1. Urban Conservation: Short History of a Modern Idea

Of this I am quite sure, that if we open a quarrel between the past and the present, we shall find we have lost the future.

Sir Winston Churchill

The Origins of Urban Conservation: Between Engineering and Romanticism

Urban conservation is an idea of modern times. While the sense of community, identity and pride linked to civic tradition and beauty is as old as urban civilisation and certainly belongs to all cultural contexts, the idea of urban conservation was developed in the aftermath of the French Revolution, when a new social and economic order in Europe was emerging in the nineteenth century. The basis of the modern vision of cultural heritage was developed in recognition of the value of the historic monument, as shown by Françoise Choay (1992).

The emergence of the notion of 'heritage' is linked to the establishment of modern nation states and the need to define their own traditions and identities.

In the drive to forge national identities, which characterised the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the 'historic monument' became a way to celebrate national epics and to create traditions (Hobsbawm, 1983).

Institutions such as the *Commission des Monuments Historiques* created in France in 1837, extensive inventories of monuments such as the one developed by Prosper Mérimée[1] in the mid-nineteenth century, and the

[1]Prosper Mérimée (1803–1870), writer and conservator, was the key figure in the development of French Institutions for the documentation, conservation and restoration of monuments. In 1834 he was appointed Inspecteur Général des Monuments Historiques and conducted extensive campaigns to build up the heritage inventories of France.

The Historic Urban Landscape: Managing Heritage in an Urban Century, First Edition. Francesco Bandarin, Ron van Oers.

Athens

Beijing

The safeguarding of 'historic monuments' has been at the centre of the theory and practice of conservation over the last century. This influenced the approach to historic cities that focused primarily on monuments and less on the urban fabric and public spaces.

Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings created by William Morris[2] in Great Britain in 1877, demonstrate the growing importance of heritage and monuments in the development of modern society in Europe, supported by the greatest intellectual figures of the time, such as Victor Hugo.[3]

This important movement, however, did not concern the historic city, but was rather focused on individual monuments of the past. Throughout the nineteenth century, and for a large part of the twentieth century, public policies concerning the city were aimed mainly at addressing the representation of the powers of the state, the modernisation of transport systems, the improvement of public spaces, the residential needs of the emerging upper and middle classes and the improvement of housing conditions of the working classes.

The Industrial Revolution had brought the rural masses to cities that already lacked basic hygiene. For most of the century, and until a new awareness of its heritage value was created, the historic city was viewed essentially as a place of physical and moral decay. The denunciation of these conditions by Engels[4] about England (1845) and Considérant[5] about France (1848), to mention some famous examples, gave rise to a wave of innovative and utopian experiments led by social thinkers, philanthropists and politicians.

The *Phalanstère* of Fourier[6] and the New Lanark of Robert Owen[7] were utopian responses to the crisis, which inspired important social reforms and

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[2]William Morris (1834–1896) was an English artist and writer associated with the English Arts and Crafts Movement. The Manifesto of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, published in 1877, was the first attempt at advocacy for conservation and establishment of conservation principles.

[3]Victor Hugo (1802–1885), among the most important French writers of the nineteenth century, was a leading and influential advocate of monuments' preservation. In the 1831, in the Preface of his work, *Notre-Dame de Paris*, he writes: '*. . . en attendant les monuments nouveaux, conservons les monuments anciens. Inspirons, s'il est possible, à la nation l'amour de l'architecture nationale*.'. Two years later he published his *Lettre sur le vandalisme en France*.

[4]Friedrich Engels (1820–1895), a German philosopher, was a socialist and friend and companion of Karl Marx, and shared with him most of his life and political battles. He is the author of several basic texts on Marxism.

[5]Prosper Victor Considérant (1808–1893), a French philosopher, economist and social reformer, was a follower of the ideas of Fourier. Throughout his life he conducted campaigns for the rights of workers and women, and for the advancement of democracy. During a period of exile he created a Phalanstère in Texas, which was an unsuccessful experiment.

[6]François Marie Charles Fourier (1772–1837), a French philosopher, developed a theory of universal harmony. The *Phalanstère* was a utopian community building hosting around 2,000 people and dedicated to agricultural production. The *Phalanstère* was conceived as the organisational basis of a new state.

[7]Robert Owen (1771–1858) was a social reformer and one of the founders of socialism and the cooperative movement. His reform proposals of the industrial manufacturing process were implemented in the cotton mill factory of New Lanark, which he partly owned. This experiment became a model for the improvement of the social conditions of the working classes. In 1821 Robert Owen published his 'Report to the County of Lanark of a Plan for relieving Public Distress'.

Paris

Cairo

Demolition in the name of health and security has been an established practice since the nineteenth century in Europe and in many other regions of the world and it is still continuing today. The loss of fabric and the change of uses often impact on the meaning of places.

represented a key contribution to the definition of modern urban planning principles.

They did not, however, create a force of change for the historic city as powerful as that of the 'urban engineers' movement that intended to remedy the unsanitary conditions of the working classes (Calabi, 1979; Zucconi, 1989). The main concern of the engineers was to demolish large parts of the historic city to create better housing, open spaces and sanitation infrastructure: these policies had an extensive impact on urban planning for over a century and are in place in many cities in the emerging world even today (among others in China).

Every industrialising country, in Europe, America, and even in Meiji Japan, developed regulations and plans to clear the decayed parts of the city: many historic cities witnessed renewal processes ranging from the demolition of the inner city walls to the opening of new squares and avenues.

Even places of great civic tradition such as Florence in Italy were not spared, when in 1865 the old *Piazza del Mercato Vecchio* was replaced by the present *Piazza della Repubblica*, wiping out the medieval quarters and the old ghetto. This *risanamento* (sanitisation) subsequently served as a model for many other cities, both in Italy and elsewhere.

Certainly, however, no renewal plan equalled and became so influential in the world as the *grands travaux* launched by Baron Haussmann[8] in Paris between 1850 and 1870.

Haussmann's plans were not aimed at local situations; rather, they sought to redesign the entire city to respond to the demands of modern life (traffic in particular), to develop new residential and commercial spaces for the high-income and middle-income classes, and to facilitate tighter military control of the city after the 1848 uprising (Pinon, 2002).

The extent of the changes brought about by Haussmann was only surpassed by reconstructions of entire cities destroyed by disaster or war, such as London in the seventeenth century, Lisbon in the eighteenth century and Berlin in the twentieth century.

Moreover, the 'Haussmannian model' was applied in many other capitals and historic cities, both in Europe and elsewhere; the historic centre of Rome, after it became the capital of Italy in 1870, was the subject of a similar plan. Cairo, Teheran, Sofia and Istanbul, as well as many colonial capitals in the Mediterranean, were also inspired by the successes of the Baron in their grand plans.

As the urban historian Spiro Kostof[9] has shown, 'Haussmannian' methods have never really disappeared: we can find their traces in the work of Robert Moses in New York in the 1950s, as well as in many 'urban renewal' projects that have been undertaken in Europe, America and other parts of the world in the post-Second-World-War period, not to mention processes currently under way in many Asian cities.

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[8]Georges-Eugène Haussmann (1809–1891) was a French civil servant and planner chosen by Emperor Napoleon III to direct the renovation work for Paris. His work, from 1852 to 1870, changed the face of the French capital.

[9]Kostof, 1992: 266–279.

Throughout the nineteenth century, the historic city was not recognised as a heritage system. What mattered were the monuments that were symbols of its tradition: the cathedrals, the palaces, the gardens, and the statuary.

The historic city as a heritage category in the modern sense was defined much later, towards the end of the nineteenth century and in the first half of the twentieth century. And only in the second half of the twentieth century did the conservation of historic cities become a subject for planners and architects, first in Europe, and later in other regions.

The 'institutionalisation' of heritage that followed the French Revolution, with the creation of specialised bodies of conservators, was society's response to the emergence of this concept and testimony of its value in the public domain. This was matched by an important intellectual debate around heritage that shaped modern conservation methodologies and practices.

Most of the modern concepts of heritage were developed 100 to 150 years ago by a group of theoreticians and administrators, who viewed the preservation of monuments of the past as a pillar of social and cultural development. John Ruskin[10] – and later William Morris – saw in the pre-industrial city one of the most important legacies of history and he struggled for its preservation.

This 'romantic' approach was essentially a form of opposition to the ongoing modernisation and destruction brought about by the Industrial Revolution. While it did not generate a theory of urban conservation, it certainly contributed to the development of a vision of the historic city as 'common' heritage, beyond national borders.

This important period witnessed contradictions and even clashes between different conceptions of heritage, the most remarkable being the clash between the romantic vision of Ruskin in England and the militant interventionism professed and practised by Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-Le-Duc[11] in France.

In his famous book, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, Ruskin says: '*Neither by the public, nor by those who have the care of public monuments, is the true meaning of the word restoration understood. It means the most total destruction which a building can suffer: a destruction out of which no remnants can be gathered: a destruction accompanied with false description of the thing destroyed. Do not let us deceive ourselves in this important matter; it is impossible, as impossible as to raise the dead, to restore anything that has ever been great or beautiful in architecture.*'[12]

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[10] John Ruskin (1819–1900) was an English art critic, social thinker and artist. He was extremely influential in the Victorian and Edwardian eras. Ruskin rejected Classical tradition in his book *The Stones of Venice* – one of the nineteenth century's most influential books (Ruskin, 1960; first published from 1851 to 1853).

