# UN IMMEUBLE MEUBLE /
# A MOVABLE IMMOVABLE

**Changing interpretation of language in conservation and the effect on urban form in historic city centres**

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**MArch Thesis**

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## ABSTRACT

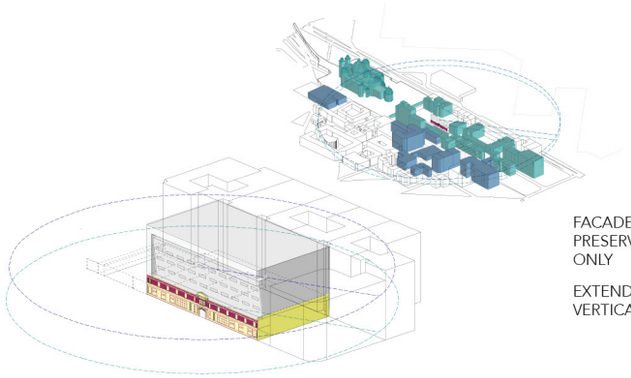
*"A notable inconsistency between charters occurs over the parameters that should be applied to the design of new buildings in the surroundings of historic monuments and within historic areas…These inconsistencies reflect a variety of attempts to reconcile the philosophy and practice of conservation with the education and practice of architecture today. It is a debate that remains unresolved."*

- Dennis Rodwell, 2007, Conservation and Sustainability in Historic Cities

Historic architectural conservation is fundamentally based on 'cultural values', subject to change. Principles are integrated into written urban planning policy, which is then translated into physical built form, yet language itself is subject to cultural re-interpretation.

Taking the City of London and Marseille as primary studies, this thesis will compare the conservation philosophies of France and England through the keyhole of a few conservation key terms. It will explore how the wording of their heritage-led planning policies, and changing interpretation of the words used, influences the development of historic areas and preservation of historic buildings in city centres, where the opposition of contemporary development and historic conservation is most apparently felt.

## CONTENTS



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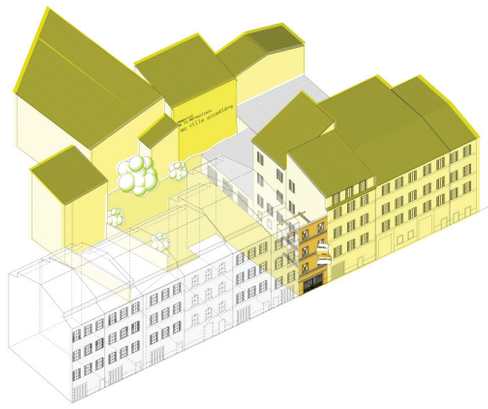

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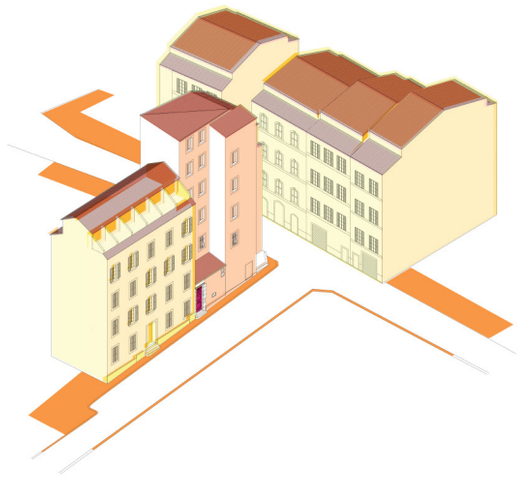

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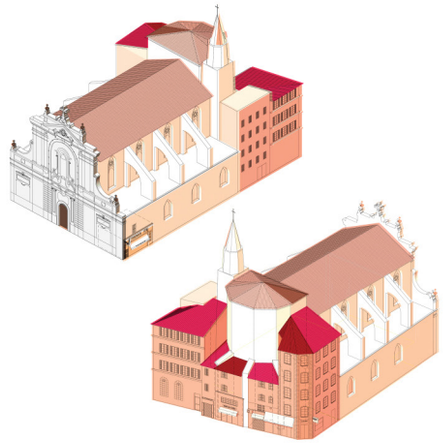
[Fig1:Studies of modifications to listed and unlisted buildings in Marseille]





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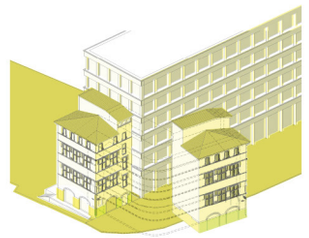

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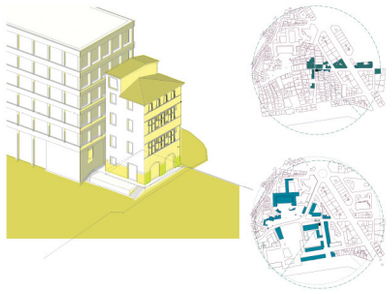

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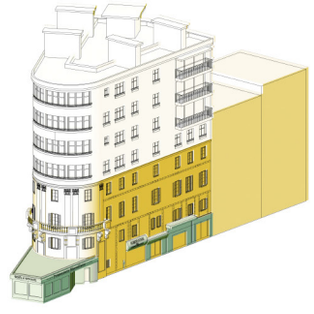
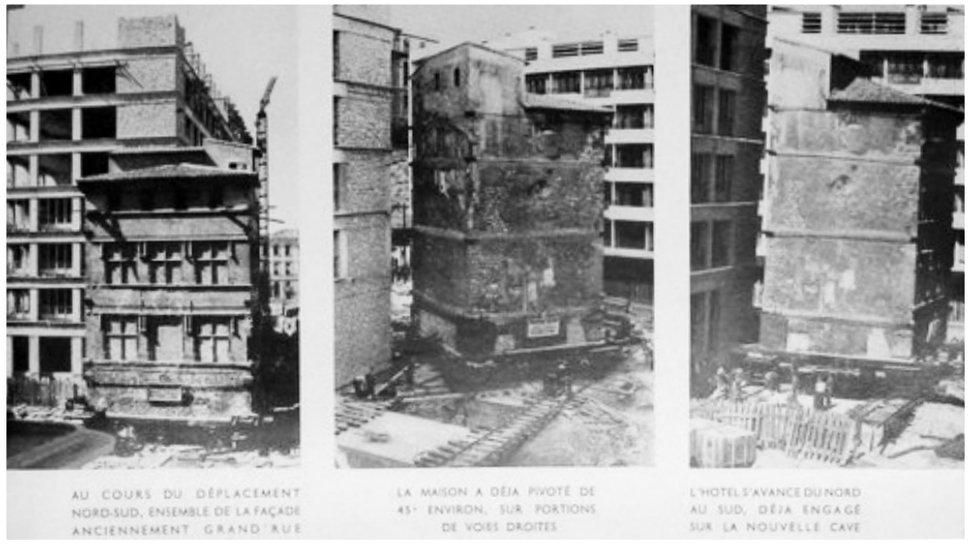


EXTEND VERTICALLY (IN CONTEMPORARY STYLE)

EXTEND HORIZONTALLY (FOR RETAIL)

[Fig2:Hôtel de Cabre being moved in 1954]






# 0.0 INTRODUCTION

## 0.1 Language in conservation and effect on architecture

During a visit to Marseille, observations of buildings preserved in various states struck an interest in how different understandings of historic architectural preservation manifest into the resultant built form [Fig1]. These cases could be argued to have diluted the *significance* of the preserved while compromising its contemporary *context*, but could also be seen as practical steps to conserving materials or the buildings' utility. How to preserve our past while planning for the future: where is the line between what should or should not be materially preserved? Additionally, were these examples anomalies, or representative of valid interpretation, or cultural re-interpretations over time, of the *Code du Patrimoine*, the overarching legislation outlining treatment of France's nationally-protected heritage? This thesis explores how the *value* of architectural heritage, and understanding of what this includes, continues to change over time, how this is reflected in official conservation documentation and how this then affects the built form of our cities.

Articles in the current Code du Patrimoine are continually amended, but the language used is largely Napoleonic.[1] "Un immeuble" usually means 'a building' in today's French, however it also carries the connotation of 'something which is immovable'. In one article of the Code it is used twice - first referring to 'a building'; then to 'land'[2], though this is not immediately clear. Legislation separating 'movable' and 'immovable' material heritage was introduced in France in the 1960s, however was widely manipulated at this time to justify dismantling intact structures to more quickly enable rebuilding of war-damaged cities[3]. In Marseille, Hôtel de Cabre, located along Grand Rue, to be widened as part of the post-war reconstruction plan, was protected from being dismantled like many other pre-war buildings around it, in part because of its listed status[4]. Considered too important to dismantle, it was however lifted, moved and rotated in order to align with the new street in 1954 [Fig2]. This was not an anomaly - moving building elements at this time in France was popular as Sheila Crane recounts in her 2005 study of treatment of historic architecture in the post-war period[5] - but represents the contemporary attitude towards built heritage at that time.

