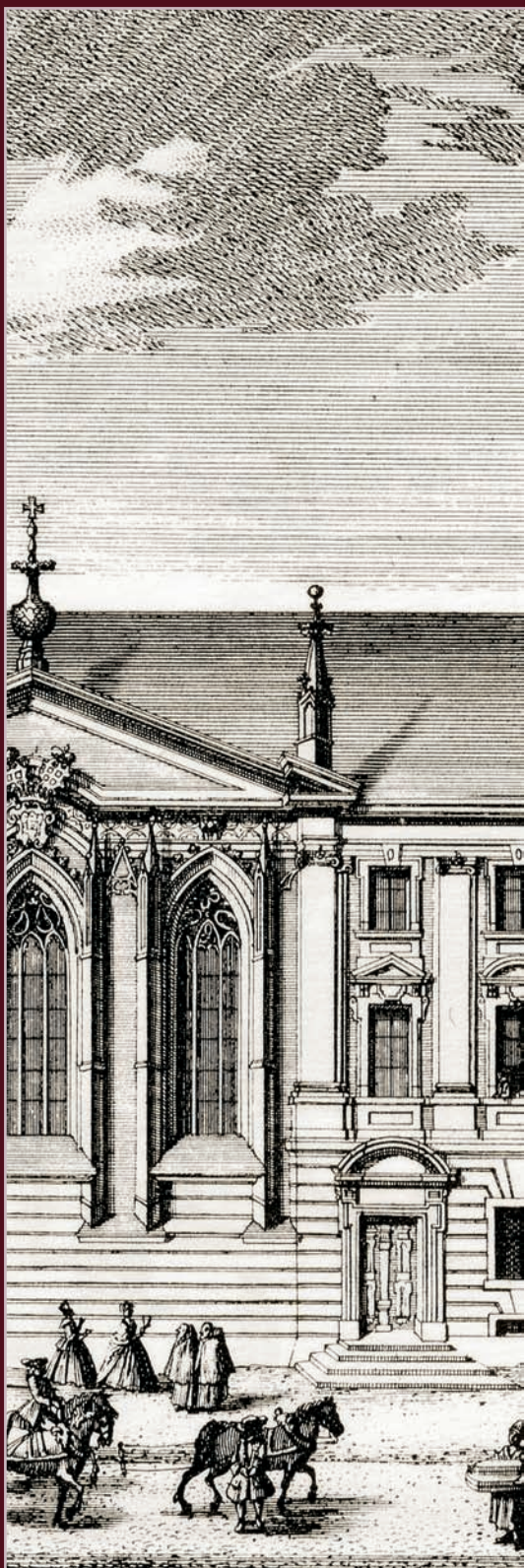


ALLA MODERNA

Antiche chiese
e rifacimenti barocchi:
una prospettiva europea

Old Churches
and Baroque Renovations:
a European Perspective

*a cura di Augusto Roca De Amicis
e Claudio Varagnoli*



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Roma 2015

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ANTICHE CHIESE E RINNOVAMENTI BAROCCHI:
UNA PROSPETTIVA EUROPEA / OLD CHURCHES AND BAROQUE
RENOVATIONS: A EUROPEAN PERSPECTIVE

A cura di / Edited by
AUGUSTO ROCA DE AMICIS, CLAUDIO VARAGNOLI

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Introduzione - Introduction

Claudio Varagnoli, Augusto Roca De Amicis

Se l'argomento di questo libro – nato a seguito di una giornata di studi svoltasi presso l'Accademia di San Luca il 4 ottobre del 2013 – fosse stato presentato solo pochi decenni fa non sarebbe stato valutato appieno, dato che non può collocarsi interamente entro discipline consolidate e richiede che ognuno faccia qualche passo al di fuori dei propri confini per intenderlo meglio. L'opera di rinnovamento di chiese paleocristiane o medievali consegue i suoi risultati più significativi in un momento storico compreso tra il rinnovamento post-tridentino e buona parte del Settecento, e occupa un posto centrale nella cultura architettonica come nel pensiero religioso e nella liturgia, ma a lungo tale centralità non era stata colta. Gli storici del restauro infatti non possono comprendere appieno tale fenomeno se concepiscono la loro disciplina come tecnica, che si limita a fornire strumenti utili alla conservazione; ma neppure se la concepiscono come qualcosa che nasce solo con lo storicismo, senza avere niente alle spalle; e certo gli interventi sulle chiese antiche nel Sei-Settecento restano al di fuori di tale orizzonte, anche se così sfuggono alcuni valori fondanti talmente sottesi che è difficile portarli alla luce. E la storia dell'architettura rischia di non comprendere l'argomento se non fa i conti con un'idea di tale forza che continua ancor oggi a orientare in modo preconciso il nostro orizzonte, ossia l'idea risalente a Leon Battista Alberti che a un'opera architettonica non si possa togliere o aggiungere altro senza comprometterla irrimediabilmente. Ma l'architettura che commenta e aggiunge altro a qualcosa che già esisteva, per poter dialogare con essa deve essere costitutivamente imperfetta, incompleta. E così molti importanti studiosi nell'esaminare un monumento che presenta tali caratteri devono fare il necessario ma non esaustivo lavoro dell'anatomista, sezionandolo in fasi in sé compiute, più che dialoganti tra loro, rischiando di non comprendere l'esito d'insieme.

Bisogna quindi pensare tali fenomeni in termini di processualità. E anche un importante studioso come Marvin Trachtenberg ha scritto un libro dal significativo titolo *Building-in-time* – un solo termine connesso da trattini – indagando le vicende di grandi cantieri di chiese dalle lunghe vicissitudini. Tuttavia, i rinnovamenti compiuti nel lasso di tempo qui considerato non costituiscono un mero episodio in un'ininterrotta catena di aggiunte e modifiche, ma sono dotati di una propria specificità e di un livello di intenzionalità che li pongono come oggetto di studio particolare, per il quale non è sufficiente pensare in termini processuali. Tale modo di operare ha infatti le sue premesse in un nuovo modo di valutare l'antichità cristiana e il suo carattere di testimonianza; e a tale istanza deve assolvere, pur con alterne vicende, un linguaggio architettonico che ha nel suo codice genetico un tratto fondamentale, e che costituisce un carattere primario di quanto chiamiamo barocco, quello dell'inclusività.

Siamo quindi nella posizione di interpretare un'architettura che ne interpreta un'altra, una complessa situazione ermeneutica, per cui dobbiamo risalire pazientemente dal nostro orizzonte alle motivazioni della committenza e soprattutto all'*intentio operis*, per comprendere, tanto nell'alterità quanto nella continuità, quello che sta alle nostre spalle.

Una simile impostazione vorrebbe aprirsi anche ad orizzonti metodologici innovativi. Non si tratta di individuare singole qualità invertebrate in un manufatto architettonico, quanto di leggere queste qualità in una relazione, quindi in una condizione di difficile inquadramento, ma che permette di uscire dall'eccessiva attenzione rivolta a questioni incentrate sul ruolo dell'autore o della committenza, o ancora sui valori simbolici o ideologici. Certamente gli interventi di rinnovamento hanno motivazioni legate a motivi contingenti come ad esigenze di più ampio spettro: ma la ricorrenza del fenomeno, la sua diffusione e la sua sistematicità in alcune aree non possono essere confinate in una semplice operazione legata al gusto dei tempi. E questa prospettiva di metodo si unisce al tentativo di leggere trasversalmente più culture architettoniche a confronto tra loro, utilizzando il rapporto con il passato come cartina al tornasole per verificare realtà diverse: quindi più che lavorare attorno a singole figure e a singole opere, si è qui cercato, con l'aiuto dei maggiori specialisti in questo campo, di cogliere contesti e orientamenti di più ampia portata, in una prospettiva europea – dato che il fenomeno è principalmente legato al vecchio continente – e in una lettura di tipo comparato.

Altra questione che caratterizza il fenomeno dei rifacimenti, è appunto la tendenza a non considerare il passato come tale, cioè visto in una prospettiva di conclusione e di superamento. Il passato “non è una terra straniera” – per ricordare un noto libro di David Lowenthal e un film di Joseph Losey con la sceneggiatura di Harold Pinter – ma una dimensione contigua o addirittura mescolata alla contemporaneità. Malgrado le dissonanze formali e talvolta anche statiche indotte dai rifacimenti barocchi, è forse questa la differenza più evidente da quella che possiamo chiamare l'età dello storicismo. Da qui la difficoltà di inquadrare il fenomeno sotto l'angolazione del restauro, che nelle sue diverse declinazioni otto-novecentesche – dal restauro stilistico alla conservazione assoluta – si fonda proprio sulla conclusa identità del monumento, da ricostruire a posteriori con un processo induttivo o da accettare nel suo farsi o disfarsi attraverso la storia. Ma ancora, il tema del progetto che entra nelle pieghe di un contesto edificato può sollecitare rimandi e considerazioni rivolte al nostro tempo, che sembra aver smarrito la capacità di interpretare e il necessario equilibrio per dialogare con l'alterità del passato. E da una postazione che, dopo le riflessioni di Hans Belting e di Arthur C. Danto sulla fine della storia dell'arte, abbandona ogni impostazione teleologica è forse possibile avvertire in tali premesse potenzialità sinora non esplorate.

Il titolo del volume vuole richiamare sinteticamente la tendenza a “ridurre alla moderna” il lascito architettonico della chiesa delle origini, qui intesa in un ampio arco cronologico che va dalle fondazioni costantiniane di Roma, a quelle alto-medievali del mondo germanico, fino alle cattedrali del pieno medioevo diffuse in tutta Europa, portatrici di un ruolo simbolico capace di aggregare vaste comunità di fedeli. La modernità a cui allude il titolo è quella derivata dal sistema classico messo a punto nell'arco del XVI secolo, pur fra infiniti dibattiti e variazioni, e comunque sancito dal movimento nato dal Concilio di Trento e dalla lingua ufficiale della Chiesa di Roma

tra XVII e XVIII secolo. Questo aggiornamento non è solo formale o tipologico, poiché è sostanziato dalle novità liturgiche apportate dal concilio e sostanziate dall'opera di Carlo Borromeo e dei suoi seguaci attivi in tutta Europa. Ma, come già accennato, il fenomeno non è circoscrivibile in ambiti geografici e in parte neppure entro singole confessioni cristiane; da qui il tentativo di aprirsi a una prospettiva europea per poter valutare diversità e analogie di comportamenti di fronte ad un edificio antico – o ritenuto tale – evidenziando continuità e rotture in tutto il continente.

Tensioni e ambivalenze non riconponibili in un quadro unitario, sono già evidenti nel saggio di Irene Giustina sui lavori promossi dal cardinale Federico Borromeo nella Milano del primo Seicento. Le valutazioni positive verso le antiche chiese si accompagnano infatti a ricostruzioni improntate ora a istanze di magnificenza (le nuove facciate), ora di funzionalità liturgica (le absidi), usando il moderno linguaggio elaborato a Roma ma sempre affrontando per parti l'organismo architettonico; mentre un monumento dell'importanza di Sant'Ambrogio, dà luogo a un diverso atteggiamento, per il quale Borromeo volle unire conservazione a ricostruzione.

A Roma, come evidenziato da Augusto Roca De Amicis, è soprattutto il cardinale Cesare Baronio che precisa modalità d'intervento seguite per quasi due secoli. Esito di una mentalità storico-simbolica, l'istanza di non alterare gli impianti e quella di conservare la materia delle antiche chiese trovano variabili punti di equilibrio. Tali istanze, dopo il trauma della distruzione della parte costantiniana della basilica di San Pietro sotto Paolo V, troveranno in San Giovanni in Laterano il terreno per nuove sperimentazioni, giungendo alla matura formulazione di Borromini; e in San Clemente, già nel primo Settecento, un esito in cui antico e nuovo si confrontano liberamente e senza prevaricazioni.

