AUTHENTICITY

IN THE CONSERVATION
OF HISTORIC HOUSES
AND PALACE-MUSEUMS

*'The Truth is rarely pure
and never simple.'*

OSCAR WILDE

Palace of Compiègne and Palace of Versailles, France
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International Conference ICOM DEMHIST-ARRE

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AUTHENTICITY IN THE CONSERVATION OF HISTORIC HOUSES AND PALACE-MUSEUMS

L'AUTHENTICITÉ DANS LA CONSERVATION DES DEMEURES HISTORIQUES ET CHÂTEAUX MUSÉES

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FOREWORD

Organised jointly by the International Committee for Historic House Museums (ICOM DEMHIST) and the Association of European Royal Residences (ARRE), the conference 'Authenticity in the Conservation of Historic Houses and Palace- Museums' took place from 7-11 October 2014 at the Palace of Compiègne (France).

This multidisciplinary, international conference aimed to contribute to the debate on authenticity in the conservation of historic house museums and palaces, to discuss how the idea has changed over time and to participate in the dissemination of best practices.

In order to explore the subject properly, the programme lasted five days: two conference days at the Palace of Compiègne on 7 and 9 October and three days visiting some of the most emblematic residences of the Île-de-France region on 8, 10 and 11 October.

The Palace of Compiègne designed by Jacques-Ange Gabriel for Louis XV, completed by Louis XVI, then refurbished by Napoleon I, perfectly illustrates the complexity involved in the notion of authenticity in conservation, particularly in relation to multiple historical layers across time. Speakers at the conference were international specialists, researchers, practitioners and professionals in the field. Workshops also provided a forum for discussion on specific subjects.

Exclusive visits to other significant sites in the region enabled participants to discuss the issues of authenticity that they raise: the former royal residences of Fontainebleau and Versailles; the Duke of Aumale's castle in Chantilly and the Cahen d'Anvers château in Champs-sur-Marne; the castle of Pierrefonds (restored by Viollet-Le-Duc for Napoleon III) and the privately-owned château du Fayel.

This meeting was for professionals employed in the field of historic house museum conservation and anyone who wished to contribute to this fascinating subject at some of France's most outstanding sites.

Presentations were in French or in English and translated simultaneously into either of the two languages ; the proceedings are also available online in English and French.

COMPIÈGNE, RESTITUTION AND ITS NUANCES

Emmanuel Starcky

The idea of the 'restitution' of a former historical state, with the intention of presenting within a room only the objects, furniture and wall-hangings that appeared together in that room at a given time, to the exclusion of any other contents, was implemented at the Palace of Compiègne from immediately after the World War II. This approach, which aspired to a very pure kind of authenticity, on occasion went so far as to lead to the destruction of existing decor in order to avoid anything anachronistic! These notions have now evolved, with the rigour and respect for what has been passed down to us, high standards and a desire to allow the layers of time to be perceptible now guiding our current restoration efforts. It seems to us, therefore, that it is important to consider the multiple layers of the code of conduct regarding authenticity, and to take into account three essential parameters: the viewpoint of posterity, the viewpoint of today's visitors; and the reconciliation of public interest with our desire to preserve and honour our heritage.

• • Restitution • authenticity • First Empire • Second Empire • •

Reasons why 'the Truth is rarely pure and never simple'

I was asked to provide an introduction to this conference in an attempt to define from the outset the issues surrounding the notion of authenticity, using Compiègne, not as a role model, but as a place of experimentation.

Personally, the root of my keen interest in authenticity in historic houses and palace museums lies in my intense admiration for Great Britain. Waddesdon Manor, the Rothschild residence that is resplendent with eighteenth century French furniture; and other magical places, such as Stourhead, with its magnificent park; and Kedleston Hall, made famous by the film *The Duchess*, starring Keira Knightley, all bear witness to the international appeal of these stately homes.

Conserving a park or a manor house endowed with admirable architecture, original décor, furnishings and perhaps collections, and, ideally, the patina of age, seems to many French people to be a rare opportunity to provide a better understanding of history and art, in that lifestyle is a component of each of them. Furthermore, through its restoration and acquisition policies, the Palace of Compiègne aims at the greatest possible authenticity, while also highlighting different layers of history, whether referring to functions, events or aesthetics.

Oscar Wilde's quip, 'The Truth is rarely pure and never simple' is something of an aphorism of our topic, emphasising admirably the fact that no one can claim to possess the truth in this field. The notions of truth, honesty and authenticity seem to have become so intertwined over the centuries that they lead inevitably to evo-

cations of '*honnête homme*' (an honest man), which is held in such high esteem in France. In fact, like any term, '*honnête homme*' can be led far astray from its etymological roots. It would seem that in the eighteenth century, the goal of being a '*honnête homme*' languished behind the desire to shine in society. Can honesty yield to concerns for appearances? Might the notion of authenticity not also run the risk of being diverted from its original meaning? It may well be that musings along these lines guide us towards a better appreciation of what is at stake in the debate about authenticity within the framework of our conference.

The questions I would like to ask can be summed up in the following interrogation: Do you prefer the film *Pride and Prejudice* to the most recent *Marie-Antoinette*? Of course, above and beyond historical accuracy, we can raise the question of faithfulness to the text and to the period sets, and the incarnation of perfect harmony in this type of film is undoubtedly to be found in Visconti's *The Leopard*. Is the opposition between pure authenticity and a fake set the point?

Let's look at the equation from a different angle. On our sites, should we use people in period dress or new media to bring history to life? At Compiègne, if we were to decide to portray Napoleon I's encounter with Marie-Louise, we would not use an actor. Instead, we would aim to create a Saint-Simon style portrait with touch screens that would also present his interactions with Austria and Europe, his voracious appetite for books – which explains his two libraries – his dedication to building a new nation, including his need for conquest, and finally, his views on artistic policy and his tastes in that field. Of course, the warm welcome the older man gave the 18-year-old princess would not be overlooked!

Accordingly, to my mind, authenticity raises a great number of issues, towards which one may take a wide range of stances. There are those who look down on the whole notion of authenticity with derisive irony: for them, authenticity appeals only to reactionaries and those living in the past who have no understanding of the expectations of today's public or the culture industry, joining forces with supporters of the restitution-destruction of previous historical states. Then there are those who, in contrast, flaunt their attachment to the notion of authenticity, but who have no trouble keeping things vague or even mislea-

ding the public. A third stance consists of a sincere aspiration to achieve the greatest possible authenticity, while at the same time respecting its nuances and the layers and patina of time, preferably within the framework of a clearly established code of conduct.

National museum administration policies at the Palace of Compiègne

From the time of the Second World War, Pierre Verlet's ideas about 'restitution' were implemented under the responsibility of Jean Vergnet-Ruiz, Max Terrier, and then Jean-Marie Moulin. The idea was to present in a specific room only the objects, furniture and wall-hangings which had appeared together in that room at a given time, to the exclusion of any other articles. The archives and objects that survived to the present day were decisive in the selection of the period to be recreated, which had to match the existing wall decor. Naturally, recomposing a furnishing ensemble that would have been anachronistic in terms of a wall decor from a later period than the furniture was considered unacceptable. This concept of restitution, which held sway throughout the entire second half of the eighteenth century, aspired to a form of authenticity that could be described as somewhat abstract. Nowadays, it raises a number of questions that can be summarised thus: where does authenticity begin, and where does it end?

This concept of restitution appears almost certainly to have originated in sales that occurred during the revolutionary era. Indeed, the French royal residences lost almost all of their furnishings at the time of the Revolution, and while some were refurnished during the First and Second Empires, the Third Republic seems to have been characterised by a very vague doctrine related to the furnishing of these homes. The restitution-work policy implemented after World War II brought a number of benefits, including, most notably, the return of furniture that had been scattered across embassies or State Ministry offices. The '*Mobilier national*' (National Furniture Office) played a fundamental and extremely positive role at that time. In Compiègne, for example, the apartments of the Emperor and Empress, and the Prince's double apartment, underwent restorations that

today allow us to describe them as the most complete First Empire apartments in France. The approach was rigorous; for example, Jean-Marie Moulin, the director at that time, insisted that the wall paper be cut into rectangles, as it had been during the First Empire.

Nevertheless, we must be willing to acknowledge the other side of the coin, as the recreation of certain decors was sometimes carried out to the detriment of other, existing ones. Thus in Compiègne, the Second Empire states, which were held in low esteem at that time, were literally destroyed.

This was the case also in the *Salle des Gardes* (Guard Room). During the restitution carried out in the 1960s, décor from the Second Empire disappeared, and even

View of the former Salle des gardes *in its Second Empire state*

The Salle des gardes *after restitution to its eighteenth century state*

Napoleon III's 'N' in the medallion over the door was eliminated. The intention was to replace it with an 'L', for Louis XVI, but since the shape of the L was not known, the medallion remained empty. To justify this approach, which had been agreed upon by both official curators and architects of Historical Monuments, Moulin wrote that, the room had been 'very much deformed' during the Second Empire!

Analyses of this sort should not overlook all of the work conducted, essentially after World War II, nor should it be forgotten that the concept of restitution did at least allow for the reconstitution of some Second Empire rooms, as well as a salon in its eighteenth century state into Marie-Antoinette's *Salon de jeux* (Games Room). Nevertheless, even these magnificent restitutions had their shortcomings: certain aspects, like the carpets

Empress Eugenie's Salon de thé *after restoration in 2012.*
The restoration was carried out under the authority of Eric Pallot,
chief architect in the Monuments Historiques administration.

Kilburn brothers' stereoscopic view of the Emperor's Salon de réception *(Reception Room)*

View of the Salon de famille *in its current state*

and paintings, seem to have received less attention, due undoubtedly to the difficulty in securing the return of the originals. For this reason, the *Grands Apartements* carpets were rewoven, even though the originals were still in existence.

Nowadays, we try to implement a policy whereby restoration work aspires rigorously to the maintenance of authenticity. We aim for the greatest possible respect of what has been passed down to us, as well as allowing the layers of time to be palpable.

These are the principles that guided us in the restoration of Empress Eugenie's *Salon de thé* (Tea Parlour), as well as such lower-ranking rooms as the two guest apartments that will be opened to the public for this conference.

The reason Empress Eugenie's *Salon de thé* was not restored to its Second Empire state was due most likely to the fact that restitution would have meant covering the seats made for Marie-Antoinette at Saint Cloud to match their state under Empress Eugenie, i.e. in padded emerald-green damask, which may have been shocking to anyone with an exclusive attachment to the eighteenth century. The couch's fabric, a silk brocade made by Grand Frère in Lyon in 1856, had been bleached by sunlight, but in a stroke of luck, we found an intact sample of the same fabric at Tassinari & Chatel in 2013. While the chandelier was electrified, we also re-installed the Carcel oil lamps that could be seen in some engravings.

In the *salon de Famille* (Family Room), formerly the King's chamber, we were able to conserve and restore the original curtains, made from yellow silk damask,

and the same damask fabric was rewoven by Prelle to replace the upholstering on two pieces of furniture: the confidante and the 'indiscret' (3-person confidante). Our task is not yet complete. We are sometimes assisted in our work by photographs from the Second Empire, from which we can see that two seats are missing – the two armless chauffeuses, known as the English chairs – while the other padded armchair that can be seen in the photographs, described as a comfortable English-style chair, remains to be identified. Another photograph also depicts a tapestry that is currently at the French

Embassy in Ottawa, and the *Mobilier national* is assisting us in negotiating its return. We will also turn to the *Mobilier national* for the chandelier, as we believe it may be possible to locate it.

As for the guest apartments, research had been carried out in an attempt to reinstall the furniture, although the wallpaper is twentieth century, and the curtains are gone. In this regard, the task undertaken by the crews at Compiègne was to unearth the most precise state possible. Marc Desti discovered the original wallpaper, and we had it restored, hiding the gaps as best we could, but

Guest apartments 33 and 34. The restoration was performed under the authority of Eric Pallot, chief architect at the Monuments Historiques administration.

wherever that proved to be impossible, we had identical paper made for us. Nor did we neglect the servants' areas. The curtains were also recreated exactly as they had been, as was the carpeting that covered the floor of the entire apartment (aside from the servants' quarters), and the original bed canopies were located   . Careful records have been kept of all works carried out. For illumination, we have tried to deal with the problem in such a way that visitors are not confronted with museum-style lighting, but can instead imagine the warm half-light that welcomed guests upon their return from dinner in the company of the Emperor and Empress.

When dealing with outside light, I sometimes enter into heated discussions with the chief architect from the historical monuments administration. Sometimes I would like to keep the old panes of glass, with their impurities, their haziness and their colour, however there are issues of security, of UV rays and of heat, meaning that certain compromises are required, and I would be very pleased

if a set of best-practice guidelines were established. As for artificial light, that is an area in which there are still many improvements to be made and trials to run. If the Second Empire combined candlelight with Carcel lamps, then recreating that pairing is the right thing to do. Nevertheless, I would add that, insofar as the guest apartments were not all decorated in the same manner, I believe that it is absolutely necessary to restore others in different styles at some point so as to offer the public a taste of the Second Empire's variety and wealth of taste in the field of decorative arts. It would also be highly desirable within the framework of the reorganisation of the Second Empire museum for a guest apartment be reconstituted *in situ*. Finally, I intend to install a multimedia experience that will allow the public to visualise the distinguished historical figures who were housed in these apartments.

The future of authenticity

By now, everyone will understand that for me, the term 'authenticity' has enjoyed a broad range of meanings in terms of both time and place.

Empress Eugenie's bed in the Elysée after restoration

The Emperor's Dining Room, with the table laid (Second Empire)

In terms of the layers of time, I am in favour of accepting, for restoration or even within a single room, the coexistence of different historical states, provided that they harmonise well and can be historically justified. To illustrate this stance, let us look at two very different examples, one involving restoration work, and the other, a room and its decor.

Empress Eugenie's bed in the Elysée was restored between 2007 and 2013, and the emerald-green damask fabric, which had been woven originally by the house of Mathevon & Bouvard in Lyon for the seating in the *salon de Thé*, encouraged us to undertake the restoration of this bed. We were committed to the idea of preserving and restoring the original upholstery for the head of the bed and the canopy. Although it had been faded, having been bleached by the light, the fabric was nevertheless restorable in those spots, but we had to accept a different colour to the one for the damask that was rewoven by the house of Le Manach in Tours.

This sort of problem can be seen with the clock in the Emperor's dining room, which had been relocated to the Louvre in that it had no place in this First Empire room. In this way, the restitution concept maintained its 'purity' – as the Louis XVI decor had been kept during the Empire, the reference for the restitution was the state it was in under Napoleon I. The problem was that this First Empire clock featured an allegory of Napoleon being united with Marie-Louise, in the guise of Mars and Venus, having been purchased by Napoleon III and placed on the mantelpiece, harmonising beautifully with its surroundings. Accordingly, I believe that it would be preferable to bring the clock back to Compiègne, on the condition that the public is informed that it was placed here by the second emperor of France.

In spatial terms, the idea of authenticity also means that we seek to take into account every aspect of the life of a residence, whether the Emperor's library or the guest rooms, and whether the imperial apartments or the ser-

vants' quarters, including the kitchens and cellars. I would like to raise now the topic of libraries due to their importance in understanding intellectual life. Oddly enough, the libraries represent a problem in all French royal or imperial residences, despite the existence of inventories. The books did not disappear during the Revolution, and can often be found in public libraries, but by the same token, although the kitchens receive loving attention in some foreign homes, France is somewhat behind the times on that score. In Compiègne, the entire food wing is practically intact, and if we could arrange the transfer of the Car Museum to the *Grandes Ecuries* (Great Stables), it would allow us to re-install the kitchens, showing how they were run. In order to offer visitors a sense of how life was actually lived in these residences, in Compiègne

we occasionally lay a table in either the Emperor's or the Empress's dining room. As we do not currently have sufficient First Empire table settings, we have chosen to set a Second Empire table, in that these rooms were used in the same way at that time. Aside from the silverware, which are copies, all of the laid table settings come from Compiègne at the time of the Second Empire.

Having discussed the areas affected by the idea of authenticity, let us return to that which invites us to consign it to a position of lesser importance. For some people in charge of historic houses or palace museums, pleasing the public overrides all other considerations, and sometimes results in conflict with the aspiration for greater authenticity.

Putting ticket sales ahead of passing on our heritage, teaching and education – is this not the true dilemma of our times? The question may seem out of place if we agree that the choice is not about the number of visitors, but rather about what we tell them. Nevertheless, the simple fact of presenting the problem in this way betrays a certain stance in and of itself.

In conclusion, and in order to try to reconcile the idea of authenticity with the concern for the public taste, I would suggest two angles of attack. The first requires the maintenance of authenticity in restoration – be it of a work of art, a room, a building or an estate – as one of our most essential responsibilities. When we restore a room, we should research the paint, the wallpaper and the fabrics, delving into things as deeply as possible, exploring lighting methods, bedding thickness, the type of sheets, toiletries, etc. This means that we need also take into account all of the different various layers of activity within a place of residence. To me, it is just as important to know how the staff was housed as how the sovereigns were. The way in which food was prepared and served, with the various inspections, is essential in large residences. By the same token, this code of conduct, which includes research and takes historical states into account, can be applied to the parks and gardens under our responsibility.

The second angle demands the integration of the restitution of a room or series of rooms – with the attendant concern for maximum authenticity – into an explanatory narrative. Giving visitors a sense of history by bringing the site to life is not incompatible with a focus on authen-ticity. Let me state it loud and clear that the ethic of authenticity does not mean only granting utmost importance to the patina of age, but also satisfying the expectations of the visitors. At a time when digital media have found their way into even temporary exhibitions, we can defend a generous authenticity that tells a story through events in history, both great and small, and contributes to a greater understanding of these homes that are still so close to us.

It is my hope that this conference will allow for a greater awareness of the fact that the situation of culture in today's world requires a commitment from our nation's authorities to come up with a way to proceed and a code of conduct that not only respects different historical layers, but also aims to draw the most understanding out of them. In terms of the cultural heritage under our responsibility and our duties to our visitors, the way in which we address the idea of authenticity lies undoubtedly at the heart of a cultural-heritage policy that is essential for the future of our society.

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THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE ROYAL CASTLE IN WARSAW

Przemysław Mrozowski

We cannot talk about the restoration of the Royal Castle in Warsaw without mentioning the reintegrated original elements. Following Poland's extensive destruction during World War II, the preservation of authentic fragments became a central concern for the Polish school of restoration. Before 1939, neither the school's principles nor the fundamentals of authenticity had been clearly laid down. The Royal Castle in Warsaw was razed to the ground in 1944 because it was a symbolic building, and it was reconstructed for the same reason. Thus, when the restoration of the Castle of Krakow began after World War I and Renaissance elements were discovered, priority was given to the stylistic harmony of the whole building and original carved details were replaced. The thousands of original elements included during the reconstruction bear witness to its historic nature. Thanks to the elements of Warsaw's Royal Castle salvaged during the war, some of the rooms have undergone almost total historical reconstruction. In other rooms, the original elements were used as a model. Generally, many visitors forget they are visiting a reconstruction, reflecting their perception that the Royal Castle in Warsaw is an original residence.

Is the Royal Castle in Warsaw a historic monument or simply a scaled model, narrating history through the presentation of various scenes? This question is obviously intended as a provocation, above all in a context of deep reflection on the importance of authenticity of the essential elements in historic houses.

The Royal Castle in Warsaw is beyond any doubt, a remarkable monument. It has been inscribed, together with the old town of Warsaw on the UNESCO world heritage list, not as a monument in its own right, but as a restoration masterpiece [1]: This complete reconstruction has restored the historical core of the city. Does the Royal Castle in Warsaw demonstrate the importance of authen-ticity for a spectator seeking a reminder of the past? Even though it is a reconstruction from the 1970s, its walls house a hundred or so works of art that were present in the original structure and several thousand original architectural elements [Lorentz 1986, 28-32]. These are not only authentic fragments, but real relics that give the castle important historical meaning; without them, it would simply be a charade, a staged historical tragedy.

Several historical paradoxes from the last century have contributed to its unique destiny. First of all, even if we consider the Royal Castle in Warsaw to be one of the most remarkable constructions in restoration history across the world, we must recognise that it was carried

out in contradiction to the popular doctrines of that time [2] – those theories, however, could obviously not predict how the situation of Europe's artistic heritage would evolve after World War II. The second paradox is that the castle's reconstruction was undertaken by a poor country, devastated by war, regardless of the economic context. It was a strong political line to take, as it required the approval of the people against the communist regime. When the castle became a museum institution in 1980 [3], Poland was in the midst of Solidarność, which was opposed to the communist regime and eventually changed the face of Poland and later, the whole of eastern Europe.

The reconstruction of the castle in the Old Town of Warsaw was led by notable art and architecture historians, specialised in restoration and perfectly aware of pre-war trends. Reconstructing the Old Town, however, 80% of which had been destroyed, required the creation of new theoretical principles. Jan Zachwatowicz, one of the 'founding fathers' of reconstruction, declared in 1946 that 'the science of restoration was undergoing profound change, some very simple changes and other more subtle ones. Before the war, we believed it best not to touch historical monuments wherever possible (...) The concept of restoration meant not neglecting the monument (...) After the reconstruction of our monuments, I will again promote similar principles and defend the theory that it is best not to touch them. But at present we need to be more flexible with these rules (...) We must protect and make intelligible anything that bears witness to our culture'. [Rottemund 2010, 59].

These are the thoughts of a theoretician whose ideas led to the creation of rules formerly called 'the Polish school of restoration', i.e. save any authentic elements and reintegrate them into reconstructed parts, indicating their authenticity. This rule was not an obligation before the war. The restoration of Wawel Royal Castle in Cracow, following the departure of the Austrian garrison, led to controversy. Max Dworczak said, 'we had to eliminate anything that had been added for utilitarian reasons, but avoid more elaborate reconstruction of any kind' [Stępień & Ostrowski 2010, 75]. Adolf Szyszko-Bohusz, who directed repair work between 1916 and 1938 respected this rule, but rebuilt the castle as it appeared during time of the last Jagiellonian, i.e. the mid-sixteenth century,

without taking into account the authenticity of the details being conserved [*ibid.* 73-79]. Following this work, the castle in Cracow regained its splendid appearance, inspired by the Italian Renaissance, but most of the sculpted detail (e.g. in the courtyard arcades) was recreated and replaced the original elements.

After 1945, the vestiges of important buildings in Warsaw were treated with reverence, like the relics of a past that had been stolen from the Polish. We had to save anything that remained and make these vestiges meaningful by replacing them in the original context for which they had been created. This approach provoked considerable controversy, even among the highly renowned international specialists that were consulted in September 1946 by the local government responsible for the reconstruction of Warsaw, in order to assess the project for rebuilding the Old Town. Opinions were divided but most of the experts opted for a reconstruction. André Lurçat, a French architect specialising in post-war reconstruction and town-planning, wrote: 'You pay too much attention to the original plans of the destroyed historical areas and the reconstruction of devastated monuments. I understand your pain on seeing nearly all the historical monuments of the town destroyed and the importance you attach to the vestiges that have been conserved. But you must not go too far in respecting these relics and looking back to the past' [Rottermund 2010, 60].

Historians underline the fact that Polish communists suffered from a latent 'Polinitis complex'. It was this complex that led them to decide on a reconstruction of the Old Town, according to the will of nearly the whole population. The reconstruction of the castle, voted by parliament in 1949, was postponed for ideological reasons; the project was revisited in January 1971 [Lorentz 1986]. By this time, we had the support of the Polish people, the architectural plans, a complete set of images – mostly photographs – from before 1939, but also several hundred works of art from the original interiors and several thousand architectural elements from the castle [Zachwatowicz 1979, 3-18]. These had not been saved due to Nazi negligence but by a circle of historians, restorers and museum employees who, to their great merit, risked their lives and began saving elements of the castle from 1939 onwards.

The first bomb landed on the royal residence on 17 September 1939. The roof and the clock tower caught fire. The roof of the Great Assembly Hall caved in, taking Marcello Baccarelli's ceiling with it. Following an appeal by the mayor of Warsaw, the inhabitants of

The fire in the Ballroom, 17 September 1939

the Old Town and the staff of the National Museum hurried to try to save the building, despite shelling by the German air force. Some people lost their lives in so doing, for example, the castle's curator: Kazimierz Brokle. Once the fire was under control and in spite of continued severe bombing, people managed to salvage works of art and furniture from the castle. Thus, when the town surrendered on 29 September 1939, a large proportion of artworks had been moved to the cellar of the National Museum: Bernardo Bellotto's paintings, Bacciarelli's portraits from the Knights' Hall, and the sculptures and furniture that had been saved despite further requisition

[Król 1971, 193-195; Lorentz 1986, 28-31]. During the German occupation, the castle was finally destroyed. Salvaging efforts ceased in October 1939. A special team arrived, led by the Austrian art historian Professor Dagobert Frey (among others) and began to demolish the interior. At the beginning of November 1939, a group of soldiers came to make holes on the ground floor for dynamite to be inserted [Lorentz 1986, 14-15 and 17-20]. The diary of Hans Frank, district governor of Warsaw after the partition of Poland by Germany and the Soviet Union, shows that this decision to destroy the Royal Castle in Warsaw had already been made on 4 November 1939 [Król 1971, 223, note 9 ; Lorentz 1986, 14-15]. An even more difficult task lay ahead for the National Museum staff and art historians: salvaging as many of the decorative elements as possible. Risking their lives in harsh sub-zero temperatures (winter 1939-1940 was particularly cold) they dismantled sculptures, panelling, doors and even wall paintings that would serve at a later stage to reconstruct the interior. I must mention the names of these absolute heroes here: Jan Zachwatowicz, Józef Grein, Bohdan Marconi, Stanislaw Pawłowski, Zygmunt Miechowski, Maria Friedel-Bogucka, Michal Walicki and Jan Morawiski [4] [Lorentz 1986, 17].

Stanisław Lorentz and his colleagues before a piece of salvaged fresco

The castle was in ruins but still standing when the Warsaw uprising broke out on 1st August 1944; the fighting that ensued in the Old Town caused more damage, but its walls remained upright. When the up-rising failed, Hitler's sentence was carried out: at the end of 1944, the former royal residence was blown up with dynamite and disappeared completely.

The castle ruins after the war

Following demonstrations by the Solidarity Trade Union movement in Gdan´sk, the political shift in December 1970 paved the way for a reconstruction of the castle and in January 1971, the final decision was made. The general idea was to reconstruct the building as it had been before the war, using all the pieces that had been salvaged. From the ruins of the blasted castle, we collected several thousand fragments that could be reintegrated into the walls. On each wall of the castle, you can distinguish fragments cut into the stone: cartouches, arms trophies, door and window frames combining important darker original fragments with lighter reconstructed elements. However, there are also parts that are mostly reproductions, completed with a few authentic relics. One of the best examples of the latter is the doorway of the Ladislas tower, with its beautiful 'cartouche' salvaged in the autumn of 1939 and almost entirely made up of original elements.

Fragments of the original decor were incorporated very harmoniously into the historic interiors of the castle, especially in the Great Apartment, which contains the assembly rooms. Often, it is very difficult to distinguish them from the rest. The Great Assembly Hall or Ballroom was the first victim on 17 September 1939. In October that same year, the decorative elements of the apse created by André Le Brun were salvaged: the marble statues of Apollo, sculpted after the features of King Stanislas Augustus and Minerva, sculpted after the features of Catherine II; parts of the door and the embossed designs from the upper section with the King's profile in a medallion, framed by a sculptural composition depicting Peace and Justice.

In the Knights' Hall, antechamber to the Great Assembly Hall, the layout and decor are composed almost entirely of the original elements, artworks created by the artists who worked for the last king of Poland: the six large paintings and ten portraits of outstanding Polish men by Bacciarelli; statues and busts by Le Brun and Giacomo Monaldi and the lintels designed by Dominico Merlini. Three of the chandelier arms shaped like laurel branches are originals; this was a project undertaken by architect Jan Chrystian Kamsetzer. The original arms served as a model for the creation of copies, which only

One of the portraits in the Knights' Hall framed with original and reconstructed stucco decoration

The doorway of the Ladislas Tower

differ subtly from the originals. Similarly, all the stucco work around the portraits of noteworthy statesmen, writers and swordsmen who had served the country were salvaged and repaired. Their darker hue bears witness to their authenticity.

The armchair in the Throne Room escaped destruction. It is surmounted by a cartouche and was designed by François Boucher at the request of Madame Geoffrin. Its canopy however was not so lucky; it was decorated with 96 eagles, embroidered in silver thread, which were cut off in the autumn of 1939 and given by Frank to high-ranking officers. After several years spent searching for them, one was found in 1989 in the US and served as a model for their recreation. In the same room, several fragments of panelling were salvaged, including pieces of the moulding that held up the canopies; these were naturally used as a model for the reconstruction before being put back in their original place. The tone of the gold decoration and the subtlety of the finish allow the onlooker to distinguish the difference between the authentic parts and those that have been reconstructed.

In the Conference Room where Stanislas Augustus entertained his official guests after public audiences, the portraits of monarchs who reigned contemporaneously with Stanislas Augustus are originals as is the famous Sevres porcelain pedestal table by Charles Dodin and a large proportion of the frescoes painted by Jan Bogumił Plersch; their authenticity can be seen in their beautiful craftsmanship and the faded golden backdrop.

In the Great Assembly Hall, several elements are originals. Unfortunately, Bacciarelli's ceiling fresco (representing the apotheosis of the development of the Arts, Science and the Economy under the reign of Stanislas Augustus) could not be saved. It had already been taken down when the Germans seized it and remains lost today [Król 1971, 201-202]. It was reconstructed between 1981 – 1984 by Jerzy Strzałecki and Urszula Brzozowska-Strzałecka and conceals a contemporary 'crypto-portrait', bearing witness in a moving testimony to its era. Some years ago, the castle acquired the diaries kept by the Strzalecki couple; they had noted that following the announcement of a state of war in December 1981, they were deeply affected emotionally and had decided to depict the Turkish character they were painting with the features of Lech Walesa who was imprisoned at that time [Royal archives of Warsaw, ref. AZK Rek. I]. Thus, the dramatic events of that time were carved into the history of the reconstruction of the Royal Castle in Warsaw.

The Senators' Chamber is more often referred to as the Bellotto room – or Canaletto room because Bellotto liked to relate to his famous uncle. The walls are covered in landscapes of Warsaw. In reality, nearly everything here is authentic but this chamber bears the mark of an error in its reconstruction. In accordance with the decision made at the time, the parquet was re-laid after a pre-

Fragment of the ceiling of the former Assembly Hall, bearing a crypto-portrait of Lech Wałesa

The Canaletto room with its erroneously reconstructed parquet

war photograph. However, further investigation revealed that this Neo-Rococo creation had been laid down at the request of the Russian governor in the late nineteenth century. At the time of Stanislas Augustus, the parquet was composed of dark and light-coloured squares with a spiral border [Lewandowski 2001, 174-175] [5].

The Senators' Chamber is the most controversial reconstruction in the Royal Castle. It is a place of particular historical importance for the country. Here, the first European constitution was announced on 3 May 1791. In January 1831, during the uprising, the Diet dethroned Tsar Nicolas I. Russian emperors had carried the title of King of Poland since 1815, since the Congress of Vienna had created a Kingdom of Poland under the direct authority of the Tsar. After the failure of the uprising, Nicolas

I demanded the destruction of the Senators' Chamber. It was divided up into several rooms and became a hospital for the garrison. After World War I, the divisions were removed but the room remained empty. During the reconstruction, we decided to take inspiration from the drawings made under the reign of Augustus III (which are today kept in Dresden) [Oborska 2001, 92]. So there are no authentic elements in this space apart from the throne and some bits of its canopy; but it is the history of the room that gives meaning to its reconstruction.

Is the Royal Castle in Warsaw simply a copy or is it authentic? Finally, I am going to leave this question unanswered. It has worked for the last 30 years and appears so authentic that we have had to open a new exhibition recalling its destruction and reconstruction

The Senators' Chamber reconstructed after eighteenth century drawings

because the public, and especially young visitors, have forgotten that they are visiting a reconstructed monument. Nevertheless, one thing is certain: no restoration doctrine can restrict the manner in which past heritage is dealt with according to strict rules, because history is sometimes pernicious and can pose new challenges that can only be met on a case by case basis.

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Notes

1. The Old Town of Warsaw and the Royal Castle were registered on the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1980 according to criteria II and VI, i.e. as an architectural ensemble exhibiting important human values directly associated with local living traditions.

2. Post-war restoration rules were formulated in the Athens Charter of 1931, wherein the fundamental premise states that reconstruction should be avoided in order to preserve a monument's authenticity.

3. The museum of the Royal Castle in Warsaw was created pursuant to a special decision by the council of ministers on 5 November 1979, but only became functional after the nomination of its first director, Aleksander Gieysztor, in July 1980.

4. Naturally, the list of people who helped to save the works of art and decor of the castle after the political shift from 1939-1940 is much longer.

5. In the 1769 inventory, this room is listed as having a 'chequered' parquet floor. According to the opinion of researchers before 1939, the parquet was original and dated back to the time of Stanislas Augustus. For this reason, it was reconstructed based on a photograph from before the war.

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THE QUEST FOR AUTHENTICITY IN THE RESTORATION OF CHAMPS-SUR-MARNE: THE CAHEN D'ANVERS CHATEAU

Renaud Serrette • Sébastien Boudry

The Château Champs-sur-Marne was closed to the public in 2006 following the discovery of important structural faults. The proposed restoration required some thought about the authenticity of which historical state was to be presented to the public: A reminder of the castle in the eighteenth century? The 1960s interiors as they appeared under the presidency of Charles de Gaulle? The layout as it was when the castle was donated to the State in 1935? Considerable research has provided documentation of these different historical states and has led us to question which of these could be the most authentic for this monument. The interiors of the Cahen d'Anvers family residence (1898-1935) were chosen as the most suitable period, thanks to the preservation of the original decoration and the collections amassed by the family. The whole castle was restored from 2009 to 2013 according to the scientific documentation gathered on that period.

• • Restoration • decorative arts • Belle-Époque • eighteenth century • spirit of place • •

Facade overlooking the courtyard of the château de Champs-sur-Marne

Portrait of Louis Cahen d'Anvers (detail) by Léon Bonnat, 1901

The Château Champs-sur-Marne was built from 1703 to 1708 by the architect Jean-Baptiste Bullet de Chamblain for one of Louis XIV's rich financial advisors and quickly became a model for the eighteenth century summer palace, imitated in France and abroad. The Duke of La Vallière owned it from 1739 and rented it to his friend Madame Pompadour from 1757 to 1759. It suffered damage during the revolution and again at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Later, in 1895, it was purchased by the banker Louis Cahen d'Anvers (1837-1922), who commissioned the architect Walter-André Destailleur (1867-1940) to restore it and landscape gardener Henri Duchêne (1841-1902) to reconstruct the park. As amateur collectors, Louis Cahen d'Anvers and his wife Louise decorated the residence with fine quality eighteenth century furniture. Their son, Charles, donated the estate to the French State in 1935 so that the castle could become a national palace.

The furnishings were altered and restored to adapt the castle to its new function. Since it's opening to the public in the 1970s, the collections have been presented in keeping with the style of eighteenth century interiors, matching the architectural design of the monument. Consequently, all the furniture and art pre-dating this period were gradually relegated to the storeroom, while the modern parts of the château (like the bathroom and the electricity) were concealed.

In September 2006, the ceiling of the Chinese drawing room collapsed, eaten away by dry rot. An ambitious res-

toration campaign was devised by the chief architect of historic monuments, aiming to eliminate the dry rot, to bring the electricity into line with compliance standards, restore the castle decorations and make the monument accessible to people with reduced mobility. This important restoration and refurbishment project provided an opportunity to think about the rationale of the guided tour for visitors.

The 1970s presentation was quickly deemed unsatisfactory. The portrayal of an eighteenth century castle seemed unrealistic and misleading for visitors. This presentation concealed the former history of the monument and was at odds with the park and the service quarters, recreated around 1900.

View of the chambre d'honneur *circa 1925, by Gustave-William Lemaire*

Considerable research has enabled us to document the history of the castle, its decoration and furnishing thanks to the study of archival documents. Paradoxically, the castle interiors from the 1960s were the most recent, but also the most poorly documented. In contrast, the layout designed by the last private owners, the Cahen d'Anvers family, was clearly described. An inventory of the furnishings drawn up by Pierre Verlet and Carle Dreyfus, curators from the department of art objects at the Louvre, revealed the exact content of every room, referring back to a number marked on each item of furniture or object, facilitating the easy identification of collections and their position in the residence at that time. A large collection of old photos showed their position in the main rooms, as well as the important details like the patterns on the seat coverings and curtains. The descen-

Portrait of Charles Cahen d'Anvers in the Chinese drawing room
at Champs-sur-Marne, circa 1930

dants of the Cahen d'Anvers family also provided private photographs showing details we did not know about and important documents about its history.

We quickly reached the decision to reproduce this former historical state, in agreement with the chief architect for the restoration of the interiors. The wooden panel-

View of the children's dining room in 2013

ling was repainted following the Cahen d'Anvers' colour choices and the curtains rewoven after preserved samples and old photographs. This presentation enabled us to open new rooms to visitors, like the bathroom and the children's dining room that had previously been closed to the public.

Prior to the château being closed for renovation, the collections had benefited from conservation work on a regular basis by conservators who were regional experts from the *Monuments Historiques.* In 2012, in the framework of general restoration of the building, all the objects shown on the guided tour and those in the storeroom were examined. They were dusted and minor conservation operations were carried out. The objects requiring more extensive restoration were removed. In order to restore the decoration to its former state as described in 1935, we realised that considerable work was necessary on older textiles or they had to be reproduced. The reinstating of the collections according to the 1935 inventory required the reassembling of groups of chairs, the bringing together of objects that had been separated for a long time, and the restitution of textile decorations such as the curtains and chair upholstery. We carried out this work throughout the whole of the ground floor and part of the first floor.

For example, the Smoking Room on the ground floor of the monument contained a collection of 'comfortable' chairs trimmed with 'green damask' in 1935. The chairs had been re-covered in the 1960s with a small-patterned damask in a lighter green. This fabric was very worn and discoloured and needed to be redone. The pattern of the older damask was only visible in a few rare black and white photographs from the 1940s showing the whole room. Initial removal of part of the fabric revealed the original fabric under the seat cushion of one of the chairs: a fragment of damask with its green probably little changed as it had been protected from exposure to light. Thus, a very similar colour of damask was chosen for the new cover, but with a more classical pattern. The pattern displayed large palms that were present at Champs on other textiles. Similar chairs covered in damask with the same pattern are known from the work of decorator Elsie de Wolfe (1865-1950) for her friend Anne Morgan (1873-1952) and for Adélaïde Frick (1859-1931).

View of the Smoking Room before its restoration in 1991

View of the Smoking Room after its restoration in 2013

A similar investigation in the choice of textiles was carried out for the Red Salon at Champs. In 1920 when he converted Louise Cahen d'Anvers' former bedroom into a lounge-study, Charles Cahen d'Anvers kept the lampas fabric that Louise had initially hung on the walls. It was rewoven in an identical manner when the interiors were being restored. The curtains that were hung in this room are made from similar fabric to the original. The chairs with their old embossed red velvet have been restored. The same embossed red velvet can be found on numerous chairs in Champs, like those in the Music Room on the first floor, for example. All the chairs that have kept their original fabric have been restored. The fabric was in relatively good condition; only the colour had changed significantly. For the chairs that no longer had their original old velvet, we questioned how they should be recovered: in velvet that had been 'artificially faded' or in its original colour? It was finally decided to recover them in red velvet identical to the colour of the original (visible on the older parts that had been protected from the light by the trimmings).

