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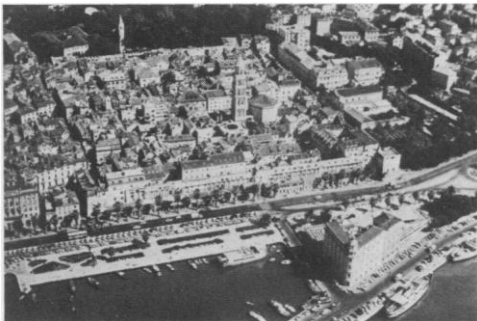


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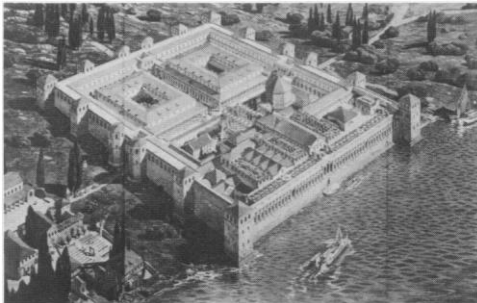
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SPLIT AT THE CRITICAL POINT: DIOCLETIAN'S PALACE, EXCAVATION VS. CONSERVATION

20



1
Split today
(aerial view)



2
Hébrard's reconstruction
of the palace (1912)
(Source: Hébrard, *Spalato*)

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Split, a busy port on the Adriatic coast, is an economic and cultural center of Dalmatia and one of the oldest cities in Croatia. This region was once known as the lands of Illyria. Split's historical center is the palace of the Roman Emperor Diocletian, a native of Dalmatia, who lived there after his retirement until his death. The ensemble was surrounded by protective walls, which gave it the character of a military fortress or "castellum" enclosing a luxurious residence.

The palace has a long and fascinating history. After the fall of the Roman Empire and the devastation of the neighboring provincial capital of Salona in 614 A.D., many inhabitants fleeing the invaders took refuge behind the thick walls of Diocletian's Palace. Imperial apartments were transformed to shelter homeless refugees. In this way the first squatter fixed his residence and became, in the words of Bernard Rudofsky, "an honorary trustee and unofficial guardian of a landmark."¹ For almost fourteen centuries, these squatters' rights remained uncontested.² None of the invaders since that time, including Goths, Avars, Slavs, Tartars and Turks, succeeded in capturing the palace enclave.

An Early Medieval town grew within the enclosure, and later spread beyond the walls. Expansion continued until the twentieth century, making the palace area a true urban nucleus. After World War II, systematic architectural investigations and restoration activities began in several areas of the old Roman palace.

Since 1968, archeological excavations have been carried out jointly by the Town Planning Institute of Dalmatia and the University of Minnesota, under auspices of the Smithsonian Institution. Two reports were consequently published in 1972 and 1976, describing the extent of the digs in various sectors.³ Specialists from several countries assisted in excavations. Activity has been restricted to a number of limited sectors since the Roman palace constitutes the very core of a dense city. In some areas, no work was undertaken until the local housing authorities saw fit to condemn and demolish apartment houses, thus freeing the area for archeological investigations. Further digging can continue in many areas only after the demolition of additional buildings. It is commonly accepted that the complex may never be excavated in its entirety, and that the work will probably continue for generations.

City planners and historians are thus faced with a dilemma. The excavation program aims at increasing knowledge of the original palace complex, but urban renewal must clear the way. Housing to be demolished is declared "substandard" and "devoid of historical interest," while the dense urban fabric of the very heart of the city is being slowly eroded. The choice at this point seems to be one between urban removal to serve archeology, and urban conservation to nourish living history. Which has the greater right to exist, and can they indeed co-exist? The views expressed in this article represent neither of the partners in the joint project, but are an independent effort to evaluate critically the recent work, which attempts simultaneously to achieve a dual and irreconcilable goal: to preserve the place-related context, and at the same time to destroy parts of it in order to gain more knowledge about a specific historical period and its "vanished" context.

