima edizione della sua storia di Napoli, per una storia militante a servizio dell'urbanistica sottolinea Francesco Compagna nell'introduzione. Nel lungo saggio la narrazione è affiancata da un ricco apparato di dettagli illustrativi ricavati dalle opere schedate. A cinquant'anni dalla pubblicazione, è possibile dire che questa modalità è risultata molto fortunata. Ciò trova conferma sia nelle numerose riedizioni e negli aggiornamenti della sua storia di Napoli [de Seta 1981; de Seta 2016], sia nella felice collana delle *Città nella storia d'Italia* edita da Laterza dal 1980.

Negli ultimi cinquant'anni il vedutismo e la cartografia storica hanno conosciuto oramai uno sviluppo e un rilievo crescente rispetto ai contributi iniziali nel campo degli studi dell'iconografia urbana, aprendo nuove e più feconde direzioni di ricerca. Il tema è stato così dibattuto in molti

convegni e tavole rotonde e relazioni sono state presentate nelle apposite sezioni delle più ampie biennali *International Conferences on the History of Cartography* (1964-2019) [<http://www.maphistory.info/ichcintro.html>]. Negli anni Ottanta il tema ha trovato infatti ampio spazio all'interno di studi sulla cartografia topografica, ma è solo dagli anni Novanta che le ricerche sono state sufficientemente mature perché si potessero compiere studi di sintesi [Harvey 1980; *History of Cartography* 1987-2015; Stroffolino 1999; Nuti 2008].

Queste conoscenze costituiscono uno degli approcci più significativi per approfondire riflessioni critiche sull'evoluzione della *forma urbis* e della sua percezione da parte di architetti, di artisti e di una varia committenza in viaggio, strutturandosi come sapere ben definito [Nuti 1996; de Seta 2011], con una fortuna critica ricca [Bettazzi 2005; Bettazzi 2006], con mostre tematiche di rilievo internazionale [*L'immagine della città europea* 2014; *Imago Urbis* 2016], ma anche con competenze specialistiche in diverse realtà difficili da sintetizzare, ma facilmente esemplificabili in recenti cataloghi a scala nazionale [*Schweizer Städtebilder* 2013] o locale [*Iconografia delle città in Campania* 2006-2007]. Singole città, infatti, hanno iniziato a promuovere indagini sulla propria iconografia e a produrre mostre e ricchi cataloghi.

L'iconografia urbana ha per oggetto la città: il testo iconografico documenta la morfologia del sito, la struttura urbana e l'architettura della città, ma lo studio può molto spesso essere focalizzato anche solo su parti di essa o solo su singoli episodi di architettura. L'analisi critica di *corpus* monografici, di fortunate campagne di rilievo, di raffigurazione e di vedute distribuite lungo un ampio arco cronologico consente di osservare trasformazioni che oggi appaiono complesse, articolate e stratificate, ma, soprattutto, permette di ripercorrere l'espressione formale di idee sociali e di esigenze funzionali alla cultura del tempo. Ciò è ancor più vero oggi che numerose banche dati di disegni, cataloghi di musei e di case d'asta sono liberamente consultabili online, così come quelli elaborati da centri di ricerca specialistici, come quello del Centro Interdipartimentale di Ricerca sull'Iconografia della Città europea dell'Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II. Per poter interpretare le raffigurazioni è necessaria una conoscenza approfondita e puntuale dell'evoluzione fisica del soggetto, così come della formazione accademica e professionale che si è costruita intorno a essa, per poter comprendere e interpretare correttamente queste fonti. Si tratta di approcci complessi che necessitano di mettere a sistema saperi e discipline diverse. Le metodologie di costruzione delle immagini, i linguaggi utilizzati, le tecniche e gli strumenti della rappresentazione, i rapporti tra descrizione letteraria e figurativa sono divenuti oggetto di indagine scientifica e, oggi, gli attuali metodi di raffigurazione e di divulgazione della conoscenza, attraverso innovative applicazioni digitali, aprono nuove e promettenti prospettive d'integrazione per l'analisi critica e per evidenziare significativi palinsesti storico-culturali [Giordano 2001]. La stessa immagine occupa nella storiografia dell'architettura una posizione preminente [*Storia visiva dell'architettura italiana* 2006-2007], più dei manufatti raffigurati, e decifrarne il codice rappresentativo è un'operazione indispensabile per contestualizzarne il ruolo, conoscerne il significato e comprendere l'influenza che ha avuto.

Alcuni territori, alcune città e alcune architetture, in particolare quelle che nel corso della storia hanno assunto la posizione di “monumento” nell'immaginario collettivo, sono state in passato soggetti privilegiati di artisti locali o in viaggio durante il proprio percorso di formazione culturale, ma anche messaggio politico e di propaganda culturale. Questo fenomeno ha generato «una moltiplicazione iconografica che ne registra, sotto specie figurativa, ampliamenti e sviluppi e che, in fogli sciolti o in raccolte rilegate», alimentando «un collezionismo capillarmente diffuso» [Conforti, Travaglini 2006, 314], sia di carattere accademico che più specificamente privato.

L'iconografia urbana è parte del più vasto settore dell'iconografia, termine usato sia per indicare l'insieme delle rappresentazioni figurative di un determinato soggetto, sia, nella storia dell'arte, per indicare lo studio della descrizione dei temi raffigurati nelle opere figurative. Essa, soprattutto, è parte integrante delle competenze scientifiche della storia dell'architettura ed è strumentale a molteplici discipline, ampliando il suo campo d'azione e coinvolgendo il mondo della conservazione e della rappresentazione, ma non di meno anche per gli studi preliminari di progettazione, pronto a inserirsi pienamente nelle nuove sfide della *visual history*, della *public history* e a interagire con la *digital art and humanities*.

Napoli, dicembre 2019

* Pur essendo il frutto di riflessioni condivise, il contributo è direttamente attribuibile a Carla Fernández Martínez per il paragrafo 1 e a Massimo Visone per il paragrafo 2.

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Le paysage espace de représentation

Les collections de trois ambassadeurs français à Rome au XVIIIe siècle: Saint-Aignan, Canillac et Stainville

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Abstract

À travers l'étude de trois ambassadeurs il est possible de se faire une idée de la politique de prestige menée par la France à Rome et du rôle assumé par les collections privées dans l'image que les nations étrangères voulaient donner d'elles-mêmes. Quel rôle y jouent les vues et tableaux de paysages? Souvenirs d'un mandat dans la Péninsule? Témoignages de la politique de mécénat envers les artistes indépendants (non pensionnaires de l'Académie de France)? Ou encore espace de représentation?

The landscape as representation space

Through the study of three ambassadors it is possible to get an idea of the prestige policy carried out by France in Rome and of the role assumed by private collections in the image that foreign nations wanted to give of themselves. What role do landscape views and paintings play there? Memories of a mandate in the Peninsula? Evidence of the patronage policy towards independent artists (not residents of the Académie de France)? Aren't landscapes essentially a space for representation?

Keywords: Collections XVIIIe siècle, diplomatie, politique culturelle, paysage, védutisme
Collectionism in the 18th century, diplomacy, cultural policy, landscape, vedutismo.

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1 | Introduction: Portraits de trois diplomates

Parmi les ambassadeurs de France à Rome qui se sont distingués, au XVIII^e siècle, par le goût du faste et des collections, deux personnalités ont retenu particulièrement l'attention des historiens. Le premier est le cardinal Melchior de Polignac (1661-1742; ambassadeur de 1724 à 1732), dont l'exposition de Lyon de 1998 a souligné le rôle de mécène, de collectionneur et d'antiquaire [*La fascination de l'antique* 1998]. Le second, à l'autre extrémité du siècle, est François-Joachim de Pierre, cardinal de Bernis (1715-1794; ambassadeur de 1769 à 1791): les travaux de Gilles Montègre ont mis en évidence son rôle fondamental dans la politique de prestige menée par le royaume de France face à ses rivaux étrangers. À Rome, plus que dans toute autre ville, la fonction de tout diplomate est d'affirmer la supériorité politique et culturelle de sa nation. Toutefois trois figures d'ambassadeurs – dont l'un seulement par intérim – méritent que l'on souligne l'importance de leur collection et la présence, dans celles-ci, de nombreux tableaux de paysage d'artistes contemporains: Paul Hippolyte de Beauvillier, duc de Saint-Aignan (Paris, 1684 - Paris, 1776; ambassadeur de 1732 à 1740), François-Claude de Montboissier, abbé de Canillac (Brioude, 1699 - Paris, 1761; chargé d'affaires de 1742 à 1745 et en 1748) et Étienne François, comte de Stainville, futur duc de Choiseul (Nancy, 1719 – Paris, 1785; ambassadeur de 1753 à 1757). C'est la place et le rôle de ces tableaux, souvent considérés comme de simples vues souvenirs, que nous souhaitons étudier ici. Nous présenterons ci-après les premières réflexions d'une enquête que nous menons essentiellement sur le rôle culturel joué par le duc de Saint-Aignan durant son ambassade romaine [Beck Saiello, en cours].

2 | Portraits de trois diplomates

Présentons tout d'abord rapidement ces trois personnages. Le premier est Paul Hippolyte de Beauvillier, devenu duc de Saint-Aignan en 1706 par la grâce de son frère aîné. Ayant débuté sa carrière dans l'armée, il participe à la guerre de Succession d'Espagne (1701-1714) qui clôt le règne de Louis XIV. Il est nommé, en avril 1715, ambassadeur à la cour de Madrid. Il s'y heurte toutefois à l'hostilité du premier ministre de Philippe V, Alberoni, qui tente de rapprocher l'Espagne des Habsbourg. Les ambassades coûtent cher aux diplomates et dans les lettres qu'il envoie au marquis de Louville, temporairement chargé d'affaires en Espagne, Saint-Aignan avoue «qu'il lui faut recourir à des expédients pour vivre et qu'il s'est vu plusieurs fois obligé d'engager son argenterie pour se procurer des fonds» [Lemale 1860, 126]. Les intrigues que le Régent Philippe d'Orléans avait chargé Saint-Aignan de mener en Espagne valurent toutefois à l'ambassadeur d'être expulsé sans ménagement le 13 décembre 1716.

À son retour à Paris, il est admis au Conseil de Régence et se voit confier le gouvernement du Havre, charge qu'exerçait sa famille depuis plus d'un demi-siècle. Le 2 février 1724 il reçoit le cordon bleu de l'ordre du Saint-Esprit, et le 16 janvier 1727 est élu à l'Académie Française. Au mois d'octobre 1730 enfin, le cardinal de Fleury, premier ministre de Louis XV, le nomme ambassadeur à Rome où il succède au cardinal de Polignac. Le duc de Saint-Aignan ne part cependant pour l'Italie que le 16 novembre 1731 et met quatre mois à gagner – par mer – son ambassade. Sa tâche principale est de faciliter les mouvements des troupes françaises et espagnoles dans la guerre qui oppose don Carlos aux Habsbourg pour la conquête du royaume de Naples et de Sicile. À la mort de Clément XII Corsini, en 1740, il échoue à faire élire par le conclave le cardinal de Fleury. Ce n'est pourtant pas faute d'avoir montré – à ses frais – l'éclat de la Cour de Versailles car *Le Mercure de France*, dans son numéro de mai 1740, relate ainsi la visite qu'il fait aux cardinaux du Sacré Collège:

Le cortège du duc de Saint-Aignan étoit de douze carrosses attelés chacun de six chevaux, et de deux calèches précédés de 24 valets de pied, habillés de neuf. Au côté du carrosse dans lequel il étoit, marchaient dix Pages en habits de velours jaune brodés d'argent, et un nombre pareil de Suisses, vêtus de ses livrées, avec de riches baudriers [...]. Il est à remarquer que trois de ces magnifiques carrosses [...] avoient été faits pour cette Cérémonie. Celui dans lequel étoit cet ambassadeur a été peint et sculpté par deux des plus habiles artistes de Rome¹.

On comprend pourquoi le duc de Saint-Aignan a été obligé à maintes reprises de demander à son ministre de faire cesser les réclamations insistantes de ses créanciers². Néanmoins, parmi les dépenses qu'il fit à Rome pour tenir son rang, il faut aussi compter ses acquisitions de sculptures et de peintures qui en ont fait un des grands collectionneurs du règne de Louis XV.

La fin de cette ambassade est assombrie par la concurrence du cardinal de Tencin, envoyé à Rome pour favoriser la candidature du cardinal Prospero Lambertini, son ami, et qui sera élu pape en 1739 sous le nom de Benoît XIV.

En 1741 le duc est rappelé en France, mais le Roi lui confie la charge gratifiante du gouvernement de la Bourgogne, pendant la minorité du jeune prince de Condé, fonction qui lui permet de renflouer en partie ses finances.

L'abbé de Canillac, d'une célèbre famille auvergnate qui donna au XIV^e siècle deux papes à l'Église, est nommé auditeur de Rote à Rome en 1733 par la grâce du cardinal de Fleury [Michel

¹ *Le Mercure de France*, mai 1740, p. 1004-1007.

² Voir par exemple La Courneuve, Archives du ministère des affaires étrangères, Correspondance politique, Rome, vol. 745, fol. 320, novembre 1733, Requête du duc de Saint-Aignan au Roy lui demandant de surseoir aux saisies que veulent faire ses créanciers à Rome du fait des dépenses considérables qu'il a esté et est obligé de faire pour remplir dignement la place dont il a plu à Sa Majesté de l'honorer. Et pour les années suivantes, vol. 750, fol. 365, du 31 décembre 1734; vol. 754, fol. 137, décembre 1735, etc.

2016, 109-112; auquel nous empruntons les informations de cet article concernant Canillac]. Il séjournera dans la ville pontificale pendant presque trois décennies, de 1734 à 1760, ne revenant à Paris que pour y mourir chez son frère, le 27 janvier 1761. Abbé commendataire des abbayes de Montmajour, Cercamp et Fécamp, qui lui rapportaient un revenu annuel de 130.000 livres, Canillac à Rome mena grand train. Il y occupa d'abord un appartement au palais Pichi Manfroni, place Farnèse, dans un quartier habité par les peintres Sebastiano Conca, Giovanni Paolo Pannini (ou Pannini) et Francesco Trevisani, dont la fréquentation détermina peut-être sa vocation de mécène. Puis il alla se loger au palais Cesarini, près du Largo Argentina, une demeure digne d'un ambassadeur. Enfin en décembre 1747 au palais de Carolis sur le Corso (où s'installera plus tard le cardinal de Bernis), près du palais Mancini, siège de l'Académie de France. Cela lui permit de nouer des relations avec les jeunes artistes français, pensionnaires de l'institution.

À deux reprises Canillac est nommé chargé d'affaires du gouvernement français, dans des périodes transitoires, avant la prise de fonction de l'ambassadeur de France. D'abord, du 4 septembre 1742 au 17 juin 1745, date de l'arrivée du duc de La Rochefoucauld. Puis du 15 mars 1748 au 15 janvier 1749, avant que le duc de Nivernais ne lui succède. Cette fonction lui permet de fournir de somptueuses fêtes publiques. En 1744 pour le rétablissement de la santé de Louis XV, ce qui donne aux pensionnaires de l'Académie de France l'occasion de composer un grand «théâtre» représentant le Temple de la Santé avec les figures d'Hygie, d'Esculape, ainsi que les Vertus de Louis XV: Sagesse, Équité, Libéralité, Humanité... Puis, l'année suivante, pour le mariage du dauphin, ce qui génère deux jours de festivités place Farnèse, avec des décors de Panini.

Placé en 1749 à la tête de la congrégation de Saint-Louis, Canillac entreprend de restaurer l'église Saint-Louis des Français avec l'aide des pensionnaires : l'architecte Antoine Deriset, les sculpteurs Pierre de L'Estache, Jean-Jacques Caffieri, Simon Challe, Nicolas François Gillet, Augustin Pajou, mais aussi les Italiens Filippo Della Valle et Giovanni Battista Maini, et enfin Natoire, directeur de l'Académie, pour la grande fresque du plafond de la nef représentant «la gloire de saint Louis». Membre de l'Académie de Saint-Luc depuis 1750, Canillac fut aussi un amateur averti et son inventaire après décès permet de recenser les acquisitions qu'il fit alors à Rome [Michel 2016, 129-138].

Étienne-François de Choiseul-Beaupré-Stainville, comte puis duc de Choiseul, fit d'abord une carrière militaire pendant la guerre de Succession d'Autriche. Il la termina en 1748 avec le grade de maréchal de camp. Son ascension politique commence alors, grâce à la protection de la marquise de Pompadour. En 1754 il est nommé ambassadeur de France auprès du Saint-Siège, en remplacement de Louis-Jules Mancini-Mazarini, duc de Nivernais. Arrivé à Rome en novembre 1754 [*Mémoires du duc de Choiseul* 1982, chap. XVI, 127] il ne fera son entrée solennelle que bien plus tard, le 28 mars 1756 [lettre de Natoire à Marigny du 14 avril 1756, *Correspondance des Directeurs de l'Académie de France* 1901, XI, 132]. Il ne restera dans son ambassade romaine que jusqu'en février 1757 (l'attentat de Damiens l'ayant décidé à revenir en France) [*Mémoires du Duc de Choiseul* 1982, chap. XVII, 151]. Dans ce court laps de temps, il met en pratique ses qualités de négociateur, s'attire les bonnes grâces du cardinal Valenti, secrétaire d'Etat, et obtient du pape Benoît XIV la condamnation des Jansénistes par l'encyclique *Ex Omnibus*. Sa qualité d'ambassadeur jointe sans doute à son goût du faste et à sa volonté de manifester la grandeur du royaume de France firent de son bref passage dans la ville pontificale une année de célébrations, de visites, et d'acquisition de tableaux.

Devenu, en 1757, ambassadeur à Vienne, dans le contexte du rapprochement de la France et de l'Autriche opéré par le cardinal de Bernis, il contribue au renversement des alliances et noue avec

l'impératrice Marie-Thérèse d'étroites et amicales relations qui aboutiront plus tard à la conclusion du mariage (1766) du dauphin Louis avec la jeune archiduchesse Marie-Antoinette. En 1758 il remplace Bernis au ministère des Affaires Étrangères et resserre les liens de la France avec les différentes branches des Bourbons, principalement l'Espagne de Charles III (le Pacte de Famille, 1761). Il exerce ensuite la fonction de secrétaire d'État à la Guerre, puis à la Marine, puis à nouveau aux Affaires Étrangères (1766-1770). Mais le 24 décembre 1770 Choiseul est disgracié et prié de se retirer en Touraine dans son château de Chanteloup. Il ne sera relevé de son exil qu'en 1775 par Louis XVI qui ne lui confiera cependant aucun poste de responsabilité.

Avant d'étudier la place occupée par la peinture de paysage dans les collections de ces trois diplomates et le rôle qu'elle assume dans l'image que ceux-ci veulent donner d'eux-mêmes et de leur nation, apportons quelques précisions sur ces collections [Le Moël et Rosenberg 1969; Michel 2016; Gabeau 1904; Levallet 1925-1926; Dacier 1949; Scott 1973; Jugie et Roland-Michel 1993; Michel 2007; Leclair 2008]. Car celles-ci se distinguent les unes des autres par leur contenu, les modalités de leur constitution et la part qu'y occupe la peinture de paysage contemporaine. Tout d'abord, combien d'œuvres chaque ambassadeur a-t-il réunies? La collection de Saint-Aignan, d'après son inventaire après décès dressé par Jean-Baptiste Le Brun, comporte 400 tableaux. Les paysages en constituent une part importante avec environ 75 œuvres, dont de nombreux tableaux des écoles du nord, de plus en plus prisées au XVIII^e siècle, mais aussi des œuvres contemporaines: deux tableaux d'Allegreïn, deux de Van Wittel, quatre de Lajoüe et Domachin de Chavannes, quatre de Vernet (mais huit figurent dans les commandes du livre de raison de l'artiste), un tableau dans le goût de Lallemant, vingt vues de Rome et de Naples, deux du Vésuve, une de la place Saint-Marc et une autre du Château Saint-Ange, soit 37 tableaux (la moitié). S'y ajoutent peut-être quelques autres tableaux, anonymes, et que l'inventaire ne permet pas de dater. Certes toutes les œuvres de cette collection ne furent pas acquises à Rome, mais on sait néanmoins, d'après une lettre de Vleughels, directeur de l'Académie de France, que les premiers achats se firent à peine un mois après l'arrivée de l'ambassadeur à Rome [Le Moël et Rosenberg 1969, 51].

L'inventaire après décès de Canillac compte, quant à lui, 184 tableaux - mais seuls 84 ont pu être identifiés par le *«perito rigattiere»* désigné pour en dresser la liste. Parmi ceux-ci figurent plus de 40 paysages, qui semblent tous contemporains. Ces œuvres ont été acquises à Rome et on y trouve essentiellement des tableaux d'artistes du XVIII^e siècle: deux Van Wittel, quatre Locatelli, un Manglard, cinq Panini (et deux tableaux religieux), cinq Joseph Vernet, trois Ignace Vernet, et six copies par Lacroix d'après J. Vernet, auxquels s'ajoutent plusieurs vues, paysages et marines anonymes. La collection de Stainville, futur duc de Choiseul est connue par le recueil gravé de ses œuvres par Basan, les catalogues de ses ventes de 1772 et 1786 et les miniatures de la *Boîte Choiseul* [Basan 1771; *Catalogue des tableaux* 1772; *Notice des objets curieux* 1786]. La collection comptait, au moment de la vente de 1772 au moins 170 tableaux [Dacier 1949, 61]³, et se distinguait essentiellement pour ses œuvres flamandes et hollandaises. Elle fut rassemblée très majoritairement à partir de la fin des années 1750, soit après le retour de l'ambassadeur en France. On y trouve un certain nombre de tableaux de paysage (soixante-dix), parmi lesquels ceux d'artistes contemporains que Stainville fréquenta à Rome et dont il favorisa pour certains la carrière. Ce fut le cas d'Hubert Robert (présent avec dix-neuf tableaux) et de Hoüel (douze). Il possédait en outre six tableaux de Lacroix de Marseille, six œuvres de Panini et au moins trois tableaux célèbres de Joseph Vernet: *Les Baigneuses*, gravées par Balechou (Allemagne, collection particulière), *Le Ponte Rotto* et *La vue du château Saint-Ange* (Paris, musée du Louvre).

³ 127 tableaux sont reproduits dans le «recueil Basan». La vente de 1772 en comptait une trentaine de plus, mais 13 tableaux, présents dans le «recueil», n'y figuraient pas.



Fig. 1: Giovanni Paolo Panini, *La fête de 1745 place Farnèse*, 1745. Huile sur toile, 166 x 238 cm. Norfolk (Virginia), Chrysler Museum, inv. 71.523.

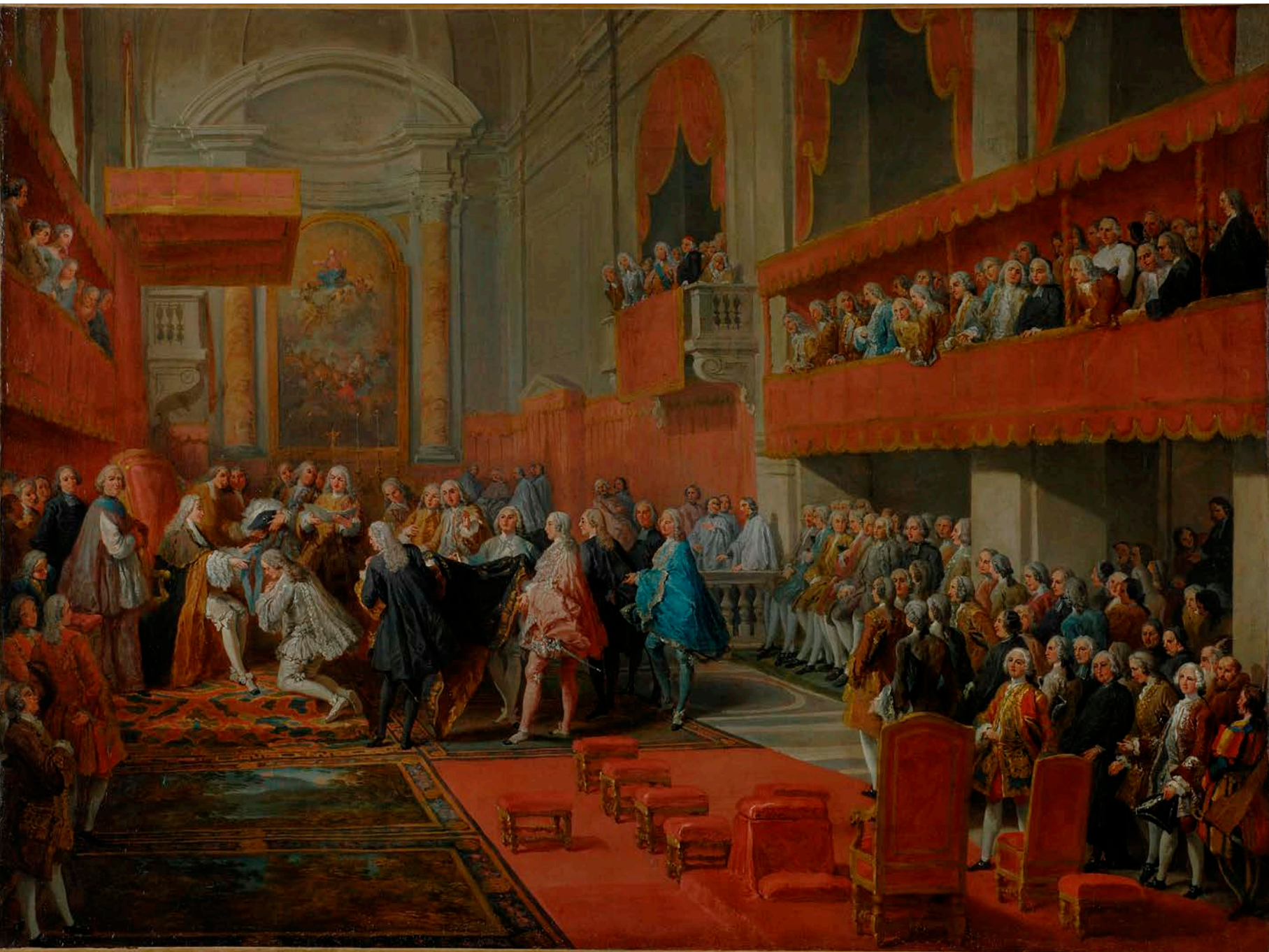


Fig. 2: Giovanni Paolo Panini, *La remise de l'ordre du Saint-Esprit au prince Vaini par le duc de Saint-Aignan, en l'église Saint-Louis-des-Français, le 15 septembre 1737, vers 1758*. Huile sur toile, 72 x 98 cm. Caen, musée des beaux-arts, inv. 102. © Musée des Beaux-Arts de Caen, cliché Martine Seyve.

3 | Le paysage espace de représentation

Il est assez significatif que chacun des trois ambassadeurs ait commandé des «vues de célébration» immortalisant un événement important de son mandat ou témoignant de son bon gouvernement. Pour Saint-Aignan il s'agit des cérémonies de sa prise de fonction, représentées par Joseph Vernet et décrites dans le livre de raison de l'artiste comme «L'arrivée de M^r Le Duc a civitta vecchia» et «L'audience publique a monte cavallo» (tableaux aujourd'hui perdus)⁴. Ceux-ci ont été ordonnés probablement en 1738. Le premier commémore l'arrivée de l'ambassadeur dans le port pontifical de Civitavecchia, accueilli par le cortège papal, arrivée très retardée par les manquements au protocole auquel était attaché l'ambassadeur et qui font l'objet de nombreux échanges avec le cardinal de Polignac, son prédécesseur, et le ministre des Affaires Étrangères, Germain-Louis Chauvelin. Le second représente la réception officielle au palais pontifical de Monte Cavallo bien après la prise de fonction diplomatique – cérémonie fastueuse et longuement préparée dans ses moindres détails – au cours de laquelle l'ambassadeur remet au pape ses lettres de créances.

L'abbé de Canillac s'adresse quant à lui à Panini qui fait partie de ses familiers et de ses protégés [Boyer 1948; Michel 1996; Coen 2016]. Ami de Vleughels et son beau-frère à partir de 1731, probablement professeur de perspective à l'Académie de France à Rome, agréé et reçu à l'Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture, Panini fut proche de Canillac qui soutint sa candidature à la direction de l'institution. Outre les commandes qu'il reçut de Canillac et de Choiseul, il travailla comme peintre et scénographe pour les cardinaux de Polignac et de La Rochefoucauld. L'artiste s'est fait une spécialité d'ordonnateur de fêtes et de peintre de tableaux commémoratifs. Il réalise ainsi la scénographie de la cérémonie organisée les 19 et 20 juin 1745 à l'occasion du mariage du dauphin Louis, fils de Louis XV, avec Marie-Thérèse d'Espagne célébré à Paris le 1^{er} février de la même année. Les collections de Canillac conservent un tableau du peintre, *La fête de 1745 place Farnèse* (Norfolk, Chrysler Museum), dont l'aspect esquissé fait penser qu'il s'agirait d'un projet pour cet événement. Giuseppe Panini, fils du peintre, réalisa par ailleurs, sous l'autorité paternelle, un dessin de la machine avec le temple d'Hyménée surmonté d'un obélisque, qui fut gravé par l'architecte pensionnaire Le Lorrain et distribué aux spectateurs. La composition de l'esquisse fut reprise également sur un éventail des collections Corsini à Florence. Il est évident que toutes ces images poursuivent un double objectif: célébrer le mécénat de l'abbé de Canillac et en second lieu immortaliser le souvenir d'une cérémonie fastueuse qui réunit les nobles et prélats romains attachés aux couronnes de France et d'Espagne.

