

‘Of Good Use or Serious Pleasure’

***Vitruvius Britannicus* and Early Eighteenth Century
Architectural Discourse.**

Lucy Elisabeth Rumble

Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Leeds
Department of Fine Art

September 2001

The candidate confirms that the work submitted is her own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

Acknowledgements

This thesis owes much to many people who have encouraged and assisted me during my research. I am particularly grateful to the British Academy Humanities Research Board for funding my research, and for assisting my period of study at Worcester College Library, Oxford University. Special thanks must also go to Tim Clayton and Dr. J. Parker at Worcester College for their enthusiastic support and for sharing their extensive knowledge of George Clarke's collections with me.

I am grateful to those who took the time to patiently answer my queries in the early stages of my research. Peter Reid of the Robert Gordon University, Aberdeen kindly shared some of his research on country house libraries and Michael Bevington, was enthusiastic in his comments on the contents of the volumes. Thanks must also go to those who guided me in the fascinating subject of landscape and garden history particularly Dr. Paula Henderson.

I have benefited considerably from the opportunity of teaching students at Leeds University and at the American International University in London. I had the opportunity of many fascinating and stimulating discussions with students and colleagues. Particular thanks go to Dr. Jocelyn Hackforth-Jones and to Abigaile Moore and Julie Schlarmen. I have also benefited greatly from the opportunity to exchange ideas with students on the MA in Country House Studies at Leeds University and with the Eighteenth Century Studies Group also at Leeds. A number of papers have been presented on my research and I have benefited from the comments and constructive criticism of the audiences.

Any research owes a considerable debt to the staff of the libraries and archives used. I would like to particularly acknowledge the help and assistance given to me by staff at the following: The British Library, the Bodleian Library, Chetham's Library Manchester, Birmingham Central Library, the Barber Institute of Arts, and the National Library of Scotland. Also the staff of the Fine Art Library and the Brotherton Library at Leeds University. The staff of the Public Records Office, and of archives used across the country, particularly the Thoresby Society and the archives at Leeds and Coventry also need to be thanked.

I am also extremely grateful for the encouragement and support that I have received from my supervisors. Firstly Professor Dana Arnold now of Southampton University who supervised the early stages of my research and secondly Diana Douglas who took over the role of supervisor. I am grateful for all of the support and knowledgeable assistance that I have been given by both of my supervisors and by my friends and colleagues in the Fine Art Department of Leeds University. Particular thanks must go to Dr. Kerry Bristol for painstakingly reading drafts of my work and for her constructive and knowledgeable criticism.

This is by no means a representative list of the debts that I owe and thanks go to all who have supported me on an academic and a personal level. Special thanks must go to Professor Greville Rumble for everything that he has done. My work colleagues have been exceptionally supportive over the last year and thanks go particularly to Paul Maddocks for all of his help. My family, especially my parents, have been wonderfully patient and supportive. Final thanks go to my husband Stephen for his support and patience.

Abstract

The central thesis of this work is that Colen Campbell's three volume *Vitruvius Britannicus* (1715-25) is not, as it has been frequently seen, a Palladian manifesto designed to change architectural practice in England (and in the process Campbell's own fortunes as an architect), but rather a publication celebrating architectural achievements, consumed by polite society.

The twentieth century view of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, stems from John Summerson's seminal work, *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830*. It posits *Vitruvius Britannicus* as a stylistic manifesto that served the particular interests of Colen Campbell and his associates as advocates of and builders in the Palladian style, and foregrounds the idea of the author. This view has been incorporated almost unquestioningly into subsequent interpretations not least because it conforms to a powerful 'Whig' interpretation of history emphasising periodisation, style, revolution, development, and the search for origins. In contrast I argue that *Vitruvius Britannicus* met the demands of a market interested in architecture as a topic of polite conversation. The subscription lists for *Vitruvius Britannicus* show that it was neither priced to be, nor received as, a builder's manual, nor was it a stylistic manifesto. Rather, it was a celebration of contemporary British architecture that gave pleasure and some instruction to polite society. Drawing on disciplines outside of art and architectural history, I consider *Vitruvius Britannicus* as an object of consumption offering an alternative reading of the publication that highlights a number of important avenues for further research.

Chapter 1 positions the thesis within critiques of stylistic history. Chapter 2 briefly introduces some historiographic issues, and then considers the contents and style of the publication, and the nature of its subscribers. This highlights issues neglected in histories of *Vitruvius Britannicus* and challenges many of the commonly held conceptions of the publication. These conceptions are then examined in Chapter 3 in the light of evidence and issues raised in the previous chapter. Chapter 4 considers other architectural and illustrated books and positions Campbell's work within wider publishing paradigms such as cartography and a literature of tourism. Chapter 5 outlines some of the intellectual ideas that influenced the way in which publications such as *Vitruvius Britannicus* were understood. This is developed in Chapter 6 which considers the way in which *Vitruvius Britannicus* functioned within a contemporary architectural discourse that codified the group identity of a polite elite.

Contents

Acknowledgements	2
Abstract	3
Contents List	4
List of Illustrations	6
List of Tables	7
List of Figures	7
Chapter 1 Towards a new Interpretation of <i>Vitruvius Britannicus</i>	8
Chapter 2 <i>Vitruvius Britannicus</i> and the canon of architectural history	17
2.1 Publication of <i>Vitruvius Britannicus</i> : Volumes and Editions	24
2.2 The contents of <i>Vitruvius Britannicus</i>	27
2.2a The coverage of architects in <i>Vitruvius Britannicus</i>	27
2.2b The coverage of building types in <i>Vitruvius Britannicus</i>	43
2.2c Methods of representing buildings used in <i>Vitruvius Britannicus</i>	44
2.2d The Geographical coverage of <i>Vitruvius Britannicus</i>	54
2.3 Subscription to <i>Vitruvius Britannicus</i>	55
Chapter 3 Modern Interpretations of <i>Vitruvius Britannicus</i>	65
Chapter 4 <i>Vitruvius Britannicus</i> and the tradition of architectural publication	89
4.1 The tradition of architectural publications available to Campbell and the public	89
4.1a Italian architectural publications	92
4.1b French architectural publications	111
4.1c English architectural publications	145
4.2 Illustration and Instruction: Developing Paradigms	153
4.2a Aesthetic Evaluation	153
4.2b Scientific Illustration	156
4.2c Cartography	161
4.2d Early tourist itineraries and memoirs	173
Chapter 5 The Intellectual Background to <i>Vitruvius Britannicus</i>	185
5.1 Nationalism	185
5.2 Science	205
5.3 Libraries	215
5.4 Print Collecting	219
5.5 The Public Sphere	229

Chapter 6 The Emergence of Architectural Discourse	234
6.1 The Concept of Discourse	234
6.1a Problems of Language	234
6.1b Discourse and Publication	236
6.2 The Development of Architectural Discourse	238
6.3 A Classical Discourse	241
6.4 A Technical Discourse	245
6.5 A Critical Discourse	247
6.6 A Discourse of Praise	270
6.7 Discourse and Practice	280
6.8 Sites of Discourse	292
Chapter 7 Conclusion	301
Appendix	308
A - Editions of Vitruvius Britannicus	308
B - Subscription Lists	313
C - Publication Information	314
D - Production Costs for Vitruvius Britannicus	315
Bibliography	316

Illustrations

1	Newby Hall (plan & elev) <i>Vitruvius Britannicus</i> Vol. 3 1717, plate 46	31
2	Wanstead I and II (elev) <i>Vitruvius Britannicus</i> Vol. 1 1715, plates 22, 25	32
3	Houghton (elev) <i>Vitruvius Britannicus</i> Vol. 3 1725, plate 29	33
4	Ebberston (plan & elev) <i>Vitruvius Britannicus</i> Vol 1725, plate 47	34
5	Stourhead (plan) <i>Vitruvius Britannicus</i> Vol. 3 1725, plate 41	35
6	Mereworth (plan) <i>Vitruvius Britannicus</i> Vol. 3 1725, plates 35-36	36
7	Mereworth (elev) <i>Vitruvius Britannicus</i> Vol. 3 1725, plate 37	37
8	Mereworth (section) <i>Vitruvius Britannicus</i> Vol. 3 1725, plate 38	38
9	Wilton (plan & elev) <i>Vitruvius Britannicus</i> Vol. 2 1717, plate 61	39
10	Eastbury (elev) <i>Vitruvius Britannicus</i> Vol. 3 1725, plate 20	40
11	New Design by Vanbrugh (elev) <i>Vitruvius Britannicus</i> Vol. 2 1717, plate 53	41
12	New Design by Vanbrugh (plan) <i>Vitruvius Britannicus</i> Vol. 2 1717, plate 52	42
13	Wilton (section) <i>Vitruvius Britannicus</i> Vol. 2 1717, plate 63	51
14	S. Serlio, <i>Tutte l'opere d'architettura</i> . Book III, ch. 4. Fol. 9v	52
15	S. Serlio, <i>Tutte l'opere d'architettura</i> . Book IV, ch 1. Fol 3r	99
16	S. Serlio, <i>Tutte l'opere d'architettura</i> . Book III, ch. 4. Fol 7r	100
17	S. Serlio, <i>Tutte l'opere d'architettura</i> . Book III, ch. 4. Fol 15r	101
18	S. Serlio, <i>Tutte l'opere d'architettura</i> . Book IV, ch. 6. Fol 30r	102
19	S. Serlio, <i>Tutte l'opere d'architettura</i> . Book III, ch. 4. Fol. 14r	103
20	S. Serlio, <i>Tutte l'opere d'architettura</i> . Book III, ch. 4. Fol. 3v	104
21	A. Palladio, <i>I Quattro libri dell 'architettura</i> Book II, <i>Valmarana</i> ch.xv.	105
22	A. Palladio, <i>I Quattro libri dell 'architettura</i> Book II, <i>Tuscan Atrium</i> ch. iv	106
23	A. Palladio, <i>I Quattro libri dell 'architettura</i> Book II, <i>Thiene</i> ch.iii.	107
24	A. Palladio, <i>I Quattro libri dell 'architettura</i> Book II, <i>Almerico</i> , ch.iii	108
25	J. A. Du Cerceau, <i>Les plus excellents batiments de France</i> 1576, Vol. 1 <i>Vallery</i>	117
26	J. A. Du Cerceau, <i>Les plus excellents batiments de France</i> 1576, Vol. 2 <i>d'ampierre</i>	118
27	J. A. Du Cerceau, <i>Les plus excellents batiments de France</i> 1576, Vol. 1 <i>Louvre</i>	119
28	J. A. Du Cerceau, <i>Les plus excellents batiments de France</i> 1576, Vol. 1 <i>Louvre</i>	120
29	J. A. Du Cerceau, <i>Les plus excellents batiments de France</i> 1576, Vol. 1 <i>Louvre</i>	121
30	J. A. Du Cerceau, <i>Les plus excellents batiments de France</i> 1576, Vol. 2 <i>Charleval</i>	122
31	J. A. Du Cerceau, <i>Les plus excellents batiments de France</i> 1576, Vol. 2 <i>Charleval</i>	123
32	J. A. Du Cerceau, <i>Les plus excellents batiments de France</i> 1576, Vol. 2 <i>Charleval</i>	124
33	J. A. Du Cerceau, <i>Les plus excellents batiments de France</i> 1576, Vol. 1 <i>St Germain</i>	125
34	J. A. Du Cerceau, <i>Les plus excellents batiments de France</i> 1576, Vol.2 <i>d'Anet</i>	126
35	C. Perelle, 'le Basson d'appollon' chez Mariette part of the <i>Cabinet de Roi</i> (1679)	127
36	C. Perelle, 'Le Chateau d'Ancy-le Franc' chez Mariette, undated print	128
37	C. Perelle, 'La Grote de Meudon' chez Mariette, undated print	129
38	J. Marot, <i>L'architecture Francoise</i> , (1670), <i>Val de Grâce</i> (section)	130
39	J. Marot, <i>L'architecture Francoise</i> , (1670), <i>l'hôtel du jars (or du Gert)</i>	131
40	J. Marot, <i>L'architecture Francoise</i> , (1670), <i>Pontz</i> (elev & plan)	132
41	J. Marot, <i>L'architecture Francoise</i> , (1670), <i>l'hôtel de l'aigle</i> (elev & plan)	133
42	J. Marot, <i>L'architecture Francoise</i> , (1670), <i>l'hôtel de chevreuse</i> (section & plan)	134
43	P.P. Rubens <i>Palazzi di Genova</i> , (1622), <i>figura 41</i>	135

44	P.P. Rubens <i>Palazzi di Genova</i> , (1622), <i>figura 35</i>	136
45	P.P. Rubens <i>Palazzi di Genova</i> , (1622), <i>figura 52</i>	137
46	P.P. Rubens <i>Palazzi di Genova</i> , (1622), <i>figura 9</i>	138
47	G.B. Falda <i>Giardini di Roma</i> (Rome 1683) ‘The Farnese Gardens’	141
48	G.B. Falda <i>Giardini di Roma</i> (Rome 1683) ‘Detail of View of the Gardens of Mettei’	142
49	J. Slezer, <i>Theatrum Scotiae</i> (1693).View of Brehin	149
50	J. Kip, <i>Britannia</i> (1707) prospect of Southwick	150
51	J. Kip, <i>Britannia</i> (1707).prospect of Esher Place	151
52	J. Kip, <i>Britannia</i> (1707) prospect of Chatsworth	152
53	A Vesalius, <i>De Humanis Corporis Fabrica Libri</i> (1543) Anatomical Study	158
54	anon, <i>A New Map of Sussex</i> Sold by John Overton, undated	166
55	J. Speed, <i>The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine</i> (1611) Map of Lancaster	167
56	J. Kip, <i>Britannia</i> (1707) prospect of Badminton	168
57	Menant, ‘Plan of Versailles’ (1714) from Demortain <i>Les Plans. Etc. de Versailles</i>	169
58	J. A. Du Cerceau, <i>Les plus excellents batiments de France</i> 1576, Vol. 1 <i>Vallery</i>	170
59	Woodstock Park (Geometrical Plan) <i>Vitruvius Britannicus</i> Vol. 3, 1725, plates 71-72	171
60	Houghton (Geometrical Plan) <i>Vitruvius Britannicus</i> Vol. 3 1725, plate 27-28	172
61	Frontispiece to ‘The Dissembling Scot set forth in his coulours’ BMC 852 (1652)	203
62	anon - playing card satire, BMC 1491 (1710)	204
63	H. Hulsbergh, ‘A new building at ye end of His Grace the Duke of Kent’s Garden’ privately published (1711) Worcester College, Oxford.	225
64	C. Perelle, ‘Veue generali Fontainebleau’, chez Mariette, undated print	226
65	Castle Howard (View) <i>Vitruvius Britannicus</i> Vol. 3, plates 5-6	227
66	anon, ‘View of Clarendon House’ undated print	228

Tables

Table 1	<i>Designs by Campbell in each Volume</i>	28
Table 2	<i>Representation of Building Types in each Volume</i>	43
Table 3	<i>Types of Representation in each Volume</i>	44
Table 4	<i>Breakdown of Subscribers by Status/Occupation where known</i>	59

Figures

Figure 1.	Geographical Coverage of <i>Vitruvius Britannicus</i>	53
-----------	---	----

1. Towards a new interpretation of *Vitruvius Britannicus*

Studies of *Vitruvius Britannicus*¹ have consistently emphasised its importance as a document within a stylistic history focused upon Palladianism. This has led to important aspects of the publication being neglected. By drawing on other disciplines to evolve an interdisciplinary approach to *Vitruvius Britannicus*,² one can not only enlarge understanding of the volumes but also demonstrate the value of this approach to architectural studies and so identify new areas that need further exploration.

My analysis draws upon a range of disciplines including art history, English, linguistics, philosophy and bibliography to develop an integrated discussion of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. This highlights the complex intellectual and social factors that relate to it and points to wider ideas of architecture, architectural illustration and social function located within multiple discourses, ideas and practices that cannot be reduced to a single, pragmatic notion of architectural history. The consideration of visual and social history owes something to Baxandall's work on understanding form,³ and to semiotic theories on signs and sign-use.

¹ C. Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus, or the British architect, containing the plans, elevations, and sections of the regular buildings, both publick and private, in Great Britain, withh variety of new designs; in 200 large folio plates ... in II volumes ... by Colen Campbell Esqr. Vitruvius Britannicus ou l'architecte britannique, contenant les plans, elevations, & sections des batimens reguliers, tant particuliers que publics de la Grande Bretagne, ... en deux tomes. ... Par le Sieur Campbell*, (London: J. Nicholson, A. Bell, W. Taylor, H. Clements, J. Smith, 1715), C. Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus, or the British architect, containing the plans, elevations, and sections of the regular buildings, both publick and private, in Great Britain, with variety of new designs; in 200 large folio plates ... in II Volumes Vol. II. By Colen Campbell Esqr. Vitruvius Britannicus, ou l'architecte britannique, contenant les plans, elevations, & sections des batimens reguliers, tant particuliers que publics de la Grande Bretagne, ... en deux tomes. Tome II. Par le Sieur Campbell. ... Vol 2*, (London: John Nicholson, Andrew Bell, W Taylor, Henry Clements, Joseph Smith, 1717), C. Campbell, *The third volume of Vitruvius Britannicus: or, the British architect. Containing the geometric plans of the most considerable gardens and plantations; also the plans, elevations and sections of the most regular buildings, ... in one hundred large folio plates. By Colen Campbell, Esquire, ... Vitruvius Britannicus: ou, l'architecte britannique: contenant les plans des jardins les plus considerable, aussi les plans, elevations, & sections des batimens reguliers, ... par le Sieur Campbell, ... Tome III*, (London: Joseph Smith, 1725). All future citations will be noted: C. Campbell, Vol no, date.

² Interdisciplinary work can be illuminating in suggesting new contexts and frameworks for understanding. However, as L. Jordanova, *History in Practice* (London: Arnold, 2000), observes, specialist subject areas remain a significant element within historical work enabling application of specialist skills to an historical problem.

³ M. Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), M. Baxandall, *Giotto and the Orators Humanist Observers of Painting in Italy and the Discovery of Pictorial Composition 1350-1450*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), M. Baxandall, *Patterns of Intention. On the Historical Explanation of Pictures*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985).

Recent scholarship in English literature, history and art history has examined the way a work functions in the production and reception of meaning and argued that focus upon labels and categories, significant epochs or historical moments, creates false divisions which elide the nature of developmental processes.⁴ Historians such as McKendrick, Brewer, Colley and Jardine⁵ have demonstrated that ways of thinking about the world that came to the fore in the latter part of the eighteenth century had earlier roots.⁶ In a similar vein the collection of essays edited by Lucy Gent and published as *Albion's Classicism*⁷ investigate the impact of the criterion of Classicism upon the way histories of the visual arts are written, and question the hegemony of the model of Italianate Classicism. Such revisions have shown that the labels and chronology previously applied to the period from the Renaissance to the eighteenth century are problematic. New ways of engaging with the material have led to shifts in historical thought, and my thesis draws upon these to challenge the emphasis placed upon stylistic revolutions and periodisation in interpretations of *Vitruvius Britannicus*.

I consider *Vitruvius Britannicus* in terms of reception rather than production, tracing the range of discourses around architecture and publications contemporary with it. My approach foregrounds a cultural history through which ideas and cognitive frameworks can be examined and artificially separated areas of study, such as architecture, integrated into wider historical frameworks. I thus reposition *Vitruvius Britannicus* as a cultural artefact located within the social landscape of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Within this two elements are identified: production - authorship, and reception - consumption. While in the past consumption has often been sidelined by historians,⁸ recent historical work has focused

⁴ In *The Birth of Consumer Society*, McKendrick et al argue that 'historians have been too prodigal in their inventive labelling of the past. Their zeal in finding revolutions, renaissances, rebirths ... has often been altogether excessive'. N. McKendrick, J. Brewer, and J. H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society. The Commercialisation of Eighteenth Century England*, (London: Europa Publications Ltd., 1982), p3.

⁵ Ibid. Also *Early Modern Conceptions of Property*, ed. by J. Brewer, S. Staves, (London: Routledge, 1995). *Consumption & Culture in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. by A. Bermingham, J. Brewer, (New York and London: Routledge, 1995). L. Colley, *Britons. Forging the Nation 1707-1837*, Yale: New Haven and, London: Yale University Press, 1992).

⁶ For example, Jardine argues that studies of the period defined by historians as the 'Enlightenment' have failed to consider its development from the seventeenth century and that the European Renaissance in art and learning was triggered by international trade and the demand for consumer goods. Elsewhere, she develops this holding that the intellectual advances of the scientific revolution took place in the context of a consumer revolution, thus positioning later eighteenth century scientific developments within a much longer developmental process. L. Jardine, *Worldly Goods: A New History of the Renaissance*, (London: Macmillan, 1996), *Ingenious Pursuits: Building the Scientific Revolution*, (London: Little Brown & Co., 1999).

⁷ *Albion's Classicism: The Visual Arts in Britain 1550-1660*, ed. by L. Gent (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1995).

⁸ Houston has argued that consumption has been neglected by historians, who have not made any 'detailed investigation of the way in which facts and concepts were received by the reader'. R. A.

upon it in an attempt to redress the balance, exploring the way in which individuals appropriate cultural forms as a means of self representation.⁹ Much of this is interdisciplinary, drawing upon work on the social meanings and uses of objects, and on reception and reader response, as well as on the interpretation of textual and cultural data in history and literary studies.¹⁰ Drawing upon this I argue in Chapter 6 that *Vitruvius Britannicus* relates to the early eighteenth century growth of interest in architecture. It was grounded within ideas of serious pleasure and the productive use of leisure time, thus positioning the volumes as of good use to the polite gentlemen, who could use them as a basis for discourse and display. The reception of *Vitruvius Britannicus* is considered on two levels. Firstly, Chapter 4 considers the way in which as a 'work' it was made intelligible to those who read it, and the extent to which it related to readers' expectations and their knowledge of the paradigms in which the text operated. Secondly, Chapter 6 considers how *Vitruvius Britannicus* made architecture intelligible to readers and observers, both as a subject for discussion and as an artefact for evaluation.¹¹

Consumption of *Vitruvius Britannicus* operated at many different levels, as a local history in which one's house featured (visual genealogy), as an important element in polite discourse, and as an element in the development of a particularised architecture. Although I touch on some of these different readings, I focus principally upon aspects that relate to 'polite' concerns, thus highlighting issues sidelined in the standard interpretation of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. In the process I critique conventional views of the publication in Chapter 3 showing that these include firstly posing a singular reading of the volumes, inscribed into the work by the author and understood absolutely by the reader, and secondly the lack of specific analysis of the processes of communication within it, and how these relate to a socio-cultural framework. To date there has been no integrated analysis of the various levels of consumption of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, neither has there been a consideration of the reasons for its popularity, nor of how these may have related to contemporary concerns. Historians have also neglected the problematic relationship between architectural representation and architecture as built. The differences between these two discourses, their interaction, and their relation to *Vitruvius Britannicus* will be considered in section 6.7. Finally, there has

Houston, *Literacy in Early Modern Europe 1500-1800*, (New York and London: Longman, 1988), p198.

⁹ A. Bermingham, J. Brewer, op cit., p14.

¹⁰ Ibid, p14.

¹¹ There are always reading practices which leave no trace, and the historian needs to recognise this. Bryson and Bal argue that '...we should remember that the reserve of unheard viewers is there, even when they cannot be retrieved; notice the absences in the record as much as what survives ...'. (M. Bal, N. Bryson, 'Semiotics and Art History' in *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. LXXIII No. 2, June 1991, p186).

been little consideration of the groups of consumers of these volumes and no analysis of why the bodies of knowledge and systems of communication may have appealed to them, and how they functioned in terms of group identity formation. Chapter 6 examines these issues, considering *Vitruvius Britannicus* not as a text in the development of Classical style, but as a cultural artefact in its own right. This positions the volumes within wider networks of publication, cultural consumption, display, class consolidation and nationalism.

My study of the work's reception and internal organisation is framed within an idea of multiple contexts, rather than any notion of authorial intentionality inscribed into the publication.¹² Instead of attempting to interpret it solely in the context of authorial intentionality, I prefer, with Bal and Bryson to view the author as 'a window through which we look to see the causal factors that helped to produce a work'.¹³ This does not mean that we should, as they suggest, eradicate the author's own frame of reference - assuming that we have access to it. Rather it means drawing upon the semiotic notion of contextual factors converging on the object, to recognise that the meaning of a cultural object such as *Vitruvius Britannicus* is derived from a range of factors: the author's expressed intention; the contexts that gave rise to that intention; the context within which the work was received at the time; the contexts that have informed subsequent interpretations of the work; and the context that informs the present thesis. This requires a shift away from a focus on author-producer towards reader-consumer.¹⁴ To date no other work has repositioned Campbell as an author in terms of the encounter that exists between the world of the text and the world of the reader.

My consideration of this encounter is structured around the idea of discourse, and related to this, the study of language systems and the ideas that they embody and codify. Structures of thought are rooted in ideas of language, and 'texts', understood as written, spoken or visual constructions, can be considered as cultural products. Drawing upon Foucault I believe that examination of language use is an important method for investigating the expression of ideas, categories of thought, and the relationship between language and wider cultural and political contexts.¹⁵ Thus Chapter 3 examines the particular discourse related to *Vitruvius Britannicus*

¹² This approach owes much to ideas suggested by semiotic theory, and in particular to the idea of the author as a framing device, cf. M. Foucault, 'What is an Author?' in *Bulletin de la Société Française de Philosophie*, Vol. 63, N^o. 3, 1969, pp. 115-138.

¹³ M. Bal, N. Bryson, op. cit, p183

¹⁴ In many ways studies of art and architecture inevitably privilege the idea of author-producer, most particularly in the process of attribution, essential to which is the idea of a corpus of work relating to a particular author.

¹⁵ See particularly, M. Foucault, *The Order of Things, An archaeology of Human Science*, (London: Tavistock Publications, 1970). However, the reception of Foucault's work points to another aspect of discourse. L. Jordanova op cit, pp. 80-83 discusses the fact that although he began publishing in the late

that can be traced in architectural history, while Chapters 5 and 6 position *Vitruvius Britannicus* itself in relation to wider contemporary discourses.

My position is that a singular reading of *Vitruvius Britannicus* as Palladian is inadequate and in Chapter 3 I argue that the plurality of contexts in which a work is read lead to a plurality of understandings. This approach is influenced by de Certeau, who holds that ‘the text has a meaning only through its readers’.¹⁶ Thus, the historian’s task is to consider both the discursive and material forms of a text and the process of appropriation by its readers. To do this one must identify ‘interpretive communities’ and begin to look at the context in which a work was read and the types of practices that may have been brought to bear upon it. In practice, of course, the contexts that can be traced for the volumes of *Vitruvius Britannicus* are as endless as the range of understandings that an individual can bring to a work. Although I suggest possible groups of consumers in Chapter 6, each of these can be further divided, and the individuals reconstituted into entirely different groupings. Each group possesses different codes for viewing the same work. Additionally, individuals have differing abilities to operate that code. Thus, understanding varies not only from group to group but also between individuals within a group.¹⁷ Furthermore individuals may belong to more than one group. Consequently, in focusing on one particular context, that of politeness, I recognise that there are a range of other contexts for *Vitruvius Britannicus*, not all of which can be identified. ‘Context’ in the form of a totality is impossible to establish, and I do not seek to do so. Instead my thesis is influenced by Bal and Bryson’s critique of approaches that make ‘a necessarily partial and incomplete formulation ... stand for the totality’,¹⁸ and by the work of semiotic theory, which Barthes has argued is not concerned with attributing definite meaning to a work, but describing ‘the logic according to which meanings are engendered’.¹⁹ Thus, I seek to establish the logic behind *Vitruvius Britannicus* which contributed to some of the ways in which it was understood.

1950s, many of Foucault’s most influential works were published in the 1960s and early 1970s. While many of these were quickly translated into English, they were mostly read by historians and philosophers of science during the 1970s. It was not until the 1980s that widespread interest in Foucault’s work came to the fore. Subsequently, in the 1990s his work has been questioned to a much greater extent. This historiographic shift in approaches to Foucault reflects the fact that history is itself a discourse structured by language, within which specific ideas and authorities are entrenched. Thus, the concept of discourse informs all areas of this study.

¹⁶ M. De Certeau, 1984, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, quoted in R. Chartier, *The Order of Books*, (Cambridge: Polity, 1994), p1.

¹⁷ M. Bal, N. Bryson, op cit, p186.

¹⁸ M. Bal, N. Bryson, op cit, p177.

¹⁹ R. Barthes, *Critique et vérité*, (Paris: 1966), p63. Many of his key ideas are put forward in *Image, Music, Text*, Essays selected and translated by S. Heath, (London: Paladin, 1977).

This location of *Vitruvius Britannicus* within wider processes owes much to literary theory and history. Architectural historians have considered this publication as a source of information on architecture as built, and not as an area of study in its own right. In contrast literary historians take publications as starting points for constructing histories of ideas, and consider texts in relation to wider developments. This approach positions texts as active creations, intrinsically related to discourse and implicated in constructions of power and authority. It acknowledges the complex relationship between different texts, an idea that informs my work in Chapters 4 and 6. This approach also moves away from a consideration of the author and locates cultural power and significance in the product.²⁰

Chapter 6 considers how particular discursive patterns emerged and how *Vitruvius Britannicus* was located within these. Through examination of the processes of perception and visualisation and the structuring of architectural knowledge within the volumes, I establish categories for understanding the publication. By mapping the use-value of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I suggest ways in which ideas of quality and value were associated with the volumes and the range of practices that may have led to their consumption. However, practices of consumption are highly complex and selective: the individual privileges products that reinforce extant opinions and ideas. Consumption is thus regulated by the interests of the individual and rooted in their mental climate.²¹ Thus, all literacy, visual or textual, is rooted in sociological and ideological contexts, and the inscription of value relates to a wide range of material and intellectual factors. Contextual interpretation is one way in which architectural historians can begin to understand patterns of consumption.²²

However, the idea of context is not a simple model. It is equally subject to the historian's own interpretation and cannot be presented as positive knowledge through which the uncertainty of texts and consumption can be answered.²³ It is not my intention to establish definitive contexts for the consumption of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. A cultural object cannot be understood other than as part of a contextual plurality. Its meaning cannot be 'fixed' either at any one time or across a period of time.²⁴ A publication such as *Vitruvius Britannicus*

²⁰ See L. Jordanova, op cit, p85.

²¹ R. A. Houston, op cit, p201.

²² This informs the work of Christy Anderson in particular, together with the other architectural historians printed in Gent's edited volume. See L. Gent, op cit, 1995, and *Gender and Art*, ed. by G. Perry, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, in association with The Open University, 1999). While these shifts are beginning to occur in architectural history, much of the work is outside of the period covered in this thesis.

²³ J. Culler, *Framing the Sign, Criticism and its Institutions*, (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988), p.xiv

²⁴ M. Bal, N. Bryson, op cit, p179.

functioned not only on a variety of levels at the time, but has also changed with subsequent contexts of reception. Interpretations of it are therefore determined by specific historical and material conditions. This applies as much to contemporary understandings as to historical explanations.

It is against such a theoretical framework that one can begin to approach readings of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Chapter 3 identifies the key themes that have emerged in considerations of the publication, some of which are only of marginal interest to the approach taken in this study. For example, I only discuss the relationship between Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus* and Leoni's *Palladio* within a broad consideration of contemporary architectural publication. This is because I find the connections usually made between these two publications to be artificial and only substantiated by a stylistic historical argument.²⁵ Similarly, because of the emphasis upon stylistic categories the relationship between Campbell, Lord Burlington, and the 'Neo-Palladians', is not specifically considered.²⁶ Although Shaftesbury's *Letter* is discussed in Chapter 5, I do not focus on the stylistic interpretation that has dominated readings of it in relation to developments in early eighteenth century architecture. Instead, discussion focuses upon other ideas more relevant to the argument of the thesis.

There are also some issues of potential relevance to my thesis which are not considered in detail. For example, my analysis privileges masculine consumption but recognises that arguments relating to publication and the development of a polite critical language of architecture raise questions of gender. For example, the extent to which such publications facilitated the inclusion of women in architectural discourse, and the ways in which women engaged with critical debates and used appropriate language in order to participate in the

²⁵ The connections made between these two publications depend upon a stylistic interpretation which privileges Palladio as a key theme. In fact the illustrations in Leoni's publication suggest that even his translation of the author occupies a more problematic position than has previously been considered.

²⁶ 'Palladianism' is understood as an architectural style derived from the buildings and publications of Palladio. Often, Inigo Jones is seen as its first exponent. Later, Burlington and Campbell are seen as its key exponents. The term 'Neo Palladian' is sometimes applied to the later work, particularly that of Burlington which is seen as more rigorously based in the work of the Renaissance architect. (This is the context in which it is understood by Summerson, Wittkower, and J Harris.) However, it is also applied to later eighteenth century work by architects such as Laugier and Chambers which moved on from what was seen as the 'architectural straight jacket of 'Palladianism'. (This is the context that informs the work of Wilton Ely.) Often, the terms 'Palladianism' and 'Neo-Palladianism' are used interchangeably. This study will use each term in the context of the individual authors discussed. Overall, the stylistic concerns of Palladianism versus Neo-Palladianism are critiqued in this study, which instead prefers an idea of Classicism.

‘masculine’ public sphere.²⁷ It is possible that women’s participation in this sphere could be traced through modes of discourse such as letter writing, diaries etc. These issues need much more research than is possible to pursue within the remit of this study, but are highlighted by the approach taken, thus demonstrating its value in opening up new areas of consideration.

In Chapter 4 I investigate the relationship between *Vitruvius Britannicus* and other architectural and non-architectural publications, consciously using examples well known and well used by historians. My aim is to demonstrate that these frequently cited sources are also part of an archive that can be continually revisited and repositioned to highlight new relationships and more dense interpretations. Shapin opens his book on *The Scientific Revolution* with the sentence ‘There was no such thing as the Scientific Revolution, and this is a book about it’.²⁸ In like vein I argue that the idea of a Palladian Revolution instigated by Campbell in 1715 is a retrospective construction by architectural historians. Instead I consider the issues and ideas that have been sidelined or neglected in work which emphasises an idea of revolution and periodisation. At the same time I recognise that it is impossible to write a definitive history. Instead, I seek to investigate why *Vitruvius Britannicus* was intelligible to its readers and what visual and reading processes may have been applied to the volumes. Of course it could be argued that I substitute one form of teleological narrative for another, but this is not my intention. Instead I aim to demonstrate the range of narratives that can be constructed around the archive, highlighting the number of levels at which a text can operate.²⁹ However, I recognise that all historical writing constructs a narrative that reflects the writer’s position and this is as true of my own work as it is of anyone else’s,³⁰ offering my reading of *Vitruvius Britannicus* while recognising that this in turn is subject to criticism and re-evaluation.

²⁷ Indeed the gendering of this public sphere as masculine has been questioned. B. Cowan, ‘What was Masculine about the Public Sphere? Coffeehouses and the Grounds of Contention in Augustan London’. Paper given to the Leeds University Eighteenth Century Group, February 2000.

²⁸ S. Shapin, *The Scientific Revolution*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

²⁹ This approach is influenced by Foucault’s critique of total history. M. Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, (London: Tavistock Publications, 1972). Foucault argues that ‘the aim [of general history] is not to offer simply a jumble of different histories, nor the investigation of analogies or coincidences between them [Instead it is] to determine what forms of relation may legitimately be made between the various forms of social categorisation ... without recourse to any master schema, any ultimate theory of causation’. J. Weeks, ‘Foucault for Historians’ in *History Workshop Journal*, N°. 14, Autumn 1982, pp106-120, p110. This approach has been criticised in recent years by Stedman Jones who argues ‘that despite Foucault’s disclaimer of all historical narratives and his proclamation of an “archaeology” to take their place he in fact both denied telling stories and nevertheless continued to tell them’. G. Stedman Jones, ‘Linguistic Approaches to History in the 1990s’ in *History Workshop Journal*, N°. 42 Autumn 1996, pp. 19-24, p24.

³⁰ This is the central problem which Stedman Jones highlights in Foucault’s work, namely that no matter how careful historians are not to refer to any master schema, they are inevitably grounded within their own methodology (op. cit).

Chapter 3 critiques histories of *Vitruvius Britannicus* focused upon stylistic reception and dominated by a Whig conception of history. However, I recognise that shifting the focus to reception is no less methodologically problematic than stylistic approaches. Nevertheless, this thesis will show that an archive can be presented for analysis in many different ways according to the particular interests of the historian. The key to gaining a greater understanding of any historical source is not to establish historical orthodoxies, but to continue to question and revisit an archive. In this way, and drawing on approaches in other disciplines, historians are able to develop more dense readings of the multiple levels of discourse surrounding any published material, and to recognise their own position within these discourses in constructing histories of the subject. My focus on different aspects will develop a range of understandings of the period and of the way in which *Vitruvius Britannicus* may have functioned within the contemporary milieu. As such it can be read more as an intervention within the architectural history of *Vitruvius Britannicus* that opens up new avenues, rather than a new total history of the volumes.

2. *Vitruvius Britannicus* and the Canon of Architectural History

Previous studies of *Vitruvius Britannicus* have centred upon a view of architectural history, dominated by a Hegelian dialectic and an emphasis upon style and built form. Although *Vitruvius Britannicus* has been primarily considered within the discipline of architectural history, my challenge to previous readings stems from an approach rooted in wider interdisciplinary perspectives. While there are differences between history, art history and architectural history, they share common terrain.³¹ It is this common terrain which also incorporates fields such as literature, psychology, and sociology that has enabled the extension of inter-disciplinary studies in recent years.³² This chapter will examine specific frameworks in the disciplines of architectural and art history, but these apply equally well to any of the individual disciplines that practice history.

Art history can be defined as the study of objects with visual content and this applies equally to the study of the history of architecture. The label ‘architecture’ can be applied to all human constructions, but is frequently applied to identify a particular visual quality which separates ‘architecture’ from building. As such the study of architecture and its histories relates to study of visual quality in the fine arts. This relationship between the two disciplines is epitomised in the many books focused upon both ‘art and architecture’. However, architecture also operates on a craft level that moves beyond the study of the fine arts, and the constructional element within it incorporates wider practical issues than art history. Recent work in architectural history has begun to broaden the base of the subject to include the study of vernacular building and non-western forms of construction, and reaches beyond the fine arts. Therefore, while the two disciplines share many common characteristics, they operate within their own specific intellectual frameworks. Accordingly in this thesis I examine the ways in which *Vitruvius Britannicus* has been considered within architectural history, but also how it can be located within art historical frameworks of discussion. This highlights both the common ground and the shifting parameters of each of these disciplines.

³¹ This common terrain within the practice of history has recently been considered in L. Jordanova, *History in Practice*, (London: Arnold, 2000).

³² The growth of such approaches can be traced in the increased number of thematic courses offered at universities which consider subjects under departments such as ‘humanities’ ‘combined studies’ or ‘cultural studies’.

Periodisation in architectural history

Within many architectural histories, architecture is reduced to an examination of stylistic elements that enable accurate dating and, wherever possible, attribution, creating a canon of excellent (usually Classical) architecture. Such techniques operate within an idea of connoisseurship and many of the tools used depend upon the systems presented by Vasari, Winckelmann, and Wölfflin which are principally concerned with periodisation, and which also apply to art historical methods.

Vasari represented the historical progress of art towards the fulfilment of a universal beauty, placed in a cyclical framework of birth, maturation and decay. His influence can be traced in Winckelmann's construction of a biological cycle for art, which set an important precedent for subsequent histories of the subject within which art was considered through sequences of 'period style.' The use of the cycle and of polarities as a tool for comparison and contrast was developed by Wölfflin,³³ and the idea of systematic comparison of images has remained a defining element in both art and architectural history ever since. This dominance of systematically conceived phases has influenced artistic discussions to an extent far beyond that of other disciplines.³⁴

This identification of distinct stages using the techniques of contrast and comparison privileges the idea of a normative mode, and in both art and architectural history, this norm frequently operates through stylistic discussion.³⁵ This emphasises an evolutionary view of history: The identification of a building or a work of art as a particular style necessarily implies the coexistence of other buildings with which it has features in common, and others with which it can be placed in opposition. Within a biological model such development is equated with maturation and thus the concept of style serves to name the stages within a cyclical process and to map progress towards and any regression from the norm.³⁶ Often this norm is Classicism, a model which has remained of great importance in both art historical and architectural writing, to the extent that it has performed a normative function, implying

³³ H. Wölfflin, Trans. K. Simon, [*Renaissance and Barock*], *Renaissance and Baroque*, (London: (1888) 1953).

H. Wölfflin, Trans. P. & L. Murray [*Klassische Kunst*], *Classic Art*, (London: (1899) 1932).

H. Wölfflin, Trans. M. Hottinger, [*Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe*], *Principles of Art History*, (London: (1915) 1932).

³⁴ A. Potts, *Flesh and the Ideal. Winckelmann and the Origins of Art History*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994), p35.

³⁵ Indeed Belting suggested that a norm of style constitutes the very meaning of art. H. Belting, Trans. C. Wood, *The End of the History of Art*, (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1987), p7.

³⁶ *Ibid.* p7.

neutral discussion while reinforcing a hierarchical system with Classicism as the highest level of achievement.³⁷ This system presents the birth of Classicism and its development in Greece, then Rome, Renaissance rediscovery, and maturation. The story can be told on an Italian canvas, across Europe, or on a specifically British canvas and it is in the last connection that *Vitruvius Britannicus* has been considered.

Vitruvius Britannicus is frequently positioned within an idea of Classical stylistic development that maps the publication against the norms of Palladianism, Baroque and Neo-Palladianism. Consequently, the literature of *Vitruvius Britannicus* can be clearly mapped against a tradition of periodisation in art historical writing. It is the concept of style that fixes *Vitruvius Britannicus* within the periodic cycle of Classicism. While art history and architectural history both share a tradition of aesthetic evaluation and categorisation, this point refers distinctly to the location of *Vitruvius Britannicus* within architectural history. While there has been widespread and considerable challenges to the Classical canon established by the discipline of art history, these debates appear to have had little effect on the methodologies applied to *Vitruvius Britannicus* by architectural historians.

Narratives of style

The biological model which Vasari constructed was focused upon form and discussed both visual effect and technical detail. This was continued in Wölfflin's pairs of types of forms,³⁸ and indeed it is this element of visual analysis that has traditionally distinguished both art and architectural history from other types of historical writing. The concept of style enables these histories to consider both diachronic difference and synchronic concordance of forms.³⁹ This discussion of form gives visual substance to a consideration of style and enables the historian to employ the tools of visual contrast and comparison that epitomise the disciplines of art and architectural history. However, the process of identifying changes in form is no more neutral than any other method of categorisation and periodisation.

³⁷ There is a link between the use of the word 'classic' in a qualitative sense and its use in a hierarchical sense, and this idea is implied in many disciplines: Classic is often seen as equivalent to the highest or most superior degree in the canon or hierarchy. See D. Freedberg, 'The Problem of Classicism. Ideology and Power', in *Art Journal*, (*Proceedings of the College of Art Association of New York*), Spring 1988, pp. 7-9. In his discussion of categorisation in art history, Gombrich argued that all categories are grounded in two basic ideas, the Classical and the Non-Classical, and that consequently, art historical description is always tied to a system of exclusion. Although stylistic terms such as Classicism are seen as neutral the description of works of art can never be completely divorced from criticism. (E. Gombrich, *Norm and Form. Studies in the Art of the Renaissance* (London: Phaidon, 1966), p81. See also p83).

³⁸ H. Wölfflin, op cit, 1915.

³⁹ H. Belting, op cit, p70.

Wölfflin called for an ‘art history without names’, concentrating exclusively upon form.⁴⁰ However, in reality a history of pure form, isolated from any consideration of other historical factors, can only enable a partial view which fails to take into account the complexities of historic moments and the creative, social and economic processes that impact upon the production of a work of art or architecture.⁴¹ An alternative approach was suggested by Riegl,⁴² who saw artistic style as a projection of the general history of an age, suggesting that ‘history’ could be explained through the ‘history of art’. In architectural history this idea can be traced in the assertion of Palladianism as the inevitable visual embodiment of Whig ideals, or of Classicism as the visual style of enlightenment rationalism. Recent work by Anderson, Gent *et al* challenges this traditional interpretation.

Within the disciplines of both art and architectural history form is considered as part of the essential process of engagement with visual content. In architectural considerations the differentiation between building and architecture has led to the physical quality of the built subject being particularly susceptible to a prioritisation of formalist analysis. This primary concern with the form of a building has manifested itself in a dominant discussion of style, and also of architectural practice,⁴³ and can be traced in considerations of *Vitruvius Britannicus* grounded in an idea of architectural form as built. This is a common place within the discipline. As early as 1969 Maas argued that Architectural Historians frequently reproduced ‘drawings and engravings ... as documents, but the relation between architecture and the graphic arts [was] not explored’.⁴⁴ This can be traced in discussions of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Nevertheless, the recent work of Hart and Hicks⁴⁵ may well signal the beginnings of a paradigm shift in architectural history towards a more developed consideration of graphic images and of the relationship between literature and practice.

⁴⁰ Consequently, ‘Stylistic history in its purest form ... banished from its historical explanation all those factors and conditions which were not originally artistic’. Ibid, p15.

⁴¹ Belting observed ‘Form is so thoroughly interwoven with the material, the technique, the content, the function, and the purpose of a given work, with the category of object to which the work belongs, that it cannot simply be extracted from the fabric as ‘pure form’, to be compared with other forms for evidence of a historical transformation’. Ibid, p70.

⁴² A. Riegl, Trans. E. Kain, *Problems of Style*, (Princeton: (1893) 1992).

⁴³ As Hart observed there has been ‘a traditional bias towards issues of practice and patronage made manifest in actual built work’. V. Hart, P. Hicks, *Paper Palaces: The Rise of the Architectural Treatise*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996), p xi.

⁴⁴ J. Maas, ‘Where Architectural Historians fear to tread’, in *American Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* March 1969, pp 5-10.

⁴⁵ V. Hart, P. Hicks, *op cit*.

Historical Delusions and the Seductive Notion of Progress

While the specific concern with form in architectural history has led to an emphasis by many writers upon style and periodisation, this is also a common problem in the wider discipline of history and the retention of a Hegelian dialectic. This can be traced in Popper's warnings about historicism and Butterfield's discussion of a Whig interpretation of history, which privileged a Protestant and Whig world view. Butterfield's idea of the denial of the complexities of history is implicit in Foucault's critique of total history,⁴⁶ which he argues privileges continuity. Within total history discontinuity becomes not so much a point of interest and illumination, but a challenge to the order created by the historian, whose role it is to discover the hidden continuity behind it. Instead of this, Foucault advocates a strategy for historical research that he defines as 'general history', one of the key aspects of which is a refusal to treat histories in terms of continuity, development, and progress. Foucault's examination of the production of knowledge through the framework of genealogy, using the category of the episteme, requires the suspension of a series of other categories that have for a long time dominated historical thinking such as tradition, period, *oeuvre*, author, book. By freeing history from the grip of these categories it becomes possible to look at the history of knowledge without relying upon the generalised principles of both the individual genius and also a general human consciousness so frequently linked to the concept of a march of reason. This is in fact a very partial reading of Foucault which extracts only what may be applied within this study. Nevertheless, together with avenues suggested by semiotic work, these arguments highlight the importance of awareness of selectivity and exclusion in history and the interpretive element in any construction of history. They advocate a self-consciousness in historical writing that recognises the author's own historical location. This problematises histories which focus upon periodisation because of their suggestion of definitive moments, interpretations and sources.

In 1969 Maas observed that

'Philosophically speaking 'Architectural History' is a contradiction in terms. History is a continuum that cannot be chopped into fragments of time like 'Medieval History' or fragments of space like 'French History' or fragments of content like 'Art History'. It should be evident that triple fragmentations like 'History of Nineteenth century American Architecture' have no valid meaning ...',⁴⁷

⁴⁶ K. Popper, *The Poverty of Historicism*, (London: Art Paperbacks, (1957) 1986). H. Butterfield, *The Whig Interpretation of History*, (London: G Bell & Sons, (1931) 1968). M. Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, (London: Tavistock Publications, 1972).

⁴⁷ J. Maas, op cit, p7

Despite Maas raising the issue thirty years ago, very little of the work carried out within architectural history since has reflected the interdisciplinary approaches taken in other historical disciplines. Elsewhere, there has been a general paradigm shift within historical writing to a more integrated discussion of a range of elements, such as Jordanova's consideration of the practice of history.⁴⁸ In art history there has been a widespread move towards the consideration of factors beyond form.⁴⁹

Art history has increasingly considered art in terms of its social and cultural background and used new tools to examine historical and visual material.⁵⁰ This development influences my consideration of the diverse ways in which *Vitruvius Britannicus* may have been consumed. Many art historians have become concerned with the work of art as a historical document⁵¹ and, within such constructions of history, artistic form is grounded in a historical locus. Genre, material, technique, and functions of art are all seen as rooted in a network of social, cultural and economic discourses. Approaches that focus upon culture prioritise less tangible elements such as belief systems, world views and cognitive frameworks, and challenge the traditional notion of formal stylistic development travelling unidirectionally reflected in the works of Vasari, Winckelmann, and Wölfflin. This shift has encouraged art historians to look at the range of conditions that influence the production and reception of a work of art at a particular moment.⁵² Consequently, within the discipline of art history the idea of style, whether of an artist or of a particular age, has lost its primary status, and work has focused on the restoration of the bond between art and the public that makes use of it, and consideration of how this determines artistic form.⁵³ Within this, the 'object of study (the 'work' in the old sense) is not expected to testify to a general system of representation - such as 'history' or 'art' or the 'history of art' - but rather to disclose its own particular truth or message according to what the historian is asking of it'.⁵⁴ The historian has instead become self

⁴⁸ L. Jordanova, op cit.

⁴⁹ Belting observed in 1987 that 'What seemed for so long self evident - the commitment to the concept of an all-embracing universal 'history' of art - suddenly strikes us as peculiar ...' H. Belting, op cit, pp. ix-x.

⁵⁰ At the time Belting claimed that 'We no longer march forward along the narrow path of unidirectional history of art, but instead have been granted a kind of momentary respite, in order to re-examine the various statuses and justifications of art Art historians are testing different models for telling the history of art, not the history of an unchallenged evolution but the history of ever new solutions for the ever new problem of what makes an 'image' and what makes it a convincing vision of 'truth' at a given moment'. H. Belting, ibid. p.xi-xii.

⁵¹ This shift is perhaps best seen in S. Alpers, 'Is Art History?', in *Daedalus, Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, 106, 1977, pp. 1-13

⁵² This approach can be seen in M. Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972). S. Alpers, *The Art of Describing. Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century*, (London: Penguin, 1983).

⁵³ H. Belting op cit, p34.

⁵⁴ H. Belting, op cit, p63.

conscious about the narrative that he or she constructs around an object. This development of self-conscious historical writing can be seen across a number of historical fields including history, art history, and literary history.⁵⁵ However, this paradigm shift has not to date had an equal impact upon the way in which architectural historians have approached *Vitruvius Britannicus*.

Language as a basis for selectivity

Categorisation is necessary in any description. Historical, art historical, and architectural writing are all necessarily dependent upon a language which relies upon common recognition. Selection and exclusion are built into the very nature of language, therefore division into manageable units is inevitable when expressing thought in written or spoken language. Baxandall has demonstrated that our use of language can structure thought. Conceptual systems expressed through nominative categories are not only useful but to some extent inevitable. However, once integrated these conceptual systems can create the illusion that these arbitrary categories are both natural and neutral classes.⁵⁶ Historian's needs to question whether previous categorisations have masked other areas of enquiry and whether the creation of new categories for the discussion of an individual subject can open up entirely new and rewarding avenues to follow. This study seeks to reposition *Vitruvius Britannicus* outside discussions of style, form and architectural practice, reorienting it towards other areas of enquiry to open it up to other viewpoints. This is not a critique of the paradigm of stylistic history *per se*. Instead it examines whether an alternative to stylistic history can develop issues sidelined by a stylistic narrative, while recognising that this approach will produce its own exclusions. Different approaches can emphasise different aspects of an archive, provide a more integrated understanding of it, and so call attention to the act of construction that is inevitable in any narrative of history and the inclusions and exclusions written into the academic subject. In recognising that all historians apply methodology, and that each methodology focuses on specific aspects, we can begin to understand our own position in

⁵⁵ For example Suzanne Gearhardt referred to Barthes's idea of historical discourse in her observation that 'History is a form of narrative constituted like other narratives by a set of relationships internal to it. Only its denial of its determination by these internal relationships distinguishes history from other forms of narrative'. S. Gearhardt, *The Open Boundary of History and Fiction - A Critical Approach to the French Enlightenment*, (Princeton and Guildford: Princeton University Press: 1984), p7. Bann has also argued that 'Historiography in the strict sense of the term presents distinctive claims to 'scientific' truth Transparency to the 'facts' is the historians code of literary practice even though he is using figures of speech and narrative structure like any other literary craftsman'. S. Bann, *The Clothing of Clio A Study of the Representation of History in Nineteenth Century Britain and France*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p5. Foucault's work is also concerned with bringing history itself under critical scrutiny.

⁵⁶ E. Gombrich, *op cit*, p82.

relation to the past and become self-conscious of our own intervention within 'history', thus producing a more complex layering of historical understanding that reflects the complexity of the subject and of individual positions in relation to it.

2.1. Publication of *Vitruvius Britannicus*: Volumes and Editions

This analysis of *Vitruvius Britannicus* focuses upon the reception of the volumes in early eighteenth century British society.⁵⁷ It argues that the format of the volumes and the discourses within which they operated related to ideas of conduct, authority and display, and also a nascent idea of Britain. In doing so it emphasises the status of the volumes as cultural artefacts in their own right, and examines the format and content of the volumes to investigate how this contributed to a particular understanding of them by their readers. It is important, therefore, to establish some physical details relating to the three volumes produced by Campbell, and the individuals that subscribed to them.

What is *Vitruvius Britannicus*?

Vitruvius Britannicus was the first major British book on architecture published after John Shute's *First and Chief Groundes of Architecture*.⁵⁸ It consists of three volumes of engravings published by subscription in 1715, 1717 and 1725, and the author is generally accepted as Colen Campbell.⁵⁹ Despite early controversy over the biography of the author, that given by Colvin is now accepted. This identifies him as Colen Campbell of Boghall in Nairnshire, son of Donald Campbell and nephew of Sir Hugh Campbell of Cawdor.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ The idea of British society is problematic, as during this period Scotland and England had only recently been brought together in the Union of 1707. Colley has demonstrated that the idea of 'Britishness' was extremely complex at this time. See L. Colley, *Britons. Forging the Nation 1707-1837*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992). While I will argue that London was an important centre and locus for architectural discussion, I distinctly use the term British in recognition that architectural discussion was an important aspect of social exchanges throughout polite society beyond London and the boundaries with Scotland, Wales and Ireland. The representation of Scottish and Irish peers in the subscription lists points to a wider British consumption, even while the volumes themselves suggest a very particularised image of Britain.

⁵⁸ J. Shute, *The first and chief Groundes of Architecture*, (London: Thomas Marshe, 1563).

⁵⁹ Privilege registered 8 April 1715 (PRO State Papers 44/359). This does not describe Campbell as author. However that printed in the first volume, and signed by James Stanhope does. Campbell's authorship has been questioned in an article by E. Harris, 'Vitruvius Britannicus before Colin Campbell', in *Burlington Magazine*, May 1986, pp340-346 reprinted in E. Harris, and N. Savage, *British Architectural Books and Writers 1556-1785*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990). Harris recognises Campbell's contribution but argues that the guiding force behind the publication was a consortium of publishers who employed Campbell. This argument raises issues about the value placed upon an idea of authorship as a way of understanding publication.

⁶⁰ H. Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Artists 1600-1840*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), Campbell pp209-212. Colvin provides a useful synopsis of the evidence

The plates in *Vitruvius Britannicus* are mostly orthogonal plans, sections, and elevations and illustrate a range of country and town houses and public buildings. The third volume also contains perspectives and geometric plans of gardens and estates. They show projected designs together with extant buildings by a variety of architects and include examples of Campbell's own work. Most of the buildings pictured date from the latter half of the seventeenth century although some are contemporary with the publication of each volume. Each volume has descriptions of all of the plates printed at the beginning, following the list of subscribers.

The history of the editions of *Vitruvius Britannicus* is complex. There was a reissue of Volume One in 1717, and another undated reissue of Volumes One and Two believed to be between 1722 and 1725.⁶¹ Reissues of Campbell's volumes and continuations by other authors were published between 1731 and 1802. (See Appendix A) Each contained extensive subscription lists. This study looks specifically at the volumes published between 1715 and 1725. Several copies of each first edition have been examined. Text and subscription lists have been taken from the following copies: Volume One, Chetham's Library, Manchester, verified with Oxford University, Worcester College Library; Volume Two, Chetham's Library, Manchester, verified with British Library; Volume Three, Chetham's Library, Manchester, verified with Oxford University, Worcester College Library.⁶²

There is no specific evidence for the production costs of *Vitruvius Britannicus* but Connor suggests that to produce four hundred copies of one volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus* cost approximately £1750.⁶³ Working from the numbers of subscribers and copies that he identifies, Connor argues that Campbell was able to cover his costs largely from subscription. He finds 368 copies of Volume One sold to subscribers at 3 guineas a copy,⁶⁴ and identifies a shortfall of over £600 in production costs. However, Connor argues that the sale of 540 copies of Volume Two meant that the project was likely to have broken even, and that the

available in terms of his biography, and also provides some insight into the orthodoxies which have developed around him.

⁶¹ Connor dates this edition as 1722. See T. P. Connor, 'The Making of *Vitruvius Britannicus*' in *Architectural History* 20, 1977, p17. Harris and Savage on the other hand date it at 1725. E. Harris, and N. Savage, op cit.

⁶² The contents referred to have been verified against other copies including those at Birmingham central Library and the Bodleian. There appear to be several variant copies of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, many of which are noted in Ibid. Of the copies to which I have referred the following variants have been noted. Vol. 1, Chethams does not include the notices at the beginning and the British Library Vol 1. has additional plates of town houses to be built at Grosvenor Square bound at the back of the volume.

⁶³ T. P. Connor, op cit, pp14-30. See appendix 4.

⁶⁴ The original selling price advertised in the *Monthly Catalogue* July 1714 was 3 guineas for royal paper and 4 guineas for Imperial paper.

demand for 899 copies of the third volume suggests that it made a profit of £900. Connor claims that Campbell is likely to have made a profit from the publication of *Vitruvius Britannicus* before the publication of Volume Three, because of the production of extra copies of the first volume, which appear to have been sold for £1 more than the price paid by subscribers.⁶⁵ Additionally, he argues that the reissues of the early volumes in 1717, 1722 and 1725 would have made a further profit. Connor claims that as Gibbs is known to have made a profit of £1900 from his publishing enterprises, it is likely that a large part of the £12,000 that Campbell is believed to have left on his death, came from the publication of *Vitruvius Britannicus*.⁶⁶ Nevertheless, the initial shortfall between the first and second volumes was significant, and to continue with the project was a considerable risk. However, the initial prospectus advertised the publication as being in two volumes and it is probable that some subscribers would have committed to both volumes together.⁶⁷ Although Campbell may not have received the money for these subscriptions in advance, it would have demonstrated a demand for a second volume, and may have encouraged him to continue with the project despite the significant shortfall identified by Connor.

Connor's calculations show that profit was unlikely to have been the motive for the publication of the third volume. While Connor does not suggest another reason for its publication, one interpretation could be that, despite the time lapse, it was planned at an early stage in the production of the preceding two. However, Volume Three is usually regarded as a separate venture to the earlier volumes, for example, by Eileen Harris⁶⁸ and also John Harris.⁶⁹ Such discussions consistently exclude the third volume from considerations of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, justifying this by the time lapse between the publication of the second and third volumes. Although the project was initially introduced as 'being in two volumes',⁷⁰ Connor's calculations, together with Campbell's reference in Volume Two to a planned third

⁶⁵ Connor points to an advertisement in *St James Post* 28 January 1717 which states that those who wished to buy the book after the list had closed would have to pay £1 extra for their copies.

⁶⁶ See Campbell's will drawn up in 1722 (PRO, PROB II, 632, 1722). It is thought that during his lifetime Campbell drew up two wills, the first left £12000 to his sister Henrietta & her children. By the time of his death on September 13 1729, he had made another will drawn up in 1722 and proved by the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. There is suggestion that Henrietta's husband John Grant contested the will with Campbell's wife Jane in London but with no success. Maitland Club, *Analecta or Materials for a History of Remarkable Providences mostly relating to Scotch Minister and Christians. By ... R Wodrow [Edited by M. L., i.e. Matthew Leishman.]*, (4 Vols., Edinburgh: Maitland Club, 1842-3).

⁶⁷ Proposals advertised in the *Post Boy* 1/3 June 1714 and *Daly Courant* 25 June 1714.

⁶⁸ E. Harris, op cit, p144, reprinted in E. Harris, and N. Savage, op cit.

⁶⁹ See J. Harris, 'The Country House on Display' in *The Architecture of Colen Campbell*, ed. by H. Stutchbury, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1967), p.vii.

⁷⁰ Proposals advertised in the *Post Boy* 1/3 June 1714 'for publishing by Subscription, A Book entitul'd, Vitruvius Britannicus ...' in 2 vols. Folio, price to subscribers 3 gns. Each copy on Royal and 4 gns. On Imperial Paper, subscriptions taken in by A. Bell, G. Strahan, C. Bateman, Wm. Taylor, H. Clements, B. Took, P. Dunvoire [ie. Dunoyer], A. Johnson, engraver, J. Barnes, book-seller, and C. King.

volume, actually suggest that by 1717 the latter was seen as part of the whole, even though the subscription list for the final volume was not advertised in the *Daily Journal* until 27 August 1724. Consequently, this study considers all three volumes as part of the same project as it eventually evolved. Indeed 4.1b will show that in French prints there was a precedent for the publication in separate collections of perspective plates and views of gardens such as those found in Volume Three.

2.2 The Contents of *Vitruvius Britannicus*

2.2.a. The coverage of architects in *Vitruvius Britannicus*

The plates in *Vitruvius Britannicus* depict executed works by a number of different architects. In addition to Campbell's executed buildings some of his own unexecuted designs are also included (illus. 1-12). Much has been made of the representation of Campbell's work which has been seen as a vehicle for promoting Campbell's own architecture and particularly his idea of Palladianism.⁷¹ However, the overall percentages do not indicate sufficient dominance by Campbell to argue this point as strongly as has been done in the past. The plates in Volume One of *Vitruvius Britannicus* depict thirty-four different designs, of which seven are by Campbell, only one of which had been built.⁷² Volume Two shows thirty-nine different designs, nine by Campbell of which only three had been built. The final volume depicts forty-six different sites, of which sixteen are landscapes. Of all of the designs fourteen are by Campbell, ten of which had been built. Table 1 demonstrates that in terms of a Palladian argument it could be argued that Campbell's contribution to Volume One relies heavily upon unexecuted designs because he needed to promote patronage for the 'Palladian' style.⁷³ However, it is significant that other than one unexecuted design for Wanstead House, the new designs by Campbell in Volume One are all for town houses. If Campbell was using *Vitruvius Britannicus* as a vehicle for self-promotion it could be expected that projected designs for prestigious country houses would be a more effective demonstration of his abilities.

⁷¹ See for example E. Harris, op cit, reprinted in E. Harris and N. Savage, op cit. Also J. Harris, 'The Country House on Display' in H. Stutchbury, op cit, p.vii.

⁷² In order to gain an accurate idea of the number of unbuilt designs this figure separates the executed and unexecuted designs for Wanstead. For the purposes of the information used in subsequent calculations they are considered as part of the same project and counted as one.

⁷³ Such an argument depends upon an assumption that Campbell's designs were all Palladian whereas in fact, they are very eclectic.

Table 1 - Designs by Campbell in each Volume

Volume	N ^o . of designs	N ^o . of Campbell's designs depicted	N ^o . of Campbell's designs built	Campbell's designs depicted as a % of the total number of designs
1	34	6*	1	17.6
2	39	9	3	23.1
3	46**	14	10	30.4

* This volume includes two designs for Wanstead House. As this is the only occasion that Campbell provides multiple designs for the same project, for ease of analysis this figure does not distinguished between Wanstead I and Wanstead II.

** including 16 landscapes

Information for all tables is taken from Volume One, Chetham's Library, Manchester, verified with Oxford University. Worcester College Library, Volume Two, Chetham's Library, Manchester, verified with British Library. Volume Three Chetham's Library, Manchester, verified with Oxford University.

Although the percentage of Campbell's designs in each volume increases throughout the volumes, accounting for 17.6% of the first volume, 23.1% of the second and 30.4% in the third,⁷⁴ Campbell does include the work of key contemporary architects, together with the earlier architects Jones and Webb. Jones is particularly singled out throughout the volumes while Webb appears to be treated purely as Jones's protégée. Works by these two earlier architects account for 17.6% of Volume One, the same percentage as that of Campbell's work, and their inclusion is interesting. Section 5.1 suggests that one possible explanation for this is Jones's authoritative figure in terms of national identity and his association with the ideas relating to the arts and the nation prevalent at the Stuart court. However, previous explanations have been grounded in stylistic interpretations of Jones as a Palladian architect. In fact Jones's work introduced a number of elements that were distinctly not Palladian, and this translation of the Italian architect could also be related to ideas around national identity. Significantly, given the emphasis previously placed on the Palladian content of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, the total number of works by the 'Baroque' architects Vanbrugh, Wren and Hawksmoor account for the same percentage, as those by Jones and Webb and also by Campbell himself. Discounting works by architects not identified by Campbell and also unbuilt designs, the figures become even more interesting. Campbell's executed works in Volume One account for only 3%, in contrast to 24% for Jones and Webb, and the same figure for Vanbrugh, Wren and Hawksmoor. Campbell depicts seven of his own designs, two of which are for the same house, while Webb and Jones have six works represented, as do Vanbrugh, Wren and Hawksmoor. There is little fundamental change in the representation of architects as the volumes progress. In Volume Two, while the overall percentage of Campbell's work increases, six of his nine works are still unbuilt. In terms of built designs

⁷⁴ This percentage is calculated as a percentage of designs for buildings featured in volume three, and discounts the thirteen landscapes.

Jones is best represented with six works attributed to him.⁷⁵ In the third volume there are four designs by Vanbrugh⁷⁶ and four by Jones accounting for 17% of the total contents. There are fourteen designs by Campbell, with a noticeable increase in the number of executed designs. In Volume Three for the first time landscapes and gardens are depicted accounting for 28.3% of the contents. Interestingly, out of thirty-nine individual designs, seventeen (43.6%) are unattributed, suggesting that this volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus* was regarded as an overview of architectural examples rather than a survey of work by specific architects.

The omission of one architect, James Gibbs, is notable. Bermingham has highlighted the act of citation as a creative process of credit dependency.⁷⁷ In the light of this, the system of personal citations in *Vitruvius Britannicus* could be interpreted as Campbell 'networking' and identifying 'allies'.⁷⁸ The inclusion of architects such as Vanbrugh demonstrates that on some level Campbell did picture Vanbrugh as part of the architectural sphere that he was demarcating for himself, in which case stylistic antagonisms become difficult to uphold. Nevertheless, the omission of Gibbs by Campbell was a significant act. In an ostensibly 'public' culture 'the physical act of citing someone's name when one's criticisms were supposed to be directed at their 'doctrines' or of striking out a rival's name was replete with significance'.⁷⁹ Previous studies have seen this as evidence of qualitative stylistic judgement by Campbell, the Protestant-Whig-Palladian, of Gibbs, the Tory-Catholic-Baroque architect. However, the political separation of these two architects is difficult to uphold. There is no evidence of Campbell's own political tendencies. Gibbs's book attracted subscriptions by prominent Whigs such as Lord Townshend and the Duke of Richmond, and even key patrons of Campbell such as William Benson and John Fane. Similarly, the subscription lists of *Vitruvius Britannicus* cannot be identified exclusively with Whig interests. Tories such as the Earls of Oxford, Rochester, Godolphin, and Nottingham together with men such as William Bromley, Charles Hotham, John Packington, and the Lords Bathurst and Foley are well represented. However, so too are Whig interests such as the Earls of Macclesfield, Halifax, and Kingston, Lords Townshend, and Conningsby, Bolingbroke, and Viscount Cobham, as well as William Pulteney and Henry Pelham. Indeed, patrons of Gibbs such as the Earl of Lichfield and Lord Weymouth also subscribed to *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Thus, it would

⁷⁵ Although the main description of Covent Garden does not mention Jones, the dedication on the plate attributes the design to him.

⁷⁶ This figure discounts the plate of Woodstock Park.

⁷⁷ *Consumption & Culture In The Seventeenth And Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. by A. Bermingham, J. Brewer, (London: Routledge 1995), p177.

⁷⁸ Other than Jones and Webb the architects mentioned are all alive. This is important in differentiating between networking with contemporaries and identifying an intellectual heritage in terms of past architects.

appear that subscribers did not differentiate between publications by these two architects on stylistic, political or religious grounds. Although J. Harris has suggested that Campbell's singling out of Gibbs's master Fontana for criticism in his introduction is evidence of his stylistic division with Gibbs,⁸⁰ he acknowledges the fact that each architect adopted elements of each other's styles, thus problematising a solely stylistic explanation for Gibbs's exclusion.

Other possible explanations could be a particular sense of professional rivalry brought about through competition for similar patrons and a similar sphere of influence creating an overtly competitive arena. Gibbs was Campbell's most persistent rival and enjoyed the patronage of, amongst others, the Earl of Islay, and the Duke of Chandos. Campbell and Gibbs's common nationality could be seen to exacerbate such competitiveness. While competition for patronage could have resulted in poor relations there also appear to have been some deep seated antagonisms between the two men. Neither architect subscribed to the other's publications. Gibbs blamed Campbell for losing him the appointment of Surveyor to the New Churches Commission in 1714. In a letter to Bishop Wake in 1715 he attributed this to 'a false report of a countryman of mine that misrepresented me as a papist and a disaffected person which I can assure you is entirely false and scandalous'.⁸¹ Gibbs, was in fact a Catholic, and this suggests another possible explanation. Campbell's family background was staunchly Protestant and anti-Episcopalian and both his uncles, whilst not overtly involved with the Covenantors, were extremely sympathetic to them and appear to have corresponded closely with leading preachers.⁸² Given this background in Scottish anti-Catholicism, an alternative reading of Campbell's attitude towards Gibbs and his exclusion from *Vitruvius Britannicus* could focus upon their religious differences and background in the highly charged religious atmosphere of seventeenth and eighteenth century Scotland. Additionally, it could even be interpreted as jealousy of Argyle's and Islay's patronage of Gibbs when Campbell is likely to have expected his kinsmen to favour him. Thus, while Gibbs's exclusion is significant it could be attributed to personal and individual factors rather than general stylistic or political ideas projected by historians seeking to create an architectural history of distinct movements. Nevertheless, although such factors problematise existing interpretations they are almost always difficult to recover historically and can only be posited as suggested alternatives rather than rigorous historical explanations.

⁷⁹ A. Bermingham, J. Brewer, op. cit. p177.

⁸⁰ J. Harris 'The Country House on Display' in H. Stutchbury, op cit, p23.

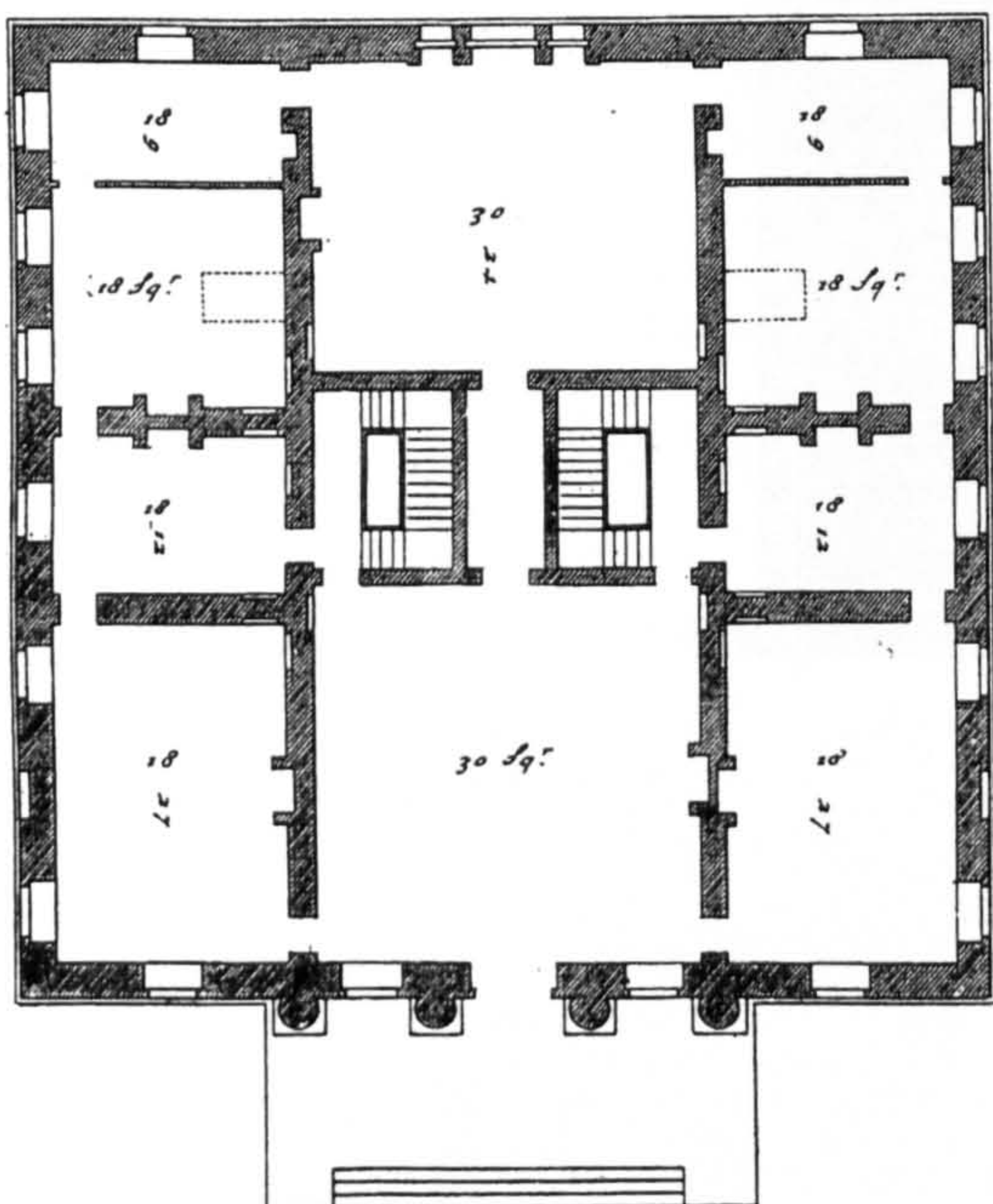
⁸¹ Letter of Dec 7 1715 to Bishop Wake quoted in K. Downes, *Hawksmoor*, (London: Zwemmer, 1979), p157, n7

⁸² This can be traced in the family letters published under the title *The Book of the Thaness of Cawdor 1236-1742*, Spalding Club, title *The Book of the Thaness of Cawdor 1236-1742*, (Edinburgh: Spalding Club, 1859). Also the entries in *The Diaries of the Lairds of Brodie 1652-1685*, Spalding Club, *The Diaries of the Lairds of Brodie 1652-1685*, (Edinburgh: Spalding Club, 1863).

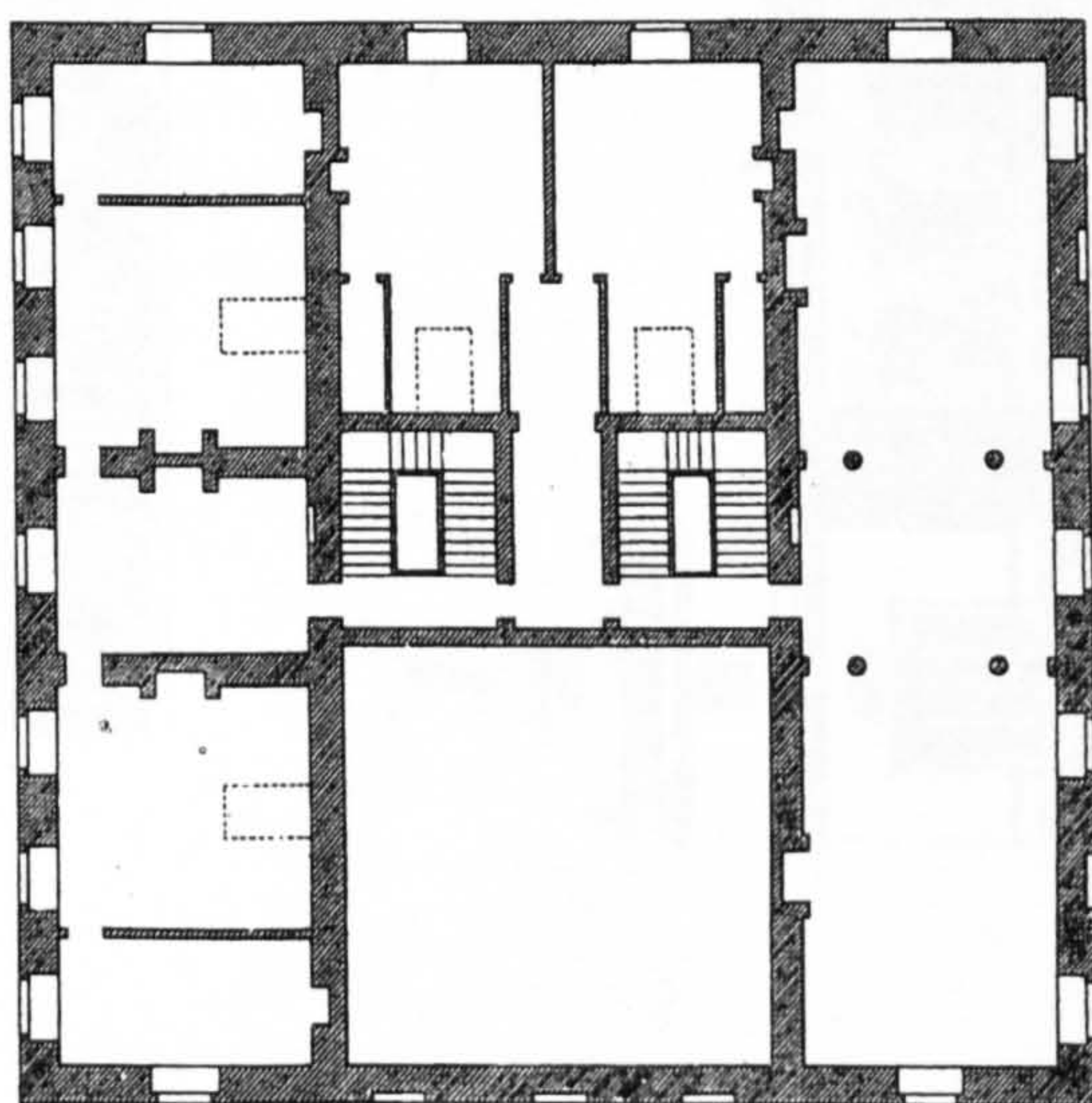


Elevation of Newby upon Swale in the North Riding of Yorkshire the Seat of S^r. William Robinson Bar^t. designed by G^o. Campbell 1720
Elevation de Newby sur la Swale dans le Comté de York Maison de S^r. W^m. Robinson

a Scale of 40 feet
 5 10 20 30 40 Extend 75 feet

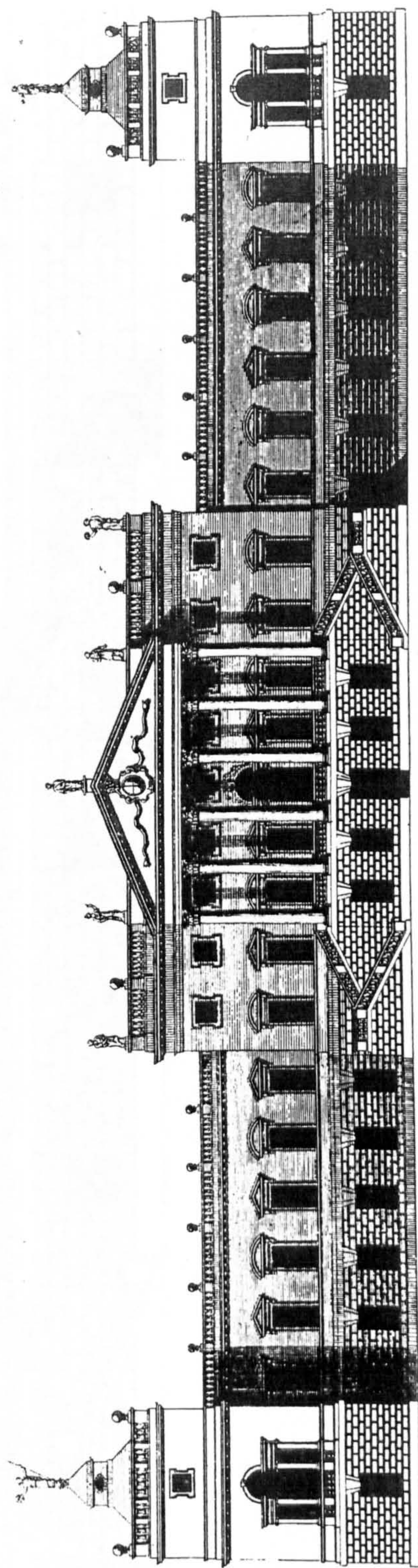
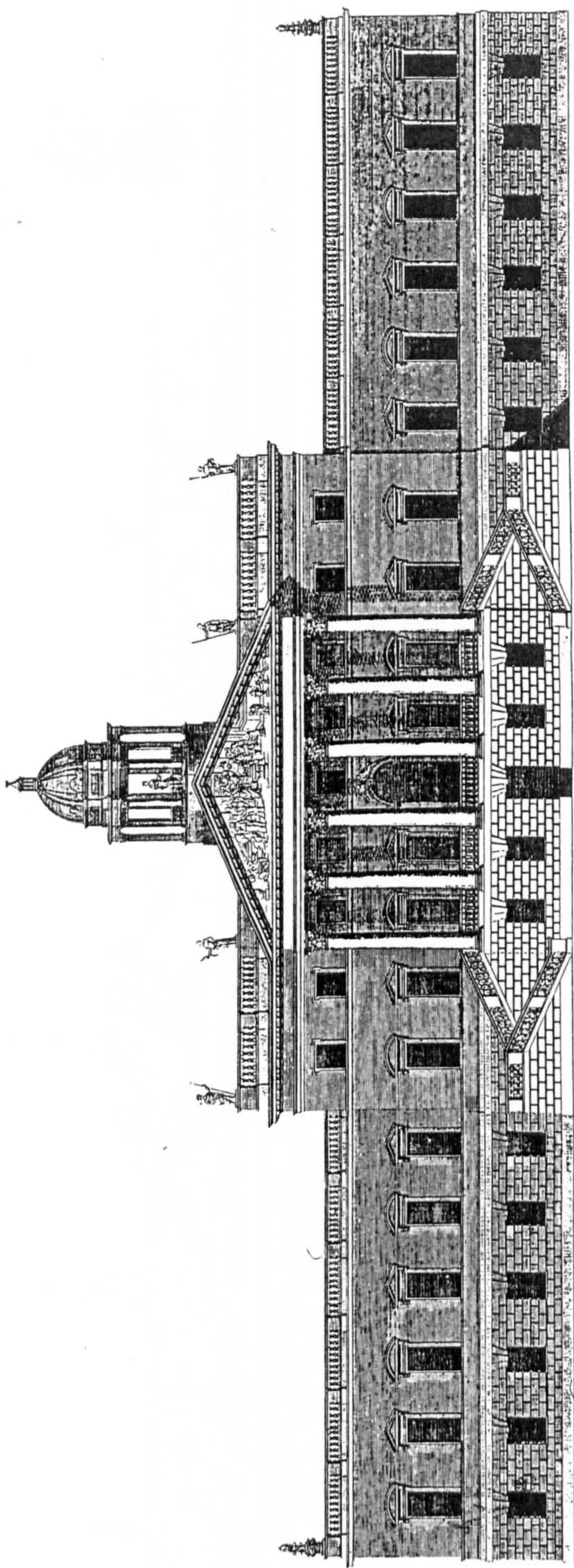


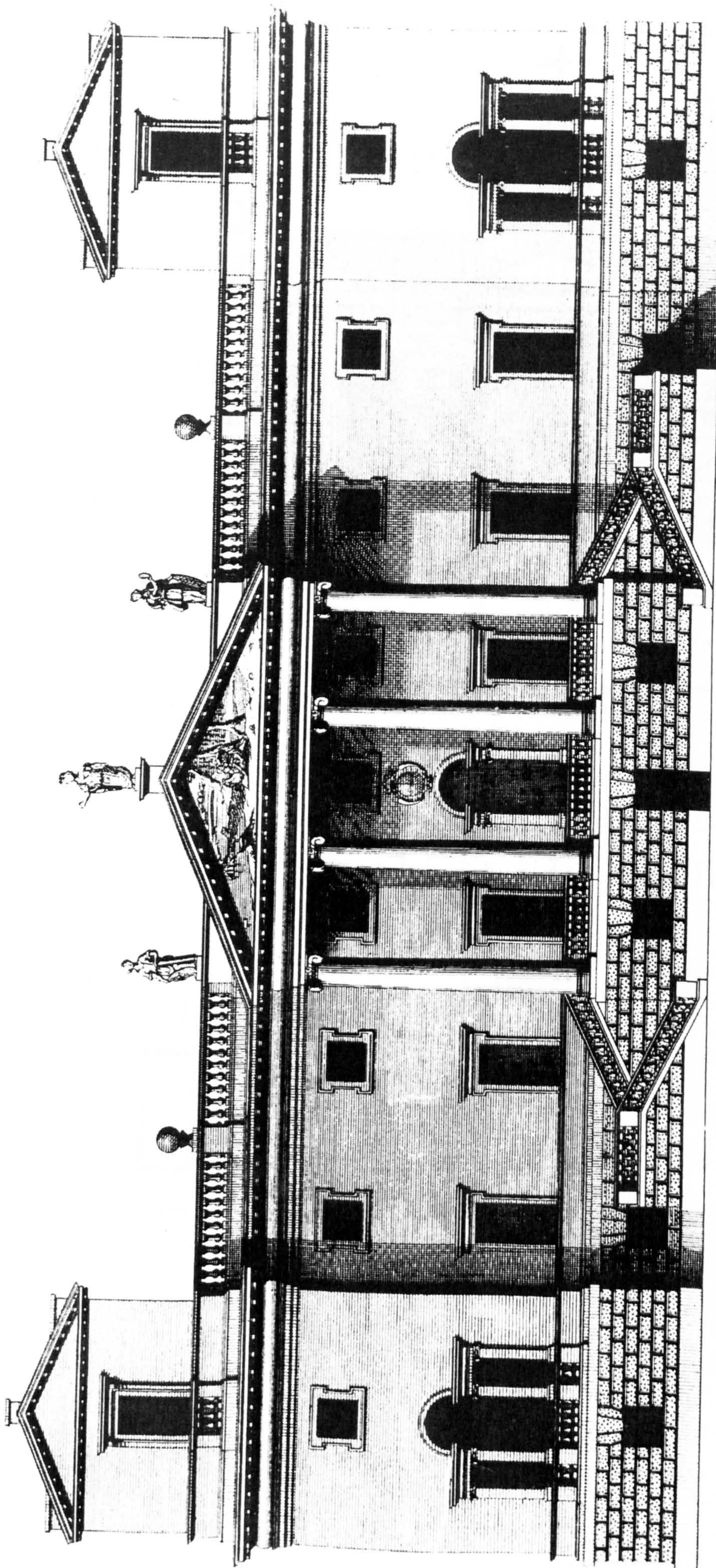
Plan of the principal story



Plan of the Attic story

10 20 30 40 feet





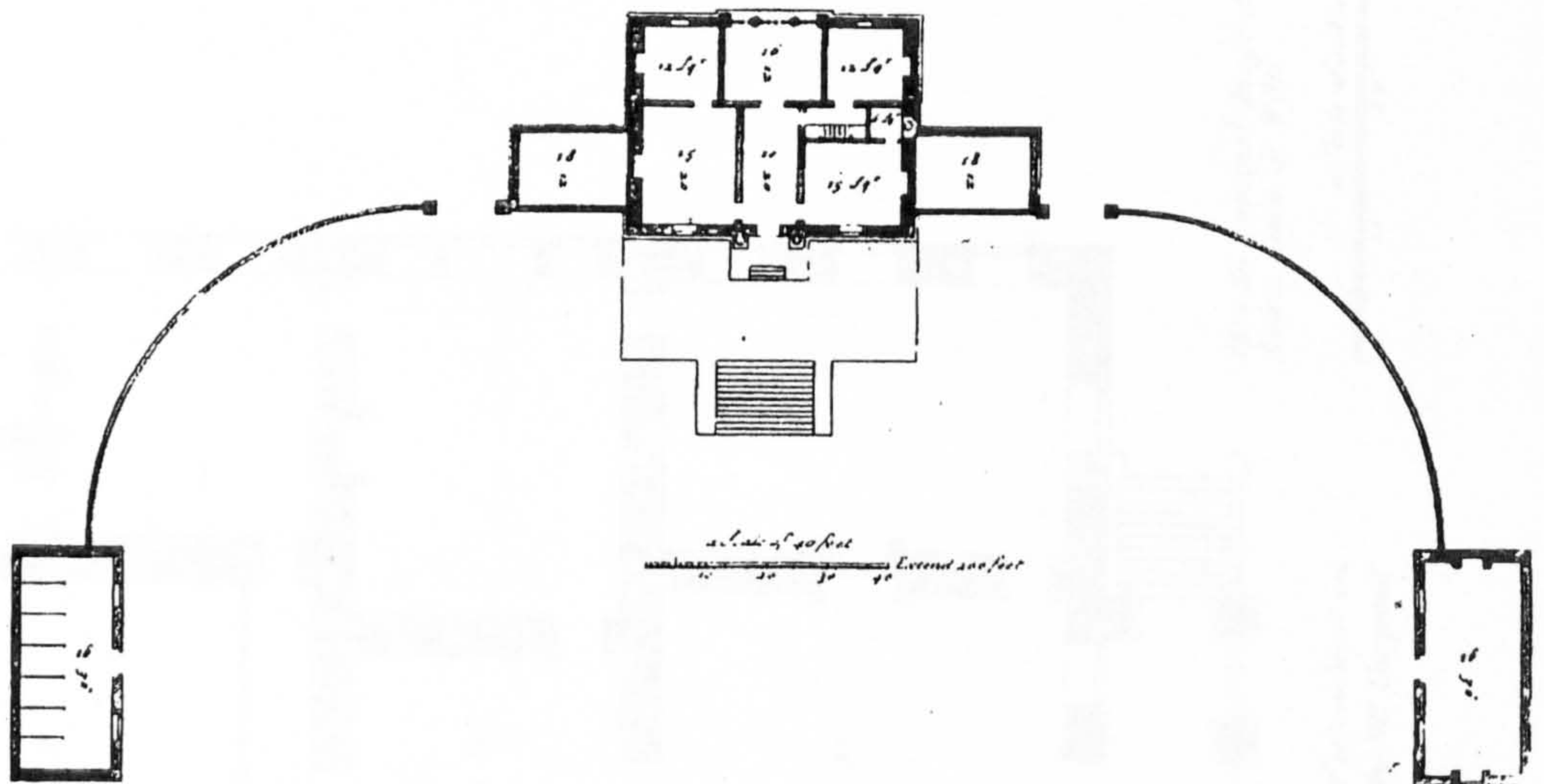


The Elevation of Ebberton Lodge near Scarborough in Yorkshire, belonging to William Thompson Esq. Designed by

Colon Campbell Esq. Anno 1718.

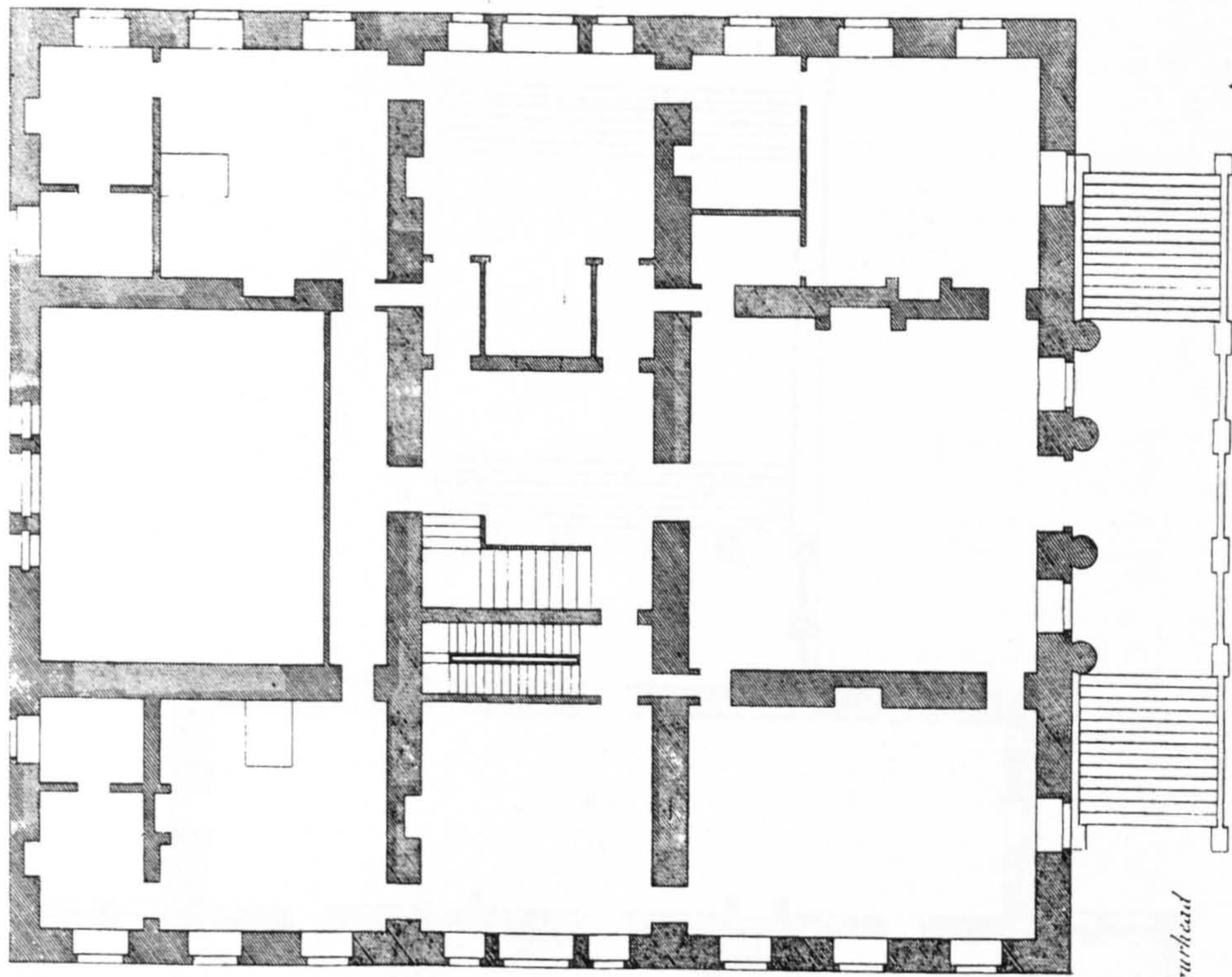
Elevation de Ebberton Lodge presq. Scarborough dans le Comté de York.

a Scale of 30 feet
 5 10 20 30 *Extend 48 feet*



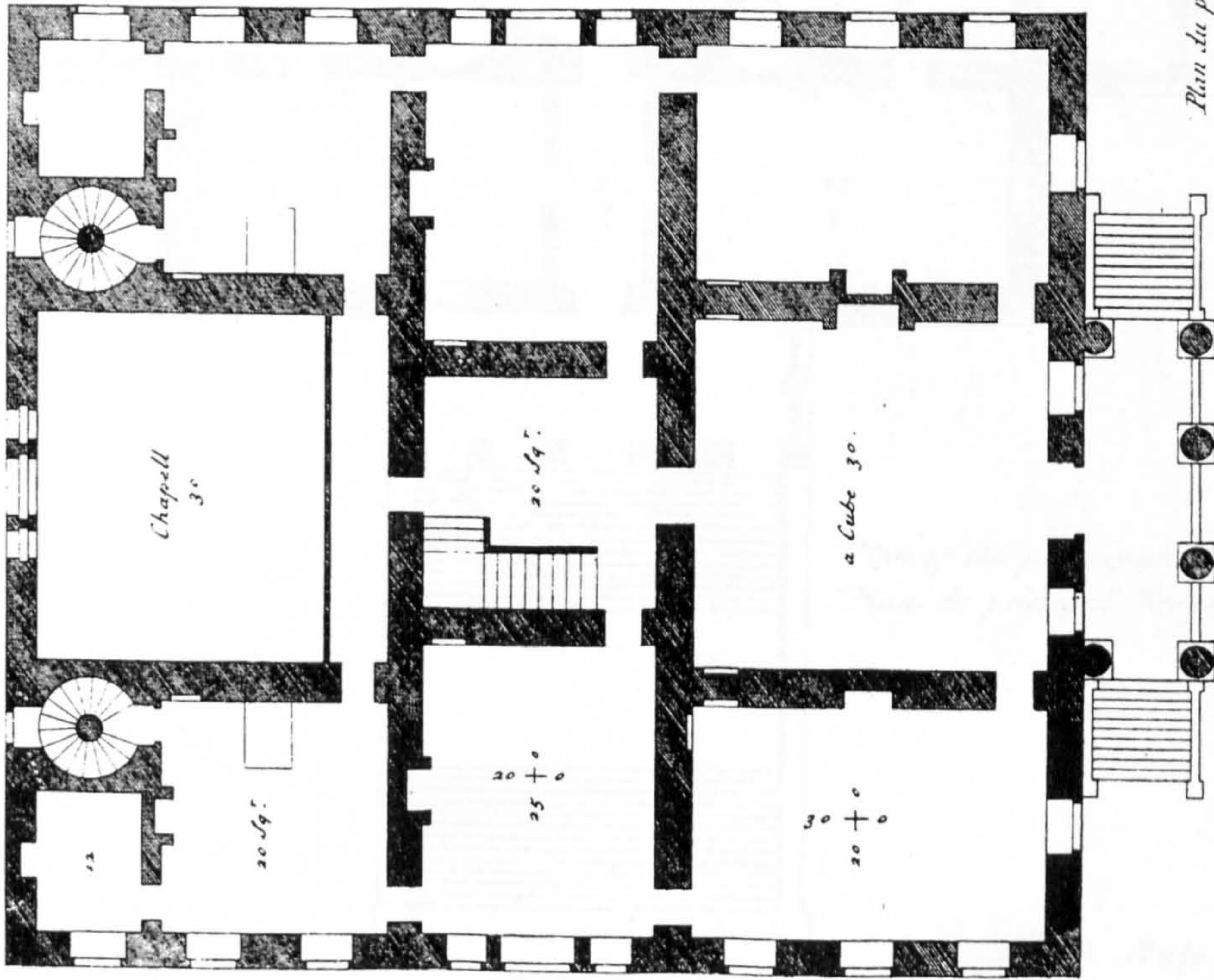
By Campbell & Co. Architects.

H. Plafburgh Sculp.



*Plan of the principal Story of Fourhead
as Executed by Mr. Hoare.*

A Scale of 40 Feet.

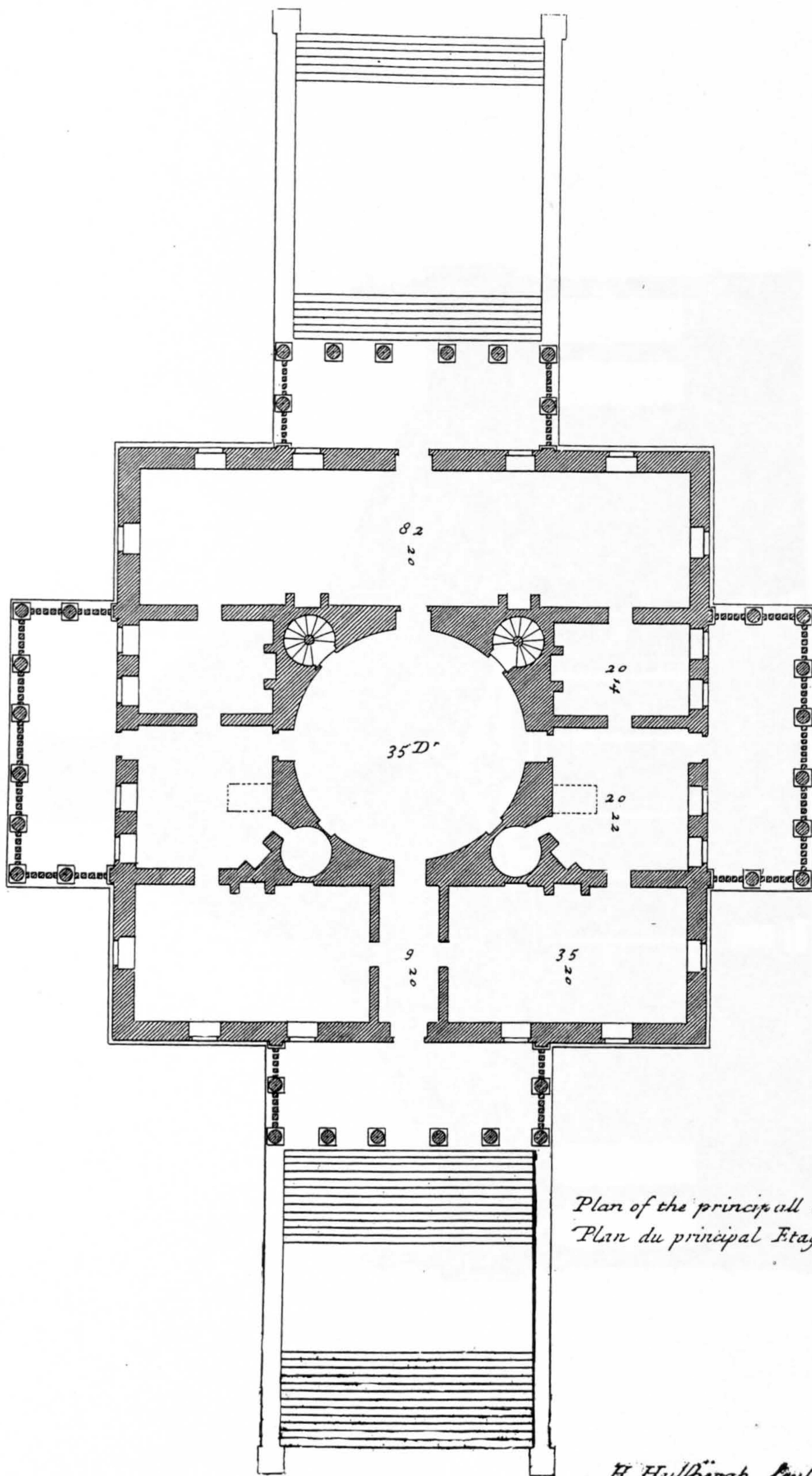


Plan of the principal Story of Sourhead in
Wiltshire as designed by Mr. Campbell

à Campbell Inven!

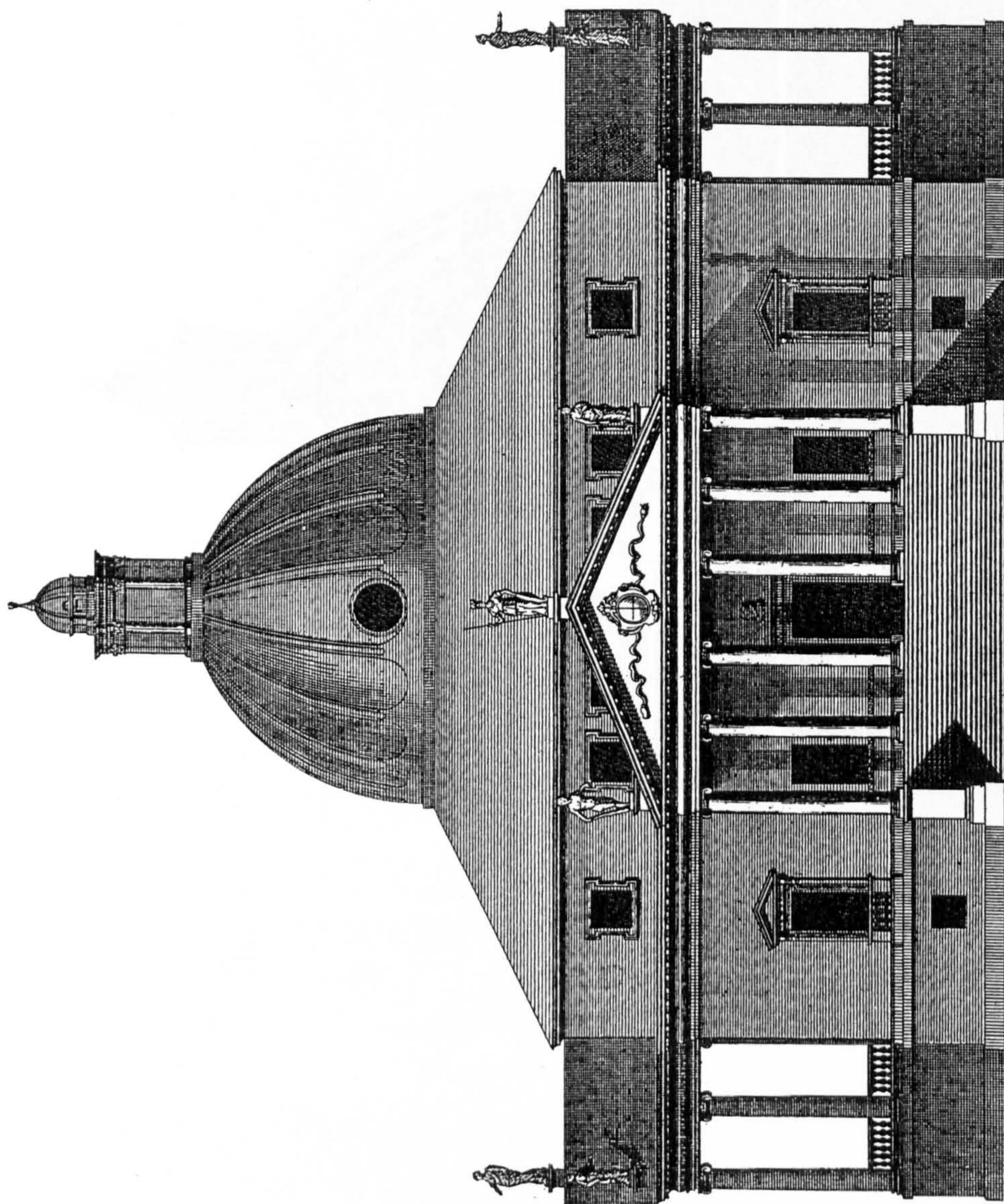
H. Hulsberg, sculp.

p. 34

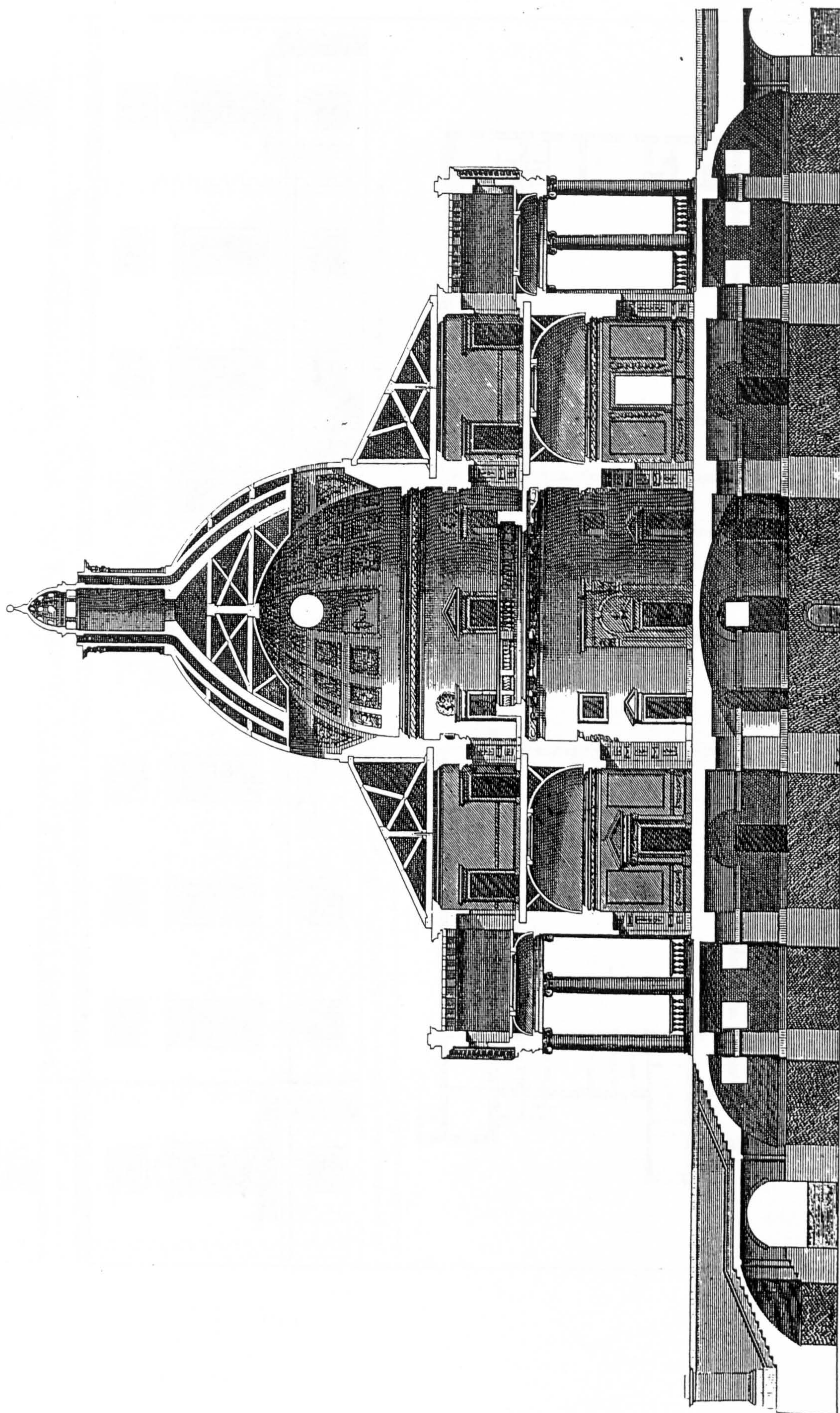


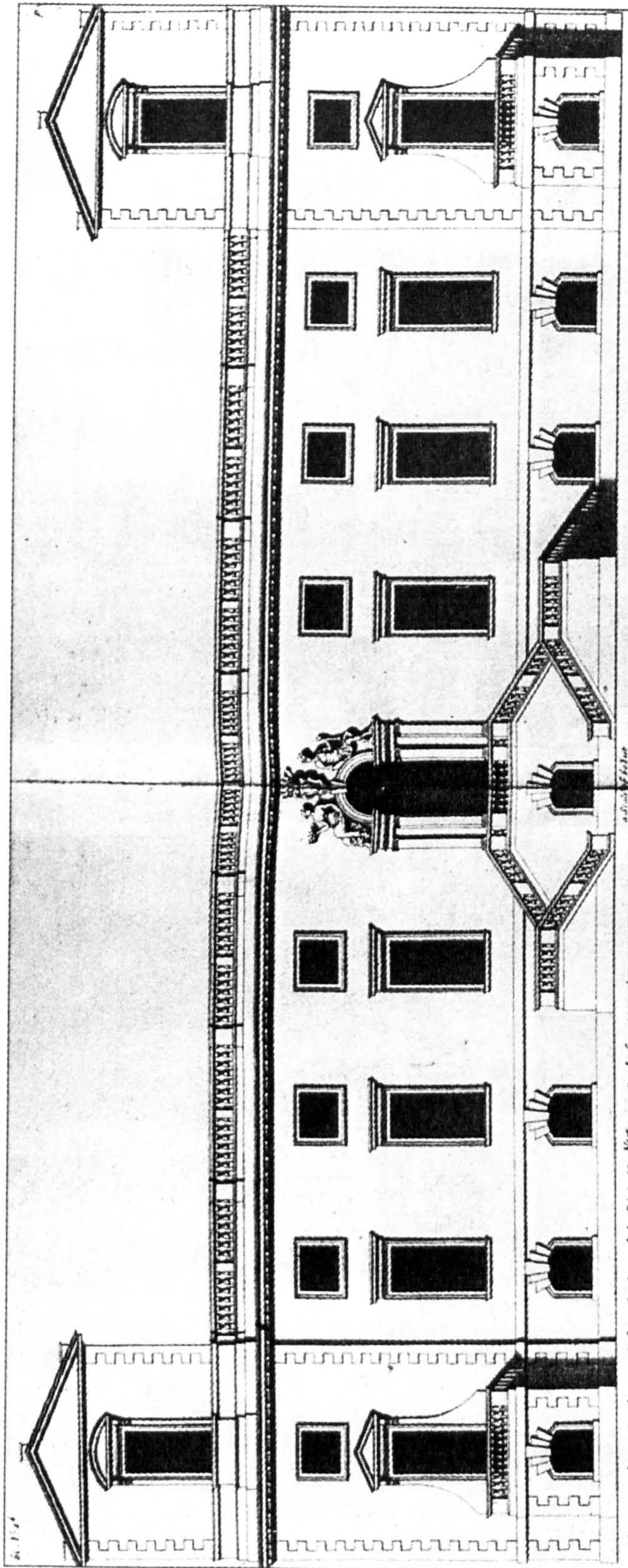
Plan of the principall Story
Plan du principal Etage

H Hulßbergh Sculp



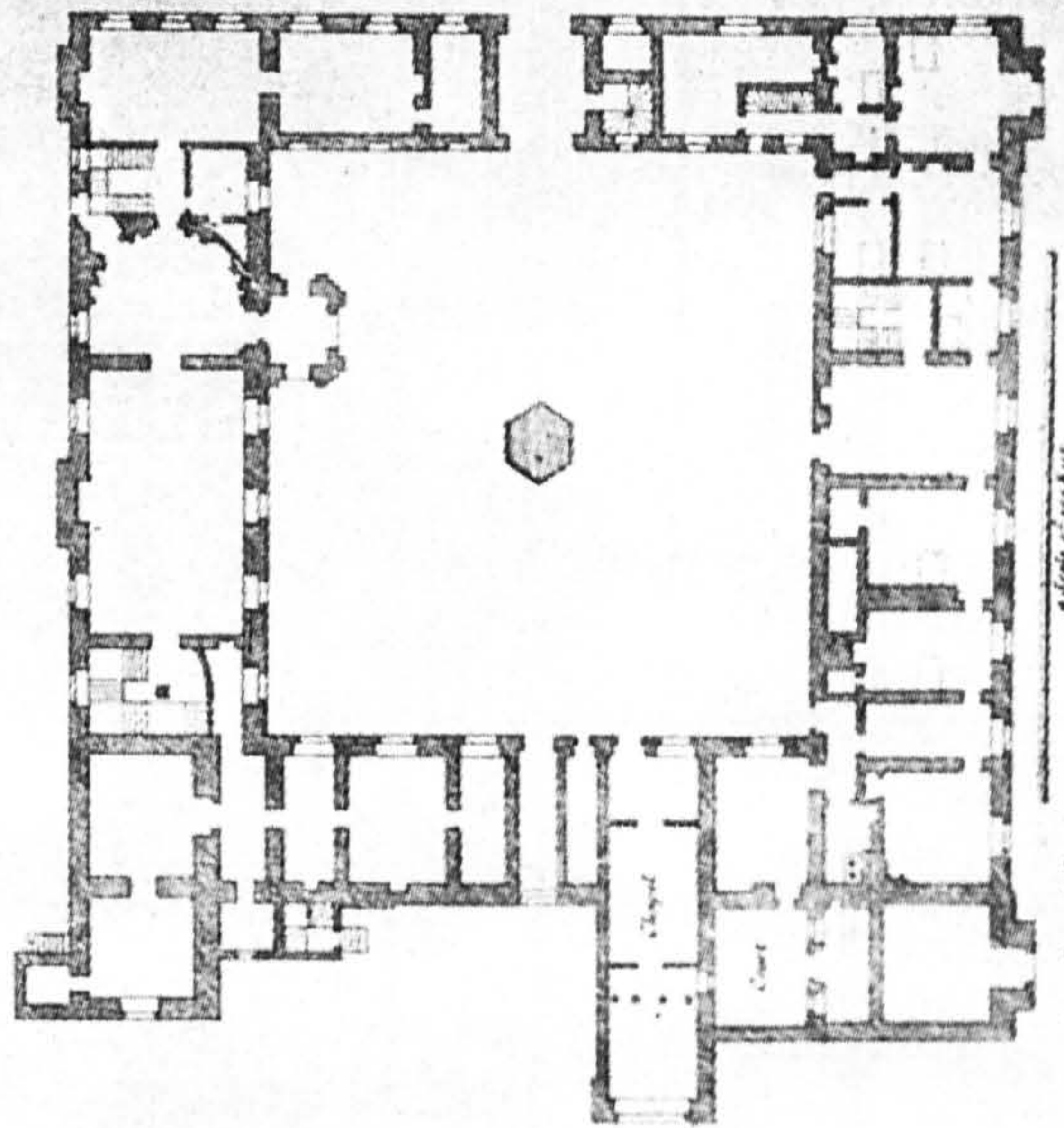
Illus. 7



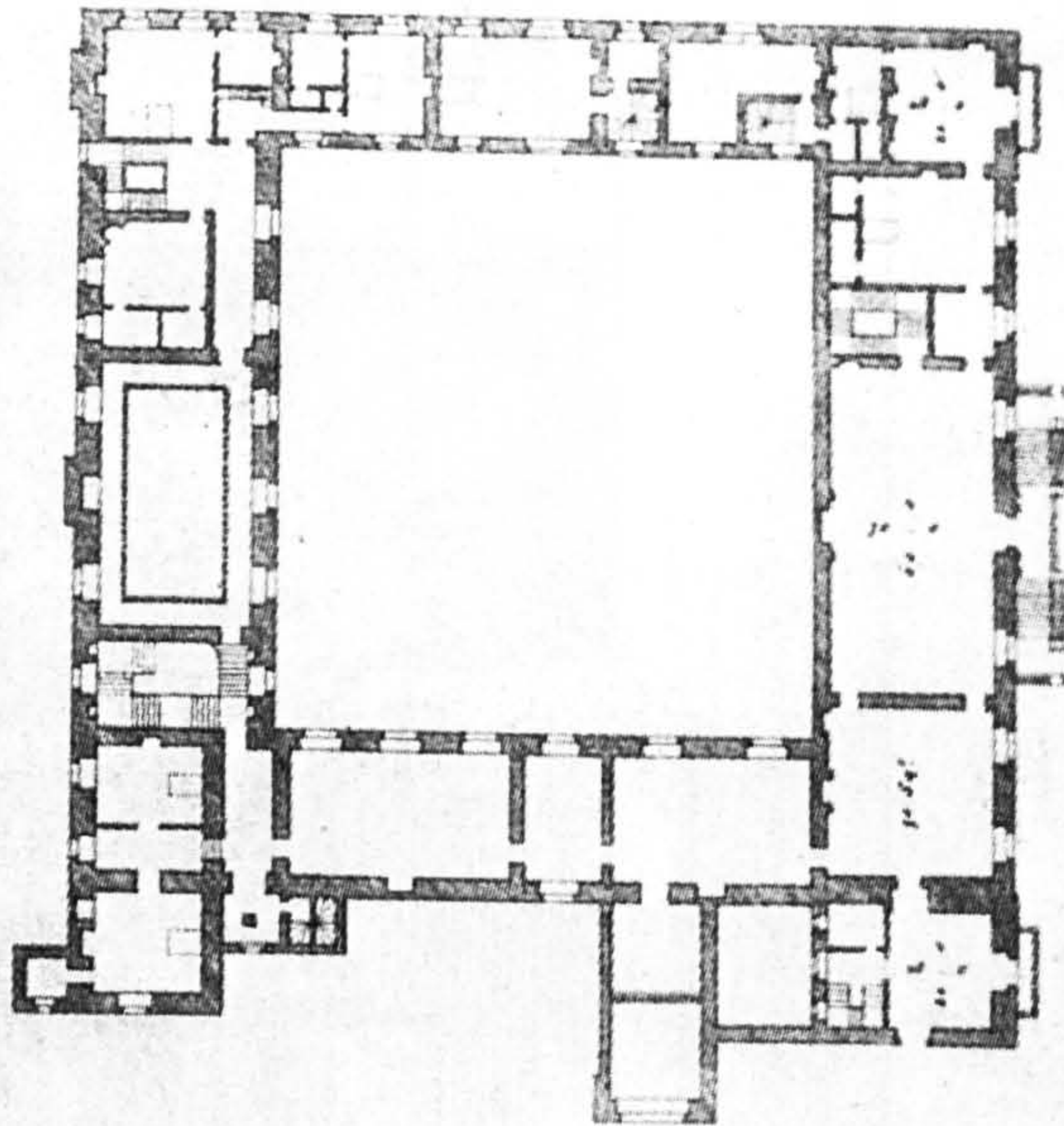


The Guardhouse of Wilton in Wiltshire the Seat of the Right Hon. Thomas Earl of Pembroke & Montgomery, K^t of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, &c. to whom this Plate is most humbly Inscribed.

Elevation de la Maison de Wilton dans Le Comté de Wilts.