Environments change, both through slow and natural process and through sudden physical alterations—natural disasters, earthquake, war. Transformations are common, and accepted as a part of evolution. But change in Split over the last few decades is a case of conscious and planned intervention. Many issues must be dealt with simultaneously: growth, renewal, conservation and transformation. The true challenge facing the city planners at the present time is to

develop a policy relating these changes to the cherished imagery held by those whose lives and memories are *closely* tied to the city. This is what Kevin Lynch calls “public images,” or the “common mental picture carried by large numbers of city inhabitants.”⁴

For centuries Split has retained a strong sense of place, with well-defined edges, nodes, and districts. Some of the alterations recently performed in the city’s fabric have weakened this “imageability,” even though no major landmark has been torn down. Although fragments have been removed in specific areas, the greater part of the historic central district has up to now been preserved. The occasional loss of housing units and gaps in environment are received by the general public without resistance, and without the dissent or political battles that we would experience in this country. Local citizens accept these changes as a matter of government policy, because more adequate and hygienic living quarters for the displaced are usually provided. But still the puzzle remains. Diocletian’s Palace is a landmark of the Late Roman period, associated with a soldier, a conqueror and colonizer of these provinces. How did the government authorities of today’s socialist Yugoslavia decide that the application of scientific archeology and the restoration of an ancient architectural icon are more important than the living encrustations which followed for sixteen centuries? For without destroying the major recognizable features of the relic from which it sprung, the town has actually encompassed its remains to the mutual advantage of both.

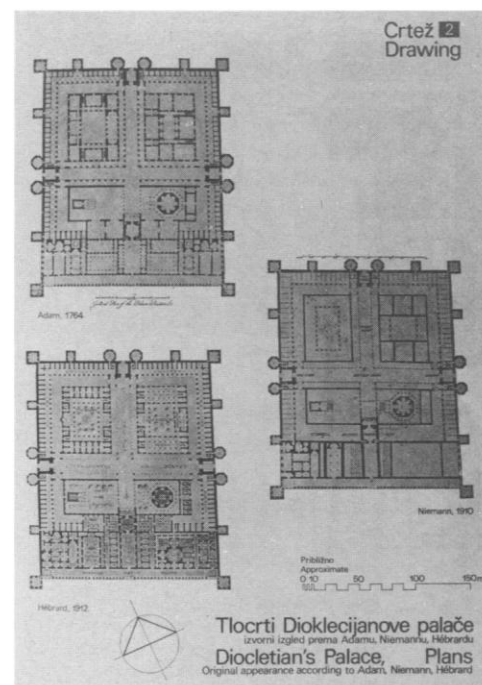
In the history and growth of Split, continuity has been one of its strongest characteristics and the one most desirable to retain. Different layers have accumulated in the course of its 1700-year history. They include the following general periods: Late Roman, Early Medieval, Medieval, Renaissance, Baroque, Nineteenth Century internal expansion, Twentieth Century external expansion, and the most recent excavations within the palace.

Prior to the building of the palace, this part of the coast was inhabited by Illyrian tribes. Then Greeks colonized the area in the Fourth Century B.C.; fragments from the First and Second Centuries B.C. have been found.⁵ The Romans conquered the area in a series of military campaigns, and built their provincial center at Salona, today’s Solin, four miles from the site of Diocletian’s Palace.

The Emperor Diocletian was originally an Illyrian from this area. He reigned from 284 to 305 A.D., voluntarily abdicating the throne after building his retirement palace on the Dalmatian coast. The building of the palace took 10 to 15 years, and was finished in 305. The structure, in the form of a trapezoid measuring 675 × 675 × 543 × 525 feet, combined a luxurious villa with a well-fortified castle. It enclosed an area of about 9 English acres. From the very beginning this was much more than a residence for the retired Emperor. It had been conceived as a city in itself—which in fact it became, after the fall of the neighboring provincial capital of Salona in the early Seventh Century. Its rectangular form with protective perimeter walls, a prototype used by the Romans in all their newly-conquered territories, was based on the pattern of the Roman military camp (*castrum*). This gave the newly-founded palace an added advantage for defense. The military character and purpose was of real benefit to the occupants, even though the corner towers were built square and contrary to the advice of Vitruvius (whose recommendation was that they be round or polygonal, for “square towers are sooner shattered by military engines”⁶).

