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Rediscovering architecture : Paestum in eighteenth-century architectural experience and theory

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Rediscovering Architecture

Paestum
in Eighteenth-Century
Architectural Experience
and Theory

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Paestum
in Eighteenth-Century
Architectural Experience and Theory

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Dr. F.H. Schmidt (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam)
Prof.dr. A. van der Woud (Rijksuniversiteit Groningen)

for my parents

and to the memory of
Elisabeth van Druten

Contents

Acknowledgements 10

Introduction 13

Rediscovery 13
The site 17
Interactions between architectural experience and theory 24

Part I Aesthetic Experiences

Chapter 1 Paradoxical Encounters: Paestum and the sublime 37

Paestum at first sight 41
Towards beauty and terror: the foundations of the sublime 45
Architecture and the sublime in theories 55
The sublime in the experience of buildings 65
Astonishment and *je ne sais quoi*: Dupaty and Tatham at Paestum 84
From the grandeur to the paradox in the sublime 89
Character and the male aspect: the observations of Vaudoyer and Reveley 98
'The shadow of some half-remembered dream': Shelley and Turner 111
Mastering a sublime experience 122

Chapter 2 Scenic Associations: Paestum and the picturesque 129

Framing from a distance: the origins of the picturesque 133

Towards movement: the picturesque in architecture 138
Pictorial impressions and hasty views: picturesque elements in Paestum 149
In search of the picturesque: Richard Payne Knight's Paestum account 152
Picturesque versus sublime: the Expedition into Sicily and John Cozens' view 165
The educated mind: the theories of Richard Payne Knight and Uvedale Price 174
Associating Paestum 182
Architecture as painting 190

Part II Experiences of Movement

Chapter 3 Entering Ruins: A physical experience 197

Entering ruins in the imagination: Diderot and Robert among painted remains 199
A self-portrait in ruins: John Soane's *Crude Hints* 210
Mass and space, load and support: Goethe and Forsyth in the temples 220
Sensing ruins by Eustace and Shelley 228
The body in architectural space 235

Chapter 4 Staging Ruins: Theatrical sequences 243

The sequence of experience: acting and directing 248
Architecture as scenographic experience 266
The landscape as scenery 268
The temples as a stage 275
Theatricality as a means of plotting an architectural experience 279

Part III Contextualising Experiences

Chapter 5 In Pursuit of the Primitive: History in the making 291

Primitive perfection in Laugier's mind 299
Marvelling at primitive purity in Paestum 318
Piranesi's theories on invention in architecture 335

History seen as a system by Winckelmann 345
Paoli turns history around 353
Quatremère de Quincy writings towards a universal architecture 364
The genius of the place according to Labrouste 375
Primitivism, origins and history 394

Chapter 6 The Eye of the Architect: Paestum exported 401

Revising treatises: Pâris on Desgodetz and Delagardette on Vignola 405
The development of Greek architecture according to Le Roy and Wilkins 424
Paestum abroad in collections 444
The two-dimensional architecture of Durand 458
Architecture without experience 463

Conclusion 467

Bibliography 474

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Introduction

Rediscovery

> 'May I suggest to Y[our] M[ajesty] that, in order to save time and expense, it would be possible to take stonework from the ancient city of Paestum situated in Capaccio, an ancient Roman settlement, where there is a great quantity of half-ruined buildings, with more than a hundred huge columns, with their capitals, architraves, friezes and entablatures, built of blocks of stone of such proportions as to give one an idea of the power of the ancient Romans.'[1]

The eighteenth-century rediscovery of the ruins of Paestum began rather curiously: with a plan to demolish what was left of the temples to use their stones for a building project. This plan originated at the royal court at Naples in 1740, and never went beyond the state of proposition. In fact, it led to the contrary: a sudden and increasing interest in the ancient architecture of Paestum.

The purpose of the demolition was to provide building material for a royal palace, and,

1. On 10 July 1740 Sanfelice wrote to Carlo di Borbone: 'D. Ferdinando Sanfelice Patrizio Napolitano […] avendo inteso che li son state presentate certe mostre di pietra bianca per fare gl'ornamenti del real Palazzo nella Villa di Capo di Monte, e considerando che per tagliare e trasportare tanta quantità di pietra, oltre della spesa vi vuole gran tempo, […] rapprenta alla M.V. che per avanzare il tempo e la spesa si portrebbe prendere le pietre che sono nell'antica città di Pesto, situato nel territorio di Capaccio, che fu antica colonia dei Romani, dove vi sono tante quantità d'edificij mezzi diruti, essendovi più di cento colonne di dismisurata grandezza con i loro capitelli, architravi, freggi e cornicioni di pezzi così grandi che fan conoscere la potenza degl'antichi Romani; questi si portrebbero trasportare con grandissima facoltà per mare, essendo la detta città fabbricata accosto la marina.' Naples, Archivio di Stato, Casa Reale Antica, fs. 1537, inc. 44 bis, fol. 3. The letter of Sanfelice is also cited in Pietro Laveglia, *Paestum, dalla decadenza alla riscoperta fino al 1860*, Naples: Libreria Scientifica Editrice, 1971, pp. 72-73. See also Raffaelle Ajello, 'Le origini della politica mercantilistica nel Regno di Napoli', in: Franco Strazzullo, *Le manifatture d'Arte di Carlo di Borbone*, Naples: Liguori Editore, 1979, pp. 11-17.

ironically, as this building material was considered to be Roman, the columns of the Greek Doric temples of Paestum were supposed to represent the power of ancient Rome. It was the Neapolitan court architect Ferdinando Sanfelice (1675-1748), the first architect to mention Paestum in the eighteenth century, who came up with the plans.[2] In 1740 he suggested to Carlo di Borbone (1716-1788), King of the Two Sicilies, to use the columns of Paestum as *spolia* in the Palazzo di Capodimonte. Although this proposal was never executed, the letter of Sanfelice made the court in Naples aware of the existence of the temples, and soon another Neapolitan architect, Mario Gioffredo (1718-1785) would further investigate the site and report his findings to the court commander of the artillery, count Felice Gazzola (1698-1780). Gazzola would become the cultural agent who diverted many European visitors of Naples towards Paestum. This was the beginning of an enormous upheaval in eighteenth-century Europe: the rediscovery of Paestum would cause a great stir in architectural thought and would turn existing ideas on classical architecture completely upside down.

Paestum came to fascinate people. Soon after its rediscovery European travellers would flock to the site, write about it, draw the temples, and publish about them in large folios. This fascination was rather complex. Paestum attracted, captivated, enthralled, tantalized, disturbed, upset, agitated, and frightened its visitors at the same time. Travelling to the site offered an invigorating but often hazardous adventure, a vast and enchanting landscape, and some very unusual buildings. The temples were so different from Roman classical architecture and from everything travellers had seen before in publications and at other sites, that the confrontation with these remains startled the visitors, raised many diverse questions and became a source of vehement debates. These continued throughout the eighteenth century, and well into the nineteenth. They are reflected in the large amount of reactions to the site. Paestum is unparalleled in both the quantity and the diversity of the responses to an ancient site. Indeed, compared to other ancient sites in Sicily, Greece or Rome, Paestum is unique because of this enormous amount of reactions and the variety of the accounts, and because of its central role in the different subjects that figured predominantly in eighteenth-century architectural debates.

Count Gazzola had started a dissemination of knowledge about the temples across Europe. It was also on his instigation that the first foreign architect was to visit the site: the French

2. On Sanfelice see: Alastair Ward, *The Architecture of Ferdinando Sanfelice*, New York: Garland, 1988; Alfonso Gambardella (ed.), *Ferdinando Sanfelice: Napoli e l'Europa*, Naples: Edizioni scientifiche italiane, 2004.

architect Jacques-Germain Soufflot (1713-1780).[3] He described how Gazzola advised him to examine the temples south of Naples:

> 'En me plaignant de ce qu'on jouissoit si peu des decouvertes d'Herculanée a un homme plein de goust en place et fort curieux que j'avois l'honneur de voir souvent a Naples, il me parla d'une ville qui en etoit eloignée d'environ 30 lieux par mer, il ne l'avoit point vue mais un peintre habile qu'il aimoit et estimoit avec raison y avoit fait un voyage pour y voir de grands temples d'architecture grecque'[4]

That Soufflot considered the temples to be Greek is rather striking, because the origin of the temples was a constant source of debate in the eighteenth century. Travellers saw Etruscan, Greek, Roman and even Egyptian elements in the temples. Soufflot's account is of interest, as we shall see, not only because it is the first response of a foreign architect to the site but also because it already displays several aspects that would interest many travellers to Paestum during the decades to come: the impact of the voyage, the impression the site made and the idea of perceiving something unknown, the good preservation of the temples, and the strangeness of their proportions and material. Other elements that are already present in his account are taking measurements and making drawings, viewing the origins of the Doric order, and the ambition to rewrite architectural history when taking these monuments in consideration.[5]

3. Mario Gioffredo wrote in his *Dell'Architettura*: 'Dovremmo qui porre un' idea della prima Architettura Etrusca e Dorica ne' tre tempj di *Pesti*, che servirebbe a giovani vaghi di vedere i primi prodotti dell'arte: ma lasciamo volentieri quella, come ogni altra cosa che ci ritarda, o ci allontana dallo scopo propostoci. Nel 1746, passando per Pesti, vidi quelle ruine, che in appresso si sono ammirate da' stranieri piucché da' nostri Letterati, come i più celebri monumenti dell'antichità. Le manifestai a molti amici, e tra gli altri al Conte GAZOLA, a Mons. SUFFLOT, ed al Signor NATALI Pittore d'Architettura, con cui nel 1750, e nel 1752, summo a misurare e disegnare i tre templi con tuttociò ch'esiste in quella città'. Mario Gioffredo, *Dell'Architettura di Mario Gioffredo Architetto Napoletano Parte Prima. Nella quale si tratta degli Ordini dell'Architetura de'Greci, e degl'Italiani, e si danno le regole più spedite per disegnarli*, Naples, 1768, p. 7, note 3, in: Benedetto Gravagnuolo (ed.), *Mario Gioffredo*, Naples: Guida, 2002. Contrary to what Gioffredo writes, Soufflot was already back in Lyon in 1752, but in 1750 he did visit the temples of Paestum.
4. Jacques Germain Soufflot, in a lecture on his journey to Vesuvius, Herculaneum and Paestum, *Diverses remarques sur l'Italie. Etat du Mont Vesuve dans le mois de juin 1750 et dans le mois de novembre de la même année*, read on 12 April 1752 to the Académie des Beaux-Arts de Lyon. Lyon, Académie des Beaux-Arts, B.A., Recueil 136, fol. 2-12 (no. 810). The lecture is published in *L'Oeuvre de Soufflot à Lyon. Etudes et documents*, Lyon: Presses universitaires de Lyon, 1982; for the part on Paestum: pp. 213-214. In this thesis I have reproduced the texts as they were written, thus the spelling of the eighteenth century and the authors' errors in texts remain.
5. Soufflot's text continued: 'je me determinois au voyage et partis dans un felouque avec ce même peintre et quelques architectes, malgre les chaleurs du mois de juillet; nous arrivames heureusement le lendemain a 4 heures a la vue des restes de cette ville apellé dabord Possidonia par les grecs et ensuitte Pastum par les romins; elle fut presque totalement ruinée par les Sarazins dans le 10e siecle et est aujourdhuy absolument deserte. On laboure le sol partout ou on le peut et elle ne renferme dans ses murailles en partie conservées que deux ou trois chaumieres sous lesquelles vivent les gens qui la labourent; elle est a un demy lieu de la mer qui paroit s'en estre retiré, on en peut juger par de grandes relaisées

The first monographic publication on the site appeared in 1764, and was based on Soufflot's measured drawings, and on those by his travel companion and the author of the book, the architect Gabriel-Pierre-Martin Dumont (1720-1791). The *Suite de plans [...] de Paesto* offered only plates and no explicatory texts. Many publications would follow, with both plates and texts: in the second half of the eighteenth century alone, the impressive amount of eight monographs was to be published about the site.[6]

At the end of the eighteenth century, around 1789, the Italian architect Carlo Vanvitelli (1739-1821) proposed to build a replica of one of the Paestum temples in the English gardens at Caserta.[7] While the construction of artificial ruins as a folly in landscape gardens was by then

de sable que l'on remarque de puis la mer jusqu'a peu de distance de la ville; elle avoit environ une demy lieu de circuit, son plan est un quarré irregulier. Ses murailles ont 15 a 16 pieds d'epaisseur et sont batis de pierres immenses pour la longueur, la largeur et l'epaisseur, elles sont proprement posées et bien alignées; il y a apparence quelles ont été faites par les grecs, les tours étant fort éloignées les unes des autres. On y voit une porte assez grande mais qui n'a rien de remarquable; il n'en est pas de même des trois temples en partie conservés et a l'un desquels il ne manque presque que le toit. On dit les doriens fondateurs de cette ville; les temples paroissent avoir été construit lorsque lordre dorique étoit encore au berceau, le plus grand et le mieux conservé est orné d'un portique circulaire de 40 colonnes de six pieds de diametre, les autres luy cedent en grandeur et ne sont pas si bien conservés. J'y restay le temps necessaire pour les mesures et en faire les desseins au crayons, j'avois intention d'en parler plus en detail mais la crainte de devenir trop long m'a fait restreindre a donner une legere idée de ces monuments qui étoient inconnus pour la forme et l'etendu a Naples même qui n'en est qua 20 ou 25 lieues par terre.Bien des curieux en allant en Grece et en Egypte pour y voir et y dessiner des monuments antiques ont traversé le golphe de Salerme et passé peut être a la vue de ceux cy, sans les appercevoir. Je compte parvenir a les mettre dans quelques temps au jour pour les faire admirer malgré le materiel de leurs proportions, et pour faire voir par leurs dimensions les progres que l'ordre dorique a fait ensuitte chez les grecs et chez les romains.'

6. After Gabriel-Martin Dumont's *Suite de plans, coupes, profils, élévations géométrales et perspectives de trois temples antiques, tels qu'ils existaient en 1750 dans la bourgade de Poesto, qui est la ville Poestum de Pline... Ils ont été mesurés et dessinés par J.-G. Soufflot,... en 1750, et mis au jour par les soins de G.-M. Dumont en 1764 [...] de Paesto*, Paris: Dumont 1764 were published : Filippo Morghen, *Sei Vedute delle Rovine di Pesto* [Naples, 1765]; [John Longfield,] *The Ruins of Poestum or Posidonia, containing a description and views of the remaining antiquities, with the ancient and modern history, inscriptions, etc.*, London: s.n., 1767; Thomas Major, *The Ruins of Pæstum otherwise Posidonia, in Magna Græcia*, London: s.n., 1768 / *Les Ruines de Paestum*, London: T. Major, 1768; Gabriel Martin Dumont [text Longfield translated], *Les ruines de Paestum, autrement Posidonia, ville de l'ancienne grande Grèce, au Royaume de Naples: ouvrage contenant l'histoire ancienne & moderne de cette ville, la description & les vues de ses antiquités, ses inscriptions, &c.: avec des observations sur l'ancien Ordre Dorique*, London/Paris: C.-A. Jombert,1769; Giovanni Battista Piranesi, *Differentes vues de quelques restes de trois grands édifices qui subsistent encore dans le milieu de l'ancienne ville de Pesto, autrement Possidonia qui est située dans la Lucanie*, Rome: s.n., 1778; Paolo Antonio Paoli, *Paesti, quod Posidoniam etiam dixere, rudera. Rovine della Città di Pesto detta ancora Posidonia*, Rome: [in typographio Palearinianо],1784; Claude Mathieu Delagardette, *Les Ruines de Paestum, ou Posidona, ancienne ville de la Grande-Grèce, a vingt-deux lieues de Naples, dans le golfe de Salerne: Levées, mesurées et dessinées sur les lieux, en l'an II*, Paris: l'auteur/H. Barbou, an VII [1799].

7. See 'Journal de Léon Dufourny à Palerme 8 juillet 1789 - 29 septembre 1793', manuscript, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Cabinet des Estampes, Ub 236, 4o t. II: 'il me parla surtout d'une Temple de Pestum que Vanvitelli vouloit excenter dans le jardin anglais de Caserta', MF 123789, f. 136, published in Italian in: Léon Dufourny, *Diario di un Giacobino a Palermo 1789-1793*, introduction by Geneviéve Bautier-Bresc, translated by Raimondo A. Cannizzo, Palermo: Fondazione Lauro Chiazzese della Sicilcassa, 1991, p. 187: 'Venerdì 16 luglio [1790] [...] di mattina, da Lioy per Hackert. Poi, da don Ciccio per essere presentato a Hackert. Non aveva tempo, ma me lo presentò don Velasquez. Ne fui molto lieto. Mi parlò sopratutto del tempio di Paestum che Vanvitelli avrebbe voluto riprodurre nel giardino

a common practice, building a copy of a whole temple to wander in and around, thus trying to transfer an architectural experience to another place, was rather special.

The idea to reproduce these ruins in a garden indicates the admiration the architect had felt for these temples, and the importance his king Ferdinando di Borbone (1751-1825) gave to these monuments that were part of his Kingdom. From the time of the Neapolitan plans to demolish the temples, to the project to copy one Paestum temple in the royal gardens, something had happened. A clear switch in thought had taken place between this first idea to take down the temples and extract solid antique building material to build a new palace, and the second one to leave them intact, and even to reproduce their grandeur elsewhere. The developments in architectural thought between the cautious and exploratory rediscovery of the site and a general and strong consensus about the value of the temples are the general topic of this thesis.

Before we will turn to the specific questions raised by Paestum and the architectural debates they caused, we will first examine what the travellers actually reacted to. What made these temples so special? To better understand the eighteenth-century responses we will give a short description of the site and its temples.

The site

Of the Grecian temples in Magna Graecia the three in Paestum are the best preserved. They are also the oldest temples to be found on Italian soil. Poseidonia was a colony in Magna Graecia, and is located about 80 km south of Naples and 40 km south of Salerno. The city is situated in a vast plain, with the sea on the west side (on 640 m), the river Sele on the north side, and the Alburni mountains on the east side. The city walls surrounding the site follow the trapezoidal shape of the calcareous limestone shelf on which the city is built (fig. i.1). These walls, begun by the Greeks and completed by the Romans, about 4.8 km in length and enclosing 96 ha, include four gates and towers, and are well preserved. The gates are named the Porta Giustizia to the south, the Porta Aurea to the north, the Porta Sirena to the east, and the Porta Marina to the west. Limestone, or travertine, was the principal building material. The three temples are east-west orientated. The Athena temple, the temple of Hera II and the

inglese di Caserta, e si impegnò per l'indomani di venire a prendermi per andare alla Zisa, ecc.'

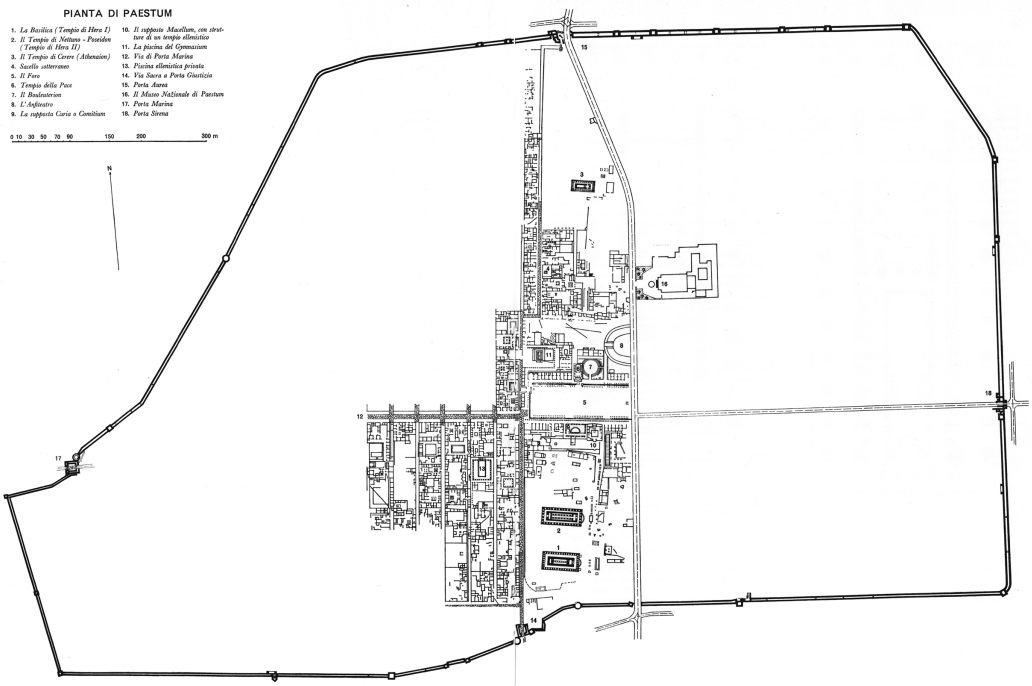


figure i.1
General map of Paestum.
(From Napoli, 1970, pp. 8-9.)

Athena

Hera II

Hera I

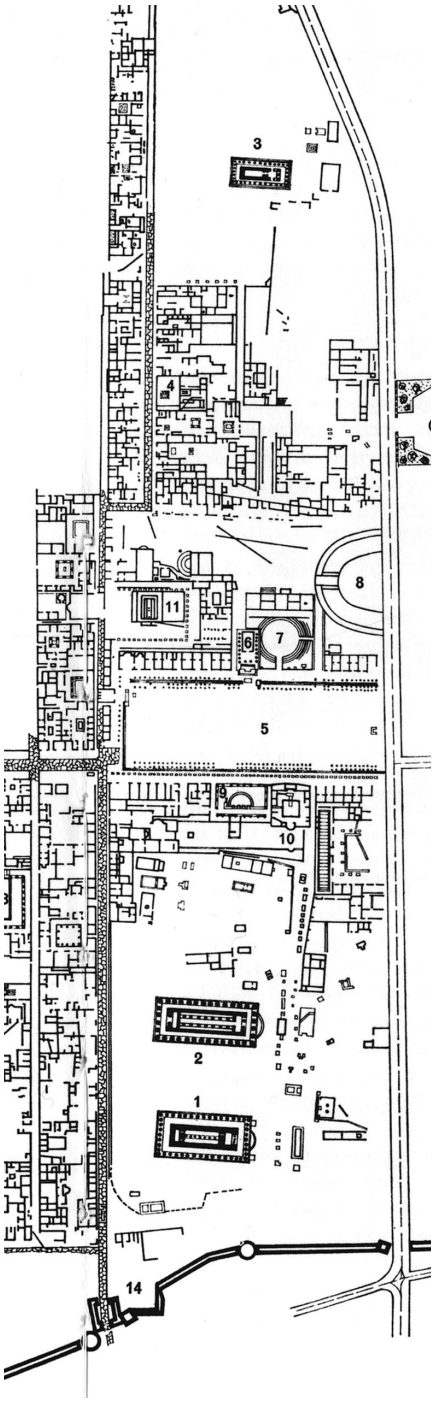


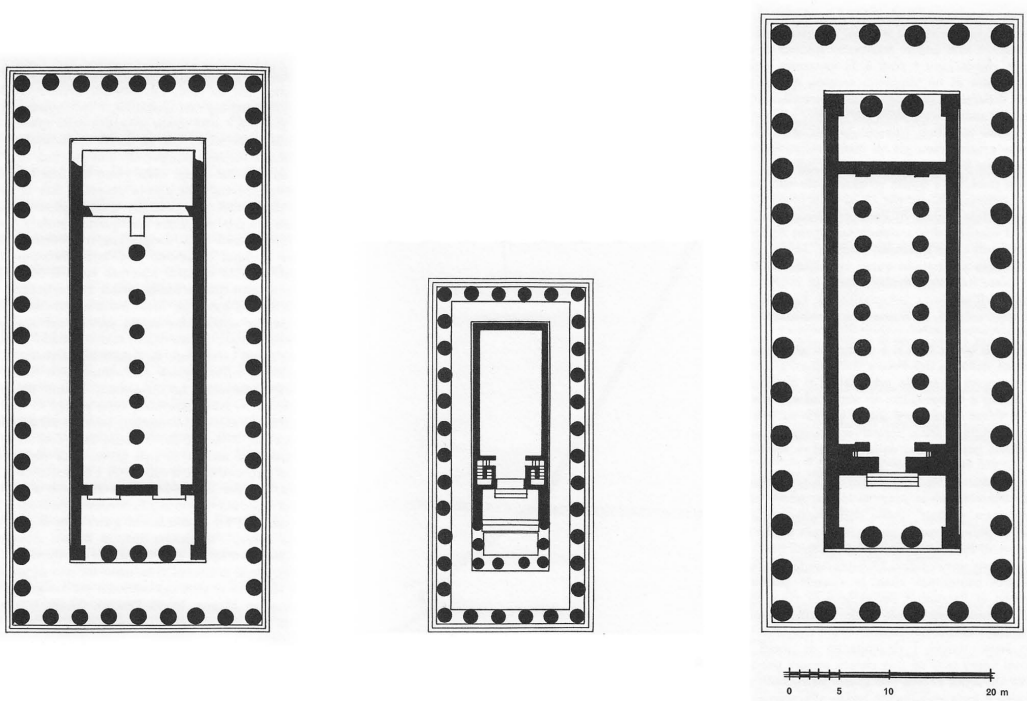
figure i.2
Detail of general map of Paestum with three temples. From north to south: Athena (3), Hera II (2) and Hera I (1).
(From Napoli, 1970, pp. 8-9.)

temple of Hera I are lined from north to south, and all had their entrances on the east side (fig. i.2).

The Greek city of Poseidonia was founded in about 600 BC, and flourished for nearly 200 years. The Troizenians, together with the Achaeans the original settlers of the Greek colony of Sybaris (in Southern Italy, Calabria), had fled north after a clash with the Achaeans and founded Poseidonia. It was one of the more important colonies in Magna Graecia, and was most prosperous during the Greek period. An important city in the trade route from the south, it was situated in the northern area of Greek colonisation and the inhabitants had contacts with the Etruscan people living nearby, north of the river Sele. The Greeks in the Greek colonies drew on the culture of their homeland, but were also inventive and while they experimented with novel building inventions, sculpture design and cultural exchanges, the city prospered. Around 400 BC the Lucanians conquered the city and held it, until in 273 BC a Latin colony settled there and the name was changed to Paestum. Roman streets were then laid out, the *cardo maximus* from north to south and *decumanus* from east to west, and a forum and buildings were added to the city, such as an amphitheatre, a temple, shops and houses. At the same time, the three Greek temples remained amidst this new Roman city.[8] From the first century AD onwards, the Romans left the city, the Athena temple was later converted into a Christian basilica (sixth and seventh century AD), and a medieval village was constructed around it.

The three temples, all built in different periods and expressing the different ideas on building of the Greek inhabitants at the time, offer a good overview of the development in early Greek Doric temple architecture (fig. i.3). The oldest temple is the Temple of Hera I, built around 530 BC (or between 570 and 520 BC). The ascription to Hera was made because her name was

8. For a (art)historical description of Paestum in Greek and Roman times see John Griffiths Pedley, *Paestum. Greek and Romans in Southern Italy*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1990. Other archaeological and historical studies on Paestum were published by some of the main archaeologists of the site. Excavations at Paestum in the twentieth century were conducted by: Vittorio Spinazzola, Antonio Marzullo, Amedeo Maiuri and Friedrich Krauss in the 1930's. Their studies include: Friedrich Krauss, *Paestum. Die griechischen Tempel*, Berlin: Mann, 1976 (first published 1941). Pellegrino Sestieri excavated in the 1950's, Mario Napoli in the 1960's and he published: *La Tomba del Tuffatore. La scoperta della grande pittura greca*, Bari: De Donato, 1970 and *Paestum*, Novara: Istituto geografico de Agostini, 1970. Napoli discovered the Tomba del Tuffatore, or tomb of the diver, the Greek painted tomb (early fifth century BC). More recently Emanuele Greco and Dinu Theodorescu did archaeological work. Their publications include: *Poseidonia-Paestum I*, Rome: École française de Rome, 1980; *Poseidonia-Paestum II*, Rome: École française de Rome, 1983; *Poseidonia-Paestum III*, Rome: École française de Rome, 1987; *Poseidonia-Paestum IV*, Rome: École française de Rome, 1999. Restorations of the temples were conducted by Dieter Mertens (*Der Tempel von Segesta und die dorische Tempelbaukunst des griechischen Westens in Klassicher Zeit*, Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1984; *Der alte Heratempel in Paestum und die archaische Baukunst in Unteritalien*, Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1993), and of the city walls by Mertens and the German Archaeological Institute.



Hera I (Basilica) Athena (Ceres) Hera II (Neptune)

figure i.3
Same scale plans of the three temples in chronological order. From left to right: Hera I (Basilica), Athena (Ceres) and Hera II (Neptune).

(From Napoli, 1970, pp. 5, 10, 11.)

found on pottery at the spot. Hera was the city's protectress and possessed a sanctuary within the walls. The Temple of Hera I has 9 by 18 columns. These columns measure 1.45 by 6.43 meters, thus they have a ratio of 1:4.47. The temple is constructed on a stylobate of 24.5 by 54.3 meters. The odd number of columns in the front and the back is remarkable. It resulted from the three columns in the porch, which in turn were a consequence of the central axial colonnade. This division of the cella was possibly constructed to house two cult statues, for example Hera and Poseidon. But it could also be an indication of an obsolete arrangement, in temples from the seventh century BC.[9] Furthermore, the pronounced entasis (swelling of the columns) and the broad, convex and flat echinus of the capitals are exceptional, and point at the early date of construction. Apart from the nine columns, other special characteristics are its wide ambulatory, the three columns of the porch, and the single row of columns in the cella. The exterior columns and the cella columns have the same size, which is another exceptional feature, since cella columns are usually smaller. At the porch, three columns stand between the antae. The anta capital has a cylindrical, roll-like projection along its lower edge. It is a feature that, apart from here, was only to be found in Sybaris and Argos, and can be linked to northern Peloponnesian architecture. In comparison with Greek mainland architecture the temple is extraordinary in its plan and structure, and in its decoration, showing the willingness to experiment of the inhabitants of Poseidonia.

The Temple of Athena was constructed in about 520 BC. It has 6 by 13 columns and measures 14.5 by 33 metres, with columns of 1.27 by 6.12, a ratio of 1:4.84. It is the smallest of the three temples. It was located at the highest point within the city. The temple consisted of the Doric order for the exterior columns, and the Ionic order for the interior ones. It is the first Greek building to incorporate both Doric and Ionic columns. The interior has a large porch at the east side, and no corresponding back porch. The cella contained no columns, but the porch consisted of eight Ionic columns, smaller in scale than the exterior ones. Two of them functioned in the antae of the porch walls, four presented the facade. Two staircases behind the porch served presumably as a landing from which the statue could be seen and cleaned. The interior columns are not aligned with the exterior ones, which made the interior an independent space, a common feature in Magna Graecia. The entasis of the Doric columns is less pronounced than at the Hera I temple and the shafts are slimmer. The echinus of the capitals is flatter than those of Hera I. The building has been constructed from travertine

9. Pedley, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

blocks, but for some decorations, for example on the frieze, sandstone has been used. Terracotta figurines of Athena found at a votive deposit nearby confirmed the dedication of the temple to Athena.

The Temple of Hera II, built in about 460 BC, has 6 by 14 columns and is the largest of the three temples.[10] It is also the best preserved, still having all the columns of the peristyle, and the interior superstructure. The columns measure 2.11 by 8.88 meters (a ratio of 1:4.2) and their entasis is less pronounced than the one in the Hera I temple. They have been put on a stylobate of 24.3 by 60 metres. The temple has a porch with two columns in antis (between two antae columns). The cella was divided into a nave and two aisles, with a back chamber, the opisthodomos, also with two columns matched with those at the porch. The temple's interior is divided, the roof joists are supported by twin colonnades of two superimposed columns. The two storeys of columns supported the timber roof structure. There was an internal staircase. It gave access to a gallery and was used to observe the statue and for maintenance of the ceiling. As in the other temples, the columns were covered with stucco to imitate marble. The temple was constructed as a companion temple to Hera I. Hera II was the most conventional Greek temple of the three (in the arrangement of the columns of 6 by 14 and the porch with two columns in antis for example). Yet, in some respects it departs from the convention. The columns have 24 flutings, instead of the 20 in the fully developed Doric order. The temple had no decorative sculpture. The echinus of the capital is still slightly baggy-shaped, and not straight sided as it would be in the columns of the Parthenon at Athens. Towards the corners the columns are placed more narrowly. This so-called angle contraction was common practice in Greek temples, to align the triglyphs with the columns, to place the end triglyphs to the

10. In comparison, Doric temples in other Greek colonies of Magna Graecia were for example at Syracuse (Temple of Apollo (sixth century BC, 6 by 17 columns); Temple of Athena (now the Duomo, c. 480 BC, 6 by 14)), at Agrigento (Acragas) (Temple of Juno Lacinia (c. 450 BC, 6 by 13); Temple of Concordia (c. 440-430 BC, 6 by 13); Temple of Zeus Olympios (c. 480 BC, 7 by 14); Temple of Herakles (6 by 15)), at Selinunte (Selinus) (seven temples, e.g. Temple C (c. 550 BC, 6 by 17); Temple E (or of Hera, c. 470-460 BC, 6 by 15); Temple G (c. 520 BC, 8 by 17)); and at Segesta (Temple of Athena c. 430-420 BC, 6 by 14 unfluted columns). In the eighteenth century none of these were in such a complete state as the Paestum temples, in the twentieth century some of them, of which sometimes no columns stood upright, have been reconstructed (for example in Agrigento and Selinunte). In the Greek mainland, major Doric temples were the Athenian Temple of Athena and Hephaestus (c. 449 BC, 6 by 13 columns), the Parthenon, (447-432 BC, 8 by 17) columns, temples at Corinth (Temple of Apollo (c. 540 BC, 6 by 15), at Delphi (Temple of Apollo (c. 525 BC) 6 by 15), at Olympia (Temple of Zeus (c. 470 BC, 6 by 13), at Aegina (Temple of Aphaea (c. 500 BC, 6 by 12), the latter also had two superimposed rows of columns in the interior, supporting the roof and dividing the cella into nave and aisles. A.W. Lawrence, *Greek Architecture*, (fifth edition, revised by R.A. Tomlinson), New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1996 (first published 1957) and Luca Cerchiai, Lorena Jannelli, and Fausto Longo, *Greek Cities of Magna Graecia and Sicily*, San Giovanni Lupatoto: Arsenale Editrice, 2007 (first published 2004).

corners, and to avoid elongated metopes in the corners. The floors were of travertine slabs, and the statue probably of terracotta as there were no extra supports found in the floor. Optical corrections used are the upward curve of the stylobate in the middle, and the column shafts that incline slightly inwards. These elements indicate that the architect of the temple may well have been trained on the Greek mainland. The temple has several characteristics that make it part of archaic architecture rather than of the canonical Doric: a plan with 6 by 14 columns (rather than 13), the squat proportions of the columns and entablature, with an emphasis on the weight and the mass of the superstructure, and the convex profile of the echinus of the capitals. More modern elements are the near absence of decoration, and the Doric refinements. There is also some similarity with the temple of Zeus in Olympia, which is dated 470-460 BC. For these reasons the temple of Hera II is dated around 460 BC. Archaeological findings indicate that Hera was the major divinity in the sanctuary, making it logical that the grandest temple was dedicated to her.

In the eighteenth century the temples were called: Basilica (for Hera I), Ceres (for Athena), and Neptune (for Hera II). This last temple was also sometimes called the Poseidon temple. In this thesis we will use the names that were at the time predominantly employed, thus Basilica, Ceres and Neptune. The Basilica got its name because eighteenth-century visitors could not imagine this to be a temple. The absence of pediments, the odd number of columns at the front and back, and the interior dividing colonnade, led to it being considered a building of civil administration. The name for the Temple of Neptune derived from the fact that it was the largest; therefore it had to be dedicated to Poseidon. The Ceres temple received its name from some archaeological finds nearby.[11]

Interactions between architectural experience and theory

This thesis is about Paestum in eighteenth-century architectural thought. It aims to reconstruct Paestum's key role in architectural, aesthetic or artistic debates from 1750 to 1800. From the first period of rediscovery, Paestum would be at the centre of debates for more than fifty

11. Emanuele Greco and Fausto Longo (eds.), *Paestum. Scavi, studi, ricerche. Bilancio di un decennio (1988-1998)*, Paestum (Salerno): Pandemos/Fondazione Paestum, 2000.

years, with another brief upheaval around 1830 when the French architect Henri Labrouste (1801-1875) caused a stir with his ideas on the site. This thesis shows that Paestum's role in the different subjects of these debates was eminent, often crucial.

The eighteenth-century debates in which Paestum played a role were mainly held in France, England and Italy, and more specifically in Paris, London, Rome and Naples. The main issues of debates in eighteenth-century architectural, artistic and aesthetic theory were on the sublime and the picturesque, on primitivism and the origins of architecture, on changing ideas on cultural meaning and on classical architecture and its role and historiography.[12] Aesthetic debates concentrated on the concepts of the sublime and the picturesque.[13] General ideas on primitivism and the origins of civilisation led in architectural thought to a search for the origins of architecture.[14] More specifically architectural questions had to do with the cultural meaning of buildings, or with the impact of a building on the beholder.[15] Discourses focussed also on classical architecture as a model for contemporary architecture and on the writing of the history of architecture, both of which were represented in the many publications that appeared in the period, again mainly published in France, England and Italy.[16]

12. Although scholars concentrate often on one country, there are some general studies on architectural theory. For the eighteenth century: Anthony Vidler, *The Writing of the Walls: Architectural Theory in the Late Enlightenment*, Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 1987; Chantal Grell, *Le Dix-huitième siècle et l'antiquité en France 1680-1789*, 2 vols., Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1995; David Watkin (ed.), *Sir John Soane. Enlightenment Thought and the Royal Academy Lectures*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996. For a wider scope: Peter Collins, *Changing Ideals in Modern Architecture 1750-1950*, London: Faber & Faber, 1965; Caroline van Eck, *Organicism in nineteenth-century architecture. An inquiry into its theoretical and philosophical background*, Amsterdam: Architectura & Natura Press, 1994; Hanno-Walter Kruft, *A History of Architectural Theory from Vitruvius to the Present*, London/New York: Zwemmer/Princeton Architectural Press, 1994 (first published in German 1985).
13. For aesthetic theory in France: Annie Becq, *Genèse de l'esthétique française moderne: De la Raison classique à l'Imagination créatrice 1680-1814*, Paris: Albin Michel, 1994 (first published 1984); Baldine Saint-Girons, *Esthétiques du XVIIIe siècle. Le modèle français*, Paris: P. Sers, 1990.
14. Chantal Grell and Christian Michel (eds.), *Primitivisme et mythes des origines dans la France des Lumières 1680-1820*, Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1989; Joseph Rykwert, *On Adam's House in Paradise. The Idea of the Primitive Hut in Architectural History*, second edition Cambridge (Mass.)/London: MIT Press, 1981 (first published 1972).
15. For example in: Werner Szambien, *Symétrie, goût, caractère. Théorie et terminologie de l'architecture à l'âge classique 1550-1800*, Paris, Picard 1986; Caroline van Eck, *Classical Rhetoric and the Visual Arts in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
16. Studies on architectural theory and publications include mainly anthologies, for example for France: Dora Wiebenson and Claire Baines (eds.), *French Books: Sixteenth through Nineteenth Centuries*, Washington/New York: National Gallery of Art/G. Braziller, 1993. For England there are less general studies. An exception is: Eileen Harris and Nicholas Savage, *British Architectural Books and Writers 1556-1785*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990 (for the earlier period Caroline van Eck (ed.), *British Architectural Theory 1540-1750: an anthology of texts*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003); Robin Middleton, Gerald Beasley, Nicholas Savage (et al.), *British Books: Seventeenth through Nineteenth Centuries*, Washington/New York: National Gallery of Art/G. Braziller, 1998. Useful general anthologies include: Adolf K. Placzek and Angela Giral (eds.), *Avery's Choice: Five Centuries of Great Architectural Books, one hundred years of an architectural library, 1890-1990*, New York/London: G. K. Hall/Prentice Hall International, 1997; Harry Francis Mallgrave (ed.),

I will argue that Paestum made it possible to question many subjects that were important in eighteenth-century artistic and architectural thought. The main debates were tested on Paestum, and Paestum raised questions that fuelled these debates and gave rise to new controversies. Theory was confronted with experience and seeing the site led to other problems that were theorized. Thus Paestum functioned both as the scene where some of these architectural discourses were first formulated or tested and as a means to introduce other debates. The site, or the temples, could be understood, interpreted or explained in the light of eighteenth-century ideas, and Paestum allowed these ideas to be exemplified in a concrete and particular manner to explain them, or to throw a new light on them. This interaction between architectural thought and Paestum will be demonstrated throughout the thesis.

The key to reconstruct the processes of thinking is the architectural experience. It is of vital importance because it will enable us to analyse the reciprocal processes between theory and the site, and to answer the questions that exercised eighteenth-century architects, historians and theorists: the origins of architecture and its meaning, aesthetic issues concerning the sublime and picturesque, and the ongoing validity of classical architecture as a design model. The experience at the site functions as a pivot of ancient and new ideas, as a laboratory and as a breeding ground. Studying the subject from the point of view of architectural experience will uncover how the processes between theories and the site happened, why Paestum came to have such an important role, and what this role was exactly. The experiences at the site offer a key to understand major changes in architectural and aesthetic thought.

In this thesis I argue that the experiences of Paestum offer privileged access to the shift in ideas on classical architecture that took place in the eighteenth century. In fact, it was only in the actual perception of the temples *in situ* that their particularity became manifest. I aim to reconstruct these experiences, and analyse how these were used in the architectural debate. The main hypothesis of this thesis is that the perception of Paestum did not alter through a change

Architectural Theory: An Anthology from Vitruvius to 1870, Malden: Blackwell 2006. For Dutch architectural debate, not the subject of my thesis but an inspiration for my approach because of their focus on the architectural debate rather than on buildings: Auke van der Woud's *The Art of Building. From Classicism to Modernity: The Dutch Architectural Debate 1840-1900*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002 and its Dutch version: *Waarheid en karakter. Het debat over de bouwkunst 1840-1900*, Rotterdam: NAi Uitgevers, 1997; Lex Hermans, *'Alles wat zuilen heeft is klassiek'. Classicistische ideeën over bouwkunst in Nederland, 1765-1850*, Rotterdam: Uitgeverij 010, 2005; Geert Palmaerts, *Eclecticisme: over moderne architectuur in de negentiende eeuw*, Rotterdam: Uitgeverij 010, 2005. For the history of architecture of the eighteenth century are useful: Robin Middleton and David Watkin, *Neo-Classical and Nineteenth Century Architecture*, New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1980; Antoine Picon, *Architectes et ingénieurs au siècle des Lumières*, Marseille: Parenthèses, 1988; Harry Francis Mallgrave, *Modern Architectural Theory: A Historical Survey, 1673-1968*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

in architectural thought, but through architectural thought evolving with and on the basis of the experience at the site. In Paestum the experience of the temples interacted with previously required ideas on classical architecture and led to fundamental changes in architectural thought in a way that happened nowhere else in such a varied, intense and concentrated way.

In the Paestum accounts the importance of being at the spot is constantly emphasized, as is the divergence between expectations based on accounts and images by other visitors and the experiences *in situ*. They will allow us to see which aspects of the site were questioned and became sources for debates.

In the eighteenth century the experience of architecture acquired a central position in architectural thought and became the basis of many theories. Architects such as Julien-David Le Roy (1724-1803), Jacques-François Blondel (1705-1774) or John Soane (1753-1837) wrote about their experiences in buildings in their own countries and in foreign states, and used these descriptions of their experiences to make their point in writing, for example, about the design of buildings or to explain the importance of a building for the history of architecture. In general, the impact of architecture on the beholder became an essential part of the value that was given to buildings.

The rediscovery of Paestum led to a rethinking of architecture, because generally accepted ideas on classical architecture, on the history of architecture, on Greek architecture, and on contemporary architecture had to be rephrased and reconsidered. This process was initiated and felt through the architectural experience. Voyaging to the site, being *in situ*, perceiving the landscape, the temples, walking around and through them, measuring, drawing, and writing on the spot produced these new ideas. It was through this experience that visitors started to comprehend the site and the impact it could have on their current ideas on architecture. The experiences at Paestum were extremely diverse, and often consisted of several different stages. Hence the title of this thesis: *Rediscovering Architecture: Paestum in Eighteenth-Century Architectural Experience and Theory*.

The structure of this thesis reflects the diversity of these experiences. It is divided in three parts, each with two chapters. The first part, 'Aesthetic Experiences', analyses attempts informed by aesthetic theories to understand and interpret the site. The first impressions and explorations of the site will be shown in the light of the two prominent aesthetic concepts in the eighteenth century: the sublime and the picturesque. The second part, 'Experiences of Movement',

examines how the temples were observed and the representations that resulted from this. In this part we move to further explorations of the site when travellers enter the temples and follow sequences of experiences that are disseminated in texts, engravings and paintings. The third part, 'Contextualising Experiences', focuses on the reflection on the past and the beginnings of writing the history of Doric architecture. It examines how these observations and representations led to a rethinking of the history of architecture and of classical architecture as a design model. The parts will thus evolve from experience to representation to historiography. In the thesis I aim to analyse fifty years of interaction of theory and experience to gradually deduce the important role of Paestum, on three levels: experience, representation, and the writing of architectural history.

To analyse this we will use unpublished and published sources, both textual and visual. They consist of travel diaries, correspondence, sketches and drawings, paintings, models, engravings and publications such as travelogues, archaeological accounts, treatises, and poems. Architects, artists, writers or poets produced them. These images and texts have been selected because they have Paestum as their subject, and because they illuminate the different themes that determined the chapters. The analysis of this body of Paestum accounts operates in three ways. Recurrent and prominent themes were identified and their development pursued throughout the whole corpus. Secondly, the role of more general debates and issues in eighteenth-century architectural thought was investigated. Thirdly, the way the Paestum accounts illustrate and contribute to the principal debates was reconstructed. Primitivism functioned as a major example of this. The complexity of the analyses and expressions in this thesis is thus shown through the richness of the primary sources.

As we saw before, the debates were mainly held in France, Italy and England and therefore the sources have been mainly limited to those countries. However, when important theorists from other countries have a significant impact on the debates, as Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832) or Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717-1768) did, they have been analysed as well. Architects are the main protagonists, completed by other travellers and theorists that come in to give their ideas more context and background. Because the structure is thematic, several architects, historians, theorists or travellers may appear in different parts of the thesis.

Scholars have examined some of the Paestum accounts mainly to offer a particular insight into the reactions of architects to classical architecture, taken from the perspective of its utilisation in contemporary architectural design. It is this particular aspect that has been dealt

with extensively in studies on neoclassical architecture and on the Greek Revival.[17] However, by drawing a straight line from the discovery of the temples to the application of the so-called Paestum-order in architecture, these studies overlook the diversity of experiences architects had in Paestum, and, subsequently, their impact on architectural issues other than design or form. As architectural history of the eighteenth century still remains focussed on buildings and architects and does not seem to incorporate broader themes like the relation between the sublime, the picturesque or primitivism to architecture, these have not been studied in a profound and conspicuous way, as we will see in the different chapters.

Even in the historical monographic studies on the reception of Paestum this interaction between experience and theory is not examined. The most important ones are the exhibition catalogue *La Fortuna di Paestum e la Memoria Moderna del Dorico* (1986) and the anthology of texts *Paestum: Idea e Immagine* (1990), both edited by Joselita Raspi Serra, which are very useful as a starting point for the subject. In general the existing studies either give an overview or an anthology, or are focussed on the impact on design matters.[18] The complexity of the site, the diversity of the experiences and the context of eighteenth-century debates have largely been

17. General studies that treat the Greek Revival in architecture: J. Mordaunt Crook, *The Greek Revival. Neo-Classical Attitudes in British Architecture, 1760-1870*, London: J. Murray, 1995 (first published 1972); Dora Wiebenson, *Sources of Greek Revival Architecture*, London: A. Zwemmer, 1969; Michael McCarthy, 'Documents on the Greek Revival in Architecture', *The Burlington Magazine* 114 (1972) 836, pp. 760-769; Robin Middleton and David Watkin, *Architecture of the Nineteenth Century*, Milan: Electa, 2003 (first published 1980).
18. Susan Lang, 'The early publications of the temples at Paestum', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 13 (1950), pp. 48-64 gives an introduction to a selection of the eight monographs on Paestum; D. Mustilli, 'Prime memorie delle rovine di Paestum', in: *Studi in onore di R. Filangieri*, III, Naples: L'Arte Tipografica, 1959, pp. 105-121 is on the first texts; Laveglia, *op. cit.*, gives an overview of the written sources, from the earliest ones to 1860; Joselita Raspi Serra (ed.), *La fortuna di Paestum e la memoria moderna del dorico 1750-1830*, Florence: Centro Di, 1986, is the seminal publication on the reception of the temples, a two volume exhibition catalogue that gives a good survey of written and visual material on the site, but focuses on the impact of Paestum in buildings, and lacks a larger cultural context; Joselita Raspi Serra (ed.), *Paestum and the Doric Revival 1750-1830*, Florence: Centro Di, 1986, offers a selection of its essays in English; Mario Mello, 'Visitare Paestum: Aspetti e problemi dall riscoperta ad oggi, in: Italo Gallo (ed.), *Momenti si Storia Salernitana nell'Antichità*, Atti del Covegno Nazionale AICC di Salerno - Fisciano, 12-13 nov. 1988, Naples: Arte Tipografica, 1989, pp. 91-123, presents written material on the temples; *Pæstum Idea e Immagine: Antologia di testi critic e di immagini di Pæstum 1750-1836*, edited by Joselita Raspi Serra, Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini, 1990, is an anthology of texts; Thomas Lutz, *Die Wiederentdeckung der Tempel von Paestum. Ihre Wirkung auf die Architektur und Architekturtheorie besonders in Deutschland*, unpublished PhD-thesis, Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg im Breisgau, 1987, offers the German perspective in a descriptive way. Élisabeth Chevallier, 'Les voyageurs et la découverte de Paestum', in: Élisabeth Chevallier and Raymond Chevallier, *Iter Italicum. Les voyageurs français à la découverte de l'Italie ancienne*, Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1984, pp. 61-71, concentrates on some French travellers. The exhibition catalogue Bernard Andreae (et al.), *Malerei für die Ewigkeit. Die Gräber von Paestum*, München: Hirmer, 2007, offers a reception of Paestum in some paintings and drawings in: Nina Simone Schepkowski, 'Die Tempel von Paestum - künstlerische Rezeption 1750 bis 1850 und Katalog der Gemälde und Zeichnungen', pp. 154-215. On Soane and Piranesi: John Wilton Ely, *Piranesi, Paestum & Soane*, London: Azimuth, 2002. Recent articles that have a case study or protagonist and Paestum as a subject will be treated in the different chapters of this thesis.

ignored. The introduction to *Paestum: Idea e Immagine* suggests all kinds of contexts and impacts on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century culture from Burke to Nietzsche without however substantiating these connections or offering a clear scrutiny of them. Paestum's central role in eighteenth-century thought has not yet been the subject of research.

This thesis offers for the first time a look at the architectural experience at one site seen from the point of view of its impact on the architectural debate. While studies on eighteenth-century visitors to an ancient site do exist (by Chantal Grell on Herculaneum and Pompeii and by MacDonald on the Villa Adriana for example), they do not work from such an extensive and diverse amount of sources for a relatively short period, and they do not treat the subject from the perspective of architectural experience.[19] The many general studies on the Grand Tour or on travellers to Italy only look at the voyages and do not search for the impact on debates.[20] Frank Salmon's *Building on Ruins* comes close to doing this in the first part, but eventually focuses on architectural design and not on architectural theory. Usually the impact of Italy and architectural theory is only studied for one country.[21] As opposed to that, in this thesis the wider developments in Western Europe are analysed, with a concentration on Italy, France and England, from the perspective of architectural experience.

Using architectural experience as a focal point has given this thesis several paradoxical results. These paradoxes have a significance for an understanding of the importance of Paestum but also for the eighteenth-century discourse in a larger sense. With the help of Paestum we have

19. Chantal Grell, *Herculanum et Pompéi dans les récits des voyageurs français du XVIIIe siècle*, Naples: Centre Jean Bérard, 1982; William Lloyd MacDonald and John A. Pinto, *Hadrian's Villa and Its Legacy*, New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1995; For Sicily: Arnaldo Momigliano, 'The Rediscovery of Greek History in the Eighteenth Century: The Case of Sicily', in Roseann Runte (ed.), *Studies in Eighteenth Century Culture*, vol. IX, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1979, pp. 167-187. See also Hélène Tuzet, *La Sicile au XVIIIe siècle vue par les voyageurs étrangers*, Strasbourg: P.H. Heitz, 1955.
20. On the Grand Tour, the most important ones are: Jeremy Black, *The British and the Grand Tour*, London: Croom Helm, 1985; Jeremy Black, *The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century*, London: Sandpiper Books, 1999 (first published 1992); Andrew Wilton and Ilaria Bignamini, *Grand Tour: The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century*, London: Tate Gallery, 1996; Cesare De Seta, *L'Italia del Grand Tour: da Montaigne a Goethe*, Naples: Electa Napoli, 2001; Cesare De Seta, *Vedutisti e Viaggiatori in Italia tra Settecento e Ottocento*, Turin: Bollati Boringhieri, 1999. See also: Ludwig Schudt, *Italienreisen im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, Vienna: Schroll-Verlag, 1959. An exception is Janine Barrier, *Les architectes européens à Rome, 1740-1765*, Paris: Monum/Éditions du patrimoine, 2005. On the travel publications: Charles L. Batten, *Pleasurable instruction: form and convention in eighteenth-century travel literature*, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1978.
21. As in for example Jean-Philippe Garric, *Recueils d'Italie. Les modèles italiens dans les livres d'architecture français*, Sprimont: Pierre Mardaga, 2004; Frank Salmon, *Building on Ruins: The Rediscovery of Rome and English Architecture*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000.

been able to discern these paradoxes in eighteenth-century thought. These include for instance the way the sublime deconstructs classicism, how the picturesque turns out to be a non-specific viewing method, in what way primitivism, the search for origins and history have a complex relationship and how turning Paestum into a model results in an odd reduction that has nothing to do anymore with Paestum. It is only in the analysis of architectural experience that these results can be elucidated.

Studies on architectural experience are rare. Rasmussen's *Experiencing Architecture* (1959) and Juhani Pallasmaa's *The Eyes of the Skin: Architecture and the Senses* (1996), concentrate both on contemporary architectural design and the role of experience.[22] Heinrich Wölfflin's seminal *Prolegomena zu einer Psychologie der Architektur* (1886) does not give a historical development of architectural experiences but is a very useful analytical tool, as we will see in the third chapter. The topic has not been studied in a larger sense in historical perspective, even the book *Architecture as Experience* (2005), edited by Dana Arnold and Andrew Ballantyne, contrary to what the title suggest, does not really treat experience.[23] However, in some monographic historical studies the subject has been treated, in the context of the ideas of one particular architect.[24]

To my knowledge, here the subject is treated for the first time, thematically in a historical context. On the basis of a concrete case, the diversity of architectural experience and its interactions with architectural thought will be shown. In this thesis Paestum will be analysed in a wider eighteenth-century perspective. Paestum will give a unique insight into the wide range

22. On architectural experience: Steen Eiler Rasmussen *Experiencing Architecture*, Cambridge (Mass.): MIT Press, 1959 (first published in Danish 1957); Juhani Pallasmaa, *The Eyes of the Skin. Architecture and the Senses*, Chichester: John Wiley & Sons Ltd., 2005 (first published 1996); Alberto Pérez-Gomez, *Questions of Perception: Phenomenology of Architecture* 1993; Peter MacKeith (ed.), *Archipelago. Essays on Architecture*, Helsinki: Rakennustieto, 2006. They are all on modern architecture and design and are often based on Maurice Merleau Ponty's writings as *Le Visible et l'Invisible* (1964) and *Phénoménologie de la Perception* (1945) or Gaston Bachelard's *La Poétique de l'Espace* (1957). Recently was published *The Architect's Brain: Neuroscience, Creativity and Architecture*, Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2010, by Harry Francis Mallgrave.
23. Dana Arnold, Andrew Ballantyne (ed.), *Architecture as Experience. Radical change in spatial practice*, London: Routledge, 2004.
24. On architectural experience in the eighteenth century, related to the ideas of Le Roy see Robin Middleton, Introduction to Julien-David Le Roy, *The Ruins of the Most Beautiful Monuments of Greece* [1770], translation by David Britt, Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute, 2004, and Robin Middleton's Annual Soane Lecture published as: *Julien-David Leroy. In Search of Architecture*, London: Sir John Soane's Museum, 2003; related to the ideas of Camus de Mézières: Robin Middleton (introduction), Nicolas Le Camus de Mézières, *The Genius of Architecture or The Analogy of That Art With our Sensations* [1780], translation by David Britt, Santa Monica: The Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1992, and mainly on Le Camus de Mézières: Louise Pelletier, *Architecture in Words. Theatre, Language and the Sensuous Space of Architecture*, London: Routledge, 2006. Richard Wittman's, *Architecture, Print Culture, and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century France*, London/New York: Routledge, 2007 is interesting for its focus on the experience of public space and the city of Paris.

of architectural experiences and its impact on the different topics that came to determine the eighteenth-century debates as well as the impact of the debates on Paestum. It will offer a new light on eighteenth-century developments, seen from the viewpoint of the discourse and of the experience rather than from the point of view of built architecture.

PART ONE Aesthetic Experiences

CHAPTER 1 Paradoxical Encounters: Paestum and the sublime

> 'Ce sont de grands quarrés longs formés par des rangs de colonnes cannelées sans bases et avec des chapiteaux qui ont à peu près la forme d'un vase ou plutôt d'une tasse'.[1]

Paestum was strange and fascinating, so strange that the capitals of its temples looked to this traveller, the French engraver and draughtsman abbé Jean-Claude Richard de Saint-Non (1727-1791), like vases or cups, rather than as Greek classic capitals. To eighteenth-century visitors the temples did not resemble any architecture they were familiar with. Accepted thoughts on classical architecture were thus turned upside down. The confrontations with an unfamiliar architecture at a distant, deserted and dangerous site made that the encounters of travellers with the ruins of Paestum in the eighteenth century caused an enormous stir in architectural thought. Their travel accounts offer a broad scope of reactions to an archaeological site, and to classical architecture. These accounts are not easy to interpret. But they do have one element in common: they often use the sublime to describe an experience.[2] In the response of architect Charles Heathcote Tatham (1772-1842) for example:

> 'After alighting & approaching the Temples, my mind became so much expanded from the contemplation of Columns of such grand dimensions that I received an

1. Jean-Claude Richard de Saint-Non, *Panopticon Italiano. Un diario di viaggio ritrovato 1759-1761*, edited by Pierre Rosenberg, Rome: Ed. dell'Elefante, 2000, p. 124. Jean-Claude Richard de Saint-Non was in 1761 in Paestum. On Saint-Non see also: Petra Lamers, *Il viaggio nel Sud dell'Abbé de Saint-Non, Il Voyage pittoresque à Naples et en Sicile: la genesi, i disegni preparatori, le incisioni*, Naples: Electa, 1995; Jean-Claude Richard de Saint-Non, *Da Napoli a Malta: Voyage pittoresque ou Description des Royaumes de Naples et de Sicile di Jean Claude Richard Abbé de Saint-Non 1781-1786*, edited by Silverio Salamon and Elisabetta Rollier Turin: S. Salamon, 2001.
2. Part of this chapter will be published as: Sigrid de Jong, 'Paradoxical Encounters: Eighteenth-Century Architectural Experiences and the Sublime', in: Stijn Bussels, Maarten Delbeke, Caroline van Eck, (eds.), *Translations of the Sublime*, Brill Publishers, Leiden 2011.

> impression I have never forgotten. The Greeks were a wonderful people. They knew too well how simplicity with vastness & continuousness produced sublimity. How calculated are the Fine Arts to elevate the soul when reflected through a pure medium!'[3]

In these accounts travellers clearly express a divergence between prior knowledge and architectural experience. Even before the appearance of publications on Paestum this discrepancy between great expectations and actual experience of Paestum emerged. The British architect James Adam (1732-1794) for example, undertook in 1761 a long journey with the French architect Charles-Louis Clérisseau (1722-1820) to study the temples (fig. 1.1), but the visit gave him nothing but disappointment:

> 'the [...] famous antiquitys so much talk'd of late as wonders but which, curiosity apart, don't merit half the time and trouble they have cost me. They are of an early, an inelegant and unenriched Doric, that afford no detail and scarcely produce two good views. So much for Pesto.'[4]

Before travelling Adam had planned to include the temples in a publication entitled *Antiquities of Sicily and Graecia Major*, but failed to reach Sicily and abandoned his project.[5] The year in

3. Susan Pearce and Frank Salmon, 'Charles Heathcote Tatham in Italy, 1794-96: Letters, Drawings and Fragments, and Part of an Autobiography', in: *The Volume of Walpole Society*, 67 (2004/2005), Cambridge (Mass.), 2005, p. 86.
4. Letter of James Adam to Janet Adam, 21 November 1761 quoted in: John Fleming, 'James Adam in Naples', in: Edward Chaney and Neil Ritchie (eds.), *Oxford, China and Italy: Writings in Honour of Sir Harold Acton on his Eightieth Birthday*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1984, pp. 169-176, the letter is quoted on page 175. Adam added: 'Here there is not to be had nor milk to one's tea nor butter to one's bread, nor bread but what strangers bring. We send for water at 4 miles distance and in short there is a plenty of nothing but of fleas which exist here in a quantity not to be imagin'd. What, however is amazing is that by a letter of recommendation we have got very tolerable beds, that is free of bugs, which I assure you, in this blessed country is the height of luxury.' In his travel diary Adam wrote: 'There are here the remains of two Basilica, and one temple of the Doric order; it is an early, inelegant, and unenriched Doric, without bases and without proportion.' Published in: *Library of the Fine Arts*, Vol. II, September, 1831, no. 8, p. 236. See also for Adam: John Fleming, *Robert Adam and His Circle in Edinburgh & Rome*, London: Murray, 1962, on Paestum pp. 292-294; Joseph and Anne Rykwert, *The Brothers Adam. The Men and the Style*, London: Collins, 1985, on his Grand Tour: pp. 55-59. On Clérisseau the seminal study is: Thomas J. McCormick, *Charles-Louis Clérisseau and the Genesis of Neo-Classism*, Cambridge (Mass.): MIT Press, 1990, for Paestum: pp. 71-72. Thomas J. McCormick, 'An Unknown Collection of Drawings by Charles-Louis Clérisseau', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 22 (1963) 3, p. 126 for Paestum. For the large collection of his drawings see: Valery Chevtchenko, Sabine Cotté, Madeleine Pinault-Sørensen (et al.), *Charles-Louis Clérisseau, 1721-1820: dessins du Musée de l'Ermitage, Saint-Petersbourg*, Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1995; for Winckelmann and Clérisseau: Francesca Lui, *L'antichità tra scienza e invenzione: Studi su Winckelmann e Clérisseau*, Bologna: Minerva, 2006.
5. See John Fleming, *Robert Adam..., op. cit.*, p. 293, and John Ingamells, *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy, 1701-1800*, New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1997, pp. 4-5.

figure 1.1
Charles-Louis Clérisseau, Drawing of the interior of the Temple of Neptune, seen from the north-east, after 1761.

(Collection of the State Hermitage Museum St Petersburg, 'acquired from the artist by Catherine II on 5 May 1780', www.hermitagemuseum.org.)

which Adam travelled to Paestum, there were no publications of the temples available, as the first book on the site, in French, appeared in 1764, and the first British publication in 1767.[6] One could therefore expect that without some previous information about how Paestum looked and without any knowledge about the temples an appreciation of the site would be difficult. But through the eighteenth century this disappointment persisted, even when, and possibly because, engravings and publications were obtainable. Indeed, other architects who travelled to Paestum at the end of the century were similarly disappointed by the architecture.

As the oddness of Paestum led to shattered expectations, the accounts are testimonies of the unique experiences on the spot. They demonstrate above all that is was not possible to capture in a Vitruvian architectural theory or history what was valuable in Paestum. What was possible though, was to express this in using concepts of experience of art and nature.

Apart from the peculiarity of the site, in the accounts conflicting feelings often come together:

> 'La vue de cette ville nous frappa d'étonnement et de pitié considérant son étendue, la magnificence des bâtiments dont on voit encore des restes et la ruine entière de la plus grande partie des édifices dont elle était ornée et dont la place est labourée ou couverte de monceaux de pierre'.[7]

This mixture of astonishment, pity, and magnificence cannot be captured in Vitruvian architectural theory or history. How did visitors deal with the strangeness? And how did they make sense of their conflicting feelings on the spot? What happens when a traveller cannot draw on knowledge of theory and history of architecture? What was the role that the sublime played?

6. Dumont, *Suite de Plans..., op. cit.*, 1764; [Longfield,] *The Ruins of Pæstum..., op. cit.*, 1767. Adam could have talked with other British architects who travelled to Paestum, for instance Stephen Riou (1753) and Robert Mylne (1756). Their drawings became part of the collection of Thomas Major, who based his engravings in the *Ruins of Paestum* (1768) on these, and on drawings by Soufflot, Le Roy, and Magri. This collection of Paestum drawings, and the accompanying publication, is now in the Sir John Soane's Museum. Other early British travellers were Lascelles Raymond Iremonger (1752), Frederick, Lord North and Lord Darthmouth (1753), John Brudenell and Henry Lyte (1756). Draftsman to Brudenell was Antonio Joli, whose paintings and drawings of Paestum became the basis of many engravings in publications of the site, as we will see in the fourth chapter.
7. Pierre-Louis Moreau, 'Nottes sur mon Voyage', Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art, Paris, Collection Jacques Doucet, Ms 98, f. 46 recto; also published in: *Le Voyage d'Italie de Pierre-Louis Moreau: Journal intime d'un architecte des Lumières (1754-1757)*, edited by Sophie Descat, Pessac: Presses Universitaires de Bordeaux, 2004, p. 126.

Now, before being able to answer these questions, we have to define the sublime, and distinguish the various kinds of theories that were developed about it, and their functions. As a rhetorical and aesthetic concept it was formulated in the theories of Longinus, Boileau, and Burke. Apart from the concept, there is also the sublime as an actual experience, as will become clear in Paestum, where visitors made use of these theories to account for what they saw and how they reacted to the ruins. Even when they do not explicitly use the term, the accounts clearly display the sublime. In the large amount of accounts available that tell us about the observations of travellers when first setting eyes on the temples, we can distinguish different varieties of the sublime. The definitions of the three main theorists will help to identify and explain these varieties.

After having determined the diverse kinds of theories, to define the role of the sublime further we have to turn to another question: what is the relation between architecture and the sublime? Examining the sublime in architectural thought and subsequently in the experiences of the architecture at Paestum will enable to analyse the peculiarity of the site and why it shattered common concepts of classical architecture.

Thus, in the following sections we will look, after some first impressions in Paestum accounts, at the different definitions of the sublime that determined rhetorical, artistic and aesthetic thought, in the theories of Longinus, via Boileau, to Burke. We will also look into the role of architecture in their writings. Then we will examine more in general the role and meaning of the sublime in architecture, looking at the writings on architecture for the role of the sublime and how the sublime was at play in the experience of architecture. The diverse aspects that are part of the sublime subsequently serve as the frame to look further into the Paestum accounts in the fifth to the eight section.

Paestum at first sight

While many travellers, just like James Adam, could not appreciate the architecture of the monuments at Paestum, there where other aspects that appealed to them and caused astonishment, their vastness for instance. The British Grand tourist Lascelles Raymond Iremonger (1718-1793), who visited Paestum in July 1752, described this contrast between the startling immensity of the temples and the unpleasantness of the architecture in a letter:

> 'all marble [sic] & of the Dorick order, these antiquities surprise you by their greatness, but give you no great pleasure by their elegance or taste, the Pillars in my opinion being short, out of proportion, & vastly overcharged in their Capitals, & the Entablature & pediments are very heavy'.[8]

Other travellers also commented upon the ugliness of the architecture, Frederick Lord North (1732-1792) for instance: 'The meanness of their materials & ye badness of their Architecture has been one principal cause of their preservation. Nobody has thought it worth his while to destroy them.'[9] The same Lord North demonstrates in his reactions that the awareness of looking at the buildings in Paestum is augmented by the observation of something unknown: 'Are they Temples? Are they Basilicae? What are they?' This reaction of astonishment is to be found in accounts of other travellers as well, as we will shortly see. Lord North expressed his amazement when first confronted with the three temples in September 1752: 'We were soon after struck with three great buildings, which stood parallel one to ye other, but at unequal distances.' But North also shows his unfamiliarity with the strangeness of the architecture:

> 'The Columns are of an ancient Dorick order, [they] seem to have been made at ye time, when t[h]at order was coming out of its original rough state & forming itself to that beauty, it afterwards attained. They are short, clumsy & ill-shaped. Their diameter is much smaller at ye top, than ye bottom; Their Capitals are very flat: They are fluted, but ye flutings are very coarse.'

In his description North tries to capture the oddity of the architectural forms of the capitals by referring to objects known in his country of origin: 'I think they resemble in shape pretty much those props, on which our peasants in England sometimes put their corn, to prevent its being eaten by vermin.' The existence of farms and agricultural activities in the surroundings of the temples and the farmers present within these temples might also have enhanced the associations with these objects. French art-dealer Pierre François Hugues Baron d'Hancarville (1719-1805), who went to Paestum in 1767, with the English diplomat and art collector William Hamilton (1730-1803), envoy-extraordinary to the Spanish court at Naples from 1764 to 1800, was like

8. Lascelles Raymond Iremonger, letter to Sir Roger Newdigate, Naples, 22 July 1752, Warwick, Country Record Office, published in McCarthy, 'Documents on the Greek Revival...', *op. cit.*, p. 761.
9. Lord North, letter to Charles Dampier, Lyon, 1 September 1753 - Bern 9 September 1753, Warwick County Record Office, published in McCarthy, 'Documents on the Greek Revival...', *op. cit.*, pp. 761-765.

these earlier travellers astonished when confronted with the temples:

> 'Du milieu de ses ruines, s'élevent trois Edifices d'une sorte d'Architecture, dont les membres sont Doriques bien que les proportions ne le soient pas; dans un quatrieme voyage que nous fimes il y a quelques mois à Pesti, nous nous y arrêtames plusieurs jours pour examiner à loisir ces ruines magnifiques, qui étonnent & imposent d'avantage à mesure qu'elles sont examinées avec plus de soin & revues plus souvent.'[10]

These observations also make us aware of the impression the temples must have made on the travellers, far away from the monuments in Rome, and also remote from the classical architecture as presented in books. The oddity of the architecture is conspicuous in these quotations, but is even stronger when travellers write about what they saw and felt at the spot. The French architect Pierre-Adrien Pâris (1745-1819), who went to Paestum in 1771, had mixed feelings when confronted with the temples:

> 'On voit dans les ruines de Pestum ou Posidonia, trois temples dont un surtout est assés bien conservé. Je ne connois rien d'aussi terrible, d'aussi imposant, ni d'aussi caracterisé que ces temples.'[11]

Contradictions and ambivalence were often present in the accounts. The German Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832), who visited Paestum on 23 March 1787 (fig. 1.2), described the conflict between a previous knowledge of classical architecture and an observation *in situ*:

> 'Nun sind unsere Augen und durch sie unser ganzes inneres Wesen an schlankere Baukunst hinangetrieben und entschieden bestimmt, so daß uns diese stumpfen, kegelförmigen, enggedrängten Säulenmassen lästig, ja furchtbar erscheinen.'[12]

The passage offers the first beginnings of an explanation why these monuments were so unattractive to him, and to other travellers. His reaction to the temples demonstrates not only

10. Pierre-François Hugues d'Hancarville, *Antiquités Etrusques, Grecques et Romaines, Tirées du Cabinet de M. Hamilton, Envoyé Extraordinaire de S.M. Britannique en Cour de Naples*, Naples: s.n., 1766-1767, vol. 1, pp. 94-111.
11. Pierre-Adrien Pâris, 'Notes et lavis de Pierre-Adrien Pâris, intercalés par lui, avec différentes estampes, dans 'Les édifices antiques de Rome, dessinés et mesurés très exactement par feu M. Desgodetz…' Nouvelle édition. Paris, C. A. Jombert, 1779', Bibliothèque Institut de France, Paris, ms. 1906, f. 329.
12. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Italienische Reise* [1829], München: Wilhelm Goldmann Verlag, 1988, p. 205.

figure 1.2
Johann Wolfgang von Goethe,
Sketch of a temple at Paestum,
1787.

(Klassik Stiftung Weimar, C II, n. 181.
From Gerhard Femmel, *Corpus der Goethezeichnungen*, Leipzig 1960, vol. II,
fig. 181.)

the contrast between previous knowledge and observation at the spot, but also how the offensive and terrifying columns are strange, fascinating and impressive to him at the same time. This is the mixture of paradoxical emotions that is particular to the sublime. In the divergence between expectation and experience, it is an example of which we will see many others in this chapter.

We will see later in this chapter how in the many different statements about Paestum, the use of the sublime occurs remarkably often, the travellers and architects using this term when speaking of sublime colonnades, sublime temples, the sublime of architecture, sublime ideas and sublime effect. Did they continue the ideas of Longinus and Boileau on the sublime, and if so, in what manner? Or were they rather influenced by the Burkean sublime? We will now first turn to these writers to distinguish their types of theories. Next, the sublime in architecture is analysed, from the theoretical and two-dimensional expressions, to the three-dimensional experiences. After that, with these sublime theories in mind, we will examine the actual sublime experience *in situ*, at Paestum, to see how the sublime in architectural experience emerges as a kaleidoscope of paradoxical spatial observations. These experiences will offer at the same time a new way of looking at the sublime in architecture.

Towards beauty and terror: the foundations of the sublime

Longinus, Boileau and Burke are the principal theorists on the sublime until the end of the eighteenth century.[13] We know that architects and travellers had read their theories either in school or university, or because they had their publications in their libraries.[14]

13. On the history of the sublime: Baldine Saint-Girons, *Fiat Lux: Une philosophie du sublime*, Paris: Quai Voltaire, 1993 and Baldine Saint-Girons, *Le Sublime de l'Antiquité à nos jours*, Paris: Desjonquères, 2005. Andrew Ashfield and Peter de Bolla, *The sublime: a reader in British eighteenth-century Aesthetic Theory*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996. Earlier, fundamental studies are Walter John Hipple, *The Beautiful, the Sublime and the Picturesque in Eighteenth-Century British Aesthetic Theory*, Carbondale: Southern Illinois University press, 1957; Marjorie Hope Nicolson's *Mountain Gloom and Mountain Glory. The development of the aesthetics of the infinite*, Seattle/London: University of Washington Press, 1997 (first published 1959); Samuel Holt Monk, *The Sublime: A study of critical theories in 18th century England*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1960 (first published 1935).
14. Examples are Pierre-Adrien Pâris, Giovanni Battista Piranesi, Quatremère de Quincy and Jean Rondelet. See on Pâris: Charles Weiss, *Catalogue de la bibliothèque de M. Paris, architecte et dessinateur de la Chambre du Roi, Chevalier de son ordre, suivi de la description de son cabinet, imprimé par ordre du Conseil Municipal*, Besançon: Librairie de Deis, 1821; on Piranesi: Didier Laroque, *Le Discours de Piranèse. L'ornement sublime et le suspens de l'architecture*, Paris: Les Éditions de la Passion,

The first theory on the sublime, *Peri Hupsous* (*On the Sublime*) was probably written in the first century AD, presumably by Dionysius Longinus.[15] From the 1550s different Greek and Latin editions of the text appeared.[16] From around 1550 versions and translations of *On the Sublime* circulated in Western Europe, which exercised a large influence on literature, but also on the arts and architecture, that is still not very well charted.[17] In the original manuscript some passages were missing, and the end, a part on emotions, was lost as well. Until the nineteenth century Cassius Longinus, a Greek orator, was thought to be the author of the text. Since then these attributions have been challenged, but there is still no consensus about the authorship of the text.

Peri Hupsous is a rhetorical theory. Aiming to give rhetorical methods to move a public by words or speech, to transport the audience, the book is addressed to students of oratory, and therefore concentrates on language, although the visual arts, as we shall see, play a role in it. The text is more a literary theory than a theory of art. Longinus discerns between style and the effect of rhetoric. As in all rhetorical treatises, stylistic means to achieve persuasion are carefully defined and demonstrated. He focuses on the orators, poets or historians who in their language show that 'the effect of genius is not to persuade the audience but to transport them out of themselves.'[18] Listening to a speech, or literature can transport the readers, and can even

1999, p. 8; on Quatremère de Quincy: *Bibliothèque de M. Quatremère de Quincy,... Collection d'ouvrages relatifs aux beaux-arts et à l'archéologie... Vente le 27 mai 1850 et jours suivants, rue de Condé, n° 14. Préface de R. Merlin*, Paris: Imprimerie D'Adrien Le Clere et Cie, 1850; on Rondelet's library, and that of other eighteenth-century architects: Robin Middleton, chapter 'Rondelet's library' in his and Marie-Noëlle Baudouin-Matuszek's *Jean Rondelet. The Architect as Technician*, New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2007, pp. 271-288. See also: Annie-Charon Parent, 'Enquête à travers les catalogues de vente de bibliothèques d'architectes du XVIIIe siècle. La bibliothèque de Jacques-Germain Soufflot', in: Jean-Michel Leniaud and Béatrice Bouvier (eds.), *Le livre d'architecture XVe-XXe siècle. Édition, réprésentations et bibliothèques*, Paris: École de chartes, 2002, pp. 187-198.

15. The Greek text survived in a codex, *Parisinus* 2036, from the tenth century, and formed the basis of all the later versions. The title says 'by Dionysios Longinus' but the first page says 'Dionysios or Longinus'. Bernard Weinberg, 'Translations and commentaries of Longinus' On the Sublime to 1600, a Bibliography', *Modern Philology* 47 (1950), pp. 145-151; Marc Fumaroli, 'Rhétorique d'école et rhétorique adulte: remarques sur la réception européenne du traité *Du Sublime* au XVIe et au XVIIe siècle'', *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*, (1986) 1, pp. 35-36; 39-40; See Pseudo-Longin, *De la sublimité du discours*, edited by Emma Gilby, Chambéry: L'Act Mem, 2007, pp. 28-29.

16. Pseudo-Longin, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-50. See Craig Kallendorf, Carsten Zelle, and Christine Pries, 'Erhabene, das', in: Gert Ueding (ed.), *Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik*, vol. 2, Tübingen: M. Niemeyer, 1994, col. 1357-1389.

17. A research project called 'The Prehistories of the Sublime' (Leiden University and Ghent University), identifies early editions of *Peri Hupsous*. Results will be published in: Bussels, Delbeke, Van Eck, (eds.), *op. cit.*

18. Longinus, *On the Sublime*, translation by W. Hamilton Fyfe and W. Rhys Roberts, Cambridge (Mass.)/London: Harvard University Press, 1991, I, p. 125. On imagination: 'you seem to see what you describe and bring it vividly before the eyes of your audience.' XV, p. 171; On methods: 'accumulation, variation, and climax, the so-called "figures of many cases" are, as you know, a most effective aid in giving ornament and every kind of sublime and emotional effect.' XXIII, p. 197; On metaphors: 'do not give the hearer time to examine how many metaphors there are, because he shares the excitement of the speaker', XXXII, p. 213.

change the course of their existence. With quotations of various authors, Demosthenes, Plato, or Herodotus Longinus demonstrates his points.[19]

The text defines five methods to achieve the sublime, or five sources of the sublime in oratory or speech and literature: great thoughts, strong emotion, figures of thought and speech, noble diction, and dignified word arrangement.[20] The sublime is to Longinus what is truly great and 'gives abundant food for thought: it is irksome, nay, impossible, to resist its effect: the memory of it is stubborn and indelible.'[21] Sublime is what strikes you, what keeps haunting you, and it can be one single strong idea, thought or impression. It 'lies in elevation, amplification rather in amount; and so you often find sublimity in a single idea, whereas amplification always goes with quantity and a certain degree of redundance.'[22] Apart from the great and grand, an important aspect is ambivalence. In aiming at terrifying beauty the sublime goes further than mere amazement.

Sublime sensations created by a confrontation with natural phenomena illustrate the aspect of terror: 'the Nile, the Danube, the Rhine, and far above all, the sea [or the] craters of Etna in eruption, hurling up rocks and whole hills from their depths and sometimes shooting forth rivers of the pure Titanic fire.'[23] The force of nature is to be admired not in small streams but in the vast and impressive upheavals in nature. To Longinus, nature is much more forceful and moving than art: 'art is only perfect when it looks like nature and nature succeeds only by concealing art about her person.'[24] As for art though, a colossal sculpture can produce similar emotions.[25] In one other passage he refers also to art, to painting in this case:

19. For example, the writings by Cicero, who is like 'a flash of lighting or a thunder-bolt.' *Ibid.*, XII, p. 165.
20. *Ibid.*, VIII, p. 141. The editor suggests that this means 'the putting together of the words and clauses into a total effect of grandeur, making a whole of them.' In the essay it is formulated as command of full-blooded ideas (natural genius), inspiration of vehement emotion, construction of figures (of thought and of speech), nobility of phrase (choice of words, use of metaphor and elaborated diction), and general effect of dignity and elevation.
21. *Ibid.*, VII, p. 139.
22. *Ibid.*, XI, p. 163.
23. *Ibid.*, XXXV, p. 227.
24. *Ibid.*, XXI, p. 193, on inversion as a method.
25. *Ibid.*, XXXVI, p. 229: 'As to the statement that the faulty Colossus is better than Polycleitus' spearman [regarded as a canon of true proportion] [...] In art we admire accuracy, in nature grandeur; and it is nature that has given man the power of using words. Also we expect a statue to resemble a man, but in literature, as I said before, we look for something greater than human. [...] the merit of impeccable correctness is, generally speaking, due to art, and the height of excellence, though not sustained, to genius, it is proper that art should always assist Nature. Their co-operation may thus result in perfection.' The comparison of the sublime with the human body is also interesting: 'None of the members has any value by itself apart from the others, yet one with another they all constitute a perfect organism.' *Ibid.*, XL, p. 237.

> 'Though the high lights and shadows lie side by side in the same plane, yet the high lights spring to the eye and seem not only to stand out but to be actually much nearer. So it is in writing. What is sublime and moving lies nearer to our hearts, and thus, partly form a natural affinity, partly from brilliance of effect, it always strikes the eye long before the figures'.[26]

In his text Longinus often makes analogies between music and words. For example, *periphrasis* contributes to the sublime, 'Just as in music what we call ornament enhances the beauty of the main theme, so periphrasis often chimes in with the literal expression of our meaning and gives it a far richer note, especially if it is not bombastic or discordant but agreeably in harmony.'[27] Choosing the right words 'has a marvellously moving and seductive effect upon an audience and how all orators and historians make this their supreme object. For this of itself gives to the style at once grandeur, beauty, a classical flavour, weight, force, strength, and a sort of glittering charm, like the bloom on the surface of the most beautiful bronzes, and endues the facts as it were with a living voice.'[28]

Only once Longinus writes in his text about architecture, to illustrate what is not sublime in literature:

> 'Homer [...] has tortured his language into conformity with the impending disaster, magnificently figured the disaster by the compression of his language and almost stamped on the diction the form and feature of the danger - "swept out from under the jaws of destruction." Comparable to this is the passage of Archilochus about the shipwreck and the description of the arrival of the news in Demosthenes. [...] What they have done is to make a clean sweep, as it were, of all the main points by order of merit, and to bring them together, allowing nothing affected or undignified or pedantic to intervene. For all such irrelevancies [that distract the reader from the main story] are like the introduction of gaps or open tracery [perforations] in architecture: they utterly spoil the effect of sublime ideas, well ordered and built into one coherent structure.'[29]

26. *Ibid.*, XVII, p. 187.
27. *Ibid.*, XXVIII, pp. 205-207.
28. *Ibid.*, XXX, p. 209. For analogies of words and music see: XXXIX, pp. 234-235; XLI, p. 241.
29. *Ibid.*, X, pp. 160-161.

This could mean that irrelevant ornament should not be used, in the sense that a coherently constructed sentence should not be obstructed by unnecessary additions. Recently, in studies on the sublime in seventeenth-century English architecture, it has been suggested that this passage is about how the combination of conflicting and contradictory elements in a composition, whether it is a text or a building, is one of the stylistic features contributing to the sublime.[30] We will say more about this in the next section.

As we have seen, versions and fragments of the sublime circulated until the end of seventeenth century, when *Peri Hupsous* was given a new life through its French translation by Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux (1636-1711), published in 1674. Boileau's edition was important because instead of being disseminated among a circle of humanist scholars, *On the Sublime* was now for the first time available to a large public. In some studies it seems that the success of Longinus could have happened only through the success of Boileau, because from then on the public had access to the text.[31] As has been shown in recent studies, *Le traité du sublime* meant a deconstruction of French seventeenth-century classical thought.[32] With the translation of Boileau in classical seventeenth-century France the rational approach in the arts, favouring harmonious beauty, suddenly was confronted with an emotional counterpart in which tensions are sought, ambivalence is tolerated, and amazement or *le merveilleux* is just as important as harmonious beauty.

This French version was widely read, but was not the only basis on which the sublime was disseminated during the seventeenth century.[33] English translations appeared also in this period.[34] In the next section, on the role of the sublime in architecture, we will look more into

30. The solemnity and awfulness in English church architecture of Hawskmoor and Vanbrugh can thus be explained. See: Caroline van Eck, 'Longinus' Essay on the Sublime and the 'most solemn and awfull appearance' of Hawksmoor's Churches', *The Georgian Group Journal*, 15 (2006), pp. 1-7; Sophie Ploeg, *Staged Experiences. Architecture and Rhetoric in the work of Sir Henry Wotton, Nicholas Hawksmoor and Sir John Vanbrugh*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, 2006; Van Eck, *Classical Rhetoric..., op. cit.*, on sublime architecture: pp. 110-122.
31. See introduction Nicolas Boileau Despreaux, *Longin, Traité du Sublime, traduction de Boileau* [1674], edited by Francis Goyet, Paris: Librairie générale française, 1995.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
33. Sophie Hache has identified the sublime in French discourse in the seventeenth century, before Boileau. Sophie Hache, *La Langue du ciel. Le sublime en France au XVIIe siècle*, Paris: H. Champion, 2000. For painting and the sublime: Clélia Nau, *Le temps du sublime. Longin et le paysage poussinien*, Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2005. For the sublime before Burke see also: Théodore A. Litman, *Le sublime en France, 1660-1714*, Paris: A.G. Nizet, 1971; Theodore Edmundson Brown Wood, *The Word 'Sublime' and its context 1650-1760*, The Hague/Paris: Mouton, 1972; Nicolson, *op. cit.*
34. An English translation of Longinus appeared in 1652, by John Hall, and after that four others in 1698, 1712 and 1739, the latter all based on Boileau. John Hall, *Peri hupsous, Or, Dionysius Longinus on the Height of Eloquence. Rendered out*

other versions and translations, now we will first examine in what way Boileau's translation was different from Longinus' text. Central to Boileau's translation is the phrase where the definition of the sublime appears: 'cet extraordinaire et ce merveilleux qui frappe dans le discours, et qui fait qu'un ouvrage enlève, ravit, transporte'.[35] In his *Réflexions critiques*, written twenty years later, Boileau summarised his own ideas:

> 'Le Sublime est une certaine force de discours, propre à élever et à ravir l'âme, et qui provient ou de la grandeur de la pensée et de la noblesse du sentiment, ou de la magnificence des paroles ou du tour harmonieux, vif et animé de l'expression; c'est-à-dire d'une de ces choses regardées séparément, ou ce qui fait le parfait Sublime, de ces trois choses jointes ensemble.'[36]

Boileau added to Longinus' theory the importance of experience. Thus, from a rhetorical theory with some attention for the effect on the public, experience gradually became the focus of the sublime. Apart from that, Boileau also stressed the importance of simplicity. Where to Longinus the sublime is only in grand effects, Boileau demonstrated how in a simple phenomenon or event the sublime could also be found:

> 'Il faut donc savoir que par Sublime, Longin n'entend pas ce que les orateurs appellent le style sublime: mais cet extraordinaire et ce merveilleux qui frappe dans le discours, et qui fait qu'un ouvrage enlève, ravit, transporte. Le style sublime veut toujours de grands mots; mais le Sublime se peut trouver dans une seule pensée, dans une seule figure, dans un seul tour de paroles. Une chose peut être dans le style sublime et n'être pourtant pas Sublime, c'est-à-dire n'avoir rien d'extraordinaire ni de surprenant.'[37]

Boileau diminished the rhetorical focus on stylistic means to achieve the sublime as part of a strategy of persuasion, and eliminated the opposition between *sublimitas* and *simplicitas*. This meant that instead of the ecstasy of Longinus, Boileau proposed 'Longtemps plaire et jamais

of the original by J.H., London 1652; *Essay on the Sublime. Translated form the Greek of Dionysius Longinus Cassius, the Rhetorician. Compar'd with the French of the sieur Despreaux-Boileau*, Oxford 1698; Leonard Wellsted, *Dionysius Longinus' Treatise on the Sublime. Translated from the Greek*, 1712; William Smith, *Dionysius Longinus On the Sublime*, London 1739.
35. Boileau Despreaux, *op. cit.*, p. 70.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 155. In four lines the sublime is to be found: 'la grandeur de la pensée, la noblesse du sentiment, la magnificence des paroles, et l'harmonie de l'expression'. *Ibid.*, p. 156. The *Réflexions* were written in 1694-1710.
37. Boileau in his preface, in *Ibid.*, p. 70.

ne lasser', and instead of the sublime as a superlative of beauty, it became a state between two extremes, making the ambivalence even stronger than in Longinus' terrifying beauty.[38] In Boileau's theory this meant 'le bas et le précieux, le burlesque et le grandiose, le rationnel et le "je ne sais quoi" [...], l'invraisemblable et le vrai'.[39]

In extending the group of those who could appreciate the sublime from connoisseurs to amateurs of art and literature, Boileau made the sublime also more available to less learned minds. This is an important step towards Burke's theories in which the learned mind can even become a hindrance in the sublime. The ambivalence, in the combination of fear and pleasure, would get its definite conceptual value in the theories of Edmund Burke (1729-1797). With Burke, the sublime moves from being a rhetorical theory that concentrates on how to achieve an impact on the public to an aesthetic theory, focussing on the experience of the beholder. It becomes in that sense also more personal.

In line with the ideas of Lucretius, Burke conceived a theory in which vastness and terror became something to enjoy, provided that you were at a distance.[40] With his *Philosophical Enquiry into the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757) Edmund Burke wrote a seminal theory of aesthetics that had a long-lasting influence on his contemporaries and the way they would perceive nature, art, and architecture.[41] Burke was a political philosopher and published the first edition of his treatise anonymously. For the first time, Burke made a division between the sublime and the beautiful. Pleasant and lovely feelings are created by beauty, but the sublime is connected to fear, terror

38. Nicolas Boileau Despreaux, *L'art poétique*, 1674, III, v. 256, in: F. Escal (ed.), *Œuvres*, Paris: Gallimard, 1966, p. 174, as quoted in Saint-Girons, *Le Sublime..., op. cit.*, p. 63.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 63.
40. James I. Porter, 'Lucretius and the sublime', in: Stuart Gillespie and Philip Hardie (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Lucretius*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, pp. 167-184, and in the same volume: Eric Baker, 'Lucretius in the European Enlightenment', pp. 274-288, with pp. 284-285 on Burke.
41. Editions of Burke: 1757, 1759, 1761, 1766, 1764, 1767, 1770, 1772, 1773, 1776, 1782, 1787, 1793, and 1796, a French edition was published in 1765 as *Recherches philosophiques sur l'origine des idées que nous avons du beau et du sublime*, a German edition in 1773. The *Enquiry* was reviewed positively in French, already in 1757, in the *Journal encyclopédique*, the translation was published in France in 1765. *Journal encyclopédique*, July 1757, Liège 1757, p.17: 'L'Auteur de cet Ouvrage nous paroît homme de génie; ses idées sont neuves et hardies; son style est mâle et concis.' The translation of Longinus by William Smith reached its fifth edition in 1800. Biographical studies on Burke are mainly on his politics or his writings on the French revolution, as Christopher Reid, *Edmund Burke and the practice of political writing*, Dublin/New York: Gill and Macmillan/St. Martin's Press, 1986; Peter James Stanlis, *Edmund Burke: the enlightenment and revolution*, New Brunswick and London: Transaction, 1991. Some more general studies on Burke are: Stanley Ayling, *Edmund Burke: His life and opinions*, London: Murray, 1988; Francis Canavan, *Edmund Burke: Prescription and providence*, Durham: Carolina Academic Press, 1987; Frederick P. Lock, *Edmund Burke*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998 (vol. 1); Conor Cruise O'Brien, *The great melody: a thematic biography and commented anthology of Edmund Burke*, London: Sinclair-Stevenson, 1992; Stephen K. White, *Edmund Burke: modernity, politics and aesthetics*, Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1994.

and astonishment. It intimidates and causes admiration. Although the beholder is aware of his own littleness and dependence, the simple fact of knowing that he is safe can give a feeling of pleasure nonetheless. In that sense the sublime is to Burke the counterpart of beauty. Precisely this combination of terror and pleasure made that the sublime is a much stronger sensation than feelings of beauty, and this becomes a sought-after experience. The sublime is not any longer the superior level of beauty, but a contradiction of it, caused by different objects, and producing different feelings. Burke was the first to offer a theory about how the process of pleasure through terror takes place.

In his distinction between beauty and sublime Burke gives an important place to the tactile experience. While smoothness and regularity cause sensations of beauty, roughness may lead to sublime experiences. When Burke opposes the sublime to the beautiful, he uses words which would also appear in the descriptions of Paestum. The sublime to Burke is vast in dimensions, rugged and negligent, has right lines, is dark and gloomy, solid and massive.[42] The passions which are caused by experiencing sublime architecture combine pain and pleasure, whereas the beautiful brings about only pleasure.

A significant difference with the theories by Longinus and the version by Boileau is Burke's focus on the mind of the spectator. While in Longinus the sublime was a quality of speech, art and natural objects, with Burke the sublime becomes above all something that operates in the mind; hence the relation between object and the mind gains significance.

Now in what way does Burke connect this to architecture? At first sight, in his *Philosophical Enquiry* Burke hardly suggests the possibility that architecture could also cause sublime sensations. He seems to focus mainly on nature, literature and, to a lesser degree, painting, and uses experiences in art, nature and literature to define the sublime. Only once he refers to an actual building, or rather a ruin:

> 'When any work seems to have required immense force and labour to effect it, the idea is grand. Stonehenge, neither for disposition nor ornament, has any thing admirable; but those huge rude masses of stone, set on end, and piled each on other, turn the mind on [the] immense force necessary for such a work. Nay the rudeness of the work

42. Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Sublime and Beautiful* [1757], London/New York: Routledge, 2008 (1757), p. 123.

> increases this cause of grandeur, as it excludes the idea of art, and contrivance; for dexterity produces another sort of effect which is different enough from this.'[43]

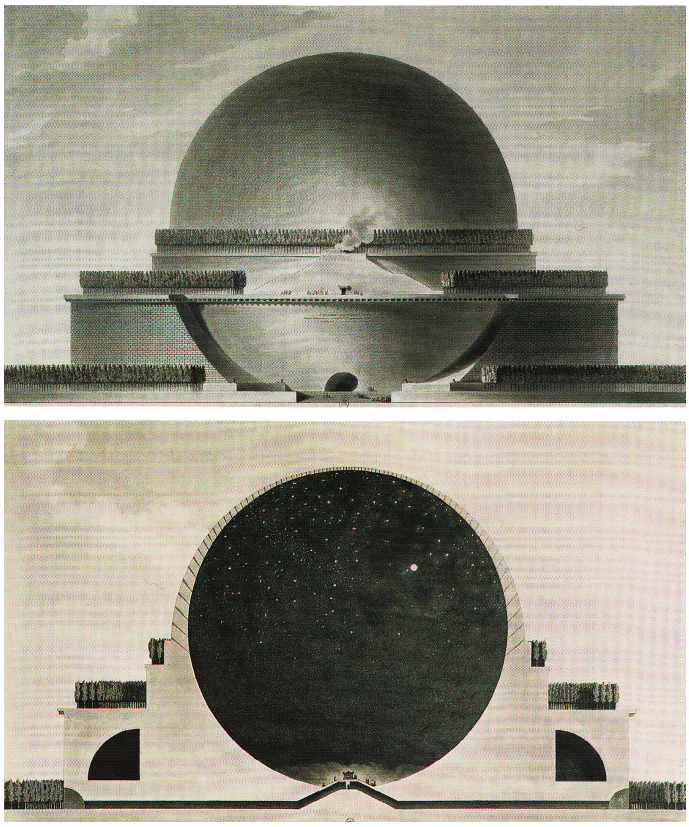
The huge and rude masses of stone in Burke's Stonehenge bring to mind the descriptions of Paestum, as we will see later in this chapter. Besides, upon closer examination of his text we do find descriptions of how architecture can reach sublimity. Despite this, scholars have rarely read the *Enquiry* from the point of view of architecture. And as for the earlier theories on the sublime, especially by Longinus and Boileau, they are also mainly overlooked as far as architecture is concerned.[44] Although Stonehenge is the only example of architecture Burke refers to, his text gives many indications of what sublime architecture is. Burke describes sublime architecture just in a general sense. For example, he does emphasize the importance of vastness in sublime architecture, but does not give an example of this. It is important though that in Burke's thought the conditions for the sublime in buildings in general are mainly related to experience. His text sheds also some light on how at Paestum the way in which many travellers observed the temples, without considerable prior knowledge, enhances the sensation of the sublime. With the words of Burke in mind we can understand how the ignorance of the observers of Paestum can be one of the conditions for the sublime: 'Knowledge and acquaintance make the most striking causes affect but little.'[45]

In the next section on the sublime and architecture we will look in closer detail at what Burke wrote exactly about architecture. For although recent studies create the impression that only nature or art produced the sublime, the experiences at Paestum, and many contemporary expressions in architectural thought show that the sublime in architecture is just as present. Boileau wrote already in his commentaries: 'en parlant du sublime, [Longin] est lui-même très sublime'.[46] It is important to note this phrase, for we will see in the next section, how architects made a connection between creating and becoming sublime.

43. *Ibid.*, p. 77.
44. The influence of the sublime on (revolutionary) architecture has been discussed in for example Emil Kaufmann, *Three revolutionary architects: Boullée, Ledoux and Lequeu*, Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1952, and Baldine Saint-Girons, *Fiat Lux..., op. cit.*, but the influence of the sublime on the experience of architecture has found little attention. Didier Laroque, 'Boullée et le Sublime', in: Elisabetta Matelli (ed.), *Il Sublime, Fortuna di un testo e di un'idea*, Milan: Vita e pensiero 2007, pp. 263-272 discusses mainly Boullée.
45. Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry..., op. cit.*, p. 62.
46. Boileau Despreaux, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

figure 1.3
Étienne-Louis Boullée,
Cenotaph for Newton,
night view of the exterior and
daytime view of the interior,
c. 1784.

(Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Cabinet des Estampes, HA. 57,7, 57,8. From Bergdoll, 2000, p. 87.)



Architecture and the sublime in theories

One of the eighteenth-century architects who thought he would himself become sublime by creating sublime architecture was Étienne-Louis Boullée (1728-1799). In explaining his design for a cenotaph for Newton (fig. 1.3) he stated:

> 'Esprit sublime! Génie vaste et profond! Etre divin! Newton, daigne agréer l'hommage de mes faibles talents! Ah! si j'ose le rendre public, c'est à cause de la persuasion que j'ai de m'être surpassé dans l'ouvrage dont je vais parler. O Newton! Si par l'étendue de tes lumières et la sublimité de ton génie, tu as déterminé la figure de la terre, moi j'ai conçu le projet de t'envelopper de ta découverte. C'est en quelque façon t'avoir enveloppé de toi-même. [...] En me servant, Newton, de ton divin système pour former la lampe sépulcrale qui éclaire ta tombe, je me suis rendu, ce me semble, sublime.'[47]

In his funerary monument (1784) for Isaac Newton (1642-1727), Boullée paid homage to the scientist, and at the same time tried to demonstrate that architecture could rival science. He explained his intentions in his *Essai sur l'art* (1794). In the observation just quoted the parallel with Boileau's remark on Longinus being sublime, mentioned in the previous section, is remarkable. The artist, or writer and architect in this case, aiming to transmit or convey the sublime to the public can through this process become sublime himself. The sublimity of his work reflects on himself, as it were: it shows that he is a genius.

In this text the intertwining of artist and art in relation to the sublime is interesting and explains a lot about Boullée's ideas. But it also gives an indication of how the sublime can have a role in architecture. Unfortunately, in existing studies Boullée has become the epitome of the sublime in architecture. This is regrettable because when we only study Boullée and do not read Burke, a very limited interpretation emerges. Also, when we study other eighteenth-century architects,

47. Étienne-Louis Boullée, *Architecture. Essai sur l'art*, edited by Jean-Marie Pérouse de Montclos, Paris: Hermann, 1968, pp. 137-138 (manuscript Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris: 126 verso, 127 recto). Étienne-Louis Boullée, 'Architecture, Essay on Art', translation by Helen Rosenau, *Boullée and Visionary Architecture*, London: Academy Editions, 1976, p. 107. See these publications for more background on his ideas, and also Helen Rosenau (ed.), *Boullée's Treatise on Architecture*, London: Tiranti, 1953; Philippe Madec, *Boullée*, Paris: F. Hazan, 1986. Recent studies include: Jean-Marie Pérouse de Montclos, *Etienne-Louis Boullée*, Paris: Flammarion, 1994; Daniel Rabreau and Dominique Massounie (eds.), *Claude Nicolas Ledoux et le livre d'architecture en français. Étienne Louis Boullée, l'utopie et la poésie d'art*, Paris: Monum/Éditions du patrimoine, 2006.

a much more diverse image becomes manifest. And lastly, the experiences at Paestum will tell us so much more.

But first we have to take a look into how the sublime came about, and was introduced in architecture. We will first examine the role of architecture in the sublime theories of Burke, and before, and then the role of the sublime in the writings of the architects Blondel, Le Camus de Mézières, Chambers, Soane and Reveley. As became clear in the previous section, it was not only in Longinus and Boileau, or in the translations of their works, that the sublime was theorised. In the seventeenth century many other publications appeared in which the concept was explained, and related to architecture. Before the middle of the eighteenth century we can distinguish two rather separate traditions in France and in England; after the publication of Burke's theory many exchanges and interactions between English and French varieties of the sublime took place.

In England, the translations of Longinus that were published by John Hall in 1652, by John Pulteney in 1680 and by William Smith in 1739, influenced English architects, as has been shown recently.[48] Architects such as Nicholas Hawksmoor (1661-1736) and Sir John Vanbrugh (1664-1726) drew on these publications in their writings and designs. The English architectural tradition is distinguished by a great awareness of the impact of a building on the beholder. Of his designs for London city churches, for instance, Vanbrugh wrote, in a clear reference to Longinus, that they should have a 'solemn and awfull appearance'.[49] A sublime aesthetic is also suggested by the complex and conflicting composition of Hawksmoor's facades, which cannot be taken in at one glance, and their tolerance of ambivalence and ambiguity. Rhetorical advice in Longinus' text provided design solutions that offered a combination of styles, emphasizing certain elements, favouring variation and rhythm, and working deliberately on the effects of surprise and the associations the beholder can have in perceiving buildings.

Joseph Addison's (1672-1719) 'The Pleasures of the Imagination' published in the *Spectator* in 1712 was an important vehicle for the wider dissemination of theories on the sublime.[50] The

48. Van Eck, 'Longinus' Essay...', *op. cit.*; Ploeg, *Staged Experiences...*, *op. cit.*; Sophie Ploeg, 'Staged experiences: the church designs of Nicholas Hawksmoor', in: Caroline van Eck and Edward Winters (eds.), *Dealing with the Visual. Art History, Aesthetics and Visual Culture*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005, pp. 167-190. Hall translated Longinus; Pulteney and Smith were based on Boileau.
49. Van Eck, 'Longinus' Essay...', *op. cit.*; Ploeg, *Staged Experiences...*, *op. cit.*
50. Joseph Addison, 'The Pleasures of the Imagination', [1712], in: Richard Steel and Joseph Addison, *Selections from the*

designs of Vanbrugh have been interpreted as the three-dimensional representations of his theories.[51] Addison's publication defined his ideas of experience and association, writing mainly about taste and using Longinus, while not using the word sublime literally. In his book Addison gave examples of awe-inspiring natural phenomena or objects, his remarks on architecture are of particular interest. Addison gave for example in 'The Pleasures of the Imagination' an aesthetics of the infinite.[52] He discussed architecture, or 'that particular art, which has a more immediate tendency, than any other, to produce those primary pleasures of the imagination.'[53] The primary pleasures were to Addison caused by greatness, novelty and beauty, of which he explains only greatness in his text because the other two were easily recognizable in architecture. Pleasures of the imagination, he explained, are experienced in the mind, but caused by what we perceive or feel. His 'Letter from Italy' showed how architecture moved him. In his description of the Coliseum we find echoes of the Longinian sublime:

> 'Immortal Glories in my Mind revive,
> And in my Soul a thousand Passions strive,
> When Rome's exalted Beauties I descry
> Magnificent in Piles of Ruin lye:
> An Amphitheater's amazing Height
> Here fills my Eye with Terror and Delight'[54]

In the 'Essay on architecture' the issue of size in buildings is important as well:

> 'Let any one reflect on the disposition of mind he finds in himself, at his first entrance into the Pantheon at Rome, and how his imagination is filled with something great

Tatler and The Spectator, edited with an introduction and notes by Angus Ross, London: Penguin Books, 1988 (first edition 1982), pp. 364-406.
51. Ploeg, *Staged Experiences...*, *op. cit.*, p. 263.
52. For the concept of the infinite in the sublime: in Nicolson, *op. cit.*, some interesting remarks are made on the infinite, in which architecture plays a tiny role. In her study Nicolson focuses on descriptions of nature in seventeenth to nineteenth century literature. The chapter on the aesthetics of the infinite is of particular interest for our question.
53. Joseph Addison, 'A Letter from Italy, to the Right Honourable Charles Lord Halifax, in the Year MDCCI' in: *Remarks on several parts of Italy, &c. In the Years 1701, 1702, 1703*, second edition, London: J. Tonson, 1718, p. v.
54. *A letter from Italy to the Right Honourable Charles Lord Hallifax*, by Mr Joseph Addison, MDCCI, London 1703 (manuscript Bodleian MS and print) in: A.C. Guthkelch, *The miscellaneous works of Joseph Addison*, vol. I, London: G. Bell and Sons Ltd, 1914, pp. 54-55, print: p. 55, line 69-74, manuscript: p. 54, line 85-90: How dos the mighty Scene my soul amaze / When on proud Rome's Immortal seats I Gaze, / Where piles of Ruine scatter'd all around, / Magnificently strow the pompous ground! / An Amphitheater's transcendant height / Here fills my Eye with terrour and delight'.

> and amazing; and, at the same time, consider how little, in proportion, he is affected with the inside of a Gothic cathedral, though it be five times larger than the other; which can arise from nothing else but the greatness of the manner in the one, and the meanness in the other.'[55]

Addison argues that something other than mere size causes greatness: 'Greatness [in architecture may be an effect of] the manner in which it is built'. Addison could find architecture that impressed merely by its size only in buildings he had never seen – the wonders of the world, like the tower of Babel, of which the foundation already 'looked like a spacious mountain' and Babylon with its walls and temple 'that rose a mile high', but it was still to be seen in Egyptian pyramids and in the Great Wall of China. In Italy he admired the manner of building, stressing analogies between nature and architecture. The Pantheon for example appealed to the imagination because, just like mountains and the ocean and the wide expanse of the earth, it led man to thoughts of God:

> 'We are obliged to devotion for the noblest buildings that have adorned the several countries of the world. It is this which has set men at work on temples and public places of worship, not only that they might, by the magnificence of the building, invite the Deity to reside within it, but that such stupendous works might, at the same time, open the mind to vast conceptions, and fit it to converse with the divinity of the place. For every thing that is majestic, imprints an awfulness and reverence on the mind of the beholder, and strikes in with the natural greatness of the soul.'[56]

In his focus on nature Addison shows a significant shift in ideas on the sublime in the beginning of the eighteenth century, for he demonstrated how the magnificent and terrifying feelings that nature can produce can be appreciated and put into words from a safe distance, as Lucretius already wrote, allowing to see the beauty in terror.[57] This was an important prelude to Burke's theories and, as we shall see later, also a mechanism that operated in perceptions of Paestum. While Longinus and Boileau hardly related the sublime to architecture themselves, Burke, writing an aesthetic theory, wrote about it in a clearly defined way. In his *Enquiry* characteristics

55. Joseph Addison, 'Paper V: On the Pleasures of the Imagination' [1712], *The Spectator, in eight volumes*, London: Sharpe and Hailes (1811) 415, Thursday, June 26, 1712, p. 501.
56. *Ibid.*, pp. 500-501.
57. Porter, *op. cit.*, pp. 167-184.

of buildings are listed that create sublime architecture. In these passages his treatise almost reads like a manual on how to obtain sublime emotions in viewing buildings. He focuses in his text on the experience of a building, the rhetorical effect of it and the aesthetical experience. In his publication he explains the difference between sublime and beautiful as not only properties of objects. Because of the empiricist context they are at the same time, and sometimes only, experiences in the mind of the beholder. The text remaining theoretical, Burke does not give any positive or negative examples, just Stonehenge features once as an example of sublime architecture. Some of the characteristics of the sublime can be applied to architecture, but are used by him to describe sensations caused by natural objects and phenomena, others are explicitly referred to as features of buildings.

In the second part of the *Enquiry*, after arguing that astonishment is the highest effect of the sublime, Burke first defines the causes of this sublime emotion as terror (for example: an ocean), and obscurity (in a quote of Milton 'all is dark, uncertain, confused, terrible and sublime'). In comparing poetry and painting, and arguing that painting can never excite strong emotions, contrary to obscure poetry, Burke makes an important remark: 'It is our ignorance of things that causes all our admiration, and chiefly excites our passions. Knowledge and acquaintance make the most striking causes affect but little.' Because we cannot grasp infinity and eternity, the impression objects or nature make on us is magnificent. Burke suggests what happens to the beholder's mind: 'The mind is hurried out of itself, by a croud [sic] of great and confused images; which affect because they are crouded [sic] and confused.' When he argues that paintings can never excite the passions, the problem of representation becomes acute. Only direct experience, that is, in unmediated perception, or, poetry or prose, can produce sublime feelings, a transformation of it on canvas or wood always fails to succeed in this. In his ideas that poetry can create these emotions Burke echoes Longinus' theories.

Other important characteristics of sublime objects are vastness and infinity, which reminds us of Addison's theory. 'Greatness in dimension is a powerful cause of the sublime.' This can occur in great length, depth or height; surfaces that are rough and wrecked rather than smooth and polished are important.[58] Infinity seems even more forceful, it 'has a tendency to fill the mind with that sort of delightful horror, which is the most genuine effect, and truest test of the sublime.'[59] Even if not infinite in reality, an object can, if it seems infinite to the eye of

58. Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry...*, *op. cit.*, p. 72.
59. 'the eye not being able to perceive the bounds of many things, they seem to be infinite, and they produce the same

the beholder, have the same striking effects. The Burkean sublime is located in the perception and experience of the spectator, and his point of view produces the grandeur. The sublime is thus not only a quality of the object itself, but a direct result of the relation of human beings to objects, in which the reaction and perception is sublime, not only the object as such. The infinite can be obtained artificially through succession and uniformity. An example is a rotund, in a building or a plantation, that to the eye seems to continue every way you turn, and creates a feeling of infinity. Thus, buildings with too many angles, like churches with a plan in the form of a Greek cross, fail to have grandeur. Turning specifically to buildings in a section on magnitude in buildings, Burke explains how greatness in dimension is essential. However, the dimensions should not be too large, for the building will lose its effect. Burke demonstrates this with an example:

> 'the perspective will lessen it in height as it gains in length; and will bring it at last to a point; turning the whole figure into a sort of triangle, the poorest in its effect of almost any figure that can be presented to the eye. I have ever observed, that colonnades and avenues of trees of moderate length, were without comparison far grander, than when they were suffered to run to immense distances.'[60]

Another significant remark relates to objects that are not finished, or we might say no longer complete. They leave more to the imagination than perfect ones, and are therefore more interesting; young animals for instance as opposed to full grown ones, or unfinished sketches rather than finished presentation drawings. Burke argues that imagining something makes objects grander, because they are completed by the beholder's mind and occupy it more intensely or longer. We can easily apply this to the ruins at Paestum, which also left a world of imagination for the visitors to create.

Turning to the subject of difficulty, that can also cause the sublime, Burke makes the remarks on Stonehenge quoted above. Next to magnificence two other topics are of importance: light and colour. Light in architecture is a subject discussed separately, dark and gloomy buildings are sources of the sublime. Darkness has a more intense effect on the emotions than light, and contrast is important. In entering a building, the lightness of the open sky should be opposed to an obscure interior:

effects as if they were really so.' *Ibid.*, p. 73.
60. *Ibid.*, p. 76.

> 'to make the transition thoroughly striking, you ought to pass from the greatest light, to as much darkness as is consistent with the uses of architecture. At night the contrary rule will hold, but for the very same reason; and the more highly a room is then illuminated, the grander will the passion be.'[61]

Colours should also be dark and gloomy. In architecture the building materials and ornament should not be 'white, nor green, nor yellow, nor blue, nor of a pale red, nor violet, nor spotted, but of sad and fuscous colours, as black, or brown, or deep purple, and the like.' Most decorations like mosaics, statues and paintings do not create sublime responses, but if necessary in buildings the sublime should come from other aspects, as long as the building is not light, for 'nothing so effectually deadens the whole taste of the sublime.'[62]

As we will see later, elements of terror, obscurity, vastness, infinity, difficulty, darkness and obscure colours that caused the elevated sensations, as defined by Burke, had a major influence on English architectural thought. Furthermore, his theory on the architectural sublime not only had a large impact in England, but in France as well. The first French translation of Burke's *Enquiry* was published in 1765 and was reviewed in a very positive way. With this long tradition of the sublime in architecture based on Longinus editions and Boileau's translation, the French adopted the Burkean sublime just as eagerly as the English. Interestingly, even before Boileau's text appeared the sublime is to be found in French architecture and urban planning.

Boileau's impact continued in France well into the eighteenth century. It is to be found in the influential and widely read theories of the French architect Jacques-François Blondel (1705-1774).[63] Contrary to Burke, the architect Blondel did not write an aesthetic theory on experience and the rhetorical effect of architecture, but he focussed on design advices. He provided his public, which consisted of architects, with tools of how to create sublime architecture.

61. *Ibid.*, p. 81.
62. *Ibid.*, p. 82.
63. The only biography on Blondel is: Auguste Prost, *J.F. Blondel et son oeuvre*, Metz: Rousseau-Pallez, 1860. On his teaching and theory: Robin Middleton, 'Jacques-François Blondel and the *Cours d'Architecture*', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 18 (1959) 4, pp. 140-148; Antoine Picon, 'Vers une architecture classique. Jacques-François Blondel et le *Cours d'Architecture*', *Les cahiers de la recherche architecturale*, (1985) 18, pp. 28-37; Szambien, *Symétrie, goût, caractère...*, *op. cit.*. On his influence on foreign architects: Freek H. Schmidt, 'Expose Ignorance and Revive the *Bon Goût*: Foreign Architects at Jacques-François Blondel's École des Arts', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 61 (2002) 1, pp. 4-29.

In chapter IV of his *Cours d'Architecture* (1771-1777), Blondel analyses how to distinguish good architecture from mediocre architecture, or a building that possesses 'un style sublime, noble, élevé' as opposed to 'un caractère naïf, simple, vrai.'[64] The decorations of a building define its character. To make his point, Blondel makes a comparison with poetry, painting and music.[65] In 'De la Sublimité de l'Architecture', Blondel gives his advice to architects to design sublime architecture. The architect should strive for sublimity in himself first.[66] The remark by Boileau on Longinus, and subsequently adopted by Boullée, is clearly recognizable here. Apart from that, there are limits or risks to lose oneself in the gigantic, then architecture becomes vulgar. Too vast is thus not sublime.[67] How can an architect reach sublimity in his buildings?

> 'il faudroit réunir, dans ses productions, le savoir, le génie, la beauté, la régularité, la convenance, la solidité & la commodité; mais cependant il faut songer que l'esprit méthodique, la méditation, le flegme, peuvent produire un bon Architecte, & que le génie, l'ame, l'enthousiasme, élevent seuls l'Artiste au sublime: que l'esprit définit, que le sentiment peint, & que celui-ci donne la vie à toutes les productions. En un mot, il seroit à desirer qu'un édifice puisse, à son aspect, entraîner, émouvoir, & pour ainsi dire, élever l'ame du spectateur, en le portant à une admiration contemplative, dont il ne pourroit lui-même se rendre compte au premier coup d'œuil, quoique suffisamment instruit des connaissances profondes de l'Art.'[68]

This kind of architecture is necessary for all buildings that need to suggest traces of a divine hand, as is shown for example in the high vaulted Gothic churches with their mysterious light. Blondel criticizes contemporary buildings, theatres and palaces where nothing seems to work; sculpture, painting and architecture, all is mediocre. Sublime buildings elevate the mind, and can be recognized by the real connoisseurs, with a feeling that is timeless. The sublime in architecture endures thus for centuries; it does not cease to make that overwhelming impression

64. Jacques-François Blondel, *Cours d'architecture, ou Traité de la décoration, distribution et construction des bâtiments: contenant les leçons données en 1750 et les années suivantes*, Paris: Desaint 1771-1777, 6 vols., vol. 1, p. 373.
65. *Ibid.*, vol 1, p. 376: 'cette poésie muette, ce coloris suave, intéressant, ferme ou vigoureux; en un mot, cette mélodie tendre, touchante, forte ou terrible qu'on peut emprunter de la Poésie, de la Peinture ou de la Musique, & qu'on peut rapporter aux diverses compositions qui émanent de l'Architecture.'
66. 'Pour définir le sublime dont nous voulons parles, il faudroit soi-même être sublime (et nous sommes bien éloignés de cette perfection).' *Ibid.*, vol 1, p. 377.
67. *Ibid.*, vol 1, p. 377: 'Un colosse sans proportion & composé, pour ainsi dire, de pieces rapportées, ne peut obtenir les suffrages des hommes de goût, ni des hommes raisonnables, quelque grande qu'en ait pu être l'idée.'
68. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 377-378.

on the beholder.[69] In emphasizing the sense of connoisseurship, Blondel argued contrary to Burke's ideas, which stated that the more ignorant the observer the stronger his sublime sensation is. For Blondel, examples are the interior of the Val-de-Grâce, the peristyle of the Louvre, the Porte Saint-Denis, the orangery at Versailles, all buildings executed during the reign of Louis XIV that give 'une gloire véritablement immortelle' to the king, the buildings and its architects, by the beauty of their mass and the linking of details.[70] The sublime is present in the monuments to the memory of citizens, great deeds, princes, heroes and captains. The main aspects that characterize this architecture are that it astonishes and puts the mind of the beholder in awe. The real connoisseurs recognize it in the harmony between regularity without monotony and the different parts, something that is infinite and timeless. Blondel, as many other eighteenth-century architects, presents seventeenth-century architecture as the quintessence of the sublime, implying at the same time a veiled criticism of his own time and architecture, that could not reach the height of the buildings in the period of Louis XIV's reign.

In the next section of his fourth chapter Blondel aims to define what aspects excite in the spectator an 'admiration muette et contemplative'. This admiration can only account for the building as a whole, never for parts of details of buildings.[71] Following the beauty and perfection of the Greeks and Romans, the solidity and lightness of the Arabs, and the commodity and charm of the French, this architecture has to offer foremost originality, the subject of another section. After discussing original character, Blondel evokes, in different sections, the diverse characters of architecture, one of them the terrible.[72] Blondel uses 'architecture terrible' to define those buildings that in one single gaze seem to express a real and clear solidity, by their closeness and the use of certain materials, large projections and profound

69. 'elle éleve l'esprit de l'eximinateur, le saisit, l'étonne: les vrais Connoisseurs la reconnoissent par une régularité qui n'a rien de monotone, par des accompagnements assortis; en un mot, par un accord général, qui se fait admirer & approuver dans tous les temps.' *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 380.
70. *Ibid.*, vol 1, p. 380.
71. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 380; p. 383: il faut donc que la beauté de l'ordonnance des dehors d'un bâtiment, la commodité des dedans & la solidité de sa construction, ne se démentent jamais, & que ces trois objets y semblent réunis de manière à ne laisser rien à desirer absolument.'
72. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 424-425. He discusses pyramidal architecture, architecture that is agreeable, convenient, real, plausibility, beautiful, noble, unity in architecture, variety, free character, followed by abundant composition, consequence, exactitude, symmetry. In more specific parts he puts forward symbolic architecture and sculpture, and then different characters in architecture: male, firm, or virile; light, elegant or delicate; rural, naïf, feminine, mysterious, grand, 'hardie' (daring) ('un caractere de sublimité qui frappe l'ame & la porte à la plus grande admiration') and terrible. Other characters: 'naine, frivole, licencieuse, dissemblable, vague, barbare, abus in architecture, mode; asservie, froide ou stérile; alteration, meplate, futile', and 'pauvre'.

recesses, as in military buildings, with high and thick closed walls with little openings, that produce large shadows, and express pride:

> 'celle qui, plus pesante, plus racourcie encore que la proportion Toscane, paroît plus propre dans nos décorations théâtrales, à peindre à l'idée le séjour du Tartare, qu'à être mise en exécution, si ce n'est pour l'usage des frontispices des Maisons de Force, des Prisons, des Cachots, où une Architecture terrible contribue, en quelque sorte, à annoncer dès les dehors, le désordre de la vie des hommes détenus dans l'intérieur, & tout ensemble la férocité nécessaire à ceux préposés pour les tenir aux fers. Au reste, il ne faut pas abuser du caractere terrible dont nous parlons: pris en bonne part, ce caractere produit assez souvent une expression convenable; mais lorsqu'il paroît contraire au genre de l'édifice, il ne présente plus qu'une Architecture rebutante, que des corps ridiculement lourds, pesants, qui ne laissent voir que des parties mal assorties, un genre soldatesque, une pesanteur gigantesque; enfin un style où les principes de l'art semblent être anéantis sous le poids de l'ignorance de l'Artiste, pendant qu'on s'attendoit à remarquer un caractere grave, régulier, simple, héroïque, plus capable d'annoncer l'importance du monument, que sa vaste étendue ou son inutilité.'[73]

The French architect Nicolas Le Camus de Mézières (1721-1789) also wrote about the terrible, as Blondel did, but in another way. Le Camus de Mézières related in his *Le génie de l'architecture, ou l'analogie de cet art avec nos sensations* (Paris 1780) the terrible mainly to nature, but argues that it can also be reached in the arts.[74] In writing about terror and beauty, Le Camus de Mézières also made a connection with these and character in architecture. Darkness is an important element, created, for example, by using projecting bays. Le Camus de Mézières concentrates on the eye of the beholder. When the eye can scarcely penetrate, or when there is a distant vista where no object meets the eye, the sublime is there and the soul stands amazed and trembles.[75]

73. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, 426-427.
74. 'Le genre terrible est l'effet de la grandeur combinée avec la force. On peut comparer la terreur qu'inspire une scêne de la nature à celle qui naît d'une scêne dramatique; l'ame est fortement ébranlée, mais ses sensations ne sont agréables que lorsqu'elles tiennent à la terreur sans avoir rien de choquant. On peut employer les ressources de l'Art pour rendre ces sensations plus vives; il s'agit de développer les objets dont la grandeur est le caractere, & de donner plus de vigueur à ceux qui se distinguent par la force; on marquera avec soin ceux qui impriment la terreur, en jettant ça & là quelques teintes obscures & propres à inspirer de la tristesse.' Nicolas Le Camus de Mézières, *Le génie de l'architecture, ou L'analogie de cet art avec nos sensations*, Paris: l'auteur, 1780, p. 59. For Le Camus de Mézières see: Pelletier, *op. cit.*; Le Camus de Mézières, *The Genius of Architecture...*, *op. cit*.
75. 'Les avant-corps saillans sont un des moyens dont on peut se servir; quelques percés qui se terminent sur un

The powers of light and shadow are to be searched for in designs, the contrast offering different characters to a building, going from softness to terror. Only vastness does not suffice however, certain elements are required to give it life and shape, just like the ocean needs a shore or an island.[76] The comparison with nature is pursued even further when Le Camus de Mézières states how a river can arouse sublime sensations: in great motion, its noise causes terror.[77] Le Camus de Mézières uses this example to argue the importance of different stages in sensations, and the appropriate character of a building that has the proper effects on its spectator. An important difference with Blondel's theories is that Le Camus de Mézières thought about architecture in a theatrical way, and how buildings, and interiors of buildings could arouse different emotions, like different scenes in a play. In the fourth chapter we will look further into this aspect.

The sublime in the experience of buildings

The theoretical sublime in texts and drawings emerged in the previous two sections, but to demonstrate another way of looking at the sublime in architecture we have to turn to the sublime in architectural experience. Before we will focus on the Paestum experiences, this section will elucidate the sublime in spatial observations in the eighteenth century. Built projects of this period that can be associated with the sublime are for instance by George Dance the Younger (1741-1825), who, in the line of Blondel's 'architecture terrible' of the *Cours d'architecture*, built his Newgate prison (1768-1775) as a terrifying rusticated block with little windows (fig. 1.4).[78] As we have seen above, Blondel defined the terrible as an exaggeration of scale and mass, and a heaviness, influencing many prison designs in the eighteenth century.

endroit sombre & obscur, où la vue puisse à peine pénétrer à travers les ténebres, seront une vraie ressource: d'un autre côté on laissera appercevoir, si l'occasion le permet, de ces lointains vagues & non déterminés, où il ne se présente aucun objet sur lequel la vue puisse se reposer. Rien de plus terrible, l'ame est étonnée, elle frémit. Les masses fieres & hardies, sur lesquelles les yeux ont été fixés d'abord, l'ont préparée à cette sensation.' Le Camus de Mézières, *Le génie de l'architecture..., op. cit.*, p. 60.

