

History, Architecture and Heritage: Building the Architectural Identity

**a cura di
Elisa Boeri, Pierre Coffy
e Francesca Mattei**

FrancoAngeli

Architectural Design and History

La Collana *Architectural Design and History* intende esplorare le relazioni tra il progetto di architettura e la città contemporanea, in particolare dove la trasformazione urbana si confronta con la tutela e la valorizzazione del patrimonio storico. Attraversando diverse teorie, tecniche e pratiche, i contributi indagano l'identità complessa della cultura architettonica, avviano connessioni e scambi tra le discipline, e promuovono una concezione strategica e evolutiva del patrimonio architettonico. La Collana è promossa dal Polo Territoriale di Mantova del Politecnico di Milano, sede della Cattedra UNESCO in *Architectural Preservation and Planning in World Heritage Cities*. Tutti i volumi pubblicati sono sottoposti a revisione in doppio cieco con garanzia di terzietà, gestita dal Comitato Scientifico attraverso la collaborazione di referee esterni altamente qualificati.

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City, Identity and Nation: Pombaline Architecture Versus Gothic Architecture in 19th Century Lisbon (1823- 1846)

Paulo Simões Rodrigues

Introduction

In August 1838, in his writing on Lisbon's built architecture in the second half of the 18th century, as part of the reconstruction of the city in the aftermath of the earthquake of 1 November 1755, Portuguese writer and historian Alexandre Herculano (1810-1877) described its taste as «harsh», «useful» and «petty», with «large unadorned masses: monotonous, but useful and necessary buildings: a magnificent square; but made ugly by wretched yellow walls, to save a few inches of masonry; to save marble in a mountain of marble! A Dutch dealer appears to have played a hand in the plan for all the works of this period. [...] The reasoning of enlightened despotism spoiled it [art]»¹. Lisbon's architecture in the wake of the earthquake of 1755 was thus characterized by Herculano in an article written for *O Panorama*, a periodical under his direction at a very particular moment in the history of Portugal: the initial years of the constitutional monarchy, designated *Liberalism*, definitively established in 1834, following a period of great political instability. This phase was marked by an initial constitutionalist experience (1820-1828)² and an absolutist *interregnum* (1828-1834), which ended after a two-year civil war (1832-1834) between absolutists and liberals in which the former were defeated.

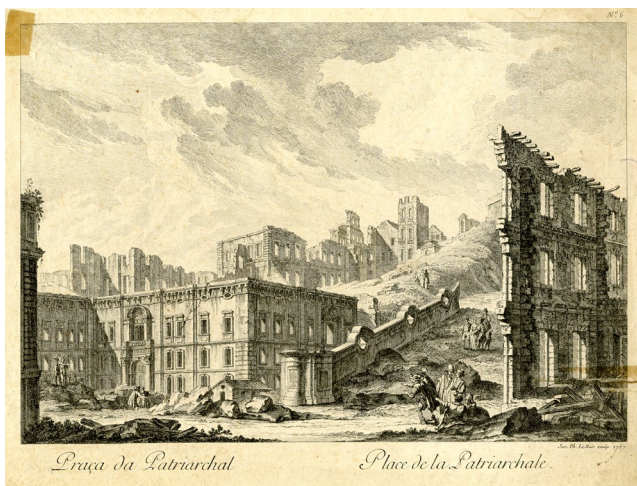
It is important to understand the political circumstances surrounding the writing of Herculano's aforementioned article since as a writer and historian, he was one of the most important ideologues of liberalism. He agreed to direct *O Panorama* with the didactic, civilizing and progressive objective of disseminating knowledge of a general nature in order to promote the creation of a public opinion that would support the young liberal regime. It may, therefore, be understood that it was on the pages of *O Panorama* that Herculano wrote his most ideologically committed texts, as was the case of this article of August 1838. Entitled *Os Monumentos*, its purpose was to alert the readers of the journal to the urgent need to implement political and legislative measures to protect and conserve national historic monuments, especially those dating back to the Middle Ages, deemed by Herculano to be particularly exposed to the dangers of abandonment, transfiguration and even destruction³: «This is what architecture was like in Portugal for a century and a half: back then, the generations could not comprehend the sublime magnificence of the buildings of the Middle

Ages; the Gothic palaces, the ancient castles were left to collapse: the monasteries, a few parishes and the cathedrals were preserved; not because they are art objects, but because they are holy objects; the rest fell into ruin»⁴. The three associated factors – the political context, the intentions underlying the direction of the journal and the publication of the article, and the emphasis placed on medieval architecture – lent an ideological and programmatic intention to Herculano's negative appraisal of Lisbon after the earthquake of 1755. He interpreted the city as an urbanistic and architectural representation of the absolute power and enlightened despotism of the two main political leaders responsible for the reconstruction of the Portuguese capital, namely King Joseph I (1714-1777) and his Secretary of State for Home Affairs of the Kingdom⁵, Sebastião de Carvalho e Melo (1699-1782), better known as Marquis of Pombal, the title conferred upon him in 1769⁶.