Like all new towns laid out by Romans in their conquered territories, two main thoroughfares divided the palace into four quarters. Northern sections contained a lodging complex for soldiers and servants, as well as warehouses and supporting auxiliary spaces. The southern part was reserved for the Emperor and his suite. It contained his residence built over a basement substructure. This part also included other ritual and formal spaces: a peristyle, vestibule and atrium along the axis, the Emperor’s Mausoleum on the east side, and the temple on the west. After Diocletian’s death it is believed that imperial families continued to live here, with occasional visitors to the southern part, while the northern part was used in the Fifth Century as an imperial textile factory where military uniforms were made.⁷ Factory workers also resided here in the northern section. Even at this early date, the palace was already housing both patricians and plebians.

When Avar and Slav conquerors took over the neighboring city of Salona in 614, some of the war refugees fled to the islands, and others four miles south to the palace. About 2,000 of them found it very convenient to settle within the protected palace. *Sic transit gloria mundi!*



3

Three reconstructions of the palace: Adam (1757), Niemann (1910), Hébrard (1912)
(Source: Joint Excavation Project)



4

“Unofficial guardians of a landmark”
(Photo by author)



5

Engraving of West Gate by Robert Adam (1764)
(Courtesy Rare Book Library, Cornell University)



6
Mausoleum and Bell Tower today
(Photo by author)



7
The seaside palace wall today, with accretions
(Photo by author)

The existing structure was slowly changed to meet the demands of the new immigrants, and their new religion. The Emperor's Mausoleum and the Temple of Jupiter became a Christian church (a bell tower was added later); the Temple of Esculapius, Roman God of Medicine, became the Baptistry; the peristyle became the cathedral square, and later served for many years as a municipal center. The double gate towers at each entrance to the palace were taken down and must have served as building blocks during the construction boom of the Middle Ages—for new advances in warfare had made them superfluous for defense, while cut stone for building had become very valuable.⁸

Although these adaptations were accomplished without any greater architectural concept, they were done with intelligence and order. This period also produced some major monuments of old Croatian pre-Romanesque.⁹ Slowly the town extended beyond the palace wall outward to the west. Under the Hungaro-Croatian kings at the beginning of the Twelfth Century, Split became a cohesive autonomous commune. Expansion continued westward, although the palace, with its slightly crooked and narrow streets, remained the nucleus of the Medieval town contained within it.

During this period of growth, many Romanesque and Gothic structures were built, including the Bell Tower next to the mausoleum (the church Sveti Duje), which ever since has been, in Kevin Lynch's term, a "100% landmark" of the city.

Rich visual and written material on the palace begins in the Eighteenth Century, when the Scottish architect Robert Adam visited Split in 1757. Seven years later he published an influential book: *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro [sic] in Dalmatia*, dedicated to King George III, during a time of revived interest in classical Roman architecture.¹⁰



Systematic excavations began in 1954, and important issues began to be raised concerning the protection of the historic center. Projects included an excavation of the spaces below the datum line of the medieval city (the basement of the palace), revitalization of the spaces between the peristyle and the wharf, and adaptation of some old residential buildings to house new functions. The excavation of the underground

chambers was rather unorthodox in its approach: from the inside out rather than the reverse. For centuries they had been filled with rubbish. Once cleared, they revealed information about the layout below, as well as clues to the layout of the upper level in the southern section, that is, the layout of Diocletian's private apartments. But even today one can only draw hypotheses about their precise functions. One thing can be fixed with certainty, however: the houses built above did not always use Roman walls for their foundations. By 1955, the palace contained a total of 540 buildings, of which 278 were houses, accommodating approximately 3,200 inhabitants.¹¹

From 1959 to 1966, new excavations were carried on in the eastern sector, but without any major discoveries. Then, in 1968, there began the Yugoslav-American Joint Excavation. This cooperative effort concentrated mostly in the southeastern quarter of the palace over seven different sectors.¹² The published conclusions of 1972 provided "no final answers," but recommended more investigation.