76. 'L'Océan lui-même, par sa majesté, nous dédommage à peine de son immensité. En effet, pour qu'il forme une perspective agréable, il faut qu'on puisse appercevoir à une distance médiocre un rivage, un cap, une isle: ces objets variés donnent au tout la figure & la vie. [...]La grandeur est essentielle au genre terrible, ainsi que les masses fieres & marquées sont l'apanage du majestueux.' *Ibid.*, pp. 60-61.

77. 'Sommes-nous placés sur le bord d'une riviere, la simple agitation de l'eau engourdit nos sens, nous endort; plus de rapidité est portée à l'excès, elle jette l'alarme dans nos sens; c'est un torrent dont le fracas, la force & l'impétuosité inspirent la terreur, sensation étroitement liée avec la sublimité, soit qu'on la regarde comme cause ou comme effet.' *Ibid.*, pp. 59-61.

78. Dance was in June 1764 in Naples, but apparently never went to Paestum. Ingamells, *op. cit.*, pp. 273-274.

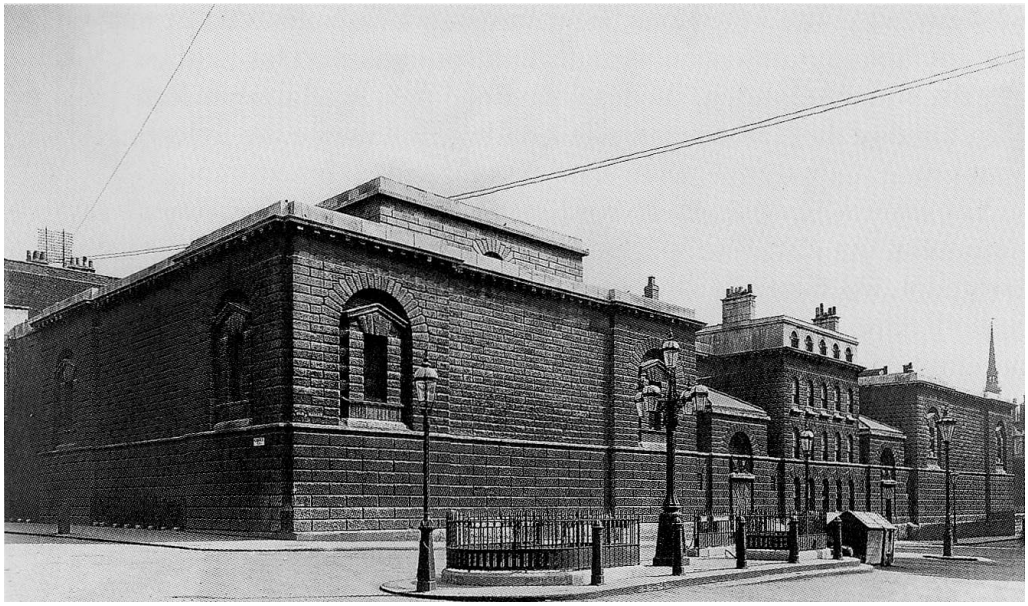


figure 1.4
George Dance, Newgate Prison (1768-1775, demolished 1902), photograph taken in 1900.
(English Heritage/NMR. From Darley, 1999, p. 63.)

This type of architecture was deliberately aimed at evoking feelings of fear in the passersby. Dance was an admirer of the aesthetic theories of Burke, and his design reflects the passage: 'Whatever is fitted in any sort to excite the ideas of pain and danger [...] whatever is in any sort terrible [...] is a source of the sublime.'[79] Another built example of architectural sublime in scale and in contrast of volumes named in studies is the neo-gothic house Fonthill in Wiltshire, by James Wyatt. More striking is the Rue des Colonnes (1793-1795) in Paris by Nicolas Vestier and Joseph Bénard, because of the repetition effect of the columns and arches.[80] A drawing of it, made by Friedrich Gilly (1772-1800) in 1798, is a representation of sublime perception, by the exaggeration of the repetitiveness in the seemingly endless colonnades (fig. 1.5).[81] Another one, by Henry Parke (fig. 1.6), shown in John Soane's Royal Academy Lectures, represents more of the real situation, showing the end of the street, but still stressing the repetitiveness of the columns. These projects tell us that the architectural sublime is caused by perceptions caused by fear, vastness, large scale, and infinity.

Writings of eighteenth-century British architects also display a widespread preoccupation with the sublime, for example in texts by Chambers, Soane or Reveley. It is very present for example in the ideas of an admirer and friend of Burke, William Chambers (1722-1796). The British architect wrote in some notes that he added to Joseph Addison's essay 'The Pleasures of the Imagination', about the architectural sublime: 'In architecture sublimity is principally to be aimed at, grace is always to be avoided as much in buildings as in dignified human nature. In both it is equally injudicious and contemptible.'[82] Later Chambers wrote more on the subject:

> 'Nothing exalts more nor fills the mind with Sublimer Ideas than the sight of noble actions, valiant exploits or stupendous objects, and next to that nothing fires the imagination so much nor fills with loftier images than bold and spirited descriptions of glorious achievements, prodigious events, extraordinary or wonderful productions of human skill or human power.'[83]

79. He thought the Enquiry 'a very excellent work. – That part on taste the best He has ever seen on the subject.' Garlick and Macintyre, *Diary*, vol. III, p. 784, 3 March 1797, quoted in Watkin (ed.), *Sir John Soane..., op. cit.*, p. 59.
80. Barry Bergdoll, *European Architecture 1750-1890*, Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2000, p. 145; p.128.
81. On the history and influence of this street see: Werner Szambien, *De la Rue des Colonnes à la Rue de Rivoli*, Paris: Délégation à l'action artistique, 1992.
82. Royal Institute for British Architects (RIBA), London, Drawings and Archives Collection, CHA 1/8. ii.
83. 'To give therefore an historical account of architecture from the beginning to the present time will not I trust be deemed foreign to our purpose since it will bring before us the immense works of the Assyrians and Egyptians, Persians, Greeks, Jews, Roman and other famous people of antiquity as well as of some modern peoples justly celebrated for the magnificence of their structures.' Royal Institute of British Architects, London, Drawings and Archives Collection,

figure 1.5
Friedrich Gilly, Perspective view of the Rue des Colonnes in Paris, 1798.

(Universitätsbibliothek, Technische Universität Berlin (destroyed). From Alfred Rietdorf, *Gilly: Wiedergeburt der Architektur*, Berlin: Hans von Hugo Verlag, 1940, p. 108.)

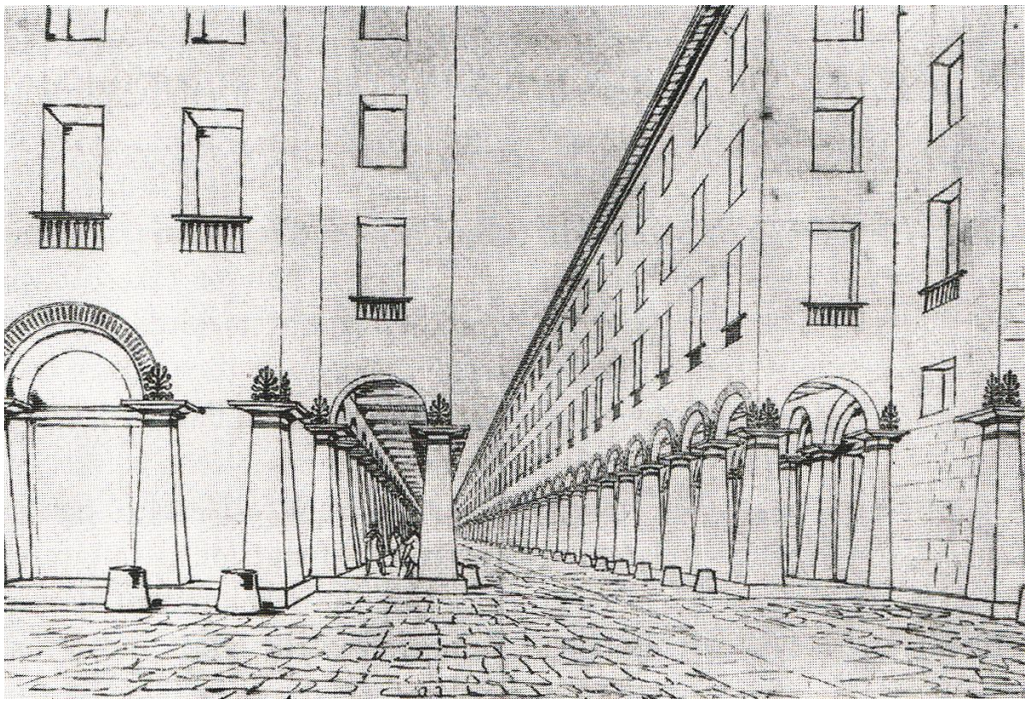


figure 1.6
Henry Parke, Perspective view of the Rue des Colonnes in Paris, 1819. Drawing for John Soane's Royal Academy Lectures.
(From Watkin, 2000, plate 17.)

This text shows how Chambers thought very much about the sublime in the way Burke admired Stonehenge, stressing the human force necessary to construct such a monument. In the same text Chambers makes, just as the British architect John Soane would do, a connection with character and the way architecture should express this: it is 'an essential quality of beauty and grandeur [...], the gloom and solemnity of a temple or a mausoleum would ill suit a banqueting room or theatre.'[84] In his architecture Chambers used sublime elements as well, for example in Somerset House in London (1776-1780) (fig. 1.7) that, according to Bergdoll, can be seen in terms of the Burkean sublime in the 'infinite extent and a feeling of massive weight and scale'.[85] Chambers was not only a friend and admirer of Burke's, but was also in close contact with him, as Edward Wendt has recently documented, in his study on the sublime as taught at the Royal Academy in London.[86] Wendt's thesis is one of the few studies on the architectural sublime, but, with its narrow focus on Britain and the figures at the Royal Academy, it gives a rather limited view of the topic. It does show how the sublime was widespread at the Royal Academy and through that in wider artistic and architectural London circles, as it was in Paris through the Académie d'Architecture.

The architect Sir John Soane (1753-1837), who taught also at the Royal Academy, was very much concerned with the sublime as well. His library featured many theories on the topic. Soane knew Longinus' text from Boileau's translation, of which he owned three sets.[87] In relation to Gothic architecture his reactions were more Longinian, as we can see in another book in the library of Soane, in which he noted reactions of 'awe and pleasure' when entering a mediaeval cathedral, and observed the 'height and length [which] are among the primary sources of the Sublime', as Milner described it in his *Essays on Gothic Architecture* (London 1800). The infinite also had a place in this: 'the perspective [of a Gothic church] produces an artificial infinite in the mind of the spectator'.[88]

To return to Chambers, he was invited to give some lectures at the Royal Academy in the

CHA 2/3.
84. William Chambers in his notes kept at the Royal Academy, London, MSS, CHA 2/26, cited in Watkin (ed.), *Sir John Soane..., op. cit.*, p. 34.
85. Bergdoll, *European Architecture..., op. cit.*, p. 67.
86. Edward K.A. Wendt, *The Burkean Sublime in British Architecture*, unpublished doctoral thesis, Columbia University New York, 2002, pp. 53-60.
87. Soane owned the 1810 edition of Nicolas Boileau, *Oeuvres complètes... contenant... sa traduction de Longin*, 3 vols., Paris 1810, two others in French, and an English translation of 1712. Watkin (ed.), *Sir John Soane..., op. cit.*, p. 190.
88. *Ibid.*, p. 329.

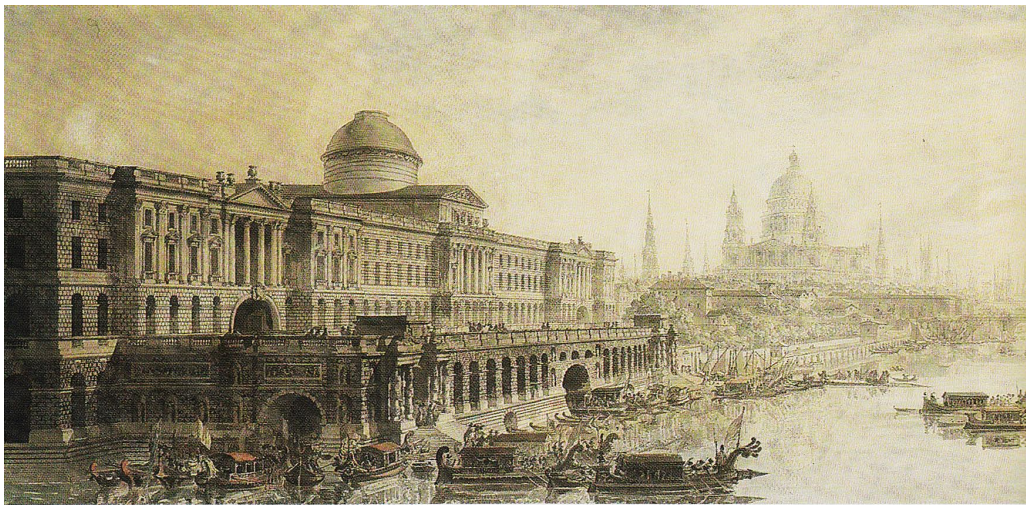


figure 1.7
Louis-Jean Desprez, Idealised view of Somerset House, London.

(Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, Paul Mellon Collection, B1977.14.6146. From Bergdoll, 2000, p. 66.)

1770s, but finally never gave them.[89] However, his notes have been preserved and they offer an interesting insight in his ideas on the sublime, and the influence Burke had on these.[90] Part of these ideas appeared later in his *Treatise on Civil Architecture*. In Lecture one, on how to be a good architect, Chambers mentions the importance of travelling: 'Travelling awakens the Imagination, the Sight of greatness & uncommon Objects, elevates the Mind to sublime Conceptions, and enriches it with numerous & extraordinary Ideas.'[91] The third lecture demonstrates how Chambers thought about obtaining the sublime in buildings:

> 'In Exterior decoration the Grandioso or Sublime is alwais to be aimed at [...] Where the dimensions are Inadequate artifice must be employed to produce the desired Effect. The French and Italians have a method of rendering the most trifling Compositions Considerable which Vanbrug alone amongst the English has ventured to Imitate. They raise their buildings considerably above the Surface of the Ground then surround them with terrasses proportioned to the buildings the Angles of which are Marked by Groups of figures [...] Statues or Vases and the centers of each Side with flights of Steps the Whole so Contrived as to Connect with and Seem a Part of the design by Which means the most Pleasing forms are produced and an air of Importance is imparted to the Composition which without such artifice twice the expence would not produce Versailles Marli Triganon Frescati Tivoli & Several of the Villas about Rome furnish many Examples of this practice very deserving of Imitation'[92]

More of these ideas are to be found in some notes he made while reading Burke:

> 'Grandeur which is the first and in Architecture the most Essential quality of the Beau depends in some measure upon the specific dimensions of the Object but Chiefly upon the form & its subdivisions an unskilful hand may render the largest Objects

89. Wiebenson suggests 1768 as a date of the writing of the lectures, for she argues that in the 1791 edition of his treatise Chambers wrote that his criticism of Greek architecture was meant for the second edition (1768) of the treatise. Dora Wiebenson, *Sources...*, *op. cit.*, p. 26.
90. Eileen Harris, 'Burke and Chambers on the Sublime and the Beautiful', in: Douglas Fraser, Howard Hibbard, and Milton J. Lewine (eds.), *Essays in the History of Architecture presented to Rudolf Wittkower*, London: Phaidon Press, 1967, pp. 207-213.
91. RIBA, London, Drawings and Archives Collection, CHA 1/3, f. 42.
92. William Chambers, notes for Lecture 3, Royal Academy London, RIBA, London, Drawings and Archives Collection, CHA 1/6.

> trifling & an Able Artist may Give dignity to trifles [...] Whatever appears difficult whatever bears the mark of distant times or Alludes to Ancient customs & Ceremonies whatever indicates Mystery will raise in the mind these sensations'[93]

While Chambers alludes to the idea of mystery as a source for the sublime, there is another element as well, and that is simplicity, so the mind can fix on one element and let itself go in awe:

> 'Unity of Colour is likewise productive of the Sublime a Striking Instance of which is the [...] Church of Carignano at Genoa built upon the model of St Peters at Rome which though not one quarter so large as its original hath more Grandeur St Peters at Rome offers ten thousand Colours to the Sight which devide the attention by Confusing the form the Madona del Cargnano is all of one Colour the form is instantaneously Conveyd to the mind And fixes it in a State of Astonishment'[94]

The second lecture contains some interesting remarks on the origin of architecture, to which we will return in the fifth chapter, but also some critical passages on Greek temple architecture:

> 'In the Constructive Part of Architecture the Antients were no great Proficients, I believe many of the Deformities which we observe in the Grecian Buildings must be ascribed to their Ignorance in this Particular such as their Gouty Columns their narrow Intervals their disproportionate Architraves their Ipetral [hypethral, with wholly or partly unroofed naos] Temples which they knew not how to cover and their Temples with a Range of Columns running in the Center to support the Roof contrary to every Rule both of Beauty and Conveniency.'[95]

The British architect Willey Reveley (1760-1799) argued in his introduction to the third volume of James Stuart's and Nicolas Revett's *The Antiquities of Athens* (1794) that with this remark Chambers probably had the temples at Paestum in mind.[96] Reveley was a pupil of Chambers,

93. Notes William Chambers, RIBA, London, Drawings and Archives Collection, CHA 1/8 iii.
94. 'Gloom is alwais productive of Grandeur'. RIBA, London, Drawings and Archives Collection, CHA 1/8 iv.
95. William Chambers, notes for Lecture 2, Royal Academy London, RIBA, London, Drawings and Archives Collection, CHA 1/4, f. 39.
96. On Willey Reveley see: Terry Friedman, 'Willey Reveley's All Saints', Southampton', *The Georgian Group Journal*, 12 (2002), pp. 74-95; Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840*, fourth edition, New Haven/

and 'had followed the steps of Athenian Stuart, in his travels through Greece and residence at Athens [...] His collection of drawings, universally known to all the lovers of art, and admirers of classic Antiquity, were made during his progress'.[97] His admiration for Greek architecture was enormous, and Paestum fascinated him, in his travel diary he devoted many pages to the site.[98] His master Chambers, on the contrary, could not cope with the strange architecture of Paestum's temples, which did not confirm his aesthetic notions of classical architecture.[99] The British architect Thomas Hardwick (1752-1829) wrote about him:

> 'Sir William Chambers never trod the classical ground of Attica, nor even visited Sicily or Pæstum, where he might have beheld some of the most antient and imposing works of the Grecian republic. It was evident, therefore, that Mr. Chambers derived from other sources his extensive knowledge in the art, and this he effected, as we have seen, not only by searching into the causes which produced those delightful effects apparent in the remains of Roman grandeur.'[100]

Hardwick had been in Paestum in 1778, and made some captivating drawings of the temples in his sketchbook.[101] In its disgust, Chambers' reaction makes clear that Paestum could not be judged by aesthetic arguments, and did not follow the proportional and aesthetic rules of classical architecture. In Chambers' response this leads to a rejection, in reactions of others there are different elements that are appreciated.

London: Yale University Press, 2008, pp. 856-857; 'Obituary of remarkable Persons; with Biographical Anecdote', *The Gentleman's Magazine: and Historical Chronicle. For the Year MDCCXCIX. Volume LXIX. part the second. By Sylvanus Urban, Gent. London, Printed by John Nichols, 1799*, July 1799, p. 627; on Reveley in Italy: Ingamells, *op.cit.*, pp. 807-808; on his introduction to Stuart: 'Review of New Publications: The Antiquities of Athens, measured and delineated by James Stuart, F.R.S. and F.S.A. and Nicholas Revett, Painters and Architects. Volume the Third', *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1795, February, p. 137; *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1801, May, pp. 419-420.

97. 'Obituary...', *op. cit.*, p. 627.

98. Willey Reveley, 'Volume containing notes and sketches for a proposed Dictionary of Architecture, Travel journal', RIBA, London, Drawings and Archives Collection, ReW/1.

99. Chambers, who bashed Greek architecture in his *Treatise*, wrote in his lecture notes for the Royal Academy: 'At first Sight it appears extraordinary that a People so renowned for Poetry, Rhetoric, & every sort of Polite Literature and who carried Sculpture farther than any of the ancient nations should be so deficient in Architecture' notes for Lecture 2, Royal Academy London, RIBA, London, Drawings and Archives Collection, CHA 1/4, f. 27.

100. Thomas Hardwick, *A Memoir of the Life of Sir William Chambers*, London: s.n., 1825, pp. 3-4.

101. He noted in his travel diary: 'Went by Sea to Pœstum, crost the Gulf of Salerno, set out upon good wind. but was afterwards becalmed – Arrived there ab. Midday – Three Temples all in the same Stile Doric – Middle one the largest & best Preserved – Pediments very low, but have a good Effect, Entab: remarkably high – Columns very low'. Hardwick papers, RIBA, London, Drawings and Archives Collection, SKB/103/3, f.17 verso, his sketch book SKB/105/1.

Dora Wiebenson in her study *Sources of Greek Revival Architecture* reduces the discussion between Chambers and Reveley about Greek architecture to an emotional side of the ancient or modern Greek-Roman quarrel.[102] She states also that the sublime was not connected to archaeological publications until 1794, when Reveley wrote his defence of Greek architecture in the preface of Stuart.[103] On the contrary, as we will see at Paestum, the sublime would play a key role in the formulation of a new architectural experience.

Reveley's outspoken reactions to the remarks by Chambers, his former master, were part of a defence of Greek architecture, in which the sublime also featured in particular to praise Paestum:

> 'The entablature is ponderous, and its decorations few in number, and of a strong character. The awful dignity and grandeur in this kind of temple, arising from the perfect agreement of its various parts, strikes the beholder with a sensation, which he may look for in vain in buildings of any other description. A slight change in the order, or even in the proportions of a building, will always be found to introduce a very different character, even though the general form should be preserved. In the species of temple we are here considering, the causes of the sublime may easily be perceived. The simplicity of the basement, the sweeping lines of the flutings, the different proportions and yet contrasted figure of the outline of the column, and that of the intercolumniation, and the grand straight lines on the entablature crossing in their directions the graceful ones of the flutings, together with the gently-inclined pediment, all contribute to this striking effect. The column and intercolumniation approach each other more nearly in apparent superficial quantity, while they contrast more decidedly in form than in any other order. There is a certain appearance of eternal duration in this species of edifice, that gives a solemn and majestic feeling, while every part is perceived to contribute its share to this character of durability. [...] These considerations will convince us that no material change can be made in the proportions of the genuine Grecian Doric, without destroying its particular character.'[104]

102. Wiebenson, *Sources..., op.cit.*, p. 60.
103. *Ibid.*, p. 61. In her ''L'Architecture Terrible' and the 'Jardin Anglo-Chinois'', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 27 (1968) 2, pp. 136-139, Wiebenson sees a connection with Boullée's and Chambers' ideas on the sublime.
104. James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens measured and delineated by James Stuart F.R.S. and F.S.A. and Nicholas Revett Painters and Architects*, vol. III, edited by Willey Reveley, London: John Nichols 1794, p. xiv.

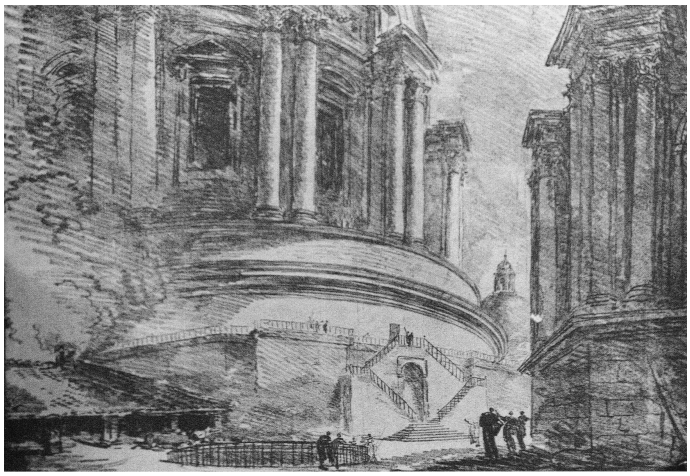


figure 1.8
Hubert Robert, View of the cupola of Saint Peter's Church in Rome, c. 1760.
(Bibliothèque Municipale, Besançon, Vol. 451, n° 40.)

figure 1.9
Louis-Jean Desprez, Interior view of Saint Peter's Church in Rome, 'La Croix lumineuse de Saint-Pierre ou l'Illumination de la Croix de carême à Saint-Pierre', c. 1783.
(École Polytechnique, Palaiseau. From Barrier, 2005, p. 67.)

Reveley's travel diary also contains passages about other Italian buildings that evoke feelings of the sublime, the Coliseum in Rome for instance:

> 'The Unity of this building is so great, that at any distance, it will produce an effect of Greatness, not to be seen in any other than large Circular or Eliptical buildings & though the particular parts are not to be seen, its general form will be so graceful as to make a strong impression on the mind, an effect only produced by beautiful forms, which must at the same time be so simple that the mind can comprehend them at one view & understand them, without the eye first wandering about in search of reasons why & wherefore; for, wherever the mind is to reason a while before it comprehends any object, the Great Effect & Strong Impression, which in Architecture are the first objects, are sure to be lost; few are the Edifices that will admit of such strict & severe criticisms, but Amphitheatres certainly will.'[105]

Then Reveley explains how the mind works in perceiving a sublime object. It is similar to Chambers' argument about the unity of colour:

> 'I have always observed that the mind is most satisfyed with objects that entirely occupy it, by leaving no vacancy; & which at the same time are so fully comprehended that time is not spent in reasoning, for the mind like the appetite must be exactly satisfied, by being neither overcharged nor in want. This rule may be deemed general as to the certainty of giving pleasure: but as to the effect of grandeur merely, a prodigious long & high wall only will always produce it & a prodigeously rich ornamented & confused fabrick will also produce the same effect particularly a profusion of Columns tho'ever so ill disposed.'[106]

In Reveley's argumentation grand buildings have to be viewed in one gaze to reach sublimity, otherwise the mind is confused. The church of St. Peter's in Rome was an example of a building that could evoke sublime feelings as Hubert Robert (1733-1808) experienced it (fig. 1.8); in Reveley's idea the first impression has to be grand, in one magnificent feeling one has to be struck by it (fig. 1.9):

105. Reveley, 'Volume...', *op. cit.*, RIBA, London, Drawings and Archives Collection, ReW/1, f. 12 recto.
106. *Ibid.*, f. 12 verso.

> 'The effect of confused grandeur may be seen in the multiplicity of columns in the colonnade of St Peters at Rome in a variety of situations. A spectator walking in the center of one of these colonnades is struck with the magnificence of four ranges of lofty columns, but as he cannot see the end on account of the curving of its course the mind feels a disappointment, & is not satisfied. A man says to himself this is very grand but I see but a small part of it, how much grander would it be if I could see it alltogether! the mind feeling always a desire to know or see all, a part of another greater object for this reason never fully satisfies the mind. This must ever be the effect of objects on the mind as far as I am able to judge.'[107]

With all these French and English ideas on the sublime in architecture, and the strong presence of the sublime in architectural thought and buildings, it is remarkable that studies refer mainly to Boullée when the sublime in architecture is at stake, as we saw in the previous section. It probably has to do with his architectural projects, but also with the way he expressed his thoughts on building in his writings. However, there is a difficulty in this limited way of seeing the architectural sublime and attributing it solely to a revolutionary architect.

This is because Boullée's sublime is that of a paper experience, and, as we will see shortly, is worlds apart from the actual architectural experience. In his theories Boullée defined the sublime as possessing the infinite, a daunting obscurity, and an overpowering scale, in which the effect on the spectator is essential.[108] In the treatment of dark and light in his monument Boullée might have realized in stone Burke's ideas on sublime light:

> 'Mere light is too common a thing to make a strong impression on the mind, and without a strong impression nothing can be sublime. [...] A quick transition from light to darkness, or from darkness to light, has yet a greater effect. [...] all edifices calculated to produce an idea of the sublime, ought rather to be dark and gloomy, [...] to make an object very striking, we should make it as different as possible from

107. *Ibid.*, f. 13 recto. Reveley gives as (bad) examples the Horse Guard at Whitehall, the front of St. Peter's and that of St. Moisé in Venice, as too ornamented and confused. The first example 'does not fill the mind, but leaves a great vacancy: & the latter because it is too complicated for the mind to comprehend at a glance, & the time necessary to consider it takes of the effect of the first impression.' f. 12 verso.
108. 'On verra un monument dans le lequel le spectateur se trouverait, comme par echantement, transporté dans les airs et porté sur des vapeurs de nuages dans l'immensité de l'espace.' Boullée, *Architecture...*, *op. cit.*, p. 138 (manuscript Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris: f. 127 verso).

> the objects with which you are immediately conversant; when therefore you enter a building, you cannot pass into greater light than you had in open air; [...] At night the contrary rule will hold, but for the very same reason; and the more highly a room is then illuminated, the grander will the passion be.'[109]

Boullée emphasized the effect of nature in his monument to Newton, in the light that shines through the holes that are pierced in the vault. His *Essai* was written in about 1794, also to explain his projects (fig. 1.10). This treatise was never published, but the text was known, and his drawings even more. Boullée was from the age of nineteen professor at the École des Ponts et Chaussées and through his teachings and drawings influenced contemporary architects.[110] But he largely drew on their ideas as well. Theories by Julien-David Le Roy and Nicolas Le Camus de Mézières were paraphrased in his *Essai*, and similar projects, for instance spherical buildings by students of the École des Beaux-Arts, like the one by Antoine-Laurent-Thomas Vaudoyer (fig. 1.11), and architects as Ledoux existed as well.[111] Boullée's architectural work that has been executed, mostly country and city houses in and around Paris, is rather unimpressive. It was only in his utopian imaginary drawings that he had an influence on his contemporaries, and his successors.

In Boullée's text about advantages of the sphere in architecture we recognize Burke's words: 'de développer à nos yeux la plus grande surface, ce qui le rend majestueux; d'avoir la forme la plus simple, beauté qui provient de ce que sa surface est sans interruption aucune; et de joindre à toutes ces qualités celle de la grâce, car le contour qui dessine ce corps est aussi doux, aussi coulant qu'il soit possible.'[112] But his theories were more influenced by scientific studies that were in his library, by Copernicus, Buffon and Newton for example, and his ideas on volumes like the sphere, the cube and the pyramid had much more to do with his conviction about how natural law could precede over antiquity. He explained how his definition of architectural character prompted him to concentrate on the essential, looking at the most

109. Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry..., op. cit.*, pp. 79-81.
110. Boullée never travelled to Italy and had a problem with Greek architecture: the temples all look alike, and have no character: 'Leurs temples ont une similitude frappante; il ont tous à peu près la même forme. Comment les hommes de génie comme les Grecs ont-ils pu négliger de manifester la poésie de l'architecture dans des monuments qui en étaient aussi susceptibles par les attributions diverses qu'ils reconnaissent dans le pouvoir de leurs divinités?' Boullée, *Architecture..., op. cit.*, p. 161 (manuscript Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris: f. 124 recto).
111. Barry Bergdoll, *Leon Vaudoyer. Historicism in the Age of Industry*, New York/Cambridge (Mass.)/London: The Architectural History Foundation/MIT Press, 1994, pp. 19-20.
112. Boullée, *Architecture..., op. cit.*, p. 64 (manuscript Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris: f. 79 recto).

figure 1.10
a. Étienne-Louis Boullée, Design for the Métropole, interior on the feast of the Fête Dieu, c. 1781.

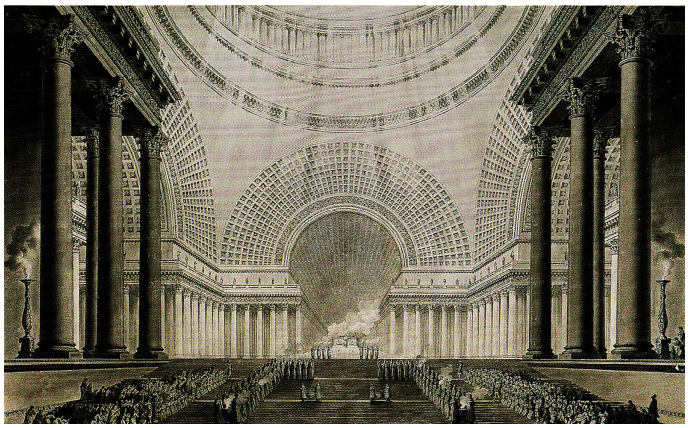
(Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Cabinet des Estampes, HA. 56,8. From Bergdoll, 2000, p. 89.)

b. Étienne-Louis Boullée, Design for the Métropole, exterior.

(Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris. From Rabreau, 2006, p. 250.)

c. Étienne-Louis Boullée, Design for a funeral monument.

(Uffizi, Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe. From Serra, *Paestum*, 1986, p. 26.)



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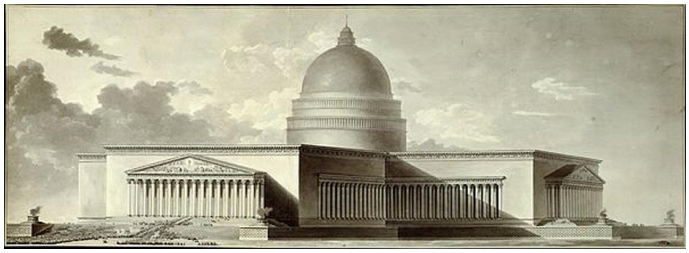

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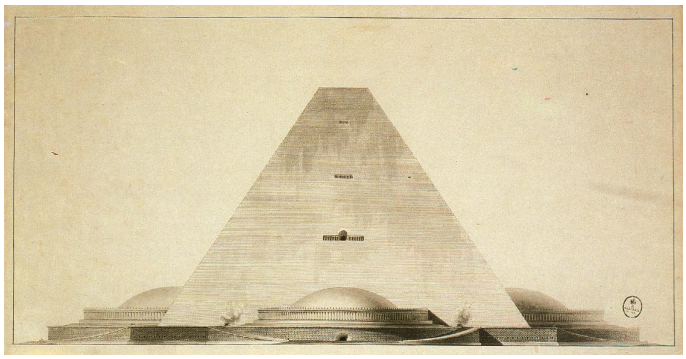

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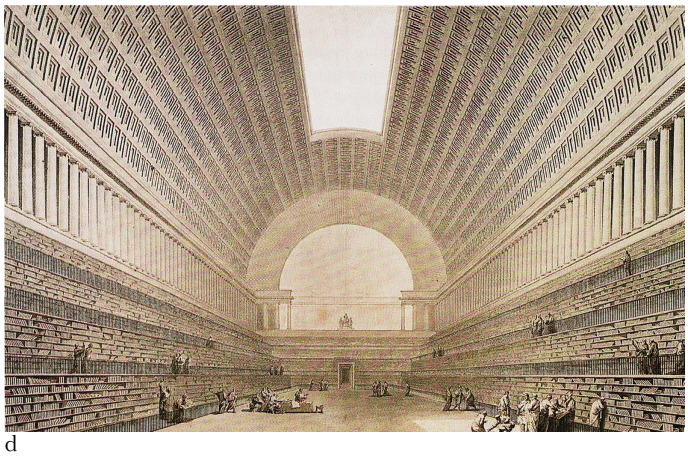

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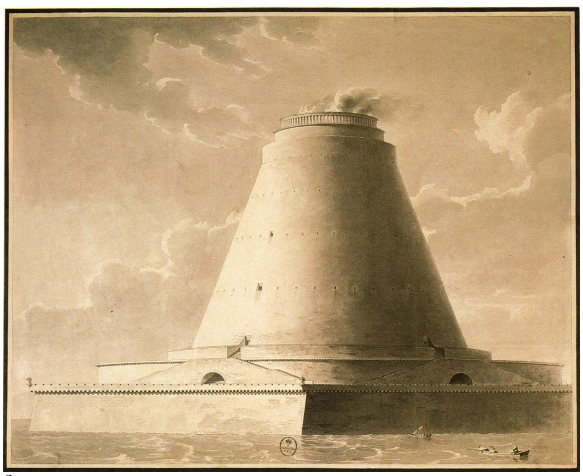

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d. Étienne-Louis Boullée, Design for the Royal Library, interior view.

(Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Cabinet des Estampes, HA. 56,36. From Bergdoll, 2000, p. 90.)

e. Étienne-Louis Boullée, Design for a museum, interior colonnade.

(Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris. From Rabreau, 2006, p. 253.)

f. Étienne-Louis Boullée, Design for a conical lighthouse.

(Uffizi, Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe. From Serra, *Paestum*, 1986, p. 27.)

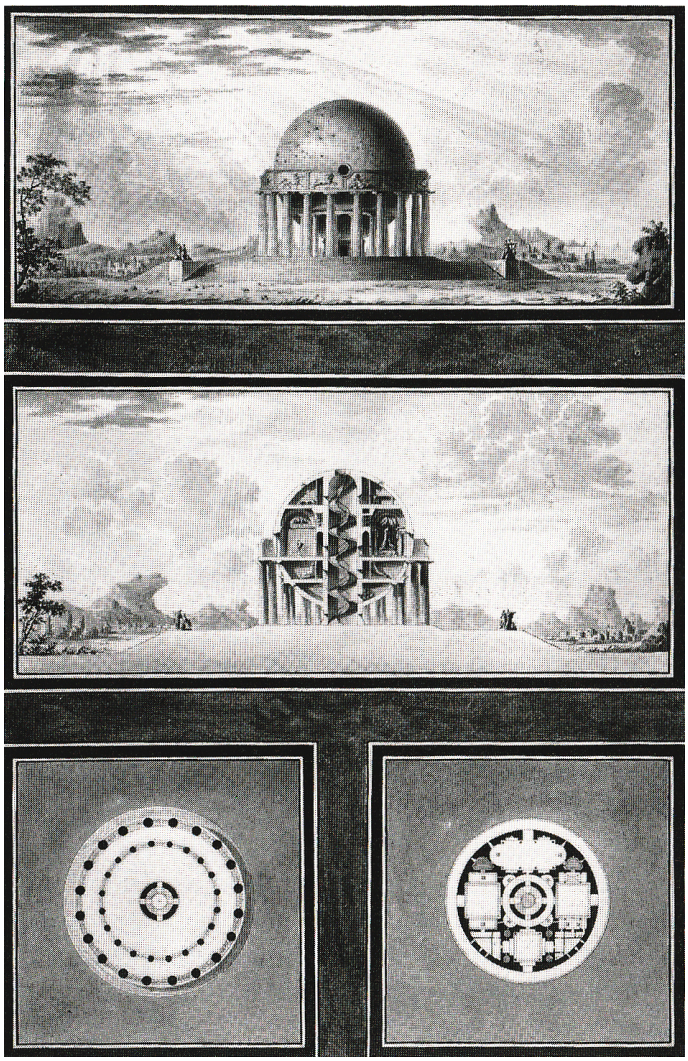


figure 1.11
Antoine-Laurent-Thomas Vaudoyer, Design for a 'Maison d'un Cosmopolite', c. 1784.

(Vaudoyer Collection, Paris. From Bergdoll, 1994, p. 29.)

simple stereometric forms nature could offer, like the sphere, to him the most perfect shape and an expression of immensity, eternity and the infinite. Nature comes in again in his concern for the seasons, and the influence these have on the impact a building makes. Monumentality, poetry and philosophy were combined in his projects, and they are of interest in his ideas of how a building can have an effect on the spectator: 'Le premier sentiment que nous éprouvons alors vient évidemment de la manière dont l'objet nous affecte.'[113]

Interesting as his thoughts might be, we can discern already the difficulty in these projects and theories. Boullée's buildings are utopian projects aimed to create sublime effects, but the reality of viewing buildings with a sublime eye is different. They might aim to speak about an experience in architecture, but it is a fictional one, expressed in a few two-dimensional drawings. The real experience of being at a site, walking through it, feeling and sensing the architectural space is different. And as we have seen in Burke's text, and as we will see in Goethe's, Vaudoyer's and Turner's accounts of Paestum, it is about actual physical experience, not about experience of viewing something on a paper. As Burke said, paintings - or drawings for that matter - can never excite the passions. Paestum will make clear the essentiality of this experience for architectural thought.

Thus, although some studies have appeared on the sublime and the arts, the relationship of the sublime and architecture is a neglected field.[114] And, in existing studies where the sublime in architecture is mentioned a very limited image emerges, based mainly on vastness in the unexecuted designs of Boullée or on some buildings that remind scholars of Burke's words. As

113. Subsequently, Boullée defines caractère as: 'l'effet qui résulte de cet objet et cause en nous une impression quelconque.' More specifically applied to architecture this means: 'Mettre du caractère dans un ouvrage, c'est employer avec justesse tous les moyens propres à ne nous faire éprouver d'autres sensations que celles qui doivent résulter du sujet.' This character is best explained using sensations that nature produces in the mind of the spectator. In describing these feelings, Boullée uses expressions of the sublime: 'les transports de notre admiration sont sans bornes. [...] Quel bonheur pur ce spectacle répand au fond de nos cœurs! Quel ravissement il cause en nous! Non, il n'est pas possible de l'exprimer.' *Ibid.*, p. 73 (manuscript Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris: f. 84).
114. There are some interesting studies that analyse an artwork with the sublime as key concept, for example paintings by Poussin (in his depiction of different weather conditions that destabilise): Nau, *op. cit.*, or by Barnett Newman: Renée van de Vall, *Een subliem gevoel van plaats. Een filosofische interpretatie van het werk van Barnett Newman*, Groningen: Historische Uitgeverij, 1994. There are few studies on (specific aspects of) the sublime in seventeenth century architecture: Ploeg, *Staged Experiences...*, *op cit.*; Ploeg, 'Staged experiences...', *op. cit.*; Van Eck, 'Longinus' Essay..., *op. cit*. Caroline van Eck, *Inigo Jones on Stonehenge. Architectural Representation, Memory and Narrative*, Amsterdam: Architectura & Natura, 2009, discusses it briefly. For the eighteenth century, but mainly an analysis of Piranesi's ideas: Laroque, *Le Discours de Piranèse...*, *op. cit.*; For landscape an the sublime: Baldine Saint Girons, 'Le paysage et la question du sublime', in: Crystèle Burgard, Baldine Saint Girons, Marie-Ceciello-Bachy (et al.), *Le paysage et la question du sublime*, Paris/Lyon: Réunion des musées nationaux/ARAC, 1997, pp. 75-118.

we have seen above, other writings by eighteenth-century architects, like Blondel, Le Camus de Mézières, Chambers and Reveley, and writers like Addison, offer a far broader and more complex prospect. They make clear that mere size does not suffice, that many other aspects are needed to create the sublime. Above all, they make clear that the sublime in architecture is about experiencing buildings in reality, and not about an imaginary fantasy. Secondly, they demonstrate that this real experience tells us about the relation between the object and the spectator, and that this relationship takes shape in the mind of the spectator. Moreover, the Paestum accounts will enable us to reconsider the architectural sublime still further. These accounts offer a much more diverse picture of the elements that constitute the sublime, that next to vastness and infinity, is excited by mystery, fear, danger, warmth, ruggedness, elements that have as much to do with the architecture of the site as with travelling towards it, and the scenery surrounding the buildings.

To analyse eighteenth-century Paestum accounts in the light of sublime theories, we will now consider them, following the themes that come up in Longinus, Boileau and Burke: astonishment, je ne sais quoi, grandeur, paradox, character and masculinity. Finally a section will examine how the sublime continued in early nineteenth-century Paestum reactions. As a result these analyses will provide us with a clear case of architectural experience and the sublime, with which we can present a redefinition of the sublime in architectural thought. This will shed an important light on the main theme of the thesis, the change in appreciation of Paestum, and the role of experience in it.

Astonishment and *je ne sais quoi*: Dupaty and Tatham at Paestum

Astonishment, which appeared already in Longinus and Boileau as part of the sublime, is explained by Burke in his *Enquiry* as 'the effect of the sublime in the highest degree'. The 'inferior effects' of the sublime are admiration, reverence and respect; only astonishment 'hurries us on by an irresistible force'.[115] In another passage Burke changed admiration into awe, when he wrote about the three subordinate degrees of the sublime 'which by the

115. Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry...*, *op. cit.*, p. 57: 'astonishment is the state of the soul, in which all its motions are suspended, with some degree of horror. in this case the mind is so entirely filled with its object, that it cannot entertain any other, nor by consequence reason on that object which employs it.'

very etymology of the words shew from what source they are derived, and how they stand distinguished from positive pleasure'.[116] As we saw before, some degree of horror is needed to feel completely astonished, in a way that the mind of the spectator is entirely occupied by this passion or emotion.[117] In combining the sublime with feelings of fear and terror, Burke argued that: 'do not the french *etonnement*, and the english *astonishment* and *amazement*, point out as clearly the kindred emotions which attend fear and wonder?'[118] Stressing the difference between the beautiful and the sublime, he adds an important aspect: that of modification, when he repeats the basis for the great is terror, 'which, when it is modified causes that emotion in the mind, which I have called astonishment; the beautiful is founded on mere positive pleasure, and excites in the soul that feeling, which is called love.'[119] In the accounts on Paestum we can both find the Longinian astonishment of being in awe, and the Burkean astonishment combined with horror.

A travel account, written in 1785, can illustrate these different levels of a sublime experience in Paestum. The French magistrate and politician Charles Dupaty (1746-1788) writes about: 'un si horrible désert'.[120] He asks himself how the Greek builders could have constructed such massive and rough buildings, which reminds one of Burke's passage on Stonehenge: 'Comment donc des Sybarites on-ils imaginé et mis debout des colonnes d'un nombre si prodigieux, d'une matière si vile, d'un travail si brut, d'une masse si lourde et d'une forme si monotone?'[121] It also emphasizes that the fact that the temples were ancient and man-made caused sublime reflections. Despite all these negative elements Dupaty did find some beauty in the temples: 'Cependant il faut convenir que, malgré leur rusticité, ces temples offrent des beautés: ils offrent du moins la simplicité, l'unité, l'ensemble, qui sont les premières des beautés: l'imagination peut supléer presque toutes les autres, elle ne peut supléer celles-ci.'[122] The experience is further enhanced by characteristics of the site that have little to do with architecture, but all the more with the circumstances of being at the spot. These sensations work together in constructing the

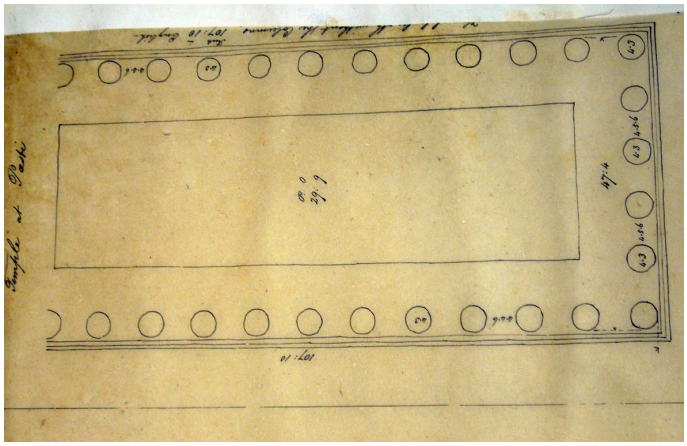
116. *Ibid.*, p. 134.
117. *Ibid.*, p. 57.
118. *Ibid.*, p. 58.
119. *Ibid.*, pp. 157-158.
120. Charles-Marguerite-Jean-Baptiste Mercier Dupaty, *Lettres sur l'Italie en 1785*, 2 vols., Paris: De Senne, 1788, vol. 2, p. 195. On Dupaty see: Jean L. Prouteau, *Charles Dupaty: un magistrat-philosophe du Siècle des Lumières*, La Rochelle: J.-L. Prouteau, 1989; *Studies on Voltaire and the eighteenth century*, vol. 230, Oxford: the Voltaire foundation; Paris: J. Touzot, 1985.
121. Dupaty, *Lettres..., op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 196.
122. *Ibid.*, p. 197.

overall impression that Paestum left in the mind of the beholder: a paradoxical but fascinating sentiment.

> 'Quel dommage qu'il faille si-tôt quitter ces lieux [...] Mais la chaleur est extrême; il n'y a d'abri nulle part. Je voudrois pourtant bien recueiller et remporter dans mon cœur toutes les sensations que je viens d'éprouver. - Qu'on me laisse puiser encore, dans cette solitude, dans ce désert, dans ces ruines, je ne sais quelle horreur, qui me charme.'[123]

The solitude Dupaty feels in the vastness of the plain in which the temples are situated, the impressiveness of the deserted ruins, make him turn to the sublime. In 'je ne sais quelle horreur', Dupaty connects the sublime with the concept of 'je ne sais quoi'. The expression 'je ne sais quoi' was introduced in Dominique Bouhours' *Les entretiens d'Ariste et d'Eugène* (1671): le génie [...] est indépendant du hasard et de la fortune, c'est un don du ciel, où la terre n'a point de part; c'est je ne sais quoi de divin.'[124] In his text Bouhours connected it already with the sublime style, to express the inexpressible. René Rapin did the same in his *Les comparaisons des grands hommes de l'antiquité qui ont le plus excellé dans les belles-lettres* (1684), in the course of comparing Homer and Virgil, he stated that Homer 'a un plan bien plus vaste et de plus nobles manières que Virgile, qu'il a une plus grande étendue de caractère, qu'il a un air plus grand et je ne sais quoi de sublime, qu'il peint beaucoup mieux les choses; que ses images mêmes sont plus achevées.'[125] Boileau was the first in his *Traité* to divide the sublime and the sublime style in explaining Longinus: 'Il faut donc savoir que, par sublime, Longin n'entend pas ce que les orateurs appellent le style sublime, mais cet extraordinaire et ce merveilleux qui frappe dans le discours, et qui fait qu'un ouvrage enlève, ravit, transporte. Le style sublime veut toujours de grands mots.'[126] And he emphasized that the sublime was not explainable, but was in fact something that could only be felt. Because the architecture of Paestum was difficult to understand and did not relate to classical architecture travellers were familiar with, they referred to the unexplainable. Burke mentioned the unexplainable in another connotation,

123. British edition of 1788: 'Letter XCVI written on the pediment of a temple at Poestum', Charles-Marguerite-Jean-Baptiste Mercier Dupaty, *Sentimental Letters on Italy; written in French by president Dupaty, in 1785. published at Rome in 1788, and translated the same year by J. Povoleri, at Paris.*, vol. II, London: J. Crowder, 1789, pp. 139-143. Dupaty, *Lettres..., op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 199.
124. Quoted in Litman, *op. cit.*, note 115, 24.
125. *Ibid.*, note 115, 32.
126. Boileau in his preface, in Boileau Despreaux, *op. cit.*, p. 70.



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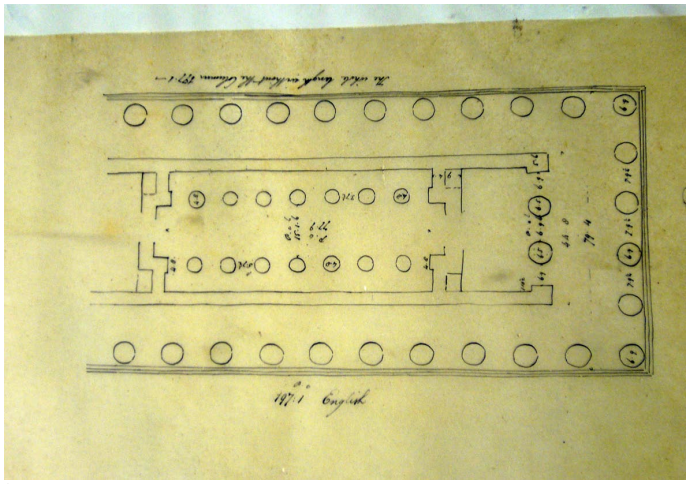

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figure 1.12
a. Charles Heathcote Tatham, Plan of the Temple of Ceres, c. 1793.

(Victoria & Albert Museum, London, Prints and Drawings Collection, 93.G.8.)

b. Charles Heathcote Tatham, Plan of the Temple of Neptune, c. 1793.

(Victoria & Albert Museum, London, Prints and Drawings Collection, 93.G.8.)

namely in section xxii of the third part on beauty, when talking about gracefulness, which he compares to beauty, and defines as roundness, and delicacy of attitude and emotion, 'it is that all the magic of grace consists, and what is called its *je ne sais quoi*'.[127]

Perceiving something beyond one's grasp also founds its expression in the account of the British architect Charles Heathcote Tatham, who went to Paestum in 1795.[128] Although the only images that remain are some measured drawings (fig. 1.12), Tatham's account is a passionate text expressings his feelings.[129] For Tatham the sublime provided the perfect framework to put his sensations into words. His account shows a similarity to Longinus' ideas. First in making use of the contrast between darkness and light in describing how the light struck the temples from above upon their arrival: 'We were overtaken by a storm. It was in the month of January. We weathered it with difficulty the horizon however cleared as if on purpose to salute my eye with the most perfect coup d'oeul of sublime effect.' Further he writes how his sudden astonishment of the sight of Paestum's scenery lifted him from his carriage: 'We found ourselves within a short distance of the Temples, about which buffaloes were feeding, with a fine background of blue sky, the blue sea on the left and the Appenines on the right. I arose from my seat & exclaimed Dio mio!.' The next step, in moving towards the temples made him reflect on how the Greeks were able to produce the sublime, by using vastness and infinity that transports the spectator. When he reaches the temples, Tatham writes:

> 'After alighting & approaching the Temples, my mind became so much expanded from the contemplation of Columns of such grand dimensions that I received an impression I have never forgotten. The Greeks were a wonderful people. They knew too well how simplicity with vastness & continuousness produced sublimity. How

127. Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry..., op. cit.*, p. 119.
128. Pearce and Salmon, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-92, (p. 86: Paestum). 'After a residence of three weeks during which I once only went to the Theatre of San Carlo the finest in the world, I engaged a Vetturino for Paestum with the Master of the Hotel for my Compagnon de Voyage who turned out an excellent English hearted fellow. We passed the first night in awretched Inn & laid down in our cloathes & pistols by our sides. There was a uncouth set of people within the wells who did not inspire me with much confidence. We remained safely, & slept ay intervals amidst noise & confusion, & started early in the morning in quest of the Temples.' Other studies on Tatham include: David Udy, 'The Neo-Classicism of Charles Heathcote Tatham', *The Connoisseur*, 177 (1971) 714, pp. 269-276; Frank Salmon, 'Charles Heathcote Tatham and the Accademia di S. Luca, Rome, *The Burlington Magazine*, 140 (1998) 1139, pp. 85-92.
129. The Sir John Soane's Museum in London holds a measured drawing of the Neptune temple by Tatham, in Charles Heathcote Tatham, *Italian drawings*, Vol 109.

> calculated are the Fine Arts to elevate the soul when reflected through a pure medium!'[130]

The elevation of the mind and the soul, the vastness which produces the sublime, and the whole journey that worked like an overture to produce these feelings, call to mind *Peri Hupsous*. These elements in Dupaty's and Tatham's writings tell us about the most basic sensations of the sublime, of astonishment, inexpressibility and elevation, that were produced in viewing the site. As we have seen before, the sublime consisted apart from that also of feelings of grandeur that transport the viewer, but furthermore of more complex feelings, paradoxical experiences that can be defined by applying the sublime. These will be analysed in the next section.

From the grandeur to the paradox in the sublime

Just as in Longinus' and Boileau's writings, the word grandeur is often used by Burke, partly as a synonym for the sublime, but also as part of the definition of the sublime. In the sections in which he writes on architecture, the term grandeur appears in several phrases, in relation to magnificence for instance, which he considers a source of the sublime, and to light, and to colour as productive of the sublime. Burke also uses it when he discusses smell and taste. In a section on the effects of succession, when writing about how the eye perceives architecture, Burke explains that to produce a perfect grandeur there should be a perfect simplicity, an absolute uniformity in disposition, shape and colouring. Then he compares the observation of a bare wall to the observation of a colonnade. 'When we look at a naked wall, from the evenness of the object, the eye runs along its whole space, and arrives quickly at its termination; the eye meets nothing which may interrupt its progress; but then it meets nothing which may detain it a proper time to produce a very great and lasting effect.'[131] The difference is that in perceiving a bare wall, a feeling of grandeur may only take one instant, and the impression is thus less intense because it does not provide a repetition of impressions. The colonnade is perceived as such:

> 'let us set before our eyes a colonnade of uniform pillars planted in a right line; let us

130. Pearce and Salmon, *op. cit.*, p. 86.
131. In section xiii of the fourth part of his book, Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry...*, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

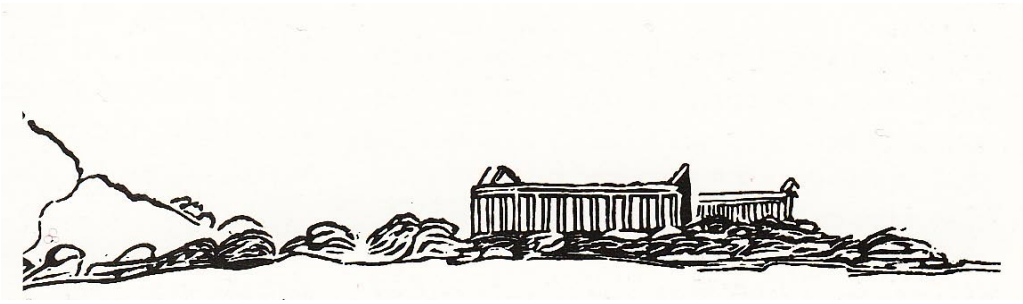


figure 1.13
John Flaxman, Sketch of the temples at Paestum, 1788.
(From Romney, 1830, p. 205.)

> take our stand, in such a manner, that the eye may shoot along this colonnade, for it has its best effect in this view. In our present situation it is plain, that the rays from the first round pillar will cause in the eye a vibration of that species; an image of the pillar itself. The pillar immediately succeeding increasing it; that which follows renews and enforces the impression; each in its order as it succeeds, repeats impulse after impulse, and stroke after stroke, until the eye long exercised in one particular way cannot lose that object immediately; and being violently roused by this continued agitation, it presents the mind with a grand or sublime conception.'[132]

In the descriptions of Paestum the term 'grandeur' is regularly used as well. British travel-writer Henry Swinburne (1743-1803) applied it in relation to the temple of Neptune, defining it as an important characteristic that would produce the sublime:

> 'This is one of the noblest monuments of antiquity we have left; though built in a style few modern architects will adopt, it may perhaps serve to inspire them with sublime ideas, and convince them how necessary to true grandeur in architecture are simplicity of plan, solidity in proportions, and greatness of the component members; they may perhaps discover that a profusion of ornaments rather diminishes the general effect of a large building than adds to its real dignity.'[133]

The simplicity of the temples, having no ornament but merely consisting of the main architectural parts, and their sheer size contributed to their grandness. The text is of interest because Swinburne recommends, in a sense, the use of similar stylistic means as Paestum's temples to achieve grandeur in contemporary buildings.

The grand simplicity of the temples was also to the British sculptor and illustrator John Flaxman (1755-1826) in 1788 (fig. 1.13), a feature that created the sublime: 'I have been at Pœstum and seen the three fine temples of the ancient Doric order in that city; they are in better preservation than any ancient temple in Rome, except the Pantheon. The idea of each of these buildings is so simple, the larger parts so truly great, the small members done with

132. *Ibid.*, p. 139.
133. Henry Swinburne, *Travels in the Two Sicilies, In the years 1777, 1778, 1779 and 1780*, 2 vols., London: s.n., 1783-1785, vol. II, pp. 136-137 (on Paestum Section XVIII, pp. 131-139: 'Journey to Paestum').

so much feeling and delicacy that my mind was filled with the sublime of architecture.'[134]
In another letter by Flaxman the uniqueness of Paestum becomes manifest, only there the elevated feelings were produced by the effect the buildings had on its beholder:

> I have seen Pomp[eji] & the remains of the Ancient Greek City of Pœstum, you [find] remains here are 3 Temples intire all but the roofs, a [w]all round the City about 2 miles & a half in circumf[erence] with it's towers over one of the gates is carved (the snow scarce visible) a Syren the Symbol of that part of Italy. Here are the traces of streets & square tombs still visible with some of the foundations of a Music Theatre. The Temples are of the earliest Doric order the Columns thick fluted & without bases the simple greatness of their effect [...] elevated & delighted my mind more than all the other Architecture I have seen in Italy, which have been raised under the auspices of Roman taste & perfected in the elegance of Imperial corruption, from the top of Vesuvius (where my Nancy was with me as well as in all my other excursions) I saw the bay of Naples whose shore was formerly lined with Greek colonies, all of whose Cities (dismal remembrance) are either destroyed by the lava of the Mountain or thrown down by barbarians'.[135]

Even if visitors do not always literally use the term sublime, they do make use of the concept in stating their astonishment, elevation or evoking the grandeur of the buildings or calling them 'lofty temples' as Patrick Brydone did in 1771, echoing William Smith's translation of Longinus, who used the words lofty and grand as synonyms for the sublime.[136]

The grandeur of the temples was also seen in their solidness and massiveness, to be found in the writings of the picturesque theorist Sir Uvedale Price (1747-1829) also utilized the term

134. John Flaxman, 'Letter to George Romney, Rome, 25 May 1788', in: John Romney, *Memoirs of the life and the works of George Romney...*, London: s.n., 1830, pp. 204-207.
135. John Flaxman letter to William Hayley, Rome July 17th 1788, British Library, London, Manuscripts, MS Add 39780, f. 44 recto.
136. Brydone presents Paestum, falsely, as not having been visible before its discovery: 'the discovery of Pestum, a Grecian city, that had not been heard of for many ages; till of late some of its lofty temples were seen, peeping over the tops of the woods; upbraiding mankind for their shameful neglect; and calling upon them to bring it once more to light. According curiosity, and the hopes of gain, a still more powerfull motive, soon opened a passage, and exposed to view these valuable and respectable relics.' Patrick Brydone, *A tour through Sicily and Malta in a series of letters to William Beckford*, third edition, 2 vols., London: W. Strahan & T. Cadell, 1775, vol. 1, pp. 46-47. William Smith, *Dionysius Longinus On the Sublime: Translated ... with notes and observations, and some account of the life and writings and character of the author. By William Smith*, London: J. Watts/W. Innys & R. Manby, 1739.

sublime, referring to the mystery of the site. Price, who never went to Paestum, did mention it twice, but not exactly in this respect:

> 'Among the various remains of antient [sic] temples, none, perhaps, have so grand an effect as the old Doric temples in Sicily, and at Pæstum; though, from their general look of massiness, and from the columns being without bases, none are more opposite to what are usually considered as light buildings; but may it not be doubted, whether the giving of bases to those columns, and consequently a greater degree of lightness and airiness to the whole, might not proportionally diminish that solid, massive grandeur, which is so striking to every eye?'[137]

Although written in a theory on the picturesque, his reference to Paestum, and mostly to its impressive solid and massive grandeur, brings to mind more the sublime than the picturesque.[138] When Lauder published Price's *Essay* he referred to the mystery of the buildings on the site, suggesting a connection between the sublime and Paestum in Price's theories: 'what [...] can be more sublime than the Paestan temples, the very origins of which can only be guessed at.'[139] It may seem rather strange for someone who never visited the site (Price only went as far as Rome on his Italian travels in 1767-1768) to ascribe sublime sensations to the temples. For one would think that these reactions could only appear at the spot. But if we read his comments thoroughly it appears that his reactions are more scholarly than the ones by travellers to Paestum. They are clearly based on the experiences described in the publications, around 1800 widely available to every educated reader. The solid and massive grandeur is a returning feature in these accounts, as is the mystery connected to the origin of Paestum and its unfamiliar architecture.

As contrasts to Paestum, Price used Athenian architecture, which he labelled as beautiful. The Monument of Lysicrates and the Tower of the Winds in Athens he called picturesque.[140]

137. Sir Uvedale Price, 'On Architecture and Buildings', in: Sir Uvedale Price, *Sir Uvedale Price on the Picturesque: with an essay On the origin of taste, and much original matter, by Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, bart., and sixty illustrations, designed and drawn on the wood by Montagu Stanley, R. S. A.*, Edinburgh/London: Caldwell, Lloyd and Co./Wm. S. Orr and Co., 1842, p. 341. In his notes Price wrote: 'those which from their size and character are of acknowledged grandeur- such as the vast and massy structures of Pœstum and Selinus.' p. 579. Sir Uvedale Price, *Essays on the Picturesque, as Compared with the Sublime and the Beautiful, and, on the Use of studying Pictures, for the Purpose of Improving Real Landscape*, s.l.: Mawman, 1810, vol II, pp. 203-204.
138. For more on Price and the picturesque see the second chapter of this thesis.
139. Price, *Sir Uvedale Price n the Picturesque..., op. cit.*, pp. 82-83 and 341.
140. Price, 'On Architecture and Buildings', in: *Ibid.*, pp. 360; 396.

Price's theories, although on the picturesque, contain also many references to the sublime, often to oppose both concepts. In a reaction to Burke's writings, Price adds to Burke's definition of sublime architecture as succession and uniformity combined with vastness other opposite elements that can cause sublime, stressing the paradoxes that are united in the concept.

> 'With respect to the sublime in buildings, Mr. Burke, without entering into a minute detail, has pointed out its most efficient causes; two of which are succession, and uniformity. These he explains and exemplifies by the appearance of the ancient heathen temples, which, he observes, were generally oblong forms, with a range of uniform pilasters on every side; and, he adds, that from the same causes, may also be derived the grand effects of the aisles in many of our own Cathedrals. But although succession and uniformity, when united to greatness of dimension, are among the most efficient causes of grandeur in buildings, yet causes of a very opposite nature (though still upon one general principle) often tend to produce the same effects. These are, the accumulation of unequal, and, at least apparently, irregular forms, and the intricacy of their disposition. The forms and the disposition of some of the old castles built on eminences, fully illustrate what I have just advanced: the different outworks and massive gateways; towers rising behind towers; the main body perhaps rising higher than them all, and on one side descending in one immense solid wall quite down to the level below – all impress grand and awful ideas.'[141]

Price explains the role of intricacy in the sublime, although, according to him, this aspect actually belongs to the picturesque, Price characterizes the sublime by roughness and abruptness:

> 'When suspense and uncertainty are produced by the abrupt intricacy of objects divested of grandeur, they are merely amusing to the mind, and their effect simply

141. *Ibid.*, pp. 338-339; p. 341: 'If, again, we consider modern building, no mansion of regular, finished, ornamental architecture that I have yet seen, has, from such a number of different points, so grand an appearance as Blenheim; and never was the reproach of heaviness so unceasingly applied to any building. It would hardly be supposed that the *heaviness* of Blenheim would ever have been mentioned as a compliment to the noble owner; yet I remember an instance of it. The conversation happened to turn upon the immense weight that an egg would support if pressed exactly in a perpendicular direction; - no weight, they said, would break it. A person who was sitting at some distance from the Duke of Marlborough, called out to him, "My Lord Duke! if they were to put Blenheim upon it [...] I believe it would crush the egg." How far the heaviness of the ancient temples or of the modern palace might be diminished, without diminution of their grandeur, may be a question; but I believe it is very clear, that after a certain point, as they gained more in lightness, they would become less majestic, and, beyond that again, less beautiful.'

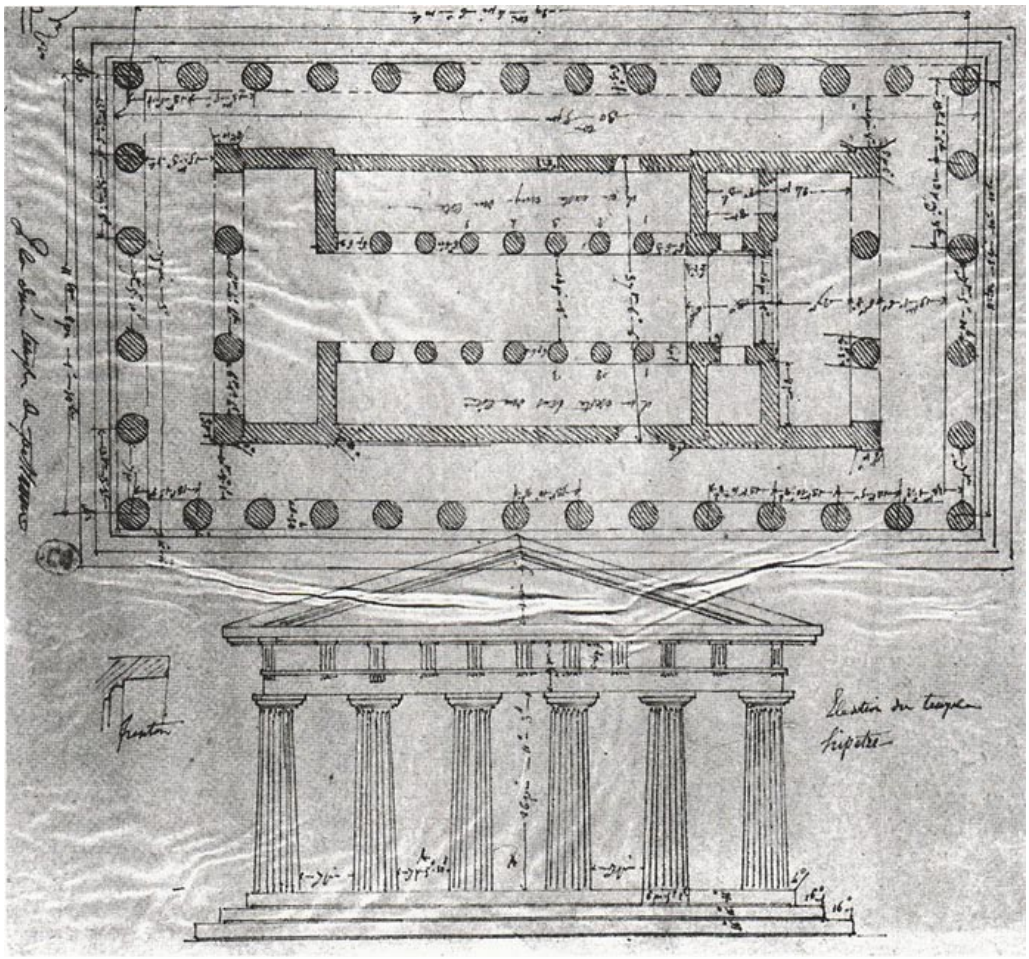


figure 1.14
Pierre-Louis Moreau, Plan and elevation of the Temple of Neptune, 1757.

(Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Cabinet des Estampes, Vb 123 fol.)

picturesque. But where the objects are such as are capable of inspiring awe or terror, there suspense and uncertainty are powerful causes of the sublime; and intricacy may, by those means, create no less grand effects than uniformity and succession.'[142]

These ideas make a specific use of the sublime in a Paestum account more lucid. It is a particular case of the sublime used in relation to Paestum in the travel account of the French architect Pierre-Louis Moreau (1727-1794) (fig. 1.14). In the descriptions of his expedition to Paestum in 1757, the recurrent use of the word grandeur is noteworthy.[143] In two pages, he applies the expression grandeur four times to the site. Moreau describes 'la plaine d'un grandeur fort considerable.' Later he says: 'La grandeur de cette malheureuse ville était considerable.'[144] Moreau writes also that 'l'ordre dorique est employé à tous les trois [temples] dans toute la sévérité et la grandeur de style qu'eux seuls ont pratiquées.'[145]

Moreau gives with his 'journal intime' an interesting insight in the different stages of experiencing Paestum: the dangers and fatigues of travelling, and the first reflections on the temples, when there were not yet any publications available. It also makes clear how in a sublime experience the architecture is only one part. The buildings in Paestum are perceived as sublime, but there are many other elements that create this experience. After Jacques Germain Soufflot in his lecture of 1752, Moreau was the first architect to write about the temples. These experiences took place before the publication of Burke had appeared. Throughout the eighteenth century, Paestum continued to be associated with mystery, vastness, the curiosity of rediscovery, the adventure of travelling. But the aesthetic theories by Burke, and the different editions of Longinus gave travellers a mode of expressing their experiences in a more specific way. It is remarkable that in his use of the word grandeur, and in the rest of his description, Moreau often brings up paradoxical sensations. When we compare Moreau's reactions in

142. Price gives the example of an avenue of lofty trees: 'Mr. Burke observes, that the sublime in building requires solidity, and even massiness; and, in my idea, no single cause acts so powerfully, and can so little be dispensed with as massiness; but as massiness is so nearly allied to heaviness, it is – in this age especially – by no means a popular quality; for in whatever regards the mind itself, or the works that proceed from it, he reproach of heaviness is, of all others, the least patiently endured. It is a reproach, however, that has been made to some of the most striking buildings, both ancient and modern.' *Ibid.*, p. 340.
143. On Moreau: *Le Voyage d'Italie..., op. cit.*; Sophie Descat, *Deux architectes-urbanistes dans l'Europe des Lumières: Pierre-Louis Moreau et George Dance à Paris et à Londres (1763-1815)*, unpublished PhD thesis, Paris: Sorbonne, 2000.
144. Moreau, 'Nottes sur mon Voyage', *op. cit.*, Ms 98, f. 46 recto; see also *Le Voyage d'Italie..., op. cit.*, p. 126.
145. Moreau, 'Nottes sur mon Voyage', *op. cit.*, Ms 98, f. 46 verso; *Le Voyage d'Italie..., op. cit.*, p. 127. Dumont speaks in his publication on Paestum about: 'l'empêche de s'élever à ce point de sublime & de grandeur qui caractérisa la maniere de faire des anciens architectes'. Dumont, *Les Ruines de Pæstum..., op. cit.*, p. 11.

Tivoli to those in Paestum, it becomes clear that he saw Tivoli in terms of the beautiful and the picturesque, rather than the sublime. He describes the cascade and notes that:

> 'C'est un des spectacles les plus agréables que j'aie vu de ma vie. Les peintres en font leur délice et véritablement il n'y a rien de si pittoresque que les effets singuliers de cette cascade [...]. Les rochers et le paysage qui couvrent toute cette côte sont des objets capables de former les meilleurs peintres de ce genre.'

Moreau travelled to Tivoli before he went to Naples and Paestum, and in viewing the scenery of the Tivoli waterfalls he already had sensations that might be related to the sublime: 'Rien n'est plus étonnant que la chute presque entière du fleuve dans la grande cascade et surtout la vue des effects qu'il produit au-dessous du pont. Le risque que j'y courus augmente peut-être l'étonnement que me donna ce spectacle.' The feeling of adventure enhances his experience. When he had visited the temples, Moreau mentioned in his travel diary the dangers of travelling to Paestum. At the site, Moreau is astonished by the city while at the same time he feels pity, and by the magnificence of the buildings:

> 'La vue de cette ville nous frappa d'étonnement et de pitié considérant son étendue, la magnificence des bâtiments dont on voit encore des restes et la ruine entière de la plus grande partie des édifices dont elle était ornée et dont la place est labourée ou couverte de monceaux de pierre'.[146]

This mixture of two different emotions is typical for a sublime experience. Precisely the emotions of contentment, contrast and the awareness that there seems to be a contradiction produce the sublime. Moreau's description of a mixture of astonishment and pity, of grandeur and sadness, severity and grandeur, a long difficult voyage and magnificent buildings, savages in a desert and a grand plain, illustrates this aspect of sublime experiences.[147] His experiences are more intense, profound and overwhelming just because of the paradoxical combination of two different emotions. In his notes on Tivoli, Moreau did not write about these mixed emotions. His reactions to this Roman site are clear, straightforward, and uncomplicated.

146. Moreau, 'Nottes sur mon Voyage', *op. cit.*, Ms 98, f. 46 recto; *Le Voyage d'Italie...*, *op. cit.*, p. 26.
147. 'Les seuls habitants qu'on y voit sont des pasteurs et quelques gens vêtus de peaux d'animaux qui ressemblent à des sauvages comme le lieu ressemble à un désert.' *Ibid.*, f. 46 recto.

As stated earlier, Burke's treatise had not yet appeared when Moreau wrote about his experiences. But it shows that the same combination of emotions, which did not yet have the theoretical basis that Burke would give them, were previously used in descriptions of the experience of architecture and travelling. It shows also that, when we compare these to other accounts of ancient sites, Paestum is an extraordinary case: it has precisely this combination of paradoxical elements. The dangers of travelling, the savage surroundings, the strangeness of the architecture, the vastness of its landscape, the size of the temples: these elements all contribute to the mixed emotional experience. More than any other ancient site Paestum was a source of such ambivalent feelings. And the concept of the sublime lent itself particularly well to give expression to them.

Now we have seen how astonishment, inexpressiveness and paradoxical sensations caused the sublime in Paestum, we will turn to some architects who associated the architecture of Paestum with a certain character. All these sublime elements we encountered in the past sections did not have much to do with classicism, nor did visitors draw on their knowledge of architectural theory or history. The experiences were in fact a-historical and only the sudden sensations that were evoked at the spot counted, feelings that did not make use of knowledge but were intense impressions that overwhelmed the visitors, regardless of them being an architect, a writer or a sculptor. We will focus in the next section on three architects and a poet to see how they experienced Paestum, with ideas about the character of architecture in mind.

Character and the male aspect: the observations of Vaudoyer and Reveley

The French architect Antoine-Laurent-Thomas Vaudoyer (1756-1846) had built in his mind an image of Paestum, even before even visiting the site. It was in Rome, in 1785, that he used the Paestum order in a design for a clock in the form of a tomb (fig. 1.15), previous to having seen the temples with his own eyes.[148] In a long letter to his brother-in-law Hippolyte

148. Studies on Vaudoyer include the seminal one by Bergdoll, *Leon Vaudoyer..., op. cit.*; Barry Bergdoll (et al.), *Les Vaudoyer: une dynastie d'architectes*, Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1991; *Dessins d'architectes XVIIIe et XIXe siècles; Antoine, Léon et Alfred Vaudoyer, Vente à Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 11 avril 1986*, s.l.: s.n., 1986; César Daly, 'Notices nécrologiques: MM. Vaudoyer et Baltard', *Revue de l'Architecture et des Travaux Publics*, 6 (1845-1846), pp. 547-552; p. 550: 'M. Vaudoyer avait une belle bibliothèque d'architecture où se rencontraient des hommes illustres de tous les temps et de pays très divers; il en prêtait les volumes précieux à ses élèves avec une généreuse bienveillance.'

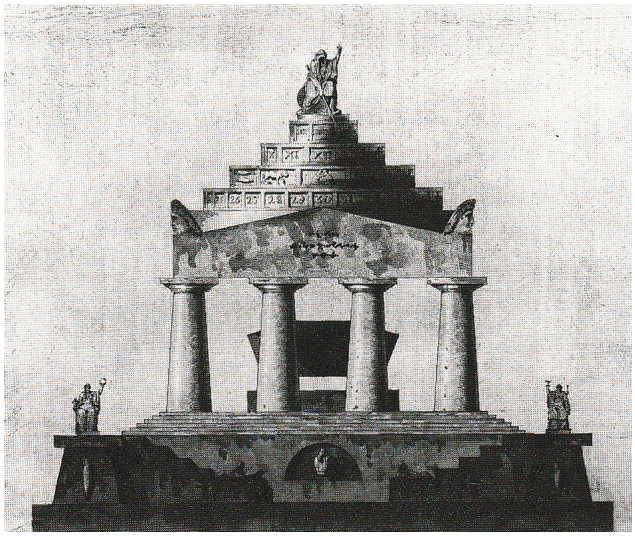


figure 1.15
Antoine-Laurent-Thomas Vaudoyer, Design for a clock in the form of a tomb, 1785.
(Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montreal. From Bergdoll, 1994, p. 30.)

figure 1.16
Antoine-Laurent-Thomas Vaudoyer, Self-portrait measuring the Theatre of Marcellus in Rome, c. 1785.
(Private collection, Paris.)

figure 1.17
Antoine-Laurent-Thomas Vaudoyer, 'Musseria ou Ferme a Pœstum' et 'Grand Temple de Pœstum' (Temple of Neptune with the Basilica in the background), 1787.
(Private collection, Paris.)

Lebas he explained why he chose this order that had a paradoxical expression: 'Le caractère et les proportions de cet ordre portent la tristesse, mais en même temps la fermeté, allusion à celle qu'on doit avoir dans les malheurs.'[149] In his description we can trace the influence of the theories expressed by Jacques-Francois Blondel on 'caractère' in his *Cours d'Architecture* (1771-1777) and of Etienne Boullée on caractère and on 'l'architecture de la tristesse' in his *Architecture: Essai sur l'art* (1794).[150] Boullée defined character in architecture as the effect of the object which makes some impression on us: 'Mettre du caractère dans un ouvrage, c'est employer avec justesse tous les moyens propres à ne nous faire éprouver d'autres sensations que celles qui doivent résulter du sujet.'[151]

Thus, when Vaudoyer visited the site in 1787, his image of Paestum was already specific. This image was based on five years of education at the Académie d'Architecture in Paris, under the guidance of Julien-David Le Roy (1724-1803) and working in the architectural office of Antoine-François Peyre (1739-1823). It was also based on reading books and journals, on studying drawings and engravings, and on debating with other architects. The picture of Paestum was further developed when Vaudoyer stayed at the Académie de France in Rome as a winner of the Prix de Rome (fig. 1.16). Not only did he encounter other architects there, who had already visited the temples, but he had also the opportunity to prepare his visit further. He bought the latest study on the temples of Paestum, by Padre Paoli, published in Rome in 1784. It was the seventh monograph to appear on Paestum in the eighteenth century.[152] In the margins of the book Vaudoyer wrote his comments. Under one of these handwritten comments he signed: *'Rome June 1786, Vaudoyer architect'*.[153] In these marginalia he emphasized that Paoli had never seen Paestum with his own eyes. Since Vaudoyer himself had not yet visited the temples, but nevertheless allowed himself to think Paoli wrong, the French architect must have discussed the subject with other architects who stayed at the Académie de France, or foreign

149. Letter by Vaudoyer to Lebas, Rome 10 August 1785, letter no. 49 in: Antoine-Laurent-Thomas Vaudoyer, *Voyage pittoresque en diverses parties de l'Italie. Extraits de lettres adressées à Paris à M. Lebas père, par A.L.T. Vaudoyer, architecte, pensionnaire du Roi à l'Académie de France à Rome, années 1786, 1787, 1788*, Private collection, Paris. Bergdoll quoted the letter in *Leon Vaudoyer..., op. cit.*, p. 32, but with an incorrect date.
150. See on caractère: Szambien, *Symétrie, goût, caractère..., op. cit*.
151. 'caractère l'effet qui résulte de cet objet et cause en nous une impression quelconque. Boullée, *Architecture..., op. cit.*, p. 73, also cited in Alice T. Friedman, 'Academic Theory and A.L.T. Vaudoyer's Dissertation sur l'architecture', *The Art Bulletin*, 67 (1985) 1, p. 118.
152. Dumont, *Suite de Plans..., op. cit.*; Morghen, *Sei Vedute..., op. cit.*; [Longfield,] *The Ruins of Pæstum..., op. cit.*; Major, *The Ruins..., op. cit.* and *Les Ruines...op. cit*; Dumont, *Les Ruines..., op. cit.*; Piranesi, *Différentes vues..., op. cit.*; Paoli, *Paesti..., op. cit.*; Delagardette, *Les Ruines..., op. cit.*.
153. 'a Roma gunio 1786 Vaudoyer architetto' in: Paoli, *Paesti..., op. cit.*, in the library collection of the Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art, Paris.

architects and travellers who were in Rome at the time, and who had observed the architecture of Paestum themselves.[154]

With an apparently rich image in his mind, Vaudoyer went to visit Paestum in the summer of 1787 (fig. 1.17). But despite the mental picture he had created of it through drawings, engravings, texts and conversations, his great expectations were not fulfilled. When first confronted with the temples, Vaudoyer found them to be more coarse and rough than the anticipation based on his prior knowledge had led him to expect: 'Toute cette architecture est, en général, d'un caractère très lourd et très pesant; les colonnes sont courtes, très serrées, de gros chapiteaux, pas de base; le pied pose sur trois gros gradins; l'Entablement est très fort et très saillant'.[155]

Here we come across a problem that was quite accurately formulated by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, who visited Paestum on 23 March 1787 with the painter Christoph Heinrich Kniep (1755-1825) (fig. 1.18): 'Denn im architektonischen Aufriß erscheinen sie [the temples] eleganter, in perspektivischer Darstellung plumper, als sie sind, nur wenn man sich um sie her, durch sie durch bewegt, teilt man ihnen das eigentliche Leben mit; man fühlt es wieder aus ihnen heraus, welches der Baumeister beabsichtigte, ja hineinschuf.'[156] When Vaudoyer speaks about the largest temple, he makes a preconditioned comparison: 'cet effet; son aspect Mâle et imposant m'a fait beaucoup de plaisir et j'y ai trouvé, si l'on peut dire, ainsi, la forme, les grâces et finesses de l'hercule.'[157] This can be a direct influence of Vitruvius' writings, in which it was argued that 'The temples of Minerva, Mars, and Hercules will be Doric, since it is appropriate for temples to these gods to be built without dainty decoration on account of their virile strength'.[158] The comparison with the sculpture of the Roman hero Hercules, instead of referring to Greek culture, may also be connected to the transport of the impressive manly and muscular sculpture of the much talked of so-called Farnese Hercules to the Capodimonte

154. Louis Combes in 1785 (in Italy from 1782 to 1786), Pierre Bernard also in 1785 (1783-1787 in Italy), and L.A. Trouard in 1783 (1781-1785 in Italy). British architects who were in Rome at the time: Willey Reveley (1784-1788), Thomas Johnson (1785-1786), John Thomas Groves (1786), Thomas O'Brien (1786-98), see Frank Salmon, *Building on Ruins...*, *op. cit.*, p. 231.
155. Antoine-Laurent-Thomas Vaudoyer, travel diary entitled *Voyage de Rome à Poestum et tout le Royaume de Naples*, 1787, Private collection, Paris, f. 123.
156. Goethe, *op. cit.*, p. 206.
157. 'cet effet; son aspect Mâle et imposant m'a fait beaucoup de plaisir et j'y ai trouvé, si l'on peut dire, ainsi, la forme, les grâces et finesses de l'hercule.'
158. Vitruvius, *De Architectura Libri Decem*, book 1, chapter 2: 5, in: Thomas Gordon Smith, *Vitruvius on Architecture*, New York: The Monacelli Press, 2003, p. 68.

figure 1.18
Christoph Heinrich Kniep,
The temples of Paestum, 1787.

(Goethe-Museum Düsseldorf, Anton-und-Katharina-Kippenberg-Stiftung Inv.-Nr. NW 397/1960. From Andreae, 2007, p. 197.)

palace in Naples in 1787, where Vaudoyer may have seen it. Furthermore, he is not certain about the function of the buildings, two of them are temples, but 'à droite, très près du Grand Temple, on trouve une Colonnade de grande face, qui ressemble assez à un portique ou promenoir.'[159]

In short, we can say that Vaudoyer, although prepared for what he would see in Paestum, was not really able to analyse and comprehend the architecture. He took the necessary measurements of the temples and made drawings of them, but from his description of the temples in his travel journal we cannot extract an understanding of Paestum. But despite all this, it is only by actual observation that he comes close to the particular characteristics of Paestum, closer than he was before he saw the temples with his own eyes and when he based his knowledge on publications and buildings. The temple of Neptune impresses him by being large and virile, but 'l'architecture du petit temple ne le vaut pas et encore moins celle du portique.'[160]

Vaudoyer's remarks about virility, the male and grand temples, the mystery about the former function of the ruins, the adventure of travelling, the scenery of the temples, all relate to the Burkean sublime. But in the experience of his contemporary Goethe we also find aspects of the sublime, for instance in the description quoted in the opening pages of this chapter, where he argued that he had become so conditioned to a more slender style of architecture that the crowded masses of stumpy conical columns appeared offensive and even terrifying.[161] His reaction to the temples demonstrates not only the discrepancy between a previous knowledge and an observation at the spot, but also the ambivalent fascination the offensive and terrifying columns exercise, again illustrating the mixture of emotions that is particular to the sublime.

It was mainly the whole scenery of the temples and the excitement of undertaking the journey to the site that had an impact on Vaudoyer. His knowledge, so carefully constructed in the previous years, did not help him to comprehend the site, since at the spot this was not relevant anymore. The invigorating adventure, the enchanting landscape, and the peculiar architecture are clearly distinguishable in Vaudoyer's text. All three are connected with the actual perception *in situ*. The experience of being there and perceiving the temples with

159. Vaudoyer, travel diary *Voyage de Rome...*, *op. cit.*, f. 123.
160. *Ibid.*, f. 123.
161. 'Nun sind unsere Augen und durch sie unser ganzes inneres Wesen an schlankere Baukunst hinangetrieben und entschieden bestimmt, so daß uns diese stumpfen, kegelförmigen, enggedrängten Säulenmassen lästig, ja furchtbar erscheinen.' Goethe, *op. cit.*, p. 205. The account by Goethe will be treated more thoroughly in the third chapter.

his own eyes was an important condition for appreciation, but it did not necessarily lead to immediate understanding. However, when we look at his perceptions in the light of the aesthetic concept of the sublime, formulated in Burke's *A Philosophical Enquiry* the experiences of Vaudoyer become clearer. The sublime defined as allusions of power, elevation and austerity was associated in the eighteenth century with masculinity. Considered in these terms Paestum represents the sublime to Vaudoyer, who discovered that the classical ideals of beauty were not to be found in Paestum. But these were not important in the sublime. In the sublime architecture was not to be viewed in one single glance as in the classical theories, on the contrary. The vastness and infinity, so present in the sublime theories of Burke, was visible in reality in the vastness and spatiality of Paestum. Knowledge from books or engravings was not of use in this perception. The sublime enabled Vaudoyer to leave all that aside, because in his impressions these were not of importance.

When the British architect Willey Reveley wrote in the introduction to the third volume of James Stuart and Nicolas Revett's *The Antiquities of Athens* (1794) about his observations of the Greek Doric in general, he also pointed to the masculinity of Paestum:

> 'The Grecian Doric is by many indiscriminately censured for clumsiness. But those who are so ready to condemn it should first recollect, that it was applied only where the greatest dignity and strength were required. [...] To omit the bases of slender Dorics, as is done in the theatre of Marcellus at Rome, seems to be as erroneous a practice as to add them to the massy ones. Let those who prefer the later Doric indiscriminately, and entirely reject the Grecian, try whether they can, with their slender order, produce the chaste and solid grandeur of the Parthenon, or the still more masculine character of the great temple of Pesto. They will no doubt produce, with their smaller proportions, pleasing affects, but a character lighter and less impressive than in the structure above-mentioned.'[162]

In 1785 Reveley had thoroughly examined the site at Paestum (fig. 1.19), and his travel diary contains many significant observations. It shows how the dangers of travelling to the site added

162. Willey Reveley in the introduction of Stuart and Revett, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. xv. On Stuart and *The Antiquities*: David Watkin, *Athenian Stuart: pioneer of the Greek Revival*, London/Boston: Allen and Unwin, 1982; Susan Weber Soros (ed.), *James 'Athenian' Stuart, 1713-1788: The rediscovery of antiquity*, New Haven/London: Yale University Press for the Bard Graduate Center for Studies in the Decorative Arts, Design, and Culture, New York, 2006.

figure 1.19
Willey Reveley, Views of the Temple of Ceres and of the Temple of Neptune, 1785.
(Victoria & Albert Museum, London, Prints and Drawings Collection, D.446-1887 and D.140-1888.)

figure 1.20
Willey Reveley, Gate of the Oil Market, Athens, 1785.

(Victoria & Albert Museum, London, Prints and Drawings Collection, 116-1877.)

to the sublime experience:

> 'As strangers rarely go to Pœsto the people when ever any do come impose upon them as much as possible, & will bully & might murder any person if they chose it, for it is out of the way of all justice or enquiry. Therefore all travellers going should be well armed for their own safety & to secure the civility of people whose unhappy situation reduces them to a level with the beasts of the field.'[163]
> 'It is usual from hence to take guards through Appulia, especially through the wood of Bovino where Banditti frequently harbour; however our company consisting of five priests & an old woman a serjeants wife, besides ourselves, proceeded on our journey without any guards, for as the priests would not contribute to the expence Sir Rd [Richard Worsley] determined to run the risk, we had a sword a hanger 2 brace of pistols & two guns with us, which would however have been of no use, as these banditti make their attack by shooting from behind trees.'[164]

Reveley emphasizes the strength, durability, massiveness and solidity of the Greek monuments, where Burke had Stonehenge as an example. As one of the few architects in this period, Reveley also travelled to Greece (fig. 1.20). We find the same elements we saw above in the Paestum accounts in Reveley's texts, that of virility for example:

> 'There is a masculine boldness and dignity in the Grecian Doric, the grandeur of whose effect, as Sir William [Chambers] justly observes of the Roman antiquities, can scarcely be understood by those who have never seen it in execution; and which, if understood, would certainly supersede a whole magazine of such objections above. The column has no base, because its great breadth at the bottom of the shaft is sufficient to overcome the idea of its sinking into its supporting bed. The general basement is composed of three steps, not proportioned to the human step; but to

163. Reveley, 'Volume...', *op. cit.*, ReW/1, f. 171 verso.
164. *Ibid.*, f. 172 verso: '28th of Feb we set out with these priests, one of whom seemed fitter for a brothel than a church, their oddities were the only amusement as they were all very ignorant, the old woman had an ingenious way of leaning out of the caless, & watering the road without detaining us by getting out as any other person would have done, it was the only proof of her ingenuity that I saw. f. 244 inserted, 2 sheets: 'the ancient & modern poets have sung the praised of the Pœstan Roses, whose blossoms were reniewed twice a year with the richest fragrance But in the course of time the water insensibly stagnated & putrified the teritory became Marshy, & is at present the air is extreemly noxius, during the hot months & this once favoured spot is now almost a desert, these being on the scite of the ancient city only the Cathedral & Bishops palace adjoining to it, one osteria consisting of one room above for the residence of the family & a stable under it, & about 6 or 8 cottages of the most mean & miserable description'.

> the diameter of the columns it supports, and forms one single feature extending through the whole length of the temple, and of strength and consequence sufficient to give stability and breadth to the mass above it. The columns rise with considerable diminution in the most graceful, sweeping lines, and, from the top of the shaft, project a capital of a style at once bold, massive, and simple.'[165]

The masculinity of the temples impressed Reveley, and he admired their simple grandeur. It did not terrify him, as it did a French architect, Pierre-Adrien Pâris.

The reactions of Pâris, who visited Paestum in 1771, also show the value of being actually present at the site. In his words too we can find elements of a sublime aesthetics when confronted with the temples in 1771: 'On voit dans les ruines de Pestum ou Posidonia, trois temples dont un surtout est assés bien conservé. Je ne connois rien d'aussi terrible, d'aussi imposant, ni d'aussi caracterisé que ces temples.'[166] Again we find the ambivalent combination of feelings proper to the sublime, only achievable by perceiving the object with your own eyes. The use of the word terrible would also to be found in the theories of Jacques-François Blondel in his *Cours d'Architecture*, in which he writes about 'Ce qu'on doit entendre par une Architecture terrible'.[167] Pâris was a student of Blondel, and had one of the largest collections of books among Parisian architects, among which a copy of Burke.

In Blondel's *Cours d'Architecture* virile architecture is described in an article were he speaks about 'De la difference qu'il y a entre le caractere mâle, ferme ou viril dans l'Architecture'.[168] In this *Cours*, discussed above in the section on architecture and the sublime in theories, Blondel presents the male aspect as one of the characters a building can possess: a closed grand building, simple and little decorated but creating large shadows by its main building works:

> 'mâle: sans être pesante, conserve dans son ordonnance un caractere de fermeté assorti à la grandeur des lieux & au genre de l'édifice; celle qui est simple dans sa composition générale, sage dans ses formes, & peu chargée de détails dans ses ornements; celle qui s'annonce par des plans rectilignes, par des angles droits, par des corps avancés qui

165. Reveley in his introduction of Stuart and Revett, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. xiii.
166. Pâris, 'Nôtes et lavis..., *op. cit.*, ms. 1906, f. 329.
167. Blondel, *Cours d'architecture..., op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 426-427.
168. Blondel, *Cours d'architecture..., op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 411-413.

portent de grandes ombres'.[169]

However, in this category there are two different types, the architecture that is 'ferme' and the one that is 'virile'. The first one has less heavy forms, but excites still feelings of astonishment.[170] The last one is interesting in connection to Paestum, because Blondel connects it to the Doric order. It is a very dominant type, because it does not tolerate other decorations that diminish its virility, and Blondel almost describes it as a person:

> 'mais lorsqu'une fois cet ordre est présent dans la décoration des façades, il faut s'attendre qu'il ne tolere aucun détail, aucun accessoire qui ne soit puisé dans sa virilité: lorsqu'il préside dans l'ordonnance de l'édifice, il ne veut souffrir aucune especе de mêlange, il est même jaloux de communiquer son caractere aux autres ordres qu'on lui associe souvent dans les différents étages du bâtiment'.[171]

The aspect of virility was one of those characteristics that were strongly associated with Paestum's temples, part of the complex feelings that were at play in the experiences at the site. Even well into the nineteenth century these contradictory and complex sensations continued, as we will see in the accounts of Shelley and Turner, in the next section.

169. 'celle qui, destinée aux marchés publics, aux Foires, aux Hôpitaux & sur-tout aux Edifices Militaires, doit être composée de belles masses, dans lesquelles on prend soin d'éviter les petites parties, le chétif & le grand ne pouvant aller ensemble. Souvent on croit faire une Architecture mâle, on la fait lourde, massive, matérielle ; on prend le mot pour la chose. On croit faire du neuf, & l'on ne ramene sur la scêne que la charge des belles productions des Michel-Ange, des le Brun, des le Pautre, sans se douter que les Debrosses, les Hardouin Mansard, les François Blondel, nous ont laissé des exemples immortels en ce genre, dans la composition, la grandeur & la solidité du Palais du Luxembourg, dans la porte triomphale de S. Denis ; productions admirables qui, incontestablement, doivent servir d'autorités pour l'ordonnance des divers édifices qui exigent le caractere mâle dont nous voulons parler.' *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 411-412. See also Caroline van Eck, 'Par le Style on atteint au Sublime: The Meaning of the Term 'Style' in French Architectural Theory of the late Eighteenth Century', in: Caroline van Eck, James McAllister, Renéé van der Vall (eds.), *The Question of Style in Philosophy and the Arts*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 89-107.
170. 'Une Architecture ferme differe d'une Architecture mâle par les masses : l'Architecture ferme annonce moins de pesanteur, mais néanmoins dans ses parties, dans sa division, elle présente des formes décidées dont les surfaces & les angles sont droits ; partout elle montre une certitude, une articulation, qui impose, qui frappe, & qui satisfait les yeux intelligents. Les ouvrages de François Mansard, de le Veau, de le Mercier, portent assez généralement ce caractere de fermeté, dans les Châteaux de Misons, de Vincennes & de Richelieu : productions qui moins mâles que les précédentes, ont aussi quelque chose de plus intéressant, & sont plus du ressort des bâtiments d'habitation.' Blondel, *Cours d'architecture..., op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 412.
171. 'Quoiqu'il paroisse qu'une Architecture virile differe peu des deux précédentes, il est cependant vrai qu'on peut donner ce nom à celle dans l'ordonnance de laquelle préside l'ordre Dorique. Une Architecture mâle considérée séparément, une Architecture ferme, proprement dite, n'exigent souvent que l'expression rustique ou solide, & non la présence de l'ordre dont nous parlons'. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 412-413.

'The shadow of some half-remembered dream': Shelley and Turner

The sublime experiences at Paestum continued well into the nineteenth century. The observations by the English poet Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792-1822) in 1819 are very intense. Shelley travelled to Paestum in February 1819.[172] In chapter three we will examine his voyage more thoroughly, for this chapter we will only look at the way the sublime appears in his account. On 24 and 25 February he was at the site together with his wife Mary Shelley, who wrote a remarkably short account: 'Go to Pæstum. Stopt at a river five miles from Pæstum, and obliged to walk. A dull day; but a very fine evening until sunset, when it begins to rain again.'[173] Her husband on the contrary wrote a poetic account of travelling to the site and perceiving the temples.

In the first lines he strongly contrasted the dark and stormy night where the eye could barely see with the vastness of the valley in which the temples were situated, bordered by mountains:

> 'The night had been tempestuous, & our road lay by the sea sand. It was utterly dark, except when the long line of wave burst with a sound like thunder beneath the starless sky and cast up a kind of mist of cold white lustre. When morning came we found ourselves travelling in a wide desart plain perpetually interrupted by wild irregular glens & bounded on all sides by the Apennines & the sea. Sometimes it was covered with forest, sometimes dotted with underwood, or mere tufts of fern & furze, & the wintry dry tendrils of creeping plants. I have never but in the Alps seen an amphitheatre of mountains so magnificent.'[174]

The journey was difficult, combining muddy roads with the scent of flowers. Finally the monuments that were announced in the distance came into sight:

172. See Cian Duffy, *Shelley and the Revolutionary Sublime*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005; Angela Leighton, *Shelley and the Sublime. An Interpretation of the Major Poems*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984; Percy Bysshe Shelley, *The Letters of Percy Byssche Shelley*, edited by Frederick L. Jones, 2 vols., (volume II, Shelley in Italy), Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964.
173. Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley (born Godwin, 1797-1851): Journal 116: Wednesday Feb. 24. Frederick L. Jones (ed.), *Mary Shelley's Journal*, edited by Frederick L. Jones, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1947; Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley, *The Journals of Mary Shelley, 1814-1844*, edited by Paula R. Feldman, Diana Scott-Kilvert, 2 vols., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987.
174. Letter to Thomas Love Peacock, Naples, 25 February 1819, in: Shelley, *The Letters...*, vol. II, pp. 77-82.

> 'After travelling 15 miles we came to a river the bridge of which had been broken, & which was so swollen that the ferry would not take the carriage across. We had therefore to walk seven miles of a muddy road which led to the antient city across the desolate Maremma. The air was scented with the sweet smell of violets of an extraordinary size & beauty. At length we saw the sublime & massy colonnades skirting the horizon of the wilderness.'[175]

Apart from opposing darkness and lack of sight with lightness and distant views, contrasting the discomfort of travelling with the tantalisation of the senses, Shelley also contrasts the architecture with the lofty coloured landscape, which offers sights in which architecture and nature are combined in one sublime view:

> 'The scene from between the columns of this temple, consists on one side of the sea to which the gentle hill on which it is built slopes, & on the other of the grand amphitheatre of the loftiest Apennines, dark purple mountains crowned with snow & intersected then by long bars of hard & leaden coloured cloud. The effect of the jagged outline of mountains through groupes of enormous columns on the side, & on the other the level horizon of the sea is inexpressibly grand.'[176]

At the end of his account, Shelley again alludes to the sublime: 'We only contemplated these sublime monuments for two hours, & of course cd. only bring away so imperfect a conception of them as is the shadow of some half remembered dream.'[177] The impression the monuments, and in fact the whole site, and the voyage towards them, made on Shelley was obviously strong. His account offers a rich array of sensations that can be associated with the sublime. The stark contrasts and oppositions enhance the sublime emotions and make us aware of how the beholder can have different sensations in the succeeding stages of travelling to the site, which can all be connected to the sublime. It also makes clear how strong the relationship between nature and architecture at the site is, and how these two interact to produce these sensations.

The association of Paestum with the sublime continued during the nineteenth century, as is shown in the account of Countess Blessington, who went to the site in 1823 and wrote about

175. *Ibid.*, p. 79.
176. *Ibid.*, p. 79.
177. *Ibid.*, p. 80.

the temples in her Neapolitan Journals:

> 'the first view [...] must strike every beholder with admiration. Nor is this sentiment diminished on approaching them; for the beauty of their proportions, and the rich and warm hues stamped on them by time, as they stand out in bold relief against the blue sky, which forms so charming a background to every Italian landscape, render the spot, even independent of the classical associations with which it is fraught, one of the most sublime and interesting imaginable. The solitude and desolation of the country around, where nought but a wretched hovel, a short distance from the temples, erected for the accommodation of the post-horses of the visitors to Paestum, breaks on a silent grandeur of the scene, adds to the sublime effect of it. The blue sea in the distance, and the chain of mountains as blue, bounding the horizon, complete the picture.'[178]

Marguerite, countess of Blessington (1789-1849) spent two and a half years at Naples and travelled to Paestum with the young architect Charles James Mathews (1803-1878), who measured the temples and explained their history, and the later politician George William Frederick Howard (1802-1864), who recited a poem among the ruins. The countess noted down:

> 'There was something so solemn and imposing in the view of these temples, that the eye and the mind must be accustomed to it, before one could bestow an adequate attention on the ingenious hypotheses connected with them. When I looked on their proud fronts, which had braved the assaults of time during so many centuries, and now stood rearing their heads to the blue and cloudless sky above them, I could not help smiling at the little groups moving round their base, who looked like pigmies near these gigantic monuments'.

As becomes apparent in these passages, the countess was not that interested in the history of the site, but loses herself in sublime feelings of admiration. In this admiration she approaches the sublime as formulated by Longinus, in which being in awe was the main element. More complicated or paradoxical sensations that we found in Shelley's testimony are not present here.

178. *Lady Blessington at Naples*, edited by Edith Clay, introduction Sir Harold Acton, London: Hamish Hamilton, 1979, pp. 88-89.

For a more interesting account in about the same period we have to examine the representations of Joseph Mallord William Turner (1775-1851). In 1819, Turner stayed in Italy for six months, visiting Turin, Milan, Padova, Venice, Bologna, Rimini, Ancona, and Rome. With the architect Thomas Leverton Donaldson (1795-1885) he travelled to Naples, Sorrento, Amalfi, and Paestum.[179] Turner compiled four sketchbooks of southern Italy, entitled *Gandolfo to Naples*; *Pompeii, Amalfi, Sorrento and Herculaneum*; *Naples, Paestum, and Rome*, and *Albono, Nemi, Rome*. A year earlier he had executed the watercolours of Italy for James Hakewill's (1778-1843) *Picturesque Tour of Italy* (1818), but he did this without having been there himself.[180] The contrast with his own travel sketches could not have been more compelling. The rather dull and straightforward perspective he drew for Hakewill's book, a publication drawing on existing travelogues of Italy, is worlds apart from the series of rapid, captivating sketches Turner made to document his experience at the site.

Turner drew the temples from several viewpoints. He examined their exteriors and interiors from as many sides as possible, reflecting the way Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720-1778) wandered in 1777 among the ruins, as his engravings show (see chapter four).[181] In the Neptune Temple for example, Turner sketched the impressive forest of columns that surrounded him. These rapid impressions reflect the way the painter viewed the temples, every different viewpoint offered another composition of columns and lines, every step he took gave another outlook. The temples are often pictured in a diagonal perspective. In that way Turner also could capture two temples in one sketch, making the grouping of columns even denser. Turner chose often a corner viewpoint for his Italian sketches, and he inserted as many objects as possible in his drawings.[182] In his travel notes Turner mentioned the number of columns, and that the columns had the shape of a cigar, rather than a straight one. This contrasts strongly not only with the way he drew the temples for Hakewill's publication, but also with the manner in which he depicted the Neptune temple in an earlier lecture drawing from about 1810. There the columns do have straight sides. When he actually saw the temples in reality, he must have

179. See on his Italian tour: Cecilia Powell, *Turner in the South. Rome, Naples, Florence*, New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1987; James Hamilton ed., *Turner & Italy*, Edinburgh: National Galeries of Scotland, 2009. When he left Paestum, and returned to Naples by boat Turner made some small sketches of the coastal landscape.
180. Hakewill was an architectural draughtsman and travelled in 1816-1817 in Italy, and published *A Picturesque Tour of Italy from drawings made in 1816-17 by J.H.* (London: s.n., 1820) on his return. Turner made the watercolours on the basis of Hakewill's travel sketches.
181. For Piranesi's depictions from several angles see chapter four of this thesis. Turner's sketches of Paestum are in the collection of Tate Britain in London.
182. Powell, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

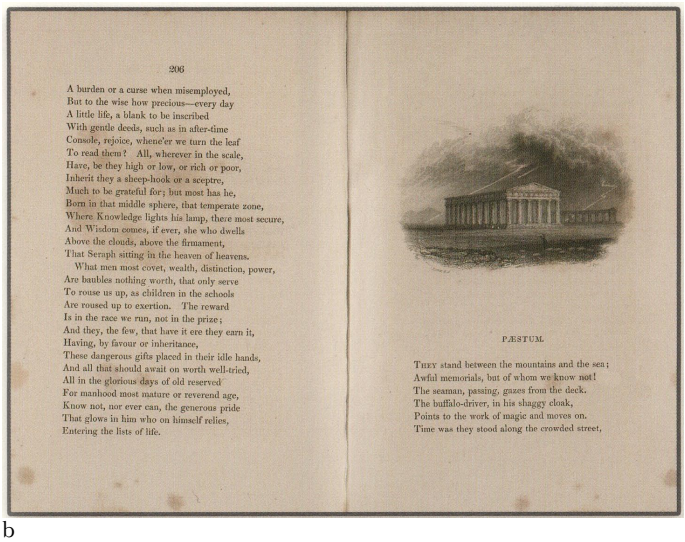
figure 1.21
Joseph Mallord William Turner, The Temple of Neptune at Paestum, Lecture Diagram, c. 1810.
(Tate Britain, London, D17072.)

figure 1.22
Giovanni Battista Piranesi, Interior view of Temple of Neptune seen from the north-east, 1778.
(Piranesi, *Différentes Vues… de Pesto*, 1778, plate XIV.)

figure 1.23
a. Joseph Mallord William Turner, The Temples of Paestum, for Samuel Rogers' *Italy, A Poem*, c. 1826-1827.
(Tate Britain, London, D27665.)

b. Samuel Rogers, Poem on 'Pæstum' with Turner's drawing engraved by John Pye, 1830.
(Rogers, *Italy, A Poem*, 1830, pp. 206-207.)

a



206

A burden or a curse when misemployed,
But to the wise how precious—every day
A little life, a blank to be inscribed
With gentle deeds, such as in after-time
Console, rejoice, whene'er we turn the leaf
To read them? All, wherever in the scale,
Have, be they high or low, or rich or poor,
Inherit they a shepp-hook or a sceptre,
Much to be grateful for; but most has he,
Born in that middle sphere, that temperate zone,
Where Knowledge lights his lamp, there most secure,
And Wisdom comes, if ever, she who dwells
Above the clouds, above the firmament,
That Seraph sitting in the heaven of heavens.
What men most covet, wealth, distinction, power,
Are baubles nothing worth, that only serve
To rouse us up, as children in the schools
Are roused up to exertion. The reward
Is in the race we run, not in the prize;
And they, the few, that have it ere they earn it,
Having, by favour or inheritance,
These dangerous gifts placed in their idle hands,
And all that should await on worth well-tried,
All in the glorious days of old reserved
For manhood most mature or reverend age,
Know not, nor ever can, the generous pride
That glows in him who on himself relies,
Entering the lists of life.

PÆSTUM

They stand between the mountains and the sea;
Awful memorials, but of whom we know not!
The seaman, passing, gazes from the deck.
The buffalo-driver, in his shaggy cloak,
Points to the work of magic and moves on.
Time was they stood along the crowded street,

b

Human life, a poem by Samuel Rogers,
London, John Murray, Albemarlestreet, 1819.
Lines written at Pæstum March 4, 1815. 83-94

They stand between the mountains and the sea;
Awful memorials, but of whom we know not!
The seaman, passing, gazes from the deck.
The buffalo-driver, in his shaggy cloak,
Points to the work of magic and moves on.
Time was they stood along the crowded street,
Temples of Gods! and on their ample steps
What various habits, various tongues beset
The brazen gates for prayer and sacrifice!
Time was perhaps the third was sought for Justice;
And here the accuser stood, and her the accused;
And here the judges sate, and heard, and judged.
All silent now!-as in the ages past,
Trodden under foot and mingled, dust with dust.

How many centuries did the sun go round
From Mount Alburnus to the Tyrrhene sea,
While, by some spell rendered invisible,
Or, if approached by him alone
Who saw as though he saw not, they remained
As in the darkness of a sepulchre,
Waiting the appointed time! All, all within
Proclaims that Nature had resumed her right,
And taken to herself what man renounced;
No cornice, triglyph, or worn abacus,
But with thick ivy hung or branching fern,
Their iron-brown o'erspread with brightest verdure!
From my youth upward have I longed to tread
This classic ground - And am I here at last?
Wandering at will through the long porticoes,
And catching, as through some majestic grove,
Now the blue ocean, and now, chaos-like,
Mountains and mountain-gulphs, and, half-way up,
Towns like the living rock from which they grew?
A cloudy region, black and desolate,
Where once a slave withstood a world in arms.

The air is sweet with violets, running wild
Mid broken sculptures and falles capitals;
Sweet as when Tully, writing down his thoughts,
Those thoughts so precious and so lately lost,
Turning to thee, divine Philosophy,
Who ever cam'st to calm his troubles soul,
Sailed slowly by, two thousand years ago,
For Athens; when a ship, if north-east winds
Blew from the Pæstan gardens, slacked her course.

On as he moved along the level shore,
These temples, in their splendour eminent
Mid arcs and obelisks, and domes and towers,
Reflecting back the radiance of the west,
Well might he dream of Glory!-Now, coiled up,
The serpent sleeps within them; the she-wolf
Suckles her young; and, as alone I stand
In this, the nobler pile, the elements
Of earth and air its only floor and covering,
How solemn is this stillness! Nothing stirs
Save the shrill-voiced cigala flitting round
On the rough pediment to sit and sing;
Or the green lizard rustling through the grass,
And up the fluted shaft with short quick motion,
To vanish in the chinks that Time has made.

In such an hour as this, the sun's broad disk
Seen at his setting, and a flood of light
Filling the courts of these old sanctuaries,
(Gigantic shadows, broken and confused,
Across the innumerable columns flung)
In such an hour he came, who saw and told,
Led by the mighty Genius of the Place.

Walls of some capital city first appeared,
Half razed, half sunk, or scattered as in scorn;
-And what within them? what but in the midst
These Three in more than their original grandeur,
And, round about, no stone upon another?
As if the spoiler had fallen back in fear,
An, turning, left them to the elements.

'Tis said a stranger in the days of old
(Some say a Dorian, some a Sybarite;
But distant things are ever lost in clouds)
'Tis said a stranger came, and, with his plough,
Traced out the side; and Posidonia rose,
Severely great, Neptune the tutelar God;
A Homer's language murmuring in the streets,
And in her haven many a mast from Tyre.
Then came another, an unbidden guest.
He knocked and entered with a train in arms;
And all was changed, her very name and language!
The Tyrian merchant, shipping at his door
Ivory and gold, and silk, and frankincence,
Sailed as before, but, sailing cried, "For Pæstum!"
And now a Virgil, now an Ovid sung
Pæstum's twice-blowing roses; while, within,
Parents and children mourned-and, every year,
('Twas on the day of some old festival)
Met to give way to tears, and, once again,
Talk in the antient tongue of things gone by.
At length and Arab climbed the battlements,
Slaying the sleepers in the dead of night;
And from all eyes the glorious vision fled!
Leaving a place lonely and dangerous,
Where whom the robber spares, a deadlier foe
Strikes at unseen-and at a time when joy
Opens the heart, when summer-skies are blue,
And the clear air is soft and delicate;
For then the demon works-then with that air
The thoughtless wretch drinks in a subtle poison
Lulling to sleep; and, when he sleeps, he dies.

But what are These still standing in the midst?
The Earth has rocked beneath; the Thunder-stone
Passed thro' and thro', and left its traces there;
Yet still they stand as by some Unknown Charter!
Oh, they are Nature's own! and, as allied
To the vast Mountains and the eternal Sea,
They want no written history; theirs a voice
For ever speaking to the heart of man!

been surprised about their actual shape.

Turner's lecture drawing shows nothing of the sublime sensations he depicted when he was *in situ* (fig. 1.21). It was made about nine years earlier, and probably based on engravings in publications. More specifically, it is probably based on a plate of Giovanni Battista Piranesi's *Différentes Vues de Pesto*, plate XIV, that has the exact same viewpoint (fig. 1.22).[183] Turner omitted the figures and cattle, and the shrubberies on the ruin. And, more importantly, he changed the columns, straightening out the entasis and making the capitals smaller and less pronounced. He also straightened the entablement and left out the pediment. When he went there himself however, he perceived something entirely different. Elected professor of perspective at the Royal Academy in 1807, Turner would continue to teach until 1828. In 1811 he gave his first lecture. To accompany his lectures, he made diagrams, between ten and twenty per lecture. The watercolour of the Temple of Neptune was used to illustrate various topics: 'methods of depicting the architectural orders, shadows in oblique sunlight, and the nature of the Doric order'.[184]

Strangely enough, when eight years after his Italian voyage, Turner illustrated a book of poetry by Samuel Rogers, *Italy, a Poem* (1830), the Neptune temple had again a different form (fig. 1.23).[185] Suddenly, the columns are straight again, and the temple has six by eleven columns, rather than the six by fourteen he rightly noted in his sketchbook. That Turner forgot here that it was a Greek temple, under the influence of Piranesi's argument for the superiority of Roman architecture, as Powell suggests, is unlikely.[186] Firstly, as we will see in the fourth chapter of this thesis, Piranesi argued something entirely different in his publication. Above all, Turner probably was not that interested in depicting the temple accurately. His sketches show the

183. In Helen Dorey, *John Soane & JWM Turner. Illuminating a Friendship*, London: Sir John Soane's Museum, 2007, p. 24, it is suggested that Turner used the original preparatory drawings by Piranesi in the Soane collection, but the engraving in the publication is also a possibility.
184. Maurice Davies, *Turner as Professor. The Artist and Linear Perspective*, Tate Gallery Publications, London, 1992, p. 23. As the author focuses on the way Turner used perspective, he did not study the lectures further, so what Turner explained exactly with this drawing is not known. See British Library, Additional Manuscripts 46151: M f. 33v, BB f. 12r, BB f. 18r. See also Alexander J. Finberg, *A Complete Inventory of the Drawings of the Turner Bequest*, 2 vols., London: Stationary Office, 1909; D.S. MacColl, 'Notes on English Artists. II - Turner's Lectures at the Academy', *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 12, 1907-1908, pp. 343-346; W.T. Whitley, 'Turner as a Lecturer', *The Burlington Magazine*, 22 (1913), pp. 202-208, 255-259.
185. Samuel Rogers, *Italy, A Poem*, London: T. Cadell, 1830. Interestingly, the poem Rogers wrote on Paestum evokes also the sublime: 'They stand between the mountains and the sea / Awful memorials, but of whom we know not!' Samuel Rogers, *Human life, a poem by Samuel Rogers*, London: John Murray, pp. 83-94.
186. Powell, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

way: his interest lay in the general impression the temples made, their density, their sublimity and mystery. When we look at the vignette he drew for Rogers, the depiction of the Basilica temple, next to the temple of Neptune, points towards this as well. This is merely a structure of columns, roughly indicated by some lines, and this part of the drawing clearly follows Turner's earlier sketches he made at the spot. The dark and threatening cloud above the temples shows this even more: Turner aimed to represent the mystery and sublimity of the temples. We have to turn to some other sketches he made of Paestum to find out what he really saw in these temples.

A drawing of about 1825 shows the Paestum temples in their sheer sublimity: the dark, mysterious forms of the two temples, a threatening cloud suspended above them, shedding out blizzards, everything contributes to produce fear, fascination and awe (fig. 1.24). Another drawing by Turner makes this even clearer: a depiction of Stonehenge (fig. 1.25). The mystery and great age rendered sublime the enormous piles of stones of Stonehenge, as we saw before in Burke's *Enquiry*.[187] Turner depicts them in a similar fashion: mystifying masses of stone in a dark and gloomy setting, struck by lightning. It shows that he viewed both monuments similarly. The history or classical background of Paestum was for him of no interest at all. What fascinated him in these monuments was their obscurity, vastness, and strange forms. The comparison goes even further when we look at the foreground. In the Stonehenge drawing dead sheep appear, a dead buffalo figures in Paestum (fig. 1.26). But here it is a skeleton, which makes it even more sinister. The lost civilisation of the Greeks, the religion of the temples forever disappeared, are portrayed in this drawing. According to John Ruskin, Turner commonly associated lightning with the monuments of dead religions, as we see both in Paestum and in Stonehenge.[188]

It was rather strange for Turner to picture architecture in such a gloomy way.[189] When we

187. 'The neolithic circle of Stonehenge has always been recognised as an object specially evocative of the sublime', Louis Hawes, *Constable's Stonehenge*, London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1975, p. 163. In 1740 William Stukeley wrote about: 'yawning ruins, provoke as ecstatic reverie, which none can describe' (William Stukeley, *Stonehenge, a Temple restor'd to the Druids*, London: s.n., 1740, p. 12), and subsequent poets and tourists found inspiration in its antiquity, mystery, and desolate situation, see: William Gilpin, *Observations on the Western Parts of England, relative chiefly to Picturesque Beauty*, London: T. Cadell and W. Davies,1798, p. 77; Linda Marie Zimmerman, *Representations of Stonehenge in British Art (1300-1900): Antiquity, Ideology, and Nationalism*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Stanford University, 1997.
188. Andrew Wilton, *Turner and the Sublime*, London: British Museum, 1980, p. 159, he quotes E.T. Cook and A. Wedderburn, ed., *John Ruskin. Works* 39 vols., vol. XXI, London 1903-1912, p. 223.
189. The connection between Paestum and Stonehenge lies not only in the sublime, but also in primitivism. We will return to this below, in chapter five.

figure 1.24
Joseph Mallord William Turner, Paestum in a Thunderstorm, c. 1825.
(Tate Britain, London, D36070.)

figure 1.25
Joseph Mallord William Turner, Stonehenge, Wiltshire, c. 1827, engraved by Robert Wallis, 1829.
(Tate Britain, London, T04549.)

figure 1.26
Joseph Mallord William Turner, Paestum, c. 1825.
(British Museum, London.)

study his other depictions of monuments we do not find the same approach, as is shown for example in a drawing of Rome under a rainbow.[190] But his architectural drawings are interesting for another aspect: they do evoke the sublime. As Wilton suggests, Turner 'sought to imbue the buildings' watercolours with the same awe that he would experience in the building itself'.[191] The architecture he perceived on his Italian voyage is sometimes shown as a vast and immense space. These are different from his gloomy Paestum pictures, but they also represent astonishment, as we see for example in drawings of the Coliseum or St Peter's Church, where a tiny figure is placed in the immense and exaggerated structure with colossal columns (fig. 1.27).[192] Turner's watercolours of architecture capture the experience of architecture, and like nobody before him the sublime character of that experience. It shows how the sublime in architecture can only exist in experience.

Mastering a sublime experience

As the accounts in this chapter have shown, the sublime architectural experiences are for the first time clearly and in all its facets present in Paestum. Travellers used the sublime to do justice to their contradictory and paradoxical feelings, to the spatiality of Paestum, and to an experience *in situ*.

They utilized the sublime to express all their contradictory, unpleasant, overwhelming experiences of ancientness, vastness and roughness of Paestum. Thus it helped to capture in words the paradoxical experiences of architecture. As such, the sublime was used to make sense of the paradox of Paestum. The paradox became manifest in the strangeness of the architecture, the conflicting sensations and the contrast between expectation and actual experience, or representations of Doric architecture and observation of the site itself.

In their diversity the reactions have one element in common: in their conflicting and contradictory expressions they make use of the concept of the sublime. As we have seen, the sublime could have different definitions. Analysing the theories of the three main writers on

190. Wilton, *Turner...*, *op. cit.*, p. 166.
191. *Ibid.*, p. 66.
192. *Ibid.*, p. 115, drawing 'Rome: The Portico of St Peter's with the entrance to the Via Sagrestia 1819', pencil and watercolour.

figure 1.27
Joseph Mallord William Turner, Part of the Portico of Saint Peter's, Rome, 1819.
(Tate Britain, London, D16332.)

the subject enabled us to make a distinction between these, and trace their evolution. While Longinus wrote a rhetorical theory of how to move the audience by using a grand and elevated style, Boileau's writings moved more towards the experiential character of the sublime. Boileau also stressed simplicity, and made the focus on ambivalence stronger. Furthermore, he argued that the sublime was not necessarily something to be experienced only by connoisseurs, but could be felt by enthusiastic laymen as well, paving the way for Burke's argument that the sublime was to be felt even better by the ignorant. With Burke the sublime became, instead of part of rhetorical theory, an aesthetic theory. He defined more clearly how architecture can be sublime, by identifying the characteristics of buildings that lead to an experience of the sublime, but also stressed that the sublime takes shape in the mind of the spectator.

Although Burke was widely published and read during the second half of the eighteenth century and did have a large influence on architectural thought, the Paestum accounts show that in experiencing architecture in the eighteenth century, the theories of Longinus and Boileau still provided an excellent basis for travellers to put into words their contradictory and confusing encounters with an architecture unknown to them. In the theories of the sublime that we have treated, the sublime experience is fuelled by being in awe, in being elevated by art or nature. Evoking the grandeur, the elevation of the mind and the soul, admiration, astonishment, surprise and vastness, all accounts discussed here echo Longinus and Boileau. The sublime as defined by both Longinus as a strategy of persuasion and by Boileau and Burke as an experience are present in the accounts.