The restoration of the decor in the first-floor rooms posed other questions. The *chambre d'honneur* is decorated with lampas that used to be green and gold. In all likelihood, this was eighteenth century fabric being used again. In 1935, this material was already discoloured and is described as yellow. So when it comes to issues of authenticity in the Cahen's decoration, we are not sure whether to keep these old fabrics that have been re-used despite their condition.

The restitution of the bathrooms and in particular the toilets also raises questions. In the bathroom of the *chambre d'honneur*, the white fabric wall-covering is still in place. This room is the only one to have conserved its early twentieth century wash basin. The bathtub, however, has disappeared. All the toilets were replaced in the 1960s. According to contemporary descriptions, the bathrooms contained claw-foot tubs raised on a platform.

Trévarez Castle (in the Finistère region), built by Destailleur for James de Kerjégu (1846-1908), was constructed beginning in 1893. Bombed in 1944, the castle managed to preserve nearly all its bathtubs, wash basins, and remains of interior sanitary fixtures. The model of the bathtubs is certainly very similar, if not identical, to the original ones at Champs.

It is interesting to note that even though Trévarez features very different architecture from Champs, its construction work by Destailleur occurred at the same time. While modern layouts of the two buildings are very similar: bathrooms, service rooms (silverware, serving hatch, towel-warmers, etc.), their interior decoration is significantly different. Trévarez's Neo-Renaissance architecture houses rooms with very varied styles and furniture, for example, the drawing room with panelling painted in a neo-Louis XVI style or James de Kerjégu's apartment in an Art Nouveau style.

Conversely, at Champs the spirit of authenticity of an eighteenth century historic house was respected. The decor and the furniture were incorporated after careful thought, with objects from former Louis XIV, Regency or Louis XV collections, together with other objects in the same style. Alterations to some of these items became obvious thanks to restoration: enlargement of paintings to fit them into panelling, former restoration and patinas corresponding to the type of work that late nineteenth and early twentieth century antique dealers carried out on items of furniture.

The quest for authenticity through our restoration project was at the heart of our reasoning. First and foremost, respect for the authenticity of the objects and the decoration has been maintained. Secondly, identical reproductions were carried out if the original model still existed. Lastly, when sources were missing, the quest for authenticity turned to the closest existing contemporary decor.

Once the restoration had been completed, the furniture could be returned to its original place, according to the documentation at hand. When the latter was missing, sometimes for secondary rooms, close observation of the way of life and disposition of the furniture in the main rooms (comfortable seats in front of the fire-place, desks in front of windows, etc.) enabled us to refurnish the rooms in a credible manner. The concern for truthfulness encouraged us to reproduce details of the furnishings and layout; for example, we reproduced the wooden stands covered in velvet that were used to display porcelain items and clocks, based on the originals that had been preserved. We also placed groups of seats in different rooms just like the occupants used to place them.

In spite of all this, some compromise proved necessary. Some items of furniture had to be withdrawn or moved to make room for the public to pass.

Others that were missing were replaced by equivalent pieces from the château storeroom.

Finally, the same restitution policy was applied to the spaces on the second floor that were closed to the public and the mezzanine floors, so that all parts of the castle could be viewed (family apartments, guest rooms, servants' rooms, etc.). In total, close to two hundred pieces of furniture and objects were taken out of the storeroom to be put back in their places.

Thus restored, the castle now has a new tour circuit that enables the visitor to understand all the aspects of the castle. The restitution of the Cahen d'Anvers period provides a rich collection of decorative art from the *Ancien Régime* in an authentic eighteenth century setting, revisited by the highly educated amateurs of the Belle-Epoque. If the architecture and the original arrangement remain perfectly visible, the way of life in the early twentieth century demonstrates remarkable and unexpected modernity for the time, thanks to the bathrooms and the presence of electrical lighting. Lastly, the opening to the public of the spaces reserved for the servants and the children's dining-room, separate from that of the adults, reveals the uses and social codes of the era that situate the castle in a living, human setting.

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View of the Red Salon after the restoration in 2013

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AUTHENTICITY
IN MODERN HOUSE MUSEUMS:
SCOPE AND LEGIBILITY OF INTERVENTIONS

Roberta Grignolo

The issue of authenticity in the conservation of house museums finds an especially challenging field in modern houses. From the 1980s – when architects started to become concerned about the survival of modern heritage – to the present day, one can recognise a general trend to focus more on material authenticity, although this approach may be strongly influenced by the cultural, social and legal context of the nation and time in which the restoration work takes place. The paper explores several approaches in the conservation of twentieth century houses through an analysis of Rietveld's Schröder House in Utrecht, Ernö Goldfinger's Willow Road House in London, Brinkman and Van der Vlugt's Sonneveld Huis in Rotterdam, Le Corbusier's Maison La Roche-Jeanneret, Piero Portaluppi's Villa Necchi Campiglio in Milan and Mallet-Stevens' Villa Cavrois – and their evolution over time. It also addresses the issue of the legibility of interventions, exploring and questioning how visitors are informed about the restoration work that has been undertaken.

• • twentieth century century architecture • conservation • restoration • reconstruction • authenticity • legibility • •

Authenticity emerges as a particularly challenging issue in modern house museums. The conservation of twentieth century heritage is a relatively recent domain, as up until the 1980s, when the need to consider recent heritage started to become evident, its conservation fell mainly under the responsibility of architects, rather than conservation specialists. As a result, several interventions were carried out with the main goal of returning buildings to their pristine state, with little consideration of the authenticity of materials. Conservators and scholars rose up against this practice (Dezzi Bardeschi 1984), however the practice continued in the subsequent years, proceeding hand-in-hand with the opportunities provided by official legislation. In 1995 the Nara Document on authenticity set the focus on the cultural values of heritage sites rather than their materiality, thus multiplying the dimensions of authenticity. Given

the material and technical weaknesses of recent architecture, such an opening was soon incorporated into the conservation of twentieth century heritage. In 1997, the Docomomo International Specialist Committee on Registers drafted a report for ICOMOS concerning 'The Modern Movement and the World Heritage List' (Docomomo International, 1997), suggesting a revision of the authenticity hierarchy for twentieth century buildings that prioritised the authenticity of ideas, form, space and appearance above that of construction and materials. Since then, several theoreticians have advocated the conservation of authentic materials, urging that internationally shared restoration principles also be applied to younger heritage (Kuipers 2005), leading a number of professionals to make exemplary interventions conserving the materials and techniques of the recent past.

Looking back today at the short history of the conservation of heritage in the twentieth century , one can see a general trend towards a greater focus on material authenticity, although this 'direction of travel' is not linear and its progress is not systematic. It is in fact influenced by several issues: from the cultural and social context of the nation in which the heritage asset is located, to the status – more or less iconic – attributed to the building in the history of architecture, and to the owners and institutions that are in charge of its management.

This same pattern is followed in the conservation and musealisation of modern house museums. This paper considers an array of interventions, presenting them chronologically, and examining them with particular focus on the issue of authenticity and its several declensions.

Schröder House.
Reconstructing the authenticity
of the design idea (1974–1987)

One of the most patent examples of the 'juvenating shift' (Kuipers 2005, 210) which characterised the protection and conservation of 'young monuments' during the 1970s and 1980s is the Schröder House in Utrecht, built by Gerrit Rietveld in 1924–25 for Truus Schröder. The house, an asymmetrical three-dimensional composition, was designed to give the owner complete freedom of use, and in this regard, the first floor could be used either as a large and open living space, or divided into several rooms thanks to a system of movable partitions.

The owner lived there for 50 years, first as a widow and mother of three children, then with Rietveld who became her partner, and lastly, alone. During such time, the house underwent several modifications, most of which were implemented by Rietveld in collaboration with Mrs. Schröder, 'to comply with the practicalities of day-to-day living, shifting ideas and a desire to experiment'. (Mulder, Zijl 1999, 34). For instance, 'the large partition between the children's rooms was difficult to operate because of its size, and was sawn into two parts to make it less unwieldy' (Mulder, Zijl 1999, 34); the kitchen, originally on the ground floor, was moved to the first floor; etc.

Rietveld died in 1964, and in 1970, Truus Schröder created the Rietveld Schröder House Foundation, which was to define the conservation guidelines for the house. Considering the house as the apotheosis of Rietveld's contribution to the De Stijl movement and its iconic status in twentieth century   architecture, the objective was set to restore the house back to Rietveld's original concept. The system of moving partitions was reconstructed, and the interior furniture and furnishings were recreated by one of Rietveld's employees who had made most of the original pieces. The house, which opened to the public in 1987, is a reconstruction of Rietveld's 'creation', but the interiors do not recount the complex genesis of the house, the uniqueness of which lay also in the extraordinary and lifelong collaboration of two people who shared a specific and original vision of the role of architecture in their lives.

Situating this intervention in time – it was undertaken in 1974–1987 – helps in the understanding of some of its underlying rationale. The restoration-reconstruction was promoted by Mrs. Schröder herself, who feared Rietveld's significance as part of the modern movement would be under threat if his most important work was not preserved as depicted by architectural history publications. Nevertheless, the objective of restoring the authenticity of the design idea turned out to be extremely tricky. The house was not taken back to a given date; instead, each part was brought back to the solution that – according to the restoration architect, who was a former collaborator of the master – best represented Rietveld's design intent. In such a situation, the boundary between 'scientific reconstruction' and personal interpretation can easily be crossed, however unknowingly; and the end result and its different degrees of authenticity risk being misleading if they aren't explained to the public.

2 Willow Road.
Conserving lived-in modernism
(1994–1996)

A decade later, a radically different attitude was adopted in a different cultural context. The house at 2 Willow Road in London was designed by architect Ernö Goldfinger in 1938–1939 for him and his family. The house was
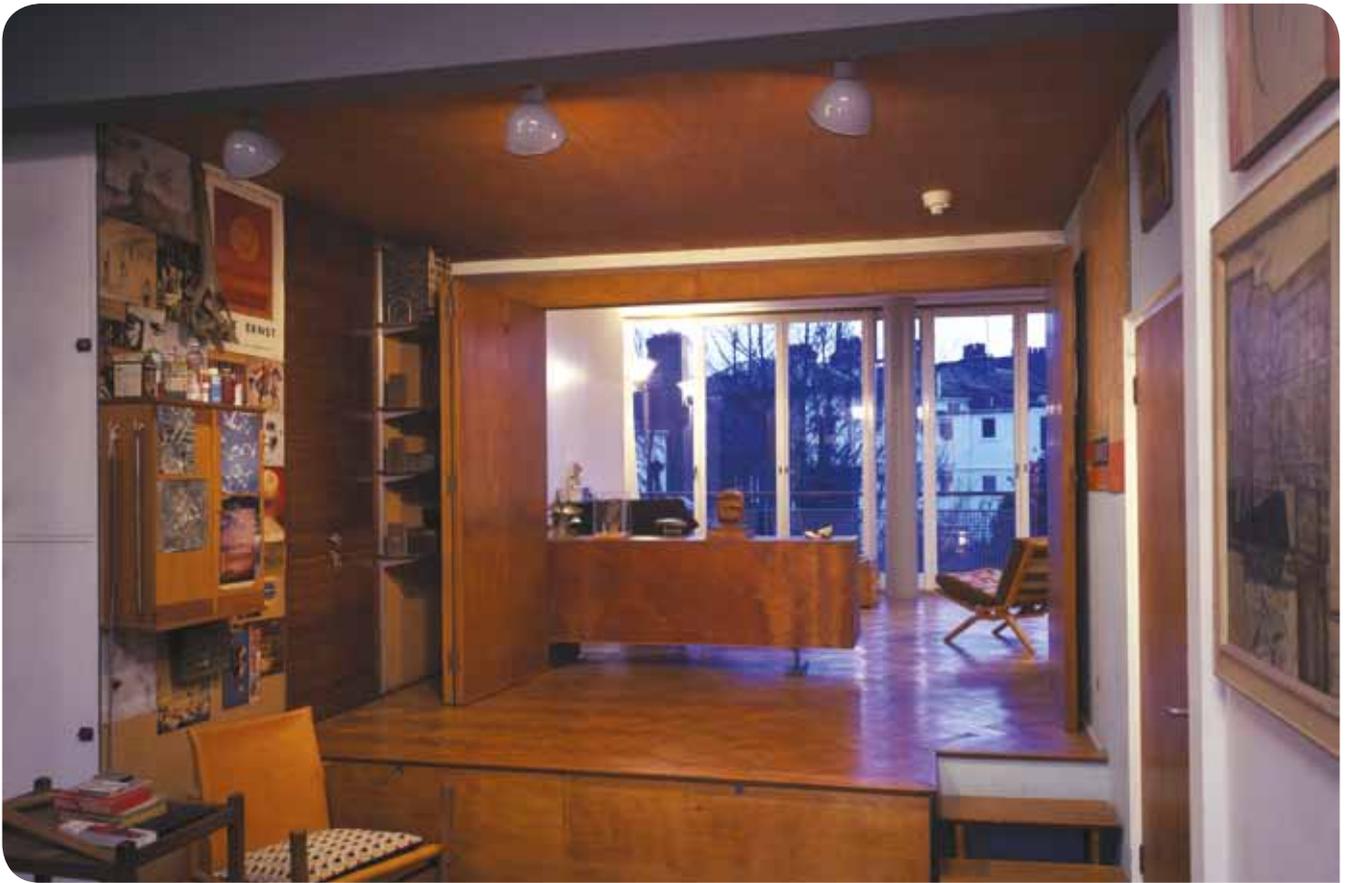
Ernö Goldfinger, 2 Willow Road House, London (1938). The house was restored
by Avanti Architects (1992–1996) and is now a National Trust property.

Goldfinger's permanent residence, and was filled with the works of art, furniture and personal effects that he had accumulated over 50 years, providing a vivid record of the architect and his milieu. The original configuration changed over time, with a kitchen created on the first floor and the conversion of the laundry into a bedroom, among a variety of other changes.

The National Trust acquired the house after the deaths of the architect and his wife, with the aim of opening it as a museum in 1996. This decision, rather than being driven by the house's relevance in architectural history, was based instead on the fact that it represented a rare example of lived-in modernism, and was closely related to the conservation strategy. Both the National Trust and the restoration architects argued that as Goldfinger had made the modifications himself, they were to be considered as evidence of the evolving lifestyle of the family and of the flexibility of the original design. In this regard, 1987 – the year Goldfinger died, and also the year in which the house was documented extensively in photographs by one of his grandchildren – became the date mark at which the house was exhibited. The images

documented not just the art collection or the furniture design, but also the 'minutiae of domestic life' (Mc Kay 2006, 160). Thus, to maintain the lived-in quality of the house, the Trust decided to preserve all the house's contents, down to the last paperclip or toothpick, thus mitigating 'the rather static atmosphere that might otherwise have been imposed' (Mc Kay 2006, 160).

The strategy adopted here seems to be linked closely to the National Trust's mission and practices. Its familiarity with pre-twentieth century heritage, where restoration principles have a long history of application and where inhabitation is crucial, enabled conservation strategies developed for older buildings to be transferred to this 'more recent exemplar', setting an important precedent in the management of modern house museums.

Prioritizing the authenticity of materials above that of the original design intent and conserving the layers of time was vindicated in the visitors' comments, with staff reporting that several visitors stated that they felt like they were making a furtive visit while the Goldfingers were out, which added to the experience and contributed to the exhibition's popularity.

Sonneveld House.
Restoring the authenticity
of form and making it legible
(1997–2001)

A few years later, Sonneveld Huis in Rotterdam, designed by architects Brinkman and Van der Vlugt, was turned into a museum. The property was built in 1933 for M. Sonneveld, one of the directors of the Van Nelle Fabriek, and was designed as a customised machine for living in. The design included all the furniture and interior decorations, using steel furniture, mainly by Dutch designer Willem Hendrik Gispen, and fabrics and upholstery from the Metz & Co collections. Documented in interior magazines and in the Gispen catalogue, the house soon became a model for Dutch upper-middle-class interior design.

The Sonneveld family lived in the property until the 1950s, when the house was bought and occupied until the 1990s by the Belgian consul. Several pieces of furniture were removed by the original owners, and others were lost, but many of the original fixed furnishings of the house remained intact.

The house was listed as a monument in 1984, and was acquired in 1997 by the Volkskracht Foundation to be managed by the nearby Netherlands Architecture institute (NAi). At this time, it was unclear how it was to be restored and used. The debate on the strategy to be adopted concentrated on whether the design was sufficiently unique to be respected and restored rather than being altered for a new use, in this case, as a design museum of classic modern furniture / as a design museum of modern furniture. Eventually, the fact that the house had been designed completely by the architects for their wealthy client and furnished with the first serial-produced tubular steel furniture and lighting by Gispen and with textiles by Metz & Co was considered to be a compelling argument for the uniqueness of the interior design and furnishings, thus legitimizing the restoration approach.

Such considerations dictated the conservation goals. In a project that lasted from 1997 to 2001, the house was returned to its original 1933 state, 'as if time had stood still' (Molenaar, Paijmans 2001, 153), and it was subsequently exhibited as a museum-object belonging to the NAi collection.

One could argue that the intervention prioritised the authenticity of the original form over that of materials, but is this really true? The architects in charge of the restoration valued the original substance and materials more than anything else – wherever original materials were present and could be preserved, they were, including sanitary appliances, rubber carpeting, chrome metalwork and light fittings. Only where the original materials were missing were they replaced by new ones, and the choice of the latter was the outcome of an archaeological and meticulous approach, which delivered amazing insights into the history of the house and the Dutch Functionalist movement. For instance, the colour scheme of each room was identified through an archival investigation, paint scratching and stratigraphies, and was restored, and the same painstaking approach was adopted for the textiles and upholstery.

As for the furniture, two-thirds of the pieces are original (on loan from the Sonneveld family), while the rest are 1930s period furniture that were not originally in the house, or replicas (such as the dressing table) to fill the gaps. Of course it would have been possible to reposition only the remaining furniture, but it was believed that this option would result in a lack of proportion and 'density' (Thornton 1984, p. 8) between the furnished and unfurnished parts (Laan, Wierda 2001). In this regard, completeness – the authenticity of form – was considered to be explicitly more important than the material authenticity of every item on display.

Knowing this, the interiors of the Sonneveld house can be considered misleading, although at a second and more knowledgeable look, it can be said that the architects and curators have given visitors the means of understanding which materials and elements are authentic and which are not. First of all, an exhibition and a film in what was the garage tell the story of the house and its restoration; and secondly, the nature of each item of furniture is explained in the visitor brochure. Furthermore, the material authenticity of each item is made legible during the visit, albeit indirectly, in that visitors are allowed to sit on the new replicas, but not on the original furniture. But there is more: by sitting in the replica living room chairs, visitors can grasp directly and physically that the design of the armchairs

is closely related to that of the living-room parapet, which was kept low to provide an outside view, even when seated. This well-balanced combination of original items, period pieces and present-day usable replicas allows visitors to internalise complex notions at a glance, such as the close relationship between architecture and interior design, making explanations superfluous.

Maison La Roche. Rediscovering and restoring original colours, hues and textures (2005–2010)

A decade later, the Maison La Roche, built in Paris by Le Corbusier in 1923–1924, underwent restoration. Designed to host the art collection of Swiss banker Raoul La Roche, its main features are the *promenade architecturale* and the famous double-height gallery space, which was remodelled twice by its author (first in 1927–1928 and subsequently in 1936).

Before he died, La Roche bequeathed the house to Le Corbusier to host his foundation, which opened to the public in 1970. Several changes were made in the following years, including the annexation of the room of La Roche, the kitchen and the concierge's apartment to the adjacent Maison Jeanneret, which hosted the administrative offices of the *Fondation Le Corbusier.*

In 2005, the *Fondation* decided to undertake a restoration of the house. In its quest for a higher degree of authenticity of this modern icon, the intervention re-established the 1924 layout of the house (thus re-annexing the detached rooms), with the exception of the gallery, for which 1936 became the reference date, in order to maintain the changes that had been implemented by Le Corbusier himself.

It could seem that the authenticity of form was given pre-eminence over that of materials, but in fact, here too, the architects in charge gave the maximum importance to the surviving original features, such as the windows, flooring and technical fittings. This is apparent in the scrupulous approach taken by the *Fondation* and the architect in charge in analysing and restoring the original colours.

The thorough historical analysis, sample-taking and paint stratigraphies on the interior walls revealed an

Le Corbusier, Maison La Roche, Paris (1925). The main hall.

Maison La Roche. The main hall after restoration by Pierre-Antoine Gatier (2005-2009).

unexpected variety of natural colours and hues, as well as differences in the binders used in the main rooms and service rooms. On this basis, each surface was brought back not only to its original hue and saturation, but also to its original binder, thus restoring its texture, apparent weight and transparency, and respecting the differences between surfaces, with a matt, glue-based paint in the main areas, and a more glossy and washable oil paint in the service rooms. Today, the restored textures and colours enrich spatial perception by bestowing a higher degree of credibility, and the house can again be enjoyed as a 'work of art on an architectural scale'.

That said, what is on display on the interior surfaces are not original materials, except for the paint stratigra-

Maison La Roche. One of the stratigraphic essays left in plain view in the dining room.

phies left in plain view. The decision to leave the paint stratigraphies visible is worth noting: they were used as a working tool during the restoration work to determine the exact colour and composition of the original paint [during the worksite] and were supposed to be covered up at the end of the restoration process; nevertheless the curators decided to leave some of these paint stratigraphies in plain view. They provide a subtle indication to visitors that the building has been restored. This painstaking and well thought out intervention shows, nonetheless, the difficulties linked to the conservation of twentieth century interior surfaces.

Villa Necchi-Campiglio. Conserving historic layers and everyday life objects (2003–2008)

In more or less in the same years, Villa Necchi Campiglio in Milan was donated to the FAI (*Fondo Ambiente Italiano*) by one of the original owners, who wanted it to become a 'museum of itself'. This sumptuous residence with high-ceiling salons *en enfilade* was built for an industrial family by Piero Portaluppi (1933–1935), who designed not only the building, but also its decorative elements and furnishings.

The Necchis fled during the war, and upon their return at the end of the 1940s they asked architect Tomaso Buzzi to renovate and redecorate the house, 'smoothing out' the original boldness of Portaluppi's design. As a result, some of the modern designs were replaced with a more conventional array of furniture, in line with the taste for antiques that characterised Milan at the time.

Upon receipt of the house, the FAI recognized the Villa as a key project in Portaluppi's stylistic development, but also realised that the bequeathed house encapsulated the history, rituals, worldly pleasures and day-to-day life of Milanese high society in the first half of the twentieth century , as well as their evolution. During the progress of the restoration, which lasted from 2003 to 2008, the goal became not to return to the original bold Portaluppi configuration, but to preserve the state in which the house had been handed down to us, including Buzzi's less innovative changes, although with a few exceptions. The different layers of the house are made explicit in different ways, including via the narratives of the tour guides and through the booklet that can be bought at the museum shop.

As in the case of Willow Road and the National Trust, the experience of FAI with pre-modern heritage allowed the institution to attribute paramount value to inhabitation. The lifestyle of the family is conveyed not only through the conservation of the architecture and fittings – the generous living rooms and living quarters and their furniture – but also of all the family pictures, linen and porcelain, which offer clear evidence to the visiting public of the high-society life of the family and the many receptions and parties held at the Villa.

In this regard, the furnishings and fittings – the kitchenware and artwork of the Goldfinger House, as well as the hat collection belonging to one of the Necchi sisters in the Portaluppi Villa in Milan – have not only anecdotal relevance. By providing a time and a cultural context for the house spaces, they deliver an immediate understanding of the purpose and atmosphere of a room, thereby reducing the need for explanations to a minimum.

Piero Portaluppi, Villa Necchi Campiglio, Milan (1932-1935).
The villa was restored (2003–2008) and opened to the public by FAI.
The hat collection of one of the Necchi sisters, on display inside the Villa.

Villa Cavrois.
Reconstructing the disappeared
interiors (2001–2015)

A different approach with respect to time layers was adopted in France a few years later for the Villa Cavrois, where restoration work has just been completed.

The mansion on the outskirts of Lille was designed by Robert Mallet-Stevens in 1932 for industrialist Paul Cavrois. Its composition is reminiscent of an eighteenth century *chateau*, articulated in a central building and two side wings. On the inside, the light fittings, integrated into the architecture of each room, were important features for the quality of the interiors, and were custom-designed by light engineer André Salomon.

After the war, the owner decided to adapt the residence to the changing needs of his family and asked architect Pierre Barbe to create three apartments for his children. Following the death of the owners in the 1980s, the Villa was left to ruin, and was pillaged extensively for over 10 years until the State decided to buy it (2001), restore it and open it to the public.

By combining scientifically the acquired data from site vestiges, original photographs, etc., the architect in charge of the restoration worked to define the original geometry of the premises, as well as the materials, colours and paints used originally. Great care was taken to preserve all surviving original substance, but little was left.

Initially, the project to transform the Villa into a museum house followed a diversified strategy – in some areas, a more conservative approach was deemed possible, given the greater amount of remaining material and elements, while in other areas, where less material evidence remained, the quest for material authenticity suggested leaving such spaces bare, without furnishings or *décor*. Finally, considering Villa Cavrois as an *œuvre d'art total* by Mallet Stevens, and bearing in mind the economic management of the property, it was decided that all rooms were to be returned to the 1932 Mallet-Stevens configuration, and were to be restored to the same level of completeness – that of the authentic form – recreating the '*meubles immeubles par destination*' – the built-in furniture and the architecturally integrated lighting fixtures – and leaving out the movable furniture. In some rooms though, such guidelines showed their limits, for in a total work of art it is not easy to define where *décor* ends and furniture begins. This was the case, for instance, in the *chambre De Stijl*.

Furthermore, following this approach, the restoration, once complete, will bear no trace of the fact that not all parts of the house were in the same condition before the conservation started. If such an approach allows the appearance and spatial qualities of the original interiors to be recreated, it is important that different degrees of authenticity be made explicit. If this is not the case, the *chambre De Stijl* – in which much was reconstructed from pictures – will seem to be paradoxically much more 'complete' than the other spaces, where more authentic materials remained.

One last issue that is worth noting is the interesting solution proposed by the house director to inform the public that the Villa has undergone extensive restoration work. One room has been left in the condition it was in before work started to allow visitors to see to what extent the property had been vandalised and, consequently, how much work went into it before it could be opened to the public. The public can turn away from an exhibition and a film, but here, the room is included in the visitors' itinerary, so people are compelled to step into it, and such a space can actually prompt visitors to seek more information about the house and its history.

Conclusions

The chronological presentation of these cases highlights, on the one side, a general trend towards a greater degree of authenticity – although not linear or systematic – while on the other side it shows that restoration choices are influenced by many aspects, including the preliminary conditions of the asset, the cultural context, the policies of relevant institutions and the valorisation strategies.

Clearly institutions such as the NAi and the *Fondation Le Corbusier* focus on architecture, and so consider it crucial that the original spatial configuration and interior design should be restored. However, the experiences of the National Trust and similar institutions, such as the FAI, have set important precedents in considering buildings as cultural and social documents, and in preserving the traces of the lives of the occupants.

Some changes are inevitable when restoring a modern house and turning it into a museum, and necessarily impinge on authenticity – whether in the materials used, design or space. It is, however, essential that interventions make clear the scope and nature of the restoration work. I believe this has to be done even if it entails greater difficulty in providing explanations. It is crucial not to mislead visitors, and what is perhaps even more important, the public must not become an excuse for the minimisation of scientific content and the insights one must convey. In fact, different people require different dissemination narratives, based on

their level of interest and knowledge. It is thus also essential that the findings revealed by restoration interventions are highlighted and made accessible to an interested public.

Besides the remarkable pedagogic value of masterfully restored interiors – which become extraordinary museums of the culture and sensibility of their times past – restoration interventions serve as incredibly rich sources of new historic and material knowledge. Preliminary research work on conservation interventions and the testing of original materials, as well as site findings, all open new research horizons for history in general and for the history of architecture in particular, introducing new essential and previously unimaginable analytical depths. The Sonneveld House restoration, for instance, brought to light the many natural colours of the original interiors: a palette that departed from the views held previously by historians about Dutch interiors of the 1930s. In Maison La Roche too, the *in situ* colour analysis revealed not only the absence of white, but also an unexpected palette of natural colours. Given the close correlation between the interior and exterior in Le Corbusier's design, these results initiated the scientific research of the exterior surfaces. The recently concluded restoration of the facades brought the plaster back to its original yellowish *ton pierre*, which was much closer to the neighbouring *hotels particuliers* than one would have thought. This served to invalidate the 'canonical' idea of Le Corbusier's white architecture, as well as the historic and critical apparatus that had been built on such an assumption.

In conclusion, given the material conditions of most twentieth century assets prior to restoration, the conservation of material authenticity is not always possible and/or economically viable, and so it is not always the goal of the restoration. That said, professionals today seem to attribute growing importance to the conservation of authentic materials, allowing these valuable traces to speak – first to specialists, then, hopefully, to non-professionals and the general public.

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HISTORIC HOUSE MUSEUMS IN ITALY: A NEW FRONTIER FOR CONSERVATION

Silvia Cecchini • Lanfranco Secco Suardo

Since its national unification in 1860, Italy has developed a culture of conservation and relative legislation based on the notion of authenticity. From this concept, further theoretical reflection on conservation ensued, from *Theory of Restoration* written by Cesare Brandi in 1963 until the present time. However, already in the seventies one of Brandi's pupils, Giovanni Urbani, expressed doubts about it. Until now this concept has largely guided the conservation of monuments and of historic and artistic objects in Italian public museums; however, in recent years some relevant changes have taken place. The historic house museum is increasingly a place for the development of new approaches to museum management, with a focus on enhancement and communication, and an impact on conservation. The curators of historic houses museums must choose between the conservation of objects as unique specimens and the preservation of the spirit of place. So what remains of Brandi's ideas? Are they applicable to historic houses museums? Some recent cases illustrate current developments in our approach to conservation.

• • Conservation • restoration • authenticity • historic house museum • •

HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Silvia Cecchini

In Italy

We have no official list of the historic houses in Italy that is approved by the Italian *Ministero per i Beni e le Attività culturali ed il Turismo*. According to the *Associazione delle dimore storiche italiane*, the number of private historic houses in Italy is approximately 45-50,000 and there are hundreds more owned by the government. Many of these are open to visitors, and only some of them are strictly

house museums. Therefore such houses represent a significant category of Italy's cultural heritage [Monti 2015].

The aim of this conference is to examine the role and the significance of authenticity as a starting point for discussing current conservation strategies for historic house museums, fifty years after the publication of Cesare Brandi's *Teoria del restauro*. With this in mind, it is useful to look at the roots of the notion of authenticity in the conservation culture of Italy. This culture

has developed over centuries with different conservation strategies for different kinds of artefacts in historic houses: from architecture to paintings, from furniture to household objects. Given these differences it seems appropriate to reflect on both theory and practice.

Historic roots

In the second half of the nineteenth century, Italy was in the throes of national unification and also in the initial stages of drawing up legislation to protect and preserve historical and artistic monuments. Since then, the word authenticity has entered the vocabulary of conservation to indicate something that is 'not false', i.e. not the result of fraudulent intention.

At that time, in the context of Positivism, the conservation criteria adopted for written texts were used to define new conservation criteria for figurative works. Paintings were viewed as similar to inscriptions on ancient scrolls or memorial stones, and the comparison between the two different types of documents – textual and figurative - is certainly the most frequent explanation for the criteria of recognisable restoration and non-reintegration. It was then that the term 'authenticity' became the guiding principle in the conservation lexicon in Italy, having originated with the treatment of paintings [Cecchini 2005, Cecchini 2012, 141-160].

On the antiquarian market, as in the world of archaeological studies, the number of falsifications was increasing. Based on the idea that began to circulate in the early nineteenth century, namely that restored works were less valuable than those 'untouched by the restorer's hand', the conservation approach advocated by Italian government authorities aimed to protect authenticity. Legislation sought to control the quality and quantity of restoration work while attempting to encourage maintenance. Routine maintenance was a difficult task in a nation that still did not have a reliable administrative structure [Cecchini 2012, 83-140]. For restoration work, the correct procedure was described by the expert Camillo Boito: 'do as little as possible'. In other words, it's preferable to have fragmentary works than wholly reconstructed ones [Boito 1866].

The result in the 1890s and the early twentieth century was that some restoration work, searching to find the authentic work beneath the layers of paint and retouching, led to disastrous results. So the goal was adjusted slightly, choosing a middle path: limited intervention. No longer seeking the authentic material, often at the cost of a fragmentary image, selective actions were introduced: i.e. removing material only when such an approach was indispensable and paying close attention to the work's legibility.

An example is the restoration carried out by Luigi Cavenaghi on the masterpiece by Antonello da Messina, a polyptych where the image of St Gregory, mostly lost but known from etchings and drawings, was restored while leaving the lacuna and suggesting the volumes of the body with a linear stroke pattern (a lightly drawn outline). In

Antonello da Messina, Saint. Gregory, detail of the Polictic polyptych of Saint. Gregory

the same work, the Virgin of the Annunciation, whose figure has fewer losses, is left as she is, without using similar treatment [Brandi 1994, 77-81].

Lorenzo da Viterbo, Mazzatosta Chappel, Church of Santa Maria della Verità, Viterbo

From this dual attention to the material and to the image, Cesare Brandi began to develop his theory. In 1942 he declared his support for the proposal put forward by Cavenaghi as described above. Subsequently, as can be seen from his *Teoria del restauro*, Brandi adopted revised solutions for the restoration of the Mazzatosta Chapel in Viterbo, damaged by bombardment during World War II. There, the reassembled fragments of the frescoes were initially treated with the linear stroke pattern, as Cavenaghi had done, and then reintegrated with the '*tratteggio*' technique (a light hatching), used here for the first time [Brandi 1964; Catalano 1998, 47-54].

Brandi's *Teoria del restauro* should not be considered as a manual for practical restoration, but should be seen as a treatise on aesthetics, as a line of reasoning linked back to two of his previous works: *Carmine o della pittura* and *Eliante o dell'architettura* [Petraroia 1986; Catalano 1998; Carboni 2004, 137-155; D'Angelo 2006, 127-142]

In his *Teoria*, Brandi views falsification as the intention to mislead the observer regarding 'the period, the material texture, and the author'[Brandi 1977, 66]. At the same time, he defines authenticity as 'not false', considering it a prerequisite for restoration work.

However, authenticity has to be verified through philological analysis (i.e. research and study of documents and observation of material) and scientific analysis (diagnostic tests) conducted on the work's material. If such authenticity cannot be proven, the criteria that he drew up for restoring works of art and historical documents would no longer be applicable.

Brandi, a graduate in law, builds an elaborate map of theoretical concepts for restoration, while maintaining that all restoration work must be subjected to case-by-case analysis. Rather than imposing rules, he sets out a method of reasoning.

After Brandi

Brandi's method was based on works of art, initially paintings, and then was applied to monuments and architecture, affirming that architecture is also a work of art. The application of that method to architecture and archaeological sites led to substantial criticism [Carbonara 1976, Carbonara 2001, Melucco Vaccaro 1989]. Although Brandi's theoretical analysis still forms an essential part of the Italian approach to the restoration of paintings, and is considered a guideline for best practice in many countries around the world, various critical methodologies were proposed in Italy for the restoration of architecture in the 1970s: from conservative solutions, aimed at producing a recognizable restored work [Dezzi Bardeschi 1991, Bellini 2005] to mimetic compensations for lost elements [Marconi 1999].

It is in this context that the proposal of 'planned conservation', developed by Giovanni Urbani, produced a methodology that had evolved further to emphasise the practice of maintenance. Urbani, a pupil of Brandi's, pointed out in the mid-1970s the need to rethink conservation strategies for historical and artistic objects with regard to Brandi theories. He considered that the restoration work carried out on individual items was not effective, since the essential mission was to transmit to the future Italy's historical and artistic heritage, spread throughout the country, and the consequent need was to extend conservation to environmental contexts, up to and including the entire territory.

With this critical approach, Urbani reclaimed Brandi's systematic thinking on conservation – especially the concept of 'preventive restoration' and from that point drew up the new project of 'planned conservation' [Zanardi 2000, Zanardi 2009, Cecchini 2011, Cecchini 2012].

This approach is based on strategic plans linking the various aspects – urban, environmental, social, political and economic – with technological, technical and scientific studies applied on an urban and territorial scale. This proposal also includes the study and transmission of historical building techniques, a knowledge necessary to restore architectural structures to their functionality, and an important reason why it was appreciated even by those who proposed the mimetic restoration of historic buildings [Marconi 2007] [1].

This is the direction which some people in Italy are trying to follow, a path now supported by new legislation to protect and promote the cultural heritage and landscape,[2] and a path pursued in different ways also by university research projects.

'Planned conservation' needs the interaction between institutions (municipality, region, research center) and professions (architects, conservators, art historians, archaeologists) to define common strategies and plans [Della Torre 1999, 71-80;]. It takes time to create these interactions, and in the meantime, in some parts of Italy, private owners and associations are promoting experiments like the projects drawn up by the *Associazione Giovanni Secco Suardo* (AGSS) for the maintenance of historic buildings with a particular focus on the roofing.

The slowing down of the deterioration of buildings over time is the main objective of routine maintenance. The result is to delay restoration intervention as long as possible.

The experience gained by the *Association* provides a path forward.

The Pietro Canonica Museum in Rome: policies and practices

Reflecting on the conservation of historic houses, the question is: to which authenticity are we referring?

Is the notion of authenticity defined by Brandi in relation to figurative works (paintings) still relevant today, for a culture accustomed to dealing with the extreme manipulation of images, for eyes used to the saturated and brilliant colors of the screens? And if we consider authenticity in a new sense, as the spirit of the place, are we convinced that the spirit of the place can be transmitted by new and bright materials?

The Pietro Canonica Museum is set in the house where Pietro Canonica, a prominent artist, had lived since 1932, when he finally came to Rome, leaving the studios of Venice and Turin [Santese 2014].

Examples of restoration close to Brandi's notion of authenticity are provided by some objects in the Canonica Museum, a historic house situated in the middle of the gardens of the Villa Borghese in Rome. At the beginning of the twentieth century Rome was the new cultural centre of the nation. In 1927, as an established artist, Canonica asked the municipality of Rome for the privilege of occupying the eighteenth century complex called Fortezzuola, in order to assemble a collection of his sculptures and convert it into a studio and a residence. He chose that place for its cultural and artistic context provided by the nearby Villa Borghese, Villa Strohl Fern and Valle Giulia. To obtain the use of the building Canonica agreed to restore it at his own expense, and to donate his entire collection to reside permanently in the monumental complex of Fortezzuola. In the 1930s Canonica built an addition to the building according to plans drawn up by the architect Raffaele De Vico.

During his life Canonica expressed the wish that the most intimate parts of the house – bedroom, studio, music room, dining room – be kept 'as well as he would leave them' [Santese 2014, 157].

In 1969 seven rooms of the historic house museum were arranged for exhibition by Carlo Pietrangeli according to typological criteria: portraits, religious works, commemorative and funerary monuments, allegorical works. Pietrangeli didn't touch the most intimate spaces, where Canonica's wife continued to live all her life, until March 6, 1987.

Some examples

Historic house museum of Pietro Canonica Museum (1869-1959). Studio

A particularly pressing subject for historic house museums is the conservation of artistic objects, such as paintings and sculptures, wall hangings and fabrics. Some concrete examples will illustrate this point.