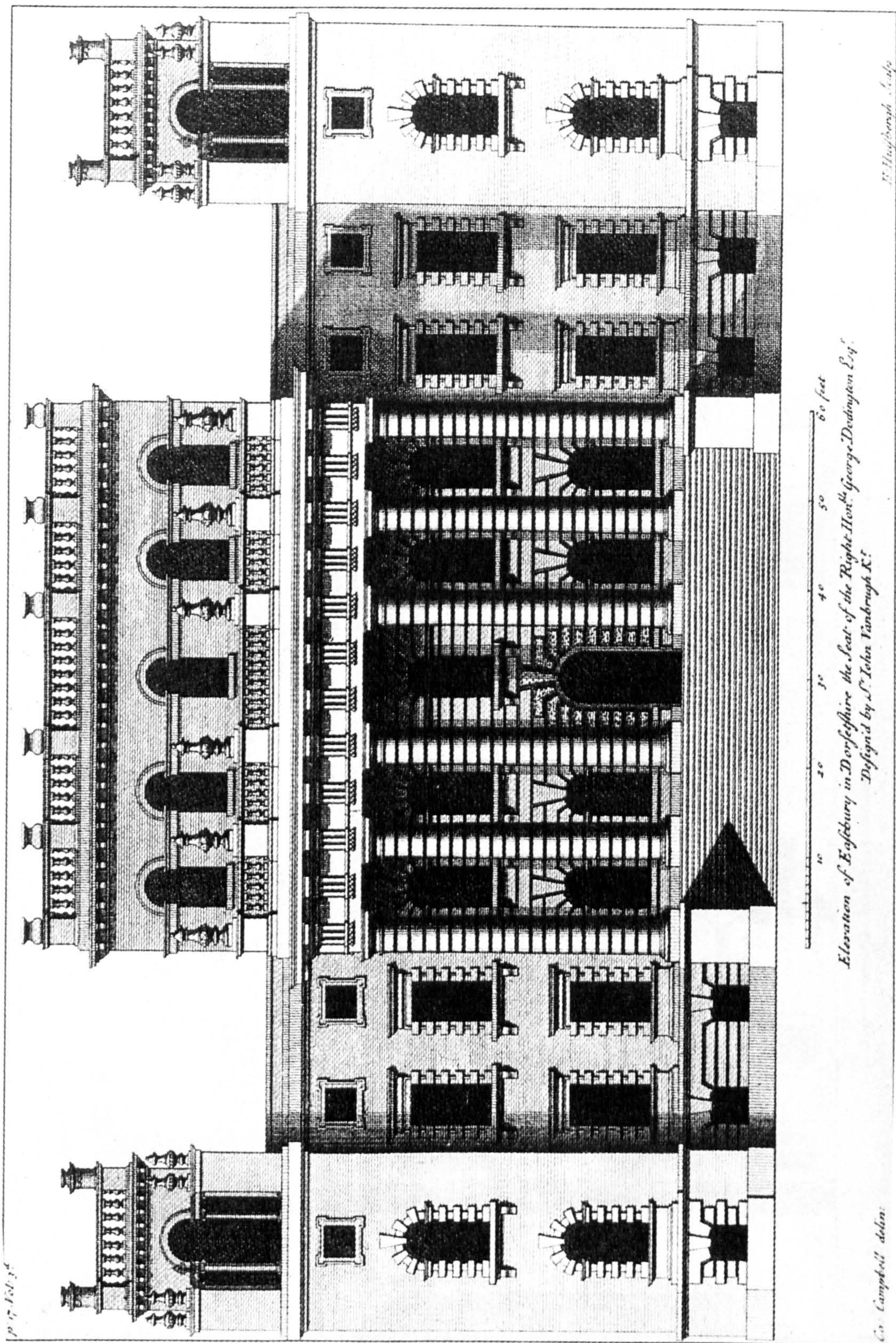


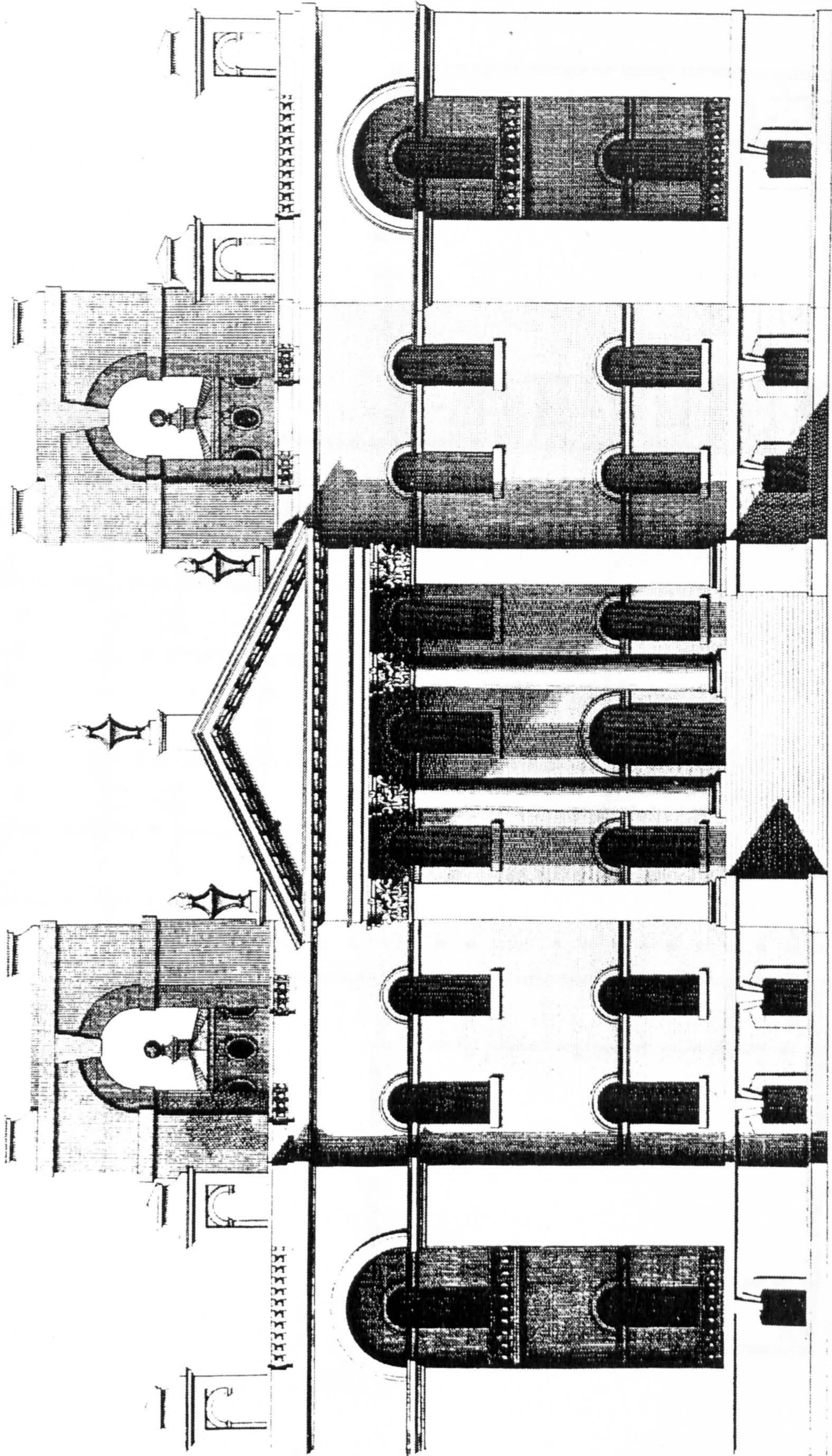
Plan of the Guardhouse



Plan of the second story

Plan of the second story



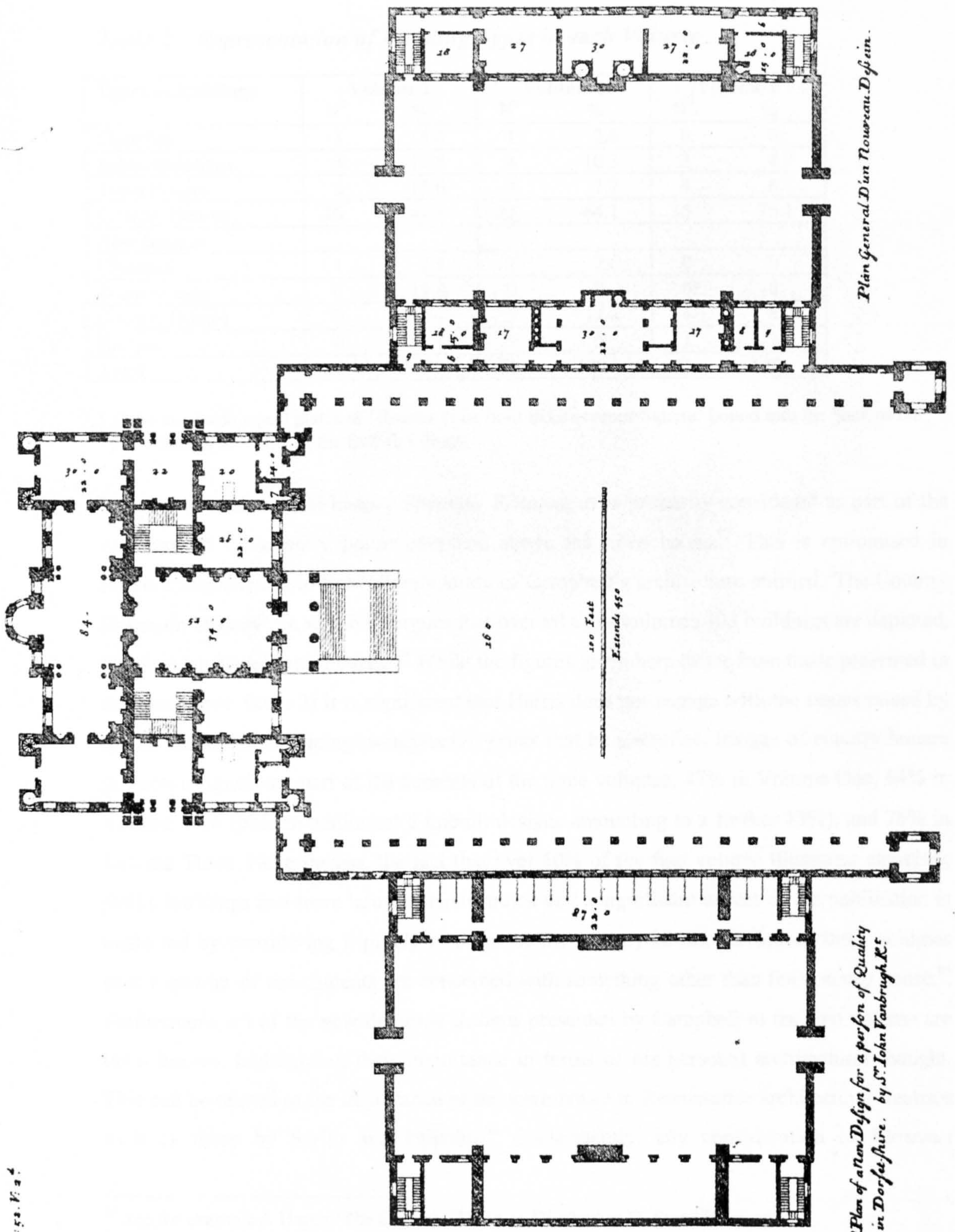


40 Feet.  Extends 140

*The Elevation of a New Design for a person of Quality in Dorsetshire as Designed by Sr John Vanbrugh R^e
Elevation Du Nouveau Dessein.*

W. Campbell Delin

J. H. Hulse, engraver.



Plan General D'un Nouveau Dessin.

General Plan of a new Design for a person of Quality
in Dorsetshire. by S^r John Vanbrugh R^e.

2.2.b. The coverage of building types in *Vitruvius Britannicus*

Table 2 – Representation of Building Types in each Volume

Types of buildings	Volume 1		Volume 2		Volume 3	
	Nº.	%	Nº.	%	Nº.	%
Churches	3	8.8	1	2.6	0	0
Public Buildings	4	11.8	4	10.3	2	4.3
Town Houses	6	17.6	3	7.7	4	8.7
Country Houses	16	47.1	25	64.1	35	76.1
New Designs						
Churches	1	2.9	1	2.6	0	0
Town Houses	4	11.8	0	0	0*	0
Country Houses	0	0	5	12.8	4	8.7
Bridges	0	0	0	0	1	2.2
Total	34	100	39	100	46	100

*There are 7 additional plates of ‘Houses to be built in Grosvenor Square’ bound into the back of the 1717 addition of Vol. 2 in the British Library

In terms of architectural history *Vitruvius Britannicus* is primarily considered as part of the literature of the country house over and above the town house.⁸³ This is epitomised in Harris’s introduction to Stutchbury’s study of Campbell’s architecture entitled ‘The Country House on Display’, in which he argues that over all three volumes 103 buildings are depicted, 76 of which are country houses.⁸⁴ While the figures given here differ from those presented in this study (see Table 2) it is significant that Harris does not engage with the issues raised by the nature of the remaining twenty-seven prints that he identifies. Images of country houses do form a significant part of the contents of the three volumes, 47% in Volume One, 64% in Volume Two (plus an additional 5 unbuilt designs amounting to a further 13%), and 76% in Volume Three. Nevertheless, the fact that over 50% of the first volume illustrates churches, public buildings and town houses demonstrates that a significant aspect of the publication is neglected by considering it purely in terms of the country house. Across all three volumes over a quarter of the contents are concerned with something other than the country house.⁸⁵ Furthermore, all of the new domestic designs presented by Campbell in the first volume are town houses, highlighting their importance in terms of his personal architectural thought. This can be related to the importance of the town house in Renaissance architectural treatises such as those by Serlio and Palladio.⁸⁶ Consequently, any consideration of *Vitruvius*

⁸³ See for example J. Harris ‘The Country House on Display’ in H. Stutchbury, op cit,

⁸⁴ Ibid, p.vi

⁸⁵ 28.5% of the plates show churches, public buildings, town houses (and one bridge), including new designs.

⁸⁶ See for example S. Serlio, *Tutte l'opere d'architettura ... di Sebastiano Serlio*, (London: Robert Peake, 1611), S. Serlio, Trans. V. Hart, P. Hicks, *Sebastiano Serlio on Architecture* (New Haven and

Britannicus needs to take into account the broader nature of the contents and of its architectural discussion, if it is to address the fundamental nature and content of the publication.

2.2.c. Methods of representing buildings used in *Vitruvius Britannicus*⁸⁷

Table 3 - Types of Representation

Volume	Images	Plans		Elevations		Sections		Perspectives		Geometric Plans	
		Nº.	%	Nº.	%	Nº.	%	Nº.	%	Nº.	%
1	93	45	48	44	47	4	4	0	0	0	0
2	120	57	48	55	46	8	7	0	0	0	0
3*	105	40	38	36	32	3	3	12	11	13	12

* Volume 3 also included 12 Perspectives (11%) and 13 Geometric Plans (12%).

The methods of representation remain relatively constant throughout the volumes. They consist of plans, sections and elevations, although there is a marked change in Volume Three with the introduction of perspectives and geometric plans, many of which show gardens and estates.⁸⁸ However, there are very few sections in the volumes. In the first volume there are ninety-three images divided between plans and elevations, with forty-five plans and forty-four elevations (48% and 47% respectively), but only four sections accounting for 4% of the total. This pattern is continued in the second volume in which 48% are plans, 46% elevations and 7% sections. In Volume Three the number of plans and elevations are still largely proportionate, representing 38% and 32% respectively. The number of sections remains small at 3% of the total images.

There does not appear to be any consistency between Campbell's use of sections to illustrate buildings. In the final volume, all of the sections depict Campbell's own designs, however Campbell does not consistently illustrate all of his designs with sections. In Volumes One and Two sections are used to represent Castle Howard and Wilton respectively, both of which are by other architects. Campbell also appears to use sections when depicting churches, such as

London: Yale University Press, 1996, and A. Palladio, *I quattro libri dell 'architettura di Andrea Palladio* (Venice: Domenico de' Franceschi, 1570), A Palladio, Trans. R. Tavernor, R. Schofield, *Andrea Palladio. The Four Books on Architecture*, (Cambridge Mass and London: MIT Press, 1997).

⁸⁷ For the purposes of this analysis I have calculated the number of images rather than plates or designs as several plates have multiple images, not always of the same design.

⁸⁸ This is Campbell's terminology, as used in the list of plates and also the title page of the third volume: 'The third volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus* containing The geometrical Plans of the most Considerable GARDENS and PLANTATIONS; also the PLANS ELEVATIONS and SECTIONS of the most Regular BUILDINGS not Published in the First and Second Volumes, with Large Views in Perspective, of the most Remarkable Edifices in Great Britain'. The plates have been categorised

St Peters in Volume One and Bow Steeple and his own design for a Vitruvian Church in Volume Two. Nevertheless, not all of the churches in the volumes have sections printed. Sometimes the plan, section and elevation are depicted on the same plate such as that of Bow Steeple in the second volume. In others the section is a separate folio as in that of Wanstead in Volume One. Additionally, the style of drawing varies considerably between them, ranging from depiction of skeletal structural elements, of the type advocated by Alberti, to a much more pictorial style⁸⁹ (illus. 13). Consequently, it cannot be concluded that Campbell depicts particular types of space, or particular types of buildings using sections, in any programmatic way. The variety and apparently random use of sections suggest that they were not part of Campbell's core ideas of architectural representation and conceptualisation and this raises questions about the importance of the section and the interior view in his architectural thought.

Raphael provided the first coherent statement of the use of plan, section and elevation as a means of representing a building in his letter to Pope Leo X, written in 1519 in which he stated that 'The drawing of buildings, so far as the architect is concerned ... should be divided into three parts, of which the first is the plan, or rather the ground plan, the second deals with the exterior ... the third, with the interior'.⁹⁰ Raphael's idea of architectural representation considered the plan, elevation and section as an integrated method of representation that could communicate all necessary information about a building in two dimensions. Therefore, while the value of the plan is apparent, the subordination of representations of interior space in *Vitruvius Britannicus* is a telling act in terms of architectural conceptualisation.

Lotz identified perspective and orthogonal sections as the key methods for rendering the interior of a building and argued that these methods were fundamentally linked to the conception and form of the interior.⁹¹ Raphael's conception of interior space rejected perspectival methods of representation, in line with Alberti's differentiation of the art of the architect from that of the painter on the grounds of the latter's use of illusion. Serlio and

according to Campbell's classification, although it is recognised that the geometric plans of estates and the bird's eye perspectives are often arbitrarily divided.

⁸⁹ Alberti advocated that the architect used a system of orthogonal representation of plans, sections and elevations. Within this the section showed the skeleton of the building together with structural elements such as piers and vaults in a way that privileged structure and measurement, rather than illusory representation. This contrasted with the perspective section which conceived of interior elements pictorially (*Architettura* II: 1). Lotz argues that the 'Gothic' method of the pure orthogonal projection was principally used north of the Alps and in Northern Italy, and not in Central Italy. W. Lotz, *Studies in Italian Renaissance Architecture*, (Cambridge Mass. and London, MIT Press, 1977), p17.

⁹⁰ Ibid, p21.

Androuet Du Cerceau used both perspective and orthogonal construction, Serlio included many perspective views of interiors of buildings alongside the details of the orders in Book III (illus. 14). However, this also contains orthogonal projections of cross sections through buildings. The plans, sections and elevations are sometimes depicted on separate folios, for example Serlio's illustrations of the Pantheon. On other occasions he places a plan, section and elevation on the same page as in that of the Palace of Poggio Reale. This is much more in line with the technique adopted by Palladio. Palladio's method of representation excluded perspective elements, but he consistently drew orthogonal plans, elevations and sections juxtaposed on a single sheet. Thus the system of representation in *Vitruvius Britannicus* draws upon Palladio's rigorous orthogonal projection but appears to have much in common with the techniques of presentation used by Serlio in the Pantheon. Nevertheless, the domination of plan and elevation is significantly different to both of these earlier authors.

Palladio used the orthogonal projection of plan, elevation and section in order to develop a comprehensive representation of a building. Therefore, the shift away from this in *Vitruvius Britannicus* is interesting. Brown has argued that during the eighteenth century, English landscape designers discarded the elevation and the section as a means of representation and privileged the plan as the principal expression of design.⁹² This is an interesting shift in terms of conceptualisation of space and design and could have parallels with Campbell's conception of architecture. The use of the plan presents a sense of relationships between interior elements divorced from any real architectural experience: it is a highly conceptualised notion of design, which privileges proportion and measurement over and above spatial experience. In so doing it aligns itself with a cerebral rather than pictorial understanding of architecture. In many ways this approach to form relates to a cartographic model of representing landscape which will be explored in section 4.2c.

The fundamental difference between a plan and a section is that the former operates on a horizontal level whereas a section cuts through a vertical representation of a building. When looking at a building one's experience of it is structured on a vertical level, either through the facade or in terms of a spatial experience of the interior of a room based on perception of the dynamics between floor, ceiling and wall. Consequently, the representation of a building in plan is fundamentally different to actual experience. Yet, as Arnheim has observed it is common that upon seeing a plan of a building which we have seen pictures of or even walked

⁹¹ Ibid, p1.

⁹² J. Brown, *The Art and Architecture of English Gardens. Designs for the Garden from the collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects 1609 - to the present day*, (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson: 1989), p11.

around, often a greater understanding is achieved.⁹³ The plan communicates design ideas of function and internal relationships and proportions in a way that the elevation and section are unable to do. One reason for this is the difference between the world of action, carried out on a horizontal plane, and that of vision which is primarily ordered on a vertical plane.⁹⁴ The plan, structured on a horizontal plane can communicate ideas of human activity and behaviour as structured by the building, suggesting processes of physical movement around it that a single vertical view of the facade or the section cannot do.

Arnheim has argued that the ground plan offers a completeness lacking in any section. It communicates complex ideas about spatial relationships and movement.⁹⁵ The absence of the third dimension is not suggested in the ground plan itself, instead the viewer is immediately aware that there is a building above ground and storeys above and below that depicted, but views this as additional information rather than an overt absence in an incomplete presentation. Whereas the plan can be looked at in any direction, a section is inevitably structured around a particular vision of top and bottom and sides, and is always just one of many possible sections that could be taken within a 360 degree turning point. Thus, it is always viewed as a two dimensional representation of three dimensional form and as somehow incomplete.⁹⁶ However, this argument can also be applied to the elevation and this does form an important part of Campbell's architectural representation.

One explanation could be that an elevation together with a plan can convey both exterior and interior information about a building, therefore the section could be seen as dispensable. None of the plans, sections or images in *Vitruvius Britannicus* serve as structural models, so the section could not be seen as adding structural information about the vertical plane of a building, and can be regarded as unnecessary in that sense. However, some of Campbell's sections verge on the pictorial, depicting decorative elements in the interior. This information about the interior cannot be communicated by plan and elevation and is in many ways in line with Campbell's descriptions of interiors that accompany many of the plates. Nevertheless, the very occasional use of them by Campbell suggests that he may have seen them as added value rather than core architectural information, and this could be seen as reflected in the overall inconsistency and subordination of his use of the section. In this way he differs from Serlio, Palladio and Raphael, and thus the nature of the architectural information which he

⁹³ R. Arnheim, *The Dynamics of Architectural Form*, (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1975), p53.

⁹⁴ Ibid, p63.

⁹⁵ Ibid, p63

⁹⁶ Ibid, p63

conveys needs to be considered as operating on a different level. One level on which it can operate is that of the architectural print rather than the architectural manual and this will be considered in 4.1b. On another level, Anderson has considered the gendering of architectural design, through which interior space was associated with femininity and the private sphere, and the facade with masculinity orientated towards the public sphere. This suggests another way of understanding Campbell's prioritisation of the elevation and plan over the section. The section is concerned with interior space and thus associated with femininity and privacy while the elevation is considered within the context of masculine self-presentation and public display. While the plan could be interpreted as presenting interior information the footprint view has much in common with the intellectual processes of understanding the facade rather than the section. This is an interesting notion given my consideration of *Vitruvius Britannicus* as related to ideas of gentlemanly conduct and polite discourse as part of social display. It also points to the complexity of gender issues within architectural discourse and the language and processes through which women related to it. The discussion of interiors in Campbell's text can therefore also be related to a more complex gendered architectural discourse.⁹⁷

The incorporation of perspective features in Campbell's third volume raises interesting questions about Campbell's ideas of architectural representation which can also be connected with a model of architectural prints. There are a total of sixteen landscape images in the third volume consisting of both perspectives and geometrical plans. Campbell identifies 11% of the images as perspectives and 12% as geometric plans. It is this content that has led to the interpretations of Volume Three discussed above, which have sidelined it as part of the overall project. However, the change of emphasis in this volume needs to be considered rather than sidelined.

E. Harris concludes that the plates in the third volume largely consist of engravings displaced from the first volume by the 'Palladian' reorganisation.⁹⁸ However, analysis of the contents calls this into question. While the third volume does include thirteen properties that had been illustrated in the previous volumes, and there is no repetition between Volumes One and Two, the fact that there is more duplication of buildings between the second and third volumes (five of the properties depicted more than once appear first in Volume One, and eight of them in Volume Two) suggests that it could not have been assembled primarily from

⁹⁷ C. Anderson, 'Masculinity in English architectural classicism' in G. Perry, *Gender and Art*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), pp 130-153.

⁹⁸ See E. Harris, op cit, reprinted in E. Harris and N. Savage, op cit. '... these last minute insertions displaced plates that had been engraved for vol. 1, among them the splendid but by then outmoded

discarded prints from the first. This is particularly unlikely given the change in method of representation of previously depicted properties in the third volume, all but one of them being perspectives of the house or gardens, or geometrical plans of the gardens.⁹⁹ Harris claims that perspectives were always planned to be included in the first volume and that these were the types of image displaced together with properties which were not 'Palladian'. She argues that the published title page to Volume One was engraved when the project was initially conceived as a survey with no stylistic agenda and when it was intended to include perspectives. However, given that both Volumes Two and Three particularly mention Perspectives and Geometric Plans, it is surprising that they are not mentioned alongside the plans, sections and elevations on the title page engraved for the first project if they were intended to be included.

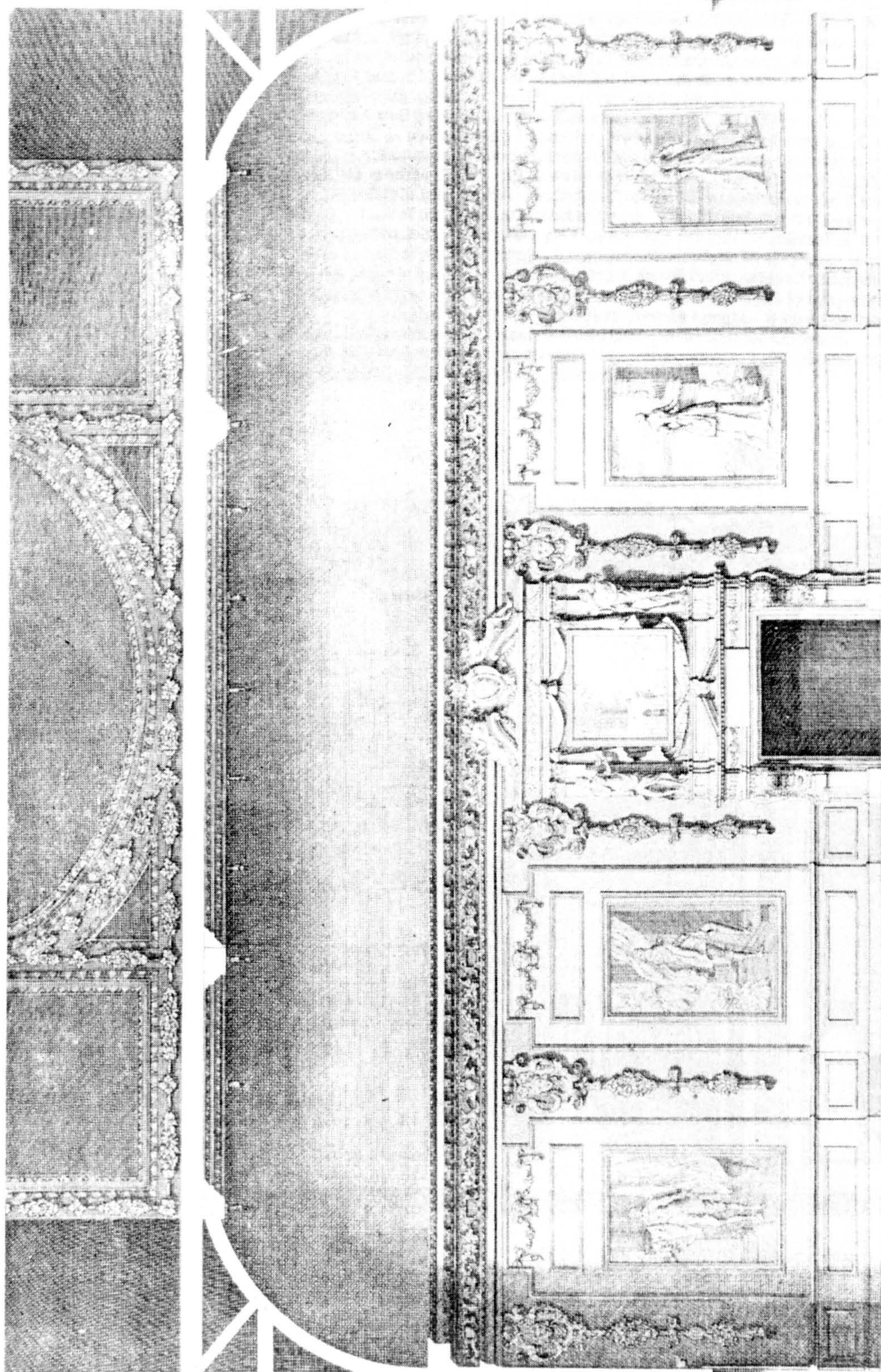
Both Palladio and Serlio published plates which included more than one image. The layering of plan, section and elevation in Palladio's work, and the occasional use of multi-image plates by Serlio, lends itself to a process of analysis particularly applicable to a technical manual. *Vitruvius Britannicus* does include some plates with more than one image, and there is a marked increase in these after the first volume, with the second volume having the largest number. They account for ten images in the first volume, and thirty-one and twenty-four in the second and third respectively. The majority of these multi-image plates depict different views of the same subject, mostly plans and elevations, or plans of several floors. Only five of these depict different or associated subjects. In the first volume plate 31 consists of a plan of Burlington House and a Plan of the Duke of Kent's garden pavilion at Wrest Park. In the second volume, plates 20-22 show different views of a range of subjects in Covent garden, plates 63-67 show various views of Wilton including the house and other associated buildings, and plate 91 shows the plans of the principal story of two separate houses, High Wittham and Dyrham. However, the majority of the plates in *Vitruvius Britannicus* are not multi-image, and the presentation of single prints on different folios makes comparison of plans, elevations etc. much more difficult. Consequently, the processes of analysis of form in *Vitruvius Britannicus* could be seen as operating on a level beyond a manual, a point considered in Chapter 6.

perspectives of Greenwich, Castle Howard and Chatsworth, which should have appeared together with the plans and elevations of those houses rather than on their own in Volume Three.' p142.

⁹⁹ The exception to this is Burlington House which appears in the first and third volumes. The plates in the third volume consist of a general plan, front elevation, elevation of the gate and a plan and elevation of the Casina.

The physical nature of the volumes needs to be taken into account in any analysis of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. The second volume contains one hundred and twenty separate images, twenty-seven more than the first and fifteen more than the third. This is primarily because of the higher number of multi-image plates. The first volume contains fourteen double plates, the second contains twelve double plates and four fold-out plates of Whitehall, and the third volume includes twenty-three double plates. The sheer size of these double folio plates would have impacted upon the way in which *Vitruvius Britannicus* was used, making it difficult to compare and contrast images as one would in a manual or sketchbook and also structuring the physical spaces in which *Vitruvius Britannicus* could have been read.¹⁰⁰ Moreover, the fact that the descriptions of the plates are at the front of each volume, rather than next to the plate, means that each element can function to a certain degree on a separate level. Thus the nature of all of the text in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, not just the introduction, needs to be carefully considered, as do the visual elements of the plates. Each of these elements open up broader areas of analysis and understanding of the volumes.

¹⁰⁰ It could not for example have been carried around and consulted in conjunction with actual buildings.



Section of the Dining Room at Wilton

Section of the Dining Room at Wilton

Section of the Dining Room at Wilton

Section of the Dining Room at Wilton

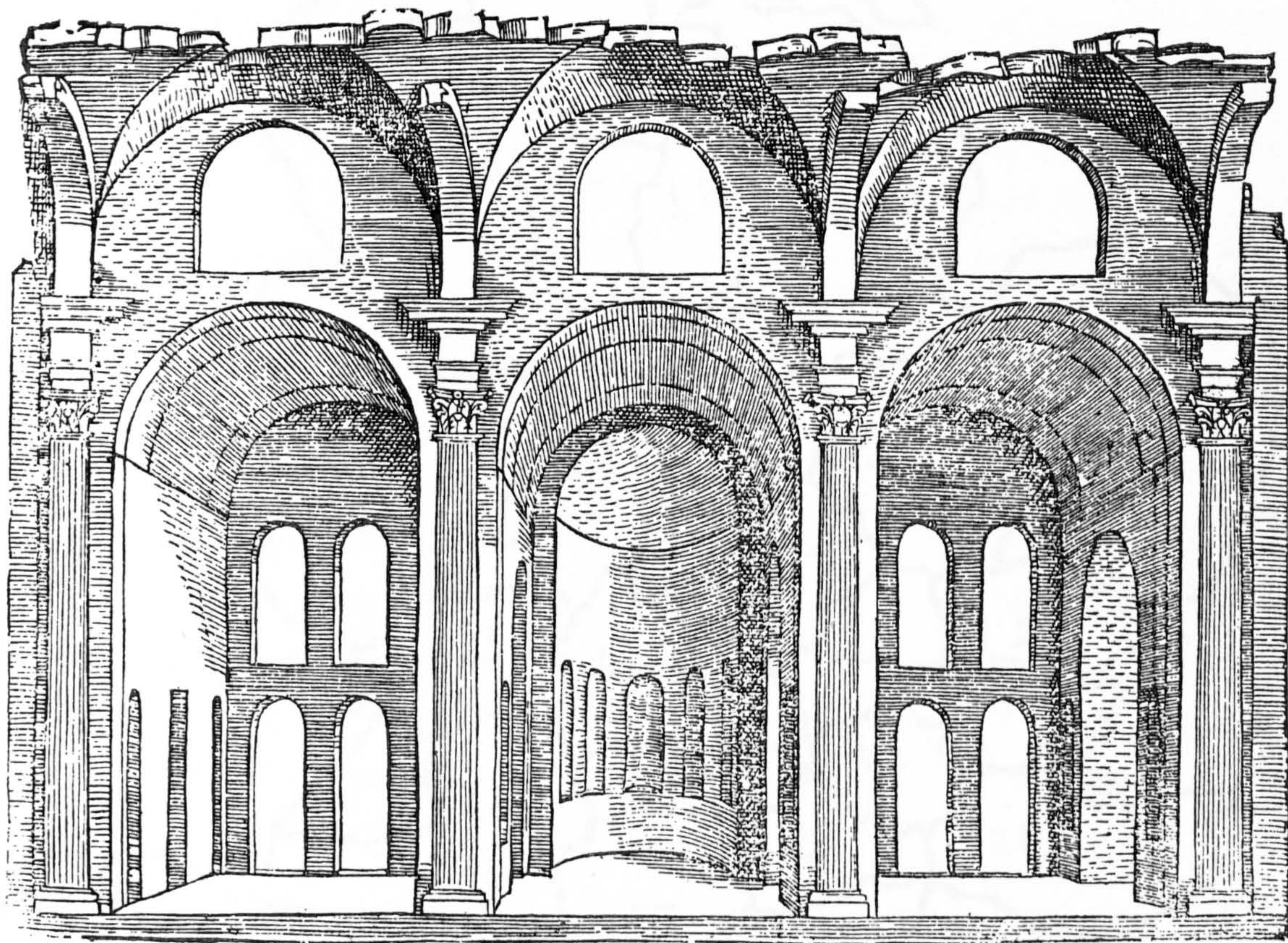
BEST COPY

AVAILABLE

Variable print quality

Of Antiquitie

This Temple is measured with Elles, and the Elle is divided into 12. parts, called ounces, the measure which standeth in the middle of the ground of the Temple is halfe an Elle: First, the length of the lodges about is 122. Elles, the breadth is 15. Elles, the widenesse of the places before in the lodges containe 10. Elles, the thickenesse of the Pillars at the entrie is five Elles, and betwene the one Pillar and the other is 10. Elles, the goings in on both sides, both of the Portall and of the Temple are 16. Elles wide, the length of the whole Temple is about 170. Elles, the breadth containeth 125. Elles; the principall place in the middle of the Temple is 35. Elles. The sides of the Pilasters against the which the round Columnes stand are 9 Elles and a halfe, and the thickenesse of these Columnes are 4. Elles, 4. ounces and a halfe, and they are canelert, every one having 24. Canels: the caue or hollowing of each Canell is 5. ounces broad, and the list therof one ounce and a halfe; the breadth of the principall Chappell is about 32. Elles, and is halfe a Circle. Those on the sides marked A. B. are 37. Elles broad, and goe 16. Elles into the Wall, which is lesse then halfe a Circle: the thickenesse of the Wall round about the Temple is 12. Elles, although in many places, because of the Bowes, it is much thinner. The Circumferences of the Chappells are 6. Elles thicke, betwene the one Pilaster and the other, it is 45. Elles; you may conceane the quantitie of the measure of many places and windowes with other particular things, by the measures aforesayd, for the figure is proportioned. Touching the Orthographie, which is the Figure hereafter following, because the ground is all covered over with the ruines therof; I could not measure it from the ground to the top, but as much as I conceiued by that part of the ground, and also of the ruines which are there to be seene; I make this picce standing upright. I am not certaine whether the Columnes haue this pedestall vnder them or not, because that men cannot see the foot of the Columnes. And although that Plini much commendeth this Building, yet there are many vniuersall things in it, specially the Cornices about the Columnes, which are not accompanied with any thing, but stand bare and naked alone.



SCOTLAND 1 3

ROME 1



Red = Vol. 1

Green = Vol. 2

Blue = Vol. 3

Figure 1

2.2.d. The geographical coverage of *Vitruvius Britannicus*

Although the Irish Peerage and Irish Members of Parliament are well represented in the subscribers lists with men such as Col. Martin Bladen, Viscount Barrington Shute, Lord Cowper and Lord Chetwynd, there are no sites in Wales or Ireland in any of the volumes. Generally, the geographical representation appears to become broader as the volumes progress. In the first volume the distribution is dominated by sites in London which account for 44.8%. This prevalence towards London diminishes in the later volumes to 15% and 16% in Volumes Two and Three respectively. By Volume Three there are nine counties outside London that have more than one site included, accounting for 52% of the contents. This is in contrast to the first volume where only Yorkshire has more than one site, and the remaining 44% that are outside London are very widely dispersed. The first volume, illustrates English sites within a geographical area between County Durham and Devon. The second volume covers an area in England between Cumbria and Somerset, and Volume Three includes a site as far north as Northumberland and as far south as the Isle of Wight, reaching in the east as far as Norfolk. Although the first volume is dominated by London, and the sites do expand outwards as the volumes progress, the areas covered are broad. Figure 1 illustrates the forty-five areas into which I have divided England. Of these twenty-eight have sites located in them representing an overall percentage coverage of 62%. In terms of each volume the percentage coverage in these areas of England is 31% in Volume One, 33.3% in Volume Two, and 48.8% in Volume Three.¹⁰¹ The geographical locations in England are broadly representative but, in terms of the British Isles, Scotland is poorly represented and Ireland and Wales totally absent. In the first volume there are only two plates that show sites outside England. These are St Peter's in Rome and Drumlanrig in Scotland. The second volume includes three sites in Scotland, but the third does not depict any. This is a particularly important aspect of the publication given its references to ideas of the *British* architect, and the specific idea of nation and survey that it presents will be considered in section 5.1.

¹⁰¹ These figures exclude Scotland, which as already noted is only represented once in the first volume and three times in the second.

2.3 Subscription to *Vitruvius Britannicus*

The Number of Subscribers

I have identified the following figures for subscribers to *Vitruvius Britannicus*: Volume One, 299 subscribers for 364 copies, Volume Two, 452 subscribers for 528 copies, and Volume Three, 697 subscribers for 900 copies. These differ slightly from those presented by other authors.¹⁰² This could be due to errors in counting or to variations in copies consulted. Such variation is common, especially given that the practice of printing unpaginated lists before publication enabled several revisions to be produced of each list.¹⁰³ Numbers in subscription lists cannot be treated as definitive evidence of purchase, many subscribers came too late to a subscription to have their name printed, others may have died before actual publication. Neither can subscription lists be seen as providing clear evidence of readership, some subscribers may not have had any real interest in the book but only wished to see their name listed. It is also difficult to gauge what level of readership there may have been beyond the original subscribers through re-sale, libraries or systems of exchange. Nevertheless, analysis of such lists can provide interesting starting points for other considerations.

The number of subscription attracted for architectural publication varies considerably. However, the number of subscribers for *Vitruvius Britannicus* is high for a book of that price. There had been larger lists, John Harris's *Lexicon Technicum* (1704) for example,¹⁰⁴ attracted 903 subscribers. However, this work could be purchased for 25 shillings and was significantly less expensive than *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Other less expensive works did not attract anything like the number of subscribers for the *Lexicon Technicum*. Pozzo's *Rules and*

¹⁰² Other figures suggested are as follows: Connor, Vol. 1, 301 subscribers for 368 copies, Vol. 2, unidentified number of subscribers for 540 copies, Vol. 3, 696 subscribers for 899 copies. These are also the figures put forward by J Harris who suggests 466 subscribers to Vol. 2 for 540 copies. E Harris identifies Vol. 1, 303 subscribers for 370 copies, Vol. 2, 458 subscribers for 545 copies and Vol. 3, 692 subscribers for 893 copies. (E Harris's figure for vol. 3 suggests that she has excluded the five Royal subscribers, which would result in the same total as my analysis. Harris also identifies 32 names listed under 'A' in the second volume which is the same as my calculation.) While my figures are different, I will be using these for my calculations as the margin of difference is not sufficient to significantly alter the overall information which can be gained from the subscription lists. See T. P. Connor, op cit, J. Harris, 1967, 'The Country House on Display' in H. Stutchbury, op cit, and E. Harris, reprinted in E. Harris, and N. Savage, op. cit.

¹⁰³ F. J. G. Robinson, P. J. Wallis, *Book Subscription Lists a Revised Guide*, (Newcastle upon Tyne: Harold Hill & Son Ltd., 1975).

¹⁰⁴ J. Harris, *Lexicon Technicum; or, an universal English dictionary of arts and science*, (London: 1704).

Examples of Perspective (1707)¹⁰⁵ only attracted 159 subscribers and his translation of Perrault (1708) 269.¹⁰⁶ A practical book aimed at tradesmen such Halfpenny's *Art of Sound Building* published in 1725 raised 149 subscribers,¹⁰⁷ and Leoni's *Architecture of Andrea Palladio* (1715) did not attract many more with 163 subscribers.¹⁰⁸ Gibbs's *Book of Architecture* (1728)¹⁰⁹ is perhaps the closest comparison to *Vitruvius Britannicus* in terms of cost, attracting 481 subscribers at a price of four guineas. While this is at a later date, the 129 subscribers to Chambers's translation of Le Clerc (1723)¹¹⁰ or the 370 subscribers for Kent's *Designs of Inigo Jones* (1727)¹¹¹ indicate that there had not been a significant increase in the subscribing public by this date, thus the comparison between Gibbs and Campbell is fair. Indeed, Adams's much later *Vitruvius Scoticus* (c.1780) with its clear connection to Campbell's publication only attracted 150 subscribers.¹¹² Thus, in terms of architectural publications the lists for subscriptions to *Vitruvius Britannicus* were substantial, marking it as a popular work. The number of subscribers to Gibbs's work suggests that the singular importance often ascribed by architectural historians to *Vitruvius Britannicus* over and above a book such as Gibbs's, reflects wider interest in style rather than contemporary popularity.

An indication of the wider potential subscription market can be gained from the appeal of non-architectural publications. Addison and Steele's third edition of *The Spectator* (1713) raised 402 subscribers.¹¹³ Pope's *Works of Shakespeare* (1725) had 412 subscribers,¹¹⁴ and the 1727 edition of Castiglione attracted 542 subscribers.¹¹⁵ Survey works and county

¹⁰⁵ A. Pozzo, Trans. J. James, *Rules and Examples on Perspective proper for painters and architects, etc. in English and Latin, ...engraved in 105 ... plates, ... and adorn'd with 200 initial letters to the explanatory discourses ... by J. Sturt.-Done into English from the original printed at Rome, 1693, in Latin and Italian. By ... J. James.*, (London: 1707).

¹⁰⁶ J. James, *A Treatise of the Five Orders of Columns in Architecture. Viz Toscan, Doric, Ionic, Corinthian and Composite. Written in French by Claude Perrault*, (London: Benj. Motte, 1708).

¹⁰⁷ W. Halfpenny, *Art of Sound Building. The second edition: to which are added, useful tables of the proportions of the members of all the orders, calculated in feet and inches, for the use of practical builders*, (London: S. Birt, B. Motte, 1725).

¹⁰⁸ A. Palladio, Trans. G. Leoni, *I Quattro libri dell' architettura*, (London: John Watts for the author, 1715).

¹⁰⁹ J. Gibbs, *Book of Architecture containing designs of buildings and ornaments*, (London: 1728).

¹¹⁰ S. Le Clerc, *A Treatise on Architecture ... by S Le Clerc*, (London: 1723). (London: Printed for the author, 1759).

¹¹¹ W. A. Kent, *Some designs of Mr. Inigo Jones and Mr. Wm. Kent*, (London: Published by John Vardy, 1744).

¹¹² W. Adams, *Vitruvius Scoticus; being a collection of plans, elevations and sections of public buildings, noblemen's and gentlemen's houses in Scotland: principally from ... designs of ... W. Adams* (Edinburgh: A. Black, c.1780). Little work has been done on this subscription list. However, one possible explanation could be the range of appeal which this predominantly Scottish work may have had for an English public.

¹¹³ J. Addison, R. Steele, *The Spectator* (London: for S Buckley & J Tonson, 1713 (3rd Edition))

¹¹⁴ A. Pope, *The Works of Shakespeare*, (London: J Tonson, 1725).

¹¹⁵ B. Castiglione, *Il cortegiano or the Courtier*, (London: W Bowyer, 1727).

histories appear to have been popular subscriptions. Harris's *History of Kent*¹¹⁶ raised 383 subscribers and Blome's *Britannia* (1673) 946 even at this early stage in subscription publishing.¹¹⁷ It can thus be seen that there was a significant potential market for these publications, which related to subjects such as history, conduct, literature, and chorography and appealed to the 'polite' interests of the time. The connection between these publications and many of the ideas in *Vitruvius Britannicus* may provide some understanding of the wider appeal of Campbell's publication. This is not to suggest that the success of *Vitruvius Britannicus* can be completely attributed to a broader appeal to polite interests. The success of Gibbs's work demonstrates that significant numbers of subscribers could be raised for an architectural work. However, it could suggest a broader potential appeal for *Vitruvius Britannicus*.

The success of *Vitruvius Britannicus* is demonstrated through the significant number of subscribers to the first volume who were brought to further subscriptions of Volumes Two and Three. Across all three volumes 714 individual subscribers can be identified. 62% of these subscribed to more than one volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus* and 41% subscribed to all three. Almost all of those who subscribed to the first volume also subscribed to the second,¹¹⁸ suggesting that most subscribed to the entire project described as 'being in two volumes'. The list of subscribers for the second volume shows 156 new names. It would appear therefore that 65% of the subscribers for Volume Two had also subscribed to the first volume, and 35% were completely new. The attraction of new subscribers demonstrates that the first volume did meet expectations and that interpretations of popularity based on the retention of subscribers for Volume Two are justified, even though some subscriptions to both volumes would have been made prior to the publication of the first. In fact, 97.7% of the subscribers to the first volume went on to subscribe to the second, and a further 1.7% did not subscribe to volume two but did subscribe to volume three. Thus, after 1715, as many as 99.4% went on to subscribe to another volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Of the new subscribers to Volume Two, 93% went on to subscribe to the third volume eight years later, which is again an incredibly high retention rate, substantiating arguments for the success of the publication. All three volumes of *Vitruvius Britannicus* retained the interest of subscribers to the first volume

¹¹⁶ J. Harris, *History of Kent*, (London: D Midwinter, 1719).

¹¹⁷ R. Blome, *Britannia, Or a geographical description of England, Scotland, Ireland, with the isles and territories thereto belonging; and ... thereis addad an alphabetical table of the names, titles and seats of the nobility and gentry ... illustrated with a map of each country of England, etc [With a list of "Benefactors & Promoters of the worke, whose names, titles, seates & coates of armes are enterd, as they gave their encouragements.",* (London: Tho. Roycroft, 1673).

and, despite the time lapse between the second and third volumes, the ability to attract new subscribers remained strong. 290 subscribers to all three of the volumes can be identified,¹¹⁹ accounting for 41.5% of the subscribers for the 1725 volume. A further 21% had previously subscribed to Volume Two. Five subscribers are in the list for the first volume, leaving approximately 37% who were completely new subscribers. Volumes Two and Three each attracted roughly the same proportion of new subscribers (35% and 37% respectively). Within these figures a number of the subscribers to the earlier volumes were deceased by the publication of Volume Three and some of these had been dead a number of years. While sometimes it is likely that the successor subscribed to the third volume, this could not always have been the case. Samuel Garth and Joseph Addison who both died in 1719, and Knightley Chetwood who died in 1720, were specifically mentioned in the list for Volume Three in 1725. There is then a possibility that some subscribers committed to a third volume at a very early stage, prior to the subscription list of 1724, thus reinforcing the argument for considering the third volume as part of the overall project.

¹¹⁸ I have identified two names which do not appear in either of the other two subscription lists and five subscribers to the first volume who did not subscribe to the second but whose names appear on the subscription list for the third volume.

¹¹⁹ This cannot be presented as an authoritative figure because of the possible margin of error where subscribers are referred to by new titles, or where a successor may or may not have taken on the subscription. My figures for calculating the percentages are slightly out. Vol. 2 total = 548 and Vol. 3 total = 699 as opposed to 452 and 697 respectively. However, I am satisfied that this figure is close enough to allow for a broad analysis of the lists.

Table 4 - Breakdown of Subscribers by Status/Occupation where known

Category	Volume 1		Volume 2		Volume 3	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Royalty	0	0	1	0.2	6	0.9
Peerage	106	35.5	120	26.5	180	25.8
Foreign dignitaries	2	0.7	9	2.0	15	2.2
Doctors	8	2.7	10	2.2	11	1.6
Soldiers	8	2.7	13	2.9	30	4.3
Lawyers	3	1.0	4	0.9	5	0.7
Clergymen	1	0.3	9	2.0	11	1.6
Named trades	11	3.7	22	4.9	53	7.6
Total traced backgrounds	139	46.5	188	41.6	311	44.7
All subscribers	299	100	452	100	697	100

Named trades	Volume 1	Volume 2	Volume 3
Painters	3	3	4
Masons	3	4	8
Carpenters	1	2	8
Joiners	2	3	7
Printers		2	2
Engravers	1	1	2
Bricklayers			2
Watchmakers			1
Gardeners		1	2
Plasterers			2
Statuary	1	1	1
Merchants		1	4
Booksellers		4	10
Total	11	22	53

While the social position of all of the subscribers cannot be identified with absolute accuracy, where the subscription lists provide information it is possible to attempt a breakdown.¹²⁰ *Vitruvius Britannicus* appears to have attracted subscribers who had good social standing, 35.5% of the subscribers to Volume One were from the peerage,¹²¹ of whom 10% are identified in the subscription list as Lords;¹²² in addition two subscribers can be identified as foreign dignitaries. As the volumes progress the percentage representing peers and lords decreases significantly from 35.5% in Volume One to 27% and 26% in Volumes Two and Three respectively. J Harris identifies 100 peers who subscribed to Volume One including 24 Dukes, 3 Duchesses and 30 Earls. Even without accepting these as definitive figures the

¹²⁰ I have analysed the types of subscribers by placing them within broad social categories as they are described in the subscription lists. It is recognised that these categories are too broad for any exact analysis but they are sufficient to give a broad overview for the purposes of basic description. It is also recognised that this analysis does not take into account changes in social position over the years 1715-1725. This detailed information will only be considered when referring to specific individuals where biographies have been closely studied.

¹²¹ This calculation is based on the titles of subscribers and includes Dukes, Earls, Marquises, Viscounts and Lords.

¹²² This title can of course be applied as a courtesy to, for example, sons of the peerage. Nevertheless, courtesy titles are indicative of perceived social standing.

overall dominance by this social group is clear. Harris also argues that the third volume attracted all but eighteen of the 179 peers identified in that year.¹²³ The number of peers that have been identified as actually undertaking building activities between 1710 and 1740 has been calculated at 27,¹²⁴ which suggests that aristocratic subscribers to *Vitruvius Britannicus* were interested for reasons other than their building activities. One reason for this could be the desire to see their names published on a list and thus to be associated with the publication, which would indicate a perception of *Vitruvius Britannicus* as a prestigious book worthy of being associated with. Another reason could be wider interest in the actual content of the book including more general architectural interest, or even in areas beyond architecture itself with which *Vitruvius Britannicus* may have been associated.

The number of subscribers that can be identified as doctors, soldiers, lawyers or clergymen increases from 6.7% in the first volume to 8.0% in the second and 8.2% in the third.¹²⁵ Although this is not an enormous increase generally there is a slight decrease in subscribers from the peerage and an increase in the gentry subscribers as the volumes progress, although it is important to note that a significant number of soldiers and clergymen are likely to be younger sons of aristocratic families. The figure of 35.5% as a lowest estimate for the number of peerage subscribers to the first volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus* can be compared with Leoni's publication which attracted 32% of the peerage. However, Kent's and Gibbs's publications only attracted 23% and 20% respectively, thus reinforcing the high social standing of *Vitruvius Britannicus's* list.¹²⁶ This is particularly the case as both Campbell's and Gibbs's publications were sold at a price of 3 guineas.

In terms of representation of trades the overall composition of the lists in *Vitruvius Britannicus* is in marked contrast to the other architectural publications considered. Only 3.7% of the subscribers to Volume One can be identified as belonging to named trades, this does increase significantly to 4.9% and 7.6%, in the second and third volumes. However, Leoni's list includes a considerable number of such subscribers, as do those of Harris's

¹²³ J. Harris, 'The Country House on Display' in H. Stutchbury, op cit, p21.

¹²⁴ See J. Summerson, 'The Classical Country House in Eighteenth century England' *Royal Society of Architects Journal*, cvii, 1959, p540.

¹²⁵ The problem of identification of professions is difficult but is less acute for the medical, legal and clerical professions because of the possibility of identification through degree (MD), address (eg. Lincoln's Inn) or quality (Rev.)

¹²⁶ T. P. Connor, op cit, p18. However, the increased numbers of gentry subscribers in the second and third volumes of *Vitruvius Britannicus* means that the proportion of the peerage in percentage terms decreases. Consequently the overall figure across all three volumes is 28%. However, this figure still places Campbell favourably in terms of peerage subscribers compared with both Gibbs and Kent. The figure for volume one is a fairer comparison with Leoni than an overall percentage because of the proximity of Campbell's first volume with Leoni's publication.

Lexicon Technicum and both of the publications by James. Of the artisan subscribers to *Vitruvius Britannicus* 24% have been identified as builders, in contrast to the 69% who subscribed to Leoni's editions of Palladio and Alberti.¹²⁷ These figures demonstrate that artisans were willing to buy books, and that the lack of such subscribers to *Vitruvius Britannicus* suggests that it was not considered part of the same genre as Leoni by this audience.

Generally, subscription lists of the period do not contain many continental subscribers, but where shown subscribers from Vienna, Paris, Berlin, Leipzig, Geneva and Amsterdam are the most commonly represented.¹²⁸ A degree of foreign interest can be traced for *Vitruvius Britannicus* by the publication of Volume Three, providing further evidence of its success and of a broad appeal. While only two foreign dignitaries subscribe to Volume One, fifteen are identified in the subscription list for the third volume. Foreign booksellers are also represented in Volume Three suggesting a greater foreign awareness of the publication. Although later in the century it is interesting to note that in 1747 Jean-Bernard le Blanc was clearly familiar with Campbell's publication. In this year he wrote to the Comte de Caylus suggesting that 'the author of ... [*Vitruvius Britannicus*] had all the remarkable buildings in England, designed and engraved on purpose to shew us, that architecture is a science, which is not yet naturalised here It is one of those that depend on taste, and therefore may still be a long time foreign in this island.' It is significant that Le Blanc sees *Vitruvius Britannicus* as a survey of all of the principal buildings in England (significantly not Britain) rather than a manifesto of style. Additionally, Le Blanc is noted for his dislike of 'Gothick barbarity', and the fact that he sees Campbell's publication as demonstrating a lack of architectural taste, suggests that he did not see it as advocating an anti-Baroque style of which he would have approved.¹²⁹ The appeal of *Vitruvius Britannicus* to a foreign market could well have been totally different to that of the domestic. One possible interpretation of its appeal could be curiosity about Britain, in much the same way as works on other nations appear in British libraries, however analysis of foreign perceptions of *Vitruvius Britannicus* needs to await further study in the future.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ F. J. G. Robinson, P. J. Wallis, op cit.

¹²⁹ J. B. Le Blanc, [*Lettres d'un Francois. English*] *Letters on the English and French Nations. Containing curious and useful observations on their constitutions natural and political; ... In two volumes. By Monsieu l'Abbe Le Blanc. ... Translated from the original French*, (2 Vols., London: Printed for J. Brindley, R. Francklin, C. Davis, and J. Hodges, 1747)

Rogers has identified the particularised nature of subscription lists during this period in terms of politics,¹³⁰ and writers on *Vitruvius Britannicus* have considered it to be a 'Whig publication' in previous work, but analysis of the subscription lists presents a much broader picture of party interests. While recognising that a simple classification of 'Tory' and 'Whig' ignores the complexity of the two political parties at the time, each of these interests is equally represented among the subscribers to *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Among subscribers who can be identified with a Tory interest are Sir John Packington, Lord Masham, William Bromley, Lord Foley, Lord Bathurst, and Thomas Hanmer. Among the Whig Members of Parliament who subscribed were Addison, Col. Bladen, the Earl of Cadogan, Lord Carpenter William Cowper, Thomas Frankland, Lord Lechmere, and James Stanhope. Subscribers from both Oxford and Cambridge backgrounds can be traced and significantly, given the Whig emphasis in the past, a number of Christ Church men can be identified including Thomas Hanmer, William Pulteney, William Wyndham and James Vernon. Cambridge men include Walpole, Thomas Baker, the Earl of Macclesfield, the Dukes of Kingston, and Newcastle, and Lord Townshend.

It has been noted that issues of gender are raised in any consideration of consumption, and the subscription lists indicate that *Vitruvius Britannicus* certainly can be located within such debates. While a small overall percentage, a number of women are identified in the subscription lists. Volumes One and Two are subscribed to by eight women who account for a total of fourteen copies. These are the Duchess of Buccleugh, Lady Cairns, Lady Carey, the Duchess of Hamilton, the Duchess of Marlborough, the Duchess of Montague, Mrs Elizabeth Southwell, and Mrs Dolben. The total number of copies of the third volume subscribed for by women was eighteen, new women subscribers being Lady Elizabeth Germain, Mrs Howard, the Duchess of Richmond, Lady Seabright, Mrs Ann Stone, and Mrs Margaret Weld. It is significant that some, such as the Duchesses of Marlborough and Montague, appear to have subscribed in addition to their husbands and also for multiple copies. This points to a significant aspect of the importance of subscription lists at the time, namely that people wished their name to be seen by others. The fact that these women were engaging in self-display and conspicuous consumption highlights their participation in the public sphere and in a commodified culture. It also points to their involvement within architectural discourse at the time.

¹³⁰ P. Rogers, 'Books Subscriptions among the Augustans', in *Times Literary Supplement*, December 15 1972, pp1539-1540.

This aspect of display also applies to the buildings depicted in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Nearly all of the owners of houses and estates included in *Vitruvius Britannicus* subscribed to the publication, as did individuals to whom Campbell dedicated new designs. However, of 299 subscribers to Volume One only 21 can be identified as owners representing 7% of the total, and a further four subscribers had designs dedicated to them. In the subsequent volumes the number of owner-subscribers does decrease slightly to 5.3% and 5.5 %. Only one owner, Sir John Maynard of Gunnersbury, can be identified as not subscribing to the first volume, three owners are missing from the subscription list for Volume Two, Thomas Gage, Waller, and the Earl of Melville, and two, Thomas Duncombe and Sir Andrew Fontaine, from that of Volume Three. Out of the new designs dedicated to individuals in the second volume only one person, Tobias Jenkyns, is absent. Thus, although nearly all of the individuals who had houses engraved or plates dedicated to them did subscribe to the volumes, the fact that so many more subscribers were also attracted to the publication demonstrates that the appeal of *Vitruvius Britannicus* went much further than the pleasure of seeing one's own house in print. This wider appeal is reflected in the range of subscribers in the lists which include scientists and medical men such as William Jones, and Hans Sloane, also physicians such as John Allen, Samuel Garth, Hugh Chamberlain, and David Hamilton. Men such as Brydges, Pulteney, Bathurst, and Edgcumbe who have been identified as regular book subscribers can also be found in the lists.¹³¹ Indeed, subscribers such as Sloane and Rawlinson were keen bibliophiles who could be expected to subscribe to a high quality publication such as *Vitruvius Britannicus*. These subscribers indicate that *Vitruvius Britannicus* was seen as participating in a much wider sphere of publication and general interest than has previously been suggested.

This analysis of the contents, and organisation of *Vitruvius Britannicus* and of the subscribers to the publication raises a number of issues in terms of the literature of the subject. Connor's analysis of the production costs of *Vitruvius Britannicus* compared with the selling price suggest that Campbell's volumes were eventually financially successful. The success of the publication can also be seen in the number of subscribers attracted in comparison with other subscription publications, in the attraction of new subscribers to each new list and also in the significant number of subscribers retained with the publication of each volume. *Vitruvius Britannicus* can therefore be considered as a successful publication. This is reinforced by subsequent editions, and continuations, and also by later publications which were clearly influenced by Campbell's volumes, thus justifying its consideration by historians. However, a

¹³¹ P. J. Wallis, *The Social Index A New Technique for Measuring Social Trends*, (Newcastle upon Tyne: University of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1978).

number of other issues are raised which question the treatment of the publication by architectural historians. First the difference in type of subscribers attracted to *Vitruvius Britannicus* in contrast with those to Leoni's publication and other works on European theory, suggesting that these publications appealed to different markets to Campbell's volumes. This questions the correlation made between Campbell's and Leoni's publications in subsequent histories of the period. Second the cross section of political inclinations represented in the lists for *Vitruvius Britannicus* contrasts with the widely held interpretation of it as a Whig publication. Finally, the emphasis upon *Vitruvius Britannicus* as a Palladian document does not relate to the stylistic diversity of the contents of the volumes. Other aspects such as the number of women subscribers and the wide appeal of the publication, the significance of the town house, and the relationship between the different types of representation suggest areas of study that have been neglected. The preceding analysis thus raises interesting questions about what has been prioritised and subordinated in previous histories of the subject, and suggests alternative areas for consideration.

3 Modern Interpretations of *Vitruvius Britannicus*

The eighteenth and nineteenth century publications relating to *Vitruvius Britannicus* privileged the idea of a national architectural survey, and although all of these focused upon Classical architecture, none contained any overtly stylistic comment. Following the publication of Volume Three the first three volumes of *Vitruvius Britannicus* went through reissues in 1731, and 1767.¹³² In 1733 William Adam was working on his *Vitruvius Scoticus*, primarily an architectural survey of Scotland, which was clearly conceived of in relation to Campbell's earlier work.¹³³ In 1739 Badeslade and Rocque produced a pendant to Campbell's volumes which also related to an idea of survey, being an essentially topographical work similar to that of *Britannia Illustrata*.¹³⁴ This emphasis on national survey in representations, and reinterpretations of Campbell's publication, was continued in Woolfe and Gandon's fourth and fifth volumes of *Vitruvius Britannicus* published in 1767 and 1771.¹³⁵ Their intention was to demonstrate the 'elegant and sumptuous buildings ... erected throughout Britain, [which would convince] ... the world and posterity, that architecture was brought to ... perfection in [the kingdom, and] ... surpassed ... contemporaries of every other country'.¹³⁶ In 1801 Richardson published the *New Vitruvius Britannicus* which again retained a survey content. After this date no work on or relating to *Vitruvius Britannicus* was produced until the twentieth century. However, following the relative silence in the nineteenth century, considerations of it in the twentieth century have ascribed considerable importance to the publication.¹³⁷

¹³² Harris and Savage date this edition at 1751. E. Harris, and N. Savage, *British Architectural Books and Writers 1556-1785*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

¹³³ W. Adams, *Vitruvius Scoticus; being a collection of plans, elevations and sections of public buildings, noblemen's and gentlemen's houses in Scotland: principally from ... designs of ... W. Adams* (Edinburgh: A. Black, c.1780).

¹³⁴ J. Badeslade, J. Rocque, *Vitruvius Britannicus Volume the Fourth, a Collection of Plans, Elevations and Perspective Views, of the Royal Palaces, Noblemen and Gentlemen's Seats, in Great Britain*, (London: 1739). Harris and Savage observe that this fitted perfectly Bernard Adam's description of *Britannia Illustrata* and *Le nouveau théâtre* as a printseller's 'vehicle for disposing of topographical engravings issued over a considerable period of time by a number of publishers. E. Harris, and N. Savage, op. cit, p146. Quoting B. Adams, *London Illustrated*, (1998) p28.

¹³⁵ J. Woolfe, J. Gandon, *Vitruvius Britannicus or the British Architect. Containing plans, elevations and sections of the regular buildings both public and private in Great Britain*, (Vol. 4, London: Joseph Smith, 1767) and (Vol. 5, London, Joseph Smith, 1771).

¹³⁶ J. Woolfe, J Gandon, 1767, op cit, introduction.

¹³⁷ The shift away from previous interpretations which emphasised survey towards an idea of style and progress suggests the influence of nineteenth century historiography, particularly that of Hegel.

This chapter examines the key twentieth century writers that have considered *Vitruvius Britannicus* and traces the development of the central themes in their discussions. It demonstrates that while there have been dialogues within the literature of the subject, certain orthodoxies have become established within a methodology dominated by concern with style, origin, authorship and production considered from the perspective of a progressive 'Whig' history, thus emphasising revolutions, origins, political parties and key individuals, themes that relate to the historiographic issues discussed at the beginning of Chapter 2.

Colvin's latest edition of the *Biographical Dictionary of Architects* gives the standard historiography of *Vitruvius Britannicus*,¹³⁸ which sees Campbell as the propagandist of the Palladian movement in architecture and *Vitruvius Britannicus* as 'ostensibly a representative collection of plates of modern British architecture both public and private, [which] became partly an advertisement for Campbell himself and partly a means of advocating the "Antique Simplicity" represented by Palladianism'.¹³⁹ It thus privileges *Vitruvius Britannicus* as a document in the development of Palladian style. Given the standardised nature of twentieth century commentaries on *Vitruvius Britannicus* I shall outline in some detail the arguments put forward first by Summerson (1953) and then Wittkower (1974). Since these two authors essentially set the tone, discussion of subsequent authors including John and Eileen Harris, Connor, Worsley, Rykwert, and Tavernor, will be restricted to noting the areas where their analysis supports themes put forward by Summerson and Wittkower, and drawing attention to any additional research findings that they make.

Summerson's seminal work *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830*¹⁴⁰ encompassed an enormous breadth of architectural knowledge and is still used as a standard text today, with the most recent edition published in 1989.¹⁴¹ His interpretation of Campbell's publication is based upon his examination of a specific 'Palladian Phase'¹⁴² in architecture. Although acknowledging that labels such as 'Palladian' are problematic,¹⁴³ Summerson compromises on their use in order to construct a linear narrative which identifies the origins of styles, to a certain extent necessitated by the broad time period covered in his book, which reflected the

¹³⁸ H. Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Artists 1600-1840*, (New Haven and London: 1995). pp. 209-212.

¹³⁹ Ibid. p. 209-212

¹⁴⁰ J. Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830* (London: Penguin, (1953) 1986). Referred to as 1986a.

¹⁴¹ J. Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830*, (9th edn.) (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, (1989)

¹⁴² Summerson dates this period to 'about the time that Blenheim was finishing and the Queen Anne churches were rising', J. Summerson, 1986a, op.cit., p319.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

publishing focus upon survey history.¹⁴⁴ Nevertheless, it has had considerable influence upon the way in which subsequent architectural historians have considered *Vitruvius Britannicus*.

Summerson identifies two principal characteristics of the 'Palladian Phase' which have become a recurring motif in subsequent work. Firstly, its unequivocal difference to the Baroque of Wren, Vanbrugh and Hawksmoor.¹⁴⁵ Secondly, its association with the 'second generation of the Whig aristocracy',¹⁴⁶ and an account based on a political map of the decade that unequivocally differentiates between Tory and Whig interests.¹⁴⁷ Summerson sees the third Earl of Shaftesbury as spokesman for this generation of Whigs, an interpretation based upon his *Letter Concerning the Art, or Science of Design*, written in 1712, which he sees as a key document in the reaction against Wren and the Baroque¹⁴⁸ and which he positions in a continuous line of development leading eventually to Burlingtonian Palladianism. This is also the basis for his reading of *Vitruvius Britannicus* as a founding publication of Palladian style, alongside Leoni's translation of Palladio¹⁴⁹ which has since become central to the majority of texts relating to Palladian (or Neo Palladian) architecture.¹⁵⁰ The key aspect of Summerson's thesis is that 'These two books have certain things in common. Both are dedicated to George I and thus stamped as Whiggish products. Further, both evince the same distinct architectural loyalties - namely, to Palladio and Inigo Jones as the two modern masters to whom the British architect is to look for guidance'.¹⁵¹ In fact this view depends upon a reading of *Vitruvius Britannicus* as definitively Whig and anti-Baroque, which section 2.2 has shown to be problematic in terms of the actual contents of the volumes.

¹⁴⁴ Summerson's text was part of the Pelican History of Art series edited by Nikolaus Pevsner which was to provide a world history of art in forty-eight volumes. See 'Pelican World History of Art', *Architects Review* CXIV, 1953, p286

¹⁴⁵ J. Summerson, 1986a op cit, p319.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid, p361.

¹⁴⁷ The view of the political terrain of the early Eighteenth Century as marked by periods of absolute Whig party ascendancy has been criticised by L. Colley, *In Defiance of Oligarchy: The Tory Party 1714-60*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

¹⁴⁸ This was printed in Shaftesbury's *Second Characters*, the first edition of which was 1714 John Darby, London. However, whether this edition actually did contain the letter is questionable. The date of 1732 is in general acceptance for the standard inclusion of the *Letter* in this work. K. Downes 'The Publication of Shaftesbury's Letter Concerning Design' in *Architectural History*, Vol. 27, 1984, pp519-523.

¹⁴⁹ J. Summerson, 1986a, op cit, p320.

¹⁵⁰ J. Summerson, 1986a, op cit, p320. Eileen Harris disagrees with this idea in her article in E. Harris 1986 op cit, pp340-346, which, as we shall see later, firmly emphasises the rivalry between the two publications.

¹⁵¹ J. Summerson, 1986a, op cit, p320.

Wittkower retains Summerson's idea of the absolute dating of the period of rupture which announced the 'arrival' of Neo-Palladianism,¹⁵² and the role of *Vitruvius Britannicus* in this,¹⁵³ together with the relationship between Campbell's and Leoni's publications as part of this revival,¹⁵⁴ the equation with the progress of intellectual 'reason' applied to architecture, and the absolute antipathy between Palladianism and that which preceded it. Central to his idea of revival of theory is the notion of a theoretical black hole in the seventeenth century.¹⁵⁵ Wittkower argues that while Jones was aware of a Classical system, the Gothic architects, Wren, Vanbrugh, and Hawksmoor were 'empiricists and not interested in developing a positive and coherent theory of their own'.¹⁵⁶ This enables him to assert his notion of the Palladian revival instigated by Campbell, in competition with Leoni as a revival of intellectual input in English architectural thought. His dismissal of earlier publications is absolute,¹⁵⁷ enabling him to contrast this situation dramatically with his interpretation of the early years of the eighteenth century.¹⁵⁸

This interpretation of Palladianism is grounded in Italian Renaissance architectural theory, which he endows with an intellectual rigour lacking during the 'Baroque' period. This is illustrative of his approach to architectural history, which developed from a study of the philosophical and theoretical elements in Italian Classicism.¹⁵⁹ This background is apparent in his analysis of architectural theory, which maintains an Italian classical norm¹⁶⁰ significant in terms of the discussion in the opening section of Chapter 2. There is a distinct qualitative aspect in Wittkower's description of the complete rational system of Inigo Jones and Palladio as rediscovered in the eighteenth century, and the inaccurate, amateur, and intellectually unsophisticated ideas during the intervening years.¹⁶¹ He describes the Italian influence as 'a completely integrated, thoroughly digested classical style of architecture'.¹⁶² The frequent

¹⁵² Wittkower sees the first 'Palladian' phase to be that of Jones's work at the Stuart court.

¹⁵³ R. Wittkower, *Palladio and English Palladianism*, (London: Thames & Hudson: 1974), p100.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid, p79.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid, p78, p96.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid, p76.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid, p102.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid, p103.

¹⁵⁹ R. Wittkower, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism*, (W. Sussex: Academy Editions, (1949) 1998).

¹⁶⁰ R. Wittkower, 1974, op cit, p75.

¹⁶¹ 'After 1720 England witnessed a revolution in architectural thought that within the brief period of less than a decade completely superseded the eccentric individualism of such great architects as Vanbrugh and Hawksmoor and replaced it by an Italianate, strictly Neo-Palladian classicism - or better, by a combination of Palladio and Inigo Jones - a style that was deftly propagated at the expense of all other traditions. Its simplicity, reasonableness, and universal intelligibility seemed to predestine this style as the style of the progressive Whig party, as the style of what might be called Eighteenth Century British democracy.' Ibid, p78.

¹⁶² Ibid, p75.

association of the Baroque with words such as 'eclectic' as opposed to Palladian with 'reasonable', 'enlightened' and 'rational'¹⁶³ highlights not only the absolute differentiation between the rational and highly theoretical Palladian architecture and the Gothic, but also Wittkower's own position in terms of the privileging of a very particular notion of Italian classical theory. The development of a highly intellectual and theoretical approach is extremely important for Wittkower's idea of progress. It enables his work to fit into constructions of the eighteenth century and Enlightenment that stress the onward march of reason and rationality, and positions him fundamentally within a construction of Whig history.¹⁶⁴

Summerson and Wittkower establish the core ideas of *Vitruvius Britannicus* as concerned with Palladian style in opposition to the Baroque, and its status as an originating document in a history of Palladianism, which stresses authorship, politics and key players. Both writers express a Whig conception of history defined by Butterfield as 'the tendency ... to write on the side of Protestants and Whigs, to praise revolutions provided they have been successful, to emphasise certain principles of progress in the past and to produce a story which is the ratification if not the glorification of the present'.¹⁶⁵ The main faults of the Whig approach are that it results in an over-dramatisation of history¹⁶⁶ and frequently refers changes to particular political parties or to key individuals¹⁶⁷ as a consequence of the 'Whig historian's quest for origins'.¹⁶⁸

Subsequent writers on *Vitruvius Britannicus* have refined aspects of the argument but an essentially 'Whig' emphasis has remained a fundamental aspect of interpretations. The emphasis upon origins, progression and key players is particularly apparent in J. Harris's work which emphasises a stylistic history and a distinct 'Palladian' period with a progressive history and definite origins. Harris tightly defines the words 'Palladian' and 'Neo-Palladian'¹⁶⁹ and describes *Vitruvius Britannicus* as a 'beacon text' emphasising his view of it as a key to understanding the Palladian revolution. Like Wittkower, he sees *Vitruvius Britannicus* as instigating a revival of Jonesian classicism, and he frames Jones as the hero of

¹⁶³ Ibid, p16.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid, p96.

¹⁶⁵ H. Butterfield, *The Whig Interpretation of History*, (London: G Bell & Sons, (1931) 1968). p. v.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid, p34.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid, pp39-40.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid, pp42-3.

¹⁶⁹ 'Inigo Jones and John Webb were ... Palladians, in that they introduced the Palladian style into England ... whereas Colen Campbell and Richard Boyle, Third Earl of Burlington were Neo-Palladians, who were concerned to revive the architecture and art of Palladio, Scamozzi, Jones and Webb after a hiatus of fifty years.' J. Harris, *The Palladians*, (London: Trefoil, 1981), p11.

Palladianism,¹⁷⁰ describing a 'bleak' and 'gloomy' period after Jones's death.¹⁷¹ Harris explicitly refers to the role of *Vitruvius Britannicus* in disseminating an idea of Jones's work, highlighting the fact that from *Vitruvius Britannicus* onwards the Queen's House in particular, and other works by Jones, became central to Palladian discussions to the extent of being much distorted and over-publicised. In light of this he comments on Campbell's selectivity in excluding Raynham Hall, an important example of a country house influenced by Jones, regarding this as a surprising omission.¹⁷² In Harris's view Jones's architectural idiom is important in terms of the story of the development of Palladianism. Influences upon Jones other than those of Palladio are played down and incorporated into a linear narrative which traces Jones's development from 'eclectic transitional', to maturity, punctured by significant turning points. This method of reconciling the eclecticism of Jones's work within a narrative of stylistic progress is also used by Harris in his discussion of Campbell's work, in which he describes his development into 'a professional Neo-Palladian'.¹⁷³ These narrative devices of transition and maturity enable Harris to construct a progressive history of Palladian style, into which these two key players are made to fit. Such devices only become necessary in constructions of history focused upon clearly defined stylistic categories, and a progressive notion of development.

Harris's primary argument relating to *Vitruvius Britannicus* is the idea of a national 'Palladian' style, and he emphasises this by stressing Campbell's position as a Palladian architect. He describes Campbell and *Vitruvius Britannicus* as the '*fountain-head of Neo-Palladian proper*', (my italics)¹⁷⁴ and treats the contents of the publication as surprisingly unproblematic in the light of his assertion of Palladian content,¹⁷⁵ concluding that *Vitruvius Britannicus* was designed to propagandise a revolution in architectural taste and to promote Campbell within it.¹⁷⁶ It marks 'the beginning of the Palladian revival', along with Giacomo Leoni's *Quattro Libri*, 'another beacon that announced the new style'.¹⁷⁷ His thesis is that the conversion to a national 'Palladian' taste was absolute, to the extent that Vanbrugh is seen as 'bending with the prevailing wind', rather than simply responding to it as part of a normal individual's architectural development. Harris uses the telling metaphor of a Palladian tide

¹⁷⁰ Jones is characterised as ambitious to 'excel in architecture and to re-interpret Palladio', Ibid, p12.

¹⁷¹ Ibid, p15.

¹⁷² Ibid, p12.

¹⁷³ Within this Harris suggests that William Benson may have been an important factor in Campbell's move from lawyer to architect of the new style, again a speculation which suggests a concern with origins, catalysts, and absolute historical factors.

¹⁷⁴ J. Harris, 1981, op. cit, p16.

¹⁷⁵ J. Harris 'The Country House on Display' in *The Architecture of Colen Campbell*, ed. by H. Stutchbury, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1967), p.vi.

¹⁷⁶ J. Harris, 1981, op cit, p12.

that clearly grounds his methodology in the idea of progress in architectural style. In support of his thesis of *Vitruvius Britannicus* ushering in Neo-Palladianism, Harris traces a gradual period of development with a number of people interested in Palladio. These include the Scottish architect James Smith, William Benson, Dean Aldrich, and George Clarke at Oxford. He sees Campbell as recognising that this was his main chance as an aspiring architect.¹⁷⁸ Harris refers to 'the Campbellian, Burlingtonian gospel', and to a 'Palladian triumvirate' including Henry Herbert, 9th Earl of Pembroke.¹⁷⁹ Thus his thesis is dependent upon identifying key moments and figures in the development of Palladian style. In presenting these arguments Harris relies heavily upon historical speculation, and absorbs stylistic diversity in the architecture and the publications discussed into a narrative continuum.

The paradigm of Whig architectural history prioritises interest in progressive periodisation linked to definite origins of style, categorisation and political history. These are the key themes in the historiography of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Other historians have retained Summerson's and Wittkower's emphasis upon *Vitruvius Britannicus* together with Leoni's *Palladio*, as a pivotal text in the development of the favoured Whig style of Palladianism, the first spokesman for which was Shaftesbury. This has been positioned in absolute opposition to a Baroque style favoured by Tories. Additionally, the publication has been interpreted as on the one hand a vehicle for Campbell's own advancement and on the other a pattern book used by other architects and patrons. This raises other issues in terms of the relationship between publications and architectural practice which will be considered later in this chapter.

The notion of *Vitruvius Britannicus* as a pivotal text in Palladian style can be traced in Connor, Rykwert, E. Harris, Tavernor and Worsley. Connor examines the volumes of *Vitruvius Britannicus* in much greater physical detail than other writers, and his research is an important source of documentary information about the publication, alongside Stutchbury's *Architecture of Colen Campbell*¹⁸⁰ and Breman and Addis's *Guide to Vitruvius Britannicus*.¹⁸¹ However, much of his work still draws heavily upon a construction of *Vitruvius Britannicus* within a framework of Palladianism. Consequently, while significant in examining the content and process of publication of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, his work reiterates a stylistic argument that stresses origin, and the role of the publication in asserting an architectural programme, reinforcing the reading of *Vitruvius Britannicus* as 'the manifesto

¹⁷⁷ Ibid, p16, p17.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid, p12.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid, p37.

¹⁸⁰ J. Harris, 'The Country House on Display' in H. Stutchbury, op cit, p.vii.

¹⁸¹ P. Breman, D. Addis, *Guide to Vitruvius Britannicus*, (New York: Benjamin Blom Inc., 1972).

of English Palladianism'.¹⁸² Connor privileges a progressive history of style, highlighting the rupture between the 'Palladian' and the 'Baroque', and tracing an emerging Palladian stylistic consciousness prior to *Vitruvius Britannicus*,¹⁸³ citing in support Roger North's unpublished treatise, John James's letter to the Duke of Buckingham of 1711, Shaftesbury's *Letter Concerning Design*, together with burgeoning interest in Palladianism at the University of Oxford, as evidence of an interest in a new Palladian style.¹⁸⁴ He sees these as 'isolated criticism,' but this privately circulated, isolated criticism is problematic evidence for his comprehensive interpretation of *Vitruvius Britannicus* as part of a Palladian consciousness, particularly as Campbell is not directly linked to any of the key exponents of such ideas. This stylistic interpretation of Campbell's publication is also retained in Rykwert's work which sees *Vitruvius Britannicus* as signalling a radical change in architecture.¹⁸⁵ He also reiterates an absolute distinction between Baroque and Palladian, and depends upon a system of stylistic labels to the extent that his discussion of a 'High Tory Gothic-Baroque' is an example of a label so categorised as to become meaningless.¹⁸⁶

E. Harris's critique of Campbell's role in histories of the publication does not reject the Palladian paradigm. She argues that Campbell's position changed in June 1714, when he moved from architectural draughtsman to author, through the provision of a polemical introduction, an explanation of all the plates, and eighteen plates of his own unexecuted designs.¹⁸⁷ Harris sees this as a conscious decision to introduce a Palladian agenda, thus reintegrating *Vitruvius Britannicus* within the established Palladian narrative. She also retains the idea of a conceptual unity between *Vitruvius Britannicus* and Leoni's *Palladio*, although constructing a narrative of direct competition, rather than a shared idealistic project, and the commercial potential of a Palladian publication, rather than self-consciously idealistic attempts to establish a Palladian style.

There is some ambiguity between Harris's dismissal of 'stirrings in the architectural world in isolated college buildings in Oxford', and her reference to Campbell capitalising on a surge of interest in Palladianism in order to push for a reform of British taste.¹⁸⁸ Her construction of the commercial potential of Palladianism depends upon a latent interest amongst the general

¹⁸² See T. P. Connor, 'The Making of *Vitruvius Britannicus*' in *Architectural History* 20, 1977, p14.

¹⁸³ Ibid, p15.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid, p19.

¹⁸⁵ J. Rykwert, *The First Moderns. The architects of the Eighteenth Century*, (Cambridge Mass. and London: MIT Press, 1980), p163.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid, p154.

¹⁸⁷ E. Harris, N. Savage, op cit, p141

¹⁸⁸ Ibid, pp141-142.

public, ready for exploitation. To recognise the threat Harris suggests was posed by Leoni's publication, it would have had to be apparent that Palladianism would meet with considerable interest. Harris does not examine why there may have been such interest, instead reiterating a progressive view without providing any specific evidence.

Progressive stylistic history is also apparent in Tavernor's discussion of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Rather than rigorous theoretical writing by Campbell, Tavernor identifies an implicit Palladian theme in the opinion expressed both in text and in the choice and descriptions of images.¹⁸⁹ Nevertheless, he sees Campbell as using *Vitruvius Britannicus* as 'a stick with which to beat the Baroque "excesses" of Wren and High Church Toryism, and [decry] the influence of Bernini and Gibbs's Italian mentor Carlo Fontana',¹⁹⁰ maintaining a stylistic consideration of *Vitruvius Britannicus* which emphasises separation between Tory Baroque and (Whig) Palladianism.

The most significant critique of the idea of style within this body of writing is that by Worsley who claims that his work is an 'attempt to find a sense of order in seventeenth and eighteenth century British architecture ... [stemming] from a growing dissatisfaction with the conventional view of the period as it has been accepted since the 1950s'.¹⁹¹ He highlights the fundamentally progressive approach taken by architectural historians claiming that 'the teleological assumptions of architects and critics ... that architecture is leading towards a certain goal ... have distorted our understanding of architectural history'.¹⁹² Instead, he proposes a methodology that recognises a number of coexistent approaches to architecture, rather than a sequential arrangement of single dominant styles.¹⁹³ Despite focusing on Palladianism, Worsley warns against seeing it as a monolithic style. Although questioning the emphasis upon sequence of styles, and the use of stylistic labels, he relies upon these in his own work. For example, he observes that 'A concise definition of the Baroque is almost impossible, partly because, like Palladianism, it encompasses a number of different strands. [But] Put most simply, *it is the reverse of the sense of Classical harmony found in Palladianism*' (my italics).¹⁹⁴ This demonstrates the extent to which Worsley still depends upon an idea of the antithesis between Baroque and Palladianism. He goes on to say, '... the

¹⁸⁹ R. Tavernor, *Palladio and Palladianism*, (London: Thames & Hudson, 1991), p152.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid, p152

¹⁹¹ G. Worsley, *Classical Architecture in Britain*, (New Haven and London, Paul Mellon/Yale University Press, 1995), p.xi.

¹⁹² Ibid, p.xi.

¹⁹³ However, Worsley goes on to say that his book 'concentrates on Palladianism because I believe that it was the dominant approach to architecture in Britain from about 1615 to the last decades of the C18'. Ibid, p.xi.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid, p71.

beliefs that lie behind [English Baroque] ... are so much the reverse of conventional Palladian thought that no study of English Palladianism can be complete without some assessment of ... the way in which it differs from the Palladian norm, not least because it forms the backdrop against which the dramatic rise of interest in Palladianism in the first two decades of the Eighteenth Century must be seen'.¹⁹⁵

Worsley aims to disprove the established idea of *Vitruvius Britannicus* as a founding force in English Palladianism. In recent years both he and Colvin have sought to emphasise 'Palladian' elements in the work of earlier architects such as Nicholas Hawksmoor.¹⁹⁶ He argues that Neo-Palladianism was not introduced by Colen Campbell, but can be found in the work of Talman, Vanbrugh, Hawksmoor and James, as well as 'among amateurs such as Dean Aldrich and George Clarke',¹⁹⁷ and that it was this 'growing interest that encouraged Campbell to recast *Vitruvius Britannicus* as a specifically Palladian work'.¹⁹⁸ However, he argues that *Vitruvius Britannicus* did not suggest a specific form of British Palladianism, and indeed, this was not established until the later work of Campbell and Burlington in the 1720s. Worsley identifies Vanbrugh as holding an important position in all of the volumes of *Vitruvius Britannicus*,¹⁹⁹ and unlike other writers engages with this content, claiming that this 'is only surprising if Campbell and Vanbrugh's work is artificially divided as "Palladian" and "Baroque", when in fact by 1715 Vanbrugh's style expressed similar concerns to Campbell'.²⁰⁰ Worsley questions the traditional interpretation of Campbell's introduction as an attack on the 'Baroque' architecture of Vanbrugh, Hawksmoor, and Wren,²⁰¹ instead seeing much of the criticism that has been interpreted as generally anti-Baroque as actually directed more specifically at James Gibbs. He also challenges the contemporary influence of *Vitruvius Britannicus*,²⁰² arguing that Campbell's introduction relies too heavily upon Fréart de Chambray's *Parrallèle de l'architecture* to be credited with any originality and, by implication, any new Palladian influence. However, despite raising questions about the

¹⁹⁵ Ibid, p71.

¹⁹⁶ See for example H. M. Colvin, 'A Scottish Origin for English Palladianism' in *Architectural History*, Vol. 17, 1974, pp. 5-13. G. Worsley 'Nicholas Hawksmoor: a pioneer neo-Palladian?', in *Architectural History* Vol. 33, 1990, pp. 60-74, p61.

¹⁹⁷ Worsley also later notes that even Wren was influenced by Jones and Webb. G. Worsley, 1995, op cit, p37.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid, p.xiii.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid, p.xiii.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid, p98.

²⁰⁰ Ibid, p99.

²⁰¹ 'This interpretation is largely the result of it being read in the light of Shaftesbury's attack on Wren - with whom Vanbrugh and Hawksmoor were closely associated - in 1712 But, as has been seen, Campbell was fulsome in his praise of Vanbrugh and made not the slightest criticism of Hawksmoor; nor did he criticise Wren or even Thomas Archer, despite the extravagance of his Roehampton design'. Ibid, p102.

division of these two styles in previous work, these critiques have had little real impact upon the way the two aspects of classicism are considered. Although problematising the fact that some 'Baroque' architects used 'Palladian' motifs, it retains a search for origins within architectural history. Rather than questioning the use of two arbitrary categories defining classicism, it questions the dates of origin of each of these categories. Consequently, it does not fundamentally alter the historiographic approach to eighteenth century architecture.

Worsley outlines the standard view of Palladianism in Britain developed in the works already considered²⁰³ while also challenging some of these ideas. His summative statement is significant in introducing a critique of the historiography of the publication while maintaining an essentially stylistic outlook:

'With hindsight, *Vitruvius Britannicus* achieved a canonical position in the history of English Palladianism, but it is not a position that survives examination of the first two volumes. Campbell was only one among a whole series of architects and patrons in the first two decades of the eighteenth century who were advancing the cause of a more rigorous Classicism, specifically one inspired by Palladio ... Lord Shaftesbury's rather conventional call in 1712 for an architecture "founded in truth and nature" and "independent of fancy" can also be seen in this light ... [This] movement can be seen as moving towards Neo-Palladianism, but this was a style that would only coalesce in the next decade.'²⁰⁴

Worsley's description of Shaftesbury's 'rather conventional call' challenges another core idea in histories of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, the 'Whig' political view, grounded in a discussion of Shaftesbury. This view is maintained by J. Harris who does not explicitly refer to Shaftesbury's discussion of national taste, but is influenced by Summerson's understanding of the *Letter*. Harris's emphasis upon *Vitruvius Britannicus* within the history of Palladianism as a founding document of the 'new taste', although no longer explicitly stamping it as a 'Whig' product, suggests Whig overtones through association with Shaftesbury. In contrast Connor specifically repudiates the association of Palladianism with Whiggism,²⁰⁵ as does Rykwert.²⁰⁶ However, Rykwert appears to contradict this in his observation that 'the

²⁰² Ibid, p95.

²⁰³ Ibid, p.vii.

²⁰⁴ Ibid, p103.

²⁰⁵ '... the bulk of Campbell's material ... had been prepared before Queen Anne died, and the seeds of all the ideas which Campbell was to proclaim had been sown in the Stuart era. It is therefore unwise to seek too close a link between the new Hanoverian dynasty, with its accompanying reinstatement of Whig politicians, and the revival of Palladian architecture. After 1715 Whiggism became the only possible creed for anyone with no means independent of politics; [and] ... Sir Richard Child, the builder of Wanstead, was and remained a Tory ... Campbell's dedication of his book to the King was an astute commercial move and little else ...'. T. P. Connor, op cit, p25.

²⁰⁶ J. Rykwert, op cit, p154.

Hanoverian George I was to be dominated by his entourage of Whig lords, whose Venetian sympathies were to be such a dominant factor in the formation of eighteenth century taste in Britain ...'.²⁰⁷ Although attempting to dissociate Palladianism from a 'Whig' interpretation, Rykwert still sees the dynastic changes at the beginning of the eighteenth century as a defining moment in the history of Palladian style. However, he argues that Campbell's project originated prior to George I's ascendancy, claiming that 'At the dynastic change of ministry Campbell must have been collecting material for his major enterprise, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, for some time (my italics)', and that 'The engraved title page of the 1st volume is followed by a most elaborately flourished dedication worded in a strangely Stuart style'.²⁰⁸ Given his assertion of a shift in taste with the new dynasty, this implies a distinction between the initial motivating principles behind the production of *Vitruvius Britannicus* and its reception during the new dynasty, highlighting the need for a more integrated consideration of production and consumption.

While not explicitly stating that Palladianism was a Whig style, Tavernor couches his discussion within party terms,²⁰⁹ claiming that Campbell himself was a Whig. The evidence for this assertion is not presented and one can only assume that it is based upon a received notion of Campbell in opposition to the Catholic, Jacobite, Tory Gibbs.²¹⁰ Like Rykwert, Tavernor describes the dawn of a new age associated with the Hanoverian Monarch George I,²¹¹ and suggests a particular Whig "world view", 'associated with City merchants and with an aristocratic oligarchy who together were to be responsible for a new era of prosperity'.²¹² Tavernor sees the plea for a new direction in British architecture as relating to Shaftesbury's call for a move away from the style of the 'Court-Architect'. However, his assertion does not necessarily assume familiarity with Shaftesbury on Campbell's part, although it could be argued that this is implied, but simply points to a sympathy of feeling between these two works written within a few years of each other. Tavernor continues the emphasis on Palladianism as reflecting a particular party view, albeit one that references socio-economic factors rather than political ideology.

These are the dominant interpretations of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. While there has been no fundamentally new analysis some of the work outlined raises additional issues. For example Connor suggests another area of consideration in his allusion to Campbell's commercial

²⁰⁷ Ibid, p98.

²⁰⁸ Ibid, p164.

²⁰⁹ R. Tavernor, op cit, p151.

²¹⁰ Ibid, pp152-153.

²¹¹ Ibid, p152.

decision to incorporate a range of styles in *Vitruvius Britannicus*.²¹³ He sees the inclusion of public buildings and churches as related to this, countering the previous emphasis upon country houses. Another development is Rykwert's argument that *Vitruvius Britannicus* was not a treatise in the accepted sense, which reinforces my analysis of the difference between *Vitruvius Britannicus* and Italian architectural publications.²¹⁴

To a limited extent Wittkower, Connor and E. Harris place *Vitruvius Britannicus* within a network of discourses around publication. However, they have focused primarily upon production. In contrast Archer argues for an integrated social consideration of publication²¹⁵ focused upon consumption,²¹⁶ identifying different classes of architectural publication²¹⁷ stratified in terms of the level of theory elucidated. Archer differentiates between 'general' treatises of architecture and treatises on the orders.²¹⁸ *Vitruvius Britannicus* does not, however, sit comfortably within any of his definitions. Despite the fact that it is seen as part of the same genre of writing as Palladio, Vitruvius etc., it is neither a complete exposition of a general theory of architecture, of the type found in Vitruvius or Alberti, nor does it treat of the orders in any explicit sense. Archer however, categorises *Vitruvius Britannicus* as an elegant folio dealing with aesthetic theory rather than practice,²¹⁹ which may offer another way in which to consider Campbell's publication. Italian treatises do incorporate a degree of aesthetic theory, and *Vitruvius Britannicus* could be considered as operating within aesthetic theory rather than architectural theory, drawing upon an alternative paradigm within the category of 'general' treatises. This will be developed in detail in 4.2a and Chapter 6.

Despite his aim of illuminating the 'geographical and social contexts' for the publication of architectural material, Archer still places a significant emphasis upon chronology. His

²¹² Ibid, p153.

²¹³ T. P. Connor, op cit, p21. 'Possibly, ... [Campbell] realised that these drawings would be disseminated most widely if he could draw on the fame of architects such as Sir Christopher Wren or Vanbrugh, as well as on the popular desire for illustrations of such well-known buildings as St Paul's Cathedral or Buckingham House'. (Ibid, p16.)

²¹⁴ J. Rykwert, op cit, p165.

²¹⁵ J. Archer, *The Literature of Domestic Architecture*, (Cambridge Mass. and London, MIT Press, 1985), p3.

²¹⁶ He claims that his aim is to 'draw some conclusions about the different audiences to which various types of architectural treatises were directed. Altogether, this analysis will help illuminate the geographical, chronological, and social contexts in which architectural books appeared. Ibid, p3.

²¹⁷ Ibid, p20.

²¹⁸ 'The 'general' treatises, large folio volumes that appeared primarily in the first two-thirds of the Eighteenth Century, emulate such major Classical and Renaissance treatises as the *De Architectura* of Vitruvius, Serlio's *Architettura*, and Palladio's *Quattro libri* - works that were the principal sources of early Eighteenth Century British architect's knowledge of architecture. The more narrowly focused treatises on the orders were progeny of Renaissance as well as French Seventeenth Century publications. Ibid, p23.

arguments are often contradictory, for example, his assertion of *Vitruvius Britannicus* as a manifesto of Palladian theory is undermined by his argument for a lack of theoretical content in the publication. Much of Archer's difficulty stems from his terminology. He distinguishes between theoretical works and the category within which he places *Vitruvius Britannicus*, thus precluding any discussion of theoretical content in Campbell's work. His assertion of the publication as a manifesto then becomes problematic, in that he cannot tie it to a theoretical exposition of Palladianism. Nevertheless, the development of a social history of architectural publication does suggest a number of areas for research.

Another new strand is recognition of the degree of survey in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. J. Harris accounts for the inclusion of 'Baroque' architects within a publication intended to introduce an alternative taste in architecture by stressing the importance of appearing to produce a representative national survey,²²⁰ thus making a connection between instigating a new national style and producing a survey of national architecture. Implicit within this is the idea that Campbell created a platform for contemporary national achievement, which has considerable resonance in terms of the content of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, but this is not developed. Similarly, Tavernor implicitly suggests an interpretation of the publication in terms of national survey.²²¹

'St Paul's was a worthy challenger to Rome's St Peter's, in size and magnificence, but in Campbell's view the use of classicism in both designs was flawed. He believed himself to be the key to the future, and by placing engravings of these two cathedrals alongside his own project for a great new London church, and his own designs for Wanstead House in the company of Jones, Talman, Vanbrugh and Hawksmoor, he stresses the heritage which the British could proudly proclaim their own, while drawing attention to his own special talents and aspirations.'²²²

Tavernor points to a socio-economic basis from which one can examine the appeal of *Vitruvius Britannicus* and, by implication, suggests a new direction for an analysis that focuses on consumption. His summary observation highlights a number of other areas that are important in any study of the work. 'Campbell's ... own efforts in architecture and architectural publishing set new standards which galvanised aristocrats, landed gentlemen, and city professionals to build on the classical heritage of Britain.'²²³ Given his own project

²¹⁹ Ibid, p20.

²²⁰ J. Harris, 1981, op cit, p12.

²²¹ R. Tavernor, op cit, p152-153.

²²² Ibid, p152-153

²²³ Ibid, p156.

in writing *Palladio and Palladianism*, Tavernor does not expand upon these, but in pointing to them suggests further areas of analysis.

Although some new avenues are suggested by the work of Rykwert, Archer, Tavernor, and Worsley, important continuities are retained, and much of this work is refinement of previous studies rather than systematic critique of the discipline and its methodological models. *Vitruvius Britannicus* has achieved a canonical position in terms of architectural histories considering the eighteenth century, which have privileged style and a progressive history structured around a search for origins. In addition to discussions of style, origin and political world view there are a number of other problematic issues in this literature which I will now consider.

While sections 2.2a and 2.3 demonstrated that a politically partisan interpretation of *Vitruvius Britannicus* is difficult to maintain from the evidence of the subscription lists, the frequent association with Shaftesbury and a party political view has been cited. In addition to the evidence of the subscription lists this view is further problematised by the fact that Shaftesbury is more likely to have been connected to an Irish faction, rather than to a Burlingtonian view not at that time expressed.²²⁴ Furthermore, arguments relating Shaftesbury's *Letter* to a wider demand for reform depend upon public awareness of the letter at an early date which Downes has shown to be problematic.²²⁵ Chapter 2 also demonstrated that the pairing of Leoni's and Campbell's publications cannot be justified in terms of parity of subscribers or interpretation of content other than within stylistic interpretations of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. The prevalence of this idea in the writers outlined further supports the predominance of a stylistic approach to the subject.

This approach has created a specific problem for historians of *Vitruvius Britannicus* in reconciling a Palladian interpretation with the diverse nature of the contents of the volumes outlined in 2.2. Summerson constructs a complex argument emphasising Campbell's Palladian credentials and the role of *Vitruvius Britannicus* as a vehicle for self-promotion,

²²⁴ E McParland 'Sir Thomas Hewett and the New Junta for Architecture' paper given at the 1993 Georgian Group symposium (The Role of the Amateur Architect). McParland has convincingly argued that Shaftesbury had close links with a Irish architectural junta that was in fact in opposition to the 'Burlingtonian Palladianism' with which Shaftesbury is usually associated. McParland also argues that Shaftesbury was distinctly anti-Jones, which, given Campbell's advocacy of the Stuart architect renders the simple pairing of Shaftesbury's idea with those of Campbell problematic.

²²⁵ K. Downes, 'The Publication of Shaftesbury's Letter Concerning Design' in *Architectural History*, Vol. 27, 1984, pp. 519-523, concludes that not only the readers of the 1st, 3rd, and 4th editions but also some 85% of readers of the 1714 edition did not have the opportunity to read the Letter in print and its contents may not have been widely known until the 1730s. (p521)

arguing that, while not all the plates were strictly Palladian, Campbell's Palladian works were placed at strategically important points. He thus manoeuvres out of the cul-de-sac of stylistic diversity by focusing instead upon a few 'Palladian' plates that he argues were the 'psychological summit' of *Vitruvius Britannicus*.²²⁶ Campbell's architectural style has also proved problematic. A number of writers have considered the illustrations published in *Vitruvius Britannicus* at an early stage in Campbell's career, with hindsight, from the perspective of his later more Palladian style of architecture. This has led to an emphasis upon the Palladian aspects of Campbell's designs in *Vitruvius Britannicus* over and above other elements. His stylistic diversity is frequently played down and the contradiction between Campbell as the supposed exponent of Palladianism in 1715, and his stylistic eclecticism at that date, is sidelined. This can be seen in the work of both Summerson and Wittkower and also J. Harris who interprets *Vitruvius Britannicus* as a vehicle through which Campbell could promote Palladian style, while observing that Campbell's designs for the Commission for Building Fifty New Churches in 1711, rather than being Palladian, were 'Wrennish'.²²⁷ The problem in terms of Harris's thesis is that Campbell plots his Neo-Palladian publication, while his own designs at the time do not appear to show any evidence of such a Neo-Palladian agenda. To counter this Harris reiterates the argument for the positioning of Wanstead at the psychological summit of the publication, and like Summerson and Wittkower argues that the Palladian emphasis of *Vitruvius Britannicus* was created through the organisation of the plates, primarily those of Campbell's own designs. However, such subtle suggestion, if we accept it as true, lessens Harris's idea of *Vitruvius Britannicus* as a revolutionary text in the Palladian revival.

Connor's work further highlights the difficulty in the lack of clear stylistic leanings in Campbell's work at this period. He notes that 'Campbell's own earliest designs do not show much awareness of these ideas, and for some years to come his designs and executed buildings continue to show stylistic uncertainty'.²²⁸ He argues that '*Vitruvius Britannicus* was produced at a time when Campbell's stylistic certainties were very newly acquired and the inconsistencies in the book's contents show that he had not yet worked out their full consequences'.²²⁹ Other writers have tried to explain these inconsistencies, E. Harris by isolating two distinct strands in the development of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, and Tavernor by accounting for the 'Baroque' content as a demonstration of Campbell's diplomacy and

²²⁶ J. Summerson, 1986a, op cit, pp. 321-322.

²²⁷ J. Harris, 1981, op cit, p12.

²²⁸ T. P. Connor, op cit, p16.

²²⁹ Ibid. p21.

balance in praising British architects.²³⁰ All of these complex manoeuvres are necessitated by the essential contradiction between the actual contents of *Vitruvius Britannicus* and the predominance of stylistic architectural history on the subject. The ‘inconsistencies’ are only apparent within a framework that interprets *Vitruvius Britannicus* as a Palladian manifesto, and cease to be so if *Vitruvius Britannicus* is considered as relating more to national survey than national style.

A related problem is the content of the third volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus* published in 1725, and frequently considered as a separate publication, epitomised in the work of both Harrises. One reason why historians have failed to engage with the content of the third volume is summarised in Harris’s argument that it ‘should not be judged as an active part of the author’s Palladian programme’. The essential problem with the content of Volume Three is that it fails to fit into an interpretation centred on the assertion of Palladian architecture, and as such cannot be dealt with effectively within the framework of such arguments. The historiography of *Vitruvius Britannicus* centres on an assertion of Palladianism focused almost entirely upon the content of the first volume, with the second being drawn upon occasionally, unproblematically, as supplementary evidence. The third is excluded, apparently justified by the time lapse between the publication of the second and third volumes. However, the difference between the third volume and the preceding volumes needs to be examined rather than sidelined.

Interpretations of *Vitruvius Britannicus* frequently consider limited aspects of the publication, in order to maintain arguments contradicted by the contents. For example, Connor focuses his analysis on Campbell’s introduction, which he interprets as arguing for a ‘National taste,’ despite noting that Campbell says nothing explicitly about how English architecture ought to develop in the future’,²³¹ and highlighting the cursory nature of Campbell’s stylistic discussion.²³² Connor’s recognition that Campbell does not indicate specifically the way in which English architecture should develop, or elaborate the principal arguments of his introduction,²³³ makes his assertion of *Vitruvius Britannicus* as a Palladian manifesto problematic in contradicting the standard understanding of a manifesto as a public declaration of a programme or support for a programme.²³⁴

²³⁰ Ibid. p153.

²³¹ T. P. Connor, op cit, p19.

²³² ‘The introduction is short, and the two principal ideas, the attack on foreign style and the stress on native talents, are not elaborated. Ibid, p19.

²³³ Ibid, pp. 20-21.

²³⁴ J. Lyon, *Manifestoes. Provocations of the Modern*, (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1999).

The problematic interpretation of *Vitruvius Britannicus* as manifesto can also be traced in the examination of British publications co-authored by Eileen Harris and Nicholas Savage, in which Harris's essay on *Vitruvius Britannicus* is reprinted. In this Harris and Savage identify a number of key types of architectural publication,²³⁵ and *Vitruvius Britannicus* is seen as a book of designs defined as a 'picture book with no instructive purpose', and with limited text. If we place *Vitruvius Britannicus* within this genre the idea of a manifesto becomes problematic. Any programmatic publication places equal, if not greater importance on a statement of opinion, rather than just a demonstration of its principles in practice. This would suggest an important role for textual exegesis as well as, or even instead of, pictorial demonstration. Archer also considers the purpose of *Vitruvius Britannicus* as to redirect and reform taste;²³⁶ while noting that 'Campbell's remarks on architectural taste, which are mostly confined to the Introduction, are too brief, ambiguous, and self-contradictory to constitute a complete and comprehensive theoretical program'.²³⁷ Like Connor, there is a difficulty in asserting a definite programmatic content when many elements remain ambiguous. As with other writers Archer places a great emphasis upon a few points. His definition of *Vitruvius Britannicus* as a manifesto is almost totally dependent upon the content of the introduction and not on the publication as a whole, despite it being in his own words, 'ambiguous'.²³⁸ Archer sees the ambiguous nature of Campbell's introduction compensated in the remainder of the book by the plates and accompanying written descriptions. In fact, Campbell's descriptions contain very little stylistic comment, and the stylistic diversity of the plates does not express a particular visual principle. Nevertheless, most work on *Vitruvius Britannicus* has paid very little attention to the text, other than that of the introduction and, as a result, analysis of the pictorial content has been coloured by readings made of the introduction as a programmatic Palladian statement, leading to the prioritisation of 'Palladian' pictorial content over and above the 'Baroque', resulting in the problem of stylistic diversity discussed. A more integrated consideration of all of the text in *Vitruvius Britannicus* is needed to provide a more balanced understanding of the range of

²³⁵ 'There are two kinds of books of designs: one a record of the executed works of an architect; the other a collection of ideal designs, unsolicited and unexecuted Both are readily distinguishable from books containing designs as illustrations or examples of subjects treated in a text, such as architectural treatises, manuals, and books of orders. Unlike the latter ... pattern-books and books of designs are pure picture books with no instructive purpose and no text beyond the author or editor's introduction and a brief description of the plates.' E. Harris and N. Savage, op.cit. p32.

²³⁶ J. Archer, op cit, p244.

²³⁷ Ibid, p244.

²³⁸ When considering the remainder of the contents of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Archer encounters the problem of stylistic diversity already discussed. Ibid, p244. Again, this is the result of a dependence upon an interpretation of the Palladian assertion within *Vitruvius Britannicus*, and a subordination of other aspects of the history of the publication.

plates in the publication. In both section 4.2d and Chapter 6 demonstrate that the text is a significant aspect of understanding *Vitruvius Britannicus*.

The marginalisation of significant aspects of the text in order to reinforce a narrative of Palladian style can also be seen in the prioritisation of Palladio over and above Vitruvius in considerations of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Only Archer points to the assertion of the authority of Vitruvius in Campbell's work,²³⁹ emphasising the importance given to the study of architectural principles by Campbell, suggested in his urge to 'judge truly of the Merit of Things by the Strength of Reason'.²⁴⁰ Archer observes that 'Campbell called attention to Vitruvian, Palladian, and Jonesian elements in many of the designs he illustrated ...',²⁴¹ but this extremely important idea is not explicitly formulated in any of the other writings discussed. It points to a neglected question. Why, given the title, is *Vitruvius Britannicus* associated primarily with Palladio rather than Vitruvius? The answer lies in the importance of a Palladian narrative in the construction of a history of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, which has led to the subordination of other elements within the publication.

Tavernor suggests a shift in emphasis arguing that Campbell's style was not 'arch-Palladian', and highlighting the fact that 'Campbell was concerned that his design [for Mereworth] should not be seen as a mere copy [of the Rotunda] ...'.²⁴² He argues that Campbell was not concerned with the absolute assertion of Palladian style, but with an architecture based on a classical style seen not only in the work of Palladio, but also of Inigo Jones, who introduced a number of important variations from Palladio. Like Archer, Tavernor points to the importance of Vitruvian principles throughout the publication, and situates it within ideas taken from Vitruvius, Palladio, and Jones, with Campbell's own variation, positing a more problematic notion of the style and a more modulated account of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Nevertheless, his consideration of *Vitruvius Britannicus* is grounded in his topic of study, Palladio and Palladianism.

While not yet amounting to a paradigm shift it can be seen that the concept of style has been problematised in some of the later accounts outlined. However, interest in origin points to another aspect of the historiography of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, which has not been questioned, the predominant concern with authorship. Wittkower for example raises a specific problem of

²³⁹ 'Campbell's respect for Vitruvius, is, of course, apparent in the title of his book ... Campbell placed Vitruvian "Precepts" at the centre of his architectural aesthetic ...'. Ibid, p35.

²⁴⁰ C. Campbell, Vol. 1, 1715, Introduction.

²⁴¹ J. Archer, op cit, p34-35.

²⁴² R. Tavernor, op cit, , p161.

authorial intention in his argument that Leoni was probably in England hoping to cash in on the Palladian vogue just beginning to emerge in 1713,²⁴³ which stresses a self-consciousness on Leoni's part in instigating a Palladian revival, and, by implication a similar attitude by Campbell.²⁴⁴ Wittkower posits two key arguments. Firstly, that Campbell deliberately initiated a Neo-Palladian movement in England, and that this was the explicit and singular intention of his publication. Secondly, that this was the way in which it was read at the time, and has been read ever since. He endows *Vitruvius Britannicus* with programmatic intentions that enable him to assimilate his discussion to the idea of the publication as manifesto.²⁴⁵ Such arguments depend upon definite interpretations of authorial intentionality, a singular interpretation of the meaning inscribed in the publications, and Campbell's and Leoni's deliberate positioning of themselves within history, coupled with an explicit sense of posterity, all of which are extremely problematic hypotheses.

Barthes and other writers criticise the idea of authorship on the grounds that it is dependent upon a myth of the creative subject as the sole inscription of value and meaning.²⁴⁶ The importance of Campbell as an authorial figure in histories of *Vitruvius Britannicus* is grounded within these ideas. Histories of the publication have ranged from privileging him as the sovereign author, to eradicating his role in the production of the book. There has been a confused historical analysis of Campbell as author and Campbell as architect, with his 'Palladian' style of architecture seen as evidence for the 'Palladian' assertion of his text. This is a problematic formulation not only in its dependence upon an absolute definition of what constitutes 'Palladianism', and in having to resolve the fact that Campbell's architectural idiom is far from any definition of a 'pure' Palladian style, but also in its dependence upon a singular understanding of *Vitruvius Britannicus* inscribed by the author.

Connor identifies four distinct roles for Campbell in the production of *Vitruvius Britannicus*: '... He was the author of the text, he selected the plates to illustrate the book, and it was he who arranged the dedications to them. In addition to this he also helped to gather

²⁴³ R. Wittkower, 1974, op cit, p80.

²⁴⁴ Interestingly, although he relates Leoni's publication to Campbell's, Wittkower differs from Summerson and from several other writers in claiming that Leoni's *Palladio* appeared in instalments only after 1716, and that the date of 1715 on the title page is evidence that Leoni 'did not want to be preceded by Colin Campbell so that his own role as prime rejuvenator of British architecture would not be questioned by posterity. He almost succeeded'. Ibid, p80.

²⁴⁵ Ibid, p103.

²⁴⁶ See for example: M. Foucault, 'What is an Author?' in *Bulletin de la Société Française de Philosophie*, Vol. 63, N°. 3, 1969, pp. 115-138; R. Barthes, 'From Work to Text' (1971) in *Image, Music, Text*, Essays selected and translated by S. Heath, (London: Fontana, 1977).

subscriptions ... ²⁴⁷ Campbell is therefore clearly retained as the important figure in the established narrative of *Vitruvius Britannicus* and Palladianism. E Harris challenges this, seeing the conception for *Vitruvius Britannicus* originating with the publishers as an anonymous printsellers' survey, and Campbell as a later hired hand providing the desired Palladian emphasis, and consequently not mentioned in the proposals for publishing.²⁴⁸ However, there are a number of historiographic issues in her work. If as Harris argues, Campbell was involved with the execution of the project only at a later stage, does this discount his creative role? In fact, the organisation and system created through arrangement of material is a crucial aspect of the production of the work in terms of creating meaning, thus problematising the notion of a singular creative subject. Further complexities of authorship can be highlighted in terms of the status of *Vitruvius Britannicus* as a publication of designs by other people. Additionally, Harris's notion of authorship does not equate to the ideas that were contemporary to *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Feather observes that during the passage of the first Bill for the Act known as the 1710 Copyright Act, a series of references to authors' rights were removed,²⁴⁹ highlighting the fact that authors were subordinated in the eighteenth century book trade. This could provide one explanation of why Campbell is not named in the proposals for publishing *Vitruvius Britannicus* announced in the *Post Boy* on 1 June 1714 and in the *Daily Courant* on 25 June.

Harris's thesis remains an attempt to identify the supreme author (or authors) behind the conception of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, operating firmly within the traditional historiographic categories of authorship and a search for origins. In fact the myth of the creative subject and of original conception becomes a difficult notion to uphold both in terms of the reality of the publication system and the fluidity of individual reception. Her interpretation is also firmly entrenched in the idea of the stylistic origin of Palladianism. Although Harris's notion of development provides a possible explanation for the diverse contents within *Vitruvius Britannicus*, it still conforms to an hypothesis of the eventually published work as intended to be, and unproblematically received as, a Palladian publication. This Palladian assertion is

²⁴⁷ T. P. Connor, op cit, p18.

²⁴⁸ E. Harris, N. Savage, op cit, p139. Harris observes that 'To be commercially viable and successful *Vitruvius Britannicus* required the expertise of the print trade. There were three people with that kind of skill among the ten named in the proposals of June 1714 - Peter Dunoyer, Joseph Smith and Andrew Johnston. Any one of them, the first two especially, were better equipped to organize the work than Campbell and no less capable of choosing what buildings to illustrate or of combining traditional perspectives with architectural ground plans and elevations...' Ibid, p140.

²⁴⁹ J. Feather, *A History of British Publishing*, (New York and London: Routledge, 1988), p74.

seen to overshadow any earlier intention.²⁵⁰ Consequently, she depends upon traditional constructions within architectural histories of the period. While providing an excellent analysis of the relationship between *Vitruvius Britannicus* and publications anterior to it, and hinting at the idea of the commercial appeal of such publications, these aspects are subordinated in favour of an emphasis on the traditional reading of the work. However, it is important to note that Harris's project is to subvert the 'Campbellian' hegemony within histories of *Vitruvius Britannicus* and its relationship with Palladianism. Consequently, it is perhaps inevitable that the emphasis lies in this area as it is her point of engagement with other work on the subject.

Studies of *Vitruvius Britannicus* have consistently prioritised production over reception. Although E Harris offers some interesting ideas relating to the processes of production of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, the focus of her work is not upon it *as published* and to date there has been no consideration of consumption of *Vitruvius Britannicus* and how it was received and understood by its readers. The dismissal of the third volume points to another aspect of the literature of the subject, namely the focus upon original intention-origin within progressive histories, which does not create a space for development and change of a project over time or for the possibility of multiple understandings. Connor however recognises other possible readings and factors contributing to the popularity of the publication, such as public interest in contemporary architecture, and the enthusiasm of architects to publish their material.²⁵¹ While he does not develop his discussion of the market for *Vitruvius Britannicus*, it is important in suggesting the possibility of a multiple readership for the volumes. Although continuing within the body of ideas that consider *Vitruvius Britannicus* as a document in the history of Palladianism, the allusion to other ways of understanding it is influential in highlighting the commercial aspects of the publication and suggesting a reordering of discussion to look at consumption alongside production. Connor considers the influence of 'survey' publications such as *Theatrum Scotiae*²⁵² and *Britannia Illustrata*,²⁵³ upon *Vitruvius*

²⁵⁰ Harris and Savage observe that 'this ambitious print-seller's survey made up of predominantly Baroque buildings was transformed into an advanced Neo-Palladian work'. E. Harris, N. Savage, op cit, p 32.

²⁵¹ 'The publication of engravings of country houses satisfied a wide public whose interests, topographical, historical or architectural, led it to look at modern buildings. This took place at the same time as the interest of architects themselves in publishing was gaining momentum. A commercial opportunity existed here to be exploited by anyone who possessed the enterprise and resources. Capital was needed to carry through the making of the plates and other costs of publication. A sophisticated organization was also necessary to ensure that the book was widely publicized and would therefore sell well. With these advantages an astute businessman could make considerable profits by offering to architects the means of widening their reputation and to owners the delights of self-advertisement.' T. P. Connor, op cit, p15.

²⁵² J. Slezer, *Theatrum Scotiae*, (London: John Leake, 1693).

Britannicus and acknowledges that survey was one level upon which the publication was understood, but sees this as a failure on the part of the public to 'notice Campbell's other aims ...'.²⁵⁴ Thus, he does not fundamentally differ from other writers on *Vitruvius Britannicus* who have not considered the complex reception of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Reception is either seen as unproblematic reading of a Palladian meaning inscribed into the publication by Campbell, even while acknowledging the ambiguous nature of his stylistic comment, or as a fundamental misunderstanding of the 'real' meaning of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. This neglect is out of line with developments in related disciplines which acknowledge the complex and multiple readings of any work and the impossibility of fixing meaning, and value the insights gained from the range of meanings ascribed to a single work. Nevertheless, while not developing the idea Connor sees Campbell as deliberately massaging the contents of *Vitruvius Britannicus* to widen its appeal, suggesting a move away from the dominant discussion of production and inscription of meaning by the author to a consideration of the range of meanings that could be attached at the point of consumption.

In the same way that the approaches taken to *Vitruvius Britannicus* consider reception unproblematically, they also fail to acknowledge the complexity of the relationship between architectural images and building practice. Summerson argues *Vitruvius Britannicus* was understood as a pattern book for a Palladian typology of building,²⁵⁵ and sees its popularity as stemming from the ease with which the illustrations of buildings could be copied. Ascribing the importance of the publication in the history of Palladianism to the provision of a number of key 'Palladian' building types raises a methodological question. While the examples that Summerson cites did serve as models for later building practice, this did not become widespread until much later, as Summerson himself implies elsewhere.²⁵⁶ Thus, Summerson raises a teleological problem in viewing the later use of buildings illustrated in *Vitruvius Britannicus* by practising 'Palladian' architects as evidence for an initial 'Palladian' intention.

While Summerson uses literature purely as a source of building information, these avenues were developed by Wittkower's consideration of architectural literature in its own right,

²⁵³ L. Kip, & J. Knyff, *Britannia Illustrata*, (1707).

²⁵⁴ T. P. Connor, op cit, p14.

²⁵⁵ Summerson observes that 'It would be no exaggeration to say of Campbell that between the years 1715 and 1724 he set up the models upon which the whole of Palladianism in England was to develop.' J. Summerson, *The Architecture of the Eighteenth Century*, (London: Thames & Hudson, (1969) 1986), p333-334.

²⁵⁶ In his discussion of derivatives of Wanstead House, Summerson cites key examples none of which were built until the 1720s/30s. J. Summerson, 1986a, op cit, p324.

which does, to a certain extent, broaden discussion away from built examples.²⁵⁷ Wittkower specifically addresses the development of a genre of architectural literature associated with Palladianism,²⁵⁸ even saying that ‘without the history of the English editions of Palladio, the history of Neo-Classicism in English architecture cannot be written’.²⁵⁹ However, his interpretation is essentially based on his idea of the close association between Palladianism and literature as evidence of the intellectual rigour associated with the style as built, and so with a rational and enlightened ‘Whig’ outlook. Consequently, although considering architectural publications in their own right, he sees them as standing in an unproblematic relationship to built architecture.²⁶⁰ This has been continued in subsequent work on the subject which continues to discuss *Vitruvius Britannicus* as part of a documentary history of Palladianism, grounded in building practice, and treats the text as a source for comments on practice, rather than as an area of enquiry on its own terms.