Anche nell'area napoletana, soprattutto nel diciassettesimo secolo, il rinnovamento avviene in ossequio alla precettistica tridentina, in stretto rapporto con il dibattito in ambito erudito e antiquario. Valentina Russo pone in luce le diverse modalità di intervento, tra relativa indifferenza e tentativi di accordo linguistico con il passato. In quest'ultimo ambito rientrano alcuni interventi di Cosimo Fanzago e di Arcangelo Guglielmelli, prima fra tutti la trasformazione dell'antica Santa Restituta, a cui fanno da sfondo le polemiche sorte negli ambienti ecclesiastici.

Nella Sicilia delle maggiori cattedrali, indagate da Marco Rosario Nobile, gli interventi mostrano forti specificità, conformemente a criteri valutativi non corrispondenti a quelli in uso in altre realtà. Soprattutto i monumenti funebri, gli altari, gli apparati effimeri sono il luogo dove il potere civico, quello regio, quello vescovile si confrontano con alterni equilibri, divenendo spesso il centro motore di interventi più ampi e sovente, come a Palermo, contrastati.

La Francia rivela, come dimostra Jörg Garms, caratteristiche specifiche nella tarda ricezione delle disposizioni tridentine e nella continuità del sistema costruttivo gotico. Solo nel Settecento si può parlare di cambiamenti nell'interno delle chiese, come nella sistemazione del coro di Notre-Dame a Parigi successiva al voto di Luigi XIII. L'attenzione è comunque rivolta agli arredi liturgici – pulpiti, altari "alla romana", cancellate – mentre sono assenti le innovazioni sul piano spaziale. Un ruolo di spicco è assunto dal baldacchino, forse per la sua leggerezza e l'assonanza con il gotico.

Meinrad von Engelberg offre un quadro degli interventi in terra tedesca caratte-

rizzati, soprattutto dopo la pace di Westfalia, da due valutazioni, più complementari che antitetiche, delle chiese medievali: testimonianze di una nazione germanica legata all'Impero per i luterani, che mostrano una propensione più conservativa; esempi dell'antichità della Chiesa tedesca per i cattolici, con maggiori istanze di rinnovamento.

L'area danubiana, trattata da Ulrich Fürst, è un'altra zona di confine caratterizzata dalla presenza di antiche abbazie e basiliche e da plurali modalità di intervento, passando dal rivestimento "all'italiana" delle antiche strutture con forme moderne, come a Mariazell o a Passau, alla punteggiatura di altari e arredi sacri in strutture come l'abbazia di Kaisheim. secondo modi franco-germanici, o ancora seguendo un principio di conformità con il gotico, come a Regensburg o a Zwettl.

Anche nella cattolica Boemia, indagata da Pavel Kalina, il valore dell'antichità diviene un punto di partenza, ma sono soprattutto le immagini sacre e le reliquie, con forti risonanze simboliche, a innescare dei rinnovamenti dove il barocco e le libere reminescenze del gotico formano i variati involucri di tali testimonianze.

L'innesto di forme barocche in Spagna, come pone in luce Javier Rivera Blanco, si verifica soprattutto nel completamento delle grandi cattedrali, come Valencia, nella quale si riscontra un intervento nell'interno assimilabile alle esperienze italiane. Si sviluppa per tempo una tendenza a privilegiare la coerenza del linguaggio originario, e non solo per ragioni di mera praticità. Alla fine del Settecento, Ventura Rodriguez offrirà soluzioni tecniche capaci di conseguire un notevole rispetto della preesistenza.

A conclusione delle premesse iniziali, Claudio Varagnoli sintetizza il *corpus* delle trasformazioni basilicali nell'arco del Settecento romano. Sotto la spinta dell'antiquaria cristiana e della lezione di Muratori, il modello seicentesco da un lato si alleggerisce per aderire meglio all'edificio da restaurare, dall'altro aumenta il proprio carattere inclusivo. Questa ricerca, che si svolge tra i pontificati di Clemente XI e quello di Benedetto XIV, trova il suo apice nell'intervento in S. Croce in Gerusalemme, ai limiti della coerenza dell'organismo classico, nello sforzo di innovare conservando.

Il saggio di Alessandra Marino, infine, legge il tema del convegno *in absentia* cioè partendo dalle numerose rimozioni che hanno cancellato molti aggiornamenti barocchi in Toscana. Ciò è accaduto per il carattere eminentemente sovrastrutturale dei rifacimenti sei-settecenteschi, che si affidano a volte in canne, stucchi, affreschi, ma soprattutto per una malintesa prassi del restauro, volta a riscoprire paramenti lapidei e partiti architettonici presunti medievali, a spese della verità storica dell'edificio.

Nelle pagine che seguono sono assenti, o posti in secondo piano, alcuni temi consueti negli studi che prendono in esame i rapporti con la tradizione, costruita e non. Si è infatti cercato di porre in secondo piano la questione della persistenza di modi, tipologie e sistemi strutturali in epoche successive alla loro affermazione: non si è quindi affrontato il tema dell'eredità medievale nelle architetture del XVII e XVIII secolo, né ci si è soffermati sugli atteggiamenti mimetici nei confronti degli edifici del passato – quasi in una prefigurazione dell'atteggiamento stilistico – argomenti entrambi già trattati in altre sedi e sufficientemente noti, almeno nell'impostazione generale. Né gli studi che qui si presentano si concentrano sulla produzione di eruditi, antiquari e architetti sul tema, sia per la vastità del soggetto, che richiederebbe un volume a parte, sia per aver voluto porre al centro dell'attenzione degli studiosi e del pubblico il risul-

tato finale in termini di architettura costruita, risultato dell'incontro o dello scontro tra epoche diverse. Né infine si è posta in primo piano la questione della conservazione e del restauro o comunque del bilancio tra quello che si è perso e quello che si è acquisito. Si ritiene infatti che una simile prospettiva sia legata ad una disposizione che nasce solo con il secolo XIX, in una dimensione dipendente dallo storicismo e dal positivismo; un orizzonte filosofico e metodologico del tutto diverso da quello in cui si collocano i rifacimenti barocchi, che si vorrebbero quindi leggere – con tutte le difficoltà legate al comprendere ciò che è altro da noi – *iuxta propria principia*. Naturalmente i singoli autori hanno le proprie posizioni sui temi della storia e del restauro, ma queste restano sullo sfondo dei contributi che qui si presentano.

Il presente volume intende offrire un panorama di aree geoculturali che offrono già consolidate tradizioni di studi senza certo pretendere una piena esaustività, ma indicando piuttosto percorsi ancora da esplorare. Il fenomeno della revisione moderna di edifici si è soprattutto affermato nei paesi a forte tradizione cattolica e con un patrimonio legato alla chiesa delle origini tale da costituire la base per il rilancio del culto legato al primato romano, mentre per imprese analoghe nei paesi protestanti gli studi si stanno avviando solo di recente, soprattutto per la Germania luterana, mentre per l'Inghilterra, i Paesi Bassi, i paesi scandinavi; come pure per i paesi del cristianesimo orientale molto lavoro va ancora fatto. Né sono presenti alcuni fondamentali paesi cattolici, come il Portogallo, le Fiandre, l'Ungheria, per la minore estensione del fenomeno: ma sarà anche questa materia per un prossimo incontro.

Anche questo volume deve molto a colleghi e amici che ci hanno sostenuto nella ricerca. L'iniziativa nasce con l'appoggio disinteressato e partecipe di Francesco Moschini, Segretario Generale dell'Accademia di San Luca. Un ringraziamento inoltre ai colleghi che hanno accettato di presiedere le sessioni del convegno – Alessandra Marino ed Elisa Debenedetti – e a coloro che hanno offerto un valido aiuto nella trascrizione, nella redazione e nella traduzione di alcuni testi: Francesca Nusiner, Giorgio Ortolani, Emma Booth, Gabriella Mazzone, Carrol Mortera. E naturalmente a tutti gli autori che, con grande entusiasmo, hanno condiviso questa fatica con i curatori.

If the topic of this book – originated after a one day conference at the Accademia di San Luca on October 4, 2013 – had been presented only a few decades ago, it would not have been fully and properly valued. In fact, it cannot be placed entirely within well-established disciplines and it requires going beyond one's own cultural frontiers in order to better understand it. The renovation of the early Christian or Medieval churches achieves its most significant results in the period between the post-Tridentine renewal and the greatest part of the Eighteenth century, and plays a central role in the architectural culture, as well as in the religious thought and liturgy, even if this importance was not understood for a long time. The Restoration historians, in fact, cannot fully understand this phenomenon if they conceive their discipline as a technical one, providing useful tools for conservation; not even if they conceive it as something coming only from historicism, with no background of its own. The interventions on the ancient churches in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth centuries are therefore out of this field, even if some basic and intrinsic values cannot be taken into consideration in this

way. The History of Architecture may not be able to fully understand this idea, if it does not deal with an extremely forceful concept, still unconsciously influencing our cultural horizon, by Leon Battista Alberti: nothing can be removed or added to an architectural work without hopelessly compromising it. Nevertheless, the architecture commenting on or adding something to a pre-existing situation, should be intrinsically imperfect and incomplete, in order to interact with it. Consequently, many important scholars, examining a monument characterized by such features, should carry out the necessary but not comprehensive work of an anatomist, cutting it into accomplished sections, more than interconnected ones, at the risk of a non-comprehensive understanding.

Our subject matter must therefore be considered as a process. An important scholar such as Marvin Trachtenberg wrote a book bearing the significant title *Building-in-time* - only one term connected by hyphens - investigating into the events of the construction of major churches with various vicissitudes. However, the renovations made in the aforementioned period do not represent a mere episode in a historical series of additions and alterations, but they do possess a specificity of their own, thus becoming a subject for special studies. It is not sufficient in this case to think only in terms of a process. This way of proceeding has indeed its origins in a new way of assessing Christian Archaeology and its character of testimony; and this purpose is to be achieved by employing an architectural language possessing in its genetic code the fundamental feature of 'inclusiveness', the main characteristic of what we call 'Baroque'.

We are therefore in the position of interpreting an architecture that interprets another one, a complex hermeneutic situation. Consequently, we should patiently go back from our individual horizon to the reasons of the commissioners and especially to the *intentio operis*, in order to understand what is behind us, regarding innovation as well as continuity.

Such an approach should also be opened to innovative methodological horizons. It is not the case of identifying individual qualities in an architectural piece of work, but it is important to read these qualities in a sort of relationship, exceeding the role of the author or of the patrons, or even the symbolic or ideological values. Certainly, renewal interventions are caused by contingencies, as well as by wider needs, but the recurrence of this phenomenon, its spread and systematic nature in some areas cannot be attributed to a simple operation linked to the taste of the times. This perspective method goes along with the effort of a transversal interpretation of different and comparable architectural cultures. The relationship with the past is a real test in order to examine different realities. Thus, more than working on single figures and individual works, there is here an attempt to understand broader contexts and trends, included in a European perspective, through the valuable help of leading specialists in the field. This phenomenon is, in fact, mainly linked to the Old Continent and should be understood through the means of a comparative reading.

Another issue characterizing the phenomenon of reconstructions, is precisely the trend not to consider the past as such, i.e. as something concluded and surpassed. The Past "is not a foreign country" - to remember a well-known book by David Lowenthal and a film by Joseph Losey with a screenplay by Harold Pinter - but a dimension adjoining or even mixed with contemporaneity. Despite the formal and sometimes static discrepancies, originated by Baroque reconstructions, this is perhaps the most obvious difference

from what we might call the age of historicism. Hence the difficulty of considering the phenomenon from the perspective of the restoration, which in its various expressions of the Nineteenth and Twentieth centuries - from the stylistic restoration to the total conservation - is based precisely on the completed identity of the monument, to be reconstructed *a posteriori* through an inductive method. In addition, the issue of the project, included into an established building context, can stimulate references and considerations addressed to our time, seemingly losing its ability to interpret and dialogue with the diversity of the past. And from a position with no teleological perspectives, after the considerations by Hans Belting and Arthur C. Danto on the end of the History of Art, it is probably possible to perceive an unexplored potential in such premises.