[11] Viollet-Le-Duc (1814–1879) was a French architect, whose public fame was linked to the restoration of medieval monuments throughout France. He was also an important theoretician, and his writings, characterised by rationalism, provided inspiration to several masters of the Modern Movement.

[12] Ruskin, 1989: 194.

For Viollet-Le-Duc, restoration of a building was the reconstitution of a 'complete' and 'ideal' state of the monument, one that perhaps never existed. As he observed in the *Dictionnaire Raisonné*, restoration of a building is not to maintain it, repair or rebuild it, but to re-establish it in a complete state that may never have existed at a particular moment. And this approach applied not only to individual monuments, such as Notre Dame in Paris, but also to urban complexes, as shown by his restoration and reconstruction of the city of Carcassonne.

However, Viollet-Le-Duc does not reject the past. His thinking is resolutely forward-looking, as shown in his *Entretiens sur l'architecture* published between 1863 and 1872, a fundamental book for understanding how the social and technological changes of the nineteenth century transformed the role of architecture and the city (Viollet-Le-Duc, 1977).

In looking at ancient buildings, Viollet-Le-Duc sought to find a method to identify the continuities of architectural development, in order to establish the basis of a practice that would allow modern society to find its own language, beyond the many revivals of the time. In a way, Viollet-Le-Duc opened the way to a modern interpretation of architectural and urban heritage, which was later developed by the Austrian architect Camillo Sitte.[13] While other positions on the issue of restoration emerged in other parts of Europe,[14] the polarisation between the *nostalgic* and *interventionist* approaches, just described, remained alive for a long time, and may not have completely vanished yet.

Thanks to the contributions of these visionary thinkers and practitioners, the scene was set, at the turn of the twentieth century, for the appearance of modern ideas on conservation.

The key theoretical development came from the great Viennese art historian Alois Riegl,[15] whose ideas defined the role of heritage in contemporary society and still form the basis of our theories of heritage conservation.

In his seminal book, *The Modern Cult of Monuments* (*Der Moderne Denkmalkultus)*, he identifies two categories of value of heritage (Riegl, 1903).

The first category is the value of 'memory' (*Erinnerungswerte*) and refers to the 'antiquity' of heritage as a factor of importance. Appreciating the 'value of antiquity' does not require a special education, and, on the contrary, is a concept which is easily accessible to the public (the 'masses').

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[13] Camillo Sitte (1843–1903) was an Austrian architect and architectural theoretician. He greatly renewed the vision of the city, by proposing urban planning and management principles based on the observation of the aesthetics and function of the existing public spaces and on the integration of history into urban planning.

[14] Important is, for instance, the position of Camillo Boito (1836–1914) in Italy, who was in favour of respect for the authenticity of the monuments, but also in favour of an active restoration practice (Boito, 1893).

[15] Alois Riegl (1858–1905) was an Austrian art historian and critic. He was Conservator at the *Österreichischen Museum für Kunst und Industrie* in Vienna, from 1886 to 1897, and then Professor at the University of Vienna. When he wrote 'The Modern Cult of Monuments', he was also President of the Historical Monuments Commission.

Ankara

Axum

Washington

London

Urban monuments have taken a prominent role in the creation of national identities in all parts of the world. They celebrate the founding fathers of a nation (Kemal Atatürk or George Washington), mark the institutions of government, (for example, Westminster), or are re-appropriated to become symbols of national pride, like the Axum Stele.

The second category of value has to do with the 'contemporary' (*Gegenwartswerte*) and the 'use value' of monuments, a character that allows them to be differentiated from archaeology and ruins. The use value has an 'art value' and a 'newness' value (*Neuheitswert*). The first refers to the artistic qualities of the ancient monument that we are still able to perceive, while the second refers to the 'untouched' appearance of the work of art, which confers on the monument a higher value in the eyes of the masses.

Riegl brings about a fundamental conceptual innovation, one that has influenced thinking on heritage up to today: interpreting the conservation of monuments through a theory of values.

Furthermore, he looks at the way in which 'conflict' between different values of heritage (for instance, between the historic values and the use values) can be resolved. This book therefore provides a critical guide to administrators and practitioners as to how to deal with heritage. But its intellectual ambition goes beyond this, as it deals with an element that has become critical in today's conservation policies: the growing interest of the general public in the values of antiquity, and the development of a major industry around it, that of cultural tourism. With the work of Riegl, heritage is finally associated with modernity (Choay, 1992).

While these early developments did not specifically focus on the historic city per se, they certainly provided the foundation of the modern approach to urban heritage conservation. Some of the concepts that we find in modern charters and that are also reflected in the Historic Urban Landscape approach were developed in this phase: the memory value of heritage, the right to its aesthetic enjoyment, and the collective responsibility for its conservation.

The Historic City as Heritage

This delay in the definition of the historic city as heritage can be explained by the complexity of the urban organism with its dual nature of place, containing monuments of great symbolic and artistic value, as well as a fabric of 'minor' architecture, the vernacular, which is much more exposed to transition and substitution. The lack of interest in, and knowledge of, this fabric, of cadastres and technical documentation, was a factor in this significant lag.

It was only at the end of the nineteenth century that an 'operational' concept of the historic city was devised, in parallel to the development of a new discipline, city planning. The foremost urban thinker of the time, Camillo Sitte, gave voice to the idea that the historic city carried with it an 'aesthetic' value, superior to that of the modern city.

In his 1889 book, *City Planning according to Artistic Principles* (Sitte, 1965), which marked a turning point in architectural theory and lies at the origin of city planning (Collins and Crasemann Collins, 1986), Sitte looks at the city for the first time as an historical continuum that must be fully understood in its morphological and typological development, in order to derive rules and models for the development of the modern city.

For modern principles of urban conservation, Sitte's theory is important for two reasons: it establishes the historic city as an aesthetic model, a source of inspiration for modern design; and it paves the way for the development of urban conservation practice.

His idea of continuity in urban development is also an important corollary for the future development of a conservation policy. The work of Sitte was criticised by advocates of Modernism, and in particular by Le Corbusier and the CIAM, who saw in his theory a reactionary approach, contrary to the ideals of modern urbanism. However, his innovative ideas inspired urban conservation projects in Europe and in the colonial world, and provided the basis for the development of new approaches to architecture and planning, for the first time dealing with urban conservation from an operational viewpoint.

One can indeed trace back to this period the origins both of modern town planning and urban conservation. The works of Sitte and some of his followers, such as Werner Hegemann[16] in Germany (Crasemann Collins, 2005), Raymond Unwin[17] in England (Unwin, 1909), Gustavo Giovannoni[18] in Italy (Giovannoni, 1931), Marcel Poëte[19] in France (Poëte, 2000) and Charles Buls[20] in Belgium (Smets, 1995), to mention only some of the most significant representatives, show a capacity to project the modern metropolis into the future, while at the same time interpreting and valuing history and continuity.

Urban monuments and the historic urban fabric are seen as concrete anchorage for modern design. The city is not conceived as a static object, but, on the contrary, as one in a state of constant transformation. This concept represents a radical departure from the approach of the urban

[16]Werner Hegemann (1881–1936) was a German urban planner and architectural critic. In 1910 he was the secretary of the first international urban planning exhibition. He travelled and worked in America and then settled in Germany in 1921, until he left the country in 1933 due to Nazi persecution. He was a Professor at the New School for Social Research at Columbia University in New York City.

[17]Raymond Unwin (1863–1940) was one of the most influential English architects and town planners of the first half of the twentieth century. His particular interest was the improvement of working-class housing. He was the author of several innovative urban plans in England. From 1919 to 1928 he was appointed Chief Technical Officer for Housing and Town Planning. Unwin was President of the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) from 1931 to 1933, and served as consultant for President Roosevelt's New Deal in 1933.

[18]Gustavo Giovannoni (1873–1947) was an Italian architect and engineer, and a follower of Camillo Boito. He was a practitioner and a teacher, with interests ranging from architectural and art history to urban planning and architecture. From 1927 to 1935 he directed the School of Architecture of the University of Rome, where he taught Restoration of Monuments.

[19]Marcel Poëte (1866–1950) was a French historian and urban planner who specialised in the history of Paris. He was a co-founder of the *Institut d'Urbanisme de Paris*, and contributed to the development of the discipline and practice of urban planning in France in the first half of the twentieth century.

[20]Charles Buls (1837–1914) was a Belgian politician, urban planner and educator. He was the Mayor of Brussels from 1881 to 1899. His main action as Mayor was the conservation of the arts and heritage of the city, and notably of the *Grande Place*. His essays were extremely influential in Europe. He worked extensively as an educator, and in 1866 he contributed to the opening of the *École des Arts décoratifs*, annexed to the *Académie royale des beaux-arts* of Brussels.

'hygienists' and defines the main goal of the planner and the architect as the art of marrying functional need and beauty, a programme and analytical method termed in different parts of Europe as 'Art Public' or 'Civic Art' or 'Art Urbain' and as the 'City Beautiful Movement' in America (Bohl and Lejeune, 2009).