## 0.2 France and England

In recent decades work has increased towards protecting international cultural heritage by non-governmental organisations such as UNESCO and ICOMOS. The 1994 Nara Conference on *authenticity* first brought non-Western philosophies to the international stage. While agreeing that *authenticity* is "the essential qualifying factor"[6] which roots cultural heritage conservation, the conference highlighted varying interpretations of the word between and within different countries. France and England are interesting comparisons as both are held as models for European and international standards of heritage conservation[7], however, a Western-European concept of conservation is sometimes generalised and this thesis hopes to explore the similarities and differences arisen from the geographically close, yet individual cultural contexts. The understanding of *authenticity* historically differs between French philosopher Eugene Viollet-le-Duc and English theorists John Ruskin and William Morris, marking the beginning of diverging conservation philosophies which influence practice in both countries today. Viollet-le-Duc advocated for restoration as a "means to re-establish [a building] to a finished state, which may in fact never have actually existed at any given time"[8], while Ruskin viewed restoration as "the most total destruction which a building can suffer."[9] William Morris would later found the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings in 1877, primarily to prevent restorations of medieval churches[10]. France's Ministry

of Culture and Communication (MCC) 2012 glossary for interventions on protected heritage still notes, "one should not confuse the concept of authenticity with the concept of originality"[11] to perhaps clarify lingering cultural understandings of their interchangeability.

Today, French officials caution against the "tradition of constructive destruction and modernisation"[12] which evolved after the Second World War, however planning legislation and built heritage protection were not linked under responsibility of the MCC until the 1962 Malraux Law, with preceding planning acts predominantly driven by socio-economic and political concerns[13]. In England, the 1944 Town and Country Planning Acts moved responsibility for historic buildings from the Ministry of Works to the new Ministry of Town and Country Planning[14]. In historic urban areas, which in France and England often coincide with metropolitan centres, a limited interpretation of heritage-led planning policy can lead to the popular notion of conservation and development as opposing forces. This thesis looks at the role of the language used in facilitation of their misinterpretations.

## 0.3 Why the chosen words?

Introductory notes for the 1979 ICOMOS Burra Charter on the conference:

> *"Much of the time was inevitably absorbed by concern about choosing particular words and ensuring that unclarities were eliminated."*[15]

The meanings of the words chosen for this thesis, and how they should be applied, are recognised within conservation literature as difficult to define, yet also essential to understand. The author believes that a great deal of ambiguity surrounds these words even though they are used in urban planning legislation today. Contrasts and comparisons can be drawn on the understandings and importance given to them between both temporal and geographical cultures of France and England, through case studies primarily in Marseille and the City of London.

Section 1 discusses the role of curating an official heritage collection: *Heritage//Patrimoine* considers the insinuation of 'cultural' within both words and the purpose and effect of listing; *Heritage Asset// Monument Historique* discusses implications of commodity and permanence from the two terms.

Section 2 analyses key words used in official designation criteria: *Significance//Intérêt patrimonial* (how is this decided and by whom?); *Setting//Abords* compares protection of surroundings to listed heritage*; Character//Caractère* looks at how the historically elusive concept affects planning of historic urban areas.



## 0.4 Definition of terms

All mentions of 'heritage' in this thesis refer to tangible objects and architecture.

*preservation:* retention of building material.

*conservation:* the practice of historic preservation.

*culture*: a contemporary society at any point in time, also refers to geographical cultures.

*official documentation*: legislation, documents published by the governments or heritage advisory bodies.

*listing:* statutory designation denoting "special architectural or historic interest"[16] of a building in England.

*inscription, classification:* French equivalents of 'listed' designation. *Inscription* referring to regional designation (*inscrit)* and *classification* referring to national designation (*classé*). These will sometimes be referred to as 'listing'.

Translations: when quoting directly from French documentation, translations are the author's own unless stated.

## SECTION 1.0 :

## FORMALISING ‘HERITAGE’

[Fig3:View of Zaha Hadid's 2010 CMA CGM headquarters from the Notre Dame de la Garde in Marseille, in 2015. Self-publicised as "an iconic vertical element that interacts with Marseille's other significant landmarks"[9], it forms a triangle between the only other existing tall landmarks of the city - Château d'If to the East and Notre Dame de la Garde to the South. The tower becomes representative of the forthcoming era of Marseille as imagined by the massive Euromediterrranée urban renewal project modernising the northern half of the city.]



## 1.1 CONCEPT : HERITAGE // PATRIMOINE

### 1.11 Origins and re-inventions

Etymologically, 'heritage' refers to all "that which may be inherited"[1]. Today the broadness and inclusiveness that this allows is echoed by UNESCO:

> *"heritage is our legacy from the past, what we live with today, and what we pass on to future generations"*[2]

This definition does not limit 'heritage' to tangible objects or inheritance of a certain time, but does imply a level of agency - a filtered legacy. The very process of deciding officially recognised heritage is one which limits 'that which may be inherited' into 'that which *should* be inherited'. Over time these limitations have changed - works of which time period, singular buildings, vernacular architecture, urban areas, natural sites. International heritage consultant Dennis Rodwell interprets the UNESCO definition as saying it is "the foundation of the present, the springboard for the future, with the present generation as its custodians and the creative link."[3] This understanding of a continuous link between our past and future aligns with his criticism of certain 'limited' interpretations of the word:

> *"To many, however, heritage has a far more limited meaning, for example, 'the culture, property, and characteristics of past times'; or, 'today's perception of a pattern of events in the past'"*[4]

Understanding 'heritage' as placed firmly in the past leads to what he calls the 'heritage construct'[5], the selection of particular architectural monuments preserved and "packaged for tourism"[6], upon which the 'heritage industry'[7] is seen to be based, which in cities "has fuelled the self-conscious creation by starchitects of aggressive conflictual iconic buildings as the heritage of the future."[8] [Fig3]

Sebastian Loew writes in the introduction to his study on the integration of contemporary architecture in France's historic centres:

> *"the term 'heritage' has been used, misused and debased in the past few years. It cannot be considered a neutral word; nor…can it be necessarily equated with conservation, though the two are often confused. The French equivalent,* patrimoine, *is equally controversial…it owes its origin to* pâtre, patrie, patron, patriarche *and* père *(shepherd, homeland, boss, patriarch and father), all words loaded with contentious meanings."*[10]

'Patrimoine', signifying collective inheritance from one generation to another, rather than 'héritage', indicating the direct legacy of a person[11] is used professionally today as an equivalent to 'heritage'[12]. Like the English 'heritage', 'patrimoine' originally did not indicate cultural selectivity, but implied "intrinsic worth rather than extrinsically attributed values"[13]. Formerly needing qualification into either 'patrimoine culturel' or 'patrimoine monumental' to more accurately translate to today's understanding of 'cultural heritage'[14], this is no longer necessary, misleadingly implying 'patrimoine' as inherently 'cultural', its classification dependant upon values that people (which people?) prescribe to it.

## 1.12 "Beyond mere utility": the cultural value of heritage

The assumption that 'heritage' is also innately 'cultural' is reflected in Historic England's 2008 'Conservation Principles':

> Heritage: *"All inherited resources which people value for reasons beyond mere utility."*[15]

This implies that any 'heritage' must meet sufficient 'cultural' values in order to even qualify as such, perhaps trumping their usability. 'Cultural heritage' is, however, separately defined as:

> *"Inherited assets which people identify and value as a reflection and expression of their evolving knowledge, beliefs and traditions, and of their understanding of the beliefs and traditions of others."*[16]

distinguishing it from 'heritage' by specifying it as representing cultural change over time, as well as including multiple points of view. Systematic conservation of material heritage in Europe began in the early nineteenth century, reflecting when society began identifying with their material heritage, though conservation practice was not actually promoted as valuable to the public until early twentieth century.[17] Economic and political forces aside, Alain Bourdin also noted that society itself has "re-invented" the meaning of 'heritage' in its "search for authenticity and roots"[18] - however these do not always correlate with apparent official understandings of 'heritage'.

[Fig4:Bracken House with Hopkins additions in centre, surrounded by the original brick offices, ca. 2008-12]




## 1.13 Purpose and effect of listing

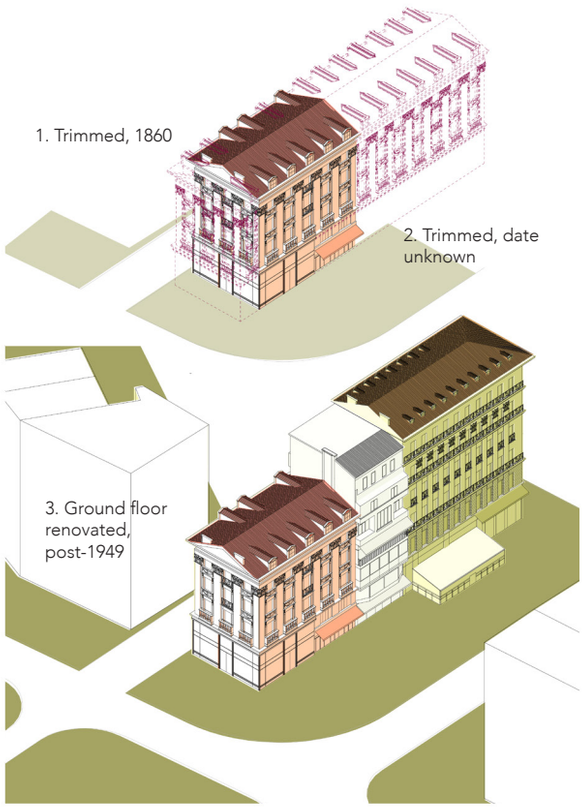
> *"The unlisted buildings enshrine the human stories, the memories of the community. They are the real heritage."*
> - Felicity Goodey, chair of Central Salford Urban Regeneration Company, speaking in 2007[19]

In both England and France, buildings can be nominated for listing by any member of public, but the decision to list lies in England upon the Secretary of State for Ministry for Culture, Media and Sport, and in France either by the State representative of the region, for *inscription*, or the Minister of Culture and Communication, for *classement*. Debates arise between, and among, the public and the State's final decision over what should be considered official heritage representing the country and its people. The fear: "there is an implicit - if not explicit - assumption that unlisted heritage is dispensable and may be lost"[20].