A strange and fascinating site, Paestum baffled the visitors. Looking in vain for connections in architectural theory or history, travellers had to depend on their own feelings and experience, on personal and individual observations. The many diverse accounts express contradictory and conflicting sensations, experienced at the spot. They express also the particularity of the site, and the divergence between expectation and experience. Some travellers, such as James Adam and William Chambers, could not appreciate the architecture of the monuments at Paestum, but they found other aspects at the site that appealed to them and caused astonishment, its vastness for instance. Travellers described a discrepancy between the startling immensity of the temples and the unpleasantness of the architecture. The sublime was used both to describe the architecture or the site, and to express an experience. It provided the travellers with the categories to define their contradictory sensations, the particularity of the architecture and the vastness of the temples and the site. The sublime offered a way to capture in words both the peculiar characteristics of the nature and architecture that is observed, and the actual

experience. Thus, the beholder could express the feelings experienced at the spot, and preserve something of the specificity of the site that created these feelings. While travellers commented upon the ugliness of the architecture, the accounts demonstrate as well that the perception of the buildings in Paestum was intensified by the awareness of their unfamiliarity. Because Paestum embodied all these paradoxical aspects it was different from any other monument the travellers had visited.

Apart from giving expression to its paradoxical characteristics, the sublime is, unlike beauty or the picturesque, apt to do justice to the specifically architectonic experience of Paestum. It does justice to its spatiality, because in Longinus' and in Burke's theories infinity and vastness are aspects of art that lead to sublime experiences. We saw this in Burke's reaction to Stonehenge, or in the way Turner depicted Paestum in his paintings. Paestum's spatiality is conspicuous and was expressed in the responses to its vastness, recalling the definitions of such vastness in Burke and Chambers. It was one of the main reasons why Paestum was considered sublime. In the definitions of the sublime of Longinus and Burke vastness is an important theme, and it is precisely in such vastness that architecture distinguishes itself from the visual arts, because it is such a spatial quality. The architectural experiences demonstrated that the sublime in architecture is something particular, and differs fundamentally from the sublime in art or in nature. Architecture is different from art in that it is three-dimensional, and different from nature in that it is constructed by man. The latter aspect, highlighted by Burke when he wrote on man having to deal with the difficulty of constructing an immense spatial structure, added to the feeling of the sublime. The awareness that the vastness of Paestum was man-made, together with the realisation that it is ancient and mysterious, could produce a sensation of awe.

In that sense the sublime functions *par excellence* to put into words the unique character of the Paestum experiences, as ancient, man-made and vast. Spatiality and vastness in particular cannot be experienced on a flat surface representing the temples. One has to be *in situ*. The sublime can be an unmediated experience, in the sense that both nature and art itself, in all their manifestations, can create that experience. But the reactions to Paestum show so forcefully that in and through the very confrontation of the beholder with the temples, in all their vastness and ancientness, that experience is generated. Although Burke gives only one concrete example of architecture, his book offers a much wider range of clues to connect architecture and the sublime than the short discussion of Stonehenge might suggest. What was only theoretical in Burke's writings, became manifest in the Paestum accounts discussed here.

Still, in existing studies architecture and the sublime are connected in a rather limited way. We have seen that, contrary to what these studies on architecture and the sublime tell us, the sublime is not only related to vastness, but is more complex. Paestum showed that the sublime in architecture is not only about vastness, as studies that focus on Boullée's sublime suggest. As opposed to the sublime represented in designs, Paestum illustrated that the physical experience of being at the site is of essence. Rudeness, irregularity, and surprise combined with the spatial experience of infinity and vastness are elements that not necessarily fall within purely aesthetic rules. The experience that architects had at the site shows this as well. Different elements that constitute the experience work together. Danger, heat, strangeness, discomfort and puzzling thoughts mingle at the site and make the experience complex and hard to define. With an absence of knowledge or the disability to apply existing knowledge to classical architecture, the beholder has to fall back upon his first spontaneous feelings and thoughts. The sublime proved to be an excellent framework to define these sensations.

Thus the confrontation with the oldest Greek temples produced experiences that went against the classical idea of beauty, of harmony, of unity and pureness. The spatial experience prompted viewers to redefine the sublime in architectural thought. As architectural theory or history could not be used to make sense of the paradox of Paestum, but the sublime could, we may conclude that here the sublime has nothing to do with classicism. It is exactly the spatiality, and the a-historical and primitive character of Paestum that make the visits to the site so destructive to classical laws and ideas of beauty. These classical ideas imply that a building has to be taken in at one glance, something that could not be done at Paestum. Burke broke with this in his theories and introduced for instance the sensation of viewing endless regularity in a building, which is not visible in one single gaze. The sublime was a strong alternative voice that responded to many more aspects than beauty, harmony or regularity alone, and thus became a vehicle for later eighteenth-century clashes with classicism. At Paestum, gloominess, roughness and daunting scale excited sublime feelings. Sublime architecture escaped the rules of classical beauty. Paestum put into question the self-evidence of classicism. That this could take place in a site constructed in antiquity is all the more striking.

CHAPTER 2 Scenic Associations: Paestum and the picturesque

The sublime descriptions of Paestum reached prospective travellers who were preparing their trips. Reading the accounts and seeing the images produced by voyagers before them, they left with certain expectations. As many of their testimonies show, these were often not fulfilled. Their accounts based on experiences on the spot illustrate the discrepancy between expectation and experience *in situ*:

> 'On fait des descriptions si étranges, et on prend des idées si monstrueuses d'après ce qu'on lit, et ce qu'on entend raconter, que je croyais trouver Paestum dans un désert marécageux, ses temples perdus ou enfouis dans les joncs ou les broussailles, son air infect et exhalé de la fange; au lieu de cela, je trouvai une belle situation, un golfe, une belle plaine entourée de belles montagnes, un pays cultivé en vignes et en blé'.[1]

This first-hand account indicates this discrepancy in reactions visitors could have to the site, and how these could be personal and unlike other accounts. This traveller sketches a horrid expectation produced by the sublime accounts he read before, relieved by the observation of a peaceful landscape on the spot. The traveller expected to find the temples lost, buried in rushes or covered by undergrowth, situated in a marshy desert, in infectious air and the smell of muck. But Paestum turned out to be situated in a beautiful serene landscape, surrounded by scenic mountains, vineyards and wheat fields. This passage was written in 1778 by the French diplomat and subsequent founder of the Louvre, Dominique Vivant Denon (1747-1825), in his *Voyage au Royaume de Naples*.[2] Denon's sombre preconceptions must have been based on existing

1. Dominique Vivant Denon, *Voyage au royaume de Naples* [1778], Paris: Perrin 1997, p. 288.
2. After completing his Italian tour, Denon stayed in Italy, and became counsellor at the French embassy in Naples. Thus, before returning to Paris in 1786, he had lived in Italy from 1778 to 1785. On Vivant Denon see: Pierre Lelièvre, *Vivant Denon. Homme des Lumières, "Ministre des Arts" de Napoléon*, Paris: Picard 1993, on his Italian period: pp. 27-38;

travel accounts on Italy and on Paestum. At that moment there were, apart from the Italian travelogues, already six folio publications with engravings of Paestum available, of which at least four were published in Paris, and drawings and engravings circulated in Europe.[3]

A few years later, Denon's unpublished text was partly published in a five volume folio, entitled *Voyage Pittoresque ou Description des royaumes de Naples et Sicile* by the abbé Jean-Claude Richard de Saint-Non.[4] This picturesque voyage was undertaken and organised by the abbé de Saint-Non together with Denon. They hired a group of artists and architects, among whom Hubert Robert (1733-1808), Claude-Louis Châtelet (1753-1795) (fig. 2.1), Pierre-Adrien Pâris, and Louis-Jean Desprez (1743-1804), to accompany them and take measurements of as well as draw the monuments in Italy (fig. 2.2-2.5).[5] Their *Voyage Pittoresque*, as Saint-Non had called it, is part of a tradition of eighteenth-century travelogues that bear the title 'pittoresque' or 'picturesque'. In these literary descriptions of travels, tourism and the picturesque were connected, not only in the 'voyages pittoresques' to Italy, but certainly also, and maybe even more, in accounts of the travels to local sites in the picturesque landscapes of England.[6]

Denon's remarks, apart from the divergence between expectation at home and experience *in situ*, also show how travellers were receptive to the scenery of Paestum, but in a way that differed from the sublime responses to the vastness of the landscape, the valley in which the

Marie-Anne Dupuy-Vachey, *Les itinéraires de Vivant-Denon, dessinateur et illustrateur*, collection Musée Denon, Manosque: Le Bec en l'air, 2007; Rosenberg, Pierre (ed.), *Naples et Pompéi. Les itinéraires de Vivant-Denon*, Chalon-sur-Saône/Manosque: Musée Denon/Le Bec en l'air, 2009; *Vivant Denon et le "Voyage pittoresque": un manuscrit inconnu*, edited by Marie-Anne Dupuy-Vachey, Paris: Fondation Custodia, 2009.

3. Dumont, *Suite de Plans..., op. cit.*; Morghen, *op. cit.*; [Longfield,] *op. cit.*; Major, *The Ruins..., op. cit.*, and *Les Ruines..., op. cit.*; Dumont, *Les Ruines..., op. cit.*; Piranesi, *Différentes vues..., op. cit.*. Dumont and Major were published in Paris, Piranesi was published in Rome, but written in French and aimed at the French market. Denon could also have seen the Piranesi engravings in Rome.

4. On Jean-Claude Richard de Saint-Non, a French engraver and draughtsman, and his group of artists and architects: Lamers, *op. cit.*; *Da Napoli a Malta..., op. cit.* See also on Saint-Non's first voyage to Italy, with Fragonard and Hubert Robert: *Panopticon Italiano..., op. cit.*

5. Jean-Claude Richard de Saint-Non, *Voyage Pittoresque ou Description des royaumes de Naples et Sicile*, (5 parts in 4 vols.) Paris: Clousier 1781-1786, with 542 engravings. For Denon's text see volume 3, pp. 153-161. The following plates of Paestum were published: 'Vue Générale des Temples de Pæstum, prise en arrivant du côté du couchant'; 'Vue générale et plus détaillée des trois Temples de Pæstum, prise du côté du Levant'; 'Vue du petit Temple exastile périptere de Pæstum'; Vue intérieures et extérieures du grand Temple Périptere de Pæstum'; 'Coupes, Plans & Détails des Temples de Pæstum': vol. 3, pp. 153, 156, 157, 158, 160, plates 82-88.

6. See on this topic John Whale, 'Romantics, explorers and picturesque travellers', in: Stephen Copley, Peter Garside (eds.), *The Politics of the picturesque: literature, landscape and aesthetics since 1770*, Cambridge 1994, pp. 175-195; For tourism and the picturesque in Britain: Malcolm Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque. Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain, 1760-1800*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989.

figure 2.1
Claude-Louis Châtelet,
View of the three temples at Paestum, 1771.

(London, British Museum, BM 1918-5-9-1.)

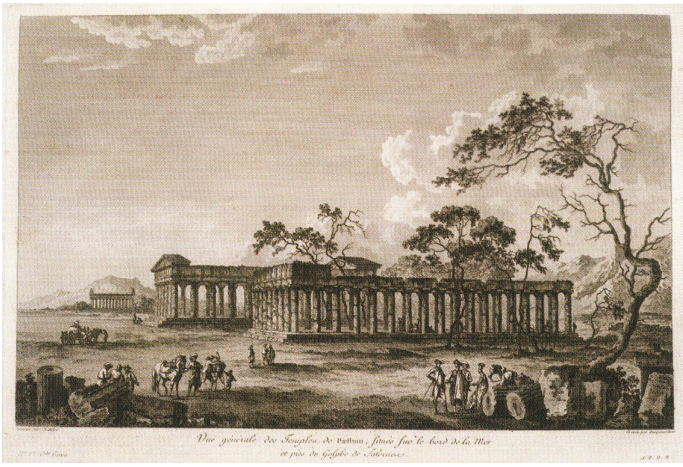


figure 2.2
Claude-Louis Châtelet,
View of the three temples at Paestum, seen from the south-west, engraving by François Desquauvillers in Jean-Claude Richard de Saint-Non's *Voyage Pittoresque* (1781-1786), 1783.

(Jean-Claude Richard de Saint-Non, *Voyage Pittoresque ou Description des Royaumes de Naples et de Sicile*, Paris 1783, vol. 3.)

figure 2.3
Hubert Robert, View of the Temple of Neptune and the Basilica seen from the north-west, in Jean-Claude Richard de Saint-Non's *Voyage Pittoresque* (1781-1786), 1783.

(Jean-Claude Richard de Saint-Non, *Voyage Pittoresque ou Description des Royaumes de Naples et de Sicile*, Paris 1783, vol. 3.)

figure 2.4
Hubert Robert, View of the Temple of Neptune and the Basilica seen from the east, in Jean-Claude Richard de Saint-Non's *Voyage Pittoresque* (1781-1786), 1783.

(Jean-Claude Richard de Saint-Non, *Voyage Pittoresque ou Description des Royaumes de Naples et de Sicile*, Paris 1783, vol. 3.)

figure 2.5
Hubert Robert, View of the Temple of Ceres, engraving by Jacques Aliamet and Karl Wilhelm Weisbrod in Jean-Claude Richard de Saint-Non's *Voyage Pittoresque* (1781-1786), 1783.

(Jean-Claude Richard de Saint-Non, *Voyage Pittoresque ou Description des Royaumes de Naples et de Sicile*, Paris 1783, vol. 3.)

temples lay, or the strangeness of the architecture. Denon shows there were other ways of reacting to the site apart from the sublime to articulate the experiences at the spot. This chapter will focus on that other type of aesthetic experience which also played an important role in eighteenth-century observations and travelogues, as opposed to or as an alternative to the sublime: the picturesque.

To do so, we will analyse first the origins of the picturesque and its evolution towards an aesthetic theory. The second section of the chapter will examine theoretical thought on architecture in regard to the picturesque, and look at writings on the picturesque for their mentioning of architecture. Next, the use of the picturesque in Paestum accounts will be traced, with a special focus on a lengthy account by Richard Payne Knight (1751-1825), one of the major theorists of the picturesque. His writings on the picturesque will be analysed next. As a result we will be able to define two aspects of the picturesque, when architecture is concerned: one that may be found only in picturesque theories, the other in architectural and picturesque writings alike. For now, we will name them 'framing from a distance' and 'movement'. In analysing these two facets, a clearer image will emerge of what the picturesque meant for architectural experience, and what this implies for the understanding of the Paestum site at the time.

Framing from a distance: the origins of the picturesque

First we will look at the origins and history of the concept. Originally, the picturesque just meant 'in the manner of painters'. The English word 'picturesque' derived from the Italian 'pittoresco', and the French word 'pittoresque'. It developed into different definitions and phases.[7] From a painting term the picturesque grew via a design garden theory to an aesthetic theory. As an independent aesthetic category it would figure in eighteenth-century debates. Put in more general terms, the theory of the picturesque, of which the origins lie in the seventeenth century, offered a new definition of man's aesthetic sensibility to art and nature. It gave rise to an important aesthetic cult in the eighteenth century and developed a

7. Christopher Hussey, *The Picturesque: Studies in a point of view*, Hamden: Archon Books, 1967 (first published 1927); Nikolaus Pevsner, 'Richard Payne Knight', *The Art Bulletin*, 31 (1949) 4, pp. 300-301.

new conceptual framework with which to describe the sensations aroused by the arts, poetry, architecture, gardens, landscape and the art of travel. It presented a new way of thinking about the relationship between man and nature. Characteristic of all the varieties of the picturesque is that it considered nature as if it were a landscape painting, and by extension all art for its pictorial value as part of a landscape. In picturesque travelogues landscape and the buildings or artworks in it were appreciated for its pictorial value. Qualities that had a direct impact on the eye came to be isolated, viewing them through the framework of painting.

The first phase of 'discovery' (ca. 1690-1730) consists of the writings and designs of Sir William Temple, Shaftesbury, Addison, Pope, Batty Langley and Kent, the second the designs of Kent and the theories of Shenstone of the Leasowes, and the first writings of William Gilpin (1724-1804).[8] The third phase is determined by the designs of the landscape and garden designer Capability Brown (1750-1783) and the writings in the period 1760-1775 of Lord Kames, Chambers and Whately.[9] The fourth phase begins from 1794 onwards, when three publications saw the light: Uvedale Price's *Essay on the Picturesque as compared with the Sublime and the Beautiful* (1794); *The Landscape* (1794) by Richard Payne Knight and Humphry Repton's *Sketches and Hints on Landscape Gardening* (1795), and the publications of the beginning of the nineteenth century.[10] For our purpose this is the most important phase, because then the significant theories were formulated that clearly connected the picturesque with architecture or included architecture within the sphere of the picturesque.

Seeing art and nature through the framework of painting, inspired by the landscape paintings of Nicolas Poussin (1594-1665), Claude Lorrain (1600-1682), and Salvator Rosa (1615-1673), influenced not only connoisseurs and landscape garden designers but also travellers in the sense that the focal point became one of aesthetic and visual enjoyment, seeking views in nature suitable to be represented in painting. There was even an ideal picturesque traveller, according to William Gilpin:

8. William Gilpin wrote in 1748 already in *Dialogue at Stowe* about picturesque as 'that which is suited to pictorial representation'.
9. For example: Henry Home Lord Kames, *Introduction to the Art of Thinking*, Edinburgh: A. Kincaid and J. Bell 1761; William Chambers, *A Dissertation on Oriental Gardening*, London: W. Griffin, 1772; Thomas Whately, *Observations on Modern Gardening*, London: Printed for T. Payne, 1770. In France, Claude-Henri Watelet, *Essai sur les jardins*, Paris: Ompr. de Prault, 1774, wrote the first French treatise on the picturesque garden. Earlier, Roger de Piles, *Cours de peinture par principes*, Paris: J. Estienne, 1708, introduced the term 'picturesque' in France.
10. See also William Gilpin, *Three Essays: on Picturesque Beauty; on Picturesque Travel; and on Sketching Landscape: to which is added a poem, on Landscape Painting*, London: R. Blamire, 1792; Uvedale Price, *A Dialogue on the Distinct Characters of the Picturesque and the Beautiful. In Answer to the Objections of Mr. Knight*, s.l.: Hereford 1801.

figure 2.6
Thomas Gainsborough, Sketch of an artist using a 'Claude glass', c. 1750.
(British Museum, London. From Hunt, 2002, p. 72.)

> 'The first source of amusement to the picturesque traveller, is the pursuit of his object - the expectation of new scenes continually opening, and arising to his view. We suppose the country to have been unexplored. Under this circumstance the mind is kept constantly in an agreeable suspense. The love of novelty is the foundation of this pleasure. Every distant horizon promises something new; and with this pleasing expectation we follow nature through all her walks.'[11]

Travellers sometimes used a so-called Claude-glass (fig. 2.6) to frame these views and so make them appeal more striking to the eyes of the beholder. Thus, viewing a landscape became a personal experience. As Hunt put it: 'It was both an objective, cognitive activity and a private, creative one, as the mirror's user turned his back upon the scene and withdrew into his own reflections.'[12] With the Claude glass, a small convex mirror with a dark tinted surface named after Claude Lorrain because it was his colouring that was aimed at, visitors could frame their own idea of the finest composition in the scenery. Before their eyes the scene became more uniformly coloured by the mirror, creating the so sought after mixing of tints, characteristic of Claude's landscapes, that Richard Payne Knight often mentioned. This mirror was mainly used in natural scenery, and much less in the designed landscape gardens that already provided the appropriate framings, created by its architect. Like the travelogues, picturesque poetry, describing the natural scenes of local sites, was a sequence of verbal paintings, appealing to the visual imagination of the reader.

Since the first comprehensive study on the subject, by Christopher Hussey of 1927, many publications on the picturesque have appeared. They present different tendencies. In Hussey's *The Picturesque: Studies in a Point of View* the picturesque is described as a visual category in those arts that relate to the landscape, such as poetry, painting, architecture, garden architecture and travelogues, in which one focuses on the associations and thoughts that come up in the beholder.[13] Another seminal work, by Walter Hipple, *The Sublime, the Beautiful, and the Picturesque* (1957) focuses more on the philosophical context, identifying Burke's *A Philosophical Enquiry into The Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757) and John Locke's and David Hume's empiric theories as the major basis of the picturesque discourse in the second half of the

11. Gilpin, *Three Essays...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-48.
12. John Dixon Hunt, *Gardens and the Picturesque: Studies in the History of Landscape Architecture*, Cambridge (Mass.)/London: MIT Press, 1992, pp. 178-179.
13. Hussey, *The Picturesque...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-5.

eighteenth century, his main focus is the position of the picturesque in relation to beautiful and sublime.[14] Another important writer on the picturesque, John Dixon Hunt, uses art theory and literary history to analyse the picturesque that he sees, following Hussey, as the relation between human beings and nature and the individual observations and associations.[15] While Hussey and Hipple treated the picturesque as an English phenomenon, Hunt and Dora Wiebenson have considered the French context, as did Van Eck with the Dutch.[16] Hunt devoted a chapter in his *The Picturesque Garden in Europe* to the Scandinavian, German, Austrian, East-European, Russian and Italian variations of the picturesque.[17]

While traditionally the picturesque is mainly viewed related to landscapes or to buildings in a landscape that frames them as a painting, there is also another picturesque, solely in architecture. However, although some scholars have discussed the picturesque in relation to architecture as well, such as John Mordaunt Crook, Nicolas Pevsner and Emil Kaufmann, in their point of view, the picturesque in architecture is merely considered as a phenomenon contributing to nineteenth-century stylistic pluralism and, for Pevsner and Kaufmann, as a prelude to modernism.[18] Then the picturesque is guiding the selection of historical styles on the basis of cultural memory and association. In my opinion, this view should be reconsidered, because there is much more to the picturesque in architecture than style or a precursor to nineteenth-century eclecticism, as we will see in the next section.[19]

14. Walter J. Hipple, *The Beautiful, the Sublime and the Picturesque in Eighteenth Century British Aesthetic Theory*, Carbondal 1957.
15. John Dixon Hunt, *The Figure in the Landscape: Poetry, Painting, and Gardening during the Eighteenth Century*, Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1976; John Dixon Hunt and Peter Willis (eds.), *The Genius of the Place: The English Landscape Garden 1620-1820*, London: Paul Elek, 1975. Sidney K. Robinson's *Inquiry into the Picturesque*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991, evokes mainly Britain in the eighteenth century and its role in music, poetry, landscapes, painting and politics and Price and Knight as the main protagonists; A more cultural historical approach is found in the essays written in Copley and Garside (eds.), *op. cit.*, focussing on the late eighteenth and nineteenth century.
16. Hunt, *Gardens..., op. cit.*, pp. 243-284; John Dixon Hunt, *The Picturesque Garden in Europe*, London: Thames & Hudson, 2002, pp. 104-139; Dora Wiebenson, *The Picturesque Garden in France*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978; Caroline van Eck, Jeroen van den Eynde, Wilfred van Leeuwen (ed.), *Het Schilderachtige. Studies over het schilderachtige in de Nederlandse kunsttheorie en architectuur 1650-1900*, Amsterdam: Architectura et Natura Pers, 1994.
17. Hunt, chapter entitled 'Beyond Anglomania', in *The Picturesque..., op. cit.*, pp. 140-193.
18. John Mordaunt Crook, *The Dilemma of Style. Architectural Ideas from the Picturesque to the Post-Modern*, Londen 1989 (first published 1987), chapter 1: 'The Consequences of the Picturesque', pp. 13-41; Nikolaus Pevsner, 'The Picturesque in Architecture', *RIBA Journal*, 55 (1947), pp. 55-61; Emil Kaufmann, *Architecture in the Age of Reason: Baroque and Post-Baroque in England, Italy and France*, Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press, 1955.
19. See also for a different approach of the picturesque in architecture: Van Eck, *Organicism..., op. cit.*, pp. 74-83; Van Eck, *Classical Rhetoric..., op. cit.*, pp. 123-126; John Macarthur, *The Picturesque. Architecture, Disgust and other Irregularities*, London/New York: Routledge, 2007.

Towards movement: the picturesque in architecture

Although eighteenth- and nineteenth-century theorists on the picturesque mainly discuss buildings as situated in the landscape, or the relation between nature and architecture, theorists have also written extensive passages or sections about the picturesque in buildings. For instance, in the second part of his *An Analytical Inquiry into the Principles of Taste* (1805), Richard Payne Knight wrote lengthily on architecture, and Uvedale Price composed an 'Essay on Architecture' in *Essays on the Picturesque* (second edition, 1810). These provide an interesting insight in the role of the picturesque in architectural thought. Nevertheless, in studies on architectural history, the picturesque is mainly seen as a style, and as a first step towards modernism. It is only in the more general historical studies on the picturesque, for instance in Hussey and Crook, that the picturesque is not merely seen in these terms. The picturesque in architecture, in the building practice, is to Hussey and Crook not a style but a method of using and combining styles.[20] Architecture should either have picturesque qualities in itself, or arouse associations, or the site should display certain characteristics that evoke picturesque associations. In their studies on the picturesque, Banham and Meeks argued that the picturesque in architecture should not be concerned with a style or a period, but with general values and a design method.[21]

But, when investigating it a bit further, the picturesque could be seen much broader. I suggest looking at it not only as a design method but also as a way of observing and experiencing architecture. It is important not to look so much at buildings, but rather to take theories into consideration as well. A first step is the reading of contemporary sources, in which we find some characteristics of picturesque architecture. In his 'Essay on Architecture' Price, has defined five qualities to delineate the picturesque in buildings, which appear in other eighteenth- and nineteenth-century sources as well.[22] They are: roughness, irregularity, variety, intricacy, and especially movement. All these qualities have to do with the impression a building makes on the beholder, with the experience of architecture.

Sir Uvedale Price published a reedited, annotated and enlarged version of his *Essays on the*

20. Hussey, *The Picturesque..., op. cit.*, p. 217.
21. Reyner Banham, 'Revenge of the Picturesque: English Architectural Polemics, 1945-1965', in: John Summerson (ed.), *Concerning Architecture: Essays on Architectural Writers and Writing Presented to Nikolas Pevsner*, London: Allen Lane, The Penguin Press, 1968; Caroll L.V. Meeks, 'Picturesque Eclecticism', *Art Bulletin*, 32 (1950) 3, pp. 226-235.
22. Meeks argues how these five elements all are the opposite of classicism. Meeks, *op. cit.*, pp. 227-228.

Picturesque (1794) in three volumes, in 1810.[23] In the second volume, in which Price devotes an essay to architecture, he argues how country houses should be conceived in regard to the landscape and the surroundings. As opposed to architecture in cities, which can be independent and self-sufficient, architecture in the country should be subdued to the landscape. The architect should be an 'architetto-pittore', and in a way paint the landscape with his designs. Price defined the picturesque as follows:

> 'it is applied to every object, and every kind of scenery, which has been, or might be represented with good effect in painting; just as the word beautiful (when we speak of visible nature) is applied to every object, and every kind of scenery, that in any way gives pleasure to the eye'.[24]

Price defined the picturesque as a separate category, next to the sublime and the beautiful. In his theories, Price used these two aesthetic concepts in order to better define the picturesque: 'Picturesqueness, therefore, appears to hold a station between beauty and sublimity; and on that account, perhaps, is more frequently and more happily blended with them both than they are with each other.'[25] He claimed that 'a certain degree of stimulus or irritation is necessary to the picturesque, so, on the other hand, a soft and pleasing repose is equally the effect and the characteristic of the beautiful.'[26] To achieve picturesque effects one needs the 'qualities of roughness, and of sudden variation, joined to that of irregularity'.[27] In his *Essays* irritation is explained as a positive reaction or emotion. In talking about the effects of light and shadow, Price made reference to the 'operation on the mind' and in this way showed, as he does through the whole book, how the effect of art or landscape on the beholder is a crucial element in the workings of the picturesque.[28]

Price also used the ruins of Greek temples to support his theory: 'when they are still in perfect

23. On Price see Andrew Ballantyne, *Architecture, landscape and liberty: Richard Payne Knight and the picturesque*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
24. Price, *Essays... op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 37.
25. *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 76. 'I felt that there were numberless objects which give great delight to the eye, and yet differ as widely from the beautiful as from the sublime. The reflections I have since been led to make have convinced me that these objects form a distinct class, and belong to what may properly be called the picturesque.' p. 41. See for the difference with beauty and sublime: p. 76; pp. 80-81ff.
26. Uvedale Price, *An Essay on the Picturesque, as compared with the Sublime and the Beautiful and, on the use of studying pictures, for the purpose of improving real landscape*, London: J. Robson, 1794, pp. 108-109.
27. *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 111.

condition, we call them beautiful, when they are in decay, they become Picturesque'.[29] In the first edition of his book Price already commented on this difference: 'A temple or palace of Grecian architecture in its perfect entire state, and its surface and colour smooth and even, either in painting or reality, is beautiful; in ruin it is picturesque.'[30] The picturesque is to Price not only something fit for painters, but the outcome of specific qualities that architecture and nature should have: roughness, variety and intricacy.

When Price argues in what manner Gothic architecture is more picturesque than Grecian, his argument becomes more explicit:

> 'The first thing that strikes the eye in approaching any building is the general outline against the sky (or whatever it may be opposed to) and the effect of openings: in Grecian buildings the general lines are strait, and even when varied and adorned by a dome or a pediment, the whole has a character of symmetry and regularity'.[31]

That is why only the ruins of Grecian buildings are picturesque, because the original symmetry has become asymmetrical. When we continue this thought the roughness of ruins becomes nature as well, and architecture and nature become nearly one. William Gilpin defined it as such: 'A ruin is a sacred thing. Rooted for ages in the soil; assimilated to it; we consider it rather as a work of nature than of art. Art cannot reach it.'[32]

Let us look into these five characteristics a little further, first into roughness. Various theorists wrote on roughness, but not only the picturesque theorists reflected on this theme. Already Edmund Burke, in differentiating between the sublime and the beautiful, gave as one of the characteristics of beauty the sensation of smoothness, in contrast with the sublime. As became clear in the previous chapter, in Burke's argument the rudeness of the ruins of Stonehenge excites sublime sensations. Also, objects, or human beings, that are rough to the touch cause pain, whereas soft and smooth objects give a tactile pleasure that creates a sensation of beauty. In defining the picturesque, both Richard Payne Knight and Uvedale Price also argued the importance of roughness, as opposed to smoothness. But their case is different from Burke's.

29. Price, *Essays... op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 51-52.
30. Price, *An Essay..., op. cit.*, p. 46.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 50.
32. William Gilpin, *Observations, relative to Picturesque Beauty, Made in the Year 1772, on several Parts of England; particularly the Mountains and Lakes of Cumberland and Westmoreland*, London: s.n., 1786, vol. II, p. 188.

For them, smoothness is uninteresting because it does not reflect the light in a variety of ways like a rough surface does. For Knight rough and rugged surfaces reflect the light in a way that creates the 'most harmonious and brilliant combinations of tints to the eye.' We see here again that the picturesque theorists were concerned with the visual aspects - their concentration is on the eye, in viewing an object from a distance - and not as in Burke's sublime with the other senses, like the touch. The variations of light are delightful because they stimulate 'irritations upon the optic nerves', and irritation is a positive sensation.[33] Smooth surfaces are rejected because their reflection is 'monotonous and feeble', and the reflections of extremely smooth surfaces like glass or polished metal are even disagreeable.[34] Another aspect of roughness is of course that it is also related to ruins, and to the decay of architecture, in which time and the natural elements have left their traces. The text by Price shows the picturesque aspect of ruins in favour of buildings that are intact.

Other theorists as well used the five qualities of the picturesque defined by Price. In the discourses for the Royal Academy, Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723-1792) brought up irregularity as the way to create in architecture 'something of scenery'. He connected this with accident; asymmetry was a means to obtain irregularity.[35] Knight continued on the subject, arguing how a mixture of different styles could achieve this, in opposition to the monotony of purely classical architecture. The pictorial qualities of intricacy and variety were to be achieved by designing a new and innovative architectural plan, namely irregular or asymmetrical. Knight's own house at Downton (1774-1778) was obviously an example of this, as were other houses with an asymmetrical ground plan. Knight's was the first with an irregular plan, as Pevsner and Ballantyne have shown.[36]

Interestingly, even symmetrical buildings can be enjoyed in a picturesque way, just by letting

33. Richard Payne Knight, *An Analytical Inquiry into the Principles of Taste*, London: Printed by Luke Hansard for T. Payne and J. White, 1805, p. 70.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 57.
35. 'It may not be amiss for the Architect to take advantage *sometimes* of that to which I am sure the Painter ought always to have his eyes open, I mean the use of accidents: to follow when they lead, and to improve them, rather than always to trust to a regular plan. It often happens that additions have been made to houses, at various times, for use or pleasure. As such buildings depart from regularity, they now and then acquire something of scenery by this accident, which I should think might not unsuccessfully be adopted by an Architect, in an original plan, if it does not too much interfere with convenience.' Sir Joshua Reynolds, Discourse XIII, 1786, in: Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Discourses* [1797], edited with an introduction and notes by Pat Rogers, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1992, pp. 297-298.
36. Ballantyne, *op. cit.*, pp. 260-268; Pevsner, 'Richard Payne Knight', *op. cit.*, pp. 293-320. We will come back to this in the seventh section of this chapter.

the beholder see it asymmetrically, from various viewpoints, to suggest different compositions. If a building was surrounded by curved streets, one could approach it from different angles and the perspective became asymmetrical and varied. The English architect Charles Barry (1795-1860) wrote about this in 1820 when he explained how he preferred Saint Paul's Cathedral in London to Saint Peter's in Rome, because of 'it [...] being perfectly insulated, and one has many gratifying views of it in perspective - which is not the case with St Peters.'[37]

As far as irregularity was concerned, the conscious application of 'accidents' was required, but this irregularity was not an aim in itself. A building had to express its character, or, the function of the building had to be visible from the outside. In Knight's theories the impression and the effect of a building on the spectator is crucial, as is the expression of character of a building in its exterior. Irregularity in architecture could be obtained in the ground plan, the mixture of different styles, the facades in the skyline, windows, colours and texture in materials or plants. Buildings should be combinations of different masses inspired by the effect of the architecture in the backgrounds of Italian pictures. The architecture was to recall paintings, and had to harmonize with its setting. A building should also follow the surface of the site. For Price, it had also to be conceived according to the views from within the house, with 'windows turned towards the points where the objects were most happily arranged' so as to 'accommodate his building to the scenery'.[38] In that way the buildings would become ornaments to the landscape, the blank surfaces by 'trees and shrubs or [...] climbing plants [be] transformed into beauties'. The elements that determine a picturesque effect in buildings are: a dramatic massing, a handling of light and shade, and a wedding of a building to its landscape by the architectural treatment of the foreground, so that the building is not a 'form complete in itself, but [...] the background of a picture'.[39]

Eighteenth-century architects started to conceive their buildings with the observation from a distance in mind, so that the building in its surroundings could become part of an imaginary picture, in which the general effect and not the detail was important. This led to the abandonment of looking at buildings from close by, and as a consequence materials, detailing in decorations, and the structural use of architectural members became subordinate. This had its effect on architecture: the necessity of movement came in, and irregularity, mystery, romance

37. Charles Barry, Travel diary Rome, RIBA, London, Drawings and Archives Collection, SKB401/2.
38. Price in 'Essay on Architecture', 1798, in: Price, *Sir Uvedale Price...*, *op. cit.*, p. 368.
39. Hussey, *The Picturesque, op cit.*

and texture were combined in the end.[40] Architecture was designed in relation to the landscape, that could offer either the setting to it, or be reflected in the building. The main effect of the picturesque on architecture was to put irregularity in place of regularity as the essence of design.

As we saw, Price argued how the picturesque lies in 'qualities of roughness, and of sudden variation, joined to that of irregularity'. The element of variety was partly intrinsic in roughness, movement and irregularity, when surface, material, masses and parts are concerned. For Price variety was synonymous with grandeur and richness.[41] By intricacy was meant that architectural forms were complex and could not be distinguished in one single gaze. The arousing of curiosity was important, and the effort the spectator had to make to interpret them. Architects should see architecture with a painter's eye. The painter Joshua Reynolds, President of the Royal Academy, asked: 'Variety and intricacy is a beauty and excellence in every other of the arts which address the imagination: and why not in Architecture?'[42] Architects should make their buildings affect the beholder, either by way of associations, as the baroque architect John Vanbrugh achieved with references to castles of barons, or by a 'striking novelty of effect', by which he meant to favour irregularity over symmetry. In arguing that architecture should have 'something of scenery', Reynolds aimed at the picturesque effect of it, comparing the work of Vanbrugh with that of painters:

> 'To speak then of Vanbrugh in the language of a Painter, he had originality of invention, he understood light and shadow, and had great skill in composition. To support his principal object, he produced his second and third groups or masses; he perfectly understood in his Art what is the most difficult in ours, the conduct of the back-ground; by which the design and invention is set off to the greatest advantage. What the back-ground is in Painting, in Architecture is the real ground on which the building is erected; and no Architect took greater care than he that his work should not appear crude and hard; that is, it did not abruptly start out of the ground without expectation or preparation.'[43]

40. *Ibid.*, pp. 186-230. Caroline van Eck sees the picturesque from the point of view of cultural memory and associating in: 'Architecture speaks a language of its own' in her book *Classical Rhetoric..., op. cit.*, pp. 123-136.
41. Price, *Essays..., op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 349.
42. Reynolds, Discourse XIII, 1786, in Reynolds, *Discourses... op. cit.*, p. 298.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 298.

Price also explained how Vanbrugh came to his picturesque effect:

> 'His first point seems to have been massiness as the foundation of grandeur. Then to prevent the mass from being a lump, he has made various bold projections of various heights which from different points serve as the foregrounds to the main building. And, lastly, having probably been struck with the variety of outline against the sky in many Gothic buildings, he raised on the top a number of decorations of various characters.'

Price also insisted on the importance of distant views. The diversity in the skylines of buildings was in this respect a significant element.

In the picturesque theories, and in eighteenth-century architectural books, one element relating to the picturesque in architecture is particularly striking: that of movement. A number of recent studies on the subject have given this aspect some attention.[44] Because, in my opinion, this characteristic is essential for understanding the particularity of the picturesque, and because it is, as we shall see the main theme of the four others, we will analyse it more in depth than the other characteristics.

Many eighteenth-century authors saw movement in the architecture of John Vanbrugh.[45] Theorists of the picturesque used the architecture of Vanbrugh, built about fifty years earlier, to explain not so much the buildings themselves, but the effects his architecture had. John Soane, who called Vanbrugh the Shakespeare of architects, stated:

> 'His great work is Blenheim. The style of his building is grand and majestically imposing, the whole composition analogous to the war-like genius of the mighty hero for whom it was erected [the Duke of Marlborough]. The great extent of this noble structure, the picturesque effect of its various parts, the infinite and pleasing variety, the breaks and contrasts in the different heights and masses, produce the most exquisite sensations in the scientific beholder, whether the view be distant, intermediate, or near.'[46]

44. Macarthur, *The Picturesque, op. cit.* Van Eck, *Classical Rhetoric..., op. cit.*, pp. 233-261.
45. Hussey, *The Picturesque..., op. cit.*, pp. 188, 189, 202. On Vanbrugh: Vaughan Hart, *Sir John Vanbrugh. Storyteller in Stone*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008.
46. John Soane, Lecture V, in: Watkin (ed.), *Sir John Soane..., op. cit.*, p. 563. Blenheim Palace (1705-1724) is in Oxfordshire, by John Vanbrugh and Nicholas Hawksmoor.

The British architect Robert Adam (1728-1792), who met Piranesi in Rome and admired his etchings for the expression of variety and movement, stated that these recalled to him the same qualities that exist in Vanbrugh's work: 'the magnitude and movement of parts'.[47] Not only did Adam connect architecture to painting in its composition, he also established the relationship between a building and its setting in the Adam brothers' publication *Works in Architecture* of 1778.[48] In their own building projects they were influenced by landscape design, and in writing about architecture as 'like a picture' they preceded the theories that were written two decades later. In the same passage they express their hope that British architecture will soon improve 'in the form, convenience, arrangement, and relief of apartment: a greater movement and variety, in the outside composition, and in the decoration of the inside, an almost total change.' In the footnote to the word 'movement' they added:

> 'Movement is meant to express, the rise and fall, the advance and recess, with other diversity of form, in the different parts of a building, so as to add greatly to the picturesque of the composition. For the rising and falling, advancing and receding, with the convexity and concavity, and other forms of the great parts, have the same effect in architecture, that hill and dale, fore-ground and distance, swelling and sinking have in landscape: That is, they serve to produce an agreeable and diversified contour, that groups and contrast like a picture, and creates a variety of light and shade, which gives great spirit, beauty and effect to the composition.'[49]

Movement in a building is related to its natural surroundings and is therefore best seen from a distance, and requires stepping back. In that way the masses and elements can be distinguished, or, as Price calls it, the massiness of a building which is 'the accompaniment and, as it were, the attendance of the inferior parts in their different gradations [...] to the principal building.'[50] To perceive movement in architecture, the spectator had to move.

James Adam had written earlier already, in 1762, when he was on his Grand Tour in Rome, on movement in architecture. In this text, a draft of an essay on architectural theory which was

47. Robert Adam, *Survey of the Arts in England*, 1778, quoted in Hussey, *The Picturesque...*, *op. cit.*, p. 189.
48. Although 'it is only in the footnotes that we find an articulation of their ideas', Mallgrave (ed.), *Architectural Theory...*, *op. cit.*, p. 287.
49. *The Works of Robert and James Adam, Esquires* [1778], edited with an Introduction by Robert Oresko, London: Academy Editions, 1975, pp. 45-46.
50. Price, *Essays...*, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 331.

never published, he compared architects to landscape painters:

> 'Nothing contributing half so much to the beauty of buildings viewed from a distance as movement, for at a considerable distance we must of necessity lose all the graces of detail and decoration so that we have nothing remaining but the beauty of a well disposed variety of high and low projections and recesses. For with us, as with landscape painters who chose for their subjects a variety of hill and dale to render their scenes interesting, nor are they less attentive to the disposition of light and shade, upon which likewise much of their success depends; for this reason they who study after nature take the evening or the morning when the sun is low and the shadows are broad.'[51]

In another passage the composition of landscape and of architecture were put on a par:

> 'What is so material an excellence in landscape is not less requisite for composition in architecture, namely the variety of contour, a rise and fall of the different parts and likewise those great projections and recesses which produce a broad light and shade.'

As an example of this, Adam again named Blenheim Palace by Vanbrugh.[52]

Such ideas were not unique for Britain, nor were the Adam brothers the first to formulate them. The French architect Jacques-Germain Soufflot's observations on the cathedral of Notre-Dame also speak of movement:

> '[Les tribunes] de Notre Dame a Paris, sont d'une etendue considerable et produisent un effet surprenant en offrant à la vuë, pour ainsi dire, une seconde eglise, dont la clarté contrastante avec l'espece d'obscurité qui regne dans les dessous, la fait paroitre et plus vague et plus elevée, et fait distinguer aux spectateurs comme dans un lointain

51. James Adam, unfinished draft of an essay on architectural theory written in Rome, November, 1762, manuscript in the Clerk of Penicuik collection deposited at H.M. Register House, Edinburgh, quoted in: Fleming, *Robert Adam..., op. cit.*, pp. 315-319.
52. 'I have seen buildings which without anything to recommend tham but merely a considerable degree of this sort of movement, have by that alone been rendered agreeable and even interesting, such is Blenheim and Heriot's Hospital at Edinburgh.' James Adam, unfinished draft of an essay on architectural theory written in Rome, November, 1762, *ibid.*, pp. 315-316.

> mille objets qui, tantost perdus, tantost retrouvés, leurs donnent a mesure qu'ils s'en eloignent ou s'en aprochent des spectacles qui les ravissent a eux mêmes.'[53]

In his *Histoire de la disposition des formes différentes qu'on a données aux temples depuis Constantin le Grand jusqu'à nous*, presented to Louis XV (1710-1774) in 1764 for the laying of the first stone of Soufflot's Sainte-Geneviève, Julien-David Le Roy aimed to explain in an experimental way how the movement in architectural space works. Le Roy called it: 'cette partie métaphysique de l'architecture'.[54] To him architecture should be understood as the unfolding of form through movement.[55] In his 'Essai sur la Theorie de l'Architecture', the introduction to the second edition of his *Les Ruines des Plus Beaux Monuments de la Grèce* (1770) Le Roy described how the principles of architecture depend on our sole and view, in this case while walking through a garden:

> 'Si vous vous promenez dans un jardin, à quelque distance & le long d'une rangée d'arbres plantés réguliérement, dont tous les troncs touchent un mur percé d'arcades ; la situation respective des arbres avec ces arcades, ne vous paroîtra changer que d'une maniere très-insensible, & votre ame n'éprouvera aucune sensation nouvelle, quoique vous ayez parcouru assez vite un espace considérable. Mais si cette rangée d'arbres est éloignée du mur ; en vous promenant de même, vous jouïrez d'un spectacle nouveau, par les différents espaces du mur que les arbres paroîtront, à chaque pas que vous serez, couvrir successivement. [...] Ainsi, quoique nous ayons supposé le mur décoré réguliérement, & les arbres également éloignés, la premiere des décorations semblera immobile, pendant que l'autre au contraire s'animant en quelque sorte par le mouvement du spectateur, lui présentera une succession de vues très-variées, qui résulteront de la combinaison infinie des objets simples qu'il apperçoit.'[56]

53. Jacques-Germain Soufflot, 'Mémoire sur l'architecture gothique' (12 April 1741 read before the Académie des Beaux-Arts in Lyon) in: *L'Oeuvre de Soufflot..., op. cit.*, p. 191. On Soufflot see: Monique Mosser and Daniel Rabreau (eds.), *Soufflot et l'architecture des Lumières*, Paris: École nationale supérieure des beaux-arts, 1986; *Soufflot et son temps: 1780-1980*, Paris: Caisse nationale des Monuments Historiques et des Sites, 1980; Jean-Mondain-Monval, *Soufflot, sa vie, son oeuvre, son esthétique (1713-1780)*, Paris: A. Lemerre, 1918; Jean-Marie Pérouse de Montclos, *Jacques-Germain Soufflot*, Paris: Monum/Éditions du patrimoine, 2004.
54. Le Roy quoted in Richard Etlin, 'Grandeur et Décadence d'un modèle: L'église Sainte-Geneviève et les changements de valeur esthétique au XVIIIe siècle', in: Mosser and Rabreau, *op. cit.*, p. 30, who gives just '*Lettres choisies*, 1792, p. 64' as a reference for the quote.
55. Robin Middleton in his introduction to Le Roy, *The Ruins..., op. cit.*, p. 141.
56. Julien-David Le Roy, *Les Ruines des Plus Beaux Monuments de la Grèce, considérées du côté de l'histoire et du côté de l'architecture*, 2 vols., second edition, Paris: Louis-François Delatour, 1770, vol. 2, p. vii.

Étienne-Louis Boullée offered a slightly different explanation almost twenty-five years later:

> '[une voûte] couronne la colonnade de la manière la plus majestueuse; en ce que les colonnes n'étant pas surchargées par les masses supérieures des voûtes, conservent leur dignité et la grâce qui leur est propre; enfin, en ce que le spectateur éprouveroit à chaque pas, l'effet le plus piquant de l'architecture, ce piquant effet qui naît de ce que nos regards ne sauroient parcourir des objets isolés dont la disposition les présente en divers sens, et d'une manière symétrique, sans que ces objets ne nous semblent se mettre en mouvement avec nous et que nous paroissions leur donner la vie.'[57]

The Scottish philosopher Henry Home, Lord Kames (1696-1782) also believed this phenomenon:

> 'Avoid a straight avenue directed upon a dwelling house; better for an oblique approach is a waving line [...] In a direct approach, the first appearance is continued to the end [...] In an oblique approach, the interposed objects put the house seemingly in motion; it moves with the passenger [...] seen successively in different directions, [it] takes on at every step a new figure.'[58]

When Arthur Young (1741-1820), a scientist and farmer, wrote that ruins 'generally appear best at a distance', he also aimed at the general effect: 'if you approach them the effect is weakened, unless the access is somewhat difficult: And as to penetrating every part by means of artificial paths, it is a question whether the more you see by such means does not proportionally lessen the general idea of the whole.'[59] Young was not interested in the style or the details of the ruins, but considered the scene as a whole 'a mighty picture in three dimensions'. In describing the different shades of mouldering ruins, Knight makes a difference between entire, or new buildings, and buildings in ruin, preferring, just as Price did, the latter: 'The mouldering ruins of ancient temples, theatres, and aqueducts, enriched by such a variety of tints, all mellowed

57. Rosenau (ed.), *Boullée's Treatise..., op. cit.*, pp. 52-53 (f. 95 in manuscript), in section on 'basiliques'.
58. Henry Home, Lord Kames, *Elements of Criticism*, 3 vols., Edinburgh: s.n., 1762, vol. 3, p. 313, in a chapter on 'Gardening and Architecture'.
59. Arthur Young, *A Six Months' Tour through the North of England, containing An Account of the present State of Agriculture, Manufactures and Population in several Counties of this Kingdom*, 4 vols., second edition, London, 1771 (first published 1769), vol. 2, p. 302. Arthur Young, see: John G. Gazley, *The Life of Arthur Young 1741-1820*, Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1973.

into each other, as they appear in the landscapes of Claude, are, in the highest degree, picturesque'. Thus, new buildings are less picturesque: 'for new buildings have an unity of tint, and sharpness of angle, which render them unfit for painting, unless when mixed with trees or some other objects, which may break and diversify their colour, and graduate and harmonize the abruptness of lights and shadows.'[60] According to Knight new buildings could better be described as beautiful, for their neatness, freshness, lightness, symmetry, regularity, uniformity, and propriety.

According to the texts analysed in this section, the picturesque in architecture consists in variation, differentiation, the changing effects of the striking of light, the use of materials, elements of different architectural styles and periods, the combination of building and its surroundings, and, principally, movement. Although we can distinguish different types of movement in architecture, in all types the movement of the spectator is essential. For a building to appear to move, the beholder has to move first, thus the movement in architecture is within the movement itself. We have seen how this kind of movement of architecture, or of the spectator, became an important element in eighteenth-century architectural thought. The picturesque theorists Knight, Price and Kames wrote about it, as did the artist Reynolds and the architects Adam, Soane, Le Roy, and Boullée. Now that we have defined two types of the picturesque in relation to architecture, one using distance and framing the object like a painting, the second focussing on movement, let us turn to the Paestum accounts to see if we can find them here, and if so, what role does movement play in the experience of Paestum?

Pictorial impressions and hasty views: picturesque elements in Paestum

In some of the Paestum accounts travellers used the term picturesque; others were concerned with it or formulated their observations in a way that can be related to it. For instance, it was applied to describe the striking contrast between the beautiful scenery and the site itself:

> 'On arrive à Pæstum par un chemin où les amis de la nature en retrouvent toutes les beautés. Rien de plus frais, de plus varié, de plus pittoresque, que les aspects qu'il

60. Knight, *An Analytical Inquiry...*, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

présente [...]; comme aussi rien de plus aride, rien de plus triste que Pæstum lui-même.'[61]

Several accounts also argue how the situation of Paestum offered interesting scenes for painters: 'les peintres peuvent y trouver des études à faire. Nous y avons rencontré des Bufles, animaux horribles et méchans dans un très beau site ils s'étoient plongés tous dans l'eau, ce qui animoit le paysage', wrote the French architect Charles Hubert Rohault de Fleury (1777-1846) in 1804.[62] The Italian architect Giovanni Battista Piranesi stated in 1778 how Paestum lent itself very well to be painted:

> 'Les Peintres y trouveront également differents points de vüe fort interessants, soit par ses differentes ouvertures, soit par la varieté des plantes champetres, qui l'environnent de toutes parts; ou bien par celle de plusieurs troupeaux de diverses couleurs, que les Bergers y conduisent.'[63]

However, whereas for many travellers the picturesque aspects of the scenery, or the painterly associations the site recalled, were positive elements, some authors took a position against the picturesque in their accounts, as Claude-Mathieu Delagardette (1762-1805) for example, in 1798: 'quelques-uns même de ces Auteurs, semblent n'être allés à Pæstum que par simple curiosité, ou dans le dessein d'y faire un dîné pittoresque'.[64] The French architect Delagardette, the writer of this line, aimed to show how he was different from the layman-traveller, who only went to Paestum to have a good time, like the English writer Mariana Starke (1761/2-1838) did in 1797: 'We took a cold dinner, wine, bread, knives, and forks, in our carriage, and dined in one of the Temples.'[65] Apart from having dinner inside the ruins, there were also travellers who used the temples as scenery or as a stage, as did Lady Blessington and her party, listening

61. Auguste Creuzé de Lesser, *Voyage en Italie et en Sicile, fait en 1801 et 1802*, Paris: P. Didot l'Ainé, 1806, pp. 195-196. Creuzé de Lesser (1771-1839), who was in 1802 in Paestum, was a French writer and politician.
62. Hubert Rohault de Fleury, *Voyage de l'architecte Rohault de Fleury en Italie 1804-1805*, vol. 2, p. 153, manuscript Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris. For Rohault de Fleury see: Jean-Pierre Willesme, *Hubert Rohault de Fleury (1777-1846): Un grand commis de l'architecture. Biographie et catalogue des dessins des albums conservés au Musée Carnavalet (Paris)*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, École pratique des hautes études, Paris, 2007.
63. Piranesi, *Différentes Vues..., op. cit.*, text on plate X.
64. Claude-Mathieu Delagardette, *Les Ruines de Paestum, ou Posidona, ancienne ville de la Grande-Grèce...: levées, mesurées et dessinées... en l'an II par C.-M. Delagardette* [prospectus of upcoming publication], Paris 1798, p. 2.
65. Mariana Starke, *Letters from Italy, between the years 1792 and 1798*, London: R. Philips, 1800, p. 140. Starke was an English author who wrote poetry, plays and travelogues. She published also: *Travels on the Continent* (1820), *Information and Directions for Travellers on the Continent* (1824), *Travels in Europe for the use of Travellers on the Continent and likewise in the Island of Sicily, to which is added an account of the Remains of Ancient Italy* (1832).

to a poem being recited by one of their fellow travellers in 1823.[66] Another French architect, Henri Labrouste, writing probably out of similar motives as Delagardette, also had negative associations in 1829 in discussing reactions by previous travellers:

> 'Ces ruines ont un attrait peut-être dangereux pour les architectes: leur forme pittoresque, le caractère d'abandon et même de désolation que porte le pays qui les environne, frappent, au premier abord, trop puissamment les regards; souvent on ne résiste pas au désir de dessiner les vues pittoresques, et ces vues, faites à la hâte et inexactement, dans lesquelles le caractère de fermeté de l'architecture, étant outré, devient lourd et vicieux, perpétuent des erreurs, malheureusement accréditées dans les écoles.'[67]

Where Labrouste criticized both the hasty observation of travellers, who only saw scenic temples, which led to even more thoughtless representations of them in drawings and sketches, and these shallow depictions leading to persisting faults, he opposed these rash explorations to his own, profound way of examining the temples. He used the picturesque to describe a superficial way of looking at architecture. The reactions by Delagardette and Labrouste show the romantic devaluation of the picturesque, according to architects who favored it to a more scientific way of looking.

These Paestum testimonies demonstrate how elements of the picturesque can appear in the perceptions of travellers. But most of all, they show how this term was applied to different elements. It was applied to the scenery, to the pictorial possibilities of the site, to the temples as a background of activities, to their forms, to the drawings made of them. While it could be used in a positive or negative way, it is always related to a particular way of observation. It shows how travellers looked to the site, how they were beholders of the landscape, the ruins or the combination of both.

What makes studying the picturesque at Paestum particularly interesting is that Richard Payne Knight, one of its main protagonists and theorists, left behind a diary of his voyage to Sicily in 1777, in which Paestum and the picturesque have an important part. An English connoisseur,

66. The issue of Paestum as a stage will be discussed in the fourth chapter of this thesis.
67. Henri Labrouste, *Les Temples de Pæstum. Restauration exécutée en 1829 par Henri Labrouste Grand Prix d'Architecture, en 1824*, Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1877, p. 3. See chapter six of this thesis for Delagardette and Labrouste.

art collector and amateur architect, Richard Payne Knight published eight books, two of which on the picturesque, which were widely read and discussed in the eighteenth and nineteenth century.[68] Thus, after having identified some elements in accounts that can relate to picturesque observations in Paestum, we will turn to Knight for a specific use of the concept in his account, also to determine how he formulated a picturesque experience in his writings. Other travellers to Paestum who used the picturesque did not further theorize their ideas. What is striking in the case of Richard Payne Knight is not only that his voyage was a train of picturesque sensations, but most of all that, back in England, he used his ideas and observations in a theory of the picturesque.

When we look at the Paestum accounts mentioned above we can find the application of different meanings of the picturesque, and it is clear that these diverse connotations continued to be used next to each other. The picturesque as fit for painting, the picturesque as a scenery that brings to mind a painting, or as a superficial observation or pastime. But there is also a different way of picturesque observation, one that has to do with association, as we will see in Knight's theories analysed in a subsequent section. In Paestum, the picturesque was only used in its traditional meaning; the other type, movement, apparently did not play a role. But when we read the account of one of the main theorists of the picturesque, Richard Payne Knight, can we find movement there, or, how does he use the picturesque?

In search of the picturesque: Richard Payne Knight's Paestum account

Richard Payne Knight was privately educated and a man of books. He is pictured as an extremely cultured person in two portraits, made in 1775 and 1794, in which Knight the scholar, collector and critic is represented, but his erudition is also evident from all the references he noted in his publications and in his travel diary.[69] Knight, an amateur architect,

68. Publications by Knight include: *An Account of the Remains of the Worship of Priapus*, London: T. Spilsbury, 1786; *An Analytical Essay on the Greek Alphabet*, London: P. Elmsey, 1791; the poems *The Landscape, a didactic poem*, London: W. Bulmer and Co., 1794, and *The Progress of Civil Society: A Didactic Poem*, London, 1796; *An Analytical Inquiry into the Principles of Taste*, London, 1805; *Carmina Homerica Ilias et Odyssea* London 1808; *An Inquiry into the Symbolical Language of Ancient Art and Mythology*, London, 1818.
69. On Knight: Ballantyne, *op. cit.*, for a focus on his theories; Michael Clarke and Nicolas Penny (eds.) *The Arrogant Connoisseur: Richard Payne Knight 1751-1824*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1982, for some interesting essays

a classical scholar and art collector, was a prominent figure in British society: a trustee of the British Museum, a member of parliament (from 1780 to 1806), of the Society of Dilettanti (from 1781), a deputy-president of the Society of Antiquaries and founder of the British Institution.[70] Before his expedition to Sicily the 26-year old Knight had seen little art and he was probably aiming through the expedition to become a connoisseur and a 'gentleman-scholar'. His voyage was inspired by the Grand Tours of young aristocrats of the Society of Dilettanti.[71]

The Sicilian expedition Knight made in 1777 seems to have been a well-prepared journey in which Paestum was the first site to visit, followed by a two months' tour on the isle of Sicily. This 'Expedition into Sicily' was part of Knight's second journey to Italy in 1776-1778, after the first one in 1772-1773.[72] It has been suggested that the trip to Sicily had been planned earlier, maybe even on Knight's first voyage to Italy. Knight had left England in 1776 accompanied by the British landscape painter John Robert Cozens (1752-1797). In the summer of 1776 they had travelled via Switzerland to Italy.[73] Four years earlier, Knight had already been in Florence, Rome, Capua and Naples. This time, the second voyage took him to Rome (by November 1776), Naples (until 12 April), Paestum, Sicily (from 25 April until 6 June), and back to Rome in July. He was in Paris in the winter, and returned to England in 1778.

It was in Rome, where Cozens and Knight arrived in autumn, that Knight had met the

on different aspects of his life and work; Frank J. Messman, *Richard Payne Knight. The Twilight of Virtuosity*, The Hague/Paris: Mouton, 1974, on Dowton and the Grand Tour: pp. 13-36; Pevsner, 'Richard Payne Knight', *op. cit.*, pp. 293-320 drew for the first time attention to Knight's journal and published the text (an English translation of Goethe's German translation of the text); Susan Lang, 'Richard Payne Knight and the Idea of Modernity', in: John Summerson (ed.), *Concerning Architecture: Essays on Architectural Writers and Writing Presented to Nikolas Pevsner*, London: Allen Lane, The Penguin Press, 1968, has a focus on style; Jean-Jacques Mayoux, *Richard Payne Knight et le Pittoresque. Essai sur une phase esthétique*, Paris: Presses modernes, 1932.

70. Ballantyne, *op. cit.*; Bruce Redford, *Dilettanti. The Antic and the Antique in Eighteenth-Century England*, Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum/Getty Research Institute, 2008, contains a chapter on Knight's voyage.

71. Richard Payne Knight, *Expedition into Sicily*, edited by Claudia Stumpf, London: British Museum Publications, 1986.

72. His first Italian trip was in 1772-1773 and a third would follow in 1785. Because he inherited a large part of the family fortune through his uncle Richard Knight, instead of going to University because he was suffering of poor health, he was able to make a Grand Tour to France, Florence, Rome and Naples in 1772-1773.

73. Cozens' Swiss sketches are also in the collection of the British Museum. On Cozens: C.F. Bell and T. Girtin, *The drawings and sketches of John Robert Cozens*, 23rd volume of the Walpole Society, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1935; F.W. Hawcroft, *Watercolours by John Robert Cozens*, Wilmslow: Richmond Press, 1971; F.W. Hawcroft, 'Grand Tour sketchbooks of John Robert Cozens, 1782-1783', *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 91 (1978), pp. 99-106. A.P. Oppé, *Alexander and John Robert Cozens*, London: Adam and Charles Black, 1952; Andrew Wilton, *The Art of Alexander and John Robert Cozens*, New Haven: Yale Center for British Art, 1980.

German landscape painter Jakob Philipp Hackert (1737-1807) and the English shipbuilder and amateur artist Charles Gore (1729-1807), who was Hackert's pupil.[74] Knight, Hackert and Gore decided to study the remains of Greek architecture in Italy. Cozens may have been too ill to accompany them and stayed at Rome (fig. 2.7).[75] The threesome planned to travel to Sicily in the spring of that year, when everything was in bloom. Hackert and Gore made sketches during the trip and Knight wrote a 120 pages long travel diary.[76] Back in Rome, Cozens would use Hackert and Gore's sketches to make finished watercolours.[77] They might have planned to publish the text and the drawings at their return to England. Their trip went from Paestum to Lipari and Stromboli, via Patti, Palermo, Segesta, Selinunte, Agrigento, Syracuse, Mount Etna, Taormina, to Messina: they left in April 1777 and were back in Rome in July.[78] Knight wrote about the landscape, the architecture, local customs, and political situations, Hackert and Gore captured the site in vivacious pencil sketches, later transferred to impressive watercolours (fig. 2.8). The interaction between the connoisseur and the painters must have been stimulating.

74. Knight and Hackert could also have met in 1772 on Knight's first trip in Naples at Hamilton's, who received regularly English travellers and many other foreigners as well. Hamilton was the English ambassador in Naples, and a common acquaintance of both Hackert and Knight. Hackert worked from 1770 for the Neapolitan court, he was appointed court painter in 1786. They travelled at a time when one had to have royal permission to draw the sites on Sicilian territory, and an anecdote by Knight of them being judged in court because of them drawing a watchtower, proves the connection of Hackert at the royal court, who saved them from detention by showing letters of recommendation. Apart from Hackerts watercolours in the bequest of Knight in the British Museum there are views in German collections. Prince August von Sachsen-Gotha und Altenburg admired in Hackert's studio the finished watercolours of the Sicilian voyage on 6 December 1777, see Stumpf's introduction in Knight, *Expedition into Sicily, op. cit.*, p. 30, note 59, p. 113. Only Hackert's drawings (in engraving) of Paestum have been preserved. Maybe the other painters did not draw them, which might be a sign of less interest, or motivated by the fact that the main goal of the voyage and the publication was Sicily and Paestum was just considered a stop over.
75. Bell and Gertin, and Oppé suggested they quarrelled: Bell and Girtin, *op. cit.*, p. 11, Oppé, *op. cit.*, p. 112. Messmann, *op. cit.*, p. 29, note 75 suggests that Cozens stayed in Rome for financial reasons.
76. Charles Gore's sketches of the tour are in the Print Room of the British Museum, London. On Gore's contribution: Alexander Rosenbaum, 'Charles Gores Reisealbum *Voyage de Sicile 1777*', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 69 (2006) 1, pp. 17-36. Both Knight's and Gore's diary are preserved in the Goethe-Schiller Archiv in Weimar. Drawings by Charles Gore in watercolour show the temples and ruins in Agrigento, Selinunte, Segesta, Syracuse, and also the Island of Stromboli, Mount Etna, the Island of Procida. See British Museum London, Print Room, English Drawings Period IIIB vol. 16 C. Gore LB 1-20.
77. The Study Room of the Victoria & Albert Museum in London holds a drawing of Paestum by Cozens, but this is from a trip made by Cozens in 1782 and not from the voyage of Richard Payne Knight. Knight probably wrote the definitive version of the diary back in England, and in 1782 he gave the watercolours by Hackert and Gore to Hearne to make the definitive ones. Charles Gore probably got a copy of Knight's diary as a memory of their trip from Knight when he moved to Weimar in 1792.
78. On the 12th of April they left Naples, the 13th they were in Paestum, the 14th in Porto Palinuro, the 22nd they left and reached the Lipari Islands the 23rd, visiting Stromboli and Lipari, on 25th they were in Milazzo, and travelling via Tindaro, Patti, Aqua and Cefalù, they arrived on 1 May in Palermo, the 3rd they reached Segesta, the 6th they were in Selinunte, then in Agrigento, the 20th in Syracuse, travelling via Catania to Mount Etna on 27 May, 2 June they were in Taormina, the 3rd in Messina, departing the 6th.

figure 2.7
John Robert Cozens, 'The Colosseum from the North', 1780.

(National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh. From Hamilton, 2009, p. 14.)

figure 2.8
Charles Gore, Ruins of the three temples of Selinunte, Sicily, after 1777.

(British Museum, London, Prints and Drawings Collection.)

The itinerary, undertaken in a felouk, was well planned: it led to places which were scenic and would arouse the emotions: the volcanoes of Stromboli and the Etna on Sicily, and the sites where Greek architecture could be admired: Paestum, Syracuse, Agrigento and Taormina. Knight had read a considerable amount of literature on the subject and had an idea of what to expect. At the time there were five folio publications on Paestum available, written or illustrated by Dumont, Morghen, Major, and Longfield. Earlier travellers to Sicily included John Dryden (1701), J.P. d'Orville (1727), Patrick Brydone (1770) and Baron von Riedesel (1771); their accounts were only published in the 1760's and 1770's.[79] Brydone's account was an inspiration for Knight's own diary and he sometimes almost literally follows it. As far as is known, only Brydone and Von Riedesel (who was a friend of Winckelmann) visited Paestum on the way. As Arnaldo Momigliano has shown, Sicily began to be of interest at a later date in the eighteenth century than Paestum.[80] Apart from the fact that Sicily had, like Paestum, Greek temples on Italian soil at Agrigento, Segesta and Selinunte, there were many differences with Paestum, of which the completeness, the amount ant the situation of the temples was unique. Knight's account shows in a more concrete way how reactions to Paestum and Sicily in one travel diary could differ, as we will see in the next section.[81]

From Naples the group sailed on 12 April early in the morning, heading for Sicily, with

79. John Dryden, *Voyage to Sicily and Malta*, London: J. Brew, 1776; Jacques Philippe Orville, *Jacobi Philippi d'Orville Sicula, quibus Siciliae veteris rudera… illustrantur*, 2 vols., Amsterdam: G. Tielenburg, 1764; Baron J.H. von Riedesel, *Reise durch Sicilien und Grossgriechenland*, Zurich: Orell, Gessner, Füesslin & Co., 1771; Patrick Brydone, *A Tour through Sicily and Malta*, 2 vols., London: W. Strahan & T. Cadell, 1773.
80. Momigliano, 'The Rediscovery...', *op. cit.*, pp. 167-187. See also Tuzet, *op. cit.* Arnaldo Momigliano, 'Ancient History and the Antiquarian', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute*, 13 (1950), pp. 285-315.
81. The diary Knight kept was entitled *Expedition into Sicily*. This handwritten diary, kept in the Goethe Archiv in Weimar consists of 120 pages. Unfortunately it is not clear who wrote the manuscript. It is a copy, for the handwriting is not Knight's, and it is not dated. As Claudia Stumpf has shown, a letter by Goethe is in the same hand, she suggests written by Goethe's secretary. Goethe letter of 15 January 1810 in Goethe-Schiller Archiv Weimar, xlix, 3.6. See note 8 of Claudia Stumpf's 'The 'Expedition into Sicily'' in: Clarke and Penny (eds)., *op. cit.*,, p. 112. It was partly translated and published by Goethe in 1810 in a biography on his friend Hackert. See also *ibid.*, pp. 19-31 on this. Interestingly, Goethe had made a selection of Knight's texts for this translation. Knight himself, who wrote many books and shifted subjects often, was already preoccupied with another topic a few years after the trip. This is to be seen by the character of the diary of which the second part - a sociological reflection of the people of Sicily, means a break with the more archaeological content of the first part. In his long exposé Knight states how after the degeneration of Latin as a language, taste was destroyed, calling about the purity of antiquity. See Knight, *Expedition into Sicily*, *op. cit.*, p. 30-31. Goethe left the general passage on Sicilian people out, although he had them partly translated (*Ibid.*, p. 113, note 65). Pevsner published Goethe's translated parts of the journal in English in 1949. Pevsner, 'Richard Payne Knight', *op. cit.*, pp. 311-320. Hussey refers to it (Hussey, *The Picturesque, op. cit.*, p. 124, note 1) stating the disappearance of the original diary. Thomas Weidner argues how the 'Entdeckerfreude' of Stumpf is exaggerated, because others wrote about it before. See note 28 in Weidner, *Jakob Philipp Hackert. Landschafstmaler im 18. Jahrhundert*, Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1998, p. 201.

Paestum and the Lipari islands as stops.[82] Leaving Naples the sight of the city and the islands, the smoking Vesuvius, and Sorrento all 'extending round to Cape Miseno in the form of an Amphitheatre, enriched with Palaces, Gardens, Woods and Ruins, are such an assemblage of objects, as are no where else to be seen. We enjoyed it in the utmost perfection, as the weather was extremely fine and the Spring in its bloom.' The weather conditions gave Knight an impressive sight: 'The infinite variety of tints were all harmonized together by that pearly hue, which is peculiar to this delicious climate.' The comment about the mingling of colours is interesting in itself, but Knight adds another remark: 'This Tint very particularly marks Claude Lorraine's Coloring.' This sight gradually disappears when night falls and everything becomes obscure: 'As we advanced into the open sea, the colours and forms seemed to sink into the Atmosphere and grow gradually indistinct, till at last the Sun withdrew its rays and left all in darkness.' Knight creates here a stark contrast between the soft colours of the day and the absence of sight during the dark night where the role of the spectator becomes insignificant. The visual and picturesque experience of leaving Naples having associations with Claude's paintings, a pittoresco way of observing that is reminiscent of the way of viewing through a Claude glass, is enhanced by these observations in which the primacy of colour and light, so important in Knight's later theories on the picturesque, are opposed to darkness wherein nothing can be seen. It reminds one of the forceful contrast between night and day Shelley described in his depiction of the landscape around Paestum. Yet Shelley's account was very different. To him it added to the sublime experience, an experience that was specifically related to the site.

The group of travellers spent the night in their boat and disembarked on the 13th of April at Agropoli, a small village close to Paestum. They continued on horseback to visit 'those venerable remains', as Knight wrote down (fig. 2.9). In these words it becomes clear that Knight was prepared to perceive something that was well known and already admired by earlier travellers. At the first glance of the ruins, Knight is immediately struck, his expectations are satisfied or even surpassed: 'The first appearance of them is exceedingly striking'. In this first

82. In Knight's bequest to the British Museum in London remain 39 drawings that illustrate in images the words in the diary. His travel companions Gore and Hackert made these, and they are partly copies made afterwards by Cozens and Hearn. Knight was in Paris in the winter of 1777 and he might have had the watercolours with him, or Gore took them with him when he returned in 1779 to England. After Knight's death the watercolours and his collection of antiquities, were bequeathed to the museum. British Museum Print Room O.0.4-(2-41). Gore's Sicilian views, 112 watercolours and sketches with annotations are in the Goethe-Nationalmuseum in Weimar, Th.Scr. 2.2.3. See Rosenbaum, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-36.

figure 2.9
Jakob Philipp Hackert, 'Die Tempel von Paestum', seen from the north-east, 1777.
(Private collection. From Andreae, 2007, p. 179.)

description Knight concentrates on the landscape setting in which the temples are situated: 'the three Temples, which are tolerably well preserved, rise one beyond the other in the midst of a rich and beautiful vale, surrounded by romantic Hills, covered with flowering Shrubs and Herbs.' Knight tried to give some historical depth to his observations by mentioning how Virgil wrote about one of these mountains. In his *Georgics*, Virgil mentioned the Monte Vostiglione (then named 'Mons Alburnus'), and made this mountain, situated near the merging of the two rivers the Silarus and the Tanager (the Sele and Negro), a starting point to further examine the landscape around Paestum. Knight states how, just like in Virgil's times, the mountain is covered with 'Ilexes', oaks. The *Georgics* mention Paestum briefly.[83] He also quotes Virgil on dense forests covering the banks of the river Silarus, which are occupied in summer by a type of 'stinging fly'.[84]

In a third reference to Virgil's time, Knight called the Tanager an insignificant river that has occasionally run dry during the summer and of which Virgil spoke as 'sicci ripa Tanagri'. Is Knight citing ancient authors to show the history of the site and to demonstrate that Paestum was known in Roman times? Or just to show his erudition? He might have wanted to illustrate that the traveller can somehow relive the times of the Romans, in walking around the site, but only for that part of Paestum that had remained unchanged: that of nature.

The quotations of Virgil were a common feature in the publications on Paestum, and rather than showing himself to be the connoisseur able to make these connections to ancient authors, Knight shows that he has read the folio volumes that were available on Paestum. By reading these publications beforehand, Knight created a mind well stocked with historical descriptions and references, which he could call upon in viewing the sites where this history had taken place. Further down we will see how Knight quoted other ancient authors and how other eighteenth-century writers on Paestum cited them. But first we will follow the expedition of Paestum further, in Knight's description of the site, to get an idea of how he constructed the account of

83. Knight owned an edition of the *Georgics* of 1746. Lot 743 in his *Sales Catalogue*: 'Virgili Opera, Burmanni 1746'.
84. Virgil's text is as follows: 'Round the groves of Silarus and the green holm oaks of Alburnus swarms a fly, whose Roman name is *asilus*, but the Greeks have called it in their speech *oestrus* [the gadfly]. Fierce it is, and sharp of note; before it whole herds scatter in terror through the woods: with their bellowings the air is stunned and maddened, the groves, too, and the banks of parched Tanager.' ('est lucos Silari circa ilicibusque virentem / plurimus Alburnum volitans, cui nomen asilo / Romanum est, oestrum Grai vertere vocantes, / asper, acerba sonans, quo tota exterrita silvis / diffugiunt armenta, furit mugitibus aether / concussus silvaeque et sicci ripa Tanagri.') *Georgics*, Book III, 146-151, in: Virgil, *Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid I-VI*, with an English translation by H. Rushton Fairclough, revised by G.P. Goold, Cambridge (Mass.)/London: Harvard University Press 1999, pp. 186-187.

his experience at the spot.

For after this literary first impression of the temples and their location in the fertile valley, Knight went to examine the temples more closely. In his report we can minutely follow his observations. In the diary the first general impression of the landscape, with the three temples as part of it, evoking several associations, is followed by a closer examination of the temples. The history of the temples and of the location has been integrated here. He described the three temples with their short and fluted baseless columns with broad capitals:

> 'The Architecture of Paestum is the old Doric – the Columns, short and fluted, and near together, with broad flat Capitals and no bases. They are executed in a kind of porous petrifaction like that of the Lago del Tartaro near Tivoli. The Stones are exquisitely wrought and joined with the nicest exactitude, and like all the fine Works of the Ancients without Cement.'

What is interesting in these remarks is not the description of the architecture of the temples as such, but most of all the shortness of the comments. In fact, it is the only comment Knight made about the architecture of the temples in the whole account.

Next, Knight made a number of interesting remarks about the colours of the stone. He observed that the temples are coloured in a white yellow. Moreover, the atmospheric influences of the weather have touched and eroded the stone, and even better, the temples are covered with moss and weed. Contrary to what he saw at monuments in the city of Rome, they have not turned black by smoke, and are not marred by new constructions as had happened to the ruins in Rome:

> 'The colour is a whitish yellow, stained and corroded by the vicissitudes of weather, and overgrown with Moss and herbage; without being blackened by Smoke or intermixed with modern Buildings like the Ruins of Rome: hence the tints are extremely beautiful and picturesque.'

On the contrary, the colours are a whole, harmonious, attractive and, most of all, beautiful and picturesque. Not only does Knight use, in this significant phrase, the word picturesque, applied to the temples of Paestum, he also puts it on a par with the beautiful. The two aesthetic viewpoints, that would become separate concepts in theories at the end of the century, are here

put into one phrase. Further in this chapter we will see how Knight defined these two concepts in his later theories.

The remarks about the porous stone, and the picturesque colours of the temples are a sort of prelude to his next observation, crucial for an understanding of how Knight the spectator viewed Paestum. Considering the temples, and his own closer observation of them, he wrote down:

> 'When one examines the Parts near, they appear rude, massive and heavy; but seen at a proper distance, the general effect is grand, simple and even elegant. The rudeness appears then an artful negligence, and the heaviness a just and noble Stability.'

It is one of the most significant comments he makes. While the temples from close up appear rough, massive and heavy, distance is necessary to achieve a magnificent overall effect. In studying the temples from nearby, Knight seems to have been disappointed, he is merely impressed by the joints. Only from far away a synthesis arises between the landscape and the ruins. Seen from a distance, rough masses of stone, which are enormous in size and clearly defined with shadows and open spaces, turn into a soft coloured texture.

From the descriptions of his Sicilian diary it becomes clear that Knight's view might also have been coloured by the painters with whom he travelled, the three of them observing the landscape as if it were a painting. As such, looking at Paestum with a painter's eye might have been easier, the temples appearing from a distance the most interesting image.

In this observation we see all the problems and conflicts that the Paestum site could excite in an observer: the conflict between expectation and observation *in situ*, the confrontation with the strangeness of the architecture, and the way to deal with this problem. How to find ways to appreciate an architecture that is unknown, and to one's own taste too rough and too heavy? Knight's solution is to look only at it from a distance. Whereas, as we saw in the first chapter, some visitors tried to deal with their experiences by means of the sublime, Knight took a different path. His account was built around picturesque experiences of ancient Greek ruins. The fact that these ruins did not come up to his expectations and his idea of the higher state of Greek art as opposed to Roman art, is an example of a conflict many eighteenth-century visitors experienced when they had an *a priori* preference for Greek art based on publications and plates they had seen. We saw this for instance in the previous chapter in the reactions of

Boullée and Chambers to Greek architecture. Confronted with the real thing and disappointed by it, travellers somehow had to come to an appreciation. Thus, Knight's solution was to view the monuments from a distance. In fact, he returned to his initial position from where he had experienced his first striking sight of the temples. In that way the mingling of ruins and landscape became a blurred whole of colours reminiscent of landscape paintings, and as such could become aesthetically satisfying.

It is clear that Knight did not appreciate the temples at all. They were too rough, massive and heavy.[85] After this step to take a distance, he turned to the other, Roman, remains at the site, and includes a long reflection on the Corinthian order, in commenting upon the little remains of a fourth, Roman temple. In these comments on the fourth temple he also gives his ideas on history and progress in architecture. Because its remains are rude, simple and pure, it seems to have been built before the perfection, or after the decline of the Corinthian order. Knight decided that it was probably before the perfection, and he writes about the beginnings of the Corinthian order showing that the Greeks were inventors and no imitators, and that humans are always progressive in the arts:

> 'Human Genius is always progressive in its operations, and in things of this kind generally slow. Men improve in works of taste more from observing the faults of others, than from any preconceiving Ideas of perfection. The first rudiments of the Corinthian order are to be found among the Ruins of Thebes and Persepolis, and were brought into Europe probably about the time of Alexander the Great: but the Pride of the Greeks would never permit them, to acknowledge themselves Imitators in any thing. They claimed the invention and improvement of all arts, as owing to their own superior Genius, and not the effect of accident observation and experience.'[86]

85. Thus, when Stumpf writes that 'few of his contemporaries could appreciate Doric architecture so spontaneously', she misses the point. Stumpf in Knight, *Expedition into Sicily*, *op. cit.*, p. 21.
86. 'Besides the three Temples, there are the foundations of a small Amphitheatre, and considerable remains of the City Walls, within which the ground is all overspread with broken Columns and other fragments of ruined Edifices, which show the former magnificence of this ancient City. Among these one may trace the Ruins of a small Temple of a very singular kind. It stood between the great Temple or (as others suppose) the Basilica, and the Amphitheatre and appears to have been of the usual Doric form. The Columns are fluted in the Corinthian manner, with interstices between the flutes, and the Capitals are of the same order, but very rude and simple. The entablature is Doric, but more charged with Members than that of the other buildings of Paestum. Between the Trigliffs are basso rilievos, the design of which appears to have been pure and elegant, but they are so corroded and mutilated in the small fragments which remain, that one cannot judge of the execution. Whether this Temple was built before the perfection of the Corinthian order, or after its decline, is uncertain. I am inclined to think the former for many reasons. The Corinthian order does not appear from any monuments extant, to have been perfected before the time of Augustus, not to have

In this text he dismisses the origin of the Corinthian order in the Vitruvian sense. We will continue on the origins of architecture in the fifth chapter of this thesis.

In this long discourse on the Corinthian order, Knight again cites an ancient author, in this case Strabo, who was also quoted in many other Paestum accounts in the eighteenth century.[87] In general, Knight often cites ancient authors, but is not very original in it. In his *The Ruins of Paestum* (1768), Thomas Major cited Strabo as well, as he also quoted several poets that made reference to the Paestan roses that bloom twice a year: Virgil, Ovid, Propertius, Martial, Ausonius and Claudian.[88] In Saint Non's *Voyage Pittoresque* the same quotations appeared. Although citing ancient writers in order to show the history of the site was a common feature in the eighteenth century, if only to demonstrate that the Paestum of Roman times was known to the authors of Antiquity, these Roman writers mainly named Paestum for its roses or petrifying water. They never gave a description of the city.

Knight continued his account with the stones used in Paestum. He explained that, contrary to the Romans, the Greeks did not possess elegant materials, a reason for the coarseness of the buildings.[89] Knight further explained the porous appearance of the columns by the vicinity

declined till that of the Antonines. As for the Story of its having been invented by an Architect of Corinth, from seeing an Acanthus, growing round a basket of flowers, it deserves little attention.'

87. 'The City of Paestum must have been in a state of decay long before the corruption, or even perfection of the Corinthian order, as Strabo mentions its being deserted and unhealthy in his time, and it is never spoken of as a place of any importance by the Historians of the Roman Wars in Italy.' Of the publications then existing Dumont, Major, Longfield and Grosley for example refer to Strabo (Dumont, *Suite de Plans, op. cit.*; [Longfield,] *op. cit.*; Dumont, *Les Ruines..., op. cit.*; Pierre-Jean Grosley, *Observations sur l'Italie et sur les italiens, données en 1764, sous le nom de 'Deux gentilshommes suédois'*, London: s.n. 1770. For Major's references, see his *The Ruins... op. cit.*, p. 13. *Strabo*: 'the Poseidonian Gulf; this gulf is now called the Paestan Gulf; and the city of Poseidonia, which is situated in the centre of the gulf, is now called Paestus. The Sybaritae, it is true, had erected fortifications on the sea, but the settlers removed them farther inland; later on, however, the Leucani took the city away from the Sybaritae, and, in turn, the Romans took it away from the Leucani. But the city is rendered unhealthy by a river that spreads out into the marshes in the neighbourhood.' Strabo, *Geography*, 5.4.13 in: *The Geography of Strabo*, with an English translation Horace Leonard Jones, Cambridge (Mass.)/ London: Harvard University Press, 1988, vol. II, p. 469.

88. Virgil, *Georgics*, Book IV, 119. (Propertius IV 5, 59: 'I have seen rose-beds of fragrant Paestum that promised enduring bloom lying withered by the scirocco's morning blast.' Propertius, *Elegies*, edited and translated by G.P. Goold, Cambridge (Mass)/London: Harvard University Press, 1990, p. 399; Martial IV 42, 19: 'Let his forehead be low and his nostrils not too large and slightly aquiline, let his red lips vie with the roses of Paestum.'; V 37, 9: 'whose breath was fragrant as a Paestan rose bed or new honey'; VI 80, 6: 'the charm of fragrant Flora, so splendid the glory of the Paestan countryside.'; IX, 60: 'Whether you were born in Paestum's fields'; Martial, *Epigrams*, edited and translated by D.R. Shackleton Bailey, 2 vols., Cambridge (Mass.)/London: Harvard University Press 1993 XII, 31; LIX 27.

89. 'The Buildings of the lower ages of Rome, when Architecture was corrupted, are also in a different Stile from that above mention'd. The Romans being Masters of the World, and having the rich quarries of Africa, Greece and Sicily, at their command, never imployed so much work upon so coarse a Material; But the Greek Republics being confined to a small place, were obliged to use whatever Material their own territory produced.' This is similar to Piranesi's view, as

of the salt stream.[90] It seems almost as if he wanted to state that some writers claim that architecture is created by or is born out of nature. He ends his account in writing about the soil, and, just like the other eighteenth-century authors, about the roses, so celebrated by Virgil.[91]

Knight's description of Paestum contains different elements: a general impression, ancient authors, architecture, stone, colour, distance, other monuments, the fourth temple, his reflections on the Corinthian order, the decay of the city, the Romans and the Greeks, the air, the situation and form of the city, and the roses. In fact, there is no clear structure to his description, it is just a chain of impressions and references, trains of thought in fact, and most of all: Knight is not really interested in the temples themselves. He is much more interested in the landscape, the scenery, the colours, the stone, and the air. Then he quickly walks away, and starts thinking about the history of the place. The text, which may give a sense of randomness, is structured by the associations that come up by the experience of being at the site. These associations are those of Roman authors, like Virgil and Strabo. After giving a brief description of the temples, and looking at them from a distance, Knight quickly turned to the other remains. He might have been disappointed because his expectations were so high and he read so much about the site. But although the first sight of the temples is striking, seen from far in the landscape, from close by they are no longer interesting to him.

we will see in the fifth chapter.

90. 'The exact time of the rise or fall of Paestum is not known, tho' both were probably very early. Its remains owe their preservation to the pestiferous quality of the Air, for had the place been habitable, they would have shared the fate of most of the works of the Greeks and Romans, and have been pulled in pieces, in order to imploy the materials in modern edifices.' 'This poisonous air is produced by a salt stream, which flows from the mountains and stagnates under the Walls, where it petrifies and forms the kind of Stone of which the City was built. The petrification is extremely rapid, and some have supposed, that the Columns were cast in molds, as they consist of reeds, rushes etc. petrified by this Water; but I am inclined to think this opinion ill-founded.'

91. 'The city was quadrangular, as appears by the Walls, which seem formely to have been washed by the Sea, though now (owing to the petrifying stream) they are upwards of 500. yards distant from it. The new ground is very distinguishable from the old, being all nude petrification or Saltmarsh, whereas the old soil, within the Walls, and between them and the Mountains, is dry and fertile, worthy of the rosaria Paesti, so celebrated by the Roman Poets.' Virgil's text: 'In fact, were I not, with my task well-nigh done, about to furl my sails and making haste to turn my prow to land, perchance I might sing what careful tendance clothes rich gardens in flower, and might sing of Paestum whose rose beds bloom twice yearly, how the endive rejoices in drinking streams, the verdant banks in celery; how the cucumber, coiling through the grass, swells into a paunch. Nor should I have passed in silence the late-flowering narcissus, the twining tendril of the acanthus, pale ivy sprays, or the shore-loving myrtle.' ('Atque equidem, extremo ni iam sub fine laborum / vela traham et terris festinem advertere proram, / forsitan et, pingues hortos quae cura colendi / ornaret, canerem, biferique rosaria Paesti, / quoque modo potis gauderent intiba rivis / et virides apio ripae, tortusque per herbam / cresceret in ventrem cucumis; nec sera comantem / narcissum aut flexi tacuissem vimen acanthi / pallentisque hederas et amantis litora myrtos.') Virgil, *Georgics,* Book IV, 116-124, in: Virgil, *op. cit.*, pp. 226-227.

In viewing the site as a painting, Knight was not different from other travellers cited before. Furthermore, in Knight's diary Paestum was not the only site to evoke these sensations. Other sites were perceived in a similar way. Yet there were some important differences, as we will see shortly.

Picturesque versus sublime: the Expedition into Sicily and John Cozens' view

Knight's account of Paestum was not entirely exceptional among the descriptions of ancient sites in his diary. In some aspects he wrote about Sicily in a similar way, drawing on the picturesque and quoting ancient authors as Euripides, Homer, Strabo, Theocretius and Virgil in the Sicilian part of his journal. For Sicily, Knight used the word picturesque three times, and once he mentioned a scene as if it was a painting. Thus, in Lipari, he also took a distance in order to come to an appreciation and a picturesque view.[92] In Agrigento, Knight related the picturesque to the situation of the temple:

> 'The present appearance of the Temple of Juno is the most picturesque that can be imagined. It is situated upon a small Hill, cover'd with trees, among which lie the broken Columns etc. that have fallen down, for the material is so coarse that they are not thought worth carrying away.'[93]

The picturesque is also used in Syracuse to describe its gardens: 'The Latomiae of Acridina are nearer the Sea, and are now the Gardens of a Capuchin Convent. They are in the same stile as the others, but still more beautiful and picturesque.' In Messina, which he found beautiful, he wrote about a perception of the city as a painting. In this account he used the word romantic as well. In Messina Knight combined two different views, from far away and close by, just as in Paestum. Here as well, the view from a distance is one of delight, and, in approaching, the misery of the town becomes apparent. It also seems that, in Sicily, Knight was more

92. '[Lipari, April 24th] The Town is situated at the bottom of a small Bay upon a Rock of Lava, projecting into the Sea, beautifully broken and hung with Shrubs. At a small distance it appears very elegant and picturesque, being surrounded by a small plain, cover'd with Houses and Gardens, beyond which rise the Mountains, formely Volcanos, but now turned into rich Vineyards, interspersed with Figtrees, Mulberries etc.' Knight, *Expedition into Sicily, op. cit.*, p. 31.
93. *Ibid.*, p. 43.

figure 2.10
Jakob Philipp Hackert, Temple of Hercules in Agrigento, Sicily, 1777.
(British Museum, London, Prints and Drawings Collection.)

figure 2.11
Charles Gore, View of the Temple at Segesta, Sicily, 1777.
(British Museum, London, Prints and Drawings Collection.)

figure 2.12
Charles Gore, Ruins of the Temple of Junon Lacinia in Agrigento, Sicily, after 1777.
(British Museum, London, Prints and Drawings Collection.)

figure 2.13
Thomas Hearne, Ruins of the Grand temple at Selinunte, Sicily, after 1777.
(British Museum, London, Prints and Drawings Collection.)

enthusiastic when there is less left of the building, as was the case in Agrigento (fig. 2.10). This reminds us of the lines quoted earlier by Gilpin on the superior beauty of ruins as compared to buildings that are completely intact.

However, next to similarities, there are also differences from the way Knight viewed Paestum. His explorations at Segesta are very dissimilar from his observations at Paestum. There he did not take a distance or ignore the architecture. On the contrary, in Segesta he wanted to measure the monuments, he immediately started to describe the architecture, counted the columns of the temple, and looked for a ladder to measure in more detail.[94] In Paestum he did not even try this, or at least he did not write about it. He was also captivated by the situation of the temple at Segesta: 'On approaching one is struck with a view of a noble temple, which stands alone upon a small Hill surrounded by high Mountains.'[95] Hackert and Gore drew the temple in that way, with the same viewpoint from down the hill (fig. 2.11). The relationship between the text of the diary and their images is often close. The viewing points and descriptions by Knight are repeatedly seen in the watercolours, for instance showing people examining temples at Segesta. The drawings show that the corrosion of stone and the damage of a pediment are not seen as insignificant details, but as important for the picturesque aspect. In Agrigento the group also took measurements, as is visible in Gore's watercolours (fig. 2.12). Knight wrote about one of the temples: 'It has six columns in front and fourteen deep, all entire with their entablatures.' In Selinunte, Knight commented on Paestum's capitals, and was again busy measuring (fig. 2.13). He took two days to draw and measure the ruins. Even at Mount Etna, Knight mentions the measurements he took. He also took samples at the spot. In comparison, Knight gave an astonishingly general impression of Paestum.

The seriousness with which he examined the ruins at Sicily may have to do with Knight's plan to publish his findings on Sicily in an illustrated folio, the aim being to further his scholarly ambitions. Knight had asked Cozens, who stayed in Rome, to make finished watercolours of the sketches of Hackert and Gore to publish them next to his text.[96] Cozens already had made

94. '[...] I could not measure, not being able to procure a Ladder'. *Ibid.*, p. 39.
95. *Ibid.*, p. 38.
96. Two of his Grand Tour sketchbooks 1782-1783 are now in the Whitworth Art Gallery in Manchester. See Clarke and Penny (eds.), *op. cit.*, pp. 162-163. During this tour he worked as a draughtsman for William Beckford (1759-1844), author and patron. Oppé, *op. cit.*; Kim Sloan, *Alexander and John Robert Cozens: the poetry of landscape*, New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1986; Ingamells, *op. cit.*, p. 249. Six watercolours of Paestum by Cozens in his sketchbooks are in the Whitworth Art Gallery in Manchester: The Ferry Between Eboli and Paestum, 7/11/1782 (D.1975.7.10); The three Temples at Paestum, 7/11/1782 (D.1975.7.11); The Temple of Neptune and the Basilica at Paestum, 7/11/1782

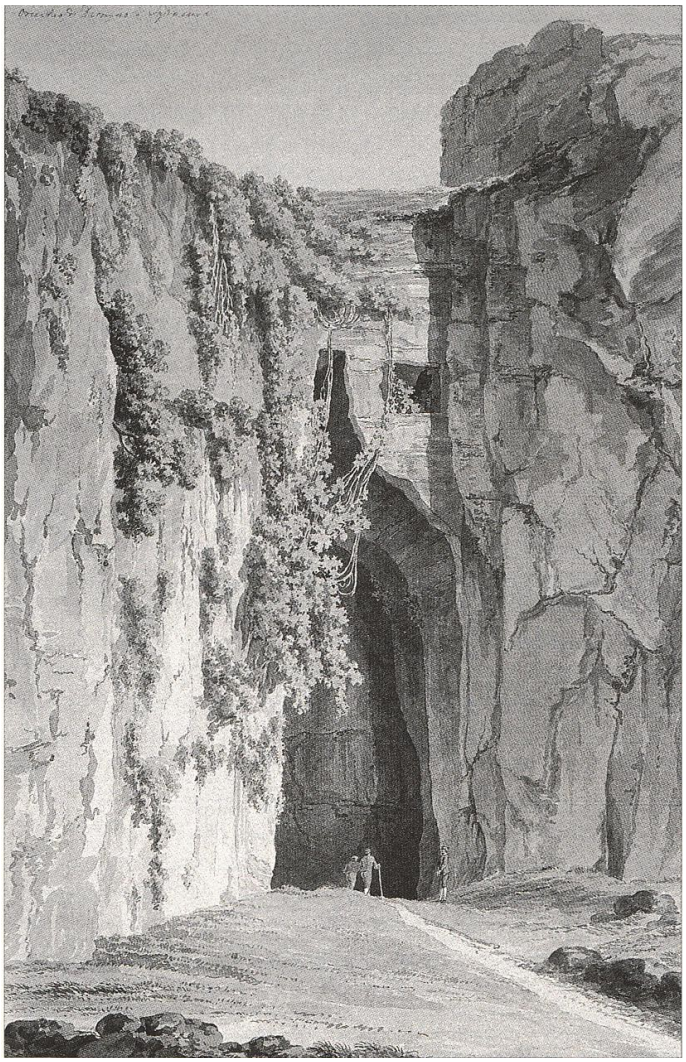


figure 2.14
Thomas Hearne after Jacob Philipp Hackert, Dionysos Ear in Syracuse, Sicily, after 1777.
(British Museum, London, Prints and Drawings Collection.)

drawings for Knight in Switzerland, after the two left England together for Italy. In the same period, both Cozens and Knight were preoccupied with the element of light.[97] It has been suggested that Cozens was chosen to picture the more poetic scenes of Sicily, and the other painters to make the more archaeological accurate views, both at the spot as afterwards.[98] For the references to literature, Knight had to consult his own library in England, as he did not bring these sources with him on his trip.[99]

Another difference in Knight's accounts of Paestum and Sicily is the use of the sublime. Although it is not used literally in his text on Sicily, the concept does appear in the descriptions from time to time. For example, the group examined the ruins at Selinunte, which Knight called 'stupendous', and at Agrigento he commented upon the 'awful discrepancy between ancient grandeur and modern poverty'. The so-called ear of Dionysos (fig. 2.14), a cave in Syracuse, had sublime elements: associations came up with crimes and misery, gloom, horror and despair. The strongest of sublime experiences Knight felt when he climbed Mount Etna. He wrote 'I felt myself elevated above humanity, & looked down with Contempt upon the mighty objects of Ambition under me.' These sublime feelings that nature can evoke in a spectator viewing volcanoes, for example, appear again in his theories in *An Analytical Inquiry* in 1805. These brief quotations show that the sublime proved to be a much stronger and impressive way of describing a site, giving room to its specific qualities. This way of describing the site is contrary to Knight's rather general descriptions of Paestum, that express nothing of its particularity.

But whereas Knight did not relate Paestum to the sublime, John Robert Cozens, the draughtsman he hired after the expedition, saw the site in an entirely different way, when

(D.1975.7.12); View of the Temple of Neptune and the Basilica at Paestum, 1782 (D.1975.7.13); The small Temple at Paestum, 1782 (D.1975.7.14); The small Temple at Paestum (D.1984.7). One is in the Victoria & Albert Museum in London.

97. On light in Cozens' paintings: Isabelle von Marschall, *Zwischen Skizze und Gemälde: John Robert Cozens (1752-1797) und das englische Landschaftsaquarell*, München: Scaneg, 2005.

98. Knight, *Expedition into Sicily, op. cit.*, p. 29.

99. 'you will excuse inaccuracies and remember, that I write as a traveller without books and memorandums', Knight wrote to the painter George Romney, on 24 November 1776. John Romney, *Memoirs of the Life and Works of George Romney Including Various Letters, and Testimonies to His Genius, etc*, London: Baldwin and Cradock, 1830, p. 332. The suggestion by Stumpf (Knight, *Expedition into Sicily, op. cit.*, p. 15) that these plans to publish an illustrated volume about the voyage were abandoned a few years after the trip, as grand folios that appeared in the eighties of the eighteenth century probably deterred Knight, has never been proved. As we saw before, abbé Richard de Saint Non's *Voyage Pittoresque ou description des Royaumes de Naples et de la Sicile* appeared in Paris from 1781 to 1786, in five volumes. Biscari, a scholar and collector from Sicily, published a travel guide to the antiquities of Sicily in 1781, and J. Houel's *Voyage pittoresque des Isles de Sicile, de Malthe et de Lipari* appeared in Paris in 1784-1787. More on abandoning the project of publication: Stumpf, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-31.

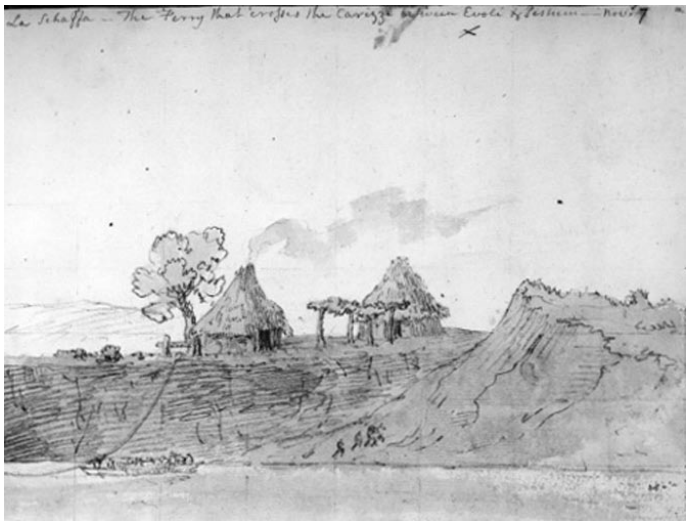


figure 2.15
John Robert Cozens, 'The Ferry between Eboli and Paestum', 1782.
(Whitworth Art Gallery, Manchester.)

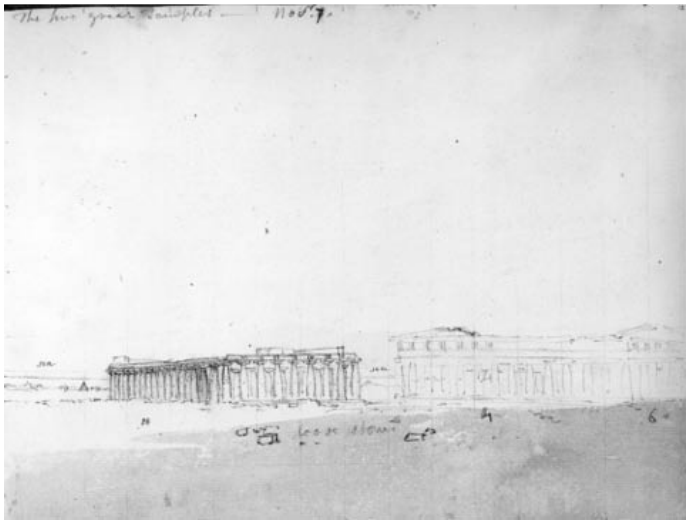


figure 2.16
John Robert Cozens, 'The Temple of Neptune and the Basilica at Paestum', 1782.
(Whitworth Art Gallery, Manchester.)

figure 2.17
John Robert Cozens, 'The Two Great Temples at Paestum', 1782.
(Victoria & Albert Museum, London, P.2-1973.)

figure 2.18
John Robert Cozens, 'The small temple at Paestum, Italy', 1782.
(Whitworth Art Gallery, Manchester.)

figure 2.19
John Robert Cozens, 'Two Great Temples at Paestum', 1782-1783.

(Gallery Oldham, Oldham. From Serra, *Paestum*, 1986, p. 88.)

figure 2.20
John Robert Cozens, The three temples at Paestum, 1782-1783.

(Gallery Oldham, Oldham. From Serra, *Paestum*, 1986, p. 88.)

visiting Paestum himself five years later (fig. 2.15, 2.16). When finishing the watercolours for the intended publication, Cozens had never seen Paestum. Five years after Knight he travelled to the site himself. Even though he had worked for a patron with a picturesque eye, in November 1782 Cozens himself made some striking observations in Paestum, captured in astonishing images that express nothing but the sublime (fig. 2.17, 2.18).[100] It reminds us of Turner who drew for James Hakewill before seeing Paestum with his own eyes. When he was actually on the site Turner was struck by the sublimity, magnificently represented in his drawings. Just like Turner, Cozens reworked drawings of Paestum made by someone else into finished watercolours, before even visiting the site himself. And just like Turner, when perceiving the temples, his own observation was entirely different and evoked feelings of the sublime (fig. 2.19, 2.20). Cozens' watercolours, made more than thirty years before Turner's famous drawings, represent a similar dark, gloomy and mysterious point of view, where the temples are just captured in a few dark strokes indicating the rude massy forms of the columns. In capturing the sublime of Paestum, Cozens managed to represent, much more than Knight did, the peculiarity of the site. Where Knight stayed at a distance, viewing some ruins in a landscape, Cozens represented the strangeness of Paestum's architecture.

Interestingly, many years after his voyage, and after viewing Paestum and Sicily in a traditional picturesque way, Knight developed a theory of the picturesque that would change its concept for a large part. The debate about the picturesque had changed from one on design to one on its aesthetic aspects. This theory was so significant because now the beholder's mind became central. After a focus on the eye of the beholder, in framing from a distance, or a focus on the body in the concept of movement, a third element was now added to the picturesque, that of the mind.

The educated mind: the theories of Richard Payne Knight and Uvedale Price

Almost twenty years after his travels, Knight formulated his aesthetic ideas in two theories on

100. On the 7th of November Cozens was in Paestum. The three drawings, of the small temple (Ceres), of the three temples and of the 'two great temples' at Paestum were part of the Beckford collection and are described in: *Catalogue of a Collection of Drawings by John Robert Cozens with some decorative furniture and other objects of art*, London: Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1922-1923, pp. 22-23. On the last drawing: 'Dark stormy sky with heavy cumulus clouds.'

the picturesque, one in the form of a poem, the other in the form of a theoretical essay: *The Landscape* of 1794 and *An Analytical Inquiry into the Principles of Taste* of 1805. His aesthetics is distinguished by the interweaving of archaeological interests with the emotions aroused by a landscape as the focal point. In a note to the second edition of *The Landscape* (1795) Knight stated that the picturesque is 'merely that kind of beauty which belongs exclusively to the sense of vision; or to the imagination guided by that sense.'[101]

His ideas become clearer when we see them in the light of the writings of his contemporary, Uvedale Price, because some of them were formulated as a direct reaction to these writings. Price lived in Foxley, close to Downton, and wrote his *Essay on the Picturesque* in 1794, published just a few months after *The Landscape*. In *The Landscape; a Didactic Poem* Knight formulated in poetry how art, architecture and landscape influence the sentiments of the spectator, illustrated with drawings by Thomas Hearne (fig. 2.21, 2.22).[102] But most of all, he showed how the spectator could influence these sentiments himself. In taking a certain position towards the objects the beholder could influence the outcome of his perception: that the ensemble, the combination or fusion of architecture and landscape could become a harmonious, blended, picturesque whole.

In the poem Knight often quotes Virgil and Lucretius. He criticizes the landscape gardens by Capability Brown, which was rather popular at the time, for being too 'perfectly' irregular. Instead he proposes the more rough and natural landscape of a picturesque beauty inspired by, again, Claude Lorrain's paintings but also by paintings of Dutch and Flemish artists. Knight owned a large collection of drawings by Claude. He concentrates in his poem on the impressions a landscape makes on the beholder, rather than focussing on design of landscape gardens, as Price does in his *Essay on the Picturesque*. A reedited, annotated and enlarged version of Price's *Essay*, in three volumes, appeared in 1810. As it was published in the same year as *The Landscape*, Knight could not react to Price's *Essay*. But he did so in a second edition of the poem, published one year later. Here Knight rejects Price's endeavour to define the picturesque as an aesthetic category between the beautiful and the sublime. In his other publication treating the subject, the successful *An Analytical Inquiry into the Principles of Taste*, Knight repeated this opposition.

101. Richard Payne Knight, *The Landscape. A didactic poem in three books. Adressed to Uvedale Price, esq. by R.P. Knight*, London W. Bulmer and Co., 1794, p. 19.
102. *Ibid.*

figure 2.21
Thomas Hearne, The Alpine Bridge on the Teme at Downton Castle, Shropshire, c. 1786.

(Victoria & Albert Museum, London. From Hunt, 2002, p. 12.)

figure 2.22
Thomas Hearne, Picturesque Landscape and Dressed Landscape, etches by Benjamin Thomas Pouncy for Richard Payne Knight's *The Landscape* 1794, plate 1 and plate 2.

(Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, Paul Mellon Collection. From Rogger, 2007, p. 157.)

The most important element in the debate between Knight and Price lay in the difference in the nature of the picturesque. For Price the picturesque was intrinsic in objects, for Knight it lay in the beholder, in the experience of viewing. In the idea that the picturesque was created for a large part in the mind of the observer, he drew on David Hume's theory, according to which 'beauty is no quality in things themselves, it exists merely in the mind which contemplates them'.[103] The theory took it so far that for designing a landscape a garden designer was not necessarily required, because the design was, as it were, done in the observers' mind. In Gilpin's picturesque tours, this idea was also followed.[104] There the observer functions as a painter, with the well-stocked mind of a connoisseur. For Price, the picturesque lay in all objects that were for example old, rough, irregular, shaggy or decaying. For Knight, there was a subjective concept of beauty: 'none of them in the nature of thing, all of them produced by special conditions of the mind of the observer, all of them modes of beauty.'[105]

While to Price, beauty was inherent in beautiful objects, Knight argued differently, drawing on the writings of the Edinburgh school, or the theories of David Hume, Archibald Alison and Francis Jeffrey. Francis Jeffrey was the editor of the *Edinburgh Review*, to which Knight was a contributor. To them beauty was not in the object itself but could only arise of an experience in the association of ideas that took place in the mind. This means that the perception of beauty is considered an emotion. Archibald Alison (1757-1839) wrote in his *Essay on the Nature and Principles of Taste* (1790) about how aesthetic ideas emerge from associating sensory impressions with emotions and ideas in the mind of the spectator. In 1810 a second enlarged edition was published, and in 1825 the sixth edition, an indication for the popularity of the book. Also, Francis, Lord Jeffrey (1773-1850), writer and politician, shed an interesting light on the subject in his review 'Essay on beauty' of Alison's work in *The Edinburgh Review*. Both Alison and Jeffrey make clear in their publications that associations take place in the mind of the observer, so that the picturesque is not an intrinsic quality of an object, but a product of a recollection of various objects that are associated with it.[106] Only when the imagination makes a connection between the object and the emotions or the circumstances under which these emotions took

103. David Hume, 'Of the Standard of Taste' (1757), quoted in Mallgrave (ed.), *Architectural Theory...*, *op. cit.*, p. 271.
104. For example Gilpin, *Observations relative to Picturesque Beauty...*, *op. cit.*
105. Richard Payne Knight, quoted by Hipple, *op. cit.*, p. 281.
106. Francis Jeffrey [published anonymously], 'Review of Essays on the Nature and Principles of Taste, by Archibald Alison', *The Edinburgh Review*, 18 (1811) May, p. 3: 'the recollection or conception of *other* objects which are associated in our imaginations with those before us'.

place, the associations can be created.[107] Alison was influenced by Burke in the sense that he thought that the imagination's response to objects produced the beautiful or the sublime, but the difference was that in Alison's theory it was created through the association of ideas. These were linked to age, education and experience and therefore reserved to the educated elite.

Knight applied this idea to his theory in which taste is always changing and cannot be fixed. Price's ideas are much more in the line of Burke's, but with a third category next to Beauty and the Sublime, the Picturesque. Both Price and Knight did no longer agree with William Gilpin's ideas of the picturesque as 'expressive of that peculiar kind of beauty, which is agreeable in a picture', so both returned to 'pittoresco', 'after the manner of painters'.[108] But whereas Knight connected the picturesque with the actions of the mind, Price located it in objects. Further, Price made a division between beauty and the picturesque, whereas Gilpin had written about picturesque beauty, as being a type of beauty.

A pictorial and an associative picturesque were combined by Knight. Visual beauty was not enough to him. It is only by associations that the beauty is heightened, and the pleasure in the mind as well. The associational picturesque helps in the appreciation of beauty in landscape and art in the sense that even if the eye perceives something harsh or offensive, the imagination can set right the harm done to the eye. As such, beauty is no longer in the objects perceived, or intrinsic as Price argued, but it is a mode of perception in the mind of the beholder.

Knight reacted also to Burke. In his *An Analytical Inquiry* he almost ridiculed Burke and his writings.[109] Knight refers often to Longinus, and how grand and sublime ideas can be caused

107. See Van Eck, *Organicism..., op. cit.*, pp. 74-83, also for the role of rhetoric; Caroline van Eck, ''The splendid effects of architecture, and its power to affect the mind': the workings of Picturesque association', in: Jan Birksted, *Landscapes of memory and experience*, London: Spon Press, 2000, pp. 245-258.
108. William Gilpin, *An Essay upon Prints, containing Remarks upon the Principles of Picturesque Beauty...*, London: J. Robson, 1768, p. 2.
109. For instance attacking Burke in his ideas on the sublime: 'But, to say nothing of this assumed connection between the causes of pain and the ideas of the sublime, the slightest knowledge of optics would have informed him that the sheet of paper, upon which he was writing, seen thus close to the eye, reflected a greater, and more forcible mass of light; and, consequently, produced more irritation and tension, than the Peak of Teneriffe or Mount St. Elias would, if seen at the distance of a few miles: - yet, surely he would not say that the sheet of paper excited more grand and perfect ideas of the sublime.' Knight *An Analytical Inquiry..., op. cit.*, p. 60. Or in another passage, in explaining how Burke was a 'respectable' man, with a 'sublime character', without anyone being in 'awe' of him: 'If, during this period, he had suddenly appeared among the mangers in Westminsterhall without his wig and coat; or had walked up St. James's street without his breeches, it would have occasioned great and universal *astonishment*; and if he had, at the same time, carried a loaded blunderbuss in his hand, the astonishment would have been mixed with no small portion of *terror*: but I do not believe that the united effects of these powerful passions would have produced any sentiment or sensation approaching

by nature. [110] But according to Knight the element of the terrible in the sublime, an element introduced in Burke's theories, is disputable.[111] In the aesthetic discussion with Burke, Knights makes reference to Burke's ambivalence if the sublime is in the object or in the beholder. However, although Knight recognizes the weak point in Burke's argumentation, he seems not to comprehend that Burke meant that you have to be in a safe place to have sublime feelings. To Knight's opinion, fear is the opposite of the sublime.[112]

But although *An Analytical Inquiry* is in a sense a reaction to Burke's *A Philosophical Enquiry*, it demonstrates principally how perception, reaction and appreciation of art or nature take place or how the pleasure taken in them can be enhanced. Knight does not consider the picturesque an intrinsic property of objects, he is concerned with the sensation arising from certain objects, and the associations it causes in his mind. So he focuses on the aspect of experience that is the essence of the picturesque, rather than on fixed characteristics that unavoidably cause the picturesque. Because the associations in the mind create the picturesque, the object itself cannot possess this, but only the spectator can create it in his own mind.

In his book Knight wrote about poetry, literature, theatre, painting, sculpture, and about architecture as well. He argues how 'the connection between [sensations, ideas, and objects], howsoever spontaneous and immediate it may seem, is merely habitual, and the result of experience and observation.' For this he refers to Locke, Berkeley, Hume, and Reid's *Essay on the Mind*. Knight states also that 'all sensation is really produced by contact' and 'immediate contact of the exciting cause with the organ'.[113] In order to have the pleasure of a picturesque perception, associations are essential:

> 'pleasure, [...] from painting, sculpture, music, poetry, &c. arises from our associating other ideas with those immediately excited by them. [...] Nor are the gratifications, which such persons receive from these arts limited to mere productions, but extended to every object in nature or circumstance in society, that is at all connected with them:

to sublime, even in the breasts of those, who had the strongest sense of self-preservation, and the quickest sensibility of danger', pp. 380-381.
110. *Ibid.*, p. 334, p. 336; p. 364-365 on Longinus, a definition of the sublime and the reaction of Knight; on nature and the sublime: p. 367.
111. *Ibid.*, p. 371.
112. *Ibid.*, p. 377. Knight also writes about the sublime in a letter to the painter George Romney, published in: Romney, *op. cit.*
113. Knight, *An Analytical Inquiry, op. cit.*, p. 54.

> for, by such connection, it will be enabled to excite similar or associated trains of ideas, in minds so enriched, and consequently to afford them similar pleasures'.[114]

An example of the well-stocked mind is that the connoisseurs with their knowledge of the history of painting will have trains of associations with landscape paintings by Claude, Poussin or Giorgione, and this causes pleasure in their minds because it reminds them of the enjoyment evoked by these paintings.

Just as the 'je ne sais quoi' of the previous chapter, these associations are limited to a group of elite people or connoisseurs, 'to persons conversant with the art of painting, and sufficiently skilled in it to distinguish, and be really delighted with its real excellences.'[115] The laymen, with their untrained eyes cannot reach this:

> 'To all others, how acute soever may be their discernment, or how exquisite soever their sensibility, it is utterly imperceptible: consequently there must be some properties in the fine productions of this art, which, by the association of ideas, communicate the power of pleasing to certain objects and circumstances of its imitation, which are therefore called picturesque.'[116]

Knight emphasized in *An Analytical Inquiry into the Principles of Taste* the perception and the effect of an object on the beholder and the associations it evoked. One's associations can differ largely the more one knows about the subject. Perception is connected with memories of familiar images and throws a new light on earlier known images. The associations of the beholder, with his well-educated mind, can be shared with other educated human beings, and are as such inter-subjective. In that sense the picturesque is also different from the sublime, which can also, or maybe even better, be felt by the savage people, as Burke stated.

Like other writers on the picturesque such as Gilpin and Price, Knight made a connection with the Italian term 'pittoresco', used by the painters Giorgione and Titian to emphasize the perception, expressed in a harmonious ensemble of light-dark effects and colours.[117] As in *The*

114. *Ibid.*, pp. 145-146.
115. *Ibid.*, p. 146.
116. *Ibid.*, p. 146.
117. *Ibid.*

Landscape, *An Analytical Inquiry* demonstrates how the picturesque can be obtained in viewing a mingling, or fusion of tints, either in ruins or landscapes, creating associations with the works of Claude or other paintings: 'buildings, that are mouldering into ruin, whose sharp angles are softened by decay, and whose crude and uniform tints are mellowed and diversified by weather-stains and wall plants'.[118] These tints are blended after the manner of painters: 'Tints happily broken and blended, and irregular masses of light and shadow harmoniously melted into each other, are, in themselves, as before observed, more grateful to the eye, than any single tints, upon the same principle that harmonious combinations of tones or flavours are more grateful to the ear or the palate, than any single tones or flavours can be.'[119]

In finding a definition for the picturesque, as 'after the manner of painters', we can find another opposition to the sublime: 'But this very relation to painting, expressed by the word picturesque, is that, which affords the whole pleasure derived from association; which can, therefore, only be felt by persons, who have correspondent ideas to associate; that is, by persons in a certain degree conversant with that art.'[120] That this is contrary to the sublime can be easily explained by the accounts of Paestum. The previous chapter showed that the temples baffled the visitors. But this could not have happened if the architecture would have set off trains of associations. However, the visitors could only have associations with the landscape, with the scenery and the ruined temples in it, and perceive it like a painting, or with ancient texts in mind, like Knight did. But they could not associate anything with the architecture itself, because it was so unfamiliar and strange. Even a well-stocked mind did not help them any further.

Contemplating ruined buildings and scenery, Knight argues:

> 'Ruined buildings, with fragments of sculptured walls and broken columns, the mouldering remnants of obsolete taste and fallen magnificence, afford pleasure to every learned beholder, imperceptible to the ignorant, and wholly independent of their real beauty, or the pleasing impressions, which they make on the organs of sight; more especially when discovered in countries of ancient celebrity, renowned in history for learning, arts, or empire. The mind is led by the view of them into the

118. *Ibid.*, p. 68. In a note Knight wrote: 'According to Mr. Price, however, beauty, even in architecture, implies the freshness of youth; or, at least, a state of high and perfect preservation; and buildings are mouldered out of beauty into *picturesqueness*.'
119. *Ibid.*, p. 151.
120. *Ibid.*, p. 152.

> most pleasing trains of ideas; and the whole scenery around receives an accessory character'.[121]

The importance of associations with historical facts relating to the site, the awareness of lost times and empires that ruins evoke in the mind of the observer, -which are more important than the appearance of the ruins themselves- give the surrounding landscape an extra depth, and through the trains of thought that are the effect of this, the scenery becomes in fact the ornament of the ruins. But in Paestum the opposite happened: for, the ruins became more a part or even an ornament of the whole scenery that did have picturesque qualities, when seen from a distance.

Associating Paestum

In spite of Knight's disenchantment with the temples and although he judged a direct application of models impossible, Paestum was significant for him, because, there, he applied for the first time the picturesque in an observation that combined landscape and ruins. As we saw, this application had to do with the traditional meaning of the picturesque, of viewing in picture frames. In his Sicilian diary Knight put into words the ideas that we can connect with the early theories of the picturesque. Paestum gave him a lifelike and outstanding example of how to frame a landscape with ruins. Only after his voyage, some thirty years later, Knight conceived a more complex theory of the picturesque himself.

In *The Landscape* we could say that he still had some associations with his Sicilian voyage, for instance when he mentions the stinging fly in Virgil's *Georgics*, but also with less trivial elements. In describing the advantages of England as compared to Italy, the inconveniences of the circumstances encountered during the expedition into Sicily as opposed to his own safe country became manifest:

> 'Bless'd land! - though no soft tints of pearly hue
> Mellow the radiance of the morning dew [...]
> 'Nor e'er, at night, in restless anguish lies

121. *Ibid.*, p. 195.

Amidst the hums of pestilential flies'[122]

In these lines also the 'pearly hue' appears, that Knight observed when leaving Naples and that he connected to Claude's paintings. More important than these elements are the passages on the observation of nature or architecture from a distance. Because in these fragments Knight demonstrates how important the gaze of the beholder is, and moreover, how important his position in relation to the object he perceives. For instance, the blending of colours Knight perceived from his boat in leaving Naples. In the poem he returns to this ideas of mingling tints. It is mandatory to have a distance to appreciate the landscape. He explains how the spectator can come to this perception:

Where tow'rs and temples, mould'ring to decay,
In pearly air appear to die away,
And the soft distance, melting from the eye,
Dissolves its forms into the azure sky'[123]

In one passage in this poem Knight describes what happens when the spectator takes a distance to obtain a satisfying observation:

'For pond'rous masses, and deep shadows near,
Will shew the distant scene more bright and clear;
And forms distinctly mark'd, at once supply
A scale of magnitude and harmony;
From which receding gradually away,
The tints grow fainter and the lines decay.'[124]

Then the aim of the picturesque is attained:

'To lead, with secret guile, the prying sight
To where component parts may best unite,
And form one beauteous, nicely blended whole,

122. Knight, *The Landscape...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-65.
123. *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15, lines 227-236.
124. *Ibid.*, p. 35, lines 242-247.

To charm the eye and captivate the soul.'[125]

While some elements of the Sicilian voyage appear in *The Landscape* it is too simple to state that his voyage influenced his publication. In Knight's *An Analytical Inquiry*, he developed his theory of the picturesque much further and moved away from the traditional interpretation of the picturesque, that was so present in his Sicilian voyage. Whereas Knight's Paestum account mainly shows in an interesting way how the picturesque point of view can frame ruins in a landscape into a painterly whole, his theories are more significant, because here Knight formulated how in the picturesque the spectator, experience and associations come together.

Some studies on architectural history or on Knight suggest that the direct application of the so-called Paestum order in his architecture was a result of the influence of Paestum. While Knight made his second voyage to Italy, his house, Downton Castle in Downton, Herefordshire (architect Thomas Farnolls Pritchard, 1774-1778) was under construction, and from abroad he stayed in contact with his uncle and agent Samuel Nash on the building process (fig. 2.23, 2.24). The architectural forms of the house were a translation of his ideas in stone: the exterior Gothic, the interior Greek, the architect using according to some scholars the baseless Doric order of Paestum (fig. 2.25).[126] Knight himself never referred to Paestum in talking about his house. Rather, as he explained later, the concept of the house was as follows: 'ornamented with what are called Gothic towers and battlements without, and with Grecian ceilings, columns, and entablatures within'. Another picturesque theorist, Humphry Repton (1752-1818), argued as well on the combination of Greek and Gothic:

> 'No critic has ever yet objected to the incongruity of it: for, as the temples, tombs, and palaces of the Greeks and Romans in Italy were fortified with towers and battlements by the Goths and Lombards of the Middle Ages, such combinations have been naturalized in that country, and are therefore perfectly in harmony with the scenery; and so far from interrupting the chain of ideas, they lead it on and extend it.'[127]

To my opinion, linking the use of the baseless Greek order to Paestum is far too direct. Knight

125. *Ibid.*, p, 12, lines 193-196.
126. Ballantyne, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-33 ('a Doric fireplace, its columns modelled specifically on those at Paestum, but without their ruggedness, a much higher degree of finish being appropriate to their tamed domestic setting'); p. 259.
127. Humphry Repton, *Fragments on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening*, London: s.n., 1816, p. 157. On Repton see: André Rogger, *Landscapes of Taste. The Art of Humphry Repton's Red Books*, London/New York: Routledge, 2007.

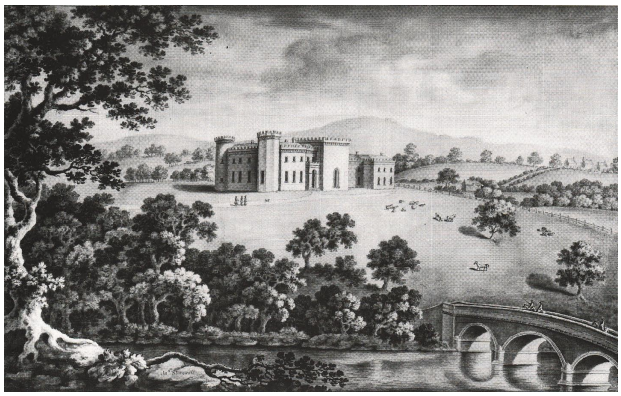


figure 2.23
James Sherriff, 'View of Downton Castle'.
(Herefordshire County Records Office. From Ballantyne, 1997, p. 257.)

figure 2.24
Thomas Hearne (attr.), Downton Castle.
(From Ponte, 2000, p. 154.)