Recent literature relating to architectural publications has signified a return to the document, and has highlighted the need for increasingly reliable translations of key works. Much of Tavernor’s work and indeed that of Rykwert, Hart and Hicks, has focused upon the publication of accurate translations with excellent supplementary detail. This has led to greater reliability in published accounts. These works do however, centre upon texts which are seen as seminal to an architectural history based upon Italianate models and upon classicism.²⁶¹ This thesis takes this return to the document as a starting point for a consideration of *Vitruvius Britannicus* in its own right, and in terms of content and reception rather than a grand narrative of style and progress.

²⁵⁷ R. Wittkower, 1974, op cit, p73.

²⁵⁸ Ibid, p95.

²⁵⁹ Ibid, p73.

²⁶⁰ ‘The beginning of the Georgian era saw an enormous building boom ... and general interest in architecture became passionate. The architectural books appeared in response to this passion and at the same time stimulated it’. R. Wittkower, 1974, op cit, p95.

²⁶¹. See for example: L. B. Alberti, Trans. J. Rykwert, N. Leach, R. Tavernor, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, (Cambridge, Mass. and London: MIT Press, 1988); V. Hart, P. Hicks, *Sebastiano Serlio on Architecture*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996); A. Palladio, Trans. R. Tavernor, R. Schofield, *Andrea Palladio The Four Books on Architecture*, (Cambridge Mass.: MIT Press, 1997). Much of this work is reflected in V. Hart, P. Hicks, P., 1998, op cit.

4 *Vitruvius Britannicus* and the tradition of architectural publication.

This chapter considers the nature of architectural publication prior to 1715 and the emergence of a distinct architectural discourse relating to architectural practice. It examines the nature of the texts, their language, and the emergence and use of illustration in architectural publication. Consideration of these texts will be divided into three key centres of publication. Firstly, developments in England, then Italy and France as the two European centres most relevant to *Vitruvius Britannicus*. The contribution made by other important publishing centres such as Antwerp or Amsterdam will not be dismissed. However, many of the works published in these centres were reprints of key texts from France, Italy, or England, or relate closely to ideas covered elsewhere. For example, Peter Paul Rubens's *I Palazzi di Genova* was published in Antwerp in 1622, but relates closely to the work of Du Cerceau, and the ideas explored in connection with that tradition as it developed in France. The texts considered are well known sources within architectural history and are used to demonstrate the different layers of meaning that can be developed from the same archive through the application of a range of methodologies.

There are clear paradigms in European architectural publications for the organisation of text and illustrations in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. This chapter examines the academic treatise and the architect's manual/sketchbook, together with architectural and topographical prints. It demonstrates the links between these models and *Vitruvius Britannicus*, but argues that there are key differences which suggest a different function for Campbell's volumes.

4.1 The tradition of architectural publications available to Campbell and his public.

The first English book specifically on the subject of architecture was John Shute's *The First and Chief Groundes of Architecture*.²⁶² This was published after Shute had travelled to Italy under the patronage of the Earl of Northumberland and owed much to earlier European architectural treatises such as those of Palladio and Serlio. The core subject of Shute's work

²⁶² J. Shute, *The first and Chiefe Groundes of Architecture*, (London: Thomas Marshe, (1563) Facs. 1964).

was the orders. By 1587 it had been through four editions, demonstrating that there was a demand in England for architectural publications on this subject.²⁶³

Henry Wotton's *Elements of Architecture*²⁶⁴ suggests another strain in English architectural publications, intended as much for the gentleman as the craftsman. Nevertheless, it was still largely indebted to Italian publications, continuing in the genre of handbook or treatise exemplified in the works of Vitruvius and Alberti. Indeed Wotton recognised that he was 'but a gatherer and disposer of other men's stuffe at ... [his] best value'.²⁶⁵ Vitruvius's ideas formed a core part of Wotton's work, which centred upon the Roman author's principles of order, arrangement, proportion, symmetry, decor and distribution. But, in addition to the elements of building, Wotton discussed the 'Scientificall way of Censuring' by which to assess whether a work was 'Commodious, Firme, and Delightfull ...'. The 'principal master' in this was Vitruvius but Wotton also referred to Vasari's 'running examination over the whole Edifice' in his *Worke of the lives of Architects*. Although Wotton does not expand upon the qualitative aspect of Vasari's writing his work demonstrates an awareness of Vasari's architectural comments in seventeenth century England, and the significance of this particular paradigm will be examined elsewhere in this chapter.²⁶⁶

²⁶³ This preoccupation with the orders can be traced throughout seventeenth century English architectural publications, for example, translations of Johannes Blum's *Quinque Columnarum* (Zurich 1550) were issued in 1608, 1635, 1660, 1668 and 1677, and translations of Vignola's treatise on the five orders in 1655, 1665, 1673, 1676 and 1694. Palladio's discussion of the orders was translated from the French version by Pierre Le Muet by Godfrey Richard and published in 1663, 1668, 1676, up to a 12th edition in 1733. This primary interest in Palladio's Book on the orders can also be seen in the translation of Scamozzi's *Idea della architettura universale* (1615) which condensed into *The Mirrour of Architecture* (1669, 1676, 1687, 1700), focused only upon his sixth book on the orders. Although a more systematic and comparative analysis than the preceding publications, John Evelyn's translation of Roland Fréart's *Parallel of the Antient Architecture with the Modern* (1664, 1680, 1723, 1732) was likewise primarily concerned with the same subject. H. Blum, *Quinque Columnarum exacta descriptio atque deliniatio, cum symmetrica earum distributione, conscripta per I. Bluom, et nunc primum publicata, etc.*, (Zurich: Apud C. Froschouerum, 1550). G. Barozzi, called Il Vignola, *Regola della cinque ordini d'architettura. Vignola: or The compleat architect. Shewing in a plain and easie way the rules of the five orders in architecture ... Translated into English by Joseph Moxon*, (London: W. Leybourne for J. Moxon. 1665). A. Palladio, Trans Pr. Le Muet (French), Trans. Godfrey Richards (English), *I Quattro Libri dell'architettura, The First Book of Architecture ... Translated out of Italian: with an appendix touching doors and windows, by Pr. Le Muet ... Translated out of French by Godfrey Richards*, (London: Printed for Tho. Braddyll, and Eben. Tracy, 1700). V. Scamozzi, [*Idea dell'architettura universale. English*] *The mirror of architecture ...*, (London: printed for W. Fisher, 1669), (London: printed for W. Fisher and E. Hurlock, 1676), (London: printed for W. Fisher and R. Mount, T. Passenger, and E. Smith, 1687), (London: printed for R. Mount, 1700). R. Fréart's *Parallel of the Antient Architecture with the Modern* (London: John Place, 1664).

²⁶⁴ H. Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, (London: John Bill, 1624).

²⁶⁵ Ibid, p1.

²⁶⁶ Ibid, p116, p2 and p117.

Wotton's work proved to be extremely popular. It was included in a Latin translation in Johannes de Laet's encyclopaedic edition of Vitruvius (Amsterdam 1649)²⁶⁷, and also in the third and fourth editions of Evelyn's *Fréart*. The continuation of Wotton's presentation of a brief prescriptive guide to the practice and principles of building can be traced in a number of other works such as Francis Bacon's essay *Of Building*, Peacham's *Compleat Gentleman* (1634), Sir Balthazar Gerbier's *A Brief Discourse Concerning the Three Chief Principles of Magnificent Building. viz. Solidity, Convenience and Ornament* (1662), and Richard Blome's *The Gentleman's Recreation* (1686). These publications increasingly took the form of pattern books rather than theoretical expositions explaining the proportional and mathematical relationships. The English publications of books of designs by Jean Barbet²⁶⁸ and Pierre Le Muet²⁶⁹ were clearly intended for this purpose, and other works such as Pricke's translation of Julien Mauclerc's abridged Vitruvius²⁷⁰, and Richard's translation of Palladio's first book were certainly used as pattern books.

It can be seen that ideas expressed in European architectural publications were accessible to English readers through their exposition in the works of Shute, Wotton, Evelyn etc. Similarly, a publication such as Perrault's *Abridgement of the Architecture of Vitruvius* demonstrates that while an English edition of Vitruvius was not available, readers would have been familiar with his ideas.²⁷¹ It is however significant that the key interest in England appears to have been in the orders of architecture and in publications as sources of design, which reflects a limited theoretical interest in architectural subjects, and an unproblematic acceptance of principles expressed in European publications.

As well as the exposition of European ideas in English publication many readers were familiar with Italian or French editions.²⁷² Library catalogues of the period feature many of

²⁶⁷ W. Gibson 'Literary Influences on Robert Morris's First Excursion in Architectural Theory' in *Rendezvous* Vol. 6, Winter 1971, pp. 1-14, p2.

²⁶⁸ J. Barbet, [*Livre d'architecture d'autels, et de cheminees Selections.*] *A book of archetecture containing seeling peeces chimney peeces and seuerall sorts vsefull for carpenters joyners caruers painters inuented by Robert Pricke*, (London: R. Pricke: 1670).

²⁶⁹ P. Le Muet, *The art of fair building ... Reviewed and augmented, in this second edition, ... Published by Robert Pricke, ...*, (London: Printed for Robert Pricke: 1675).

²⁷⁰ J. Mauclerc, Trans. R. Pricke, *Traitte de l'architecture suivant Vitruve.*] *A new treatise of architecture, according to Vitruvius. Wherein is discoursed of the five orders of columns ... Whereunto are added the several measures and proportions of the famous architects, Scamozzi, Palladio, and Vignola ... The whole represented in fifty large prints ... Set forth in English by Robert Pricke*, (London: J. Darby, 1669).

²⁷¹ C. Perrault, *An Abridgement of the Architecture of Vitruvius. Containing a System of the whole works of that Author*, (London: Printed for Abel Swall and T. Child at the Unicorn in St Paul's Church-yard, 1692).

²⁷² An early translation of Serlio's *Five Books of Architecture* was made into English from the Dutch and was published by Richard Peake in 1611. However, many other works were not available until

the European editions at an early stage, including copies of Alberti, Serlio, and Palladio and, most commonly, Vitruvius.²⁷³ Sir Thomas Tresham certainly owned a copy of the first edition of Palladio's *Quattro Libri* as did Sir Thomas Knyvett. Others such as William Cecil, Lord Cranbourne and the surveyor and mason John Thorpe were also clearly aware of his work early in the seventeenth century.²⁷⁴ Other Italian works also appear to be well represented in English libraries including Vignola,²⁷⁵ Agostino Veneziano, and Enea Vico. It is important to note that awareness of such publications is likely to be even more widespread than library catalogues suggest because of the aristocratic practice of lending books.²⁷⁶ This awareness of continental works can be seen in John Dee's *Mathematical Preface* to Billingsley's *Euclid*, in which he justified the inclusion of architecture on the grounds of the importance of architectural reason and rules in the work of Vitruvius and Alberti.²⁷⁷

4.1a Italian architectural publications.

This section examines the four most influential writers of Italian architectural publications. These contributed to the distinct body of literature on architectural theory and practice that emerged during the Renaissance and supported the development of architectural discourse expressed through publication. A set of theoretical terms were established, which developed into a rule-based system derived from the Roman author Vitruvius. The importance of Vitruvius for later writers can be clearly traced in the reiteration of his architectural principles, and also the use of his technical terms. These precepts became 'norms' through which architecture was built, discussed and evaluated.²⁷⁸ Within this body of literature one can also trace the development of a professional and technical discourse related to building

much later. These include the translations by James. Eg., C. Perrault, Trans. J. James, *A Treatise of the Five Orders of Columns in Architecture. Viz Toscan, Donic, Ionic, Corinthian and Composite*. (London: Benj. Motte, 1708), A. Palladio, op cit.

²⁷³ L. Gent, *Picture and Poetry 1560-1620*, (Leamington Spa: James Hall, 1981), 'Books on art, perspective and architecture in English Renaissance Libraries 1580-1630', p74. See also A. Wells-Cole, *Art and Decoration in Elizabethan and Jacobean England. The Influence of Continental Prints 1558-1625*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), p10.

²⁷⁴ Ibid, p18.

²⁷⁵ G. Barozzi, called Il Vignola, op cit. A. Wells-Cole, op cit, p18.

²⁷⁶ Ibid, p6.

²⁷⁷ H. Billingsley, *The Elements of Geometrie of the most auncient Philosopher Evclide of Megara. Faithfully (Now first) translated into Englishe toung, by H. Billingsley, Citizen of London. Whereunto are annexed certaine Scholies, Annotations, and Inventions, of the best Mathematicians, both of time past, and in this our age. With a very fruitful Praeface made by M. I. Dee Specifying the chiefe Mathematicall Sciences, What they are, and wherunto commodious: where, also, are disclosed certaine new Secrets Mathematicall and Mechanicall untill these our daies greatly missed*, (London: John Daye and J. Dee, 1570).

²⁷⁸ V. Hart, P. Hicks, *Paper Palaces: The Rise of the Architectural Treatise*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996), p3.

practice, supported by illustrations used as a pedagogic tool.²⁷⁹ This coherent theoretical tradition had been formulated by the sixteenth century: Alvise Cornaro could justify the exclusion of theatres, amphitheatres, baths and the orders from his publication 'because there are already books on them,'²⁸⁰ and Vasari also draws heavily upon such established theory in his discussion of architecture in the *Lives*. The specific influence of Vasari will be examined in 4.2a. This section will demonstrate that in the eighteenth century Campbell's reference to the Roman author in the title of his publication located it within a distinct body of architectural ideas. This clearly had a performative function in terms of the way in which *Vitruvius Britannicus* would have been read, positioning it within a clearly articulated theoretical basis for architectural discussion. The key authors within this tradition and the ones that figure most commonly in English libraries in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are Vitruvius, Alberti, Serlio and Palladio.

Vitruvius's ten books on architecture outlined the practice and theory of building in classical Rome and also drew heavily upon ancient Greek architecture. *De Architectura* was the only complete treatise to survive from antiquity, and was known in the Middle Ages through the circulation of manuscript copies. Although it is not possible to know the level of importance attached to Vitruvius's work in its own time, it became fundamentally important from the Renaissance onwards.²⁸¹ Vitruvius's text introduced two key ideas. Firstly, it was concerned with the detailed techniques of architecture and architectural construction. Secondly, it repositioned the architect with a clear set of technical and intellectual skills. Vitruvius argued that good architectural practice consisted not only in the technical skill, but also in abstract

²⁷⁹ Both Vitruvius and Alberti emphasised the importance of theory for the architect, influenced in this by the Italian idea expressed from the Renaissance on, that classical architecture was grounded within the idea of principles and system. Discussion of architecture was rooted in ideas of theory and practice, or what can be distinguished as design and building. Architecture is characterised by these relationships: theory and practice; art and science; design and building; text and illustration; actual building and graphic representation. Any consideration of architectural publication has to take into account the complex relationships between all of these elements and between publication and practice itself.

²⁸⁰ (Ludovico) Alvise Cornaro (1484-1566) of Padua wrote *Discorsi intorno all vita sobria* Padua. Cited in H. W. Kruft, Trans. R. Taylor, E. Callander, A. Wood, *A History of Architectural Theory from Vitruvius to the present day*, (Zwemmer: Princeton Architectural Press, 1994), p85.

²⁸¹ M. Vitruvius Pollio, *De architectura. English. Abridgements. The theory and practice of architecture*, (London: Printed for R. Wellington, 1703). The first printed edition of Vitruvius's treatise appeared in Rome in 1486. An illustrated edition was published by Francesco Di Giorgio in 1511, and in 1521 an Italian translation was published, with a commentary by Cesare Cesariano. From the Renaissance many editions of Vitruvius were published. Although abridged versions of Vitruvius were available in English in the second half of the seventeenth century the first full English translation was from Perrault's 1673 edition translated by Joseph Moxon and published in 1703.

knowledge, and that consequently practice, founded upon rational principles, could be 'set forth and explained' in words.²⁸²

From the fifteenth century the importance ascribed to Vitruvius lay in the fact that his work was the only surviving source of information on ancient architecture, and of interest to those concerned with the revival of the classical past. His Latin origins and ancient authority had a strong appeal to Renaissance humanists, and the idea of architecture as a liberal art expressed in his first book assimilated it to the literary or rhetorical arts that interested Renaissance humanists. This provided an acceptable foundation for intellectual study in the Renaissance, and interest in Vitruvius by humanists such as Alberti was crucial in establishing the criteria of value ascribed to his work. This value was principally based on a view of the publication as establishing clearly identifiable, rational principles for building. These rules governing classical architecture, and the authority of ancient principle defined a course which architectural publication was to follow from the Renaissance on.²⁸³

While much of Vitruvius's work was addressed to the practitioner, Alberti's more theoretical content was oriented to a different audience of humanists and patrons of architecture.²⁸⁴ Alberti examines the entire field of architecture from basic theory to construction, function and design, concluding with a discussion of beauty in architecture. He draws upon the precepts established by Vitruvius but repositions them in a programmatic framework for the discipline of architecture. Alberti thus incorporated the key elements into a consistent system of thought and, consequently, moved beyond the ancient precedent of Vitruvius to establish a new paradigm for architectural writing: the academic treatise with a specific system of organisation, intended to show the form which architecture should take. Alberti developed

²⁸² Ibid. Book I chaps 1, 15

²⁸³ V. Hart, P. Hicks, 1996, op. Cit, p3.

²⁸⁴ Alberti's *De re aedificatoria* was first published as a book in 1486, fourteen years after the author's death. L. B. Alberti, , Trans. J. Rykwert, N. Leach, R. Tavernor, *On the Art of Building in ten Books*, (Cambridge Mass. and London: MIT Press, 1988). Introduction, p xviii. (Published as *Leonis Baptistae Alberti de re aedificatoria incipit ... Florentiae accuratissime impressum opera Magistri Nicolai Laurentii Alamani. Anno salutis millesimo octuagesimo quinto calendis januaris. 1486*) However, several very fine manuscript versions did exist prior to 1486. See L. B. Alberti, , Trans. J. Rykwert, N. Leach, R. Tavernor, *ibid*, p xviii. Although it was not translated into English until 1726, it was available in Italian, French and Spanish translations at a much earlier date. L. B. Alberti, *L'architettura (De re aedificatoria) di Leon Battista Alberti tradotta in lingua fiorentina da Cosimo Bartoli ... con l'aggiunta de disegni*, (Florence: Lorenzo Torrentino, 1550). *L'architecture et l'art de bien bâtir ... divisée en dix livres, traduits de latin en françois, par deffunct Jan Martin, parisien*. (Paris: by Robert Masselin for Jacques Kerver, 1553. *Los diez libros de architectura ... traduzidos de latin en romance*. Madrid: Alonso Gomez, 1582. (Reprinted 1640.) Leoni, J., 1726, (1739), (1955)., *The Architecture ... in Ten Books. Of Painting in Three Books. And of Statuary in One Book. Translated into Italian by Cosimo Bartoli. And Now First into English ... by James Leoni, Venetian architect*. London: Thomas Edlin.

the idea of architecture as a discipline rather than a trade, and broadened its appeal beyond the practice of building, integrating it into a broader idea of humanist culture. *De re aedificatoria* established Vitruvius as a vehicle for architectural discussion.

The dominant mode of writing in *De re aedificatoria* is prescriptive and rule-based, founded on measurement and number or abstract terminology.²⁸⁵ The buildings discussed by Alberti serve as exempla for general architectural principles and are not critiqued and evaluated on their own terms. This contrasts with his description of Florence Cathedral in *Profugiorum ab aerumna libri III* which operates within a more descriptive paradigm couched in ideas of emotional response derived from Cicero's rhetorical model, with which Alberti and his humanist audience would have been familiar.²⁸⁶ While the prescriptive style of writing used in *De re aedificatoria* is foregrounded in considerations of Renaissance architectural publishing, this thesis will demonstrate that in fact descriptive texts, and texts more commonly equated with rhetoric, have considerable resonance in terms of *Vitruvius Britannicus*.

Serlio's *Regole generale di architettura* appeared in parts between 1537 and 1551.²⁸⁷ It proved to be extremely popular with English audiences, primarily as a pattern book and source of information on the orders (illus. 15 - 17). Serlio reduced the body of humanist theory developed by Alberti to a systematic presentation of architectural exemplars illustrated with 'invenzione' and ancient and modern buildings. His books were amongst the first illustrated manuals devoted to contemporary architectural practice. While Alberti wrote with the educated, aristocratic, patron in mind, Serlio addressed the architect himself, and his work is practical rather than theoretical exposition.²⁸⁸

²⁸⁵ C. Smith, *Architecture in the Culture of Early Humanism. Ethics, Aesthetics and Eloquence 1400-1470*, (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), p80.

²⁸⁶ See the discussion of 'The art of rhetoric' in F. Yates, *The Art of Memory*, (London: Pimlico 1992)

²⁸⁷ The five books were first published together in 1584 in Venice under the title of *Tutte l'opere d'architettura et prospettiva* and was quickly translated into many languages. The first English edition was not published until 1611, although it was familiar to English audiences long before it was made available in translation through John Shute's references to the work in the preface to *The First and Chief Grounds of Architecture*. S. Serlio, Trans. R. Peake, [*Tutte l'opere d'architettura. English*]. *The first booke of architecture, made by Sebastian Serly, entreating of geometrie. Translated out of Italian into Dutch, and out of Dutch into English*, (London: Printed by Simon Stafford and Thomas Snodham for Robert Peake, 1611). fol. Aiiir, fol. Fiiiv. V. Hart, P. Hicks, *Sebastiano Serlio on Architecture*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press: 1996), p.xxxiii.

²⁸⁸ In the preface to Book IV, Serlio claimed that he had 'formulated some rules concerning architecture on the assumption that not only exalted intellects could understand this subject, but that every average person might be able to grasp it' Ibid, p253, (1618-19 edition, fol. 126r).

Serlio's illustrated work reflected a fundamentally different purpose and structuring of knowledge to that of Alberti's originally unillustrated text. While illustrated versions of Alberti and Vitruvius had already been produced, these took the form of literary essays accompanied by illustrations. In contrast Serlio made the illustrations the main body of his work, to increase the efficacy of his didactic method. This demonstrated an awareness of printing practices developed in other disciplines such as anatomy and botany, and the publication of an increasing number of scientific treatises using illustrations as a pedagogical tool.²⁸⁹ The representation of dimensions on paper was vital in communicating Serlio's design ideas and principles. This can be seen in illus. 18 and the accompanying notice, which gives detailed instructions on the system of proportions used in the design, and directs the reader to take further measurements from the image. Serlio effectively talks through the design process, providing all the necessary information for the reader to reconstruct the illustrated design. However, his illustrations were not intended to be copied slavishly, but adapted according to the architect's particular needs. For this reason Serlio placed greater emphasis on the accuracy of the proportions between the elements rather than on exact measurements. Rather than a pattern book, *Regole generale di architettura* served as a reference book of architectural solutions, both actual and invented. The primary function of the image is diagrammatic, such as in a text book, rather than aesthetic. The didactic importance of Serlio's illustrations is apparent in the way that the text is integrated with the illustrations and constantly refers to them (illus. 19 - 20).²⁹⁰

Serlio's main aim was the codification of a system of architecture based upon Vitruvius's principles but reconciled with the evidence of antique remains. His assessment of the quality of buildings is structured according to their conformity to Vitruvian precept. Although the discourse is largely technical, his evaluation of the buildings does introduce a descriptive and critical vocabulary. His descriptions of the orders are often painterly using words such as 'robust' and 'solid' to describe the Tuscan and 'delicate' and 'ornate' for the Corinthian and Composite.²⁹¹ Serlio carries out an exercise in evaluation, dissecting certain aspects of the design, and developing a layering of visual information through a range of figures from a complete elevation to specific details. However, his discussion takes the form of exposition

²⁸⁹ For example A. Vesalius, *De humani corporis fabrica libri septem*, (Basel: Johannes Oporinus, 1543).

²⁹⁰ The importance of the organisation and presentation of the visual material alongside the textual can be seen in Serlio's references to the impact of the printing process on his illustrations. For example, he reduces a staircase in size 'because of the narrowness of the page and the print block'. Ibid, p71, (1618-19 edition, fol. 37r).

²⁹¹ J. Onions, *Bearers of Meaning*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 264-86.

rather than criticism. This can be seen in his discussion of the Pantheon in the Book III, in which he says of one of the tabernacles:

‘although this cornice might appear to scholars of Vitruvius too tall in proportion to the architrave and frieze ... nevertheless when it is seen in its location, which is at a great distance, it is not too tall and is well proportioned in appearance. The capital is far removed from the writings of Vitruvius. ... However, in common opinion they are the most beautiful capitals in Rome’²⁹²

Although there is a level of evaluation and description, it is fundamentally tied to an idea of the application of Vitruvian rules to architectural practice. Serlio’s discussion of the Temple of Marcellus is the closest to evaluative description.

‘ ... truly there I found forms as beautiful as any I have ever seen in ancient ruins, especially in the Doric capitals and the imposts of the arches which I thought conformed very closely with the writings of Vitruvius. (IV:III) In the same way the frieze the triglyphs and the metopes all correspond very well. However, even though the Doric cornice was extremely rich in members and highly carved, nonetheless I found it very far from Vitruvian doctrine, very licentious in its members and of such a height that in proportion to the architrave and frieze, two thirds that height would have been enough.’²⁹³

The importance of Vitruvius as a touchstone of architectural excellence can be clearly seen in this description in which Serlio observes that modern architects should not err from Vitruvian precepts.²⁹⁴

Palladio’s *I quattro libri dell’architettura* was first published in 1570.²⁹⁵ While his book included illustrations on most of its pages, he differed from Serlio in several ways. Unlike Serlio, Palladio presented his own works as models through which to illustrate architectural

²⁹² V. Hart, P. Hicks, 1996, op cit, (55v-56r.) p111.

²⁹³ Ibid, (69v) p136.

²⁹⁴ However, his interpretation of Vitruvius does allow for improvement on ancient principles observing that ‘We should uphold the doctrines of Vitruvius as an infallible guide and rule provided that *reason does not dissuade us otherwise*.’ Ibid, (69v) p136

²⁹⁵ A. Palladio, *I quattro libri dell’architettura di Andrea Palladio* (Venice: Domenico de’ Franceschi, 1570). It was not until 1650 that a full edition of all four books was available to those who did not read Italian. The first edition outside of Italy was a Latin translation of the first book published in Bordeaux in 1580. Other translations of Book I were a Spanish translation (Juan Lasso, 1625), and a French version by Pierre Le Muet (Langlois, 1645). The first complete translation was the French edition by Roland Fréart de Chambray (Paris 1650). A. Palladio, Trans. R. Tavernor, R. Schofield, *Andrea Palladio. The Four Books on Architecture*, (Cambridge Mass. and London, MIT Press, 1997), p.xvi The first full English edition was that of Giacomo Leoni. A. Palladio, Trans J. Leoni, *I Quattro libri dell’ architettura*, (London: J. Watts for the author, 1715-20), (Italian with English and French translations, each language in a separate volume; the English and French translations by N. Dubois.)

principles, and described the specific problems and thought processes that led to each eventual design, providing a coherent explanation of his own design processes. His purpose in writing was to expound briefly what it was in the designs that he felt most worthy of consideration, together with the rules that he followed when building.²⁹⁶ He talks through the design process and relates this in practical terms to the building, highlighting elements such as the kitchens, stables, cellars, presses and granaries,²⁹⁷ and using directional terms such as right and left, above and beyond.²⁹⁸

Palladio organises his material into a set format of plan, principal facade (including a section through the building), followed by side elevations and sections, and ornamental details²⁹⁹ (illus. 21 - 24). In this way the parts of the building are revealed in a particular order as the reader turns the page. His illustrations are rigorously orthogonal, and are essentially practical with much greater precision, and detail than those of Serlio.³⁰⁰ Palladio incorporates the measurements onto his plates, thus freeing up the text from lengthy descriptions, in contrast to Serlio whose discussion is concerned largely with measurement. The placing of this information on the plates points to the way in which Palladio intended them to be used, clearly related to a technical and practical function. Palladio considered the image a more effective means of communication than the text. This is explicit in the Foreword to Book Three in his statement that ‘... one learns much more rapidly from well-chosen examples, when measuring and observing whole buildings and their details on a sheet of paper, than one does from written descriptions’.³⁰¹

While the text was a fairly accurate translation of the original the illustrations were in fact problematic in terms of Palladio's original work.

²⁹⁶ A. Palladio, Trans R. Tavernor, R., Schofield, op cit., Foreword to Book 1. p5

²⁹⁷ Ibid, Book 2, (p.xvi.) p147

²⁹⁸ Ibid, (p.xvi.) p147

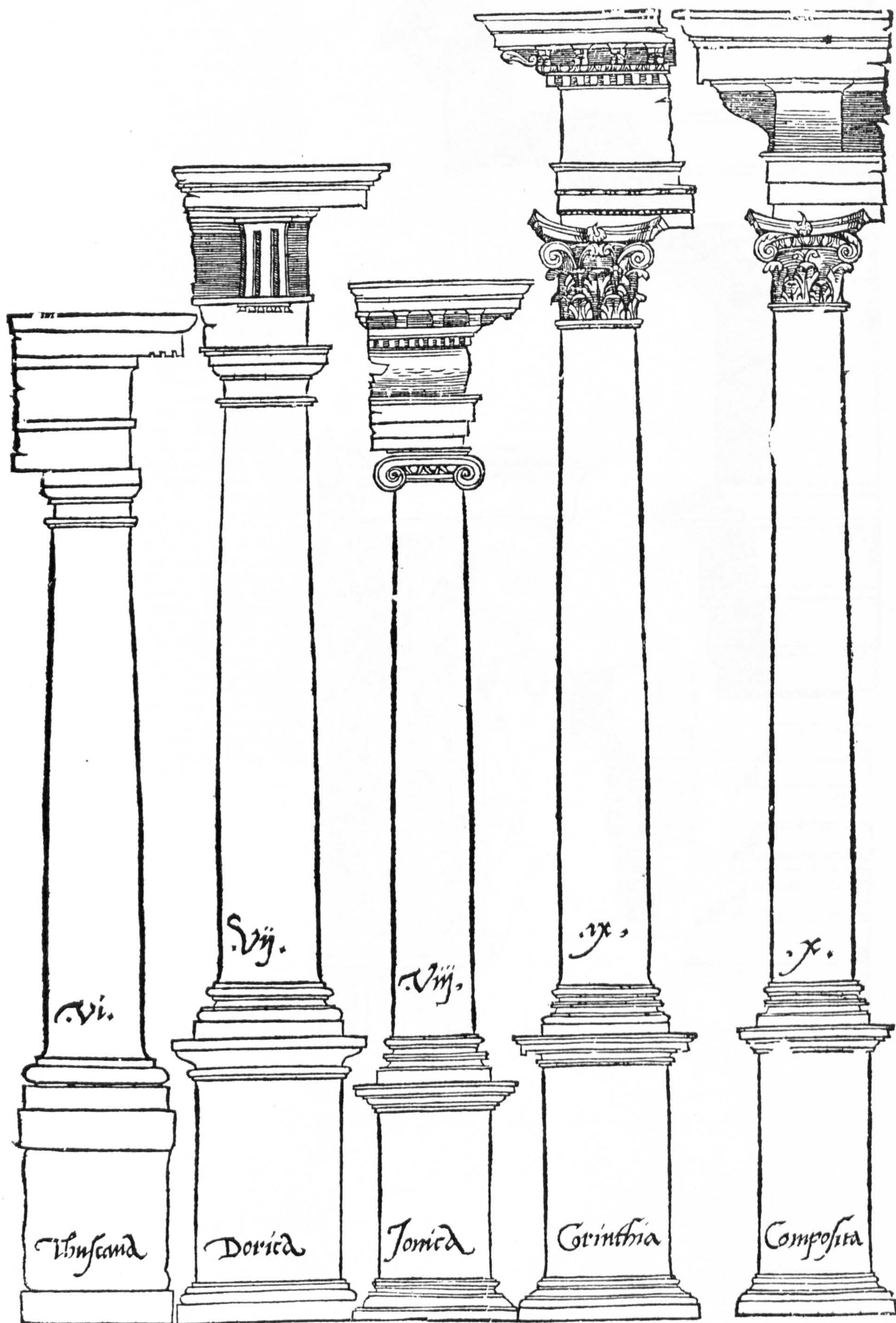
²⁹⁹ V. Hart, P. Hicks, 1996, op cit, p241.

³⁰⁰ A. Palladio, Trans. R. Tavernor, R. Schofield, op cit. pxii.

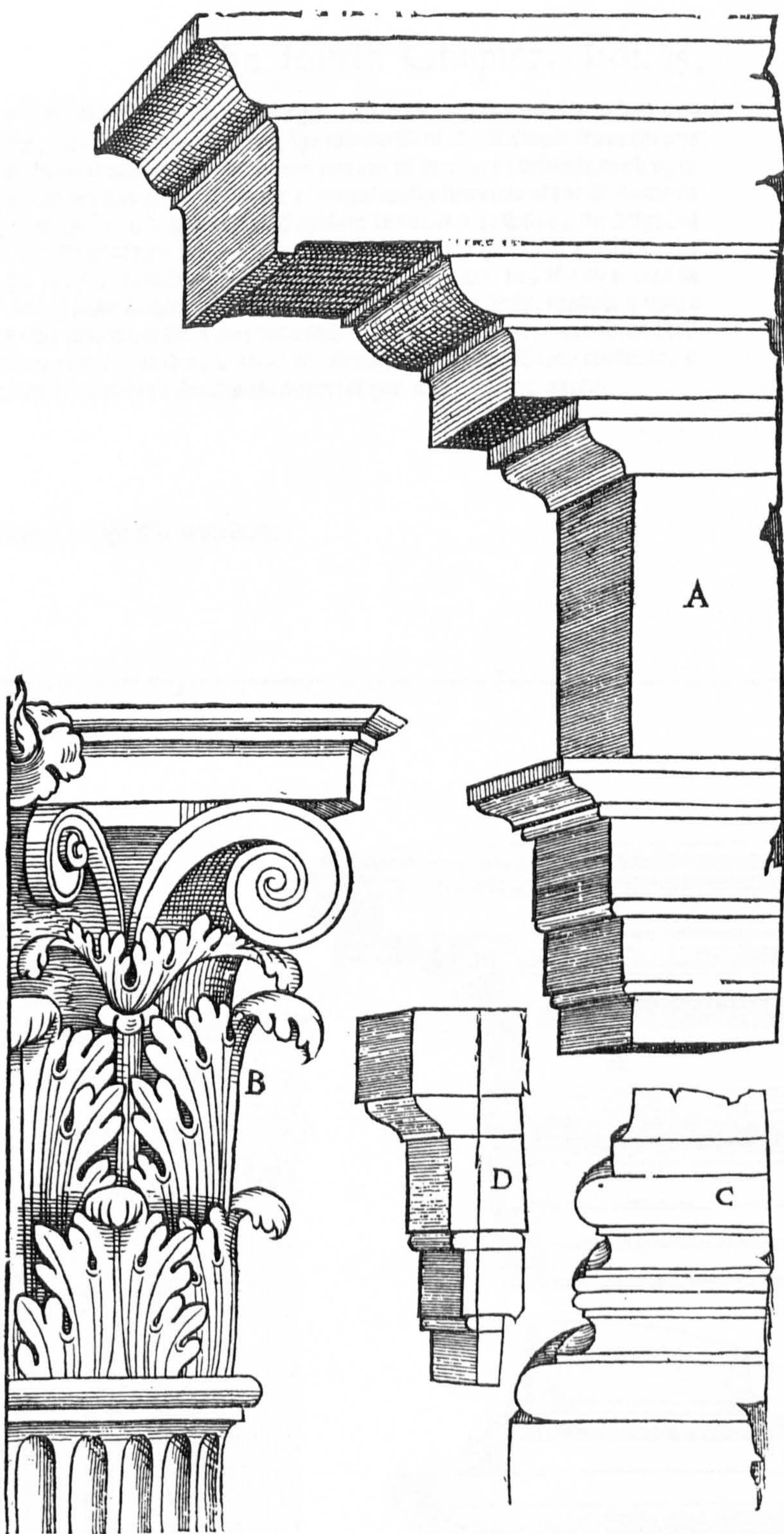
³⁰¹ Ibid, p163.

Five maner of Buildings.

Fol. 3



These four Figures
 hereunto annexed, are
 members of the Taberna-
 cles in great; as the letters
 A. B. C. D. shew them.
 Touching their measures
 in height, it is shewed be-
 fore, and for the rest it is suf-
 ficient for the workman
 that all things from mem-
 ber to member are set out in
 great, and proportionably
 with great diligence brought
 into this forme, although it
 may bee that such as study
 Vitruvius will thinke this
 Cornice to bee too high for
 the proportion of the Archi-
 trave and Frieze; and I for
 my part would not make it
 so high, but to see the same in
 a place that hath great di-
 stances, and which standeth
 not very high, it sheweth to
 bee in good proportion. The
 Capital is farre from Vi-
 truvius order of writing, for
 it is higher without the A-
 bacus, then Vitruvius ma-
 keth it with the Abacus: not-
 withstanding, according to
 common opinion, they are
 the sayest Capitals that are
 in Rome, (and not onely the
 Capitals of the Taberna-
 cles) but they also of the
 Chappels are of the like
 forme, and those of the Por-
 tall also in such sort, that I
 iudge (as I sayd at the be-
 ginning) that I have not
 found a building of greater
 observation of order then
 this: but if I should write
 all that are in it, both within
 and without, I should per-
 adventure be over tedious,
 therefore I will make an end
 of this wonderful Building,
 and speake of ether Anti-
 quities.

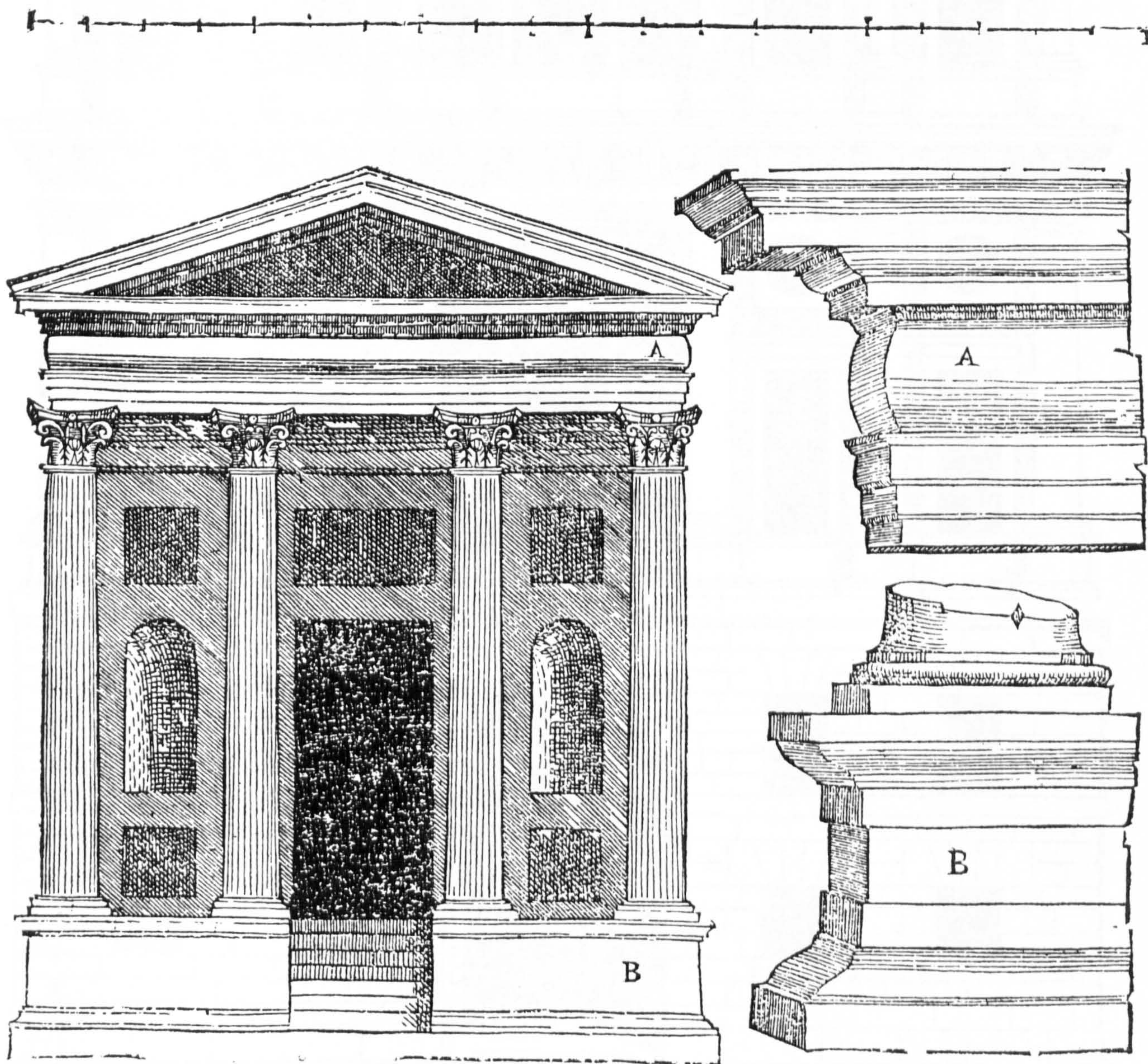


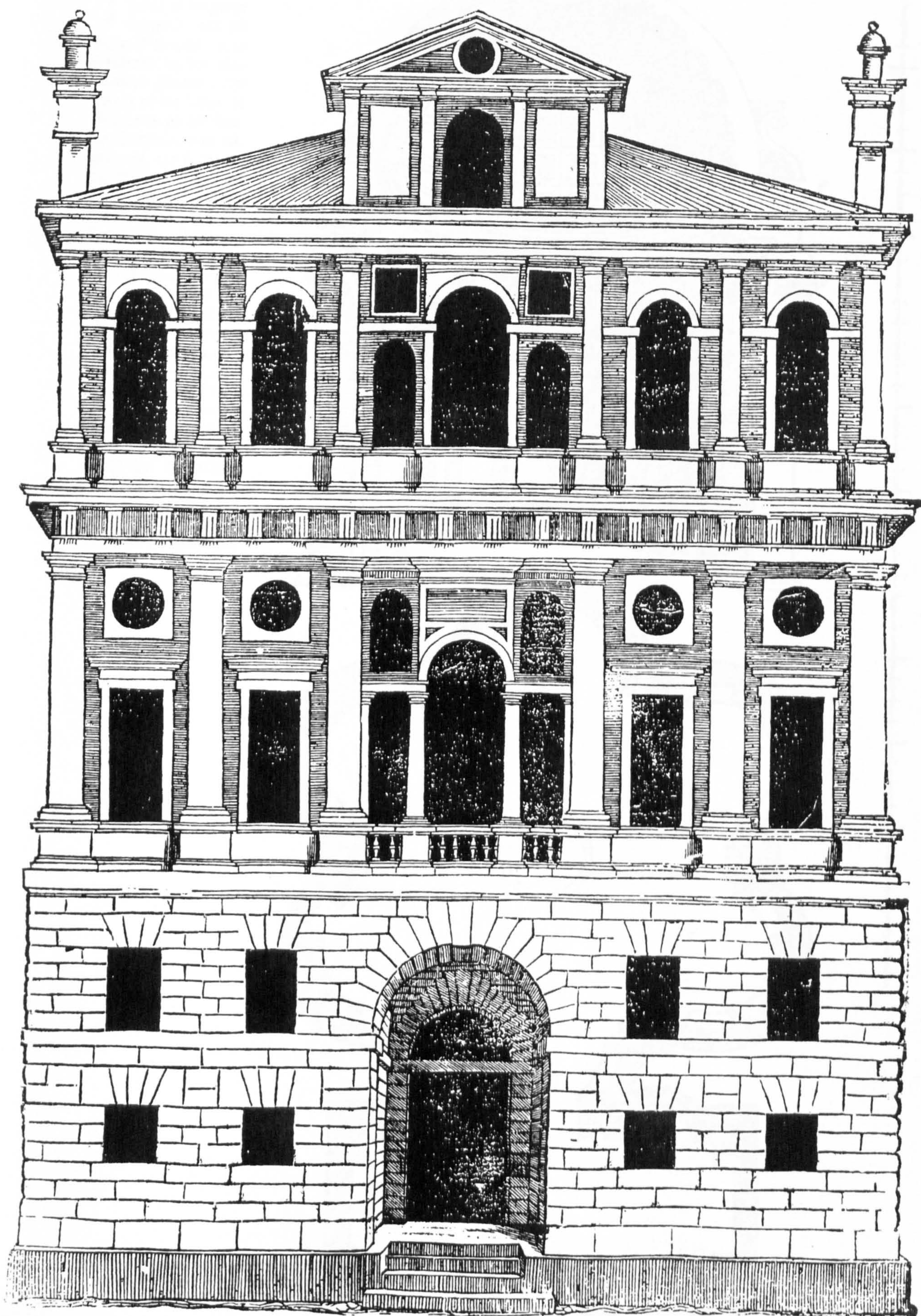
The third Booke.

The fourth Chapter. Fol. 15.

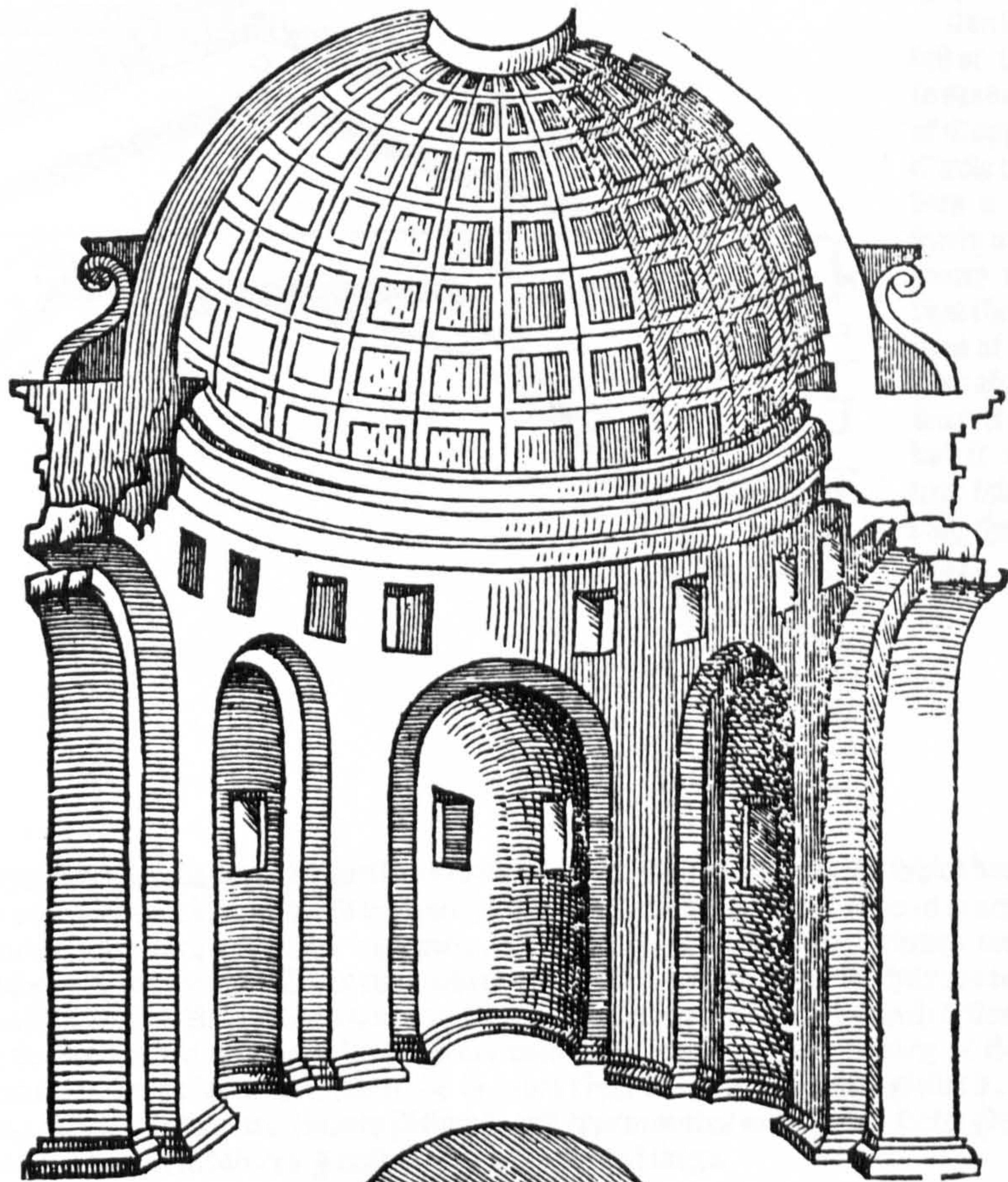
This Temple hereunder set downe is A Tioli by the River, much decayed, which had the frontispice before and behind the Columnes, on the sides are more then halfe without the wall; the widenesse of the Temple from the one wall to the other, is 11. Elles measure by the same measure that Templum pacis is measured withall, the length of the Temple is 8 Elles, the thickenesse of the wall is one Elle and 11. minutes, the thicknes of the Columnes of the Portall is an Elle and a third part, the height of them with Bases and Capitals is about 12. Elles, the height of the Architrave, Fræse and Cornice is three Elles, the Frontispice from above the Cornice to the height is 3. Elles, the height of the basement is 3. Elles and a halfe. In the Fascie before, there is no show of a Dcoze, nor of any places in the Wall, by reason of the ruinousnesse thereof, but I have drawne it out thus, to make the more show, because I iudge it had bene so; neither can you see any windowes in the wales nor sides, nor yet behind, although I have placed them here in the ground, where I thought best. The measure of the members both of the Basement and the Cornices above, I will not name particularly, for they are proportioned according to Antiquitie, wherof you may see some parts.

The third part of the Ell asforesayd.

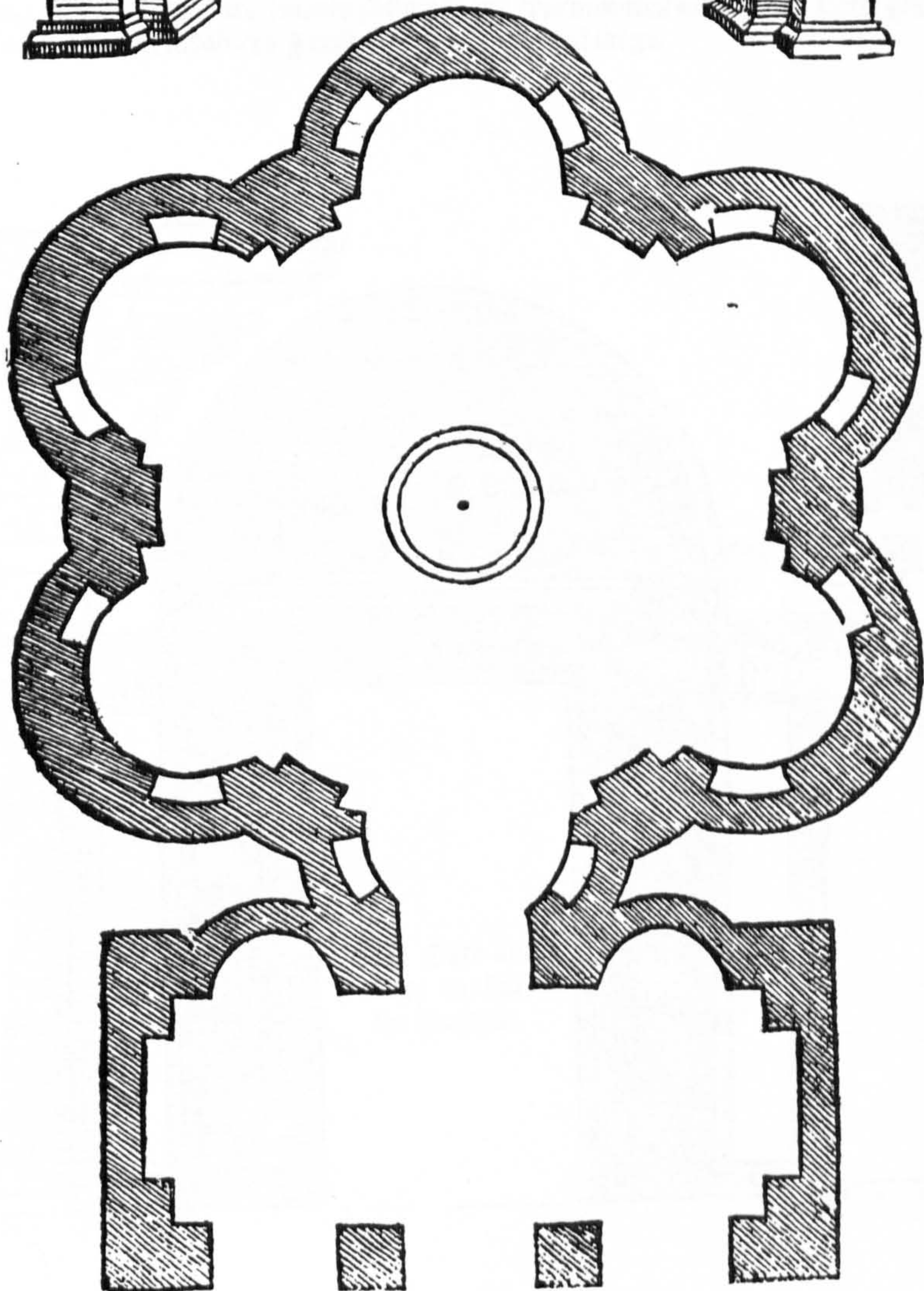




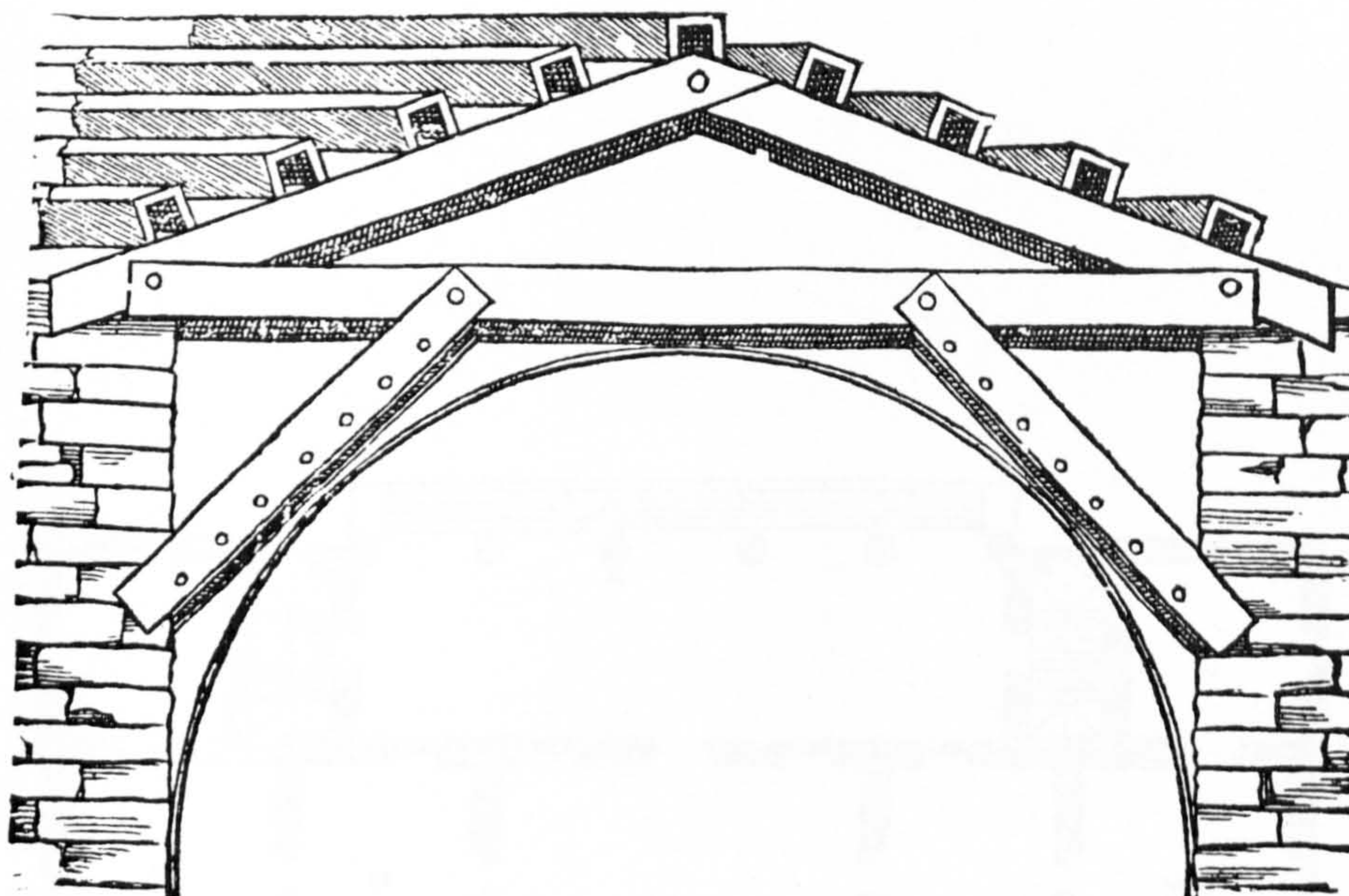
This small Tempel is of no great compas, and all made of Brick; it is measured by the olde Romane Palme, the length of the lodge or Gallery is 40. Palms, the breadth thereof is 16. Palms, the Dooze is 10. Palms, the places in the walles within, are all of one widenes, that is, 14. Palms; the space between them is 6. Palms, the rest may bee guessed by sight; for I guess the height from the Pavement to the Architrave to be 40. Palms, and the Architrave, Frieze and Cornice to be 9. Palms; and touching the rest, I made account that if I allowed a Palme upright for the round roose, then the whole Tempel should be about 70. Palms.



The ancient Roman Palme.

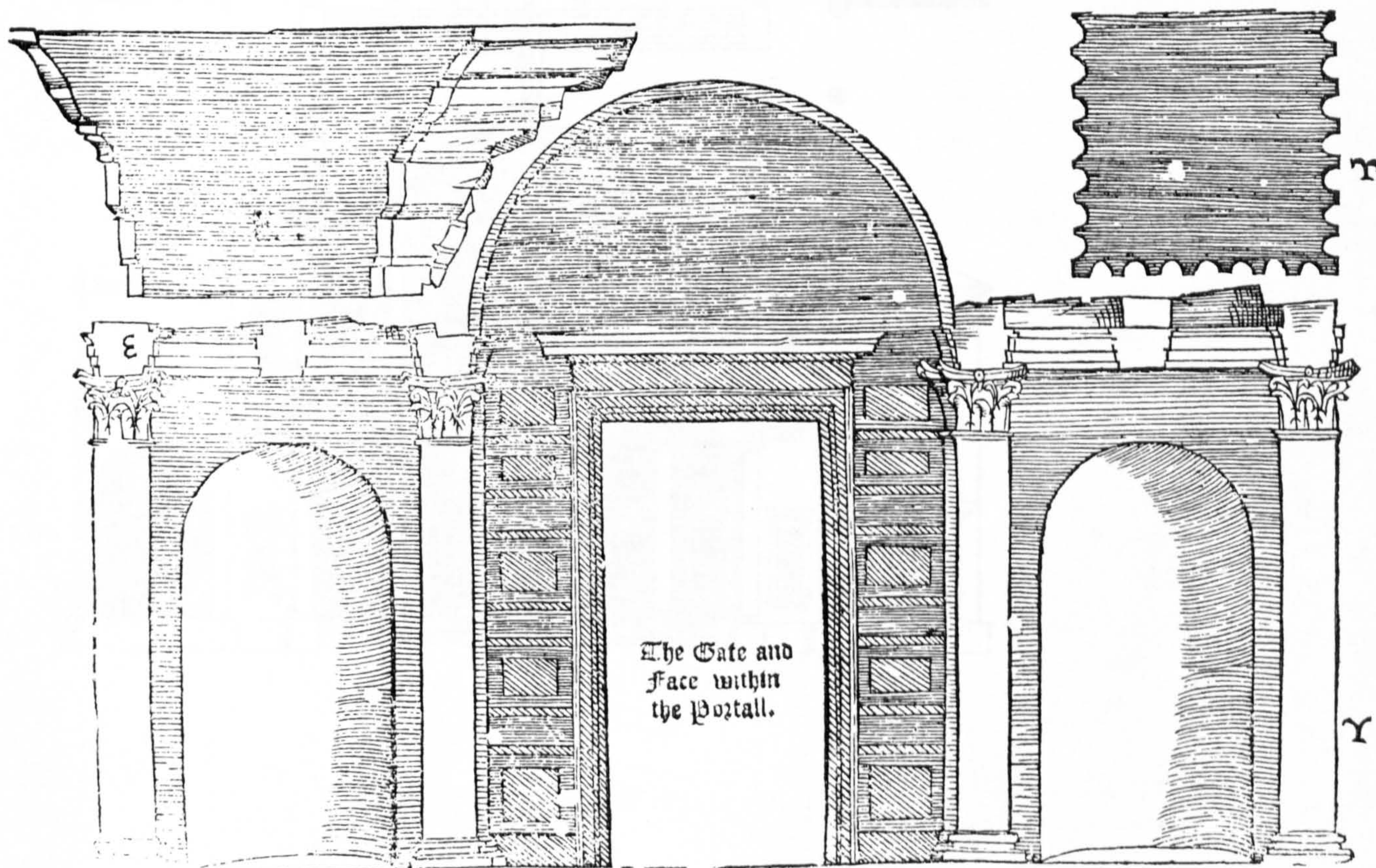


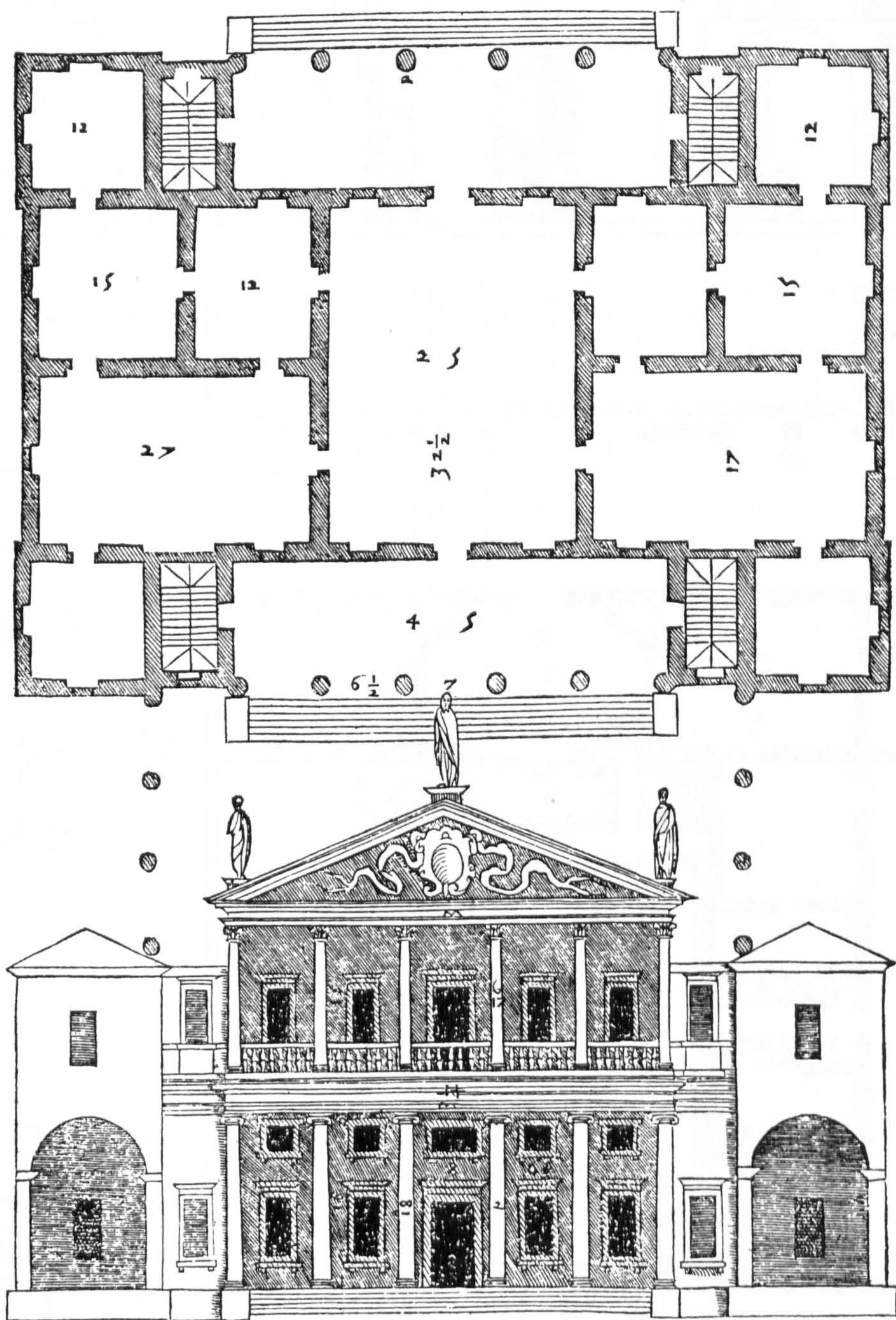
Of Antiquitie

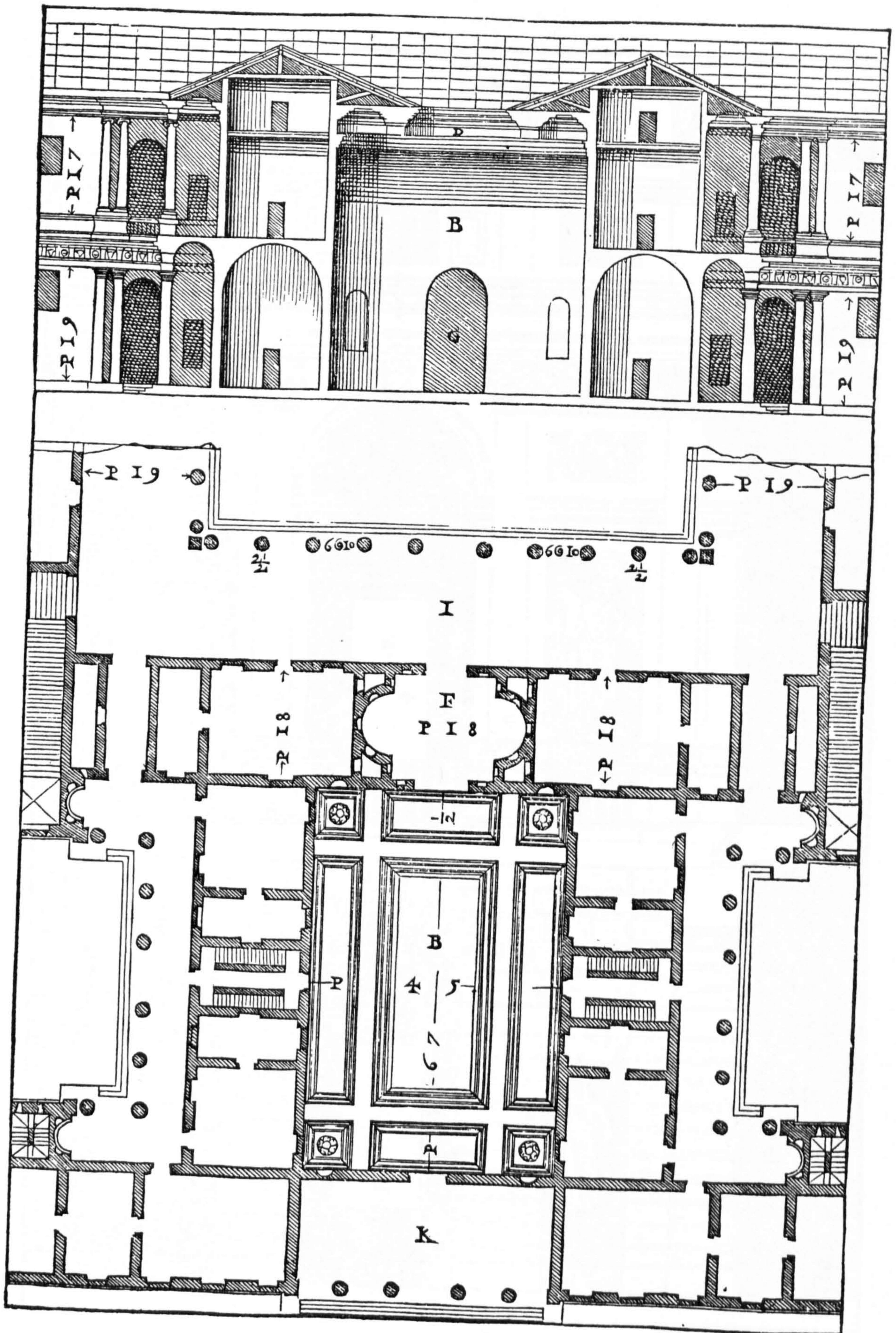


This Ornament is yet standing about the Portall of the Pantheon, which is made in this manner, all of Copper plates, the halfe Circle is not there; but there was a crooked Superficies finely made of Copper: and many men are of opinion that the beautifying thereof was of Silver, for the reasons aforesaid: but wherof it was, it is not well knowne; but it is true, it was excellent faire worke, considering that which is yet to be seen.

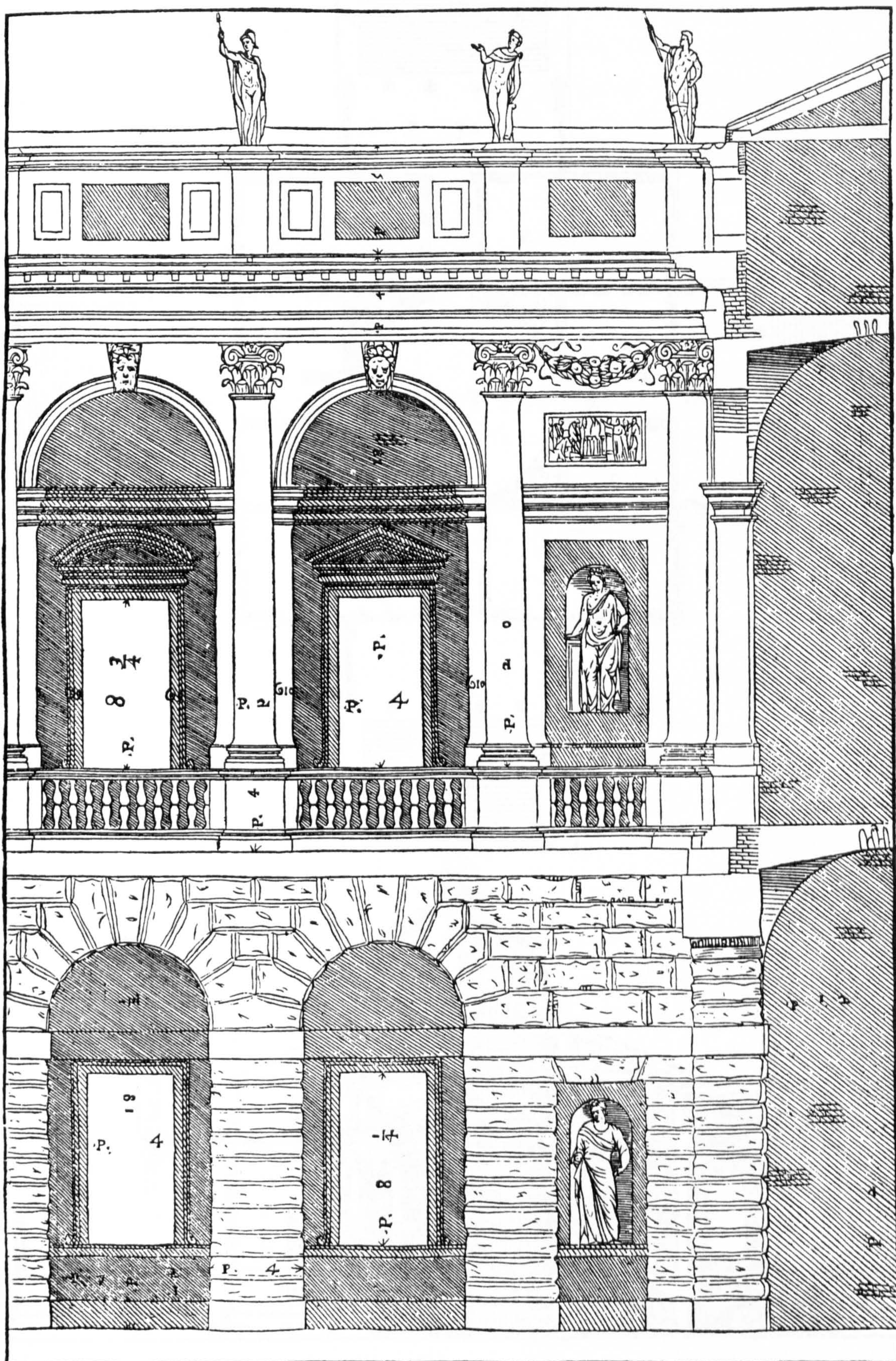
This Figure here under set downe, sheweth the manner of the Portall within, the which both on the sides and before is well set out with Marble, and also without, although by continuance of time is much defaced. The foure Pillars are canel'd with such a number of Canels, as you see it here under set downe; and because this round Columne is thinner above then the Diameter, where the edge or border of the Architrave is as thicke as the Columne: If a man would make the Architrave equall with the foure corner'd Pillars, which lessen not above, then the edge would haue had no Perpendicular, for it would haue wanted as much as the lessening of the round Columne. Thus the skilfull workeman hath placed the Architrave so much right above the the foure Pillars, because such things shew well. Touching the doores, they are twenty Palmes, and two minutes wide, and fortie Palmes and foure minutes high. Of the other severall measures I will hereafter speake at large.

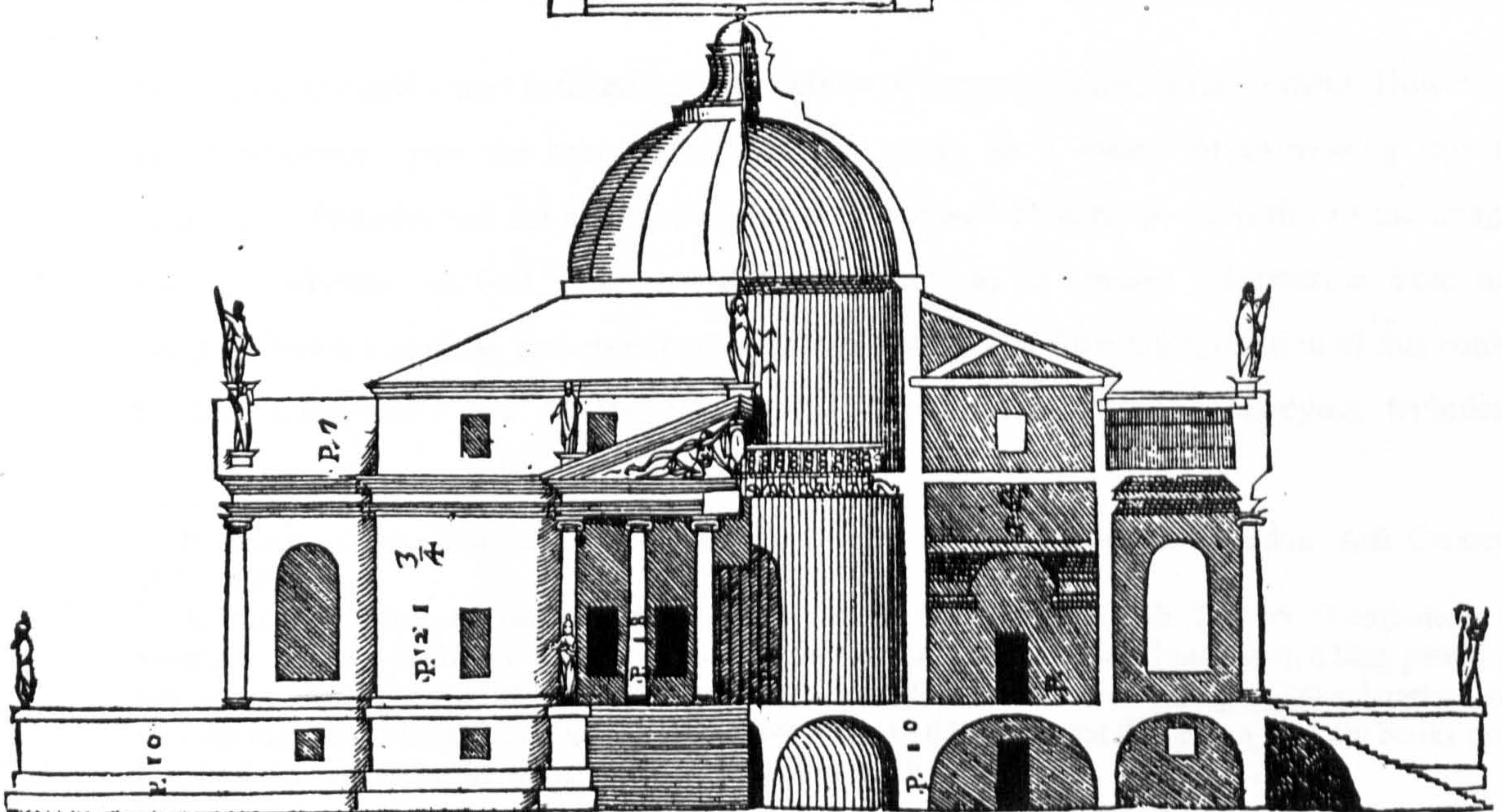
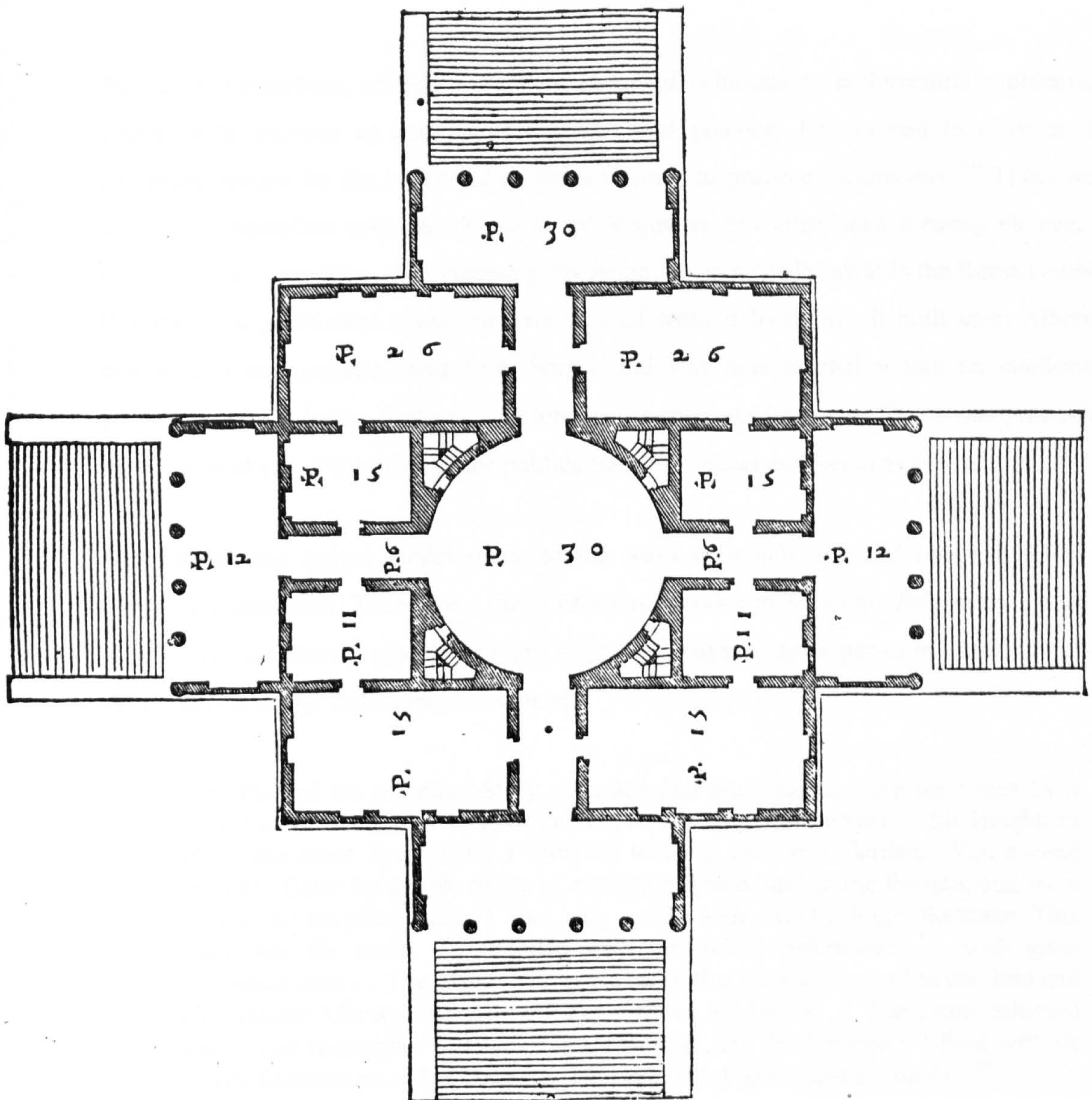






Illus. 22





Palladio's illustrations offered a standard range of solutions to architectural problems,³⁰² which could function as patterns for architectural practice. He claimed to offer up his published designs for the benefit of all those wishing to practice architecture.³⁰³ These were not totally dependent upon the principles of Vitruvius, but introduced a strong element of Palladio's own invention, demonstrating his flexibility in attitude towards the Roman author. However, his publication could not have existed without Vitruvius. It built upon Alberti's treatise and incorporated ideas from Serlio, and was thus located within an intellectual tradition in which Italian writers on architecture drew on and displayed Vitruvian principles, but developed a new approach to the publication of technical architectural information.³⁰⁴

Elements of this Italian model relate to the ways in which text and image function in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. There are a range of textual modes in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, ranging from a basic nominative mode which privileges the image, to descriptions in which Campbell clearly continues the Italian model outlined.

'The Plan of the principal Story extended 260 Foot, raised from the Court by a large Rustick Basement 15 Foot in Height: The Situation requiring this Height, to afford the State Apartments a Prospect to these excellent Gardens. You ascend from the Court by double Stairs of each side which land in the Portico; and from thence into the great Hall, 51 Foot long and 36 wide, and in Height the same: This leads into the salon, ... attended with two noble Apartments ... with great Conveniencies: ... The whole Plan is closed with a decent Chappel in one End and a handsome Library in the other: The Offices are below ... The Front, adorned with a just Hexastyle: The Order is Corinthian, and the Diameter 3 Foot with its proper Entablature and Ballustrade, adorned with Figures and a Cupola.'³⁰⁵

Much of Campbell's text is taken up with details of proportion and measurement. However, the dependence upon the text rather than the image as a means of expressing this is interesting. Palladio had set a precedent for the increased didactic possibilities of the image and the reduction of text, making Campbell's decision to remove information from his images, from a technical, and architectural stance, retrograde. One interpretation of this could be that Campbell's use of the image was less concerned with conveying technical

³⁰² H. Burns, *Andrea Palladio 1508-1580. The Portico and the Farmyard*, (London: Arts Council, 1975), p205.

³⁰³ A. Palladio, Trans. R. Tavernor, R. Schofield, op cit, Foreword to Book One, p5, 'I considered it worthy ... to make public the designs of those buildings that I have collected over such a long period ... and to expound briefly what it is about them that seemed to be the most worthy of consideration and also the rules that I have followed and still follow when building; so that those who read my books may benefit from what is useful in them ...'. 'Foreward to Book One.

³⁰⁴ Ibid, p viii

³⁰⁵ C. Campbell, Vol. 1, 1715, plates 23-27. See C. Campbell, Vol. 3, 1725, plates 27-34.

information, and that, instead, there was a strong aesthetic element. Nevertheless, the text does relate to the images in *Vitruvius Britannicus* in that Campbell organises his discussion according to the order of plan, elevation and section, and treats each figure independently. Unlike Serlio, however, he rarely refers the reader directly to the illustration in a way that suggests an absolute relationship between text and image. While each element benefits from being considered alongside the other, text and image can be treated entirely separately. Section 4.2 examines the wider precedents for the type of text in *Vitruvius Britannicus* and 4.2d in particular, highlights the fact that it relates to many unillustrated publications. This is further developed in Chapter 6. Likewise the illustrations can be compared to prints and maps that were published without accompanying texts. In this way Campbell's publication differs quite fundamentally to the use of text and illustration in both Serlio's and Palladio's works, and suggests a different system of understanding.

While Campbell draws upon the body of Italianate literature and the models for architectural writing and illustration considered, there are several distinct elements that do not draw upon this paradigm. While Alberti and Serlio introduced a basic level of description in their work and little aesthetic evaluation in the Italianate models considered, Campbell uses this type of language to a much greater extent, suggesting that he drew upon other models of writing. *Vitruvius Britannicus* has much more in common with the descriptive model in Alberti's *Profugiorum ab aerumna libri* than that of the academic treatise, and this is of fundamental importance in understanding Campbell's publication. The broadening of the language of architectural discussion related architecture to a range of potential subjects upon which an educated person could be expected to express an opinion.³⁰⁶ Onians has noted that 'each writer [on theory] relates his formulations not to what happened in real buildings but to notions current in other forms of literature'.³⁰⁷ He sees this reapplication from other literary contexts as a negative aspect of architectural writing. However, it is in fact fundamentally important in understanding architectural thought. Descriptions of buildings, published or unpublished, were part of a wider dialogue with other forms of writing. Descriptions of architectural effect necessitated the borrowing of adjectives and categories from other sources. Thus master terms were transferred into architectural discourse from other areas. Knowledge was decompartmentalised and concepts and vocabulary applied to architecture became part of a broader area of polite knowledge and discussion. This brought different branches of knowledge into relation with each other. The idea of the cultivated generalist developed – that is, one who could take a broad view of a range of subjects and discuss these

³⁰⁶C. Smith, op cit, p144.

³⁰⁷J. Onians, op cit, p1.

knowledgeably without taking on the narrow, 'interested' view of the specialist. As this general cultivated discourse developed, subjects began to literally share a language, and the range of polite subjects suitable for conversation became increasingly wide ranging.³⁰⁸ This process through which a previously specialised, technical discourse becomes part of a more generalised and non-specialist intellectual environment has resonance with the ways of looking at and understanding architecture developed in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, and the descriptive vocabulary which it brought into circulation. The development of strategies for conversation enabled ideas relating to intellectual subjects to be exchanged and developed, thus continually sharpening the intellect, enabling evaluative judgements to be made, and encouraging a fuller use of critical criteria. All of these were essential to the formation of civil society and a polite discourse of architecture.

The extent to which the illustrations in Campbell's work can stand on their own in purely aesthetic terms points to an alternative model of architectural publication prevalent in France and Northern Europe which also influenced Campbell's approach.

4.1b French publications

Architectural publication in France initially owed a considerable debt to the body of Italian literature outlined above. As it developed in the late sixteenth century, however, there was a distinct reaction to Italian dominance of architectural discussion and new ideas were applied to architectural publications. There are two key aspects of this relevant to *Vitruvius Britannicus*: the idea of the national survey of architecture; and the developing practice of publishing prints of buildings. Related to these are themes of nationalism and the controversy over ancient and modern architecture.

In her consideration of *Vitruvius Britannicus* Eileen Harris suggests the influence of a tradition of national survey and notes that the idea of a survey of architecture seems to have come from France.³⁰⁹ However, Harris only traces this precedent to the publications in the seventeenth century by Daniel Marot. A much earlier example is J.A. du Cerceau's *Les plus excellents batiments de France* (1576). Du Cerceau had travelled to Rome in the 1540s with the French Ambassador Georges d'Armagnac, and may have been familiar with Italian

³⁰⁸ This relates to my discussion of the importance of disinterest in Chapter 6.

³⁰⁹ E. Harris, N. Savage, *British Architectural Books and their Writers*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p140

architectural discourse.³¹⁰ His *Premier livre d'architecture* (1559) contains a number of plans and elevations of town houses, and demonstrates an awareness of the work of Serlio. Nevertheless, a distinct movement towards French nationalism can be seen in Du Cerceau's later work, the two volumes of *Les plus excellents batiments de France* (1576 and 1579). These volumes consist of a series of bird's-eye views, plans and elevations, principally of French chateaux, many built to Du Cerceau's own designs, accompanied by brief notices in the front of each volume. The organisation is thus very similar to that of *Vitruvius Britannicus*.

Kruft has argued that *Les plus excellents batiments de France* was intended to demonstrate 'not so much a theoretical study of architecture nor a systematic application of Classical or Italian Renaissance architecture to France, as legitimisation of French developments and provision of models for the future'.³¹¹ It was a survey of the principal houses in France clearly intended to demonstrate national excellence, as can be seen in the introduction to the first volume, dedicated to Catherine de Medici:

'Through you, God has sent peace on Earth. Consequently, it was the right time for me to draw attention, thanks to this first volume, to the magnificent buildings of the kingdom. I hope that the unfortunate French people, (living for the moment in the ruins that past wars have brought about), will be pleased to contemplate, thanks to this book, a part of the most beautiful buildings of France.'³¹²

Such sentiments are echoed in Campbell's introduction to his first volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus* in which it is clear that he sees his survey of national architecture as a demonstration of national excellence:

'... I cannot but reflect on the happiness of the British nation, that at present abounds with so many learned and ingenious gentlemen ... who have all greatly contributed to adorn our island with their curious labours, and are daily embellishing it more. I hope therefore, the Reader will be agreeably entertained in viewing what I have collected with so much labour'.³¹³

³¹⁰ There is no record that Du Cerceau met Palladio so it is unlikely that he would have been familiar with the project, however, editions of Vitruvius, Alberti, and part editions of Serlio's books would have been available and, given his interest in architecture, it is likely that he would have been acquainted with them.

³¹¹ H. W. Kruft et al, op cit, p119.

³¹² J. A. Du Cerceau, *Le Premier Volume des plus excellents batiments de France*,. Westmead, Farnborough: Gregg International, (1576) 1972), p3. Author's translation. The reference to recovery after a troubled period in history raises interesting parallels with Campbell's publication of *Vitruvius Britannicus* at a time of optimism in a constitutional monarchy after the 'ruination' of civil war.

³¹³ C. Campbell, Vol. 1, 1715, Introduction.

Indeed, Campbell's introduction has stronger nationalist overtones than that of Du Cerceau.

'The general esteem that travelers have for things that are foreign, is in nothing more conspicuous than with regard to building. We travel for the most part, at an Age more apt to be imposed upon by the ignorance or partiality of others, than to judge truly of the merit of things by the strength of reason. It is owing to this mistake in education that so many of the British quality have so mean an opinion of what is performed in our own country; though, perhaps in most we equal, and in some things we surpass our neighbours.'³¹⁴

These statements demonstrate a link between the arts, particularly architecture, and the formation of a national identity, an idea which has clear origins in the French model. Jean Guillaume has noted, 'France [was] an intellectual environment greatly influenced by Italian culture, but one which was, at the same time, determined to affirm its independence, not to say its superiority'.³¹⁵ French publications asserted her arts as distinct from, and equivalent in quality to, the Italian, thus calling into question the authority of Italian models. For example, the influential publisher and classical scholar Henri Estienne, writing on Herodotus in the 1560s, was concerned about indiscriminate adulation for the antique and Italian in painting and sculpture. Such ideas fed into the well documented quarrel between the ancients and moderns in the seventeenth century, hinted at in Campbell's introduction through his observation that 'I have ... judged it would not be improper to publish this collection, which will admit of a fair comparison with the best of the moderns: As to the antiques, they are out of the question; and, indeed, the Italians themselves have now no better claim to them than they have to the purity of the Latin.'³¹⁶ This observation is clearly aimed at the Italians, given Campbell's later argument that '[In Italy] the great manner and exquisite taste of building is lost; for the Italians can no more now relish antique simplicity, but are entirely employed in capricious ornament, which must at last end in the Gothick'.³¹⁷ Campbell, therefore, draws upon a French model relating the survey of contemporary architectural achievements to a national contribution in the arts, a paradigm that can be traced back at least as far as Du Cerceau's *Les plus excellents batiments de France*.

John Harris has argued that 'Although the Batiments de France set an important precedent, in France the publication was isolated'.³¹⁸ Whatever its impact in France the publication did

³¹⁴ Ibid, Introduction.

³¹⁵ Guillaume, cited in V. Hart, P. Hicks, 1988 op cit, p210.

³¹⁶ C. Campbell, Vol. 1, 1715, Introduction.

³¹⁷ Ibid, Introduction.

³¹⁸ J. Harris, *The Artist and the Country House, from the Fifteenth Century to the Present Day*, (London: Sotheby's, 1995), p6.

have considerable influence elsewhere not only on *Vitruvius Britannicus*, but also on earlier English publications such as that of Kip and Knyff.³¹⁹ Du Cerceau's influence on *Vitruvius Britannicus* has been neglected in many considerations of the subject. One reason for this is the emphasis placed upon the use of the bird's-eye view, (illus. 25 - 26) but his work is interesting for reasons other than this early use of bird's-eye perspective.

The notices accompanying Du Cerceau's plates are lacking in any stylistic evaluation, and are principally concerned with the history of the building, its location and a general description of each chateau and its surroundings. Some of the descriptions also contain very broad evaluative judgements. The following extracts typify many of the notices:

(Of Vincennes) '.... This castle was started by Charles, Earl of Valois ... the construction of the castle was continued by Phillippes, the aforesaid Earl's son, who became king This building, besides the big Dungeon Tower, is made up of several square pavilions. It also contains large gardens, surrounded by high walls. Moreover, those gardens are surrounded by two main rivers Beside the pavilion, other buildings were built Unfortunately, those new buildings as far as their architecture is concerned, are quite common and seem to have been built without any order. That is why, to my point of view, they spoil the original beauty of the castle'³²⁰

(Of Chambourg) '.... The inside of the castle is very well organised. It has a large staircase around which four rooms were built. Moreover, at the four corners of the main building there are four massive towers, which are used as bedrooms, wardrobes, stairs or working rooms This castle was built by King François I and, thanks to its imposing mass and architecture, is really beautiful. On the contrary, the gardens have nothing special compared with the beauty of the castle.'³²¹

His descriptions make little direct reference to the images and consequently text and image can stand in isolation. The plates do not contain technical information such as measurements and therefore can perform a purely aesthetic function.

Du Cerceau creates a systematic layering of visual information, using differing methods of representation including plans, elevations and details, as well as perspectives, in order to fully illustrate the buildings. This can be seen in illus. 27 - 29 of the Louvre taken from the first volume. This organisation is continued in the second volume, as can be seen in illus. 30 - 32 of Charleval. Illus. 33 and 34 show Du Cerceau's use of the plan, section and elevation.

³¹⁹ J. Brown, *The Art and Architecture of English Gardens. Designs for the Garden from the collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects 1609 to the present day*, (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1989), p10.

³²⁰ J. A. du Cerceau, *op cit*, p3.

The use of these different methods of architectural illustration forms as important a part of Du Cerceau's project as the use of the bird's-eye view. This layering of visual information, and the use of the ground plan, section and elevation alongside the perspective, had a considerable influence upon subsequent French architectural publications such as Marot.

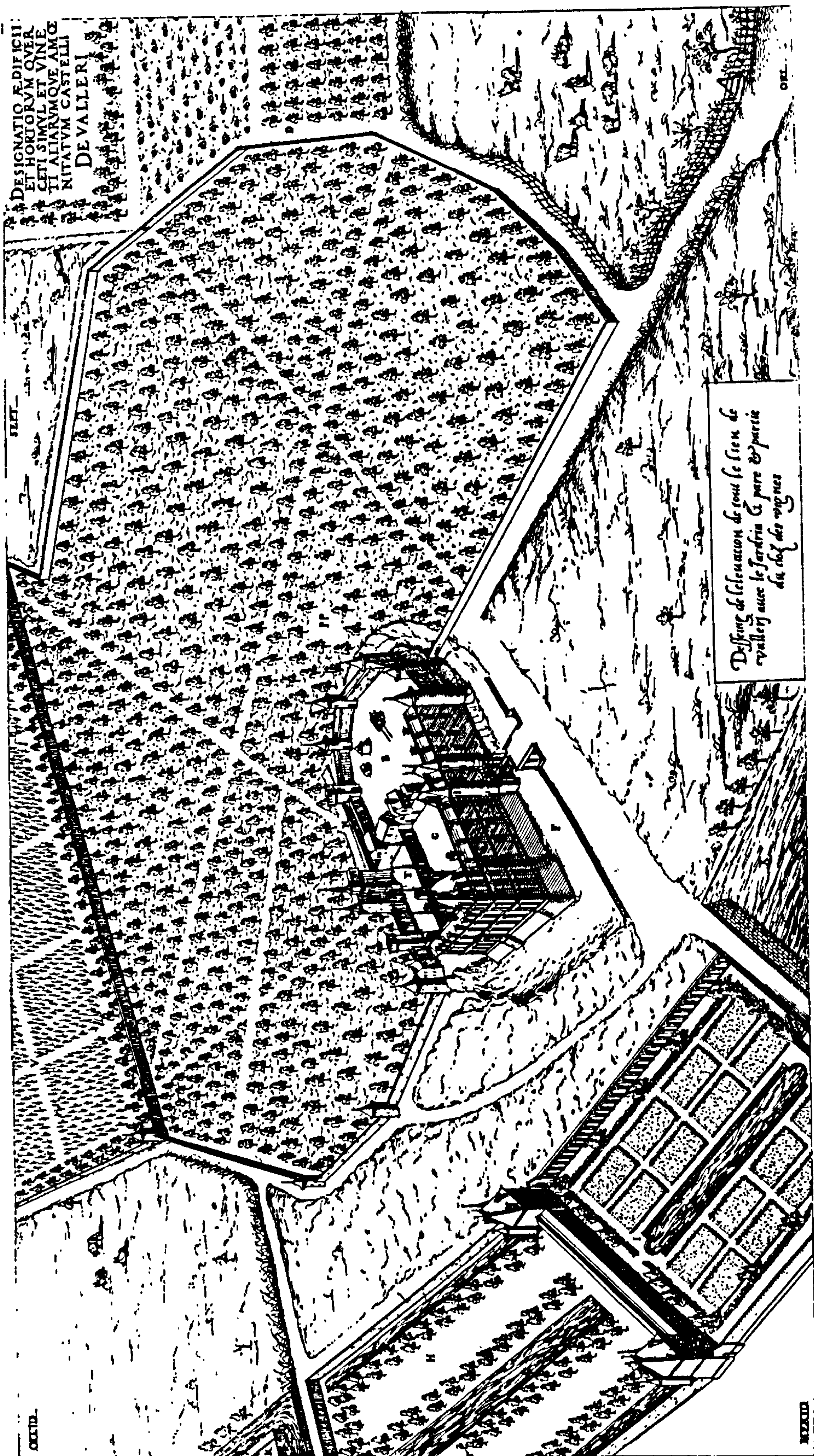
By 1600 the orthographic set of plan, section and elevation had become a common syntax. However, French publications of books and prints frequently included a perspective view, even if this was published separately it was still there for comparison. Consequently, perspectives and views form an important element in French architectural publication. Indeed, the publication of perspectives as separate collections may point to a specific French model for the visual organisation of *Vitruvius Britannicus* in terms of two volumes of orthogonal images, and a third containing perspectives and geometric plans of gardens. An additional French influence can also be traced from an examination of many of the geometrical plans in *Vitruvius Britannicus* which are similar to those produced of Versailles by Perrault and Silvestre. Jean Mariette published a series of perspectives, elevations, sections, and plans of individual buildings, by Marot,³²² and these appear to have been in circulation in England by 1715, by which date George Clarke had added them to his print collection. There is a clear level of systematisation to be found in Mariette's publications building upon the layering of visual information in Du Cerceau. These had a set format for providing comprehensive levels of architectural information. Mariette's publications depended largely upon the plan and elevation with section, but his individual prints and sets of prints included views, perspectives and geometric plans. The retention of the 'view' points to its importance within French publication. It can be seen in the engravings of Versailles by Silvestre, which were issued as gifts by Louis XIV and later became available as the *Cabinet de Roi*, as well as in other engravings by Perelle (illus. 35 - 37).

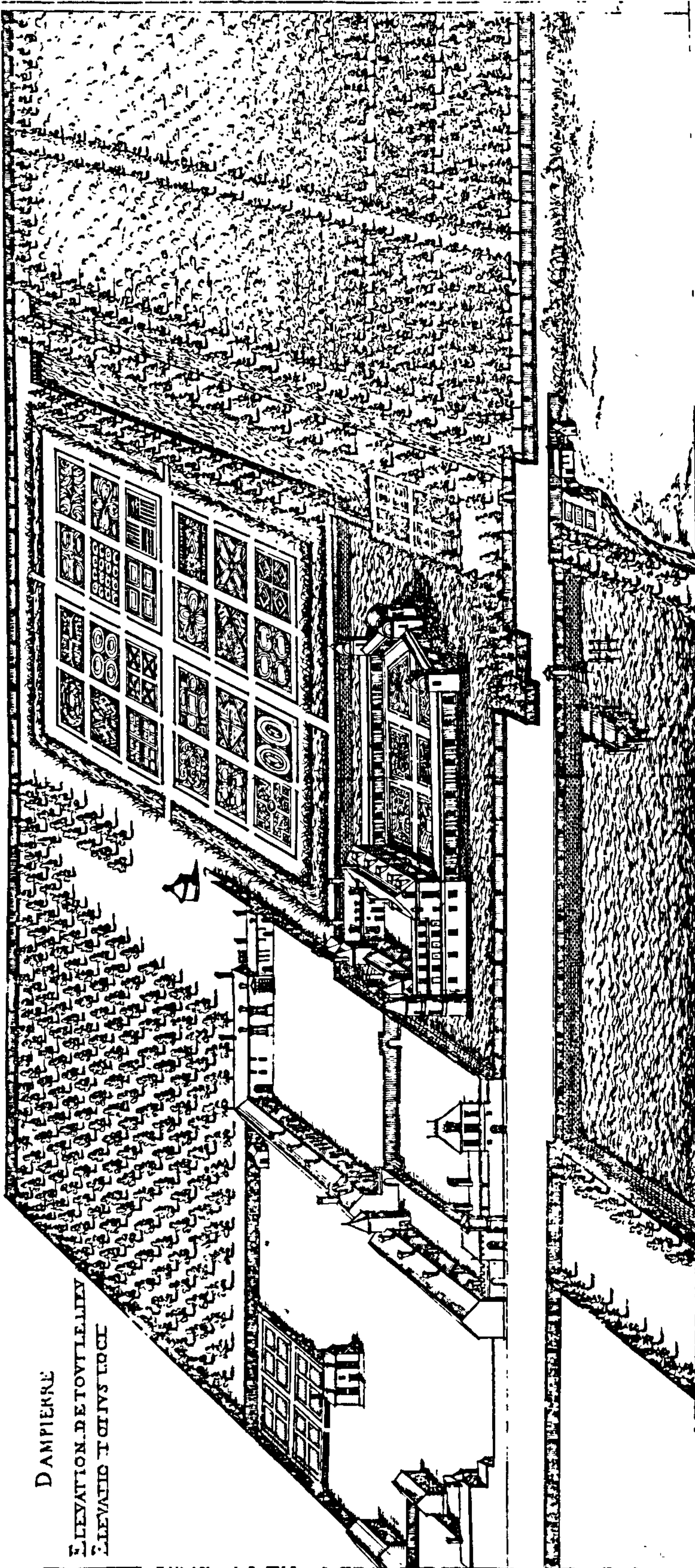
Illus. 38 - 42 by Mariette after Marot are another model for *Vitruvius Britannicus*, seen particularly in the dissociation of architecture from setting, and the use of orthogonal plans, elevations and sections. The architectural information is conveyed through visual information together with the occasional use of a key. The only written information on the plates is room

³²¹ Ibid, p4. Author's translation

³²² Published as, *L'architecture françoise, ou recueil des plans, elevations ... des eglises, palais, hotels de Paris ... et de plusieurs autres endroits de France*, (Paris: 1727). A Collection by Mariette was published in 1720 under the title *Maisons Français* and was in the collection of George Clarke, see T. Clayton, 'The Print Collection of George Clarke at Worcester College, Oxford', in *Print Quarterly*, IX, 1992, pp 123-140. Clarke also had a bound collection with a hand written title page: '*Receuil des Planches des Sieurs Marot Pere et Fils a Paris chez Jean Mariette*'. This was inscribed with the date 1715. See below.

uses. Measurements are never included and are meant to be taken from the image. Consequently, the plates form a distinct visual paradigm that allows an aesthetic function, and underplays the technical and practical aspects which dominate the Italian model. Such a function can be traced not only in French publications, but also in works such as Rubens's *Palazzi di Genova*, published in Antwerp in 1622, (illus. 43 - 46).