Comme l'a montré l'étude récente de Christophe Marcheteau de Quinçay, Canillac fut aussi le commanditaire de *La remise de l'ordre du Saint-Esprit au prince Vaini par le duc de Saint-Aignan, en l'église Saint-Louis-des-Français, le 15 septembre 1737, vers 1758* (Caen, musée des beaux-arts) [*La réception du prince Vaini* 2010]. Le prince Girolamo Vaini appartenait à une famille originaire d'Imola, apparentée aux Barberini et qui faisait partie de la clientèle de la France à Rome. Dès 1733, soit un an après sa prise de fonction, Saint-Aignan s'entremet pour lui faire accorder cette distinction qui lui sera remise en 1737 à Saint-Louis des Français lors d'une cérémonie grandiose, rassemblant les chevaliers de l'ordre du Saint-Esprit, dix cardinaux, toute la noblesse de Rome, les ministres étrangers et une foule d'assistants. Le duc obtient du Roi le privilège de célébrer la cérémonie, en costume de l'ordre: grand manteau sur un habit blanc et chapeau de velours noir orné de plumes de héron⁵. Saint-Aignan préféra s'adresser à Subleyras pour réaliser une représentation allégorique de l'événement. Le tableau de Panini le restitue en revanche en mettant en scène Canillac, représentant le grand chancelier de l'ordre, et décoré du cordon bleu du

⁴ Avignon, Médiathèque Ceccano, ms. 2321, fol. 4 r [Lagrange 1864, 322; Ingersoll-Smouse 1926, 41]. «L'arrivée du duc à Civitavecchia» correspond sans doute au tableau vendu à Amsterdam le 11 avril 1764, n° 18 et mesurant H. 107 L. 203 cm.

⁵ Le déroulement de la cérémonie qui fit l'objet d'une «Instruction donnée par le roi Louis XV au duc de Saint-Aignan» du 10 juin 1737 (archives privées) est décrit en détails dans une brochure figurant à La Courneuve, Archives du ministère des affaires étrangères, Correspondance politique, Rome, vol. 764, fol. 390-394.

Saint-Esprit qu'il reçoit lui aussi mais vingt ans plus tard, en 1753. Et ceci dans le cadre fastueux de l'église Saint-Louis des Français dont il était devenu le recteur en 1749 et dont il fut le restaurateur (cf. *supra*).

Stainville enfin, qui ne semble pas avoir manifesté d'intérêt particulier pour la peinture italienne ancienne et moderne au cours de son ambassade, a cependant fait l'acquisition de plusieurs œuvres de Panini et a montré le même souci de célébrer son passage à Rome par deux tableaux commandés à l'artiste en 1756-1757, représentant la *Cérémonie de l'arrivée du duc de Choiseul comme ambassadeur de France au Vatican* (collection du duc de Sutherland) et *L'Intérieur de la basilique Saint-Pierre* (Boston, Athenaeum) dans lequel il s'est fait représenter entouré de sa suite. Plus qu'une simple vue souvenir, le tableau suggère, par le caractère grandiose du décor, l'importance de la charge qui lui a été confiée. Les deux tableaux dialoguent par ailleurs avec la *Galerie de vues de la Rome antique* (Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie) et la *Galerie de vues de la Rome moderne* (Boston, Athenaeum). Les quatre œuvres se valorisent les unes les autres en mettant en exergue à la fois la grandeur de la ville de Rome et l'action politique et culturelle de l'ambassadeur. De l'importance du message véhiculé par les tableaux témoigne la seconde commande adressée à Panini (aidé d'Hubert Robert élève de ce dernier et protégé du comte de Stainville): les vues de la place et de l'intérieur de Saint-Pierre, conservées respectivement à la Gemäldegalerie de Berlin et à la National Gallery de Washington, et la *Galerie de vues de la Rome antique* et la *Galerie de vues de la Rome moderne* dans les collections du Metropolitan Museum de New York.

4 | Protéger les artistes de sa nation

L'ambassadeur est en premier lieu le représentant des intérêts des Français à Rome et la ville attire, depuis le XVI^e siècle, une forte proportion de ceux-ci, parmi lesquels une importante communauté d'artistes. En 1666, l'Académie de France à Rome a été créée dans le but de les accueillir et de leur fournir un complément de formation. Le Roi leur verse une pension, finance leur voyage et leur assure une notoriété grâce aux Envois de Rome. Ils jouissent à leur retour du prestige de leur formation italienne et le plus souvent mènent une carrière académique qui leur garantit l'exposition de leurs œuvres au Salon. Toutefois ces pensionnaires ne sont qu'une poignée de peintres, de sculpteurs, puis d'architectes (à partir de 1720).

L'ambassadeur est le protecteur de l'Académie à laquelle il rend régulièrement visite. Son directeur note avec soin toutes les initiatives de celui-ci dans sa correspondance avec les Bâtiments du Roi. Pour exemple, cette lettre de Vleughels à d'Antin datée du 23 septembre 1734: «M. l'Ambassadeur [Saint-Aignan] a donné de l'ouvrage à quelqu'un des pensionnaires, et, parmi eux, il y en a un qui finit vers la fin de l'année le temps que Votre Grâce lui a accordé [...]; M. l'Ambassadeur a eu de la peine d'apprendre que Trémollière veuille s'en aller, et, par sa grande bonté, il vouloit lui procurer des ouvrages considérables ici; mais il aime mieux aller s'établir en France et il a raison» [Lettre de Vleughels à d'Antin du 23 septembre 1734, *Correspondance des Directeurs de l'Académie de France* 1889, IX, 111].

Ces commandes, qui en théorie contreviennent au règlement de l'Académie – les artistes étant censés ne travailler que pour le roi – prolongent en outre le séjour des pensionnaires au-delà de leur temps, et ceci aux frais de l'État, ce qui n'est pas sans indisposer la direction des Bâtiments du Roi. Il arrive aussi que l'ambassadeur abuse de sa position pour recommander l'admission d'artistes n'ayant pas concouru au Grand Prix ou ayant échoué à celui-ci. Pour preuve cette lettre agacée de d'Antin à Vleughels, datée du 9 octobre 1734: «Je reçois, Monsieur, votre lettre du 23 septembre. Je ne suis point étonné que l'on veuille demeurer où l'on se trouve bien; cependant

il y a des règles qu'il faut garder et qu'il ne faut enfreindre qu'en faveur de ceux dont on connoît les talents et qui ont besoin de temps pour s'y perfectionner. Je vous prie de faire entendre ce que je vous mande à M. l'Ambassadeur [Saint-Aignan], pour qu'il ne prodigue pas sa protection, puisque, de mon côté, je ne demande pas mieux que de faire ce qui lui est agréable» [Lettre de d'Antin à Vleughels du 9 octobre 1734, *Correspondance des Directeurs de l'Académie de France* 1889, IX, 114]. La direction de Bâtiments du Roi a toutefois beau protester, le pli est pris, et vingt ans plus tard Stainville n'hésitera pas à imposer Hubert Robert parmi les élèves du Palais Mancini. À côté des pensionnaires du roi, toute une colonie d'artistes indépendants – dont les spécialités ne sont pas représentées dans l'institution (gravure, peinture de genre ou de paysage, etc.) ou qui n'ont pas remporté le Grand Prix de l'Académie – est établie dans la ville et le plus souvent à ses frais. Il est parfois difficile à ceux-ci de s'imposer sur le marché tant la concurrence est vive, avec les Romains ou Italiens comme avec les étrangers. Si l'ambassadeur fournit quelques commandes aux pensionnaires, leur assurant ainsi un revenu, son aide est en revanche déterminante pour les artistes indépendants, car d'une part elle leur assure des moyens de subsistance et de l'autre elle contribue à leur notoriété sur le marché. Ainsi voit-on Canillac acquérir des œuvres de Lacroix de Marseille ou de l'obscur Ignace Vernet, deux peintres de second rang qui, pour vivre, réalisent essentiellement des copies des paysages de Joseph Vernet.

5 | Promouvoir la peinture de paysage

À la différence des institutions académiques qui ont établi une hiérarchie des genres favorable aux peintres d'histoire, l'ambassadeur est libre de laisser s'exprimer ses goûts et ses préférences, se mettant ainsi au diapason de la société du XVIII^e siècle. Joseph Vernet qui avait été éconduit par Vleughels à Rome: «c'est un peintre de marine, et c'est sur les ports de mer qu'il doit faire ses études» [Lettre de Vleughels à d'Antin du 25 novembre 1734, *Correspondance des Directeurs de l'Académie de France* 1889, IX, 124] trouve une protection et une clientèle auprès des trois ambassadeurs étudiés. Le marché est en effet favorable au portrait et aux petits genres: nature morte, scène de vie quotidienne et paysage, qui feront la renommée – et la fortune – de Chardin, Fragonard, Greuze et Vernet. Dans le cas de ce dernier, l'intérêt de Saint-Aignan pour sa peinture a été un élément déterminant de sa carrière. Le livre de raison de l'artiste tient un compte précis de ses commandes et enregistre, dès les premières mentions, celles du duc de Saint-Aignan, en 1738. Sans nul doute les contacts entre les deux personnages ont été établis déjà quelque temps auparavant: «Pour M^r Le Duc de S^t Aignan, un dessus de porte en clair de lune pour faire pendant aux trois autres que je luy ay déjà fait. Deux tableaux representent un L'arrivée de M^r Le Duc a civitta vecchia et l'autre L'audience publique a monte cavallo un autre de la caravane au M^r vésuve et pour pendant l'interieur de cette montagne»⁶. Il est fort probable que Vernet ait accompagné le duc de Saint-Aignan à Naples. Dans cette ville en effet, l'artiste aura l'occasion de travailler pour le roi Charles de Bourbon et de réaliser les deux célèbres vues de Naples connues par deux versions, l'une pour Canillac et l'autre pour l'ambassadeur de France à Naples, le marquis de l'Hôpital.

Les précédentes commandes du livre de raison (quatre seulement en quatre ans) émanent de deux concitoyens avignonnais, d'un Suisse qui n'achète que deux modestes dessins et d'un voyageur anglais. Mais à partir de 1738 les commandes décollent et les Français deviennent majoritaires dans la clientèle. Le peintre s'affirme en même temps sur la scène artistique italienne puisque plusieurs de ses confrères font l'acquisition de ses œuvres. Sa clientèle s'enrichira des *Grand tourists* à partir de 1745 et de son mariage avec une Irlandaise, fille de l'agent Mark Parker.

⁶ Avignon, Médiathèque Ceccano, ms 2321, fol. 4r et 4v [Lagrange 1864, 322; Ingersoll-Smouse 1926, n° 28-35, 41]. Les quatre-dessus-de-porte sont probablement les *Quatre parties du jour* dont deux figurent dans le catalogue de la vente Saint-Aignan de 1776: *Le Brouillard (le matin)* sous le n° 57 et *Le Soleil couchant* sous le n° 59.

Ce mécanisme que l'on observe pour la carrière de Vernet n'est pas exceptionnel et ne se limite pas au contexte romain. Il se retrouve par exemple chez son frère Ignace Vernet et le peintre Pietro Fabris qui tous deux furent chargés, à Naples, d'illustrer la correspondance diplomatique par des vues des éruptions du Vésuve, alors en pleine activité [Beck 2003; Beck Saiello 2019]. Le premier s'imposa dans cette ville comme l'un des premiers spécialistes du sujet et le second fut remarqué par Hamilton qui lui fit illustrer ses *Campi Phlegraei*. Cette commande pour un livre illustré destiné à une large diffusion et la protection de ce mécène éclairé que fut cet ambassadeur d'Angleterre, assurèrent à Fabris un succès qui dépassa les frontières du royaume de Naples. Ainsi la protection des ambassadeurs a-t-elle constitué un levier indiscutable pour la carrière des artistes, leur permettant de passer d'une notoriété locale à la renommée internationale. En faisant l'acquisition de ces paysages d'artistes français, les ambassadeurs que nous avons étudiés, mais principalement Saint-Aignan et Stainville, ont assuré la promotion de peintres contemporains tout en valorisant le reste de leur collection, constituée par des tableaux flamands et hollandais où le paysage était bien représenté. À propos des scènes de genre de la collection Choiseul, Patrick Michel notait, à la suite de Thomas Gaehtgens, le choix des collectionneurs de mettre en parallèle les artistes français des XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles (Le Nain, Greuze, Raoux) avec les maîtres flamands et hollandais (Ter Borgh, Netscher ou Van Mieris) [Michel 2007, 219; Gaehtgens 2003, 87]. Sachant que les tableaux de Vernet ont parfois constitué des pendants à des paysages hollandais (en particulier Berchem) et que l'accrochage favorisait l'exercice de la comparaison, on peut se demander si les tableaux réalisés en Italie par les artistes français ne

Fig. 3: Joseph Vernet (?), *Ascension du mont Vésuve*. Plume et encre brune, 21,5 x 30 cm. Collection particulière.



Fig. 4: Giovanni Paolo Panini, *Galerie de vues de la Rome antique*, 1758. Huile sur toile, 231 x 303 cm. Paris, musée du Louvre, R.F. 1944-2.

Fig. 5: Giovanni Paolo Panini, *Galerie de vues de la Rome moderne*, 1759. Huile sur toile, 231 x 303 cm. Paris, musée du Louvre, R.F. 1944-22.



venaient pas dialoguer avec les paysages italianisants des écoles du nord. Les ambassadeurs montraient ainsi la sûreté et la modernité de leur goût en réunissant dans leurs collections à la fois les œuvres du siècle d'or flamand et hollandais, alors considérées comme les œuvres les plus prestigieuses, et des paysages français contemporains destinés à connaître une fortune exceptionnelle sur le marché.

6 | Conclusions

On sait, par la correspondance diplomatique, que le rôle des ambassadeurs de France est de surveiller la politique des états, de nouer des alliances, de donner de l'éclat à la fonction. Mais à Rome s'y ajoute une dimension culturelle qui s'exprime à travers la protection accordée à l'Académie de France, mais aussi à travers l'organisation de fêtes et de cérémonies. La constitution d'une collection, qui semblerait relever d'une initiative privée, et qui contribue à l'éclat de son propriétaire, participe, dans le cas de l'ambassadeur, à la gloire de la nation toute entière. Le palais (au même titre que l'Académie et les églises nationales) est un lieu de représentation et la vitrine de l'art et du savoir-faire français. Le goût personnel des ambassadeurs, le désir de rapporter des peintures commémoratives de leur mandat, la politique de mécénat inhérente à leur fonction, et qui se manifestait principalement en faveur des peintres indépendants, expliquent et justifient la place et l'importance de la peinture de paysage dans les collections qu'ils ont constituées à Rome. Et l'on peut se demander, au regard des trois versions de la *Galerie de vues de la Rome antique* et la *Galerie de vues de la Rome moderne* de Panini, commandées par deux des diplomates, Stainville et Canillac, si la collection rêvée par les ambassadeurs, au-delà des conventions du goût, ne serait pas justement une galerie de paysages.

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Notice des objets curieux dépendans de la succession de feu M. le duc de Choiseul, ils consistent en tableaux originaux de J. P. Pannini, Mignard, Ant. Watteau, Ch. Natoire, M.M. Robert, Houel & autres, en une superbe collection d'estampes en volumes & en feuilles, figures de bronze & de marbre, porcelaines, biscuit de Sèvres & riches vases coloriés, anciens laques du Japon & autres, belles pendules, dorures & nombres d'objets curieux, dont la vente se fera, au plus offrant & à deniers comptans, le lundi 18 décembre 1786, de relevée, rue Grange-Batelière (1786), Paris, chez A. Paillet.

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Luigi Mayer, a European painter-traveller at the end of the Eighteenth Century

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Abstract

Luigi Mayer was one of the artists which ventured to the Orient in the last part of the 18th century. A pre-Orientalist watercolour painter and drawer, he is known as the author of views made while working for the British ambassador at Constantinople. He paid attention to architectural elements, local occupations, clothes and details about inhabitants and the places he went through. In his pictures one can find information about political, economic, social, cultural and religious life of locals.

Luigi Mayer, un artista viaggiatore europeo della fine del Settecento

Luigi Mayer fu uno degli artisti che si avventurarono in Oriente negli ultima parte del XVIII secolo. Pittore e disegnatore di acquerelli pre-orientalisti, è noto come autore di viste fatte mentre si lavora per il ambasciatore britannico a Costantinopoli. Prestò attenzione all'architettura mestieri locali, vestiti e dettagli degli abitanti e dei luoghi che attraversava. Nelle sue immagini si possono trovare informazioni sulla vita politica, economica, sociale, culturale e religiosa dei locali.

Keywords: Luigi Mayer, vedute, collections, everyday life.

Luigi Mayer, vedute, collezioni, vita quotidiana.

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1 | Introduction

Many nations travelled, but the Grand Tour is associated with aristocratic British travellers of the eighteenth century. Was a journey of several years, for educational purposes and self-improvement, sometimes fulfilling cultural functions as travellers bought works of art or helped spread new tastes and cultural interests, but was also a travel for pleasure. The classic tour was to Paris, through France and then Italy, usually as far as Rome, sometimes, as far as Naples. On their way back the tourists usually crossed Germany and the Low Countries [Black 2004, 84; Constantine 2013, 499-501].

The French Revolutionary War led to a major break in tourism that was exacerbated when French armies overran Italy in 1796-1798. Thereafter tourism did not resume until after the final defeat of Napoleon in 1815 [Black 2004, 85].

As a meeting point between East and West, the Levant has been the traditional place of the exchange of goods between the two economies. In the eighteenth century, few gentlemen, discouraged by war instead of the classic Grand Tour, travelled further East; it was the beginning of the era of travelling for knowledge into Levant. Napoleon interest in the Middle East determined the Europeans to realize the importance of the area and soon the British followed the French there [Edgar 2013, 714-716].

One very interesting artist was part of both types of journeys: Luigi Mayer. He travelled with Grand Tourists on their way on the classical route, and accompanied others in different regions that were part of the Ottoman Empire at that time.

2 | Luigi Mayer (1750/1755–1803)

Only few details are known about the artists' life. Taking into account his name, Luigi was probably from a family of German origin but born in Italy, possible in Naples [*Select Literary Information* 1805, 313; Duggan 2018, 91], but most likely in Rome, considering that he often signed 'Romano'. Anyway, he lived many years in Rome, where it is assumed that he was student of Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720-1778). A watercolour painter and drawer, the artist gained recognition by winning the drawing award of Académie de St-Luc [*Impressions from Afar* 2011]. Mayer worked for Ferdinand the IVth, King of Naples and the Two Sicilies (1751-1825), for whom he painted views of Sicily [*Abebooks*], was a draughtsman for Ignazio Paterno Castello (1719-1786), Prince of Biscari, a wealthy antiquarian and the most learned man in Sicily, and was employed by Gabriele Lancillotto Castelli (1727-1792), Prince of Torremuzza to work, as painter of the perspectives, together with the architect Carlo Chenchi, on the drafting of the necessary protection measures – part of the *Plans of antiquities* in Sicily [Tantillo 2010, 12; Taylor 2013, 159, 165-166].

When Luigi Mayer was employed by Sir Robert Ainslie, British ambassador at Constantinople from 1776-1794, to depict views on their travels, it is not clear. Some sources suggest that the artists worked for the Prince of Biscari up to his death, in 1786 [Taylor 2013, 166; Llewellyn 2015], other consider that the ambassador Robert Ainslie hired Luigi Mayer probably for the whole period of his diplomatic mandate [*Impressions from Afar* 2011; Vingopoulou 2].

The ambassador paid an annual stipend of 50 guineas and financed Mayer's journeys so that the artist would draw and depict sights in the Ottoman Empire and in particular the antiquities. But all the artist's works remained the property of his patron, as was customary in such situations [Vingopoulou 2; Taylor 2013, 166; Llewellyn 2015].

In Constantinople, Mayer married Clara Barthold, presumably with Swiss descend, daughter of a dragoman in the British Embassy [*Impressions from Afar* 2011; *Clara & Luigi Mayer* 2014] or, from other sources, a Greek of Bulgarian origin [*Select Literary Information* 1805, 313].

By the topics of Mayer's views that have been or rather, are known, he travelled not only in Italy, but across the Mediterranean coast, in Cyprus, Anatolia, Palestine, Caramania, Rhodes, Caria, Lycia, Samos, Corinth, Turkey, Syria, Bulgaria, Romania, and Egypt and executed hundreds of compositions reflecting ancient cities and genre scenes [*Clara & Luigi Mayer* 2014; Vingopoulou 2]. For the time being, in this article, I will refer exclusively to his views realized on the spot in today's territory of Romania.

3 | Sir Robert Ainslie (1730-1812)

Robert Ainslie was born into a family of seven children (four girls and three boys) of the nobleman George Ainslie and lady Jane, born Anstruther, Robert being the youngest son. His brothers were Knight Sir Phillip Ainslie and the infantry general George Ainslie [Grant 1885-1900]. Robert Ainslie was mentioned for the first time in the London Gazette on the nineteenth of September 1775 [London Gazette 1775, nr. 11598], about his appointment as his Majesty the king ambassador at the Ottoman Porte, in place of John Murray, who had died. On this occasion he also obtained the title of Knight. He will hold the position of British ambassador in Constantinople from 2nd of October 1776 until 22nd of June 1794 [Cernovodeanu 1994, 129]. Ainslie's two principal objectives were to further British trading interests, represented by the Levant Company, who paid his salary, and to maintain peace in the region [*Abebooks*]. It was said of him, that he was Sultan Abdul Hamid I favourite and best companion [*Biographical Dictionary* 1842, 568-569].



Fig. 1: Veduta di una parte della Città di Bucaresti presso alle sponde del Fiume.



D. Mayer del.

Ballo di Ragione-Salanda aperto nella Città di Bucaresti in Salachino

N° 57.



D. Mayer del.

Scena del Gruppo Horta nella Salachino presso della fontana sull'Inferno

N° 58.

Fig. 2: *Ballo di Ragazze Valacche osservato nella Città di Bucuresti in Valakia.*

Fig. 3: *Veduta del Villaggio Floresti nella Valachia presa dalla fontana sull'Ingresso.*

From 8 September 1796 Robert Ainslie received a life pension and on the 13th of October, he became baronet, title that will be inherited by his nephew Robert Sharp Ainslie, son of general Ainslie, because his only son died on the 20th of December 1796 of violent fever. Between 1796 and 1802 was member of the Parliament (representing Milborne Port, Somerset). Sir Robert Ainslie died aged 83, at Bath, on the 21st of July 1812 [Cernovodeanu 2001, 1221]. During the period he was ambassador, Robert Ainslie dedicated himself to research and collecting. Known for his passion for Antiquity, numismatics, natural history, and the lifestyle of the East, the ambassador created an important collection with the Ottoman and Byzantine works, accumulating also an impressive number of coins from Eastern Europe, Asia Minor and Northern Africa [Cernovodeanu 2001, 1221; Clara & Luigi Mayer 2014].

The archaeologist and numismatist Domenico Sestini (1750-1832)¹, was the one who made, organized and published Ainslie's collection of coins, first time in 1789, in three volumes, in four volumes in the second edition of 1790, to which a fifth one was added, in the 1794 edition [Taylor 2013, 159-164; Gorini 2017, 18-20].

Ainslie seemed to be happy with his new life in Constantinople and, unlike some of his predecessors, he adapted himself to the everyday life of the Turks. In his home, garden and at his table, he adopted the life style and manners of the rich Muslims, in short, he lived a Turkish life, and this fact delighted the natives so much, that he became one of the most popular Christians of the time [Barnard 2007, 2]. His home was also the meeting point for the European travellers, whether on the Oriental Grand Tour or not, generously hosted as they passed through Constantinople [Taylor 2013, 159].

The ambassador also accumulated a large collection of the paintings, commissioned to artist Luigi Mayer [Clara & Luigi Mayer 2014]. It was not a singular case at that time. It can even be said that the ambassador had competition.

Comte Marie Gabriel Florent Auguste de Choiseul-Gouffier (1752-1817) a French nobleman, traveller and diplomat, was born in Paris. Highly educated, Choiseul-Gouffier was elected in 1784 a member of the Académie Française. The same year was appointed Ambassador of France to the Sublime Porte by Louis XVI. Passionate about Antiquity, he brought French draughtsman and watercolourist Louis-François Cassas to Constantinople during his term, until 1792, when he was called home² [Vingopoulou 1].

Cassas journeyed a lot, depicting the places he visited. The nearly 300 compositions he produced, which include Constantinople views, as well as ancient cities and monuments, were published as engravings in Choiseul-Gouffier's books *Voyage en Syrie, de la Phœnicie, de la Palaestine, et la Basse Aegypte* and *Voyage-Pittoresque de la Grèce* [Vingopoulou 1; Ambassador's Painters 2015].

4 | Travel Literature

Directly related to the desire to travel, book illustration evolved at the end of the eighteenth century and so did the travel diaries and (hi)stories. On the Grand Tour artists were "tourists" of choice or for money, immortalising what they saw after they had experiencing the journey, thus offering an image of the exterior world to those who were not able or willing to travel. Travel literature was one of the richest in information genres in early modern Europe. The public was thwart and travel literature was the second bestselling genre, after history [Carhart 2004, 68]. By 1800 travel writing become so popular in Britain that some printers have specialized in this type of books. At the same time, travel illustration has also developed [Fordham]. As a result of all his intellectual preoccupations, or perhaps as proof of them, Robert Ainslie

¹ Born in Florence and ecclesiastical educated, Domenico Sestini worked as antiquarian and librarian for the Prince of Biscari, in Catania. Here, besides his interests in botany and natural history, became passionate about numismatics. He travelled in the Ottoman Empire, and published his botanical and historical observations before and after his collaboration with the British ambassador [Taylor 2013, 159-164; Gorini 2017, 18-20].

² Given the political changes, Choiseul-Gouffier preferred the exile to Russia, where he was named Director of the Academy of Arts and Imperial Public Library of Russia. He returned in France in 1802, after the start of the First Empire.

published several books rich illustrated with engravings after drawings made under his patronage, after returning home to England. These are:

– *Views in Egypt: from the Original Drawings in the Possession of Sir Robert Ainslie, taken during his Embassy to Constantinople by Luigi Mayer.* Engraved by and under the Direction of Thomas Milton. With Historical Observations, and Incidental Illustrations of the Manners and Customs of the Natives of that Country. London: Thomas Bensley, Bolt-court, Fleet-street for R. Bowyer, Historic Gallery, Pall-Mall, 1801.

– *Views in the Ottoman Empire, Chiefly in Caramania, a Part of Asia Minor hitherto unexplored. With some Curious Selections from the Islands of Rhodes and Cyprus, and the Celebrated Cities of Corinth, Carthage and Tripoli: from the Original Drawings in the possession of Sir R. Ainslie, Taken during his Embassy to Constantinople. With Historical Observations and Incidental Illustrations of the Manners and Customs of the Natives of the Country.* London: Published by R. Bowyer, at the Historic Gallery, Pall Mall, T. Bensley, Printer, Bolt Court, Fleet Street, 1803.

– *Views in Palestine, from the Original Drawings of Luigi Mayer. With an Historical and Descriptive Account of the Country, and its Remarkable Places. Vues en Palestine, d'après les dessins originaux de Luigi Mayer avec une relation historique et descriptive du pays et des lieux principaux qu'on y remarque.* Printed by T. Bensley, Bolt Court, for R. Bowyer, Historic Gallery, Pall Mall, 1804.

With great success to the public the books were printed in several editions. Also, they were available bounded together as *Views in Egypt, from the Original Drawings in the possession of Sir Robert Ainslie, taken during his Embassy to Constantinople. Views in Palestine. Views in the Ottoman Empire, chiefly in Caramania*, London: T. Bensley, 1804 [Abebooks].

A selection of small and uncoloured engravings was printed in 1833 under the title *A Series of Twenty-four Views illustrative of the Holy Scriptures. Selected from Sir Robert Ainslie's celebrated collections of drawings in Palestine, Egypt, Syria, Corinth, Ephesus, &c. &c. &c.* Engraved and coloured by, and under the direction of J. Clarke. With a geographical and historical account of each view, printed by T. Bensley [Rarebooks].

5 | The aquatint

The aquatint was invented by the printmaker Jan van de Velde IV (c.1610-1686) around 1650 in Amsterdam [Ives 2003], but was developed in France and England. *Aquatinta* became the favourite method in the process of colouring books illustrations, because it imitated the watercolour painting, allowing the artist, the engraver and the editor to catch the beauty of watercolour and to offer it to a broader public.