A few examples are worth mentioning here from the Joint Excavation Report. In sector 2, for example, the demolition of several houses yielded an approximate layout of four rooms, but also revealed traces of "early medieval activity," as well as demolition and "stone robbing" in the later Middle Ages and Renaissance.¹³ Later the Report states (p. 40): "The main reason for this investigation was the possibility of studying the southern perimeter wall of the Palace. Scholars who have examined this wall from the outside have held different opinions about the original configuration and hoped that examination of the inner side of the same wall might provide additional evidence. . . . Both the width and the depth of the excavation were limited by continuous presence of an apartment house at the eastern side of the sector."

The vagueness of language and lack of purpose in these statements illustrate a very cavalier attitude on the part of the excavators toward the past and existing urban contexts.

The first post-war urban plan for Split was presented in 1951 by the Town Planning Institute of Dalmatia. It was revised again in 1958, and then presented ten years later as a more detailed plan for the city center. Most of the work undertaken was based on various conceptual and partial mini-plans; there was no master plan stating clear goals and objectives for the entire area.¹⁴

One positive contribution of this plan was the revitalization of the longitudinal axis (north-south) of Split's historic center, and a strengthening of the communication between the North Gate and the wharf. Since the Middle Ages, the peristyle had been a busy node serving the religious and secular needs of Split's inhabitants. When the North Gate was walled up, the role of the peristyle was reduced to a mere church square, and further isolated by the blocking of the Southern Gate. Through the revitalization plan, this path has been given back the vitality which it once must have known.

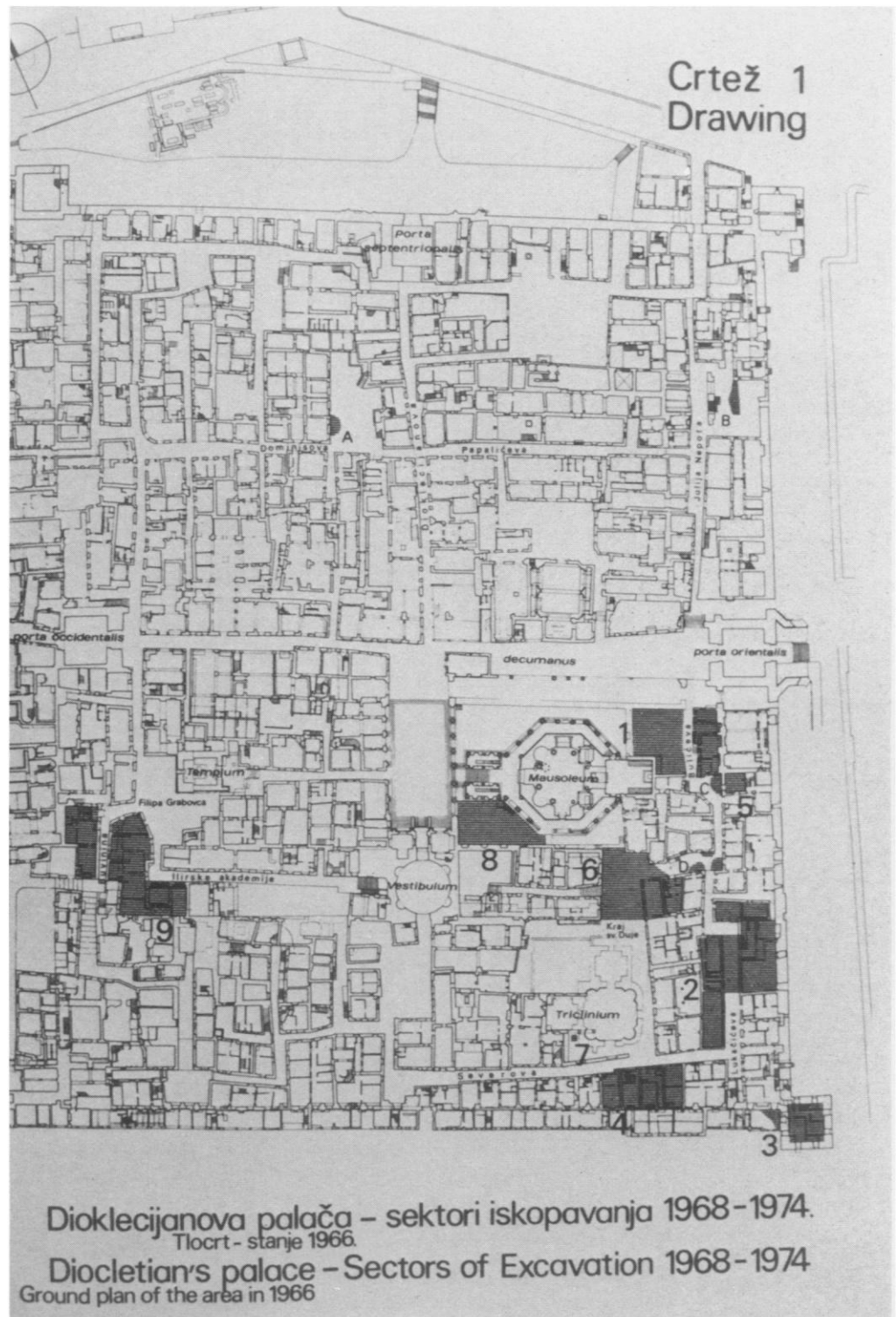
In addition, some old delapidated houses southeast of the vestibule have now been upgraded and re-adapted for use by the Urban Planning Institute. The most authentic restoration today is the Southeast Tower, now used as office space by the Department of Highway Split-Zagreb. A similar approach was taken in the restoration of the Northwestern Tower, which was built up to its original height by an addition of 13 feet above the wall of the palace, and is now occupied by a bank.