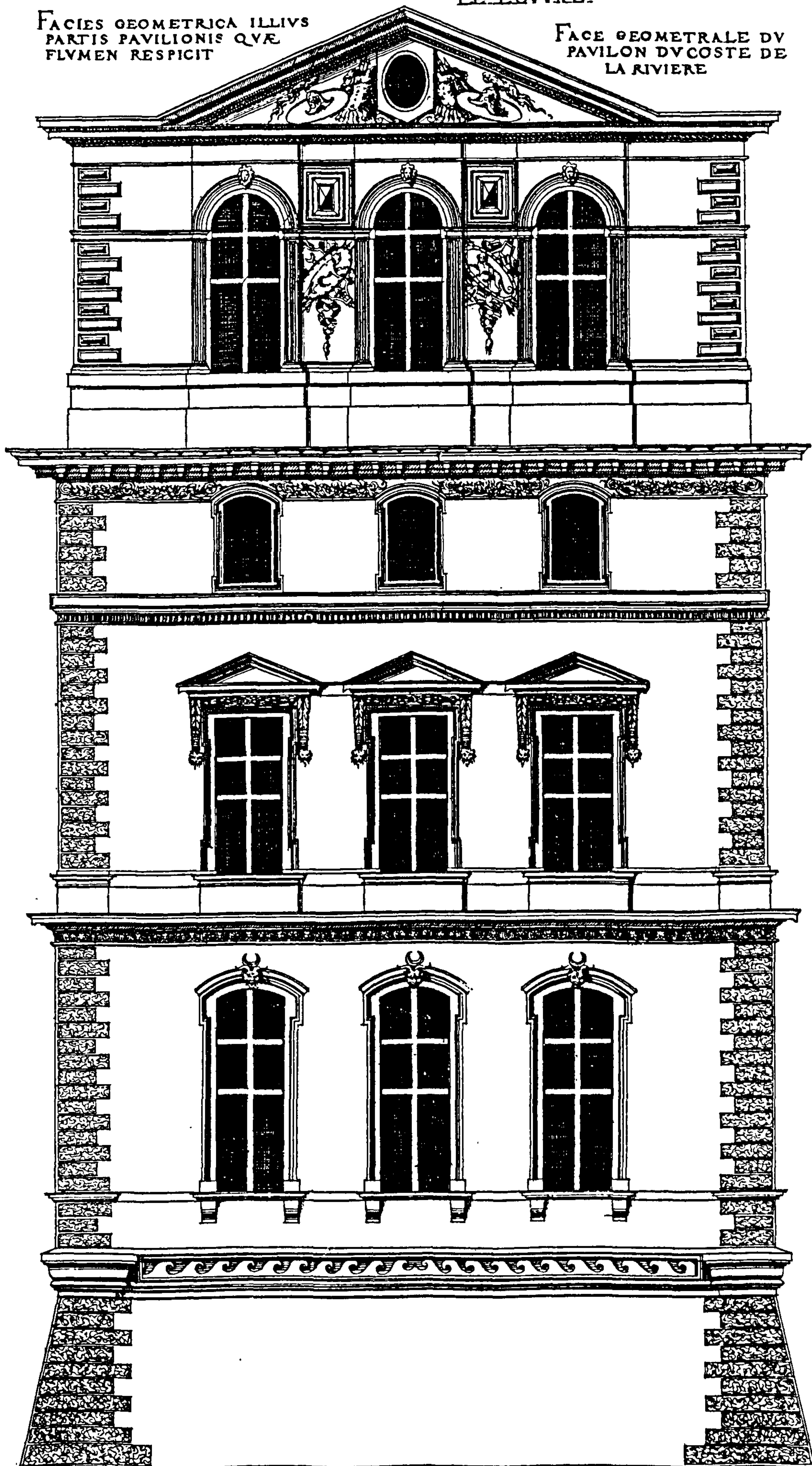


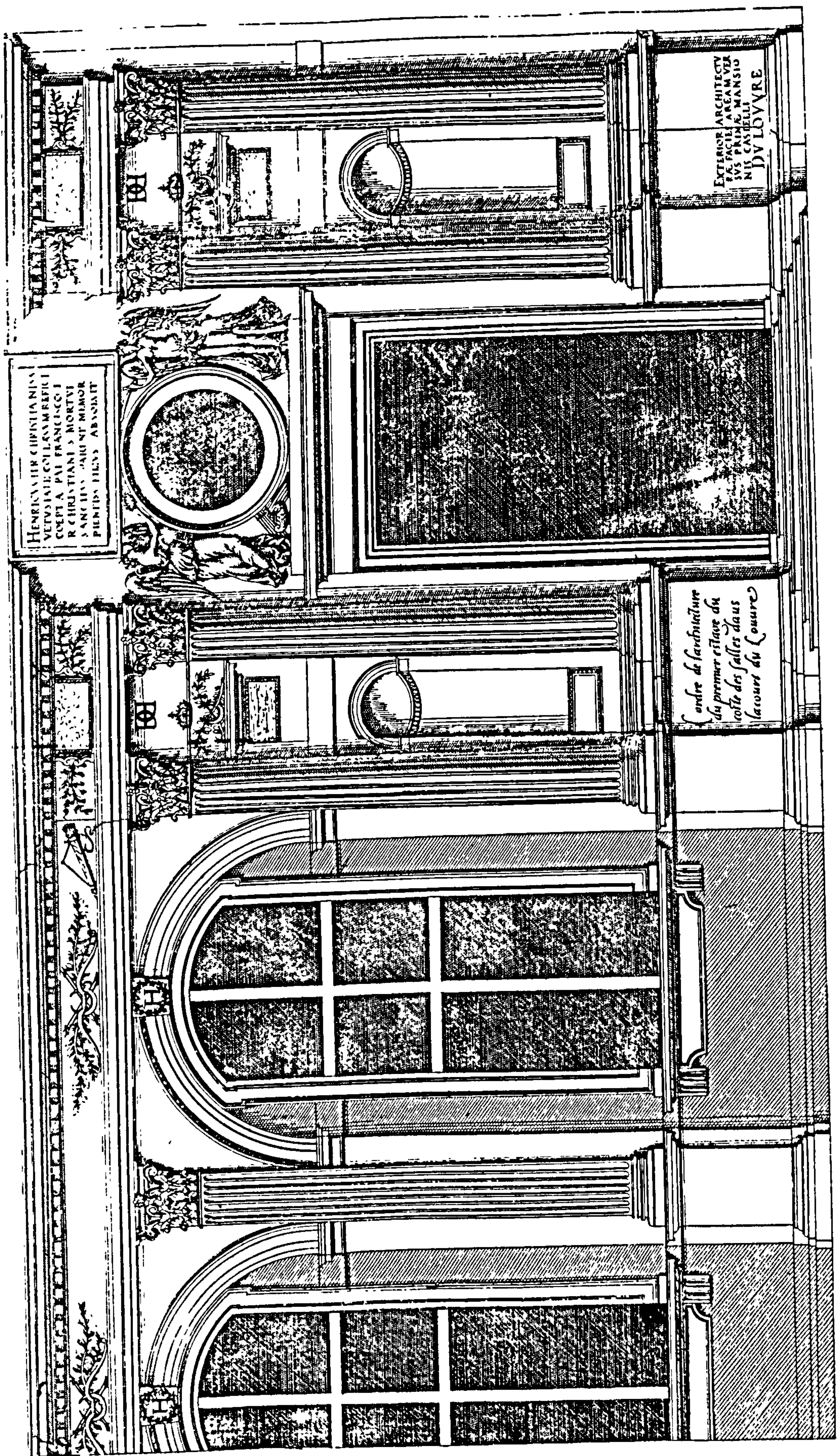
DAMPIERRE
ELEVATION DE TOIT LÉVÉ
ELEVATION T CHVS LOCI

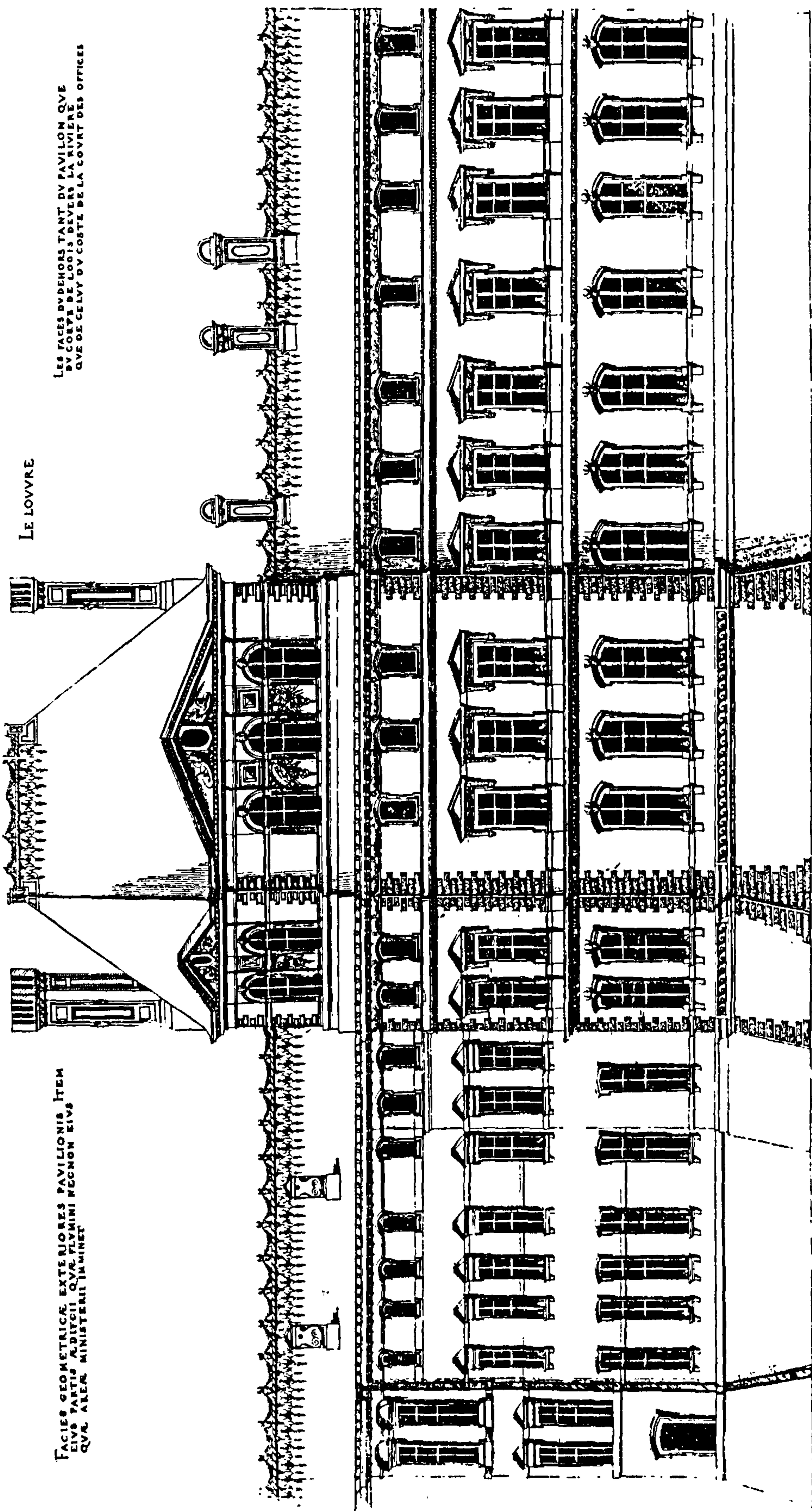
53

FACIES GEOMETRICA ILLIVS
PARTIS PAVILIONIS QVÆ
FLVMEN RESPICIT

FACE GEOMETRALE DV
PAVILON DV COSTE DE
LA RIVIERE



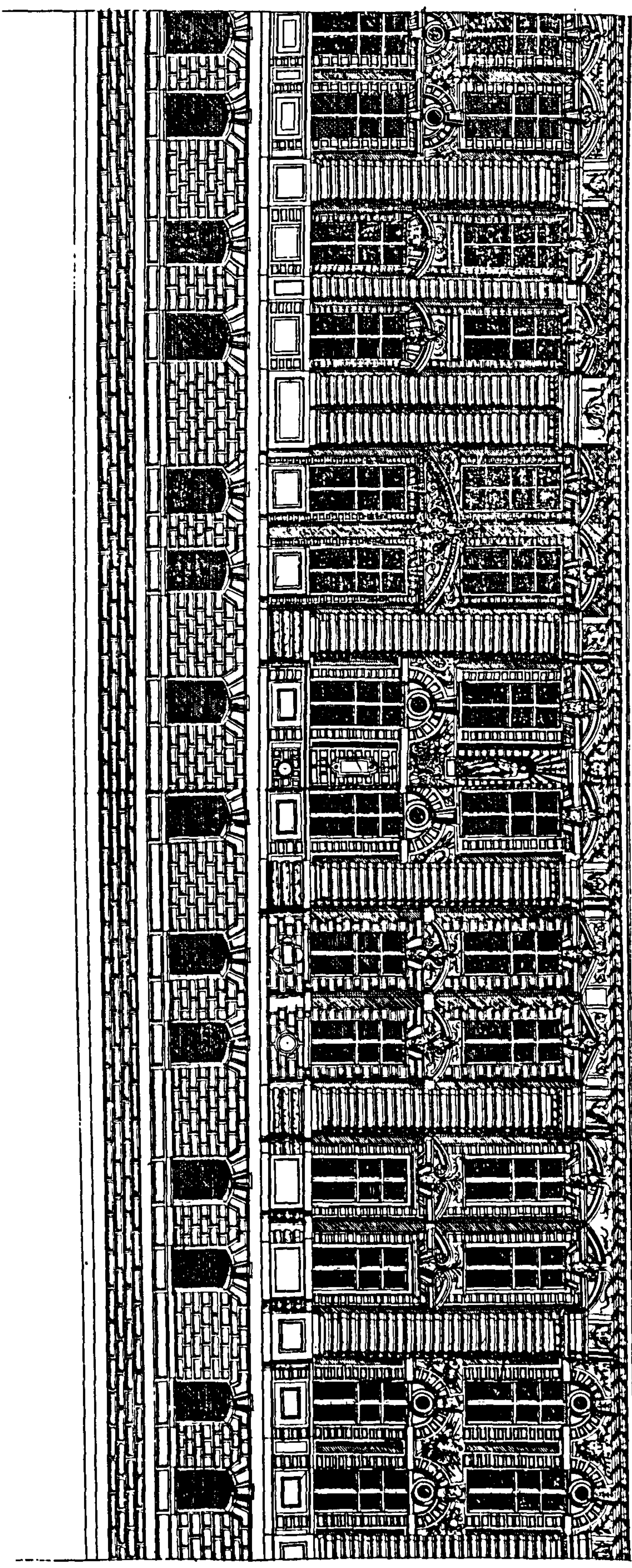


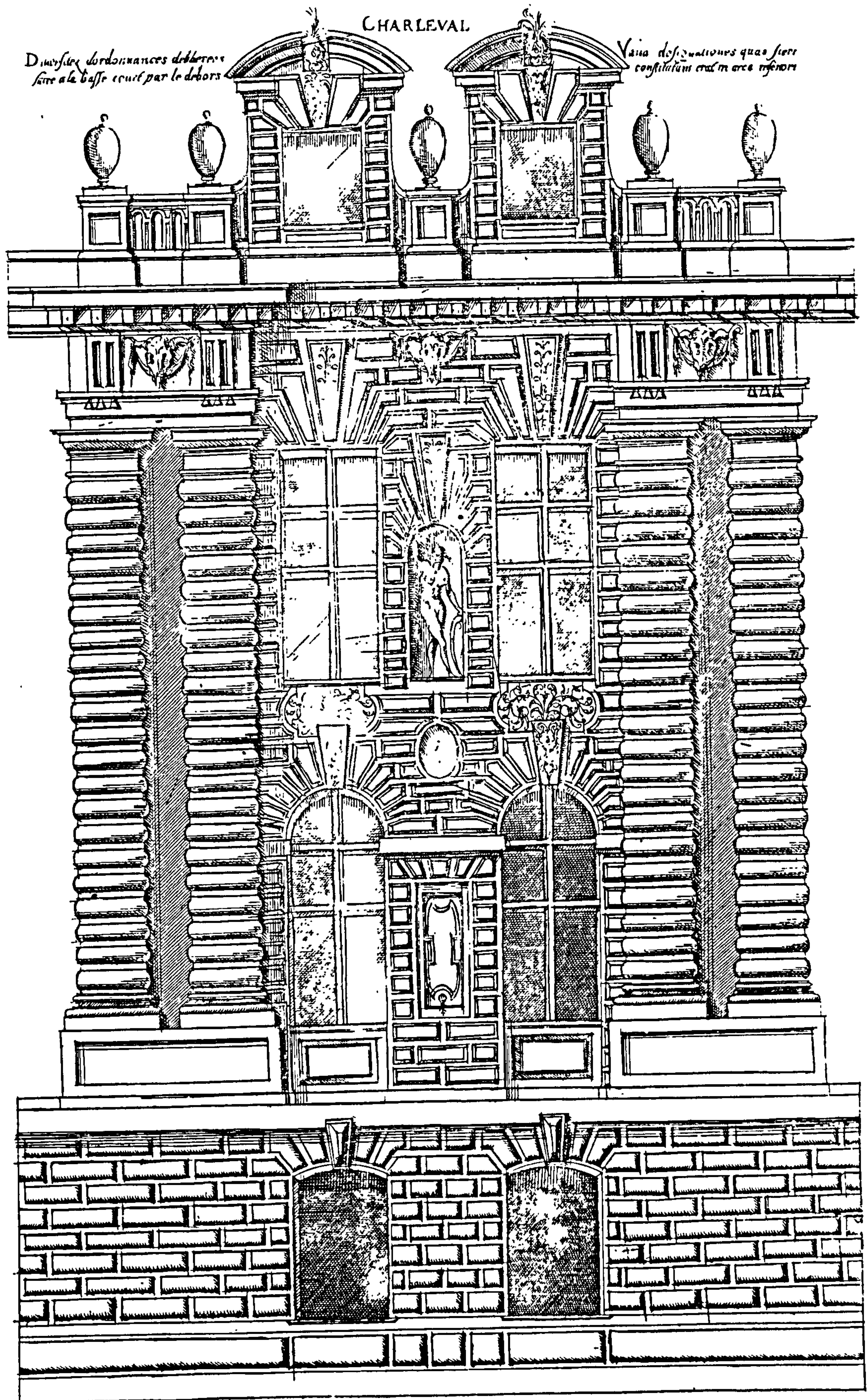


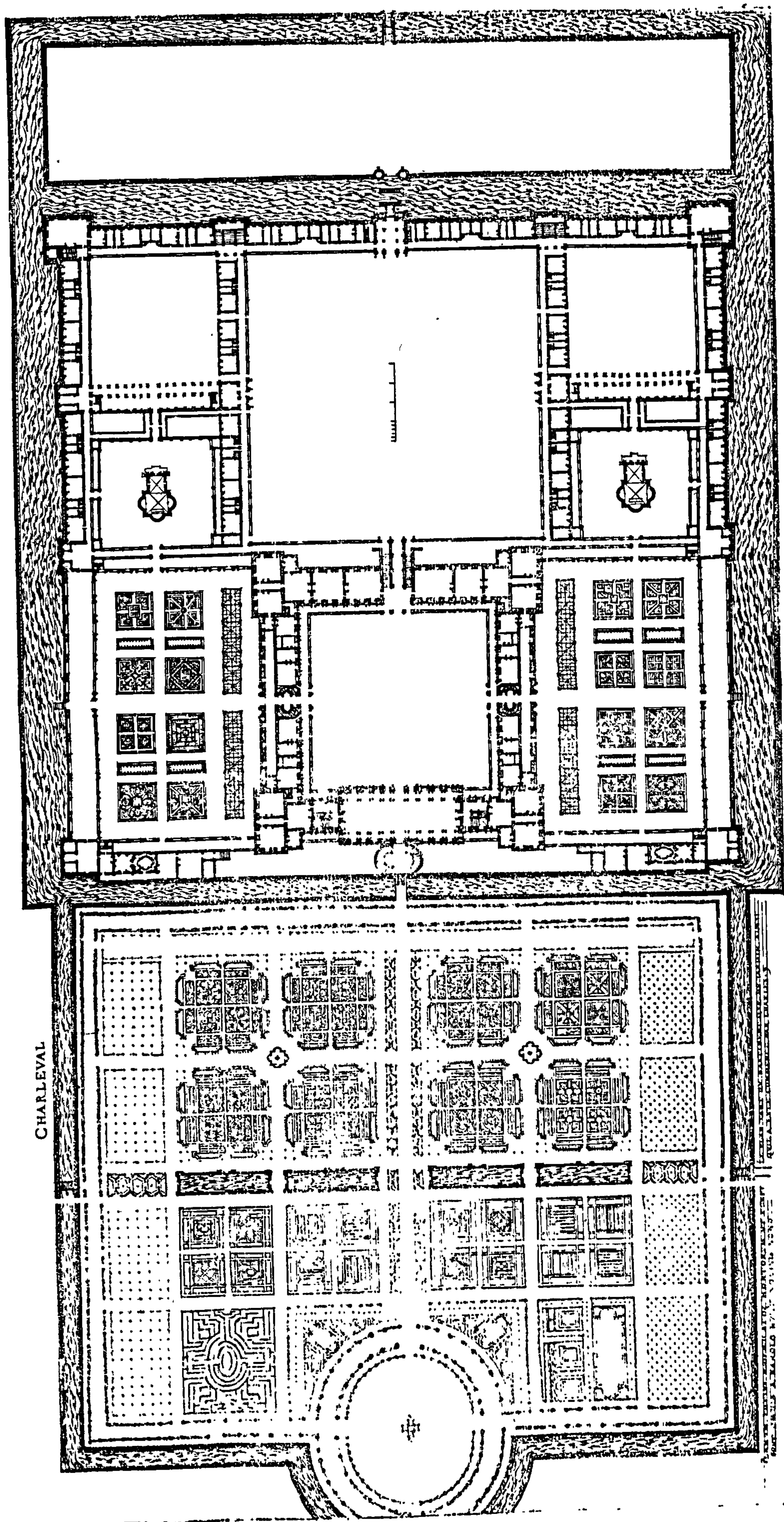
DIVERSES DORDONNANCES DELIBEREES FAIRE
ALA BASSE COURT PAR LE DEHORS

CHAREVAL

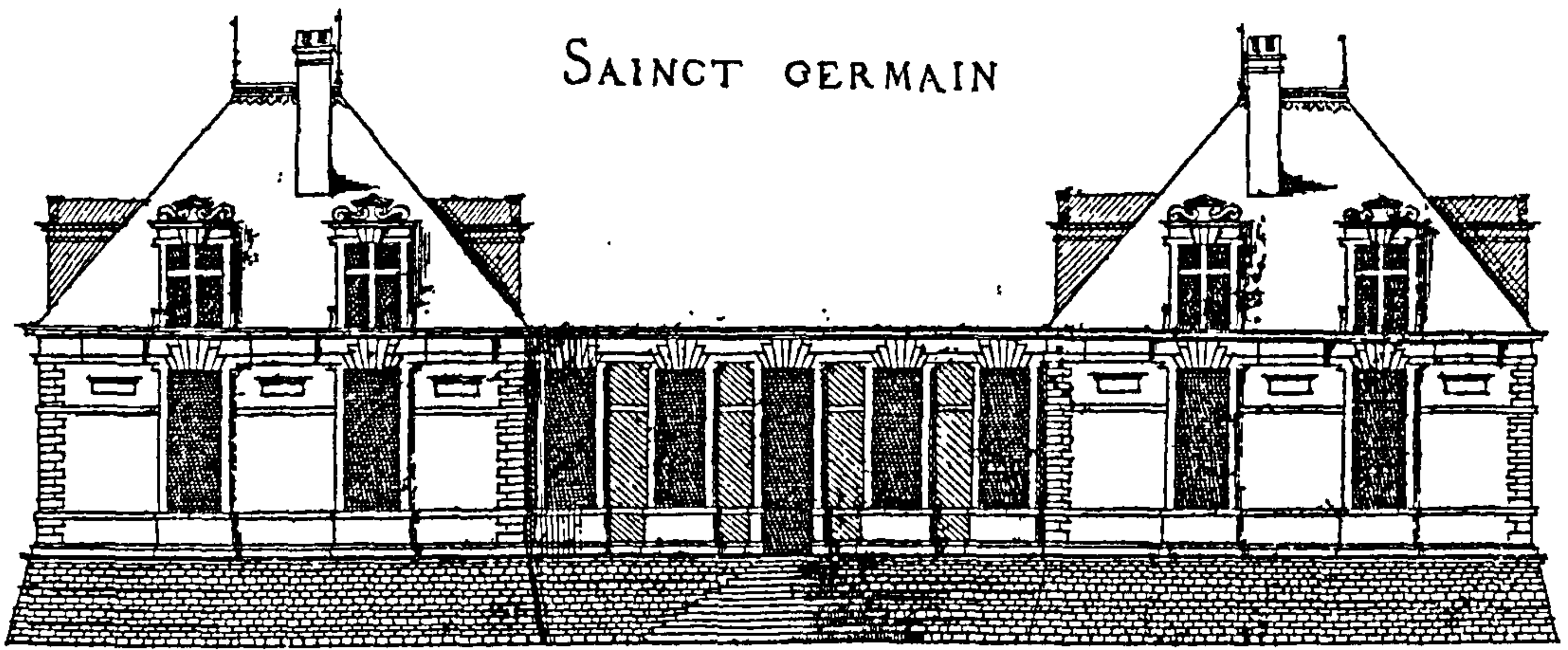
VARIE DESIGNATIONES QVAS FIENI CONSTITVTVA
ERAT IN AREA INFERIORI





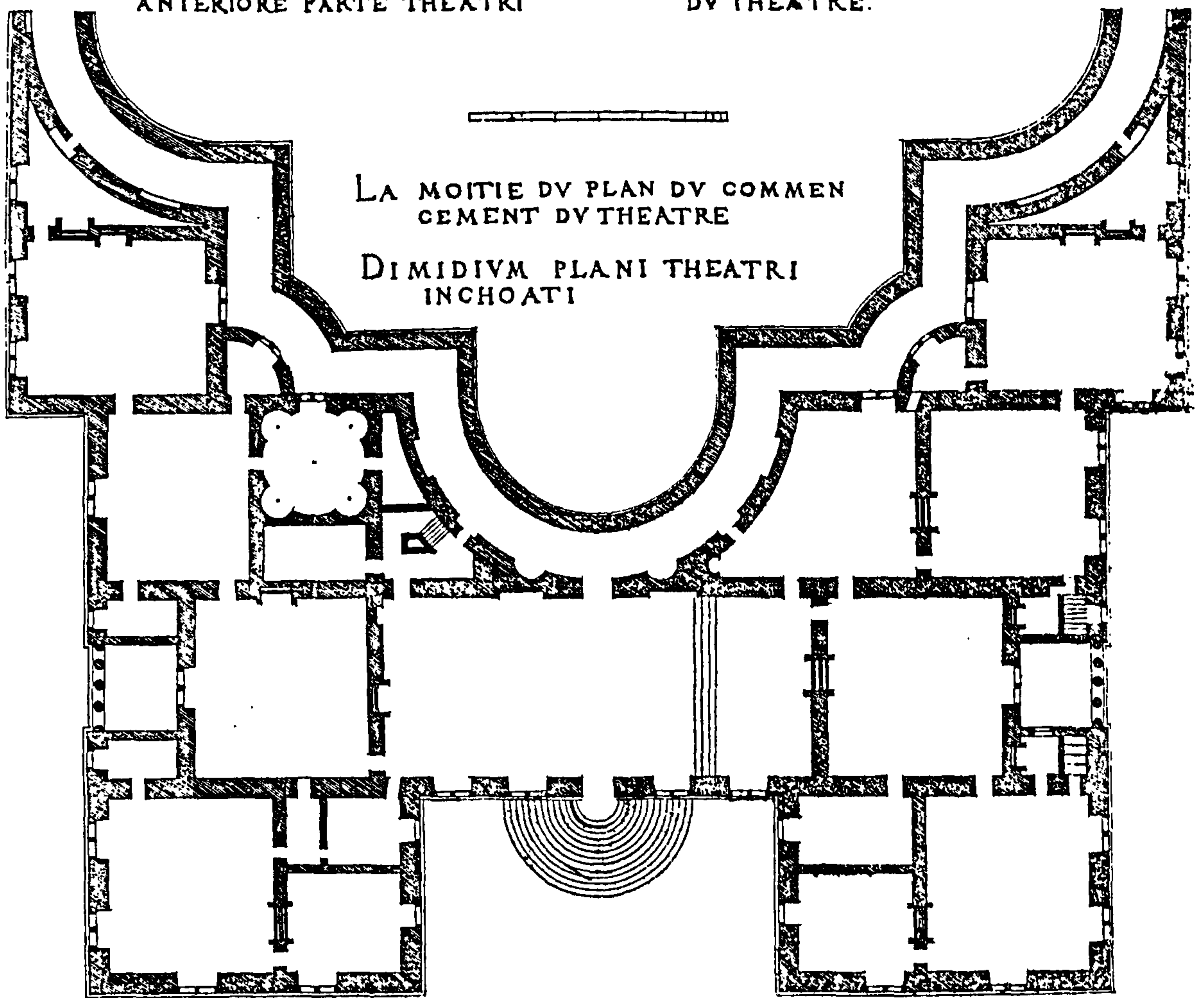


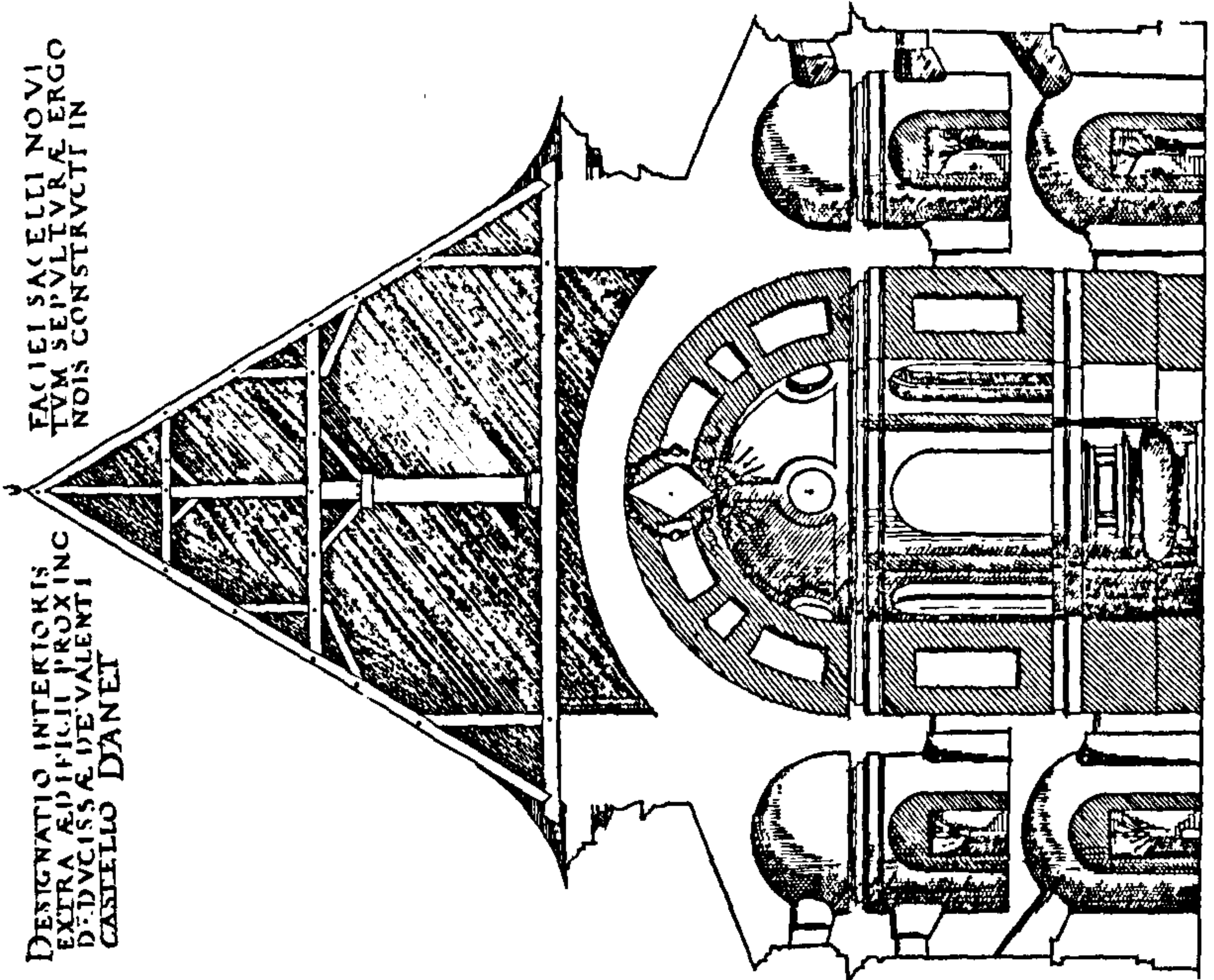
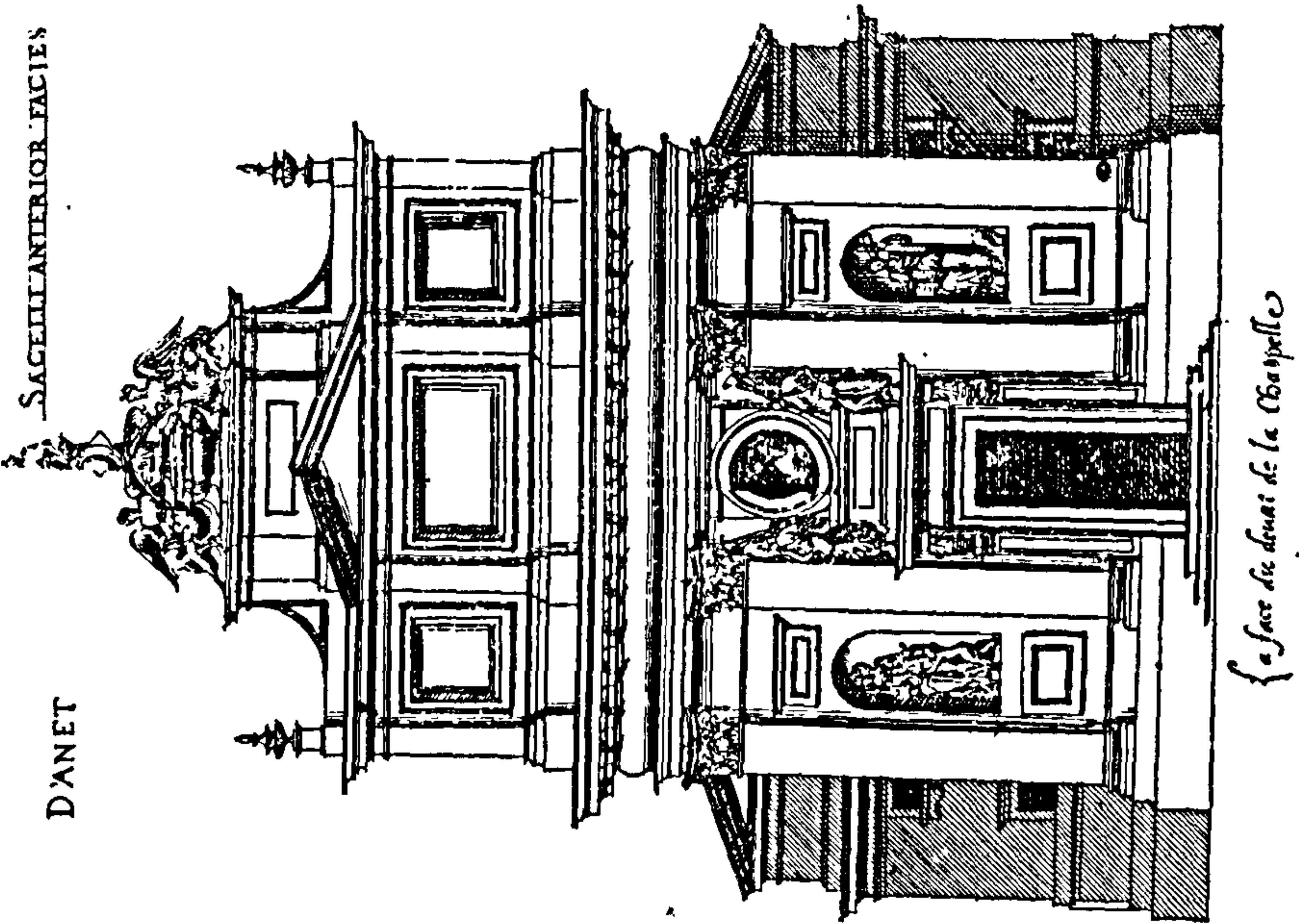
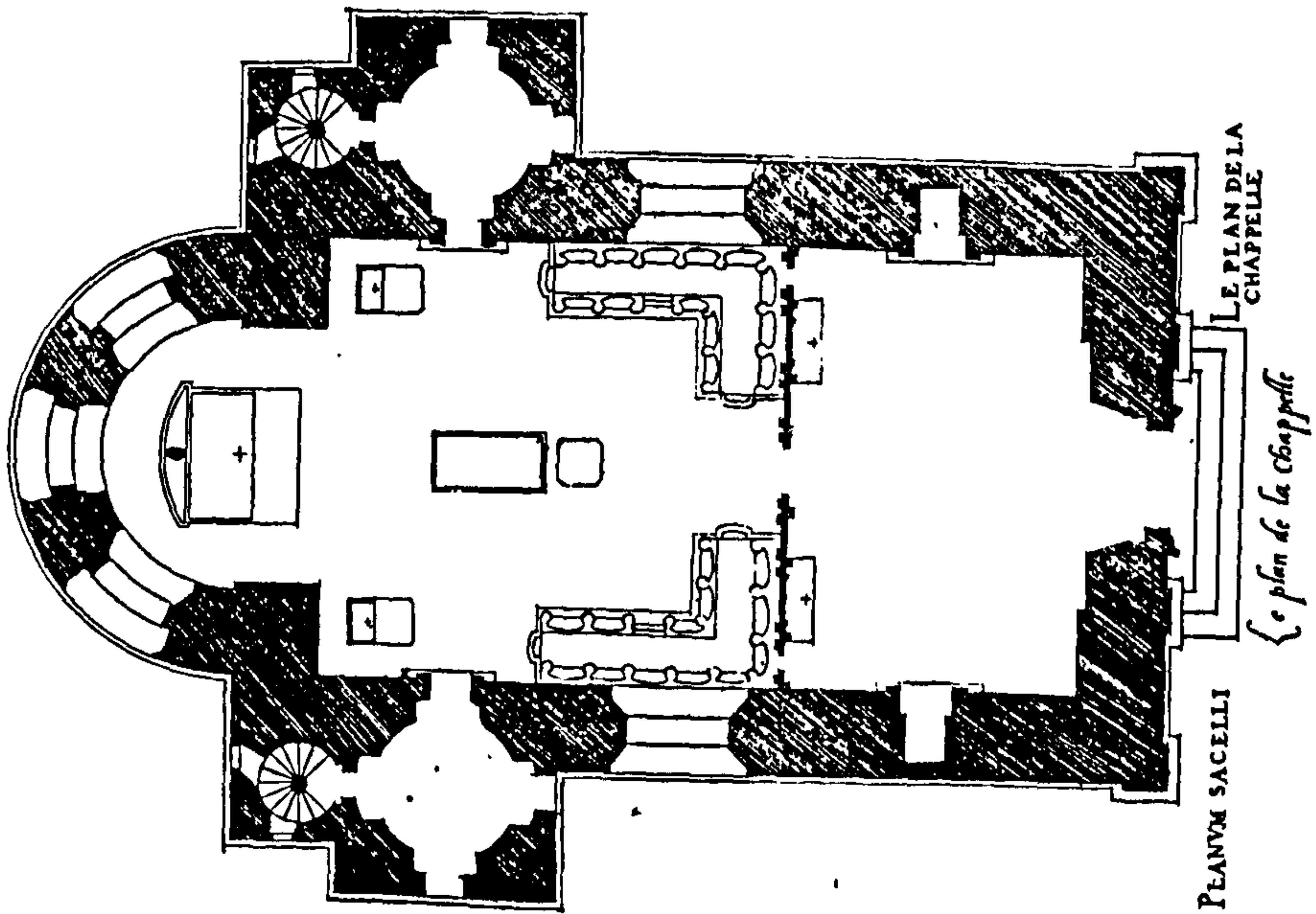
SAINCT GERMAIN

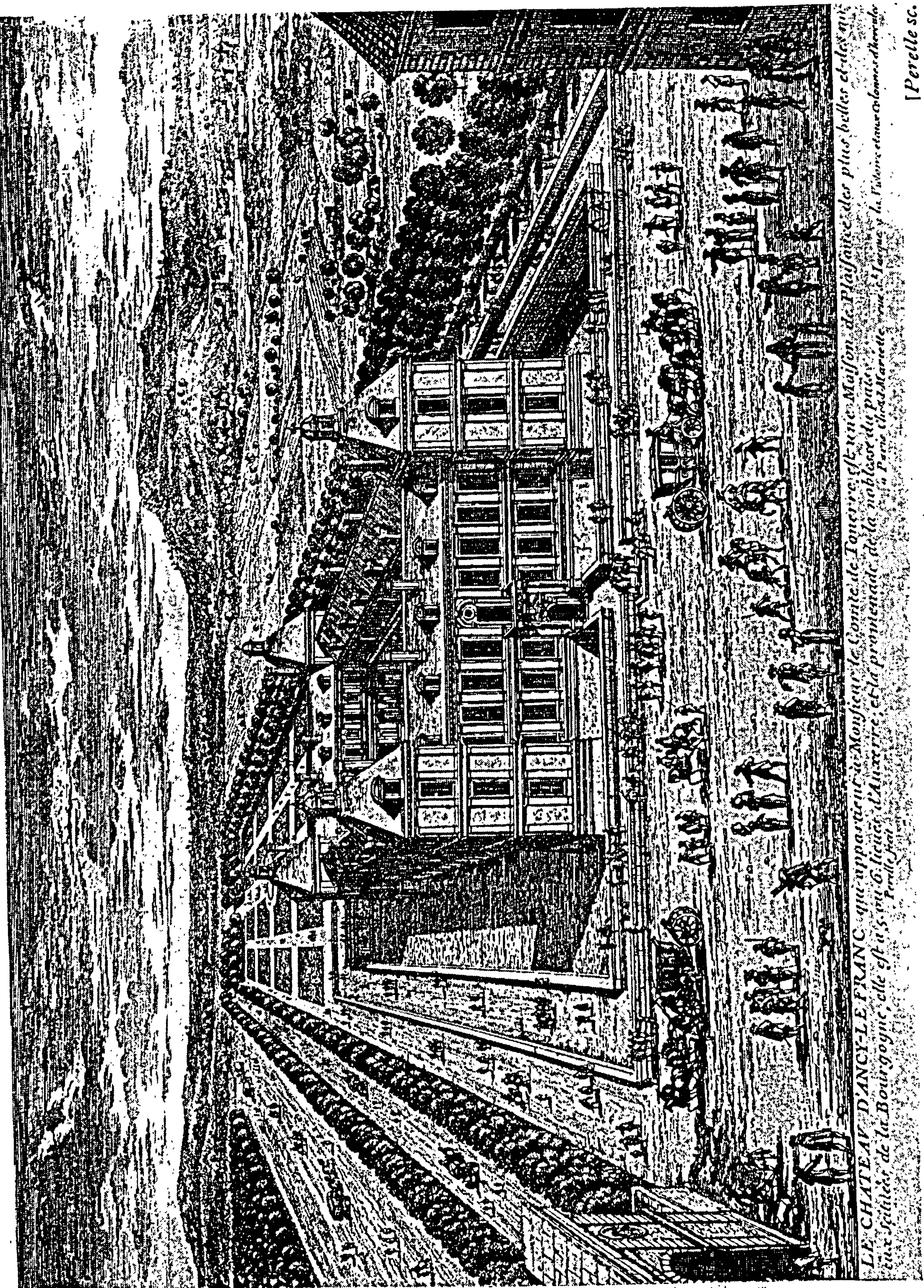


ÆDIFICIUM NOVVM IN
ANTERIORE PARTE THEATRI

LE LOGIS NEVF DV DEVANT
DV THEATRE.







LE CHATEAU D'ANCY-LE-FRANC, qui appartient à Monsieur le Comte de Tonnerre, est une Maison de Plaisance des plus belles et des plus agréables de la Bourgogne, elle est à 5 ou 6 lieues d'Auxerre, et la promenade de la noblesse du pays. Elle est située à l'extrémité de la Bourgogne, elle est à 5 ou 6 lieues d'Auxerre, et la promenade de la noblesse du pays. Elle est située à l'extrémité de la Bourgogne, elle est à 5 ou 6 lieues d'Auxerre, et la promenade de la noblesse du pays.

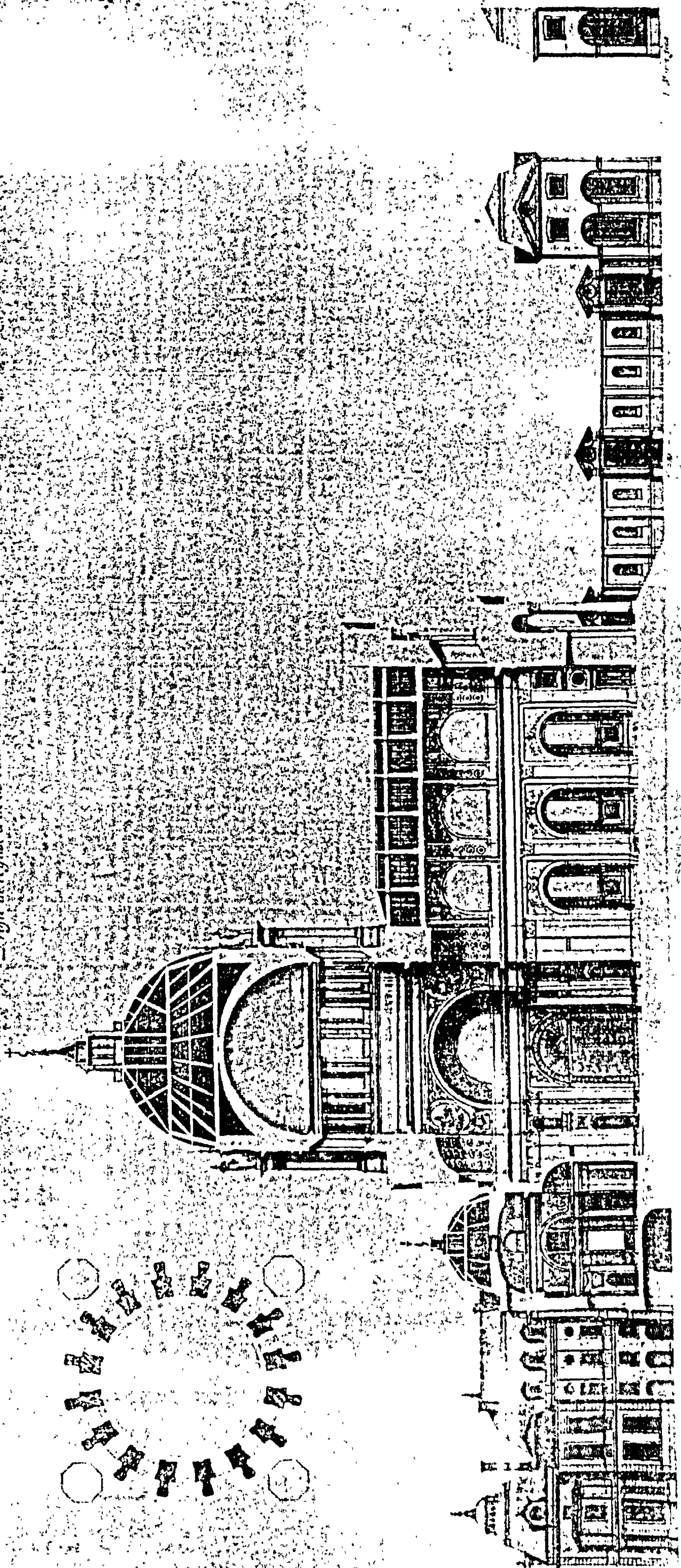
[Perelle sc.]



THE GROTTO OF MEUDON (P. 17)

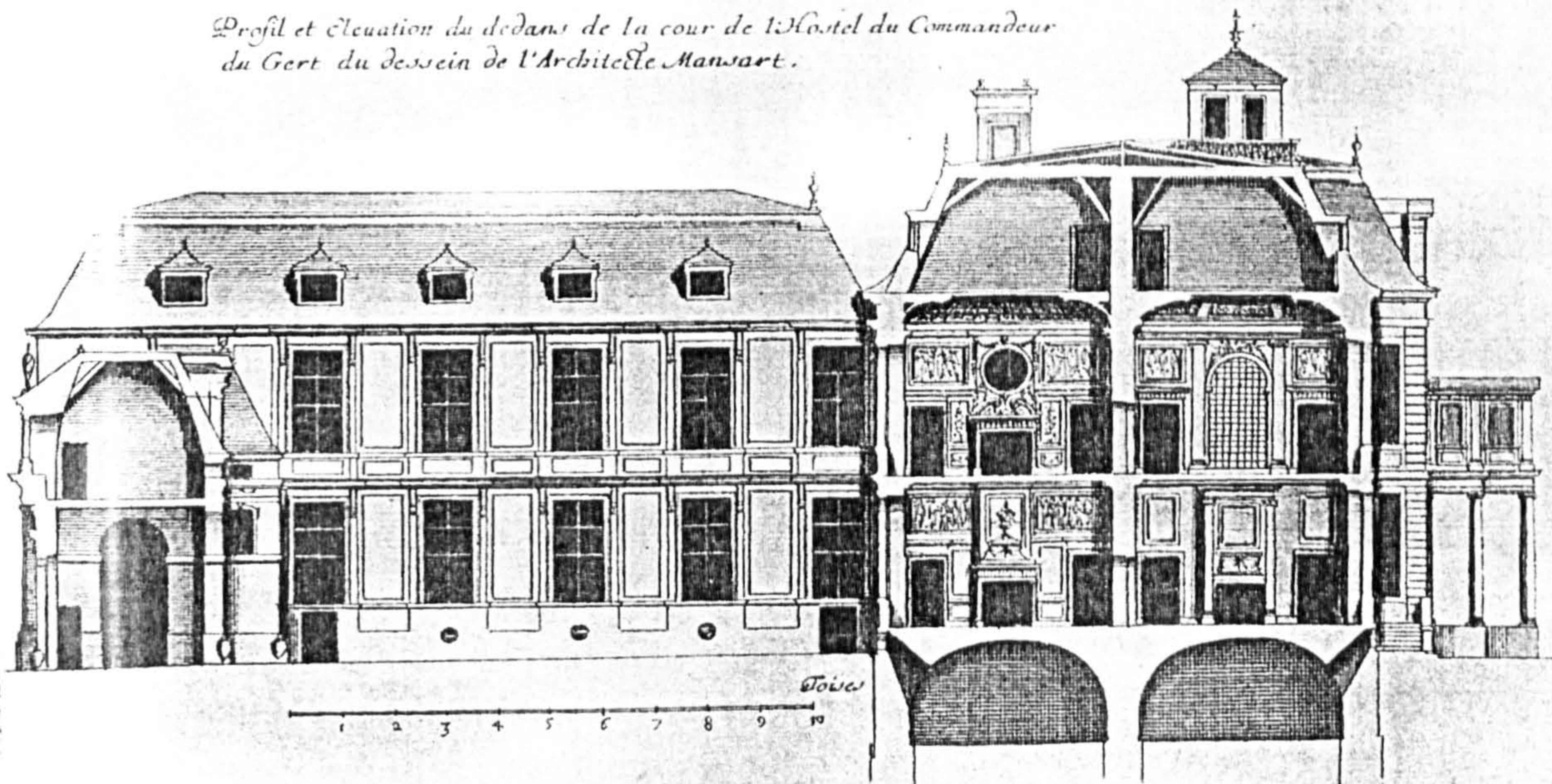
[Perelle sc.]

Griffel de l'Eglise et de la Cour de l'Abbaye Royale du Val de Grâce Bâtie par la Reine Anne d'Autriche



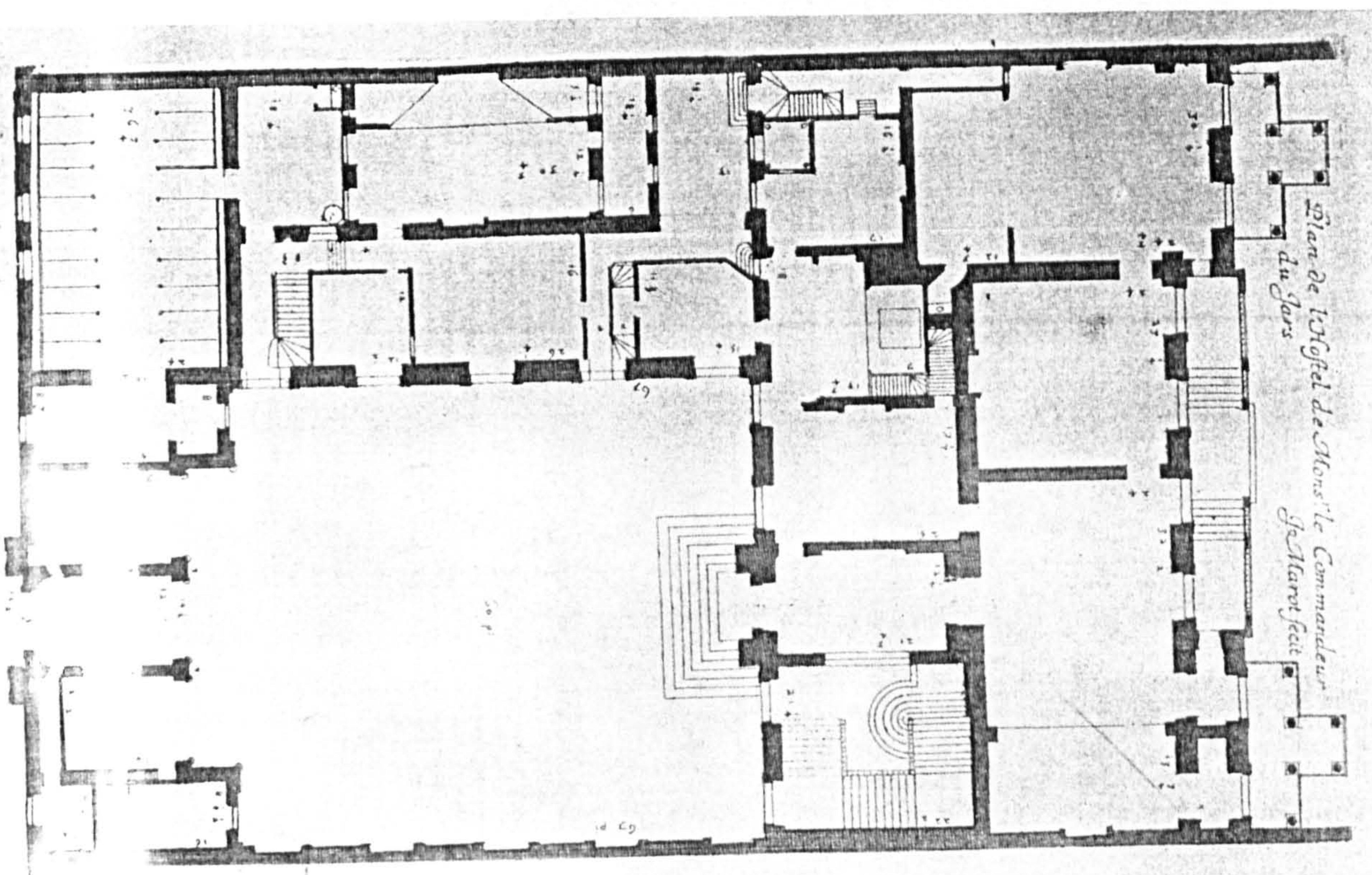
THE CHURCH OF THE VAL DE GRÂCE: SECTION (P. 132)

*Profil et Elevation du dedans de la cour de l'Hôtel du Commandeur
du Gert du Dessin de l'Architecte Mansart.*



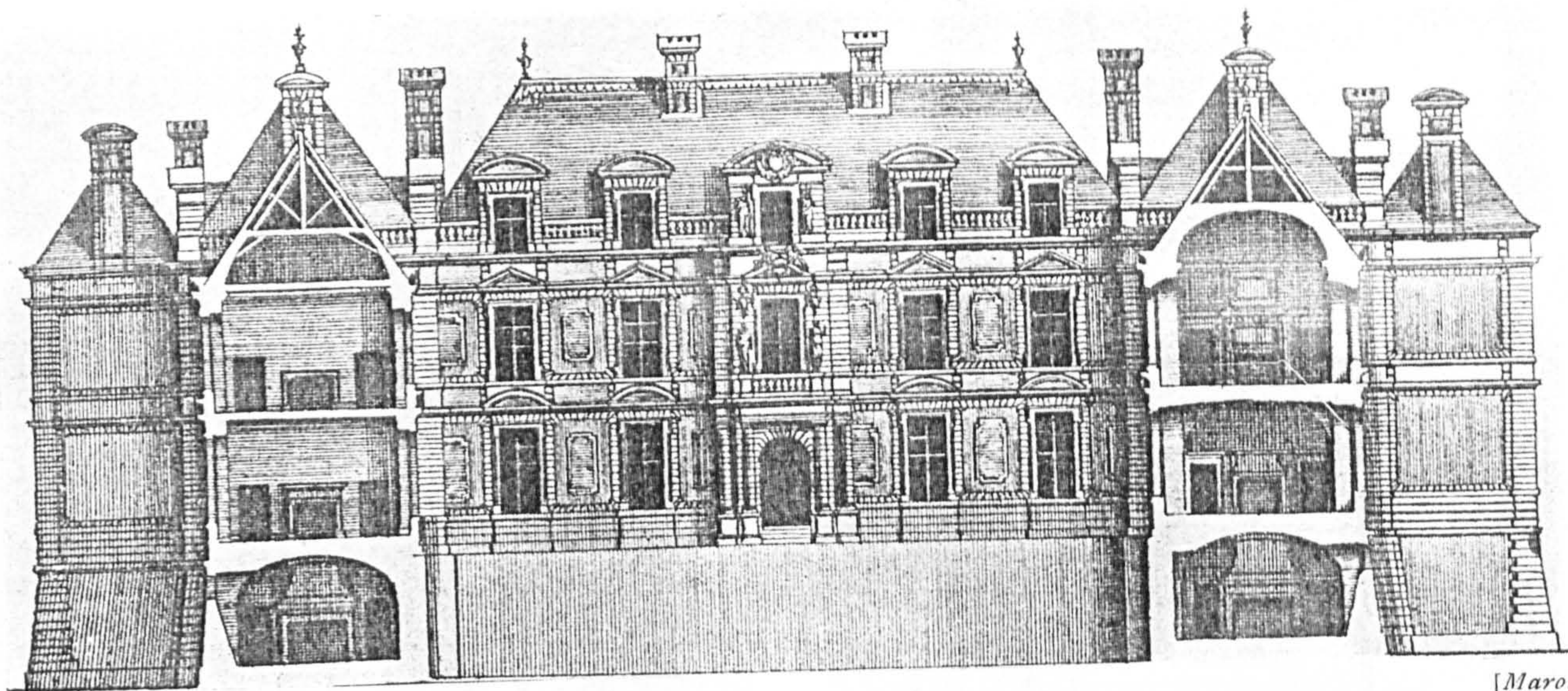
[Marot

SECTION



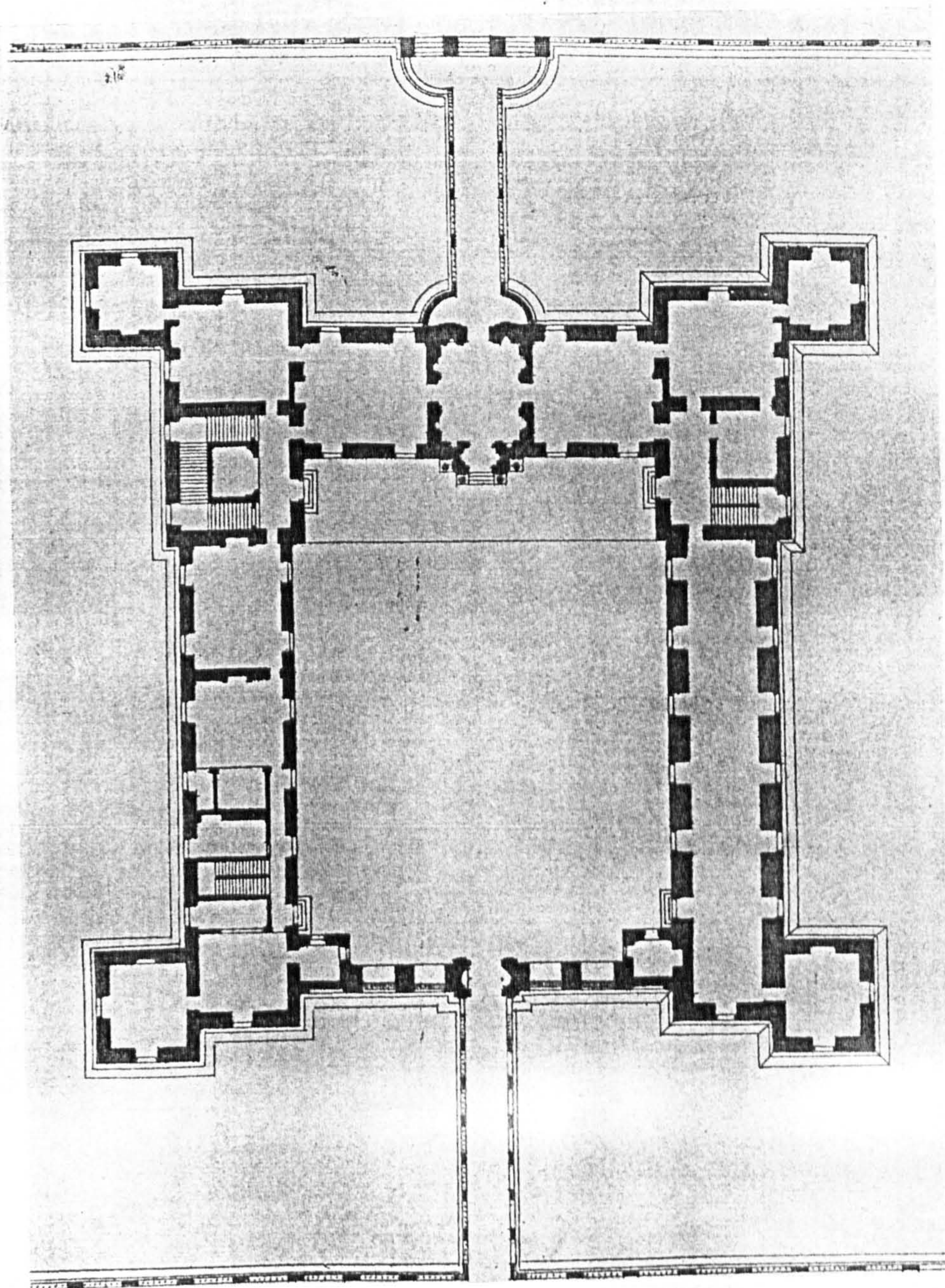
GROUND PLAN

THE HÔTEL DU JARS *or* DU GERT (P. 125)



[Marot]

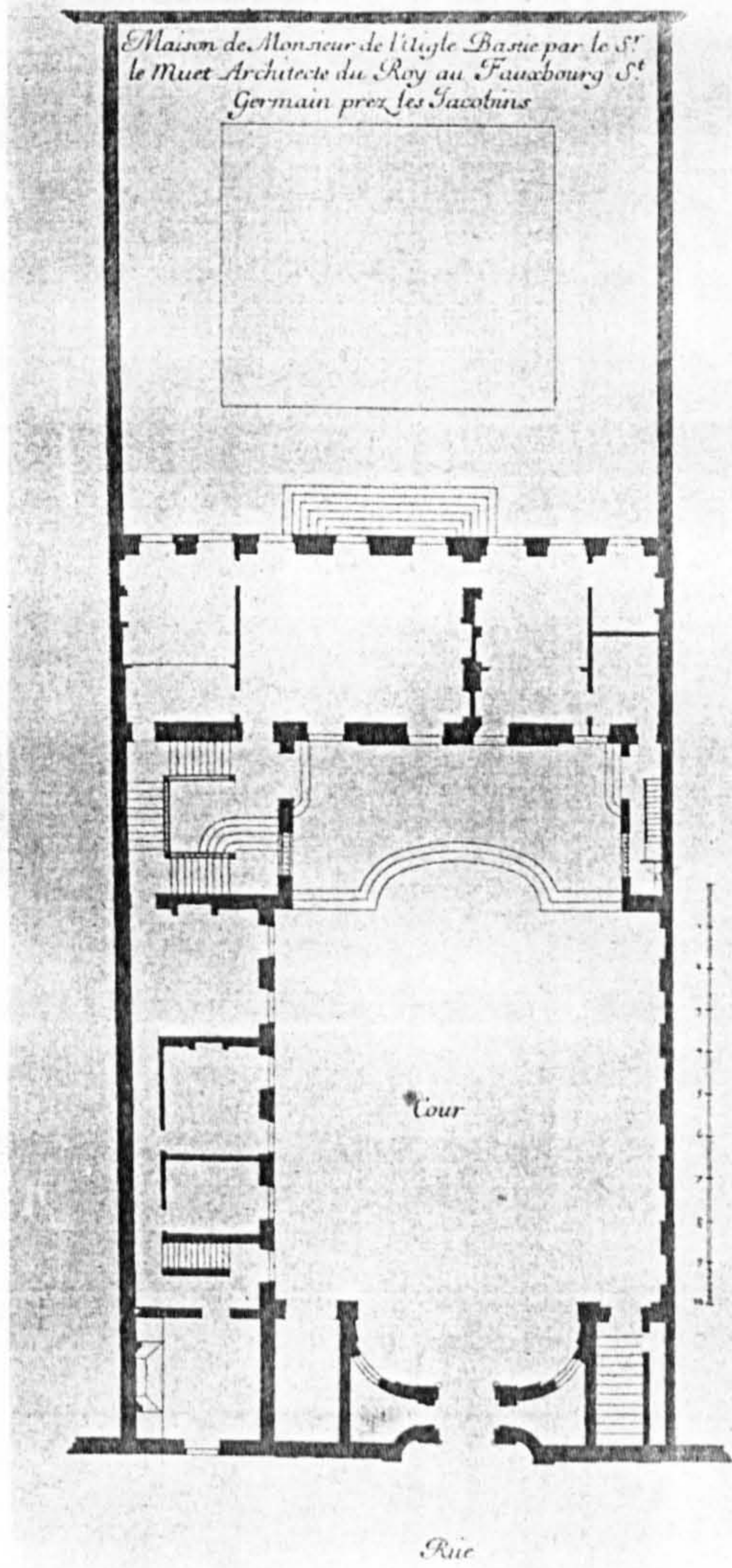
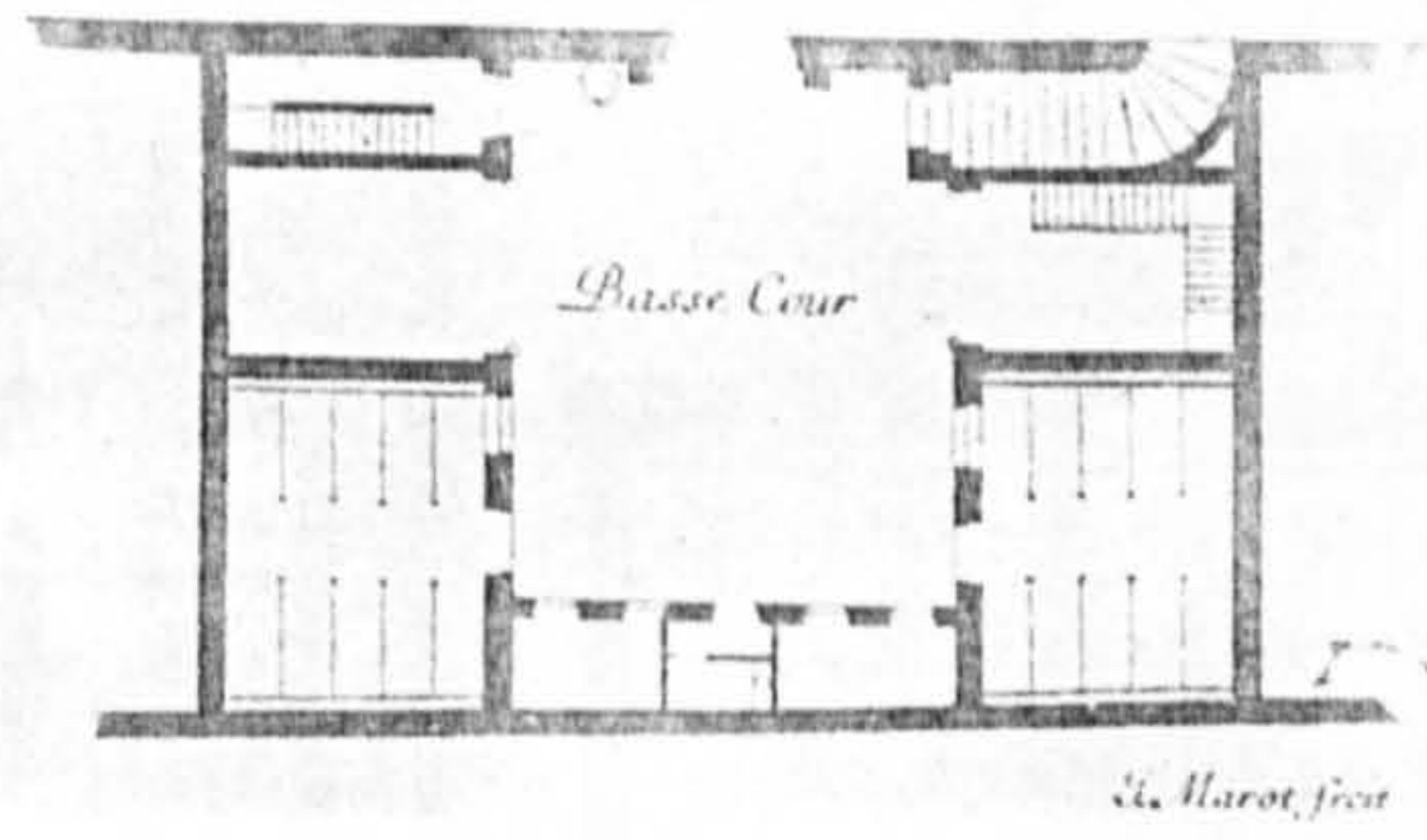
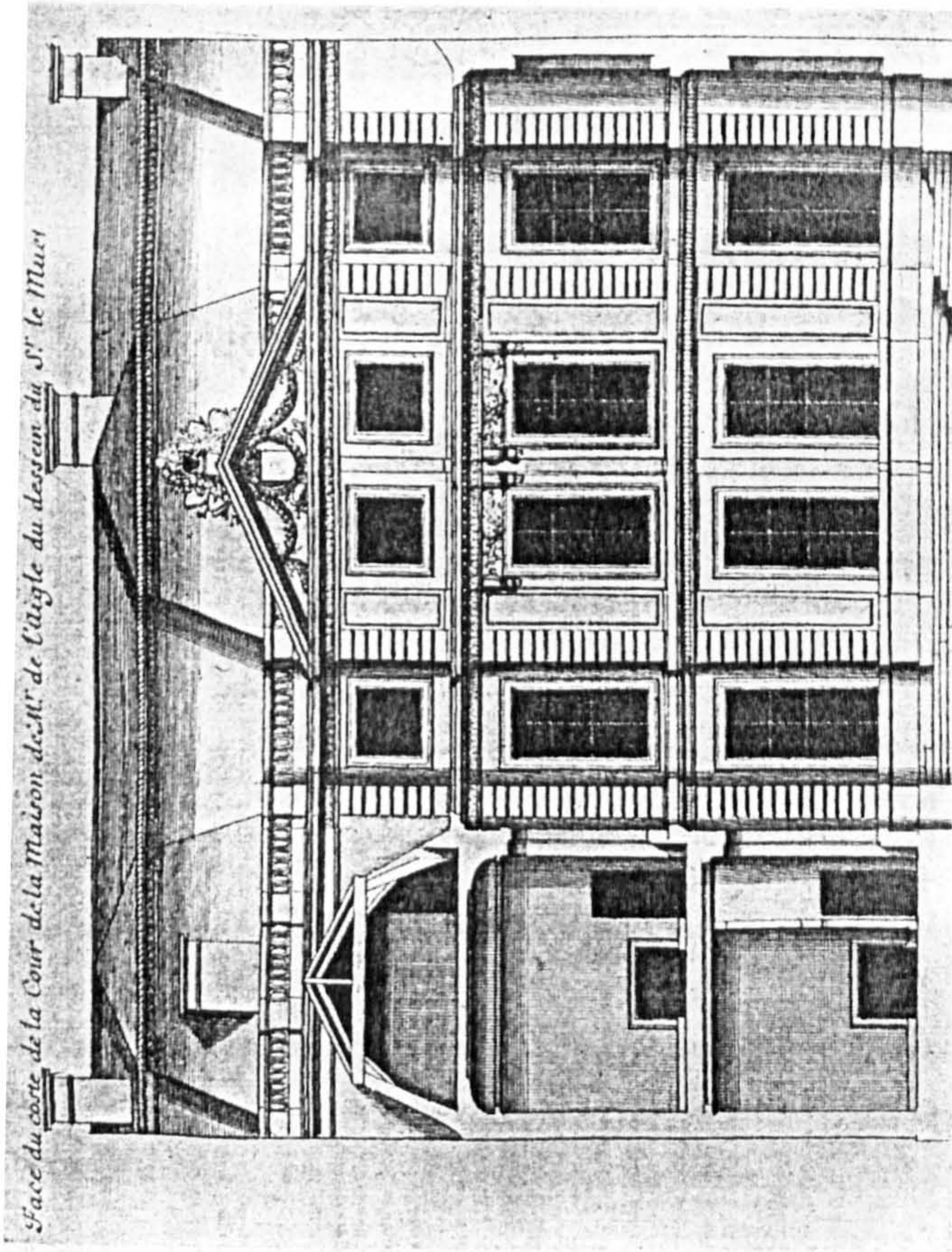
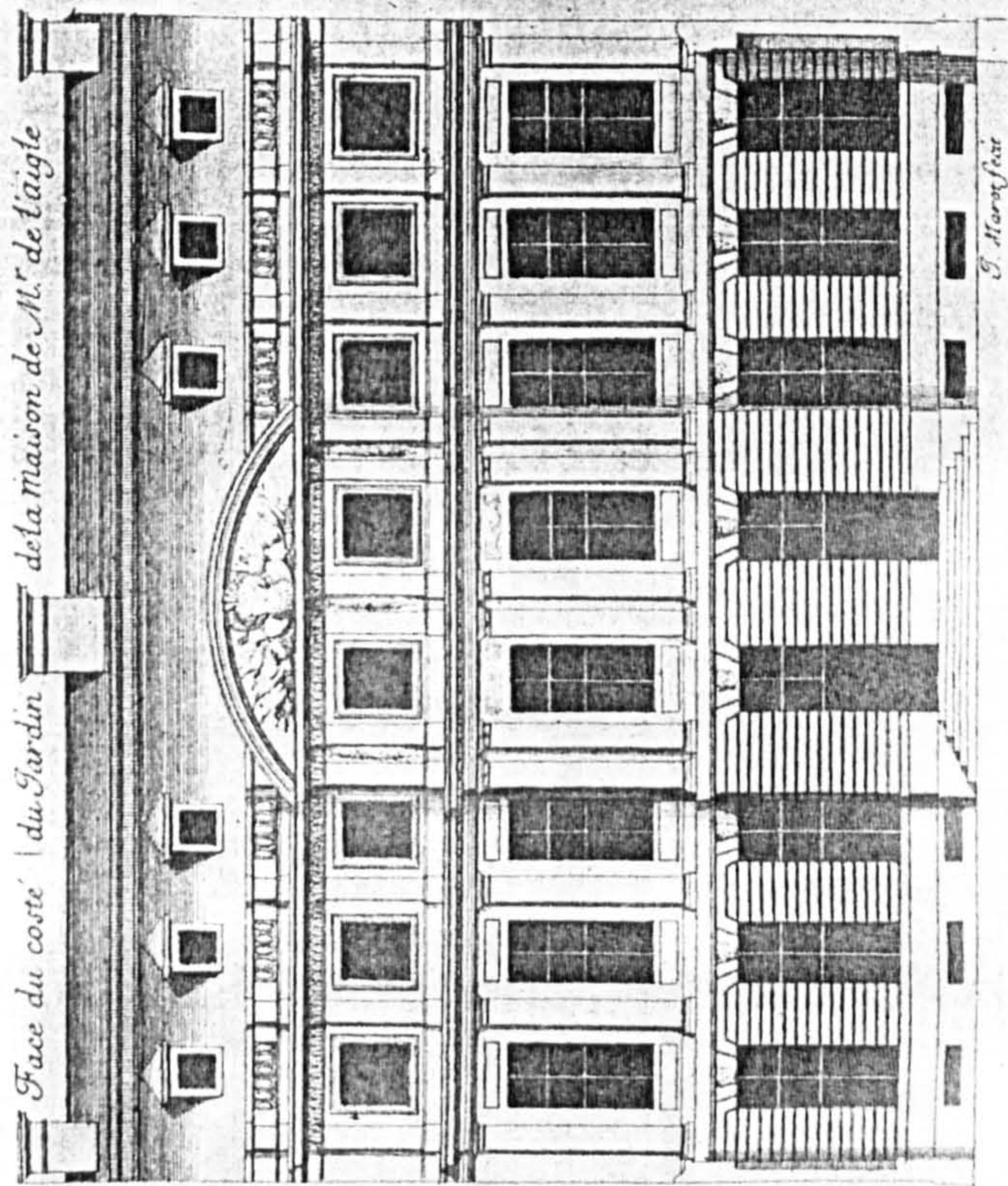
PONTZ: SECTION AND INTERNAL ELEVATION



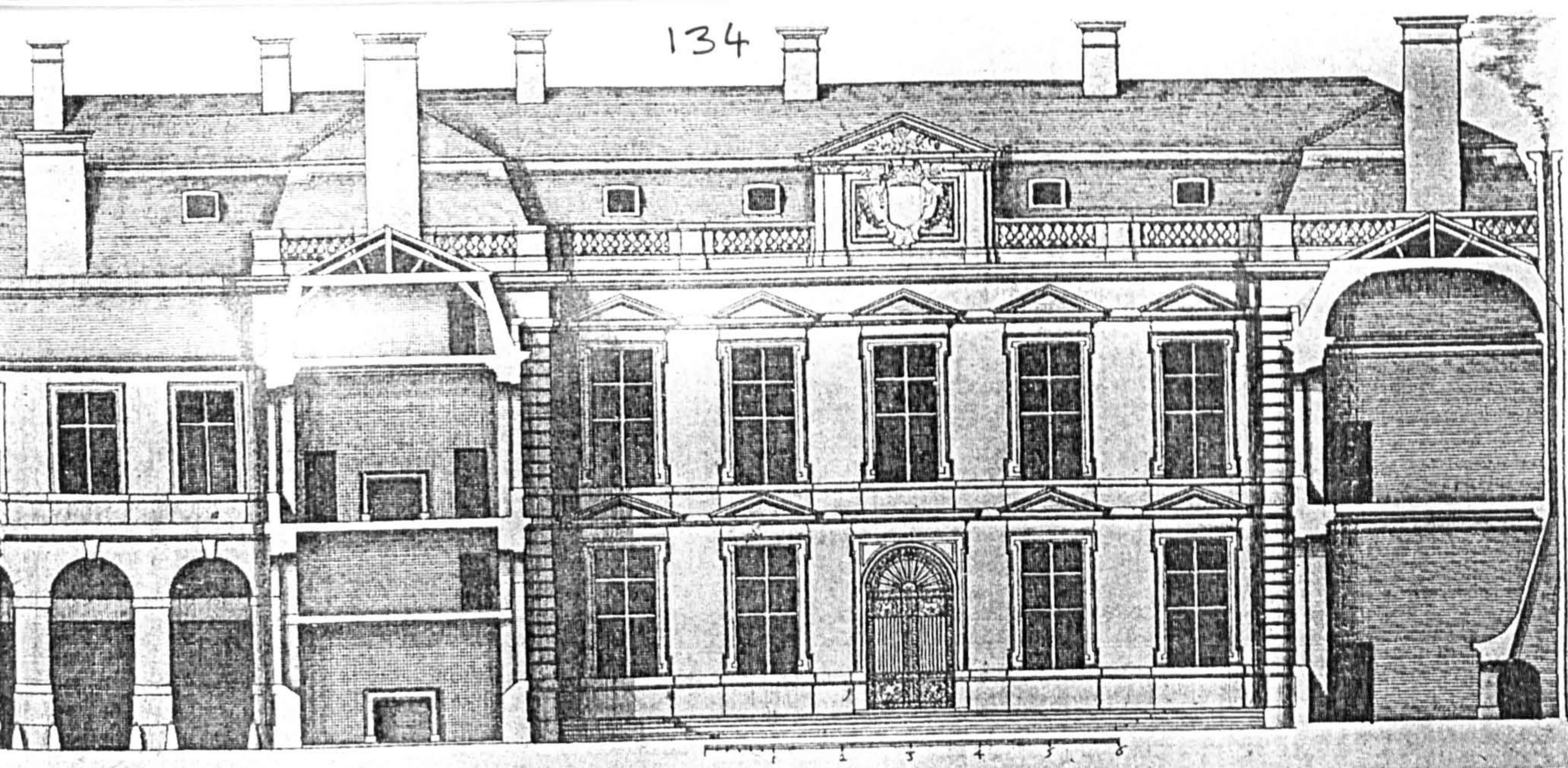
GROUND PLAN

CHÂTEAU: PONTZ (P. 97)

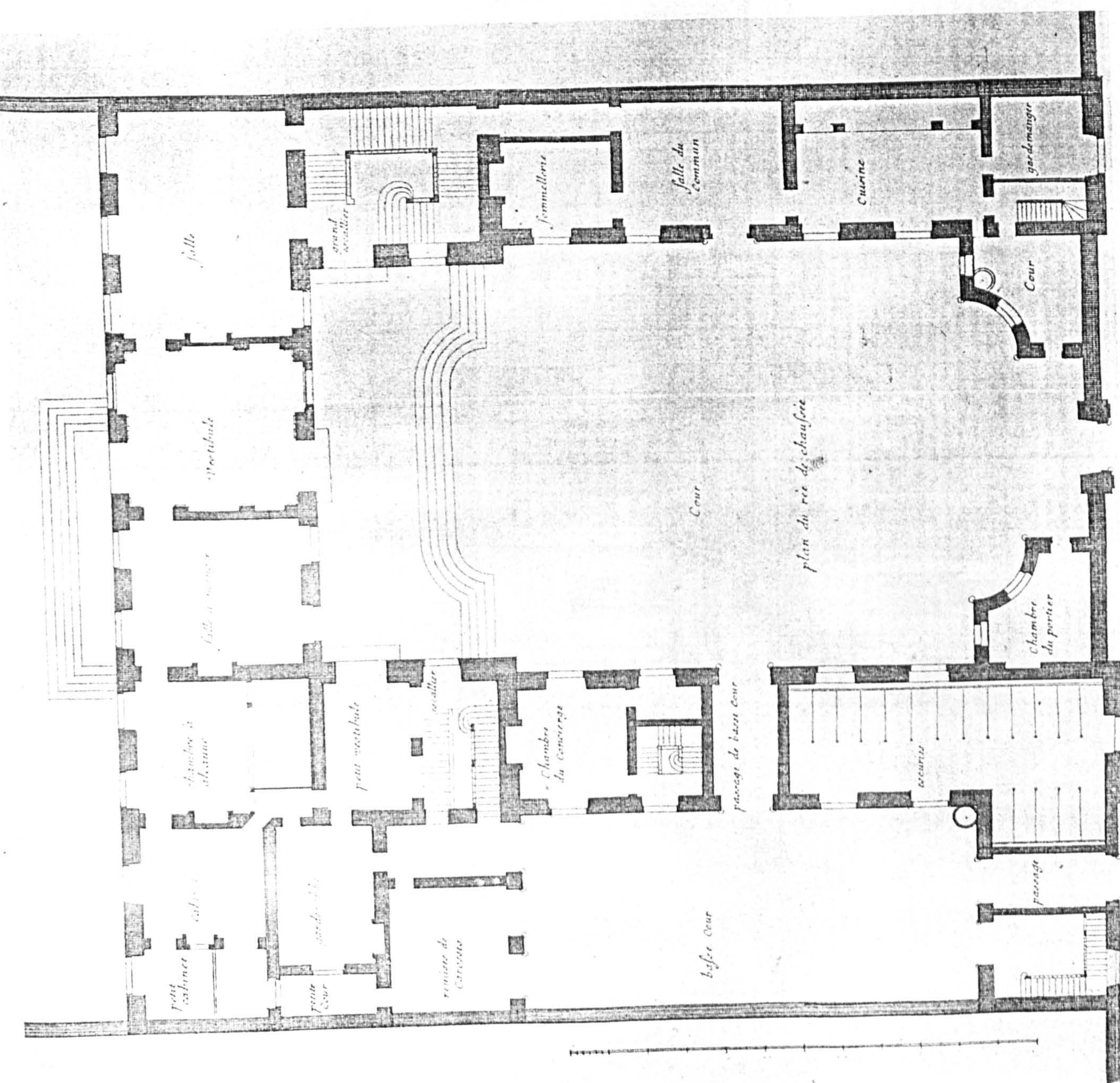
Illus. 40



THE HÔTEL DE L'AIGLE: ELEVATION OF THE GARDEN FRONT AND INTERNAL ELEVATION WITH
GROUND PLAN (P. 104)
(LE MUET, ARCHITECT)

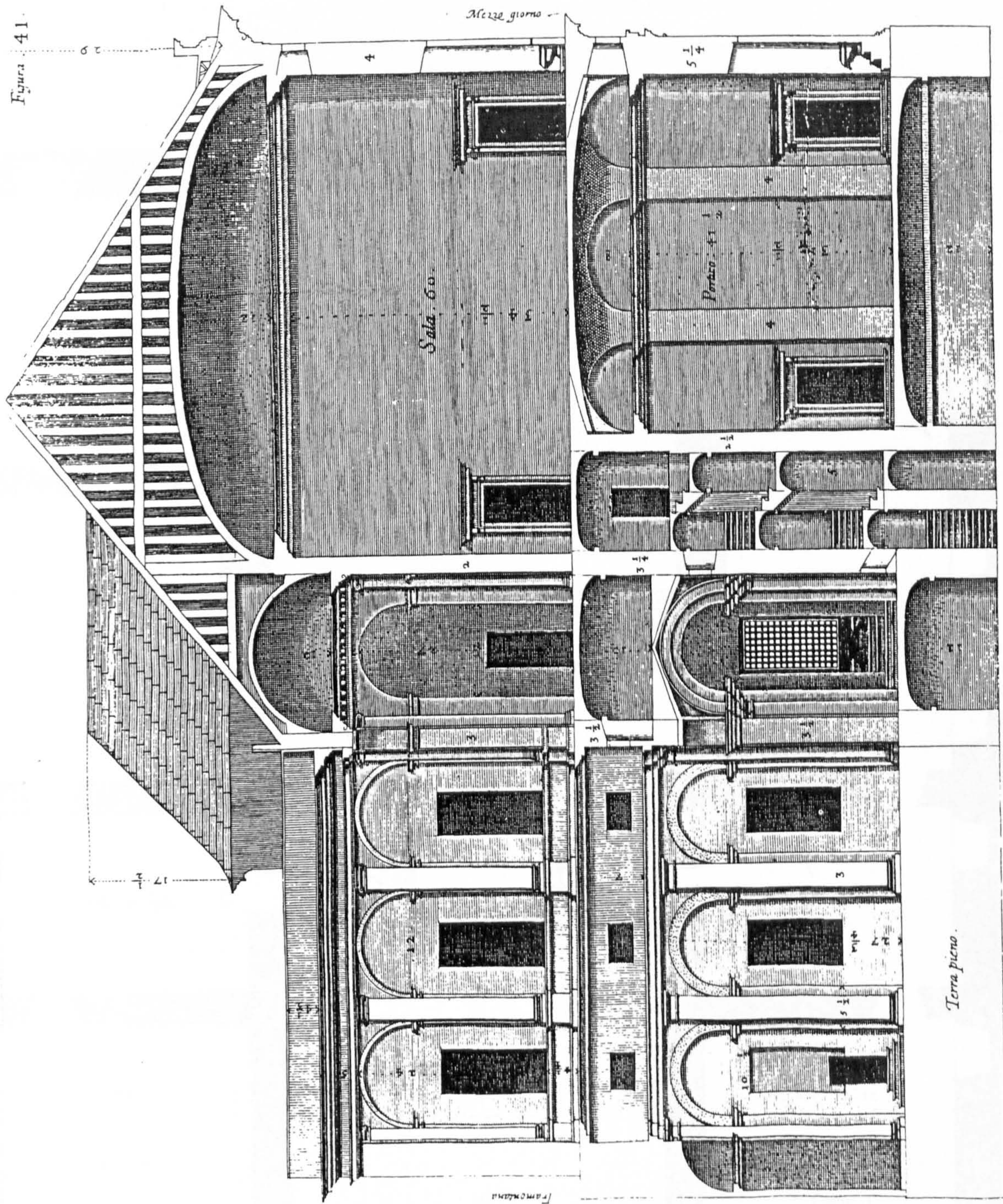


SECTION AND INTERNAL ELEVATION



GROUND PLAN

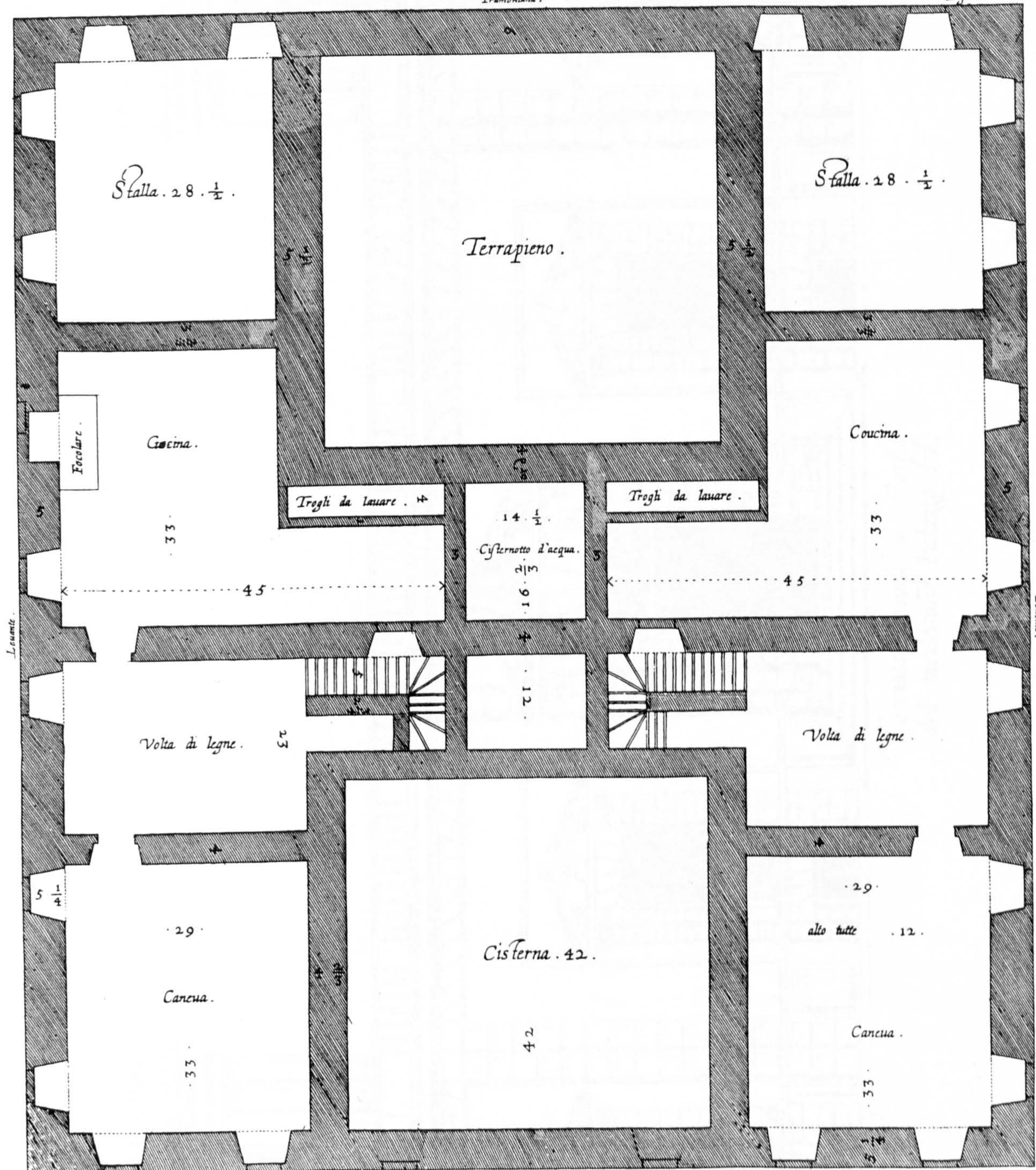
Figura 41.



Taglio di tutto il Palazzo. F. per mezzo da tramontana
verso mezzo giorno insieme con il Cortile.

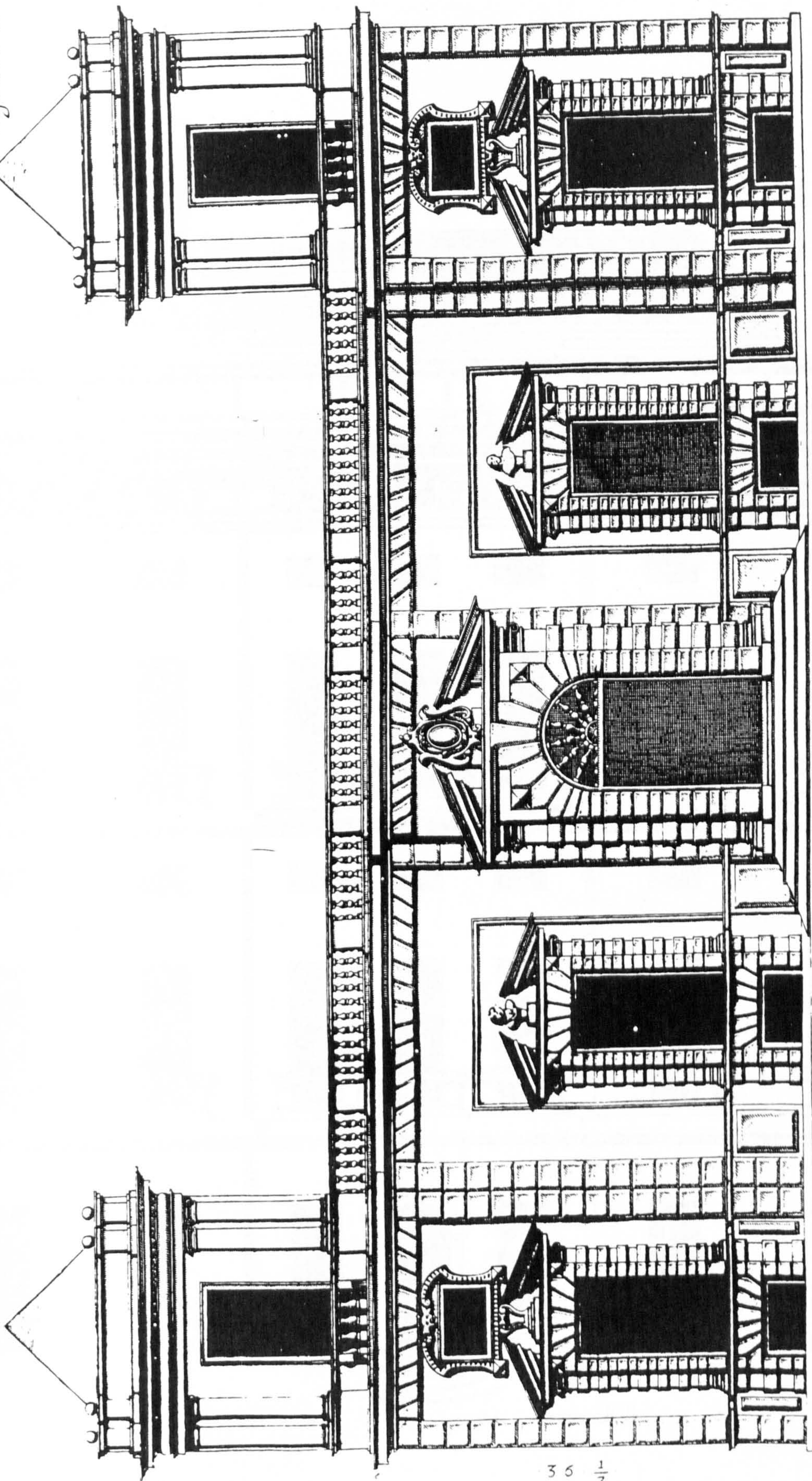
Tramontana.

Figura .35.



Altre giorno
Pianta prima del Palazzo . F .

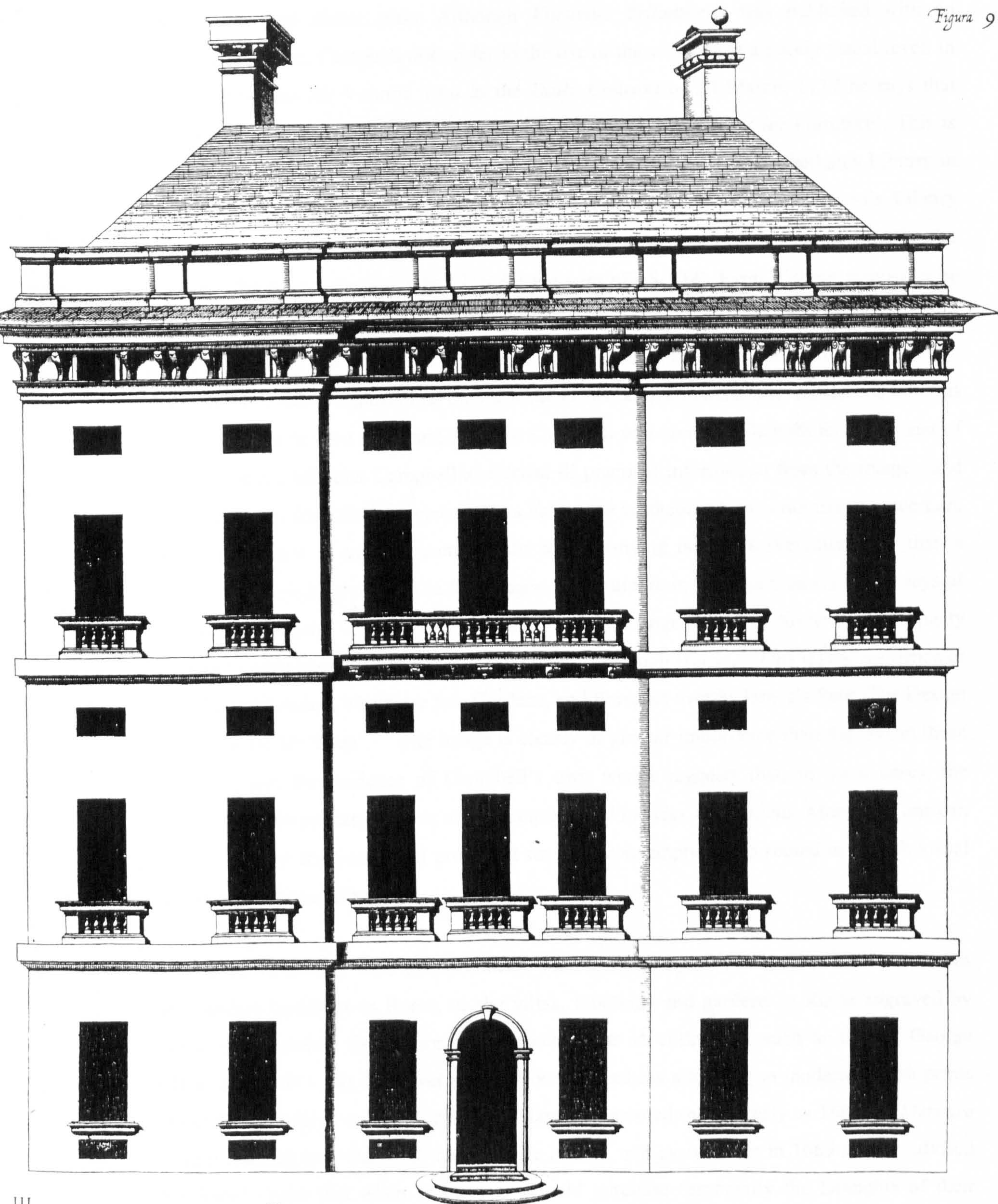
Figura. 52



*Facciata dinanzi il Cortile
del medesimo Palazzo H.*

117.0.10.

36 $\frac{1}{3}$



Facciata del Palazzo de gli sig^{ri} Giacomo e Pantaleo Balbi

This aestheticisation of the image points to a context within print collecting which privileges images over and above texts. Although *Vitruvius Britannicus* was published with an accompanying text, Campbell does refer to the use of the volumes at a purely visual level. In the advertisement for Volume Two in the *Daily Courant* of 30 March, 1717 he says that 'several persons of Quality' were purchasing sets 'to be Framed up for Furniture'. This is reinforced by the copy of the first volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus* in Chethams Library in Manchester, which contains no text at all. The accession registers at Chetham's Library record that two volumes of *Vitruvius Britannicus* were purchased from the bookseller William Clayton on the 3rd July 1716 for the sum of £5-10-0. Even if these proved to be rogue copies, the fact that the volume was bought by a library, already bound without text, points to a purely visual use being made of that particular volume by that particular library. Therefore it certainly appears that on one level *Vitruvius Britannicus* was understood in terms of the visual in its own right, and also that Campbell was comfortable with this treatment of his publication. Whether Campbell's removal of practical information from the images, and their separation from the text, constitutes a deliberate aestheticisation is not easy to ascertain, but it is possible to say that some of the accompanying notices serve little more than a nominative purpose in relation to the images. For example in Volume One Campbell says of St Philip's Church, 'This church is designed by the ingenious Mr Archer; and is justly esteemed a very beautiful structure'³²³, and of Marlborough House, '[This is] the residence of his Grace in London, where are fine Gardens, and Prospect over St James's Park. The Design was given by Mr Wren'.³²⁴ The image is clearly of greater importance than the text in these instances, and the evidence of Campbell's own words suggests that, in some cases, the images were the primary aspects of consumption of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Moreover, one can clearly see how the conceptual precedent for such consumption was rooted in French visual survey in the forms of prints.

Sets of views of Italy were also produced, such as those by the de Rossi of Antique statues and modern buildings in Rome, or the villas, fountains and gardens in Rome engraved by Falda, and certainly figure alongside French prints in collections such as that of George Clarke (illus. 47 - 48). However, Clarke concentrated his attention on modern French prints rather than sixteenth century 'antiques'. Clayton has noted that as early as 1682 the *Mercure Galant* claimed that 'Paris est une nouvelle Rome', and even earlier in 1669 Evelyn advised his friend Pepys that when in Paris he should purchase 'especially the Draughts of their

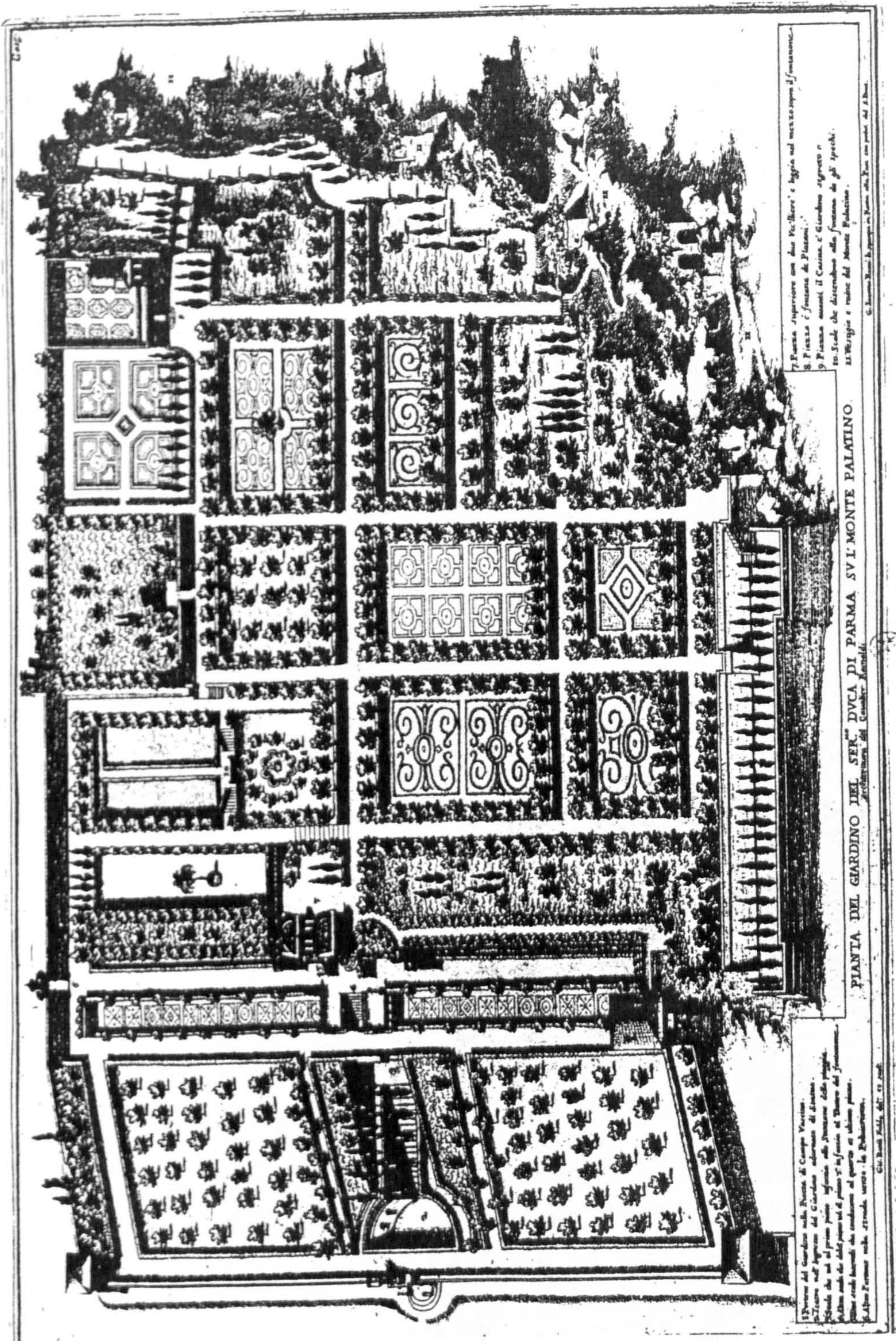
³²³ C. Campbell, Vol. 1, 1715, plates 10-11.

³²⁴ Ibid, plates 39-40.

Palaces, Churches and Gardens.’³²⁵ Clarke’s own collection of modern French prints was comprehensive, covering areas such as both fine and applied arts, architecture, interior decoration and furniture design, and statuary and painting. This departure from the Italianate model of technical architectural publication has been subordinated in previous studies of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, which have focused upon a continuity with Italian publications. It is interesting to note however, that Palladio may indeed offer an Italian model for the idea of survey. Palladio states in his second book that ‘I shall be considered fortunate in having found gentlemen of such noble and generous spirit and of such excellent judgement that they have believed my arguments and abandoned that old style of building that had no grace or beauty’. Boucher argues that ‘Book 2 is as much a testimonial to Palladio’s patrons as it is a celebration of his own genius, and it is the Vicentine nobility who inevitably loom large in the works illustrated. These are the people who made his career possible and this part of the *Quattro Libri* can be read as a paean to his adopted city’.³²⁶ Thus, although not explicit, Palladio’s work can be considered to convey a visual idea of the Veneto and the promotion of that region. This relates to the argument in this thesis connecting prints and national or regional identity, and links a publication such as Palladio’s technical manual to works such as Ruben’s *I Palazzi di Genova* published in Antwerp in 1622. The exclusion of other European models in discussions of *Vitruvius Britannicus* can be understood in relation to the dominant architectural history found in Summerson’s construction of classical (for ‘classical’ read ‘Italian’) architecture.

³²⁵ T. Clayton, 1992, op cit, p127.

³²⁶ B. Boucher, *Andrea Palladio. The Architect in his Time*, (New York, Paris and London: Abbeville Press, 1994), p243.

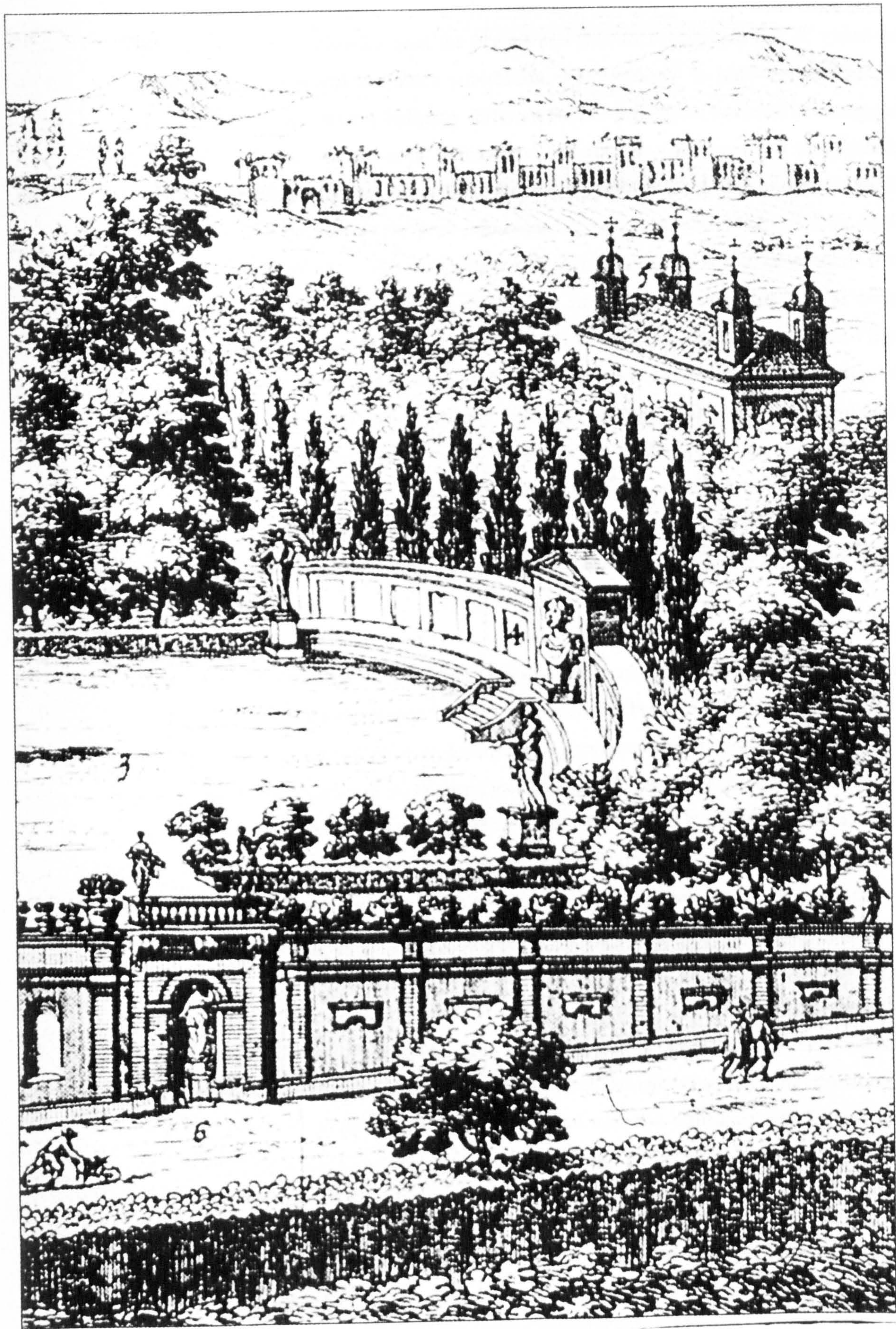


PIANTA DEL GIARDINO DEL SEK. DUCA DI PARMA SV. L. MONTE PALATINO.

Architetto del Gran Duca di Parma.

1. Piazza superiore con due fontane e laguna nel mezzo sopra il fontanone.
2. Piazza inferiore con due fontane e laguna nel mezzo sopra il fontanone.
3. Piazza con fontane di Piazza.
4. Piazza con fontane di Piazza.
5. Piazza con fontane di Piazza.
6. Piazza con fontane di Piazza.
7. Piazza con fontane di Piazza.
8. Piazza con fontane di Piazza.
9. Piazza con fontane di Piazza.
10. Piazza con fontane di Piazza.
11. Piazza con fontane di Piazza.
12. Piazza con fontane di Piazza.

1. Piazza superiore con due fontane e laguna nel mezzo sopra il fontanone.
2. Piazza inferiore con due fontane e laguna nel mezzo sopra il fontanone.
3. Piazza con fontane di Piazza.
4. Piazza con fontane di Piazza.
5. Piazza con fontane di Piazza.
6. Piazza con fontane di Piazza.
7. Piazza con fontane di Piazza.
8. Piazza con fontane di Piazza.
9. Piazza con fontane di Piazza.
10. Piazza con fontane di Piazza.
11. Piazza con fontane di Piazza.
12. Piazza con fontane di Piazza.



Although a distinct influence upon the images of *Vitruvius Britannicus* can be traced which relates to a visual model in French publication, it is important to note that written French publications also followed a distinctly different path to the Italian, in terms of an awareness of nation, an interest in domestic architecture, and a distinct concern with practicalities.³²⁷ Several other publications reinforce these ideas in a written format. One of these is Pierre Le Muet's *Maniere de bien bastir pour toutes sortes de personnes* (1623).³²⁸ This used the practical model of Du Cerceau's *Livre d'architecture* (1559), but developed a more comprehensive methodology. In the dedication, Le Muet described his aim as being to 'assister le public'. The book owes much to Italian ideas. Le Muet refers to the Vitruvian triad of *firmitas*, *utilitas*, and *venustas*, but he focuses upon domestic architecture in practical terms, dealing with specifics such as the dimension of each building plot. He provides the reader with a series of models for domestic architecture, including precise descriptions of the use of each room. While this continues within the model of Serlio, a new element is the suggestion of a set of alternatives for each of his thirteen types of building. His work is, therefore, intended more specifically as a pattern book for architectural practice than as a treatise on the subject.

While these publications were in great demand in France, new theoretical ideas concerning architecture were not developed.³²⁹ This is evident in Fréart's *Parallele de l'architecture antique avec le moderne* (1650), an anthology of previous thought on the architectural orders. Fréart relates the theories of all the principal Italian and French theorists, Palladio, Scamozzi, Serlio, Vignola, Barbaro, Cataneo, Alberti, Viola, Bullant, and Philibert de L'Orme, but most important is Vitruvius who is placed in an unassailable position. More than any of the Italian publications, Fréart asserts the absolute authority of the ancient author. Perrault called this authority into stark question in his *Ordonnance des cinq espèces des colonnes*³³⁰, which grew out of the quarrel between the ancients and the moderns, and aimed to overthrow the divine status of the orders. Perrault argued for a new subjectivity in architecture to allow for the individual practice of the architect. This idea grew out of the model of French nationalism and fundamentally challenged the authority of Italian thought on architecture. Perrault's work was widely known in its original French form but was also translated into English by John James in 1708. While Campbell does not advocate any particular side in the quarrel between

³²⁷ H. W. Kruft, op cit, p124.

³²⁸ P. Le Muet, *Maniere de bien bastir pour toutes sortes de personnes ...*, (Paris: Chez Francoise Langlois dict Chartres, 1623).

³²⁹ H. W. Kruft, op cit, p120.

³³⁰ C. Perrault *Ordonnance des cinq espèces des colonnes* (Paris: 1683).

the ancients and the moderns, the introduction to the first volume owes something to these debates in offering a distinct challenge to Italian authority. While France saw itself as capable of taking on the mantle of architecture, this sentiment informs Campbell's views on British architecture. Although Vitruvius remains a touchstone, like Serlio and Palladio, Campbell allows a degree of variance with reason. Moreover, although *Vitruvius Britannicus* has a clear connection with the Roman author, both semantically and in terms of references to Vitruvian precept, the levels of architectural analysis and criticism do suggest sympathy with the idea of individual interpretation in architecture. The relationship between Vitruvian prescription and the architect's individual interpretation can perhaps be more easily understood if we think about it in terms of the difference between prescription and proscription: '[texts which are] proscriptive ... do not so much direct attention as constrain it ... In other words, instead of telling us what to do, they tell us what not to do ... By constraining rather than directing, the classical canon allows for a certain degree of freedom and invention.'³³¹ This sympathy comes out of an engagement with French architectural writing alongside the canon of Italian writers.

Campbell's dual commitment to Vitruvius and to individual interpretation may also point to the influence of another French publication, Blondel's *Cours d'architecture*.³³² In his *dedication* Blondel defines his aim as 'to teach publicly the rules of his art, as taken from the teaching of the greatest masters and the example of the finest Buildings that remain to us from Antiquity'. This publication grew out of the French Academy founded by Colbert in 1671, which advocated a hierarchy of architectural thought: Vitruvius, Palladio, Scamozzi, Vignola, Serlio, Alberti, Viola, and Cataneo.³³³ However, the debate between the ancients and moderns highlighted the essential problem of asserting the absolute authority of these authors while still allowing for individual freedom of invention. Blondel's publication maintained the importance of the authors studied but argued that the role of contemporary architecture was to surpass the Ancients, and this allowed for an idea of progress to be incorporated into architectural discourse. While in many ways the content of Blondel's work, and certainly the organisation, is fundamentally different to that of *Vitruvius Britannicus*,

³³¹ A. Tzonis, L. Lefaivre, *Classical Architecture. The Poetics of Order*, (Cambridge Mass. and London: MIT Press, (1986) 1997), p6.

³³² F. N. Blondel, 1675-1683., *Cours d'architecture enseigné dans l'Academie Royal d'architecture. Première partie ou sont expliquez les terms, l'origine & les principes d'architecture, & les pratiques des cinq Ordres suivant la doctrine de Vitruve & des principaux Sectateurs & suivant celle des trois plus habiles Architectes qui ayent écrit entre les Modernes, qui sont Vignole, Palladio & Scamozzi*. (Paris 1675 (Part1), 1683 (Parts 2-3, 4-5) (New Ed 1698).

³³³ V. Scamozzi, *Idea dell'architettura universale di Vincenzo Scamozzi Divisa in X Libri* Venice 1615. (Farnborough: Facs., 1964). Vignola, *Regola della cinque ordini d'architettura* 1562, Vignola *due regole della prospettiva pratica*, 1583

there is a sympathy between the ideas expressed and Campbell's call for British architecture to surpass that of the Italians. Campbell sees contemporary, i.e. "Baroque" Italian architecture, as licentious and departing from the authority of the ancients, but he does not appear to deny the value of progress in architecture. He draws upon the dual models of the rational principles of architecture codified through Italian publications and grounded in Vitruvius's writings, and that of the French adaptation of this Italian thought to specific national circumstances.

4.1 c English architectural publications

It was not only Italian publications on architecture that were available in England. French publications such as Du Cerceau and Philibert de l'Orme were equally well represented in seventeenth century libraries.³³⁴ The French model of architectural publication expressed in Du Cerceau's work in particular influenced two British publications relevant to the study of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. The first of these was John Slezzer's *Theatrum Scotiae* published in 1693.³³⁵ This met with very little success, and Slezzer's planned follow up publication, *The Ancient and Present State of Scotland*, also failed to convince both publishers and audiences.³³⁶ Essentially the project was a survey of Scotland with illustrations ranging from topographical plates to individual views of buildings in the style of other contemporary publications such as David Loggan's views of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge (1675 and 1688). Wenceslaus Hollar, king's scenographer or Designer of Prospects to Charles II probably influenced this type of work.³³⁷ However, while sets of views had been published in England previously, the comprehensive nature of Slezzer's project was a new undertaking in British publishing. This was the first time that anyone had set out to make a visual record on this scale, and it owes much to the architectural surveys of nation and city by Du Cerceau and Rubens considered in 4.1b.

The publishers of *Vitruvius Britannicus* knew Slezzer's project. In 1719 Joseph Smith, who may have been the owner of the plates made for Slezzer as early as 1715, issued an edition. Smith later allowed J Groenwegen and N Prevost to publish some of the plates in 1728 in a

³³⁴ L. Gent, op cit. 'Books on art, perspective and architecture in English Renaissance Libraries 1580-1630', p82.

³³⁵ J. Slezzer, *Theatrum Scotiae*, (London: John Leake, 1693). K. Cavers, facs. of J. Slezzer, *A Vision of Scotland. The Nation observed by John Slezzer 1671-1717*, (Edinburgh: HMSO in association with National Library of Scotland, 1993). p13.

³³⁶ However, after Slezzer's death in 1717 his book appears to have had considerable appeal to other publishers. Only a year later in 1718 Slezzer's copper plates were used for new editions. The text was reduced and new dedications were added to the titling on the plates

³³⁷ K. Cavers, op cit p2.

supplement to his own *Nouveau théâtre de la Grande Bretagne*.³³⁸ At this stage Smith was advertising that if any gentleman wished to have his seat included this could be arranged for a fee of five guineas. Smith was therefore familiar with Slezer's project of surveying the nation, and could see the potential of such a publication. However, Campbell may also have known Slezer's project prior to his involvement with *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Slezer appears to have worked closely with the Earl of Lauderdale, who was known to Campbell's uncle Hugh Campbell of Cawdor.³³⁹ Additionally, Slezer was active in soliciting for co-operation among the high ranking Scottish families, thus providing an equal opportunity for Campbell, as well as his publishers, to have heard of the project at an early stage. It is interesting that Slezer found it difficult to find a large enough market for his work in its early stages but that after 1715 the success of Smith's ventures show that there was an expanded market for such publications.

The form of Slezer's illustrations is considerably different to those of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Indeed the two projects differ in that Slezer's work was primarily a topographical survey of the nation, (illus. 49) and Campbell's that of a nation's architecture. Despite this, however, Slezer's work stands as a British example of the type of survey publication published in Northern Europe at this time. These publications are distinct from Italianate models, based upon description rather than theoretical exposition. While sets of prints were produced in Italy the tradition was particularly prevalent in Northern Europe and France, where the integration of orthogonal with perspective views in particular was a much more common practice. Nevertheless, the contrast should not be overdrawn. It is not possible to correlate a British scopic regime specifically with either an Italian or a Northern European model. Rather it drew upon a range of influences from France, the Netherlands and Italy, translated into British concerns.

One early survey publication which did appear to meet with more success than Slezer's was Kipp and Knyff's *Britannia Illustrata* or *Le nouveau théâtre architecture de la Grande Bretagne*.³⁴⁰ In 1701 Knyff advertised the subscription for this work in *The Post Man*:

³³⁸ J. Kip, *Nouveau architecture de la Grande Bretagne: ou description exacte des palais du Roy, et des maisons les plus considerables des seigneurs & des gentilshommes du dit royaume. Le tout dessine sur les lieux, & grave sur 80 planches*, (London: Joseph Smith, 1724).

³³⁹ Lauderdale gained the gift of Sir Hugh's marriage in 1660 and married him to his wife's niece Lady Henrietta Stewart, sister of the Earl of Moray. Spalding Club, *The Book of the Thanes of Cawdor 1236-1742*, (Edinburgh: Spalding Club, 1859).

³⁴⁰ The publication has a complicated history of editions. An edition entitled *Britannia Illustrata* was first published in 1707 and sold by David Mortier. It then went through many subsequent re-editions and variations, including editions under the title of *Nouveau architecture de la Grande Bretagne*. (see Bibliography)

‘... undertaken, by way of Subscription, the Drawing and Printing of 100 Noblemen and Gentlemen’s Seats, whereof sixty are finished, and the Subscription not being full, This is to give notice to all Lords and Gentlemen who have a mind to be concern’d to come or send to the said Undertakers house in the corner of Old Palace-yard, Westminster; next door to the steps that go up to the House of Lords. The Articles are: that a 100 subscribers shall pay £10 each. That every Subscriber shall have two prints of each impression, which makes in all 200, and shall have 60 prints double delivered.’³⁴¹

Knyff’s scheme of publication is interesting in highlighting reasons for the appeal of such sets of prints. Each individual plate was to be sponsored, a process that points to a context within print collecting. Prints and paintings were frequently commissioned to celebrate and record a new house, garden or architectural alteration. Often these recorded both old and new, as in the engraving of Old Wanstead House made by Knyff in 1715 before the Palladian redevelopment. Such works were also commissioned as views of the country seat that could be hung in the town house to celebrate possession and stewardship.³⁴² The importance of prints as visual records of an estate and its development is exemplified in the Duchess of Beaufort who, following her husband’s death commissioned three views from Knyff ‘to show what a noble place my deare Lord has left’.³⁴³ This also reflected a wider cultural interest in topography, which brought to the fore the idea of recording property both visually and textually considered in sections 4.2c and 4.2d.

As a selection of views of gentlemen’s seats, Kip and Knyff’s *Britannia Illustrata* brought to the fore the idea of the survey of gentlemen’s houses. Prior to this, publication of such subject matter had been treated as part of general surveys and histories based at a county level. The extent to which Kip and Knyff were influenced by the French model and more specifically by the work of Du Cerceau can be seen by comparing illus. 50 - 52 from *Britannia Illustrata* with illus. 25 - 26 from *Les plus excellents batiments de France*. This French influence upon the two Dutch men working in England is further evidence of a French and Northern European connection and influence. There is a clear connection between *Britannia Illustrata* and Du Cerceau’s work, and while the form of illustrations differ from those of Marot, the idea of surveying the houses of the nation is echoed. There is also a clear linkage between all of these projects and *Vitruvius Britannicus*. The plates of *Vitruvius Britannicus* echo those of the French publications by Marot and also Du Cerceau’s architectural illustrations. The titles *Vitruvius Britannicus* and *Britannia Illustrata* suggest a conceptual connection between these two English publications: the idea of nation, the

³⁴¹ *Post Man* 31 May - 3 June 1701.

³⁴² J. Harris, *The Artist and the Country House, from the Fifteenth Century to the Present Day*, (London: Sothebys, 1995), p9.

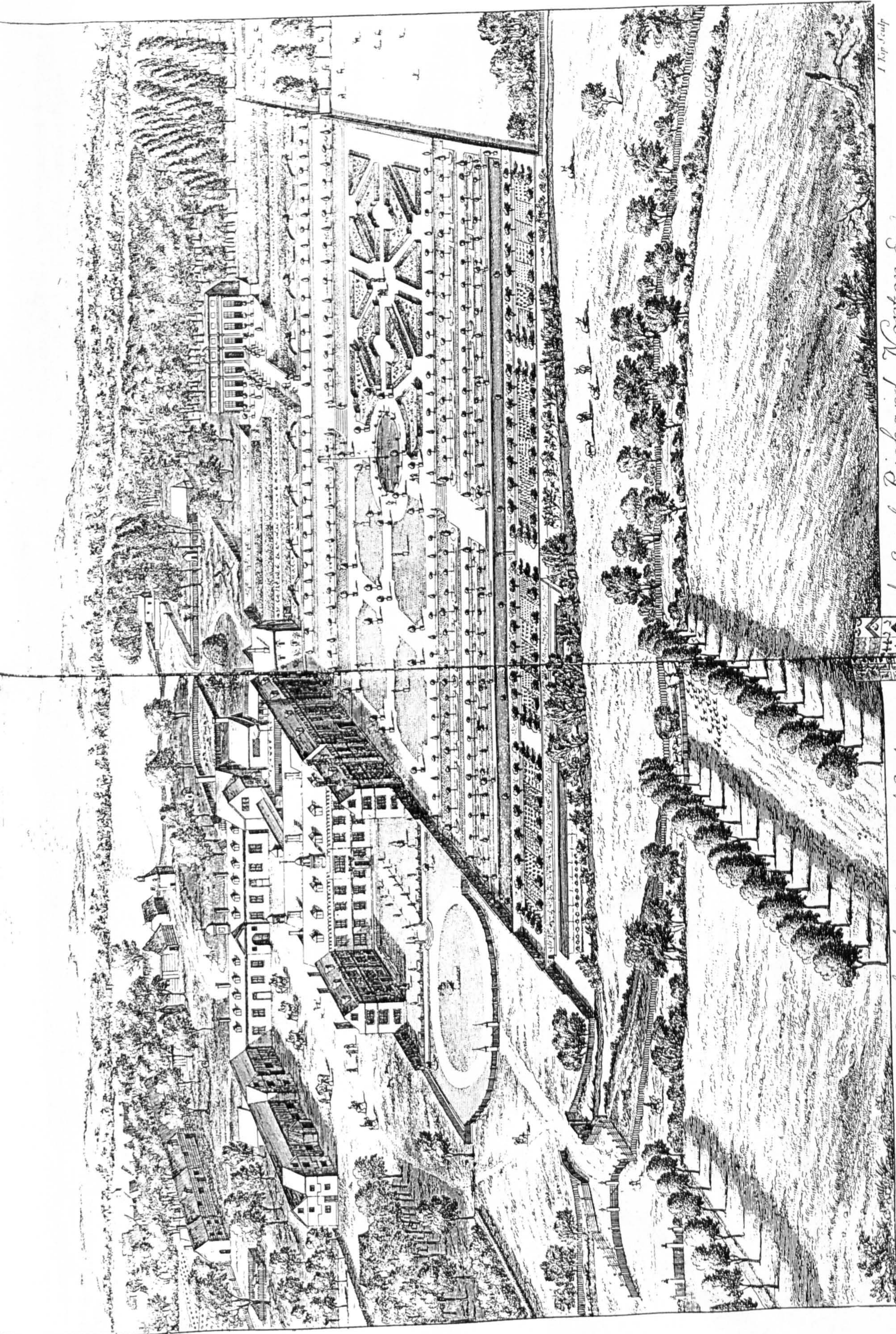
Britannique, and, related to this, the idea of survey. The dates of publication, 1707 and 1715, also suggest a period when nationhood may be an issue - the Act of Union between England and Scotland was signed in 1707.³⁴⁴

It can be seen that by 1715 there was a well developed set of architectural publications available to English audiences, in the form of French, Italian and Dutch publications, as well as more limited abridgements and translations into English. The key models that can be traced are the academic, prescriptive treatise concerned with theoretical exposition, the practical manual, primarily centred upon the orders and frequently used as a pattern book, and the publications of prints representing topographical views and architectural subjects presented in both orthogonal and perspective projection. *Vitruvius Britannicus* can be seen to differ on a number of fundamental levels to the treatise or manual tradition. It is not concerned with theoretical elements in architecture, and assumes an acquaintance with the terminology of architecture. Likewise it is not concerned with a discussion of the orders, and does not explicitly present the buildings as patterns for architectural practice, although they are suggested as models of good practice. While *Vitruvius Britannicus* has much in common with the visual survey, the nature of the text and the elements of criticism and evaluation demonstrate a more complex relationship even with these examples. *Vitruvius Britannicus* draws upon elements within each of these models and incorporates them into another set of non-architectural discourses to produce a more complex architectural publication. Nevertheless, the semantic link with Vitruvius retains an intellectual and stylistic connection with the body of literature analysed.

³⁴³ Ibid, p10.

³⁴⁴ Eileen Harris has argued that '*Vitruvius Britannicus* was conceived in about 1713 in the swell of national confidence that culminated in the Treaty of Utrecht. [and was] ... as an anonymous printsellers' survey of the achievements of British architects, of the order of Jean Marot's surveys of French buildings or David Mortier's *nouveau théâtre d'Italie* (1704) [and] ... an architectural complement to the random collection of topographical views of country houses in *Britannia Illustrata* (1707 etc.), later known as *Le nouveau théâtre de la Grande Bretagne*. E. Harris, N. Savage, op. cit., p139.





Donk Gate
Horse Stable.

Southwick in the County of Southampton
Versailles Gates but not Browes / Noted but ordered
D. D. March 1841 C.D.

the Seat of Richard Norton Esq.
Porter de Grass.
1847

Gentry not
Ansbora
Gigo No Deal
Everything we
Lincage
Gentry

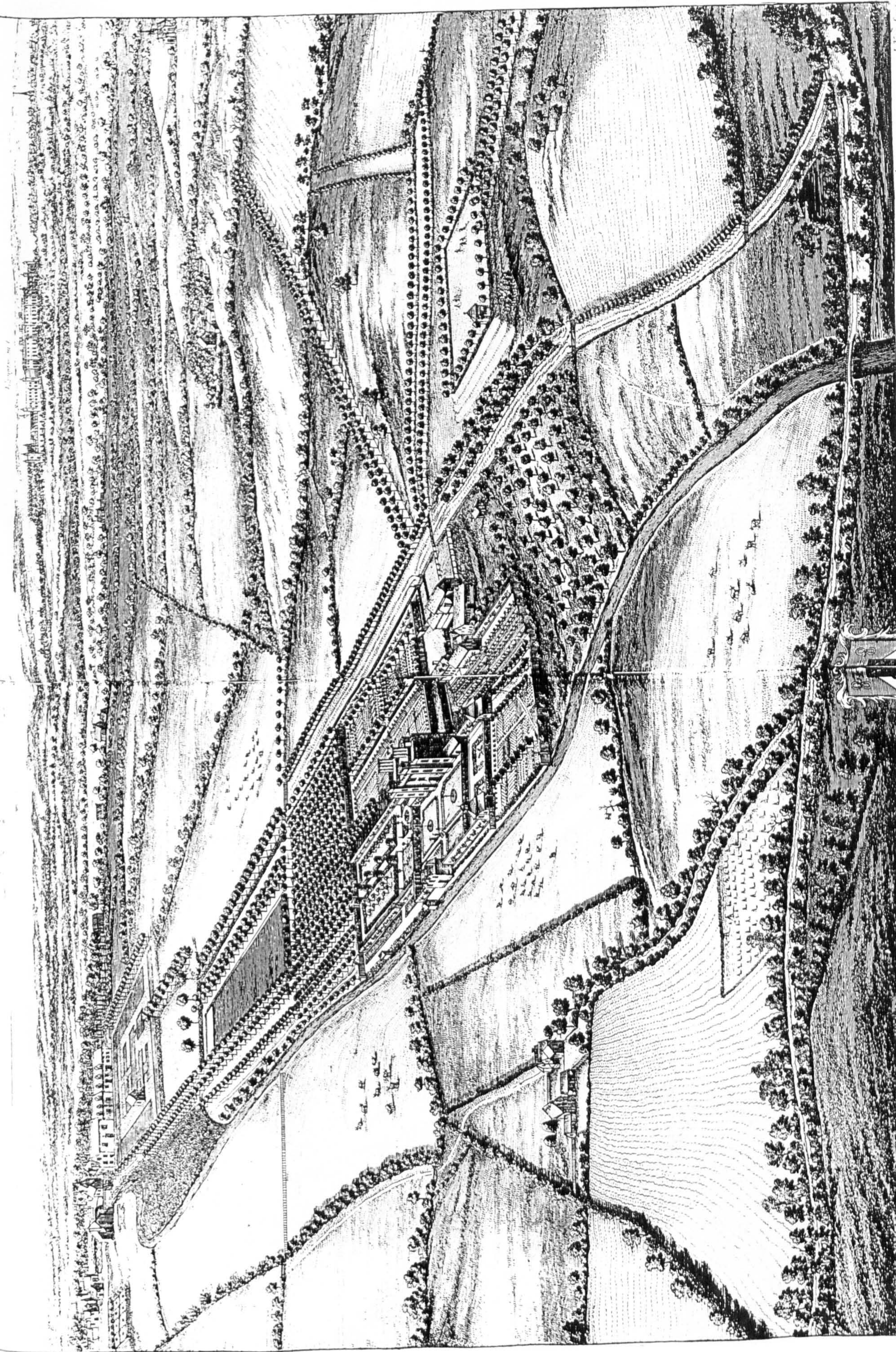
Cotton for Philadelphia his wife, Daughter
Anallay Appointed
Bizarre water feath
153
Anallay Appointed
Bizarre water feath
153

Cotton for Philadelphia his wife, Daughter
Anallay Appointed
Bizarre water feath
153
Anallay Appointed
Bizarre water feath
153

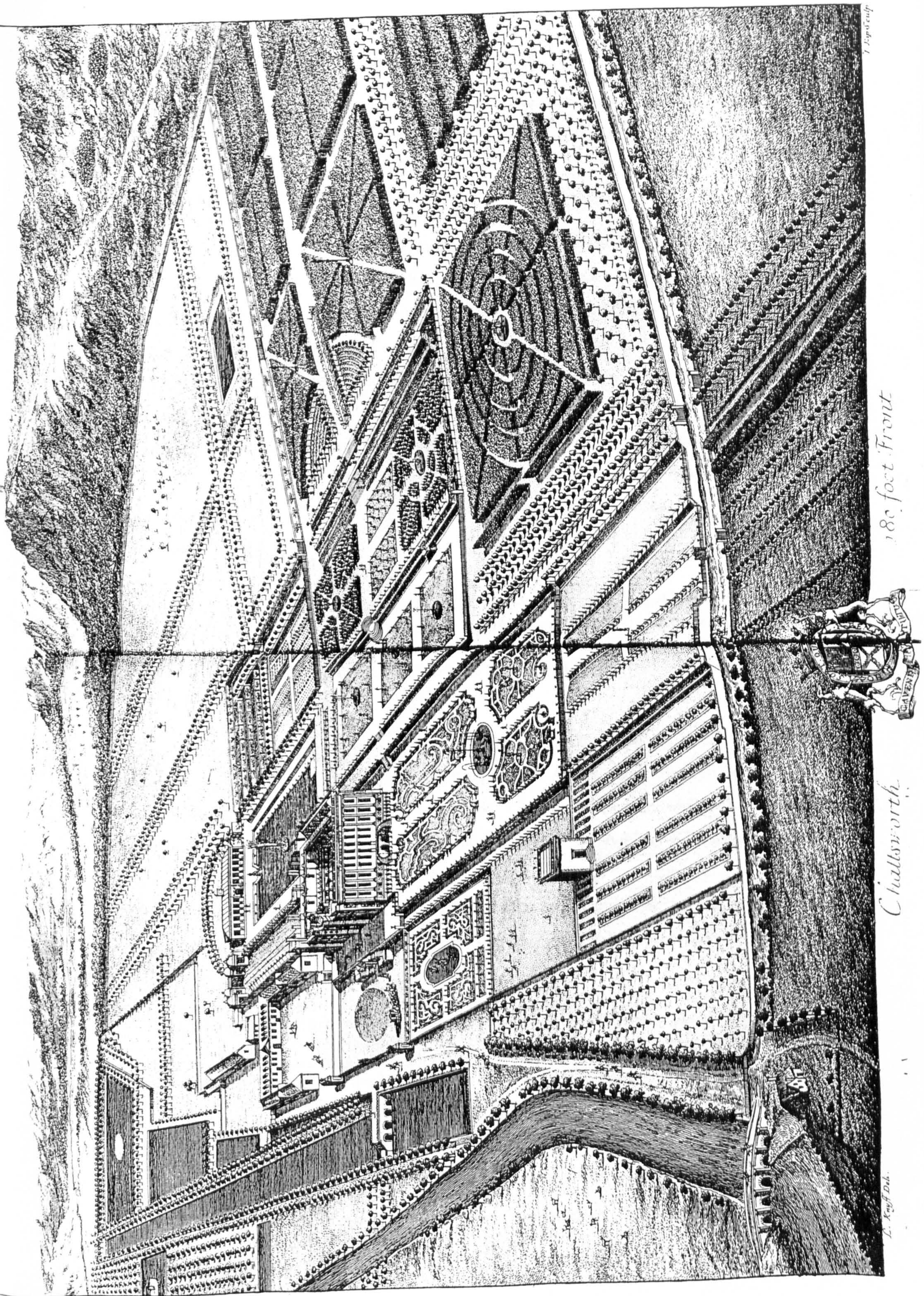
Cotton for Philadelphia his wife, Daughter
Anallay Appointed
Bizarre water feath
153
Anallay Appointed
Bizarre water feath
153

Cotton for Philadelphia his wife, Daughter
Anallay Appointed
Bizarre water feath
153
Anallay Appointed
Bizarre water feath
153

Cotton for Philadelphia his wife, Daughter
Anallay Appointed
Bizarre water feath
153
Anallay Appointed
Bizarre water feath
153



Illus. 51



4.2 Illustration and Instruction: Developing Paradigms

4.2a Aesthetic Evaluation

Vitruvius Britannicus drew upon an established theoretical subtext dependent upon Vitruvius and codified by Alberti, Palladio and Serlio. Throughout his descriptions Campbell highlights specific aspects of design that assume familiarity with the normative basis of Vitruvius's work. Although Campbell refers explicitly to Vitruvius, Alberti and Palladio as sources, he assumes an acquaintance with the principles and terminology of these texts. His comments are not instructive in terms of the theories of the orders, but depend upon an existing familiarity with the "proper" and "regular" elements.³⁴⁵ The importance of the theoretical subtext to Campbell's work can be seen in his implicit reference to Vitruvian principles, in his "Design for a Church of my Invention" which pre-supposes familiarity with the terminology used.