The title of the book would briefly recall the tendency to convert to modern style (*alla moderna*) the architectural legacy of the early churches, here considered through a wide span of time, from the Constantinian foundations in Rome, to the early Medieval ones of the Germanic world, up to the cathedrals of the Middle Ages spread throughout Europe. They represented an aggregative symbol for vast communities of believers. The modernity hinted at the title is a result of the Classical system developed during the Sixteenth century, even amid endless debates and changes, and sanctioned by the movement ensuing from the Council of Trent and from the official language of the Church of Rome, between the Seventeenth and the Eighteenth century. This updating is not only formal or typological, as it is originated by the liturgical innovations of the Council, by Carlo Borromeo's work and by his followers operating throughout Europe. But, as already mentioned, the phenomenon is not limited to geographical areas and not even to individual Christian creeds. Hence the attempt to open up to a European perspective in order to assess diversities and similarities of approach in front of an ancient building - or deemed in such way - highlighting continuity and dissimilarity throughout all Europe.

Non-unifiable tensions and ambivalences are already evident in the essay by Irene Giustina on the works promoted by Cardinal Federico Borromeo in Milan, in the early Seventeenth century. Positive appraisals of the ancient churches, in fact, go along with the reconstructions characterized by magnificence (the new façades), or liturgical functionality (apses), using the modern language developed in Rome but always working on the single parts of the architectural whole. A monument as important as Sant' Ambrogio, gives rise to a different approach, where Borromeo combined preservation and reconstruction.

In Rome, as evidenced by Augusto Roca De Amicis, especially Cardinal Cesare Baronio ratifies the conditions of intervention, followed for almost two centuries. As a result of a historical and symbolic mentality, the instance not to alter the plan and to respect the original masonry of ancient churches variably coexist. These instances, after the shock of the destruction of part of the Constantinian basilica of St. Peter under Paul V, will be carried out in a new way in San Giovanni in Laterano. They will lead to the mature achievement by Borromini and in San Clemente, already in the early Eighteenth century, to a result where old and new architectural features compare freely and without prevailing.

Even in the Neapolitan area, especially in the Seventeenth century, renewals take place in accordance with the precepts of Trent, in close relationship with the scholarly and antiquarian debate. Valentina Russo highlights the different modes of interven-

tion, between a comparative indifference and the attempt of an architectural linguistic agreement with the past. Some interventions by Fanzago and Guglielmelli belong to this attempt, first and foremost the transformation of the ancient Santa Restituta, involving controversy on behalf of ecclesiastical circles.

In Sicily in the major cathedrals, examined by Marco Rosario Nobile, the interventions show strong specificities, according to the evaluation criteria different from other situations. Above all, funeral monuments, altars, ephemeral ornaments are the places where Civic, Royal and Episcopal powers are facing, with alternate outcome, often becoming the central engine of more wide-ranging and contested interventions, such as in Palermo.

France, as evidenced by Jörg Garms, shows specific features in the late acceptance of the Tridentine provisions and in the continuity of the Gothic building system. Only in the Eighteenth century it is possible to talk about changes inside churches, as in the planning of the choir of Notre-Dame in Paris, after the vow of Louis XIII. The attention is anyway addressed to the liturgical marble decoration - pulpits, "Roman" altars, balustrades - while innovations on the spacial level are absent. A prominent role is that of the baldachin, probably because of its lightness and similarity to the Gothic style.

Meinrad von Engelberg offers a picture of interventions in Germany, characterized, especially after the Peace of Westfalia, by two evaluations of medieval churches, more complementary than antithetical. They are the evidence of a German nation linked to the Empire, for the more conservative interventions of Lutherans; and an example of the antiquity of the German Church for the more modern renewals of Catholics.

The Danube area, considered by Ulrich Fürst, is another frontier area characterized by the presence of ancient abbeys and basilicas and different modes of intervention, from the 'Italian' coating of the ancient structures with modern forms, as in Mariazell or Passau, to the punctiform placement of altars and decorations in structures such as the Abbey in Kaisheim, according to French-German rules, or even following a principle of compliance with the Gothic style, as in Regensburg or in Zwettl.

Even in the Catholic Bohemia, examined by Pavel Kalina, the value of antiquity becomes a starting point, but especially the sacred images and the relics, with strong symbolic resonance, trigger renovations, where the Baroque and the free reminiscences of the Gothic style represent the different external covers of such evidences.

The insertion of Baroque forms in Spain, as highlights Javier Rivera Blanco, occurs mainly in the completion of the great cathedrals, such as Valencia, where an intervention similar to the Italian experience is visible inside. A trend to privilege the original architectural language takes place and not only for practical reasons. At the end of the Eighteenth century, Ventura Rodriguez offers technical solutions providing the respect of the pre-existing forms.

Claudio Varagnoli summarizes the *corpus* of the transformed basilicas during the Eighteenth century in Rome. Under the pressure of the Christian Archaeology and of Muratori's heritage, the Seventeenth-century model on one hand becomes lighter, in order to better adhere to the building to be restored, on the other hand it increases its inclusive nature. This process, taking place between the papacies of Clement XI and Benedict XIV, achieves its best results in the intervention in S. Croce in Gerusalemme, challenging the coherence of the classical structure, in an effort to innovate, while preserving.

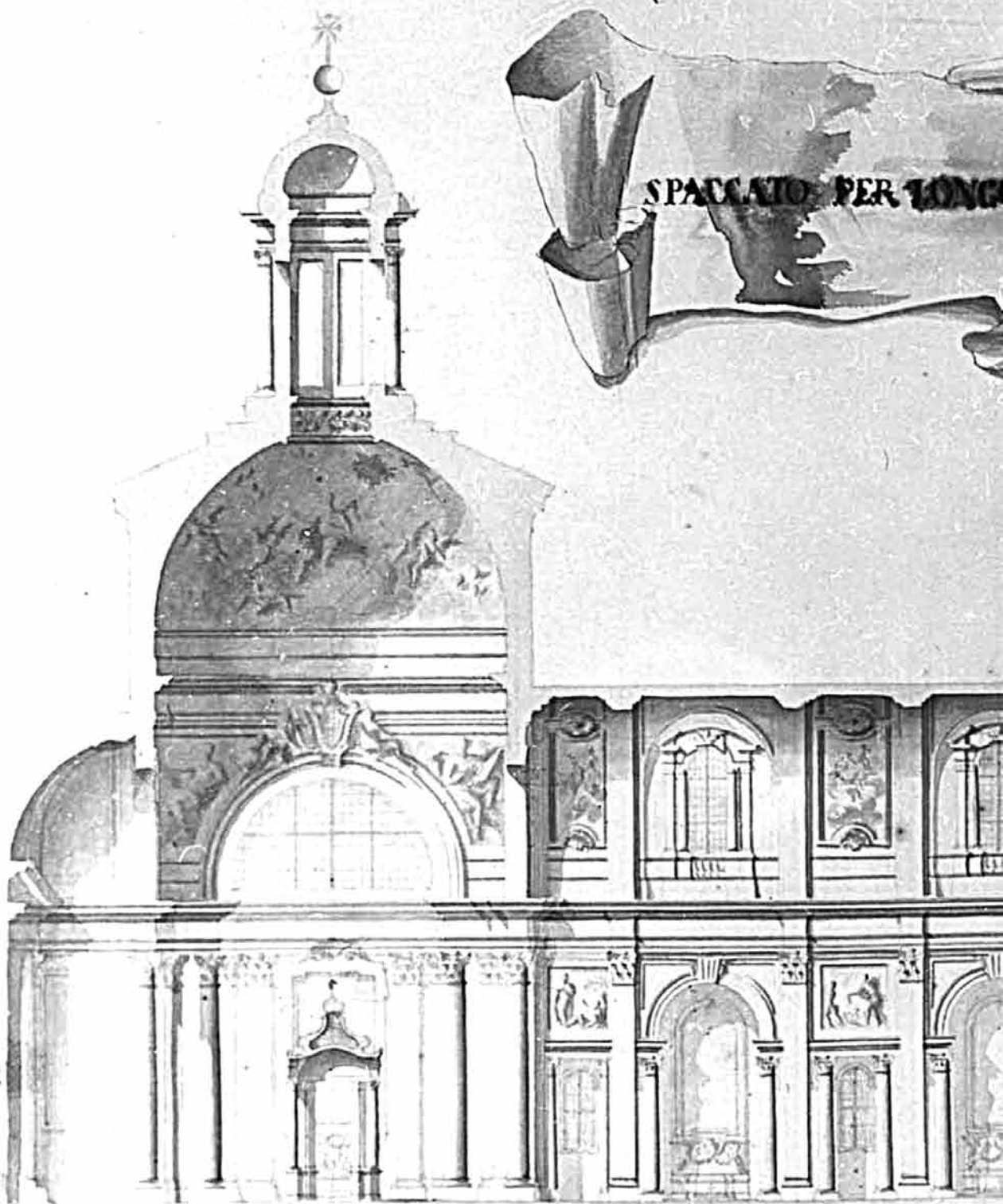
The essay by Alessandra Marino finally interprets the theme of the workshop *in absentia*, i.e. starting from the several removals cancelling many Baroque renovations in Tuscany. This took place due to the mainly superstructural feature of the Seventeenth-Eighteenth century renovations, making use of reed vaults, the stucco decorations, frescoes, but especially due to a misunderstood restoration procedure, aimed at rediscovering stony masonry surface and allegedly Medieval architectural features, to the expense of the historical reality of the building.

In the following pages some usual themes, like the relationship with the building and non building traditions, are absent or simply put in the background. The issue of the persistence of some antique procedures, types and structural systems in later centuries was also put in the background. The question of the Medieval legacy in the architectures of the Eighteenth and Seventeenth century was not dealt with, as well as the mimetic approach with regard to buildings of the past – almost in a sort of anticipation of the stylistic attitude –; both topics already known and discussed in other places. Furthermore, the studies here presented do not focus on the literary work of coeval scholars, antiquarians and architects on the subject, because of its vastness – requiring a separate volume – in order to focus the attention of the researchers and public on the built architecture, as a result of the harmony or the clash between different ages. Nor the issue of conservation and restoration, or otherwise the final result from what is lost and what is gained, is finally placed in the foreground. Such a perspective is, in fact, linked to an idea originated only in the Nineteenth century, in the context of historicism and positivism: a philosophical and methodological perspective far from that of the Baroque renovations. We would like to interpret them *iuxta propria principia*. Of course the individual authors have their own ideas on the issues of history and restoration, but these remain in the background with regard to the contributions here presented.

The present volume aims at providing an overview of geo-cultural areas offering well-established traditions of studies without pursuing any exhaustiveness, but rather indicating dimensions still to be explored. The phenomenon of the modern improvements of antique buildings is rooted in countries with a strong Catholic tradition and a monumental heritage arose at the time of the Church of the origins, representing a starting point for the revival of the cult linked to the Roman primacy. Similar studies in Protestant countries are only recently starting, especially in Lutheran Germany, while for England, the Netherlands, the Scandinavian countries, as well as for the countries of Eastern Christianity much work is still to be done. Nor some fundamental Catholic countries, such as Portugal, Flanders, Hungary, are present, due to the lower extent of the problem: but this topic will constitute the subject of a further meeting.

This book also owes much to colleagues and friends who have supported us in the research. The initiative was created with the enthusiastic support of Francesco Moschini, Segretario Generale of the Accademia di San Luca. Thanks also to colleagues who agreed to chair the sessions of the conference – Alessandra Marino and Elisa Debenedetti – and to those who have offered valuable assistance in the transcription, in the editing and translation of texts: Francesca R. Nusiner, Giorgio Ortolani, Emma Booth, Gabriella Mazzone, Carroll Mortera. And of course, our thanks go to all the Authors who, with great enthusiasm, have shared this effort with the editors.