In this rich period of intellectual ferment, perhaps the most innovative thinkers and practitioners were the German architect and critic Werner Hegemann and the Scottish urbanist and biologist Patrick Geddes.[21]

Werner Hegemann based his work on the proposals of Sitte and was able to transform them into a complete and innovative methodology of planning (Crasemann Collins, 2005). He was also the first planner who bridged the architectural discourse between Europe and America, as shown by the production of one of the most extraordinary architectural manuals of modern times: *The American Vitruvius* (Hegemann and Peets, 1988). In this work, published in 1922, significantly subtitled *Handbook of Civic Art*, he uses the analytical method inaugurated by Sitte to demonstrate, through examples taken from different times and places, the universality of the principles of urban creation.[22]

The relationships between mass and void constitute, according to Hegemann, the elements of continuity of a city, in a harmonious process of development. He sees the city as a continuous and incremental *collage*, where all the parts, while maintaining their identity, interact to create a new spatial meaning. From this derives the importance of the historic city as the physical outcome of the long-term process and the 'manifesto' for its development.

Patrick Geddes, certainly one of the most innovative urban planners of his time (Welter, 2002), looked at the city from another angle compared with the approach of Sitte and his followers, mostly based on visual and aesthetic appreciation. He sees the city as an organism in evolution, where physical and social components interact in a complex web of change and tradition.

This 'organic' concept – typical of a naturalist – finds its concrete manifestation in the medieval city, already celebrated by Ruskin and Morris, and reinterpreted by Geddes as a continuously evolving context, where every generation brings its own contribution to the physical space, by changing and adding structures and functions. In his 1915 book, *Cities in Evolution*, he sees the historic city as a model to be studied to understand its functioning and design principles and to identify management practices for the care of collective spaces. He sees for

[21] Patrick Geddes (1854–1932) was a Scottish biologist and town planner. He was one of the most influential modern thinkers in the field of urban planning. A follower of John Ruskin's belief that spatial forms influence social processes, he had the opportunity to demonstrate his ideas in the course of a long professional career during which he authored several urban plans in the UK (Edinburgh), India and the Middle East (Jerusalem, Tel Aviv).

[22] Calabi, Donatella. 'Handbooks of Civic Art from Sitte to Hegemann'. Bohl, Charles C., Lejeune, Jean-François, 2009: 161–174.

the first time the importance for city planning of understanding the spirit of place, the *genius loci*. The traces, memories and collective associations of values to space are key determinants of urban transformation (Geddes, 2010).

Geddes looks at the city in a truly comprehensive manner: from a morphological, as well as from a social, point of view. He looks at its history as the basis of civic education and cooperation. He looks at the relationships between the city and its geographic and natural context. For him, the whole city should be considered for conservation, not merely a limited district or section. To promote urban conservation, he coined the term 'conservative surgery', a practice aimed at minimising the destruction of historic buildings and urban spaces to adapt them to modern requirements, which he implemented in Edinburgh and Dublin, as well as in India, in Balrampur, Lahore and other cities.

The importance of these visions of the city in inspiring new urban design models in different parts of the world in the first half of the twentieth century cannot be overstated. They represented an attempt to integrate into the new design the values (aesthetic, functional and symbolic) embodied in the city as a result of its historic transformation, while at the same time attempting to define the city design process as a continuation of the past.

The ideas of Geddes were influential in Europe and played a role in the creation in the early 1920s of an important movement in the USA, the Regional Planning Association of America (RPPA), under the initiative of a group of architects led by Clarence Stein[23] and supported by the intellectual input of the historian and critic Lewis Mumford.[24] The RPAA, in spite of its small size,[25] became the most influential advocacy group in urban and regional planning in America, promoting the respect of local cultural values and their harmonious integration into urban

[23]Clarence Samuel Stein (1882–1975) was an American urban planner, architect and writer, a major proponent of the 'Garden City' movement in the United States. In 1923 Stein co-founded the Regional Planning Association of America to address large-scale planning issues such as affordable housing, the impact of sprawl, and wilderness preservation. His projects include the design of Sunnyside Gardens (1923), a neighbourhood of the New York City borough of Queens, and the plan for Radburn in Fair Lawn, New Jersey (1929). In the 1930s Stein and the other members of the RPAA saw their social-housing cause adopted by the government.

[24]Lewis Mumford (1895–1990) was an American historian, philosopher and literary critic. He was a polymath and wrote influential books in the fields of history of technology. He was especially recognised as an influential thinker in the field of urban history and planning. He was critical of the process of urban sprawl and linked the social problems of Western societies to the structure of their cities. He is considered a pioneer of the environmental movement and ecological planning.

[25]The RPAA was essentially a loose circle of friends, mainly from the New York City area, with never more than twenty-five members. It was created in 1923 and included, besides Stein and Mumford, the American Institute of Architecture *Journal* editor Charles Whitaker, Forester Benton MacKaye, economist Stuart Chase, architects Henry Wright, Russell Van Nest Black, Fred Ackerman, Robert D. Kohn and Fred Bigger, social scientist Robert Bruere, and housers Edith Elmer Wood and Catherine Bauer. The group worked together until 1933 and influenced all the New Deal urban and regional policies.

development, and opposing land speculation in favour of socially oriented planning.

The importance of these perspectives would be acknowledged in the second half of the twentieth century, as a reaction against the anti-historicist and functionalist approach of Modernism. Among architects, planners and social thinkers of the time, perhaps the one who best understood the role of the historic city in modern society, and defined the tools for urban conservation, was the Italian architect and urban planner Gustavo Giovannoni (Zucconi, 1997). In fact, he defined a technical approach to urban conservation that constitutes to this day the basis of the urban conservation practice (Choay, 1992): it was he who coined the term 'urban heritage'.

The new thinking inspired by Giovannoni arose – as in Sitte – from the needs of modern urban planning. The historic city was not considered adequate for an era of machines and mass communication, which required wider spaces, urban expansion and planning at the territorial scale.

If the time of the compact, dense city was over, the historic city could still play an important role, not linked to production and communication, but rather to living and social exchange. The historic city, in this innovative concept, is seen as part of a network of urban functions, not just as a model for the creation of new urban centres, as in Sitte's view, but as an area where new functions compatible with traditional urban morphology can be absorbed. The aesthetic function, the beauty of the historic city, is an element that further strengthens this role and establishes a hierarchy and dialogue between old and modern urban forms.

The modernity of Giovannoni's approach is remarkable: both the romantic, memorial function of Ruskin[26] and the rational, model approach of Sitte are recomposed in a unitary vision, which is able to integrate the range of societal needs into one comprehensive view. In a sense, this approach is the opposite of theories expressed by Modernism and symbolised by Le Corbusier's *Plan Voisin*, a proposal that was de facto wiping out the historic city to replace it with a fully rational, functionalist modern grid.

The contribution of Giovannoni is not limited to this theoretical framework. As he was a militant practitioner, he also developed a complete

[26] In his 1849 seminal book, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, one of the first modern architectural treaties, Ruskin defined the functions of architecture in modern society, with terms that are still present today in the discussion on the city, architecture and conservation. The 'Seven Lamps' are:

1. *Sacrifice* – the meaning of architecture in relation to values (spiritual, social etc.).
2. *Truth* – the honest display of materials and structure.
3. *Power* – the expression of the human effort and achievement.
4. *Beauty* – the search for harmony and nature.
5. *Life* – the creativity in the design and in the building process.
6. *Memory* – the respect of the culture of the place.
7. *Obedience* – the rejection of extravaganzas and the adherence to cultural and social values.

methodology for the management and conservation of the historic city, which remains today as the basis of the disciplinary approach. An integrative planning system is seen as the key management tool for the historic city in modern urban development. This is necessary to establish and guide the choice of its functions, to properly connect it with the new urban fabric and with the communication systems, and to preserve the social structure of the population.

A very important principle established by Giovannoni was the need to conserve the built 'environment' of historic monuments, the urban fabric that represents the layers of time, a clear position against the 'dismemberment' of buildings that was – and still remains in many parts of the world – an 'easy' practice.

Urban environments require an approach to conservation similar to those adopted for individual monuments. Within these basic principles, and respecting the urban morphologies and building typologies, it is admissible to develop a strategy of reintegration of missing parts, and de-densification (*diradamento*) of additions that prevent an adequate functionality of the urban fabric.

Giovannoni was strongly opposed to the museum-like freezing of historic centres, a common practice at the time in Italy and other countries, consisting of the isolation of the historic fabric from contemporary life, and the creation of a specialised district used for tourism purposes. Considering the complexity of his approach, we can consider him the precursor of the conservation policies that were developed internationally, largely under his influence or the influence of his followers, in the second half of the twentieth century.

The development of urban planning as an independent discipline in the first part of the twentieth century provided the foundation of the modern approach to urban conservation. In a way, it even provided approaches that were theoretically more comprehensive than the ones that emerged in the second half of the century on urban conservation. In fact, the founding fathers of urban planning saw the city as an historical continuum and an environment connected to its wider territory. Even the anti-urbanism utopias that materialised as a reaction to the poor living conditions in the city were based on historical models (Fishman, 1977).