'The Aspect of this Church is Prostile, Hexastile, Eustile, which by Vitruvius, Palladio, and the general Consent of the most judicious Architects, both Ancient and Modern, is esteem'd the most beautiful and useful Disposition, being a Medium between the Picnostile and Areostile, the first being too close and the last too open.'³⁴⁶

This relationship to a theoretical subtext can also be traced in Giorgio Vasari's *Lives of the Artists* (1568).³⁴⁷ Vasari credited both Vitruvius and Alberti, and although Serlio is never cited, he is clearly familiar with his work. The importance of Vitruvius in Vasari's architectural thought is clear. His description of Sangallo's model for St Peter's draws upon Vitruvian precepts of order, disposition, proportion, decorum and distribution,³⁴⁸ and, in his life of Antonio Sangallo the younger, Vasari refers to Vitruvius as 'our author Vitruvius', praising Sangallo as an architect who 'never departed from Vitruvius' terms and proportions,

³⁴⁵ For example in the first volume, 1715, Campbell makes the following observations: Of A new Design for a Church in Lincoln's Inn Fields - 'Here is a regular Hexastyle that commands the Front, which the other parts, are all in certain Measures of Proportion'; Of Gunnersby he observes that 'Some find the Inter-Columniation in this Hexastyle too open, and that to leave out the Freeze and Architrave of each side the Pediment, is a License not to be introduced without great necessity'; Of his second design for Wanstead Campbell states that 'The Order is Corinthian, and the Diameter 3 Foot with its proper Entablature and Ballustrade ...'.

³⁴⁶ C. Campbell, Vol. 2, 1717, plate 27.

³⁴⁷ G. Vasari, trans. G. Bull, *Le Vite de piu eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architetti*, (2 Vols. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1987).

³⁴⁸ G. Vasari, *Le Vite de piu eccellenti pittori, scultori, e architettori ... nelle redazioni del 1550 e 1568*, (4 Vol., Firenze: Sansoni, 1976). Life of Antonio da Sangallo.

and studied them until he died'.³⁴⁹ However, Campbell's more detailed discussions of architecture compare to those of Vasari, not only in their dependence upon a theoretical discourse based upon Vitruvius, but also in their judgement of quality. In fulfilling his task as a historian of the arts, Vasari recorded judgements by which a building or a work of art might be thought of as good or bad.³⁵⁰ The importance of judgement to Vasari's project is clear: '... I have endeavoured not only to record what the artists have done but also to distinguish between the good, the better and the best, and to note with some care the methods, manners and styles, behaviour and ideas of the painters and sculptors ...'.³⁵¹ His criticism of the Pieve of Santa Maria by Brunelleschi as 'without order, with bad method, sorry design, most strange inventions, most ungraceful grace and even worse ornament',³⁵² is echoed in Campbell's discussion of Borromini's work of which he argues '... the parts are without proportion, solids without their true bearings. Heaps of materials without strength, excessive ornament without Grace and the whole without symmetry ...'.³⁵³

Campbell's terms of analysis can be compared to those of Vasari. In his *Life of Brunelleschi*, Vasari describes Santo Spirito in the following terms:

'[The] length of the church was one hundred and sixty-one braccia, and the width fifty-four braccia, and it was so well planned, both in the ordering of the columns and in the rest of the ornaments, that it would be impossible to make a work richer, more graceful, or lighter than that one ... it is more lovely and better designed than any other.'³⁵⁴

This compares to Campbell's description of Covent Garden.

'[This is a] ... noble Square, which for the Grandure of Design, is certainly the first in Europe The Rustick Arcade round the Square is of an excellent Composition the Arches are 10 Foot wide and 20 high, the Piers are 4 Foot in Front, which is two Fifths of the Arch, and 8 at the Angles; above the Arcade is one grand Story and an Attick, the Windows are dress'd with a regular Entablature ...'.³⁵⁵

Both Vasari and Campbell incorporate measurements into their descriptions as an important means of articulating proportion. Campbell uses the same combination of technical detail and

³⁴⁹ Ibid.

³⁵⁰ D. Cast, 'Speaking of Architecture, the Evolution of a Vocabulary in Vasari, Jones and Sir John Vanbrugh', in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, N° 52, June 1993, pp. 179-88., p180.

³⁵¹ G. Vasari, *Le Vite de piu eccelenti pittori, scultori, e architettori ... nelle redazioni del 1550 e 1568*, (4 Vol., Firenze: Sansoni, 1976). Preface to Part 2

³⁵² Ibid. Life of Brunelleschi

³⁵³ C. Campbell, Vol. 1, 1715, Introduction.

³⁵⁴ G. Vasari, op. cit., (1976). Life of Brunelleschi

personal evaluation as Vasari to describe and, more importantly, judge architecture. This element of judgement is an important aspect of Campbell's comments throughout all three volumes and will be considered in 6.5.³⁵⁶

Vasari's use of appraisal and judgement is an interesting model for aesthetic discussion. It has been suggested that this aspect of his writing had a considerable influence upon Inigo Jones.³⁵⁷ Jones's annotations to architectural publications demonstrate an awareness of the ways in which the elements of a building could express visual characteristics such as 'strength' or 'slenderness'.³⁵⁸ His construction of a critical vocabulary for this could have come from his reading of Vasari, whose contribution differed from Vitruvius, Serlio and Palladio in opening up a way of speaking about architecture explicitly based on judgement and criticism, and the ability to give a responsive account which moved beyond the idea of numbers and proportion to consideration of affective quality.³⁵⁹ This affective quality is implicit in many of Campbell's descriptions in which he refers to 'harmony', 'magnificence' and 'state', and describes architecture variously as 'noble', 'simple' and 'polite'. In his description of his 'Design for the Earl of Halifax' he observes that 'the Windows are placed at due Distance, and free from that bad Effect we to frequently see when they are crowded, which destroys that Repose and Appearance of Strength, so necessary in Architecture'.³⁶⁰

A significant aspect of Campbell's architectural evaluation is his reference to the opinions of others. His descriptions deliberately highlight both the positive and negative to provide a balanced assessment of the design. He thus contextualises his own observations within a general evaluative architectural discourse that invites the reader to form their own judgements. For example of Greenwich Hospital he says, 'Some are of the Opinion that the Attick over the Great Corinthian Order is too high being just so much more than one third of

³⁵⁵ C. Vol. 2, 1717, plates 20-22.

³⁵⁶ See for example his description of Chatsworth in the first volume: '... which for the quality of Materials, Neatness of Execution, rich Furniture, and all proper Decorations, yealds to none in the Kingdom and perhaps in Europe ... with a spacious Court adorned with two noble Arcades; ... a Chapel, great Hall, and Stair-Case, extremely magnificent ... his Grace's own Apartment very rich where State is joined with great Conveniency.' C. Campbell, Vol. 1, 1715, plates 72-76.

³⁵⁷ G. Higgott, 'Varying with Reason': Inigo Jones's theory of Design' *Architectural History* No.35, 1992, pp 51-77.

³⁵⁸ For example, in his annotations of Palladio, Jones revised his notes on the entrance hall at the Palazzo Thiene in August 1614, in Book 2, p12 praising 'the design of the rusticated columns that carry the cross-vault of the entrance hall because ... the slenderness of the column shaft agreed with the tallness of the entrance hall while the rough cut rustication on the column shafts [answered] to the "strength" and rusticated character of the walls.' Ibid, p55.

³⁵⁹ D. Cast, op cit, p180.

³⁶⁰ C. Campbell, Vol. 1, 1715, A new Design inscrib'd to the Earl of Hallifax plates 28-30. See also Campbell's discussion of Sir Charles Hotham's house, Ibid, plate 87.

the column',³⁶¹ and of the Royal Exchange he observes that 'this Building is generally condemned by the Criticks, for having Piers but one fourth of the Arch, which renders it weak'.³⁶²

The broad terms of Campbell's discussion are important in suggesting a discursive form of writing than the prescriptive and didactic methods considered above. The paradigm of evaluation which can be traced in Vasari's work and its influence upon Jones provide another precedent for the way in which Campbell engages with his architectural material, and position *Vitruvius Britannicus* within a wider framework than that of producing a technical or theoretical treatise on the practice of architecture, thus relating it to wider discourses.

4.2 b Scientific Illustrations³⁶³

While *Vitruvius Britannicus* relates on a conceptual level to the collection of bird's eye views published in Kip and Knyff's *Britannia Illustrata*, the use of the orthogonal image is a marked difference. The choice of orthogonal representation was not unprecedented - its use by Serlio, Palladio, and du Cerceau was noted above. The importance of its use in *Vitruvius Britannicus* lies not in any originality of concept, but in the manner in which such illustrations could have been used and understood. The prioritisation of the image by Campbell relates not only to a pictorial model rooted in print collecting but also a scientific use that presents the image, whether orthogonal or perspectival, as a cerebral interpretation of form. It allows the viewer to scrutinise the image subjectively and analytically and enables the image to function within a wider set of conceptual models. It is this aspect of the image that can be described as 'scientific'. Its function on a level other than pictorialism alludes to a body of scientific publishing that recognised its didactic and schematic potential.

One of the most influential scientific works to use images was *De humani corporis fabrica libri septem*, published in Basel in 1543 by Andreas Vesalius³⁶⁴ (illus. 53). This illustrated the results of dissections through engravings of cadavers and the parts of the body. Similar 'scientific' use of images can be seen in botanical works such as Otto Brunfels' *Herbarum*

³⁶¹ Ibid. plates 82-89.

³⁶² Ibid, Vol. 2. plates 23-25.

³⁶³ The use of the term 'scientific' in this thesis is not applied in the sense that it is understood today but is used to denote knowledge or study. While this chapter considers departments of knowledge which are today considered under the umbrella of science, contemporary seventeenth and eighteenth century usage did not distinguish between the 'sciences' and the 'arts'.

³⁶⁴ A. Vesalius, *De humani corporis fabrica libri septem*, (Basel: Johannes Oporinus, 1543).

Vivae Icones and Leonhart Fuch's *De Historia Stirpium*.³⁶⁵ Fuchs clearly stated the value that he considered images to have in his work.

'Who in his right mind would condemn pictures which can communicate information much more clearly than the words of even the most eloquent men? Those things that are presented to the eyes and depicted on panels or paper become fixed more firmly in the mind than those that are described in bare words.'³⁶⁶

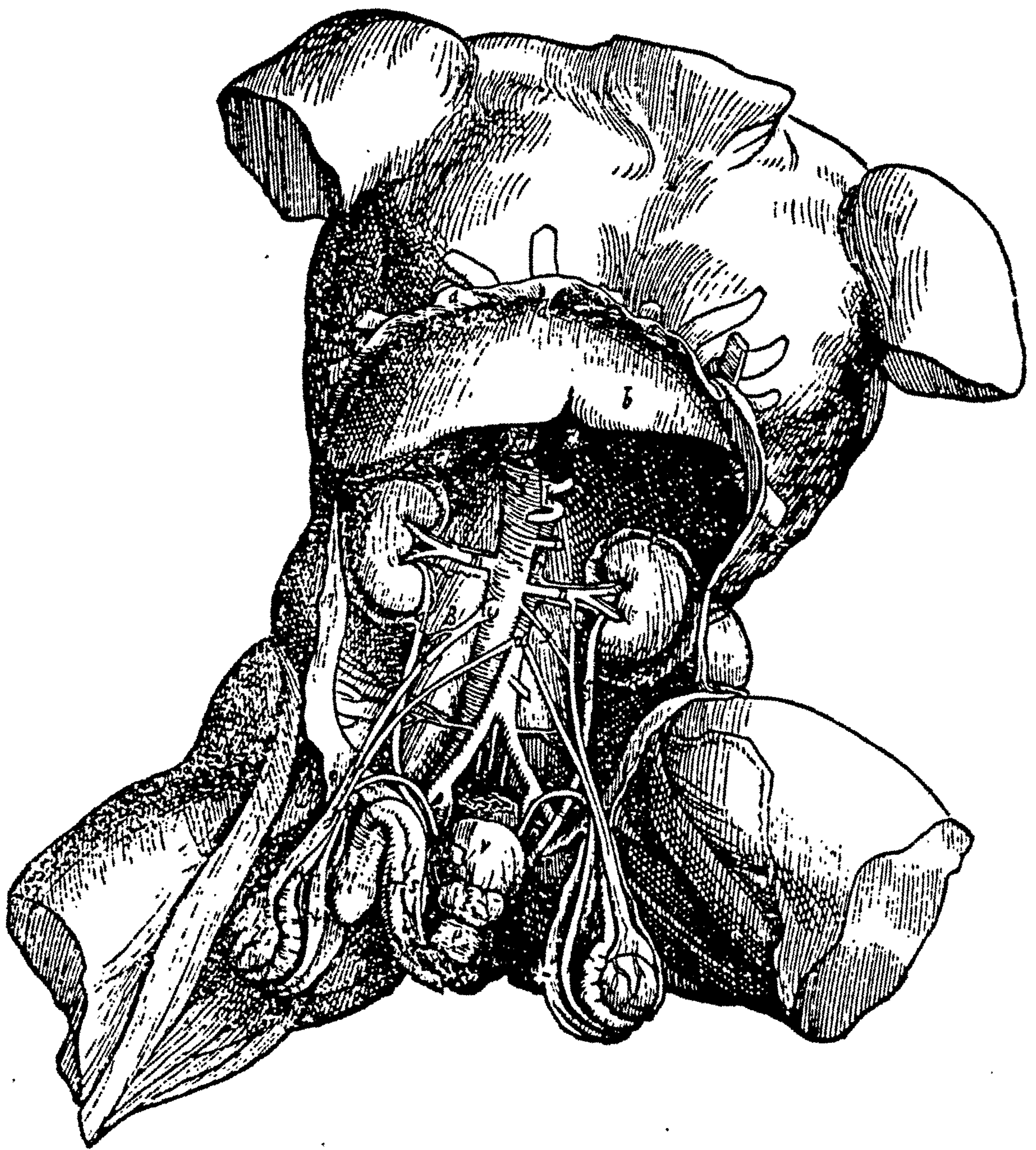
Initially, visual communication was mimetic, using perspectival representation to depict the object as the naturalists themselves had seen it. However, a gradual development towards abstract systems of representation can be traced. Images communicated information about plants that would never be seen in reality, through detailed and accurate standardised information. These were not considered as a supplement to language but were a means through which technical information could be expressed at a period when there was an insufficient technical language of botany to describe form. Thus the technical importance of the illustrations superseded the artistic. By the sixteenth century illustrations became increasingly standardised,³⁶⁷ and by Linnaeus's work in the eighteenth century images were tied to an improved technical language centred upon 'arrangement and designation'.³⁶⁸ Descriptions were linked to the visible, nameable and depictable features of plants, the illustration of which was crucial in the codification of a botanical taxonomy. Thus the picturing and naming of elements was tied to a system of designation and the establishment of authoritative systems.

³⁶⁵ O. Brunfels, *Herbarum vivae eicones ad naturae imitationem, summa cum diligentia et artificio effigiate, unam cum effectibus earundem, in gratiam veteris illius, & iamiam renascentis herbariae medicinae*, (Strassburg: A. Schott, 1530).

³⁶⁶ L. Fuchs, *De Historia stirpium commentarii insignes ... accessit iis succincta admodum difficilium & obscurarum passim in hoc opere occurrentium explicatio ...*, (Paris, 1543), Preface, pp. x-xi.

³⁶⁷ D. R. Olson, *The World on Paper. The Conceptualisation and Cognitive Implications of Writing and Reading*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p.225.

³⁶⁸ C. Linnaeus *Systema Naturae* (1735) *Philosophia Britannica* (1751) For a discussion of the importance of Linnaeus in the creation of taxonomical systems see M. Foucault, *The Order of Things, An archaeology of Human Sciences*, (London: Tavistock Publications, 1970), p141



Illus. 53

The process by which this eventual fully scientific visual language developed is important in terms of a conceptual change relating to visual images. Information rather than verisimilitude became the primary role of such illustrations, and the representation became a conceptual framework by which actual experience was perceived and classified. As such scientific illustration was not concerned with mimetic pictorialism but the creation of conceptual models. Accurate representation of all constituent parts of an object was sufficient to convey the relevant information. Actual resemblance to the object as experienced was not as important as the information conveyed. Thus, a schematic image came to be valued more than one intended to catch the indicia of personality. The choice of orthogonal projection rather than perspective relates to this increased use of the schematic image. However, while the use of orthogonal images can be related to this development, many works, including *Vitruvius Britannicus*, incorporated perspective as well, suggesting that the combination of pictorial and schematic could be seen as providing a comprehensive record.

Palladio's use of orthogonal projection was principally concerned with the techniques of building and building design on a practical level. Both Serlio and Palladio used it as a means of conveying accurate architectural information for their didactic purpose. The use of this paradigm in *Vitruvius Britannicus* would suggest that it also functioned in this way. However, *Vitruvius Britannicus* did not appeal to the type of audience that could be expected to subscribe to a pattern book for building. The predominance of the aristocracy, politicians and urban professionals within the subscription lists suggest a non-artisan audience unlikely to subscribe to a practical publication. How then did a format historically concerned with practice become relevant to this group of people? The answer lies in the link between the orthogonal projection and a notion of science as an intellectual discipline as opposed to a practical art.

Any graphic representation of a building is problematic in terms of the relationship between looking at an image of a building and the sensory physical experience of being in that building.³⁶⁹ An orthogonal representation is a highly rationalised two dimensional image, which can be understood as an historical and cultural conception in its own right.³⁷⁰ The

³⁶⁹ K. C. Bloomer, C. W. Moore, *Body, Memory and Architecture*, (New Haven and London, Yale University Press: 1977), p.ix.

³⁷⁰ H. Foster and others have highlighted the importance of recognising that vision has its own history which can be divided into what they term 'scopic regimes'. H. Foster, *Vision and Visuality (Dia Art Foundation. Discussion in Contemporary Culture No 2)*, (Seattle: Bay Press, 1988). In this Jay argues that the hegemonic visual model of the modern era is characterised by Renaissance notions of perspective in the visual arts and Cartesian ideas of subjective rationality in philosophy.

development of perspective arose from the desire to systematically record visual phenomena, and is a clearly identifiable scopic regime. Perspectival representation is a highly systematised convention for depicting and reading space which not only involves considerable skill on the part of the artist, but also that of the viewer in 'reading' accurately the spatial arrangements suggested by the distribution of formal elements on the picture surface. This demanded enormous conceptual changes in the translation of measurable space (or spatiality) onto a flat two dimensional surface, and in so doing translated a physical experience into one that was visual or cerebral. Thus, perspectival representation posits the idea of the neutral observer and of a highly systematised method of representation grounded within a scientific and mathematical basis.³⁷¹

If perspectival representation is thought of as embodying these concerns, the boundary so often drawn between perspective representations of architecture and orthogonal representations becomes deceptive. In fact, historians have drawn this boundary. By reintegrating orthogonal and perspectival representational methods, recognising that both were based upon a mathematical and cerebral analysis of the world, the differences focus simply on the mathematical translation of spatiality. My distinction between 'space' and 'spatiality' draws upon Foster's discussion of vision and visibility, in which he argues that 'vision suggests sight as a physical operation, and visibility sight as a social fact'.³⁷² Space can be defined as continuous extension viewed with or without reference to the existence of objects within it, or as a limited extent in one, two or three dimensions. Either way the Latin root *spatium* relates to an area, room or interval of space. Spatiality refers more specifically to the relationship to, or occupation of, space, to the relationship of objects within space, to spatial relations. Thus, space consists of an abstract concept of the term and spatiality as a physically conceived notion. Orthogonal representation renders its mathematical basis explicitly. It deals with space through an explicit and easily recognisable mathematical and cerebral appreciation of architecture, and translates architectural experience into the equivalent of shorthand notation. In order to understand space the reader needs to read the representation mathematically, to take measurements and use scales to construct through geometrical principles a three dimensional structure. In so doing space is not eliminated from the orthogonal treatment of architecture, it is simply reduced to a cerebral, mathematical understanding of form. Spatiality, as the physical experience of the body is, however eliminated. Perspective representation deals pictorially with spatiality, with the ways in

³⁷¹ M. Kemp, *The Science of Art. Optical Themes in Western Art from Brunelleschi to Seurat*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990), p.9.

³⁷² H. Foster, *op cit*, p.ix.

which objects apparently relate to each other within space, but still does not offer a sensory appreciation of spatiality. The critical difference is that perspective gives the false impression of conveying spatial effects accurately, by suggesting a 'natural' depiction of the objects, while orthogonal projection recognises the falsity of depicting three-dimensional form on a two-dimensional surface, offering a different way of reading and understanding form, which emphasises the isolation of the viewer from the object and frees them to look more objectively. Orthogonal projection, therefore, explicitly locates architectural representation on a cerebral level. By eliminating the body from the understanding of architecture it elevates architectural appreciation, judgement and criticism to an intellectual status. Such an approach clearly lies within a scientific system that depends upon recognition, classification, arrangement and designation. These can be related to the structuring of architectural discourse in *Vitruvius Britannicus* and its appeal to contemporary readers, which will be considered specifically in Chapter 6.

4.2c Cartography

The 'scientific' world view and the changing use of images as a tool for information has resonance in terms of another paradigm for *Vitruvius Britannicus*, map-making. Cartographic systems of representation share many characteristics with the orthographic. Both have similar performative value in terms of abstracting landscape and architectural information. Both are concerned with the representation of three dimensional information on a two dimensional surface, and communicating accurate information visually, and both operate within a network of representational methods that include views, prospects and paintings. Maps have a range of potential functions including the comprehension of spatial phenomena, the communication of three dimensional information, and the delineation of the distribution of elements.³⁷³ These relate to the functions of orthographic architectural representation. In addition to a shared emphasis upon communicating accurate information, cartographic and orthographic projection share a 'view from nowhere' based in description rather than interpretation. This flat working surface is a different way of 'seeing' that suggests an alternative way of understanding and representing the world graphically, tied to a cartographic vision.³⁷⁴

Maps present an important paradigm for *Vitruvius Britannicus* not only because of similar cognitive requirements in understanding the systems of visual representation, but also

³⁷³ N. J. W. Thrower, op cit, p.1.

³⁷⁴ Ibid, p.138. This cartographic vision was seen as a subject of interest for gentlemen, as can be seen in both Castiglione and Elyot's discussions of the subject. B. Castiglione, op. cit, p. 91, T. Elyot, op cit, Book 1, Chapter 8, see especially pp23-24.

because of a degree of overlap in the use made of them. Architecture and cartography alike have attributes of both a scientific and artistic nature,³⁷⁵ and this highlights one of the most important aspects of any consideration of the images in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, namely their function on two different levels, firstly conveying accurate information drawing upon the methods of mathematics, geometry and rational 'scientific' approaches, and secondly as an architectural image appreciated on a purely aesthetic level.

Maps operate both as objects for pleasure and objects for use, echoing a dichotomy between science and art. Initially maps were considered as a type of painting. Both Castiglione and Elyot discussed them under this subject in the early sixteenth century.³⁷⁶ By the 1550s however, maps appear to have been considered more as scientific objects, and map-making was discussed as a branch of applied mathematics. By the end of the sixteenth century maps were increasingly used for administration, and for conveying accurate information, however, they were also prized as an example of enlightened patronage and as a reinforcement of social standing.

Like architecture, cartography was couched in ideas of the productive use of leisure time Elyot described their use on a personal level as a route to private edification and pleasure in terms rooted within this idea, emphasising their value as an instructive tool.

'... a man shall more profit in one week by figures and charts well and perfectly made than he shall by the only reading or hearing the rule of that science by the space of half a year at the least; whereof the later writers deserve no small commendation which added to the authors of those sciences apt and proper figures.'³⁷⁷

Maps, like architecture, were seen as a suitable interest for gentlemen, and thus became a social marker. In 1570 Dee remarked in his *Mathematical Preface* on the growing popularity among gentlemen to 'beautify their Halls, Parlors, Chambers, Galleries, Studies or Libraries' with 'maps, charts and geographical globes.'³⁷⁸ In 1608 Salisbury had his considerable

³⁷⁵ N. Throver, *Maps and Man. An Examination of Cartography in Relation to Culture and Civilisation*, (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1972).

³⁷⁶ B. Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier from the Italian of Count Baldassare Castiglione, Done into English by Sir Thomas Hoby Anno 1561*, (London: Wyllyam Seres, (1561) 1900); T. Elyot, *The Book Named the Governor*, (London: Everyman, (1531) 1962).

³⁷⁷ Elyot, T., op. cit., Book 1 Chapter 8 p.24

³⁷⁸ *The Elements of Geometrie of the most auncient Philosopher Evclide of Megara. Faithfully (Now first) translated into Englishe tounge, by H. Billingsley, Citizen of London. Whereunto are annexed certaine Scholies, Annotations, and Inventions, of the best Mathematicians, both of time past, and in this our age. With a very fruitful Praeface made by M. I. Dee Specifying the chiefe Mathematicall Sciences, What they are, and wherunto commodious: where, also, are disclosed certaine new Secrets*

collection of maps bound into three 'great books' of 'mapps', 'fortifications', and 'architectural plans.'³⁷⁹ Map tapestries were also produced, designed for show as well as illustration. This type of consumption of maps relates to the consumption of architectural publications such as *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Maps and architectural publications were not only used for study, but were displayed on an aesthetic level, as markers of gentility. This type of appreciation is evident from the location of both within the practice of print collecting. Men such as George Clarke and Samuel Pepys collected maps, art, and architectural prints alongside each other, often from the same supplier. Indeed, Joseph Smith, in addition to his involvement in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, was an important supplier of maps and art prints.

Social display was not just enacted through consumption of maps. They were also used to specifically denote social relationships. (illus. 54 - 55). William Cecil, Lord Burghley carefully annotated his maps, marking the homes of the leading families in an area, thus using them as an index of social and political players at the time.³⁸⁰ This combination of cartographic with genealogical information can be seen in other examples such as Saxton's map of Northamptonshire, which gave information on the major families in the area.³⁸¹ This element of social survey is also a key aspect of understanding *Vitruvius Britannicus*, and can be traced in the systems of dedications and descriptions of key individuals in Campbell's text. As such *Vitruvius Britannicus* is a record of houses and their owners and can be similarly understood as a social and political index.

The cartographic paradigm does not, however, just relate to the map, but also to the prospect and the view, in which the representation of authority is displayed in both land and architecture, through abstracted symbol and pictorial motif, and through emblematic and heraldic devices. There is a distinct combination of the pictorial, the architectural and the cartographic in the geometric plans and the perspectives in Campbell's third volume in which the plates communicate different levels of architectural and social information, including both artistic and cartographic elements. They show the degree of visual overlap between maps, bird's eye views, and the geometric plans and demonstrate the wider social and ethical information conveyed in Campbell's publication alongside the architectural content. The

Mathematicall and Mechanicall untill these our daies greatly missed, (London: John Daye and J. Dee, 1570).

³⁷⁹ P. Barber, 'England II: Monarchs, Ministers, and Maps, 1550-1625' in D. Buisseret, 1992, *Monarchs Ministers and Maps. The emergence of Cartography as a Tool of Government in Early Modern Europe*, The University Press, Chicago and London, p83.

³⁸⁰ For example, a sketch plan produced by Burghley of the Bristol Channel lists the Gloucestershire gentry on one page and locates them cartographically on the other. British Library Lansdowne MS 104 ff. 100-101.

³⁸¹ Hatfield House Maps, 36; BL Royal MS 18 D.III f. 42.

combination of landscape and architectural information in the third volume relates to a tradition of estate mapping and estate portraiture rooted in cartographic ideas. Estate maps were produced for public display as a demonstration of an owner's wealth and power, and these were frequently marked with coats of arms, genealogies, cartouches and portraits.³⁸² William Leybourne's *Compleat Surveyor* (1653) summarised the importance and the key features of estate maps.³⁸³ Leybourne claimed that he wanted to show surveyors

‘How to draw a perfect draught of a whole manor, and to furnish it with all the necessary varieties, also to trick and beautify the same, in which (as in a map) the Lord of the Mannor may at any time (by inspection only) see the symetry, scituation and content of any parcell of his land ... These things being well performed, your plot will be a neat Ornament for the Lord of the Manor to hang in his Study, or other private place, so that at pleasure he may see his Land before him’.³⁸⁴

Clearly elements other than the accurate depiction of landscape were important in the estate map, indeed texts were often explicit about additional information which needed to be included: Leybourne instructed the surveyor to ‘draw the Coat of Arms belonging to the Lord of the Mannor, with mantle, Helm, Crest, and Supporters; or in a Compartment ...’.³⁸⁵ Folkingham also observed that ‘Under [the] Title may also be rainged the Lordes-Coate with Crest and Mantells’.³⁸⁶

It can be seen that maps were more than working cartographic documents and were an important aspect of social consolidation and display. Estate maps have much in common with estate portraiture which, in the seventeenth century was primarily depicted as a ‘bird’s eye view’.³⁸⁷ These views usually centred upon the house and gardens but also included extensive views of the estate. Often the angle of vision was so acute that areas of the estate on the periphery were flattened to such an extent that they became a cartographic representation (illus. 56). These estate portraits were prominently displayed together with estate map, both at the country seat and in the town house. Thus there are two models for depicting the landscape graphically, the cartographic model of the topographical map drawn to scale, and

³⁸² See for example the maps in J. Speed, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine: presenting an exact geography of ... England, Scotland, Ireland, etc.*, (London: J. Sudbury & G. Humble, 1611-12).

³⁸³ N. Alfrey, and S. Daniels, *Mapping the Landscape. Essays on Art and Cartography*, (Nottingham: University Art Gallery Nottingham, 1990), p10.

³⁸⁴ Ibid, p10.

³⁸⁵ W. Leybourne, *Planometria, or, The Whole Art of Surveying of Land*, (London: Nathaniel Brooks, 1650), p274-5 Cited in A. S. Bendall, *Maps, Land and Society. A History with a carto-bibliography of Cambridgeshire estate maps c1600-1836*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p178.

³⁸⁶ W. Folkingham, *Feudigraphia: the Synopsis or Epitome of Surveying Methodized*, (London: Printed for Richard Moore, 1610), p58.

³⁸⁷ N. Alfrey, S. Daniels, op cit, p9.

the artistic model of the bird's eye view drawn according to the rules of perspective. It would be easy to separate the two models of map and view, however the distinction is not as clear cut as has been suggested by Harvey.³⁸⁸ Within the bird's-eye view, there are frequent examples of multiple perspective and variations from an Albertian system. Similarly, on some maps pictorial elements are included, for example the maps of the Warwickshire Hundreds drawn by William Dugdale and published in 1656 show the parish churches in tiny views accurately recording their appearance rather than marking them abstractly.³⁸⁹ Maps often included imaginary views of landscape around the edges, as well as portraits and other decorative elements. Indeed, in many cases what appear to be conventional signs are in fact pictorial elements.³⁹⁰ These signs were used in the geometrical plans engraved for the *Cabinet de Roi* and were also used by Du Cerceau (illus. 57 - 58). The plates of *Vitruvius Britannicus* clearly draw upon both of these models, in terms of the standard symbols used to represent trees, the individual dedications on each plate, and the combination of geometric plans and bird's eye views (Illus. 59 -60).

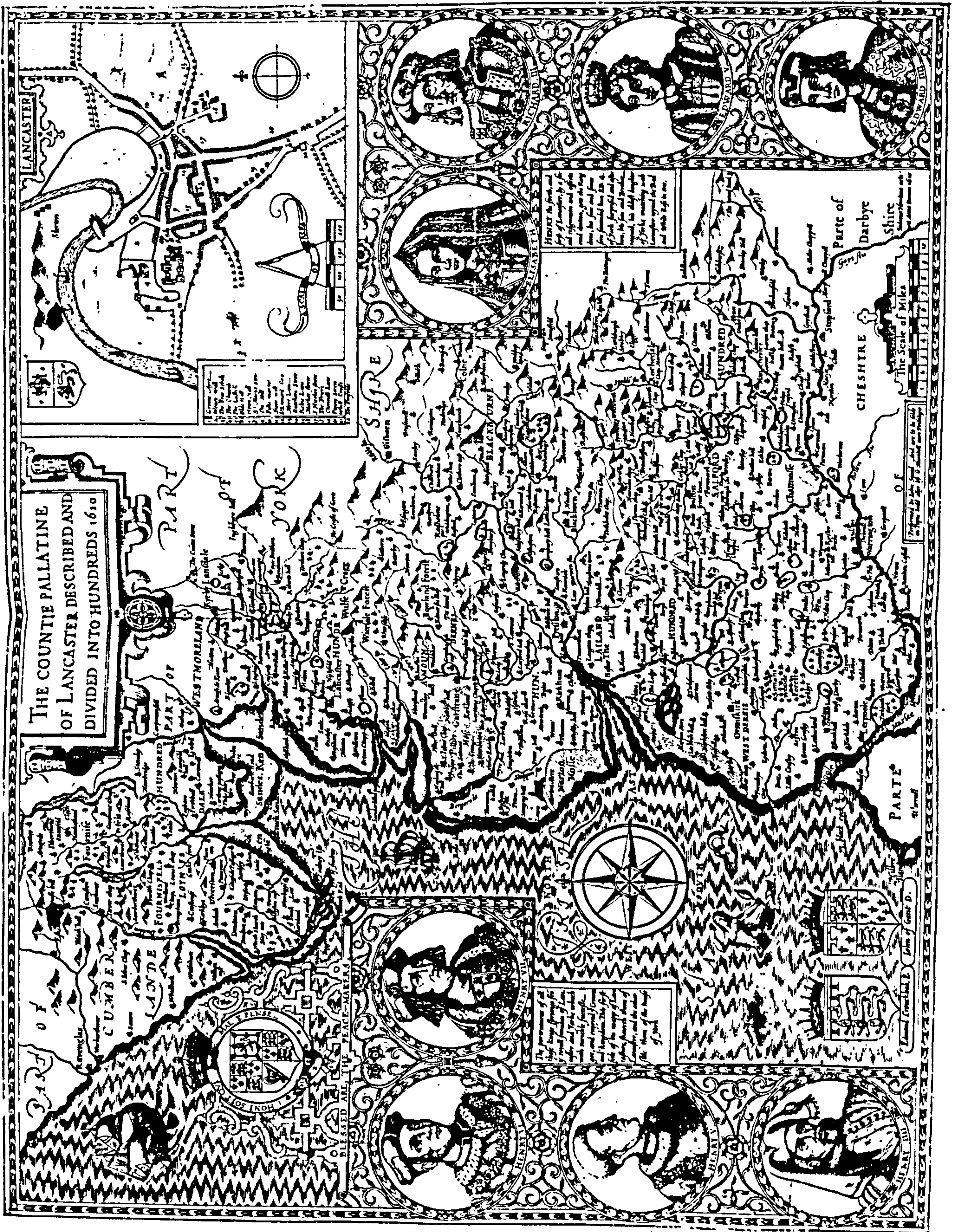
Maps and prospects were a visual expression of the power held in the land and illustrated the prudent estate management of the owner, thus emphasising the importance of their custodial position. Section 4.2d shows that in addition to presenting these ideas visually in his third volume, Campbell's descriptions throughout the volumes of *Vitruvius Britannicus* reflect these themes. This combination of geographic and social information has much in common with county histories such as Dugdale's *History of Warwickshire*,³⁹¹ which combined maps of the area with histories and pedigrees of the key families and included heraldry. These publications played an important role in self-representation and county identities. They relate to the notion of self-understanding through national survey traced in 4.1b, and to the development of a genre of literature which described the nation, and were tied to ideas of travel and identity.

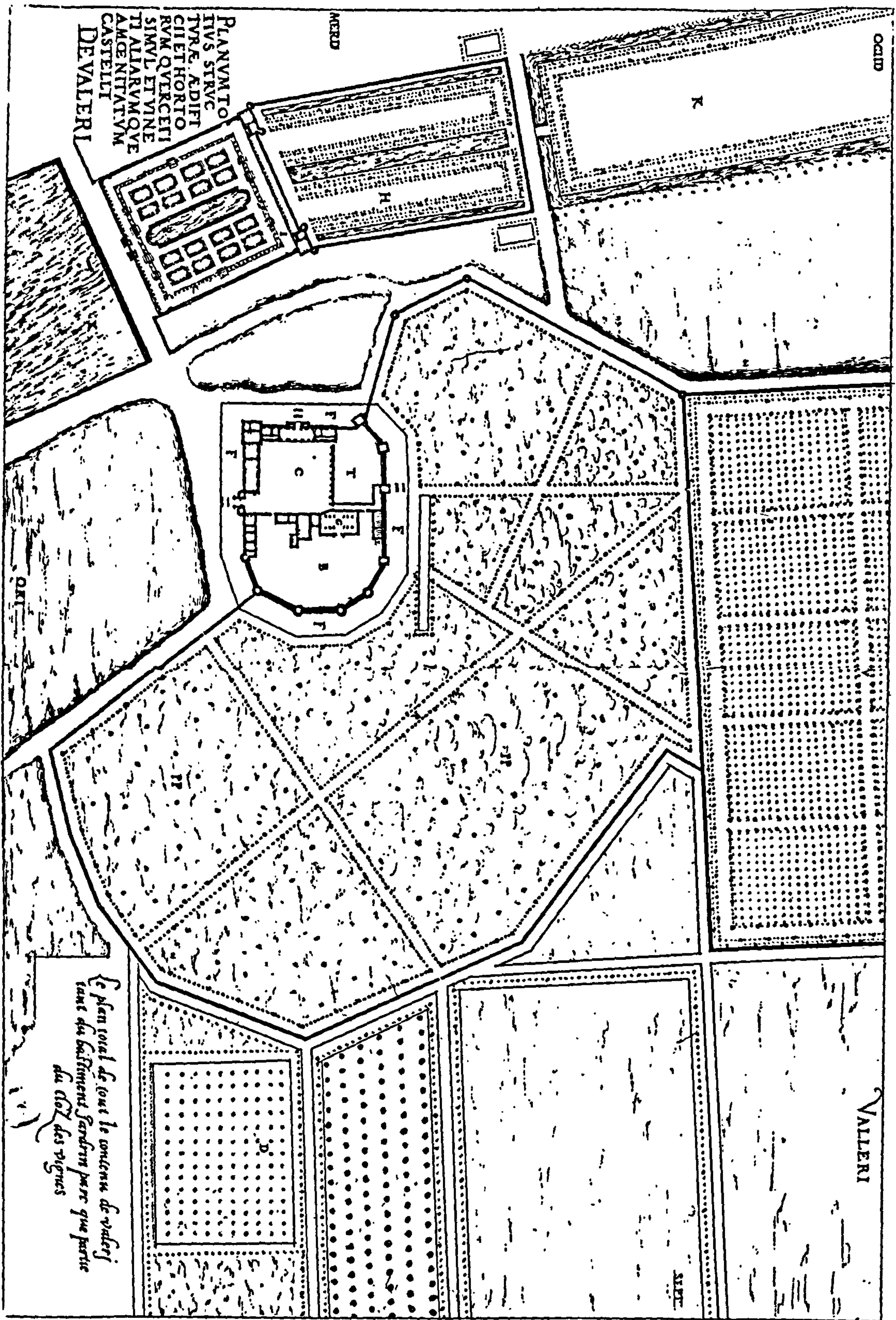
³⁸⁸ P. D. A. Harvey, *The History of Topographical Maps: Symbols, Pictures, and Surveys*, (London: Thames & Hudson, 1980), p14.

³⁸⁹ W. Dugdale, *The Antiquities of Warwickshire Illustrated; from Records, leger-Books, manuscripts, Charters, Evidences, Tombes and Armes. Beautified with maps, Prospects and Portraits*, (London: London, 1656).

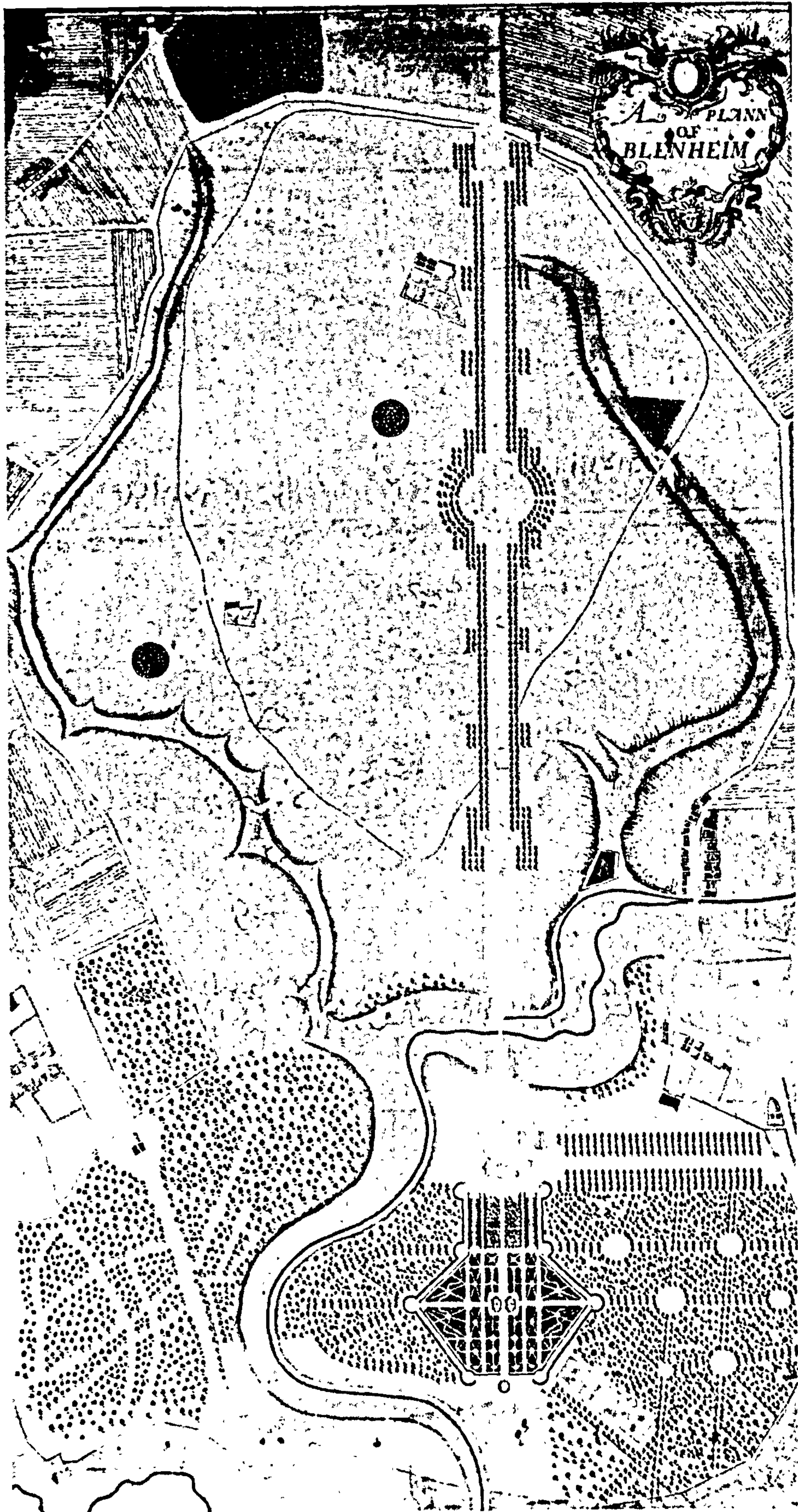
³⁹⁰ Ibid, p.13. This is noted by Dee in his 'Mathematical Preface'. H. Billingsley, op cit.: In his discussion of Geographie he states that [Towns, woods etc.] ... may be described and designed, in commensurations Analogicall to Nature and Veritie: and most aptly to our view, may be represented.'

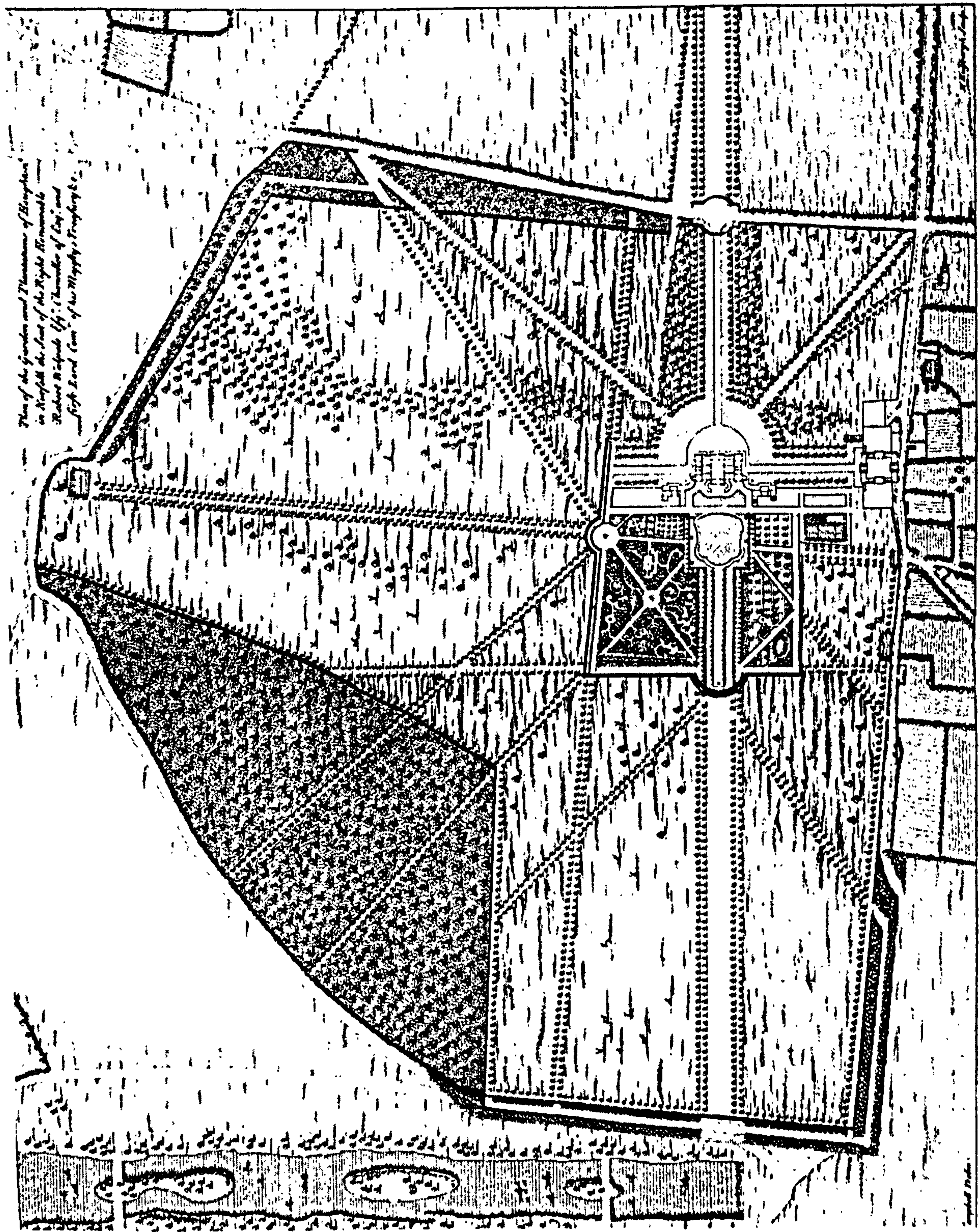
³⁹¹ W. Dugdale, op.cit.





ILLUSTRATIONS





4.2d Early tourist itineraries and memoirs

Vitruvius Britannicus can be considered in terms of a relationship with print publication as a system of national survey and identity. The paradigm of map-making also relates to survey and the consolidation and display of power. Additionally, *Vitruvius Britannicus* draws upon a textual model of survey rooted in ideas of travel, education and identity, intended to offer an education in domestic architecture to rival that received by the Grand Tourists. As such it was grounded within contemporary ideas of the value of domestic tourism and related on an explicit level to other publications associated with domestic survey and tourism.

The descriptions in *Vitruvius Britannicus* are not just focused upon architectural evaluation and design criticism, but also consider situation, history, collections and conduct. Thus, they create a system of social survey, tied to a hierarchy of architectural form that places architecture within the realm of social stratification. This allusion to wider subjects in Campbell's volumes equates to a system of 'touristic language' which can be traced in seventeenth and eighteenth century publications relating to travel, such as diaries, itineraries, and chorographies. These discuss architecture alongside interiors, collections, estates and gardens, and relate it to ideas of local identity and history, and individual conduct.³⁹²

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were key periods in the development of tourism. Travel was an important means of consolidating education, and part of a wider culture of the productive use of leisure time. Francis Bacon in his essay *Of Travel* (1615) gave his authoritative support to the idea of travel as an educational tool indispensable for anyone intending to take a leading position in society. By the eighteenth century this was frequently experienced through the Grand Tour, which had its own established 'tour code' based on itineraries and key destinations, and had become a *cursus honorum* in culture.³⁹³

A significant aspect of any consideration of travel is acknowledgement that 'travel' was constructed through systems other than travelling itself. It was widely experienced vicariously through representations and publications on the subject, and formed a significant category of secular literature from the sixteenth century. Representations of travel were seen

³⁹² See for example Campbell's descriptions of Castle Howard and Chatsworth. C. Campbell, 1715, op cit, Vol. 1, plates 63-71 and plates 72-76. These contrast with Palladio who only occasionally refers to interiors and collections in houses in his second book.

³⁹³ C. de Seta 'Grand Tour: The Lure of Italy in the eighteenth century' in A. Wilton, I. Bignamini, *Grand Tour. The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century*, (London: Tate Gallery Publishing, 1996), p.14.

as equivalent to travel itself, reinforcing ideas about the value of the 'paper world' as an authoritative knowledge system, and as a substitute for experience echoed in many contemporary discussions of prints and maps. Publications were frequently more widely experienced than travel itself, and were important in terms of constructions of knowledge and ideas on the subject. They can be considered not only as sources for understanding the Grand Tour but also in terms of constructing ideas about the world, about knowledge and about identity, all of which are important elements in understanding the text of *Vitruvius Britannicus*.

The Grand Tour was constructed around the published accounts of other people's experiences and further codified by the individual through their own written account. This filtering of experience through published material was common, and was fuelled by a network of published accounts and itineraries which structured and codified the 'Tour'.³⁹⁴ It was thus part of a continuous cycle of reaffirmation and codification of the experience of the tour and the key cultural sites on every itinerary, through written description. This strong textual basis for the Grand Tour reinforced its status as a 'virtual academy'. It also positioned it within networks of power and authority through the knowledge structures it created.³⁹⁵ The

³⁹⁴ The volume of published material was vast: R. Dallington, *A Survey of the great Dukes state of Tuscany, London, 1605*, (London: E. Bount, 1605), T. Coryate, *Coryats Crudities ...*, (London: William Stansby, 1611), F. Moryson, *An Itinerary written by Fynes Moryson, ...*, (London: J. Beale, 1617), J. Howell, *Instructions for Forreine Travel*, (London: 1642), E. Warcup, *Italy in its Original Glory, Ruine and Revival, ... Translated out of the originals ... by Edmund Warcup, Esquire. [Translated from "Itinerario, ouero Noua descrittione de' viaggi principali d'Italia", an Italian version of the work of Franciscus Schottus entitled "Itinerarii Italiae rerumque Romanarum libri tres".] [With plates.]*, (London: S. Griffin: 1660), R. Lassels, *The Voyage of Italy; or, a compleat journey through Italy. ... By R. Lassels ... corrected & set forth by his old friend and fellow traveller S. W[ilson]*, (Paris Printed, London: 1670), J. T. Raymond, *An Itinerary, contayning a voyage made through Italy in the yeare 1646 and 1647. Illustrated with divers figures of antiquities*, (London: 1648), G. Burnett, *Some Letters Containing An account of what seemed most remarkable in Switzerland, Italy, etc*, (Rotterdam: 1686), M. Misson, Trans. G. Dore, *A New Voyage to Italy: with a description of the chief towns, churches, ... palaces, ... and antiquities of that country. Together with ... instrusctions for those who shall travel thither. ... Done into English, and adorn'd with figures*, (London: R. Bentley, 1695), W. Bromley, *Remarks in the Grande Tour of France and Italy Lately Performed By a Person of Quality*, (London: Printed by EH for Tho. Basset, 1692), Sandys, *A Relation of a Journey begun An. Dom. 1610. Foure Bookes. Containing a description of the Turkish Empire, of Aegypt, of the Holy Land, of the remote parts of Italy, and Ilands adjoining*, (London: Printed for W. Barrett, 1615), J. H. Pflaumern, *Joannis Henrici a Pflaumern ... Mercurius Italicus, hospiti fidus per Italiae praecipuas regiones et urbes dux, indicans ... quaecumque in iis sunt visu ac scitu digna*, (Augustae Vindelicorum, 1625), Varenne, *Voyage de France*, Monconys, *Journal des Voyages de Monsieur de Monconys ... Enrichi de ... figures en tailedouce, etc. Publie par le Sieur de Liergues son Fils*, (Lyon: 1665, 1666). Evelyn was typical of the Grand Tourist in using these texts to structure his own experience. We know for example that he used Sandys, Monconys, and Lassels.

³⁹⁵ The idea of knowledge structures owes much to Foucault's consideration of human knowledge structured through the 'episteme', which structures possible and permissible systems of thought. Related to this is his idea that discourse shapes and controls experience and structures ideas of otherness, thus creating systems of authority and control. See M. Foucault, *The Order of Things, An archaeology of Human Sciences*, (London: Tavistock Publications, 1970), *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, (London:

codification of the tour through itineraries, and other texts created specific discourses around what knowledge, and experiences were valid, and even established specific systems for viewing and understanding key sites. It was a system of classifying and ordering knowledge that created authority in much broader areas than just aesthetics.

The Grand Tour was a process through which taste was constituted and debated, but it also embodied ideas relating to the value of antiquity and its relationship with the contemporary. It connected with structures of identity, whether individual, national, or international. Although constructing national identity through ideas of otherness, the Grand Tour also contributed to a cosmopolitan European culture structured around social hierarchies. It is possible to trace a 'universal culture' among a European elite based on informal relationships between individuals interested in 'literature and letters'. Discourse between nationalities was therefore a fundamental element within the Grand Tour and, while one interpretation of this might be a heightened awareness of difference, an equally valid argument can be made for an international 'polite' discourse.

The Grand Tour is frequently considered as a discrete entity, as an autonomous subject in the history of education or tourism. In reality it was part of a much broader set of networks that relate to wider ideas of collecting and travel, supported by particular viewing practices and systems of writing. Thus it relates to other forms of travel, most particularly the national or domestic 'tour', and also incorporates changing ideas of ancient versus modern culture.³⁹⁶ There is a strong relationship between travel and education on the continent and the development of the domestic tour of Britain.³⁹⁷ The idea of survey and tourism as an educative tool and a reinforcement of social position transferred between both forms of tourism. Both were served by a network of published accounts, prints, and private memoirs, demonstrating a similar process of engagement, study and filtering of experience through an established system of looking and learning. However, domestic tourism was also associated with a strong element of nationalism, and was frequently asserted as an alternative to the corrupting influence of the Grand Tour. Many felt that young travellers abroad were not equipped with sufficient knowledge of their own culture and institutions to form a

Tavistock Publications, 1972), and .M. Foucault, Trans. A. M. Sheridan Smith, *The Birth of the Clinic, An Archaeology of Medical Perception*, (London: Tavistock Publication, 1973).

³⁹⁶ The importance of a broader understanding of the Grand Tour was foregrounded during the stimulating discussion of the subject at the conference 'Going Places' held at the Tate Gallery in December 1996.

³⁹⁷ An interesting discussion of this development E. Moir, *The Discovery of Britain: The English Tourists 1540-1840*, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1964). Implicit within the title is an element of nationhood.

comparison with their foreign experiences. In 1673 Walker pointed out that 'Having no knowledge or experience, young gentlemen cannot advantage themselves abroad, but are there in a kind of amazedness; variety of objects, which they neither understand, nor value, confounding rather than edifying, them.'³⁹⁸ An author in the *Spectator* (No 364) likened it to building 'a gaudy structure without any foundation; or ... to work a rich embroidery upon a cobweb'. However, more frequently and worse, it was felt that youths returned worshipping all things foreign and with no sense of value in their own nation. Fear of foreign influence was related to the idea of English liberty, which was a fundamental part of English consciousness at this time. Notions of civic discourse were firmly rooted in the idea of liberty as opposed to tyranny, couched in ideas of independence, and martial, frugal and simple public service, contrasted with luxury, ostentation, self-indulgence and private interest.³⁹⁹ To limit excessive foreign influence it was often argued that foreign travel should be deferred until 'when by the help of his foregoing education [a man's] Judgment is settled and qualified to make useful observations.'⁴⁰⁰ The introduction to the first volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus* relates to these criticisms:

'The general esteem that travelers have for things that are foreign, is in nothing more conspicuous than with regard to building. We travel for the most part, at an Age more apt to be imposed upon by the ignorance or partiality of others, than to judge truly of the merit of things by the strength of reason. It is owing to this mistake in education that so many of the British quality have so mean an opinion of what is performed in our own country; though, perhaps in most we equal, and in some things we surpass our neighbours.'⁴⁰¹

Such nationalist assertions can be found throughout *Vitruvius Britannicus*, for example Campbell's discussion of the Banqueting House:

'... if this Specimen has justly commanded the Admiration of mankind, what must the finished Pile have produced? I hope Britain will still have the Glory to accomplish it, which will as far exceed all the Palaces of the Universe, as the Valour of our Troops and conduct of our General's have Surpassed all others.'⁴⁰²

³⁹⁸ O. Walker, *Of Education, Especially of Young Gentlemen*, (Oxford: The Theater, 1673), p.195

³⁹⁹ J. Swift, *The Prose Works of Jonathan Swift. Edited by Herbert Davis [With plates, including portraits and facsimiles.]*: *Gulliver's Travels*, 1726. With an introduction by Harold Williams, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1941), p593.

⁴⁰⁰ R. Allestree, attrib., *The Gentleman's Calling Written by the Author of the Whole Duty of Man*, (London: R. Norton for Robert Pawlet, (1660) 1677), p.39

⁴⁰¹ C. Campbell, Vol. 1., 1715, Introduction.

⁴⁰² C. Campbell, Vol. 2, 1717, plates 12-13.

Similarly he describes Greenwich Hospital as ‘the first hospital in the world’ and ‘one of the best lines of building in the world’⁴⁰³ This assertion of the superior quality of British buildings can be traced even in his shorter notices. For example of Covent Garden he says ‘this noble Square, ... for the Grandure of Design, is certainly the first in Europe’.⁴⁰⁴ He also says of the Royal Exchange that ‘however inferior to those Pieces of Inigo Jones, yet [it] may very justly claim a Place in this Collection, being the most Considerable of this Kind in Europe’.⁴⁰⁵

While *Vitruvius Britannicus* relates to a nationalist idea of mapping the nation, the title also shows an overriding concern with the *British Architect*.⁴⁰⁶ Campbell’s introduction alludes to the contemporary controversy between ancients and moderns, and although he does not advocate a particular side in this debate, there is an implicit idea that ancient principles can be revived and surpassed. Campbell argued that modern European architects had rejected fundamental principles and that this ‘must be imputed either to an entire ignorance of antiquity, or a vanity to expose their absurd novelties so contrary to those excellent Precepts in Vitruvius, and so repugnant to those admirable remains the ancients have left us’.⁴⁰⁷ The volumes of *Vitruvius Britannicus* were thus intended to demonstrate revived Vitruvian principles for a British audience, through demonstration of actual and projected designs by ‘modern’ British architects. While Palladio is asserted as a model, far greater emphasis is placed upon the British architect Inigo Jones than on the Italian. In the first volume Palladio is only mentioned twice, whereas Jones’s name is referred to on seven occasions. Likewise, in Volume Two Palladio’s name appears once, Jones’s four times. Only in the third volume are Palladio and Jones mentioned an equal four times, and this is largely due to the influence of Palladio’s designs on Campbell’s personal aesthetic rather than any wider promotion of Palladian principles.⁴⁰⁸ *Vitruvius Britannicus* was a survey of the aesthetic value of work produced by British architects and thus a demonstration of British work over and above that produced in France and Italy. It suggested the idea of Britain as taking over the mantle of architecture which Italy had inherited from Vitruvius, while allowing for ‘variation according to reason’. The importance of the non-contemporary architect Jones can be understood in his transferral of Vitruvian classical design to English soil. However, this does not necessarily

⁴⁰³ C. Campbell, Vol. 1, 1715, plates 82-89.

⁴⁰⁴ C. Campbell, Vol. 2, 1717, plates 20-22.

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid, plates 23-25.

⁴⁰⁶ The complex set of ideas around the nationhood in the newly unified Britain, and the specific view of Britain which *Vitruvius Britannicus* projects will be considered in 5.1

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid, plate 27.

⁴⁰⁸ For an example of Palladio’s personal influence on Campbell see his discussion of the design for Mereworth Castle in C. Campbell, Vol. 3, 1725, plates 35-38.

identify him as a Palladian, but as an Englishman improving upon classical principles and thus recasting England, even over Italy, as a locus for Classical architectural practice.

Touristic discussions highlight another paradigm that can be identified for *Vitruvius Britannicus*, the tradition of praise and encomium. This is implicit in poetic descriptions of houses and also in the interests of travellers such as Evelyn, Fiennes, and Defoe. Similarly, in *Vitruvius Britannicus* there is a clear description of the praiseworthy characteristics of a gentleman, which relates to the polite qualities with which architectural discourse was associated and this will be discussed specifically in 6.6. It is however, implicit in the following discussion.

The relationship between the images in Dugdale's *Antiquities of Warwickshire* and those in *Vitruvius Britannicus* was considered in the previous chapter. Dugdale's history of Warwickshire was produced with the intention of reinforcing identity not just through illustrations but also text. The terms in which he describes the value and purpose of his work for the gentry of Warwickshire reinforce the importance of social standing inscribed into the history and fabric of the nation. His ideas are structured around recording the names and actions of men for posterity, describing his work as a 'monumentall Pillar' to show 'in what Honour [the ancestors of the gentry] 'lived in those flourishing Ages past'.⁴⁰⁹ He claimed that his 'principall ayme' was to set before the gentry 'the noble and eminent Actions of [their] ... worthy Ancestors' in order to 'incite the present and future ages to a vertuous imitation of them' to ensure lasting honour and posterity.⁴¹⁰ The terms in which the illustrations of historic monuments and gentlemen's houses are discussed in Dugdale are echoed in the descriptions in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. For example, Dugdale reprints the survey of Kenilworth Castle made after it had been seized from Sir Robert Dudley. This highlights aspects such as the history and situation of the castle, and describes the rooms as 'of great state ... built with ... uniformity and conveniency ... as the like are not within the Kingdome ...'. It also discusses the estate, noting the extent of woods and coppices, the potential of the deer park, and the fish ponds, as well as the gardens that surround the castle itself.⁴¹¹ The original function of this survey was to give a comprehensive description of the castle and its estate and an assessment of value. However, this value was not just financial as can be seen in the interest in the pleasant vista of the surrounding country. The text of *Vitruvius Britannicus* has much in common with this type of survey. Although Campbell enters into

⁴⁰⁹ W. Dugdale, 1656, op cit, p.a3.

⁴¹⁰ Ibid, p.a3

⁴¹¹ Ibid, p.168.

detailed architectural discussion, he also considers other elements. For example he gives a comprehensive account of the house and estate at Wilton, which borders between survey, architectural evaluation and local history. It emphasises the history of the house begun in the reign of Henry VIII, and further developed by subsequent Earls of Pembroke, and catalogues elements of the collections such as 'the celebrated Family Picture by Vandyke ... [and other pictures] of the same incomparable Hand', together with 'many curious Statues, Basso Relievo's, and other things of Marble and Pictures of the most famous Masters'. Campbell's description of the garden front as 'one of the best Pieces of that ... Architect', of the grand Apartment as 'one of the noblest Architecture has yet produced', and of the 'Marble Chimney Pieces of the most exquisite Work and most elegant Composition I have seen in the Kingdom', demonstrate his architectural evaluation.⁴¹² Similar elements are also emphasised in his description of Clivedon.⁴¹³ Like the survey of Kenilworth, Campbell's descriptions consider geographic location as much as architectural elements. For example he notes the 'beautiful and extensive Prospect over the rich Vale of Dorsetshire' in his description of Stourhead,⁴¹⁴ and the 'cheerful and healthy situation' of Newby next to the Swale 'abounding in excellent Salmon and all sorts of River Fish'.⁴¹⁵ His interest in the gardens and estate is clear in his description of the 'Gardens and Plantations' at Goodwood.

'... which for the beautiful Variety and Extension Prospect Spacious Lawns, Sweetness of Herbage, Delicate Venison, Excellent Fruit, thriving Plantations, lofty and awful trees, is inferior to none. The great Improvements Mr Carné has made in this delightful Place will be lasting Monuments to his Art and Industry, and Carné's oaks shall never be forgot. This Park has an easy Descent to East South and South-West with the Prospect of a rich and beautiful Landskip bounded by the Sea for 30 miles in Sight. the Isle of Wight terminates the South-West Prospect and the famous Rook's Hill covers it from the North.'⁴¹⁶

Even in some of the shorter notices Campbell makes clear references to such elements.⁴¹⁷

While Campbell does refer to the plates in these notices, the texts can function separately from the images. Indeed, given that the first two volumes do not depict estates at all the notices could be seen as providing additional information to the plates. Such information is not just geographical but also functions by creating a social and historical context for the

⁴¹² C. Campbell, Vol. 2, 1717, op cit, plates 61-67 inclusive.

⁴¹³ Ibid, plates 70- 74

⁴¹⁴ C. Campbell, Vol. 3, 1725, op cit, plates 41-43.

⁴¹⁵ Ibid, plate 46.

⁴¹⁶ Ibid, plates 51-54.

⁴¹⁷ See for example his notices to James Johnston's House, Vol. 1. plate 77, Mr Hudson's House at Sunbury, Vol. 2., plate 46, Hampton Court, Vol. 2., plates 57, 58, and Shobden Court, Vol. 2., plates 59, 60

houses depicted. This additional information can be understood as a supplement to the image rather than fundamental to any understanding of it, offering different layers and levels of information.

The descriptions in *Vitruvius Britannicus* do not just relate to surveys of the type conducted of Kenilworth Castle, but also another network of published and unpublished texts grounded within an idea of tourism. While the term 'guidebook' was not used at the time of the publication of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, texts which fulfilled these purpose were produced. Poems were written in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries which praised the country house and often its contents.⁴¹⁸ A particular style of catalogue also developed focused upon collections. Other texts included antiquarian studies, and prose descriptions. Travellers produced records of their journeys which often included descriptions of houses and estates, and accounts of local history and families.⁴¹⁹ One example of such a text is the descriptions of houses and palaces written by Evelyn during his travels, which compares with the language used in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Evelyn's style of writing is one of catalogue, providing a comprehensive list and brief description of all key aspects of the house and gardens. This can be seen most clearly in his description of the house of the Prince d'Orias, in which he discusses tables, bedsteads, pictures and statues, as well as the fountains, planting and aviary in the garden.⁴²⁰ His more architectural descriptions also have much in common with those of Campbell.⁴²¹ The descriptive element is important in these as they do not have the benefit of supporting images. Instead Evelyn uses a range of techniques to enable the reader to construct or recreate an image. One of these is measurement, which, although extremely important in discussions of architecture at the time, also acts as a facilitator in mentally constructing an image.

The importance of the estate and location in Evelyn's descriptions can be seen in his discussion of Althorp which he describes as 'situated in the midst of Gardens, exquisitely planted and kept, & all this in a parke wall'd with hewn stone; planted with rows & walkes of Trees; canales & fish ponds, stored with Game ...'⁴²² The importance of the contents of the house can be seen throughout Evelyn's touristic discussions. Of Cassioberie he describes the '... divers faire & good roomes, excellent Carving of *Gibbons*' the chimneypiece in the

⁴¹⁸ See for example Charles Cotton's *Chatsworth* (1678-81) or Thomas Shipman's *Belvoir* c1679.

⁴¹⁹ I. Ousby, *The Englishman's England Taste, Travel and the Rise of Tourism*, (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p12.

⁴²⁰ E. S. de Beer, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, (6 vols., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955). Diary entry 17 October 1644. pp.98-99.

⁴²¹ See for example, *Ibid.* Diary entry 25 October 1644. pp.108-9

⁴²² *Ibid.* Diary entry 20 August 1688. pp.886-887.

library, Verrio's painting of '*Apollo & the Liberal Arts*' in the entrance, the '*Bass-relievo of Diana hunting*' on the *Tympanum* and the large and 'nobly furnish'd' library.⁴²³ Campbell's description of Chatsworth, likewise, describes the rich furniture, proper decorations, and 'noble Gallery', together with the collection of authors in the library, and the 'many excellent Original Paintings of the most celebrated Masters'.⁴²⁴ Similarly, in his discussions of Castle Howard and Buckingham House,⁴²⁵ Campbell's text functions on the level not just of architectural principles but also survey.

While Evelyn's descriptions of houses he visits in England are often brief and to the point his descriptions of foreign visits in *De Vita Propria* take on a totally different form which has considerable resonance with the descriptions in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. For example Evelyn's description of the Palais de Luxembourg embodies a distinct system for describing the building which uses techniques such as movement and directions to locate the reader in position to key parts, describing for example, the ascent from the terrace, and the 'Hall, thro which one passes into the Garden', as well as differentiating between smaller and larger rooms.⁴²⁶ While much of the language does have resonance with *Vitruvius Britannicus* Campbell's notices are tied to a plan which in many ways frees him from the need to use such techniques. The reader could, with reference to the plan, see how rooms interconnect within a building. Nevertheless, Campbell does on several occasions use a mode of description which suggests movement through the house. For example in his discussion of Kings Weston

'... the Apartments of State are raised from the great Court by 12 Steps which lead into a very lofty and spacious Hall, that riseth the full Height of both Stories; from this you enter into the Apartments of State, very handsome and Commodious; above is the Lodging Story with an Attick for the rest of the Family.'⁴²⁷

While Evelyn's diary was written mainly for himself, *De Vita Propria* appears to have been intended for his family and in particular for the instruction of his grandson. Consequently, it borders between self-instruction and general instruction for others and is a combination of private memoirs and public chronicle.

⁴²³ Ibid. Diary entry 17 April 1680. pp.682-683.

⁴²⁴ C. Campbell, Vol. 1, 1715, op cit, plates 72-76 inclusive.

⁴²⁵ Ibid, plates 43, 44, and plates 63-71.

⁴²⁶ E. S. de Beer, op cit, pp 81-83.

⁴²⁷ C. Campbell, Vol 1., 1715, plates 47, 48.

It is not clear whether Celia Fiennes intended the descriptions of her travels to be published or not, but they are illuminating in terms of an analysis of the text of *Vitruvius Britannicus*.⁴²⁸ Like Evelyn, Fiennes uses directional techniques to assist in creating a mental image of the buildings that she describes on her travels.⁴²⁹ Her descriptions are very generalised, and do not enter into detailed architectural criticism. Fiennes is most interested in the contents of the house, and is very aware of expense and fashion. Essentially, her interest in the houses is not so much architectural as social.⁴³⁰ Her description of Wilton highlights the

‘... lofty Hall with good pictures, 3 or 4 dineing roomes and drawing roomes of State with very good bed chambers and well furnished damaske and tissue; one gallery and the dineing roome was all wanscoated with pictures of the family; there is a drawing roome and anti-roome the wanscoate is painted with the whole History of the Arcadia romance made by Sir Phillip Sidney brother to the then Countess of pembroke and composed by him in the fine woods above the house.’⁴³¹

Fiennes concentrates on the same aspects considered in previous examples, commenting on principal rooms, contents, estate and location. See for example her descriptions of Hinchbrooke,⁴³² and Coleshill.⁴³³

Most of Fiennes’s descriptions follow a system which echoes her movement around the building. This is reinforced by frequent references to movement and gesture. Her critical vocabulary is limited and her aesthetic judgements are mostly expressed through words such as large, lofty, curious, noble, fine, good, and neate.⁴³⁴ These words are also found in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, but while the vocabulary may be the same, Campbell grounds his words within a clear system of evaluation. Fiennes, on the other hand, has little interest in architectural criticism, rarely moving beyond noting that a house is ‘new built’ such as in her description of Up Park.⁴³⁵ Her preference for the latest architectural fashions can be seen in the description of ‘Mr. Paul Folie’s Seate called Stoake’ which she observes is ‘a very good

⁴²⁸ *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes*, ed. By C. Morris, (London: Creset Press, 1947)

⁴²⁹ See for example her description of Burghley, in C. Morris ed., op. Cit, pp.68-69. Fiennes’s interest in the interior may well reinforce Anderson’s discussion of the gendering of the architectural exterior and interior in C. Anderson, ‘Masculinity in English architectural classicism’ in G. Perry, *Gender and Art*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), pp 130-153. However, more sustained research is needed before forming any firm conclusions.

⁴³⁰ This generalised language raises questions of gender and whether or not as a women she possessed the language to discuss architecture, which requires more focused and sustained analysis than can be undertaken in the remit of this study. However, it points to a level of engagement with architectural discourse.

⁴³¹ C. Morris op. cit, pp.8-10.

⁴³² Ibid, pp.66-67.

⁴³³ Ibid, pp.24-25.

⁴³⁴ See for example the descriptions of Wilton, pp8-10, and Burghley pp68-69. Also pp150-51.

old house of Timber worke but old fashion'd and good roome for Gardens but all in an old form and mode'.⁴³⁶ However, Fiennes does venture opinions on architecture, thus showing that she considered it to be an area on which she should be able to pass comment on. Of Bretby she says '... the rooffe is not flatt as our modern buildings so the garret windows come out on the tileing which is all of slatt; none of the windows are sashes which in my opinion is the only thing it wants to render it a compleate building'.⁴³⁷

The fact that Fiennes discusses the houses which she visits on her travels in such detail points to their importance within domestic tourism. She sees the houses and their contents as an important element in her survey and as a vital reflection of the character and standing of their owners. She draws upon an established set of values and an established touristic language in her survey of the country and of key society players. The elements which attract Fiennes's attention are also discussed in *Vitruvius Britannicus* and the fact that Campbell refers to contents, such as libraries, well-bound books, and comments on the gardens, well-stocked deer parks and trees for timber, points to an interest beyond purely architectural discussion and towards a wider idea of survey. These wider concerns are most clearly seen in his discussion of Caversham of which he notes that 'The Situation is very high' and 'the Eye is entertained with most beautiful Prospects'. He goes on to describe

'The Parterre ... nobly adorned with Fountains, Vases and Statues, particularly Four Originals in statuary Marble of King William, King George, Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene, [and] Four beutiful Lawns, divided by Three Walks of very lofty Trees, 2200 Feet long, and the whole Park is well Wooded, Watered, and Plenty of Deer, Pheasantry, Menagerie, and all manner of Conveniencies.'⁴³⁸

Campbell's discussion of Longleat similarly expresses interests beyond architecture.⁴³⁹

By the publication of the third volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus* readers would have been aware of Defoe's Tour. While Defoe does not enter into extensive description of houses, his survey was another important addition to the body of literature beginning to grow up around the domestic tour, to which *Vitruvius Britannicus* can be related. The work of Fiennes and Defoe demonstrates that there was already a tourist itinerary of key houses.

⁴³⁵ C. Morris op. cit pp.39-14.

⁴³⁶ Ibid pp.44-45.

⁴³⁷ Ibid, pp.170-172.

⁴³⁸ C. Campbell, Vol. 3, 1725, op cit, Notices to plates 96-97.

⁴³⁹ C. Campbell, Vol. 2, 1717, op cit, Notice to plates 68-69.

‘Blenheim Palace stood at the top, already an object of curiosity before the roof was on Blenheim moreover, was conveniently near Oxford and Stratford Upon Avon. Its popularity overshadowed Vanbrugh’s other vast essay in the Baroque at Castle Howard, which suffered the double disadvantage of its remote situation and of local roads Wilton House was helped by being near Salisbury and Stonehenge (another curiosity which appealed to the traveller) as well as by Inigo Jones’s Double Cube and Single Cube rooms, for long a yardstick of excellence by which other country house interiors were judged. the elaborate Baroque state apartments at Burghley House, complete with carvings by Grinling Gibbons and massive frescoes by Verrio, did much the same thing Blenheim, Castle Howard, Chatsworth, Wilton and Burghley: all these established their reputation with visitors in the early decades of the C18. ... Of the age’s new buildings, several were particularly sought out by travellers, Sir Robert Walpole’s seat at Houghton and the first Earl of Leicester’s Holkham Hall were the two most splendid achievements of English Palladianism ...’.⁴⁴⁰

It is no coincidence that all but one of these is depicted in *Vitruvius Britannicus* and that the one omission, Burghley, was not a recent achievement by a British architect.⁴⁴¹

It can be seen that *Vitruvius Britannicus* drew upon the language of survey and tourism found in works produced for both the foreign and domestic tour, and thus feeds into a network of nationalist discourses promoting the idea of the domestic tour as a fitting education for the gentleman.

⁴⁴⁰ I. Ousby, op cit, p69 .

⁴⁴¹ This omission could also be accounted for on stylistic grounds as it would not fit into a presentation of Classical buildings. This caveat, however, does not contradict my argument against a Palladian and Baroque separation, but rather marks it as not fitting into ideas of a general ‘Classical’ style because of its eclectic mixture of elements.

5. The intellectual background to *Vitruvius Britannicus*

A publication such as *Vitruvius Britannicus* related to contemporary polite concerns on a number of levels. This chapter considers the principal of these examining ideas around nationalism, language, scientific interests, prints, and the formation of libraries. Through an analysis of the contents of the volumes and the subscribers to the publication, it positions *Vitruvius Britannicus* within these contemporary concerns, highlighting its within a public sphere. This section roots *Vitruvius Britannicus* within a wider set of discourses that establish a number of levels on which it could be understood moving beyond a purely architectural context. The contextualisation of Campbell's volumes within language, and scientific interests, and its location within print collection and the formation of libraries is particularly important for the later discussion of its function within architectural discourse and ideas of gentlemanly conduct.

5.1 Nationalism

Vitruvius Britannicus drew upon a tradition of print publications that expressed clear ideas of nationhood. This idea of nation can also be traced in the developing practice of domestic tourism, supported by a published and unpublished written record, discussed in 4.2d. Consequently, *Vitruvius Britannicus* can be understood in terms of the nationalist aspect of both of these models and positioned within a set of discourses around nationhood. This section argues that such ideas came to the fore following the 1707 union between Scotland and England, and were essentially concerned with formation of an identity, within which tourism, mapping, picturing and definition became important.

As used here, the term 'nationalism' is distinct from 'patriotism'. While patriotism can be identified as a psychological sense of group, nationalism is much more historically conditioned, and moves beyond a general feeling of loyalty to specific group policy and an active notion of citizenship.⁴⁴² However, any tightly defined discussion of nationalism in this period is problematic. The idea of 'nation' was in common use in England from the thirteenth century, but did not denote a political grouping until the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and words such as 'realm', 'kingdom', and 'country' remained more widely used. From 1602 'nation' was understood as relating to the whole people of a country, and during the same

⁴⁴² See G. Newman, *The Rise of English Nationalism. A Cultural History 1740-1830*, (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1987), p52.

period the word 'national' as a characteristic or distinctive quality of a nation began to be used. By 1711 'national' was understood as strongly upholding one's nation or countrymen. However, the political understanding of the term was not widespread until the later eighteenth century. 'Nationalism' understood as devotion to one's nation or as relating to an idea of independence, was not used until the nineteenth century, although the Oxford English Dictionary cites the earliest use of 'nationalist' understood as a supporter of nationalism, as 1715.⁴⁴³ The idea of 'patriotism' as love of one's country was no more widely used, the first use of the term being in 1726.⁴⁴⁴ Thus, the complex ideas of neither nationalism nor patriotism had been expressed linguistically during the period with which this study is concerned. Nevertheless, concerns with identity and with nationhood were prevalent.

Although the word 'Britain' was more widely used from the sixteenth century, the ideas that it denoted were transient. In Old English it was used to denote the ancient kingdom, but in 1604 it took on a contemporary meaning when James I was proclaimed 'King of Britain', and the term was subsequently adopted at the Union of 1707. The idea of the 'Britannic', meaning 'of Britain' or 'British', was used from 1641,⁴⁴⁵ and the semantic connection with *Vitruvius Britannicus* locates Campbell's publication within a nascent idea of 'Britishness'. However, this idea of 'Britishness' is extremely complex.⁴⁴⁶ Studies of British history have ranged from analysis of the 'United Kingdom' itself to the much wider idea of the Empire.⁴⁴⁷ Additionally, perspectives on British history have often been Anglo-centric, as can be traced in the way historians have considered the relationship between Scotland and England. Until recently, literature on English history provided little discussion of its relationship with Scotland, even during the period following the Union of the two countries in 1707. A number of historians have examined the relationship from a Scottish perspective, considering for example the impact of the Union upon Scotland, through the removal of the aristocracy and gentry to the power centre of London.⁴⁴⁸ But this approach has not been unchallenged, and it has been suggested that the focus upon the Union has prioritised this over wider factors in the complex transformations in Scotland during the eighteenth century.⁴⁴⁹ Nevertheless, the

⁴⁴³ For the usage of these words see the Oxford English Dictionary, and R. Williams, *Keywords. A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*, (London: Fontana, 1988).

⁴⁴⁴ Oxford English Dictionary

⁴⁴⁵ Oxford English Dictionary

⁴⁴⁶ L. Colley, *Britons. Forging the Nation 1707-1837*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992) discusses the difficulties of the term after the Union and the differing notions of nationality which it embraced.

⁴⁴⁷ A. Murdoch, *British History 1660-1832: National Identity and Local Culture*, (London: Macmillan, London, 1998). p2.

⁴⁴⁸ See for example J. S. Shaw, *The Management of Scottish Society 1707-1764. Power, Nobles, Lawyers, Edinburgh Agents, & English Influence*, (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1983).

⁴⁴⁹ A. Murdoch, op cit, p4.

approach recognises the potential significance of union upon histories of Scotland. In contrast many studies of English history of this period have not considered the wider issues relating to the Union. Consideration of the relationship with Wales and Ireland has been even further excluded.

The debate around more integrated approaches to British history has been stimulated by Colley's study of British patriotism during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁴⁵⁰ Colley identifies a range of factors that contributed to the creation of a 'popular' concept of patriotism, such as gender, religion, and class, integrated with wider political and social factors, but argues that alongside a sense of 'national' patriotism, individuals maintained a range of concurrent identities on a more local level. A key aspect of Colley's argument for the formation of British identity is the construction of 'otherness', most obviously Catholic and absolutist France, but also, for many English and Scots, Catholic Ireland. This construction of Ireland as 'outsider' in the formation of British identity is a notable aspect of Colley's work. However, despite this very specific interpretation of an Irish relationship to Britain, Colley represents a wider historiographic shift towards an integrated consideration of British history in contrast to 'four nations' history.⁴⁵¹ Drawing upon this new approach, *Vitruvius Britannicus* can be considered in terms of the construction of an idea of the 'Britannic' in the context of the Union and of Campbell's own Scottish background.

Although the idea of Great Britain came to the fore following the Union of 1707, the concept had been expressed as early as 1586 in William Camden's *Britannia*. Camden's idea of Britain was of an island with no true identity, as a result of many invasions and migrations by other nations. He believed that Britain needed a unifying culture, which he envisaged as Roman classicism. His formulation of this universal culture was significant in identifying language, religion, law, manners, and the arts as factors in a national cultural identity. By the eighteenth century all of these were touched by some idea of nation.

Camden's publication provides an interesting model in terms of surveying the nation. From the sixteenth century many publications attempted to 'document' Britain through county surveys. These chorographic publications studied specific regions in Britain with a motive to exhibit the nation.⁴⁵² This process is clear in John Norden's *Middlesex* (1593) in which he observes that

⁴⁵⁰ L. Colley, op cit.

⁴⁵¹ A. Murdoch, op cit, p10.

⁴⁵² S. A. E. Mendyk, *Speculum Britanniae' Regional Study, Antiquarianism and Science in Britain to 1700*, (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 1989), p57.

'This our Britannia, for the fertility and fruitfulness thereof, matcheth the best And above all other blessings it hath the greatest cause to rejoice in the free use of the true knowledge of Christ, wherein it triumpheth above all other kingdomes or Countries of the world Our England may be truly called Albion a happie Countrie.'

From the sixteenth century a genre of publication developed that focused upon the 'presentation' of the nation, an idea that can be traced through the use of words such as *Theatre* and *Speculum* in the titles. These publications formed an important part of the gentleman's library, and also filtered into the ideas of tourism and knowledge of the nation discussed in the previous chapter. Nevertheless, the composition of the British nation was never clear cut.

Colley has highlighted the fundamental differences between England, Scotland, and Wales at the time of the Union, but argues that despite these differences there was never an overwhelming sense of their individual identity.⁴⁵³ The confused notion of British identity is clear in Shaftesbury's observation 'What ... shall we presume to call our country? Is it England itself? But what of Scotland? Is it therefore Britain? But what of the other islands, the Northern Orcades, and the Southern Jersey and Guernsey? What of the Plantations and poor Ireland? behold, here, a very dubious circumscription!'⁴⁵⁴ The survey of 'British' architecture in *Vitruvius Britannicus* draws upon these debates. The process of national image building is made clear in Campbell's introduction, and although dedications are not always as significant an indicator of support and patronage as is often suggested, the dedication of the first volume to King George and the granting of the Royal Privilege demonstrates that, by the time of its publication, it could be understood on one level as relating to the formation of identity in the early years of a new Hanoverian reign. *Vitruvius Britannicus* drew upon earlier planned and published surveys such as those by Kip and Knyff, and Slezer. The terms of Campbell's introduction locate the volumes within discourses about British ascendancy over Italy and France, and although available evidence does not allow a firm conclusion, it is possible that the dedication to the new King orientates the publication towards a new dynasty, and suggests the dawn of a new era in British arts.

The previous chapter demonstrated the relationship between *Vitruvius Britannicus* and a tradition of survey prints and texts, together with mapping and tourism. These relate to display of the nation through a system of self-representation and self-understanding defined

⁴⁵³ L. Colley, op cit, p14.

⁴⁵⁴ A. A. Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, *Miscellaneous Reflections* in ed. J. M. Robertson, *Characteristicks*, (Reprinted Gloucester Mass., (1900) 1963), II, 247-8.

in relationship to other European countries, primarily France, the Low Countries and Italy. However, *Vitruvius Britannicus* displays a very particular sense of the nation. Sites in London dominate the geographical distribution of buildings featured in the first volume, and although this diminishes in the subsequent volumes, the general importance of London is retained.⁴⁵⁵ While the contents are broadly representative of sites across England, they are unrepresentative of the British Isles as a whole. In the first volume only two sites outside of England are depicted, St Peter's at Rome and Drumlanrig in Scotland. The second volume includes three sites in Scotland, but the third does not include any. None of the volumes include sites in Wales or Ireland. This poor representation of Scotland, and complete lack of representation for Wales and Ireland, is significant in terms of a presentation of a particular idea of the British nation so soon after the Union. These regions were not devoid of any architectural development. For example, Tredegar House in Newport, South Wales, was built by William Morgan between 1664 and 1672 and was furnished with lavish interiors; Erdigg Hall in Clwyd was built between 1684 and 1689; and also in Wales a palatial staircase was built at Powis Castle in the late seventeenth century where the gardens were also extensively developed in the opening years of the eighteenth century. New houses were also built in Ireland in the seventeenth century, mostly by settlers, and as a consequence they were predominantly fortified houses. However, the Dutch inspired Beaulieu in County Louth, begun in 1660, did not have such an eye to defence. Its contemporaries Eyrecourt in Galway and Richhill, County Armagh were also Dutch inspired, albeit in a more mannerist tradition. Ann Grove built by the Royalist James Cotter in Cork was a large and ambitious house in the French style, and another house built on a considerable scale was Kilcreene House at Kilkenny, which was built in a strictly classical style, as was Waringstown in County Down (c.1667). There were also a number of smaller, less well known houses built at the turn of the century such as Shannongrove in Limerick which was influenced by Dutch interpretations of Palladio, while idiosyncratic Wentworth's Jigginstown (1637) with its 380 foot frontage demonstrates that architectural work was undertaken in Ireland in the seventeenth century. Indeed William King, remembering 1685, observed that 'Gentleman's seats were built or building everywhere'.⁴⁵⁶ In Scotland Vanbrugh had rebuilt Dalkeith Palace in c.1700 for the Duchess of Buccleuch, widow of the Duke of Monmouth. Other houses built or remodelled in Scotland in the period include Bowhill House belonging to the Buccleugh family, and Lennoxlove House belonging to the Duke of Hamilton. It can be seen that Scotland, Ireland and Wales all had buildings contemporary with those depicted in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. One reason for their absence could be on stylistic grounds. However, while many of these do not

⁴⁵⁵ See section 2.1d and also Figure 1.

⁴⁵⁶ Cited in R. F. Foster, *Modern Ireland 1600-1972*, (London: Allen Lane, Penguin Press, 1988), p135.

adhere to a strict classicism, the inclusion of the stylistically eclectic Drumlanrig in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, which contrasts to the admittedly Dutch but rigorously classical influences on Tredegar House, does problematise a stylistic explanation. One reason for the lack of representation of houses in Scotland could be the fact that most buildings were remodelled around existing fortified houses and castles rather than rebuilt. This is in contrast to the majority of those depicted in *Vitruvius Britannicus* which are new build. In terms of Ireland and Wales the houses mentioned are not of a significant social standing, which may point to a reason for their exclusion, falling between the idea of the significant country house and the new town house. However, none of these possible explanations are very satisfactory given the range of English houses which Campbell depicts, and while houses in Scotland, Ireland and Wales may not have been so well known, examples equivalent to the quality of some of the English buildings included can be found. Consequently, the exclusion of these peripheral areas in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, while possibly influenced by factors such as style and familiarity with examples, can also be understood in terms of a dominant English conception of Britain.

This division of Britishness into separated areas of Wales, Scotland and Ireland has been noted by Colley, who observes that they remained powerful divides.⁴⁵⁷ She argues that the relationship between Scotland and the rest of Britain was marred by suspicion and hatred in the first half of the eighteenth century, and that Wales, less urbanised than Scotland and England, and possessed of its own language, was considered to be resolutely peculiar.⁴⁵⁸ However, such arguments are in fact problematic. Colley herself observes that following the Union almost every part of the island either had a nearby Peer who sat in the House of Lords, or sent representatives to the House of Commons. Thus while Wales, Scotland, Northern England and Ireland were under-represented in terms of Southern England, they were nevertheless represented.⁴⁵⁹ Therefore individuals from these nations would have come into contact with Members of Parliament and Peers from the South of England. Additionally, Colley's discussion of antagonism towards the Scots following the Union is based on resentment by the English of Scots winning access to English riches. Many Scottish immigrants occupied positions of authority and influence in London, particularly in terms of publishing, the theatre etc., and would have come into frequent contact with English residents. This is reinforced by Colley's observation that by the time that Macklin wrote *True*

⁴⁵⁷ L. Colley, op cit, p373.

⁴⁵⁸ Ibid, p373.

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid, p49.

Born Scotsman (1764) the Scots accent was familiar enough to Londoners to be caricatured on stage.⁴⁶⁰

The idea of Wales as a rural, individualistic periphery is also difficult to maintain. It is true that Wales had been politically subordinated to England since the sixteenth century and that it was still a predominantly pastoral economy with a population of c.400,000 in 1700, dominated by between thirty and forty key families.⁴⁶¹ But as Colley observes the adult male franchise was never less than 14% and in the years immediately after the Union was almost 25%.⁴⁶² It thus had a sizeable electorate far more closely entangled in the parliamentary system than Scotland.⁴⁶³ Additionally, it has been suggested that a remarkably large number of Welsh squires were educated at Oxford, and to a lesser extent Cambridge.⁴⁶⁴ As early as the sixteenth century William Wynn, squire of Glyn in Merioneth expressed his pride in placing his son 'in Oxenford, a famous university'. He urged his son to 'speak no Welsh to any that can speak English ... thereby you may ... freely speak English tongue perfectly. I had rather that you should keep company with studious honest Englishmen than with any of your own countrymen ...'.⁴⁶⁵ It can be seen that a perception of the four nations which constituted Britain after 1707 as distinctly separated is problematic in terms of the higher social ranks.

The example of Campbell's own cousin Alexander Campbell provides an example of the integration of Scottish, Welsh and English Members of Parliament within London society. While in London Alexander met and subsequently married Elizabeth Lort, who was of Welsh descent, the sister of Sir Gilbert Lort and only daughter of Lady Susanna Lort of Turnham Green. Upon the marriage, despite inheriting property at Cawdor, their principal estate became Stackpole in Pembrokeshire, which Alexander's son John Campbell developed considerably in 1735, building a new house and improving the grounds. Campbell, was certainly on familiar terms with John Campbell. In 1710 he wrote to his uncle from London describing his meeting with John that morning. This letter outlines the inheritance that John received from his mother. Campbell estimates that after all payments John would clear '£2000 besydes the house in Golden Square with the house and gardens at Turnham Green

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid, p122.

⁴⁶¹ *The First Modern Society. Essays in English in honour of Lawrence Stone* Ed. by A. L. Beer, D. Cannadine, J. M. Rosenheim. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p11.

⁴⁶² L. Colley, op cit, p51.

⁴⁶³ Ibid, p51.

⁴⁶⁴ G. E. Mingay, *The Gentry. The Rise of a Ruling Class*, (New York and London: Longman, 1976), p158.

⁴⁶⁵ Cited in Ibid, p159.

which are rented near £200 per annum'. He also observes that 'I find my Lady Campbell a little inclined to sell her jointure in Scotland to her son'. Campbell also reminds his uncle that John 'was most desyrous to get in to the House in case of a new election', and urges him to 'try all possible means to bring over Drummoor to consent to it, or what other method you shall think more proper. That would be the most acceptable complement can be made by the young gentleman for he is most earnest to obtain it if possible'.⁴⁶⁶ This example of the range of connections between England, Wales and Scotland in a single family demonstrates the level of interaction between the different areas of Britain among a certain degree of people with influence.

The example of Ireland, which Colley defines purely in terms of 'otherness' as regards British identity is equally problematic. Foster has observed that by the early 1700s 27% of the population in Ireland were of Scots or English descent, in contrast to just 2% in 1600.⁴⁶⁷ This marked diversification and growth in the population, albeit one resulting from a policy of colonisation, problematises Colley's interpretation of Ireland as a Roman Catholic 'other'. Indeed, Foster highlights the complex identities among the 'New English' in Ireland exemplified in the figure of Richard Boyle, Earl of Cork. Boyle was based in Cork but was very influential in London. He was anxious that his children were 'bred in England and abroad in the world' and did not have 'their youth infected with the leaven of Ireland', yet at the same time fostered his children out to Gaelic speaking families.⁴⁶⁸ Foster's observation that the seventeenth century traveller seeking the most 'Irish' experiences possible was finding this an increasingly difficult task is significant in demonstrating that the construction of Ireland as 'other' was by the seventeenth century becoming increasingly untenable.⁴⁶⁹ In fact Ireland was home to a distinct Protestant elite who, like their English counterparts, amassed fortunes, built houses, intermarried and established dynasties. Despite the fact that by the eighteenth century there was an increased demand for a less curtailed Irish parliament and a (very complex) sense of Irish identity, this elite constituted a polite society in common with that of London, and a religious identity defined in contrast to that of Catholicism and Dissent.⁴⁷⁰ This picture, built up by Foster, while not without its own problems, paints a profoundly different picture to that of Colley's Catholic 'other', and in terms of Colley's argument for the importance of Protestantism in the formation of British identity raises some

⁴⁶⁶ Letter from Colin Campbell. London 8 August 1710. Spalding Club, *The Book of the Thanes of Cawdor 1236-1742*, (Edinburgh: Spalding Club, 1859),

⁴⁶⁷ R. F. Foster, *Ibid*, p14.

⁴⁶⁸ Quoted in R. F. Foster *op cit*, p14.

⁴⁶⁹ *Ibid*, p136.

⁴⁷⁰ *Ibid*, p162

interesting issues that have a bearing on the complexity of the relationship between all four nations that constituted Britain.

This domination of an English notion of nationhood in *Vitruvius Britannicus* is extremely interesting given Campbell's own Scottish birth and education. There are no clear reasons why this survey of nation is so unrepresentative. One explanation might lie in Campbell's ancestry. Colley argues that an anti-Scottish feeling can be traced in England after the Union in terms of resentment of immigration into England. Duffy has argued that this can also be traced in more general terms and that the English particularly hated the Scottish, consistently depicting them in satirical prints as filthy, bloodthirsty brutes, uncivilised, sycophantic of their richer neighbour, and a constant threat⁴⁷¹ (Illus. 61). Although this is problematic in terms of the range of contact between influential individuals of both Scottish and English backgrounds it is one context in which Campbell's largely Anglo-centric conception of Britain may be understood.

It is likely that Campbell held a strong social position in Scotland. His father was the younger brother of Hugh Campbell, Thane of Cawdor, of the Campbells of Cawdor, kinsmen of the Argyles.⁴⁷² Letters published in *The Book of the Thanes of Cawdor* indicate that they were in close contact with Argyll particularly in terms of local politics. Indeed a letter from Colen Campbell to his uncle written from Edinburgh on 2 Dec 1702 suggests that Campbell himself may have acted as an intermediary between Hugh Campbell and Argyll.

‘Receive herewith inclosed a line from the Duke of Argyle who has lykeways wryte to Culloden to the same effect to concurr with you. I know not if it is proper to let Kilravock know anything of his Grace's inclinations least the prejudice of a court party would disgust him, but shall leave it wholly to your own prudence to take the most proper methods to accomplish the design. His Grace is most impatient to have your return quhich I hope you will remit as soon as possible ...’.⁴⁷³

Additionally, Campbell's grandmother was Elizabeth Brodie and after his father's death in 1680 Campbell appears to have had considerable contact with his father's uncle Alexander Brodie, an influential figure in Scottish politics, who negotiated with Charles II for a

⁴⁷¹ M. Duffy, *The Englishman and the Foreigner. The English satirical print 1600-1832*, (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey Ltd., 1986), p19.

⁴⁷² In the sixteenth century John Campbell of Cawdor married the sister of the Countess of Argyll. On the death of the Earl of Argyll in 1584 John Campbell was one of six persons named to advise her in the management of the Earldom during the minority of the young earl her son.

⁴⁷³ Spalding Club, 1859, op cit, p398.

religious settlement in Scotland. He also appears to have been on terms with the Argyle's.

Brodie recorded in his diary on October 23rd 1676 that

'The Lord Calder [Cawdor] cam her He broght me a letter from my L. Argyll for the lend of money. I was pusld with it: on the one part I had lov to him and his familie and to the father's memorie: I had been beholden to him at London in my friend's business, and I desir not to be unthankfull. On the other part, I am unsatisfied with his govt. and the guiding his effairs, wasting his estat on trifls and things unnecessar. All that I am worth could not hold up his suerfluties. Next he is noe good debtour.'⁴⁷⁴

Thus Campbell was clearly well connected to a significant local elite on both sides of his family. While the title of Thane was not uncommon in the highlands of Scotland, the Thaneship of Cawdor was important, having the liberties and privileges of a barony. The dignities of baronet and knight, in the non-feudal sense of the seventeenth century, were not related *per se* to landholding as was the peerage. But the grant of either indicated that the recipient had a comfortable niche in landed society. The baronetage were a politically powerful second estate in Scotland and held a position an order beneath the peerage and above the knightage. Thus, by the late seventeenth century the Thanes of Cawdor occupied a position as powerful outliers in the lands administered by the Campbells of Argyll as well as political significance in the wider Scottish sense. When Campbell's uncle Sir Hugh came of age in 1660, Lauderdale gained the gift of his marriage, suggesting that he was considered to be of political significance. This is supported by the fact that Hugh married Lauderdale's wife's niece, Lady Henrietta Stewart, sister of the Earl of Moray, further evidence of good family connections with nobility.

Campbell's membership of the Faculty of Advocates reinforces his status in Scottish society. Phillipson has examined the social status of entrants to the Faculty of Advocates,⁴⁷⁵ concluding that between 1707 and 1751, 96% of entrants were 'sons of landed gentlemen or had the most intimate connection with them'. 56% of the whole belonged to 'the greater gentry' in general, sons of peers, baronets and other politically powerful gentry. Although these dates are later than Campbell's entrance, Phillipson argues that these figures are during a period of decline in status after 1707, thus showing that Campbell must have had considerable status to be admitted in 1701.

⁴⁷⁴ Spalding Club, *The Diaries of the Lairds of Brodie 1652-1685*, (Edinburgh: Spalding Club, 1863). October 23rd 1676.

⁴⁷⁵ N. T. Phillipson, 'The Social Structure of the Faculty of Advocates' in *Law Making and Law makers in British History*, ed by A. Harding, (London: Royal Historical Society, 1980).

Camic focuses more specifically on the period relevant to Campbell in his discussion of the system of entry into law and more specifically into the Faculty.⁴⁷⁶ He highlights the fact that although academic training for law was less than rigorous, the faculty deliberately tried to exclude potential membership from the lower strata of Scottish society through the imposition of a large fee for admission. In addition to this for a candidate to be admitted into full membership they had to submit a thesis in civil law which could not be studied anywhere in Scotland, necessitating a period of foreign study, usually in Holland. Although there is no evidence that Campbell undertook such a trip he must have received some financial support in his training. Given his personal situation, this must have come from the Cawdors or the Brodies.

Thus, as a close relative supported by the Cawdors and the Brodies, and as an advocate, Campbell would have had a sound social standing in Scotland. Coming to a climate in England where many people resented Scottish immigration, and seeking not to practice law but architecture, Campbell would not have occupied the same social level as he had in the Highlands and in Edinburgh. Indeed the fact that Campbell styled himself as advocate up until 1717⁴⁷⁷ could indicate his sensitivity to status and the consequent use of a more authoritative title. Against this background it is not surprising that Campbell, a Scot, recently arrived in London and seeking to establish an architectural career, played down Scottish content in his publication.

The significance of the nation in both the title and the overall project of *Vitruvius Britannicus* has been highlighted, and Campbell's text frequently alludes to ideas of nationhood. He clearly sees architecture as a means of asserting the pre-eminence of Britain. This is apparent in the terms in which he discusses architecture in his introduction. It is explicit in his notice for the Banqueting House at Whitehall which he describes as commanding the admiration of mankind, and says of the entire palace design that 'I hope Britain will still have the Glory to accomplish it, which will as far exceed all the Palaces of the Universe, as the Valour of our Troops and conduct of our General's have Surpassed all others'.⁴⁷⁸ In this description he refers to it as '... without Dispute, the first Room in the World'. Similarly he describes Greenwich Hospital as '... the first Hospital in the World' and '... one of the best Lines of

⁴⁷⁶ C. Camic, *Experience and Enlightenment. Socialisation for Cultural Change in Eighteenth century Scotland*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1983).

⁴⁷⁷ The Treasury warrant for the payment of money for the house for the Master of the Rolls, authorising payment to 'Colen Campbell, Doctor of Laws'. *The Architecture of Colen Campbell*, ed. by H Stutchbury, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1967), p18.

⁴⁷⁸ C. Campbell, Vol. 1, 1715, plates 12-13.

Building in the World'.⁴⁷⁹ Covent Garden is described as '... the first in Europe'⁴⁸⁰ and The Royal-Exchange as '... the most Considerable of this Kind in Europe'.⁴⁸¹ This idea of architecture as the glory and ornament of the nation echoes the nationalist concerns voiced by Shaftesbury in his *Letter*. Shaftesbury refers to the 'rising Genius of our Nation' and claims that '... the Figure we are like to make abroad, and the Increase of knowledge, Industry and Sense at home, will render *united* BRITAIN the principal Seat of Arts; and by her Politeness and Advantages in this kind will shew evidently, how much she owes to those Counsel which taught her to exert herself so resolutely in behalf of the *common cause*, and that of her own *Liberty* and happy *Constitution* necessarily included'.⁴⁸² Shaftesbury saw architecture as an ornament to the nation, observing that 'Even those Pieces too are brought under the common censure, which tho' rasi'd by private Men, are of such a Grandure and Magnificence, as to become National Ornaments'.⁴⁸³

Like Shaftesbury, Campbell sees all of the arts as national ornaments. He frequently praises Thornhill in the same terms, describing his 'excellent Genius in Painting'.⁴⁸⁴ The reference to Thornhill in Campbell's description of Greenwich Hospital has clear nationalist sentiment.

'... But here I can't neglect mentioning that excellent Ceiling in the great Hall by Mr Thornhill, to his eternal Honour, and his Country: Here foreigners may view with Amaze our Countrymen with Pleasure and all with Admiration of the Beauty, the Force, the Majesty of a British Pencil! rich in Invention, correct in Design, noble in disposition in Execution admirable.'⁴⁸⁵

It can be seen that the idea of a native artist was as important as that of the native architect.

Campbell also frequently asserts the idea of Britain as the inheritor of ancient principles. In his notice to Covent Garden Campbell describes the church as '... the only Piece the Moderns have yet produced, that can admit of a just Comparison with the Works of Antiquity.'⁴⁸⁶ His idea of 'ancient' versus 'modern' is clearly related to nationalist concerns.

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid, plates 82-89

⁴⁸⁰ C. Campbell, Vol. 2, 1717, plates 20-22.

⁴⁸¹ Ibid, plates 23-25.

⁴⁸² A. A. Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, *A Letter Concerning the Art, or Science of Design. Written from Italy. On the Occasion of the Judgement of Hercules* ... London, Bodleian G Pamph 66. (3): 1737), p398

⁴⁸³ Ibid, pp 401-402.

⁴⁸⁴ C. Campbell, Vol. 1, 1715, plates 45-46. This praise of Thornhill, a Tory favourite, problematises the Whig political reading of *Vitruvius Britannicus*.

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid, plates 82-89. The praise of Thornhill also suggests another network of relationships. Thornhill worked extensively as Oxford University and was part of a circle of painters, writers and architects that enjoyed the patronage of Edward Harley, second Earl of Oxford.

⁴⁸⁶ C. Campbell, Vol. 2, 1717, plates 20-22.

Whilst he does not explicitly ally himself with the Moderns he does refer to Palladio as rivalling many of the Ancients. He sees Jones's work as equalling the regularity of Palladio but with 'an addition of beauty and majesty, in which our architect is esteemed to have out-done all that went before'.⁴⁸⁷ Thus, Campbell envisages the progress of architecture as rooted in Britain which will surpass Italy where the art of architecture was 'near lost'.

Campbell's emphasis upon Jones as reviving and even surpassing ancient principles in British architecture is significant. Jones's work occupies an important position in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Given the fact that Campbell is essentially concerned with contemporary achievement this stress upon Jones is interesting. Previous writers have argued that this emphasis is related to a stylistic allegiance to Jones. However, Jones's highly individual approach to classicism problematises this argument. Another interpretation could be Jones's relationship to nationalist ideas. His close relationship to the Stuart court is interesting in terms of the role of the court in creating a distinct court style, and his importance in *Vitruvius Britannicus* could be understood in terms of national excellence in the arts. Although the Stuart court was absolutist, and that of George I considered to be a constitutional monarchy, it did offer a paradigm for Royal support of the arts. The early Stuarts used architecture as a potent form of court culture and as an expression of their political power.⁴⁸⁸ While Charles I's enthusiasm for French ideas and culture was unpopular and in many ways countered the formation of a specifically British quality in the arts, the creation of the Stuart court as one of the grandest in Europe could appeal to later ideas relating to the pre-eminence of Britain. Under the patronage of James and Charles I Inigo Jones developed his distinct court style of architecture. Ambitious architectural projects such as that of Whitehall were used by the Stuarts as a means of marking their new dynasty from that of the Tudors. After the civil war only Whitehall, St James's, Hampton Court, Greenwich, Windsor, and the Tower of London, remained of the Crown's buildings.⁴⁸⁹ The dynastic uncertainties of the period between the Restoration and the accession of George I were not conducive to making significant additions to this inheritance which could rival Versailles. But the demand for a new palace for the British nation can be traced in Shaftesbury's *Letter* and in Campbell's text, clearly linking national pride with an idea of royal image in architecture, which has resonance with the interests of James and Charles I and Inigo Jones. The failure of the Monarchy to live up to these expectations led to an increased dependence upon the nobility to provide the 'ornaments of the nation'. Thus, a publication such as *Vitruvius Britannicus* draws upon a

⁴⁸⁷ C. Campbell, Vol. 1, 1715, Introduction.

⁴⁸⁸ C. Anderson, 'Masculinity in English architectural classicism' in *Gender and Art*, ed. by G. Perry, (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1999), p133.

precedent set by Jones in an absolutist court, of using architecture as a demonstration of British supremacy, voiced at a time of confidence in a new dynasty, addressed principally to a new audience of enlightened nobility. Thus, the idea of architecture, national identity and social display enter into a complex dialogue.

Jones was concerned that architecture should be taken seriously as an art form and as a form of court expression and sought to associate it with the dominant educational and philosophical ideals of a ruling elite.⁴⁹⁰ Anderson has argued that Jones's classical vocabulary was structured around ideas of gender, the exterior bearing the public face of *gravitas*, and the interior as the feminine, emotive domain akin to 'nature'.⁴⁹¹ Jones's idea of the decorum of the architectural facade was thus tied to contemporary ideas of masculine self-representation oriented around dignity and gravity. His promotion of architectural classicism was predicated on the belief that it was the architectural expression of humanist educational ideals: rhetorical clarity, historical knowledge, and the grammar of the Latin language itself, all of which were important markers of the public gentleman.⁴⁹² By the seventeenth century the parity between architecture and masculine ideals was widely recognised, as can be seen in Peacham's statement that 'For hereupon as on the frontispiece of a magnificent palace are fixed the eyes of all passengers ... by gait, laughter, and apparel, a man is known what he is'.⁴⁹³ Once architecture could be understood as reflecting particular, desirable qualities and attributes, it could also be understood as a suitable aspect of the education and culture of the gentleman. Thus, Jones could offer a paradigm for the idea of cultivated architectural discourse to which *Vitruvius Britannicus* relates.

Jones was also specifically concerned with ideas of nationhood, as can be seen in his discussion of Stonehenge, written in 1620, but published after his death in 1685, in which he argued that Stonehenge was a Roman temple. This was central to his theory that the Romans brought civilisation to Briton. Jones believed that Stonehenge was a morally didactic work intended to teach the Britons the Roman values of simplicity, sobriety and strength.⁴⁹⁴ This fundamentally related to Jones's architectural aesthetic. Jones saw himself as restoring this classical Roman aesthetic to Britain. Lubbock has argued that Jones 'saw himself as holding,

⁴⁸⁹ L. Colley, op cit, p197.

⁴⁹⁰ C. Anderson, 'Masculinity in English architectural classicism' in G. Perry, op cit, p135.

⁴⁹¹ Ibid, p136.

⁴⁹² Ibid, p140.

⁴⁹³ H. Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman. Fashioning him absolut, in the most necessary and commendable Qualities concerning Minde or Body, that may be required in a Noble gentleman*, (London St Paul's Church Yard: Printed by John Legat for Francis Constable, 1634), p144.

⁴⁹⁴ For a discussion of Jones's *Stone-Heng Restored* see J. Lubbock, *Tyranny of Taste*, (London and New Haven: Paul Mellon Centre/Yale University Press, 1995).

not only the British but the European stage: he would be the scourge of license everywhere, the guardian of the true manner and spirit of classicism as exemplified in ... Vitruvius's Treatise and the modern work of Bramante and Palladio'.⁴⁹⁵ This is highly significant in connecting with Campbell's overall project and also his nationalist sentiment. This connectivity could explain the pre-eminence that Campbell gives to Jones, as a non-contemporary.

Concern with ideas of national identity were not just a response to the newly unified Great Britain. The idea of reasserting British cultural identity also related to intellectual and artistic movements tied to fears of the cultural pre-eminence of absolutist France. These fears were not new in the eighteenth century. Although Charles I's French ideas and the orientation of the Stuarts to other European examples was criticised at the time, it provides a model for the complexity and ambiguity of the relationship between Britain and continental Europe, in particular France, in terms of a rhetoric of both criticism and emulation. While French models of culture had prestige in some contexts, in others, particularly in the political sphere, it was despised.

French influence on national character was strongly feared. France was seen as the traditional enemy of British liberty and there are frequent references to French despotism in contemporary texts and prints (Illus. 62).

The most essential characteristic of the English attitude towards France was its ambivalence. The Abbé Le Blanc summarised this when he observed that '[the English] fall into many contradictions in regard to us. They fear, and yet despise us: we are the nation they pay the greatest civilities to, and yet love the least: they condemn, and yet imitate us: they adopt our manners by taste, and blame them thro' policy'.⁴⁹⁶ France was seen as the centre of taste and magnificence. Young English travellers in France emulated the dress, manners and conversation of the French and brought such customs home on their return to England. Patriotic pamphleteers protested that England was becoming 'bewitch'd with an affectation of French commodities though but mere baubles and gawaws'.⁴⁹⁷

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid, p164.

⁴⁹⁶ J. B. Le Blanc, [*Lettres d'un Francois. English*] *Letters on the English and French Nations. Containing curious and useful observations on their constitutions natural and political; ... In two volumes. By Monsieu l'Abbe Le Blanc. ... Translated from the original French*, (2 Vols., London: Printed for J. Brindley, R. Francklin, C. Davis, and J. Hodges, 1747)., Vol 1 p27.

⁴⁹⁷ Cited in I. Ousby, *The Englishman's England Taste, Travel and the Rise of Tourism*, (New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1900).

Such criticisms were couched in an idea of French luxury as excess, associated with a lack of discipline and self-indulgence which was in sharp contrast to the idea of frugality, simplicity and self-control imagined within an idea of English liberty based upon a classical republican ideal. This contrast was made through the development of an image of the French and the 'Frenchified fop' as amoral, seductive and effeminate, and the patriotic English gentleman as upright and masculine.

The invasion of French goods and manners was a recurring theme in the opening decades of the eighteenth century. For example Addison wishes in the *Spectator* that there were an Act of Parliament for 'Prohibiting the Importation of French Fopperies'.⁴⁹⁸ These were considered to be so powerfully seductive that patriots feared subjugation, the importation of such fopperies was seen as a fundamental threat to the English character and to English liberty. However, concurrently, French manners and fluency in the French language were regarded as so indispensable to the gentleman that 'hundreds of young men from high-ranking English families were sent to France to acquire these accomplishments.'⁴⁹⁹ This ambivalent attitude to France is epitomised in the emulation of French models for prints and the concurrent attempts to establish a thriving system of English print production. France provided the model for such cultural activities yet, rather than direct emulation, this transferred into an idea of the pre-eminence of British examples which would express the 'national' characteristics such as virtue and frugality fostered by British liberty. However, it is important to note that within these ideas of national identities, travel and contact between the countries was an important constituent of elite culture. Thus, at the same time as asserting a British identity, the elite audience that formed the largest part of the subscribers to *Vitruvius Britannicus* were participating in a much broader 'polite' cosmopolitan culture.

The available models for *Vitruvius Britannicus* were diverse, ranging from an outdated British absolutist monarchy to the publications of a Catholic absolutist state. These models needed to be further developed within a culture which despite the optimism associated with a new dynasty, was no longer monarchically defined. Although *Vitruvius Britannicus* constructed a particular sense of Britishness, the overall project of presenting British architecture and highlighting pre-eminent achievement had clear nationalist overtones, many of which can be related to Jones's earlier architectural ideas. The use of publications to express national identity had a strong precedent in terms of maps, prints, and chorographies.

⁴⁹⁸ *The Spectator* No 45.

⁴⁹⁹ M. Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity: National identity and language in the eighteenth century*. (New York and London, Routledge, 1996), p38.

Campbell's nationalist concerns therefore reflect a clear tradition of publication, and currency with the emergent idea of Britishness.

While the contents of *Vitruvius Britannicus* constitute a dominantly English construction of the British nation, the subscribers to the volumes are more broadly representative, particularly in terms of the Scottish and Irish peerage and holders of offices relating to Ireland and Wales. Therefore, Campbell's presentation of British architectural achievement on almost entirely English terms seems to have appealed to the widest range of British Peers. This is important in understanding the appeal of the volumes. It has been estimated that below the gentry 90% of the Welsh population was Welsh speaking. At the end of the eighteenth century 20% of the Scottish population spoke only Gaelic and about 50% of the Irish population spoke only their native tongue. Consequently, a suggested figure can be calculated of about one-fifth of the British population by the end of the eighteenth century for whom English was a second language.⁵⁰⁰ This has clear implications in terms of a conception of Britishness at the beginning of the century. In the light of this it is significant to consider the nature of the audience for *Vitruvius Britannicus*. The figure suggested above is based on the total populations of each of these areas. In fact, the majority of individuals at a higher social level would have been able to speak English probably alongside other European languages, particularly French. Thus the audience for the particular idea of nationalism and British architectural contribution addressed by *Vitruvius Britannicus* was a much more linguistically coherent audience than the population as a whole. My argument for the sense of British identity inherent in *Vitruvius Britannicus* reinforces Colley's identification of a British elite to whom cosmopolitanism was a signifier of leisure, education and wealth.⁵⁰¹ However, Colley's idea of elite image building and its relationship to an idea of the British nation is rooted in her idea of higher levels of education codifying elite ideas by the end of the eighteenth century. According to Colley these ideas were concerned with an interest in the British present rather than the British past, played out through increased domestic tourism and a 'polite vision' focused increasingly upon British rather than foreign achievement in the arts. However, the idea of nation, and the intellectual and publishing paradigms drawn upon in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, suggest that this process of elite image building alongside that of the nation can be traced to much earlier in the eighteenth century.

⁵⁰⁰ *The First Modern Society. Essays in English in honour of Lawrence Stone* Ed. by A. L. Beer, D. Cannadine, J. M. Rosenheim, op cit, pp13-14.

⁵⁰¹ L. Colley, op cit, p166.

The Europeanisation of British culture is an important issue. Chapter 4 examined the range of European influences which *Vitruvius Britannicus* drew upon. This highlights a key paradox. On the one hand a work such as *Vitruvius Britannicus* or an architect such as Inigo Jones looks to foreign examples, and on the other reinterprets this influence and appropriates it to form a national consciousness which is specifically British as opposed to French or Italian. Rival countries produced printed records which could be compared with each other and also with prints of ancient culture, thus entering into a complex dialogue between individual identity, European exchange, and even the relationship of past, present and future. Thus, the extent to which the discourse in *Vitruvius Britannicus* can be considered to be specifically British becomes problematic, and one has to note the potentially cosmopolitan nature of a publication located within paradigms that relate to a culture of the European, not just the British elite.



Religion is made a Covering
 For every wicked and Rebelious thing,
 Errors are hid heer on the right and left
 Rebellion, Idolitry, and Theft,
 Plunders, and Rapins, Whordoms, Fornications,
 Dissimulations, Flateries, and Invasions,
 By Time, this Cloake is worn frō of their Back
 So their's discover'd many a Knaveish Knack.



*As passive Brutes to Active give their prey
And think no hurt at all they're in
So y^e poor French are gulld wth paper pay
To keep their Servile pockets thin.*

5.2 Science

Issues around nationalism also impacted upon ideas about language. Contemporary discussions about the purity and the expansion of the English language were similarly rooted in intellectual concerns about national identity, the threat of 'borrowed' foreign phrases, and appeals for a system of education and rules that would maintain and improve the English tongue. There was also a distinct emphasis upon the importance of rules in style and expression, and publication was one of the methods for codifying these. Ideas of identity constructed through language, of system and rule, and of codification all relate to my consideration of *Vitruvius Britannicus* in terms of a polite architectural discourse.⁵⁰² Ideas relating to language were expressed by 'men of letters' such as Swift, Addison and Defoe. However, in 1664 the Royal Society, founded in 1662 primarily for scientific interests, adopted a resolution to form a committee for improving the English language. Discussion of language cannot therefore be seen as rooted primarily within ideas relating to literature or education. In fact ideas of language development and codification impacted upon discourses in a wide range of interest areas.