Although the enlightened despotism of King Joseph I and the Marquis of Pombal was characterized by a desire for progress and economic and social reform, it was understood by the romantic liberals as a variant of the absolute monarchy they had fought and defeated in 1834. Thus, between 1820 and 1850, within the cultural framework of romantic and liberal nationalism, a depreciation of the so-called Pombaline Lisbon was observed from an artistic perspective and in terms of heritage⁷. This will be demonstrated in the present chapter by drawing on the texts of writer and historian Alexandre Herculano as an initial historical reference. Additionally, the antecedents of these texts in the late 18th century will be identified with a view to analysing their consequences, namely how they led to the establishment of the conceptual bases of a new architecture for the city, with medieval roots.

The Earthquake of 1755 and the Reconstruction of Lisbon

On 1 November 1755, Lisbon was struck by a violent earthquake with an estimated magnitude of 8.7 to 9 on the Richter scale. This was followed by a tsunami and a week-long fire. The sequence of the three events destroyed the centre of the city, especially its Baixa, between its two main squares, Rossio (to the North) and Terreiro do Paço (to the South, on the bank of the Tagus River), and the hill of Santa Catarina (to the West), where the Bairro do Chiado is currently located. The oldest part of the city, on the east side of the Baixa, where its original centre



is located, including the medieval castle and the Alfama neighbourhood, appears to have best withstood the impact of the earthquake and its effects. The catastrophe claimed almost 10,000 lives, caused the total destruction of 10% of the city's buildings, leaving two thirds of them uninhabitable. Among the missing or severely damaged buildings were 60 of Lisbon's 72 convents, as well as all of its hospitals and palaces⁸.

In the aftermath of the catastrophe, Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, who was still Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and War, played a fundamental role in controlling the chaos into which the capital of the kingdom had fallen. It was his political responsibility to rebuild Lisbon and decide on how this should be accomplished. Considering the result, it is clear that the future Marquis of Pombal already had very concrete and clear ideas on what the new Lisbon would be like, stemming from his knowledge of London and Vienna, where he had held diplomatic positions in representation of the king of Portugal, in 1737 and 1743⁹.

The production of a document was among the first measures adopted by Sebastião de Carvalho e Melo immediately after the earthquake and was intended to serve as a basis for the city of Lisbon's reconstruction strategy. Manuel da Maia (1672-1769), chief engineer of the kingdom, was commissioned by the Secretary of State himself to produce the document. This military engineer had been responsible

J. P. le Bas, M. T. Pedegache,
*Ruins of Patriarcal Square after the
 1755 earthquake (engraving), 1757*
 (Museum of Lisbon).

for the plan for the Águas Livres Aqueduct (1748), a built structure in Lisbon that had withstood the earthquake and remained unscathed. Sebastião de Carvalho e Melo's choice of a military engineer suggests that he regarded the architectural planning principles followed by military engineering throughout the Portuguese empire as the most suitable for Lisbon's reconstruction programme¹⁰. The document was written between December 1755 and April 1756, entitled *Dissertation on the Renovation of Lisbon*, and consists of three texts or parts.

In part one of the dissertation, the chief-engineer of the kingdom proposes five possible methods for the reconstruction of Lisbon. These five options vary between: (i) rebuilding the city as it was prior to the earthquake, (ii) increasing the width of the streets, (iii) widening the streets and reducing the height of the buildings by two floors, (iv) totally demolishing the downtown area and using the debris from this operation to raise the level of its arteries – an option that would facilitate the flow of water into the river and provide more spacious streets –, and (v) building a new city in the then western outskirts of Lisbon¹¹.

In part two, Manuel da Maia carefully analyses the advantages and disadvantages of each of the five proposed methods and establishes a set of necessary procedures for Lisbon's reconstruction process. He discusses the structure and materials of the buildings¹², the width of the streets, the urban hygiene system, property rights, the graphic quality of the new plans for the city and the architects to be entrusted with their execution. Regarding the latter, Manuel da Maia recommends Eugénio dos Santos (1711-1760), a military engineer who was an architect for Lisbon's City Council, and Carlos Mardel (1695-1763), a Hungarian architect who had arrived in Portugal in 1733 and had worked on the construction of the Águas Livres Aqueduct¹³.

In part three, six projects for the reconstruction of the city centre are presented and attached, designed by three teams of architects and military engineers who had assisted Manuel da Maia in the preparation of the *Dissertation* and led by the aforementioned Eugénio dos Santos (assisted by Carlos Mardel)¹⁴, Pedro Gualter da Fonseca (assisted by Francisco Pinheiro da Cunha) and Elias Sebastião Pope (assisted by his son, José Domingos Pope)¹⁵. The plans of a street prototype and three different facade typologies to be used in accordance with the importance of the street are also included¹⁶.