These concepts are of great importance in the development of the modern approach to urban conservation, and are reflected in many contemporary documents and charters; indeed, the need to link urban conservation to a wider context and to the natural environment is at the heart of contemporary thinking on urban conservation.

Fracture: the Modern Movement versus the Historic City

It would be impossible to understand the present challenges of urban conservation without a reference to the big break in the vision and practice of architecture and urban planning which came about as a result of the Modern Movement.

Box 1.1 Imperial Palaces of the Ming and Qing Dynasties in Beijing and Shenyang (China)

The property was originally inscribed onto the World Heritage List in 1987 as the Forbidden City with its landscaped gardens and main building complexes. In 2004 it was extended to include the Imperial Palace of the Qing Dynasty in Shenyang with its 114 buildings. The Forbidden City, the largest palace in the world, has been subject to pressures from tourism and air pollution while its surroundings have developed rapidly in the last two decades. Beijing's successful bid for the 2008 Olympic Games included the planned development of urban projects in the vicinity of the World Heritage listed property in 2003, which drew the attention of the World Heritage Committee. An urban development project along the traditional streets of Nanchizi neighbourhood caused special concern, as it aimed to renew the historic district within the limits of the buffer zone of the property. In response to the World Heritage Committee's concern, the Beijing Municipality cancelled the project, thereby preventing another of Beijing's traditional neighbourhoods being razed to the ground to make way for a massive real estate development project. In addition, the Municipality developed a Plan for the Protection of the Imperial City, which strengthens the protection of the buffer zone of the World Heritage designated property. With these actions, the property's extension was approved under criteria (i), (ii), (iii) and (iv), with specific recommendations on land use and tourism control within the buffer zone.

Sources: World Heritage Committee State of Conservation Reports 27 COM 7B.43 and 28 COM 15B.54

This intellectual movement did in fact redefine the role and principles of architecture and planning in modern society, and developed a vision aimed at managing the needs of mass society, while it renewed design aesthetics in a way that has marked most of the twentieth century.

The Modern Movement shifted the attention of urban planners away from the idea of harmonious development, promoted by the movements of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, to the idea of functional urban development.

In those years, movements such as the *Arts and Crafts Movement*[27] in Great Britain and America, the German *Deutscher Werkbund*[28] and the *Wiener Werkstätte*[29] in Vienna had renewed the language of architecture

[27]The Arts and Crafts Movement was an international design movement that originated in England and flourished between 1880 and 1910, continuing its influence up to the 1930s. Instigated by the artist and writer William Morris in the 1860s and inspired by the writings of John Ruskin, it had its earliest and fullest development in the British Isles but spread to Europe and North America as a reaction against the impoverished state of the decorative arts and the conditions under which they were produced. See: Kaplan and Crawford, 2005.

[28]The *Deutscher Werkbund* (German Work Federation) was a German association of artists, architects, designers and industrialists. The *Werkbund* was to become an important actor in the development of modern architecture and industrial design, particularly in the later creation of the Bauhaus school of design. The *Werkbund* was founded in 1907 in Munich, existed through 1934, and was then re-established after the Second World War in 1950. See: Schwartz, 1996.

[29]The *Wiener Werkstätte* (Vienna Workshop) was a visual artists' production group that originated in 1897 out of the *Sezessionsstil* (Vienna Secession). This workshop gathered

and urban design to cope with the needs of a new industrial society (Pevsner, 2005). Other innovative proposals aimed at coping with the needs of the modern industrial city were conducted in parallel, sometimes in the great tradition of urban utopias, such as the *Cité industrielle* of Tony Garnier[30] (Garnier, 1917).

Many of the great architects of the Modern Movement, like Le Corbusier and Mies van der Rohe, either took part in, or were inspired by, these movements, but the collapse of the old order in Europe with the First World War, the Russian Revolution and the development of mass industrial societies created the conditions for the intellectual revolution that was Modernism.[31]

The intellectual life of the post-war period – indeed in all areas of artistic expression – found its expression in the development of avant-garde schools like the Bauhaus[32] in Germany or Vkhoutemas[33] in Russia, as well as in movements like De Stijl in Holland. In 1923, with the publication of his *Vers une Architecture*, Le Corbusier redefined the paradigm of architecture and urban planning (Le Corbusier, 1977), urging architects not to remain attached to models and styles of the past, which were detached from the needs and realities of the present.

The doctrine of the Modern Movement, developed in the 1920s and 1930s at the international level through the CIAM (*Congrès internationaux d'architecture moderne*), made a radical departure from the approach to the historic city espoused by the most advanced thinkers of the previous generation (Mumford, 2000). The CIAM approach favoured the destruction of the traditional city and the creation of a new modern urban complex,

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architects, artists and designers interested in the production of everyday objects of great aesthetic quality, bringing together crafts and the major arts. The *Wiener Werkstätte* ceased its activities in 1932. See: Fahr-Becker, 2008.

[30]Tony Garnier (1869–1948) was a French architect and urban planner, and author of an urban utopia based on modernist principles of separation of urban functions and industrial activities. His 'Cité Industrielle' was very influential in the post-First-World-War period, especially in the Soviet Union. He worked mostly in his home town, Lyon, where he authored several important architectural projects.

[31]It is interesting to note that during Le Corbusier's formative years, Sitte's book was his main inspiration: years afterward he viewed it as a symbol of reactionary and obscurantist thinking, a nostalgic attempt to deny the progress of technique and society.

[32]The Bauhaus was an arts and crafts institute created in 1919 in Weimar by the architect Walter Gropius, and it became extremely influential in the fields of architecture and design, as well as in photography, costume design and dance. Some of the most important artists and architects of the European avant-garde taught courses there. In 1925 the Bauhaus moved to Dessau where Gropius designed its new offices. After Gropius left in 1928, the Bauhaus was directed by Hannes Meyer and Ludwig Mies van der Rohe. The school was closed by the Nazis in 1933.

[33]The *Vkhoutemas* (Higher Art and Technical Studios) was a Russian school created in 1920 in Moscow by Lenin, with the aim of providing artists with the high qualifications needed for industrial production. The school had about 100 teachers and 2,500 students. The school was the centre of some important movements in art and architecture like constructivism, rationalism and suprematism. The school that was linked to the Bauhaus was closed in 1930.

based on high-density public housing, with functional and innovative housing typologies and elaborate transport infrastructure.

The Plan of Amsterdam of Cornelis van Eesteren,[34] himself a leading figure of the CIAM, was the first concrete demonstration of modern principles, based on the separation of functions, layers of traffic circulation, flexibility and modularity of spaces and social cooperation.

The social experiments of the 1920s and 1930s in Vienna, Berlin and Russia, as well as the work of great masters like Le Corbusier, Walter Gropius,[35] Ludwig Mies van der Rohe[36] and Hannes Mayer,[37] to name but a few, established models that influenced housing and urban development throughout the twentieth century.

Le Corbusier[38] was undoubtedly the greatest theoretician of the new vision, who proposed provocative projects, such as the *Plan Voisin* to replace the centre of Paris with a modern grid of high-rise architecture, or the plans for Algiers (*Plan Obus*) or Rio de Janeiro, where the old city was essentially ignored or replaced by mega-structures (Le Corbusier, 1935). He also led the way to the drafting by CIAM of its most important manifesto: the *Athens Charter*, which was discussed and negotiated during its fourth Congress[39] in 1933, but published only in 1943 by himself (Le Corbusier, 1957).

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[34]Cornelis van Eesteren (1897–1988) established, with Theo van Doesburg, the architectural principles of Neo-Plasticism. He was responsible for the General Extension plan for Amsterdam (1936), where he was Chief Architect of the Town Planning Department for nearly half a century. He was president of CIAM (1930–47).

[35]Walter Gropius (1883–1969) was a German-born, and later naturalised American, architect. He was one of the most important representatives of twentieth-century Modernism. In 1919, he succeeded Henry van de Velde as Director of the School of Arts and Crafts of Weimar, which he transformed into the Bauhaus, the most influential school of modern architecture and arts of the time, which he directed until 1928.

[36]Ludwig Mies van der Rohe (1886–1969) was a German-born, and later naturalised American, architect, widely considered as one of the masters of modern architecture. From 1930 to 1933 he directed the Bauhaus, as successor to Walter Gropius. He left Nazi Germany in 1937 for the USA, to become the Head of the School of Architecture of the Illinois Institute of Technology in Chicago.

[37]Hannes Mayer (1889–1954) was a Swiss architect and Second Director of the Bauhaus in Dessau from 1928 to 1930. After being dismissed as Director of the School, he moved to Moscow, forming a group called the Left Column, which worked on architectural and urban planning projects inspired by socialist ideals. After this experience, he moved to Mexico to work for the Mexican government as the Director of the *Instituto del Urbanismo y Planification.*

[38]Le Corbusier, pseudonym of Charles-Édouard Jeanneret-Gris (1887–1965), was a Swiss-born, and later naturalised French architect. He was one of the most important architects of the Modern Movement. As designer, urban planner and prolific writer, Le Corbusier was a dominant figure in world architecture throughout his life. He was the main inspiration for the CIAM, and author of masterpieces of modern architecture in all fields. In the 1950s, he and his cousin Pierre Jeanneret were the designers of the new capital of Indian Punjab, Chandigarh.