The choice made at the Canonica Museum, according to the Director Bianca Maria Santese, is to practice routine maintenance of the sculptures, in this case, plaster casts and marbles. This takes the form of periodic checks on the state of conservation and environmental conditions, as well as dusting, cleaning and small consolidations, if necessary. This approach

effectively postpones major restoration work for long periods.

The maintenance program also contains guidelines for aesthetic choices, just as when you need to renovate or repair the walls, you will choose to harmonise colours and materials with the general context. To show these aesthetic choices, numerous sculptures exhibiting the patina of age are displayed as in the studio.

The deterioration of a decorative hanging can reach a point that is no longer acceptable. We aim to delay intervention as long as possible, while ensuring that replacements are philologically consistent with the original.

The restoration of a carpet, according to the theory of Brandi, shows how the lost area is made recognisable, and how the reweaving is integrated, seeking to harmonise it with the authentic part of the carpet.

In the bedroom, the wall hanging behind the bed shows oxidation of a reddish colour, degrading to yellow. As it is a handmade fabric, not available commercially, it is impossible to replace, nor can the original colour be restored. For this reason, the museum conservator chose to respect the authenticity of the material at the expense of the authenticity of the image.

This choice harks back to one of Brandi's assumptions that in this case is still considered valid – the idea of time. For Brandi, time is divided into three phases: the time of creation (A), and the time when the object is consciously perceived (C). And between these two phases, there is a third time (B) corresponding to the time lag that separates the creative process and the conscious appreciation of the work; it is a time made up of all the traces left on the body of the work.

Here is a pressing question: with our eyes, in our historical context, looking for the spirit of the place, are we still able to accept and to read the signs of time passing?

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Historic house museum of Pietro Canonica Museum. Bed room

TO LIVE IN, MAINTAIN, AND ENHANCE AN HISTORIC HOUSE

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Lanfranco Secco Suardo

An historic house

I shall try to illustrate my two roles that relate to the theme of the conference. I speak as the owner and 'manager' of a historic building and as president of the AGSS.

The Castle of Lurano where I live and work, has belonged to my family for more than five hundred years; and for about thirty years I have been trying to preserve and promote it.

The Castle of Lurano 2014

Over the years, this subject has become increasingly important considering the large number of historic private houses. What is the value for a historic house museum when it is lived in? And when it is lived in by the same family for many years? And how can this value be promoted?

The castle contains works of art and a wide range of objects acquired by family members over the generations. The picture gallery, previously replete with paintings, has been partly dispersed by shared inheritance and theft, while several paintings have been donated to public museums in Italy, with traditional regularity up until a few years ago.

The castle was also the home and workplace of Giovanni Secco Suardo, whose works have had a strong influence on the history of Italian restoration, establishing for the first time the basis for an ethical concept of restoration, and promoting knowledge and teaching of the discipline.

In recent years, the policy has been to continue family life alongside a Studies and Projects Centre for the AGSS, which is based at the castle. The family's vast historical archive, with documentation dating back to the fourteenth century, has required years of work by archivists, and is currently open to experts and students.

Of course, in this case too, conservation is affected by the policy that has been adopted for utilisation and visiting; in other words, getting to know a historic home by means of a few extended in-depth visits (personal experience), or by means of short visits for large numbers of people. Two paths and two different policies – and in our case, the choice was definitely the former.

As a result, the castle accepts only a small number of visitors on request, and welcomes a few artists and experts for short periods. Regarding links with the surrounding territory, for several years we have organised didactic activities for classes of children and students from local schools. These activities culminate in exhibitions of the works produced. No other commercial ventures have been undertaken. Certainly, such a choice involves high risks for its economic sustainability without help from the local public authorities. And this is a difficult subject because it involves the evaluation of investments and their returns, which is almost always in terms of quantity.

For the castle's conservation, considering the total lack of public financial support, there has always been not only continuing study of the archival documents, but also the daily commitment to resolving, as

promptly as possible, the causes of the most serious problems (roofing, doors and windows, structural framework, technical plant, etc.), as well as conservation of all the artefacts by means of ongoing maintenance. Particular attention is given to understanding the techniques and the use of traditional materials.

Example of static stability problem on the tower

The proper and ongoing conservation of a historic building involves a daily round of maintenance tasks, making visitors more aware of the problems and broadening their interest in the conservation of the castle's artefacts. And we have seen that such an approach generates great interest and involvement in the visitors during their visits when they can see and understand the work that is taking place.

Many of the halls and rooms are without heating and, when they are not visited, the exposure to daylight is limited as far as possible by keeping the rooms in darkness.

Naturally, the presence of the AGSS led to choices in the criteria of methodology. At the same time, the conservation problems of a historic home stimulated the Association to carry out research and other projects.

Maintenance: projects and experiences

In addition to courses for skilled workers on traditional techniques and materials, the AGSS decided to gather information regarding the organisation of maintenance for European Royal Houses. This led to an international conference *De la restauration à l'entretien. Demeures Royales en Europe*, during which we heard about experiences that were very different from several points of view (historic, geographic, technical, economic and cultural), but perhaps linked by the common factor of a culture and practice of maintenance and restoration [Farina 2003]. Following the results of this first international meeting, the AGSS continued its studies and research with other projects, surveys, in-depth investigations, and publications during the ensuing years [Cecchini 2012, Cecchini – Secco Suardo 2014].

Faced with the widespread deterioration of historic buildings, both public and private, and to avoid massive and risky projects restoring the structural framework, interior decorations and movable items contained in the building, today it is becoming increasingly urgent to draw up a plan of routine maintenance for every historic site, a plan that is feasible, clear, economically viable and applicable, to be implemented according to a set time frame.

The aim is to stimulate a change in the policy of conservation of our historic heritage, raising awareness among public entities, private owners and managers of historic buildings to regard routine maintenance as a primary level of protection. The goal is to introduce the habit and best practices of constant attention and routine inspection to investigate and monitor the site, together with planned conservation work based on the idea of 'maintenance' rather than 'restoration'.

The AGSS took part in various European projects on the planned conservation and maintenance of roofs that produced shared guidelines. Having established a professional profile and also a training course for skilled craftworkers dealing with these subjects, the AGSS initiated research projects, study seminars and conferences on roof maintenance and

Understanding the techniques and the use of traditional materials

Maintenance activities on the roof of the Castle of Lurano

conservation. Projects were then carried out on specific historic buildings, together with specialised courses for architects, engineers, surveyors, public officials and skilled workers in order to spread and promote the culture and application of the basic practices of routine maintenance for roof coverings – the part of a building which, by definition, is first in the hierarchy of importance. Projects were carried out on the Castle of Lurano [Farina, Tongini Folli, Barbò, Rigamonti 2011] the Church of Santa Maria in Bressanoro [*Associazione Giovanni Secco Suardo* 2013] and the Castle of Pandino.

This unique activity is becoming a specific sector of our organization, addressed to private, public and religious owners of historic buildings. The goal is to ensure the preservation of historic buildings by reactivating a continuous practice of maintenance. This is possible only through a deep understanding of the techniques and materials, a careful study of the building, and the participation of teams of professionals and skilled workers. In our experience it was possible to realise a cost reduction of about 35%.

Notes

1. However Paolo Marconi considered it unworkable both for economic reasons and for the absence in Italy of a culture of architectural restoration that would accept the replication of lost elements.

2. Law 26 March 2008, N.62.

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THE EXPERIENCE OF A 25-YEAR CHANGE OF VIEWS ON AUTHENTICITY

'To improve is to change, so to be perfect is to have changed often.'

WINSTON CHURCHILL, 1925

....

Dr. Jurn A.W. Buisman

This is the tale of gradually changing ideas on the essence of a house museum's public presentation. During the period of a quarter century, the concept of the Museum Geelvinck Hinlopen Huis in Amsterdam, a private museum located in a grand canal-house dating back to 1687, has changed from being collection-driven into one which is primarily aimed at the spirit of place. In the past decade the museum tried to reconcile the story of this city-palace's inhabitants in its heyday during the extended eighteenth century with the remaining, mainly nineteenth century interiors, and with the museum's collections, ranging from the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries. These collections were themselves assembled primarily during the twentieth century and have no connection with the history of the house itself. The author concludes with the possibility of relating the present day inhabitants and their museum's collections to stories from the house's history.

> • • Authenticity • Historic House • collections • Spirit of place • •

....

Introduction

'*To improve is to change, so to be perfect is to have changed often*' [Churchill, 3706]. This famous quote from Winston Churchill became the life motto of my father. He was not only a rather successful industrialist, but in addition – like his father – an ardent collector and within circles of art dealers quite famous for his collection of early Dutch porcelains, brought together in the 1970s and the 1980s. At that time many ancestral collections came on the market. These were snatched up by antique dealers, who then would sell the objects piecemeal, disposing as well of their intrinsic stories. In those days, museums were mostly stifled by cumbersome administrative procedures, and hence incapable of making a purchase decision in time for the sale.

Background

Why this lengthy introduction? In front of you is not an historian, but an economist. My father had hoped that I would follow him in leading the family firm, which engaged in trading and milling herbs, spices and druggist's pharmaceuticals. Instead of that, I was far more interested in his porcelain collection. After my university years, as an economist I came up with the concept of a revolving investment fund for safeguarding collections, bridging the gap between the private collector and the museum. This resulted in the establishment of the Maecenas Fund. Today, we would call this a cultural impact investment fund. In 1989, we bought a prestigious office building in Amsterdam, suitable for showing the fund's collections and, in addition, I myself planned to live in part of

this grand canal-house. The building was dilapidated, thanks to the previous owners, mainly banks, and my father kindly provided the financial means for an extensive restoration.

To give you a bit of an idea of how new this concept for a cultural impact investment fund was, it took the Dutch central bank nearly two years to decide to give the green light to our effort. Unfortunately, by that time, Europe had plunged into a severe economic crisis, and we had to restructure the Maecenas Fund with the collections, which by then had already been assembled. Thus it became the basis of what is today the Museum Geelvinck Hinlopen Huis.

Early years

Family coat of arms Geelvinck-Hinlopen (1687).
Note the yellow finch, the meaning of the family name, Geelvinck.

At the time, in the early 1990s, the house itself was just considered a stylish setting. The period rooms, which we had reconstructed, were merely meant to provide a suitable décor for the fund's collections, which concerned mainly applied art of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Since my parents had moved abroad at about the same time, we also decided that my father's collection of seventeenth century Dutch paintings would be exhibited permanently in the fledgling museum. When, in 1991, the museum opened for the general public, its presentation had nothing to do with the history of the house: the Museum Geelvinck staged exhibitions of applied art, of etchings by Rembrandt, of pre-Columbian art, etc. Over the years, it gradually began to dawn upon us, that the great majority of the visitors to our museum were attracted to the house itself rather than to these exhibitions.

The first strategic change

Chinese room, Museum Geelvinck Hinlopen Huis

Therefore, about a decade after the opening of our museum, we decided to remove the modern show-cases from the period rooms and enhance the interior with period furniture from my father's collection. Visitors were given a short introduction on the different styles of each of the period rooms. Thereafter, they would visit the modern exhibition rooms in the basement, where we continued staging exhibitions mainly on applied art. For instance, in 2003, we had an exhibition on so-called Chinese export-porcelain provincial plates with objects on loan from private collectors, the Rijksmuseum and other museums all over Europe, and, of course, from my father's collection [*Provincieborden*]. Never before (and probably since) were so many of these provincial plates shown together. This exhibition was hailed by our museum colleagues. Collectors of Chinese export-porcelain provincial plates from all over Europe came specially to Amsterdam to visit this exhibition. However, only a small handful of these collectors exists. The regular museum public showed interest neither in the forgotten political history of these provincial plates nor in looking at rows of these quite colourful plates. Instead visitors continued to ask who was actually living in the house.

The second strategic change

As a result we decided to radically change our strategy: from being collection-oriented, we decided to focus on the house itself as the centre of interest. In

the following years we finally dissolved the Maecenas Fund, ending our relationship to most of the collections within. Instead we have concentrated on the history of the house and its inhabitants in its heyday, in the extended eighteenth century, when this 'city palace' was owned by the Geelvinck family and its heirs.

Questions of authenticity

This change of focus seems a logical decision; however, to work it out in an ethically correct form turned out not to be so easy. To start with, there was the question of what was authentic from that core period of significance. I find useful the distinctions formulated by Steward Brand in '*How Buildings Learn*' [Brand]: Site, Structure, Skin, Services, Space Plan and Stuff.

Garden (design R. Broekema, 1990), Museum Geelvinck Hinlopen Huis

Site
The site, the city block where our museum now stands, materialised as part of the major urban development around 1662-1670, today known as the fourth extension of the Amsterdam Canal District. Buildings in these house blocks had to be built on standardised plots following strict regulations on size and function. The space between the main house and the coach house was designated exclusively as a garden. These urban regulations are still valid today. In the seventeenth century, this was an innovative format for urban development. For this reason, the area is now a UNESCO World Heritage Site.

Structure
The Geelvinck Hinlopen Huis consists of a main house built in around 1687 on the Herengracht and a coach

house dating back to the same year on the adjacent Keizersgracht. Because of this combination, it is called a 'city-palace'. The main house is built on two plots, a type known as a 'double canal-house'. Some 110 double canal-houses still survive, but many are just a facade with an apartment building, or even with a completely modern office building or hotel, behind.. Rarely is the coach-house still connected to the main house. In our case, most of the 'Structure' is still there, as it was in 1687.

Skin
The 'Skin', that is the outside of the building, has changed though: the facade of the main house was altered significantly around 1750 by the second generation of the Geelvinck family, and, unfortunately, the ornamented top rail was lost around 1900. The coach-house was redeveloped for residential use around 1865, although you can still recognise its origins by the unusually wide front door.

Services
The 'Services', toilets, heating, water pipes etc., have necessarily been considerably altered over and over again through the centuries, although nearly all fireplaces on the first two floors of the building still remain visible. Here I note that all lighting has been renovated, which significantly changes the impression that the visitor gets from a room. Imagine how it would look if you could view a room with painted wallcoverings only by daylight, or in the evening by candlelight.

Space plan
Remarkably, the 'Space Plan' in most of the main house remained unchanged, although the functions of the rooms have been altered periodically in its progression from residential to office to museum use.

Stuck-on (stuff)
Here I wish to sidestep from Brand's system and introduce 'Stuck-on stuff', which I distinguish from real movable 'Stuff'. With 'Stuck-on' I mean, for instance, stucco ornaments, wallpaper, ornaments on doors, wainscot, textile wall-coverings, panelling, etc. On the main floor ('beletage'), you can still see ornaments dating back to the first, second and third generation of the Geelvinckfamily. In the 1830s the existing wooden wall

panels in the front rooms were painted over according to prevailing fashion, and these still remain as is. All in all, you can distinguish quite easily among the layers of interior decoration, which date back to the Geelvinck period and later inhabitants.

Musical guided tour, Kaoru Iwamura on eighteenth century square piano, Museum Geelvinck Hinlopen Huis

Soundscape

More immaterial than the movable stuff is the soundscape within the house. I mention this specifically because a few years ago we became the keeper of the Sweelinck Collection of over 90 historic fortepianos, a few of which are on exhibit in the house. By offering historically informed performances on these historic instruments, we have brought the music of the Geelvinck period back into the house. It certainly enhances the visitor experience, but is this really authentic?

Stuff

From the furniture and other 'Stuff' of the Geelvinck period nothing remains. We could trace back a few paintings, which must have adorned the walls at that time, such as the family portrait by Gabriel Metsu, now in the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin, another one by Metsu now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York, and a large painting by Rembrandt now in the Pushkin Fine Arts Museum in Moscow, but, as you will understand, it is impossible to have these returned to the house. We are very happy with a long-term loan from the Rijksmuseum of a related portrait by Lodewijk van der Helst. This was as close as we could get. Hardly any personal belongings of the Geelvinck family survive at all and, if they do, most were not recorded as such.

The story does not match the presentation

Now this caused a major authenticity problem: we tell visitors the story of the inhabitants of the house during the extended eighteenth century, and we show rooms decorated and furnished with much stuff more or less from this same period. This may give the visitor roaming quickly through the rooms the impression that he has seen the original interior of the house where the Geelvinck family once lived, but this is obviously not the case.

Relating to the 'Stuck-on stuff': the restoration of the period rooms, done a quarter of a century ago by now, was not intended as a reconstruction. At the time quite a few period features were added to enhance the glorious decor of the period rooms, such as impressive painted wall-coverings by the famous eighteenth century Dutch painter Egbert van Drielst, found by my father at an auction in London (previously they apparently had adorned the walls of a luxury loft-apartment in New York). The Geelvinck family did have painted wall-coverings by Egbert van Drielst, but they were not the same as the ones now at the Geelvinck Hinlopen Huis; in fact, the original ones owned by one of the Geelvincks were in another grand canal-house, just one block away from ours.

Getting the picture right

To be more truthful to the visitor, we now say that what is here was actually brought here by the Buisman family. However, more often than not, the visitor does not, or even does not want to, accept this, preferring the idea of having seen an authentic rich merchant's home from the eighteenth century. Or the visitor gets a blurred picture of the house's history, mixing up my family with the Geelvincks. Most visitors do not really, if at all, know the difference between period styles; they just want to hear a nice story in an interestingly decorated historic house, so they can dream away a bit, from their daily life and imagine being in another time and a richer life story. In this respect the Geelvinck Hinlopen Huis is not so very different from the fantasy castle in Disneyland, except that the site and structure of our house are the real thing.

Dining room, Museum Geelvinck Hinlopen Huis

How to reconcile the house's story with the present day

The obvious solution is to clear the house of stuff from a later period, but then you would end up with an empty house, like the Benjamin Franklin House in London, leaving it to the visitor to imagine the interior stuff. Instead we decided to combine the story of the Geelvinck family with that of today's inhabitants of the house: my spouse Dunya Verwey and myself. So we have placed some photographs of ourselves around, and people can read about Dunya's life and mine. However, in all honesty, again this is make-believe. Although we do sometimes use the library for drinks, when we are staying in the Geelvinck Hinlopen Huis we actually live in the modern loft apartment at the top of the building. Also there is somewhat of a discrepancy between our stories and the image of the main floor ('beletage'): for instance, Dunya's story is that she is one of the four initiators of 'Dolle Mina', a famous and influential feminist movement in the early seventies. However, really nothing in the grand period rooms has any connection with this activist movement. To resolve this in the future we intend to also show the public the modern loft-apartment at the top of the building, although there are some practical issues that we still have to overcome, such as the question of our privacy. Although there is nothing really remarkable about this loft-apartment, we think that it would interest the public to see the private quarters, and also it would give a far more realistic image of today's use of the building.

To reconcile a glorious with a controversial past

Offering to the spirits, Tula Day, 17 August 2013, Museum Geelvinck Hinlopen Huis

Having worked now for some ten years on the story of the inhabitants of the house, we gradually came to realise that there were other viewpoints to explore. At first glance, the Geelvinck story seems obvious: we know exactly who lived in the house and when and how they are linked in the family-tree; we know something about their official functions, their country houses, their wealth, and just a sprinkling of personal stories. Because the Geelvinck family is closely linked to the other wealthy oligarch families that governed Amsterdam during that period, we can easily place them in the context of both local as well as global Western history at large. The Geelvincks were related by marriage to most of the neighbours living in the grand canal-mansions next door, and their daughters married into the Dutch noble families who remained influential well into the twentieth century. You can picture this story, emphasising the luxury and glory of the nation.

However, there is another side to this. Just like most oligarch families of those days, the Geelvincks were also heavily involved in large investments in plantations, both in the East Indies and especially in the West Indies. All five generations who lived in the house between 1687 and 1813 were directly connected with the Society of Surinam, which today you would call the 'development company for the plantation colony of Surinam'. These plantations growing cane sugar, cacao beans, coffee beans and tobacco leaf were only economically viable because of cheap labour, performed initially by black slaves imported from Western Africa, and after the abolition of slavery in the nineteenth century, by cheap labourers from Northern India and Java. After an interval due to the turmoil caused by the French Revolution

and the subsequent Napoleonic Wars, a member of the last generation of the Geelvinck-period was in fact the actual initiator and first president of the Nederlandsche Handel–Maatschappij, (loosely translated as 'the national development company for the Dutch colonies'). It still survives today as the ABN Amro Bank. After Surinam became independent from the Netherlands in 1975, about one-third of its population immigrated to the Netherlands and today, especially in Amsterdam there is a rather large minority population of Surinam origin with black–African roots. In the year 2013, there was a national commemoration of the abolition of slavery in Surinam and the Dutch Antilles 150 years before. On this occasion we organised an exhibition showing the history of the house and of the Amsterdam Canal District in general in relationship to the products of black slave labour, drawing connections between this shared history and developments today [*Swart*]. This exhibition was received very positively by the Surinam minority in the Netherlands. As a result, we became part of the Black Heritage Tour, and this shared history now has been integrated into our permanent exhibition.

Relevance for today's visitor

Loosely using, or, if you wish, misusing, the history of the inhabitants of the house, both those of the Geelvinck period and the quote-unquote current ones, gives a multitude of opportunities for social criticism by placing history in parallel to themes which are relevant at present. For instance, involuntary labour in the production of cacao beans in Western Africa is today related to Amsterdam's role as the largest port for cacao beans worldwide; we connected to this theme in our exhibition to commemorate the abolition of slavery 150 years ago. Our next exhibition 'In the Spirit of Geelvinck' [*In de Geest*] will connect the history of the horrendously rich Geelvinck family with innovative views on growing wealth inequality between the strata of our global society today, such as the Occupy Movement. While this may sound rather preposterous, the Geelvincks were actually largely republican–minded – i.e., strong opponents of the hereditary state leadership by the House of Orange – and the last male Geelvinck even ended up in the entourage of the Marquis de la Fayette in Paris, after

being thrown out of the Netherlands when, in 1786, he and some of his wealthy Amsterdam oligarch friends had attempted to replace the Orange Stadholder's rule by a more democratic city-state form of government. In the same way, we will connect the rather independent histories of the Geelvinck ladies with feminist activism today. Thus parallels are being drawn between the Geelvincks and the current residents, reconciling the past with the present. It is our experience that in this way, visitors can more easily imagine how the inhabitants of these grand canal-houses functioned, and how this influenced and shaped society today. Still, what about authenticity: can you really draw such parallels in history? The debate continues.

Museum Night 2012: 1812 re-enactment showing dances with visitors
Museum Geelvinck Hinlopen Huis

Conclusion

In conclusion, visitors are attracted to our canal-mansion by its richly decorated interiors. Instead of pretending these period rooms are just history, we present the house as being lived in today and show the multiple layers, introducing the views of the present inhabitants of the house on relevant themes that parallel the historical context of the Geelvinck period. In our museum the visitor is allowed to sit on the chairs, nibble on historical cookies, and experience being an honoured guest. The guest can listen to classical and contemporary music performed on period fortepianos. Through our exhibitions we relate the context of the heyday of the history of the house to today's society, using both historic objects and common stuff from daily life to connect the authenticity of the site and structure of the house to relevant contemporary themes. Nowadays,

our museum shows the stories connected to the house's past and present from different angles and perspectives that are relevant for today's visitor. We hope this will stimulate visitors to think of the past as shaping part of the present and to potentially reconsider their views on present-day issues.

However, is this the end of the continuous process of changing our conceptual view on how to approach the public with a relevant narrative? Or will we return one day to placing the collection in the central role again?

Author announcing concert, Geelvinck Fortepiano Festival 2014, Museum Geelvinck Hinlopen Huis

Notes

1. Exhibition *Provincieborden, een culturele dialoog tussen twee beschavingen* (Provincial plates, a cultural dialogue between two civilizations) Museum Geelvinck Hinlopen Huis, Amsterdam, 22 May – 22 June 2003.

2. Exhibition *Swart op de Gracht. Afro-American Slavery traced on the Amsterdam Canals*, Museum Geelvinck Hinlopen Huis, Amsterdam, 23 April – 30 September 2013.

3. Exhibition *In de Geest van Geelvinck* (In the spirit of Geelvinck), Museum Geelvinck Hinlopen Huis, Amsterdam, 5 March – 15 December 2015.

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• *In de Geest van Geelvinck* ('In the Spirit of Geelvinck'), Museum Geelvinck Hinlopen Huis, Amsterdam, 5 March – 15 December 2015

• *Provincieborden, een culturele dialoog tussen twee beschavingen* ('Provincial plates, a cultural dialogue between two civilizations'), Museum Geelvinck Hinlopen Huis, Amsterdam, 22 May – 22 June 2003

• *Swart op de Gracht* ('Afro-American Slavery traced on the Amsterdam Canals'), Museum Geelvinck Hinlopen Huis, Amsterdam, 23 April – 30 September 2013.

SPIRIT OF PLACE:
A GOLDEN THREAD THAT RUNS
THROUGH THE MANAGEMENT
OF HISTORIC PLACES

Sarah Staniforth

Significance and spirit of place have long been vital concepts in understanding and looking after places of historic interest and natural beauty. The 1931 Athens Charter, 1964 Venice Charter and 1981 Burra Charter have informed and codified our conservation practice. The 2008 ICOMOS Quebec declaration on the preservation of the spirit of place has been particularly helpful to with its definition '*Spirit of place* (or *genius loci*) refers to the unique, distinctive and cherished aspects of a place'. A short spirit of place statement for each National Trust property has been developed from the statement of significance, which defines what is unique and distinctive, and our insight into what visitors cherish about a place. This understanding of spirit of place guides all activities to improve the quality of everything from conservation to presentation and interpretation, and from marketing to commercial activities in the shops and tea rooms. It is the golden thread that runs through good property management ensuring that all actions respect and are appropriate for the character of a place. Spirit of place brings together expert understanding of places with the views of the broad range of people who use the place.

• • Spirit of Place • National Trust • Conservation • mediation • •

Significance and spirit of place have long been vital concepts in understanding and looking after places of historic interest and natural beauty. The 1931 Athens charter, 1964 Venice charter and 1979 Burra charter have informed and codified our conservation practice.

As conservation professionals, whether art or architectural historians, curators or conservators, we feel comfortable with identifying the key significances of historic places. These may include cultural, historical, architectural, artistic, archaeological, scientific, technological, and gardens, parks and landscapes significance. They occupy the realms of the real, they are authentic and can be defined using an evidence-based approach to research, they are tangible and invariably relate to material culture.

This is Kedleston, which was acquired by the National Trust in 1987 because it is a near perfect example of a neo-classical house and is one of the great achievements of the late eighteenth century. It is a whole: architecture, landscape, interiors and contents assembled in a few years

Kedleston Hall, Derbyshire. View of the north front

by one man, Nathaniel Curzon, 1st Lord Curzon, using the talents of one of England's great architects and designers, Robert Adam. It is an architectural monument of national and international importance. Its formal significance is obvious to the expert eye, yet many of the visitors enter the Marble Hall and find the space cold and austere, and do not relate to the scale nor splendour of Adam's design. In order to address this lack of emotional engagement the National Trust has been working on a strategy to present the houses in a way more like they would have been when they were lived in. The Trust has called this initiative 'bringing places to life'. I talked about this at the ICOM DEMHIST/ICOM-CC conference in Los Angeles in 2012.

The Marble Hall at Kedleston,
modeled by architect Robert Adam on the atrium of a Roman villa

This paper seeks to explain how spirit of place can be used to include the views of a wider group of people who are involved with places as well as the experts.

The Burra charter, which was developed by ICOMOS Australia, responds to a values-based approach to places with intangible significance. Conservation work with landscape sites in Australia and the value and meaning of sacred Aboriginal places led to an approach that went beyond the 'expert' view of significance and recognised intangible significances of historic and natural places. It acknowledged that management of these places was most successful when the local community worked alongside conservation professionals.

In October 2008, at the ICOMOS international conference in Quebec, the following Declaration on the preservation of spirit of place was agreed upon: '*Spirit of place* refers to the unique, distinctive and cherished aspects of a place. It is thus as much in the invisible weave of culture (stories, art, memories, beliefs, histories, etc.) as it is the tangible physical aspects of a place (monuments, rivers, woods, architectural style, pathways, views, and so on) or its interpersonal aspects (the presence of family, friends and kindred spirits)'.

In classical Roman religion a *genius loci* was the protective spirit of place. In contemporary usage, *genius loci* usually refers to a place's distinctive atmosphere, or 'spirit of place', rather than a guardian spirit.

Alexander Pope (1688-1744) made the *genius loci* an important principle in garden and landscape design with the following lines from *Epistle IV, to Richard Boyle, Earl of Burlington*:

> *Consult the genius of the place in all;*
> *That tells the waters or to rise, or fall;*
> *Or helps th' ambitious hill the heav'ns to scale,*
> *Or scoops in circling theatres the vale;*
> *Calls in the country, catches opening glades,*
> *Joins willing woods, and varies shades from shades,*
> *Now breaks, or now directs, th' intending lines;*
> *Paints as you plant, and, as you work, designs.*

Pope's verse laid the foundation for one of the most widely agreed principles of landscape architecture. This is the principle that landscape designs should always be adapted to the context in which they are located.

The gardens at Stourhead were designed by Henry Hoare II and laid out between 1741 and 1780 in a classical eighteenth century design set around a large lake, achieved by damming a small stream. They were much influenced by Alexander Pope's ideas about *genius loci*.

The gardens at Stourhead, Wiltshire. View of the lake and the Temple of Apollo

The National Trust has adopted these concepts and recognised the importance of *genius loci* or spirit of place in underpinning not just landscape design, but all activities at properties in order to improve the quality of everything from conservation to presentation and interpretation, and from marketing to commercial activities in the shops and tea rooms.

Spirit of place brings together expert understanding of places with the views of a broad range of people who use the place, it is a shared understanding of the enduring qualities that make a place special. It is an encapsulation of why a place is special to people based on what is unique, distinctive and cherished about a place.
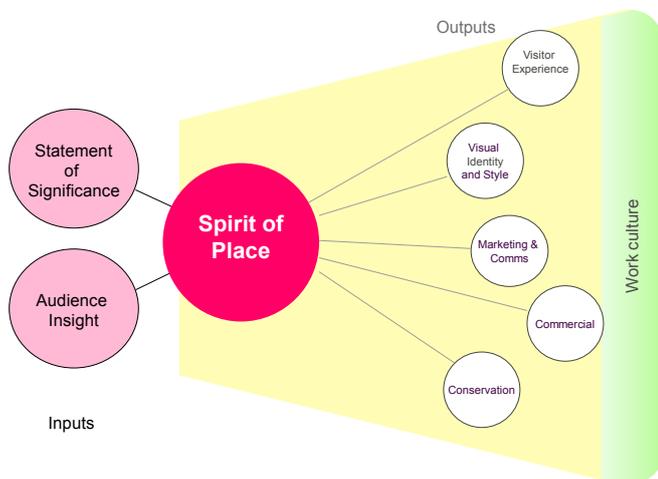

Diagram of the National Trust's concept of the 'spirit of place'

It really matters in an organisation as large as the National Trust, where we have over 300 houses and gardens with a central as well as local management. There is a danger of a house style developing, characterised in the writings of our current Chairman, Simon Jenkins, as 'the dead hand of the National Trust'. The manager of each property is given the responsibility of being the guardian of spirit of place, and ensuring that all actions are respectful of and appropriate for the character of the place.

The process of writing a spirit of place of statement starts with the statement of significance and audience insight. I will use Calke Abbey, a property that was taken on by the National Trust in 1985 as an example.

The statement of significance is written by professional conservation and curatorial staff, it is informed by extensive research and is updated on a regular basis when new research is carried out or circumstances change.

At Calke Abbey, the early eighteenth century house is presented as an example of a country house in twentieth century decline. The contents and room arrangements are little changed since the 1880s and display layers of collecting by many generations of the Harpur-Crewe family. The eighteenth century state bed is in mint condition: an astonishing survival. The family were directly connected

View of Calke Abbey, Derbyshire

with the place for nearly 400 years; remarkable for their characteristic of reclusiveness; a passion for horses and an absorbing fascination with natural history. The park is ancient and fragile, in part designated a National Nature Reserve and Site of Special Scientific Interest. In terms of archaeological significance – there is evidence of lime extraction and burning, brick making, pottery manufacture and transport, ridge and furrow agriculture, monastic settlement and attempts to landscape the park. The place is an oasis of peace and beauty but with the pressures of the world beyond its boundary constantly evident.

Well-preserved eighteenth century state bed at Calke Abbey

What people cherish about Calke Abbey can be captured in a number of simple ways, including the comment cards that visitors fill in, TripAdvisor, Facebook, visitor surveys and asking them what they like on chalk boards. Word clouds can help identify common themes.

The spirit of place statement for Calke Abbey is:

• Calke Abbey is, and always has been a hidden house, now preserved as a rare and remarkable survivor from a vanished era.
• Today, visitors wonder what lies ahead as the park reveals itself from the tunnel-like Lime Avenue into open parkland. Layers upon layers await discovery with something new to explore and uncover on each visit.
• Whispers and echoes of the Harper-Crewe family and estate life reverberate in the house and stable yards giving the place its uniqueness.
• Calke Abbey is an estate of contrasts: decaying boughs lie beneath ancient trees; the industrial remains of innovative garden technology and lime yards are surrounded by rare wildlife and colourful flower garden; the grandeur of the state bed sits amidst abandoned rooms with peeling paint and looming taxidermy; from the dark, crumbling atmosphere of the house, one steps into the fresh air and space of the pleasure grounds.
• It is 'quirky, fusty, distressed; a place poised somewhere between gentle neglect and down-right dereliction'. In all its faded splendour it stands as a bleak reminder of and memorial to, the English country house estates that disap-peared in their hundreds during the twentieth century.

The phrase 'a place poised somewhere between gentle neglect and downright dereliction' was first written when management of the estate was taken over in 1985 and has been very useful in directing the conservation work. It was the first place where the National Trust conserved as found rather than resto-ring to eighteenth century glories. This was a major

Detail of a façade at Calke Abbey,
'poised somewhere between gentle neglect and downright dereliction'.

Sir Vauncey Harper Crewe's room at Calke Abbey.
'The family had a reputation for not throwing anything away'

undertaking as the whole house was riddled with dry rot, death watch beetle and other damp related problems. The roof had not been repaired since the 1920s and all of the structural timber, including roof timbers and window lintels had to be removed and replaced. The whole house was emptied of its large collection – the family has a reputation for not throwing anything away – the building conservation work was carried out and everything was put back where it had been recorded by photograph.

Marrying this spirit of place with opening the estate to the quarter of a million visitors who now come to Calke Abbey is a real management chal-lenge. The house is the place where spirit of place is most fragile, yet it seems to survive most strongly. About half the visitors enter the house. The estate

is large and a network of walks has been developed through the ancient parkland. It is possible to subtly manipulate how visitors spend their time so that the spirit of place is preserved whilst visitors enjoy the oasis of peace and beauty in the house and park. The nature of the family was reclusive. The visitor facilities are hidden away in the stables, but there is an ever increasing demand for space for cars, lavatories, covers in the tea room. Each development is carefully considered but cumulatively they have an impact and avoiding the erosion of spirit of place is a constant battle.

Spirit of place has been vital in guiding the major project that is taking place at Knole, the Sackville house in Sevenoaks, Kent. Siobhan Barratt talked about this conservation project at the ICOM DEMHIST/ICOM-CC conference in Los Angeles two years ago. Knole is a medieval bishop's palace and a great Jacobean house in a historic setting, with remarkable collections and important historical associations. Particular aspects of significance which contribute to its outstanding overall heritage value are:

- the interest and significance of its architectural development
- the splendid quality and character of its interior decoration
- the range and quality of its collections, especially the seventeenth century royal Stuart furniture and the royal and family portraits

View of the exterior of Knole House, Sevenoaks, Kent.

- the outstanding literary and artistic connections of the house
- the long continuity of ownership by the Sackville family
- the historic significance of the property in the development of early country-house tourism

In terms of statutory designations the house is identified as a Grade I listed building of special architectural or historic interest within a registered park and garden, the park also being designated as a Site of Special Scientific Interest.

The spirit of place statement is drawn from the writings of numerous authors from the eighteenth-century to the present day. These include Virginia Woolf in *Orlando* and the historian Robert Sackville-West, the current Lord Sackville who lives at Knole, in his history of Knole, *Inheritance* published in 2010. But perhaps the most helpful word that we have used in the summary of Knole's spirit of place is 'melancholy', which the diarist, Anne Rushout, wrote when she visited Knole on 10th July 1795.

We rode over Knowle Park which is only a mile from Bradburne. The ground is beautiful and the trees extremely fine. We after went into the House which is extremely melancholy… the apartments are the most dismal I ever saw, though very costly.

Knole – a place of beauty – a place of melancholy

It is this spirit that we use to guide the project that will more than double the spaces open to visitors by 2019. In addition to the thirteen furnished rooms that are currently open on the principal floor, a conservation studio will be built in the old barn, Eddy Sackville-West's 1930s apartment in the Gate House will be opened, and some of the attic spaces, including the Retainers Gallery above the Cartoon Gallery, one of the most atmospheric spaces at Knole, will be one of the four new visitor routes. Urgently needed conservation work will be carried out on the collection, whilst conservation heating is introduced into the showrooms, but the emphasis will be on stabilisation rather than restoration so that we do not lose the melancholy quality of Knole that is so characteristic of the place.

*View of the Retainers Gallery, an attic space that will be included
on one of the four new visitor routes at Knole House*

In conclusion, spirit of place statements are being written for all National Trust properties, countryside as well as built, and will be crucial in ensuring that all actions are respectful of and appropriate for the character of each place. They could be described as the 'brand' of each place, and although we have avoided using this word, as a short hand, it has helped some of our colleagues with marketing and commercial backgrounds understand what their conservation and curatorial colleagues mean when they talk about the importance of spirit of place. Spirit of place brings together expert understanding of places with the views of the broad range of people who are involved and we believe applies in all places of significance and is the golden thread that runs through the management of historic places.

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All images courtesy of the National Trust

SPIRIT OF PLACE REKINDLED:
THE TEMPLE NEWSAM STORY

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Ian Fraser

Temple Newsam House, a Grade One Listed Building, is one of the great historic houses of the United Kingdom and the most important still under local authority governance. Acquired by Leeds Corporation in 1922, (Leeds City Council since 1974), with most of its historic collections already sold, Temple Newsam was developed in the 1940s as an art museum, and all but one of its historic interiors were destroyed in the 1940s to create galleries. In the early 1980s new research resulted in a programme to restore rooms to pre-1922 decorative schemes; the collecting policy was altered to reflect what the house contained whilst still in private ownership, including, when possible, the repatriation of objects originally belonging to the house. This gradual restoration of the house's character has been welcomed both by public and academics alike. This restoration has been achieved by re-creating and furnishing Temple Newsam interiors, and restoring the exterior. Because surviving evidence is uneven, the house has not been restored back to one specific date and there are anomalies, with, for example, recreated room schemes that, historically, never existed at the same time. Nevertheless, it is acknowledged that the process has resulted in a rounder, richer and more authentic visitor experience.

• • Spirit of place • wallpapers • restored interiors • decorative art •
building archaeology • building conservation • •

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Introduction

Temple Newsam House has early Tudor origins, and a highly varied history. It reflects, perhaps more than most country houses, the changing and eclectic tastes of its owners, and their fortunes. The Knights Templar had a preceptory near where the house came to be built, and worked the land until 1308 when their Order was suppressed in England and elsewhere following their excommunication by Pope Clement V. Thomas, Lord Darcy, was the first person to build a house on the present site in approximately 1520. This house had four sides built around a central courtyard. Darcy was exe-

cuted for treason in 1537 for the leading role he took in the Pilgrimage of Grace, a Catholic revolt in the north of England against the English Reformation, thus Temple Newsam became Crown property. Henry VIII gave the house and estate to Margaret Tudor, Countess of Lennox. The house was forfeited again under Elizabeth I, and was eventually purchased, in 1622, in a semi-ruinous state, by an entrepreneur, financier, and politician, Sir Arthur Ingram. Over the following twenty years Sir Arthur undertook necessary repairs, and changes to his house to suit his tastes, wealth and status. In 1636, a fire in the east wing resulted in its complete demolition, bringing the house to its open

Temple Newsam seen from the southeast

courtyard plan. Sir Arthur's descendants lived here for the next 300 years, becoming the Viscounts Irwin after the Restoration of Charles II for their support of the Royalist Cause.