Bracken House, designed by Sir Albert Richardson, built between 1955-59 for the Financial Times, was at risk of demolition when the newspaper moved to new headquarters in London's Docklands. To be wholly replaced with a new Michael Hopkins high-tech steel and glass building, its successful listing in 1987, campaigned for by the Thirties Society[21], effectively forced a redesign of the proposed new scheme. Local authority consent is required to modify listed buildings[22], however while Bracken House's listing preserved its outer wings [Fig4,5], greater importance was given to the utility provided by replacing its defunct printing hall with offices[23], over other 'cultural' values, further allowing a high-tech scheme to replace it. One reason for listing the original building is noted in its entry: "Architectural interest…designed by an eminent C20 architect"[24], though other unlisted Richardson buildings, Moorgate Hall and Leith House, were later "lost in the 1980s boom"[25], supporting the notion of unlisted buildings as more 'dispensable'. Bracken House was, however, the first listed post-war building in Britain and the event of its recognition opened the discussion for post-war architecture to be considered officially valuable cultural heritage.

[Fig5:Bracken House with original printing hall, ca. 1955-59]

[Fig6:Maison du Figaro in 2015]

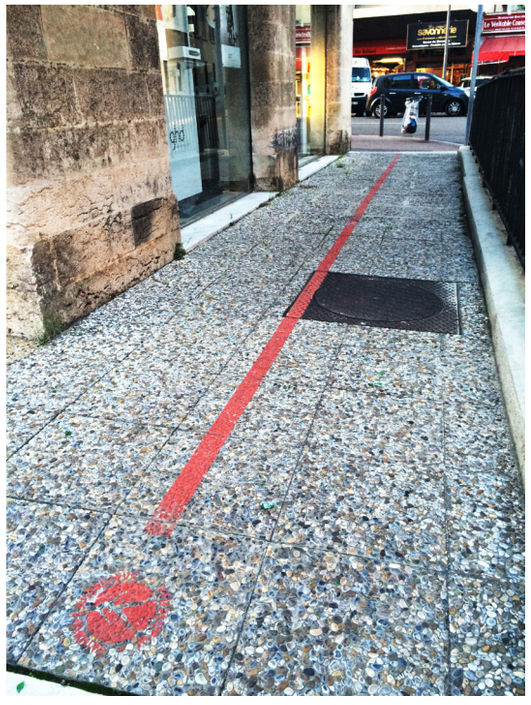



[Fig7:Diagram of Maison du Figaro's multiple reductions]

Hopkins' 1992 additions were added to the listing later in 2013, described as "demonstrating sensitivity to the existing fabric while introducing a distinctive, contemporary language of its own"[26]. Though it employs contrasting materials it continues the rhythm and colour of the original headquarters' upper level fenestration, respective to its physical *setting* or *context*. The 1987 listing, therefore, perhaps affected the design of the modern insertion to adapt to its surrounding brick building.

Though partial modification of Bracken House was allowed, buildings in England were listed in their entirety until changes in 2013[27]. Partial protection of specific building elements has long been formalised in France, however, legislation allowing elements to be separately appointed *inscrit* or *classé* status. In Marseille, facades and roofs of the seventeenth century Maison du Figaro [Fig6,7] on the main promenade, La Canebière, were *inscrit* in 1949[28], perhaps to avoid further trimming, as it were, that it had been subject to in its past. First a single bay on its Northern and main street-facing elevation in 1860 was removed to widen La Canebière - to create an unobstructed view down to the focal point of the city, Vieux Port - then five bays from its Southern side to accommodate a new reinforced concrete building[29]. By the time of its inscription it took up less than half of its original footprint.

Before its inscription the Northern elevation was rebuilt in concrete, different to the local limestone of the original building, but rendered to appear similar, perhaps following the influence of Viollet-le-Duc, restoring the building to a 'finished state'. Hence, though largely reduced in size and having compromised material *authenticity,* the Maison du Figaro is registered a historic monument in this state. Its current ground floor also appears to have been renovated after inscription, with full-height display windows and steel mullions - suggesting, like at Bracken House, preference for commercial utility, however in this case even over visual congruency.



[Fig8:'La voie historique', the historic trade route, is marked along paving in the area becoming a walking tourist route. In 2015.]


[Fig9:Hôtel de Cabre signpost in 2015 remarking its 90° rotation - recalled as "the building that moved"[4] in the historic tourist train audio guide - though it was originally listed because of its unique facade and visual ties to its namesake.]



## 1.2 OBJECT : HERITAGE ASSET // MONUMENT HISTORIQUE

### 1.21 Heritage Asset: origins, as commodity

In England, the 2012 National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF), defines a "Heritage Asset" ambiguously by its "heritage interest":

> "*A building, monument, site, place, area or landscape identified as having a degree of significance meriting consideration in planning decisions, because of its heritage interest.*"[1]

While in both France and England consent is required to alter privately-owned listed buildings, the framework also outlines nationally "designated heritage assets" and locally identified "non-designated heritage assets", the latter not included in the National Heritage List, with the intention to provide local councils and communities greater control over what is considered *significant* built heritage in their area.

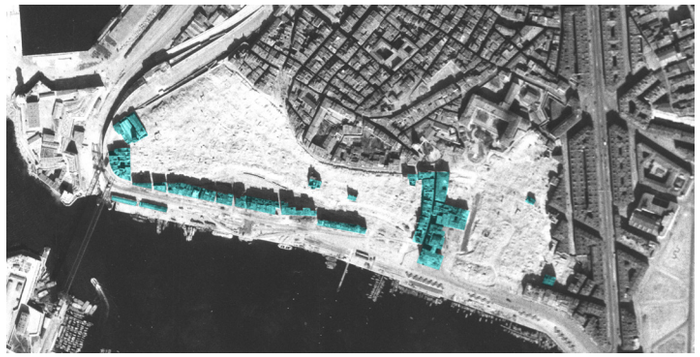
The word 'asset' carries the undeniable implication of economic value, while signifying its belonging to an owner.[2] Architectural heritage is understood as object, a commodity to be utilised for particular means by whoever controls it. There is also the implication in 'asset' of its beneficial nature, though what is considered nationally 'beneficial' is also debatable.

In France's Code du Patrimoine, both 'movable' and 'immovable' heritage - including architecture - are considered "cultural assets" (*des biens culturels*[3]), also translatable into 'cultural goods'. Turning 'asset' into industry in Marseille, the area on the northern side of Vieux Port is the oldest part of the city, dating back to the Greek founding of Massalia, now utilised as a tourist draw for the city [Fig8]. The moved Hôtel de Cabre has also become an attraction [Fig9].

### 1.22 Monument Historique: origins, permanence

In France 'Monument Historique' (MH) is the overarching term for all national heritage, first appearing in 1790 in Aubin-Louis Millin's presentation to the National Constituent Assembly. An antiquarian, he was concerned with "sav[ing] objects destined for destruction by way of the image"[5] - their protection extended only to their written and drawn documentation. This was not restricted to classical antiquities nor privileging buildings. It is used infrequently thereafter, until 1830 when the position of *Inspecteur des Monuments Historique* was created under the July Monarchy[6]. The beginnings of material preservation, rather than only iconographic conservation, of the 'historic monument' in France, can be attributed to Revolutionary authorities, as can be the potential economic value of formalising them[7]. Property of the clergy, *émigrés* and the Crown were devolved to the nation, with authorities, in order to manage this collection, "transform[ing] the status of national antiquities…into assets of trade value, into material possessions which - at risk of financial penalty - would have to be preserved and maintained."[8] Similarly in England, the first *Inspector of Ancient Monuments* was appointed in the 1882 Act, with a £5 fine introduced for damaging monuments[9].