[39]The CIAM 4 Congress took place in 1933 aboard the cruise ship SS Patris II in the Mediterranean and in Athens. During this Congress, the principles of the Functional City were established. Following Le Corbusier's principles, expressed in the same year in his book *La Ville Radieuse*, the main 'Resolutions in Principle' of the Congress defined modern urbanism. See: Mumford, 2000: 84.

Santiago

Edinburgh

The fracture created by Modernism has had significant impacts on the conservation of the historic city, with long-reaching effects until today. The way in which architects should deal with historic contexts is at the core of the contemporary debate.

In this text, the historic city is a negative model, characterised by excessive density, lack of light, ventilation and sun exposure, where services are distant from the residential areas. The solutions proposed are simple and straightforward: demolition of the unhealthy neighbourhoods and their replacement with green spaces and modern housing units. A specific section of the document deals with urban heritage, seen essentially as a set of monuments, to be respected in the name of their historic and 'sentimental' value, surrounded by 'slums' that could be demolished, with the exception of some 'samples' that could be preserved for their documentary value.

The inevitable shortcomings of the vision of the Modern Movement, which first emerged – not insignificantly – in the motherland of the revolution, the Soviet Union, did not prevent the Movement from influencing in a significant way most of the twentieth-century urban planning (Curtis, 1996).

With qualities varying from place to place, zoning has been for most of the century the main tool of urban development; block social housing has dominated the new urban landscape and has largely affected the historic city; infrastructure for individual transport has guided the choices of urban design (Relph, 1987).

In a few cases, like Chandigarh and Brasilia, the Modernist dream became reality and an entire city was built according to unified principles. Overall, this model has dominated, both in the developed, and in the developing, world, for a good half century, albeit with results distant from the original utopia.

Box 1.2 Historic Centre of the City of Graz (Austria)

The historic centre of Graz was listed as a World Heritage site in 1999 as a fine example of a Central European urban complex with a harmonious blend of architectural styles and artistic movements that had succeeded each other since the Middle Ages. During the first years of this new century the inscribed property saw a series of contemporary architectural interventions, which touched upon a decades-long debate in architectural and conservation circles concerning building in historic context. A 2005 mission reported three cases where new architectural interventions, often severely contrasting with the historic context, had replaced historic buildings, among which the construction of the *Thalia Centre* that had resulted in the demolition of the protected building of the 'Kommod-House'. These new and contrasting architectural creations in the World Heritage site raised the question of the integrity of the property and the priority imposed on urban development projects which did not harmonise with the existing historic urban fabric, thereby threatening the site's Outstanding Universal Value. In order to prevent further fragmentation of the historic ensemble, a Management Plan was developed and put in place in 2007. Moreover, the World Heritage property was extended to include *Schloss Eggenberg*, so as to preserve the historical link that existed between the city and the castle and thereby strengthening the integrity of the property. The extension resulted in a new, enlarged buffer zone.

Sources: World Heritage Committee State of Conservation Reports 29 COM 7B.63 and 30 COM 7B.76

Certainly the radical rejection of the historic city has prevented modern architects from appreciating the 'layering' process as the basis for the quality of urban spaces and the role of established social networks in shaping development patterns. Given its ideological origins, it was impossible for Modernism to tune in to the important discussion about heritage conservation and the urban form that was ongoing during the same period.

It is an irony of history that the first important modern document on conservation, which is today commonly referred to as the *Athens Charter* (although it was never issued under this name), was produced almost at the same time as the CIAM manifesto (Iamandi, 1997).

Inspired by an international group of architects, archaeologists and conservators, including Gustavo Giovannoni and the Belgian architect Victor Horta,[40] the Conference represented the outcome of more than a century of discussion and theoretical developments concerning the conservation of ancient monuments and sites.

In a way, this is the point of departure of modern conservation, and the founding of an international (albeit at the time predominantly European) movement for heritage conservation, which opened the way to the modern Charters, the creation of many international organisations for conservation and the adoption of international Conventions such as the 1972 World Heritage Convention. The 1931 Athens Conference offered for the first time an opportunity to compare different national approaches to conservation and legislation, and to establish exchanges between different disciplines.

While its main drive remained an 'aesthetic' vision of heritage, typical of the traditional European approach, the Conference opened up new ways of dealing with issues such as the education of the public and the use of science for conservation. Finally, the Conference pioneered the concept of urban heritage, supported the integration of built heritage into urban planning, the conservation of the uses of historic fabric and respect for the setting of the monuments, especially when new buildings are planned.

Although the conclusions of the Conference were already acknowledged by the League of Nations in 1932, its importance became evident only after the Second World War, with the adoption of the 1964 Venice Charter and the growth of an international conservation movement under the aegis of UNESCO.

The practice of urban planning in the first half of the twentieth century is one of great diversity of principles and practices, and that diversity is still a part of contemporary debate. However, other dominant themes have been the growing role of urban conservation and the establishment of an international movement able to influence policies not only in the Western context, but also, for the first time, in other regions of the world.

[40]Victor Horta (1861–1947) was a Belgian architect and among the greatest interpreters of the Art Nouveau style. He was a prolific architect and teacher, and became highly influential in his time, anticipating modernist language and style.

Modern policies on urban conservation are based on the recognition of the historic value of the urban fabric, on the understanding of its structure and form, as well as on an understanding of the complex layering process that has supported them. This is the intellectual capital that we will retrace in all modern theories and charters, which is also present in contemporary thinking on urban conservation.

Out of Modernism: New Approaches to Urban Conservation

The fracture created by Modernism between the rationale for heritage conservation and that of new development has had a severe impact on the conservation of the historic city. While the principles of conservation of monuments, at least in the European context, were already enshrined in several national legislations in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, and specialised conservation institutions created, most of the historic urban areas were not protected as 'heritage', a situation that enabled the 'planned' removal of many historic districts, both before, and after, the Second World War.

Modern building types and technologies seemed fit to cope with the urgent and extensive needs of post-war reconstruction and economic expansion, and policy-makers showed little interest in conservation during the first two decades after the war. However, two important processes took shape in those years.

The first process was the reaction against Modernism that sparked a rich debate among architects, planners and public officials on policies and methodologies for new design and city management. This debate is critical to understanding the evolution of urban conservation in the post-war period, as it is in this period that many of its social, physical and cultural objectives were established and new operational tools developed.

The second process was the growth of an international conservation movement that was able to establish its own national and international institutions and to define principles and operational practices. In the 1960s, it became evident that the standardised application of modern planning and architectural principles was responsible for poor housing quality, monotonous and repetitive urban spaces and social marginality.

The poor quality of modern urban spaces exposed the contrast between the new developments and the historic city, where, in spite of poor housing conditions, urban spaces were far more enjoyable. The crisis of the Modern Movement became evident even in its own circles: in 1959 the CIAM held its last meeting,[41] its members acknowledging the end of the movement and branching off in different directions. And even before the professionals had developed their new approaches, a backlash came from the grass

[41] The last meeting of CIAM was held in Otterlo, The Netherlands, in 1959. At this meeting, the opposition to the post-war CIAM structure, expressed by the younger-generation architects of Team 10, put an end to the experience.

roots, exemplified by the cogent critique of Jane Jacobs[42] in America (Jacobs, 1993).

The time had come for the architects and planners to find new ways to manage development, respecting historical patterns, the meaning of space and social links.[43] However, the principles of Modernism have continued to operate for many decades in different regions of the world, often with local adaptation, such as can be found in the Indian or Latin American context, but the main thrust of the movement had ended.

The intellectual season opened by the end of Modernism was extremely rich in contributions that have oriented the contemporary approach to urban conservation and helped shape its operational tools. The different currents of thought, which emerged from the crisis, can certainly be traced back to the intellectual debates at the turn of the nineteenth century, while at the same time reflecting the spirit of a modern, democratic society.

As urban conservation paradigms were defined later than those of monuments, and have remained quite open to changes and interpretation, the variety of approaches of the post-war period provides a very diverse range of urban conservation models.

The interest in social planning that was at the root of the Modern Movement continued in the work of younger members of CIAM, such as that of the Dutch architects Aldo van Eyck[44] and Jacob Bakema,[45] the British Alison and Peter Smithson,[46] the Greek George Candilis[47] and the Italian Giancarlo De Carlo,[48] to name only some of the founding members of the Team 10 group, a secession from CIAM. The work of these authors was extremely

[42] Jane Jacobs (1916–2006), writer and activist, played a fundamental role in fostering a revision of planning practices in America, re-empowering the communities ahead of private interests. Her interests spanned from urban issues to labour economics and social philosophy.

[43] Jacobs' work was very influential in spreading participatory planning approaches in different countries, and inspired planners such as Paul Davidoff, the founder of 'advocacy planning' in the USA.

[44] Aldo Van Eyck (1918–1999), was a Dutch architect and professor at the Amsterdam Academy of Architecture (1954–1959) and at the Delft University of Technology (1966–1984). He was editor of the architecture magazine *Forum* from 1959 to 1963 and also in 1967. Aldo van Eyck was a member of CIAM and then in 1954 a co-founder of Team 10.