This relationship between different areas of knowledge is a significant aspect of the intellectual background of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Ideas of 'science' and the 'arts' as separate disciplines had not come to the fore. In the opening years of the eighteenth century science was still considered as knowledge acquired by study within any department of learning. The description of a 'man of science' denoted something very different to the modern conception of one who has expert knowledge in a branch of the physical, chemical or natural sciences.⁵⁰³ Nevertheless, as has already been noted the Royal Society was primarily concerned with scientific interest. In this sense it related to a body of experimental practice and 'scientific' reasoning which today would constitute science, but which the broad social composition of the Society indicates was not yet a clearly demarcated discipline. In fact the use of the term 'art' denoting a general skill was often interchangeable with that of 'science', for example the seven liberal arts were often also described as the liberal sciences.⁵⁰⁴ The possession of this broad conception of knowledge, often equated with an idea of reason, was an important marker of the gentleman. As such areas of knowledge which we might today define as either related to science or art were considered in the

⁵⁰² See A. C. Baugh and T. Cable, *A History of the English Language*, (London: Routledge, (1951) 1993), for discussion of these issues.

⁵⁰³ Oxford English Dictionary

seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to be areas of interest for the polite gentleman as well as the scholar, and were not equated with the idea of 'professional' expertise common in modern usage. The notion of the 'virtuosi' and of polite and productive learning was a fundamental aspect of the definition of the gentleman as a man of superior position in society. The importance of the idea of reason and judgement in the constitution of the gentleman, and its relationship to architectural knowledge and to *Vitruvius Britannicus*, will be considered in 6.6. This section examines the idea of a polite scientific discourse as a demonstration of ideas of virtuosity and the range of intellectual interests in the period.

Section 4.2b considered the relationship between the plates of *Vitruvius Britannicus* and the development of scientific illustration and highlighted the diagrammatic as actively and consciously read, and differentiated from physical experience. Once the image was separated from recreating experience or actual perception, it functioned in a totally different way. The writer or artist's status altered from being a narrator to being a reporter selecting the critical discriminating features, and articulating them both in words and images. These then become part of a public store of knowledge developed through publications and played out within the realm of the public sphere. Olson has argued that as printing of information grew so too did a system by which people came to deal not with the world itself, but with the world as depicted and described.⁵⁰⁵ This depiction of the world was often carried out through abstracted systems such as cartographic representation which developed because of increased sophistication of representation and printing techniques. This is the basis for Eisenstein's suggestion that the accumulation of information in books, maps and diagrams was central to the development of early modern science.⁵⁰⁶ Certainly the increased use of books as a means of communicating knowledge did lead to new ways of thinking about the use of both text and image and to the development of a scientific discourse claimed to be disinterested and objective. The Royal Society described this as 'a mathematical plainness of style',⁵⁰⁷ centred upon the idea of conveying accurate and objective information. This was effectively based within an idea of objective description as opposed to interpretation, and was positioned within ideas of science and mathematics.

Mathematics was seen as a useful interest for the gentleman. This was most clearly stated by Arbuthnot in his *Essay on the Usefulness of Mathematical learning* in which he argued that

⁵⁰⁴ Oxford English Dictionary

⁵⁰⁵ D. R. Olson, *The World on Paper. The Conceptualisation and Cognitive Implications of Writing and Reading*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

⁵⁰⁶ E. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communities and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe*, (2 Vols., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

mathematical studies helped to accustom attention, to develop a habit of close, demonstrative reasoning, and freed a man from prejudice, credibility and superstition.⁵⁰⁸ He argued that 'By accustoming our selves to Reason closely about quantity, we acquire a habit of doing so in other things.'⁵⁰⁹ Such ideas were closely related to the idea of gentlemanly disinterest and fitness to rule, and thus positioned mathematics as a 'polite' art worthy of study by gentlemen. Arbuthnot specifically recommended the study of 'Mathematics for acquiring a vigorous Constitution of Minds; for which purpose they are as useful, as exercise is for procuring Health and Strength to the Body ... [and are of] vast extent and Usefulness in other parts of knowledge'.⁵¹⁰ He goes on to discuss the value of mathematics in painting, music, and architecture, concluding that

'... not only Publick Employments, but [gentlemen's] Private Concerns demand Mathematical knowledge It not only makes a Man of Quality and Estate his whole Life more Illustrious, and more useful for all Affairs But in particular, it is the best Companion for a Country Life. Were this [to] become a fashionable study (and the Mode exercises its Empire over Learning as well as other things) it is hard to tell, how far it might influence the Morals of our Nobility and Gentry, in rendering them Serious, Diligent, Curious, taking them off from the more fruitness and airy exercises of the Fancy, which they are apt to run into.'⁵¹¹

Arbuthnot clearly saw mathematics as a useful area of study for the gentleman, and grounded his ideas in productive use of leisure time, disinterest and social position. *Vitruvius Britannicus* can be considered in relation to this mathematical knowledge on two levels. Firstly, the language and processes of observation have a mathematical (scientific) emphasis upon system, rule, and structured vision. Secondly, the use of orthographic projection relates specifically to mathematics and geometry in its notational form and the relationship of one point to another on a scale.

In Campbell's notices to the plates in *Vitruvius Britannicus* the mathematical quality of the images is specifically alluded to on several occasions, for example the notice to St Paul's in which he states that 'A more particular Account is to be taken from the Design by Scale and Compass ...'.⁵¹² It is significant that Campbell sees the incorporation of perspective views in

⁵⁰⁷ Sprat 1667/1966. Quoted in D. R. Olson, op cit, p.196.

⁵⁰⁸ J. Arbuthnot, *An Essay on the Usefulness of Mathematical Learning in A Letter from a Gentleman in the City to his Friend in Oxford*, (Oxford: Oxford Theatre for A. Peifley, 1701), p3.

⁵⁰⁹ Ibid, p5.

⁵¹⁰ Ibid, p9.

⁵¹¹ Ibid, p51. Arbuthnot's reference to the influence of fashion on learning is also telling.

⁵¹² C. Campbell, Vol. 1, 1715, plates 3 & 4.

his third volumes as part of a comprehensive accurate representation.⁵¹³ For example in his description of the perspective plate of Castle Howard Campbell states that ‘This seat being so fully described in the First volume I thought nothing could be further wanting to give a Perfect Idea of the Place but an accurate view of the same in Perspective’.⁵¹⁴ This visual layering can be seen in his discussion of Longleat in Volume Three.

‘In my second Volume I have represented the Plans and Elevation, and in this are Two Double Plates. The first gives the Geometrical Plans of the Gardens ... The Second Double Plate is a representation in Perspective of the Principal and Garden Front.’⁵¹⁵

Importantly, he is also keen to emphasise the mathematical basis of the perspectival representation. In the notice for Greenwich Hospital he says ‘I shall add nothing at present, but to assure the readers, that the perspective is raised from the Geometrical Plan and the Elevation according to the most exact rules of that Lineary Art’.⁵¹⁶ Thus, Campbell positioned *Vitruvius Britannicus* within ideas of mathematics and science. Arbuthnot’s arguments demonstrate that by doing so Campbell’s publication could function within another discourse that would appeal to the gentleman. This discourse related to ideas of mathematics and science as demonstrations of gentlemanly virtuosity.

The term ‘virtuoso’ was first used in England by Henry Peacham who wrote the following passage on classical antiquities in 1634.

‘The possession of such rarities, by reason of their dead costlinesse, doth properly belong to Princes, or rather to princely minds ... Such as are skilled in them, are by the *Italians* termed *Virtuosi*.’⁵¹⁷

This association of virtuosity with knowledge of the arts is perhaps the most familiar. However, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it was also closely associated with an idea of science. Members of the Royal Society were referred to as ‘virtuosi’ and this

⁵¹³ Such an idea suggests a connection with the French production of prints. Often French prints were produced as a series of plans, elevations and sections in one collection and a series of perspectives in an additional collection. However, publications such as Marot’s also provided a comprehensive layering of visual information which included both orthographic and perspectival representations which were clearly intended to work alongside each other.

⁵¹⁴ C. Campbell, Vol. 3, 1725, plates 5 & 6.

⁵¹⁵ Ibid. plates 63-66.

⁵¹⁶ Ibid. plates 3 & 4.

⁵¹⁷ G. S. Gordon, 1906, *Peacham’s Compleat Gentleman*, (1634) pp104-105. Quoted in W. E. Houghton, ‘The English Virtuoso in the Seventeenth Century’, in *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 3, January-October 1942, pp. 51-73 and pp 190-219, p52.

association of the term with a scientific interest can be seen in Boyle's dedication to *New Experiments Physico-Mechanical* in 1660.

'Perceiving by letters from some other ingenious persons at *Paris*, that several of the Virtuosi there were very intent upon the examination of the interest of the air, in hindering the descent of the quick-silver, in the famous experiment touching a vacuum; I thought I could not comply with your desires in a more fit and seasonable manner, then by prosecuting and endeavouring to promote that noble experiment of *Torricellius*.'⁵¹⁸

The term was clearly applied across a range of subject matter. It was concerned with an idea of knowledge and gentlemanly conduct which was fundamentally status conscious. Virtuosity was demonstrated through participation in a public culture, largely through conversation and socialisation. Accomplishment in an area was seen as a marker of a man who had wealth and leisure with which to indulge his interest in a particular subject area. Thus, virtuosity was fundamentally linked to the idea of the productive use of leisure time. Houghton argues that

'[The virtuoso] is also a student. Whatever the subject, it is not a mere accomplishment, or an occasional recreation; it is a study to which he devotes much of his time, and in which he is, or pretends to be something of an authority.'⁵¹⁹

However, within this broad idea of a man who devotes significant periods of time to the study of a particular area a further division was made. This is apparent in the two texts by Peacham and Boyle. The latter was a genuine scientist, whereas Peacham was concerned with a broader idea of gentlemanly conduct. These two approaches to acquiring and using knowledge are often divided into opposing terms such as 'natural philosophe' versus 'dilettante' or 'amateur'. In fact the concept of amateur as opposed to professional had not come to the fore during this period. The idea of profession as relating to a profession or calling was not used until the mid eighteenth century, and the term amateur was not used at all until the end of the century. Indeed, the modern idea of a profession as a paid employment in many ways does not apply to this period at all, as many of those with specific interests such as Boyle were in fact gentlemen with a more specialist interest than the majority. The term 'virtuoso' was applied to interest at both a specific and a general level. The Royal Society was a meeting ground through which 'natural philosophers', themselves most often gentlemen, mixed hand in hand with those who exercised a rational and polite reason.⁵²⁰

⁵¹⁸ *The Works of the Honourable Robert Boyle*, ed. by T. Birch, (London: A. Miller, 1744), I, 5.

⁵¹⁹ W. E. Houghton, op cit, pp. 53-54.

⁵²⁰ Members of the Royal Society are very well represented in the subscription lists to *Vitruvius Britannicus*.

From the granting of the charter in 1662 membership of the Royal Society was elected by existing members, which served to maintain a characteristic social profile, dominated by representatives of the landed classes, of the government and of the court. This high level of membership helped to reinforce its status as an institution worthy of Royal patronage. Additionally membership was restricted financially through the payment of fees and also to a certain extent physically through the weekly meetings in London. While gradually emerging as genuine academic disciplines, the novelty of such new areas of knowledge as mathematics and science was a major attraction to the gentleman dilettante. Science and mathematics were not confined to the sphere of the university but were also located in the public sphere, through conversation, letters, diaries, in the home, in the gentleman's club, and in the coffee bars. By the eighteenth century both mathematical and scientific printed books can be found in inventories of gentlemen's libraries.⁵²¹ Most of the widely read periodicals also contained news of scientific discoveries, and there were increasing opportunities for scientific discussions with peers through the Royal Society, other clubs and societies, coffee houses, and the increasing number of scientific demonstrations. Indeed scientific and technical discussion and experiments were often carried out in private houses, or in the consulting rooms of physicians and surgeons, apothecaries' shops or printers' workshops.⁵²²

While Boyle and his fellow 'philosophers' may have been interested in science from a real idea of benefit, use and disciplinary advancement, their amateur associates were interested in science for very different reasons. Although often genuinely interested in the discipline and very knowledgeable, their motivations were fundamentally different, as noted by Bacon.

'... men have entered into a desire of learning and knowledge, sometimes upon a natural curiosity and inquisitive appetite; sometimes to entertain their minds with variety and delight; sometimes for ornament and reputation; ... as if there were sought in knowledge a couch, whereupon to rest a searching and restless spirit; or a terrace, for a wandering and variable mind to walk up and down with a fair prospect; or a tower of state, for a proud mind to raise itself upon.'⁵²³

Clearly, there was an attraction in knowledge, whether in the realm of science or art, based upon an idea of delight and curiosity, and also upon social reputation. The idea of virtuosity

⁵²¹ For example the Catalogue of the libraries of Jonathan Trelawney ... and of the honourable Charles Hatton, that accompanied their sale in Nov 1723, lists among the books, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, James's edition of *Perrault's Architecture*, Newton's *Doctrine of Triangles*, Salisbury's *Mathematical Collections* and assorted publications of Mr Boyles experiments.

⁵²² D. Goodman, C. A. Russell, *The Rise of Scientific Europe 1500-1800*, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, Open University Press, 1991), p208.

⁵²³ F. Bacon, 'The advancement of Learning' (1605) in F. Bacon, Lord Verulam, *Works*, ed. by J. Spedding, R. L. Ellis, D. D. Heath, (London: 1859-1870), 294.

and the social concern with knowledge and gentlemanly accomplishment is an area which will be considered in greater detail in 6.5 and 6.6 This section examines science and mathematics as developing areas of gentlemanly virtuosity, and the development of a 'scientific' world view amongst the aristocratic and upper reaches of society in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This world view was supported by the development of institutions. Gresham College was founded in 1597 and in the early seventeenth century became an important centre of scientific activity. The Savilian chair of geometry at Oxford was founded in 1619, the Lucasian Chair of Mathematics at Cambridge in 1664. The Royal Society was founded in 1662 and many other societies also developed such as the Dublin Philosophical Society, founded in 1683.

In the context of the discussion above of a wider European elite, it is significant to note that seventeenth century experimental philosophy was strongly internationalist in its outlook. This is exemplified in the figure of Denis Papin, Huygen's assistant at the Académie Royale des Sciences in France. In 1684 he was appointed temporary curator of experiments at the Royal Society in London, where he worked with Robert Boyle. In 1687 he became Professor of Mathematics at the University of Marbourg in Germany and later also moved to Cassel.⁵²⁴ This international discourse on the new experimentalism depended upon a system of publication, and fundamentally upon an idea of the public. Shapin and Schaffer have highlighted the importance of the assent of a number of people to the nature and success of an experiment. This actual public was reinforced through a system of 'virtual witnessing' which used written strategies to create an image of the experimental scene in the reader's mind.⁵²⁵ It is interesting, given the discussion of technical illustration above, that the engravings of experiments and equipment published by Boyle in the *New Experiments* are deliberately naturalistic. In order to convey an idea of scientific 'truth' in line with the textual strategy of virtual witnessing, the plates included additional images and circumstantial detail such as a dead mouse or the experimenters themselves, in order to suggest a greater level of vérité.⁵²⁶ Publications therefore played a vital role in the establishment of an idea of experimental science. The language used in 'scientific' discourse was fundamental in constituting and protecting experimental knowledge. Great emphasis was placed upon an idea of personal testimony in descriptions of experiments and upon a contrast between emphasising the probable nature of physical causes and the actuality of matters of fact established

⁵²⁴ D. Goodman, C. A. Russell, op cit, p176

⁵²⁵ S. Shapin and S Schaffer, *Leviathan and the Air-pump. Hobbes, Boyle and the Experimental Life*, (Chichester and Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), p60.

⁵²⁶ Ibid, p61.

experimentally.⁵²⁷ Shapin and Schaffer have argued that the international community of experimental philosophy, supported by a system of publication, was structured around particular conventions which retained the idea of the text as discursive rather than prescriptive, but which established very particular strategies for establishing truth and fact which bound its discourse internally and externally. It was on this level that the Royal Society interested itself in language. This idea of the discursive community was fundamental in establishing the authority of the new knowledge as a collective enterprise. The actual witnessing of experiments within a group such as the Royal Society, and the development of an idea of virtual witnessing through publication, created an image of open and public knowledge. Yet as the dispute between Boyle and Hobbes demonstrates, this public was very tightly defined, and the appropriate conventions for communication and language of publication was rigorously defined. The image of this knowledge as collective was vital in establishing its position as legitimate knowledge. Thus discursive strategies that heightened a sense of the collective served to further legitimate the discourse. This relates on an interesting level to *Vitruvius Britannicus* in Campbell's acknowledgement of variation in opinion in his descriptions of plates. Campbell's introduction of other people's opinions, while strictly restricted to variations in interpretations of classical authority, operate on two levels: they locate his own opinions within a wider body of ideas, creating the impression of him as 'disinterested' reporter, and through the suggestion of a wider discourse of the collective, serve to reinforce the legitimacy of Classical authority.

The history and composition of the Royal Society demonstrates the general appeal of 'scientific' knowledge during this period. As has already been noted the Royal Society received its formal charter in 1662, prior to which many of its members had been involved with Gresham College, established by Thomas Gresham at the turn of the century to give public lectures in subjects such as law, divinity and music, and significantly also, geometry and astronomy, demonstrating their importance as emerging disciplines, of interest to scientists and to amateurs.⁵²⁸ The importance of the amateur involvement in the Royal Society alongside the likes of Boyle is exemplified in the figure of Samuel Pepys. Pepys did, of course, have wide ranging interests. He was a keen print and map collector, and was fascinated with science and scientific instruments. Not only was he a member of the Royal Society but he was a member of its Council and in 1684 became President. Although he died

⁵²⁷ Ibid, p67.

⁵²⁸ D. Stimson, *Scientists and Amateurs: A History of the Royal Society*, (New York: Henry Schuman, 1948).

before *Vitruvius Britannicus* was published he typifies many of the interests of the type of subscribers to this later publication.

Pepys was an enthusiastic collector of books. He was proud of the 'closet' in which his library was housed, and there are frequent references in his diary to visits to booksellers, and of having his books rebound in the finest available bindings.⁵²⁹ The scale and range of his book collecting can be seen from his entry for December 10th 1663 on which date he visited his bookseller in Paul's Churchyard. Pepys called for 'twenty books to lay this money out upon', and was 'at a great losse where to choose'. He notes in his dairy that

'[I] Could not tell whether to lay out my money for books of pleasure, as plays, which my nature was most earnest in; but at last, after seeing Chaucer, Dugdale's History of Paul's, Stow's London, Gesner, History of Trent, besides Shakespeare, Jonson, and Beaumont's plays, I at last chose Dr. Fuller's Worthy's, the Cabbala, or Collections of Letters of State, and a little book, delices de Hollande, with another little book or two, all of good use or serious pleasure.'⁵³⁰

The final comment is significant in demonstrating Pepys's concern with reading productively, pointing to his interest in polite concerns. Pepys's wide range of interests included mathematics, astronomy, natural philosophy, painting, maps, and print collecting. He, like other virtuosi of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries did not differentiate between the types of knowledge which we now class as scientific or artistic but considered them all to be the preserve of the 'reasonable' gentleman.

After Pepys had been elected to the Royal Society his book purchases began to include scientific and technical works, and he developed a keen interest in mathematics. On May 8th 1668 he made the following entry in his diary. 'I to Brouncker's house, and there sat and talked, I asking many questions in mathematics to my Lord, which he do me the pleasure to satisfy me in.' This entry not only demonstrates the level of mathematical knowledge which Pepys must have developed to be able to discuss the subject with this brilliant mathematician, but also points to the types of contact made between interested amateur members of the Royal Society and genuine "scientific" and mathematical practitioners. Significantly, this contact is played out within the 'private' sphere of Lord Brouncker's home. It highlights another important aspect of the networks of contacts made between people during this period. The 'public' sphere incorporated a range of practices played out in a private area such as the

⁵²⁹ On August 24th 1666 Pepys noted 'Comes Sympson to set up my other new presses for my books ... to my most extraordinary satisfaction; so that I think it will be as noble a closett as any man hath.'

⁵³⁰ Diary entry December 10th 1663

home, but which were oriented towards a public through conversation. This is further demonstrated by the fact that when the Royal Society was unable to meet at Gresham College it met at Arundell House upon the invitation of Henry Howard. This combination of formal and informal contact can also be seen in the custom of adjourning to the tavern after formal meetings of the Royal Society.⁵³¹

Networks of contacts, both formal and informal, made through clubs and societies, were of great significance and point to a clear exchange of ideas and interests across a wide range of individuals with related interests in science and mathematics. Pepys not only associated with mathematicians such as Lord Brouncker but was also acquainted with Isaac Newton, with whom he exchanged several letters principally concerned with probability.⁵³² This contact sums up the diversity of scientific interest, contact and involvement amongst what we could call the virtuosi at this time.

Men such as Pepys can be traced throughout the subscription lists of *Vitruvius Britannicus* – for example, Hans Sloane, the eminent physician who subscribed to all three volumes. Sloane was a member of the Royal Society from 1685, secretary until 1712, and President in 1727. He was known for his interest in botany, and for the outstanding collections that he amassed. The mathematician William Jones, tutor to the young Earl of Macclesfield also subscribed to all three volumes. Other Royal Society members include Col. John Armstrong, and Dr. Hugh Chamberlen. Subscribers and Royal Society members such as John Warburton, whose particular interests were in heraldry and antiquary, epitomise the cross over between what are now considered ‘arts’ and ‘sciences’. So too does Henry Hare, Lord Coleraine, who was not a member of the Royal Society when he subscribed to *Vitruvius Britannicus* but was elected later. Out of the many subscribers to *Vitruvius Britannicus*, the man that best exemplifies a broad range of interests is the author discussed at the beginning of this section, John Arbuthnot. He subscribed to all three volumes of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society from 1704 and a member of the Royal College of Physicians (members of which are also well represented in the subscribers) from 1710. He is known for his mathematical and scientific interests. Yet his literary interests are apparent in his close

⁵³¹ For example see the entry in Pepys’s Diary for April 2nd 1668. ‘[following the meeting] ... with Lord Brouncker and several of them to the King’s Head Taverne by Chancery Lane, and there did drink and eat and talk, and above the rest, I did hear of Mr. Hooke and my Lord an account of the reason of concords and discords in musique, which they say is from the equality of vibrations; but I am not satisfied with it, but will at my leisure think of it more, and see how far that do go to explain it.’

⁵³² F. N. David, ‘Mr Newton, Mr Pepys and Dyse: A Historical Note’, in *Annals of Science*, XIII, 1957, pp. 137-147, pp137-147.

friendship with Swift, and his active involvement in the Brother's Club and also the Scriblerus Club together with Pope, Gay and Parnell.

These men demonstrate the fluidity between different domains of knowledge during the period, and also the interaction between gentlemen with polite interests and those with specific interest in a particular area of knowledge. They illustrate the role of clubs and societies in codifying knowledge and creating systems of social exchange. The number of physicians who subscribed to *Vitruvius Britannicus* and the number of gentleman subscribers known to have scientific interests roots this publication within wider intellectual concerns that applied equally to mathematics and science, to literature, antiquities, and history. These interests were supported by systems of social exchange, but also by publications. Prints and libraries were an important aspect in the development and demonstration of all areas of knowledge, and these will be considered in the next section.

5. 3 Libraries

The formation of libraries by these men is representative of the value placed upon books in polite learning. In *The Gentleman's Library* (1715) ⁵³³ one author noted that '... books well manag'd afford Direction and Discovery'. The importance of reading in cultivating the polite arts and employing leisure time productively was constantly reiterated by other authors. The author of the *Gentlemen's Library* criticised those that collected books for show, indiscriminately without regard to quality, those that tried to know everything and ended up knowing nothing, and those who read assiduously without attempting to understand or form their own ideas. Similar concerns can be traced in many other texts, such as Pope's criticism of Timon's library in his *Epistle to Lord Burlington*.⁵³⁴ Thus, it can be seen that the use made of the library was seen as an indicator of virtue and true cultivation. It is against this background that Campbell's highlighting of libraries in his notices to *Vitruvius Britannicus* can be understood. For example, in his description of Chatsworth, Campbell notes that 'Here is a noble Gallery, a Library, with a Collection of the most valuable Authors, and many excellent Original Paintings of the most celebrated Masters'.⁵³⁵ Similarly, he singles out the

⁵³³ Anon., *The Gentleman's Library, containing Rules for Conduct in all Parts of Life Written by a Gentleman*, (London: W. Mears and J. Browne, 1715).

⁵³⁴ J. Glomski, 'Book Collecting and Bookselling in the Seventeenth Century: Notions of Rarity and Identification of Value', in *Publishing History*, No. 39, 1996, pp. 5-21, has noted that early in the seventeenth century a group of collectors emerged who were more attracted to the extrinsic, or physical, rather than the intrinsic, textual qualities of the book. (p6) Glomski's article is a fascinating discussion of the development of book collecting. However, this is in many ways a specialist subject, and this study is principally concerned with a more general cultural trend

⁵³⁵ C. Campbell, Vol. 1, 1715, plates 72-76.

libraries at Longleat, Lowther, and Althorp, describing them as *curious, noble, and valuable*.⁵³⁶ Additionally, in Campbell's discussions of his own designs he frequently draws the reader's attention to the situation and dimensions of the library. It is also significant that the library is one of the few rooms that Campbell marks on his plans, often together with the chapel, which could be interpreted as indicative of the moral and ethical importance attributed to these two areas.

Among the subscribers to *Vitruvius Britannicus* are several individuals renowned for the libraries that they formed. At the turn of the eighteenth century men such as William, second Duke of Devonshire, Thomas, eighth Earl of Pembroke, John, first Duke of Roxburghe, Charles, third Earl of Sunderland, Robert Harley and his son Edward, first and second Earls of Oxford began to form pre-eminent collections of printed books. All of these men subscribed to more than one volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus*.

Charles Spencer's library consisted principally of printed books. It was particularly strong in first editions of the classics, and in Continental literature of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁵³⁷ Sunderland was known as an extravagant collector, and he was one of the subscribers to order multiple copies of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Both Sunderland and Harley were well known to continental booksellers, sending agents to Germany, France and especially the Netherlands.⁵³⁸ Robert Harley started to form his library around 1705 and within a few years had brought together a library of immense value containing at least 6000 manuscripts and over 40,000 printed volumes, covering a broad range of subjects. Like many collectors, Harley had his books uniformly bound in calf, morocco, and Russia leather, with a gilt border.⁵³⁹ His son Edward continued the library after the first Earl's death in 1724. It was significantly increased through the purchases of parts of Thomas Rawlinson's collection.

Rawlinson was also a subscriber to *Vitruvius Britannicus*. In 1705 he made a tour through England and the Low Countries. As a result of these travels he developed a taste for antiquities, manuscripts and rare books. According to his brother he 'collected in almost all faculties' but more particularly 'old and beautiful editions of the classical authors and

⁵³⁶ C. Campbell, Vol. 2, 1717, plates 68-69, 78-80, and 96-97.

⁵³⁷ Much of this library is now housed at John Rylands Library, Manchester University.

⁵³⁸ Thomas Coke, Earl of Leicester also travelled extensively on the Continent and purchased many valuable books, particularly in Italy

⁵³⁹ George Clarke also had his books and prints uniformly bound.

whatever directly or indirectly related to English history'.⁵⁴⁰ He also collected pictures but to a lesser degree. Rawlinson was an obsessive bibliophile. It has been reported that during his residence at Gray's Inn the extent of his collections compelled him to sleep in a passage. Certainly in 1716 he hired London House in Aldersgate Street specifically to house his library. His collection was sold in sixteen parts between March 1722 and March 1734, and was described as 'the largest at that time known to be offered to the public'.⁵⁴¹ Each sale lasted between fifteen and thirty days. At the last sale eight hundred printed books were sold as well as over a thousand manuscripts.⁵⁴² It has been suggested that Addison's portrait of 'Tom Folio' in *The Tatler* No 158, a 'learned idiot - an universal scholar so far as the title-pages of all authors; who thinks he gives you an account of an author when he tells you the name of his editor and the year in which his book was printed', was based on Rawlinson.⁵⁴³

Other subscribers to *Vitruvius Britannicus* known for their libraries include Thomas Baker, the eminent antiquary and author. He was a friend of Rawlinson, and Harley, as well as Humphrey Wanley, a learned antiquary and keeper of Harley's library. Brigadier James Dormer, a prominent member of the Kit Kat Club, was also known for his fine library. Hans Sloane also accumulated some 50,000 printed books and over 400 manuscripts. Others in the subscribers lists had more specific interests, such as James Anderson, Writer to the Signet of Edinburgh, who was particularly interested in books on Scottish subjects, but whose interest in *Vitruvius Britannicus* may have been aroused by his friendship with Captain John Slezer, author of *Theatrum Scotiae*.

The preceding discussion highlighted the broad range of polite subjects in which gentlemen were interested, and this is reflected in the contents of libraries. Lord Burlington, who had specific interests in architecture, also collected works on literature, history, travel, music, science and religion. The catalogue of the libraries of Jonathan Trelawney and the Hon. Charles Hatton, sold together in 1723, includes architectural works such as *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Vignola's *Regular Architect*, and Evelyn's *Parallèle*, alongside maps such as Speed's *Chronicle of Great Britain* and Ortelius's *Geography*, and Survey texts such as Plott's *Natural History of Staffordshire* and Camden's *Britannia*. Scientific works are also

⁵⁴⁰ See Dictionary of National Biography. English history books figure largely in many libraries. Indeed, Feather has observed that up to 60% of history books published focused upon native subjects. See J. Feather, *A History of British Publishing*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1988).

⁵⁴¹ In fact together with the Hebert Library, it was the largest ever to have been sold, containing over 200,000 volumes.

⁵⁴² The first six sales were organised by Rawlinson himself, although he died before the 6th. The remainder were organised by his brother Richard. The Bodleian has all the catalogues to the sales.

⁵⁴³ See Dictionary of National Biography

well represented. There are also a significant number of books on conduct such as *The Gentleman's Dictionary*, *The Manners of the Age*, and *The Art of Speaking*. This library demonstrates the range of works with which a gentleman would be familiar, and it reinforces the argument in this thesis that architecture was considered alongside a range of other discourses such as science, survey, maps and gentlemanly conduct. A similar selection of works can be found in the Catalogue of the library of the Reverend Doctor Wood sold in 1723. This includes survey texts of Britain, as well as European itineraries such as those by Morisson and Sandys. There are a number of works on surveying and mathematics, English history, heraldry etc. Works related to conduct included *The Art of Speaking*, *The Art of Rising at Court*, *The Art of Pleasing in Conversation*, and *Rules for Speaking and Writing Elegantly*. It can be seen that regulation of conduct and self-representation in company were key areas of concern. Significantly this library, which has a high number of conduct books, also includes *Vitruvius Britannicus*. The only other architectural work is Evelyn's *Parallèle*. However, works such as *Oxonia Illustrata* and Fréart's *Idea of Painting* may indicate the way in which *Vitruvius Britannicus* may have been understood in terms of this collection, namely as a collection of prints.

A survey of a range of catalogues suggests that the key architectural works were Palladio's *Architecture*, in French, Italian and English versions, Evelyn's *Parallèle*, Fréart, Alberti, Vitruvius, Blondel, and Scamozzi, and *Vitruvius Britannicus*.⁵⁴⁴ Collections of prints and views are well represented, particularly *Oxonia and Cantabrigia Illustrata*, *Britannia Illustrata*, and Castell's *Villas of the Ancients*.⁵⁴⁵ There are also a significant number of sets of views, mostly French, but some of Amsterdam. English history is particularly well presented, as are books on English antiquities. This together with the prominence of survey texts suggests that those who built up these libraries had a strong interest in the nation. Additionally there is a good representation of key tourist itineraries for Europe. Philosophical works are well represented, especially publications by Locke. Almost all of the catalogues studied included a large number of books relating to conduct, conversation, education and so on. It can therefore be seen that the key discourses already identified feature in libraries of the period. This demonstrates the importance of publication in developing these discourses, particular those that can be related to polite subjects.

⁵⁴⁴ A range of catalogues were studied in the extensive collection housed at the Bodleian. Of particular interest are those related to the libraries of Edmund Chishull, Richard Hutton, the Revd. Tho. Kimpson, Revd. Dr Wood, Dr John Cooke, His Excellency Louis Henry de Lomenie, Thos. Granger Esq., William Salmon, and John Bridges, all of which represent the period between 1705 and 1735.

⁵⁴⁵ A fascinating catalogue is the sale of Greek, Italian and French books imported by John Groenewegen and sold in 1724. This gives an extensive picture of the range of prints and publications on architecture that were available.

The architectural books include core texts that established the theoretical subtext such as Vitruvius, Alberti, Palladio and Serlio. Beyond these, architectural interests appear to be expressed most particularly in collections of views and prospects, British and European, and in very general works on the subject. There is little evidence of a strong technical literature on architecture other than the key European texts already outlined. The fact that *Vitruvius Britannicus* is included in these collections is important in demonstrating its positioning within this polite, general architectural context, and within the discourses already outlined. It demonstrates the assimilation of *Vitruvius Britannicus* into the libraries of the period and reinforces its position as a key publication in ‘polite’ subjects of interest to gentlemen. Further evidence of the assimilation of *Vitruvius Britannicus* into a wider notion of publication can be seen in the direct subscription by libraries such as the Bodleian and the Queen’s College to the third volume.

5.4 Print Collecting

This section examines the use of prints, and ideas around print collection, and their relationship to *Vitruvius Britannicus* during the period, together with more general issues around print collection as a polite activity.

The aesthetic element in the volumes of *Vitruvius Britannicus* has been highlighted. This placed them within a tradition of print collection and resulted in the images being appreciated at a very different level than for example those of Serlio and Palladio. Although Campbell’s first two volumes use orthogonal representation rather than perspective, it is clear that there is a conceptual linkage with a French tradition discussed in 4.1b. This tradition saw prints as an important aspect of polite activity. Florent Le Comte remarked in 1699 that ‘... passion for prints’ was ‘one of the hallmarks of cultivated minds’, and that ‘the love and knowledge of prints was characteristic of the taste of all distinguished men’. Le Comte believed that there was ‘nothing better to enhance the dignity of the *honnête-homme*’, and that to form a print collection was pleasurable since ‘without undue mental effort they acquire, as they might wish, an acquaintance with both sacred and secular history, or of all the liberal and mechanical arts’.⁵⁴⁶ However, Le Comte identified different types of print collector. These included ‘Le grand Curieux’ with the means to buy anything, however rare, those who formed collections of prints of beautiful works but did not care about the quality of the prints themselves, those who used prints purely for information, and those who purchased prints for

decoration.⁵⁴⁷ Such observations on the use made of a print collection locate prints in the discourses around right use of a library, and clearly relate to productive use of leisure time and gentlemanly conduct.

However, prints were also an opportunity to promote French national achievement in the arts. The series of engravings known as the *Cabinet du Roi* commissioned by Louis XIV and intended to be given as presents to foreign ministers and nobility were an expression of French cultural achievement. This can be clearly seen from the introduction to the first volume published in 1679 that stated

‘... it is by means of these prints that all nations may admire the sumptuous buildings that the King is having built on every side, and those rich ornaments with which they are embellished. And since these pictures and statues which this great prince has gone to such lengths to seek out are of inestimable value, and of singular beauty, His Majesty has graciously argued that ... by means of the prints that are taken from them, these same works will, in a manner of speaking, be seen by the most remote nations who are unable to contemplate them here in the original.’⁵⁴⁸

The influence of this French use of prints to promote national cultural achievement upon England can best be seen in the project to persuade Nicolas Dorigny to engrave the Raphael Cartoons at Hampton Court in 1711. This was initially intended to be financed by the Queen, and to be presented to ministers in the same manner as the *Cabinets du Roi*. This project, however, proved ill-fated.⁵⁴⁹ Nevertheless, it demonstrates that the French tradition did exert an influence upon England and that the publication of prints can be positioned within a set of discourses around nationalism, cultural achievement and virtuosity, all of which relate to *Vitruvius Britannicus*.

Several of the subscribers to *Vitruvius Britannicus* are known for their interests in collecting prints. Henry Hare, Lord Coleraine, visited Italy several times, the third time in 1723 with Conyers Middleton, collecting prints and drawings of antiquities. Robert Harley and Sir Robert Child were both involved in the invitation to Dorigny to engrave the Raphael Cartoons at Hampton Court. However, one of the most significant English collectors of prints was George Clarke at Oxford, who subscribed to all three volumes of *Vitruvius Britannicus*.

⁵⁴⁶ F. Le Comte, 1702, *Cabinet de singularitez d'Architecture, Peinture, Sculpture et Gravure* (3 vols, Brussels:1702, 2nd ed.) I p133. Quoted T. Clayton, *The English Print 1688-1802*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), p42.

⁵⁴⁷ F. Le Comte, 1702, op.cit., Quoted in T. Clayton, 1992, op cit, p124.

⁵⁴⁸ Félibien, *Cabinets du Roi* p1, quoted in T. Clayton, 1997, op cit.

⁵⁴⁹ For a discussion see Ibid, pp49-51.

Clarke's collection of foreign prints was largely purchased abroad in France or Italy. Relatively few were published in England. However, the preponderance of foreign travel meant that many of the gentry and nobility would have been familiar with the range of prints available. Clayton has observed that after 1710 trade links with Europe were renewed and 'numerous smaller print shops began to specialise in imported foreign prints for the burgeoning collectors' market'.⁵⁵⁰ This market was also kept informed of developments in the world of printing on the continent through the publication of a range of supporting information such as catalogues and guides.⁵⁵¹

One of the prime suppliers of such prints was Joseph Smith one of the publishers of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Smith was a major player in the print and bookselling trades and demonstrates a direct link between one of the principal publishers of *Vitruvius Britannicus*⁵⁵² and the French print trade, as well as a distinct publishing interest in architecture. He placed a number of advertisements for foreign prints from 1710 to 1715,⁵⁵³ as can be seen from the following extracts.

'Lately come from beyond Sea' and for sale 'at easie Rates, fine Italian and French Prints by the best Masters, the Gallery of Furnesian Barberiae Gallery at Rome, the Galleries at Luxemburg, Possin's Landskips, the old and new le Brun Crucifix, and several by Annebal, Carraevis, Raphaels Bible and several sorts of the Battle of Alexander'.⁵⁵⁴

'Lately brought over a choice Collection of true original Italian Prints viz. 1st, all the ancient and modern Statues, now in Rome, by Domenico de Rossi. 2d, Modern Rome, illustrated in several Views of all the Publick Buildings, with an exact Draught of all the Palaces as they now stand, and to be sold at very low Prices, by J Smith in Exeter Exchange in the Strand; where also Gentlemen may be furnish'd with the Barberini Gallery at Rome, the Duke of Florence's, and Jesus taken down from the Cross and his Transfiguration, and St Agnus Gallery by Derigny' the Last Judgment by Mich. Angelo; the Gallery of Luxemburg by Ruben; with great Variety of other Prints too long to be here inserted'.⁵⁵⁵

Smith assumed a familiarity with these prints amongst his potential audience, demonstrating that even at this stage there was a significant level of knowledge amongst English collectors.

⁵⁵⁰ T. Clayton, 1992, op cit, p135.

⁵⁵¹ Clayton has observed that 'A virtuoso like George Clarke was equipped with books in French of Monier, Le Comte, Félibien and de Piles.' T. Clayton, 1997, op cit, p42.

⁵⁵² Joseph Smith was the principle share holder in the enterprise and eventually it was Campbell & Smith that owned half of the undertaking. Other shareholders were John Nicholson, Andrew Bell, W Taylor, and Henry Clements.

⁵⁵³ T. Clayton, 1997, op cit, p33.

⁵⁵⁴ *Evening Post* 27-29th April 1710.

⁵⁵⁵ *Post Boy* 15-17 April 1712. For other early examples of Smith's style see *Evening Post* 18-21 March 1710, and 27 April 1710, *Post Boy* Sept, Oct and Dec 1711, *The Spectator* 30 June 1711.

This reinforces Clayton's argument that 'From 1710 to 1730 the English market was saturated with the best of French and Italian design'.⁵⁵⁶ The range of prints which he was able to sell can be seen from the following advertisement by Smith in *The Post Boy* 29 Aug-1 Sept 1713:

'All Gentlemen that are curious in Prints, may now be supply'd from great Varieties just arriv'd from Italy and France, by those celebrated Engravers Bloemart, Tardieu, &c. with all the famous Dorigny's Works, and a large Choice of others from the Paintings of Raphael. Titian, Michel Angelo, Rubens, Josippi Cary, &c. and the Statues of Rome complete, &c. at reasonable Prices.'

Indeed Smith appears to have had a sufficient quantity of foreign prints to trade wholesale, offering 'allowance to them that sell again'.⁵⁵⁷ Smith was particularly interested in architecture and topography and in many ways became the 'English counterpart of the Parisian architectural print and bookseller Jean Mariette'.⁵⁵⁸ However, Smith was not the only one of the publishers of *Vitruvius Britannicus* to be so involved. There were ten people named in the proposals for *Vitruvius Britannicus* announced in the *Post Boy* on 1 June 1714 and in the *Daily Courant* on 25 June. These included Peter Dunoyer, Joseph Smith Andrew Johnston, Andrew Bell, William Taylor, Henry Clements and John Nicholson. The 1715 copyright was eventually given jointly to Campbell, Andrew Bell, William Taylor, Henry Clements, Joseph Smith and John Nicholson on the 8 April 1715.⁵⁵⁹

Peter Dunoyer was at that time running the shop of David Mortier at the sign of Erasmus' Head in Exeter Exchange in the Strand. David Mortier sold and published books, maps and prints. His brother, the Amsterdam bookseller Pieter Mortier, had been the publisher of *Le nouveau architecture d'Italie* (1704), and David Mortier was the publisher of *Britannia Illustrata* in 1707 (which had of course been published jointly with Joseph Smith his

⁵⁵⁶ T. Clayton, 1997, op cit, p48.

⁵⁵⁷ T. Clayton, 1992, op cit, p135.

⁵⁵⁸ T. Clayton, 1997, op cit p3, Clayton continues outlining the nature of Smith's publishing enterprises. 'By 1709 he had acquired a share in Leonard Knyff's *Britannia Illustrata*, to which he added Views of all the Cathedrals in 1712. To this constantly evolving collection he added his own large views of new buildings, for example The New Church in the Strand 1719 and of cities including Bristol (1716), as well as similar plates originally published by others. The series was repackaged in 1724 in 4 volumes as *Nouveau théâtre de la Grande Bretagne*. Smith was publisher of a three volume English Language edition of William Dugdale's *Monasticon*, and of other distinguished architectural and antiquarian compilations. He also sold 'all sorts of Prints, Maps, Globes and Books of Architecture, Italian and French, Wholesale and Retail'.

⁵⁵⁹ The 'Act for the Encouragement of Learning' usually known as the 1710 Copyright Act offered copyright protection for fourteen years provided that copies were entered in the Stationers' Register. There was also potentially a second period of fourteen years. Given Feather's discussion of the subordination of author's rights in this Bill (See J. Feather, op cit, p74) it is significant that Campbell as

neighbour in Exeter Exchange)⁵⁶⁰ and was one of the leading distributors of French books in London. It can be seen that between Dunoyer and Smith there was a considerable link with the French print tradition, and that a strong case can be made for its influence upon *Vitruvius Britannicus*.

The conceptual relationship between the French tradition and *Vitruvius Britannicus* relates to an attempt to raise the British profile within the world of architectural print production. The French influence upon *Vitruvius Britannicus* reinforces Clayton's observation that 'the influence of Paris was as great if not greater than that of Rome ... Thus English collections and many English walls were dominated by prints of Italian and French design'.⁵⁶¹ This overriding French influence contributed to an attempt to improve England's reputation 'as a home for connoisseurs of painting, and as a country whose buildings, history and culture were worthy of admiration'.⁵⁶² The argument above regarding *Vitruvius Britannicus* and nationalism supports this idea of promoting British national identity in the arts. Indeed, not only could the subject of prints play an important role in developing a sense of national pride and contribution in the arts, but so too could the process of printing in its own right. This can be best seen from Clarke's own efforts to encourage a serious English attempt to compete with the French printing world. Not only did Clarke purchase prints such as those by Simon Gribelin and Vertue, but he was also involved in an ambitious attempt to have the eminent engraver Gérard Audran engrave copies of the Raphael cartoons which were at that time at Hampton Court.⁵⁶³

Plates similar to those in *Vitruvius Britannicus* which represented an image of Britain were in circulation prior to Campbell's publication. Views of royal palaces, new buildings by noblemen in town and country, new London squares, new hospitals and churches were published prior to *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Overton and Smith sold imperial sized views of Greenwich Hospital, the Peckwater Quadrangle at Christ Church, Oxford, Buckingham House and Marlborough House in St James, Montagu House in Bloomsbury, and Sir James Bateman's Shobdon in Herefordshire. Thus, Campbell was clearly drawing upon an established market. Moreover, in Clarke's collection at Oxford are several prints that were in

author is mentioned. This reinforces the importance of his role in relation to the publication, in contrast to E Harris's arguments.

⁵⁶⁰ E. Harris, N. Savage, *British Architectural Books and Writers 1556-1785*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) p140.

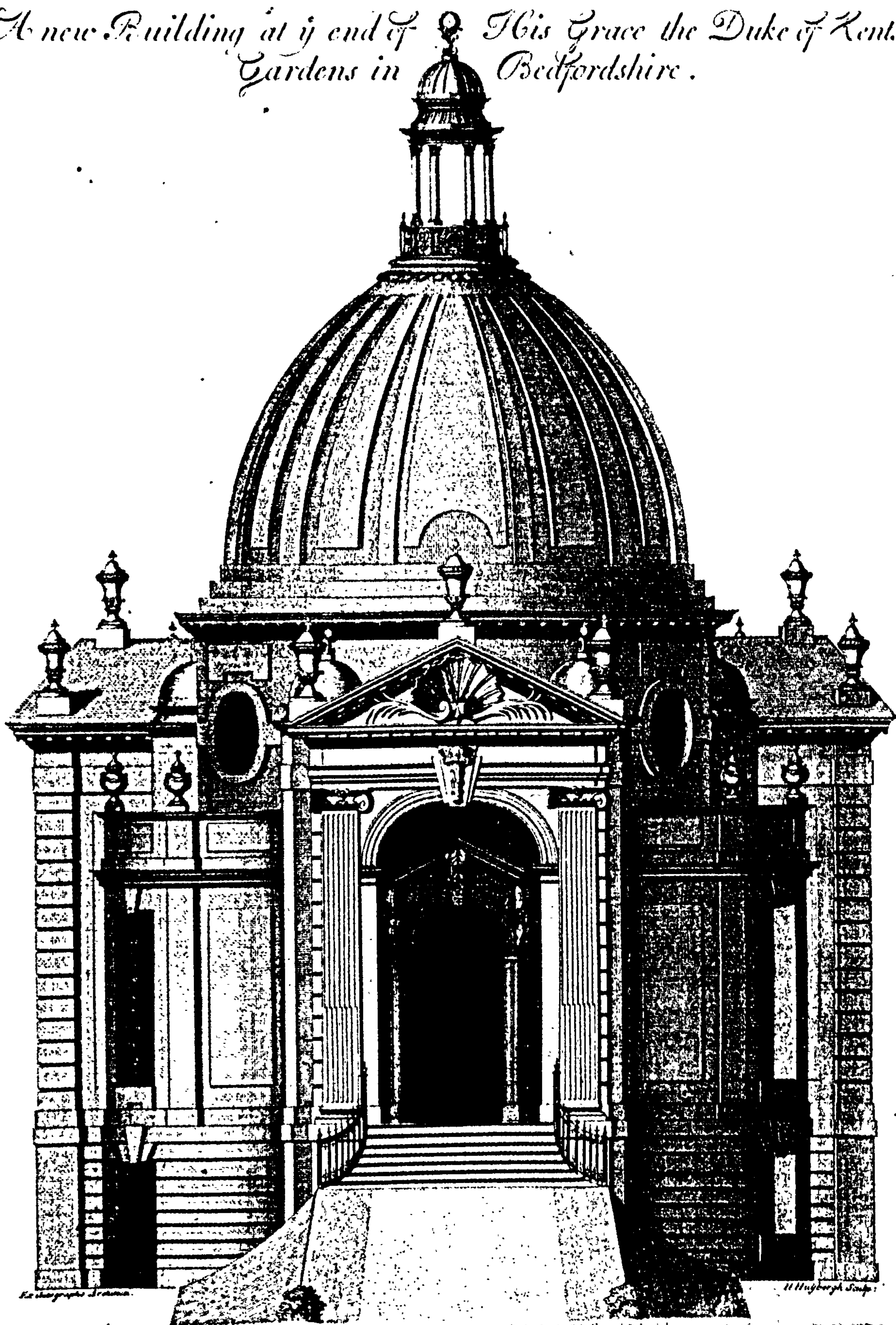
⁵⁶¹ T. Clayton, 1997, op cit, p48.

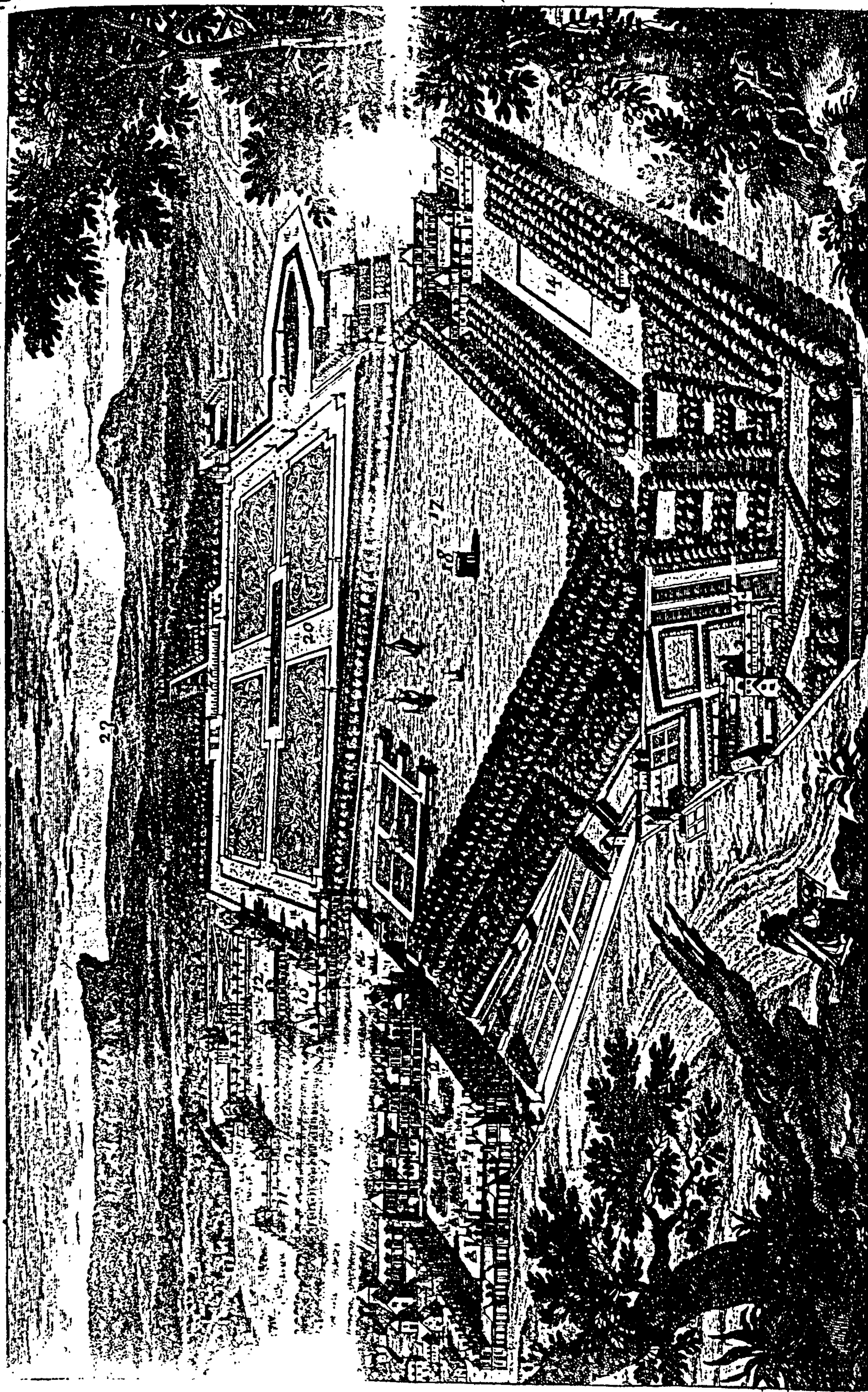
⁵⁶² Ibid, p48.

⁵⁶³ For a discussion of this see T. Clayton, 1992, op cit, p132. Clayton observes that 'This cosmopolitan commission, if ultimately ill fated, demonstrates a sophisticated awareness of the European art world and a patriotic determination to publish the best art in Britain'.

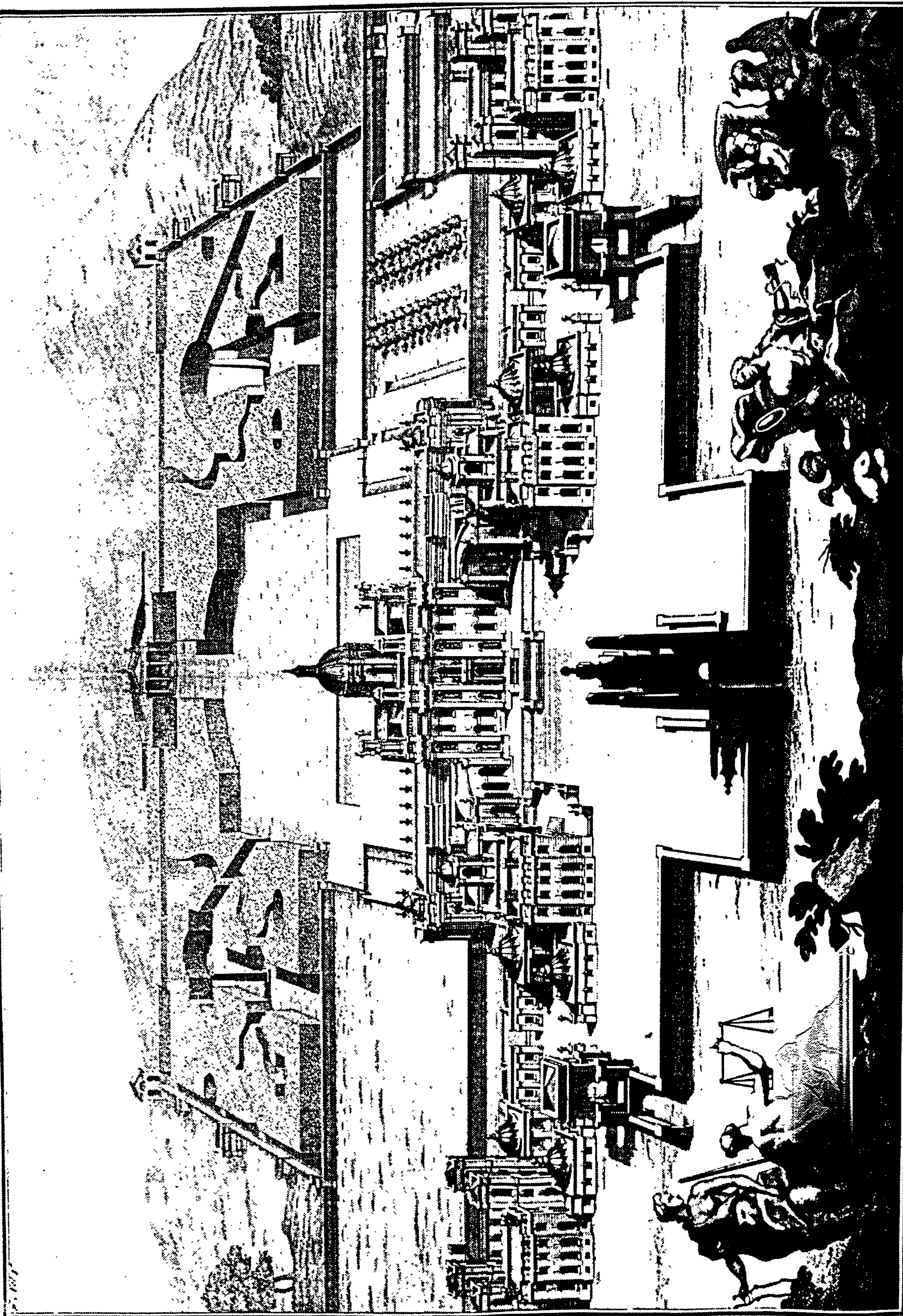
his possession prior to the publication of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, but that are identical to plates in *Vitruvius Britannicus* (illus. 63). Although, I have not been able to identify a significant number of these, plates such as that of Castle Howard in Volume Three are sufficiently different to others in the volumes to suggest that on some level Campbell was using a currency of prints that may have already circulated in some form. (illus. 64 – 66)

*A new Building at y^e end of His Grace the Duke of Kents
Gardens in Bedfordshire.*

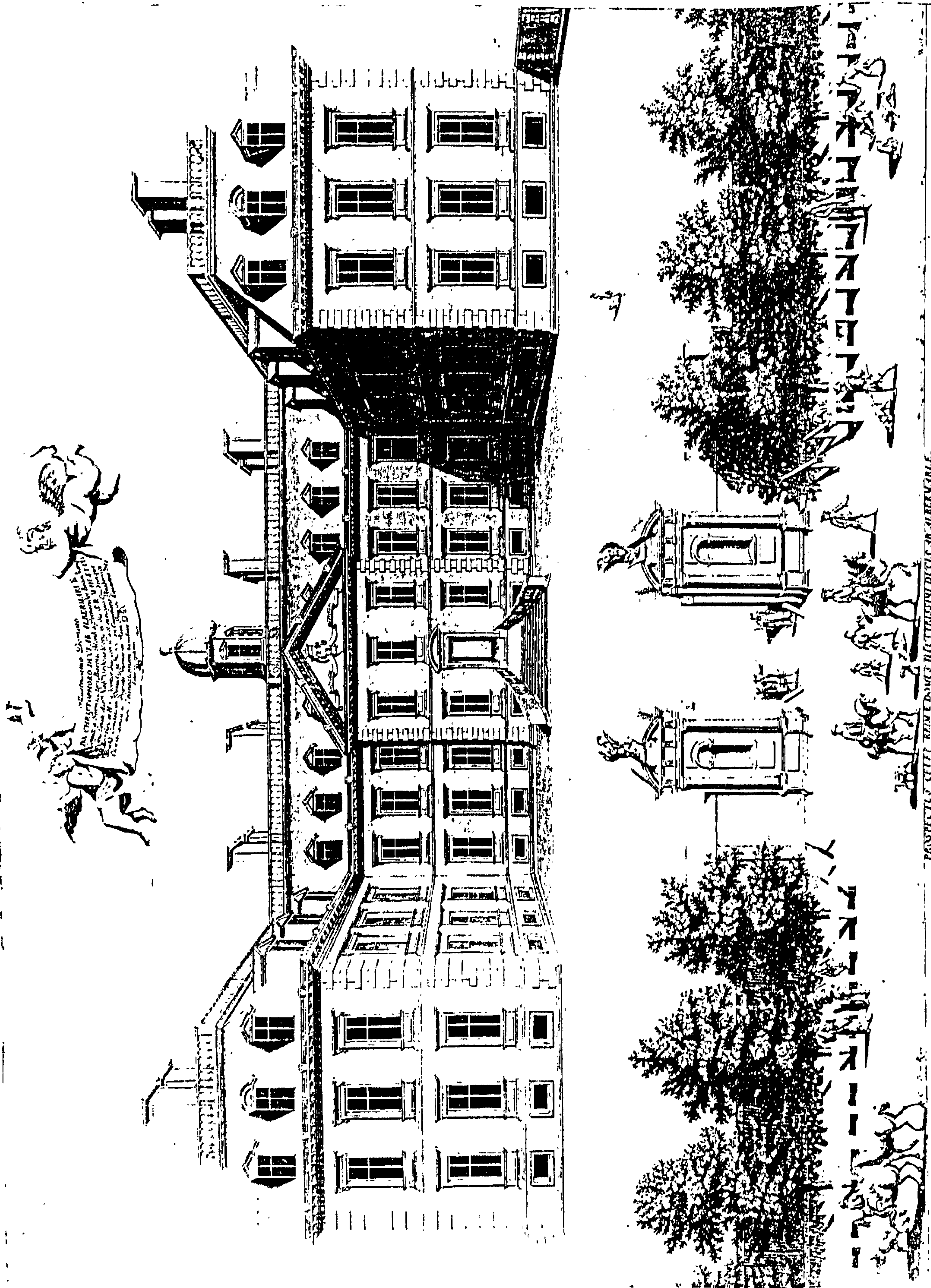




- Vue générale de Fontaine-bleau**
- Cette Maison Royale est dans le Gastinois, à 19 lieues de Paris, sa situation auantagieuse, la fait aimer des Rois de la dernière race. François I^{er} qui introduisit les beaux arts en France, la rebâtit à la Romaine, et Louis le Grand la rendit un séjour de délices. La Reine Marie-Anne y fut élevée, et Louis le Grand y fut élevé. Louis XVI y fut élevé, et Louis XVIII y fut élevé.
- | | | | |
|---|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. la Cour du Cheval blanc. | 7. la Salle du Bal. | 12. la Cour des Cuisines. | 18. la Salle du Conseil. |
| 2. la Galerie d'Ulysse. | 8. le Jardin de la Reine. | 13. la Fontaine-bleau. | 19. le Jardin de l'Étang. |
| 3. la belle Chapelle. | 9. la Galerie des Crois. | 14. le Manège. | 20. le Parterre du Tybre. |
| 4. le Jeu de Paume. | 10. la Cour d'Orléans. | 15. le Mail. | 21. le Tybre. |
| 5. la Cour des Fontaines. | 11. la Conciergerie. | 16. le Chemin. | 22. les Carroles. |
| 6. la Galerie de François I ^{er} . | | 17. l'Étang. | 23. le Canal. |
| | | | 24. la Capitainerie. |



Illus. 65



Illus. 66

Prints were considered an important element in the development of judgement. De Piles enumerated six 'good effects' of prints, they could 'divert by imitation', and 'instruct in a more forcible manner than by Speech'. They could "shorten the time employed in recollecting those things that have escap'd our Memory and to refresh it with a glance of the Eye". They would 'represent absent and distant Things ... as if they were before our Eyes, which otherwise we cou'd not see without troublesom Voyages, and great Expence', and they were an easy way of comparing several things together, since they took up so little room. Sixth and finally, they gave that 'Taste of good Things' and 'Tincture of the Fine Arts' that 'no Gentleman shou'd be ignorant of'.⁵⁶⁴ Thus, it can be seen that according to De Piles's formulation, prints could be interpreted as an indispensable tool in the formation of taste and judgement. *Vitruvius Britannicus* was essentially an already bound print collection for the library, which would have been firmly positioned within polite ideas of print consumption. Like publications, prints functioned on a dual level of being objects of consumption in their own right, and also guides to other aspects of cultural consumption. As De Piles observed, they were also an important route to knowledge. In this context it is useful to consider how publications of prints could have been used. Although, Campbell does refer to plates in *Vitruvius Britannicus* being used as 'furniture', they appear to have remained largely in its original bound format. Such a bound folio collection of prints was very firmly located within the library and within an idea of study. It was to be consulted, either alone or even with a group of people around it. Consequently, it was inserted into discourses around education, evaluation and conversation. The specific nature of architectural discourse and how the images in *Vitruvius Britannicus* functioned together with the text will be considered in Chapter 6.

5.5 The Public Sphere

The role of publications in establishing a 'public' discourse of experimental philosophy was noted above. While the importance of publication within the formation and constitution of the public sphere is semantically obvious, it is nevertheless important to note that publications play a significant role in discourse both spoken and written. Through discourse knowledge gained from publications is displayed. In its standard interpretation discourse is rarely a solitary activity. Thus, discourse supported by publication becomes a 'public' activity in terms of orientation towards an audience. The aspect of public display is not lessened if

⁵⁶⁴ R. de Piles, Trans into English by a Painter, *The Principles of Painting...in which is contained an account of the Athenian, Roman, Venetian and Flemish Schools*, (London: J. Osborne, 1743).p54-65.

discourse is only between two individuals or if it is in a 'private' sphere such as the drawing room, or even in fact if it is a private written discourse such as in the form of a letter. However, as Habermas has argued, the development of a more general public sphere and discourse was a crucial aspect of the eighteenth century, and supported the development of new social institutions such as the coffee house, the assembly and the club. The implication of Habermas's argument will be considered in detail in 6.8 in terms of specific issues relating to culture and to architectural discourse. This section will focus more specifically on the relationship between publication and the public.

Discourses around nationhood, science and mathematics, libraries and prints related to ideas of identity and allegiance. In this way they were set against a notion of the public. Publications brought a particular discourse into the public sphere. Their ideas were also expressed through social exchange, either directly through conversation in clubs, societies, coffee houses, or at dinner parties, or indirectly, through letter writing which was an important and highly conventionalised art during this period. This discussion of discourse has drawn upon a range of published images and texts in addition to other unpublished works. A text such as Evelyn's diary was not intended for a wider public consumption. However, the possibility of it being used by his son and grandson highlights the fact that on one level it was oriented to an audience, even if a very limited one. Diaries can also be understood as a process of self-instruction. In this sense, they can be indirectly related to the public sphere in terms of self-study to refine self-representation. A similar process is involved in personal works written as aids to travelling, such as that of Fiennes. Central to this thesis is the idea of self representation, of the projection of specific values associated with gentlemanly conduct and politeness. This was supported by a system of publication that was bound in a circular process. Publications codified the types of discourses relevant to these groups of people. They also codified the specific systems of verbalisation of these discourses. Yet, they also occupied a reactionary role in relation to these discourses. They existed in a complex system of social and intellectual exchange, in which individuals could not and did not operate in isolation. Thus, essential to this thesis is the idea of a public sphere, not in any clear cut dimension of public versus private, but in terms of an emphasis upon outward presentation and commodification.

Any literary work operates on a number of different levels. Its text operates in terms of the production of an encoding system generating referents which make the text meaningful to its audience. Yet at the same time the production involved in publication creates the literary work as artefact as well, thus generating another set of aesthetic referents and value

hierarchies which give the publication a cultural-aesthetic role in the social milieu. The book is not only a means of transmitting information but an economic artefact in its own right. It therefore operates in terms of two exchange values, the cultural and the economic. *Vitruvius Britannicus* functioned on this dual level. On one level it facilitated a polite architectural discourse that could be displayed in the public sphere, or to a more select audience. On another it operated as an artefact in its own right, establishing its own internal social and economic discourse of display through the system of subscription and dedication.

The link between subscription and an increased sense of the public is illuminating. Subscription publication began in England in the seventeenth century as one aspect of the gradual transformation from individual patronage by the few to more general public support of commercial enterprise. This development reflected a wider growth of the cash nexus related to developments in the expanding capitalist economy.⁵⁶⁵ It is not coincidental that joint stock subscriptions for the East India Company were introduced at about the same time as the first subscription book, John Minsheu's *Ductor in Linguas* (1617). A similar movement is reflected in the increased dissemination of knowledge through subscription lectures on scientific, technical and artistic subjects, by the growth of subscription libraries and book clubs, and by literary and philosophical societies funded by membership fees. All of these developments mark a shift from ownership and support by a privileged few to a much larger number of stakeholders. They were thus fundamentally related to the development of a public sphere.

While subscription can be traced in a number of different networks relating to a wider community of ownership, the system as it applies to publication is most relevant to this study. The publication of subscription lists in publications was essentially orientated towards a public. Lists could be published in advance to gauge the public demand for the work, they could also be published to encourage increased demand. They entered into a complex set of relationships where they became both a means of funding publications which played a role in the public sphere, and also operating on an autonomous level. Subscription lists were yet another means of public display demonstrating wealth, leisure, and taste.

The development of publication by subscription, and indeed the other subscription activities outlined, can be understood in relation to the expansion of the reading public, which has been

⁵⁶⁵ F. J. G. Robinson, and P. J. Wallis, *Book Subscription Lists a Revised Guide*, (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Harold Hill & Son Ltd., 1975).p.1.

credited to the development of a newspaper culture which encouraged taste in reading.⁵⁶⁶ Harris has estimated that there were 551 coffee houses in England by the 1730s and that through them a single edition newspaper could reach a readership of 20,000 a day.⁵⁶⁷ Coffee houses also acted as distribution channels for books either directly by the publishers and authors or through sales of private libraries. In the early decades of the eighteenth century this developing book trade was dominated by a small circle of booksellers controlling nearly all available stock.⁵⁶⁸ This circle played a vital role in developing ideas of the public sphere.

The public role of an architectural publication is particularly complex. Publications of images of buildings make a *building* public. The process of architectural presentation raises questions around the status of the building in relation to its illustration, of the owner in relation to the viewer or reader, and of the architect in relation to the author or publisher. Through illustration 'architecture' becomes as valid in representations as in its built form, and thus opens the field to a different form of architectural consumption by new groups.⁵⁶⁹ Lipstadt identifies four key areas for public consumption of architecture, the competition, the exhibition, the sketchbook, and the published book, all of which operate in the realm of 'public-ation'. Through these sites a 'field of architectural culture' is constituted which is essentially public. Within this context, a publication such as *Vitruvius Britannicus* can be understood as a cultural product that circulates outside of the field of building practice. Although the initial referent, the building, is rooted in this practice, its representation operates in the world of architectural culture. A process such as printing or display relocates the image of the building in a public discourse around culture. Thus publication is fundamental in transforming images of buildings into cultural goods in the public arena.⁵⁷⁰ Architectural culture was played out within formal and informal institutions such as the printseller's shop, publishing houses, libraries and collections, and operated through a range of sites of discourse.

⁵⁶⁶ Feather presents figures for levels of literacy in J. Feather, op cit, p94-96, claiming that 45% of the male population in 1714 were literate, and 25% of women. By 1750 he charts an increase to 60% of men and 40% of women.

⁵⁶⁷ M. Harris, 'Print and Politics in the Age of Walpole' *Britain in the age of Walpole*, ed. by J. Black, (London: Macmillan, 1984), p193.

⁵⁶⁸ See J. Feather, op cit, pp69-70.

⁵⁶⁹ H. Lipstadt 'Architecture and its image. Notes towards the definition of architectural publication', in *Drawing into Architecture*, ed. by A. C. Papadakis, (London: Academy Group Ltd., 1989), pp13-23, p13.

⁵⁷⁰ Lipstadt defines publication as the 'acceptance [of something] as a culturally legitimate work by an institution of culture'. H Lipstadt 'Architecture and its image. Notes towards the definition of architectural publication,' in *Ibid*, p14.

The printed book incorporates publicity into its very structure. The etymological connection between publicity and publication is no coincidence. Printers, publishers, authors and architects all used publication as a means of publicity. Publicity inserted a name or an idea into a public sphere, and became part of a general currency of thought. This re-appropriated the work in its material form to a more conceptual idea of architecture. This conceptual or cultural notion of architecture facilitated through publication enabled more people to 'own' architecture. It was more widely accessible than ownership of an actual building, and thus became part of a public culture. This related architecture to other contemporary concerns, and located it in a number of discourses. The emergence of this public architectural discourse will be examined in the next chapter.

6. The Emergence of Architectural Discourse

6.1. The Concept of Discourse

A publication such as *Vitruvius Britannicus* requires language structures that articulate a subject in a meaningful way for the audience. By drawing upon a range of publishing paradigms *Vitruvius Britannicus* placed architecture within a number of discourses, consideration of which raises issues of cognition, language and communication.

6.1a. Problems of Language.

Language development is a natural part of social change. As societies grow and become more complex and more clearly stratified, there is a concomitant need to enlarge the semantic field. This applied to the expanding field of architectural language in the early eighteenth century. Architectural publications re-applied ideas from architecture and from other disciplines to develop new techniques of presentation and new ways of thinking about architecture. The intellectual relationships between Vitruvius, Serlio, Palladio, Du Cerceau, Vasari *et al* are complex, each writer re-interpreting architectural questions in the context of their own aims and objectives, influenced by their individual cultural surroundings.⁵⁷¹ Similarly, *Vitruvius Britannicus* was neither isolated from its heritage in terms of architectural publication, nor from other contemporary discourses. Each publication developed within existing norms which included architectural paradigms such as Vitruvius, but which were also articulated alongside other contemporary norms such as those associated with politeness and conversation.

All texts point to an external referent, but the language used depends upon public conventions and shared meanings of words that exist through public exchanges.⁵⁷² Language can only function if its referents are understood by its audience. Consequently, an author cannot create their own language without recourse to contemporary semantics.⁵⁷³ In his analysis of Jones's architectural vocabulary, Cast considers this complex relationship

⁵⁷¹ Section 4.1a for example highlighted the influence of illustrated works such as that of Vesalius upon Serlio's treatise.

⁵⁷² Frye refers to this as the centrifugal aspect of the text. N. Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism*, (London: Penguin, (1957) 1990), p73.

⁵⁷³ See M. Ketcham, *Transparent Designs. Reading, Performance and Form in the Spectator Papers*, (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1985), p9

between existing precedent and semantic generation. He argues that there were semantic gaps in English descriptions of the arts, particularly architecture, leading to difficulties in English translation of Italian words such as *figura* or *disegno*.⁵⁷⁴ A new vocabulary was needed, which could be generated through systems of semantic borrowing. For example the word *masculine* used in much architectural discussion of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, drew upon the non-architectural vocabulary of epideixis or praise which will be considered in 6.6. Its architectural use depended upon a set of complex referents including the anthropomorphic qualities of architecture discussed by Vitruvius. It was therefore a semantic borrowing and re-application. For it to work as a descriptive term the associated qualities of *masculinity* had to be known,⁵⁷⁵ and the reader familiar with its original referent.

Any change or re-application of language relates to contemporary demands and language use. It alters with social and technical changes in order to fulfil new functions,⁵⁷⁶ for example to make new areas of science terminologically accessible, or define and describe new social, administrative and political relationships.⁵⁷⁷ Consequently, language reflects changes in conceptualisation and verbalisation in society. Publications are fundamentally related to this in terms of communicating ideas to an audience, and also codifying norms within the context of the general reorganisation of lexical systems.⁵⁷⁸

⁵⁷⁴ D. Cast, 'Speaking of Architecture, the Evolution of a Vocabulary in Vasari, Jones and Sir John Vanbrugh', in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, N^o. 52, June 1993, pp. 179-88. This is explicitly stated by Wotton who complained of 'some defect of artificiall tearmes' in the English language. (H. Wotton, *The elements of architecture ... A facsimile reprint of the first edition, London, 1624. With introduction and notes by Frederick Hard*, (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1968), Preface pA) See also Baxandall, M., in E. Chaney and P. Mack, *England and the Continental Renaissance. Essays in Honour of J. B. Trapp*, (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1990), p203-14.

⁵⁷⁵ R. Bartsch, *Norms of Language. Theoretical and Practical Aspects*, (New York and London: Longman, 1987), p215.

⁵⁷⁶ See Ibid, p.x.

⁵⁷⁷ See my discussion of scientific illustration in Chapter Three. Also Ibid, p194

⁵⁷⁸ The idea that language shapes thought and meaning, as well as expressing them, is central in twentieth century linguistics. It is summarised in Sapir's statement that 'Language as a structure, is on its inner face the mould of thought' E. Sapir, *Language: An Introduction to the Study of Speech*, (London: Humphrey Milford, 1922), p22. This was reiterated by the psychologist Vigotsky in 1934: 'Thought is not expressed in words, but comes into existence through them. The bond between thought and words is a living process: thought is brought forth in words. The word deprived of thought, is a dead word.' (L. S. Vigotsky, 'Language and Thought' in S. Saporta, *Psycholinguistics: A Book of Readings. (Edited by S. Saporta. Prepared with the assistance of Jarvis R. Bastien.)*, (New York, Holt, Tinehart & Winston, 1961), pp534-35) The importance of language in conceptualisation is also discussed by Baxandall. M. Baxandall, *Giotto and the Orators. Humanist Observers of Painting in Italy and the Discovery of Pictorial Composition 1350-1450*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971).

The social importance of written and spoken language is highlighted in the study of socio-linguistics,⁵⁷⁹ which has demonstrated that historic language functions illustrate social elements of cognition, group allegiance and the creation of taxonomic systems. Fundamental to such analyses is the concept of speech communities,⁵⁸⁰ groups of people who share or have overlapping language codes and vocabulary. These codes unify the group and exclude others, stratifying society and reaffirming individual identification.⁵⁸¹ Written language systems necessitate standardisation of the code and thus create a dominant language. The codification of this language through publication generates messages not only about the social group entitled to access a work, but also entitlement to authorship. Additionally, it legitimises certain forms of communication such as the academic treatise in contrast to the builder's manual.⁵⁸²

6.1b. Discourse and Publication

Eisenstein has argued that the introduction of print enabled concepts to become fixed. The opportunity to consult a range of printed works encouraged comparison and the creation of new intellectual combinations leading to conceptual and intellectual shifts. Consequently, the importance of reading in the process of learning gained importance.⁵⁸³ Houston points out that printed matter of all kinds was widely read throughout early modern Europe,⁵⁸⁴ but unlike Eisenstein considers the actual process of reading and the formation of concepts, identifying three principal processes, recognition, understanding and application.⁵⁸⁵ His analysis points to

⁵⁷⁹ In the 1970s Blount and Sanches claimed that 'linguistic features are now considered primarily in terms of their social aspects and importance. This reordering of priorities and reconceptualisation is derived from several sources, but in particular from anthropological concerns with lexicography, cognition, kinship systems and terminology and systems of nomenclature and taxonomy' B. Blount and M. Sanches, *Sociocultural Dimensions of Language Change*, (New York, San Francisco and London: Academic Press, 1977), p3.

⁵⁸⁰ This idea is central to many theoreticians including Barthes in his discussion of the polysemic nature of images (*Image, Music, Text*, Essays selected and translated by S. Heath. (London: Paladin, 1977), Derrida in his problematisation of the act of reading a text (J. Derrida, *Writing and Difference*, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978)), and Lévi Strauss and his ideas of the myth function of (C. Lévi - Strauss, *The Savage Mind [La pensée sauvage]*, (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1966)).

⁵⁸¹ For a discussion of this see B. Blount, M. Sanches, op cit, p5.

⁵⁸² See P. Bourdieu and J. Passeron, Trans. R Nice, *Reproduction in Education Society and Culture*, (London and Beverley Hills: Sage, 1977). Especially p109. This has implications on study of the development of the public sphere discussed in 5.6 which will also be picked up in the study of sites of discourse in section 6.8

⁵⁸³ E. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communities and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe*, (2 Vols., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

⁵⁸⁴ R. A. Houston, *Literacy in Early Modern Europe 1500-1800*, (London and New York: Longman, 1988), p197.

⁵⁸⁵ Ibid, p198.

the significance of the speech community in transmitting ideas and highlights the complex process of understanding involved in reading any text.⁵⁸⁶

Although the preceding discussion has referred specifically to written and spoken language, arguments relating to re-application, recognition and social stratification also apply to the use of images. Visual languages have their own identifiable scopic regimes: Perspectival or orthogonal representations generate their own language of form, as do cartography and scientific illustration. Images generate their own visual language through, for example, juxtaposition, which creates relationships and concepts in the same way as words. Images also create a language of the object. For example, it has been suggested that the plates of the *Encyclopedia* separated image from text, creating an autonomous iconography of the object⁵⁸⁷ in which the image functioned anthologically by isolating the object from its context. This anthological apprehension contrasts with the contextual depiction of the objects in the *tableau vivant*.⁵⁸⁸ Similarly, while the images in *Vitruvius Britannicus* can function anthologically, separated from the text, the two elements can also function together. For example 4.2d suggested that the descriptions of estates and setting could be interpreted as supplying additional information to the plates in much the same way as that which Sontag terms the '*tableau vivant*' in the *Encyclopedia*. The text also works on the level of highlighting specific elements on the plates and directing the reader to visual scrutiny.

The specific way in which text and image function in *Vitruvius Britannicus* will be considered in 6.5. However, the use of images in architectural publication has implications for any consideration of discourse. The necessity for visual literacy shares the characteristics of discourse and language discussed above. The combination of text and image also raises further issues in terms of the way each relates to the other. My consideration of this relationship between word and image in *Vitruvius Britannicus* draws upon work by Baxandall which has highlighted the difficulty of discussing images, a simultaneously available field, through language, a temporally linear medium.⁵⁸⁹ Baxandall argues that written descriptions of images are concerned with thought about the image, focused on effect and comparison,

⁵⁸⁶ See discussion of reception in Chapter 1. The idea of the Speech Community is not just a recent theoretical model. Plato in Book X of the Republic claims that 'Whenever a number of individuals have a common name, we assume them to have also a corresponding idea or form'

⁵⁸⁷ S. Sontag, *Barthes: Selected Writings*, (London: Fontana/Collins, 1982), pp218-234.

⁵⁸⁸ This corresponds to Bal and Bryson's differentiation between synchronism and diachronism. M. Bal and N. Bryson, 'Semiotics and Art History', in *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. LXXIII, N^o. 2, June 1991, pp. 174-208.

⁵⁸⁹ M. Baxandall, *Patterns of Intention. On the Historical Explanation of Pictures*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985).

and consequently structured by linguistically available concepts.⁵⁹⁰ The terms used are borrowed from other discourses, and are often adjectives that are not tightly interpreted. Thus, these descriptions are susceptible to the pressures of language and linguistic categories. Consequently they reflect wider discourses but also create systems for fixing semantic variation. Baxandall's idea of semantic fixing is reinforced by my consideration in 4.2b of the increased use of images in scientific and technical discourses as related to language codification and conceptual fixing.

Baxandall's work has demonstrated that art historical descriptions are demonstrative rather than informative.⁵⁹¹ In art criticism or art history the object is assumed to be present either physically, in reproduction, in memory, or as a visualisation deduced from knowledge of similar images. The presence of an image alongside the text suggests a proposition of interest in the image rather than a purely informative statement. Thus, the text becomes descriptive, directing the reader to scrutiny, and highlighting the process of analysis, an essential characteristic of the act of criticism and evaluation. This link between criticism and the availability of the image points to the importance of printing developments and publication in making the image available, thus facilitating new didactic and critical discourses.

6.2. The Development of Architectural Discourse

The development of an architectural discourse based upon Renaissance treatises was considered in 4.1a, which argued that this supported the development of the technical literature and vocabulary of the subject, thus demonstrating the importance of publication. Additionally, the discussion of tourism in 4.2d highlighted the importance of a written and published base for tourism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries through itineraries and memoirs reinforced by a visual culture of print and illustration.⁵⁹² This, together with 5.1 highlighted the complex relationship between English, British, and European models and cultures. This was based upon systems of differentiation, while also drawing upon a shared elite culture supported by a cosmopolitan system of print and book publication which tied Classical architecture to a process of reading and publication. This argument is supported by Anderson's analysis of the authority of books in the codification of Classical discourse,

⁵⁹⁰ M. Baxandall, 1971, op cit. The significance of linguistically available concepts in structuring cognition is reinforced W. J. Ong, *Orality & Literacy The Technologising of the Word*, (London: Methuen, 1982).

⁵⁹¹ M. Baxandall, 1985, op cit.

⁵⁹² For example the sets of views of Venice by Felippo Vasconi, those of Rome produced by Silvestre, Specchi, Falda and Wouters, and the views of Naples, Livorno, Genoa, Tivoli etc., published by P. Mortier.

which highlights the textual element in the language of Classicism.⁵⁹³ Fundamental to this is an idea of architecture as a system. The importance of measurement, objectivity, and abstraction as part of the representation of the Classical, grounds it in a scientific, textual language which lends itself to a system of orthographic visual presentation.⁵⁹⁴ This representation suggested a highly rationalised, synoptic view of architecture, in line with developments in scientific representation,⁵⁹⁵ generating a cerebral understanding of architecture which befitted it as an intellectual pursuit. This intellectual authority was reinforced by its foundation in the Roman author Vitruvius and Alberti's humanist exposition.⁵⁹⁶

Section 4.2 and Chapter 5 demonstrated the relationship between *Vitruvius Britannicus* and publications not just on architecture but also other areas of interest to the gentleman, thus reinforcing the foundation of architectural discourse in England within publication. This had a theoretical base in Renaissance texts, as illustrated in the English works of Shute and Wotton. Renaissance publications not only codified the language of architecture, but also the status of architecture as an intellectual art related to other disciplines. Authors such as Peacham and Dee justified the study of architecture by the polite gentleman because of its association with other 'polite arts'.⁵⁹⁷ Thus, the study of intellectually rigorous and

⁵⁹³ See C. Anderson, 'Learning to read Architecture in the English Renaissance' *Albion's Classicism: The Visual Arts in Britain 1550-1660*, ed. by L. Gent, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995). The importance of this textual element in the formation of Classical discourse can be seen in Summerson's series of talks for the BBC in 1963, which were eventually published as *The Classical Language of Architecture*, (London: Thames & Hudson, 1980).

⁵⁹⁴ See sections 4.2b and 4.2c on orthogonal representation as schematic rather than pictorial

⁵⁹⁵ Dee provides a table in his 'Mathematical Preface' and calls it a Grounde Platt. 'I will give you the Groundplatt of my whole discourse, in a Table annexed ...'. This is a fascinating use of the term to suggest summary, shorthand notation, abbreviation and system. The use of an architectural/cartographic term applied to a text highlights a fluidity between text and images, particularly plans. See H. Billingsley, *The Elements of Geometrie of the most auncient Philosopher Evclide of Megara. Faithfully (Now first) translated into Englishe tounge*, by H. Billingsley, Citizen of London. *Whereunto are annexed certaine Scholies, Annotations, and Inventions, of the best Mathematicians, both of time past, and in this our age. With a very fruitful Praeface made by M. I. Dee Specifying the chiefe Mathematicall Sciences, What they are, and wherunto commodious: where, also, are disclosed certaine new Secrets Mathematicall and Mechanicall untill these our daies greatly missed*, (London: John Daye and J. Dee, 1570).

⁵⁹⁶ Associated with this intellectualised attitude to architecture was the increased separation of the handbook from the treatise, which also marked the dual elements of theory and practice in architecture. Anderson alludes to this in her argument that '... the intellectual discussion of architecture, or use of architectural language, operated somewhat on its own plane and did not readily affect the widespread production of building in England'. C. Anderson, in L. Gent, op cit, p241.

⁵⁹⁷ H. Billingsley, op cit. '... I count, here, Architecture, amoongst those Artes Mathematicall, which are Derived from the Principals For, the true Architect, is hable to teach, Demonstrate, distribute, describe, and Iudge all workes wrought. And he, onely, searcheth out the causes and reasons of all Artificiall thynges. Thus excellent, is Architecture: though few (in our dayes) attayne thereto ...'. See also H. Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman. Fashioning him absolut, in the most necessary and*

systematic disciplines such as mathematics, geometry, and astronomy were equated with architectural discourse as it was presented in publications. Importantly, these disciplines were also grounded in a system of publication.⁵⁹⁸

While Palladio urged the importance of illustrations in putting forward architectural ideas, other writers constantly referred the reader to books. This form of reading, response and codification echoes the learning process applied to travel. Whether noted through illustration or text, architectural experience was recorded and filtered through a process of notation on paper. This filtering of architectural experience and judgement through texts can be seen in the use made of Vasari by Jones, discussed by Cast.⁵⁹⁹ Jones made extensive use of publications in developing his architectural thought, in the process forming an extensive library of architectural, mathematical and art treatises.⁶⁰⁰ Jones's understanding of architectural rule was developed through close reading of the works in his library, structured through the use of annotation and epitome, a process of critical reading used in disciplines such as rhetoric in which passages were summarised to create a mnemonic system.⁶⁰¹ His use of publications as an intermediary for architectural experience on his travels reiterates other touristic practices, but specifically demonstrates the codification of architectural rule through these treatises.⁶⁰²

Classical architectural discourse was thus fundamentally related to a tradition of reading publications. These reinforced the importance of print further through constant reference to the body of extant work on architecture. The emergence of a distinct body of architectural literature, with a canon based upon Vitruvius, can therefore be traced. This, together with

commendable Qualities concerning Minde or Body, that may be required in a Noble gentleman, (London St Paul's Church Yard: Printed by John Legat for Francis Constable, 1634).

⁵⁹⁸ The pre-eminent importance of books in filtering all kinds of knowledge and experience is implicit in Galileo's argument for the importance of turning away from books to study the things in themselves. See D. R. Olson, *The World on Paper. The Conceptualisation and Cognitive Implications of Writing and Reading*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p195.

⁵⁹⁹ D. Cast, op cit.

⁶⁰⁰ For an extensive discussion of the importance of reading for Inigo Jones, see C. Anderson, in L. Gent, op cit.

⁶⁰¹ See C. Anderson, in L. Gent, Ibid, p248. M. J. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) cites Isodore of Seville's definition of the purpose of letters as allowing one to 'hold things in memory' and 'enable us to hear again and retain in memory the voices/words of those who are not actually present' (p106). This method was recommended by Peacham who urged his readers 'for your owne use spare ... [books] not for noting or enterlining', G. S. Gordon, *Peacham's Compleat Gentleman, 1634*, (London and Oxford: Clarendon Press: 1906), p54. The use of texts and reading to create a mnemonic system for architecture raises questions about the relationship between discourse and practice which will be considered later in this section

literature relating to other disciplines established a mode of architectural discourse centred upon the dual idea of *ars* and *scientia*, practice and theory. It is the nature and range of this discourse which will be examined below.

Types of architectural discourse

6.3 A Classical Discourse.

The choice of a graphic language is never neutral. The adoption of any particular convention generates a specific meaning. The orthogonal projection is a system which looks at buildings in a conceptual and objective manner rather than one which is sensory and subjective. In this way it carries a number of intellectual associations which, when applied to architecture, suggest an intellectual isolation conducive to objective judgement of architectural merit. Consequently Campbell's methods of representation, which are different than, for example, those employed in *Britannia Illustrata*, offer avenues for considering the way in which the publication may have been understood.

The advent of the first fully Classical style in England reinforced the reliance on orthogonal representation. As a style of architecture governed by proportional relationships it favoured a graphic language which would express such relationships directly.⁶⁰³ Thus, Campbell's use of the orthogonal could be considered a logical method of representation for the predominantly Classical architecture within the publication.

The importance of text and system in the Classical idea of architecture, and the authority of Classical texts on architecture as a source of both visual and textual vocabulary, has been discussed in 4.1a. These texts codified a specific rule-based discourse of Classical architecture that presented Classicism as a rigorously systematic approach to architectural form prioritising order, proportion and quantification. As such Classical compositions contained a formal logic open to rationalist and scientific analysis.⁶⁰⁴ This type of analysis of

⁶⁰² Harris and Higgott have highlighted the annotations made by Jones on his copy of Palladio's *Quattro Libri*. See J. Harris and G. Higgott, *Inigo Jones. Complete Architectural drawings*, (London: A Zwemmer Ltd. in association with the Drawing Center, New York, 1989).

⁶⁰³ Jacobus argues that orthography can be seen as the inevitable corollary of the classical style: it enables the designer to generate proportional relationships during the course of drawing out an idea and to communicate that idea by graphic means other than mathematical notation. L. Jacobus, 'On "Whether a man could see before him and behind him at once". The Role of drawing in the design of interior space in England c. 1600-1700', in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 31, 1988, pp. 148-159.

⁶⁰⁴ Vitruvius refers to this logic as the 'logos opticos' *De architettura, libri decem. Cum notis ... G. Philandri integris; D. Barbari excerptis, et C. Salmasii passim insertis. [M. Meibomii notae. N.*

form focused upon the optical rather than the sociological or functional aspects of architecture,⁶⁰⁵ discussed and compared within a coherent system.⁶⁰⁶ As such it was largely descriptive, even prescriptive, and rule based, rather than explanatory. The vocabulary through which this analysis of the purely visual was articulated depended upon effect, using terms such as *beauty*, *heaviness*, *volume*, *strength*, *masculinity*.⁶⁰⁷ These words were susceptible to semantic slippage, thus increasing the importance of illustration in architectural texts in anchoring vocabulary, and instructing through demonstration.⁶⁰⁸

One semantic range that could be re-applied to a formalist discussion of architecture was the study of Classical texts. Structural analysis of texts is based upon language, syntax and grammar in the same way that Classical architecture is structured upon the orders, their elements and distribution. From the Renaissance the study of rhetoric, grammar and Classical authors became an important aspect of the education of the gentleman. Aristotle, Cicero and Quintilian were important figures within an educated humanist discourse.⁶⁰⁹ These authors referred to formal devices such as the *techne* of composition,⁶¹⁰ articulated through distribution and placement,⁶¹¹ and the orderly arrangement of the parts.⁶¹² Authors such as Aristotle and Cicero discussed poetics and rhetoric through terms such as *symmetry*, *rhythm*, *hierarchy*, *proportionality*, and *variety*, all of which lent themselves to the discussion of visual composition as much as written. Similar canonical systems operated across music, poetry, rhetoric and architecture, thus offering considerable possibilities for semantic re-application. Architectural composition could clearly be discussed through a transferred vocabulary of composition in drama, poetry, music and oratory. For example in de Piles' *Cours de Peinture*, art is discussed under the headings of *composition*, *design*, *disposition*,

Goldmanni notae.] Praemittuntur elementa architecturae collecta ab H. Wottono equite Anglo. Accedunt lexicon Vitruviani. De pictura libri tres L. B. de Albertis. De sculptura excerpta ex dialogo P. Gaurici. L. Demontiosii commentarius de sculptura et pictura. Cum variis indicibus. Omnia in unum collecta ... a J. de Laet, (Amstelodami: Apud L. Elzivirium, 1649), Book 1, Chapter 1, Paragraph 16.

⁶⁰⁵ Tzonis and Lefaivre argue that formalism '... cannot relate formal norms to the cognitive social norms that ultimately give meaning and purpose to architecture'. A. Tzonis, and L. Lefaivre, *Classical Architecture. The Poetics of Order*, (Cambridge Mass.: MIT Press, (1986), 1997), p3.

⁶⁰⁶ For an example of formal analysis of Classical architecture see Ibid.

⁶⁰⁷ All of these terms are used in Campbell's notices in *Vitruvius Britannicus*.

⁶⁰⁸ See the preceding discussion of Baxandall's work.

⁶⁰⁹ See for example Yates's discussion of familiarity with these authors in relation to an 'art of memory' from the Renaissance through to the seventeenth century, in F. Yates, *The Art of Memory*, (London: Pimlico, 1992).

⁶¹⁰ See Aristotle, *Poetics* Book 1, Chapter 2, Paragraph 1

⁶¹¹ See Cicero *Ad Herennium* Book 1, Chapter 2, Paragraph 3

⁶¹² Aristotle describes this as *taxis* see *Poetics* Book 7, Paragraph 35. Tzonis and Lefaivre have demonstrated that *taxis* is a key category in Vitruvius's discussion of architecture as the 'balanced adjustment of the details to the whole, the arrangement of the proportion with a view to a symmetrical result'. Vitruvius, op cit, Book 1, Chapter 2, Paragraph 2. This is also a key element in Alberti's aesthetic

harmony, style, truth, and unity, and design is discussed using terms such as *correctness, diversity, and elegance*.⁶¹³ Du Fresnoy also uses terms that are transferable between Classical arts, such as *distribution, decorum, symmetry* and *propriety*, alongside broadly affective terms such as *grace, majesty, and harmony*.⁶¹⁴ These terms were further re-applied to a vocabulary of praise or encomium which will be considered later in this section. The close relationship between judging Classical texts and judging Classical architecture is apparent in Felton's *Dissertation on Reading*,⁶¹⁵ in which he clearly sees the arts as sharing basic characteristics.

'After all these Excellencies of Style, in Purity, in Plainness and Perspicuity, in Ornament and Majesty, are considered, a finished Piece of what kind soever, must shine in the Order and Proportion of the Whole; For Light riseth out of Order, and Beauty from Proportion. In Architecture and Painting, these fill and relieve the Eye. A just Disposition giveth us a clear View of the Whole at once, and the due Symmetry and Proportion of every Part in itself, and of all together leave no Vacancy in our Thoughts or Eyes ... But ... when I speak of Order and Proportion, I do not intend any stiff and formal method, but only a proper Distribution of the Parts in general'⁶¹⁶

It can be seen that although this is a method for reading texts, the language transfers directly into that used by writers on architecture. Furthermore, the contents list identifies some clear rules in judging of Classical texts: that matter be fitted to the Subject; thoughts suited to the matter; words suited to the thoughts; and thought characterised by propriety. The categories for his analysis include: Design of Expression; Embellishment of Style; Mastery of Language; Purity; Plainness & Perspicuity; Decoration & Ornament; Beauty; Use; Regard to the Nature & Dignity of the Subject; Composition, Order and Proportion; and Distribution of Ornaments. All of these are echoed in Campbell's notices in the volumes of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, and the system by which he judges architecture.⁶¹⁷

⁶¹³ R. de Piles, Trans into English by a Painter, *The Principles of Painting...in which is contained an account of the Athenian, Roman, Venetian and Flemish Schools*, (London: J. Osborne, 1743). Baxandall's analysis of the importance of rhetorical terms in discussions of painting is an interesting context within which to consider De Piles's vocabulary. See M. Baxandall, 1971, op cit.

⁶¹⁴ A. Du Fresnoy, *De Arte Graphica, The Art of Painting, ... with remarks [By Roger de Piles]: Translated into English, together with an original preface containing a parallel betwixt Painting and Poetry. By Mr. Dryden. As also a short account of the most eminent painters, both ancient and modern ... By another hand [Richard Graham]. Lat & Eng.*, (London: (1695), 1716).

⁶¹⁵ H. Felton, *A Dissertation on Reading the Classics and Forming a Just Style, etc.*, (London: 1713).

⁶¹⁶ Ibid, pp133-134.

⁶¹⁷ See for example Campbell's descriptions of the Banqueting House (Vol. 1 plates 12-13), of Lindsey House (Vol. 1 plates 49-50), Covent Garden (Vol. 2 plates 20-22), Lowther House (Vol. 2 plates 78-80), and Houghton (Vol. 2 plates 27-34).

The process of analysing the composition of a Classical building can therefore be equated with scansion, a term originally applied to poetic analysis.⁶¹⁸ Analysis of the proportion and distribution of architectural elements and the discussion of ratio, metre etc., in texts from Vitruvius to Campbell focused upon aspects of Classical architecture which could be broken down and rationalised in the same way that scansion breaks down the basic components of verse. Consequently, Classical architecture was tied to a system of formal composition which lent itself to a way of reading the building critically, echoing the process of engagement with Classical authors recommended to gentlemen by writers such as Peacham. This process of reading a building reinforces Anderson's argument for the powerful textual experience of Classical architecture and highlights the importance of system and rule codified through publication.

Section 4.1a demonstrated that Classical discussion in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, although not consisting of a defined architectural programme, was rooted within authoritative texts. Its equation with other liberal arts such as poetry, drama, music and rhetoric, together with the rigorous formality of its rule-based system, helped to establish it as a dominant architectural style, and discussions and critiques of architectural form were conducted in Classical terms. However, while there has been an emphasis upon the division between *Palladianism* and the *Baroque* in twentieth century architectural discourse,⁶¹⁹ contemporary discourse did not relate to such specific stylistic categories. The Oxford English Dictionary identifies the first use of the term *Baroque* applied to the description of a 'florid' architectural style as in Fuseli's 1765 translation of Winckelmann,⁶²⁰ and the use of *Palladian* as an architectural term by Pope in his *Epistle to Lord Burlington* in 1731.⁶²¹ The only stylistic category commonly used from the twelfth century on was that of *Gothic*.⁶²² However, Smith has argued that there is little evidence of a systematic understanding of this term and that its usage was often not clearly differentiated from that of *Classical*.⁶²³ While Smith's research focuses upon the fifteenth century, seventeenth and eighteenth century texts appear to use *Gothick* to describe a licentious form of Classicism rather than an antithetical non-classical style. The differentiation is based upon departure from true Classical rules defined by Vitruvius, and framed as deviation from, rather than antithesis to, Classicism.

⁶¹⁸ 'Scansion is a method of examining verse foot by foot, of describing poetic rhythms through graphic notations for purposes of metrical analysis and study.' See A. Tzonis, L. Lefaivre, op cit, p171.

⁶¹⁹ See chapter 3

⁶²⁰ H. Fuseli, 1765, trans., H. J. Winckelmann, *Reflections on the Painting and Sculpture of the Greeks*, p122. Cited in J. A. Simpson, E. S. C. Weiner, *Oxford English Dictionary*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989).

⁶²¹ Ibid, p122

⁶²² Ibid, p122

Shaftesbury's criticism of Wren's 'Gothick' architecture in his *Letter Concerning the Art or Science of Design* refers to 'counterfeit pieces of magnificence' and 'deformity' that deviate from a true Vitruvian foundation.⁶²⁴ Other writers also defined Classicism in purely Vitruvian terms. Fréart, who encouraged invention in architecture and criticised the falsity of many revered models, referred to Vitruvius as 'Honest Vitruvius', thus grounding his first principles in that author's published system.⁶²⁵ Perrault contrasts with Fréart in asserting the pre-eminence of the Ancients, but shares the view of Vitruvius as the arbiter of judgement. This is echoed in both the title to *Vitruvius Britannicus* and his use of Vitruvius's principles as qualitative touchstone. The notices are clearly concerned with a formalist analysis structured around Classical principals centred within a dominant discourse of the Vitruvian Classical system. The criticism of Italian licentiousness in Campbell's introduction uses terms such as 'affected and licentious' to describe work such as Borromini's which is 'without proportion, [with] solids without their true bearings. Heaps of materials without strength, excessive ornament without Grace and the whole without symmetry'.⁶²⁶ Clearly, his view of licentiousness stems from the idea of varying without reason from the established system of Classical rule.

While architectural discourse was certainly dominated by Classical form and system, this was further divided into other more specific areas of discourse, including technical and practical aspects, general cultivation and encomium.

6.4 A Technical Discourse.

The formation of a technical discourse of architecture established through publication, and the codification and anchorage of this through the illustrated treatise, has already been considered. This discourse established publications as a medium through which individuals could receive a form of architectural education in terms of the study of examples of excellence. The instructive nature of these texts can be seen particularly in works by Serlio and de l'Orme. Section 4.1a demonstrated that Serlio presented architectural theory in the form of an illustrated manual, a practical demonstration of Vitruvian precepts presented in a clear format, concerned with the practical details of architecture rather than the abstract theoretical ideas that form the largest part of Alberti's work. The contrast between the two

⁶²³ C. Smith, *Architecture in the Culture of Early Humanism. Ethics, Aesthetics and Eloquence 1400-1470*, (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), p63.

⁶²⁴ The concept of deformity points to the acceptance of an established rule based criteria from which a design can deviate. For a discussion of the publishing history of Shaftesbury's *Letter* see 2.2 above

⁶²⁵ R. Fréart, *Parallele De L'Architecture Antique et de la Moderne*, (Paris: 1650), Preface p5.

⁶²⁶ C. Campbell, Vol. 1, 1715, Introduction.

can be seen in the fact that Serlio's text is structured around his discussion of individual buildings or designs, while Alberti only refers to buildings as part of a more abstract discussion. As such Serlio's work communicated Vitruvian theory on a more technical level. Similarly, the publications of Philibert de l'Orme emphasised a technical over theoretical discourse.⁶²⁷ In his *Premier tome* de l'Orme discussed the different spheres of activity of the patron, architect and workman. He suggested the idea of the architect as having specialist skills, arguing that patrons should employ architects rather than 'some master mason or master carpenter ... [or] some painter, some notary or some other person who is supposed to be qualified but more often than not has no better judgement than the patron himself'.⁶²⁸ Although his work draws upon the theory of Vitruvius, Alberti and Serlio, his image of the architect was grounded in the importance of practical experience as well as books.

Nevertheless, de l'Orme's essentially technical work does address patrons. Indeed works such as this did not just appeal to the artisan. Many writers on gentlemanly conduct encouraged the study of technical literature on architecture as a suitable education for the gentleman. This can be seen in Peacham's stress on having sufficient knowledge for 'afoording ... opinion in building anew, or [for] translating ...'.⁶²⁹ Such ideas are frequently expressed in publications addressed to the gentleman, for example Wotton's *Elements of Architecture* (1624). They offer brief guides to principles and practice, considered as a suitable area of knowledge for the gentleman to aid him in the administration of his estate, as well as to enhance his understanding of polite knowledge.

It can therefore be seen that there was a distinct practical or technical published discourse of architecture, grounded in Classicism but tied to practice rather than abstract conceptualisation. Such publications did not just appeal to the artisan but were also considered appropriate for the gentleman in forming a sound understanding of architecture suitable for his propertied situation. Clearly, the gentleman was expected to understand technical aspects of good architecture to assist him in building. This raises questions about the type and degree of involvement in building projects by owners. Certainly the number of references by Campbell to houses apparently built to the owner's designs highlights questions of involvement and authorship.⁶³⁰ However, the discussion above of the similarity of

⁶²⁷ P. Delorme, *L'Oeuvre de Philibert de L'Orme. Facsimile by Ridgewood*. (Paris: (1894 imprint of 1567 edition), 1964).

⁶²⁸ Ibid, Bk. 1 Fol. 6. De L'Orme's formation of the specific skills of the architect is significant. The OED cites the earliest usage of the term by Shute in 1563

⁶²⁹ H. Peacham, *op cit*, p77.

⁶³⁰ See for example, Wilberry built by William Benson, and Bramham by Robert Benson. Although it is important to note that these were noted for their architectural interests

architectural and textual scansion also points to the importance of criticism and judgement in the architectural understanding of the gentleman, and this was another distinct discourse, which drew upon wider issues of disinterest and fitness to rule.

6.5. A Critical Discourse

Social status and the cultivated generalist

The idea of disinterest and gentlemanly cultivation was rooted in social and economic concerns. The traditional basis of power in England had always been land, seen as an essential marker of status and fitness to rule.⁶³¹ At the crux of this was the notion that wealth invested in land freed a man from the low condition of earning money through his own labour, a point made by Peacham as early as 1634.⁶³²

‘whosoever labour for their livelihood and gaine have no share at all in Nobility or gentry ... The reason is, because their bodies are spent with labour and travaile if a Noble man, borne in captivity, or constrained through any other necessity, shall exercise any manuell occupation or Art, hee by the opinion of some, looseth his Nobility Civill, but not Christian, and shall at his returne be restored.’

Central to this view was the idea of disinterest which non-nobles could not share. Thus Defoe, writing in 1728 argued that a “scholastick education” or a “trade”, may so fix a man in a particular way, that he is not fit to judge of anything that lyes out of his way, and so his learning becomes a clog to his natural parts’.⁶³³ This view was still current in the mid century when Johnson observed that

‘Every occupation has its own “uncouth dialect” a “cast of talk” peculiar to itself, a particular “cant” or “jargon” which indicates that its members, have fixed their attention on the same events so long and to such a degree that they cannot easily understand whatever is out of the way of their own line of business ...’⁶³⁴

Johnson links the lack of a specific occupation with freedom from personal interest and, interestingly, lack of a specialist vocabulary. This enabled the gentleman to take a

⁶³¹ The importance of land as a constituent of power and authority can be seen in the significance attached to proprietorship of land in maps and prospects discussed in section 4.2c. It is further reinforced by the necessity of land ownership in order to qualify to sit in parliament. See for example P. Langford, *Public Life and the Propertied Englishman 1689-1798*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).

⁶³² H. Peacham, op cit, Ch 1, p12-13.

⁶³³ D. Defoe, c.1728a ed. K. Bullbring, *The Compleat English Gentleman*, (London: (1728) 1890), p216.

comprehensive, generalised view of affairs and so approach the kind of disinterested wisdom that Fielding had in mind when he remarked that 'to be bred a gentleman was to be bred up to do nothing: the wisdom of the learned man cometh by opportunity of leisure: and he that hath little business shall become wise'.⁶³⁵ In line with this thinking 'The Spectator' introduces himself in the first number, as 'born to a small Hereditary Estate, which according to the Tradition of the Village where it lies, was bounded by the same Hedges and Ditches in William the Conqueror's Time', the formulation is highly significant.⁶³⁶ Though small, his estate positioned him as a man of landed property, freeing him from reliance upon a profession and supporting him in the leisured life fundamental to his identity as a 'spectator', the disinterested observer of society.

However, the gentleman could not be allowed to do nothing, as this suggested idleness and a retreat from duty.⁶³⁷ The problem was summarised by Defoe who argued that gentlemen who did nothing were 'useless in their generacion, retreated from the State, because incapable to serv it'.⁶³⁸ It was a problem that had been central to the conception of the gentleman from the Middle Ages, and had translated into the idea of the active life. Poems such as Carew's *To My Friend GN from Wrest* (1639) illustrate the key themes associated with the active life of the gentleman landlord, including contemplation versus action, cultivation of the self, public service, and moral worth demonstrated through management of the estate; while Marvell's *Upon Appleton House* (c.1650-1652),⁶³⁹ addressed to Lord Fairfax on his retirement from the Civil War⁶⁴⁰ and discusses the values of the virtuous, active, military life and the specific circumstances under which retreat from it was to be justified. The latter alludes to an idea of action through military service formulated in the Middle Ages, still emphasised in the eighteenth century against the background of war with France. Thus, for example, Campbell's notice to Clivedon in Volume Two of *Vitruvius Britannicus* praises the Earl of Orkney, 'who after the dangerous Fatigues of thirty Campaigns ... with immortal Honour to

⁶³⁴ S. Johnson, *The Rambler*, No 99, 26 February 1751.

⁶³⁵ H. Fielding, *Tom Jones*, (Book VIII, London: A. Millar, 1749), Ch.viii.

⁶³⁶ *The Spectator*, No. 1, March 1st 1711.

⁶³⁷ See J. Barrell, *English Literature in History 1730-80. An Equal Wide Survey*, (London: Hutchinson, 1983), p38.

⁶³⁸ D. Defoe, 1728a op cit, p8.

⁶³⁹ These dates have been suggested by E. S. Donno, *The Complete Poems of Andrew Marvell*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985) p248

⁶⁴⁰ Two of the basic introductions to the genre of country house poetry are V. C. Kenny, *The Country-House Ethos in English Literature 1688-1750. Themes of Personal Retreat and National Expansion*, (New York and Sussex: St Martin's Press and The Harvester Press, 1984), and W. A. McClung, *The Country House in English Renaissance Poetry*, (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1977).

himself and Country, has now the Pleasure of this delightful Retreat, when the Business of his King and Country does not call for his Service'.⁶⁴¹

However, during the early eighteenth century, other aspects of the active life came to the fore, and the gentleman was increasingly 'put to work' to study 'the polite arts and sciences'.⁶⁴² This required that the gentleman should be as Steele put it 'principled in Religion, instructed in all the moral Virtues, and led through the whole Course of the polite Arts and Sciences'.⁶⁴³

The felt need for a gentleman to have a more active life was precipitated by the emergence of a new kind of merchant elite with a significant concentration of landed wealth that blurred the boundaries between land and commerce.⁶⁴⁴ Traditional landed estates were increasingly tied to new money, often through marriage alliances,⁶⁴⁵ consequently, they were no longer totally disinterested from political and economic concerns. The division was further confused by merchants and bankers investing in land. Defoe claimed during the 1720s to be able to name '500 great estates, within a hundred miles of London ... in the possession of citizens and tradesmen, purchased fairly by money raised in trade.'⁶⁴⁶ Commercial men such as Josiah Child, who bought Wanstead in 1673/4, and whose son Richard was ennobled, thus began to co-exist alongside the nobility. Richard Child was a subscriber to *Vitruvius Britannicus* and patron of Campbell. Other significant newly wealthy subscribers to *Vitruvius Britannicus* included the Duke of Chandos, Sir Theodore Janssen, and Gregory Page.⁶⁴⁷ All three of these invested extensively in land and building projects.

The broadening of such class distinctions was not always accepted. Although not strictly a 'new commercial man', Robert Benson of Bramham Park near Wetherby in Yorkshire had

⁶⁴¹ C. Campbell, Vol. 2, 1717, notice to plates 70-74.

⁶⁴² J. Barrell, op cit, p38.

⁶⁴³ *The Guardian* No 34, 20 April 1713

⁶⁴⁴ The effect of the South Sea Bubble in 1721 upon landowners demonstrates the extent to which the latter had proliferated in the first twenty years of the eighteenth century.

⁶⁴⁵ Defoe gives a long list of nobles who had formed alliances by marriage with families whose wealth was derived from commerce and banking.

⁶⁴⁶ D. Defoe, *A Plan of the English Commerce. Being a compleat prospect of the trade of this nation, as well the home trade as the foreign trade, etc.* [By D. Defoe], (London: Charles Rivington, 1728), pp83-4. Elsewhere he commented on their profusion in Essex and Surrey. See D. Defoe, *Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain*, Harmondsworth, Penguin, (1728) 1971), pp57, See also pp167-8, 177; D. Defoe, 1728a, op cit, p263.

⁶⁴⁷ Stutchbury has identified four patrician patrons out of 21 executed designs by Campbell and he identifies a further three of these as due to 'nouveau-riches': Sir Richard Child, Sir Theodore Janssen and Henry Hoare. 14 more were men who were at one time or another MPs and belonged to the lower strata of the land owning class. H. Stutchbury, *The Architecture of Colen Campbell*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1967), p19.

inherited an estate from his father, a lawyer, on which he built a new house in a grand architectural style. He was known for his keen interest in architecture, acting as one of the commissioners for the new churches, and was often consulted for architectural advice by his friends and associates.⁶⁴⁸ However, although welcomed socially among the aristocratic families in Yorkshire, he was described in a paper drawn up by Lord Raby entitled *Caractères de plusieurs Ministres de las cour Angleterre*, as wealthy, well connected through marriage and friendship to the peerage, but 'of no extraction. His father was an attorney and no great character for an honest man...' ⁶⁴⁹ In other words his personal connections, source of wealth, property and property development were considered of fundamental importance to the way his political career was perceived. When he was elevated to the House of Lords as Lord Bingley on July 21, 1713, Lord Berkeley of Stratton wrote to Lord Raby, stating that 'I am thinking of your mind about Benson. Every year that house receives some great blow that I am persuaded (sething aside my being a member of it) it is the interest of the publick to have its dignity kept up'.⁶⁵⁰ Although Benson was on friendly terms with the Strafford family, shared their political allegiances, and had married a daughter of Lord Guernsey, there was concern that Benson's elevation was unfitting to his own status. Clearly property and ancestry were important factors within the context of politics.

Nevertheless as men such as Benson, Child and Brydges were ennobled, the traditional concept of nobility became problematic. Indeed, the whole notion of division between nobility and trade was dismissed by Defoe writing in 1711 in *The Review*,⁶⁵¹ while in the 1720s he asserted in *The Tradesman* that 'trade is so far from being inconsistent with a gentleman that, in short, trade in England makes gentlemen, and has peopled the nation with gentlemen'.⁶⁵²

At the same time, ideas about property, fitness to rule and disinterest were also becoming deeply rooted in the developing notion of aesthetics and aesthetic taste. Men such as Benson, Child and Brydges succeeded in elevating themselves to nobility not just by assimilating

⁶⁴⁸ For example in the Strafford Papers there is evidence of Benson advising Raby on architectural matters and pressing him to employ a surveyor in his building of Stainborough. J. J. Cartwright, *The Wentworth Papers 1705-39 (selected from the private and family correspondence of Thomas Wentworth, Lord Raby, created in 1711, Earl of Stainborough)*, (London: Wyman and Sons, 1883), p84. See also T. R. Collick, 'The Patronage of Robert Benson', in *Architectural Review*, No. 138. 1965.

⁶⁴⁹ J. J. Cartwright, op cit, p133.

⁶⁵⁰ Ibid, p347. Wentworth expressed similar distaste at the elevation of Richard Child. Ibid, p203.

⁶⁵¹ 'Wretched Folly! Land despise Trade! and Trade set up against Land? - Can any Thing be more absurd? Is not Trade the Nurse of Land? And is not Land the Nourishment of Trade? Does not Land supply the Materials of Trade? And does not Trade enable the Land to supply these materials?' *The Review*, Vol. VIII No 16 1 May 1711.

⁶⁵² Quoted in P. Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance. Culture and Society in The Provincial Town 1660-1*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), p229.

themselves to a particular idea of political power through landed property, but also by conforming to an ideal of virtue and morality displayed publicly through 'polite' appearance, conversation and education.

Education of course had to be appropriate to the formation of the disinterested gentleman. Locke held that pedantry was a quality 'than which there is nothing less becoming a gentleman',⁶⁵³ and this appears to have been a widely held opinion. Chesterfield, who did in fact provide his son with a solid education, was careful to warn him that 'Great learning ... if not accompanied with sound judgement, frequently carries us into error, pride, and pedantry', and he urged him to 'Wear your learning, like your watch, in a private pocket: and do not merely pull it out and strike it merely to show you have one'.⁶⁵⁴ Popular opinion believed that pedantry was most likely following a period at university, and there are many published letters to young men entering or leaving university warning against it.⁶⁵⁵ In the *Spectator* No 362⁶⁵⁶ Steele wrote a letter supposedly contributed by a person who had spent most of his life with books, who 'by conversing generally with the dead grew almost unfit for the society of the living', and in his *Compleat Gentleman* Defoe distinguished between 'a schollar and a gentleman', the former 'a meer book-case ... a creature buried aliv in heaps of antients and moderns, full of tongues but no language', the latter 'a man of polite learning' who was 'a gentleman and what a gentleman should be'.⁶⁵⁷

Two distinct levels of knowledge were thus identified, one the 'technical' knowledge of the learned scholar and the other the polite knowledge of the gentleman. This distinction was constantly stressed. While accomplishment in subjects such as music and architecture was considered part of the education of a gentleman, these were always accompanied with reservations. An ability in musical performance, for example, might lead a gentleman to associate with vulgar and undesirable company such as professional performers.⁶⁵⁸ In terms

⁶⁵³ J. Locke, *Some thoughts concerning Education*, Ed. By J. W. & J. S. Yolton, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, (1693) 1989), p142.

⁶⁵⁴ P. M. Dobrée, *Letters of Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield*, (6 Vols., London, 1932), Vol 3 p1105-06, 1108.

⁶⁵⁵ For example R. Lingard, *A Letter of Advice to a Young Gentleman Leaving the University. Concerning his Behaviour and Conversation in the World*, (London, Printed for Benjamin Tooke... sold at the Ship in St Pauls Church-Yard, 1671).

⁶⁵⁶ April 25 1712.

⁶⁵⁷ D. Defoe, 1728a, op cit, p203. See also Anon, *The Gentlemans Library, Containing Rules for Conduct in all Parts of Life Written by a Gentleman*, (London: W. Mears and J. Browne, 1715).

⁶⁵⁸ Such qualifications can be found in a number of educational tracts of the time for J. Gailhard, *The Compleat Gentleman: Or Directions for the Education of Youth as to their Breeding at Home and Travelling Abroad. In Two Treaties*, (London: Printed by Tho. Newcomb for John Starkey, 1678), p52, Steele in *Spectator* no 230. J. L Costeker, op cit. 1732, *The Fine Gentleman or the Complete Education of a young Nobleman*, London, pp48-49, P. M. Dobrée, op cit, III, p1171 and IV, p1651, p1653

of architecture this distinction between polite and excessive knowledge is apparent in Chesterfield's criticisms of Lord Burlington. He instructs his son 'for the minute and mechanical parts of [architecture] leave them to masons, bricklayers and Lord Burlington; who has, to a certain degree, lessened himself by knowing them too well'.⁶⁵⁹ This is further reinforced by Shaftesbury's statement that 'I am persuaded that to be a virtuoso (so far as befits a gentleman) is a higher step towards the becoming a man of virtue and good sense than the being what in this age we call a scholar'.⁶⁶⁰

The relationship of *Vitruvius Britannicus* to the technical literature of architecture relates to this idea of polite knowledge. Although Vitruvius is fundamentally important in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Campbell does not go into detail on his principals and the same is true of Alberti and Palladio, to whom he also on occasion refers. Rather he assumes an acquaintance with these texts. The level of language throughout *Vitruvius Britannicus* is erudite without being technical. Campbell's aphoristic treatment of ideas from Renaissance theory reflects the importance of generalised knowledge within polite society, grounded as it was within the idea of disinterest and freedom from professional concerns, and expressed through an aversion to specialised or seemingly scholarly and pedantic jargon. For example in the notice for his Design for the Earl of Halifax Campbell observes that 'Here the Windows are placed at due Distance, and free from that bad Effect we so frequently see when they are crowded, which destroys that Repose and Appearance of Strength, so necessary in Architecture'.⁶⁶¹ Campbell assumes acquaintance with terminology but his use of it remains broad rather than grounded in specific technical details as can be seen in other examples discussed in section 4.2a. The similarity of many of Campbell's descriptions to those in other publications such as diaries and itineraries also points to the general context into which he inserts architecture. The broad terms of Campbell's evaluation are therefore important in suggesting another architectural discourse.

As the idea of the gentleman was problematised in this period, so new ways of articulating stratification needed to be found. Public representation through polite conduct, conversation and education became a significant marker of gentility. However, this in turn problematised the notion of what constituted the real gentleman as opposed to the gentleman-like. In the 1691 edition of his *New State of England*, Miège acknowledged that 'anyone that without a

⁶⁵⁹ J. Bradshaw, 1926, *The Letters of Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield*, (London: 1926), Vol. 1, p259, 17 Oct 1749.

⁶⁶⁰ Quoted in B. Denvir, *The Eighteenth Century. Art, Design and Society 1689-1789*, (New York and London: Longman, 1983), p10

⁶⁶¹ C. Campbell, Vol. 1, 1715, plates 28-30.

coat of arms, has either a liberal, or genteel education, that looks gentleman-like (whether he be so or not) and has wherewithal to live freely and handsomely, is by the courtesy of England usually called a gentleman'.⁶⁶² In the 1748 edition the notion of appearance as the criteria of gentility was explicitly stated: 'In short, the title of gentleman is commonly given in England to all that distinguish themselves from the common sort of people by a genteel dress and carriage, good education, learning, or an independent station.' Much now rested merely upon appearance. It is this concern with appearance that comes through in the periodical press in a focus on words, gestures, clothing, looks and glances, painting, theatrical performances, letter writing etc. Indeed, the very notion of the 'Spectator' frames the entire discourse around the idea of watching and studying the outward appearance and behaviour of others. Politeness began to play an important role in social definition.⁶⁶³ With the development of a system of appearances as a social marker, the ability for a gentleman to express himself appropriately gained in importance.