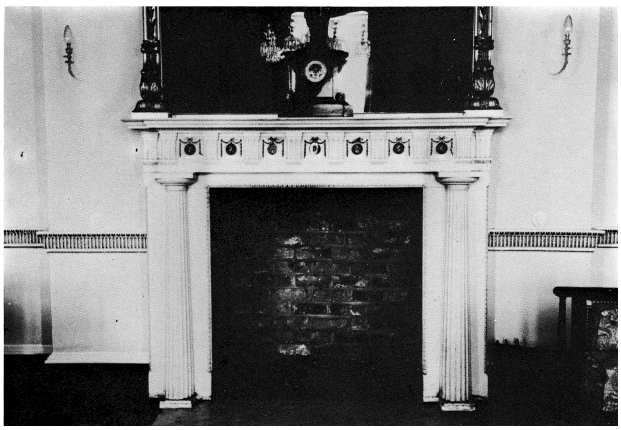


figure 2.25
Richard Payne Knight, Chimney piece at Downton Castle, c. 1772-1778.
(From Serra, *La Fortuna...*, 1986, vol. II, p. 248.)

could have applied it for the simple reason that it was in fashion. Furthermore, these columns could have been inspired by the Sicilian temples he had seen as well. The application of the baseless order was not a direct translation of his voyage to Paestum, or, as scholars argue, a proof that he appreciated the temples which, as we saw before, was not the case, at least not for its architectural forms. The order Knight used was probably based on the whole of Greek baseless orders he observed during his expedition, and on publications or engravings he consulted. It was a combination of all that, the order becoming an abstraction, in a way a new baseless Doric order, and not a direct copy of what he had seen.

Knight's poem *The Landscape*, written almost twenty years after the construction of his house, reveals his thoughts on the role of Paestum and other classical sites as a design model:

> 'Still happier he (if concious of his prize) / Who sees some temple's broken columns rise, / 'Midst sculptur'd fragments, shiver'd by their fall, / And tott'ring remnants of its marble wall;- / Where ev'ry beauty of correct design, / And vary'd elegance of art, combine / With nature's softest tints, matur'd by time, / And the warm influence of a genial clime. / But let no servile copiest appear, / To plant his paltry imitations here; / To shew poor Baalbec dwindled to the eye, / And Pæstum's fanes with columns six feet high! / With urns and cenotaphs our vallies fill, / And bristle o'er with obelisks the hill! / Such buildings English nature must reject, / And claim from art th'appearance of neglect: / No decoration should we introduce, / That has not first been nat'raliz'd by use. / And at present, or some distant time, / Become familiar to the soil and clime'[128]

In his remarks on how classical architecture applied in England should confirm to local elements and cannot be imported to muddy Britain from Mediterranean countries, Knight's arguments bring to mind John Soane's discourse on character in architecture and the conditions provided by regional characteristics:

> 'If miniature representations of Grecian or Roman temples are placed in our gardens without consulting the genius of the place, and without proper attention to those circumstances and scenery which made the architects of antiquity prefer one style of

128. Knight, *The Landscape...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-37, lines 268-287.

> building to another; if correct representations of the temples of Segesta and Paestum were placed on a fine dressed lawn, surrounded by beautiful shrubberies, from the want of appropriate scenery, they would appear clumsy and misapplied.'[129]

Soane's reaction might be based on Knight's ideas in *An Analytical Inquiry* on the Italian style of gardening, with its copying of Greek temples in country and town houses and its trying to conform the surrounding scenery to this:

> 'Ornamental gardening - landscaping gardening - efficacy in destroying all picturesque composition: Grecian temples have been employed as decorations by almost all persons, who could afford to indulge their taste in objects so costly: but, though executed, in many instances, on a scale and in a manner suitable to the design, disappointment has, I believe, been invariably the result. [...] In rich lawns and shrubberies of England, however, they lose all that power to please which they so eminently possess on the barren hills of Agrigentum and Segesta, or the naked plains of Pæstum and Athens. But barren and naked as these hills and plains are, they are still, if I may say so, their native hills and plains - the scenery, in which they sprang; and in which the mind, therefore, contemplates them connected and associated with numberless interesting circumstances, both local and historical - both physical and moral, upon which it delights to dwell.'

In addition, Knight's own ideas on his house become clear in his statement in the *An Analytical Inquiry*. Knight wrote how he was still satisfied with 'the experiment; [...] having at once, the advantage of a picturesque object, and of an elegant and convenient dwelling'.[130] Thus, building his own house, Knight principally found an expression for his ideas of the picturesque. The garden and the house, looking out onto the forested valley of the River Teme, were conceived as a Claude Lorrain painting in the combination of landscape and architecture. It was still the early, painterly definition of the picturesque. The picturesque concept had another

129. Watkin (ed.), *Sir John Soane..., op. cit.*, Lecture X, p. 625; p. 169. And p. 170: 'In our parks and gardens, on the contrary, they stand wholly unconnected with all that surround them - mere unmeaning excrescences; or, what is worse, manifestly meant for ornament, and therefore having no accessory character, but that of ostentatious vanity: so that, instead of exciting any interest, they vitiate and destroy that, which the naturalized objects of the country connected with them would otherwise excite. Even if the landscape scenery should be rendered really beautiful by such ornaments, its beauty will be that of a vain and affected coquette; which, though it may allure the sense, offends the understanding; and, on the whole, excites more disgust than pleasure.'
130. Knight, *An Analytical Inquiry..., op. cit.*, p. 223.

figure 2.26
Thomas Hearne, Distant view of Downton Castle.
(Private collection. From Ballantyne, 1997, p. 250.)

advantage: 'of being capable of receiving alterations and additions in almost any direction, without any injury to its genuine and original character.'[131] Ballantyne, in his study on Knight, formulates it as follows: 'The fusion of the landscape at Downton with his body of ideas was Knight's authentically great aesthetic achievement, and having made it, initially in his mind and then in verse and in his purchases of paintings, he was able to draw on it for sustenance later in his retirement.'[132] The landscape at Downton consisted of the sparkling stream of the River Teme, running through a small gorge, in a surrounding ancient forest (fig. 2.26). In his designs, Knight copied in a way the paintings of Claude Lorrain that were in his own art collection, and the buildings in the landscape depicted in these: 'In the pictures of Claude and Gaspar, we perpetually see a mixture of Grecian and Gothic architecture employed with the happiest effect in the same building'.[133] The house with its asymmetrical plan and inspired on medieval castles became an example for architects designing castellated buildings in the period of the picturesque movement.[134] Already existing asymmetrical castle-like houses were Strawberry Hill, by Horace Walpole (1748-1766) and Vanbrugh Castle by John Vanbrugh.[135] In studies Downton is often placed next to Strawberry Hill and Fonthill, which also have asymmetrical plans, but were not country houses but suburban villas.[136]

In Knight's house the situation of the building in the landscape was of importance, it gave him a concrete opportunity to realise his early ideas on the picturesque. In reminding him of certain paintings, architecture came to be viewed as painting. It was the same way in which some travellers perceived Paestum, having picturesque scenic associations.

Can we then say that the last development in the picturesque and in picturesque theory, that of association, already appears in Paestum? As we have seen, Knight had associations with writings of ancient authors on the spot. But, those associations did not come naturally in observing the monuments. They were conditioned reactions, for in many of the folio publications on Paestum that were available, the same references to authors were made. Also, apart from some general remarks, Knight does not refer to Paestum anymore in his theories.

131. *Ibid.*, p. 223.
132. Ballantyne, *op. cit.*, p. 288.
133. Knight, *An Analytical Inquiry...*, *op. cit.*, p. 160.
134. For example James Wyatt's Fonthill Abbey (1795-1807) for William Beckford or East Cowes Castle (1789) by John Nash, his own house.
135. On Strawberry Hill: Michael Snodin, *Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill*, New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2009.
136. Susan Lang writes in her article Knight also on his ideas on style. Lang, 'Richard Payne Knight...', *op. cit.*

However, we can note something interesting. For in his theories, he remains very general when talking of observing in a picturesque way. In fact, this way of viewing could be applied to many sites in Italy, or in England. Just as we saw in his diary, the picturesque is a general way of seeing that can be used wherever landscape, or ruins or buildings and landscape are concerned. In this sense Knight's theories never became really specific. He is only specific in explaining how to obtain picturesqueness, focussing on the beholder's mind, but he is never so when definite sites or architecture are concerned. On picturesque architectural experience he is not so precise. We see an enormous difference with the sublime, as treated in the previous chapter, where the characteristics of a site or of a building were essential for a sublime experience. Instead of a certain distinct site that causes sensations, here it is a distinct view that causes them.

Architecture as painting

The picturesque enables visitors to Paestum to formulate in words an experience of landscape and architecture. It helps them to define a new awareness of the relation between architecture and nature. In this sense, the stylistic changes the picturesque has caused in nineteenth-century architecture according to many studies, can no longer be considered its only effect. Because the picturesque works with framing like a picture it would help travellers to enjoy sites. Knight's Paestum account is the perfect example of this process. In this chapter it became clear how the picturesque can provide other ways of viewing the site than the sublime does. In the account by Richard Payne Knight we saw how in the picturesque it is important to take a distance and step away from the monuments whereas in the sublime visitors undergo the sentiments provoked by perceiving a work of art, a landscape, or an object.

While travellers wrote about the scenery at Paestum and how the landscape presents itself as a painting, nobody was so specific as Knight, who also used the word picturesque in his Paestum account, notably at an early stage, before the large amount of theories on the subject were published.

In the Paestum account however, he puts into practice the earlier meaning of the picturesque, the account being a record of impressions and references, trains of thought in fact, in which he was not really interested in the temples themselves, but much more in viewing it as a painting, and in the associations which come up in being at the site. The essence of the picturesque, the

visual aspects, or the importance of sight, is expressed in the observations that describe the object as it represents itself to the eye. The beholder views and describes masses, colour and light, the elements of the architecture that are clearly visible, and not what he thinks that it looks like. As such the landscape becomes a sort of theatre decor.

On the one hand one could argue that the ideas on the picturesque for Richard Payne Knight might have originated in Paestum. All the ingredients are there: it is the first stop on his picturesque trip, the landscape reminds him of Claude paintings and the pearly hue of colours, and in taking a distance to the temples he creates a painting of ruins in a landscape. Additionally, the rest of the account is mostly about colours, stone, landscape, associations with ancient authors, the account is a sequence of thoughts and has no clear structure. Furthermore, elements of his Paestum account appear in his theories in *The Landscape* and in *An Inquiry*.

But there is also another reading possible. Knight did not go to Paestum unprepared. The account of the voyage was composed around a stream of picturesque sensations. It was not accidental that Paestum fitted in this picturesque framework; it was moulded into it. When at first the site did not fit in, Knight consciously took the necessary position to make it fit in. As such, he projected his ideas of the picturesque, based on the early definitions of the term, on Paestum. In his theories Knight explained how the mind works, how associations are necessary to obtain the picturesque. In actively directing his mind and associations towards this outcome, he arrived rather at a projection of ideas on Paestum than a creative process in the mind caused by Paestum. In this way the picturesque perception was different from the sublime sensations, which were a direct reaction to the site. Instead of being baffled or overwhelmed by the object, the picturesque was about taking a certain position on purpose.

The outcome of this distance to the object of interest was that it did not matter anymore if Knight was in Paestum or at one of the sites at Sicily. The important thing was to observe Greek ruins in a vast landscape, of which he could take a distant viewpoint in order to, through associations, come to a picturesque experience. Whereas chapter one of this thesis showed how the sublime helped to define what went on in the minds of the travellers when being confronted with the site, the picturesque shows how Paestum could be adapted to an eighteenth-century learned mind. But in this process the site loses its specificity and becomes just like any other ancient site laid out in a beautiful landscape.

Movement, roughness, irregularity, variety, intricacy, these five characteristics were described

by Uvedale Price as the elements with which picturesque architecture was to be obtained. These elements are to be found at Paestum as well. But travellers do not relate them to the picturesque. Reading the travel accounts by Knight, but also by Labrouste, Delagardette, Piranesi and Rohault de Fleury, only the initial meaning of the picturesque, in the sense of architecture and scenery observed as a painting, comes to the fore. This kind of observation of an object makes the site almost two-dimensional, for it concerns the pictorial framing of an image, in which the distance from an object is essential. In this kind of observation the presence of the beholder is only important in the sense of a visual experience, that does not involve a spatial observation. Instead of three-dimensional the site becomes two-dimensional. Architecture and scenery become painting. In turning architecture into painting, the beholders think in their observations in paintings, in picture frames. Even if they move around, have different viewpoints, they frame what they see, to obtain the most picturesque view.

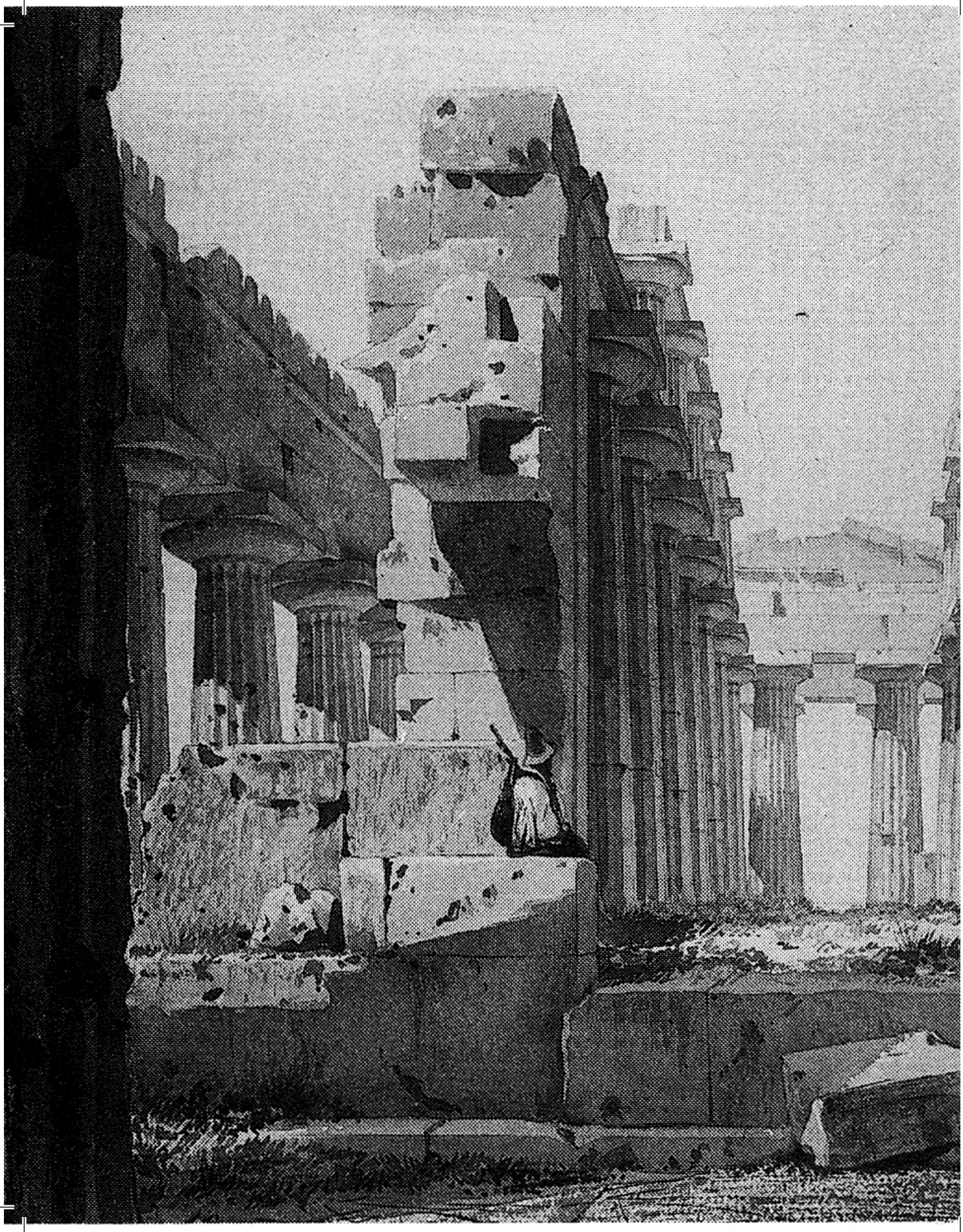
Whereas the sublime offers a kaleidoscope of experiences, the picturesque is rather limited in this sense. Paestum may be unique for the sublime, for the picturesque this is not the case. Even if Richard Payne Knight might be indebted to Paestum, the question remains if he would not have had the same experience if the first scene had been in Sicily. Contrary to the sublime, where the experience lived had to be transformed in words with the help of the earlier known ideas on the sublime, in the picturesque, in the case of Knight, the concept is developed later. It was present in its origin but theoretically not yet developed. In my opinion the sublime tells us more about Paestum. It helped the travellers to comprehend or put into words the strangeness of it. It is more site specific than the picturesque. Seen from a picturesque point of view the temples themselves are not of interest; picturesque theorists are concerned with ruins and landscape in general. Viewed from up close the ruins can no longer function as a picturesque object. The picturesque is more limited in this aspect, and it connects less to the peculiarity of Paestum. Also, the picturesque did not have so much to do with the temples themselves but was more concerned with the situation. The site is seen as painterly, as ruins in a landscape, nothing is said about the architecture itself. This painterly definition of the picturesque is conditioned to seeing, and seeing with the help of associations. The picturesque travellers remained at a distance and were more interested in the landscape than in the architecture, or in the combination of landscape and architecture. But in that way the temples almost become follies in a garden. The specificity of Paestum is not explained with the picturesque.

Should we, on this basis, conclude that the picturesque is useless for Paestum? Rather not, for we can benefit from the picturesque, if we connect it to the experience of architecture, as seen

in the first section. In the traditional sense of seeing Paestum as a picture, taking distance, or having associations at the spot, it tells us nothing specific about the site. But where movement comes in, it does, because many travellers, to comprehend the architecture, started to move around, enter the temples and observe them from different viewpoints, in different weather, with the changing of the light. What Knight did not, others did. For Knight the recollection and enjoyment lay in the associations with ancient authors, and not in the movement in architecture, because that is what he walked away from in order to have his painterly view of Paestum.

One aspect of the picturesque is the painterly way of seeing, through the educated eye. We analysed it in this chapter in terms of framing from a distance. The picturesque in the theories of Knight, focussing on association, was just as non-specific. Only the other aspect of the picturesque, that of movement, says more about the architecture itself. Such picturesque experiences are so specific because they enable to see architecture not as painting, but as something that happens through movement, inside and outside a building. Here the spectator plays a much more active role. In the travellers' accounts of Paestum showing a use of the picturesque this aspect did not become manifest; instead the framing aspect was prominent. In other Paestum perceptions movement would be important, as we will see in the next part of this thesis, but visitors did not call it picturesque. The next chapter will analyse what happened when the travellers enter the temples, how they observed them, also from up close.

PART TWO Experiences of Movement



CHAPTER 3 Entering Ruins: A physical experience

> 'Denn im architektonischen Aufriß erscheinen sie [the temples] eleganter, in perspektivischer Darstellung plumper, als sie sind, nur wenn man sich um sie her, durch sie durch bewegt, teilt man ihnen das eigentliche Leben mit; man fühlt es wieder aus ihnen heraus, welches der Baumeister beabsichtigte, ja hineinschuf.'[1]

One aspect is immediately clear in this fragment: it is about how to observe. As the author of this passage, Goethe, became aware that there is an enormous difference between looking at images of Paestum at home, and observing the temples on the spot, he realized that only by being inside the ruins, wandering around them, and observing them from different angles, the spectator starts to comprehend what this architecture is really about. In presenting himself walking among the ruins, Goethe also shows that he is aware of the importance of his own presence among the ruins in the process of observing.

In the previous chapters on the sublime and the picturesque it became clear that in both varieties of aesthetic experiences the role of the spectator is crucial. Now it is time to enter the temples. This chapter will look further into the role of the spectator in an architectural experience, in focusing on the awareness, not of the experience itself, but of being a spectator having this experience. This architectural experience is a physical experience, where visitors take the measure of the architecture in relating their own body to the architecture.

Taking the measure of architecture with the own body took a very literal meaning in Soane's case, when he lay down to rest in one of the flutings of the columns shattered on the ground of Agrigento in Sicily:

1. Goethe, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

> 'Where shall we see buildings in this country capable of giving a correct impression of the magnificence of the Pantheon, the simple grandeur of the temples at Paestum, the sublime and imposing effect of the remains of the Temple of Minerva at Athens, the aweful and terrific grandeur of those at Segesta, Selinunte, and Agrigentum, particularly the Temple of Jupiter, which in its perfect state must have been the admiration of every beholder? The columns of this intense building, none of which are now standing, exceeded forty feet in circumference, and each flute, almost two feet in its concavity, presents a cradle of repose to the traveller wearied with wanderings over the frightful ruins of that stupendous pile!'[2]

Soane's measuring of the temple's largeness through his own body gave him some awareness of the sublimity of the enormous Sicilian temple. Soane literarily takes the measure with his own body in feeling the flutes. His imagination of how it might have been is stronger than the sensation of the real standing temples at Sicily. In Paestum, where the temples still stood upright, the bodily sensation of the temples was not that literal. It had much more to do with Goethe's way of trying to comprehend the temples, by wandering through them. It was a complex and layered process of observing, that will be unfolded in this chapter.

The other aspect of the picturesque, that of movement, will return in chapter four when we will focus on sequences of experience. This chapter examines the physical experience of exploring the temples. For, while the visual or distant experiences were central in the previous part, the activities of the spectator in the ruins have not yet been analysed. Seeing Paestum led to sublime and picturesque experiences, but how did observing the temples actually take place? What happened when travellers observed the ruins from up close? How do spectators relate these observations to themselves? Or, in which way were they aware of being a spectator? Answering these questions will help to show the specificity of Paestum, and how this specificity in its turn influenced the perceptions.

2. John Soane, Royal Academy Lecture V, published in: Watkin (ed.), *Sir John Soane...*, *op. cit.*, p. 557. Christopher Woodward gives it a romantic twist in his 'Tired of wandering through the columns which lie scattered in the dust like giant, chopped celery, the tall, skinny youth stretched out inside a flute to rest. For the next fifty years his life was a heroic struggle to measure himself against the grandeur of antiquity.' Christopher Woodward, *In Ruins*, London: Chatto & Windus, 2001, p. 176. Other architects had a similar idea, for example, Jean Rondelet: 'Les colomnes etoient si grosses qu'un homme pouvoit se cacher dans une des cannelures au raport de Diodore de Sicile' in a letter to the Comte d'Angiviller, Rome, 25 February 1784, published in Middleton and Baudouin-Matuszek, *op. cit.*, p. 313.

Before we can analyse such awareness on the beholder's part of observing the ruins in Paestum, it is necessary to have a more general idea of the extent and the context of this awareness of being a beholder in ruins. We will first explore some passages of eighteenth-century texts that show what thoughts were evoked by being inside ruins. The first two sections of this chapter will scrutinize thoughts on ruins produced 'at home', and not on the spot. Next these will be opposed to texts about entering ruins in reality, at Paestum, to see if these were different and, if so, in what way. Thus, the chapter will oppose the mind versus the body in entering the ruins, or going into the ruins in the imagination as an opposition to entering them in reality. Furthermore, it will analyse what this tells us about Paestum and, in a larger sense, about experiencing architecture.

Entering ruins in the imagination: Diderot and Robert among painted remains

As we have seen in the previous chapter, texts of Uvedale Price and William Gilpin showed a preference for a ruin compared to an unimpaired building. Thomas Whately (1726-1772) in his *Observations in Modern Gardening* (1770) also described the effect ruins can have, as opposed to viewing a building that is still complete:

> 'All remains excite an enquiry into the former state of the edifice, and fix the mind in a contemplation of the use it was applied to [...] they suggest ideas which would not arise from the buildings if entire [...] Whatever building we see in decay, we naturally contrast its present to its former state, and delight to ruminate on the comparison. [...] At the sight of a ruin, reflections on the change, the decay, and the desolation before us, naturally occur, and they introduce a long succession of others, all tinctured with that melancholy which these have inspired'.[3]

The fragment is interesting because Whately's remarks are entirely different from those by William Gilpin we saw earlier. Whereas Gilpin expressed only his preference for ruined buildings to buildings that are complete for picturesque reasons, Whately goes further. He relates incomplete buildings to feelings of decay producing melancholy. Instead of picturesque

3. Whately, *op. cit.*, pp. 131-132; p. 155.

aesthetic sensations drawing on cultural memory, ruins here produced sad sentiments in the viewer's soul.

This *topos* of the connotation of ruins and decay appears also in the reflections on ruins by the traveller and member of the French National Assembly Constantin-François Volney (1757-1820) in his *Les ruines, ou Méditations sur les révolutions des empires* (1791). The book, an immediate and enduring success, gives a critical and political example of the melancholy the decay of ruins can produce in the viewer's mind, written when the horrors of the French Revolution were still present in the city of Paris.[4] The ambivalence in the text appears when Volney contemplates the revolutions of empires, while idealising the human world, and criticising present times, using the ruins to express his thoughts.[5] For four years, Volney travelled in Syria and Egypt from 1782. The ruins of Palmyra made him meditate on the decline and fall of empires and on time that has passed:

> 'Souvent je rencontrais d'antiques monuments, des débris de temples, de palais et de forteresses; des colonnes, des aqueducs, des tombeaux - et ce spectacle tourna mon esprit vers la méditation des temps passés, et suscita dans mon coeur des pensées graves et profondes.'[6]

This aspect of decay felt in contemplating ruins was also present in Edward Gibbon's (1737-1794) reflections at Rome: 'It was at Rome [...], as I sat musing amidst the ruins of the Capitol, while the barefooted friars were singing vespers in the Temple of Jupiter, that the idea of writing the decline and fall of the City first started on my mind.'[7] While Volney's account has political implications, in his reflections on the fall of lost empires, Whately mentions the melancholy feelings only ruins can produce. These are caused by the observations of the

4. Constantin-François de Volney, *Les Ruines ou méditations sur les révolutions des empires* [1791], in Volney, *Observations générales sur les Indiens, Les Ruines, La Loi naturelle*, Paris: Coda, 2009. On ruins in eighteenth-century thought see also: Roland Mortier, *La poétique des ruines en France. Ses origines, ses variations de la Renaissance à Victor Hugo*, Geneva: Droz, 1974, especially the chapters 'Diderot, créateur et théoricien d'une "poétique des ruines"' pp. 88-106, and 'Les Ruines de Volney: une philosophie rationaliste de l'histoire', pp. 136-141; Sophie Lacroix, *Ce que nous disent les ruines: La fonction critique des ruines*, Paris: L'Harmattan, 2007, for the aesthetics of ruins, and the ideas of Volney. For a more philosophical approach see: Sophie Lacroix, *Ruine*, Paris: Éditions de la Villette, 2008. On ruins in general: Rose Macaulay, *Pleasure of Ruins*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1984 (first published 1953).
5. Lacroix, *Ce que nous disent les ruines..., op. cit.*, pp. 200-202.
6. Volney, *op. cit.*, chapter 1, p. 51.
7. Edward Gibbon's *The history of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* was published in 6 volumes, from 1776 to 1788. See on Gibbon: Harold Bond, *The Literary Art of Edward Gibbon*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960.

remains, and the awareness that their previous complete condition has changed. Such trains of associations created by contemplations of times past and produced by ruins are to be found in many eighteenth-century texts. Writers used ruins to reflect on the oldness of the world, and in so doing also made a connection between the ruins and their own being. For a more original reaction to ruins we have to turn to Diderot.

The French writer and philosopher Denis Diderot (1713-1784) reflected on the age of the world while observing ruins. But instead of remaining a bystander who looked from afar, he went further: in this world he pictured himself:

> 'Les idées que les ruines réveillent en moi sont grandes. Tout s'anéantit, tout périt, tout passe. Il n'y a que le monde qui reste. Il n'y a que le temps qui dure. Qu'il est vieux ce monde! Je marche entre deux éternités'.[8]

Diderot's walking among the ruins is even more intriguing, because he was not an observer of ruins *in situ*. He was viewing a painting of ruins, and imagined himself strolling inside them. As an art critic Diderot reviewed paintings exhibited in the nine Salons held between 1759 and 1781, for the *Correspondance littéraire*.[9] In his commentaries on the Salon of 1767 he wrote vigorous and fascinating reviews of the paintings of the French artist Hubert Robert.[10] These magnificent architectural compositions of ruins awakened in the mind of their critic a whole range of emotions and ideas (fig. 3.1-3.3). Diderot transformed the sublime and obscure impact of the ruins into a fictional experience of ruins, in which he stepped into the painting to observe the remains from close by: 'L'obscurité seule, la majesté de l'édifice, la grandeur de la fabrique, l'étendue, la tranquillité, le retentissement sourd de l'espace m'aurait fait frémir. Je

8. Denis Diderot, *Ruines et paysages. III. Salons de 1767*, edited by Elsa Marie Bukdahl, Michel Delon, Annette Lorenceau, Paris: Hermann, 1995. For Diderot and ruins see Jean Seznec, *Essais sur Diderot et l'Antiquité*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957. For a biography of Diderot: Arthur Wilson, *Diderot. Sa vie et son œuvre*, Paris: Laffont, 1985.
9. Diderot wrote about the Salons of 1759, 1761, 1763, 1765, 1767, 1769, 1771, 1775, and 1781. On the salons: Jean-Christophe Abramovici, Pierre Frantz, Jean Goulemot, and Frédéric Calas, *Diderot. Salons*, Neuilly: Atlande, 2007; Else-Marie Bukdahl, *Diderot critique d'art*, Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1980; Pierre Frantz and Élisabeth Lavezzi (eds.), *Les "Salons" de Diderot: théorie et Écriture*, Paris: PUPS, 2008; Philippe Dean, *Diderot devant l'image*, Paris/Montreal: L'Harmattan, 2000; Stéphane Lojkine, *L'Œil révolté. Les "Salons" de Diderot*, Paris/Arles: J. Chambon/Actes Sud, 2007; Denis Diderot, *Écrits sur l'art et les artistes*, edited by Jean Seznec, Paris: Hermann, 1967, is an anthology of Diderot's texts; a new edition with introductory texts by Jean Starobinski, Michel Delon and Arthur Cohen was published in 2007.
10. On Robert: Jean de Cayeux, *Hubert Robert et les Jardins*, Paris: Éditions Herscher, 1987, on his designs and depictions of gardens, and Catherine Boulot, *Hubert Robert et la Révolution*, Valence: Musée de Valence, 1989, on his reactions to the French revolution.

figure 3.1
Hubert Robert, Draughtsman in the ruins of the temple of Paestum, after 1760.
(Musée de Picardie, Amiens, M.P.Lav. 1894-188. From Andreae, 2007, p. 173.)

figure 3.2
Hubert Robert, An artist amongst the ancient ruins, 1796.
(State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg.)

n'aurais jamais pu me défendre d'aller rêver sous cette voûte, de m'asseoir entre ces colonnes, d'entrer dans votre tableau.'[11] It is a strikingly synaesthetic passage. All senses work together to capture a physical experience. This experience in a literary text, although clearly a fictional mind game, is written to make the reader feel the spatial experience.

Unlike Volney, who is among the ruins but stays a distant witness, Diderot truly wants to enter, live and breathe the remnants. His experience becomes even more personal, when he is drawn into the ruins and starts to reflect on how time stands still, how he walks between two eternities, how old the world is and how little he has lived. There, in all solitude, the remains make him come closer to himself: 'Si le lieu d'une ruine est périlleux, je frémis. Si je m'y promets le secret et la sécurité, je suis plus libre, plus seul, plus à moi, plus près de moi.'[12] In Diderot's reflections being alone is important, only then he is able to be himself and forget about society, keeping up appearances and people witnessing his actions: 'Dans cet asile désert, solitaire et vaste, je n'entends rien ; j'ai rompu avec tous les embarras de la vie. Personne ne me presse et ne m'écoute. Je puis me parler tout haut, m'affliger, verser des larmes sans contrainte.'[13] The two modes of public and private in the eighteenth century, so accurately described in Richard Sennett's *The Fall of Public Man*, are expressed here: 'The public was a human creation; the private was the human condition.'[14]

Diderot even advises Robert how to make ruins, what they should look like, how he should place less people in his paintings to enhance the effect:

> 'L'effet de ces compositions, bonnes ou mauvaises, c'est de vous laisser dans une douce mélancolie. Nous attachons nos regards sur les débris d'un arc de triomphe, d'un portique, d'une pyramide, d'un temple, d'un palais; et nous revenons sur nous-mêmes; nous anticipons sur les ravages du temps; et notre imagination disperse sur la terre les édifices mêmes que nous habitons. A l'instant la solitude et le silence règnent autour de nous. Nous restons seuls de toute une nation qui n'est plus. Et voilà la première ligne de la poétique des ruines.'[15]

11. Diderot, *Ruines et paysages..., op. cit.*, p. 338.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 339.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 339.
14. Richard Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man*, London: Penguin Books, 2002 (first edition 1974), p. 98.
15. Diderot, *Ruines et paysages..., op. cit.*, p. 335.

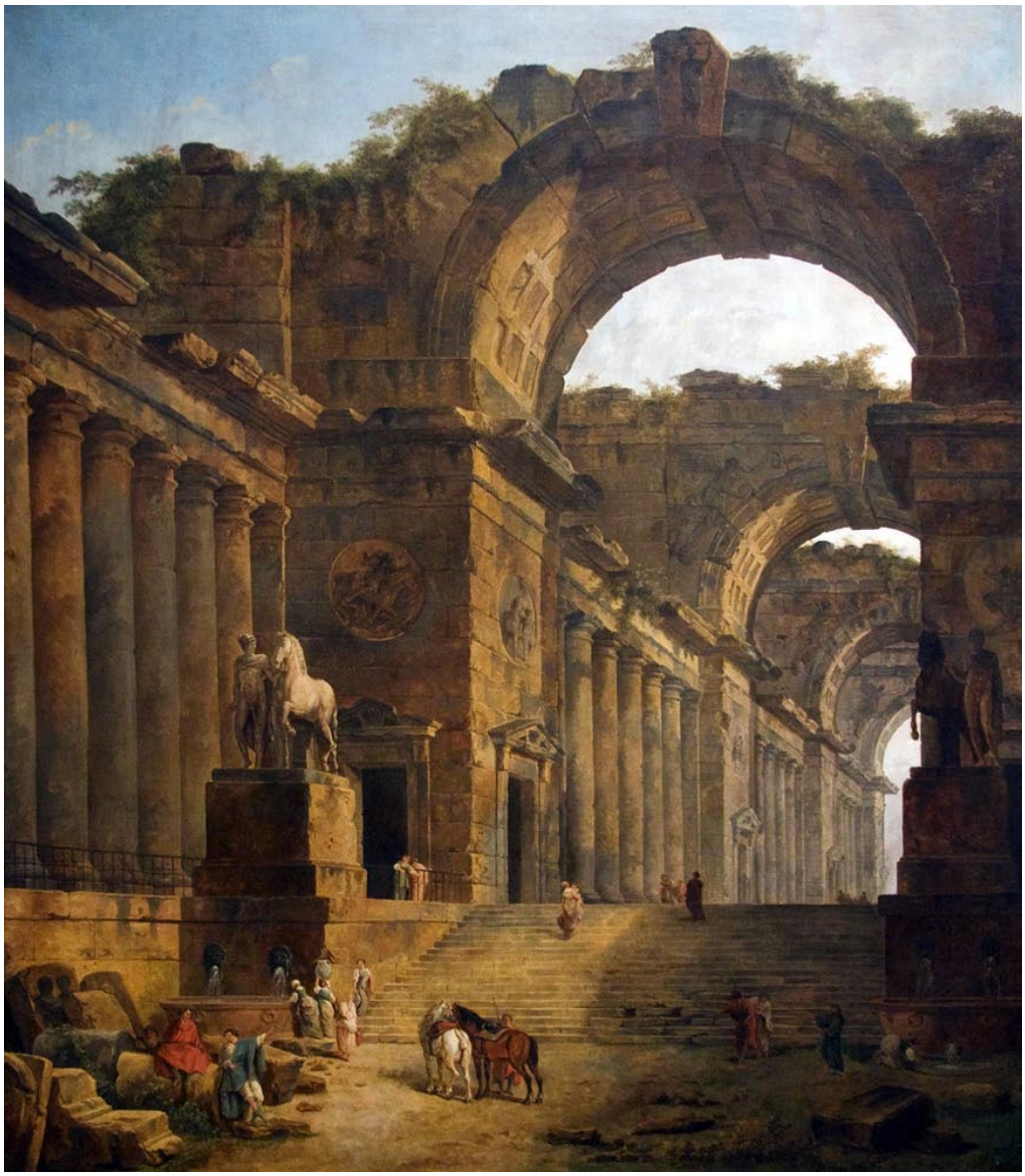
figure 3.3
a. Hubert Robert, Ruins of a Doric Temple, 1783.
(State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg.)

b. Hubert Robert, 'Temple au milieu de l'eau', c. 1800.
(Pushkin-Museum, Moscow. From Andreae, 2007, p. 172.)

c. Hubert Robert, The Fountains, 1787-1788.
(The Art Institute of Chicago.)

a

b



c

While in the reflections on ruins that can be related to the sublime, as we saw in the first chapter, the spectator loses himself in emotions but tries to regain forces to overcome and formulate these sensations, in these thoughts on ruins the spectator consciously records the different steps in observations, and the writer deliberately presents these to the reader. In formulating the effect of ruins on a solitary beholder, Diderot tried to capture the poetics of ruins. The beholder walks in the ruin itself, and in this process becomes a creator as well: he himself looks, he himself creates what he is to see. Diderot here refers not to the poetry of ruins, but to their *poetics*, that is how to consciously create something. In his experience of wandering amongst Robert's ruins Diderot is creating or designing himself the ruins he is viewing.

The ruins not only make Diderot reflect on his own being. He actively constructs the circumstances and associations that allow him to have these reflections. Through the ruins he comes closer to himself, but he does this consciously, he builds, as it were, the ruins and the experience he has in wandering through them in his mind. Observation is transformed in an active imaginative creation of them. He even went so far as to say that 'Il faut ruiner un palais pour en faire un objet d'interêt [car si l'] on n'est point ému [le bâtiment] ne fait point rêver.'[16] It is a vision that comes to mind while looking at Robert's *Vue imaginaire de la grande galerie du Louvre en ruines*, painted in 1796 (fig. 3.4).[17] In actively constructing a ruin, and destroying an existing building Robert wanted to represent a meditation on the immortality of art. The Apollo Belvedère, a portrait bust of Raphael, and the sculpture of a slave by Michelangelo have survived. It was thus a specific part of art that was to live on in Robert's view, but architecture did not.

Hubert Robert gained fame as a ruin painter from the time he was a *pensionnaire* at the Académie de France in Rome from 1754. He prolonged his stay and resided in Rome until 1765. Robert visited Paestum in 1760 with the painter Jean-Honoré Fragonard (1732-1806) and with Jean-Claude Richard, abbé de Saint-Non.[18] He was the first artist after Antonio Joli (1700-1777) to have represented the temples.[19] Unfortunately no travel diary or letters have

16. *Ibid.*, p. 348.
17. See on Robert's Louvre paintings: Marie-Catherine Sahut, *Le Louvre du Hubert Robert*, Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1979, and Stephanie Thuilliez, 'La poétique de la variété: les ruines et la terre', *Bulletin de l'Association des Historiens de l'Art Italien*, 2 (1996), pp. 26-33.
18. Saint-Non, *Panopticon Italiano, op. cit.*
19. Robert's drawings of Paestum were sold in Paris on 22 June 1933, without having been being photographed. The

figure 3.4
Hubert Robert, 'Vue imaginaire de la Grande Galerie du Louvre en ruines', 1796.
(Musée du Louvre, Paris.)

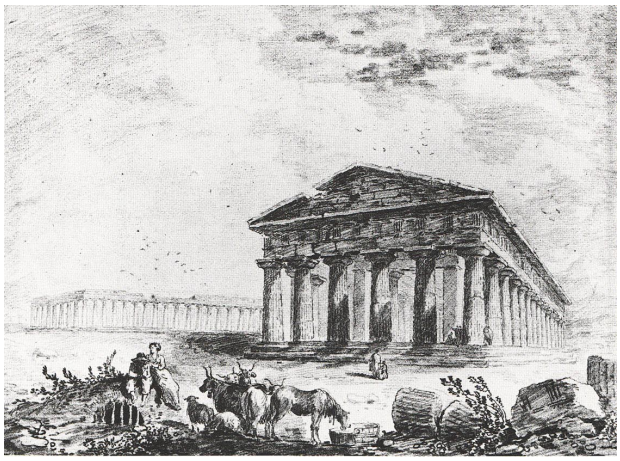


figure 3.5
Hubert Robert, Drawing of the Temple of Neptune, with the Basilica in the background.
(Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rouen, 964.4.10.)

figure 3.6
Hubert Robert, 'Vue du petit temple de Pestum dans le royaume de Naples' (Temple of Ceres).
(Bibliothèque Municipale Besançon, Bibliothèque d'étude et de conservation, Collection Pierre-Adrien Pâris, Vol. 451, n° 43 BM d'Etude.)

survived. When Robert made a second voyage to Paestum as one of the artists who were hired by Saint-Non and Denon, he drew the temples again. Three drawings have survived, one view of the Athena temple and two perspective views of the Neptune and Basilica temples. Of these, two were published in the third part of Saint-Non's five volume *Voyage pittoresque ou Description des royaumes de Naples et de Sicile* (1781-1786). More than twenty years after his first sojourn, Robert's Paestum drawings were included in the *Voyage pittoresque*, which also contained drawings by other architects and artists, as we have seen in the previous chapter.[20]

Among Robert's depictions of Paestum some stand out for their original points of view. The perspective view of the two temples became a rather common way of depicting the temples, with people and some remains in the foreground. But in his oblique view alongside the temples Robert does not depict, like Antonio Joli and others would do, as will be shown in the next chapter, the tourists prominently among the ruins, but he highlights the local people and the cattle, resting among the remains. Only in the background there is an indication of some figures examining the Neptune temple (fig. 3.5; fig. 2.3). Another striking feature in this drawing is the Basilica temple. It has become a massive repetitive volume of columns in the background. In the other drawing, of the Athena temple, the site has a more rural connotation, with laundry hanging to dry next to the temple. The rurality Robert depicted here recalls Piranesi's etchings, in which the local farmers inhabited the temples (fig. 3.6; fig. 2.5), as we will see in chapter four. The distances between the columns are depicted as rather large, and the focus is more on the surroundings than on the actual building. The temple has much more the air of a ruin than in the other drawings. The ruinous aspect is emphasized, nature and ruins become nearly one. In this sketch the eighteenth-century archaeological site is far away, the ruin becomes timeless in its natural scenery. The interior of the Neptune temple is the most particular (fig. 2.4). In choosing a very low viewpoint Robert lets the temple almost grow out of the soil. It is an inkling of how Robert might have seen the site, the rough and stumpy columns seemingly created through nature and time.

To further understand how a consciously constructed ruin can be connected to the self-awareness of the spectator we have to turn to someone who used the representation of an existing, actually intact building in ruins to express his ideas.

Musée des Beaux-Arts in Rouen and the Archives de Besançon both hold one Paestum drawing by Robert. See *Ibid.*, p. 284, note 218; pp. 123-124 for Saint-Non's diary notes on Paestum.
20. Lamers, *op. cit.*

A self-portrait in ruins: John Soane's *Crude Hints*

The British architect John Soane, who was very much influenced by French eighteenth-century thought, used representations of ruins on several occasions, and with diverse purposes: in designs, in a folly and in picturing himself. For instance, in a design, he had his project for the Bank of England (1788-1833) pictured as a ruin by Joseph Gandy (1771-1843) in 1830 (fig. 3.7).[21] The design, part renovation part expansion, was Soane's major and longest running project, and the one which he had represented most often: in exhibition and lecture drawings for the Royal Academy, in his memoirs and in models.[22] In it he combined Roman elements with Greek ones, using for instance a Greek baseless Doric order combined with a Roman dome in the Princess Street Vestibule. That the project involved some demolition works of the old early eighteenth-century existing bank as well might have enhanced the idea of representing his own work in ruins. The fact that he was among the ruins during the construction process, might have created thoughts on the ephemerality of his own design. He designed as it were with the ruins in mind, he was conscious of their possible ruined state.

The aerial view by Gandy could be interpreted both as simply a way to show the ingenious structure of the building, and as a more visionary view on the future of Soane's work.[23] It could also have been an exercise in imagining what would be eventually left of the building and which parts would survive, viewing the project with an architect's mind; the *Ruinenwert*, or ruin value, as the idea that a building was designed with the thought in mind that if it would collapse, the ruined structures that remained would please the eye and endure to exist. The view is impressive in the setting of the edifice in the London streetscape, with the ground on which the bank stands slowly eroding. Trees grow inside the ruins, one corner of the bank still stands, but the rest consists of open spaces, vaults that ceased to carry, lonely columns, and cold

21. On Gandy: Brian Lukacher, *Joseph Gandy: an architectural visionary in Georgian England*, London: Thames & Hudson, 2006; Brian Lukacher, 'Joseph Gandy and the Mythography of Architecture', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 53 (1994) 3, pp. 280-299, and the unpublished Ph.D. thesis of the same author: *Joseph Michael Gandy: the poetical representation and mythography of architecture*, 1987, and the exhibition catalogue, with Desmond Hll: *Joseph Michael Gandy, 1771-1843*, London: Architectural Association, 1982.
22. John Summerson named it his key project, with 'the most original architectural language in Europe at that moment', John Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830*, New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1993 (first published 1953), p. 435.
23. For a discussion of the different possible motives of Soane to picture his project in a ruined state see: Helen Dorey, Margaret Richardson (et al.), *Visions of Ruin. Architectural fantasies & designs for garden follies, with Crude Hints Towards a History of my House by John Soane*, London: Sir John Soane's Museum, 1999, pp. 28-29.

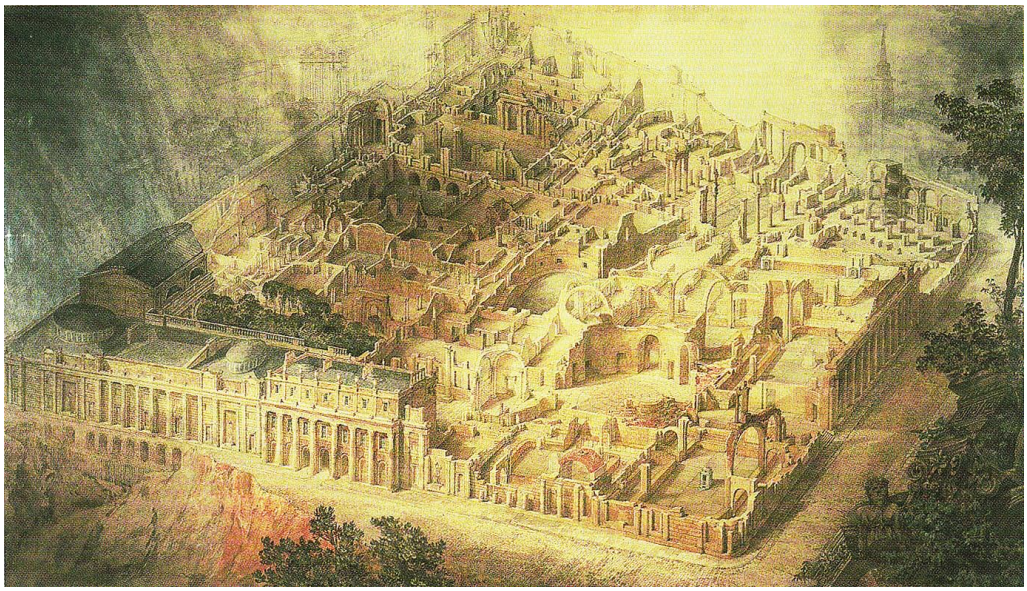


figure 3.7
Joseph Michael Gandy, The Bank of England imagined in ruins, 1830.
(Sir John Soane's Museum, London, P267.)

figure 3.8
Joseph Michael Gandy, Imaginary view of the Rotunda at the Bank of England in ruins, 1798.
(Sir John Soane's Museum, London, P127.)

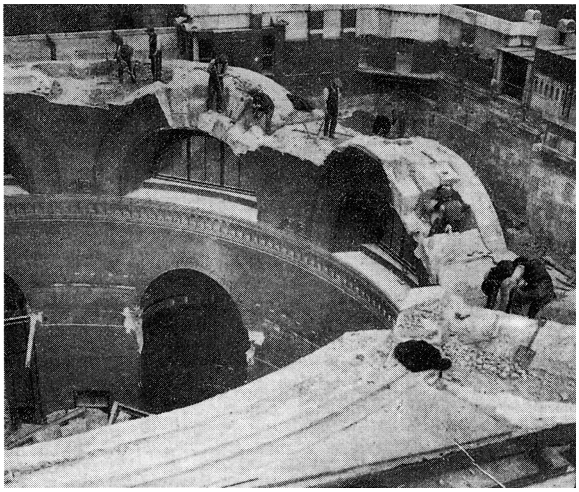


figure 3.9
The demolition of the Bank of England, photograph published in *The Times*, 1st of May 1925.
(From Woodward 2001, p. 163.)

chimneys. The spatiality of the building is emphasized, and although no people occupy the remains one can easily imagine them wandering among the ruins. Soane had his masterpiece depicted at the end of the building process. In 1833 he would resign, nearly blind and after having written 'The moment I cease to be the architect to the Bank, that moment will be one of the most trying and painful of my life'.[24] But picturing his designs in ruins should not only be seen as a portrayal of a man's sombre thoughts at the end of his life. For much earlier, in 1798, shortly after finishing the works, Soane had the Rotunda and the Four Per Cent Office of the Bank of England painted in ruins, also by Gandy. The painting was only exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1832 (fig. 3.8).[25] Under the title 'Architectural ruins: a vision' Soane presented his own design as a Roman ruin, explored and excavated by archaeologists. Sadly, Soane's vision became reality, when in 1925 the Bank of England was demolished, and a photo of the Rotunda in ruins, strikingly similar to Gandy's painting, was published in *The Times* (fig. 3.9).[26]

Another project was also constructed after the demolition of an existing building. In 1800 Soane purchased Pitshanger Manor at Ealing, a house he worked on at the age of fifteen, when the estate was owned by Thomas Gurnell and Soane was still in training at George Dance the Younger's office. Soane bought the building where he started his career as an architect. Pitshanger became his country home, and the pendant of his London House at Lincoln's Inn Fields, exhibiting antiquities and paintings, and containing a basement with plaster casts to educate young architects, just as in his London residence. In addition to the rebuilding of the house in 1800-1802, Soane erected some artificial ruins next to Pitshanger Manor, in 1802 (fig. 3.10).[27] Later Soane wrote an account, a pastiche of an antiquary's letter in which he speculates upon the origins of these 'Roman' ruins discovered at Pitshanger, to amuse his guests. The house is interesting for another reason as well. The façade of Pitshanger was to represent a self-portrait of the architect, as he explained in 1813 (fig. 3.11):

> 'Describe the front. No man will suppose that the architect or owner had attained civic crowns for saving the lives of his fellow citizens [...]. To judge of this species of

24. Letter from John Soane to John Horsley Palmer, the Bank's Governor, 8 April 1833, Soane Museum Archive, Personal Correspondence, XIV/J/1.2, quoted in Margaret Richardson and MaryAnne Stevens (eds.), *John Soane Architect. Master of Space and Light*, London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1999, p. 210.
25. The Four Per Cent Office was designed and built in 1793-1797, the Rotunda in 1794-1795.
26. *The Times*, 1 May 1925.
27. See on other constructed ruins: David Watkin, 'Built Ruins: The Hermitage as a Retreat', and Christopher Woodward, 'Scenes from the Future', in Dorey, Richardson et al., *op. cit.*, pp. 5-14 and pp. 15-17.

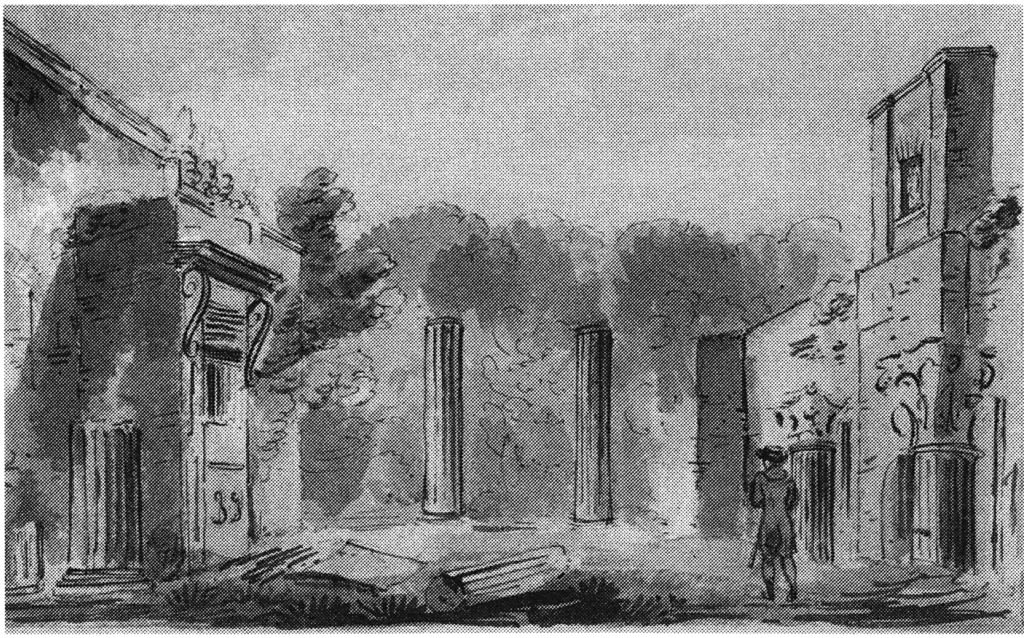


figure 3.10
George Basevi, Sketch of the ruins at Pitzhanger Manor, Ealing, 20 December 1810.
(Sir John Soane's Museum, London, Vol. 87, 11.)

a

b

figure 3.11
a. John Soane, Design for the front façade of Pitzhanger Manor, Ealing, 1800.

(Sir John Soane's Museum, London, 14/2/3.)

b. C.J. Richardson, Bird's-eye view of Pitzhanger Manor, Ealing, with the mock Roman ruins to the right, 1835.

(Sir John Soane's Museum, London, Vol. 90, 7.)

building we should endeavour to discover the object to be attained: for example, in the building before you, if we suppose the person about to build possessed of a number of detached pieces of ornament, [...] and that from a desire to preserve them from ruin, or to form a building to give a faint idea of an Italian villa [...] this building may thus be considered as a picture, a sort of portrait.'[28]

In this text the architect gives a fragmented image of himself. In talking about the civic crowns he explains how the owner clearly does not save lives, but he does save art. The owner is a collector of fragments, who constructs through exploration. Thus Soane is represented foremost as a collector of antiquities, letting the façade express what the house contains within. We could connect this idea to the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (1499) attributed to the Venetian friar Francesco Colonna (1433-1527) as its model. This architectural book, the first to be published after Alberti and Vitruvius, presented in word and images a hallucinatory world of classical ruins and gardens. The book stresses the use of meaningful ornament, or ornament 'suitable to the use and character of the edifice' as Soane called it in his fifth lecture for the Royal Academy. Soane studied the book extensively, and made translations of certain passages. The book was not that well known in England at the time, but Soane became a passionate reader of it and obtained several copies.[29]

Whereas the ruins at Pitshanger were still a rather innocent and playful construction of remains, a later project, a project of the mind, came much closer to a hallucinatory world. In a manuscript entitled *Crude Hints towards a history of my house*, Soane reflected on his own house in ruins. Now with the above representations of buildings in ruins, speculations on artificial ruins, and architecture as a self-portrait in our minds, how did Soane stage the imagined entering of ruins by himself as a spectator? While Soane's light-hearted manuscript for Pitshanger Manor was supposed to amuse his guests, the *Crude Hints* evolve into a gloomy and personal account. Soane wrote his *Crude Hints* in 1812.[30] He drafted the manuscript when he was rebuilding his home on no. 13 Lincoln's Inn Fields in London on the 'ruins' of the earlier house on the site

28. John Soane, manuscript on Pitshanger, Sir John Soane's Museum, library, Soane Case 170, fols. 134-135, quoted in: Watkin (ed.), *Sir John Soane...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 187-188.
29. Soane owned two copies of the French translation (1546), and a copy of the reprint of the first edition (1545). In seventeenth-century France the Hypnerotomachia had a large influence, see: Anthony Blunt, 'The Hypnerotomachia Poliphili in 17th-century France', *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, 1 (1937-1938), pp. 117-137. Soane's notes in Soane Museum Archives 1/183. See Watkin (ed.), *Sir John Soane...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 246-248.
30. The words 'crude hints' appear often in the early drafts of his Royal Academy lectures, and were used to mean 'rough draft'.

which he had demolished, linking the new house to the existing part at the rear of no. 13 and his existing house at no. 12. Thus, at the time his home was a demolition site, but developing into a complete building, and not decomposing into a ruin, as in the *Crude Hints*.

In the *Crude Hints*, Soane takes on the persona of an antiquary presenting this house as a future ruin, with visitors exploring the remains and speculating on its origins and function: a Roman temple, a burial site, a monastery or a magician's home. The house is envisaged as a chapel or a burial place, the staircase as a prison, comparable to Piranesi's Carceri (fig. 3.12), where Soane imagined that victims were 'left to starve to death in all the horrors of endless darkness there to pay the forfeit of a little human frailty: - here is food for meditation even to madness'.[31] The *Crude Hints* mingle his ideas for designing his own house, the construction site, the collections in his house, and images of the future. The antiquary proposes to 'look at [the ruin] merely as a dwelling, & that of an Artist, either an Architect or painter'.[32] Thus Soane constructs an externalised self-portrait. In presenting the creator of the ruins halfway the *Crude Hints*, he shows a man with failed ambitions, persecuted by people who plotted against him.

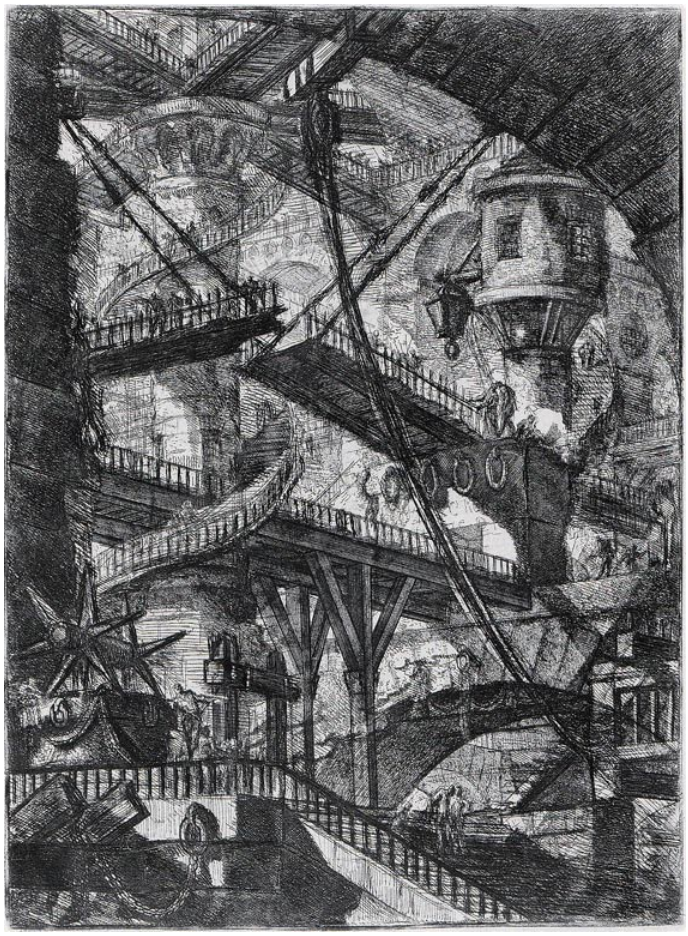
> 'then persecutions and other misfortunes of a more direct & domestic nature preyed on his mind - he saw the views of early youth blighted - his fairest prospects utterly destroyed - his lively character became sombre - melancholy, brooding constantly over an accumulation of evils brought him into a state little short of mental derangement, his enemies perceived this - they seized the moment - they smote his rock & he fell as many had done before him and died as was generally believed of a broken heart.'[33]

Soane's two sons, John and George, did not live up to their father's ambitions, and neither of them became an architect. In mentioning the 'et filii filiorum' ('and the sons of his sons'), a fragmentary inscription which the antiquary finds among the ruins of his house Soane writes:

> 'the man who founded this place piously imagined that from the fruits of his honest industry & the rewards of his persistence [and] application he laid the foundation of a family of Artists and that the filii filiorum of his loins might, smitten with the love of Art and anxious to shew their gratitude for the benefits & care & comfort they derived

31. Soane, *Crude Hints...*, *op. cit.*, p. 64.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 69.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 72.

figure 3.12
Giovanni Battista Piranesi,
The Drawbridge, second state,
Carcere VII, c. 1761.
(Piranesi, *Carceri d'invenzione di G. Battista Piranesi archit. vene.*, s.a., plate VII.)



from it, dwell in this place from generation to generation'.[34]

The ruins become an externalisation of inner moods and character. Soane constructs a melancholy and personal world in the ruins. In writing the manuscript of an antiquary exploring the ruins of his house, constructing and externalising come together. Instead of a generation of artists who occupy the house after him, Soane imagines the house being haunted afterwards. Soane ends his manuscript with: 'Oh could the dead but for a moment leave their quiet mansions - could they but even look out of their Graves and see how posterity treated them and their Works what Hell could equal their Torments.'[35] The manuscript presents two other endings of the tale: 'Oh what a falling off do these ruins present - the subject becomes too gloomy to be pursued - the pen drops from my almost palsied hand...'[36] Suddenly Soane switches here to the first person. Now, the ruins represent his own decay. The price of architectural externalisation or of identifying too closely with own buildings, is that one becomes, like them, subject to decay.

These thoughts on ruins of Whately, Volney, Diderot, and Soane show some elements that had become *topoi*. General themes of decline and fall, the decay of the world, endlessness, the smallness and ephemeral life of human beings occur in more and more accounts towards the end of the century. Interestingly, these reflections on ruins show at the same time a slow shift towards more personal thoughts of the spectator, and how these are produced. Soane created a fictive ruin as an image of his life and character.

The descriptions and depictions of ruins by Diderot and Soane cited above are all fictionalized, consciously created, accounts. They entered ruins only in their minds. The ruins made them reflect on their own being, but what happens when one enters the ruins in reality? From the paper experience we will switch now to the actual experience. We will see that the self still plays a role, but in an entirely different way. Instead of the conventional *topoi* of ruins and decay, the Paestum accounts will show how being inside the ruins leads to more individual and original experiences. We thus have to turn to Paestum to see how the examinations inside the ruins by a spectator in an *in situ* experience reveal how the process of the observation worked in reality and what this means for the specificity of the site. It will tell us more about the actual

34. *Ibid.*, p. 72.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 73.
36. In yet another version of the ending, Soane writes 'from my almost paralysed hand'. *Ibid.*, p. 74.

process of looking at ruins, and about the role of the self in space, as opposed to the self in the imagination. From imagined ruins we will thus turn to actual ruins.

Mass and space, load and support: Goethe and Forsyth in the temples

As travellers to the site all emphasized the importance of seeing the monuments with their own eyes, and the incredible difference between the images they had seen beforehand and the actual perception *in situ*, they were aware of their own presence among the ruins. This they expressed in describing extensively the long and dangerous voyage, in unfolding their own observation of the temples with the images in mind, in the difference between expectation and observation.

The accounts often show the process of experiencing the temples, in which we are able to detect the ways of observing, where physicality has a large role. Architect Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc (1814-1879) for instance, who travelled at the age of 22 to Italy, wrote in his diary (fig. 3.13):

> 'Ce matin à 5 heures nous partons pour Paestum; pays triste, désert, marais, air lourd; à 10 heures nous arrivons à Paestum. Les trois temples de Cérès; celui de Neptune, et la basilique; heureuse proportion du temple de Cérès; celui de Neptune est un peu lourd; colonnes trop recherchées dans la basilique; je dessine le temple de Neptune; air pesant, soleil, je ne suis pas à mon aise.'[37]

Viollet-le-Duc's entire account breathes discomfort. The landscape is miserable, deserted and humid with a heavy atmosphere, the sun burns. He scribbles down his first impressions of the temples, which do not make him very enthusiastic either. Viollet-le-Duc finds the temple of Neptune too massy, and the forms of the columns of the Basilica too strange. In all, he is not at ease in Paestum and has difficulty grasping its architecture. But when he drives away in his carriage in the rain, after not having eaten in a horrible cantina with rotten figs and meat, with a man in their carriage suffering from the pest, and arrives in Salerno, he notes his

37. Eugène Viollet-le-Duc, *Lettres d'Italie 1836-1837, adressées à sa famille*, Paris: Léonce Laget, 1971, p. 372. He visited Paestum on 24 July 1836.

final impressions that are very different: 'Le temple de Neptune est supérieurement construit, tous trois sont d'une pierre remplie de cavités et fort dure; quelques portions stuquées existent encore.' Now the Neptune temple, which was too massy and had proportions poorer than those of the temple of Ceres, is superior in its construction, as opposed to the other two. The strong contradiction between his impressions at the site and the entirely different opinions expressed after he has left the spot is striking.

Many travellers made the remark about the superiority of the Neptune temple, so we could say that after his first personal impressions Viollet-le-Duc turned to a general convention. But the fragment also shows that what Viollet-le-Duc focuses on are the tectonic elements. Although the character of the architecture of the temple is heavy, the way it is constructed is appreciated. In writing further about the porous and hard stone and the presence of stucco, this account shows that, after the initial feelings of uneasiness, what the architect focussed on in Paestum was construction and material. For him, the way to appreciate the site is to concentrate on its structure and matter. Furthermore, although Viollet-le-Duc does not wander among the ruins to capture their architecture, his account does make clear that being at the site was an intensely physical experience. His feelings of not being at ease in its horrible surroundings and with its architecture, the bad weather conditions and food demonstrate this, and most of all a physical sensation of discomfort.

Goethe, as we saw before, did wander among the ruins. Only by walking through and around them, observing them from every angle and side, could he understand what he did not see when looking at reproductions of the temples.

> 'Denn im architektonischen Aufriß erscheinen sie eleganter, in perspektivischer Darstellung plumper, als sie sind, nur wenn man sich um sie her, durch sie durch bewegt, teilt man ihnen das eigentliche Leben mit; man fühlt es wieder aus ihnen heraus, welches der Baumeister beabsichtigte, ja hineinschuf. Und so verbrachte ich den ganzen Tag, [...] uns die genausten Umrisse zuzueignen.'[38]

Goethe, in his remark on how only through movement one can impart real life to the temples, evokes here feelings of empathy, which only in 1861 would be theorised as such in Robert

38. Goethe, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

Vishers' writings on Einfühlung.[39] We will see later in this chapter how important this concept is for an understanding of a bodily observation. In this second phrase, Goethe illustrates how the movements of his body through the temples, while relating it to the open spaces and the masses of its architecture, let him come to an understanding of the space. In adjusting himself to the temples, and in this way trying to experience the sensations this gives and what the Greek architect would have aimed with the building, Goethe clings to the tectonic elements of the temple to comprehend it. He also holds on to the spaces between the columns and demonstrates how they became familiar to him by walking through them. He has to do this, for the awkward forms of the architecture of the temples almost frighten him, as we saw in the chapter on the sublime: 'Nun sind unsere Augen und durch sie unser ganzes inneres Wesen an schlankere Baukunst hinangetrieben und entschieden bestimmt, so daß uns diese stumpfen, kegelförmigen, enggedrängten Säulenmassen lästig, ja furchtbar erscheinen.'[40] But apart from using the experiences of bodily movements in space, Goethe uses another tool to come to a comprehension and even appreciation:

> 'Doch nahm ich mich bald zusammen, erinnerte mich der Kunstgeschichte, gedachte der Zeit, deren Geist solche Bauart gemäß fand, vergegenwärtigte mir den strengen Stil der Plastik, und in weniger als einer Stunde fühlte ich mich befreundet, ja ich pries den Genius, daß er mich diese so wohl erhaltenen Reste mit Augen sehen ließ, da sich von ihnen durch Abbildung kein Begriff geben läßt.'[41]

By calling upon his art historical memory, Goethe transforms his initial bewildered and confused impressions into an understanding of, and even familiarity with the architecture. Goethe described the bodily impact of observing the temples, but we have to turn to other descriptions to find more detailed accounts of how this bodily observation took place.

An account written by Joseph Forsyth (1763-1815), a Scottish schoolmaster and traveller, offers an interesting insight in the several different roles of the spectator in his *Remarks on Antiquities, Arts, and Letters, during an Excursion in Italy in the years 1802 and 1803* (London 1813). Forsyth had been arrested 'as a British subject' in Turin in 1803, and remained in prison until 1814.

39. Harry Francis Mallgrave and Eleftherios Ikonomou, *Empathy, Form and Space: Problems of German Aesthetics 1873-1893*, Santa Monica: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1994, pp. 91-92.
40. Goethe, *op. cit.*, p. 205.
41. *Ibid.*, pp. 205-206.

figure 3.13
Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, Interior view of the Temple of Neptune, 1836.
(Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins.)

His book was partly written to persuade Napoleon to release him. As for Paestum, Forsyth constructed his account from travelling towards the site, his first impression, to an examination of the temples individually, and interweaved his own presence throughout the whole account. He stresses first the dangers of approaching the site, and how the travel party reacts to this.[42]

Then, the first impression is immediately compelling: 'On entering the walls of Pæstum I felt all the religion of the place. I trod as on sacred ground. I stood amazed at the long obscurity of its mighty ruins.'[43] That Forsyth includes religion in his account is a very distinct element. Other travellers to Paestum hardly refer to this, or did not have such strong religious associations at the site. But it may also have to do with the aura of ancient architecture, with the idea of sacrifices in the temples, or of the sacred ancientness of the buildings. We could relate this association also to the sublime, for instance in Longinus lofty feelings were connected to divine forces.[44]

Forsyth's first impression is continued in an observation on the antiquity of the temples, their wholeness, simplicity and the variations in mass and space:

> 'These wonderful objects, though surveyed in the midst of rain, amply compensated our little misadventures. Taking into view their immemorial antiquity, their astonishing preservation, their grandeur or rather grandiosity, their bold columnar elevation, at once massive and open, their severe simplicity of design, that simplicity in which art generally begins, and to which, after a thousand revolutions of ornament, it again returns; taking, I say, all into one view, I do not hesitate to call these the most impressive monuments that I ever beheld on earth.'[45]

The simplicity of forms Forsyth relates to their ancientness, but he also states that a period of

42. 'Here we left the carriage, and waded to a lone cottage-inn, where thieves and thief-catchers often meet to negotiate. Some of the latter, being fortunately there, lent us their mules and escorted us to Pæstum. On arriving at the Sele, we found more mules waiting for the ferry-boat. These when embarked, grew so furious that some of the passengers caught hold of ropes and stood ready to plunge into the river. The rage of those wicked brutes seemed contagious, as if excited by the gad-fly, which ever since Virgil's time has infested these banks.' Joseph Forsyth, *Remarks on Antiquities, Arts, and Letters, during an Excursion in Italy in the years 1802 and 1803*, London: Printed for T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1813, p. 339. On Forsyth see the introduction of: Joseph Forsyth, *Remarks on antiquities, arts, and letters during an excursion in Italy, in the years 1802 and 1803*, edited by Keith Crook, Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2001, pp. xi-lxiii.
43. Forsyth, *op. cit.*, p. 339.
44. Saint-Girons, *Fiat Lux...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-49.
45. Forsyth, *op. cit.*, p. 343.

decoration is just temporal and when it returns to simplicity, art could reach again the same striking quality. We could say that dynamics are perceived, openness and closeness are observed with an embodied mind.

In this fragment, Forsyth tried to express something that is not easy to capture in words: a feeling of being in awe, but also an impression which he cannot define immediately. The walls seem a boundary from the dangerous world he has traversed on his way to the silent plain of the site with the three temples. With Forsyth the reader pauses for a moment to breathe and capture the scene before his eyes from afar, before entering it and examining it in more detail. After speaking about the travel party and the unsafe circumstances of reaching the site, Forsyth is suddenly alone. In his contemplation of the impressive temples in the almost sacred scenery, he is on his own.

Forsyth then turns to the architecture. He starts to attempt not to date the 'sage, austere and energetic' ruins, but to describe their origin by situating their proportions in relation to the Parthenon. Despite their different proportions he does not believe them to be older because the proportions of an order 'are but a matter of convention'. In fact, Forsyth expresses his dislike of and unfamiliarity with this specific order, the 'Pæstan Doric': an architect who works in the metropolis necessarily constructs more elegant buildings than architects 'who were confined to the ruder materials and tastes of a remote colony.' When one approaches them and studies them in detail the first impact of the temples from the distance is transformed. Now, Forsyth begins by defining the temples as 'structures', and portrays them by describing all their tectonic elements: columns, intercolumniations, capitals, architrave, frieze, and cornice. He is also aware of their tectonic aspects, of load and support: 'the members which support are here larger than those supported' (as opposed to 'Latin Doric'), the architrave larger than the frieze, and the frieze than the cornice. Then he makes an interesting remark:

> 'these very peculiarities create an exaggeration of mass which awes every eye, and a stability which, from time unknown, has sustained in the air these ponderous entablatures. The walls are fallen, and the columns stand; the solid has failed, and the open resists.'[46]

46. *Ibid.*, p. 341.

It could almost be an expression of Soane's representation of the Bank of England as ruin, with an empasis on the vaults and open spaces. But most of all, Forsyth here associates architecture with bodily reactions and physical processes, like gravity. He had these experiences, and wrote them down, we could say that he takes these bodily experiences serious. He analyses his experiences in terms of the physical laws at work in architecture and how at Paestum these laws seem to have been ignored. At the end of this chapter we will see how important this aspect of gravity is in the observation of architecture. Forsyth brings here to the fore, instead of an abstract intellectual analysis of proportions, the dynamics of wandering through architectural space; with every step he experienced another vista. He demonstrates that knowledge is not constitutive of this observation.

To Forsyth the orders in general are natural necessities in a hot climate: 'In such climates a place of assembly required nothing but shade and ventilation; in other words, nothing but a roof and just as much vertical buildings as could support it-hence the groves of pillars which we find in Egypt; but the angles of pillars were found to obstruct the circulation of a crowd-hence columns; and, as plinths and tores would impede the passage of feet-hence baseless columns, like these of Pæstum.'[47] This seems to be a rather simple explanation of a supposed development of Egyptian into Greek architecture, but what is notable here is that Forsyth approaches the particular architecture of Paestum from the viewpoint of the user of the architectural space. By analysing the movements and circulations of his body in an architectural structure he accounts for the choices made in architectural design.

Forsyth also makes some interesting remarks on scale and architecture. According to Forsyth, Vitruvius wrote that,

> 'the intercolumniations should be in direct proportion to the relative thickness of the columns. Now these, in proportion to their height, are the thickest columns that I have seen, and yet their relative distance is the least. This closeness makes the columns crowd advantageously on the eye, it enlarges our idea of the space, and gives a grand, an heroic air to monuments of very moderate dimension.'[48]

47. Joseph Forsyth, *Remarks on Antiquities, Arts, and Letters, during an Excursion in Italy, in the years 1802 and 1803*, fourth edition, London: John Murray, 1835, note p. 319.
48. Forsyth, *op. cit.*, p. 341-342. Watkin (ed.), *Sir John Soane..., op. cit.*, p. 254: Sir John Soane's Museum, London, Library, Soane Case 169, f. 79, and Forsyth, *op. cit.*, p. 207. Forsyth calls the third 'structure', 'still more singular' and the stone 'probably formed at Paestum itself, by the brackish water of the Salso acting on vegetable earth, roots and plants; for

The contrast between massive and open, between simplicity and ornament is in Forsyth's account striking. He makes references to Vitruvius, but his experience is against Vitruvius, and can much better be understood in terms of nineteenth-century theories of empathy. Thus, Forsyth does not concentrate on the historical use or function of the buildings, but on the straightforward or paradoxical representation of structure and tectonic processes and on the impression the temples give him in the present. Forsyth's remarks are original, very articulated and thoroughly observed as compared to many of the other Paestum accounts.

Soane bought Forsyth's *Remarks on Antiquities* in 1814. He made many notes on the book, and annotated his own copy.[49] Soane also wrote in his notes in his copy of Henry Home, Lord Kames' *Elements of Criticism* (1762) on scale, commenting upon Forsyth's text:

> 'Of all the emotions that can be raised by architecture, grandeur is that which has the greatest influence on the mind; and it ought therefore to be the chief study of the artist [...] But as grandeur depends partly on size, it seems so far unlucky for architecture, that it is governed by regularity and proportion, which never deceive the eye by making objects appear larger than they are in reality.'

Soane noted: 'but architecture gives by comparison greater apparent quantity than the objects themselves really contain.'[50] In reaction to Forsyth, Soane remarked: 'Forsyth is right. Architecture can form pictures of the most sublime kind, aye and produce or create a fiction or tell a story and affect the mind with its varied passions!'[51] He commented here on Forsyth's observation of the Galleria in the Palazzo Colonna in Rome being 'too brilliant a picture for the pictures which it contains. A gallery should not draw the attention from its contents by striking architecture or glittering surfaces.'[52]

Forsyth's account of Paestum provides us with some clues of how visitors could examine the temples. Certainly, the way in which he observes the ruins, make one thing clear: to view the

you can distinguish their petrified tubes in very column.'
49. Sir John Soane's Museum, London, Library, AL Soane Case 169. Watkin (ed.), *Sir John Soane..., op. cit.*, p. 250.
50. Sir John Soane's Museum, London, Library, AL Soane Case 161/2, f. 44, and Kames, *Elements..., op. cit.*, 1762, pp. 471-472. Watkin (ed.), *Sir John Soane..., op. cit.*, p. 236.
51. Sir John Soane's Museum, London, Library, Soane Case 169, f. 79 and Forsyth, *op. cit.*, p. 207. Watkin (ed.), *Sir John Soane..., op. cit.*, p. 254.
52. Forsyth, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

temples and to understand what they are, not only the experience at the spot is vital but in the viewing process the awareness of one's body in the architectural space is also essential.

Sensing ruins by Eustace and Shelley

This same awareness is noticeable as well in the account on Paestum written by the British Poet Percy Bysshe Shelley. As we saw in the chapter on the sublime, Paestum was part of a tour he made through Italy with Mary Shelley and Claire Clairmont, departing 12 March 1818. From Italy, and especially Rome and Naples, in the months of April 1818 to April 1819 Shelley wrote extensive travel letters to Thomas Love Peacock (1785-1866), in the form of a journal.[53] Shelley knew also the writings of Forsyth and of another much-read travel account on Italy, that of John Chetwode Eustace (1762-1815), *A Tour through Italy*. Eustace was an Irish Roman Catholic priest and an intimate of Burke, a Hellenist at Cambridge, who made his Italian tour in 1802-1803.[54]

Eustace visited Paestum and stressed just like Forsyth the dangers of the site. He writes about banditti being in the area, one who had shot his wife and had now 'become a wanderer in the forests, and amid the ruins of the plain of Pœstum [...] He was armed with a gun and pistols; and was on the whole an object very unwelcome to the eye in such a solitude.'[55] The temples particularly struck Eustace, and he viewed them more as odd masses of stones than as buildings:

> 'The unusual forms of three temples rising insulated and unfrequented, in the middle of such a wilderness, immediately engrossed our attention. We alighted, and hastened to the majestic piles; then wandered about them till the fall of night obliged us to repair to our mansion.'[56]

53. The Shelley letters from Italy received little attention by scholars. See Alan M. Weinberg, *Shelley's Italian Experience*, London: Macmillan, 1991; Benjamin Colbert, *Shelley's Eye. Travel Writing and Aesthetic Vision*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005. Mary Shelley published them after Shelley's death in: *Essays, Letters from Abroad. Translations and Fragments*, London: E. Moxon, 1839.
54. Eustace died of malaria in Naples in 1815, not having finished the extension of his Tour. Sir Richard Colt Hoare wrote *A Classical Tour through Italy and Sicily; Tending to Illustrate Some Districts, Which Have Not Been Described by Mr Eustace, in His Classical Tour*, London: s.n., 1819.
55. John Chetwode Eustace, *A tour through Italy: exhibiting a view of its scenery, its antiquities, and its monuments; particularly as they are objects of classical interest and elucidation: with an account of the present state of its cities and towns; and occasional observations on the recent spoliations of the French*, 2 vols., London: J. Mawman, 1813, vol. 2, p. 27.
56. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 17. On page 9 he wrote: 'Of all the objects that lie within the compass of an excursion from Naples,

Together with the dangers of the site and the strange but sublime buildings, Eustace's account contains all the elements that are recurrently put forward by travellers to Paestum. The contrast between the situation and the ancient remains impress him: 'Amid [...] scenes rural and ordinary, rise the three temples like the mausoleums of the ruined city, dark, silent, and majestic.'[57] Even the history of the site becomes obscure: 'Obscurity hangs over, not the origin only but the general history of this city, though it has left such magnificent monuments of its existence.'[58] The passage where Eustace makes reference to Virgil's writings on Paestum, reminds one of Richard Payne Knight's educated mind when he visited Paestum:

> 'Mount *Alburnus* inseparably united with the *Silaris*, in Virgil's beautiful lines, and consequently in the mind of every classical traveller, rises in distant perspective, and adds to the fame and consequence of the stream by the magnitude of his form and the ruggedness of his towering brow. Ilex forests wave on the sides of the mountain, and fringe the margin of the river, while herds innumerable wander through their recesses, and enliven the silence of the scene by perpetual lowings. As the country still continues flat and covered with thickets, the traveller scarce discovers *Pæstum* till he enters its walls.'[59]

When Eustace contemplates the ancientness of the temples, he also introduces an important aspect that determined the discourse on Paestum, and that will be treated further in the fifth chapter of this thesis: that of primitivism:

> 'to judge from their form we must conclude that they are the oldest specimens of Grecian architecture now in existence. In beholding them and contemplating their

Pæstum, though the most distant, is perhaps the most curious and most interesting. In scenery, without doubt, it yields, not only to *Baia* and *Puteoli*, but to every town in the vicinity of the *Crater*; but in noble and well preserved monuments of antiquity it surpasses every city in Italy, her immortal capital Rome alone accepted.' On page 10 he further reflects on its rediscovery: 'That it was not much visited, we know, but this was owing rather to the indifference than to the ignorance of the learned, and perhaps a little to the state of the country, ever lawless and unsafe while under the domination of absent sovereigns. We are too apt to conclude, that nobody had seen what we did not see, and that what travellers have not recorded, was not known to exist; without reflecting that the ignorance of the latter is often the consequence of the little acquaintance which many of them have with the language and natives of the countries they undertake to describe.'

57. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 24. He continued: 'It was now dusk, and our entrance into the bishop's villa we found a plentiful repast, and excellent wines waiting our arrival. Our beds and rooms were all good, and every thing calculated to make our visit to *Pæstum* as agreeable in its accompaniments as it was interesting in its object.'

58. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 18.

59. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 16-17.

> solidity bordering upon heaviness, we are tempted to consider them as an intermediate link between the Egyptian and Grecian manner, and the first attempt to pass from the immense masses of the former to the graceful proportions of the latter. In fact, the temples of *Pæstum*, *Agrigentum*, and *Athens*, seem instances of the commencement, the improvement and the perfection of the Doric order.'[60]

In all, Eustace's account is a very complete one in which many elements are put forward that characterised the eighteenth-century debates on Paestum. This nineteenth-century account functions thus as a sort of summary of a large part of the objects of these discourses. Eustace's descriptions of the three temples that follow are not of much interest, apart from the remarks on the stylobate, for here the physical examination of the temples is again thematized: 'In common to all it may be observed, that [the temples] are raised upon substructions forming three gradations (for they cannot be termed steps, as they are much too high for the purpose) intended solely to give due elevation and relievo to the superstructure'. In a note he added: 'Ordinary steps seem to sink under the weight, and are quite lost in the cumbrous majesty of the Doric column.'[61] Here he clearly examined the temples by walking through them, and using, in his thoughts on the weight of the columns, the laws of gravity to comprehend why the Greeks had chosen to omit simple steps.

In his account all the senses work together to take in the impression of Paestum in a most intense way:

> 'The night was bright, the weather warm but airy, a gale sweet and refreshing blew from the neighboring hills of *Acropoli* and *Callimara*; no sound was heard but the regular murmurs of the neighboring sea. The temples silvered over by the light of the moon, rose full before me, and fixed my eyes till sleep closed them. In the morning the first object that presented itself was still the temples, now blazing in the full beams of the sun; beyond them the sea glittering as far as sight could reach, and the hills and mountains round, all lighted up with brightness. We passed some hours in revisiting the ruins, and contemplating the surrounding scenery.'[62]

60. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 19-20.
61. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 21-22.
62. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 24. Eustace makes also reference to measurements taken by William Wilkins and the columns being covered by stucco (p. 26). We will return to Wilkins in the sixth chapter.

Shelley was strongly influenced by Eustace's book. In Shelley's letters, containing many reflections on Italian remains, ruins become almost one with nature. For instance, in his account of the Baths of Caracalla nature and architecture are similarly integrated: nature softens the decaying building; there is again a reference to their timelessness: 'their vast desolation softened down by the undecaying investiture of nature'.[63] In observing the Coliseum, just like Eustace had done, Shelley took a viewpoint within the structure, and thereby shows the spectator's disorientation, and lack of control over the object. Nature and architecture become one object: 'the effect of the perfection of its architecture [of the exterior] adorned with ranges of Corinthian pilasters supporting a bold cornice, is such as to diminish the effect of its greatness.'[64] Shelley imagines how it might have been in its original state but can hardly believe that it could have been as sublime and impressive as the ruin. He pays no attention to the historical context or iconography of the building but just expresses his awareness of being the building's observer. By the focus on its material presence, and not on its construction, function or appropriation, the architecture becomes a-historical. Shortly after several visits to the building, Shelley also wrote a romance entitled *The Coliseum*, in 1818 in which these elements appear as well.[65]

Thus it becomes clear that during his voyage Shelley was very susceptible to architecture. In his letters the effect of architecture on the spectator is often expressed. In comparing this effect in Saint Peter's in Rome to that in the Pantheon, he stated that the Pantheon is:

> 'totally the reverse of that of St. Peter's. Though not a fourth part of the size, it is as it were the visible image of the universe; in the perfection of its proportions, as when you regard the unmeasured dome of Heaven, the idea of magnitude is swallowed up & lost. It is open to the sky, & its wide dome is lighted by the ever changing illumination of the air. The clouds of noon fly over it and at night the keen stars are seen thro the azure darkness hanging immoveably, or driving after the driving moon

63. Shelley, *The Lettres..., op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 85. Written upon the 'mountainous ruins' of Caracalla, the *Promotheus Unbound*, mingled his impressions in Rome and Naples, see for example *The Poems of Shelley*, edited by Kelvin Everest, Geoffrey Matthews, vol. 2 (1817-1819), Harlow: Longman, 2000, III, iv 111-21.
64. Shelley, *The Lettres..., op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 59.
65. See Colbert, *op. cit.*, pp. 179-182. In his description of the Coliseum in *Prometheus Unbound* (1819) he emphasises the fact that the 'marble wilderness' of the Coliseum is 'sublime' and 'impressive' precisely because it is a ruin, see Shelley, *The Lettres..., op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 59, Byron wrote in his poem *Childe Harold* on the Coliseum: 'that long explored but still exhaustless mine / of contemplation', Childe Harold IV, 1162-3. See Carolyn Springer, *The Marble Wilderness: Ruins and Representation in Italian Romanticism, 1775-1850*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

> among the clouds.'[66]

In his travel letters Shelley associates the Greeks with nature, and in his other letters, describing the Italian ruins, Shelley often reflects on the harmony between nature and architecture. In contemplating the temple of Jupiter in Pompeii, he imagined how the Greeks lived in close relation with nature, and how this made them reach the extraordinary level and perfection of their art:

> 'They lived in a perpetual commerce with external nature and nourished themselves upon the spirits of its forms. Their theatres were all open to the mountains & the sky. Their columns that ideal type of a sacred forest with its roof of interwoven tracery admitted the light & wind, the odour & the freshness of the country penetrated the cities. The temples were mostly upaithric; & the flying clouds the stars or the deep sky were seen above.'[67]

Here he connects Pompeii to Greece, the Greeks presented as living in harmony with nature: 'If such is Pompeii, what was Athens?'[68] The way Shelley views Greece is very specific, emphasizing the connection of art and nature and imagining the living conditions of the Greeks. Before his voyage Shelley had created a well-stocked mind of thorough knowledge of ruins, Italy and Greek art. Shelley had read for example Volney, and in December 1818 he began to read Winckelmann's *Geschichte der Kunst des Altherthums* (1764), and continued to do so almost daily until 3 January 1819.[69] Above all, not in the least through this education he built up, Shelley had a clear admiration for Greek art and architecture. Emphasizing constantly the superiority of the Greeks over the Romans, and the simplicity, beauty and grandeur of Greek art, he was much influenced by Eustace's writings. He also read Jean-Jacques Barthélemy's (1716-1795) *Voyage du jeune Anacharsis en Grèce* (1788) in 1818, while he was translating Plato's *Symposium* and writing *A Discourse on the Manners of the Ancient Greeks Relative to the Subject of Love*.[70] Barthélemy, a French archeaologist and numismatist, wrote with his book a travelogue of the

66. Shelley, *The Lettres..., op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 87-88.
67. Shelley seems to have invented the word, a Greek adjective is hupaithrios meaning 'open to the air, having no roof', but not hupaithrikos. See *ibid.*, vol. 2 pp. 74-75.
68. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 73.
69. On Volney: Colbert, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26.
70. *Shelley's Poetry and Prose*, selected and edited by Donald H. Reiman and Neil Fraistat, New York/London: W.W. Norton & Company, 2002, p. 219. Shelley, *The Lettres..., op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 26.

site and the geography of classical Greece, using the young Scythian philosopher Anacharsis as his personage to make the journey and to analyse Greek civilisation. The book was highly esteemed and became an immense success in both France and in Europe, contributing to the Greek revival. Shelley's Italian tour was deliberately woven around the perception of Greek art, and even before leaving England he had very well defined aesthetic ideas about the Greeks. His plans to visit Greece in 1821-1822 failed because the political circumstances in Greece made it too dangerous to travel there. Shelley, writing in the preface of his poem *Hellas* 'we are all Greeks...', was reading 'scarcely anything but Greek'.[71] He went thus to Paestum's site with a mind filled with references and ideas on the Greeks. But at the spot all this knowledge was put aside. His knowledge, his ideas on history were not important in observing Paestum. He concentrated much more on the experience of space, as we will see shortly.

It could be expected that in his account of Paestum Shelley would write about the Greeks being superior in their temple architecture, or that the temples would make him reflect on lost empires as Volney did. His letter could easily be interpreted as a desire to see the remnants of Grecian culture. But in Paestum something else happened to the poet, which should rather be related to his other accounts of architecture in Italy, such as that on Pompeii or on the Baths of Caracalla, the Coliseum and the Pantheon. Shelley dissociated his Paestum experiences from his Greek erudition. In the letter he wrote to Peacock we can trace the thoughts that Shelley had on the ideal tourist who is attracted to that which reflects his or her values and desires: 'neither the eye nor the mind can see itself, unless reflected upon that which it resembles' so that observation is also always a form of self-identification.[72] It is a projection of bodily recognition as a starting point of real perception that will have a clear form in his travel account of Paestum.

Shelley opens his Paestum account by saying that in this Greek city 'there still subsist three temples of Etruscan architecture.' Apart from this remark being false, for the temples were Greek, it is also the only sentence that refers to some historical background of the site. Just as in other descriptions of Italian architecture, Shelley was not interested in the ruins in a historical context, but much more in the relation between nature and architecture, and the impression they make on the traveller.

71. Preface to *Hellas* 1821, in: *Shelley's Poetry and Prose, op. cit.*, p. 431.
72. *Ibid.*, p. 520; Colbert, *op. cit.*, p.145.

The account is constructed around an experience through the different senses, just like we saw in Eustace's descriptions: 'dense clouds rolling under the tempest' through 'orange and lemon groves' and wintry dry tendrils of creeping plants', walking on the muddy road, smelling 'the air [that was] scented with the sweet smell of violets of an extraordinary size & beauty'. In writing further about the relation between the temples and its surroundings, and about the interaction of nature and architecture, just like he did in Pompeii, Shelley represents the scenery as an analogy with architecture in the 'magnificent amphitheatre of mountains'. When he catches sight of the temples for the first time they strike him: 'At length we saw the sublime & massy colonnades skirting the horizon of wilderness.'

When he describes the temples one by one he focuses on their proportions, on their extreme massiness, the simple and unornamented architecture. In observing the Athena temple Shelley makes some interesting remarks:

> 'These columns do not seem more than forty feet high, but their perfect proportions diminish the apprehension of their magnitude, it seems as if inequality & irregularity of form were requisite to force on us the relative idea of greatness.'

Although the proportions of the whole temple are exceedingly heavy, by the 'perfect proportions' of the columns alone the uneasiness, or maybe even fear that their size may produce seems to be reduced. For our comparative idea of size, or in seeing architecture in relation to the human body and scale, it is obligatory to have difference in form. By this Shelley probably means that, although the general impression of the temples can be massy and enormous, the fact that the columns do have fine proportions, counterbalances this feeling. This effect is only to be sensed when one relates the body of the spectator to the architectural space.

The relating of the body to architectural space occurs again a bit further down in his Paestum account on the Neptune temple, in which Shelley's intentions can be read more clearly:

> 'The co[lumns] in all are fluted and built of a porous volcanic stone which time has dyed with a rich & yellow colour. The columns are one third larger & like that of the 1st [temple] diminish from the base to the capital, so that but for the chastening effect of their admirable proportions their magnitude would from the delusion of perspective seem greater not less than it is; though perhaps we ought to say not that it overpowers the idea of relative greatness, by establishing within itself a system of

> relations, destructive of your idea of its relation with other objects, on which our ideas of size depend.'

If it was not for the moderating effect of their proportions, the size of the columns would seem greater and not less than it is. It is the same effect as in the other temple, as the proportions of the columns have a restraining effect on the total effect of the temple. We could interpret this as a statement that one well-proportioned element controls the size of the whole. But above all Shelley experiences the disorientation of earlier learned notions of scale.

On the other hand, Shelley says that in this case the temple overpowers the spectator because it has its own system, which is not related to other objects. His notion of relative greatness does not apply here, because there is no comparative relation between other objects, with which we usually judge an object to define its size. Being in the temple, and relating to the surroundings, other remains and the visitors, Shelley appears to try to capture the temple, its perspective, proportions, scale and its overpowering effect. In this account, where experience stands above knowledge, he shows above all how the disruption of common ideas of scale in a monument can lead to an acute awareness of, or turning towards, a physical experience, to an overpowering effect.

The body in architectural space

The intense physicality of these experiences in Paestum is striking. It is entirely different from the eighteenth-century discourse of ruins in which remains of architecture made their spectators reflect on themselves. We saw this in the first part of the chapter, in the sense of a reflection on one's own life and character, as in Diderot's or Soane's trains of thought. While reflections on the self also occurred in Paestum, these reflections were of a completely different nature. They were not so much reflections on one's own existence, but much more on one's physicality in relation to the architecture, on the body in space. Because the temples were a conundrum to visitors, and offered almost only tectonic elements, space, material, scale and situation, it was not easy to comprehend them immediately. But since a building is three-dimensional, one can walk through it in order to try to grasp its essence. This is what visitors did. To comprehend the architecture travellers took the measure of, or positioned themselves in relation to the temples, in relating the architecture to their own body.

This way of observing architecture meant a break with Vitruvius' ideas. While Vitruvius *De Architectura* described proportions, ground plans or orders, it did not stress the sense of a building as a three-dimensional whole. It was exactly this what was explored at Paestum, and written down in the accounts: how observing, movement, looking, touching and sensing the architecture enabled to understand a building.

The temples, just as architecture in general, invite the visitor to move around it, to take different viewpoints, simply because architecture is three-dimensional. The visitor is obliged to do so, for no other elements are to be viewed. Because Paestum presents to the viewer mostly columns and architraves creating and opening up space, the only way to understand these buildings, given the complete absence of iconographical or even functional information, is by experiencing them physically, by looking at them and walking through them. They operate through both sight and sensation.

In Paestum accounts we do not find the general *topoi* of decay and ephemerality of ruins, but many of them are just as personal as other accounts on ruins and self-reflection, but in a different manner. As we saw in the first chapter, the peculiarity of Paestum provided the visitor with paradoxes and disillusioned expectations. This did not lead to contemplations of their own personality or own life, but to an increased awareness of the self as spectator. In that sense it is a continuation or result of the sublime. Goethe's account made clear that he succeeds, in a combination of bodily experience and art historical memory, to give meaning or a sense of identification to his original experience of strangeness. We saw that Viollet-le-Duc focused on structure, Goethe on the art-historical canon, norms and their deviations, Forsyth on tectonic aspects and the design of architectural space, Eustace on gravity, and Shelley on scale and how the disorder of our common sense of scale leads to a sublime experience. In Shelley we saw that knowledge of Greek culture is not useful in an experience *in situ*, as such knowledge is not grounded in actual experience. What was important for travellers at Paestum is not the history or reflections on lost times, but architectural space. The physical experiences of that space are multi-layered and complex, as became clear in the different accounts.

Existing architectural studies provide few clues for how to analyse such accounts that are much more rooted in the physical experience. An exception is the recent study by Cammy Brothers, describing a similar experience in an analysis of the perception and the body in Michelangelo's

Biblioteca Laurenziana in Florence.[73] The experiences of the interior of the library by recent authors are intensely physical in their movement through space and its visceral effect on the body. Michelangelo employs the vocabulary of exterior architecture but turned it inwards in the interior of the library; as a result the visitor does not know where to look or how to move. In Paestum, exterior and interior are almost one, but it produces similar difficulties. Visitors therefore decide to cling to, for example, the orders, the space, the scale or the age of the buildings. The effect at Paestum is similar to that in the Biblioteca Laurenziana: that the body of the visitor 'is almost squeezed out of existence by the massiveness of the architectural elements and their imposing physicality, which heightens the visitor's sense of his or her own body'.[74]

Heinrich Wölfflin, one of the few art historians to write on the bodily experience of architecture, can provide a frame to define what happened. In his *Prolegomena zu einer Psychologie der Architektur* (1886), he shows how our experience of and reaction to architecture are rooted in our physical being. We react physically to architecture because only in and through our body we can experience the laws of nature:

> 'Körperliche Formen können charakteristisch sein nur dadurch, daß wir selbst einen Körper besitzen. [...] Als Menschen aber mit einem Leibe, der uns kennen lehrt, was Schwere, Kontraktion, Kraft usw. ist, sammeln wir an uns die Erfahrungen, die uns erst die Zustände fremder Gestalten mitzuempfinden befähigen. [...] Wir haben Lasten getragen und erfahren, was Druck und Gegendruck ist [...] und darum wissen wir das stolze Glück einer Säule zu schätzen und begreifen den Drang allen Stoffes, am Boden formlos sich auszubreiten.'[75]

Columns confront the viewers with the latters' physicality. The anthropomorphical aspect of columns is a subject that has often been studied, and that in Wölfflin's text is given attention

73. Cammy Brothers, *Michelangelo: Drawing and the invention of architecture*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008, pp. 189-191. Experiences by scholars on Michelangelo, for example by James Ackerman (*The Architecture of Michelangelo*, 1986), Nikolaus Pevsner or Giulio Carlo Argan (*Michelangelo architetto*, 1990), see note 52, p. 190.
74. *Ibid.*, p. 190.
75. Heinrich Wölfflin, *Prolegomena zu einer Psychologie der Architektur*, Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1999 (first published 1886), p. 9. 'Physical forms possess a character only because we ourselves possess a body [...] But as human beings with a body that teaches us the nature of gravity, contraction, strength, and so on, we gather the experience that enables us to identify with the conditions of other forms. [...] We have carried loads and experienced pressure and counterpressure [...] and that is why we can appreciate the noble serenity of a column and understand the tendency of all matter to spread out formlessly on the ground.' The English translations are to be found in Mallgrave and Ikonomou, *op. cit.*, pp. 182-183.

as well, but the Paestum accounts do not mention this aspect.[76] What they do include is the physicality of experiencing these columns. This can be related to Wölfflin's argument that it is the viewer who animates each object, and defines its expressive capability accordingly; architectural forms 'can communicate to us only what we ourselves use their qualities to express.' Quoting the psychologist Johannes Volkelt's *Symbol-Begriff in der neuesten Ästhetik* (1876) Wölfflin argues that to interpret a spatial form in an aesthetic way we have to move in and around it, and to respond to this through our senses, 'mit unserer körperlichen Organisation mitmachen [...]. Mit der bestimmten Erstreckung und Bewegung unseres Körpers ist ein Wohl- und Wehegefühl verbunden, das wir als eigentümlichen Genuß jener Naturgestalten selber auffassen.'[77]

Wölfflin also offers a clue as to how columns give us a sense of energy. When experiencing the openness and closeness of architectural space, for instance in the difference between column and intercolumnium, such alternations harmonize with our respiration. He argues that we judge the vital feeling of architectural forms according to the physical state they induce in us. He quotes Goethe, who remarked that we ought to sense the effect of a beautiful room, even if we were led to it blindfolded, to argue that architectural impression is not a 'reckoning by the eye' but principally based on a direct bodily feeling.[78] It is just as we saw in the Paestum accounts. We found that not only the eye but the whole body plays a role in the experiences. The spectator is not merely considered in the sense of the eye of the beholder, but as the observer using all his or her senses to explore the site. We can relate this to the aesthetics of 'Einfühlung' that were visible in Goethe's texts, but were only defined in those terms by Robert Vischer. The concept of Einfühlung, that in English is often translated as empathy, was explained in Vischer's 'Über das optische Formgefühl: Ein Beitrag zur Aesthetik (1873). Drawing on associational theory of the picturesque Vischer analysed how 'we invest in a building [...] with certain emotions'.[79]

76. Joseph Rykwert, *The Dancing Column: On Order in Architecture*, Cambridge (Mass.)/London: MIT Press, 1996.
77. Wölfflin, *op. cit.*, p. 11. 'share in it with our bodily organization' and 'The extension and movement of our body is associated with a feeling of pleasure of displeasure, which we interpret as the experience characteristic of the form itself.'
78. '"Zählen des Auges" zu sein, wesenlich in einem unmittelbaren körperlichen Gefühl beruhe.' *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.
79. 'Just as the human mind is sufficiently active to be reminded of something by seeing something similar, it is also sufficiently occupied with, directed toward, and conscious of itself to find everywhere resemblances between external things and its own mental states, experiences, sensations [Empfindungen], moods, emotions, and passions. It finds in everything a counterpart to itself and a symbol of its humanity.' From Karl Albert Scherner's book *Das Leben des Traum* (1861) Vischer derived that the body 'conciously projects its own bodily form - and with this also the soul - into the form of the object. From this I derived the notion that I call [Einfühlung].' As quoted in: Harry Francis Mallgrave

Wölfflin shows how spectators forget themselves and are engrossed in the object in an aesthetic experience. This loss of self-awareness happened to the visitors having a sublime experience. It was a less active and rational experience than the one we saw in this chapter, where an enhanced awareness of the body in space led to a different experience of the ruins. Visitors refer to the basic elements of architecture, material and form, gravity and force, all of which are defined by our experiences of ourselves to comprehend the architecture: force and load, height and width, force and gravity, ascent and repose.

With Wölfflin in mind we can identify some general aspects in the reactions to Paestum: how its visual observation is related to the way we experience several physical processes in our body and express with our body different experiences. This became clear in Forsyth's observation about how the solid has failed and the open resists, and in Shelley with his observation that the experience of Paestum shatters the common notions of scale. In Paestum it is not clear what is exterior and interior, as there are only columns but no walls. The spectator cannot really walk in and out of the temples but only make loops and wander through the forest of columns. There is no directional hierarchy, no clear indication of entrance or exit, and no differentiation of inside and outside. This made visitors lose their sense of orientation.

The accounts make clear in what manner travellers observed Paestum, and which aspect of the ruins led to these observations. Because Paestum was to the viewer not at all about ornament, decoration or detail, only the larger picture remained: load and support, columns creating space, their size and scale, their material presence, and tectonic elements. This illuminates how the elevated self-experience that was a result of the sublime experiences mentioned in the first chapter, took place. It was a specific architectural experience of space and scale, enclosure and openness, load and support. Such experience became possible because Paestum crushed pre-conceived expectations. The eighteenth-century travellers used art history or the rhetoric of the living building as Goethe did, or several sublime *topoi*. While the other texts on ruins by Diderot and Soane showed an awareness of their own being through ruins, in Paestum the process is inversed: it is an awareness of the architecture through their bodily awareness.
The sublime experience analysed in the first chapter resulted in an awareness of the self, reinforced by the confrontation with danger, the incomprehensible, and the lofty. The

and Christina Contandriopoulos (eds.), *Architectural Theory, Volume II, An Anthology from 1871 to 2005*, Malden (Mass.): Blackwell 2008, p. 68. See also the on Vischer, and an English translation of these passages of *Über das optische Formgefühl* in Mallgrave and Ikonomou, *op. cit.*, pp. 91-92.

confrontation with ruins created in the eighteenth-century observer different reflections. In Diderot it produced thoughts on his own life, in Soane on his own character. The contrast between the eye conditioned by paintings and images and the experience itself is strong. At the spot it turns out that the buildings in Paestum are only columns and entablatures, or forms of facade, and cause an inversion or shattering of patterns of expectation. The columns had an intense presence; that of the physical act of carrying of the columns. Travellers noted the absence of a base and the suggestion that what Wölfflin calls the 'noble serenity of a column' would dissolve subsequently in 'the tendency of all matter to spread formlessly on the ground'. Wölfflin's physicality of architectural experience helps to articulate the Paestum experience and what went on in the mind of the observing subject. The accounts show that travellers have trouble with or are touched by the way in which Paestum changes their usual ways to relate architecture to their body and physical experience. And exactly by this break with the conventional interpretations, because Paestum lacks functional or iconological aspects, the process of an awareness of observation is started.

Entering actual ruins is very different from entering imagined ruins to learn more about one's self. Such creations are conceptualised and culturally influenced, it contrasts with the actual experience, which seems not to lead to reflections on the self and decay of humankind. Whereas the second is more something done in the armchair, a mental game, at the site it is much more a process of relating oneself to the building in a physical way, as was subsequently conceptualised by Wölfflin. Tectonic aspects can only be understood by being there and sensing these through one's own being. Our investigation of how the visitors observed in Paestum makes clear that the bodily experience is the key to the analysis of Greek architecture, where relating architecture to the body in scale, but also to physical laws like gravity makes travellers understand the essence of its architecture. Tectonic aspects, the simplicity of architectural forms, load and support, mass and space can only be understood by being there.

In opposing in this chapter entering the ruins in the mind to entering actual ruins several elements have become clear. First, entering the ruins, studying them from up close elucidates that the experience on the spot is very different from the mental experience. Secondly, the experience on the spot tells us much about the spatial and tectonic characteristics that were clearly felt at Paestum, and that make the temples so special. Thirdly, the fact that it is a ruin is an important difference with the experience at other architectural sites, for instance at St Peter's in Rome, because in Paestum interior and exterior are almost one and the aspect of wandering and spatiality is specific. The structure and tectonic elements are visible here, contrary to

other buildings that are complete. So these elements may be observed more clearly. Travellers can concentrate on these aspects, and pay attention to it in their accounts. Lastly, as ruins the temples are still rather intact, contrary to other temples in Sicily for example. They are not only remains that have to be reconstructed in the mind, one can actually feel the spatiality in the monument *an sich*, apart from what it had been or could be. One can imagine what the entire building looked like, but one can also just see it as it is, as a ruin, or as a structure as it is at that moment. And it seems that it was like that that the visitors saw it. This chapter made clear that in entering ruined spaces *in situ*, other aspects are important than in contemplating on entering ruins in the mind. It demonstrated that in feeling actual space the awareness of the body is essential, in relating it to architecture. Fundamental architectural characteristics can thus be analysed at the spot, and the temples at Paestum, both for their completeness though ruins, and for the visibility of their structure were the very example to sense what architecture is about.

Palmo
Napolitano
Scala di pal.
100
300
1000
1400
Napolitani

CHAPTER 4 Staging Ruins: Theatrical sequences

After entering the temples in the previous chapter, the next step is to see how these Paestum experiences were represented in publications that were disseminated in Europe. While the first three chapters focused on private accounts in letters and travel diaries, the next three chapters will concentrate on representations in texts and images for publication. In these representations movement plays a major role. This aspect came up already in the second chapter on the picturesque in architecture, but now we will examine it at Paestum. How do visitors move towards and at the site? In what way are these movements rendered in publications? And how did these representations of movement influence the explorations of the site?

As we will see these movements are to be connected not to the picturesque, but to the theatre. The relationship between architecture and the theatre seems a compelling one. We can find it for instance in the ideas of the British architect John Soane. In the notes for one of his Royal Academy lectures, Soane compared the experience of seeing and walking through a building with that of watching a theatre performance:

> 'The front of a building is like the prologue of a play, it prepares us for what we are to expect. If the outside promises more than we find in the inside, we are disappointed. The plot opens itself in the first act and is carried on through the remainder, through all the mazes of character, convenience of arrangement, elegance and propriety of ornaments, and lastly produces a complete whole in distribution, decoration and construction.'[1]

1. Watkin (ed.), *Sir John Soane...*, *op. cit.*, p. 188. Manuscript in Sir John Soane's Museum, London, Library, manuscript Lecture V: AL Soane Case 156.

What becomes clear in Soane's thoughts on architecture is that for a building to perform, or to express its character, it needs certain specific elements. In the notes to his lecture quoted here, the impression a building makes on us is indispensably linked to the presence and the movements of the observer, to the stage settings of the architecture, and to the plot through which the spectator experiences it. Soane makes explicit that in architecture there are three elements of utmost importance that together define the theatre: the spectator, the screenplay and the stage. And in linking theatre to architecture, he singles out the temporal experience of those two arts, and the impact architecture and the theatre can have on the beholder.

Although there is a strong connection between architecture and the theatre, studies on the subject mainly ignore their theoretical parallels. There are a number of studies on the topic, but there are few concrete and precise definitions of this relationship.[2] This chapter will make the connection between architecture and the theatre more explicit because in Paestum accounts building and theatricality are connected very clearly.[3] The temples form an exceptional case because they bring together spectators, screenplays and a stage. These three elements are also exceptionally well documented in the numerous publications, drawings and manuscripts.

If we would continue in the line of thinking of current publications we could turn our attention to the theatre designs of the French architect Pierre-Adrien Pâris, who was already mentioned in the first chapter. Pâris designed many theatre decors for Versailles, using a baseless Doric order for some operas. He was head of festivities at the court, as 'architecte des Menus-Plaisirs', from 1778 to 1792.[4] For Louis XVI he was to conceive and design all the ephemerical constructions for the court, for the castles of Marly, Saint-Cloud, Fontainebleau and Versailles, and the decors for theatre pieces and operas which were performed in the castles of Versailles and Fontainebleau. For almost eighty operas, theatre pieces and ballets Pâris designed the

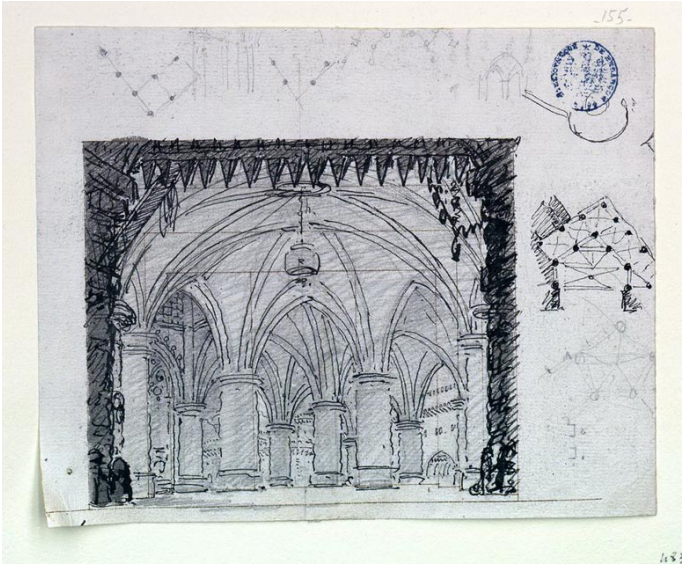
2. Most publications on theatre and architecture concentrate on buildings, for instance by Daniel Rabreau, 'The Theatre-monument: A century of "French" typology, 1750-1850', *Zodiac*, 2 (1989) September, pp. 44-69; Daniel Rabreau, *Le Théâtre de l'Odéon: Du Monument de la nation au Théâtre de l'Europe: naissance du monument de loisir urbain au XVIIIe siècle*, Paris: Belin, 2007; *Victor Louis et le théâtre: scénographie, mise en scène et architecture théâtrale aux XVIIIe et XIXe siècles*, Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1982; Briant Hamor Lee, *European post-baroque neoclassical theatre architecture*, Lewiston: E. Mellen, 1996; Louise Pelletier, *op. cit.*, is the interesting exception.
3. An earlier version of this chapter was published as an article: Sigrid de Jong, 'Staging Ruins: Paestum and Theatricality', *Art History*, special issue, 33 (2010) 2, pp. 334-351.
4. On the decors or temporary structures he designed for royal feasts see: Alain-Charles Gruber, *Les Grandes Fêtes et leurs Décors à l'époque de Louis XVI*, Génève: Droz, 1972, and on his designs for the court in general: Alain-Charles Gruber, *L'œuvre de Pierre-Adrien Pâris à la cour de France, 1779-1791*, Paris: F. De Nobele, 1974; On Pâris and antiquity: Pierre Pinon, *Pierre-Adrien Pâris (1745-1819), architecte et les monuments antiques de Rome et de la Campanie*, Rome: École Française Rome, 2007.

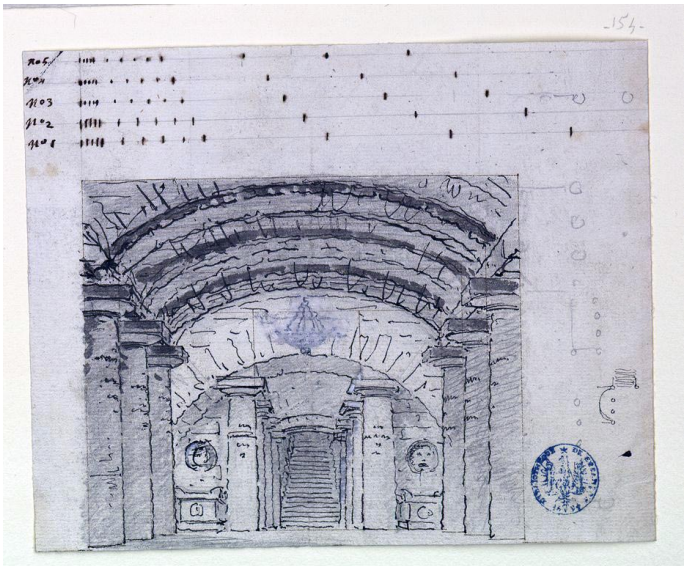
decors.[5] The baseless Doric he used for instance in stage sets with a Greek temple for the opera 'Adrien en Syrie', or with a souterrain in 'Iphigenie en Tauride' by Piccini (premiere in 1781). Certainly, the columns for this last opera are rather reminiscent of the smooth columns of the temple of Segesta, the remains of which Pâris saw on his voyage with Saint-Non. For 'Les Danaides' by Gluck and Salieri (premiere in 1784) he drew also a souterrain, using columns with flutings and carrying vaults (fig. 4.1). But we cannot say that Pâris used a Paestum order in these designs, the influence is not that direct.[6] The problem with this line of thinking is that it is too easy to connect the use of baseless Doric columns in general to a site so specific as Paestum. The stage columns are clearly abstracted combinations of Greek Doric temples that Pâris had seen on his voyage in Italy and Sicily and also in publications and engravings. Besides, it is not so interesting that he used a baseless Doric order based on books and voyages. What is indeed noteworthy is what he wanted to express with it. In that sense the souterrains with Doric columns can be of interest because in expressing danger and terror they could confirm his earlier expressed idea that he saw something terrible in Paestum, as we saw in the first chapter. However, in my opinion these should be seen much more in the light of the *Cours* of Blondel, where the terrible was a clear characteristic of a certain type of architecture, showing its character. In the earlier quotation of Soane's lecture this same aspect of character that a building expresses came to the fore. To express the terrible in an opera decor one can quite well imagine that Pâris chose this order and not an Ionic one. In this respect his theatre decors are interesting, where the columns have become rocks, or were nature precedes as it were columns, a clear primitivist expression.[7] The next chapter will shed some light on the connection between nature and architecture in primitivism.

Although these representations of a certain character are an interesting indication of how architectural theory can find its expression in theatre, the mere application of an order does not tell us much. In short, it is not the use of a particular order that demonstrates how theatre and architecture are connected. When we approach the question of theatricality and Paestum it is not that aspect, the literal application of orders in a decor, that is of interest. In Paestum

5. Marc-Henri Jordan, 'L'érudition et l'imagination: Les décors de scène', in: *Le cabinet de Pierre-Adrien Pâris. Architecte, dessinateur des Menus-Plaisirs*, Besançon/Paris: Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie de Besançon/Hazan, 2008, pp. 68-81.
6. Recently, Marc-Henri Jordan also named Paestum as an inspiration for the stage set of Iphigénie en Tauride. *Ibid.*, p. 72.
7. A design for a capital is interesting as well, for the thoughts on the origin of architecture: 'chapiteau en forme de corbeille'. For 'Oedipe a Colone' by Sacchini (premiere in 1786) he designed a 'temple rustique' and 'temple antique des Euménides', both rather primitivist designs.

figure 4.1
Pierre-Adrien Pâris, Designs for theatre decors.
(Bibliothèque Municipale, Besançon.)





theatricality had another and more crucial role, as we will see in this chapter.

There is an important reason why it is interesting and rewarding to study Paestum in this context: it posed problems to architects, as we have seen in the first chapter. Reading the testimonies of travellers, it is evident that the temples formed something of a conundrum to them. It became clear that the architecture of the temples was completely uncanonical. With its rough forms and porous material, partly overgrown and surrounded by peasants and cattle, it was very different from the classical architecture that travellers were familiar with through publications and visits to Roman sites. When they finally reached the temples after a dangerous and complicated journey, travellers found they could not take in these monuments in a single view. The three temples were situated in a valley between the mountains and the sea, and could only be observed by walking around and through them, as the previous chapter has demonstrated.

Because of the peculiarity of Paestum, architects struggled in their accounts to define what they had seen and to represent their experiences in drawings and texts. One solution was to take refuge in a positive portrayal of the site, for despite these negative reactions to the architecture, many travellers hastened to say that they did appreciate the setting of the temples. In fact, that was exactly what made an intense impression on them, like on Richard Payne Knight who preferred to keep a distance to appreciate the temples instead of approaching them. There was also another solution. My argument is that by using strategies of representation that had been developed in the theatre or can be associated with it architects and other travellers presented peculiar Paestum in an accessible way to the eighteenth-century public. In this way in fact they made it less curious, bizarre, and threatening. This strategy had an impact on the monuments and their representations, as we will shortly see.

Movement, already mentioned above, played an important role in this. By taking different viewpoints to observe and experience a building spectators come to understand it. And as in the theatre, the representation of these experiences takes into account the way it is viewed. As Roland Barthes expressed it: 'The theatre is precisely that practice which calculates the place of things as they are observed.'[8]

8. Roland Barthes, 'Diderot, Brecht, Eisenstein', in: Roland Barthes, *Image, Music, Text*, essays selected and translated by Stephen Heath, London: Fontana Press, 1977, p. 69: 'The theatre is precisely that practice which calculates the place of things *as they are observed*: if I set the spectacle here, the spectator will see this; if I put it elsewhere, he will not, and I

The sequence of experience: acting and directing

Often the accounts of eighteenth-century travellers read like a screenplay, with different stage settings for every part of the experience. The sequence followed in the descriptions of diverse travellers is often very similar. The accounts are chronologies of experience, shaped by eighteenth-century culture; their narratives draw on eighteenth-century theatre, a storehouse for representational strategies, but were also formed by the information that was available on the site. Preparing their voyage beforehand, travellers already had an image of Paestum in their minds, engendered by the publications, engravings and paintings that were available. In these publications the narrative of the Paestum experience was created.

The Italian court painter Antonio Joli (1700-1777) played a key role in this dissemination of the image of Paestum among eighteenth-century audiences.[9] Not only did Joli produce eleven different paintings of Paestum that were widely seen in Europe; they were also the basis for the majority of the publications on the site that appeared in this period. Joli was trained as a vedute painter, he also worked in the studios of Giovanni Paolo Panini (1691-1765) and Giuseppe Galli da Bibiena (1696-1757), and he designed stage sets for theatres. At the time he painted Paestum he was court painter to Charles and Ferdinand de Bourbon in Naples. His paintings show the vedute influence, but most of all his theatrical background. First and foremost this becomes clear in his stage designs. As designer of stage sets to the Bourbons Joli created for the Neapolitan Teatro San Carlo between 1762 and 1777 the decors for sixty operas. These were mostly Italian operas, but in 1774 for instance he also drew for Gluck's opera 'Orfeo ed Euridice'. From this period an interesting painting has survived, that might have been for Gluck's opera.[10] The scenographic design shows a capriccio of columns and architraves in the foreground and in the distance (fig. 4.2). Although it possibly is just a capriccio it does have

can avail myself of this masking effect and play on the illusion it provides. The stage is the line which stands across the path of the optic pencil, tracing at once the point at which it is brought to a stop and, as it were, the threshold of its ramification. Thus is founded - against music (against the text) - *representation*.'

9. For Joli see: Ralph Toledano, *Antonio Joli. Modena 1700 - 1777 Napoli*, Turin: Artema, 2006. See also: Mario Manzelli, *Antonio Joli. Opera pittorica*, Venice: Studio LT2, 2000; Roberto Middione, *Antonio Joli*, Soncino: Edizioni dei Soncino, 1995. The entire Paestum series by Joli is published in Toledano, *op. cit.*, pp. 390-401.

10. As for many of his stage set designs, it is not known for which opera it was created, but according to Manzelli it could be a design for a lyrical opera. Toledano contradicts the fact that it is a design for a stage set, but dates the painting between 1762 and 1777. Toledano, *op. cit.*, p. 102. See also: Middione, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-42; Manzelli, *op. cit.*, Venice 2000, p. 134. This painting, oil on canvas, that Manzelli calls 'Ruderi di tempio dorico' is at Caserta, in the collection of the Palazzo Reale. Manzelli also suggests that Joli was inspired by Paestum, and that it seems to have been a scene for a lyrical opera.

figure 4.2
Antonio Joli, Capriccio of ruins, c. 1760.
(Palazzo Reale di Caserta.)

scenographic qualities with the enormous perspectives, the three arches leading to an infinite space. The columns are very similar to the ones he painted for the canvases of Paestum, rather slim Doric ones consisting of different stone blocks. In the background one sees superimposed columns like the ones he had seen at the temple of Neptune. The building is clearly in ruins, and offers an interesting interpretation of the Paestum temples, of the temple of Neptune in this case, where arches have been put on the superimposed columns into a seamlessly endless edifice in ruins. Joli placed just one figure in it to give the scale that is nearly similar to the one he gave in the Paestum paintings, in the oblique view along the facades. The suggestion of infinite space is a Bibiena feature.[11] This capriccio shows the influence of the Bibiena theatre designs also in its strong perspective, in the pronounced foreground and the misty background. The painting is rather particular, although Joli drew many other similar capricci of columns with arches with great depth. But these are always Corinthian columns and buildings that are much more intact, showing just some minor undergrowth and details that have fallen of. In this view the ruined element is much stronger, certainly because he put some remains in the foreground. This makes the painting more rustic, whereas the other paintings are clearly city views of a Roman world, figuring many Roman people discussing or debating. This could quite well be a further reference to Paestum.