In Choay's 1992 analysis of the changing Western perception of the 'historic monument', she notes the role of the monument as understood from its Latin derivation - *monumentum* and *monere* (to warn or recall) - "has progressively diminished…tending even toward obliteration."[10] She argues that the function of the monument as solely to draw on memory has morphed over time to require, since the Revolution, embodiment and representation of "power, greatness, beauty", and today, the expectance of "awe or




[Fig10-13:Aerial views of Vieux Port (from top) 1926, 1944, 1947, 1960.
Protected buildings shown in blue.]



surprise provoked by…a modern version of the colossal."[11]
Like 'heritage' and 'cultural heritage' there is a dichotomy between the connotations of 'monument' alone and 'historic monument'. In 1903 Alois Riegl made this distinction[12]: the 'monument' he identified as created to commemorate an event, while the 'historic monument' is not intentionally created as such but becomes one through the temporal process of cultural selection. Unlike the French designation, official use of 'monument' in England is limited to "scheduled monuments" including only archaeological sites, and excluding those still used as dwellings.[13] If a building is both listed and scheduled, its scheduling overrides the listed building regime, suggesting the greater weight and protection of 'monument'-al status. Understanding of the 'monument' throughout conservation charters as "essentially permanent… transmit[ting] messages or values from one generation to the next"[14] perhaps, in part, informs the assumed permanence of 'Monument Historique' status in France - delisting is incredibly rare, only advised if the work is completely destroyed.[15] Once listed, it is forever considered, officially, a 'historic monument', though by intention not subject to future cultural selection as Riegl suggested.

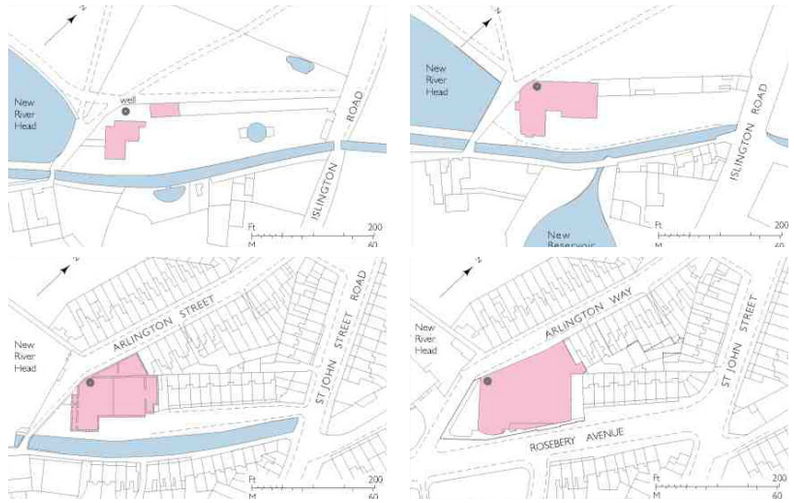
In practice, however, this permanence depends on greater external forces and re-evaluation of the value of architectural heritage itself. Before the German dynamiting of Marseille's Vieux Port quarter in 1943, several buildings were negotiated to be spared by the regional *Inspecteur des Monuments Historique*, Jules Formigé, for their "architectural and historic merit"[16] shown in [Fig10,11]. Most of these, however, collapsed or were demolished in the years after the war, not only during the disordered cleanup period of debris but also during Vieux Port's mass reconstruction [Fig12,13]. Formigé remarked: "after having resisted the Germans, it seemed extremely painful to have to resist the people of Marseille."[17] The priority of the masterplan became new housing, and a revised momentum to restore the city's reputation as the "Capital of the Mediterranean"[18]. Buildings previously recognised for their historic importance would fall second to this cause.

The new plan focussed on spacious circulation and clean, modern forms opposing the previous narrow streets seen to have encouraged dilapidation of the area into its notoriety for crime and prostitution, and by effect the image of Marseille[19]. Designating a cluster of historic administrative buildings - still in use - as 'Monuments Historiques' and, importantly, explicit enforcement of their retention created a localised area of protection allowing speedy demolition and construction of everything else. The selective demolition of Vieux Port represents the Europe-wide issue at this time of rebuilding cities while considering the historic and cultural importance of war-damaged buildings[20] - listing in England essentially formalised in the 1944 and 1947 Town and Country Planning Acts as a measure to help shape post-war Britain.[21] By contrast, Sadlers Wells in London [Fig16-18], surrounded by significantly less pressure, has retained its listing since 1950[22], despite being rebuilt once since then and five times in total since its original building in 1683, of which very little of its original fabric is retained.[23]

[Fig14-15:Vieux Port before the destruction in 1930 and after in 1946]



[Fig16,17:Sadlers Wells in 1931 (left) and in 2007 (right)]




[Fig18:Sadlers Wells footprint evolution. From left: 1741, 1807, 1874-1938, 1996-8]

## SECTION 2.0 :

## CONSERVATION KEY WORDS

[Fig19:Eiffel Tower constructed for the Universal Exhibition of 1889. Now internationally recognised as a symbol of France, it remains only regionally inscrit since 1964, as opposed to nationally classé.]

[Fig20:Vieux Port in 2015]



## 2.1 VALUE : SIGNIFICANCE // INTÉRÊT PATRIMONIAL

### 2.11 Origins, usage today:

'Significance' derives from the Latin *significare* (to signify) and *significantia* (force, meaning, energy), now synonymous with 'importance'[1]. The 1979 ICOMOS Burra Charter introduced official use of "cultural significance" as "aesthetic, historic, scientific or social value for past, present or future generations"[2]. In English policy, the qualifier 'cultural' is dropped both in the NPPF[3] and in Historic England's 'Conservation Principles' even though 'significance' of a place is defined solely by values which we prescribe to it:

> *"The significance of a place embraces all the diverse cultural and natural heritage values that people associate with it, or which prompt them to respond to it."*[4]

"Heritage values", deciding potential designation and treatment of official 'heritage' in England listed as: 'evidential'; 'historical'; 'aesthetic' and 'communal'.[5] Throughout current Historic England literature is acceptance that these 'values', and the weight with which we consider them, changes over time:

> "Significance - the sum of the values we attach to places…is mutable and may change over time, as may the relative importance we attribute to those values".[6]

The French MCC's 2012 glossary[7] refers to multiple international documents (2002 and 2011 respectively) for its definition of 'significance', also noting its changeability[8]. From the 2011 European Standard 'significance' is transcribed into "intérêt patrimonial", otherwise translated to the ambiguous 'heritage interest':

> *"significance (en) intérêt patrimonial (fr) Bedeutung (de) combination of all the values assigned to an object"*[9]

which interestingly includes 'values' not only assigned by "society" as a whole but also from "individuals"[10]. This chapter discusses different temporal interpretations of 'significance' as well as those within a society.

### 2.12 'Mutable' significance

Both French and English policies note the mutability of 'significance' due to culturally changing 'values'. The Vieux Port buildings spared in 1943 on their "architectural and historic merit" but later demolished during the reconstruction period are documented only in limited literature and demoted to archival boxes.[11] Buildings of the post-war reconstruction [Fig20], however, were wholly included in a 2002 UNESCO Tentative List submission by France's MCC[12], the criteria for which is "cultural and/or natural heritage of outstanding universal value"[13], 'significant', perhaps, as they represent a response to the German demolition and re-established Marseille's mediterranean presence.


[Fig21,22:Article and aerial photo of Centre Bourse construction site ca. 1967. Tensions arose because of the drive to finish construction, and time needed to extract and document the archaeology.]

Just east of Vieux Port, Jardin des vestiges, one of few above-ground remains of Ancient Greek Massalia, was classified an 'immovable' MH in 1972. Discovered during the building of the Centre Bourse shopping centre in 1967, it was France's first urban excavation, causing public debate over its 'significance'[14] [Fig21-22]. A rule for archeological work before construction existed since 1953, but often not followed[15] resulting in half of the 20,000m$^2$ site sacrificed for the building of the shopping centre. In 2013, the year Marseille was designated European Capital of Culture, a new Musée d'Histoire was built within the Centre Bourse, incorporating the garden as an outdoor component [Fig23], though only in spite of local municipal preference "thanks to a press campaign and the locally-unwanted intervention of the Ministry of Culture"[16].


[Fig23:Jardin des vestiges in 2015 with the 2013 Musée d'Histoire and 1967 Centre Bourse behind.]

[Fig24:Former Mappin and Webb building on the site in 1994]

[Fig25:No.1 Poultry in 2015. ]

[Fig26:Stirling's No.1 Poultry in 2016 (right), seen from this viewpoint as a nod to Hawksmoor's church (left)]

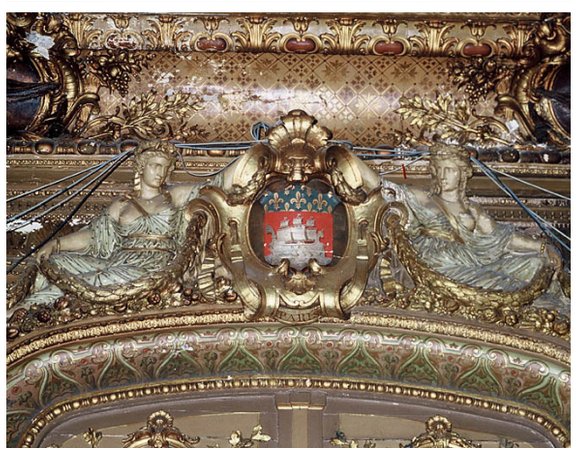


Similarly in England, worded acceptance of changing cultural values has proved difficult to achieve in practice, though in the case of No.1 Poultry [Fig25] opposition comes from the State. Built in 1997, designed by James Stirling, it was advised by Historic England to be listed in 2015 after proposed changes by the building's owners, but turned down as it was considered too "recent"[17]. The site was previously occupied by a Grade-II listed building [Fig24] which, after one of Britain's most highly-publicised planning battles[18], was demolished to construct the post-modern offices. Although a Mies Van der Rohe tower was granted planning permission in 1969, public campaign to save the Victorian building resulted in his replacement in 1985 with Stirling and a new scheme. Public opinion remains mixed - some still note its lack of "charm or elegance"[19] compared to the previous building, while The Twentieth Century Society recognises its interpretation and revival of Nicholas Hawksmoor's architectural "power and vigour"[20] and its contextual relationship to Hawksmoor's nearby St Mary Woolnoth church [Fig26].

