

TITLE OF THESIS: 'The entrance-portico in the architecture of
Great Britain, 1630-1850'

NAME OF CANDIDATE: Richard John Riddell

COLLEGE: Wolfson

DEGREE: D. Phil.

TERM OF SUBMISSION: Michaelmas 1995

This thesis attempts to account for the appearance, persistence, and eventual decline of an architectural motif, derived from ancient pagan temples, widely used as the principal feature on an increasing variety of building types in Britain, during the period 1630 to 1850.

The thesis seeks to do this by defining both the word 'portico' and the architectural forms to which, historically, it was applied, and by examining the religious, political, social, and stylistic contexts in which the portico, as a metaphor for the temple, was utilized.

The rationalization within the Vitruvian-Christian tradition of the ancient temple's pagan connotations; the portico's intrinsic capacity to symbolize virtue, distinction, and authority; the changing perceptions of the idea of the temple; and the different nature and sources of both the authority and the architectural style which the portico expressed, are investigated. Architecturally, the portico expressed grandeur, centrality, and an entry; it controlled, defined, and gave focus to urban space.

Introduced to Britain by Inigo Jones, and based on classical Roman and Palladian models but with Salomonic overtones, the portico initially symbolized Stuart dynastic claims to divine kingship. As political and economic power shifted to an aristocratic oligarchy, the temple that was Britain, Rome's heir, symbolized a church and state united, and the secular virtues of the Augustan age. Palladio's fusion of Roman temple and villa provided the model for the oligarchy's power base, the porticoed country house. Archaeology and politics combined, first to project mercantile opulence through imperial Roman-inspired neo-classicism, then the more fundamental qualities of the Greek temple. The Pantheon gave way to the Parthenon; the temple of private wealth to the imagined temple of democracy.

After epitomizing the characteristic early nineteenth-century public style, the too-pagan Greek portico succumbed – as did the classical ideal – in the anarchy of styles, to the Gothic.

Abstract

An abstract of a Thesis entitled 'The entrance-portico in the architecture of Great Britain, 1630-1850', by R.J.Riddell, of Wolfson College, Oxford, submitted in Michaelmas Term, 1995, for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of Oxford.

This thesis investigates the introduction, use, and decline of the portico in Britain during the period 1630 to 1850. It poses the question: how did it come about that, in Protestant Britain, with its aversion to things heathen, Catholic, and foreign, it was considered appropriate for churches, palaces, country houses, universities, museums and art galleries, and many types of public buildings to have on their principal façades and entrances an architectural motif resembling an ancient pagan temple? It further asks: for what reasons, after over two hundred years as a significant feature of British architecture, did the portico cease to be the widely used means of fronting such a wide variety of building types?

The thesis seeks to answer these questions, firstly, by defining the word 'portico' in architectural terms and examining the types of structure to which, in Antiquity and throughout our period, it has been applied; and, secondly, by tracing the historical meaning of the portico and the religious, political, social, and stylistic contexts in which its symbolism had been used.

Beginning in ancient Greece, the portico is shown to have evolved from the stoa, a columned and trabeated structure, and one of a number of public building types to give on to and define the urban space of the agora. Stoai, which had a variety of social functions, are seen not to have been synonymous with either porticoes or roofed colonnades but to have shared with them the function of affording shelter from the weather. It was perhaps from more complex stoai – where the shed roofs of two placed side by side formed a ridge, creating triangular forms or pediments at each end – that temples were developed. A pediment, supported by varying numbers of free-standing columns, forming a portico at the entrance, characterized the archetypal temple form.

The Romans, too, adopted this form for their temples and other public buildings. However, they also divorced the pediment, or fastigium, from both its templar origins and its practical function and used it to confer distinction on the houses of their most prominent citizens. In this way, the pediment, supported usually, though not always, by columns, retained some of its religious connotations but, as a metaphor for a temple, came to signify the moral virtue, distinction, nobility, and authority of a building's occupant.

Some pagan temples in Rome, notably the Pantheon, were converted into Christian churches. This not only rationalized the use of

classical temple forms for subsequent church-building, but also ensured the survival of the temples themselves.

These were the forms and meanings of the portico as also understood in the Renaissance. On its first appearance in English, however, in about 1605, the word 'portico' clearly referred also to more stoa-like structures and was applied to an arcaded walk beneath, and integral to, a building. Such a walkway was also known as a piazza before that term came to refer to the space of the square itself, rather than to the arcades surrounding it. However, from the beginning of our period, 'portico' also referred to the templar form until, in the late eighteenth century, it acquired this meaning exclusively. The term was, and sometimes still is, used to refer to a façade with a pediment over engaged columns or pilasters. This feature is not free-standing nor does it fulfil the portico's requirement, of being open at least one and no more than three sides and to afford shelter, and should properly be known as a temple-front.

Classical elements, often in the form of frontispieces comprising superimposed orders, were used in the sixteenth century to dignify the entrances to some important houses and colleges. A clear understanding of the structural and aesthetic, rather than the applied and decorative functions of classical architecture was provided by Inigo Jones who introduced the first classical portico to England at St.Paul's, Covent Garden, in 1631. Having been to Italy and familiarized himself with the work of Serlio, Palladio and Scamozzi, Jones used the language of classical architecture, signifying virtue and distinction, in both court masques and royal buildings, to reflect the Stuart political philosophy of divine kingship. James I was viewed as a postfiguration of Solomon and as the Protestant bulwark of Europe.

A 'temple' did not need to resemble physically the structures of Antiquity. It referred to a structure, a place, a country, an individual, and to an idea, dedicated to sacred purposes. The dimensions of Solomon's Temple – which some sought to recreate – and architecture itself, were God-given. Protestant England, like Israel, was a temple and its people were God's elect. It was these concepts and associations of the temple, with the portico as its metaphor, to which Jones first gave architectural definition in Britain.

The association of the portico with absolute monarchy did not long survive the demise of divine kingship. It was Jones's pupil, John Webb, who was responsible for translating Jones's court style into the country house idiom. The Queen's house, with its loggia portico, was developed by Webb for Amesbury and Gunnersbury, which were to influence country houses in the eighteenth century. Webb added to The Vyne in about 1654 the first portico on an English country house. Webb's theoretical drawings for domed and porticoed churches prefigured some of Wren's designs for St.Paul's Cathedral, whilst his porticoed proposals for Whitehall and Greenwich also provided Wren with his starting point at those palaces.

The King Charles II Building, the only part of Webb's proposals to be executed, is generally regarded, with its temple front using a giant order, and its surface treatment, as inaugurating the English Baroque.

St. Paul's Cathedral, meant to rival St. Peter's in Rome, was the greatest architectural undertaking in Britain of the seventeenth century. Wren's early proposals, especially the Great Model Design, would, if executed, have provided the most impressive portico anywhere, at that date. His compromise solution, of coupled, superimposed orders, drew much criticism. Wren's porticoes at Chelsea Hospital, Winchester Palace, and those he proposed for Greenwich owed much to French sources and, in forming the climax to compositions involving the manipulation of space and mass, were indebted to Versailles, the archetypal absolutist palace. In these works for Charles II, whose aspirations to absolutism were ambivalent, the portico is still associated with monarchy, but a constitutional one.

Vanbrugh's Blenheim was similarly indebted to France. Built as both a home for, and as a monument to, a national hero, Marlborough, Blenheim translated many of the ideas from the earlier unexecuted royal palace projects and incorporated the first portico integral to the design of a house. As an *ersatz* royal palace, it marks the transition, with royal approval, of the portico as a symbol of distinction, from the monarch to a commoner and was to set a precedent for future porticoed country houses.

Following France's defeat, Britain's power and reputation were supreme, and she saw herself as the heir to imperial Rome. The monarch was viewed increasingly in secular terms and it was the virtues of the Augustan age with which Britain identified herself. The Act for Building Fifty New Churches of 1711 ostensibly provided tangible evidence of civil and religious liberties and an indissoluble Church and State. In political terms, it celebrated victories by the Tories and the High Church over the Whigs and Toleration but, following an antique precedent, aimed at forestalling domestic dissension and foreign aggression. Only a few churches were built, not all with porticoes; but they were the first public buildings on which porticoes were officially specified. Gibbs's St. Martin-in-the-Fields, privately funded outside the Act, fused steeple and portico to make the temple idea the mark of the Anglican establishment.

English Baroque architects attempted to dissociate the Catholic and absolutist symbolism of the style's continental parentage, but to retain its connotation of power. Their use of giant engaged orders – either columns or pilasters – was for long to provide an alternative to porticoes as a means of displaying grandeur more cheaply.

With the need to defeat France militarily and to emulate her artistically removed, Britain, with her politics and her religion vindicated, required a new architectural style to reflect her status as the leading world power. That need, articulated by Lord Shaftesbury in 1712, was answered in 1715 by Colen Campbell who advanced the style of the architect from

whom Jones had taken some of his models – Palladio. Here was a national style, characterized by rationality of design, discreteness of parts, regularity of planning, and sobriety of form and decoration. Palladio's fusion of temple and villa, in what he believed to have been his recreation of the ancient house, had the portico as its principal feature. It was at Wanstead (c.1714) that Campbell introduced the first hexastyle portico which presaged an inner, temple-like space, reaching back the full depth of the house. Other porticoed and temple-fronted houses followed, including Campbell's Stourhead and Newby (both c.1720), Vanbrugh's Seaton Delaval (also 1720), and Burlington's Chiswick House (c.1723). Some houses – Wood's Prior Park (1734-41, Kent) and Burlington's Holkham (1734-60), and Flitcroft's Wentworth Woodhouse (c.1735-70) – vied for size with Wanstead, but many houses were smaller, following the villa-like examples of Chiswick, Newby, and Roger Morris's Marble Hill (1724-9). The Palladian formula of porticoed block, sometimes with quadrant wings, was to be the preferred model for country houses throughout most of the eighteenth century. It was to be identified with aristocratic and state control of the arts and, as political and economic power shifted to a wealthy oligarchy, was to characterize the country house as the nobility's power-base.

By the 1750s, partly as a result of philosophical debate on the nature of originality, and partly from a desire for new, simpler architectural sources, the focus of travel was widened beyond Rome to southern Italy, Sicily, and mainland Greece. Stuart and Revett's publication in 1762 of Athenian temples and other buildings resulted immediately in only a handful of Greek porticoed buildings; Stuart's own Doric temple at Hagley (1758) – Europe's first Greek Revival building – and at Shugborough (1764); Revett's west portico at West Wycombe (1771); his portico at Standlynch (1766); and his church at Ayot St. Lawrence (1778).

As a counter to the Greek, Adam and Chambers, both supporters of Piranesi, reaffirmed the Roman tradition, advancing the attractions of the rich, opulent, imperial style. Adam at Shardeloes (1759-63), Kedleston (c. 1760), Bowood (1761-4), Osterley (1763-80), and Kenwood (1767-9), and Chambers at Kew (1757-63) and Duddingston (1763-8), proclaimed the temple of riches as belonging only to a wealthy élite.

At the century's close, there was increasing evidence of growing interest in Greek architecture. Finding a champion in Hope, both the style and Hope's protégé, Wilkins, were launched when Romantic Hellenism gained an ideological and stylistic victory at Downing College, Cambridge, in 1804. Though never completed, Downing, the first semi-public Greek Revival building in Britain, greatly influenced both private building and public architecture. Houses continued to be built, and in the Greek style; Osberton (1805), The Grange (1805-9), Belsay (1807-15), and Bayfordbury (1809-12) amongst them. But schools, such as the Royal Jubilee Grammar School in Newcastle (1810-11), Hotels, like the Royal Plymouth (1811-19), and churches, like New St. Pancras (1819-22), were followed by a wide range of public buildings – assize courts, exchanges, banks, museums and art

galleries and, especially, town halls, for which Greek porticoes, often of the Doric, or 'pure' Greek order, became the norm. The building of Smirke's British Museum (1823-46) and Wilkins's National Gallery (1834-8) completed the transition of the portico from a mark of private distinction to that of a public talisman, and of the style from a garden idyll to a national identity.

This second phase of neo-classicism and of the Greek Revival was one in which virtually every consideration, including convenience, was sacrificed to the ideology of Grecian aesthetic supremacy. Archaeology might have given substance to that concept, but the immutability, simplicity, and ease of reproduction of the Greek style were not conducive to artistic invention and originality and, instead, encouraged copyism. The result was portico-mania, whereby almost every type of building made token or thoroughgoing reference to a temple. Prisons looked like country houses, museums like asylums, banks like universities, and hospitals like railway stations. The imagined temple of democracy, or its metaphor, the portico, was rapidly turning into a meaningless cipher.

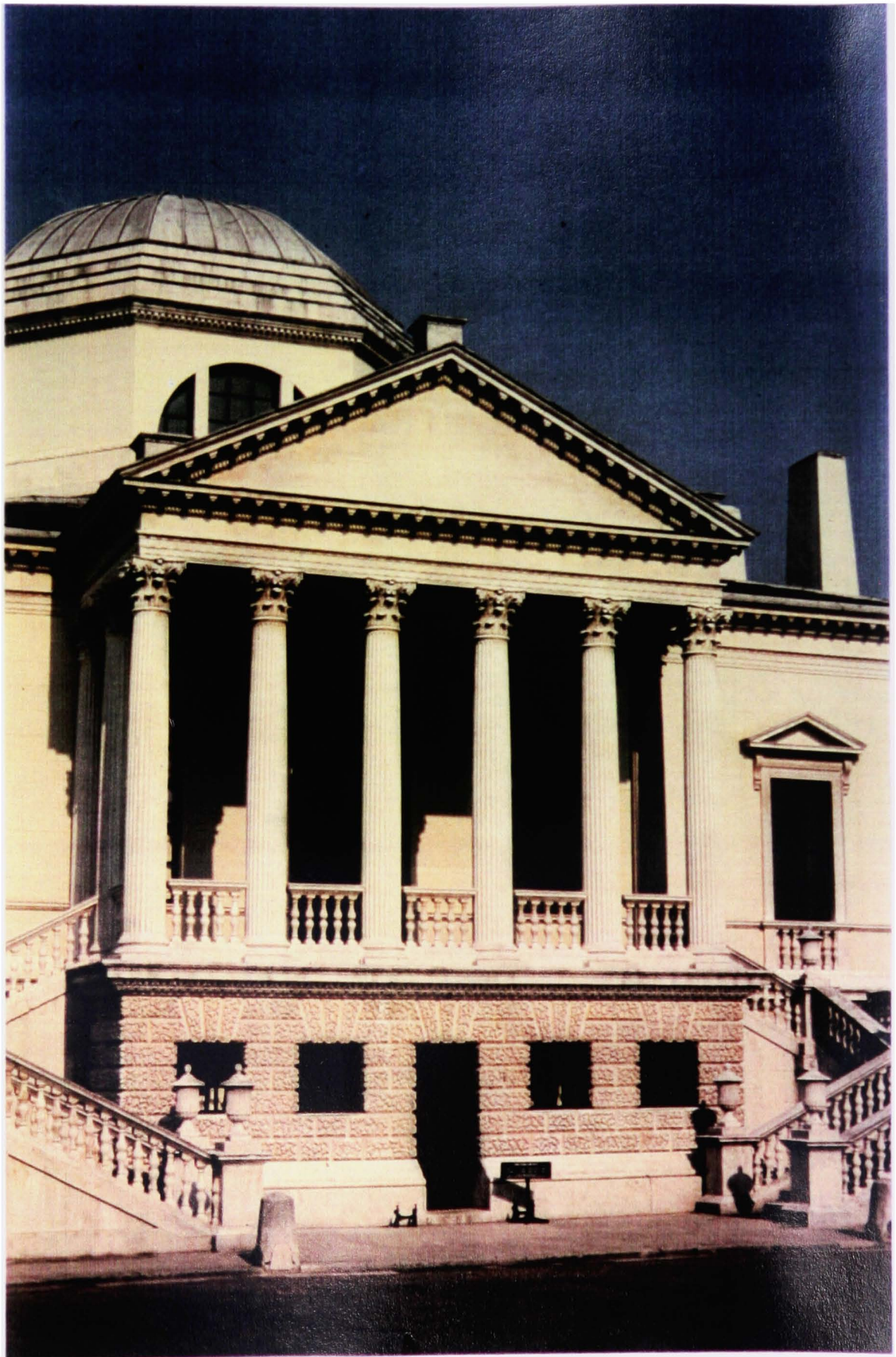
The long-held objections to the portico on the practical grounds of its climatic unsuitability, with its attendant deleterious effects on convenience and the peculiarly British predilection for comfort, as well as of its fundamental incompatibility with contemporary building needs, were merely suppressed, temporarily, whilst the mania raged. In the case of churches, archaeological accuracy was increasingly interpreted, not as slavish copyism, or even fidelity to a venerated source but, faced with the high moral purpose of the Gothic, as paganism. With regard to other building types, it was the denial of a particular building's character expressive of its function – indeed, the disguising of this behind a uniform, increasingly meaningless expression – which induced the search for a new kind of decorum and fitness to purpose.

The intended planning effects of porticoes and the impressions and opinions of those who viewed and used them are examined. The portico could provide a focal point in the landscape. In towns and cities it could both establish a point of reference in, and dominate, the lay-out of urban space. On any building, and regardless of its type or of the nature of the authority of which its portico was a demonstration, the sequence of effects that the portico was intended to have on the approaching visitor successively comprised the drawing of attention to the location of the building and its principal entrance; the slowing down of his or her pace in the space before it; a pause for reflection on the status of the building and its owner; a self-reflective choice as to how to pass to and through it; and, depending on the visitor's own status and beliefs, a commensurate imbuing of a sense of appropriate respect, gravity, and even awe.

The passage of the portico's iconography of virtue, distinction, and authority marks the transition of real political and economic power from the royal, through the private, to the public domain. In a succession of political changes, the portico started out as a symbol of divine kingship;

became the favoured architectural symbol of a powerful oligarchy; evolved into the most widely used and fashionable expression of élitist opulence; was adopted to display commercial and public wealth and authority; and to proclaim civic pride; and, through widespread, indiscriminate, and excessive use became, in the anarchy of styles which it had helped to create, a meaningless architectural cliché and, finally, a solecism.

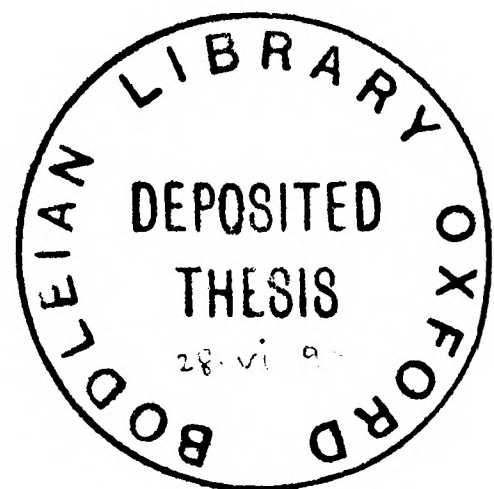
The portico is shown to have been inextricably linked both to changing concepts of the temple idea, and to the functions of style. Regardless of style, it retained, almost to the end, its capacity to symbolize power and distinction. But whatever the varying nature of, and reasons for, the compulsion to adopt it, the portico eventually precipitated a refusal to tolerate any longer the prices that had to be paid in retaining what had always been an essentially alien architectural feature.



THE ENTRANCE-PORTICO
IN THE ARCHITECTURE
OF GREAT BRITAIN
1630–1850

Volume I Text

Richard Riddell
Wolfson College
D.Phil.
Michaelmas Term 1995



Acknowledgements

My thanks are due to Sir Howard Colvin and Dr. Toby Barnard for their conscientious supervision, and also to Dr. Malcolm Airs.

Of the many others who have helped me in various ways I wish to thank Dr. John Booker, Dr. Howard Burns, Dr. Edward Chaney, Viscount Cobham, Dr. Peter Cramer, Professor J. Mordaunt Crook, Lord Feversham, Mr. G. M. T. Foljambe, Mr. Nigel Goodwill, Professor Francis Haskell, Mrs. Kathleen Hjerter, Dr. Elizabeth McGrath, Dr. Michael Metcalf, Lord Norton, Mrs. Jill Parrick, Dr. Julian Roberts, Professor Alistair Rowan, Dr. Frank Salmon, The Earl and Countess of Scarborough, Dr. Cinzia Sicca, Mr. Christopher Stell, Mr. David Sturdy, Dr. Gerard Vaughan, Mr. Laurence Whistler, Dr. Giles Worsley, and Mr. Charles Wyvill.

Many country house owners have been generous in allowing me access to their porticoes and, sometimes, to unpublished drawings and documents which they have kindly permitted me to photograph.

I have received unfailing courtesy and much help from the staffs of the following institutions: All Souls, the Ashmolean Museum, the Bodleian Library, Christ Church, and Worcester College, Oxford; the University of Austin, Texas; the British Museum; the Cooper-Hewitt Museum, New York; Downing College and the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; English Heritage; the National Trust; the Public Record Office; the Royal Academy of Arts; the Royal Institute of British Architects, Drawings Collection; Sir John Soane's Museum; and the Victoria & Albert Museum.

Contents

Volume I

	Abbreviations-----	vi
	Preface-----	viii
I	The Portico	
	1 Introduction-----	1
	2 Definitions-----	9
	(i) Portico: Meaning and Form-----	9
	(ii) Portico: Form and Meaning-----	28
	3 Summary and Note on Portico Types-----	44
II	From Frontispiece to Portico in Great Britain	
	1 Introduction-----	48
	2 Frontispieces-----	50
	(i) Domestic Buildings-----	50
	(a) Houses-----	50
	(ii) Public Buildings: Educational-----	52
	(a) Universities-----	52
	(iii) Domestic Buildings-----	53
	(a) Houses-----	53
	3 Porches and Loggia Porticoes-----	56
	(i) Domestic Buildings-----	56
	(a) Houses-----	56
	(b) Royal Palaces-----	59
	4 Summary-----	63
III	Inigo Jones and the Palladian Portico	
	1 Introduction-----	66
	2 Temple and Church-----	66
	(i) Ecclesiastical Buildings-----	66
	(a) Antique and Renaissance Precedents-----	66
	(b) The Idea of the Temple in Britain-----	73
	(c) Inigo Jones and the Temple Realized-----	80
	(d) St. Paul's, Covent Garden-----	82
	(e) St. Paul's Cathedral-----	88
	3 Summary-----	95

IV The Baroque Portico

1 Jones, Webb, and the Baroque	98
(i) Domestic Buildings	98
(a) Houses	98
(b) Royal Palaces	106
2 Webb, Wren and the Baroque Church	112
(i) Ecclesiastical Buildings	112
(a) Webb's Drawings of Porticoed Churches	112
(b) St. Paul's Cathedral	114
3 Hawksmoor, Vanbrugh and Archer	121
(i) Domestic Buildings	121
(a) Houses	121
4 Fifty New Churches	128
(i) Ecclesiastical Buildings	128
(a) Churches	128
5 Temple Front and Portico in the English Baroque	147
(i) Domestic Buildings	147
(a) Houses	147
6 Summary	151

V The Portico in English Neo-Palladianism

1 Introduction	155
2 The Reinstatement of Inigo Jones and Palladio	160
3 Palladio and Porticoes	162
4 The English Country House and its Functions	165
(i) Domestic Buildings	165
(a) Houses	165
(b) Temple Front or Portico? The Aesthetic Choice	168
(c) Approaching Palladian Porticoes	171
(d) Garden Buildings	180
5 The Disadvantages of Porticoes	194
6 Summary	206

VI Neo-Classicism and the Greek Revival Portico

1 Introduction	208
2 Neo-Classicism: Imitation and Originality	210
3 Visual Effect: The Rule and the Eye	217
4 Architectural Association	219
5 The Associations of Grecian and Greek Architecture	222
6 The Greek Revival: A Tentative Beginning	228
7 The Greek and Roman Debate	238
8 Greece Revived	252

(i) Public Buildings: Educational -----	252
(a) Universities, Colleges and Schools -----	252
(b) Medical Colleges -----	264
(ii) Domestic Buildings -----	264
(a) Houses -----	264
(b) Portes Cochères -----	268
(c) Lodges -----	269
(iii) Public Buildings: Commercial -----	272
(a) Banks -----	272
(b) Customs Houses -----	275
(c) Exchanges and Markets -----	276
(d) Corporate Headquarters -----	279
(e) Post Office -----	279
(f) Railway Stations -----	280
(g) Hotels, Baths and Assembly Rooms -----	281
(h) Theatres -----	281
(iv) Ecclesiastical Buildings -----	282
(a) Commissioners' Churches -----	282
(b) Nonconformist -----	287
(c) Roman Catholic -----	288
(v) Public Buildings: Civic -----	288
(a) Town and Shire Halls -----	288
(b) Assizes, Courthouses and Gaols -----	290
(c) Libraries and Athenaea -----	291
(d) Hospitals -----	292
(e) Museums and Art Galleries -----	292
VII The Decline of the Portico -----	310
Summary -----	337
VIII Conclusion -----	340
Appendix: Summary and Chronologies of the First Introductions and Principal Uses of the Architectural Orders in the Entrance-Porticoes of Great Britain, 1630-1850 -----	349
Bibliography -----	355
Statement of Length -----	396
 Volume II	
List of Plates	
Plates	

Abbreviations

AB	<i>Art Bulletin</i>
ABN	<i>Architect and Building News.</i>
AH	<i>Architectural History (Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain)</i>
AJ	<i>Archaeological Journal</i>
APSD	<i>The Dictionary of Architecture</i> , ed. Wyatt Papworth for the Architectural Publication Society, 8 vols. (1852-92).
AR	<i>Architectural Review</i>
ARS	The Augustan Reprint Society
BDIAC	J.Harris, <i>A Catalogue of British Drawings for Architectural Decoration, Sculpture and Landcape Gardening 1550-1900 in American Collections</i> (1971).
BL	British Library
BM	British Museum
BollettinoCISA	<i>Bolletino del Centro Internazionale di Studi di Architettura 'Andrea Palladio'</i>
Burl.Mag.	<i>Burlington Magazine</i>
CL	<i>Country Life</i>
Colvin DBA	H.M.Colvin, <i>A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840</i> (2nd edn., 1978).
DCH	Eds. R.Strong, M.Binney, J.Harris, <i>The Destruction of the English Country House 1875-1975</i> (1974)
E-CS	<i>Eighteenth-Century Studies</i>
EBA	K.Downes, <i>English Baroque Architecture</i> (1966).
EETS	Early English Text Society
EHR	<i>English Historical Review</i>
EM	<i>English Miscellany</i>
GB-A	<i>Gazette des Beaux-Arts</i>
Gent's Mag.	<i>The Gentleman's Magazine</i>
GGJ	<i>Georgian Group Journal</i>
GH	<i>Garden History (Journal of the Garden History Society)</i>
GM	<i>Guildhall Miscellany</i>
GSLH	<i>Guildhall Studies in London History</i>
Gunnis DBS	R.Gunnis, <i>Dictionary of British Sculptors, 1660-1851</i> (new rev. edn., 1968)
History	<i>Journal of the Historical Society</i>
H K W	Ed. H.M.Colvin, <i>The History of the King's Works</i> , 6 vols. (1963-).
HMC	Historical Manuscripts Commission
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
JSAH	<i>Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians (USA).</i>
JWCI	<i>Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes</i>
JWI	<i>Journal of the Warburg Institute</i>
LTR	<i>London Topographical Record</i>
NMR	National Monuments Record
NTS	<i>National Trust Studies</i>
OED	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>
PBSR	<i>Papers of the British School at Rome</i>
Pevsner Ed.	Sir N.Pevsner, <i>The Buildings of England</i>
Pevsner HBT	Sir N.Pevsner, <i>A History of Building Types</i> (corr. edn., 1979).
QL	A.Palladio, <i>I Quattro Libri dell'Architettura</i> , various edns.
RA	Royal Academy
RCHM	Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England).
RIBAD	Royal Institute of British Architects, Drawings Collection
RIBAJ	<i>Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects</i>

<i>RSAJ</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Society of Arts</i>
<i>SE-CC</i>	<i>Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture</i>
<i>SEL</i>	<i>Studies in English Literature 1500-1900</i>
<i>SOED</i>	<i>Shorter Oxford English Dictionary</i>
<i>SOL</i>	<i>Survey of London</i>
<i>SSH</i>	<i>Studies in Social History</i>
<i>TAMS</i>	<i>Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society</i>
<i>V&A</i>	Victoria and Albert Museum
<i>VB</i>	C.Campbell, <i>et al.</i> , <i>Vitruvius Britannicus</i> , various volumes
<i>Walpole Soc.</i>	Volumes of The Walpole Society (1911-)
<i>Wren Soc.</i>	The Wren Society, 20 vols. (1924-43).

Preface

The portico is one of the most characteristic and significant features of western architecture and, yet, perhaps, also one of the least closely observed. Redolent of Antiquity and comprising the essential vocabulary of classical architecture in the form of the orders – columns, entablatures and, usually, pediments – it evokes past glories and epitomizes the modular system of design that is central to that architecture. It has often played a key role in, or acted as a barometer of, stylistic innovations. Used widely in Antiquity, especially in temples, the portico suffered a decline following the dissolution of Roman imperial authority in the West. However, sufficient literary and physical remains survived which, when viewed in particular ways, enabled it to regain a central position in architecture, following the Renaissance. Revived in Italy, it was subsequently adopted elsewhere in Europe and eventually in this country, and it is to the tentative introduction of the portico to Britain in the early seventeenth century, its widespread use throughout the eighteenth and much of the nineteenth centuries, and the beginning of its decline towards the end of our period, that this thesis is devoted.

The investigation, systematization and exposition of classical architecture was at the heart of most of the treatises and writings by the major – as well as a plethora of lesser – architects and theorists which appeared from the middle of the fifteenth century onwards. None of these has paid particular attention to the portico and, although much has been written on the subject of classical architecture by archaeologists, whose primary concern has been with the evidence of physical remains, and by architectural historians, who have been mostly preoccupied with artistic and stylistic interpretations of buildings ultimately inspired by

archaeological sources, there has been no specific study either of the portico in general or of its place in British architecture. The architectural orders from Antiquity to the Renaissance have recently been treated in George Hersey's *The Lost Meaning of Classical Architecture* (1988) and, most comprehensively, in John Onians's *Bearers of Meaning* (1988). Alexander Tzonis and Leane Lefaivre offered a semantic interpretation, extending forward to the twentieth century, in their *Classical Architecture: The Poetics of Order* (1986). No writer has attempted to disentangle the complex problem of nomenclature – the connotation and application of the word 'portico' – with the exception of Amedeo Maiuri, whose articles 'L'origine del portico all' arche girate su colonne' (1937) and 'Portico e peristilio' (1946) relate only to Antiquity and are inconclusive. Although the social significance of the portico has been touched upon by such writers as Lawrence and Jeanne Fawtier Stone and Mark Girouard, references to it in that context tend, necessarily, to be only part of much wider considerations. For most architectural historians, the appearance of porticoes in Britain was unremarkable; any comment that a building possesses a portico might extend to noting the order and the number of its columns and, exceptionally, its role in an architectural composition. Although the practical, social and aesthetic functions of porticoes did not vary much, and although the ancient models upon which many of them were increasingly based eventually became monotonously few, there is immense variety in their type, form, scale, and complexity, as well as in the different means by which many of them were approached. Any detailed study of porticoes in Britain seems to have fallen between general discussion of the classical orders and consideration of the wider stylistic movements in architecture.

Rather than try to write an exhaustive history of porticoes in the architecture of Great Britain, or to render this survey a mere set of tables by attempting to analyze and group them all, I have addressed the problem of defining the portico; suggested what it signified; and then selected representative examples of different portico types, relating them to stylistic developments and to influential models, as and when these became available (see Appendix).

Although this thesis is about porticoes rather than porticoed buildings, it has been thought preferable, in order to avoid possible confusion from adopting a solely chronological approach, to integrate the introductions of building types, as and when they occurred, with the broader stylistic changes by which the development of the entrance-portico itself is so clearly punctuated. An initial plan to devote individual chapters to as wide a range as possible of building types, separated strictly according to designation and function, has been abandoned as placing excessive emphasis on building types at the expense of porticoes themselves and as being potentially even more confusing, due to inevitable chronological movement in both directions and much duplication of contextual material, in favour of treating porticoed buildings under three broad types – ecclesiastical, domestic, and public (other than ecclesiastical) – within chapters corresponding closely to significant changes in porticoes and portico types which resulted from the development of existing, or the discovery of new, classical sources. The distribution of these building types over the period is by no means uniform, nor their appearance strictly consecutive. The period opens with a porticoed church; but there was no significant porticoed church-building until the early part of the eighteenth century and then again in the early nineteenth. In the meantime, although there were examples of porticoed

domestic buildings in the seventeenth century, the type did not proliferate until the early eighteenth century onwards, largely in the form of country houses; and porticoed public buildings other than churches, though they made tentative appearances in the late eighteenth century, are largely a nineteenth-century phenomenon. Reference to all these porticoed building types does not, therefore, occur in every chapter but is made at the appropriate point, as and when the types appeared, so that anyone interested in tracing the use of porticoes on any of these building types within part or all of the period covered by the thesis can refer to the appropriate section(s) in the relevant chapter(s).

I The Portico

1 Introduction

How did it come about, in the second quarter of the seventeenth century, that Protestant Englishmen, with their aversion to things heathen, Catholic, and foreign, considered it appropriate that the first protestant church to be built in the nation's capital since the Reformation should take the form of an ancient, porticoed pagan temple? Why, throughout most of the eighteenth century and well into the nineteenth, did so many of the British nobility and gentry, equally as vehement in their Protestantism and patriotism as their forbears, not only continue to approve the building of Christian churches resembling the temples of Antiquity but, increasingly, to live in porticoed houses that also resembled these? How was it that, from the early nineteenth century, so large a proportion of civic and public buildings, for many of which – such as railway stations – there were no precedents as building types in either Antiquity or the post-antique period, were made to look like Roman and subsequently, Greek temples? And how was it possible to rationalize and justify the transference of architectural forms and metaphors in general, and of porticoes in particular, which had evolved in the distant past and in a warm Mediterranean climate to a comparatively cold, wet and windy island off the north-west coast of Europe?

Any attempt to answer such questions needs not only to take account of the contradictions implicit in them but must also identify the overriding considerations that enabled such apparent paradoxes to be seen

as positive, desirable, indeed irresistible reasons for adopting porticoes, rather than as impediments to doing so.

Architecture is not only one of the prerequisites of civilization but may also be said to embody and express, wittingly or otherwise, the cultural values and beliefs of a society in any age. Buildings that have survived intact or in part, or are known only on paper, are invaluable as historical documents. Often in history there has been, a looking back to different periods of the past, usually for positive reasons but sometimes because of a failure of nerve. Buildings from the past have been variously considered appropriate as models on which to base contemporary architecture because they were believed to express the values to which later periods and societies aspired; values which they admired, wished to share, and wanted to be seen sharing. In any age, contemporary building which has been inspired, whether closely or in a general way, by whatever periods and models from the past asserts not just the desire of contemporaries to identify, be associated with and to reflect and uphold those values but reasserts the validity, durability and continuity of the very values themselves. Whether in the context of survival or revival, the persistence and recurrence of particular architectural forms testifies to the continual significance of the meanings and values that were felt to be embodied in them. Such values were believed to be immutable, universal, and to transcend time and space. Values which are incapable of conditioning or qualification, are abstract and unassailable, and which are able to be considered apart from their being subjective or objective, acquire, in a metaphysical sense, the status of absolutes. In a way, the whole of our period is concerned with the search for absolutes. Beauty, Harmony, Decorum, and Honour were believed to have been perfected in Antiquity and classical literature, art, and architecture were their

paradigms and repositories. Above all, it was – according to Aristotle and Cicero – the acquisition of Virtue that could enable them to be achieved. By studying and recreating that distant past, imaginatively, but in ways that were firmly rooted in authenticity and integrity of sources, a bridge could be built from and to the past, so that the past could lend meaning and authority to the present and the present could be seen as a worthy continuation and fulfilment of the past. Part of that process of recreation involved reinstating the physical surroundings of Antiquity of which architecture was a major part and in which temples and porticoes were the most prominent and significant elements. Another part of that process was dependent on the availability and interpretation of archaeological material and printed sources.

For most of our period, the terms in which the future was conceived consisted in regaining that past. Chronologically, Greece came before Rome; but those interdependent civilizations were rediscovered and revived in reverse order. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, at a time when the absolutes being sought were becoming less complex, the realization that basically templar Greek architecture, from which the Roman had evolved, was older, simpler, more primitive and, therefore, in terms of longevity and precedent, more legitimate and authoritative, made it extremely attractive. Furthermore, since Rome had conquered and learned from the Greeks, Britain was, by extension, heir to the Greek civilization as well. The moral, political and racial connotations of Greek, and particularly Athenian, architecture, with its overtones of exclusivity and superiority, only added to the attraction. Classical architecture was rational, harmonious, correct and powerful – qualities that were believed, from the late seventeenth century onwards, to characterize Britain's religion and system of government, and to all of which she owed her

success and supremacy. Plenty and wealth were the fruits of peace, and peace, in which the arts and architecture could flourish, was the outcome not of inaction but of moral strength allied to military might and of war successfully waged. It has often been remarked that the periods immediately following British military victories, mostly over France and coming at fifty- and one hundred-year intervals – Blenheim, Minden, and Waterloo – were characterized by outbreaks of building, both private and increasingly public, in which the architectural expression of absolutes, largely by means of porticoes, was given free rein.

Whilst an enormous number of porticoed buildings was put up in the immediate post-Waterloo period, the classical revival was comparatively short-lived. The historical rationale for using temple forms and porticoes for churches – that some ancient porticoed temples (notably the Pantheon) owed their survival to their having been converted to Christian use and thus symbolized the blending of Christianity and pagan Antiquity – was gradually discredited by the nationalistic conviction that Britain had its own historic Christian style; the Gothic. For the same reason the justification for building classical architecture in this country – that Britain too had been part of the Roman Empire, and that Rome's imperial heir should build likewise – was increasingly discounted. It was the nationalistic, religious and moral values with which the Gothic style was invested, compounded by the growing realization that not all human behaviour was rational and harmonious – that there were enriching areas of thought and experience that were not wholly explicable in terms of reason – which contributed to the relegation of the classical style to merely one of a plethora of stylistic options in what was to become an anarchy of styles. Winckelmann's idealization of classical Greece became untenable and Thomas Hope's

dream of recreating ancient Greece on British soil became unattainable. Earnest, porticoed classical architecture continued to be built, especially in Scotland but, with a resurgence of anti-paganism, with a desire to be known for virtues and authority other than those of Antiquity, and with a genuine and widely-held belief in the classical ideal almost gone, much of that architecture elsewhere became pompous, rhetorical and irrelevant. The portico was increasingly made to carry too great a weight of meaning in relation to the rest of the building, sometimes with incongruous results. The indiscriminate use of porticoes and temple forms on an ever-widening variety of building types represented a breakdown of decorum as it had earlier been understood in Aristotelian, Ciceronian and Vitruvian terms. Nevertheless, for as long as classicism, of whatever variety, held sway, it was believed to be the most noble of styles and its noblest feature, dominating public and private spaces as it had done in Antiquity and expressing the distinction that could depend only from the possession by its owner of virtue, was the portico.

The period covered by this study begins with Britain's undertaking a cultural rapprochement with mainland Europe, passing through civil and religious war, engaging in expansionist and colonialist policies overseas and emerging as the heart of an empire which, in its extent, its military and economic supremacy, and its ideological and moral authority, she regarded as not only equalling the greatest empire the world had ever seen – that of the Romans – but surpassing it. Artistically, or, more specifically, architecturally, our period opens with the introduction, albeit belated, of Renaissance concepts of classical architecture as a comprehensive, rational system of design – an introduction brought about almost single-handedly by Inigo Jones. Following the English Baroque, Palladianism was again taken up, holding sway until the Greek Revival,

and the close of our period witnesses the waning of an absolute belief in the classical ideal.

Throughout our period architects sought to produce an architecture that would reflect Britain's claim to world supremacy. Increasingly, she saw herself as the natural heir to imperial Rome, as Rome re-born, the custodian of the classical heritage. It was, therefore, not unnatural, in order to lend authority to that perception and claim, that it was from Roman architecture that models were chiefly drawn. Britain was, of course, by no means unique in working within the classical tradition, and cognizance was taken of innovations occurring from time to time in Europe which were either welcomed in varying degrees and adapted to suit British requirements and taste, or ignored. It was not, however, simply a matter of Britain's architects responding to European developments; in the cases of Palladianism and the Greek Revival both movements were initiated earlier and embraced more wholeheartedly here than elsewhere for reasons which were politically, philosophically and ideologically unique to this country. Neo-Classicism meant putting to one side the interpreters of Antiquity since the Renaissance – including Palladio – and looking with fresh eyes directly at both familiar sources and also at different, recently rediscovered, more primitive ones. By leading the way in this, Britain was able to influence what was happening on the continent and to be a major part of international Neo-Classicism. However, for our present purposes, it is with the far-reaching influences of Palladianism, at the beginning of our period and again in the early years of the eighteenth century, and of the Greek Revival that we shall be most concerned. Temple forms, of different kinds, were significant elements of both styles and both made extensive use of porticoes.

The degree of fidelity to an original with which historical models were followed had several implications. In the case of the patron it could be indicative of how closely he wished to be identified with authority from the past, and also the origin and nature of his own authority in relation to it. And, in the case of the architect, it could reveal his attitude to his sources – whether these were to be slavishly copied or imitated, or taken as a starting point for his own imaginative creations which could produce an original architecture. The polemics of *γένεσις* and *μίμησις* – genesis and mimesis, originality and imitation – were to be perennial, and never completely resolved. But two different kinds of authority were involved here: the legal, moral, spiritual, temporal and social authority and superiority enjoyed or claimed by the patron; and the authority of the metaphors and precedents in architecture upon which the architect was able to draw in order to interpret, internalize, anticipate and then express, non-verbally through the building, the requirements and expectations of his patron. A good architect was able to fuse knowledge and imagination, historic distance and eternal presence, Antiquity and Modernity.

The role of the orders in these processes was crucial. Propriety and decorum in their use had first been described by Vitruvius. He was criticized during the High Renaissance – by Peruzzi, for example, for not selecting the most beautiful forms – but he was also defended, by Peruzzi's pupil, Serlio, whose treatise, perhaps the most influential of all, represented a return to a more conservative Vitruvian canon. For most of the sixteenth century, Michelangelo himself, the greatest exponent of architectural language, and not the Antique, became the touchstone. Vignola was the first to classify the orders and Scamozzi the first to display specimens of them in the form of pedimented porticoes. With the foundation of academies and the writings of architects about practice,

theory tended to stabilize into law. Although this marked the beginning of architecture as a distinct profession, perhaps for the first time since Antiquity, it also heightened the tension between ultra-Vitruvianism and the judgement of individual artists. Thenceforward, until the Greek Revival, although most architecture, such as Palladio's, was closely based on models for which there was precedent and authority, many buildings, and particularly porticoes, were constructed in a variety of forms and using various orders, and combinations of these, for which there was not necessarily any specific portico prototype, antique or otherwise.

The clearest exposition of the meanings and characters of the orders is to be found in structures which utilize and largely consist of columns – screens, colonnades and porticoes – and of these the most effective, varied and impressive are entrance-porticoes. Even now, few architectural features are so redolent of the classical past or have the capacity to evoke it so readily and thoroughly as porticoes. Association combines the visual and the cerebral, the emotional and the intellectual, the immediate and the reflective, the particular and the general, the present and the past. The portico was the most evocative and affective of many means by which the quest for forms in which to realize classical ideals – a desire which so exercised the British imagination – could be achieved.

2 Definitions

'Cum in omnibus enim rebus, tum maxime etiam in architectura haec due insunt, quod significatur et quod significat. Significatur proposita res, de qua dicitur; hanc autem significat demonstratio rationibus doctrinarum explicata'.

Vitruvius, *De Architectura*, I. i. 3.

(i) Portico: Meaning and Form

The types of building and parts of buildings to which the name portico has been applied historically appear to have varied considerably, and even modern architectural historians use the word to refer to different architectural forms. Thus, in order to clarify the meaning of the word, it will be valuable to examine briefly both architectural forms and the development of the uses of the term at different times and also to suggest an operational definition.

The word portico derives from the Latin 'porticus', meaning 'a walk covered by a roof supported on columns' comprising 'a colonnade, piazza, arcade, gallery, porch [and] portico'.¹ The last of these was equated with the Greek *στοα*, a free-standing structure used in the Ancient World exclusively by the Greeks as a monumental and essentially public building. 'In its simplest form such a portico consisted of a long back wall with a row of columns in front, and a roof and short end walls connecting them'.² The earliest known stoas dating from the seventh century B.C., characteristically had two aisles – that is, with a second row of columns mid-way between the front row and the wall. Where the second row was higher than the first the whole was covered by a sloping or shed roof.

1 See eds. C. T. Lewis and C. Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, (1966), s.v.

2 J. J. Coulton, *The Architectural Development of the Greek Stoa*, (1976), p.1.

Such structures were usually at least twice as long as they were deep and were almost always in, or closely associated with, sanctuaries; only later were they consciously used to articulate urban space.