The Paestum series, dated 1759, shows an interesting sequence of four different scenes: firstly an opening view through the east gate onto the three temples - in which the third temple is nicely placed in the little opening in the gate wall; secondly, a nearer view, seen from the south-east, of the three temples with the mountains in the background; thirdly a still nearer view from the south along the facades of the three temples, an external view of the Neptune temple and finally a view of its interior. These paintings, and the engravings that were based on them, took eighteenth-century readers by the hand and led them through the several stages of observation through which Paestum could be best experienced (fig. 4.3-4.6; 4.10-4.11; 4.17).[12]

11. For the infinite architectural space of Bibiena see: Giuseppe Galli Bibiena, *Architectural and Perspective Designs* [1740], New York: Dover Publications, 1964.
12. These images have the following sources: Antonio Joli 1759: Toledano, *op. cit.*, pp. 390-401; James Bruce 1763: Brinsley Ford Archive, Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, London; Gabriel-Pierre-Martin Dumont 1764: Dumont, *Suites des Plans..., op. cit.*; Filippo Morghen 1765: Morghen, *op. cit.*; John Longfield 1767: [Longfield], *op. cit.*; Thomas Major 1768: Major, *The Ruins..., op. cit.*; Jérôme de La Lande 1769: Jérôme de La Lande, *Voyage d'un françois en Italie, fait dans les années 1765 et 1766, contenant l'histoire & les anecdotes les plus singulières de l'Italie, & sa description, les moeurs, les usages, le gouvernement, le commerce, la littérature, les arts, l'histoire naturelle, & les antiquités ; avec des jugements sur les ouvrages de peinture, sculpture & architecture, & les plans de toutes les grandes villes d'Italie*, vol. 7, 1769; Gabriel-Pierre-Martin Dumont 1769: Dumont, *Les Ruines..., op. cit.*; Jean Barbault 1770: Jean Barbault, *Recueil de divers monumens anciens répandus en plusieurs endroits de l'Italie, dessinés par feu M. Barbault peintre pensionnaire du Roy à Rome, et gravés en 166 planches avec leur*

Eight monographs were published on the temples between 1764 and 1799, and in five of them the paintings of Joli were used to make the engravings.[13] In the other three monographs the engravers often used the same viewpoints as Joli.[14] The engravings made after his paintings were also sold separately, and in this way shaped the image of Paestum to an even larger extent.[15] Thomas Major's (1714-1799) publication *The Ruins of Paestum* (1768) for instance, used three pictures from Joli as opening views (fig. 4.3, 4.4, 4.6). In this publication Joli's perspective views were combined with other views and measured drawings of plans, elevations, sections and details. Sir James Gray (c. 1708-1773), envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary in Naples from 1753 until 1764, commissioned two paintings of Paestum by Joli, and served as a cultural agent in the dissemination of the views through his contacts in Italy, France and England.[16] He was present when Joli drew his views, as Major, who obtained the Paestum paintings through Gray, wrote in the footnotes of his plates.[17] Institutions in Italy just as the Académie de France

explication historique pour servir de suite aux "Monumens de Rome ancienne", Rome: Bouchard et Gravier, 1770; Giovanni Volpato c. 1780: Andreae (et al.), *op. cit.*; Paolo Paoli 1784: Paoli, *Rovine..., op cit.*; Abraham-Louis-Rodolphe Ducros c. 1785-1790: Jörg Zutter (ed.), *Abraham-Louis-Rodolphe Ducros. Un peintre suisse en Italie*, Genève/Lausanne: Skira/Musée des Beaux-arts de Lausanne, 1998; Giovanni Battista Lusieri 1790: Andreae (et al.), *op. cit.*; Artaud 1797: Whitworth Art Gallery, Manchester; Claude-Mathieu Delagardette 1799: Delagardette, *Les Ruines..., op. cit.*, 1799; Friedrich Weinbrenner 1809: Andreae (et al.), *op. cit.*; Romanelli 1811: Domenico Romanelli, *Viaggio a Pompei, a Pesto, e di ritorno ad Ercolano, colla illustrazione di tutti monumenti finora scoverti... dall' ab. Domenico Romanelli...*, Naples: Perger, 1811; Friedrich von Gärtner c 1816: Andreae (et al.), *op. cit.*; John-Peter Gandy-Deering 1819: Serra, *La fortuna di Paestum..., op. cit.*; Snuffbox 1809-1819: Victoria & Albert Museum, London, Collection; Louis-François Cassas s.a.: http://artsalesindex.artinfo.com; William Crouch s.a.: British Museum, London, Prints and Drawings; Franz Kaisermann s.a.: Serra, *La fortuna di Paestum..., op. cit.*; Gaetano Magri s.a.: Serra, *La fortuna di Paestum..., op. cit.*; Montagu s.a.: Victoria & Albert Museum, London, Prints and Drawings Collection.

13. Dumont, *Suites des Plans..., op. cit.*; Morghen, *op. cit.*; [Longfield], *op. cit.*; Major, *The Ruins..., op. cit.*; Dumont, *Les Ruines..., op. cit.* For other travel accounts Joli's paintings were used as well, for example in Jérôme de La Lande, *Voyage d'un françois en Italie...*, 1769, *op. cit.*; Jean Barbault, *Recueil de divers monumens...*, 1770, *op. cit.*

14. Piranesi, *Différentes vues..., op. cit.*; Paoli, *Paesti..., op. cit.*; Delagardette, *Les Ruines..., op. cit.*.

15. Eleven pictures by Joli (see Toledano, *op. cit.*, pp. 390-401): (1) Perspective view three temples from the southeast (3 variants) (private collection) pp. 390-393; (2) Bird's eye view perspective three temples from the west (2 variants) (Norton Simon Art Foundation Pasadena California and private collection) pp. 394-395; (3) Perspective facades seen from the south (private collection, former Gray collection) p. 396; (4) Perspective view through the gate from the east (2 variants) (private collection, one former Gray collection) pp. 398-399; (5) Perspective Ceres temple from the west (private collection) p. 401; (6) Interior perspective Neptune temple from the southwest (Palazzo Reale Caserta) p. 400; (7) Interior perspective Neptune temple from the east p. 397. Morghen (1765) published 2, 3, 5 and 6; Longfield (1767) 2, 3 and 5; Lalande (1767) 2; Major (1768) 2, 3 and 4; Dumont (1769) 2; Barbault (1770) 2, 3, 5 and 7, and Paoli (1784) 1.

16. Another cultural agent in Naples was Felice Gazzola, officer at the Neapolitan court, one of the first visitors to Paestum, after its rediscovery in 1740. The drawings made on his request at the time by Gian Battista Natali and Gaetano Magri, were shown to Soufflot before his visit to Paestum in 1750, and were used in Major's and Paoli's publication. See Paoli, *Paesti..., op. cit.*, pp. 4-7; Lang, 'The Early Publications...', *op. cit.*, pp. 48-64; Michael McCarthy, 'New light on Thomas Major's 'Paestum' and later English Drawings of Paestum', in: Serra (ed.), *Paestum..., op. cit.*, pp. 47-50.

17. 'This view was taken in Presence of his Excellency Sir James Gray, and engraved from a fine Painting in the Collection of Major General Gray.' Major, *The Ruins..., op. cit.*, p. 43 (referring to plate II and III). For Gray: Ingamells, *op. cit.*, p. 424. See Toledano, *op. cit.*, pp. 396, 398.

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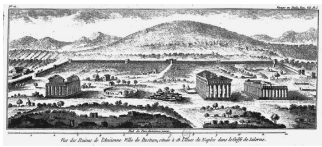
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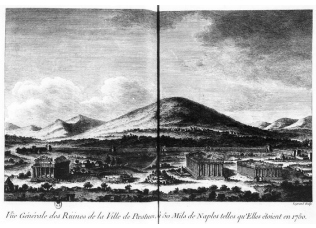
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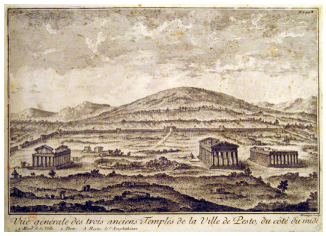

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figure 4.3
The three temples from the west, by Joli 1759 (a), Joli 1759 (b), Morghen 1765 (c), Longfield, 1767 (d), Major 1768 (e), Lalande 1769 (f), Dumont 1769 (g), Barbault 1770 (h), Delagardette 1799 (i), Romanelli 1811 (j).

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figure 4.4
The three temples, seen through the eastern gate, by Joli 1759 (a), Joli 1759 (b), Major 1768 (c).

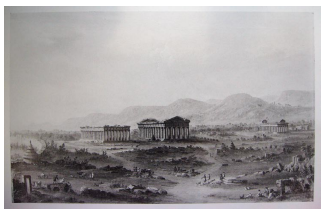

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figure 4.5
The three temples from the south-east, by Joli 1759 (a), Joli 1759 (b), Joli 1759 (c), Paoli 1784 (d).

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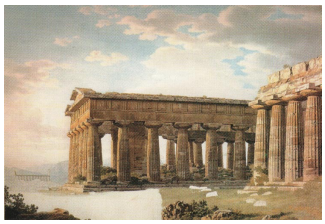
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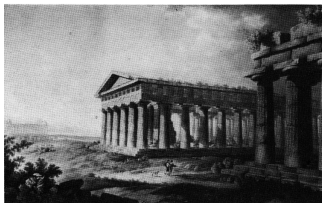
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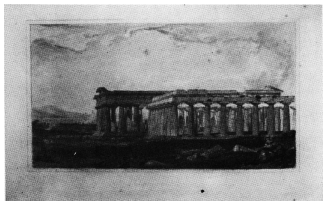
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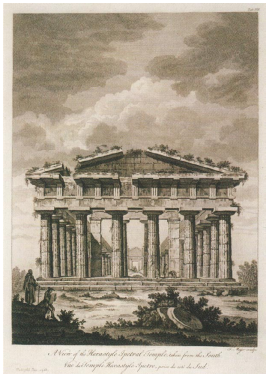
figure 4.6
The three temples from the south, by Joli 1759 (a), Morghen 1765 (b), Longfield 1767 (c), Major 1768 (d), Barbault 1770 (e), Ducros c. 1785-1790 (f), Lusieri c. 1790 (g), Cassas s.a. (h), Delagardette 1799 (i), Kaisermann s.a. (j), Gandy 1819 (k).

a



b

figure 4.7
The Temple of Neptune, by Magri s.a. (a), Major 1768 (b).

a

b

c

figure 4.8
The Temple of Neptune, by Morghen 1765 (a), Major 1768 (b), Gärtner c. 1816 (c).

a

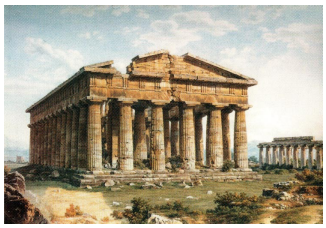

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figure 4.9
The Temple of Neptune, by Paoli 1784 (a), Lusieri c. 1790 (b), Artaud 1797 (c), Crouch s.a. (d).

a

b

figure 4.10
Interior of the Temple of Neptune from the south-west, by Joli 1759 (a), Morghen 1765 (b).

a

b

c

figure 4.11
Interior of the Temple of Neptune from the east, by Joli 1759 (a), Longfield 1767 (b), Barbault 1770 (c).

a

b

c

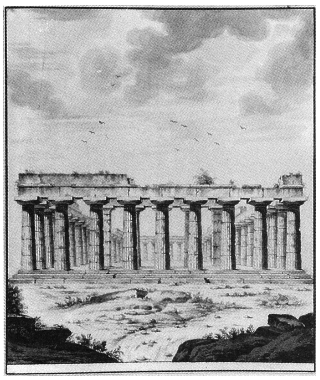
d

e

f

g

figure 4.12
Interior of the Temple of Neptune from the west, by Bruce 1763 (a), Dumont 1764 (b), Major 1768 (c), Dumont 1769 (d), Paoli 1784 (e), Ducros c. 1785-1790 (f), Snuffbox 1820 (g).



a

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figure 4.13
The Basilica, by Magri s.a. (a), Major 1768 (b), Paoli 1784 (c).

a

b

figure 4.14
The Basilica, by Bruce 1763 (a), Major 1768 (b).

a

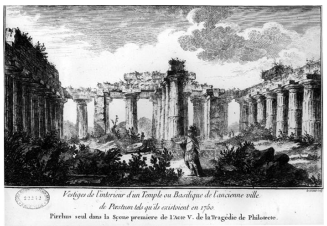

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figure 4.15
Interior of the Basilica from the west, by Dumont 1750 (a), Dumont 1764 (b), Volpato c. 1780 (c), Paoli 1784 (d).

a

b

c

figure 4.16
The Temple of Ceres from the east, by Bruce 1763 (a), Major 1768 (b), Weinbrenner 1809 (c).

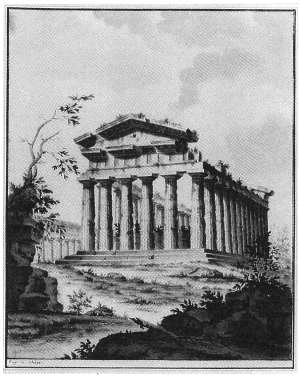
a

b

c

d

figure 4.17
The Temple of Ceres from the west, by Joli 1759 (a), Morghen 1765 (b), Barbault 1770 (c), Montagu s.a. (d).



a

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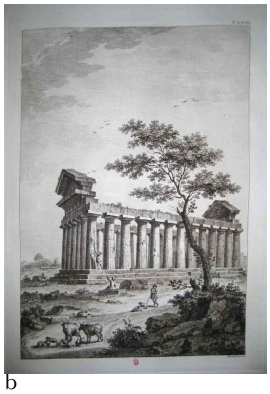
figure 4.18
The Temple of Ceres from the north-east, by Magri s.a. (a), Major 1768 (b).

a



b

figure 4.19
The Temple of Ceres, by Dumont 1769 (a), Paoli 1784 (b).

in Rome where foreign artists and architects met and debated provided a fertile soil for the distribution of such publications and plates.[18]

The different perspective views followed the path that was taken by the travellers when they approached the temples: first they offered an overview of the three buildings, then they examined them further from the outside, and finally they entered the temples. In fact, after a long, adventurous, and often dangerous voyage, there were conventionally a few moments when travellers stopped to observe the site. These scenes represent the precise points where they paused to analyse what it was that they saw there and what exactly they experienced. In this way the visual representations of these pauses or scenes are simultaneously illustrations of their experiences, and a guide to travellers for observing the site.

In one of his Royal Academy Lectures John Soane spoke of the importance of pausing when looking properly at architecture. He compared Blenheim Palace to Paestum:

> 'there is a constant variety of outline [in Blenheim] that pleases from whatever point it is viewed (as are viewed ancient temples), whether at a distance wherein the great masses only are made out, or at a nearer approach when the prominent features are distinguished, or still nearer where the general details are distinguished. Here the eye reposes to enjoy the whole picture... In this respect the interest is kept up as in the ancient temples, but this would not be the case if variety of outline and continuity of character were confined to one front only. To keep up the first impression there must be the same character observed in every part externally and internally. This is seen in the great temple [of Neptune] at Paestum. Its interior is of the same character as the exterior.'[19]

The advantage of Paestum as opposed to other ancient sites, those in Rome for instance, was that it provided the opportunity for the traveller's eye to contemplate a scene and then to come to rest again at another point, constantly taking another viewpoint, and in this way the viewing process became more interesting to the beholder. Every different view, from afar to nearby, offered a different scene and generated diverse feelings and associations in the viewer's mind.

18. See for example Barrier, *op. cit.*
19. As quoted in: Watkin (ed.), *Sir John Soane...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 372-373.

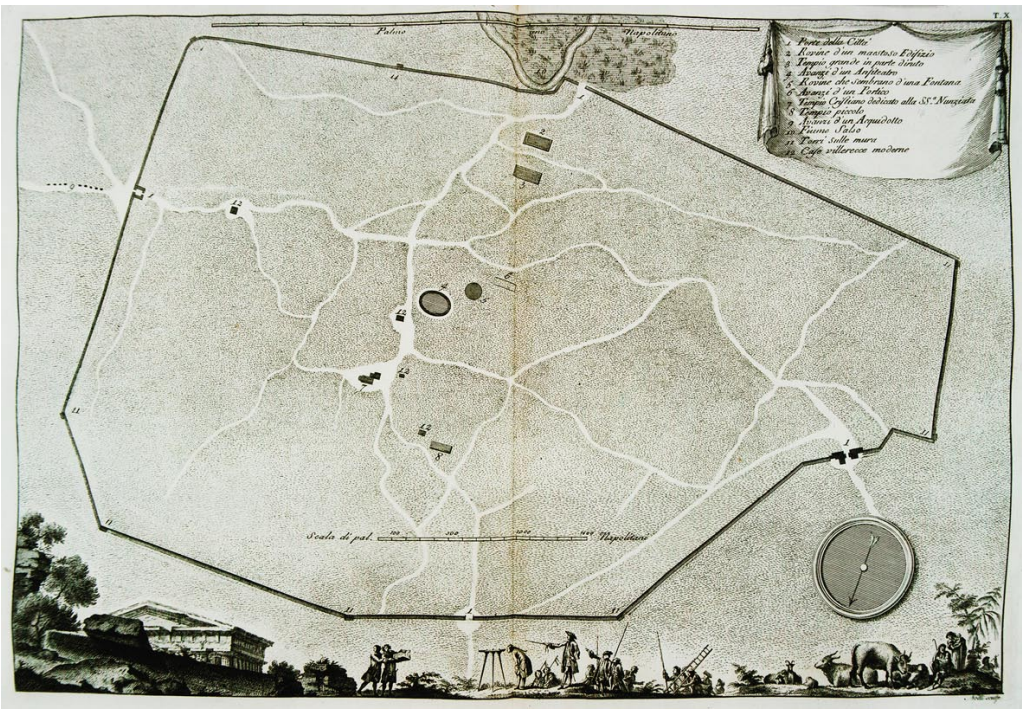


figure 4.20
Paolo Paoli, Plan of Paestum, 1784.

(Paoli, *Rovine*..., 1784, plate X.)

We find a similar sequence of perspective views, representing these moments of repose in Robert Wood's *The Ruins of Palmyra* (1753), which, as Nicolas Savage describes in his study, 're-enacts the drama of first setting eyes on, and then exploring in detail, the huge expanse of the marble ruins of the deserted city.'[20] In the middle of the eighteenth century the publication of topographical views of ancient sites, representing the monuments *in situ*, became an indispensable element in volumes on archaeological travels, and the readers of such volumes were not unfamiliar with the way Paestum was represented. Stuart and Revett, Wood, Le Roy, and Adam all tried to do the same thing in their books: to let the readers re-enact their experience.[21] But in the case of Paestum it was far more likely that the readers would eventually go there themselves and actually undergo these same experiences than it was in the case of many other monuments. Readers could not travel to Palmyra after studying Wood's *Ruins*, or to Athens after going through Stuart's *Antiquities*, as easily as they could travel to Paestum after looking at Major's *Ruins* and other monographs. Once arrived there they could put theory into practice, performing for themselves what they had read about before. The quantity of people who travelled there, and who had the opportunity to read the volumes and be influenced in their travels, the number of publications, and in consequence, the availability of testimonies tracing the detail of reactions to the site are incomparable to those of any other site. Architects went to the temples with the publications in their hands, comparing the monuments to what they had read and seen, as Paoli pictured them doing in his *Rovine della città di Pesto* (1784) (fig. 4.20).[22]

It was like reading a screenplay and viewing the stage sets before becoming the protagonist in the play. In these different representations of Paestum, the travellers are both directors staging the ruins in images, spectators in viewing these images and the site itself, and actors in experiencing their own voyage.

20. Nicolas Savage, 'Shadow, shading and outline in architectural engraving from Fréart to Letarouilly', in: Caroline van Eck and Edward Winters (eds.), *Dealing with the Visual. Art History, Aesthetics and Visual Culture*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005, p. 248.
21. James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens measured and delineated by James Stuart F.R.S. and F.S.A. and Nicholas Revett Painters and Architects*, 4 vols. (Vol. 2 edited by W. Newton, vol. 3 by W. Reveley, and vol. 4 by J. Woods), London: John Nichols, 1762- 1816; Robert Wood, *The Ruins of Palmyra, otherwise Tedmor, in the Desert*, London: s.n., 1753; Robert Wood, *The Ruins of Balbec, otherwise Heliopolis, in Coelosyria. L.P.*, London: s.n., 1757; Julien-David Le Roy, *Les Ruines des plus beaux monuments de la Grèce, ouvrage divisé en deux parties, où l'on considère, dans la première, ces monuments du côté de l'histoire et, dans la seconde, du côté de l'architecture*, Paris: H.-L. Guérin et L.-F. Delatour, 1758 and the second edition: Le Roy, *Les Ruines..., op. cit.*, 1770; Robert Adam, *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro*, London: The Author, 1764.
22. Paoli, *Rovine..., op. cit.*, first plate.

Architecture as scenographic experience

The experience of architecture, and the different feelings it arouses when approaching a building, walking around it and entering it, is a new, and very conspicuous theme in eighteenth-century publications by architects. The French architect Julien-David Le Roy wrote an interesting passage on this. In his *Ruines des plus beaux monuments de la Grèce* (1758 and 1770) he used more than three pages to describe the experience of observing colonnades, using Claude Perrault's colonnade on the east front of the Louvre (1672) as an example. Le Roy recounted the diverse stages of his approach to the colonnade, 'first from afar, then on approaching, then walking alongside or under it, whether in bright sunlight or on a clouded day'.[23] In this way each scene offered new emotions to the spectator.

In Le Roy's text the role of the spectator as director and actor becomes clear: he himself creates the spectacle he is to view, or he phases his viewing experience as a playwright would build his plot. Le Roy also advises his readers how to observe the colonnade:

> 'parcourons des yeux toute l'étendue du péristyle du Louvre, en marchant le long des maisons qui lui font face; éloignons-nous-en pour en saisir l'ensemble; approchons-nous-en d'assez près pour découvrir la richesse de son plafond, de ses niches, de ses médaillons: saisissons le moment où le soleil y produit encore les effets les plus piquants, en faisant briller quelques parties du plus grand éclat, tandis que d'autres couvertes d'ombres les font ressortir: combien la magnificene du fond de ce péristyle, combinée de mille façons différentes, avec le contour agréable des colonnes qui sont devant, & avec la maniere dont il est éclairé, ne nous offriront-ils pas de tableaux enchanteurs!'[24]

Le Roy's directions on how we should observe a building recall Aristotle's ideas on plot, vividness and fictionalisation in the *Poetics*. The essence of the plot according to Aristotle is its selectiveness. Similarly, Le Roy lets the sun select the architectural elements which have the most vivid effect on the beholder.[25] This brings to mind another theme in Aristotle's *Poetics*,

23. Robin Middleton in Le Roy, *The Ruins...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-104.
24. Le Roy, *Les Ruines...*, *op. cit.*, 1770, vol. 2, p. viii.
25. Aristotle, *Poetics*, 1450a-1451a: 'the plot, by which I mean the ordering of the particular actions', in D. [Donald] A. Russell and M. [Michael] Winterbottom (eds.), *Ancient Literary Criticism. The Principal Texts in New Translations*, s.l. [London]: Clarendon Press, 1972, pp. 97-101.

the important role of enargeia in making an impression on the viewer.[26] The Greek enargeia derived from argès, or shining light, and originally meant clearness, distinctness or vividness, putting the spotlight on something. Vivid representation, whether by the use of metaphor in speech, or by the use of colour and light in the visual arts, was one of the main instruments to impress and thereby move the public.[27] Taken together, this combination of selectiveness and highlighting allows us to make explicit the sense in which Le Roy's account is a fictionalisation of the experience of looking at the Louvre colonnade. It becomes a narrative, unfolding in time, in which Le Roy asks the reader to walk along the colonnade in a sequence of scenes. He directs and positions the gaze of the beholder, selects what is to be seen, and lets the sun function as a spotlight to single out conspicuous details.

> 'Lorsque nous nous en approchons, un spectacle different nous affecte; l'ensemble de la masse nous échappe, mais la proximité où nous sommes des colonnes nous en dédommage; et les changements de lieu, sont plus frappans, plus rapides et plus varies. Mais si le spectateur entre sous le peristyle même, un spectacle tout nouveau s'offre à ses regards, à chaque pas qu'il fait, la situation des colonnes avec les objets qu'il découvre en dehors du peristyle varie, soit que ce qu'il découvre soit un paisage, ou la disposition pitoresque des maisons d'une ville, ou la magnificence d'un intérieur.'[28]

The way in which Le Roy describes his observations anticipates the treatise *Le Génie de l'Architecture ou l'analogie de cet art avec nos sensations* (1780) by the French architect Nicolas Le Camus de Mézières, who offered a theory to account for the ways in which experiencing architecture can arouse different emotions. In this study Le Camus de Mézières used theatre as an analogy for architecture. He considered the experience of buildings as akin to the dramatic structure of a play, in which for instance walking through a sequence of spaces in a house was an experience similar to that of viewing a succession of stage sets during a theatrical performance:

26. *Ibid.*, 1411b24 ff.
27. See on the parallels of looking at a building and watching a play: Van Eck, *Classical Rhetoric..., op. cit.*, pp. 127-134.
28. Le Roy, *Les Ruines..., op. cit.*, 1770, p. 372. 'As we come closer, our view alters. The mass of the building as a whole escapes us, but we are compensated by our closeness to the columns; as we change position, we create changes of view that are more striking, more rapid, and more varied. But if we enter beneath the colonnade itself, an entirely new spectacle offers itself to our eyes: every step adds change and variety to the relation between the positions of the columns and the scene outside the colonnade, whether this be a landscape, or the picturesque disposition of the houses of a city, or the magnificence of an interior.'

> 'Chaque piece doit avoir son caractere particulier. L'analogie, le rapport des proportions decident nos sensations; une piece fait désirer l'autre, cette agitation occupe & tient en suspens les esprits, c'est un genre de jouissance qui satisfait.'[29]

Le Camus de Mézières speaks in his introduction about the relation between architecture and stage decorations, which are a perfect example of what he called the 'threefold magic' of painting, sculpture and architecture, 'which addresses almost all the affections and sensations known to us'. Then, in the part entitled 'Le génie de l'architecture', he makes a connection between the characteristic qualities of well-designed architecture and the effects of the theatre:

> 'C'est par le grand ensemble qu'on attire & que l'on fixe l'attention; c'est lui seul qui peut intéresser tout à la fois & l'ame & les yeux. Le premier coup d'œil doit nous frapper, il enchaîne nos sens; les détails, les masses de la décoration, les profils, les jours conduisent à ce but. Les grandes parties, la pureté des profils, des jours ni trop vifs ni trop sombres, de beaux percés, les masses bien cadencées, beaucoup d'harmonie annoncent la grandeur & la magnificence.'[30]

In drawing a comparison between the expressiveness of architecture and the evocation of emotion in theatre by changes in scenery, Le Camus de Mézières emphasizes the importance of the beholder and the different stages of his experience.

The landscape as scenery

In Le Camus de Mézières' emphasis on the first impression when viewing a play or a building, we can find the same elements that travellers to Paestum mentioned. For instance, as we saw before, when Richard Payne Knight describes the temples in his travel diary he says:

> 'The first appearance of them is exceedingly striking - the three temples, which are tolerably well preserved, rise one beyond the other in the midst of a rich and beautiful

29. Le Camus de Mézières, *Le génie de l'architecture..., op. cit.*, p. 45; 'Each room must have its own particular character. The analogy, the relation of proportions, decides our sensations; each room makes us want the next; and this engages our minds and holds them in suspense. It is a satisfaction in itself.' English translation: Le Camus de Mézières, *The Genius of Architecture..., op. cit.*, p. 88. See also Pelletier, *op. cit.*.
30. Le Camus de Mézières, *Le génie de l'architecture..., op. cit.*, p. 64.

vale, surrounded by romantic Hills, covered with flowering Shrubs and Herbs.'[31]

The importance of this first scene, and the first impression of the ruins situated in the scenery of the southern Italian landscape, is re-enacted in the accounts of many visitors to the site. The French architect Antoine-Laurent-Thomas Vaudoyer went to Paestum with the book by Paoli in hand, as we saw in the first chapter. He also appreciated the visual effect from a distance and deliberately chose a viewpoint from afar to observe this scene:

> 'Cette ville est située à un demi mille du bord de la mer, et adossée à une chaîne de belles montagnes. Ce qui fait un très bel aspect quand on se recule assez pour jouir d'un coup d'œil des trois monuments, rien n'est tel que de monter au haut de la tour sur le bord de la mer, en face le grand Temple.'[32]

This scene seen from afar, so well captured in Joli's paintings, kept reappearing in publications on the site. One of the printmakers who made engravings after Joli's paintings was Filippo Morghen (1730-1807). He published the opening scene in his *Vedute della città di Paestum*, and copied three other engravings in the same work from Joli's images as well. Working at the Neapolitan court of Charles of Bourbon, Morghen was responsible for many publications on archaeological sites in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, meant to disseminate images of the Kingdom. Two years later Thomas Major, who never went to Paestum but bought numerous drawings from architects like Jacques-Germain Soufflot and from Italian artists and used them for his engravings, also published an engraved version of Joli's opening scene.[33] The French architect Gabriel-Pierre-Marie Dumont who, in 1750, was with Soufflot the first foreign architect to visit the site after its rediscovery, published the same view in 1769 (fig. 4.3). Jérôme de La Lande (1732-1807), who published the same view as well, stated that he had seen Joli's paintings in Naples, and used his views for his engravings.[34] De La Lande formulated it as follows:

31. Knight, *Expedition into Sicily..., op. cit.*, p. 28.
32. Vaudoyer, travel diary entitled *Voyage de Rome..., op. cit.*, p. 123.
33. The collection of drawings Major bought is now in the Sir John Soane's Museum in London, together with his publication. Soane obtained the whole set in 1800. Sir John Soane's Museum, London, Library, Vol 27.
34. Jérôme de La Lande, 8 vols. and an Atlas. In this Atlas, that accompanied the *Voyage*, De La Lande published mainly city plans of towns in Italy, some views of Rome, and one Paestum view. The first edition of 1769 contained 23 plates for the different volumes, the second edition of 1786 36 plates.

> 'M. le Comte de Gazola, Grand-Maître de l'Artillerie, en fit tirer les plans & dessiner les élévations; plusieurs Peintres ont été sur les lieux pour les peindre sous différens aspects. J'en ai vu chez Don Antoine Jolli, Peintre & Décorateur du théâtre de S. *Carlo*, différens tableaux fort intéressans, parmi d'autres vues de Naples, de Venise, de Malte, de Madrid, &c. & M. Morghan, en 1767, les a fait graver en six feuilles, d'après les desseins de M. Jolli.'[35]

He describes the plates published by Morghen as a sequence of voyaging, traversing the site.[36] Lalande, although writing his account in an early stage of Paestum's rediscovery, has already some interesting observations. He writes about how the temples are 'composé de colonnes Dorique cannelées, sans bases, ainsi qu'on le pratiquoit dans les temps les plus reculés', and that they 'peuvent servir de model aux Artistes qui connoissent & qui aiment les beautés de l'architecture Grecque'. He sees them as being of the same genre as the temples Le Roy published in his *Le Ruines*.[37] He also states that he knows that in London in 1767 the temples (in the book by Longfield) appeared in print, but that he had not yet seen them. The fact that authors refer to one another illustrates the circulation of the publications.

The publication by De La Lande, which although containing eight detailed volumes had been published in a small size, was widely read. The British architect Richard Norris, who arrived in Rome in 1769 and visited Paestum in 1771, bought the book two years after its publication on his way to the Capodimonte palace in Naples, when they stopped at the booksellers.[38] Also, when he was at Paestum, he used the publication by Major for information at the site:

> 'Sett off at 2 past 4 oClock when we got into the Boat which was a small Open One had 4 Watermen to row and a Charcoal Fire in the Middle of the Boat to warm us for it was intensely cold: was extremely Sick all the Voyage which lasted near 6 Hours. arrived at Pestum at 1/4 past ten which appeard like a desolate Place at your finite

35. De La Lande, *op. cit.*, vol. 7, p. 216.
36. 'J'ai place à la fin de cet ouvrage un extrait de ces gravures en une seule planche. La premiere des six feuilles présente la vue extérieure & intérieure de la porte septentrionale, la seule des quatre portes qui soit encore sur pied [...]. La seconde planche est une vue générale de l'emplacement de Pæstum, prise du côté du midi. [...] La troisieme représente les trois Temples, vus de plus près, par un observateur situé à la partie orientale [...] La quatrieme & la cinquieme font les vues intérieures du Temple qui est dans le milieu. [...] La sixieme planche [...] est la vue du Temple exastilepérytere [Athena temple] assez éloigné des deux autres.' *Ibid.*, vol. 7, pp. 216-218.
37. *Ibid.*, vol. 7, p. 219.
38. Richard Norris, Diary 4, f. 16 recto (5 January 1771), British Library, London, Manuscripts, Add. MS. 52497B.

> Arrival - and for half an hour before you can see any house or Building excepting the three Temples & meeting some Buffaloes which look quite dreadfull, and a few Oxen you pass before you arrive at the Temples. a herid of Tower and some stone or watch House. by which that part of the Coast is guarded from the Enemy - the Temples are situated about a Mile from the Shore (or not quite so much) Dined before the Middle Temple on Provender brought from Salerno. with Wine we bought at a little Distance examin.d the Temples & Gateway with the Book published by Major an Engraver. the remarks of which are in my Sketch Book'[39]

Norris chiefly described his voyage to Paestum and the general view.[40] The second scene that confronted visitors during their Paestum experience was captured by Dominique Vivant Denon, who viewed the temples in 1778: 'Nous entrâmes par [la porte] du nord, et aperçûmes les trois grands temples rangés en flanc, qui partagent un peu obliquement toute la largeur de la ville.'[41] The temples that flanked each other were a popular viewpoint, also first captured by Joli. And the same view was again copied by, for example, Morghen, Major and Jean Barbault (1718-1762) (fig. 4.6).[42]

It is noteworthy that the same sequence that the images follow in these publications appears in the written representations of travels to Paestum. For instance Charles Dupaty, the French lawyer who published *Lettres sur l'Italie* in 1788, unfolds the dramatic succession of scenes before his eyes in this way:

> 'J'avance à travers des campagnes désertes, dans un chemin affreux, loin de toutes

39. *Ibid.*, f. 24 recto, 24 verso, 25 recto (Friday 11 January 1771). He continues: 'Pestum was originally a large City but has now nothing remaining but these Temples. a Gateway. and some of the Walls. there are but two or three Cottages near this Place. the Inhabitants of which are obliged to move up into the Mountains in the Hot Weather. on Account of its unwholesomeness - This place is situated at the Bottom of some Mountains which are conten.d on both sides - beyond Salerno. The Reverse way. Staid at Pestum till 1/2 past two o'Clock when we got into the Boat. and were terribly toss'd about by the Waves. the sea being very rough - you see in the Mountains a large Town at some Distance: which by the Waves being so high at some times was not able to see it & was conspicious at others = had some Rain before we arrived at Salerno . which was 1/2 past 8 o'Clock - and was intensely cold - had little or no wind so the Men were obliged to Row all the way - went to the same Inn, where we supp'd.' (f. 25 verso)
40. Before arriving at Paestum, they slept at Salerno: 'Thursday Jany 10th 1771 Sett off at Eight oClock in Cartaches to go to Pestum. Slept at Salerno abt. 30 Miles. Went through several Towns which are very populous - but very nasty - the Roads pretty good, but dirty - some very romantic. Prospects towards Salerno and the Roads very good at about two Miles before you arrive at Salerno you see to the Right a Town upon the declivity of a Moun.n with which you have a fine View of the Sea - and sols to Salerno which is on the Sea Side - Slept at the Inn'.
41. Denon, *Voyage au royaume de Naples...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 288-289.
42. Morghen, *op. cit.*, plate III; [Longfield], *op. cit.*, plate IV, Major, *The Ruins...*, *op. cit.*, plate II; Barbault, *op.cit.*, plate 7.

> traces humaines, au pied de montagnes décharnées, sur des rivages où la mer est seule; et tout-à-coup, voilà un temple, en voilà deux, en voilà trois: j'approche à travers les herbes, je monte sur le socle d'une colonne ou sur les débris d'un fronton; une nuée de corbeaux prend son vol: des vaches mugissent dans le fond d'un sanctuaire: la couleuvre, entre les colonnes et les ronces, siffle et s'échappe: cependant, un jeune pâtre, appuyé nonchalamment sur une corniche, remplit, des sons d'un chalumeau, le vaste silence de ce désert.'[43]

The way in which Dupaty poetically described the different scenes of his experience makes him partly a spectator, especially when from a pediment he perceives the animals and the shepherd among the ruins; but he also becomes a participant in the experience he directs. By walking through the deserted landscape, enclosed by mountains and sea, generating the sight of the three temples, one after another, and anxiously continuing to observe the ruins, he effectively creates his own sequence of experience.

The French architect Claude Mathieu Delagardette equally looked at the setting of the temples as if it were a stage set, and wrote in his monograph on Paestum:

> 'Et à la vérité quelle scène imposante pour un Artiste observateur, que celle de voir sur les rivages de la mer, un espace immense et aride, entouré de murailles, couvert de colonnes et de monuments majestueux, où sous un beau ciel qu'aucun nuage n'obscurcit, regne le silence le plus absolu: n'ayant d'autres habitants autour de lui que ces compagnons de voyage, que quelques rustres occupés à faire paître des buffles, que des pierres et des serpents.'[44]

In his introduction to the monograph *Ruines de Pæstum* he presented the next scene:

> 'Vivement ému, j'étais dans une sorte de délire, à l'aspect du tableau extraordinaire qui se déroulait devant moi. Mais portant mes regards sur chacun des monuments en particulier, je crus appercevoir [sic] ce génie sublime qui avait présidé à l'invention de ces chef-d'œuvres, et le savoir profond qui avait conduit leur exécution.'[45]

43. Dupaty, *Lettres...*, *op. cit.*, p. 198.
44. Delagardette, *Les Ruines...*, *op. cit.* [1799], p. 3.
45. *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

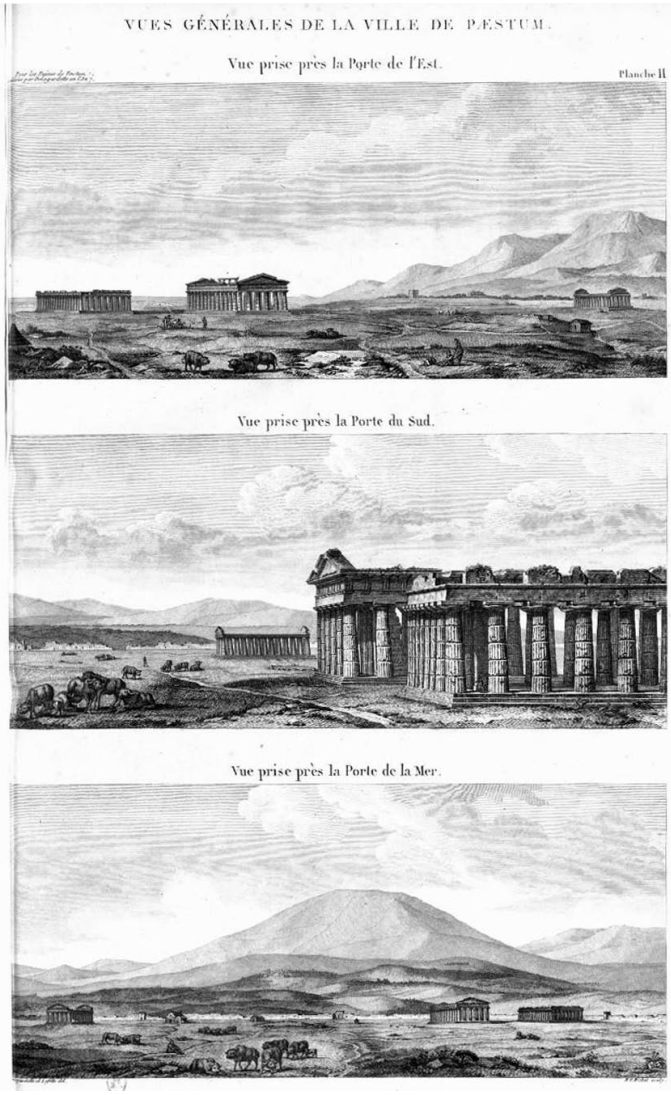


figure 4.21
Claude-Mathieu Delagardette, 'Vues générales de la ville de Pæstum', 1799.
(Delagardette, *Les Ruines...*, 1799, plate II.)

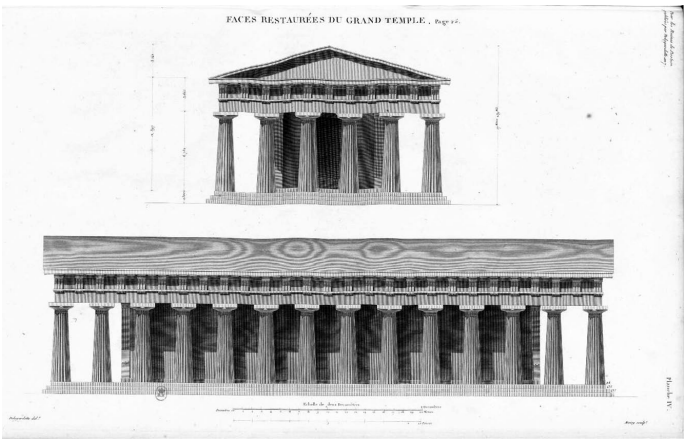


figure 4.22
Claude-Mathieu Delagardette, 'Faces restaurées du grand temple', 1799.
(Delagardette, *Les Ruines...*, 1799, plate IV.)

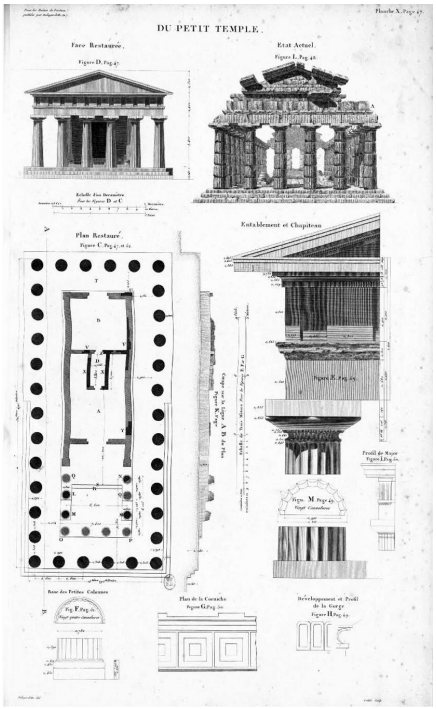


figure 4.23
Claude-Mathieu Delagardette, Elevations, plan and details of the Temple of Ceres, present and restored state, 1799.
(Delagardette, *Les Ruines...*, 1799, plate X.)

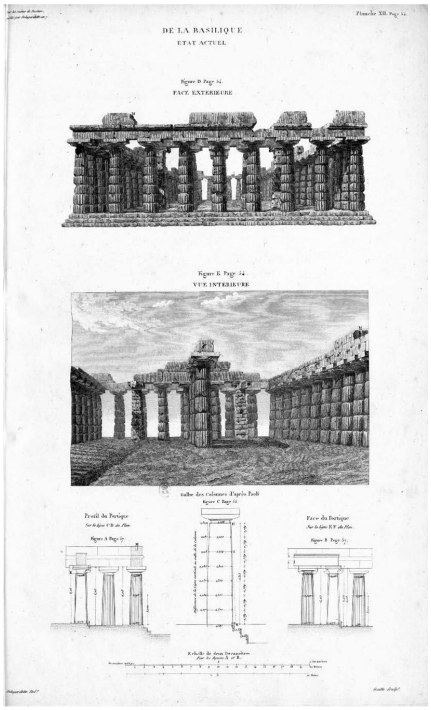


figure 4.24
Claude-Mathieu Delagardette, Elevations and details of the columns of the Basilica, present state, 1799.
(Delagardette, *Les Ruines...*, 1799, plate XII.)

In this way he paused twice to observe the scenes before his eyes: the setting of the temples in the Italian landscape, and the temples themselves. But although in the introduction Delagardette speaks in a poetic way about his Paestum experiences, these lyrical accounts of experience are not continued in the rest of his publication. This is merely an analysis of the architecture, aiming to prove that he is the first to examine and measure the temples in a thorough way. His second plate shows the temples from afar, a reminder of the way Joli pictured them. However, there is an important difference. With Delagardette people are no longer pictured among the ruins (fig. 4.21). He depicts the ruins alone in the landscape, or as part of an architectural analysis of the temples, with facade, section, plan and details (fig. 4.22-4.24). That marks the moment when Paestum is canonized and becomes part of the norm of classical architecture. The specificity of the place, and the experience, are reduced to pictures of Paestum's baseless Doric order.

In Delagardette's drawings we cannot find anything of the 'deeply moved' feelings he described in his introduction. He remains rather distant. The monuments are not personal anymore, as they are with Piranesi, as we will see shortly, but become objective and like any other ancient monument. The theatricality that was used to present the temples to the novice eighteenth-century reader was not necessary anymore, the baseless Doric order had become part of a vocabulary familiar to everyone. But the abstraction in a canonisation of Paestum had moved away from the Paestum that we saw in the descriptions of Dupaty and Goethe and that we will see in Piranesi's etchings.

The temples as a stage

Paolo Paoli (1720-1790) alludes to the next scene after the perspective view from a distance and the view of the ruins closer by, in his monograph on Paestum. This is the view of the temples individually and being entered.[46] Paoli presents the temples on the same page with a plan of the site, several visitors hurrying with ladders to reach the monuments and measure them, and others comparing the temples with publications (fig. 4.20). In this attempt to stage the gaze of the architectural connoisseur by picturing people measuring the ruins and reviewing the temples *in situ* while comparing them to their representations in plates, Paoli reinforced his

46. Paoli, *Rovine...*, *op. cit.*, plate X.

argument, in the accompanying text, that careful examination would prove that the temples were actually Etruscan, and thus Italian and not Greek in origin. But beyond that, because Paestum was strange and unfamiliar it was necessary to place figures among the ruins so that eighteenth-century readers or visitors were able to identify with people that looked just like them, dressed like them, busy measuring the temples. In this way the readers could assume the role of the tourist and connoisseur, and the temples were made a subject fit for eighteenth-century discourse.

Vincenzo Brenna (1747-1820), an Italian architect who was hired to draw the temples in 1768 by Charles Townley, the British connoisseur and one of the founders of the British Museum, pictured this scene as well, showing the temples as if they were a stage set.[47] Brenna's drawings are an interesting combination of the familiar perspective views with the grand-tourists as actors, and an architectural presentation (fig. 4.25). He also drew the plans of the temples, and details of the columns of the Neptune temple (fig. 4.26-4.28). The gesturing figures in the drawings are reminiscent of the typical characters in engravings by Piranesi. But when Piranesi actually pictured Paestum he did it in a radically different way.

Piranesi made some strikingly impressive drawings, fifteen of which were bought by Soane.[48] In twenty vedute he presented his vision of the site. While most publications - such as those by Dumont, Morghen, Longfield and Major - try to bring the monuments to the reader by depicting them like Roman architecture without entasis and surrounded with either historical figures or contemporary travellers, Piranesi is the only one to picture them realistically, with their entasis and their porous lime stone overgrown with vegetation, and surrounded by local people and animals (fig. 4.29-4.34). And while in all the publications the figures among the ruins had been either fictional characters with an historical touch to them or travellers busy measuring, analysing, and discussing the temples, only Piranesi depicts just the local people, farmers and cattle strolling around the ruins. He alone represents the actual situation, without any historical reference. In doing so he probably wanted to emphasize the Italian origin of the temples as well, a source of debate in the second half of the eighteenth century. But he also

47. The drawings by Brenna are in the collection of the Victoria & Albert Museum, London. For Paestum: VI 1-31, 8478 13-17. For Brenna see: Gerard Vaughan, '"Vincenzo Brenna Romanus: Architectus et Pictor" Drawing from the Antique in late eighteenth-century Rome', *Apollo*, 144 (1996) 416, pp. 37-41.
48. Sir John Soane's Museum, London (P 51, 54, 69-72, 74-77, 125, 133, 139-140, 146). Two others ended up in the collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris and of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam. They were published in Piranesi, *Differentes vues...*, *op. cit.* Piranesi died during the engraving process and his son finished the work.

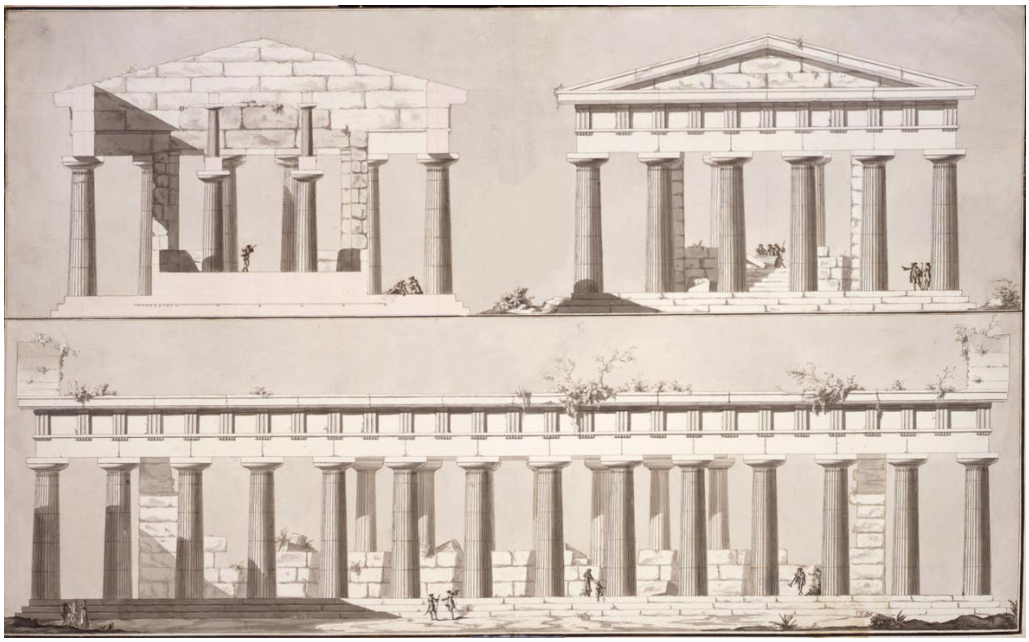
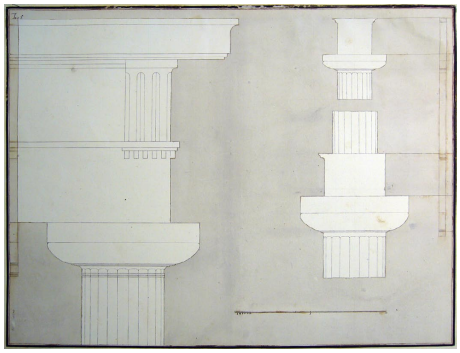


figure 4.25
Vincenzo Brenna, Section and elevations of the Temple of Neptune, c. 1768.
(Victoria & Albert Museum, London.)



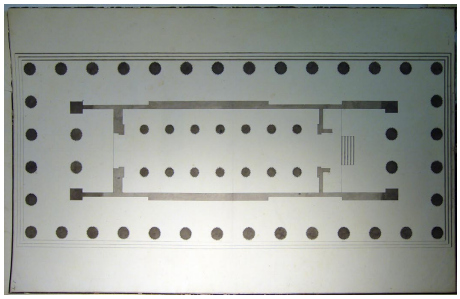


figure 4.26
Vincenzo Brenna, Details of the order of the Temple of Neptune, and Plan of the Temple of Neptune, c. 1768.
(Victoria & Albert Museum, London.)

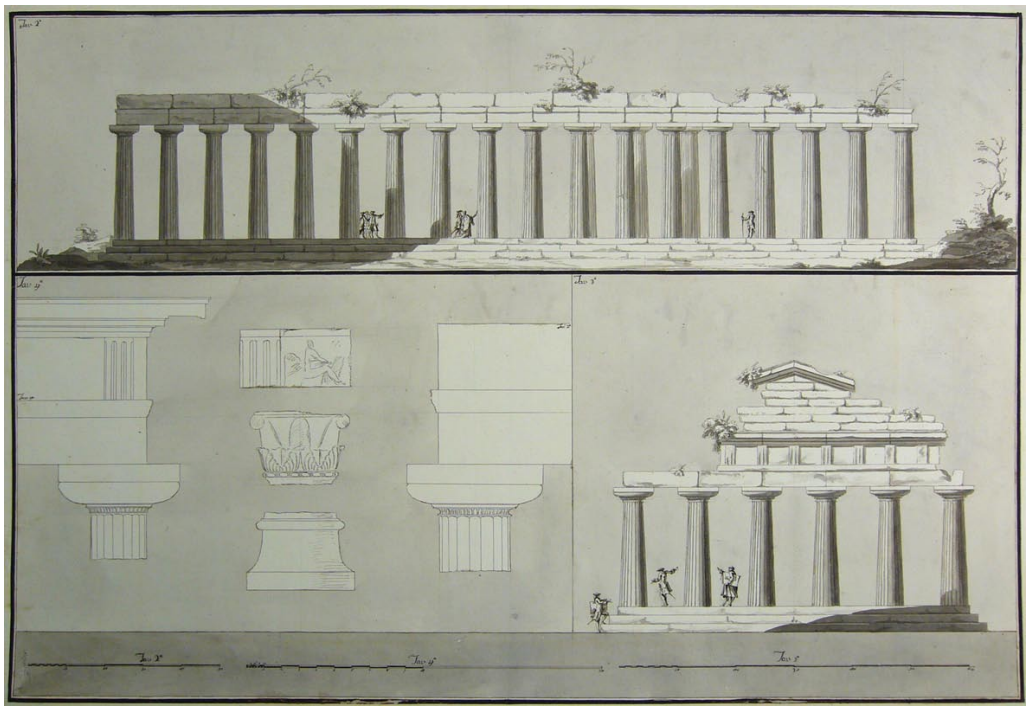
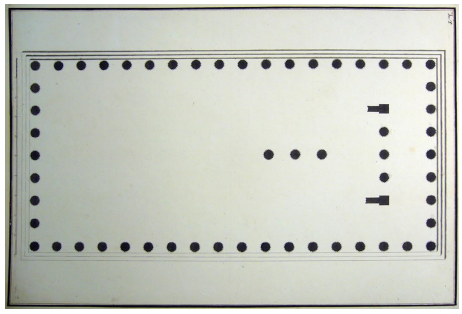


figure 4.27
Vincenzo Brenna, Elevations and details of the Basilica and the Temple of Ceres, c. 1768.
(Victoria & Albert Museum, London.)



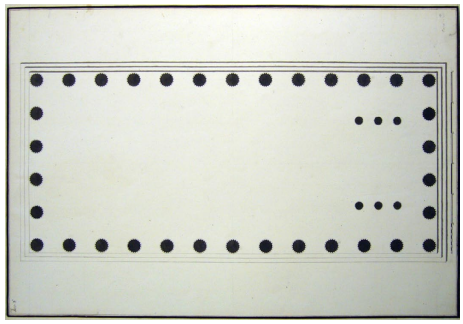


figure 4.28
Vincenzo Brenna, Plan of the Basilica, and Plan of the Temple of Ceres, c. 1768.
(Victoria & Albert Museum, London.)

pictures the decline of ruins. He eliminated the eighteenth-century conventions, and robbed them of their usefulness for contemporary architectural design, because they no longer offer the information needed for design.

All the monographs on Paestum mentioned above have the identical structure of an opening scene with a bird's eye view or a perspective of the three temples in the landscape with mountains in the background. Readers are then taken to the next scene where they approach the temples, walk around them, and enter them to take a closer look. The spectator can identify easily with the travellers depicted. This is not the case in the etchings by Piranesi, who drew local people living and working amongst the ruins. In some drawings he almost seems to give more attention to the cattle than the buildings. The temples seem to become a mere backdrop to the simple life of farmers who happen to be living around some structures in stone. It is here that we start to comprehend how these ruins functioned for many centuries. They were simply part of familiar surroundings and nobody paid any real attention to them. Only when architects became interested in rediscovering classical architecture and its ancient origins, did the ruins begin to be explored. Piranesi's etchings eventually make explicit what the eighteenth-century visitors actually knew but did not express before: Greek architecture had very little to do with the Renaissance version of classical architecture, and as such could not serve as a timeless model of design.[49]

Theatricality as a means of plotting an architectural experience

The plot of the experience of Paestum is twofold, or rather has two different scenarios and these extremes define the position of Paestum. Travellers to the site had to deal with the strangeness of the architecture they saw. In order to make sense of the temples they represented their often contradictory experiences in images or texts using theatrical features. Sequences of experiences available in representations of the temples guided them, the landscape surrounding the temples functioned as scenery and the ruins provided a stage.

49. The publications by Stuart and Revett and by Le Roy on Greek architecture offered a mixture of archaeological account, architectural theory and travelogue of Greece; design instructions based on Greek architecture were not yet an independent category.

figure 4.29
Giovanni Battista Piranesi, The temples at Paestum seen from the south-west, study drawing for plate I of his publication *Différentes vues...*, 1778.

(Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.)

figure 4.30
Giovanni Battista Piranesi, The Basilica seen from the south, study drawing for plate V of his publication *Différentes vues...*, 1778.

(Sir John Soane's Museum, London.)

figure 4.31
Giovanni Battista Piranesi, The Basilica seen from the east, study drawing for plate VI of his publication *Différentes vues...*, 1778.

(Sir John Soane's Museum, London.)

figure 4.32
Giovanni Battista Piranesi, The Basilica seen from the west, study drawing for plate IX of his publication *Différentes vues...*, 1778.

(Sir John Soane's Museum, London.)

figure 4.33
Giovanni Battista Piranesi, The Temple of Neptune seen from the north-west, study drawing for plate XVII of his publication *Différentes vues...*, 1778.

(Sir John Soane's Museum, London.)

figure 4.34
Giovanni Battista Piranesi, The Temple of Ceres seen from the south-west, study drawing for plate XIX of his publication *Différentes vues...*, 1778.

(Sir John Soane's Museum, London.)

On this stage an experience in three steps unfolded, and these three steps clearly connect architecture to the theatre. First, the building itself can provide a certain experience by the conscious use of certain elements. It stages the gaze of the beholder, as Soane stated in one of his Royal Academy lectures, because it endows a building with character. In this way, organising the spectator's perception of the building, the architecture functions as a stage. Second, the experience of such a building can follow the intentions of the architect, but through selection the viewer can also recreate the building as a sequence of emotions or scenes. Le Roy's account of seeing the Louvre colonnade, and Knight's and Vaudoyer's accounts of Paestum illustrate this. Third, the representation of this experience can have three different results. It can follow a sequence (as it did with Joli, Major, Morghen and Dupaty) by selecting views and presenting the different stages of experiencing architecture. It can express the wandering eye rather than a clear sequence (as in Goethe's written and Piranesi's visual account) and in that way create another, more personal, experience. But the representation can, finally, also ignore the experience by transforming it into an abstraction, conceived by the measuring architect in search of an order, and considered in relation to its applicability to contemporary architecture, as Delagardette showed.

In all these outcomes spectators play their part; their role may even be said to define the outcome. In the publication by Delagardette the spectator is a measuring architect, in Joli's paintings he is an erudite connoisseur, whereas in Piranesi's publication the spectator is endowed with a mood. Knowledge of architecture is not important in this experience. But these different representations of an architectural experience, and the different stages, from architecture to experience to representation of an experience, show the active role of the spectator as well, and this tells us something more about the relationship between architecture and the theatre in general. In viewing architecture, the spectator is not merely an observer or a witness. In architecture, unlike the other arts, one can step in and become an actor as well. When eighteenth-century architects saw the paintings and engravings of Paestum and read the publications about the site, their experience did not end. Unlike viewing a painting or a sculpture, viewing a representation of architecture could be enhanced by the experience of actually approaching and entering the building. They could travel to Italy and when they did so, in a way they entered the engraving or painting. They could compare their own experience *in situ* to earlier experiences they had seen depicted, as Paoli showed. When looking at the engravings of Paestum and experiencing the effect of the identification with one of the characters depicted, one can imagine that the urge to live the exploration of the site oneself was forceful. As Denis Diderot put it:

figure 4.35
Giovanni Battista Piranesi, Plates I-XX of the *Différentes vues...*, 1778.

> 'La représentation en avait été si vraie, qu'oubliant en plusieurs endroits que j'étais spectateur, et spectateur ignoré, j'avais été sur le point de sortir de ma place, et d'ajouter un personnage réel à la scène.'[50]

In commenting upon one of Hubert Robert's paintings of ruins in the Salon of 1767 he wrote, as we saw in the previous chapter: 'Je n'aurais jamais pu me défendre d'aller rêver sous cette voûte, de m'asseoir entre ces colonnes, d'entrer dans votre tableau.'[51] The invisible fourth wall Diderot described, marking the boundary between fiction and reality, that eighteenth-century viewers experienced when they looked at the engravings in their armchair, was smashed to pieces when they entered the site themselves and became actors in their own play, experiencing the architecture instead of being mere spectators.

Finally, in living the experience, another crucial analogy between architecture and the theatre comes to the fore: that of temporality. Just as in watching a play, the narrative structure of visiting the ruins was created by a temporal experience of successive scenes. Although Joli and Piranesi did not present the same sequence of scenes, both offered a narrative framework to bring Paestum to the eighteenth-century reader, and showed the temporary experience of visiting the site. Moreover, Piranesi revealed something else as well. In viewing the sequence Piranesi presented in his etchings, it becomes clear that to him the experience of wandering around and in the temples was important (fig. 4.35). When movement comes in as in Piranesi's publication, the reader wanders through a forest of columns, continually encountering yet another perspective influenced by the rays of the sun. As the French architect Rohault de Fleury wrote in his travel diary in 1805:

> 'plus je retois a Pæstum, plus je trouvois ce temple beau, je l'ai éxaminé sous toutes les faces, toujours un spectacle nouveau, au soleil couchant le matin, avant et après le lever du soleil. c'est le caractere de la simplicité de ne pas autant séduire au premier coup d'oeil, et de gagner à l'examen.'[52]

But Piranesi also presents the vulnerability and decay of architecture. By emphasizing the decline and fall of ruins he illustrated the temporary nature of all architecture. He

50. Denis Diderot, *Oeuvres esthétiques*, edited by Paul Vernière, Paris: Garnier, 1994, p. 78.
51. Denis Diderot, *Salons,* edited by Michel Delon, Paris: Gallimard, 2008, p. 364.
52. Rohault de Fleury, *Voyage..., op. cit.*, f. 156.

demonstrated that Paestum could not serve as a timeless model for design. This was the complete opposite of Delagardette's vision of Paestum and his quest for architectural elements useful to the architects of his day. Not only did Delagardette close his eyes to the temporality of the buildings and the visitor's experience of them, in his abstraction he also ignored the specificity of Paestum. In his account the role of the spectator is diminished, whereas in the visualisation of Piranesi the spectator is essential. The spectator is drawn into Piranesi's engravings, which demonstrate that architectural knowledge does not help to understand Paestum, but that the experience at the site is vital. And that experience is achieved through movement.

PART THREE Contextualising Experiences

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CHAPTER 5 In Pursuit of the Primitive: History in the making

> 'à en juger par le pesant et le massif de ses proportions, il est indubitable que ces Monumens ont été construits par les Grecs dans l'origine de l'Architecture, et qu'ils sont de la première antiquité, étant très certain que tout ce qui reste en Italie de Temples et de Monumens construits par les Romains est d'une architecture bien plus légère, et de proportion et de forme toute différente.'[1]

The primitive forms of the temples of Paestum made several travellers assume that these oldest temples on Italian soil represented the origins of architecture. This aspect was a crucial one at the time; in the period that Paestum was rediscovered and explored, debates on primitivism and on the origins of architecture played a major role in architectural thought. In this chapter the important role of Paestum and the Paestum accounts in debates on primitivism and the origins of architecture will be demonstrated.

In eighteenth-century discussions of the origins of architecture, generally speaking three tendencies can be discerned: either the origin is considered as a norm, as an example to be followed, or it is seen historically, as the beginning of a development in architecture, or it is a conscious stylistic choice. Hence we can distinguish between primitivism as a culture theory, in which the first beginnings are also the best, as an aetiology, in which a present-day phenomenon was explained through its origins, and as an aesthetics, in which primitive forms were appreciated and applied. In the first variety, a normative culture and art theory, origins and norms are connected. Norms derive their authority from the mere fact that they represent the origin, because the first beginnings are the most highly valued. This type of primitivism can go together with the second variety that seeks to understand a phenomenon or form by

1. Saint-Non, *Panopticon Italiano...*, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

searching its origins, and with the third, an aesthetic choice, but the three types can also occur separately, as we will see in this chapter.

Next to these three tendencies in primitivistic theories, for the eighteenth century we have to distinguish also another phenomenon: the archaeological search for historical beginnings by way of excavating or examining a historical site (fig. 5.1). We can differentiate between the primitivists, arguing for the origin as norms, and the archaeologists, or between primitivistic visions and archaeological expeditions. While the two can work together as well, we have to bear in mind that archaeological expeditions can of course be motivated by other than primitivistic motives, just as primitivistic theories are not necessarily archaeologically founded. The theoretical quest by the primitivists and the practical quest through fact finding by the archaeologists did not necessarily have the same outcome. On the contrary, more often than not a gap opened up between primitivistic ideas that were formed at the writing table and the actual findings about the origins of architecture at an ancient site. It is this issue that also became acute at Paestum.

Primitivists advocated returning to the first beginnings of civilization. Primitivism as a mode of thought about origins already occurred in Antiquity. This idea, that the earliest phase of mankind was superior to contemporary civilization, and that the 'noble savage' was closer to the birth of the arts, originated in Antiquity.[2] In their seminal work Lovejoy and Boas analyse these ideas in Greek and Roman writings. Primitivism continues during the Middle Ages in the Christian tradition, and then into the eighteenth century, where primitivists like Rousseau drew on the writings of Antiquity, for example on Seneca's theories. In modern primitivism, from the Renaissance onwards, the explorations and publication of accounts on inhabitants of other countries augmented the knowledge, and gave lifelike examples of primitive living conditions. This led also to a more critical view of the primitive, as Montaigne expressed on the barbaric

2. Arthur O. Lovejoy and George Boas, *Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity*, Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1935. Lovejoy and Boas have distinguished two types: cultural and chronological primitivism, and in those either soft or hard primitivism, but combinations of these exist in sources of Antiquity. Chronological primitivism is the urge to return to the earliest stage of human history, cultural that anything which is not natural in the condition of mankind is damaging. Chronological primitivists are looking back in time, cultural to people in other countries that still live as savages. Savages, peasants, children, and animals are all given as examples of having a better life. In hard primitivism these living conditions are desirable as opposed to the burdens of arts, sciences and intellect of contemporary society, going as far as cynicism; soft primitivism is a longing for a paradisiacal life, an idyllic existence with no toil, with a gentle climate and friendly animals. Lovejoy and Boas present also other (sub)types like epistemological primitivism. See also George Boas, 'Primitivism', in: Philip P. Wiener (ed.), *Dictionary of the History of Ideas*, vol. 3, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1968, pp. 578-598.

figure 5.1
Excavations at Paestum.
Engraving after a painting by Jean-Pierre Péquignot, 'Veduta di Pesto, preso fuori della mura presso la porta Settentrionale', 1812.

(Istituto Suor Orsola Benincasa, Naples. From Andreae, 2007, p. 165.)

American Indians.[3] Closer contact with real examples of primitive people, like the peasant, led to doubts about the theory of primitivism.[4]

In the eighteenth century ideas about the natural goodness of man prompted theorists like Shaftesbury and Rousseau to give primitivism a new importance. They argued that man in its primitive state, without any later influences, must be good.[5] Shaftesbury argued in favour of nature and simplicity over wealth:

> 'I shall no longer resist the passion growing in me for things of the natural kind; where neither art, nor the conceit or caprice of man has spoil'd their genuine order, by breaking in upon that primitive state. Even the rude rocks, the mossy caverns, the irregular unwrought grottos, and broken falls of waters, with all the horrid graces of the wilderness itself, as representing Nature more, will be the more engaging, and appear with a magnificence beyond the formal mockery of princely gardens.'[6]

Eighteenth-century primitivism also stressed the importance of reason and nature: a man as far removed as possible from society is closer to nature and to God. Further explorations, like the discoveries of Captain Cook provided accounts of uncivilized tribes and regions. Rousseau wrote in his *Discours sur les sciences et les arts* (1749) that the intellectual progress of man had diminished his happiness, and in *Discours sur l'inégalité* (1755) that luxury leads to vices. Living a virtuous life far from society was urged in the opening phrase of *Émile ou de l'éducation* (1762): 'Tout est bien sortant des mains de l'Auteur des choses, tout dégénère entre les mains de l'homme.'[7] The term 'noble savage' seems to have appeared for the first time in Dryden's

3. Michel de Montaigne, chapter *Des Cannibales* in *Essais de messire Michel, seigneur de Montaigne.... Livre premier et second*, Bourdeaus: impr. S. Millanges, 1580, book I, p. 31.
4. See also on ideas on the peasant in eighteenth-century France: Amy S. Wyngaard, *From Savage to Citizen: The Invention of the Peasant in French Enlightenment*, Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2004.
5. A. Owen Aldridge, 'Primitivism in the Eighteenth Century', in: Philip P. Wiener (ed.), *Dictionary of the History of Ideas*, vol. 3, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1968, pp. 598-605. He also distinguishes in the period domestic and exotic primitivism. See also: Paul Hazard, *La Pensée européenne au XVIIIe siècle*, Paris: Boivin, 1946. Eighteenth-century publications include: Antoine Court de Gébelin, *Le monde primitif analysé et comparé avec le monde moderne*, 9 vols., Paris, 1775-1784; Delisles de Sales, *Histoire philosophique du monde primitif*, Paris, 1795-1796.
6. Anthony Ashley Cooper, third Earl of Shaftesbury, *Characteristicks*, [London: J. Darby] 1711, vol. 3, p. 255.
7. It has been argued that Rousseau was not a pure primitivist: 'The supposed Primitivism of Rousseau's Discourse on Inequality', in Arthur O. Lovejoy, *Essays in the History of Ideas*, Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1948, pp. 14-37. Rousseau: 'So long as men remained content with their rustic huts ... they lived free, healthy, honest and happy lives', Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Confessions*, vol. 7 de la collection complète des œuvres de J.J. Rousseau, Geneva: s.n., 1782, pp. 47-48.

The Conquest of Granada (1669): 'I am as free as Nature first made man, / Ere the base laws of servitude began, / When wild woods the noble savage ran.'[8] This savage, not yet touched by sin, appeared often in eighteenth-century literature, as in Daniel Defoe's *Life and... Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* (1719). In his *Voyage autour du monde* (1771) Diderot reviewed Louis Antoine de Bougainville's account on Tahiti, stating that it was the only account that made him feel like leaving his own country, enchanted by the people described as living by the 'instinct of nature'.[9]

Giambattista Vico defined primitivism in the eighteenth century for the first time in a comprehensive manner in his *Principi di Scienza Nuova* (1725, 1744). For Vico language was used to identify levels of civilization, the moment when language turned to a written form was the moment culture started. Among primitive people the ability to reflect was absent, making them rely much more on their imaginations and passions.[10] Burke's conviction that savage people were more sensible to the sublime, as we saw in the first chapter, is in the same line of thought. The idea that primitive men were full of deep feelings and passions had a strong appeal; Vico described the development from the impulsive towards the rational, reflective mind: 'Men at first feel without perceiving, then they perceive with a troubled and agitated spirit, finally they reflect with a clear mind.' Poetry derived form these wild passions: 'the founders of [...] nations, having wandered about in the wild state of dumb beasts and being therefore sluggish, were inexpressive save under the impulse of violent passions, and formed their first language by singing'.[11] Vico was convinced that the arts had originated with primitive people, but also that it was only with them that they were truly poetic.[12] Referring only to poetry and not to the arts

8. For a more cultural historical approach of the terms primitive and savage see: Marianna Torgovnick, *Gone Primitive: Savage Intellects, Modern Lives*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990. See also: Lois Whitney, *Primitivism and the Idea of Progress in English Popular Literature of the Eighteenth Century*, Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1934.
9. The expedition was undertaken in the company of Captain Cook. Diderot published in 1796 *Supplément au voyage de Bougainville*, stating that 'Religion would here but destroy that Tranquillity they possess by Ignorance; and laws would but teach 'em to know offenses of which they have no notion.' Diderot also emphasized the struggle of man between natural impulses and moral obligations: 'There existed a natural man; inside this man an artificial man has been introduced, and there takes place in the cavern a civil war which lasts throughout life.'
10. Giambattista Vico, *The New Science of Giambattista Vico* [1744], translated by Thomas Goddard Bergin and Max Harold Fisch, Ithaca, (NY): Cornell University Press, 1984, p. 116: 'Before, in the time of Homer, the peoples, who were almost all body and almost no reflection, must have been all vivid sensation in perceiving particulars, strong imagination in apprehending and enlarging them [...] and robust memory in retaining them.' *Ibid.*, p. 312: 'Since barbarians lack reflection, which, when ill-used, is the mother of falsehood, the first heroic [...] poets sang true histories [...] And in virtue of this same nature of barbarism, which for lack of reflection does not know how to feign (whence it is naturally truthful, open, faithful, generous, and magnanimous).'
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 75 and 77, a paradox is that it is 'only within the large frame of a self-defined 'civilized' and 'rational' culture that artists can be 'primitive' and 'irrational'; Frances S. Connelly, *The Sleep of Reason, Primitivism in Modern European Art and Aesthetics, 1725-1907*, University Park (PA): The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995, p. 114.
12. For it has been shown that it was deficiency of human reasoning power that gave rise to poetry so sublime that the

in general, Vico strongly argued that art is not created through learning and reason. Primitive people lived only, he thought, in the immediate present, not conscious of any past or future. Rousseau also argued that the closer primitive people lived to nature, the freer they were from culture. Eighteenth-century men welcomed the idea to take refuge from decadence, artificiality and too much ornament like in the Rococo.

In eighteenth-century architectural theory primitivism turned out to be a persistent model of thought: with advocates of a return to origins searching for the first beginnings of architecture, it became a focal point of architectural theory. This has also to be seen in the light of seventeenth-century developments, starting with Claude Perrault's *Dix livres d'architecture de Vitruve corrigés et traduits nouvellement en français* (1673) which attacked the absolute beauty of the architectural orders as presented by Vitruvius, and of the Querelle des Anciens et Modernes, which raised the issue whether or not to follow the rules of antiquity in Greek and Roman architecture, or to rather look for other sources. The contradictions that came to light between Vitruvius' text and Roman monuments, stimulated architects to look for the origins of the orders. Criticism on contemporary architecture as far removed from nature, urged architects to look for a model that was as close to nature as possible: the primitive hut. Where in general primitivist theories the myth of origins takes the shape of the idea of returning to the living conditions of primitive men, in architectural theory the primitive hut, presented as a design model, functioned as the origin, and by the same token primitivism served as a new foundation of design theory. As such, primitivism as a cultural theory became relevant for eighteenth-century architecture and provided architects with design models. More specifically, in architectural thought the primitivist debates concentrated on the origins of architecture as a design solution or a model for contemporary architecture to build on, and the search for these origins in the writing of a historical development of architecture.

Despite its importance for architectural theory, in existing studies on primitivism architecture is not very prominent.[13] In *Primitivisme et mythes des origines dans la France des Lumières 1680-1820* (Paris 1989) for example, architecture is mentioned only in the introduction and in Christian

philosophers which came afterward, the arts of poetry and of criticism, have produced none equal or better, and have even prevented its production.' Vico, *The New Science of Giambattista Vico, op. cit.*, p. 120.

13. For example: Lovejoy and Boas, *op. cit.*; C. Marouby, *Utopie et primitivisme: essai sur l'imaginaire anthropologique à l'âge classique*, Paris: Seuil, 1990; Pascal Griener, 'Théorie de l'art et théorie pessimiste de l'art. Histoire d'un paradoxe', to be published in: J. Lichtenstein and C. Michel (eds.), *De la quête des règles au discours sur les fins. Les mutations du discours sur l'art en France dans la seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle*, Lausanne 2010.

Michel's article.[14] On primitivism in the arts a much wider range of scholarship is available, although it concentrates mostly on the twentieth century, connecting it to modernism.[15] An exception is *The Sleep of Reason* by Frances S. Connelly.[16] At the same time, in some monographic architectural studies the question of origins is raised, but they lack a definition of the concept in a larger sense.[17] Rykwert's study *On Adam's House in Paradise* is the first important study written on the subject, and is still perceived by some as an authoritative account.[18] But his study also raises questions. Ernst Gombrich wrote an interesting critique, in which he almost entirely deconstructed Rykwert's argument, or rather argued that he has no clear argument at all (only an underlying theme: 'man's nostalgia for the past and his desire for renewal'), finding him more a psychoanalyst than an architectural historian in his methods.[19] In his critique

14. Christian Michel, 'L'argument des origines dans les theories des arts en France à l'époque des Lumières', in: Christian Michel and Chantal Grell (eds.), *Primitivisme et mythes des origines dans la France des Lumières 1680-1820*, Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 1989, pp. 35-45.
15. For example: William Rubin (ed.), *'Primitivism' in Twentieth-Century Art: affinity of the tribal and the modern*, 2 vols., New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1984; Robert Goldwater, *Primitivism in Modern Painting*, New York/London: Harper & Bros., 1938, arguing that the modern primitivizing art of Picasso or Gauguin was not directly influenced by examples of primitive art, but by the idea of the primitive. For the nineteenth century: Melinda Curtis (ed.), *The Search for Innocence: Primitive and Primitivsitic Art of the Nineteenth Century*, College Park: University of Maryland Art Gallery, 1975. Susan Hiller (ed.), *The Myth of Primitivism: Perspectives on Art*, London/New York: Routledge, 1991. On the primitivist aesthetic see Barbara Stafford, *Symbol and Myth: Humbert de Superville's Essay on Absolute Signs in Art*, Cranbury (N.J.)/ London: Associated University Press, 1979. On primitivism in art, as opposed to classicism in art see: E. Foundoukidis (ed.), *Primitivisme et classicisme. Les deux faces de l'histoire de l'art*, Paris: Centre international des instituts de recherche, art, archéologie, ethnologie, 1946.
16. Connelly, *op. cit.* The book is relevant for eighteenth- and nineteenth-century primitivism, arguing that it is not a style based on African, Oceanic or Native American art, but a 'cultural construction by modern Europeans, a cluster of concepts principally forged during the Enlightenment concerning the nature of the origins of artistic expression.' Although revealing the theoretical foundations of the primitive in many sources, she focuses on primitive expressions in art in the hieroglyph, the grotesque and the ornamental, being the inverse of the classical ideal. She argues that primitive is clearly not naive because this refers to 'the untaught or uncultivated expression in a culture that has a learned tradition', while primitive means that such a culture did not (yet) exist (p. 116). Connelly argues further that 'the notion of "primitivity" as an infant state of development through which all cultures passed was an invention of Enlightenment universalism, in art these debates focussed on the primordial forms of expression (p. 5).
17. For example Sylvia Lavin, *Quatremère de Quincy and the Invention of a Modern Language of Architecture*, Cambridge (Mass.)/London: MIT Press, 1992; Wolfgang Herrmann, *Laugier and Eighteenth Century French Theory*, London: Zwemmer, 1962; Adolf Max Vogt, *Le Corbusier, der edle Wilde: Zur Archäologie der Moderne*, Braunschweig: Vieweg, 1996. Pierre du Prey de la Ruffinière, *Hawskmoor's London Churches: Architecture and Theology*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000. Other publications on primitivism in architecture, but in which the subject is mostly treated in relation to modernism: Anthony Vidler, 'Rebuilding the primitive hut' in Vidler, *The Writing of the Walls..., op. cit.*; Jo Odgers, Flora Samuel, and Adam Sharr (eds*.), Primitive: Original matters in architecture*, London: Routledge, 2006; The primitive in modern architecture and urbanism', *Journal of Architecture*, special issue, 13 (2008) 4, pp. 355-364.
18. Rykwert, *On Adam's House in Paradise..., op. cit.*
19. Ernst Hans Gombrich, 'Dream Houses' [review of Joseph Rykwert's *On Adam's House in Paradise: The Idea of the Primitive Hut in Architectural History*], *The New York Review of Books*, XX (29 November 1973) 19, pp. 35-37. Gombrich also wrote: 'The Debate on Primitivism in Ancient Rhetoric', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute*, 29 (1966), pp. 24-38. See also: Ernst Hans Gombrich, *The Preference for the Primitive: Episodes in the History of Western Taste and Art*, London/ New York: Phaidon, 2002. Gombrich's book concentrates on art and evokes only briefly Gothic architecture. Gombrich

Gombrich emphasizes the associative and almost superficial way in which Rykwert connects the several theorists of the primitive hut and writings of architects from the sixteenth century to Le Corbusier and Loos, accusing him of jumping from one subject to the next. In a more recent study, *Primitive: Original matters in architecture* (2006), the authors try to define the word primitive as it is used in architecture, but they focus mainly on contemporary architecture or treat the topic from a modernist perspective. Unfortunately this study remains limited to an attempt to theorise and explore and does not look into eighteenth- or nineteenth- century sources to answer the questions posed.[20]

For this chapter we will use the contemporary sources to analyse how Paestum figured in the context of the primitivist debates. Bearing in mind the debates on the origins of culture and architecture mentioned above, what was the role of Paestum in eighteenth-century architectural theories on the origins of architecture and what do the reflections on Paestum make clear about primitivism when a theoretical concept is confronted with an actual exemplar of the origins of architecture?

To answer these questions we will first clarify the distinction between primitivism as a cultural normative theory and as an aetiology by analysing the ideas of two protagonists of these types, Marc-Antoine Laugier and William Chambers. They are representatives of the two main tendencies that emerged in eighteenth-century architectural debates on the origins of architecture: to advocate the primitive as a design model or trace the historical causes. Those tendencies will form the frame for an investigation of Paestum's role, demonstrating a slow shift from a focus on design towards a focus on history. The next sections will treat the three types of primitivism and their combinations, by analysing the role of Paestum in archaeological and primitivist discussions of the origins of architecture. We will focus on some protagonists whose thoughts on origins will serve as the key to investigate the question further. The difference between origin as norm and origin as aetiology will also feature in our analysis of the primitive as a design solution in Delagardette and Soane's ideas. Next we will turn to Piranesi, who has a sort of bridging function because what he said was relevant to both design and historical debates. This has to do with his ideas on invention, which will be contrasted with the way

connects primitivism foremost to the question of growth and decay of the arts. He shows the 'longue durée' of the preference for the primitive, beginning with Plato, Aristotle and Cicero, who relates too much luxury to disgust, and stresses the analogy between art and living beings in growth, decay and death. Gombrich sees a revival of primitivism in the eighteenth century, and again in the twentieth century.

20. Grell and Michel (eds.), *op. cit.*; Odgers, Samuel, and Sharr (eds.), *op. cit.*

Winckelmann, who was one of the first to talk about the origin of the temples, thought about imitation. The ideas of Paoli, author of a Paestum monograph and a critic of Winckelmann, will be analysed subsequently to trace primitivism as an aesthetics. Another protagonist, Quatremère de Quincy, reacted to these ideas, and to the ones by Laugier. Quatremère is also a link between eighteenth-century thought and nineteenth-century ideas about history. This brings us to the last protagonist, Labrouste. His Paestum account forms a kind of ending in the long line of reactions to Paestum, and brings together many thoughts on the subject. However, we will see that it turned received ideas on the origins of architecture and the primitive completely upside down. Now we will first turn to the beginnings of the eighteenth-century debate, when the primitive hut became a model. It will allow us also to comprehend at the end of the chapter how revolutionary Labrouste was, and how he came at the end of a tradition.

Primitive perfection in Laugier's mind

To throw a clearer light on eighteenth-century primitivism and its relation to quests for origins in architecture we will look into two different versions of an application of the primitive hut, which have an entirely different argumentation, intention and use. The key publication that discusses the topic of the origins of architecture, offering a design model is the *Essai sur l'architecture* by Abbé Marc-Antoine Laugier (1713-1769), published anonymously in 1753.[21] A second edition was published in 1755.[22] For this edition, Laugier, now mentioning his name as the author, introduced a new frontispiece drawn by Charles Eisen (1720-1778), which would become legendary (fig. 5.2). The book deals with the origins of architecture in the preface,

21. [Marc-Antoine Laugier], *Essai sur l'architecture*, Paris: chez Duchesne, 1753. Laugier's book was controversial. Objections were made soon after publication, for instance in the *Examen d'un Essai sur l'Architecture* (1754) and in an article in the *Mercure de France*, written by Amédée-François Frézier (1682-1773). Laugier reacted to some of the objections in the second edition of the *Essai*. Reactions were outspoken, for example: 'Je serai fort trompé si l'autorité de ce maître moderne [Laugier] a assés de poids pour faire changer de pratique à nos Architectes, & les engage d'imiter les arbres dans leurs colonnes.' pp. 12-13. La Font de Saint-Yenne, *Examen d'un Essai sur l'Architecture*, Paris: Michel Lambert, 1753 (Minkoff Reprint, Genève 1973). In the same volume we find however a positive reaction, stating that 'L'ordre Dorique est le plus proportionné selon la Nature.' (p. 12) and referring to Laugier: 'Si l'on veut avoir un détail plus circonstancié de l'origine de l'Architecture, on peut ouvrir le nouvel Essai qui a fait tant de bruit. Cet Ouvrage est écrit avec grace, l'Auteur par la parure & par les charmes d'un style délicat; a sçu rendre intéressant un Art que les François regardoient avec trop d'indifférence.' (p. 1). Duperron, *Discours sur la peinture et sur l'architecture*, Paris, Prault, 1758. On Laugier: Herrmann, *Laugier..., op. cit.*
22. Marc-Antoine Laugier, *Essai sur l'architecture, Nouvelle édition revue, corrigée et augmentée, avec un dictionnaire des termes, et des planches qui en facilitent l'explication*, Paris: chez Duchesne, 1755. See Herrmann, *Laugier..., op. cit.*, p. 256, for contemporary reviews of the *Essai*.

figure 5.2
Charles Eisen, Frontispiece for the second edition of Marc-Antoine Laugier's *Essai sur l'Architecture*, Paris 1755.

introduction and first chapter.[23] It is aimed at architects and its main objective is to form their taste.[24] In an a-historical rationalistic thought experiment the classically educated Laugier presented his ideas:

> 'Il en est de l'Architecture comme de tous les autres Arts: ses principes sont fondés sur la simple nature, & dans les procédés de celle-ci se trouvent clairement marquées les règles de celle-là. Considérons l'homme dans sa premiere origine sans autre secours; sans autre guide que l'instinct naturel de ses besoins. Il lui faut un lieu de repos. Au bord d'un tranquile ruisseau, il apperçoit un gason; sa verdure naissante plaît à ses yeux, son tendre duvet l'invite; il vient, & mollement étendu sur ce tapis émaillé, il ne songe qu'à jouir en paix des dons de la nature: rien ne lui manque, il ne désire rien. Mais bientôt l'ardeur du Soleil qui le brule, l'oblige à chercher un abri. Il apperçoit une forêt qui lui offre la fraîcheur de ses ombres; il court se cacher dans son épaisseur, & le voilà content. Cependant mille vapeurs élevées au hasard se rencontrent & se rassemblent, d'épais nuages couvrent les airs, une pluie effroyable se précipite comme un torrent sur cette forêt délicieuse. L'homme mal couvert à l'abri de ses feuilles, ne sçait plus comment se défendre d'une humidité incommode qui le pénétre de toute part. Une caverne se présente, il s'y glisse, & se trouvant à sec, il s'applaudit de sa découverte. Mais de nouveaux désagremens le dégoutent encore de ce séjour. Il s'y voit dans les ténébres, il y respire un air mal sain, il en sort résolu de suppléer, par son industrie, aux inattentions & aux négligences de la nature. L'homme veut se faire un logement qui le couvre sans l'ensevelir.'[25]

With the primitive man in search of something to cover him from the sun, the rain, and unhealthy air, Laugier presents the moment when man decides to build his primitive hut:

> 'Quelques branches abbatues dans la forêt sont les matériaux propres à son dessein. Il en choisit quatre des plus fortes qu'il éleve perpendiculairement, & qu'il dispose

23. The first chapter is entitled 'Des principes généraux de l'Architecture', the next five chapters are on the architectural orders, the art of building (solidity, commodity and bienséance), building churches, the embellishment of cities and the embellishment of gardens.
24. 'mon principal dessein est de former le goût des Architectes', Laugier, *Essai sur l'architecture, Nouvelle édition..., op. cit.*, p. xliii.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9. For the quotations, I have used the second edition. To the second edition Laugier added a glossary, some plates, and clarifications: 'Moyennant ces nouveaux soins j'espere que cette édition sera mois indigne que la précédente de l'approbation du public' (p. xxxii).

> en quarré. Au-dessus il en met quatre autres en travers; & sur celle-ci il en éleve qui s'inclinent, & qui se réunissent en pointe de deux côtés. Cette espece de toit est couvert de feuilles assez serrées pour que ni le soleil, ni la pluie ne puissent y pénétrer; & voilà l'homme logé. Il est vrai que le froid & le chaud lui feront sentir leur incommodité dans sa maison ouverte de toute part; mais alors il remplira l'entre-deux des piliers, & se trouvera garanti.'

Laugier argued that wooden huts were men's first built habitations at which primitive man arrived unassisted by any historical knowledge, but simply by using his natural common sense.[26] To Laugier, man was the most intelligent in his primitive state. His 'petite cabane rustique' consisted of four poles, four beams and a roof. Tree trunks planted upright in the ground supported the horizontal beams, with an angled roof to shed rainwater. How did Laugier come to this thought experiment? Which parts of his essay are mental inventions and which are based on real experience or research? The *Essai* is written against Vitruvius' *De Architectura Libri Decem*, and inspired by Jean-Louis de Cordemoy's writings. In his preface Laugier already positions himself against Vitruvius, and he declares his admiration for Cordemoy's *Nouveau traité de toute l'architecture* (1706).[27] To Laugier there is only one way to good architecture, and he aims to shine some light on this. But he not only uses his erudite knowledge, he also bases his arguments on architectural experience. To support his point Laugier starts with describing an experience of buildings, using a Longinian sublime, and different lesser levels of pleasure or disgust:

> 'En considérant avec attention nos plus grands & nos plus beaux Edifices, mon ame a toujours éprouvé diverses impressions. Quelquefois le charme étoit si fort, qu'il produisoit en moi un plaisir mêlé de transport & d'enthousiasme. D'autres fois, sans être si vivement entraîné, je me sentois occupé d'une maniere satisfaisante; c'étoit un plaisir moindre, mais pourtant un vrai plaisir. Souvent je demeurois tout à fait

26. As such contemporary architects should also build: 'Tous les jours nous voyons des Artistes ignorans produire des choses excellentes, sans autre secours que l'heureux instinct qu'ils ont reçu de la nature, guide beaucoup meilleur que tous les principes scientifiques.' *Ibid.*, p. 261. ('Réponse aux remarques de M. Frezier, inserées dans le Mercure de juillet 1754')

27. J.-L. de Cordemoy, in his *Nouveau traité de toute l'architecture ou l'art de bastir; utile aux entrepreneurs at aux ouvriers* (1706, second edition Paris: J.-B. Coignard, 1714) argued for an architecture where all ornament was removed and urging the truth, simplicity of the structural principles that were to be found in Greek and Gothic architecture alike. John Soane liked his argument that the frieze and the cornice of entablatures were to be restrained in interiors when they obstructed the light, but also because there they did not serve their function of avoiding rainfall to touch the columns. He wrote in his copy of Cordemoy (he owned two copies): 'as in one of the temples at Paestum [the temple of Neptune]'. Watkin (ed.), *Sir John Soane...*, *op. cit.*, pp 140-141.

> insensible; souvent aussi j'étois dégoûté, choqué, revolté. J'ai réfléchi longtems sur tous ces différens effets.'[28]

Laugier explains how he repeated the same observations, to assure himself that the same buildings produced always the same effects, and that he enquired after the opinion of other people, eventually to conclude three things: that architecture has essential beauty, that architecture is capable of having an impact, and that the architect has to have genius.[29] And then one day he saw the light: 'Tout à coup il s'est fait à mes yeux un grand jour.'[30] What followed, in primitive man looking for shelter and in the description of the primitive hut as the ultimate solution, is of course a mere product of the mind that necessarily leads to Laugier's ultimate goal: presenting the primitive hut, entirely in the line of the primitivists' ideas that were described in the introduction, as a model for contemporary architecture to build on:

> Telle est la marche de la simple nature: c'est à l'imitation de ses procédés que l'art doit sa naissance. La petite cabane rustique que je viens de décrire, est le modele sur lequel on a imaginé toutes les magnificences de l'Architecture. C'est en se raprochant dans l'exécution de la simplicité de ce premier modele, que l'on évite les défauts essentiels, que l'on saisit les perfections véritables.'[31]

Being the ultimate solution for the primitive man, this hut is still the perfect building for the eighteenth-century man, because of its proximity to nature. As we saw before, in primitivistic theories the idea is that the first beginnings, because of their character of origin, are true and valid for contemporary society. This is how Laugier presented it: because his hypothetical origin of architecture represented the simple perfection of building and giving shelter, it was the perfect model for today. Laugier did no archaeological research for this, he did not travel

28. Laugier, *Essai sur l'architecture, Nouvelle édition..., op. cit.*, pp. xxxviii-xxxix. A little further Laugier adds: 'La vûe d'un édifice construit dans toute la perfection de l'art, cause un plaisir & un enchantement dont on n'est pas maître de se défendre. Ce spectacle réveille dans l'ame des idées nobles & touchantes. Il nous fait éprouver cette douce émotion, & cet agréable transport qu'excitent les ouvrages qui portent l'empreinte d'une vraie supériorité d'esprit. Un bel édifice parle éloquemment pour son Architecte. M. Perrault dans ses écrits n'est tout au plus qu'un Sçavant : la colonade du Louvre le décide grand Homme.' *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.
29 '1°. qu'il y avoit dans l'Architecture des beautés essentielles, indépendantes de l'habitude des sens, ou de la convention des hommes. 2°. Que la composition d'un morceau d'Architecture étoit comme tous les ouvrages d'esprit, susceptible de froideur & de vivacité, de justesse & de désordre. 3° Qu'il devoit y avoir pour cet Art comme pour tous les autres, un talent qui ne s'acquiert point, une mesure de génie que la nature donne; & que ce talent, ce génie avoient besoin cependant d'être assujettis & captivés par des loix.' *Ibid.*, p. xl.
30. *Ibid.*, p. xli.
31. *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

widely in search for the primitive dwelling. He did not find it in reality, he found it in his mind. Thinking about the first dwelling while sitting at his writing table, he created his image of what it may have looked like. But this dwelling is completely a-historical: it has no specific time frame, no chronology, no successors. It does not belong to a certain tribe, a certain culture or specific surroundings, it is a product of the mind. This dwelling, as close to nature as possible, served him to present the next step: the transformation of the hut into a building of stone, to him the most simple and rational possible:

> 'Les pieces de bois élevées perpendiculairement nous ont donné l'idée des colonnes. Les pieces horisontales qui les surmontent, nous ont donné l'idée des entablemens. Enfin les pieces inclinés qui forment le toit, nous ont donné l'idée des frontons: voilà ce que tous les Maîtres de l'Art ont reconnu.' [32]

In switching from the third person (primitive man) to the first person plural (we the civilized people) Laugier represents the transformation: civilized man turned the wood of the primitive hut into stone: tree trunks became columns, the wooden beams became the entablature. In Laugier's theory the hut is the model for architects to build according to the constructive fundamentals of architecture, separate from different styles in different periods. His text is aimed to trace the true principles of architecture. His idea was, and that of many primitivists, that the oldest sources, because of their character of origin, are true, and therefore valuable for today. Laugier was thus an exponent of primitivism as a normative cultural theory. To Laugier, all architecture should imitate this primitive hut and the more a building resembles the primitive construction, the more it approaches good architecture. At the end of his *Essai* though, Laugier modifies his argument in saying that what is necessary for temples in the use of columns is not obligatory for houses. In that sense the hut became the model for good architecture. Primitivism in Laugier's idea lets man's first dwelling be the supplier of design principles.

The subsequent idea in Laugier's book is to reduce architecture to three main elements: column, entablature and pediment:

> 'Ne perdons point de vûe notre petite cabane rustique. Je n'y vois que des colonnes,

32. *Ibid*, p. 10.

> un plancher ou entablement, un toit pointu dont les deux extrêmités forment chacune ce que nous nommons un fronton. Jusqu'ici point de voûte, encore moins d'arcade, point de piédestaux, point d'attique, point de porte même, point de fenêtre. Je conclus donc, & je dis: Dans tout ordre d'Architecture, il n'y a que la colonne, l'entablement & le fronton qui puissent entrer essentiellement dans sa composition. Si chacune de ces trois parties se trouve placée dans la situation & avec la forme qui lui convient, il n'y aura rien à ajouter pour que l'ouvrage soit parfait.'[33]

After offering thus the perfect model to architects, the model for all architecture, Laugier goes on to explain the defaults of the three elements. In his comments on columns an interesting element comes to the fore. Laugier first argues that the pilaster should be abolished, a conviction that would lead to many criticisms: 'une innovation bisarre, qui n'étant fondée en nature d'aucune façon, & n'étant autorisée par aucun besoin, n'a pu être adoptée que par ignorance, & n'est encore tolérée que par habitude.'[34] Laugier reacted in his foreword of the second edition to the regrets a critic of the first edition of the *Essai* expressed for his proposition to abolish pilasters. Laugier repeats his argument presented in the first edition that 'la nature fait rien de quarré'.[35] To him the elements of a building are to support the architecture, as such nothing should be removed without ruining the building: 'des colonnes isolées qui portent leur entablement en plate-bande, ne laisseront jamais de doute sur la vérité du spectacle d'Architecture qu'elles présentent; parce qu'on sent bien qu'on ne pourroit toucher à aucune de ces parties, sans endommager & ruiner l'édifice.'[36] Here Laugier is obviously drawing on Leon Battista Alberti, however, he does not speak about composition but about the pure constructive need of elements.[37]

A second default regarding columns is interesting in the light of Paestum: using an entasis, or

33. *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11. The essential has to stay: 'C'est là l'esquisse que la nature nous présente ; l'art ne doit employer ses ressources qu'à embellir, limer, polir l'ouvrage, sans toucher au fond du dessein.' (p. 12) He distinguishes between besoin and caprice: 'C'est dans les parties essentielles que consistent toutes les beautés; dans les parties introduites par besoin consistent toutes les licences; dans les parties ajoutées par caprice consistent tous les défauts.' (p. 10)
34. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
35. Laugier's reaction to *Examen d'un Essai sur l'Architecture* (1754), in *Ibid.*, p. xii.
36. *Ibid.*, p. xviii.
37. Leon Battista Alberti, *De re aedificatoria*, 1443-1452, Book 9, in: Leon Battista Alberti, *De re aedificatoria. On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, translated by Joseph Rykwert, Neil Leach and Robert Tavernor, Cambridge (Mass.): MIT Press, 1988, p. 302: 'For every body consists entirely of parts that are fixed and individual; if these are removed, enlarged, reduced, or transferred somewhere inappropriate, the very composition will be spoiled that gives the body its seemly appearance.'

'renflement' as Laugier calls it: 'Je ne crois pas que la nature ait jamais rien produit qui puisse autoriser ce renflement.' So together with his idea that columns should have a base, we might conclude that to Laugier Paestum would not have been an example of good architecture, for the columns not only do not have a base but also an entasis. Laugier never visited Paestum, and probably did not see the unpublished drawings by Soufflot and Dumont that circulated in Paris from the 1750's onwards.[38] At the time nothing had yet been published on the temples. But it gives a first indication of a problem: primitivism as a cultural theory as defined by Laugier was hardly compatible with actual primitive architecture, for although Paestum was very ancient, it did not conform to the rules described in the theory. Instead, Laugier's example of perfect architecture is Roman, not because it is Roman but because it has the most simple forms of columns, entablature and a roof.[39]

While letting the primitive hut develop out of looking for shelter, Laugier presents the Maison Carrée in Nîmes as the perfect example of an architecture built according to rational principles (fig. 5.3). According to him everyone admires it, connoisseur or not, because:

> 'tout y est selon les vrai principes de l'Architecture. Un quarré long où trente colonnes supportent un entablement & un toit terminé aux deux extrêmités par un fronton ; voilà tout ce dont il s'agit. Cet assemblage a une simplicité & une noblesse qui frappe tous les yeux.'[40]

Strangely enough, the Maison Carrée does have walls, and thus consisted of more than just columns, an entablature and a pediment, but for the sake of his argument Laugier does not take this aspect into consideration. After discussing the column Laugier continues with the entablature. Good examples are the Louvre colonnade and the chapel of Versailles.[41] After

38. Laugier never travelled to Italy. Although the first publication by Dumont appeared in 1764, from the early 1750's travellers came back from Italy with Paestum drawings in their portfolio. Soufflot, Dumont (who were there in 1750), Mylne, and Le Roy brought their drawings to Paris.
39. Otherwise, to Laugier, the Greeks were superior to the Romans: 'L'Architecture doit ce qu'elle a de plus parfait aux Grecs, Nation privilégiée, à qui il étoit réservé de ne rien ignorer dans les Sciences, & de tout inventer dans les Arts. Les Romains dignes d'admirer, capables de copier les modeles excellens que la Grece leur fournissoit, voulurent y ajouter du leur, & ne firent qu'apprendre à tout l'Univers, que quand le dégré de perfection est atteint, il n'y a plus qu'à imiter ou à déchoir.' After that there was only the 'barbarie des siècles postérieures'. Laugier, *Essai sur l'architecture, Nouvelle édition..., op. cit.*, p. 4. In his other publication, *Observations*, he writes about the copy of a copy: 'Cette premiere imitation imparfaite, fut répétée & altérée tant de fois, que les derniers ouvrages ne conserverent avec le premier modéle d'autre rapport que celui qu'on apperçoit entre les espéces qui ont le plus dégénéré, & l'espéce originale & primitive.' (p. 79).
40. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
41. 'Leur beauté frappe tout le monde, parce qu'elle est naturelle, parce qu'elle est vraie. Il est étonnant qu'avec de tels

figure 5.3
Charles-Louis Clérisseau,
Maison Carrée, 1778.

(Clérisseau, *Antiquités de la France*.)

his commentary on the fronton, Laugier ends with two sections on the floors [etages] of architecture, and on doors and windows.[42] While he is aware of reducing architecture to almost nothing, Laugier argues that it is up to the genius of the architect to build good architecture.[43]

At first, Laugier's construction of the primitive hut might seem not so very different from Vitruvius' story of building the first dwelling. But there is an enormous difference: that between primitivism as a cultural theory and as an aetiology. This will become even clearer when we compare Laugier's theories to those written by William Chambers, as we will see further on.

While Laugier's 'cabane' might have been based on Vitruvius' hut and its successors, it took an entirely different form and meaning. Vitruvius had argued in his *De Architectura Libri Decem* that architecture originated in the imitation of animal shelters and could only develop with the evolution of civilisation, many authors after him adopted this point of view. This meant that the post-Vitruvian treatises stated that architecture was related to the primitive hut in a historical way: as the hut was the origin of architecture, all consecutive buildings were descendants of it. But Laugier broke with this notion. In his *Essai* the hut is no longer a historical reference, but it becomes a design principle, and in that way a-historical. Laugier's thought experiments are very similar to Jean-Jacques Rousseau's ones, as Herrmann has already argued.[44]

As the origins of architecture were situated in a primitive society, the birth of architecture was connected with the emergence of civilisation. Because to Vitruvius the birth of architecture coincides and emerges with the development of civilisation, it gives architecture at the same time a reason for its existence and its importance. This idea is central in Vitruvius. Also, it is evident that for Vitruvius the hut, and not a temple, is the first building. When in Paestum the oldest building turns out to be a temple, travellers are confronted with a problem, as we will shortly see. Vitruvius described it as follows:

> 'Humans, by their most ancient custom, were born like beasts in the woods, and caves,

modeles sous les yeux, nos Architectes en reviennent toujours à leurs misérables arcades.' *Ibid.*, p. 31.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 48: 'tout ce qui est contre nature, peut être singulier; mais il ne sera jamais beau; Dans un édifice il faut que tout porte dès les fondemens: Voilà une regle dont il n'est jamais permis de s'écarter'.
43. *Ibid.*, pp. 56-57: 'On m'objectera peut-être encore que je réduis l'Architecture presqu'à rien; puisqu'à la réserve des colonnes, des entablements, des frontons, des portes & des fenêtres, je retranche à peu près tout le reste.'
44. Herrmann, *Laugier..., op. cit.*, p. 49. Also on Laugier: Van Eck, *Organicism..., op. cit.*, pp. 89-98.

> and groves, and eked out their lives by feeding on rough fodder. During that time, in a certain place, dense, close-growing trees, stirred by stormy winds and rubbing their branches against one another, took fire. Terrified by the flames, those who were in the vicinity fled. Later, however, approaching more closely, when they discovered that the heat of the fire was a great advantage to the body, they threw logs into it and preserving it by this means they summoned others, showing what benefits they had from this thing by means of gestures. In this gathering of people, as they poured forth their breath in varying voices, they established words by happening upon them in their daily routines.' [...] Some in the group began to make coverings of leaves, others to dig caves under the mountains. Many imitated the nest building of swallows and created places of mud and twigs where they might take cover. Then, observing each other's homes and adding new ideas to their own, they created better types of houses as the days went by.' [45]

Other ancient authors also made a connection between nature and architecture, such as Cicero, a contemporary of Vitruvius, presenting nature as a model for functional design:

> 'Now carry your mind to the form and figure of human beings or even of the other living creatures: you will discover that the body has no part added to its structure that is superfluous, and that its whole shape has the perfection of a work of art and not of accident. Take trees: in these the trunk, the branches and lastly the leaves are all without exception designed so as to keep and to preserve their own nature, yet nowhere is there any part that is not beautiful. Let us leave nature and contemplate the arts: in a ship, what is so indispensable as the sides, the hold, the bow, the stern, the yards, the sails and the masts? yet they all have such a graceful appearance that they appear to have been invented not only for the purpose of safety but also for the sake of giving pleasure. In temples and colonnades the pillars are to support the structure,

45. Vitruvius, *Architectura libri decum* [Ten Books on Architecture], translated by Ingrid D. Rowland, commentary and illustrations by Thomas N. Howe, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, pp. 34, on 'The invention of the arts and of building': 'Because people are by nature imitative and easily taught, they daily showed one another the success of their constructions, taking pride in creation, so that by daily exercising their ingenuity in competition they achieved greater insight with the passage of time. First they erected forked uprights, and weaving twigs in between they covered the whole with mud. Others, letting clods of mud go dry, began to construct walls of them, joining them together with wood, and to avoid rains and heat they covered them over with reeds and leafy branches. Later, when these coverings proved unable to endure through the storms of winter, they made eaves with moulded clay, and set in rainspouts on inclined roofs.' Vitruvius' account is probably based on Lucretius, whose publications he said to have read with admiration. Rowland in: *Ibid.*, commentary, p. 173.

yet they are as dignified in appearance as they are useful. Yonder pediment of the Capitol and those of the other temples are the product not of beauty but of actual necessity; for it was in calculating how to make the rain-water fall off the two sides of the roof that the dignified design of the gables resulted as a by-product of the needs of the structure - with the consequence that even if one were erecting a citadel in heaven, where no rain could fall, it would be thought certain to be entirely lacking in dignity without a pediment.'[46]

In Vitruvius the historical progress is an important element.[47] It is another contradiction to Laugier, who thought the primitive hut already perfect and stressed the return to it and not its improvement. The constructive principle of the hut was its essence.

An English edition of the *Essai* was published in London in 1755, in 1756 a reissue followed (fig. 5.4).[48] The frontispiece of the English edition was drawn by Samuel Wale, who depicted the actual process of construction of the primitive hut, contrary to Charles Eisen who, for the famous frontispiece of the second French edition, had drawn a hut as if created by nature. This last way was of course also the way Laugier saw it himself. Based on images in the Vitruvius editions of Cesariano (1521) and Rivius (1548), the English image showed the first phase of architecture and not the fundamentals of architecture, in the line of Vitruvius in fact, while a primitivist such as Laugier identified as we saw the first phase with the fundamentals.[49]

46. Cicero, *De Oratore,* [book III]*: De fato; Paradoxa stoicorum; De partitione oratoria*, translated by H. Rackham, Cambridge (Mass.)/London: Harvard University Press/William Heinemann, 1982, xlv. 179 - xlvi. 180. p. 143. Next, Cicero makes a comparison with speech demonstrating the necessities for perfect speech shown by the example of architecture. This quotation was used by Gombrich as a crucial passage of primitivism and architecture. Gombrich, 'Dream Houses..', *op. cit.*, pp. 35-37. He continued further on Cicero in: Gombrich, *The Preference for the Primitive..., op. cit.*, pp. 22-29. Lovejoy and Boas set Vitruvius further in context, in giving other sources as well.
47. This becomes clear in his text on decor, decorum (correctness). Vitruvius has another interpretation of this term, that generally says: 'things as they are and as they have been handed down through the course of history'. To Vitruvius history is 'a critical process of discovery' that accumulates across many generations, Things become accepted by 'proven means' (probatis rebus) only by test, and by 'achieving a certain general acceptance.' Also, 'the mutual attention to the activities and accomplishments of others is a positive force in the growth of culture.' Decor is to him function laid down by tradition, tradition is commonly accepted through general use. So correctness means first formal cultural rules; second that which is tacitly accepted in a culture; and third that which is clearly described by nature. Rowland in Vitruvius, *Architectura...*, *op. cit.*, commentary, 1.2.5, pp. 150-151.
48. In 1755 two rival translations were made, of which only one was published, translated by Thomas Flloyd: *An Essay on Architecture*, London: T. Osborne and Shipton, 1755. See Harris and Savage, *op. cit.*, pp. 281-282. However, the publishers did not state that the book was a translation from the French. The book was not a success in England, although many English architects read it.
49. In his study on Laugier, the historian Wolfgang Herrmann made a short inventory of images of the primitive hut, in Rykwert's study we find others. As Herrmann stated, the frontispiece of the second edition of the *Essai* is the first

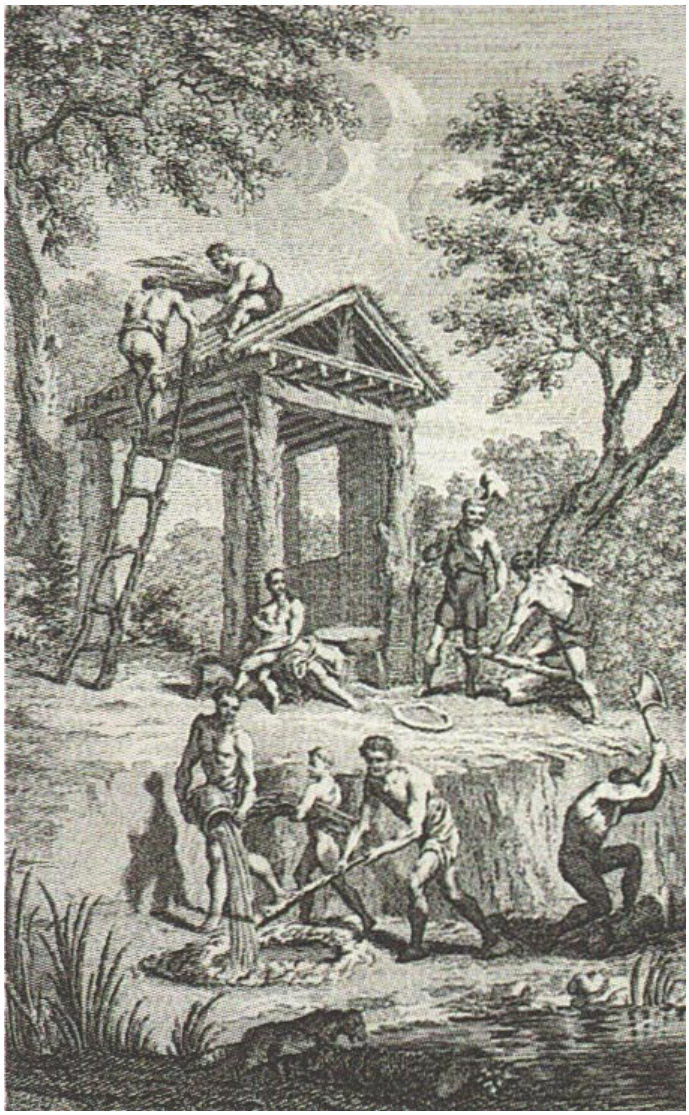
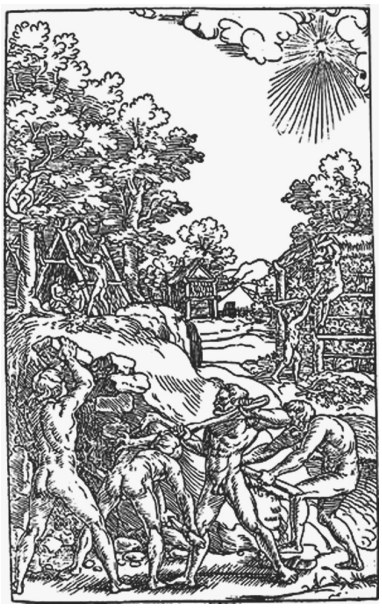


figure 5.4
Samuel Wale, Frontispiece for the English edition of Marc-Antoine Laugier's *Essai sur l'Architecture*, 1755.

figure 5.5
a. after Vitruvius Teutsch, The building of the primitive hut.
(From Rykwert, 1981, p. 107.)

b. after Cesariano, The building of the primitive hut.
(From Rykwert, 1981, p. 106.)



a

b

Soon after Laugier's *Essai* several other books appeared that discussed the topic of the primitive dwelling as well.[50] William Chambers wrote one of them. His writings explain the important difference between primitivism as a cultural theory and as an aetiology. The latter is done in the search for origins in writing architectural history, while using the primitive hut, as Laugier did, but in an entirely different way. Whereas the difficulty of constructing a design model out of the primitive hut in a thought experiment was elucidated with Laugier, now we will look more closely at theories where the birth of architecture is explained by using the primitive hut as its origin. This second use of the primitive hut came up in the theories of Chambers.

In 1759, shortly after the *Essai*, Sir William Chambers (1723-1796) published his *Treatise on Civil Architecture* (London 1759). Chambers studied in Paris at the École des Beaux Arts in 1749 and there he was a student of Blondel. Subsequently, from 1750-1754 he studied in Rome. Chambers never went to Paestum, in fact he never went south of Rome. During his years in Rome he frequented the milieu of the French *pensionnaires* at the Académie de France and of Piranesi.[51] The French influence is clearest in his early architectural work, but in his writings as well. In his *Treatise* a different development of the primitive hut is visible: starting from a conical hut that grew inconvenient, man conceived the cubic hut (fig. 5.6).[52] According to Chambers, the conic form of the hut was logic, because it was 'the simplest of solid forms and most easily

image of the primitive hut as a 'product of nature'. A similar image was produced later in the frontispiece of Francesco Milizia's *Vite de' piu celebri architetti*, Rome 1768. But representations of men creating a hut were already published in the fifteenth century (fig. 5.5), for instance in Antonio Averlino Filarete in *Trattato d'Architettura* (1470, II, I, 140), and in two Vitruvius editions (Como, 1521, f. 32; Paris 1547, f. 16). See Erwin Panofsky, 'The early history of man in two cycles of painting by Piero di Cosimo', *Studies in Iconology*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1939, pp. 33, plates XI and XII.

50. In many other eighteenth-century publications the subject is treated, for instance in Pietro Marquez, *Delle case di città degli antichi Romani seconda la dottrina di Vitruvio*, Rome, 1795, who wrote about the origins of architecture and the role of the primitive hut. Soane made lengthy notes on this book, which is not any longer in his library. Sir John Soane's Museum, London, SM AL Soane Case 159, fols. 37-48. Watkin (ed.), *Sir John Soane..., op. cit.*, p. 116. Other publications: William Wrighte, *Grotesque architecture, or rural amusement; consisting of plans, elevations, and sections, for huts, retreats, summer and winter hermitages, terminaries,... The whole containing twenty-eight new designs,... To which is added, an explanation, with the method of executing them*, London, 1767, plate I (facade and plan of the primitive hut). The transformation of wood into stone is often illustrated as well, in the *Cours d'Architecture* of Jacques-François Blondel for instance (vol. I, plate I), and in Perrault's Vitruvius edition (plates VIII, XXXII, XXXIII), Abraham Bosse's *Traité des manières de dessiner les Ordres de l'Architecture antique*, Paris 1664, plate XI; (Sir) William Chambers, *A Treatise on Civil Architecture, in which the principles of that art are laid down, and illustrated by a great number of plates ... designed, and ... engraved by the best hands*, London: Printed for the author, 1759, plate I; Giovanni Battista Piranesi's *Della Magnificenza*, Rome 1761, plates XXXIII-XXIX, XXXII. Also, several volumes sometimes examined the topic of origins in relation to architecture, as for instance John Wood, *The Origin of Building*, 5 vols., London 1741. He connects origin more with religious aspects, something that in the frame of Paestum is not an issue.

51. See Barrier, *op. cit*, pp. 8-9.

52. A second edition was also published in London, in 1768, a third in 1791. A French translation based on the second edition appeared in Paris in the 1770's. For the third edition Chambers added many new ideas and it is considered as the most complete representation of his thoughts. See Harris and Savage, *op. cit.*, pp. 155-164.

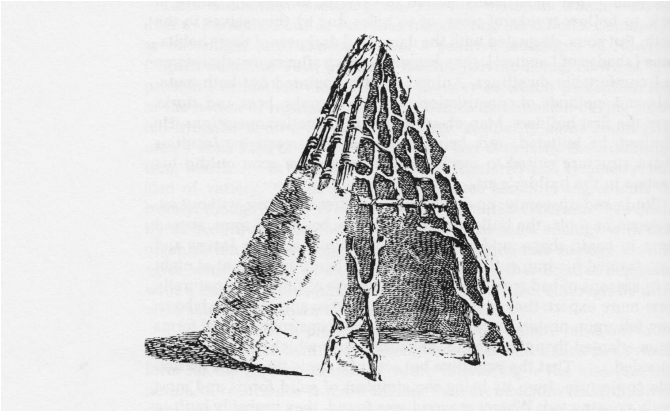
constructed.' Men came to this hut in an evolutionary way, imitating nature:

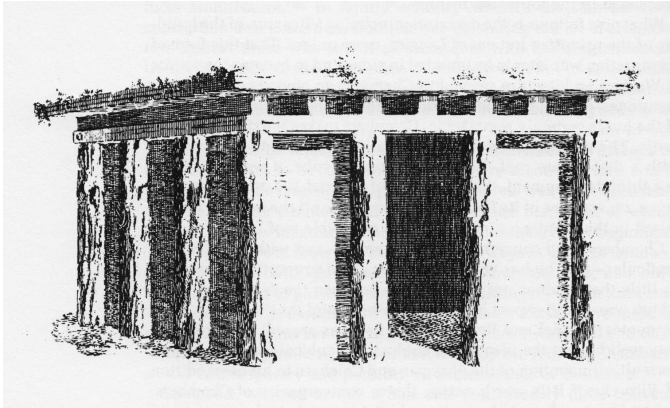
> 'At first they most likely retired to caverns, formed by nature in rocks; to hollow trunks of trees; or to holes dug by themselves in the earth; but soon, disgusted with the damp and darkness of these habitations, they began to search after more wholesome and comfortable dwellings.
> The animal creation pointed out both materials, and manners of construction; swallows, rooks, bees, storks; were the first builders: man observed their instinctive operations, he admired; he imitated; and being endued with reasoning faculties, and of a structure suited to mechanical purposes, he soon outdid his masters in the builder's art.
> Rude and unseemly, no doubt, were the first attempts; without experience or tools, the builder collected a few boughs of trees, spread them in a conick shape, and covering them with rushes, or leaves and clay; formed his hut: sufficient to shelter its hardy inhabitants at night or in seasons of bad weather. But in the course of time, men naturally grew more expert; they invented tools to shorten and improve labour; fell upon neater, more durable modes of construction, and forms, better adapted than the cone, to the purposes for which their huts were intended.'[53]

In his construction of the primitive hut Chambers echoes Vitruvius' and, to a lesser extent, Laugier's writings. As Middleton has pointed out, the huts he proposed in his *Treatise* are based on Vitruvius' Phrygian and Chalkian huts, that were published in the Vitruvius editions of Jean Martin and Claude Perrault.[54] But the development and meaning of the hut in Chambers' text is entirely different from Laugier's. The hut further evolved, from a conic into a cubic form:

> 'wherever wood was found, they probably built in the manner above described; but, soon as the inhabitants discovered the inconvenience of the inclined sides, and the want

53. Sir William Chambers, *A Treatise on the Decorative Part of Civil Architecture, illustrated by fifty original, and three additional plates, engraved by old Rooker, old Foudrinier, Charles Grignion, and other eminent hands*, London: Printed by Joseph Smeeton, 1791, p. 16. In his first edition Chambers wrote: 'Antiently, says Vitruvius, Men lived in woods, and inhabited caves; but in time, taking perhaps example from birds, who with great industry build their nests, they made themselves huts. At first they made these huts, very probably, of a Conic Figure; because that is a form of the simplest structure; and, like the birds, whom they imitated, composed them of branches of trees, spreading them wide at the bottom, and joining them in a point at the top; covering the whole with reeds, leaves, and clay, to screen them from tempests and rain.' Chambers, *A Treatise on Civil Architecture..., op. cit.*, p. 10.
54. Robin Middleton, 'Chambers, W. 'A Treatise on Civil Architecture', London 1759', in: John Harris and Michael Snodin (eds.), *Sir William Chambers. Architect to George III*, New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1996, p. 70.





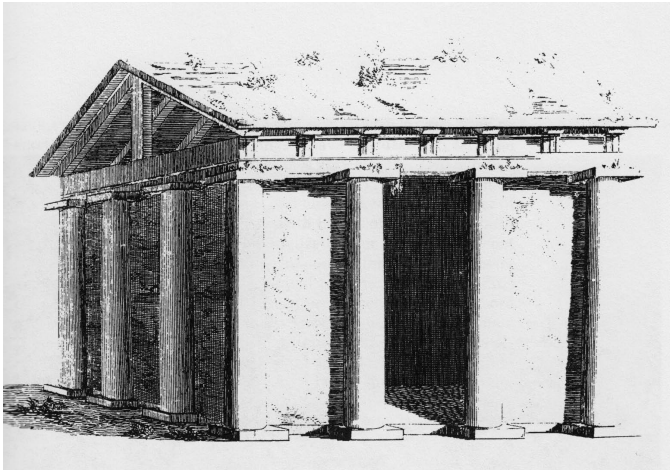


figure 5.6
William Chambers, 'The Primitive Buildings' in *A Treatise on Civil Architecture*, 1768, plate I.

figure 5.7
William Chambers, Gardener's hut as a primitive hut.
(From Harris, 1990, p. 196.)

of upright space in the cone; they changed it for a cube'.[55]

The next step was the pedimented hut. It was this form that was imitated in stone. This was the ancestor of the columns and beams, but also of architecture's decorative part. Chambers proposed an evolutionary historical development, possibly in the footsteps of Joseph-François Lafitau's *Mœurs des sauvages ameriquains, comparées aux mœurs des premiers temps* (1724).[56] Apart from using the primitive hut thus in an entirely different manner, Chambers was not the profound theorist Laugier was. An image he drew in about 1759 of a primitive hut might be in appearance a representation of a theory following the *Essai*, but actually it was most likely meant to be a gardener's hut (fig. 5.7). Another large difference with Laugier had to do with Chambers' ideas on progress. To Chambers, although the Greeks were the first to transform the form of the primitive dwelling into elements of architecture, the Romans were the ones that provided their perfection. Thus the hut itself is not perfect, but it can reach perfection through historical development. His explanation of the origins of architecture was very brief. It served mainly as an introduction to his main argument, which lay elsewhere. The primitive hut had supplied the forms for the primary elements of architecture, column and architrave. But the secondary elements, the mouldings, were essential to endow architecture with attractiveness, and much more in fact: make a building into architecture. Chambers quickly focussed on the orders, which were to him a combination of these primary and secondary elements, and mostly on their proportions, following Scamozzi's sequence of Tuscan, Doric, Ionic, Composite and Corinthian.

To Chambers, contrary to Laugier, the primitive hut is not a model. It is only a first phase in the evolution of architecture, and far from being perfect, it was perfected in the developments that followed. Chambers' aesthetic concepts were very different from Laugier's. For Chambers, origins or reason did not have a major role in architecture, he instead argued for visual appearances. In line with many of the contemporary critics of Laugier, Chambers thought that the primitive hut was not a standard of perfection, but just a rude stage in the development of architecture. Civilisation was important in this, because only through civilisation man could necessarily improve these savage forms. So Chambers was not a primitivist, he merely looked

55. Chambers, *A Treatise on the Decorative Part ...*, *op. cit.*, p. 16. In the first edition: 'But finding the Conic Figure inconvenient, on account of its inclined sides, they changed both the form and construction of their huts, giving them a Cubical figure'. Chambers, *A Treatise on Civil Architecture...*, *op. cit.*, p. 10.
56. Middleton, 'Chambers, W....', *op. cit.*, pp. 68-76.

into the origins of architecture to explain the development of architecture.

In comparing Chambers and Laugier it becomes clear that the primitive hut could be created in several ways and also functioned in different manners, with different argumentations, intentions and use. Chambers was more a successor of Vitruvius, while Laugier can be situated in the intellectual milieu of Rousseau. This shows that it is a matter of the perspective and agenda of the author whether the primitive has an outcome that is useful for contemporary architecture. Laugier's primitive hut was meant to be a design model to eighteenth-century architects, but it was conceived in a thought experiment and its relation with the actual practice was not evident. When the origins of architecture were to be searched for in archaeological quests, Laugier's theory became even more problematic. Paestum shows us what happens when primitivistic theories created at the writing table are confronted with real ancient remains that represent the beginnings of architecture.

Marvelling at primitive purity in Paestum

The temples at Paestum were the oldest to be found on Italian soil. Many travellers mention this in a general way, speculating on possible beginnings. In their accounts a connection is often made between two elements: their primitive forms and their ancientness. In this respect, Paestum was very different from the monuments in Rome, where it was much clearer through publications, documentation, and excavations what the building period or the functions of the monuments had been. At Paestum, the so-called Basilica temple with its primitive forms, without pediment, without a clear function, was in this sense the most problematic case. Because travellers were unsure of its function, history or date of construction, the different speculations on this building went on well into the nineteenth century.

In fact, eighteenth-century travellers did not pay that much attention to the question whether the temples were Greek or Roman, but thought mostly about the temples being ancient, or, like Winckelmann said, as we will see later, 'even older than the oldest Greek temples known to us'. The temples, so different from the classical architecture they were familiar with, evoked ideas about archaism and primitive architecture. Both the architectural forms, and the porous structure of the stone enhanced these ideas.

First, we will look at the most simple type of primitivism to be found in reactions to Paestum,

where the primitive forms of the temples have an aesthetical value. Towards the end of the eighteenth century this primitive character of the temples became more and more a positive feature. The French architect Claude-Mathieu Delagardette emphasized this aspect in talking about the pure architecture without any ornaments and the rudeness of the material:

> 'C'est dans ces ruines où l'on trouve l'Ordre Dorique exécuté dans toute sa pureté primitive; c'est dans ces ruines où l'Architecture porte ce caractère à la fois simple et sublime que les Doriens imprimoient à tous leurs ouvrages, et qui les fit distinguer des autres peuples de la Grèce.'[57]

This passage is significant because Delagardette emphasizes that primitive means pure, and followed this by endowing them with a superior character caused by their simplicity. He also assigns them a special category, different from what is known of Greek architecture. In many accounts we find similar reactions, stating that through its simple and rude forms the architecture is of a particular category. But the way Delagardette formulates it elucidates why it was that this aspect appealed to them: because primitive equals pureness. Delagardette does not underline the antiquity of the remains but associates their forms with the primitive, and presents this as unaltered, unspoiled, or unaffected. These statements recall those by Laugier, when he argued that all evolution after the first model is a deterioration and that one should return to the origin. Only, in this case, Delagardette associates the primitive with the Doric order, and Paestum's pure version of it. Indeed, what Delagardette does is entirely different from Laugier's approach. Although he is looking for a model in the primitive architecture of Paestum, he searches it in its order, not in the rationality or simplicity of the structure. He does not make a link with the primitive hut.