The relative youth of No.1 Poultry prevents it, officially, from receiving State protection to be altered. In France, The Twe ntieth Century Heritage Label (Label XXème) was created by the MCC in 1999[21], for structures (or elements) not yet given State protection as 'Monuments Historiques', but now recognised at some level - such as Cité Radieuse in Marseille. Still in use as a residential building, its facades, a few public spaces and one apartment [Fig27] were *inscrit* as MH in 1949[22] with its remainder, though the original construction, given Label XXème status only, allowing residents to freely renovate their apartments.

[Fig27:Le Corbusier's Cité Radieuse in 2015. Conservators finds in listed apartment no.50, viewable by the public. Others are still in use.]


[Fig28:The Rhodes Building in 2015]



[Fig29,30:Hôtel Louvre et Paix in 1996, constructed 1863. Classified facade, roofs, stair, conference room in 1982.[40]]



## 2.13 Sites of memory

The 1913 Act in England introduced State control to prevent works on privately-owned monuments.[23] In the same year, the 1913 Act in France established both classification and inscription of buildings, judged by criteria still outlined in the current Code du Patrimoine. 'Classification' given to:

> *"Buildings whose conservation present, from the point of view of history or art, a public interest"*[24].

'Public interest' superseded 'national interest' of the 1887 Law which formed under attitude from the Revolution[25], the 1913 Act seen to mark the end of the nineteenth century concept of heritage conservation - "a socialization and nationalization of the past to create an 'official memory'"[26]. Though the French system began decentralisation in 1982, Loew, writing in 1998, notes that education and patriotism were still main elements influencing heritage legislation. He adds, "It is particularly strong because it is not discussed or challenged, but rather taken for granted."[27]

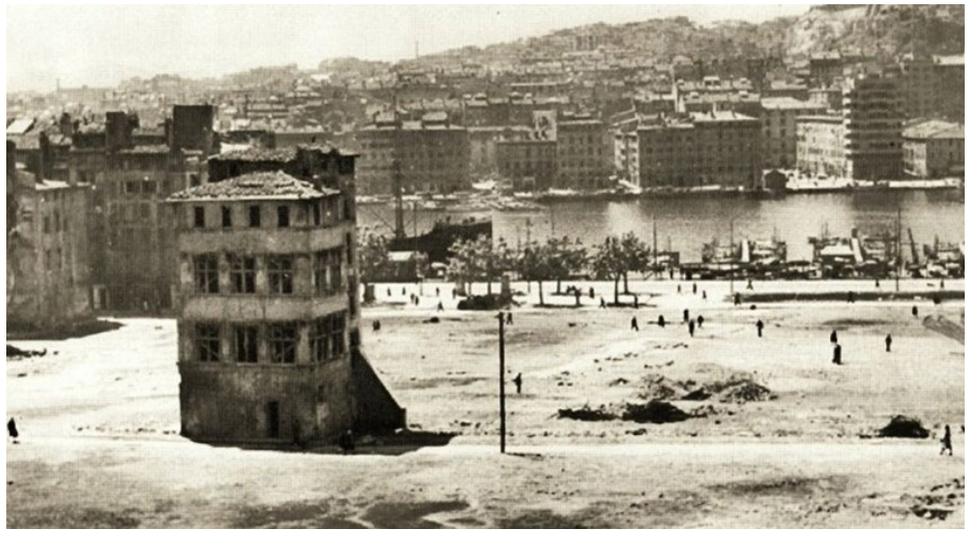
French philosopher Pierre Nora's work on 'collective memory' popularised the concept of *les lieux de mémoire* ('sites of memory') which sparked national 'sites of memory' projects across Europe in the 1990s.[28] Critiquing the selective forgetfulness of "history" - "how our hopelessly forgetful modern societies, propelled by change, organise the past"[29] - he distinguished this from "real memory" - "social and unviolated"[30]. Astrid Swenson, however, notes that he still presented *'Les Lieux de Mémoire'* as "a patriotic endeavour…a way to reinvent the writing of national history through commemoration in a Europeanising and globalising world."[31]

In England the closest equivalent for *lieux de mémoire* are sites of 'historic interest', which, with 'architectural interest' provide the overarching criteria for listed buildings. "Historical value" is described in 'Conservation Principles' as "the perception of a place as a link between past and present people."[32] "Cultural heritage", as previously mentioned, being an "expression of [our] evolving knowledge, beliefs and traditions"[33]. In essence these aim to describe our present as shaped by all facets of our past, identifying their 'significance' while not necessarily equating ourselves with them, advocating for, like Nora, an 'unviolated real memory' as opposed to a sanitised version of 'history'. The Rhodes Building, originally listed in 1952, revised in 2011[34] [Fig28], includes a statue of past student and nineteenth century imperialist Cecil Rhodes, illustrating official interpretation of 'historic interest'. The listing states:

> "*the Rhodes Building, adorned with his statue in pride of place, serves as a major monument to Rhodes, a controversial figure, but of immense historical importance and whose legacies had a major impact on [Oxford] University.*"[35]

In 2015, however, a student movement called for the statue's removal, the petition stating that its presence violates the university's commitment to "an inclusive culture which promotes equality"[36]. In December, after meetings held with students, staff, residents, local council and heritage bodies[37], "overwhelming support" for keeping it has allowed it to remain.[38] In France, the classification of a conference room requisitioned by the German Navy in 1941 but later reclaimed by the French[39] [Fig29,30] may represent similar value towards an unpolished version of our past.

[Fig31 : Vieux Port after the 1943 demolition and clearing of debris, ca. 1950 ]





## 2.2 CONTEXT : SETTING // ABORDS

### 2.21 Origins, usage today

If, in European concept, to conserve is to preserve, how should the surroundings of historic monuments be treated and what should this encompass? The 1964 Venice Charter introduced the importance of urban and rural 'settings'[1] to historic monuments, now echoed in England's NPPF:

> *"Significance derives not only from a heritage asset's physical presence, but also from its setting."*[2]

Changes to a 'setting' are acknowledged and the physical extents flexible:

> "*Setting: The surroundings in which a heritage asset is experienced. Its extent is not fixed and may change as the asset and its surroundings evolve.*[3]

Historic England's 'Conservation Principles' further identifies that the extent of a place's 'setting' is guided by material change, which may "(enhance or diminish) the place's significance"[4]. It also includes a temporal understanding of 'setting', "embracing present and past relationships to the adjacent landscape"[5], and stresses the importance of understanding the evolution of the 'place', deriving from Ruskin's belief that all additions and modifications to a building are part of its continuing story.

In French policy, reference to temporal context of MH seems to be omitted. The focus is on 'abords'[6], physical surroundings of listed buildings, limited also by a field of view from, or with, the monument. Until 2000, this extended to an exact 500m around a listed building[7], but this distance can now be modified depending on the building.[8] The 'curtilage'[9] of a listed building in England was also previously included in its protection, but, as of the 2013 Act can now be explicitly excluded[10]. These recent changes in both countries show that the notion of an appropriate 'setting' around a historic monument is still changing.


[Fig32:Hôtel Pascal in 2015. Listed (1949) facade (right) and remodelled (left).]

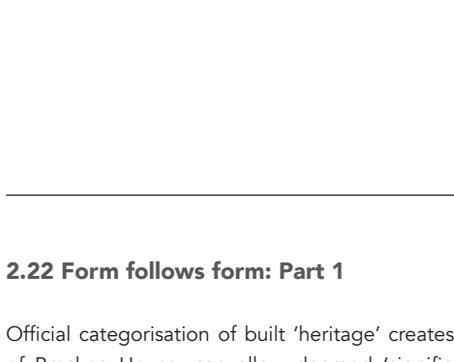

[Fig33:Eglise Saint Férreol in 2015. A tobacconist encroaches into the unofficially significant main facade.]



## 2.22 Form follows form: Part 1

Official categorisation of built 'heritage' creates an architectural hierarchy which, as shown in the case of Bracken House, can allow deemed 'significant' buildings to influence the aesthetic and perhaps consciously-created *character* of their surroundings. In France modifications to a building "backing" ("adossé"[11]) a listed building require planning permission, however 'adossé' is also variably interpreted. In Marseille, the 'immovable' heritage database shows a trend in listing only the main street-facing facade[12], preserving, or controlling, the visual streetscape. The singly-listed facade of Hôtel Pascal[13] [Fig32] appears to have been imitated by its re-modelled side street-facing facade in colour and ornamentation. In comparison, elements of the non-listed Eglise Saint Férreol [Fig33] have been modified at different times, celebrating its lack of limitations on visual congruency.