In apparent acceptance of engineer Manuel da Maia's recommendation in his *Dissertation*, the project chosen for the reconstruction of Lisbon was number 4, that of Eugénio dos Santos and Carlos Mardel. This project respected the tradition of Portuguese military engineering and was in line with the Enlightenment principle of the primacy of reason and functionality, which sought to respond to both the social and economic reforms being implemented in Portugal by the enlightened despotism of the Marquis of Pombal and to the possibility of a repeated catastrophe in the future. Hence, project number 4 maintained Rossio and Terreiro do Paço, the two main squares of pre-earthquake Lisbon, and filled the area between them with an articulated network of streets. The architecture was organised by blocks of buildings with fixed, predetermined typologies, which varied according to the hierarchy of the streets. Its materialisation would give rise to a geometrically planned Lisbon with a dominant orthogonal layout, consisting of wide arteries, in which the buildings are distributed in uniform blocks and have a standardised classical structure and façade, where the most noble palaces and churches are distinguished solely by the monumentality of the pediments and portals. The prototype of the Pombaline building was characterised by its linear and regular design, height of four floors, sober decoration, by its retail-purposed ground floors, frequently with arcades, first-floor iron balcony or railing features and attic roofs. The decorative elements, of a classical grammar, were also standardised and varied according to the status of the building.

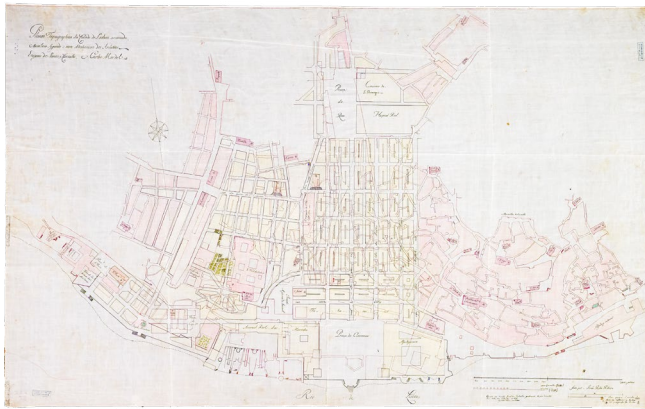
The new Lisbon was crowned with a monumental square (approximately 36,000 m²) which replaced the expansion on the bank of the Tagus River which had housed the Terreiro do Paço, the former royal palace. It was renamed Real Praça do Comércio and maintained its status as the political and economic centre of the city, as it was foreseen in the plan that the new government, stock exchange and customs buildings would remain there. A triumphal arch would signal its main point of entry and, in the centre, an equestrian statue of the reigning monarch, King Joseph I, by the sculptor Joaquim Machado de Castro (1731-1822), would highlight its status as a royal square, an urbanistic and architectural symbol of enlightened despotism in Portugal. On the pedestal of the statue, on the side facing the river, a medallion with the effigy of the Marquis of Pombal consecrated the power of the minister

of King Joseph I and his central role in the reconstruction of the city, according to a plan which thus proved to be not only functional and symbolic, but also pragmatic and ideological.

Despite a government charter dated 12 May 1758, setting a five-year deadline for the city's reconstruction, in accordance with Eugénio dos Santos' plan, the process would be drawn out and extend until the 1790s¹⁷. At the time of the king's death in 1777, which resulted in the fall of Pombal, who was dismissed from his government posts by Maria I, the daughter and successor of Joseph I, only 46% of Eugénio dos Santos' plan had been accomplished¹⁸. The Praça do Comércio represented the difficulties of the campaign. The equestrian statue of the king was inaugurated in 1775 while the east side of the square remained unfinished and the triumphal arch would only be closed in 1862 and definitively completed in 1875, with the placement of sculptural elements¹⁹.

Reception of the Pombaline reconstruction of the city of Lisbon

As the Lisbon reconstruction project took shape, initial views on the new architecture of the capital were somewhat cautious. The attention to urban functionality and safety was understood, and even praised, however there were some reservations regarding the aesthetic quality of Lisbon's Pombaline architecture, even when expressed in the context of a neoclassical artistic culture. For example, in his memoirs of 1813, Jacôme Ratton (1736-1820), an industrialist and businessman of French origin, who lived in Portugal between 1747 and 1810, refers to the approach of the architects responsible for the reconstruction of Lisbon as being restricted to regularising the new buildings' urbanistic form and structural features, namely their scale and salubrity: «In this plan, the squares and plazas will be conserved, bearing almost the same dimensions as before, and the streets that were extremely narrow and winding will be widened and straightened; [...]. But what is unforgivable in this new reconstruction is that none of the streets have pipes, and all the houses have sewers, for the disposal of the initial filth»²⁰. The only value judgement he makes regarding the aesthetics of the new buildings is when he alludes to the exceptional height of the buildings in the Rossio, one of the main city squares. Yet although this statement is negative, due to its implicit