Before the Greeks, any publicly social activity that did not come under the aegis of temple or palace presumably took place in the open, so that they can be credited not only with the development of secular public life but also with the devising of an architectural setting in which much of it could be conducted. Although stoas varied in form, they were both practical, letting in light and air, and, by their use of the colonnade, decorative. Such porticoes do not seem, however, to have been built for any one specific function but to have been put to numerous uses; as a shelter from sun and rain; a civic building for social and public meetings and for the posting of notices and decrees; a gallery for the exhibition of the spoils of war, works of art and public statuary; and a venue for public dining. Some had shops with access through the back wall, but commerce was rarely conducted in the open covered space itself. Others were used for teaching, as they were by the Stoics.

There is no evidence that porticoes, or any early Greek public buildings, were financed directly from taxes and the name of the donor – usually a wealthy private individual – was invariably inscribed prominently on the architrave. Porticoes – for there were sometimes several – were usually placed in central or prominent locations and therefore helped to give focus to the centre of a city. Such buildings became part of a city's capital assets and came to be regarded as essential amenities in any thriving city. Many of these aspects of form, siting, use and patronage were to characterize porticoes when they were revived from the Renaissance onwards.

Greater emphasis seems to have been placed on formalizing the structure and types of porticoes and on clarifying the position and treatment of the orders during the Classical and Hellenistic periods, as in the stoas on the Athenian agora. Some stoas dispensed with the back wall and had parallel rows of columns on both sides with a sloping roof rising from each row. Where the roofs met at the top a central ridge was formed, and on structures in which the ends were returned to produce projecting wings – such as the spectacular late third-century stoa at Lindos – triangular pediments were created on the façades of both projections, reflecting the logic of the roof lines.

Stoas reached their zenith between the late fifth and second centuries B.C., primarily in Athens, thereafter becoming no longer single discrete buildings but integrated with other buildings, forming peristylar courts and colonnaded streets.

The earliest known experiments with peripteral temples, such as those at Samos, predate the first stoas by about a hundred years and their rapid development during the sixth century contrasts noticeably with the comparative decline of the stoa in the same period.¹ In view of the chronology, and because there is a superficial resemblance – almost as much in structural function as in visual effect – between the columned façades of both building types, it has been suggested that the stoa resulted from the detachment of the lateral portico of a peripteral temple from its cella to become an independent type.² The balance of evidence is that this

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 21-5.

was not the case since, in view of the shallowness of the porticoes at the sides of such temples and the fact that they are integral to and extend for the full height of the whole building, it is hardly possible to consider them as stoas. 'Normally...στοα implies a more significant space than that between the colonnade and the cella of a temple'. It 'refers to a space of some sort and not simply to a row of columns...it may mean portico or gallery but not colonnade'.¹

It would appear, however, that the usage of the word stoa was somewhat flexible; stoas could be described as porticoes (as, indeed, they still are by archaeologists, as in the porticoes of the rebuilt Stoa of Attalos at Athens), but not all porticoes could be understood to be stoas. Also, stoas seem to have been differentiated from other building types less by their specific architectural form than by their location and use.²

The application of the term portico in relation to temples is further complicated by the description of the aisles of temples and also basilical churches, where such an arrangement was integral, as stoas, in a number of ancient writers, including Pausanias and Eusebios.³ The justification for referring here to such a space as a portico lies in the Romans having called it 'porticus', as does Vitruvius when describing the proportions of the Roman basilica, the successor to the Greek stoa as a multi-purpose public building.⁴

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

² *Ibid.*, p. 38 and *passim*.

³ *Ibid.*, p.3 and nn. 6, 7.

⁴ 'Columnae basilicarum tam altae, quam porticus latae fuerint, faciendae videntur; porticus, quam medium spatium futurum est, ex tertia finiatur'. Vitruvius, *De Architectura*, v, i. 5. (ed. Granger, I, 256).

There are further similarities between a number of temples and stoas – notably that the proportions of the long, narrow cellas of early Greek temples are strikingly similar to those of some stoas.¹ But for the present purposes it is the solution to the termination of both building types (where these employed parallel rows of columns with central ridge roofs) that is the most significant common feature. The triangular gable formed by sloping roofs and horizontal lintel is the logical and inevitable conjunction of architectural elements fulfilling their several functions – the lintel as structural tie and support for rising columns and the roofs as cover and protection from the weather. The latter were not only sloped but also extended over the outside columns (thereby producing eaves) to ensure that the rain ran both off the roofs and away from the columns.² With the development of the architectural orders, simple lintels became complex entablatures. As the *cymatium*, or top member of the cornice,³ and later the whole cornice itself, was made to run round the filled-in triangle, the gable became recognizable as a pediment, governed in dimensions and decoration according to both the columniation and order used, appropriate to the dedicatee. The pediment thus formed was meant to be read as an architectural, metaphorical and aesthetic feature in its own right.⁴ From at least the late sixth century B.C. the pediments of some Greek temples were adorned with statuary or ornament on their *acroteria*

1 Coulton, *op. cit.*, pp. 23ff.

2 'Posteaquam per hibernas tempestates tecta non potuerunt imbres sustinere, fastigia facientes, luto inducto proclinatis tectis, stillicidia deducebant'. Vitruvius II. i. 3. (I. 80). See also Pliny The Younger, *Epistolae*, IX, xxxix. 3-4 (ed. Radice, II 161).

3 Vitruvius III, v. 10-12. (I, 192-4).

4 *Idem*.

and the tympanum and friezes were decorated with reliefs or statuary.¹ Such features were not always entirely decorative, although they could be narrative or celebratory, such as the panathenaic friezes of the mid-fifth century on the Parthenon at Athens, or symbolic of the dedicatee. They could also act as protection to ward off possible sources of evil. Whereas the Greek temple was the first kind of building meant to be seen from the outside (where ceremonies took place, rather than inside) and from every direction,² it was nonetheless the configuration of pediment surmounting columns, and particularly that at the front, which came to distinguish and epitomize the temple form.

The colonnade which ran round the outside of Greek temples was called the *pteroma*, but the space between those columns at the sides of the temple and the outside of the cella wall also seems to have been known by the same name, that is, equivalent to the Latin *porticus*.³ But the Greek word for the porch or vestibule at the entrance to the cella inside the temple, *pronaos*, can also be translated as 'portico'.⁴ It would therefore appear that at some point the meaning of *porticus* was extended to include not just the side space between *pteroma* and cella wall but also the space immediately behind the colonnade at the front of the temple up to, and including the *pronaos*. A further extension seems to have occurred whereby, when viewed from the outside of the temple, the configuration of columns and pediment together, at one and the same time, constituted

¹ A.W.Lawrence, *Greek Architecture*, (1983), p.135. Vit. III, iii, 5 (I, 172).

² Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p.137. 'Pteromatos enim ratio et columnarum circum aedem dispositio ideo est inventa, ut aspectus propter asperitatem intercolumniorum habeat auctoritatem...' Vit. III, iii, 9 (I, 174).

³ Lawrence, *op. cit.*, pp. 15, 118. Coulton, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

⁴ '...duae columnae...quae disiungant pteromatos et pronai spatium'. Vit. IV, iv, 1 (I, 226).

the solid and comprehended the space known as the portico. Such a development may have been reinforced, through association, by the similarity between temples and the gabled termination of some stoas, otherwise known as porticoes.

At least two sets of buildings tend to confirm this; the first is the South Stoa at Olympia, dating from the mid-fourth century B.C., and the others are the Gymnasium and Bouleuterion at Miletus, of the second century B.C. In the former, apparently the earliest example of a portico indicating centrality and axis – though not necessarily an entrance – a hexastyle Doric portico projects from the centre of a two-aisled, open-ended stoa facing south,¹ whilst in the later examples tetrastyle Ionic and Corinthian porticoes indicating both centrality and entrances project from otherwise mainly Doric buildings.²

A number of Roman architectural forms can be recognized as deriving from those of the Greeks,³ especially their temples, but for the Romans the pediment seems to have exercised a particular fascination. Although it continued as an integral part of their own temples they also detached it, as it were, both physically and associationally as an architectural feature from its templar and primary religious sources – though not from its hierarchical context – and applied it to other buildings, secular and domestic, as a mark of distinction.⁴ A civilisation

¹ Coulton, *op. cit.*, p. 268, Figs. 21, 95, Pl. 3.

² *Ibid.*, Fig. 86; J. Onians, *Bearers of Meaning* (1988), Fig. 13.

³ One of the most famous Roman porticoes, that of Pompey, known as the *Hecatostylon*, resembled a stoa, and was described as such; ed. B. Perrin, *Plutarch's Lives* (1918), VI, xiv, 2.

⁴ Pediments and gables were also used on some Roman sarcophagi, especially those made of Proconnesian marble the use of which was itself a mark of social prestige. See J.B. Ward-Perkins, 'Nicomedia and the Marble Trade', *PBSR*, xlviii, (1980), 31-2, 44 and pls. xa, xlb.

which for a time deified its emperors seems to have found little discrepancy in transferring architectural features usually associated with the gods to the houses of men whose achievements made them appear god-like. The Latin word for pediment, '*fastigium*', connoted not only the highest and most important part of the summit of a gable in a physical sense but also – applied to the social scale – dignity, the highest degree or position and the most exalted rank. Cicero records that Julius Caesar, as a special dispensation from the Senate and as one of a number of marks of honour was permitted to erect a pediment on his house: '*Quem is honorem maiorem consecutus erat, quam ut haberet pulvinar, simulacrum, fastigium, flaminem?*'¹ Such a pediment would almost certainly have been placed, as were most honours and trophies, on the front elevation of the house, over the *porta*, the principal door or entrance, which was itself probably in the centre of the façade.

To summarize; stoas were often known as porticoes, but not all porticoes could be described as stoas, particularly in relation to the sides of temples. Where the terms were interchangeable, portico could also refer to the internal aisles of temples and basilical churches. Some stoas with ridge roofs like those of temples developed pediments and, although the pediment was more characteristic of temples, the similarity in these respects between temples and stoas may have led to the identification of the immediate space embraced by pediment and columns at the front of the temple as a portico. The Romans, whilst adopting Greek templar models, separated the pediment from its source and applied it to houses, conferring distinction upon or signifying the status of the occupant. In so

¹ Cicero, *Philippicae*, II, xliii, 110 (ed. Ker, p. 172).

doing they sometimes altered the scale of this feature and also divorced it from the architectural functions which logically had given it its form, but they retained its portentous meaning.

Porticoes therefore varied in size and shape, were usually wider than they were deep, could have straight entablatures without pediments, or be pedimented, and were located in prominent positions. A wide variety of civic and social activities took place in porticoes of the stoa form designed solely for those purposes; porticoes in temples formed part of the entrance through which visitors to the shrine passed, and no specific activities took place there.

Inherent in the meaning of portico, however, and deriving from its primary function, was that it should be a covered structure affording shelter and protection from the weather. Both Vitruvius and Pliny are unequivocal on this point.¹ The depth of porticoes in temples depended on the number of columns by which the front row and the pediment were advanced, which in turn depended on the size and type of temple,² but was required to be some sort of significant space created by at least one intercolumniation.

Following the revival of letters in the Renaissance, Vitruvius's use of 'porticus' became more widely known. Alberti, despite his determination not to be hidebound or overawed by ancient authority, nonetheless modelled his own treatise closely on that of the Roman

¹ See Pliny The Younger. *loc. cit.*; '...si ex imbrium aquae vis occupaverit et intercluserit hominum multitudinem, ut habeat in aede circaque cellam cum laxamento liberam moram'. Vitr. III, iii, 9 (I, 174).

² *Ibid.*, III, ii, 1-8 (I, 166-70).

architect and there seems to be no evidence that he or any other Renaissance theorist departed from Vitruvius's application of the word.¹

The first recorded use in English of the word 'portico' was in, or shortly before, 1605,² and throughout the seventeenth and most of the eighteenth centuries the word was applied to a variety of architectural forms which nonetheless had certain common features.

It is perhaps curious that the first published account in English of what was to prove one of the most influential buildings in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century British architecture, Palladio's Villa Almerico or Capra, known as the Villa Rotonda (Pl.4), in which the architect so successfully combined temple and villa, makes neither reference to Palladio by name nor, more surprisingly, mention of the word 'portico' in its description of such a structure. Thomas Coryate visited Vicenza in 1608; but not until 1611 did he publish his account in which he wrote:

...without the City, is the sumptuous Palace of the...Earl *Odoricus* Capra, which is a little mile distant from the City. It is built upon a prety eminent hillocke, and is round (in which respect it is called in the Italian *Rotonda*) having foure very beautifull fronts, which doe answere the foure parts of the world...

Every front hath sixe most stately great pillars, and two paire of staires to ascend to the same, each contayning eightene faire greeses³...⁴

¹ See *L'Architettura* (1550), v, ii, 1.35, p. 124; vii, v. 1.45, p. 211.

² *SOED*, (1978), s.v. No source is given, but in Ben Johnson's *Volpone* of 1605 occurs a reference to Sansovino's Loggia in Piazza San Marco, Venice as 'the Portico'; ii, ii, 11. 33-8. The word 'porticus' had long been in use in medieval Latin, but a more recent example of its use prior to 1605 occurs in Arend Van Buchell's copy after Johannes de Witt's sketch of the Swan Theatre, London, built in 1595, in which the uppermost gallery is described, as it was in the classical theatre, as the 'porticus'; see F.A.Yates, *Theatre of the World* (1969), Pl. 12 and pp. 97ff.

³ 'Greces', obs. for 'flight[s] of stairs or steps' - *SOED*, s.v.

⁴ T.Coryate, *Coryat's Crudities Hastily gobled up in five Moneth's travells...*, (1611), pp. 302, 303. This account, incidentally, along with references to Palladio's work in the second Italian journal of William Cecil, Viscount Cranborne, of 1610, predates Inigo Jones's 1613 annotations to his 1601 copy of Palladio's *I Quattro Libri dell'Architettura*, said to be - in H.Burns *et al.*, *Andrea*

Coryate was no architect, but later, in 1613, Jones, who was soon to become one, likewise admired in the same building what he called not porticoes but the 'Lodgis In all ye 4 faccias'.¹

Jones, nonetheless, did use the word 'portico', but apparently to mean different features. He observed of the Palazzo Trissino:

On the piazza over against ye Bassilica is the captaynes house and a great lodge...Thear a great Pallas begun by Scamozio but ye order wth in agreith not wth that without wch is an Ionicke Portico that within is Dorricke and lower.²

At the Palazzo Thiene his use of 'portico' seems to refer to the groin-vaulted vestibule supported on rusticated columns inside an arched entrance:

This invention in part is as in the temple or rather sepulcar fo. 89 whear the Entrata and portico are thus Joyned.³

The peristylar, almost Bramantesque, courtyard he described as a 'Courte with Porticoes'⁴. There is some evidence, however, that Jones thought of 'loggia' and 'portico' as interchangeable. In a note in his Palladio concerning the Queen's House (Pl.18), he speaks of 'ye portico tourds the parke'. Some years later, writing of Raphael's Logge at the Vatican, he

Palladio 1508-1580: The portico and the farmyard (exh. cat., 1975), p. 108, entry 204 - 'the earliest first hand account' of Palladio's work.

¹ Annotations to Palladio, *op. cit.*, ii, iii, 19. Jones here follows very closely Palladio's '...le loggie in tutte quattro le faccie...'

² *Ibid.*, i, 5th fly-leaf, v. It is probable that Jones here means the lateral, vaulted vestibule of the type which Alberti called 'porticus'; see H.Burns, 'A Drawing by L.B.Alberti', *Architectural Design*, xlix, 5-6 (1979), 46, Fig.1.

³ Annotations to Palladio, *op.cit.*, ii, iii, 12.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ii, iii, 8.

mentions that when the 'Lodgia (Porticus) was finished the work he [Polidoro da Caravaggio] did was nt inferiour to ye others'.¹

These applications of the term were to find echoes later in the century, but bearing in mind the templar origins of St. Paul's, Covent Garden of 1631, not only the first church but the first building in England to have this form, and recalling the superficial similarity to the 'Lodgis' of the Villa Capra, it is noteworthy that this church's projecting columned and pedimented structure was always known, as is demonstrated by the mason's account, as a 'portico'.²

The building from which Palladio partly drew his inspiration for the Villa Capra was the Pantheon and in his detailed description of the latter in his diary for April 1639 Nicholas Stone the Younger wrote:

Att the entrance itt hath a portico borne with eight pillers one the front (of the Corinthian order), being seauen distances deapth, three pillers and a pilloster being three distances, each piller in deiameter 4 foot 11 inches, the distance or intercollome 6 foot 1 inch, hauing within this a portico att the entrance of the doore, wch is in large 30 foot on each side, wch makes the lenght of the whole gallery or portico...³

As well as demonstrating an early interest by an English writer in proportion and accuracy of measurement, Stone correctly describes the portico as such, although he makes no reference to its being pedimented.

Despite its very different appearance, Jones's other major church structure, at the west end of old St. Paul's, was also described, in the many documents from 1663 onwards relating to the proposed repair of the

1 Bodleian MS Marshall 80, f.19^v, 8 Jan., 1643.

2 The account mentions, for example, steps 'goeing up into the portico'; quoted in *SOL*, xxxvi, (1970), 68.

3 W.L.Spiers, 'Diary of Nicholas Stone, Junior', *Walpole Soc.*, vii (1918-19), 177.

Cathedral before the Great Fire, as a 'portico'. Webb, Pratt, Denham and Wren all refer to it as such.¹

Pratt, writing in 1660, on the 'kinds of buildings, which are to be formed according to the usual estates of men of such condition' (that is, 'gentlemen, noblemen and princes') says of 'Country Houses for Noblemen' that the fronts of their houses are:

sometimes...part of them cloistered, or with porticoes, the arches whereof are sometimes supported by Doric pillars etc. only as it is at the old Exchange, Suffolk House, etc. and at other by gross pilasters, as at the Piazza Covent Garden, etc²

Later, Pratt continues:

...Serlio hath supplied what yett seemed to be wanting, in exactly shewing us how a Portico may be made in Arco, without either Pilaster, or Columne...From which Example, seemeth to be taken our Portico in Covent Garden.³

Describing the prerequisites for 'The House for the Prince' Pratt uses the same word in the same sentence to describe two different structures. In the middle of a courtyard he suggested 'at ye upper ende thereof a most noble Portico to be raised for an Entrance like to yt of ye Pantheon...', but that '...if not a Portico to go rownde about this Court for a generall shelter from the Weather, ye ascent whereof to bee by staires into ye front Portico'.⁴ In the first case, he clearly has in mind a temple-like structure; in the second, some form of peristyle.

¹ WS, xxxiii, (1936), 14 ff.

² Ed. R.T.Gunther, *The Architecture of Sir Roger Pratt*, (1928), p. 31. For the Royal Exchange see J.Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830*, (5th rev. edn., 1970), p. 186 and Fig. 141 where the arches carried on Doric columns are described as those to a 'loggia'.

³ Ed. Gunther, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 194.

A common element, therefore, in one definition of a portico was the notion of alternating spaces (either arched or with a lintel) and supports (single or clustered columns, or square-section piers, as at Covent Garden) repeated an indeterminate number of times, fronting a continuous covered walkway, and comprising the ground-storey of, and integral to, a building. Pratt's likening of such porticoes to cloisters (which resemble more closely stoas, since they project from a wall which invariably rises above their own roof-line) introduces a formal but only superficial similarity to earlier ecclesiastical architecture, and finds an echo in John Aubrey's comparison of about 1673 which draws together a number of elements:

At the Church of Great St Bartholomews neer Smythfield, the vaulting of the aisles are semicircular and true Roman Architecture just as the Voutare [?] in ye Portico of Covent Garden: the Pillars are great and strong, of a Tuscan order.¹

Aubrey's failure to distinguish between Romanesque building and antique Roman is less relevant here than his initial recognition of the similarity between the groin vaults used to cover both spaces and, by extension, between 'aisle' and 'portico'. This close identification from Antiquity was to be further reinforced in the *Abridgement of the Architecture of Vitruvius* of 1692 which, on the fine parts of square temples 'after the Tuscan Fashion', referred to '...the Portico's or Isles...The Portico's which made the Isles, were ranks of Pillars, sometimes single, sometimes double,

¹ Bodleian MS. Top. Gen. c. 25, f. 170.

which stood along the sides of the Temple on the outside'.¹ In his *Essay upon the Origin and Progress of Temples* of 1727 Zachary Pearce wrote:

At length we find, that Temples became covered entirely with Roofs, and closed at Top; and I believe, that then the Porticos, which were won't to be made within, were built on the Outside of the Temple, the Roof supplying the Conveniences which they formerly yielded on the Inside.²

Porticoes were therefore identified, as Aubrey's comparison suggested, with aisles, both internally and externally.

Even before Jones's scheme to transform Covent Garden into an antique forum, the area of the market there seems to have been associated, perhaps uniquely in England, since at least 1605, and like Jones's prototype at Livorno, with the word 'piazza'.³ In Italian, this means a market-place, public square or open space in front of a building, and this is now the sense in which it is used in English.⁴ But it will be recalled that 'piazza' also comprised the meaning of 'portico', and it would appear that one use of the Italian word in English referred not solely to the open space itself but to the arcade, colonnade or covered gallery surrounding the square⁵ 'and hence to a single colonnade in front of a building'.⁶ Gerbier, who

¹ *Op.cit.*, pp. 117-8. This was a translation of Claude Perrault's epitome of Vitruvius of 1691. Alberti had also spoken of 'portici che sono dalli lati del Tempio'; L.B.Alberti, *L'Architettura*, (1550), vii, v, 1.5, 211.

² Z.Pearce, *An Essay upon the Origin and Progress of Temples*, (1727), p. 33, appended to *A Sermon Preached at the New Parish Church of St. Martin in the Fields, Westminster, October 20, 1726*.

³ *SOED*, s.v. Evelyn made the comparison in 1644; '...In Ligorne...the Piazz[a], with the Church...gave the first hint to the building both of the Church & Piazza in Covent-Garden', ed. E.S.de Beer, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, (1959), p. 104.

⁴ Ed. B.Reynolds, *The Concise Cambridge Italian Dictionary*, (1975), s.v. This is also the sense in which Jones used the word in relation to the Basilica at Vicenza.

⁵ William Salmon described piazza as 'an *Italian* name for a Portico, it signifies a broad open Place or Square, whence it became applied to Walks or Porticos of Pillars around them, like those of *Covent Garden*, the *Royal Exchange*, &c...'. W.Salmon, *Palladio Londinensis* (2nd edn., 1738), s.v.

⁶ *SOED*, s.v. This use of piazza is given as 'erroneous'.

may equally have had in mind Brunelleschi's Ospedale degli Innocenti of 1419-26, or the Place des Vosges (Place Royale), begun in 1605,¹ made an early distinction in 1663, when he observed that 'the undermost part of a Front (as many Palaces in Padua and other Cities in Italy) is left open, as the Gallery in the Bedford Piatza'.² Speaking of 'Buildings [of] peculiar kinds', Richard Neve included in 1703 'what we call *Porticoes, Piazza's* or *Cloysters*, (by which we understand a long kind of *Galleries*, or Walking-places, whose Roof is born, or supported by Columns, or Pillars, at least at one side.)'.³ Reference to the colonnades at Covent Garden (Pl.22) as piazzas is clearly confirmed in the early eighteenth century by such descriptions as 'a Puppet-Show set forth by one *Powell* under the *Piazzas*', and 'The Opera at the *Hay-Market*, and that under the little *Piazza* in *Covent-Garden*, being at present the two leading Diversions of the Town'.⁴ The equation of 'piazza' with 'portico' is explicit in John Donowell's view of Carfax and St. Aldate's in Oxford of 1755 (Pl.125) where the colonnade opposite the old Town Hall is described as 'the Piazza called the Butter Market'.⁵ This accords exactly with Dr. Johnson's definition, published in the same year, of a portico as 'A covered walk; a piazza'.⁶ Some twenty

¹ The piers here owe more to Serlio, or even Bramante, and the colonnade is described as 'an arcaded cloister' in A.Blunt, *Art and Architecture in France 1500-1700*, (2nd rev. edn. 1973), p. 163.

² B. Gerbier, *Counsel and Advise to all Builders* (1663), p. 34.

³ R.Neve, *The City and Country Purchaser, and Builder's Dictionary* (1703), pp.13-14. Neve's was the first proper dictionary in English of architectural terms.

⁴ *The Spectator*, No.14, Friday, 16 Mar., 1711.

⁵ Bodleian Gough Maps 27, No. 31.

⁶ S.Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language* 2 vols. (1755), s.v. A 'piazza' he defined as 'A walk under a roof supported by pillars', as in 'He stood under the piazza'. Thomas Sheridan's *Dictionary* of 1780 gave precisely the same definitions and these reappeared unaltered in the third and subsequent editions after 1790.'The Vulgar application of the word Piazza is so obviously incorrect, that it is perhaps scarcely necessary to say, that an open space is here intended, similar to what, with almost equal impropriety, is called a square'; S.Smirke, *Suggestions for the Architectural Improvement of the Western Part of London* (1834), p. 49,

years later appeared what seems to be the earliest published definition to distinguish between 'portico' as an arcaded walk and 'piazza' as an open space. In *The Builders Magazine* of 1774 we read 'The Portico is a piazza encompassed with arches raised upon columns, and covered over head in any manner' (although it adds that a portico 'is usually vaulted, but it has sometimes a soffit, or ceiling'), but allows that 'The word seems to refer to the gate or entrance of some place, porta in Latin signifying a gate; but it is appropriated to a disposition of columns, forming this kind of gallery, and has no relation to the openings'.¹ Such a distinction seems to have taken some time to pass into common usage, for in 1776 William Stukeley described Chatsworth as having 'a court in the middle, with a piazza of Doric columns of one stone each overlaid with prodigious architraves'.² A similar sense is conveyed by his description of the Oxford colleges, with 'their chapels, halls, libraries, quadrangles [and] piazzas'³ but, in addition, Stukeley's reference to St. John's College (Pl.25), which 'has two handsome quadrangles, the portico's built by archbishop Laud'⁴ and his admiration of the Clarendon Building (Pl.69) 'with a bold portico',⁵ demonstrate effectively the whole range of architectural forms to which the word 'portico', together with its wider connotations, could refer.

There are unusual instances in the use of the word – Gerbier, for example, in his 1662 description of the York House Watergate, speaks of

note. See also W.Bardwell, *Temples, Ancient and Modern; Or, Notes on Church Architecture* (1837), p.x and note.

1 *The Builders Magazine...* (1774-78), p. 269.

2 W.Stukeley, *Itinerarium Curiosum* (1776), p. 55.

3 *Ibid.* p. 46.

4 *Ibid.* p. 45.

5 *Idem.*

'the Portico or Water-Gate at the River side'¹ – as well as revivals of terminology reflecting the rediscovery of ancient architecture, such as the description by Stuart and Revett of what is 'commonly supposed to be the remains of the Temple of Jupiter Olympus' as 'A Stoa or Portico'.² Although John James's understanding of a particular use of 'portico' in relation to gardens includes several characteristic elements, he clearly had a different structure, location and function in mind when he spoke in 1712 of 'Porticos, Arbors, and Cabinets of (Treillage) Lattice-work, in Gardens' and defines a portico as made

...of Lattice-work...being the entrance in front of a Summer-House, Salon, or Arbor of Lattice-work, and...generally adorn'd with a handsome Cornice and Frontispiece, supported by Pilasters or Peers; or else it is a long Decoration of Architecture placed against a Wall, or at the Entrance of a Wood, where the Advances and Returns are but considerable... commonly made use of to terminate a Garden in the City, and to shut out the Sight of Walls, and other disagreeable Objects.³

The word 'portico' can be seen, therefore, to have been applied to a variety of architectural forms, some of which are no longer called by that name, but of which one in particular – the entrance-portico clearly derived from ancient temples – was always known as a portico, and it is this templar form in British architecture with which this study is concerned. To whatever other architectural feature the name has been applied in the past, there is a consistent tradition of describing such structures as porticoes; reference has already been made to the earliest description of that at St. Paul's Church, Covent Garden, but further examples are to be

¹ B. Gerbier, *A Brief Discourse Concerning the Three Chief Principles of Magnificent Building* (1662), p. 28.

² J. Stuart and N. Revett *Proposal* (1755) and *Antiquities of Athens*, i (1762), 44-52. See also D. Weibenson, *Sources of Greek Revival Architecture* (1969), p. 12, n. 47 and p. 16 n. 61.

³ J. James, *The Theory and Practice of Gardening* (1712), pp. 70-72. For such a structure see CL (4 Aug., 1966), p. 263, Fig. 10.

found, notably in contemporary accounts of those at The Vyne of 1654-6 (Pl.33), Rougham Hall of 1692-4, Blenheim of 1708 (Pl.55) and, where 'the temple idea was pretty forcibly implanted'¹, at Wanstead of 1714-20.² A succinct definition of 'portico' which traces the historical understanding of the development of the feature, throws light on what it was believed to be towards the end of the period of this study and, at the same time, reflects the balance of treatment which will emerge from the present work, was given by Gwilt in 1839. It is, he wrote,

A place wherein persons may walk under shelter, sometimes raised with arches in the manner of a gallery. The portico is occasionally vaulted, but has frequently a flat soffit or ceiling. This word is also used to denote the projection before a church or temple, supported by columns.³

In view of the prerequisite which has emerged from an examination of ancient structures as well as more recent ones which took these as models (that a portico, whether projecting or recessed, should enclose some significant space), it remains to comment upon a contemporary tendency to describe buildings with engaged columns and pediments as having applied or flattened porticoes, or even porticoes proper.⁴ It could be argued that a column – by definition, free-standing – continues to be known as such (rather than as a pilaster) even when the

¹ Summerson, *op. cit.*, p. 322.

² Campbell often omits the word 'portico', referring simply to the number of columns, as in his second Wanstead design: '...a just Hexastyle'; though he also speaks of '...double Stairs,...which land in the Portico...'. C.Campbell, *VB.*, i, (1715), 4.

³ J.Gwilt, *Rudiments of Architecture* (1839), pp. 212-3. Cf. Salmon, *op.cit.*, s.v. For more detailed definitions of slightly later date see J.H.Parker, *A Concise Glossary of Architectural Terms* (1846), pp. 213, 277.

⁴ Examples include '...having a portico (pilasterwise or in the round)...'; '...the portico...flattened against the house' (Nostell Priory) - J.Summerson, 'The Classical Country House in 18th Century England', *JRSA*, cvii, 5036,(1959), 551, 555. Newby Park 'is a true, compact villa with the accepted window-pattern and temple portico...' - L.Boynton, 'Newby Park, the First Palladian Villa in England', in eds. H.M.Colvin and J.Harris, *The Country Seat* (1970), p. 99.

degree of engagement is as much as half the column's diameter, and that there can be little objection, therefore, to considering porticoes as being similarly 'engaged'. But the integration and surrendering of up to half of a column that is engaged can hardly be considered comparable to the loss by a portico of that significant space which is inseparable from its function of providing some sort of shelter, however closely these applied elements may resemble a portico when viewed directly at a distance and only on a central axis. It is proposed, therefore, to refer to such applied elements in this study as constituting a 'temple-front' rather as an engaged version of a portico proper, and to consider it as a metaphor for a portico rather than as an actual portico.

(ii) Portico: Form and Meaning

In order to be most effective, in terms of scale, style, and decoration, a building, particularly in the classical style, depended upon a number of congruences. One was that between a patron's status and an architect's realizing its visual equivalent. There may or may not have been, of course, a correspondence between a patron's status, real or pretended, and his capacity to pay for such an equivalent. A second congruence was that between what a building expressed about its patron or owner and the ability of a viewer to read the meaning of the building in order to understand what was being expressed and, if possible, to appreciate the means by which this had been accomplished. Patron, architect and viewer all selected themselves; the patron by virtue of his status and wealth; the architect by his potential or proven capacity for expressiveness; and the viewer by his having been of at least comparable education and social status to the owner.

A patron might or might not have communicated orally to the architect his wishes as to what the building should be like. In either event, especially in the case of a private house, he would probably have allowed people from a wide social spectrum access to a park or even the immediate vicinity of a house. However, he would only have permitted those of some social standing to enter his house by a portico, since he would have been expected to be most particular about whom it was proper for him to impress and welcome, 'to display opulence, dispense bounty, and offer hospitality'.¹

What patrons, viewers and, above all, architects needed to possess was a knowledge and understanding of the language of classical architecture. As with any language, its vocabulary as well as its currency, had to be mutually recognized. They needed to know the meanings that particular building types and architectural forms and elements had borne since Antiquity; how these had been employed in specific antique buildings which were universally recognized and accepted as famous for either their artistic merits or historical associations – or both; and with what effect they had been variously interpreted and utilized in the meantime, especially recently, as part of the development of style. All would have acquired some knowledge of such matters through their classical education.

From the late sixteenth century onwards Italian architectural treatises began appearing in private libraries to be joined, over the next two and a half centuries, by others together with engravings of recently

¹ L. and J.C.F.Stone, *An Open Elite? England 1540-1880* (1984), p.300.

discovered and newly created buildings from France, Holland, Germany, Britain and elsewhere. Only from the early seventeenth century were antique or more recent buildings considered appropriate as models for contemporary architecture in Great Britain.

At about the same time the sons of noblemen and gentry began travelling in Europe on the Grand Tour which, until the late eighteenth century when it was largely superseded by Greece, had Rome, the fountain-head of Antiquity, as its ultimate goal. They had a growing body of travel literature as well as a *cicerone* to guide their looking and behaviour. Ostensibly undertaken to extend a young man's education – initially, not for personal gratification but, in order to be of better service to his prince and country on his return¹ – the Grand Tour eventually became largely something that it was merely *de rigueur* to have done. As often as not, it became conventional, predictable and speedy. Fresh observation was discouraged, and conditioned, stereotypical thinking was more often the norm. Only those determined and able to establish more than a passing acquaintance with Italian art and manners were likely to transmit a true impression of them to this country.

One consequence of travel was that it intensified the ambivalence that most Britons felt towards foreign countries and peoples. While abroad and on their return, they had their sense of superiority and exclusivity but also their insularity, their xenophobia, their conviction

¹ T.Williams, *The Historie of Italie* (1549), the Dedication. See also the Dedications, to Prince Henry, of T.Palmer, *An Essay on the Meanes how to make our Travailes, into forraine Countries, the more profitable and honourable* (1606), and Coryate, *op. cit.*

that the English were a chosen race, confirmed.¹ Whereas a greater understanding of the customs, manners and morals of contemporary Europeans might have given an advantage to those who were to become politicians, generals or merchants in their dealings at a national or international level, few Britons believed that foreigners had much, if anything, to teach them. Descendants of the ancient Romans the Italians might have been, but they were certainly not considered their cultural heirs. Morally and ideologically, that role was rightfully reserved for, and the torch of civilization passed to, Britain.² It was the art of their noble predecessors that they admired and with which they identified. They wished to possess it (unlike the French who, until Napoleon, were content to draw it) both by taking home sculpture and portable works of art, such as paintings, drawings and prints, or by recreating it in the form of architecture when they got back.

Art and architecture were by no means the only things tourists went to see, and clear evidence that travel directly influenced patrons' building activities at home is, with a few exceptions, elusive. But a further consequence of travel was that it enabled like-minded young men of similar backgrounds and similarly engaged to meet, renew old friendships – usually those made at school – as well as make new ones and to form and cement loyalties which would stand them in good stead, socially and politically, for the rest of their lives. Their common experience and,

¹ Palmer, *loc. cit.* and p. 43.; C.deSaussure, in ed. M.Van Muyden, *A Foreign View of England in the Reigns of George I, and George II* (1902), Letter viii (7 Feb., 1727), pp. 177, 178. A.Rouquet, *The Present State of the Arts in England* (n.d., c.1750), p. 101. G.Baretti, *Journey from London to Genoa*, ii (1770), 3, 4.

² J.Richardson, *An Essay on the Theory of Painting* (1715), pp. 209-10. J.Beattie, *Essays* (1776). No. iv, 'Remarks On the Utility of Classical Learning', pp. 728-9. On the notion of the passing on of the torch of civilization, see J.Gwynn, *An Essay on Design* (1749), p. 48.

especially in tourism's early days, the *cachet* they shared through having been in Italy not only moulded their taste but sometimes led to similar preferences in their choice of style and even architect as they sought to emulate and rival each other in their building projects.

What being in Rome did, above all, was to enable the educated visitor to experience, at first hand, the scale, monumentality, grandeur and magnificence of ancient Roman architecture; to allow his or her imagination to work on its ruins, in which could be seen a tangible proof, the still living part of the city's ancient glory. He could supply mentally what was lost and, perhaps, reflect on the nature and fate of empires and the transitoriness of glory.¹ It also enabled him to stand on the very spots where the greatest Romans, about whom he had read at school or studied at university, had thought and acted and conducted their lives.² Such potent associations could be powerful incentives to building in the classical style when he returned home or to enhancing his appreciation as a viewer of such architecture in his own country.

At the beginning of our period it was exceptional for prospective architects to study in Italy. Inigo Jones was the first to do so but few, if any, did (Wren visited only France) before Thomas Archer and James Gibbs in the early eighteenth century. On his second visit in 1719, Lord Burlington was the first important amateur to go for the specific purpose of studying architecture. From then on architects travelled increasingly to Rome as

¹ See Sir Thomas Hoby's 1549 account, 'The Travels and Life of Sir Thomas Hoby...', *Camden Miscellany*, x, 3rd ser., iv (1902), 25ff. and Williams, *op. cit.*, ff.22-32. G.Burnet, *Some Letters...In the Years 1685 and 1686* (2nd edn., 1687), pp. 239, 240. ed. J.M.Osborn, *Joseph Spence: Observations, Anecdotes...* (1966), ii, 508.

² Ed. S.Klima, *Joseph Spence: Letters from the Grand Tour* (1975), p. 115. A.Garrett, *Travels in My Homeland* (1846; 1987 edn.), p.144.

much to seek patrons – for that is where many of the British nobility were to be found – as to study at the fountain-head. Only after about 1750 did they travel further than Rome in significant numbers, to southern Italy, Sicily¹, Greece and beyond, where their discoveries, to which they brought both archaeological rigour and romantic imagination, provided them with new, more primitive sources to stimulate their own architecture, which in turn increased their patrons' options. The era that Burlington initiated ended in the closing years of the century when J.M.Gandy and C.H.Tatham fled before the invading French. By then, no leading English architect – with the exception of Henry Holland – had not studied in Italy. Immediately following Waterloo, after a hiatus of almost twenty years, architects of a new generation flocked to Italy and looked at it with fresh eyes. Taylor and Cressy's *Antiquities of Rome* of 1821-2 extended that same archaeological rigour to the architecture of Rome as had been applied to that of Greece sixty years earlier by Stuart and Revett and provided the most comprehensive treatment of it since Desgodetz².

The most formative influences on the lives of patrons, architects and spectators came from their classical education. Not all were classical scholars³ (although, in the eighteenth century, of all the poets Charles James Fox knew at Eton, only one wrote in English); but the whole classical world, instilled through education, was seen as an omnipresent backdrop, from which exemplars of conduct could be drawn and against

¹ Bishop Berkeley had 'discovered' Paestum in 1717, as had John Breval, after 1723, who published the Temple of Agrigento in 1738.

² F.Salmon, "'Storming the Campo Vaccino': British Architects and the Antique Buildings of Rome after Waterloo; *AH*, xxxviii (1995), 146-75.

³ A boy should be able to account 'for what he says, either from the reason of the thing, or by quoting a rule of art, or a classical authority'; Beattie, *op. cit.*, p.725.

which achievements could be measured.¹ Between them, the classical authors had covered virtually every eventuality of human experience and had established ethical and moral absolutes by which the virtuous man could live and die. No conflict was felt between subscription to classical precepts and adherence to Christian faith. God was acknowledged as the great architect; not only had He commanded Noah to build the Ark and David to build the Temple of Solomon at Jerusalem but He had told them how to build, and these commandments were enshrined in Holy Writ. The architectural orders had sprung from this beginning; they predated paganism and were God-given; their authority was longer-standing and, above all, divine. Although it was the pagans who had perfected the orders, just as they had their ethics, before Christ's coming and so without grace of the true faith, God was felt to have overseen these, but unacknowledged.² The conversion of the Roman Empire to Christianity under Constantine not only constituted such an acknowledgement but was interpreted as God's sanctioning the idea of empire as the means to establishing His universal rule.³ By extension Britain, as sole rightful heir to Rome, enjoyed God's blessing upon her own growing empire and so had a God-given duty to complete Constantine's task by civilizing and Christianizing the world. As proof of this, not only was Constantine's mother British, and therefore stood in a similar relation to the emperor as had the Virgin Mary to Christ as the bringer forth of a saviour and redeemer, but God had consistently given unequivocal signs of His

¹ See *The British Plutarch* (1776 edn.), Introduction.

² E.Young, *Conjectures on Original Composition* (1759), pp. 27, 37.

³ To the age of Augustus 'belonged the supreme honour of witnessing the birth of Christ. By consenting to be born into a world ruled by Roman law under the greatest of the Caesars, Christ had consecrated the Roman world order and the Roman justice'; F.A.Yates, *Astræa* (1977 edn.), p.4.

continuing favour to Britain and, most important of all, had bestowed on her the stewardship of His only true Church. The Church of England, the direct and uncontaminated descendant of the ancient British Church, co-equal partner with an anointed and, later, also constitutional monarch in the exercise of spiritual and temporal power, was to be instrumental in completing what was not only Constantine's, and Britain's, but God's task. No nation on earth had received, or could receive, a higher calling. As progenitor of the world's salvation, such a nation required wisdom, righteousness and strength; its conduct needed to be above censure or reproach. James I, and Solomon to whom he was compared, had written, as had Plato, that Justice was the greatest virtue. Where better to seek ideals and exemplars but in the writings of Antiquity?¹ The classical world was seen, then, not as an alternative to or substitute for Christianity, but as having been 'divinely wise', as Jerome put it, or Sibylline, and therefore complementary to it, and an integral part of history.²

Some account has already been given of where the ideals, exemplars and qualities of character were to be found and how they could be acquired which would enable Britons, individually and collectively, to fulfil their extraordinary role. But what exactly were these qualities, and where, specifically, were they to be found? More importantly, for our present purposes, how did they relate not just to the expressive potential of the classical style in general in Britain, but to the portico in particular? Much of the answer lies in Aristotle's definition of Virtue, the highest moral attribute, with which both Reason and Beauty were equated. Magnificence

¹ G.England, *An Enquiry into the Morals of the Ancients* (1735), p.6.

² Yates, *op. cit.*, p.4, n.2. P.J.Korshin, *Typologies in England, 1650-1820* (1982), p.108.

was one of the characteristics of the virtuous man, and the virtuous man would know how to build with propriety. Cicero also had much to say about propriety in architecture and many of his ideas were incorporated by Vitruvius in his own definition of decorum.

Aristotle wrote that it is 'characteristic of the magnificent man to furnish his house in a manner suitable to his wealth, since a fine house is a kind of distinction'.¹ But wealth is not the sole criterion; the scale of expenditure depends on the position and resources of the builder but should be proportionate to means and motivated, as is characteristic of all the virtues, by nobility of action. Although 'the high-born and famous and the like', by virtue of 'birth, fame and so on all have an element of greatness and distinction',² it is nevertheless 'in the amount and manner of his expenditure that the element "great" in the magnificent or "greatly splendid" man, that is to say his greatness, is shown'.³ Of achievements, 'the most honoured is one that is great and noble' arousing 'the admiration of the spectator', for '*the quality of admiration belongs to magnificence*'.⁴ The proper object of 'expenditure of any kind [is] to produce a magnificent result'.⁵ To Aristotle 'only the good man ought to be honoured, although he that has both virtue and fortune is esteemed still more worthy of honour...true worth and greatness of soul cannot exist without complete virtue [and] moral nobility'.⁶

¹ Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, IV, ii, 16. (ed. Rackham, p. 211).

² *Ibid.*, IV, ii, 14. (p. 209).

³ *Ibid.*, IV, ii, 10. (p. 207).

⁴ *Ibid.*, IV, ii, 10. (p. 207, 209); my italics.

⁵ *Ibid.*, IV, ii, 19. (p. 211).

⁶ *Ibid.*, IV, iii, 20, 16. (p. 221, 219).

Equally, vulgarity consists, says Aristotle, not in 'spending too great an amount on proper objects, but [in] making a great display on the wrong occasions and in the wrong way'¹...the vulgar man, exceeds...by spending beyond what is right. He spends a great deal and makes a tasteless display' which he does 'not from a noble motive but to show off his wealth, and with the idea that this sort of thing makes people admire him'.² He tries to 'imitate the great-souled man without being really like him', copying only him 'but not his virtuous conduct'.³

The distinction between the right and wrong use of the architectural tradition was echoed by Cicero who recommended, in the house appropriate to 'a man of rank and station' that 'careful attention should be paid to its convenience and distinction',⁴ but that care must be taken 'not to go beyond proper bounds in expense and display, especially if one is building for oneself...For many people imitate zealously the foibles of the great, particularly in [building]: for example, who copies the virtues of Lucius Lucullus, excellent man that he was? But how many are there who have copied the magnificence of his villas!⁵ ... The truth is, a man's dignity may be enhanced by the house he lives in, but not wholly secured by it; the owner should bring honour to his house, not the house to its owner'.⁶ It will be recalled that it was Cicero who recorded the privilege and distinction conferred on Julius Caesar by the Senate in allowing him to

1 *Ibid.*, IV, ii, 4. (p. 205).

2 *Ibid.*, IV, ii, 20. (p. 213).

3 *Ibid.*, IV, iii, 21. (p. 221).

4 Cicero, *De Officiis*, I, xxxix, 138. (ed. Miller, p. 141).

5 *Ibid.*, I, xxxix, 140. (p. 143).