In spite of these few successful adaptations and restorations, however, great problems still remain. What should one do with the old buildings where people live in "substandard" conditions? Once they are torn down, and once archeological investigations are completed or suspended, how should the gap in the urban fabric be filled?

One response could be the approach applied recently in the historical center of Bologna. New units were built which reinforced the desirable existing neighborhood patterns and life styles, and the indigenous population was transferred there with minimum dislocation. Rents were subsidized to prevent gentrification of the area.¹⁵

No such plan exists for Split. Contrary to the assertions of J. M. Fitch,¹⁶ its "comprehensive and far-reaching program" has not yet produced the results for which it has been applauded. The problems of rehabilitation, infill and housing have not advanced much beyond the stage of "slum clearance," as a visit to the sites will attest. Of what value is the new-found archeological evidence, and at what price is it achieved?

The paradox of Split is that the very forces that put into motion its conservation are now threatening to destroy it. This may be due partially to the fact that this ambitious task is with-



8
Sectors of excavation, 1968-1974
(Source: Joint Excavation Report)



9
Excavated sectors, southeast corner
(Photo by author)



10
Restored medieval housing adjacent to Mausoleum
(Photo by author)

out precedent for Yugoslavia. It may also be due in part to the economic and political structure of the country. A small socialist nation cannot guarantee that a provincial center such as Split will receive continuous financial support for such a mammoth project, from either the central government or from international agencies. The most recent economic problems and austerity measures in Yugoslavia give little hope that the present urban policy and practice will soon change for the better. As regards the physical environment *per se*, however, one deliberate bias seems to have prevailed: the excavation of the distant past is considered much more valuable than the safeguarding of a more recent past. Classical Roman antiquity is the subject; the Medieval and post-Medieval fabric is the object, or in some instances the obstacle, which must be cleared away. This threatens to destroy the layers encrusted over the centuries, and consequently becomes a dangerous precedent. The contributions made by subsequent cultures are neglected, their vernacular judged to be without any historical value.

Questions of the long-range consequences of such a policy—culturally, architecturally and aesthetically—must be confronted. Split is not, of course, alone. The ongoing plans dealing with Athens and Rome dramatize the problems of intervention in historical centers, and provide us with two alternative lessons.