After it came into public ownership in 1922, Temple Newsam House underwent a phase as an art museum, during which most of its historic interiors were destroyed. Its character and 'spirit of place' [1] were obscured, and this phase will be described in the next section. The house interiors as they are seen now are reconstructions, the building meticulously restored inside and outside, and furnished, following extensive research into the evidence. Contemporary descriptions, inventories, bills, accounts, and physical remnants, the archaeology of the building, are frequently all that is left, particularly of the earliest schemes. The earliest photographic records are from the 1860s, and much more survives of later room configurations than the early ones. This rekindling of spirit of place is largely owed to the vision, dedication and leadership of retired senior curator, Anthony Wells-Cole, a leading expert on historic wallcoverings. The project to reclaim Temple Newsam House's identity has not reached its natural conclusion, yet, but it is well advanced. [2]

Temple Newsam under public ownership: 1922-2009

Edward Wood (later Lord Halifax, Foreign Secretary in the Chamberlain government, 1938-40) inherited Temple Newsam from his aunt, Emily Meynell Ingram. Wood was the last private owner, and, in 1922, he sold the 312-hectare park to Leeds Corporation for £35,000. The house came free, and the contents were offered to Leeds Corporation for £10,000, which in 1922 was a lot of money. The house was full of treasures, including paintings by Rubens and Titian. That offer price, with hindsight, was a bargain, but one that Leeds Corporation declined. Consequently most of the contents were sold in a seven-day sale, and the house was shown to the public as a more-or-less empty shell until 1938. Its development as a country house art museum can be traced to this date when Philip Hendy (Director of Leeds City Art Gallery) was given responsibility for Temple Newsam and set about organising a pioneering exhibition of fine and decorative art from Yorkshire [3]. The foundations for purchasing works of art for the house were laid in 1939 with the repatriation to Temple Newsam of the suite of furniture made for the Picture Gallery in 1746 by

James Pascall [4]. This policy was further reinforced in 1948 with the gift from Lord Halifax of numerous paintings that had hung in the Picture Gallery [5]. By 1945 every interior, with the exception of the Chinese Room, had effectively been destroyed by Hendy, who went on in 1946 to become the Director of The National Gallery in London.

The intrusions into historic spaces followed a similar pattern throughout the house, and accounts were kept of the discoveries and work undertaken inside and out post-1922. [5] These, supported by additional research by others, [2], [7], [8], [9], [10] tell a tale of most rooms having their pre-1922 decorative schemes removed and discarded. Many chimneypieces were removed and sold, relocated to another room, or altered in some way. Other architectural features like alcoves and doorways were covered over or turned into showcases. In 1939 cork tiles were bonded to softwood floors, and the house was connected to the electrical grid. Many rooms lost their dado panelling and window seats when a new heating system with powerful convector heaters was installed in 1968; hardboard and plywood were used to box in the heaters and pipe runs. These heaters were the likely cause of much damage to veneers and gilding on wooden objects in the collections.

Creating art gallery spaces at Temple Newsam was partly in response to the bombing of Leeds during WWII, when the Art Gallery in the city centre was evacuated. But also the perception of an historic house, its design, and craftsmanship, as a work of art in its own right, to be enjoyed and valued, was not yet a part of popular culture. Listing by government of significant buildings did not start until the early 1950s.

The need to evacuate Leeds Art Gallery was not the only reason for the major changes inside Temple Newsam. The intrusions had already started before WWII, and from the accounts it is pretty clear that many of the interiors by the late 1930s, after decades of neglect, were not in good condition. But the apparent zeal with which Hendy destroyed interiors is encapsulated within the quotes that follow, and indicate his (and perhaps the prevailing) attitudes: 'A great many excrescences have been removed such as heavy wood

and composition cornices over windows and fantastic obelisks over the large doors' (referring to Victorian features added during Emily Meynell Ingram's ownership of Temple Newsam); Room Seven, a bedroom in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, had been 'much improved by the abolition of the early nineteenth century bed alcove'; and in reference to the South Wing bedrooms, he wrote that they 'have never contained anything of serious historical or artistic interest' [6].

In the 1940s Temple Newsam was used as a venue for display of contemporary art by artists such as Henry Moore

In the decades since 1938, in a process started by Philip Hendy, a collection of fine and decorative art has been built up at Temple Newsam, one of Britain's best public art collections outside of London [11], and designated as being of national significance by the Department of Culture, Media and Sport [12]. The early 1980s saw changes in directorship, attitudes and acquisitions policy. Instead of acquiring solely on the basis of aesthetics, the policy evolved to reflect a much wider range. Existing collections began to be re-displayed and new objects were acquired in relation to their appropriateness to each room type, (e.g.: bedrooms; dressing rooms; library; servants' rooms). Temple Newsam was no longer seen as a backdrop for displaying works of art, but as a venue for interpreting objects in the context in which they would have been used, and as a work of art in its own right. This meant furnishing according to inventories, and, where possible, repatriating objects with a Temple Newsam provenance. It was at about this time, the early 1980s, that the re-creation of authentic inte-

riors began, after much research into the building by Anthony Wells-Cole. He initiated and led this phase of the project until his retirement in 2008. During this phase thirty-six rooms have been restored to pre-1922 configurations, spanning a time period from the 1740s to the early 20 century.

Between autumn 2001 and spring 2004 Temple Newsam was closed for a major building fabric repair project. This project was funded by the Heritage Lottery Fund and Leeds City Council. Its main purpose was to reverse 80 years of neglect and poor repairs to the building fabric, putting Temple Newsam onto a sound structural footing for the coming decades. That this major project became a reality is a testament to the expertise, vision and leadership of Anthony Wells-Cole, and the recognition in the heritage sector of Temple Newsam's status as one of the great art museums of the United Kingdom.

Restoring Temple Newsam's spirit of place: Why?

The questions of why restore Temple Newsam, and what period to restore rooms to are the natural curatorial questions to consider next. The answer to the question 'why?' is not straightforward, and the way we began building fabric restoration may seem in the wrong order, starting inside, when the outside was in bad shape. The effort and expense has been, and continues to be, considerable. In a sense the remaining evidence of what Temple Newsam used to be once, will be largely preserved, if not also presented and interpreted. But the evidence of what Temple Newsam had been is compelling, centrally placed in the history of Yorkshire. The reason to the question 'Why?' is to enrich the cultural life and identity of the Leeds district, and Yorkshire, by telling Temple Newsam's historic narrative, setting the stage so that the Temple Newsam narrative may be shared with all visitors. There are numerous social benefits to be gained from projects such as these, shared history and identity helping with social cohesion, and the strengthening of community spirit. Detailed discussion of these is outside the scope of this paper. Speaking practically, it means actually

recreating Temple Newsam's interiors, and providing ongoing care to heritage assets, built and portable.

There were other compelling reasons too, because by the early 1980s the condition of the building, outside and inside, was not good. This was the result of decades of neglect of building fabric, in the absence of organised, planned repair and maintenance programmes based on architectural surveys. Making the case for such a programme was very difficult. Curatorial staff, led by Anthony Wells-Cole, began very simply to just start with re-creating Temple Newsam interiors, doing the internal repairs and restorations, despite the fact the building shell was far from being in a good condition. One thing led to another, as each little success added to the momentum.

The most important things discovered during restoration work at Temple Newsam are the historic wallcoverings. Without them we would not have embarked on the restoration of the house inside. With them, we have been able to restore most of the major rooms to their historic appearance, work that has brought Temple Newsam an international reputation.

Surviving evidence is uneven. It has usually been the case that each room has been restored to the period for which the best evidence survives. It may not actually be possible to restore the house back to one specific date because of missing evidence. Because of this there are anomalies, for example, room configurations co-existing now that never existed at the same time historically. Starting with the Picture Gallery next, the rationale will be shared behind the decisions that have led to the present appearances of a few rooms.

Room 36, The Picture Gallery

The restoration of the Picture Gallery in 1996 was the single biggest room project at Temple Newsam. The room was created between 1738-46 when the Jacobean Long Gallery was divided up and decorated in a green colour scheme. In 1826 it was hung with a crimson flock wallpaper. In 1940 the room was hung was a red cotton damask. Research under the floorboards of the gallery in the early 1980s unearthed pieces of the crimson flock wallpaper. Unexpectedly fragments of

the green flock wallpaper were also found, but the full pattern was not confirmed until 1992 during another room restoration, when re-used material from the Picture Gallery was found.

Most of the furnishings made by James Pascall in 1745 had already been brought back to Temple Newsam, and most of the pictures that had hung there in the late eighteenth century were already in the room. With the paint and wallpaper analysis all the evidence was there to restore the Picture Gallery to its first appearance. Although red later became a favourite colour for the hangings of picture galleries, green was a popular choice in the mid-eighteenth century, and the restoration with a green flock wallpaper would serve to illustrate an earlier taste and fashion.

Once all the post-1922 material had been removed, the excavated room was recorded by the Royal Commission for Historic Monuments. Over a period of five months the repair, restoration and decorating works were undertaken, and the green flock wallpa-

per was hung. The great suite of eighteenth century Rococo furniture is displayed once again in the interior it was made for. The sensual effect of the paper is compelling, confirming the curatorial reading of the room as an attempt to bring a verdant landscape indoors.

Room 50, The Still Room

The Still Room was created in 1739 from the Servants' Hall. It was where domestic staff made and stored preserves, bottled fruit, jams, and so on. Original features of the room include the chimney-piece, two wallpaper fragments of different patterns, and a large arrangement of fitted oak cupboards for storage of the preserves. The cupboards had, in the 1930s, been installed in another room, and considerably re-arranged, becoming showcases for display of ceramics. It has been the most challenging of room restorations so far

Room 36, the Picture Gallery, is located on the first floor of the north wing, and was restored in 1996 to its 1745 appearance.

Room 50, the Still Room, located centrally on the ground floor of the west wing, was restored to its late nineteenth century appearance in 2007.

because of the scant archival evidence. Understanding the original arrangement of the cupboards was the key to this room's restoration and took considerable study of the joinery to figure it out. The decision was to restore the nineteenth century appearance, with the oak grained wallpaper.

The Still Room is very popular with visitors, and begins to explain in more detail the functional spaces of the house, where domestic staff carried out work. The room also provides an excellent space for display of some of the fine examples of vernacular furniture that have been collected over the years.

Room 27, The Blue Striped Dressing Room

This room is a good example of the types of intrusions that took place. The wallpaper had been removed, the alcove covered over, the chimney-piece relocated to another room, its overmantel turned into a showcase and a closet turned into a showcase.

The restoration work revealed Jacobean plaster features, as well as three nineteenth century wallpapers. Missing and displaced architectural features were put back, and the 1886 paper, by Watts and Co., and called Genoese was reprinted from the original wood blocks, in the original colours.

Room 29, The Gothick Room

This was one of the principal bed chambers of the early Tudor house, and this function continued

Room 27, the Blue Striped Dressing Room, is located on the first floor of the west wing, and was restored to its late nineteenth century appearance in 1994.

through the centuries. The earliest surviving photograph from 1904 shows the room before it was altered in the early 1940s and its nineteenth century wallpaper removed and replaced by a blue cotton damask wall-covering. Room features like a concealed door to the left of the chimney-piece were boarded over. The door opening to the Oak Corridor was converted into a showcase. We had decided initially to restore this room, like all the others in this part of the house, to its late nineteenth century appearance.

However, a chance discovery made during restoration made us change our minds. Pushed up the flue of the chimney-piece were some eighteenth century timber wall-linings pasted with fragments of what would have been called a 'stucco' wallpaper in the Gothic Revival style. Hung in the room in 1759 this was replaced within eight years. Not having enough of the design to copy, we had a very similar paper from a London house reprinted by Allyson McDermott.

It could be considered that what we did here has created an anomaly. The rationale here is to demonstrate a taste and fashion that was briefly popu-

Room 29, the Gothick Room, is located on the first floor of the west wing and was restored to its 1759 appearance in 1994.

lar. The usual reaction from visitors is that they do not like the wallpaper, but we always strive to present the Temple Newsam narrative in interesting ways.

Room 12, Miss Aston's Room

This room, originally a bedroom, we now use for temporary exhibitions. It is not a room we can fully restore at this time as we have not been able to find the full pattern of the blue chinoiserie wallpaper from the 1760s. But we have done the best we can for now and during excavation a fragment of the earliest wallpaper so far found at Temple Newsam, from the early eighteenth century, was discovered. This has been left in situ, and displayed behind a Perspex shield. The fragments of the 1760s paper were conserved and attached in the same locations where they had been found, to wallpaper made by Allyson McDermott. This wallpaper has no pattern, but has

Room 12, Miss Aston's Room is located on the second floor of the west wing. The temporary exhibition for 2014–15 commemorates the centenary of the First World War, and Temple Newsam's use as a hospital for injured soldiers.

the same blue background as the chinoiserie paper.

Room 15

This room we deliberately leave excavated, unrestored with post 1922 intrusions removed. In this room

Room 15 is located on the second floor of the west wing, and is displayed with post-1922 intrusions removed. In this picture may be seen a Tudor doorway bricked up in the seventeenth century; an early eighteenth century bolection chimney-piece, with Victorian tiling when coal began to be used as fuel instead of wood; eighteenth century timber wall lining, the foundation for wallpapers; in the far right corner remnants of a nineteenth century wallpaper, by William Morris, called Acanthus.

can be seen evidence of the early sixteenth century to the late nineteenth century.

The final phase of Temple Newsam's restoration

There is still much to do before the project of fully rekindling Temple Newsam's spirit of place, at least the physical side, reaches its natural conclusion. Still to reclaim are domestic spaces, like the kitchen and game larder, the butler's pantry, the Victorian chapel, and remaining state interiors; and reconnecting the bell in the cupola. These are spaces and features that, when restored, developed and used, will help bring the house to life.

Conclusion

There are a number of points to share from what we have learned from restoring Temple Newsam:

Facsimiles of historic wallpapers transform historic interiors.

Potentially no fragment of evidence is too small to be of value.

Record everything.

In achieving the objectives of the slow burn rehabilitation of this fascinating house the following have been essential: insatiable curiosity; time for exploration, research and reflection; a flexible approach to ease changes in plan.

The downward spiral of decay and neglect can be reversed by small, linked, successes built on to each other.

Have we achieved an authentic experience of the Temple Newsam narrative? Time will tell, but it is the author's belief that we have done so, and the comments and responses thus far from visitors and major stakeholders support this view.

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Notes and References

1. Defining a property's 'spirit of place' is a key part of the National Trust six conservation principles, under Principle One, Significance, quoted in part here: 'Our properties are places of great complexity, significant for many reasons, cultural and natural, tangible and intangible. All these aspects make up the property's 'spirit of place'. They contribute to local distinctiveness and many are protected by national and international designations. Capturing this essence in Statements of Significance, by defining the reason for acquisition and what it is that we wish to preserve, is core to our Property Management Plans, Conservation Management Plans and Acquisitions and Disposals Policies. This is fundamental to ensuring that all decisions we take maintain and enhance our properties, preventing damage and thus ensuring their significance is maintained.'

2. Historic information about Temple Newsam is to be found in a number of different locations, especially in numerous articles in the Leeds Arts Calendar, 1946-1995; also guide books, books, articles, dissertations, and catalogues. These are in the curatorial library at Temple Newsam. Other principal archive sources are the Temple Newsam papers at the West Yorkshire Archive Service; the Marquess of Hertford's papers at the Warwick County Record Office; the Earl of Halifax's papers at the Borthwick Institute, University of York; and the Meynell family papers at the Staffordshire Country Record Office.

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AUTHENTICITY REGAINED
IN THE LÖWENBURG IN KASSEL
THE RECONSTRUCTION
OF AN ARTIFICIAL RUIN:
POSSIBILITIES AND LIMITATIONS

Astrid Arnold-Wegener

This article will offer an overview of the different possible approaches to renovating an artificial Neo-Gothic style ruin that has undergone major modifications since its construction, and how best to restore it to its former glory. Should the current state be preserved in order to illustrate the monument's history, or should the 1800 aspect be recreated, rebuilding the castle keep from the 1860s and refurnishing the interior? This paper aims to present the various alternatives and to describe the approach that was chosen while respecting the monument's authenticity.

• • reconstruction • reconstitution • Neo-Gothic ruin • museology • •

The Löwenburg, Kassel, Germany, in 2012

Rare are the opportunities to be able to participate in the reconstruction and partial restitution of a historic castle based on considerable documentary sources. That is the case with the *Löwenburg* (Lion's Castle) in Wilhelmshöhe Park, in Kassel, northern Hesse, Germany – which, with its waterworks and its baroque fountain, was inscribed in 2013 on the World Heritage List of the United Nation's Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). Originally an uninhabitable ruin of a tower, the Löwenburg was commissioned in 1788 by Landgrave William IX of Hesse-Cassel, who became William I, Prince-Elector of Hesse in 1803. The project was not particularly original, as that sort of fake ruin was fashionable then.

As an example, between 1779 and 1781, William had had a tower built in Wilhelmsbad, near Hanau: the exterior was in ruins, while the interior was entirely decorated in Louis XVI style. At the Löwenburg, the initial idea eventually evolved into a ruined castle that would be completely furnished. And so it came to pass that one of the first pseudo-medieval ruined castles on the European continent was built here between 1793 and 1801. The Löwenburg was created as a panoramic *point de vue* of the park, on an axis with the baroque Hercules monument and Wilhelmshöhe Castle, a vast Neo-Classical building which had been commissioned straight after Prince William's nomination as the new Landgrave, in 1786.

The Löwenburg was also conceived to evoke an ancestral castle – the coat-of-arms displays a fictional date of creation, 1495 – and as the burial place for the future Prince-Elector William I, who was indeed buried in the chapel's vault in 1821. It was lavishly decked out with antique objects from various Hessian castles and churches. The architect Heinrich Christoph Jussow and the painter Johann Heinrich Tischbein the Younger, inspector of the Landgrave's painting gallery in Kassel, had been assembling an eclectic collection of antique objects since 1798: paintings ranging from mediocre portraits of ancestors to magnificent ones by Anthonis Mor, four-poster beds, sculptures, Venetian-style glass, tapestries, gilded leather and suits of armour. In this way, a sort of museum that could be lived in was constituted in order to assert the dynastic tradition. This unique ensemble remained unchanged until 1860. At that time, due to serious structural problems, the keep, which had
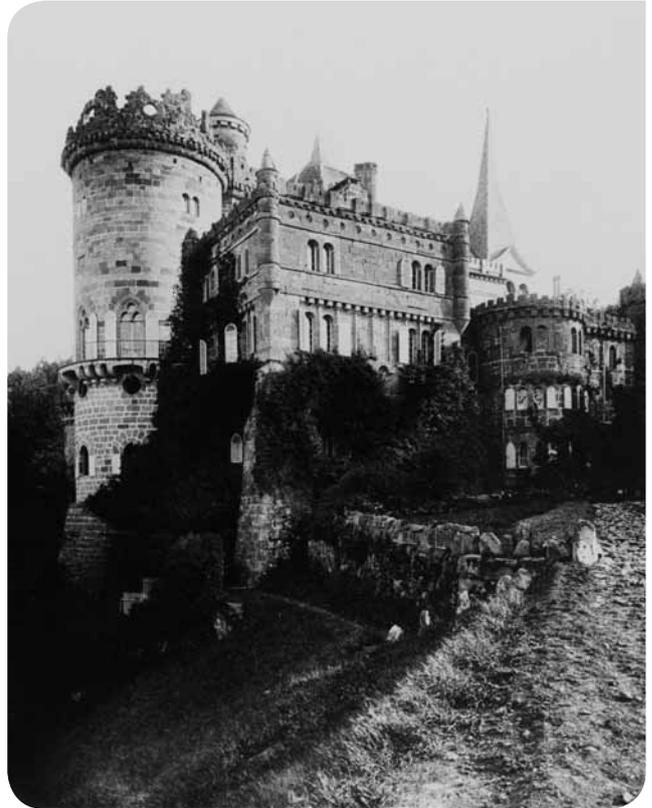
The Dehn-Rothfelser tower, Löwenburg Castle, 1860–1943

been built by Jussow and which was composed of three representation rooms – the dining room and the library, crowned by the Knights' Hall with its majestic dome – had to be replaced. Although the architect Heinrich von Dehn-Rothfelser (1825-1885) reused the woodwork, windows and floorboards from Jussow's time and respected both the height and the diameter of the old tower when he built the new one, he incorporated a few changes, the main one being that he consolidated the foundations. Dimensional stone also replaced rubble stone for the facing, and Gothic tracery was inserted around the ogive windows in the second-story Knights' Hall, as can be seen on an old photo of the tower.

Unlike the dining room and the library, where the architect scrupulously respected the original décor by reusing materials from the old keep, including the floorboards and woodwork, as well as windows, which are all now still partially preserved, he did modify the interior of the Knights' Hall. Insofar as this transformation is the crucial point in the debate about reconstruction or reconstitution of the keep, it seems worthwhile to take the time to describe it more precisely.

At the height of the archaeological historicism championed by Dehn-Rothfelser, the author of a multi-volume work about medieval Hessian monuments

Design for wall decorations, the Knights' Hall, after Jussow

published between 1862 and 1866 [Dehn-Rothfelser, 1862], Jussow's Knights' Hall, an elegant testimonial to Louis XVI's era, with its dome and its Neo-Classical wall decoration (resembling a drawing) was deemed unacceptable. So the architect modified the east-facing windows by furnishing the ogive windows with Gothic tracery; however, the west-facing ogive windows remained in their 'Jussow' state, as can be seen in this post card.

In addition, although he retained both the size and the shape of the dome designed by Jussow between 1793 and 1801, Dehn-Rothfelser incorporated a vault with radiating ribs. The wall ribs were placed respectively in the axis of each window and stained-glass pane, totalling six ogive arcades all together; they were surrounded by ribs with a pear-shaped profile resting on an engaged column topped with a leafy capital, or two columns engaged by panels between the arcades. The engaged columns topped out at the level of the springing-line (OED). Gothic panels replaced the older panels emblazoned with the coat-of-arms. Each window and ogive stained-glass pane is surrounded by a frame composed of seven lancet arcades. The coats-of-arms were pushed back into the shield walls and coifs.

In 1866, a few years after the construction of the new tower, Kassel became a Prussian province. The entire construction remained as it was until 1913, when changes were undertaken once again, this time in the furnishings. The last German emperor, William II (1859-1941), who enjoyed Kassel as a summer residence, modified the interior to suit his own tastes, as a dozen historic postcards can attest.

In 1943, during the Second World War, this artificial ruin became a real ruin and the castle keep was
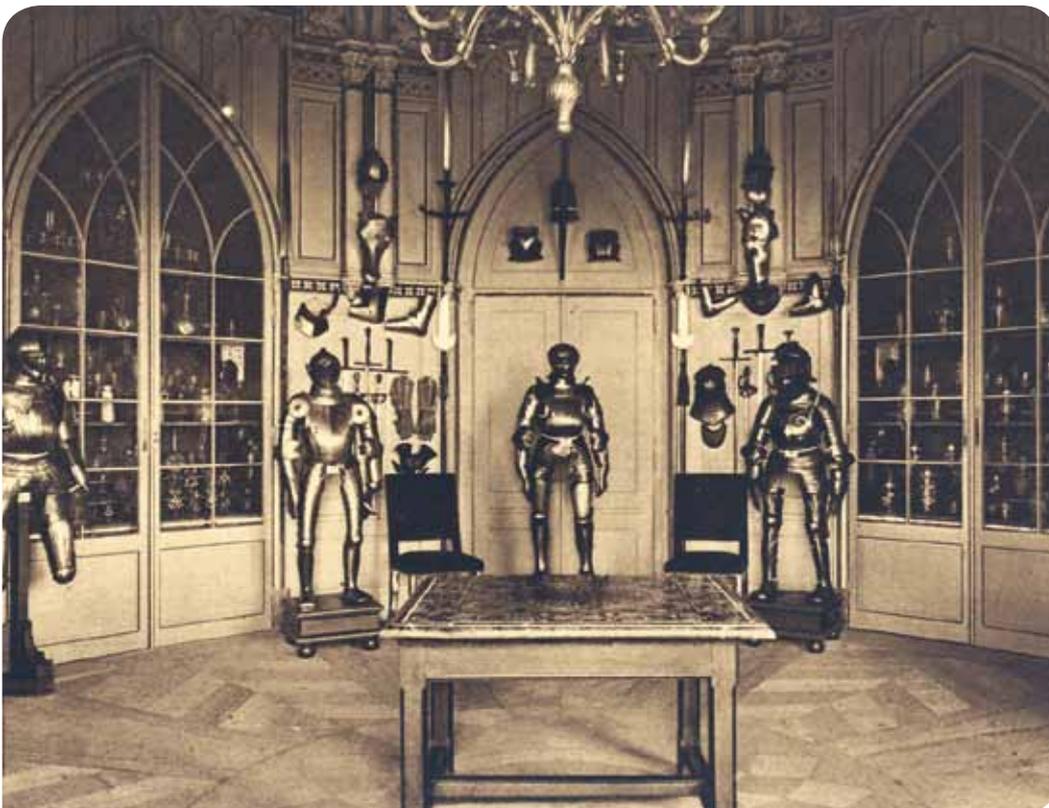
*Löwenburg Castle,
the Knights' Hall in the Keep,
now destroyed*

almost entirely destroyed. That is why the current state shows the Löwenburg without the castle keep, which was once an important element in the view over the park and which used to contain the most important representational rooms.

Since the 1950s, the Löwenburg's interior has undergone major alterations in accordance with museographical developments. Wall decorations were moved. The scenes painted on cloth that portray the park and a medieval joust, for instance, used to be on the ground floor and are now on the first floor. A new itinerary for visits was established, one that no longer followed the old baroque hierarchy of rooms in a series; this led to the construction of a staircase connecting the former guest room on the ground floor to the former bedroom of the Landgrave's royal mistress, Caroline von Schlotheim, on the first-floor.

The majority of the rooms are furnished in a museographical manner that does not pay much heed to the way they had previously been arranged; most of the furniture in the ladies' wing, for example, was placed in the library on the first floor of the keep. The circuit leads visitors through empty spaces that were once the most important rooms in the Löwenburg: the former gallery, once lavishly decorated with gilded leather that has been preserved, and the Landgrave's study, which was once hung with precious tapestries.

After this glimpse of the Löwenburg's fate, let us move on to the presentation of the restoration project. Because of the Löwenburg's importance, the idea of restoring it to its former glory is not a new one. In order to find a satisfying approach, a commission of European experts has been meeting once a year since 2006 to discuss the range of options that would help return to a more authentic monument.

1. Should the current architectural state be essentially preserved as an illustration of the monument's history, as well as furnishing a few rooms in the Prussian style and one in the style of the era in which it was built? Historical explanations would complete this museological approach.
2. Should the 1800 aspect be recreated by rebuilding the castle keep and refurnishing it according to an inventory from that era?

In order to answer these questions, in-depth research into the inventories was undertaken: inventories ranging from 1799 to 1984 were compared to preserved furniture that is known to come from Löwenburg. This research produced an extraordinary outcome: it showed that over 80% of the furniture that was present in Löwenburg at the time of the Prince-Elector William I, in 1816, is still in existence.

The first option, i.e. maintaining the current state, with only minor adjustments, would have been the simplest and the least expensive. Yet insofar as the idea was to highlight the castle keep's role as an element of the park's *point de vue* (recognized by UNESCO in 2013), and to allow for a better understanding of the series of decorated rooms according to a hierarchical system, we soon set this option aside. In addition, it would also have meant leaving most of the furniture in storage.

Once the guiding principle had been chosen, one crucial decision still remained to be made: should the reconstitution and reconstruction of the castle keep be carried out in accordance with the Jussow state or the Dehn-Rothfelser state? The conclusion was that it was absolutely imperative to rebuild the castle keep according to its 1860 state, because that construction had aimed to rectify a number of serious structural problems in the previous iteration. As for the interior, we decided to recreate the succession of rooms with their furnishings. For this reason, it was decided to refurnish the first floor of the ladies' and gentlemen's buildings (*Damen- und*

Design for the antechamber of the Landgrave's apartments by Julius Eugen Ruhl, 1832

Louis XVI sofa, mid-eighteenth century

Herrenbau); according to the 1816 inventory, after its reconstruction, the keep was where the main reception rooms, the chapel and the armoury were located.

That inventory clearly showed that a baroque system respecting a hierarchy of representation between the rooms had left its stamp on the decoration and furnishings of the apartments. In addition, thanks to a drawing from the year 1832 we have an idea of the manner in which the rooms should be furnished. All of the furniture that appears on this drawing has been preserved, including a Louis XV-era sofa. The outcome was that much of the original furniture and wall decoration, like the wood panelling and the gilded leather, could be reintegrated into the very places where they had been assembled between 1798 and 1816.

The one critical point that remained – and it was the subject of passionate debate among the experts – was to decide if the Knights' Hall, which had been transformed during the 1860 'restoration' with its Gothic 'improvements' could be recreated. And should the Knights' Hall be recreated according to Jussow's plans or Dehn-Rothfelser's? Was Jussow's Knights' Hall admissible in a tower rebuilt according to Dehn-Rothfelser's plans? Did rebuilding the tower according to Dehn-Rothfelser's plans necessarily require recreating the Knights' Hall

according to Dehn-Rothfelser's plans as well? The final decision, made in 2013, was to reconstitute the Jussow state in a tower rebuilt according to Dehn-Rothfelser's plans.

The arguments in favor of this course of action carried the day. Rebuilding the tower according to Dehn-Rothfelser's plans would clash with the other rooms, which need to be recreated according to the 1816 inventory. There was already a blend of elements from both Dehn and Jussow in the décor. Additionally, according to one expert's assessment, there were clearly more sources for recreating the Louis XVI dome and décor than for the vault with radiating ribs. The only Neo-Gothic element remaining on the interior is the Gothic tracery around the ogive windows. Nevertheless, some details still remain to be resolved in terms of the actual construction.

This extended debate over issues that seemed almost impossible to resolve, provides a striking illustration of the subject of the conference in Compiègne: 'The truth is rarely pure and never simple'.

Although one must accept compromises – like the lack of harmony between the 'Dehn-Rothfelser' windows and the 'Jussow' Knights' Hall – we believe that we will be able to achieve a more authentic state for the Löwenburg, one in which visitors will be able to understand the sym-

bolism and political message that Landgrave William IX
and his architect Jussow were aiming for at the time of its
construction. Research has shown that the Löwenburg's
state, as well as its furnishings, can be better illustrated for
the time of construction than for other eras. The tower's
reconstitution and partial reconstruction mean going
back to its aspect as a *point de vue* element in the park,
which makes the cultural heritage even more authentic.
In addition, it allows us to reintroduce the architecture of
the representational apartment, an indispensable element
in ceremonial apartments.

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ARE AUTHENTICITY, IDENTITY AND MUSEOGRAPHY COMPATIBLE?

EL ESCORIAL AND YUSTE MONASTERIES, PARADIGMS OF RE-CREATION AND AUTHENTICITY

Paz Cabello-Carro

El Escorial Monastery has undergone a number of refurbishments since its construction by Philip II in the sixteenth century. Today's visitors, identifying place with founder, expect to find him in its rooms, but are they authentic or a mere product of museography consolidated by time? Initiated in the context of the nationalisation of the crown's properties in 1868, by the twentieth century the Museum-Library had become a museographic project intended to support a monarchy that had just lost Philip II's empire. In contrast, the Bourbon dynasty's rooms in the monastery have remained practically unaltered since the last king's exile in 1931.

• • Escorial • Yuste • Felipe II • Florit • museographic re-creation • •

Expropriation, revolution and nationalisation

When Emperor Carlos V abdicated from the Spanish throne in favour of his son Philip II, he withdrew to Yuste Monastery, where he built a small palace, which was never a crown property. Philip II built El Escorial Monastery with its adjacent palace, library and royal mausoleum as part of the crown's assets.

With the expropriation of monastic properties during the bourgeois revolution of 1837, Yuste was abandoned and left to decay, while the Hieronymite monks were expelled from El Escorial. As royal property, the latter was not auctioned off, although no monks lived there until 1885 when the Augustins moved in. No trace of the Hapsburgs remained in the palatial part of El Escorial after its occupation in 1700 by the new Bourbon dynasty, imbued with French tastes and a need to establish its own personality.

In the wake of the 1868 revolution and Queen Isabella II's exile, crown properties were nationalised. That very year Vicente Poleró, who as restorer for the Prado Museum, a royal asset at the time, had conducted restoration work on El Escorial, published a leaflet calling for the unification of the royal and State collections in a single museum. His proposal would be implemented years later [Cabello, 2011].

Gregorio Cruzada Villaamil, a liberally leaning conservator of the State's collections in Trinidad Museum, also advocated for the creation of a museum open to the public, drawing from the State collection and the royal assets at the Prado. In 1869, Council of Ministers President Serrano appointed an El Escorial Administration Commission to create a tapestry museum, with Cruzada Villaamil as secretary. The royal library was immediately placed under the commission's authority to make El Escorial into a museum-library and hence prevent its takeover by the National Library

in Madrid [1]. After the demise of the First Republic in late 1874, the exiled queen abdicated in favour of her son Alfonso XII, ushering in the Restoration.

Royal sites and palaces were returned to the crown. Although the scope of the museography undertaken at El Escorial by the commission is unknown, it must have sufficed for restoration of the monument not to be a priority. Attention was focused, rather, on the armoury adjacent to the Royal Palace in Madrid, whose relocation to the recently created National Archaeological Museum had been prevented by President Serrano [Valencia, 1898, 11]. The 18 year-old king had visited the armouries at Vienna and London guided by the Marquis of Alcañices, his tutor, financier and architect of the Restoration. After his enthronement, Alfonso XII appointed Alcañices Lord Chamberlain, from which position he headed the royal household until the king's premature death in 1885.

Museography at the service of the crown

In 1878 one of Alcañices's friends, the Count of Valencia de Don Juan, was commissioned to catalogue and classify the armoury's splendid collection, which had been in precarious condition since the French invasion [Valencia, 1898]. The building erected by Philip II had to be demolished after a fire in 1884 and replaced by the present structure. It opened around 1896 and the final version of the catalogue, first published in 1898, is still being re-edited. That, together with the count's catalogue of the collection of royal tapestries, led to his designation as member of the Royal Academy in 1902. Since the crown's main tapestries were displayed at the armoury as part of its museographic design, its establishment in Madrid clearly neutralised the El Escorial Tapestry Museum created by the revolutionary government.

The count, Juan Crooke y Navarrot, member of a prosperous Malaga merchant family, worked for the crown altruistically [Cabello, 2014]. He catalogued and selected all its works on display in historic exhibitions in Madrid: the Americanist and Retrospective Art exhibitions in 1881 and an exhibition held on the occasion of the Fourth Centenary of the Discovery of America in 1892 [2]. He was curator and vice-president of the Spanish Royal Commission for the Paris World's Fair in 1900, presided over by his friend Alcañices, then Duke of Sesto [3].

Exhibitions were, then, deliberately used as a means of consolidating and highlighting the king's person and the role of the monarchy. After Alfonso XII's death in 1885, the Queen Regent continued to use museography as a political tool, exhibiting the royal collections under the count's guidance. In light of the proliferation of the exhibitions, the Queen Regent designated the by then destitute and forsaken Marquis de Alcañices and Duke of Sesto to preside over the Standing Commission on Exhibitions from 1885 until its extinction in 1902 [4].

La Commission Royale d'Espagne. L. L.

Spanish Royal Commission for the Paris World's Fair: 1, Count Valencia de Don Juan; 2, Alcañices, Duke of Sesto

Around 1890, the count hired an assistant, José María Florit, officially secretary of the Armoury Exhibition Commission, which paid his salary. He trained Florit as conservator of palace collections. Crooke was so intent upon the continuity of his *œuvre* that when the palace comptroller cut Florit out of the budget in 1894, the count retorted so vehemently that the official had to apologise and reinstate Florit [5]. Crooke also intervened in the designation of the new staff approved in 1896, when Florit was appointed conservator of the armoury [6].

Florit depicted his relationship with Crooke in a cartoon in which he dressed the count as a knight and himself as his king/conservator of arms (Florit, 1904). Crooke's correspondence with the court to enable Florit to travel to Paris, where the count was working on the 1900 World's Fair with Alcañices, reveals the lengths to which these men went to ensure the ongoing use of museography in support of the crown.

The count, who in 1900 was 71 and would die 4 years later, must have agreed with Florit and very likely with Alcañices, head of the Standing Commission on Exhibitions, that the next task to be undertaken would be the museification of El Escorial, to resume the revolutionary government's project, stalled since 1869. A new age was dawning: Alfonso XII's posthumous son was nearing legal age and the time had come to repeat the strategy deployed during his father's reign, initiating a museographic project that would be identified with Alfonso XIII.

Museifying Philip II in El Escorial

In a document dated 1902, when 15 year-old Alfonso XIII assumed the crown, Florit proposed a project for refurbishing El Escorial and a report on the works previously performed [7]. The project was already 'agreed to and pending royal approval' and work had even begun, a clear indication of the count's involvement, for he was the only one who would have dared undertake a project with no written permission and the sole consent of the Marquis de Alcañices, president of the Standing Commission on Exhibitions. The museography prior to 1902 had overloaded the chapter houses with paintings and installed a glass wardrobe with liturgical ornaments, previously exhibited in the sacristy,

Caricature of Florit and the count [Florit, 1904, 2]

in the lower prior's cell, 'deficiently and to notorious harm', as Florit described it in a thinly veiled reference to the revolutionary commission. These changes lasted for only a few decades.

Florit began his brief project by citing the provision in Philip II's will stipulating that his rooms and their contents were to be conserved. As the rooms were already partially refurbished and their display approved, Florit explained that he would rummage though 'attics and basements' in pursuit of objects of merit from Philip II's times or that had belonged to the king to 'dress' the Hapsburg palace 'in keeping with the age' and enhance its 'artistic value'. As the Hapsburg palace had lost its original furnishings due to the 'invasion of eighteenth century neoclassic taste', Florit proposed its 'reconstitution'. On their arrival in 1700 the Bourbons needed a dynastic space and aesthetics of their own, and hence

'Philip II's room before the 1902 refurbishment', showing the glass wardrobe and arrangement of its contents attributed to the revolutionary commission

left the Hapsburg palace to princes/princesses and their families. The tiled dados were covered over with wood panels, eighteenth century tapestries were hung and doors were replaced and painted [Pérez de Tudela, 2015, 117-118]. Although too obvious to have been mentioned by Florit, a room known as Philip II's cell was maintained due to its unadorned severity [Martínez, 1927, 17]

At the end of his report, Florit invoked the underlying political objective pursued: the reconstruction 'would be to the greater glory of our king H.M. Alfonso XIII'. During the king's childhood, in 1898, Spain had lost its last colonies. The aim was to hold him harmless of any adverse developments during that part of his reign and associate him, through museography, with El Escorial's builder, his predecessor who reigned over the vastest possessions ever known. As the Bourbons' had arrived two full centuries earlier, they no longer needed to abolish, but rather to draw from, Hapsburg art.