Aquatint may be used to create tones of differing gradations through the process of etching. Its invention and application mark an important development in the travel print, and one that made it possible for the intaglio printmaker to render the subtle atmospherics of watercolour in tonal washes of grey [Fordham, Ives 2003].

Nowadays Mayer's name is known only to a handful of collectors, and then in large part thanks to the volumes of aquatints published after his original work [Llewellyn 2015]. But some of his works were very popular in his last years of life, were lithographed and circulated widely in consecutive editions from 1801 onwards. These editions, which were completed gradually, included paintings by Mayer representing various subjects and done in various engraving techniques, coupled with commentaries in three languages (English, French and German). The descriptions which accompany the illustration are excerpted from travel accounts of the same period [Vingopoulou 2].

Fig. 4: *Truppa di Zingane, che assediano la Casa per avere l'elemosina osservato nel villaggio di Gigesti nella valakia.*

Fig. 5: *Veduta del Villaggio di Gigesti nella Valakia presa da un casino alle sponde del fiume Argis.*



6 | Views from nowadays Romania (1794)

The artist was part of the ambassador's entourage in the long return journey from Constantinople to London, undertaken on land because of the war with France [Cernovodeanu 2001, 1220]. Therefore, he had the opportunity to capture on paper some views of Romanian Principalities and Transylvania.

All representations we are interested in were made by Luigi Mayer in 1794, and were printed for the first time in the year 1801, uncoloured, in *Views in Turkey in Europe and Asia, comprising Romania, Bulgaria, Walachia, Syria and Palestine. Selected from the collection of Sir Robert Ainslie. Drawn by Luigi Mayer, and engraved by William Watts*³, with an elucidative letter-press. Published March 1st 1801, by the Proprietor, William Watts. No. 13, London Street, Fitzroy Square, London (reprinted in 1802, 1803 and 1807).

The 1810 edition – *Views in the Ottoman Dominions, in Europe, in Asia and some of the Mediterranean Islands, from the original drawings taken for Sir Robert Ainslie by Luigi Mayer F.A.S. With Descriptions historical and illustrative*, London, Printed by T. Bensley for R. Bowyer, 1810 (second edition of *Views in Turkey* ...), with 32 pages of bilingual text, English and French – has 71 engravings coloured by hand preceded by an historical text about the Ottoman Empire, confuse and false, as a result of compilations by other authors, without direct connection with the represented scenes. But the way in which the artist perceived this area and its people is truly reproduced in drawings. As the publisher assures us in his *Advertisement*, here and there can be found observations made by Luigi Mayer on the spot.

The prints circulated also as loose leafs, a situation that often occurred in that period, the publication date being always specified on them.

The plate numbering and order differs in the two volumes, and they are not related to the travel timeline. The views that immortalize fragments of life from nowadays Romania are: *View of the Aluta; Entrance to St. Mary's Convent; Church & Convent of St. Mary; Pitesti; View near Bucuresti; Palace at Bucuresti; Palace at Bucuresti. Plate II.*

These were the only works of Luigi Mayer known to Romanian historiography until Constantin Karadja found in an antique store in London the watercolour *Fianco del Palazzo del Principe della Valachia nella città di Bucuresti* (Side of the Palace of the Prince of Wallachia, in Bucharest) [Karadja 1922, 66 and fig. 2]. Than silence for decades.

Paul Cernovodeanu mentioned in a footnote that he knew about some «new engravings made by Mayer in Wallachia and the Carpathians» [Cernovodeanu 1994, 129, footnote 2], in different collections and I was lucky enough to trace back some of these in a research from 2011-2012, identifying eight further original watercolours painted by Luigi Mayer. Information about those by than unknown images came only from auction houses and antique stores from United Kingdom⁴ and The United States of America⁵ [Spănu 2012a; Spănu 2012b]. Among other things, I also found out then about the fate of the works signed by Luigi Mayer that were part of Sir Robert's collection. Robert Ainslie sold his collection of paintings by Luigi Mayer in March 1809. Christie's sale lists also 'the entire collection of drawings, and paintings in oil of sir Robert Ainslie', over 300 items. Robert Sharpe Ainslie or his son Charles purchased 42 lots of gouaches on paper with painted borders which remained with the family until October 2009. They were the basis of a new collection, to which were added the pieces collected by Charles Ainslie and P.H. Sandilands. The new collection was discovered, with great surprise, by the family, only at the death (in the same year as the auction) of Mr. Ainslie Sandilands from Down County. Even more interesting is the fact that the paintings were never displayed, but kept in the portfolio: they were so fresh at the time of sale

³ All the illustrations that represent scenes from nowadays Romania were engraved by William Watts (1752-1851), a landscape painter, illustrator and very active engraver, who worked in many European Countries. Watts also worked on the engravings from *Collection of Coloured Views in the Turkish Provinces with Descriptions in French and English*, printed in the same year, 1801, illustrated also with images made by Luigi Mayer from the collection of Sir Roberts Ainslie.

⁴ James Adam & Sons Ltd. Fine Art Auctioneers & Values since 1887 [Adams 2009a; Adams 2009b] and Abbott and Holder Ltd. [Abbot & Holder 2012a; Abbot & Holder 2012b; Abbot & Holder 2012c].

⁵ Leslie Hindman Auctioneers Inc., from Chicago-Illinois [Leslie Hindman 2009].

that they just seemed to come out from under the painter's brush. Maybe from here their value, measured this time in money, not in their quality of historical document, the 43 watercolours being sold in 2009 with prices between 3.000 and 30.000 € per piece. In my recent searches I found even more expensive pieces for painter's works representing events or places from other parts of the world, but let's not digress from the topic that interests us. [Adams 2009b; Taylor 2013, 175]. Documenting myself for this article I was fortunate to discover some of the artist's working drawings, again at an auction house, this time at Christie's from London. At the British Drawings & Watercolours auction from July 2, 2019, lot 77 included «31 Views in or near Wallachia (modern Romania), including views of Constantinople, Pisenza and Bucharest 4 July 1794». In fact, from all the images of Lot 77, 19 represents places from nowadays Romania. The drawings are made on paper with «black and red chalk, grey wash, variously heightened with gum Arabic, watercolour, pen and black ink, heightened with white, squared for transfer». They belonged to Sir Francis Sandilands who, according to family tradition purchased them in the 1970s [Christie's 2019].

I contacted the British Drawings & Watercolours Department of Christie's and, with the precious help of Jonathan den Otter, I have received the contact details of the present owner of these drawings, Paul Sandilands from Brackley, Northamptonshire, himself an artist. From the correspondence with him I found out that an ancestor of his family married into Sir Robert Ainslie's family and that his father bought the pictures many years ago, but did not tell the family details about them. The images reproduced in this article were provided at a very good resolution and quality by Jonathan den Otter from Christie's with the generous permission of their owner, Paul Sandilands. I am grateful to both of them.

A number of the works from the Ainslie Collection were later acquired the British Museum: 59 of them are kept in the Prints and Drawings Collection. More were acquired by or donated to Victoria & Albert Museum. Some are to be found scattered throughout the world in private collections, at art auctioneers, museums and in libraries. I'm sure there will be more details coming soon, because Luigi Mayer still has a lot to say through his art. In the meantime, as far as I'm concerned, I will continue to inquire about his works which are equally pleasing to the eye and bearing historical information.

Mayer's drawings and watercolours are signed, dated and inscribed with information about the place represented. It is important to specify that the drawings and watercolours are numbered identically, which is very useful for the next step. Therefore, with all these illustrations at hand, the route of the British through nowadays Romania seems to be like this: in Wallachia they passed through Giurgiu, Capociani⁶, Bucharest, Florești⁷, Gigești⁸, Pitești, Curtea de Argeș, Spino⁹, Keineni¹⁰, they entered Transylvania through the Turnu Roșu pass and left it through the Banat in Timișoara. Suiting this evolution, the order of the illustrations¹¹ that describe settlements from Romania is the following:

- *Ballo di ragazze valacche osservato nella città di Giorsiova, Tavola no XLV/II del Viaggio pittoresco del Signor Cavaliere Roberto Ainslie* (watercolour nr. 47 of the picturesque voyage of Sir Knight Robert Ainslie);
- *Parte del Villaggio di Capociani con Ponte del Barche sul Fiume Argis nella Valachia* (watercolour nr. 50);
- *Chiesa con cimitero Greco nelle vicinanze de Bucaresti città capitale della Valachia* (watercolour and drawing nr. 51 and also a print);
- *Veduta di una parte della città di Bucaresti presso alle sponde del Fiume* (drawing nr. 53);
- *Fianco del Palazzo del Principe della Valachia nella città di Bucaresti* (watercolour nr. 54 and print);

Fig. 6: *Veduta del Secondo Cortile con la Chiesa del Convento Greco detto Curle d'Argis nella Valakia.*

Fig. 7: *Passaggio di un torrente molto gonfio nelle vicinanze del fiume Argis nella Valakia.*

Fig. 8: *Parte del Villaggio detto Spino all'ingresso della Valle dell'istesso nome nella Valackia.*

Fig. 9: *Passaggio sopra un ponte di Arbori nelle Montagne della Valakia.*





- *Palace at Bucuresti. Plate II* (print);
- *Ballo di Ragazze valacche osservate nella città di Bucuresti in Valakia* (drawing nr. 57);
- *Veduta del Villaggio Floresti nella Valachia Presa della Fonatana sull'ingresso* (watercolour and drawing nr. 58);
- *Truppa di Tigane su aprediano la Casa per avere la cerimonia osservato vel villaggio di Gigești nella Valakia* (drawing nr. 59);
- *Veduta del villaggio di Gigești nella Valakia presa da un casino alle sponde del fiume Argis* (watercolour and drawing nr. 60);
- *Dervisc ubbriaco, che predica agl' infedeli [osservato nel villaggio] di Pitesti nella Valachia* (watercolour and drawing nr. 61);
- *Veduta {di una parte} del villaggio di Pitesti nella Valachia presa alla {dalle} sponde del fiume Argis* (watercolour and drawing nr. 62);
- *Spaziosa valle irrigata dal fiume Argis nella Valachia disegnata dal convta di S.M. Curle d. Argis* (watercolour nr. 63);
- *Veduta del primo cortile del convento greco detto Curle d'Argis nella Valachia* (watercolour nr. 64 and print);
- *Veduta del secondo cortile con la Chiesa del convento Greco detto Curle d'Argis nella Valakia* (watercolour nr. 65 and print);
- *Castello ruinato, osservato nel vicino da un piccolo villaggio, con vista del fiume Argis nella Valabia* (drawing nr. 66);
- *Passaggio di un torrente molto gorsio nelle vecinanze del Fiume Argis nella Valakia* (drawing nr. 67);
- *Parte del Villaggio detto Spino all'ingresso della Valle dell'istesso noma della Valakia* (drawing nr. 69);
- *Passaggio sopra un ponte di Arbori nella Montagne della Valakia* (drawing nr. 70);
- *Veduta di Bosco nelle Montagne di Valabia con ponte di albori* (drawing nr. 71);
- *Torrente con alberi, e veduta di Bosci nelle Montagne della Valak* (drawing nr. 73);
- *Passaggio di un valone tra le Montagne della Valabia* (drawing nr. 75);
- *Veduta delle Montagne della Valabia in vecenezza di Fiume Aluta* (drawing nr. 76);
- *Veduta di torchi tra le Montagne della Valakia* (drawing nr. 77);
- *Veduta del Borgo di Keineni in vicinenca della Città dell'istesso nome sul fiume Aluta nella Valachia* (drawing nr. 80);
- *View of the Aluta* (print);
- *Piazzza nella città di Malinbok¹² nel banato di Temesvar, copiato dal disegno originale de viaggio del Signor Cavaliere Roberto Ainslie nel 1794* (watercolour);
- *Veduta Boscareccia tra le montagne di Transilvania sulli confini di Valachi, copiato dal disegno originale de viaggio del Signor Cavaliere Roberto Ainslie nel 1794* (watercolour).

About the last two plates, sold by house Dorotheum in Viena [Dorotheum 2005, lot 179 and lot 181] it is impossible for me to be sure, the legend is different from the other watercolours, and are not numbered, but my best guess is that are watercolours «copied after original drawings». By comparing the drawing and/or the watercolour with the prints, where this is possible, one can see several differences that should be mentioned, but which I will treat in detail in another study. For now, here, it should be said only that, of course, the drawings are schematic, but providing all the necessary information, the watercolours are not only the most detailed, but the most credible representations, with realistically rendered people, landscapes and architecture, while the prints are colder, and significantly modified by the engraver: parts of watercolour and some elements of street or landscape decoration, as well as characters are missing, the position

⁶ It could be the village and commune Adunații-Copăceni from Giurgiu County or the old village Copăceni, nowadays included in the homonym commune from Ilfov County, both situated South of Bucharest.

⁷ The village Florești is now part of the commune Stoenesti, Giurgiu County, North West of Bucharest.

⁸ Unidentified locality, possibly vanished. It could be about Golești of Băilești or Golești of Ștefănești, or Gănești of Pietroșani, all in Argeș County.

⁹ Should be the village Spinu in Vâlcea County.

¹⁰ Still existing Căineni, nowadays a commune in Vâlcea County.

¹¹ At each view I have specified whether it is a drawing, a watercolour or a print, sometimes two or even all three types of images.

¹² Unidentified locality. It is possible to be the locality Mașloc, in Timiș County.

within the composition, direction of walking, physiognomy and, particularly, the clothing of most people have been changed, instead architectural details or even entire buildings – not at all representative for the represented place – were added in prints, although they do not exist in the drawing/watercolour.

The original numbering of drawings lets us understand that other watercolour paintings existed with topics from nowadays Romania. It seems that at least 10 watercolour paintings with images from Wallachia are missing. This argument leads to a total amount of at least 35 watercolour paintings with subjects from Wallachia. It is very probable, that the number of illustrations from Transylvania, out of which we know only three, is much bigger, considering the large area covered and the beauty of the places through which the travellers passed. They stopped in Sibiu for sure, it is known that they had lunch with Baron von Brukenthal, but I have not found (yet) any evidence drawn, painted or printed.

In all these 28 views that we already have, Luigi Mayer has paid great attention not only to the architectural elements of the buildings, but also to the occupations of the locals, the clothing and the characteristic details of the places crossed. Looking closely, in his images we find information of political and economic nature, as well as of social and religious life. The artist has depicted sequences of daily life both from the lives of the simple and many, but also aspects of the concerns of the representatives of the ruling classes.

Luigi Mayer is the first artist who has represented faithful fragments of life from urban and rural Romania.



Fig. 10: Veduta del Borgo di Keineni in vicinanza della Città dell'istesso nome sul fiume Aluta nella Valachia.

7 | Conclusions

Even if the Orientalism didn't turn out to be a defined style until the nineteenth century [Thorton 1994, 4], its roots can be traced back starting with the preference for the exotic and picturesque in the eighteenth century, when any European with some knowledge of the East could be an Orientalist. Oriental subjects were depicted by travelling artists through Oriental countries, in scenes evidently selected to suit the taste of the European public [*Pre-Orientalism*; Tromans 2010, 159]. The Orient was considered everything East of Western Europe to the Near-Middle-Far East, including Balkans and Russia [Tromans 2010, 157].

The eighteenth century Grand Tourists were not concerned about holy sites, like Jerusalem, but they were much more interested in antiquity. The Grand Tour in the Ottoman Empire takes off after the French Revolution in 1789. With the French invasion of Italy in 1796, Italy was closed to travellers and everyone was going to the East. Most often, if not always, up to Constantinople.

At the end of the eighteenth century, western artists living in Constantinople became an indispensable part of the European way of social life developed around the embassies in Pera. This western setting provided painters with a milieu from which they received commissions that enabled them to meet their social needs and thus sustained their life in Constantinople. Their works became part of books with engravings, were stored in collections or decorated walls of European aristocrats' houses [*Intersecting Worlds*].

The interest ambassadors such as Choiseul-Gouffier and Robert Ainslie had in the archaeology and picturesque views of Antiquity during the second half of that century, as well as the paintings they commissioned and books they published reflects, on the one hand, their Enlightenment ideology, on the other hand, heralds Romanticism [*Intersecting Worlds*].

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Neapolitan urban landscapes in two albums of views by the Pagliara Foundation

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Abstract

The Pagliara Foundation of the Suor Orsola Benincasa University of Naples holds a large collection of artworks of different kind that belonged to the polyhedric Neapolitan intellectual Rocco Pagliara. A significant part of this artistic heritage is constituted by prints, engravings and drawings that, given the subjects depicted, very often constitute an interesting tool for analyzing the Neapolitan urban landscape and a useful reference to study its evolution over time.

Ambienti urbani napoletani in due album di vedute della Fondazione Pagliara

La Fondazione Pagliara dell'Università degli Studi Suor Orsola Benincasa di Napoli custodisce una vasta collezione di opere d'arte di vario tipo appartenute al poliedrico intellettuale napoletano Rocco Pagliara. Cospicua parte di questo patrimonio artistico è rappresentata da stampe, incisioni e disegni che molto spesso, dati i soggetti raffigurati, costituiscono un interessante strumento di analisi del paesaggio urbano napoletano e un utile riferimento per studiarne l'evoluzione nel corso del tempo.

Keywords: Urban iconography, historical landscape, Pagliara Foundation.

Iconografia urbana, paesaggio storico, Fondazione Pagliara.

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1 | Introduction

Pagliara Foundation of Suor Orsola Benincasa University of Naples was founded in 1947, when Maria Antonietta and Adelaide Pagliara donated to the University – still a Magisterium at that time – the conspicuous and heterogeneous art collection that had belonged to their brother Rocco, a polyhedric Neapolitan intellectual. Given the variety of the elements it is composed of, this priceless artistic heritage fully reflects the multiple interests and the many facets of its famous owner. Journalist, poet, musicologist, art critic and literary, Rocco Pagliara was undoubtedly one of the most important figures in the artistic and cultural panorama of Naples between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and, during his lifetime, he picked up and collected an extensive number of various art objects from every age. Constituting a precious and enviable museum collection, furniture, books, porcelains, fine fabrics, sculptures, musical instruments and manuscripts, paintings, drawings, lithographs and engravings, among other things, are preserved in some rooms of the historical building of Suor Orsola Benincasa University, jealously guarded by the University.

For their undoubted value of relevant iconographic evidence useful for the analysis of urbanism and the Neapolitan – or more generally Campanian – natural and archaeological landscape, many of these works, in particular prints, engravings, paintings and drawings, were in the past objects of specific exhibitions (with related catalogues) or specific thematic publications edited by Suor Orsola Benincasa University. It is the case – to mention just a few among the most important – of the exhibition entitled *Itinerari archeologici a Napoli e dintorni* (set up at the University in 1983); of the one entitled *Napoli in prospettiva. Vedute della città dal XV al XIX secolo nelle stampe*

della *Raccolta d'Arte Pagliara* (also exhibited at the Italian Cultural Institute in Paris in 1996) or finally of the most recent *I luoghi della Sirena. Vedute di Napoli dal XV al XIX secolo* (2019). While the volume *Cultura Innovazione e Ricerca. MITO_UNISOB: Un progetto per la fruizione del patrimonio librario e iconografico di Ateneo* (2016) records the results of the MITO project (Multimedia Information for Territorial Object; scientific director: Pasquale Rossi) which led to the digitization of part of the book heritage and the collection of the Pagliara Foundation, with some of the most significant historical views and maps of the city of Naples, and the creation of an open access database.

2 | Contorni di Napoli Album

Among the works preserved in the Pagliara Foundation's collection there are, in an album with an hardcover with the words *Contorni di Napoli* on the back, twenty unbound etchings depicting various urban spaces and places of the late eighteenth century Naples. The prints in question, all about the size of mm 160x260, actually constitute part of the work *Raccolta delle più interessanti vedute della città di Napoli e luoghi circonvicini*, published in several editions between 1764 and 1766 in Naples from the «Calcografia di Nicola Gervasi al Gigante di Palazzo n. 23» [Negro Spina 1989, 31-33]. The original Collection, composed of a total of thirty etchings, is provided with a frontispiece – also missing in the album preserved at the Pagliara Foundation – showing the names of the designer and engraver of the prints, Giuseppe Bracci and Antonio Cardoni (or the Italianized name of the Belgian Antoine Alexandre Joseph Cardon) respectively [Di Mauro 1980, II, 428; de Seta 1981, 141-142; Albano 2005, 151-167].

Each engraving of the Collection presents, at the lower margin, descriptions of the captions relating to the place the image refers to and the name of a character from the aristocratic world or the diplomatic corps credited to the Bourbon court to which the work is dedicated; just a few show both the names of the authors or exclusively that of the Cardon, in some cases reported in monogram. The subjects depicted aim to offer a broad overview of the city of Naples and its surroundings, ideally embracing the area that goes from Baia to Vesuvius; a revival of traces of the Neapolitan landscapes and of various and extraordinary places of the “antique” that date back to the original Neapolitan foundation and over time have inspired artists and travellers between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

In the prints included in the Pagliara Foundation album there are, among others, the views depicting the amphitheater of Pozzuoli (entitled *Vue de l'intérieur du corridor de l'amphithéâtre de Pouzzuol*), the crater of Vesuvius (*Veduta interiore del Vesuvio*), several buildings or locations near Posillipo or Chiaia, as well as some famous buildings in the centre of Naples, such as the Royal Palace or Castel Capuano (identified with the old name of Vicaria in the view entitled *La Vicaria. Porta Capuana. S. Caterina a formello*).

The ten etchings missing from the original *Raccolta*, on the other hand, are those bearing the words: *Grotta di Pausilipo, Sepolcro di Virgilio; Sepolcro di Virgilio, Castello S. Elmo; Grotta vicino a li bagni di Tritoli Volgarmente detta di Nerone; Tempio di Diana, Castello di Baia; Tempio di Mercurio, Costa di Baia; Sepolcro di Campana, Strada di Pozzuolo; Marochiano, Scuola di Virgilio; Piazza dello Spirito Santo, Palazzo del Ministro di Spagna, Porta dello Spirito Santo, Castel S. Elmo; Li Studii, Largo delli Studii, S. Teresa de Scalzi, Chiesa della Stella; Aquedotti antichi presso capo di china*.

Among the most beautiful and interesting engravings of the album preserved at the Pagliara Foundation, the one called *Castel Nuovo, Torre della lanterna, Monte Vesuvio, Largo del Castello* stands out. In this image the imposing silhouette of the Castel Nuovo, whose external curtain of the



Fig. 1: The original title page of the work *Raccolta delle più interessanti vedute della città di Napoli e luoghi circonvicini*, which is missing in the Pagliara Foundation album (Negro Spina 1989, 59).

viceregal epoch is well highlighted, dominates; in the foreground the Largo of the Castle surrounds the manor, dynamically animated by several characters; in the background, the Lantern Tower, to recall the port of Naples; finally, even beyond, Mount Vesuvius. This particular print, while portraying an urban environment already plentifully represented in the past, proposes a new point of view of the depicted subject, which will also be resumed a few years later in a similar way by the architect Etienne Giraud (*Vue de la place du Large du Chateau*) in a collection of his Neapolitan views very similar to that of Cardon and probably published between 1767 and 1771 [*Napoli nel Settecento* 1977, 25]. In both cases, therefore, the Largo of the Castle with the dominant structure of Castel Nuovo are iconographically documented, still surrounded by the external curtain wall, before that the interventions of the late nineteenth century brought the street level almost at the level of the drawbridge and to the isolation of the city fortress.

Another particularly suggestive table of this album is that of the *Salita di Capo di Monte*, which instead depicts the ancient road that led to Capodimonte. The image refers to the then only impervious connection existing between the city and the Palace, as an alternative to which, already in 1780, the royal engineer Ignazio di Nardo suggested creating a more comfortable route. His project (not known in content) was judged too expensive and was not realized, but the pressing need for a new road led ten years later the ordinary engineer Gaetano Barba to formulate another project that involved reaching the site from the church of *S. Vincenzo in sopra*, foreseeing an expense of forty thousand ducats [*Il borgo dei Vergini* 1991, 73]. The situation was definitively resolved, however, only in 1807 when, by the will of Gioacchino Bonaparte and on the basis of a project by the engineer Gioacchino Avellino and the architect Nicola Leandro, it was in fact finally realized the new and more comfortable road axis which, bypassing the valley of Sanità, would have put the whole hilly area more quickly and easily in connection with the lower part of the city [de Seta 1969, 168-169; Buccaro 1985, *passim*; Fino 1990, 177; Capano 2017, 98].



1. Castel Nuovo.
2. Torre della lanterna.

D·D·a·M^e LIQUIER.
*Vitis ut arboribus decori est, ut vitibus uvae,
Ut gregibus tauri, segetes ut pinguibus arvis,
Tu decus omne tuis.*

3. Monte Vesuvius.
4. Largo del Castello.

Fig. 2: Castel Nuovo, Torre della lanterna, Monte Vesuvio, Largo del Castello, Giuseppe Bracci, Antoine Alexandre Joseph Cardon, 1764-1766, etching, 153 x 264 mm, Pagliara Foundation, inv. 3025.



Fig. 3: *Vue de la place du Large du Chateau*, Etienne Giraud, 1767-1771, (de Seta 1977, tav. IX).



Fig. 4: *Salita di Capo di Monte*, Giuseppe Bracci, Antoine Alexandre Joseph Cardon, 1764-1766, etching, 158 x 266 mm, Pagliara Foundation, inv. 3038.

3 | *Ansichten von Neapel und umgegend* Album

The city of Naples and its surroundings are represented also in other forty-five views, completely similar in size and construction technique, which compose another collection conserved at the Pagliara Foundation. This time the album is bound in leather and has the title in German *Ansichten von Neapel und umgegend* engraved on the front. The boards are all trimmed and centered on white supporting sheets with a pencil numbering, from 1 to 45, in the upper right corner, and the title at the bottom right, written with pen. On the back of each sheet is the inventory number (from 148 to 192) and a blue ink stamp with the words «Istituto Suor Orsola Benincasa». All prints were originally part of the multi-volume work entitled *Esquisses pittoresques et descriptives de la Ville de Naples et de ses environs*, published in Naples in 1832 by the Lithograph of Domenico Cuciniello and Lorenzo Bianchi. In the introduction of the first volume of the original work, the two publishers lithographers specified that the publication was supposed to be a sort of tourist guide for foreigners visiting Naples and its surroundings. To the descriptive text of the various places – entrusted to the Neapolitan scholar Elisa Liberatore and written in French because this was considered to be the language of excellence of well-educated people at that time [*Annali civili* 1835, 77] – it was associated the most important part of the work, one hundred lithographs made by Franz Wenzel based on a live drawing of Giacinto Gigante. The same introduction reported that the entire editorial work had been organized in five parts treating respectively: the riviera from Naples to Cuma; the ruins of Herculaneum and Pompeii; Naples and its main buildings; the eastern and southern riviera of the Crater, the islands and the Vesuvius; and finally, in the appendix, the views of Caserta, Cava, Amalfi, the amphitheater of Capua, the ruins of Paestum, and the new bridge over the Garigliano.

Among the afore mentioned forty-five views contained in the Pagliara Foundation album it is certainly noteworthy the one identified with the number 9, titled *Villa reale*. The lithograph in question was originally proposed in the volume dedicated to Naples and its main buildings; to it was associated the relative text on pages 13, 14 and 15 of the same tome. The print depicts the Villa Reale from the east, with the current piazza della Vittoria in the foreground – animated by numerous figures walking, on horseback or in a carriage – and, in the background, the Posillipo hill. The main entrance of the Real Passeggio is clearly visible, marked by two symmetrical neo-classical pavilions joined by the gate to the garden. The perspective of the drawing limits the perception of the extension of the Villa towards the west, but it perfectly highlights the Villa's perimeter limits on the North, on the Riviera di Chiaia, and on the South, directly on the sea. Of the five avenues the Villa was subdivided into, only the central one can be recognized, wider and uncovered by the rich vegetation which hides the other paths from view. The descriptive text that was originally included in the lithograph is definitely more exhaustive. Here a large number of architectural details are reported and it is clarified that «la partie la plus délicieuse du jardin est sans contredit ce qu'on appelle la *Villa nuova*, qui y fut ajoutée depuis 1806, et qui est plantée et disposée à l'instar des jardins chinois ou anglais» [*Esquisses pittoresques* 1832, II, 14]. Finally, with regard to the chronological certification of the work, it is particularly interesting the reference to the moving of the famous ancient sculptural group of the Toro Farnese, which previously adorned the fountain located along the central avenue of the Villa, to the Real Museo Borbonico (1823) [Visone 2003, 119].





Fig. 5: *Seggio nuovo, Chiesa di S. Giuseppe, l'Ospedaletto, Convento di S. Maria la nuova*, Giuseppe Bracci, Antoine Alexandre Joseph Cardon, 1764-1766, etching, Pagliara Foundation, inv. 3013 (pagina precedente).

Fig. 6: *la Vicaria, Porta Capuana, S. Caterina a formello*, Giuseppe Bracci, Antoine Alexandre Joseph Cardon, 1764-1766, etching, Pagliara Foundation, inv. 3034 (pagina precedente).

Fig. 7: *Villa Royale*, Giacinto Gigante, Franz Wenzel, 1832, color lithograph with watercolor touch-ups, 113 x 189 mm, Pagliara Foundation, inv. 156.