Plaka, the historical center of Athens, has been threatened by archeologists who were recommending the sacrifice of an entire district (mostly Nineteenth Century buildings) to seek classical remains below. This is a well-known and closely integrated neighborhood. The Greek Prime Minister himself took a stand for the preservation and renovation of Plaka, in both its physical fabric and “quality of life.” A presidential decree set strict controls, classified 520 buildings for protection, and provided low interest credits for the restoration of buildings. Residents were encouraged to remain, and those who left in the 1960s were lured back. The population of the area had dropped from 14,000 in 1960 to 4,500 in 1970, but now it is again on the rise.¹⁷

A very different but equally ambitious project was recently announced by the government in Rome. A master plan was drawn up to excavate and restore the ancient forums, making the area an “archeological park.” Work was to begin in spring 1983. Only one avenue, Via dei Fori Imperiali (running between the Coliseum and Piazza Venezia) would be destroyed; it had opened in 1933 and covers many known ruins. The project was a response to the pressure of archeologists, ecologists and city planners who wanted to see the treasures below exposed. Both Roman and tourist alike will gain, for the only loss will be a few hundred yards of tar and gravel.¹⁸

The approaches and aims of Athens and Rome are diametrically opposed. One safeguards an entire present community; the other tears out an entire area in the interests of archeology. But in each approach the goals are clear, consistent, and the results can only benefit future generations. In 1964, the Venice Charter set up guidelines for mediating between the contradictory claims of excavation and preservation.¹⁹ But a given city must choose a firm policy for a particular area.²⁰ Parts of Split are now threatened by half-measures that may leave the city with scars and slums.

Diocletian’s Palace may have been built as an eternal monument.” But the fact remains that it has been constantly changed and adapted for over 1,600 years. Thus one must apply to it a very different philosophy of excavation than that applied, for example, to Pompeii, frozen in time in 79 A.D. Each Pompeian house offers, even today, an authentic rendering of a single cross-section of life. Diocletian’s Palace offers few such clear-cut “frozen moments.” From its earliest history it was pillaged by the humble folk displaced by the fall of the Empire, and fair prey for those who took down and carried away whatever they could. In both its original purpose and its adaptive use, it provided security to those behind its walls.

The attempts in several sectors to reconstruct the original walls at their “precise” locations raise serious questions concerning purpose and authenticity. If built, should these walls be careful copies of the originals, in their complete reconstructions, or partial walls, or just foundations? How far should one go? Where should one stop? What about the new material, and the patina of the old which has survived in contrast

to it? Should some areas be left unexcavated, in order to give future generations an opportunity to apply new techniques and new concepts?

This attempt to create a dead order out of living chaos poses a real dilemma. The fate of the Roman Amphitheatre at Arles must be avoided: in the 1830s, all the occupants were evicted, their houses and churches torn down, and the remaining fabric of the amphitheatre reconstituted—so that it looked like any other Roman theatre in ruins, instead of a unique “compact town within a town.”²¹ Such a fate has been considered for Split. As Rebecca West wrote in 1937:

“During centuries of strife the palace and the fugitives have established a perfect case of symbiosis. It has housed them, they are now its props. After the war there was a movement to evacuate Split and restore the palace to its ancient magnificence by pulling down the houses that had been wedged in between its walls and columns; but surveyors very soon found out that if they went all Diocletian’s work would fall to the ground. The people that go quickly and darkly about the streets have given the stone the help it gave them.”²²

What has not yet been clarified in Split is the exact purpose and definition of the excavation efforts, and the lack of accompanying *conservation* efforts. Excavation in a particular sector seems to be undertaken more with the purpose of discovering *any* manifestation, however significant, of the ancient architecture, rather than with the goal of uncovering “climactic moments” connected with the precise layout of the palace or the life of the emperor. And even if such a “moment” of space-time can be unearthed and an exact plan drawn up, would that make it unique and valuable? In its own time, it may have been the most common of occurrences or architectural practices. These finds may, of course, become an important contribution to our fund of knowledge on a particular era or place. Up to now such has not been the case with Split, whose major structural container is well-preserved and has for centuries satisfied not only the curious tourist but the passionate professional as well. This highly visible historical shell must be preserved, but so must the life which has sprung up within and outside of it. In the words of Rose Macaulay, “it has been, possibly, the most serviceable ruin in the world.”²³

Historical continuity is essential to the inhabitants not only for aesthetic but for psychological reasons, and must be maintained. Such continuity is one of the most desirable characteristics of any city, and constitutes its sense of identity. It provides an ongoing dialogue between the individual and his environment—for inhabitants perceive their environment in quite a different way than the planners or the archeologists.