Central to the development and demonstration of appropriate knowledge was the idea of conversation as an essential element in the refinement of the gentleman. Steele wrote in the *Tatler* (No 21) that 'A Gentleman is a man of conversation'. By mid century Burgh stressed the importance of a gentleman gathering about him intelligent acquaintances 'with whom to converse freely ... without the trammels of systematic or academic rules'. He believed that a man would 'find more improvement, in a short time, from such a society, than from twenty years solitary study' and explicitly argued that 'talk over the subject with a set of intelligent men, is the best method for extending one's views of it.'⁶⁶⁴

Cultivated conversation, displaying politeness through manners, appropriate knowledge, urbane discourse and disinterest acted as a way of placing someone within the social hierarchy. Fundamental to this was the development of a critical discourse, played out in the public sphere, supported by publication. A distinct market for gentlemen's guides emerged, and the development of newspapers and the periodical press carrying articles on literary criticism, history, science and geography, and focusing upon subjects such as biography, religion and morality, created a new genre centred upon polite knowledge. Advertising in

⁶⁶² G. Miège, *The New State of England Under their Majesties K. William and Q. Mary. In Three Parts*, (London: Printed by HC for Jonathan Robinson, 1691), p226. Such sentiments were expressed by a number of writers. See also *The Tatler* no. 207, *The Spectator* Nos. 75, 202, *The Guardian* nos. 34, 137.

⁶⁶³ It could be argued that 'politeness' is as semantically transient as 'gentleman', however, I would argue that while it may not be defined too closely, there was a very real sense of what did and did not constitute 'the polite.' Klein's work is important in developing an understanding of this

⁶⁶⁴ J. Burgh, *Dignity of Human Nature*, (London: 1754), p166.

these publications was a further channel of communication for an increasingly commodified leisure industry.⁶⁶⁵

As well as the basic idea of comportment in company, the actual content of conversation was important. With the idea of disinterest increasingly aligned with polite conversation rather than just property, the capacity for judgement became significant. Taste or good judgement - critical discourse - was seen as a reflection of gentlemanly virtue and status, and hence as a defining characteristic in establishing social stratification. This was not seen as an innate talent but one that, like disinterest, needed to be cultivated through productive use of leisure time. This became a stock theme during this period. Steele described

‘the soul of man as the ruin of a glorious pile of building ... Virtue and wisdom are continually employed in clearing the ruins ... A happy education, conversation with the finest spirits, looking abroad into the works of nature, and observations upon mankind are the great assistance to this necessary and glorious work.’⁶⁶⁶

Much later writing in 1732, Costecker argued that

‘... the Advantages of Education in a lesser or superior Degree, not only gives [a gentleman] a particular and more judicious Notion of Men and Things, from the Improvement of his natural Genius, but likewise an Opportunity of daily refining his Sentiments, and strengthening his Judgement by his constant Experience in those of other Men, which are delivered much more naturally and easy in Conversation, than are generally found in all the Books in the World; and by reason the first are the Production of Nature refined by Study and Experience, and therefore Consequently what falls within a Man’s own Knowledge and Reason, must be a much stronger Argument for his Judgement to side with, than to rely on the fabulous Writings of Authors, which are often upon due Inspection found to be bypass’d either by Pasion or Interest.’⁶⁶⁷

Shaftesbury in his *Characteristicks* identified the capacity to judge by standards as primarily an aristocratic faculty. It demanded judgements that required disinterest gained by distance, and a specific ‘moral sense’ derived from virtue and synonymous with good breeding.⁶⁶⁸ Like Shaftesbury, Addison alluded to an idea of taste as reflecting moral authority and fitness to

⁶⁶⁵ P. Borsay, op cit, p130.

⁶⁶⁶ *The Tatler*, no. 87, 27-9 Oct, 1709.

⁶⁶⁷ J. L. Costecker, *The Fine Gentleman or the Complete Education of a young Nobleman*, (London: J. Roberts, 1732), pp6-7.

⁶⁶⁸ Becker has demonstrated the aesthetic dimension of Shaftesbury’s morality. ‘Just as art ceased to be defined as a skill and came to be viewed as a special form of sensibility, so too virtue became a taste for the beautiful, the decent, the just and the amicable’ M. B. Becker, *The Emergence of Civil Society in the Eighteenth Century. A Privileged Moment in the History of England, Scotland and France*,

rule. However, Shaftesbury's formulation was distinctly aristocratic while Addison demonstrates a subtle reorientation when in his essays on *The Pleasures of the Imagination* he emphasised the idea of 'landscapes of liberty', arguing that the mind naturally hates everything that looks like restraint. This emphasis on the unrestrained eye is couched within ideas of surveying and the representation of 'power in prospect',⁶⁶⁹ which links the idea of land ownership to the ability to step back and 'survey' a problem with disinterest. Crucially however, Addison refers to a 'greater satisfaction in the prospect of fields and meadows than ... in possession ... [which] gives [a man] a kind of property in everything he sees'.⁶⁷⁰ This fundamentally shifts the idea of disinterested observation away from physical ownership to a proprietorship through sight. In this way the capacity to 'view', to judge of the thing in an aestheticised sense, remains the crucial marker of status but is tied to taste without necessarily requiring ownership of land. Thus, the ability to demonstrate aesthetic judgement, which was also a demonstration of a capacity for disinterested judgement of political issues, became the touchstone of gentlemanly virtue.

Significantly, the idea that gentlemanly virtue can be defined through the appearance of skill in the 'polite arts' positioned politeness as a commodity. It was increasingly suggested that 'politeness' could be taught and learned. This required a process of codification and the formulation and explication of rules of polite discourse that would constrain people's unbridled fancy and enable them to conform to accepted standards of beauty.⁶⁷¹ The importance of rules of taste in the polite arts can be found in Shaftesbury's statement that

'as long as we enjoy a Mind, as long as we have Appetites and Sense, the Fancys of all kinds will be hard at work ... They must have their Field. The Question is, Whether they shall have it wholly to themselves; or whether they shall acknowledge some Controuler or Manager. If none, 'tis this, I fear, which

(Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1994), p44. This idea will be considered in sections 6.5 and 6.6 and also in section 6.9.

⁶⁶⁹ This has considerable resonance with my earlier discussion of mapping

⁶⁷⁰ *The Spectator*, 411, June 21st, 1712. It is interesting that Erskine-Hill has noted that in *To Bethel* Pope suggests that essential values can be fulfilled without the right of *Dominium*, possession, so long as 'the Use be mine'. H. Erskine-Hill, *The Social Milieu of Alexander Pope. Lives Example, and the Poetic Response*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1975), p314.

⁶⁷¹ I will consider this in greater detail in my discussion of critical discourse in the next section. Ideas of taste were also linked to nationalism as can be seen in Jonathan Richardson's comment that if understanding 'paintings and drawings were made part of the education of a gentleman ... the whole nation would, by these means be removed some degrees higher into the rational state, and make a more considerable figure amongst the polite nations of the world J. Richardson, *Two Discourses. I – An Essay on the whole Art of Criticism as it relates to Painting. II – An Argument on behalf of the Science of a Connoisseur*, (London, Printed for W. Churchill, 1719), Discourse II, p47. See also Shaftesbury's *Letter*

leads to madness ... For if FANCY be left Judg of any thing, she must be Judg of all. Every-thing is right, if anything be so, because I fancy it.'⁶⁷²

However, this posed a considerable threat. If taste could be learnt, anyone could acquire it. Shaftesbury's equivocation is clear. In principle beauty was a universal idea but in practice if all men could discern it, taste would not be effective as a marker of distinction.⁶⁷³

Texts such as that of Miège highlight the fact that through commodification, gentility could essentially be studied or bought and this was problematic for a traditional elite that favoured Shaftesbury's intellectual and aristocratic idea of politeness. Addison's *Essays on the Imagination* also demonstrate this equivocal stance, mediating between a 'democratic' vision and an idea of social exclusion. These papers suggest that taste is simply an ability to discern the 'beautiful', implying a learnt faculty. On the one hand Addison argues that 'It is but opening the Eye and the scene enters',⁶⁷⁴ and on the other 'A Man of Polite Imagination is let into a great many Pleasures that the vulgar are not as capable of recovering'.⁶⁷⁵ This illustrates the complexity of a binary process of social inclusion and exclusion which responded to the pressures of the mercantile elite: maintaining the general principal of fitness to rule, while enlarging the qualifications for such a privilege. Taste and judgement was one of the ways in which this could be effected but this was clearly not without difficulties.

Productive use of leisure time, particularly through reading and study, was therefore seen as a constituent of nobility in improving one's capabilities and in maximising potential for public good. Richardson wished that

'Would to God I could Persuade [gentlemen] ... to Manage Life well; to get Noble Ideas of the Supreme Being; to apply themselves to the Knowledge and Improvement of Useful and Excellent Arts; to impregnate their Minds with Pure, and Beautiful Images, and with the Sayings, and Actions of Men capable of reconciling us to Humane Nature ... ; together with a self-consciousness of not having Dishonour'd the Species themselves.'⁶⁷⁶

⁶⁷² Quoted in B. Dobrée, op cit, p329.

⁶⁷³ Chapter 6 explores the way in which *Vitruvius Britannicus* can be seen as part of the process of creating a set of standards

⁶⁷⁴ *The Spectator*, No 411, Saturday June 21st 1712.

⁶⁷⁵ *The Spectator*, No 411, Saturday June 21st 1712. Addison's differentiation has considerable echoes of Locke's discussion of judgement and wit. J. Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, ed. by A. S. Pringle-Pattison, (Oxford: Clarendon Press and Oxford University Press, 1924), p85, Chapter XI Of Discerning, and other Operations of the Mind

⁶⁷⁶ J. Richardson, op cit, II - *An Argument on behalf of the Science of a Connoisseur* p196.

The importance of productive and serious use of leisure time by the gentleman is fundamental to this statement. Related to this explicitly is the pleasure of 'connoissance' which Richardson saw as 'Virtuous and Useful'.⁶⁷⁷ A good taste and sound judgement were thus evidence of an active and virtuous life and a constituent of morality. Virtue was to be achieved through education. However, learning was not intended to take the form of a scholarly education which was, as I have noted, seen as the antithesis of that required of the gentleman. As Locke argued 'Reading, and writing and learning I allow to be necessary, but yet not the chief business'.⁶⁷⁸ Learning was only a means to an end. This, as summarised by Philpot, was to '... enlarge the Understanding, to form the Judgement; and Politeness [was] to finish the Character of a Gentleman; which [was] but ill supported without a due share of both'.⁶⁷⁹

Architecture as a subject of polite taste.

Architecture was seen as one area in which it was important for the gentleman to display good judgement. A century earlier, in *The Institution of a Young Nobleman* (1607), Cleland had argued that it was appropriate to know something of the principles of architecture. However, this was not intended to fit the gentleman for practice. Cleland's principle concern was with appropriate behaviour and with the gentleman's ability to look at a building 'in respect of itself' and 'in respect of the eye', enabling him to recognise its constituent parts.⁶⁸⁰ By the eighteenth century architecture was becoming an increasingly important aspect of gentlemanly learning, and a crucial aspect of this was the demonstration of architectural judgement. This was explicitly stated by Costecker who said of architecture

'[it] Is a delightful Recreation to a Nobleman; and, as few are without some stately Edifice or other belonging to themselves or Family, I cannot think it improper that he should be a compleat Judge of Building, since it has caused so great an Emulation among our present Nobility, which should be the most excellent.'⁶⁸¹

He highlights the importance of

'improving our Judgement; at least, to the forming of such Pieces as may possibly be much more suitable and agreeable to our own Taste and fancy than

⁶⁷⁷ Ibid, p197.

⁶⁷⁸ Quoted in G. C. Brauer Jr., *The Education of a Gentleman. Theories of Gentlemanly Education in England 1660-1775*, (New York: Bookman Associates, 1959), p20.

⁶⁷⁹ S. Philpot, *An Essay on the Advantage of a Polite Education joined with a Learned One*, (London: 1745), p.x.

⁶⁸⁰ Ibid, p91-92.

⁶⁸¹ J. L. Costecker, op cit, p48.

another could invent: Thus is he enabled to give admirable artificial Descriptions, and build according to his own Fancy.⁶⁸²

Costecker's ideas related to the management of the estate and improvements to the seat. However, the idea of architecture as a polite subject was also related to aesthetic judgement and had clear intellectual associations. Richardson indicates the value placed on subjects such as art by stressing the potentially civilising effects of the arts in 'the reformation of our manners, Improvement of our People, and Increase in our Wealth'.⁶⁸³ In his *Essay on the Whole Art of Criticism*⁶⁸⁴ he had argued that knowledge of the fine arts was an important requirement of the gentleman, and indeed that if understanding 'paintings and drawings were made part of the education of a gentleman ... the whole nation would, by these means be removed some degrees higher into the rational state, and make a more considerable figure amongst the polite nations of the world'.⁶⁸⁵ Although Richardson was himself a painter and his aim was to establish the status of his art and thus align himself to an idea of gentility, his ideas bring together views that were relevant during this period.

Costecker considered the ability to judge of good architecture to be a demonstration of a suitably 'active' life. Thus architecture as a valid activity also became a moral virtue. *Vitruvius Britannicus* operates within this framework in two ways. Firstly, the concept behind the publication relates to the idea that knowledge of architecture was important. Secondly, the discussions of patrons are couched within the idea that their virtue was reinforced through their knowledge of and support of architecture and the arts in general.⁶⁸⁶

The idea of architectural judgement was also tied to the capacity for rational argument and abstract thought. The significance of the idea of a 'science' of architecture, or of 'connoissance' as Richardson describes it, is in the process of reasoned judgement.

'These few plain Rules being thoroughly Comprehended, and remembred, which may be done with a tolerable Measure of Good Sense, a little Trouble in reading, and a good deal of Observation on nature, and Pictures, and Drawings of good Masters I will venture to say are sufficient to qualifie a Gentleman to be a good Judge in these Matters as being derived from, and evidently founded upon Reason; and tho' not destitute of Abundant Authority, yet neither Borrowed from thence, or at all trusting to that for their support.... Whatever Authorities there are for any Proposition Their Value Consists in their being derived from Reason and they weigh with Me in proportion as I see they do so;

⁶⁸² Ibid, p49.

⁶⁸³ J. Richardson, op cit, p62.

⁶⁸⁴ Ibid, *Discourse I*.

⁶⁸⁵ Ibid. *Discourse II*, p47.

⁶⁸⁶ See later discussion of encomium in section 6.6.

They then become My Own, and I have no occasion to produce the Author but the Reason ...'.⁶⁸⁷

The exercise of judgement or criticism was based on the recognition of the good and the beautiful. Architectural discourse, alongside other discourses related to aesthetics, functioned as a signifier of judgement. There were two elements to this: firstly the actual demonstration of aesthetic judgement - the systems for evaluation and criticism; and secondly, the language through which this was articulated, which was of fundamental importance in expressing polite, disinterested knowledge. One of the ways that this could be demonstrated was through conversation and the expression and exchange of ideas.

The idea of judgement had been important in architectural discourse from Vitruvius's work onwards. Howard has argued that it was a particularly important paradigm in Palladio's work and that 'the real value of the *Quattro Libri* is as a reflection of Palladio as a critic of his own work.'⁶⁸⁸ The same is true of *Vitruvius Britannicus* in which Campbell evaluates design elements. This is particularly true in his discussion of Jones's work:

'... the Piano Nobile, ... contains 6 Courts, that next the Park is an exact Square of 245 Foot of each Side are two Squares of 250 by 125, being 2 Squares. The Middle Court is next the River is 125 by 85, being a Diagonal; and the two Side-Courts this way are so proportioned, that the Length and Breadth are as 5 to 3. So that here is a variety of excellent Proportions, and all the Apartments are disposed either for State or Conveniency, those to the River being most proper for the Summer Season, and those to the Park for Winter, having the South-West Sun.'⁶⁸⁹

What was important was that Campbell could bring appropriate criteria to bear, upon which judgements could be formed at two levels. Firstly in respect of the elements of architectural design and secondly, - and significantly, - in terms of aesthetic evaluation. Many of the terms which he uses are broadly transferable adjectives focused upon effect. For example Campbell describes the Banqueting House as possessing 'Strength with Politeness, Ornament with Simplicity, Beauty with Majesty'.⁶⁹⁰ Throughout *Vitruvius Britannicus* Campbell uses terms such as *noble*, *lofty*, *spacious*, *commodious*, *handsome*, *rich*, *convenient*. These re-applications of terms from other discourses indicate the extent to which his notices are directed to a cultivated audience. However, beyond this they can also be understood as

⁶⁸⁷ J. Richardson, op cit, *Discourse II*, pp31-32.

⁶⁸⁸ D. Howard, 'Four Centuries of Literature on Palladio', in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. XXXIX, October 1980, p228.

⁶⁸⁹ C. Campbell, Vol. 2, 1717, plates 2-19, (Whitehall). See also his discussion of Gunnersby. 1715, plates 17-18.

⁶⁹⁰ C. Campbell, Vol. 1, 1715, plates 12-13.

offering examples of how to demonstrate architectural judgement using polite terms. For example his discussion of Eaton Hall relates the descriptive terms to design elements.

‘... the Offices and principal Story, ... [are] very Handsom and Commodious; in the Plan one may observe a great Regard to State and Conveniency, the Size of the Rooms being judiciously varied, and generally the Rules of Proportion are maintained in all the Apartments: In ... the Front of the House and Offices, the Corners are dress’d with Rusticks of a good Tast, and the Fabrick is crown’d with a Cupola.’⁶⁹¹

The text highlights areas of particular interest in the design and functions alongside the image by directing the reader to particular aspects of interest, and by encouraging analysis and scrutiny. By pointing out particular design elements and relating these to an aesthetic vocabulary, the text clearly relates to a polite critical discourse.

Thus one can see how, in critiquing designs in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Campbell specifically relates his discussions to the plates using a theoretical subtext that had already been well established and which is paired with the images to provide the reader with a frame of reference.⁶⁹² This then becomes a common frame, through which textual and verbal discussion of architectural design can be articulated. Thus, *Vitruvius Britannicus* acted as a further codification of the assessment of visual qualities according to principles already established. In terms of precedents it is clear that whereas Palladio and Serlio also referred the reader to their images, they emphasised technical virtuosity, while Campbell clearly highlights a more affective element.⁶⁹³

Another feature of Campbell’s critical approach is to use the idea of comparison. Such an approach is advocated by Gerard, Richardson and de Piles. For example, Gerard emphasised the value of comparison of forms in developing discrimination in taste,⁶⁹⁴ and also the importance of a ‘touchstone of excellence and depravity and the creation of a mental standard to aid judgement’,⁶⁹⁵ formed through the identification of classes and general rules which

⁶⁹¹ C. Campbell, Vol. 2, 1717, plates 35-36.

⁶⁹² In this way he differs to Vasari’s textual approach. However, as we have seen his use of images is not the same as that made by Serlio and Palladio

⁶⁹³ For a discussion of the extent to which Serlio does use affective language J. Onions, *Bearers of Meaning: The Classical Orders in Antiquity, the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

⁶⁹⁴ A. Gerard *An essay on Taste. With Three Dissertations on the same Subject By Mr De Voltaire, Mr D’Alembert, Mr De Montesquieu*, (London: A Millar, 1759).

⁶⁹⁵ *Ibid*, p130 .

governed taste.⁶⁹⁶ This process of visual analysis instructed through example was part of what Richardson termed 'The Science of a Connoisseur'.⁶⁹⁷

'To judge of the Goodness of a Picture, Drawing, or Print, 'tis necessary to establish to our Selves a System of Rules to be apply'd to that we intend to give a Judgement of; These give such judgement wou'd have been directed by had he been to have Made, what now he is to Judg of. And these Rules must be our Own; whether as being the result of our Own Study, and Observation, and Drawn up, and Compos'd by Us; Or by some Other and Examin'd and approv'd by us.'⁶⁹⁸

Richardson believed that one could learn to look at reality through representations of it, and that such representations were a valid system for learning to appreciate and evaluate. Like Gerard he stressed the idea of refining taste through the study of examples and through a system of instruction. The instructive value of *Vitruvius Britannicus* stemmed from its status as a collection of images paired with a system of description and designation. The value placed upon such a collection of images as a way of instructing architectural judgement depended upon the perception that prints were suitable substitutes for actual experience. De Piles specifically argued that one of the good effects of prints was that they could 'represent absent and distant Things ... as if they were there before our Eyes.' When travelling one can only experience one house at a time, whereas a collection of prints would enable one to practise the exercise of judgement through comparison. The significance of this lies in the emphasis on the value of publication as a means of providing the anthology of examples so vital to forming a sound judgement.

Both Gerard and Richardson owe much to Locke's considerations of 'Discerning, and the Operations of the Mind'. Locke considered the essential difference between wit and judgement, arguing that '... judgement ... lies ... in separating carefully one from another ideas wherein can be found the least difference, thereby ... avoid[ing] being misled by similitude'.⁶⁹⁹ *Vitruvius Britannicus* can be seen as aiding this process of judgement, by suggesting a comparative visual reference through which to evaluate and discuss different examples of architecture, and therefore judge of them. Locke also emphasises the value of

⁶⁹⁶ Ibid, p182.

⁶⁹⁷ The use of the term science here is applied in the context of a broader understanding of system and truth applied across a range of subjects rather than in the context of a Twentieth century interpretation of a specific scientific discipline differentiated from that of the arts.

⁶⁹⁸ J. Richardson, op cit, *Discourse II*, p26. The importance of comparative judgement was also emphasised in *The Spectator* (No 409): '...A man of a fine taste in writing will discern, after the same manner, not only the general beauties and imperfections of an author, but discover the several ways of thinking and expressing himself, which diversify him from all other authors, with the several foreign infusions of thought and language, and the particular authors from whom they are borrowed.'

comparing, compounding and enlarging as a means to gain judgement and therefore knowledge, and it can be seen that these processes apply to the use of text and image in *Vitruvius Britannicus*.

There is another way however in which Campbell's approach seems to draw on contemporary thinking on the formulation of ideas and this relates to Locke's notion of complex ideas formed from combinations of simple ones. Locke argues that '... Ideas thus made up of several simple ones put together I call 'complex'; such as are beauty, gratitude ... the universe; which, though complicated of various simple ideas or complex ideas made up of simple ones, yet are, when the mind pleases, considered each by itself as one entire thing, and signified by one name'.⁷⁰⁰ In similar vein, in *Vitruvius Britannicus* Campbell draws upon combinations of simple ideas, such as the individual architectural elements and, through his descriptions, forms more complex ideas such as convenience, beauty, liberality and virtue. Locke identifies terms such as glory, ambition, and beauty as 'mixed modes' and argues that 'Because their being no species of these ordinarily taken notice of but what have names; and those species, or rather their essences, being abstract, complex ideas made arbitrarily by the mind, it is convenient, if not necessary, to know the names before one endeavours to frame these complex ideas'.⁷⁰¹ This is significant in the implicit need to fix such concepts and the potential value of nomination and designation through publication in establishing not only a vocabulary but also a set of intellectual concepts to aid judgement. This process reinforces Baxandall's notion of the focus upon effect in criticism and can be seen to ground Campbell's descriptions firmly within a critical framework.

Judgement and taste were thus subjects that could be taught through texts and as such were commodified. *Vitruvius Britannicus* tapped into the demand for instruction by providing a 'guide to architectural taste' which could be used within the context of polite conversation.⁷⁰² Despite Campbell's claim that plates from *Vitruvius Britannicus* were 'framed up for furniture',⁷⁰³ many remained bound and were not cut up. They were thus located together with

⁶⁹⁹ Locke, 1924, op cit, p85.

⁷⁰⁰ Ibid, p92.

⁷⁰¹ Ibid, p241.

⁷⁰² In an essay entitled 'Critical Factors in Literacy Development' *Literacy, Society and Schooling*, ed. by S. de Castell, A. Luke, and K. Egan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp209-229) Heath suggested that it is not merely talk about things, but talk about written sources, that may be important. She highlights the importance of the existence of institutional settings 'in which knowledge gained from written materials can be repeatedly talked about, interpreted and extended' (p211). This provides a model for the way in which publications such as *Vitruvius Britannicus* functioned in polite architectural discourse, and points to the importance of a firm base in publication in establishing discourse

⁷⁰³ Advertisement for Volume Two in the *Daily Courant* of 30 March, 1717.

their associated texts in the study or library, as artefacts to be used in the productive use of leisure time. Additionally, they also lent themselves to being consulted by groups of people, thus being directly inserted into conversation, criticism and evaluation. As such they fulfilled a highly significant role in the formation and demonstration of judgement, in the codification of the language of polite architectural discourse, and as offering to the aspiring the means of acquiring gentleman-like conversation.

In this way *Vitruvius Britannicus* reflects the commodification of leisure and criticism in the emergent public sphere.⁷⁰⁴ Habermas has argued that the conversion of culture into a commodity was part of the same process that established the idea of a public.⁷⁰⁵ While culture became a commodity for the private individual, it also became cultural property defined through public discussion.

For a discursive commodity to function effectively as a point of contact between the individual and his outward looking orientation towards a public audience, it needed to be effectively verbalised within a speech community. Consequently, the development of an appropriate critical, aesthetic, and architectural language was vital in creating forms of verbalisation that enabled a commodity such as architecture (or even *Vitruvius Britannicus* itself) to be discussed and consequently legitimated as 'culture'. This created a community of common cultural recognition that was played out against a background of increased importance of appearance as a means of judging social standing. Given the importance of shared conceptual and linguistic models in the definition of collective identities, it is possible to see how the popularisation of a shared set of critical values would lend itself to the practice of polite conversation and the processes of inclusion and exclusion fundamental to social stratification. In this way *Vitruvius Britannicus* can be inserted into a network of discourses based around polite consumption and so demonstrate the function of publication in developing a common discourse centred upon the creation of social identities.

⁷⁰⁴ Eagleton reiterates Hohendahl's observation that 'In the age of Enlightenment the concept of criticism cannot be separated from the institution of the public sphere. Every judgement is designed to be directed toward a public; communication with the reader is an integral part of the system. Through its relationship with the reading public, critical reflection loses its private character. Criticism opens itself to debate, it attempts to convince, it invites contradiction. It becomes part of the public exchange of opinions'. T. Eagleton, *The Function of Criticism. From the Spectator to Post-Structuralism*, (New York and London: Verso, 1994), p10. Related to this is Marvin Becker's observation that in the Eighteenth Century 'Greater responsiveness to general opinion was evidenced in the avid desire of individuals to express good taste in all things from art to music to table to furnishings. The very science of aesthetics was systematised at this time'. M. Becker, op cit, p.xix.

⁷⁰⁵ J. Habermas, Trans. T. Burger, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere. An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, (Cambridge: Blackwell and Polity Press, 1992), p37, p50.

The composition of the subscribers' list to *Vitruvius Britannicus* is significant in demonstrating that the publication appealed to wealthy and influential people with widespread interests in gentlemanly subjects.⁷⁰⁶ It was not just the subject matter that was important but also approach. Gentlemen needed to demonstrate polite learning and knowledge through conversation in the public sphere. In architecture in particular, conversation remained separated from practical concerns, and focused upon a more rationalised and cerebral consideration of architectural principles appropriate to the gentleman of leisure.

The extensive theoretical subtext for architecture established through publications produced during and after the Renaissance was considered in Chapter 4, which demonstrated that the subject was emerging as a discipline related to systems of publication. Additionally, architectural prints had brought images of architecture into the domain of the gentleman's library, making them a suitable item to collect and to discuss. Such discussion needed to be grounded within a set of standards by which learning could be demonstrated and judged. Classification and criticism became increasingly important and with it a system of arrangement and designation. *Vitruvius Britannicus* drew upon these 'scientific' ideas of system, designation, and description. The didactic function of the images was to illustrate not practical or technical information, but instead an intellectualised idea of architecture.⁷⁰⁷ This related to the increasingly sophisticated activity of 'reading' architecture. A 'scientific' system of representation such as the orthogonal reinforced this, placing architecture within an intellectual, scientific and mathematical world view, which emphasised nomination and categorisation. Such processes enabled the formation of a particularised discourse which gave architecture and architectural publication an authority and set of referents which were of particular relevance to the type of subscribers to *Vitruvius Britannicus* outlined in 2.3.

The combination of print and text in *Vitruvius Britannicus* was crucial to the development of an ability to communicate polite knowledge and so establish oneself within a network of cognoscenti. In architecture in particular the ability to actively and consciously read an image

⁷⁰⁶ These include men such as the Evelyn Pierrepont Duke of Kingston, William Cowper Earl of Cowper, John Perceval Earl of Egmont, Hans Sloane, and John Warburton.

⁷⁰⁷ The semantic reference to the Roman author Vitruvius may have a relationship to the ideas discussed in this chapter. Vitruvius believed that an art consisted not only in the technical skill required for its proper execution, but also in abstract knowledge based upon rational principles which could be 'set forth and explained' in words. (Vitruvius Book I chaps 1, 15) Alberti too had argued for the idea of architecture as 'scientia', grounded in mathematical principles and universal rules which justified his assertion of it as a noble undertaking. Gadol has observed that Alberti placed architecture among the pursuits that yield disinterested knowledge rather than those which yield utility. (Bk 9 Ch 10, 1:9, 6:4,

or a building is crucial. The idea of *reading*, i.e. scrutinising rather than seeing, is central to visual literacy.⁷⁰⁸ This framework of scrutiny is fundamental to the way in which text and image worked together in *Vitruvius Britannicus* where one did not just 'look' at the plates on a general level, but had attention directed to specific individual parts through the text. *Vitruvius Britannicus* used the diagrammatic image to teach the reader to look, and the text as a directive to focus sight into scrutiny. In turn it also equipped the reader with the capacity to verbalise what they had focused on, thus becoming a circular process. Baxandall has shown that literacy impacts upon cognition through the acquisition of concepts by which the process of thinking about an object becomes structured around particular systems of thought.⁷⁰⁹ The process of scrutiny of the plates in *Vitruvius Britannicus* is part of this process of visual analysis paired with a structured system of concepts, reinforcing Baxandall's conclusion that available linguistic terms and concepts become a structuring principal in the way we engage with objects.

Tying image to text created the ability to transfer visual information into a textual or verbal format thus leading to the creation of a totally new kind of discourse based on appreciation and a newly aestheticised outlook. This moved on from the use of the image in Serlio and Palladio, which was grounded in practical instruction rather than general aesthetic evaluation. In *Vitruvius Britannicus* the text functioned as a process of instruction in how to look at a building and verbalise judgements. It demonstrated a process of descriptive criticism based on Vitruvian rules that differed fundamentally from the prescriptive quality of the criticism in Serlio. It equipped the reader with the concepts and tools with which to talk about a building, which were further strengthened through conversation.

This shifting of the analysis of the design towards an affective assessment is key to understanding *Vitruvius Britannicus* and Campbell's intentions. In the Introduction to the first volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus* there is a clear reference to the value which Campbell places upon architectural judgement. He argues that 'We travel for the most part, at an Age more apt to be imposed upon by the ignorance or partiality of others, than to *judge truly of the merit of things by the strength of reason*' (my italics).⁷¹⁰ He clearly valued the ability to make judgements about architecture based upon a reasoned consideration. This implies the coexistence of authoritative criteria through which to recognise and judge architectural

9:8, 10:1) (J. Gadol, *Leon Battista Alberti. Universal Man of the Early Renaissance*, (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1969), p134.)

⁷⁰⁸ R. Arnheim, *Art and Visual Perception. A Psychology of the Creative Eye*, (London: Faber and Faber, 1969), p. vi, p33.

⁷⁰⁹ M. Baxandall, 1971, op cit.

quality. Such a system would inevitably depend upon the arrangement, designation and classification of architectural form and design quality. To judge architecture through the strength of reason would require familiarity with this system and an ability to recognise and categorise architectural form within it. *Vitruvius Britannicus* provides just such a system. Later in the introduction Campbell points to the way in which the publication can be used.

‘Let the Banqueting House, those excellent pieces at Greenwich, ... *be carefully examined*; and I doubt not, but an *impartial judge* will find in them all the *regularity* of the former, with an addition of *beauty* and *majesty*, ... and *when the plans he has given for Whitehall ... are carefully examined into*, I believe all mankind will agree with me that there is no Palace in the world to rival it.’ (My Italics)⁷¹¹

For Campbell, part of the value of the publication lies in its instructive nature, and he quite clearly states that the images should be closely studied. He places great emphasis upon the idea of a touchstone of architectural quality that can be used by the neutral observer. He also demonstrates a particular use of language through which architectural quality can be verbalised and virtuosity and judgement demonstrated. Campbell demonstrates throughout the volumes of *Vitruvius Britannicus* how such a system of reasoned judgement can be applied using his texts as an aid to the examination of the images. For example Campbell systematically points to design elements in the plates, consistently highlighting aspects such as proportions, windows, and entrances, suggesting a system for examining a building which can be seen in the following examples.

‘... In the first are two Plans in a Square of 112 Foot; the Apartments of State are below, raised from the Court by 6 Steps which leads into the great Hall, making a Cube of 50 Foot, and has a Poggio within dividing the two Stories; from the Hall you enter the Salon, attended with two noble Apartments of State fronting the Gardens; all the Rooms are either upon the Square, the Diagonal, or other Proportions universally received: In the second Story is a large Library, an Antichamber of each Side, with double Apartments; over which are Mezonins, for accommodating the Family, illuminated by low Lanterns from the Leads, whereby the Majesty of the Front is preserved from the ill Effect of crowded Apertures. the Second is the Front, raised from the Plinth which supports the Rusticks, adorned with a Composite Order of 3/4 columns with a regular Entablature and Ballustrade; the Windows are dress’d in the Palladian manner ...’⁷¹²

‘... the first is the Plan of the principal Story, extending 300 Foot and 150 deep, raised from the Court by 6 Steps which leads into a noble Hall, Tribune and Salon, with double Apartments of State to the Gardens: The same Apartments

⁷¹⁰ C. Campbell, Vol. 1, 1715, Introduction.

⁷¹¹ Ibid, Introduction. Folio 2.

⁷¹² Ibid. plates 19 & 20.

are repeated to the great Court; and the whole Plan is closed with a large Gallery in one End and a Chappel, library and great Stair-Case in the other: What is of Distinction in this Disposition, is that the Bed-Chambers are removed from interrupting the grand Visto, and still the State is preserved in entering them when necessary; which I have not yet observed in any former Design. The Second is the Front where a large Rustico supports a Loggio with 3/4 columns of the Corinthian Order: Here the Windows are placed at due Distance ...'.⁷¹³

In addition to highlighting consistent elements of design in order to form a reasoned judgement, Campbell also emphasises measurement. Throughout his notices he refers to the measurements of rooms, demonstrating the importance of proportion in his design criticism. This is in common with many other architectural writings and reflects the importance of proportion and system within a Classical aesthetic. It is a significant factor in the illustrations themselves, in which the proportions of the rooms in plan, and the proportions of the facade in elevation, are emphasised through the use of orthogonal projection. Thus the formal Classical elements can be considered in the full knowledge that proportion and measurement have not been distorted by the method of representation. Moreover, the images are stripped of anything which might detract from the pure form and design elements, lending them to a system of criticism and instruction. Indeed the entire emphasis upon individual elements and upon measurement points to an understanding of a building which can be distinguished from that based upon architectural experience, and relates to the textual and formal basis of the Classical aesthetic. This is an abstracted, rationalised and highly systematic appreciation which is entirely cerebral and located in an intellectualised rather than corporeal sphere.⁷¹⁴

The series of architectural illustrations in *Vitruvius Britannicus* thus form part of a system of architectural judgement, developed through the use of arrangement, criticism and designation and demonstrated by example through Campbell's text. These stand independently of actual buildings. They are intended to communicate design information rather than suggest pictorial accuracy. Indeed Campbell makes no attempt at pictorial representation. This is apparent in his notice for plates 3 and 4 of St Paul's Church in Volume One, in which he says he has '... omitted the Rusticks and fluting the Columns in both orders, to avoid the Confusion of so many lines in so small a Scale'.⁷¹⁵ This is not an isolated case and highlights the instructive value of the plates. Like Serlio Campbell privileges the didactic quality of his images, but he ties his more rigorously to judgement and to an intellectual rather than practical critique of

⁷¹³ Ibid, 1715. plates 28 - 30. See also Volume 1, 1715. plates 53 & 54, Volume 1 1715, plates 23 - 27, and Volume 3 1725, plates 47 & 48.

⁷¹⁴ It is however, interesting that unlike Palladio Campbell rarely notes measurements upon the plates themselves. See discussion of the aesthetic quality of the plates in section 4.1.

⁷¹⁵ C. Campbell, Vol. 1, 1715, plates 3 & 4.

the design process. The images move away from ideas of mimesis and connection with an original towards ideas of communication and standardisation, echoing the developments in the field of botany discussed in 4.2b. *Vitruvius Britannicus* treated architecture 'scientifically', in the sense that it was concerned with the establishment of systems of visual analysis and the provision and codification of language to enable judgement and discussion of design quality. As in other fields it demonstrates a concern with developing accurate and standardised systems of representation which communicate clear, abstracted knowledge about significant details, tied to a technical language. This technical language is not necessarily based within practice, but is a theoretical language that established architecture as an intellectual discipline with its own theoretical subtext, and its own systems for evaluation and criticism. It was through such systems that knowledge could be demonstrated in the public sphere occupied by the enlightened virtuoso.

The form of Campbell's language is significant in being erudite rather than technical. His aphoristic treatment of Renaissance theory is important in the context of a consideration of discourse. Aphorisms are used as summaries of a topic and are usually intended to be quotable. Although in practice the notices in *Vitruvius Britannicus* are certainly not quotable in their entirety, the language of description and evaluation of principal architectural features, as well as the general phraseology, is clearly intended to be re-used in other appropriate situations. Moreover, the form of Campbell's text lent itself to strategies for learning, strengthening its instructive value. Thus *Vitruvius Britannicus* can be seen as occupying an anthological role in terms of architectural design. Indeed its relationship to the body of Renaissance theory discussed in 4.1a reflects the technique of aphorism, similar in approach to the process of abridgement.

The advantages of this technique were outlined by Perrault in his abridgement of Vitruvius.

'... in abridging Vitruvius the matters which this Author treats of confusedly should be put into order, and that the things belonging to the same Subject, which are found dispersed in divers places, should be collected together into one Chapter. This Method, which the most part of the eminent Writers have neglected, has been carefully observed in this Treatise, it serving very much better apprehension and retaining the things treated of'⁷¹⁶

Perrault saw abridgement as a tool for learning key principles. On a similar level Campbell's notices take the form of epitomes in terms of a concise summation of the more complex

principles tackled in detail in other texts. The use of epitome as a system of annotation was a common reading strategy often used to serve a mnemonic function. It is significant that unlike copies of Palladio's *Quattro Libri*, copies of *Vitruvius Britannicus* do not appear to have been annotated. This could be seen as evidence that the latter text was already seen as occupying this role in relation to other texts. However, although *Vitruvius Britannicus* drew heavily on the theoretical subtext of continental texts it did not just reiterate them as had earlier British architectural books. Instead it built on Vitruvian rules but expressed them in a relatively simple way, tied to a series of architectural examples discussed in easy language. This reduction of difficult theory to basic example and rules that are also expressed through diagrammatic form is a strategy often used to consolidate reading and to commit an idea to memory. This could point to one of the ways *Vitruvius Britannicus* functioned in relation to the more complex body of architectural texts available, and how it might be used to consolidate and illustrate the concepts which the reader would need to understand to demonstrate architectural knowledge. It was part of the process by which the vocabulary of architecture was codified and communicated to the reader.

A publication such as *Vitruvius Britannicus* thus fits in well with the idea of a paper world, the creation of a public store of knowledge. The transmission of knowledge through print relates to what Popper has identified as the world of objective knowledge,⁷¹⁷ consisting of the theories and models we use to think with. *Vitruvius Britannicus* became a means of ordering experience of both the representation and the original, and a model for criticism. Printed images and publications were an important factor in the creation of this public store of visual knowledge, which became central to the idea of culture as a commodity and the creation of a market for its consumption. Once a collection of prints entered circulation, whether in the usual format strung together for print collectors or bound in volumes, as in the case of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, the prints functioned on a dual level - that of being an object of consumption but also of suggesting another network of consumable aspects of culture such as paintings or architecture which could be discussed in polite society.

⁷¹⁶ C. Perrault, *An Abridgement of the Architecture of Vitruvius. Containing a System of the whole works of that Author*, (London: Printed for Abel Swall and T. Child at the Unicorn in St Paul's Church-yard, 1692), Unpaginated preface.

⁷¹⁷ K. Popper, *The Poverty of Historicism*, (London: Ark, (1957) 1986).

6.6. A Discourse of Praise

Baxandall has observed that art criticism is usually epideictic, that is it emphasises value and takes the form of praise.⁷¹⁸ Many of Campbell's descriptions in *Vitruvius Britannicus* see the building as a demonstration of the virtue of the owner. Throughout there is a clear description of the praiseworthy characteristics of the gentlemen. The key aspects of gentlemanly virtue were summarised in Waterhouse's *Gentleman's Manual* (1665) in which he called for 'frugality', 'callings of imployment and income', and 'impleyment of the mind', all of which could be demonstrated on one level through architecture and the estate. Thus, in *Vitruvius Britannicus* Campbell uses architecture as a code for other aspects of gentlemanly virtue such as frugality, use of riches, liberality, judgement, service, and management. I have argued that demonstration of judgement and disinterest were important signifiers of the status of gentleman. Related to this was the increased focus upon architecture and other aspects of aesthetics as suitable subjects for discourse. Architecture was seen as an important element in the gentleman's education on a dual level. Firstly, on the practical level of the administration of the estate, and secondly on an intellectual level of polite understanding and critical capacity. Consequently, systems of praise related to architecture focused on both of these and their relation to virtue – firstly, demonstration of virtue through the productive use of leisure time, and secondly, good estate management and stewardship. Both of these systems of praise can be traced in the notices and dedications in *Vitruvius Britannicus*.

The idea of what constituted the gentleman was an important area of discussion, fundamental to which was the idea of virtue expressed through the right use of life and possessions, themes which were also central to an established epideictic literary tradition of ethical views on conduct. Descriptions of estates and gardens can be found in the Classical poetry of Martial, Juvenal, Horace, and Virgil, and these had considerable impact upon poetic subjects and forms from the Renaissance. Fowler has identified a particular tradition of such descriptions in the Netherlands, known as the *hofdicht* (garden- or court-piece), which includes the tour of the garden and estate; visit to the house; prospect; and praise of the collections and curiosities.⁷¹⁹ Hibbard,⁷²⁰ identified the principal objects of praise in country house poetry as buildings and grounds, gardens, fields and meadows, the master's virtue, charity and hospitality. Within this, consistent themes include martial qualities, property,

⁷¹⁸ M. Baxandall, 1971, op cit, p45.

⁷¹⁹ A. Fowler, *The Country House Poem. A Cabinet of Seventeenth Century Estate Poems and Related Items*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press: 1994), p8.

⁷²⁰ G. R. Hibbard, 'The Country House Poem of the seventeenth century', in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, xix, N^os. 1-2, 1956, pp159-74.

hospitality, patronage, and display. These subject areas can be clearly identified in the descriptions of houses and patrons in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, and relate fundamentally to the ideas of gentlemanly virtue.⁷²¹ They represent the traditional virtues of frugality and hospitality, and service to the state, integrated with contemporary priorities of taste, judgement, and patronage.

The relationship between virtue and nobility had always been a central area of discussion. Peacham had acknowledged that ‘... if hee that is ignoble and inglorious, may acquire Nobility by Vertue: the other may very well lose it by his Vice’.⁷²² There was a consistent belief that without virtue a man was at best an imperfect gentleman. Panton described a gentleman’s ‘virtue as superior to his blood as the soul was to the body’.⁷²³ In the late 1720s Defoe argued that ‘virtue, learning, a liberal education, and a degree of natural and acquired knowledge, are necessary to finish the born gentleman ... without them the entitled heir will be but the shadow of a gentleman’.⁷²⁴ In 1731 the *Weekly Register* declared ‘that no one can be properly styled a gentleman who does not take every opportunity to enrich his own capacity and settle the elements of taste’.⁷²⁵ While the question of whether virtue alone could raise a man to the nobility may have been contentious, there appeared to be a general consensus that virtue remained the most essential qualification of true gentility.

Virtue was conceived of as a moral choice articulated within a civic context. It was in essence the idea of public good over private benefit: ‘... no man cometh into this world either to be idle, or follow and enjoy only his own pleasure or humour ... Every man is to have some laborious employment, either of body or mind, which is to be his calling, and of which he is to render a strict and severe account.’⁷²⁶ Accordingly, persons of quality in particular were to ‘make all the advantage they [could] for bettering themselves and others by their riches ... [they needed to] ... provide for the poor, ... [and] for public and magnificent works ...’,⁷²⁷

‘But besides they must not forget themselves also to be private: But let their public business be what it will; they will and must have some time to

⁷²¹ However, while the traditional poem was principally concerned with the country house and estate. Campbell’s ideas of virtue are equally applied to the owners of country houses and the town houses depicted in *Vitruvius Britannicus*

⁷²² H. Peacham, op cit, p9.

⁷²³ E. Panton, *Speculum Juventutis*, (London: 1671), pp3-4.

⁷²⁴ D. Defoe, 1728a, op cit, p5. p24.

⁷²⁵ 6 Feb 1731, quoted in B. Denvir, op cit, p63.

⁷²⁶ Anon, *Of Education, Especially of Young Gentlemen in TWO PARTS*, The Fifth Impression, Oxford, Printed at the Theater for Amos Curteyne 1687, p31

⁷²⁷ Ibid, p33.

themselves also to bestow on their particular Inclinations ... that is best employed which is set upon ingenious studies; especially such as are beneficial and advantageous to the Public; or such as poorer persons are not able to support. Such are the Historie of his own or other Countrys, search of Antiquity, and Languages, Natural History, and experiments; Medicin; observations; Mechanics, and the Like; ... But heed must be taken least those be made the principal, which should only be the accessories and divertisements.’⁷²⁸

This idea is exemplified in Thomson’s epistle *The Happy Man*.⁷²⁹

‘Where Judgement sits clear-sighted, and surveys/ The Chain of Reason with unerring Gaze;/ Where Fancy lives, and to the bright’ning Eyes/ Bids fairer Scenes, and bolder Figures rise;/ Where social Love exerts her soft Command/ And lays the Passions with a tender hand,/ Whence every Virtue flows, in rival Strife,/ And all the moral Harmony of Life’

The happy status of its subject, George Dodington, a subscriber to *Vitruvius Britannicus*, whose house is depicted, is clearly ascribed to the active use of his mind. Additionally, the idea of surveying a ‘chain of reason’ alluded to a notion of the disinterested view of the whole, which relates fundamentally to the ideas of cultivation, disinterest and fitness to rule discussed in 6.5. These ideas were frequently couched in demonstrable aspects of virtue such as sound judgement on polite subjects, as in Richardson’s argument of the value to the gentleman of being a connoisseur.

In 1730 Gratian described the character of a complete gentleman as consisting of ‘Good natural Parts well cultivated with Literature, a Genius, a true Taste, a good discerning Faculty, a Knowledge of the World, good Nature, good Breeding and Virtue’.⁷³⁰ These then were the fundamental attributes of the gentleman, and were to be accompanied by ‘a Genius, improv’d by Learning, and embellish’d with all the Ornaments of Virtue, Politeness and Good Breeding’. Central to this construction was improvement through learning. Gratian argued that ‘since the Qualities of our Minds are the Ornaments and Glory of Human Nature, with what indefatigable Pains and Industry ought we to cultivate and improve them all, but most especially the Understanding?’⁷³¹ It was the productive use of leisure time in refining useful knowledge that was the essential marker of the virtuous gentleman. Thus, Puckle observed in 1711 that ‘Tis not Birth, Wit, Riches, or Great Employments; But the Right Use of ‘em in the

⁷²⁸ Ibid, pp34-35.

⁷²⁹ This first appeared in *Miscellaneous Poems by Several Hands, Publish’d by Mr Ralph*, (London: Mr Ralph, 1729) pp345-6, Quoted is II, 1-7, 1.

⁷³⁰ B. Gratian, Trans. T. Saldkeld, *The Compleat Gentleman: Or a Description of the several Qualifications both Natural and Acquired that are necessary to form a GREAT Man*, (London: T. Osborne, 1730), unpaginated preface.

Discharge of his DUTY to God, Himself and his Neighbours, makes the Worthy Man'.⁷³² In his dialogue between a father and son, Puckle explicitly stated the connection between the virtue of productive leisure and a civic ideal in the father's statement that 'Man's TIME makes the richest Part of the publick TREASURE; every HOUR mispent, is a kind of Robbing your COUNTRY'.⁷³³ This also demonstrates the value which these discourses on productive leisure time placed upon publication as a means for furthering understanding. It highlights the role of publication in the commodification of leisure, and instruction in polite knowledge.

One of the key signifiers of the enlightened gentleman was the right use of wealth, fundamental to which was frugality.⁷³⁴ Earlier estate poems such as Jonson's *To Penshurst* (c.1612) saw its architectural expression in the simple traditional vernacular *building* contrasted with vagaries of 'modern' *architecture*. However, by the seventeenth and eighteenth century praise of a modish style of building had come to the fore. Central to this development were the ideas of decorum and magnificence. In 1707 one author defined decorum as 'that comeliness, Order, Decency which it becomes every man to observe in all his actions', and magnificence as 'largeness of Soul in conceiving and managing great things; Grandure'.⁷³⁵ Thus, every man was to build in a manner appropriate to his station in life. A gentleman was expected to demonstrate his magnificence while ensuring that it was not 'chargable, exhaustive, and irreperable',⁷³⁶ for such inappropriate expenditure was 'a daily sluice to the Estate, which is eat and drunk out by it, or lyes fallow in the costly Furniture in it; ...'.⁷³⁷ The principle of appropriate expenditure is summed up by Waterhouse in his observation that 'Too large an House is a Wood wherein a Family is lost, and a Fortune

⁷³¹ Ibid, p3.

⁷³² J. Puckle, *The Club, Or, A Dialogue Between Father and Son*, (Printed for the Author. Sold at S. Crouch at the Corner of Pope's-Head-Alley in Cornhill, 1711), p51.

⁷³³ Ibid, p87.

⁷³⁴ This is a core theme in poems such as Carew's *To my Friend GN from Wrest* (1639), Flecknoe's *On Welbeck* (1664-66), and Pope's *Epistles to Burlington* (1730-31), and Bathurst (1730-32). The right use of riches is an implicit theme in nearly all of Campbell's notices.

⁷³⁵ Anon., *Glossographia Anglicana Nova Or a Dictionary Interpreting Hard Words of whatever language, as are present used in the English tongue...* (London, 1707).

⁷³⁶ E. Waterhouse, *The Gentleman's Monitor; or, a Sober Inspection into the Vertues, Vices and Ordinary Means of the Rise and Decay of Men and Families. With the authors apology and application to the nobles and gentry of England*, (London: Printed by T. R. for R. Royston, 1665), p59.

⁷³⁷ Ibid, p275. These ideas are reflected in Shaftesbury's observation that 'Even those Pieces too are brought under the common censure, which tho' rasi'd by private Men, are of such a Grandure and Magnificence, as to become National Ornaments. The ordinary Man may build his cottage or the plain Gentleman his Country-house according as he fansys: but when a great Man builds, he will find little Quarter from the Publick, if instead of a beautiful Pile, he raises , at a vast expence, such a false and counterfeit Piece of magnificence as can be justly arraign'd for its Deformity by so many knowing Men in Art, and by the whole *People*, who in such a Conjunction, readily show their Opinion.' (A. A.

unnecessarily wasted; Too little an one is a Prison, in which every Room is a Little-ease and every Convenience a Clogg ...'.⁷³⁸ These concerns directly linked ideas of management of oneself and one's estate to the ability to manage the nation. '... So are they the most probable to be knowing and calmly vigilant in publick Government, who know with order and quiet to govern their Family, by acting themselves the duty of Heads ...'.⁷³⁹ This idea of the virtue of good management and service to the nation is emphasised by Campbell in the inscription of his *A new Design for the Duke of Argyll*: '... Whose great Actions have filled the World with Surprize and Admiration; Ramellies and Tanniers are immortal ...'.⁷⁴⁰ The more martial aspects of service have already been noted in his description of Clivedon (6.5).

While appropriate magnificence was a virtue and building à la mode increasingly favoured, the importance of right use was also ascendant. This was reflected in contemporary discourses around expansive commerce and fears over the corrupting influence of luxury. Poems such as Pope's *Dunciad* and *Windsor Forest* portray the influence of this commerce and the products which were becoming available. Addison also celebrated this in *The Spectator*, '... while we enjoy the remotest products of the North and South, we are free from those Extremeties of Weather which gave them Birth; That our Eyes are refreshed with the green Fields of Britain, at the same time that our Palates are feasted with Fruits that rise between the Tropicks.'⁷⁴¹ However, poems such as Pope's *Rape of The Lock* demonstrate concomitant fears of the corrupting influence of luxury and fetishism.

The emphasis upon right use and restraint were related to such concerns. Simplicity and use were consistently emphasised over luxury. Campbell sees architecture essentially as a 'useful and noble Art'.⁷⁴² This is also apparent in Carew's *To My Friend G.N. from Wrest* (1639), in which one of the examples presented is the house itself, described as having 'an usefull comelinesse' (I.20), 'not fine'/ But fit for service' (II 56-7). The owner is praised for making the most of every opportunity rather than wasting or neglecting it, yet not accumulating in vain display (see lines II. 57-68). The idea of display maintained the value of beauty and magnificence. Decorum and majesty, related to a polite taste, were seen as the core ingredients of this architectural aesthetic. The importance of appropriate display can be seen in Campbell's description of Houghton, of which he observes that '... I believe it will be

Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, *A Letter Concerning the Art, or Science of Design. Written from Italy. On the Occasion of the Judgement of Hercules* ... London, Bodleian G Pamph 66. (3): 1737), pp 401-2.)

⁷³⁸ E. Waterhouse, op cit, p277.

⁷³⁹ Ibid, p276.

⁷⁴⁰ C. Campbell, Vol. 1, 1715, notice to plates 19, 20.

⁷⁴¹ *The Spectator* No 69 19 May 1711.

⁷⁴² C. Campbell, Vol, 2, 1717, op cit, plates 41-42.

allowed to be a House of State and Conveniency and in some Degree worthy of the Great and generous ...'.⁷⁴³ Throughout Campbell's descriptions the idea of decorum is emphasised. The beauty, and convenience of the architecture is described variously as worthy of the patron, agreeable to their 'politeness', 'quality and distinction', or their 'magnificence'.⁷⁴⁴ The notices reinforce ideas of appropriate display and the importance of frugality, and also the idea of architecture as a convenient and useful art in its own right. Implicit within it are ideas relating to motives for building, including qualities such as humanity, liberality etc., which imply rational and virtuous decisions to build rather than a display of riches and vanity. Campbell's descriptions of Halifax as 'the great Maecenas of our Age', and Edmund Southwell as 'the Angaranno of our Age', are clearly effusive.⁷⁴⁵ The idea of architecture as particularly expressive of such qualities can be seen in Campbell's notice to Wilberry in the first volume,⁷⁴⁶ in which he says of Benson that 'by this excellent Choice, discovers the Politeness of his Taste: And as he is Master of the most refined Parts of literature, has here express'd a particular Regard to the noblest Manner of Architecture in this beautiful and regular Design'.

The counterpart to such motives in building can be seen in Pope's criticisms of building activities in his *Epistle to Lord Burlington*.⁷⁴⁷ In this Pope contrasts the ideal landowner, represented in Burlington's estate management and local provision of roads, bridges, dams and canals (lines 197-202), with Timon's ostentatious and wasteful display. Burlington's traditional moral standards are exemplified in his good taste, which is above all connected with utility. 'You show us, Rome was glorious, not profuse,/And pompous buildings once were things of Use' (lines 23-24), and 'Tis use alone that sanctifies Expence ...' (line 179). The administration of his estate, service to the locality, taste, and concern with use, position Burlington as an ideal of public virtue. It is significant that Pope relates this fundamentally through a consideration of aesthetic ideals. Burlington's aesthetic values are integrally related to his personal virtue, consequently, his taste is demonstrative of this virtue. When not paired with personal virtue architectural aesthetics demonstrate the opposite.⁷⁴⁸ Burlington's good and serious example would inevitably 'Fill half the land with Imitating Fools' (line 126) who

⁷⁴³ C. Campbell, Vol. 3, 1725, plates 27-34.

⁷⁴⁴ Ibid, plates 31-34.

⁷⁴⁵ C. Campbell, Vol. 1, 1715, plates 28-30, and 47-48.

⁷⁴⁶ C. Campbell, Vol. 1, 1715, plates 51-52.

⁷⁴⁷ A. Pope, *Epistles to Several Persons*, (London: 1731-5).

⁷⁴⁸ This notion of aesthetic taste as an example of virtue can be traced in many other poems such as Anne Finch's *Upon My Lord Winchelsea's Converting the Mount in His Garden ...* (c1702), Charles Cotton's *Chatsworth* (1678-81), and Aglionby's *On Bolsover* (1621-27). It is a core element in Campbell's descriptions of the Earl of Halifax (Vol. 1, Pl 28-30), William Benson (Vol. 1, Pl 51-52), Mr Cary (Vol. 1, Pl 80-81) Lord Percival (Vol. 1, Pl 95-97), and the Earl of Strafford (Vol. 3, Pl 92-94).

could not understand that architecture was a visual expression of virtue, and was meaningless without it. Such a blindly imitating fool is Timon whose villa is utterly condemned.

'Two Cupids squirt before; a Lake behind/ Improves the keenness of the Northern wind./ His Gardens next you admiration call,/ On ev'ry side you look, behold the Wall!/ No pleasing Intricacies intervene,/ No artful wildness to perplex the scene;/ Grove nods at grove, each Alley has a brother,/ And half the platform just reflects the other./ The suff'ring eye inverted Nature sees,/ Trees cut to statues, Statues thick as trees,/ With here a Fountain, never to be play'd,/ And there a Summer-house that knows no shade.' (lines 111-122)

Timon's display of wealth is divorced from an ethic of utility and service. The contrast between his chapel and his true temple of worship, the dining room, emphasises this. So too does his lack of the traditional virtue of hospitality. Thus, Burlington's true understanding of the virtue of taste is contrasted with Timon's parody which has no virtuous foundation, and sees architecture simply as proud display, thus lacking any understanding of the gentlemanly values and conduct exemplified in architectural taste.

Pope's moral admiration of Burlington is linked to his aesthetic admiration. It is significant that he grounds his discussion in taste.

'Tis strange, the Miser should his Cares employ,/ To gain those Riches he can ne'er enjoy:/ Is it less strange, the Prodigal should waste/ His wealth, to purchase what he ne'er can taste?/ Not for himself he sees, or hears, or eats;/ Artists must chuse his Pictures, Music Meats:/ He buys for Topham, Drawings and Designs, ...' (lines 1-6)

The scale of Timon's building is also criticised.

'Greatness, with Timon, dwells in such a draught/ As brings all Brobdignag before your thought./ To compass this, his building is a Town,/ His pond an Ocean, his parterre a Down:/ Who but must laugh, the Master when he sees, A puny insect, shiv'ring at a breeze!' (lines 103-108)

This criticism is not fundamentally about spending money on architecture, but rather a false sense of magnificence as equated purely with size. Taste rather than size is appropriate display, and Timon has confused the two.

Pope's praise of Burlington is couched within the classical aesthetic, with references to Jones, Palladio, and Vitruvius. It can therefore be seen that Pope's notion of taste was rooted in a modish idea of style. There was a strong tradition in country house poetry of praising traditional houses such as Penshurst. Modern architecture, indeed architecture itself, was

often portrayed as the antithesis to the traditional values emphasised by the poets. The fact that poets such as Pope advocate a contemporary style of new building demonstrates a fundamental shift in the attitude towards architecture generally, and reinforces my argument that it had come to the fore as an element of polite discourse. It is significant that Timon's lack of understanding is related to his lack of attention to his books.

'His Study! With what Authors is it stor'd?/ In Books, not Authors, curious is my Lord;/ To all their dated Backs he turns you round,/ These Aldus printed, those Du Suëil has bound./ Lo some are Vellom, and the rest as good/ For all his Lordship knows, they are but Wood.' (lines 133-138)

In terms of Pope's Classical aesthetic this is interesting in suggesting a textual foundation to the style. More important though is the emphasis upon productive use of leisure time and the implicit suggestion that outward taste is formed through study. This has considerable resonance with the use made of a publication such as *Vitruvius Britannicus*. It is also a consistent aspect of Campbell's praise in his notices. For example of Sir John Barlow at Belton, Tobias Jenkyns, and the Earl of Sunderland at Althorp.⁷⁴⁹

In addition to architectural display, collections became an important signifier of virtue and productive leisure. Taste, cultivated through study, was reflected in collections of art and in furniture. Thus the contents of the house were emblematic of a gentleman's virtue as much as its outward image. This can be seen in the importance ascribed to contents in poetic descriptions of houses such as Shipman's *Belvoir* (1679), and Mackenzie's *Caelia's Country House and Closet* (1667-68). Indeed, Cotton's *Chatsworth* (1678-81) is presented as a guide-book style description of the house and gardens. This echoes the touristic descriptions by travellers such as Fiennes and Evelyn discussed in 4.2d. It is clearly echoed in Campbell's descriptions of Longleat and Caversham.⁷⁵⁰ In these descriptions libraries were also important as evidence of productive and serious leisure. It was noted that '... of the Diversions of Life, there is none so proper to fill up its empty spaces as the reading of useful and entertaining Authors, and employing our Dead unactive Hours in Improvements by Study and Pursuits of Knowledge ...'.⁷⁵¹ Their value to the true gentleman can be seen in Pope's projection of Timon's library as the antithesis of virtuous study. Pope's criticism of Timon's collections refers to others belonging to more eminent gentlemen such as Richard Topham, Thomas

⁷⁴⁹ C. Campbell, Vol. 2, 1717, plates 37-38, 41-42 and 96-97

⁷⁵⁰ Ibid. plates 68-69, C. Campbell, Vol. 3, 1725, plates 96-97.

⁷⁵¹ Anon, *The Gentleman's Library, containing Rules for Conduct in all Parts of Life Written by a Gentleman* (London: W. Mears and J. Browne, 1715), unpaginated preface.

Herbert Earl of Pembroke, Thomas Hearne, and Hans Sloane⁷⁵² (lines 7-10). Campbell also highlights core collections in the houses which he describes, for example he praises the 'curious and noble library' at Althorp.⁷⁵³ He also talks specifically about the library at Longleat.⁷⁵⁴

Both the contents of the house and its architecture were seen as an important signifier of taste and social position. Additionally, the idea of estate management and development was seen as evidence of wider political and civil virtues, and an appropriate sense of posterity. This related to ideas of land and property as a microcosm of the nation. Stewardship and improvement of the estate were seen as evidence of good husbandry, which also related to ideas of ability to rule as a custodian of the nation. Related to ownership of the estate were other aspects of sound authority primarily related to the role of the country house as the centre of a local social and administrative unit. This theme can be found in poems such as Marvell's *Upon Appleton House*, which posits the idea of the house as a centre of other activities. The great house is less a matter of architecture than of the kind of life lived by the family (stanzas xii-xxxv). This idea is echoed in *Vitruvius Britannicus* through the constant emphasis upon the patron's other activities. The estate denoted ideas of property, position, ethical service to the community, inheritance, and production.⁷⁵⁵ Improvements to the gardens or a productive estate were seen as evidence of the value ascribed to these elements by the patron owner, and thus as evidence of their own virtue.⁷⁵⁶ Campbell frequently praises individuals for the improvement of their house or their estate. He refers to Nicholas Carew sparing no cost in embellishing his seat,⁷⁵⁷ Lord Viscount Lonsdale is noted as making many useful and magnificent Improvements,⁷⁵⁸ and the Earl of Cholmondley as sparing no expense in improving his gardens and plantations.⁷⁵⁹ It can be seen in his descriptions of Boughton and Claremont that Campbell specifically highlights estate improvements. Of Boughton he notes that '... the Gardens and Plantations ... were formed by the late Duke, and improved by his present Grace, with so many Additions, that they are esteemed now, the largest in England'.⁷⁶⁰ Of Claremont 'In one Double Plate is a Geometrical Plan of the Gardens and Plantations, with several large Pieces of Water, which his Grace has finished at very great

⁷⁵² Pembroke and Sloane were both subscribers to *Vitruvius Britannicus*.

⁷⁵³ C. Campbell, Vol. 2, 1717, plates 96-97.

⁷⁵⁴ Ibid, plates 68-69.

⁷⁵⁵ This is a core theme in poems such as Jonson's *To Penshurst* (c.1612), Charles Cotton's *Chatsworth* (1678-81), and Carew's *To my Friend GN from Wrest* (1639)

⁷⁵⁶ See for example Anne Finch's *Upon My Lord Winchilsea's Converting the Mount in His Garden ...* (c1702), and Charles Cotton's *Chatsworth* (1678-81)

⁷⁵⁷ C. Campbell, Vol. 2, 1717, plates 43-45.

⁷⁵⁸ Ibid, notice to plates 78-80.

⁷⁵⁹ C. Campbell, Vol. 3, 1725, plates 79-80.

Expenditure ...'.⁷⁶¹ One of the principal values that Campbell highlights is that of demonstrating virtue to future generations. Both his discussion of Mr Cary's House in the first volume and that of Belton in the second refer to the virtues of humanity, liberality, politeness, civility and generosity being transmitted to posterity through the houses depicted.⁷⁶² Elsewhere he refers to 'lasting Monuments to Liberality', and to recording humanity and generosity.⁷⁶³ Although only depicted in the third volume, gardens and estates are a significant element in many of Campbell's descriptions. He frequently discusses situation, garden design and improvements, and highlights wider aspects of the estates such as the production of timber, deer parks, hides etc. This can be most clearly seen in his descriptions of Althorp and Caversham.⁷⁶⁴ The emphasis which he places upon the perspectives and geometric plans of the estates in Volume Three also demonstrates that they were an important element in his presentation of country houses, and reinforces their significance in the descriptions in earlier volumes.

While the similarity between the concerns in *Vitruvius Britannicus* and the genre of country house poetry has been considered, it is important to note that there are fundamental differences. The essential subject of this poetry is the country house which reflects a specific set of concerns related to the country in contrast to the city. Town houses are not considered at all within this genre. This is an important difference to the houses and descriptions in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, which are representative of both. Indeed, Campbell's system of praise does not differentiate between the town and the country house on any level. Thus, while there is much in common with the poetic genre the overtly rural foundation of the poems is absent in *Vitruvius Britannicus* which endorses both a country and an urban idea of architecture. Port has traced the impact of increased lengths of parliamentary sessions during the eighteenth century upon the time spent by the aristocracy and gentry in London. As more time was spent in the metropolis, new sites for interaction and entertainment developed. The metropolis increasingly became a draw for the both gentlemen and their families, and in many ways an essential part of the season.⁷⁶⁵ Consequently, the town house became an important addition to the country seat. Town houses became equally important sites for social and architectural display, not only for those who also owned a country estate but also for those who settled permanently in towns. It is significant that Campbell's praise is applied as

⁷⁶⁰ Ibid, plates 73-74.

⁷⁶¹ Ibid, plates 77-78.

⁷⁶² C. Campbell, Vol. 1, 1715, plates 80-81, Vol. 2, 1717, notice to plates 37-38. The idea of generosity alludes to another established tradition of praise of hospitality. See for example Jonson's *To Penshurst* (c.1612) and Shipman's *Belvoir* (c.1679)

⁷⁶³ C. Campbell, Vol. 2, 1717, plates 91-93, and Vol. 3, 1725, plate 55.

⁷⁶⁴ Ibid, plates 96-97 and C. Campbell, Vol. 3, 1725, plates 96-97.

much to the new mercantile elite as to the traditional landed classes and to the urban as to the country house.

Nevertheless, Campbell's descriptions do have much in common with traditional epideictic forms in terms of the aspects of gentlemanly virtue and conduct highlighted in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. His praise of the owners of the houses, and those to whom new designs are dedicated, is in line with systems of flattery common in most other publications of the time. His descriptions reinforce the idea of architecture as an expression of virtue and an important element in polite taste and locate Campbell's discussion of architecture not only within these ideas of gentlemanly conduct, but also the publication itself within such discourses.

6.7. Discourse and Practice

Olson has argued that the development of a printed tradition led to a fundamental change in understanding texts, as a result of which they came to be thought of as visible artefacts in their own right rather than serving purely mnemonic purposes.⁷⁶⁶ This led to an emphasis upon literal meaning, exemplified in the Royal Society's idea of a 'neutral' or 'objective' scientific discourse with a 'mathematical plainness of style'. However, these ideas about plainness of style were fundamentally related to a much more complex understanding of the relationship between text and experience. In 1665 the Royal Society published a volume of *Directions for seamen, bound for far voyages*. The overall concept of this was to create an organised vision through which the individual's experiences could be communicated as part of a wider base of knowledge.⁷⁶⁷ One of the outcomes was an increased use of maps as a system of representation. Olson has argued that consequently maps became integrated into an altered conception of the world. As they became part of this organised vision, new voyages were increasingly planned in direct relation to the maps, with the aim of 'filling in gaps'. Olson describes this as a process by which the world was thought about *from the maps point of view*.⁷⁶⁸ Consequently, the representation in the form of a map became the conceptual model for understanding the world.⁷⁶⁹ Section 4.2c highlighted the similarity between printed

⁷⁶⁵ Port in *The Georgian Country House: Architecture, Landscape and Society*, ed. by D. Arnold, (Stroud: Sutton, 1998), pp 117-138.

⁷⁶⁶ D. R. Olson, op cit, p196.

⁷⁶⁷ Ibid, p196.

⁷⁶⁸ Ibid, p212.

⁷⁶⁹ There are many examples of this lack of distinction between the actually perceived and the representation. For example, Cole has drawn attention to the role of poetry (i.e. text) as an intermediary in the understanding of landscapes. See A. Cole, 'The Perception Of Beauty In Landscape In The Quattrocento' in F. Ames-Lewis and M. Rogers, *Concepts of Beauty in Renaissance Art*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp28-29.

images of buildings and maps in terms of a complex relationship with the original referent. Thus Olson's consideration of maps suggests a way of understanding how *Vitruvius Britannicus* could have related on a conceptual level to architecture as built, namely through provision of conceptual models.

Vitruvius Britannicus differed from many of the previous architectural treatises that had been written or published. Unlike Vitruvius, Campbell did not write a teleological system. *Vitruvius Britannicus* was not essentially concerned with the past, nor did Campbell focus upon a new era of architecture. Instead, he took principles as read, quite literally, and considered the ways in which they could be applied to British architecture as practised. This practise related to two levels: Edifices that had been built, and those which only existed as projected designs.⁷⁷⁰ Previous studies of *Vitruvius Britannicus* have treated the relationship between the graphic image and the built example unproblematically. In fact, consideration of the nature of this relationship highlights the complex process of developing and demonstrating polite knowledge, and of participating in productive leisure and the role which publication played in the commodification of these processes. If *Vitruvius Britannicus* can be understood as instructing in the process of critique this raises issues about the relationship between a critical architectural discourse and building practice.

Fundamental to any understanding of this is the developing emphasis on an intellectualised and highly rationalised understanding of architecture, as discussed above. I have argued that this was linked to a determined notion of architectural excellence and judgement. One of the key themes in critical discourse was the idea of comparison as a method of improving judgement, supported by an idea of the value of published texts and images as a means of cultivating judgement. Prints were a primary means of conveying consistent visual information. Clayton has argued that they were the principal means of remembering what a painting or a building looked like, and indeed, in many cases were the only means of accessing a painting or building.⁷⁷¹ They therefore played a crucial role in the development of a critical discourse. This was related specifically to building practice through the publication of drafts of projected buildings. These were frequently circulated among interested parties to invite critical comment, especially in cases where a committee was responsible for the

⁷⁷⁰ *Vitruvius Britannicus* functions on a range of levels and draws from a variety of different paradigms. If *Vitruvius Britannicus* function purely within the paradigm of tourism it would be extremely difficult to explain the existence of unbuilt designs. However, these are a necessary element of Campbell's instructive process and add to a standard of architectural discourse in another way which, while not directly linked to an idea of tourism, would feed into it.

⁷⁷¹ T. Clayton, *The English Print 1688-1802*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), pxi

erection of a public building.⁷⁷² These prints formed part of a wider network of prints and images, and were sought after by individuals who were not involved in that project, such as collectors like George Clarke. In 1708 the Governors of the Royal Hospital for Seamen at Greenwich complained in the *London Gazette* that a recently published print of the Hospital was 'notoriously false, and much to the Discredit of that noble Structure'. However, their own authorized 'true and perfect Design' of the building would be published soon.⁷⁷³ Thus a common currency of printed images of architecture grew up which related both to building practice and also to print connoisseurship.

De Piles was a strong advocate of the use of prints in the education of the connoisseur, arguing that one of the key benefits of prints was enabling comparative study. He believed that collections of images enabled the collector to compare and contrast examples one with the other, a process virtually impossible in terms of the originals. He was particularly concerned with paintings, but his views are even more applicable in terms of buildings. Similar views are expressed by Richardson, who saw the ability to judge works of art as stemming from familiarity with rules and principles derived from a wider comparative study. Richardson argued that '... Our mental, like our Corporeal Sight can fix strongly but upon One Single Point at One time, all other Objects round about us are then seen Confusedly, or not at all'.⁷⁷⁴ In order to judge well the connoisseur needed to counter this through study of rules that could be applied to individual works. 'The Rules being Fix'd, and Certain; whether a Picture, or Drawing has the Properties required is clearly seen, and when they are discover'd a Man is as certain he sees what he thinks he sees as in any other Case where his own Senses convey the Evidence to his Understanding.'⁷⁷⁵ If the images in *Vitruvius Britannicus* could be understood as codifying a system of classical architectural rules, it can be seen that printed images could act as a conceptual model through which built architectural examples could be understood and evaluated.⁷⁷⁶ Through the system of arrangement and designation discussed in 6.5, such knowledge became a formulary through which to structure experience.

⁷⁷² Ibid, p62.

⁷⁷³ Ibid, p62.

⁷⁷⁴ J. Richardson, op cit, *Discourse II*, p103.

⁷⁷⁵ Ibid, p132.

⁷⁷⁶ The impact of literacy upon cognition has been examined by D. R. Olson and J. W. Astington 'Talking about Text: How Literacy Contributes to Thought', in *Journal of Pragmatics*, No. 14, 1990, pp. 705-721.

The fact that buildings were often thought about against a background of representations can be seen in Pope's Letter to Martha Blount describing Sherborne,⁷⁷⁷ in which Pope's architectural judgement is demonstrated through his amusement at producing a drawing of potential improvements. This demonstrates not only a belief in the greater capacity of an image to convey information as compared with text, but also highlights the complex interplay between Pope's perception of the actual building and its gardens, his graphic response to it, and his written and visual description of it in his correspondence. The combination of experiential, written and representational methods used by Pope both to understand the building himself, and to describe it to others, demonstrates the multiple levels on which perception of a building and architectural understanding functioned.

The crucial problem when looking at any image of architecture is the relationship between how looking at an image of a building relates to the sensory physical experience of being in that building. Bloomer and Moore argue that reliance on two-dimensional representation has led to a stress on quantifiable features, and that the three-dimensional or 'spatial' qualities of architectural experience have been neglected.⁷⁷⁸ The development of a scopic regime that emphasises intellectual, definitive, and illustratable elements of architecture is important in understanding the nature of architectural discourse. Anderson has observed that the essential difference between an experiential and a textual understanding of a building is that an architectural facade cannot be understood by means of a sequential and structured linear process.⁷⁷⁹ While it is certainly true that the physical understanding of a building cannot be structured in this way, visual literacy assessed through the formal distribution of architectural elements is performed through a process of sequential and discrete analysis of elements of the building's morphology. The textual basis of a Classical aesthetic is particularly susceptible to this type of analysis – thus, the process of teaching the 'language of Classicism'. In the sixteenth century Dee identified this cerebral aspect of architectural understanding in his discussion of the 'immaterialitie' of architecture, in which he argued that the observer takes the substance of the building itself only as an initial starting point, and that fundamental to any deeper architectural understanding was the idea of 'lineaments' which were 'conceiued in mynde: made in lines and angles: and finished with a learned minde and wyt'.⁷⁸⁰ Anderson observes that 'In Dee's view the experience of architecture, like the reading of texts, leads the viewer beyond the physical substance toward ideas recorded in the memory. Buildings were

⁷⁷⁷ *Correspondence* ii pp236-7. Quoted in H. Erskine-Hill, op cit, p287.

⁷⁷⁸ K. C. Bloomer and C. W. Moore, *Body, Memory and Architecture*, (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1977), p.ix.

⁷⁷⁹ C. Anderson, 'Learning to read Architecture in the English Renaissance' in L. Gent, op cit, p251.

⁷⁸⁰ H. Billingsley, op cit, Mathematical Preface by M. I. Dee, unpaginated.

finished with a 'learned wyt' by supplying textual references read and remembered from before'.⁷⁸¹ The actual building becomes little more than a mnemonic device for the body of textual material supporting architectural knowledge. A similar process can be seen in advice written for young men travelling abroad, which urged them to further their learning by 'being an eye witness of the verie same things ... red in bookes, or heard of by others'.⁷⁸² One manual explicitly claimed that 'where shall you set your feet, or cast your eie: but you shall have occasion to call into remembrance, that which is set downe in Livie, Salust, Polibius, Plyny, Tacitus, Dion and Dionisius'.⁷⁸³ Thus experience was filtered through a body of textual material, and travel was little more than a demonstration and reinforcement of knowledge gained from printed sources. This did not eliminate the fact that one had an experiential sense of a classical building as much as any other, but appreciation was based in a more formal criticism and judgement divorced from this experiential reference point. This was a complex activity which depended upon a world view that emphasised the cerebral over the body.⁷⁸⁴

This relationship between an intellectual and physical understanding may be related to Locke's ideas on sense and intellect as a complex exchange system which helped to structure human knowledge. Locke identified two principle faculties of the mind, contemplation and memory. Contemplation was the retention of ideas derived initially from sense by keeping the object in view. This was supported by memory, which revived earlier ideas. Locke said of memory that '... it is by the assistance of this faculty that we are said to have all those ideas in our understandings, which though we do not actually contemplate, yet we can bring in sight and make appear again and be the objects of our thoughts, without the help of those sensible qualities which first imprinted them there'.⁷⁸⁵ Thus Locke suggested an idea of mnemonics within which the actual and the intellectual idea entered into a dialogue. In architectural terms this could suggest that observers could bring their habitual experience of architecture to bear upon the images and text in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Indeed the importance of published texts and images in forming understanding is repeated in many contemporary texts. Reading was seen as an essential tool but one that needed to be tied to practise

⁷⁸¹ C. Anderson, 'Learning to read Architecture in the English Renaissance' in L. Gent, op cit, p253.

⁷⁸² See C. Anderson, 'Learning to read Architecture in the English Renaissance' in L. Gent, Ibid, p253.

⁷⁸³ C. Anderson, 'Learning to read Architecture in the English Renaissance' in L. Gent, Ibid, p251 ('A Direction for travailers. Taken out of Iustus Lipsius, and enlarged for the behoofe of the right honourable Lord, the Young Earle of bedforde, being now ready to travell', London 1592 B4r-B4v).

⁷⁸⁴ In so doing distinguishing between the cerebral and the body, therefore recognising a Cartesian separation

⁷⁸⁵ J. Locke, 1924, op cit, Chapter X - Of Retention, p79.

'Some commend only practice; Others think reading sufficient; both to blame: joyned together they do best. Reading advanceth more, and sooner than practise alone. A Reader is more universal, better for many things; more accurate and observant on his practise. A Practisers knowledge is in a shorter compass, in ordinary cases, and is longer before is come to perfection. Reading is other mens experience, which by meditation and practise becomes our own; but it makes us somewhat too exact, and to expect all things should fall out according to our Imaginations; whereas the World in fancy is much different from that in reality'⁷⁸⁶

Locke's idea of retention suggests a framework through which ideas, codified and accessed through print, could be applied to built examples. He claims that one form of retention is

'to revive again in our minds those ideas which, after imprinting have disappeared, or have been as it were laid aside out of sight. And thus we do when we conceive heat or light, yellow or sweet, the object being removed. This is memory, which is, as it were, the storehouse of our ideas And thus it is by the assistance of this faculty that we are said to have all those ideas in our understandings, which though we do not actually contemplate, yet we can bring in sight and make appear again and be the objects of our thoughts, without the help of those sensible qualities which first imprinted them there.'⁷⁸⁷

This has considerable resonance in terms of relating intellectual and physical ideas to visual understanding. It can be seen to relate to the following observation on learning:

'There is but one way and manner of learning, be the subject what ever it will. In manual Arts the Master sheweth his Apprentice what he is to do, next works it himself in his preference, and gives him rules, and then sets him to walk. The same is the way of breeding a Gentleman or a Scholar. The Educator prescribeth his end; gives him rules and precepts; presents him examples and patterns, and then sets him to act according to what has been taught him.'⁷⁸⁸

This highlights the role of instructive texts in furnishing conceptual models. Importantly, this is seen as fundamentally related to practice.

'Yet both Capacity and Instruction are effectless without practise and exercise; which consists (according to the nature of the things to be learned) its Meditation, thinking, or construing; observing others practices; and actually trying and working. Precepts serve very well for a guide; but advance not the guided, except himself follow them; they facilitate the beginning and progress, his own endeavour, if ever he intends to attain perfection.'⁷⁸⁹

⁷⁸⁶ Anon, *A Gentleman Instructed - in the conduct of a Virtuous and Happy Life Written for the Instruction of a Young Nobleman*, 4th Edition, (London: Printed for E. Smith, 1709), p7.

⁷⁸⁷ J. Locke, 1924, op cit, p79, Ch.10: 2.

⁷⁸⁸ Anon, *A Gentleman Instructed - in the conduct of a Virtuous and Happy Life Written for the Instruction of a Young Nobleman*, 4th Edition, (London: Printed for E. Smith, 1709), p9.

⁷⁸⁹ Ibid, p8.

These ideas were reinforced by contemporary theories on perception which were concerned with the central question of whether perception was a result of innate structures in the mind, or 'whether people needed to learn progressively how to 'see' the medley of physical impressions which impinge on our senses?'⁷⁹⁰ These ideas have particular resonance in terms of *Vitruvius Britannicus* as a collection of architecture to be looked at and experienced in order to develop evaluative skills and language.

The importance of conceptual models in structuring experience was a common motif in many seventeenth and eighteenth century texts. Ozell in his *Logic; Or the Art of Thinking* presented his understanding of the difference between ideas of things and ideas of signs, which drew largely upon Locke's ideas.

'When we consider an object in itself, and in its own Being, without carrying the View of the Mind to what it may represent, the Idea we have of it is an Idea of a Thing, as the Idea of the Earth or Sun. But when we look upon a certain Object only as it represents another, the idea we then have of it is an Idea of a Sign, and this first Object is called a Sign. 'Tis thus we generally behold Maps and Pictures. So that the Sign includes two Ideas, that of the Thing which represents, and that of the Thing represented; and its nature is to stir up the second by the first.'⁷⁹¹

He concluded that '... since the Nature of the Sign consists in stirring up in the Senses by the Idea of the Thing figuring that of the Thing figured; so long as that Effect subsists, that is to say, while that double Idea is stirred up in us, the sign also subsists, even tho' that Thing should be destroy'd even in its nature'.⁷⁹² Significantly, he also argued that another specific factor in all thought and discourse was that ideas were affixed to words.⁷⁹³ He recognised in this the possibilities for confusion as a result of semantic slippage, and his solution is interesting in implying that concepts could be fixed through plain language.

'The best Way to avoid Confusion of the Words which are to be found in the common Language, is to make a new Language and new Words, which should be affixed only to such Ideas as we would have them express. But it is not necessary to make new sounds for this purpose, because we may employ those which are already in Use. Only by ... giving them that which we desire they should have by describing in other plain words, not liable to the least Equivocation, the Idea to which we would apply them.'⁷⁹⁴

⁷⁹⁰ M. Kemp, op cit, p234.

⁷⁹¹ A. Arnould, Trans. Ozell, *Logic: or, the Art of thinking ... Done from the new French edition by Mr Ozell*, (London: for William Taylor, 1717), Ch. IV, p50.

⁷⁹² Ibid, Ch. IV, p52.

⁷⁹³ Ibid, Ch. XI, p90.

⁷⁹⁴ Ibid, p94. These arguments could also be related to the function of images in fixing linguistically available concepts through which to structure experience

Ozell's thinking draws on ideas that go back at least to Bacon's concern that language was problematic,⁷⁹⁵ which related to the emphasis upon observation and experience by the new empiricist science. This established a difficult and complex relationship between language and observed phenomena in the generation of knowledge. The empiricist approach contributed to a search for new systems of clearly defined laws that could be applied to physical form and influenced not only scientific enquiries but also architectural knowledge. The latter was institutionalised through the development of academies such as the Royal Academy of Architecture (established in Paris by Colbert in 1671), which was founded on the premise that a new set of norms was needed for the 'fabrication of objects.'⁷⁹⁶ This rationalisation of architectural knowledge led to an alteration in the conception of how images were read and used, most particularly in the field of architecture where these developments were met with an increased use of the elevation, plan and section. As intellectual and scientific problems were subjected to an empiricist enquiry based upon scientific deduction rather than the mere senses, the cerebral began to dominate the sensual in terms of responses to architecture and the applied arts and the codification of a language to express such knowledge became vital. *Vitruvius Britannicus* can be understood within this process functioning as a vehicle for classification and designation. By linking language with a visual system, *Vitruvius Britannicus* could be read on one level, as a 'dictionary' of terms linked to a visual system.

The idea of system and codification relates to another paradigm for architectural publication and discourse, the encyclopaedic dictionary. This type of publication was grounded in the idea that information could be organised into a systematic presentation of knowledge. Harris and Savage have demonstrated the range of such publications in England in the eighteenth century, and their engagement with a wider network of architectural publication.⁷⁹⁷ John Harris's *Lexicon Technicum; or, A Universal English Dictionary of arts and sciences: explaining not only the terms of art, but the arts themselves* (1704) was one of the first English reference books. The title indicates a conceptual connection with the idea of language codification discussed in relation to *Vitruvius Britannicus*.⁷⁹⁸ It highlights the potential role of publications in codifying elements of architectural discourse. Harris'

⁷⁹⁵ (Book I, Aphorisms XLIII, LIX, LX). Cited in Foster Jones, R., 1965, *The Seventeenth century. Studies in the History of Thought and Literature from Bacon to Pope*, Oxford University Press: London, p143

⁷⁹⁶ K. C. Bloomer and C. W. Moore, op cit, p17.

⁷⁹⁷ E. Harris and N. Savage, *British Architectural Books and their Writers 1556-1785*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

Dictionary clearly relates to scientific ideas of knowledge and discourse in formalising both the subject and its terminology. However, it demonstrates the extent of the established theoretical discourse around architecture that existed by the eighteenth century. The *Dictionary* reiterated the work of Vitruvius, Vignola, Palladio, and Perrault, as well as drawing heavily upon the building and trade manuals published by Joseph Moxon in the previous century.⁷⁹⁹ Moxon's work contributed to a distinct technical and practical discourse around building, which became an important paradigm in the encyclopaedic tradition. Works such as Neve's *City and Countrey Purchaser and Builders Dictionary* (1703), and *The Builders Dictionary* (1734), were an important aspect in architectural publishing in the eighteenth century. These presented themselves as building lexicons and had considerable appeal to an artisan audience looking for 'patterns' for building practice. Other works such as Chambers's *Cyclopaedia* (1728), while including technical aspects of building, also included a theoretical and aesthetic discussion of architecture, and critical interpretations of key architectural authorities.

Later works emphasised this theoretical basis. Wood, in his *Origin of Building* (1741), was keen to distance his work from practical and technical aspects of architecture, referring to 'the vast and great superiority of the labour of the mind to that of the hands in works of architecture is very largely, and in the strongest terms set forth by Plato'.⁸⁰⁰ Similarly, Ware emphasised the importance of the intellect over the senses in the appreciation of architecture: '... Though sight be an effect of sense, the conception we form of it depends upon the mind.'⁸⁰¹ Ware intended to 'omit the common and vulgar terms understood by every labouring person'.⁸⁰² The terms through which he described architecture were concerned with effect and clearly related aesthetic appreciation. Borsay has noted that a random eleven pages of Ware's book includes 27 references to beauty, 5 to elegance, 4 to taste, 3 to nobility, and one each to dignity and grace.⁸⁰³ Despite this Ware's work is fundamentally grounded in practice. In his preface he claimed that his book was intended '... to acquaint the gentleman with what ... he should design in his edifice; and to instruct the practical builder in not only

⁷⁹⁸ A later work such as Ware's *Complete Body of Architecture* also relates to this paradigm. The first chapter of this was titled, 'An Explanation of the Terms of Art, Which Are Used in Writing or Speaking of Buildings', and was arranged in the form of a dictionary

⁷⁹⁹ For example J. Moxon, *Mechanick exercises, or, The doctrine of handy works, etc.*, (London: Printed for the author, 1683).

⁸⁰⁰ J. Wood, *The Origin of Building, or The Plagiarism of the Heathens detected in Five Books*, (Bath: J. Leake, 1741), p67.

⁸⁰¹ I. Ware, *A Complete Body of Architecture adorned with plans and elevations from original designs ... in which are interspersed some designs of Inigo Jones, never before published*, (London: T. Osborne and J. Shipton, 1756), p260-1.

⁸⁰² *Ibid*, Preface p2.

⁸⁰³ P. Borsay, *op cit*, p306. C.f. also I. Ware, *op cit*, p 127-137.

what he ought to do, but how he should execute it, to his own credit and the advantage of the owner'. Like Ware, many of these books were essentially intended as pattern books that would appeal to both the builder and the patron looking for designs. *Vitruvius Britannicus* differs from these books in that the architectural discussion and the images relate to aesthetic rather than technical terms. Despite the evaluation of designs in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, there is no practical design information. Other than general principles the builder or the patron would gain little design information from the volumes. The designs could certainly not be used directly as patterns.⁸⁰⁴

Although later works in this tradition did introduce aesthetic discussions, the majority of those published prior to *Vitruvius Britannicus* were principally related to practice. The lack of artisan subscribers to *Vitruvius Britannicus* compared to other contemporary publications highlights the different approach taken in Campbell's publication.⁸⁰⁵ Nevertheless, *Vitruvius Britannicus* related to this tradition in terms of its connection with contemporary ideas of knowledge, understanding and the creation of taxonomic systems. This tradition was also important in grounding an architectural discourse, both practical and aesthetic, in publication.

Picon states that 'By establishing order and measure in the very heart of the world, [Cartesian] thought [suggested that] the intelligible, as in mathematics, might prevail over the sensible.'⁸⁰⁶ He goes on to discuss the way in which this impacted upon architecture, arguing that 'the ... majority of architectural treatises of the period attempted to establish a form of architectural knowledge based upon the immutable figures of geometry ...'.⁸⁰⁷ Through the creation of these systems a 'language' of correct architecture was established, composed of formal elements. As a result 'when placed before a building, the spectator would observe in turn the major balances, details of ornamentation, the rhythm of the frontispieces, then the refinement of design in the capitals. This passage of the eye was irreducible to a mechanistic approach'.⁸⁰⁸ Through this process a mechanistic ocularcentric reading of architecture came to dominate even in terms of the actual experience of architecture. Classical buildings were *read* according to a specific system of rules codified through publications.

⁸⁰⁴ This is not to suggest that the designs in *Vitruvius Britannicus* were not without influence. For example, the three designs that Campbell presented for Wanstead had a considerable influence on the design of many houses in the eighteenth century – for example, Nostell Priory and, to a certain extent, Wentworth Woodhouse, both in Yorkshire.

⁸⁰⁵ Significantly, Leoni's edition of Palladio attracted considerably more artisans than Campbell's publication.

⁸⁰⁶ A. Picon, Trans. M. Thorn, *French Architects and Engineers in the age of Enlightenment*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p17.

⁸⁰⁷ Ibid, p17.

⁸⁰⁸ Ibid, p20.

This development was related closely to changes in the presentation of images of architecture. The increased use of orthographic drawings enabled key formal elements to be emphasised, at the expense of a pictorial method of presenting visual information. As the distribution of formal elements gained in importance, it was no longer important to feel as if one was actually in the pictorial space in order to 'appreciate' the architecture. One could identify the important elements from a plan or elevation and refine them or transpose them into a three dimensional format if necessary through the application of mathematical principles and geometry. Orthographic drawing was the correlate of a mechanised system of looking at and evaluating architecture. It was one in which a concept of space played a part, but the sensual notion of spatiality was eliminated. The void became less important than the wall. Sensory experience cannot be completely ignored, and undoubtedly still played a role in architecture. However, this was not considered to be something that needed to be conveyed through architectural drawings, which were seen to have a fundamentally different role linked to ideas of intellectual appreciation and criticism etc.

This evaluation could function in isolation from any building. How then could it transfer to a consideration of an actual building? The use of diaries as an element in self-instruction can provide a useful model. This is highlighted by their use in travel as a personalised notebook that consolidated impressions, ideas and reactions that could also be used as a mnemonic in the future. In the same way, the text or images in *Vitruvius Britannicus* could act as an intermediary between reading and the actual experience of buildings. The textual tradition within which Classicism was grounded leant itself to the filtering of actual experience through guidebooks and treatises. The problematic relationship between the published illustration and the actual may perhaps be a modern concern. It is clear from any examination of contemporary accounts that many discussions of paintings, for example, were conducted on the basis of knowledge gained only from a print and not the original painting, and that this was not considered problematic. Indeed, the following quotation from Richardson states the case explicitly. 'That I should write upon what I never Saw, may appear strange to some; such may please only to observe that My Remarks are Chiefly upon the way of Thinking; which is seen in a Print, or a Drawing, as well as in the Thing itself; These I am well furnish'd with'.⁸⁰⁹ *Vitruvius Britannicus* clearly does talk the reader through the process of thinking and relates this to a visual image. Through prints and through text it furnishes the reader with a way of thinking - a particular habit of vision.

⁸⁰⁹ J. Richardson, *An Account of some of the Statues*, Preface. Cited in T. Clayton, *The English Print 1688-1802*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997) p287. Note 3.

Thus experience, judgement and taste were all filtered through a network of visual, written and experiential factors, rooted in contemporary ideas of understanding, perception and learning. Taste was understood essentially as a generalised system of cultural thought and attitude based on judgements of beauty, value and quality in the surrounding environment. It is therefore nothing more than a socially constructed 'habit of vision'. A network of influential factors are important in the construction of this vision within which publications play a key role. Taste is essentially about viewing an object from a particular angle and in a particular kind of light. Architecture as an object is manifested primarily through the construction of buildings, but these are viewed according to a 'habit of vision'. In this, travel inevitably came into play on some level. Tourism was one of the processes which converted 'travel' into a codified system, by identifying key sites for consumption and discussion. Tourism was a constructed form of travel which engaged with the same processes that influenced the formation of taste, and as such it became part of a process of cultural acquisition and polite education.⁸¹⁰ This fed into a network of discourses, including that of tourism discussed in 4.2d.

The relationship between the images depicted in *Vitruvius Britannicus* and the actual buildings is a significant issue in terms of the consideration of domestic tourism in 4.2d. Accounts such as those of Inigo Jones and Lord Burlington that a text such as Palladio's *Quattro Libri* was actually taken on the tour, and studied in situ, show a direct relationship between the text and the site. There is no evidence for such use being made of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. The volumes I have seen are not annotated and their condition indicates that they remained in libraries and were not subjected to the rigours of travel. Yet I have demonstrated that *Vitruvius Britannicus* was located within the paradigm of travel and the preceding discussion suggests a framework for understanding how it may have functioned within domestic tourism. The key element of this is the extent of evaluation and criticism in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, which was much more thorough than that offered by tourists such as Celia Fiennes. This has an important function within tourism.

As tourism became part of a system not only of education but also polite consumption, participation had to be demonstrated in company. One had to be able to talk about where one had been. The ability to comment not only demonstrated consumption, but also sufficient education for appreciation. Publications such as *Vitruvius Britannicus* provided a critical base for architectural experience and discussion. They functioned on the level of creating the habit

⁸¹⁰ I. Ousby, *The Englishman's England Taste, Travel and the Rise of Tourism*, (New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

of vision essential for architectural taste, which could then be tied to actual sites.⁸¹¹ Campbell's examination of key houses on a tourist itinerary, and others considered worthy to stand alongside the 'stars', together with the text in the form of epitomes, acted as a mnemonic for the theoretical subtext.⁸¹² It enabled readers to present key architectural ideas using broad concepts and generalised language. It provided the form for a polite knowledge and discussion of architecture.

The example of domestic tourism illustrates the complex interaction between the visual example and the built example. The fact that Campbell's text differed from other publications concerned principally with practice reinforces the fact that *Vitruvius Britannicus* related to buildings on a conceptual rather than practical level. Contemporary ideas of knowledge and understanding reinforce the potential role of *Vitruvius Britannicus* in providing a conceptual and linguistic model through which to evaluate built examples. This stood in relation to the wider theoretical subtext, but occupied a summative and demonstrative role that was essentially conceptual, rather than one which was prescriptive and concerned with practice.

Vitruvius Britannicus used a specific means of presentation - the collection of a series of architectural images paired with critical text - to teach, through example, Campbell's idea of the fundamental principles of good architecture. In this way the publication had less to do with architectural experience than presentation. This relates to Olson's discussion of texts functioning in their own right. As *Vitruvius Britannicus* was principally concerned with presentation it became distanced from built architecture and functioned independently as a cultural artefact in its own right. The presentation/publication became the object of consumption rather than the architectural subjects treated within it.

6.8 Sites of Discourse

Vitruvius Britannicus functioned within a set of architectural discourses that related it to ideas of authority and display through demonstration of politeness. Klein argues that 'it was not the point of politeness to force commercial men to submit to the cultural hegemony of the traditional elite; nor was politeness a way of domesticating a traditional honour-bound elite to the more pacific norms of commercial men. Rather it was a way of reconstructing

⁸¹¹ This clearly relates to the preceding discussion of contemporary ideas of knowledge and understanding.

⁸¹² Tourism already had a textual grounding through the process of recording and filtering experiences through itineraries and diaries.

gentility'.⁸¹³ Politeness was a means by which individuals could define themselves in ways other than through property. This enabled the commercial to be incorporated into the group without compromising exclusivity. Consequently, it was both inward and outward looking, demonstrating a binary relationship between public and private. The public sphere was the area in which norms were constructed which came to regulate the private lives of individuals. Education and patronage as areas of private activity were carried out essentially as a form of public discourse. In this emergent private sphere, oriented towards an audience, one's ability to communicate and express through language was of primary importance. The creation of a specific form of architectural language and of architectural discourse functioned within this framework of the cultivated individual displaying his aesthetic and therefore moral sense for public inspection, thus consolidating his position in society. *Vitruvius Britannicus* positioned architecture within these converging discourses centred upon politeness. The use of a particular language positioned it in relation to a specific speech community. The paradigm of classical European texts drawn upon for the format of the text and as a source for visual and textual vocabulary would only have been meaningful to those already familiar with the model.⁸¹⁴

Through discourse, private aesthetic knowledge could be put on public display. The codification of language was therefore vital in creating forms of verbalisation which enabled a commodity such as *Vitruvius Britannicus* to be discussed and therefore legitimated as 'culture'. For a commodity to function effectively as a point of contact between the individual and an outward looking orientation towards a public audience, it needed to be able to be effectively verbalised within a speech community in order to create a community of common cultural recognition. Therefore, public sites of interaction were intrinsically related to the private individual. They were a means by which the individual could engage in a process of self representation that brought together the private man and his public image. This process of self representation was carried out on a number of levels and individuals consistently projected a public image of themselves in all social activities.

Although Simmel's work is focused upon the modern metropolis, his ideas relating to urban sensibilities have resonance with changes during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries,

⁸¹³ Klein, L.E., 'Property and Politeness in the Early Eighteenth Century. Whig Moralists. The Case of the Spectator,' in *Early Modern Conceptions of Property*, ed. by J. Brewer and S. Staves, (New York and London: Routledge, 1995), p229.

⁸¹⁴ Bourdieu has described this type of process as a pedagogic action in P. Bourdieu, J. Passeron, op cit.

particularly the idea of urban living leading to a heightened awareness of appearances.⁸¹⁵ Simmel's formulation is basically centred upon a notion of the transience of human contact in the metropolis, as a result of which personality becomes concentrated for effect. While Simmel emphasises the display of extreme individualised behaviour, the idea of increased strategies for differentiation is significant. Group consolidation was an important factor in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In this context, qualitative differentiation became a means of consolidating one group as opposed to another. The collective identity of the group was defined through its difference to others, exemplified through qualitative factors such as display. Thus, rather than extravagances of mannerism, it is possible to identify areas in which group mannerisms can be displayed. Display is in this context an operative word. It contributed to a highly stratified set of consumers, and an increasingly commodified set of cultural and social referents. This can be seen in the emphasis upon outward appearance and display and its codification through discussions of manners, gesture, dress, and conversation in the periodical press. Another interesting aspect of Simmel's argument is his idea of the development of rational intellectualism as a system of group identification.⁸¹⁶ This manifests itself in 'a capacity for 'objective' judgement, quick and instinctive choice and discrimination',⁸¹⁷ a formulation that has much in common with the types of architectural knowledge in *Vitruvius Britannicus*.

Simmel's idea of an urban sensibility clearly has a bearing on the characteristics and concerns of polite society. Certainly, the growth of a notion of politeness, and the concomitant stress on display, can be related to a period of urban expansion. As early as 1608 Thomas Milles said of London

'Our trades do meet in Companies, our Companies at halls, and our halls become monopolies of freedom, tied to London: where all our Crafts and Mysteries are so laid up together, that outrunning all the wisdom and prudence of the land, men live by trades they never learned, nor seek to understand. By means whereof, all our creeks seek to join one river, all our rivers run to one port, all our ports join to one town, all our towns make but one city, and all our cities but suburbs to one vast, unwieldy and disorderly Babel of buildings, which the world calld London.'⁸¹⁸

⁸¹⁵ 'Metropolis and mental life' *Classic Essays on the Culture of Cities*, ed. by R. Sennett, (Englewood Cliffs New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1969), pp47-50, p47.

⁸¹⁶ Ibid, p48.

⁸¹⁷ L. Manley, *Literature and Culture in Early Modern London*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p489.

⁸¹⁸ T. Milles, *The Customer's Alphabet* 1608 sig. L1v, quoted in L. C. Knights, *Drama and Society in Early Modern London*, (New York: W. W. Norton, (1937) 1968), p138.

This growth of the metropolis did not operate in isolation. It was part of a network of relationships which included the country and also provincial areas.⁸¹⁹ London was important because the ruling group within society were tied to it for increasing periods of the year. As already remarked, Port has traced the impact of increased lengths of parliamentary sessions during the eighteenth century upon time spent by the aristocracy and gentry in London, with the concomitant growth in new sites for interaction and entertainment designed as a draw for both gentlemen and their families during the season.⁸²⁰ Related to this was the developing importance of the town house in addition to the country seat. Port has observed that Devonshire House in London cost £29,000, whereas Chatsworth cost only £22,000 including the farm.⁸²¹ This is reflected in the range of houses depicted in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. The growth of London, and the relationship between the city and the provinces, had a profound impact upon traditional patterns of social intercourse, leading to new systems of exchange, new signs, symbols and ordering systems. However, other interests were always participating in this urban centre. While trade and empire were fundamentally linked to London, a number of merchants bought land and houses on its outskirts thus separating themselves from the city. Similarly, the aristocracy entered into a fundamentally important interaction between the town house and the country estate which involved a complex relationship of supply and exchange, and conspicuous consumption. The development of the provincial town was another important element in the network of relationships, whereby a form of urban sensibility reached beyond the confines of London to play a significant part in the social relationships of the provincial gentry who were, of course, by no means isolated from the politics and power play of the day, many acting as Members of Parliament for provincial boroughs.⁸²² London became an important referent. Through the circulation of newspapers and the periodical press it affected upon life in provincial urban centres.

This gradual process of movement into the city by the aristocracy impacted directly on the complex set of relationships between aristocracy and gentry already outlined. Manley has observed that:

‘Supported by the magnetism of London’s land, money and marriage markets, by its law terms, by the proximity of the court, and increasingly by the allure of the pleasures it offered, the development of the West End brought a gentrifying

⁸¹⁹ P. Borsay, op cit.

⁸²⁰ M. Port, ‘Town House and Country House: Their Interaction’, in D. Arnold, 1998, op cit, pp 117-138.

⁸²¹ M. Port ‘Town House and Country House: Inter-Relationships’, The Georgian House and Visual Culture. Conference held at the Tate Gallery, London 4th December 1998.

⁸²² These men form a significant percentage of the subscribers to *Vitruvius Britannicus*

city together with an urbanising gentry, transforming seventeenth century London into what Thomas Fuller called 'the inn-general of the gentry and nobility of this nation'. With the development of new patterns of landholding and national administration and finance, London became the central hub in an expanding network of communications - a system of coaching roads that made it possible for whole families to journey to London while enclosed from the elements, a system of correspondence and ultimately of printed journals that kept rural landowners in weekly touch with the capital ...⁸²³

New sites of discourse and display developed that included both gentry and aristocracy. One of the most significant of these was the coffee house. Habermas has observed that '... in Britain ... the predominance of the 'town' was strengthened by new institutions that, for all their variety ... took over [certain] social functions: the coffee houses in their golden age between 1680 and 1730 ... were centres of criticism - literary at first, then also political'.⁸²⁴ The importance of the coffee house as a participant in the commodification of culture is alluded to in Addison's tenth issue of the *Spectator* when he says 'My Publisher tells me, that there are already Three Thousands (copies) distributed every Day: so that if I allow Twenty Readers to every Paper, which I look upon as a modest Computation, I may reckon about Threescore Thousand Disciples in London and Westminster ...'.⁸²⁵ Their importance was noted by Miège: 'To improve Society, the life of Recreation, the English have, besides their usual and friendly Meetings called Clubs, the Conveniency of Coffee-Houses, more common here than any where else. In these all Comers intermix together with mutual freedom; and, at the small Charge of a peny or two pence of such Licquors as are sold there, Men have the Opportunity of meeting together and getting Acquaintance, with choice of Conversation, and the advantage of reading all forein and domestick News'.⁸²⁶

After 1650 coffee houses were important urban sites of discourse not just in London but also in many other important provincial towns such as Oxford, Edinburgh, and York. These became important sites for polite conversation and also for the exchange of information. With the beginnings of the postal system at the end of the seventeenth century, they began to function as circulation centres. They also played a significant role in the commodification of culture. Advertisements in newspapers and the periodical press frequently gave coffee houses as box numbers. They also played a key role in the system of publication, selling particular copies of works and frequently hosting book sales. Different coffee houses became associated with particular groups. Jonathan's in Exchange Alley off Cornhill was used by stockjobbers,

⁸²³ L. Manley, op cit, p483.

⁸²⁴ J. Habermas, op cit, p32.

⁸²⁵ Cited in P. Rogers, *The Context of English Literature. The Eighteenth Century*, (London: Methuen, 1978), p46.

⁸²⁶ G. Miège, op cit, p42.

the nearby Garraway's was frequented by goldsmiths, bankers and dealers. Areas such as Covent garden were frequented by literary and theatrical folk.⁸²⁷ The Royal Society often adjourned to the tavern after formal meetings of the Royal Society.⁸²⁸ It can therefore be seen that they were essentially sites for collective identity building. The specialisation of the coffee houses was part of a system of group consolidation and a means by which each group could present itself to the outside world and indeed to itself.⁸²⁹ Rogers has argued that Addison's famous comment that he hoped to bring 'Philosophy out of Closets and Libraries, Schools and Colleges, to dwell in Clubs and Assemblies, at Tea-Tables, and in Coffee-Houses' was part of a 'secularisation of taste'.⁸³⁰ In fact this process of secularisation was more fundamentally a process of commodification. The importance was not so much the removal of cultural exchange from the church and lecture hall, but the linking of morality and conversation with participation in a commodity culture firmly rooted in ideas of self representation, display and consumption. Habermas saw these sites as primarily masculine sites of discourse. However, recent work has questioned his formulation of the public sphere as masculine.⁸³¹

The area of women's involvement in architectural discourse is very wide and demands further study. It can certainly be seen from a study of the subscription lists of Vitruvius Britannicus that women such as the Duchess of Marlborough subscribed in addition to their husbands. There is little doubt that women were familiar with key architectural debates For example, in 1709 Peter Wentworth made the following comments in a letter to Lord Raby : 'I went t'other day to make a visset to Lady Bathurst where I mett my mother and she desire I wou'd show your plans. She stood amased at it, and said the least such a building cou'd cost inside and out wou'd be £10,000 ...'.⁸³² This highlights another important area of discourse, the informal conversation.

⁸²⁷ P. Rogers, op cit, p45.

⁸²⁸ For example, see the entry in Pepys's Diary for April 2nd 1668. '[following the meeting] ... with Lord Brouncker and several of them to the King's Head Taverne by Chancery Lane, and there did drink and eat and talk, and above the rest, I did hear of Mr. Hooke and my Lord an account of the reason of concords and discords in musique, which they say is from the equality of vibrations; but I am not satisfied with it, but will at my leisure think of it more, and see how far that do go to explain it'.

⁸²⁹ For a comprehensive study of coffee houses see B. Lillywhite, *London Coffee Houses. A reference book of coffee houses of the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries*, (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1963).

⁸³⁰ *The Spectator* No 10 (1711). See P. Rogers, op cit, p15.

⁸³¹ See B. Cowan, 'What was Masculine about the Public Sphere? Coffeehouses and the Grounds of Contention in Augustan England'. Paper given to Leeds University Eighteenth Century Group February 2000

⁸³² J. J. Cartwright, op cit, p79.

Although, Simmel quite specifically associates the metropolis with the liberation of the individual from the oppressive and controlling group, one strategy for living in the metropolis is the creation of informal groups which retain a sense of the liberty of the individual to participate or not. Implicit in Simmel's discussion of the protective process of developing an aversion to strangers is the formation of an intimate group of acquaintances (the level of intimacy of course not having to be a cloying small town closeness but rather a mutually agreeable drawing together). Conversation can be seen to reinforce this. While there were varying levels of intimacy in conversation, it always operated within a sphere occupied by other people. Conversation was important in consolidating the ruling group through a process of managed inclusion. It was a vital part of the social exchange in formal institutions such as the coffee house or the club. It was also the style of writing favoured by the periodical press. As early as the seventeenth century the city was seen as a key site for conversation. In 1620 Sir William Cavendish had considered the necessity of 'the conversation, of discreet, able, and understanding men', which 'must bee sought where it is, and that is in Cities, and Courts, where generally the most refined, and iudicious men, be likeliest to be found ... a man will get that by conversation, hee will never learne either by letters, or report'.⁸³³ However, the idea of conversation cut across different sites of discourse from the formal, semi-formal to informal discussions at homes, at plays and over dinner parties. Diaries of the period demonstrate the importance of the dinner parties and meetings at each others houses in reinforcing social relationships. The letters from Peter Wentworth to Lord Raby frequently discuss such occasions. They also frequently refer to discussions about architecture and building in these social spaces. On May 22, London 1711 Wentworth wrote to Raby.

'When I was at the Duke of Shrewsbury's my Lord Scarborough was there and he was talking of his building and they did agree there was no building without a surveyor even when they agreed by the great [sic]); which agrees with the advise Mr Benson is always desiring to send you word, you must be at the expense, which in the main will be money saved, for a blunder in building is not to be repaired without a great expense and lost of time and labour.'⁸³⁴

Pepys's diary also frequently mentions discussion of polite topics in such informal situations. After Pepys had been elected to the Royal Society he developed a keen interest in science and mathematics. On May 8th 1668, he made the following entry (to which I have already had occasion to refer) in his diary. 'I to Brouncker's house, and there sat and talked, I asking many questions in mathematics to my Lord, which he do me the pleasure to satisfy me in.'

⁸³³ W. Cavendish, Earl of Devonshire, *Horae subsecivae. Obseruations and discourses*, (London: Printed by Eliot's Court Press for Edward Blount, 1620), pp163, 168.

⁸³⁴ J. J. Cartwright, op cit, p200.

Significantly, this contact is played out within the 'private' sphere of Lord Brouncker's home. Similarly, the Royal Society sometimes met at Arundell House at Henry Howard's invitation. This highlights another important aspect of the networks of contacts made between people during this period – the degree to which such contacts are played out in a private area such as the home yet are oriented towards a public through the idea of conversation. Clearly private and public space were not as clearly delineated as is sometimes implied.

Another system of discourse that overlaps between private and public is that of letter writing. The letters between Wentworth and Raby demonstrate the importance of this in their own lives. Their letters frequently mention architectural topics. In December 1711 Wentworth wrote to Raby, 'I saw all your house yesterday as I believe when I see it furnish't I shall like it much better than Mr Bathurst's. You order's me to tell you my mind plainly so I desire to have time till I see all Sir Richard's goods out of it'.⁸³⁵ In 1713 Lord Berkely of Stratton, wrote to Raby, observing that 'The Duke of Shrewsbury's is a very good house newly built, with free stone. I was pleas'd with his avenue of a mile and a half long, not of single trees but square plots of equal bignes and distance which is new and looks very well'.⁸³⁶ The value ascribed to a polite knowledge of architecture is clear in the letter to Raby written by the Earl of Bute in 1715.

'Your Lordship is pleas'd to be so mery with your humble servant as to prefer my loe taste in architecture to the consummated experience of Bingley and the rising merit of Bathurst. Forgive me my lord if from an impartiall reflectione on my own abilities I refuse the acceptance of so unmerited a preference; it is honour enough for me to be ranked in a class inferior to the hight that they do shine in for I do freely own myself to be in the same situatione with respect to them in architecture that I am as to your Lordship in regard to your other great qualityes, that is I admire in you that noble ardour and heroic virtue that I cannot equall, as I do in them these architecturall accomplishments.'⁸³⁷

It is interesting that drawings of buildings and architectural plans also clearly played a role in discussions of architecture in the exchange of letters. Bute specifically refers to the exchange of such drawings in his letter to Raby.

'I return your Lordship my humble thanks for your plans of Stainborough and Twitnam but above all your print which, notwithstanding of the profane use you devote it to in your letter, I cannot treat with too much respect. I am indeed sensible that in comparisone of these noble happy seats, that providence has justly rewarded you with requitall of your great deserts, the finest apartment in

⁸³⁵ Ibid, p220.

⁸³⁶ Ibid, p345.

⁸³⁷ Ibid, p442.

my posessione is no more than such a necessary house as you mentione, yet as the Gods of old disdain'd not to be enshrined in the humblest temples of their votaryes, I flatter myself you will submit to accept of a place for your effigyes in the politest recesses of the habitation of your friend, and tho' to your Lordship this slender demonstration of respect can be no more an additione than adoratione is to them. Yet to me or maine may possibly anse this benefit, by viewing the pictur, to be fir'd and excited to the imitatione of the virtues of the original.⁸³⁸

Architecture was thus an important element in polite discourse. Bute's letter, and those to Martha Blount by Pope, demonstrate that it was a subject of written and verbal discussion and that plans, prints and images were frequently exchanged and discussed. This was played out against a background of display linked to self representation and group identities which pervaded all aspects of social intercourse. These included formal and informal systems of exchange of information in venues such as the coffee house or the club or society. However, it was also a vital element in exchanges between individuals at home, in letters, and at dinner parties. Diaries and travel memoirs such as those by Evelyn and Fiennes can also be considered part of this process. While not all were intended for anyone else to read, their role in self instruction and contemplation can be seen to relate to the wider concerns outlined. The wide range of social systems and practices established a complex and interconnected range of discourses to which and through which architectural discussion was related. The complex interaction of ideas of built architecture, architectural representations, prints, and publications within this discourse, together with systems of display and commodification, is epitomised in William Robinson. Robinson built a house at Newby Park in Yorkshire to designs provided by Campbell. His choice of Campbell is revealing. Robinson wanted it to be of large size and modern style reflecting the dignity of his family. He was a Member of Parliament and played an important role in provincial politics. His awareness of Campbell was most likely from *Vitruvius Britannicus*, to which he subscribed for all three volumes. He was at great pains to ensure that illustrations of his new house should appear in the next volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, showing that he was anxious that it should be seen by other distinguished subscribers. He instructed his daughter Anne to tell her brother Metcalfe 'My father wished you would subscribe to Colin Campbell's book and get Newby engraved in it'.⁸³⁹

⁸³⁸ Ibid, p442.

⁸³⁹ This was first noted by G. Hinchcliffe, 'The Robinsons of Newby Park and Newby Hall', in *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, Vol. 63, 1991. West Riding Record Office, Sheepscar Vyner MSS 2866/1, 13577, 13584. The reply to this letter is V13397.

7. Conclusion

In Chapter 3, I showed that the dominant reading of *Vitruvius Britannicus* has emphasised the alleged role of the archive and of its author in a Palladian Revolution linked to the rise of the Whig interest in Britain. I argued that the dominant approach to *Vitruvius Britannicus* has much in common with Butterfield's characterisation of a Whig interpretation of history.⁸⁴⁰ Butterfield identified a tendency by historians to interpret British history in terms of the progress towards an ideal state that closely resembled the propertied parliamentary democracy that they advocated. In a similar way, many architectural histories stress the development of architecture by a succession of individual architects who sought to re-establish and then maintain the classical Vitruvian ideal against the 'barbarism' of the earlier gothic, and the degeneracy of the later baroque. This approach produces a progressive history of architecture that emphasises stylistic succession and the struggle to regain and then maintain the classical.

In many ways the parameters fixing the historiography of *Vitruvius Britannicus* were set by John Summerson who saw *Vitruvius Britannicus* as a founding text in the development of English Palladianism. It is within this context that subsequent discussion of the publication has taken place. The key elements in this reading are the emphasis upon a progressive history of style and upon *Vitruvius Britannicus* as a Palladian manifesto that particularly appealed to Whig interests. This results in a stress on origin and a particular emphasis on authorship and ideas relating to production rather than consumption. In addition an interpretation of the volumes as centred upon a built style has resulted in a purely architectural consideration of Campbell's publication, predominantly focused upon built examples.

This type of progressive approach emphasizing broad historic periods has been challenged by a number of historians who have stressed the value of a much tighter focus on historical moments. This thesis does not offer an alternative to those that consider a broader time period, but provides valuable insights into specific contexts that can reinforce and feed into a broader analysis of historical change. In this thesis I have focused upon the period contemporary with the publication of Campbell's volumes of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Although necessarily relating this to earlier developments and placing it within subsequent

⁸⁴⁰ H. Butterfield, *The Whig Interpretation of History*, (London: G. Bell & Sons, (1931) 1968).

developments, the aim has not been to offer a new periodisation, but rather to locate this particular archive within a wider context.

In this thesis I have done two things: firstly, I have challenged the Whig-Palladian interpretation of *Vitruvius Britannicus* by looking more closely at the actual archive, and argued that a close examination of *Vitruvius Britannicus* does not support interpretations that see it as a Palladian manifesto, and as having a particular notion of architectural style inscribed in it. Secondly, I have challenged the dominant architectural historical reading of *Vitruvius Britannicus* that prioritises a stylistic interpretation, and have sought instead to offer an enlarged vision of the publication which moves beyond a focus on authorial intention. I argue that, through interrogation of the volumes, other paradigms and discourses can be identified which locate them within a complex system of reception. My aim has not been to establish causal connections but rather to highlight a number of correspondences between ideas expressed through the images, organisation, and text of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, and wider paradigms and discourses thus situating the volumes outside of a narrow architectural history principally focused upon buildings.

Chapter 2 established that a number of themes that have remained fundamental to the historiography of *Vitruvius Britannicus* are problematic in the light of a close examination of the volumes. I examined the contents of the volumes and the type of public that subscribed to them, and identified a number of issues pertinent to the study of the publication. I argued that the diversity of the styles of architecture and the range of architects featured in the volumes problematise the notion of *Vitruvius Britannicus* as a Palladian publication. I also challenged interpretations of it that prioritise the country houses depicted, demonstrating instead that the types of buildings represented include a significant number of town houses and public buildings sidelined in previous analysis. This section also mapped the geographical distribution of the buildings depicted and highlighted the exclusion of Wales and Ireland and the under-representation of Scotland, a point which has not been considered in other histories of the subject. It also mapped the range of subscribers to the publication, and discussed as far as was possible their social origins. This analysis demonstrated the high social standing of the majority of subscribers to *Vitruvius Britannicus*. By analysing the composition of the subscription lists, and comparing this with other publications both architectural and non-architectural, I was able to show that Campbell's volumes appealed to an audience of high social standing. This section thus raised a number of aspects of the publication that have been neglected. Some of these, such as the appeal of the publication to women, were too broad to consider within the space of this study, but I hope to have provided enough information, however

tantalising, to suggest future avenues for extensive focused research into the relationship between architectural discourse and gender during this period. This particular study focused upon the range of contexts within which *Vitruvius Britannicus* may have been understood, specifically considering its role as a publication aimed at the interests of a polite elite.

The main body of the thesis examined a range of contexts that were significant in terms of understanding reception of the volumes. I have not sought to posit a definitive set of contexts within which *Vitruvius Britannicus* should be read, but rather to articulate a particular set of discursive practices that may have impacted on the way in which Campbell's volumes could have been understood. Specifically, my focus is upon a particular set of practices relating to polite conduct and discourse during the period. However, I recognise that the volumes are characterised by complex and shifting methods and readings which reflect the range of contemporary reading practices and the multiple levels on which *Vitruvius Britannicus*, as a cultural artefact, could have been consumed.

Chapter 4 considered the range of publishing paradigms to which *Vitruvius Britannicus* may have related. This analysis of architectural publications considered the development of a theoretical base for architectural discourse developed during and after the Renaissance largely dependent upon Vitruvius. It demonstrated that a particular body of literature, principally the works of Vitruvius, Alberti, Serlio and Palladio, dominated much of the English architectural literature up until the seventeenth century. While *Vitruvius Britannicus* clearly drew upon significant elements of this discourse in terms of architectural terminology and architectural illustration, Campbell's work differs on a number of important levels. The principal of these is its differentiation from a technical discourse essentially concerned with practice. While Campbell's publication drew upon an increasingly visual system of publication, significant aesthetic rather than technical elements can be traced in it.

I argue that a better understanding of *Vitruvius Britannicus* can be achieved if we also look at Campbell's work within the context of other publishing paradigms. Section 4.2 therefore considered models such as aesthetic evaluation, architectural and topographical prints, tourist itineraries and memoirs, maps and technical illustration. I argued that Campbell shares much in common with Vasari in terms of his dependence upon a theoretical subtext for his architectural discussion, and I demonstrated that both writers introduced distinct elements of aesthetic evaluation in their architectural descriptions.