4 | Conclusions

The study of views, urban iconography and historical cartography have always been an indispensable tool in order to make a careful analysis of the stratifications of a site. Moreover, drawings, prints and engravings, besides reflecting a more or less objective image of the urban scene depicted, are also able to transmit a tangible perception of the social condition of the time of that specific place, for instance through the visual description of details which are apparently collateral compared to the main subject. This is very true especially for the depictions of Naples in the years around the mid-eighteenth century, when the city has finally become the capital of an independent State and will be more and more frequently visited by travellers of the Grand Tour. In fact, as a consequence of this relaunch worldly of the city there is its most frequent representation – very often standardized, i.e. conditioned by its ideal and unrealistic vision – made up of a multitude of notes or descriptions by writers and artists, or even more by real illustrated guides which aims to introduce foreign tourists to Naples and its surroundings. Furthermore, the already flourishing market of a similar vedutism of the Neapolitan places is nourished also by the great interest shown by the aristocratic class to which, as we have seen, these works very often reported a dedication certifying the commission. The two collections of views discussed here, partially contained in the Pagliara Foundation albums, undoubtedly represent excellent examples of this artistic trend which, although rooted in the Piranesian tradition, offer also depictions of the great architecture of the new course, like the Capodimonte palace or the Albergo dei Poveri.



Fig. 8: *Palazzo reale dal mare*, Giacinto Gigante, Franz Wenzel, 1832, color lithograph with watercolor touch-ups, Pagliara Foundation, inv. 157.



Fig. 9: *Napoli dalla strada del Campo Marte*, Giacinto Gigante, Franz Wenzel, 1832, color lithograph with watercolor touch-ups, Pagliara Foundation, inv. 148.

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The industrial heritage and post-industrial urban identity: the case of Lodz in Poland

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Abstract

Material tissue forming urban space strengthens the sense of rootedness and self-identification. Architecture defines a place, builds its *genius loci*, and a feeling of being at home. This article examines how the concept of redefinition of city identity is connected and merges with activities concerning adaptive reuse of the 19th-century post-industrial architecture of Lodz. The city, situated in the central part of the country, is one of three largest Polish cities and represents an international case study.

Il patrimonio industriale e l'identità urbana postindustriale: il caso di Lodz in Polonia

Il tessuto materiale che forma lo spazio urbano rafforza il senso di radicamento e di autoidentificazione. L'architettura definisce un luogo, costruisce il suo *genius loci* e la sensazione di essere a casa. Questo articolo esamina come il concetto di ridefinizione dell'identità della città sia collegato e si fonde con le attività relative al riuso dell'architettura post-industriale di Lodz del XIX secolo. Lodz, situata nella parte centrale della Polonia, è una delle tre più grandi città del paese e rappresenta un caso studio a livello internazionale.

Keywords: Adaptive reuse, industrial heritage, urban renewal, revitalization, city identity.

Riuso, città postindustriale, rinnovamento urbano, rinascita, identità urbana.

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1 | Introduction

Lodz, situated in the central part of the country and being one of three largest Polish cities, became prominent in the 19th century thanks to intensive development of textile industry. After the political transformation of 1989, Lodz faced a rapid industrial breakdown and de-industrialisation. Since the 1990s, in parallel with search for ways to save and revive progressive degradation of the urban tissue, attempts have been made in Lodz to create a new city image as well as to find and redefine an urban identity. Projects aimed at renewal and revitalisation of the city centre include both renovation, reconstruction or conversion of existing buildings and intended actions aimed at shaping attitudes and a local identity. Modern Lodz is subjected to a kind of an urban experiment, whose important part is creating and managing methods of social experiencing of a place and urban space.

An important role in this process is played by the meaning of architectural heritage, which is an important reference point for the local community. Material tissue forming urban space strengthens the sense of rootedness and self-identification [Rossi 1982, 130, 131; Lewicka 2012, 111]. Architecture defines a place, builds its *genius loci*, and a feeling of being at home [Sowińska 2018; Sowińska 2015, 338-353].

2 | A theoretical framework

A city may be perceived as an «organized complexity», with coexisting not only different relations and influences [Jacobs 1961], but also meanings and interpretative possibilities [Bishop, Williams 2012; Graham, Healey 1999]. It is subject to constant internal modifications. It is

where various historical, cultural and social threads intersect, clash and permeate. Interferences associated both with contemporary patterns, demolitions and modernizations introduce new values in the architectural environment. Past and present engage in a dialogue, connect or contrast in urban space. Thus, dynamics and diversity are introduced into the seemingly stable architectural environment.

Political transformation is special stimulus leading to intensification of processes related to re-defining and reinterpreting the urban space. These processes then become one of the essential tools legitimizing the new order, but also an instrument used to co-create a sense of collective identity in the new political, economic, cultural and social realities. Semantic values connected with architectural forms may then be displayed for certain purposes or blurred, or even erased [Leśniakowska 1996, 61]. In this way, artefacts gain new connotations, subject to different interpretations through the prism of contemporary ideas [Sowińska-Heim 2015].

At the same time, in the second half of the 20th century, primarily in response to unification and standardization, resulting i.a. from globalization, there was a significantly increasing interest in what is endemic, and the emphasis, or even recovery of local identity, became an important factor in building a sense of stability in rapidly changing and forcing mobility modern world [Lewicka 2010; Rykwert 2013, 315]. A significant role in the process is played by architectural urban tissue. Pursuit of preserving architectural objects which are important for the city gains considerable significance both due to preservation of its specificity, structures characteristic for the urban landscape, constituting its «personality structure» [Dubos 1986], and the role that architectural heritage plays in strengthening the local community. Since in Western culture, there is a deeply rooted need to look for what is durable, gives a sense of security, constitutes an important point of reference and an important factor shaping identity. The history of architecture characterised by the influence of two opposing forces: on the one hand a desire to maintain the existing form, related to the need for maintaining tradition, determined by the cultural factor, and on the other – the need for a change, resulting from social and technical transformations, which can be described as a civilization factor [Gutowski 1997, 199]. Analysing the issue from the perspective of currently dominating processes, Manuel Castells mentions identity and globalization as a pair of antinomic forces determining organization of the contemporary world [Castells 2010, 17]. At the same time, Anthony Giddens points out that currently identity appears to be extremely «delicate, fragile, cracked and scattered» [Giddens 2012, 227]. A specific crisis of «identity» that has arisen in a globalized world, at the same time provoked reflection and discussion about it [Bauman 1994, 7].

In recent decades, aspects related to the importance of architectural heritage for contemporary society and the role it plays in the development of the city have been clearly accentuated and highlighted. Buildings or complexes from the past are protected not only for future generations, but also consciously included in the currently undertaken activities. This aspect was clearly highlighted already in the *European Charter of the Architectural Heritage* and *The Declaration of Amsterdam* of 1975. The latter document stated that: «It is known that historical continuity must be preserved in the environment if we are to maintain or create surroundings which enable individuals to find their identity and feel secure despite abrupt social changes...» [Declaration of Amsterdam].

The postulate of combining the present and the future with the past, so clearly emphasized, among others in *The New Charter of Athens 2003: The European Council of Town Planners for the 21st century*, is on the one hand a response to modern interest of the resident in the bygone times and

the growing need to create «places of remembrance» [Nora 2009, 4-12] and on the other hand, it is an important clue for architects and urban planners, stressing importance of actions aimed at preserving the historical continuity of cities and, thus, their identity [Lewicka 2012]. Development of multicultural cities belonging to the European urban networks, while maintaining and caring for local identity, is nowadays a significant challenge and an important part of the idea of sustainable development [New Charter of Athens 2003]. Therefore, it is not about an «exclusive» identity, but about «identity in diversity» or «open identity» [Rewers 2000, 117-118]. Another distinctive phenomenon is clearly visible democratization and pluralisation in perception of artefacts from the past, worthy of protection and important for the society, which is not limited to buildings important due to specific historical and aesthetic values or their significant age, but expanded to include objects significant from the point of view of the local community¹. As noticed by Françoise Choay, since the 1960s protection of the heritage has been extended by broadening the chronological and geographical framework, as well as by incorporating a new type of heritage [Choay 2001, 2, 4], including i.a. post-industrial buildings. It is therefore necessary to consider the cultural context of each historical building. In Łódź, a nineteenth-century factory complex made of a characteristic red brick will be perceived as a part of a significant architectural heritage, because it comes from the period when the city gained its importance and greatness. However, this type of building, for example in Italy, with its ancient monuments, would be less significant and would not create the social need for protection and preservation [Feilden 2003, 6].

In order to understand significance of monuments for contemporary societies, we need to refer to the observation contained in the *Nizhny Tagil Charter for the Industrial Heritage*, developed in July 2003, which emphasizes that «continuity that re-use implies may provide psychological stability for communities facing the sudden end of long-standing, is significant for sources of employment» [Nizhny Tagil Charter 2003, V]. It was also indicated that the change in their use plays an important role in the revitalization process.

3 | Political transformation and the need to revive historical and architectural heritage of Łódź

Łódź was one of the Central and Eastern European cities which after the 1989 political shift underwent a very rapid transformation and were severely affected by the deindustrialisation process. The scale of the phenomenon resulted from the character of the city, whose development and prosperity were closely related to industrialization and textile industry boom in the 19th century. In just a few dozen years, Łódź changed from a small town into a powerful, bustling metropolis. At the beginning of the 19th century, namely in 1821, Łódź was inhabited by 799 people, while in 1830, just nine years later, a number of residents was almost five and a half times higher (4343 people). At the end of the 19th century, the population reached almost 300,000, and Łódź became the second largest city in the Kingdom of Poland [Baranowski, Fijałek 1980, 196, 197]. This unusually rapid development and creation of a powerful industrial centre from scratch in such a short time was associated with government's decision to grant Łódź the status of an industrial town and to establish a large-scale industrial centre here. It was also when the architectural and urban image of the city was shaped.

After the Second World War, under the rule of the communist authorities the city's past was subjected to devastating criticism. It was presented in propaganda slogans as terrible times when «exploiters and oppressors», a small handful of landowners and manufacturers «sucked» workers' blood [Daniszewski 1946, 4]. However, despite the propaganda and ideological revolution

¹ The preamble of the Convention on the Value of the Cultural Heritage for Society (Faro Convention, 2005) formulated by the Council of Europe on 27 October 2005 in Faro, declares even that there is a need of «Recognition of the need to put people in the centre of an enlarged and cross-disciplinary concept of cultural heritage».





Fig. 1: *U Scheiblera* lofts in former Karol Scheibler's spinning mill (photo by Julia Sowińska-Heim).



Fig. 2: 19th-century spinning mill of Izrael Poznański's factory complex, nowadays Andel's Hotel (photo by Julia Sowińska-Heim).

Fig. 3: Piotrkowska Street – the main urban, historical and symbolic axis of Łódź (photo by Julia Sowińska-Heim).

Fig. 4: Restored buildings of Izrael Poznański's former industrial complex and the marketplace of *Manufaktura* (photo by Julia Sowińska-Heim).

in the period of the Polish People's Republic, Lodz was still perceived as «Polish Manchester», the city of «one hundred factories» and «one hundred chimneys» [Gzamm 1951, 2]. Despite denial of the role of families of factory owners in creation of the city after 1945, as well as disavowing significance of the heritage left by them, the former factories retained their function. The political transformation of 1989 brought radical changes regarding the foundations of the city's economic functioning. As a result of deindustrialization, many factories and plants inseparably associated with the image of the city were closed. Among others, the largest cotton factories: Peace Defenders Cotton Factory «Uniontex» and Marchlewski's Cotton Industry Factory, later named «Poltex», employing over a dozen thousand people, were put into liquidation. They functioned in two Łódź most important nineteenth-century factory complexes, taken over by the state as a result of nationalization following the Second World War: the first one in the buildings of former Karol Scheibler and Ludwik Grohmann United Industrial Plant², the other one – in the former industrial and residential complex of Izrael Poznański³. The characteristic, monumental bodies of both Scheibler's and Poznański's spinning mills, reflecting medieval defence architecture, still belong to the most recognizable elements of Lodz architectural heritage.

Collapse of Łódź industry not only increased unemployment and marginalization in the space of the city occupied by former workers and their families, ghettoization of urban space [Warzywoda-Kruszyńska 2009; Jankowski, Warzywoda-Kruszyńska 2010], but also to degradation of post-industrial architectural tissue. Vacant houses became a characteristic feature of the urban landscape of Lodz in the 1990s. This problem mainly affected the city centre. It was when the city authorities emphasized the need to revive historical, architectural heritage of Lodz, combining undertaken and planned activities with a narrative about reconstruction of the identity and stimulating stronger identification of Lodz residents with the city [Dziennik Urzędowy Województwa Łódzkiego, No. 6, item 71]. The priority was to revive Piotrkowska Street, being the main urban, historical and symbolic axis of Lodz. In the 1990s, as many as 50% of post-industrial areas located only at this most important city street, changed their function [Piech 2002], which well reflects the scale of the problem.

The city authorities, as well as its residents, were forced to rethink and revise the urban identity created in a completely new economic and social situation. Political shift stimulated a kind of urban self-reflection and a look at the city's past. However, this is not a fully critical reflection, but rather search for positive values that can contribute to consolidation of the local community, as well as creation of a contemporary image of the city. The most notable are the efforts to rehabilitate the history of Lodz from before 1918, the period depicted in post-communist times as the «golden age of the city». In the officially created discourse, present both in documents and promotional campaigns of the city authorities, as well as festivals organized in Lodz (e.g. the Festival of Four Cultures) or conferences, the past becomes an important point of reference. The greatest emphasized is put on the modern and unique character of Lodz – a multicultural, ethnically diverse city with strongly European roots [Puś 2005, 25], which, thanks to creativity of its residents, turned from a small village into a bustling metropolis in just a few decades. Reference to the bygone period of rapid, almost spectacular development of Łódź in the 19th and early 20th centuries is also connected with an attempt to bring these features to the present day. Emphasizing the European roots of the city is associated with a desire to transform modern Lodz into a vibrant European city and restoring the old atmosphere of dynamism and creativity [Michlic 2008, 289-290; Sowińska-Heim 2017, 217-238].

² In the 1870s and 1880s, at the time of greatest prosperity, the factory complex of Karol Scheibler was one of the largest in Europe. The beginnings of a powerful urban and architectural complex date back to the 1850s. Production in a spinning mill founded by Karol Scheibler, equipped with a modern, as for those days, steam engine, started in 1856. The initial complex consisting of a factory building, residence and private park was systematically expanded, especially from the 1860s. In the 1860s, Scheibler purchased extensive areas, so-called Księży Młyn (Eng. the Priests Mill). Karol Scheibler came from the Rhineland.

³ Created by Izrael Kalamanowicz Poznański in the 1870s and 1880s and gradually expanded until the outbreak of the First World War, the huge complex consisted of a factory, workers' houses, church, hospital, canteen performing also cultural functions and other buildings functionally complementing the complex. A palace with a private garden was also erected in the immediate vicinity of the factory.

4 | Fragmentary revitalization of two largest factory complexes in Lodz

An important part of the large-scale activities aimed at city centre revitalization is adaptive reuse of post-industrial Lodz buildings. The undertaken activities resulted in creation of numerous award-winning projects, such as Łódź shopping and entertainment centre, called *Manufaktura* (referred to in the press as the «largest shopping centre of Eastern Europe» [Frąk 2011, 4]), together with Andel's Hotel and *U Scheiblera* lofts⁴. This is how fragmentary revitalization of areas formerly belonging to the two largest industrial tycoons of the 19th century, Izrael Poznański and Karol Scheibler, was carried out. In both cases, merger of the nineteenth-century past and present day is supposed to be a kind of magnet, attracting with its originality and uniqueness, while the use of existing buildings, which is an integral part of the urban landscape, authenticates and legitimizes new development investments. This process is particularly visible in case of the former factory complex of Izrael Poznański, which for over a century (up to the 1990s) was a symbol of greatness of Lodz industry, and nowadays, as the Manufaktura shopping centre, it has become a showcase of the reviving post-industrial city [Sowińska-Heim 2013]. Particularly significant aspect is creation of the internal market among the post-industrial buildings, which has become an important public space. The idyllic atmosphere among the fountains and cafes, although far from the original character of the factory space, well met the need for creating a tidy, aesthetically-shaped public space in Lodz. However, the nineteenth-century structures adapted to the new function underwent significant modifications, becoming setting for modern functions rather than reliable testimony to the past. Post-factory buildings that can be seen today are to great extent facades, because their interiors were completely modified. At the same time, introduction of a new function into the old walls saved difficult to develop, huge factory buildings, which are an important architectural heritage of the city⁵.

Due to considerable size of the areas occupied by the former factory complexes, adaptation of only selected building resulted in losing original cohesion. Introduction of new functions resulted in divisions within the original complex, modifying its composition. In case of the former complex of Izrael Poznański, Ogrodowa Street, once an internal axis of the complex, currently delineates its boundary, while a function of an axis is currently performed by the recently created «market» of Manufaktura. Transformations related to adaptive reuse of post-factory buildings forced the city authorities to take action also in other areas (including a decision to revitalize former workers' houses).

In case of the huge urban-architectural complex that once belonged to Karol Scheibler, thoughtful composition is also subject to physical and symbolic divisions. This problem, as in the case of the former Poznański's complex, particularly concerns division between the main factory building (spinning mill) and the former workers' housing estate opposite the factory. The extensive area of Księży Młyn (Pffafendorf) constituted an important part of the urban and architectural complex of Karol Scheibler, created in the 1850s and systematically expanded. In the 1860s, a workers' housing estate was erected there. Nowadays brick, unplastered facades of the family houses and a huge, four-storey spinning mill situated opposite are a characteristic and recognizable element of Lodz architectural landscape. After the political transformation in 1989, this one of the largest nineteenth-century residential and factory complexes in Europe was divided, and its selected parts were adapted to new, diverse cultural and artistic functions (Lodz Art Centre and Art Factory) or turned into offices (i.a. a former building of the factory fire station) or residential spaces (already mentioned *U Scheiblera* lofts). In accordance with the concept adopted in 2010 by the City Council, the former workers' housing estate was transformed into a

⁴ *Manufaktura* was granted, among others, the status of the Tourist Product of the Year 2006, it was given the ULI Global Awards 2007 (i.a. for the quality of the created public space) and became a winner of the competition organized by Cij monthly for the best shopping centre and the best general construction product. It was also given the status of the best facility in Central and Eastern Europe dedicated to trade and recreation – CEE Real Estate Quality Awards 2006. It received certificates such as: BREEAM in-use or POT Golden Certificate 2010. *U Scheiblera* lofts, where apartments are currently being sold by a receiver, were given the status of i.a. the best Polish modernization in the competition Europa & Africa Property Awards 2010. They were created in the former Karol Scheibler's spinning mill.

⁵ It is worth emphasizing that it was the first adaptative reuse of the architectural heritage carried out in Łódź on such a scale. The works were performed in 1999-2006, that is, before putting forward recommendations in The Nizhny Tagil Charter for the Industrial Heritage (2003).

⁶ The decision was mainly related to the attempt to include the project in the current activities related to applying for the title of the European Capital of Culture. Resolution No. XCI/1585/10 of the City Council in Łódź of 7 July 2010 on determining the directions of activities for the President of the City of Łódź in the scope of preparation of the integrated program for development of the Księży Młyn area «Księży Młyn 2016».

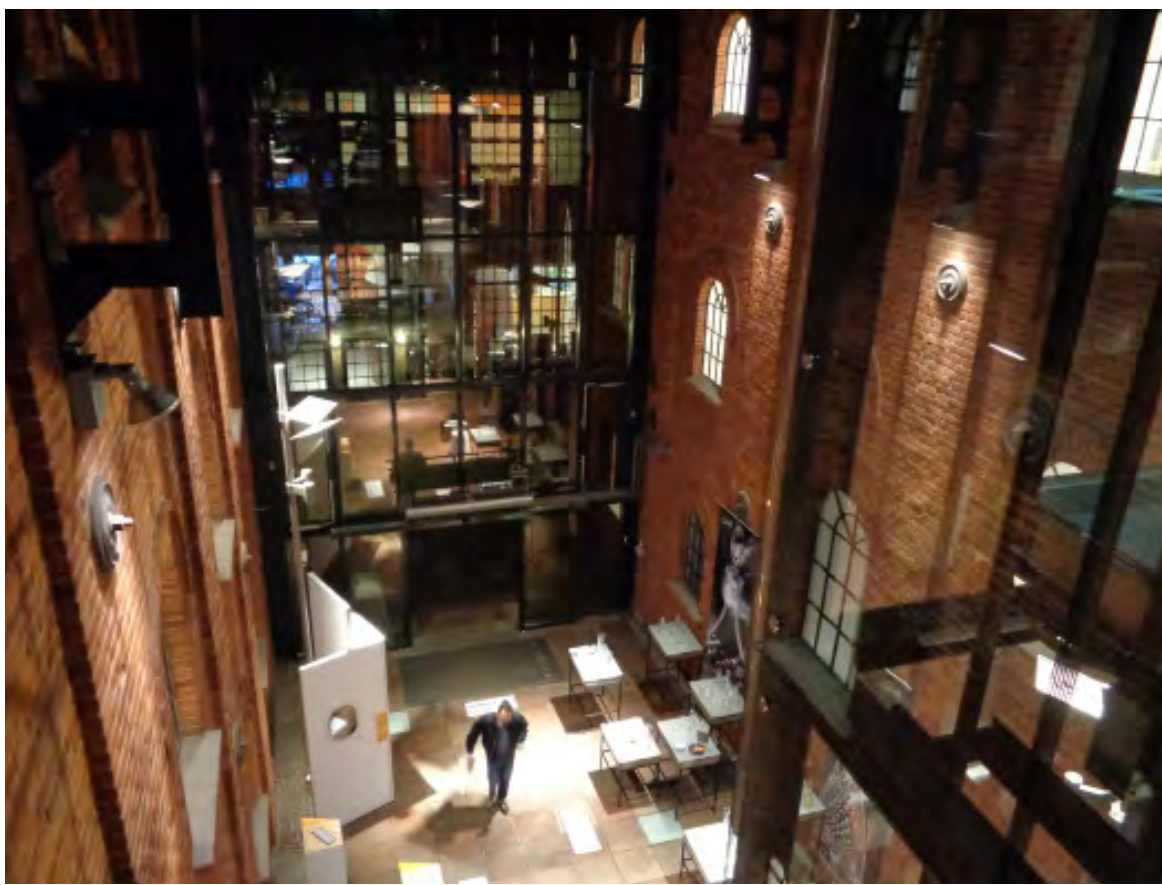


Fig. 5: Karol Scheibler's factory complex with a monumental spinning mill and a workers' housing estate. Printed in the album of the Scheibler i "Grohman" company, Lodz 1921.

Fig. 6: Lodz Art Centre and Art Factory – a cultural and artistic conglomerate, which occupies former halls 19th-century factory belonging to Karol Scheibler and Ludwik Grohman's United Cotton Industry Plants (photo by Julia Sowińska-Heim).

model creative district⁶. The current project, still in progress, assumes primarily preservation of the housing function in modernized facilities, and, in addition, creation of art studios, cafes and restaurants. During activities taken so far, integrity of the complex has not been preserved.

5 | Adaptive reuse and the concept of Lodz as a creative city

At the beginning of the second decade of the 21st century, the city authorities adopted the concept of building the image and promoting Łódź as a creative city [Lodz brand management strategy for 2010-2016 (2011)]. This allowed for inclusion of the city in the pan-European tendencies with simultaneous reference to the local cultural heritage, including avant-garde artistic activities (i.a. one of the first collections of modern art in the world: the International Modern Art Collection of the «a.r.» group) or the achievements of Lodz Film School, as well as fashion and design.

The idea of stimulating the process of urban renovation and economic revival, as well as contributing to creation of a new image of the city, both for residents and tourists, through introduction of cultural activity is very clearly visible in the project «EC1 Łódź – City of Culture». At the beginning, implementation of the project was based on cooperation between the city authorities and the private sector (World Art Foundation co-created by American director David Lynch), and since 2015 it has become a key investment related to adaptive reuse of architectural heritage carried out by the city in cooperation with Ministry of Culture and National Heritage. The project of transforming the oldest Lodz power plant from the beginning of the 20th century into the centre related to cultural, artistic and educational activities (including exhibition halls, modern planetarium, interactive Science and Technology Centre), has become a part of the project covering renovation of 90 ha of land located in the city centre, near the main Piotrkowska street. According to the assumptions, introduction of a new function should contribute to renovation and stimulation of this part of the city, but also to creation of a new, functional centre and showing the contemporary identity of Lodz [Karpińska 2012, pp. 135-154]. While efforts to renovate this part of the city may bring a positive effect and lead to its actual recovery, the very concept of creating a «new centre» in the immediate vicinity of the historic centre may raise concerns about violation of the historical urban-architectural and semantic structure.

Functional change of large post-industrial areas in the downtown creates a valuable opportunity to include places previously closed and inaccessible to residents in the city life. However, undertaken activities require very careful rethinking and clarification of the purpose and cultural significance of new urban spaces emerging in this way, as well as their integration with the surroundings. In case of a project such as EC1, it is even more important, since the buildings used by the oldest Lodz power plant, despite of being an interesting example of industrial architecture from the beginning of the 20th century, did not play a significant role in the urban space or in the consciousness of the residents. Limiting the project to locating institutions associated with broad cultural activity in a given area without a deliberate concept of combining it with public space, or introducing additional functions related to relaxation, rest and leisure, such as cafes, restaurants or clubs, have turned EC1 in its current shape into a place where you come with a specific intention (e.g. to a science centre or a cinema), but it is not a place where you stay with pleasure. What is more, despite potential of the place, a part of the EC1-East, where a new segment housing i.a. a planetarium, was added to the oldest facilities of the power plant, may be compared, due to i.a. an impersonal nature of the interior design, empty «cold» spaces, to the transit space, non-place of Marc Augé [Augé 2012]⁷.

⁷ The research was carried out as part of the *Bilbao Effect or the cargo cult?*, by a team of sociologists from the Institute of Art at Nicolaus Copernicus University under the direction of prof. Krzysztof Olechnicki.

Fig. 7: Renovated buildings of former EC1 power plant, dedicated to a cultural, educational and artistic functions (photo by Julia Sowińska-Heim).



A completely different way of thinking about introducing a new function related to the widely understood creative industry takes place in the Lodz project, Off Piotrkowska. Initially, a developer assumed turning the site of a former cotton factory of Franciszek Ramisch, located on 1,3 ha directly at Piotrkowska Street into a shopping and office complex and a hotel. The works were going to start in 2008, however, due to the economic downturn, the project was not started. Yet, an independent association of young enthusiasts of the Lodz industrial architectural heritage was allowed to undertake alternative cultural activities in post-industrial buildings. Concerts, workshops and discussion meetings were held in the facility, provisionally arranged by the users. With time, the place began to evoke positive associations, and thanks to bottom-up initiatives, vacant buildings have become a lively creative space. These changes inspired the developer, who treated them as a starting point to build further concept of the place, planned in a long-term perspective [Plevoets, Sowińska-Heim 2018, 134-137]. Official commencement of the project, sponsored by the developer, took place in 2011 and coincided with the idea of promoting Lodz as a creative city. Destroyed and neglected post-industrial buildings were occupied by fashion designers, architects, as well as other designers, but the atmosphere of the place was determined primarily by bustling culture cafés and restaurants. Although the developer have carefully controlled the changes taking place at Off Piotrkowska, there is still an impression of freedom of action, including spontaneous adaptive reuse resulting from bottom-up initiatives. Since the lack of space aestheticization and its spectacularization led to creation of a place that escapes negatively perceived commercialization. Off Piotrkowska is an interesting example in which the informal and spontaneous nature of adaptive reuse has become an impulse and inspiration for the investor to create a concept of reviving a place and carrying out further planned activities, which, importantly, have been implemented smoothly and gradually, without establishing clear boundaries between successive stages of the venture.



Fig. 8: Renovated and rebuilt area of EC1 (photo by Julia Sowińska-Heim).



Fig. 9: A new project added to a renovated historical building of EC1 power plant (photo by Julia Sowińska-Heim).



Fig. 10-11: Off Piotrkowska in former Ramisch factory (photo by Julia Sowińska-Heim).



3 | Conclusion

Adaptive reuse of post-industrial buildings is an important impulse for both renovation of urban areas, identity reconstruction and improvement of Lodz image. In the process leading to creation of positive references and elimination of negative connotations related to the economic and social crisis, the use of local cultural and architectural heritage plays a significant role. Since it is an important part of the city history, and at the same time its significance can be reinterpreted and shown in new contexts interesting for the present [Gospodini 2006, 326, Sowińska-Heim 2018]. Nowadays, the phenomenon of adaptive reuse of architectural heritage plays a very important role in processes occurring in the urban tissue. In many respects, Łódź is an exceptional case. Not only because of the scale of the phenomenon and special location of many buildings and industrial complexes that have lost their original function in the city centre, but also due to their aesthetic and historical value. Introduction of a new function involves not only interference with the material architectural substance, but also affects the change of relations with the urban environment and leads to assigning new meanings as well as cultural and social values. A functional change may lead to revival and popularization of places that previously did not play a significant role in the urban space, or to make secondary divisions by introducing different functions into the buildings constituting the originally coherent complex.