[45] Jakob Bakema (1914–1981) was a Dutch architect, a protagonist of the reconstruction of Rotterdam after the Second World War. In 1946 he began attending meetings of the CIAM and became its Secretary in 1955, and he was a core member of its offshoot, Team 10.

[46] Alison Smithson (1928–1993) and Peter Smithson (1923–2003) were British architects, who formed an architectural partnership, and were throughout their careers active critics of modernist principles. At the 10th and final CIAM Congress in 1956, the Smithsons broke with CIAM as part of Team 10.

[47] George Candilis (1913–1995) was a Greek architect who became after the Second World War one of the main collaborators of Le Corbusier. He was in charge of the construction of the Unité d'Habitation of Marseille. He developed a successful professional career especially in the area of high-density housing. He was a founding member of Team 10 and remained a member throughout the life of the group until its last meeting in 1977.

[48] Giancarlo De Carlo (1919–2005), was an Italian architect and professor at the Institute of Architecture of Venice. He was the youngest member of CIAM, and among the founders of

influential in establishing a new approach to urban design and urban conservation, as well as in turning the issue of human habitat into one of international concern, a drive that eventually led to the creation of the UN Habitat Agency in 1978.[49]

Of this group, the Italian architect Giancarlo De Carlo was the one who broke new ground on the management of historic urban areas. He criticised the technocratic model typical of the age of Modernism, and favoured citizen participation and consensus as a tool of planning and architectural design (De Carlo, 1972).

Consequently, his architecture sought to reflect the nature of the context, with its cultural, physical and historical components. Through this methodology, he was able to address the issue of contemporary design in the historic city in ways adapted to the realities of modern democratic societies.

While establishing as a primary goal the conservation of the values of the past, he was able to convincingly articulate a new design language compatible with the historic fabric. His most significant contribution in this field remains the Master Plan for the Italian Renaissance town of Urbino, where he was able to harmoniously integrate his new university buildings into the urban landscape (Guccione and Vittorini, 2005).

In reality, even before these experiments, the participatory and 'bottom-up' approach to design and planning had found an important practical and theoretical basis in the work of the Egyptian architect Hassan Fathi,[50] who,

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Team 10. Alongside his professional carrier, he directed the international journal *Spazio e Società – Space & Society*, and created the International Laboratory of Architecture and Urban Design (ILAUD).

[49]The UN-Habitat Agency was created on the occasion of the first United Nations Conference on Human Settlements (Habitat I), held in Vancouver, Canada, in 1976. Among the many Recommendations issued by the Conference, the following concern the existing urban fabric:

'Recommendation B.8 Improving existing settlements:

(a) Settlement planning cannot merely focus on new urban development for many settlements already exist. The improvement, renewal and rehabilitation of these settlements should therefore be continuous. They thus present a major challenge in improvement of quality of life, and of the existing fabric of settlements. When ill-conceived it may result in the destruction of the economic and social fabric of entire neighbourhoods.

(b) Settlements must be continuously improved. Renewal and rehabilitation of existing settlements must be oriented to improving living conditions, functional structures and environmental qualities. The process must respect the rights and aspirations of inhabitants, especially the least advantaged, and preserve the cultural and social values embodied in the existing fabric.

(c) Special attention should be paid to:

(i) Upgrading and preserving the existing stock through the development and use of low-cost techniques, and the direct involvement of the present inhabitants;

(ii) Undertaking major clearance operations only when conservation and rehabilitation are not feasible and relocation measures are made;

(iii) Providing for the welfare of the affected inhabitants especially with respect to employment opportunities and basic infrastructure;

(iv) Preserving the area's social and cultural fabric which may be the only de facto source of social services including care of children and the aged, maternity care, apprenticeship, employment information and security'.

[50]Hassan Fathi (1900–1989) was an Egyptian architect and professor who studied and adapted the traditional construction techniques of rural areas, in order to provide cheaper and self-built housing for the poor. He is the author of numerous projects, the most well-known being the Village of New Gourna in Luxor. UNESCO has launched in 2010 a project for the restoration of the village of New Gourna, currently under way (2011).

New Gourna

Rio de Janeiro

The growth of informal settlements on a global scale has pushed architects and planners to rethink the way in which governments should address the needs of the poor, and to recognise the value of traditional knowledge and techniques.

as early as 1945, had started working with the vernacular architecture of southern Egypt, reusing the millenary construction techniques of the local peasants.

This innovative exercise, albeit largely ignored at that time, became universally known with the publication of his influential work in 1973, *Architecture for the Poor* (Fathi, 1973). Hassan Fathi has been recognised as a precursor of the urban management ideals that took shape at the end of Modernism (Aga Khan Trust for Culture, 1989), and his work demonstrated to a generation of architects and planners the possible alternative views for the conservation of historic cities in many parts of the developed, and developing, world.

Continuing in this tradition, and inspired by the teachings of De Carlo, was the British architect John Turner.[51] Drawing on many years of field experience in Latin America, he developed a set of important planning and architectural principles of self-help and 'self-building' (Turner, 1976) that opened the way to a generation of architects and planners interested in rediscovering local traditions as a tool to preserve the social and physical integrity of places, while providing affordable shelter.[52]

Turner supported the view that housing, both new and old, is best managed by the inhabitants rather than by external planners. Assisted self-management proved to be the most effective way to achieve sustainability and to preserve the social links that form part of the city. Turner's view was that the developed world has much to learn from the developing context and that the 'freedom to build' was the way to value local experience over the technocratic approach of traditional planning.

While the application of these principles was not as widespread as imagined by the social reformers, it certainly played an important role in reinforcing the view that urban conservation must be participatory, and in establishing the preservation of the social fabric of the historic city as one of the most important goals of planning.

Another important current of thought that emerged from Modernism focused on the physical structure of the city as the outcome of an historical layering process. This approach, which had its roots in the field of geography (Whitehand, 1992), was developed by the urban geographer Conzen[53] in Great Britain and was then applied to different regions of the world.

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[51] John Turner (1927–) is a British architect and professor who has written extensively on housing and community organisation. Turner's central thesis argued that housing is best provided and managed by those who are to dwell in it rather than being centrally administered by the state.

[52] In particular, in this field significant contributions have come from architects such as Walter Segal (1907–1985), Cedric Price (1934–2003) and John Habraken (1928–).

[53] M.R.G. Conzen (1907–2000) was a British (German-born) geographer and a pioneer of the field of urban morphology. After coming to England in 1933, he began working in the Geography Department of what would become the University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Conzen produced a series of ground-breaking studies, perhaps the most important of which was Alnwick, Northumberland, which was published in 1960.

The object of this analytical approach is the dynamics of urban space, a study of the marks left on the landscape by every phase of society, and of the forms that reflect the needs of its day (Conzen, 2004). The 'townscape' is characterised by its historicity. Conzen notes that, up until the twentieth century in most of the world, the relationship between townscape and 'occupant' society did not witness any tensions that were able to threaten the physiognomy of the towns.

This allowed the townscape to become 'historic', i.e. to accumulate through time a variety of historical forms and meanings. This long historic process generates a cultural identification of the inhabitants with the physical structure of the town that needs to be included in the planning and management process. Recognising the need to manage the townscape as a 'palimpsest' requires the development of adequate analytical tools, based on the understanding of the complex morphological processes (including building fabric, building types, plot patterns, blocks and street patterns).

While the approach promoted by Conzen and later developed by Whitehand[54] allowed the development of an interesting analytical framework for the description and explanation of urban historic development processes, its practical application has been very limited.

Box 1.3 Ancient City of Aleppo (Syria)

[54]Whitehand, Jeremy W.R.. *Morphology and Historic Urban Landcapes.* Van Oers (ed.), 2010: 35–44.

The project of the rehabilitation of the Ancient City of Aleppo required close to 15 years of cooperation between the city authorities and the German Development Agency, or GTZ (now GIZ). The GTZ primarily provided technical assistance to build capacity (not to implement projects) and Aleppo provided the essential human capital and institutional infrastructure to implement the project. Based on extensive analyses executed in the period of 1993 to 1997, a Development Plan was elaborated in 1999 and approved by the authorities in 2000. Under this Plan complete areas, including public spaces, are being upgraded, such as Bab Quinniserin and Jdeideh, while the Farafra area around the Citadel was recently finished. The rehabilitation project involved a renewal of the water supply (98% implemented) and sewer networks (80% implemented), environmental improvements including paving and traffic management (reduced around the Citadel), the provision of financial and technical support for the rehabilitation of private houses (through the establishment of a Housing Fund), and the design of a special Building Code for the Old City (as the Antiquities Law of Syria doesn't allow re-use and development of monumental structures to accommodate new functions). A Toolkit for Urban Conservation and Development was elaborated, which explains in detail the integrated approach taken with a focus on Arab historic cities in particular – and most of these with the active participation of the resident population, who have seen their living conditions improve significantly while heritage values have been retained. All this has provided a strong impetus for private-sector investments, which are noticeable in a number of high-end boutique hotels currently under development in large monumental palaces in the Old City.

Source: http://www.gtz.de/en/praxis/8234.htm

The Italian school of architectural typological and morphological analysis developed in the 1950s and 1960s under the stewardship of Saverio Muratori[55] has had a greater impact on the development of planning methods, conservation legislation and management practices.