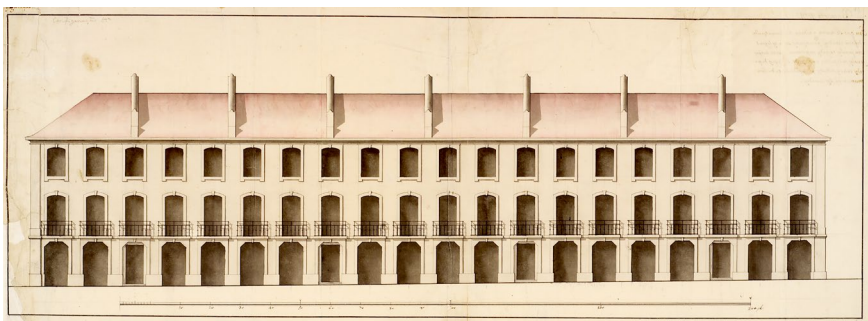
comparison, it suggests a positive appraisal of the building model designed by Eugénio dos Santos and his team: «with the exception of the houses in the Rossio square, which have, I don't know why, alternating balcony and sash windows on the first floor, which causes this square to lose a significant part of the beauty it might have had»²¹.

Around ten years later, neoclassical painter Cyrillo Volkmar Machado (1748-1823), author of a biographical history of the painters, sculptors, architects and engravers who had worked in Portugal written according to the historiographical and literary model of Vasari, considered that the architectural system followed by Eugénio dos Santos produced a monotonous and gloomy effect when put into practice: «All our senses tire of the repetition, and seeing the same thing in the streets, squares, palaces, and even in the temples?»²². However, according to Volkmar Machado, this monotony did not stem from the classical matrix of Pombaline architecture. On the contrary, as far as the painter was concerned, the most «simple and beautiful Architecture» was that of a classical type, created «by the dictates» of the favourable «refined genius» of the Greeks, whose orders were regular, noble, elegant and little altered²³. On the other hand, the «Gothic Architecture», deriving from the ignorance of the barbarians, was not architecture²⁴. It was the excessive simplification and, above all, the standardisation of this classical matrix that Volkmar Machado criticised in the architectural system created by Eugénio dos Santos for Lisbon: «All our senses tire of the repetition, and

2

A. V. da Silva, *Topographic plan of the ruined city of Lisbon with the new alignment proposed by the architects Eugénio dos Santos Carvalho and Carlos Mardel superimpose*

(drawing), 1898 (Museum of Lisbon)



seeing the same thing in the streets, squares, palaces, and even in the temples?»²⁵. The liberal and romantic writer Almeida Garrett (1799-1854) would make an assessment of Pombaline Lisbon between 1845 and 1846 which was similar to that of Volkmar Machado, most likely due to an education still dominated by the classical canon, as was visible in his initial literary works:

«There can be no steeper fall in architecture beyond the depths of ours when, after the Marquis of Pombal translated the Rococo of Louis XV for us into vulgar and drawn out prose, which, at least in the original, was as florid, clipped, whimsical and gallant as a madrigal, with such a bastard, hybrid style, progressively degenerating and assuming classical presumptions, that is even visible in public street fountains»²⁶.

However, in Garrett, classicism was no longer an abstract and universal aesthetic system, as in Volkmar Machado, but a historical category, a document that synthesised the meaning of history, which he identified with the civilisational ideals of Greek democracy and Republican Rome. Based on his readings of J. J. Winckelmann (1717-1768), Friedrich Schlegel (1772-1829), Montesquieu (1689-1755) and Voltaire (1694-1778), Garrett developed a historicist conception of art that associated the formal characteristics of artistic objects with the characteristics of the space (geographical) and time (political) in which they had been produced, in which the aesthetic values of the works were directly related to the qualities of the times in which they had been created. Garrett began by applying this geographical and historical determinism

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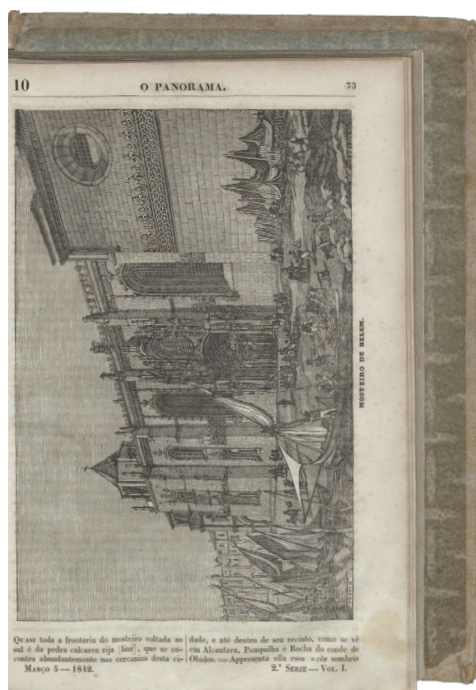
E. dos Santos Carvalho, *Project No. 1 for the Baixa buildings* (drawing), 1756 (Museum of Lisbon).