Gaps have been created in Split’s center, and the vacant lots echo emptiness. It is not clear what purpose has been served. So far very few rehabilitations have been made within the palace perimeter.²⁴ Many low-income residents have been displaced to make room for some municipal agency, office, or bank. In this respect, restoration—no matter how successful aesthetically—has been dubious in its attitude toward the residents, some of whom lived here in houses built by their ancestors for generations, and who considered the places their own.

Sites of architectural digs have been abandoned, or only partially reconstructed, with no apparent plans for their maintenance. Many have simply become public dumping grounds, ugly and unsanitary, encouraging further neglect by inhabitants and passers-by. If this had happened under any type of government other than a socialist one, which is committed to providing and regulating all housing needs, perhaps squatters would have invaded the palace once again.

At present, the state of Diocletian’s Palace is in flux—and this may benefit certain groups, especially archeologists. Tourists have always enjoyed the historical Split, a small world of its own. The few additional holes and garbage heaps in desolate pockets within the city center are of no interest, except to a few students of archeology—who must scrape the accumulated trash off the site of recent excavations to see or take a picture. The sites are left totally unattended, without order or purpose. The ordinary tourist as well as the local inhabitant must be taught the value and the advantages of these newly-created vest pocket slum environments.

In fact, one wonders if there ever was any *aesthetic* aim or practical purpose behind these demolitions in Split. It is too early to assess accurately the results of archeological research, and such would lie outside the limits of the present article. But an objective inventory should be made, now, and the present methodology should be subjected to some hard questioning. Perhaps a midway corrective course can be taken, so the city is not led into an irreversible abyss.

In the words of Italo Calvino, "The city exists and it has a simple secret: it knows only departures, not returns."²⁵



11

Abandoned site of archeological digs
(Photo by author)