A different outcome of France's partial listing is when the development of the listed element's surroundings are given greater 'significance' than the element, allowing modification right up to the perceived protected boundary [Fig34]. Hôtel de Cabre [Fig35], previously had two facades listed in 1941[14]. After its rotation in 1954 its third, non-listed, facade was opened to the street, punctured with concrete fenestration and cemented over, perhaps considered technically behind and therefore not visible from, or with, the protected facades.

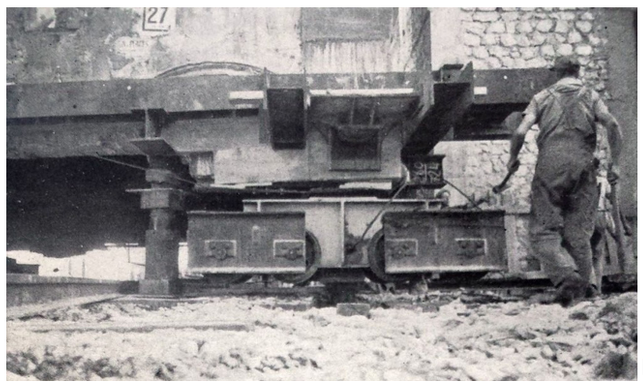


[Fig34:Hôtel Pesciolini in 2015. Only its door was listed in 1929[15], allowing change to the rest of the building. ]


[Fig35:Hôtel de Cabre in 2015. Fenestration added on its non-listed facade instead match Pouillon's apartment blocks around it in material and design.]


[Fig36:M&S Pantheon in 2007]


[Fig37:88 Whitechapel Street in 2014, Szyk sign in centre.]




[Fig38:Jacks lifting Hôtel de Cabre.]



This level of selective protection, however, is currently in process of changing - a single element will no longer be listed in isolation, only parts of a monument considered an 'ensemble'.[16] In England, though partial listing was not formalised until 2013, recent listings are more discriminating in describing which elements are of 'historic interest'. The listing of the Marks & Spencer Pantheon [Fig36] in 2009 specifies Lutyens' modular black granite facade: "The special interest is concentrated on the frontage to Oxford Street only" with "little historic fabric inside the building"[17]. Similarly, the 'historic interest' of Arthur Szyk's 1930s shop signs [Fig37] are specified in the 2007 listing of 88 Whitechapel Street, though it also notes, "Viewing the elevation as a symmetrical composition draws out the prominence of the sign"[18] implying that the remainder of the shopfront could be protected by proxy of the sign's 'significance'.

## 2.23 'Immeuble par destination'

In France in the 1960s, structures dismantled into what would then be considered 'movable' elements were transferred to *dépôts*, later consecrated as 'museums' expressly to educate the public.[19] Now, an object which is physically 'movable' can be classed as 'immovable by location' ("*immeuble par destination*"[20]) if evidence is produced showing it was either designed especially for a building[21], thereby contributing to, or perhaps maintaining, the 'significance' of the building or the object's surroundings. Usually referring to smaller objects such as furniture or cladding panels, advancing technology increasingly calls the meaning of 'movable' into question. Moving the 700 tonne Hôtel de Cabre in 1954, for example, was celebrated at the time because of specialist use of hydraulic jacks to relocate it.[22] [Fig38]

The decontextualisation of Hôtel de Cabre, now surrounded by Pouillon's concrete buildings, now contributes to both its and the area's notability. Similarly, 'significance' of a 'setting' deriving from the object itself can be illustrated by the re-erection of some of the nineteenth century Kings Cross gasholders in 2014, though 400m from their original site. Listed gasholder No.8[23] provides a historical 'setting' for the contemporary public park, while a trio will be reassembled to house apartments, reminding us of the industrial past of the site [Fig39,40], emphasised by the visual contrast with their contemporary context.

[ Fig39,40:Gasholder Park in 2014, and new apartments designed by Wilkinson Eyre. ]

[Fig41,42:View over Marais Quarter in 1960 (top) and 2006 (bottom). Planning controls have preserved its eighteenth century morphology.]



## 2.3 QUALITY: CHARACTER // CARACTÈRE

### 2.31 Origins, usage today

Adrian Forty, in his historical study of the word 'character', notes its introduction into architectural discourse in the eighteenth century, also highlighting ambivalence from those attempting to analyse it, including Ruskin and Viollet-le-Duc - the latter opposing use of it, yet commenting on lack of 'character' in architecture of his time.[1] In France and England, descriptions for their respective historic area designation both refer to 'character', though it is never defined. In England, a Conservation area is:

"an area of special architectural or historic interest, the character or appearance of which is desirable to preserve or enhance"[2]

In France both types of area conservation - the ZPPAUP ('Zone of Protected Architectural Heritage and Landscape') and more rigorous *Secteur sauvegardé* (for dense urban areas) - refer to "historic or aesthetic character"[3]. The ZPPAUP and Conservation area regulations vary in scope and, by their decentralised nature specify different features to conserve between areas, but both generally describe regulations for external modifications to buildings, materials, preserving historic street patterns, protected views and also influence new construction.

### 2.32 Retention or restoration of 'character'?

'Conservation areas' and *Secteurs sauvegardés* were introduced at similar times with similar stated intentions. In England, the 1967 Civic Amenities Act enabled local authorities to designate Conservation areas. In France, *Secteur sauvegardés* were established in the 1962 Malraux Law.

> *"To save a neighbourhood is…to preserve the exterior and modernize the interior…preserve our architectural and historic heritage and improve the living and working conditions of the French."*[4]
>
> - Malraux, introducing *Secteurs sauvegardés*

Early *secteurs sauvegardés* employed Viollet-le-Duc's 'creative destruction' approach. In Paris, the initial plan for the Marais quarter aimed to restore its 1739 footprint, allowing demolition of nineteenth and twentieth century structures.[5] [Fig41,42] This gradually relaxed as the plans of younger ABF (State architect-planners) started taking the future potential of areas into account in addition to their 'character' from a particular point in history[6]. ZPPAUP were not introduced until the 1983 decentralisation laws, allowing greater local municipal control than *secteurs sauvegardés*.

In Marseille four ZPPAUP have been designated to deteriorated historic areas - two in 1997, including Le Panier, then 1999 and 2002[7] - to regain their 'character' and utility in the city. The regulations for restoring Le Panier, an area largely developed in the nineteenth century but dating back to the Ancient Greek city, noted narrow streets and small buildings as part of the area's "intrinsic character"[8], including an extensive list indicating which elements should be restored, modified, moved or replaced [Fig43]. Like other ZPPAUP, it is split into areas of different urban development periods, specifying a central area to remain 'homogenous' but an outer zone allowed "mixed fabric"[9] [Fig44]. Such specific allocations do not exist in England's conservation areas.