to classical antiquity, associating its vigorous and ideally beautiful art with the prosperity, freedom and abundance of Greek democracy and the Roman republic. However, from 1823 onwards, following a period of exile in England owing to one of the absolutist uprisings between 1820 and 1834, where he discovered and was surprised by the quality and beauty of the neo-Gothic and Gothic architecture of the cathedrals of Dudley and Worcester, Garrett began to associate the idea of freedom with medieval architecture, finding the historical roots of nineteenth-century constitutionalism in the Middle Ages, more specifically in feudalism²⁷. Yet Garrett's expressed preference for medieval art following the period of his exile in England did not involve a total rejection of classicism, nor should this be interpreted as the cause of his negative opinion of the Baixa Pombalina. In line with Volkmar Machado, as previously stated, it was not the classicism of the Pombaline style that Garrett disliked, but rather its excessive functionality and simplicity, which he perceived as a lack of architectural identity, as a «total absence of style»²⁸.

The ambiguity of Garrett's position reflected the longevity of classicism as a model reference for architectural theory and practices, which would last until the 1840s in Portugal. In 1833, Joaquim Possidónio da Silva (1806-1896), an architect of the Royal House who had recently returned from a training period in Paris at Pierre Fontaine's

4
G. F. Machado, *Visualization of the project for the construction of Praça do Comércio* (engraving), a. 1775-1790 (Museum of Lisbon).

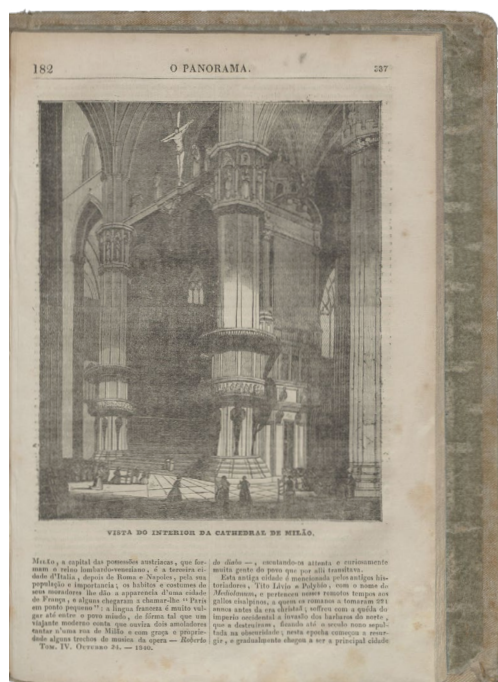


II [National Theatre], the most significant public building at the time in the Portuguese capital (built between 1842 and 1846 on the north side of the emblematic Rossio square), was designed in a neoclassical style by Italian architect Fortunato Lodi (1812-1882)³².

The longevity of the classical reference and model also explains the admiration frequently expressed for the uniformity of Pombaline Lisbon's urban design and the monumentality of the Praça do Comércio, with particular emphasis on the equestrian statue of King Joseph I. This is what is observed in the fourth part of a long article published by *O Panorama* on the city of Lisbon between 4 January 1840 and 2 January 1841:

«Imagine now, in addition to this, the foreigner who, in this interval, and immediately adjacent to the two opposite cities, erects another, on flat ground conquered from the waters, in the modern style, with spacious, well paved streets, comfortable pavements for pedestrians made up of vast blocks of houses with four or more

⁶ Belém Monastery, «Portugal V. Mosteiro de Belém», *O Panorama*, 9, February 1842, p. 66.



floors, lined up as if held by a string, cut at right angles by other equally regular streets, where the main ones open out, at their opposite ends in a north-south direction, into two large, majestic squares; imagine also that one of these, the south one, has a quay along whose front mighty ships are anchored, enclosed by public buildings on all the remaining three sides, which all form the appearance of a continuous and immense palace, where an equestrian statue of bronze looms in the middle which, with its exquisite and elaborately ornamented pedestal, is one of the first monuments of this kind in Europe»³³.

The anti-classical position of Alexandre Herculano

It was effectively with Alexandre Herculano that an explicitly anti-classical artistic perspective was brought to light for the first time in Portugal, and his assessment of the architecture of Lisbon, rebuilt under the ministry of Pombal, derived from this stance. Like Garrett, Herculano had also been a political exile in England and France between 1831 and 1832. However, unlike Garrett, perhaps since he was younger, his

7

Milan Cathedral, «Catedral de Milão», *O Panorama*, 182, October 1840, p. 337.



ABADIA DE S. DENIS EM FRANÇA.