Florit's historicist reconstruction was in keeping with the contemporary trend to create ambience in museums commemorating historic figures. The most prominent advocate of this trend was Benigno Vega Inclán, a personal friend of Alfonso XIII and appointed by him as Royal Commissioner for Tourism. Florit and Vega Inclán rescued a forgotten period: Philip II's quarters and El Greco's and Cervantes's homes and museums. Both formed part of the Crooke-Alcañices inner core: Vega Inclán was close to another tourist industry administrator, the Duke of San Pedro Galatino, an orphan brought up by his uncle, Alcañices.

The museification of Philip II's rooms is ongoing even today. Palace archive photographs [8] show the rooms in the early twentieth century which, barring

the fictional throne room removed in mid century, have remained essentially unaltered. To accommodate dense visitor traffic, some furnishings have been pushed against the opposite wall or moved into adjacent rooms. Respect for this museographic arrangement for over a century has led generations of Spaniards to equate inalterability with proof of authenticity. The collective imagination has identified the monastery with Philip II, while staff and the public both tend to forget that the king's true legacy lies in the handsome and magnificent but rarely visited Gallery of Battles and the library.

Florit's re-creation hardly conjures up the image of the powerful and exquisite Philip II, who invested heavily in all his palaces to make them worthy of the Spanish monarchy's position in the world; who purchased countless paintings and books; who dressed richly in black to attest to the expanse of his domains: black from American logwood and indigo. Florit and his contemporaries lived in an age of empire lost, natio-

Philip II's rooms ca *1912 and in 2011*

nal self-critique and low self-esteem, of synthetic dyes that popularised and drastically varied the meaning of colour, in which black was associated with mourning. That generation's mistaken interpretation of the simplicity and clarity of the contrast in royal portraits as austerity and its concomitant museography have helped associate Philip II's black apparel with mourning and obscurantism.

In 1912, to prompt the public at large to identify the monastery with the king, Florit organised a 'Philip II era tournament', including a parade in which the army and dignitaries of the time participated, along the lines of the commemorative pageants that had been fashionable in the second half of the nineteenth century. Florit himself played the role of Philip II, mimicking the king's portrait poses, as shown in the photographs of the event, called 'picturesque' by the press [*ABC*, 10.9.1912].

The Bourbon palace, an intruder in Philip II's Escorial

Decorated in the eighteenth century with additions in the nineteenth, dressed in high quality tapestries and drapes, the Bourbon palace stands in stark contrast to Philip II's bare, reconstructed rooms. Often closed to the public, it is seldom visited: poorly known and unrelated to Philip II, it comes across as strange and irrelevant to the museum visit. The inference is that other royal palaces are more appropriate venues for displaying eighteenth and nineteenth century decor.

Nonetheless, these apartments have been largely conserved just as Alfonso XIII left them upon his exile in 1931, thanks to the photographic inventory conducted that year by the republican Government. The authenticity of the Bourbon palace contrasts with the reconstruction of the Hapsburg quarters. The preference for reconstruction over original is striking: both for the public and for managers and conservators, identifying El Escorial with Philip II has entailed excluding what appears to be an intrusion - the more authentic Bourbon apartments.

Even more interestingly, during Alfonso XIII's reign this palace must have been old-fashioned and inconvenient, like many others that were rarely used. Modern residences such as Magdalena Palace at Santander or even hotels were preferred. That the apartments at El Escorial

were used attests to their authenticity and the endurance of eighteenth and nineteenth century custom, which may, however, have been embraced less than enthusiastically by the royal family.

Bourbon palace, 'El Choricero' tapestry room in 1931 and 2011

The Palace Residence at Yuste

No buildings that can be identified with Carlos V are still standing anywhere in Europe. Destroyed by the French invasion and expropriation, by 1858 the emperor's palace residence at Yuste was over-run by peasants, as Charles Clifford showed in a photograph taken that year. The monastery had been purchased by the Marquis de Miravel as a tribute to the king's memory, according to an account by Alarcón, who visited the area in 1873. In 1919, after Florit had refurbished El Escorial, Vega Inclán used Royal Commission for Tourism funds to re-edit Alarcón's book, adding photographs of the ruins and fostering

interest in conserving the monument, which was listed by the Republic in 1931.

In the nineteen 1950s, during the dictatorship, the Directorate General of Fine Arts restored and reconstructed a sizeable portion of the compound, which together with Carlos V's rebuilt and refurnished palace was opened to the public. In the late twentieth century, under democratic rule, it was assigned to the Crown Heritage, which administers all the crown's former assets, including El Escorial.

Although the residence at Yuste never belonged to the crown nor was the monastery founded by royalty, Philip II, honouring his father's wishes, ordered his rooms to be conserved. For the twentieth century restoration, Alarcón's account was followed for the layout, rather than the inventory of Carlos V's possessions on record at the Simancas Archives. Late nineteenth century historicist paintings, describing apocryphal tales of Carlos V at Yuste, weighed heavily in that decision. But the most influential source was Florit's museography at El Escorial.

Deliberate copies of El Escorial furnishings set between bare walls and copies of some of the paintings the emperor was known to keep there are still on display, along with dramatic and perhaps apocryphal black drapes in the bedroom and a study and dining room whose structure is reminiscent of a mid-twentieth century middle class dwelling. As in El Escorial, the architecture and beauty of the surroundings visible from the rooms introduce dazzled visitors to what they view as an authentic museum and home.

Despite its remote location, the place has been identified with Carlos V and forms part of Spain's and Europe's collective imagination, for no other monument can be associated with the emperor. It draws authenticity from its similarity with the decorative style used by Florit to reconstruct Philip II's rooms at El Escorial. As the museography dates from before the Yuste residence came under the auspices of Crown Heritage, no one has dared to alter it since. The passage of time has consolidated its authenticity. The success of that museography for

Charles Clifford's photograph of Carlos V's palace in 1858 [published 1861].

over a century, in the case of Philip II, and for 75 years for Carlos V, appears to lie in its ability to portray the two kings in a way understandable and acceptable to the Spanish public.

Conclusion

Affected by the dissolution and expropriation of the monasteries, as well as by nationalisation of the crown's properties in 1868, El Escorial Monastery was conserved by the revolutionary government, which museified the monument as a venue for a tapestry museum and library. With the return of the Bourbon dynasty in 1875, the Count of Valencia de Don Juan and the Marquis of Alcañices devised a plan to refurbish the armoury to strengthen the Restoration in support of young King Alfonso XII.

In 1896 the count managed to obtain a position as conservator for his assistant Florit, with whom he resumed the revolutionary government's museographic project for El Escorial, re-exhibiting paintings and objects to reinforce a monarchy that in 1898 lost Spain's last colonies.

Upon Alfonso XIII's coming of age in 1902, Florit undertook the second part of the project: the re-creation of Philip II's rooms, with a generally accepted museography that has endured through the present and is what is expected by visitors who identify El Escorial with Philip II. The same approach was adopted in the mid-twentieth century at Yuste monastery where Carlos V spent his latter years.

The eighteenth and early nineteenth century decor in the Bourbon quarters at El Escorial has remained unaltered and authentic since Alfonso XIII's exile in 1931 and the permanent nationalisation of the crown's possessions. Yet they rouse no interest because in the collective imagination they are in the wrong place.

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Abbreviations

RL = Royal Library, Royal Palace, Madrid
GPA = General Palace Archive
Gaceta = *Gaceta de Madrid*

Notes

1. *Gaceta*, July 10, 1869; Oct 19, 1869;
2. RL. ARB/18, CARP/1, doc. 22; RL. ARB/21, CARP/2, doc. 36 and 37.
3. *Gaceta*, Nov 21, 1896.
4. *Gaceta*, Aug 17, 1895; Feb 1, 1902.
5. *Papeles de febrero*, 1894, GPA. Box 16920, Doss. 32.
6. 14, 5, 1895 (May 14, 1895?). RL. ARB/22, CARP/2, doc. 380; Undated folio, GPA. Box 16920, Doss. 32.
7. GPA, Box II 4056, Nº 61.
8. GPA, FODI, Boxes 216, Doss. 3 and 99, Doss. 3.

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THE RESTITUTION OF FORMER HISTORICAL STATES AT FONTAINEBLEAU IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY: A RETURN TO AUTHENTICITY

Jean-Pierre Samoyault

The restoration of the apartments of ancient French royal or imperial castles became necessary as a result of the numerous alterations carried out after the fall of Napoleon III. The third Republic and its civil servants did everything possible to disfigure the interior decoration, to such an extent that these palaces became, in part, museums of the decorative arts, complying with the tastes of successive curators. After 1965, it became obvious that guiding principles needed to be established at Fontainebleau, leading to informed choices and a quest for the most historical truth possible.

• • Authenticity • restitution • historical truth • First French Empire •
historical apartments • eighteenth century • Second French Empire • •

Between the fall of Napoleon III in 1870 and the mid-twentiethcentury, Château de Fontainebleau changed significantly. Rather than conserve the appearance laid down by the last sovereigns, the furniture of numerous rooms in the main apartments was removed or replaced, for various reasons, including a desire to obliterate any memory of the Second French Empire; for exhibition in the *Mobilier national*; and to satisfy the individual tastes of successive curators, who created interior designs with no regard for historical truth.

The *Grand Apartments* in the *Cour Ovale* became guest apartments under Louis-Philippe, containing seven rooms, but by the 1950s, only three had retained their furnishings from the time of Napoleon III. The chairs of the so-called *salon François Ier* were removed to the *Mobilier national* in around 1900, and the room was refurnished as a living room in the style of the First French Empire. The neighbouring room, known as the Tapestry Room, suffered a similar fate, losing not only its seating, but also its tapestries, which were removed in 1914 and replaced by others in 1920.

The apartments of the Emperor and Empress overlooking the *jardin de Diane* were less affected by the various changes, and so their interiors were closer to history, but for some rooms, the interiors and furnishings left behind by Napoleon III disappeared or were transformed. The Louis XVI chairs from the Empress's *Grand salon* were removed in 1889 for the Universal Exhibition, to be replaced with Empire-style furniture. In the Empress's bedchamber, the Beneman commodes that had been sent to Paris for an exhibition in 1883 were replaced with Joséphine and Marie-Louise's jewellery cabinets, which had never been part of Fontainebleau prior to the Third Republic. The boudoir was refurnished in 1903 with a little set of chairs taken from the Queen Mother's wing and reupholstered with a fabric created to resemble the wall decoration, in a questionable attempt at harmony.

In Napoleon's bedroom, one could see the cradle of the King of Rome, an inconsistency that could serve only to mislead the public. The first Emperor's salon had lost all its importance, becoming a Napoleonic sanctuary next to an equestrian statuette, a hat, a lock of the Emperor's hair and the relics of Saint Helena.

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The salon des Tapisseries *circa 1950*

In the Queen Mother's or Pope's apartment, separated into two apartments and called respectively the Louis XIII apartment and Louis XV apartment under the Second French Empire, the furniture was so radically altered that they no longer resembled apartments at all. The first salon in the Louis XIII apartment became a bedroom in the style of Louis XVI in 1903; the large bedroom was transformed into a salon, combining the Empire and neo-Louis XIV styles; and the first salon in the Louis XV apartment was also refurnished as a First Empire bedroom and named Cardinal Pacca's bedroom

*The first salon in the Louis XIII apartment,
converted in 1903 into a Louis XVI-style bedroom*

in memory of this prelate from Pope Pius VII's entourage, who had, in fact, never slept in the room.

In 1965, a new curator envisaged a historically based refurnishing approach, following the scientific work of Pierre Verlet and the structural restoration work carried out in the framework of André Malraux's government programme act.

In 1961, two emblematic items of furniture were obtained: the barrel-topped desk and the work table of Marie-Antoinette by Reisner, identified by Verlet, and returned to the boudoir, to be sited next to the 1903 chairs. In 1965, the two Beneman commodes from the *Salon des Jeux de la Reine* (the Queen's Games Room) were recovered after consultation with the Louvre, along with the two commodes from the Emperor's bedroom. The return of the Beneman commodes encouraged the conservation department to return the Empress's *Grand salon* to its state at the time of Marie-Antoinette. To achieve this, six chairs from the original series were removed from the Throne Room and were painted and gilded according to the inventory of 1787, after which they were hand-coated with a layer of satin to match the original model that was preserved on the original screen and generously donated to the

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château by a private owner in 1966. The curtains were re-created in the same design, but despite these efforts, the furniture was incomplete and so the historical truth was not entirely respected. To avoid an impression of emptiness, an eighteenth century *Savonnerie* carpet and a few art objects were added, and while the result was interesting, it was only half satisfactory, and so was subject to criticism. At the same time, the conservation department decided to take a different approach to the *salle du Conseil*, which had retained most of its Second Empire furniture. Located between the Throne Room and Napoleon's chamber, which are both filled with First Empire furniture, it was decided to return the form of the *salle du Conseil* to its state during the First Empire so as to create a consistent ensemble from the same era. The idea was raised that it was important to

The Salon des Jeux de la Reine *following the restitution of its former Louis XVI state in 1985*

re-establish the earliest former state possible if the furniture existed, and in this regard, the *salon François Ier* was re-established as the Emperor's dining room, with its First Empire furniture being redistributed around the château. But was this reasonable? In-depth consideration was given to the essential question: Should a room be refurnished with furnishings that pre-date the wallcoverings? The *salon François Ier* had been restored considerably under Louis-Philippe, and the tapestries had been fixed to the wooden panelling under Napoleon III, and so refurnishing it as a dining room would be contradictory and historically wrong. After much consideration, we arrived at an essential conclusion: the fixed interior decor should always take priority over the furniture. In addition, the *salle du*

Conseil project, carried out in the name of topographical continuity, led us to think beyond the refurnishing of a room, looking rather at refurnishing the entire apartment into a given former historical state. Surely, this would be more indicative and easier for the public to understand.

After some initial trial and error, major decisions were taken in line with these two ideas, i.e. absolute priority given to existing wall decoration, and precedence of an apartment over an isolated room. The Guest Apartments overlooking the *Cour ovale* underwent major restoration and transformation under

The salle du Conseil, *reproduced in its First Empire state*

Louis-Philippe, followed by a total refurnishing under Napoleon III, and so we could not go back. As a result, the Second Empire prevailed and we were unable to retain Napoleon I's dining room. The assistance of the *Mobilier national* was decisive in this issue, with the neo-Louis XIV chairs from the *salon François Ier* and the tapestries returned to Fontainebleau in 1979, as well as the tapestries depicting 'the Tale of Psyche' from the same room.

The neo-Boulle furniture, which had been given to a cultural institution (*les Écoles d'Art Américaines*) that had occupied part of the château from 1921, was returned to both rooms, making the series of rooms intelligible once again, and today representing one of the most remarkable ensembles of the Second French Empire.

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The salon des Tapisseries *following the restitution of its former Second Empire state in 1979*

The Queen's Boudoir, reproduced in its former Louis XVI state

For the *jardin de Diane*, the First Empire prevailed, but less systematically as a result of the recent reconstruction of Marie-Antoinette's *salon des Jeux*, and due to the presence in the boudoir of some extraordinary items of furniture belonging to the Queen made with mother-of-pearl. For this precious little room we took the decision to have two copies made of the only surviving armchair, kept at the Gulbenkian Foundation in Lisbon. In the Queen-Mother's wing, however, we were able to be more consistent. The wall decoration, which had been largely reorganised in the so-called Louis XIII part, and the removal of most of the furniture, predating the Second Empire, left us little choice, and we could only hope to reproduce an interior that was historically accurate following the 1859 restoration. The reproduction was carried out in stages, regrouping items of furniture that were spread throughout the château, without actually exchanging them. Each room in the two apartments regained its significance and their historical names: antechamber, first salon, grand salon, bedchamber and toilet chamber. The large bedroom in the Louis XIII apartment saw the return of its Fourdinois furniture in 1976, and the original salons again became salons. Much remains to be done, with the reweaving of silks in particular taking time, but a number of recent arrivals from the *Mobilier national*, in particular the tapestries from the *Galerie de Saint-Cloud* series, have enabled us to improve the appearance of this ensemble [1].

The policy of reproducing historical furnishings at Fontainebleau led us to think carefully about the fate of ancient silks. As the fixed decorations had been restored, could we conserve the ancient wall hangings and seat covers *in situ*, after they had been returned in an advanced state of disrepair in terms of solidity and appearance (colour). A commission led by Verlet decided that they should be re-woven, except in specific cases, as any means of halting the deterioration could in no way return the former appearance and colours of fabrics that had been exposed to light for nearly two centuries. What is more, by requiring the silk-weavers to reconnect with the past, we ensured that they would pass down their skills. In this regard, between 1966 and 1985, the silk brocade in the Empress's bedroom and the embroidery at the end of the bed, on the quilt and the chairs were rewoven – a considerable task that was rightly considered as exemplary. The fabric and trimmings in the *salle du Conseil*, the Emperor's room (a very difficult operation), the Emperor's small bedchamber and the Abdication room were also rewoven, and the same policy was followed in Compiègne, allowing us to restore the former radiance of these two ancient residences.

The final issue I would like mention is the proposal we made to alternate between successive historical presentations in a particular room with the corresponding furniture, if it still exists. We concluded that it would very difficult, at least in France, to recreate a satisfactory eighteenth century ensemble when we attempted to reproduce the Queen's *Salon des jeux*. The imprint of Marie-Antoinette in this salon prevented us from reproducing the neighbouring room

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The Empress's Bedroom, following the restoration of its First Empire state in 1986

in the style of the First Empire with any accuracy, in that the two commodes of the Queen in her Games Room were the same ones that Josephine had kept in her bedroom. In order to display them in the reproduc-

tion of the room as it appeared in Josephine's time, we needed to recreate the salon with the furniture it had contained for her, at least temporarily. This was done in 1986 after retrieving a few items from the Louvre and the *Mobilier national*, and having the fabrics and trimmings copied. Nevertheless, we deemed it essential to be able to re-establish the salon regularly into its Marie-Antoinette state, even though incomplete, allowing the public to see the harmony between the Arabesque wall decoration and the two commodes. The Queen's Boudoir could also alternate different interiors, presenting the furniture it contained under Napoleon at regular intervals. If it had been followed up, this proposal, the only downside of which was the cost, would have been a valuable lesson in understanding the development of the taste of the sovereigns and their living conditions.

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The salon des Jeux de la Reine, *converted in 1986 into the Empress's Grand Salon*

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Note

1. A similar concern with historical authenticity was raised during the
reconstruction of the *musée Chinois* and the ground floor salons of the
Grand Pavilion, completed in 1991.

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SHOULD THE CHÂTEAU OF CHAMBORD REMAIN EMPTY?

FROM A HISTORICAL LAYOUT TO RATIONAL REFURNISHING

Luc Forlivesi

If we adhered to popular opinion, the Château of Chambord would be empty and all the more charming for it. Let us consider the different elements that have influenced this so-called 'emptiness'. To what extent does the castle's history play a role? To what extent does it reflect the choices of successive administrators? This question also concerns cultural mediation: how can we compose a narrative for the public if the related thought processes are unclear and have wavered constantly across the decades? It is also important to remember that the original work of art is the castle itself. Its powerful and distinctive architecture convinced successive sovereigns and occupants to respect Francis I's original design, making only minor alterations or improvements. As the National Estate of Chambord implements its scientific and cultural policy, all these points require a clear and balanced position.

• • Château • Renaissance • architecture • interior layout • refurnishing • •

Château of Chambord, northern façade

Within it is a wilderness of empty chambers, a royal and romantic barrack. The exiled prince to whom it gives its title has not the means to keep up four hundred rooms: he contents himself with preserving the huge outside…

Henry James, *A Little Tour in France*, 1877

We went for a stroll along the empty galleries and into the abandoned chambers where a spider is weaving her web over Francis I's salamander. The place is not entirely in ruins; there is the luxury of its blackened debris streaked with green, the embroidery of its brazen flowers and its curtains of greenery rippling in the wind like shreds of damask.

Gustave Flaubert, *Par les champs et par les grèves. Voyages et carnets de voyage*, 1886

If we adhered to popular opinion, which took hold in the public's mind long ago, the Château of Chambord would be empty and all the more charming for it. Several arguments can be used to discuss the validity of this statement, and to put this 'emptiness' that people feel, into perspective.

Above and beyond the romantic vision of a sleepy castle that Flaubert offers us, we must bear in mind the question of this monument's status and its use by the kingdom's rulers since the sixteenth century. Chambord was a port of call for a nomadic court, a luxurious temporary camp for Francis I and his 'little gang', and a hunting and entertainment lodge for Louis XIV before being transformed, in a way that seems almost improper, into a long-term abode for Maurice de Saxe, Marshall-General of France, and then into a nineteenth century offering to the last Bourbon, heir to the throne. That past is undoubtedly what differentiates Chambord from other royal residences: the fact that they were furnished and almost continuously lived in, conditions our perception of them. Yet does that really make Chambord a 'ghostly residence' as Jean-Pierre Babelon wrote [Chatenet 2001]? There is no easy answer to that question. To what extent does the castle's history, from its sixteenth century construction to its acquisition by the State in 1930, play a role? To what extent does this reflect the will of successive administrators to leave some rooms empty and to furnish others, in response to public expectations?

This question, which could be seen as a strictly technical one, also concerns the mediation of our cultural heritage. How can we compose a narrative for our public if the bases of that narrative have varied over the course of decades, leaving traces of those choices for all to see? In addition, the expectations of visitors, who have a pronounced interest in 'castle life', must be taken into account. Visiting a royal monument stimulates everyone's imagination, and the 'authorised indiscretion' of seeing places that were once

reserved for the Court is part of the charm. Therefore, we must transcend the doctrine that was implemented at Chambord after 1945 by the General Inspection of Historical Monuments: 'Visitors want to see a few armchairs in a sitting room, a bed in a bedroom and a set table and kitchen for the dining room'. [Anthenaise and Kagan 1994]. In 1947, an initial report by the Historical Monuments inspector Pierre-Marie Auzas stated the principles that would dictate how chateaux were furnished for at least the next 30 years: 'furnish in a lively and instructive way the various 'visitable' rooms of chateaux belonging to the State'.

It is also important to remember that at Chambord, the castle itself, set at the heart of its estate, is the original work of art. Its powerful and distinctive architecture convinced the various sovereigns and occupants to preserve Francis I's original choices, making only slight alterations to the interior. As the National Estate of Chambord implements its scientific and cultural policy, all these points require a clear position that strikes a balance between eclecticism and decorum, historical research and the spirit of the place, within the framework defined by the scientific and cultural project of the National Estate of Chambord, which was approved in November 2014.

The Difficulty of Returning to the Time of Francis I

If 'most of the abodes of princes lie deserted' as the physician and chronicler Louis Guyon [Guyon 1604,] wrote, it is due to the itinerary of a sovereign who changed his place of residence constantly. The furnished and decorated state was exceptional for Chambord; it was dependent on the presence of Francis I, who spent just 73 days of his 32-year reign there. Monique Chatenet's research into sixteenth century court life enhances our understanding of how rooms were used in relationship to

each other, and the order in which they were to be traversed, conforming to an etiquette followed in royal chateaux. The idea of an itinerary takes on its fullest meaning in these rooms that have remained empty due to the vicissitudes of time and the dispersal of their furnishings. It is not easy to present pure architecture, devoid of any decorative element that would allow visitors to recognise something familiar. At Chambord, the king decided in 1539 to install a new apartment on the first floor of the east wing. Today, only the walls and a few sixteenth century doors still bear witness to the interior layout of that apartment. The line between abstract understanding of a monument and perception of its daily life in all its material depth, lies there. Even with a fertile imagination and a vast store of knowledge, it is impossible to reconstitute the king's bedroom in one's mind based on nothing more than the walls and their openings.

Thus, two solutions were considered, not without an awareness of their inherent risks, even if they were limited to the decor alone and could be reversed.

Francis I's bedchamber stayed closed for many years after the State acquired the chateau in 1930. It wasn't until 1963 that public demand led Jacques Dupont, Inspector General of Historical Monuments, and Jean Féray, the competent local inspector, to consider restoring the building and furnishing it with something more than tapestries han-

ging on the walls. In a summary of his September 10, 1969 visit addressed to the Minister of Cultural Affairs, Dupont pointed out that a credible bedchamber for Francis I appeared to be necessary: 'It is the expectation of the public; they are surprised to come across Louis XIV where they were expecting the gallant Valois king'.

As early as 1967, in the absence of the slightest vestige of textile or furnishings from the sixteenth century royal collections, restoration was scheduled upon the acquisition by the State of a number of Renaissance wall hangings (34 rolls of silk embroidered with golden thread, which most likely originally came from a Spanish cathedral). The tiled floor, monumental fireplace, doorframes and windows with interior shutters were reinstated. Red velvet was stretched over the walls as a backdrop for the wall hangings. The bedchamber that was opened to the public in 1971 is a period re-creation, composed to evoke the memory of Francis I, a historical figure that is crucial to the history of the monument. The room's furniture is a combination of loans and acquisitions: chairs on loan from the National Museum of the Middle Ages, a white blanket chest from the collection of Alain de Rothschild, the first chamberlain's bed acquired by the estate in 2003. While the position of the royal bed – in an angle near the fireplace and some distance from the windows – was not a problem, insofar as all the sources concurred, the unlikely height of

Francis I, recreated state

the canopy above the bed was decided by the length of the precious embroidered hangings, which could be neither cut nor folded. The equally improbable height of the platform was determined by the textile in the wall decor.

As part of the Château of Chambord's research programmes, a working group is considering an experimental, state-of-the-art reconstitution of part of the textile decor and the furnishings of Francis I's bedchamber. When it is completed, the public will see the chamber ready to receive the king, after it has been prepared by his attendants. The project is planned to be implemented over a period from 2015 to 2019/2020, in order to coincide with the 500th anniversary of the start of Chambord's construction. The possibility that the *Manufacture de Beauvais* will reweave a textile decor inspired by the only tapestry with the emblem of Louise of Savoy and Francis I – dating to the years 1510-1514 and preserved by the Boston Museum of Fine Arts – has been discussed. Since 2014, a feasibility study has been under way at the production department of the National Furniture Manufacture, as part of a scientific partnership with the National Museum of the Renaissance and the National Furniture Office.

apartment on the second floor, in order to make it easier to see and appreciate the architecture.

Augmented reality, a product of the progress in digital technology, offers the possibility of granting some of the wishes of visitors while still respecting the required scientific rigour. An innovative technological tool, an immersion-visit tablet called HistoPad has been developed in co-production with a French start-up, Histovery, in order to provide a virtual response to the preceding questions.

Excluding any people, the decor and furnishings of the eight rooms have been returned to an earlier state through recomposed images. The method requires constant interaction between the developers and the advisory committee established in collaboration with the National Museum of the Renaissance (the Château of Ecouen), Monique Chatenet, and the curators of Chambord. The decisive contribution of these specialists in the history of art, architecture and court life consists in both proposing and approving guidelines for furnishing, distribution and use of the various rooms in the royal chateau. The brunt of the work, begun in September 2014, consisted in gathering images,

The king's room, augmented-reality view

The perception of other sixteenth century parts of Chambord is still tricky. In 1992, in an internal report to the Historical Monuments Administration, Christian Trezin, the curator, asked a relevant question about 'emptiness' and 'fullness' in the monument, as one of the 'historical' and diachronic dimensions of the chateau. He advised leaving the rooms in the arms of the cross empty, as well as at least one 'sample'

archival materials and architectural references for creating a plausible layout of the Renaissance sections in Chambord, as well as of a sovereign's daily life. These restitutions are based on precise knowledge of the cultural-heritage collections preserved in a range of different chateaux and museums in France and elsewhere, particularly in terms of furniture and *objets d'art*.

Room by room, object by object, everything is recreated with respect to the habits of the time, and with a commitment to both scientific precision and cultural authenticity. Graphic designers then integrate the digital images into the rooms, smoothing out their texture and aspect to create a homogeneous whole. The HistoPad's 3D creations are modifiable: the 'restitutions' can be upgraded in order to keep abreast of the latest scientific discoveries. Visitors will step through the doors of time and, thanks to the tablet, be able to see the decor around the full 360° of a room.

Histopad tablet

The Metamorphosis of the Ceremonial Apartment

On the first floor of the chateau, the ceremonial apartment provides a perfect illustration of the difficulties that are encountered when attempting to determine a state for the décor and to stick to it through successive restorations and changing trends. These rooms, all aligned, which have also been referred to as 'the King's' or 'Louis XIV's' apartment, have been without any furniture since the 'revolutionary sales' (auctions during the period of the French Revolution). One finds in succession: a guardroom that later became a 'coffee parlour' where one of the Marshall-General's huge heating stoves has been preserved; a first antechamber used as a dining room; a second antechamber or drawing room; the stateroom; a private bedroom and a wardrobe room. As early as 1845-1850, the antechambers and the alcove in the stateroom were used as exhibit spaces for the Count of Chambord's collections of works of art.

The development program designed by Inspector-General Dupont in the 1950s encouraged Chambord to 'evoke [the] past in a concrete manner, yet without over-

Ceremonial bedchamber, before 1986

doing the romantic illusion of having recreated the past'. Efforts were focused on this apartment, and the era of reconstitution chosen was the reign of Louis XIV, even though the vestiges of decor in place dated to the early eighteenth century. After an initial restoration, in 1959, the first antechamber recovered its originally intended use, and crimson damask was hung with a portrait of the Sun King and other tapestries. Green fabric was hung in the 1980s, then red once again in the early 2000s, which also saw the removal of the Restoration-era billiard table, which had been installed to recall the room's nineteenth century use.

The question of the collections was seen as secondary at that time, and the archaeology of the building and its decor were not criteria in their layout. The 'royal' chateau became the dream setting for a three-dimensional history lesson. The first bequests and donations did not start to come in until 1960; and the Hertz donation, which brought collections previously preserved by the donors in the Château de Rosny, dates to 1998. The acquisitions made by the Historical Monuments administration since 1960 came to reinforce the work that had been undertaken [Feray, 1961]. Depending on the choices made by the services in charge of Historical Monuments, we end up with a total or partial juxtaposition of three different approaches: historical, museographic and decorative [Anthenaise and Kagan 1994].

Two reports by the National Monuments Centre written in 1992 and 1999 reveal the issues of the day. The first one, quoted above, reminds us that the first floor is composed of apartments that recreate 'in a warm, lively and faithful way, how people lived in each era referred to'. This is followed by a period-by-period presentation of the options for furnishing or evoking each era.

Drawing room, refurnished state, 2015

Ceremonial bedchamber, refurnished state, 2015

It emphasises the distinction made between the 'seventeenth century spirit' of the ceremonial apartment and the decor that dates to the Marshall of Saxe's time. The proposed reconstruction of the wall that allowed for a sense of continuity in the apartments on the first floor is proof of both scientific commitment and a refined perception of the space. The author defines the overall concept as a search for a 'museography of atmosphere' illustrating the environments in which occupants of the chateau lived over the course of history.

Dated 31 May 1999, a report from the director of National Historical Monuments and Sites offers a summary of the situation. The perspectives are viewed through the prism of the history of France, when the history of the estate's occupants might have been the theme for the rooms' presentation. The principle of chronological and stylistic coherence is paired with an evocation of the grandest periods in the chateau's history. The author concludes with the necessity of closing certain eighteenth century apartments, which, in the state they were in at the time, 'do not refer to any precise era in the monument's history'. The fate of the ceremonial apartment was sealed:

restitution of a Louis XV apartment based on reliable documents, if they existed.

From that point on, the goal had clearly become to achieve a state close to the one described in the inventory made in 1750-1751, after the death of the Marshall-General of Saxe.

If we limit this analysis to the ceremonial bedchamber alone, we can consider its successive states regarding the decor and furniture. Changes to the fabric on the walls, as well as the very recent gilding of the woodwork (1992-1996) led to distortions in perception in terms of what the inventory revealed. An over-'royalisation' of the room conditioned its treatment, and it would prove to be complicated to scale it back. The most recent restorations and acquisitions of furniture have allowed a first step back towards a historic state. A pair of Jean-Baptiste Cresson wing-chairs loaned from the National Furniture Office in early 2014 and a set of 12 chairs in natural wood, some of which bear Cresson's mark, which were acquired through the patronage of Jacques Boisseaux, have been upholstered in green Utrecht velvet. Between the seating and the notable Christophe Wolff commode, donated by

the same patron, the ceremonial bedchamber is looking much better, even though it has so far proved impossible to obtain a dog-house covered in green velvet and studded with golden nails, as the archives revealed.

The boundaries of equivalent restitution are fairly clear: invent nothing, and stick to a plausible interpretation of the sources. The fact that, unlike in other royal residences, the furniture was not stamped as belonging to Chambord, is a two-edged sword. On the one hand, it offers a certain latitude in terms of choosing furnishings, but on the other, it detracts from the satisfaction of putting the actual décor back where it belongs. One cannot go on a quest to return furniture that has been scattered at auction to its rightful place. Nor is there the illusion of letting visitors believe that what they are seeing was actually in Chambord in the eighteenth century, aside from such exceptions as the two gilded-bronze goblets from the Marshall-General of Saxe's dessert service, which were described in the inventory and pre-empted in March 2015.

Gilded-bronze goblets from the Marshall-General of Saxe's dessert service, 1720-1730

The middle path for re-arranging or refurnishing a monument is not an easy course to chart. One must stay humble, making choices based on the known documentary corpus, and pursue research through the deepest depths of the archives, knowing all the while that the method has its limits. The primary value of these sources must be taken into account to avoid over-interpreting what they tell us about the state of a decor or furnishings, bearing in mind that the inventory had been drawn up after the death of the owner, and in the context of settling an estate. Dialogue with art restorers, specialised curators and other institutions and experts is essential.

For curators of the estate, the search for furnishings that are suitable due to their shape, the craftsman's mark or their match to descriptions in the archives is an endless task. Acquisitions are decided on by majority vote of the members of the collections committee, in order to avoid any errors. The same is true for interpretation. The information provided, from wall signs to digital tablets, explains that the arrangements are the result of a choice: they reflect a vision of how the chateau was arranged and furnished at a given time.

The precautions taken in both the method and the discourse reflect the prudence required in the search for authenticity in a monument. This is as true for the decor, objects and furniture – which are generally more easily undone and therefore adaptable to change, as it is for restoring the building itself, with consequences that can be difficult to amend. The 'monumental mistakes' that attracted Claude Mignot's ire [Mignot 1999] must be avoided, and we should strive not to get lost in the mists of time, but to bear witness to this exceptional site across the centuries as truthfully as possible.

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AUTHENTICITY IN PALACE MUSEUMS: VERSAILLES, BETWEEN THE IDEAL AND THE POSSIBLE

Béatrix Saule

Authenticity is closely linked to identity. Throughout its history, Versailles has fulfilled several purposes – that of a royal residence, museum and national palace – which has entailed various alterations. Without rejecting any of these identities, its role as a royal residence has been the most important since Pierre de Nolhac's studies. The definition of the ideal historical states to be shown has become clearer over the twentieth century, along with the historical knowledge-based methods required to achieve them. However, the passage from the research to the project itself raises a whole series of questions related to the interpretation of sources; the real condition of the monument and its collections; the need to protect them; and the desire to communicate its identity to a wide and varied public. In this regard, the original material authenticity can be enhanced by other sorts of authenticity, using materials that are alike and of similar provenance or similarity in form and spirit. What forms can these alternative approaches to authenticity take and how can they be implemented?

• • Identity • conservation • restoration • restitution • refurnishing • historical layers • Versailles • •

General view of the Palace of Versailles

Versailles, thankfully, is a very well-preserved and highly popular site. Both its key features and the surrounding environment have been preserved, from the stables to the Palace on the town side and from the wide-angled perspective of the terraced parterres and *bosquets* to the Trianon Palaces on the park side. 'And very popular': the issue of authenticity fuels debate, and we are bombarded with a whole range of extreme opinions, from those who want nothing to change to those who believe that Versailles is historically a place for creativity and constant renewal, where contemporary works of art would not be out of place.

The concept of authenticity is subject to various definitions, however I prefer the definition given by the Heritage Department, who define authenticity as 'the degree to which the identity of a monument corresponds to the identity which has been assigned to it' (*Terms relative to intervention on historical monuments*, Ministry of Culture and Communication, Heritage Department). This raises an immediate question related to the identity, or identities, that have been attributed to Versailles: which principles of authenticity should be favoured in matters of conservation so that the reality reproduces these or those identities?

Which identity or identities?

This question of identity, which is fundamental to authenticity, cannot be examined in isolation or dissociated from the vicissitudes that Versailles has experienced throughout its history.

Louis XIV's creation, like all residences, was modified under successive sovereigns, mostly in its interior. This was the order of things, although the idea of authenticity in conservation had already reared its head in the 1770s, when Ange-Jacques Gabriel saved the ceilings of the queen's Grand Apartments against Marie-Antoinette's will, or when Louis XVI refused to convert Le Nôtre's garden into an English-style garden when the park was being replanted.

After the departure of the Court and the fall of the monarchy, all of the furniture was removed from the residence, and any emblems of the former feudalism were eliminated. The site, however, was preserved, and was assigned various uses, most notably, as the first museum, '*le musée spécial de l'École française*'.

Owned by the Crown during the French Empire, but with no assigned purpose after that, Versailles became a museum once again, devoted by Louis-Philippe to all 'the glories of France', a history museum containing collections of paintings from two separate sources: one old, and the other being the works of contemporary artists.

There was much disruption and change at this time, which was traumatic for the building. All the apartments in the *aile du Nord* and the *aile du Midi* were destroyed, and the interior of the main building was altered, as can be seen in the summary of Frédéric Nepveu, Louis-Philippe's architect.

However, let us not forget that it was regard for authenticity that led Louis-Philippe to illustrate the reign of Louis XIV in the Grand Apartments, refurnishing the *chambre du Grand Roi*, while respecting the masterpiece of the Hall of Mirrors.

After the war in 1870, Versailles again entered political life for the next decade as the temporary home of the government and its administrations, as well as Parliament on a more long-term basis. This had a negative impact on the decoration in place and on the museum, which was disfigured, forgotten and left to decay, and was subjected to criticisms related to what was exhibited and what was left out. From the time of its first construction, the entire Versailles site was subjected to continual alteration and restoration – including the palaces, the gardens, the outbuildings – following the changing tastes, but above all, to adapt to new uses. Versailles, threatened three times with total destruction, was thus saved, but the cost was confusion in its identity, which became evident at the end of the nineteenth century in the interconnected museum rooms, quarters, administration, the co-existence of old and modern decor, and the thoroughly neglected park.

Faced with this problem, Pierre de Nolhac, named curator in 1892, started the true history of the house of kings, showing how archive-based research could lead to precise knowledge of the history of a place. It was then that the question of Versailles' identity and its implications was first acknowledged: Should Versailles be maintained as its creators had intended, or as time had fashioned it? Nolhac's reply left no room for misunderstanding, and in

response, architects began dismantling Louis-Philippe's museum, so as to return the palace to its former layout.

It should be noted that Nolhac's notes make no mention of refurnishing, but in a convergence of ideas, Pierre Verlet's seminal article in the *Gazette des beaux-arts* [1936] cites an identification method for royal furniture that gave rise to the hope of a refurnished Versailles.

Our thoughts today, in the twenty-first century, are part of that continuum, taking into account a triple heritage:

• The central lines defining historical states of reference

• A methodology based on historical research, valid for all areas of intervention

• Changes implemented throughout the twentieth century, with points of no return and a need to follow the same lines in the long term.