Delagardette already wrote about Paestum five years before his voyage and thirteen years before the publication of his monograph on Paestum, in his *Règles des Cinq Ordres d'Architecture de Vignole* (Paris 1786).[58] The book was an edition of Vignola, enlarged with an introductory

57. Prospectus by Delagardette, *Les Ruines... op. cit.*, 1798, p. 5.
58. Delagardette's edition was published at Chéreau in Paris, and was issued in three prints, in 1786, 1797, and 1823, with new editions in 1840 and 1851. Other books which Delagardette wrote to educate young architects: *Leçons élémentaires des ombres dans l'architecture, faisant suite aux règles des cinq ordres de Vignole*, Paris: Chéreau, 1786 and *Nouvelles règles pour la pratique du dessin et du lavis de l'architecture civile et militaire*, Paris: Barrois, An XI (1803). These books are on the art of drawing, and making shadows. In a few editions the *Vignole* and the *Dessin* are bound together in one volume.

essay by Delagardette.[59] There he introduced the Paestum order as a new order. In the next chapter we will see how Delagardette tried to present Paestum to young architects as a model for contemporary architecture, which had much to do with this order. While we will analyse this aspect of Delargadette's Vignola edition in the last chapter, here his publication is interesting for another reason, namely for his representation of the primitive hut.

One of the plates in the *Règles* featured an image of the primitive hut (fig. 5.8). The image Delagardette showed of the primitive hut is already far away from Laugier's: four columns with capitals, and rings at the bottom to indicate a sort of base, an entablature and a pediment, built of wood. It represents much more architecture than a simple primitive dwelling made of trees. In the background he pictured the woods and two other forms of primitive dwellings: a tent and a hut in cone form. In the foreground one sees people either working large timber blocks, or discussing. Next to the dwelling three people are discussing the hut. In the accompanying text, Delagardette followed the Vitruvian model, but went a bit further than that:

> 'La nécessité de se garantir des injures, des saisons & des insultes des bêtes féroces, enseigna, sans doute, aux hommes la manière de se construire des habitations. Ils commencèrent, nous dit Vitruve, à se loger dans des cavités faites en terre; mais les familles devenant plus nombreuses & plus industrieuses, on inventa de nouvelles habitations; on les fit d'abord avec des perches plantées en terre, que l'on entrelassa de branchages & qu'on revêtit de boue extérieurement, en leur donnant la forme de cônes pour faciliter l'écoulement des eaux. De semblables logemens étoient peu commodes, & pouvoient aisément être renversés par les vents ou par les inondations. A mesure que la société se forma, on perfectionna les habitations, & à la place des huttes, on construisit des cabanes'.[60]

Thus, conic huts and other types are the predecessors of the cabane, which a perfected version of the hut in Delagardette's version. As we saw before in Vitruvius' treatise, Delagardette puts

59. Earlier French adaptations of Vignola were: by Pierre Le Muet: *Regles des cinq ordres d'architecture de Vignolle reveuee augmentéea et réduites de grand en petit par le Muet*, Paris: Melchior Tavernier, 1632; by Jacques-François Blondel: *Livre Nouveau Ou Regles des Cinq Ordres D'Architecture par Jacques Barozzio de Vignole. Nouvellement revû, corrigé et augmenté par Monsieur B***, Architecte du Roy, Avec plusieurs morceaux de Michel-Ange, Vitruve, Mansard et autres Célèbres Architectes...*, Paris: Charpentier, 1757. See also: Jean Guillaume (ed.), *Les Traités d'architecture de la Renaissance: actes du colloque tenu à Tours du 1er au 11 juillet 1981*, Paris: Picard, 1988.
60. Delagardette, *Les Ruines..., op. cit.*, 1799, p. 16.

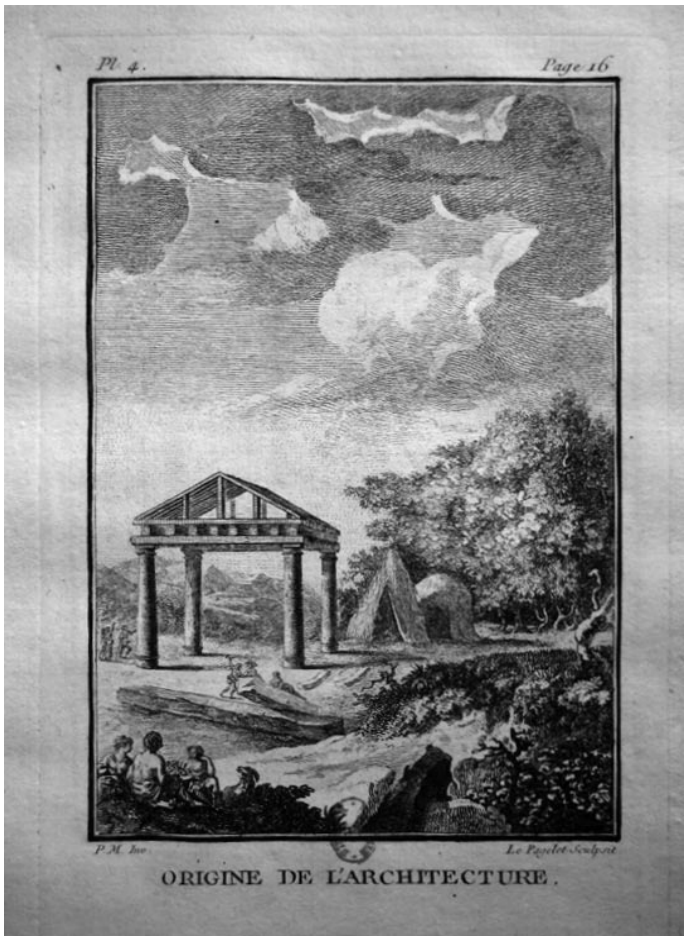


figure 5.8
Claude-Mathieu Delagardette, 'Origine de l'architecture', 1786.
(Delagardette, *Règles*..., 1786, plate 4.)

figure 5.9

a. John Soane, Sketch of the Basilica, 1779.

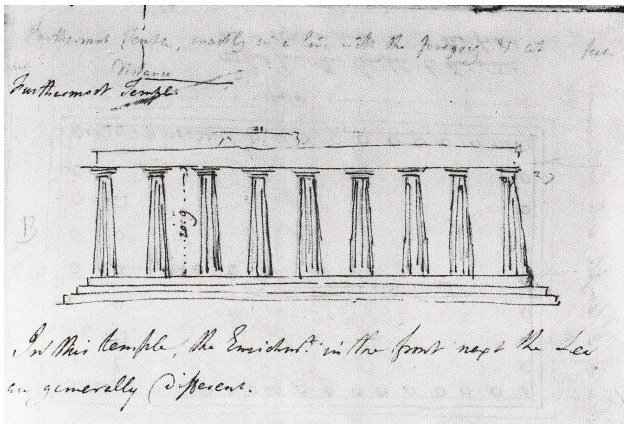
(Sir John Soane's Museum, London, Italian sketchbook, Vol. 39.)

b. John Soane, Sketch of a plan and an elevation of the Temple of Ceres, 1779.

(Sir John Soane's Museum, London, Italian sketchbook, Vol. 39.)

c. John Soane, Sketch of details of the Temple of Neptune, 1779.

(Sir John Soane's Museum, London, Italian sketchbook, Vol. 39.)



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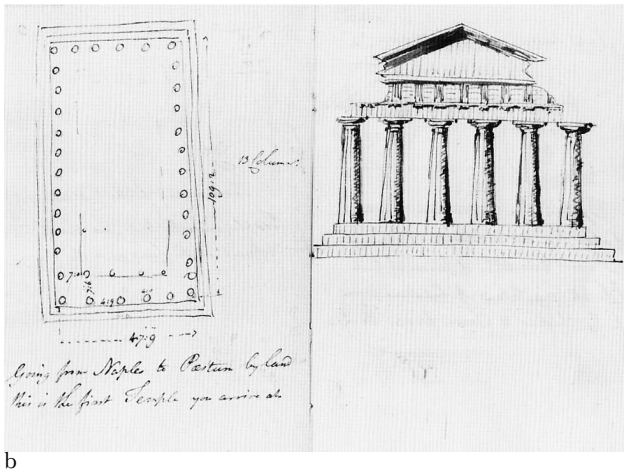

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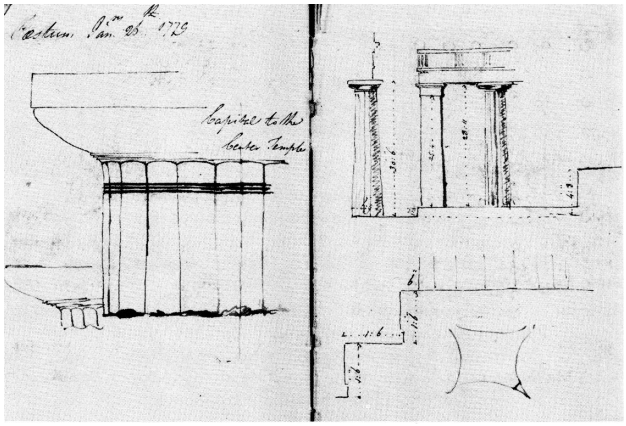


c

the development of architecture on one line with the evolution of civilisation. In his prospectus to his Paestum monograph, Delagardette refers both to the primitive and to his Vignola edition:

> 'Stimulé moi-même, par le désir de fixer l'attention des nos jeunes Eleves, sur la pureté primitive de l'Architecture de ces peuples, j'ai inséré de confiance, dans la premiere édition de mon traité des cinq Ordres, publié en 1787, les détails d'un ordre dorique de Pæstum, qui me furent donnés par l'Auteur d'un de ces ouvrages. Mais alors je n'avois pas vû l'original."[61]

It demonstrates how Delagardette went to the site on purpose in order to see for himself the primitive purity of its architecture, which could then serve as a model for young architects. With Delagardette pure primitive forms were found esthetically satisfying and fit as a model. But not in the way that Laugier foresaw. Delagardette concentrated on the simplicity of the forms of the order, an aesthetic appreciation, which made him want to import the order in France. It shows the aesthetic switch, but turning Paestum into model was not so self-evident. The quest for the origins of architecture made eighteenth-century architects take an interest in the temples, but at the same time deconstructed their image of Antiquity. It made the applicability of Paestum in contemporary architecture difficult, because, although they found ancient architecture, it did not provide them with a model. On the contrary, it made the whole conversion into a model even more problematic. Paestum resisted being used as a model. This becomes clear with Soane.

John Soane was in Paestum in 1779 and noted in his diary (fig. 5.9):

> 'The Architecture of the Three Temples, is Doric, but exceedingly rude, the Temples at the extremities in particular, they have all the particul[arities] of the Grecian Doric, but not the elega[nt] taste; they seem all form'd with the same Materials, of Stone formd by Petrification which continues to this Day'.[62]

Soane seemed not too enthusiastic. He emphasized the rudeness of its architecture, and, like Delagardette, observed the Doric character of the temples, but finds it disappointing

61. Delagardette, [Prospectus] *Les Ruines...*, *op. cit.*, 1798, p. 6.
62. John Soane, on 26th January, in sketchbook 'Italian Sketches/J. Soane/1779', Sir John Soane's Museum, London, Drawings Collection, Vol. 39, pp. 32-34.

figure 5.10
John Soane, Barn 'à la Paestum', Malvern Hall, Warwickshire, 1798.
(From Richardson and Stevens (eds.), p. 116.)

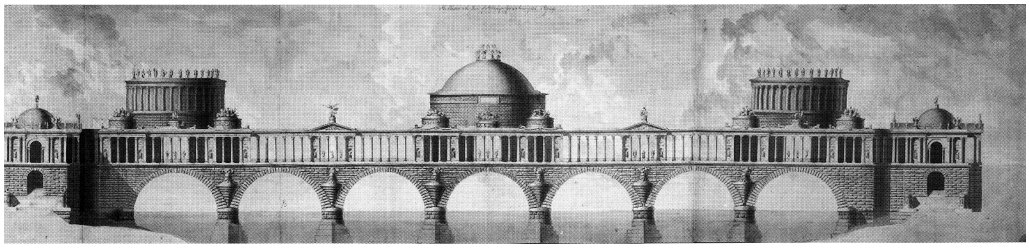


figure 5.11
John Soane, Competition design for a Triumphal Bridge, 1777.
(From Watkin 2000, plate 33.)

esthetically, which has largely to do with the rough building material.

Twenty years later, Soane designed a barn for Henry Greswold Lewis, a Grand Tour friend, at Malvern Hall in Warwickshire (fig. 5.10). The Barn, that Soane named 'Barn à la Paestum', featured baseless paired Doric columns in brick supporting a wooden entablature. Although they are baseless Doric and undecorated these columns have nothing of the proportions of the Paestum temples, nor their specific characteristics like the entasis or the wide capitals. So why did Soane refer to Paestum in his design? What did Soane think characteristic of Paestum? He used the baseless Doric order again one year later in a revised design of a triumphal bridge in the Greek Doric style (1799), reworking his winning project for a triumphal bridge for the Royal Academy competition (1776) (fig. 5.11). Soane won the gold medal with this design featuring Corinthian columns, and with the Academy's Travelling Scholarship he gained in 1777 he travelled to Italy. Contrary to what John Wilton Ely argues about the use of baseless Doric columns in this triumphal bridge, in the Barn, in a dog kennel design (1779) (fig. 5.12), or in the Church for the Duke of York (1827) (fig. 5.13), what appealed to Soane in Paestum had, in my view, nothing to do with an application of an order in architectural design.[63] To better comprehend what Soane aimed at, we have to turn to an earlier project. For apart from this literal influence of Paestum there is a more noteworthy trace of Soane's experience at the site, which we can relate to his thoughts about the origins of architecture.

John Soane was to translate his ideas on primitive architecture more clearly, and shortly after his stay in Italy, in a design he made for his travelling partner, with whom he also went to Paestum in 1779, Philip Yorke (1757-1834).[64] As one of many patrons Soane came to know during his Italian tour, Yorke asked the architect to design a dairy in Hamels, Hertfordshire. The name Soane gave to this design, made in 1782-1783, was 'a Dairy in the primitive manner

63. Wilton-Ely, *Piranesi, Paestum...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-56.
64. 'An English architect by name Soane who is an ingenious young man now studying at Rome accompanied us thither & measured the buildings', wrote Yorke. See British Library, London, Manuscripts Add. 35378, ff. 302r–305v (31 Jan. 1779). Yorke became the third Earl of Hardwick. He travelled in 1778-1779 through Italy and visited Venice, Verona, Milan, Genoa, Lucca, Pisa, Florence, Siena Rome, Naples, Paestum (by 28 January) (travelled there with Dr. Thomas Bowdler (1754-1825), physician and editor of Shakespeare), Rome, Bologna, Parma, Turin and was back in England in September. See Ingamells, *op. cit.*, pp. 1035-1036. He kept a journal of his grand tour 'Travels thro Holland, Germany, Italy & Switzerland &c. in the years 1777, 1778 and 1779', British Library, London, Manuscripts Add. 36258-60, and an anonymous travel journal is probably also by him, Yale University, Beinecke Library, Osborne MSS, c. 332. For Paestum see: British Library, London, Manuscripts Egerton MSS 2002, f. 5 (Bowdler, 26 January 1779); British Library, London, Manuscripts, Add. 35378, f. 305 (Yorke, 31 January 1779).

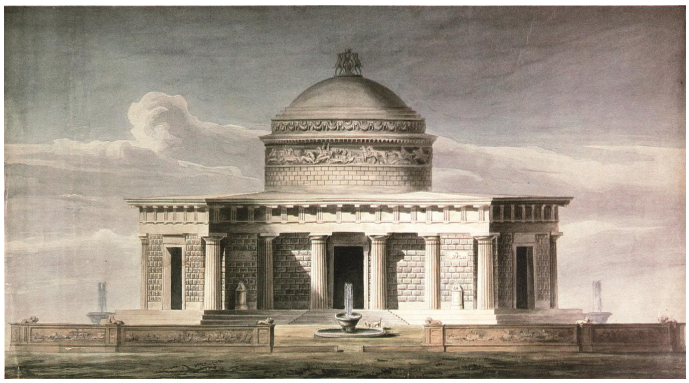
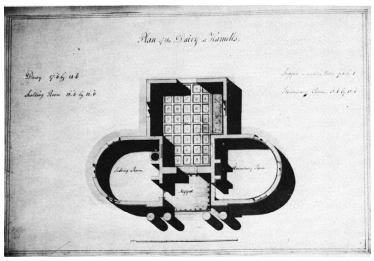


figure 5.12
John Soane, Design for a canine residence, 1779.
(Sir John Soane's Museum, London.)

figure 5.13
John Soane, Design for a sepulchral church, 1796.
(Victoria & Albert Museum, London.)



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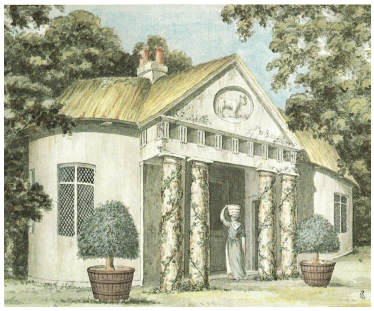

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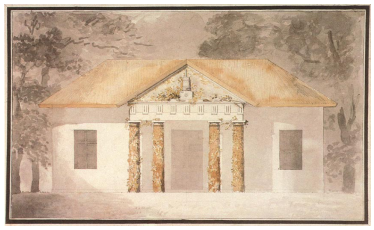

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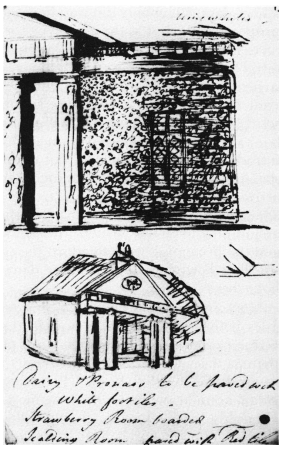

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figure 5.14
a. John Soane, Plan of Hamels Park dairy.
(From Du Prey, 1982, p. 250.)

b. John Soane, Perspective view of Hamels Park dairy.
(From Du Prey, 1982, plate 6.)

c. John Soane, Front elevation of Hamels Park dairy, 1783.
(Sir John Soane's Museum, London.)

d. John Soane, Sketches for Hamels Park dairy.
(From Du Prey, 1982, p. 250.)

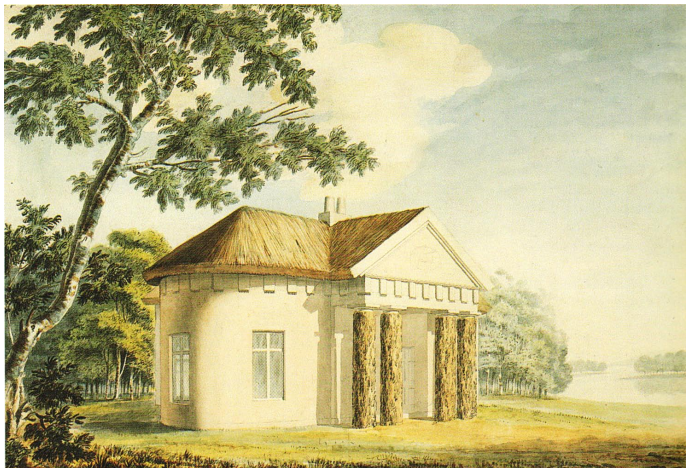


figure 5.15
John Soane, perspective view of Hamels Park dairy, 1781-1783.
(Sir John Soane's Museum, London.)

of building' (fig. 5.14).[65] On his drawing Soane noted a description that can be traced back to Laugier's *Essai*: 'The pillars are proposed to be the Trunks of Elm trees with the bark on and Honey suckles & Woodbines planted at their feet, forming festoons &c. The Roof to be thatched & the ends of the Rafters to appear.'[66] This might not be surprising, since Soane owned ten copies of Laugier's *Essai*. In addition, Soane's library featured many books on primitivism, like Rousseau's *Essai sur l'origine des langues*, Lafiteau's *Mœurs des sauvages ameriquains, comparées aux mœurs des premiers temps*, and Henry Home's (Lord Kames) *Sketches of the History of Man*. Christopher Woodward suggests that the design appears to express how Soane and Yorke resumed a conversation on the origins of the Doric order that had started at Paestum.[67] The timber columns are similar to those in the frontispiece of the second edition of the *Essai* (1755) (fig. 5.15, see fig. 5.2). Soane subscribed to Laugier's ideas, but the building is above all an interesting combination of the primitive wooden hut with its reeds for the roof and the progress of civilisation, expressed in the vernacular peddle-dash used for the walls and the entablature.

In his Royal Academy lectures, Soane explained the concept of the primitive hut, and he actually opened his lecture series with illustrations of it. In his first lecture, which he read on 27 March 1809, he showed a sequence of images to illustrate the evolution of the wooden primitive hut into the stone Grecian Doric temple.[68] The large drawings he used during his twelve lectures were specially prepared by his pupils and assistants. The lecture drawing of a primitive hut (fig. 5.16) had, just as Laugier's frontispiece, tribal people added wearing animal hides.[69] A man and a woman are pictured in the middle of the dwelling with two children and in the background there are two men carrying timber to construct another hut. These figures were inserted by Antonio van Assen (1767-1817), a topographical artist, who usually drew the

65. Pierre de la Ruffinière du Prey, 'John Soane, Philip Yorke, and their Quest for Primitive Architecture', in: Gervase Jackson-Stops (ed.), *National Trust Studies 1979*, London: Philip Wilson Publishers Ltd for Sotheby Parke Bernet Publications, 1978, pp. 28-38. Soane designed several buildings at Yorke's estate, and also redesigned his Wimpole Hall, Cambridgeshire. The dairy was Yorke's wedding present to his wife. See also Pierre de la Ruffinière du Prey, *John Soane: The Making of an Architect*, Chicago/London: Academy Editions, 1982, p. 248. Gillian Darley, *John Soane. An Accidental Romantic*, New Haven/London, Yale University Press, 1999, pp. 64-65.
66. The assertion of Watkin that the 'timber columns recalled the supposedly primitivist Greek Doric columns of the temples at Paestum' is not Soane's. Watkin (ed.), *Sir John Soane..., op. cit.*, p. 116.
67. Richardson and Stevens (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 118. The building consisted of two rooms: a dairy and a parlour for eating strawberries and cream. It was demolished in the nineteenth century.
68. The same lecture was read four times, on 8 January 1810, 12 February 1813 (altered), 20 February 1817 (altered), 18 February 1819 (altered). This last version was read three times by Henry Howard, on 16 February 1832, 9 January 1834, 7 January 1836. See Watkin (ed.), *Sir John Soane..., op. cit.*, pp. 731-732.
69. Sir John Soane's Museum, London, Drawings Collection, Royal Academy Lecture drawing, 1807, Drawer 27, Set 2, no. 4.

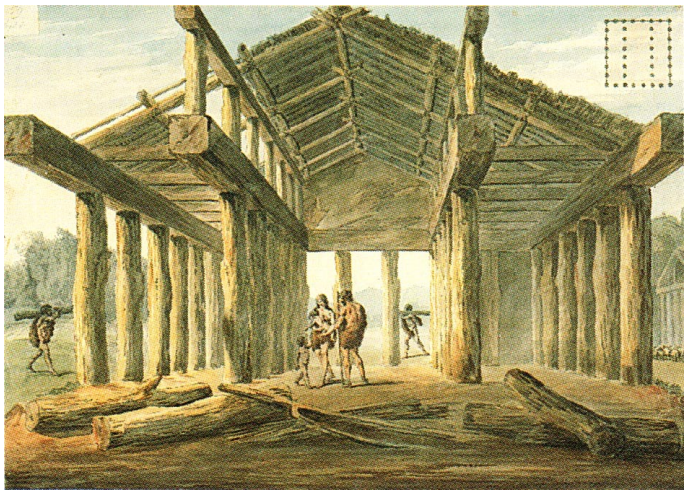


figure 5.16
John Soane, Royal Academy lecture drawing of the primitive hut, 1807.
(Sir John Soane's Museum, London.)

figure 5.17
Thomas Major, Interior view of the Temple of Neptune, 1768.
(Major, *The Ruins...*, 1768)

stylish Regency figures occupying the lecture drawings of building perspectives.

In this drawing not only the double storey of columns as in the Neptune temple appear, but more importantly, the perspective chosen to depict the hut is exactly the perspective that was used by many artists to represent the interior of the Paestum temple (fig. 5.17). As we saw in the previous chapter, Piranesi, Dumont, and Joli all used this same viewpoint. Although the scale of the building is different, and the plan is not exactly copied either, the similarities are striking. People in the middle of the drawing appear in the Paestum depictions as well, and the wooden beams in the foreground could be the architectural remains represented in many of the Paestum perspectives. Also, the spectator of the image is drawn as it were into the middle of the building by the perspective. The construction plays the main role with its four rows of columns, and a second level of columns on the two central rows demonstrating Laugier's argument of support and weight.

What does this tell us? Not only that the visual tradition of depicting temples had an influence on the way the manner of constructing the first dwelling was illustrated. This tradition also allowed to make a primitive hut acceptable for the public, who, with minds well-stocked with architectural examples, could thus be convinced of the first beginnings of architecture. The more it looked like an abstract version of an antique temple, the more plausible it was that the primitive hut really had been the model of Greek architecture. In the lecture the well-known image of Paestum's temple was used to compose the primitive hut, and this image of the primitive hut was used in reverse to show what Paestum's predecessor had been. Thus, in these images, history was reversed: Paestum served as a model in order to show what had been its model.

Additionally, it has to be noted that in this lecture drawing it was a dwelling that was depicted, and not a temple. The origin of architecture was a hut, and not a temple, but in Paestum the oldest architecture was a temple. Laugier already mentioned in his *Essai* that other design demands exist for temples than for houses. For that reason as well Paestum was a problematic model.

Retrospectively, this makes something else clear about Paestum. If this is how Soane and others represented a Greek temple, the construction was evidently important to travellers, it was what they looked at. As has become clear in the third chapter, the emphasis travellers put on gravity, weight and support in their descriptions of the temples, also found an expression in the way

they drew them. In the absence of ornaments or other decorations visitors could rest their eye on, the representation in drawings, engravings and pictures highlighted the way the columns carried the roof and the entablature, how they consisted of an upper level with smaller columns supporting the roof. Thus, the depictions of the primitive hut in the tradition of the Paestum images tells us more about Paestum, and what the travellers apparently thought important in it, what struck their eye. Not the function of the place, nor the place of it in history mattered, but a concern with how people used to construct their buildings, in the most pure and simple way possible. In a way, the Soane lecture drawing went back in time, back to origins. Paestum, a temple dedicated to the gods, became a primitive dwelling built by people in hides. In that sense the projection of Paestum on intellectual reconstructions of the primitive hut made at the writing table turned out to be not at all simple.

The reactions of both architects, Delagardette and Soane, show the problems of using Paestum for primitive theories. Delagardette clings to the order, he likes the primitive forms of the columns because they represent ancient and thus pure architecture. Soane adheres more to the construction, of which the simplicity of the hut offers an account. They present either an aesthetic judgement or an explanation of the construction, but to transform the primitive hut of Laugier as an ideal theory into a workable model is obviously problematic.

Next to the drawings Soane also illustrated his ideas by showing models of a primitive hut.[70] These were among the few models used during the lectures. In Lecture One he opened with an image of the temples in Egypt, then showed drawings of Palmyra, Baalbek, two cave temples near Bombay; tombs in Persepolis, Telmessus, Corneto; a grotto; temples in Luxor, Pozzuoli, Pompeii, Palmyra; examples of Egyptian architecture, and then turned to the primitive dwellings. Four images were to demonstrate different types of dwellings. He started with a conical timber hut 'in primitive Greece', then a square timber hut with flat roof, square timber huts with pointed roofs and timber huts with central rows of posts.[71] Immediately after this

70. Model of a primitive hut, mahogany 278 x 345 x 531 mm, Sir John Soane's Museum, London, M1298 and Model of a primitive hut in a more advanced state, mahogany 231 x 260 x 430 mm, Sir John Soane's Museum, London, SC1. In his inventory Soane wrote of the first model: Small model explanatory of the principle of Construction supposed to have been adopted in the Primitive Huts, and the origin of the several members of the Orders of Architecture'. Richardson and Stevens (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 119.
71. Among others 'primitive hut of conical form'; 'primitive hut with flat roof', drawn 20 May 1807; a primitive hut with pedimented roof, drawn May 1807: Royal Academy Lecture drawings, Sir John Soane's Museum London, Drawer 27, Set 2, contains 10 drawings of the three types of primitive huts; Drawer 86, Set 1 contains two perspectives of huts (1 and 2).

image Soane showed his students a drawing of the Basilica temple in Paestum, in perspective and plan. The oldest of the Paestum temples appeared before another image of an Egyptian temple, followed by drawings of timber buildings with two rows of posts (described above) and a hut with supports under the principal rafters. The lecture ended with two buildings in Athens: the Parthenon and the temple of Theseus.

When we look at the text of the lecture, the connection becomes unmistakeable. Soane makes a direct connection between the origins of architecture and Paestum. When families became larger, the dwellings had to be enlarged as well:

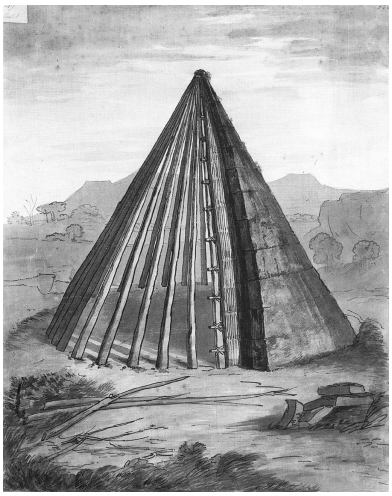
> 'The horizontal beams, in particular, being of course considerably lengthened, curved downwards and threatened ruin. A row of posts or support however, placed from front to rear, dividing the entire space into two equal parts, removed the defect and gave security to the inhabitants. This mode of construction probably suggested the idea of that particular manner of using columns to be seen in one of the temples at Paestum'[72]

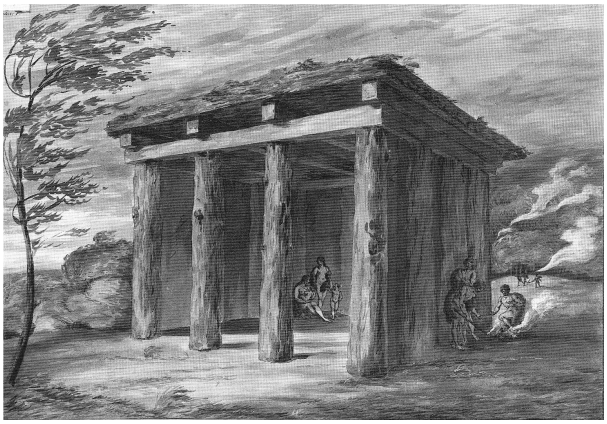
Soane makes once again a connection between a private dwelling and a divine temple, showing that the function of the building was not important in this context, but the way of constructing was. Tectonic aspects became more and more important, instead of columns and their role in architectural design.

This idea is further elaborated in the lecture when he explains how the enlargement of dwellings asked for new design solutions. Because the dwellings became much higher, the rafters had to increase in length as well, and required supporting parts. Soane explains this as follows:

> 'These supports were placed immediately over the others, under the beams, and probably gave the first indication of pillars placed upon pillars; and in this early work we perceive the reason why the Greeks, faithful to their primitive model, made the upper pillars in the hypaethral temples so very short in proportion to those immediately under them.'

72. Watkin (ed.), *Sir John Soane...*, *op. cit.*, Lecture I, p. 497. Soane refers also to an Egyptian temple, of which he shows an image as well, but which is not further specified.





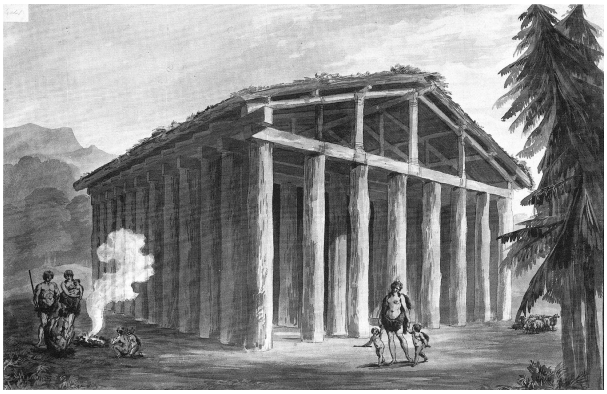


figure 5.18
John Soane, Royal Academy lecture drawings for primitive huts (of conical form, with flat roof, and with pedimented roof), 1807.

(Sir John Soane's Museum. From Watkin, 1996, plates 13 to 15.)

Soane illustrated this passage, in which he sees the primitive as a model for the Greeks, with the drawing described before; the one based on the Paestum representations. Thus, he again argues it towards Paestum. In using the Paestum perspective to show the construction of a primitive dwelling, he consequently sheds a new light on its temples. Soane's primitivism is that of aetiology, he explains their form by the primitive form.

The drawings he showed during his lectures demonstrate the influence of the ideas of Quatremère de Quincy, as we will see later in this chapter. A drawing of a 'primitive hut of conical form' recalls Quatremère's theory of the tent. A 'primitive hut with flat roof' and 'primitive hut with pedimented roof' illustrate how Soane's different types of primitive dwellings (fig. 5.18). The drawings show a striking resemblance with the primitive huts Chambers drew for his *Treatise* (fig. 5.6).

In his second lecture Soane opened with the Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem, and then treated the Greek Doric order, showing an image of the Greek Doric order of the Temple of Neptune at Paestum.[73] There again, Soane refers to the primitive hut. He explains how some theorists stated that columns originated from trunks of large trees, and other writers thought these were based on a collection of trees or reeds, but that this last version could have been only decorative and never have had a supportive function: 'In Grecian works the column owed its origin to the rudely shaped timbers which were placed as supports to the roofs of the early habitations, and we shall likewise find bases and capitals owe their origin to early constructions in timber.' He added a note in which he argued that the bases and capitals, just like the entablature, originated from there through the imitative system of the Greeks. In the same lecture, Soane emphasizes, in the line of Laugier, that the primitive hut was a model, and allowed the ancients, or rather their 'great artists' to direct their minds, until the rich Roman buildings showed a decline of this former greatness, and lost the simplicity and no longer demonstrated this 'important truth', which was that the 'essentials of the Grecian orders, more especially those of the Doric, might and must be explained by the imitative system of construction in timber.'

73. Other drawings of Paestum were shown in the third lecture (two, a section and a perspective of the Temple of Neptune), and lecture five (two, an interior view of the Temple of Neptune, and a perspective view of the three temples, from Major's *Ruins of Paestum*) Sir John Soane's Museum, London, Royal Academy Lecture drawings, Drawer 19, Set 5, drawing 1-5; Drawer 23, Set 3, drawing 8; In the second lecture Soane compares the columns of the Paestum temple with those of Corinth, the Temple of Theseus, the Temple of Minerva and the Temple of Augustus in Athens (Drawer 25, Set 1, drawing 1), but only for their dimensions, the diameter of their columns and the proportion of the entablature to the height of the columns. *Ibid.*, p. 504.

Both Delagardette and Soane looked with an architect's eye to the primitive temples, in some way still in line with Laugier. But both architects answered Laugier in an entirely different way, making the primitive hut as a model problematic when it was related to real ancient architecture. Delagardette tried to fit Paestum in a model by emphasizing the purity of its form, thus focussing only on the aesthetic aspects. He made no link with the primitive hut. Soane did, and he combined it with Paestum to show an evolution in architecture, in an aetiology. He brought the hut and Paestum closer together. Someone who also looked at Paestum from the perspective of the architect, but forcefully opposed to Laugier's ideas, was Piranesi. His theories will raise more questions about the concept of primitivism, namely through the aspect of invention.

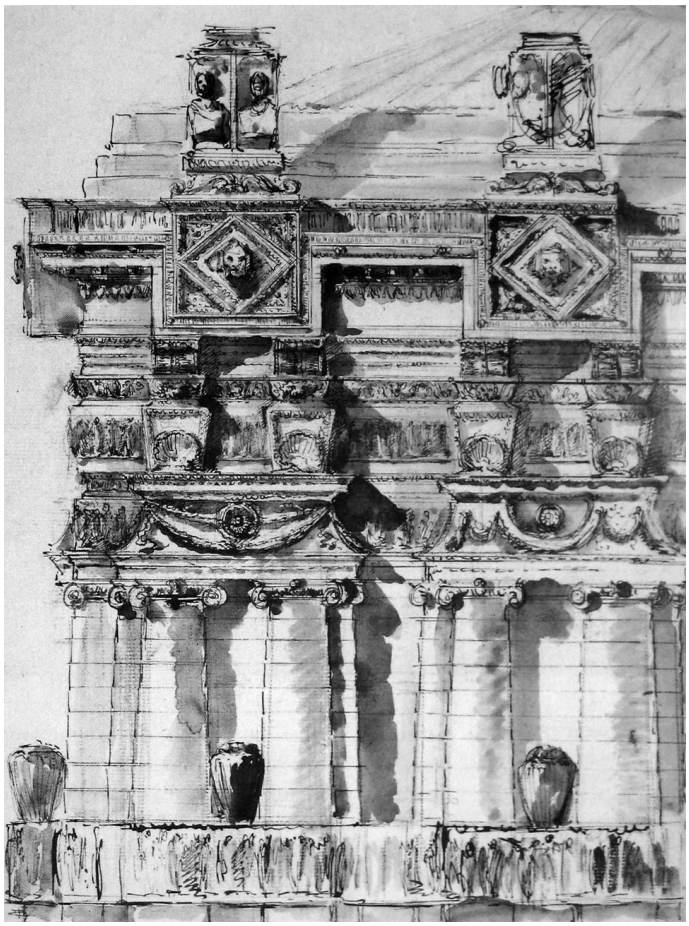
Piranesi's theories on invention in architecture

Piranesi presented his ideas in his *Osservazioni sopra la lettre de M. Mariette*, and in the *Parere su l'architettura* and the *Della Introduzione e del progresso delle belle arti in Europa ne' tempi antichi*, published together in 1765.[74] This publication is of such importance because in it Piranesi positions himself in relation to Winckelmann and to Le Roy's *Ruines*, often referred to by scholars as the Graeco-Roman debate. Instead of Greek art Piranesi presented Roman art as the summit of Western art, and more importantly, the Etruscans as their artistic predecessors instead of the Greeks. In that way he could also prove that the Romans were never inferior to the Greeks.

The *Osservazioni sopra la lettre de M. Mariette* was Piranesi's reaction to a letter by the art-collector and connoisseur Pierre-Jean Mariette (1694-1774), a defender of the Greek superiority. Mariette published his critique of Piranesi's *Della Magnificenza ed Architettura de' Romani* (1761) in the *Gazette littéraire de l'Europe* in 1764. In other articles in the *Gazette* French readers could also learn about the views of Locke, Hume, Lord Kames, Winckelmann and Young, implicitly illustrating the changing position of Italian culture in modern Europe. Italy was no longer the source of powerful cultural influence, but a country with curious treatises on antiquity and pleasant poetry. It no longer enjoyed intellectual leadership. Piranesi was the most often

74. Translated in: Giovanni Battista Piranesi, *Observations on the Letter of Monsieur Mariette, with Opinions on Architecture, and a Preface to a New Treatise on the Introduction and Progress of the Fine Arts in Europe in Ancient Times* [1765], introduction by John Wilton-Ely, translation by Caroline Beamish and David Britt, Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2002. For the quotes these translations are used.

figure 5.19
Giovanni Battista Piranesi, Preparatory study for the *Parere...*, c. 1765.
(Kunstbibliothek Berlin. From Bergdoll 2000, p. 22.)



and minutely criticized Italian author in its pages, for his traditionalist Italian humanist view of Roman splendour and for his quoting from famous but dubious sources and showing monuments to confirm the fables of Livy.

Mariette claimed that the Etruscans were in fact Greek colonists, and that Roman art had its origin in Greek art, echoing Winckelmann's phrase by stating that the Romans lost the 'belle et noble simplicité' of the Greeks. Mariette argued that the presence of very ancient and impressive architectural structures in Italy before contact with the Greeks was established did not prove the artistic abilities of the Romans, since they had been built by the Etruscans (who, he assumed, were also Greek in origin). To this Piranesi reacted in his *Osservazioni*, in which he point for point refuted the arguments of the philhellenic Mariette.

The *Parere* continues the polemic on the subject of the superiority of the Romans and is composed as a dialogue between two rival architects: an opponent (Protopiro) and a defender (Didascolo) of Piranesi's own ideas. Protopiro is the rigorist, who defends an architecture based on rules, rationality and imitation, while Didascolo aims at an architecture full of invention, arguing that without it architecture would become a 'vil métier où l'on ne feroit que copier'.[75] They argue about the force of the *sfrenata licenza*, the unrestrained invention, versus the tyrannies of aesthetic theories. Without this *licenza*, Piranesi argued, architecture would end up as mere copying. Piranesi illustrated his thoughts with his own designs, thereby using architectural elements inspired by Etruscan and Egyptian forms in inventive compositions, presenting how the architect can be an inventor (fig. 5.19). These forms are much more models of how to treat history than mere stylistic examples.

The *Osservazioni* and *Parere* are not only a plea for invention, but also a rejection of the authority of Vitruvius. Piranesi also forcefully attacked Laugier. Through Didascalo, Piranesi rejects Laugier in a reaction to the rigorist Protopiro's arguments for smooth columns, no bases, no capitals, architraves with no fasciae and no band, friezes without triglyphs. Piranesi then adds a passage on the walls of a building, where Didascalo reduces Laugier's position to its absurd consequences:

> 'Let us observe the walls of a building from inside and outside. These walls terminate

75. Here Piranesi is quoting Le Roy. *Ibid.*, p. 111.

> in architraves and all that goes with them above; below these architraves, most often we find engaged columns or pilasters. I ask you, what holds up the roof of the building? If the wall, then it needs no architraves; if the columns of the pilasters, what is the wall there for? Choose, Signor Protopiro. Which will you demolish? The walls or the pilasters? No answer? Then I will demolish the whole lot. Take note: buildings with no walls, no columns, no pilasters, no friezes, no cornices, no vaults, nor roofs. A clean sweep.'[76]

In the rejection of all these elements, a *reductio ad absurdum* of Laugier's ideas, Piranesi lets Didascolo, his mouthpiece, argue that antiquity is not relevant any more as a design model. The dependence on rules and systems by the so called rigorist architects are condemned as well:

> 'Didn't I tell you that if you were to build according to the principles you have got into your heads - that is, to make everything in conformity with reason and truth - you would have us all go back to living in huts?'[77]

This wink to Laugier's *Essai* and his ideal of the hut, is an implicit critique of the primitive dwelling as model and the rejection of ornament. Piranesi showed that a view of architecture based on rationalist thought experiments reduced the art of architecture to a mere hut, until architecture is not architecture anymore. Instead, when ornaments are beautiful, architecture will be as well, since they avoid monotony in architecture. He dismissed all these architects who followed antiquity and 'from the moment when this kind of architecture was invented until it was buried beneath the ruins always worked in this way.'[78] All the travellers who went to Asia, Egypt and Greece looking for inspiration in the origins of architecture for their own practice, did the same:

> 'Someone goes off to inspect the antiquities and brings back the dimensions of a column, a frieze, or a cornice with the intention of enriching architecture with proportions different from those to which we have become accustomed to seeing'.[79]

76. *Ibid.*, p. 106.
77. *Ibid.*, p. 106.
78. *Ibid.*, p. 108.
79. *Ibid.*, p. 108.

For Piranesi, it is false to think that it is possible to copy antiquity, for not one building has the same proportions, nor do the individual parts of a building such as columns have the same dimensions. In looking for example at the Doric order in all temples of Greece, Asia and Italy 'one would find so much variety in its main proportions that one could define as many orders as there are temples', as is shown in the publications of Le Roy and Stuart and Revett, Piranesi argued.

With these ideas in mind, one would think that Piranesi would also reject Paestum for its simplicity and purity. But in his text on Paestum it becomes clear that he found something else here. He sees the temples as primitive in the sense of a-historical version of architecture. He also offers in his description of the architectural forms what we can call a-historical design solutions. Piranesi searched for the origins of architecture, but in a very specific way, and without the primitivistic motives, considering his rejection of Laugier. The distinction we made in the introduction between primitivism as a cultural theory and the search for origins without primitivistic motives becomes thus clear here.

While the topic of origin features in Piranesi's theoretical writings, it was significant in his Paestum monograph as well. In the fourth chapter of this thesis we focussed on the engravings in this publication, but the texts he wrote in his *Différentes Vues* are at least as interesting. However, they have received little attention, contrary to his engravings. In existing studies, Piranesi's publication on Paestum is presented as his conversion to Greek architecture.[80] Because scholars often situate his book only in the context of the Graeco-Roman debate, they tend to overlook the different aspects he mentions in his texts. To begin with, it was not at all clear at the time what was Roman or Greek and what was not, and regarding Paestum this was still an object of debate. There was no consensus about the Greek origin of the temples. Even well into the nineteenth century some architects thought the temples were Roman or Etruscan. And, moreover, this was not what fascinated the travellers at Paestum. As Piranesi did not know the temples were Greek, he could not be converted by his contemporaries to the Greek camp. Therefore his publication should not be read in this light.

80. For example in Norbert Miller, *Archäologie des Traums. Versuch über Giovanni Battista Piranesi*, Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1994 (first published 1978); Robin Middleton, 'The Abbé de Cordemoy and the Graeco-Gothic Ideal: A Prelude to Romantic Classicism', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 25 (1962), pp. 278-320, and 26 (1963), pp. 90-123; Roberto Pane, *Paestum nelle acqueforti di Piranesi*, Milan: Ed. di Comunità, 1980.

When we read the text carefully, we can draw other conclusions. In talking about the largest temple of the three (fig. 5.20), the temple of Neptune, Piranesi unfolds his ideas:

> 'Cet Ouvrage montre bien que l'Architecte étoit maitre de son art qu'il n'étoit point retenu par des Systemes imaginés capricieusement, ou même dépendants de l'imitation des ouvrages en bois.'[81]

The passage is of course a direct reference to Laugier's proposal of presenting the primitive hut as a model, and an opposition to architecture as imitation. In this quotation we find three important ideas: the architect is an artist, he does not design according to rules and systems, at least not to capriciously imagined systems, and he does not copy. Apart from the remark on the imitation of works in wood as a reference to Laugier and Vitruvius, his presentation of the architect as inventor is more significant. These ideas Piranesi already presented in his earlier theories. Therefore, we should read the Paestum publication with his earlier published theories in mind.

In the text accompanying plate VI, an interior view of the Basilica temple (fig. 5.21) for instance, Piranesi discussed how the capitals of the columns of the pronaos also have an *entasis*. However 'ils sont d'une architecture qui paroit grottesque', and resemble more the Ionic than the Doric order. But the architect of the temples did something interesting. The little volute gives the columns a sense of lightness, which it would not have had if the architect had just copied literally the Ionic order. In condemning imitation and propagating invention, Piranesi stated that:

> 'L'on voit cependant ici des traits d'une invention, à la quelle on ne s'attandoit pas, et qui malgré leur hardiesse obligent d'avoüer, que l'on ne pouvoit pas mieux se conduire en pareil cas.'[82]

The references to the choices an architect has to make in creating a building, suggest that these ideas presented in the Paestum publication should rather be related to Piranesi's earlier writings in the *Parere* and the *Della Magnificenza ed Architettura de' Romani* (1761). As in his earlier publications, Piranesi continues to write about the architect's design decisions, and the need for

81. Piranesi, *Differentes vues...*, *op. cit.*, plate XII.
82. *Ibid.*, plate VI.

figure 5.20
Giovanni Battista Piranesi, Interior view of the Temple of Neptune, 1778.

(Piranesi, *Différentes Vues...*, 1778, plate XII.)

figure 5.21
Giovanni Battista Piranesi, Interior view of the Basilica, 1778.

(Piranesi, *Différentes Vues...*, 1778, plate VI.)

invention and genius, only now in relation to an ancient site. In that sense his book on Paestum is more a continuation of his earlier work and thoughts than a break.

Interestingly, when he observes and analyses the temples, he assumes the role of the architect in Antiquity, and analyses the choices he had to make, and why he made them. Connecting the invention and the genius of the architect to his own theories, Piranesi imagines himself as an architect in Antiquity designing a temple. So Piranesi does not view Paestum as a historical design authority, like Delagardette did or as a derivation of the primitive hut as Soane presented them, but he looks at the temples as an inspiration for a manner of designing with an inventive mind. The ideas he formulated earlier in his *Parere* resonate in his observations of the architectural forms in Paestum. The Architect (written with a capital) often figures here as artist.[83]

Because Paestum represented the origin of architecture, Piranesi felt justified to argue not to have too many decorations, because without any bizarre ornaments the temples were even more convincing in grandeur.[84] Piranesi defended this as a choice by the architect to let the building gain force:[85]

> 'Pour ce qui est de ce temple, soit que ce fut la coûtume de la nation, qui tendoit au grave, et au simple, soit que ce fut sagesse dans l'Architecte, il est clair que cette entreprise fut conduite, et terminée avec dignité par la supression de la plus grande partie des ornements, pour le rendre solide, et grave.'[86]

This gaining of solidity is explained from a point of view which we can connect with primitivism. The building is simple, and without ornaments, because as such it is closer to nature and to the building material:

83. *Ibid.*, plate XII: 'le frise, qui est d'une médiocre grandeur, est propre à orner toute cette façade, comme l'a bien senti l'Artiste en donnant à cette entrée un aspect grave et majesteux, ce qui forme le second point de vuë de ceux qui entroient.'
84. 'Ce Temple là ne presente aucune bisarerie dans ses ornements.' *Ibid.*, plate X.
85. 'Les Grecs mêmes voulant adoucir l'ordre Dorique, le chargerent de quelques ornements, ce qui fur imité par les Romains au point qu'ils rencherirent encore sur leurs models; car ceux qui n'ont pas la vraie théorie de l'art preférent toujours une architecture chargée de guirlandes, de fleurs et d'autres ornements à celle qui n'a qu'une simple pureté.' *Ibid.*, plate X. 'En cela l'on a voulu faire voir, que ces sortes de monuments étant construits d'une matiere dure, il étoit dans les vrais principes de l'art de n'en point trop alterer la nature, et qu'un édifice tout de pierre devoit conserver un grand air de force, et de solidité.'
86. *Ibid.*, plate X.

> 'que ces sortes de monuments étant construits d'une matiere dure, il étoit dans les vrais principes de l'art de n'en trop alterer la nature, et qu'un édifice tout de pierre devoit conserver un grand air de force, et de solidité.'[87]

Thus, Piranesi lets the temples almost grow out of nature, and makes it depend on the local conditions at the site. These ideas are echoed in Ribart de Chamoust's *L'Ordre françois trouvé dans la Nature* (1783), who argued for a French order in architecture (fig. 5.22). De Chamoust advised not to imitate the Greeks, but to 'return to primitive theory, that is to say, to Nature herself'.[88] De Chamoust's close association of primitive architecture with nature is interesting, and the connection he makes with the development of a new architecture. An order had to grow naturally from the soil of France, like it had grown in Greece: 'The first two Orders of Greek architecture grew up, so to speak, by themselves from Nature or, rather, from the type that the Greeks selected in preference to Nature. The Doric and the Ionic owed almost nothing to creative imagination.' In that sense, of linking architecture closely to nature, de Chamoust approaches Piranesi's or Laugier's ideas: in Laugier's *Essai* the primitive man created the hut by using his knowledge given by nature and natural materials that he hardly changed, staying close to nature.

Paestum confirmed Piranesi in his ideas, and his convictions could even become stronger. In his text on Paestum he did not try to date the temples or to put them in a chronological order, so it seems the history of these buildings or the chronology is not of much interest to him. However, he discusses the different architectural elements applied as choices made by the architect as artist. For instance in the Neptune temple, the artist has given a heavy and majestic effect to the entrance by means of a cornice. At the same time he questions again the authority of Vitruvius in his description of the Basilica temple. Piranesi, and many other eighteenth-century travellers with him did not know what the function of this temple had been. As it had no architrave, and moreover an unusual uneven number of columns, and there were no other indications of its use, travellers were puzzled by the use of the building in antiquity. He searched in vain in Vitruvius' book, as Piranesi states in his text, because Vitruvius never wrote about an uneven number of columns in basilicas, curias and temples. But because he knew nothing about the rites and uses of the building Piranesi could not explain this himself. In this way the Basilica

87. *Ibid.*, plate X.
88. Ribart de Chamoust, *L'Ordre français trouvé dans la Nature, présenté au Roi, le 21 septembre 1776, par M. Ribart de Chamoust, orné de planches gravées d'après les dessins de l'auteur*, Paris, Nyon l'aîné, 1783.

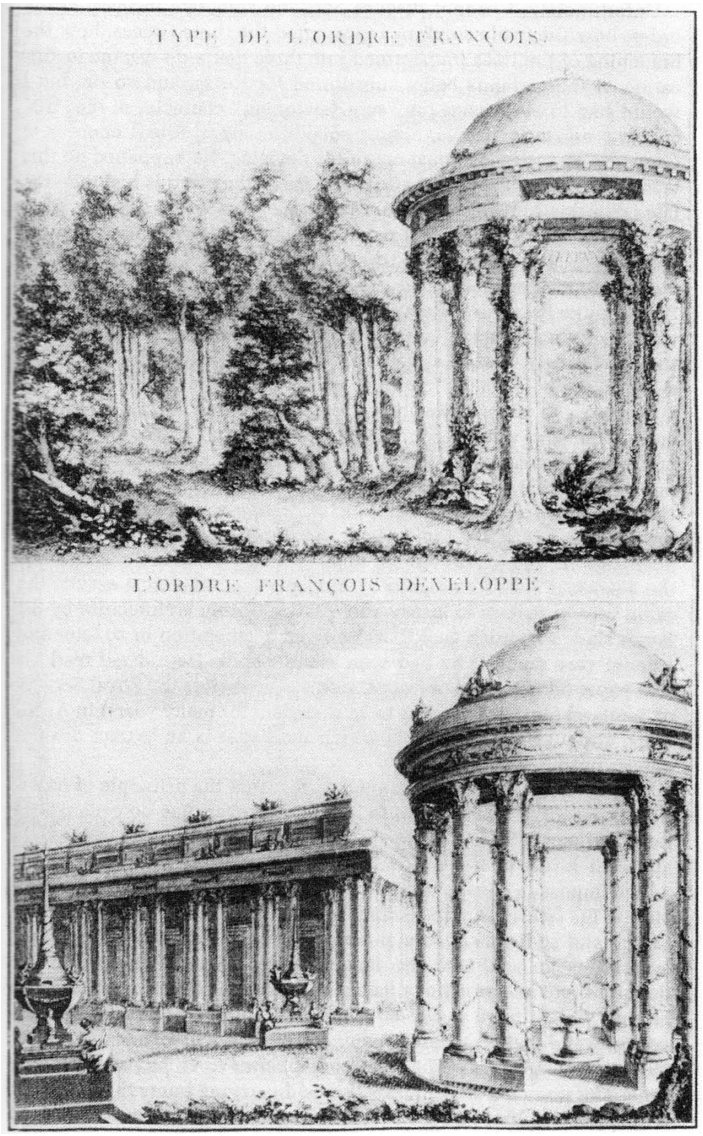


figure 5.22
Charles-François Ribart de Chamoust, The prototype and the development of the 'ordre françois trouvé dans la nature', 1776.

(Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, V-2014.)

remains also a-historical, that is, deprived of a historical context.

Piranesi's preoccupation with the origins of architecture expressed itself in his architectural designs, which show an interesting mixture of architectural forms, derived from the different periods that formed to Piranesi the origins of architecture: Etruscan, Egyptian and Greek. In his arguments on Roman architecture, this theme returns as well. In his admiration for the inventions and technical skills of the Romans he also shows how they were the first to build constructively magnificent buildings. Here as well, the emphasis is on invention, and not on imitation. In Paestum, Piranesi showed the progression and invention in the temples. They are not copies of pre-existing models, but closely inspired by nature. In that last sense, of the proximity of architecture to nature, Piranesi does show primitivistic ideas. Piranesi's way of looking for origins is a prelude to how Labrouste would treat the subject as we will see below.

History seen as a system by Winckelmann

Piranesi's arguments against imitation and in favour of invention were also aimed at Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717-1768). Greek art was the ideal, and Winckelmann argued for 'imitatio', not in the sense of mere copying but more as being inspired by. He distinguished between 'das Nachmachen' as copy and 'die Nachahmung' as imitation. If done with intelligence, an imitatio could be transformed into something with a new and autonomous nature. The praise of pure and perfect beginnings in the history of art implied an appreciation of originality.[89] For this the artist had to go back to the beginnings: 'Der eintzige Weg für uns groß, ja wenn es möglich ist, unnachahmlich zu werden, ist die Nachahmung der Alten.'[90]
In his quest for the origins of art, Winckelmann longed to visit Greece. But Paestum was the closest he got. However, the more he wrote about the perfection of Greek art, the less eager he became to travel to Greece. It seemed as if he was afraid that his high expectations would not

89. This would often lead to wrong dates for art works, because to fit in his aesthetic and chronological framework works of beauty had to be the earliest ones. Élisabeth Décultot, *Johann Joachim Winckelmann. Enquête sur la genèse de l'histoire de l'art*, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2000, p. 124: 'Le principe d'origine prime la vérité archéologique.'
90. Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerei und Bildhauerkunst*, Dresden/Leipzig, 1765, p. 14. That there is a contradiction in going back to origins and being original in Winckelmann's theories has been shown by Décultot, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-112.

be fulfilled. Greece became a utopian image, so perfect that reality could only destroy this view.[91]

Winckelmann was looking for origins by doing research, making comparisons, writing a chronology. His theories were aimed at writing the historical development of art. Studies have argued how Winckelmann was obsessively searching for origins, in written sources and works of art.[92] His interest in chronology as a discipline and method motivated even more this quest for origins.[93] In his view, chronology was to be written through the construction of series and the emphasis on similarities. While Winckelmann thus, in his chronological approach constructed series in his art history, Paestum, a unique site, was likely to pose problems to him. And so it did.

The difficulty of making Paestum part of his theories is visible in the many letters he wrote. In these letters, which evoke Paestum from time to time, the focus is instead on the antiquity of the temples and on the sensation that he was one of the first foreigners to visit the site. He presents himself thus more as an archaeological discoverer than as an art historian. Winckelmann mentioned Paestum for the first time in 1756, when he had been in Rome for almost a year. But he only went to the site two years later, in 1758. As he never travelled to Greece or Sicily, Paestum provided him with the only example of ancient Greek architecture. His knowledge of the architecture of the temples in Sicily and in Athens came from publications, for example the ones by Stuart and Revett or Pancrazi and from information provided by Robert Mylne, who prepared a publication entitled *Antiquities of Sicily*.[94] The enthusiasm or 'Vorfreude' before his voyage to Paestum is expressed by Winckelmann in an excited letter to Giovanni Lodovico Bianconi (1717-1781), a doctor from Bologna, sent on 29 August 1756 from Rome:

> 'Heureux! si je pourrois parcourir toute la Magna Graecia. Les trois temples à Pesto 50 milles de Naples d'une Architecture plus ancienne peût-être que celle du tems de Pericles dont on n'a parlé que depuis deux ans, bienqu'ils sont presque entiers, ayant été de tout tems à decouvert, cette negligence me fait croire qu'il y pourroit y avoir

91. As Décultot said a 'non-lieu', *Ibid.*, p. 149; see p. 147 for Winckelmann's diminishing eagerness to visit Greece.
92. *Ibid.*, pp. 123-124. On Winckelmann's ideas of history as a system: Alex Potts, *Flesh and the Ideal. Winckelmann and the origins of art history*, New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2000 (first published 1994), pp. 33-46.
93. On chronology as a science: Grell, *Le XVIIIe siècle...*, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 791-881.
94. This was never finished nor published. Mylne refers to it in several letters, kept in the archives of the Royal Institute of British Architects, London.

> une infinité de belles choses dispersées et negligées surtout à Tarente et aux environs. Je serois determiné d'y aller meme à pieds.'[95]

In his letter he writes about the situation of Paestum in relation to Naples, the ancient character of the architecture and the fact that the temples have only recently been discovered; strangely enough, even when he has visited the site these elements continue to predominate. Two years later, when Winckelmann had finally visited the site in April he wrote in a letter to his friend Heinrich of Bünau (1697-1762) on 26 April 1758:

> 'Ich habe verschiedene Reisen weit ins Land hinein gethan, um alles zu sehen: unter anderen bin ich nach Pesto am Salernitanischen Meerbusen gegangen, um 3 alte dorische Tempel oder Portici, welche fast ganz erhalten sind, zu sehen; dieses ist das ältesten was wir in der Baukunst in der Welt außer Egypten haben. Die Mauren der Stadt sind noch an 2 Mann hoch und 32 Neapelsche Palmen dick. [...] Ich würde über die Grenzen eines Briefes gehen, wenn ich von diesen erstaunenden Ueberbleibseln einigen Begriff geben wollte; ich werde aber sowohl von diesen als von dem entdeckten Foro und Tempel zu Pozzuolo einige Nachricht in Druck gehen lassen. Die Gebäude zu Pesto sind allezeit so wie sie itzo sind, zu sehen gewesen, aber man hat allererst vor 6 Jahren davon angefangen zu reden. Itzo werden sie in Kupfer gestochen. Das Land bis Salerno ist eine Gegend, die sich niemand schöner bilden kann'.[96]

This fragment illustrates that Winckelmann is chiefly interested in recently discovered sites. His reactions are very different from the responses of travellers we have seen in the previous four chapters. Winckelmann does not really describe the site or the temples, he does not confront us with his feelings and perceptions, and certainly not with an architectural experience. Rather, his account has been written out of an archaeological interest to document an unknown site and the eagerness to publish his 'discoveries'. He seems more interested in the phenomenon of

95. 'Dans tous les Ecrivains Chorographiques et historiques du Royaume de Naples dans le Tresor de Graevius et ailleurs il n'y a été fait mention des batimens sudits. V. aussi le Dictionaire de Martiniere. Les Savans de Naples ne feront pas aussi des miracles sur les decouvertes d'Heraclea.' Winckelmann to Bianconi, Rome 29 August 1756, letter published in: Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Briefe*, edited by Walter Rehm and Hans Diepolder, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1952-1957, vol. 1, letter 157, p. 243.
96. Letter to Bünau, Naples, 26 April 1758. *Ibid.*, p. 350. Winckelmann was in Paestum in 1758 with Wiedewelt and Volkmann. Winckelmann, *Briefe, op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 15.

three ancient temples at a distant site than in a close examination of them. The idea of viewing practically the most ancient buildings is repeated in several letters:

> 'Poi ho fatto un viaggio dispendioso e penoso per me à Pesto, settanta miglia da Napoli verso la punta del Golfo di Salerno. In questo Paese deserto ho veduto tre Tempj o sia Portici quasi intieri di stupenda Architettura Dorica; io gli stimo piu antichi che tutto quello che ci resta in Grecia. Un tempio a Gergenti rapportato dal P. Pancrazi nel Tom. II dell'Antich. di Sicilia è quasi dell'istesso fare. Si vede ancora tutto il circuito quadrato della Citta, e la grossessa della mura e di 38 palmi Romani misura presa da me. Cosa stupenda! Da otto anni in qua se n'è principiato a parlarne. Cluverio non ne dice parole; lui che pare essere stato sulla faccia del luogo. Rose Pestane tanto decantate degl'Antichi non ho trovato, ma bevuto ho di quel Aqua Salmastra di cui fa menzione Strabone.'[97]

Apart from the viewing of very ancient buildings, which had been neglected for a long time and been recently discovered, Winckelmann emphasizes his own presence at the spot as well: 'Vielleicht bin ich [...] der erste Deutsche der da gewesen.'[98] Winckelmann was surprised that there was not any written account on Paestum and expressed the special sensation of being there first. After his first visit, Winckelmann went again to Paestum in 1762 and 1764. Apart from these frequent travels to Greece in Italy, Paestum seems not to have been that rewarding. In only constantly emphasizing how ancient the temples were and that he was the first German to visit them, Winckelmann's incapability of grasping the site shone through his words. Other letters written in 1758 and the years after that keep repeating the same elements, to his friend the painter Adam Friedrich Oeser (1717-1799), to Bianconi again, to the writer Johann Caspar Füssli (1706-1782), to collector and friend Philipp von Stosch (1691-1757), and to the Swiss

97. Winckelmann, letter to Angelo Michele Bianconi, Rome, 13 May 1758, in Winckelmann, *Briefe, op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 355-356. Winckelmann is the only one in this period who refers to publications. These references, like the famous description of the roses of Paestum by Virgil, appear only later in the publications on Paestum, as we have seen in the second chapter.

98. 'Die größte Reise habe ich in Gesellschaft 2 Kammerherren des Khurfürsten von Kölln nach Pesto am Salernitanischen Meer-Busen gemacht. Es ist eine wüste verlaßene Gegend, wo man so weit das Auge gehet nur etliche Hirten-Häuser siehet: denn es ist eine ungesunde Lust daselbst: Es ist an 70 Ital. weit von Neapel. Mitten in diesem wüsten Lande stehen 3 erstaunende Dorische fast ganz und gar erhaltene Tempel in den alten Ring-Mauren, welche ein Biereck machen und 4 Thore haben. Die Mauren sind an 40 Römische Palmen dick: welches unglaublich scheinet. Man findet daselbst den Bach vom falzigem Waßer von welchem Strabo redet und viel andere Dinge bey den Alten. Diese Tempel sind nach ihrer Bauart viel älter als alles was in Griechenland ist, und niemand ist vor 6 Jahren dahingegangen. Vielleicht bin ich und meine Gesellschaft der erste Deutsche der da gewesen.' Winckelmann to Berendis, Rome 15 May 1758, in: Winckelmann, *Briefe, op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 366.

writer Salomon Gessner (1730-1788).[99] The letters suggest that in Paestum he was a bit lost. This is also an example of the conflict between theory and reality that stuck to Winckelmann during his life. Apart from the evident connection of Paestum to the first beginnings of architecture Winckelmann did not say so many interesting things about the temples. The descriptions of Paestum in his letters are often variations on the same theme.[100] In most of them he writes about hoping for an upcoming publication on the site or Paestum is just mentioned, for example in telling a friend to go there.[101] It is only in one letter to Gian Ludovico Bianconi that Winckelmann makes an interesting comparison between architecture and sculpture, in the sense of proportions:

99. Winckelmann to Oeser, Rome 15 May 1758, letter published in: Winckelmann, *Briefe, op. cit.*, vol. 1, letter 213, p. 362: 'Denn ich habe verschiedene Reisen weit ins reich hinein gethan, sonderlich nach Pesto am Salernitanischen Meer-Busen, wo 3 fast ganz und gar erhaltene Griechische Tempel stehen von der ältesten Dorischen Bauart, von welchem bisher niemand kaum geredet hat; ja verschiedene herrn in Neapel wißen nicht einmal wo diese Gegend ist; diese 3 erstaunende Gebäude nicht weit von dem Gestade der See stehen mitten in den alten Ringmauren der alten Stadt, welche an 40 Römische Palmendick sind. Die ganze Gegend umher ist wüste und öde.' Winckelmann to Muzel Stosch, letter 20 May 1758: 'Ich bin nach Caserta gewesen und nach Pesto wo ich die so genannten 3 Tempel, das erstaunendste und liebste für mich gesehen. Die ganze Ringmauer dieser alten Stadt Posidonium stehet noch und ist an 40 Römische Palmen dick. Ist es nicht wunderbarlich, daß niemand davon geschrieben?' p. 371; p. 369: 'Wille an Caspar Füssli 10 June 1758 about a letter Winckelmann send him in may 1758 from Rome: 'Er hat, ehe er Neapel verlassen eine Reise an dern Salernischen Meerbusen gethan, um Pesto, das Posidonium der Alten zu Besuchen. Es ist eine Wüsteney und öde Gegend, 60 welsche Meilen von Neapel, und wenig Leuten bekannt, wie unser Freund versichert. Dort hat er drey fast unversehrte Tempel angetroffen, sie sind, spricht Herr Winkelmann, von der allerältesten dorischen Bauart, und noch eher gemacht, als das Verhältniss der dorischen Säulen auf 5 Durchmesser, wie an dem Tempel der Minerva zu Athen gesetzt wurde: denn jene haben nicht einmal 5, usw. Diese Tempel liegen in einer Ringmauer, welche bey 40 römische Palmen dicke ist Herr Winckelmann spricht, es wäre ein ganzes Buch davon zu schreiben.' Winckelmann, *Briefe, op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 369.

100. Other letters where Winckelmann mentions Paestum: to Jasper Füssli, 27 July 1758 (p. 400: 'die wunderswürdigen drey dorischen Tempel'), to Muzel Stosch 5 August 1758 (p. 403: 'Die Gebäude zu Pesto von welken vor 10 Jahren kein Mensch nicht einmahl in Neapel gewußt, und die von jeder Zeit vor aller Welt Augen sichtbar gewesen, die ganze Ring-Mauer der Stadt, im Viereck, an 40 Röm. Palmen dick, welches verwunderlich seyn kann, laßen mich hoffen, daß die ganze öde und verlaßene See-Küste, wo die berühmten Städte von Groß-Griechenland gewesen, noch viel reste habe.') and 11 August 1758 (p. 404, on Volkmann: 'Ich habe mit demselben das was mir das ehrwürdigste aus dem ganzen Alterthum ist, nemlich Pesto gesehen, und er wird davon die beste Nachricht geben können.'); to Bianconi, 24 June 1759, to Barthélemy 13 September 1760 ('En parcourant les Monumens de M. le Roy j'aurois souhaité qu'il ait vu les temples de Piesti ou Pesto') Winckelmann, *Briefe, op. cit.*., vol. 2, p. 101; to J.J. Volkmann, 27 March 1761: 'Die Beschreibung von Pesto ist noch im weiten Felde. Der Graf Gazzola ist bey mir gewesen, und ich habe alle seine Zeichnungen und Kupfer mit Muße übersehen können; ich habe daher in der Vorrede meiner Schrift von der Baukunst eine sehr umständliche Nachricht von den dortigen Gebäuden gegeben.' p. 129; to Weisse, 15 August 1761: Unterdessen sind die Kupfer von den Gebäuden zu Pesto in Neapel zum Vorschein gekommen, und man saget es auch von dem Werle der Engländer. Es ist besser, daß ich nicht ferner daran gedenke.' p. 173; to Bianconi 10 January 1762; to Wiedewelt 3 March 1762; to J.J. Volkmann, 3 March 1762: 'Das Werk von Pesto ist nicht aus Licht getreten: denn Gazzola ist mit dem Könige nach Spanien gegangen, als Intendante dell'Artigleria del Rè di Spagna.' (p. 211). In his letter to Gessner, Rome 17 January 1761, Winckelmann refers to the site when he wrote about Volkmann, with whom he travelled to Paestum. Winckelmann, *Briefe, op. cit.*., vol. 2, 1954, p. 113.

101. Letters to Francke, on 28 January 1764 on his plan to go in February to Naples and to Paestum, Winckelmann, *Briefe, op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 14 (but he did not go to Paestum, see p. 425); to Paciaudi 8 November 1765; to Heyne 28 December 1765.

> 'Dell'Architectura di Pesto. I tre tempj o sia Portici sono fatti sull'istesso stile, e fabbricati prima dello stabilimento delle leggi di proporzione. La Colonna Dorica ha da essere di 6 Diametri e quelle di Pesto non arrivano a 5. Da ciò si puo inferire che l'Architettura sia ridotta in regole d'arte dopo la Scultura. L'Architettura del Partenion d'Atene è poco elegante al paragone del rilievo nel fregio dell'Architrave, di cui ho veduto un disegno esatissimo fatto da Stuart Ingl. Architetto di Greenwich, che ci lavora adesso intorno a Londra. Parerà un paradosso d'asserire che l'Architettura sia piu Ideale che la Scultura. Ma io raggiono così. L'Architettura non s'è formata sull'imitazione di qualche cosa nella natura rassomigliava a una casa, ma il Scultore aveva il suo archetipo nella natura perfetto e determinato. Le regole della proporzione bisogna convenire che sieno prese dal corpo umano, dunque stabilite da'Scultori.'[102]

In Winckelmann's publications Paestum also played a role. In both his *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums* (1764) and in the *Anmerkungen über die Baukunst der Alten* (1762) we can find his ideas on the site, in connection with the first beginnings of architecture. His letters can be seen as testimonies of how these ideas came about. Winckelmann aimed to write a cyclical history of art, showing general processes that determine art.[103] Although he is not a representative of the concept of primitivism, his ideas on the origins of art are interesting to examine. In the *Geschichte* Paestum is evoked only once, but in a significant place. In the engraving that opens the first chapter Winckelmann showed a column of one of the temples (fig. 5.23). The chapter is part of the first part about the 'Untersuchung der Kunst nach dem Wesen derselben', and is entitled 'Von dem Ursprunge der Kunst, und den Ursachen ihrer Verscheidenheit unter den Völkern'. Winkelmann wrote in a descriptive list of illustrations how he chose a collage of different objects of the most ancient works of sculpture and architecture:

102. Letter to Gian Ludovico Bianconi, July 1758: Questi fecero le Statue lunghe di 6 piedi umani, secondo Vitruvio, e le misure esatte prese da me vi corrispondono. Huetio nelle Heutiana pretende che il testo di Vitruvio sia scorretto, o ne sta in qualche dubbio su questo: ma altro è lo studio dell'arte e altro la Dimostraz. Evangelica. Dunque le fabbriche di Pesto sono fatte, o prima che i Scultori si accordarono sulla misura di 6 piedi, lo che pare poco probabile, o prima che gli Architetti adottassero le proporzioni de'Scultori. Gli Archit. antichissimi di Pesto s'accorsero bensì dell'incongruità delle loro colonne, ma non avendo la misura stabilita, per non farle troppo tozze, secondo che gli dettava il sentimento e la ragione, le fecero Coniche, e questa forma conica le rende stabili e se non saranno distratte con viva forza, resteranno in piedi sin'alla fine del mondo. L'abaco che posa sopra il collarino delle colonne spunta fuori dell'Architrave a 6 Palmi e questo concorre a rendere l'aspetto augusto e sorprendente. I trig[l]ifi sono nel fregio e sul cantone dell'Architrave in maniera che c'insegna Vitruvio, che non è da spiegarsi che con un disegno di queste fabbriche.' Winckelmann, *Briefe, op. cit.*., vol. 1, pp. 384-385.

103. Winckelmann, Herder argued, offered a system of doctrines rather than a history, he gave categories by which to group and judge the monuments of antiquity. Gombrich, *The Preference for the Primitive..., op. cit.*, p. 71.

Geschichte
der Kunst des Alterthums.

Erster Theil.
Untersuchung der Kunst nach dem Wesen derselben.

Erstes Capitel.
Von dem Ursprunge der Kunst, und den Ursachen ihrer Verschiedenheit unter den Völkern.

Die Künste, welche von der Zeichnung abhängen, haben, wie alle Erfindungen, mit dem Nothwendigen angefangen; nachdem suchte man die Schönheit, und zuletzt folgete das Ueberflüßige: dieses sind die drey vornehmsten Stuffen der Kunst. Die

Erstes Stück. I. Allgemeiner Begriff dieser Geschichte.

figure 5.23
Johann Joachim Winckelmann, Title page of chapter 1 of the *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, 1764.

> 'The section of a column is drawn after a column at a temple at Pesto, on whose buildings I provided the first report in the preface to my *Anmerkungen über die Baukunst der Alten*. These temples were probably built not long after the 72nd Olympiad, and to all appearances they are older than any building that has survived in Greece itself. The column should be more tapered, a fact that the draftsman did not observe.'[104]

Apart from the Paestum column, Winckelmann depicted a statue in ancient Egyptian style, a terra-cotta relief of a sphinx, and an Etruscan vessel, demonstrating that the origins of art began both with the Greeks, the Egyptians and the Etruscans. In his publications as well Winckelmann never failed to emphasize that Paestum was the most ancient example of Greek architecture on Italian soil. These observations on the temples are only very general. However, the remarks Winckelmann made in the *Anmerkungen* are more relevant than the ones in his letters. In this publication he wrote lengthily on Paestum, but his text is rather descriptive. Winckelmann is aware of the scoop he presents to his public. Until then, no thorough description of the temples in print existed, and he was indeed the first foreigner to publish about them in such a way. He was the first to found his judgements on a comparison with other ancient architecture.

> 'Dieses sind ohne Zweifel die ältesten Griechischen Gebäude, und nebst dem Tempel zu Girgenti in Sizilien, und dem Pantheon zu Rom, ist kein anderes Werk der Baukunst, welches sich so völlig erhalten hat'.[105]

He remarked how the temples are not designed according to Vitruvius' *De Architectura*, and that the entasis shows they are very ancient. In a comparison with the ones in Sicily, which he never saw but knew from drawings made by Robert Mylne at the spot, he thought the temples extraordinary, most of all because of the capitals. As for the height of the Sicilian columns, they were not as stumpy as the ones in Paestum. In general, Winckelmann does write a bit about Paestum in the *Anmerkungen*, but just in comparing small elements with the Agrigento temple. The main comments relate to their ancientness:

104. Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *History of the Art of Antiquity* [1764], introduction by Alex Potts, translation by Harry Francis Mallgrave, Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2006, p. 82.
105. Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Anmerkungen über die Baukunst der Alten, entworfen von Johann Winkelmann*, Leipzig: Johann Gottfried Dyck, 1762, Vorbericht, p. 4.

> 'Die Verzierungen an dem Tempel zu Girgenti und an denen zu Pesto sind, wie überhaupt in den ältesten Zeiten, groß und einfältig. Die Alten sucheten das Große, worinn die wahre Pracht bestehet: daher springen die Glieder an diesen Tempeln mächtig hervor, und viel stärker, als zu Vitruvius Zeiten, oder wie er selbst lehret.'[106]

While Winckelmann, in his chronological approach, constructed series in his art history, Paestum, a unique site, posed problems to him. This was contrary to Soane, Piranesi, and, as we will see, Quatremère de Quincy who all saw the uniqueness of the site and could appreciate and interpret it. Winckelmann's idea of history was one of progression and the difficulty of engaging Paestum in this history, makes his remarks only very general. But because Winckelmann's concern was with the history of art, it will shed some light on further developments in the eighteenth century. Interesting in this light is a reaction on his writings by an author we have met in the previous chapter, Paolo Paoli.

Paoli turns history around

Whereas Winckelmann presented a careful chronological system of origin, decadence and decay of the arts, Winckelmann's critic Paolo Paoli used origin in an entirely different way. With him a third type of primitivism becomes manifest: primitive as an aesthetics. Paoli was one of the more controversial authors on Paestum, and wrote an interesting text, shortly after his contentious monograph on the site. It was published by Carlo Fea (1753-1836), a papal antiquarian, in an Italian edition of Winckelmann's *Geschichte*, that came out in the same year as Paoli's Paestum monograph. In the third volume of this translation, entitled *Storia delle arti del disegno presso gli antichi, di Giovanni Winkelmann, tradotta dal tedesco e corretta e aumentata dall'abate Carlo Fea* (vol. 3, Rome 1783-1784), the text was published in the form of a letter to Fea: 'Lettera sull'origine ed antichità dell'architettura al signor abate Fea'. Almost twenty years later a French

106. Johann Joachim Winckelmann, 'Anmerkungen über die Baukunst der alten Tempel zu Girgenti in Sicilien' in *Kleine Schriften*, edited by Walter Rehm, Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1968, p.179; in the French version: 'Les ornemens du temple de Girgenti & de ceux de Pestum sont, comme l'étoient en général ceux des plus anciens temps, simples & massifs. Les Anciens cherchoient la grandeur dans laquelle consiste la vraie magnificence; c'est pourquoi les parties de ce temple sont fort saillantes & beaucoup plus que du temps de Vitruve, ou que cet Architecte ne l'enseignoit lui-même.' in: 'Remarques sur l'Architecture de l'ancien Temple de Girgenti en Sicile' in: Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Lettres Familières de M. Winckelmann*, Amsterdam/Paris: Courturier fils 1781, vol. 1, pp. 270-272, 279-280; p. 290: 'On voit par là combien la maniere d'opérer des Anciens étoit simple; & il paroît que malgré leurs arts & le secours de l'algebre, les Modernes n'ont pas encore pu parvenir à la perfection des forces mouvantes des Anciens.'

translation of the same letter was published in a French edition of the *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums*.[107] The exclusive focus of scholars on Paoli's false assumption that the temples were Etruscan has not only led to a neglect of Paoli's Paestum monograph, but has also to the fact that studies have practically overlooked Paoli's more significant remarks in the letter. Indeed, for its remarks on the beginnings and developments of architecture the letter is interesting both in the light of Paestum as in that of the eighteenth-century pursuit of origins.

The letter was formulated as a reaction to Winckelmann's *Geschichte*. The Italian translation of the *Geschichte* was published for the first time in 1779 (Milan). The edition published by Fea was the second Italian edition (1784).[108] Carlo Fea found the first Italian edition badly translated and annotated, and the same held for the French translation. Thus, he turned to the German original, in which he found many errors of facts. Fea decided to correct sources, and added descriptions of monuments, and recent discoveries. Immediately after arriving in Rome, Goethe bought this Fea edition.[109] Fea's blunt edition, attacking the reputation of the widely acclaimed intellectual Winckelmann, received many critiques, even shortly after publication.[110]

107. Paolo Antonio Paoli, 'Lettre sur l'origine et l'antiquité de l'architecture', in: Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Histoire de l'Art chez les Anciens, par Winckelmann; traduit de l'allemand avec des notes historiques et critiques de différens auteurs*, vol. II, Paris: Gide, an XI [1803], pp. 1-55.
108. The 1779 translation was by Carlo Amoretti, annotations by Angelo Fumagalli. See for more background on Fea's publication: Ronald T. Ridley, *The Pope's Archaeologist. The Life and Times of Carlo Fea*, Rome: Quasar 2000, pp. 32-46.
109. 'Winckelmanns Kunstgeschichte, übersetzt von Fea, die neue Ausgabe, is ein sehr brauchbares Werk, das ich gleich angeschafft habe und hier am Orte in guter, auslegender und belehrender Gesellschaft sehr nützlich finde.' Goethe, *op. cit.*, p. 139.
110. In the *Memorie per le Belli Arti* a review was printed. The reviewer, Onofrio Boni, criticized Fea for unthinkingly publishing Paoli's text asserting that the Paestum temples were Etruscan, while Winckelmann had rightly shown that they were Doric. *Memorie per le Belle Arti*, March-June 1786, pp. 65-72, 89-97, 115-122, 139-145. At the time Boni had already written a review of Paoli's publication. *Memorie per le Belle Arti*, August-December 1785. According to the reviewer, Fea misdated his edition in 1784, instead of the actual 1786, to conceal that he knew of this critique and of a letter written by Giovanni Antolini in 1785 from Paestum, in order to claim the credit of discovering their Doric origin himself. Ridley argues that the proof is given by the mention of an edition on the Palazzi Albani of 1785, but this only proofs that the volume was misdated, not that Fea did this to claim the discovery. Ridley, *op. cit.*, p. 40. Giovanni Antonio Antolini (1753-1841) was an architect who compared in a publication of different letters Vitruvius and recent publications on Paestum and Greece in order to date a temple at Cori. Giovanni Antonio Antolini, *L'ordine dorico ossia il tempio d'Ercole nella città di Cori*, Rome: Paglierini, 1785. This is of course utterly unlikely, because Fea knew that he could not name this a discovery, for many authors after Winckelmann already described the temples as Doric. Fea replied lengthily to the criticism in the *Memorie delle Belle Arti*. *Memorie per le Belle Arti*, July-December 1786, pp. 235-238, 243-245, 250-254, 259-261, 269-271, 276-278, 283-286, 292-295, 303-304, 308-312, 316-319, 330-333, 338-341, 346-348, 356-358, 362-365, 370-372, 378-380, 386-388, 395-396. These were also published separately by Paglierni, Rome. He explained how the publication was delayed by an essay on the ruins in his translation, and that the volume was begun in 1784 to be printed. He asserted to have obtained the information about the temples being Doric from the French architect Barbier.

In his letter, Paoli begins by saying that Winckelmann's book is seminal, but that a few corrections should be made, 'sur-tout lorsqu'elles sont exécutées par un esprit ardent, dont le travail rapide ne s'accorde pas toujours avec de lentes et utiles réflexions.'[111] He addresses Fea who as editor of the translation made the effort to present it well and annotate it thoroughly, adding new information on monuments or even adding new ones with new observations. As Paoli states, Fea has, while compiling the translation, asked him to comment upon it, and especially on Paestum, in thanking him for: 'm'avoir communiqué vos savantes observations, et de m'avoir forcé à vous exposer mon sentiment sur quelques remarques de Winckelmann sur l'architecture des anciens, et spécialement sur les ruines de Pestum, dont il parle en différens endroits de son ouvrage.'[112] Fea himself never visited the temples. He used Paoli's measurements to correct those given by Winckelmann in the Italian edition of the *Geschichte*. Paoli boasted: 'les dimensions données dans les planches de mon ouvrage, sont non-seulement les plus exactes qui aient paru jusqu'ici; mais elles correspondent aussi parfaitement aux monumens sur lequels elles ont été prises.'[113] At the same time, Paoli also reacted to the recently published Italian edition of the *Anmerkungen*, in which Winckelmann adopted, according to Paoli, the false idea proposed by Le Roy that the Doric order consisted of three periods, and that with this idea in mind one can consider the two Greek temples the origin of architecture. And even if they are the oldest, how can we tell that the Dorics really built them, Paoli asked, followed by an exposé of how Le Roy did not measure the monuments very thoroughly.

What Paoli does in his publication, is remarkable. In offering a new interpretation of the Paestum temples, he turns current ideas on the origins of architecture upside down:

> '[...] car ils sont postérieurs au temps auquel l'ordre dorique étoit déjà fixé à la hauteur de six diamètres, il est impossible de leur appliquer cette méthode primitive et très-ancienne de bâtir qu'on a supposée: on devroit, au contraire, les regarder comme des constructions fantasques, d'un style, si l'on veut, antique, mais mal entendu; soit qu'on ait voulu se servir des pierres qu'on avoit sous la main, soit par l'effet de quelques autres circonstances, qu'il seroit difficile de deviner, et inutile même de vouloir chercher à connoître.'[114]

111. Paoli, 'Lettre..., *op. cit.*, p. 2.
112. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
113. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
114. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

This passage is significant because in his argumentation Paoli disconnects primitive in the sense of very ancient from the application of particular forms in architecture that look primitive. In a reaction in his text to Winckelmann, Le Roy and other writers on ancient Greek architecture, he states how we should not judge these architectural forms with the method of primitivism as an ancient way of building but as a model of thought. The temples might be ancient, but we should see them as capricious constructions, a badly understood or interpreted antique style. A link is to be noted here with the ideas of Piranesi. The reason why these forms are different from ancient architecture is because the builders used building material that happened to be at the spot, or because of other circumstances. Primitive forms can thus be an artistic or a practical choice, rather than just a beginning. The disconnection of primitive in the sense of early and original and primitive form in the sense of rough and uncouth as a conscious artistic choice finds a closer explanation in another passage:

> 'On ne doit pas considérer un ouvrage de l'art comme antique, ou comme attestant un des premiers essais de ce même art, par la raison seulement qu'il est grossier, difforme, sans proportions dans son ensemble, et privé d'ornemens; puisque, dans des temps modernes, on a vu paroître des ouvrages mal conçus et executés sans la moindre méthode.'[115]

Here we can discern a new variety of primitivism, after having distinguished before between primitivism as a cultural theory and as an aetiology: aesthetic primitivism. Primitive and simple architectural forms should not automatically be seen as a beginning or origin of architecture, but as an artistic choice, that for several reasons could happen in later times as well. It is important to keep this remark in mind, for we will see later in Labrouste's text how this idea can lead to other far reaching views on the relation between primitivism and the origins of architecture.

In the case of Paoli, this aesthetic primitive was appropriated as a part of the artistic choices of the Italian ancestors, the Etruscans. More importantly, it was seen as distinct from history. Because primitive was a choice that could be made at any moment, depending on the local circumstances, it had nothing to do anymore with the beginnings of architecture.

115. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

Paoli presents his letter as a sort of summary of his publication on Paestum, and in many notes refers to this volume. He explains how he looked for evidence at the site, in for example the building materials, the architectural forms, and the degradation of the material caused by destructions of time, and how he reflected on the light that history could shed on the subject. Through this physical evidence found at Paestum he concluded on the temples (fig. 5.24): 'leur origine étrusque, de ce que ces monumens sont de courte proportion, et qu'ils sont formés de grandes masses de pierre; mais je ne regardai pas cela comme des preuves suffisantes pour y reconnoître le caractère des travaux de ces peuples, et comme l'ouvrage d'un temps antérieur à l'origine des trois ordres grecs.'[116]

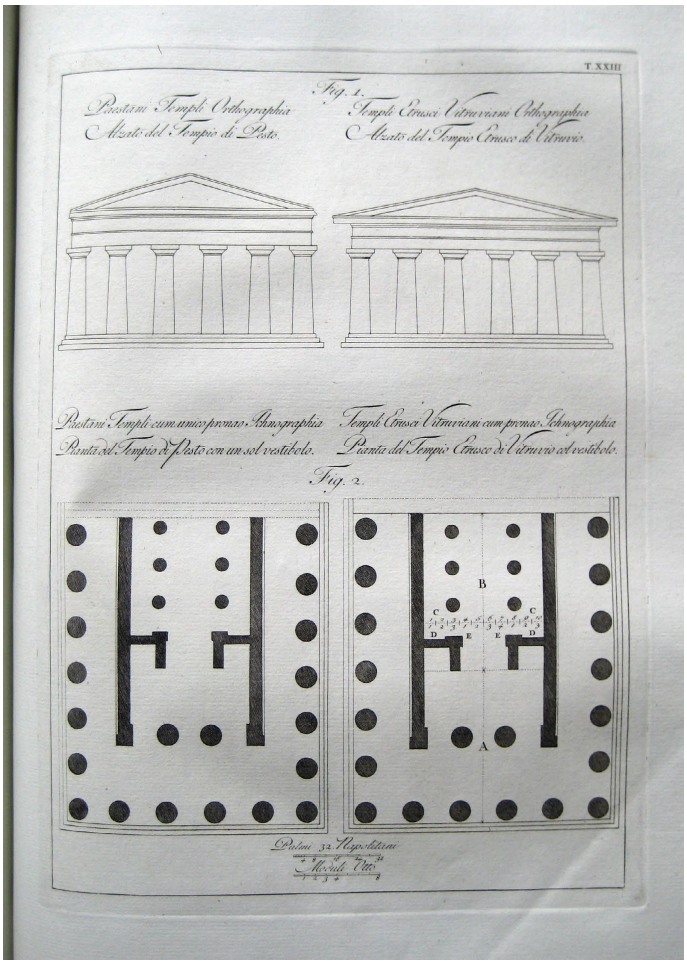
In taking as a starting point Julien-David Le Roy's description of two temples, one near Corinth and the other the Theseus temple in Athens, Paoli argued against Le Roy that even these were not Greek: 'plus le Roi fera d'efforts pour nous représenter ces monumens comme lourds et sans grâce, moins il parviendra à prouver qu'ils ont été construits par les Grecs.'[117] The idea still persisted that Greek architecture was simple and graceful, and that buildings that did not correspond to this idea were of a puzzling derivation, as they were to Winckelmann.

Paoli admitted that the Paestum temples were very similar to the Greek temples, at least in their squat columns, but that this was no reason to think that either of them were Greek. In fact, Paoli turns and twists to make his point, not so much that these temples were Etruscan, but much more that history had a different course, and that what in many books, as in the ones by Le Roy or Winckelmann, is presented as proper to Greek architecture, is in fact much older. As much as this view is obviously contradictory to what he said earlier, his account contains some interesting elements regarding the connection between the origins of architecture and Paestum.

Paoli aims to prove that even before the Greeks started to build, there were enormous complexes constructed by the Etruscans. But, most of all, he claims that the Greeks were not the inventors of architecture, and that their only contribution was the addition of elegance and ornaments with which they embellished architecture and gave it all its splendour.[118] In fact,

116. *Ibid.*, p. 9. Here he referred to Le Roy's account of the three orders.
117. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
118. 'Il eût même suffi de ce que j'ai dit, dans mon ouvrage, sur Pestum [p. 7ff], pour répondre à le Roi, et pour le convaincre qu'on ne doit pas attribuer aux Grecs l'invention de l'architecture; mais seulement son élégance et ses ornemens les plus recherchés. Et véritablement, je me flatte d'avoir prouvé que quand les premiers Grecs vinrent de la Phocide en Italie, non-seulement les Tyrréniens étoient déjà avancés dans l'architecture, mais que même ceux de

figure 5.24
Paolo Paoli, Comparison of a Paestum temple (Neptune) with an Etruscan temple in Vitruvius, 1784.
(Paoli, *Rovine...*, 1784, plate XXIII.)



Paoli locates the very origin of this architecture in the Temple of Salomon.[119]

The assumption that architecture was created out of trees is set aside:

> [Le Roy] prétend aussi, d'après l'opinion vulgaire, que la colonne (tout au plus l'un des ornemens de l'édifice) tient son origine des poteaux qui servoient à soutenir les cabanes, et que l'idée de ces poteaux est due aux arbres. D'après ce préjugé, une colonne antique que Pococke dit avoir vue en Egypte avec une base ronde, et dont la tête étoit couronnée d'une pierre carrée, ressembloit par conséquent à un arbre. Quant à moi, je n'ai jamais vu d'arbres dont la partie inférieure ressemblât à un socle, et qui fussent terminés à leur cîme par un chapiteau. Le Roi n'admet ici les fables que pour se conformer aux contes populaires'.[120]

Instead of these huts, Paoli sees rather the grottos as the first shelters. The grottos formed by nature served as models for the first dwellings.[121] Then, by using stone as building material, man made the first building, and it is thus not only the origin of architecture that is connected to stone, but the evolution of it as well. In his argumentation Paoli associates the idea of making fire, before related to wooden dwellings, to the creation of stone building material.[122]

When Paoli writes about the origin of columns, a remarkable association with the Paestum temples is made. He uses Paestum as an example to prove that the origin of columns lay with the Egyptians. To him, pyramids and mostly obelisks are direct predecessors of Paestum's architecture:

Pestum étoient en état d'enseigner aux nouveaux habitans l'art de bâtir une ville'. '*Ibid.*, p. 16; p. 34: 'La science des Grecs par rapport à l'architecture s'est principalement manifestée dans l'élégance des colonnes, dans la variété de leurs bases, et dans la beauté de leurs chapiteaux.'

119. '[Le] temple de Salomon, nous indique les proportions [...]Voici donc l'origine de cette architecture lourde, massive et solide, qui prit naissance en Orient, qui, dans les contrées méridionales, fut adoptée par les Tyrréniens, et que les Grecs adoptèrent ensuite.' *Ibid.*, p. 20.

120. '[...]: Vitruve, l'immortel Vitruve, avoit bien voulu les adopter dans des temps moins éclairés que les nôtres, parce que ces puéilités n'altéroient en rien la grandeur de son sujet.' *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.

121. 'Je me conforme volontiers à l'opinion de ceux qui, en admettant les cabanes, regardent cependant les grottes et les antres, comme les premières et les plus anciennes retraites de l'homme [..] cabanes qu'en second lieu. Je laisse de côté Vitruve et d'autres écrivains'. *Ibid.*, p. 25.

122. 'Ainsi, la méthode d'élever des murs en liant les pierres avec de la boue, et de durcir la terre humide par le moyen d'un élément plus actif que la seule chaleur du soleil, en les cuisant au feu, ne me semblent pas chose de difficile invention. C'est cependant à quoi l'on doit l'origine et les progrès de l'architecture.' *Ibid.*, p. 31.

> 'En effet, que l'on abatte les angles d'une aiguille, qu'on la tronque à une hauteur donnée, et on aura une colonne antique, large à sa base et se retrécissant en forme de pyramide, comme l'étoient les colonnes orientales, et comme le sont encore celles de deux temples de Pestum.'[123]

When, subsequently, Paoli argues that the columns have in fact the same proportions as an obelisk, another interesting aspect of his argumentation becomes manifest:

> Cela posé, la colonne du grand temple de Pestum est retrécie d'environ une quatrième partie de sa base, à la hauteur d'environ quatre diamètres; si l'on prolonge ses lignes jusqu'au point du retrécissement d'une troisième partie, elle formera une colonne haute de cinq diamètres et deux tiers. [just as the obelisk] [..] Si l'on considère ensuite la colonne du petit temple de Pestum, qui est moins ancien que l'autre, et dont par conséquent le retrécissement est moins considérable, on verra qu'elle répond en quelque manière aux proportions de l'obélisque de la place Saint-Pierre.'[124]

What is so peculiar in this argumentation is that Paoli does not think in a structural way when architecture is concerned. When we compare his remarks with the ones made in architectural treatises or monographs on Paestum by architects, it is significant that he does not reason out of the idea of how to construct a building. This will become even clearer in the next chapter. Identifying 'le même gout et le même caractère' in obelisks and columns alike, he tries to explain how we can clarify the use of an entasis in the columns (fig. 5.25) (an invention of the Etruscan people of course), given that they have the same proportions as obelisks:

> 'Voilà donc la raison du grand retrécissement des colonnes étrusques, et pourquoi les plus anciennes de cet ordre avoient une forme pyramidale. Il se pourroit aussi que cela eût fourni l'idée de l'*entasis* ou renflement des colonnes, dont les Etrusques furent également les inventeurs, et qui se voit au troisième et le moins ancien monument de Pestum. Lorsque, dans la suite, ces anciens habiles architectes sentirent la nécessité de renfler leurs colonnes vers le milieu, pour leur ôter la sécheresse de cette ligne pyramidale, et conserver, en même temps, leur solidité, ils imaginèrent cette sage et ingénieuse proportion dont j'ai longuement parlé dans mon ouvrage, et à laquelle les

123. *Ibid.*, p. 36.
124. *Ibid.*, p. 37.

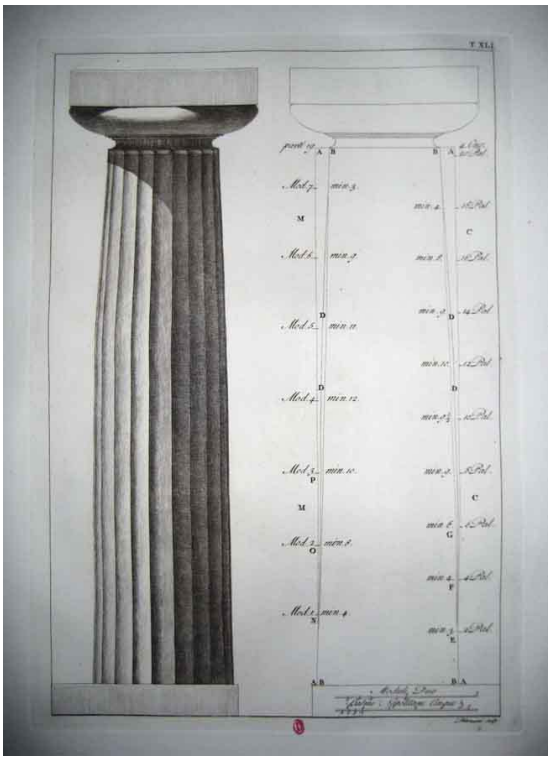


figure 5.25
Paolo Paoli, The entasis of a column of the Basilica, 1784.
(Paoli, *Rovine...*, 1784, plate XLI.)

RECUEIL
D'ANTIQUITÉS ETRUSQUES GRECQUES ET ROMAINES.

CHAPITRE I.
De l' Origine des Etrusques, & de leurs Lettres.

LEs commencemens des Anciens Peuples sont presque tous fabuleux, incertains, ou totalement inconnus. On diroit que semblables aux sources de ces fleuves, que leur petitesse ou leur trop grand éloignement dérobent à nos recherches, les Origines des Nations nous sont cachées, soit qu'ayant eu des Principes trop foibles, soit qu'étant séparées de nous par un trop long espace de temps, elles restent confondues dans la foule des événemens, & ne laissent à notre curiosité aucun moyen de dé-

figure 5.26
D'Hancarville, The Temple of Neptune as letter L, 1766.
(D'Hancarville, *Antiquités...*, vol. I, chapter 1, 1766.)

Grecs ont donné le nom d'*entasis*.'[125]

For Paoli, even the flutings originate in obelisks: by cutting the corners to eight, sixteen or thirty-two sides (or from three to six to twelve to twenty four flutings as in Paestum) and making small hollows or channels between them, to give them more elegance, 'on obtiendra une colonne ronde et cannelée.'[126] Both of these, the entasis and the fluting are elements that indicate the antiquity of the columns, and could never have originated in wood.[127] Paoli sees columns as ornament, instead of as constructive elements. The explanation for this might lie in his claim that he looks at his subject as an historian, not as an architect.[128]

The assumption that the temples were built by Etruscans was an older one.[129] In 1766 Pierre François Hugues Baron d'Hancarville (1719-1805) wrote about the temples he visited: 'Du milieu de ces ruines, s'élevent trois Edifices d'une sorte d'Architecture, dont les membres sont Doriques bien que les proportions ne le soient pas'.[130] Together with William Hamilton, d'Hancarville stayed a few days at the site to examine the monuments, of which the proportions were strange to him.[131] D'Hancarville's publication *Antiquités Etrusques, Grecques et Romaines* presented, contrary to, for example, Caylus' thought that the Greeks were the successors of the

125. *Ibid.*, pp. 37-38.
126. 'et ce sont-là précisement les colonnes de Pestum'. *Ibid.*, pp. 38-39.
127. [if we consider that columns and flutings] 'ne doivent pas leurs origine aux pyramides ou aux obélisques; je voudrois bien savoir comment la vue d'un arbre a pu en donner l'idée? car assurément l'arbre ne porte avec lui ni renflement vers le milieu, ni cannelures dans son fût. Cependant l'invention de la colonne et de ses cannelures remont à la plus haute antiquité; et le renflement d'une agréable proportion, qu'on nomme *entasis*, est également fort ancien. *Ibid.*, p. 43.
128. 'je vais continuer à vous exposer ce que je pense sur l'origine et les progrès de cet art admirable: pour cet effet, je continuerai à traiter cette matière purement en historien, et non en architecte ni en professeur d'aucune partie pratique de l'art, dans lequel j'avoue n'avoir des connoissances suffisantes.' *Ibid.*, p. 22.
129. Mario Guarnacci, *Origini italiche, o siano Memorie istorico etrusche sopra l'antichissimo regno d'Italia e sopra i di lei primi abitatori nei secoli più remoti*, Lucca: L. Venturini, 1767, presented the temples as Etruscan as well.
130. D'Hancarville, *Antiquités Etrusques..., op. cit.*, vol. I (1766-1767), pp. 94-111. The publication was meant to illustrate the rich collection of vases of Hamilton, since 1764 envoy extraordinary of Britain to the Neapolitan court. The section where he writes about Paestum is called 'De l'origine des Etrusques et de leurs Lettres'. On d'Hancarville see: Francis Haskell, 'The Baron d'Hancarville: an Adventurer and Art Historian in Eighteenth-Century Europe', in: Edward Chaney and Neil Ritchie (eds.), *Oxford, China and Italy: Writings in Honour of Sir Harold Acton on his Eightieth Birthday*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1984, pp. 177-191. In 1785 D'Hancarville published *Recherches sur l'origine, l'esprit et les progrès des arts de la Grèce, sur leurs connections avec les arts et la religion des plus anciens peuples connus, sur les monuments antiques de l'Inde, de la Perse.*
131. 'Dans un quatrieme voyage que nous fimes il y a quelques mois à Pœsti, nous nous y arrêtames plusieurs jours pour examiner à loisir ces ruines magnifiques, qui étonnent & imposent d'avantage à mesure qu'elles sont examinées avec plus de soin, & revues plus souvent. En recherchant, avec Mr. Hamilton, tout ce qui pouvoit nous instruire du plan et de la grandeur de cette Ville, dont nous fimes plusieurs fois le tour.' D'Hancarville, *Antiquités Etrusques..., op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 53.

Egyptians in architecture, another architectural evolution: the Etruscans as the architectural forefathers of the Greeks. Paestum had an important role in his book. He placed an image of the interior of the Neptune temple on the frontispiece of the first chapter in the first volume (fig. 5.26), but most of all, he used the temples to prove his argument. In Paestum he found many traces of Etruscan presence, supporting his thesis that the buildings as well must have been influenced by the Etruscans. D'Hancarville, a French amateur art-dealer, pseudo-aristocrat, and an intimate friend of Winckelmann, was obviously not driven by national motivations, as Paoli could have been. And his argumentation is a different one. Because the buildings were constructed on a site where previously there had been an Etruscan settlement, the architecture had been influenced by these local conditions and showed characteristics of Etruscan architecture. In this way he tried to show how the development out of Etruscan into Greek architecture had taken place. Out of the Tuscan order, and specifically because it was a Greek colony, the Doric order was born.[132] The Egyptian influence on the Greeks, found by Paoli in the columns of the Paestum temples, was according to D'Hancarville also transferred through the Etruscans.[133] D'Hancarville's suggestions were a prelude to the more elaborated thoughts Paoli was to present seventeen years later. In this section on architecture in his book D'Hancarville announced some elements that were to be further developed in the nineteenth century: the disposition of the buildings and their forms that were following their function and their decorum, the stylistic language that was developed in the creative mind of the artist. Another question regarding primitivism becomes manifest here: in what way is there still room for artistic invention or creativity when origin is the norm? What are the 'motors of change' that justify or explain that now we build in a manner that differs from the way we built at the time of the first dwellings? To clarify this problem, we will now analyse the theories of

132. 'Toutefois ceux [les bâtiments] de Pesti ne gardant ni cette regle [de Vitruvius] ni la Symmétrie qu'elle assigne aux espaces qui sont entre les colonnes de cet ordre, il faut qu'ils soient construits dans un tems qui la précédé, c'est à dire avant l'Epoque de l'étabissement des Grecs en Ionie' [...] 'sa grandeur & sa solidité; ces deux choses formoient le caractere que les Etrusques cherchoient particulierement à donner à leur architecture, & l'on trouve l'une & l'autre dans les Temples de Pesti. Nous pouvons donc croire qu'élevés avant la découverte des regles Grecques dans un pays où les Doriens avoient indubitablement des Edifices Etrusques sous les yeux, les Temples de Pesti suivirent la symmétrie de l'ancien ordre Toscan, aussi différent de celui dont Vitruve donne les proportions, que le Dorique de Pesti l'est de celui des Ioniens.' 'Après avoir indiqué a quel Siecle on peut attribuer la construction des Temples de Pesti, après avoir fait voir des Edifices Etrusques qui purent leur servir de Modeles, nous avons prouvé que les Grecs ont souvent fait usage d'une partie du système des Etrusque sur l'Architecture, & nous avons fini par montrer que ce système est employé à Pesti', *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 56.

133. 'La figure pyramidiale des colonnes employées dans l'Architecture de Pesti, a fait croire à quelques uns que les Grecs avoient emprunté cette forme des Egyptiens, bien que dans le tems où elles on été élevées, il n'y eut aucune communication entre ces deux peuples; on sait au contraire que le goût des Etrusques, quoi qu'assurément original, ressembloit en plusieurs choses à celui des Egyptiens'. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 60.

Quatremère de Quincy, who combined Winckelmann's thinking in series with ideas about the motors of change. I will further put into context what we have seen until now of how different ideas on the origins of architecture and the primitive were distinguished in different ways.

While there were two different connotations of the primitive, as a cultural theory and model and as an aetiology or history, Paoli added a third one to these: primitivism as an aesthetics. Since these interpretations slowly grow away from each other, their definitions become clearer, as we have seen in the texts in the different sections. Seen in the light of the problems Winckelmann had to fit Paestum in a history of architecture, something else became clear. Both Paoli and Winckelmann show that when travellers visited the site the primitivist theories conceived at the writing table became a problem. Winckelmann did not manage to make Paestum part of his system of series and similarities when he was confronted with actual Greek architecture and instead only focussed on the fact that the remains were very old. Paoli's archaeological quests led to the conclusion that the primitive forms of the temples grew out of the specific location and were an artistic choice. D'Hancarville tried to write history and integrated elements of the Egyptian revival. Our next protagonist, Quatremère de Quincy, will throw a clearer light on these developments.

Quatremère de Quincy's writings towards a universal architecture

Antoine Crysostôme Quatremère de Quincy (1755-1849) was a man of letters, a politician and an art collector. From the start he had been interested in architecture and sculpture, and would publish widely on these subjects. In these publications he often discussed the topic of the origins of art and architecture, as we will shortly see.[134] When one reads the list of books in his library, which contained many lots, the large number of publications on Egyptian architecture is remarkable, as are the various Vitruvius editions, and all the other treatises from Alberti to Serlio, but also publications on the sublime, and on primitivism.[135]

134. For example in: *Considérations sur les arts du dessin en France, suivies d'un plan d'Académie ou d'École publique et d'un système d'encouragement*, 1791; *De l'Architecture égyptienne considérée dans son origine, ses principes et son goût, et comparée sous les mêmes rapports à l'architecture grecque*, 1803; *Le Jupiter olympien, ou l'Art de la sculpture antique*, Didot frères, Paris, 1814; *Essai sur la nature, le but et les moyens de l'imitation dans les beaux-arts*, 1823.
135. *Bibliothèque de M. Quatremère de Quincy..., op. cit.*

Quatremère was educated as a sculptor in the atelier of Guillaume Coustou and at the Académie Royale de Peinture et Sculpture in Paris.[136] However, his ambitions to become a sculptor were not fulfilled, and after a period in Italy he decided to give up his dream of ever becoming an artist. Nevertheless, his Italian voyage had been important for his formation of ideas on the arts. In 1776, when he was 21, he had established himself in Rome amid the European artists and the French *pensionnaires*, among whom he got a reputation of an 'espèce de missionnaire de l'antiquité'.[137] Quatremère travelled for four years in Italy from 1776 onwards, and visited Rome, Naples, Paestum and Sicily. Apparently, during these visits, he was preparing for a publication on architecture, collecting material on his way. In Rome he also met Piranesi. In 1779 he was in Naples with Jacques-Louis David, who painted his portrait in the same year, the earliest portrait that is known of Quatremère.[138] The architect is sitting at his desk holding a plan of a classical temple. We cannot tell which temple this is. In 1780 he was back in Paris, but in 1783 and 1784 he returned to Italy, meeting William Hamilton and Antonio Canova. He also travelled to Sicily again, with a letter of recommendation written by Vivant Denon who was secretary of the French embassy at Naples at the time.

In his *De l'architecture égyptienne* (1803) Quatremère continued on ideas he had formulated in 1785 on the importance of the hut, the tent and the cave for the development of architecture. In his publication he recommends these primitive abodes for imitation. In the theory of type he had constructed on architectural imitation these dwellings had become not only different basic categories of buildings but more precisely models for architecture. Although Quatremère seems to follow Laugier in this conviction, and did express his admiration for Laugier in the many times he cited him, his idea of architectural origins and imitation differed fundamentally from Laugier's. First of all, Quatremère did not consider the hut a means of going back to nature visible in the simplicity of the rustic hut as Laugier argued. To Quatremère the hut was not a

136. There are not many studies on Quatremère. A recent study on him, but focussing mainly on one aspect, architecture and language, is: Lavin, *op. cit.* The only biographical study is René Schneider, *Quatremère de Quincy et son intervention dans les arts (1788-1830)*, Paris: Hachette, 1910. See also for his theories: René Schneider, *L'esthétique classique chez Quatremère de Quincy (1805-1823)*, Paris: Hachette et cie, 1910.
137. His mother had died in 1776 and the heritage enabled him to make a voyage to Italy. Joseph Daniel Guigniaut, *Institut impérial de France. Notice historique sur la vie et les travaux de M. Quatremère de Quincy, lue dans la séance publique... le 5 août 1864...*, Paris: Firmin Didot frères, 1866, p. 6; p. 8: 'A Pæstum, il eut la première apparition de l'architecture hellénique, dans la simplicité sévère du style dorien, qui lui révéla toute l'histoire de ce grand art chez les Grecs.' 'Dans l'année 1779, il était en Sicile, où il en évoquait les images parmi les ruines des édifices doriques de cette île. Il y vit, entre autres, celles du temple de Jupiter à Agrigente, restitué par lui dans ses proportions colossales, d'après la description rectifiée de Diodore de Sicile: ce fut le sujet du premier Mémoire qu'il lut devant vous et comme l'un de vous, à vingt-cinq ans de là.'
138. The portrait is in a private collection, it has been published in Lavin, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

natural model, but itself already a work of art, nor was it directly reproducible.[139] Contrary to Laugier, for him the architect had first to distance himself from the hut to make the transition of wood into stone. The Greeks were the ones who transformed the wooden skeleton of the hut into stone architecture. Thus Quatremère demonstrated that imitation could only take place when the model was denaturalized, in the sense of distancing it from nature, and when human intelligence lay at the basis of the transformation process, and thereby he rationalized Greek architecture. In another publication Quatremère also made an interesting link with the primitive. This was in his book on polychromy *Le Jupiter Olympien* (1814). There Quatremère had argued that the coloured Greek architecture and sculpture indicated that there were links with ancient Middle Eastern art, and that they were manifestations of idolatry, something he considered a primitive and universal human instinct. Furthermore polychromy was also to him an expression of the need of primitive man to connect colour and form.

Now bearing in mind these ideas on primitive culture, the hut and imitation, how did Paestum play a role in these theories? Unfortunately we cannot reconstruct his thoughts on Paestum at the time of his voyage since no travel account of Italy by Quatremère has come down to us. But he did write about the site in his publications, especially in the entries of his *Encyclopédie méthodique*. His *Encyclopédie* was based on the *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers* by Diderot and d'Alembert, and was meant to complete and improve it. Between 1782 and 1832 the 210 volumes of the *Encyclopédie méthodique* were published (157 with texts, and 53 with images), of which three were devoted to architecture. Of these three the first was published in 1788 and 1790, the last in 1825 and 1828.[140] Quatremère was the author of those three volumes, and in these his ideas on the origins of architecture are to be found. The entries on 'architecture', 'bois' (published in 1788), 'cabane' (1790), 'Dorique' (1801), 'Paestum' (1825) and 'temple' (1828) give us much insight. The 'Paestum' entry contains a very short description of the site, the situation, the city walls, the two Doric temples and the Basilica. He mentions also that there are other ruins, and refers to Delagardette's publication for more information on

139. 'Ce modèle, réel ou fictif, quel qu'il fût, étoit déjà lui-même un ouvrage de l'art', Antoine C. Quatremère de Quincy, *Encyclopédie méthodique, Architecture, dédiée et présentée a monseigneur de Lamoignon, garde des sceaux de France, &c.*, 3 vols., Paris: Panckoucke, 1788-1825, vol. 1 (1790), p. 454.
140. Quatremère de Quincy with the collaboration of Jean-Baptiste Rondelet until 1801 followed by Nicolas Huyot and Antoine-Laurent Castellan. The third volume is (almost) entirely by Quatremère de Quincy. Every volume was published in two parts: volume 1 in 1788 (pp. 1-320) and 1790 (pp. 321-730); volume 2 in 1801 (pp. 1-358) and 1820 (pp. 361-744); volume 3 in 1825 (pp. 1-344) and 1828 (pp. 345-664). Laurent Baridon, 'Le dictionnaire d'architecture de Quatremère de Quincy: codifier le néoclassicisme', in Claude Blanckaert and Michel Porret (eds.), *L'Encyclopédie méthodique (1782-1832): des Lumières au positivisme*, Geneva: Droz, 2006, pp. 691-718.

the building materials used and for speculations on the way they were constructed. Quatremère ends this entry with the type of stone that was used in all the buildings, the cement that was applied, and the stucco on which still some remains of colours were to be found.[141]

While the entry on Paestum does not offer much for our topic, the entries on 'Dorique' and 'temple' do, because there the temples also appear and are analysed by Quatremère in the context of the origins of architecture and the origins of the baseless Doric order. In addition to the entry on 'cabane', the entry on 'Dorique' also contains some further significant remarks on how he sees the primitive hut. In these texts Quatremère draws on Winckelmann's construction of series, on Laugier's ideas of the primitive hut and on Vitruvius, while we will also find here aspects that would be picked up later by Soane (as we have seen in the second section) and by Labrouste, as the next section will show.

Quatremère has a specific view on Paestum, but in a way he also summarizes many eighteenth-century ideas on the site. For example, in the 'Dorique' entry, the Basilica is not considered a temple. Thus, it does not feature in the section of the different proportions of the Doric order, where a comparison is made between the proportions at Paestum, in Sicily and in Athens. In the entry on 'temple' Quatremère described the origins of the Greek temples, their progress and different forms and destinations. He referred back to the entries 'Architecture' and 'cabane' where he explained the evolution of the primitive hut to the temple.[142] In this entry the two Paestum temples are merely used as examples of the type 'périptères exastyles', as explained by Vitruvius.[143] In 'Dorique' his remarks are more significant. The Doric order is to Quatremère an order that expresses 'force' and 'solidité'. He distinguishes between the original Greek Doric order and the false modifications of it in modern architecture, 'par l'oubli de l'ancien'. Then an enumeration follows and a short description of buildings in which the baseless Doric has been used, in Greece, Sicily and Italy, including Paestum, aiming to show most of all their similarities and their difference with the modern Doric: 'tous ces ouvrages doriques sont

141. Quatremère de Quincy on 'Paestum', in *Encyclopédie..., op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 57: 'Plusieurs parties de cet enduit ont conservé des restes de couleurs.'
142. Quatremère on 'Temple': 'comment de qu'on appelle la cabane en bois, devint le modèle de l'architecture, et comment les colonnes, les chapiteaux, les frontons, les entablemens et toutes les parties de la modénature, avoient dû être façonnées dans leur configuration, et même leurs proportions, de manière, que l'art n'eut plus qu'à terminer et à polir, di l'on peut dire, dans des matières plus précieuses, l'ébauche des édifices en bois. [...] On est assez porté à croire que ce fut après la guerre des Perses, qui avoient incendié beaucoup de temples en Grèce, que l'architecture en pierre prit tout son développement dans les temples.' *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 453.
143. Quatremère on 'Temple', *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 454.

sans aucune exception dans le caractère, le style, la forme & les proportions inconnues aux modernes avant les récentes découvertes qui ont reproduit les monumens originaux de l'art des Grecs.'[144] Just as Winckelmann, Quatremère concentrates on series and similarities, and emphasizes the normal aspects of the temples rather than the specificities. Because Greece was not well known, he argues, travellers could not appreciate the original Greek Doric in Paestum's architecture. Quatremère shows the importance of Paestum in this, as he presents it as the first site that questioned the rules. He summarizes in short what had happened in Paestum after its rediscovery, travellers seeing the order as something local because they were used to the modern Doric in their own cities, while he tries to prove how the temples were just like all the other Greek monuments:

> 'c'est en Grèce exclusivement qu'on doit aller puiser les modèles de cet ordre. Ainsi ceux qui, sur la première vue de monumens doriques grecs retrouvés & dessinés pour le première fois vers le milieu de ce siècle à Pæstum, avoient jugé que cette ordonnance dorique n'étoit qu'un style local & d'exception, manquoient des données nécessaires au jugement qu'ils portoient. Leurs idées n'avoient pu se généraliser assez pour embrasser la question dans toute son étendue. On prenoit le dorique moderne pour règle ; l'autre devoit être exception. Le tableau qu'on vient de donner fait assez voir de quel côté doit être la règle.'[145]

The eighteenth-century idea that the temples represented the beginnings of architecture was, according to Quatremère, a result of a lack of knowledge about Greek architecture. This is how he explains that these travellers believed that Paestum represented architecture in its infancy, because it did not look like the modern Doric they knew and because they were simply unaware of other Greek architecture:

> 'par l'effet du contraste du dorique grec avec le moderne, & frappés de la pesanteur, de la courte proportion, des formes mâles & massives de l'ancien dorique, le regardèrent

144. 'A Pæstum, l'ancienne Possidonia, trois monumens du même ordre dorique, & généralement bien conservés. Le premier est un édifice composé de neuf colonnes sur dix-huit latérales, dont la hauteur est de quatre diamètres. Le second, ou le grand temple, est exastyle 1 peripètre. (Voyez-en la description dans l'ouvrage du Père Paoli sur les antiquités de Pæstum.) Le troisième, construit dans le même ordonnance, présente néanmois dans l'intérieur de son pronaos une ordonnance de six colonnes plus petites, élevées sur des socles ronds, mais qui n'ont encore rien de commun avec la base du dorique moderne.' Quatremère on 'Dorique', *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 234. On this last element Labrouste would reflect, as we will see in the next section.
145. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 235.

> comme une ébauche de cet ordre, & de la privation de base, conclurent qu'un tel goût remontoit à l'enfance de l'art. Ce jugement étoit tout aussi erroné ; la plus simple réflexion le démontre.'[146]

Instead, Quatremère makes an effort to prove that, rather than the infancy of architecture, the monuments were just part of general Greek architecture. However, Quatremère says, it is difficult to combine the 'grossier' and the 'barbarie dans l'architecture' in the architecture of Magna Graecia with the high luxury and culture of their civilization and the perfection in the other arts. So he asked: 'Comment accorder cette idée d'enfance dans l'art le plus cultivé de tous par les Grecs, avec cette perfection contemporaine de tous les autres arts du dessin & du génie?' This is explained as follows: because a heavy characteristic is used for the temples for the grandest gods and for the most important buildings in Greece, it expresses the grandeur and the dignity of the architecture of the Greeks. As such it can be a universal style, and a model, instead of being an attempt or a first phase:

> 'Ce n'est pas l'essai, c'est le complément de l'architecture. Ce n'est pas l'ébauche grossière d'un mode amélioré depuis par le goût & l'expérience, c'est le résultat du goût & de l'expérience de plusieurs siècles, d'un grand nombre d'hommes en pays divers. Ce n'est pas un style local, c'est un style général.'[147]

Here we encounter the beginning of putting Paestum in a norm of Greek architecture, as we will see in more detail in the next chapter. Instead of some curious forms in the infancy of architecture, its architecture becomes the general rule. However, Quatremère does connect the baseless Doric with the origins of architecture.[148] But his whole aim is to show the general aspect of this order, and not its specificity. That is why he explains that 'La Doride' strangely enough has given its name to the Doric order, and hereby stresses the fact that the existence of a Paestum order in contemporary architecture would be bizarre.[149]

146. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 235.
147. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 236: 'C'est n'est pas une esquisse façonnée depuis par d'heureux changemens, c'est une œuvre achevée, c'est un ensemble de conceptions, de rapports, de combinaisons savantes, fruit lentement mûri, résultat sécond d'idées qui ne pouvoient que dégénérer en se modifiant diversement. Enfin ce n'est pas le tâtonnement, c'est la perfection de l'art, c'est l'art lui-même, c'en est la matrice, le type, le *nec plus ultra*.'
148. 'Parler de l'ordre dorique, c'est parler de l'architecture grecque; ainsi parler de l'origine de cet ordre, ce seroit remonter à la naissance de l'architecture.' *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 237.
149. 'Qui ne fait combien de raisons souvent futiles ou éloignées concourent à donner aux choses des dénominations sans rapport direct avec elles? Il suffit ou d'un monument fameux dans un pays, ou d'un artiste, ou d'un artiste, ou d'une tradition équivoque, pour établir une désignation vulgaire à laquelle l'usage se conforme. N'avons-nous pas

According to Quatremère, the aspect of Greek architecture being unknown to the Paestum traveller had also resulted in Paoli's assumptions that Paestum was in fact Etruscan. He states anxiously that if the Etruscans should be the inventors of that (Tuscan) order, this would completely turn around the history of the origins of architecture. But Paoli was motivated by his 'amour-propre national & le désir de donner à l'Italie une architecture indigène', and Quatremère points out that Paoli even argued that the Etruscans looked for their models in Egypt, leaving the Greek contribution entirely out of sight.[150] If Paoli had seen other Greek monuments, Quatremère states, he would have argued otherwise.[151] In fact, what bothers Quatremère most, is that Paoli bases a whole historical system for architecture on his arguments.[152] Interestingly for us, it actually shows much more that Paoli saw Paestum as something unique. Paoli distinguished between the primitive as beginnings and as an artistic choice. Quatremère only tried to find the similarities between Paestum and other Greek monuments, concentrating in fact more on the writing of a history. In that way Quatremère aimed to make Paestum part of the norm of Greek architecture, while ignoring its uniqueness and emphasizing its parallels with other architecture. The idea of a Paestum order agitated him so much, because it meant that Paestum would be a unique type. However, as we will see in the next chapter, it was this very aspect of uniqueness that would not feature in the so-called Paestum order.

vu de nos jours, en France, appeler *ordre de Pæstum, ordre pæstonica*, cet ordre *dorique* dont il s'agit, parce qu'à l'antique Possidonie, appelée depuis *Paistos* & enfin *Pæstum*, il en reste trois monumens très-remarquables. Si les récits & les dessins des voyageurs ne nous eussent appris que cent autres monumens du même ordre existent dans les ruines de cent autres villes amiques, peut-être Pæstum eût donné son nom à notre ordre, comme peut-être la Doride ou Dorus auront tout aussi vulgairement jadis donné le leur à l'ordre *dorique*.' He makes a comparison with Greek vases that got the name of Etruscan vases 'parce que les premiers qui vinrent à la connoissance des antiquaires de l'Italie, furent trouvés dans le pays de l'antique Étrurie.' *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 238.