SPACCATO PER LONGO



New basilicas from the ancient: Rome and central Italy in Eighteenth century

Claudio Varagnoli

In order to grasp the deep meaning of Roman churches architectural renovation during the Eighteenth century¹, it is appropriate to reflect once again on the restoration of Santa Maria Maggiore designed and carried out by Ferdinando Fuga in many building stages since 1740 (Fig. 1). The basic theme is that of the proto-Christian and Constantinian basilica and of its relations with the classical and Vitruvian model. In his project, Fuga tries to connect all the features of the previous building, looking for symmetries, unifying mouldings and marble claddings, stressing the constructive logic of added parts, as the lateral vaults, connected to pilasters and marking the perimeter walls. This expressed intention of unifying the elements of the old building, layered with multiple stylistical and spatial models, as we already know, is a steady feature in the “Roman” strategy to preserve and enhance relics of the glorious past.

It is interesting to note that this unity, obtained through a structure overlapping a pre-existing one, is brilliantly understood by Quatremère de Quincy, a rigorous critic seemingly far from the culture of the Eighteenth-century renovation. In his *Dictionnaire*², he expressly praised the intervention by Ferdinando Fuga – which Benedict XIV very sarcastically criticized – because he provided to us an authentic ancient Christian basilica, «le modèle le plus parfait d’une église chrétienne, & la copie la plus juste d’une ancienne basilique. Vitruve reparoissant aujourd’hui sur la terre reconnoîtroit une basilique dans l’église de Ste-Maria-Majeure.»

As Pierre Pinon rightly pointed out³, Quatremère bridged the gap between the Baroque renovations and the historicist concept of restoration originated in the Nineteenth century. Not only does he express his personal approval for Fuga’s restoration, but he underlines its alternative value as well, if compared to St. Peter’s experience: «le temple du Vatican donna la loi aux architectes de tous les pays, il n’eut presque pas été permis de soupçonner qu’il fut possible d’en eriger un qui méritait le nom de temple & qui n’en fut pas une copie. Les anciennes basiliques Chrétiennes, oubliées en quelque sorte sous l’antique poussière, où un saint respect & un dédain injuste les tenoient ensevelies, ne paroisoient aux yeux du plus grand nombre que d’illustres masures, dans dequelles on se contentoit de déplorer la pauvre magnificence des premièrese Ages du Christianisme. Mais depuis que par les soins du pape Benoît XIV la basilique Libérienne, ou celle de Ste-Marie-Majeure [...] s’est vue rétablie dans son ancienne splendeur & rappelée à la dignité première; depuis que les détails défectueux qui pouvoient en dégrader la beauté intrinsèque ont disparu sous la conduite & par les réparations bien entendues du Cavalier Fuga; depuis enfin qu’une véritable



Fig.1 – G. P. Pannini, the nave of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome, 1750 (S. Petersburg, Hermitage Museum).

basilique [italics in the text] a pu se remontrer dans tout son éclat, celle de St-Pierre a perdu du sien, & son crédit a diminui.»

Unlike the Pope himself and his contemporaries, Quatremère grasped in the Esquiline basilica a non-merely commemorative or decorative intention. Fuga had the merit of delivering an utmost clear reinterpretation of the typology and spatiality of the Liberian basilica through his own projects. He successfully coped with the many restrictions imposed by the patrons and by the antiquity of the building⁴. His disapproval, instead, is clearly evident, predictably, in the case of San Giovanni in Laterano by Borromini⁵, representing a negative earlier example and thus contrasting with the most proper trend suggested by Fuga's projects.

The specificity of this approach originates and develops through major historiographic premises. The work by Ciampini⁶ on the holy buildings built by Constantine is, at the end of the Seventeenth century, the systematic attempt to identify the basilica of the early official Christianity, though with utmost attention to renovations and further additions. In *Vetera Monimenta*, besides dealing with ancient places of worship in their functional aspects, Ciampini focuses on the iconography, dating back to the origin of the Christian liturgy, thus emphasizing a strong apologetic predisposition. However, he also raises the question of the buildings' dating, ensuing from the inter-

pretation of the construction techniques (Fig. 2) or of the windows' shape and size⁷.

The other reference text necessary to understand the phenomenon of the Eighteenth-century renovations is of course, the treatise *Delle cose gentilesche e profane trasportate ad uso e adornamento delle chiese*⁸ by Giovanni Marangoni. In the year 1744 he suggested to take into account the identification of the proto-Christian church, though even systematically considering the many *spolia* visible in the holy buildings. It is one of the first texts trying to understand why in a christian Roman basilica, as it could be seen in the Eighteenth century, it was and, indeed, it still is very common to find capitals or architraves different from each other and arranged in apparently random logics, related to changes and transformations. Marangoni tries to justify cardinals and patrons continuously adding *spolia* to their churches. The stratified feature of the ancient Roman churches is thus legitimized and made official. What is important here is not only the overall structure, but the collation of autonomous parts as well.

The attention to the *spolia* was certainly not only a phenomenon limited to Marangoni and the clergy taking care of ancient Roman churches. Evidence thereof is a sketchbook from the collection of Cardinal Mario Marefoschi Compagnoni⁹, including a graphic survey of liturgical furniture of early Christian churches, in plan and elevation: ambos, pulpits, *spolia*. The manuscript was intended to prepare a *Discourse of the Fabric of the ancient Christian Churches and of the form of the Ecclesiastical Habits*.

Many drawings, among which the architectural plans, are signed by the architect Giacomo De Santis¹⁰. Among the ones featuring sculptures, tombstones and paintings, some date back to 1738 and 1739. Fairly unusual in this the cultural ecclesiastical Roman environment, the title and the index of the sketchbook are in English. Marefoschi¹¹ was in fact the patron of the Irish College in Rome and it is very likely that this collection of drawings should represent a sample of liturgical and iconographic elements. Especially the representations of monumental tombs are meant to highlight suits, coats of arms, attributes, so as to constitute a kind of repertoire, likely to be spread in an English speaking country, probably Ireland itself. The medieval liturgical vestments are especially interesting for the surveyor and the patron, as it is clear in the

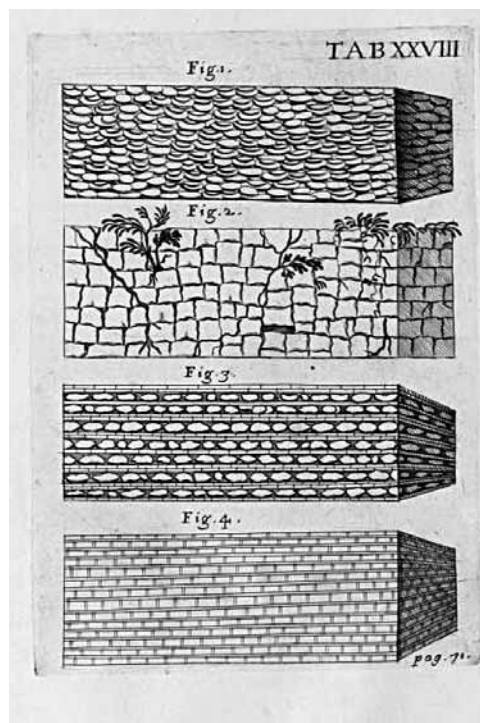
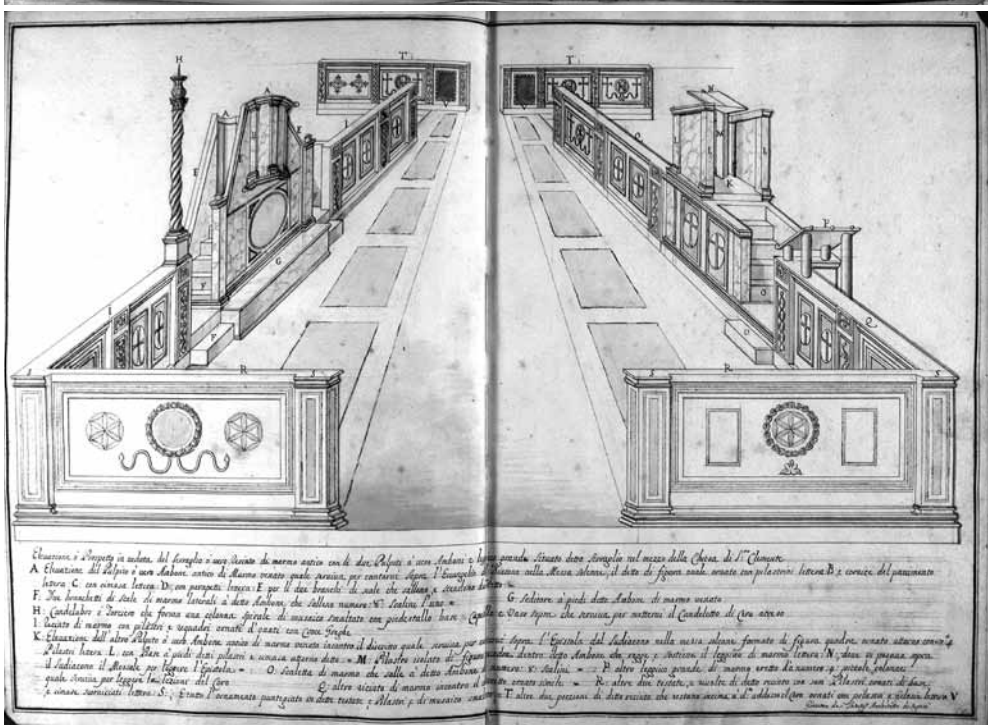
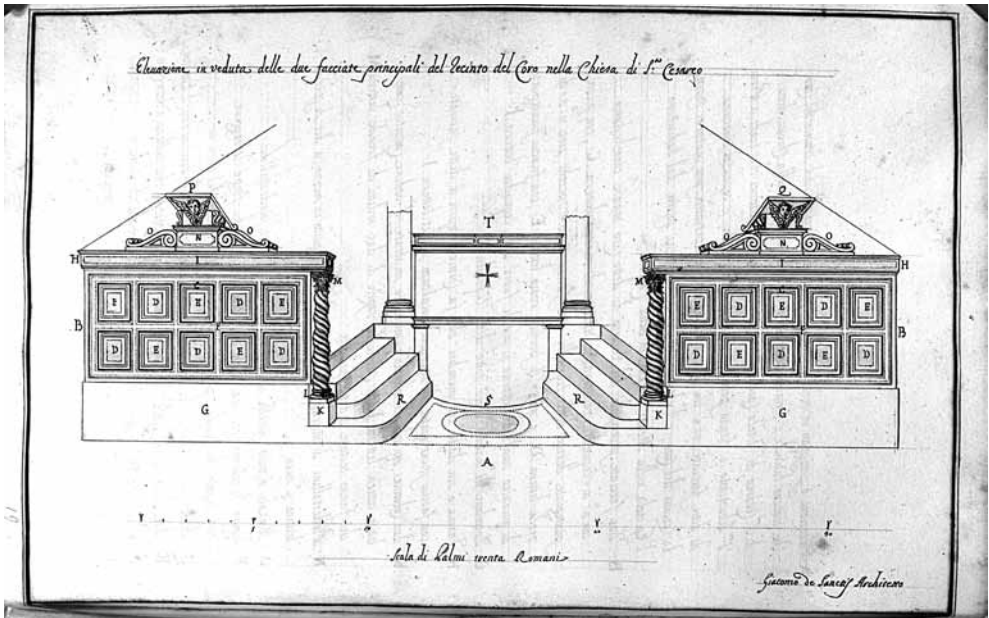


Fig. 2 -Masonries from early Christian Roman basilicas in Ciampini, *Vetera monumenta...*, cit., 1690, p. 154.



Figs. 3, 4 - G. De Santis, “Elevazione in veduta delle due facciate principali del recinto del coro nella Chiesa di S. Cesario”; “Elevazione è prospetto in veduta del Serraglio...”, basilica of San Clemente al Celio (Roma, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, mss 522, drawings n.22 and 1).