After years of study and intervention, the ideal historical states of reference became clear:

• 'the end of Louis XIV's reign' for the gardens and the park of Versailles, when they were at their most beautiful

• 'the end of the *Ancien Régime*', as things stood in the main building and the palace and gardens of the *Petit Trianon*

• 'First French Empire' furnishing in the *Grand Trianon* (which would doubtless have been continued in Versailles, had Versailles, and not the Trianon, been refurnished at that time.)

The Louis-Philippe museum still exists, apart from the royal residence, and its most beautiful decorations have always been preserved, for example, the *galerie des Batailles*.

It is recognised that the wings of the palace should house the collections of the historical galleries: in the *aile du Nord* between the Chapel and the Opera, as it is already case, and in the whole of the *aile du Midi*, since the spaces formerly occupied by Parliament around the *salle du Congrès* have been made available again.

As these choices were made according to the state of conservation of the architecture and the interior decoration, as well as refurnishing options, taking into account the multiple layers of history that have affected the numerous components of the estate in different ways. We manage this coexistence by taking two precautions that allow us to compensate for this complexity vis-à-

vis the public: 1) By explaining it in 11 rooms of the newly created Gallery of the History of the Palace, and 2) by taking care to avoid any visible confusion or brutal aesthetic confrontation. This is made relatively easy by the layout, as, for example, you cannot see the *salles des Croisades* from the Queen's Room.

In the light of the immense diversity of Versailles, as a work of art in itself, and the variety of eras, decoration, materials and objects it encompasses that complicate further the issue of authenticity, it is essential to maintain a clear-cut approach that is shared by all those involved, even if there are many exceptions. Furthermore, it is no less essential that all follow the same methodological approach, and in this case, historical research forms the basis for any project.

Notwithstanding the gaps (which are sometimes a huge drawback, for example, those resulting from the disappearance of the papers from Queen Marie-Antoinette's *Garde-Meuble*), sources of knowledge related to Versailles are exceptionally abundant and precise: from the inventories to the archaeological excavations. Rigorously crosschecked and critically analysed, they tell us what is consistent with the states of reference; however we also carry out critical analyses of the authenticity of the current state of the spaces, the interiors and the collections.

Together, these two thought processes determine the mode of intervention (conservation, restoration, restitution), while the research, project planning, monitoring and the follow-up reports are carried out more and more collaboratively by *ad hoc* expert committees at the beginning of a project, before it is finally discussed by the scientific committee of the establishment or the National Commission.

Which principles of authenticity should be given priority?

In this second part, we will look at the principles of authenticity that should be given priority when it comes to conservation (broadly speaking), with the aim being to ensure that what is produced follows the identity of the royal residence as closely as possible.

After more than 30 years at this estate, I cannot think of one Versailles project that did not give rise to discus-

sion in which the term 'authenticity' was not raised in terms of what is at stake. During these discussions, and depending on the items in question, various aspects of authenticity are taken implicitly into consideration. What are they?

Authenticity linked to origin

Theoretically, this form of authenticity is at the highest level and dictates the code of ethics, which is to maintain and protect rather than restore; and to restore rather than replace. It can refer to material or immaterial aspects.

Material authenticity has been maintained in some of the palace interiors that may resemble what Louis XVI would have known, such as the chapel, the ceilings of the Grand Apartments, the vaults and decoration of the Gallery, the Queen's Staircase and the Small Apartments. These are decorative ensembles that have seen little change, and are restored approximately every 50 years.

This level of original, material authenticity is on the increase thanks to the return of artworks that were relocated, and that we are delighted to be able to put back in their original place, such as the overdoor in the *antechambre des Chiens*, to mention a project currently underway, and numerous items of furniture and *objets d'art*.

The vast majority of furniture was lost after being sold off during the revolution, and became scattered across the world, with the exception of a few items that were retained by the National Convention for various reasons. These items never left the public collections, and the most famous of these is the King's Desk, which was returned in 1957. The quest to find these relics and buy them back, piece by piece, has been accomplished by the tireless efforts of generations of curators, and the results are now visible, with all of these acquisitions bringing us closer to the ideal of 'the right furniture in the right place'.

Authenticity of origin can be immaterial, while authenticity in conservation also applies to design, which should be in keeping with the creative genius of the maker. Let us take the example of the park. Formerly under threat, as previously stated, Le Nôtre's work in its general design and lines today seems untouchable, and as a result, the site is well preserved. That said, safeguarding two of the essential features of Le Nôtre's composition – the 180-degree natural green backdrop and the wide-angle view stretching all the way to the horizon – requires

great care. Even though they are legally protected, we emphasise this care in our discussions with local officials who are likely to be those proposing changes.

However, as underlined in the publication by the afore-mentioned Heritage Department, the concept of authenticity is not linked to originality. Depending on the item in question, authenticity can be present, by nature or by necessity, in other features, such as the form, provenance, age, use or function, either alone or all together.

Authenticity linked to form

Firstly, something that is by nature subject to continuous renewal, such as plants or living materials, cannot lay claim to authenticity in origin, but only in form, and so conservation in this regard means renewal. Although composed of inert matter, rooftops, masonry, finished marble and parquet are also affected by the passage of time and by other damaging processes, and so are in need of constant renovation. In this case, conservation means repair.

In contrast, the park statues and those that decorate the facades, in marble or stone, cannot be treated *in situ*. It is apparent that any restoration of the outer layer does not last for any length of time outside. So is it better to leave the original in place, disfigured to such an extent that it has become unrecognisable?

For an answer to this, we turn to the example of Henri Chapu, a famous artist and a recipient of the *prix de Rome*, who was commissioned to sculpt replicas of the works by Girardon and Marsy on the pediment of the marble courtyard after they were considered too worn. That said, this measure in no way considered the conservation of the originals, which were sawn and quartered without care which were previously sawn and quartered-destroyed without a second thought.

Today, the concern for intelligibility is considered less important than the concern for the preventive conservation of the original sculptures, which requires them to be relocated to a sheltered place before it is too late and replacing them with replicas. This is the aim of all current campaigns for the preservation of sculpted garden masterpieces.

In this case, conservation means replacement, in which the need to conserve an element of an ensemble detracts from the material authenticity of the origin of the ensemble.

Replacement by replication allows us to reproduce an original historical state that had disappeared, and a good example of this can be seen is the recent installation at the entrance of the *Tapis vert*, where two casts of Puget's masterpieces, the *Milon* and the *Persée*, which were transferred to the Louvre in 1850 were replaced by a collection that should not have been there.

Authenticity linked to provenance and age

There are still areas in which we prefer a copy and not the original, although the copy should be equivalent to the old/worn piece, rather than displaying the formal perfection of a newly-made work. There may be numerous reasons for this, one being that we have always rejected the idea of Versailles becoming a temple to the replica: our aim is that copies should remain an exception.

In this regard, the paintings of the grand French, Italian and Flemish masters that once hung above the doorways in the apartments of Versailles and are today in the Louvre, have been replaced by decorative paintings by the artists employed in the royal households under Louis XIV: Vouet at Saint-Germain or Corneille and Coypel at Meudon.

It is with furniture that we resort to this type of authenticity the most, through approximation linked to provenance and age when the 'right piece of furniture' is unattainable (when it has certainly or probably been destroyed, when it is part of a collection that we know will not give it up or when it has not yet been found).

Let us take, for example, Louis XVI's salon des Jeux. The majority of the furniture comes originally from that room, including the Reisner corner-pieces, the Boulard chairs, the candelabra and the clock. The ornamental candlesticks on the corner-pieces were seized from fleein noble-men, but their likeness is acceptable in terms of design, size, age and quality.

This illustrates that there is a whole range of equivalences, that the method requires subtlety, and that in a fieldwhere nothing is irreversible, the aim is always to improve and always get closer to the ideal state.

In this room, only the screen is a copy, as the original is kept at the Nissim de Camondo museum and cannot be returned. Why did we choose this option rather than resort to an equivalent piece? It was our intention to safeguard the harmony of the furnishings in the room, which

is particularly noteworthy here, but also to test the ability of today's craftsmen to reproduce a piece to the same level of quality and in total respect of former techniques.

Authenticity linked to the role and use of the place

The very essence of Versailles is as a place of power, where the roles of the interior and exterior spaces were organised hierarchically and their use determined according to the strictest etiquette. These roles and uses dictated the distribution of space, the degree of lavishness and the iconography of the decoration, as well as the type of furniture.

In the present day, when Versailles receives millions of visitors from different cultures with varied levels of cultural knowledge, it is important to demonstrate this essence and make it accessible. One does not visit a palace the same way one visits a museum, for beyond the discovery and aesthetic pleasure, the visitor seeks an explanation of the place and the life it contained.

The absence of one element can compromise the understanding of the whole place, and as such, a reproduction is sometimes necessary for the maintenance of the cultural dialogue. I will suggest two examples of this, one related to heritage furniture, and the other to property.

What identifies the function of a room as a bedroom is the presence of a bed. Considering that the missing original beds were sufficientlydocumented in the archives, reproductions could be made for the large royal bedrooms, as was done recently in the *Mesdames Suite*, while a similar operation is currently underway in the small King's Bedroom. The reproduction process is very demanding, in that unlike in the case of a copy, where all information is available, reproduction requires in-depth critical analysis at every step of the process, carried out in collaboration with historians, curators and artisans.

The second example refers to a subject that was controversial in its time, being the reproduction of the gate in the *Cour royale*, which was based on extremely detailed documentation, backed up by excavation work. The gate facilitates an understanding of the workings of the court at Versailles. Separating the exterior from the palace interior, it marks the real entrance to the King's abode.

We were also able to replace the group of sculptures

known as *La Paix and L'Abondance* in their original position, thus restoring meaning to the sculptural iconography that accompanies the visitor in his journey from the gate of the forecourt to the rear of the Marble courtyard.

Three key words stand out as essential with respect to restitution.

• Accuracy: all projects must strive for accuracy, fromthe faithful respect of sources to the information commu-nicated to the public.

• Quality: in the making, whether in the materialsused or the skills, or the attendant importance we give to the support of the artistic professions.

• Coherence: which takes a broad view and enables usto go beyond positions of principle on the ageing state to preserve, restore or reproduce – between a perfect state with an original sheen and an imperfect state that respects the traces of time. Coherence is the result of the weighing of different criteria, where harmony and historical truth come together.

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DIGITAL ANASTYLOSIS: DEVELOPING A VIRTUAL CONSERVATION METHODOLOGY FOR HISTORIC HOUSES AND INTERIORS

Jonathan Gration • Douglas Cawthorne

The current research project is a cooperation between the Buccleuch Living heritage Trust and De Montfort University which focusses on Boughton House and the possibilities of combining conservation theory with the newest techniques in digital 3D modelling. Virtual conservation and restoration offer several advantages that are worth considering when exploring conservation options. A key aspect in this approach is the fact that issues related to reversibility and physical intervention do not come into play. Another important aspect is the financial impact, which is marginal compared to a traditional conservation project on this scale. The virtual reconstruction that comes out of the research is a flexible product. It can be adjusted and updated over time as new facts come to light. It is also a useful tool for public engagement, with the potential to exploit the latest advances offered by mobile technologies.

• • Digital restoration • reconstruction • spirit of place • preventive conservation • Venice Charter • London Charter • heritage • architecture • •

However we categorise a given intervention in the stately heritage that is the subject of this publication we are necessarily confronted with the Sisyphean quality of the task that we undertake. Be it restoration, conservation, preservation, or full-fledged reconstruction, those involved in these projects are always confronted by the past interventions they encounter. The transformation that a work of art goes through in its ageing process and subsequent conservation interventions as described by Ségolène Bergeon Langle in a recent article is one that applies equally, if not more so, to the types of heritage discussed here [Bergeon Langle 2015].

Bergeon Langle describes this process as a journey for the artwork from the time of its conception to the state that it is in when it reaches us. The original state of the object, the first state, differs from its condition when it arrives in the studio of the conservator, its second state. Uncertainty and doubt pertaining to the exact nature of the first state will already be present at this stage. Regardless of the school of conservation followed, the treatment intends to safeguard the object for future generations through a series of treatments, thereby bringing the object into a third state, naturally different from its second state but crucially also from its first. Being cognisant of the inevitable role the conservator plays in this transmission of the object through time to reach future generations has led to the development of ethical codes of practise as well as the principle of reversibility in conservation [Bergeon Langle 2014, 18]. Although we might strive for this ideal it is acknowledged that in most cases total reversibility is

not possible, nor is it indeed desirable [Muñoz Viñas, 2005 pp. 183-188]. An example of this is the consolidation of delicate surfaces. The most reversible consolidant might not provide the consolidating effect for a long period, and the consolidant may not be fully reversible. In this the conservator is presented with a choice between repeated but reversible interventions that will bring more risk of mechanical damage, and the less reversible option that will extend the period between interventions.

Apart from the ethical considerations on intervening with objects there is an increasing pressure to justify the often considerable financial expenditure on large conservation projects. Ursula Schädler-Saub sketches the way attitudes have changed in this respect in Germany, but the example could be applied to most countries affected by recent economic challenges [Schädler-Saub, 2015]. A

Digital reconstructions of historic interiors

The research project introduced in this paper explores an alternative to physical interventions in historic interiors for interpretation purposes, a digital one.

Traditionally only one of these authenticities will be presented to the public in order to avoid the complexity, uncertainty and contradiction that exist in the evidence of multiple phases and the narratives that can be construed from them. Conventional application of multiple authenticities can create an interesting palimpsest but this does not always facilitate interpretation for public engagement. Virtual reconstruction can assist here by providing multiple,

An example of a digital historic interior created based on archival material

worrying development noted by Schädler-Saub is that of the increased erosion of the built heritage preservation ideals that emerged in the 1970's with commercial considerations being prioritised more and more. A trend that resulted from this erosion mentioned by Schädler-Saub is the selective focus on high status and prominent cases when it comes to sponsorship and public engagement, a trend that is in stark contrast with the earlier democratic approach to preserving all forms of built heritage.

time-dependent visualisations of the same room at sequential periods in its history that are each authentic. Such a narrative arc of development can be more completely articulated without having to resort to the compromises necessitated by a single or hybridised expression of the evidence. Virtual reconstructions of this type offer the opportunity to engage the public with research findings to a greater extent than has been possible in the past, with all the benefits of

greater understanding and support to museums and period houses that flow from this.

Augmented reality digital technologies can achieve this effect entirely without physical intervention. The use of newly emerging, light-weight LCD glasses that superimpose full colour digital images on a visitor's natural field of view can create interactive and if wished, completely immersive experiences that convey the same information, not just for a single or group of objects, but for an entire interior with all its constituent parts. Not only would this allow the conservators to virtually restore the original concept or balance of a room, but it could also serve to educate and engage the public with the challenges of conservation and care. It may also be useful in conservation and restoration projects where physical intervention cannot be carried out to the fullest degree due to financial, logistical or other constraints. A successful example of such an approach can be found in the Trianon 3-D project where the interiors of the Petit Trianon are being reconstructed digitally, enabling the integration of items dispersed in various collections worldwide [Renaudin et al. 2011].

In contrast to traditional historic interiors, a digital model can be flexibly redisplayed and reinterpreted to address issues of authenticity, alteration and use. It is not bulky and one could hardly argue that it is an outmoded method of interpretation. In addition, it can generate new audiences. Recent research on combining the virtual and the physical within one exhibition also has proved to be encouraging as far as the visitor experience and willingness to engage are concerned [Lischke et al., 2014].

*Heeswijk Castle:
comparing authenticities*

A recent research project provided a useful opportunity and case study on which to experiment with digital reconstructions of historic interiors [Gration, 2014]. The interior in question is a small cabinet located in a tower of Heeswijk Castle in the Netherlands. The interior was created sometime in the 1870's for Jonker Louis van den Bogaerde van Terbrugge. The small round space was conceived as

a richly decorated Asian inspired room. Imitation lacquer in gold on black and red ground was used as a finish for the woodwork. One of the most remarkable aspects of the interior was the ceiling. Set into the circular ceiling were 81 pieces of Chinese porcelain in varying sizes surrounded by plasterwork profusely decorated with gold decorations on a lustrous black ground. The research into this room revealed information on elements that have long since disappeared, such as the original wallpaper of which there was no archival trace. As if the interior were not remarkable enough, the study yielded yet another unsuspected addition. Detailed examination of historical visual material of the exterior of the tower revealed that the tower room originally had a Chinese-style pagoda balcony. The wrought iron railing in geometric patterns was derived from Chinoiserie examples, and the balcony was topped by a pagoda-shaped roof.

This unusual ensemble was disassembled in stages during the twentieth century: the pagoda balcony was the first victim and the last in situ element, the ceiling was removed in 1974. Only the lacquered panels and door and the 81 pieces of porcelain remained of the original interior by the time the foundation that runs the castle as a museum expressed interest in the potential reconstruction of this interior. All the findings were incorporated in a digital reconstruction of the original appearance, or at least as close an approximation as could be ascertained from the evidence.

*The tower room of Heeswijk Castle
before the recent
re-interpretation project*

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Interest generated through this research fed into an existing desire to restore interiors of the castle that had lost most of the impressive collections they once contained through various sales and also had been unrecognisably altered through questionable

Digital Reconstruction of the tower room's appearance circa 1878 based on the research, view towards the window

Digital Reconstruction of the tower room's appearance circa 1878 based on the research, view towards the door
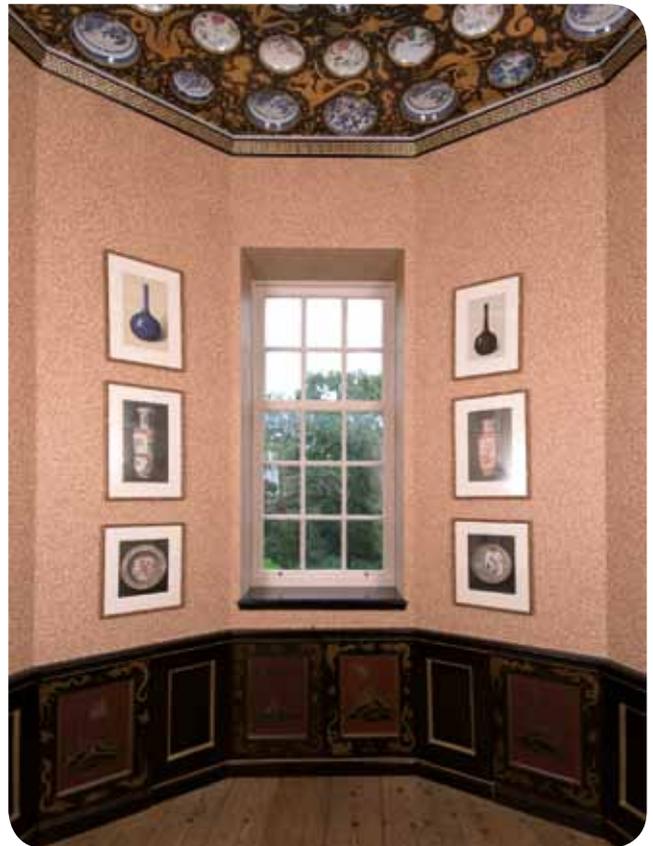
restoration and refurbishment plans. The remaining original fragments of the tower room were conserved and have recently been assembled in an interpretation that seeks to evoke the original interior. Although it is clearly inspired by the original scheme it deviates from it in some significant ways. First and foremost the room was once circular but has now been altered to a polygonal shape and the distribution of the panels adjusted and augmented with blank panels in between. The ceiling is significantly lower than it was originally, and the current construction means the pieces of Chinese porcelain lie deeper within the surface. The original wallpaper pattern wasn't replicated but rather used as an inspiration to source the William Morris Willow pattern that has been used, omitting the flocked border. The original pagoda balcony and door leading onto it weren't re-instated, though this is still possible in the future. What resulted was a room that contains fragments of the original one with substantial amounts of added interpretation and alteration that is nonetheless presented to the public as a restoration of the original [1]. In

The Tower Room after the recent re-interpretation

a quest to restore the castle's authentic interior the result is conversely that the digital reconstruction is closer to the material and archival evidence of the original interior [2].

Challenges for digital interpretations

There is still some way to go for digital reconstructions to gain a significant foothold within this field. Other fields such as archaeology have been early and enthusiastic adopters of the technologies and much can be learnt from their experience. However, the specific technological possibilities and limitations they offer, while valuable avenues for research and debate, fall outside the scope of this paper. An aspect that is important to highlight here for future adopters of digital methodologies is strongly related to the theme of the conference, authenticity.

Invariably, all the technologies used to create heritage visualisations weren't developed specifically for the conservation field but rather for the film industry, architecture, product design, and game design, amongst others. Depicting authenticity, or differentiating the authentic from the new is understandably not a major concern for these fields. The initial use of digital reconstructions in heritage as a tool developed by marketing departments did not seek to tap into its potential as a highly engaging and immersive way of conveying the complex results of research. Finding ways to depict authenticity and accuracy in a digital interpretation is an important challenge for the current generation of researchers [see for instance also the work of Vitale, 2015]. Some guidelines are offered by the London and Ename Charters which provide the first set of boundaries in a field where there are very few technological limitations [Denard, 2009 and ICOMOS 2007]. In this it mirrors to some extent the process through which the conservation profession has developed its guiding charters [i.e. Venice Charter, 1964]. The development of the strategies, rationale and operational techniques for conveying degrees of certainty in digital heritage reconstructions remains a key issue surrounding progress in this area of enquiry.

The future of this research project

Having tested the technical possibilities and limitations, the next step in this project is the development of a methodology for the digital reconstruction of historic interiors based in part on conservation methodology. The aim is to propose, and test, solutions for the challenges of reconstructions like the one described above. The aim is to ensure that the results of this research are applicable to as wide a group of historic interiors as possible. Displaying degrees of certainty within a digital reconstruction in a manner that can be easily understood by a broad public is one of the main areas where the research will propose a novel contribution to knowledge. An initial approach that has been chosen is a virtual reconstruction methodology based on the theories of Brandi, especially as they relate to the tratteggio technique [Brandi, 1981, Cassazza, 2007, Carrozzino et al. 2014]. Another challenge to overcome is finding an appropriate way to display interiors that have multiple layers of alterations and interventions that need to be interpreted.

The search for a case study complex enough to adequately test the hypotheses of the research project, incorporate needs of varying degrees of certainty regarding the historical and physical evidence of its past appearance and pose the challenges of difficult, multi-layered and superimposed versions of the same interior, led us to the Great Hall of Boughton House in Northamptonshire.

In line with the tradition of most great halls in English country houses, the Great Hall has always been at the centre of Boughton House. It is Tudor in origin and significant elements of this phase still survive, although hidden by later interventions. An important period in the Great Hall's history is its dramatic transformation in the taste of the French baroque at the end of the seventeenth century [Murdoch, 1992]. There followed a long period during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries with little structural change to the interior, although collections were moved around. Having been neglected in favour of other residences for a long period, the Great Hall seems to have suffered structural damage that necessitated the removal of the woodwork.

Boughton House Northamptonshire, view of the Great Hall

The replacement that was created in the early twentieth century is appropriate in style in general, though not faithful to the original panelling. Making sense of the sequences of development in using estate archives and other sources, and identifying key stages for possible reconstructions, is a process that will be familiar to all those who have been involved in conservation or restoration projects in the past. The significant difference here, however, is that there is no need to choose only one phase for the final interpretation; within the virtual context they can all coexist. After creating the various reconstructions of the different historical layers of this interior and building, based on the initial findings of a recent ICOMOS survey [ICOMOS , 2014], the digital reconstruction techniques will be subjected to carefully structured quantitative and qualitative analyses. Their effectiveness will be assessed in representing detailed content, communicating complex ideas (including issues of authenticity) and gaining an evidence-based appreciation of their potential impact on the wider restoration debate.

Digital reconstructions will never take over from or replace the need to continue the physical preservation of our material heritage, quite the reverse. Radical reconstructions, simultaneous interpretations, or colour correcting faded but intact material, all need to be viewed from a different philosophical perspective when carried out in the digital domain. This is especially true when their production involves a substantial body of material technical knowledge that is challenging to convey to a large and diverse public.

One of the levels at which virtual reconstructions can assist in the overall aims of preserving material heritage is their usefulness for raising funds for organisations that face increasingly challenging financial conditions. The Internet and the widespread use of mobile devices means virtual reconstructions have a projective and communicative reach that is unparalleled in conservation, but one we would suggest that has yet to be fully exploited. It may be that the main value of virtual reconstructions delivered through these global networks is in alerting and informing remote audiences about heritage interiors, and by doing so, encouraging visits and financial support through a range of avenues. This is quite apart from the interpretive possibilities of their use on-site in the houses and museums themselves.

We believe it is now important for researchers and conservators working on historic buildings and interiors to seriously consider the adoption of digital technologies into their own technical and methodological toolkits. Digital reconstructions are not immune to the effect described by Bergeon Langle at the beginning of this paper; however they do represent a third state that is distinct from the existing state. And, most importantly, they do not physically interfere with it, leaving the option open for it to remain in the second state [Bergeon Langle, 2015]. Furthermore, while digital reconstruction is not a silver bullet for the field, we believe it may provide an effective method of investigation and reconstruction for some buildings and interiors, enabling us to create a temporary pause in the Sisyphean cycles of physical intervention and re-interpretation.

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Acknowledgements

Notes

1. The new construction was executed in fashion that will allow easy disassembly in the future.
2. It should not be inferred from this detailing of the deviations that the intentions were wrong. Various factors that are encountered by most heritage organisations such as financial constraints, deadlines, and external factors influenced the end result.

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THE 'SEVENTH SENSE': AUTHENTICITY – OR WHAT ARE THE CONSEQUENCES FOR THE 'GESAMTKUNSTWERK NEUES PALAIS' IN POTSDAM?

Gabriele Horn • Samuel Wittwer

The word 'authenticity' is very often used to justify decisions in restoration or reconstruction processes. Authenticity is used in the modern Western world to describe our ethics of preservation, to legitimise our decisions and to distance ourselves from other ethics of restoration and reconstruction concepts. This lecture will focus on the building complex – both the exterior and interior - of the Neues Palais (New Palace) in Sanssouci Park in Potsdam, Germany. What does it mean to describe the New Palace as a *Gesamtkunstwerk* in our times? The New Palace is a mishmash of styles, and as such has become an authentic testimonial not to one period but to a specific historical process. Visitors want to learn about the history or the individual fate of a house in some sort of time-travel experience, but they may have other motivations, too: to enjoy an aesthetic experience, to feel the aura of a place that was once inhabited by historic personalities they have heard of, to dream in a nostalgic way of another time, or simply to visit a 'must-see place'. Using the New Palace in Sanssouci gardens as an example, this article will discuss the conflict over authenticity among architects, restorers and curators, between historical record and expectation, between the material and the perceived, and between the technical and ideological limits of a restoration.

• • New Palace • Prussian Palaces and Gardens in Berlin-Brandenburg • authenticity • architecture • restoration • maintenance • reconstruction • aesthetic character • •

THE RESTORATION OF THE BUILDING

Gabriele Horn

The Prussian Palaces and Gardens Foundation Berlin-Brandenburg (SPSG) is organized as a foundation under German law, but operates as a trust. The SPSG owns the buildings, such as the palaces, including their interiors and gardens, and is responsible for their maintenance, restoration, conservation and reconstruction. Most of the palaces and related buildings are run as museums, and the SPSG was established by the German federal government and the two Länder or provinces, Brandenburg and Berlin, on 23rd August 1994 as an independent foundation. Prior to the establishment of a single foundation, Berlin and Brandenburg had run separate palace and garden administrations since 1947. With the end of World War II in 1945 and the dissolution of Prussia on 25th February, 1947, the period of the joint administration of Prussian palaces and gardens came to an end. Its functions were then assumed by the individual states of the Federal Republic of Germany

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(FRG), by Berlin, and the German Democratic Republic (GDR), or by places that no longer belonged to these two German States.

The SPSG is, on the whole, financed by the Länder of Berlin and Brandenburg, and by the German Federal Government. The SPSG administers the main parts of the UNESCO-WHS 'Palaces and Parks of Potsdam and Berlin' (listed 1990, and extended in 1992 and 1999), and is now responsible for palaces and gardens comprising around 800 hectares in Berlin, Potsdam, Caputh, Königs Wusterhausen, Paretz, and Rheinsberg, with an additional palace museum in Oranienburg.

The organizational structure of the SPSG comprises a directorate general and seven departments (administration, palaces and collections, palace management, gardens, construction, restoration and marketing). After thorough scientific studies have been undertaken, restoration works are carried out on the buildings, gardens and on individual works of art through the combined efforts of employees, external firms and specialists.

This article will explain how time, the conservation status, the different materials, the varying restoration ethics and tastes, and the lack of funding are hindering the complete makeover of restored buildings or interiors. The result is an invention of the stakeholders and decision-makers that falls somewhere between real and fake, and between a documentary and a period picture/costume drama. The curators, architects and restorers reside every day somewhere between the devil and the deep blue sea when deciding about the appearance of a building or an interior.

Description and History of the New Palace in Sanssouci Park, Potsdam, Germany (Cat. Friederisiko, 2012)

The New Palace and its surrounding buildings (Communs with the colonnades and the victory gate, and the southern and northern gate houses) in Sanssouci Park in Potsdam were built between 1763 and 1769 at the western end of the old main avenue of Sanssouci Park. The palace was intended to illustrate to the world

New Palace from the Klausberg, Potsdam, Germany

Prussia's unbroken power after the war with Austria, and was built as a guest house of Prussian King Frederick II (The Great), who referred to it as a '*fanfaronade*', an extravagant display. The original design of the complex was expanded in 1766-1769 with the addition of the Communs, which were connected by the colonnades with a victory gate. The latter was re-opened in 2014 after decades of neglect and subsequent restoration. The whole setting is symmetrical along its central axis.

The design of the surrounding gardens stems in principle from the late eighteenth century, with some adaption in the late-nineteenth century. In the twentieth century, after World War II, new buildings (GDR University of Education – today, the University of Potsdam) were constructed in Sanssouci Park to the west of the colonnades, although they do not touch the composition of the immediate vicinity.

The facade of the New Palace, with two main floors and a mezzanine, is structured and connected throughout all three floors by large sandstone pilasters and window frames, interspersed with plaster surfaces that are painted to look like brick mortar. The building is crowned with a high dome that is topped by a sculptural group of the Three Graces that was freshly gilded in 2014. Small one-story wings have been added to the north and south, and a large number of artists have been involved in the abundant decoration of the facades and sculptures in front of the pilasters and along the roof balustrades. (Göres, 2003)

The Court of Honour is bounded by a wrought-iron fence interspersed with lampposts. On the garden side, the original terrace, bordered only by steps, was further adorned with balustrades from 1889–1894.

All the facades of the New Palace, the Communs with the colonnades and the two gatehouses were constructed out of different materials, including stone, plaster, metal and wood. In many cases, plaster and metal have been substituted for the original surface which was worn down over the centuries.

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*New Palace,
Sanssouci Park,
Potsdam, Germany*

Restoration history

Originally, the facades of the New Palace, the Communs, the Colonnades and the two gatehouses were painted. In the Baroque or Rococo periods there was no concept of being faithful to the original materials, and so the pilasters, whether made from stone or plaster, were painted in a reddish ochre. In the eighteenth/nineteenth century the colour was called 'stone colour' (Steinfarbe), meaning that the paint and colour depended on the locality. The plaster work of the New Palace was painted dark red to imitate brick, and some parts of the facade were highlighted in gold. The windows in the *Corps de logis* (cour d'honneur) are gilded. [Fritsche/Dorst 2012]

This principal concept of colour and materialization, and also the surrogates found on all parts of the construction/facades of the aforementioned buildings, aim to show a totally coherent and harmonious concept. The copper domes of the New Palace and those of the Communs, and the copper dome of the victory gate in the colonnades, characterizing the immediate surroundings, were also visible from a great distance as part of the cultural landscape of Potsdam. The domes themselves were hierarchically organized to show the context of significance, and were originally painted in the Rococo style. During the restoration of the Northern Commun, we were surprised to find that the original finish exists and, after careful cleaning, was easily visible, and so we decided not to paint over it. We chose to gild the sculpture on the top of the dome, the sculpture on the Southern Commun and, as mentioned before, the main dome. The question raised was whether it was acceptable to gild the sculpture to attract the eye without painting the domes themselves and without cleaning or colouring the stone sculpture and the balustrades properly.

During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the property slowly changed in appearance, and a change in the aesthetic character also began. At the end of the nineteenth century, the stone elements and even the sculptures were no longer painted. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the applied stone colour (Steinfarbe) had been replaced by the colour of the stone itself, and the sculptures were cleaned thoroughly using abrasive methods. The cleaning of the sculpture stopped after World War II, although the results are still visible today. Many sculptures are black – please don't call it patina – and they look like silhouettes. [Fritsche/Dorst 2012]Our stone restoration workshop does its best, but the results are not very satisfying in the context of the whole ensemble. The restorers are against painting the stones for reasons that are sometimes technical, but mostly aesthetic. Since the beginning of the twentieth century the *Materialästhetik* (the aesthetic of the genuine material) has served as a guideline for many architects, art historians and restorers [Thiele 2013], but in the colonnades and the communs you see a good example of how this can be detrimental to architecture. The lack of money was also a contributing factor, in that it is not easy to maintain a painted building over decades. Only the Southern Gate-house (2013/2014) was treated as a whole building and was coloured in a light pink stone colour.

*New Palace, Colonnades, Sanssouci Park, Potsdam, Germany,
Restoration work*

If you decide not to paint over the different materials, like stone and metal, like you are doing it with the plaster work, then you must respond to this decision and find an aesthetically satisfying solution for the whole architecture. It is not possible to paint a plaster-work pilaster in its found colour, nor a metal cartouche. Furthermore, you must ask yourself if you can give the found colour back to the plasterwork of the entire facade.

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New Palace, Colonnades, Sanssouci Park, Potsdam, Germany

In my opinion, all of this is not possible, in that the *Gesamtkunstwerk* will be neglected. You should reject the use of the found colours, but maybe find a new concept following the same canon. This is the only means of not neglecting the architecture, all in all, and the result has less to do with its original version, but to do with authenticity – and is an invention of recent times. If you fail to respect some aspects of the original intended appearance, it will skew the entire restoration process away from the original architectural intent.

Mike Chopra-Gant (Chopra-Gant, 2008, p.8), made a point about films that can be applied also to historic houses: '(F)eature films are created within the matrix of competing pressures – including the desire to be faithful to historical fact, as well as narrative considerations, economic pressure, genre conventions, political and regulatory pressures and so on – that may increase their vulnerability to historical inaccuracies when compared to scholarly written histories.'

Our restorations are shaped by our cultural norms and our common ideas about the handling of our building archaeological results, our evaluation of the subject, and the concept of completion and alteration. Historic houses are, first and foremost, part of our present-day culture. They visualize a dialogue of the history of a historic house in society, while also changing and manipulating the awareness of history of the visitor. In this regard, it has little to do with the concept of authenticity.

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THE RESTORATION OF THE INTERIORS

Samuel Wittwer

The *Neues Palais* in Potsdam near Sanssouci was built in the second half of the 1760s for Frederick the Great. Its main function was to host and entertain guests of high rank for one month a year.

The *Neues Palais* may be the best-preserved German royal palace of its period. It became a museum right after the end of the monarchy in 1918, and it escaped serious damage during WW II. Tragically it lost hundreds of works of art – among them more than half of the eighteenth century original seating furniture – due to confiscation by the Soviet trophy brigades in 1945-46. Almost seventy years later these works still seem to be irretrievably lost.

In the last few years, beginning under the directorate of my predecessor, three rooms closed to the public for some twenty-six years were restored and re-opened in 2012. Several restoration workshops of our foundation were involved and acted more or less independently. These three rooms, the so-called *Tressenzimmer*, the Concert Room, and lastly, the *Tassenkopf-Kabinett* provide examples of different approaches to achieving authenticity, based on their found condition, scientific analysis and discovery, and the understanding of historical precedents.

New Palace, Tressenzimmer, detail 2, Potsdam, Germany

New Palace, Tressenzimmer, detail 1, Potsdam, Germany

1. The **Tressenzimmer**

The first example, the so-called *Tressenzimmer* is named after the galloons attached to a red silk damask wall covering. This room still has its original eighteenth century wall decoration; the curtains and seating furniture coverings are lost. Since the end of WW II more than half of the original furniture is missing.

The following restoration projects were carried out:
- The floor was repaired and received a new coat of oil varnish.
- The woodwork, the *boiseries*, and the gilding still retained their late nineteenth century surfaces and were only cleaned and retouched.
- The remaining original eighteenth century seating furniture, which had been re-gilded around 1900, was covered with a rewoven silk damask, the colour and design following precisely the eighteenth century fabric to give an impression of how it looked then. This new fabric was also used for the curtains.
- The 1769 silk wall covering was preserved and repaired with a method specially developed to save every thread. This was a major effort and a masterpiece of restoration art.
- The eighteen century galloons with their late nineteenth century gold paint surface (which had turned black from oxidation) were only dusted and re-affixed to the fabric.
- Finally, very costly hand woven copies of those galloons were re-affixed to the new curtains.

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2. The Concert Room

The second example, the Concert Room had lost all its furniture, with the exception of two fauteuils.

The projects completed here were as follows:
- The dark varnish on the wall paintings was removed, and the paintings restored.
- The woodwork and *boiseries* were repainted and re-varnished.
- The gilding was only cleaned and left as it was.
- The brocade curtain fabric was rewoven, again very close to the colours it would have had in 1769.

New Palace, Concert Room, Potsdam, Germany, 1930 and 2014

3. The **Tassenkopf-Kabinett**

The third case, the so-called *Tassenkopf-Kabinett* is named for its curved oval ceiling that resembles the shape of a teacup. The ceiling *boiserie* gives the effect of a garden trellis covered with flowering plants. This room preserved its fabulous and famous series of paintings by Jean Baptiste Pater illustrating Scarron's 'Roman Comique' and one of only two remaining Meissen porcelain chandeliers in the world from the 1750s. The seating furniture was lost in WW II.

Some thirty years ago, restorers had started to remove the dirty looking, cloudy and yellow varnish of the painted *boiserie*. Only when half of the room was cleaned did they discover that they were removing the eighteenth century varnish invented by a son of the frères Martin, who worked for Frederick the Great. This varnish is clear when applied, but turns yellow within 6-8 months, so the yellow effect – or artificial patina - is intended. The shock of this discovery stopped the project for more than twenty years

Here the projects were as follows:
- It was decided to lightly clean the rest of the original eighteenth century varnish to remove the dirt, to analyse the varnish, re-cook it using original substances, and re-varnish the part that had been stripped down.
- The genuine paintings by Pater were rehung on their eighteenth century hooks, the genuine 1765 Meissen chandelier was returned as well, and a suitable set of seats from a lost palace of Frederick the Great now replaces the lost originals.

How can we now assess these various projects in light of the question of authenticity?

The term 'authenticity' has its origin in the art of rhetoric and describes the phenomenon of the performance of a speech that is so convincing, seeming so completely real and truthful, that we forget that it is an artificial (intellectual) construct. Georg Dehio, the German 'father' of conservation and preservation of historic buildings, used the word 'authenticity' to describe an organic process, meaning a development with no major interruptions or breaks.

But there are other ways to approach this difficult expression, using opposites.