6 *Ibid.*, I, xxxix, 139. (p. 142-3).

place a *fastigium* over the entrance to his house. The same writer, admiring the portico of the Capitol, extended the notion of architectural propriety by observing that 'even if one were erecting a citadel in heaven...it would be thought certain to be entirely lacking in dignity without a pediment'.¹

Aristotelian precepts of Virtue echo down the centuries. 'Vertue', wrote George Sandys in 1615, 'being in a private person an exemplary ornament; advanceth itselfe in a Prince to a publike blessing. And as the Sunne to the world, so bringeth it both light and life to a kingdome: a light of direction, by glorious example; and a life of ioy, through a gracious government'.² Within our period, Thomas Sprat wrote in 1667 that 'It is said of the *Moral Virtues* that they have such a mutual dependence, that no man can attain to perfection in any one of them, without some degree of the other',³ and Jean Gailhard in 1678 that 'all privileged men, whether with nobleness of Birth, fulness of Riches, or greatness of Parts and Vertue, are equally bound in their station to act according to the measure of their power. They who are in elevations', he continued, 'ought to avoid making idols or ciphers of themselves; as if they were thus placed only for their own sake, or for a show to others', but

the higher they are the nearer they are to God; and all the more lively images of him, whose influences are more immediately derived on them; not there to rest, but to be imparted to those of an orb inferior to theirs...a man of quality, is useless to those, who, because he is above them, have their eyes fixed upon him, and gives them neither good Precepts, Advises, nor Examples...*he who is noble, and doth not act his part, is but a vain shadow*...Vertue makes a difference between them; Indeed, Birth, Places,

¹ Cicero *De Oratore*, III, xlvi, 180. (ed. Rackham, p. 211).

² G.Sandys, *A Relation of a Journey begun An:Dom:1610* (1615), the Dedication to Prince Charles.

³ T.Sprat, *The History of the Royal-Society of London* (1667), p.399.

and Authority, in whatsoever subject they be found, ought to be respected,
but *Vertue alone makes them to be esteemed*.¹

Shaftesbury's *Inquiry Concerning Virtue, and Merit* of 1699² and Francis Hutcheson's *Enquiry into the Original of Our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue* of 1725 re-emphasized Virtue as a philosophical and moral absolute. Whilst both stressed the importance of Order and Reason, Hutcheson, as the title of his book suggests, equated Virtue with Beauty. Robert Morris also spoke of 'Beauties founded upon Reason' and believed that 'where Constraint, founded upon Reason, is the chief End of the Intention, Beauty itself is a natural united Connection dependant thereon'. He hoped 'to see all Men in general become Practitioners of Virtue' as well 'as Practitioners of antient Architecture, or the Rules of sound Building'.³ Pope took up Aristotle's thoughts on building – precipitated by the architectural profligacy at Cannons of the Duke of Chandos, whom he identified as Timon – in his *Epistle to...Burlington* of 1731.⁴ To David Hume, writing in 1751, 'Virtue is nothing but conformity to Reason'.⁵

In less rarified circles, Mrs Montagu reflected upon the fate of valour, virtue, and 'that daring spirit of ambition and supernatural force of heroism that once animated the world' in Antiquity and was pleased to be pointed 'to our nation to find what was left of it'.⁶ At Stowe, she walked 'amidst heroes and deities, powers and persons whom we have

¹ J.Gailhard, *A Treatise Concerning the Education of Youth* (1678), 'To the Reader'; my italics.

² In *Characteristicks of Men, Manners, Opinions, and Times*, ii (1733), 296ff. *Gent's Mag.*, ix (1739), 117-18, 176-77.

³ R.Morris, *An Essay In Defence of Ancient Architecture* (1728), pp. 88, 76-7, 108.

⁴ See M.Leranbaum, *Alexander Pope's 'Opus Magnum' 1729-1744* (1977), pp. 107-30.

⁵ D.Hume, *An Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals* (1751), in *Essays and Treatises...*, ii, (1777), 70-1.

⁶ Ed. M.Montagu, *The Letters of Mrs Elizabeth Montagu*, i, (3rd edn., 1810), 215-16.

been taught to honour; who have embellished the arts, or instructed it in science; defended their country and improved it'. The temples that pleased her most, 'for the design to which they were consecrated, were those to Ancient Virtue, to Friendship (Pl.107), to the Worthies and to Liberty'.¹ Having read Mr. Lyttelton's *Observations on Cicero* she thought that the buildings 'being dedicated to patriots, heroes, law-givers, and poets, and men of Ingenuity and Invention... receive a dignity from the persons to whom they were consecrated'.² As was customary she referred to prominent contemporaries by the names of classical figures whom they were believed to have emulated, as did Johann Zimmermann:

Was the Earl of Chatham inferior in greatness to a Roman? And...his Son, who...thunders forth his eloquence in the Senate like Demosthenes, and captivates like Pericles the hearts of all who hear him...is now...dreaded abroad, and beloved at home...What men have been, *man* may always be. Europe now produces characters as great as ever.³

The same writer exhorted the young to

study the illustrious characters of the ancient Greeks, the Romans, and the modern English. In what nation will you find more celebrated instances of human greatness? What people possess more valour, courage, firmness and knowledge? Where do the arts and sciences shine with greater splendor, or with more useful effect?...imitate the great examples of heroic virtue which that nation so frequently affords. It is an ardent love of liberty, undaunted courage, deep penetration, elevated sentiment, and well cultivated understanding, that constitute the British character...it is *virtue* alone...that can ennoble or adorn the human character.⁴

As a rider to such an encomium by a foreigner, Rouquet noted that 'The English have still kept up the distinction of rank and family; this is the first, as it ought in reason to be; the second is that of wealth; and any other

1 *Ibid.*, 303.

2 *Ibid.*, 302-3.

3 J.G.Zimmerman, *Solitude...* (4th edn., 1804), p. 49.

4 *Ibid.*, pp. 8-10.

is hardly perceptible. Every Englishman', he continues, 'constantly holds a pair of scales, wherein he exactly weighs the birth, rank and especially the fortune of those he is in company with, in order to regulate his behaviour and discourse accordingly'.¹

By extension, perceptive viewers could equate an owner's house with his status and character. Daniel Defoe thought of Hamilton Palace, with its fine temple-front, that 'everything is exquisitely fine and suitable to the genius of the great possessors'; of Dalkeith that it was 'a magnificent building...answerable to the grandeur of the family'; and of Dupplin that it was 'adorned at several times, according to the genius...of the persons, who then liv'd there'.² Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, wrote of Southampton (Bedford) House that 'He that built it (my Lord Southampton) has a great character, and I think that house represented one part of it very well'.³

If Vitruvius's three prerequisites for architecture – strength, utility, grace,⁴ – reflected the order of his priorities in an individual building, or, were each intended to characterize successively the entire nature of different types of building according to their use then, by tracing their quotation in the writings of virtually every architect and theorist from Jones to Soane, a shift of order and, therefore, of emphasis can be detected, beginning with North and Vanbrugh, such that 'Beauty', 'Grandeur',

¹ Rouquet, *op. cit.*, p.17.

² D.Defoe, *Tour...*, iii (Everyman edn., 1974), 339, 360, 424.

³ Ed. G.S.Thomson, *Letters of a Grandmother* (1943), p. 71. Houses were sometimes considered too grand for their owners, as Dr. Johnson thought of Hawkestone Hall.

⁴ 'Haec autem ita fieri debent, ut habeatur ratio firmitatis, utilitatis, venustatis'. Vitr., I, iii, 2 (I, 34).

'Stateliness' and 'Magnificence' increasingly became the first consideration. From the time of Wotton and then Evelyn and Pratt onwards the most frequently recurring epithet applied to porticoes was 'noble'.¹ At a time when Britain sought to arrogate the imperial mantle of ancient Rome, and 'during a period in which "nobility" was very much in the air, it would be hardly surprising to find the most noble and magnificent of architectural features, the portico, being considered highly expressive of that distinction and nobility to which so many aspired'.²

There were those who jibbed at the opposing constraints of having to conform to taste, and incurring expense. Lord Lyttelton, for example, who wanted a portico but was unable even to settle for a small temple-front, or what he referred to as a 'sham portico' at Hagley, murmured that 'it is an unalterable Decree of the Fates that Grandeur and Comfortableness must not dwell together' but that he and his wife 'as well as the rest of the world must submit to the Laws of the Goddess *Taste* who is now *the Great Diana* of England'.³ Few would have disagreed with Vanbrugh when he wrote of the portico in 1711 that 'No production in Architecture [is] so solemnly Magnificent'.⁴ Shaftesbury's call soon afterwards for a 'national Taste' in his *Letter Concerning...Design* of 1712 was to remain a constant goal and was to have a lasting response from those architects who were to be successful. At the Restoration, Evelyn expressed the hope that Charles II would promote 'noble buildings...and

¹ See L. and J.C.F.Stone, *op. cit.*, pp.299ff.

² R.Riddell, "'To Introduce the *Temple Beauties*": Approaching Palladian Porticoes', in ed. C.Hind, *Papers Given at the Georgian Group Symposium, 1988* (1990), p.81.

³ Quoted in M.McCarthy, 'The Building of Hagley Hall, Worcestershire', *Burl. Mag.*, cxviii, 877 (1976), 222.

⁴ Bodleian MS. Rawl. B 376, f.351^v; quoted in K.Downes, *Vanbrugh* (1977), p. 257.

all Royal Magnificences'.¹ Fifty years later, with the shift of influence in architecture from the court to the landed élite, Shaftesbury placed his hopes for a patriotic style in both 'publick Structures' and those 'rais'd by Private Men [which] are of such Grandure and Magnificence, as to become National Ornaments'.² In yet another fifty years Gwynn was able to write that 'Publick magnificence may be considered as a political and moral advantage to every nation'.³ For the next century it was to be the portico – the highest, noblest, and most magnificent part of architecture – that was to be the principal architectural expression of Britain's 'political and moral advantage' in the world.

The very possession by a building of a portico proclaimed not only the wealth of its patron or body of users (for porticoes also were expensive to build) and the ancient and moral associations that were being invoked but also the distinction, authority and good taste of the individual or institution and, perhaps most important of all, the visible and tangible discharge of their duty to their status and to the transmission of virtues from one culture to another. The scale of a portico, its type and its architectural style could emphasize these; but further connotations, nuances of symbolism and layers of meaning could also be present for the discerning viewer to recognize with satisfaction and appreciate – in the use, for example, of a particular order or of a specific model admired for its beauty and associations – which displayed the discernment of the patron and otherwise expressed appropriately his status and character.

¹ J.Evelyn, *Fumifugium...* (1661), Dedication to the king.

² A.A.Cooper, 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury, *A Letter Concerning the Art, or Science of Design* (1712), pp. 7-8.

³ J.Gwynn, *London and Westminster Improved* (1766), p. xiv.

The present was repeatedly seen in terms of the past. Edmund Burke viewed the present as a partnership, not only with the past but, also, with the future and with posterity. Images mean; words only explain. In architectural terms, perhaps the most expressive thoughts remain those of Robert Morris, for whom, in porticoes 'something Majestick strikes the Imagination¹...the Portico will afford a majestick Appearance, and render the Builder nobler in Aspect²...compare the Portico of St. *Martin's* Church with some of the ancient Temples of *Greece*, in the works of *Vitruvius*, or the *Pantheon* at *Rome*, and there you will discover true elegance of Design, and a happy refinement of Taste'. Most tellingly of all, he adds that 'To see Buildings of more than 2000 years distance in Date be thought worthy of Imitation, shows not only the excellency of Architecture in those Times, but the Genius of this present Age, who can divest themselves of modern Error, to trace the Paths of Antiquity'.³

3 Summary and Note on Portico Types

Deriving from the Latin 'porticus', a walk covered by a roof supported on columns, the word 'portico' made its earliest recorded appearance in English in about 1605. Both the word's meaning and the architectural forms to which the term has been applied have varied historically; but it is generally taken to refer to a structure comprised of columns, usually in a straight row but sometimes on a semi-circular or

¹ R.Morris, *Lectures on Architecture* (1734), vii, p. 114.

² *Idem.*, *Lectures...* (1736), xii, p. 192.

³ *Idem.*, *op. cit.* (1734), viii, p. 132.

segmental plan, often surmounted, though not invariably, by a pediment or a half-dome, respectively, framing an entrance. The number of columns is always even to comply with the classical requirement of having a void at the centre, rather than a solid. This central intercolumniation is sometimes wider than the others to emphasize access to the entrance-portico. If there are less than four columns the structure constitutes a porch and, if more than twelve, especially if it is unpedimented, it may be considered a colonnade.

The number of columns is also one determinant of such a portico's type; a portico of four columns is known as tetrastyle. A portico of six, eight, or more columns is described accordingly as hexastyle, octastyle, and so on. A further classification is made where a portico is integral to a building, with its row of columns flush or aligned with the building's façade, when it is known as *in antis*, and where it projects from the façade, when it is known as prostyle. Sometimes a portico can be either, if it is half in and half out, or if the row of columns stands between projecting side walls, or *antae*. A final classification depends on the number of columns by which a portico projects or advances from a façade, which is determined, in turn, by the number of times their diameters the columns are set apart; pycnostyle (1.5 diameters), systyle (2), eustyle (2.25), diastyle (3), and araeostyle (4). Porticoes are also the structures in which the architectural orders may be used to greatest effect, each building type having the order appropriate to its function.¹ Porticoes may be single-storey or composed of a giant order. If they are single-storey and appear on any level other than the ground floor, they may be considered – especially

¹ On the use of the orders, see Appendix.

if they are *in antis* – as loggias, since access to them can only be gained from inside a building. Giant porticoes are almost always prostyle and only rarely *in antis*.

Essential prerequisites and functions of the portico are that it should enclose some significant space and provide shelter. It must, therefore, be covered as well as being open on at least one side and on no more than three sides. For these reasons the portico constitutes an intermediate or transitional space – covered but open at the sides – between the open exterior space and the fully enclosed interior of a building, or from public to private space. Similarly, engaged columns or pilasters surmounted by an applied pediment should more properly be considered as a temple-front, rather than as a portico.

Architecturally, the portico is used to emphasize centrality on a façade – acting either as the climax to a composition, or as a fulcrum – and, usually, to indicate the prospect of an entry. It must also welcome and impress simultaneously; and so the means of access vary widely, ranging from an approach level with the ground, to steps of one or more flights the full width of the portico, and from curved perrons to complex stairs with one or more quarter landings.

Formally, the portico is a development of two exclusively Greek building types, the peripteral temple and the stoa. Both were trabeated structures terminated by triangular pediments, formed by their ridge-roofs and cornices, supported on columns. Porticoes were adopted by the Romans for their temples as well as for many of their public buildings, such as basilicas. For the Romans, the pediment, or *fastigium*, became a mark of social distinction and was frequently divorced from its practical function to be applied symbolically. Entrance-porticoes were usually placed

on buildings in central or prominent locations and helped to dignify urban spaces and give focus to city centres.

As an archetypal *leitmotif* of classical architecture the pedimented entrance-portico was revived, often integrated with the triumphal arch motif, in the Italian Renaissance. The use of such porticoes and other templar forms for churches was justified as signifying the rationalization of Christianity and paganism.

Andrea Palladio combined temple and villa to produce porticoed country houses, widely imitated from the sixteenth century onwards. A second major stimulus was the Greek Revival, which turned a wide variety of building types almost into temples. The use of porticoes declined after the Gothic Revival, but had not been altogether discontinued by the end of our period.

II From Frontispiece to Portico in Great Britain

1 Introduction

The hundred years or so leading up to the beginning of our period saw the introduction and proliferation of classical elements, including columns and pediments, which were used to adorn and dignify principal entrances and doorways mostly on secular buildings, such as country houses, and also on some collegiate buildings.

Two phases in this introduction can be identified. The first, beginning in the late 1520s and early 1530s, was marked by the use of superficial and often dense 'anticke' ornament. French inspired, but ultimately Italian in origin, it occurs on the hall entrance to Richard Weston's Sutton Place, Surrey, of c.1521-33 and at Hengrave Hall, Suffolk, of 1538.

The second phase, beginning around 1550, was characterized not only by a growing awareness of the need for regularity of planning and for greater visual unity and symmetry in the elevations of buildings, but also by the earliest consistent use of the classical orders in England.¹ This use was already apparent in certain tombs, fireplaces and windows as well as in the wooden screens in the great halls of houses and in chapels. But it was in the frontispieces to a group of houses associated with Edward, Duke of Somerset and his immediate circle that it first became most evident.

¹ M. Howard, *The Early Tudor Country House* (1987), pp. 121ff.

The ambitious duke's own London house, fronting the Strand, was begun when he became Protector in 1547 and was clearly intended as an architectural assertion of his high, king-like office. Although there was nothing new about the principal features of the façade or their disposition, their style and character and the attempt at consistency were wholly unprecedented in England. The three-storey frontispiece prominently placed at the centre of the façade comprised a gateway in the form of a triumphal arch motif with superimposed orders of columns flanking windows above.¹

When it was built, this frontispiece was the latest in a line of such decorations which can be traced back to the Castel Nuovo Arch at Naples. Built for Alphonso I, between c.1455 and c.1468, it was one of the first and most influential of all Renaissance imaginative reconstructions of classical Antiquity.² Alberti asserted in his treatise that columns were the principal ornament in all architecture and he had been the first to borrow the triumphal arch motif from Roman Antiquity, specifically the Arch of Constantine and the Arch of Augustus at Rimini, for the façade of S. Francesco at Rimini, soon after 1450.³ The superimposition of engaged coupled columns and pilasters on a three-storey structure, in the manner of a frontispiece but without any real allusion to the idea of the palace, was a Bramantesque feature of Antonio da Sangallo the Elder's campanile at S.

¹ For John Thorpe's drawing of the Strand front, see Howard, *op. cit.*, Fig. 124.

² See G.L.Hersey, *The Aragonese Arch at Naples, 1443-1475* (1973), p. 2 and Pl. 1. The specific source for the lower, triumphal arch section is the Augustan Arch of the Sergii at Pola, and for the triumph itself, the Arch of Titus at Rome. The arch at Naples was 'the fount of hundreds of such monarchical triumphs which were re-enacted all over Europe for the next two centuries'; R.Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth* (1977), p. 37.

³ R. Wittkower, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism* (3rd rev. edn., 1962), pp. 37-41, Pl. 14a.

Biagio, Montepulciano of 1518-45.¹ The frontispiece at Anet, begun by Philibert de l'Orme in 1548, a year later than Somerset House, and that at Écouen by Jean Bullant of 1555-60², demonstrated greater plasticity and boldness in the use of free-standing columns and were to influence strongly frontispieces built in Britain in the early years of the seventeenth century.³

2 Frontispieces

(i) Domestic Buildings

(a) Houses

The frontispiece of Somerset House was 'probably the first deliberate attempt to build in England a front composed altogether in the classical taste'.⁴ Although it was an urban palace it became, thanks to its situation in London, 'unquestionably one of the most influential buildings of the English Renaissance',⁵ particularly on country houses.

In 1550, the Duke of Northumberland, at the time still a member of Somerset's circle, had sent John Shute to Italy to observe and record both antique ruins and contemporary Italian architecture. Shute's *The First*

¹ A.Blunt, *Philibert de l'Orme* (1958), p.33, Pl. 6a. The most widely known and influential examples of superimposed orders were the Colosseum and the Theatre of Marcellus, with four and two storeys respectively. Alberti's triple superimposition of pilasters at the Palazzo Rucellai (begun 1446) was followed by the two-storeyed (unfinished) cortile of the Palazzo Venezia (1467-71) and the three-storeyed Palazzo della Cancelleria (1486-96) and Palazzo Farnese (1513-48). Alberti described a tower of superimposed orders; Bk.viii, ch. v; see eds. J.Rykwert, N.Leach, R.Tavernor, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books* (1988), pp. 257-61.

² Blunt, *op.cit.* (1958), pp. 32-4, Pls. 6b, 8; Hersey, *op. cit.*, p. 60, Figs. 119, 120.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 59-61.

⁴ Summerson, *op.cit.*, (5th rev. edn., 1970), p. 46.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

and Chief Groundes of Architecture, not published until 1563, was the first book by an Englishman to classify and illustrate the architectural orders. Shute's fusing first-hand observation and classical canon, however imperfectly understood, with Vitruvius and Serlio not only gave wider currency to the very names and precepts of those authorities but also stressed the importance of close attention to sources and consistency and evinced a more energetic and outgoing form of patronage of which travel to Italy and fidelity to antique sources were to become increasingly a part. Although Shute's book might well have encouraged the idea that classical architecture was just a matter of columns rather than a basic principle of design, it undoubtedly formed an early and significant contribution to that climate of thinking in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries which fostered building in a more purist, if still largely ornamental, classical style.¹

Somerset House was not immediately influential following the execution of its builder in 1553 but, within the next ten years, by the mid-1560s, there were several buildings outside London which displayed a greater awareness of, and confidence in handling, the classical orders. A porch of two orders, Doric below, Ionic above, formed the entrance to Gorhambury (Pl. 6), begun by Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, in the same year, 1563, that Shute's book was published. Sir Thomas Smith, along with Sir John Thynne and Sir William Cecil a survivor of the Somerset circle, erstwhile Secretary of State and probably the greatest

¹ The only building known to have been directly influenced by Shute is the north side of the courtyard at Kirby Hall (1570-75), where two of the giant pilasters are decorated with motifs from the book's title-page; *ibid.*, p. 48. See Pl. 8. The book was popular enough to have gone through several editions (1579/80, 1584 and 1587) and was to be found in the libraries of a number of contemporary builders, including Sir Thomas Tresham.

classical scholar and political thinker of his day, incorporated a giant Doric order as the principal feature of Hill Hall, Essex, a house he had begun to build in 1565 on his return from Paris where he had been Queen Elizabeth's ambassador.

(ii) Public Buildings: Educational

(a) Universities

At Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, soon after 1565 and exactly contemporary with both Smith's house and Sir Thomas Gresham's Royal Exchange in London, John Caius initiated an early attempt to introduce Renaissance ideas into collegiate architecture. Caius had travelled to Italy¹ and designed for his college a sequence of three permanent italianate gateways whose iconography exemplified the educated man's progress in learning through the successive Aristotelian, humanist virtues of Humility, Virtue and Honour. Metaphorically and literally, no man was permitted to enter the Gate of Honour unless he had first passed through the Gate of Virtue.² The third and final gateway, the Gate of Honour, is in the form of a triumphal arch which is surmounted on both its public and private façades by the principal motif of a tetrastyle Ionic temple front (Pl. 10). This is almost certainly the first architectural representation of a portico, symbolizing a temple, in England. On a building which is more representational and symbolic than it is

¹ Caius visited Padua, Rome, Florence and Bologna, but is not known to have travelled to Naples; Hersey, *op. cit.*, p. 60. It is possible that he saw or knew of the temple front on the side elevation of the triumphal arch at Orange. The similarity of the college's plan to Anet has been noted by Pevsner, *Cambridgeshire* (1954), p. 64. The inscription in the frieze of Caius's classical tomb of 1575 by Theodore Haveus of Cleves reads: 'Vivit post funera virtus'.

² 'In England the Temple of Honour is bolted against none, who have passed through the Temple of Virtue'; Thomas Fuller, quoted in W. Addison, *Worthy Dr. Fuller* (1951), p.95.

functional, not only is Virtue emphasized as prerequisite to Honour, with education as the means by which both can be obtained, but also learning and the college itself as a seat of learning are honoured, by association, through the pedimented portico.

(iii) Domestic Buildings

(a) Houses

The classical frontispiece was to be most widely used on country houses, for almost the next century. The simplest kind was single-storeyed and comprised columns, usually Doric, surmounting a plinth, framing a doorway. These columns were either engaged or, more usually, free-standing. Grafton Manor, of 1567, with its coupled Roman Doric engaged columns framing an arch surmounted by pilasters and a pediment, was one of the earliest.¹ Examples of free-standing columns include Longleat (1572, originally unpedimented), Corsham (1575-82), Wardour Castle (1576-8), Doddington (1593-1600), The Hall, Bradford-on-Avon (1597) and Condover (1598).² From the early years of the seventeenth century date Gawthorpe (1600-05) and Burton Agnes (1601-10), the doorway of the latter not indicating centrality, being, unusually, on the inner-facing side of the left pavilion. However, with one or two exceptions, such as Ham House (c.1610) and Yarnton Manor (c.1611), the single-column type gave way almost entirely for nearly twenty years to a coupled-column variety until its reappearance at Blickling (1616-25) and Aston Hall (1618-c.1635). Single

¹ Pevsner, *Worcestershire* (1968), Pl. 55 and p. 157, where it is described as 'nationally memorable for its date'.

² If the Doric columns flanking the doorway of the hunting lodge at Newark Park, Gloucestershire are contemporary with the building, perhaps from the 1540's, they are remarkable for their date.

columns were also used on other building types, such as St. Alban's Hall, Oxford (1599, the city's oldest surviving example of orders framing a doorway), Leathersellers' Hall, London (1623) and Shrewsbury Grammar School (1627-30). Following Grafton, coupled columns had co-existed with single ones at places such as Barlborough (1583-4) and Howley (c.1585) but predominated almost exclusively after the north front of Hatfield and Charlton House (both 1607), followed by Wootton Lodge (c.1610) and Fountains Hall (c.1611).

Two-storey and even three-storey types with coupled columns are rare. The most complex and impressive are those at Wilton (the Holbein Porch, c.1570), Kirby Hall (1572; Pl.9), Waterston Manor (1586), Cobham Hall (c.1594), and Ingestre (c.1613), where the upper storey is pedimented, forming a temple front rather like that at Gonville and Caius. Later frontispieces topped by broken segmental pediments facing each other across a court include the Canterbury Quadrangle at St. John's College, Oxford (1632-6; Pl.25).¹

Larger and often more impressive frontispieces of three or more storeys, clearly inspired by Anet and Écouen but which took Somerset House as their ultimate English source, appeared at Burghley (1577-85), Beaupré Castle (1590), Howley Hall (c.1590), Stonyhurst (c.1592-5), Audley End (c.1603-16), Browsholme Hall (c.1605-10), Bramshill (1605-12), and the south front of Hatfield (1611; Pl.13). All these examples are well-integrated with their main buildings. This is not the case with the Fellows' Quadrangle at Merton College, Oxford (1608-10), where the four-storey

¹ H.Colvin, *The Canterbury Quadrangle, St. John's College, Oxford* (1988), pp. 19-52.

frontispiece, surmounted by a disembodied pediment, takes no account of the three storeys of the building. The same is true of the Tower of Five Orders added in c.1613-c.1624; (Pl.14) to the earlier, three-storey Schools. Wadham College's four-storey frontispiece (c.1614; Pl.24), also inside the quadrangle, performs a function later to be taken over by porticoes (in this case, emphasized by the fenestration), and that is, uniting separate spaces and functions (hall and chapel) behind a single-storeyed and apparently unified façade.

These frontispieces remained, however, applied and decorative rather than structural or even modular. They were placed on the inner faces of these buildings rather than on the outer, public façades because the principal front of a collegiate building, like that of houses such as Sutton Place, was the hall, rather than the street-front. Consequently, they were accessible to be viewed and understood primarily by the qualified and initiated. They remained concerned essentially with surface rather than mass and the fullest extent of the role of the columns in their load-bearing capacity was to hold up each other and not the building. Were they to be removed, the building would not collapse. The use of such columns on a frontispiece prompted Gerbier to remark that it looked as if they were 'patcht or glewed against a wall'.¹ The coupled-column frontispiece of two or more storeys was pushed to its architectonic limits in Inigo Jones's unexecuted design for the Royal Exchange of 1608 and for the west front of St. Paul's Cathedral of the mid-1630s.

¹ Gerbier, *op.cit.* (1662), p. 4; quoted in Colvin, *op. cit.* (1988), p. 21.

The most impressive and architecturally sophisticated frontispieces were set against their houses, not by the monarch, but by men who enjoyed or aspired to preferment and high office, with the immense political power and social prestige which these brought, and by academics who wished to give permanent expression to the distinction of their college and university and of learning. They were men educated for the most part in the classics; a large number were Catholics; and many were well-travelled in Europe, with first-hand knowledge of both ancient and contemporary architecture and government. Some, such as Sir Thomas Smith, Sir William Cecil, Sir John Holles and the Earl of Northumberland, had in their libraries copies of Vitruvius and of the major Italian and French architectural treatises and publications of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, including Palladio.

3 Porches and Loggia Porticoes

(i) Domestic Buildings

(a) Houses

These circumstances had effects which gradually became apparent. For example, compositionally, Audley End demonstrated a growing concern with the distribution of masses and with contrasts of light and space. The two two-storey porches of c.1603 with their superimposed coupled columns flanking arches in the surviving inner court are as deep as they are wide and this projection contributed greatly to the effect of movement in the composition. The open, upper-storey loggias, apparently the first of their kind in England, utilize alternative support systems by combining arcading with a trabeated screen front. There was nothing new about arcading; the courtyards of many houses from the mid-

sixteenth century onwards had arcaded ground-floor loggias, usually facing the hall. Berry Pomeroy, Burghley, Copped, Theobalds, Gidea, Slaugham, Kirby and Holdenby all have, or had, such loggias. However, Burghley, Gidea and Slaugham had, in addition, loggias on their outer, garden fronts.¹ These features, together with those at Hardwick and Knole (both c.1600; Pls.11,12) – amongst the earliest post-and-lintel structures – are most probably what would have been described as 'portiques'.²

Between the beginning of work on Audley End in c.1603 and the ten years after its completion in 1616, a number of projecting arcaded loggias, usually with steps only to the central opening,³ appeared as entrances to houses and hunting lodges, at Hambledon Old Hall (c.1605-10), Bramshill (1605-12), Cranborne (1608-12) and, almost certainly of this period, Westwood Park, where the reference to the Arch of Constantine is clear.⁴ Of uncertain date were Grove Place⁵ and Michelgrove,⁶ with a pedimented tetrastyle joining turretted towers, and an integral triple arcade, respectively.

Also problematical are the exact dates of two of the most significant loggia porticoes, those at Byfleet and Houghton Conquest (Pls. 16,17). John Aubrey's drawing of Byfleet shows a projecting, two-storey, three-bay

¹ For what is probably John Thorpe's plan of Slaugham of c.1579 and the five-bay Doric loggia - in effect, a portico *in antis* - see M.Girouard, *CL*, cxxxv (9 Jan., 1964), 70-3, Figs. 1, 4, 5, 8.

² 'Portique', defined as 'an open Porch, or walking place before a house, covered over head by a rooffe borne up with pillars'; R.Cotgrave, *A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues* (1611), s.v.

³ For precedents by Palladio, see, for examples, the Villa Gazzotti (1542) and the Villa Saraceno (1545); L.Puppi, *Andrea Palladio* (1975), pls. 29, 40.

⁴ Pevsner, *Worcestershire* (1968), p. 287, Pl. 67.

⁵ Bodleian, Gough Maps 10, f. 31^v.

⁶ M.Girouard, *Robert Smythson* (1983), Pl. 53.

structure, apparently pedimented over the centre bay above the upper entablature.¹ The lower storey comprised open arcading carried by square piers with engaged columns, whilst the upper storey had superimposed columns or pilasters separating the three windows which had alternating triangular and segmental pediments. It is impossible to know the extent of the articulation of this façade but, formally, it suggests a knowledge on the part of its designer of the earliest buildings in the Veneto which attempted to emulate the Renaissance in Rome.² Similarly, the designer of the frontispiece on the north side of Houghton (Pl.17) displayed perhaps a greater knowledge and understanding of Italian architecture than could have been derived from books. The frontispiece comprised superimposed triple-arcaded loggias surmounted by a niched attic with a pedimented panel over the centre bay.³ Even more remarkable were the superimposed loggias (Pl.16) which acted as an infill on a modified H-plan on the west front.⁴ They were hexastyle *in antis*, Doric below, Ionic above, carrying straight entablatures, surmounted by a tetrastyle Corinthian temple front, all corresponding to the storeys of the house. A comparison to be made

¹ Bodleian, MS. Aubrey 4/3, f. 196a. See L.R.Stevens, 'Byfleet House', *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, i (1946-7), 99; eds. J.Harris, S.Orgel and R.Strong, *The King's Arcadia* (exh. cat., 1973), pp. 95, 98; ed. H. Colvin, *KW*, iv, ii, 58-9; R.Strong, *Henry, Prince of Wales* (1986), p. 32, Fig. 59.

² Falconetto's Loggia Cornaro at Vicenza (c.1530) and the pilastered loggia added (1532-8) to the Villa Trissino at Cricoli - designed by Trissino, but worked on by Palladio - suggest themselves. J.S.Ackerman, *Palladio* (1966), Pl. 1; Burns *et al.*, *op.cit.*, No. 148. See also Serlio, iii, iv, f.70 for the Villa Madama as a possible source; R.Tavernor, *Palladio and Palladianism* (1991), pp. 16-17.

³ Eds. Harris, Orgel and Strong, *op. cit.*, pp. 109-11. The motif is here said to derive from Palladio's unfinished cloister of the Monastery of S.Maria della Carità, Venice (1560-61), a view repeated in J.Harris and G.Higgott, *Inigo Jones: Complete Architectural Drawings* (exh. cat., 1989), p. 85. It seems, however, closer to the loggias of Sansovino's Villa Garzoni of the late 1540's. The breaking of the Houghton entablature over the columns suggests a triumphal arch motif.

⁴ Neither frontispiece was on the front or main entrance, which is on the south and comparatively unadorned.

here would appear to be with villa designs by Palladio, both executed and from the *Quattro Libri*,¹ such as the Villa Cornaro and the Villa Pisani at Montagnana, and with the Palazzo Chiericati's flanking loggias to the street and its internal courtyard façade.² It is possible that the Houghton loggias were designed from Palladio's book but, like the Byfleet loggia, they are so classical for Jacobean England³ that, although there is no evidence to identify their designer, they may be amongst the earliest works of Inigo Jones after his second trip to Italy in 1613-15, and dates of 1615-21 have been suggested.⁴ The loggias and porticoes of these two houses marked the introduction of classical porticoes, albeit of the loggia type, to England. The handling of the orders is still free though better-informed. Mannerist ornament is not excluded, and direct models are not easy to identify.

(b) Royal Palaces

Jones worked almost exclusively for the court and his earliest known architectural designs for royal buildings dating from just before 1620 show him searching for imagery that would reflect growing Stuart dynastic aspirations. Beginning in 1616 with his first thoughts for the Queen's House, his initial ideas for the Star Chamber (1617), the Prince's Lodging (1618-9, as part of the projected Newmarket Palace) and the Banqueting House (1619), he can be seen postulating porticoes, mostly of the loggia type, and metaphors for porticoes, in the form of temple fronts.

¹ QL, Bk. ii, Pl. lvi; Puppi, *op. cit.*, Pls. 97-8.

² *Ibid.*, Pls. 72-83.

³ A late drawing by Smythson, who died in 1614, shows a triple arcaded, single-storey loggia, reminiscent of Westwood Park, similar to Houghton's north front; Girouard, *op. cit.* (1983), p.x.

⁴ Eds. Harris, Orgel and Strong, *op. cit.* pp. 109-11; Harris and Higgott, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-5. Houghton's builder, Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke, was one of the many women patrons of architecture at the early Stuart court. Samuel Daniel, who collaborated with Jones on *Tethy's Festival* (1610), was her protégé and she herself performed in some of Jones's masques. That she asked Jones to devise the Houghton loggias remains a strong possibility.

In designs heavily dependent on the books of Scamozzi and Palladio and on some of the latter's drawings that he had acquired in Italy in 1614 but also informed by his personal inspection of buildings by both those architects, Jones makes transpositions of motif, scale and application in an already highly individual way. His drawings are in a style that is for the most part tentative, fluid and spontaneous and possess that proto-Baroque quality of 'becoming' rather than 'being', whilst at the same time displaying a sure command, unprecedented in England, of the classical vocabulary.

All the temple fronts and loggia porticoes are set over basements, some of them rusticated. An early thought in 1616 for the Queen's House was to have first-floor, projecting, pedimented loggias surmounted by over-sized statues and with arched openings in the side walls (reminiscent of Palladio's Villa Rotonda and prefiguring St. Paul's, Covent Garden) on both the north and south elevations.¹ A second design of the same date shows what appears to be a portico, rather than a temple front, but whether it is projecting or *in antis* is difficult to determine.² It is of six Corinthian columns, the outer ones coupled, pedimented, and set over a rusticated base. With Albertian correctness it occupies slightly more than the central third of the width of the elevation, probably breaking forward.

From the earliest proposals to the penultimate design for the Banqueting House Jones includes a pediment.³ Although it ties together

¹ Harris and Higgott, *op. cit.*, No. 15.

² M. Whinney, 'An Unknown Design for a Villa by Inigo Jones', eds. Colvin and Harris, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-5.

³ Harris and Higgott, *op. cit.* No. 15.

and emphasizes the three centre projecting bays, it is simply one of a number of disparate elements fused together, and, as the designs develop, becomes increasingly superfluous and optional. The same smallness of parts and preoccupation with the discreteness of the storeys, so noticeable in the New Exchange designs, continue to inform the façade here, rendering the centre more akin to a frontispiece than to a temple front. At no point does Jones appear to have considered using a giant order, or one that would have embraced both the principal and upper storeys,¹ as he had for the Star Chamber and the Prince's Lodging.² This might have been dictated by the need for lighting and therefore of equal fenestration at top and bottom; but, having already compromised the façade by implying that the building has two storeys, it might have been the case that Jones dispensed with the pediment, but retained the breaking forward as the means of emphasis, in the building as executed by 1622, in order to avoid compromising the building's axuality by further implying that the main axis is not parallel but at right angles to Whitehall. It would have been misleading to have conveyed the impression or expectation that the temple front was an outward expression of an internal, central temple or hall extending back through the building. Also, although a ghost of a doorway appears in the rusticated base in the penultimate design, whether in Jones's or a later hand, at no point does he propose an entrance, the prospect of which a pediment usually signifies, on this façade. Further, Jones probably had it in mind to reserve emphases of rhythm and centrality by pediments and other means for the wider spans of elevations

¹ The source for this is Scamozzi's Villa Cornaro (1607); *Idea*, i, iii, 281.

² J. Harris, 'Inigo Jones and the Prince's Lodging at Newmarket', *AH*, ii (1959), 26-40; Harris and Higgott, *op. cit.*, No.29 and p. 153.

in his projected vast palace, of which the Banqueting House was to have been but a very small part.

If the temple front was virtually dissipated in the final Banqueting House design, its retention as a dominant feature of the Scamozzi-inspired Newmarket designs, the most advanced domestic schemes at the time in England, was to prove influential.¹ The partially free-standing temple front on the east side of nearby Raynham Hall (begun 1619)² synthesizes both of Jones's elevations for the Prince's Lodging, producing what 'is probably the earliest surviving expression in England of this temple façade idea'.³ Here, façade and interior space are consistent; for the Ionic tetrastyle presages the chapel reaching back into the house. Here, too, the isolated court style reaches out into the provinces resulting in a 'compromise between the most advanced classicism of Inigo Jones and the current vernacular or conservative styles'.⁴

In the fifteen years leading up to the beginning of our period the temple idea, based on identifiable models but modified to suit English requirements and employed almost exclusively in the court, was first mooted through the efforts of Inigo Jones. Although sources other than Palladio himself were being examined, Palladio's recreation of the ancient house, fusing temple and villa,⁵ was being embraced as symbolic of an

¹ *Ibid.*, Nos. 30, 31. The astylar version is the more original of the designs and probably represents the building almost as executed. In both designs the pedimented centre feature almost certainly indicated an interior hall, perhaps a double cube, reaching back the full depth of the house; H.Colvin, *Royal Buildings* (1968), pp. 8-9.

² J.Harris, 'Raynham Hall, Norfolk', *Arch. Jnl.*, cxviii (1963), Pl. XVB; *idem.*, *The Palladians* (1981), p. 47.

³ *Idem.*, *op. cit.*, (1963), 186.

⁴ *Idem.*

⁵ QL, ii, xvi, 53; Wittkower, *op. cit.* (1962), p. 74; J.Rykwert, *On Adam's House in Paradise* (1981), p. 116.

admired classical ideology to be pursued in England. In his preface to *The Elements of Architecture* (1624), a theoretical and moral manifesto that was to be enduringly influential in England, Sir Henry Wotton considered the adoption of thoroughgoing classicism as axiomatic, '*For Architecture, can want no commendation, where there are Noble Men, or Noble mindes*'.¹ Later, he echoed Vitruvius, Cicero, Alberti and Palladio, warning against ostentation and reaffirming the builder's duty, for '*Decor is the keeping of a due Respect between the Inhabitant and the Habitation. Whence Palladius did conclude, that the principall Entrance was neuer to be regulated by any certaine Dimensions; but by the dignity of the Master*'.² Considerations of architectural integrity, as to the inner space that porticoes and temple fronts should portend, were being addressed, and the requirements for imagery betokening grandeur and magnificence were already in place, and growing rapidly.

4 Summary

What emerges from the process of moving towards the embracing of porticoes is a sequence of developments beginning with the adoption and modification of Italian and French frontispieces, usually with columns and arches, and sometimes incorporating triumphal arch motifs. Classical architecture was largely thought of as a kind of ornament; as a matter of columns rather than a rational system of design. Consequently, frontispieces were applied and decorative rather than structural, and

¹ Wotton, *op. cit.*, Preface.

² *Ibid.*, p.119.

projected very little. Such structures as partly or fully free-standing tombs with columns which supported canopies covering effigies or tables, and arched and columned porches of increasing projection – both of them forms of buildings in miniature – encouraged the idea that classical architecture could be used to cover and define space and also to articulate mass rather than merely to ornament surface. Continuous arcades, which sometimes retained references to triumphal arches and were usually integral to buildings, and colonnades, or 'portiques', which usually projected, were seen as alternative formal treatments for porches, resulting in the creation of loggias. These tended to be on the ground floor but, perhaps following on from the superimposition of coupled columns on frontispieces, integral loggias too were superimposed, beginning at Houghton, where those on the west front became, in effect, the first classically correct porticoes *in antis* in Britain. It is possible that these are by Jones, whose known designs for porticoes dating from 1616, such as those for the Queen's House, demonstrate a preference for first-floor integral loggia porticoes – that is, *in antis*, and accessible only from the interiors of buildings – usually with pediments. Basing his approach on his own first-hand observations of buildings in the classical style – not just by Palladio, but by Scamozzi, Sansovino and others, as well as from Antiquity – Jones analyzed these, both wholly and in part, and synthesized and adapted those elements which he considered most appropriate in order to create his own interpretation of classical architecture as a system of design, for an English context. His executed porticoes were the partial realization in permanent architecture of classical buildings such as he had initially represented in the ephemeral scenery for masques (Pl.21). It was in Jones's work that the portico proper, as a constituent of classically proportioned buildings, first appeared in this country and it was at his St.

Paul's, Covent Garden (Pls. 22,23), in 1630, that the first free-standing temple portico in British architecture was constructed.

III Inigo Jones and the Palladian Portico

1 Introduction

Inigo Jones's knowledge of classical architecture was merely one of a number of factors which not only determined the form of Britain's first proper portico but which enabled it to have been built at all. In a wider cultural context, considerations of religion, monarchy, nationalism, patronage and urban planning all contributed to the realization in classical temple form of the first new Protestant church to have been built in London since the Reformation. Examination of some of these considerations, together with a brief survey of Continental developments in church façades before 1630, throws light not only on Jones's solution to the design problem he faced at St. Paul's, Covent Garden, but also on the implications of his solution for subsequent portico building in Britain in general.

2 Temple and Church

(i) Ecclesiastical Buildings

(a) Antique and Renaissance Precedents

The use of temple forms for Christian churches had been architecturally problematic, even since the Renaissance. Italian architects of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were apparently unable to interpret

correctly the archaeological and written evidence from Antiquity then available to them in order to arrive at a proper notion of a typical temple.¹ A number of ancient Roman buildings, known or thought to have been temples, owed their very survival to their having been converted into churches.² The Pantheon, the earliest pagan temple to have been consecrated as a Christian church in Rome and universally considered to have been one of the finest buildings to have survived from Antiquity, was both circular and porticoed. Alberti was largely responsible for propagating the view, despite the actual rarity of circular examples, that the majority of temples had been centrally planned. His own S. Francesco at Rimini of c.1450 would, if completed, have been domed, resembling the Pantheon. Whilst his design of the nave at S. Andrea in Mantua of 1470 resembles his description of a *Sacrum Etruscum*, the façades of both churches combined pediments with the triumphal arch motif to produce temple fronts.

Ruined or fancifully reconstructed classical buildings, often in the form of porticoed temples, were sometimes depicted in the settings for Biblical events in Italian painting from the fifteenth century onwards. Such imaginative recreations, some of which were later to be taken as models for building, had yet to be realized in architecture. Their presence in paintings frequently implied the succession of Christianity over Antiquity and paganism and also strengthened parallels and continuity between the Old and New Testaments.

¹ I.Campbell, 'Reconstructions of Roman temples made in Italy between 1450 and 1600' (Oxford Univ. D.PHIL. thesis 1984), pp. 2ff.

² These were listed by some English visitors such as John Capgrave, who spoke in c.1450 'Of dyuers templis of fals Goddis turnyd to seruyse of seyntis'; ed. C.M.Mills, *Ye Solace of Pilgrimes* (1911), pp. 25, 60-170, and Thomas Williams in his *The Historie of Italie* (1549), f. 32.