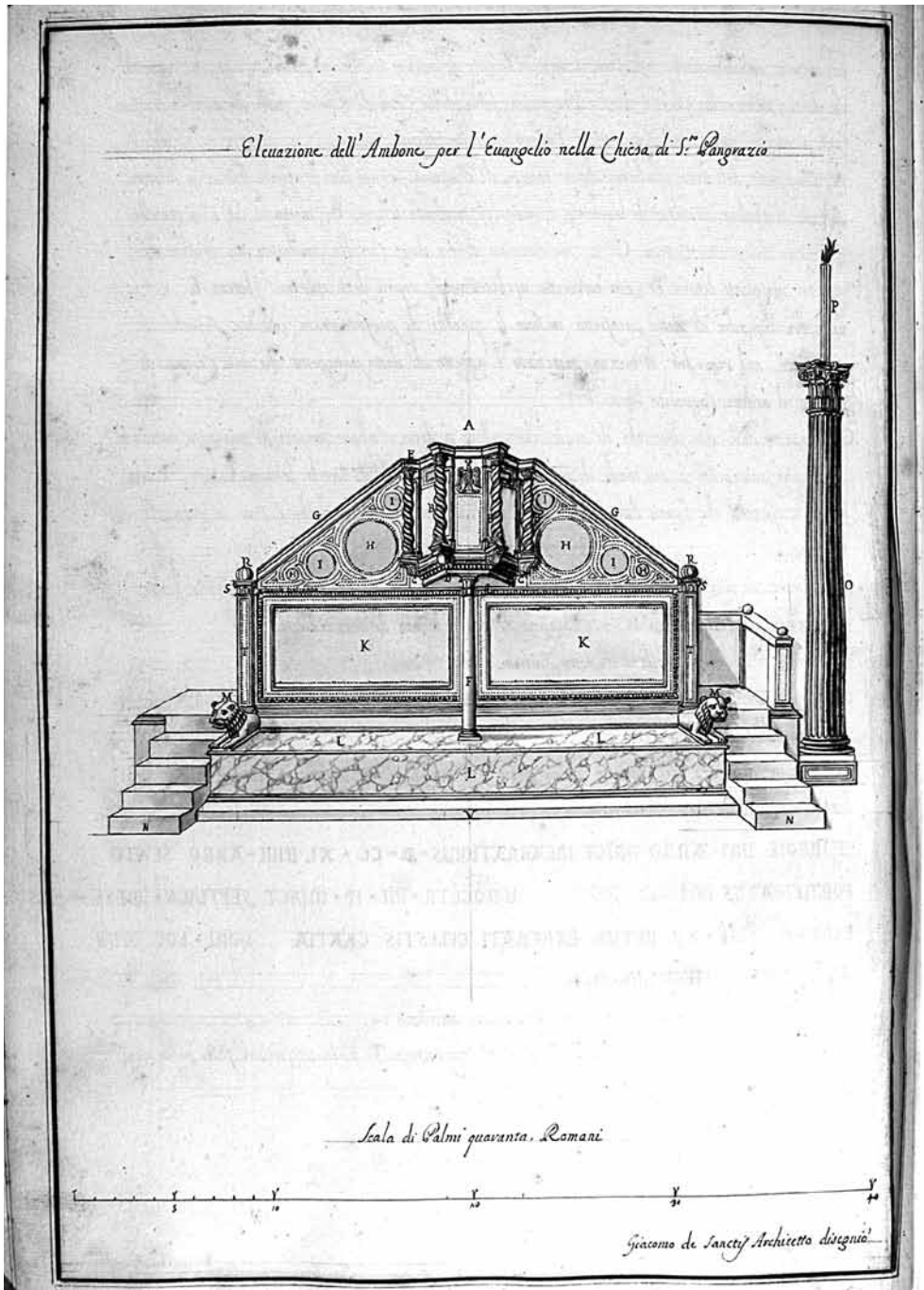


Fig. 4 - G. De Santis, "Elevazione dell'ambone per l'Evangelio nella Chiesa di S.to Pangrazio", Rome (Roma, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, mss 522, drawing n. 25).

case of the pulpits of San Pancrazio, Santa Maria in Aracoeli, and San Cesario in Via Appia (Fig. 3,4). The whole presbytery of San Clemente is present, probably considered a sample basilica due to its state of maintenance and to its apse and represented after the renewal promoted by Clement XI (Fig. 5).

Beside the attention to a fragmentary architecture, the aim at the architectural unity of the sacred buildings was prevailing. The churches reproducing the Constantinian pattern, as Ciampini identified it, provided static problems, emphasized in the course of the time. The perimeter walls, especially those of the main nave, often tall and thin, experienced instability. Trusses themselves, though generally designed to bear only vertical loads, as they get older and deformed because of several reasons, can cause diagonal stress on the same walls, long and poorly strengthened. The operative solution provided since the second half of the Sixteenth century, and later confirmed in the Seventeenth century, is well represented by the cathedral of Spoleto (Fig. 6) in the reconstruction ordered by the Bishop Maffeo Barberini - the later Pope Urban VIII - then carried out, but not completed, in 1644¹². Still under the influence of Vatican basilica's disposition, the reinterpretation of the Medieval cathedral belongs to a unitary planning. A series of vaults replaces the previous truss roof (covered or not by a coffered ceiling), adequately supported by external buttresses. For the renewal of the original internal colonnade, pillars were provided, more functional to set vaults, both in the nave and in the side aisles. This involves the complete removal of the existing columns, and alteration of the plan, but the perimeter of the old church is retained, as usual, to respect the consecrated soil. The increase of light sources allows new openings on the sides and in the presbytery.

It is, obviously, a static and distributive pattern ensuing from Renaissance models but also from the classical prototype of the pagan basilica covered with vaults, reinterpreted through several famous Sixteenth century examples. It represents the most used model in the Eighteenth century, as evidenced by the great reconstruction of the basilica of the Santi XII Apostoli in Rome, which was held dating back to the age of Constantine, according to tradition, but was actually founded in the mid-Sixth century and deeply restored at the end of the Fifteenth century. It was rebuilt on the initial project by Francesco Fontana (1702), and completed in 1724 with the demolition of most of the existing structures deemed unsafe¹³. In the new church, the original plan is forced by enlarging the main nave in a thoroughly renovated building (fig. 7). The drastic reconstruction of Sant'Eustachio pursues the same goal. The old church, still in its recognizable medieval plan, was renovated by Cesare Crovara (Fig. 8), with the contribution of many designers from the Chapter¹⁴. In these cases, the new building involves the disappearance of the existing one, of which the plan extension remains, and coincides with the consecrated soil. The renovations of Sant'Alessio¹⁵, Sant'Apollinare, and Sant'Eusebio had similar results.

The change introduced by the Eighteenth century is perhaps the attempt to give a new interpretation of this model, in order to make it flexible and versatile. Scholars such as Marangoni and usually clergymen interested in the newly born Christian archaeology, were highlighting to the architects the essential features to be preserved.



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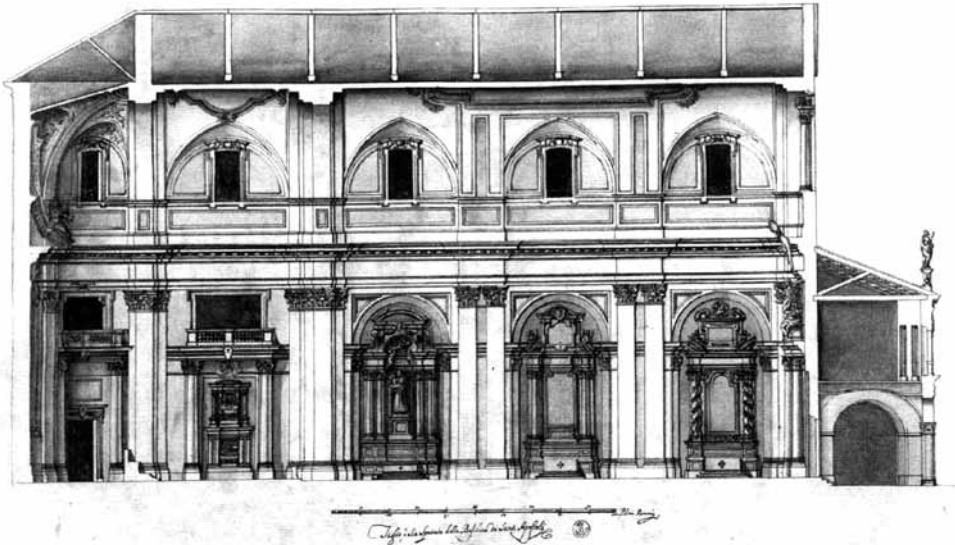


Fig. 6 - Spoleto, Cathedral of Santa Maria Assunta, the Seventeenth-century renovation. The new architecture left untouched the apse with Fifteenth-century frescoes.

Fig. 7 - Rome, basilica of Santi Apostoli, project by F. Fontana, section (from L. Finocchi Ghersi, *La basilica*, cit.).

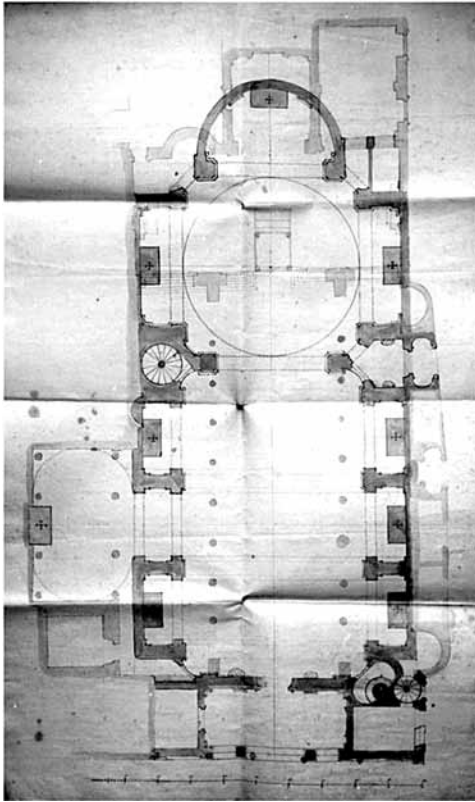


Fig. 8 - Rome, church of Sant'Eustachio, project of renovation by C. Crovara superimposed on the plan of the ancient building (C. Varagnoli, *Progetti e controversie*, cit.).

Pope Clement XI looked for alternative methods, alongside to the traditional models, and tried to restrict freedom of architects, as in the restorations by Carlo Fontana for the porch of Santa Maria in Trastevere (1701) and San Teodoro at the Palatine (1702-04)¹⁶.

An initial trend is that of transporting the coherent and organic plan of the vaulted basilica, supported by pillars and buttresses, inside a paratactic structure such as that of the basilicas of the early centuries of Christianity, making both perceptible. A first innovative intervention is that by Francesco Fontana on the Basilica of San Pietro in Vincoli¹⁷, starting from 1705. Since it was impossible to overload the extremely old walls with a real concrete or brick vault - therefore a very heavy one - a light vault was taken into consideration, this time a wooden one (Fig. 9). The overlapping of the classical coffers is well carried out, but it is obviously a vault studied to weigh as little as possible on the slender single supports. However, the use of the vault, though a wooden one, should have really contrasted with the authentic and encoded frame of the basilica of the time,

which featured a plain ceiling, as Quatremère de Quincy pointed out¹⁸: «Les architectes qui n'ont point couvert en plafond les basiliques modernes, ont été guidés plutôt par leur goût que par les raisons de solidité, puisque, jusqu'à présent, leur voûtes sont en bois. Cependant il en résulte toujours le coup d'oeil d'une voûte en pierre, qui semble surcharger les colonnes. Cette apparence ne peut qu'offrir le défaut très réel de mettre le plus lourd sur le plus léger, & le fort sur le faible; ce qui est aussi contraire aux lois de la solidité qu'à celles de l'harmonie.»