S. DIONÍSIO ou Denis, apóstolo da França e primeiro bispo de Paris, foi martirizado de Honorio de Gailles no século 3.^o Afirmam alguns escritores que no lugar onde padeceria martírio pela fé se ergueu uma igreja, e que neste mesmo sítio está hoje a abadia de S. Denis. Porém os restos das ruínas de tempos remotos, apenas formadas nos finais e arts. do século septuagésimo, impossível será averiguar a verdade das tradições que se espalham pela França, sobre os restos deste edifício. Sabemos que Dagoberto no século 7.^o levantou um templo no lugar de uma capela dedicada aos Santos Martires, que se lá foi sepultado, e é que hoje se chama também muitos das

seus sucessores, que Popin, o pai de Carlos Magno, mandou construir sobre a mais opulenta edificação, que até ao tempo de seu filho se chamava. Aumentada depois pela transformação das ruínas posteriores, e amplamente dotada, o mosteiro de S. Denis cresceu em poder e esplendor, de forma que o abade era omnipotente dentro dos limites da sua jurisdição. Se na igreja de Chartres se celebrava a sagrada dos soberanos reis de França, a igreja, e sempre a outros reis, era, por suas dimensões, propriedade da igreja de S. Denis, sendo transportada a Rainha por alguns reis de abadia até ao século de oitocentos de novo a ser a abadia de S. Denis, e o privilégio de ser a

Tom. IV, Agosto 29. — 1840.

reading and translation of authors such as Schiller, Klopstock and Chateaubriand had brought him into contact with romantic modernity at a very young age, prior to his exile abroad, leading him to prefer Christian spirituality to neoclassical rationality, as well as national uniqueness to classical universality from an early age. Herculano's liberalism advocated a renewal of civilisation that was simultaneously political, cultural and spiritual, and it was within these three strands that the Middle Ages were taken as a reference, finding expression in medieval architecture, understood at the time as Gothic in its entirety³⁴. In 1838, when referring to the Portuguese arts of the second half of the 18th century, precisely under the government of King Joseph I and the Marquis of Pombal, Herculano stated «that literature and the arts were heading towards a regeneration, but it was not understood that this regeneration could be achieved through the rotten traditions of Greece or Rome, because the revival of these traditions, at the beginning of the 16th century, had indirectly brought the ruin of European arts and letters, which were on a

[8]

Saint-Denis Abbey, «Abadia de Saint Denis», *O Panorama*, 174, August 1840, p. 273.

different course, and the future called for yet another»³⁵. Alternatively, as a model for the new liberal order, Herculano suggested the architecture of the Middle Ages, a historic moment in the formation of Portuguese nationality. In the first issue of *O Panorama*, in which he wrote on Pombaline architecture, the first print he published reproduced a drawing of the ruins of the central nave of one of the most important Gothic buildings in the Portuguese capital, namely the Convento do Carmo which had been severely damaged by the earthquake of 1755³⁶. The illustration referred to an article dedicated to praising Gothic architecture, with which the journal began a campaign to promote the country's main buildings in that architectural style. Thus, in the 1840s *O Panorama* became one of the main channels for the affirmation of Gothic architecture in Portugal and its status as a representative style of Portuguese artistic identity. In the 438 issues of the first three editions of the journal, from 6 May 1837 to 13 November 1847, 72 articles on medieval monuments, in Portugal (26 articles) and across Europe (46 articles), were published. Among cathedrals, monasteries, castles, noble houses, palaces, chapels and hermitages, the most important medieval buildings in Portugal – monasteries of Alcobaça³⁷, Batalha³⁸ and Belém, and the Carmo Convent in Lisbon and Convent of Christ in Tomar³⁹ – and in Europe – the cathedrals of Milan⁴⁰ and Amiens⁴¹, Saint Denis Abbey⁴² and Windsor Castle⁴³ – were brought to light. It was in 1842, in an article dedicated to the Monastery of Belém in this journal that, for the first time, a proposal was made to attribute the Manueline style classification to the specific features of the Portuguese late Gothic of the 15th and 16th centuries, more specifically to those of the buildings constructed during the reign of King Manuel I, the period of overseas expansion: «And indeed, the armillary spheres and crosses of Christ are the most common ornaments of all this architecture, and in general, they belong to the anarchic period of the Renaissance. However, in Portugal they represent a particular *sui generis* style, which still requires a name for its characterisation, perhaps *manuelino*, while importance is still given to architecture around here, one which, for sure, is far from consisting of the material rules and comments of Vignola followed in schools»⁴⁴. Herculano, however, did not formally propose the replacement of Pombaline Lisbon with a Gothic or Neo-Gothic Lisbon. However, this is the direction he appeared to suggest when, in ac-

cordance with European romanticism, from Hegel to Victor Hugo, he advocates that architecture is explained by the history of each people, believing that the ancient Gothic monuments will soon «be a model for craftsmen, when the prejudice that only the Greek and Roman is beautiful in arts is stamped out; when they are persuaded that the habits, opinions, and beliefs of a nation should be in harmony with its monuments»⁴⁵.