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New Palace, Tassenkopf Kabinett, Potsdam, Germany

Authenticity can mean:

• organic/natural	*vs*	disrupted/artificial
• original	*vs*	renewed
• genuine	*vs*	altered, fake
• honest	*vs*	misleading

For those of us working with historic buildings, the expression is very often used to legitimize alterations. It is important to realize that there are three levels or degrees of authenticity: the term authentic can be applied to

a. a substance or material

b. a course of action

c. an impression.

a• *Substance or material*

Illustrating the case of the substance or material, if we look again at the Tressenzimmer, the aim in restoring this room was to preserve as much genuine material/surface as possible to keep it 'authentic'. The result may quiet our consciences at having so brilliantly solved the problem of preserving eighteenth century materials. And it may be a good solution, because every visitor can note what is new and what is old. However the eye, not focussing on the detail but looking at the whole room, judges differently:

the contrast between restored materials and new additions tends to devalue the authentic, seen as shabby, dirty, bedraggled. The process of aging has been disrupted, and how this can be perceived we know from other contexts, e.g.,face lifting in aesthetic surgery.

b• *Course of action*

If we had followed the second level of authenticity, the course of action based on historical precedent, we would have avoided this impression, because in royal times the fabrics dictated the rhythm of renovation. When worn fabrics were exchanged for new ones, almost everything in a room was re-gilded, painted over, and renewed. But I'm happy that we did not follow this aspect of authenticity.

c• *Impression*

In my opinion, for historic house museums the impression is perhaps the most important level to achieve authenticity. Let's therefore look at the Concert Room. Here we find a clear confusion of impression. Showing only those elements or furniture or decorations of a room that survived the vicissitudes of time is honest, and it documents the changes of history, but it rarely evokes the impression of an authentic room. The reason is that we don't expect to see a 2014 interior when visiting a palace from the 1760s. Again, the missing parts dominate, the visitor's attention concentrates on an aspect of the room's history (what's lost) and not on its unity; the visual impression of the room is out of balance. The impression again is not authentic, unless visitor information emphasizes the consequences of twentieth century history. The latter approach excludes a full comprehension of earlier periods, because attention is concentrated on what has been lost.

In contrast the little cabinet next door, the Tassenkopfkabinett, is now as close to its historic appearance as possible. It looks 'authentic' and gives the impression of an eighteenth/nineteenth century room.. Nevertheless the light switch allows us to point out modernisation in the early twentieth century, and the information about the furniture being a replacement (or copies) informs visitors about the losses due to the actions of the Red Army. The reason why this room evokes the feeling of authenticity is that it was treated like a painting, when small imperfections on the surface or losses

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which are – and this is fundamental – not the result of an important historic event (e.g., being pierced by the knife of a soldier in a war), but only a result of the passing of time. When these imperfections are repaired/restored, the result is a complete, non-distracted perception.

In the case of the Tressenzimmer, a similar treatment could be, for example, to use a fabric with an artificial patina. In the case of the Concert Room we could re-introduce the 1950s bricolage sofas together with the fauteuils from the original furniture. We still have work to do on this, e.g., copying two missing fauteuils and looking for console tables.

In the past, the rooms of the *Neues Palais* were never considered to be merely an accumulation of objects. Instead they were regarded as a unity, a complete 'picture', and they should be treated as such. Authenticity is not to be confused with a time-machine, offering us a one-to-one impression of the past. Instead it is a guiding principle to achieve a feeling that the appearance of a room is in balance, that it evokes a picture of the past, and offers an impression of historicity. This feeling could be called a 'seventh sense'.

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RECONSTRUCTING AUTHENTICITY: ERIMTAN ARCHEOLOGY AND ARTS MUSEUM IN THE ANKARA CITADEL

Prof. Dr. Ayşen Savaş

Three modest houses that were transformed into Erimtan Museum at the Citadel of Ankara were dated to the late seventeenth century and found in a state of demolition due to neglect over the years. The major goal of the architectural interventions was the preservation of the historical and material qualities of the existing houses and the surrounding historical fabric. If the old houses were conceived as 'authentic', their reconstructed version was based on a body of information about the functional layout and architectural details. This effort to preserve the historic houses highlights specific issues about authenticity itself. The act of preservation can involve an intricate process which changes, as the meaning of the term shifts from the reconstruction of a building to the reconstruction of an architectural artefact in a museological context. When the context shifts from the existing environment of an edifice to a space defined by a museum, the significance of this term also changes. The study focuses on this transformation.

• • Museum Architecture • museography • reconstruction • authenticity • functional transformation • praxis • •

Assyrian vase from the nineteenth century BC - Anatolian Civilization Museum

A fragmented Assyrian vase from the nineteenth century BC, an unusual museum object, is presented as a pretext for this discussion. At first glance, what we are witnessing is the untainted evidence of a known past. After a closer look however, we understand that what we see in fact, is one of the earliest examples of the restoration of a museum object. Gold as a malleable and valuable material was used in acts of material and aesthetic improvement of this four-thousand-year-old object from daily life. Here, I would like to focus on a comparative role that we architects play in museography. Over the years, we have developed skills in keeping our creative, and equally manipulative interpretations undetected at first sight, revealing them at a closer look mostly to a connoisseur, to a trained eye. The unspoken guiding principle has been the aesthetic choices that we make and try to conceal, not to compete with the documentary qualities of historical artefacts. Restoration, conservation, adaptation, reproduction, these very familiar terms are, in the end, acknowledging the need to interpret architectural objects, in order to prolong their existence. Yet at the same time, they establish a material and an aesthetic threshold beyond which the intervention is thought to undermine the authenticity of the original. This aesthetic threshold marks the border between affirming and denying the traces of history. [Foucault 1970]

Yüksel Erimtan, a civil engineer and a collector who served as the President of Cultural Heritage Collectors Association in Turkey, announced plans to convert his private art and archaeological collections into a public, non-profit institution in early 1990s and pur-

chased three historic houses at the citadel of Ankara. These modest houses have a unique location between the two fortification walls; they are surrounded by very important architectural heritage mostly from the Ottoman period including the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, the historical citadel square, the clock tower, and the three caravansaries. Although the houses were dated to the late seventeenth century, they were not included in the heritage-listed buildings of the citadel and were found in a state of ruin following a severe fire and due to neglect over the years. We, the architects in charge of the transformation of these historical houses into a museum, had faced a common yet equally very challenging decision-making process. The existing houses were in a state of ruin and the establishing museum had to accommodate extremely valuable objects that required specific environmental conditions and additional museum support functions. Following a survey of the houses by scholars and engineers, the decision was made to eventually demolish them and reconstruct them. The architects however, were not satisfied with the proposal for 'reconstruction', mostly due to the lack of necessary historical documentation. Examples of reconstruction, rebuilding, or reproduction are the norm not the exception in architecture. Although complete dismantling and rebuilding is not so frequent, there is evidence of that in architectural history. If the reproduction was ultimately suggesting the production of 'an identical replica', it was impossible in this case. The houses had never been documented, except for one or two black and white photographs taken by an unknown photographer.

Three old houses, western façade

The proposal of the cultural and natural heritage preservation board, which was encouraging the demolition of the old houses and promoting the construction of 'a contemporary architectural project with new materials', was found equally unacceptable. The architects of the museum had started their 'odyssey' with the assumption that it is possible to conceive architecture as distinct from mere building, as 'an interpretive, critical act'. We believed that architecture as activity and knowledge is first of all a cultural enterprise, defined by the historical, social, economic and political context. Architecture has a discursive condition therefore, different from the practical one of building. 'A building interpreted,' says, Beatrice Colomina 'when its rhetorical mechanism and principles are revealed.' [Colomina 1988, 7] The research on the houses was defined therefore as the documentation of the historical and material qualities to reveal the architectural principls. To develop a new method, we researched and verified documentary evidence for all the technical and architectural statements offered by and about the houses. As the 'authentic' houses were conceived as 'originals', their reconstructed versions would be treated as documents yielding information about the scale, spatial quality, construction details and materials. Materiality here refers to the tactile elements that form the physical constituents of a building. Besides brick, mortar and stone, it also denotes 'the substance of architectural integrity', which has been interpreted as 'the manifestation of formal, structural, spatial, material and ultimately aesthetic qualities ' of an architectural product [1]. In this case, it was still possible to identify some of the distinct architectural elements such as the arches, keystones and the wall fabric, but the architectural veracity of the historical houses, their architectural integrity, was completely vanished. While dismantling the remaining parts of the existing houses, the goal was to follow the historical traces and remain within the limits of this academic field of research, which had been defined by the discipline of preservation. The known intervention theories of architectural preservation are framed in the contested perspectives of two main nineteenth century scholars. Here we are referring to John Ruskin who was a strong proponent of the retention of status quo, while his contemporary Viollet-le-Duc advocated a restoration that creates something that never actually existed in the past. Contemporary museology took these theories a few steps further where the known discussions on museum space have been criticized as an environment for 'total displacements'. [Damisch 2001] That is to say, once transformed into a museum, the objects under analysis would be already abstracted from their functional and historical contexts. They would inevitably be cut from their 'original' contexts. [Thordis 2014]

Yet this intellectual argument, no matter how convincing it is in its own poststructuralist paradigm, could not overshadow the long-lasting teachings and the wisdom of the field of preservation not only for the building but also for the architectural integrity of the immediate environment. Museology that had developed in parallel to the above-mentioned debates in the early nineteenth century was under the influence of an allied discourse, generated by the emerging field of 'historiography'. The architects in charge of the transformation of these houses proposed a methodology that benefited greatly from late twentieth century historiography.

'At the origin of a critical act, there lies a process of destroying, of dissolving, of disintegrating a given structure. Without such a disintegration of the object under analysis, no further rewriting of the object is possible. And it is self evident that no criticism exists that does not retrace the process that has given birth to the work and that does not redistribute the elements of the work into a different order... But here, criticism begins what might be called its 'doubling' of the object under analysis.' [Tafuri 1974, 272]

Manfredo Tafuri (1935-1994), one of the most preeminent architectural historians and critics of the post-1970s, underlined the significance of critical interpretation for architecture. For Tafuri, the critical act requires the 'disintegration' of the object under inquiry. The final step is the reintegration of these elements into a further totality. This process is called the 'doubling' of the object. Our aim was to follow this Tafurian path in attempting to develop a method both to understand and reproduce the existing houses. This reductionist undertaking would have been challenged by Tafuri's disapproval of mixing the tools of the architect and the historian. Yet, the goal was not to transcend the boundaries of two disciplines but to understand the critical outcomes of this 'intellectual montage'.

The first step in this blunt exercise was the disintegration of the architectural elements of the houses, literally and metaphorically. As such, they could become autonomous entities detached from their contexts. Once their autonomy was declared, they could be studied individually and reassembled into a new configuration that made the final work go beyond its 'original' existence. The physical deconstruction of the historic houses started, accompanied by meticulous documentation. The architectural interpretation of this documentation was regarded as the first step of the proposed 'critical act'. This semantic analysis deconstructed, in its own way, a number of architectural elements and disclosed their 'rhetorical mechanisms' to be studied autonomously.

'History is viewed as a 'production', in all senses of the term: the production of meanings, beginning with the 'signifying traces' of events... an instrument of deconstruction of ascertainable realities.' [Tafuri 1987, 2]

To discover the signifying traces, we made note of a series of architectural elements in, around and about the existing edifices and their immediate surroundings. As no document remained, the only source of information was the houses themselves.

Signifying Traces: baseline, roof, walls, openings

The first trace was the baseline where the houses met the ground. The overall restoration projects prepared for the citadel district proved that as a consequence of a series of road maintenance projects the houses, in fact all the buildings around the citadel square, including the main gate and the caravansaries, were buried about 50 centimetres below the current ground level. A measure that would have

been negligible in any other case becomes a major concern for single story public buildings and dwelling units. This continuous transformation of the ground level, not only changes the scale of the citadel square and the surrounding buildings, but also consequently displaces them to alter their historical identity.
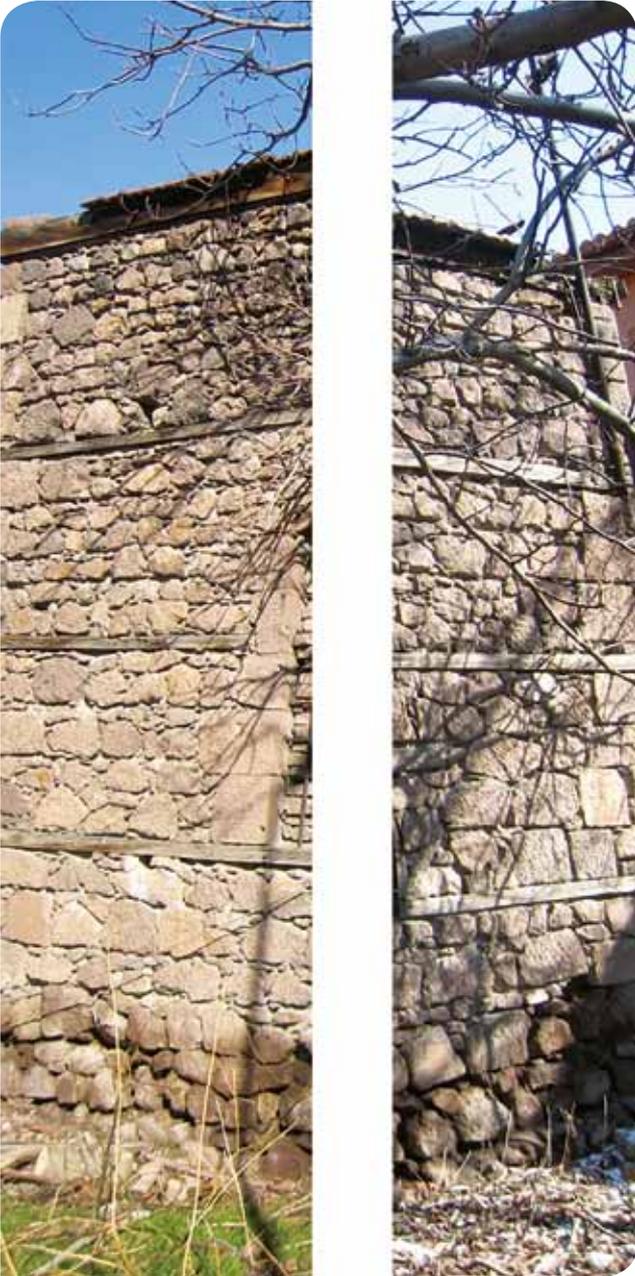
The cascaded decline of the roofs of individual houses was the representation of domestic scale, different ownerships, and different layers of history. The height of the houses was approximately half the height of the citadel walls, three meters higher than the nearest houses and one meter lower than the public buildings facing the square. This meticulous adjustment in scale was obtained with the very delicate alignment of the rooflines. They were shaping the edge where the buildings meet the sky and create legibility from a distance.

Mirroring the Citadel's fortification wall, the stonework formed a homogeneous wall surface at first glance. A closer analysis however would show that each house had its own masonry technique applied to laying the stones and producing the aggregation of the mortar between them. These minor architectural elements acted as strong division lines distinguishing individual houses and indicating different time periods within which the houses were built.

Another trace was the openings on the façades. The windows and the doors were identified with cut stones and keystones at the top of the arches. Other openings randomly pierced the façade surface to produce irregular holes. These and other traces such as the depth of the window frames, the order of the roof tiles, or the thickness of the threshold stones, started to breed 'meaning' for architects; and at the end, they were used as inspirations for the architectural proposals. As these traces were mere inspirations, the reconstruction of the historical architectural elements was

Three old houses, roof line

architectural elements or what we would like to call 'praxical tools' used for the reinterpretation of the historical and material traces of the houses were the main elements of the abovementioned montage. The first tool was the l-beam placed at the borderline where the houses meet the ground. The heavy load of the stonewalls was alleviated with a strong cut from the ground, and raised on an invisible line, to reframe the houses to be perceived as a single mass. It was a tool for total displacement, as the ground being the same, its interpretation, that is to say the reconstruction of the houses it had accommodated, has already shifted the ground's symbolic presence. This line also helped to 're-place' the houses to a new situation, where they can no longer be buried below its limits.

Walls, before and after

I Beam

consciously avoided in the proposal, and when there were no traces left, neither the exterior nor the interior space conform to unascertainable past realities.

Architectural Tools-Praxis: I beam, roof beams

Praxis, by definition, refers to the semantics or the representational characteristics of architectural elements, and rejects the possibility of any practice without theory. Specific architectural elements used in the museum design veil layers of material, conceptual and theoretical interpretations, which at the end transform the whole structural and spatial traces into a semantic entity. The

The second tool was the structural system of the roof. The load bearing sequential l-beams were designed to divide the exterior of the roof surface into three major units and the interior was designed to be perceived as a total space made out of identical elements. These elements were visually identical and parametrically altered to create an optical illusion diminishing towards the vanishing point and expanding the museum space into a constructed infinity.

The façades are designed to enhance the modest scale of the existing citadel fortifications and to keep the original effect of the continuous stonewalls. The original window and door openings of the historic houses were interpreted as contemporary 'view

Spolia

points' emphasizing the timeless values of history embodied in the old clock tower. At first glance, coming up the hill from the Anatolian Civilizations Museum, the glass surfaces remain hidden behind the tilted frames of the window openings. They only reveal themselves from the interior to frame different views of the clock tower at each vanishing point. These symbolic openings also mirror the idea of *spolia* on the Citadel fortifications, which has been considered as the origins of archaeological displays, not to say museology in Turkey. *Spolia* provide a historical depth for the citadel walls and so do the window openings from the museum.

The strong line dividing the stone and concrete surfaces of the western façade of the museum represented the tension between the old and the new. The modest facades of the old houses were kept in their original state and the original window and door openings were interpreted as display environments. The concrete surface was textured with the natural wood mould system to represent the solid mass, which was used to be the foundation of the historic houses.

Western Facade

Another tool was the concept of 'expanded walls' designed specifically to reframe the museum and to accommodate the services and the necessary technical infrastructure. The main façade was expanded to accommodate the museum support functions including the gift shop, the information desk, lockers, and the elevator on the mezzanine floor. The significance of this wall is that it also accommodates the main entrance to the museum. Approaching from the steep road connecting the Anatolian Civilizations Museum to the Erimtan Museum, the north façade gives a strong impression of the existence of a public institution behind the thick stonewalls. Not only the museum sign on the wall but also the perspectival illusion created by the slope, and the antique statue located at the end of the vanishing point looking back from the top window, convey this message. The dimensions of the stones forming the masonry of the façade decrease towards the roofline to support this perspectival illusion. This wall expands towards the inside to provide space for the specialized library and the archive.

Approaching from the main square, the entrance of the museum is indicated with a copper door, a wall of text relief. The relation between the museum walls and the texts has been one of the main considerations behind the design of the museum. Writing texts on the museum walls is a known museographical practice that is used to provide context for museum objects. Wall texts explicate an archaeological object's historical trajectory and they have the power to 'modify its raw reception'. The term 'text' is etymologically rooted in the word 'textiles'. Writings on the walls weave together ancient and new, architecture and archaeology.

Main Door of the Museum

Notes

1. A subject introduced by Cana M. Dai, in the conference entitled What's the Matter? Materiality and Materialism at the Age of Computation, Barcelona: ENHSA, 2014

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Conclusion

As the contemporary state of old houses were conceived as 'originals', their reconstructed versions were treated as documents yielding information about the scale, space quality, construction details and materials. Interventions had to be invisible enough not to compete with the experience of the work but sufficiently visible not to disappear completely, for pure self-effacement would be totally indiscernible and therefore appear as a falsification of the original. What remains suppressed behind these scholarly acts, what remains unspoken behind any museographical act, is this aesthetic ideal of a self-effacement and that we tried to master. While attempting to give legitimacy to this operation, we were aware of the fact that at the end we were transforming the old houses' status from 'historical documents to a contemporary monument', yet with a very modest scale, from mere sources of historical information to a structure with symbolic qualities. [Savaş 1994] This shift would also change the interpretation of the process of preservation. This intervention could be conceived both as a 'reproduction' documenting the original houses and as an architecture defending its rights to its own preservation.

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SCIENCE OR FAITH?
DOUBTFUL TRUTHS IN HOUSE MUSEUMS

Linda Young

Close evaluation of the standards of authenticity in house museums can make a rational person very uneasy. Considering the houses of famous people, we find many dubious cases touching on the actual building, or the time period, when the great resident inhabited the house. Likewise in houses conserved for the sake of outstanding design or aesthetics, and even in the preserved houses of collectors. Structures have often been altered considerably since the time of famous occupation, or design and construction, to the point of demolition and/or major reconstruction – yet they have been deemed suitable for museumisation. Further, we often find that if one famous house is worth museumisation, so are more with the same associations – this is evidently not a problem in the museumising process. After all, how many house museums does a national hero or heroine/ famous designer merit, and how many does the public need? And if we query how and why a great collector has managed to see his house into institutional survival as a museum, we uncover many peculiar stories. This paper surveys the history of a number of house museums. Having reviewed the evidence, it suggests that the concept of authenticity contains a spectrum of meanings in various contexts, stretching between the poles of faith and science. What matters, therefore, is less an absolute standard of 'authenticity', and more an understanding of the expectations brought by visitors to each site. In the light of inconsistent practice, does the notion of authenticity matter? JM Barrie's fairy tale Peter Pan and Wendy suggests a solution.

• • House Museums • Authenticity • Famous characters • museification • •

I'm honoured to be the last formal speaker in our conference program—though I know very well that the conversation will not stop after this session!

I'm going to offer an overview of some of the existential problems of veracity, sincerity, and yes, authenticity, from the point of view of the history of our peculiar species of museum: the house museum. My work looks at house museum history in the UK and the USA, and it has turned up some funny and some disturbing evidence about truth in our domain. I am going to tell you a parade of

house museum stories, mainly about well-known examples, which I think will make you feel amused, uneasy and possibly embarrassed about what 'authenticity' means, in house museums. I address several ideas about what makes a dwelling worthy of transformation into museumhood— and I confess to my own partialities, too. I predict they will disturb your confidence in the thought that authenticity is a keystone of the species of house museums.

House museums dedicated to or commemorating famous people—whom I refer to in anthropological terms as

'culture heroes'—are often established on rather flimsy evidence. Let me begin with Shakespeare, beyond argument, the god of English literature. He is the subject-inhabitant of the third-oldest house museum in Britain. Stratford-upon-Avon, where Shakespeare was born and died, was already a site of pilgrimage when the bicentenary of the poet's birth was celebrated in 1769, and literary tourism to Stratford never looked back.

The Shakespeare family house?

This house is one of three in Stratford, owned by John Shakespeare, the father of William; it is the only one that survives. Shakespeare père's long career had its ups and downs. At one point, two of his three houses were sold. I tell you this story because it explains why it is uncertain—in fact, unknown—whether William and his seven siblings were born in this house on Henley Street, Stratford. It's an uncomfortable basis on which to start thinking about house museum authenticity, yes?

Whether or not it was the actual house, the tradition that it was William Shakespeare's birthplace and childhood home was firmly established by the mid-eighteenth century. Tradition is a valuable source of cultural information, and it is often the only window into some fields of historical knowledge. Tradition was so confident about this house that an upper, front room achieved mystical fame as the precise spot of William Shakespeare's birth. Today, knowing the essential uncertainty about the house, it would be naive not to recognise the style of this knowledge as a symbolic narrative that confirms its own truth. One writer on 'the Shakespeare industry' observed a little boy following his mother upstairs to what is called 'the Birth Room', and asking: 'Mummy, are we going to see the baby Jesus?'[Hodgdon, 1998: 195-7] This is beautiful evidence

of how humans recognise the myths of our cultures, so let's not even mention the A-word.

Back into history: when the house came onto the market in 1847, a committee of gentlemen paid £3000 for it; though they had to get a bank loan to augment the public subscription funds. Then followed a program of works, to transform the house from a rundown tenement into a Tudor merchant's house.

The adjoining houses at either end were purchased and demolished to make protective firebreaks, and to focus public attention on the House itself. It took nearly twenty years to pay off the initial cost and get the property into shape, and not until about 1880 did the house begin to make an income. This tale of money and works that took much longer than anyone expected, will be familiar to practically everyone here who's been involved in the museumisation of a house.

The house was largely unfurnished, as is to be expected of a place that had been let to tenants for at least two hundred years. Basically, the 'Birth Room' was empty. A semi-museum, called a library, was installed on the ground floor. It displayed Shakespeariana such as a chair from the Stratford Grammar School, which William may have sat on, and multiple editions of his poems and plays, and an ever-growing number of images of Shakespeare, chiefly prints published as broadsheets or book illustrations.

The National Portrait Gallery acknowledges only two definitively provenanced portraits. One is the engraving that appears on the cover of the First Folio (1623) and the other is the sculpture on his memorial in Stratford upon Avon. Several paintings from the period may represent Shakespeare; and many more have been created ever since. By the 1870s, there was a huge range of images available, and the act of displaying them can be understood as an homage to the great man. It made sense—you might say it manufactured the illusion of authenticity, specially in the absence of anything else.

Hence also the ritual of the ascent to the Birth Room, where a visitor would leave his/her graffito on the wall as a way of giving honour and marking attachment to the spirit of the place. The walls were repainted every now and then, and the ritual would start over again. From the early nineteenth century, some visitors, at extra cost, were permitted to scratch their names on the glass window; there are many famous names. This practice continued until the

1950s. Even while we shudder, we could acknowledge, here, that the graffito tradition has been endemic among tourists and pilgrims since antiquity, and continues wherever it's not controlled, as at Elvis Presley's house, Graceland.

Thanks to Shakespeare's house being museumised in the public sphere since 1847, we have a rare history of a house museum's presentation over a very long period. It's particularly interesting to trace the introduction of furnishings. In 1899, a bust of Shakespeare and two late-medieval chests were introduced into the Birth Room.

In 1950, a new director sought to bring both more warmth and more history into the house. It was based on the evidence of inventories of middling-class Stratford tradesmen, and hence the Birth Room was gradually furnished with a Tudor-period bedstead, cradle and embroideries (and flowers on the bedside table!) The house was next refurnished in 2000, when the whole building was interpreted, downstairs, with workshop, trade goods, and store rooms, as well as a large communal hall, with the upper floor dedicated to family accommodation. Here, in 2000, now appeared the latest understandings of a more colourful and patterned sixteenth century décor, very different to the previous, modernist, white walls. Costumed interpreters also joined the staff. The steady progress from minimal intrusion into a sacred space towards more and more explicit representations of the poet's life follows modern museological trends in interpretation.

So what does it say about the topic of this conference? Do we see more authenticity in each era of furnishing? Personally, I like the most recent presentation, so I'm glad to give the opinion that, if not actually augmenting the degree of authenticity, these installations certainly represent more understanding of life in the sixteenth century, as Shakespeare might have known it. So there's my personal compromise with authenticity.

At the risk of excess, let me go on. The Shakespeare Birthplace Trust is today the biggest property-owner in Stratford. Over the years, it has acquired houses and land surrounding the Birthplace house itself, and throughout the town, and in nearby villages, to prevent inappropriate development. Between 1875 and 1949, the Trust acquired six more houses with Shakespeare associations (to be precise: 5 + 1 archaeological site).

The site is the excavated and back-filled site of Shakespeare's final home, New Place, which had been

Shakespeare's Birthplace, 1847 · Site of New Place, 1875 · Palmer's Farm, believed to be Mary Arden's house, 1935 · Shakespeare houses x 6 · Anne Hathaway's house, 1892 · Nash's House, 1892 · Hall's Croft, 1949

demolished in the 1750s; since the 1930s, it's been a garden, but is presently the object of plans to interpret the archaeological foundations. Then there are the houses: the house of Shakespeare's mother's family (Mary Arden's house, acquired in 1930); of his wife's family (Ann Hathaway's house, 1892); the house William Shakespeare gave to his daughter, Susannah Hall (Hall's Croft, 1949); and the house of his granddaughter, Susannah's daughter, Elizabeth Nash (Nash's house, 1876). There is a coda to the business of collecting authentic houses: Mary Arden's house was discovered in 2002 to have been part of a different farm, someone else's farm, while the real Arden family property had unknowingly been acquired in 1968, for a planned Shakespearean farm exhibit. It seems that the goal of authenticity in history may often be beyond reality!

Such a quantity of houses, whatever the association with such a supreme English culture hero as Shakespeare, does seem questionable. It's a common metaphor to conceptualise the house as the body of the great inhabitant (even though this perspective obliterates everyone else who ever lived there). It's as if the generations of houses represent a genealogy of the hero's bloodline, from ancestors to progeny. It's pretty weird, isn't it? OK, I acknowledge that my question betrays the values of our times, and that mentalities were several paradigms different in the twenty decades of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. There was a much more powerful conviction that blood connections mattered—blood being shorthand for what we now know as genetics. Though it would have been heinous to suggest it, veneration of the hero's ancestors follows primary religious models. Many eighteenth century people regarded their visits to Stratford as pilgrimages, and the simile persisted into the more scientific nineteenth century, not to men-

tion the allegedly rational twentieth century. Faith is often described as the willing suspension of disbelief. And so is the eighteenth and nineteenth century taste for novels and poetry, which can be understood as a hedonistic practice via imaginative experience. And the twentieth and twenty–first centuries?

I think today we are even more enthusiastic consumers of fantasy, even as we are also ironically aware of our own self–chosen illusions. I imply disparagement, but the fact is, I too love to imagine myself into times and places that I know via reading, or TV. So what does authenticity mean in this scenario? Is my faith, or my pleasure, compromised by acknowledging the numerous Shakespeare house museums and their evident manipulation of forms of religion to give the hero credibility, which is to say 'authenticity'? Hmmmmm…

George Washington houses

There are countless more examples of unreliable history, mystical traditions, wilful decisions and romantic restorations in the history of the museumisation of heroes' houses. George Washington; Sigmund Freud in London; Henry Thoreau; John Lennon & George Harrison. Heroes' houses are specially prone to these kinds of mystification, but so are other types of house museum.

There is a similar span of the same fantasy-fulfilling tastes in, for instance, houses that are museumised for the sake of their architectural or interior design; I have come to call this genre 'artwork houses,' because they are museumised with aesthetic motives. The idea of demonstrating that national character can be represented in architectural form inspired the earliest artwork house museums, which were vernacular forms.

This was the case for the English National Trust's first building acquisition: the Priest's house at Alfriston in East

Artwork houses

Gamble House: Greene & Greene

Red House: Phillip Webb

Hill House: Mackintosh

Eames House: Charles Eames

Sussex. It was purchased for £10 in 1896, when it was described as 'tiny but beautiful'. Looking back on the first fifty years of Trust acquisitions, a writer asserted that this house and a cohort of additional vernacular cottages constituted visible proof of Englishness manifested in architecture: he wrote, 'they look, and are, indigenous.'[Oliver, 1945: 78] Of course, the Arts and Crafts movement of this very period attributed its dearest values to the medieval vernacular with its unpretentious design and honest craftsmanship, specially as demonstrated in the snug, domestic sphere. In historic terms, it could well be said that the turn-of-the-twentieth-century-National Trust's taste for Indigenous Englishness was an expression of the Arts-and-Crafts sensibility returned to its logical origins.


Indigenous Englishness

The Alfriston example shows a clear specimen of conservation and restoration. Many medieval houses have now been rescued, effectively excavated, from later houses that have grown around them—and these cases demand radical interventions to realise their original form (or dare I say authentic form?)

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Science or Faith? Doubtful Truths in House Museums •

This was certainly the case among the first architectural design museumisation projects in the United States. Several New England antiquaries were keen to save seventeenth century houses as evidence of America's English roots in the very late medieval period. In 1910, the Essex Institute in Salem, Mass., moved the John Ward House to the Institute's site and reconstructed and furnished it for display. The house was built in 1684, enlarged about 1730, and had been rebuilt inside and out, so it required major interventions to restore it to a museum-standard ancient form. It was furnished to the 1700s-period with antiques and reproductions, and guided tours were led by a custodian dressed in a homespun costume. What is authenticity in this case? What is reproduction? What is reality? In its time, the John Ward House was preceded at the Essex Institute by what are arguably the US's first period rooms: three glass-fronted alcoves arranged in 1907 to represent colonial-era interiors. I suggest we see here that a little 'reality' is a dangerous thing—it provokes the historical imagination into a search for ever more comprehensive authenticity…

That said, I cannot impugn the motives or style of the museumisation of most modernist artwork houses—which is overwhelmingly a phenomenon of the 1990s onwards. Hence there is more awareness of the conservation principle of observing all stages of a building's change, as evidence of historic use. In addition, modernist houses are often young enough to have been inhabited by just one generation, so changes tend to be more in keeping with the initial design.

How much authenticity?
Frank Lloyd Wright
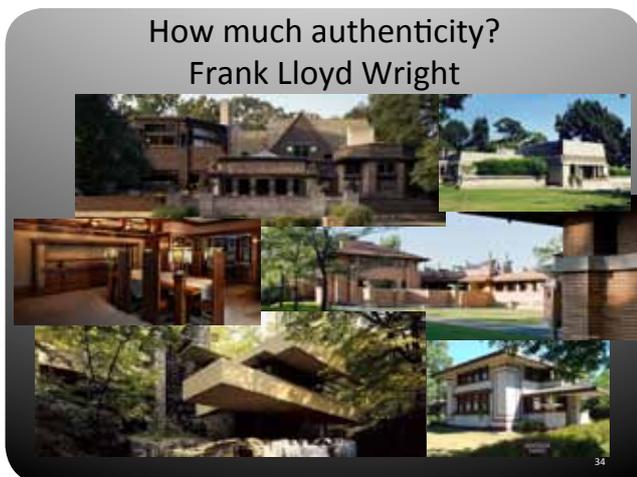
But I could be more snide about modernist multiplicity, as I was about the Shakespeare dynasty houses. The outstanding case is houses by Frank Lloyd Wright; a friend recently upped my count from twenty-two to twenty-five

Frank Lloyd Wright house museums, and there are more to come. I'm a little cruel in this example, for Wright is certainly the supreme hero of American design, on the scale of Shakespeare in relation to English literature. He built about 430 houses, of which some 260 are still standing; that means nearly ten per cent of Wright's surviving domestic output has been museumised! It seems that every town or suburb containing FLW houses is enthusiastic to convert at least one to museum status, thanks to their standing as unique artworks, with all the prestige that art collecting brings. The authentic artwork brings honour to the town, the region—the microcosm of the nation.

To fully appreciate the art work, it is frequently necessary to undertake considerable restoration. And historic houses can demand more than your average Old Master oil painting to conserve… Some of the masterpiece houses had rocky histories of misuse before Wright's superstar fame was clear, and they have required major intervention and re-creation to exhibit the master's genius. One of the great Prairie Houses, the Darwin Martin House in Buffalo, New York, has been in restauro from 1996 to today. This and other Wright houses certainly represent authentic design ideas, but the new fabric certainly challenges the standard of material authenticity.

As a matter of fact, anecdote suggests that many of the Wright houses came to be regarded by their owners as so unlivable that museumisation was their only means of preservation. This may contain some truth, but the idea that twenty-five-plus houses merit eternal life as house museums speaks to the larger myth of Frank Lloyd Wright as the transcendent creative spirit of America. It also asserts a definitive counter-claim to the primacy of the old world in cultural status. This kind of authenticity is certainly a gesture of cultural politics!.

I'll wrap up my talk by turning my lens to the genre of collectors' houses—the smallest sub-group of house museums, but one that is disproportionately famous. Some collecting in this vein is driven by personal vision, which informs the house as a creative ensemble. The house may become a total artwork in itself, a Gesamtkunstwerk— as envisaged by certain gifted collectors such as Charles Paget Wade of Snowshill Manor. It is more frequently the case among collectors' house museums that art collecting begins as the vehicle of presenting a magnificent front to the world via superlative pictures in the home, like Isabella

Stewart Gardiner. Here the collector's own agency might be much or little, for many wealthy collectors' money was (and is) transformed into artworks by the taste of dealers. The topic I interrogate about collectors' house museums is their afterlife as museums, when their founders have passed out of mass memory as billionaire movers and shakers, and drifted into new reputations as tasteful philanthropists.

Gesamtkunstwerk or show piece

Snowshill Manor, Gloucestershire   Isabella Stewart Gardner, Boston

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I recently came across the phrase 'ego-seum' to describe the current phenomenon of contemporary art collectors who develop private museums. Ego-seum is a wonderful word that also explicates much of the purpose of the more venerable collectors' houses: it makes the point that the collection is an ego-extension of the collector, which can survive long after the death of the collector, and can transform his or her reputation.

The Frick ("robber baron") Collection

The outstanding case is Henry Clay Frick, whose Frick Collection in New York City is often called 'everyone's favourite NY museum'. Frick was an utterly ruthless and immensely successful tycoon. He planned his future

public museum with the explicit aim of self-memorialisation. It took shape with the construction of Frick's New York house in 1912-14. He had retired from active mogul-business in 1899 and made a dramatic collecting shift when he acquired his first Rembrandt (since reattributed) and his first eighteenth century English portrait. For the next twenty years he acquired Old Masters and French furniture. Frick died in 1919; the museum opened in 1935, after Mrs Frick died. Today everyone loves the Frick; no one except labour historians remembers his reputation as a so-called 'robber baron' of the Gilded Age. You might say of this monument to ill-gotten gains, that t'was ever thus. Yes, of course it is so; power makes money, and financial capital can be converted into cultural capital, that is, money can transform into art, whole museums-full of art. But just as today we temper our admiration of the looted antiquities and ethnographic treasures that adorn the museums of yesterday's empires—so we might pause to contemplate the truth, the authenticity, of many a wondrous collector's house museum…

So, I think I've seen you smile, and I acknowledge some grimaces at my more simplistic jabs. I hope I leave you less confident about the project of authenticity in house museums.

It occurs to me that a cheeky illustration of the contingency of authenticity is to be found in the story of Peter Pan, the boy who wouldn't grow up. [Barrie, 1911] He and his friend, the fairy Tinker Bell, meet a girl named Wendy and they have wonderful adventures, until Tinker Bell sacrifices her life for Peter, and is in turn saved by Wendy, thanks to her faith in fairies. The story tells us that faith in the implausible can be a precious thing. Peter Pan invites all readers to help save Tinker Bell by demonstrating their belief, too. As he says: 'If you believe in fairies. . .'—and now I offer you the dilemma: if you believe in authenticity, clap your hands!

●

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SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT AND AUTHENTICITY

Edward R. Bosley

In 2013-14 the city of Los Angeles suffered its driest winter since weather records began to be kept in the late nineteenth century. California's governor declared a water emergency, which was followed by more rainless months, wildfires and elevated levels of air pollution. Only one inch of rain fell in the city of Pasadena (nine miles northwest of Los Angeles) between May and October 2014, and by the end of this period the snowpack in the Sierra Nevada mountain range, which provides the largest percentage of the water to the region, was 18% of normal. With climate change and environmental degradation comes the need (and responsibility) to identify more sustainable methods of managing historic sites. This workshop is meant to provoke discussion about the balance between the conflicting agendas of authenticity and environmental care, using three topics as representative:

1• With respect to **water**, can cultural landscapes that were historically dependant on abundant supplies of it, for example, be both authentically interpreted *and* sustainably maintained, particularly in over-populated and drought-prone regions?

2• With respect to **energy efficiency**, is our desire to accurately interpret original light levels in a domestic environment trumped by the need to better conserve energy?

3• With respect to **conservation materials and methods,** can the authenticity of architectural finishes be faithfully represented and interpreted when traditional Volatile Organic Compounds (VOCs) are less available, tightly regulated, and damaging to the environment?

In short, how much does our concern for authenticity come at the expense of the environment and vice versa?

With The Gamble House in Pasadena, California, as a point of departure, this workshop seeks to examine how environmental sensitivities affect our tolerance for traditional notions of authenticity.