150. 'plutôt parce qu'il lui importoit dans son système de donner à son toscan une origine étrangère à la Grèce.' *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 239.

151. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 238: 'la difference qui existe entre l'architecture de Pæstum & le dorique, tels que les modernes l'ont pratiqué, ne pourroit laisser de doute sur cette question qu'autant que les monumens de Pæstum seroient seuls de leur espèce ; & c'est dans cette hypothèse qu'a raisonné le père Paoli, & c'est dans cette seule hypothèse que sa théorie devient tolérable. [...] si ceux de Pæstum sont toscans, ceux d'Athènes sont aussi toscans.' This whole discussion of Paestum being strange and Quatremère defending it being Doric, and cautiously defending it being a canon, or norm, disappeared in the second edition of the *Encyclopédie*, 1835, because by that time it was no longer a point of discussion.

152. 'Si le père Paoli eut eu connoissance de ce nombre prodigieux de monumens grecs, tous semblables à ceux de Pæstum, il est probable qu'il n'eût pas aussi légérement bâti sur un point isolé le système général dont on vient de parler ; mais ce système même joint au silence qu'il garde sur tous les autres monumens du même genre, prouve qu'il n'a connu que Pæstum ; dès lors il est tout-à-fait caduc, & je n'en parlé aussi longuement que parce que la grande érudition de l'auteur, & la célébrité de l'ouvrage ne permettoient pas de laisser l'un & l'autre sans réfutation.' *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 239.

To strengthen his argument of similarity in the Greek baseless Doric Quatremère makes a comparison of proportions of the different Greek temples, and offers some specific features, variations or nuances for certain temples.[153] In a part on the renewal of the Greek Doric order Quatremère stresses again how Paestum became essential in the knowledge about the original Doric, as compared to the modern Doric, and he refers to the travels to the site. The site became 'une célébrité qu'elle avoit perdue depuis bien des siècles. Enfin la proximité de Naples détermina beaucoup d'artistes à entreprendre ce voyage, & il n'y a pas d'antiquités mieux connues aujourd'hui que celles-là.' This does not mean that the temples were thoroughly examined though. Next, Quatremère reminds us again of the change in thought at the end of the eighteenth century towards a comprehension of the temples:

> 'Cependant la découverte des ruines de Pæstum ayant précédé de fort long-temps toutes les autres, le dorique de ses temples a été un sujet de controverse & de conjectures assez bizarres, jusqu'à ce que de plus nombreuses découvertes dans le même genre, eussent mis le plus grand nombre des artistes à portée de faire des parallèles & de généraliser les idées.'[154]

Thus, Paestum loses its specificity and becomes part of general Greek architecture. It did not show architecture in its infancy, and by normalising its architecture, he can turn it into a norm and into a model. In showing the similarities in Greek Doric architecture Quatremère distinguished between this original pure Greek and the modern Doric, a contemporary version of it. For the application in contemporary architecture they are to him two separate orders, which should be used to express different characters. He criticised eighteenth-century inappropriate applications of the pure Greek Doric order, and the fashion it had become, demanding a return to simplicity and to a more cautious use: 'L'ordre dorique est trop sérieux, trop grave pour être employé autrement que sérieusement & avec gravité.'[155] In contemporary architecture there should be an original baseless Doric, and a modern one, with base, that has

153. Here Quatremère refers to himself being in Paestum and perceiving the bases of the columns in the pronaos of the Ceres temple. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 247. In this part of his entry he also refers to the publication of Delagardette, and on page 250 as well.
154. 'Nous avons déjà parlé du système erroné du Père Paoli, précédé par M. d'Hancarville dans l'opinion que les temples de Pæstum étoient d'ordre toscan. Cela vint du défaut de notions générales sur cette matière. Il est résulté de même beaucoup d'erreurs de goût, de préjugés & d'opinions hasardées sur le dorique de Pæstum- Toutes furent l'effet de cette découverte isolée & partielle, mais elles n'en ont pas moins contribué à jeter quelque défaveur sur la rénovation du véritable dorique.' *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 252.
155. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 255.

to be somewhere between a Doric and an Ionic order. At the same time he stresses that the baseless Doric has to stay pure, close to its origin:

> 'Il faut que le dorique grec, le seul véritable dorique, ramène constament l'architecture à son origine, & en reproduisant toujours ces premières pratiques de la construction en bois qui lui donnèrent l'être, apprenne aux artistes que c'est dans la simplicité des premières inventions que le génie doit aller puiser les motifs toujours nouveaux d'un art qui, comme un fleuve grossi par des torrens, n'est jamais pur qu'à sa source.'[156]

While his ideas on the application of the Doric might seem far away from his ideas on the origins of architecture and the primitive hut, they are nevertheless connected to them. Returning to the primitive hut in Quatremère's theories will clarify the importance he gave to cultural aspects, both in the hut and in Greek architecture. In relating the Greek Doric order to an architectural system Quatremère comes up with the imitation of constructions in wood, or the primitive huts, which he sees as so specific for the Doric. In line with Laugier, this primitive hut is an invention of nature: 'Nul homme, nul architecte n'a pu avoir l'honneur de cette invention.'[157] The hut was not built by one single architect, because this is not how nature works, Quatremère argues. Where he differs from Laugier is in that he emphasizes the development into architecture as a process that needs time and experience; it is never 'le fruit subit d'un seul essai.' Before the hut would be able to serve as a model for the Doric order, it had first to be perfected by a civilized people.[158] Quatremère sees this process from wood to order as very lengthy, and he argues that the wooden type had to be perfect first before it could be turned into stone.[159] Only this perfected wooden version could serve as the predecessor of the first building in stone, and thus the first architecture. Unlike Soane, who would let the primitive dwelling and Paestum approach each other very closely in his lectures, Quatremère

156. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 256.
157. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 240.
158. 'La cabane, sans perdre de la simplicité de sa forme première, aura vu ses supports, ses combles, ses porches, ses plafonds, ses proportions, se combiner, se modifier, s'embellir successivement, & se disposer avec plus de recherche & d'élégance.' Antoine C. Quatremère de Quincy, *De l'architecture egyptienne: considérée dans son origine, ses principes et son goût et comparée sous les mêmes rapports à l'architecture grecque*, Paris: Chez Barrois l'aîné et Fils, 1803, p. 230.
159. 'L'art ne transforma pas tout de suite & du premier coup les arbres en colonnes; les arbres durent devenir d'informes supports, puis des piliers grossiers, puis des piliers façonnés & arrondis avant de devenir des colonnes; & la colonne, avant de devenir un résultat de proportions heureuses, une combinaison de solidité & d'élégance, un objet tout à la fois nécessaire & agréable, dut passer par beaucoup d'essais, de calculs & de tentatives plus ou moins heureuses. [...] C'est en remplissant cet intervalle par les essais successifs d'une industrie toujours croissante, qu'on peut se rendre compte de la formation d'une architecture & de l'invention d'un ordre.' Quatremère de Quincy, *Encyclopédie...*, *op. cit.*, vol. 2.

emphasizes the distance between the hut and architecture in stone. Therefore, to Quatremère it is impossible to attribute the origins of architecture to one city, country, or architect.[160] Greek architecture is thus placed at distance from the primitive hut.

At the same time, for Quatremère, the system of rules derived from this transformation of the primitive hut into the Doric order by the Greeks did introduce the necessary spirit of nature into architecture, without which architecture would end up in caprices.[161] Here we can recognize Laugier's influence. However, an important difference with Laugier in Quatremère's ideas is that although he considered the primitive hut as the only original type, he allowed for other types to exist as well: the cave, the tent and the hut. As mentioned earlier, John Soane, in his Royal Academy Lectures, recalled and continued Quatremère de Quincy's theories while speaking about the primitive dwelling and illustrating this in different types of primitive abodes: he showed drawings of a 'primitive hut of conical form', a 'primitive hut with flat roof' and a 'primitive hut with pedimented roof'. Quatremère connected these types of primitive dwellings to different cultures, and each led to different architecture in stone. The cave, being the shelter of the hunter and fisherman, led to the religious architecture of the Egyptians; the tent of the herdsman influenced the wooden structures of the Chinese; the hut of the farmer and cultivator was the predecessor of stone Greek architecture. It is important to note that Quatremère already focussed on the differences in regions and cultures and their consequences for different types in stressing that the hut is culturally determined. We will see in the next section how Labrouste would interpret these local differences.

In his pluralistic view of the primitive dwelling, Quatremère was a follower of Le Roy, who also thought that there had been more than one primitive hut, just as Chambers had argued, as we saw before. Le Roy wrote about the similarities between Egyptian and early Greek architecture,

160. 'Si l'origine de l'ordre dorique est incontestablement dans la construction primitive des cabanes en bois, & si sa formation fut nécessairement le résultat du perfectionnement de la cabane & du rapprochement des parties constitutives de la charpente avec les qualités propres à la pierre, un amalgame enfin de deux natures de construction, de deux espèces de matériaux & de deux principes étrangers l'un à l'autre, c'est en vain qu'on chercheroit à attribuer l'honneur de son invention à telle ville, à tel pays, à tel architecte, à tel prince. [...] l'ordre dorique est le perfectionnement de la construction chez les Grecs; c'est le complément d'un système fondé sur la nature de leur construction primitive', *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 241.
161. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 241-242: 'Le système imitatif de l'ordre dorique consiste à avoir su se calquer sur les formes primitives de la cabane, & à avoir su introduire dans l'architecture le même esprit & la même marche que suit la nature dans ses ouvrages. L'architecture n'ayant aucun modèle positif dans la nature, eut été livrée à tous les caprices & à toutes les incertitudes de l'esprit de l'homme, si quelque forme simple, fondée en raison & déterminée par le besoin, n'eût pu servir de règle comme de terme aux efforts de l'imagination.'

and how the two are not clearly distinguished: 'Il semble qu'on n'a pas assez observé les rapports marqués qui les lient, ou les différences frappantes qui les séparent.'[162]

A concept that was closely related to the ideas Quatremère expressed in the entry on 'type' was character. To him, character in architecture was the result of place and climate, and this further explains the earlier mentioned three different types he named. The type reflected the geography and the climate of its surroundings and took its form by the people that conceived it. In Greek architecture, its order, harmony, balance, nuance and delicacy had been formed by the soil, the climate and the temperature, an argument that Winckelmann had also used. Quatremère remarked therefore that a transplantation of this architecture was difficult, and that when it was done it led to a loss of the essential nature of Greek architecture. Here we see a conflict with his earlier ideas in his entry on 'Dorique', where the use of the simplest baseless Doric was propagated for contemporary architecture.

The loss of the essential nature of Greek architecture was exactly what happened with Paestum, when architects tried to turn it into a design model. It meant that the characteristics of Paestum were no longer there. We will look more into this phenomenon in the next chapter. Even when architects referred to it in their designs, as Soane did with his Barn, it was only an idealisation or an abstraction of its architecture that was transferred into a new building. But Quatremère had a solution to the problem, and to his own contradictory ideas: through rules and precepts architects could correct and bring back architecture to its original strength. Hence the importance of the idea of type to didactic theory. In a way, Quatremère still believed in the transplantation of Greek architecture to Western Europe whereas, as we will see later, Labrouste had no confidence in this transfer.

In his ideas on types of primitive dwellings Quatremère developed a theory on the primitive in which there was no historical but a cultural specificity; it was an aetiology, but not an archaeologically founded theory. Instead of using the primitive hut to explain the exceptional qualities of Greek architecture, he laid the emphasis on the importance of its culture. In Quatremère's theories the origins of architecture were profane and not divine, as other authors had suggested, although in his ideas on the polychromy of sculpture he did connect the primitive to idolatry and divinity, as we saw earlier. At the same time, as we have seen in

162. Le Roy, *Les Ruines...*, 1770, p. viii.

his ideas on the Doric, he did present the primitive hut as the predecessor of the Greek Doric temples, only the process between the wood and stone was rather long. In that sense he drew much more on Vitruvius than on Laugier.

In associating the geographical conditions of Greece with the magnificence of Greek architecture, Quatremère emphasized its universal qualities, but its individual qualities as well, because its architecture was formed by the location. However, he used this argument of the influence of the location to define the universal characteristics of Greek architecture, rather than the local or specific differences. This became clear as soon as he was confronted with a concrete example, namely Paestum, where the local and individual aspects did not appeal to him, and he rather wanted to emphasize its universal aspects. Labrouste thought completely different, and would clash with Quatremère on this very topic. In Quatremère's argument not only the geographical conditions had determined the greatness of Greek architecture, but the historical ones as well. In these thoughts the new emphasis and ideas on historical and individual specificity of architecture that would determine nineteenth-century thought are visible, a focus that would also occupy the mind of Labrouste.

The genius of the place according to Labrouste

Labrouste's work on Paestum illustrates how history became more and more important and replaced the central role of theory in architectural thought. Architecture becomes more historically contextualised. The account of the French architect Henri Labrouste (1801-1875) is crucial for understanding the shifting relations of ideas on the origins of architecture, the primitive and the history of Greek architecture. In 1824 Labrouste had won the Grand Prix de Rome and left for Italy in January a year later to study for five years as a *pensionnaire* at the Académie de France in Rome.[163] For his fourth year *envoi*, a *restauration* of an ancient monument obligatory at the Académie, he chose the temples at Paestum.[164] This fourth year project was

163. For Labrouste see: Pierre Saddy, *Henri Labrouste, architecte 1801-1875*, Paris: Caisse Nationale des Monuments Historiques et des Sites, 1977; Renzo Dubbini (ed.), *Henri Labrouste 1801-1875*, Milan: Electa, 2002; Neil Levine, 'The Romantic Idea of Architectural Legibility: Henri Labrouste and the néo-Grec', in: Arthur Drexler (ed.), *The Architecture of the École des Beaux-Arts*, New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1977, pp. 325-416.
164. 'J'ai fait plusieurs voyages à Pesto, à plusieurs années d'intervalle, et toujours frappé de la Beauté et de l'interèt de ces monuments, je me suis décidé a en présenter à l'academie l'Etat actuel et la restauration comme travail de ma quatrième année', Henri Labrouste, mémoire 'Antiquités de Pestum Posidonia, Labrouste jeune 1829', Bibliothèque de l'École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris, PC 77832-7, f. 1. (in the published version: 'J'ai fait plusieurs

the most important and prestigious for the students. Usually it consisted of precisely measured drawings of Roman monuments, accompanied by a historical description. Only later in the nineteenth century Greek monuments were studied for the *envoi*.[165] The projects were exhibited in Rome in the Villa Médicis, the Académie de France, in the spring and subsequently in Paris in autumn. These *restaurations* were to present a canon of classical architecture, which could serve as a model to future architects, and were not meant to be a scientific archaeological research. Labrouste however, was not in search of a model for contemporary architecture but reconstructed a historical development. Paestum was an excellent site to do this, with three similar monuments but each clearly built in different times, situated away from Rome and Athens, the main cultural cities of Antiquity.

In addition to the drawings of the site (fig. 5.27), a present state situation of the temples and his own interpretation of their reconstruction, Labrouste wrote a *mémoire* on the temples. In this text, which accompanied the reconstruction in drawings of the temples, he tried to reconstruct the building chronology of the remains at the site. How he did this exactly we will shortly see. For now, it is important to know that Labrouste was concerned with how these ruins could be interpreted in the frame of history and that he examined them thoroughly at the spot in order to do so. In his concern with history and a chronological interpretation, Labrouste's ideas offered a new perspective, which in present studies is often considered from the perspective of nineteenth-century developments.[166] But when we look at them from an earlier point of view, in the light of the eighteenth-century theories presented in this chapter, another image is suggested.

Labrouste had sent his *mémoire* in 1829 to the Académie in Paris. It was not published before

voyages à Pæstum, à plusieurs années d'intervalle, et, toujours frappé de la beauté et de l'intérêt qu'offrent ces monuments, je me suis décidé à en présenter à l'Academie l'état actuel et la restauration, comme travail de ma quatrième année.', Labrouste, *Les Temples de Pæstum..., op. cit.*, p. 4.

165. Labrouste was the first *pensionnaire* to do a restoration on a Greek site. See: Marie-Christine Hellmann, Philippe Fraisse, and Annie Jacques, *Paris Rome Athènes. Le Voyage en Grèce des architectes français aux XIXe et XXe siècles*, Paris: École nationale superieure des Beaux-Arts, 1982. On two later restorations of Paestum, see the *envoi* of Félix Thomas 1849, *Ibid.*, pp. 146-151 (with polychromie); and the one of René Mirland 1915, *Ibid.*, pp. 152-155 (only Neptune). For Labrouste: *Ibid.*, pp. 132-145. Paestum was chosen as *envoi* first by Delagardette (1793), then by Destouches (second year, 1818, not delivered), Labrouste (fourth year 1829), S-Cl. Constant-Duffeux (first year 1831, 2 drawings), P. Morey (second year, 1834, 3 drawings), F. Thomas, (fourth year, 1850, *restauration* and *mémoire*), P. Bigot (second year, 1903) Ch-H. Nicod (first year, 1 drawing), R. Mirland (third year 1915, 5 drawings). See Pierre Pinon and François-Xavier Amprimoz, *Les envois de Rome (1778-1968) Architecture et archéologie*, Rome: École française de Rome, 1988, pp. 408-409.

166. For example in: Levine, *op. cit.*, pp. 325-416; Dubbini (ed.), *op. cit.*; Neil Levine, *Architectural Reasoning in the Age of Positivism: The Neo-Grec Idea of Henri Labrouste's Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève*, PhD thesis Yale University 1975.

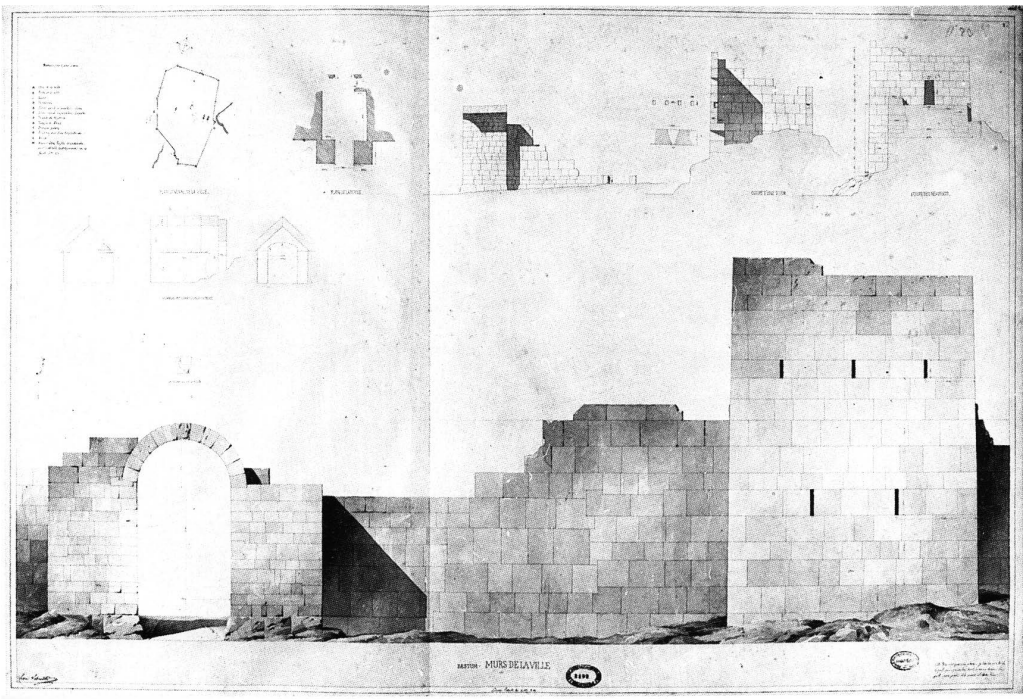


figure 5.27
Henri Labrouste, The city walls of Paestum, 1828.
(École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris, Env. 22.)

1877.[167] Nevertheless, people did react to it much earlier. Labrouste's text was even the starting point of a fierce debate on the Paestum temples, on Greek architecture, and on its significance and applicability for contemporary architecture. Van Zanten presents Labrouste's *envoi* as 'the first clear proclamation of the architectural revolution and [...], at the time, the target of the Académie's bitterest criticisms'.[168] Together with his fellow students Léon Vaudoyer (1803-1872), Félix Duban (1798-1870) and Louis Duc (1802-1879), Labrouste was to come to represent the Romantics and the Paestum *mémoire* was his revolutionary manifesto. This story is well known: instead of the doctrine of academic classicism the four students proposed an eclectic historical and hybrid approach, using a combination of historical forms, sometimes even in a historical narrative of architectural experience.[169] However, in the previous chapters of this thesis it has already been shown that the eighteenth-century situation they reacted to was not so black and white. We cannot say that mere classicism ruled in the period, and that Labrouste *cum suis* broke with this radically. What Labrouste did in the 1820's was already preluded and prepared for in the decennia before. While scholars still disagree on the exact nature of the debate between Labrouste and the Académie, it is certain that Quatremère de Quincy was one of Labrouste's critics.[170] But the precise content or motivations of the Académie's criticism is not univocal. Some scholars see the controversy mostly as a personal battle between the Académie's principals in Paris (Quatremère de Quincy) and in Rome (Horace Vernet) and say that there was no affair at all.[171] However, in the letters between Léon

167. Labrouste, *Les Temples de Pæstum..., op. cit.*, 1877.
168. David van Zanten, *Designing Paris: The Architecture of Duban, Labrouste, Duc and Vaudoyer*, Cambridge (Mass.)/London: MIT Press, 1987, p. 11.
169. *Ibid.*; for the experience: Richard Wittman, 'Félix Duban's Didactic Restoration of the Château de Blois. A History of France in Stone', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 55 (1996) 4, pp. 412-434.
170. Quatremère de Quincy prohibited travel outside Rome before the students' fourth year between the exhibition of Labrouste's drawings in Rome and Paris. (Levine, *op. cit.*, p. 511, note 66) Labrouste's project was received on August 5, 1829, the exhibition was from 24 August to 3 October in Paris. The dispute was between the director of the Académie in Rome Horace Vernet and Secrétaire Perpétuel of the Académie in Paris, Quatremère de Quincy. Vernet defended Labrouste, Quatremère criticised his *envoi*. Vernet formed a commission to check Labrouste's findings at the spot. Vernet resigned afterwards. *Ibid.*, p. 512, note 80.
171. Pinon and Amprimoz, *op. cit.*, pp. 248-249; pp. 322-324. Henry Lapauze, *Histoire de l'Académie de France à Rome*, 2 vols., Paris: Plon, Nourrit et Cie, 1924, has cited their long correspondence, II, pp. 190-200. Pinon and Amprimoz try to prove, using the original documents that there was no affaire on the doctrines of the Académie or on polychromy, but that it was all a personal battle, arguing that scholars have just copied the opinions of the Labrouste advocates, for example in J. Musy, 'La Grèce et l'Ecole des Beaux Arts. L'envoi d'Henri Labrouste', *Archeologia* 167, 1982, pp. 15-17; a chapter in Hellmann, Fraisse, and Jacques, *op. cit.* by Marie-Françoise Billot: 'Recherches au XVIIIe et XIXe siècles sur la polychromie de l'architecture grecque', pp. 61-125, or Neil Levine, who bases his opinion according to Pinon and Amprimoz not on the original sources. 'Il n'y a jamais eu de révolte de H. Labrouste contre l'Académie, mais un conflit Vernet-Quatremère de Quincy.' This debate was for them held about architectural details, and not a conflict of academism. The Vernet-Quatremère de Quincy correspondence: May-June 1829, 'Rapport sur les voyages des architectes pensionnaires', June 6, 1829; 'Pièces annexes des proces-verbaux de l'Académie des Beaux-Arts 1829 5

Vaudoyer and his father Antoine-Laurent-Thomas they do talk about an 'affaire', and these letters are written at the very moment when Labrouste delivered his *mémoire*.[172]

In his *mémoire* on Paestum, Labrouste presented his ideas in nine sections: five on the history of the site, three on the individual temples and one on the other remains. The in 1877 published version of the *mémoire* features six sections: one on the history of the site, three on the individual temples Neptune, Athena and Basilica (with a description of the present state and the *restauration*), one on other fragments and one on the city walls. They function more as the explanation of the 21 plates, of which there are eleven of the Neptune temple, three of the Athena temple, five of the Basilica, one of fragments and one of the city walls.[173] He also presents himself as the first to really have examined the monuments thoroughly.[174] The Académie did not appreciate this remark, and thought that Labrouste should have used and respected more the authoritive accounts.[175] In his introduction he immediately criticized those

E 19, Archives de l'Académie des Beaux-Arts, Institut de France, Paris, published in Lapauze, *op. cit.* and Schneider, *Quatremère..., op. cit.*, pp. 301-305.

172. Apparently, Léon Vaudoyer also thought about choosing Paestum as his *envoi* subject, his father discouraged him, because he thought travelling to the site was dangerous. Vaudoyer wrote about Labrouste seeking ladders in Naples: 'Henry avait à retourner à Pestum pour terminer son travail en faisant porter des échelles de Naples; il y eut allé avec son frère et moi avec Duc. L'aspect de cette belle antiquité m'a ravi, c'est une des choses qui m'ait fait le plus d'effet.' Léon Vaudoyer to Antoine-Laurent-Thomas Vaudoyer, Letter XXXII, received 6 December 1828, 'N'ayant point l'intention de faire un travail à Pestum, travail très important qui demande beaucoup de temps, et qui d'ailleurs, va être très bien fait par Henry. Je suis parti seulement pour bien voir et raisonner sur les lieux avec Henry, Duc et Labrouste. Nous avons couché à Salerne deux fois en allant et en revenant. Nous sommes restés 4 heures à Pestum où il n'y a pas de quoi manger, mais nous avions apporté des provisions, puis nous sommes revenus le soir à Salerne.' Letter XXXIV, Rome 29 January 1829. Antoine-Laurent-Thomas et Léon Vaudoyer, *Correspondance échangée pendant le séjour à Rome de Léon Vaudoyer, 1826-1832. Voyage d'Italie d'A.-L.-T. Vaudoyer, 1786-1787*, Institut Nationale d'Histoire de l'Art, Paris, ms. 747 (1-2).

173. Labrouste, *Les Temples..., op. cit.*

174. 'Ces ruines qui appartiennent evidemment à des monumens d'Architecture grecque, présentent un très grand interêt pour l'architecte tant par la singularité de leur disposition et le caractère de leurs détails, que par leur etat de conservation. malheureusement les Architectes qui se rendent à Pesto, sont obligés de se contenter d'un court Examen, l'état d'abandon dans le quel se trouvent ces ruines, leur situation dans un payis inhabité, malsain, éloigné des grandes villes du Royaume de Naples, ne permettent de trouver aucun moyens Necessaires pour y sejourner, et les mesurer et etudier convenablement; ces raisons qui privent les Architectes des etudes que pouraient leur presenter les ruines de Possidonia, peuvent, je crois, donner un interet de plus a celles que je presente. C'est a ces mêmes raisons qu'on doit attribuer l'origine d'une opinion, malheureusement trop connu, qui fait regarder l'architecture de ces monumens comme appertenant à l'Enfance de l'art, et qui l'a condamné comme impure et grossiere.' Labrouste, mémoire 'Antiquités...', *op. cit.*, f. 1.

175. 'Mr henri Labrouste, qui a fait plusieurs voyages à Pœstum et qui y a séjourné longtems pour observer avec soin tous les details des restes d'antiquités que renferme cette ville, n'ayant pas dû mettre dans son travail la précipitation qu'il reproche aux architectes qui les ont visitées avant lui, aurait pu par ce recherches ajouter à son travail un intérêt de plus qu'à celui de ses prédécesseurs auxquels nous croyons qu'il ne rend pas tout à fait assez de justice sur certains points.' Horace Vernet, 'Rapport de la Section d'Architecture Sur la Restauration des monumens de Pestum par Mr Labrouste henri (jeune)', Bibliothèque de l'École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris, PC 77832-7, f. 2.

architects who, with their accounts, took part in the formation of the general opinion 'qui fait regarder l'architecture de ces monuments comme appartenant à l'enfance de l'art'. Contrary to his predecessors, Labrouste had a much more historical approach. He took the whole of Magna Graecia as a basis to understand and describe the temples at Paestum, and their historical and artistic significance. In 1826 and 1828, when he travelled to the site, he also voyaged through Sicily, to examine the Greek temples there.[176] He used his findings to draw conclusions on the Paestum temples. In his mémoire he often refers to the Sicilian temples, also to give the historical value of Paestum.[177] Following the rules of the Académie, Labrouste made several reconstructions of the ruins in drawings (fig. 5.28-5.30), he did not draw any 'picturesque' perspectives that he disliked so much in other publications. Even for these reconstructions Labrouste used the information with which the Sicilian temples had provided him.[178] While Delagardette's monograph on Paestum had come to be known at the Académie in Paris as the seminal publication on the subject, Labrouste contradicted Delagardette's opinions in his descriptions and interpretations of the three temples in many aspects, often directly attacking the architect. Almost on every page of his *mémoire* he criticises Delagardette several times and he also often contradicts with Paoli. Naturally, this led to a large disapproval of the *mémoire* by the Académie members, but this disapproval had a more crucial and profound reason. Although Labrouste made some interesting new remarks, which were later to be reproduced by other travellers to the site, it was mainly his historical reconstruction, as opposed to Delagardette's precise data analysis of the architecture, with which the Académie had difficulties to agree.[179] Analysing the buildings in the context of other monuments and comparing their function, style, period, and ethnic and cultural circumstances, Labrouste provided a new method of interpreting the temples.

176. 'la précipitation que mettent ordinairement les Architectes qui vont a Pesto, leur fait negliger les monumens connus sous les noms de Basilique et de Temple de Cerès ; mon premier voyage en 1826 et les deux voyages que j'y ai fait en 1828 m'ont permis de mesurer toutes les Antiquités de Posidonia et d'y dessiner des fragmens que je crois inconnus et d'un grand interet; dans l'interval de les deux voyages, j'ai parcouru la Sicile dont j'ai rapporté les materiaux qui me manquaient pour la Restauration'. Labrouste, mémoire 'Antiquités...', *op. cit.*, f. 1.
177. Labrouste makes comparisons with the temples of Segesta, the temple of Concord and 'Jupiter Olympien' in Agrigento. *Ibid.*, f. 3; f. 4, f. 7, f. 8, f. 12, f. 14.
178. 'Ces divers fragmens trouvés en Sicile et qui m'ont servi d'autorité pour la restauration de la couverture du temple de Neptune, me paraissent interessants et neufs, j'ai cru convenable de les dessiner et d'en donner la dimension sur la feuille n° 12.' *Ibid.*, f. 8.
179. Some of these remarks were: on the superposition of the two orders in the Neptune temple ('Le diamètre inférieur du second ordre est donné par le prolongement de l'ordre inférieur.'), a remark that was made subsequently by Viollet-le-Duc as well; a reconstruction of the fronton of the Ceres temple, and remarks on the polychromy of Greek architecture.

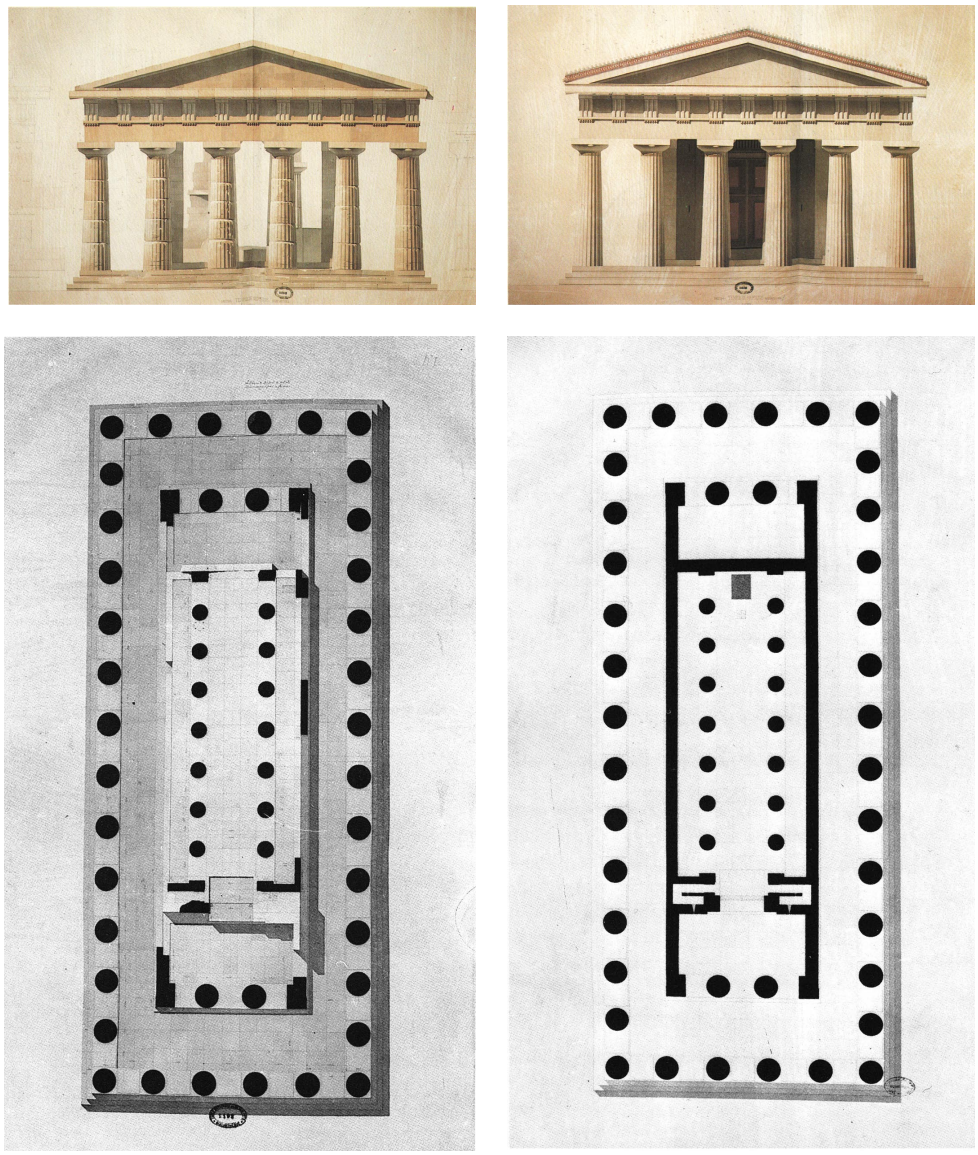


figure 5.28
Henri Labrouste, Temple of Neptune, elevations (ruined state and restored) and plans (ruined state and restored), 1828.

(École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris, Env. 22.)

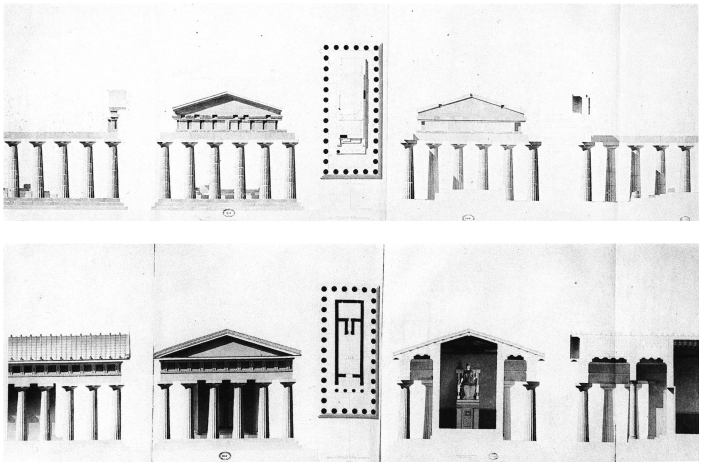


figure 5.29
Henri Labrouste, Temple of Ceres, elevations, plan, sections (ruined state and restored), 1828.
(École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris, Env. 22.)

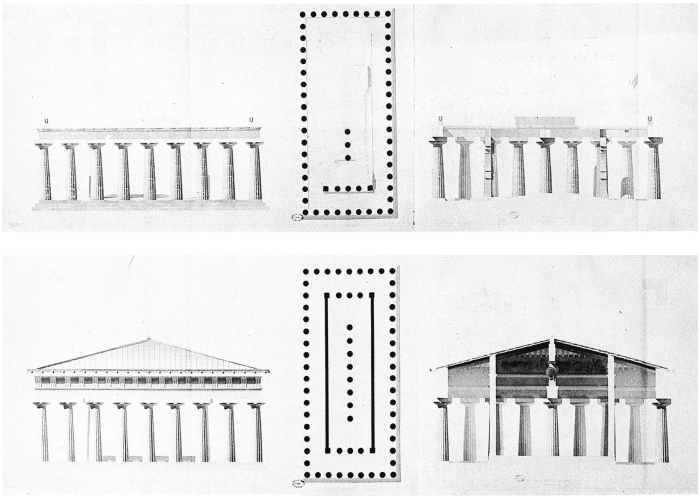


figure 5.30
Henri Labrouste, Basilica, elevation, plan, section (ruined state and restored), 1828.
(École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris, Env. 22.)

In fact, it is interesting to see Labrouste's publication in the light of eighteenth-century ideas, and then not only those of Quatremère but also of other Paestum theorists, Paoli for instance. In his description of the Neptune temple, Labrouste integrated a drawing of the two orders on top of each other. We recognize the image and the description in Paoli's publication, and in his letter to Fea on Winckelmann's *Geschichte*. As we have seen before, in his publication Paoli made the comparison with Egyptian architecture, and more specifically with the obelisks, in stating that if one would continue drawing a line from along the column one would have the same dimensions as an obelisk. Only, Labrouste uses it to another end. His explanations for certain forms in the temples are often functional.[180] On the two orders placed on top of each other he remarks: 'L'intérieur de la cella est Decoré de deux ordres places l'un au dessus de l'autre; et ce qui est très remarquable dans cette disposition c'est que l'ordre superieur n'est pour ainsi dire que le prolongement de l'ordre inferieur (Ce fait résulte de l'opération faite de la maniere la plus rigoureuse). Cette particularité dont il est fait mention dans aucun des ouvrages publiés sur les ruines de Possidonia est je crois assez intéressante pour l'Etude de l'architecture.'[181] Labrouste found the double order in the temple of Neptune admirably rational (fig. 5.31). He does make some remarks on the polychromy of the temples, supported by the colours in his restoration drawings, but this was not the revolutionary aspect of his *mémoire*, as stated by some scholars.[182]

180. About the Basilica having only one line of colomns he wrote: 'inspirée par le Besoin de couvrir un grand Espace à peu de frais. Car une Certaine economie etait nécéssaire dans l'Eréction de ces Portiques, monumens d'utilité.'
181. *Ibid.*, f. 4; f. 5: 'Ce temple est je crois le seul Exemple que l'on connaisse de deux ordres de colonnes placés l'un au dessus de l'autre dans l'interieur de la cella.' In the published version: 'je puis conclure que le diamètre inférieur du second ordre est donné par le prolongement de l'ordre inférieur. Cette particularité, dont il n'est fait mention dans aucun des ouvrages publiés sur les ruines de Posidonia, est, je crois, assez intéressante pour l'étude de l'architecture.' Labrouste, *Les Temples...*, *op. cit.*, p. 6.
182. Labrouste, mémoire 'Antiquités...', *op.cit.*, on colour: 'L'histoire nous apprend que les grecs faisaient un frequent usage de la peinture dans la décoration des monumens ; et l'on pourrait, je crois, supposer aux Posidonia le même gout pour la peinture.' (f. 12) On colour in the temple of Neptune: 'j'ai imité dans la décoration une porte peinte qui Existe dans un tombeau à Tarquinium aujourhui Corneto.' (f. 9); 'Je n'ai pas crain, dans cette restauration d'ajouter une certaine richesse à l'architecture de ce monument par la peinture des accessoires, et par quelques ornemens: l'ordre Dorique est je crois suscéptible de richesse, comme l'atteste le Parthenon dont les superbes basreliefs etaient encor ornés d'accéssoires de Bronze doré.' (f. 9) In the Ceres temple: 'J'ai trouvé dans l'interieur d'un Temple à Selinunte en Sicile quelques fragmens d'un stuc peint en rouge. J'ai imité dans la décoration interieure de ce temple, les peintures conservées dans les Tombeaux de Corneto, monumens de la 2eme Epoque de l'art en Etrurie et que l'on peut attribuer aux grecs.' (f. 14) The Académie's remarks on the coloured door are mostly interesting because they look if restoration is done according to the character of the monument: 'l'élégance et la délicatesse qu'il a cru devoir donner à la décoration des ventaux de cette porte, ne nous semble pas parfaitement d'accord avec le caractère de sévérité du monument.' According to Levine the debate was not on polychromy, and this is supposedly true because the elements on painted surfaces are relatively feeble.

To my opinion, the innovative aspect of Labrouste's *mémoire* is his specific interpretation of the temples and the way he continued building on earlier Paestum accounts, but turning them toward his own historical approach. This had to do with the question of the architectural origins. Paestum turned out to be the very site to examine the question of architectural beginnings, but we have seen in this chapter that there were different thoughts on these beginnings. Paoli, D'Hancarville and Guarnacci, had, all in their own way, argued that the temples were Etruscan, independent of a Greek tradition and thus appropriated as Italian. Even Delagardette was not sure about the three temples. The Neptune temple had clearly been built according to the Greek canon but to him the other two had, in parts, later restorations by the Romans after they had conquered Posidonia. Delagardette had the opinion that the columns of the oldest temples were cut thinner by the Romans because he thought they had been stumpier in the beginning. This was to explain the movement and silhouette he saw in them as opposed to their squat proportions, not a Greek invention but a Roman change. He thought they had no entasis at the time of the Greeks. Roman architects had wanted to reduce their barbaric primitiveness. Delagardette argued in favour of a continuous classical tradition, while Labrouste did not. Contrary to Delagardette, Labrouste does not refer to Roman monuments. Throughout his *mémoire* he presents Greek architecture in isolation and explains forms from a functional reason, not as an ideal. In fact, Labrouste picked up upon the eighteenth-century debate on universal continuity versus local specificity, present in the ideas on universal Greek architecture of Winckelmann and Quatremère de Quincy and the local characteristics at Paestum emphasized by Piranesi and Paoli, but he gave it an entirely different twist.

In the first pages of his *mémoire* it becomes clear that Labrouste aims to prove that the temples at Paestum represent the opposite of art at its infancy: 'il ne décide en rien l'enfance de l'art, mais bien l'art arrivé à sa perfection.'[183] Elements that he found at the spot are used as evidence for his idea that the temple of Neptune was built just after the colonisation of Posidonia. For example, when he writes about the statue of Neptune that he presumes to have been in stone,

183. *Ibid.*, f. 3, in talking about 'l'appareil des Triglyphes et des métopes de la frise est digne de remarque surtout à l'angle du monument.' I have used the original *mémoire* written by Labrouste in 1829, and not the published version. Of the temple he emphasizes its 'caractère d'unité et de solidité qui regne dans toutes les parties de ce monument' f. 6. Labrouste chose to close the roof instead of leaving it open as in Vitruvius and restorations by others in which it was named hypaethral (having no roof). His *mémoire* shows a deconstruction of Vitruvius as a source in the text on the Neptune temple. The two columns on top of each other can be seen also as anti-Roman, as a focus on structure. The Académie saw Greek architecture as ancient architecture in its infancy, only with the Romans it was perfected.

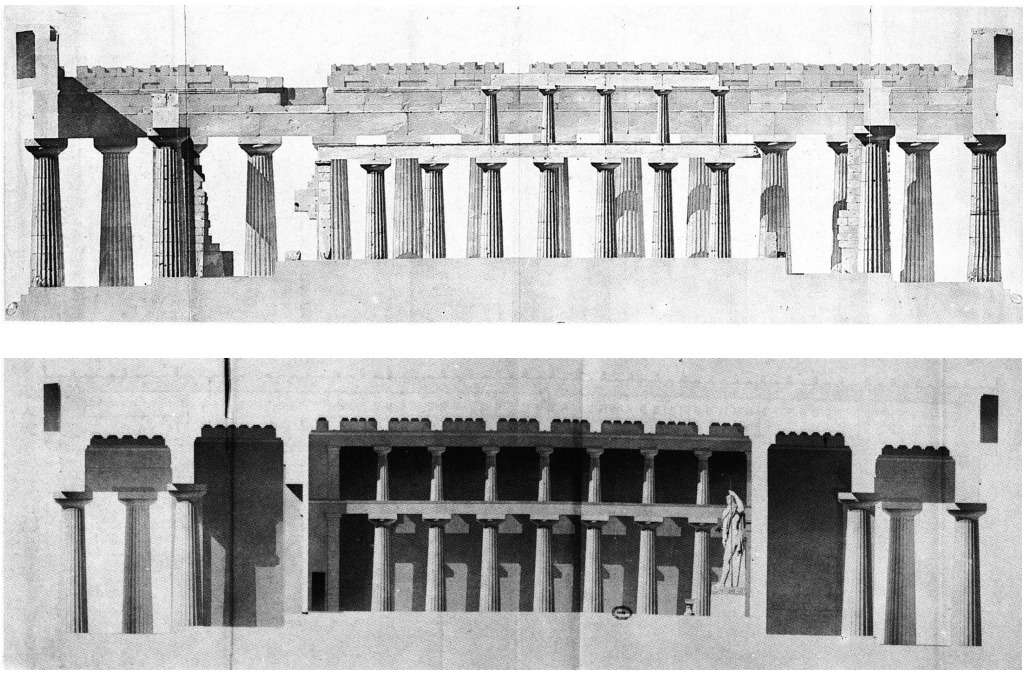


figure 5.31
Henri Labrouste, Longitudinal section of the Temple of Neptune (ruined state and restored), 1828.
(École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris, Env. 22.)

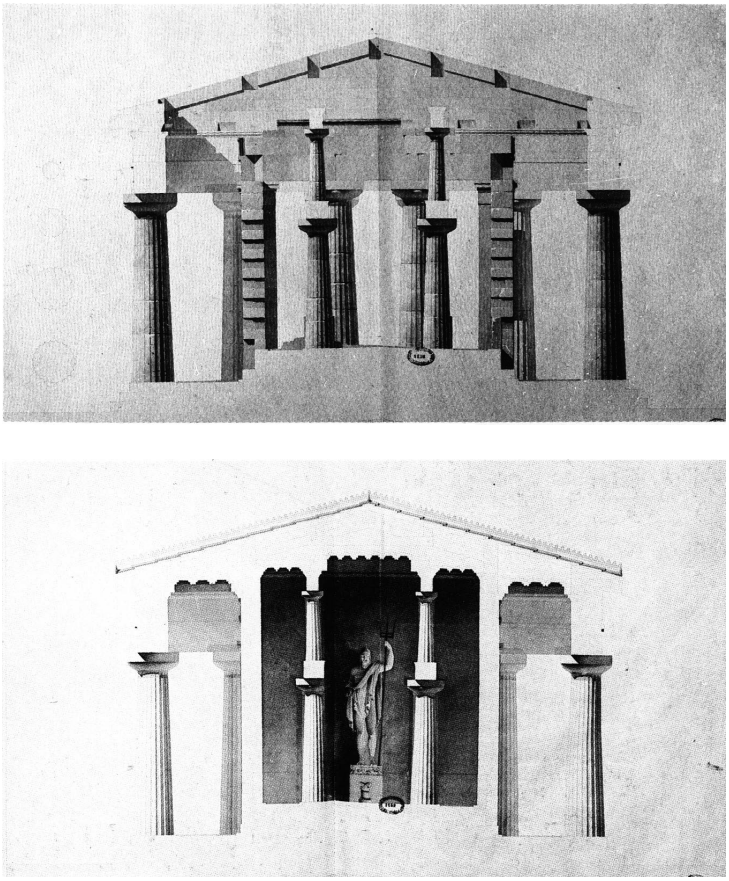


figure 5.32
Henri Labrouste, Cross section of the Temple of Neptune (ruined state and restored), 1828.
(École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris, Env. 22.)

for which the sculptors used the local material: 'il est à présumer que la nécessité obligea dabord à se servir des materiaux trouvés sur les lieux, surtout dans les premiers Edifices qu'on voulait construire; et les Posidoniens durent mettre leurs premiers soins à construire le Temple de Neptune, leur protecteur.' (fig. 5.32).[184] The stucco he found in the Neptune temple he thought had been added later. He found this still on the capitals and in the pronaos of the cella.[185]

Labrouste defended the thought that the temple of Neptune was constructed first, and the temple of Ceres and the Basilica (the latter of which he calls Portique) as follows:

> 'on ne peut pas supposer avec autant de vraisemblance que les nouveau colons mirent le même Emprèssement à Elever des Temples aux autres Divinités et à construire des monumens déstinés aux assemblées des magistrats. Ce ne fut qu'après plusieurs années de posterité que les nouveaux Colons durent penser à Elever un Temple de Cérès en reconnaissance de la fertilité de leurs campagne [...] Ce ne fut aussi qu'après plusieurs succès dus à leurs armes, et lorsque la colonie eut acqui un certain dégré de Stabilité et de puissance que les possidoniens durent penser à construire des Portiques destinés aux assemblées ou l'on discutait des interets communs. On doit donc considerer le Portique et le Temple de Cérès comme posterieurs au temple de Neptune.'[186]

Their later construction is thus explained historically. But, in his argument, Labrouste also considers his findings at the spot, the use of certain building materials for example:

> 'en effet on remarque dans ces deux monumens une Architecture bien differente de celle du Temple de Neptune. Ces deux monumens sont construits de le même maniere ; l'emploi des materiaux differans, le melange de pierres dures et de pierre tendres annonce si non un perfectionnement, du moins une plus ample connaissance des materiaux fournis par le pays ; et le mélange de pierres differantes de nature et mé[...] de couleur, a nécessité l'Emploi d'un stuc des l'origine. l'Architecture de ces deux monumens est le même quant aux former, mais ces formes n'ont plus la pureté

184. *Ibid.*, f. 9.
185. 'Ce stuc indique par sa nature une epoque posterieure à celle de la fondation du Temple. On remarque souvent sur les monumens anciens des stucs ajoutés après coup', this because of 'l'usage de renouveller la décoration' as in Rome where they often decide to 'repeindre la facade des Eglises'. *Ibid.*, f. 4-5.
186. *Ibid.*, f. 10.

> primitive qu'on remarque dans le Temple de Neptune.'[187]

In writing about the Ceres temple, Labrouste distinguishes between a hard and a soft stone type, used according to their function in the building (fig. 5.33):

> 'La construction de ce monument offre beaucoup d'interet et cependant on n'en a rendu compte dans aucun ouvrage publiés sur les antiquités de Posidonia. Il est à remarquer qu'on a employé dans la construction de ce Temple des pierres de deux natures differentes : les colonnes, les architraves, le frise et le fronton sont construits en pierre dure et la pierre tendre semble avoir été réservée pour les parties ornées de moulures telles que les chapiteaux, les moulures de l'architrave, les trigliphes et la corniche de l'entablement.'[188]

In that way the temple of Neptune, which was closest to the classical architecture of Greece, was seen apart from the other two monuments, for the Basilica Labrouste did not consider to have been a temple, just as others, like Piranesi, had suggested before him. To Labrouste the Basilica had been a 'Portique' with a public function.[189] His reasoning that the founders of Posidonia had still built according to the architectural rules of their homeland in constructing the Neptune temple becomes striking when he continues it, arguing why the inhabitants of Posidonia chose a different architecture for their other monuments:

> 'Ces observations conduisent à considerer le Temple de Neptune comme etant d'Architecture grecque et construit à l'epoque ou les Trisenieux originaires du Péleponèze et fondateurs de Posidonia n'avaient pas encor oublié les Principes de l'architecture qu'ils avaient apportés de la grèce ; et à considerer le Portique et le Temple de Cérès comme posterieures au Temple de Neptune et construits à une Epoque ou les Posidoniens devenus plus puissants voulurent se créer une Architecture nouvelle'.[190]

187. *Ibid.*, f. 10-11.
188. *Ibid.*, f. 14.
189. Labrouste wrote that the name basilica cannot be held, for there could be no tribunal according to the plan, however for its symmetry and a 'file de colonnes' in the axe: 'Cette disposition m'a déterminé à le considerer comme un de les portiques ou les anciens se réunissaient pour discuter les affaires publiques. Ces portiques etaient d'une grande utilité chez les grecs, car toutes les villes en contenaient un ou plusieurs.' *Ibid.*, f. 10. In his drawing of the Basilica he is showing medallions to illustrate his point (see fig. 5.32).
190. *Ibid.*, f. 11.

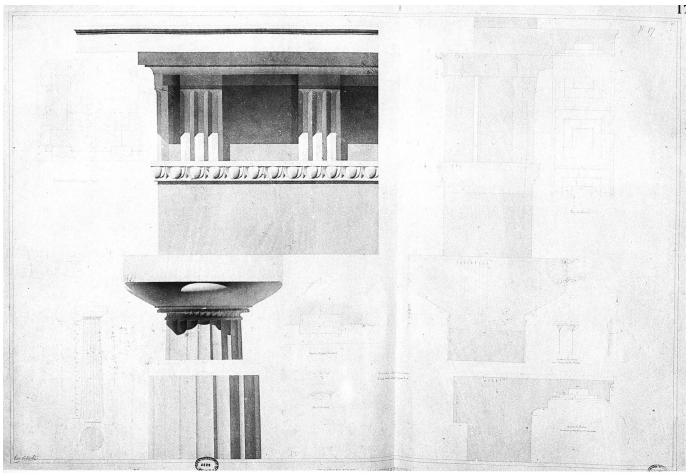


figure 5.33
Henri Labrouste, Details of the Temple of Ceres (restored), 1828.

(École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris, Env. 22.)

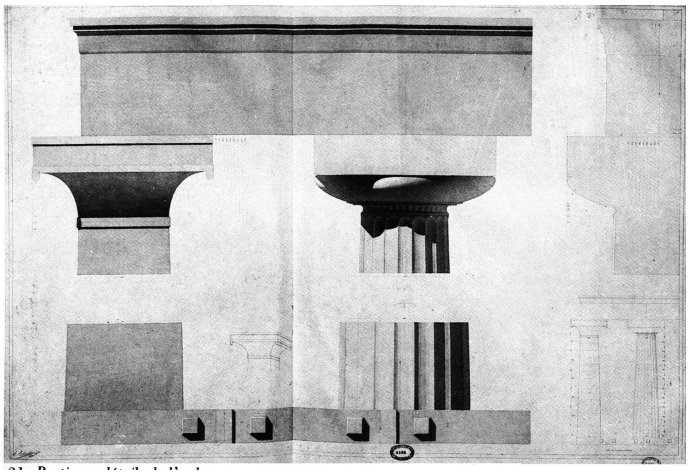


figure 5.34
Henri Labrouste, Details of the Basilica (restored), 1828.

(École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris, Env. 22.)

This urge to create new architecture was thus also driven by their independence from Greece. Labrouste's argument becomes even more controversial to the eighteenth-century background, when he claims that this new architecture was the one that really belonged to Posidonia and not to any other country or people, that it expressed the local characteristics: Ces deux monumens seuls offrent le Type de l'Architecture de Posidonia.'[191] Although Quatremère de Quincy also wrote about the importance of local conditions for architecture, as previously seen, Labrouste's argumentation is very different, because he connects it to Paestum, and thus to Greek monuments. Where Quatremère only aimed to show the similarities with Greek architecture and thus the possibility of constructing one norm of Greek architecture, Labrouste deconstructs this line of reasoning completely. While he draws on some of the arguments of Winckelmann and Quatremère de Quincy, Labrouste continues these arguments much further. Quatremère did not want to see an ending to Greek architecture, Labrouste made clear that is was over. Because Labrouste entirely deconstructed Quatremère's theories the Paestum affair could also be explained as a battle between Quatremère and Labrouste. The specificity of the buildings is decisive to Labrouste, and exactly because the architecture depends on the local circumstances there is no general Greek architecture and there can also never be one general norm of Greek architecture.

Labrouste's analysis can be seen as an attempt to trace the origins of architectural invention, and the motors of change. Contrary to his predecessors, Labrouste did not date the temples very precisely, but he did place them in a chronology. And this chronology was very different from the general one given in the well-known monographs on Paestum. Generally the Basilica temple was considered the oldest, followed by the temple of Ceres and the temple of Neptune as the youngest and closest to the Greek canon.[192] Authors often took the echinus of the capitals as dating method, the round and primitive flat shape was considered the oldest and the straighter ones were seen as more recent (fig. 5.34). Labrouste stated that the pure Neptune temple was closest to the Greek tradition and thus the oldest because it was built soon after the Greek settlement in Posidonia, the Basilica temple the youngest because it was the furthest away from this tradition and already adapted to local circumstances. As we have seen, his thesis was further founded by his findings of two different stone types used as building material in the Basilica and Ceres temple, contrary to the Neptune temple where only one type of stone was

191. *Ibid.*, f. 11.
192. As we have seen in the introduction of this thesis this chronology is today still considered as the right one.

used.[193] This he considered as knowledgeable and as a sign that the builders had made a better and more intelligent use of the local building materials. This meant that these youngest temples were more authentically 'of Paestum' than the oldest one.[194] For Neil Levine this meant that Labrouste's *mémoire* argues implicitly that when these building forms were to be transported to France even greater adaptation would be necessary.[195] We would go further than that and state that it meant that a one to one utilisation of Greek architecture in contemporary buildings was made impossible.

Another scholar, Bressani, has argued that Labrouste stated that the youngest temples were a product of the cultural contacts and exchanges of the Greeks and the Etruscans, living close to each other, giving the Greek temples an Etruscan influence.[196] However, this argument is not clearly to be found in Labrouste's *mémoire* and appears to be based mainly on speculation.[197] Labrouste says several times explicitly that in his opinion all the temples are Greek. He even uses Quatremère de Quincy's *Encyclopédie* to support this.[198] He does not question the Greek origin of the monuments.[199] However, based on his findings at the spot, he does point at a mixture of Doric and Ionic columns in the temple of Ceres, a position that could not charm the Académie.[200] This scholar states that the Académie was discontent with the idea that there

193. 'Tout ce temple [de Neptune] est construit en pierre, elle est dans toutes les parties de cet Edifice de même nature et de même qualité.' *Ibid.*, f. 3.
194. Labrouste, *Les Temples..., op. cit.*, p. 13.
195. Neil Levine, *Architectural Reasoning in the Age of Positivism: The Neo-Grec Idea of Henri Labrouste's Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève*, PhD thesis Yale University 1975, p. 792, quoted in Martin Bressani, 'The Hybrid: Labrouste's Paestum', *Chora: Intervals in the Philosophy* 5 (2007), p. 124.
196. Labrouste, *Les Temples..., op. cit.*, p. 5. Martin Bressani wrote an interesting article on the restoration: 'The Hybrid...', *op. cit.*, pp. 81-126. He focuses mainly on it being a Greek and Etruscan hybrid and the nineteenth-century context of the Etruscan debate. But on this anachronistic line he remarks that Labrouste's account has to be interpreted 'as a more engrossing story of an architecture returning to the primitive: Greek architecture travelling back in time toward its own origin.' Only, Labrouste did not see this as origin of course, so I think we should not see it this way.
197. See *Ibid.*, pp. 81-126 for this aspect, and Levine, *op. cit.*, pp. 325-416 on the Etruscan character.
198. Labrouste: 'on ne peut non plus admettre l'opinion du pere Paoli qui attribu aux Etrusques les monumens de Posidonia. on retrouve dans les monumens la même architecture et le même art de construire que dans ceux de la Sicile, qui sont a n'en pas douter construits par des colonies grecques. Cette opinion d'ailleurs est suffisamment réfutée dans l'Encyclopédie methodique (dictionnaire d'Arch. au mot Dorique) pour qu'il soit, je crois nécessaire de la combattre d'avantage.' Labrouste, mémoire 'Antiquités...', *op. cit.*, f. 2. He also refers to Quatremère's publication on Jupiter Olympien for the statues (f. 14).
199. *Ibid.*, f. 12: J'ai cru devoir presenter ici plusieurs Exemples pris dans les monumens de la Sicile: ce rapprochement pourrait prouver, si l'on en doutait encore, que les habitans de Posidonia ainsi que les peuples de la Sicile etaient originaires du même pays, puisque ces divers peuples se servaient non seulement des mêmes formes d'architecture, mais qu'ils Employaient aussi les mêmes moyens dans la construction des monumens.'
200. Labrouste wrote on the pronaos of the Ceres temple: 'Les Bases le nombre des cannelures et la proportion élevée de ces colonnes, à en juger par leur diamètre inferieur, m'ont fait supposer que cet ordre etait Jonique, et j'ai [...] dans la réstauration, l'ordre jonique du Tombeau de Theron à Agrigente en Sicile.' *Ibid.*, f 13. The reaction of the

was no longer a pure Greek model. Although the Neptune temple did still confirm this idea, the arguments used to present the other two temples as a mixture of Greek and foreign (Roman and Etruscan) influences were not so welcome, as Bressani argues. However, we have to keep in mind that the Académie did agree with Delagardette's publication, although it had also presented Roman modifications in the two Greek temples.[201]

Thus I think it were not those aspects that were controversial to them. It was much more the idea of progression presented in the new chronology of Labrouste. The progression towards the primitive, that is. It was the move towards the primitive as an aesthetic choice. Instead of the accepted idea that architecture improved itself towards perfection, architecture seemed most of all to adapt itself to local conditions and in that way drift away from its original perfect state. How could such a Greek architecture be a good model for contemporary design practice? Not only was the image of Greek architecture completely turned upside down by Labrouste, he had also demonstrated that a perfect model could not be imported to contemporary time and place. Levine concludes that Labrouste shows that a building can have meaning without confirming to Greek ideals.[202] In my opinion, to Labrouste it has maybe even more meaning when it does not confirm to these ideals, because it becomes very specific of the place, and not a timeless model. At the same time he deconstructs the idea of a historically founded type, as opposed to Quatremère's ideas.

Maybe Labrouste's *envoi* was a critique of the academy's idea that Greek-Roman was an idea of progress, but these critical ideas already lived outside the academy. While scholars have only focused on the revolutionary way in which Labrouste broke with the Académie's rules, these ideas had actually been present in architectural theory for a long time, see Laugier, Winckelmann, Paoli, and remarkably Quatremère de Quincy. Moreover, Greek architecture was already earlier seen as important in the Académie, with Le Roy as professor, Dufourny as

Académie was: 'La base encore existante à l'entrée du Pronaos n'est pas, selon nous, une preuve suffisante de l'existence d'un ordre Ionique puisque l'on voit des Doriques avec base comme par exemple au temple de Cora, et qu'assez généralement dans les temples du caractère de ceux de Pœstum on trouve des Doriques de différentes proportions.'
201. The Académie wrote for instance: 'Dans ce dessin ainsi que dans les autres la pureté des lignes nous laisse quelques doutes sur l'entière conformité avec l'état réel des ruines de l'édifice'. Their commentary refers often to Delagardette and to Wilkins (see next chapter) for an authoritive account. In that sense this Labrouste affaire offers also a light on the eighteenth-century situation because Delagardette is seen as authority. Positive was: 'Ces beaux dessins qui nous font connaitre les profils et details tant intérieurs qu'extérieurs du temple de Neptune, nous ont paru rendus avec cette simplicité et cette exactitude qui conviennent à des bonnes études d'architecture.' The commentary uses also words like 'fait avec intelligence et fort intéressant'. Horace Vernet, 'Rapport...', *op. cit.*, f. 1-6.
202. Levine, *op. cit.*, p. 389.

his successor. Furthermore, Delagardette wrote his Paestum project also for the Académie, this was accepted, because Delagardette presented it as canon, as perfection. Piranesi, in another way claiming the invention of the architect, also preluded Labrouste who emphasized that the youngest temples were a sign of architectural invention - and who also laid emphasis on the use of natural sources at the spot and the fact that the architecture at Paestum had grown as it were out of nature.[203] All these theorists were already breaking with Vitruvius and stating otherwise. That the Academy did not develop at the same pace, does not mean that Labrouste's vision was entirely new. In focussing only on the conflict Académie-Labrouste as many scholars have done, and not seeing him as an exponent of ideas that grew during the eighteenth century, Labrouste has always been seen as the beginning of something new, but he actually stands much more at the end of a tradition.[204] A tradition of revolutionary thoughts that is, that came largely into being through reflections at Paestum's site. This does not mean that Labrouste was just a child of the eighteenth century. What he did in his Paestum account was revolutionary but in another way than has been presented in studies. When considered in the context of the variations of primitivism distinguished here, the novelty of his work becomes clearer: he presented a new chronology of a progression towards the primitive; and he definitively broke with the idea that the primitive could be a solution for design practice. In laying the emphasis on historical development, rather than searching for a (theoretical) model, linked to a sense of the local situation, Labrouste showed that the primitivistic debates that were held in the eighteenth century did not have value for their own period. The primitive in Paestum grew for him simply out of a development which had to do with a concentration on and a gaining of knowledge of the particular site, and was not connected to the origins of architecture.

In stating that the builders in Paestum wanted with the two youngest monuments 'se créer une architecture nouvelle', Labrouste presents himself as actually looking with an architect's eye, in emphasizing for example functional decisions the architects of the temples made. Just as with his new chronology he does not have the outlook of a historian, but more of an architect who thinks about building solutions for a specific site, by using specific local building material

203. While the idea of creating a new architecture is by Levine seen as an idea of the Romantics in the 1820s, 1830s and 1840s we saw it already with Piranesi.
204. Neil Levine only looks at Delagardette, the most canonised representation of Paestum, not to the other eighteenth-century debates on Paestum. Levine uses mainly later sources that concentrate on the mythification of Labrouste, like Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, who said that Labrouste's envoi was 'purely and simply a revolution on a few sheets of double elephant paper'. Viollet-le-Duc, 'Lettres extra-parlementaires', March 5, 1877, p. 1, quoted in Levine, *op. cit.*, p. 365.

and expressing the specificity of the situation. He also has the viewpoint of an architect in imagining how these old structures could serve as inspiration for contemporary architects. Labrouste does not see them in the light of a direct importation or as a one to one model, but as an interesting approach to design: by looking at the site and using what nature gives at the spot to build. It is a solution that was not so clear to eighteenth-century architects. Although we find similar thoughts in the ideas of Piranesi or of Quatremère de Quincy, as we saw before, they go not as far as Labrouste. In the next chapter we will see how some eighteenth-century architects anxiously tried to put Paestum in a norm of Greek architecture and to make a model out of it. With the solution of Labrouste already in our minds, their attempts may seem ineffective, but they will tell us a lot about Paestum and explain the forces that were at work at the time.

While Labrouste's Paestum account forms a sort of ending in the long line of reactions to Paestum, and brings together many thoughts on the subject, it is at the same time a strong reaction to these reflections. Labrouste clarified the relationship between the origin of architecture and primitivism. In the light of what happened in the eighteenth century, we could trace the developments in thought that led to a different idea of how these two topics were connected. We can draw a line between Piranesi and Labrouste, where Piranesi could be seen as the intellectual forefather of Labrouste. What starts with Piranesi, in his *Parere* where Roman, Greek and Etruscan architecture are discerned by means of research on the spot and the importance of local conditions, cumulates in Labrouste's research at Paestum's site. In doing comparative ethnographical research, Labrouste asked himself why architecture develops, and stresses the motors of change. Labrouste continued ideas of Winckelmann on the development of history, but elaborated these much further, while ideas of Quatremère de Quincy on cultural typology echo in his theories. But he deconstructed Quatremère's ideas on universal progress. To Labrouste progress did exist, but only locally, in making use of local characteristics and qualities of the site. Just like Paoli, Labrouste did not think that primitive form meant necessarily the beginnings of architecture, continuing the third variety of primitivism, of the primitive as an artistic choice.

Primitivism, origins and history

The complicated relationship between archaeological quest and primitivism as a cultural theory became acute when ideas on the primitive that originated in a theoretical discourse

and the sight of very ancient architecture coincided, as in Paestum. When people looked at Paestum from a primitivist perspective they did find ancient architecture, but not a useful model. When they went there with an archaeological interest, they had to conclude that the beginnings did not connect with a primitivist vision. The visits to Paestum did not produce unequivocal solutions. Paestum therefore makes very clear that primitivism as a cultural theory is problematic. This was not only because in primitive theories the hut is the first model, while at Paestum the oldest building turned out to be a temple. What made things much worse was that, while Paestum offered the origin of architecture or was seen as such, it did not offer a workable model. But the problem is more complex than that.

The problem is in fact two faceted; it has to do with history and with invention. It emerged in the various varieties of the quests in the theories of the protagonists cited. These quests could be motivated by the search for design solutions, or their aim could be more historically founded. The primitive figured then as a beginning of architectural history in the theories of Vitruvius, Chambers, Delagardette, Winckelmann and Quatremère de Quincy. Although Delagardette, Soane and Piranesi were all in search for design solutions, only Delagardette saw the primitive as a possible model. While Soane was inspired by the primitive hut in his designs, he used it in his lectures as a historical predecessor of Paestum. Piranesi was interested in the origins of architecture in a historical way, but observed Paestum with the eyes of an architect. Then Winckelmann, Paoli, D'Hancarville, Quatremère de Quincy, and Labrouste all in their own different ways tried to write architectural history. Moreover, in Paoli's and Labrouste's ideas something else was at stake. Because of their different ideas on history, which to them is not a line of progress, the primitive is also interpreted in different ways. They disconnect ancient and primitive, and therefore origin and primitive as well, hence primitive models and design solutions, and present the primitive as an artistic choice.

The sources show a slow shift towards a more historical approach in which it turns out that Paestum can be no design solution. Whereas Laugier presented an a-historical thought experiment without a stylistic evolution, Winckelmann had an historical outlook, and Labrouste showed an archaeologically grounded chronology in which he had explored the subject himself. He had other ideas of how to treat history. As Paestum was more made part of a historical discourse, its role as a design model became problematic. With the gaining of knowledge by architects and travellers, and their increasing knowledge of the origins of architecture, the idea of the temples as a model was deconstructed. The more knowledge architects had about Paestum, the less useful it was to them. In fact, Piranesi's vision on the origins of architecture

was even more radical than Laugier's. His interpretation of primitivism, and radical rejection of Vitruvius and classical architecture as a design model, ultimately implies that primitivism was a-historical and paradoxical.

Primitivism was paradoxical because on the one hand it shows a confirmation of the importance of history, aiming at a return to the oldest source, as we see in Laugier. On the other hand, it rejects the relevance of history in the sense of past developments, for it rejects the whole historical development that took place from the first beginnings of architecture until the present, exactly because of the plea for a return to the first origins. Piranesi stated just that in his *Parere* when he rejected all elements of classical architecture, because there is no clear origin according to the way of arguing of Vitruvius and his descendants. These outcomes are interesting to see in the light of the writings of Giambattista Vico, who in his *Scienza Nuova* (1744) attempted to develop a history of civilizations. But his *Scienza Nuova* is mainly of interest for his emphasis on the peculiarity, and on the barbarian character of the ancient Roman civilization. Because of this, the Roman civilization lost its authority as an ideal society. Vico shows that the primitivism that many subsequent eighteenth-century theorists, like Rousseau and Laugier, propagated, namely the conviction that the earliest origin of a human practice is relevant for contemporary actions, is twofold and paradoxical. He demonstrated that primitivism is not useful but history is. The meaning of primitivism is twofold because in this reasoning there are two definitions of history: history in the sense of the oldest past, the origins of human culture, and history in the sense of developments in a period of time, from origin to present. The importance of the eighteenth-century reactions to Paestum becomes clear in this light. We saw that in Paestum, because it was un-canonical, history became irrelevant. There, classical architecture lost its importance as a design model. The outcome of primitivism is then that history is no longer relevant for the present.

Apart from the element of history as difficulty, the element of invention forms a second complexity. How to unite invention and the primitive in one norm? If origins are the norm, is there still room for artistic change? The primitivists stress a return to the first beginnings in a far away past. But eventually their project leads to either the dismissal of history, and at the same time to a dismissal of invention.

In Piranesi's ideas both history and invention are present. Piranesi saw this very clearly in his exaggeration of Laugier's ideas through Didascolo's reaction of the reduction of architecture. Here Piranesi had similar ideas as Vico, who thought that history is the result of human

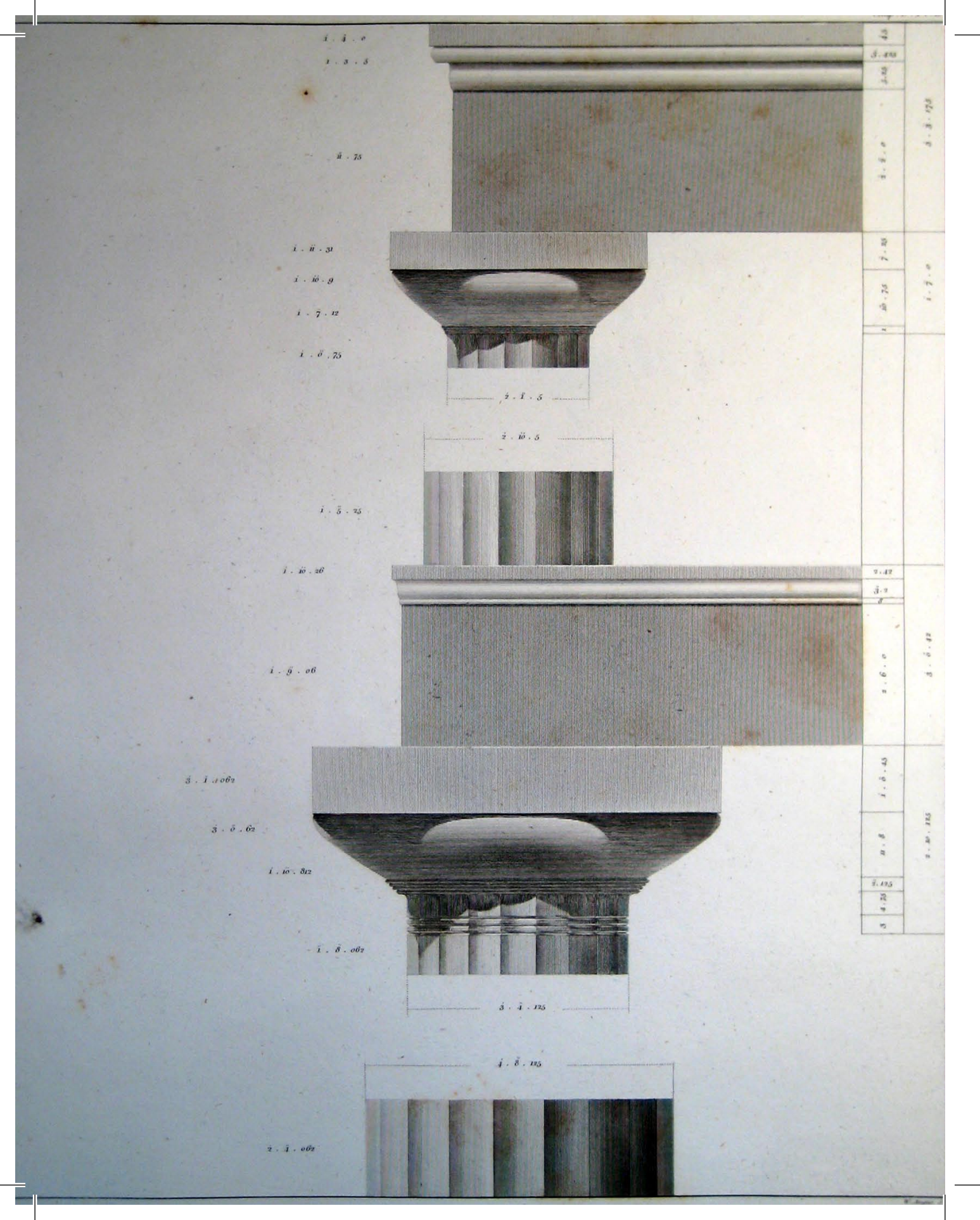
actions and artefacts, but also that history is what one defines as human. Thus, either history is dismissed, or primitivism has to be replaced by archaeological research. Piranesi used his attack on Laugier in the *Parere*, as one of the targets for writing with historical arguments. In his Paestum account however, he looks with the eye of an architect, emphasizing invention. As Piranesi and Paoli argued, an architect has to apply his talent of inventiveness to create a new, contemporary architecture. Quatremère de Quincy made this difficulty clear, and Labrouste even more. They asked themselves what the motors of change were that justified or explained why people, at a certain time, build differently from those at the time of the first dwellings. The paradox of primitivism becomes even clearer in the light of Labrouste's text. Primitivism is a problem, because it leaves no room for motors of change. Labrouste, going even further than the ideas of Quatremère de Quincy, demonstrated in Paestum that these motors of change can go together with the primitive as an aesthetic choice, only the cultural theory of primitive as a norm and a design solution could no longer be held. Thus, Paestum makes lucid this problem of primitivism and Labrouste's way to give an entire different interpretation to the primitive. As such, the important role of Paestum in the eighteenth-century intellectual debate comes into sight.

Slowly from Winckelmann via Quatremère de Quincy to Labrouste, earlier formulated theories and preoccupations are replaced by what the architect's eye discerns. Winckelmann focussed on his scoop and on art-historical themes, as the proportions of buildings and sculptures. Quatremère tried to fit Paestum in an historiographical model of Winckelmann that still relied much on antique, cyclical visions of the development of human culture. Only Labrouste tried to collect as much empirical data as possible, of as many types as possible, and to draw a conclusion. Thus, it was no wonder that the Académie became nervous, because their theoretical and normative vision was replaced by empirical research.

Labrouste presented a vision of Paestum in which there is room for architectural invention and development. In the search for origins, there is also an aspect of chronology. The oldest is the finest, but this is seen in the light of later developments. What Labrouste did in his *mémoire* on Paestum changed thoughts about history. In showing how the most primitive temple had to be the youngest because its architecture is the furthest away from classical Greek architecture, Labrouste focussed on the fact that history not necessarily meant a further refinement, as Winckelmann stated, and thereby Labrouste completely upset the primitivist paradigm. He demonstrated that history is not the same as progress. Through local conditions Paestum could attain a rougher and more primitive character. Labrouste was wrong on the chronology, but

that does not matter. The Basilica temple was the oldest, but what mattered was that he had put the emphasis on the place, surroundings and natural conditions of architecture. In this view Greek architecture could not be imported to France, or England or Germany. Architecture had to develop itself according to local conditions. Because primitivism as a cultural theory assumes a perfect model in the first beginnings and after that imagines only decay, it leaves no room for development or evolution. Labrouste showed very well that one can look at the same object in the light of development, but differently: the primitive rough and uncouth form becomes then an adjustment of architecture to its surroundings, showing local and not universal progress.

Labrouste's positive reading of the primitive nature of Paestum had nothing to do with the origins of architecture anymore. He turned eighteenth-century thoughts on origins completely around. When primitive form is no longer the oldest, there can be no appreciation for the earliest beginnings as such. The idea that primitivism and origin become independent of history and so make further developments irrelevant, is impossible in Labrouste's view, because an architectural form without historic evolution is unthinkable to him. This tells us a lot about the importance of history in nineteenth-century architectural thought. But it enlightens primitivism as well: primitive architecture is not necessarily connected to origins. It can be connected to nature, to local conditions, to the genius of the place.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CHAPTER 6 The Eye of the Architect: Paestum exported

While it was soon evident that Paestum was important for the history of architecture, the question of its application in contemporary architecture was much more problematic. The architect Pierre-Adrien Pâris in 1781 mentioned on the one hand the antiquity of the buildings and on the other hand the difficulty of their use in architecture:

> 'Ils sont sans doute d'une antiquité très reculée et les productions des premiers Grecs qui ont peuplé ces côtés; leur stile prouveroit peut-être que la migration de ces peuples en Italie est d'une époque plus ancienne qu'on ne le croit et qu'elle a suivi de très près l'invention de l'ordre Dorique. Ce bel ordre est employé là dans sa première austérité: presque tout y en quarré dans les profils, et quoique tous y respire l'air sauvage, il y règne un rapport entre toutes les parties qui fait beaucoup de plaisir aux yeux exercés et fait pour sentir la beauté des proportions relatives.'[1]
> [...]
> 'Ces monuments sont non seulement précieux pour l'histoire de l'architecture, mais encore il est des occasions ou ce stile peut être employé avec succès; ces occasions sont à la vérité fort rares, et il faut éviter avec le plus grand soin ce que beaucoup d'architectes font actuellement; de faire entrer cet ordre dans des édifices qui ne doivent rien présenter que de simple et agréable en même tems, puisqu'ils sont destinés à l'habitation: l'abus du caractere étant un défaut essentiel en architecture.'[2]

The French architect Louis Combes (1754-1818), noted the same limits of utilisation:

1. Pâris, 'Notes et lavis...', *op. cit.*, ms. 1906, f. 329.
2. *Ibid.*, f. 329.

> 'L'ordre Dorique des Grecs tel qu'on le voit dans les restes des temples de la Sicile, et dans ceux de l'ancienne ville de Pestum en Italie presente sans doute un style mâle et vigoureux: mais il n'a pas celui de la Beauté et de la Majesté qui semble plus convenable a la deviation des temples. Cet ordre porte seulement a six diamètres de hauteur sans baze avec un chapiteau très lourd, […] un aspect de rusticité qui me semble convenir que dans les edifices ou ce style doit être employé, tel que les prisons, les arsenaux ou dans des batimens d'un style simple et agreste.'[3]

The two texts show that on the spot architects already asked themselves if the temples were applicable in contemporary architecture. But the texts also demonstrate how this application was not evident. While Pâris makes an interesting observation on the importance of Paestum for the history of architecture because of its austerity, he also points out that its order should not be applied in a building that does not express the same character as the temples. Louis Combes makes a similar remark, but is more specific. He refers to its male and vigorous style, and to its rusticity, which lends itself only for specific buildings like prisons and arsenals or buildings that have a simple and rustic character. We could see these ideas expressed in a design for a prison, made before 1789 (fig. 6.1). The baseless Doric order Combes used there has extremely heavy proportions, carrying the vaults of a gloomy but spacious crypt-like space. It reminds somewhat of the theatre designs by Pâris that also included crypts with baseless Doric columns and vaults, and that we saw in the fourth chapter. In this chapter the problem of seeing these orders as a direct reference to Paestum became already manifest. As we stated then, this baseless order was more an abstracted combination of many columns Pâris had seen in Paestum and Sicily and in publications on Greek architecture. This baseless order resulted from the historical and comparative analyses of ancient architecture made in the eighteenth century with the aim of developing design models. Elements of the Doric order of Paestum were incorporated in this, but to be of use in contemporary architecture it was robbed of many of its characteristics.

Pâris' remarks make explicit a divergence between the historical value of Paestum and its

3. Louis Combes, manuscript lecture 'Des Progrès & de la Décadence de l'Architecture Grècque en France Depuis les Romains jusqu'à nos jours', Archives Municipales, Bordeaux, Fonds Delpit, 66 S 272 (ms. 48) 1, f. 6 verso. On Combes: François-Georges Pariset, 'Les théories artistiques d'un architecte du néoclassicisme, Louis Combes, de Bordeaux', *Annales du Midi*, 76 (1964) 68-69, pp. 543-554, François-Georges Pariset, 'Louis Combes', *Revue historique de Bordeaux et du département de la Gironde* 22 (1973), pp. 1-40, and François-Georges Pariset, *L'architecte Combes*, Bordeaux: Biscaye Frères, 1974.

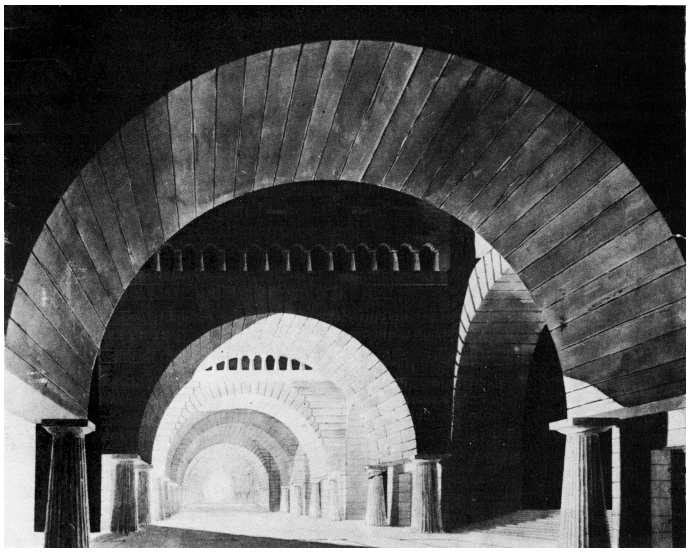


figure 6.1
Louis Combes, Design for a prison entrance, c. 1789.
(Bibliothèque Municipale, Besançon. From Serra, *Paestum*, 1986, p. 120.)

value as a design model. This ambivalence existed in many other texts of architects. When its historical value was to be shown, various authors placed Paestum amidst other examples of Greek architecture, they thus provided the context or constructed chronological or typological series to determine Paestum's position in history. Hence Paestum was contextualised. In the case of searching its value as a model of design, Paestum was reduced by architects until the main elements for design remained: for example by singling out or isolating an order, proportions, or tectonic aspects. Thus, we can discern two tendencies: historical contextualisation and formal and structural abstraction, we will refer to them in this chapter as contextualisation and abstraction.

While in the previous chapters we have seen that the specificity of Paestum was important, and either celebrated or dismissed, this chapter will examine what happens when an experience of the site leads to the desire to explain Paestum within a historical context and to disseminate it with the aim of application in contemporary architecture. How did the reduction take place, which elements were selected and preserved for contemporary architecture? In what way was Paestum contextualised and what were the consequences of both tendencies? How do the abstraction and the contextualisation of Paestum relate? What is left of Paestum in these processes, and is there still any importance given to the experience at the site?

We will see how the focus came to be on similarities between Paestum and other classical temples rather than on the strangeness or curiousness of the site. This was also a consequence of the historical knowledge gained, as seen in the previous chapter. In the case of contextualisation, this chapter will show how Paestum had to be compared and reduced to a general consensus of Greek Doric temple architecture. Series were formed in which Paestum was just one out of many. At the same time, as regards the applicability of Paestum, it will be shown how to that end different qualities of the temples had to be isolated, for example, by publishing only the order for aesthetical motives, or the simplicity of the construction because of its technical interest.

Thus, contrary to the previous chapters, this chapter does not look directly into the experience of the site. Instead, we will analyse the processes and the ways in which Paestum was normalised through both abstraction and contextualisation. To do so, we will first examine the ideas of an architect in whom these two tendencies came together, namely Pâris. He struggled both with the question of Paestum's meaning for contemporary architecture and its significance in history. Then we will turn to Delagardette and his attempts to conceive a Paestum order.

Next we will analyse the historical contextualisation of Paestum in two treatises on Greek architecture, by Le Roy and by Wilkins. A further putting in a chronological context of Paestum in museum collections will be demonstrated after that. Finally, we will consider the theories of Rondelet, who concentrated on construction, and those of Durand who put a reduced version of Paestum in a typological context. Slowly the importance accorded to Paestum will shift, as the temples will fade away into a general mass of classical architecture.

Revising treatises: Pâris on Desgodetz and Delagardette on Vignola

That Pierre-Adrien Pâris thought Paestum was historically important enough to be part of the main corpus of ancient architecture is shown by his projected integration of Paestum into a new edition of a well-known treatise on classical architecture, *Édifices antiques de Rome dessinés et mesurés très exactement* (1682) by Antoine Desgodetz (1653-1728). But before we turn to this undertaking, to understand the process between Pâris' experience and the importation of Paestum into this treatise we will first examine how he wrote about Paestum after his voyage to the site. Pâris eventually looked with the eyes of an architect, although his first intense reactions were rather mixed, as became clear in the chapter on the sublime. That he found the temples 'terrible' and 'caractérisé' came already up in the first chapter, but his account of his visit to Paestum in 1774 also demonstrates the impression the site as a whole made. Where Pâris the architect comes in is when he tries to capture the temples by taking measurements at the spot.[4] His remarks on proportions are a consequence of this architect's view. Pâris pointed out that the proportions of the Neptune temple prevent the shock and revolt that the architectural forms might cause because of their heaviness. In comparing Paestum with the Pantheon, which

4. 'On voit dans les ruines de Pestum ou Posidonia, trois temples dont un surtout est assés bien conservé. Je ne connois rien d'aussi terrible, d'aussi imposant, d'aussi caractérisé que ces temples. Ils sont sans doute d'une antiquité très reculée, et les productions des premiers Grecs qui ont peuplé ces côtés. [...] Les plans, élévations, et autres détails que je joins ici, me dispensent de faire la description de ces temples. J'observerai seulement que les gouttes du plafond sont creusées ici au lieu d'être saillantes, comme elles sont partout ailleurs: cette singularité n'a été observée ni dans l'ouvrage anglois de Major, ni dans ce que Dumont a publié sur ces monumens d'après Mr Soufflot.' Pâris, "Notes et lavis...', *op. cit.*, f. 329 and f. 332. Pâris travelled again to Italy in 1783 and 1807 but did not visit Paestum again. Thus, according to Pinon, he did not find the site that interesting, which I think is exaggerated given the many reactions at the spot and afterwards and his aim to include the site in Desgodetz. Pierre Pinon, *Pierre-Adrien Pâris (1745-1819)..., op. cit.*, p. 321. Pâris was in Paestum in July or August 1774. In his library Pâris had three publications on Paestum: Dumont, *Les Ruines..., op. cit*; Paoli, *Paesti..., op. cit.*; Delagardette, *Les Ruines..., op. cit.*, 1799. For his library see Weiss, *op. cit.*

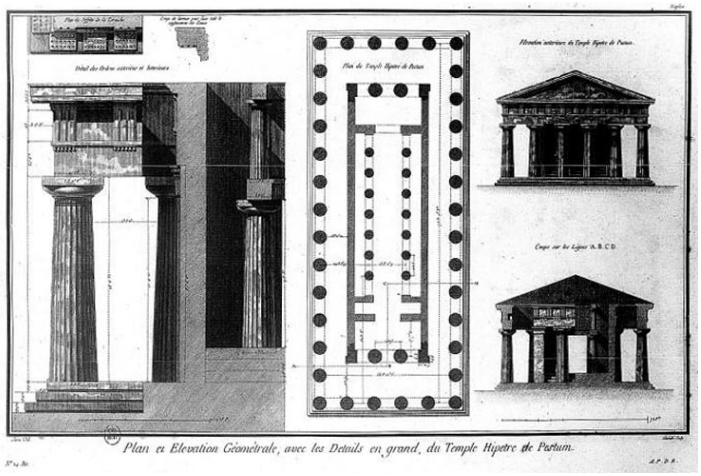


figure 6.2
Pierre-Adrien Pâris, Plan, elevation, section and details of the Temple of Neptune, 1781-86.

(Saint-Non, *Voyage Pittoresque*, plate 87)

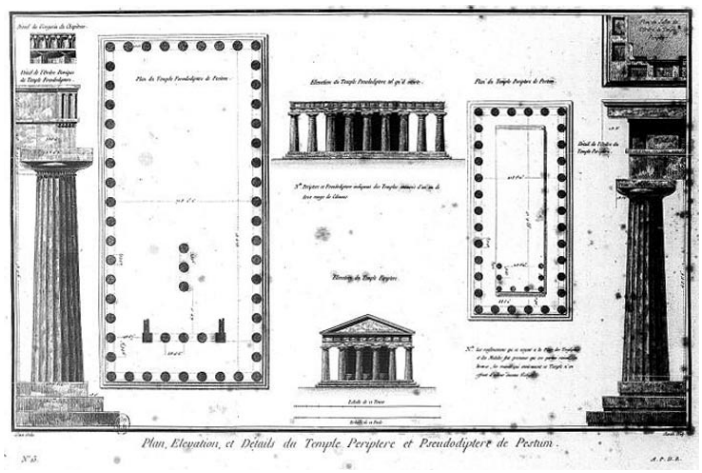


figure 6.3
Pierre-Adrien Pâris, Plans, elevations, and details of the Basilica and the Temple of Ceres, 1781-86.

(Saint-Non, *Voyage Pittoresque*, plate 88)

he calls 'la rotonde', Pâris wrote on the temples:

> 'Ces prétieux monumens méritent bien le pénible voyage qu'on fait pour les voir. Aucun des plus beaux morceaux de l'antiquité, la rotonde même ne produisent un effet aussi imposant. Il y règne, surtout dans le plus grand, une harmonie dans le parti qu'on y a pris qui fait que quoique les proportions soient de celles auxquelles nos yeux ne sont pas accoutumés on y est point révolté ou choqué de la grosseur des colonnes, de la hauteur de l'entablement &c. Le tout plaît, du moins c'est l'effet que j'y ai éprouvé.'[5]

What is finally left of his observations and measurements at the site in images are a few drawings that are a more geometrical rendering of his sojourn, founded on precise measurements: plans, elevations and measured details presented such as could be used in design. They were partly published as engravings in abbé Jean-Claude Richard de Saint-Non's *Voyage Pittoresque Description des royaumes de Naples et Sicile* (1781-1786), that contained other engravings by Hubert Robert that were more impressive and tell us much more about the site, as we have seen in the third chapter.[6] The preparatory drawings Pâris made for this publication have been lost. Plate 87 and 88 of volume 3 feature the drawings of Paestum. The first plate (fig. 6.2) pictures a plan, an elevation, sections and details of the Neptune temple, the second plate (fig. 6.3) a plan, elevation and details of the Basilica and of the Athena temple.[7] Another drawing Pâris made of the Neptune temple, is part of his 'Études d'Architecture' (fig. 6.4). It depicts a plan, two elevations, a section, elevations of the exterior column, with details, and of the superimposed columns in the interior.[8] All these drawings are measured elevations and details of the temples, expressing nothing of his experience at the spot or his thoughts on its

5. 'Route de Rome à Naples', Bibliothèque Municipale, Besançon, Fonds Pâris, ms. 12, f. 118-119. Pâris visited from Naples also Pompeii, Herculaneum, Pozzuoli and Baia, in Naples he met Francesco Milizia. Pinon, *Pierre-Adrien Pâris (1745-1819)..., op. cit.*, p. 7.
6. Pâris drew in total 63 plates for Saint-Non, of which two of Paestum for the third volume. See Lamers, *op. cit.*, pp. 73-76 and pp. 310-332.
7. 'Plan et élévation géométrale avec les détails en grand du Temple Hipètre de Pestum'; 'Plan, élévation et détails du Temple Périptère et pseudodiptère de Pestum', engravings by Barbie.
8. Pierre-Adrien Pâris, 'Etudes d'Architecture faites en Italie pendant les années 1771, 1772,1773 et 1774. Premier volume contenant les antiquités', Bibliothèque Municipale, Besançon, Fonds Pâris, ms. 476, vol. I, pl. IX. Plate IX recto is 'Plan et détails du grand Temple de Pestum', plate IX verso is 'Charpente et toiture du 'petit Temple de Pestum''. In the notes and drawings added to *Les Edifices antiques de Rome, dessinés et mesurés très exactement par feu M. Desgodetz, Nouvelle édition. Paris, C. A. Jombert, 1779*, Bibliothèque Municipale, Besançon, Fonds Pâris, inv. 12.421. Pâris added after p. 140 'Temples de Paestum', 1 f., and a plate engraved after Pâris' drawing for the *Voyage pittoresque* of Saint-Non.

antiquity since they are only the geometrical translation of his measurements.[9]

Apart from that Pâris concentrated at Paestum mostly on the city in general, as we can conclude from his travel notes.[10] In his travel diary he commented rather abundantly on Paestum's town plan and he was, as Pinon remarks, one of the first to note that the Greek and the Etruscan cities were conceived on an orthogonal plan: 'les anciens donnoient la forme quarrée à leur ville comme étant la plus simple et la plus facile à tracer sur le terrein: on pourroit peut-être en conclure encore que c'est des Grecs que les Etrusques et autres peuples d'Italie ont appris à former des villes et à les entourer de murailles.'[11] After first describing the temples rather generally and noting the impression their forms made he turned to the dimensions of the columns of the temple of Neptune:

> 'ce qui intéresse ceux qui font ce voyage sont trois temples dont celui du milieu est presque dans son entier. L'aspect de ces temples est ce que j'ai vu de plus imposant. Ils sont d'ordre dorique. Les colonnes qui sont sans base n'ont guerre que 4 diamètres de hauteur ayant 6^{p} 3° de diamètre et 26^{p} de hauteur. Le chapiteau des colonnes est composé d'un talloir très saillant, d'une moulure ensuite qui tient lieu de notre quart de rond mais qui ne lui ressemble pas étant très applatie. Il y a ensuite quatre

9. On the age of temples Pâris wrote, referring to the temple of Sibyl in Tivoli: 'Tout concourt à me faire penser que ce temple, celui de la Fortune Prenestine, ainsi que ceux d'Hercule et de Castor de Cori, sont non seulement du même tems, mais encore qu'ils sont peut-être des plus anciens que l'architecture grecque ait produit en Italie. J'en excepte ceux de Pestum qui portent décidément le caractère de la plus haute antiquité.' Pâris, 'Notes et lavis...', *op. cit.*, f. 80 recto. Pâris' writings were never published, but they circulated, and the notes were placed in a volume of Desgodetz that went from the library of the Académie d'Architecture to Léon Dufourny, who might have used them for his own writings. Pinon, *Pierre-Adrien Pâris (1745-1819)..., op. cit.*, p. 375.
10. 'Cette ville doit son origine aux Grecs comme toutes celles de cette côte. L'enceinte de ses murs qui subsistent encore en partie formoit un quarré ou tout au moins un rectangle. La construction des murs ainsi que la forme d'une porte de la ville qui existe encore ressemble parfaitement aux murs et à la Porte de l'ancienne ville Falerie'. Pâris, 'Route de Rome...', *op. cit.*, ms. 12, f. 115 recto.
11. 'On voit encore les restes de deux autres édiffices dans les ruines de cette ville. L'un étoit un temple circulaire dont on ne voit que les débris amoncelés sur le terrain qu'il occupoit. L'autre étoit un amphithéâtre dont on reconnoit encore très bien la forme: tous ces édifices étoient rangés sur une même ligne dans une longueur de près d'un demi mille. On voit beaucoup de fondations qui forment de grandes divisions qui se croisent à angles droit: on voit clairement que c'étoit les rues de la ville, dont le plan général étoit un quarré, ou au moins un rectangle. Les murs de cette ville sont extrêmement épais et construits en grandes pierres de tailles; ils sont revêtus de tours d'espaces en espace, et on voit encore une porte existante: elle est en arcade plein ceintre, et on voit une sirène représentée sur la clef de l'arc. La forme générale de cette ville; ses murs; ses tours et sa porte sont en tout semblable à ce qui reste de l'ancienne Fallerie, capitale des Falisques, dont on voit les ruines à neuf ou dix milles de Ronciglione, au pied du mont St Oreste. De là je conclus que lorsque le terrein l'a permis, les anciens donnoient la forme quarrée à leur ville comme étant la plus simple et la plus facile à tracer sur le terrein: on pourroit peut-être en conclure encore que c'est des Grecs que les Etrusques et autres peuples d'Italie ont appris à former des villes et à les entourer de murailles.' Cited in Pinon, *Pierre-Adrien Pâris (1745-1819)..., op. cit.*, p. 320.

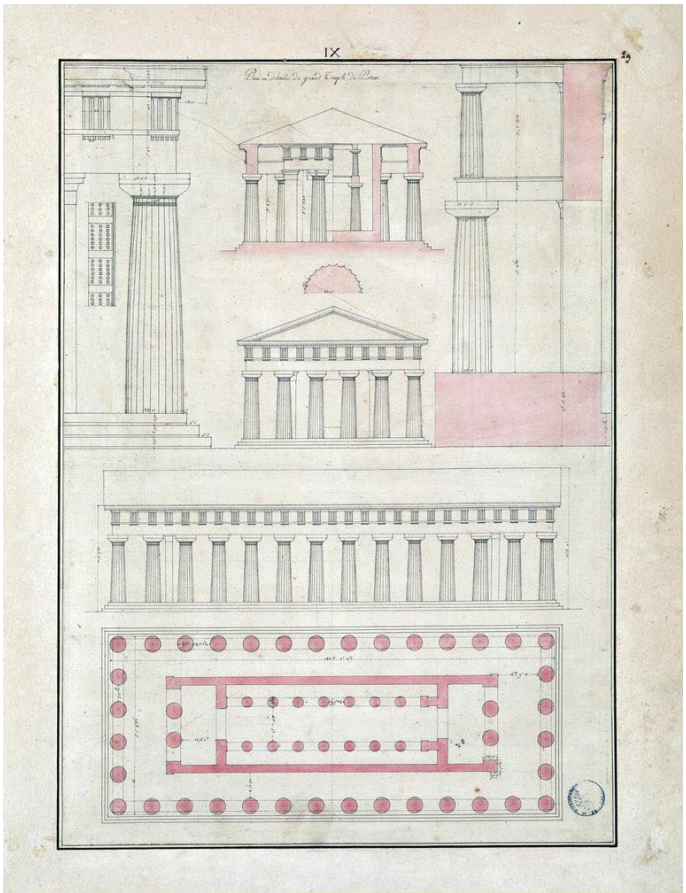


figure 6.4
Pierre-Adrien Pâris, Plan, elevations, section, and details of the Neptune temple, 1771.
(Bibliothèque Municipale, Besançon.)

> petites baguettes après lesquelles naissent les canelures qui continuent jusqu'en bas au nombre de 24'.[12]

His interest in the order and the measurements appeared again a year after his visit to the site. When he had come back from his voyage, Pâris gave, in 1775, a lecture for the Académie d'Architecture on the classical monuments he had examined in Italy, also mentioning Paestum.[13] As Pâris noted six years later, Soufflot, an authority since he was the first foreign architect to have 'rediscovered' Paestum, apparently attacked him then on the subject. Their debate dealt specifically with the columns of the Neptune temple:

> 'J'ajouterai que les colonnes m'ayant paru avoir une courbe pour le contour vertical de leur fust, je le traçai ainsi sur les dessins que j'ai fait de ces temples. Mr. Soufflot m'en fit un procès lorsque je présentai en 1775 mes Études à l'Académie: quelque peu intéressant que cela fut, je me piquai, et je chargeai Mrs. Renard, Huvé et Desprès architectes qui ont fait ce voyage, d'examiner le fait; le résultat est qu'en effet je ne me suis pas trompé; que le contour de ces colonnes est une courbe au lieu d'une ligne droite qui selon Mr. Soufflot prend du sol et va jusque sous le chapiteau, sentiment qui est faux en tous points. L'ouvrage anglois contient aussi une erreur notable en ce qu'il donne une cimaise au fronton du grand temple tandis qu'il n'y en a pas, ce qui est facile à voir, ce fronton étant presque entier.'[14]

This dispute about the curve of the columns was held at a time when the possibility came up to use the Paestum order in contemporary buildings. Apart from a debate with motives of prestige about who had correctly examined the temples at the spot, between the young Pâris and

12. Pâris, 'Route de Rome...', *op. cit.*, ms. 12, f. 115 recto.
13. He gave this lecture on 12 June 1775.
14. With 'l'ouvrage anglois' he meant probably Thomas Major's *Ruins of Paestum*. Pâris, 'Notes et lavis...', *op. cit.,* ms. 1906, f. 329. In his 'Études d'Architecture', written a few years later, Pâris again raises the issue: 'La forme des colonnes est bien telle qu'on la voit dans le détail en grand. Lorsque je fis voir les Études à l'Académie, Mr Soufflot prétendit que je m'étois trompé et que ces colonnes étoient coniques; son autorité me donna de la défiance sur la manière dont je les avois vues; j'engageai plusieurs personnes qui sont allées depuis moi à Pestum, et paticulièrement Mrs Huvé et Bélisard, à examiner la chose avec attention; ils m'ont assuré que je ne m'étois pas trompé, et que le trait des colonnes, au lieu d'être en ligne droite comme le disoit Mr Soufflot, est une courbe, ainsi que je l'ai fait.' Pâris, 'Études...', *op. cit.*, ms. 476, vol. I, pl. IX. The French architects Jean-Augustin Renard, Jean-Jacques Huvé and Louis-Jean Desprez accompanied the abbé the Saint-Non on his voyage and made many drawings for his *Voyage Pittoresque*. See Lamers, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-84; pp. 185-284 for Desprez' drawings, pp. 333-343 for Renard's drawings.

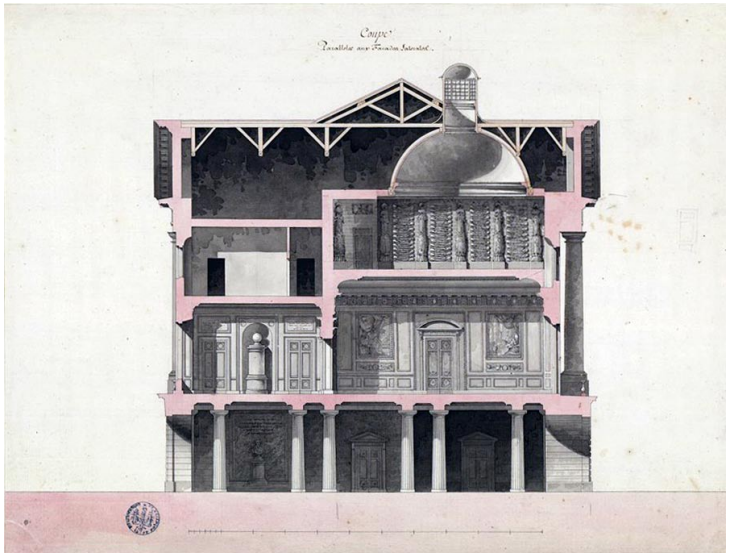
Soufflot the veteran, this discussion thus also has to be seen in the light of an application in architecture.

However, Pâris' ideas on the use of Paestum's order were not so unequivocal, he found it rather problematic. His reaction to a change in one of his designs shows how he thought about the application of a Paestum order. Only once did he use a Greek baseless Doric order in a building, namely in the peristyle of the city hall at Neuchâtel (1783-1784) (fig. 6.5).[15] There he chose to use columns with proportions inspired by the temple of Hercules at Cori, but his building contractor decide to place flattened vaults, which shortened the columns and gave them the proportions of the columns of Paestum. Pâris called this '[une] chose barbare': 'on a mutilé une grande quantité de belles colonnes toutes faites pour faire sans aucuns principes et contre toutes règles des choses difformes et choquantes.'[16] It made the peristyle into a sort of 'cave' or crypt, instead of a light and clear space.[17] His reaction demonstrates the particularity that was ascribed to the order. As Louis Combes had stated before, it was seen as an order fit for crypts or prisons. That made an easy application not so self-evident.

A second indication of Pâris' ideas on the use of the order is found in a reaction to a student's design at the Académie d'Architecture. While among young architects the application of the 'Paestum column' appeared to be in fashion in the 1780's, the older generation was not too enthusiastic. In its judgment of a design for a building 'destiné à réunir tout ce qui concerne l'histoire naturelle', by J.-A.Ch. Moreau, the jury at the Académie d'Architecture consisting of Boullée, Nicolas-Henri Jardin, Pierre-Louis Moreau-Desproux and Pâris, mentioned the problematic use of Paestum as a design model:

> 'La partie de l'élévation qui occupe le premier plan présente une grande façade percée de trois arcades portées par des colonnes de l'espèce de celles des temples de Pestum, mais sans cannelures; ces colonnes qui forment un portique dans toute la largeur de l'édifice sont beaucoup trop petites pour la masse [...]. C'est peut-être ici

15. Drawings in the Bibliothèque Municipale, Besançon: Fonds Pâris, Vol. 484, no. 36-43; the two sections (fig. 6.5) have no. 41 and 42.
16. Letter by Pâris to J.-Fr. de Montmollin, 4 April 1785, Archives de la Ville de Neuchâtel, 'Correspondence relative à la succession de Mr. le baron de Pary de Lisbonne'; Letter by Pâris to 'Quatre Ministraux de l'État à Neuchâtel', 29 May 1786, Archives de la Ville de Neuchâtel, 'Correspondance avec Pâris', cited in Pinon, *Pierre-Adrien Pâris (1745-1819)...*, *op. cit.*, p. 34.
17. Letter by Pâris to 'Quatre Ministraux' 14 May 1785 (minute), Bibliothèque Municipale, Besançon, Fonds Pâris, ms. 1, fol. 30 verso, cited in *Ibid.*, p. 34.



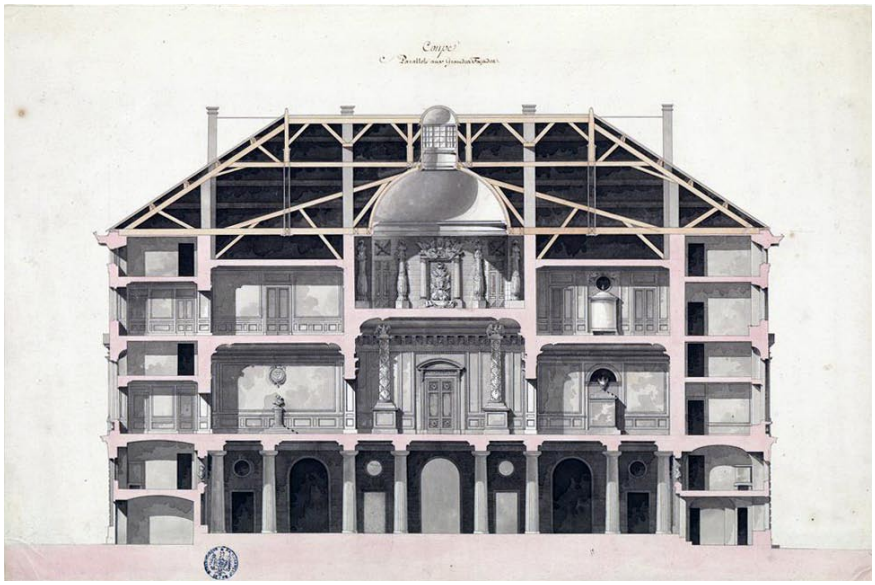


figure 6.5
a. Pierre-Adrien Pâris, Design for the city hall at Neuchâtel, cross and longitudinal sections, 1783-1784.
(Bibliothèque Municipale, Besançon.)

> le lieu d'observer les inconveniens de l'abus que les jeunes gens font des colonnes de Pestum; souvent ils les employent à des édifices qui seroient décorés d'une manière plus convenable par des ordres réguliers qui ont des proportions fixes, déterminées et plus élégantes. Il est très peu d'occasions où ce genre d'architecture qui exclut toute espèce de richesse puisse convenir, et si les rapports qui lui sont propres ne sont pas rigoureusement observés, on n'y voit plus qu'un amas incohérent sans intérêt, comme sans goût.'[18]

Thus, instead of elegancy and richness the order expressed poverty and simplicity to the jury, something the students had not understood. However, in this remark the so-called Paestum columns are without flutings and do not appear to refer clearly to the temples. What the jury does seem to mean are the squat proportions of the columns used, not yet fixed or standardised in an order, and the impression the order created by its character.

As stated earlier, Pâris did not entirely appreciate the temples, even though he valued their proportions, and he did not see them as a model for contemporary architecture either. He did see their value as documents of the history of architecture, and placed them among the most important examples of classical architecture. This becomes fully evident when, seven years after his voyage, whilst in the meantime the Paestum publication by Piranesi had appeared, he decided to include Paestum in a widely read work on Roman architecture, the *Édifices de Rome* by Antoine Desgodetz.[19] We see here a divergence between Paestum as a major example of classical architecture and the possibility to use it as a design model. There is a dissociation between the cultural or historical value of Paestum and its value of application in architecture.

In 1779 the Académie acquired the manuscript of Desgodetz's *Édifices antiques de Rome* (1682), and in the same year the publisher Claude-Antoine Jombert obtained the copper plates of it. Jombert decided to re-edit the *Édifices* and the book was published in Paris in 1779.[20] Desgodetz

18. Extrait des registres de l'Académie d'Architecture, séance du 14 janvier 1788, Archives Nationales, Paris, O[1] 1931, cited in *Ibid.*, p. 32.
19. See on Desgodetz the recently published edition of his *Édifices*: Antoine Desgodets, *Les Édifices Antiques de Rome* [1682], introduction by Hélène Rousteau-Chambon, Paris: Picard, 2008, pp. 13-30. See also: Wolfgang Herrmann, 'Antoine Desgodetz and the Académie Royale d'Architecture', *The Art Bulletin*, 40 (1958) 1, pp. 23-53; Antoine Picon, *French Architects and Engineers in the Age of Enlightenment*, Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992 (first published in French 1988); Hilary Ballon, *Louis Le Vau Mazarin's Collège, Colbert's revenge*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999; Mallgrave, *Modern architectural theory...*, *op. cit.*, 2005, p. 8.
20. 'Recœuil des études d'architectures que j'ay fait à Rome pendant l'espace de seize mois que j'y ay demeuré dans les années 1676 et 1677', now in the Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, Paris, ms. 2718. On the re-edition and Pâris'

had been sent by Jean-Baptiste Colbert in 1674 to Rome under auspices of Louis XIV, because the Académie in Paris was in urgent need of precise information of the system used by the Romans to be of use for modern architecture. Because Vitruvius had not provided any clear and detailed system, Desgodetz was in Rome to take measurements on the spot of the main Roman monuments. He returned to Paris in 1677 with the results, only to prove that there was not one common dimensional system and that the data published by Serlio and Palladio were inaccurate. The book was intended to be a handbook for architects and artists by its plates because the Académie thought that it would give the objective basis for beauty. It would replace the works by Andrea Palladio (*L'antichita di Roma* (1554)) and Sebastiano Serlio (*Il terzo libro* (1540)) on Rome, because of the better measurements, the division of drawings of the situation *in situ* and reconstructions, and offering other sorts of information such as different types of plans, and sectional views. It contained 137 plates of 32 antique monuments in Rome, as well as of the temple of Vesta in Tivoli and of the amphitheatre in Verona, accompanied by explanatory texts. The book presented detailed engravings of these antique buildings, and was meant to determine which proportional systems the Romans used, but Desgodetz could not prove any consistent proportional systems, and showed many conflicts with proportional systems in architectural treatises as the one by Palladio. Desgodetz's measurements at the spot in Rome soon met with criticism. Shortly after its publication, Claude Perrault had already argued in his *Ordonnance des cinq espèces de colonnes selon la méthode des anciens* (1683) that the idea of setting architectural norms based on antique monuments was doomed to fail among other reasons because the buildings in Desgodetz's publication proved that the dimensions differed largely.[21] Towards the middle of the eighteenth century, although largely admired, Desgodetz's work was also criticised for 'its inconsistent modes of representation, the inaccuracy of its measurements, and its almost exclusive concentration on the religious and civic architecture of Rome itself.'[22] These criticisms became more acute when architects started to examine the remnants with their own eyes, sometimes with Desgodetz in their hands.[23] Architects such as Robert and James Adam compiled albums in which they reacted to Desgodetz. The French architects Charles-Louis Clérisseau, Marie-Joseph Peyre (1730-1785), Charles De Wailly and Pierre-Louis Moreau-Desproux began work on a supplement to Desgodetz. To examine the

'Observations': Pinon, *Pierre-Adrien Pâris (1745-1819)..., op. cit.*, pp. 12-13; pp. 56-70.
21. Wolfgang Herrmann, *The Theory of Claude Perrault*, London: A. Zwemmer, 1973, pp. 79-81, Antoine Picon, *Claude Perrault, 1613-1688 ou la curiosité d'un classique*, Paris: Picard/CNMHS/Délégation à l'action artistique de la Ville de Paris, 1988, pp. 141-144; p. 150.
22. Salmon, *Building on Ruins..., op. cit.*, p. 35.
23. *Ibid.*, pp. 35-41.

ruins further, these architects undertook also minor excavations in Rome. One of those, the French architect Marie-Joseph Peyre, had instigated in 1779 the before mentioned reprinting of the *Édifices* by Jombert.[24] Despite all these projects to revise the treatise, this eighteenth-century version remained unchanged, and was an integral re-edition.

Pâris, as an admirer of Desgodetz, had already made notes on the *Édifices* and conceived complementary plates when he was as a *pensionnaire* in Rome in 1772-1774. After Jombert's re-edition of 1779 Pâris worked again on the subject, and in 1781 presented his findings as 'Observations' to the Académie.[25] However, Pâris would never publish his findings in a new Desgodetz edition. In these 'Observations' (made in 1779-1781) he commented first upon the Roman monuments presented by Desgodetz, and continued with some proposals to add other classical monuments:

> 'J'y ai ajouté quelques plans qu'il avoit négligé et même des vues qui rappellent ces lieux toujours si intéressans pour ceux qui les ont vu. J'ai cru devoir y joindre la colonne Trajane; les plus beaux obélisques; le cirque de Caracalla, monument unique aujourd'huy [...]. Enfin j'y ai ajouté encore nombre de monumens antiques répandus soit aux environs de Rome, soit dans le royaume de Naples parce qu'il m'a paru qu'ils présentoient quelques singularités intéressantes pour l'histoire de l'architecture: tels sont le temple d'Hercule à Cori, celui de la Fortune de Préneste, l'édifice qui sert aujourd'huy d'église de Nocera de Pagani, le théâtre d'Herculanum, l'amphithéâtre de Capoue, l'arc de Trajan à Bénévent et les temples grecs de Pestum.'[26]

For each of these monuments Pâris included some explanations, personal experiences and

24. This edition is a reprint without further additions or changes, below the table of contents is written: 'Messieurs Peyre l'aîné, Guillaumot, Peyre le jeune, qui avoient été nommés pour examiner un Ouvrage de M. Desgodetz, *sur les Edifices antiques de Rome*, en ayant fait leur rapport, l'Académie a jugé que cet Ouvrage, déja connu & favorablement accueilli du Public, méritoit d'être réimprimé, avec l'Approbation & sous le Privilège de l'Académie; en soi de quoi j'ai signé le présent Certificat. A Paris, ce 8 Août 1779. J.M. Sedaine', in: *Les Edifices Antiques de Rome, dessinés et mesurés tres exactement par feu M. Desgodetz, Architecte du Roi, Nouvelle Edition*, Paris: Claude Antoine Jombert fils ainé, Libraire du Roi, 1779, p. xii. See also Alan Braham, *The Architecture of the French Enlightenment*, London: Thames & Hudson, 1980, p. 90; Harris and Savage, *op. cit.*, pp. 73 and 89, note 19; Hélène Rousteau-Chambon in her introduction of Desgodets, *Les Édifices..., op. cit.*, pp. 29-30. On Clérisseau's and Adam's plans: McCormick, *Charles Louis Clérisseau..., op. cit.*, pp. 34-35.
25. See also on Pâris' project: Joselita Raspi Serra, 'Les Édifices antiques de Rome mesurés et dessinés exactement par Antoine, testo annotato da Adrien Pâris. Un metodo d'intervento. Misura e verifica dei monumenti romani', in: Antonio Cadei, Marina Righetti Tosti-Croce, Anna Segagni Malacart, and Alessandro Tomei (eds.), *Arte d'occidente, temi e metodi, Studi in onore di Angiola Maria Romanini*, vol. 3, Rome: Edizioni Sintesi, 1999, pp. 1215-1220.
26. Quoted in Pinon, *Pierre-Adrien Pâris (1745-1819)..., op. cit.*, p. 57.

drawings. After Pâris' propositions, the ambitions to revise Desgodetz continued. Among the several eighteenth-century architects that conceived plans to re-edit and improve Desgodetz, were also Jacques-Guillaume Legrand (1753-1808) and Jacques Molinos (1743-1831), who will feature later in this chapter.[27] Legrand and Molinos took many measurements in 1785 in Rome which they opposed to the ones made by Desgodetz.[28] But just as the other architects before Pâris, they did not propose an addition of Greek monuments as Pâris did, as their concern was mainly with a correction of the measurements by Desgodetz. Not only was Pâris' proposal extraordinary because he aimed to include Greek monuments in a publication that concentrated on Roman canonical architecture, but his decision seems also rather to have been aimed at writing architectural history than at providing concrete models for architects. As he thought the application of Paestum in contemporary architecture problematic, to Pâris the addition of Paestum to Desgodetz had more to do with including Paestum in the most important examples of classical architecture, in line with the other attempts to put the temples in a historical context that emerged in the previous chapter.

Pâris' plans were never realised, but a revision of another treatise that would include Paestum was. This treatise that was to be enriched with Paestum was a book of orders. However, the motives for this addition were entirely different. While Pâris integrated Paestum in the history of architecture, Claude-Mathieu Delagardette would try to capture Paestum in an order. What had been thought impossible by Pâris, Delagardette would present in a treatise. More significantly, he added Paestum to the famous treatise by Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola (1507-

27. See *Ibid.*, pp. 68-69; Salmon, *Building on Ruins..., op. cit.*, pp. 35-39. Robert Adam noted the popularity of the book to his brother: 'Desgodetz's book is almost entirely out of print. Neither in England, France or Italy can one get a copy of it under double price.' Letter quoted in Fleming, *Robert Adam..., op. cit.*, p. 170.
28. 'J'ai fait un examen attentif et scrupuleux de cet Auteur, en comparant chaque planche de son Ouvrage au pied des monumens antiques, lors de mon voyage à Rome en 1785, avec M. Molinos, mon collègue et mon ami. Cette curieuse étude nous a mis à même de reconnaître une multitude de fautes dans la seule configuration des Monumens. Nous avons en conséquence rectifié ces erreurs par des notes et des figures, tracées sur le lieu même, en marge du livre; et nous avons en outre fait mouler plusieurs détails des ornemens, pour démontrer les différences qui existent dans la forme et dans le caractère de ceux qu'il a représentés, et pour prouver aux plus incrédules l'absolue nécessité de ces vérifications.' Werner Szambien, *Le Musée d'architecture*, Paris: Picard, 1988, p. 23. Legrand wrote about this in: Jacques-Guillaume Legrand, *Essai sur l'Histoire générale de l'architecture, par J.G. Legrand, Architecte des Travaux publics, Membre du Conseil des Bâtimens civils, de la Société libre des Sciences, Lettres et Arts de Paris; pour servir de texte explicatif au Recueil et parallele des edifices de tout genre, anciens et modernes, Remarquables par leur beauté, leur grandeur, ou leur singularité, et dessinés sur une même échelle; Par J.N.L. Durand, Architecte, et Professeur d'Architecture à l'Ecole Polytechnique. noouvelle édition*, Paris: L. Ch. Soyer, 1809 (first published 1803), p. 45 (the text was written in 1799). In the biographical note in the same book was added: 'Cette opération était d'autant plus importante, qu'elle eût servi pour une édition nouvelle et correcte de cet ouvrage. Un abus de confiance fit perdre à Legrand le prix de son travail, qu'un autre s'est approprié depuis, en transcrivant sur son propre exemplaire ces notes précieuses dont il se fait passer pour être l'auteur.', p. 9.

1573), *Regola delli cinque ordini d'architettura* (Rome, 1562) (fig. 6.6-6.8).[29] Delagardette, who had never even visited Paestum at the time of this inclusion, was apparently so enchanted by the drawings of the temples made by other architects who had been at the spot, that this sufficed to persuade him to incorporate it in the principal orders of architecture:

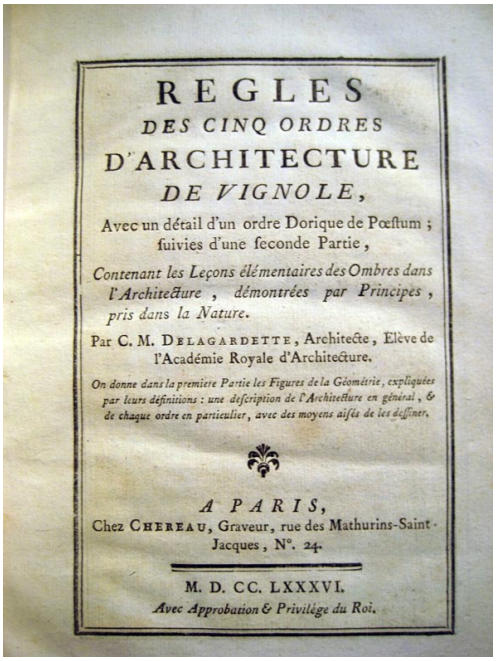
> 'J'ai cru devoir ajouter aux Ordres de Vignole les détails d'un bel Ordre Dorique de Pœstum qui ne se trouvent que dans peu d'ouvrages assez rares & d'un prix considérable. On emploie actuellement cet Ordre avec succès & assez fréquemment pour qu'il soit intéressant de la faire connoître aux personnes qui étudient l'Architecture & qui ne peuvent facilement se procurer les ouvrages où il est traité. J'ai mis tout le soin & toute l'exactitude dont je suis capable dans les calculs qu'il fallu faire pour parvenir à réduire en modules les subdivisions de la toise & du pied, & j'ai cru cela nécessaire pour que les étudians fissent plus facilement la comparaison de cet Ordre avec les autres, & aussi parce que le module est la mesure ordinaire dont il se servent.'[30]

For Delagardette, the experience at the site was apparently not essential to consider the order of value and to represent it correctly. In reducing Paestum to an order it was not important to have seen the monuments themselves; the dimensions of the columns could also be reproduced with measurements by others in hand. Delagardette based his order on measurements made by Soufflot and Dumont, the first French visitors to the site.[31] Major had done so as well, but he had also used measurements by others, as the preparatory drawings to his publication testify. Throughout the eighteenth century many architects had disputed again and again over the right measurements, thus demonstrating that it was not free of risk to decide to use the ones

29. His biographer quoted Delagardette as the Vignola of his time. On his grave stone in 1805 was written: 'A la mémoire de Ch.M. Delagardette, architecte, né a Paris en 1762. Il fut le Vignole de son temps. Lui seul fit bien connaitre les ruines de Pæstum et mourut pauvre a l'age de 45 ans. Simple et pur dans ses moeurs comme dans ses compositions, il fut l'ami et le père de ses élèves.' It shows that he dedicated his live to Paestum, and that at that time he was considered as the expert on Paestum. H. Herluison and Paul Leroy, *L'architecte Delagardette*, Orléans: H. Herluison, p. 15.