Conclusion

Alexandre Herculano's architectural devaluation of the Baixa Pombalina in the first half of the 19th century would last until the 20th century. It would continue to be predominantly considered monotonous, exaggeratedly geometrised, lacking imagination, originality and monumentality (with the exception of the Praça do Comércio)⁴⁶. Consequently, under the pretext of infrastructural improvements or the establishment of new facilities (banks, banking institutions, new business activities), many of its buildings were profoundly altered, in terms of an aesthetic and eclectic update and greater monumentality. By shifting away from the restraint and rhythm that so characterised the architecture of Eugénio dos Santos and Carlos Mardel, the city even saw the construction of an urban elevator, giving access to the Chiado (the Carmo or Santa Justa Elevator, 1902), in iron and of Neo-Gothic style, designed by French engineer Raoul Mesnier du Ponsard (1849-1914)⁴⁸.

The artistic value of the Baixa Pombalina only began to change in around 1934, when the Lisbon City Council approved the launch of a public tender for the aesthetic improvement of the Rossio square, with a view to aligning the architectural purity and unity of the Pombaline square with the demands of commercial life. However, this would have to wait until 1965 for the publication of José-Augusto França's historical study, *Lisboa Pombalina e o Iluminismo*, to give an essential boost to the definitive consecration of the artistic value of Lisbon following the earthquake of 1755, when it was classified as a heritage asset the following year by the Board of National Education⁴⁸.

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1 «Os Monumentos», *O Panorama*, 69, August 1838, p. 267.

2 During this initial constitutionalist experience, there were two uprisings, the first in 1823 and the second in 1824.

3 «Os Monumentos», cit., pp. 266-268. In this article, Herculano follows the model of a text by French writer Victor Hugo (1802-1885), published in March 1832 in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, entitled «Guerre aux démolisseurs». See V. Hugo, «Guerre aux démolisseurs», *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 5, mars 1832, pp. 607-622.

4 *Ivi*, p. 268.

5 Position equivalent to that of a Prime Minister.

6 At the time of the earthquake of 1755, Sebastião de Carvalho e Melo was Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and War (since 1750). He was appointed Secretary of State for Home Affairs the following year. Prior to receiving the title of Marquis of Pombal, he had been graced with that of Count of Oeiras in 1759.

7 Designation used by Portuguese historiography since the sixties to refer to the utter importance of the Marquis of Pombal's political responsibility in the reconstruction of Lisbon following the earthquake. See J. A. França, *Lisboa Pombalina e o Iluminismo*, Livros Horizonte, Lisbon 1965.

8 For example, with the destruction of the Terreiro do Paço area, some of the most important buildings in Lisbon disappeared: the royal palace, the Patriarchate, the Opera House, the customs buildings, the council chambers and the court. See H. Murteira, *A Place for Lisbon in Eighteenth-Century Europe: Lisbon, London and Edinburgh*, University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh 2006, pp. 106-108 (doctoral dissertation).

9 K. Maxwell, *Pombal, Paradox of the Enlightenment*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1995, pp. 1-36, 51-68.

10 H. Murteira, *A Place for Lisbon in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, cit., pp. 139-140.

11 Regarding the first two methods, Manuel da Maia had alerted to the fact that the proposed options were based on the assumption that Lisbon would not be hit by an earthquake again in the ensuing years. As for the fourth hypothesis, it was considered that it was also possible to increase the width of the streets through the height of the buildings, which should not exceed the size of that surface. A transcription of Manuel da Maia's original Dissertation document was published in J. A. França, *Lisboa Pombalina e o Iluminismo*, pp. 311-326. An English version of the dissertation is available at https://www.academia.edu/38305958/Manuel_da_Maia_Dissertação_Full_English_version_.

12 The Pombaline cage was thus invented, an anti-seismic timber infrastructure. H. Murteira, *A Place for Lisbon in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, cit., pp. 143-148.

13 J. A. França, *Lisboa Pombalina e o Iluminismo*, cit., p. 93.

14 This proposal included a project by Carlos Mardel for the facades of the buildings of the Rossio. H. Murteira, *A Place for Lisbon in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, cit., pp. 164-175.

15 Architect António Carlos Andreas is also mentioned. J. A. França, *Lisboa Pombalina e o Iluminismo*, cit., pp. 90, 149, 202.

16 J. A. França, *Lisboa Pombalina e o Iluminismo*, cit., pp. 320-326.

17 R. H. da Silva, *Lisboa Romântica. Urbanismo e Arquitetura, 1777-1874*, Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Lisbon 1997, vol. I, pp. 37-43 (Doctoral thesis).

18 V. Anastácio, *Viver em Lisboa no tempo do Marquês de Pombal: uma breve panorâmica*, in T. L. Vale, org., *A Cidade Pombalina. História, Urbanismo e Arquitetura*, Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, Lisbon 2009, pp. 17-28.