Notes

- 1 Rudofsky, Bernard *The Prodigious Builders* Harcourt Brace Jovanovich (New York) 1977, p. 341.
- 2 *Ibid.*, p. 351.
- 3 *Diocletian's Palace: Joint Excavations in Southeast Quarter, Part One* (Split) 1972 and *Diocletian's Palace: American-Yugoslav Joint Excavations, Part Two* (Split) 1976. University of Minnesota/Urbanistički zavod Dalmacije-Split, under the editorship of Jerko and Tomislav Marasović and Sheila McNally.
- 4 Lynch, Kevin *The Image of the City* MIT Press (Cambridge, Mass.) 1960, p. 7-9.
- 5 See Wilkes, J. J. *Dalmatia* Harvard University Press (Cambridge, Mass.) 1969, ch. 2, p. 10.
- 6 Vitruvius *The Ten Books of Architecture* Dover Publications (New York) 1960, p. 23.
- 7 Novak, Grga *Povijest Splita* knjiga prva [History of Split, vol. 1] Matica Hrvatska Pododbor, Novinsko-izdavačko poduzeće "Slobodna Dalmacija" (Split) 1957, p. 36.
- 8 Wilkes, *op. cit.*, p. 389.
- 9 Marasović, Tomislav *The Monuments of Historical Centre Split* Izdavački zavod Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti (Zagreb) 1967, p. 8.
- 10 Other publications followed: in 1802, L. Cassas and J. Lavallée published many engravings in their book entitled *Voyage Pittoresque et Historique en Istrie et Dalmatie* (in French). The most serious scholarly work, with restoration drawings, was published in 1911 by Ernest Hébrard and Jacques Zeiller: *Spalato: Le Palais de Dioclétien* (in French). Most recently a special 25th anniversary issue of URBS (by the Urban Planning Institute of Dalmatia-Split), 1973, was devoted to the palace (in Croatian).
- 11 Preveden, Francis R. *A History of the Croatian People* Philosophical Library (New York) 1955, vol. I, p. 24.
- 12 The architectural features unearthed consisted mainly of a mosaic (sector 1), a tower room (sector 3), and a shaft (sector 7). One major conclusion drawn was that the eastern side of the palace now appears different from the hypothetical reconstruction of Adam, Hébrard and Niemann's plans [Marasović, Tomislav *Methodological Procedure for the Protection and Revitalization of Historic Urban Centers*, papers in URBS, Split, 16-18. XII 1970, p. 139]. Other sectors (such as 7) did not add to previous knowledge of the plan or functions of the palace. The entire area of sector 6 was leveled, and the caldarium of a Roman bath was unearthed. The excavations continued until 1974. Some previous sectors were expanded, and others were opened, in spite of many technical difficulties. In sector 3 a house was demolished to make possible further study of the area. In sector 2 no work could begin until the Split housing authorities condemned and demolished a large apartment house, and not much additional progress could be made until the houses on either side were also torn down. The same fate awaited the apartment building in sector 4, which was also declared a "substandard" dwelling and consequently demolished. Investigations in sector 9 led to the discovery of several rooms of a Roman bath below the existing Hotel Slavija—but plans to continue clearing were abandoned in 1973, due to high costs and uncertainty about the future of the area [*Diocletian's Palace: American-Yugoslav Joint Excavations*, *op. cit.*, p. 53].
- 13 *Diocletian's Palace: American-Yugoslav Joint Excavations*, *op. cit.*, p. 13.
- 14 One exception to this general rule was the Regional Plan of 1970, which defined Split as a specific town with specific functions to fulfill within the region.
- 15 Fitch, James Marston *Historic Preservation* McGraw-Hill (New York) 1982, p. 45. See also Bandarin, Francesco "The Bologna Experience: Planning and Historic Renovation in a Communist City," in Donald Appleyard, ed., *The Conservation of European Cities* MIT Press (Cambridge, Mass.) 1979, pp. 178-202.
- 16 Fitch, *op. cit.*, p. 76.
- 17 *The New York Times*, December 26, 1982: "Athens Restoring a Historical Area."
- 18 *The New York Times*, January 16, 1983: "Rome Plans to Restore Grandeur That Was Rome."
- 19 One of the central issues affecting Split is contained in articles #6 and #11 of the Venice Charter:
ARTICLE 6. The conservation of monument implies preserving a setting which is not out of scale. Wherever the traditional setting exists, it must be kept. No new constructions, demolition or modification which would alter the relations of mass and colour must be allowed.
ARTICLE 11. The valid contributions of all periods to the building of a monument must be respected, since unity of style is not the aim of a restoration. When a building includes the superimposed work of different periods, the revealing of the underlying state can only be justified in exceptional circumstances and when what is removed is of little interest and the material which is brought to light is of great historical, archaeological or aesthetic value, and its state of preservation good enough to justify the action. . . .
For more information, see the discussion by James Marston Fitch, "International Symposium, Problems and Techniques of Preservation of Historic Urban Centers," in URBS, Split, 16-18, XII 1970, p. 84.
- 20 Another successful resolution of the problem is the case of the recent excavation of a great Aztec temple in downtown Mexico City. In 1978, archeologists unearthed in the very heart of the city the remains of El Templo Mayor. Clear goals were established at the very beginning and a methodical technique applied. In record time, 4½ years, an entire city block of dilapidated housing was removed, the temple exposed, and thousands of art objects discovered. The new site became a source of national pride, and involved closely the President Jose Lopez Portillo, who not only allocated major resources for the project but personally coauthored a handsome and authoritative volume on the subject: Jose Lopez Portillo, Miguel Leon Portilla, Eduardo Matos, *El Templo Mayor*, Bancomer, 1981.
- 21 Rudofsky, *op. cit.*, p. 344.
- 22 West, Rebecca *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon* Penguin Books (New York) 1982, p. 139.
- 23 Macaulay, Rose *Pleasure of Ruins* Weidenfeld and Nicolson (London) 1966, p. 410.
- 24 This observation, after a recent visit to the site, contradicts the assertion made by James Marston Fitch in *Historic Preservation: Curatorial Management of the Built World* McGraw-Hill (New York) 1982, p. 74: "If historically or artistically significant, old buildings are rehabilitated, either for dwellings or for other uses. Otherwise, they are demolished and replaced by new housing infill. All new construction is designed to be congruent with the old in terms of size, mass, materials, etc. New apartments are typical. . . ."
- 25 Calvino, Italo *Invisible Cities*, trans. William Weaver. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich (New York) 1972, p. 56.