## ○.....LISTE DES ELEMENTS PAR FAMILLES

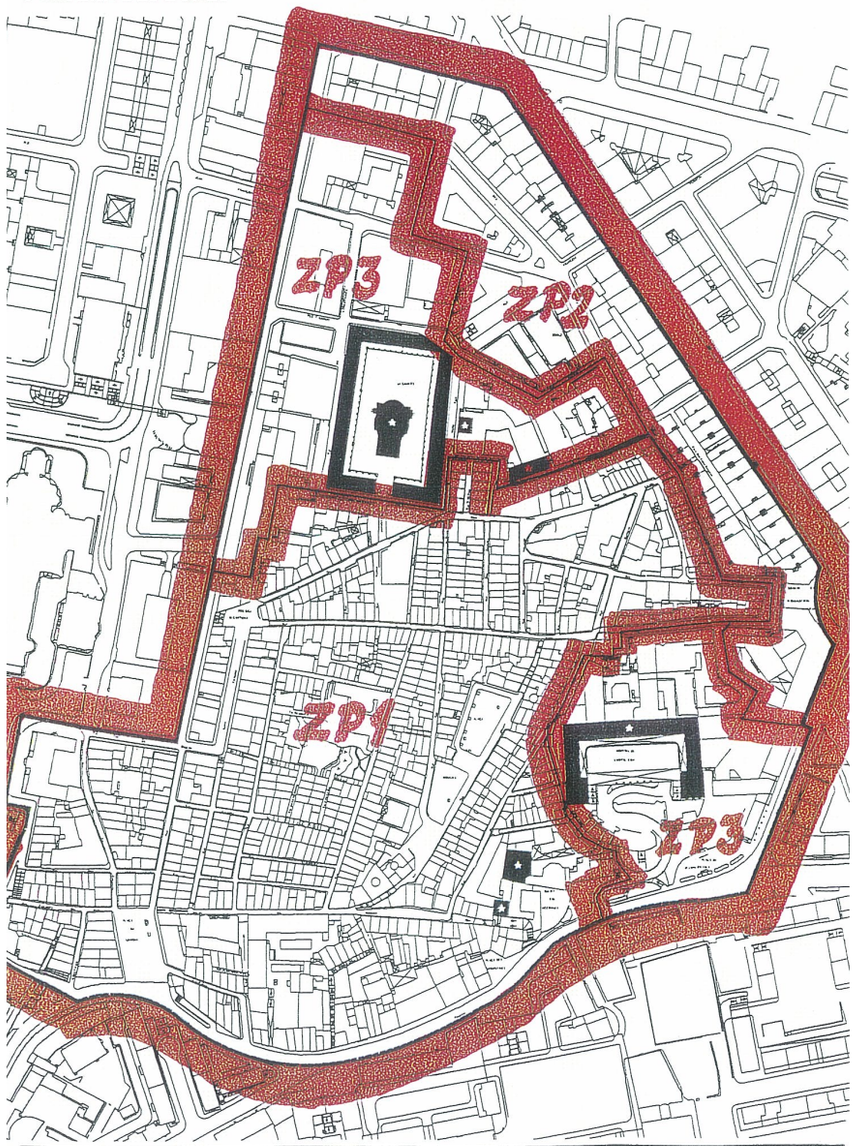
| NUMÉRO | CADASTRE | LOCALISATION | ÉLÉMENTS DESCRIPTIFS | CONSERVATION RESTAURATION | CONSERVATION DEPLACEMENT | CONSERVATION MODIFICATION | PRESERVATION REMPLACEMENT |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **MONUMENTS HISTORIQUES** | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 2 D 51 | 6, rue du Bon Jésus | Monument classé : Chapelle des Pénitents Noirs | ● | | | |
| 2 | 2 D 31 | 2, rue de la Charité | Monument classé : La Vieille Charité | ● | | | |
| 3 | 2 D 330 | 11, rue de la Vieille Tour | Monument inscrit : Tour des Trinitaires | ● | | | |
| 4 | 3 B 41 | 3, montée du Saint-Esprit | Monument inscrit : Chapelle des Pénitents Blancs | ● | | | |
| 5 | 3 B 42 | montée des Accoules | Monument inscrit : Clocher des Accoules | ● | | | |
| 6 | 3 B 4 | 6, place Daviel | Monument inscrit : Hôtel-Dieu | ● | | | |
| 6 bis | d.p. | place de Lenche | Monument classé : Caves de Saint-Sauveur | ● | | | |
| **BATIMENTS PARTICULIERS** | | | | | | | |
| 7 | 3 B 41 | place Daviel | Eglise des Accoules | ● | | | |
| 8 | 3 B 282 | 27, montée des Accoules | Préau des Accoules | ● | | | |
| 9 | 3 A 303 | 6, place de Lenche | Théâtre de Lenche | ● | | | |
| 10 | 3 A 589 | 40, esplanade de la Tourette | Mairie de secteur | ● | | | |
| 11 | 3 A 159 | 1, rue des Muettes | Ecole des Moulins | ● | | | |
| 12 | 3 A 68s | 9,20,24 rue François Moisson | Ecoles et restaurant municipal | ● | | | |
| 13 | 3 A 72,7 | 23,25, rue des Phocéens | Hôtel de la Marine | ● | | | |
| 14 | 3 A | place des Moulins | Trois vestiges de moulins | | | ● | |
| 15 | 3 A 626 | 25, rue du Refuge | Ancien couvent Le Refuge | | | ● | |
| 16 | 3 A 35 | 34, rue Baussenque | Ancienne chapelle | | | ● | |
| 17 | 3 A 144 | 17, rue Saint-Antoine | Ancien Hôpital Saint-Antoine | | | ● | |
| 18 | 3 D 167 | 1, place de Lorette | Ateliers de Lorette | | | ● | |
| 19 | 3 A 76 | 1,2,4 place François Chirat | L'Observance | | | ● | |
| 20 | 3 A 283 | rue Fonderie Vieille | La Grande Miséricorde | | | ● | |
| 21 | 3 A 608 | 38, rue Caisserie | Hôtel Salomon, et jardin rue Beauregard | | | ● | |
| 22 | 3 A 267 | 28-30, rue Caisserie | Hôtel particulier, croisées, et jardin rue Beauregard | | | ● | |
| **ENSEMBLES BATIS** | | | | | | | |
| 23 | | 11-21, montée des Accoules<br>32-42, rue des Moulins | Vue depuis le Vieux-Port, axée sur le clocher des Accoules,<br>sur deux ensembles de façades arrières.<br>Jardins montée des Accoules | ● | | | |
| 24 | | 2-8, place Daviel | Vue depuis la Grand-rue<br>sur le clocher et l'église des Accoules, et le jardin du Calvaire,<br>séquences de façades. | ● | | | |
| 25 | | 10-20, rue Miradou | Vue depuis le port<br>sur les façades du bas de la rue Miradou. | | | ● | |
| 26 | | 1-7, rue Four du Chapitre<br>21-23, rue des Repenties | Vue depuis la place de la Major<br>sur les façades de la rue Four du Chapitre,<br>et sur le bas de la rue des Repenties. | | | ● | |
| 27 | | 1-5, rue Fontaine Neuve | Vue depuis la place Sadi Carnot<br>sur les façades de la rue Fontaine Neuve en surplomb. | | | ● | |
| 28 | | 6 à 23, montée des Accoules | Lieu particulier dans l'axe de la Grand-rue avec<br>vue sur le clocher des Accoules,<br>séquences de façades. | | | ● | |
| 29 | | rue Puits du Denier,<br>rue du Petit Puits,<br>rue de la Vieille Tour,<br>rue de la Charité | Lieu particulier à l'intersection des rues avec<br>juxtaposition de bâtiments et d'espaces majeurs<br>à l'angle de la Charité, vues dans toutes les directions. | | | ● | |



[Fig43:Table from Le Panier's ZPPAUP ]



## ○.....PLAN DES ZONES






[Fig44:ZPPAUP plan showing: ZP1 "strong prescription zone: central Ancient fabric";
ZP2 "strong, but unitary prescription zone: continuous nineteenth century fabric";
ZP3 "accompanying low prescription zone: mixed fabric"]


[Fig45:Rue du Panier in 2015]

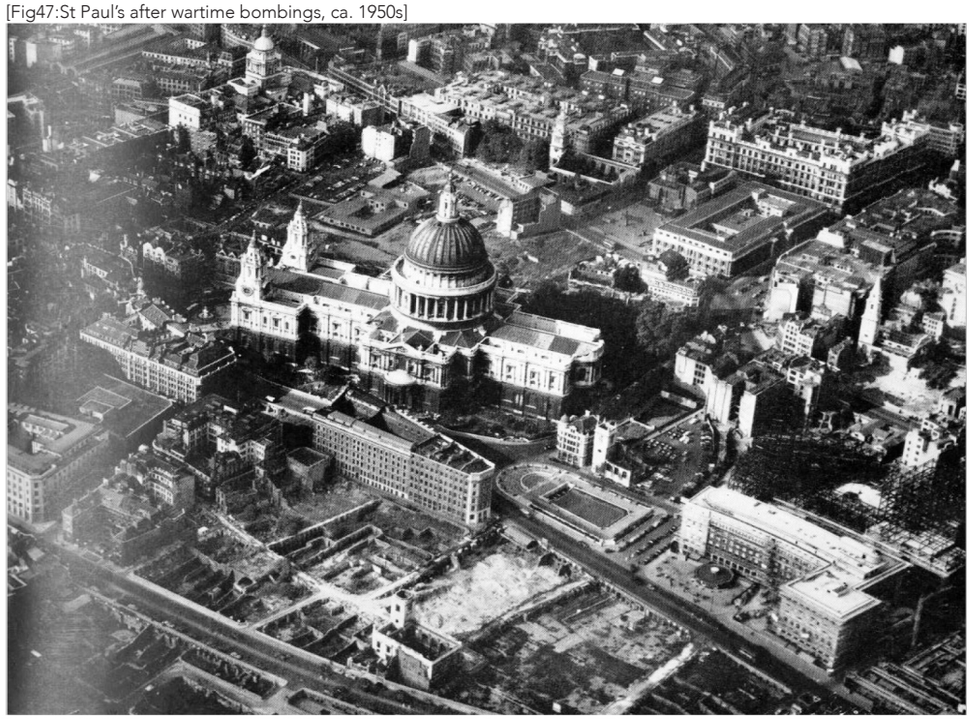

[Fig46:Rue de Republique in 2015]



Today, the effect of these characterised zones is visible. The preserved facades and narrow streets have now recreated and protected Le Panier as a historical attraction, with working artisan shops and historic shopfronts preserved along Rue du Panier [Fig45]. Where "mixed fabric" was permitted, Rue de Republique's Haussmann facades have been restored, the buildings behind currently being renovated into high-street shops and luxury apartments, re-establishing it as a main commercial (and gentrified residential) artery, as part of the Euromediterranée plan[10]. [Fig46]

Comparatively, the City of London has 26 Conservation areas. The area around St Paul's Cathedral dates back to the medieval and Roman city[11]. In addition to Wren's cathedral this makes it one of the City's most sensitive areas for development. Similar to Malraux's intentions in the 1960s to modernise France, the City Corporation, in a 1947 report, outlined several changes to the extensively war-damaged area around St Paul's [Fig47] - including demolition of the nineteenth century choir school and widening of Carter Lane for increased road traffic. Unlike the Marais quarter, most of the recommendations were not, however, realised due to the introduction of Conservation areas and the "significance of the area's special character becoming more widely appreciated"[12] in the 1960-70s.