What constitute an important challenge for modern Lodz is creation of both functional and aesthetic connections between spaces characteristic for the city, such as Manufaktura or EC1. A comprehensive view of the ongoing processes and changes would make it possible to restore desired cohesion in the central city space.

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Cerete's Cultural Center. Iconography Contribution for Graphic Reconstruction and Recovery of a Colombian Architecture

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Abstract

This article - linked to the El ojo y la lente research project from Pontifical Bolivarian University - develops a historical exploration of Cerete's Cultural Center in Colombia, by analyzing iconography and using representation instruments to obtain a respective graphic and spatial reconstruction in its distinct operation stages. Its historical components stand out, the relationship with the river market system and the role played by its architecture encompassing the Cultural Heritage of the Colombian Caribbean.

Il Centro Culturale di Cerete. Il contributo dell'iconografia urbana per la ricostruzione grafica e il recupero di un'architettura colombiana

Questo articolo - collegato al progetto di ricerca della Pontificia Università Bolivariana El ojo y la lente - sviluppa un'indagine storica del Centro Culturale Cerete in Colombia, analizzando iconografia e utilizzando strumenti di rappresentazione per ottenere una ricostruzione grafica e spaziale nelle sue distinte fasi operative. Spiccano le sue componenti storiche, il rapporto con il sistema del mercato fluviale e il ruolo svolto dalla sua architettura che comprende il patrimonio culturale dei Caraibi colombiani.

Keywords: Patrimony, iconography, market.

Patrimonio culturale, iconografia urbana, mercato.

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1 | Introduction

The Colombian Caribbean Region differs from other areas of the country in its landscapes so rich in flora and fauna, multiple enjoying topographic variations, and countless natural ecosystems found in its diverse territories. Within this framework inherent to the described lands, by the twentieth century the region lacked an integral communication system among communities, to link in an accessible way the human groups for their relationship and goods exchange that would improve the region's economy. Sea, rivers and marshes – as exit routes for trade and sources of fresh water and food – conditioned the location of the main coast settlements. This way, the large part of populations was located on the coast, or next to rivers, spouts and marshes [Posada 1998]. Most of the markets and commercial scenarios of the Caribbean people were built near the sea and river currents, making easy the efficient distribution of products and connection with existing ports.

In the Cerete municipality, department of Córdoba (Colombia), a town with a reputation for agricultural production in the region, a structure considered as one of the main scenarios of departmental commerce worked for more than sixty years. The commonly called Public market, took the role of collection center, river port and market, located on the banks of Caño Bugre [Bugre Spout] – a micro basin of the mighty Río Sinú River – and created a common thread among the most important river markets found in the area as in the cities of Montería, Santa Cruz de Lorica, Mompox and Cartagena *de Indias*. Despite economic modalities and technology evolution in the regional context, Cerete's old public market was undergoing multiple transformations in relation to its original uses and infrastructure. Today, the important heritage property

is known as the only and most important cultural center for the municipality; and having no grounds to explain its origins in detail, various iconographic analyzes and representation tools were used to achieve a detailed graphic reconstruction of the original architecture and configuration in the twentieth century.

2 | The River Market in the Caribbean

Trade in urban settlements has always been a crucial element for community development and maintenance, therefore, there is constantly a mercantile movement made up of different pieces essential for its operation. Since ancient times, human groups have directly contributed to consolidation of spaces bound for commercialization of countless elements, generally with a charitable objective of a personal or group nature. In the Colombian Caribbean, commercial activity has always been linked to sea and waterways, as they were the most feasible option both for product transportation and mobilization of groups of people. The main natural element standing out was the Magdalena River, the protagonist and largest river current present in the region. Consequently, most of the towns linked their commercial activities to the river, considering the existing hydrography within its territorial delimitations.

River ports perfectly fulfilled their functions by being directly related to rivers and spouts, which then created a reciprocal link of economic aspect and commercial exchange between the most important towns in the Caribbean. For this reason, most establishments where daily sales, sales and product receipt activities were carried out, were established next to the nearest river current to better enable commercial work and allow the communities' economic development of.

In Cordoba department, on the western area of the Colombian Caribbean Coast, there is a natural axis influencing the river system, so it is important to highlight that the renowned Sinú River is loaded with history in the conformation of the department's municipal markets. In most of the Cordoba settlements such as Monteria, Santa Cruz de Lorica and Cerete, the proximity of these social scenarios to the river route was evidenced, inferring the impact of this on local commerce. The river was used as a means of transport in a very wide scope, for instance, the vessels that arriving at the populated centers were in charge of hauling the merchandise for sale and through it, it was much easier to move products. Similarly, these sites were also classified as an articulation between the terrestrial and the aquatic, functioning as transition spaces and at the same time of great movement in the modes of transport, commerce and economy in general.

3 | Cerete's Cultural Center, Graphic Reconstruction of its Past as an Old Market by means of Iconography

Bearing in mind the context about the Colombian Caribbean regarding the river and commercial systems, it is necessary to focus on a region-specific area to more precisely understand the role market sites played in relation to these roads of significant importance at the time. Therefore, delving into the contextualization of Cordoba department and its most important cities, this article points to a property, part of the history of Cerete, which fulfilled all the necessary functions as a river market, was port of arrival and departure of boats and encouraged commercial initiatives for the region's economic development. Despite the municipality's urban and population transformations, the construction built in 1923 was victim of multiple physical and functional changes in its architecture. Today, it is currently known as 'Raúl Gómez Jattín' Cultural Center, a structure hiding notable features in its history essential to understand its consol-



Fig. 1: Cartography of the 18th century, showing the hydrography of the Colombian Caribbean Coast. A Map of the British Empire in America with the French and Spanish Settlements adjacent thereto. Henry Popple London, 1733.



Fig. 2: The building Oldest photograph taken in 1929. Visual memory of Cereté, 20th century (Abad Hoyos 2010).

Fig. 3: Informal sales' Invasion outside the building in 1975. Visual memory of Cereté, 20th century (Abad Hoyos 2010, p. 32).

Fig. 4: Commercial invasion with the original building in the background. Visual memory of Cereté, 20th century (Abad Hoyos 2010, p. 34).

idation genesis and importance of its walls. Due to lack of information from the building and past operation as a town market, it was decided to carry out an iconography analysis and use it as the main means of historical inquiry. Also, through tools of architectural discipline such as survey and representation instruments, a graphic building reconstruction was achieved in all its functional stages. This methodology made precision easy in representative technical details and provided documentary content, absent in the media.

The architectural infrastructure of Cereté's old market was singled out for holding a basilica spatial vocation typical of churches, in which two side aisles and a large central nave were distinguished. The building volume was symmetrical in its four facades and it was remarkable the marking of its accesses arranged in the central axis of each of the above. A wide corridor of circulation crossed the great main space, demarcated by a set of columns with chapter and had a height exceeding the lateral ships, providing sensations of high spatiality inside. The great height culminated with a fiber cement roof built to two waters.

The two main market accesses were demarcated by a large semicircular arch above the door opening, evidencing changes in material from this element over time. The oldest photograph of the public market façade dates from 1929 and in this, it is possible to observe that the mentioned arch had a featured piece that placed a boundary between interior and exterior. The image quality restrained the design literal interpretation. Nonetheless, with help of oral tradition, an approximate deduction was made considering described references of the component itself. Pathologies were evident in the building, which underwent notable changes due to deterioration. Small problems and inefficient solutions made up the work turning it into a set of patches that strongly reflected inefficiency of interventions being attempted as a measure of "conservation" for the architectural site. Besides, the cleaning culture traders should have had was overcome by saturation in the existing space, therefore, the building's physical wear accelerated.

Now, due to the accelerated population growth the municipality had, the space destined in the building remained small to carry out daily tasks within. Therefore, merchants and buyers were expanding outside the original building until exceeding the limits and affecting the urban environment and nearby population who constantly filed complaints due to strong smells and great bustle produced in their daily functions. The administration that managed the planning of the municipality at that time formalized the move of the complete set of activities and was in charge of transforming the area with a plan of restoration and urban improvement that would be key to correct the chaos the great commercial invasion had left.

During the intervention process in the area where the old market was located, different projects were addressed aiming at recovering the edge of *Caño Bugre*, frayed by the multiple human activities taking place there. The building restoration left empty was also projected, together with the buried square reparation and paving of the access roads. Nonetheless, at that same time there was a committee of cultural events in the municipality, which did not have a place to make its presentations, as the case of the 'Meeting of Women Poets', unique at the time on the Colombian Caribbean coast, as well as the Cultural Festival and the *Leopoldo Berdella de la Esquiella* Literature Prize. This committee formally requested this property to be granted to the administration to serve as Cultural Center [Dueñas 2014].

For the success of the architectural restoration, the creation of the preliminary project took time since, by implying a change in use, it involved carrying out a series of preliminary studies such as search for historical data, study of old photographs and the existing architectural survey. Furthermore, since being a building with unique features, it was necessary to prepare a diagnosis

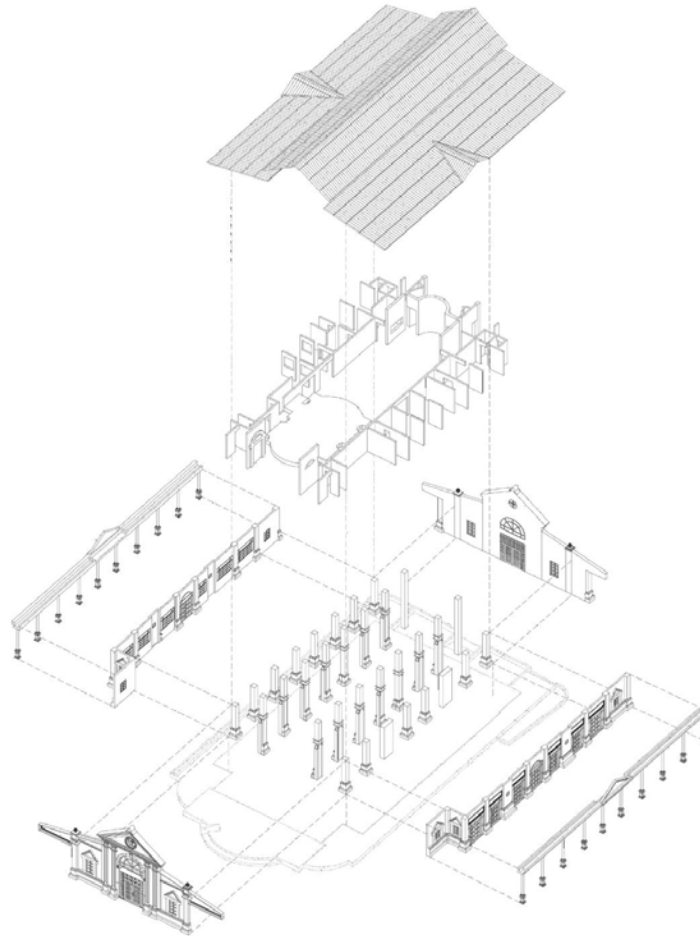
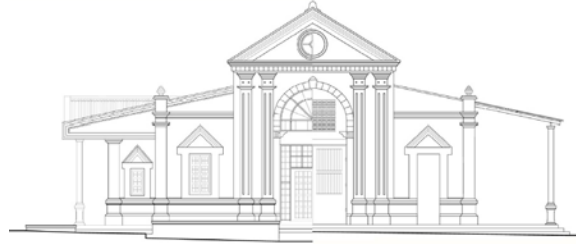


Fig. 5: North façade final appearance, after the 1999 intervention. Colombian Caribbean Heritage Foundation.

Fig. 6: On the left, the hypothesis of Reconstruction of the original facade (1929), on the right, the graphic restitution of the survey of the existing facade (2019). Own elaboration.

Fig. 7: Composited exploded view of the cultural center (2019). Own elaboration.

of the state of the heritage conservation in which definitive mediation guidelines could be identified. Subsequently, an architectural proposal was designed to gather the study results and which primary objective was to put into effect the change of use believed to be inherent in the building. After restoration, the building maintained many of its original architectural components, nonetheless, the new characterization of real estate use implied the creation of new modification possibilities represented in the construction result. Additionally, all these interventions led to greater symbolic growth for the new urban structure that was beginning to gain strength in the knowledge and use of the inhabitants.

On October 14, 1999 the restored building was inaugurated with the participation by then Minister of Culture, Juan Luis Mejía, and a large and select artistic and cultural delegation of national interest, devoting the building restored to the life and work of the distinguished terroir's poet: Raul Gomez Jattin. From this solemn inaugural act to the present, the Restoration Project of the ancient market square became an emblematic symbol of invaluable heritage value, and the Raul Gomez Jattin Cultural Center, one of the most recognized institutions at the national and international level in the promotion and dissemination of art and culture in the Colombian Caribbean [Serpa 2007].

4 | Representation of Transformations

The making of the architectural survey encompassing the deep tangible inquiry of the Raul Gomez Jattin Cultural Center originated a series of notions that lay in beyond the resulting graphics. Therefore, it was decided to isometrically schematize the set of the main compositional pieces making up the current building and they were singled out creating a constructive decoupling that would facilitate its spatial understanding. This highlights its structure encompassing the column axes in the three naves. Similarly, its four facades, lateral elements, interior enclosures, lower base and, roof are included. With this scheme, each of them is graphically individualized and the configurative skeleton that forms the object of study is speeded up in a simplified way, giving greater possibilities to understand the spatial distribution.

To complement the architecture's general interpretation implicit in the cultural center, it was possible to create a three-dimensional model with the intent to detail each of the pieces making it up. Therefore, in the creation process, the anchoring of its elements and principles of spatial arrangement harmonizing it were better understood, resulting in a propediac graphic system that added useful tools of great contribution to the proposed objective on the research.

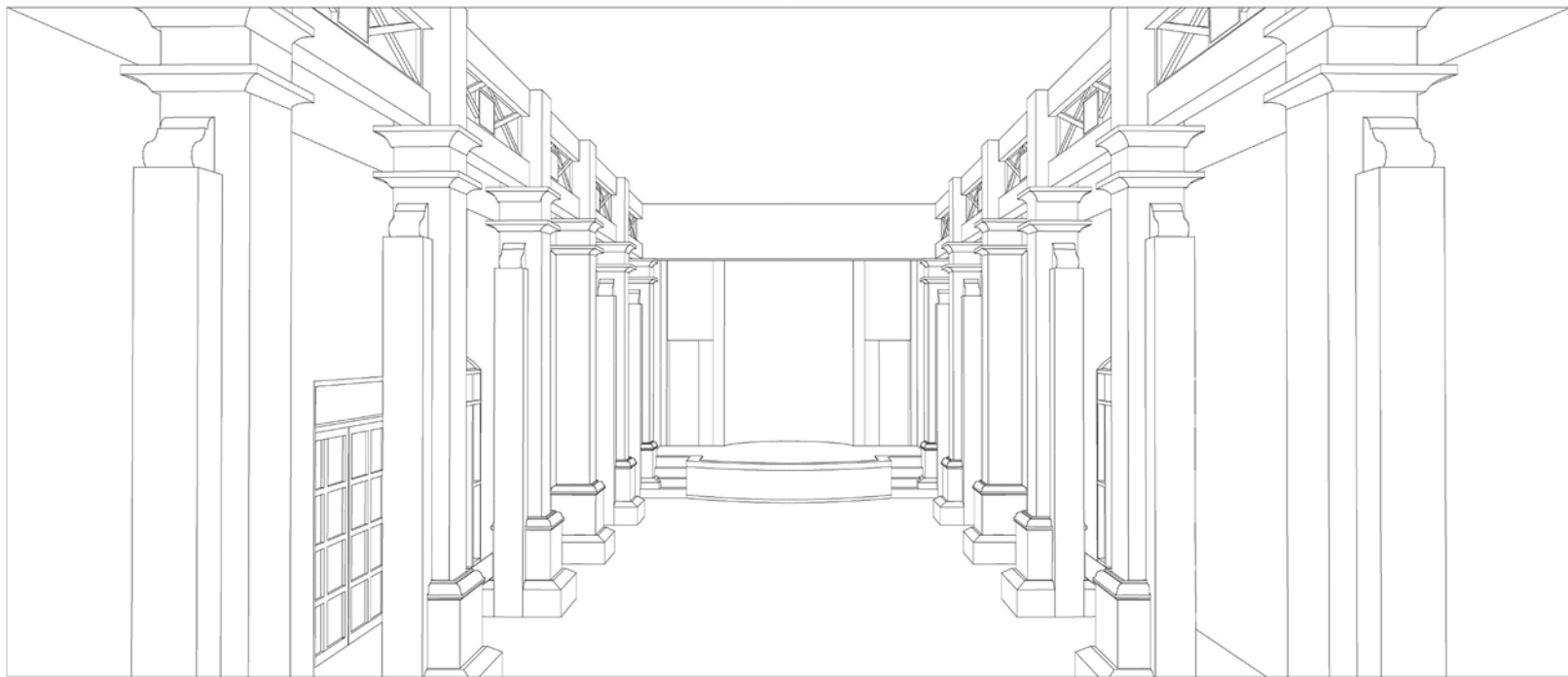
Within the infographic solutions resulting from three-dimensional modeling, two visual perspectives taken from the interior of the building are presented, directed towards the southern end of the building. These show the architectural aspects that prevailed in two totally different eras (1930 & 2019) and, face the two spatial realities through which construction passed through time.

The image above is a reconstruction of the interior look of the old public market. It shows the original design comprised of its most featured elements. Visible components are the wooden structure used in the roof, fiber cement tiles, columns with baskets and chapiters, hives for sale and their separating limits such as the lateral steel grills and front fences made with wooden boards. In the background, access is found through the south façade and on it, there are the fretwork in concrete and sand block replacing original lattices. The image below represents the enclosure interiority in its functions as Cultural Center. If the changes are analyzed, it can be inferred that the building maintained its essence in relation to its structure and decorative orna-



Fig. 8: 3D modeling of the cultural center that follows the process of graphic restitution of the information collected. Own elaboration.

Fig. 9: Comparative perspectives between the interior of the old building (1923) and the current one (2019). Own elaboration.



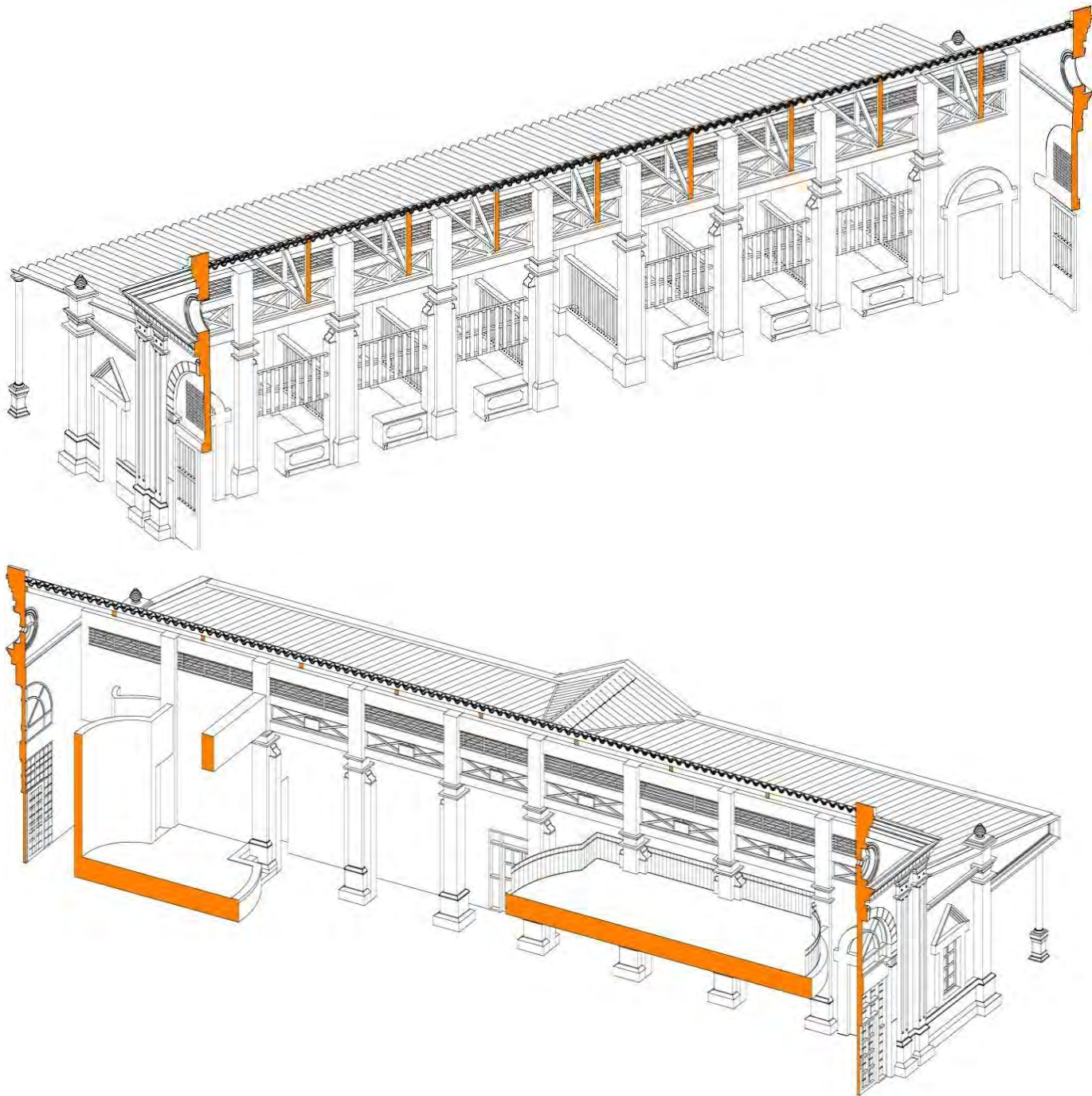


Fig. 10-11: Isometric opening confronting the interior of the old building (1923) and the current one (2019). Own elaboration.

ments, nonetheless, they are evidenced. For instance, in the baskets' design of the main columns and in the upper wooden frames that at first were of greater magnitude in the wood thickness but that today are lighter. In the background, the central scenario created for the cultural presentations is highlighted and in the same way the lateral accesses that connect with the secondary compartments are observed.

Following the graphic comparisons, an isometric section was drawn in a longitudinal direction that confronted past and present attributes, revealing the interior and partially exterior changes through which the building crossed (Fig. 10). The orange color represents the divided part and accentuates it with respect to the other linked elements in the composition. This figure was also considered as a graphical tool of great productivity to relate changes and conclude analytically the cessations that may be immersed in the aesthetics, design or spatial distribution of the building.

5 | Conclusion

Each place has its moments in history, contributing to the forming of a whole and enabling the generation of a concept regarding meaning of something. In this specific case, the municipality of Cerete is loaded with historical moments, which despite not being highlighted as in other cases; are a great contribution to the idiosyncrasy of the Colombian Caribbean region, its traditions and roots.

The evolution of the environment in which we live becomes remarkable and evident, therefore, it is necessary to try to understand the relevance of our spaces, their origins and modalities that they have had over time. The result of this article is evidence that with the analysis of the existing iconography, a clear picture can result of the conformation of society and progress of architecture in our world.

Representation, and particularly, architectural survey, are decisive if, associated with forms of iconographic analysis, they develop knowledge regarding existing realities and recovery of lost data. Considering lack of documentation in Colombia, the research architect recomposes the architectural facts that passage of time has been changing, through revelation of physically present truths and reconstruction of those missing ones. There is no doubt that the architecture analysis through reading of the same constructions gives us the opportunity to reveal transformations from the past.

The presentation of the tiny fragment of the Colombian Architectural Heritage embodied in the graphic conclusions of this article, give meaning to the sense of belonging that must always exist in relation to our ancestors, the endearing respect for them and the value that lives implicitly in its essence. Thanks to the genesis study of our buildings, the connotation on the regional heritage is increased and it contributes to the clarification of the personal perceptions that people have on the urban landscape in which they live.

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¿Qué hacer con la memoria?

Traslado de monumentos y urbanismo de nueva planta

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Abstract

Durante los años de la dictadura franquista, las condiciones económicas experimentaron una fuerte crisis, por la guerra civil y el aislacionismo internacional. Para solucionar el problema se impuso el plan de creación de embalses, que permitía obtener energía eléctrica. Gracias a ella se realizan un alto número de presas en los ríos, obras que afectan, tal y como sucede en Portomarín, al patrimonio cultural, a los procesos de restauración de monumentos y a la creación de nuevos espacios urbanos.

What to do with memory? Architectural heritage translation and new urban planning

During the years of the Francoist dictatorship, economic conditions experienced a strong crisis, due to civil war and international isolationism. The reservoir creation plan was imposed, which allowed to obtain electricity. Thanks to it, a high number of dams are made in the rivers, works that affect, as in Portomarín, cultural heritage, monument restoration and the creation of new urban spaces.

Keywords: España franquista, Presa, Portomarín, traslado de monumentos.

Francoist Spain, Dam, Portomarín, architectural heritage translation.

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1 | Introducción

El siglo XX en España, al igual que ocurre con el resto de Europa, puede ser calificado como convulso; a la situación continental marcada por las dos grandes guerras mundiales y la fuerte complejidad económica habría que añadir, en el caso español, la coyuntura generada por la Guerra Civil (1936-39), conflicto que se prolongó más allá de lo que en principio estaba previsto, incluso por sus propios protagonistas.

A lo largo de los tres años que dura la contienda la situación del país prácticamente se paralizó en lo que se refiere a cualquier intervención que no tuviese relación con el conflicto, en las que todos los recursos se destinaron a atender las necesidades urgentes derivadas de la situación bélica y a tratar de vencer, al precio que fuese, al enemigo.

Una vez terminada la guerra, y a consecuencia de la victoria del llamado Bando Nacional, accede al poder el general Francisco Franco, quien instaura una dictadura que se prolongará durante aproximadamente cuarenta años. Desde los primeros momentos este Régimen estableció como prioridad, por lo que respecta a las intervenciones estatales, actuaciones monumentalistas, en las que se prestaba poca atención a los aspectos naturales y culturales, al tiempo que, al desarrollo de una política de fuerte proteccionismo sobre todos los aspectos económicos, que trataba de contrarrestar, o mejor paliar, el aislacionismo extremo emprendido por el gobierno tras la Guerra Civil [García Delgado 2000, 179].

Este Régimen, que fomentaba la autarquía económica, instaura poco después de terminada la contienda fratricida una política relacionada con la creación y recuperación de las obras públicas, muy maltrechas a consecuencia del enfrentamiento bélico, que se materializa en el llamado Plan

Peña. Documento del que será responsable el Ministro de Obras Públicas Alfonso Peña Boeuf, técnico que ocupará el ministerio en el primer gobierno de Franco, establecido un año antes de terminar el conflicto, y que se mantendrá al frente del mismo hasta 1945 [Eq. Mundo 1960, 48-49]. Será este ministro, quien ponga en marcha el Plan General de Obras Públicas que, aunque redactado en los meses de la guerra, fue aprobado respectivamente en los años 1939 y 1941. Este responde, en palabras de su promotor, «a la voluntad del Caudillo» y en el documento se destaca, entre otras intervenciones, el complicado proceso de creación de obras hidráulicas, ya que «el problema de España se presenta en términos muy agudos. Nosotros tenemos un régimen hidrográfico muy variable por dos causas, en primer lugar, que las precipitaciones anuales varían mucho de un ciclo a otro y además porque la pendiente de los ríos es tan amplia que se forman verdaderas torrenteras» [Medel 2006, 23], lo que lleva a potenciar la regulación de los cauces fluviales, dando lugar a la política de creación de pantanos.

Política que retomaba los planteamientos ya existentes en España desde los años finales del siglo XIX, y que ahora, gracias este Plan, que perseguía la recuperación nacional en materia económica, vigente hasta el año 1965 [Eq. Mundo 1960, 253], cobraba un importante impulso, tal y como prueba el alto número de pantanos construidos, un total de 322. Obras que se edificaron de forma prioritaria en las cuencas de los ríos: Duero, Júcar y Guadalquivir; con las que se perseguía aumentar la calidad de vida de la población, mejorar la penuria energética y potenciar el desarrollo industrial.

La importancia y el alto número de construcciones fue tal, que éstas se convirtieron en símbolo del régimen de Franco. Así, las imágenes difundidas en los medios oficiales de propaganda gubernamentales mostraban la creación de estas obras. Actividades con las que Franco asimilaba su imagen política, al presidir todos los actos de inauguración de presas y pantanos, a la «del Caudillo y del nuevo populismo» [Rodríguez Mateos 2008, 62]. Estas imágenes se estereotiparon tanto y alcanzaron tal difusión en los medios, que provocaron que Franco recibiese el «apodo popular de Paco el Rana» [Camprubi 2017, 111].