Renaissance churches retained earlier basilical forms with their columnar naves. But high naves and low flanking aisles presented difficulties in the application of coherently classical fronts.¹ It was in Michelangelo's project for the façade of San Lorenzo in Florence that attempts to integrate temple fronts successfully first became apparent.² An early drawing suggested the advancement of the lower order of the central bays under a pediment to produce a Pantheon-like tetrastyle portico,³ and all the designs included a mezzanine with the upper order in the form of a temple front.⁴ Though never executed, Michelangelo's design as accepted in 1518 broke away from the notion of a veneer façade to produce a temple-fronted solution that was sculptural in character, with recession and projection of wall surface, entablatures, engaged columns and pilasters.

The Temple of Peace, otherwise the Basilica of Maxentius, and the Pantheon were two of the most impressive vestiges of ancient Rome. The first had been used to house the treasures taken from the destroyed Temple of Jerusalem. The second had been the first pagan temple consecrated as a Christian church. Together they were taken as models for the rebuilding of St. Peter's basilica, the greatest undertaking in church, or any other architecture, in sixteenth-century Rome. Michelangelo's designs

¹ Wittkower, *op.cit.* (3rd rev. edn., 1962), pp. 37-53; J.S.Ackerman, *The Architecture of Michelangelo* (1970 edn.), p. 54; *idem.*, *Palladio* (1966), pp. 138, 140.

² Leonardo seems to have been thinking along similar lines in 1513-14; C.Pedretti, 'The Original Project for S. Maria delle Grazie', *JSAH*, xxxii, 1 (Mar., 1973), Fig. 26.

³ Casa Buonarroti, No. 44; Ackerman, *op. cit.* (1970), Pl 10.

⁴ J.Shearman, 'The Florentine *Entrata* of Leo X, 1515', *JWCI*, xxxviii (1975), 147 n. 33, suggests the possibility 'that a new concept of façade design' was stimulated by the temporary 'edificio accommodato a tutta la Facciata' of the Cathedral, 'explaining in some degree the subsequent designs for San Lorenzo'.

of 1547 retained the original central plan in the form of a Greek cross, as fixed by Bramante in 1506, and integrated a massive dome with a monumental portico ten columns wide – the full width of the façade – before the centre four of which, and corresponding to the width of the nave, was to have been a further row of columns, with a pediment.¹ These unexecuted designs would have emphasized and articulated the entrance façade, providing sufficient of a central axis on the exterior without jeopardizing the interior's centrality. The pediment would have led the eye up towards the dome and the magnificence of the advanced central tetrastyle would, in its scale, have portended that on the nave. Maderno compromised Michelangelo's design and, by 1612, having extended the nave to an already inordinate length, was obliged to add a comparatively tame temple front, which, nonetheless, was itself to become influential. Begun under a warrior pope, Julius II, in the spirit of *renovatio Romae*; utilizing classical architecture in such a way that Christianity and modern building were seen to have excelled over paganism and Antiquity; and reaffirming papal claims of continuity with the spiritual and temporal authority of the past – *Sacerdos et Imperator*² – St. Peter's was to become, as Sir Roger Pratt observed, 'the most excellent Pattern'³ for much church architecture, Protestant and Catholic, in the succeeding centuries.

¹ For the plan and south elevation see S.Boorsch, *The Building of the Vatican* (1983), pp. 12, 14, and, for the west elevation, p. 22. The last is also shown in ed. S.Crewe, *Visionary Spires* (1986), Pl. ii and, together with a section, in J.Lees-Milne, *St. Peter's* (1967), pp. 188, 212.

² E.Baldwin Smith, *Architectural Symbolism of Imperial Rome and the Middle Ages* (1956), p. 98 and *passim*.

³ Ed. Gunther, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

Serlio and Palladio were to prove the most influential architectural writers in reconciling the pagan connotations of classical architecture with the requirements of Christian church building. In his fourth book Serlio¹ enlisted typology in order to rationalize and Christianize the orders, drawing parallels between ancient gods and Christian saints.² Saint Paul, for example, was seen as a soldier who had shed his blood and given his life for the faith of Christ, and so the order appropriate to churches dedicated to him was the Doric.³ Palladio reasoned that since the ancients made their temples their most beautiful buildings, then churches for the adoration of God should, above all other sorts of buildings, 'be brought to the greatest perfection we are capable of' and his book included temples so 'that every one may know in what form...churches ought to be built'.⁴

In his Venetian churches Palladio's solutions to the problems of façade design included drawing together high nave and low side aisles by integrating two implied temple porticoes of different orders, as he did at S. Francesco della Vigna in 1568.⁵ For S. Giorgio Maggiore his design of c.1575 for a free-standing tetrastyle portico (indicating that he intended making the metaphor a reality) was not executed.⁶ Instead, the façade (Pl.7) was completed in 1610, thirty years after his death, again using

¹ S.Serlio, *Architettura*, Bk. iv, *Regole generali di architettura* (1537). References are to the 1611 translation by R.Peake, repr. as *The Five Books of Architecture* (1982).

² J.A.Ramirez, 'Guarino Guarini, Fray Juan Ricci and the "Complete Salomonic Order"', *Art History*, iv, 3 (1981), 175, 182 n. 7.

³ Serlio, *op. cit.* (1982 edn.), 'The fourth Booke', ff. 2^v, 15^v, 33^v.

⁴ A.Palladio, *I Quattro Libri dell'Architettura* (1570). References are to the English edition by I.Ware (1728), repr. as *The Four Books of Architecture* (1965); Bk. iv. 'To the Reader'.

⁵ Wittkower, *op. cit.*, 'Palladio's Church Façades', pp. 89-97.

⁶ W.Timofiewitsch, 'Eine Zeichnung Andrea Palladios für die Klosteranlage S. Giorgio Maggiore', *Arte Veneta*, xvi (1962), 160-3.

interpenetrating temple fronts but without repeating the solecism on the earlier church of placing orders of different sizes on the same high base – an arrangement for which there was no precedent in ancient temples. Palladio's second project of 1579 for the façade of San Petronio at Bologna would, if executed, have had a monumental hexastyle.¹ Similarly, his unexecuted designs of about the same date for S. Nicolò dei Tolentini and other projected churches incorporated domes and hexastyle porticoes.² These designs seem to have paralleled Tridentine recommendations that account be taken of the site, proportion and external appearance of churches in relation to an urban environment and that their façades should present an impressive external, public face to the city by including porticoes.³ Only in his final church, the Tempietto Barbaro at Maser, was Palladio able to combine Greek cross and Pantheon in a fusion of centralized plan, cylinder, dome and portico. The design was not included in the *Quattro Libri* and the building itself was not easily accessible. Both circumstances conspired to prevent its being better known.

Temples occupied a significant position in every major Renaissance architectural treatise. For Alberti, 'temple' and 'church' were interchangeable. The earliest French Protestant church, erected at Lyons in 1564 and named 'Paradis', was built resembling a private house; but it was described as a 'temple', following what appears to have been the first use of the word by John Calvin to describe such churches in Switzerland.

¹ J.S.Ackerman, 'Palladio's Lost Portico Project for San Petronio in Bologna', eds. D.Fraser, H.Hibbard and M.J.Lewine, *Essays in the History of Architecture Presented to Rudolph Wittkower* (1967), pp. 110-115; R. Wittkower, *Gothic versus Classic* (1974), pp. 75-7.

² L.Puppi, *Andrea Palladio* (1975), pp. 431-3, Figs. 616-18. Cf. Burns *et al.*, *op.cit.*, No. 194.

³ For Cardinal Borromeo's support of porticoes, see excerpts from his *Instructionum Fabricae et Supellectilis Ecclesiasticae* (c.1572), cited in Ackerman, *op. cit.* (1967), p.111 and n. 12; A.Blunt, *Artistic Theory in Italy 1450-1600* (1973), pp.127-9; Ackerman, *op. cit.* (1966), p. 130.

Calvin almost certainly adopted the word in direct opposition to the Catholic Church and as a clear affirmation of the belief that Protestantism was descended from, and a continuation of, the Primitive Church.¹ Viscount Cranborne, who made two journeys to France and Italy in 1609 and 1611 and was accompanied on the first by Inigo Jones, differentiated clearly – writing in French – between his use of 'église' for Catholic churches and 'temple' for Protestant ones.² In England, churches were sometimes referred to poetically as 'temples', as in Michael Drayton's description of the Perpendicular chapel at Windsor Castle –

that supreamest place of the great English Kings
The Garter's royall seate, from him who did advance
That princely order first, our first that conquered France;
The Temple of St. George, whereas his honoured knights,
Upon his hallowed day, observe their ancient rites.³

– in which he evokes simultaneously notions of nationalism, patriotism, monarchy, antiquity, Christianity, medieval chivalry and historical continuity.

None of these structures, however, bore any formal resemblance to the columned and pedimented temples of ancient Greece and Rome. No closer resemblance between Protestant churches and ancient temples was implied than that both were buildings reserved for sacred uses. It was the *idea* of a temple, rather than a physical reproduction or recreation of a venerated prototype or original, that was of overriding significance. Few, if any, visual elements in the form of architectural references to ancient models needed to be present to evoke or emphasize the immaterial

¹ H.Rosenau, *Vision of the Temple* (1979), p. 92.

² HMC 9 *Salisbury*, xxi (1970), pp. 104-13, 237-49, *passim*.

³ M.Drayton, *Poly-Olbion* (1612-22), 15th song, 11. 314-18.

features, namely, the sharing of devotion across time with, and in the manner of, the Primitive Church. Equally, despite the growing archaeological and analytical approach to Antiquity, a greater striving towards realizing a reproduction to partake more fully in some way of the character and meaning of its model, need not necessarily have either augmented or detracted from those immaterial features. In England, the idea of the temple, however, went much deeper than attempts to emulate the architectural forms of Roman Antiquity.

(b) The Idea of the Temple in Britain

When, in 1533, Henry VIII divorced Catherine of Aragon for dynastic, political and personal reasons, he also effectively divorced England from Italy and from mainstream European Renaissance ideas, although fortunately not with the same finality. The repercussions of the break with Rome were, for concepts of monarchy, religion and government, as well as for architecture and the visual arts in general, to be far-reaching. Between 1529 and 1533 successive pieces of legislation, primarily the Act against Appeals of 1533 and the Act of Supremacy of 1534, established Henry as supreme Head of Church and State.¹ To some in Europe, and especially to the French Christian humanists, notably the evangelical Clément Marot, Henry appeared as a zealous reformer, like Hezekiah (otherwise Ezekiel), restorer of worship in the Temple of Solomon. Moreover, Henry and Anne Boleyn would produce a son in the king's own likeness who would grow to be a great Protestant hope for all Europe.²

¹ S.T.Bindoff, *Tudor England* (1950; 1987 edn.), pp. 45, 93-4.

² C.Marot, *Le Pasteur évangélique*; BL, Royal MS 16 E xiii (v. 11). E.W.Ives, *Anne Boleyn* (1986), p. 319. Ed. D.Starkey, *Henry VIII: A European Court in England* (1991), pp. 108-10.

In the course of the Elizabethan Reformation, the Church of England came to be seen not simply as the bastion of Protestantism against the Antichrist of Rome and the model for the universal reform of Christendom, but also as being, from the earliest times, historically continuous. Christianity in England was derived not from the popish St. Augustine, as Romanish writers maintained, but from St. Joseph of Arimathea or the legendary ancient British King Lucius. The ancient purity of this primitive Christianity, from apostolic times, pre-dating papal corruption, was seen as having reached its zenith under the British Roman Emperor Constantine, the first Christianizer of the Roman Empire, and hence the first Christian *Restitutor orbis*.¹

Towards the latter half of her reign, Elizabeth I, who had already been paralleled with many historical and mythological figures, was also compared to Solomon amid a revival of the earlier notion of Old Testament holy kingship initiated by the reforming Henry VII. Evidence of the transfer of this identification to her successor appeared as early as 1579 when the fourteen-year-old James VI of Scotland made his state entry into Edinburgh and was presented first with a pageant of the Judgement of Solomon.² Following the accession of the theologian-king and the union of the Scottish and English crowns in 1603, countless sermons and pamphlets paralleled James postfiguratively with the wise and peace-loving Solomon, the exemplary builder and prince, and hailed him, Messiah-like and in fulfilment of earlier predictions and prophecies, as

¹ R.Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth* (1977), pp. 127-8; *idem.*, *Britannia Triumphans* (1980), p. 24; H.Trevor-Roper, 'Richard Hooker and the Church of England', *Renaissance Essays* (1986), pp. 108-9; Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

² Strong, *op. cit.* (1980), p. 20, n. 14.

restorer of the true Christian religion and of the Roman *imperium*, as successor to Lucius and Constantine, and as Defender of the Faith in a 'true and Apostolicall Church'.¹ James regarded himself, and was widely viewed, as God's lieutenant on earth, divine in his kingly authority and 'accomptable to none but God onely'.² The parallels drawn between James and Solomon, and also King David as the procurer of the 'peace of Hierusalem', were extended to Prince Henry who, before his untimely death in 1612, was seen as securing the Protestant Succession.³

At James's death, Salomonic parallels were reinvigorated through references to the commentaries on Ezekiel by Villalpando and Prado which, like numerous writings from the time of the Early Christian Fathers to the mid-eighteenth century, attempted to recreate the Temple of Solomon.⁴ All took as their starting point the dimensions given in the Bible, but lack of agreement about measurements and an absence of detail in the sources resulted in considerable variety of interpretation and depiction. Although these attempted recreations had few tangible results – only the Escorial seems to have been thoroughly informed by Villalpando's calculations – they were all concerned in varying degrees, not only with reconciling the Biblical and Vitruvian architectural traditions but also with realizing the Church as an historical and

¹ J.Gordon, *A Panegyrique of Congratulation...* (1603), pp. 23f; J.Hall, *An Holy Panegyrick* (1613), *passim*; *Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiasticall* (1604), i-iii.

² R.Crakanthorp, *A Sermon...* (1609), sig. G. 3., cited in R.Eccleshall, *Order and Reason in Politics* (1978), p. 90; James I, King of England, *The Kings Maiesties Speach* (1610), n.p..

³ A.Willet, *Ecclesiae Triumphans* (1603), cited in G.Parry, *The Golden Age Restor'd* (1981), p. 231; D.Price, *The Defence of Truth* (1610), Dedication.

⁴ J.Williams, *Great Britain's Salomon* (1625), p. 46; J.B.Villalpando and J.Prado, *In Ezekielem Explanationes*, 3 vols. (1596-1604). W.Herrmann, 'Unknown Designs for the "Temple of Jerusalem" by Claude Perrault', eds. Fraser, Hibbard and Lewine, *op. cit.* pp. 154-8 lists forty-seven writings. See also J.Bold, *John Webb: Architectural Theory and Practice in the Seventeenth Century* (1989), pp. 111-12.

ideological concept. References to Villalpando in relation to James allude, then, less to any programme of building than to the king's achievements concerning the Church as comprised of a body of members; that is, to theological rather than archaeological matters. Further, whilst James assumed the role of bulwark of the Church of England he equally affirmed his support for the Church as a corner-stone of the monarchy.¹

James undoubtedly saw himself, metaphorically at least, as a builder.² In Rubens's panel *The Judgement of Solomon* of 1634 on the Banqueting House ceiling the setting for the priest-king allegory is a circular, domed and coffered Doric temple, the like of which had yet to be seen in Britain. The presence in her temple of the guardian goddess of the wise, Minerva-Pallas, 'personifying regal wisdom...in heroic action',³ and equating James with her single parent Jupiter⁴ (and hence Unity), the most powerful of the gods, also signifies her role as the bringer of Architecture.⁵

The idea of the temple also embraced other notions. Rome itself had, since at least late Antiquity, been thought of as the temple of the world and, more recently, during the Renaissance, 'as the New Jerusalem, with St. Peter's its new Temple'.⁶ Metaphorically, Jacobean England was seen, in the supremacy of its 'sacred uses' of religion, law and monarchy,

¹ Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 46; ed. G.P.Akrigg, *Letters of King James VI and I* (1984), pp. 293, 295.

² '...yet is all this power ordeined by God *Ad aedificationem, non ad destructionem*', James I, *op. cit.*, n.p.

³ Strong, *op. cit.* (1980) pp. 22, 32. Minerva was also identified with the Doric.

⁴ J.Thornborough, *The Ioiefull and Blessed Reuniting...of great Britaine* (1605), p.19.

⁵ A recent reminder of this had appeared in George Chapman's 1611 translation of Homer's *Iliad*. (Chapman also dedicated his translation of 'The Divine Poem of Musaeus' to Inigo Jones, 'Our only learned Architect'.) The Pallas reminder was to be renewed in Pope's translation (1715-20), v, 80: 'For...Pallas did impart...the shipwright's and the builder's art'.

⁶ *Ammianus Marcellinus*, xvii. iv. 13. (ed. J.C.Rolfe, i, p. 324) speaks of his being in Rome, 'id est [in] templo mundi totius'. I.Campbell, 'The New St. Peter's: Basilica or Temple?', *Oxford Art Journal*, iv, 1 (1981), 3-8, cited in J.Bold, *John Webb* (1989), p. 28.

not only as a temple, but as the most revered Roman temple, the Pantheon. 'Let us now consecrate to al eternitie', wrote John Thornborough, Bishop of Worcester, in 1605, 'the ancient name of famous Great Brittain, as a Pantheon of al blessings in peace, prosperitie and honor'. Just 'as the Pantheon was a Temple at Rome', so in Britain, 'as in a Pantheon, are placed al worldly blessings' which would lead to '*perfection of beautie in Sion*'.¹

Jerusalem had long been considered as the most holy place on earth and the centre of the world. But in the abstract it needed to be tied to no specific place or time. Both could be transcended through Britain's God-given stewardship of the true religion, for 'now neyther at Ierusalem, nor upon any other Mount', wrote William Westerman in 1608, 'but every where is the Lord to be worshipped In Spirite and Truth'. As St. Jerome had seemed to prophesy of Britain's heavenly blessing, 'Whither wee pray, or live at Ierusalem or in Brittain, indifferently the Court of Heaven hath Audience and entrance for us alike'. The 'House of God in Solomon's time, & the Houses of God, now do differ...because three Resemblances of the Temple are now surceased and determined. For first...CHRIST IESVS... is our true Temple...Secondly...The Church is nothing else, but a House builded of our Soules combined...Thirdly...the Kingdome Of God is within us, and his Temples are we'. Churches were 'to bee accounted holie Temples, & to be frequented as the houses of God...what booteth it to erect Churches of lime & stone, and our selves be not living stones of the true Temple?'² Such images also drew on the

¹ Thornborough, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-6.

² W.Westerman, *Solomon's Porch* (1608), pp. 89, 93, 99.

renaissance analogy of the temple as a microcosm and its relation to the human body.¹

A further dimension to the idea of the temple lay in the historical metaphor of England as Israel. Of those who were more articulate, many 'readily believed there were predictive connections between biblical times and their own and...they searched constantly for signs to justify their beliefs'.² In the late 1500s, John Aylmer, Bishop of London, had asserted that 'God is English', a comment which, it has been observed, was unique at the time less for its sentiment than for its terseness. 'If God were English, England was God's. England was the elect nation, and Englishmen drew the parallels between the election of their nation and the election of Israel'.³ Writing of 'the elect in generall', John Vicars spoke of God's favour 'to Those,/Whome, Hee, by Faith, to be his Flocke hath chose', and of 'us of England in particular' who 'of all These, to Us his Little-flocke,/To Us (I say) his English Israelites;/To Us, ingrafted, on, Old Israels stocke',⁴ God had unequivocally given superiority.⁵ England was God's and 'Heaven is the true Temple where Christ is',⁶ with London, having inherited the title from Rome, as 'Ierusalem'.⁷

As an abstraction, the idea of the temple can be seen to have had a variety of connotations, all of them informed by association with ideals of

1 Villalpando and Prado, *op. cit.*, ii, 465f.

2 Korshin, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

3 M.Breslow, *A Mirror of England* (1970), p. 141.

4 J.Vicars, *Englands Hallelu-jah* (1631), vv. 5-6.

5 Cf. 'Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, who hath chosen us from all peoples and exalted us above all tongues, and sanctified us by thy commandments'; Kiddush.

6 Westerman, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

7 Vicars, *op. cit.*, v. 75.

sanctity – sanctity of country, church, monarch, and individual, as well as of mission and covenant. The idea awaited the means by which it could be realized architecturally. The concepts of kingship, faith and nationalism for which an iconography was being sought, invoking ancient authority, primitive purity, historical continuity and religious supremacy, were to be found in the temple.

In concrete terms, however, architectural models were harder to seek. A significant difference between ancient temples and churches was that sacred rituals took place at altars in front of temples rather than inside them. It was not just the ground before them that was sacred but also the very space above and around the precinct that was in some way charged, with the portico of the cult temple acting as a theatrical backdrop to the ritual. Such open sacred precincts helped define dominant axes and gave 'form and direction to the most fundamental rituals of Roman life. The early imperial fora, with their elevated marble temples dominating elongated enclosures, expressed the same principles in more sophisticated fashion'.¹ In whatever other respects they differed, practically all depictions of a reconstructed Temple of Solomon showed the precinct defined by either a wall or subsidiary buildings. The temple itself usually displayed a number of elements associated with both the *Templum regium* and the *palatium regale*. But the overriding resemblance that such a disposition of buildings and spaces presented was to a townscape, with streets and an arcaded piazza; in other words, to an ideal model of urban planning.

¹ W.L.MacDonald, *The Architecture of the Roman Empire* (1982), i, 171.

The façade of a church needed to be nothing more than a terminal wall with openings for doors. But because of its public face it belonged, as Palladio well knew, more to the space before it, to the square, to the street, and to the town. The temple precinct where sacred rituals were anciently performed was now given over entirely, before a temple-fronted or porticoed church, to the conduct of civic and public life. Admittedly, in an urban context, ancient temples had also been public buildings; but porticoes on churches, unlike temples, portended the church as a *Porta coeli*, allowing access to the interior where Christian rituals are performed. The portico did not stop the approach but gave it a pause and concentration before allowing access to the building. The style and treatment of the portico also prepared the visitor for the interior setting appropriate to those rituals. From the viewpoint of the space before it, the portico immediately drew attention as the focal point and acted as either a fulcrum or a climax to the composition. Such considerations were to apply, ideally, and in large measure, to the subsequent use of porticoes in general.

(c) Inigo Jones and the Temple Realized

The writings of the increasing numbers of English travellers to Italy in the early years of the seventeenth century reveal a growing interest in architecture. Cranborne noted in particular the churches he admired;¹ but at no point did either he or any of the other visitors (many of whom still were Catholics) suggest that the buildings they saw should be taken as

¹ HMC 9, *Salisbury*, xxi (1970), pp. 107, 109-10, 242-3. Cranborne's recording his local misinformation that Santa Giustina at Padua was 'l'invention de Palladius', and his noting the architect's authorship of the Teatro Olympico at Vicenza seem to be the earliest known references to Palladio in English.

models for building in England. It appears not to have occurred to them that any of the churches they saw, porticoed or otherwise, could have been considered appropriate to the revived Anglican Church if, in fact, such models were actively being sought.

What was actively being sought was imagery that would proclaim and celebrate Stuart claims to monarchical divinity as promoted in the political theory of the Divine Right of Kings. The principal vehicles which had such exposition as their primary function were the masques performed almost annually before the court between 1605 and 1640. In the Caroline masques, Inigo Jones used perspective stage scenery not only to emphasize the hierarchy of the court and the emblematic and moral centrality of the king to each production but also, in his depiction of streets, piazzas, palaces and villas in the order and beauty of the classical style, to evoke parallels between cosmic and earthly harmony, thereby showing the court as a model of the virtues.¹ Drawing heavily on treatises and engravings by Serlio, Labacco, Vredeman de Vries, Parigi, Scamozzi and Palladio, Jones's sets often included temples, colonnades and porticoes. Together with the equally ephemeral triumphal arches erected for state occasions, it was in the scenery for both the Jacobean and Caroline masques that the most classical architecture which had yet appeared in Britain was to be seen.²

¹ R.Strong, *op. cit.* (1984), pp. 154 ff.

² S.Harrison, *Arches of Triumph* (1604). Amongst masques which included temples in their scenery were *Tethys Festival* (1610), *Cupids Pallas* (c.1619-23), *Masque of the Augurs* (1622), *Albion's Triumph* (1632; Pl.21), and *Florimene* (1635). See S.Orgel and R.Strong, *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court* (1973), AB, lxiv (1982), 195-216.

The high point of Jones's early career as an architect was the Banqueting House of 1619. In the form of a Roman basilica and clearly derived from Palladio, it heralded the introduction of Renaissance classical architecture in the capital at the heart of the seat of power. By including in his sets designs after real buildings – his Banqueting House, for example, appeared in the opening scenes of *Time Vindicated* (1623) – Jones indicated both the symbolic importance he attached to those already built and his growing desire to see more of his ideas realized in architecture.¹

(d) St. Paul's, Covent Garden

The opportunity to do so came when the 4th Earl of Bedford proposed redeveloping part of his family's Covent Garden estate. In 1631 Jones was invited to draw up plans, including designs for a church the provision of which, in what was essentially a speculative venture, has been interpreted as rather a matter of expediency than of piety on the part of the Puritan and independent-minded earl.² In a town-planning project clearly inspired formally by the cathedral and piazza at Leghorn and, in its unity of conception, by the recent urban developments in Paris – Place Royale (now Place des Vosges, begun 1605), Place Dauphine (1607) and Place de France (1610) – and Madrid's recently completed Plaza Major (1619), Jones related church and square in such a way as to imply temple and precinct. Some ten years earlier, he had concluded, erroneously, that

¹ The Queen's Chapel, St. James's of 1623-25 is astylar, but it is the heavy block cornice and gable with modillions (usually associated with the Corinthian or Composite, and here derived, perhaps, from the superimposed frontispiece of the Pantheon) resembling a pediment which gives unprecedented external reference to a temple. J.Newman, 'Inigo Jones e la sua copie de *I Quattro Libri de Palladio*', *Bolletino CISA*, xii (1980), ii, 56.

² J.Summerson, *Inigo Jones* (1966), p. 85.

Stonehenge was the earliest and finest Roman temple in Britain dedicated to the most primitive and purest Christianity. The order of the crude monoliths he took to be Tuscan – its 'Severity...retaining in it a Shew (as it were) of the first Face of *Antiquity* (as A.Palladio Terms it)'.¹ Jones conflated his belief with the authority of Serlio and Palladio, who had identified St. Paul with the Tuscan Doric, to produce for the Covent Garden church a tetrastyle Tuscan portico. As originally conceived and executed, St. Paul's showed a translation by Jones of Palladio's faithful interpretation of the Tuscan temple described by Vitruvius. Nearer to Scamozzi than Palladio was Jones's designing his portico *in antis* and squaring the angle piers.² He also reduced the intercolumniation, thereby increasing the rake of the pediment and giving a less squat appearance. The most striking feature, was, and still is, the treatment of the pediment (Pl.23). The cornice of the Tuscan order is comprised of flat, projecting wooden eaves running round the building and framing the tympanum, punctuated by simple wooden mutules.³ Originally, the portico was approached, as the Pantheon had been, by a wide flight of seven steps.

Access to churches in England was traditionally at the liturgical or actual west end, and these were usually one and the same. The portico here is set against the east end, facing the piazza, and does not indicate the

¹ I.Jones, *The Most Notable Antiquity of Great Britain...Stone-Heng...Restored* (2nd edn., 1725), p. 67. Jones almost certainly shared John Webb's view that 'The *Tuscan...est plana, massiva, seu rustica columna, similis robusto alicui & bene artuato ruricolae, viliter amicto*, is a plain, massive, or rustical Column, carrying some Resemblance to a strong and well-limbed Countryman, meanly clad; as *Vitruvius* (*lib. 4. cap. 1*) not unfitly describes it...the *Tuscan Order* is a *Plain, Humble, Gross, and Giant-like manner of Building*'. J.Webb, *A Vindication of Stone-Heng Restored* (2nd edn., 1725), pp. 28, 49.

² V.Scamozzi, *L'idea dell'Architettura Universale* (1615), ii. 6. xvi, 58. S. Jacques in Paris (begun 1630;Pl.19) is, perhaps, a contemporary temple-fronted version.

³ There were eleven of these below the horizontal eaves (one over the centre of each column, and two-three-two over the intercolumniations) as given by Palladio.

principal entry, which is comparatively undecorated and approached from the west through the churchyard.¹ Viewed from the east side of the piazza (Pl.22) the whole of its west side resembled nothing so much, in its symmetry and rhythms, as the entire frontage of a later Palladian country house, the church corresponding to a central *corps* and the flanking house-ends to pavilions. Although the portico was bound inextricably to its cella, the church, it belonged primarily to the piazza and formed the climax to a carefully modulated and, for Britain, revolutionary treatment of urban space.

That Charles I was pleased to be associated with the building in the classical style of the first Anglican church to be erected on a new site in London since the Reformation gave clear confirmation of the monarch's approval of that style for the Church of England. St. Paul's, eloquent of a refined and purified Protestantism and conforming to Britain's most ancient Christian architecture, could be seen as the architectural equivalent of that faith which had so 'fallen from its native beauty, that it required the carefull and charitable hand of these times to restore it to its primitive integrity'.² By possessing the 'Stamp of Antiquity, the Approbation of Testimony and the Allowance of Authority',³ it established a worthy precedent, an admired model, and the principal criteria for the validity of porticoes in Britain throughout most of the rest of our period.

¹ M.Whinney, 'Some Church Designs by John Webb', *JWCI*, vi (1943), 149 n. 2. On the orientation, see W.Prynne, *A Quench-Coale...* (1637), p. 236, cited in *SOL*, xxxvi (1970), 99, 334 n. 22.

² T.Browne, *Religio Medici* (1643), p. 3.

³ J.Webb, unpublished 'Essay' (1671), quoted in J.Bold, *John Webb* (1989), p. 36.

Admiration for the portico at Covent Garden was to be enduring more, perhaps, because of its architect and its position in British architecture than for any formal influence it exercised. Together with the Banqueting House and Jones's later portico at St. Paul's Cathedral it came to be regarded as among the finest architecture in Britain. 'We have had a rare *Architect*, who was *Inigo Jones*', wrote William Aglionby in 1685, 'the *Banqueting House*, the *Portico* of *St. Pauls Church*, and the *Piazza* of *Covent Garden*, are three Pieces of his Doing which in their kind are hardly to be matched in *Europe*'.¹ At least two unexecuted projects for the 1711 Churches seem to have been inspired by it; Gibbs's first design for St. Mary-le-Strand of 1714 and Galilei's octastyle Doric portico of 1715.² Both of these architects, trained in the Italian Baroque, may have sensed the significance of St. Paul's for the Anglican Church and sought to evoke its associations in their designs. They may, or may not, have shared Campbell's opinion of it when he spoke of 'that elegant Church, the only Piece the Moderns have yet produced, that can admit of a just Comparison with the Works of Antiquity, where a Majestick Simplicity commands the Approbation of the Judicious'.³ Lord Burlington 'repaired the portico in Covent Garden, to honour the memory of his admired Inigo Jones'.⁴ Roger Morris had the portico very much in mind when he designed the

¹ W. Aglionby, *Painting Illustrated* (1686), Preface.

² T. Friedman, *James Gibbs, 1682-1754* (1984), pp. 58, 338 n. 10, Fig. 32; E. Kieven, 'Galilei in England', *CL*, cliii (25 Jan., 1973), 212, Fig. 7.

³ C. Campbell, *VB*, ii(1717), 1.

⁴ S. Riou, *The Grecian Orders of Architecture* (1768), p. 57.

stables at Althorp (Pl.99) in c.1732,¹ as did the architects of those built at Packington some years later. James Ralph was unstinting in his praise in 1734: 'The church here is, without a rival, one of the most perfect pieces of architecture that the art of man can produce: nothing can possibly be imagin'd more simple, and yet magnificence itself can hardly give greater pleasure'. This he saw as 'a strong proof of the force of harmony and proportion; and at the same time a demonstration that 'tis taste and not expence which is the parent of beauty'.² To Richard Pococke, in 1750, the Doric Temple at Bramham looked 'something like the portico at Covent Garden church'.³ Ralph's thoughts on cost and proportion found echoes in the 1760s and 70s respectively. Attributing the use of the Tuscan to the economy-minded earl, rather than to an image of primitivism, Stephen Riou considered in 1768 that

the church of Covent Garden, would not have incurred the disgrace that it has in the opinion of many people, if the portico, instead of the Tuscan, had been adorned with Ionic columns; the cornice of the entablature then would have been still plainer, and without that appearance of a barn's eaves, from the monstrous projecture of the joists; the expences would not have run higher except in the workmanship of four Ionic capitals. We don't presume to attack the reputation of the great architect, but the meanness of those who tied up his hands.⁴

In the mid-1770s, Lady Luxborough posed a rhetorical question: 'How many are there', she asked, 'besides myself, whose eyes oblige them (without knowing why) to be more delighted with the Banqueting-house

¹ The resemblance struck Horace Walpole, in the 1760s, when he noted that the Althorp pediments were 'like Covent garden Church [and] *for that purpose* have good effect' (my italics); P.Toynbee, 'Walpole's Journals of Visits to Country Seats', *Walpole Soc.*, xvi (1927-28), 31. Walpole despised the church's portico, especially for its Tuscan order; M.C.Borer, *Covent Garden* (1967), p. 91.

² J.Ralph, *Critical Review of the Publick Buildings in London and Westminster* (1734), p. 29.

³ Ed. J.J.Cartwright, 'The Travels through England of Dr. Richard Pococke', *Camden Soc.*, n.ser., xlii, i (1888), 61.

⁴ Riou, *op. cit.*, 'Designs of a Temple', Pl. 1

at Whitehall than with Blenheim Castle, and with the front of Covent-Garden Church than with St. Paul's Cathedral! Such', she averred, 'is the force of truth, exemplified by that of proportion'.¹

There were to be periodic revivals of interest in the Covent Garden portico whenever there was a renewed quest for simplicity and primitivism; during the Palladian movement, and later in the eighteenth century, and in the Greek Revival. Its rustic qualities did not lose their appeal even into the nineteenth century; Owen Browne Carter's Corn Exchange at Winchester of 1836-8, with its Tuscan portico (Pl.312), was clearly inspired by Jones's design, as was John Clarke's Custom House at Ipswich of 1843-4. During the first half of the seventeenth century St. Paul's, Covent Garden was to remain the only wholly classical, porticoed church in England. Outside London, until 1700, classical references on churches were confined to doorways, as at Berwick (1650-2;Pl.31) and Staunton Harold (1653-62;Pl.32). Immediately after 1700, the neo-Palladian Aldrich perhaps looked to the Val-de-Grâce in Paris (1645-65;Pl.29), of which there is an engraving (Pl.30) in his college at Christ Church, Oxford, to create a reduced version for his portico at All Saints, Oxford (1701-10;Pl.54). Not until Thomas Archer's St. Philip's in Birmingham of 1710-15 was another English church to be built by an architect who had travelled to Italy.

¹ Ed. J.Hodgetts, *Letters of Lady Luxborough to William Shenstone* (1775), p. 174; quoted in M.J.McCarthy, 'The Building of Hagley Hall, Worcestershire', *Burl. Mag.*, cxviii (April, 1976), 217 n.9.

(e) St. Paul's Cathedral

The improvements to St. Paul's Cathedral presented Jones with a problem similar to that encountered by Alberti and generations of later Italian architects as to how to apply a classical façade to an existing Gothic church front. It was a problem to which Salomon de Brosse had recently found a coherent solution at St. Gervais in Paris (1616) where, although there is some allusion to contemporary Roman façades, the clearest reference is to a traditional three-storey frontispiece of coupled columns, a 'portail' of the Anet type, but topped by a shallow segmental pediment.¹ Even on the wholly new church of St. Paul-St. Louis, also in Paris (1634) and almost exactly contemporary with the schemes for St. Paul's, François Derand retained a more plastic version of the frontispiece. The main feature of Jones's earliest design of 1634 for the west front of St. Paul's² is also a frontispiece, of superimposed coupled columns, Composite over Corinthian, with a pedimented depressed Tuscan attic to disguise the gable of the nave, and single superimposed pilasters, Tuscan over Corinthian, on the towers flanking the aisles. Scrolled consoles and curved brackets palliate the transitions from the horizontal to the vertical; that is, from the aisles to the nave and from the attic storey to the pediment, respectively. The main consoles, ultimately derived from Alberti's S. Maria Novella, also have the effect of suggesting an alternative reading of the central three lower bays, with the flanking towers as curious additions. The

¹ R.Coope, *Salomon de Brosse* (1972), Pl. 176; Colvin, *op. cit.*, (1988), Fig. 20. François Mansart's church of the Feuillants in Paris (1623) closely followed the upper two storeys of St. Gervais, but its volutes echoed those on Roman churches of the previous century, whilst its obelisks seem to have stemmed from du Cerceau; A.Blunt, *Art and Architecture in France 1500-1700* (2nd rev. edn., 1973), p. 202.

² Harris and Higgott, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

verticality of the latter also helps to counter the strong horizontal accent at the first-storey level.¹ Though unprecedented for England, the result is a pastiche, a tortuous veneer; an elaborated frontispiece rather than a dynamic design, a *scenae frons* rather than an autonomous structure.

The short intervening period between Jones's proposed treatment in 1634 and the west front as executed from 1635 onwards not only marks the transition from frontispiece to portico in his own thinking but also heralds a vastly increased scale of conception. By 1633 Archbishop Laud's enthusiastic fund-raising together with Charles I's undertaking to contribute £500 a year over ten years and, in 1634, to meet personally the entire costs of the new west front, ensured sufficient money for Jones to allow himself to design something altogether grander and more magnificent, proclaiming Stuart dynastic aspirations.

For his model Jones turned to Palladio's reconstruction of the Temple of Venus and Rome, otherwise the Temple of the Sun and Moon, at Rome,² partly because of the suitability of its form to the practical problem he faced and also because this temple had been built and dedicated, as observed by Palladio and noted by Jones in his copy of the *Quattro Libri*, by Titus Tatius who, after the death of Remus, had ruled

¹ Jones might well have considered some late sixteenth-century Roman church façade projects, such as Vignola's proposal (by far the more influential) and della Porta's executed design for the Gesù (begun 1568), and the slightly later S. Atanasio dei Greci, with its corner towers, by Martino Longhi the Elder. Tolomeo Rinaldi's engraved design for the façade of Milan Cathedral (1590) also proposed corner towers; R. Wittkower, *Gothic versus Classic* (1974), Fig. 41. Two Jesuit churches are also probable sources: that of S. Ambrogio, Genoa (1587) by Guiseppe Valeriano, perhaps known through Pl. xxiii of Rubens's *Palazzi di Genova* (1622); and that at Antwerp (1615-21) by Peter Huyssens but with a substantial contribution from Rubens on the façade (also flanked by towers); A. Blunt, 'Rubens and Architecture', *Burl. Mag.*, cxix (1977), 618 and Fig. 28. See also Harris and Higgott, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

² *QL*, iv, vi, 86.

Rome jointly as king with Romulus in the eighth century B.C.. Jones further noted that Palladio derived the *facciata* of his reconstruction from the Temple of Peace which, so Palladio believed, 'was the greatest, the most magnificent, and the richest of the city', and whose *cymatium* he particularly admired for its uniqueness and grace.¹ As the stateliest order the Corinthian was obviously considered by Jones to be the most appropriate for his regal portico and the finest examples were regarded as those versions of it with fluted columns on the portico of the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina and in the nave of the Temple of Peace. The Salomonic connections of the latter temple, as the repository of the treasures brought from Solomon's Temple at Jerusalem, have already been mentioned. The pedigree of Jones's models and the depth of their significance allied to the highest formal quality of their architectural expression resulted in a portico which fulfilled admirably the visual effects and ideological associations required for the image.²

The width and, therefore, the height of Jones's portico were dictated by the dimensions of the Gothic west front, and the diameter of the columns and the width of the intercolumniations were determined by the portico's height. An even spacing of columns so determined would have resulted in an odd number with a column in the centre. To prevent this, in order to accommodate ten columns and thereby obtain a central opening, Jones had to make the end spacings, between penultimate

¹ *Idem.*

² The portico's Roman appearance also revived legends that churches, especially in London, had been built on the sites of Roman temples. R.Burton, *Historical Remarques...* (1681), p. 116. Sir William Davenant *London, King Charles His Augusta, or City Royal* (1648).

column and angle pier, narrower.¹ Although the portico advanced by only two columns, one coupled with an angle pier, it stood 56 feet high, just 1 foot, 4½ inches less than the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina and 18 inches less than the Pantheon, rivalling only Michelangelo's projected portico for St. Peter's which it was seen as having realized. So, rather than place coupled columns at the ends – a not unusual device, and one used by Palladio – to prevent visual fraying or falling outwards at the ends, Jones chose to square the corners into piers, more in the manner of Michelangelo and Scamozzi, for aesthetic reasons as much as for structural strength.²

In the absence of a pediment Jones followed his ancient models, and at the same time added a Venetian touch to the skyline, by incorporating a balustrade with plinths and statues of the British kings over each column.³ The deep entablature and balustrade provided a strong horizontal emphasis, tying the composition together and anchoring the portico firmly at the top. On such a long, unpedimented portico Jones was anxious to avoid the optical illusion of a depression at the centre created by a straight, level stylobate or pedestals of the same height. Coupling the outer columns and piers, and also making the end plinths cover both of these in

¹ See Whinney, *op. cit.*, 146. The portico is said to have had 'a pronouncedly greater intercolumniation to the centre bay'; Sir J. Summerson, *Inigo Jones* (1966), p. 105. This is as it appears, bringing it closer to its antique models, in William Kent's *Designs of Inigo Jones* (1727). ii, Pl. 56, where the centre bay has two more balusters than the other bays. (Flitcroft's engraving in Kent is traditionally thought to have been based on Jones's now lost drawing.) This is not as it appears, however, from Wenceslaus Hollar's pre-Fire engravings in William Dugdale's *The History of St. Paul's Cathedral* (1658) nor, apparently, in the immediate post-Fire drawing, attributed to T. Wyck, where all seven principal bays appear to have been of equal width.

² See Pratt on this; ed. Gunther, *op. cit.*, p. 204. A notable antique precedent for squaring angle piers was in the small fifth-century temple of Clitumnus.

³ Flitcroft shows ten statues; Hollar only two – presumably James I and Charles I – emphasizing the centre.

the balustrade (each possibly shared by paired statues), as well as giving a raised effect to the centre by means of statues (if there were only two of these), all undoubtedly contributed to countering that illusion. The Greeks and Romans had raised the stylobates of their temples very slightly towards the centre to avoid the sagging effect, and Jones would have known this from Vitruvius. But the passage in which this occurs¹ was notoriously obscure, having baffled Alberti and later architects, with controversy centring on what Vitruvius meant by 'scamillos inpaes'. He might simply have meant that on a stylobate so treated the steps leading up to a row of columns were not level for their entire length, and so were unequal in that sense. It might alternatively have been the case that by making one or more of the mouldings in the bases of the central columns (or of the pedestals, if present) deeper or thicker than the corresponding moulding beneath the outer columns, and by decreasing the depth of the abacus on each of those central columns, all the parts of the columns and pedestals between these mouldings and the abaci would be higher than their counterparts at the sides, but the base line and the entablature would remain straight and level.² This latter interpretation embraces both the inequality to which Vitruvius refers as well as a concept of the mouldings as being stepped and at the same time resembling or performing the function of a stool or rest on which the feet of the columns stand. Whatever Vitruvius intended, and by whatever means Jones is supposed to have reached a solution, Webb was later to claim that

¹ 'Stylobatum ita oportet exaequari, uti habeat per medium adiectionem per scamillos inpaes; si enim ad libellam dirigetur, alveolatum oculo videbitur. Hoc autem, ut scamilli ad id convenientes fiant, item in extremo libro forma et demonstratio erit descripta'. Vit. III, iv. 5 (I, 184). No such drawing survives.