30. Claude Mathieu Delagardette, *Règles des cinq ordres d'architecture de Vignole, avec un détail d'un ordre dorique de Poestum, suivies d'une d'une seconde partie, contenant les Leçons élémentaires des ombres dans l'architecture, démontrées par principes pris dans la nature*, Paris: Chereau, 1786, p. 39: 'Ordre de Pœstum'.

31. 'M. Dumont, Professeur d'Architecture, connu par ses divers ouvrages & par son zèle pour les progrès des Eleves, a bien voulu me confier les dessins originaux que feu M. Soufflot, son Ami, Architecte du Roi, avoit faits à Pœstum & sur lesquels il avoit marqué toutes les mesures avec la plus grande exactitude. Ce sont ces mêmes dessins qui ont été gravés dans l'ouvrage de M. Dumont sur les ruines de Pœstum, & dans celui qui a été publié à Londres par Thomas Major.' Delagardette, *Règles des cinq ordres..., op. cit.*, 1786, p. 39.



REGLES
DES CINQ ORDRES
D'ARCHITECTURE
DE VIGNOLE,

Avec un détail d'un ordre Dorique de Pœſtum ; ſuivies d'une ſeconde Partie,

Contenant les Leçons élémentaires des Ombres dans l'Architecture, démontrées par Principes, pris dans la Nature.

Par C. M. DELAGARDETTE, Architecte, Elève de l'Académie Royale d'Architecture.

On donne dans la premiere Partie les Figures de la Géométrie, expliquées par leurs définitions : une deſcription de l'Architecture en général, & de chaque ordre en particulier, avec des moyens aiſés de les deſſiner.

A PARIS,
Chez CHEREAU, Graveur, rue des Mathurins-Saint-Jacques, N°. 24.

M. D. CC. LXXXVI.
Avec Approbation & Privilége du Roi.

figure 6.6
Claude-Mathieu Delagardette,
Title page, 1786.
(Delagardette, *Règles...*, 1786.)

figure 6.7
Claude-Mathieu Delagardette,
Frontispiece, 1786.
(Delagardette, *Règles...*, 1786.)

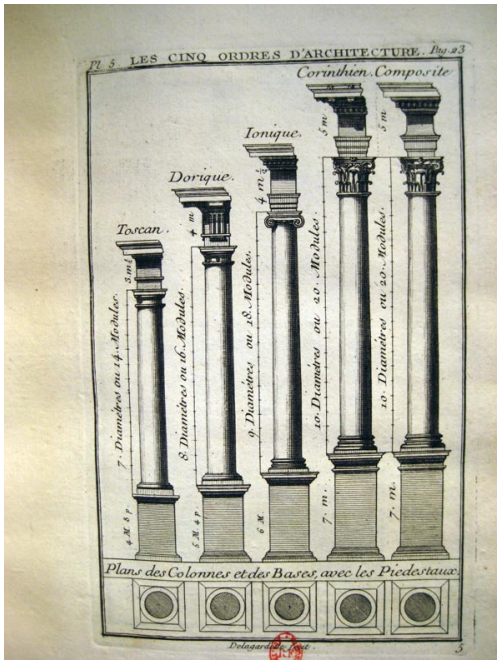


figure 6.8
Claude-Mathieu Delagardette,
The five orders of architecture,
1786.
(Delagardette, *Règles...*, 1786, plate 5.)

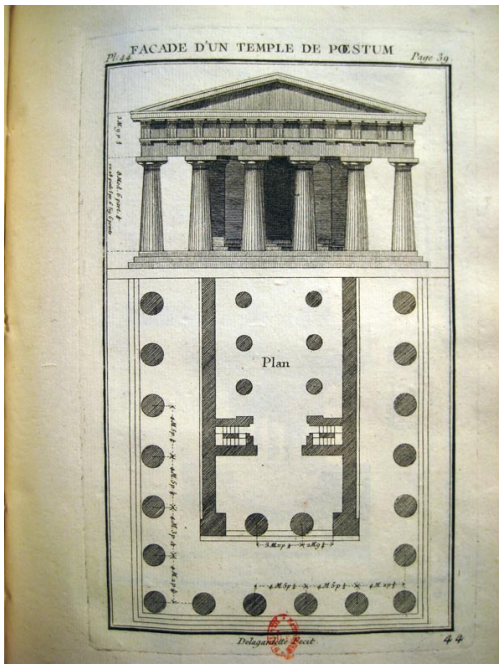
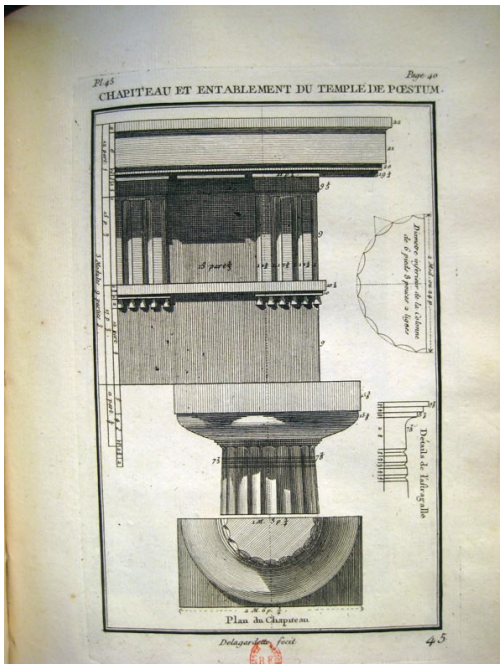
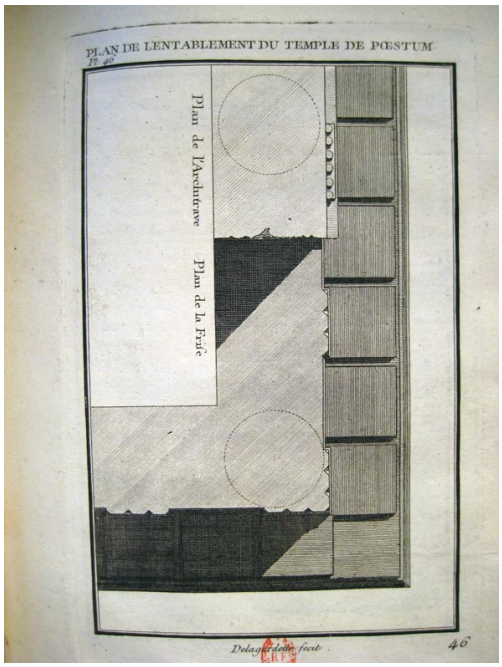


figure 6.9
Claude-Mathieu Delagardette,
Elevation and plan of the
Temple of Neptune, 1786.
(Delagardette, *Règles*..., 1786, plate 44.)

figure 6.10
Claude-Mathieu Delagardette,
Details of the order of the
Temple of Neptune, 1786.
(Delagardette, *Règles*..., 1786, plate 45.)

figure 6.11
Claude-Mathieu Delagardette,
Plan of the entablement of the
Temple of Neptune, 1786.
(Delagardette, *Règles*..., 1786, plate 46.)





of only one architect, even if he was 'architecte du Roi', like Soufflot. After all, Delagardette decided later that it would be strange not to go to the site himself. So he went there, in 1793, and afterwards, in 1797, he republished his new Vignola edition, with new drawings and new dimensions. Still, this edition did not refer to the experience at the site in any way; instead it related to the monuments in a technical manner. The book became a success and was widely used, as we have seen in the previous chapter. It makes a lot clear about how Paestum was imported into a manual for architects. While Pâris' drawings in the *Voyage Pittoresque* and in his Desgodetz edition had presented plans, elevations and details of the three temples, in Delagardette's publication Paestum was even further reduced.

In both editions Paestum's reduction to an order was in fact its reduction to the order of only one temple: the temple of Neptune. Again, like other architects had done before, Delagardette chose the Neptune temple to represent Paestum, and its order:

> 'J'ai choisi dans les trois Temples de Pœstum celui qui m'a paru le plus majestueux, c'est celui qu'on nomme Amphyprostyle, Hexastyle; *Amphyprostyle* signifie qui a deux faces semblables une à chaque extrémité: *Hexastyle* dont les faces ont six colonnes de front. Ce Temple étoit aussi *Hyptère*, c'est-à-dire qu'il étoit découvert. Je n'en donne que la façade, les détails & la moitié du plan; ce qui m'a paru suffisant dans un livre élémentaire.'[32]

In the first edition Delagardette had published three engravings of the Paestum order: an elevation of the front façade, a view of the entablature and a plan of the entablature (fig. 6.9-6.11).[33] In the second edition of his book, Delagardette emphasized that he measured the temples himself on the spot: 'mais, sur-tout, je me suis fait un devoir de donner les détails d'un Ordre dorique de Pœstum; & le voyage que j'ai fait sur les lieux mêmes, m'a mis à portée d'en

32. *Ibid.*, pp. 39-40.
33. 'Façade du Temple. Amphyprostyle Hexastyle de Pœstum. Planche XLIV': 'Par cette façade on pourra juger de l'effet des entrecolonnemens de cet Ordre. Il faut y remarquer que les entrecolonnemens des angles sont plus serrés que ceux du milieu. On y verra aussi quelle proportion les Grecs donnoient à leurs frontons, & qu'ils ne mettoient point de modillons dans leur corniches rampantes.'; 'Entablement de Pœstum. Planche XLV': 'Les proportions de cet Entablement Dorique ne s'éloignent des proportions données par Vitruve qu'en ce que le nud de l'Architrave est en saillie sur l'extrémité du diamètre supérieur de la colonne, ce qu'il regardoit comme une faute contre la solidité. On voit aussi que les cannelures des Triglyphes sont ceintrées par le haut & triangulaires par le plan; qu'il y a un Triglyphe à l'angle de la frise & que sur chacun il y a un modillon, ainsi qu'au-dessus de chaque métope. La planche 46 donne le plan de cet entablement.' *Ibid.*, p. 40.

garantir l'exactitude.'[34] His motives to add the Paestum order were now slightly differently formulated:

> 'J'ai promis de donner les détails d'un ordre dorique de Poestum, tel que je l'ai mesuré moi-même sur les lieux; je remplis ma promesse d'autant plus volontiers, qu'on employe cet ordre fréquemment & avec succès aujourd'hui, & qu'il n'est décrit que dans les ouvrages rares & chers.
> J'ai choisi dans les trois temples que l'on voit à Poestum, l'ordre extérieur de celui qu'on dit avoir été dédié à Neptune, & qui m'a paru le plus majestueux; c'est aussi celui dont les détails sont les plus purs & les plus ingénieusement opposés.'[35]

Although the order was already applied in contemporary architecture, Delagardette thought he should present architects the real version, measured by himself on the spot and through his work made available for a large public. The reduction from these measurements at the site to the final disseminated product is substantial. First, he chose Neptune for its majesty, purity and ingenuity; but he only took the exterior columns. Thus, he took away the site, the other three temples and selected just one type of column from one of the temples.

The publication contained this time four engravings of the temple: 'Facade d'un temple de Pœstum'; 'Entablement de Pœstum'; 'Plan d'entablement de Pœstum'; 'Proportions et détails des colonnes de Pœstum' (fig. 6.12-6.15).[36] Apart from some differences in the dimensions and,

34. Claude-Mathieu Delagardette, *Règles des cinq ordres d'architecture, de Vignole. Ouvrage dans lequel on donne: Une idée de la Géométrie; les définitions des figures géométriques nécessaires à l'étude de l'Architecture; la formation des Ordres, rigoureusement démontrée, dans l'origine de l'architecture; leur division générale; les proportions particulières à chacun d'eux; les différences qui les caractérisent; une méthode facile pour les dessiner; les détails d'un Ordre-dorique de Poestum, mésurés par l'Auteur, sur les lieux mêmes; enfin, les notions nécessaires sur les Ordres appelés accessoires. Par C.M. Delagardette, Architecte, Pensionnaire de la République. Nouvelle édition entièrement refondue & enrichie de nouvelles Planches*, Paris: Joubert, 1797, p. 5.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 29.
36. 'Planche XXVI. Plan & façade.': 'Il faut observer que les entrecolonnements des angles sont plus serrés que ceux du milieu, & les quatre colonnes des angles plus grosses, à-peu-près d'un quarantième; on verra quelles proportions les Grecs leurs donnoient, ainsi qu'à leurs frontons. On remarquera sur-tout qu'ils ne mettoient point de modillons à leurs corniches rampantes, preuve qu'ils n'en avoient pas perdu de vue la véritable origine; qu'il y a un triglyphe aux angles de la frise, & que l'espace du milieu de l'un au milieu de l'autre, est divisée en dix parties égales, pour le milieu de chaque triglyphe, sans avoir égard aux àplombs des colonnes.'; 'Planche XXVII. Entablement.': 'Ses proportions ne diffèrent de celles données par Vitruve, qu'en ce que le nud de l'architecture est en saillie sur l'extremité du diamètre supérieur de la colonne, ce qu'il regardoit comme une faute contre la solidité. On voit aussi que les cannelures des triglyphes sont ceintrées par le haut & triangulaires par le plan; qu'au dessus de chaque méthope, il y a un modillon, comme au-dessus de chaque triglyphe. On peut remarquer encore que le plafond du larmier & des modillons sont inclinés suivant la pente du fronton, ce qui donne plus de hauteur apparente aux moulures inférieures de la corniche, & prouve que les Anciens suivoient encore en cela l'origine de l'architrave: car il faut se souvenir que les modillons ne

figure 6.12
Claude-Mathieu Delagardette, Elevation and plan of the Temple of Neptune, 1794.

(Delagardette, *Règles*..., second edition, 1797, plate 26.)

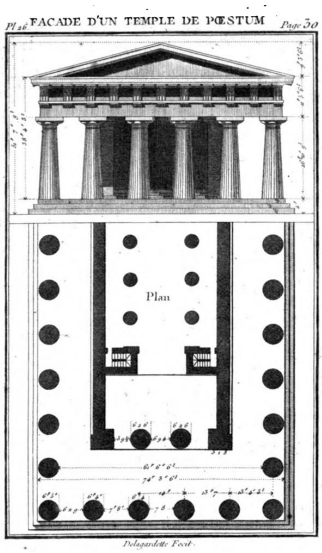


figure 6.13
Claude-Mathieu Delagardette, Details of the order of the Temple of Neptune, 1797.

(Delagardette, *Règles*..., second edition, 1797, plate 27.)

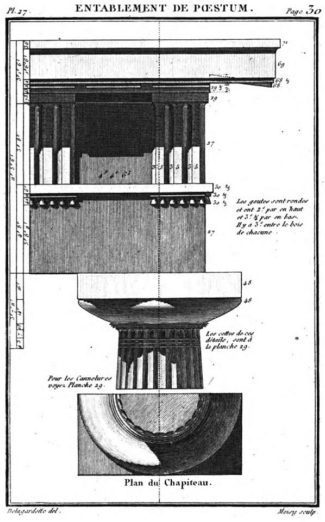


figure 6.14
Claude-Mathieu Delagardette, Plan of the entablement of the Temple of Neptune, 1797.

(Delagardette, *Règles*..., second edition, 1797, plate 28.)

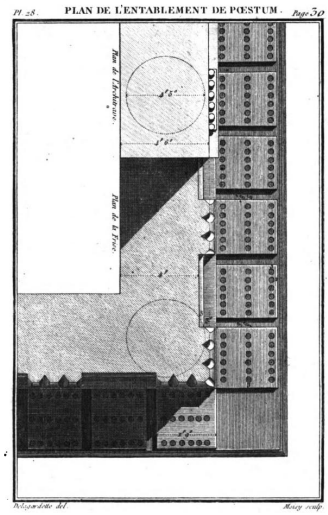
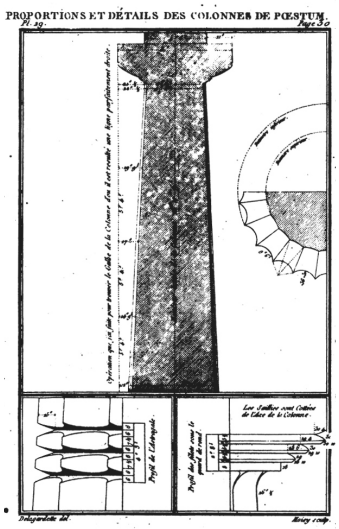


figure 6.15
Claude-Mathieu Delagardette, proportions and details of the column of the Temple of Neptune, 1797.

(Delagardette, *Règles*..., second edition, 1797, plate 29.)



of course, the extra quality added because Delagardette had been at the spot, his perceptions did not change much for the second edition. Delagardette went to Paestum with a well-defined aim, namely to capture the Paestum order for future architects in his Vignola edition. It was the only other order he added to the five Vignola orders, the one he chose for its popularity among architects.

But his aim was also to measure, picture and describe the temples in such a way that they could be published in his monograph *Ruines de Paestum*, and be made of use to contemporary architecture. In this work on Paestum he made some remarkable statements on the earlier, and much praised, measurements of Soufflot and Dumont, as well as on the publication by Major:

> 'Ni Soufflot ni Dumont n'ont jamais vu, mésuré et dessiné à Pæstum, les détails de la corniche, les gouttes de l'architrave, la moulure et les astragales des chapiteaux du grand temple qu'il nous ont donnés.'[37]

By dismissing his predecessors in their measurements of details, Delagardette presented himself as the only authority on Paestum and the only one who had thoroughly examined and measured the temples. Only his appreciation of Piranesi's engravings persisted, because the latter did not present any measured drawings, only perspective views. Thus, Piranesi could not be a competitor. As a matter of fact, Delagardette was indeed the first who studied the temples thoroughly at the spot, since other authors had largely relied on quickly executed drawings and measurements or on others providing them with the dimensions.

What Delagardette did in his Vignola publication was in fact a-historical, he provided no historical context for his choice to include Paestum. In his focus on the primitive aspects he does not treat it in a chronological sequence. While in the previous chapter we have seen a more diachronic approach in giving Paestum a historical context, in this chapter we can

sont autre chose que l'image des bouts des chevrons de la couverture.; 'Il y a vingt-quatre cannelures qui se touchent à vive-arête: voyez la planche 29 pour les tracer sur ce plan.'; 'Plan d'entablement, planche 28.'; 'Proportions & détails des colonnes, planche 29.' *Ibid.*, p. 30.

37. Delagardette, *Les Ruines...*, *op. cit.*, 1799, p. 4, followed by a critical review of all the other monographs on Paestum: 'Ces erreurs, ces contradictions dans la représentation d'un même objet, font penser naturellement que tous ces ouvrages sont plutôt des productions d'amateurs curieux et peu versés dans l'étude, que le résultat d'un travail approfondi d'Artistes observateurs.' Of all these publications Delagardette prefers Paoli, but the best is Piranesi: 'La collection la plus complette et la plus fidelle des vûes de Pæstum, est celle donnée à Rome par Piranese: on y voit réellement les Ruines de Pæstum.'

discern a synchronic method. In placing Paestum amidst other examples of Greek architecture or Doric temples, series were built in images and texts. These were both series of temples without chronology, as the plates of Rondelet and Durand will show later in this chapter, or chronological series that show a development, as was the case in Le Roy's and Wilkin's works. The latter will be the focus of the next section. This was done in different ways, and also with diverse aims. The way of putting Paestum in context depended thus on the agenda of the architect, and also on the reading public that the book was intended for.

As we have seen in the previous chapter, in the reaction of the jury to Labrouste's *mémoire*, the Académie considered the book by Delagardette as a seminal publication. Many architects had the volume in their libraries, or even subscribed to the book before publication, as, for example, Julien-David Le Roy, Jacques-Guillaume Legrand, Jacques Molinos, Louis-François Cassas, Léon Dufourny and Jacques-Nicolas-Louis Durand, all architects that we will meet in this chapter.[38] Delagardette often mentioned Le Roy to show how certain aspects of Paestum's temples are similar to the Greek ones, and to reinforce his dating of the temples.[39] Where Delagardette offered an order, Le Roy's book, published just after the rediscovery of Paestum, and a hybrid combination of treatise, archaeological account and travelogue, had presented a less focussed approach to Greek architecture. But to see at a closer range how Paestum could be integrated into an overview of Greek classical architecture it will give an interesting insight.

The development of Greek architecture according to Le Roy and Wilkins

The first systematic analysis of Greek architecture in the eighteenth century was Julien-David Le Roy's *Les Ruines des plus beaux Monuments de la Grèce* (1758).[40] Based on autopsy, on archaeological research in Greece during his voyage in 1755, Le Roy, with his thorough historical and theoretical analysis, offered a new way of looking at ruins. Although fuelling with his work the ideas on the Greek ideal in the eighteenth century, Le Roy in fact did

38. Some other architects who subscribed: Percier and Fontaine, Renard, Blondel, Viel, Normand and Antoine. See 'Liste des souscripteurs' in: *Ibid*.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 72; other pages that refer to Le Roy: pp. 25, 32, 41, 53, 71.
40. On Julien-David Le Roy: introduction by Robin Middleton in: Le Roy, *The Ruins..., op. cit.*, pp. 1-199, and Middleton's: *Julien-David Leroy..., op. cit*.

not present a clear model or canon of Greek architecture, he 'was concerned rather to penetrate to the essential spirit that had conferred upon the architecture of ancient Greece its supreme distinction, the better to understand not only that architecture but also the very nature of all architecture that mattered.'[41] It was an important step in the process of historical contextualisation, namely in showing examples of Greek buildings as part of a series put in a historical chronology, in which Greek architecture was presented as superior to Roman. Le Roy's aim was to make Paestum also part of this series. It was the first time that Paestum was projected to be published in a historical overview of Greek architecture. Thus, as early as 1756, Paestum already appeared in Le Roy's selling prospectus for *Les Ruines*. In describing the second part of his forthcoming book, in which he aimed to present geometric plans, facades and profiles of buildings with all their measurements, Paestum was included:

> 'Afin de rendre cette partie plus intéressante, on y joindra les profils des Colonnes doriques antiques de l'Eglise de S. Pierre au liens à Rome, ceux des Colonnes & de l'entablement du Théatre de Marcellus dans la même Ville, & quelques parties des Temples de Pæstum au Royaume de Naples. Ces monumens curieux comparés avec les ordres Grecs, prouveront d'une manière sensible & décisive ce que l'Histoire ne nous apprend qu'en général sur le passage de l'Architecture grecque en Italie.'[42]

However, although Le Roy intended to publish images of Paestum in his book, he finally did not. But this passage in his prospectus clarifies already his ideas to make Paestum part of a chronology of Doric architecture, something that was only later in the eighteenth century picked up by others. The monuments chosen by Le Roy would demonstrate in a concrete way the development of Greek architecture in Italy, much more than what history in general could do, as an opposition between what he saw with his own eyes outside Rome, and the image based on observations in Rome. Le Roy did not visit Paestum himself.[43] The fragment

41. Middleton in: Le Roy, *The Ruins...*, *op. cit.*, p. 83.
42. Prospectus: Julien-David Le Roy, *Les Ruines des plus beaux monumens de la Grèce; ou Recueil de desseins et de vues de ces monumens; avec leur histoire, et des reflexions sur les progres de l'Architecture, Par M. Le Roy, Architecte, ancien Pensionnaire du Roi à Rome, & de l'Institut de Bologne*, Paris: H.L. Guerin and L.F. Delatour, 1756, p. 3.
43. Le Roy could have obtained drawings from his French colleagues Dumont and Soufflot. Only, eventually images of Paestum were not published in the *Ruines*. If this had to do with an embargo on the drawings by Dumont and Soufflot, who were the first to bring drawings of the temples to France in 1751 and wanted to publish these themselves, or if there were other reasons for this, is not known. Le Roy had copied their drawings, as is shown by the manuscript of Major's publication, held in the Sir John Soane's Museum, with a collection of drawings of Paestum that Major bought. Soane obtained the whole set in 1800, Sir John Soane's Museum, London, Library, Vol 27. See also McCarthy, 'New light...', *op. cit.*, pp. 47-50.

in the prospectus is nonetheless interesting, because it shows that Le Roy aimed to show elements of the Paestum temples to demonstrate something more significant: how Greek architecture was disseminated in Italy. They were therefore important to clarify the history of the Doric order, comparing them with the Greek orders. The fact that he used the temples, these 'curious monuments', in his prospectus as an attraction to sell his book, also shows that Paestum was already present in architectural discourse or that his public was interested in the subject. Actually, Le Roy would have been the first to publish images of the site so shortly after their rediscovery, before the widely disseminated monographs on Paestum, or other written publications about the site.

After five monographs on the site had been published, Le Roy's second edition of *Les Ruines des plus beaux Monuments* (1770) came out. Still Le Roy did not include any images of Paestum. But he did briefly mention it a few times, emphasizing the antiquity of its architecture, or rather of the Basilica temple, and mentioning existing publications about the site:

> 'J'ai formé cette conjecture sur la maniere dont les colonnes ont été placées d'abord dans les Temples Grecs, d'après la construction de deux Temples de la plus haute Antiquité: l'un que l'on voit en Italie à Pæstum, ville ancienne de la Grande Grece, située à 22 lieues de Naples, a une file de colonnes rangées dans le milieu de l'intérieur, précisément, comme nous supposons qu'ont été d'abord placées les premieres colonnes dans les Edifices; l'autre à Egine, a cinq colonnes au second portique de ses façades, & par conséquent aussi une colonne dans le milieu. Enfin ce qui paroît autoriser mon sentiment, c'est l'origine du mot latin *Columen*, qui signifie colonne: il a pris son nom, dit Vitruve [*De Architectura Libri Decem*, 4.2.1], d'une piece de bois appellée *Culmen*, qu'il soutenoit, & qui étoit placée sous le faîte du comble.
> Le Public est en état de juger à présent du cas qu'il doit faire de cette conjecture, que j'ai formée en partie d'après les Temples de Pæstum. On l'a en quelque sorte confirmée dans deux Livres publiés depuis peu sur les ruines de cette ville. L'un est de M. Major, l'autre de M. Dumont. On peut voir sur ce qui concerne le temps où ces Temples ont été decouverts par un Peintre Napolitain, & mesurés par M. Souflot, & sur l'époque des différents ouvrages qu'on a publié sur ces Edifices, la note imprimée dans l'ouvrage de M. Dumont, pag. 8 & 9.' [44]

44. Le Roy, *Les Ruines...*, *op. cit.*, 1770, vol. 1, pp. xiii-xiv, in English translation: Le Roy, *The Ruins...*, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

That he considered the Basilica temple already as a temple and not as a public building is remarkable in a period when the function of this building was still debated. But, in fact, for Le Roy Paestum in this second edition was just useful to demonstrate his ideas about Greek architecture in general. He wrote for example about the temple of Minerva in Athens and how the proportion of the two principal dimensions was remarkable, eight by seventeen columns, making it more than twice as long as wide. He regarded this as a feature of Greek architecture, and named as examples the Temple of Theseus, the Temple of Jupiter at Olympia, and 'des Temples d'une antiquité très-reculée, qu'on trouve encore dans les débris de Pestum, ville ancienne de grande Grece, située à 22 ou 23 lieues de Naples.'[45] In this edition Le Roy clearly labels Paestum as Greek architecture, where in his prospectus he used Paestum, a 'curious' monument, to compare its Doric order with the Greek orders, to prove a historical development from Greek architecture to buildings in Italy. However, the monuments seemed to be too ancient to make them really part of his main examples of Greek architecture.

In the only other place where Le Roy referred to the temples he again mentioned their acclaimed antiquity. It was in the passage that Paoli reacted to in his letter to Fea, as we saw in the previous chapter, on the ruins of a Temple at Corinth:

> 'Pour fixer à peu-près le temps dans lequel un Temple dont on voit les ruines, a été construit, nous croyons qu'on ne doit pas se borner à examiner seulement la proportion générale de ses colonnes, nous pensons que leur diminution, la forme de leur chapiteau, les particularités de leurs profils, & celles de l'entablement de l'Edifice, doivent entrer dans cet examen; & ces détails pourroient être tels, ils pourroient montrer, par exemple, dans des colonnes qui n'auroient pas six diametres de hauteur, une telle recherche qu'on ne sauroit avec vraisemblance supposer qu'elles fussent élevées avant le temps où les colonies Grecques qui passerent dans l'Asie Mineure, sous la conduite d'Ion, fils de Xuthus, imaginerent, selon Vitruve [*De Architectura Libri Decem* 4.1.5-6], de donner six diametres de hauteur aux colonnes Doriques. Ainsi plus circonspect qu'on ne l'a été, dans un ouvrage publié en Italie, où l'on s'est efforcé de faire remonter la construction des Temples de Pœstum avant le temps que Vitruve marque pour l'invention de l'Ordre Dorique, nous nous contenterons de dire que le Temple de Corinthe est d'une haute antiquité, & qu'il a été construit

4545. Le Roy, *Les Ruines...*, *op. cit.*, 1770, vol. 1, part 2, p. 42. English translation: Le Roy, *The Ruins...*, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, part 2, p. 322.

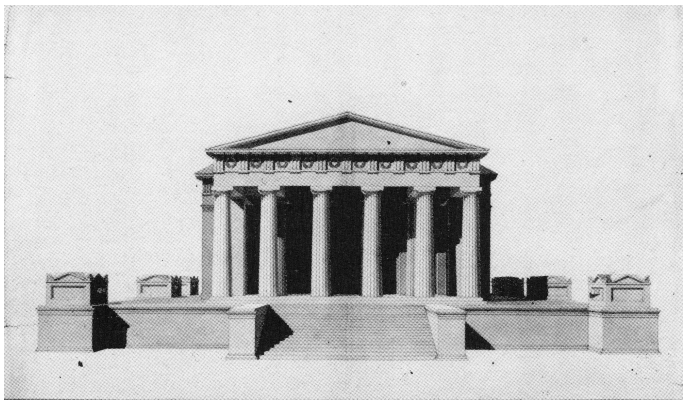
vraisemblablement avant le siecle de Périclès.'[46]

Paestum was just one example of ancient architecture and was every time considered in relation to other Greek temples. It was not presented as a model but just as a moment in the history of architecture. Writing a history of Greek architecture and presenting a design model with Paestum in a main role would be combined almost fifty years later.

Then an English architect, William Wilkins (1778-1839), continued in a way what Le Roy had begun, but Wilkins' aim was more specific. He would try to come to a new general norm in Greek temple architecture.[47] Famous later on for his Greek Revival buildings and monuments designed in Cambridge in the first half of the nineteenth century, Wilkins compiled at the turn of the century the material from which he would draw his inspiration (fig. 6.16). Back from a voyage in Italy and Sicily in the summer of 1803, he returned to London to publish his findings, and immediately began to work on his *The Antiquities of Magna Graecia* (1807).[48]

Although his book is called *Antiquities*, it treats in fact only temple architecture. Wilkins drew on Vitruvius in his opening statement on the principles 'by which the construction of Grecian Temples appears to have been generally regulated.'[49] To Wilkins' mind Vitruvius was not accurate on the Greek temples. On the one hand Wilkins here shows that Vitruvius was proven wrong by Wilkins' own examination of the remains, and, on the other hand, he tried to establish a new set of principles by which the temples in Greece and in the Grecian colonies had been built. For instance:

46. Le Roy, *Les Ruines..., op. cit.*, 1770, vol. 2, part 2, pp. 44-45. In a note to the publications on Paestum he added: 'Voyez ces Temples publiés par MM. Dumont & Major.' In English translation: Le Roy, *The Ruins..., op. cit.*, pp. 475, 477.
47. Studies on Wilkins include: R.W. Liscombe, *William Wilkins 1778-1839*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980; Colvin, *op. cit.*, pp. 893-896; Crook, *The Greek Revival..., op. cit.*; David Watkin, *The Triumph of the Classical: Cambridge Architecture, 1804-1834*, Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press for the Fitzwilliam Museum, 1977; Cinzia Maria Sicca, *Committed to Classicism: The Buildings of Downing College, Cambridge*, Cambridge: Downing College, 1987; David Watkin, *Thomas Hope, 1769-1831, and the neo-classical idea*, s.l.: J. Murray, 1968, pp. 57-74.
48. William Wilkins was probably in 1802 in Paestum, after leaving Naples, and heading for Selinunte, Segesta, Athens, Sounion, Rhamnus, Eleusis, Olympia and Aegina. Wilkins cites in his *Magna Graecia* Major, Delagardette, Denon, Paoli, Piranesi and Winckelmann (Fea edition). He probably did not copy Antonini and Pigonati, of which Robert Mylne accused him. Robert Mylne himself had plans to publish on Greek antiquities, see Wiebenson, *Sources..., op. cit.*, p. 35, n. 73; pp. 44-45; p. 124. Liscombe, *op. cit.*, p. 33. The British Library holds a letter in which Wilkins mentions Paestum: Add. MS 43229.CXCI.99, letter 27 October 1805. His other publications on Greek architecture include: *Atheniensia, or remarks on the topography and buildings of Athens*, London: s.n., 1816; *The Unedited Antiquities of Attica, comprising the architectural remains of Eleusis, Rhamnus, Sunium and Thoricus*, London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1817.
49. William Wilkins, *The Antiquities of Magna Graecia*, London: Longman, Hurst, Orme and Rees, 1807, p. i.



a

b

figure 6.16
a. William Wilkins, Design for Grange Park, 1809.
(RIBA, London. From Serra, *Paestum*, 1986, p. 140.)

b. William Wilkins, The Grange, Hampshire, from 1809.
(From Ballantyne, 1997, p. 296.)

> 'The general principles, which are given by Vitruvius in the fourth chapter of the fourth book, for the division of the aedes, or temple within the peristyle, of the Romans, will be found, upon investigation, to fail entirely in their application to the temples of the Greeks.'[50]

According to Wilkins, the number of columns in the flanks of Grecian hexastyle-peripteral temples does not appear to have been regulated by the number in the fronts, but by very different considerations. Contrary to what James Stuart had shown in his *Antiquities of Athens*, Wilkins argued that the number of columns was not always exceeded by one, and then doubled, as in the temple of Theseus in Athens and at Agrigento:

> 'the temples of Aegina, Paestum, Argos, Syracuse, Aegesta, and Selinus, are examples in which its application fails. In all these, with the exception of the first, the number of columns in the flanks exceeds double the number in the fronts, by two or more.'[51]

When Wilkins named Paestum as an exception to the rule, he obviously did not speak about all three temples, since their proportions and number of columns do vary. As the Basilica temple has 9 by 18 columns, and the Ceres temple 6 by 13 (the only one confirming the rule laid down by Stuart), only the Neptune temple has 6 by 14 columns, following Wilkins' argument of the exceptions. This remark is noteworthy because, as we will see later, Wilkins was to name the Neptune temple more than once, and more significantly than here, the representative of Paestum, as Delagardette had done before. And they were not the only ones to do so.

Wilkins tried to establish a norm of Greek temple architecture. In order to achieve this he focused in his analysis of the temples in the Greek colonies of Magna Graecia on their similarities. In this process, only the features Paestum shared with other temples were included, a standardisation was the result. However, it was in fact merely one temple of Paestum that lived up to the general norm he attempted to determine: the temple of Neptune. Wilkins shows that standardisation means selection and exclusion, there is no room for exception. Wilkins arguments for this exclusion are clear; without standardisation Greek architecture cannot serve

50. *Ibid.*, p. vi.
51. Willey Reveley demonstrated in the introduction of volume III of *The Antiquities* that Stuart had falsely noted that the temple of Jupiter Olympius had twenty-one columns in the flanks. There were actually twenty, as Reveley saw when he was in Greece himself. Willey Reveley in introduction of Stuart and Revett, *The Antiquities...*, vol. III, 1794.

as a model. As the two other temples did not fit in the newly established norm of Greek temple architecture, they were simply left out and dismissed as bad examples or accidents. Future architects should concentrate on the only magnificent example that confirmed that the Greeks were outstanding temple builders. And it was solely this building that was fit enough to be followed in contemporary architecture.

In the following description of the temples by Wilkins, it becomes clear that the standardisation of Paestum is in fact that of one temple, the temple of Neptune.

> 'Of all these [ruins], perhaps, the only one which has claims to Grecian origin is the Great temple, supposed to have been dedicated to Neptune. This indeed possesses all the grand characteristics of that pre-eminent style of architecture. Solidity, combined with simplicity and grace, distinguish it from the other buildings, which, erected in subsequent ages, when the arts had been long on the decline, in a great degree want that chastity of design for which the early Grecian is so deservedly celebrated.'[52]

As we saw before, to Wilkins, as to other architects, only this temple of the three is ancient and is an example of Greek superiority.[53] Wilkins referred to Delagardette's earlier observation that

52. Wilkins, *The Antiquities..., op. cit*, p. 59. 'There can exist little doubt, in the minds of those who are accustomed to contemplate the features of ancient architecture, that this building was coëval with the very earliest period of the Grecian migration to the south of Italy. The Grecian character is too strongly marked to admit of any argument, whether its origin was prior or subsequent to the possession of Posidonia by that people. Low columns with a great diminution of the shaft, bold projecting capitals, a massive entablature, and triglyphs placed at the angle of the zophorus, are strong presumptive proofs of its great antiquity. The shafts of the columns diminish in a straight line from the base to the top, although at first sight they have the appearance of swelling in the middle. This deception is caused by the decay of the stone in the lower part of the shafts, which there has taken place in a greater degree than elsewhere. The sharp angles of the flutes are within the reach of every hand, and as they offer little or no resistance to the attacks of wanton or incidental dilapidation, they have not failed to experience the evils to which they were exposed by their delicacy and situation.' Wilkins added a note citing Paoli who suggested that the temples were Etruscan, built before the arrival of the Greeks in Italy, according to Wilkins because Paoli's 'ideas of Grecian proportions are founded upon the authority of Vitruvius'.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 61, on the stone used in the Neptune temple: '[it] was brought from the quarries in the mountain Alburnus. It is a stalactite, formed by a calcareous deposit of water, of the same nature as the Travertino, with which St. Peter's, and many of the modern buildings at Rome, are constructed. A thin coating of stucco was laid over the whole, to fill up the interstices of this porous stone: small portions of it may still be seen attached to different parts of the temple. Age has given to this temple a deep tint of reddish brown; whilst that of the other temples is a grey, approaching very nearly to that which we observe the walls of the city to have assumed.' Wilkins continues with the different ideas about the Basilica temple, Paoli, Piranesi, Delagardette, Major. On pp. 62-63 about the Basilica temple: 'The form of the temple may be considered as a variety of that which admitted of interior columns; and the deviation from the rule generally observed of placing an even number of columns in the fronts to have arisen from the determination to adopt a single instead of a double range of columns within the Cella for the support of the roof. Such a striking deviation from the simple style of ancient architecture can only be attributed to the vitiated taste of the age in which this temple

the columns of the three temples are produced by 'Grecian workmen; and the superstructures of both [the two other temples] a restoration by the Romans.' It was clear to Wilkins that the two temples had a different origin than the Neptune temple.[54]

In his urge to incorporate Paestum in a chronological series of Greek temples, to Wilkins the experience at the site was not of importance. Instead, he reduced Paestum to one temple, for which he made an association with the origins of architecture. To discern the similarities between Greek temples, and, by the same token, to establish their general principles, Wilkins turned to the earliest example of temple architecture: Solomon's temple at Jerusalem.[55] In writing lengthily on this temple in the introduction of *The Antiquities of Magna Graecia* Wilkins aimed also to shed some light on the history of architecture:

> 'Let us then compare the plan and proportions of this celebrated structure with those of some of the earliest Grecian temples, such as at Paestum and Aegina. So great a resemblance will be found, upon investigation, to subsist between them, as to afford a presumptive proof that the architects both of Syria and Greece were guided by the same general principles in the distribution and proportion of the more essential parts of their buildings.'[56]

Wilkins turned thus to their origins, to show where these principles came from. Remarkably, Wilkins made a direct connection with Paestum. He even illustrated this in engravings. Wilkins included a plan of Paestum 'reduced from real admeasurements' integrated in the plan of the temple of Jerusalem (fig. 6.17) and in the vignette of the introduction he represented 'sections

was designed. This observation leads to the consideration of the probable period of its construction. From the great similarity of the capitals of this and the lesser temple, and the general character of the mouldings, we may adopt the opinion so generally prevalent, that they were coëval.'

54. *Ibid.*, p. 64, on Vitruvius: 'It differs from the pseudo-dipteral of Vitruvius in the number of the columns in the fronts and flanks; having in each of these eighteen, and nine in each front, reckoning those at the angles. [...] The antae of the Pronaos, contrary to the uniform practice of the Greeks, diminish in the same manner as the columns, and are crowned with a projecting capital of a singular form.' On p. 65, on the 'lesser temple', having 6 to 13 columns 'agrees with the received idea of a Grecian hexastyle temple', but on p. 66 he states: 'The cornice has no resemblance whatsoever to the Grecian Doric; it is without mutules: instead of these, pannels are sunk in the soffite of the principal member.'

55. *Ibid.*, p. vi: 'The Temple at Jerusalem is the earliest of which we have any written documents. Upon its claims to attention, as it is connected with our holy religion, it were surely needless to expatiate. But, independently of the interest excited by its antiquity and sanctity, we shall find that an enquiry into the arrangement and dimensions of its component parts will be amply repaid by the light which it tends to diffuse upon the history of Architecture in general.'

56. *Ibid.*, p. vi.

through the Pronaos and Cella of the Temple of Solomon. The proportions are taken from the Temple at Paestum.'[57] Paestum is used to determine the proportions of the first beginnings of architecture. We have not treated this in the previous chapter because Wilkins' main aim was the presentation of models for design, as an inspiration to architects. He sees the temple mainly as having been a model for Greek architecture. A further historical relation between Solomon and Paestum is not thoroughly elaborated, apart from Wilkins' remarks that both are ancient.[58]

In his ideas on the relation between the Temple of Jerusalem and Greek temple architecture, Wilkins was influenced by Isaac Newton's *Chronology* (Cambridge 1728) and John Wood's *The Origin of Building, or the Plagiarism of the Heathens Detected* (1741).[59] However, the ideas about the Temple of Jerusalem as an ancestor of classical architecture were to be found in many other works as well.[60] For example, as we have seen in the previous chapter, the temple of Jerusalem also featured in Paoli's letter for the Fea edition of Winckelmann. Although there are significant links with ideas on the origins of architecture, tracing back to the roots of temple architecture in Wilkins' publication is done with a specific aim: to offer a new norm of Greek architecture. This norm or standard is not given with the only aim for instance to rewrite history or to present a new set of great examples of ancient architecture. It is presented as an inspiration to architects. While Wilkins does not speak literally about how his drawings and explanations can offer a new contemporary architecture, his publication is clearly not only aimed at a public of connoisseurs, but principally at the professional milieu. In the years following his publication he designed many public buildings that in some form referred to Greek temple architecture. These references were more with Athenian architecture; Paestum seems not to have played a clear role in his designs.

57. *Ibid.*, p. vii.
58. *Ibid.*, p. xiv: 'Having thus shown the great precision which obtained in the proportions of these interesting monuments of ancient taste, I proceed to add a few observations to confirm the assertions advanced in the course of the preceding inquiry, and to strengthen the proposition that the Temple at Paestum, as well as other Grecian temples of the same area, were actually designed after the model of the Temple at Jerusalem.'
59. He names Newton twice in a note. *Ibid.*, pp. vii, xv, xvii. He also makes reference to Juan Bautista Villalpando: pp. ix, x, xii.
60. Studies on the temple of Jerusalem: Helen Rosenau, *Visions of the Temple. The Image of the Temple of Jerusalem in Judaism and Christianity*, London: Oresko Books, 1979; Wolfgang Herrmann, 'Unknown Designs for the "Temple of Jerusalem" by Claude Perrault', in Douglas Fraser, Howard Hibbard, and Milton J. Lewine (eds.) *Essays in the History of Architecture Presented to Rudolf Wittkower*, London: Phaidon Press, 1967, pp. 143-158. On Villalpando: René Taylor, 'El Padre Villalpando (1552-1608) y sus ideas esteticas', in: *Academie, Anales y Boletin de le Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando*, third series, vol. I, 1951, pp. 409-473, and by the same author on his influence: 'Hermetism and Mystical Architecture in the Society of Jesus', in: Rudolf Wittkower and Irma B. Jaffe (eds.), *Baroque Art: The Jesuit Contribution*, New York: Fordham University Press, 1972, pp. 63-97; See also Sergey R. Kravtsov, 'Juan Bautista Villalpando and sacred architecture in the seventeenth century', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 64 (2005) 3, pp. 312-339.

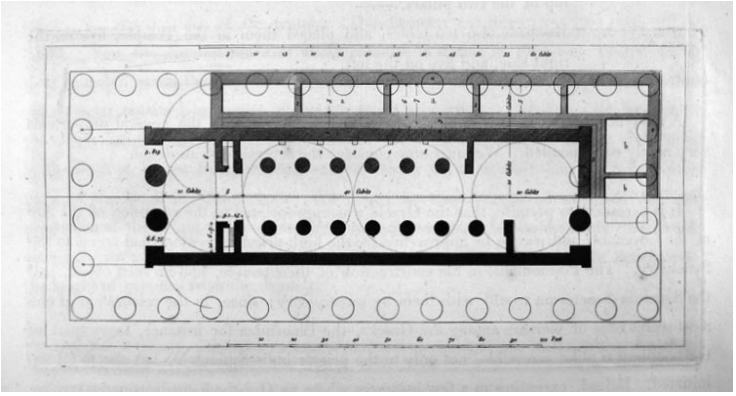


figure 6.17
William Wilkins, Superimposed plans of the Temple of Neptune and the Temple of Solomon, 1807.
(Wilkins, *The Antiquities...*, 1807.)

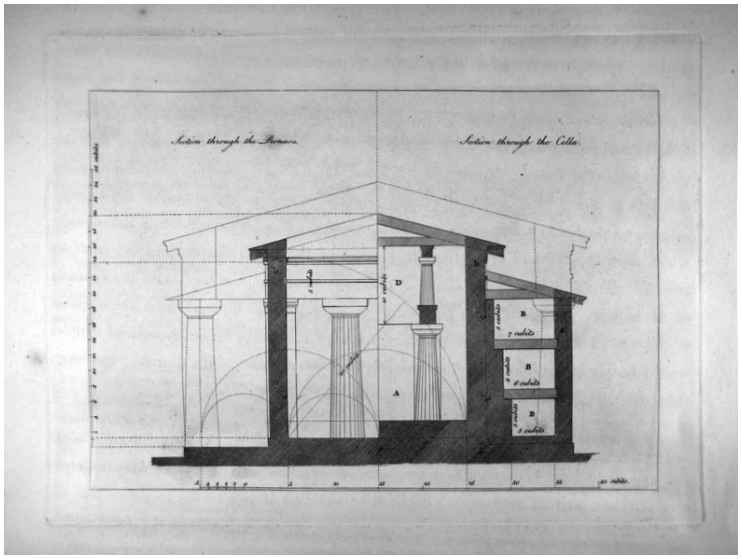


figure 6.18
William Wilkins, Superimposed cross sections of the Temple of Neptune and the Temple of Solomon, 1807.
(Wilkins, *The Antiquities...*, 1807.)

Wilkins combined the Neptune temple and the temple of Solomon in an ingenuous drawing for the introduction of his book (fig. 6.18). For the Neptune temple he depicted a section through the pronaos and one through the cella, and combined those with a section through the Solomon's temple to show that the proportions are the same. He based his knowledge of the temple on Villalpando's and on Newton's information. Until page xv of the introduction Wilkins continues to make comparisons between Solomon's temple and the Paestum temple, demonstrating that the proportions and the various elements were similar. He proposes 'that the Temple at Paestum, as well as other Grecian temples of the same era, were actually designed after the model of the Temple at Jerusalem.'[61] But the connection between Paestum and Solomon's Temple is particular:

> 'there existed a connection between the plans of ancient Grecian temples, particularly that of Paestum, and the Temple of Solomon. The proportions of the latter may therefore by assumed as the standard, by which the early Greeks were directed in the construction of their temples; and which was followed, with little variation, by the Greeks of later times.'[62]

According to Wilkins, this standard entered Greece, and Italy, through the 'channel' of Minos. In giving several measurements of the 'Paestum temple' (as he calls the Neptune temple) that correspond more or less to the ones of the temple of Jerusalem, Wilkins even finds a norm in the exceptions to the general rule. Small exceptions in proportion become thus a common feature of Greek architecture and part of the standard: 'We ought not however to be surprised that the proportion of the height to the diameter of the columns does not more exactly correspond: among the early Greeks, it does not appear that there existed any rule for determining the height of columns from the diameter'.[63] This is completely contradictory to the idea we found in the first chapters, where the exceptionality of Paestum is seen as something special, and not at all as of part of a standard. In the process of standardisation everything is thus done to emphasize how Paestum is not unique but an example like many others.

Another passage shows an interesting turn in thought about Paestum:

61. Wilkins, *The Antiquities...*, *op. cit.*, p. xiv.
62. *Ibid.*, p. xv.
63. *Ibid.*, p. ix. In a footnote Wilkins adds: 'The proportions of the columns of the Jewish Temple do not differ much from those of the Temple of Juno at Agrigentum. The following scale shews the height of columns in various Grecian temples of the Doric order of architecture, the diameter being supposed unity.'

> 'Since the proportions of the columns of this temple did not vary very considerably from those of the columns in several Grecian temples which are well known to us, it is fair to conclude that they were of that order which was subsequently called the Doric; and that the *bowls*, mentioned in the Book of Kings, were the circular parts of the capitals, which in the columns at Paestum have a great resemblance to antique bowls or cups, called by the Italians *Tazze*. The French style this member, in the capitals of Doric columns, the *Vase du chapiteau*.'[64]

Here Wilkins not only managed to give a historic explanation for the parts of the Paestum temples that were named by Lord North, as we have seen in the first chapter, bizarre capitals resembling 'props, on which our peasants in England sometimes put their corn, to prevent its being eaten by vermin'.[65] Wilkins presents it also as part of a general characteristic of Doric architecture, and, moreover, with an ancient ancestor that was a *topos* of classical architectural history.

Next, after the introduction, there are chapters on Sicily, Syracuse, Agrigento, Selinunte, Segesta, and Paestum, all with plates. In the chapter on Paestum, after introducing its history, the name of the city, and the different inhabitants, he described the situation of the site (fig. 6.19), evoking some elements of the sublime and the primitive:

> 'The air of desolation which reigns in the environs of this once populous city, heightened by the deserted aspect of the ruins, is in no degree relieved by the appearance of a few wretched hovels, which serve as temporary habitations to the keepers of the numerous herds of buffaloes. The uncouth wild appearance of these animals impresses more strongly the idea, that we are here far removed from the abode of civilized man.'[66]

The brief description of the site, and of the experience of being in a world far from civilisation becomes lost in Wilkins' attempts to present Paestum as part of a development in Grecian temple architecture and as a model for contemporary design. In his book the different steps of

64. *Ibid.*, x-xi, italics by Wilkins.
65. Lord North, letter to Charles Dampier, Lyon, 1 September 1753 - Bern 9 September 1753, Warwick County Record Office, published in McCarthy, 'Documents on the Greek Revival...', *op. cit.*, pp. 761-765.
66. Wilkins, *The Antiquities...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-59.

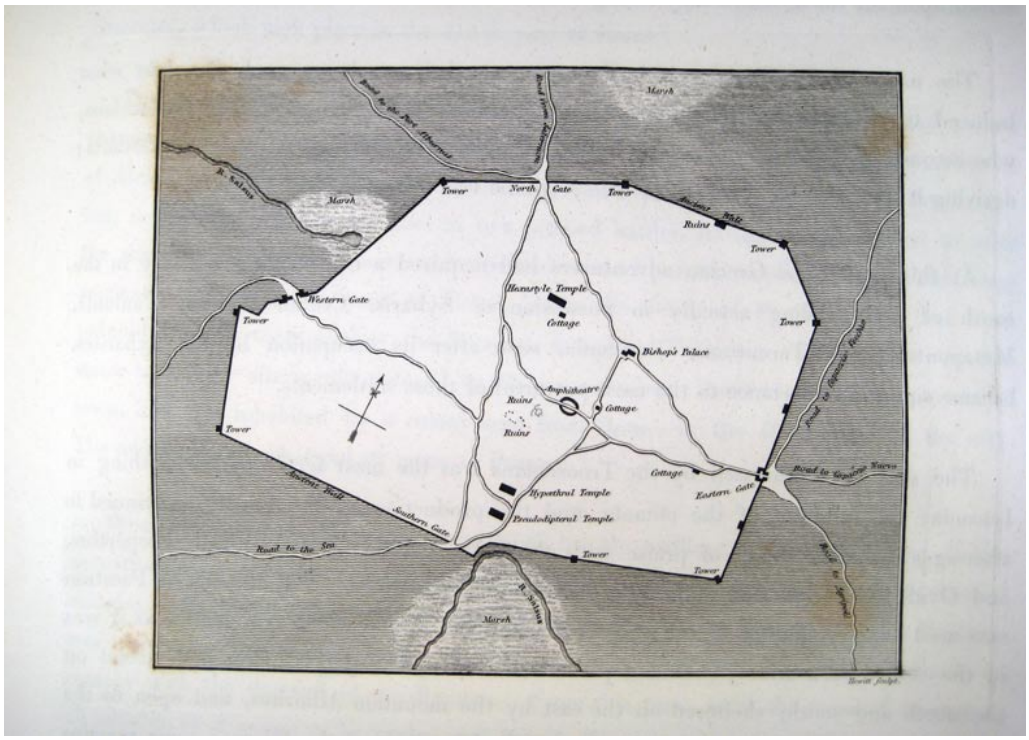


figure 6.19
William Wilkins, Plan of Paestum, 1807.
(Wilkins, *The Antiquities...*, 1807.)

figure 6.20
William Wilkins, General view of Paestum, 1807.
(Wilkins, *The Antiquities...*, 1807, plate I.)

figure 6.21
William Wilkins, Perspective view of the Temple of Neptune, 1807.
(Wilkins, *The Antiquities...*, 1807, plate II.)

figure 6.22
William Wilkins, Perspective view of the Basilica, 1807.
(Wilkins, *The Antiquities...*, 1807, plate XII.)

figure 6.23
William Wilkins, Perspective view of the Temple of Ceres, 1807.
(Wilkins, *The Antiquities...*, 1807, plate XVII.)

figure 6.24
William Wilkins, Detail of the order of the Temple of Neptune, 1807.
(Wilkins, *The Antiquities...*, 1807, plate X.)

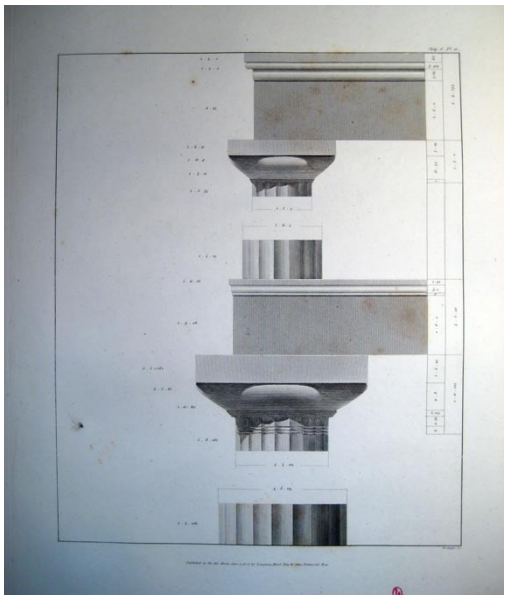


figure 6.25
William Wilkins, Elevation of the Temple of Neptune, restored, 1807.
(Wilkins, *The Antiquities...*, 1807, plate IV.)

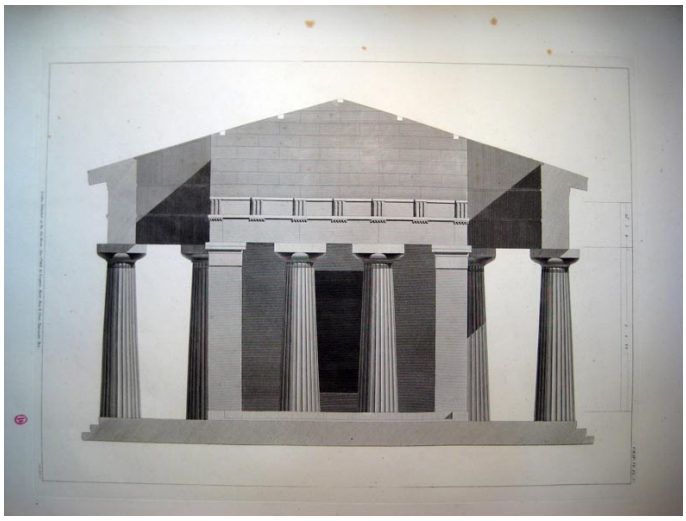


figure 6.26
William Wilkins, Cross section of the Temple of Neptune, restored, 1807.
(Wilkins, *The Antiquities...*, 1807, plate V.)

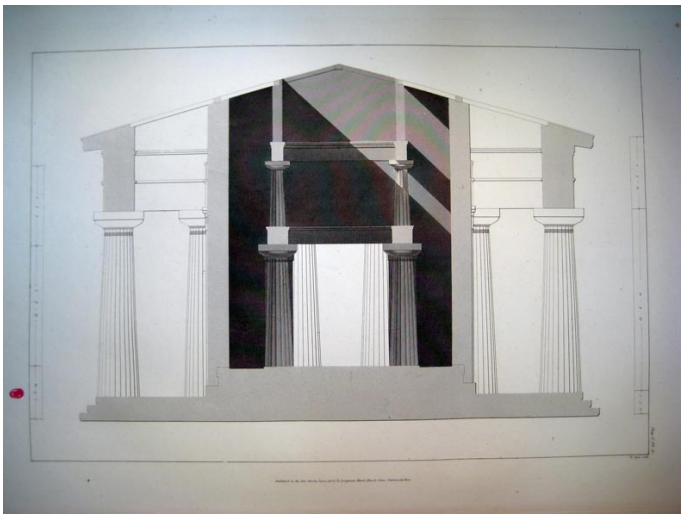


figure 6.27
William Wilkins, Cross section of the Temple of Neptune, restored, 1807.
(Wilkins, *The Antiquities...*, 1807, plate VI.)

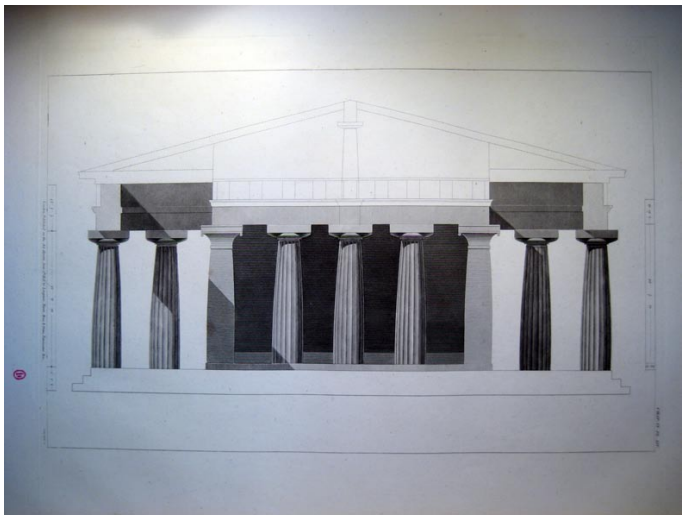


figure 6.28
William Wilkins, Cross section of the Basilica, restored, 1807.
(Wilkins, *The Antiquities...*, 1807, plate XIV.)

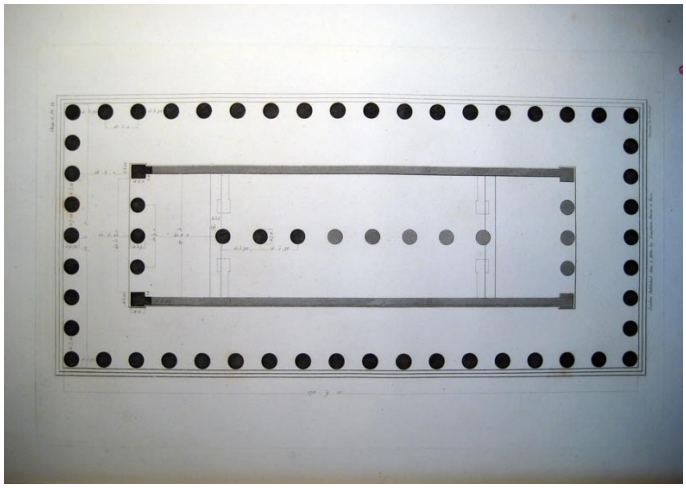


figure 6.29
William Wilkins, Plan of the Basilica, restored, 1807.
(Wilkins, *The Antiquities...*, 1807, plate XIII.)

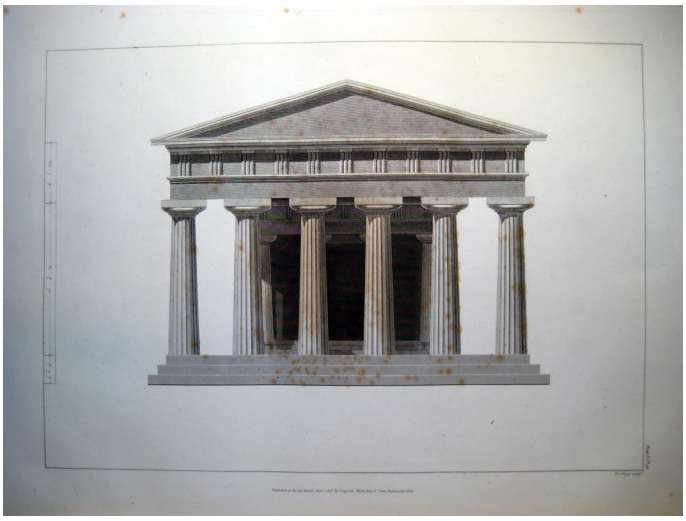


figure 6.30
William Wilkins, Elevation of the Temple of Ceres, restored, 1807.

(Wilkins, *The Antiquities...*, 1807, plate XIX.)

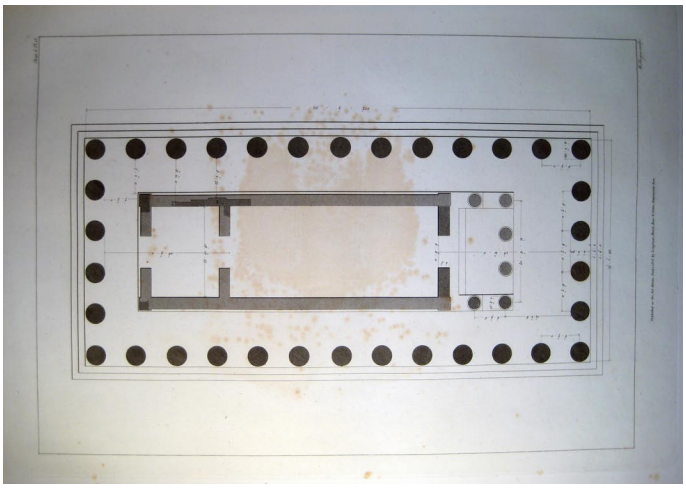


figure 6.31
William Wilkins, Plan of the Temple of Ceres, restored, 1807.

(Wilkins, *The Antiquities...*, 1807, plate XVIII.)

reduction become thus clear: first the site disappears, then the temples as ensemble, to be left with one single temple. This appears also in the engravings he included. Wilkins' book is clearly not an archaeological work. Contrary to other authors on Paestum, Wilkins did not publish many present state drawings of the ruins. To make it easier to imagine what the temples looked like in ancient times, and to make their application in contemporary architecture plausible, Wilkins depicted the temples in a reconstructed version. He drew many reconstructions of the temples to show them in their most perfect state. In the chapter on Paestum he included twenty engravings of the temples, eleven of the Neptune temple, five of the Basilica, and four of the Athena temple. Only the perspective views of the monuments at the spot depict the actual eighteenth-century situation (fig. 6.20-6.23). All the other views, seventeen in total, are visions of reconstructed plans, facades and sections, as well as details of the orders (fig. 6.24-6.31). Thus, Wilkins, in his ambition to present a general norm of Greek architecture, presented Paestum as one of many examples and as such made the temples part of a general historical framework of Doric temple architecture. At the same time, he reduced Paestum to one temple that was exemplary, he cleaned up the monuments and reconstructed them to make them available to contemporary architects. Wilkins was not interested in the experience at the site. To him, only the application to the architecture of the day had a value. And for that, it had to be put into a historical series of Greek classical architecture and stripped of its site, situation and specificities.

Paestum abroad in collections

While the projects and publications of Pâris, Delagardette, Le Roy and Wilkins were mainly aimed at a professional public of architects and artists, they were also disseminated among the interested public. An initiative that was more intended for the large public than for the professional milieu was the exhibition of models of buildings in collections. The models were often executed in cork, and they diffused a three-dimensional image of Paestum. These cork models became a fashion in eighteenth-century Europe. For the reduction and contextualisation of Paestum this transformation of Paestum's temples into cork models is crucial (fig. 6.32-6.34). From the models that are known to have circulated, almost all are of the Neptune temple.[67]

67. Among the 36 architectural models in the collection of Choiseul-Gouffier, the writer of *Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce* (1795), was one model of Paestum. In the collection of d'Orsay of 1793 there were two models of Paestum, on a total of fourteen, and the Galerie of the École des Ponts et Chausées in 1787 also owned a model of a temple of Paestum.

These scale models were exhibited in private collections or in museums.[68] This procedure meant an actual three-dimensional, spatial and, to a certain degree, tactile exportation of the temples. This new industry came up at the end of the eighteenth century, with Augusto Rosa (1738-1784), generally considered to be the inventor of this type of model making. Rosa was an architect who in 1777 accompanied Giovanni Battista Piranesi and his son Francesco to Paestum.[69] The three of them took measurements at the site, the Piranesi brothers for their engravings, Rosa for his models. This measuring at the spot, an indication of the seriousness of this enterprise, was an Italian phenomenon: other model makers relied on engravings for their measures.[70] In this sense the observations of the Italians were more scientifically oriented.

One of Rosa's models was sold to John Soane (fig. 6.35), who had several cork models in his house to educate his pupils. They had met in Rome when Soane was there together with the architect Thomas Hardwick. It was a model of the Neptune temple, made in the same year as Rosa's visit to Paestum, 1777.[71] The large but light models could fairly effortlessly be transported, and were more easily readable than engravings, especially for amateurs, who could in one single gaze comprehend the monument.[72] The models could serve as a didactic support, and were less likely to disappoint prospective visitors to the site than engravings as the

Cassas made a Paestum temple part of his 1806 collection, and so did Dufourny in 1804. All these collections were to educate the public about ancient architecture, and the architecture of the temples of Paestum was an essential part of this. Cassas' model is now in Saint Germain en Laye, the École des Beaux Arts in Paris has a model in their collection, the model bought by Soane is in the John Soane Museum in London. Other models are in the Museo Archeologico in Naples, and in the Rijksmuseum voor Oudheden in Leiden. See Szambien, *Le Musée..., op. cit.*, pp. 122-135 for inventory lists of the French collections. See also Bernard Andreae, 'Die Tempel von Paestum. Korkmodelle aus der Zeit des Klassizismus', in: Andreae, Philipp, Schepkowski, Westheider, *op. cit.*, pp. 216-219.

68. Richard Dubourg had opened a cork model museum in London, that was destructed in 1785 in a fire caused by a misadventurous demonstration of Vesuvius erupting. By 1798 Dubourg had opened a second display. Salmon, *Building on Ruins..., op. cit.*, p. 47.

69. Szambien, *Le Musée..., op. cit.,* on models pp. 13-16; Peter Gercke and Nina Zimmermann-Elseify (eds.), *Antike Bauten: Korkmodelle von Antonio Chichi, 1777-1782*, Kassel: Staatliche Museen, 2001. For other studies on models: Jannic Durand, 'Une collection oubliée: les maquettes du Musée des Antiquités Nationales', *Antiquités Nationales*, 14/15 (1982/1983), pp. 118-135; John Wilton-Ely, 'The Architectural Models of Sir John Soane: A Catalogue', *Architectural History*, 12 (1969), pp. 5-101; Monique Mosser, 'Französische Architekturmodelle im Zeitalter der Aufklärung', *Daidalos*, 2 (1981), pp. 84-95; Martin S. Briggs, 'Architectural Models', *The Burlington Magazine*, 54 (1929) April, May, pp. 174-183, pp. 245-252.

70. Werner Szambien, *Le Musée..., op. cit.*, p. 14.

71. McCarthy, 'Documents on the Greek Revival...', *op. cit.*, pp. 760-769. The École des Beaux Arts at Paris also has a model of Rosa in their collection, again of the Neptune temple dated 1777 as well. It possibly comes from the collection of Orsay, for the Musée des Antiquités nationales, inv. 49.795, see 'Répertoire des maquettes d'architecture, modèles et plan-reliefs', *Revue de l'art* (1982-1983) 58-59, pp. 128-141. This model is signed by Rosa.

72. Next to Rosa, other model makers also had a great success, like Antonio Chichi (1743-1816) who had a large clientele in Rome, among whom many Germans. Other model makers were Giovanni Altieri and Carlo Lochangeli, who exported many models to England and France.

figure 6.32
Cork model of the Basilica, before 1822.
(From Andreae, 2007, p. 217.)

figure 6.33
Cork model of the Temple of Ceres, before 1822.
(Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples. From Andreae, 2007, p. 218.)

figure 6.34
Cork model of the Temple of Neptune, before 1822.
(Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples. From Andreae, 2007, p. 219.)

figure 6.35
Domenico Padiglione, Cork model of the Temple of Neptune, after 1802.
(Sir John Soane's Museum, London. From Wilton Ely, 2002, p. 16.)

proportions of the monuments remained identical in their model version. Besides, the material of the cork models had a striking resemblance to the porous stone type of Paestum.

While architects bought these models for their own use, these three-dimensional objects were also intended for a larger public and shown in collections. For example at 8 rue de la Seine, in Paris the French painter and engraver Louis-François Cassas (1756-1827) had installed his gallery.[73] The presentation of models and other objects, paintings and engravings in the gallery space is shown in an engraving of 1806 (fig. 6.36). Egyptian monuments are exhibited to the right, behind them one sees Greek monuments, and to the left as well. The Neptune temple is placed to the left in the middle of the engraving. Jacques-Guillaume Legrand published an explanation of Cassas' collection in an exhibition guide of 1806. After emphasizing the importance of travelling and seeing monuments with one's own eyes, Legrand argues in the introduction of this guide the value of educating the public on architecture, stating that the comparison of the different monuments in a 'histoire et progrès de l'architecture chez tous les peuples anciens et modernes' was one of the aims:

> 'La collection des chefs-d'œuvre de l'Architecture, exécutée en modèles dans leur justes proportions, et rapprochée sur des échelles convenables, offre seule un puissant moyen d'instruction en ce genre; et c'est un spectacle digne de tous les esprits cultivés que la comparaison à faire sur ces modèles du caractère particulier des différens peuples.
> L'artiste qui la met aujourd'hui sous les yeux des amateurs, par une exposition publique, rend à l'art un service essentiel, en facilitant ainsi son étude par le choix raisonné qu'il a fait des monumens les plus beaux, les plus célèbres, les plus caractéristiques de l'architecture égyptienne, indienne, étrusque, persanne, grecque, palmyrénienne, étrusque, mexicaine, romaine, gotique, mauresque, italienne, etc.'[74]

The collection of these monuments in three dimensions, exhibited to the public, with different light effects, would work much better than the two-dimensional drawings engravings that were

73. Szambien, *Le Musée...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 62 and 102. On Cassas: Annie Gilet, Uwe Westfehling, *Louis-François Cassas, 1756-1827: dessinateur-voyageur*, Mainz am Rhein: P. von Zabern, 1994; Mechthild Haas (ed.), *Orient auf Papier: Von Louis-François Cassas bis Eugen Bracht*, Darmstadt: Grafische Sammlung Hessisch Landesmuseum Darmstadt, 2002.
74. J.-G. Legrand, *Collection des chefs-d'œuvre de l'architecture des différens peuples, exécutés en modèles, sous la direction de L.-F. Cassas, auteur des voyages d'Istrie, Dalmatie, Syrie, Phœnicie, Palestine, Bass-Égypte, etc.; décrite et analysée par J.-G. Legrand, architecte des monumens publics, membre de plusieurs sociétés savantes et littéraires*, Paris: Leblanc, 1806, p. x.

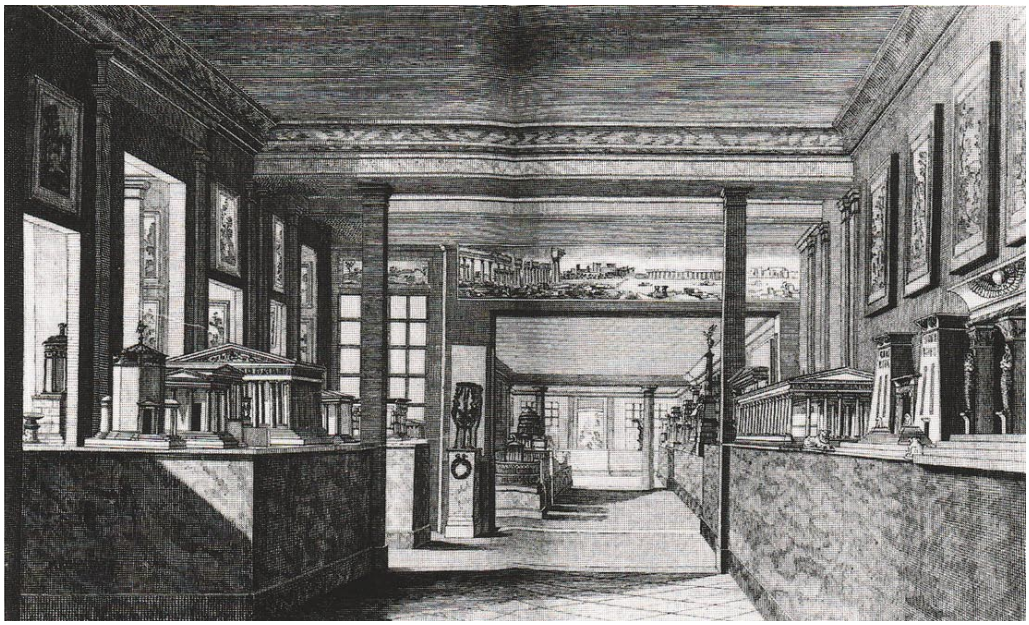


figure 6.36
Louis Cassas, Galerie d'Architecture, rue de Seine, Paris, c. 1806.
(From L.P. Baltard, *Athenaeum*, 1806.)

available.[75] This exhibition was aimed at amateurs, to cultivate the large public, and not at a public of architects, thus stepping out of the world of professionals. An experience at the spot was thus not necessary anymore, because when one wanders through the collection of all these monuments, being able to compare them with each other, the mind can easily place them in certain imaginary settings:

> 'on verra le ciel brûlant ou glacé sous lequel il est placé; le site montagneux, ou riant, ou sauvage, qui l'environne; la nature des rochers, des arbres, des plantes du pays; le costume des peuples qui le possèdent ou qui vont quelquefois le visiter; enfin, on sera transporté, comme par enchantement, au pied de ces monumens célèbres, sans éprouver la fatigue du voyage, et l'on aura l'avantage infini de pouvoir comparer au même instant les monumens de l'Asie avec ceux de l'Europe ou de l'Afrique, en faisant quelques pas seulement.'[76]

In fact, visiting the collection at the rue de la Seine was much better than the actual experience. The visitors had not the disadvantages of adventurous travelling, and even more, they could make comparisons between monuments that they would normally never see together at the same site. All these monuments were now within easy reach, in an accessible scale displayed in the pleasant exhibition space in the centre of Paris. Using their own fantasy visitors could imagine wandering between these monuments, walking from Egypt to India, from Greece to Persia in a few minutes.

As a representation of Greek architecture Cassas had only chosen the Neptune temple at Paestum, next to monuments that were mainly situated in Athens.[77] Legrand clarified this choice as follows:

75. *Ibid.*, p. xi-xii: 'La variété des formes adoptées par chacun de ces peuples ne pouvait être bien sentie que par des modèles en reliefs, susceptibles d'être éclairés à tous les effets du jour, ou de recevoir la nuit au moyen de lumières adroitement ménagées; un clair-obscur pittoresque et souvent magique, dont les peintres d'histoire et de décorations peuvent tirer le parti le plus avantageux, pour mettre dans leurs tableaux le style convenable au sujet qu'ils traitent et la vérité la plus parfaite. Les dessins les mieux faits, les gravures les plus soignées, ne pouvaient remplacer pour cet objet l'avantage incomparable des modèles, qui font ainsi contraster toutes les formes, et les gravent dans la mémoire en traits ineffaçables, sans obliger à cet effort d'attention qu'exige la comparaison de plans, de coupes, d'élévations difficiles à concevoir pour l'artiste même, difficultés que ne résout pas entièrement le dessin en perspective le plus exacte et le mieux présenté.'
76. *Ibid.*, p. xviii.
77. Among others the Temple of Minerva, the Propylaea, the temple of Minerva-Polias, the Erechtheion, the Tower of the winds, the monument of Thrasillus, and some tombs and sarcophagi. They have numbers 14-30. *Ibid.*, pp. 89-111.

> 'C'est le plus grand des trois édifices du même genre qui subsistent encore dans le golfe de Salerne, et que tous les voyageurs s'empressent d'aller visiter lorsqu'ils sont à Naples, pour avoir une idée de l'architecture grecque. Il y a, en effet, un très-grand rapport entre cet ordre et l'ordre dorique employé dans les monumens d'Athènes. Quoique les temples de Pæstum soient d'une proportion moins élégante et moins pure, ce qui les fait supposer plus anciens; ils n'en portent pas moins un très-grand caractère. On croit qu'une colonie de Sybarites s'est emparée de Posidonia, et peut y avoir érigé ces grand monumens; dans cette supposition, on s'attendrait à y trouver plus de délicatesse et l'emploi des ordres dorique ou corynthien.
> L'exécution de ce modèle en liége, imite parfaitement l'état de ruine et de vétuste où se trouve cet édifice, qui présente aujourd'hui une infinité de points de vue et de riches tons de couleurs aux pinceaux des artistes. Aussi ces ruines et celles de Tivoli sont-elles les plus connues et les plus souvent dessinées de toute l'Italie.'[78]

Legrand not only emphasizes the similarities of the three temples, he also focuses on the resemblances with other Greek monuments, even if their proportions are not exactly the same. Thus first Cassas removed the site, the other temples, to leave one representation, which he subsequently puts into the general context of Greek architecture.

In the same spirit of diffusing knowledge on classical architecture to a large public, architects Jacque-Guillaume Legrand and Jacques Molinos, who collaborated earlier on the project of a new edition of Desgodetz, had opened in 1800 their 'musée de l'ordre dorique', at 6 rue de Saint-Florentin, also in Paris (designed in 1792-1794). In order to announce the function of the interior, they had constructed for the facade of this museum ten Doric columns, and the courtyard featured baseless Doric pilasters.[79] Legrand and Molinos wrote:

> 'Pour compléter aussi la collection de l'Ordre Dorique des Grecs, on trouvera sous le vestibule quatre colonnes qui donneront le portrait fidèle de l'ordre des Propylées d'Athènes, de celui du Temple de Thésée, du portique d'Auguste dans la même ville, et de celui du grand temple de Paestum dans la grande Grèce, ordre que les Artistes on la douleur de voir si souvent estropier par les maçons qui croyent faire de

78. 'N.° 24. Le grand Temple de Pæstum ou Posidonia dans la grande Grèce, à vingt-deux lieues de Naples', *Ibid.*, p. 106.
79. Szambien, *Le Musée...*, *op. cit.*, p. 52; pp. 49-53 on 'musée dorique'.

l'Architecture.'[80]

Their collection was based on experiences during their travels, and intended to give the true example of the order, instead of the false fashionable one, but eventually it was only the order that they transmitted and not Paestum itself. Much less than Cassas' collection, the museum of Legrand and Molinos presented only a tiny aspect of what Paestum was, and of what they had seen *in situ* with their own eyes. Paestum, stripped down to an order, featured in their overview of Greek Doric architecture, after they had visited the site together:

> '[Legrand et Molinos] quittèrent Rome et portèrent leurs pas sur les temples de Pœstum, pour y recueillir des observations utiles sur l'architecture grecque, dans l'ordre dorique. Ils virent que ses proportions robustes et son style mâle rappelaient à l'esprit les formes athlétiques d'Hercule auquel il fut toujours consacré, tandis que les modernes en ont souvent fait un faux emploi, pour suivre la mode bien plus que la raison.'[81]

There were other architects who created a large collection of architectural models. The French architect Jean-Baptiste Rondelet (1743-1829) owned a considerable collection.[82] However, for Rondelet this collection had mainly a pedagogical purpose since he used the models also in his lectures. Rondelet's collection, contrary to Cassas', was not only mainly conceived for a public of architectural students, his intentions were also very different. His purpose shows another reduction of Paestum, because Rondelet was above all interested in construction. Trained as an architect and having been a pupil of Jacques-Germain Soufflot and of Jacques-François Blondel, Rondelet taught stereotomy at the École des Beaux-Arts. From 1808 onwards he transformed all his illustrations in the *Traité théorique et pratique de l'art de bâtir* (1802-1817, 5 parts, 7 volumes) into models, which he exhibited between 1808 and 1813 in the 'Galérie d'Architecture' at the Louvre.[83] Between 1812 and 1821 his brother finished this task, and

80. Jacques-Guillaume Legrand and Jacques Molinos, 'Lettre aux rédacteurs', *Journal des Arts, des sciences et de la litterature*, 10 March 1800, 46, pp. 1-2, quoted in *Ibid.*, p. 137. On the Doric order as the most solid see Szambien, *Symétrie, goût, caractère..., op. cit.*, pp. 131-140.
81. 'Notice nécrologique sur M. Legrand, architecte, membre de l'Académie celtique, etc., par M. le Barbier l'aîné, Histoire de l'Académie Celtique', cited in: Szambien, *Le Musée..., op. cit.*. Legrand was a student of Blondel and of Clérisseau (and married his daughter).
82. *Ibid.*, p. 73.
83. Archives Nationales, Paris, AJ 52 446 for an inventory. The formation of the collection could have been an assignment of the École. *Ibid.*, p. 73.

eventually the total collection consisted of 410 models.[84]

In the process of transforming Paestum's temples into a general norm Rondelet's *Traité* was of importance. In 1784, on his voyage to Italy, Sicily and Malta, Rondelet visited Paestum, and he mainly paid attention to the construction of the temples, to their tectonic elements, and took measurements on the spot:[85]

> 'De Pompeïa j'ai été a Pestum ou l'on voit trois temples antiques semblables a ceux qui sont decrit dans Vitruve qu'il apele periptere. Ils sont environnés de colonnes Doriques sans bases. Ils sont bâtis en grandes pierres de taille semblables au travertin de Rome. Toutes ces pierres sont posées sans mortier. Le temple du milieu est le mieux conservé. On y voit une partie du mur du Pronaos ou vestibule qui est si bien appareillé qu'a peine on voit les joins, toutes les pierres sont de même grandeur et les assises de même hauteur. Nous avons levé le plan de ces trois temples pour avoir occasion de les mieux examiner et j'ai fait des nottes sur ce qu'il y avoit de particulier dans leur construction. De retour a Naples je me suis occupé des constructions modernes, apres avoir visité tous les édifices remarquables et levé quelques plans qui m'ont paru interessans tant pour la disposition que pour la construction.'[86]

In Naples Rondelet continued to focus on construction methods and examined for instance how other architects and masons worked technically, to search inspiration for Parisian

84. *Ibid.*, p. 73.
85. He also wrote the entries on construction for the *Encyclopédie méthodique* of Quatremère de Quincy, in total 176 entries. On Rondelet: Middleton and Baudouin-Matuszek, *op. cit.*, on his Italian journey the chapter: 'Rondelet's Italian Journey, April 1783 to December 1784', pp. 79-88, on the Encyclopédie: pp. 199-207. Rondelet had a large personal library with 891 titles, consisting of 2018 volumes, Boullée owned 100 titels, Durand 533, Pâris 777, Soufflot 726, Legrand 1231, Quatremère de Quincy 1485. Architect Maximilien-Joseph Hurtault, a collaborator of Rondelet, owned 3450 volumes. See on Rondelet's library, and that of other eighteenth-century architects: Middleton, chapter 'Rondelet's library' in *Ibid.*, pp. 271-288. See also: Parent, *op. cit.*, pp. 187-198.
86. Jean Rondelet, letter to the Comte d'Angiviller, Rome, 25 February 1784, held in the Research Library, The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles (850122), published in: Middleton and Baudouin-Matuszek, *op. cit.*, p. 312. Rondelet's other Italian letters to the Comte d'Angiviller are held in the Archives Nationales, Paris, O^1 1916 and O^1 1917 (letters 1-5, 7-9, 11) and (letter 6) published in *L'Art de bâtir* (edition 1830). All these letters are published in: Middleton and Baudouin-Matuszek, *op. cit.*, pp. 307-313.

architecture.[87] Rondelet planned a publication based on his findings during his voyage.[88] How did these measurements and notes on Paestum appear in his most important publication, the *Traité théorique et pratique de l'art de bâtir*? In the treatise, Rondelet integrated many texts by Vitruvius, from which he cited lengthily and upon which he commented. Also, he wrote about his own experiences at sites like the Villa Adriana and the baths of Caracalla, where he found more information about ancient construction methods. The book, to which many architects and engineers subscribed, became a standard text for many generations of architects, together with Durand's *Précis des leçons d'architecture données à l'École royale polytechnique* (1802-1805). While Durand focussed on formal geometry, Rondelet concentrated on construction. Many architects regarded their books as complementary, formulating the main issues of the eighteenth-century architectural practice, and looking forward to the nineteenth century. In his *Traité*, Rondelet presented architecture as a science, and not as an imaginative art. Contrary to Quatremère, in the entries he wrote for the *Encyclopédie Méthodique* of Quatremère and also in his *Traité* Rondelet was not that interested in history. To him, good architecture followed out of good construction.[89] In the volumes he explained building materials, the techniques of the art of building, and means of estimating costs in the building process. He reflected lengthily on the use of iron, both in buildings and in bridges. Rondelet became well known for his work on the Sainte-Genevieve, first as Soufflot's pupil but gradually becoming the technical expert, and carried out the iron reinforcement to stud parts of the church, including the dome that was feared to collapse.[90] Rondelet's focus was thus always on construction. Together with Durand, he came to stand for the separation, around 1800, of the professions of engineer and architect.

87. 'J'ai été voir les bâtiments que l'on construit. J'ai fait connaissance avec les architectes et les maîtres maçons. Je les ai questionné et j'ai examiné avec attention tous les procedes dont ils se servent et les matteriaux qu'ils employent. On a fait exprès devant moi differens ouvrages pour me faire mieux comprendre leur procedés, comme par exemple la maniere de preparer le *lastrico* pour le pavé des appartemens et les couvertures des maisons qui sont presque toutes en terrasse. J'ai tenu notte de tout. J'ai cherché a connoitre les differentes espèces de Pouzzolane et la maniere de les mêler pour les ouvrages dans l'eau et hors de l'eau. J'en ai même emporté plusieurs echantillons dans des boites pour les confronter avec celle de Rome et des autres pays ou j'en pourai trouver en retournant en France et même pour en faire quel qu'essaie avec la chaux de Paris.' Jean Rondelet, letter to the Comte d'Angiviller, Rome, 25 February 1784, held in the Research Library, The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles (850122), published in: *Ibid.*, p. 312.
88. 'J'espere de toutes ces observations former un ouvrage raissoné qui pourra etre utile aux constructeurs et aux architectes, vous en pourres juger d'après ce que j'ai fait et que j'aurai l'honneur de vous presenter a mon arrivée à Paris. [...] Lorsque je suis parti pour Naples je croyois avoir fini tout ce qui concernoit les constructions antiques. Cependant j'ai trouvé a Pompeja a Pestum et en Sicile beaucoup de choses interessantes a ajouter d'autres a Corriger parce que je n'avois pu les voir qu'en très mauvais etat dans les ruines de Rome.' Jean Rondelet, letter to the Comte d'Angiviller, received or reply sent 19 September 1784, held in Archives Nationales, Paris, O[1] 1917 323, published in: *Ibid.*, p. 313.
89. *Ibid.*, p. 213.
90. *Ibid.*, pp. 89-138; pp. 179-198.

Although he considered Paestum of interest for its constructional aspects, the idea of Paestum as an order for ornamental reasons he found objectionable:

> 'Une des causes qui ont contribué à rendre la construction des édifices extrêmement coûteuse, sans être ni plus solide ni plus commode, peut être attribuée à la protection particulière que le gouvernement paraît avoir accordé jusqu'à présent aux élèves d'architecture qui se livrent exclusivement à la décoration, tandis qu'il n'a rien fait pour la distribution et la construction, qui sont cependant les parties les plus essentielles, relativement à l'utilité et à la dépense. Delà tous les projets chimériques, ruineux et souvent inexécutables qui résultent des concours, où l'on voit que l'objet principal est toujours sacrifié à de vains accessoires; où l'on ne fait aucune attention à l'usage auquel un édifice est destiné; où l'on voit que c'est le genre de décoration à la mode qui décide la plus grand nombre des concurrents. Tantôt c'est l'ordre de Pestum ou l'Egyptien, tantôt le Gotique ou l'Arabesque qu'ils adoptent sans discernement.'[91]

Paestum's order was according to Rondelet mainly used as decoration, a fashionable style among other styles, while its constructional values were much more significant. It was these elements of construction that Rondelet introduced to his public.

In *L'art de bâtir*, Rondelet presented the principal stones used for construction in Italy, and he analysed the stone types from northern to southern Italy.[92] On Paestum's stone type he wrote: 'Les temples de Pestum sont construits avec une pierre dure et calcaire, qui est une espèce de travertin rempli de trous, et moins beau que celui de Rome.'[93] In another volume, the walls of different buildings were compared, among which the one of the Neptune temple:

> 'Le plan représenté par la figure 5 est celui du grand temple de Pestum: sa superficie, à compter du nu extérieur des colonnes par le bas, est de 1426 mètres 9/10 ou 375 toises 1/2, dont 64 toises 3/4 ou points d'appui c'est-à-dire plus du sixième ou 4/23 la superficie totale, et 4/19 de la superficie libre ou plus du cinquième. [...] Ces trois exemples prouvent que dans les temples grecs qui n'étaient couverts que par un toit en charpente et des plafonds en bois ou en pierre de taille, les murs et points d'appui sont

91. Jean Rondelet, *Traité théorique et pratique de l'art de bâtir*, 7 vols., Paris: l'auteur, 1802-1817, vol. 1, book 1, pp. 8-9.
92. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 196, no. 327 is Paestum.
93. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, book 1, p. 205.

doubles de ceux des églises en basilique, dont il vient d'être question.' [94]

In order to analyse the relation of the walls and bearing points of the temples with the situation of other buildings of different types in regards to the space that they occupy and thereby to know the degree of stability that suits them, Rondelet made a comparison in plans between these temples and San Filippo Neri in Naples, San Pietro in Vincoli, Santa-Sabina, and San Paolo fuori le mura in Rome. In a table he resumed the data.[95] Thus, Rondelet placed the Paestum temples also in a context, that of construction and building materials, analysing them with the mind of an engineer. These series Rondelet constructed were based on formal or constructional similarities and had no chronological aim, as we have seen in Le Roy and Wilkins' series.

In the third volume of Rondelet's treatise, Paestum featured in two plates. One plate shows four plans of churches in Rome and Naples as well as the reconstructed plans of the two Sicilian temples (Concordia and Juno) and of Paestum, on the same scale (fig. 6.37).[96] In another plate Rondelet pictured a reconstruction of the 'Grand Temple de Pestum' in elevation and in section (fig. 6.38).[97] On the same plate, opposite the Neptune temple, the 'Temple de la Concorde' in Agrigento is depicted, on the same scale. With this comparison Rondelet wanted to show the similarities of the temples, the differences were mainly in scale. It becomes clear how much larger the Paestum temple is, that its proportions are slightly different, most of all in the intercolumnium, and that the temple is just elevated on three steps whereas the Concordia temple has four steps and a large base. In the section the structure of the Neptune temple is emphasized, with its two storeys in the middle, and two superimposed rows of columns, the Concordia having only one row of columns.

Here Paestum was therefore important for its structural aspects. It was the only Greek building, besides the two temples at Agrigento, to demonstrate the type, next to the Pantheon and churches in Italy and in Paris. In this sense, Paestum had been made part of a norm of

94. *Ibid.*, vol 3, pp. 210-211. He continued after that with the temples in Agrigento.
95. 'Table qui indique le rapport des murs et points d'appui de plusieurs édifices, avec la superficie totale qu'ils occupent', with buildings in for example Paris, Rome, Florence, Ravenna and Naples, in churches, the temples of Paestum and Agrigento, the Panthéon in Paris and in Rome, and Egyptian temples. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 232.
96. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, plate LXXV.
97. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, plate LXXVII.

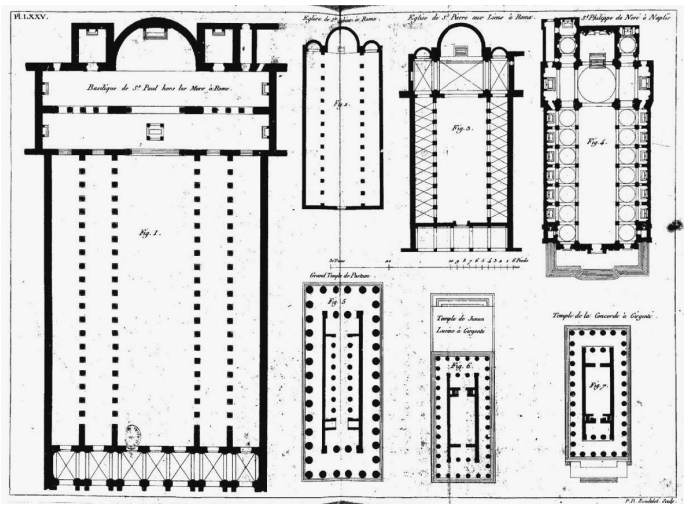


figure 6.37
Jean-Baptiste Rondelet, Comparative plate of churches and temples.

(Rondelet, *Traité théorique*…, 1802-1817, vol. 3, plate LXXV.)

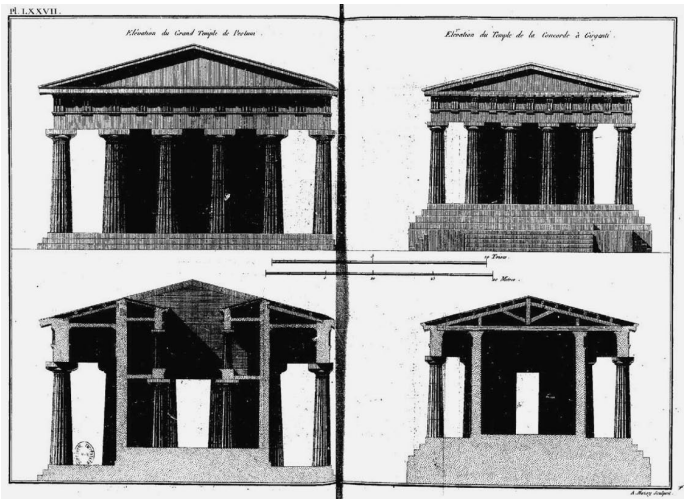


figure 6.38
Jean-Baptiste Rondelet, Comparison of elevations and cross sections of the Temple of Neptune at Paestum and the Temple of Concordia at Agrigento.

(Rondelet, *Traité théorique*…, 1802-1817, vol. 3, plate LXXVII.)

architecture to draw inspiration on for contemporary architects, for its constructional features. And again, it was only the Neptune temple that was used.

The two-dimensional architecture of Durand

In the *Recueil et parallèle des édifices de tout genre anciens et modernes remarquables par leur beauté* (1800) Jean-Nicolas-Louis Durand (1760-1834), a pupil of Le Roy, went even further than Rondelet in the reduction of Paestum, selecting specific architectural elements.[98] In this work he offered a comparative method of presentation, derived from Le Roy's *Histoire de la disposition et des formes différentes que les chrétiens ont données à leur temples* (1764), where the evolution of temple and church architecture was presented on one single page of images. Durand provided thus comparative diagrams, in which he juxtaposed forms and not styles.[99] Inspired also by Le Roy's *Les Ruines des plus beaux monuments de la Grèce*, and Gabriel-Pierre-Martin Dumont's publications on theatres, Durand depicted buildings grouped together on the same page, ignoring their oddities or stylistic characteristics and drawing them all on the same scale, to compare them as building types, constructing typological series. With regard to Paestum he also went further than Delagardette, whose *Ruines de Paestum*, as we have seen before, was published in almost the same year as the *Recueil*.

Delagardette had made a comparison between the orders of the Neptune temple, the Theseus temple and the Parthenon (fig. 6.39).[100] A second comparison on the same plate was between the orders of the Basilica temple, the Ceres temple, the theatre of Marcellus and the Coliseum in Rome. Finally, he compared the capitals of the Propylaea, the Basilica temple, the temple of Theseus, the Athena temple and the temple of Thoricus. This comparison of Doric orders was meant to serve as a means to date the temples, as we have seen in the previous chapter, where

98. Studies on Durand: Werner Szambien, *Jean-Nicolas-Louis Durand, 1760-1834. De l'imitation à la norme*, Paris: Picard, 1984; Sergio Villari, *J.N.L. Durand (1760-1834): Art and Science of Architecture*, New York: Rizzoli International, 1990.
99. Other publications with comparative diagrams were first Jacques Tarade's *Desseins de toutes les parties de l'église de Saint Pierre de Rome* (first decade of the eighteenth century), Juste-Aurèle Meissonnier's *Traité sur l'architecture universelle* (only the plates were published, ca 1745-1750); Gabriel-Pierre-Martin Dumont's *Détails des plus intéressantes parties d'architecture de la basilique de St. Pierre de Rome* (1763). See the introduction by Middleton in: Le Roy, *The Ruins...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-101.
100. The chapters treat: the history of the city, a topographical description, a description of the Neptune temple, an essay on the restoration of the Neptune temple, an essay on the covering of the Neptune temple, a description of the Athena temple, a description of the Basilica, a description of the other monuments at Paestum, a description of the building materials, a parallel of the temples with Doric orders at Rome and Athens, a description of the medals found, and a table with the linear system of measurements in France.

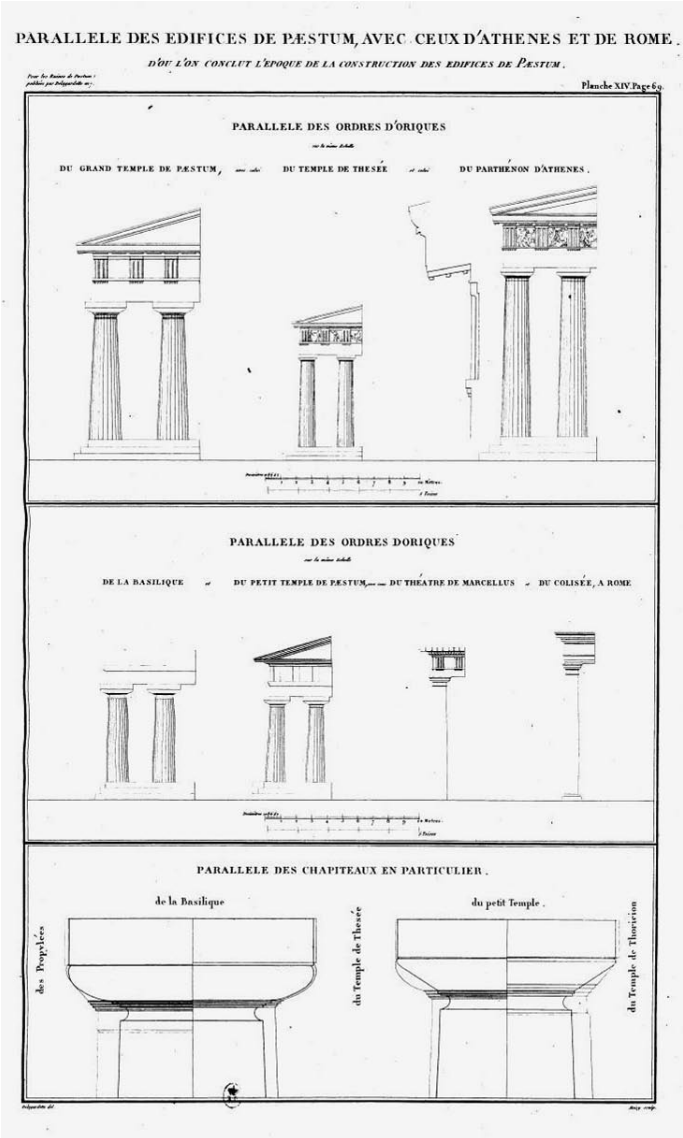
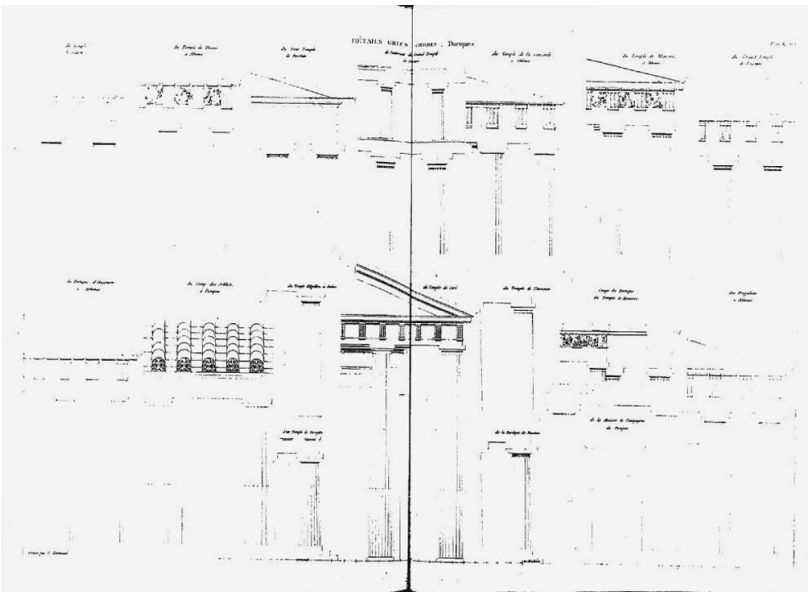


figure 6.39
Claude-Mathieu Delagardette, Comparative plate of the Doric order of Paestum and of other buildings.
(Delagardette, *Les Ruines...*, 1799, plate XIV.)



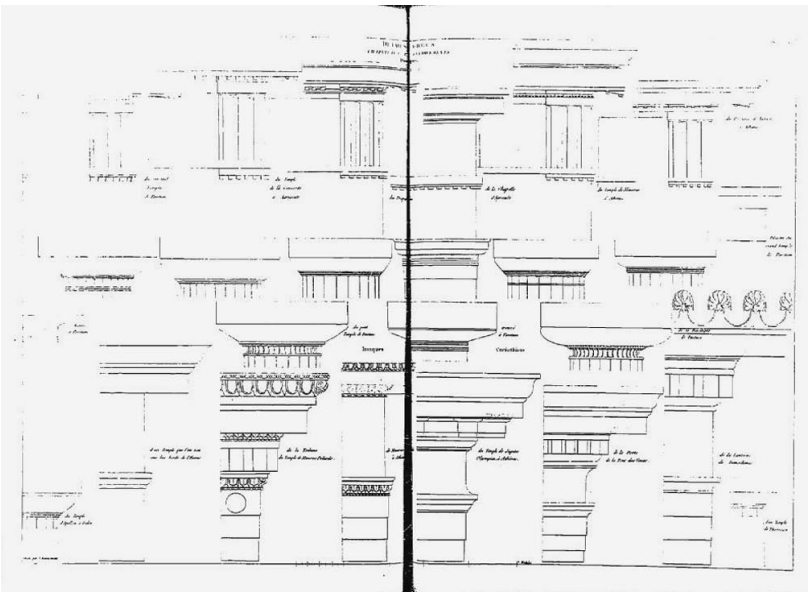


figure 6.40
Jean-Nicolas-Louis Durand,
Comparative plates of orders.

(Durand, *Recueil et parallèle*…, 1799-1800, vol. 2, plates 63 and 65.)

it became clear that Delagardette considered the Basilica and Ceres temple as older because of their primitive forms.[101] Thus his publication is not only of interest because he reduced Paestum to a baseless Doric order, by comparing it with other baseless Doric orders and showing their similarities, but he also eliminated the specificity of Paestum. He writes about an analogy between all these buildings, that those monuments 'ont [...] été conçus dans les mêmes principes'; 'on y retrouvera le même type, le même génie, la même marche dans la distribution des détails harmoniques'.[102]

Durand, Etienne-Louis Boullée's favourite pupil and from 1795 onward a professor of architecture at the École polytechnique, wrote about 'la pureté de l'Architecture Grecque' in the *Recueil et parallèle des édifices*, and presented in his engravings only details of the Paestum temples, like a capital or an entablature, among many other examples of Greek architectural details (fig. 6.40).[103] Yet, contrary to Rondelet, Durand does not ignore the Basilica temple. He shows the capital of this temple as well as that of the Neptune temple (which he simply calls 'Temple de Pestum'). In the accompanying text Durand put forward how he brought together the principal examples of the original Doric order used by the Greeks in Athens, Sicily and elsewhere. Thus, he focused on the order: 'Tous ces ordres sont dessinés sur un même diamètre, afin de faire mieux apercevoir la variété de leurs proportions, et parce que leurs grandeurs relatives peuvent se comparer'.[104] The aim of this comparison of columns, all drawn to the same scale, is to discern the different characters they express, caused by their proportions:

> 'Il n'est ici question que de juger du rapport de la grosseur de la colonne avec sa hauteur, et de saisir la physionomie et en quelque sorte la stature de ces ordres, comme on ferait en examinant une file d'hommes de différens ages et de proportions variées, où nous reconnaissons dans les uns l'élégance et la légéreté de la jeunesse, la vigueur et la force de lâge mûr, ou la décadence de la vieillesse.'[105]

Durand criticised his fellow architects who built the Doric columns with eight 'diamètres' of

101. 'Parallele des edifices de Pæstum, avec ceux d'Athènes et de Rome, d'ou l'on conclut l'époque de la construction des edifices de Pæstum.' Delagardette, *Les Ruines..., op. cit.*, 1799, plate XIV, p. 69.
102. *Ibid.*, pp. 68-69.
103. Jean-Nicolas-Louis Durand, *Recueil et parallèle des édifices de tout genre anciens et modernes remarquables par leur beauté*, 2 vols., Paris: Gillé fils, 1799-1800, vol. 1, p. 8; engravings: vol. 2, pp. 63-65.
104. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 48.
105. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 48.

height, and added a base, a thing the Greeks never did. After a plea for a thorough study and knowledge of the art of drawing, a comparison of monuments by travelling, 'de l'observation continuelle de la nature que l'Architecte suit dans les nombreuses combinaisons qu'elle lui présente', Durand included his ideas on the applicability of Greek architecture, and about how architecture has to follow its surroundings when he asked:

> 'N'a-t-on pas énervé l'ordre Dorique; ne lui a-t-on pas enlevé son caractère et sa grandeur, sa mâle solidité, en l'allongeant jusqu'à huit diamètres? N'a-t-on pas perdu son originalité, en y ajoutant cette base qui semble destinée à soutenir des fûts plus délicats; et les trois gradins éléves que les Grecs lui ont substitué dans les monumens d'Athènes, dans les Temples de Pestum et dans quelques autres de la Sicile, ne lui forment-ils pas un soubassement plus ferme et plus convenable? C'est aux Artistes à examiner, à comparer, à choisir et appliquer, suivant les cas. Je ne me permettrai point de rien prescrire à cet égard; je doute que ceux que seront bien pénétrés de ce style pur, simple, gracieux, et si noble; et si grand, de l'Architecture Grecque, dont les principaux ordres Doriques sont rapportés dans cette planche, puissent contempler avec le même plaisir, cette colonne que le goût des modernes amollit, énerva, pour l'enchainer entre le lourd Toscan et l'Ionique dépouillé de sa grace naive, et lui faire prendre son rang parmi les cinq ordres d'Architecture.'[106]

However, to Durand it was not really essential to pay attention to the surroundings in the way that Labrouste would do about thirty years later, but it is much more important to go back to the source, to the original architectural forms to find the original order. For him, this return to the pure beginnings of Doric architecture was prompted by aesthetic motives. And, he distilled one order out of many Greek temples. This baseless Doric is opposed to the Ionic and Tuscan order. Between those two orders the baseless could have its place, something Delagardette had proposed as well in his edition of Vignola. Only, Durand's order is not a Paestum order, but a mixture of many baseless Doric columns of different buildings. In his *Recueil*, Durand continues to praise Greek architecture, which he calls proud and original, delicate, executed with genius and superiority, a quality that architects can reach as well if they would execute his engravings and use them as models.

106. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 49.

Contrary to Delagardette, Durand never travelled to Paestum, and never saw these monuments with his own eyes. But, actually, that did not really matter, for what Durand did was to reduce Greek architecture to some architectural elements that could be copied in contemporary architecture. That meant that for his presentation in engravings he could take these elements from other publications, and that he did not need the actual perception *in situ*. Just as Cassas would do with his presentation to the public of a Paestum free of experience, Durand's presentation of Paestum did not profit from an experience at the site, on the contrary, it was better for his series to only have the two-dimensional translation and representation of a part of its temples. In fact, as such, the geographical or actual site of Paestum ceased to have any importance. What is more, in Durand's representation of Paestum as a collection of architectural elements the specificity of the site had completely disappeared. Such an abstraction, reduction and standardisation of Paestum's architecture meant that the outcome was no longer Paestum. Instead of peculiar, strange or different it was made one example among many other examples, swallowed up in a sea of details of Greek temple architecture. The process of a reduction of Paestum that was analysed in this chapter found its climax in Durand's publication where the experience had become completely irrelevant.

Architecture without experience

In contrast with the richness of experiences analysed in the other chapters, this chapter showed the poverty resulting from Paestum's reduction into an order, and of reducing architecture to orders. The site as experienced by the protagonists in the earlier chapters had no significance anymore. That is why the argumentation of Labrouste, which we saw in the previous chapter, is so deeply interesting. He pleaded for making Paestum part of architectural history, but not for transplanting the temples to France. According to Labrouste, one cannot export architecture to another country. He opposed the architects who said there is a universal Greek architecture and claimed that this made no sense. Paestum cannot be a design model because in exporting it, and consequently mixing it with the dimensions and elements of other baseless Doric temples, architects did not create Paestum, and what they created lacked the essence of Paestum. They distanced themselves from its specificity. In reproducing a column they did not reproduce the interior, the space, the landscape, or the site. All the elements that came up in the previous chapters of the sublime, the picturesque, the bodily experience, theatricality and primitivism are lost when Paestum is reduced to an order used in eighteenth-century architecture. Architecture solely based on order is no longer grounded in the experience associated to this

order on the site and does not reproduce this experience either.

In contrast to the first five chapters where visitors commented upon different aspects of the entire site, in this chapter we saw that interest shifted to mere parts of Paestum and that these were singled out and isolated to be exported to the native countries of the architects. More and more Paestum was stripped of its site, its landscape, its topography, and of the experience at the site. This abstraction became manifest in the initial reduction of the site to the temples, then to one temple, to proportions in Greek temple architecture, to constructional characteristics, and finally to an order.

The different steps in the process of reduction have been shown: in the measurements on the spot, the models that were fabricated in Rome, in the representation of the site as an order. In the cork models the landscape was left out, and the other monuments as well, only one temple was isolated and shown at a time. In the publications Paestum was reduced to an order by Delagardette, to proportions with Wilkins or to constructional elements with Rondelet. Then these elements were placed in a series with other orders, and Paestum came to be just an example or a representative of the baseless Doric, of a harmonic Greek temple composition, or of a Greek way of constructing.

The dissemination of knowledge was the objective in all these attempts of contextualisation and abstraction. Recording the site and diffusing it in publications, instead of the more archaeological approaches of the first monographs on Paestum, evolved towards an architectural approach in Delagardette's work. In plates the site was first stripped of its experiential aspects, by placing the temples solitary in the landscape, as we saw in the fourth chapter. Next, Delagardette reduced Paestum to the Neptune temple, the only example of pure Greek architecture, and then diminished it further to an order, distributed in his Vignola edition. As the eyes of the architects in this chapter focussed on the applicability of Paestum in contemporary architecture, they concentrated on measurements, on who measured the best, and on the curved or straight geometry of the column. They looked for similarities with other Greek buildings and denied the differences or specificities. Pâris noted the difficulty of the use of the Paestum order, and he made also clear that the definition of that order in eighteenth-century architecture was not obvious. A stumpy baseless Doric was quite quickly and superficially called a Paestum order. Quatremère de Quincy stated already, as seen in the previous chapter, that this had more to do with the fact that Paestum was the best known and most visited site, and with the reputation the temples had for having a heavy baseless order,

than with an actual likeliness of this order to those of the temples. In this chapter we saw that the Paestum order is not Paestum anymore.

The previous chapter stressed the importance of Paestum for the history of architecture and for the very first beginnings of architecture. The historical significance of the temples became evident, and the initiatives of architects to place Paestum among Greek or classical architecture was a consequence of this. At the same time, history also received its significance for the design practice; the place of Paestum in a historical development thus justified its use in the design practice. In that way architecture was also given cultural value. The historical contextualisation of Paestum was brought about in the project of Pâris to add Paestum to the canon of classical architecture presented by Desgodetz, in Le Roy's and Wilkins' publications to show the similarities in Greek (temple) architecture, in the collections shown to the public by Cassas, Molinos and Legrand, and in the focus on construction of Rondelet's treatise. Paestum was thus placed in various contexts and reduced to various roles of design examples. Although practically all these protagonists had travelled to Paestum, Durand used Paestum without even feeling the need to go there, and Cassas thought that seeing a reduced Paestum in Paris was in fact better than the experience at the spot. While Delagardette did feel the urge to see the site with his own eyes, both disseminated knowledge from which the experience is totally absent. The site was reduced to some capitals, columns or entablatures. This information could also be obtained from existing publications and measurements. In such a reduced presentation it was no longer necessary to have the experience; it sufficed to study the books.

In all the publications quoted here Paestum was presented without its experiential aspects, it was stripped of its experience. In exporting the order, the proportions, or the type of construction, architects thus distanced themselves from the site. The paradox is that while the knowledge increased, in this process of abstraction and contextualisation the actual knowledge of the site and the specificity of its experience disappeared in such a limited diffusion of Paestum to the public and professional realm. In the process of historical contextualisation Paestum became just one among other monuments. This limited function was in strong contrast with the sublime responses the site had evoked in many travellers' minds. In the course of the process described in this chapter, Paestum ceased to be strangely unique. Diminishing the strangeness in favour of searching for similarities was of course the purpose of these publications. Paestum disappeared in the great mass of Greek architecture. In reducing it further to an order, the richness and complexity of the site and of the experience faded away and vanished.

Conclusion

Fifty years of experiences at Paestum uncovered more than half a century of debating on architecture. Topics that were at the centre of the eighteenth-century discourse were brought to the site and as it were tested at the spot. At the same time, other subjects were evoked by Paestum, more often than not because great expectations were shattered by the sight of some unusual buildings. As such Paestum had a key role in eighteenth-century architectural debate.

Paestum presented itself as a conundrum to visitors but simultaneously never failed to fascinate. What became manifest in this thesis was this strong fascination with the site, a fascination that was multi-layered and complex. Above all, the outcome of this complexity was paradoxical. And these paradoxes tell us not only something about Paestum, but also about eighteenth-century architectural thought. The six chapters of this thesis all bear witness to these paradoxes. In the chapters were demonstrated the developments from the first impressions of the site that baffled and overwhelmed the travellers to the conscious and scholarly transformation of Paestum in architectural handbooks; it showed the multifaceted interaction between the site and architectural thought. In all these developments the confrontation between expectation and experience, theory and practice, thought and encounters is seen.

First we discovered that the sublime was used to give words to the awe-inspiring and contradictory experiences at the site. It was the sublime in all its facets, theorized by Longinus, Boileau, Burke and others that provided the visitors with the frame to express their sensations in images and texts. The paradox of the sublime at Paestum was that it broke with the laws of beauty defined in classicism, while simultaneously it was applied to classical buildings. A second paradox appeared in the picturesque experiences at Paestum. In the theories on the picturesque viewing landscape and the buildings in it as a painting, and thus framing a site from a distance, was the sought-after endeavour. However, by observing the site only from a

distance, the temples became just some ruins that served a picture frame, as follies in a garden. The specificity of the site was lost. In that sense the first part of this thesis functioned as a diptych: both chapters analysed a major aesthetic theory and its role in Paestum. But where the sublime uncovered all the specificities of the site, from the travelling towards it to all the feelings provoked at the spot, the picturesque just offered a pleasant painting of what could have been any ruin in beautiful scenery. Both concepts were at work in Paestum but their outcome was so different. This goes to show that the sublime was much more capable of capturing the particularities and contradictions that characterize the complex site that Paestum was. Yet the picturesque did present a useful theory in another sense. Although not utilized by the visitors as such, the picturesque in drawing on movement when perceiving architecture, did have a role in experiencing the site.

Movement was a major element in examining the temples. The second part showed how moving towards, in and around the buildings was the means to comprehend the architecture. The spectators, by entering the ruins and relating themselves physically to the buildings, examining mass and space, load and support, openness and closeness, scale and situation with all the senses, allowed the temples to become comprehensible. The visitors got an awareness of the spatiality that was only to be felt through their body. The different stages of exploring the site were disseminated in the many publications that appeared on Paestum, as the fourth chapter showed. These publications determined also the movements towards and at the site. Visitors followed sequences of experiences that can be associated with theatricality in the diverse steps of their observations. At this point the thesis slowly shifts towards the dissemination and gaining of knowledge.

The increasing knowledge about the site, apparent in the third part on the search for origins, for history and for a model for contemporary architecture, also brought to light some paradoxes. The primitivistic theories turned out not to correspond with viewing ancient remains in reality, and the real remains were not a good model for contemporary architecture, as the primitive hut was in a cultural normative theory. The search for the origins of architecture implied a return to the earliest source, while at the same time it denied or ignored the developments after these first beginnings, and is in that sense a-historical. History is seen here in two ways, as the oldest source and beginnings of civilisation and as a development of origins until now. The problem of primitivism is also that there is no room for invention if origins are the norm. Only in Paoli's and Labrouste's primitivism as an aesthetic choice there was room for invention. Here we can discern that while the knowledge gradually grows, the problems begin to appear. This was also

the case in attempts to export Paestum in architectural handbooks, treatises and collections and to present it as a model or as a part of a historical development of classical architecture, as the sixth chapter demonstrated. Then Paestum was so much reduced to one element, an order, proportions or tectonic elements, or so snowed under by the general mass of classical architecture, that nothing was left of its specificity.

Above all, nothing was left of the experience at the site. And it was this experience *in situ* that had determined the ideas that were formulated on Paestum. Architects went to the site with a certain agenda, they aimed for instance to look for a model for contemporary architecture, or their visit was motivated by an intention to write architectural history. But when at the spot and confronted with some strange remains, they were obliged to do something non-intellectual: to move around and wander inside the ruins to comprehend them. This process of observation and all its implications have become clear by a detailed analysis of the architectural experience in this thesis. For the first time architectural experience is here examined in a systematic way, on the basis of a concrete case, to illuminate eighteenth-century developments.

In the middle of the eighteenth century, at the time that Paestum was discovered, the importance of experience in architecture, and its significance for design had become a focal point for many architects and theorists of architecture. The publications analysed in these thesis, written by Julien-David Le Roy, Marc-Antoine Laugier, Nicolas Le Camus de Mezières, Jacques-Germain Soufflot, Thomas Whately, Richard Payne Knight or John Soane, to name a few, are pervasive examples of this new interest of putting architectural experience in the foreground. Architectural experience was thus used to analyse existing buildings, and to give the architect tools of designing architecture with the experience around a building and through the different spaces already in mind. Foremost, through experience, and thus through the impact of a building on the beholder, the many developments that determined eighteenth-century architectural thought come to light. That is why we have used it as a key to examine Paestum in architectural thought.

This key allowed to understand the interactions between experience and theory. In the three parts, from perception, representation to use, the importance of experience was shown. It allowed us also to make a cross-section through the chapters. The intensity of architectural experiences was elucidated in the different parts on aesthetic experiences, experiences of movement and contextualising experiences. As the writings of Locke, Condillac and Le Roy had argued, it were sensory experiences in which the knowledge of history or theory was not of

importance anymore, but only what the beholder felt at a given time and place. The experience went through different stages: it started with the voyage towards the site, then approaching the temples and finally entering them. In these phases all the senses worked together, in the smell of violets, the feeling of the muddy road, or the touch of the porous columns.

Especially it made clear that these experiences were not linked to the Vitruvian sense of analysing architecture through a plan, the orders or proportions. Architects broke here with the classicist way of thinking about buildings. At the spot it was not that what counted. Moreover, other elements than only architecture determined the experience: the danger of travelling, the situation, the weather, or the time of day. Through movement these experiences took shape, giving importance to the changing influence of the sun, a perception during night or day, the difference between seeing the monuments from afar as a picturesque painting or from up close or even inside in sensing the ruins with the own body. All these aspects of experience were explored. From the perspective of Enlightenment empiricism this is comprehensible. Posing questions and being convinced that the question of how a building can be understood and, more important, makes an impression on the beholder, is only to be solved through an experience of buildings in a three-dimensional exploration at the spot.

Paestum's site permitted to test the diverse impressions a building could have on the spectator. The vastness of the site made it possible to take a distance and stage the different scenes of approaching the temples. One could walk around the buildings, that were not to be taken in at one glance as the classicist rules prescribed, and as Burke stated, was a necessary characteristic to be overwhelmed by sublime feelings. It did not end with sensations of the sublime through this vastness, infinity or the strangeness of the architecture. The next step was the movement around and eventually inside the temples. The spatiality of the enormous structures offered the architects the opportunity to explore the spatial qualities that changed with every pace. The fact that the temples were in ruins but at the same time remarkably intact, contributed to this. Inside and outside are intertwined, the limits become vague, and thus one could easily wander through the structures to examine its spatial qualities. That is why Delagardette or Labrouste stayed for weeks at the site, not only to measure the temples in detail, but above all to capture the impact of different conditions on the buildings, to take them in from diverse angles, opening up with every step a new perspective, as Piranesi had demonstrated in his engravings.

How a building works on the beholder was not only examined as such, it was also through experience, as this book has shown, that the processes in thought and the discourses in

architectural theory were started, tested, continued or turned upside down. The subjects that were at the centre of this architectural discourse, as the sublime, the picturesque, the origins of architecture, the search for a model of contemporary architecture, or the history, all come together and were stimulated through the experience of architecture, with Paestum in a leading role.

The evolutions in architectural thought from the second half of the eighteenth century towards the nineteenth century are reflected in Paestum. They are visible in the themes analysed in this thesis. Although the structure is not entirely chronological, this book still demonstrates a general development that is rooted in eighteenth-century cultural evolutions. Generally there are two major developments to be distinguished. First, the importance of science and second, that of history. The scientific evolution was expressed for example in the ideas of John Locke and Newton, on how knowledge could be acquired through sensory perception. The sensationalist attitude towards the world, in which emotional responses and knowledge were linked, is to be found throughout the reactions to Paestum, from the sublime to the picturesque sensations, in the embodied experiences in entering the ruins and in the movements at the site. But gradually we can discern a development from a way of travelling that is more linked to the connoisseurship of amateurs in the Grand Tour towards a scientific approach of exploring sites and the beginnings of archaeological research. The increase of publications that are more scientifically oriented is detectable towards the end of the eighteenth century.

With an ever-widening public for architecture, with increasing architectural debates that were held in publications in which also non-architects had an important say, the publication of pamphlets, articles and many books, the salon culture, architecture became in the eighteenth century a matter of public interest. This was visible in the way many non-architects mingled in the debates on Paestum. In these publications the importance of science is also to be viewed in the interest in systems of classification, and building series. Starting with the art-historical systems of Winckelmann, architectural books demonstrated this urge for classification as well, from Le Roy's *Les Ruines* to Rondelet's and Durand's treatises. It was this desire for system that eventually ruined the specificity of Paestum, when only the elements that were similar to other Greek temples were singled out and put together in one single image of Greek architecture.

The importance that was given to history, the second development, is visible in these publications as well. Not only was Paestum made part of series; it was also put in a historical context. The search for the origins of architecture, also motivated by questioning and

criticising the present state of architecture, had a direct result in that the history of architecture was written from the first beginnings to the later developments. The importance given to the historical past also received its place in the design practice. Not only a criticism of contemporary architecture prompted the search for models in historical buildings, but also new and unprecedented building types like museums, public theatres or libraries raised the question of what these should look like. Inspiration was thus sought in the past, and the explorations of sites provided important examples.

When we analyse Paestum in the context of these developments we can discern that the sensory experiences of the first four chapters, the dissemination to the public of knowledge about the site, the importance given to science, but mostly the significance of history, reflect the eighteenth-century tendencies. It replaced the importance of theory. Through the meticulous study of Paestum's role in architectural thought we have seen how architectural history began. At Paestum we can see history in the making.

The larger paradox of Paestum is also historical. Because while it was shown that Paestum could not be a model for contemporary architecture since it did not confirm to the idea of classical architecture, that no knowledge was necessary to experience and understand its architecture, and that these experiences were in fact a-historical, it was eventually through the importance of history that Paestum could receive its value as a model, as a representation of the origins of architecture, and when it was then exported as a model nothing was left anymore of Paestum. We can thus say that history saved and demolished Paestum at the same time.

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