Esta política de creación de pantanos afectó, aunque de forma desigual, a todo el territorio nacional, lo que también tuvo su impacto en Galicia. Para el caso gallego, a pesar de la fuerte vocación de la zona y de su riqueza en recursos hídricos, estas actividades comenzaron a principios de siglo de la mano de pequeñas empresas locales [Carmona Badía 2016]. No obstante, habrá que esperar a la aparición de una empresa que aglutine la producción regional e introduzca a Galicia en el mercado de las grandes productoras nacionales de energía. Así el impulso de estas construcciones estuvo vinculado a la iniciativa privada, en concreto a Pedro Barrié de la Maza y a su empresa, Fuerzas Eléctricas del Noroeste -FENOSA-, actores sin los que no se entendería el desarrollo de estas infraestructuras en suelo gallego.

2 | El impulso en suelo gallego

La política hidráulica española fomentaba la construcción de pantanos y represas desde finales del siglo XIX, política que también afectó, en pequeña escala, a Galicia, con las obras y actividades emprendidas por diversas empresas. Esta presencia de industrias no alcanza especial protagonismo hasta el final de la Guerra Civil, en concreto hasta la década de los cuarenta, cuando se empiecen a promover obras que se convertirán en «orgullo del Régimen».

Será, por tanto, en esta década cuando Galicia, comience a plantearse el aprovechamiento integral de los ríos, de igual manera que será también cuando se desarrollen las grandes infraestructuras hidráulicas que, aun hoy, siguen despertando admiración por la monumentalidad de sus

creaciones y su alarde técnico. En esta actividad juega un papel fundamental, Pedro Barrié de la Maza, quien funda, tras años participando en el sector de la energía, FENOSA, el 23 de agosto de 1943, industria que alcanzará un importante protagonismo. Gracias a esta empresa la atención se desvía a los grandes cauces que, por problemas técnicos, hasta el momento no habían sido objeto de aprovechamiento hidroeléctrico; en concreto se atiende, al Miño, en el que se re-toma una antigua concesión de aguas otorgada en 1910, a Pedro García Faria y Ramón N Soler, «en las inmediaciones del sitio denominado Estrecho de Seijón o Pozo-Hondo, Ayuntamiento de Puerto-Marín, (...) que serán devuelto al río Miño en el sitio denominado Peón dos Peares» [Gaceta 1910, 628].

Esta antigua concesión de 20.000 litros continuos por segundo, que permitiría la derivación de las aguas del Miño, supone una declaración de intenciones que, como se indicó, no prosperó. A pesar de estas dificultades y de la falta de concreción, si es cierto que esta autorización supuso uno de los primeros intentos de explotación de esta cuenca para la generación de energía eléctrica. Esta concesión, adquirida por Energías Hidráulicas de Galicia en la década de los años treinta, había sido objeto en 1933 de otro intento de explotación, intentona que tampoco se materializó, en parte debido a la guerra. Superado el conflicto bélico, en concreto en 1944, se origina una nueva transacción a favor de Pedro Barrié de la Maza. Este empresario coruñés realiza un nuevo proyecto para el aprovechamiento de las aguas en el que simplificaba, de tres a dos, el número de represas previstas. Proyecto de reforma aprobado por Orden ministerial el 10 de diciembre de 1948, y en el que se establecen cuatro ejecuciones parciales, a materializar en cuatro plazos, que abarcarán un total de dieciséis años para el conjunto de las obras.

Con esta aprobación estaba prevista la construcción de dos grandes saltos: el de Os Peares, cuyas obras fueron declaradas de urgente ejecución [BOE 1948, 4419] y el de Belesar, embalses de regulación que, a diferencia de los proyectos anteriores, poseerían unas dimensiones semejantes [Eire 2013, 93] y que, hasta la fecha, no tendrían precedente en cuanto a tamaño en Galicia. La construcción de estas dos represas supondría una importante afectación de terreno, no obstante, en un primer momento solamente una infraestructura estaría afectada por el proceso de inundación, el puente sobre el río Miño de la carretera de Rubian a Pazos del Rey que, siguiendo el procedimiento habitual, sería sustituido por otro, obra cuyos gastos correrían a cargo de la empresa concesionaria [BOE 1948, 4419].

La primera de las represas construidas desde el punto de vista cronológico es la de Os Peares. Este embalse se situaba en un tramo que aprovechaba las características geológicas del Miño, justo antes de que este río recibiese las aguas de su afluente, el Sil. Su nombre procede del pueblo de Os Peares, que se distribuye administrativamente entre las provincias de Lugo y Ourense [Fernández Castiñeiras 2012, 335], aunque el embalse ocupa únicamente territorio lucense [Torres Luna; Pazo Labrador; Santos Solla 1988, 91].

Las obras comienzan en 1947 y se terminan ocho años después, en 1955, año en el que se inauguran las instalaciones con un acto al que asiste el Jefe del Estado [Nodo 1955, 662B]. Con su puesta en funcionamiento se produjo, por primera vez en la historia, la entrada de Fenosa en el grupo de grandes empresas españolas productoras de energía, ya que hasta el momento las empresas productoras de hidroelectricidad en Galicia no alcanzaban importancia, salvo contadas excepciones [Carmona Badia 2016, 193].

Esta, en cuanto a características formales, responde al modelo de presa de gravedad con perfil triangular, abarcando la represa unas dimensiones de unos veinte kilómetros, lo que suponía la anegación de un importante volumen de terreno y la afectación de muchos bienes.

Fig. 1: Salto de los Peares (fotografía de Begoña Fernández Rodríguez).

Fig. 2: Monolito conmemorativo de la inauguración del complejo hidroeléctrico de Belesar (fotografía de Begoña Fernández Rodríguez).

Fig. 3: Restos del puente de Portomarín (fotografía de Begoña Fernández Rodríguez).

Fig. 4: Portomarín. Plaza mayor con la iglesia de San Juan (fotografía de Begoña Fernández Rodríguez).





Dos años después de dicha inauguración se iniciaban los preparativos para la construcción de la segunda, la de Belesar, que adquirirá, tras la reforma del proyecto inicial, unas dimensiones monumentales, no solo en cuanto a las proporciones sino también en la potencia que desarrolla [Yordi, 1964, 291-311]. Ella, la más potente de las que se instalan en Galicia, responde al sistema de cúpula o de cáscara de huevo [Río Vázquez 2013, 161], lo que permite aumentar su tamaño, las proporciones de su embalse y su capacidad para generar hidroelectricidad. En su construcción participan el arquitecto Juan Castañón Mena [Alonso Pereira; Río Vázquez 2014, 11-21], encargado del diseño del edificio de control de la central, y el ingeniero Luciano Yordi de Carriarte, siendo éste último, el autor de la modificación del proyecto y responsable de la instalación del salto [Eire 2013, 30]. Fueron estos dos hombres quienes crearon y moldearon el paisaje gallego de la zona con esta infraestructura en la que se integraban aspectos de la arquitectura moderna, marcada por una rotunda expresividad y plasticidad de las formas [Alonso Pereira; Río Vázquez 2014, 18].

Pero si las dimensiones del salto son extraordinarias, de más de trescientos metros de altura, también lo son las de su represamiento, de algo más de 50 kilómetros, inundando un total de 25 lugares, además de Portomarín, población que se salvaba de la inundación antes de la modificación del proyecto, pero que ahora se perdía definitivamente bajo las aguas de la represa que se abría en el corazón de la provincia lucense.

Al igual que había sucedido, en el primero de los casos, la inauguración de Belesar, fue presidida por el Jefe del Estado, quien estuvo acompañado por el presidente de Fenosa y por autoridades políticas y sociales. Acto, en el que se inaugura un monolito conmemorativo y se en el que se evidencia el carácter único de la obra [El jefe 1963, 6].

Con estas infraestructuras se veía afectada, una extensión amplia de terreno, en la que se encontraba un importante número de núcleos de población. De todos ellos, el más significativo fue el de Portomarín (Lugo, España), espacio acreedor desde 1946, de la condición tutelar de conjunto histórico-artístico [Decreto, 1946, 46]. Características a las que habría que sumar que esta población era, desde la Edad Media, un enclave destacado del Camino de Santiago.

3 | El traslado de una población y sus consecuencias

Antes de la creación de estos saltos, Portomarín era un pequeño pueblo, situado en el corazón de la provincia lucense, que contaba con unos setecientos cincuenta vecinos. Su importancia radicaba tanto en su forma derivada de su inclusión en el itinerario jacobeo, que marca su estructura urbana [Paz López 1999, 93], como en los bienes culturales que atesoraba.

Es esta condición de paso obligado en el camino de peregrinación lo que provocó, junto con el carácter patrimonial del propio conjunto, las actuaciones llevadas a cabo, que tal y como definía el arquitecto encargado de materializarlas supusieron el «traslado de distintos elementos pertenecientes al conjunto y su ambientación en un nuevo conjunto urbano» [Pons Sorolla 1961, 18]. Actuaciones que solo se comprenden en el momento en el que se producen y dentro de la creación de una infraestructura primada por el gobierno como de interés nacional. Este período está marcado por el renovado protagonismo, que adquiere el Apóstol Santiago y el Itinerario jacobeo, al convertirse en un instrumento de nacionalización y construcción del Nuevo Estado [Castro Fernández 2010 a, 82].

Con la revalorización de la ruta, se produce su patrimonialización, proceso en el que constituye un hito su reconocimiento en 1962 como conjunto histórico artístico [BOE 1962, 12729-12730], lo que lleva al establecimiento de una tutela que afectaría «a lugares, edificios y parajes» [Meilán Gil

1994, 14]. A pesar de su esplendor a lo largo del período medieval, en el momento en el que se realiza Belesar, esta población se encontraba ya muy alejada de la bonanza, tal y como se recoge en el testimonio de Walter Satrkie, peregrino que, en 1954, la describe como: «una aldeíta olvidada, tan distante del mundo moderno que la vida no parece haber cambiado allí durante los últimos quinientos años» [Portomarín 1963, 19]. Situación que sin duda contribuyó al obligado abandono de la población y a la creación de un nuevo espacio urbano, con características diferentes, al que serían trasladados sus principales referentes patrimoniales.

Pero si el camino era importante, desde el punto de vista de la configuración urbana también lo era el río Miño. Este divide, desde el punto de vista formal, a la población en dos espacios: el barrio de san Juan y el de san Pedro, ámbitos que se comunicaban por un puente que salvaba el curso fluvial y que constituía, prácticamente desde sus inicios, su razón de ser, paso que se mantiene hasta el siglo XIX, momento en que una riada, deja incomunicados los dos barrios e interrumpe el tránsito del Camino Jacobeo [Villarabid 1985, 28-29], y cuyas ruinas todavía están presentes en la actualidad.

Estos dos barrios, de diferentes dimensiones, presentaban una misma organización, determinada por la existencia de largas calles que se cortan con otras perpendiculares de menor longitud [Paz López 1999, 95], vías en las que se dispone la edificación residencial constituida de forma mayoritaria por «humilde caserío, forjador del carácter» de sus habitantes [Pons Sorolla 1961, 18].

Junto a estas construcciones de perfil tradicional se conservan otras que destacan por sus valores, construcciones que van a ser objeto de diversa atención, ya que, aunque todos fueron trasladados. No todos sufrieron un traslado íntegro, quedando reservado este para los casos en los que las diferentes formas arquitectónicas se hallaban vinculadas a los valores ideológicos del nuevo régimen implantado, ello es, aplicando en palabras del propio arquitecto, lo definido como «jerarquía histórica-artística del monumento». Así, de todos ellos, solo se efectuaron estas pautas en el templo de San Juan, declarada monumento en 1931, y en la Capilla de Santiago, en fecha posterior.

Para desarrollar este planteamiento, y como parte del proyecto de la construcción hidroeléctrica, fue necesario seleccionar los terrenos en los que instalar el nuevo asentamiento. Para ello se eligió un espacio cercano, a escasos kilómetros del núcleo obligado a desaparecer, el llamado Monte do Cristo. Lugar que fue seleccionado por las condiciones del terreno, las características físicas y la facilidad de las comunicaciones con otros núcleos urbanos de la provincia. En este espacio se planifica un asentamiento que se aleja, desde el punto de vista urbano de las premisas que determinaban el antiguo; proyecto, que será elaborado, por Francisco Pons Sorolla, y en el que también participará Manuel Moreno la Casa, encargado por Fenosa de la dirección de obra [Ocaña Eiroa 2007-2008, 23].

La configuración de este nuevo núcleo urbano presentó una amplia difusión en la prensa de la época, en la que se reseñaba como principal novedad la unidad que ahora presidía el espacio [Castro Fernández 2004, 1057]. Este, presentaba un carácter centripeto, en el que todo se organiza en torno a la plaza mayor, que adopta el papel de centro cívico-religioso; lugar en el que se disponen las construcciones más significativas, y que se convierte, en una amplia superficie que vertebraba el asentamiento, no solo físicamente sino también política y socialmente.

Con esta nueva configuración, Portomarín se hace eco de los principios emanados por el Estado franquista, en materia de poblaciones rurales, siguiendo los principios desarrollados en el Instituto Nacional de Colonización, entre los que destaca, junto a su tamaño reducido o a la aparición de un viario jerarquizado, la existencia de un centro cívico, a veces ubicado en el centro

geométrico, tal y como ahora se hace en este municipio, conformado por una plaza pública porticada entorno a la cual se centran los principales equipamientos de la población [Martínez Medina; Oliva Meyes 2008, 288]; espacio en el que se denota la influencia de los principios regionalistas y lenguaje que se yuxtapone con la tipología de las plazas mayores castellanas, idealizada en el vocabulario propio de los principios de la arquitectura gallega.

A este espacio central desembocan calles que se trazan acordes a la topografía del terreno, lo que hace que el principio de regularidad venga determinado por la regularización visual de las formas, uniformidad que se consigue con la reiteración de elementos tradicionales, como son los soportales o los propios materiales. Con su presencia, a lo largo de las vías principales, se dota al conjunto de unidad visual y formal, al tiempo que, de los juegos volumétricos necesarios, aspecto extremadamente cuidado en este diseño, y que se conjuga con la uniformidad también presente en los acabados de las fachadas.

Pero junto con estos recursos tradicionales, y el traslado parcial de determinados elementos, será la iglesia de San Juan la que centre todo el protagonismo. Este templo, considerado el elemento más singular del antiguo asentamiento, sigue manteniendo en su nueva ubicación, esta misma condición al disponerlo Pons, aislado y potenciar, por medio de la depuración en estilo que realiza y partiendo de los elementos conservados [Pons Sorolla 1961, 22], su carácter fortificado, condición que ya era destacada en 1911 [Valsa de la Vega 1911, 66], como una de sus principales características.

No solo por haber sido sometido a un proceso de movilidad, sino también por sus características formales y las escasas referencias que de él se conservan, es un templo anómalo en los del románico rural gallego. Actualmente se caracteriza por ser de nave única, dotada de una gran amplitud y altura, que se abre a una cabecera también única de planta semicircular, precedida de un tramo recto que funciona como presbiterio. Desde la cabecera en la zona norte, se da paso a una dependencia de planta rectangular que funciona como sacristía, espacio que también establece la comunicación con la Casa Rectoral, que se dispone próxima al templo en este mismo lado N.

Por lo que respecta al sistema de cubrición, emplea dos tipos de soluciones diferentes, así en el espacio de la cabecera recurre a fórmulas propias del románico con soluciones vinculadas a las bóvedas de cuarto de esfera o de cañón, mientras que en la nave se presentan soluciones más avanzadas cronológicamente en las que dispone bóveda de crucería, para el primer tramo de la nave, y a otras de cañón apuntado sobre arcos fajones y de refuerzo, con arranques escalonados, para el resto de los tramos, elementos que resultan ajenos a la factura románica y llevan a pensar en una reforma del conjunto en el siglo XIII [Yzquierdo Perrín 1983, 130].

Pero no hay duda de que las mayores modificaciones de este templo son las producidas por las obras realizadas en la segunda mitad del siglo XX, que aunque no era la primera restauración del conjunto en este siglo [Castro Fernández 2010, 299], si fue la que más alteró no solo la percepción del edificio sino también su organización.

Uno de los primeros elementos que sufrió, a consecuencia de las obras de restauración, un proceso de depuración formal fue el de la antigua sacristía calificada por el arquitecto de «desgraciada» [Pons Sorolla 1961, 22]. Este espacio mandado construir en 1619, por el Comendador de la Orden de Jerusalén Pedro Gómez de Mendoza [Paz López 1999, 175], presentaba, al igual que el ábside con el que se comunicaba, planta semicircular y una menor altura que la propia cabecera. Se trataba, por lo tanto, de «un añadido posterior a la construcción del edificio y por ello, considerado sin valor» [López Collado 1976, 422].

Con su desaparición, procedimiento para el que Pons, de forma previa y con el fin de generar las referencias documentales, realizó un amplio reportaje fotográfico, se consiguió material que fue empleado en el propio templo para la reposición de elementos desaparecidos o que no se hallaban en buenas condiciones, siguiendo el principio de reintegrar en las partes visibles elementos similares a los empleados en la fábrica [García-Gutiérrez Mosteiro; Pons Sorolla 2016, 43-44] o incluso reparar los daños producidos por su adosamiento [López Collado 1976, 423]. A pesar de su desaparición, en la fábrica actual, debido en parte al cambio cromático de los sillares, todavía es visible el espacio que ocupaba esta dependencia de la que también se conservan numerosas imágenes.

Asimismo en la cabecera del templo se producen también otras transformaciones vinculadas con el proceso de restauración, como son, la sobreelevación actual del ábside, con respecto a la nave del templo [Ocaña Eiroa 2007-2008, 45] o la desaparición del retablo principal, de factura barroca [Paz López 1999, 182], para el que estaba previsto un traslado a otro templo de la diócesis pero, por la fuerte oposición vecinal, permaneció en la población, estando en la actualidad almacenado [Ocaña Eiroa 1987, 122], no en buenas condiciones, en dependencias municipales. Pero si en el espacio de la cabecera se produjeron transformaciones que parten de un principio de depuración formal, también se dio la misma situación en el de la nave, en la que se suprimieron los diferentes altares [Paz López 1999, 184] y el coro alto, obra al igual que la sacristía relacionada con el siglo XVII, que ahora se elimina del último de los tramos, y se realizó un desescalado de los paramentos, para potenciar el efecto de medievalización ambiental del conjunto [Castro Fernández 2013, 273].

Junto con estas intervenciones, siguiendo la pauta tipificada para el traslado de monumentos, uno de los puntos más delicados y que normalmente se realiza con anterioridad a las labores de desmonte [López Collado 1976, 417], son las tareas de desescalado, en las que apareció, bajo uno de los baldaquinos, «un paño de 4 m² de pinturas góticas de notable firma», [Pons Sorolla 1961, 24], en el que se representa la Anunciación, de gran calidad y relacionado con las premisas del gótico internacional [Sicart Giménez 1974-1975, 348-351]. Esta, que hoy se encuentra remontada sobre un lienzo, se dispone en el mismo lugar en el que se encontró.

Por tanto, se trata de un conjunto que en su interior presenta una parquedad decorativa que facilita la ambientación medieval impuesta en este proceso. Una parquedad que contrasta con su exterior, en el que destacan tanto la riqueza escultórica de sus portadas como la condición castrense que el edificio mantiene y potencia en el proceso restaurador, elemento simbólico fundamental en una población que carecía de elementos identitarios.

El primero de los cambios suscitado, en el exterior, se produce al adaptar el templo al perfil del nuevo terreno, lo que provocó que algunas partes, entre las que se encontraba la cabecera, el hastial norte o la propia fachada principal, que antes quedaban enterradas por el desnivel del camino, aflorasen a la vista. De igual modo que se abriese la puerta norte del conjunto, que tradicionalmente, ante la dificultad del acceso se encontraba tapiada. Para efectuar estos cambios fue preciso que el arquitecto efectuase un replanteo de los cimientos, al tiempo que la reposición de los elementos que se encontraban dañados. Labores que determinaron un cambio que vino determinado por la colocación de escaleras en el acceso principal, solución que remarca el principio de axialidad en el conjunto, del que antes carecía.

Asimismo se prestó especial atención a las portadas, de gran riqueza escultórica y se relacionaban con la actividad del taller compostelano derivado del Maestro Mateo, por lo que fue necesario protegerlas para evitar la disgregación de la piedra, para lo que se aplicó el mismo procedi-





Fig. 5: Calle con soportales. Portomarín (fotografía de Begoña Fernández Rodríguez).

Fig. 6: Iglesia de San Juan de Portomarín. Vista general (fotografía de Begoña Fernández Rodríguez).

Fig. 7: Interior del templo de San Juan (fotografía de Begoña Fernández Rodríguez).

Fig. 8: Daños en la cabecera de Portomarín. Fuente: López Collado, G., Ruinas en construcciones antiguas. Causas, consolidaciones y traslados. Madrid, Ministerio de la Vivienda, Servicio central de publicaciones, 1976, p. 423.

miento que el empleado en la fachada de Platerías compostelana, a base de cera virgen caliente [Pons Sorolla 1961, 25], al tiempo que se aplicó encima una capa de escayola que permitiese su manipulación y montaje sin causar daños [López Collado 1976, 443-444; Yzquierdo Perrín; Manso Porto 1993, 182].

Pero, sin duda la modificación más evidente de este proceso fue la que afectó a la cubierta. Esta había sido objeto de otra restauración en 1942, realizada por Menéndez Pidal, en la que se había anulado prácticamente su paseo de ronda [Castro Fernández 2010, 299]. Paseo de ronda que Pons recupera, al tiempo que iguala en altura las diferentes torres angulares, por medio de la utilización de materiales que permiten el entonado de los paramentos, recomponiendo el sistema almenado de todo el perímetro, siguiendo un principio basado en la idea de repristino y reconstrucción del espacio fortificado [Gutierrez-Mosteiro; Pons Sorolla 2016, 47].

Se trata por lo tanto de una intervención, que fue junto con la efectuada en San Pedro de la Nave, por Alejandro Ferrant, casi treinta años antes, uno de los pocos ejemplos de traslado integro de los edificios que se llevaron a cabo en España, y que todos partían del mismo principio común, que se basaba en el rechazo de actuaciones de estas características con la única excepción de que se deban a obras provocadas por la construcción de embalses «que inundan lugares en los que pueden encontrarse pueblos con edificaciones de interés artístico o histórico, y hasta monumental que no deben perderse» [López Collados 1976, 14].

Junto con este traslado, también se efectuó el de la iglesia de San Pedro. No obstante, a diferencia del anterior, este tuvo un carácter parcial, ya que solo se trasladaron el hastial occidental y el sepulcro de la familia Pimentel, únicos elementos considerados de interés, entre los que el propio arquitecto señala la «hermosa portada románica y la espadaña del siglo XVII» [Pons Sorolla 1961, 21]. Esta iglesia, se relacionaba cronológicamente, por la inscripción que figura en el tímpano, con una obra del siglo XII, presenta como uno de los elementos más destacados un tímpano polilobulado, que servirá de modelo para otros que se desarrollan en la zona [Yzquierdo Perrín 1983, 292]. Elementos que se incorporaron a una nueva construcción, que reproducía tipológicamente la abandonada bajo las aguas del embalse. Así este responde a una tipología de nave única con cabecera rectangular de menor altura y sacristía ubicada en el lado de la Epístola. Todo ello realizado en mampostería de pizarra con sillares en los ángulos y su interior recubierto con enfoscado blanco que solo se interrumpe por la sillería del arco de acceso al presbiterio. Interior en el que se dispone el Sepulcro de la familia Pimentel, ubicado en el interior del conjunto, en concreto en el presbiterio, y en el que se cobijan los restos de José Pimentel y Berbetoros, quien falleció en el antiguo barrio de San Pedro en 1886 [Vazquez Seijas, 1962].

4 | Conclusiones

La política de aprovechamiento integral de los ríos para la obtención de electricidad fue la más importante actuación en materia económica desarrollada por Franco en los años en los que fue Jefe del Estado y dictador. El alto número de pantanos construidos en todas las cuencas de nuestro país supuso una importante afectación del espacio y de los bienes que en ellos se encontraban. Esta política también, aunque en menor medida que en otras zonas de España, se reprodujo en Galicia a partir de los años cuarenta.

Con ella, y debido a la construcción de estas obras, muchos de nuestros bienes patrimoniales se vieron afectados y muchos desaparecieron bajo las aguas de las represas. Sin embargo, un escaso conjunto de ellos fue trasladado y restaurado, acorde a los criterios del momento, en

los que se imponía tanto una depuración formal de aquellos elementos considerados inservibles, como una jerarquización de estilos artísticos, alterando con ello, los valores del bien, de igual manera en que se alteraban los del espacio en el que se hallaban. Todas estas pautas de actuación se dan en Portomarín, una pequeña población lucense que fue trasladada a una nueva estructura urbana en la que se implantaron una serie de elementos del antiguo núcleo; referentes identitarios que aun hoy, a pesar de las múltiples transformaciones, continúan evocando, los valores de una población, que hoy duerme, como bien recuerdan sus vecinos, bajo las aguas del embalse de Belesar.



Fig. 9: Imagen de la iglesia de San Juan en el antiguo emplazamiento. Fuente: López Collado, G., Ruinas en construcciones antiguas. Causas, consolidaciones y traslados. Madrid, Ministerio de la Vivienda, Servicio central de publicaciones, 1976, p. 436.



Fig. 10: Iglesia de San Pedro de Portomarín (fotografía de Begoña Fernández Rodríguez).

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Lisbon Story, from the Pombaline Architect to Siza

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Abstract

The role of the façade in Lisbon was so important that in the reconstruction made after the 1755 earthquake the Baixa area was defined with hundreds of designs for street fronts, gathered together in the Pombaline cartulary. Two and half centuries later, after the 1988 fire, the same principle dominated the reconstruction of Chiado by Siza, a project that was accused of being post-modern façadism in the Pombaline style, a hasty and ill-informed conclusion, as this essay seeks to show.

Storia di Lisbona, dall'architetto Pombalino a Siza

Il ruolo della facciata nella progettazione di Lisbona è stato così importante nella ricostruzione dopo il terremoto del 1755, l'area Baixa fu definita con centinaia di progetti per i fronti delle strade riuniti nel Cartulario Pombalino. Due secoli e mezzo dopo, lo stesso principio dominava la ricostruzione del Chiado dopo l'incendio del 1988 fatta da Siza, un progetto accusato di essere façadismo postmoderno in stile pombalino, un conclusione affrettata e male informata, come questo saggio cerca di mostrare.

Keywords: Chiado, Alvaro Siza, façadism, style.

Chiado, Alvaro Siza, facciatismo, stile.

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1 | Introduction

The theme of the façade and its ornament leads to a confusion of so-called *historical styles*, the central problem in the research for my doctoral thesis about Siza's intervention in Lisbon's Chiado district [Couceiro 2018]. The role of the façade in the design of the city was so important that, once the reconstruction strategy had been established after the 1755 earthquake, the city's Baixa district was essentially defined with hundreds of drawings of street fronts now gathered together in the important Pombaline cartulary (*Cartulário Pombalino*).¹ Two and a half centuries later, and after the 1988 fire, the same principle dominated Siza's reconstruction of Chiado.

Siza recovered, and gave continuity to, this old theme based on the legacy of its pre-existing features, with the apparent imitation of the *Pombaline style* -as defined by José-Augusto França [França 1977, 163-204]- being confused with the idea of *façadism* in the pejorative sense of the word -just as we have grown used to being the case with any *-ism*- [França 1981, 63-68].

However, what is of interest here are the lessons of the masters (both ancient and modern) about a device whose potential has, in my opinion, either been forgotten in architecture and construction, or else remembered for the worst reasons.

The radical transformation of the interior of the buildings or blocks to be found in historical centres, while maintaining their façade intact (naked, frail, temporarily shored up by complex structures, during the course of the construction work) may give rise to questionable results, something that has happened quite frequently in our cities.

¹ «This is a series of 70 façades for the reconstruction of the city of Lisbon in accordance with the guidelines of the Marquis of Pombal's building programme, accompanied by an index made in a later period. (...) On almost all of the pieces, there appears the signature of Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo [who was later to become the Marquis of Pombal] or his noble titles. There are also occasional pieces that also bear the signatures and initials of many of those who worked on the designs of the Casa do Risco».

² José-Augusto França was the first academic researcher into *Pombaline Lisbon*, a phenomenon that, until then, had not been given its due importance in the history of Portuguese art, architecture, or even in the national culture itself. He presented the result of his research at *École Pratique des Hautes Etudes de Paris* in 1963, under the supervision of Professor Pierre Francastel. His study was published immediately after its public presentation and the first edition (in French) included a preface by his supervisor. The publication was also translated into Portuguese and Italian, in a collection coordinated by Manfredo Tafuri, and, due to its widespread dissemination, it has had several editions over time, with the most recent of these being revised and updated. This seminal work in the study of Lisbon's Baixa district and of the cultural phenomenon of Pombalism paved the way for further studies that have since been undertaken by other authors. The importance of this continued research has also had the practical effect of legitimising the art and heritage of the *Baixa Pombalina*, which was recognised in 1978 as an area of public interest; more recently, an application was submitted to UNESCO in July 2017, for its consideration as World Heritage.

2 | The problem of *façadism*

The term *façadism* has therefore acquired a negative connotation, but the History of Architecture (to which I have dedicated my attention in recent years) shows that it has not always been like this.