² See I. Campbell, 'Scamilli inpaes: A problem in Vitruvius', *PBSR*, xlviii (1980), 17-22.

the *Scamilli impares* of *Vitruvius* (which, how to be made use of in Buildings, hath as much puzzled all his Commentators, and Architects, as to find out a Remedy for the *Gout* and *Stone* all Physicians) have been according to the very *Text* and *Letter* of *Vitruvius*, so directly put in Work by Mr. *Jones* in the *Portico* of the Cathedral of *St. Paul*, as no Architects that can, or will understand *Vitruvius*, but must ingeniously confess the same true, and submit unto it.¹

Webb was anxious that no 'Pretender or other hereafter, may usurp the Invention, and ascribe that unto himself, for which all Posterity is obliged unto Mr. *Jones* solely'.²

The high pitched gable was not disguised, as had earlier been intended, and was left perhaps to be read not as a pediment but as a pyramid, flanked on each side by another symbol of eternity, the obelisk. The visibility of the gable and the lack of a pediment on the portico exercised Pratt who wrote of the portico that 'ours at St. Paul's is a very stately one, but without a frontispiece [pediment] which is very unusual'.³ Once again taking St. Peter's for comparison, he recognized that a pedimented portico would not have been 'proper for the setting of our repaired St. Paul's, and that

Inigo Jones therefore thought of a [portico] that was wholly in Antico, in imitation of the Pantheon, and some of the Basilicas but in this it differed from them that it was wholly without a Frontispiece, whereas in all theirs [the Ancients'] it was set according to the roofing of the building as we see it in their Temples etc.⁴

Turning from ancient precedent to the particular situation with which Jones had been faced, especially as regards the high pitch of the roof, Pratt

1 Webb, *op. cit.*, (2nd edn., 1725), pp. 48-9

2 *Idem.*

3 Ed. Gunther, *op. cit.*, p. 294.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 204.

felt that the solution should have been either more consistent with the original fabric or more thoroughly classical, adopting a tripartite division in the height of the façade, as in many Roman and some Parisian churches, and as Jones originally intended.¹ Jones's solution

seemed yet to the judicious to be very little congruous to the rest of the building; it was to be wished therefore that he had either thought of some way of adorning the remaining part of the front in correspondency to it, or else that he had gone to work *a la Moderna* in Antis, when all things would have looked to have been but as of one piece.²

Criticism on these grounds was to continue long after the portico's demise. John Gwynn, for example, thought in 1766 that 'If Inigo ever deserved censure, it was certainly for that monstrous absurdity of mixing the Roman and Gothic architecture which he did in erecting a portico of the Corinthian order to the west-end of the Gothick church of St. Paul'.³

Jones's portico was completed in 1642 but stood for perhaps no more than three or four years in its pristine condition. Mutilated by traders who had moved out of the cathedral's nave and set up shop beneath it, and ill-used during the Civil War, it survived the Great Fire of 1666 and, though badly damaged but still standing, it was finally demolished in 1687 when the new St. Paul's was built. It was to be recollected in some of Wren's preliminary designs for St. Paul's, as in the Warrant Design (1675), and was to find echoes in later church-building, notably at All Saints', Northampton (1701; Pls.51-53).⁴ Between the

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 205.

² *Ibid.*, p. 204.

³ J. Gwynn, *London and Westminster Improved...* (1766), p. 36.

⁴ What is almost certainly Henry Bell's unpedimented octastyle, three columns deep, was added in 1701 to the west end of the church rebuilt in 1677-80, and is surmounted over the wider central intercolumniation by John Hunt's statue of Charles II, in toga and wig, erected in 1711-12.

Restoration and the Great Fire, Gerbier spoke of 'that magnificency' which St. Paul's, 'as the Metropolitan of the Houses of God, in the chief city of *Albion* justly requires',¹ and there can be little doubt that standing on raised ground at the end of the royal approach to the cathedral the portico would have been a monumentally impressive statement at the heart of the new Sion and Stuart Britain's claim to the heritage of imperial Rome.

Jones's production was the greatest portico to have been built outside Italy since Antiquity. Although it existed for only forty-five years its impact was enormous and its reputation enduring. It was to become a yardstick against which scale and magnificence in porticoes in Britain was to be measured; its equal was not to be seen until the portico of the British Museum in 1823-46. With only a little exaggeration Webb wrote of St. Paul's: 'that magnificent Portico there, hath contracted the Envy of all *Christendom* upon our Nation, for a Piece of Architecture, not to be parallell'd in these last Ages of the World'.²

3 Summary

Two particular aspects of Jones's treatment of his sources were to have later repercussions. He appears, firstly, to have considered Scamozzi to have represented an even more rational classicism than Palladio, something which is becoming increasingly evident on closer examination

¹ Gerbier, *op. cit.*, (1662), p. 44.

² Webb, *op. cit.*, (2nd edn., 1725), p. 27.

of the neo-Palladians of the early eighteenth century.¹ Secondly, he struck a balance in which the theoretical interpretation of ancient architecture was every bit as important as scrupulous archeological observation, a balance not always later kept, for example, in the work of some Greek Revival architects, in whose work pedantry often outstripped inventiveness.

Jones's built legacy comprised only three porticoed buildings – the Queen's House, St.Paul's Covent Garden and St.Paul's Cathedral – of which the first survives intact, the second in a much altered state, and the third not at all. Although these represented a variety of different portico types, and those that he explored on paper were even more varied, the preference Jones left was for single-storey porticoes, either prostyle, such as that proposed for a suburban or country villa in c.1638, or set over basements, especially of the loggia type *in antis*, epitomized by the Queen's House. This idea, together with some of Jones's own sources in Scamozzi and Palladio, was to provide Webb with the starting point for his proposals for the lodge at Hale (1638) and, after Jones's death, his executed designs for Gunnersbury (c.1658-63) and Amesbury (c.1661). In fact Webb was to draw again and again on a limited number of sources – Palladio, Scamozzi, Serlio, and Jones – favouring free-standing porticoes and open loggias, despite the English climate. At Belvoir, Durham House, and Gunnersbury, he proposed using temple fronts and porticoes to presage internal rows of columns – antique effects of massive Roman rooms not

¹ Scamozzi's architecture 'in many respects...must be regarded as a revision of his teacher Palladio by way of reverting to Serlio's conceptions. Their calculated intellectualism makes Scamozzi's buildings precursors of eighteenth-century Neo-classicism'; R.Wittkower, *Art and Architecture in Italy: 1600-1750* (3rd rev. edn., 1973), p. 73.

achieved until Robert Adam. 'It is to John Webb', writes his recent biographer, 'that we owe the establishment of the Jonesian stylistic synthesis which held sway in English architecture for over a century'.¹ Also latent in his most imaginative schemes were the seeds of the English Baroque and it is to him that we owe as well the first pointers in the direction of that style.

¹ Bold, *op. cit.*, (1989), p. 148.

IV The Baroque Portico

Portico's; no part in Public Edifices being of greater use, nor no production in architecture so solemnly Magnificent.

Vanbrugh, c.1711.
Bodleian MS Rawl. B.376, f.351^v.

1 Jones, Webb, and the Baroque

(i) Domestic Buildings

(a) Houses

The precise nature of Jones's rôle and influence at Wilton remains uncertain. Isaac de Caus's Scamozzian and palatial, if uninspired, temple-fronted design of the mid-1630s for the south front had remained unexecuted.¹ Increasingly, from the late 1630s, it was Webb who was responsible for translating and transmitting Jones's court style into the country house idiom. His design for a lodge at Hale Park (1638), with its Ionic tetrastyle, recessed, first-storey loggia, balustrades between the columns and deep, overhanging cornice, resembles nothing so much as a scaled-down, bucolic version of the Queen's House. Webb, who never held an official post in the Office of Works, is working here away from designs for royal buildings, but taking them, together with preliminary designs for them, as prototypical country houses. It is ironic that the first opportunity he had to build a portico came, not with the construction of a new house but, as part of his remodelling of an earlier, Elizabethan house

¹ Scamozzi, *op. cit.*, i, iii, p. 284; H.Colvin, 'The South Front of Wilton House', *AJ*, cxi (1954), 181-90; J.Bold, *Wilton House and English Palladianism* (1988), p. 34, Pls. 33, 39.

begun for Speaker Chaloner Chute, at the Vyne, in 1654 (Pl.33). He raised the ends of the north frontage, as Talman was to do at Blyth Hall (begun 1683) and Lord Burlington at Tottenham Park (c.1721; Pl.87), thereby prophetically establishing a prototype for the eighteenth-century neo-Palladian tower house. At the centre of the long façade he placed a giant, Corinthian tetrastyle portico, and, with its outer piers, closer to a design by Scamozzi¹ – but with the order changed from the Ionic – than anything by Palladio, or even Jones. Apart from the slight breaking forward of the end towers, the portico is the only projection from the façade and performs precisely the same pivotal compositional function of balancing and stabilizing the whole façade from the centre that was later to characterize neo-Palladian country houses throughout most of the eighteenth century. As an addition to an existing, older fabric in a very different, Tudor style, the portico seems faintly anomalous and does not portend an inner, templar space. Nonetheless, Webb's impressive portico has the distinction of being the first giant, free-standing portico on an English country house. That honour could have gone to Lamport Hall a year or so before work began at The Vyne when Webb had tried to persuade Sir Justinian Isham to include a portico in his refurbishment of his Tudor house. Sir Justinian, who was knowledgeable about architecture, rejected the idea exactly because he felt that a portico would make the house look too temple-like.²

As work came to an end at The Vyne, Webb had the chance at Gunnersbury (c.1658-63), almost on the eve of the Restoration, to develop the court style for a country house. Comprising seven bays with a first-

1 Scamozzi, *op. cit.*, ii, vi, p. 89.

2 Bold, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

floor Corinthian hexastyle recessed loggia Gunnersbury was, in effect, a pedimented version of the Queen's House loggia and a variation on Jones's initial project for the Prince's Lodging at Newmarket. The combination of these features, ultimately deriving from Jones's unexecuted, pedimented design for the Queen's House of 1616, was one which several architects would employ, particularly in the later eighteenth century, notably Lancelot Brown in his unexecuted design of 1751 for 'My Lady's Lodge' at Packington¹ and, particularly, Carr at Newark Town Hall (1773-6; Pl.169), Basildon (1776; Pl.177), and his unexecuted design for the entrance front at Nuneham (1778).² At the same time as he was working on the so-called 'small' scheme for a palace at Greenwich and his proposed enlarging of the Queen's House, Webb produced at Amesbury (c.1661) what has been called 'the apogee of his style' and his 'triumph in country house design'.³ On the nine-bay south front he placed, over a rusticated base, a Composite tetrastyle, prostyle, loggia portico – that is, only accessible internally – rather like a reduced, raised up version of The Vyne, with balustrades between the columns, the loggia giving, as at the Queen's House, onto the hall. These were to be Webb's only country house porticoes, and the last for some time anywhere.

Country house façades subsequently developed along various lines. Pratt's short-lived Clarendon House (1664-7) in the capital set a trend for pedimented, astylar houses, such as Uffington (c.1681) and Belton (1684-6), whilst May's temple-fronted Eltham Lodge (1663-5) was immediately

¹ D.Stroud, *Capability Brown* (1984 edn.), Pl. 6a; M.Binney, 'Packington Hall, Warwickshire-I', *CL*, cxlviii (9 Jul., 1970), 104 and Fig. 7.

² G.Worsley, 'Nuneham Park Revisited - II', *CL*, clxxviii (10 Jan., 1985), Fig. 7.

³ *The King's Arcadia*, p. 207.

echoed at Cornbury (1663-8), Clarendon House (1664-6), and numerous other medium-sized houses.

Proposals by Robert Hooke for porticoes and temple fronts – a second-storey loggia portico for Montagu House in 1675 and a temple front for Lowther in c.1680-90 came to nothing, although a modified version of the Lowther design was used for Burley-on-the-Hill (1694-1700; Pl. 48). Hooke's proposed portico for the north front of Ragley, in 1674, was equally unsuccessful. He wrote that in his proposal he 'had cast [the steps] to be under the court of the house itself, somew^t of the nature of the Great Stairs at Somerset House...The Portico in w^{ch} they are Lyes open to the (First) Court in to w^{ch} the Landing is immediate out of the Coach, and (Great) thereby the stairs always lye dry and clean'. The staircase was to have projected 'wthout the sides for an open portico and half pace to the stair in the middle of the ascent (half the ascent being wthin the house)'.¹

The views of Hooke, Pratt, and North were not published, and so had no circulation and, therefore, only limited impact. In 1660, there was nothing new about Pratt's endorsement of placing columned and pedimented doors centrally for greater nobility, or of putting porticoes before the houses of princes. But in the 1690s, North was as much concerned for the internal structural reflection of external show as for the parade and 'grandure proper to quality' itself, and expressed the desire for unity of conception so strongly felt by Webb. Pediments, at least, were essential; for

¹ M.I.Batten, 'The Architecture of Dr. Robert Hooke, FRS', *Walpole Soc.*, xxv (1936-37), 100, 101.

the middle is most considerable in every building; and ought to be sett off with a large and massy frontone, that speaks, entrance porch, or covering, all that is necessary, to invite persons to approach and enter. This is necessary, whether columned or not, and however a break forward doth well, it may be without even that, provided the springers of the frontone cornish are over a solid, and not in the upright of a void. This supposeth a range cross the house a thwart; and shews a composition by designe for putting all well together. And nothing is more stately. It was such a grandure, that the Romans granted the privilege of having a *fastigium domus*, as an honnour, or reward of merit.¹

The Roman distinction was to be reiterated by Evelyn when he, too, recalled Cicero: '*Julius Caesar* being the first whom they Indulg'd to raise his Palace in this *Fastigious* manner'.² North would doubtless have wished for the coherence of an inner, temple-like space but, like Pratt, he was mindful of expense and had to be content on his own house at Rougham in 1692-4 with the addition to an older structure of his giant Ionic tetrastyle portico.³ It was to be more than ten years before a portico was again to appear on an English country house, at Blenheim.

Although the giant order is a principal element of the Baroque, its use is not, in itself, the sole determinant of the style.⁴ There was apparently no giant order in Classical Rome;⁵ rather the superimposition of orders on massive underbuilding, as at the Theatre of Marcellus and the Coliseum. But a comparison of the *scenae frons* of the three-storeyed

¹ Eds. Colvin and Newman, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

² J.Evelyn, *An Account of Architects and Architecture* (1706), p.50.

³ Eds. Colvin and Newman, *op. cit.*, Pl. 1.

⁴ I am indebted to Professor Alastair Rowan for stimulating many of the following thoughts on the giant order.

⁵ A minor exception is the mid-second century A.D. mausoleum, traditionally known as 'the tomb of Annia Regilla', on the Appian Way, Rome, where brick pilasters and engaged columns embrace two storeys separated by a key plat band, rather like the two blind bays behind the Pantheon portico; J.B.Ward-Perkins, *Roman Architecture* (1988 edn.), Pl.118. The mausoleum was drawn by Antonio da Sangallo; H.M.Colvin, *Architecture and the After-Life* (1991), Fig. 70.

Nymphaeum at Miletus, for example, with Raphael's Vidoni Cafarelli, or his lost Branconio dell'Aquila, and with Gibbs's Radcliffe Camera immediately gives an idea of the giant order's potential for scale – as opposed to size – grandeur, and syncopation. A more direct comparison is afforded in contrasting treatments by John Wood the Elder in his three storeys with delicate, superimposed coupled columns in the Circus at Bath (begun 1754) and by his son in the Royal Crescent (1767-75), with its grand, giant columns. The discreteness of storeys so evident in English architecture was to be much criticized, notably by Roger North in the late seventeenth century and by Sir John Soane, who specifically cited the Circus, in the early nineteenth. Both writers firmly laid responsibility for this on the shoulders of Inigo Jones at the Banqueting House.

The giant order first appeared as pilasters on Alberti's S.Andrea at Mantua (1470). Raphael used both giant pilasters and columns at the Villa Madama (begun 1516), and Sangallo adopted giant columns for the Porta Santo Spirito at Rome (1526). On the Campodoglio, Michelangelo integrated two variant giant orders, the lesser order in the Palazzo de' Conservatori immediately having been admired by Marot and Rossi, and employed, perhaps appositely, by Maderno for his temple front at St.Peter's. In Venice, the giant order appeared, over a rustic base, on Sanmicheli's Palazzo Grimani (1549).

Palladio understood scale and demonstrated the capacity of the giant order for grandeur at the Palazzo Valmarana (1565-6), the Loggia del Capitaniato (1571), and the unfinished Palazzo Porto-Breganze (1570s). So, too, did the architect of the comparatively small triumphal arch erected as

the main entrance to the château of La Tour d'Aigues (1571) in Provence, one of the most remarkable neo-classical buildings for its date anywhere in Europe.¹ Smaller in size but still grand in scale was the south door of St.Nicholas-des-Champs, Paris (1576-86), incorporating a triumphal arch motif, to the design of Philibert de l'Orme.² It was almost certainly in this atmosphere of French experimentation that the giant order made its first appearance in England on the north and south courtyard ranges at Kirby Hall (1570-5; Pl. 8), the closest parallel of precisely the same date having been du Cerceau the Elder's château at Charleval (begun 1570).³

The giant order was to become the motif *par excellence* of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; van Campen's Mauritshuis at the Hague (c.1663), and its vast progeny – beginning with Hugh May's Eltham Lodge (1664) and carrying on to Lord Pembroke and Roger Morris's Marble Hill (1724-9), and beyond – giving grandeur cheaply; Vingboons's Trippenhuys, Amsterdam (1662; Pl.35); Bernini's unexecuted Louvre designs (1664-5) and his Palazzo Chigi-Odescalchi, Rome (1664); Le Vau's east front of the Louvre (1667-70); Mansart's Place Vendôme, Paris (begun 1698; Pl.49). Vanbrugh's Blenheim Palace (begun 1705; Pls.55,56); Aldrich's Peckwater Quad (1705-6; Pl.59) and Clarke's Christ Church Library, Oxford (begun 1717); Gabriel's Petit Trianon, Versailles (1762; Pl.147); and Adam's Charlotte Square, Edinburgh (1791; Pl.199), to name but a few.

¹ A.Blunt, *Art and Architecture in France 1500 to 1700* (2nd rev. edn., 1973), Pl. 74.

² A.Blunt, *Philibert de l'Orme* (1958), Pls. 51a, 51b. Both Serlio, iv (1537), f. 55, and de l'Orme, *Le Premier Tome de l'Architecture* (1567), g.252v. showed the giant order.

³ Blunt, *op. cit.*, (2nd rev. edn., 1973), Pl. 110.

In England, in marked contrast to the tradition of superimposed storeys for frontispieces there appeared from the 1630s a number of largely Dutch-inspired, middling country houses and imposing town residences articulated by giant pilasters. Amongst these were the demolished Balme's House, Hackney (c.1635), with its coupled pilasters on a rusticated base, exactly contemporary with Raynham; houses, now demolished, on the south side of Great Queen Street, London (1637); Lindsey House, Lincoln's Inn Fields (1640), and the influential New Gallery, also demolished, at Somerset House (1662-3), built to Webb's design.

Though they were revolutionary for Britain, Jones's executed buildings were relatively few in number and disparate in type. Despite its size, Jones's portico at St. Paul's Cathedral, rooted firmly in Palladio's interpretation of Antiquity, could not be considered as baroque, and attempts to trace the roots of the English Baroque back to this or any of Jones's designs would be to detract from the meaning of the style.

Jones himself does not seem to have been particularly active in the years immediately before his death in 1652. The most important architect in Britain working during the period 1640-70 was John Webb, and it is in his designs from the late 1640s for Whitehall and Durham House, Belvoir Castle and, later, Greenwich, with giant orders for temple fronts and monumental porticoes set against façades of broader rhythms, greater depth, increased movement, and latent tensions, that the English Baroque is generally considered to have been initiated.

(b) Royal Palaces

At no point in his designs for Whitehall Palace, inspired by Herrera's Escorial, Villalpando, and, ultimately, reconstructions of Solomon's Temple,¹ did Jones apparently consider using a giant order or porticoes for the projected 'New Jerusalem in St.James's Park'.² Instead, the building was, like its models, intended to rely for its impact on the vastness of its extent and on the cumulative effect of two and three discrete storeys with superimposed orders articulated in small, repeated units and punctuated, where appropriate, by pedimented frontispieces and pyramid-capped pavilions. The design in general and the last feature in particular also owed a great deal to de l'Orme's revolutionary – for France – St.Maur (begun 1541) and his only partially executed designs for the Tuileries (begun 1565).³

Some of the schemes for Whitehall datable to 1637-9, and characterized by similar treatment, appear to be the result of a collaboration between Jones and Webb. However, the designs from the mid-1640s, in which Jones's circular court was retained but moved to the other, park, side and a Palladian giant order of columns introduced, are almost certainly by Webb alone. It is in the so-called 'Taken' scheme (1647-8),⁴ presaging Webb's mature style, that the giant octastyle Corinthian portico provides a grand entrance at the centre of a long, 47-bay frontage, facing the Thames, in which the Banqueting House is duplicated to form a

¹ R.Taylor 'Architecture and Magic: Considerations on the *Idea* of the Escorial', in eds. Fraser, Hibbard, and Lewine, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-109.

² J.Bold, *John Webb* (1989), p. 111.

³ Blunt, *op. cit.*, (1958), Pls. 56-7.

⁴ M.Whinney, 'John Webb's Drawings for Whitehall Palace', *WS*, xxxi (1942-3), 53.

pendant and the otherwise astylar ranges of the same height terminate in pavilions with giant tetrastyle temple fronts.¹ The portico would immediately have given on the cross axis onto a Roman hall with a double row of eight columns, its length equal to the portico's width. On the inner, court, side a corresponding giant temple front would itself have been echoed at the far end of the principal court. However, neither this nor a further, similar, design for Charles II from the 1660s and featuring a giant hexastyle portico on a similarly contracted, 33-bay frontage are satisfactory, principally because both compositions are predicated by the apparently, two-storeyed Banqueting House. Its superimposed orders determined the height, but on a different scale, of the giant order which itself rests not firmly on the ground but on a half basement at the height set by the floor of the Banqueting House. It is, therefore, less in these designs than in that for the Earl of Pembroke's Durham House in the Strand (1649), with its giant hexastyle flanked by ranges anchored at the ends by coupled columns resting almost directly on the ground, that the genesis of Webb's design for the King Charles II Building (1664-9) at Greenwich is to be found. The block's principal elements are identifiably Palladian – the order apparently from the Palazzo Valmarana and the massive, gradually projecting keystones from the Palazzo Thiene – whilst the tetrastyle and the pavilions with a third storey recall the similar disposition of such elements in Scamozzi which had informed Isaac de Caus's unexecuted project of the mid-1630s for Wilton.

The confident use here of the giant order in the centre and at the ends provides a strong verticality which counters the horizontal

¹ *Ibid.*, Pl. xviii (a) and (b).

emphasis, created collectively by the shallow base line, the deep central string course and the uninterrupted frieze, producing an inherent tension. Gone are the small units of the earlier Whitehall designs, replaced by a largeness of parts prefigured in the later ones. The block's scale, compositional balance, and inner tension, its simultaneous fusion of and respect for parts in a long, dramatically unified façade without a basement, together with its feeling for surface in the deep rustication and emphasized keystones, have led it to be considered, justifiably, as the first Baroque building in England.

The executed block was, like Jones's Banqueting House, only one part (the west wing) of a larger projected scheme – itself only one of a number of schemes – for a palace. The initial proposal of 1663 involved ignoring the Queen's House and having an identical, balancing block to the east, both blocks linked at their southern ends to a porticoed, domed *corps*, facing the Thames. However, the need to retain an uninterrupted view of the Queen's House from the river led, in 1666, to a revised proposal, in which the central *corps* was omitted and the Queen's House itself – but porticoed and domed, and enlarged by the addition of four porticoed corner pavilions – was intended as the main object of focus, with a 'grotto and ascent' to the south, on the same axis, closing the vista.¹ From the river, the view would have first presented the giant pilaster temple fronts nearest the river at the northern ends of the wings,² framing and leading up to a porticoed Queen's House as the centrepiece. However,

¹ Bold, *op. cit.*, Fig. 7; J.Harris, *The Palladians* (1981), Fig. 22.

² *Ibid.*, Fig. 21.

despite its proposed enlargement, Jones's building would have been too distant and its scale too small for this proposal to have been effective.

Wren took Webb's initial proposals as the starting point for his first Greenwich scheme of 1694 in which he retained King Charles's Block and also, as Webb had done, ignored the Queen's House. But the plan, with smaller blocks stepped into the court on the way to the domed and porticoed *corps* and low quadrant curves – surely a recollection of Vaux-le-Vicomte (Pl.34) – linking the wings smoothly to the portico were wholly new for England. The pediment resonated in the river-fronts of the wings and the portico's verticality was emphasized by the dome. By making the portico the majestic climax to a long, measured crescendo Wren firmly associated the portico with the monarchy and royal buildings. He also accorded it an unprecedented compositional importance, which was to find echoes at Blenheim and also, in a public context, in later urban planning.

Wren, too, had to take cognisance of the Queen's House which, in the complex as executed, presides in an almost pristine state over a columnar approach, punctuated by intermediate, stepped-in flanking domes – already adumbrated at Winchester – surmounting broken-arched pediments. The subsequent doubling-up of the wing blocks widened the temple-fronted and rusticated river-facing façades (Pl.38) which were themselves to be widely influential, notably at Chatsworth and Castle Howard. They provide the first encounter with a composition which makes most sense only when viewed along the central axis (Pl.70).

It is probable that Webb's Whitehall proposals were passed to Wren, who faced the same seemingly intractable problem of what to do with the Banqueting House. A scheme of 1664 would have linked the Banqueting

House and its pendant with superimposed porticoes – the solution Wren was to adopt for St.Paul's – the heights of their orders and of the plinths to the columns dictated by the storeys of the Banqueting House and of its floor-level, respectively.¹ Another scheme, based closely on Webb's last plan, included a giant portico, its pediment rising above the roof line of the retained Banqueting House on one flank and of its duplicate on the other.²

Wren would doubtless have preferred a ground-based order, such as Webb had used at Greenwich, and not a pre-existing basement, as here. After his experience at Greenwich of trying to reconcile the scale of another Jones building Wren decided, in his Whitehall proposal of over thirty years later, in 1698, to make a virtue out of necessity; since the Banqueting House could not be ignored, he chose to make it the nucleus and centrepiece. The difficulty of the basement he could not resolve; but the problem of scale he attempted to overcome by fronting it with a giant, unpedimented tetrastyle Corinthian portico and flanking it by domed, cylindrical towers, also with a giant order, linked by lower gateways to wings, of the same height as these, projecting eastwards towards the river. The east-facing façades of the terminating, almost basilical, pavilions comprised nine-bay colonnades of a lesser but still massive order, the five centre bays of each crowned, above a high attic, by a pediment. Though the scale of the Banqueting House is increased, its proportions and orders nonetheless inform and determine the whole composition. What is new here is the breadth, sweep, and pace of the composition, the dramatic,

¹ K.Downes, *The Architecture of Wren* (1982), Pl. 2.

² Whinney, *op. cit.*, (1985 edn.), Pls. 134, 135. Although there are lower lateral extensions to the *corps*, the massing is echoed in some later neo-Palladian houses.

almost theatrical, contrasts of light and shade and movement created by the projection and recession of monumental units inspired by though not formally derived from the Rome not just of Bernini but also of Antiquity. The surface treatment, except in the pavilion façades, is achieved exclusively by architectural means. Though the design was never executed, it was precisely these qualities of varied rhythms, masses, and silhouettes which were to characterize so much English Baroque architecture under the influence of Wren and the Office of Works, Hawksmoor, and Vanbrugh. The unpedimented portico, here approached by a three-sided flight of stairs whose base is almost as wide as the Banqueting House, would certainly have been grand. Together with that in another design from the 'Smaller' project, in which the outer piers are squared and the attic is even deeper,¹ the portico is closely related to both porticoes at Blenheim and to Vanbrugh's almost contemporary scheme for Welbeck Abbey (Pl.60).

Although these schemes were to remain so many palaces in the air, all included giant porticoes as part of the compositional climax. Porticoes were therefore associated almost exclusively with the monarchy and notions of royal majesty and grandeur. Although the palace projects except Greenwich were to fail, the ideas worked out on paper - where some of the best baroque porticoes remain - were not to be wasted. When the opportunity arose at Blenheim Palace to build, with the approval of the Crown and Parliament, on royal land, what was ostensibly a national monument, it was hardly surprising that ideas from the many abortive royal palace schemes should largely have informed its design. Though

¹ Downes, *EBA*, Pl. 82.

carried out in the monarch's name, the military victories and the apogee of British power celebrated and commemorated belonged to a constitutional monarch and to parliament, and not solely to the monarch in person. Any personality cult centred on Marlborough; and so the bestowal upon a commoner, however exceptional, of a home displaying architectural symbolism hitherto redolent of monarchy constituted not only a precedent for subsequent grand, aristocratic country house-building, but also introduced and confirmed the portico as an integral part of the building and of the architectural expression of the highest distinction and grandeur.

2 Webb, Wren and the Baroque Church

(i) Ecclesiastical Buildings

(a) Webb's Drawings of Porticoed Churches

Further evidence of the high importance Webb placed on porticoes is provided by a substantial body of largely theoretical drawings, perhaps made in preparation for a projected architectural thesis, for porticoed churches.¹ Porticoes appear in conjunction with domes, some identifiably Jonesian in inspiration, others borrowed piecemeal from High Renaissance buildings and treatises by Bramante, Palladio, Sangallo, Scamozzi, Serlio, and others. Some drawings show porticoes and domes as significant features in both Greek and Latin cross plans, and another group incorporates them in a design for an ideal cathedral on the theme of Old

¹ M. Whinney, 'Some Church Designs by John Webb', *JWCI*, vi (1943), 145.

St.Paul's. Several drawings show unpedimented porticoes with square angle piers, like Jones's portico but more than twice the height, with eighteen columns, compared with Jones's ten.¹ That Webb contemplated using such a portico with its unusual columniation, especially when he would not have been under the same constraint of adding to an existing building, as Jones had been, testifies to the continuing reputation and influence of Jones's portico.² Other drawings show smaller porticoed churches – some domed, others not – one perhaps a variation on St.Paul's, Covent Garden.³ Although the giant order is never used in these designs, there is one drawing which prefigures some of Wren's designs for a new St.Paul's. It shows a domed, centrally-planned Greek cross design, the arms linked by convex walls and the nave fronted by a massive, pedimented ten-column portico.⁴ The angle piers are again squared, which is unusual when a pediment is being supported.

These designs represent the earliest experiments involving porticoes and domes for churches in England. Although none was executed, collectively they embody elements of form, planning, and design which prefigured those confronted and treated by Wren at St.Paul's Cathedral.

¹ *Ibid.*, 142, Pl. 37a.

² Webb stated that he 'copied all ye designes from ye Surveyor's Invention', presumably including Jones's portico at St.Paul's; 'Inigo Jones and St.Paul's Cathedral', *LTR*, xviii (1942), 41-6.

³ Whinney, *op. cit.*, (1943), Pl. 40.

⁴ M.Whinney, *Wren* (1985 edn.), Pl. 82.

(b) St. Paul's Cathedral

The greatest and most significant architectural undertaking in England of the seventeenth century was the building of Wren's St. Paul's Cathedral. Rising phoenix-like from the ashes of Old St. Paul's, of which Jones's portico was among the few parts to survive, though not unscathed, it was meant to be to the Anglican Church in the heart of the nation's capital, what St. Peter's was to the Catholic Church at the heart of Rome.

It was built by a mathematician and astronomer who became the country's leading architect; whose first-hand experience of the classical style, before he visited France, was confined almost entirely to the work of Inigo Jones; and whose task it was to transmute the Catholic, absolutist Baroque in the service of Protestant, constitutional Britain. St. Paul's proclaimed itself the metropolitan church, symbolized the parity and indivisibility of Church and State, and was meant to predicate a regular city-plan, comprising monumental punctuations linked by extensive vistas along straight, wide avenues.

Although Solomon's Temple continued to exercise the imagination and ingenuity of both theologians and architects, including Wren, too much uncertainty attended its historical reality for any of the diverse reconstructions of it to inform in any positive degree the building of a new cathedral.¹ If James I had been seen as Solomon, Charles I was seen by many as a martyr, even a Christ-like figure. The rebuilding of the Temple

¹ See T., R., *De Templis. A Treatise of Temples: Wherein is Discovered the Ancient Manner of Building, Consecrating and Adorning of Churches* (1638); J. Lightfoot, *The Temple, Especially As It Stood in the Dayes of our Saviour* (1650); *Biblia Sacra Polyglota* (1655-57), with plates by Hollar and the title-page by Webb; S. Lee, *Orbis Miraculum: Or the Temple of Solomon*, (1659). Gerbier *op. cit.* (1662), pp. 2-3.

was also considered a Christ-like task and duty. It was, however, in the *topos* of the Pantheon, of portico followed by a domed interior space, which had inspired St.Peter's and, in turn, the recently- or nearly-completed religious and secular domed and porticoed buildings, derived from the academic Roman style of della Porta and Rosati, that Wren saw in Paris¹ – including Lemercier's Sorbonne (begun 1635; Pls.27,28) and Val-de-Grâce (begun 1646; Pls.29,30), and Le Vau's Collège des Quatre Nations (begun 1662; Pl.36) – that Wren was to be provided with the *leitmotif* for St.Paul's.²

Porticoes were significant elements in all the successive designs that Wren was obliged to make before the adoption of the final one – very much a compromise – in which the form of the portico as executed was decided almost at the last minute. In his work, Wren was rarely, if ever, free from the exigencies of site and cost, and he saw few of his major schemes realized as he envisaged them or in their entirety. Winchester Palace (1682-5), with its stepped-back, Versailles-like wings leading up to the climax of a giant hexastyle portico surmounted by a domed drum, was never finished. At Hampton Court, instead of his grand scheme, he had to be content with the temple-fronted east façade and unpedimented frontispiece on the south front (1689-1700) as additions to an existing building. His proposals for Whitehall Palace were abandoned after the fire of 1698. It was really only in some of his earliest buildings at the

¹ M.Whinney, 'Sir Christopher Wren's Visit to Paris', *GB-A*, li (1958), 229-42.

² It is possible that Wren might have known Webb's theoretical church drawings, but there is no evidence, other than often striking similarities between the two architects' designs, that he ever saw them. In all Italy and France, the only churches with porticoes that Pratt recollected seeing were St.Peter's and the Sorbonne, the latter 'after the manner of the Pantheon'; ed. Gunther, *op. cit.*, p. 294.

universities – the temple-fronted Cambridge chapels at Pembroke (1663-5; Pl.37) and Emmanuel (1668-73; Pl.41) and the Sheldonian (1664-9; Pls.39,40) at Oxford, with its superimposed temple fronts; at Chelsea Hospital (1682-9; Pl.47), where the giant, very Roman hexastyle dominating Figure Court (a three-dimensional and partial realization of some of Webb's Greenwich schemes and Wren's first use of the giant order) is echoed by pilastered temple fronts on both sides of the wings; and in a very few of the City churches, in which temple-fronts were frequently quoted in the façades, that Wren had a more or less free hand. For St.Paul's, the Great Model Design (1673; Pl.43), with its monumental Pantheon-like octastyle, came closest to representing Wren's almost unfettered imagination in a building whose composition, scale, and grandeur would have been unprecedented in England. However, to those exigencies already mentioned were added not only the structural limitations of materials but also the formal constraints of the Apostolic Succession,¹ the Anglican liturgy, and a conservative, clergy. The Great Model, already accepted by Charles II when he was forced by the clergy to abandon it in 1673, was deemed too large, too expensive, and above all, too radical and baroque. The rejection also of the Greek Cross Design (1673),² with concave quadrants joining the arms, in favour of the Latin cross plan of the Warrant Design (1675; Pl.44) which was to be the basis of the cathedral as built, was an even more drastic change than had been Maderno's extension into a nave of Michelangelo's westernmost arm, and eventually resulted, in the building as executed, in what is, in effect, a domed

¹ 'The Apostolic Succession was the invisible link with the past; the cathedral form must serve as the visible'; Whinney, *op. cit.* (1934), 145.

² All Souls, ii, 22.

traditional plan, barely disguised by an outer shell, comprising classical vocabulary with a baroque accent.

Though not as big as Wren had envisaged, the present cathedral is still impressive and bigger than anything built in this country up to that time. One of the major concessions Wren was forced to make was in the ultimate form of the portico. Following the rejection of the Great Model, and perhaps wanting to be on safer ground, Wren had reverted in the Warrant Design (1675; Pl.45) to reconsidering Jones's portico, or one very like it, but advancing three intercolumniations, as a solution.¹ Though Jones's portico was damaged during the Fire, it was reasonably intact and it was at first hoped to incorporate it in a rebuilt cathedral. Its retention does not figure in Wren's pre-1675 proposals, at a time when he clearly still hoped for *carte-blanche*. Even before its demolition in 1687, following further collapse, and a slight re-alignment of the new cathedral's axis,² Wren was contemplating a variation on the theme of an unpedimented decastyle, testifying to his closeness to Jones's source, the Temple of Peace, and to the enduring impact and reputation of Jones's own portico. Between 1688 and 1694 Wren was also still considering using a giant, single-order portico with a round-headed break into the pediment – a larger and more plastic and sculptural version of his proposed treatment of the transepts in the Great Model – for the west front. However, Wren's decision to use superimposed orders over a half basement was apparently taken in the late 1680s or early 1690s and the adoption of superimposed

¹ J.Summers, 'The Penultimate Design for St.Paul's Cathedral', *Burl. Mag.*, ciii (Mar., 1961), 83-9. Although 'it would have been inconceivable to Wren that a portico could have a central column' (*Wren Soc.*, xix, 135), the placing of columns directly in the line of the aisle entrances would have been no less unsatisfactory.

² S.Wren, *Parentalia* (1750), p. 287. Whinney, *op. cit.* (1943), Pl. 37b.

porticoes, such as he had proposed in one of his Whitehall designs, but here with a three-bay over a five-bay portico apparently helping to support the western towers (Pl.45), seemed to follow as a consequence. In whatever respects St.Paul's differs from or resembles the building which most inspired it, St.Peter's, a major difference was in the use in the latter of the giant order. A closer comparison in the use of superimposed orders would appear to be afforded by Mansart's almost exactly contemporary Les Invalides (before 1679-91; Pl.46). But the question may be asked, as, indeed, it was at the time, as to why a giant portico, so consistently proposed throughout many of the earlier designs, should eventually have been rejected. Ralph, for example, thought this a major defect, since

the dividing the portico, and indeed the whole structure into two stories on the outside, certainly indicates a like division within: a circumstance abounding in absurdities, and defeating the very end of erecting it at all...the portico should have been farther projected on the eye instead of retreating from it, in order to have given a grand contraste to the whole front, and aided the perspective within'¹

'Some have enquired', wrote Stephen Wren in 1750, 'why the *Surveyor* chose to make two Orders, rather than *one single Order*, with an *attick* story, as at St.Peter's in Rome. It is most certain his Intention and Desires from the Beginning were to have followed that Example, had all things succeeded to his Wish. This appears by all his *first* Designs, and in particular by the *great Model*'.²

As Stephen had already noted, there was progressively less space available to the west because 'The Proprietors of the Ground with much Eagerness and Haste, have begun to build accordingly; an incredible

¹ Ralph, *op. cit.*, pp. 18, 19.

² Wren, *op. cit.*, p. 287

Progress has been made in a very short Time; many large and fair Houses erected; and every Foot of Ground in that trading and populous Part of the Town was highly estimated'.¹ Not only did this mean that there was insufficient room for a projecting portico but also that the western towers could not afford adequate abutment for one.² Even more importantly: Jones's portico had been 56 feet high; Wren's would have been nearer 100 feet, and not only would the entablature spanning the intercolumniations have needed to have been proportionately wider – a not insuperable problem – but the vast weight of such a huge pediment and overhanging cornice as would have been required could not, in conjunction with giant columns, have been supported.³ Roger North had strong reservations about the propriety of superimposing orders; to him, was a 'common failing'.⁴ Although North understood the reasons for this, and acknowledged the judgement and distinction of Jones and Wren, he was still reluctant to condone practices that he regarded as uncanonic.⁵ Confirmation of this was given in Stephen Wren's explanation.⁶ On the

1 *Idem.*

2 Downes, *EBA*, p. 32.

3 In the entablature 'each intercolumnar section of architrave in the existing portico has in the middle a stone which appears to have no support and is in fact suspended from a secret arch bearing on its neighbours. This was a structural difficulty that Wren knew how to solve, but giant columns and overhanging cornices presented an insuperable problem'; eds. Colvin and Newman, *op. cit.*, p. xvii, n. 16.

4 *Ibid.*, pp. 21-2.

5 *Idem.*

6 Wren, *op. cit.*, p. 288. Whinney believed that 'Wren was prevented from building his giant portico because the Portland quarries could not produce blocks of stone long enough to span the intercolumniations of the entablature'; *op. cit.* (1985 edn.), p. 112. It is possible that this reading of *Parentalia* is based on a misinterpretation of 'Scantling' which, though it had then the meaning that it almost exclusively has now of a 'beam', was more often than not used simply to denote 'a quality cut for a particular purpose; a certain proportion'; Sheridan, *op. cit.* (2nd edn., 1790), *s.v.* Colvin and Newman have noted 'that there are structural indications that the west front was designed with a giant order in mind, and that the tremendous weight of the pediment would almost certainly have disrupted the masonry of composite columns made up of smaller stones, however carefully jointed'; *op. cit.*, p. xvii, n. 16.

question of the doubling of the external pilasters and of the columns in the portico he gave practical reasons – the admission of light – for the former and cited ancient precedent, notably the Temple of Peace at Rome, as given by Serlio, where columns were coupled to give wider intercolumniation for the entrances, in defence of the latter.¹

The semi-circular north and south porticoes (Pl.50), completed by 1685,² comprise six Corinthian columns, double-fluted on their lower third, like the larger columns on the west portico, with which they are comparable in height, and radial flights of steps which at the top pass between the plinths to the columns – a device later used by Archer at St.Paul's, Deptford (Pl.67). The idea for such porticoes was probably derived from Cortona's S.Maria della Pace where, however, the columns are coupled (an adaptation of Peruzzi's Palazzo Massimi) but also support a shallow elliptical dome. Wren's porticoes, here with secret arches in the entablatures,³ are more regular in their columniation, spatially less complex, and wholly original.⁴ Viewed from the axes of the transepts, the semi-circular porticoes seem to prefigure the large, circular drum supporting the dome above, almost as if they were part of a new configuration, or even a different building, a phenomenon Wren might have observed in comparing the different viewpoints from the temple-fronted street façade and the porticoed court side of the Sorbonne (Pls.27,28). The lunettes in the pediments may have come from the same

¹ Wren, *op.cit.*, pp. 288, 289.

² *Ibid.*, p. 292.

³ Eds. Colvin and Newman, *op. cit.*, p. 120 and note.

⁴ Wren had placed a semi-circular portico on the south side of St.Clement Danes in 1680-2; *Wren Soc.*, ix, 21-2, x, 23-4, 108-11. Ralph thought there was 'something clumsy and too heavy in the portico'; Ralph, , *op. cit.*, p.37. It was removed in the nineteenth century.

Roman source – although Cortona's is segmental and wider – but are at the same time Mansartian and much more likely to be faint echoes of the earlier proposals for the transepts and west front.

Returning to the west portico; it is perhaps worth recalling that the lower part alone of Wren's portico is almost comparable in size with Jones's. It is also perhaps the case that posterity has espoused Ralph's criticism, rather than Stephen Wren's explanation, of the double portico.

3 Hawksmoor, Vanbrugh and Archer

(i) Domestic Buildings

(a) Houses

The manipulation and articulation of space, both external and internal, real and illusionistic, is characteristic of Baroque architecture. Whether in the blocky, reductionist, almost abstract masses of Hawksmoor's St.Mary Woolnoth, in which the rôle of ornament is minimal, or in the gradations of Vanbrugh's north front at Blenheim (Pl.55), where shifts of axis and the discreteness of the mass's components are palliated almost to the point of concealment by quadrant curves and ambiguous surfaces, both horizontal and vertical space and the shapes they make are visually every bit as important as the masses themselves which create them and which they complement. Blenheim's nervous, busy skyline is reciprocated by the extensive, spacious disposition of its stepped wings which project to embrace and welcome, as well as to impress, the visitor.

The parentage of this device is mixed. In some of his villa designs, Palladio linked the *corps-de-logis* to the service wings by means of

quadrant curves, after what he believed to be the manner of the Ancients, thereby defining the space immediately before the main block and funnelling the visitor's approach. There were pre-Palladian precedents for this, for example, at the château of Chenonceau (begun 1515). But the highest expression of this notion came in one of the Baroque's most grandiloquent statements, Bernini's monumental curved colonnades, almost encompassing the piazza before St.Peter's (1656-67) and leading the visitor's eyes to the dome and his or her footsteps to the climax of Maderno's temple front. At almost exactly the same moment, at Vaux-le-Vicomte (1657-61; Pl.34), where pilaster temple-fronted wings step forward, as at Versailles, from a laterally extended *corps* in which each section is separately roofed, Le Vau softened the right-angles formed by the projecting wings with single-storey quadrant curves (in much the same way that consoles were used to smooth the transition from horizontal to vertical on baroque church façades). At the Collège des Quatre Nations (begun 1662; Pl.36), Le Vau flanked his portico surmounted by a dome facing the Seine and the Louvre with giant-pilastered, stepped-back pavilions linked by quadrants of the same height but of a different scale, having two superimposed orders of pilasters, and lower-pitched roofs behind balustrades. It is possible to visualize this composition without the drum and dome, but not without the portico which is its climax.

Only three years after the completion of Vaux and three years before that of Bernini's colonnades, Pratt brought to fruition on the Piccadilly frontage of his comparatively short-lived but influential Clarendon House (1664-7) the Palladian disposition, of a block linked by quadrants to wings, which had been projected, perhaps by Inigo Jones, for Stoke Bruern (c.1630) and which was to be adopted for many British country houses, including Gibb's Baroque-Palladian compromise at Ditchley (1720-31), and

Brettingham's, Paine's, and Adam's Palladian-neo-classical fusion at Kedleston (c.1758-70; Pl.128). The stepping forward of the wings and narrowing of the court towards the grand entrance was one of the principal recurring characteristics in the plans of Webb's large, domed design for Greenwich (1664), Wren's partially completed designs for Winchester Palace (1683-5), and for Greenwich as executed.