[Fig47:St Paul's after wartime bombings, ca. 1950s]



[Fig48:One New Change viewed from the Stone Gallery of St Paul's. A viewing platform was also added to the roof from which to view the cathedral. ]

[Fig49:View through ONC's centre, from the east to St Paul's, 2016.]



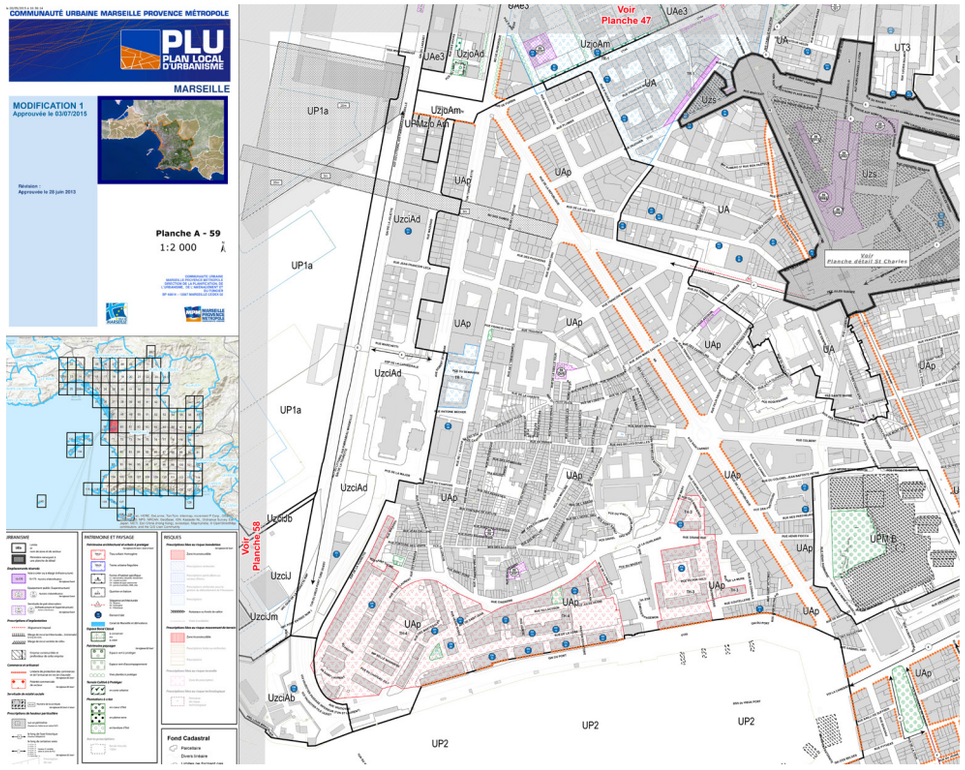
## 2.33 Form follows form: Part 2

Wren's cathedral largely controls the form of the St Paul's area, existing buildings being "appropriately subservient to the cathedral's dominant form"[13], with an "established pattern of Portland stone alongside contrasting red brick buildings"[14] around the cathedral noted in the City's SPD as defining the area's 'character' today. Famously pitched by Jean Nouvel to developers as the 'stealth bomber', One New Change illustrates an interesting approach to remaining 'appropriately subservient'. Seen by some as a "miracle"[15] that it got through planning, though not without controversy.[16] [Fig48] Formally, its fluid form contrasts with the surrounding architecture, yet are supposedly a volumetric representation of the spot heights and setback rules set up in the 1930s after studying views to and from the cathedral, described in the area's 2002 SPD as creating "a complex three-dimensional surface of inclined planes and occasional "cliffs" where significantly different sightlines coincide."[17] The building remains low in height and split by internal pathways, interpreting the SPD preference for historically narrow streets opening up to the cathedrals' green spaces [Fig49], while use of glass in a predominantly masonry environment was justified by sampling frits from colours of surrounding buildings.[18] Where Le Panier is split into characterised zones, preserving a central core as "ancient fabric" the relative flexibility of the St Paul's Conservation area regulations have allowed a contemporary interpretation of the area's 'character' to manifest adjacent to the cathedral.

## 2.34 Form follows function

The approval of One New Change stems, in part, from its economic potential for the area. The shopping centre becomes a rival for West-End high-streets, attracting visitors to the predominantly financial area at weekends. Signage and advertising, however, is still controlled, their absence also noted as contributing to the area's 'character'[19], resulting in the vivid store displays of One New Change remaining inward-looking [Fig50]. In France land-use controls can specify retention of plots for local or artisanal trade, as in the case of the ground floor of Marseille's waterfront Vieux Port buildings [Fig51]. Attention to maintaining varied land-use of historic areas is also highlighted in the MCC guidance for planning of ZPPAUPs "to not just protect a form independent of its use…too often the morpho-typological analyses focus solely on dwellings and do not concern…services or public buildings."[20]

Along Le Canebière, the main commercial street of a neighbouring ZPPAUP in Marseille, regulations attempt to maintain a "continuity of materials and mouldings"[21], shopfronts to be "as discreet as possible" and discourage "materials and canopies which affect the architectural character of the building"[22]. Such regulations have been creatively interpreted, however, by property owners [Fig52]. The historical 'character' and appearance of Le Canebière shopfronts has not been retained, instead property owners developing a natural 'character' following function, their rebelliousness perhaps contributing to Marseille's reputation as "the only antique capital that doesn't crush us with the monuments of its past."[23]




[Fig51:PLU for the reconstructed Vieux Port showing a "zone of homogenous urban fabric" outlined in red, and plots protected for "artisan commerce" in orange.]


[Fig50:Inside One New Change, 2016.]


[Fig52:Shopfronts on La Canebière in 2013]

## 3.0 CONCLUSION

Similarities and differences within official heritage designation criteria, heritage-led planning policies and cultural attitudes towards built heritage in France and England have been explored through this thesis, showing that a reliance on written word will undoubtedly be tested when translated into built form, interpreted by many through - though not limited to - political, economic or social filters.

Temporal context has been shown to be as important as the geographical. As the value of architectural heritage has been re-evaluated over time, so too have the meanings of the words chosen to describe it. While increasing importance given to material heritage in the nineteenth century sparked systematic protection in Europe, integration of heritage protection into urban planning policy began in France and England largely as a response to the devastation of the Second World War and the need to rebuild cities while maintaining national identity. At the same time, societies were coming to terms with new policies and legislation being introduced to accommodate them, and the early listings, restorations, urban development plans discussed illustrate the different cultural responses. The more recent cases and changes in legislation show both continuing re-interpretations of the words, and differences between what is officially and unofficially viewed as valuable for both present and future generations.

'Heritage', 'patrimoine' and 'significance' are now understood as inherently 'cultural' in both countries' conservation principles, the valuation of 'heritage' entirely dependant on values that people attribute to it. Formalised national heritage collections then represent officially 'significant' buildings or, in many of the case studies, significant *parts* of buildings, which affects the extent and way in which they are preserved. Additionally, viewing heritage as a beneficial national 'asset' informs different opinions over which facets of our past should be officially validated, shown in the debate surrounding Cecil Rhodes' statue.

In both France and England, designation of listed heritage gives a degree of State control over privately-owned buildings, understood as national 'assets' to be utilised for society over preferences of the individual. Over time the economic notion of 'heritage asset' has manifested into historic tourism, for example the preserved centre of Le Panier. Understanding 'heritage' as an image of the past, however, can result in reactionary architecture, such as the CGA CGM tower, promoted as a modern 'monument' to the near-future of the city, relating to, yet juxtaposing Marseille's historic landmarks.

Though worded acceptance of changing cultural values appears in French and English policies, the assumed permanence of listed status by officials in France and sustained listing of Sadler's Wells in London contradicts this in practice. In both countries the Second World War hugely influenced changes in cultural attitude towards historic architecture. In Marseille, the 1950-70s modern reconstruction of Vieux Port was embraced, providing a supposedly improved image of the city, and the 1987 listing of Bracken House marked the beginning of recognising post-war architecture as valuable 'heritage' in Britain.

'Character' is interpreted similarly in both countries' conservation area definitions, but manifest differently in practice. In the 1960s, Marais was restored (externally, though modernised internally) to its eighteenth century state and, while plans to modernise the St Paul's area were proposed in 1947, the cultural shift in England during the 1960-70s towards an appreciation of its historic 'character' resulted in a less destructive approach to its reconstruction. Furthermore, characterised zoning within France's urban conservation plans, shown in Le Panier, effectively controls urban development by specifying areas which should represent particular periods of time. Lack of similar zoning in regulations for St Paul's has allowed One New Change to be built adjacent to the cathedral, though the cathedral's presence does directly affect its form. Conversely, 'setting' is interpreted differently between French and English policy, but shifting towards some similarity. In England, recent changes to list specific parts of buildings rather than their entirety, while in France the opposite shift is in process, taking a wider 'setting' of isolated elements into account.

These conservation key words continue to be re-interpreted, subject to cultural re-evaluation as much as the 'heritage' which they are used to designate and the urban form which they will continue to influence.

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**Word Count**

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### 0.0. Introduction

Fig1__Author's own
Fig2__Archives Municipales de Marseille, Ville de Marseille (1954), Revue Municipale No.24

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