By way of example, the Doric frieze, created by the Greeks, already contained a certain idea of *façadism* (the triglyphs are a mere ornament, intended to be a representation of the beams of the temple roof sculpted into the façade itself, an abstraction arising from the petrification of the construction system [Smithson 1966, 557-563]. What we actually find in the design of the Doric frieze is a problem of *façadism* resolved through recourse to the ornament, another concept that has been wrongly maligned by our discipline.

However, in his essay *Ornament and Crime* -the title has frequently been mistranslated and interpreted as *Ornament is Crime*-, Adolf Loos [Loos 1993, 346-355] comes very close to what may appear to be the position defended in relation to the problem of the ornament by Alberti, an author who dedicated practically half of the chapters of his Treatise to this subject, which was also very evident in his design practice.

The Rucellai Palace may be summed up as the design of a façade and its respective ornament, but this work's contribution to the city is so great that it still offers many possibilities for further exploration, even today.

Resulting from the joining together of several houses in the fifteenth century, the new façade, designed by Alberti, unifies the whole (working in favour of the city), offers new urban connections and simultaneously corrects all of the pre-existing mistakes and misalignments (namely in the levels of the different floors).

The problem of the façade really only began to be posed during the Renaissance, reaching its greatest complexity in the baroque period. Today, however, it finds its vocation being neglected, not to say subverted, particularly in the case of rehabilitation projects. Have architects become caught up in the polarity between originality and archaeology and forgotten the lessons of the masters of modernity?

As an architectural feature with a certain autonomy, the façade allows for a formal discord between the exterior and the interior of buildings (floors and storeys), reconciles the scale of the city with the human scale, catalyses the design of the public space and the space of intimacy, stimulates harmony between the urban and domestic environments, and makes it possible to breathe natural air and condition the air inside the building.

The example of Siza's reconstruction of Lisbon's Chiado district, a project that has recurrently been accused of being *post-modern façadism* imitating the *Pombaline style* (in the plural acceptance of styles, which I do not subscribe to), seems to me, however, to be a hasty and ill-informed accusation. I shall attempt to defend such a thesis in this essay.

3 | It isn't easy to like the *Pombaline style*

This is a provocation similar to the one made by Paulo Varela Gomes at the start of a short book about the Baroque [Varela Gomes 1987, 5].

The provocation is a good one, and it may, in fact, be applied here, although for almost completely opposite reasons.

It isn't easy to like Pombaline architecture, and, although this heritage is considered today to be of public interest,² this has not always been the case. There is no shortage of examples throughout history that clearly illustrate this feeling of displeasure and disappointment

with the Pombaline image in reference works, in particular *Guia de Portugal*, published by the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation in 1988 (curiously the year of the fire in Chiado), where Raul Proença gives a general description of the city as «fustigated by countless earthquakes, the last of which, in 1755, reduced it to a state of almost complete ruin, destroying buildings that had stood for many centuries [Proença 1988, 178]». He further tells us:

«Lisbon does not stand out among European capitals because of its rich monuments or because of the noble architecture of its churches and palaces. Compared, from this point of view, not with grandiose metropolises, such as London or Paris, or even with some second-rate capitals, such as Brussels, for example, the impression of crude banality, coldness, or aesthetic ‘deafness’ is most disheartening. The earthquake was followed by Pombal’s efforts at reconstruction, in which the opening up of new streets obeyed an orderly geometrical arrangement and the creation of new edifices adhered to a uniform building plan. (...)»

New avenues were opened, the city was given greater respite and breathing space, but the buildings erected along these new arteries are irritating because of their vulgarity or their heavy and tasteless pretentiousness. And, if we didn’t have the Jerónimos monastery, that surprising model of Manueline architecture, the tower of Belém, with its marvellous stone lacework, Terreiro do Paço, undoubtedly one of the most magnificent squares in Europe, and the occasional noble and imposing, although imperfect, church doorway, such as the one of the Igreja de São Vicente, we would have nothing to present to travellers that could impress them so vividly through its architectural lines, the grandeur of its design or the richness of its material [Proença 1988, 178-179]».

Raul Proença’s reaction to Pombal’s Lisbon is one of great disappointment. The *Pombaline* style does not impress him, and, perhaps because of this, because of its plain, pragmatic and functional (I would say, rational) image, he feels disillusioned. In the architecture of the city’s reconstruction, ornament, namely in the form of sculptural decoration (what Raul Proença sees in the *lacework* of the Torre de Belém), had been reserved for exceptional buildings, with all the rest having been constructed according to a banal logic of repetition. The men chosen by Manuel da Maia for the difficult operation of rebuilding Lisbon all had military training, or, in other words, they were heirs to a building tradition that was closely linked to the *Aulas de Fortificação* (Fortification Classes).³ It is therefore not surprising to find that the construction of the new buildings was based on a principle of solid and highly resistant structures, all the more so since the city had just experienced an earthquake that had profoundly shaken its very foundations. This is perhaps the main explanation for the Pombaline blocks, in which the unit of the small building gives way to the unit of the block. In this way, by being conceived of as a whole, and with a layout whose scale allowed for a certain compactness, the block was more effective from the point of view of its construction and structure (taking the form of a kind of fort with a small courtyard in the centre), in which the various constructions were joined together and counterbalanced one another in an equilibrium of forces.

The block (with its various lots), ended up being thought of as just one single dense building, as echoed in the architectural expression of its façade facing the street: a large eleva-

³ Manuel da Maia, the kingdom’s chief engineer, was placed in charge of the *Casa do Risco*, the central office set up by the Marquis of Pombal, the Secretary of State for the affairs of the realm, with the aim of creating a team of specialists to draw up the Reconstruction Plan.

This headquarters for the reconstruction of Lisbon, which became known as the *Casa do Risco das Obras Públicas* (the House for the Design of Public Works), brought together a vast team of highly competent architects and engineers, «almost all of them with military training, including most notably the names of Eugénio dos Santos e Carvalho, the Architect of the Senate of Lisbon City Council, Carlos Mardel, the Architect of the Royal Palaces and the Military Orders, Miguel Angelo de Blasco, the Chief Engineer of the Kingdom since 1769, José Monteiro de Carvalho, the Architect of the Works of the Treasury Council since 1760, Mateus Vicente, the Architect of the Senate of Lisbon City Council, since 1761, Gualter da Fonseca, Francisco Pinheiro da Cunha, Elias Sebastião Poppe and António Carlos Andreas, among many others. The coordinator of that team was Manuel da Maia, a man of an advanced age and wide experience, who occupied the position of Chief Engineer of the Kingdom until his death in 1768».



Fig. 1: Model of Pombaline Façade, *Pombaline Cartulary*, drawing 01.

tion without any decoration, dotted here and there with doors and windows with modest-looking mouldings, whose most prominent features were the stone pilasters marking out the corners (the various lots could only be distinguished from one another through the protrusion of the party walls above the roof, which, in this way, helped to prevent the spread of fires).

«The view of the façades of the main streets that are to be built in Lisbon's ruined low-lying area, divided by colonnettes designed to separate the space to be used by pedestrians from that of the carriages» depicts the model of Pombaline architecture in its ideal condition [Cartulário Pombalino]

The design is representative of the rental apartment building and summarises, in just one drawing, the detailed façades for the dozens of kilometres of streets that the *Casa do Risco* [Couceiro 2018] was to develop and which we find gathered together, in part, in the Pombaline cartulary.

It is for this reason that I highlight this drawing in particular, since it shows the value of a model and, at the same time, of a type. Or, to put it another way, since it occupies an intermediate position between the domain of the real and that of the abstract, being much more operative than either of these concepts understood in isolation.



While, in many people's eyes, the *design of the main streets* represented a *pragmatic, monotonous, harsh-looking and insipid architecture*, at the same time its incongruencies, asymmetries and apparent design flaws (which I shall not go into here) freed it from a strict rigidity and raised it to the status of a conceptual statement.

By giving shape to a political programme and an urban plan, that *façade* materialises an architecture, and, at the same time, an idea of a city.

In the drawing, the cut-off line, or, in other words, the ground, is extended beyond the limits of the construction and colonnettes are proposed, designed to mark out a public space of decorum – a pavement for pedestrians – between the building and the public space of the city. The actual caption of the drawing is elucidatory and informs us of this fact.

The severity of the *façades*, designed according to a very simple and clear template, made it possible to standardise most of their features (stonework, carpentry and ironwork) and allowed for the mass production of these materials away from the building site.

The architect's work was restricted only to some very particular buildings (namely the churches which ended up being slightly repositioned in relation to their original location, being integrated into the urban grid-like structure) and to the squares (namely the Praça do Comércio, which Raul Proença constantly refers to as an exceptional piece of architecture).

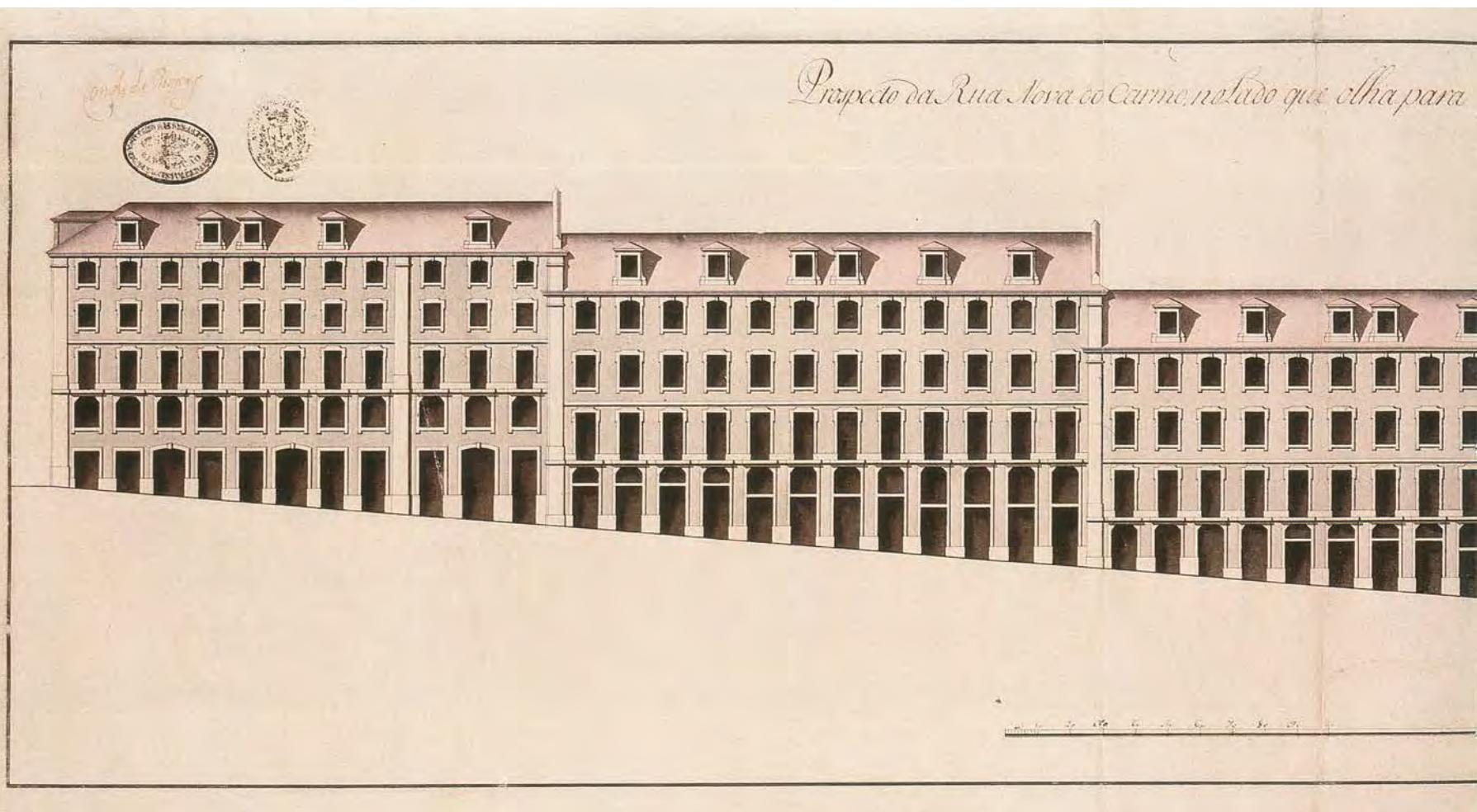


Fig. 2: Façade of Rua do Carmo, *Pombaline Cartulary*, drawing 28.

The uniformity of the solutions and the more economical use of resources both contributed to a certain idea of anonymity, and, since it *does not stand out*, as the author says, it is displeasing.

In 1988, the aftermath of the Chiado fire allowed for a radical intervention.

Immediately following the fire, a debate took place between Gonalo Ribeiro Teles and Toms Taveira [Teles, Taveira 1988, 14], giving rise to great controversy and revealing a clear divide between the solutions that might be adopted in the face of this new catastrophe.

Whereas Ribeiro Teles defended a *broad consensus* for Lisbon’s Baixa district, Toms Taveira [Taveira 1988, 14] suggested the design of different *spatial structures*, arguing that it was impossible to maintain the faades and the general overall plan of the group of buildings as a whole.

However, in his reconstruction project, Siza showed how it was possible to continue working from the Pombaline cartulary, while still being modern.

The truth is that although that first drawing, which depicted the *faades of Lisbon’s main streets* and the configuration of the respective public space, defined concrete objects, it was open to unlimited variations, enabling all the architects who passed through the *Casa do Risco* over the years, and lvaro Siza more than two centuries later, to work from it.

4 | Chiado

According to the *Dicionrio da Histria de Lisboa*, Chiado finds a plausible explanation for its name in the nickname of an eccentric and turbulent owner of a tavern *situated on what today is the corner of Rua do Carmo and Rua Garrett*— Gaspar Dias, known as *Chiado* [Valdemar 1994, 273].

Taking the whole for the part (considering that Chiado was originally just that corner), we might say that it is difficult to find traces of Siza’s intervention: the building seems to have always existed in this way, although, as we shall see, this is not true.

On the contrary, on the faades of that corner, we find the expression of the chronological time that I have been talking about, as well as the synthesis of the different architectural manifestations that the *time in-between* (between accidents) absorbed and then gave back to Chiado. Everything there, the material for a research and design project, freely available, and all recorded in one faade.

Let us analyse this faade in a chronological order:

It is an area of transition between the city’s low-lying *Baixa* district and the neighbourhood of *Bairro Alto*, distinguished by its uneven terrain.

In the Pombaline drawing that forms part of the cartulary, signed by the Count of Oeiras, we can see a group of successive buildings adapted to the slope of the street and making the necessary adjustments at the level of the different storeys, openings, gables and eaves in the transition from one lot to another.

The difference in the heights of the openings of the ground floor is resolved with several variations. At first, the door increases in size as we move down the street, then it acquires a fanlight, sometimes with the addition of an intermediate half-storey (mezzanine) or a basement with attic windows in the faade. Despite the apparent rigidity of the so-called Pombaline building, the truth is that the variations (and this is not the best example) can become highly complex.

Furthermore, as far as the design of the faade is concerned, the various groups of buildings generally present a simple ground floor, with a basement or mezzanine (depending on

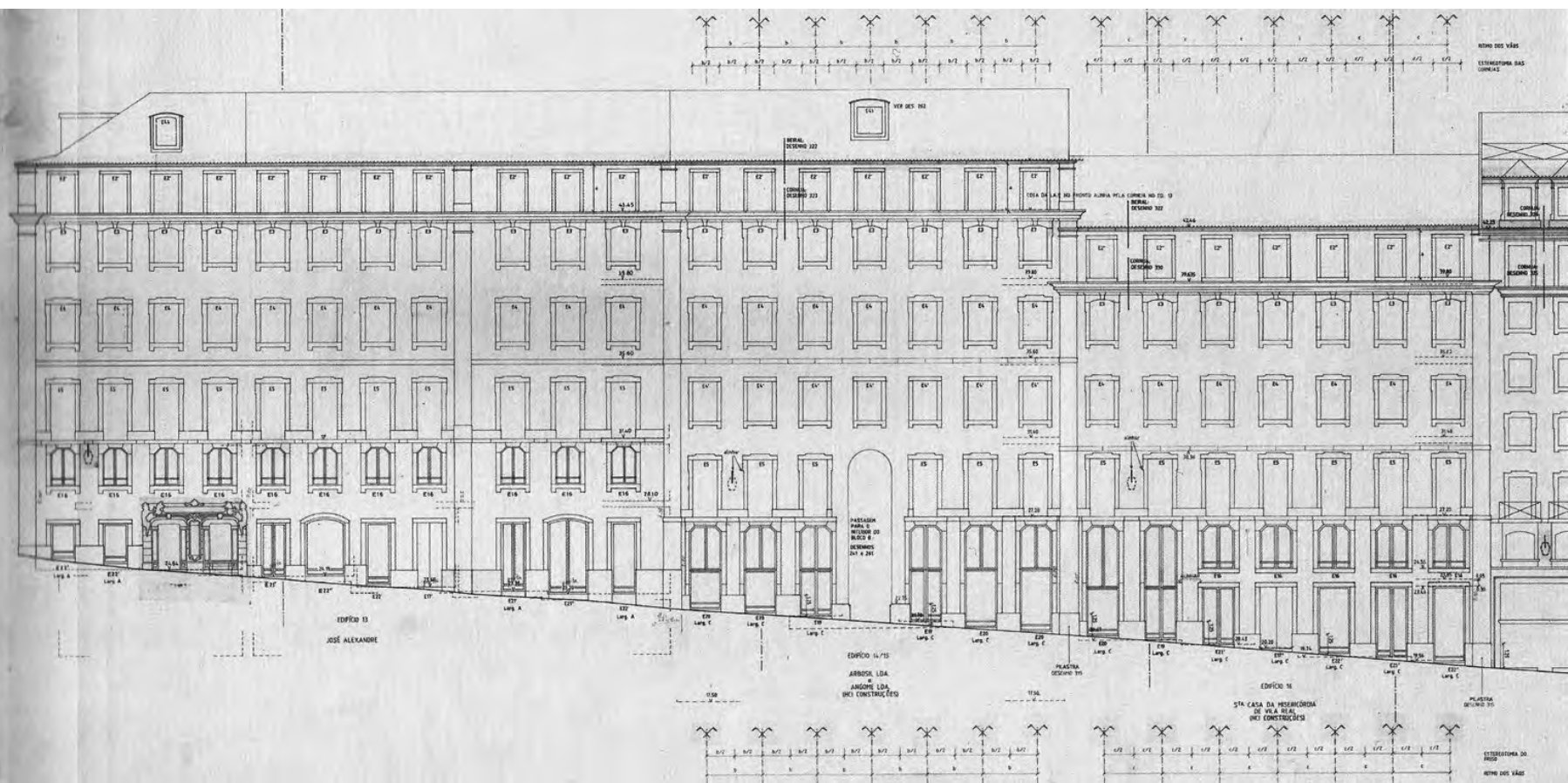


Fig. 3: Façade of Rua do Carmo, Siza drawing.

the slope of the street), which might be called the first layer of the composition: the doors and windows, with simple mouldings, are repeated with some nuances in which the door can become wider and the lintel can be transformed into an exaggeratedly depressed arch; on yet other occasions, the arch is segmented (a straight arch with chamfered corners);⁴ at the point where the building meets the ground, a *dado* (appearing as if it has been removed from a pedestal) supports the undecorated mouldings, being transformed, at the lower level of the whole, into a single basement (which gradually gains the height of a storey, given the slope of the street). Between one corner and another, despite the difference in height, the proportion of the corner pilaster remains the same, so that, at its lowest point of the street, this pilaster seems to be standing on an enormous pedestal that corresponds to the already-mentioned basement.

On the first floor, the openings are repeated without any variations; vertical windows with balconies where the projection of the floor slab gives the appearance of an interrupted architrave indicating, in the façade, the change from the first to the second layer; at the same time, and with a certain abstraction, that same projection of the floor of the balcony becomes confused with a canopy that protects the lower openings. I imagine that the repetition of the imagined canopy along the façade (as well as along the kilometres of Pombaline façades) would have represented a challenge for Siza in all of his later work. Between the second and the third floor, a horizontal band separates the third and last layer of the composition. Although the successive lots have four storeys, the façade only represents three layers, with the last layer consisting of two storeys with windows that are less vertical in their proportions. The mouldings of the openings of the last floor touch the cornice of the roof, which, besides protecting the façade, completes the composition at the junction between the (gabled) roof and the elevation of the building. Here and there in the drawing, and without the application of any apparent rule, the roof is dotted with dormer windows, covered with a roof of three slopes, suggesting the existence of mansards in the buildings. This more or less detailed description is of particular interest here, since, despite their importance, the transformations appear invisible to our eyes.

5 | The Façade of Rua do Carmo

The oldest known photographs date from the late nineteenth century. Between these pictures and the drawing from the *Casa do Risco*, there are some discrepancies that may result from alterations made after the construction of the buildings, or from changes made to the design itself when it was being implemented. Let us look at the main differences.

The first, and most immediately noticeable, difference is the replacement of the dormer windows and respective mansards by an attic storey, slightly withdrawn in relation to the façade; the cornice of the roof is maintained in the same position that it had in the original drawing and is reinforced with the metal railings of a continuous balcony, with small partitions that seem to mark out the different lots of the block, at the level of the attic storey. Besides the creation of this storey, the points of transition between the heights of the balcony floors are diminished, so that the slope of the street is not such a gentle one, something that becomes increasingly evident in the line of the rooftops. This effect therefore promotes the idea of a large unitary block in detriment to the image of the different lots implanted on the slope. The composition of the layers also seems to have undergone alterations: the balcony openings no longer occupy the whole height of the second storey

⁴ This lengthy explanation is due to the difficulty that I have in characterising the situation that I wish to describe and which, since it is not a very common one, derives from the kind suggestion made to me by José Quintão, Professor Emeritus at FAUP, who has dedicated his time to the problem of classical vocabulary.



Fig. 4: Corner of Rua Garrett with Rua do Carmo, séc. XIX.
(photo by Mario Morais).

Fig. 5: Corner of Rua Garret with Rua do Carmo, 1942
(Secção de turismo dos Caminhos de Ferro Alemaes).

Fig. 6: Corner of Rua Garrett with Rua do Carmo, nowadays
(photo by Joana Couceiro).



and the band that was placed above them gains greater autonomy on the façade, since it is no longer linked to any alignment of openings.

Given the nature of these changes in relation to the Pombaline drawing, many of which are of a structural nature, it seems to me that most of them were introduced during the building phase.

At the same time, at the ground floor level, which is mostly occupied by shops, we can also observe changes that were apparently made in accordance with the various occupations that the lots had had over time.

On the corner, the first two openings belonged to a ladies' clothes shop, whose entrance was in Rua Garrett. Consequently, the doors designed by the architects from the *Casa do Risco* were transformed into windows and, at the same time, the height of the respective lintel was increased, creating an evident misalignment in relation to the rest of the openings. The new mouldings were thus moved excessively close to the sills of the mezzanine windows, so that we can imagine the existence of a two-storey high wall on the inside. New frames with a single pane of glass were placed on the inside face of the wall, so that the respective openings resulted in a kind of niche in the façade.

In the shop installed in the space corresponding to the next two openings, the intervention is more ostentatious, although, in truth, it is no more than the addition of a sculptural ornament to the façade. This well-known establishment began by being called *Au Bonheur des Dames*, a name that was later changed to *Perfumaria da Moda*. The entrance to the shop is through the first opening, which is already much wider than in the drawing of the *Casa do*

Risco, and the other gained a low sill, transforming it into a shop window. The nature of the sculptural addition, with *art nouveau* motifs, gains extra force in the harshness of the Pombaline wall. Although this decoration is not applied to the openings of the mezzanine above the shop, leaving them apparently intact, the truth is that these no longer have a straight lintel and are now surmounted by a semi-circular arch.

And so on: each shop along the street appropriates the façade at the level of the first storey in order to show its individual character and announce its presence in the city. Shop windows, with varying degrees of openness, detract from the original language of the building, and, at the same time, their constructive logic compromises the very structure of the building as a whole.

Thus, in 1942, in the building on the corner of Rua Garrett with Rua do Carmo, two large openings were made in the façade, resulting from the project developed by the Viennese architects, Beever and Ruczka, for the new headquarters of the *Secção de Turismo dos Caminhos de Ferro Alemães* (German Railways Tourism Department), which was to replace the (still) Pombaline ladies clothes shop. The new installations, opened on 11 November 1942, represented a paradox that Palladio, if he were alive, would quite easily include in his treatise, in the chapter on *abuses*.⁵ The corner of the building was completely gutted: two large panes of glass with iron frames (with little expression in the façade) are fixed to a cement frame that dispenses with the classical stone mouldings. The corner pilaster is thus transformed into a «pilaster-like» pillar that appears to support the whole weight of the building. In reporting on the inauguration, the *Gazeta* (Gazette) of the Railway Company said as follows: «In this way, the streets of Rua do Carmo and Rua Garrett now have yet another valuable ornament for their good presentation as two of the city's main thoroughfares». Did the architects think beyond the ornament, proposing, for example, a structural reinforcement in the openings that they made?

In May, 1943, the commemorative exhibition of the *10th Anniversary of the Third Reich* was held here. Today, the photographs of the inauguration of the exhibition, taken by the photographer Mário Morais, represent an important historical document.

The 1988 fire found the building in this state of gestation. What was to follow?

The project that Siza prepared for the reconstruction of Lisbon's Chiado district, apparently based on the idea of simple imitation, and, furthermore, accused of mimicking the formal Pombaline language (or *façadism* in the pejorative sense of the term), immediately called for an absolutely important act in terms of design: choice [Tavora 1999, 73].

Although the strategic option – reconstruction – had already been taken, there still remained the question: what was to be reconstructed?

What part of the history of Chiado should one choose to remember?

And – equally important – what part of its history should one choose to forget?

6 | Choosing to Remember and/or Choosing to Forget

Let us now concentrate on Siza's proposal for the façade of Rua do Carmo.

Siza apparently chose to return to the original design prepared by the architects of the *Casa do Risco*, but this is not entirely true.

Siza maintained the attic storey, as well as the new composition of the façade in which the openings of the second layer no longer occupied the maximum height of the inside walls, thus liberating the upper band on the façade which separates the last layers from the rest. In

⁵ The idea developed by Palladio in Chapter 20 of the first book of his Treatise, on abuses (*Degli abusi*), is highly pertinent in the context of this essay and is applied with some justice to the interventions that were made in the various appropriations of the Pombaline buildings, namely at the ground floor level. In that chapter, Palladio explains how some solutions are unnatural, so that they should be avoided. The grossest error, according to Palladio, is the use of broken pediments (above doors, windows and porches) open in the centre, since these exist to protect buildings (and the inhabitants and visitors themselves) from rain, snow and hail. Nothing, says Palladio, could be more contrary to its natural reason. He mentions other abuses, but I should like to draw attention here to something that, being a question of common sense, was forgotten in the post-Pombaline interventions: *a great weight must be sustained by something solid and sufficiently strong to support it*. The various shop windows opened in the facade were an abuse that weakened the structure of the buildings, making them more vulnerable to accidents. Some of these did not survive the fire.



Fig. 7: Au Bonheur des Dames shop (photo by Joana Couceiro).



Fig. 8: Courtyard B, access arch, Siza sketch.

that sense, he returned, not to the Pombaline drawing, but to the eventual original construction (with all the already-mentioned changes made to the design), but with the successive transformations that the ground floor underwent at the level of the façades. The first doors of the building, whose lintels were raised in the first phase (misaligned with all the others) and, in a subsequent phase, transformed into a single opening, were reconstructed just as they had been originally, or, in other words, as they were depicted in the drawing contained in the Pombaline cartulary.

However, immediately in the following openings, he chose to reinsert the sculptural plaque of the *Perfumaria da Moda*, with the nuance of restoring its original name. *Au bonheur des Dames*, the title of a novel by the French writer Émile Zola, certainly appealed more to Siza (I imagine that he thought that the inscription in a foreign language expressed a certain distance in relation to the context and that the French language in particular contained an affinity with the *art nouveau* motifs). Furthermore, *A Parfumaria da Moda*, considering fashion as something ephemeral, was certainly an opposite principle to the one that Siza was defending. As far as the mezzanine windows were concerned, which had already been altered with the inclusion of an opening surmounted by a semi-circular arch, Siza returned to the theme of the segmented arch (or the straight arch with chamfered corners), which existed in the drawing of the Pombaline architect and which ended up becoming a recurrent theme in the whole of Siza's design. Also, in this façade, a few lots further down the slope, is an unusual opening that runs up to the same height as the first two storeys.

«A violent hole, without a front or a frame, a sudden hole [Siza 2009, 64]».