All these elements, except a portico, are present at Castle Howard. But at Blenheim the subsidiary, engaged order of the quadrants, continuing that of the open colonnades, and the stepping forward of the wings, together with a concomitant heightening of the masses, especially in the pavilions, form a rhythmic progression, its pace quickening and growing in a crescendo, towards the climax of the whole composition, the portico.¹ Instead of a dome, the highest point is the top of the attic pediment whose central third slides back, to be re-formed only when viewed from a particular point on an approach along the central axis. It is the portico, the first on an English country house to be conceived and executed as part of a unified plan, to which the visitor's eyes and feet are ineluctably drawn.²

¹ For a description of the sequences in this approach, see J.Macky, *A Journey Through England*, ii (1722), 114-15.

² Vanbrugh apparently had at least a north portico in mind almost from the start, for he wrote to Marlborough on 22 Jun. 1705 that such an alteration 'adds Wonderfully I think to the Beautys regularity and Magnificence of the Building', ed. H.L.Snyder, *The Marlborough-Godolphin Correspondence* (1975), i, 467, n. 6. See also D.Green, *Blenheim Palace* (1951), p. 74. It was almost three years before the duke agreed; on 27 Apr., 1708, he wrote to the duchess, having first consulted his friends, 'I am advised by everybody to have the portico, so that I have writt to Vanbrook to have itt', ed. Snyder, *op. cit.*, ii, 956. For a view which discounts Blenheim as a proper portico and advances William Wakefield's Duncombe Park of 1713 (Pl.65) whose 'giant freestanding portico...may have been the first country house built with such a portico in the 18th century', see G.Worsley, 'Duncombe Park, Yorkshire - I', *CL*, clxxxiv (24 May, 1990), 118.

Blenheim's north portico prepares the visitor for the innovation in planning of the high, open, top-lit space of the entrance hall, and Thornhill's *Apotheosis of Marlborough*, with strong *sotto in su*, floating on the ceiling. The corresponding, unpedimented south portico, arguably even more subtle in the modulation of its giant, fluted, partially-stopped Corinthian order, from column and pier to engaged column and pilaster, portends the saloon in which the external order of the real architecture is echoed in the painted architecture of Laguerre's illusionistic wall decoration. These characteristics bring it closer to the continental Baroque, particularly to the French, of which there are a remarkable number of elements, above all from Vaux, in Blenheim's planning and treatment.

Comparisons with two other buildings, one baroque the other Palladian, throw further light on the particular qualities of Blenheim's portico. Thomas Archer's Heythrop (1707-10; Pl.58), much of it contemporary with Blenheim, is smaller in size and scale and its unpedimented portico, partly prostyle and partly *in antis*, emerges from a rectangular block whose surface treatment, with its extravagant auricular mouldings, inverted aprons, and quarter-engaged corner columns on the pavilions, represents another aspect of the English Baroque. Here the architectural vocabulary is used perversely, emphasizing and altering the relative proportions of deeply-cut and projecting features, many of which purport to be structural or functional but which are actually largely decorative. There is no cumulative massing or culminating climax here; but there is in the whole building movement and tension, created by the surface treatment, of which the portico is a crucial part. A second, more

contrasting comparison, is with Campbell's Stourhead (c.1720-4; Pl.83), an archetypical neo-Palladian house.¹ Whereas Blenheim displays movement and a state of flux with a varied and interesting, if sometimes disconcerting but unbroken, flow towards a climax, Stourhead's portico is formal, static, and pivotal, acting as a fulcrum in providing the stability on which the composition balances and rests. There is, however, nothing fleeting about this, and only the anchored portico projects crisply from a comparatively plain-surfaced block whose edges are equally crisp and whose components are unequivocally discrete. After Campbell's Wanstead (1715), these were the qualities and settings which would, increasingly, characterize Palladian porticoes.

Blenheim is, admittedly, unique in many respects. It stands less as a monument to an outstanding general, and even less to the world's most powerful nation, than to architectural extremism. The duality of its function – home, or national monument – Vanbrugh never fully resolved and, given the motivation for and the circumstances surrounding its site and creation, it is possible to see it as a relatively unfettered realization of the many abortive schemes for Greenwich – in effect, an ersatz, royal palace. Much visited and generally disliked² before work on it came to a halt in 1725, it was to find favour later in the

¹ The gallery and library wings were not added until 1793-5, and the present portico, restored after a fire in 1902, was added in accordance with Campbell's original design only in 1838-41, by Charles Parker. Nonetheless, the building in its present state affords a justifiable comparison.

² Ed. J.Greig, *The Diaries of a Duchess* (1926) p.4; Walpole to George Montagu, 19 Jul., 1760; *Selected Letters of Horace Walpole*, Everyman edn. (1926), p. 125; Riou, *op. cit.*, p. 57; A.Young, *A Six Weeks Tour* (1768), p. 279; *Ibid.*, pp. 92, 96.

eighteenth century, from the 1770s, with the Adam brothers who admired it, including the portico, for its scale, movement and picturesqueness.¹

If Blenheim reflects, on a smaller scale, the sequential, hierarchical planning of the French absolutist Baroque and the control of spacious Roman baroque, urban planning in Bernini's Catholic colonnaded piazza at St.Peter's, and Rainaldi's and Bernini's twin churches at the Piazza del Popolo (1662-79); and if Heythrop, by the Italian-trained Archer, represents the perversity of surface visual conceits soon to be regarded as licentious and irrelevant; then Galilei's massive portico, unique in this country, added in 1718-19, to Vanbrugh's recently remodelled Kimbolton Castle (1710) appears as a brief flowering of the Roman Baroque in England (Pl.80). Built by the future architect of the façade of S.Giovanni in Laterano, the cathedral of Rome (1734), for the newly created 1st Duke of Manchester who had recently returned from the Veneto, Kimbolton's monumental, unpedimented tetrastyle Roman Doric portico *in antis* is flanked by single bays of superimposed blind niches, all contained within a projecting structure which may be read as comprising the whole portico. There was nothing in Britain remotely resembling the Mannerist staircase, with curved balustrades spilling down, like Michelangelo's Bibliotheca Laurenziana, that the Florentine Galilei placed before the portico. The spatial framework of both approach and portico are deepened and widened by two further, separated flights, defined by the curved balustrades, to a second, lower level.

¹ J.Fleming, *Robert Adam and his Circle* (1962), p.316; *The Works in Architecture of Robert and James Adam*(1778), ed. R.Oresko (1975), pp.46-7.

Leoni's Carshalton (begun 1723), though never completed, represented another direct injection of Italian Baroque treatment. Its design, however, was basically Palladian, owing much to Palladio's unexecuted project for the Villa Mocenigo for its plan and to the Palazzo Valmarana for its elevations, whilst recalling Thornhill's Moor Park (1720-24; Pl.86) in its massing. The portico fully *in antis* is of a type first used in England by Gibbs at Sudbrook (begun c.1717; Pl.79) and subsequently employed or proposed, in both pedimented and unpedimented forms, to great effect almost throughout the rest of our period - by the Baroque Hawksmoor for the south front at Ockham (1725-9); the Palladians Kent at Esher (c.1730),¹ Wright at Nuthall (1754; Pl.122), and Carr - who favoured porticoes *in antis* - at Constable Burton (1762; Pls.144,145); the neo-classical Holland in the east portico at Broadlands (1788-92; Pl.196); and the Greek Revivalists Monck at Belsay (1807-15; Pl.222) and Shaw at Cresswell (1820).

Despite concessions in scale and planning to Palladianism, Baroque monumentalism, movement, and surface treatment continued to characterize designs for many later Baroque porticoed houses - from Vanbrugh's designs for Welbeck Abbey (Pl.60) and the ill-fated Eastbury (begun 1718) to Leoni's Lyme Park (c.1725-35; Pl.93).

¹ J.Harris, 'Esher Place, Surrey', *CL*, clxxxi (2 Apr., 1987), 94-7.

4 Fifty New Churches

(i) Ecclesiastical Buildings

(a) Churches

The first portico to dominate and give focus to a public space in Britain belonged to a church, St. Paul's, Covent Garden. Jones's portico at St. Paul's Cathedral and especially Wren's, which predicated the domination of a regular city plan, made the buildings of the Church the most magnificent and impressive in the land. By the time the Tories, the party of the High Church, came to power in 1710 Wren's fifty-two City Churches, which represented the first coherent church-building programme in England since the Reformation, were complete.

One of the Tories' earliest pieces of legislation in their four-year administration was the passing of an Act in 1711 for the building of fifty new churches. Unlike Wren's, rebuilt on existing, often cramped and irregular sites, these new churches were to provide places of Anglican worship on prominent sites in and around the rapidly expanding cities of London and Westminster. These new churches were to be an impressive architectural presence demonstrating tangibly both the defence of civil and religious liberties and, more importantly, the victory of the Tories and the High Church over the Whigs and Toleration, and the indissolubility of Church and State.¹ Under the circumstances there was a renewed interest, not this time solely in support of monarchy but also of parliamentary

¹ The '*British Constitution in the State as well as Church...is grounded upon Fundamentals so just and lasting, that the Malice of its Enemies have not yet been able to overthrow it...Church and State...being both establish'd upon the same Foundation*'; *An Explanation of the Oxford Almanack for the Year 1711* (1711), p. 9.

government, in the liturgy and practice of the Early Church in Britain.¹ Objections to pagan architectural forms had been largely pre-empted² and, at a time of growing identification with the age of Augustus, it was to Vitruvian basilical plans and templar forms that the architects of the new churches turned.³ Their inspiration for the baroque qualities of monumentality, light, shade, movement and vistas was to be, on the whole, not the Rome of Bernini and Fontana, but imperial Rome and Wren's late, unexecuted plans for the Palace of Whitehall.

Considerations of site were paramount. Wren recommended that the new churches 'should be built, not...in the extremities of the suburbs, but among the thicker inhabitants for convenience of the better sort' and 'be brought as forward as possible into the larger and more open streets, not' (as had been largely his experience) 'in obscure lanes',⁴ and Vanbrugh that 'their Situation may ever be Insulate' to 'give them that Respectfull Distinction & Dignity which Churches Always ought to have', so that 'they may be so plac'd, to be fairly View'd at such proper distance, as is necessary to shew their Exterior Form to the best Advantage, as at the ends

¹ In the *Origines Britannicae, Or, the Antiquities of the British Church* (1685), of which Wren owned a copy, Edward Stillingfleet spoke 'Of the first planting of a Christian Church in Britain by St. Paul', 'A Christian Church proved to be planted here in the Apostolic times', pp. 35-6, and 'The Conformity of the Liturgy of the Church of England to the Ancient British Offices, and not derived from the Church of Rome', pp. 232-7.

² *A Dissertation, whether the Hebrews borrow'd any Customs from the Heathens? and whether Temples were before the Tabernacle?*, *Gent's Mag.*, ix (Aug., 1739), 432. Vindication of the use of pagan forms for Christian worship was to be most comprehensively attempted by J. Wood, *The Origin of Building: Or the Plagiarism of the Heathens Detected* (1741).

³ The Abbé de Cordemoy had recently recommended porticoes for churches; *Nouveau Traité de toute l'Architecture* (1706), p. 178. To the debate on Early Christian architecture he contributed the notion that the perfect Christian church had already been devised in the Constantinian basilica of the fourth century, which 'belongs by right both to Antiquity and the Christian religion'; D. Nyberg, 'La sainte Antiquité', in eds. Fraser, Hibbard and Lewine, *op.cit.*, pp. 160ff.

⁴ *Wren Soc.*, ix (1932), 15-18; repr. in ed. A. Hughes, *Seventeenth-century England: A Changing Culture* (1980), ii, 369-72.

of Large and Strait Streets, or on the Sides of Squares and Other open Places'.¹ Such churches, Vanbrugh considered, should be 'Monuments to Posterity' of Queen Anne's 'Piety and Grandure And by consequence become Ornaments to the Towne, and a Credit to the Nation'.² Both architects agreed that to achieve such distinction, and in order 'to shew their Exterior Form to the Best Advantage', the new churches should have porticoes. 'Such Fronts as shall happen to lie most open in View', wrote Wren, 'should be adorned with Porticos, both for Beauty and Convenience; which, together with handsome Spires, or Lanterns, rising in good Proportion above the neighbouring Houses...may be of sufficient Ornament to the Town'.³ It was, for Vanbrugh, a necessary rule to be observed that the churches 'may be all Accommodated and Adorn'd with Portico's; no part in Public Edifices being of greater use, nor no production in Architecture so solemnly Magnificent'.⁴ It was, then, in relation to churches that the first official stipulation that porticoes be an essential part of public buildings occurred; for the Commissioners ordered that, as well as steeples, there should be 'handsome Porticoes to each Church'.⁵

Hawksmoor's St.Alphege (Pl.64) was the first to be built in 1712-14 with, at the east or chancel end (like St. Paul's, Covent Garden) closing the vista of the main street, a giant recessed Doric⁶ portico, its round-headed

¹ Bodleian MS Rawl. B. 376, ff. 351-2; copy, entitled 'Mr Van-Brugg's Proposals about Building ye New Churches', Bodleian MS Eng. Hist. B. 2, f. 47; quoted in K.Downes, *Vanbrugh* (1977), p. 257.

² *Idem.*

³ *Wren Soc.*, ix (1932); ed. Hughes, *op. cit.*, i, 370.

⁴ Vanbrugh, 'Proposals...', in Downes, *op. cit.*, p. 257.

⁵ H.Colvin in E.G.W.Bill, *The Queen Anne Churches* (1979), p. xi.

⁶ A similar portico was projected for the west end; K.Downes, *Hawksmoor* (1969), p. 110. The continuation of the portico's Doric order round the exterior in pilasters is unique in Hawksmoor's churches. 'The Doric Order...has Plainness without Affectation, Strength and

central opening breaking up into the pediment and its entablatures supported by two free-standing columns. The side openings flanked by solid, pilastered bays, creating a monumental Venetian opening, complete the fulfilment of Wren's unexecuted portico designs for St. Paul's, and Mansart's project for the east wing of the Louvre.

Archer's giant semicircular Doric portico at St. Paul, Deptford (1714), the downward thrust of its four columns extending to radiating plinths with steps between (Pl.67), may be derived from Wren's transept porticoes at St. Paul's, or his sources there, but was apparently arrived at independently, as an afterthought.¹ The combination of steeple – here closely based on Wren's St.Mary-le-Bow – or belfry and portico, recommended by Wren to be at the same end,² appears here for the first time on an English church. Set well back from the road, the porticoed church, originally set in open space, now terminates a surprise vista half way along Deptford High Street. At St.John's, Smith Square (1714-28), with its Doric tetrastyle *in antis*, broken and floating pediments, and its busy corner towers, the intersecting axes and the complex interplay of solid and void of Archer's portico and façade create spatial conceits that reflect his Italian experiences and are among the most baroque of English solutions (Pl.66). Occupying an open, insular site – but now in a square, its portico closing the vista along Lord North Street – the church accorded exactly with the Commissioner's stipulations.

Stability *semper eadem*, and consists of the nicest Proportions that Art or Nature cou'd contrive to render it worthy the Protection of Heaven'; *Oxford Almanack...1711* (1711), pp. 7-8.

¹ B.M.King's Maps, xvii, 18, e-i; T.Friedman, *James Gibbs 1682-1754* (1984), p. 338, n. 5.

² *Wren Soc.*, ix (1932), 17. The scale of Archer's semi-circular portico, in relation to the overall composition, was unprecedented in England.

On an even more insular site, in the centre of the main thoroughfare linking the cities of Westminster and London and riding, almost like a ship of the line, with St.Clement Danes, Gibbs's St.Mary-le-Strand can be viewed without interruption from the west for a greater distance than any London church, Christ Church, Spitalfields not excepted. For the Strand, Hawksmoor had proposed a central block with pedimented Corinthian porticoes on both east and west elevations.¹ Gibbs's first design for the church, a Corinthian hexastyle pseudo-peripteral temple, was remarkably neo-classical for such an early date and even more temple-like and Roman with its indebtedness to the Temple of Fortuna Virilis (S.Maria Egiziaca, Gibbs's most admired Ionic building at Rome) and the Maison Carrée at Nîmes. Steeples were originally included in the designs,² representing Gibbs's earliest attempts to integrate temple and steeple.³ Begun in mid-1714 to Archer's design which, like his recently approved Deptford proposal, had a semi-circular portico, work on St.Mary's stopped with the death of Queen Anne on 14 August, following which a second Gibbs design was approved instead. Above a double pedimented tetrastyle, Ionic over Corinthian, rose what was not so much a steeple as an elaborate bell-turret.⁴ On the church as executed, and perhaps taking his cue from Archer, Gibbs placed a semi-circular, single-storey portico of four free-standing and two engaged Ionic columns supporting a shallow saucer dome surmounted by a flaming urn which, in 1715, replaced a statue of

¹ Friedman, *op. cit.*, Pl. 34.

² Neither Gibbs's model nor his drawings have survived, but the design is known through drawings made from them by C.R.Cockerell in 1826 and T.L.Donaldson in 1843; V&A, E 3204-1909. See also Colvin in *op. cit.*, p. 58, Pl. 32.

³ Colvin, in *op. cit.*, (1979), p. xix.

⁴ J.Gibbs, *A Book of Architecture* (1728), Pl. 23; Friedman, *op. cit.*, Pl.15.

Queen Anne (Pl.68).¹ At St.Mary's, his first public building following his return from Rome, Gibbs combined Italian Renaissance and contemporary Baroque themes, and his source for the portico was almost certainly Cortona's S. Maria della Pace, a church he knew personally, and also from Rossi, of which he owned a copy.² For his church, also on an island site, Gibbs perhaps based the spacing of the columns of his portico less on the Roman church as executed than on Cortona's initial proposal, subsequently classicized, perhaps under the influence of Carlo Fontana, Gibbs's mentor in Rome.³ Indeed, Gibbs's whole church embodies recurring memories and influences of Fontana and Baroque Rome.

By contrast, the site of St. George's, Bloomsbury (1716-31) was little more than a narrow strip running north to south, permitting intersecting axes, so that the altar had to be placed on the long, east side, and the shorter, south side needed a dignified façade, facing the street. Hawksmoor's hexastyle Corinthian portico, two columns deep, 'the first of the kind in this city',⁴ and with engaged columns at the back (Pl.77), is directly echoed in the Corinthian tetrastyles on all four faces of the tower, topped by a steeple, to the west. Three years after its completion, Ralph thought the church 'adorn'd with a pompous portico...the builder mistook whim for genius, and ornament for taste: he has even err'd so much, that the very portico does not seem to be in the middle of the church, and as to

¹ Gibbs, *op. cit.*, Pls. 17, 19, 21.

² D. de' Rossi, *Studio d'Architettura Civile* (1702-21), iii, Pls. 2-4. The form had also been used by Bernini on the front of Sant'Andrea al Quirinale (1658-70) - in effect, a single bay of Michelangelo's Palazzo de' Conservatori, pushed forward - and by Wren on the transept porticoes of St.Paul's (1698-1700) as well as by Archer at Deptford. Cf. C.H.M. 1938-88-3475.

³ R.Krautheimer, *The Rome of Alexander VII, 1655-1667* (1985), Fig. 34; Wittkower, *op. cit.* (3rd rev. edn., 1973), p. 361, n. 29.

⁴ *Grub Street Journal*, ccliv (7 Nov., 1734), 1.

the steeple, it is stuck on like a wen [wart] to the rest of the building'.¹ A hundred years later, Sidney Smirke was more sympathetic when, speaking of the general need for space surrounding porticoes in order that they may be properly viewed, he conceded that St. George's was an exception, for 'Bloomsbury Church, notwithstanding its striking portico, might ill bear the naked exposure of all its fronts, for which, in the original design, they were never calculated'.² W.H. Leeds considered, in 1838, that 'The portico of St. George's, Bloomsbury, would be an excellent composition, far more classical than any thing of the kind of the same period, were it not for its numerous arched windows and doors'.³

A satisfactory resolution to the relationship of portico to steeple also exercised Gibbs and John James at St. George's, Hanover Square. Gibbs's early designs of 1720, prepared simultaneously with those for St. Martin-in-the-Fields and suggesting similar solutions, proposed a structurally dubious portico of square piers directly supporting a steeple. An alternative design, with the base of the tower advancing slightly from the body of the church and forming the back wall of a tetrastyle Corinthian portico, was preferred.⁴ However, viewed from the north, the non-alignment of the vertical axis of the tower and steeple with that of the first side wall bay was unsatisfactory. Perhaps for this reason, it was to James's designs that the church was built, 1721-25 (Pl. 81). Owing not a little to Gibbs's proposals, James's solution was to support the tower and cupolaed

¹ Ralph, *op. cit.*, pp. 99-100.

² S. Smirke, *Suggestions for the Architectural Improvement of the Western Part of London* (1834), pp. 74-5.

³ W.H. Leeds, *Illustrations of the Public Buildings of London* (1838), p. 82.

⁴ Ashmolean, Gibbs Collection, vii, 14; Friedman, *op. cit.*, Fig. 36. Lambeth Palace Library, 2714 f. 15; Bill, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

belfry (resembling Wren's at Chelsea Hospital and the west towers of St.Paul's) on an attic in line with the east wall which, however, unlike Gibbs's, breaks forward slightly in the centre at the back of the hexastyle Corinthian portico. The pediment, originally intended to be surmounted by a statue of George I, has a Gibbsian circular opening, and the cornice of the entablature is carried round to the north and east sides, whilst the north and south ends of the attic are also pedimented, like Hawksmoor's St.Anne's, Limehouse.¹ On a sloping site, the portico is approached by six steps on the south which diminish on the street side, between the columns, to three on the north side. The church was only ever meant to be viewed from the north, south, and west (the east is barely visible along Maddox Street) and it is the portico, projecting beyond the street's building line by a single column across the full width of the pavement, that is the church's principal element and a significant feature in the townscape. If advanced by two columns, it would have been better proportioned – as Dallaway rightly observed, the portico 'has only half its proportion of depth'² – but it would also have projected too far (about half way) into the street. Despite his aversion to Hawksmoor's portico at St.George's, Bloomsbury, to which it is closely related, Ralph was enthusiastic about this one. From the upper side of Hanover Square, laid out 1716-20, 'the last addition...to the town and the finest of all our squares' and, by the 1730s, vying in popularity with Grosvenor Square, 'the view down *George Street*...is one of the most entertaining in the whole city', Ralph wrote in 1734, 'the sides of the square, the area in the middle, the breaks of building

¹ M.Whiffen, 'The Progeny of St.Martin-in-the-Fields', *AR*, c, 595 (July, 1946), 3.

² J.Dallaway, *Observations on English Architecture* (1806), p. 156.

that form the entrance of the vista, the vista itself, but, above all, the beautiful projection of the portico of St. George's Church, are all circumstances that unite in beauty, and make the scene perfect'.¹ Whilst Vanbrugh was introducing urban design into the gardens at Castle Howard, here, apparently for the first time, Ralph is viewing a cityscape in picturesque terms, in much the same way that, exactly a hundred years later, William Wilkins was to view his National Gallery. At St. George's, Ralph concluded, 'the portico is stately and august...but even this structure is nowhere to be seen but in profile'.² Completed a year before St. Martin's, whose west front underwent numerous changes in the course of execution, St. George's was 'the first London church in which the steeple rose immediately behind a Corinthian portico'.³

Even greater restrictions of site faced the competitors for the rebuilding of St. Martin-in-the-Fields in 1720. By the time the independent Commission met in June of that year (St. Martin's was to be funded by its parishioners and not from monies set aside under the 1711 Act), the stipulation made earlier by the 1712 Commissioners for the New Churches, that such churches should be given 'the Reverend look of a Temple',⁴ had largely been implemented and it was, therefore, the temple idea which also informed the designs submitted by Dubois, Gibbs, James, Thornhill, and Sampson. Thornhill's almost Palladian design, for example (Pl.72), included a pedimented Ionic hexastyle portico approached

1 Ralph, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

2 *Idem.*

3 Whiffen, *op. cit.*, 3.

4 Quoted in Friedman, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

by nine returning steps and flanked by two-storey, balustraded towers.¹ Gibbs's Pantheon-inspired design, combining a domed rotunda and portico and with a steeple rising directly out of the giant Ionic tetrastyle, was approved in mid-1721.² However, it was presently rejected, probably because it was too large for the irregular rectangular site of which the shape almost certainly led Gibbs to reconsider the peripteral and pseudo-dipteral temple designs, using a giant order, which he had offered, unsolicited, to the New Churches Commission in 1713.

Three designs of 1721 saw Gibbs reviving the pseudo-dipteral idea with the introduction of a giant prostyle portico, hexastyle and of the Corinthian order, the full width of the west front.³ The stronger emphasis of the giant pilasters on the first bay of the lateral elevations, subsequently made even stronger by the substitution of columns *in antis*, enabled Gibbs to achieve a plausible synthesis of body, portico and steeple for the first time. By placing the columns *in antis* in the westernmost bay and aligning its vertical axis with that of the steeple, Gibbs not only referred to the concealed tower-base, thereby visually supporting the steeple, but implied that the first bay was an intermediate stage between open portico and pilastered lateral wall. The impression of the interpenetration of portico and wall at the sides was confirmed and strengthened by the portico's apparently passing through the west wall to reappear inside the church as

¹ M.Girouard, 'An English Master of the Baroque', *CL*, cxxiii (19 June, 1958), 1361.

² Gibbs, *op. cit.*, Pls. 8-12. Among English church designs with domes Gibbs might have had in mind Wren's Great Model (1673) and, perhaps St.Stephen, Walbrook (1672-9). Summerson, *op. cit.* (5th rev. edn., 1970), p. 350, suggests as the source a plate in Andrea Pozzo's *Perspectiva Pictorum et Architectorum* (1693), translated by John James as *Rules and Examples of Perspective...* (1707). Neither book is recorded in Gibbs's library; but this does not mean, of course, that he did not know them.

³ Ashmolean, Gibbs Coll., iii, 96: vii, 1, 10.

two rows of columns, demarcating the nave and corresponding to the external pilasters. Anticipation of the interior was further increased by the rosettes in the soffit of the portico which portend those in the nave ceiling and saucer domes, and the royal arms of George I carved boldly in the pediment which are echoed in paint and elaborate plasterwork also on the ceiling of the nave.

In the course of execution the portico itself underwent a number of changes, mostly dictated by Gibbs's attempts to relate it more satisfactorily to both the eventual form of the steeple and to the interior of the church. In mid-1721 he reduced the width of the portico to correspond with the width of the nave, thereby exposing vertical strips at the outer edges of the west wall. By October, 1722, he had reverted to widening the portico,¹ narrowing the vertical strips and, at the same time, making it more Pantheon-like by advancing it a further column. Approached on three sides by interrupted flight of steps, with more on the south side than on the north because of the sloping site,² this was the portico as executed³ (Frontispiece, Vol.II).

Until the demolition of the 'vile houses' in front of St.Martin's in 1826 and, the laying out of Trafalgar Square by Sir Charles Barry in the 1840s, only the steeple, portico and western-most bay were visible, and only then close to or at an oblique angle, from the very narrow St.Martin's Lane.⁴ The advancing of the portico by an additional column, a feature

¹ Friedman, *op. cit.*, p. 65; B.F.L.Clarke, *The Building of the Eighteenth-Century Church* (1963), p. 158.

² Ralph, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

³ Gunnis *DBS*, p. 88; Friedman, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 67; M.C.Borer, *An Illustrated Guide to London 1800* (1988), p. 19.

recognized as deriving from Hawksmoor's St. George, Bloomsbury, and the absence of which Ralph regretted at Hanover Square, made the Lane even narrower and there were complaints about this as soon as the church was finished in 1726. Ralph, however, thought that 'The round columns, at each angle of the church, are very well conceiv'd, and have a very fine effect in the profile of the building'. He also wished that from the Royal Mews 'a view was open'd up from hence to St. Martin's Church; I don't know any one of the modern buildings about town which better deserves such an advantage: the portico is at once elegant and august'.¹ In 1766, Gwynn regretted that it was so difficult to view the portico, 'there being no point from whence it can possibly be seen to advantage, which is greatly to be lamented'. He suggested widening the Lane on the west side; moving the building line back either side of the portico in order to expose it; and widening the lane immediately opposite the west end by moving back its south side, thus creating an avenue 'the width of the Portico' in order to provide 'a noble view of the front'.² Dallaway regretted in 1806 that the church was 'in the worst situation imaginable, as well from the irregularity of the ground, as the narrowness of the street'. He added, as Thomas Hope had observed two years earlier when admiring the portico's projection,³ that 'By no other portico in London, could we be in the smallest degree reminded of the great archetype in the Pantheon at Rome'.⁴

¹ Ralph, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

² J. Gwynn, *London and Westminster Improved* (1766), pp. 45, 85, 92-3, Pl. ii; Friedman, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

³ T. Hope, *Observations on... Downing College, Cambridge* (1804), p. 24.

⁴ Dallaway, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

Apart from the church's being shut away, the most adverse criticism concerned the steeple that Gibbs had laboured so hard to integrate with church and portico. Riou was not untypical in his purist classical view and in differentiating visual and structural strength.¹ In 1768, he wrote that 'the tower and steeple of St.Martin's in the fields, and several others, seen from without, appear to stand on the roof, and to have no other support...no incumbrance should be admitted that could destroy the beauty of the portico and the anti-temple: therefore the pediment or roof should not be loaded with that Gothic part of our churches, a tower and its spire'.² Chambers, too, deplored the steeple, but considered the church 'far superior to anything in Athens'.³ Just before the Greek Revival began in earnest, the movement's protagonists frequently compared St.Martin's portico with Greek buildings. Willey Reveley, aware that Chambers did not speak from first-hand experience, wrote in his preface to the third volume of the *Antiquities of Athens* in 1794 that 'Artists who ever saw an antique temple or ever read Vitruvius, know, that Saint Martin's church, though one of the best in London, is no more than a very inferior imitation of the Greek Prostyle temple, and will not enter into the slightest degree of comparison with the chaste grandeur, the dignified simplicity, and sublime effect, of the Parthenon'. W.H.Leeds thought that

¹ The Commissioners' 1712 proposals specified 'the Appearance & reality of strength'; Friedman, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

² Riou, *op. cit.*, p. 69. Riou recognized that 'these can seldom be dispensed with' and, perhaps having in mind Hawksmoor's proposed detached campanile for the *Capella Universitatis* design at Oxford nearly sixty years earlier, as well as one or two medieval and Italian renaissance precedents, recommended that they 'be placed at a small distance, and detached from the back front', as in his own design; *ibid.*, pt. ii, Pl. 1.

³ Sir W.Chambers, *A Treatise on the Decorative Part of Civil Architecture* (3rd edn., 1791), p. 19. Some of Chambers's domed designs for St.Marylebone were based on Gibbs's first draught for a circular St.Martins.

'everything else is utterly at variance with the expression of the portico itself: the doors and windows...amount to absolute deformities. The same may be said of the spire; which is not so censurable on account of its giving a character to the whole work quite different from any thing we meet with in ancient architecture, as for being in conception and taste altogether different from that which marks the order of the portico'.¹

In 1825, when the prospect of the portico that Ralph regretted not having seen was about to become a reality, Joseph Gwilt wrote that 'no person can examine the design of this church without perceiving that all the parts, exterior and interior, are made subordinate to the portico...Ralph's wish respecting this church is now on the eve of its accomplishment', and praised 'the majestic effect of the portico of this elegant church'.² The new opening from Pall Mall East carried with it 'a moral obligation to preserve the view of the portico...one of the benefits derived from the Charing Cross Improvement Act'³ of 1826. Robert Smirke's earlier New College of Physicians (1822-5; Pl.261) – 'The effect of this portico, in the latter part of a fine summer's day is beautiful...In our view of the new opening to St.Martin's Church, this portico now so beautiful in light, forms in shade an equally beautiful forepiece to the picture'⁴ (Pl.279) – and the contrasting portico of Wilkins's National Gallery (1834-38; Pls. 303,304), created a picturesque cityscape and vista that Gibbs could hardly have imagined.

¹ Leeds, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

² J.Gwilt, in J.Britton and A.Pugin, *Illustrations of the Public Buildings of London* (1825), i, 41-2, 44, 45.

³ G.Martin, 'Wilkins and the National Gallery', *Burl.Mag.*, cxiii, 819 (June, 1971), 318.

⁴ T.H.Shepherd and J.Elmes, *Metropolitan Improvements* (1829), p. 124.

What Gibbs had imagined was realizing the classical temple as Christian church, an ideal to which he was committed perhaps more than any of his contemporaries, and 'no other eighteenth-century church was so deeply committed to the Antique temple form'¹ as St.Martin's. The new church's first vicar, Zachary Pearce, admitted that many uncertainties surrounded the forms and methods of building ancient temples, but was 'inclin'd to doubt whether there was any where a proper Temple, i.e. a fixed Place for religious Worship, not only inclosed, but roofed and covered at Top, till that which *Solomon* erected...and I believe, that then the Porticos, which were won't to be made within, were built on the Outside of the Temple'.² Gibbs owned copies of Prado and Villalpando, and Bernardo Lamy's *De Tabernaculo Foederis, De Sancta Civitate Jerusalem, et De Templo Ejus*, the latter published in Paris in 1720;³ but when they entered his library is not known, and there is apparently no evidence to suggest that he was deliberately attempting to recreate the Temple of Solomon at St.Martin's. William Stukeley evidently believed that the church resembled Solomon's Temple, for his own reconstruction of it in 1751 contained many similarities, notably the inclusion of a steeple and its relationship to the portico, to St.Martin's.⁴

Any final comments contemporary with the church's completion should perhaps be those of Morris who, on the matter of style, wrote that 'if Palladio seems sometimes inconsistent with himself, our great

1 Friedman, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

2 Pearce, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

3 Friedman, *op. cit.*, pp. 328, 339 n. 30.

4 J.Rykwert, *The First Moderns* (1993), pp. 157-8.

Moderns have fallen into as unpardonable Errors. Even the immortal Mr. Gibbs, in that beautiful and noble Building of St. Martin's Church, has so far outdone that Design of St. Mary in the Strand, that the Genius of the same Author is no way visible'. Without being specific, he added that the two churches 'seem as different in the Design, as if it were the one of Inigo Jones and the other of Sir John Vanbrugh's'.¹ He considered that 'Portico's...undoubtedly give a Grace and Nobleness to a Design; something Majestick strikes the Imagination, if they are duly proportioned...Pediments are generally, and indeed the most beautiful Manner of covering a Portico; as at St. Martin's Church, and St. George's Hanover-Square...compare the Portico of St. Martin's Church with some of the ancient Temples of Greece, in the Works of Vitruvius, or the Pantheon at Rome, and there you will discover true elegance of Design, and a happy refinement of Taste. To see Buildings of more than 2000 Years distance in Date be thought worthy of Imitation, shews not only the excellency of Architecture in those Times, but the Genius of this present Age, who can divest themselves of modern Error, to trace the Paths of Antiquity'.²

Of the Fifty New Churches projected, only twelve were built. Half of these were Hawksmoor's, two were Archer's, and James and Gibbs had one each. In all, only seven of these had porticoes. The driving force behind the building of porticoes seems to have been Wren's. As Downes has observed: 'In the early 1720s Gibbs's St. Martin-in-the-Fields,...James's St. George, Hanover Square and Hawksmoor's Bloomsbury Church were

¹ R. Morris, *Lectures on Architecture*, i (1734), 55-9 (Lecture iv, 31 Dec., 1732).

² *Ibid.*, pp. 114, 115 (Lecture vii, 11 Mar., 1733/4); p. 132 (Lecture viii, n.d.).

all under construction with hexastyle porticoes, and must all have had a common source either in the Commission office of about 1711-12 or in Wren's circle a few years earlier. The pilastered treatment of Greenwich Church, Gibbs's unexecuted models for peripteral churches and Hawksmoor's project for an Oxford church may likewise go back to the same sources in Wren's interest in historical architecture.¹

Christ Church, Spitalfields was begun in 1714 but its portico (Pl.76) was not finished until 1728. The church, clearly meant to be read as a basilical type, exemplifies those awful and terrible qualities in churches demanded by Thomas Fuller in the 1640s and cited as characteristic of the Sublime by Edmund Burke in the 1750s. Although Hawksmoor also worked in the Gothic, his first allegiance was to the classical, and particularly the Roman, style. *Terribilità* was a quality for which he consciously strove;² the mausoleum at Castle Howard induces a *frisson* which would doubtless also have been felt at the prospect of his *Capella Universitatis* at Oxford,³ part of his proposed Romanization of both university cities. Vanbrugh had recommended to the commissioners that 'a Temple...shou'd ever have the most Solemn and Awful Appearance both without and within, that is possible',⁴ and the portico at Christ Church, its Venetian window motif presaging both the upper stages of the tower and the inner arcades opening into transverse, coffered barrel-vaults over the aisles, still prepares the visitor for precisely those sensations of

¹ K.Downes, *Hawksmoor* (1969) p. 137.

² Rykwert, *op. cit.*, p. 154 and n. 206.

³ V&A D.96-1891.

⁴ Vanbrugh, 'Proposals...', in Downes, *op. cit.*, (1977), p. 257.

solemnity and awe. It would be difficult to better Downes's description of this unique and striking portico, which

has the generative power of a symbol, being, like an object in a dream, a transformation: half an enormous Venetian window, half the triumphal arch of Alberti's church façades, and possibly also a memory of the east end of St.Alfege or one of its prototypes with all the solids removed. It derives a further twist from being made to imitate the belfry above it, and to support a vertical series of arched openings leading up to the base of the spire. When to this are added the three circular and ten other arched openings (not counting those under the portico) the whole west front becomes at once a geometrical exercise and a sophisticated visual conceit, smothered with a Tuscan order and slabs of masonry, leaving an emotional charge which is powerful even for us, and of which the taste of the eighteenth century could make no sense at all.¹

In the building of the Fifty New Churches it was, 'on the whole, the spirit of Vanbrugh rather than Wren which prevailed'.² Perhaps as a counter to this, and in the hope of curbing the monopoly on temple forms and Baroque profusion enjoyed by the major architects engaged on the new churches, Colen Campbell published in 1717 a design for an Ionic hexastyle pseudodipteral church³ based, as Gibbs's first, rejected, design for St.Mary-le-Strand had been, on the Maison Carrée at Nîmes. Having attempted, unsuccessfully, to court the Vanbrugh-dominated and predominantly Tory commission with an earlier design, which owed a great deal to St.Paul's Cathedral and recalled Webb's theoretical church drawings, for a proposed church at Lincoln's Inn Fields, Campbell took the opportunity to attack the baroque character of many of the new churches. Almost certainly with St.Paul's and St.Mary-le-Strand in mind he emphasized that '*This New Design of My Invention for a Church in the Vitruvian Stile*' was '*Prostile, Hexastile, Eustile, which by Vitruvius,*

¹ Downes, *Hawksmoor* (1979 edn.), p. 183.

² Colvin in Bill, *op. cit.*, p. xi

³ C.Campbell, *VB*, ii (1717), Pl. 27.

Palladio, and the general Consent of the most judicious Architects, both Ancient and Modern, is esteem'd the most beautiful and useful Disposition, being a Medium between the *Picnostile* and *Areostile*, the first being too close and the last too open'. Appealing to ancient precedent, he asserted that 'In those admirable pieces of Antiquity, we find none of the trifling, licentious, and insignificant Ornaments, so much affected by some of our Moderns'. He had abstained from these since they 'only serve to enflame the Expence and clog the Building', and followed 'The Ancients [who] placed their chief Beauties in the justness of the Intercolumniations, the precise Proportions of the Orders and the greatness of Parts'. In only thinly veiled criticisms of Wren and Gibbs, he added

nor have we one Precedent either from the *Greeks* or *Romans*, that they practised two Orders, one over another in the same Temple in the Outside, even in the most considerable, much less to divide it into little Parts; and whereas the Ancients were contented with one continued Pediment from the Portico to the Pastico, we have now no less than three in one Side where the Ancients never admitted any. This practice must be imputed either to an entire Ignorance of Antiquity, or a Vanity to expose their absurd Novelties, so contrary to those excellent Precepts in *Vitruvius*, and so repugnant to those admirable Remains the Ancients have left us.¹

Not surprisingly, Campbell's design stayed on paper. It was the combination of steeple and portico, so successfully used by Gibbs (but never by Wren), which was to become the form most widely identified with the Anglican church. Gibbs's St.Martin was to be the inspiration for numerous churches in this country – including what is probably Roger Morris's St.Lawrence, Mereworth (1744-6), Alan Dreghorn's St.Andrew, Glasgow (1740-56; Pl.109), George Steuart's version of Gibbs's earlier, circular design, at St.Chad, Shrewsbury (1790-92: Pl.198) John Foster's

¹ *Ibid.*, 1-2.

St. Michael, Pitt Street, Liverpool (1816-26), and, in Grecian garb, the Inwoods' New St. Pancras (1819-22; Pl. 249), to name but a few – and was to be imitated almost throughout the English-speaking world.¹ Nonetheless, Campbell's design was, like Gibbs's rejected design for St. Mary-le-Strand, remarkably neo-classical for its date and, as an Ionic version of the Roman Corinthian models from which both derived, by way of Palladio, prefigured what is probably the first neo-classical building in Europe, the Grecian Temple at Stowe (Pl. 113).

5 Temple Front and Portico in the English Baroque

(i) Domestic Buildings

(a) Houses

A line of descent is usually traced from Jones's Queen's House to Webb's Gunnersbury and Amesbury, and thence to Benson's proto-Palladian Wilbury and on to Campbell, Wanstead, and neo-Palladianism. Against a background of all the grand unexecuted, porticoed schemes by Jones, Webb, and later, Wren for Whitehall, by Webb for Greenwich, and of Wren's successful schemes for Chelsea and Greenwich, Webb's portico at The Vyne and North's at Rougham appear like isolated aberrations in porticoes executed for domestic architecture during a sixty-year period from 1650, when porticoes were very much in the air for royal buildings, but during which they remained almost entirely on paper.

¹ See M. Whiffen, 'The Progeny of St. Martin-in-the-Fields', *AR*, c (Jul., 1946), 3-7.

The rôle, if any, played by Talman in this process remains unclear. The major influences on him appear to have been Palladio, Jones, Webb, Pratt, and May. He certainly seems to have looked at the north façades, facing the river, of Webb's King Charles II building (Pl.38) before 1687 for the south front of Chatsworth and for his 1703 design for Welbeck. Palladio's unexecuted design for the Palazzo Chiericati (Pl.3) appears to be the source of his proposal for Haughton, also 1703.¹ His unexecuted design for the Thames Ditton Trianon (c.1699), its rhythms and columns *in antis* clearly Palladian in inspiration but with French elements from what is probably François Le Vau's château of St.Sépulchre, is usually placed somewhere along the road to Wilbury. Despite owning drawings by Palladio and Jones, many of which were later to pass to Lord Burlington, there seems to be no evidence, apart from sheets of doodles in which he freely explored variations on the theme of the Villa Capra and other Palladio villas,² that Talman was seriously interested in porticoes. His major contribution to the English Baroque was in developing the use of giant orders of pilasters and temple fronts as a means of achieving grandeur. Beginning with Thoresby (1685-7), almost certainly by Talman, and continuing with his south and east fronts at Chatsworth (1687-96), Daniel Finch, 2nd Earl of Nottingham's Burley-on-the-Hill (begun 1694; Pl.48), James Smith's Hamilton Palace (1693-1701) and Dalkeith House (1702-10), what is probably Talman's Kiveton (1698-1704), the unattributed west front, also at Chatsworth (1700-3) – making it what is generally considered to be the first Baroque English House – Vanbrugh's north front

¹ G.Worsley, 'William Talman: some stylistic suggestions', *GGJ*, (1992), pp. 14-15.

² *Ibid.*, Fig. 13.

at Castle Howard (begun 1702), Hawksmoor's Easton Neston (1702), the unattributed Calke Abbey (1702-3), William Winde's influential Buckingham House (1702-5), and Wotton (begun 1704), all of these houses testify to the predominance of the giant pilaster and pilaster strip in English Baroque architecture. This was apparently inspired by Bernini's final design for the east front of the Louvre (1665) and perhaps encouraged by Palladio's use of the motif at the Palazzo Valmarana, and elsewhere. The earlier influences of the French Baroque on Wren and the unavoidable impact of later seventeenth-century French architecture have to be included in evidence, the balance of which suggests that the English Baroque owed more to France than to Italy.

Although Talman was less interested in the templar aspects of Palladio, there can be little doubt that his remarkably expressive handling of the giant order, subsequently exploited so successfully, often in conjunction with pediments, by Vanbrugh contributed to a climate in which the scale and impressiveness of temple fronts, compounded by the movement, projection and recession, and contrast of light and shade of the Baroque, facilitated the fleshing out of strongly articulated but nonetheless comparatively two-dimensional surfaces, into free-standing porticoes. It is perhaps not too fanciful to imagine, on the accomplished south front of Castle Howard, as on the west front of Chatsworth, with deeply-cut, ambivalent surfaces, that a portico is struggling to emerge, as if that quality in baroque architecture of 'becoming' rather than 'being' here takes the form of the temple front as a metaphor for a portico striving to become free-standing.