Water: A Scarce and Precious Resource

At the time the Los Angeles aqueduct was completed in 1913 it was one of the most ambitious engineering projects in the world, designed to deliver the majority of an entire region's water—at 485 cubic feet per second—more than 230 miles, from the Owens Valley below the eastern flank of the remote but spectacularly scenic Sierra Nevada mountains, to the semi-arid flatlands of the Los Angeles basin. The aqueduct was sold to taxpayers as an urgent necessity, but in fact the project was conceived by a small group of developers who wanted to spur growth and drive up land values. A second aqueduct was added in 1970, increasing capacity to 775 cubic feet per second. What was *not* calculated was the demand that millions of new water users would create in future years. Demand for water, of course, does not decrease automatically when it is less is available, and after three years of drought, and in the face of archeological evidence of historic multi-decade droughts in California, traditional notions of maintaining historically significant landscapes must come into question. While it may seem relatively unimportant compared with larger ecological and humanitarian problems, water scarcity has serious implications for historic sites and the cultural values they represent. As site administrators, how should we respond to these changes?

In October of 1908, just as construction began on the Los Angeles aqueduct, the Gamble House was nearing completion. David and Mary Gamble, and hundreds of thousands of others, could feel assured that an abundant supply of water would be available in the future, removing any question of scarcity in their lifetimes. This was the implied promise of life in the Los Angeles region, and it shaped the way residents planned their landscapes. In short, water becomes a nearly indispensible protagonist in the interpretation of a historic site from the period. In the ensuing decades, urban sprawl and climate warming have changed the calculation so significantly that to interpret the landscapes of a century ago now feels irresponsible. The original Gamble landscape included lush expanses of grass surrounding most of the house, numerous trees and shrubs, and roses that Mary Gamble carefully listed in her little black notebook. A fishpond with water plants was designed for the west terrace with a supply of water that emptied continuously through the storm drains to the street. This was the situation, in fact, until as recently as 1993, when a re-circulating pump was finally installed. To be certain, the landscape evolved over time, becoming more lushly planted under Mary Gamble's tenure. To complicate matters, today the gardens include mature trees, which are not from the period of significance but are nonetheless protected by local ordinance. A Cultural Landscape Report, recently concluded, recommends the re-establishment of historical features and plant material. Now we must decide how to proceed in a time of water uncertainty.

Discussion : The discussion that ensued centered on learning from the more than decade-long drought experienced in Australia, during which farmers, legislators and ordinary citizens made significant sacrifices to become more efficient water stewards. Strategies such as installing subterranean cisterns to capture rainwater and implementing grey-water irrigation wherever possible, have helped put Australia at the forefront of water conservation worldwide.

Historic Light Levels and Energy Efficiency: Searching for Balance from Newer Technologies

Newer technologies in interior lighting have given historic-site administrators choices that sometimes conflict with authenticity but promote responsible energy efficiency. Like water, light plays an important narrative role at The Gamble House and at many historic sites of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries that historically used light bulbs of varying styles, color, and brightness. Manipulation of light, both natural and artificial, is central to the ambience of the interior of The Gamble House, and architects Greene & Greene went to great effort to manipulate light to invite an emotional response within their interior spaces. Historically, we have used carbon-filament reproduction bulbs of the kind available when the Gamble family occupied their house in 1909. These produce a beautiful, if 'dim, religious light,' and visitors sometimes complain of it being too dim inside the house. In some areas, brighter bulbs are used strategically for safety. Artificial light was meant to play an important complementary role with leaded art glass, which transmits natural light into the same spaces. With compact fluorescent lamps (CFLs) and light emitting diode lamps (LEDs) now emitting improved color values, more options are available to accurately interpret historic light levels while improving energy efficiency.

Discussion: The lively discussion that followed showed how differently the issue of lighting is approached among historic sites. House museum curators hoping to interpret the pre-gaslight era lamented, on the one hand, the relative inability to safely interpret interior light levels with tallow tapers and also noted that artificial candles have improved in quality in recent years. Nineteenth century sites that originally relied on natural gas lighting have generally retained the common fixture conversions to electricity despite needing to drift from the period of significance to do so. Originally electrified sites, such as The Gamble House (1908), have long been faced with choosing between authenticity and energy efficiency. The LED lighting revolution and its continued improvements have created broader possibilities for balancing authentic expression of light levels and color range while realizing noticeable energy efficiencies. Thanks also

to the significantly reduced temperature output of LEDs, lighting decorative arts can now be more safely illuminated for interpretation of transmitted light without the worry of heat degradation, an important conservation benefit.

Conservation Materials and Lower Toxic Tolerance

In 2004 a team consisting of conservators, preservation consultants, curators, historians, architects and administrators completed a conservation project on the exterior of The Gamble House, selecting or rejecting materials and methods to produce an aesthetic target informed by archival research. Conservation, including the choice of architectural finishes, was guided by the availability of appropriate and affordable materials. Environmental and health safeguards were informed by best practices and our consciences. As with any conservation project, we knew that we would be judged by present and future generations, the former likely to be more sympathetic than the latter, assuming that technologies would advance and that sounder methods and materials might emerge. An existing non-original exterior condition at The Gamble House was a heavy coat of lead-based paint, applied in the 1930s. In the 1980s a hydro-pressure removal test was conducted, producing suboptimal results. In the early 1990s, a caustic chemical paint-removal process was tested, also with an unhappy outcome. In some places the paint was so well adhered as to resist removal, in others it flaked off to the touch. In the end, we elected not to remove the non-original paint, but rather to encapsulate it with a suitable preservative. This was done in part to save the huge expense of removal and long-term storage of a toxic substance, but in larger part to save the shingles from a mechanical manipulation that would inevitably alter their physical and aesthetic characteristics. Finally, we knew we would also be sparing the environment a toxic waste nightmare by avoiding sending lead-paint waste to the desert. Working with the Forest Products division of the National Forest Service in Madison, Wisconsin, we identified a preservative that was VOC-compliant and did not leave a residue, an important feature when anticipating future re-application. Of course this decision produced neither an original treatment nor an authentic architectural finish. It did, however, serve

the triple goals of an aesthetic target, a functional requirement (mitigating further degradation), and environmental responsibility.

Like the shakes, the rafters also provided an instructive materials lesson. Many rafters were so badly rotted that it was feared we would need to replace original historic fabric with new wood members. In the end, however, we used versions of Abatron's *Liquid Wood* and *WoodEpox* products—epoxy compounds modified with cellulose fibers—allowing us to reconstitute the original profiles of rafters and beams. Care was taken to treat the wood with boric acid before applying the epoxy compounds to help deter rot. In the past, pentachlorophenol had been one of the more common biocides for treating wood. By 1992, the chemical's public-health risk was recognised by the Environmental Protection Agency as too severe, and it became a regulated product no longer available in the U.S. The preservative ultimately used on the rafters and beams was the same used on the exterior redwood shakes: TWP 500 by Amteco, Inc., since then reformulated and marketed in the U.S. as TWP 1500. Again, these products did not produce an exact, historically accurate finish, but they came as close as we believed was feasible. The result has been repeatedly recognised by preservation professionals for its authentic aesthetic and functional integrity.

Discussion : Time constraints forced the presentation on toxic materials to be abbreviated, unfortunately leaving no time for follow-up discussion.

'THEY TROD THESE STONES':

VISITOR PERCEPTIONS OF AUTHENTICITY AT HAMPTON COURT PALACE

Aileen Peirce • Daniel Jackson

This article summarises recent research conducted by Historic Royal Palaces on visitor perceptions of authenticity in historic buildings. A one-day audience forum was organised at Hampton Court Palace involving 40 members of the public. The participants were asked to discuss elements of authenticity using four case studies. This paper summarises the results of the forum into ten key points that outline the participants' understanding of authenticity and highlights some of the challenges and questions that the forum raised. The research was presented during a workshop session at the 2014 DEMHIST conference in Compiègne and the resulting discussions are reported.

Introduction

Authenticity has been a hotly debated issue among heritage professionals since William Morris presented his manifesto for the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings in 1877. Although the term was originally rooted in the material authenticity of the object; the globalisation of the heritage profession, particularly over the past half century, has led to the adoption of a much broader definition of authenticity. Although there has been significant academic discussion around the subject there is little research relating to how audiences perceive authenticity when visiting historic buildings.

Authenticity is regularly used as a selling point when marketing heritage to the public, whether offering an authentic experience or the chance to see authentic historic objects, and our visitors tell us frequently in surveys that they value authenticity. This demonstrates that our visitors have an awareness of the concept of authenticity in relation to heritage, however until now no attempt had been made to interrogate the public understanding of the term. Do visitors value the strict material authenticity of an object or is there a more subtle cultural element? Is their understanding of historic authenticity fixed or varied? Do any of the interpretation techniques used in historic house museums affect visitor perceptions of authenticity?

This research explores how visitors to Hampton Court Palace understand the idea of authenticity – what it means to them, whether it matters to them when visiting a historic attraction and how their views might inform our own professional practice. The first phase of the research was presented at a workshop session at the DEMHIST conference in Compiègne. The 100 participants received a ten minute presentation before breaking out into groups of approximately ten people to discuss the findings and feedback their views. This paper presents a summary of the original research and the discussions during the workshop session.

Defining authenticity

In 1965, the Venice Charter set out a traditional and Eurocentric view of authenticity stating that the aim of conservation is 'to preserve and reveal the aesthetic and historic value of the monument and is based on respect for original material and authentic documents.' [http:// www.icomos.org/charters/venice_e.pdf, 2]. In order to realise the aim of handing sites on 'in the full richness of their authenticity' [*ibid*., 1], preservation of original building fabric was the primary concern. Restoration was tolerated but not beyond the reassembly of original materials (anastylosis) and reconstruction was ruled wholly unacceptable.

As the World Heritage List expanded beyond Europe's stone buildings, this definition became increasingly problematic – how to list a wooden building where the material requires continuous renewal and where its' significance may not lie in its materiality but in its use, in the traditional craft skills used to renew it, or in its spiritual significance?

After 30 years of debate within the academic and heritage community, the Nara Document of 1994 [http://www. icomos.org/charters/nara-e.pdf] redefined authenticity as culturally situated. It is now acknowledged that authenticity is not purely confined to the materiality of an object or site, but can 'be linked to the worth of a great variety of sources of information … form and design, materials and substance, use and function, traditions and techniques, location and setting, and spirit and feeling' [*ibid*.].

The Declaration of San Antonio [http://www.icomos. org/en/charters-and-texts/179-articles-en-francais/ressources/charters-and-standards/188-the-declaration-of-san-antonio] moved the debate on further, focusing particularly on American sites, many of which have been in continuous use by indigenous people for centuries, and acknowledged that authenticity is both object and subject related. The site is a focus for cultural identity, and judgements of authenticity are inextricably bound up in that identity. It also recognised the role current custodians and users of sites have in determining the value of heritage, explaining that 'The authenticity of heritage sites lies intrinsically in their physical fabric, and extrinsically on the values assigned to them by those communities who have a stake in them' [*ibid*.].

Visitor research

In 2014 Historic Royal Palaces established a research project at Hampton Court Palace to investigate how our visitors perceive authenticity. The first stage of the research was a qualitative research study where 40 people were invited to attend a one day workshop. The participants were a mix of first time visitor and those that had been before. The visitors were split into groups and taken on unmediated visits to selected areas of the palace. Their responses and discussions were filmed for later analysis.

A presentation from a curator followed, revealing some of the conservation and presentation issues faced in each case study. The visitors were shown before and after shots, given details of the conservation/restoration/ re-creation processes undertaken in each space and the research that informed those processes. A moderated discussion followed and the groups were filmed as they discussed the issues.

Four case studies were selected to explore particular authenticity issues. For each case study the visitors were asked for their general thoughts about the visit. They were then asked to discuss how authentic the space was and what elements of the space and their visit had an impact on their judgement. After the curatorial presentation, they were asked more specific questions, detailed below, related to particular aspects of the authenticity of each case study.

Case study 1:
The Great Hall

What Hampton Court Palace does, which a museum cannot, is to display objects in their original context. Seeing Henry VIII's Abraham tapestries where they originally hung in the Great Hall is a unique experience but brings significant conservation challenges. At one extreme, putting them in a climate controlled darkened room would preserve their material authenticity for longer but would potentially destroy the authentic experience of the Great Hall. However, if the tapestries remain in the Great Hall, unprotected, their context is preserved but they are exposed to a much greater risk of damage and decay.

The Great Hall, Hampton Court Palace

After the curatorial presentation, with a focus on the tapestries, the visitors were asked for their opinion on how the tapestries should be displayed and cared for.

Case study 2: The Pages' Chamber

In Henry VIII's apartments, the Pages' Chamber has been furnished and filled with sixteenth century objects; however, these are not original to the space or even, in many cases, to the palace. This raises questions about the relative values of the authenticity of context and provenance versus the material authenticity of the objects.

After the curatorial presentation, with a focus on the objects in the room, we asked visitors to discuss whether this information changed their opinion of how authentic the space was and whether the age of the objects was more important than their association with Hampton Court Palace.

Pages' Chamber, Hampton Court Palace

Case study 3: The Chocolate Room

The Chocolate Room is a re-created example of a high status early eighteenth century kitchen store and was opened to the public in 2014. The shelves have been reinstated in their original locations to a design copied from the nearby Chocolate Kitchen. The room has been filled with objects re-created using traditional techniques and materials, based on documentary and archaeological research, tying each very specifically to Hampton Court Palace.

After the curatorial presentation, which explained the re-creation process, the visitors were asked to discuss whether it was possible to have an 'authentic re-creation'

*The Chocolate Room,
Hampton Court Palace*

and also whether it was important to explain the re-creation process and research on-site in order to validate the experience.

Case study 4:
The Da Maiano Roundels

The Da Maiano roundels at Hampton Court Palace have been the subject of a significant conservation project over the past ten years. After a long period of careful analysis and experimentation, the roundels were stabilised and missing elements were replaced to prevent further loss.

The visitors were shown images of the roundels before and after restoration and given a curatorial presentation that explained the restoration process. The visitors were then asked whether the restoration had made the roundels more or less authentic.
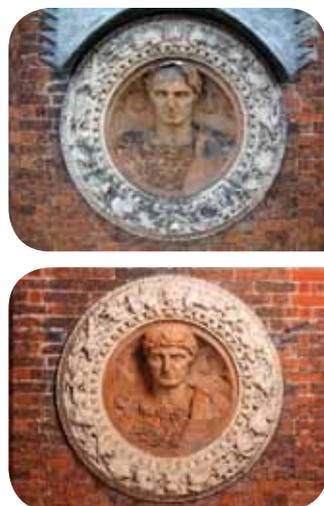
*'Tiberius' Da Maiano Roundel,
pre and post conservation*

Results

All of the visitor responses and discussions during the workshop were analysed and can be distilled into ten key points. These points highlight our visitors' current understanding of authenticity and provide some interesting areas to explore in the future.

1• Most visitors are open to persuasion
'I think what they've done is brilliant if they've tried to re-create everything in the actual way it would have been done'

Few visitors have fixed views, and opinions changed significantly once visitors gained insight into Historic Royal Palaces' challenges regarding authenticity. However, most visitors won't have this opportunity for 'live' insight so our challenge is how we can provide this in other ways.

2• Perceptions of authenticity are relative…
… to a visitors' prior experience with heritage generally and with the specific site they are visiting. The visitors' motivation for visiting (social, intellectual, emotional, spiritual) and their level of existing knowledge regarding the subject matter also have an influence. Visitors' perceptions were also relative to whether they respond to the site in an intellectual/rational way or a felt/emotional way. For instance, those visitors who came with specific learning goals were more likely to be interested in knowing how the spaces/objects had been restored, conserved or re-created and were more focused on material authenticity.

3• Perceptions are confused:
authentic = old-looking
There is a dissonance here – if something looked as it was at its point of origin, it would not look old. Some visitors felt strongly that, in order to be authentic, objects and buildings had to look old, whereas others were happy to see restored and re-created objects which looked as they would have done originally.

'A shame the roundel looks so new and can't look aged'
'I prefer to see the restored and coloured version'

We had similarly polarised reactions to the Chocolate Room, chiming with Lowenthal's description of the desire that the presented past should conform to modern stereotypes of historic life [Lowenthal, 2004].

4 • *Most visitors believe* **authentic** *relates to* **original** *purpose premier*

Visitors told us that an authentic experience is one that is fixed at a particular point in time – the multi-period room or architectural palimpsest seems less authentic to visitors. This is a particular challenge at Hampton Court Palace as parts of the palace are authentically sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, nineteenth and even twentieth century whilst the majority of visitors see the 'true' presentation of Hampton Court Palace as sixteenth century.

5 • *Visitors' primary response to authenticity is an* **emotional** *one*

'It is very important to have that feel of authenticity'

Any discussion of material authenticity was secondary to their emotional response. This was the clearest measure of the spectrum of authenticity as defined by our visitors. Materiality is a concern that is reflected in the middle of the spectrum but, for them, the most authentic places are those that trigger imagination, emotional response and 'time travel'.

6 • *Interpretation matters – the* **story** *matters more than a purist approach to history*
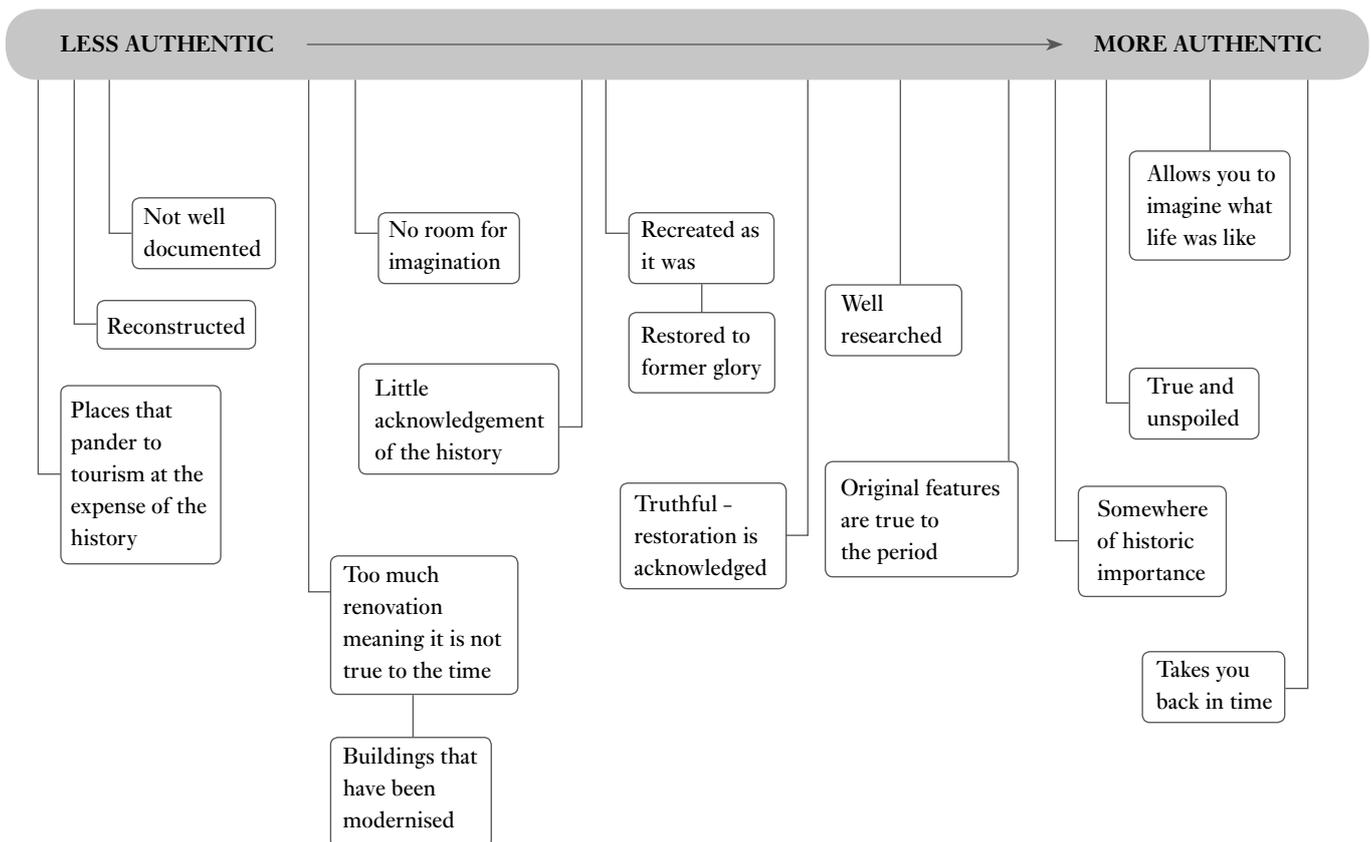
This is very much related to point five – visitors are looking for an emotional connection with the past to trigger an authentic experience and that is provided by narrative as much as the physical building. It is clear that these emotional triggers vary substantially relative to similar factors explained in point two.

'They trod these stones'

7 • *A human and multi-sensory experience feels more authentic*

Visitors reported that people humanise spaces, bringing them to life. Sights, sounds, smells and atmosphere create the sensory cues that allow visitors to 'travel back in time'. Whilst the impact of live interpretation was not explicitly included in any of the case studies, as it was felt to be too big and potentially divisive a subject, the groups did observe in passing some of the daily live interpretation. It is interesting that this very short exposure was enough to elicit a response in the discussions that followed.

What makes a heritage site less and more authentic?

LESS AUTHENTIC ⟶ MORE AUTHENTIC

- Not well documented
- Reconstructed
- Places that pander to tourism at the expense of the history
- No room for imagination
- Little acknowledgement of the history
- Too much renovation meaning it is not true to the time
- Buildings that have been modernised
- Recreated as it was
- Restored to former glory
- Truthful - restoration is acknowledged
- Well researched
- Original features are true to the period
- Allows you to imagine what life was like
- True and unspoiled
- Somewhere of historic importance
- Takes you back in time

'I like the costumed interpreters. It really brings a sense of authenticity to the place'

8• Information about authenticity should not get in the way of 'the magic'

Most visitors want an immersive experience. Some are interested in the research and re-creation processes but others do not want to break the spell. This relates back to point two – those visitors who come to the palace with specific learning goals were more interested in information about conservation and restoration processes. However, more visitors came seeking an emotional connection with the past. The challenge here is the need to balance these differing audience demands.

'People come to places like this for a romanticised view of the past … you don't really want to know how it's been put together'

'How have the wall coverings been researched? Can I see some of the documents?'

9• Context matters

It was surprising how clearly visitors were able to articulate their views that it was important to see objects in their original context. Several recognised that it might be 'selfish' because the objects would deteriorate but, despite these reservations, most still felt strongly that the opportunity to see objects in context outweighed concerns about preserving material for future generations.

'What is the point in having [the tapestries] stored elsewhere behind a glass cabinet? You'd lose everything'

'I think for them to go in a museum they wouldn't mean anything. They would lose what they actually are.'

10• Trust matters

First time visitors (those who had never visited Hampton Court Palace before) told us they assume Historic Royal Palaces will get it right, do the research and make informed decisions about conservation and presentation. Returning visitors reported that they know this will happen because they have experienced it. It was important that the spaces and objects had '*credible*' authenticity and visitors placed their trust in Historic Royal Palaces to provide this.

'They are very knowledgeable about the smallest detail … I would trust Historic Royal Palaces to manage it completely'

Conference workshop debate

Lively debate in the workshop session followed the presentation of the research. One of the key questions raised was whether the results of the research at Hampton Court Palace could be replicated in other countries or whether the response might be culturally dependent and internationally different – perhaps a French, Russian or Mexican audience might respond to the question of authenticity completely differently. Several institutions have since approached Historic Royal Palaces to discuss the methodology with the intention of testing this in their own countries and Historic Royal Palaces is very keen to collaborate with other institutions to widen the base and the reach of the research.

Following on from discussion on cultural background, one group questioned whether the results might also be affected by the type of site and experience. Would an industrial site be different if the visitor motivation is to escape to reality rather than escape to fantasy? There were also discussions about whether different visitor and non-visitor segments might respond differently to questions of authenticity.

There was a general acknowledgement that there is a gap between the authenticity judgements of the public and professionals. However, there was no consensus (in fact there was heated debate) about how or whether this should impact professional practice. Some felt that visitors come for experience and spirit of place more than authenticity and that we must take this into account in our management of historic buildings, telling stories using various methods, accounting for multiple intelligences and responding to visitor needs. However, others pointed out that a museum is a scientific institution and exists for education – we can ask the public what they think but must be aware of dumbing down and 'disneyfication'. It might be the case that, for the visitors, it is the human story that matters but there needs to be a balance between public and professional judgement. Some felt there was a tension between visitors' desire to be educated and entertained at the same time.

Finally one group felt that we need to keep asking the public what they think – opinions will change as audiences change.

Conclusion

This research has taken an important first step towards understanding heritage visitors' perceptions of authenticity in England. The research shows visitors' definition of authenticity is more subjective – related to their own emotional response to a site, than objective – focused on the material originality of objects and building fabric, though they still recognise and understand the importance of the latter. It has demonstrated that visitors trust heritage organisations and are receptive to learning more about what goes on behind the scenes, but not at the expense of the overall experience. The results also show that heritage organisations have an opportunity to shape our visitors' thoughts about this important subject and that some of the major challenges, for instance interpreting complex multi-period sites, are interconnected with delivering an authentic experience. By undertaking this focused qualitative research first it has been possible to identify several key questions which will be used to inform the project as it develops further.

Moving forward

This was the first stage of Historic Royal Palaces' research into public perceptions of authenticity. We have since conducted an online quantitative survey with a sample size of 2,072 to test the conclusions of the qualitative research that was presented at the DEMHIST conference. This second phase of research surveyed visitors that have previously visited one of Historic Royal Palaces properties. The large sample size has allowed us to analyse how different visitor segments responded to questions of authenticity. Analysis is still being carried out and the results will be published later this year. It has provided a lot of detailed data and is revealing some fascinating (and in some cases, surprising) conclusions.

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BIOGRAPHIES

ASTRID ARNOLD-WEGENER studied art history, classical archaeology and French literature at the universities of Bonn (Germany), Paris IV-Sorbonne (France) and Freiburg (Germany). She completed her studies with a PhD in 2001 about *Villa Kérylos. The Historic House as a Reconstruction of Antiquity.* She has worked at the Historical Museum in Basel and at the Kunstsammlungen Veste Coburg. Since 2010, she has been curator at the Museumslandschaft Hessen Kassel and responsible for the collections of Löwenburg, Wilhelmsthal and the Weissensteinfluegel of Schloss Wilhelmshöhe as well as the German Wallpaper Museum.

SÉBASTIEN BOUDRY is an art historian specialising in furniture and works of art having graduated from the University of Paris IV-Sorbonne. His research dealt with 'Henri Jacob, chair and cabinet maker' (2000, Master's degree) and with 'Louis-François Chatard and the gilders of the Royal Garde-Meuble under Louis XVI' (2001, Master of Advanced Studies). Since 2003, he has been a research officer at the Centre des monuments nationaux (CMN) and he has been responsible for the restoration of collections since 2009, in the field of decorative arts. In 2014, he became collections referee within the CMN department of monuments and collections conservation.

EDWARD BOSLEY is James N. Gamble Director of The Gamble House, operated by the University of Southern California (USC) School of Architecture. His publications include *Greene & Greene* (London: Phaidon Press, 2000), as well as other books and articles on the Greenes, the Arts and Crafts movement in America, and related subjects. He lectures widely and teaches Historic Site Management within USC's Heritage Conservation Master's Degree program. He holds a Bachelor of Arts in the History of Art from the University of California, Berkeley, and a Master in Business Administration (MBA) from University of California Los Angeles (UCLA).

J. A. W. BUISMAN (Netherlands, 1960). From autumn 1988 till its finalization in 1992, he leaded the renovation of the Geelvinck Hinlopen Huis. This included the conservation and part reconstruction of the 'beletage' and its period rooms (by the heritage architects Mrs. G. Bolt-Schellenberg and dr. J. Goudeau), as well as the new formal garden (by the garden architect Robert Broekema). Since, he directed the museum. Besides this, he initiated and directed Maecenas World Patrimony Foundation aimed to conserve historic art objects at the offices of the United Nations (projects: restoration of the Marc Chagall 'Peace Window at the UN headquarters in New York (2011) and the Henrik Sørenson mural 'Le Rêve de la Paix' at the Library of the Palais des Nations in Geneva in 2009). He advised on several international turn-around projects for collections. He recently developed the innovative format for the Sweelinck Collection (formerly the Sweelinck Museum of the Amsterdam Conservatory) of 90 historic early keyboards to be placed, presented and (partly) performed on in their natural habitats (historic patrician houses all around the country), while this collection is continued to be managed, digitally presented and for conservation aspects controlled by the central museum. Other functions: Honorary Consul of Belarus; Secretary General of ICOMOS NL; Member of ICOM DemHist, CIMCIM, ICLM and expert member of ICOMOS ISC Cultural Landscapes, as well as member of EGHN, REMA, EFFE, Europa Nostra and other.

PAZ CABELLO-CARRO, Doctor of Philosophy in Art History (PhD), has belonged to the Body of Museums Curators since 1974 when she joined the Museo de América in Madrid as curator of the pre-Columbian collections and Deputy Director. Director of the Museum from 1992 to 2008, she led the re-opening of the Museum to the general public in 1994. In 2008 she joined the Patrimonio Nacional as chief curator until 2014. Master in Public Management and curator of several exhibitions, she has published a great number of papers and works on the collections of the Museum of the Americas, collections related to Native Americans, museology and the history of heritage.

DOUGLAS CAWTHORNE is a UK Registered Architect and an academic with twenty years of teaching and research experience. He took undergraduate degrees at Dundee University and a Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) at Peterhouse, University of Cambridge (1996). At the Leicester School of Architecture since 1999, he specialises in adaptive re-use projects involving historic buildings and has developed specialisations in 3D printing for architectural model making, 3D laser scanning of buildings, their components and artefacts, and virtual reality modelling of ancient buildings for heritage applications. Since 2010 he has been the head of the multidisciplinary Digital Building Heritage group.

SILVIA CECCHINI is a lecturer in History of Museology and History and Theory of Conservation at the Postgraduate School of Archaeology at Federico II University, Naples. She holds a PhD in History and Conservation of Artistic and Architectural Objects from Roma Tre University and graduated as a restorer of cultural heritage at the *Istituto Superiore per la conservazione ed il restauro* (Superior Institute for Conservation and Restoration formerly *Istituto Centrale per il restauro*). She is currently collaborating with the City Museum of Rome-Palazzo Braschi and with the Missionary-Ethnological Museum in the Vatican Museum. She has been a member of the Associazione Giovanni Secco Suardo since 2000.

LUC FORLIVESI is an archivist-palaeographer and conservateur général du patrimoine (Heritage curator). He started his career at the National Archives, in the hotel de Soubise, where he developed an interest in the heritage of the buildings, their history, that of their inhabitants, their living environment, etc. Then he was posted to the Indre-et-Loire Departmental Archives. Since March 2011, he has been Heritage and Audiences Director of the National Estate of Chambord. In 2013, he curated the exhibition *Les Lys et la République. Henri, comte de Chambord* (1820-1883).

IAN FRASER, before re-locating to the UK, was a joiner and art gallery technician in Ontario. In England he studied at colleges of furniture design, making and conservation. He has worked for Leeds Museums and Galleries since 1989, based at Temple Newsam House where he undertakes remedial conservation to wooden objects, develops and implements preventive conservation systems, develops and manages, with

colleagues, room restorations at Temple Newsam; and works on display developments at Temple Newsam and other sites within the service. He presented papers at two conferences organised by the Stichting Ebenist Foundation, Amsterdam, in 2008 and 2012.

JONATHAN GRATION has a degree in Art History, specialising in Historic Interiors from Leiden University. He went on to study Conservation & Restoration of Historic Interiors at the University of Amsterdam. In the past he has worked for the Limburg Conservation Institute (SRAL) and as an independent researcher and conservator of interiors. From 2008 to 2013 he was an assistant coordinator for the ICOM-CC Sculpture, Polychromy and Architectural Decoration working group. He is currently working on a PhD within the Digital Building Heritage group at De Montfort University on a collaborative project with English Heritage, focussing on Kirby Hall in Northamptonshire.

ROBERTA GRIGNOLO is assistant-professor of 'Restoration and reuse of twentieth century architecture' at the Accademia di architettura in Mendrisio - Università della Svizzera italiana (USI) since 2009. She received her degree in Architecture in 2000 from the Politecnico di Torino, Italy; in 2003 she completed a Diplôme d'Etudes Approfondies in 'Sauvegarde du patrimoine bâti moderne et contemporain' at the Institut d'Architecture de l'Université de Genève. In 2006 she gained a joint PhD from the Politecnico di Milano and the Institut d'architecture in Geneva. She was co-leader (2009-2012) of the research project 'Critical Encyclopaedia for restoration and reuse of twentieth century architecture', a partnership between USI, EPFL, ETHZ and SUPSI.

GABRIELE HORN has been Head of Protection and Preservation of Historical Monuments and Gardens at the Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg (SPSG, Prussian Palaces and Gardens Foundation Berlin-Brandenburg) in Germany since 1999 and also manager of the UNESCO-World Heritage Site 'Palaces and Parks of Potsdam and Berlin' at the SPSG. An ICOM member since 1992, she joined ICOMOS in 2003.

DAN JACKSON, BSc, Ma, FRSA, is the curator for Hampton Court Palace in Surrey. He oversees the provision of all curatorial and archaeological support on projects ranging from

multimillion-pound conservation projects to new shelves in the stationary cupboard (and everything in between). Dan completed a BSc in Archaeology at the University of Bradford followed by a MA in Landscape Archaeology at the University of Birmingham. He spent his early career working as an archaeologist for a variety of commercial organisations in the UK. Having joined Historic Royal Palaces in 2012 he has worked on a series of major conservation and infrastructure projects. Dan leads a team of assistant curators and is responsible for the strategic planning and procurement of archaeological projects. His current research interests include understanding how visitors to historic sites perceive authenticity, examining the archaeological potential of the lost Tudor palaces and managing change in historic buildings.

PRZEMYSŁAW MROZOWSKI is an historian and an art historian. He has been working at the Royal Castle in Warsaw since 1989. Chief curator since 1993, he became its scientific director in 2010. He teaches medieval art history at the Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski University in Warsaw. As a medievalist, he has published several articles about artistic culture and symbolic language in the Middle Ages and the modern age.

AILEEN PEIRCE is Creative Programming & Interpretation Manager working at Hampton Court Palace in England. Aileen joined Historic Royal Palaces in 2005 at the Tower of London leading the re-presentation of the Medieval Palace and projects to interpret the Tower's role as fortress and prison. She moved to Hampton Court Palace in 2009, managing a series of projects to re-present the Tudor part of the palace and, most recently, the reconstruction of the eighteenth century Chocolate Kitchens. Originally a Medieval History graduate, Aileen spent nine years working as a fund manager and equity analyst, before deciding to make a career out of her passion for history. She has an MA in Cultural Heritage Studies from University College London.

JEAN-PIERRE SAMOYAULT, archivist and palaeographer, was Curator of the musée national du château de Fontainebleau from 1970 to 1994 and later, General Manager of the Mobilier National and the manufactures des Gobelins, de Beauvais et de la Savonnerie from 1994 à 2003. With his wife, Colombe Samoyault-Verlet, he successfully completed the restoration of the grand apartments and the Musée chinois at Fontainebleau; they also oversaw the creation of a museum devoted to

Emperor Napoleon I and his family in the Louis XV wing (inaugurated in 1986). His main publications deal with André-Charles Boulle, the collections of the château of Fontainebleau (bronzes, furniture) and furniture under the Consulate and the French Empire.

BÉATRIX SAULE is conservateur général du patrimoine (Heritage Curator). She joined the conservation team at the Palace of Versailles in 1976. Director of visitor policy and cultural services, development and outreach from 1995 to 2003, she became director of the Research Centre at the Palace of Versailles in 2003 and of the national museums of Versailles and the Trianon in 2009. She has been the curator of several exhibitions at Versailles such as *Quand Versailles était meublé d'argent* (2008), *Sciences et Curiosités à la cour de Versailles* (2010) and *André Le Nôtre en perspectives. 1613-2013* (2013). She has been General Secretary of the Association of European Royal Residences since 2001.

AYŞEN SAVAŞ, after completing her master's degrees at Middle East Technical University, Turkey, and Bartlett School of Architecture, United Kingdom, received her Ph.D. degree at the Massachussets Institute of Technology, USA. For the last 20 years, she has been converting historical buildings into museums, curating exhibitions, teaching courses on museology and acting as designer and advisor to public and private museums. Her achievements comprise a number of international awards including the American Institute of Architects (AIA) Award, the American Association of University Women (AAUW) Research Price, the Schlossman Prize for historical research, Sir John Soane Museum and Canadian Center for Architecture fellowships. The Turkish Pavilion she designed the World Expo in Shanghai 2010 won a Silver Medal.

LANFRANCO SECCO SUARDO is President of the *Centro Studi e Progetti 'Associazione Giovanni Secco Suardo'* located in the historical residence of the Castle of Lurano, where Giovanni Secco Suardo, (a highly significant figure in the history of Italian and international restoration) lived and worked in the nineteenth century. Creator and manager of national and international projects on issues of conservation and restoration of cultural property, he is particularly involved in activities such as the training of conservators-restorers, the maintenance of architectural heritage, and projects for the protection and conservation of heritage in developing countries.

RENAUD SERRETTE completed a Master's degree at the École du Louvre, specialising in the decoration, furniture and architecture of French royal residences. He went on to study for a Master's degree in decorative arts at the University of Paris IV-Sorbonne, which focused on the lost Château of Choisy-le-Roi. Then he completed a Master of Advanced Studies on the collections of the Duke of Penthièvre (1725-1793). Since 2001, he has been in charge of collections management and studies at the Centre des monuments nationaux (CMN). In 2014, he became collections referee within the CMN department of monuments and collections conservation.

SARAH STANIFORTH is President of IIC (International Institute for the Conservation of Historic and Artistic Works). She worked for the National Trust from 1985 until 2014, most recently as Museums and Collections Director. She read chemistry at Oxford University and studied paintings conservation at the Courtauld Institute of Art. Her professional interests include: buildings and collections conservation; museum and heritage management; and bringing historic places to life through excellent standards of presentation and interpretation.

EMMANUEL STARCKY is conservateur général du patrimoine (Heritage Curator). Curator for the Cabinet des Dessins at the Louvre museum from 1985 to 1991 where he was in charge of Northern European schools, he was also Director of the musée Magnin in Dijon, which he began to renovate in 1989. In 1991 he was nominated Director of the musée des Beaux-Arts in Dijon where his exhibition policy had an international slant, eg. *Prague 1900-1938, capitale secrète des avant-gardes* (1997); he also initiated the renovation of the museum. In 2003 he became Assistant Director of the musées de France, before becoming the Director of the Museums and National Domain of Compiègne and Blérancourt. He has been the curator of several exhibitions there, namely *Louis XVI et Marie-Antoinette at Compiègne* (2006) and *Napoléon III et Victoria* (2008).

SAMUEL WITTWER, born in Switzerland, started at the Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg (Prussian Palaces and Gardens Foundation Berlin-Brandenburg) in Germany in 1999 as Curator of the ceramic collection. Since 2008, he has been Director of Palaces and Collections of the Foundation. He is on the board of several foundations in Germany and Switzerland and member of the scientific council of the Klassik Stiftung Weimar, all of them dealing with decorative arts and interiors.

LINDA YOUNG teaches aspects of heritage and museum studies at Deakin University in Melbourne (Australia). She was a house museum curator and consultant in the distant past. Since then she has dedicated years of thinking to the question 'what are house museums for?', giving rise to many publications. A historian by discipline, her book *The nation at home: A history of historic houses as museums*, on the history of house museumization in the UK, the USA and Australia, will be published by AltaMira in 2015.

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