My analysis of architectural and topographical prints suggested an alternative visual tradition which can be traced in several European countries including Italy, France, and the Low Countries. I argued that the French tradition of architectural prints is particularly pertinent to the study of *Vitruvius Britannicus* in terms of an assertion of national architectural achievement. The importance of France, and the complex situation of emulation and criticism of France by the British, was considered in a number of contexts within this thesis, and this reinforces the particular connection posited between France and Britain in my analysis of architectural prints. I suggested that the dominant French paradigm of print publications, and its connection with *Vitruvius Britannicus*, stressed the significance of the idea of survey, which has particular resonance in terms of Campbell's representation of work by British architects. In fact, the idea of survey was not particularly French: it can also be traced in works such as Rubens's *I Palazzi di Genova*⁸⁴¹ and in Kip and Knyff's *Britannia Illustrata*.⁸⁴² Nevertheless, French publications such as Du Cerceau's *Le premier (second) volume des plus excellents batiments de France*, (1576). Marot's, *L'architecture Francoise*, (1670), and Mariette's *L'architecture Francoise, ou recueil des plans, elevations ... des eglises, palais, hotels de Paris ... et de plusieurs autres endroits de France* (published in 1727 but from prints in circulation at an earlier date), were particularly important models which influenced Campbell's organisation of *Vitruvius Britannicus*.

This notion of survey helped to position *Vitruvius Britannicus* in terms of other publication paradigms both visual and textual. The primary visual paradigm was that of cartography. Cartographic projections relate closely to orthographic projection in terms of an abstracted treatment of form and a shared 'view from nowhere'. Additionally cartography generated a system of conventional signs many of which can be explicitly related to *Vitruvius Britannicus* through their use in the geometrical plans published in the third volume. The paradigm of mapping also demonstrated the importance of social mapping in terms of survey. This process conveys social information within a geographic context and has much in common with Campbell's publication which discusses social standing and virtue within an architectural context.

This process of surveying social standing was also fundamental to the other paradigm considered, that of touristic language and literature. I considered the relationship between *Vitruvius Britannicus* and the language and subjects that reoccur in this literature in 4.2d.

⁸⁴¹ P. P. Rubens's *Palazzi di Genova* (Antwerp, 1622)

⁸⁴² J. Kip, *Britannia Illustrata or views of several of the Queens palaces as also of the nobility and gentry of Great Britain curiously engraven on 80 copper plates*, (London: Sold by David Mortier, 1707).

This section demonstrated that Campbell's descriptions of the plates in *Vitruvius Britannicus* equate with a very generalised discussion of wider elements relating to buildings and collections formed by owners, fundamental to which was an idea of social survey, thus reinforcing the difference between Campbell's publication and the body of literature considered in 4.1a

A final paradigm important to understanding *Vitruvius Britannicus* was that of scientific illustration, which helped to establish the value of images in communicating particular kinds of knowledge, particularly through a published discourse. The systemisation of illustration, and the prevalence of schematic representations of subjects related to the systems of orthogonal projection in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Campbell's use of this projection, together with his geometrical plans suggest a more intellectual, cerebral, approach to architectural knowledge. This approach can be traced in the illustrated works of both Serlio and Palladio, and consequently also relates to the system of Renaissance theory discussed in 4.1a. However, Campbell's use of illustration differs from these authors because of the emphasis upon survey rather than didactic practical discussion. Campbell's publication inserts gentlemen's seats together with town houses, public buildings and churches into a discourse firmly grounded within this theoretical subtext, but combines the theories propounded in theoretical texts with another print tradition in order to lift the idea of a survey onto a new level. This allows for a cerebral appreciation of architecture developed through the print rather than the original. This reordering of architecture into the aesthetic relates to aspects of gentlemanly activity such as polite conversation and private collection. Consequently, as I have shown, *Vitruvius Britannicus* can be considered as a cultural product consumed in a variety of ways relating to a range of treatments of architecture through both text and image.

My analysis of the relationship between *Vitruvius Britannicus* and wider publishing paradigms demonstrated the range of knowledge within Campbell's publication, and located it within discourses other than the purely architectural, which have dominated previous considerations of the subject. Central to my argument is the fact that *Vitruvius Britannicus* could be inserted into a range of contemporary discourses which enabled it to be understood within different cultural contexts. The three volumes could appeal to the print collector, and to those particularly interested in assessing and evaluating design processes, and it could also function on the level of generalised 'polite' discussion of architecture structured by ideas of disinterest, authority, appropriate knowledge, and polite conversation. These themes were explored in Chapter 6 which examined the range of architectural discourses contemporary with *Vitruvius Britannicus* and traced the connections between discourse, language

codification and group formation. This section positioned *Vitruvius Britannicus* within a notion of gentlemanly discourse codified and structured through publications and through polite consumption. The relationship between architectural discourse and wider discourses relating to polite conduct locate *Vitruvius Britannicus* on one level as a cultural artefact that functioned within the polite discourse of the elite, as a text that was considered to be of good use and serious pleasure. The location of Campbell's volumes within this elite culture also explains one of the contradictions highlighted in my analysis, namely the importance of an idea of nationhood and of an assertion of national excellence. I considered this in 5.1 showing how this idea draws upon a number of paradigms related to other nations. In doing so I highlighted the complex engagement by members of a polite elite within a European society with which the English were in increasing contact through, for example, the growing popularity of the Grand Tour. However, this was paired with a nascent idea of Britain, and a more established belief in British superiority and liberty, which lead to the systems of European emulation and competition central to Campbell's publication.

An important idea behind this thesis, which I raised in 5.6, is the notion of *Vitruvius Britannicus* as being at the same time a system of architectural information and also a work of art. Any literary work operates on a number of different levels. Texts operate in terms of the production of an encoding system generating referents which make the text meaningful to its audience. Yet at the same time the production involved in publication creates the literary work as artefact as well, thus generating another set of aesthetic referents and value hierarchies which give the publication a cultural-aesthetic role in the social milieu. *Vitruvius Britannicus* was not only a means of transmitting information but was an economic artefact in its own right. It therefore operated in terms of two exchange values, the cultural and the economic. The social formation of an idea of taste and disinterest as a marker of gentility points to the formation of a self-conscious intellectual culture rooted in both economic and social concerns.

The range of discourses which *Vitruvius Britannicus* drew upon, and the emphasis upon judgement and the system of praise tied to architectural ideas, places it firmly within a polite architectural discourse defined as part of an elite intellectual culture. It positions it as a publication that demonstrated good use of leisure time in acquiring polish in architectural discourse without suggestion of trade or pedantry. While this is not the only way of understanding the volumes, I have shown that it is a significant context for the reception of Campbell's publication, and one which has not been considered to date. By shifting the historiography of the subject away from style, authorship and architecture as built, I have

shown how one might generate a much wider range of potential research on architectural publication, and in the process how one might escape the rather narrow preoccupations that have to date dominated the treatment of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. In brief, I have sought to move consideration of *Vitruvius Britannicus* away from the style of architectural periodisation towards a very different sense of style conceived in terms of a system of appearances that constituted the 'polite world'. This system was played out within a public sphere supported by publications such as *Vitruvius Britannicus* which occupied a dual role. Firstly, they codified the nature of polite discourse, and secondly their consumption could demonstrate the virtuous and productive use of leisure that exemplified gentlemanly conduct. Thus *Vitruvius Britannicus* as it related to this body of publications can be understood as a cultural artefact which was of 'good use or serious pleasure' for the polite reader.

Appendix.

A - Editions of Vitruvius Britannicus

1715 Campbell, Colen

Vitruvius Britannicus. Vol. 1

Vitruvius Britannicus or the British Architect. Containing the Plans, Elevations and Sections of the Regular Buildings both Publick and Private in Great Britain with Variety of New Designs; in 200 large Folio Plates, Engraven by the best Hands; and Drawn either from the Buildings themselves or the Original Designs of the Architects. In II Volumes. Vol I by Colen Campbell Esqr. = Vitruvius Britannicus: ou, l'architecte britannique, contenant les plans elevations, & sections des batimens reguliers, tant particululiers que publics de la Grande Bretagne, ...en deu tomes. Tome II. Par le Sieur Campbell. ...

Published: London: Sold by the Author over against Douglas Coffee-House in St Martins-Lane, John Nicholson in Little Britain, Andrew Bell at the Cross-keys in Cornhill. W Taylor in Pater-Noster-Row, Henry Clements in St Pauls Church-yard, And Jos. Smith in Exeter Exchange London.

Plates 1 and 2 are the engraved title page and dedication to George I

With a list of subscribers, dated 25th March 1715

There is no French text.

Some illustrations occupy facing pages and both pages are numbered but they were printed from a single plate. The pages of plates are numbered 1 - 100 and are printed on one side only

Copies of this edition can be found at Manchester Chetham's Library, Oxford University Worcester College Library, and at John Rylands University Library of Manchester

The British Library does not have a copy of the 1715 vol. I

1717 Campbell, Colen

Vitruvius Britannicus. Vol 1

Vitruvius Britannicus or the British Architect. Containing the Plans, Elevations and Sections of the Regular Buildings both Publick and Private in Great Britain with Variety of New Designs; in 200 large Folio Plates, Engraven by the best Hands; and Drawn either from the Buildings themselves or the Original Designs of the Architects. In II Volumes. Vol I by Colen Campbell Esqr. = Vitruvius Britannicus: ou, l'architecte britannique, contenant les plans elevations, & sections des batimens reguliers, tant particululiers que publics de la Grande Bretagne, ...en deu tomes. Tome II. Par le Sieur Campbell. ...

Published: London: Sold by the author, John Nicholson, Andrew Bell, W Taylor, Henry Clements, and Jos. Smith, 1717

A reissue of the 1715 edition of vol. I, issued to accompany the 1717 edition of vol. II. Its engraved title page is the same as that for vol. II, with one of the downstrokes of the figure II pasted over to make a 'I'. The dedication is also engraved. With a list of subscribers, dated 25th March, 1715. There was no French text.

Copies of this edition can be found at the British Library, Birmingham Central Libraries, John Rylands University Library, Manchester and at Oxford University Bodleian Library

1717 Campbell, Colen

Vitruvius Britannicus. Vol. 2

Vitruvius Britannicus: or, the British architect, containing the geometrical plans of the most considerable gardens and plantations; also the plans, elevations and sections of the regular buildings, both publick and private, in Great Britain, with variety of new designs; in 200 large folio plates ... in II volumes Vol II. By Colen Campbell Esqr. = Vitruvius Britannicus: ou, l'architecte britannique, contenant les plans elevations, & sections des batimens reguliers, tant particululiers que publics de la Grande Bretagne, ...en deu tomes. Tome II. Par le Sieur Campbell. ...

Published: London: Sold by the author, John Nicholson, Andrew Bell, W Taylor, Henry Clements, and Jos. Smith, 1717

Issued with the 1717 reissue of vol. I of the 1715 edition. The title page is engraved. There is an enlarged list of the subscribers in vol. I. There was no French text

Copies of this edition can be found at the British Library, Birmingham Central Libraries, John Rylands University Library of Manchester and Chetham's Library, Manchester

1722-1725 (Undated)

Campbell, Colen

Vitruvius Britannicus. Vol. 1-2

Vitruvius Britannicus or the British Architect., containing the Plans, Elevations and Sections of the Regular Buildings both Publick and Private in Great Britain with Variety of New Designs; in 200 large Folio Plates, ... in II Volumes ... by Colen Campbell Esqr. = Vitruvius Britannicus: ou, l'architecte britannique, contenant les plans elevations, & sections des batimens reguliers, ... de la Grande Bretagne, ...en deux tomes. Par le Sieur Campbell. ...

Published: London, 1722?

In this issue, the imprint and date have been erased from the engraved titlepages of both volumes. There was no French text. Presumably appeared some time between the first edition of vol. II (1717) and that of vol. III (1725). There is evidence of a reissue of vols 1-2 in 1722.⁸⁴³ Harris and Savage date this edition at 1725.⁸⁴⁴

Announcement of Vol III concludes '... both instructing and pleasant. The Specimens are to be seen at Mr. Smith's in Exeter-Exchange in the Strand.' Harris & Savage argue that it may be inferred from this reference that the subscription list printed in this volume was printed after the opening of the subscription for Vol. III (advertised in the *Daily Journal* 27 Aug. 1724) and before the publication of Vol. III at the end of January 1725.

Copies of this edition can be found at the British Library

1725 Campbell, Colen

Vitruvius Britannicus. Vol. 3.

Containing the geometrical Plans of the most Considerable Gardens and Plantations; also the Plans Elevations and Sections of the most Regular Buildings not Published in the First and Second Volumes, with Large Views in Perspective, of the most Remarkable Edifices in Great Britain. Engraven by the Best Hands in On Hundred large Folio Plates. By Colen Campbell, Esquire. Architect to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. [= Parallel Title in French] ... Cum Privilegio Regis.

Published: London. Printed: And Sold by the author, at his House in Middle Scotland-Yard, White-Hall; And by Joseph Smith, at the Sign of Inigo Jones's Head, near Exeter-'change, in the Strand

Title page in red and black. Dedication to the Prince of Wales. Contains 74 plates (numbered as 100) - A continuation of 'Vitruvius Britannicus: or, the British architect' ... vol. I - II (1715-1717). There was no French text

Copies of this edition can be found at Manchester, Chetham's Library, Oxford University Worcester College Library, and the British Library.

1729 Campbell, Colin

Vitruvius Britannicus. British Library copy of Vol. 3

(With 6 additional, unnumbered plates included at the end of designs of Colin Campbell mostly from his 'Five Orders of Architecture')

⁸⁴³ See T. P. Connor, 'The Making of Vitruvius Britannicus' in *Architectural History* 20, 1977, p17.

⁸⁴⁴ See E. Harris, N. Savage, *British Architectural Books and Writers 1556-1785*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

1731 Campbell, Colin**Vitruvius Britannicus. Vol. 1-3**

The first three volumes were reissued in 1731 and are distinguished by the addition in vol. 3 of plates numbered 101-2 depicting Umberslade Hall.

Copies of this edition can be found at Birmingham Central Libraries

1739 Badeslade, J., Rocque, J.,**Vitruvius Britannicus. Vol. 4.**

'Vitruvius Britannicus Volume the Fourth, a Collection of Plans, Elevations and Perspective Views, of the Royal Palaces, Noblemen and Gentlemen's Seats, in Great Britain'. This was presented as a pendant to Campbell's volumes and is largely a topographical work. Harris and Savage observe that it fits perfectly Bernard Adam's description of *Britannia Illustrata* and *Le nouveau architecture* as a printseller's 'vehicle for disposing of topographical engravings issued over a considerable period of time by a number of publishers.'⁸⁴⁵

1767 Campbell, Colen**Vitruvius Britannicus. Vol. 1-3**

Vitruvius Britannicus: or, the British architect, containing the geometrical plans of the most considerable gardens and plantations; also the plans, elevations and sections of the regular buildings, both publick and private, in Great Britain, with variety of new designs; in 200 large folio plates, ... in III volumes ... by Colen Campbell, Esqr. = Vitruvius Britannicus: ou, l'architecte britannique, contenant les plans elevations, sections des batimens reguliers, ... de la Grande Bretagne ... en trois tomes ... Par le Sieur Campbell. ...

London 1767?

Harris and Savage date this edition at 1751.⁸⁴⁶ Parallel French and English text in columns. Engraved title pages. With the engraved matter reissued from the original 1715-25 plates and the imprints of the original title pages erased. With a list of subscribers. The reissue of 1731 has 2 plates numbered 101-2 of Umberslade Hall added in vol. 3. This is not that reissue. Issued possibly at the time of the appearance of Woolfe and Gandon's Vol. IV in 1767⁸⁴⁷

Copies of this edition can be found in the British Library and at the University of Leeds, Brotherton Library

⁸⁴⁵ Ibid, p146. Quoting B. Adams, *London Illustrated*, (1983) p28.

⁸⁴⁶ See E. Harris, N. Savage, op cit.

⁸⁴⁷ See P. Breman, D. Addis, *Guide to Vitruvius Britannicus*, (New York: Benjamin Blom Inc., 1972), p. xiv

1767 Woolfe, John**Vitruvius Britannicus, Vol. 5-6**

Vitruvius Britannicus, or the British architect; containing plans, elevations, and sections; of the regular buildings both public and private, in Great Britain. Comprised in one hundred folio plates, ... by Woolfe and Gandon architects. ... = Vitruvius Britannicus, ou l'architecte britannique; contenant les plans, elevations et, sections; des batimens reguliers, ... de la Grande Bretagne ... par Messrs. Woolfe et Gandon architectes. ...

Published: London, 1767 - 71

Parallel French and English text in columns. Engraved titlepages.

A continuation of Colin Campbell's 'Vitruvius Britannicus ...' 1715-25.

The volumes are numbered IV - V, though they should actually be vols. V - VI as Badeslade and Rocque published a fourth volume in 1739. It is not clear whether Woolfe and Gandon intended a vol. V at the time they produced vol. IV. A note at the foot of the subscribers list in Vol V shows that they were in 1771 intending a vol. VI which did not subsequently appear.

Copies of this edition can be found at the British Library, Manchester Chetham's Library, and the University of Leeds, Brotherton Library

1801 Richardson, George**New Vitruvius Britannicus.**

For details of further undated editions see E. Harris, N. Savage, *British Architectural Books and Writers 1556-1785*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp147-148.

B - Subscription Lists

There are four accumulative lists:

- 1) 'A List of those who have already subscribed before the 25th March 1715'
(Vol. I., pp [9] - 10)
- 2) 'A List of Subscribers' (Vol. II., pp. [7] - 8)
- 3) 'A List of Subscribers' (1722/1725 ed. Of Vol II, pp[7-8])
- 4) 'A List of the Subscribers.' (Vol. III, pp [5] - 6)

My analysis of the subscription lists is taken from the lists printed in each of the first editions of the volumes.

Vol. 1 - 1715 - Closed 25th March 1715

(Chetham's Library Copy)

Vol. 2 - 1717 - Closed March/April 1717

(British Library Copy. Verified Chethams Library Copy))

Vol. 3 - 1725 - Published January 1725, but probably open from August 1724

(or possibly earlier in 1722)

(Chetham's Library Copy)

I have identified the following figures⁸⁴⁸

Vol. 1 - 299 subscribers for 364 copies

Vol. 2 - 452 subscribers for 528 copies

Vol. 3 - 697 subscribers for 900 copies

⁸⁴⁸ These differ slightly from those presented by other authors. This could be due to errors in counting or to variations in copies consulted, although the printed subscription lists should be relatively constant. Other figures suggested are as follows: Connor, Vol. 1, 301 subscribers for 368 copies, Vol. 2, unidentified number of subscribers for 540 copies, Vol. 3, 696 subscribers for 899 copies. These are also the figures put forward by J Harris who suggests 466 subscribers to Vol. 2 for 540 copies. E Harris identifies Vol. 1, 303 subscribers for 370 copies, Vol. 2, 458 subscribers for 545 copies and Vol. 3, 692 subscribers for 893 copies. (E Harris's figure for vol. 3 suggests that she has excluded the five Royal subscribers.) Whilst my figures are again different, I will be using these for my calculations as the margin of difference is not sufficient to significantly alter the overall information which can be gained from the subscription lists. See T. P. Connor, *op cit*, J. Harris, 'The Country House on Display' in H. Stutchbury, *The Architecture of Colen Campbell*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1967), and E. Harris, N. Savage, *op cit*.

C - Publication Information⁸⁴⁹

Proposals advertised in the *Post Boy* 1/3 June 1714 'for publishing by Subscription, A Book entitul'd, Vitruvius Britannicus ...' in 2 vols. Folio, price to subscribers 3 gns. Each copy on Royal and 4 gns. On Imperial Paper, subscriptions taken in by A. Bell, G. Strahan, C. Bateman, Wm. Taylor, H. Clements, B. Took, P. Dunvoire [ie. Dunoyer], A. Johnson, engraver, J. Barnes, book-seller, and C. King.

Proposals re-advertised in the *Daily Courant* 25 June 1714, vol. I promised for Christmas, vol. II '10 Months after', subscriptions now being taken in by A. Bell, W., Taylor, H., Clements, J. Smith, P. Dumoire, [Dunoyer], A. Johnson, J. Barnes, and C. King.

Vol. I was announced in the *Daily Courant* 9 and 14 May 1715, as 'printed (for the Author C. Campbell) J. Nicholson ... A. Bell ... W. Taylor ... H. Clements ... and J. Smith ... ' and ready for delivery in 10 days.

Vol. I advertised as published in *Post Boy* 17/19 May 1715.

Vol. II announced as published, price of set raised by 1 guinea in the *Daily Courant* 30 March and 2 April 1717.

Subscription for Vol. III was advertised in the *Daily Journal* on the 27 August 1724

Vol. III was announced for delivery on the following Monday in the *Daily Post* 22 Jan. 1725

Vol. III advertised as published in the *Post Boy* 6 Feb 1725.

Privilege registered 8 April 1715 (PRO State Papers 44/359). This does not describe Campbell as author. However that printed in the first volume, and signed by James Stanhope does.⁸⁵⁰

⁸⁴⁹ This information is published in *Ibid*, and has been verified by the author.

⁸⁵⁰ '... we do therefore by these presents grant unto them the said Colen Campbell, John Nicholson, Andrew Bell, William Taylor, Henry Clements and Joseph Smith their executors, administrators and assigns our Royal licence for the sole printing and publishing the aforesaid book entitled Vitruvius Britannicus or the British Architect for the term of fourteen years from the date hereof: Strictly forbidding all our subjects within our Kingdom and Dominions to reprint the same, either in the like or in any other volume or volumes whatsoever or to import, buy, vend, utter or distribute any copies thereof. reprinted beyond the seas during the term of fourteen years without the consent or approbation of the said...their heirs, Executors and Assigns, under their hand and seals first had and obtain'd as they will answer the contrary at their peril: whereof the commissioners and other officers of our customs, the master, wardens and Company of Stationers are to take notice that the same may be entred in the Register of the said Company and that due obedience be rendered there unto. Given at our Court at St James's the eighth Day of April 1715 in the year of our reign.' Vol. 1, 1715.

D - Production costs for *Vitruvius Britannicus*

These have been calculated by Connor,⁸⁵¹ who has produced an estimated set of figures based on information available from other sources and relating to similar publications.⁸⁵²

Vol. 1		1 copy	400 copies
Paper (preliminaries & plates)	105 @ 2d	= 17s 6d	£350
Printing		= £ 1 1s 0d	£420
Copper plates	100 @ £1 10s	= £150 0s 0d	-----
Engraving: single	72 @ £10	= £720 0s 0d	-----
double	14 @ £15	= £210 0s 0d	-----
		-----	-----
Total =		£1081 18s 6d	£1851 18s 6d
		-----	-----
Vol. 2		1 copy	400 copies
Paper (preliminaries & plates)	104 @ 2 d	= 17s 4d	£346
Printing		= £ 1 0s 10d	£400 16s
Copper plates		= £150 0s 0d	-----
Engraving: single	57 @ £10	= £570 0s 0d	-----
double/quadruple	17 @ £15	= £255 0s 0d	-----
		-----	-----
Total =		£976 18s 2d	£1723 14s 2d
Vol. 3		1 copy	400 copies
Paper (preliminaries & plates)	106 @ 2d	= 17s 8d	£354
Printing		= £ 1 1s 10d	£420
Copper plates		= £150 0s 0d	-----
Engraving: single	47 @ £10	= £470 0s 0d	-----
double	14 @ £15	= £210 0s 0d	-----
perspectives	13 @ £20	= £260 0s 0d	-----
		-----	-----
Total =		£1090 18s 8d	£1864 18s 8d

Each volume was printed on both royal paper and imperial paper. The above calculations are for a copy on royal paper at 2d per sheet. If, in an edition of 400 copies, 60 were to be printed on imperial, the total cost would be raised by about £35.

⁸⁵¹ See T. P. Connor, op cit., pp14-30.

⁸⁵² Connor identifies engraving costs from the charges made by Griblin for his large and complicate engraving of St Paul's in 1702 which are given in the *Wren Society* xiv, p.xi. Also from the payments to Hulsberg for plates published in the *Designs of Inigo Jones* (see Chatsworth MSS, Graham & Collier's Joint Account, 27 October 1722.) Further evidence of engraver's costs is in Willis & Clark, 1866, *Architectural History of Cambridge University*, iii, p54, n.4. Vertue was paid £88 6s for five plates of *Biblioteca Radcliffiana* in 1737. (Gillam, 1958, *Building Accounts of the Radcliffe Camera* p180) Copper prices: *Wren Society*, xiv, p.xi. Paper prices: H. Carter, 1975, *History of the Oxford University Press*, I, p213. The cost of paper used in *Vitruvius Britannicus* is mentioned in an advertisement in the *Post Boy* 17 May, 1715. Cited in T. P. Connor, op cit., pp14-30.

Bibliography

- J. S. Ackerman, 'Early Renaissance 'Naturalism' and Scientific Illustration', in *Figura, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis*, Vol. 22, 1985, pp. 1-17.
- J. Ackerman, *The Villa. Form and Ideology of Country Houses*, (London: Thames & Hudson, 1990).
- J. Ackerman, *Distance Points. Essays in Theory and Renaissance Art and Architecture*, (Cambridge Mass. and London: MIT Press, 1991).
- J. Ackerman, *Palladio*, (London: Penguin, 1991).
- W. Adams, *Vitruvius Scoticus, being a collection of plans, elevations and sections of public buildings, noblemen's and gentlemen's houses in Scotland: principally from ... designs of ... W. Adams*, (Edinburgh: A. Black, 1780).
- J. Addison, *Remarks on several parts of Italy, &c. in the years 1701, 1702, 1703*, (London: Jacob Tonson, 1705).
- B. Alberti, *L'architettura (De re aedificatoria) di Leon Battista Alberti tradotta in lingua fiorentina dl cosimo Bartoli ... con l'aggiunta de disegni*. (Florence : Lorenzo Torrentine, 1550.)
- L. B. Alberti, *Della architettura De Leon Battista Alberti*, (In 10 Books), (London: Thomas Edlin, 1726).
- L. B. Alberti, Trans. J. Rykwert , N. Leach and R. Taverner, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, (Cambridge, Mass. and London: MIT Press, 1988).
- N. Alfrey, and S. Daniels, *Mapping the Landscape. Essays on Art and Cartography*, (Nottingham: University Art Gallery Nottingham, 1990).
- R. Allestree, attrib., *The Gentleman's Calling Written by the Author of the Whole Duty of Man*, (London: R. Norton for Robert Pawlet, (1660) 1677).
- Inigo Jones on Palladio*, ed. by B. Allsopp, (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Oriel Press Ltd., 1970).
- S. Alpers, 'Is Art History?', in *Daedalus, Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, 106, 1977, pp. 1-13.
- S. Alpers, *The Art of Describing. Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century*, (London: Penguin, 1983).
- W. Alston, *Philosophy of Language*, (New Jersey: Prentice Hall Inc., 1964).
- F. Ames-Lewis and M. Rogers, *Concepts of Beauty in Renaissance Art*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998).
- J. Andrews, *Letters to a Young Gentleman on his Setting out for France, containing a survey of Paris, and a review of French literature, etc.*, (London: J. Walter, W. Brown, 1784).

- J. Andrews, *A Comparative View of the French and English Nations in their Manners, Politics and Literature*, [A new edition of "An Account of the Character and Manners of the French with occasional observations on the English, (London: T. Longman, G. G. J. and J. Robinson, 1785).
- B. Angeloni, *Letters on the English Nation, Translated from the original Italian [or rather written] by the author of the Marriage Act, a novel [ie J Shebbeare]*, (London: 1756).
- 'The Anglo-Dutch Garden in the Age of William and Mary', in *Journal of Garden History*, Double Issue, Vol. 8, N^o. 2 and 3, April to September 1988.
- Anon, *Of Education, Especially of Young Gentlemen in Two Parts*, (Oxford Theatre: Printed for Amos Curteyne, 1687).
- Anon., *The Art of Pleasing in Conversation Written by the Famous Abbot Richlieu*. Trans out of French, (London, 1691. Printed for R Beniley in Russell Street, Covent Garden) .
- Anon., *The country gentlemans notion concerning governments, in a letter to his friend at Leeds*, (London: 1696).
- Anon., *The Gentleman's Dictionary. In three Parts. Viz 1. The Art of Riding the Great Horse: 2. The Military Art 3. The Art of Navigation...*, (London: Sieur Guillet, Printed for H. Bronwicke in St Paul's Chuch-Yard. T. Goodwin, M. Wotton, B. Tooke, in Fleetstreet; and S. Manship in Cornhill., 1705).
- Anon., *Glossographia Anglicana Nova Or a Dictionary Interpreting Hard Words of whatever language, as are present used in the English tongue...* (London, 1707).
- Anon, *A Gentleman Instructed - in the conduct of a Virtuous and Happy Life Written for the Instuction of a Young Nobleman*, (London: Printed for E. Smith, 4th edition, 1709).
- Anon., *The English gentleman's guide: Or, A new and compleat book of Maps of all England and Wales*, (London: 1710).
- Anon., *The Gentleman Instructed in the Way of Conversation, Entertainment of his Friend, Management of his Estate, Company – keeping, Travelling etc.*, (London: Printed for E. Smith, sold by Rich Wilkin at the King's-Head in St Paul's Church Yard, 1712).
- Anon., *The Gentleman's Library, containing Rules for Conduct in all Parts of Life Written by a Gentleman*, (London: W. Mears and J. Browne, 1715).
- J. Arbuthnot, *An Essay on the Usefulness of Mathematical Learning in A Letter from a Gentleman in the City to his Friend in Oxford*, (Oxford: Oxford Theatre for A. Peifley, 1701).
- J. Archer, *The Literature of Domestic Architecture 1715-1842*, (Cambridge Mass. and London: MIT Press, 1985).
- E. Armstrong, 'English Purchases of Printed Books from the Continent 1465-1526', in *English Historical Review*, Vol. 44, 1979, pp. 268-290.
- N. Armstrong, and L. Tennenhouse, *The Ideology of Conduct Essays in Literature and Sexuality*, (London and New York: Methuen, 1987).

- A. Arnould, Trans. Ozzell, *Logic: or, the Art of thinking ... Done from the new French edition by Mr Ozzell*, (London: for William Taylor, 1717).
- R. Arnheim, *Art and Visual Perception. A Psychology of the Creative Eye*, (London: Faber and Faber, 1969).
- R. Arnheim, *The Dynamics of Architectural Form*, (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1975).
- W. Attoe, *Architecture and Critical Imagination*, (New York and Chichester: John Wiley and sons, 1978).
- Belov'd by Ev'ry Muse. Richard Boyle, 3rd Earl of Burlington & 4th Earl of Cork. (1694-1753)*, ed. by D. Arnold, (London: The Georgian Group, 1994).
- The Georgian Country House: Architecture, Landscape and Society*, ed. by D. Arnold, (Stroud: Sutton, 1998).
- J. Aubrey, *The Natural History and antiquities of the county of Surrey begun in the yeay 1673 by John Aubrey ... and continued to the present time [with an account of the author by R. Rawlinson]*, (5 Vols., London: E. Curll, 1718-19).
- A. C. d'Avilier, *Cours d'architecture qui comprend les ordres de Vignole, avec des commentaires, les figures & descriptions de ses plus beaux batimens & de ceux de Michel-Agne, etc. (Dictionnaire d'architecture, etc.)*, (Paris: N.Langlois, 1696).
- The Works of Francis Bacon*, ed. J. Spedding, R. L. Ellis, D. D. Heath, (London: 1859-1870).
- B. B., Gent, *The Young Gentlemans Way to Honour: In three parts. First part of councils and councellors. Second part, of the well-qualified courtier. Illustrated and adorn'd by many famous examples, as well ancient as modern. By B. B. Gent.*, (London: Printed for Tho. Parkhurst, 1678).
- T. Badeslade, and J. Rocque, *Vitruvius Britannicus Volume the Fourth, a Collection of Plans, Elevations and Perspectives Views, of the Royal Palaces, Noblemen and Gentlemen's Seats, in Great Britain*, (London: 1739).
- N. Bailey, *An Universal Etymological English Dictionary*, (London: E. Bell etc., 1721).
- M. Bal and N. Bryson, 'Semiotics and Art History', in *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. LXXIII, N^o. 2, June 1991, pp. 174-208.
- S. Bann, *The Clothing of Clio. A Study of the Representation of History in Nineteenth Century Britain and France*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).
- J. Barbet, [*Livre d'architecture d'autels, et de cheminees Selections.*] *A book of archetecture containing seeling peeces chimney peeces and seuerall sorts vsefull for carpenters joyners caruers painters inuented by Robert Pricke*, (London: R. Pricke: 1670).
- T. Barnard, and J. Clark, *Lord Burlington, Art & Life*, (London: Hambledon Press, 1995).
- J. Barrell, *Painting and the Politics of Culture. New Essays on British Art 1700-1850*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

- J. Barrell, *English Literature in History 1730-80. An Equal Wide Survey*, (London: Hutchinson, 1983).
- Painting & the Politics of Culture, New Essays on British Art 1700-1850*, ed. by J. Barrell, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).
- R. Barthes, *Critique et vérité*, (Paris: 1966).
- R. Barthes, *Mythologies*, (London: Paladin, 1972).
- Image, Music, Text*, Essays selected and translated by S. Heath, (London: Fontana, 1977).
- R. Bartsch, *Norms of Language. Theoretical and Practical Aspects*, (New York and London: Longman, 1987).
- L. Batty, *Sure method of improving estates*, (London: Printed for James Hodges, 1741).
- A. C. Baugh and T. Cable, *A History of the English Language*, (London: Routledge, (1951) 1993).
- M. Baxandall, *Giotto and the Orators. Humanist Observers of Painting in Italy and the Discovery of Pictorial Composition 1350-1450*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971).
- M. Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972).
- M. Baxandall, *Patterns of Intention. On the Historical Explanation of Pictures*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985).
- Bean, *The Patronage of George Clarke*, (University of London: Unpublished Thesis, 1972).
- G. Beard, 'Four Yorkshire Houses', in *Leeds Arts Calendar*, N^o. 45, 1960, pp. 11-16.
- G. Beard, 'Studley Royal. A Yorkshire Landscape Garden', in *Leeds Arts Calendar*, N^o. 48, 1961, pp. 10-16.
- G. Beard, *The Work of John Vanbrugh*, (London: Batsford, 1986).
- C. Beardsley Monroe, *Aesthetics from Classical Greece to the Present. A Short History*, (New York and London: Macmillan, 1966).
- M. B. Becker, *The Emergence of Civil Society in the Eighteenth Century. A Privileged Moment in the History of England, Scotland and France*, (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1994).
- J. V. Beckett, *The Aristocracy in England 1660-1914*, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986).
- E. S. de Beer, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, (6 vols., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955).
- The First Modern Society. Essays in English in honour of Lawrence Stone* Ed. by A. L. Beer, D. Cannadine, J. M. Rosenheim. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).
- H. Belting, Trans. C. Wood, *The End of the History of Art*, (Chicago, University of Chicago, 1987).
- S. A. Bendall, *Maps, Land and Society. A History with a Carto-bibliography of Cambridgeshire Estate Maps c1600-1836*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

- W. Benjamin, Trans. H. Zohn, *Illuminations: Edited and with an Introduction by Hannah Arendt*, (London: Fontana, 1992).
- G. Berkeley, *An Essay towards preventing the Ruin of Great Britain*, (London: J. Roberts, 1721).
- Consumption and Culture in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. by A. Bermingham and J. Brewer, (London: Routledge, 1995).
- H. Billingsley, *The Elements of Geometrie of the most auncient Philosopher Evclide of Megara. Faithfully (Now first) translated into Englishe tounge, by H. Billingsley, Citizen of London. Whereunto are annexed certaine Scholies, Annotations, and Inventions, of the best Mathematicians, both of time past, and in this our age. With a very fruitful Praeface made by M. I. Dee Specifying the chiefe Mathematicall Sciences, What they are, and wherunto commodious: where, also, are disclosed certaine new Secrets Mathematicall and Mechanicall untill these our daies greatly missed*, (London: John Daye and J. Dee, 1570).
- The Works of the Honourable Robert Boyle*, ed. by T. Birch, (London: A. Miller, 1744).
- Britain in the age of Walpole*, ed. by J. Black, (London: Macmillan, 1984).
- J. Black, *The British Abroad: The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century*, (London: Sandpiper, 1999).
- Material Life in America 1600-1800*, ed. by R. Blair St George, (Boston: Northwestern University Press, 1988).
- J. B. Le Blanc, [*Lettres d'un Francois. English*] *Letters on the English and French Nations. Containing curious and useful observations on their constitutions natural and political; ... In two volumes. By Monsieu l'Abbe Le Blanc. ... Translated from the original French*, (2 Vols., London: Printed for J. Brindley, R. Francklin, C. Davis, and J. Hodges, 1747).
- R. Blome, *Britannia, Or a geographical description of England, Scotland, Ireland, with the isles and territories thereto belonging; and ... thereis addad an alphabetical table of the names, titles and seats of the nobility and gentry ... illustrated with a map of each country of England, etc [With a list of "Benefactors & Promoters of the worke, whose names, titles, seates & coates of armes are enterd, as they gave their encouragements."*, (London: Tho. Roycroft, 1673).
- R. Blome, *The Gentleman's Recreation. In two parts. The first being an encylopy of the arts and aciences ... The second part, treats of horsmanship, hawking, etc.*, (London: S. Roycroft, 1686).
- N. Blondel, *Cours d'architecture enseigné dans l'academie Royale, d'architecture. Premiere partie ou sont expliquez les terms, l'origine & les principes d'architecture, & les practiques des cinq Orders suivant la doctrine de Vitruve & des principaux Sectateurs & suivant celle des trois plus habiles Architectes qui ayent escrit entre les Modernes, qui*

- sont Vignole, Palladio & Scamozzi*, (Paris and Amsterdam: 1675 (part 1), 1683 (parts 2-3, 4-5) (New Ed. 1698).
- K. C. Bloomer and C. W. Moore, *Body, Memory and Architecture*, (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1977).
- B. Blount and M. Sanches, *Sociocultural Dimensions of Language Change*, (New York, San Francisco and London: Academic Press, 1977).
- H. Blum, *Quinque Columnarum exacta descriptio atque deliniatio, cum symmetrica earum distributione, conscripta per I. Bluom, et nunc primum publicata, etc*, (Zurich: Apud C. Froschouerum, 1550).
- S. Blutman 'Books of Designs for Country Houses 1780-1815', in *Architectural History*, N^o. 1, 1968, pp. 25-33.
- J. Bold, *John Webb. Architectural Theory and Practice in the Seventeenth Century*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989).
- English Architecture Public and Private*, ed. by J. Bold and E. Chaney (London: Hambledon, 1995).
- D. F. Bond, *Critical Essays from The Spectator by Joseph Addison*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970).
- P. Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance. Culture and Society in The Provincial Town 1660-1770*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989).
- B. Boucher, *Andrea Palladio. The Architect in his Time*, (New York, London and Paris: Abbeville Press, 1994).
- D. Bouhours, *The Art of Criticism: or, the Method of making a right judgment upon subjects of wit and learning. Translated from the best edition of the French [i.e. "La Maniere de bien penser] ... by a person of quality. In four dialogues*, (London: D. Brown and A. Roper, 1705).
- P. Bourdieu and J. Passeron, Trans. R Nice, *Reproduction in Education Society and Culture*, (London and Beverley Hills: Sage, 1977).
- J. Bradshaw, 1926, *The Letters of Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield*, (London: 1926).
- G. C. Brauer Jr., *The Education of a Gentleman. Theories of Gentlemanly Education in England 1660-1775*, (New York: Bookman Associates, 1959).
- P. Breman and D. Addis, *Guide to Vitruvius Britannicus*, (New York: Benjamin Blom Inc., 1972).
- J. Brewer, *The Sinews of Power. War Money and the English State 1688-1783*, (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989).
- Early Modern Conceptions of Property*, ed. by J. Brewer and S. Staves, (New York and London: Routledge, 1995).

- W. Bromley, *Remarks in the Grande Tour of France and Italy Lately Performed By a Person of Quality*, (London: Printed by EH for Tho. Basset, 1692).
- J. Brown, *The Art and Architecture of English Gardens. Designs for the Garden from the collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects 1609 - to the present day*, (London: Weidenfield and Nicolson, 1989).
- L. Brown, *Alexander Pope*, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985).
- O. Brunfels, *Herbarum vivae eicones ad naturae imitationem, summa cum diligentia et artificio effigiate, unam cum effectibus earundem, in gratiam veteris illius, & iamiam renascentis herbariae medicinae*, (Strassburg: A. Schott, 1530).
- N. Bryson, *Word and Image. French Painting of the Ancient Régime*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).
- N. Bryson, *Vision and Painting The Logic of the Gaze*, (London: Macmillan, 1983).
- J. Buckroyd, *Church and State in Scotland 1660-1681*, (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1980).
- Monarchs, Ministers and Maps. The emergence of Cartography as a Tool of Government in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by D. Buisseret, (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992).
- J. Burgh, *Dignity of Human Nature*, (London: 1754).
- J. Bullokar, *The English expositer improv'd: being a complete dictionary, teaching the interpretation of the most difficult words, which are commonly made use of in our English tongue. First set forth by J. B. Doctor of Physick. And now carefully revised, corrected, and abundantly augmented; ... by R. Browne ...* (London: W. Churchill, 1707).
- G. Burnett, *Some Letters Containing An account of what seemed most remarkable in Switzerland, Italy, etc*, (Rotterdam: 1686).
- H. Burns, *Andrea Palladio 1508-1580. The Portico and the Farmyard*, (London: Arts Council, 1975).
- R. Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy: What it is, With all the Kindesm Causes, Symptomes, Prognostickes, and Severall Cures of It ... Philosophically, Medicinally, Historically, Opened and Cut Up by Democritus Junior, etc.*, (Oxford: John Lichfield and James Short for Henry Cripps, 1621).
- J. Butt, *The Poems of Alexander Pope*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1996).
- H. Butterfield, *The Whig Interpretation of History*, (London: G. Bell & Sons, (1931) 1968).
- C. Camic, *Experience and Enlightenment. Socialisation for Cultural Change in Eighteenth Century Scotland*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1983).
- C. Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus, or the British architect, containing the plans, elevations, and sections of the regular buildings, both publick and private, in Great Britain, withh variety of new designs; in 200 large folio plates ... in II volumes ... by Colen Campbell*

- Esqr. Vitruvius Britannicus ou l'architecte britannique, contenant les plans, elevations, & sections des batimens reguliers, tant particuliers que publics de la Grande Bretagne, ... en deux tomes. ... Par le Sieur Campbell, (London: J, Nicholson, A. Bell, W. Taylor, H. Clements, J. Smith, 1715).*
- C. Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus, or the British architect, containing the plans, elevations, and sections of the regular buildings, both publick and private, in Great Britain, with variety of new designs; in 200 large folio plates ... in II Volumes Vol. II. By Colen Campbell Esqr. Vitruvius Britannicus, ou l'architecte britannique, contenant les plans, elevations, & sections des batimens reguliers, tant particuliers que publics de la Grande Bretagne, ... en deux tomes. Tome II. Par le Sieur Campbell. ... Vol 2, (London: John Nicholson, Andrew Bell, W Taylor, Henry Clements, Joseph Smith, 1717).*
- C. Campbell, *The third volume of Vitruvius Britannicus: or, the British architect. Containing the geometric plans of the most considerable gardens and plantations; also the plans, elevations and sections of the most regular buildings, ... in one hundred large folio plates. By Colen Campbell, Esquire, ... Vitruvius Britannicus: ou, l'architecte britannique: contenant les plans des jardins les plus considerable, aussi les plans, elevations, & sections des batimens reguliers, ... par le Sieur Campbell, ... Tome III, (London: Joseph Smith, 1725).*
- J. D. Campbell, *Intimate Society letters of the Eighteenth Century ed. by the Duke of Argyll, K. T. With portraits, facsimiles and other illustrations, (2 Vols., London: Stanley and Paul & Co., 1910).*
- J. Cannon, *Aristocratic Century: The Peerage of Eighteenth Century England, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).*
- M. J. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).*
- J. J. Cartwright, *The Wentworth Papers 1705-39 (selected from the private and family correspondence of Thomas Wentworth, Lord Raby, created in 1711, Earl of Stainborough), (London: Wyman and Sons, 1883).*
- E. Cassirer, *The Philosophy of the Enlightenment, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1951).*
- D. Cast, 'Speaking of Architecture, the Evolution of a Vocabulary in Vasari, Jones and Sir John Vanbrugh', in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, N^o. 52, June 1993, pp. 179-88.
- Literacy, Society and Schooling*, ed. by S. de Castell, A. Luke, and K. Egan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986),
- B. Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier from the Italian of Count Baldassare Castiglione, Done into English by Sir Thomas Hoby Anno 1561, (London: Wyllyam Seres, (1561) 1900).*
- B. Castiglione, *Il cortegiano or the Courtier, (London: W. Bowyer, 1727).*

- W. Cavendish, Earl of Devonshire, *Horae subsecivae. Observations and discourses*, (London: Printed by Eliot's Court Press for Edward Blount, 1620).
- K. Cavers, facs. of J. Slezer, *A Vision of Scotland. The Nation observed by John Slezer 1671-1717*, (Edinburgh: HMSO in association with National Library of Scotland, 1993).
- W. Cecil, Baron Burghley, *Certain precepts, or directions, for the well ordering and carriage of a man's life: ... Left by a father to his son at his death, who was sometimes of eminent note and place in this kingdome [W. Cecil, Baron Burghley] ... With some other precepts and sentences of the like nature added, etc.*, (Edinburgh: Andro Hart, (1617), 1618).
- J. A. Du Cerceau, *Livre d'architecture ... contenant les plans & dressings de cinquante bastimens tous differens ... Avec declaration des membres & commoditez, & nombre des toises, que contient chacun bastiment, etc.*, (Paris: B. Preuost, 1559).
- J. A. Du Cerceau, *Livre d'architecture ... contenant les plans & dressings de cinquante bastimens tous differens ... Avec declaration des membres & commoditez, & nombre des toises, que contient chacun bastiment, etc.*, (Paris: I. Berjon, 1611).
- J. A. Du Cerceau, *Le premier (second) volume des plus excellents batiments de France; auquel sont designez les plans de quinze eleuations & singularitez d'un chascun*, (Paris; Pour I. Androuet de Cerceau, (1576), 1579).
- J. A. Du Cerceau, *French chateaux and gardens in the Sixteenth Century: a series of reproductions of contemporary drawings hitherto unpublished, by Jacques Androuet du Cerceau. Sselected and described with an account of the artist & his works by W. H. Ward*, (London: B. T. Batsford, 1909).
- J. A. Du Cerceau, *Lecons de perspective positive*, (Paris: M. Pattison, 1576).
- J. A. Du Cerceau, *Le premier (second) volume des plus excellents batiments de France*, (Westmead, Farnborough: Gregg International, (1576) 1972).
- E. Chaney and P. Mack, *England and the Continental Renaissance. Essays in Honour of J. B. Trapp*, (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1990).
- A. F. S. A. Chalmers, *The British Essayists; with prefaces, historical and biographical, by A Chalmers*, (45 Vol., London: J. Johnson, 1803).
- E. Chamberlayne, *Angliae Notitia, Or The Present State of England: Together with Divers Reflections upon the Antient State thereof. Vol 1*, (Printed by T. N. for John Martyn, 1669).
- R. Chartier, *The Order of Books*, (Cambridge: Polity, 1994).
- A History of Private Life. Passions of The Renaissance vol III*, ed. by R Chartier, Trans. Glodhammer, (Cambridge Mass. and London: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1989).
- R. Chartier, Trans. L. G. Cochrane, *Cultural History. Between Practices and Representations*, (Ithica, New York: Cornell University Press, 1988).

- I. W. U. Chase, *Horace Walpole: Gardenist. An Edition of Walpole's 'The History of the Modern Taste in Gardening with an Estimate of Walpole's contribution to Landscape Architecture'*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1943).
- N. Chomsky, Trans. J. Viertel, *Language and Responsibility*, (Hassocks, Sussex: The Harvester Press, 1979).
- N. Chomsky, *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*, (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1965).
- C. Clair, *A History of Printing in Britain*, (London: Cassell, 1965).
- J. Clark, *English Society 1688-1832. Ideology, Social Structure and Political Practice during theAncient Regime*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).
- J. Clark, 'The Mysterious Mr Buck' in *Apollo*, May 1989, pp. 317-22.
- J. Clark, 'Palladianism and the Divine Right of Kings', in *Apollo*, April 1992, pp. 224-29.
- T. Clayton, 'The Print Collection of George Clarke at Worcester College, Oxford', in *Print Quarterly*, N^o. 9, 1992, 2, pp. 123-140.
- T. Clayton, *The English Print 1688-1802*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997).
- J. Cleland, *The Institution of a Young Nobleman ... Introduction by Max Molyneux. [A facsimile reprint of the edition of 1607.]*, (New York: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1948).
- S. le Clerc, [*Traite d'architecture avec des remarques et des observations. English.*] *A treatise of architecture, with remarks and observations. Necessary for young people, who wou'd apply themselves to that noble art. By Seb. Le Clerc, ...*, (London: W. Taylor, W. & J. Innys, J. Senex, and J. Osborne, 1723-24).
- J. Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth Century Ethnography, Literature and Art*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988).
- Studies in Eighteenth Century British Art and Aesthetics*, ed. by M. Cohen, (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1985).
- M. Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity: National Identity and Language in the Eighteenth Century*, (New York and London: Routledge, 1996).
- E. Coles, *An English Dictionary, etc.*, (London: P. Parker, 1696).
- L. Colley, *In Defiance of Oligarchy. The Tory Party 1714-1760*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).
- L. Colley, *Britons. Forging the Nation 1707-1837*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992).
- T. R. Collick, 'The Patronage of Robert Benson', in *Architectural Review*, N^o.138. 1965, pp. 429-430.
- P. Collins, *Architectural Judgement*, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1971).
- H. Colvin, 'A Scottish Origin for English Palladianism', in *Architectural History*, Vol. 17, 1974, pp. 5-13.

- H. Colvin, 'The Beginnings of the Architectural Profession in Scotland', in *Architectural History*, Vol. 29, 1986, pp. 168-179.
- H. Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995).
- F. Le Comte, *Cabinet des singularitez d'architecture, pienture, sculpture et gravure*, (3 Vols., Brussels: 1702 (2nd edition)).
- J. Constable, *The Conversation of Gentlemen considered in most of the ways that makes their mutual company agreeable, or disagreeable. In six dialogues [By John Constable]*, (London: J. Hoyles, 1738).
- T. P. Connor, 'The Making of Vitruvius Britannicus', in *Architectural History*, Vol. 20. 1977, pp. 14-30.
- S. Copley, *Literature and the Social Order in Eighteenth Century England*, (London and Sydney: Croom Helm, 1984).
- M. Corbett and R. Lightbown, *The Comley Frontispiece: The Emblematic Title-Page in England 1550-1660*, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979).
- T. Coryate, *Coryats Crudities Hastily Gobbled vp in five Moneths Trauells in France, Sauoy, Italy, Rhetia comonly called the Grisons country, Heluetia Alias Switzerland, some parts of high Germany, and the Netherlands; newly digested in the hungry aire of Odcombe in the county of Somerset, & now dispersed to the nourishment of the traueilling members of this kingdome. (Three crude veines are presented in this booke following-besides the foresaid Crudities ... That is to say, a most elegant Oration, first written in the Latine tongue by Hermannus Kirchnerus ... in praise of traull in generall. Now distilled into English spirit through the Odcombian Limbecke ... Another also composed by the author of the former, in praise of trauell of Germaine in particular ... Then ... the Posthume poems of the authors father.)*, (London: William Stansby, 1611).
- D. Cosgrove, 'Prospect, Perspective and the Evolution of the Landscape Idea', in *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, Vol. 10 N^o. 1, 1985, pp. 46-52.
- D. Cosgrove, and S. Daniels, *The Iconography of Landscape. Essays on the Symbolic Representation, design and Use of Past Environments*, (New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).
- W. T. Costello, *The Scholastic Curriculum at Early Seventeenth-Century Cambridge*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958).
- A. de Courtin, *The Rule of Civility; Or, Certain Ways of Deportment Observed in France*, (London: R. Chiswell, T. Sawbridge, G. Wells, R. Bently, (1678), 1685).
- J. L. Costeker, *The Fine Gentleman or the Complete Education of a young Nobleman*, (London: J. Roberts, 1732).
- Covel, *A catalogue of the entire library of Dr ... John Covel ...* (1724).
- I. B. Cowan, *The Scottish Covenanters 1660-1688*, (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd, 1976).

- B. Coward, *Social Change and Continuity in Early Modern England 1550-1750*, (London: Longman, 1988).
- T. Cox, *Magna Brittannia et Hibernia Antiqua & Nova Or. A New Survey of Great Britain, wherein to the Topographical Account given by Mr Cambden, and the late Editors of his Britannia,, is added of more large History not only of the Cities, Boroughs, Towns and Parishes mentioned by them, but also of many other Places of Note and Antiquities since discovered*. (London, E. Nutt, 1720).
- G. Crandell, *Nature Pictorialised. 'The View' in Landscape History*, (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1993).
- R. Crossfeild, *A dialogue between a modern courtier and an Honest Gentleman*, (London, 1696).
- J. Culler, *Framing the Sign, Criticism and its Institutions*, (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988).
- R. Dallington, *The View of Fraunce*, (London: S. Stafford, 1604).
- R. Dallington, *A method for trauell. Shewed by taking the view of France. As it stoode in the yeare of our Lord 1598*, (London: T. Creede, 1605).
- R. Dallington, *A Survey of the great Dukes state of Tuscany, London, 1605*, (London: E. Bount, 1605).
- W. Darrell, *A Gentleman Instructed in the Conduct of a Virtuous and Happy Life. Written for the instruction of a young nobleman. [By William Darrell. With a prefatory epistle signed: I. Y. D.] The second edition*, (London: E. Evets, 1704).
- W. Darrell, *The gentlemen instructed in the way of conversation*, (1712).
- K. Darwin, 'John Aislable', in *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 37, 1950, pp. 262.
- F. N. David, 'Mr Newton, Mr Pepys and Dyse: A Historical Note', in *Annals of Science*, XIII, 1957, pp. 137-147.
- D. Defoe, *An Essay Upon Projects*, (London: Printed by R. R. for Tho. Cockerill, 1697).
- D. Defoe, *A Plan of the English Commerce. Being a compleat prospect of the trade of this nation, as well the home trade as the foreign trade, etc. [By D. Defoe]*, (London: Charles Rivington, 1728).
- D. Defoe, c.1728 ed. K. Bullbring, *The Compleat English Gentleman*, (London: (1728) 1890).
- D. Defoe, *A Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain*, (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, (1962) 1974).
- D. Defoe, *A Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain*, (London: Harmondsworth, 1971).
- B. Denvir, *The Eighteenth Century. Art, Design and Society 1689-1789*, (New York and London: Longman, 1983).

- P. Delorme, *L'Oeuvre de Philibert de L'Orme. Facsimile by Ridgewood*. (Paris: (1894 imprint of 1567 edition), 1964).
- P. Delorme, *Nouvelles Inventions pour bien batistir*, (Paris: 1576).
- J. Derrida, *Writing and Difference*, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978).
- A. J. Dezallier d'Argenville, Trans J. James, *The Theory and Practice of Gardening: wherein is fully handled all that relates to fine gardens, commonly called pleasure-gardens ... Done from the French original [of Antoine Joseph Dezallier d'Argenville] ... by John James, etc.*, (London: Printed by G. James, sold by Maurice Atkins, 1712).
- W. B. Dinsmoor, 'The Literary Remains of Sebastiano Serlio', in *The Art Bulletin*, N^o. 24, 1942, pp. 55-91, pp. 119-54.
- J. Dixon-Hunt, *Garden and Grove. The Italian Renaissance Garden in the English Imagination 1600-1750*, (London and Melbourne: J. M. Dent & Son Ltd., 1986).
- P. M. Dobrée, *Letters of Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield*, (6 Vols., London, 1932).
- B. Dobrée, *English Literature in the Early Eighteenth Century 1700-1740*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1959).
- E. Dodd, *Bingley, A Yorkshire Town Through the Centuries*, (Bingley: T Harrison & Sons, 1958).
- The Complete Poems of Andrew Marvell*, ed by E. S. Donno, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985).
- K. Downes, *Hawksmoor*, (London: Zwemmer, 1979).
- K. Downes, *Christopher Wren*, (London: Penguin, 1971).
- K. Downes, 'The Publication of Shaftesbury's Letter Concerning Design', in *Architectural History*, Vol. 27, 1984, pp. 519-523.
- M. Duffy, *The Englishman and the Foreigner. The English Satirical Print 1600-1832*, (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey Ltd., 1986).
- W. Dugdale, *The Antiquities of Warwickshire Illustrated; from Records, Leiger-Books, Manuscripts, Charters, Evidences, Tombes and Armes. Beautified with maps, Prospects and Portraictures*, (London: Thomas Warren, 1656).
- R. van Dulman, Trans. A Williams, *The Society of the Enlightenment: The Rise of the Middle Class and Enlightenment Culture in Germany*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992).
- J. G. Dunbar, *The Architecture of Scotland*, (London: B. T. Batsford, 1966).
- J. Duncan and D. Ley, *Place, Culture, Representation*, (London: Routledge, 1994).
- J. Dwyer, R. A. Mason and A. Murdoch, *New Perspectives on the Politics and Culture of Early Modern Scotland*, (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1982).
- T. Eagleton, *The Function of Criticism. From the Spectator to Post-Structuralism*, (New York and London: Verso, 1994).

- A. D. Edwards, *Language in Culture and Class: the Sociology of Language and Education*, (London: Heinemann, 1976).
- I. Ehrenprers, *Literary Meaning and Augustan Values*, (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1974).
- E. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communities and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe*, (2 Vols., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).
- Eighteenth Century Critical Essays Vol. 1*, ed. by S. Elledge, (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1961).
- T. Elyot, *The Book Named the Governor*, (London: Everyman, (1531) 1962).
- J. Engell, *The Creative Imagination. Enlightenment to Romanticism*, (Cambridge Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1981).
- H. Erskine-Hill, *The Social Milieu of Alexander Pope. Lives Example, and the Poetic Response*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1975).
- N. K. Farmer Jnr., *Poets and the Visual Arts in Renaissance England*, (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1984).
- J. Feather, 'The Publishers and the Pirates. British Copyright Law in Theory and Practice', in *Publishing History*, N°. 22, 1987, pp. 5-32.
- J. Feather, *A History of British Publishing*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1988).
- L. Febvre and H. Martin, Trans. D. Gerard, *The Coming of the Book. The Impact of Printing 1450-1800*, (London: Verso, 1976).
- H. Felton, *A Dissertation on Reading the Classics and Forming a Just Style, etc.*, (London: 1713).
- J. V. Field, *The Invention of Infinity. Mathematics and the Art of the Renaissance*, (New York, Oxford and Tokyo: Oxford University Press, 1997).
- H. Fielding, *The Complete Works of H. Fielding*, (London: Gay and Bird, 1903).
- H. Fielding, *Tom Jones*, (Book VIII, London: A. Millar, 1749).
- F. P. Fiore, T Carunchio, *Sebastiano Serlio architettura civile, libri sesto, settimo e ooavo nei manoscritti di Monaco e Vienna*, (Milan: Il Polifilo, 1994).
- D. H. Fletcher, *The Emergence of Estate Maps. Christ Church Oxford 1600-1840*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).
- W. Folkingham, *Feudigraphia: the Synopsis or Epitome of Surveying Methodized*, (London: Printed for Richard Moore, 1610).
- R. F. Foster, *Modern Ireland 1600-1972*, (London: Allen Lane, Penguin Press, 1988).
- M. Foucault, 'What is an Author?', in *Bulletin de la Societ  Fran aise de Philosophie*, Vol. 63, N°. 3, 1969, pp. 115-138.
- M. Foucault, *The Order of Things, An archaeology of Human Sciences*, (London: Tavistock Publications, 1970).

- M. Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, (London: Tavistock Publications, 1972).
- M. Foucault, Trans. A. M. Sheridan Smith, *The Birth of the Clinic, An Archaeology of Medical Perception*, (London: Tavistock Publication, 1973).
- M. Foucault, *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*, (New York: Ithaca, 1977).
- H. Foster, *Vision and Visuality* (Dia Art Foundation. Discussion in Contemporary Culture No 2), (Seattle: Bay Press, 1988).
- R. Foster Jones, *The Seventeenth Century. Studies in the History of Thought and Literature from Bacon to Pope*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1965).
- R. F. Foster, *Modern Europe 1600-1972*, (London: Penguin, 1988).
- A. Fowler, *The Country House Poem. A Cabinet of Seventeenth Century Estate Poems and Related Items*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press: 1994).
- T. Foxton, [*Character of a fine gentleman.*] *Serino: or, the character of a fine gentleman; with reference to religion, learning, and the conduct of life. In which are included six poems by Mr Addison, ... To which is prefixed an account of the life and writings of Joseph Addison, Esq;* (London: Printed for Edmund Curll, 1723).
- P. Frank, Trans. and ed. by J. F. O'Gorman, *Principles of Architectural History. The Four Phases of Architectural Style 1420-1900*, (Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1968).
- J. Franklin, *The Gentleman's Country House and its Plan*, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981).
- R. Fréart, *Parallele De L'architecture antique et de la moderne*, (Paris: 1650).
- R. Fréart, , Trans. J. Evelyn, *A parallel of the antient architecture with the modern*, (London: John Place, 1664).
- R. Fréart, sieur de Chambray, *A Parallel of the Antient Architecture with the Modern ... Made English To which is added An Account of Architects and Architecture ... with Leon Baptista Alberti's Treatise of Statues. By John Evelyn. The third edition, with the addition of the Elements of Architecture, collected by Sir Henry Wotton, etc. [With illustrations, including a portrait. The whole edited by John Evelyn.]*, (London: D. Browne, 1723).
- D. Freedberg, 'The Problem of Classicism. Ideology and Power', in *Art Journal*, (*Proceedings of the College of Art Association of New York*), Spring 1988, pp. 7-9.
- C. A. Du Fresnoy, Trans. W. Mason, *The Art of Painting ... translated into English verse by W. Mason ... With annotations by Sir Joshua Reynolds. Lat. & Eng. (Appendix.-The sentiments of C. A. D. on the works of the ... best Painters of the two last ages.-The preface of Mr Dryden to his translation [of the same work], containing a parallel between poetry and painting. Epistle [in verse] of Mr Pope to Mr Jervas.-A chronological list of painters by T. Gray.) [Elegy on the death of Sir J. Reynolds, by C. Burney; in MS.]*, (York, 1783).

- C. A. Du Fresnoy, *De Arte Graphica, The Art of Painting, ... with remarks [By Roger de Piles]: Translated into English, together with an original preface containing a parallel betwixt Painting and Poetry. By Mr. Dryden. As also a short account of the most eminent painters, both ancient and modern ... By another hand [Richard Graham]. Lat & Eng.*, (London: (1695), 1716).
- N. Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism*, (London: Penguin, (1957) 1990).
- L. Fuchs, *De Historia stirpium commentarii insignes ... accessit iis succincta admodum difficilium & obscurarum passim in hoc opere occurrentium explicatio ...*, (Paris, 1543).
- J. Gadol, *Leon Battista Alberti. Universal Man of the Early Renaissance*, (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1969).
- J. Gailhard, *The Compleat Gentleman: Or Directions for the Education of Youth as to their Breeding at Home and Travelling Abroad. In Two Treaties*, (London: Printed by Tho. Newcomb for John Starkey, 1678).
- J. Gailhard, *Two Discourses, the first concerning a Private Settlement at Home After Travel, the second concerning the statesman or him who is in publick employments*, (London: 1682).
- J. Gay, *Trivia or the Art of walking the Streets of London*, (London: Bernard Lintoff, 1716).
- P. Gay, 'The Spectator as Actor. Addison in Perspective', in *Encounter*, 1967, Vol. 29, pp. 27-32.
- S. Gearhart, *The Open Boundary of History and Fiction - A Critical Approach to the French Enlightenment*, (Princeton and Guildford: Princeton University Press, 1984).
- M. Gelernter, *Sources of Architectural Form*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995).
- L. Gent, *Picture and Poetry 1560-1620*, (Leamington Spa: James Hall, 1981).
- Albion's Classicism: The Visual Arts in Britain 1550-1660*, ed. by L. Gent, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995).
- A. Gerard, *An Essay on Taste. with Three Dissertations on the same Subject By Mr De Voltaire, Mr d'Alembert, Mr De Montesquieu*, (London: A. Millar, 1759).
- B. Gerbier, *A brief Discourse Concerning the Three Chief Principles of Magnificent Building. Viz. Solidity, Convenience and Ornament*, (London: 1662).
- C. Gerrard, *The Patriot Opposition to Walpole. Politics, Poetry and National Myth 1725-1742*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).
- J. Gibbs, *Book of Architecture, containing designs of buildings and ornaments*, (London: 1728).
- W. Gibson, 'Literary Influences on Robert Morris's First Excursion in Architectural Theory', in *Rendezvous*, Vol. 6, Winter 1971, pp. 1-14.
- C. Gibson-Wood, *Studies in the Theory of Connaisseurship from Vasari to Marelli*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989).

- J. Gifford, *William Adam 1689-1748 A Life and Times of Scotland's Universal Architect*, (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing Co. Ltd, 1989).
- M. Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, (London: Book Club Associates and Yale University Press, 1979).
- J. Glomski, 'Book Collecting and Bookselling in the Seventeenth Century: Notions of Rarity and Identification of Value', in *Publishing History*, N^o. 39, 1996, pp. 5-21.
- A. Goldgar, *Impolite Learning. Conduct and Community in the Republic of Letters 1680-1750*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995).
- O. Goldsmith, *An enquiry into the Present State of Polite Learning in Europe*, (London: R. & J. Dodsley, 1759).
- J. Goldstein, *Foucault and the Writing of History*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994).
- E. Gombrich, *Art and Illusion*, (London: Phaidon, 1960).
- E. Gombrich, *Norm and Form Studies in the Art of the Renaissance*, (London: Phaidon, 1966).
- W. Goodhugh, *The English Gentleman's Library Manual; Or A guide to the formation of a library of select literature ... with original notices ... of authors and books*, (London: 1827).
- The Psycholinguistic Nature of the Reading Process*, ed. by K. S. Goodman (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1973).
- D. Goodman, C. A. Russell, *The Rise of Scientific Europe 1500-1800*, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, Open University Press, 1991),
- G. S. Gordon *Peacham's Compleat Gentleman (1634)* (London and Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906).
- W. Graham, *The Beginnings of English Literacy Periodicals. A study of Periodical Literature 1665-1715*, (Toronto, Melbourne, Bombay, London: Oxford University Press, 1926).
- A. Gratarolus, Trans W. Fulwood, *The Castel of Memorie: wherin is conteyned the restoring augmenting, and conseruing of the Memorye and Remembraunce, with the safest remedies, and best preceptes ... Englished by Willyam Fulwood, etc. B. L.*, (London: Rouland Hall, 1562).
- S. Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-fashioning from More to Shakespeare*, (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1984).
- J. Groerewegen, *Catalogus insighium & omnis generis studii librorum. Being a catalogue of books, in Greek, Italian, French, Spanish, ect. lately imported from Italy, France, and Holland.... Which will be sold (18th March) at the shop of J. Groenewegen, and A Vander Hoeck*, (London:, 1724).
- J. Habakkuk, 'English Landownership 1680-1740', in *The Economic History Review*, N^o. 10, 1939-40, pp. 2-17.

- J. Habakkuk, 'The Rise and Fall of English Landed Families 1600-1800' in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Fifth series, 29, 1979, pp. 187-207.
- J. Habermas, Trans. T. Burger, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere. An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, (Cambridge: Blackwell and Polity Press, 1992).
- W. Halfpenny, *Art of Sound Building, The second edition: to which are added, useful tables of the proportions of the members of all the orders, calculated in feet and inches, for the use of practical builders*, (London: S. Birt, B. Motte, 1725).
- M. A. K. Halliday, *Language as Social Semiotic. The Social Interpretation of Language and Meaning*, (London: Edward Arnold, 1978).
- Textual Strategies: Perspective in Post-Structuralist Criticism*, ed. by J. V. Harari, (New York: Ithaca, 1979).
- Law Making and Law makers in British History*, ed. by A. Harding, (London: Royal Historical Society, 1980).
- E. Harris, 'Vitruvius Britannicus before Colin Campbell', in *Burlington Magazine*, May 1986 pp. 340-346.
- E. Harris and N. Savage, *British Architectural Books and their Writers 1556-1785*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).
- J. Harris, *Lexicon Technicum; or, an universal English dictionary of arts and sciences*, (London: 1704).
- J. Harris, *History of Kent*, (London: D. Midwinter, 1719).
- J. Harris, 'Bodt and Stainborough', in *Architectural Review*, N^o. 130.
- J. Harris, *Catalogue of the Drawings Collection of the RIBA. Colen Campbell*, (Vol. 40, Farnborough: 1973).
- J. Harris, *The Palladians*, (London: Trefoil, 1981).
- J. Harris, *The Palladian Revival. Lord Burlington, his Villa and Garden at Chiswick*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994).
- J. Harris, *The Artist and the Country House, from the Fifteenth Century to the Present Day*, (London: Sothebys, 1995).
- J. Harris and G. Higgott, *Inigo Jones. Complete Architectural drawings*, (London: A Zwemmer Ltd. in association with the Drawing Center, New York, 1989).
- V. Hart and P. Hicks, *Paper Palaces: The Rise of the Architectural Treatise*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988).
- V. Hart and P. Hicks, *Sebastiano Serlio on Architecture*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996).
- M. Hartley and J. Ingilby, *Yorkshire Portraits*, (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1961).
- P. D. A. Harvey, *The History of Topographical Maps: Symbols, Pictures, and Surveys*, (London: Thames & Hudson, 1980).

- F. Hatt, *The Reading Process. A Framework for Analysis and Description*, (London: Clive Bingley, 1976).
- A. Hauser, *The Philosophy of Art History*, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1959).
- D. Hay and N. Rogers, *Eighteenth Century English Society. Shuttles and Afterwards*, (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).
- R. Helgerson, 'The Land Speaks: Cartography and Subversion in Renaissance England' in *Representations*, N°. 16, Fall (1), 1986, pp. 51-85.
- G. Hersey, *Pythagorean Palaces: Magic and Architecture in the Italian Renaissance*, (Ithaca and London, Cornell University Press, 1976).
- G. R. Hibbard, 'The Country House Poem of the seventeenth century', in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, xix, N°s. 1-2, 1956, pp159-74.
- G. Higgott, 'Varying with Reason: Inigo Jones's Theory of Design', in *Architectural History*, N°. 35, 1992, pp. 51-77.
- C. Hill, *The Century of Revolution*, (London: Routledge, (1980), 2000).
- T. Hill, *The Gardeners labyrinth Or A new Art of Gardening*, (London: Jane Bell, 1651).
- G. Hinchcliffe, 'The Robinsons of Newby Park and Newby Hall', in *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, Vol. 63, 1991.
- S. Hindman, *Printing the Written Word. The Social History of Books circa 1450-1520*, (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1991).
- T. Hobbes, *Leviathan, etc.*, (London: for Andrew Cooke, 1651).
- T. Hobbes, *Elements of Philosophy, the first section, concerning body. Written in Latine ... and now translated into English. To which are added Six lessons to the professors of Mathematicks of the Institution of Sr Henry Savile, in the University of Oxford. [Woth plates.]*, (London: R. & W. Leybourn for Andrew Crooke, 1656).
- G. Holmes, *Augustan England Professions: State and Society 1680-1730*, (London: George, Allen & Unwin, 1982).
- H. Honour, 'John Talman and William Kent in Italy', in *Connoisseur*, August 1954, pp. 3-7.
- M. Hope Nicolson, *Pepys' Diary and the New Science*, (Charlottesville: University Press, Virginia, 1965).
- W. E. Houghton, 'The English Virtuoso in the Seventeenth Century', in *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 3, January-October 1942, pp. 51-73 and pp 190-219.
- R. A. Houston, *Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity. Illiteracy and Society in Scotland and Northern Ireland 1600-1800*, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1985).
- R. A. Houston, *Literacy in Early Modern Europe 1500-1800*, (London and New York: Longman, 1988).
- R. Houston, *Social Changes in the Age of Enlightenment Edinburgh 1600-1760*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994).

- D. Howard, 'Sebastiano Serlio's Venetian Copyrights', in *The Burlington Magazine*, N°. 115, 1973, pp. 512-516.
- D. Howard, 'Four Centuries of Literature on Palladio', in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. XXXIX, October 1980.
- J. Howell, *Instructions for forreine travell*, (London: 1642).
- R. Hyde, *Gilded Scenes and Shining Prospects. Panoramic Views of British Towns 1575-1900*, (New Haven: Yale Centre for British Art, 1985).
- D. Hymes, *Language in Culture and Society*, (London: Harper and Row, 1964).
- C. Ingraham, *Architecture and the Burdens of Linearity*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998).
- W. M. Ivins, Jr., *Prints & Visual Communication*, (Cambridge Mass. and London: MIT Press, 1989).
- J. James, *A Treatise of the Five Orders of Columns in Architecture. Viz Toscan, Doric, Ionic, Corinthian and Composite. Written in French by Claude Perrault*, (London: Benj. Motte, 1708).
- L. Jardine, *Francis Bacon: Discovery and the Art of Discourse*, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1974).
- L. Jardine, *Wordly Goods: A New History of the Renaissance*, (London: Macmillan, 1996).
- L. Jardine, *Ingenious Pursuits: Building the Scientific Revolution*, (London: Little Brown and Co., 1999).
- L. Jacobus, 'On "Whether a man could see before him and behind him at once". The Role of drawing in the design of interior space in England c. 1600-1700', in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 31, 1988, pp. 148-159.
- I. Jones, *The designs of Inigo Jones, consisting of plans and elevations for ... buildings, published by W. Kent with some additional designs*, (2 Vol., London: 1727).
- L. Jordanova, *History in Practice*, (London: Arnold, 2000).
- M. Kemp, *The Science of Art. Optical Themes in Western Art from Brunelleschi to Seurat*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990).
- V. C. Kenny, *The Country-House Ethos in English Literature 1688-1750. Themes of Personal Retreat and National Expansion*, (New York and Sussex: St Martin's Press and The Harvester Press, 1984).
- W. A. Kent, *Some designs of Mr. Inigo Jones and Mr. Wm. Kent*, (London: Published by John Vardy, 1744).
- M. Ketcham, *Transparent Designs. Reading, Performance and Form in the Spectator Papers*, (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1985).
- J. Kip, *Britannia Illustrata or views of several of the Queens palaces as also of the nobility and gentry of Great Britain curiously engraven on 80 copper plates*, (London: Sold by David Mortier, 1707).

- J. Kip, *Britannia Illustrata or views of several of the Queens palaces as also of the nobility and gentry of Great Britain curiously engraven on 80 copper plates*, (London: Printed for David Mortier, Daniel Midwinter, Henry Overton, Joseph Smith, 1709).
- J. Kip, *Britannia Illustrata: or, views in perspective of the seats of the nobility and gentry of Great Britain, curiously engraven on eighty copper plates with above three hundred coats of arms. Vol. II.*, (London: Printed for Joseph Smith, 1716).
- J. Kip, *Nouveau théâtre de la Grande Bretagne: ou description exacte des palais du Roy, et des maisons les plus considerables des seigneurs & des gentilshommes du dit royaume. Le tout dessine sur les lieux, & grave sur 80 planches*, (London: Joseph Smith, 1724).
- K. Kip, *Nouveau théâtre de la Grande Bretagne: ou description exacte des villes, et palais du Roy, et les ports de mer, &c. ... Tome quatrieme*, (London: Joseph Smith, 1729).
- L. C. Knights, *Drama and Society in Early Modern London*, (New York: W. W. Norton, (1937) 1968).
- S. M. Kosslyn, *Image and Mind*, (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1980).
- S. Kostof, *The Architect. Chapters in the History of the Profession*, (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977).
- R. Krautheimer, *Studies in Early Christian, Medieval, and Renaissance Art*, (New York and London: New York University Press and University of London Press, 1971).
- H. W. Kruft, Trans. R. Taylor, E. Callander, A. Wood, *A History of Architectural Theory from Vitruvius to the present day*, (London: Zwemmer, 1994).
- B. Lamy, *The Art of Speaking: written in French by Messieurs Du Port Royal [or rather, by B. Lamy] in pursuance of a former treatise, intituled, The Art of Thinking. Rendred into English. The second edition, corrected*, (For W. Taylor and H. Clements, 1708).
- A. Lane, *A key to the Art of Letters Or English a Learned Language Full of Art, Elegancy and Variety*, (London, 1700).
- P. Langford, *Public Life and the Propertied Englishman 1689-1798*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).
- R. Lassels, *The Voyage of Italy; or, a compleat journey through Italy. ... By R. Lassels ... corrected & set forth by his old friend and fellow traveller S. W[ilson]*, (Paris Printed, London: 1670).
- D. Leatherbarrow, 'Architecture and Situation: A Study of the Architectural Writings of Robert Morris', in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, N^o. 44: March 1985, pp. 48-59.
- J. Lees-Milne, *Earls of Creation. Five Great Patrons of the Eighteenth Century*, (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1962).
- H. Lefebvre, Trans. D. Nicholson-Smith, *The Production of Space*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997).

- E. Leigh, *Three Diatribes of Discourse. First of travel, or a guide for travellers into forein parts. Secondly, of money or coyns. Thirdly, of measuring of the distance betwixt place and place. By Edward Leigh Esq; and Mr. Of Arts of Magdalene-Hall*, (London: Printed for William Whitwood, 1671).
- S. A. Leonard, *The Doctrine of Correctness in English Usage*, (New York: Russell and Russell Inc., 1962).
- J. Leoni, *The Architecture ... in Ten Books. Of Painting in Three Books. And of Statuary in One Book. Translated into Italian by Cosimo Bartoli. And Now First into English ... by James Leoni, Venetian architect*, London: Thomas Edlin, 1726, (1739), (1955)).
- J. M. Levine, 'Ancients and Moderns Reconsidered', in *Eighteenth Century Studies*, Vol. 15, 1981-82, pp 72-89.
- C. Lévi - Strauss, *The Savage Mind [La pensée sauvage]*, (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1966).
- C. Lévi - Strauss, Trans. C. Jacobson and B. Grundfest Schoepf, *Structural Anthropology*, (London: Allen Lane, Penguin Press, 1968).
- W. Leybourne, *Planometria, or, The Whole Art of Surveying of Land*, (London: Nathaniel Brooks, 1650).
- B. Lillywhite, *London Coffee Houses. A reference book of coffee houses of the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries*, (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1963).
- R. Lingard, *A Letter of Advice to a Young Gentleman Leaving the University. Concerning his Behaviour and Conversation in the World*, (London, Printed for Benjamin Tooke... sold at the Ship in St Pauls Chuch-Yard, 1671).
- D. Linstrum, 'Two Wentworth Houses', in *Leeds Arts Calendar*, 1971, N°. 68, pp. 5-15.
- D. Linstrum, *West Yorkshire Architects and Architecture*, (London: Lund Humphries Publishers Ltd., 1978).
- J. Locke, *Essay concerning Human Understanding*, (London: Eliz Holt for Thomas Bassett, 1690).
- J. Locke, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*, ed. by J. W. & J. S. Yolton, (Oxford: Clarendon Press (1693) 1989).
- J. Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, ed. by A. S. Pringle-Pattison, (Oxford: Clarendon Press and Oxford University Press, 1924).
- W. Lotz, *Studies in Italian Renaissance Architecture*, (Cambridge Mass. and London: MIT Press, 1977).
- J. Lubbock, *Tyranny of Taste*, (New Haven and London: Paul Mellon Centre and Yale University Press, 1995).
- J. Lyon, *Manifestoes. Provocations of the Modern*, (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1999).

- J. Lyons, *The infallibility of human judgement, its dignity and excellency. Being a new art of reasoning, and discovering truth, ... With the supplement, answering all objections which have been made to it, ... The fifth editions. To which is now added, a postscript, ... By Mr. Lyons*, (London: Sold by J. Brotherton, (1719) 1725, 5th edition).
- J. Maas, 'Where Architectural Historians Fear to Tread', in *American Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, March 1969.
- D. MacCannell, *The Tourist. A New Theory of the Leisure Class*, (London: Macmillan, 1976).
- J. Macky, *A Journey through England in Familiar Letters from a Gentleman there to his friend, Abroad*, Vol. 1, (London: J. Roberts for T. Caldecott, 1714).
- K. MacMahon, 'The Beverley House of the Hotham family - an Early Eighteenth Century Building Project', in *Transactions of the Georgian Society of E. Yorkshire*, Vol. 1, Part 3, 1958-9, pp. 37-49.
- Maitland Club, *Analecta or Materials for a History of Remarkable Providences mostly relating to Scotch Minister and Christians. By ... R Wodrow [Edited by M. L., i.e. Matthew Leishman.]*, (4 Vols., Edinburgh: Maitland Club, 1842-3).
- E. Malins, *English Landscaping and Literature 1660-1840*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1966).
- L. Manley, *Literature and Culture in Early Modern London*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).
- P. Mann, *From Author to Reader. A Social Study of Books*, (Boston, Melbourne, London, Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982).
- J. Mariette, *L'architecture françoise, ou recueil des plans, elevations ... des eglises, palais, hotels de Paris ... et de plusieurs autres endroits de France*, (Paris: 1727).
- J. Mariette, *L'architecture Françoise de Jean Mariette. A Facsimile by A Mauban*, (Paris: 1945).
- J. Marot, *L'architecture Françoise*, (Paris: Marot, 1670).
- D. Marot, *Nouveaux livre de housses, en broderiee et en gallons*, (Paris: Marot, 1705).
- D. Marot, *Nouveaux livre de veue et batiments en perspectives, propre a peindre dans les salles, ou autres appartements*, (Paris: Marot, 1705).
- D. Marot, *Troisieme livre de perspectives*, (Paris: Marot, 1705).
- J. Marot, *Architecte et Graveur Parisien, A Facsimile by A. Mauban*, (Paris: 1944).
- J. Mauclerc, Trans. R. Pricke, *Traitte de l'architecture suivant Vitruve.] A new treatise of architecture, according to Vitruvius. Wherein is discoursed of the five orders of columns ... Whereunto are added the several measures and proportions of the famous architects, Scamozzi, Palladio, and Vignola ... The whole represented in fifty large prints ... Set forth in English by Robert Pricke*, (London: J. Darby, 1669).
- Mason, *An Essay on Design in Gardening*, (London, Benjamin White, 1768).

- W. A. McClung, *The Country House in English Renaissance Poetry*, (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1977).
- N. McKendrick, *Historical Perspectives. Studies in English Thought and Society in honour of JH Plumb*, (London: Europa Publications, 1974),
- N. McKendrick, J. Brewer, and J. H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society. The Commercialisation of Eighteenth Century England*, (London: Europa Publications Ltd., 1982).
- S. A. E. Mendyk, *'Speculum Britanniae' Regional Study, Antiquarianism and Science in Britain to 1700*, (Buffalo, London and Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989).
- J. D. Michaelis, [*Ueber den Einfluss der Sprachen auf die Meinungen der Menschen, etc.*] *A Dissertation on the influence of Opinions on Language, and of Language on Opinions; ... together with an enquiry into the advantages and practicability of an universal learned language. [Translated from the German]*, (London: 1769).
- G. E. Mingay, *The Gentry. The Rise of a Ruling Class*, (New York and London: Longman, 1976),
- G. Miège, *The New State of England Under Their Majesties K. William and Q. Mary. In Three Parts*, (London: Printed by HC for Jonathan Robinson, 1691).
- M. Misson, Trans. G. Dore, *A New Voyage to Italy: with a description of the chief towns, churches, ... palaces, ... and antiquities of that country. Together with ... instructions for those who shall travel thither. ... Done into English, and adorn'd with figures*, (London: R. Bentley, 1695).
- W. J. T. Mitchell, *Iconology. Image Text Ideology*, (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1986).
- E. Moir, *The Discovery of Britain: The English Tourists 1540-1840*, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1964).
- Monconys, *Journal des Voyages de Monsieur de Monconys ... Enrichi de ... figures en taillédouce, etc. Publie par le Sieur de Liergues son Fils*, (Lyon: 1665, 1666).
- R. Morris, *An Essay in defence of ancient architecture*, (London: D. Browne, W. Bickerton, J. Pote and J Walthoe, 1728).
- R. Morris, *Lectures on Architecture consisting of the Rules founded upon Harmonick and Arithmetical Proportions in Building Design'd as an Agreeable Entertainment for Gentlemen. And more particularly useful to all who make Architecture or the Polite Arts, their Study*, (London: R. Slayer, 1759).
- R. Morris, *Enquiry after virtue, Part 1*, (London: Printed for C. Corbett, 1730).
- R. Morris, *Lectures on Architecture Part 1*, (London: J. Bridley, 1734).
- R. Morris, *Lectures on Architecture Part 2*, (London: Printed for the author, 1736).
- R. Morris, *The art of architecture, a poem*, (London: Printed for R Dudley, 1742).

- R. Morris, *The Architectural Remembrancer: being a collection of ... designs of ornamental buildings ... to which are added, a variety of chimneypieces ... the whole ... engraven on fifty copper plates*, (London: Printed for & sold by the author, 1751).
- The Journeys of Celia Fiennes*, ed. by C. Morris, (London: Cresset Press, 1947).
- The History of Garden Design. The Western Tradition from the Renaissance to the Present Day* ed. by M. Mosser and G. Treysot, (London: Thames & Hudson, 1991).
- F. Moryson, *An Itinerary written by Fynes Moryson, Gent. First in the Latine Tongue, and then translated by him into English. (Containing his ten yeeres travell through the twelve dominions of Germany, Bohmerland, Sweitzerland, Netherland, Denmarke, Poland, Italy, Turkey, France, England, Scotland, and Ireland.)*, (London: J. Beale, 1617).
- T. Mowl and B. Earnshaw, *Architecture without Kings. the Rise of Puritan Classicism under Cromwell*, (New York and Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995).
- J. Moxon, *Mechanick exercises, or, The doctrine of handy works, etc.*, (London: Printed for the author, 1683).
- P. le Muet, *Maniere de bien bastir pour toutes sortes de personnes ... Augmentee et enrichie en cette seconde edition de plusieurs figures, etc. (Augmentations de nouveaux bastimens faits en France.)*, (Paris: Chez Francois Langlois dict Chartres, 1623).
- P. le Muet, Trans. R. Pricke, *The Art of Fair Building: represented in the figures of several uprights of houses, with their ground-plots, fitting for persons of several qualities ... With rules and directions for the placing of the doors, windows, chimnies, beds, stairs, and other conveniences ... Also a description of the names and proportions of the members belonging to the framing of the timber-work, with directions and examples for the placing of them ... Published in English by Robert Pricke, etc.*, (London: Printed for Robert Pricke, 1670).
- P. Le Muet, *The art of fair building represented in the figures of several uprights of houses, with their ground plots fittings for persons of all qualities. Wherein is divided each room and office, according to their most convenient occasion, with their heights, depths lenghs and bredths, according to proportion. With rules and directions for the placing of the doors, windows, chimneys, beds, stairs and other conveniences; with just their measures for the best advantage, both of commodiousness, health, strength, and ornament, ... Also a description of the names and proportions of the members belonging to the framing of the timber-work, with directions and examples for the placing of them. By Pierrele Muet, Architect in Ordinary to the French King, ... Reviewed and augmented, in this second edition, ... Published by Robert Pricke, ...*, (London: Printed for Robert Pricke: 1675).
- B. Mundi, *The Mapping of New Spain. Indigenous Cartography and the Maps of the Relaciones Geogáficas*, (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

- A. Murdoch, *British History 1660-1832, National Identity and Local Culture*, (London: Macmillan, 1998).
- C. Nelson and L. Grossberg, *Marxism and the interpretation of Culture*, (London: Macmillan, 1988).
- R. Neve, *Arts Improvement: or, choice experiments and observations in building, husbandry, gardening, mechanicks, chimistery, painting, japaning, varnishing, guilding, inlaying, embossing, carving, preserving several things in their natural shape and colour. And in other arts and sciences profitable and pleasant. Extracted from the most celebrated authors in several languages; manuscripts, experiments communicated by several ingenious gentlemen, and the author's own experience. By T. S.*, (London: Printed for D. Brown, 1708).
- E. Nicholas, *The Nicholas Papers, Correspondance of Sir E. Nicholas, Secretary of State, Edited by G. F. Warner*, (4 Vols., London: 1886).
- G. Newman, *The Rise of English Nationalism. A Cultural History 1740-1830*, (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1987).
- R. Nolan, *Cognitive Practices. Human Language and Human Knowledge*, (Cambridge Mass. and Oxford: Blackwell, 1994).
- W. Oechslin, 'Geometry and Line: The Vitruvian 'Science' of Architectural Drawing', in *Daedalus*, 1981 Vol. 1, pp. 20-35.
- D. R. Olson and J. W. Astington 'Talking about Text: How Literacy Contributes to Thought', in *Journal of Pragmatics*, N^o. 14, 1990, pp. 705-721.
- D. R. Olson, *The World on Paper. The Conceptualisation and Cognitive Implications of Writing and Reading*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
- W. J. Ong, *Orality & Literacy The Technologising of the Word*, (London: Methuen, 1982).
- J. Onions, *Bearers of Meaning: The Classical Orders in Antiquity, the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).
- J. Onians, 'Architecture, Metaphor and the Mind', in *Architectural History*, N^o. 35: 1992, pp. 192-207.
- J. Onians, 'Alberti and the Renaissance Study in their Sources', in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, N^o. 34, 1971, pp. 96-114.
- I. Ousby, *The Englishman's England Taste, Travel and the Rise of Tourism*, (New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).
- A. Palladio, *I Quattro libri dell 'architettura di Andrea Palladio*, (Venice: Domenico de' Franceschi, 1570).
- A. Palladio, Trans G. Leoni, *I Quattro libri dell' architettura*, (London: John Watts for the author, 1715-20).
- A. Palladio, Trans Pr. Le Muet (French), Trans. Godfrey Richards (English), *I Quattro libri dell'architettura, The First Book of Architecture ... Translated out of Italian: with an*

- appendix touching doors and windows, by Pr. Le Muet ... Translated out of French by Godfrey Richards*, (London: Printed for Tho. Braddyll, and Eben. Tracy, 1700).
- A. Palladio, *Four Books on Architecture*, (New York: Dover Publications, 1965).
- A. Palladio, Trans. R. Tavernor and R. Schofield, *Andrea Palladio. The Four Books on Architecture*, (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1997).
- E. Panton, *Speculum Juventutis*, (London: 1671).
- Drawing into Architecture*, ed. by A. C. Papadakis, (London: Academy Group Ltd., 1989).
- R. Paulson, *Book & Painting. Shakespeare, Milton and the Bible. Literary Texts and the Emergence of English Painting*, (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1982).
- R. Paulson, *Breaking & Re-making. Aesthetic Practice in England 1700-1820*, (New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press, 1989).
- H. Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman. Fashioning him absolut, in the most necessary and commendable Qualities concerning Minde or Body, that may be required in a Noble gentleman*, (London St Paul's Church Yard: Printed by John Legat for Francis Constable, 1634).
- I. Pears, *The Discovery of Painting. The Growth of Interest in the Arts in England 1680-1768*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press for Paul Mellon Centre, 1988).
- S. Pepys, *Particular Friends: The Correspondence of Samuel Pepys and John Eveleyn*, Ed. By G. de la Bédoyère (Suffolk, Rochester N.Y.: Boydell Press, 1997)
- C. Perrault, *Ordonnance des cinq especes des colonnes*, (Paris: 1683).
- C. Perrault, *An Abridgement of the Architecture of Vitruvius. Containing a System of the whole works of that Author*, (London: Printed for Abel Swall and T. Child at the Unicorn in St Paul's Church-yard, 1692).
- C. Perrault, Trans. J. James, *A Treatise of the Five Orders of Columns in Architecture. Viz Toscan, Donic, Ionic, Corinthian and Composite*. (London: Benj. Motte, 1708).
- Gender and Art*, ed. by G. Perry, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, in association with The Open University, 1999).
- J. H. Pflaumern, *Joannis Henrici a Pflaumern ... Mercurius Italicus, hospiti fidus per Italiae praecipuas regiones et urbes dux, indicans ... quaecumque in iis sunt visu ac scitu digna*, (Augustae Vindelicorum, 1625).
- E. Phillips, [*New World of English Words.*] *The new world of words: or, universal English dictionary. Containing an account of the original or proper sense, and various significations of all hard words derived from other languages, ... Together with a brief ... explication of all terms relating to any of the arts and sciences, ... To which is added, the interpretation of proper names of men and women, ... Compiled by Edward Phillip, Gent*, (London: Printed for J. Phillips; H. Rhodes; and J. Taylor, 1706).
- S. Philpot, *An Essay on the Advantage of a Polite Education joined with a Learned One*, (London: 1745).

- T. N. Philomath, *The City and Countrey Purchaser and Builder's Dictionary*, (London: 1703).
- A. Picon, Trans. M. Thorn, *French Architects and Engineers in the age of Enlightenment*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
- R. de Piles, *Cours de Peinture par principes*, (Paris: 1708).
- R. de Piles, Trans into English by a Painter, *The Principles of Painting...in which is contained an account of the Athenian, Roman, Venetian and Flemish Schools*, (London: J. Osborne, 1743).
- S. Pincus, 'Reconceiving Seventeenth Century Political Culture', Review in *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 38, N^o., Jan. 1999, pp. 98-111.
- J. Pinkerton, *The Minute Book of The Faculty of Advocates Vol 1 1661-1712*, (Edinburgh: The Stair Society, 1976).
- N. T. Phillipson and R. Mitchison, *Scotland in the Age of Improvement. Essays in Scottish History in Eighteenth Century*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1970).
- M. Plant, *The English Book Trade. An Economic History of the Making and Sale of Books*, (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1965).
- A. J. Du Plessis, *The Art of Pleasing in Conversation, etc.*, (London: 1691).
- R. Plot, *The Natural History of Oxfordshire, being an essay towards the natural history of England, [With plates and a map.]* (Oxford: The Theatre, 1677).
- A. Pope, *The Works of Shakespeare*, (London: J. Tonson, 1725).
- A. Pope, *Epistles to Several Persons*, (London: 1731-5).
- J. Puckle, *The Club, Or, A Dialoge Between Father and Son*, (Printed for the Author. Sold at S. Crouch at the Corner of Pope's-Head-Alley in Cornhill, 1711).
- K. Popper, *The Poverty of Historicism*, (London: Ark, (1957) 1986).
- Port Royal (Messieurs du), *The Art of Speaking: written in French by Messieurs Du Port Royal [or rather, by B. Lamy] in pursuance of a former treatise, intituled, The Art of Thinking. Rendred into English. The second edition, corrected*, (London: For W. Taylor and H. Clements, 1708).
- S. Potter, *Our Language*, (Harmonsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1964).
- A. Potts, *Flesh and the Ideal. Winckelmann and the Origins of Art History*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994).
- The Travels and Life of Sir Thomas Hoby, written by himself*, ed. by E. Powell, (1902).
- The Enlightenment in National Context*, ed. by Roy Porter and Teich Mikulas (Cambridge and London: Cambridge University Press, 1981).
- A. Pozzo, Trans. J. James, *Rules and Examples on Perspective proper for painters and arhitects, etc. in English and Latin, ...engraved in 105 ... plates, ... and adorn'd with 200 initial letters to the explanatory discourses ... by J. Sturt.-Done into English from*

- the original printed at Rome, 1693, in Latin and Italian. By ... J. James., (London: 1707).*
- D. Preziosi, *Rethinking Art History Meditations on a Coy*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989).
- T. Puttfarken, *Roger de Pile's Theory of Art*, (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1985).
- J. Ray, *Travels through the Low Countries, Germany, Italy and France, with curious observations, natural, topographical, moral, physiological, &c. Also a catalogue of plants ... To which is added, an Account of the Travels of F. Willughby through great part of Spain. (A collection of curious travels and voyages, etc.)*, (London: Printed by J. Hughs for O. Payne, T. Woodman, W. Shropshire, 1738).
- J. T. Raymond, *An Itinerary, contayning a voyage made through Italy in the yeare 1646 and 1647. Illustrated with divers figures of antiquities*, (London: 1648).
- R. Rees, 'Historical Links between Cartography and Art', in *Geographical Review*, N^o. 70 1980, pp. 61-78.
- S. De Ricci, *English Collectors of Books & Manuscripts 1530-1930 and their Marks of Ownership ... Sanders Lectures, 1929-1930. (Reprinted)*, (New York: Burt Franklin, 1969).
- J. Richardson, *An essay on the Theory of Painting*, (London: 1715).
- J. Richardson, *Two Discourses. I – An Essay on the whole Art of Criticism as it relates to Painting. II – An Argument on behalf of the Science of a Connoisseur*, (London, Printed for W. Churchill, 1719).
- A. Riegl, Trans. by E. Kain, *Problems of Style*, (Princeton: (1893) 1992).
- F. J. G. Robinson, and P. J. Wallis, *Book Subscription Lists a Revised Guide*, (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Harold Hill & Son Ltd., 1975).
- P. Rogers, 'Books Subscriptions among the Augustans', in *Times Literary Supplement*, December 15, 1972, pp. 1539-1540.
- P. Rogers, *The Augustan Vision*, (London: Methuen & Co., 1974).
- P. Rogers, 'The Burlington Circle in the Provinces: Alexander Pope's Yorkshire friends', in *Durham University Journal*, N^o. 67, 1974-5, pp. 219-226.
- P. Rogers, *The Context of English Literature. The Eighteenth Century*, (London: Methuen, 1978).
- S. Romaine, *Language in Society. An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*, (New York and Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1994).
- P. P. Rubens's *I palazzi di Genova* (Antwerp, 1622)
- J. Rykwert, *The First Moderns. The Architects of the Eighteenth Century*, (Cambridge Mass. and London: MIT Press, 1980).
- G. Ryle, *The Concept of Mind*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1986).

- J. Sambrook, *The Eighteenth Century The Intellectual and Cultural Context of English Literature 1700-1789*, (New York and London: Longman, 1993).
- Sandys, *A Relation of a Journey begun An. Dom. 1610. Foure Bookes. Containing a description of the Turkish Empire, of Aegypt, of the Holy Land, of the remote parts of Italy, and Ilands adjoingin*, (London: Printed for W. Barrett, 1615).
- E. Sapir, *Language: An Introduction to the Study of Speech*, (London: Humphrey Milford, 1922).
- S. Saporta, *Psycholinguistics: A Book of Readings. (Edited by S. Saporta. Prepared with the assistance of Jarvis R. Bastien.)*, (New York, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1961).
- C. Saumarez Smith, 'Supply and Demand in English Country House Building 1660-1740', in *Oxford Art Journal*, N^o. 11: 2, 1988, pp. 3-9.
- C. Saumarez Smith, *Architecture in the Culture of Early Humanism. Ethics, Aesthetics and Eloquence 1400-1470*, (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).
- V. Scamozzi, [*Idea dell'architettura universale. English*] *The mirror of architecture: or The ground-rules of the art of building, exactly laid down by Vincent Scamozzi master-builder of Venice. Reviewed and enlarged with the addition of a diagonal scale being very useful for dividing the author his given parts into minutes, whereby the principal points of architecture are easily and plainly demonstrated for the benefit of all lovers and ingenious practitioners in the said art. By Joachin Schuym of Amsterdam. Translated out of Dutch by W. F. Hereunto is added The description and use of an ordinary joynt-rule fitted with lines for the ready finding the lengths and angles of rafters, and hips and collar-beams in any square or bevelling roof at any pitch, and the ready drawing the architrave, frize, and cornice in any order. With other useful conclusions by the said Rule. By John Browne*, (London: printed for W. Fisher, 1669).
- V. Scamozzi, [*Idea dell'architettura universale. English*] *The mirror of architecture ...*, (London: printed for W. Fisher and E. Hurlock,, 1676).
- V. Scamozzi, [*Idea dell'architettura universale. English*] *The mirror of architecture ...*, (London: printed for W. Fisher and R. Mount, T. Passenger, and E. Smith, 1687).
- V. Scamozzi, [*Idea dell'architettura universale. English*] *The mirror of architecture ...*, (London: printed for R. Mount, 1700).
- V. Scamozzi, '*Idea dell'architettura universale di Vincenzo Scamozzi Divisa in X Libri*' *Venice 1615*. (Farnborough: Facs., 1964).
- S. Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age*, (London: Fontana Press, 1987).
- F. Schottus, Trans. E. Warcupp, *Italy in its original glory, ruine and revival, being an exact survey of the whole geography, and history of that famous country; with the adjacent islands of Sicily, Malta, &c. And what ever is remarkable in Rome ... Translated out of the originals ... by Edmund Warcupp, Esquire [Translated from "Itinerario, ouero Noua*

- descrittione de' viaggi principali d'Italia*", an Italian version of the work of Franciscus Schottus entitled "*Itinerarii Italiae rerumque Romanarum libri tres*".] [With plates.], (London: S. Griffen, for H. Twyford, Tho. Dring, & I. Place, 1660).
- Classic Essays on the Culture of Cities*, ed. by R. Sennett, (Englewood Cliffs New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1969).
- S. Serlio, Trans. R. Peake, [*Tutte l'opere d'architettura. English*]. *The first booke of architecture, made by Sebastian Serly, entreating of geometrie. Translated out of Italian into Dutch, and out of Dutch into English*, (London: Printed by Simon Stafford and Thomas Snodham for Robert Peake, 1611).
- A. A. Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, *A Letter Concerning the Art, or Science of Design. Written from Italy. On the Occasion of the Judgement of Hercules* ... London, Bodleian G Pamph 66. (3): 1737).
- A. A. Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, *Characteristicks of men, manners, opinions, times. In three volumes. The second edition corrected. By the Right Honourable Anthony, Earl of Shaftesbury*, (London: Printed by John Darby, 1714 [1715])
- A. A. Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, *Several letters written by a noble Lord to a young man at the university*, (London: Printed for J. Roberts, 1716).
- A. A. Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, *Miscellaneous Reflections* in ed. J. M. Robertson, *Chatacteristicks*, (Reprinted Gloucester Mass., (1900) 1963).
- S. Shapin, *The Scientific Revolution*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).
- S. Shapin and S Schaffer, *Leviathan and the Air-pump. Hobbes, Boyle and the Experimental Life*, (Chichester and Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985).
- J. S. Shaw, *The Management of Scottish Society 1707-1764. Power, Nobles, Lawyers, Edinburgh Agents, & English Influence*, (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1983).
- J. Shebbeare, pseud. B. Angeloni, *Letters on the English Nation. By B. Angeloni ... Translated from the original Italian [or rather written] by the author of the Marriage Act, a novel [i.e. J. Shebbeare], 2 Vols.*, (London: 1755).
- J. Shute, *The first and chief Groundes of Architecture*, (London: Thomas Marshe, 1563).
- Cinzia Sicca 'The Architecture of the Wall. Astylism in the Architecture of Lord Burlington', in *Architectural History*, Vol. 33, 1990, pp. 83-101.
- J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner, *Oxford English Dictionary*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989).
- J. Slezer, *Theatrum Scotiae*, (London: John Leake, 1693).
- D. Smith, *Maps and Plans for the Local Historian and Collector*, (London: Batsford, 1988).
- O. Smith, *The Politics of Language 1791-1819*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986).
- Scotland and Europe 1200-1850*, ed. by T. C. Smout, (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1986).
- S. Sontag, *Barthes: Selected Writings*, (London: Fontana/Collins, 1982).

- T. Sorrell, *Hobbes*, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1986).
- Spalding Club, *The Book of the Thanes of Cawdor 1236-1742*, (Edinburgh: Spalding Club, 1859).
- Spalding Club, *The Diaries of the Lairds of Brodie 1652-1685*, (Edinburgh: Spalding Club, 1863).
- W. A. Speck, *Stability and Strife. England 1714-1760*, (London: Edward Arnold, 1977).
- W. A. Speck, *Society and Literature in England 1700-1760*, (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan Humanities, 1983).
- J. Speed, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine: presenting an exact geography of ... England, Scotland, Ireland, etc.*, (London: J. Sudbury & G. Humble, 1611-12).
- T. Starnes de Witt and G. Noyes, *The English Dictionary from Cawdrey to Johnson 1604-1755*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1946).
- G. Stedman Jones, 'The Linguistic Approach to History in the 1990s', in *History Workshop Journal*, N^o. 42, Autumn 1996, pp. 19-24.
- D. Stimson, *Scientists and Amateurs: A History of the Royal Society*, (New York: Henry Schuman, 1948).
- L. Stone and J. C. Fawtier Stone, *An Open Elite? England 1540-1880*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984).
- The Architecture of Colen Campbell*, ed. by H Stutchbury, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1967).
- The Book of Architecture of John Thorpe in Sir John Soane's Museum*, ed. by J. Summerson, (Glasgow: Walopple Society (Vol 40), 1960).
- J. Summerson, in *Royal Society of Architects Journal*, cvii, 1958, pp. 540.
- J. Summerson, *The Architecture of the Eighteenth Century*, (London: Thames & Hudson, 1969).
- J. Summerson, *The Classical Language of Architecture*, (London: Thames & Hudson, 1980).
- J. Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830*, (London: Penguin, 1986).
- Sunday Times, *Richest of the Rich supplement*,. March 26th 2000.
- The History of the University of Oxford: Vol. 5: The Eighteenth Century*, ed. by L. S. Sutherland and L. G. Mitchell, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986).
- J. Swift, *A Proposal for Correcting, Improving and Ascertaining the English Tongue in a Letter to the Most Honourable Earl of Oxford and Mortimer Lord High Treasurer of Great Britain*, (London: Benj. Tooke, 1712).
- J. Swift, *The Prose works of Jonathan Swift [edited by Temple Scott etc.] With a biographical introduction by W. E. H. Lecky. (vol. XII. Essays on the portraits of Swift by Sir Frederick Falkiner and on Swift and Stella by ... the Dean of St. Patrick's (J. H. Bernard). Bibliography of Swift's Works by W. Spencer Jackson, and a general index.)*, (12 Vols., 1897-1900).

- J. Swift, *The Prose Works of Jonathan Swift. Edited by Herbert Davis [With plates, including portraits and facsimiles.]*: *Gulliver's Travels*, 1726. With an introduction by Harold Williams, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1941).
- S. Switzer, *The country gentleman's companion*, (London: Printed for B. Barker and C. King, 1715).
- S. Switzer, *Nobleman, gentleman and Gardener's Recreation. or, an Introduction to Gardening, Planting and the other Business and Pleasures of a Country Life*, (London: B Barker & C King, 1715).
- S. Switzer, *Nobleman, Gentleman, and Gardener's Recreation. Ichnographia rustica: or, the Nobleman, Gentleman, and Gardener's Recreation*, (London: D Browne, B Barker & C King, W, R Gosling, 1718).
- S. Switzer, *Ichnographia, or the nobleman, gentleman and gardener's recreation, containing directions for the general distribution of a country seat ... and a general system of agriculture; illustrated with ... copper plates*, (3 Vols, London: 1718).
- E. Symon, *Catalogus librorum Or A Catalogue of the library of a gentleman (E. Symon) lately deceas'd.* (1729).
- M. Tafuri, *Theories and History of Architecture*, (New York and London: Granada, 1980).
- R. Tavernor, *Palladio and Palladianism*, (London: Thames & Hudson, 1991).
- C. Taylor, 'Modes of Civil Society', in *Public Culture*, 1990, Vol. 3, pp. 95-118.
- C. Theones, *Sebastiano Serlio*, (Milan: Electa, 1989).
- D. Thomson, *Renaissance Paris. Architecture and Growth 1475-1600*, (London: A Zwemmer Ltd., 1984).
- The Treasure Houses of Britain: Five Hundred Years of Private Patronage and Art Collecting*, (Washington D.C.: Exhibition catalogue National Gallery of Art, 1985).
- R. Thoresby, *The Diary of Ralph Thoresby, F. R. S. ... (1674-1724). Now first published from the original manuscript by the Rev. Joseph Hunter*, (2 Vol., London: 1830).
- N. Thrower, *Maps and Man. An Examination of Cartography in Relation to Culture and Civilisation*, (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1972).
- J. Tipper and others, *Great Britains Diary: Or the Union Almanack*, (London: 1710).
- H. Truesdell Heath, *The Letters of Samuel Pepys and his Family Circle*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955).
- J. Turner, 'Stephen Switzer and the Political Fallacy in Landscape Gardening history', *Eighteenth Century Studies*, Vol. 11, 1977-78, pp. 489-496.
- J. Turner, *The Politics of Landscape. Rural Scenery and Society in English Poetry 1630-1660*, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1979).
- E. L. Tuveson, *The Imagination as a Means of Grace. Locke and the Aesthetics of Romanticism*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1960).

- A. Tzonis, and L. Lefaivre, *Classical Architecture. The Poetics of Order*, (Cambridge Mass.: MIT Press, (1986), 1997).
- Varenne, *Voyage de France*.
- G. Vasari, *Le Vite de piu eccellenti pittori, scultori, e architettori ... di nuouo ... riuiste et ampliate con I ritratti loro et con l'aggiunta delle Vite de' viui, & de' morti dall'anno 1550 insino al 1567 ... Con le tauole in ciascun volume, delle cose piu notabili, de' ritratti, delle vite degli artefici, et dei luoghi doue sono l'opere loro. ed architetti*, (Firenze: Appresso I Giunti, 1568).
- G. Vasari, *Le Vite de piu eccellenti pittori, scultori, e architettori ... nelle redazioni del 1550 e 1568*, (4 Vol., Firenze: Sansoni, 1976).
- G. Vasari, trans. G. Bull, *Le Vite de piu eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architetti*, (2 Vols. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1987).
- A. Vesalius, *De humani corporis fabrica libri septem*, (Basel: Johannes Oporinus, 1543).
- Vignola, [*Regola delli cinque ordini d'architettura. English.*] *Vignola, or, The compleat architect shewing, in a plain and easie way, the rules of the five orders of architecture, viz. Tuscan, Dorick. Ionick, Corinthian, and Composite : whereby any that can but read and understand English may readily learn the proportions that all members in a building have one unto another / set forth by Mr. James Barozzi of Vignola ; translated into English by Joseph Moxon*, (London: Printed and sold by J. Moxon, 1655, 1665, 1676, 1694).
- M. Vitruvius Pollio, *I dieci libri dell'architettura di M. Vitruvio tradutti et commentati da Monsignor Barbaro eletto Patriarca d'Aquileggia. Con due tavole. L. P.*, (Vinegia: 1556).
- M. Vitruvius Pollio, *De architettura, libri decem. Cum notis ... G. Philandri integris; D. Barbari excerptis, et C. Salmasii passim insertis. [M. Meibomii notae. N. Goldmanni notae.] Praemittuntur elementa architecturae collecta ab H. Wottono equite Anglo. Accedunt lexicon Vitruviani. De pictura libri tres L. B. de Albertis. De sculptura excerpta ex dialogo P. Gaurici. L. Demontiosii commentarius de sculptura et pictura. Cum variis indicibus. Omnia in unum collecta ... a J. de Laet*, (Amstelodami: Apud L. Elzivirium, 1649).
- M. Vitruvius Pollio, *Les Dix Livres, d'architecture, ... corrigez et traduits ... en Francois, avec des notes et des figures. Seconde edition, corrigez et augmentee par M. Perrault*, (Paris: 1684).
- M. Vitruvius Pollio, *De architectura. English. Abridgements. The theory and practice of architecture*, (London: Printed for R. Wellington, 1703).
- M. Vitruvius Pollio, Trans. M. H. Morgan, *The Ten Books on Architecture*, (New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1960).
- J. Walker, *Design History and the History of Design*, (London: Pluto Press, 1989).

- O. Walker, *Of Education, Especially of Young Gentlemen*, (Oxford: The Theater, 1673).
- P. J. Wallis, *The Social Index A New Technique for Measuring Social Trends*, (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: University of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1978).
- E. Warcupp, *Italy in its Original Glory, Ruine and Revival, being an exact survey of the whole geography, and history of that famous country; with the adjacent islands of Sicily, Malta, &c. And what ever is remarkable in Rome ... Translated out of the originals ... by Edmund Warcupp, Esquire. [Translated from "Itinerario, ouero Noua descrittione de' viaggi principali d'Italia", an Italian version of the work of Franciscus Schottus entitled "Itinerarii Italiae rerumque Romanarum libri tres".] [With plates.]*, (London: S. Griffin: 1660).
- I. Ware, *A Complete Body of Architecture adorned with plans and elevations from original designs ... in which are interspersed some designs of Inigo Jones, never before published*, (London: T. Osborne and J. Shipton, 1756).
- Aspects of the eighteenth century*, ed. by E. Wasserman, (Baltimore and London: Oxford University Press and John Hopkins, 1965).
- E. Waterhouse, *The Gentleman's Monitor; or, a Sober Inspection into the Vertues, Vices and Ordinary Means of the Rise and Decay of Men and Families. With the authors apology and application to the nobles and gentry of England*, (London: Printed by T. R. for R. Royston, 1665).
- D. Watkin, *The rise of architectural history*, (London: Architectural Pr., 1980).
- D. Watkin, *Sir John Soane. Enlightenment Thought and the Royal Academy Lectures*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
- L. Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain 1660-1760*, (London: Routledge, 1988).
- R. Weber, *On the Aesthetics of Architecture. A Psychological Approach to the Structure and the Order of Perceived Architectural Space*, (Aldershot: Avebury, 1995).
- J. Weeks, 'Foucault for Historians', in *History Workshop Journal*, N^o. 14, Autumn 1982, pp. 106-120.
- W. Westfall Carroll, 'Society, Beauty and the Humanist Architect in Alberti's *De re aedificatoria*', in *Studies in the Renaissance*, N^o. 16-17, 1969-70, pp. 61-79.
- A. Wells-Cole, *Art and Decoration in Elizabethan and Jacobean England. The Influence of Continental Prints 1558-1625*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997).
- W. Wheeler, *Historic Mansions of Yorkshire*, (Leeds: Richard Jackson, 1888).
- H. White, *Tropics of Discourse. Essays in Cultural Criticism*, (Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 1978).
- D. Wiebenson, *Architectural Theory and Practice from Alberti to Ledoux*, (Chicago: Architectural Publications Inc. and University of Chicago Press, 1982).

- C. Williams, *Pope, Homer, and Manliness. Some Aspects of Eighteenth Century Classical Learning*, (New York and London: Routledge, 1993).
- R. Williams, *Keywords. A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*, (London: Fontana, 1988).
- T. Williamson, *Polite Landscapes*, (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1995).
- K. Wilson, *The Sense of the People. Politics, Culture and Imperialism in England 1715-1785*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
- A. Wilton, and I. Bignamini, *Grand Tour: the Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century*, (London: Tate Gallery Publishing Ltd., 1996).
- R. Wittkower, *Palladio and English Palladianism*, (London: Thames and Husdon, 1974).
- R. Wittkower, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism*, (W. Sussex: Academy Editions, (1949), 1998).
- H. Wölfflin, Trans. K. Simon, [*Renaissance and Barock*], *Renaissance and Baroque*, (London: (1888) 1953).
- H. Wölfflin, Trans. P. & L. Murray [*Klassische Kunst*], *Classic Art*, (London: (1899) 1932).
- H. Wölfflin, Trans. M. Hottinger, [*Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe*], *Principles of Art History*, (London: (1915) 1932).
- J. Wood, *The Origin of Building, or The Plagiarism of the Heathens detected in Five Books*, (Bath: J. Leake, 1741).
- G. B. Wood, *Historic Homes of Yorkshire*, (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1957).
- M. Woodmansee, 'The Genius and the Copyright: Economic and Legal Conditions of the Emergence of the Author', in *Eighteenth Century Studies*, N^o. 17, 1983-84, pp. 425-448.
- J. Woolfe and J. Gandon, *Vitruvius Britannicus, or, the British Architect Containing plans, elevations, and sections; of the regular buildings both public and private in Great Britain*. Vol. 4, (London: Joseph Smith, 1767).
- J. Woolfe and J. Gandon, *Vitruvius Britannicus, or, the British Architect Containing plans, elevations, and sections; of the regular buildings both public and private in Great Britain*. Vol. 5, (London: Joseph Smith, 1771).
- G. Worsley, 'Nicholas Hawksmoor: a Pioneer Neo-Palladian?', in *Architectural History*, Vol. 33, 1990, pp. 60-74).
- G. Worsley, *Classical Architecture in the Heroic Age*, (New Haven and London: Paul Mellon Centre and Yale University Press, 1995).
- H. Wotton, *Elements of Architecture*, (London: John Bill, 1624).
- H. Wotton, *Reliquiae Wottonianae*, (London: B. Tooke and T. Sawbridge, 1685).
- H. Wotton, *The elements of architecture ... A facsimile reprint of the first edition, London, 1624. With introduction and notes by Frederick Hard*, (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1968).
- S. Wren, *Parentalia, or Memoirs of the Family of Wrens*, (London: facsimile reprint by Gregg Press, ltd., [1965] first published 1670).
- F. A. Yates, *Ideas and Ideals in the North European Renaissance. Collected Essays vol III*, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984).
- F. A. Yates, *The Art of Memory*, (London: Pimlico, 1992).

MANUSCRIPTS

British Library Lansdowne, MS 104 ff. 100-101.

British Library, Royal MS 18 D.III f. 42. Hatfield House Maps, 36.

PRO State Papers 44/359, *Privilege registered 8 April 1715.*

PRO, PROB II, 632, 1722, *Campbell's will drawn up in 1722.*

Thorseby Society, MSS 595. Papers relating to Wentworth property in Wakefield, July 1707.

West Yorkshire Archive, VR 285, *Letter from Edward Blackett to John Aislaby concerning political matters, 1702.*

West Yorkshire Archive, V6002, *Letter from William Robinson to Metcalfe, 12th May 1718.*

West Yorkshire Archive, V13150-13325, *Tancred to his nephew Thos., 18th September 1718.*

West Yorkshire Archive, V13150-13325 *Aislaby to Thos. from Studley, 15th September 1723.*

West Yorkshire Archive, V56199 Bundle A, *Letter to Colen Campbell concerning designs showed him by Roger Morris, 26th July 1729.*

West Yorkshire Archive, V13150-13325, *Letters - Thos. 1st Lord Grantham Mother to Thos., 30th October 1731.*

West Yorkshire Archive, V56199, Bundle A, *Receipt received by William Etty for use of his master mason, 21st September 1733.*

West Yorkshire Archive, V13150-13325, *Letters - Thos. 1st Lord Grantham Mother to Thos., January n/d.*

West Yorkshire Archive, V13150-13325, *Letters - Thos. 1st Lord Grantham Mother to Thos., 13th June n/d.*

West Yorkshire Archive, V13150-13325 *Letter to Thos from his sister Anne, n/d.*

West Yorkshire Archive, V13827, *Letter from William to Thos Robinson, 20th October n/d.*

PERIODICALS

Monthly Catalogue.

Daily Courant.

Evening Post.

Gentlemans Magazine.

Post Boy.

The Rambler.

The Review.

The Spectator.

Tatler.

The Weekly Survey of the World, Or The Gentleman's solid Recreation.

CATALOGUES

Ballard, T. *Compleat Catalogue of the Library of Thomas Granger Esq;... Which will be sold by Auction. At Paul's Coffee House in St. Paul's Church-Yard....* (Oct 9 1732).

Anon. *Bibliotheca Salmoneana, Pars Prima Or A Catalogue of Part of the Library of William Salmon Mrs. Decease'd*, (Sold at Auction at St. Paul's Coffee-House, next Door to Dean's Court, the W. End of St Pauls, 16th November 1713, By Thos. Ballard Bookseller).

Anon. *A Catalogue of the Library of the Late Learned Dr John Cooke Son of the City of Bristol Containing many Scarce and Valuable Books in Divinity, Physick, History etc. With a Curious Collection of the Best Editions of the Classicks.... [to be] Sold by Action 12 Feb 1721-22 at the Dwelling-House of Mrs Cooke, the Relict of the said Dr Cooke, in Corn Street, Bristol...*

Anon. *Catalogue of Part of the Library of dr Wood ... and of another gentleman ... which will Be sold very cheap,. (1723).*

Anon. *Catalogue of Part of the Library of the Reverend Dr. Wood, Author of the Institute of the Laws of England; and of Another Gentleman: Both deceased 23rd May 1723*

Anon. *A Catalogue of the Entire Library of that reverend and learned Antiquiry Dr. John Covel. Late Master of Christ-College in Cambridge, and Chancellory of the Cathedral Church of York*, (Sold 9th March 1724).

Anon. *A Catalogue of the library of his Excellency Louis Henry de Lomenie, Count de Brienne, Secretary to State to Louis XIV and Ambassador at Rome, belonging to his Son the late Bishop of Coutance in Normandy. Consisting of a Large Series of Books relating to the History, Antiquities, and Constitution of Great Britain and Ireland, France..... to be sold very cheap at James Woodman's and David Lyon's Shop in Russell-Street, Covent Garden, 28th April 1724*

Anon. *A Catalogue of the libraries of ... sir Jonathan Telawney ... and of the honourable Charles Hatton. Which will be Sold, the lowest price mark'd in each book, (26th November, 1724).*

Anon. *Bibliotheca Bridgesiana Catalogus: or A Catalogue of the Entire Library of John Bridges, Late of Lincolns-Inn Esq. Consisting of above 4,000 Books and Manuscripts in all Languages and Faculties; particularly in Classics and History; and especially the History and Antiquities of Great Britain and Ireland*, (Sold by auction 7th Feb 1725/6 at his Chambers in Lincolns-Inn. Printed by J. Tonson and J. Watts. To be sold at most Booksellers in Town and Country, 1725).

Anon. *A Catalogue of the Library of a very Eminent Gentleman lately deceas'd; Consisting of a very large and beautiful Collection of Books in most Art and Sciences: Such as the Antiquities of the several Counties in England; most of the Travels and Voyages which*

have been printed; the most notable Authors in Divinity, History, Poetry, etc. The Classics ... and near Eleven of Hundred Volumes of Miscellaneous Tracks, (Sold Edward Syman's Shop, Royal Exchange Cornhill, 25th February 1729).

Anon. Catalogue of the Libraries of Richard Hutton Esq; and of the Rev. Tho. Kimpson, (Both lately Deceased.) Consisting of A large Collection of Books, relating to the History, Antiquities, and Constitution of Great Britain and Ireland; and of the History of most Forreign Nations, and the Antiquities of Several of their Principalities and Counties: Of Architecture, Sculpture, Law, Divinity, Trade, Husbandry, and Classicks..., (7 January 1729-30).

Anon. Catalogue of the library of the Learned and Reverend Edmund Chishull, B. D. Vicar of Walthamstow in Essex; and Prebendary of St Paul's Cathedral... Consisting of A large and useful Collection of Books in all Branches of Learning, (March 25 1735).