Until Blenheim, when the portico finally broke out and forward from a coherent mass, porticoes were largely considered, by patrons at least, as only one means, and not a particularly compelling one at that, of

expressing grandeur. Porticoes were seen as one of a range of options from which this might be achieved but were regarded – as was the case in practice – as additions, rather than as integral to overall designs. The sobering effect of Dutch architecture, a curious mixture of Palladio and French Baroque, after the Restoration perhaps helped to confirm in their belief those who shared Isham's view that porticoes on houses would make them appear *too* temple-like. There was, in any case, a distinction, emphasized by Jones and clearly specified by Pratt, between royal works and lesser domestic architecture and even between nobility and gentry. Broadly speaking, it was the Baroque which informed the major works whilst it was the more homely aspects of brick with stone dressings which characterized the lesser ones. The treatment offered by Talman and other exponents of the giant pilaster was undoubtedly viewed as an ideal solution, as its continued use with varying degrees of success up to and beyond the introduction of wholly Palladian porticoed buildings and well into the 1730s demonstrates, in such houses as John Prince's Cound Hall (1703-4), John James's Herriard Park (1700-4), Johann Bodt's south front at Wentworth Castle (1710-14), Francis Smith of Warwick's Stoneleigh Abbey (1714-26), Chicheley Hall (1719-21) and Sutton Scarsdale (begun 1724; Pl.91), James Gibbs's south and east fronts of Cannons (before 1719; dem., 1747), William Adam's Hopetoun House (1723-48), Yester House (1730) and Duff House (1735-9), what is probably William Wakefield's west front at Wentworth Woodhouse (1725-8), Richard Jones's Widcombe Manor (c.1727), Nathaniel Ireson's Crowcombe (begun 1734), and the unattributed, more vernacular Emmott Hall (1737).

The use of giant pilasters was to be increasingly marginalized, though not immediately or entirely superseded, by the injection into English architectural thinking in the early eighteenth century of

thorough-going templar notions, of which the work of James Smith in Scotland, notably on the south front of Hamilton Palace (1693-1701) with its imposing Palladian tetrastyle column temple front, provided a significant indicator. Though the precise origins of this notion and the steps in the process by which this injection occurred remain unclear, there can be no doubt it was in Colen Campbell that the portico was to find its most influential advocate and that it was as a central element in English neo-Palladianism that it was to become established in British architecture.

6 Summary

Absolutism and Catholicism were anathema to constitutional, Protestant, and Whiggish Britain. Since her form of government was not itself absolutist, and parliament remained the ultimate authority, she conducted herself accordingly. These complementary distinctions were to inform Britain's domestic and foreign policies throughout our period, and beyond. The failure of the 1715 uprising confirmed the Hanoverian Succession; controlled monarchy and constitutional government had been secured, French power curbed and Catholicism subdued.

The periodic revitalization of papal claims to temporal as well as spiritual authority, from Nicholas V to Julius II to Sixtus V and Alexander VII, and the *renovatio* of the Rome of the Caesars, making the city once again the cultural capital of the world, produced often brutal urban planning and a monumental, yet seductive, and certainly awe-inspiring, architectural style which bespoke power and wealth. The vastness in extent and scale of Versailles, the prototypical absolutist palace, and the superimposition on Paris of monumental architecture and regular urban

planning, created in France – the first daughter of the Church – a less bombastic, undulating or plastic, but equally persuasive and authoritarian style. It was a style which closely identified Monarch with State, and the *éminence grise* of the Church with both, and which also proclaimed power and wealth.

Regardless of the tenor of their ideologies, what both these manifestations of the Baroque shared was the expression of power and wealth, conditions to which Britain aspired and which, following the final British-dominated allied victory over France in 1709, and after the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, she enjoyed absolutely. The treaty not only put an end to France's ambition, going back some eighty years, of dominating Europe, but inflicted on her state and society such damage – the lasting effects of which were eventually to contribute to the ultimate collapse of her monarchy in 1789 – that it also brought to an end her almost universal domination in the arts.

It had been one of the tasks of English architects, not so much to emasculate the Baroque as to dissociate it from the religious and political absolutist connotations of its continental parentage and to adapt and harness it to the service of native requirements by associating it with Britain's unprecedented power and wealth, thereby making its influence inspirational rather than formal. This had meant competing with and emulating, rather than imitating, France; Chatsworth, Burghley, Boughton, Burley-on-the-Hill, Castle Howard, and Blenheim, – many of them palaces in all but name and the equals of any royal residence – formed part of that competition to out-French the French which is epitomized, in an almost primal way, by the monumental bust of Louis XIV captured at Tournai and placed, like the severed head of a defeated enemy on a spear at the entrance to the victor's tent, over the south

portico of Blenheim. But architecture is one of the most costly means of expression and the constraints of parliament on the purse-strings of the monarch ensured that no grand, profligate, potentially absolutist, porticoed royal palace schemes at this, or any other time during our period, ever left the drawing-board.¹

Architecture required wealth, usually in the form of disposable income, but also laid itself open to accusations of conspicuous and sometimes ostentatious consumption. After 1709, the French – often euphemistically referred to as 'our neighbours' – were no longer competitors in any sense; only defeated enemies, no longer looked to for artistic rivalry, but still capable of engendering in British architects a sense of inferiority. English Baroque architecture, emanating principally from Wren and the Office of Works, never had a manifesto and was, in many ways, defined negatively, or by a process of elimination, according to the extent to which it differed from what came before and, particularly, after it. The style, easy to recognize but virtually impossible to define, other than by a string of often disparate characteristics, was almost as varied in its manifestations as the individual architects who practised it. After 1715, the Court was never again to occupy a position of cultural leadership and in the 1720s architectural taste was to be transformed not by royal but by aristocratic patronage. Other sources and iconographies were to be sought to reflect and express Britain's unquestioned supremacy and unique identity. All these factors – an appropriate expenditure of wealth; an admiration for different, more cogent, sources symbolizing authority; a

¹ Gibbon observed in 1763 that 'the millions which have been lavished on the sands of Versailles, and the morass of Marli, could not be supplied by the legal allowance of a British king'; ed. Lord Sheffield, *Autobiography of Edward Gibbon* (1796; 1978 edn.), p. 126.

sobriety, rationality, unity, and nationality of style; and a shift in the nature of patronage – were to operate in helping to bring about a change to neo-Palladianism. With it, the portico's visual importance, compositional function, and architectural symbolism were to change also.

V The Portico in English Neo-Palladianism

Jones and Palladio to themselves restore,
And be whate'er Vitruvius was before.

A. Pope, *Epistle to...Burlington* (1731), 11. 193-4.

1 Introduction

Both as a label and as a style, Palladianism differs in several respects from most earlier and some later movements in that it was not only the first style to be named after an individual architect but, it was the first architectural movement to have had formal aims and models stated for it in a well-publicized manifesto and to have consciously pursued and fulfilled objectively expressed requirements. It was, as is the nature of fashion, partly a reaction against the Baroque; but it was also driven, through its principal proponents, Campbell and, especially, Lord Burlington, by a coherent, if sometimes extreme, ideology.

A blurring of the theological distinctions which had long underpinned the authority of kingship had been detectable from the 1650s. At the Restoration, Charles II was still officially viewed at his English coronation in Old Testament and messianic terms. An increasingly popular perception of what his reign augured was voiced by Dryden:

Oh happy age! Oh times like those alone
By fate reserved for great Augustus' throne!¹

¹ J.Dryden, *Astraea Redux*(1660), 11. 320-21.

Evelyn spoke prophetically of 'our August CHARLES, and...his Illustrious Senators',¹ and directly paralleled Charles with Augustus as a 'Royal...Builder.'² Towards the end of the century, as Stuart theories and claims to rule by divine right declined and the power of Parliament to make and unmake kings rose, monarchs were no longer presented as patterns of perfection. As theological contexts became politicized and monarchy increasingly secularized, the comparisons that were made were less with biblical figures, such as Joshua, Solomon and David, and more with abstracted figures from classical mythology – Hercules and Orpheus – and from secular classical history – Alexander, Caesar and Augustus. William III, George I and George II were frequently viewed, and depicted, as postfigurations of Roman kings and emperors.³ However, what was being claimed was not continuity of lineal descent for the purposes of legitimating the right to rule. It was, rather, the possession by British monarchs of those qualities of distinction, nobility and authority deriving from the nation's own power and status which conferred upon such antique figures the honour of being considered their equals.⁴ Such a shift in perception was significant for a variety of consequences. The period was characterized by the establishment of a corpus of architectural

¹ J.Evelyn, *Fumifugium* (1661), 'To the Reader'. The Augustan allusion is made totally explicit as Evelyn continues, speaking of London, 'this Glorious and Antient City, which from Wood might be rendered Brick, and (like another Rome) from Brick made Stone and Marble; which commands the Proud Ocean to the Indies, and reaches to the farthest Antipodes'.

² J.Evelyn, *Parrallel...* (1664), Dedication to Charles II.

³ Korshin, *op. cit.*, pp. 107-8, 133-4, 147, 151-2.

⁴ 'The farther from them in Similtude, the nearer are you to them in Excellence; you rise by it into an Original; become a noble Collateral, not an humble Descendent from them'; E.Young, *Conjectures on Original Composition* (1759), p. 22. Britain's nobility, grandeur, virtue, and superiority found a ready parallel in the age of Augustus, the greatest of the Caesars, which 'was the supreme example of a world united and at peace under the Roman Empire'; Yates, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

achievement and authority, as well as of artistic and political maturity, such that Britain had her own identity, an identity which no longer needed to be completely defined by Antiquity.

In his *Letter Concerning...Design* of 1712, Lord Shaftesbury overtly politicized the arts, and particularly architecture, in what was, for Britain, a wholly unprecedented fashion. He linked the way that artists and architects should be trained, the means and patronage by which their work was to be created, and the judgement to which their work should be subject from an increasingly discerning public, in whom 'a right Taste prevails', to the liberty enjoyed in the form of government of a constitutional monarchy.¹ This was contrasted favourably with the bureaucratically consolidated and imposed taste which had resulted in the academic, institutionalized propaganda of absolutist France.

Censuring St. Paul's Cathedral and Hampton Court in particular, Shaftesbury had seen 'so many noble Designs' and 'the noblest publick Buildings perish [and] miscarry' under the all-pervasive influence of Wren, the 'one single Court-Architect'.² Thinking no doubt of the country houses of Vanbrugh and Hawksmoor in particular, 'Even those Pieces too are brought under the common Censure, which, tho rais'd by private Men, are of such a Grandure and Magnificence, as to become National Ornaments'.³ Anybody could build 'according to his fancys', but

when a great Man builds, he will find little Quarter from the Publick, if instead of a beautiful Pile, he raises, at a vast expence, such a false and

¹ Shaftesbury, *op. cit.*, p. 9. D.Hume, *Essays, Moral, Political, and Literary* (1771), i, Essay xxi, 'Of National Characters'.

² Shaftesbury, *op. cit.*, pp. 6,7.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

counterfeit Piece of Magnificence, as can be justly arraign'd for its Deformity by so many knowing Men in Art, and by the whole *People*, who, in such Conjecture, readily follow their Opinion.¹

In art, as in government, the only kind of dictatorship Shaftesbury could countenance would be a benevolent, 'a truly virtuous and wise one'.² He re-affirmed the British tradition of non-academicism, and asserted that the Court should be no more arbiters of taste than of any other aspect of subjects' lives, 'since 'tis not the Nature of a Court (such as Courts generally are) to improve, but rather to corrupt a *Taste*'.³ Artists' desire for fame was to be spurred by individual effort in a spirit of free enterprise and their achievements acclaimed by the consensus of an informed public 'knowingly guided and directed', and by the judgement of posterity. Art and politics were again equated; artists were to be accountable to the public who, owing to 'the Excellence of our National Constitution, and by Legal Monarchy' enjoyed 'that reigning Liberty and high Spirit...which from the Habit of judging in the highest Matters for themselves, makes 'em freely judge of other Subjects'.⁴

Shaftesbury considered it fortunate for Britain that 'there remain yet two of the noblest Subjects for Architecture; our Prince's *Palace*, and our *House of Parliament*'.⁵ A palace for Whitehall was still being considered but, as befitted the true seat of power, parliament should have new buildings 'were it only for Majesty's sake, and as a Magnificence commonly becoming the Person of the Prince, who here appears in full

1 *Ibid.*, p. 8.
 2 *Ibid.*, p. 10.
 3 *Idem.*
 4 *Ibid.*, p. 9.
 5 *Ibid.*, p. 6.

Solemnity'.¹ Although impatience had led St.Paul's to 'miscarry' so 'grossly...Our *State*, in this respect, may prove more fortunate than our *Church*, in having waited till a national Taste was form'd before these edifices were undertaken'.² Although Britain was, Shaftesbury conceded, architecturally backward and inadequate,³

she must be esteem'd wise, as well as happy; that ere she attempted to raise her-self any other Taste or Relish, she secur'd her-self a right one in Government. She has now the advantage of beginning in other Matters, on a new foot. She has her *Models* yet to seek, her *Scale* and *Standard* to form, with deliberation and good choice'.⁴

Shaftesbury undoubtedly spoke for many in his *Letter*, and was rapidly to influence many more, in rejecting an architecture that had absolutist, Catholic and overtly foreign associations and which had been promulgated almost exclusively by the monarchy. He was advocating an architecture that would advertise not an extravagant, profligate, and self-aggrandizing monarchy but the constitutional government which had superseded it as the embodiment of enduring values, had ensured continuity and brought peace, restraint, stability and harmony. The architectural imagery that was now being sought was one that, following her defeat of France, would proclaim Britain as the world's leading nation, reflect the reason,⁵ order, balance and justice of her system of government, the righteousness and efficacy of which her victories had vindicated, and be sufficiently British in character to qualify as a national style. Although

1 *Ibid.*, p. 7.

2 *Idem.*

3 *Ibid.*, p. 6.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 10-11.

5 'The *English Genius* is not so airy, and discursive, as that of some of our neighbors, but...we generally love to have Reason set out in plain undeceiving expressions; as much, as they have it deliver'd with colour and beauty'; Sprat, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

Shaftesbury covered most of the major building types – palaces, state buildings, churches and country houses – and made his multifarious prerequisites quite explicit, using irresistible Lockian logic, at no point did he suggest what that style should or might have been.

2 The Reinstatement of Inigo Jones and Palladio

After a decent period of 'deliberation' it was Colen Campbell who, in 1715, put forward what he considered to be a 'good choice' in the first volume of his *Vitruvius Britannicus*. By its very title his book simultaneously asserted a return to basic, fundamental architectural precepts as sanctioned by the antiquity, status and authority of Augustus's architect, and articulated the justice of Britain's claim to be the rightful heir to Vitruvius and his respected tradition. In his masterly introduction to the book Campbell brilliantly synthesized what he anticipated would be politically desirable views on architecture and only thinly disguised self-advertisement. Neither apologetic nor pretentious, his defence of British architecture disabused the reader of Shaftesbury's view as having been symptomatic of an artistic inferiority complex, particularly in respect of France, for Campbell considered that '*perhaps, in most we equal, and some Things we surpass our Neighbours*'.¹ Whilst acknowledging the debt owed to the architects of the Italian Renaissance, from Bramante to Scamozzi, for having rescued '*this Noble Art from the Ruins of Barbarity*',² Italy he deemed to have foregone any claim to be the successor

¹ C.Campbell, *VB*, i (1745), Introduction, n.p.

² *Idem*.

to '*the Antique Simplicity*'¹ because of the more recent '*affected and licentious...Works of Bernini and Fontana*'.² That rôle now properly belonged to Britain, incontrovertibly the world's foremost nation and heir to imperial Rome. Of all the revivers and interpreters of Antiquity the most outstanding, Campbell believed, was '*the great*' Palladio, who had '*arrived to a Ne plus ultra of his Art*'.³ Although Campbell prudently recognized the achievements of his major contemporaries (with the pointed exception of Gibbs) to whose views on architecture he was nonetheless largely ideologically antithetical, it was Inigo Jones whom he reinstated as Britain's greatest architect and whose work, which had been inspired by Palladio, he postulated (despite its having been essentially a Court style) as an appropriate model for contemporary building. Here, in what was in effect a manifesto, Campbell proposed a fulfilment of all the characteristics for which Shaftesbury had called: what he hoped would be universal recognition of Palladio as the finest interpreter of Antiquity; the revival of Jones, the best British architect, as the greatest national exponent and adaptor of Palladio; and the promulgation of a style based on the example of both architects' work which demonstrated precisely those qualities Campbell most admired—'*Proportion ... true Bearing ... Strength ... Grace, and Symmetry*'.⁴ Although Palladio was subsequently to be revered in a way that Jones himself, with his healthy scepticism, had never done, it might be more accurate to describe the kind of revival Campbell was actually suggesting as neo-Jonesianism. Campbell was

1 *Idem.*

2 *Idem.*

3 *Idem.*

4 *Idem.*

advocating a style of which he had both indirect and direct personal experience; the former through the Palladian designs of his mentor, the eminent Scottish architect James Smith, and the latter from almost certainly having seen for himself the architecture of Palladio and Scamozzi in the Veneto.¹ He is also likely to have visited Rome and may have travelled to Italy more than once, the last occasion probably having been between his completion of Shawfield Mansion in 1712 and his beginning work on Wanstead in 1713.² Thirdly, he was building on the ground which had already been prepared and the pointers given, not just by Jones, but, more recently, by Benson at Wilbury (c.1708-10) and also by Aldrich in the Peckwater Quadrangle (1707-14; Pl.59). Campbell must, therefore, have been reasonably confident when he conceived and started work on *Vitruvius Britannicus* in 1713 that the appeal of the objective qualities and reasoned approach to classical canons he believed to be embodied in Palladio's work would become self-evident and that, together with the nationalistic associations he was evoking, a favourable reception of his proposals would be assured.³

3 Palladio and Porticoes

In his investigations of ancient architecture Palladio himself had not found 'any thing which was not done with reason and beautiful

¹ H.Colvin, 'A Scottish origin for English Palladianism?', *AH*, xvii (1974), 5-13.

² *Ibid.*, 13.

³ See Abbé le Blanc, *Lettres...concernant le gouvernement, la politique et les mœurs des Anglois et des François* (written 1737-1744) (1747), ii, 41 (Lettre xxxvi); quoted in S.Eriksen, *Early Neo-Classicism in France*, trans. P.Thornton (1974), p.226.

proportion',¹ and his own work was characterized by rationality of design, discreteness of parts, regularity of planning, and sobriety of form and decoration. But one of Palladianism's principal formal elements was of templar derivation – the portico. In domestic architecture, one of Palladio's greatest achievements had been to synthesize successfully the temple and the villa in what he believed to have been his recreation of the ancient house.² He explained that he put loggias and pedimented porticoes on his villas (facing south, as recommended by Vitruvius), and on some town houses. They

shew the entrance of the house, and add very much to the grandeur and magnificence of the work. Besides, the fore-part being made more eminent than the rest, is very commodious for placing the ensign or arms of the owners, which are commonly put in the middle of the front. The antients also made use of them in their fabricks, as is seen in the remains of the temples, and other public edifices; from which...it is very likely that they took the invention, and the reasons for private edifices of houses.³

Palladio believed that the patrons of his porticoed villas had 'eternized their memory in their beautiful and most adorned fabricks'.⁴ Campbell similarly hoped, in his second volume in 1717, that Palladian porticoes on

¹ QL, i, Preface.

² 'Private houses...first gave rise to publick edifices...And as we have but very few examples from the antients, of which we can make use, I shall insert the plans and elevations of many fabricks I have erected, for different gentle-men, and the designs of the antients houses, and of those parts which are most remarkable in them, in the manner that VITRUVIUS shews us they were made'; *idem*. Alberti thought that sacred buildings ought to be more dignified than secular ones, and that public buildings of any kind should be more ornate than private ones. His advising that 'Fastigium privatis aedibus non ita fiet, ut temple maiestatem ulla ex parte sectetur' (*DRA*, IX, iv, 164 (301)), has been interpreted as having been disarmed by Palladio's reasoning that the pediments of temples were derived from those on houses; Tavernor, *op. cit.*, p. 52. However, Alberti did immediately go on to concede 'Vestibulum tamen ipsum fronte paulo subelatori atque etiam fastigii dignitate honestabitur' and, apart from uncertainty about 'vestibulum' on which Vitruvius was also unclear, this must surely indicate that Palladio was taking his cue from Alberti, rather than rationalizing the domestic origins of pediments. On the fallaciousness of Palladio's reasoning, however, see Wittkower, *op. cit.*, (3rd rev. edn., 1967), pp. 74-6.

³ QL., ii, xvi, 53).

⁴ *Ibid.*, i, Preface.

a house would, like 'many other useful and magnificent Improvements', be 'answerable to the Grandeur of [a] noble and generous...patron...as lasting Monuments of his Magnificence,' and in many things deferred to Palladio, 'whose Example I think sufficient Authority'.¹

Palladio's synthesis of temple and villa was remarkable enough; just how remarkable can be seen by contrasting the first ever use of a portico on a country house, at Sangallo's Poggio a Caiano (Pl.1) – where the heavily-pedimented temple motif is applied emblematically to the front without fundamentally determining, or even altering, the form of the façade – with Palladio's approach of working out the complete façade design from the portico or temple front. This is what Campbell picked up on and the practice he developed in his first major house at Wanstead (c.1714-20) where he 'endeavoured to introduce the *Temple Beauties* in a private Building'.² For the first time in a British country house, or, indeed, any other type of building, the fully free-standing portico was accorded pride of place and the promise of an inner, temple-like space reaching back into and through the house was fulfilled. The ridge of the pediment roof passed right over the house to meet the top of the comparable pediment of the pilastered temple front on the garden side. Between, was a temple-like hall, with Corinthian pilasters almost as big as those in the portico itself. Instead of having been a block from which a portico emerged, it had more the appearance of a temple to whose sides the two outer bays of a block had been added, from which extended lower arms of six bays. The giant Corinthian portico, 'a just Hexastyle, the first yet practised in this manner

¹ VB, ii(1717), 3, 4.

² *Ibid.*, 4, speaking of his proposals for Houghton.

in the Kingdom,¹ was approached by returning lateral staircases and, like Jones's Queen's House, had balustrades, running between the columns the central opening of which was slightly wider than the rest. As well as its debt to Castle Howard, Campbell's building owed not a little to Aldrich's Peckwater Quadrangle (Pl.59) and also to Scamozzi's Villa Verlatà, and its design, together with the two other unexecuted projects for the house were, in Summerson's words, 'to prove classic statements by which English country houses were influenced, directly or indirectly, for half a century'.² It was at Wanstead, he continued, 'that the temple idea was pretty forcibly implanted. No previous English house had displayed such spectacular and rational loyalty to Rome'.³

4 The English Country House and its Functions

(i) Domestic Buildings

(a) Houses

Palladianism in Britain is associated primarily with country houses. The British did not invent them, but, for various political, economic, and social reasons peculiar to this country, they embraced them, particularly from the early decades of the eighteenth century onwards, more wholeheartedly than any other people. Palladio's own villas were, for the most part, inextricably tied to the land, and both the funds to build them in the first place and those required for their subsequent running and

¹ VB., i (1715), Pls. 23-6.

² Summerson, *op. cit.*, (5th rev. edn., 1970), p. 320.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 322.

upkeep were heavily dependent on the revenue from agriculture and the estate, of which the house, in effect, a glorified farmhouse, was, in every sense, the centre. The essentially rural aspects of living in the country undoubtedly appealed to the British preference for privacy and retirement; but there were several factors which enabled it to be possible. Comparisons made by Britons with other countries, usually France,¹ and by foreigners in this country, where Germans in particular thought that our nobility, gentry and merchants often lived more sumptuously 'like little kings' in their 'palaces' than some of their own princes,² support the view that living in the country was largely contingent upon our political system.

The classical examples in villa-building of Cato the Elder and Pliny the Younger, given wider currency by Castell in 1728, were strong incentives to house building.³ The nature of the power exercised by the owner of a country seat, where he could entertain his social equals and superiors, and which was the most cultivated and civilized part, the very centre of his estate, was such that he could influence affairs both locally and nationally.

¹ The French 'Nobility live commonly close together in their Cities, and ours for the most part scattered in their Country Houses...They prefer the Pleasures of the Town: we, those of the Field; whereas it is from the frequent conversations in Cities, that the Humour, and Wit, and Variety, and Elegance of Language, are chiefly to be fetch'd; Sprat, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

On Gibbon's first visit to the French capital in 1763, he noted of the luxury of its art and architecture that 'An Englishman may hear without reluctance, that in these curious and costly articles Paris is superior to London; since the opulence of the French capital arises from the defects of its government and religion...The splendour of the French nobles is confined to their town residence; that of the English is more usefully distributed in their country seats; and we should be astonished at our own riches, if the labours of architecture, the spoils of Italy and Greece, which are now scattered from Inverary to Wilton, were accumulated in a few streets between Marylebone and Westminster'; ed. Lord Sheffield, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

² Gailhard spoke of 'persons of the highest quality, whose Houses in the Country are like petty Courts'; Gailhard, *op. cit.*, ii, 5. 'When in town they do not have these same expenses, but they are not so much thought of as in the country, where they are like little kings, according to the good they do and to the extent of their bounty. In the country most of them have sumptuous abodes, or rather palaces, whereas in town they are lodged like citizens...Some merchants are certainly far wealthier than many sovereign princes of Germany or Italy [and] live in great state'; de Saussure, *op. cit.*, pp. 209, 217.

³ R.Castell, *Villas of the Ancients Illustrated* (1728).

Within his own lands he represented, metaphorically and often literally, through his personal qualities and whatever offices he might hold, the presence and maintenance of peace, order, justice and virtue. Together, house and owner represented monarch and state and formed an outpost of civilization and government. His home was not just for display but provided an appropriate setting for acts of munificence.¹ Beyond his boundaries he could socialize with and influence others in positions of power, make socially, politically and economically advantageous marriages for himself and his children and, if (he) elected to do so, could participate in national government. He had a moral duty, within his means, as well as, no doubt, a susceptibility to fashion, in order to promote his interests, to build his house with impressiveness but also with decorum which, as William Salmon succinctly put it, 'signifies the keeping of a due respect between the Inhabitant and the Habitation'.² In this sense, the rustic aspects of Palladian villas were both decorous and imaginatively appealing. The simplicity and integrity of such houses, together with their sensible planning, economy of running and their fashionability, meant that the Palladian villa type and its variants fulfilled admirably the requirements of country house builders for most of the eighteenth century. It is probable that the development of the type, with these characteristics, enabled the building of country houses to an extent that might otherwise not have been possible. Like Palladio's own villas,

¹ 'We are not asham'd of any of the Methods of *Grandeur* or *high-Living*. There is such a mixture of *moral Ideas*, of *Benevolence*, of *Abilitys* kindly employ'd; so many *Dependants supported*, so many *Friends entertain'd, assisted, protected*; such a *Capacity* imagin'd for *great* and *amiable Actions*, that we are never sham'd, but rather boast of such things: We never affect *Obscurity* or *Concealment*, but rather desire that our *State* and *Magnificence* should be known'; Hutcheson, *op. cit.*, ii, 212-13. See also W.Irving, *The Sketch-Book* (1819), No. ii, pp. 126-7.

² Salmon, *op. cit.*, s.v. See Stone and Stone, *op. cit.*, pp. 295-310.

many British Palladian houses had porticoes which signified, as did Palladio's, the social and other distinctions of the owner. But the prevalent, though by no means exclusive, practice of compromising with and adapting Palladian precedent and models was largely a consequence of the need in this country for the portico to signify even greater kinds of distinction than Palladio intended. In many cases the very possession of a portico was more important than its fidelity to a specific model. Often the portico was the only classical reference on a façade and so the whole weight of meaning was concentrated on and carried by, the portico. It was through Palladianism, initially on country houses but subsequently on other building types, that the portico gained widespread popularity in this country and came to symbolize the kinds of distinction that the British believed themselves to possess.¹

(b) Temple Front or Portico? The Aesthetic Choice

It was by no means the case, however, following their introduction, that free-standing porticoes were universally adopted. It is not possible to view their use as in any sense developmental or leading on from engaged temple fronts and superseding them. Lack of space was rarely a consideration, as it was sometimes to become with public buildings in towns, but financial constraint often was. For porticoes were expensive to build and, whereas the possession of a portico might have been interpreted as a sign of wealth as well as of prestige and status, many houses continued the frontispiece tradition by using the effective but

¹ Hutcheson spoke of 'This extraordinary Connexion in our Imagination between *external Grandeur*...and some *moral Ability*s greater than ordinary'; *ibid.*, 213-14. 'L'Architecture est une des choses qui annoncent la magnificence d'une Nation; & de la magnificence, on conclut aisément la grandeur'; Abbé le Blanc, quoted in Eriksen, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

cheaper substitute of a temple front, such as Palladio had used on the front façade of the Villa Pisani at Montagnana and had projected in numerous unexecuted designs for *palazzi*, Inigo Jones had used at Newmarket, an unknown architect had tried, perhaps as early as c.1712, at Avington (Pl.63), and Campbell had established on an English villa at Newby in 1720 (Pl.84). It was not the case, either, that all porticoes, subsequent to their introduction, were part of wholly new houses. The remodelling of buildings continued, and this sometimes included the addition of a portico to an existing fabric. The majority of houses, however, continued to be fronted by other, less costly means, such as a giant order of pilasters, providing grandeur more cheaply. A very long list of temple fronts, with a wide variety of treatments, would include Moyser's Nostell Priory (c.1737-50: Pl.105), Kirtlington Park (1742-8; Pl. 110) by Smith and Sanderson, the south front of Leoni's Wortley Hall (1743), Flitcroft's Woburn Abbey (1746-61; Pl.114), what is probably Ware's north front at West Wycombe (c.1750; Pl.117), Earl Ferrers's Staunton Harold (1762-75; Pl.146), Carr's wings at Wentworth Woodhouse (c.1782; Pl.193) and Foss's Clifton Castle (1802-10; Pl. 210). In London, Stuart's Lichfield House, 15 St. James's Square brought a Greek flavour previously associated with garden buildings, whilst there was, at the time they were built, a hint of *rus in urbe* in Vardy's Spencer House (1756-65) and Edwin's Derby House (1773-5; Pl.167). Free-standing porticoes and temple fronts, of both the engaged column and pilaster varieties, co-existed and continued to be used throughout our period.

There seems little evidence of debate as to the relative merits or desirability of porticoes as compared with temple fronts. Presumably, if funds permitted, and all other things were equal, the preference was for a portico, as was often the case. Lord Kames, who clearly preferred porticoes, appears to have been one of a few to comment particularly on the matter.

He asserted, as Alberti had done, that the column or pillar is 'the chief ornament in great buildings. The destination of a pillar is to support, really or in appearance ...*the architrave*'.¹ Combining architectural theory with the language of Locke, Berkeley, and Burke on optical perception, he goes on to distinguish between the effects of engaged columns and pilasters. In section, 'a circle is more agreeable than a square...a column is a more agreeable figure than a pilaster. For that reason, it ought to be preferred, all other circumstances being equal...a column annexed to a wall, which is a plain surface, makes a greater variety than a pilaster'.² Kames's analysis prefigures Hope's rejection of pilasters in Greek Revival porticoes, though less on stylistic grounds than on aesthetic ones, when he states that

an additional reason for rejecting pilasters in the external front of a building [is] a remarkable tendency in the mind of man, to advance every thing to its perfection as well as to its final issue...The most superb front, at a distance, appears a plain surface: approaching gradually, we begin to perceive inequalities: these inequalities, advancing a few steps more, take on the appearance of pillars; but whether round or square, we are uncertain; our curiosity anticipating our progress, cannot rest in suspense, we naturally suppose the most complete pillar, or that which is most agreeable to the eye; and we immediately perceive, or seem to perceive, a number of columns: if upon a near approach we find pilasters only, the disappointment makes these pilasters seem disagreeable'.³

Such was his aversion to pilasters, Kames added that even 'when abstracted from that circumstance,' (that is, appearing on the front of a building) 'they would only have appeared somewhat less disagreeable'.⁴

¹ H.Home, Lord Kames, *Elements of Criticism* (1762), iii, 344.

² *Ibid.*, 344-5.

³ *Ibid.*, 345-6.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 346.

(c) Approaching Palladian Porticoes

If the very possession of a portico gave a house grandeur, two other circumstances could contribute greatly to enhancing its impressiveness. They concern the means by which porticoes were approached, both immediately, in terms of how access was gained to the portico itself, and, stepping back to a wider setting, the point or points of view from which house and portico were seen as the visitor progressed, directly or indirectly, from a distant spot to standing just in front of the house. The approaches in both these senses varied considerably, producing very different effects, depending on the complexity of either the house's setting or of the portico itself, and sometimes both.

Starting with the porticoes themselves, and looking first at the Palladian models on which they were often based, most of Palladio's own villas are approached directly by single, sometimes broken, flights of steps¹ set between retaining walls, leading directly to, and the full width of, the portico, as at the Villa Badoer. The most complex is at the Villa Foscari where stairs, projecting forwards at right angles from the corners of the façade, make a quarter turn at a half landing before arriving under the portico. Without balustrades or side supports, these stairs are of a type later favoured by Robert Morris (Pls.95-97).

¹ 'You should have a Sight of the best Part of the House before you arrive at them, by which means the *Fabrick* will seem larger than it really is'; A.Swan, *The British Architect* (3rd edn., 1758), pp. iii-iv. 'Every one is impressed with the effect produced by the large Flight of Steps forming the approach to the Principal Entrance to a Building...to unite Convenience with Magnificence'; ed. A.T.Bolton, *Lectures on Architecture by Sir John Soane* (1929), p. 147 (Lecture ix, 1815).

By contrast, Burlington's approaches to the unpedimented portico at Tottenham Park comprised simple, lateral stairs but with a balustrade which continued across the portico between, and also cutting into, the columns (Pl.87). This last feature derives from the central portion of Jones's loggia at the Queen's House, itself based, it will be recalled, not on a villa by Palladio but, on Scamozzi's Villa Molini. As Campbell originally intended, Stourhead, too, would have had a similar feature (Pl.83). Campbell's Mereworth (1722-6;Pl.88), closer to the Villa Rotunda model than Chiswick in having porticoes on each front, retains Palladio's wide flights to the entrance portico.

What is almost certainly Vanbrugh's north portico at Stowe (Pl.85), with its square angle piers and arched side openings reminiscent of the same Scamozzi villa as well as of Palladio's Villa Rotunda, is approached by an unbroken, wide flight between retaining walls. At Seaton Delaval (Pl.82), the similar but longer and broken flight is only one of a number of Palladian elements in an otherwise Baroque, Claudian composition. It is perhaps worth recalling that, in those buildings which date from around 1720 – Tottenham, Stourhead, Stowe and Seaton Delaval (Pls. 87,83,85,82) – the main, ostensibly purist protagonists of the Palladian revival looked at architects other than Palladio himself, whilst the leading architect of the English Baroque, always surprising in the eclecticism of his sources, often displays a decidedly Palladian spirit in his porticoes.

Chiswick owes as much to Scamozzi's Villa Rocca Pisani as it does to the Villa Rotunda, but of the variations that Burlington made on his models, the staircases to the portico are among the most original (Frontispiece, Vol.I). By doubling the flights below the half landings, he provided a choice of four starting points for an ascent to the portico (Pl.90),

slowing down the visitor's approach and, by means of changes of direction as well as of height, offered a variety of aspects in which the portico appears constantly to be recomposing itself.¹ In this respect, Burlington was being thoroughly neo-classical; for if baroque architecture is largely anamorphic, making sense only from a particular viewpoint prescribed by the architect and forcing upon the viewer an attitude of obedience,² then the liberty accorded the viewer to choose, deliberately or by default, how he or she can approach the portico instils in the viewer (as in the active interaction with a landscape garden) the consciousness of his or her individual activity. Burlington provided two kinds of approach to the villa; the directness prescribed by the strong axuality of the open forecourt, gives way on encountering the building to an invitation to be self-reflective upon choosing which stairs to mount. This arrangement was to become a common device, though often without the second, outer flights. The most complicated arrangement, had it been executed, would have been that proposed by Sir William Chambers in about 1763 for a palace at Richmond. Two cruciform complexes of stairs, achieved by projecting flights forwards as well as to the sides, and surrounded by a continuous flight of steps with eleven facets, would have given a choice of six starting points for the ascent to a giant hexastyle portico.³

¹ R.Riddell, 'The Early Career and Publications of C.H.Tatham' (Royal College of Art, MA thesis 1984), Fig.3. There is apparently neither antique nor Palladian precedent for such an arrangement. Summerson, *op. cit.*, (5th rev. edn., 1969), p. 336, cites Wittkower in favouring a Piedmontese model, but gives specific sources for neither the reference nor the building.

² Morris's optimum viewing distances for façades were suggested rather than prescribed; *op. cit.* (1734), pp. 90-91.

³ J.Harris, 'Two Lost Palaces', *CL*, cxxvi (19 Nov., 1959), 916, 918. *Idem.*, *Sir William Chambers* (1970), Pls. 109, 111, Fig. 12. Stairs giving access only between the outer columns would have been unprecedented and, perhaps, unique, on a British portico.

Of the many country houses built in England from the second quarter of the eighteenth century onwards which are generally thought of as Palladian in the widest sense, it would seem that in whatever respects they might be so considered, few have porticoes directly inspired by Palladio's own works, either executed or theoretical, and even fewer are approached in ways that he would have utilized. It is with the second and later generations of Palladian architects, right through to the 1770s, such as Miller at Croome Court (Pl.118), Donowell at West Wycombe (Pl.121), Brown at Fisherwick, Claremont and Broadlands (Pls.165,160), and Pitt on the south front at Stowe (Pl.171), by which time the Palladian portico had been reduced in many cases to a standard formula, that a directness and simplicity of approach that Palladio would have recognized are to be found.

A form of approach which is contemporary with Palladio and of which he must almost certainly have known but never used, probably because there was no antique prototype for it, was the double curved perron. Staircases had been accorded unprecedented architectural importance by Michelangelo in his cascading, lava-like stairs in the vestibule of the Biblioteca Laurenziana in the 1520s. The shift of interest to give similar qualities of movement to external staircases, initiated also by Michelangelo at the Campidoglio, was increased by Italian Mannerist architects of the mid-sixteenth century. At the Villa Giulia, Ammanati, working with Vignola and Vasari, devised curved flights of steps leading up into the Nymphaeum loggia (1550-55; Pl. 5). Vignola seems to have been the first to use curved, stepped ramps, preceding lateral stairs (begun

1559), added to the Villa Farnese, started by Antonio da Sangallo the Younger and Peruzzi in the early 1520s. What is probably the first double curved perron leading directly to a principal entrance¹ occurred on the Medicean villa at Pratolino by Buontalenti in the 1570s.² Following these notable Italian Mannerist examples, Lemercier added a bold, undulating double curved perron to the Cour du Cheval Blanc at Fontainebleau (1634; Pl.2). Jones's use of such a feature on the lower, north front of the Queen's House, completed at almost exactly the same time (1630-35), also involved viewing staircases not just as functional structures but as works of art in their own right. The stairs at Greenwich are closer to those at Pratolino in giving onto a terrace rather than a portico, but they serve the same purpose in providing dignified access to the *piano nobile* on a sloping site.

The adoption of the double curved perron for numerous Palladian porticoed houses in Britain in the eighteenth century seems to be one further example of the revival of a Jonesian rather than a specifically Palladian feature. Curved perrons were designed for Stoke Edith (c.1710) and double perrons before a temple front for the rear of Wanstead (1713-15). They were proposed by William Adam for Hopetoun House (1723-5)

¹ De l'Orme's original plan for St.Maur (begun c.1541) included a heart-shaped double perron, but with a central flight also, on the garden front; P. de l'Orme, *Le Premier Tome de l'Architecture* (1567), f.17v.

² The double curved perrons on the Medicean villa at Poggio a Caiano have been described as being by Giuliano da Sangallo 'the Elder' and to have inspired Jones's use of the motif at the Queen's House; Saxl and Wittkower, *op. cit.*, p. 44. They have also been dated to the seventeenth century; Murray, *op. cit.*, p. 229. This writer also got it wrong, in believing them to be contemporary with the building of the villa in the mid-1480s, and suggesting them as a source for later examples; Riddell, *op. cit.*, p. 88. They were, in fact, built by Poccianti, as recently as 1807; D.Mignani, *The Medicean Villas by Giusto Utens* (1991), p. 60. They replaced Sangallo's parallel lateral stairs which not only recalled the similar arrangement by which access was usually gained to the raised choirs of such Romanesque churches as S.Miniato at Florence, and the external stairs up to Alberti's S.Sebastiano at Mantua, but would also curiously have been echoed in Chambers's Richmond Palace design.

and used, with a temple front, at his Duff House (1730-35). Ware included the feature at Woodcote Park (c.1755), but the first important combination with a portico in the Palladian revival comes also from Ware at Wrotham in the 1750s (Pl.120). David Hiorne's Foremark Hall (1759-61) was a variation on Wrotham and Sir John Clerk's proposals of exactly the same date for Penicuik included similar features. Ware's now-demolished Amisfield, almost contemporary with Wrotham, had a pedimented loggia portico over an arcaded rusticated base which may have been in James Paine's mind in the mid-1760s when he designed Sandbeck, where a rusticated base supporting a very similar portico, with clusters of three columns at the corners, has curved perrons at each side (Pl.149). At Roehampton, of the same date, and in the first of his Palladian villas, Chambers used quite steep, curving stairs with what appear to be iron balusters (Pls.140-141),¹ the handrails rising to the level of the top of the stone balustrade, which includes the plinths to the columns. The unpedimented portico added by Columbani in the 1780s to Taylor's villa of the previous decade at nearby Mount Clare is approached by a gentler ascent than Chambers's, by which it was almost certainly inspired, and has both balustrade and hand-rail of iron which continue across the portico between the columns (Pl.188).

The formula of portico or temple front and curved perron was to be repeated on numerous houses before the end of the century, including Robert Adam's south front at Kedleston (Pl.129) and John Carr's Tabley (Pls.138,139), both of the 1760s. At Claremont (1771-4), Lancelot Brown and

¹ They are iron now, but not to the design shown in *VB*, iv (1767), Pl. 11. Chambers's model seems to have been Palladio's Villa Foscari, Malcontenta; *QL*, Pl. xxxiii.

Henry Holland employed a somewhat splayed version with a pilastered temple front for the north front (Pl.166). Carr's internalizing of curved perrons behind a triple-arched rusticated base at Basildon (1776) was a most inventive solution to the difficulty of gaining sheltered access as quickly as possible (Pl.179). It was not, however, influential, despite its practicability, because its lack of visibility from the outside rendered it insufficiently impressive. At Belle Isle (1774-5), John Plaw came close to it by including curved staircases which rise from between the two outer columns to give onto a landing which is the width of the central opening of the portico, all within the tetrastyle portico itself, of his Pantheon-like villa (Pl.172). A similar, narrow landing was created at Belfield (1775-80) where, in a comparatively small, neo-classical villa, John Crunden used curved flights of stairs which rise from the sides of a rusticated base, disappearing behind it, until they emerge almost meeting at column-base level before the front door (Pl.176). They appeared on George Steuart's Attingham Hall (1783-5; Pl.194), giving onto his excessively high portico with thin columns.¹ Even in the work of Robert Mitchell, whose neo-classical designs were to influence William Wilkins at Grange Park, the Palladian formula appears on the south front of Preston Hall (1791-c.1800). Towards the end of the century, at Ragley, James Wyatt added a monumental portico to Robert Hooke's late seventeenth-century house, and made the approach an equally monumental double curved perron behind which runs a tunnel porte-cochère, whose width is marginally less

¹ Sir Richard Colt Hoare's only comment on the portico in 1801 was that it was 'too high'; ed. M.W.Thompson, *The Journeys of Sir Richard Colt Hoare* (1983), p. 169. C.R.Cockerell thought in 1821 that the portico served 'no purpose' and its columns were of 'a disastrous proportion'; D.Watkin, *The Life and Work of C.R.Cockerell* (1974), p. 77.

than the depth of the portico, enabling direct access to the house at ground-floor level in inclement weather (Pl.187).

A major function of the portico, it will be recalled, was to emphasize centrality and to indicate the prospect of an entry. But equally significant functions were that it should both impress and welcome at the same time, and the line between the two could sometimes be quite thin. Just how important staircases were in creating these impressions is shown in two examples of houses built without them. The portico at Prior Park (1735-48) by John Wood – 'a juster Hexastyle',¹ he claimed, than Campbell's Wanstead – at first appeared without any obvious means of access (Pl.101). Consequently, the façade seemed impenetrable and unfriendly. For Holkham (Pl.100), William Kent provided designs for two types of staircase; either an arrangement very similar to that on the south front of Chiswick, whose portico that at Holkham resembles; or, alternatively, Chiswick-style stairs but with double curved perrons at the front instead of straight, lateral stairs.² In the event, neither seems to have been adopted. Indeed, there do not appear ever to have been any stairs up to the portico, or even a balustrade between the columns.³ In 1767, Arthur Young remarked of the house that

Each of the two fronts thereof present a center and two wings. That to the south, and the grand approach, is as beautiful, light, airy, (excuse tautology) and elegant a building as can be viewed. The portico is in a fine

¹ J. Wood, *An Essay Towards a Description of the City of Bath* (2nd edn., 1749), ii, 432. The object in the landscape in view from this portico was nothing less than the city of Bath itself; J.C.Ibbetson *et al.*, *A Picturesque Guide to Bath ...* (1793), p.142.

² Wittkower, *op. cit.*, (1974), Figs. 149, 150.