19 M. F. de Faria, *A estátua equestre "in absentia principis" e o rei escondido*, in M. F. de Faria, coord., *Do Terreiro do Paço à Praça do Comércio: história de um espaço urbano*, Imprensa Casa da Moeda, Lisbon 2012, pp. 157-227.

- 20 J. Ratton, *Recordações de Jacome Ratton sobre ocorrências do seu tempo, from May 1747 to September 1810*, Imprensa da Universidade, Coimbra 1920, pp. 221 e 223.
- 21 *Ivi*, p. 222.
- 22 C. V. Machado, *Collecção de memorias relativas às vidas dos pintores, e esculptores, architectos, e gravadores portuguezes, e dos estrangeiros, que estiverão em Portugal*, Imp. De Victorino Rodrigues da Silva, Lisboa 1823, pp. 192-193.
- 23 *Ivi*, pp. 158 and 164.
- 24 *Ivi*, p. 160.
- 25 *Ivi*, p. 192.
- 26 J. B. de Almeida-Garrett, *Viagens na Minha Terra*, Typographia da Gazeta dos Tribubaes, Lisboa 1846, vol. II, p. 27.
- 27 P. S. Rodrigues, *A Arte como Metáfora da História, in Garrett e as Artes. Actas do Ciclo de Conferências*, Centro de História da Arte, Universidade de Évora, Évora, pp. 9-40.
- 28 J. B. de Almeida-Garrett, *Viagens na Minha Terra*, p. 27.
- 29 A. C. Martins, *Possidónio da Silva (1806-1896) e o Elogio da Memória. Um percurso na Arqueologia de Oitocentos*, Associação dos Arqueólogos Portugueses, Lisbon 2003, pp. 58-60.
- 30 As a form of training, Possidónio da Silva recommended that architects should visit Greece, or at least Italy. J. P. da Silva, *O que foi e é Architectura, e o que aprendem os Architectos fora de Portugal*. In Imprensa Silviana, Lisbon 1833, pp. 5, 6 and 8.
- 31 G. E. de O. do C. Moniz, *O Ensino Moderno da Arquitetura. A reforma de 57 e as Escolas de Belas-Artes em Portugal (1931-1969)*, Faculdade de Ciências e Tecnologia da Universidade de Coimbra, Coimbra 2011, vol. 1, p. 91.
- 32 J. A. França, *A Arte em Portugal no Século XX*, Bertrand Editora, Lisboa 1993 (3rd edition), vol. I, pp. 241-242.
- 33 «Lisboa. 4º», *O Panorama*, 152, March 1840, pp. 98-99. Around two years earlier, *O Museu Portuense*, another periodical, had published an article on the Praça do Comércio that was explicitly praising not only of that artery, but also of the entire Pombaline city and of the reign of King Joseph, classifying them as «fine» and «favourable», respectively. This, however, appears to be an isolated case. See «Praça do Commercio de Lisboa», *O Museu Portuense*, 8th, November 1838, pp. 114-115.
- 34 See J. A. França, *A arte medieval portuguesa na visão de Herculano, Herculano à Luz do Nosso Tempo: Ciclo de Conferências*, Academia Portuguesa de História, Lisbon, 1977.
- 35 «Monumentos II», *O Panorama*, 70, September 1838, 275.
- 36 «A Architectura Gothica. Igreja do Carmo em Lisboa», *O Panorama*, 1, May 1837, pp. 2-4.
- 37 «Mosteiro de Alcobaça», *O Panorama*, 154, March 1840, pp. 113-116.
- 38 «Mosteiro da Batalha», *O Panorama*, 141-143, January 1840, pp. 9-12, 23, 27- 28.
- 39 «Convento de Cristo em Tomar», *O Panorama*, 8-11, February and March 1842, pp. 62, 63, 68-72, 85-88.
- 40 «Catedral de Milão», *O Panorama*, 182, October 1840, pp. 337-338.
- 41 «Catedral de Amiens», *O Panorama*, 205, April 1841, pp. 105-106.
- 42 «Abadia de Saint Denis», *O Panorama*, 174, August 1840, pp. 273-274.
- 43 «Castelo de Windsor», *O Panorama*, 29, July 1842, pp. 228-229.
- 44 «Portugal V. Mosteiro de Belém», *O Panorama*, 9, February 1842, pp. 66-68.
- 45 «A Architectura Gothica. Igreja do Carmo em Lisboa», pp. 2-4.
- 46 See J. C. Leal, *Changing perspectives: historiography and critical discourses concerning the pombaline reconstruction of Lisbon, Acta Historiae Artium*, Institut for Art History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest, 2008, pp. 247-259.
- 47 P. S. Rodrigues, *Lisboa. A Construção da Memória da Cidade*, Casa do Sul Editora, Centro de História da Arte da Universidade de Évora, Évora, 2005, pp. 77-91.
- 48 *Ibidem*.

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