[55]Saverio Muratori (1910–1973) was Professor of Architecture at the University of Rome and Venice. Besides being the author of architecture and urban design projects, he pioneered the field of urban morphology with his ground-breaking studies on Venice and Rome.

The critique of Modernism formulated by Giovannoni in the first half of the twentieth century was the starting point for this creative thinker and architect, who defined a new method, the typo-morphological analysis, to understand the evolution of urban forms. The method developed by Muratori hinges on the analysis of the building types, based on the use of cadastral cartography, as the basis for understanding the evolution of the structure of urban areas. This approach is aimed not only at analytical results, but also seeks to be 'operational' (Muratori, 1960), prescriptive, and to develop a theory of city design.

Subsequent developments were overseen by the Italian architect Gianfranco Caniggia,[56] who was able to clarify the 'evolutionary' process of typological transformation. Caniggia tried to relate every building type to a limited number of basic spatial configurations, called *Basic Elements*. Through this method, the structure of the urban form could be explained in a unitary model that included both the physical and the man-made elements (Caniggia and Maffei, 2001).

The concrete application of these principles gave rise in 1979 to important results under the leadership of architects and planners such as Leonardo Benevolo,[57] epitomised in the conservation plans for Bologna[58] and many other historic cities. The typo-morphological approach proved extremely effective in guiding decisions on the conservation and renewal processes of the historic fabric, and is largely used as a basis for planning and management of the building transformation process. Although the British and Italian schools of morphological analysis originated independently and with different backgrounds and aims, their dialogue has given birth to an interdisciplinary field and allowed the principles of typo-morphological analysis to spread to different contexts.[59]

The reaction to Modernism inspired many architects and planners of the post-war generation to update their analytical tools, with the contributions

[56] Gianfranco Caniggia (1933–1987) was an Italian architect and Professor at the University of Rome. His main theoretical contribution was the analysis of the historical development of building types. He was a follower of Saverio Muratori and developed his insights, clarifying the basic principle according to which typological transformations occur differently over space and time. His approach is linked to the principles of Structuralism.

[57] Leonardo Benevolo (1923–) is an Italian architect and architectural historian. He has taught at the Universities of Rome, Florence, Venice and Palermo. His writings have gained international recognition. He has also been actively involved in professional work both in Italy and internationally. He is the author of the Master Plan for the conservation of the historic Centre of Bologna and of Plans for several other Italian historic cities.

[58] Bandarin, Francesco. *The Bologna Experience*. Appleyard, Donald (ed.), 1979: 178–202.

[59] In France the urban morphological approach was developed by the School of Architecture of Versailles. Notably, urban typo-morphological analysis has been used to interpret the structure of the Arab historic cities within activities of the Aga Khan's Program on Islamic Architecture of MIT and the Aga Khan Trust for Culture's 'Historic Cities Support Program'. Important contributions on the use of typology and morphology as tools for the interpretation of the dynamics of cities came also from architects such as Aldo Rossi (1978) and Carlo Aymonino (2000). However, their interpretation was based on a different approach, based on the concept of type as a subjective tool for design, rather than an objective element of the urban context. Rossi's work, because of its rich analysis of the historic city, became very popular internationally, in spite of the lack of a clear methodology (Jencks and Kropf, 2006).

of many disciplines, from geography to psychology. New perspectives were developed by those who tried to renew the discipline of urban conservation by using 'perception' as a tool of interpretation and design of space. While these explorations are mainly focused on the design process, they contain important elements for a new interpretation of the urban experience linked to the historic city. In this field, two figures stand out for the importance of what they achieved: Gordon Cullen[60] in Great Britain and Kevin Lynch[61] in the USA.

Cullen's main interest was the visual impact of the city on the human mind, a process that cannot easily be explained by traditional scientific tools of the discipline, but that requires an analysis of the individual's memory and sensorial experiences (Cullen, 1961). As the city is a particular form of landscape, his analysis involved all the elements that make up the environment: buildings, trees, nature, water, traffic, etc. The scope of the analysis was to define a design methodology that extends beyond the mere 'technical' aspects of city making and defines an 'art' that is able to integrate building and environment.

In Cullen's discourse modern planning (in particular for the New Towns) and its technical statutes do not allow seeing the city as a unitary space (a townscape). In his view, by ignoring the lessons that can be learned from the historical spatial layering of the historic city, planning limits its ability to produce quality spaces.

The clear relationship with the 'aesthetic' approach of the nineteenth century and in particular with Sitte's work does not curtail the interest of a view intended to overcome the specialised practice of planning and to propose an innovative vision of integrated city planning and conservation.

While the work of Kevin Lynch is based on similar concerns, his aim is to define a systematic theory of the city. His ground-breaking work, *The Image of the City* (Lynch, 1960), defines a new object of research for the planner: the mental image. To obtain this, Lynch studies the interaction between individuals and the environment, something that belongs to all the inhabitants, and does not require the mediation of a technical expert.

Relying on interviews and maps drawn by the inhabitants, Lynch developed a classification of the 'elements of city image', a new form of urban morphology derived from the individual's view, in which the time dimension of the urban experience has a fundamental role.

Building on lessons learned from the application of this methodology, the author subsequently developed an overall urban design theory (Lynch,

[60]Gordon Cullen (1914–1994) was a British architect and urban designer who had a large influence on planning and architecture with his writings and projects. His book, *The Concise Townscape*, first published in 1961, became one of the most popular urban design books of the twentieth century.

[61]Kevin Lynch (1918–1984) was an American architect and city planner, and Professor at MIT, where he conducted innovative research in the field of city planning. His main focus was on how individuals perceive and navigate the urban landscape. He was also actively involved in professional work.

1981) which also led to a broader reflection on the process of change of the environment (Lynch, 1972).

In this work, Lynch questions some fundamental axioms of conservation (What to preserve? Why? How should change be managed?), observing that often the reasons for conservation are linked to social and institutional conventions that are not compatible with the changing needs of society.

He concluded that the ability to select the elements to be preserved and to manage change is preferable to an inflexible reverence for the past. In a way, preservation choices should be informed more by concern for the future rather than for the past.

Box 1.4 Cologne Cathedral (Germany)

The cathedral is Cologne's signature landmark, a Gothic masterpiece built over the course of seven centuries (1248–1880). The Cathedral's prominent place and symbolic function were severely compromised by the city's High-rise Master Plan (*Hochhauskonzept*), which was approved and publicised by local authorities in 2003, foreseeing the construction of a series of high-rise buildings in different parts of the city. One of the locations included the Deutz Quarter located on the right bank of the Rhine and in the Cathedral's view axis, adding to a number of other view axes that had already been blocked by skyscrapers in past years. After an intense debate, which was dominated by the potential deterioration and loss of the historical landmark function of the Cathedral, the World Heritage Committee decided in 2004 to include the property in the List of World Heritage in Danger. The project gave rise to divergent opinions between the city authorities and local preservation bodies over the city's urban development plans, in particular the economic rationale for the high-rise constructions. The threat of a complete delisting resulted in the cancellation of the Deutz Quarter project, after which Cologne Cathedral was reinstated on the World Heritage List in 2006.

Source: World Heritage Committee State of Conservation Report 30 COM 7A.30

While the typo-morphological approach proved to be a useful interpretative tool to guide urban conservation and planning, to many of those interested in the historic context the method has appeared too deterministic and its application excessively mechanistic, and loaded with the same risks that had negatively marked the experience of the Modern Movement.

Another vision that emerged from CIAM was the impetus to update the old idea of *genius loci*, the '*spirit of place*', already embraced by Geddes. This approach found its greatest exponent in the Norwegian architect and theoretician Christian Norberg-Schulz,[62] who adopted Heidegger's phenomenology as a philosophical approach to define the *genius loci* as an existential space, being the relationship of man with the environment (Norberg-Schulz, 1980).

[62]Christian Norberg-Schulz (1926–2000), a Norwegian architect, was a member of the CIAM and participated in the last phase of the movement. He based his research and writings on Heidegger's philosophy, developing a complete theory of phenomenology of place.

In this approach, which resembles contemporary definitions of intangible heritage, what matters is not the physical nature of the space, whether built or natural, but rather what happens when the place is 'inhabited'. In this way, existential spaces are shaped not only by those who build them, but also by those who inhabit them (Turgeon, 2009), as the creation of the meaning of a space and of its spiritual qualities can be derived only from those who live in the place.

Clearly, this relationship is dynamic and evolves with time, as it involves living human beings. Norberg-Schulz recalls Heidegger's concept of *Räumlichkeit*, which he translates as 'presence', a space of everyday life where all the 'places' collaborate in the creation of the environmental whole. The 'world of life' is a basic concept used by Norberg-Schulz, which embraces not only the settlements, but also their natural environment. In his view, a space changes from being a '*situs*' to a '*locus*', because life 'takes place' there. The contribution of Norberg-Schulz to the contemporary debate on urban conservation is very significant, since the evolution of the concept of heritage implies recognition of the value of elements to be preserved, while the physical structures are seen as supports.