Accordingly, it appears the intention of creating syntactic connections within a structure with parallel planes: the vault, in its structure, resumes and connects the columns dividing the aisles. Another objective in the restoration by Francesco Fontana is the increase of light sources for the interiors. The need to increase light is a recurring theme in all the documents of the time, especially in the descriptions of the interior of churches prior to restorations.

This possibility to adjust the project connecting it only to merely 'surface' aspects



Fig. 9 – Rome, San Pietro in Vincoli, the nave with the eighteenth-century wooden vault.

is also visible in the intervention by Carlo Stefano Fontana for the church of San Clemente, which, even after restoration works, is still a basilica of the early centuries of Christianity. The execution of the vault is therefore excluded, certainly not to modify the original static and perhaps even considering the presence of numerous openings in the perimeter walls. The supports are consequently the original ones, and Fontana reinterprets the old structures in a two-dimensional way.

Various examples thereof, relating to static and decorative principles, have been focused in the Eighteenth century renovations at Rome¹⁹. On one hand, the series of old supports is maintained, frequently represented by columns and marbles from classical monuments, therefore particularly relevant for antiquity and memory. On the other hand, the old structures are strengthened with new supports that can guarantee those static and structural aspects lacking in the ancient basilicas. Even in the renovation of Santa Cecilia in Trastevere (Figs. 10, 11), carried out by Domenico Paradisi and Luigi Barattone (1724-25), the new vault is in wood. The existing columns were visible before the Nineteenth century alterations, that transformed them in pillars. Anche l'occlusione delle aperture angolari attorno al catino absidale attenua l'effetto di trasparenza conseguito dal rifacimento.



Fig.10 – Rome, basilica of Santa Cecilia in Trastevere, the interior with the eighteenth-century wooden vault (photo Author).

The system carried out in San Giovanni e Paolo resumes the technique, started by Francesco Borromini in San Giovanni in Laterano, of covering ancient structures with a sort of shrine formed by new walls (Fig. 12), in order to strengthen the previous ones: the ancient columns here are isolated in the syntagm arch-column framed by solid walls²⁰. The attention to the preservation of the old shafts of the columns, will represent the dominant trend in the whole century, and the characteristic of the best architectural samples. Behind or beside it, it was always possible to achieve the new architectural support.

A special example is that of Sant’Anastasia, built by Cardinal Nuno da Cunha Ataíde in 1721 and designed by Carlo Gimach, appropriately described by Giovanni Mario Crescimbeni²¹: «I muri della Navata maggiore furono rifabbricati di nuovo con tal simmetria, che formassero per ciascuna parte tre Archi [...] e quattro Porte [...]: i quali archi sono sostenuti da ben grossi pilastri, in ciascuno de’ quali è incastrata una Colonna, in guisa però che l’incassamento non le tolga punto la sua comparsa, che è di quasi tutta la circonferenza. Né le colonne sono situate alla cieca, come erano situate innanzi al ristoramento, ma con esatta avvertenza che corrispondessero anche nella qualità l’una all’altra». The original columns are then diminished of their structural

role, and displayed as items of furnishings, then restored, polished or veneered in front of the new structure of pillars (Fig. 13). Their role is that of static reinforcing the building, given the poor consistency of the original walls, built with earth mortar, according to Crescimbeni.

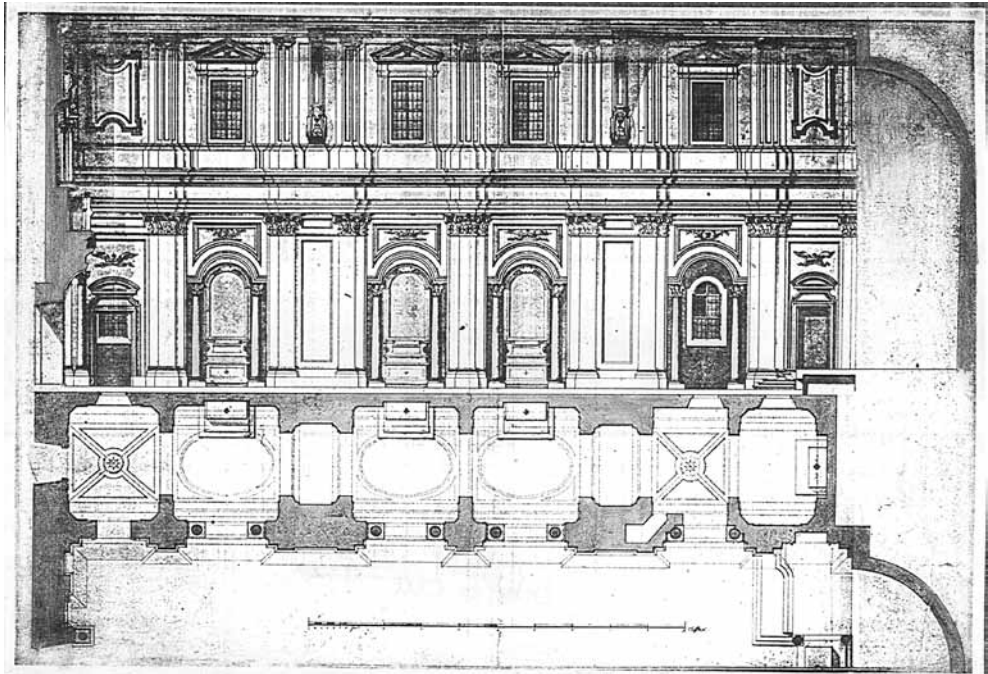
A new interpretation of the interior colonnades is also present in San Marco renovation, largely work by Filippo Barigioni (1735-1750) - a complex and not completely clear one - because of the division of the supporting element between column and pillar. It is also present in the work by Francesco Ferrari for San Gregorio al Celio (Fig. 14), breaking the continuity of the colonnade and reinterpreting it in a sequence of arcades among pillars, almost as serlianas with reduced size spans. This was the system suggested by Fuga for Sant'Apollinare²², and probably planned for Sant'Alessio²³, and that Girolamo Toma suggests in 1758 to *ridurre alla moderna* (convert to modern) the Basilica of San Paolo fuori le Mura²⁴. Columns are left in place or replaced by new pillars in order to create a presumable sequence

of arcades among pillars. Even the solution that Pozzo created for the Universitätskirche in Vienna, in a context different from the Roman one and not intended for an ancient church, introduced a relationship between lintels on twisted columns and the pre-existing arcades (Fig. 15). This project reinterpreted the previous architectural structure, making it more dynamic.

Of course it is necessary to think in a tri-dimensional vision in order to recreate the overall meaning of this trend towards renewal. It is also necessary not to overlook the static reasons preceding formal choices. It is the case of the nave in Santa Croce in Gerusalemme²⁵, deep transformation of a stratified building, with no obliteration, executed between 1740 and 1745 and commissioned by pope Benedict XIV. The large central vault is not a supporting one, but reproduces the model of San Pietro in Vincoli, making it even lighter (Fig. 16). Despite of granite columns of exceptional size, and probably not to weigh on the perimeter walls intended for a truss roof, the vault is made up of a ceiling supported by centerings and painted, which frames with low relief mouldings the large central canvas painted by Corrado Giaquinto, with the apotheosis of St. Helena. The iconographic theme recalls the supremacy of Constantine - at a



Fig. 11 - Rome, basilica of Santa Cecilia in Trastevere, an eighteenth-century opening round the apse created to enhance lighting of the nave (later closed during restorations; photo Author).



Figs. 12, 13 - Rome, Santi Giovanni e Paolo, drawing by J. C. Schlaun 1719-1723 (*Johan Conrad Schlaun 1695-1773, cit.*); Santa Anastasia al Palatino, the nave with the original columns (photo Author).

short distance from Triclinium of Leo III, also renovated by Benedict XIV – modernizing its meaning but even respecting the authentic evidence of the church.

Probably this attention to the memories related to the figure of Constantine – in 1747 the works by Ciampini are printed again, under the patronage of Benedict XIV – certainly motivated by the location, but also by the memory of the foundation of the papal power, addressed the project choice for including a rectilinear architrave – as in the Viennese church by A. Pozzo – in the place of the medieval arcades of the nave. This intervention took place with great technical skill and documentary exactness, since the arcades are still perfectly legible in the aisles (Fig. 17). But it is also possible that a church linked to the memory of Constantine and his mother Helena was conformed to the topic of the architraved column, expression of tectonic coherence and of the original rule of the basilica, for its presence in the ancient San Pietro and San Giovanni in

Laterano and still in Santa Maria Maggiore, as well as in other examples, but not in the “irregular” San Paolo fuori le Mura²⁶. In the nave of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, the new pillars appear to be designed mainly to recreate an internal syntax based on the hierarchy between major and minor architectural order, expressing the aim of creating a new building from another. In the case of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme the operation is patent: the integrity of the pre-existing building is visible in several places, on the sides, in the aisles, in the presbytery. Even the simple brick elevation was not covered by the spectacular façade, detaching as a giant screen in travertine from the ancient building except the new oval porch.

The attention of popes and cardinals is not only limited to the Roman churches. An active pope, with regard to the religious and spiritual renewal, as Benedict XIII, opened in 1725 a provincial synod, known as the “Roman Council”²⁷, which, in addition to suggesting greater rigor in the ecclesiastical discipline, invited the bishops to take charge of the maintenance and repair of their cathedrals. The cardinals of the papal court often made up for the limited resources of the local episcopacies, especially in the smaller dioceses around the city, sometimes able to call for a direct papal involvement. This explains the spread of architectural models and the involvement of designers and craftsmen from Rome in the various episcopacies, who consequently



Fig. 14 – Rome, San Gregorio al Celio, the nave (photo Antonis Zivas, 1991) .

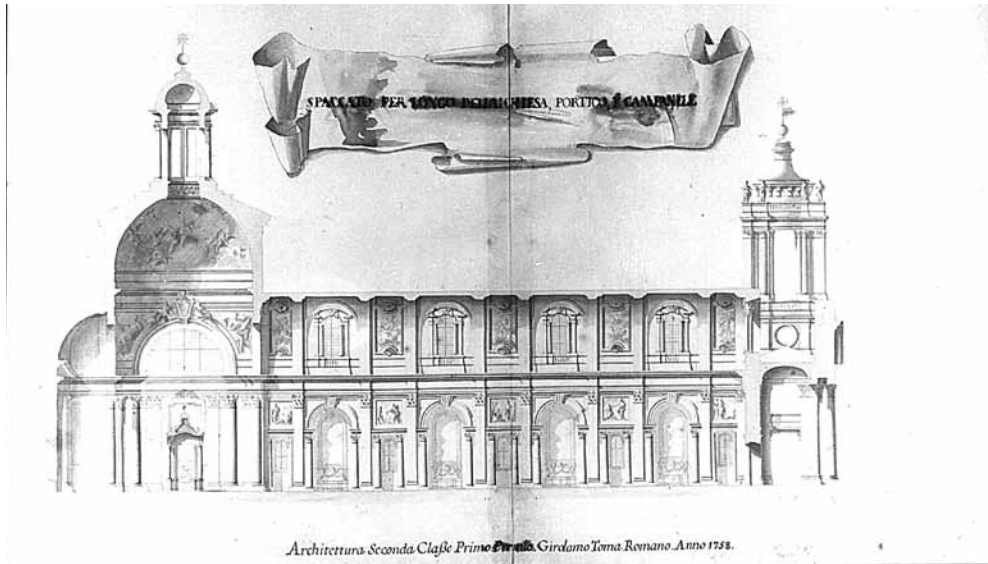


Fig. 15 - “Concorso Clementino, 1758, II classe, “riduzione in forma moderna” of the Basilica of San Paolo fuori le Mura, G. Toma (Accademia di San Luca, Roma).

Figs. 16, 17 - Rome, Basilica of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme: the eighteenth-century nave; south aisle, the original arches on columns changed into lintels in eighteenth-century renovation (photo Author).