Here, Siza introduced another kind of scale that, for the sake of simplicity, I shall describe as monumental (in the style of a neoclassical architect). In fact, this is necessarily an interpretation of that new order invented by Michelangelo at the Capitulum, or, in other words, a theme from the sixteenth century, recovered by Siza in the twentieth century in his reinvention of the Pombaline architecture of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The new opening proposed by Siza finds in Michelangelo, or, in other words, in the history of architecture, a root for its scale, even though the motif that was chosen (a semi-circular arch) clashes with the formal options of the original model [Ackerman 1970]. Between the one and the other, the story was continued, and Siza, the last one, was not indifferent to it. In the neoclassical period, there was a problem of scale: the buildings grew in height, and the orders (and, with them, also the openings) became increasingly slender. The proportions were lost and there was what Maria Teresa Muñoz described as the «stylistic disintegration of architecture [Muñoz 2012]».

Among other interpretations, that new (and apparently discordant) opening has disciplinary reasons. It invokes the monumental order invented in the sixteenth century and, at the same time, its disintegration in the neoclassical period, revealing the relaxed and fearless way that Siza worked with history (all history).

On the other side, in the courtyard, the long and narrow arch (in Rua do Carmo, it occupies one bay of the façade and stretches over two storeys) recovers its natural proportion. It is a banal, *canonical* arch. The new passageway, «a kind of incomplete funnel, enveloping a precious staircase [Siza 2009, 64]» joins up with the interior of the block at an intermediate level between the Baixa de Lisboa and Bairro Alto. That was the vocation of this hilly terrain, proving difficult for the Pombaline project, which thus remained unfinished, waiting for new architects who knew how to continue it.



Fig. 9: Courtyard B, access arch (photo by Joana Couceiro).

Fig. 10: Courtyard B, access arch (photo by Joana Couceiro).

Fig. 11. Metro vault, Siza sketch.

Fig. 12. Metro entrance (photo by Joana Couceiro).

Fig. 13. Metro exit (photo by Joana Couceiro).



7 | Conclusion: the story that never was

Siza remembers how «walking through the city and observing its landscape and topography, it had seemed necessary to create a path that connected the platform of Chiado to the Igreja do Carmo [Siza 1998, 99]». Later, when he found some old documents showing the direct path to the door of the Convent, which proved the existence of that same path before the earthquake, he filled himself with the courage and conviction he needed to continue to *imagine the evidence*.

«The architect's work therefore becomes the work of a detective, seeking to re-establish old and vital correspondences, traumatically cut off and barely perceptible [Siza 1998, 99]». Based on the knowledge that he had acquired of the terrain, Siza understood that the problem of the Chiado district was not in its architectural language, but in its relationship with the city. The transitions, which had been badly resolved in the encounter of the urban grid with the city's hilly topography, were therefore recovered for the project, a surgical work in the sense of re-establishing essential correspondences for the city.

Reducing the built depths made it possible to open up two inner courtyards inside the blocks themselves, intermediate platforms that link the different levels, as, for example, courtyard A, which establishes the connection with the Escadinhas de São Francisco, and the access, from courtyard B, to the southern entrance of the Convento do Carmo, at a much higher level. As far as the public spaces and infrastructures are concerned, attention should be drawn to the stairs between Rua do Crucifixo and Rua Nova do Almada, arising from the integration into the public domain of a strip of land that was previously occupied



by the Chiado building. This new set of stairs, following the same line as the first set and connecting Rua Nova do Almada to Rua do Crucifixo, where the metro entrance is, allows for an easy and vigorous relationship with the city.

In relation to its functioning as a transition platform between the *Baixa Pombalina* and the hill of *Bairro Alto*, Siza understood that the Chiado was an area that inevitably had to be crossed. That was its vocation.

Understanding this margin (left on the very fringes) of the Pombaline plan as an interface between the upper and lower levels, enabling a link to be made between the two points, was the intention of Siza's proposal from the very beginning.

He therefore opened up passageways, streets and courtyards. He also opened up the city's foundations with tunnels providing access to the metro, making it possible to link the various levels of the Chiado district to the rest of the city. The integration into Siza's plan of a new metro line, with an exit in the heart of Chiado, and another in Rua do Crucifixo, also led to the radical transformation of this transport services link into a main thoroughfare. Siza's Chiado fulfils its vocation: «A distribution platform. A plateau which it is imperative to pass through and stop at, an apparition from where you can see the landscape. The essential Chiado, enormous, above the Rua do Crucifixo [Siza 2009, 63]».

Like a sculptor, Siza reconstructed the area by subtracting from it, which is clearly a paradox. Although this idea of spatial continuity is one of the great themes proposed in the block plan, the construction (or non-construction) of these spaces and these passageways implied an empty space that many people also considered to be an empty space in the design and in Siza's intervention.

Despite the apparent silence of the intervention, Siza undertook many transformations, but his work is surgical, precise and essential.

The façade of Rua do Carmo was never as Siza reconstructed it. If, on the one hand, he recovered old correspondences with the Pombaline drawing (in terms of each window that he put back in place); on the other hand, he fulfilled the idea of hybridity that had meanwhile become part of the project (such as the art nouveau ornament); and he reinvented the Pombaline architecture (in the passageway leading to the courtyard).

He also continued the Pombaline plan of joining the low-lying Baixa district with the higher level, but also of joining this with the remainder of the city, making use of the even lower level that was reached, in the meantime, through engineering.

While appearing to be the same, in reality Siza's Chiado has a new narrative: the Story that never was. Viollet-le-Duc was right, to some extent: «Restoring a building is not maintaining it, repairing it or remaking it, it is re-establishing it in a complete state that may never have existed before [Le-Duc 1854-1868]»

The Chiado that had never existed now exists in the present: between the Pombaline city and the other city, the one that «is slowly rising up, and beginning to peep out, and therefore tearing open the curtains – Tagus, Palace, rigorous poor neighbourhoods, Castelo, Rossio. The Convent's pointed arches are exploding [Siza 2009, 65]».

The journey is most moving, and it is only possible with Siza's project, which establishes yet another contrasting promenade: that of the city that makes its way down, now rather hurriedly, immediately entering into the carriage – distracted people, reflected in the windows, another train that is passing. An endless and essential vault. The journey that Wim Wenders hasn't yet made. The story that never was.

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Lecture & Recherche

Documenti per una storia del paesaggio delle aree interne tra le due guerre



DANIELA STROFFOLINO, *Quell'industria del forestiere... in Irpinia. Paesaggio e turismo nella prima metà del Novecento*, Grottaminarda, Delta 3 edizioni, 2019.

Recensione
di Annunziata Berrino

Daniela Stroffolino è studiosa della storia del paesaggio e in questo volume raccoglie una serie di articoli di autori diversi che hanno per tema il paesaggio dell'Irpinia, un'area della Campania interna, apparsi tra il 1925 e il 1945 su un periodico locale, il «Corriere dell'Irpinia». Stroffolino compila dunque un'antologia, nella quale raccoglie e commenta 26 articoli che costituiscono oggi una fonte di grande interesse non solo per la storia del paesaggio meridionale negli anni tra le due guerre, bensì anche per la storia del turismo, perché quel paesaggio in quegli anni fu ripetutamente e insistentemente letto e valutato per le opportunità che offriva alle politiche del regime per la diffusione della pratica turistica.

Per molti aspetti la scoperta dell'Irpinia da parte della cultura escursionistica e alpina di età liberale ci era già nota, mentre è in gran parte inedita la ricostruzione dei progetti e dei tentativi non sempre riusciti da parte degli enti locali di valorizzare specifiche aree della provincia di Avellino che potessero essere inserite nei circuiti delle escursioni popolari dopolavoristiche. Come, ad esempio, lo sforzo che fu fatto per attrezzare un polo sciistico all'interno del territorio provinciale – fallito sul Terminio e avviato invece sul Laceno –, oppure di potenziare l'attrazione del Santuario

di Montevergine per la pratica dei pellegrinaggi. I testi ripubblicati da Stroffolino, e da lei opportunamente introdotti e contestualizzati, ci riportano dunque gli argomenti con i quali il ventennio costruì l'immagine del territorio provinciale e in particolare delle sue valenze culturali e paesaggistiche utili al discorso pubblico e capaci di dare vita a un'identità ben riconoscibile. In quella dinamica, il ruolo dell'Ente provinciale del turismo fu naturalmente fondamentale, perché con la sua istituzione nel 1935 anche Avellino, come tante altre province prive di storia ed esperienza turistica – significativa le difficoltà che incontrò la realizzazione di una guida turistica –, furono chiamate a partecipare e contribuire al progetto della politica turistica del fascismo. L'Irpinia certamente non era nei canali del turismo internazionale, ma, come tante altre province italiane poteva e doveva conferire al progetto del turismo fascista quelle attrazioni culturali e paesaggistiche, che, seppure modeste, potevano costituire il motivo di una gita o di un'escursione dopolavoristica, occasione di aggregazione e di consenso politico. I documenti e le riflessioni raccolte da Stroffolino danno conto di quelle esperienze di valorizzazione turistica episodiche perché sollecitate dalla politica, e dunque incapaci di creare valo-

re economico, ma che intanto hanno contribuito a orientare la lettura dei territori e dunque delle culture, delle società e dei paesaggi anche nei decenni successivi.

Studiosa esperta anche di iconografia storica, Daniela Stroppolino ha scelto un'immagine di copertina che sintetizza perfettamente i temi che ha presentato e le fonti che ha organizzato nel volume, perché ne costituisce un prodotto finale: una carta figurata della provincia di Avellino illustrata per il turismo popolare, nella quale il territorio viene comunicato e rac-

contato in maniera diretta, illustrandolo con gli elementi che lo costituiscono e lo caratterizzano: l'uva e le botti a Morra De Sanctis, la neve e gli sci a Laceno, il cacciatore a Formico, il castello a Lauro, il grano a Lacedonia e così via.

Ricordiamo, infine, che il volume è aperto da una presentazione di Cesare de Seta, che è soprattutto una breve e preziosa testimonianza personale di un grande studioso dinanzi al paesaggio irpino ferito dal dramma del terremoto del 1980.

Dal *Codice Corazza* al *Codice Tarsia*: tematiche vinciane e post-vinciane per l'architettura e l'ingegneria nel Mezzogiorno moderno



Leonardo e il Rinascimento nei Codici napoletani. Influenze e modelli per l'architettura e l'ingegneria, mostra a cura di Alfredo Buccaro e Maria Rascaglia, con la collaborazione di Daniela Bacca, Francesca Capano, Gabriella Mansi, Maria Ines Pascariello e Massimo Visone. Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale (12 dicembre 2019 - 13 marzo 2020).

Recensione
di Alessandra Veropalumbo

Il 12 dicembre 2019 è stata inaugurata presso il Palazzo Reale di Napoli la mostra *Leonardo e il Rinascimento nei Codici napoletani. Influenze e modelli per l'architettura e l'ingegneria*, a cura di Alfredo Buccaro e Maria Rascaglia, con la collaborazione di Daniela Bacca, Francesca Capano, Gabriella Mansi, Maria Ines Pascariello e Massimo Visone.

Realizzata con il patrocinio della Fondazione Rossana e Carlo Pedretti, nell'ambito delle celebrazioni indette dal Comitato Nazionale per i 500 anni dalla morte di Leonardo da Vinci, è dedicata alla memoria di quest'ultimo, illustre studioso vinciano.

A seguito di un protocollo d'intesa stilato nel 2017 dal CIRICE, Centro Interdipartimentale di Ricerca sull'Iconografia della Città Europea dell'Università di Napoli Federico II con la Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, e sulla base di un precedente accordo di programma tra gli stessi enti e la Fondazione Rossana e Carlo Pedretti, nasce una proficua collaborazione che riesce a portare per la prima volta all'attenzione del grande pubblico le tracce della diffusione, diretta o indiretta, degli studi vinciani e post-vinciani nel contesto dell'architettura e dell'ingegneria del Mezzogiorno moderno.

L'esposizione di diverse testimonianze manoscritte e a stampa, mai presentate al pubblico, nonché inedite in molti casi, accresce ancor

di più l'importanza di tale mostra per il suo carattere di novità. La rassegna è collocata al secondo piano della Biblioteca Nazionale, nelle sale dell'appartamento storico di Palazzo Reale, dove non mancano, oltre alle opere cartacee, anche proiezioni digitali interattive. A una serie di interessanti interventi tenutisi durante la giornata inaugurale, è seguita la visita guidata alla mostra nelle sale dell'appartamento privato borbonico.

La prima sezione raccoglie le testimonianze del leonardismo a Napoli in età moderna e contemporanea. Qui si è cercato di concentrare le fonti che attestano la profonda influenza di Leonardo nell'ambiente napoletano tra Cinque e Settecento nei campi dell'architettura e dell'ingegneria, sia attraverso trattati già presenti tra gli scaffali della biblioteca di Leonardo, che testimonianze della sua influenza nelle epoche successive. Qui si citano il noto diario dei *Viaggi & Itinerario* di Antonio de Beatis, il *Codice Corazza*, prezioso apografo rientrante nella vasta attività promossa da Cassiano dal Pozzo, e i documenti e apografi vinciani appartenuti anch'essi al filosofo e letterato Vincenzo Corazza nella seconda metà del Settecento. In particolare il *Codice Corazza* eserciterà una forte influenza sulla critica artistica e architettonica nell'età dell'Illuminismo attraverso gli studi su Leonardo e sugli artisti del Cinquecento italiano.

In questa sezione è esposto anche il *Codice Friedericiano*, conservato presso il Centro di Ateneo per le Biblioteche dell'Università di Napoli Federico II, una delle più interessanti versioni 'abbreviate' del *Trattato della Pittura* di Leonardo redatte nella seconda metà del Cinquecento e acquistato nel 2016 dall'Università di Napoli Federico II su iniziativa di Alfredo Buccaro, con il sostegno di Carlo Pedretti e Carlo Vecce. Il documento approfondisce questioni di prospettiva, geometria, raffigurazione dell'uomo e del paesaggio, teoria delle ombre anche con specifico riferimento agli interni architettonici, nonché scienze fisiche, naturali e applicate alle diverse branche dell'ingegneria civile, militare, idraulica e meccanica.

Viene inoltre esposto per la prima volta, e per cortese concessione della Fondazione Rossana e Carlo Pedretti, il *Foglietto del Belvedere*, in cui è possibile trovare ulteriori tracce della iniziale diffusione leonardesca a Napoli, in quanto si legge di codici vinciiani esistenti un tempo presso *magistro Antonio Fiorentino*, ospite nel Belvedere vaticano al servizio di Leone X tra il 1515-1516.

In una delle sale troviamo inoltre una riproduzione a dimensione naturale della *Tavola Doria*, ricordata come «una battaglia di soldati a cavallo di Leonardo da Vinci», considerato in diversi momenti storici come copia di un dipinto di Leonardo e poi come autografa. La tela giunse a Napoli nel 1845 e fu custodita nel palazzo Doria d'Angri a via Toledo, il cui contesto è riprodotto nel dipinto di Gaetano Gigante, in prestito dal Museo Nazionale di San Martino.

La seconda parte della mostra è dedicata al *Codice Tarsia*, databile tra gli anni Quaranta e Sessanta del XVI secolo, ed entrato a far parte del corpus della Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli in seguito all'acquisizione dei disegni alla fine del XVIII secolo della biblioteca del principe Spinelli. L'assenza di inventari e cataloghi del patrimonio librario, redatti dal 1780, non consente purtroppo di verificare in quale epoca il Codice sia entrati a far parte della biblioteca Tarsia.

Il 'libro di disegni' contiene oltre cento grafici, molti dei quali inediti. Probabilmente destinato alle stampe dall'architetto-ingegnere, filosofo e tipografo Nicola Antonio Stigliola, il Codice ospita un 'taccuino' di antichità romane di particolare bellezza e disegni di città fortificate italiane ed europee in cui è evidente l'influenza degli studi di Leonardo e degli ingegneri rinascimentali in materia di fortificazioni e architetture militari.

Ritroviamo inoltre una serie di fogli riguardanti il celebre Palazzo Farnese a Roma in buona parte relativi all'attività di Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola, tra cui il prospetto del palazzo compiuto secondo il disegno di Michelangelo, così come è inciso nello *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae* (1549) di Antoine Lafréry; una sezione dell'edificio eseguita in corrispondenza del Salone d'Ercole; la pianta del cortile e altre due planimetrie riconducibili ai sotterranei del palazzo durante la direzione di Vignola.

Vi sono poi interessanti elaborati progettuali relativi a fortificazioni 'alla moderna' di città del Mediterraneo, di varia provenienza. I grafici della raccolta ci offrono un repertorio assai significativo di progetti da inserire in luoghi strategici, tre cui Ischia, Taranto, Vieste, Siracusa, Palermo, Corfù, La Valletta.

A due noti architetti-ingegneri si deve inoltre la realizzazione dell'*Atlante delle Province del Regno di Napoli*: Mario Cartaro, regio ingegnere, e ancora Nicola Antonio Stigliola. La redazione dell'atlante ebbe inizio negli anni '80, mentre dal 1583 vi lavorava Stigliola.

L'opera ci resta grazie a sei manoscritti, copie dall'originale, di cui una in catalogo presso la Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli. L'atlante acquisì una notevole fama tra i contemporanei: le tavole, ritenute all'avanguardia dal punto di vista tecnico e grafico, diedero grande lustro alla cartografia napoletana.

Probabilmente i disegni raccolti nei due volumi del *Codice Tarsia* rientravano in un più vasto progetto editoriale. Mario Cartaro, impegnato nella capitale del Regno come

regio ingegnere, aveva raccolto un materiale eterogeneo, dalla cui collazione probabilmente nacque un primo personale 'Libro di disegni' che portò con sé a Napoli. Tutto il materiale collazionato dovette confluire in un progetto editoriale di Stigliola, come attesta il disegno del frontespizio, che suggerisce il titolo *Unio Rara Architecturae* e mostra il ritratto del promotore dell'iniziativa, Marco Antonio Sorgente. I due album grafici del Codice Tarsia si arricchirono di altri disegni, con ogni probabilità, fino ai primi anni del Seicento. Ma la stamperia Stigliola, sita «a Porta Reale», in attività dal 1592, fu ceduta nel 1606, restando così il progetto irrealizzato.

Il *corpus* rappresenta un'ulteriore preziosa testimonianza della diffusione del Rinascimento di matrice toscana e romana in ambito meridionale. Le innumerevoli antichità raffigurate nei disegni sono selezionate fino a formare precisi repertori, che poi diversi autori iniziano a copiare. Il Codice Tarsia, che circolò in un ambiente ristretto, resta dunque un documento di fondamentale importanza

per la cultura scientifica napoletana a cavallo dei secoli XVI e XVII.

Si può dire in conclusione che la mostra ha effettuato la rigorosa ricostruzione di un'influenza leonardiana che appare in piena sintonia con gli sviluppi della cultura meridionale tra Cinque e Seicento. Un'eredità dispersa e non facilmente individuabile, ma di cui si colgono le tracce nelle diverse testimonianze esposte in mostra e illustrate nel catalogo.

Tutte le fonti edite e inedite hanno testimoniato l'esistenza di tracce significative dell'influenza che Leonardo ha esercitato sullo sviluppo della teoria e della pratica professionale nella Napoli vicereale, borbonica e postunitaria, come sui modelli architettonici e urbanistici diffusi in ambito meridionale e mediterraneo sin dalla prima età moderna.

Come afferma Francesco Mercurio, Direttore della Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, la mostra risulta «un avvincente itinerario alla scoperta delle tracce della lezione vinciana nella tradizione tecnico-scientifica dell'Italia meridionale dal XVI secolo all'età contemporanea».

Architettura e scoperte archeologiche nella città di Carlo di Borbone



L'età di Carlo. Alle radici del gusto dell'antico, mostra a cura di Paolo Mascilli Migliorini e Massimo Visone. Napoli, Palazzo reale (17 dicembre 2019 - 20 marzo 2020).

Recensione
di Alessandra Veropalumbo

Il 10 maggio 1734 Carlo di Borbone, figlio del re di Spagna Filippo V e di Elisabetta Farnese, sale al trono come primo re della sua casata, e il Regno di Napoli torna indipendente dopo oltre due secoli di governi vicereali. Da questo momento si attueranno una serie di iniziative che muteranno il volto della città di Napoli con l'apertura di imponenti cantieri urbani, prefiggendosi l'obiettivo di rendere visibile, con la sontuosità degli edifici e anche con la preziosa raffinatezza degli arredi e delle opere d'arte, la magnificenza di un regno rimodernato da una dinastia volta a svolgere un ruolo attivo nelle vicende europee.

La destinazione a riserva di caccia dei Siti reali, inoltre, incise profondamente sull'assetto del paesaggio nei dintorni di Napoli e nelle province, determinando nuove direttrici di espansione e di sviluppo, mentre la scoperta delle città di Ercolano e Pompei suscitò un recente interesse per gli scavi archeologici, intuendo che presto avrebbero attirato l'ammirazione di tutto il mondo.

Carlo si avvarrà, per il suo programma di rinnovamento architettonico e urbano, di un linguaggio internazionale, attraverso la collaborazione di architetti estranei alla tradizione locale.

Il rinnovato ruolo di Napoli quale capitale del Regno durante il governo di Carlo e l'acquisizione di una crescente centralità della città e dei

suoi dintorni nel panorama europeo è l'oggetto della mostra *L'età di Carlo. Alle radici del gusto dell'antico*, inaugurata il 17 dicembre 2019 nelle restaurate sale pompeiane del piano terra del Palazzo Reale di Napoli. La mostra è promossa dalla Soprintendenza Archeologia, belle arti e paesaggio per il comune di Napoli con la collaborazione scientifica della Biblioteca Nazionale e del Polo Museale della Campania, nell'ambito del tricentenario della nascita di Carlo di Borbone (1716-1788), ed è a cura di Paolo Mascilli Migliorini e Massimo Visone.

Il progetto è finanziato con il contributo della Regione Campania Direzione Generale per le Politiche Culturali e il Turismo nell'ambito dei fondi stanziati per i beni e le attività culturali dal Piano Operativo Complementare (POC 2014-2020) per i Beni culturali, che ha permesso anche il restauro delle sale dove è alloggiata la mostra. Le pareti e le volte delle sale sono decorate da Gennaro Maldarelli e Salvatore Giusti tra il 1838 e il 1840 rigorosamente in stile pompeiano, secondo il gusto e la moda dell'epoca. Attraverso l'intervento sul "Gabinetto pompeiano", dove Ferdinando II era solito ricevere gli ospiti, è stato possibile restituire nuovi spazi all'utenza, divenendo di fatto un nuovo luogo da dedicare a eventi espositivi di pertinenza della Soprintendenza. Come afferma Luigi La Rocca, soprintendente per Archeologia, belle

arti e paesaggio per il comune di Napoli, la mostra si pone in linea con gli obiettivi di valorizzazione e promozione dei beni e dei siti culturali della regione, ed è funzionale alla divulgazione del patrimonio culturale, artistico e architettonico del territorio. I curatori evidenziano la sinergia delle istituzioni nella realizzazione della mostra e la messa a sistema di saperi diversi per la sua corretta contestualizzazione storica e per la sua interpretazione critica. Infatti, il materiale esposto proviene da diverse istituzioni culturali napoletane e cioè: Archivio di Stato, Archivio Storico della Soprintendenza Speciale per i beni archeologici di Napoli e Pompei, Biblioteca Nazionale, Biblioteca universitaria, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Museo di San Martino, Palazzo Reale, Società Napoletana di Storia Patria, consentendo per la prima volta di poter osservare tutte insieme, non senza meraviglia, le carte e i libri che hanno caratterizzato la fervida cultura, le scoperte archeologiche e la produzione architettonica a Napoli durante la metà del Settecento, da cui emerge una certa 'scollatura' tra il dibattito sull'antico e la prassi di quegli anni.

L'inaugurazione è stata preceduta da un convegno inaugurale, dal titolo *Dalla Grottesca alla decorazione pompeiana*, durante il quale i maggiori esperti e studiosi a livello nazionale e internazionale si sono confrontati sull'argomento, che non poche influenze ebbe sulla storia del gusto dell'antico dopo le scoperte archeologiche nei dintorni di Napoli.

La mostra si compone di disegni, incisioni, libri antichi, progetti architettonici e testimonianze documentali relativi agli anni del regno di Carlo di Borbone, dal suo arrivo a Napoli, alle opere urbane realizzate e non, dai siti reali agli scavi archeologici e in particolare alla riscoperta delle due città di Ercolano e Pompei a cui si dedicò con grande lungimiranza come nella fondazione di una Regia Stamperia nel 1748 e dell'Accademia Ercolanese nel 1755.

L'immagine della città di Napoli è in qualche maniera protagonista della mostra. Questa si

divide in quattro sezioni e si dispiega in altrettante sale lungo un percorso che si apre con la *Pianta e alzata della città di Napoli* di Paolo Petrini e si chiude con la *Mappa Topografica della città di Napoli e de' suoi contorni* del duca di Noja, posizionate idealmente prospicienti e in asse nell'allestimento, anche se a sale di distanza. La prima è una veduta pubblicata nel 1698 (in mostra è esposta la terza edizione del 1748) e realizzata sulla falsariga delle più celebri incisioni cinque-seicentesche, rilevando la città precedente all'arrivo di Carlo di Borbone, ancora staticamente circoscritta all'interno del suo perimetro murario. La seconda è la ben nota pianta rilevata scientificamente dal 1750 al 1775; essa restituisce l'immagine di una capitale moderna e illuminata, capace di valicare i confini storici, realizzata e voluta da Carlo, che lasciò la città per salire sul trono di Spagna nel 1759. La volontà è quella di mostrare in tale arco cronologico gli interventi del sovrano che hanno reso grande la città di Napoli e l'influenza che ebbe l'impatto delle scoperte archeologiche emerse durante gli scavi sull'estetica del Settecento. Da sottolineare la presenza di opere di celebrazione di Carlo di Borbone al momento della sua salita al trono del Regno di Napoli; tra queste il dipinto di Francesco Solimena che eterna l'immagine del nuovo sovrano dopo la sconfitta degli austriaci a Gaeta nel 1734, l'incisione di Ferdinando Sanfelice per un maestoso arco di trionfo nella facciata della chiesa di San Lorenzo Maggiore in occasione del cerimoniale di insediamento del sovrano e la raffigurazione delle fontana realizzata per la fiera allestita nel largo del Castello in occasione del matrimonio con Maria Amalia di Sassonia – oggetto di un articolo nel primo numero di [Eikonocity](#) del 2017.

Nella seconda sezione si espongono le opere urbane protagoniste del regno illuminato che interessarono l'ampliamento del porto con il prolungamento del molo, la sistemazione delle piazze, l'apertura di nuove strade, la realizzazione di grandi complessi edilizi pubblici. Di questi interventi tra quelli esposti, sono visibili

i progetti dell'apertura del Foro Carolino, la realizzazione della guglia dell'Immacolata, l'edificio della Deputazione della Salute (l'Immacolatella) costruito da Domenico Antonio Vaccaro, il Ponte Nuovo di Bompiede per superare l'antico Mandracchio con il progetto non realizzato di una statua di Carlo a cavallo, il consolidamento del Palazzo degli Studi, e il progetto, di cui è esposto anche un moderno plastico in legno, relativo all'Albergo di Poveri. La terza sezione raccoglie alcuni dei progetti per i Siti reali. Capodimonte, Portici, l'isola di Procida e, a ovest della capitale, furono riservati alle cacce il bosco degli Astroni e alcune aree a valle. Nell'area vesuviana l'attività venatoria interessò anche il Quisisana a Castellammare e la località di Persano. In questo ampio panorama, non poteva mancare un cenno alla reggia di Caserta, che rappresenta il momento più alto e solenne della committenza architettonica di Carlo, avendo la possibilità di vedere affiancati i progetti di Mario Gioffredo e di Luigi Vanvitelli.

Per concludere, la raccolta di opuscoli scientifici e filologici relativi agli scavi di Ercolano e Pompei a firma dei grandi esploratori del tempo, come il comandante del genio militare Roque Joaquín de Alcubierre, Marcello Venuti, un dotto cortonese nominato direttore delle biblioteche e delle collezioni reali, e il parmense Ottavio Antonio Bayardi. L'interesse per gli scavi archeologici diede origine a varie iniziative culturali che andarono dalla fondazione dell'*Herculanense Museum* all'Accademia Ercolanesa nel 1755. La pubblicazione dei reperti venne affidata agli otto volumi de *Le Antichità di Ercolano*, di cui è esposto il terzo tomo. La mostra risulta essere un singolare contributo agli studi su Carlo di Borbone e Napoli, raccogliendo quelle opere architettoniche e urbane e quegli scritti sui ritrovamenti archeologici del tempo, atte a definire l'età di Carlo come fondamentale per una stagione culturale di grande interesse, durante la quale la città fu uno dei centri promotori della cultura illuminista europea e si arricchì di monumenti e opere d'arte.

La storia e l'identità della città e del paesaggio sono i temi che legano tra loro i sette contributi ospitati in questo numero della rivista, condividendo con il lettore altrettante esperienze di ricerca in Francia, Romania, Italia, Polonia, Colombia, Spagna e Portogallo. Questa rassegna intende così contribuire a esemplificare a scala internazionale gli sviluppi multidisciplinari raggiunti dagli studi sull'iconografia urbana in occasione dei cinquant'anni della *Cartografia della città di Napoli* di Cesare de Seta e a ridosso dei venticinque anni della costituzione del *Centro Studi sull'Iconografia della Città Europea* (poi CIRICE).