Although context is a defining concept for planning and architecture, it came to the forefront of the discussion only in the post-war period, also as a reaction to the crisis of Modernism. The discussion of context took many directions. Maurice Culot[63] and Leon Krier[64] criticised the destruction of the historic city brought about by modern developments, and supported instead the use of styles inspired by the traditional city (Culot, 1980; Krier, 1978).

Culot was active in developing a movement to oppose the destruction of historic centres. Krier later provided the intellectual framework for proposals put forward by the Prince of Wales to return to the traditional language of architecture in the development of new plans, as well as for intervention in the historic city (Jencks, 1988).

Out of these positions, the New Urbanism movement emerged, with great appeal especially in the USA (Katz, 1994), a theory that recalls the traditions of Civic Art and the teaching of Hegemann in proposing planning inspired by traditional models. While these positions have garnered wide support among the public and intellectuals, they have never been able to express an architectural language independent from the vernacular or one that simply replicates historical models.

[63] Maurice Culot (1937–) is a Belgian architect, urban planner and architectural historian, specialising in particular in Art Nouveau and Art Deco. He is the founder of the *Archives d'Architecture Moderne (A.A.M.)*, one of the largest European architectural archives and libraries. Culot is one of the most important personalities of the European urban renaissance movement, a champion of the importance of the traditional urban environment for sustainable development and balanced economic growth.

[64] Leon Krier (1946–) is an architect, architectural theorist and urban planner from Luxembourg, and among the most influential representatives of the New Urbanism movement both in Europe and in the USA. He designed the urban area of Poundbury, UK, under the guidance of the Prince of Wales. He is an active practitioner.

During the same period, Colin Rowe[65] published his landmark work, 'Collage City', an influential theoretical essay pointing to the need to end the opposition between conservation and design, and to find a 'workable détente' between the existing and new forms. The new buildings must therefore relate 'to the known, perhaps mundane and, necessarily, memory-laden context from which they emerge'.[66] Rowe's approach proposed an analytical and design method, the *collage*, aimed at establishing a methodological symmetry between old and new, to allow the necessary mediation between change and the existing fabric. In this approach, the historic city is but a fragment, itself fragmented by the historical layering process.

Context was also at the heart of the theoretical work of one of the most innovative American architects of the post-war period, Robert Venturi.[67] Context is important because it expresses meaning, and because it acknowledges the quality of a place, beyond the single building (Venturi, 1966 and 2004).

Venturi opposed the replication of styles, and supported a modern design vocabulary that could ensure harmony between the different elements of the context. As shown by his extensive research on the historic fabric, Venturi supported dissonance as a part of architectural language, as an expression of the complexity of the physical layering process.

Within the approach developed by Rowe and Venturi, a successful formulation was developed by Thomas Schumacher when he coined the term '*Contextualism*' (Schumacher, 1971), an attempt to define a middle ground between the 'freezing' of the historic city and its complete removal and substitution.

Schumacher analyses the way in which the historic city is gradually formed by accretion, and uses this process to define a methodology to guide the new urban design, without any nostalgia for the vernacular. Along with Rowe and Venturi, architects and planners were realising, at that time, that the modern 'dream' of managing and controlling urban processes was a utopia, or even an ideology, and looked for alternative models for interpreting the fragmented and contradictory form of the city.

This research is epitomised in one of the most provocative contemporary interpretations of the city, Rem Koolhaas'[68] *Delirious New York*. Looking at

[65]Colin Rowe (1920–1999) was a British-born American architectural historian, theoretician and teacher. He was among the most influential intellectuals in architecture and urban planning, particularly in the field of urban regeneration. Rowe was among the first critics of the failures of the Modern Movement in architecture and developed a theory aimed at harmonising modern buildings and traditional architecture and urban forms. He was a Professor of Architecture at Cornell University.

[66]Rowe and Koetter, 1978: 49. See also: Isenstadt, Sandy. 'Contested Contexts', in Burns and Kahn, 2005: 163.

[67]Robert Venturi (1925–) is an American architect and one of the major figures in the architecture of the twentieth century. Together with his wife and partner, Denise Scott Brown, he contributed to shaping the contemporary discourse on architecture. Venturi was awarded the Pritzker Prize in Architecture in 1991.

[68]Rem Koolhaas (1944–) is a Dutch architect, architectural theorist, urban planner and Professor at the Graduate School of Design at Harvard University, USA. He is the founder of the

an existing complex, modern and historical city, Koolhaas proposed a 'retroactive manifesto' which sought to recompose the fragments of the city into a coherent and consistent interpretation. By simulating a hypothetical 'programme' for Manhattan, this intellectual exercise reveals the complex web of strategies, programmes and theories that make up through time the urban fabric and its contradictions. This facilitates the identification of 'ideal states' (blueprints), the archetypes that constitute the sequenced and overlapped visions of the city (Koolhaas, 1978).

In the past three decades, the attention of the architectural profession has undoubtedly shifted away from urbanism, and has focused more on the 'objects' of design. The contrast between conservation of the existing city and new design has become increasingly strident and has sparked fiery discussions among professionals and institutions (Frampton, 1983).

However, in spite of a dominant culture that dismisses the appreciation of the context in the design process, many architects and urban planners have tried to redefine systemic approaches to the management of the urban development process. These approaches are based on the definition of large operation scales that embrace all the elements of the area, including the historical, the natural features and all the functions of the territory.

A similar perspective had already been put forward in the post-war period[69] and in particular by Vittorio Gregotti[70] (1966) and Ian McHarg[71] (1969). These authors start from different points of view and have different aims, as Gregotti is interested in the integration of architecture into the development of a territory, the urbanised region, while McHarg aims at defining a method to harmoniously integrate urbanisation into the biosphere.

Gregotti tried to establish a neo-rationalist approach, which integrated the concepts of *genius loci* and place, in order to create an 'architecture of place' as part of a rational dialogue between built and natural forms. He aimed to construct a landscape, in the pure classical tradition that – although by no means absent – had been put aside by Modernism. In recognising the discontinuity of space as a value for architecture, Gregotti defined the

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Office for Metropolitan Architecture, or OMA, and of its research-oriented counterpart AMO (*Architectuur Metropolitaanse Officie*), based in Rotterdam, the Netherlands. He is the author of many award-winning projects and urban design schemes, as well as the coordinator of innovative research programmes. In 2000 Rem Koolhaas was awarded the Pritzker Prize.

[69] Frampton, Kenneth. 'Architecture in the age of globalisation'. International Architecture Biennale Rotterdam, 2007: 171–178.

[70] Vittorio Gregotti (1927–) is an Italian architect and theoretician. He has been Professor of Architecture at the Universities of Venice, Milan and Palermo, and has taught extensively internationally. He directed the Italian architectural Review *Casabella* from 1955 to 1963. He is the author of several important architectural and urban design projects in Italy and abroad and is considered among the masters of his generation.

[71] Ian McHarg (1920–2001) was a British-born landscape architect and a renowned writer on regional planning using natural systems. He was the founder of the Department of Landscape Architecture at the University of Pennsylvania. His book, *Design with Nature*, pioneered the concept of ecological planning.

design process as a web of relationships and meanings that must find its own balance in a scale larger than the one of the project (Gregotti, 1966).

McHarg defined a different, perhaps opposite, approach that gave priority to nature in the definition of the human environment. He took his views beyond the Western 'opposition' of the two concepts, in order to lay the foundation of 'ecological' planning, which integrated all the variables of the natural environment into a new 'Human Ecological Planning', based on the large design scale, both metropolitan and regional (McHarg, 1981).

While these approaches are very different in their scope and methodology, they both addressed issues that have become extremely relevant today. The need to ensure 'sustainability' of development has reopened not only a reflection on the historic city as a 'model' (historic cities are low-energy products and are designed for the long term), but also on the relationship of the city to its territorial and environmental context.

The reconstruction of a unitary discourse on the built environment, able to take into account the needs of urban conservation and those of urban development, has been, and remains today, *the* central issue in the contemporary debate on architecture and urban planning.

As the account of the theories developed in the post-war period shows, the architects' and planners' approaches to urban conservation have been enormously enriched. No single 'school' can claim to have prevailed, and this is indeed evidence of the need to adapt theories and practice to the values of the context, to the forms of society's appreciation of heritage, and to the pattern of social change.

Modern conservation approaches, however, have provided the basis for the development of a wide range of experiments, which in different degrees reflect the many principles expressed by modern architects. An important new dimension of conservation policies is, for instance, the role played by individual and social perceptions of heritage and of its process of change in planning and design choices, an approach that reverses the traditional, elitist, top-down view on heritage values.

The very nature of the historic city, of its meaning and of its historical formation, has been revealed through the analysis of its structural aspects, of its layering processes, and of the formation of collective and individual value systems through time.

Finally, the awareness of the importance of the physical context, built and natural, in the urban conservation and management process has enabled a redefinition both at the micro and the macro scale to ensure a proper understanding of the relationship between the component parts of the city and its region, a necessary step to ensure quality of urban spaces and respect for social needs.

Contemporary historic conservation approaches have been based on these principles, which one can find reflected in the existing charters and documents and implemented in policies and planning frameworks adopted in all regions of the world today. After over a century of theoretical and empirical tests, urban conservation has indeed emerged as a key area of public policy.