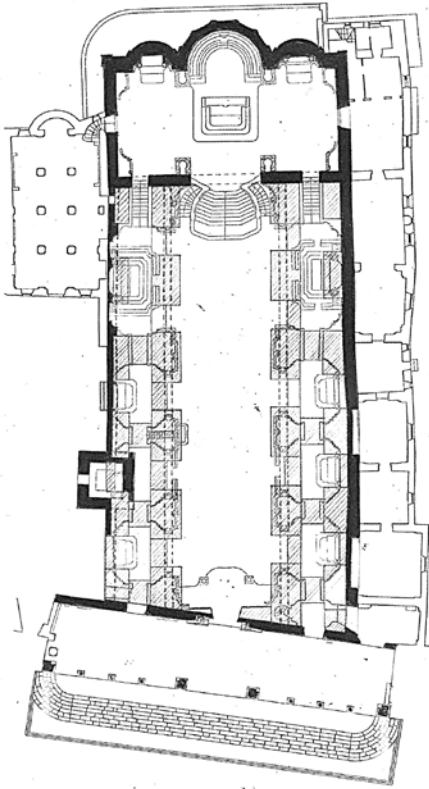
become an outpost of a building and functional renewal, with strong spiritual connotations and repercussions on the social and economic field.

A very representative fact is that of the Cathedral in Civita Castellana, a small city north of Rome, known for its Cosmatesque architecture²⁸. In this case, the project decisions of Gaetano Fabrizi, in the late Thirties of the Eighteenth century, had the effect of completely distort the medieval building, in order to build inside it a new structure ensuring resistance to earthquakes, not uncommon in the region, and to the practice loads on the structure. Fabrizi then planned a complete revision the typological plan (Fig. 18), moving from a three-nave church to a plan with side chapels and a sort of double presbytery, influenced by the presence of the pre-existing crypt.

The inclusion of a new pillar structure, covered by vaults with external buttresses, involved the complete replacement of the old colonnade. The respect for the existing church is limited to the façade and to some relevant architectural and decorative elements, as the floor and the crypt. The classical system of super elevating the nave to allow the opening of new light sources is particularly highlighted, as well as the inclusion of a dome and of a lantern. The large windows intended to plentifully illuminate the interior solve the problem of darkness, clearly evidenced in the documentation.

The reinvention of the interior spaces in the Eighteenth century encounters less sensational situations than in the previous century, but with very significant achievements, such as the rebuilding of the Dominican church of Santa Maria in Gradi in Viterbo by Nicola Salvi in 1737²⁹. In this case the abolition of the previous three aisles static structure is total: the church was reinterpreted as a single nave (Fig. 19), side connecting chapels, and octagonal presbytery, with the strong elevation of the nave strengthened by buttresses. The new building rising from the ancient-one is particularly evident in the comparison with Van Wittel's picture, showing the old church with a overlaid façade, but also in the survey of the incomplete and rustic elevation, clearly showing the 'growth' decided by Salvi. The cut in the elevation is still perfectly legible and shows how much work was done on the old church, whose central oculus was demolished. It is unlikely that a new elevation was not considered. The drawing attributed to Ferdinando Fuga by Elisabeth Kieven for the façade of Santa Maria Sopra Minerva³⁰ could be really referred to the Dominican church in Viterbo, at an earlier stage than Salvi and with the involvement of Benedict XIII, because of its proportions and its correspondence to the internal plan³¹.

Free from the constraints of the static inner structure, Salvi was able to arrange the new twins columns, made of a masonry structure, supporting a plain architrave. In the views of the church before the restoration recently undertaken by the Soprintendenza in charge, the masonry structure used by Salvi emerges, through an intelligent hierarchy among structural devices (columns, flat arches, hexagonal coffered vaults reinforced with brick on a concrete core). This work reminds the ancient building and shows a unity of planning you would not expect to find in a building built within a pre-existing structure. However, in comparison with the trend outlined by the Roman examples until the pontiff of Benedict XIV, in Salvi's usual structure there is no place for an interaction with the original church. The 'inclusive' logic of the previous ex-



amples, where the new architectural language goes along with the reception of the old building, is replaced by an 'exclusive' attitude. The new church is born from the ancient, but it does keep with it only a simple relation of identical size. This is the way attempted at, even in the final experiences of the century, by two architects close to Salvi, as in the church San Feliciano in Foligno by Piermarini (1772 and following years)³², still communicating with the medieval structures, and in Santa Scolastica by Quarenghi (1769). Even Giuseppe Valadier in the cathedral in Urbino, finally in 1789, will follow this pattern.

The structural reinvention almost always goes along with a typological revision, but this does not involve a discredit to the pre-existing structure. In the Eighteenth-century, an intervention similar to Salvi's or Gaetano Fabrizi's is represented by the deep transformation of Sutri's cathedral, a minor diocese north of Rome, a very stratified structure, but of dubious

architectural coherence³³. The project, started by Marchionni, but then completed in the Eighties of the Eighteenth century by Clemente Orlandi, aspires at a new clear structure, featuring the existing pillars with the same number of composite order pilasters. However, the irregularities in the plan are all maintained, more or less, especially outlining the same static and constructive aspects, but with flexibility as regard the adjustment to the plan indications. Some innovative solutions, among others, should be remembered, such as the small elliptical atrium façade, jutting in the small square outside the cathedral.

It seems therefore clear how the trend to recover the authentic image of the basilica and its colonnade was prevailing in the Eighteenth century renovations. However, this concept will be made most clear in the second half of the Eighteenth century in France, plainly and without restraints. Works such as Saint-Philippe-du-Roule in Paris and Saint-Symphorien in Versailles, dating back to the Sixties of the Eighteenth century, or the publication of the text on the form of "Christian temples" by Julien-David Leroy³⁴ focus on the standardization of the Christian basilica, introducing a future discussion on the reconstruction of San Paolo fuori le Mura and on the Nineteenth-century historiography. But this is something completely different.

The integration between the old structures and the new additions should have



Figs. 19a, b - Viterbo, church of S. Maria in Gradi: view of the interior in ruins before recent restorations (photo Author, 1995); image of beginning of Nineteenth century.

Left

Fig. 18 - Civita Castellana, plan of the Cathedral after the renovation by G. Fabrizi; medieval walls and foundations of the new building are highlighted (drawing by L.Creti,)

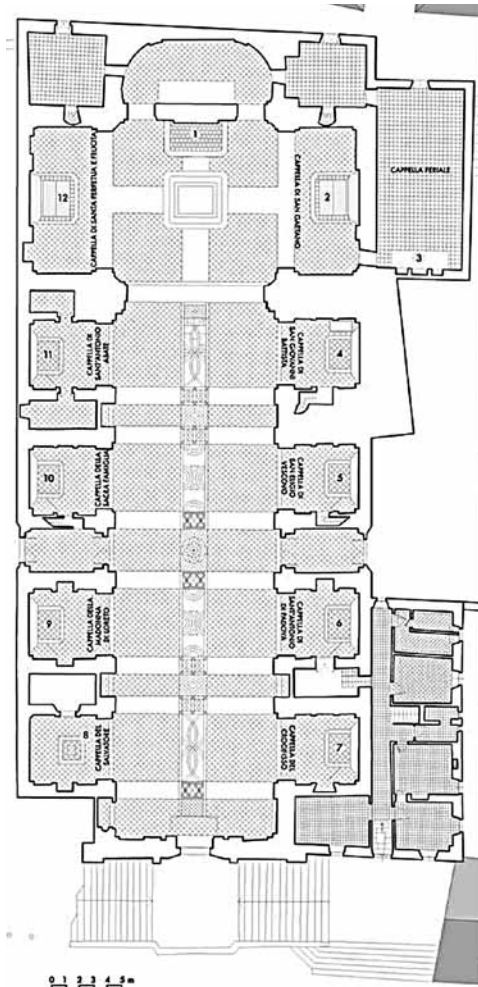


Fig. 20 - L'Aquila, S. Maria di Paganica, plan of the church and survey of damages to the side altars (drawing by G. Mazzone, 2013-14).

represented a real test for many designers and master builders. In most cases, the old walls appear not solid enough for the Eighteenth-century builders, who preferred to carry out wider reconstructions, underneath the new decorations. This is precisely what happened to the structures of the aforementioned Santa Anastasia, or in the construction of Santa Maria del Priorato, where Piranesi apparently worked on the superstructure of the church in 1568, of which³⁵: «anco le quattro mura e la volta, appena può concedersi che siano quelle di prima, essendosi trovate lassate per tanti versi ed aperte da spaccature larghissime, e perciò rifatte in moltissime parti, incatenate, rinforzate e poscia tutte spicconate, per raddrizzar le linee dell'Architettura, le quali, per la lussazione della macchina, erano tutte alterate e scomposte.» The above statement leaves no doubts about the remarkable implications of the renovation works, even if limited to surfaces renovation.

The relationship between structures of different ages becomes a crucial issue in the cases of the renovation *alla moderna* motivated by static issues, as in the cities of central and southern Italy affected by the earthquake. Unfortunately, the earthquake of 2009 in L'Aquila allows us to analyze from the inside many renovated buildings of the Baroque period, highlighting the techniques used and the results achieved, in a useful comparison with the great Roman buildings.

Among the many examples in L'Aquila in need of restoration, Santa Maria di Paganica³⁶ is a church deeply linked to the urban and social events of the town (Fig. 20). The original plan should have included pre-existing buildings, such as the square tower located on the south side, turned into the church bell. A portal dating 1308 is on the main façade, but still in the early Sixteenth century, the façade was to be completed, particularly the stone cladding consisting of blocks of stone. The damage in 1703 was not a very serious one, but it led to a deep reconstruction, many years after the earthquake, with the enlargement out of the nave size. The horizontal expansion of



Fig. 21 - L'Aquila, S. Maria di Paganica, the interior after the 2009 earthquake (photo Author) .

the original Fourteenth-century hall is matched by a vertical growth, carried out on the walls, heterogeneous for materials and stratifications. The considerable height of the side walls probably suggested the execution of buttresses, but with sections not able to contrast the severe test of 2009³⁷, and in some cases built without a perfect alignment with the underlying structures. Even the wooden chains arranged inside to built an effective link with the aisle did not work properly, as proved by the overall breakdown of the upper part of the church.

The agility of the Eighteenth century structures was anyway partly justified by the presence of a false reed vault inside. Unfortunately, the restoration campaign undertaken in the Seventies led to the construction of a reinforced concrete roof not able to contrast the earthquake of 2009, and finally collapsing on the remaining structures.

The photos after 2009 show very well the fragmentary feature of the Eighteenth century structure, where improvised solutions coexist with correct technological choices. The supporting structures, in many cases, are formed by the unification of different building stages, obviously with serious danger to stability (Figs. 21, 22). The protruding parts of the internal entablature are made with wooden supports inserted in the walls to form a sort of frame, then covered by a moulded stucco, in order to get light protruding parts well connected to the masonry work.

The whole group of the Eighteenth-century Roman basilicas transformations - including the ones carried out in the Papal States and in cities significant from this

point of view such as Ravenna o³⁸- can be considered as a conscious meditation on the example of Borromini in San Giovanni in Laterano. Triggered by the Christian antiquarian and by Muratori's lesson, on one hand the Seventeenth-century model becomes lighter to better match with the building to be restored, on the other hand it increases its "inclusive" feature. In the great renovations of the Eighteenth century, the architecture originates from the unification of several pre-existing indications, with results well exemplifying the culture of the time³⁹. This research, taking place between the papacies of Clement XI and that of Benedict XIV, gives its best in the intervention in Santa Croce in Gerusalemme. It is a good example of innovation and conservation, a 'borderline' case with respect to the coherence of the classical structure. However, even from the static point of view, as the examples in L'Aquila prove, the simple overlapping of architectural languages proved to be risky and unconvincing in the light of a rationalist criticism. The newly born Neoclassicism will be characterized by an "exclusive" feature. The path chosen by Quarenghi in Santa Scolastica at Subiaco conceives the new church as an integrated part of a pre-existing nucleus, with no architectural language of its own in the modern configuration. The Neoclassical system, rational and effectively static, will try to exclude the multiform variety of the historical stratifications. The modern architecture will not be originated anymore by the adaptation from the Antiquity, but by its recreation as a model. Here lies the fundamental difference between Fuga and Quatremère's ideas, quoted for Santa Maria Maggiore. And also the rising attention to the preservation of the antiquities will not show the same sensibility for the ancient relic. Despite scientific intentions and ideological systems, the destructions will probably be more significant, as the history of Nineteenth-century restoration proves.

NOTES

¹ P. Portoghesi, *Roma Barocca*, III ed., Roma-Bari 1973, II, pp. 757-768; P. Ferraris, *Rapporto struttura-decorazione nell'architettura religiosa del Settecento romano. Un gruppo di restauri bailicali e i loro autori*, "La Sapienza" Università di Roma Diss., 1983, 3 vols; L. Bartolini Salimbeni, *Su alcuni restauri barocchi di antiche chiese romane*, in G. Spagnesi (ed.), *Esperienze di storia dell'architettura*

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1987; C. Varagnoli, *La 'riduzione alla moderna' delle basiliche: Roma 1700-1750*, in C. Bozzoni, G. Carbonara, G. Villetti, (eds.) *Saggi in onore di Renato Bonelli*, "Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura", n.s., 15/20(1990-1992), II, pp. 765-776.

² A.-Ch. Quatremère de Quincy, *Dictionnaire historique d'architecture*, in *Encyclopédie méthodique. Architecture*, I, Paris 1788, "Basilique", pp. 222-231 (2nd edition, Paris 1832).

³ P. Pinon, *La pianta basilicale nell'architettura religiosa francese: dalla basilica civile alla basilica paleocristiana*, in "Ricerche di Storia dell'arte", 56 (1995), pp. 7-18.

⁴ Recognized by the same A.-Ch. Quatremère de Quincy, *Dictionnaire*, cit., t. 2, 1801, "Fuga (Ferdinand)", pp. 428-429: "Mais le talent de l'architecte consiste à vaincre les difficultés locales, & il n'est pas rare qu'il parvienne à faire sortir des beautés de ce qui sembleroit devoir être une fomite de defectuosité". See F. Bellini, *L'interno della basilica liberiana nel rifacimento di Ferdinando Fuga*, in "Palladio", n.s., 8(1995), 15, pp. 49-62.

⁵ Quatremère de Quincy, *Dictionnaire*, cit., p. 227: "Une construction moderne a tellement masqué & défiguré l'ancienne, qu'on n'y reconnoît plus aujourd'hui que le plan & l'emplacement de ce monument".

⁶ J.J. Ciampini, *De Sacris Aedificiis a Constantino Magno constructis. Synopsis historica*, Roma 1693

⁷ J.J. Ciampini, *Vetera monumenta: in quibus præcipue musiva opera sacrarum, profanarumque ædium structura, ac nonnulli antiqui ritus, dissertationibus, iconibusque illustrantur*, Pars prima, Roma 1690; Pars secunda Roma 1699: see I, chapter VIII "Quomodo ex structura, atque caementis, constructionis aedificiosum tempus argui possit" and chapter IX "Quomodo ex numero, amplitudine, ac forma fenestrarum, tempus, quo aedificia constructa sint, deduci valeat". See also criticism by G. Previtali, *La fortuna dei primitivi dal Vasari ai neoclassici*, Torino 1964, pp. 34, 189.

⁸ G. Marangoni, *Delle cose gentilesche e profane trasportate ad uso, e adornamento delle chiese*, Roma 1744; about the author, see now L. Polletti, *Un contributo settecentesco alla storia del riuso dell'antico: "Delle Cose gentilesche e profane trasportate ad uso e adornamento delle chiese" di Giovanni Marangoni*, in "Ricerche di storia dell'arte",

107(2012), pp. 89-97.

⁹ Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale "Vittorio Emanuele II", Roma, mss Vitt. Eman. 552, *A Collection of various Drawings, the greatest part of which may be serviceable in a Discourse of the Fabric of the ancient Christian Churches and of the form of the Ecclesiastical Habits, all taken from Churches, gravestones or other remains still subsisting at Rome*. The collection includes 52 drawings and bears the coat of arms of Cardinal Mario Marefoschi Compagnoni (1714-1780). Some drawings are dated 1738 and 1739, but it is likely that the collection was formed later, perhaps in the years when Marefoschi was Secretary and then Prefect of *Congregatio pro Sacris Ritibus et Caeremoniis* (after 1751). See also J. Garms, A. M. Romanini (eds.), *Skulptur und Grabmal des Spätmittelalters in Rom und Italien*, Rom 1990.

¹⁰ The drawings from the churches of San Clemente, San Pancrazio, San Lorenzo fuori le Mura, Santa Maria in Aracoeli, San Cesareo are signed by Giacomo De Santis (o De Sanctis). He executed a drawing of the ephemeral façade of Santa Maria in Aracoeli designed by Rodriguez dos Santos, 1728: see B. Contardi, G. Curcio (eds.), *In Urbe architectus. Modelli, disegni misure. La professione dell'architetto, Roma 1680-1750*, Roma 1991, p. 361, with bibliography about Marefoschi sketchbook. See also J. Garms, A. M. Romanini (eds.), *Skulptur und Grabmal des Spätmittelalters in Rom und Italien*, Rom 1990.

¹¹ M. Caffiero, *Marefoschi Compagnoni Mario*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 27, Roma 1982, pp 178-182; F.M. Giochi, *Un eminente bibliofilo maceratese del XVIII secolo: il cardinale Mario Compagnoni Marefoschi e la sua biblioteca*, Loreto 1999.

¹² C. Varagnoli, *Il Seicento: la cattedrale barberiniana*, in G. Benazzi, G. Carbonara (eds.), *La cattedrale di Spoleto. Storia, arte, conservazione*, Milano 2002, pp. 111-121.

¹³ L. Finocchi Ghersi, *La basilica dei SS. Apostoli a Roma. Storia, arte e architettura*, Roma 2011, pp. 47-48.

¹⁴ C. Varagnoli, *Progetti e controversie intorno al "ristoramento" della chiesa di S. Eustachio in Roma*, in "Quaderni del Dipartimento Patrimonio architettonico e urbanistico" (Università degli Studi di Reggio Calabria), 2 (1992), 1, pp. 51-72.

¹⁵ S. Carbonara Pompei, *La chiesa: ricerca storica e lettura architettonica dai restauri settecen-*

teschi agli interventi del XX secolo, in *La storia e il restauro del complesso conventuale dei Santi Bonifacio e Alessio all'Aventino*, Roma 2004, pp. 56-81.

¹⁶ L. Finocchi Ghersi, *San Teodoro al Palatino: particolarità di un restauro tardo barocco*, in "Architettura storia e documenti", 1(1988), pp. 179-216.

¹⁷ G. Zandri, *Francesco Fontana e il soffitto di S. Pietro in Vincoli*, in "Storia dell'arte", 100 (2000), pp. 123-144; A. Ippoliti, *Le trasformazioni settecentesche del complesso di S. Pietro in Vincoli: un cantiere storico tra "restauro" e rinnovamento (1705-1876)*, in "Quaderni ARCo. Restauro Storia e Tecnica", 3, 1998, pp. 65-72. See also the respectful renovation of Sezze Cathedral, south of Rome, at the end of XVII century.

¹⁸ Quatremère de Quincy, *Dictionnaire*, cit. p. 231.

¹⁹ L. Bartolini Salimbeni, *Su alcuni restauri barocchi*, cit.

²⁰ See a drawing by J.C. Schlaun executed during his stay in Rome, in E. Kieven, Schlaun in Rom, Klaus Bußmann, Florian Matzner, Ulrich Schulze (eds.), *Johan Conrad Schlaun 1695-1773, Architektur des Spätbarock in Europa*, Stuttgart 1995, pp. 134-171.

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²² Archivio Storico dell'Accademia di San Luca, Roma, 2185; v. E. Kieven, *Il ruolo del disegno*, in B. Contardi, G. Curcio (eds.), *In Urbe architectus*, cit., pp. 124-142, nn. 14, 15, 16: on the history of the Church, see R. Bösel, J. Garms, *Die Plansammlung des Collegium Germanicum Hungaricum. I. Der Gebäudekomplex von S. Apollinare in Rom*, in "Romische Historische Mitteilungen", 23 (1981), pp. 335-384.

²³ M. Bevilacqua, *Mecenatismo architettonico del cardinal Querini: Nolli, De Marchis e Fuga a S. Alessio all'Aventino*, in "Palladio", n.s., 11(1988), 21, pp. 103-120.

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²⁵ C. Varagnoli, *S. Croce in Gerusalemme: la basilica restaurata e l'architettura del Settecento romano*, Roma 1995, pp. 131-152; Id., *Il cantiere ritrovato. Costruzione e restauro nei documenti settecenteschi per S. Croce in Gerusalemme a Roma*, in "Palladio", n.s., XVII, n. 34, luglio-dicembre 2004, pp. 69-94.

²⁶ See also the reconstruction of the church in Basilian Monastery founded in 1004 by St. Nilus in Grottaferrata (Rome). It involved the removal of the ancient columns and their replacement with new pillars and rectilinear lintels: see G. Zander, *La chiesa medioevale della Badia di Grottaferrata e la sua trasformazione del 1754*, in *un manoscritto inedito criptense del padre Filippo Vitale*, in "Palladio", n.s., 3 (1953), 2/3, pp. 120-130.

²⁷ This is the topic of the sixth session of the synod, *De ecclesiis aedificandis vel reparandis*: see L. Fiorani, *Il concilio romano del 1725*, Roma 1978, p. 254; M. T. Fattori, *Il concilio provinciale del 1725: liturgie e concezioni del potere del papa a confronto*, in "Cristianesimo nella storia", 29(2008), pp. 53-111.

²⁸ L. Creti, *Il riammodernamento della cattedrale, "spelunca rovinosa": la figura dell'architetto e le fasi del cantiere tardo barocco*, in L. Creti (ed.), *La cattedrale cosmatesca di Civita Castellana*, atti del convegno internazionale (Civita Castellana 18-19 settembre 2010), Roma 2012, pp. 289-314; C. Varagnoli, *Riscritture barocche. La cattedrale di Civita Castellana nel Settecento*, in L. Creti (ed.), *La cattedrale*, cit., pp. 275-287.

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³¹ *Ibidem*.

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³⁴ J.-D. Le Roy, *Histoire de la disposition et des formes différentes que les chrétiens ont données à leurs temples, depuis le règne de Constantin le Grand, jusqu'à nous*, Paris 1764.

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³⁶ See v. F. Giustizia, *Santa Maria Paganica, la riscoperta di un importante archivio aquilano*, in "Buletto della deputazione abruzzese di sto-

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³⁷ Studies about causes of collapses and projects of restoration in www.terremotoabruzzo09.itc.cnr.it: C. Carocci, S. Cattari, S. Lagomarsino, C. Tocci (eds.), *Caso di studio: Chiesa di Santa Maria di Paganica (L'Aquila)*; N. Augenti, A. Borri, S. Bonghi, G. Cangì, P. Brescia, A. Giannantoni, M. Liris (eds.), *Caso di studio: Chiesa di Santa Maria di Paganica. Surveys and projects* in G. Mazzone, *S. Maria di Paganica all'Aquila: ricostruzione come restauro*, Degree dissertation, Università degli Studi di Chieti e Pescara, 2013-2014.

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³⁹ C. Varagnoli, *Tradizione e autenticità alle origini del restauro moderno*, in G. Beltramini, A. Ghisetti Giavarina, P. Marini (eds.), *Studi in onore di Renato Cevese*, Vicenza 2000, pp. 489-502.

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