³ Wittkower believed one or other of these staircases to have been built, but subsequently destroyed; *ibid.*, p. 122. However, no staircases are shown in either M.Brettingham, *The Plans, Elevations and Sections of Holkham in Norfolk*, (1761), Nos. 3,6,7, or in VB, v (1771), Pls. 68-9, and there is no apparent evidence that any were ever built.

taste, and the Corinthian pillars beautifully proportioned. This central front in every respect that can be named, appears all lightness, elegance, and proportion:- But when you advance near, you find no entrance to the house; there are no stairs up to the portico; and this circumstance, after so fine an approach, and so long seeing the portico, and expecting it to be the entrance, becomes a disappointment, and a fault in the building.¹

Soane was later even more disappointed at Holkham that in such a 'magnificent residence...the only entrance from the principal front into one of the most magnificent Vestibules that this Country could boast of, is from a Doorway of very inadequate dimensions in the Basement Storey. This is much to be lamented', he continued,

for not all the grandeur of this truly Classical Composition removes that first impression of meanness, restraint, and insufficiency which the Entrance creates in the mind. It is impossible from the exterior appearance to suppose that you are at the Principal Entrance to the Mansion.²

Young's comment about the distant prospect of the house and portico is a reminder of how approaches to these were undergoing changes. Earlier houses tended to be approached on a straight, central axis, so that movement and changes of direction and viewpoint were achieved only by means of complex, multi-directional staircases. Decreasing formality in garden and landscape design meant that symmetrical, formal houses found themselves surrounded increasingly by irregular, asymmetrical and informal or picturesque parks.³ As a result, changing viewpoints were achieved on a much larger scale because of a greater variety in direction of approaches, not just to the portico but to the whole

¹ A. Young, *A Six Weeks Tour through the Southern Counties of England and Wales* (1768), pp. 5-6.

² Ed. Bolton, *op. cit.*, p. 146 (Lecture ix, 1815).

³ Wotton had spoken, in 1624, of 'a certaine contrarietie between *building* and *gardening*: For as *Fabriques* should bee *regular*, so *Gardens* should bee *irregular*, or at least cast into a very wilde *Regularitie*'. Each changing viewpoint created the impression that 'the *Beholder*... had beene *Magically* transported into a new Garden'; Wotton, *op. cit.*, pp. 109, 110.

house. In 1722, James Macky noted at Cannons that the 'Avenue fronts an Angle of the House, and thereby showing you two Fronts at once, makes the House seem at a Distance the larger'.¹ Lord Kames recommended, in 1762, that

An avenue ought not be to directed in a straight line upon a dwelling-house: better far an oblique approach in a waving line...In a direct approach, the first appearance continues the same to the end: we see a house at a distance, and we see it all along on the same spot without any variety. In an oblique approach, the intervening objects put the house seemingly in motion: it moves with the passenger, and appears to direct its course, so as hospitably to intercept him. An oblique approach contributes also to variety: the house being seen successively in different directions, takes on at every step a new figure.²

In the 1780s, Lord Torrington put it more succinctly, perhaps, when he advised the fashion-conscious to 'Make the approach to your house as meandering as possible the better to discover the view'.³

(d) Garden Buildings

Pope's insistence on respect for the *genius loci*⁴ was to influence significantly, throughout the eighteenth century, the idea of the English landscape garden, one of Britain's notable cultural exports. Robert Morris, both in his *Lectures* (1734-36) and his *Essay upon Harmony* (1739) articulated an ideal vision of 'rural Perfection' perfectly encapsulated at almost exactly the same dates by Kent at Stowe and Rousham, respectively. Many gardens were punctuated at appropriate places by porticoes and porticoed temples which presided over some Arcadian grove or were

¹ Macky, *op.cit.*, ii, 6.

² Kames, *op. cit.*, iii, 312-3.

³ Ed. C.B.Andrews, *The Torrington Diaries* (1934-38), i, 333.

⁴ A.Pope, *Epistle to...Lord Burlington*, (1731), 'Consult the Genius and the Place in all'; 1. 57.

reflected in stretches of water (Pls.103,123).¹ They were usually dedicated to sylvan deities whose characters and attributes determined the architectural order,² but could also symbolize classical philosophical, poetic, and allegorical concepts, and even political programmes, as at Stowe. They were meant to be instructive and edifying, to improve the mind and excite noble sentiments, but also to be pleasing.

Such temples were at one and the same time significant features in the landscape, perhaps giving focus to, or closing, a vista, and also ideal spots, cool and sheltered, from which, in turn, to view the other parts of the landscape from which they were visible.³ They were the most prominent features in the most artificial landscapes that artifice could contrive, both affording and comprising 'many fine Picturesque Views, rather in Appearance romantick than real'.⁴ Sometimes they were erected as less accessible eye-catchers beyond the boundaries of the garden to give the viewer the impression, to which the popularization of the ha-ha gave support, that such a temple indicated an extension of the garden beyond its actual limits or, at least, implied that it should be considered as being brought in with, and part of, the garden. Occasionally, they stood in a particular visual relation to each other and this viewing of each other across space, both by buildings and spectator, was a baroque notion, as was the requirement that the viewer engage actively with the garden by

¹ 'It by no means follows that...every scene must have its edifice, the want of one is sometimes a variety; and other circumstances are often sufficiently characteristic'; T.Whatley, *Observations on Modern Gardening* (1770), p. 118.

² Joseph Spence, c.1752; ed. J.M.Osborn, *Joseph Spence, Observations...* (1966), i, 416.

³ A.Young, *op. cit.*, p. 39. See also pp. 118, 124.

⁴ R.Morris, *An Essay upon Harmony* (1739), pp. 20-21. 'Romantick' here means 'improbable, false; fanciful, full of wild scenery'; Sheridan, *op. cit.*, s.v. 'The design, however, must not be apparent; the merit...consists in its being free from the suspicion'; Whatley, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

moving through it, sometimes in a prescribed sequence, as at Rousham (Pl. 106),¹ in order for it to discover itself to him. 'Variety' and 'surprise' were prerequisites. Often porticoed temples formed part of the view from the house; but, as gardens became increasingly irregular and picturesque, they could be concealed or quite separate, as at Stourhead.

Garden buildings had the advantage of permitting the exploration of formal considerations on a small scale and of being inexpensive to build, compared with large-scale buildings, such as country houses. This was certainly a factor where there was a desire for them to be unusually fanciful or stylistically innovative because, if they turned out not to receive approbation, they could always be demolished without too much loss of either funds or face.² It was in garden buildings that the first neo-Palladian designs appeared at Chiswick (1717-21); that what is arguably the first neo-classical essay in England, the Grecian Temple at Stowe (later the Temple of Concord and Victory) was begun (c.1748; Pl.113); and that the first experiments using wholly Greek porticoes were conducted, in the late 1750s and early 1760s, with the Doric temples at Hagley and Shugborough (Pls. 133,135), which were the earliest buildings of the Greek Revival, not just in this country, but in Europe. Garden buildings had the further advantage that they could be more thoroughly temple-like than just about any other type of building but, in addition to being objects in the landscape, could also have practical functions, such as the Temple of Hercules at Stourhead (Pl.123), used as a sculpture gallery, and the Ionic Temple at Rievaulx (Pl.132), used as a banqueting house. Mausolea,

¹ M.Batey, 'The Way to View Rousham by Kent's Gardener', *GH*, xi 2 (1983), 125-32.

² In garden buildings'...the desire of doing something is stronger than the fear of doing too much'; Whatley, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

following Hawksmoor at Castle Howard in the 1730s, could be significant park buildings, as Adam's Bowood (1761-4;Pl.142) or combined with a church, as at Smirke's later Markham Clinton (1831-2;Pl.297), or they could be both, as at Paine's Gibside Chapel (c.1760;Pl.136). Porticoes and temples in gardens were also the only buildings that could be purpose-built as ruins, such as the baseless Doric colonnade at Shugborough, reminiscent in the extent of its ruin of the remains of the Temple of Saturn in the Forum Romanum, one of the most evocative ruins of Antiquity.¹

The eighteenth-century attitude to reproductions and artificial ruins epitomized its view of Antiquity and the classical tradition. Whereas we are nowadays obsessed with the uniqueness and therefore the value of an original, it was then believed that a copy, however good, far from devaluing or detracting from an original, partook of that original's qualities and disseminated them.² Standing before the statues at Wilton in 1767, Arthur Young remarked, 'Let us lay aside all prejudices, upon account of their being copies, and examine them for a moment as originals'³ and, no doubt, he would have agreed with Ralph who wrote in 1734 that in building 'a beautiful imitation is of abundantly more value than a bad original; and he that could copy excellency so well, could not want a great deal of his own'.⁴ The value of a copy in conveying the spirit of its model was infinitely preferable to not being able to have access to the

¹ 'Ruins...are a class by themselves, beautiful as objects, expressive as characters...', *ibid.*, pp. 131, 132. See also Kames, *op. cit.*, iii, 313.

² 'When excellent originals are imitated, the copies derive their charms, not merely from exactness of imitation, but also from the excellence which they represent; and the gratification which these copies afford may almost as properly ascribed to beauty or sublimity as to imitation'; A.Gerard, *An Essay on Taste* (1759), p. 51.

³ Young, *op. cit.*, (1768), p. 160.

⁴ Ralph, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

original. The more authentic or closer a copy was to an original, the more it partook of the qualities of the original. This applied not only to statues or buildings, but to the transmission of virtues from one culture to another. Temples built as ruins were known, of course, not to be genuinely antique but, as in a drama, disbelief was suspended, because it was the thoughts that were evoked that were important, regardless of how this was achieved.¹ The quality of those thoughts depended, again, as in a drama, on the capacity of the interpreter and medium to demonstrate plausibility and conviction; to strike chords and elicit responses, so that the theatrical or, in this case, architectural, conventions and artifices were simultaneously admired and forgotten, and the spectator was meaningfully engaged, moved, even transported.

It was from ruins that the greatness that was Rome was learned.² The differing responses of architects and ordinary visitors to the ruins of Rome itself, ranging from insatiable archaeological inquisitiveness to poignant nostalgia, have already been touched upon. To regard ruins, real or fictitious, as suggestive of the passage of time, of human frailty and mortality, and of decay, is characteristic of a Romantic view in which there is greater susceptibility to spiritual and emotional qualities than to intellectual or moral ones. By definition the temple, or the classical object is not fragmentary but entire and coherent; so that, in the true meaning of the concept, whatever is broken or only partial can never be classical. Few classical buildings had survived intact and the reinstatement of ruins as a

¹ 'Whatever building we see in decay, we naturally contrast its present to its former state, and delight to ruminate on the comparison', *ibid.*, p. 132.

² *Roma quanta fuit ipsa ruina docet* appears on a Roman drawing by Maerten van Heemskerck (whose views of St. Peter's under construction, drawn between 1533 and 1536, resemble studies of ruins) and also on the title page of Serlio's third book.

means of attempting to retrieve the classical past, which had both a strong emotional and intellectual appeal, was to be a compelling aspect of the Greek Revival.

Few garden porticoes were built in England before the early years of the eighteenth century. John Evelyn had built what was probably the first, a tetrastyle Doric, in his garden at Wotton (c.1649), perhaps having been encouraged in the idea, if not the form, for doing so by Van Campen's Temple of Peace in the Prinsenhof Gardens at Haarlem, finished about a year earlier (1648). Evelyn was the earliest English writer to articulate so clearly the effects of garden buildings. He wrote to Sir William Temple in 1658 that 'the aire and genious of gardens operate vpon human spirits towards virtue and sanctitie'. Garden temples 'do contribute to contemplatiue and philosophicall enthusiasme...*elysium, antrum, nemus, paradysus, hortus, lucus, &c.*, signifie all of them *rem sacrum et divinam*; for these expedients do influence the soule and spirits of man, and prepare them for converse with good angells'. Evelyn wished to be surrounded not just by personifications, allegories and emblems, but to enjoy the company of like-minded individuals and the fellowship of congenial sensibilities, for 'I would have not onely the elegies and effigie of the antient and famous garden heroes, but a society of the *paradisi cultores*, persons of antient simplicity, Paradisean and Hortulan Saints, to be a society of learned and ingenious men'.¹

Temple was an authority on Roman gardens and his ideas, derived from Pliny, and those of J.H.Mansart at Marly, encouraged Vanbrugh in

¹ Quoted in ed. A.F.Sieveking, *Sir William Temple upon the Gardens of Epicurus* (1908), p. 175. See also J.Archer, 'Character in English Architectural Design', *E-CS*, xii/3 (Spring, 1979), 356.

c.1710 to develop the concept of the neo-antique garden, foreshadowed by the Temple of Flora at Chatsworth (1693-5), in the south parterre at Castle Howard. It had as its focal point a tetrastyle Doric pedimented temple, perhaps the first proper porticoed temple in an English garden, its portico almost comparable in size with St.Paul's, Covent Garden.¹ Perhaps inspired by the Temple of Fortune at Palestrina, Campbell made a design, which was not executed, for an even larger Corinthian hexastyle in 1717, virtually the size of the portico of the Pantheon in Rome, intended to dominate another Vanbrugh garden, at Eastbury.²

The porticoed and temple-fronted buildings designed by Burlington between 1717 and 1721 for his garden at Chiswick – including the Pantheon-like Orangery, with its superimposed pediments, and the lake pavilion, whose Tuscan portico was reminiscent of St.Paul's, Covent Garden – were important for two reasons. Not only did they mark the introduction of pure neo-Palladian designs to British architecture but they also represented a development in that process of the secularization of Antiquity comparable in many respects with changes that were taking place in monarchical imagery. Beginning in the ethos of gardens, the meanings of temples and porticoes there depended less from concepts of religion and kingship, which continued to inform their use in other contexts, than from a conscious evocation of associations with classical mythology. Renaissance painters, sculptors and architects had accommodated, though not reconciled, Dionysus and Apollo, and it was in the spirit of recognizing the co-existence of both baser and finer instincts,

¹ VB, iii (1725), Pls. 5-6.

² J.Harris, 'Diverting Labyrinths', CL, clxxxiv (11 Jan., 1990), 63-4.

that Evelyn articulated his expectations of a garden. The ambience of garden temples, and the temples themselves, could be vaguely threatening or potentially malign as well as pleasing but, whatever momentary frisson they gave, they were able to do so, in more than one sense, as part of a controlled situation. Primitiveness, both in terms of primal feelings and architectural theory, was later to find expression in the Laugier-inspired, hut-like garden porticoes of Chambers and Soane; but from the time in the second quarter of the eighteenth century when they began to be popular, garden temples represented a taming and conventionalizing of pagan mysteries, a simultaneous distancing from, and containment of, classical mythology.

By 1718 Vanbrugh and Bridgeman were applying urban design principles to the layout of Stowe, turning the parkland into one huge garden punctuated with free-standing temples. At Castle Howard, by 1724, parkland was viewed, perhaps for the first time, as scenery punctuated by temples and monuments, strongly reminiscent of the Roman Campagna.¹ Notable among these were Vanbrugh's Temple of the Four Winds (1726-8; Pl.192), a variation on Palladio's Villa Rotonda (Pl.4), in which the constituent parts of cube, dome and porticoes have been dismantled and reassembled, their relative scale, proportions and forms altered to produce, as Archer had done in his pavilion at Wrest Park (1709-11), a wholly original, baroque structure. Intended as a belvedere, Vanbrugh's temple resembles Chiswick in its non-residential, casino-like qualities, but also has echoes, in its dome and in having four porticoes, of Mereworth (Pl.88), as well as the Palladian model from which they all derived. Visible from

¹ *Ibid.*, 65.

Vanbrugh's temple, standing on rising ground, is Hawksmoor's slightly later (1729-36) mausoleum, its columns close-set, speeding up the rythm, and its approach echoing the portico steps of Chiswick.

The 1730s saw a great upsurge of garden porticoes, beginning with Kent's Temple in the Obelisk Wood at Holkham (1730-35),¹ followed by the pavilions proposed at Adderbury (1734-40),² and built at Ingestre (c.1735),³ the Temple of Venus at Stowe (c.1736),⁴ the Temple of Hercules and Townesend's Temple (1738; Pl.106), both at Rousham, the Temple of Piety at Studley Royal (c.1736-c.1749) and the Temples of Friendship (Pl.107) and Ancient Virtue at Stowe (1739). Of these the Temple of Piety at Studley (Pl.103) has particular importance as an early example of neo-classical and primitive tendencies some twenty years before the Greek Doric temples at Hagley and Shugborough. Emerging from the woods, it both dominates, and provides a point of reference in, the great, wide, curving avenue between the lake and the Gothic ruins of Fountains Abbey. More importantly, it demonstrates what is apparently the earliest known use in England of the baseless Roman Doric.⁵

¹ I.Ware, *Designs of Inigo Jones* (1757), Pls. 43-44.

² Unexecuted design by Gibbs; Friedman, *op. cit.*, p. 162, Fig. 172.

³ J.Harris, 'Correspondence', *CL*, cxxii (5 Dec., 1957), 1231; A.Rowan, *Garden Buildings* (1968), Pl. 9; R.White, *Georgian Arcadia* (1987), Cat. 308, Pl. 218. In the execution, the order was changed from Corinthian to Ionic, and the niches and plaques omitted.

⁴ Ware, *op. cit.*, (1757), Pls. 46-7.

⁵ See G.Worsley, 'The baseless Roman Doric column in mid-eighteenth-century English architecture: a study in neo-classicism'; *Burl. Mag.*, cxxviii, 998 (May, 1986), 331-9. It does not appear to have been noticed that the Roman Doric columns flanking the central doorways on the arcaded sides of the kitchen block at Blenheim have a small fillet, which is part of the column, but no bases (Pl.57). Given that the overall planning of Blenheim was Vanbrugh's; that, as a general premiss, the highest parts and those farthest from the centre were the latest to be completed; and that Hawksmoor's interest in things Roman and primitive was almost obsessive, it does not seem unreasonable, in the absence of documentary evidence, to assign these to Hawksmoor, when he was in sole charge, 1722-25.

The most famous example of its use in Antiquity was on the Theatre of Marcellus. Serlio used it in some of his reconstructions of ancient buildings, and did so in what was the first recreation of the Temple of Piety in the Forum Holitorium.¹ Palladio used it, both in his theoretical recreation of the ancient house and in practice for the portico of the Villa Pisani at Montagnana.² Among the Palladio drawings acquired by Burlington in 1721, four show baseless Doric columns, including an early design for the Palazzo Chiericati (Pl.3), and a hexastyle temple (Pl.104). Jones had known from Palladio that originally the Doric was baseless, but never used it,³ and Webb, who followed Palladio in his own reconstruction of the ancient house, departed from his Palladian model by including bases.⁴ Aldrich illustrated the order in his book (only a fragment of which was published, in 1789, some sixty years after his death) but, like Ware, considered the Doric with an Attic base to be more beautiful.⁵ What has to be considered as part of a conscious attempt to look directly at antique Roman sources, rather than through the interpretations of Palladio and others, is represented by Castell's use of the baseless Doric in his reconstruction of Pliny's villa at Laurentium.⁶ The *Quattro Libri* comprised two different kinds of information: illustrations of Palladio's work, on which, for their own reinterpretations of Palladio, most neo-Palladians naturally tended to concentrate; and his reconstructions of

1 Serlio, iii, f.10^v, 22^r, A fluted version is shown at f.66^r.

2 These are incorrectly shown with bases in *QL*, Pl. xxxv.

3 Ware, *op. cit.*, (1757), Pl. 24 shows a 'Plan and elevation of a seat Inigo Jones', a tetrastyle Doric, the outer columns squared and coupled with baseless Doric columns.

4 E.Eisenthal, 'John Webb's Reconstruction of the Ancient House', *AH* xxviii (1985), Pls. 1-2.

5 H.Aldrich, *Elementorum Architecturae Pars Prima De Architectura Civili* (1789), i, iv, 11, Pl. vi/xxii. Pl. vi shows a fluted version similar to Serlio's. Ware, *op. cit.*, (1756), p. 155.

6 R.Castell, *The Villas of the Ancients* (1728) pp. 44-45.

ancient Roman buildings, which, in the absence of their own direct studies of these, were of increasing importance to the growing numbers of those primarily interested in Antiquity. Burlington was concerned with both aspects – Chiswick is a good example of his use of the former, and his attempt at recreating Roman Antiquity in the York Assembly Rooms a fine instance of the latter – and, although he himself never seems to have used the baseless Roman Doric, from the 1740s onwards, some of his followers did. At least ten instances of its use have been identified, of which three were in the porticoes of garden buildings and three in those of country houses. Of the first, the hexastyle Doric temple ruin at Shugborough, already mentioned, has been demolished, but the Temple of Piety at Studley and the Doric Rotunda at Rievaulx survive.

The Studley temple is close to Labacco's reconstruction of the Temple of Piety, described as 'appresso il Teatro di Marcello', differing only in having a wider central intercolumniation, plain metopes, triglyphs over the outer columns, and a steeper pitch of pediment.¹ It is, in fact, an exact realization, right down to the three-step approach, of Palladio's reconstruction which was in Burlington's collection (Pl.104). The authorship and exact date of the Studley temple are not known; but it

¹ A.Labacco, *Libro d'Antonio Labacco appartenente a l'Architettura* (1569), Pls. 23-5. Labacco cites Vitruvius on the inconvenience of having triglyphs at the corners, but nonetheless he places them there in his own reconstruction; Pls. 23-4

The Doric is not always easily distinguishable from the Tuscan, for though the absence of flutes and of triglyphs and metopes in the frieze of the latter is essential, their presence in the former is not; Worsley, *op. cit.*, (1986), 331. The possibility cannot be discounted that users of the Roman baseless Doric in the 1740s and 50s believed it, by virtue of its being baseless, to have been Grecian. Nearly fifty years later, and some thirty five years after the publication of Stuart and Revett's *Antiquities of Athens* in 1762, C.H.Tatham did not identify it as Roman: 'The only example of graecian that I am able to discover in Rome, or as coming nearest to it, is in the remains of the Theatre of Marcellus, which is composed of Doric & Ionic, one over the other, the former without a base and the latter with a plain and simple Volute - This work was built in the time of Augustus, who also caused to be built other Works in Greece'; (my italics), Tatham to Henry Holland, from Rome, 7 June, 1795, V&A, D 1479 - '98 f. 13.

was probably designed by an amateur, who had access to Burlington's Palladio drawings, perhaps Sir Thomas Robinson, who included an unpedimented, single-storeyed baseless Doric portico in his additions of 1753-9 to the now-demolished west wing at Castle Howard for his brother-in-law, the 4th Earl of Carlisle and, at about the same time, added an unpedimented portico of coupled baseless Doric columns to his own recently completed (c.1741) house at Rokeby (Pl.119).

This proto-neo-classicism, emanating from Burlington and Palladio, seems to have been primarily a northern phenomenon, exceptions in the south being a church, Roger Morris's St. Lawrence, Mereworth (1744-6), and a country house, the south front of West Wycombe (remodelled c.1755), probably by John Donowell. It was perhaps at Burlington's York Assembly Rooms, one of the North's great social venues, that such ideas were discussed and exchanged in what, after Bath, was considered in the eighteenth century to be the most Roman city in England.

Porticoed temples were a feature of many eighteenth-century gardens until the mid-1770s. Though their political significance, exemplified at Stowe, and the importance of their mythological associations declined, the practical aspects of *architecture parlante* remained, many of them doubling as banqueting houses – Vanbrugh's Lake Pavilions at Stowe (c.1717; Pl.78), Gibbs's Menagerie at Hackwood (1727; Pl.94), Flitcroft's Temple of Flora at Stourhead (1744-5; Pl.111), the Queen's Temple at Stowe (1744-8; Pl.112), Garrick's Temple at Hampton (c.1755-8; Pl.126) and Robinson's Ionic Temple at Rievaulx (c.1758; Pl.132). Some uses rendered the portico's primary function nugatory, as at the Dovecote at Corby Castle (c.1748; Pl.115) and the Orangery at Bramham (c.1760; Pl.137). After R. Adam's Doric hexastyle Temple Greenhouse at

Croome (1760s), and Kingston Maurward (c.1774), a Doric Temple was proposed for Wynnstay in 1786 but not executed and, apart from Brettingham's Temple of Concord at Audley End (1790) and Wyattville's Pantheon, or King William's Temple, at Kew (1836-7; Pl.310), the tendency seems to have been that if money were to be spent on small porticoed buildings then they might just as well be of some practical use, such as an entrance lodge, a boat-house or, as at Scampston, a fishing pavilion (1773;Pl.168). One of the last and finest garden porticoes, meant to be seen as an adjunct to the main house, was to be Cockerell's Conservatory, straight from the Illissus, at Grange Park (1823-5;Pl.263) where an evocative portico is merely a frontage masking a structure of iron and glass.

Patrons, notably Lord Lyttelton, with his garden temples at Stowe, were not unaware of the anomaly of allegories which called on the meaning, if not the name, of a 'second-hand machinery of heathen mythology'. Those for whom superstition was 'practically indistinguishable from religion', mingled 'trifling fictions with the most awful, sacred truths'¹. Some ten years before the rash of garden temples designed by Chambers for Kew between 1758 and 1763 – including the Temple of Arethusa (Pl. 131) – triggered by the victory at Minden, and his Temples of Flora and Diana at Blenheim (c.1766-75); and just as Stowe's Grecian Temple (later, the Temple of Concord and Victory) was rising, William Melmoth, a translator of Pliny and a deist, was sceptical about the convention of associating garden temples with sanitized deities. 'Tho' the

¹ F.M.Keener, *English Dialogues of the Dead* (1973), pp.13-14. See also F.E.Manuel, *The Eighteenth Century Confronts the Gods* (1959).

altars of paganism have many ages since been thrown down', he wrote in 1749, 'and groves are no longer sacred; yet the language of the poets has not changed with the religion of the times, but the gods of Greece and Rome are still adored in modern verse'.¹ Of the idea that 'fancy is enlivened by superstition', and 'rapture' induced by 'the old mythology', he considered 'there is something ridiculous in this unnatural adoption', and that the moderns made awkward figures with their 'antiquated gods'. Formerly,

When the pagan system was sanctified by popular belief, a piece of machinery of that kind, as it had the air of probability, afforded a very striking manner of celebrating any remarkable circumstance, or raising any common one. But now that this superstition is no longer supported by vulgar opinion, it has lost its principal grace and efficacy, and seems to be, in general, the most cold and uninteresting method in which a poet can work up his sentiments.²

Melmoth clearly did not deter Chambers, amongst whose temples at Kew were those dedicated to Victory and Bellona, when he cited Boileau's verses describing Louis XIV's crossing the Rhine, with liberal references to Naiads, Mars, and Bellona: 'I know how far this may be relished by criticks, or justified by custom; but as I am only mentioning my particular taste, I will acknowledge, that it appears to me extremely insipid and puerile',³

¹ W.Melmoth, *Letters on Several Subjects*, ii (1749), 225-6.

² *Ibid.*, 226.

³ *Ibid.*, 226-7.

5 The Disadvantages of Porticoes

There were certain practical disadvantages to the use of porticoes in northern Europe, for reasons mostly to do with climate. Architects, writers and patrons had been aware of these for some time, but they assumed greater importance from the beginning of the eighteenth century as the use of porticoes increased and more emphasis was placed on comfort. As the portico came to epitomize classical architecture, often becoming the only antique reference in the design, so any adverse criticism of the style tended to be focussed on porticoes to the extent that together with considerations of their expence and climatic suitability, attitudes towards them sometimes became ambivalent.

Edmund Bolton had anticipated in 1606 that it was Inigo Jones 'through whom there is hope that sculpture, modelling, architecture, painting, acting and all that is praise-worthy in the elegant arts of the ancients, may one day find their way across the Alps into our England'.¹ A little over a century later, even before Lord Burlington's second visit to Italy in 1719 when he first took a marked interest in architecture, Johan Heidegger wrote of the young earl: 'The particular Encouragement you have given to the liberal Arts, not only shows the Delicacy of Your Taste, but will be a Means to Establish them in this Climate, and *Italy* will no longer boast of being the Seat of Politeness, whilst the Sons of Art flourish under Your Patronage'.² Nonetheless, to whatever extent identification and associations were to be made in this country on a philosophical, moral

¹ Quoted in Summerson, *op. cit.*, (1966), pp. 28-9.

² J.J.Heidegger, *Amadis* (1715), Dedication; quoted in Tavernor, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

and ideological level with the meanings and forms of ancient buildings, there was no denying that classical architecture had originated and developed in the warm climate of the Mediterranean. The direct transposing of such architectural forms across the Alps to less sunny Britain, without taking any account of the differences of weather, was potentially anomalous. If, however, changes and adaptations were made to obviate this, or for whatever other reason, then such alterations, by definition, brought the process into the arena of debate between Ancients and Moderns concerning the problem of reconciling the rules of art with variety of taste, of which one strand elaborated by Perrault and Wren, was the distinction between positive and arbitrary, or natural and customary beauty. Wotton seems to have been the earliest English writer to mention such considerations, observing that 'other *Countreys* have more benefite of *Sunne* than wee' and that this meant having 'singular regard, to the nature of the *Region*: Euery Nation, being tyed aboue al Rules whatsoeuer, to a discretion, of prouiding against their owne *Inconueniences*', and, echoing Alberti, that where climate was a factor, '*Comelinesse* must yeeld to *Necessity*'.¹

Some twenty years later, in the 1680s, Roger North was critical of the portico *in antis* and, thinking particularly of the Queen's House and Gunnersbury, had written that

¹ Wotton, *op. cit.*, pp. 110, 9, 80. More than a hundred years later, Robert Morris made the same concession to climate, but also introduced the notion that buildings should not just afford protection to their inhabitants but should themselves be protected in order that they might survive for posterity: 'It is not without a just regard to necessity, that such things, which are to remain as Monuments of our Character, should be duly weighed...the Ancients generally avoided every thing which might bear the least Tendency to the Decay of their Execution'; Morris, *op. cit.*, (1728), pp. 94, 95.

this robs the house of a principal room, and interrupts the file of rooms, which is a prime beauty, and, which is worse, it darkens the best rooms...In Italy, this is proper and usefull, because it abates heat, and averts the force of the sun's light, which is offensive; and is also *fresco* and *aieroso*; not so agreeable here as with them, but at few times; wee have generally speaking, too much air, and too litle heat, and therefore need not spoil an order of rooms to obtain one and abate the other'.¹

At the very time in 1719 that Lord Burlington was making his second visit to Italy, Sir Thomas Hewett wrote from Italy to Alessandro Galilei in London, concerning the latter's proposed porticoed palace in St.James's Park, that 'our Climate requires many things different from Italy, which no man without experience can tell'.² On public buildings porticoes fulfilled admirably their original function of providing shelter – although less from the sun than from the rain – but there were many complaints about their making country houses dark and draughty. Pope, in his *Epistle* to Lord Burlington of 1731, echoed Aristotle and Alberti on ostentatious building and, chiding the vanity of grand building in the Palladian style, saw draughty porticoes as one of the prices to be paid for such ostentation. He warned of 'imitating fools', those who would front their houses with porticoes and

Shall call the winds through long arcades to roar,
Proud to catch cold at a Venetian door;
Conscious they act a true Palladian part,
And, if they starve, they starve by rules of art.³

¹ R.North, *Of Building*, eds. Colvin and Newman, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

² Quoted in I.Toesca, 'Alessandro Galilei in Inghilterra', *EM*, iii (1952), 216.

³ Pope, *op. cit.*, 'Moral Essay' iv (1731), 11. 35-8. Even Pope, however, could not resist the attractions of cultural imperialism: 'See from all Climes the Learn'd their Incense bring'; *An Essay on Criticism* (1711), i., *Gent's Mag.*, xxiii (1753), frontispiece. Of his own modest entrance-portico at Twickenham Pope wrote in March 1732/3 to Burlington, who was later to inspect it: 'The Zeal of my Portico has eaten me up', ed. G.Sherburn, *The Correspondence of Alexander Pope*, iii (1956), 356.

Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, wrote in 1732: 'I note one aversion our present architects have, which is light, that is the reverse of my inclination',¹ and *The Builder's Dictionary* appealed in 1734 'to all Persons, who build sumptuously, to calculate their Buildings according to the Point of Light from whence they are to be view'd'.² The Abbé le Blanc, perhaps having visited Wanstead, between 1737 and 1744, wrote to Caylus from London:

La plûpart des Maisons de Campagne, car il est peu de Bâtimens à Londres qui méritent qu'on en parle, sont encore ici dans le goût Italien; mais on ne l'a pas toujours appliqué juste. Un des premiers soins d'un Architecte, doit être d'avoir égard au climat où il bâtit; ce qui convient à un Pays aussi chaud, & dont l'air est aussi pur que celui de Naples, devient incommode dans un climat beaucoup plus froid, & dont le Ciel n'est pas aussi serein. Les Italiens dans leurs Maisons doivent se défendre du trop grand jour; les Anglois, qui ne voyent pas le Soleil aussi souvent qu'ils le voudroient, doivent le chercher. La Maison de Plaisance qui orne une Vigne de Rome, n'est pas un Modèle pour une Maison de Campagne des Environs de Londres.³

Robert Morris had remarked in 1728 on the necessity, as Wotton had done over a century earlier, because of climate and compared with ancient and Mediterranean practice, for roofs and pediments in this country to be 'more acute in their Pitch'.⁴

In the early 1750s, Sir George Lyttelton wrote to Sanderson Miller about the building of Hagley, 'We...desire that you will try your skill in the Greek architecture, being persuaded that no gentleman architect will have so great a regard for convenience as you, or know so well how to give us the rooms we want'.⁵ Lyttelton thought the designs Miller produced 'very

¹ G.Scott Thomson, *Letters of a Grandmother* (1943), p. 54.

² *The Builder's Dictionary* (1734), i, Preface; repr. in Ralph, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

³ Quoted in Eriksen, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

⁴ Wotton, *op. cit.*, p. 80; Morris, *op. cit.*, (1728), p. 94.

⁵ Quoted in A.T.Bolton, 'Hagley Park, Worcestershire', *CL.*, xxxviii (1915), 523..

beautiful, especially the north and west fronts; but I apprehend the expence would be greater than I can afford'.¹ Money was clearly a constraint and, though he wanted a portico but was unable to afford one, he hoped for better times, writing in June 1754 'I am glad they have begun to dig the foundations. It will be right to leave a possibility of adding a portico and other beauties hereafter, but let us adhere at present to the simple magnificence of the designs I sent down with your latest corrections'.² In the following year, 1755, he still seems to have been hankering after a portico but even what was described as a 'sham portico' (presumably a temple front) was rejected by Miller.³ Hagley (Pl.124) is interesting 'precisely as a stepping-stone in the Anglicising of the Palladian tradition – a stage in the elimination of features not demanded by climatic conditions, though...the grand external stairway remains, in spite of its essential inconvenience in a northern latitude'.⁴ The pressures of contemporary taste to which Lyttelton felt himself subjected and his resignation to the exigencies of fashion are all too clear in his letter of 25 August 1753:

I doubt we shall be horribly bleak...But it is an unalterable Decree of the Fates that Grandeur and Comfortableness must not dwell together. My wife murmurs and says she shall be blown away and starv'd to death: but she as well as the rest of the world must submit to the Laws of the Goddess *Taste* who is now *the Great Diana* of England.⁵

Robert Morris had pointed out that most country house owners spent the winter in their London houses and that 'As these [country] Seats

1 McCarthy, *op.cit.*, 222.

2 Bolton, *op. cit.*, 524.

3 *Idem.*

4 *Idem.*

5 McCarthy, *loc. cit.*

are most used in the warmest Seasons of the Year, Shade is chiefly wanted; and VISTA's through the Design each Way, besides the Pleasures of some distant Prospect, are inlets to the refreshing Breezes, which enliven the Spirits, and by cooling the Rooms, make the Seasons more agreeable. The Entrances', he adds, 'should be Grand' and, preferably, adorned with porticoes.¹ There were sceptics who remained unconvinced. Lord Kames would have sympathized with Lord Lyttelton, for 'Nothing can be more evident', he wrote in 1762,

than that the form of a dwelling-house ought to be suited to the climate; and yet no error is more common, than to copy in Britain the form of Italian houses; not forgetting even those parts that are purposely contrived for air, and excluding the sun.²

He went on to give the portico as a prime instance:

A colonnade along the front of a building, hath a fine effect in Greece and Italy, by producing coolness and obscurity, agreeable properties in warm and luminous climates. The cold climate of Britain is altogether averse to this ornament. A colonnade therefore, can never be proper to this country, unless when employ'd to communicate with a detached building. Again, a logio opening the house to the north, contrived in Italy for gathering cool air, is, if possible, still more improper for this climate. Scarce endurable in summer, it, in winter, exposes the houses to the bitter blasts of the north, and to every shower of snow and rain.³

Even Kames had to succumb to the dictates of fashion and habit. However, his concession was fortified not just by theory but by rejecting the practice of 'making the hall the largest room in the house' and proposing instead that there should be 'first, a handsome portico, proportioned to the size and fashion of the front: this portico leads into a waiting room of a larger

¹ R.Morris, *op. cit.*, (1734), p. 89.

² Kames, *op. cit.*, iii, 327.

³ *Ibid.*, 127-8

size; and this again to the great room, all by progression from small to great'.¹

James Cawthorn, too, had reservations; in 1771 he not only took up Pope's theme about the faint absurdity of suffering for one's portico in the British weather, but also questioned the validity and even the propriety of building in the classical style in this country:

Is there a portal, colonnade, or dome,
The pride of Naples, or the boast of Rome?
We raise it here, in storms of wind and hail,
On the bleak bosom of a sunless vale;
Careless alike of climate, soil, and place,
The cast of nature and the smiles of grace.²

Some builders, though perhaps deterred by climatic considerations but who were, nonetheless, dedicated followers of fashion, undoubtedly found porticoes difficult to afford. It may well have been the case that cost was as much a factor as any other in that adaptation, or 'Anglicising', as Bolton called it, of the Palladian formula. A glance at the nature and frequency of architectural publications in the roughly twenty-year-period from the mid-1740s to the late 1760s reveals a growing tendency in favour of simplicity and a shift in the aims of their writers away from those of the early promoters of Palladianism, who were concerned almost exclusively with establishing the primacy of the style and identifying it with distinguished public and private monuments, towards promoting Palladianism as a much more accesible, universal style.³ It had been one of Gibbs's stated intentions in *A Book of Architecture* (1728) to make classical

¹ *Ibid.*, 341-2.

² J.Cawthorn, *Of Taste* (1771), 11. 69-74.

³ See D.Weibenson, 'Documents of Social Change: Publications about the Small House', in ed. R.Cohen, *Studies in Eighteenth-Century British Art and Aesthetics* (1985), pp. 82-127.

architecture more widely available to the provinces and to different classes of society. Daniel Garrett's *Designs, and Estimates, of Farm Houses, &c.* (1747), William Halfpenny's *A New and Compleat System of Architecture* (1749), and Robert Morris's *Rural Architecture* (1750) were still informed by the original associations of Palladianism with aristocratic patronage and state control in the arts and continued to promote its pronounced nationalist predisposition. Isaac Ware's *A Complete Body of Architecture* (1756), one of the greatest architectural publications of the century, was concerned almost exclusively not with public buildings but with country houses and echoed Castell in recommending that the best designs for country houses accompanied by farms for persons of independent means 'should be taken from the *Villas* of the antient *Romans*'.¹ Despite this purported neo-classical intention, Ware's own architectural style is ultimately informed primarily by fundamental Palladian principles. Sir William Chambers's more discriminating *A Treatise on Civil Architecture* (1759) largely superseded Ware and was to become the standard British work on the orders, but was already more markedly neo-classical in tone. Abraham Swan's *A Collection of Designs in Architecture* (1757), Timothy Lightoler's *The Gentleman and Farmer's Architect* (1762), John Crunden's *Convenient and Ornamental Architecture* (1767), of which there were nine editions right up to 1815, and Thomas Rawlins's *Familiar Architecture* (1768), all helped to keep Palladianism going. Some of these were reprinted more than once, but there were no new publications in England of designs for houses for another thirteen years, until John Wood the Younger's *A Series of Plans, for Cottages or*

¹ *Op. cit.*, (2nd edn., 1767), p. 352.

Habitations of the Labourer (1781), which followed fairly closely the format of the books in the earlier group, particularly that of Garrett, but which set the pattern for subsequent publications by including cottages as well as farmhouses and villas which could be 'adapted as well to Towns as to the Country'. The simple, utilitarian designs were at one and the same time a formal reduction and an applicational extension of Palladianism which was no longer aimed specifically at aristocratic or state patronage and which recognized different social needs for housing, whilst also altering the social nature of this form of publication. That architects were beginning to look elsewhere for commissions was already evident from Swan's *Designs in Architecture*. In his earlier book, *The British Architect* (1745), he had repeated the by then familiar commonplace that an Order of columns 'adds greatly to the Beauty of the Building, if rightly adapted, not to the Situation *only*, but also to the Rank and Dignity of the Owner'.¹ However, by the time of his later book, he had clearly identified a different market waiting to be tapped: 'I observe the *Designs* which have been published by others, have, for the most part, been *grand* and *pompous*;² which, though they may be excellent in their Kind, will but seldom come into Use, as being only proper for very large Buildings'.³

But as there are more Gentlemen of Moderate Fortunes than of great Estates who may be inclined to build Houses, I suppose some *less expensive Designs* may be acceptable...in others...I have endeavoured to accommodate the *Great* and *Noble* with *Designs*, that may be suitable to their Taste and Fortune.⁴

¹ *Op, cit.*, (3rd edn., 1758), p. iv.

² 'Pompous' has here the sense of 'Splendid, magnificent, grand' and not, as now, 'pretentious' or 'overblown'; Sheridan, *op, cit.*, s.v.

³ *Op, cit.*, (3rd edn., 1758), pp. i, iii.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.iii-iv.

Swan recommended adherence to classical canons, not for ideological reasons but, in the interests of grandeur. He then suggested, depending on viewpoint, either an affordable compromise or a dilution of stylistic purity – both economies to be dashed with liberal helpings of ornamentation – but concluded, wistfully, and little troubled by polemics, that when it comes to porticoes there is no substitute for the real thing:

The closer we keep to the Rules of the ancient *Grecian Orders*, viz. the *Doric*, the *Ionic* and the *Corinthian* in decorating the Outside of our Buildings, the more grand is their Appearance, and, generally speaking, the Eye is better pleased. The *Cornices* and *Architraves* in those several Orders are capable of receiving fine Inrichments, and their *Freezes* beautiful Foliages. We see that in small *Porticoes*, two Columns only, if they are brought out from the Wall, and Pillasters behind them, have a fine Effect; but how much more is the Eye struck and delighted with a proper Arrangement of Columns, of just Proportion, in large Buildings.¹

If the propriety of expenditure on porticoes and the ignoring or toleration of climatic factors were issues for some, there were others for whom it was, in any case, entirely inappropriate, for a variety of reasons, to transpose classical forms to, and identify them with, Britain.

A somewhat proprietorial attitude was taken towards ancient Roman architecture by Batista Angeloni. He denied the feasibility of the very transposition and association of architectural forms from one age, place and culture to another that was at the heart of international and, particularly, British neo-classicism. 'The remains of ancient Rome are a delight', he wrote in 1755, 'which can never take place in this country [England]; for tho' buildings may tumble into dust in all nations, what land [but Italy] can boast to have produced such illustrious inhabitants,

¹ *Ibid.*, pp.iv-v.

whose characters are constantly annex'd to the ruins of Rome?'.¹ Many Britons would have considered the question rhetorical, since they regarded themselves as precisely such characters. Angeloni went on to give his own answer by attacking the very *raison d'être* of British neo-classicism: 'I am suspicious the British senate, so fond of being thought to resemble the Roman, has produced no beings which can compare with those of ancient Rome. Where shall we find a Brutus, Scaevola, Fabricius, Regulus, Decii, Scipios, and Ciceros, in the list of those who heave fill'd the English senate-house...?'² Angeloni did, however, pose the even more legitimate question as to the desirability, or even the possibility, of recovering the past, by challenging the architectural morality of neo-classicism.

There has always been a tension between an architect's respectability in his demonstrating the canonically correct use of the orders and architectural forms and his licence in changing these in an individual way for the purposes of effect or in order to achieve a personal, identifiable style. At the same time, any ideal of adhering scrupulously to authenticity of architectural sources and applications not only narrowed the parameters of his creative possibilities but often ran counter to the requirements of making buildings suitable to their location. By extension, rather like the dramatic unities, and in the broadest context, the universality of classical principles theoretically militated against the very concept of national styles. In 1742 John Gwynn tried to integrate Vitruvius and Horace by suggesting that decorum in an architect embraced not only

¹ J. Shebbeare (pseudonym of B. Angeloni), *Letters on the English Nation* (1755), ii, 168.

² *Idem.*

subscription to the rules of architecture and considerations of site (including the *genius loci*), propriety to the owner and to usage, but also, in the conflict between fidelity to models – classical or Palladian – and what has been called 'the peculiarly English reinterpretation of decorum of situation'¹ demanded by climate, that much of an architect's skill lay in successfully adapting classical forms to English requirements. Isaac Ware, a great admirer of Palladio, disapproved of what he saw as the contemporary conviction that the guiding principle should be to 'transfer the buildings of Italy, right or wrong, suited or unsuited to the purpose in England; and this', he continues, 'if done exactly, the builder has been taught to consider a merit in his profession'.² In the same year, 1756, after the rejection of his French-inspired proposals for Harewood – heavily influenced by Roman neo-classicism and incorporating porticoes – Sir William Chambers learned a salutary lesson and conceded ruefully that buildings should be 'Adapted to the Customs & Fashions of our Time, to the Climate and Manners of our Country, and to the Wants and Feelings of its Inhabitants'.³ Edward Young identified the fundamental difficulty in 1759; whilst agreeing that by an imaginative original composition's 'being as excellent as new...we are snatched from *Britain* to *Italy*, from Climate to Climate, from Pleasure to Pleasure; we have no Home, no Thought, of our own', he was forced to admit that direct imitations, like many other blooms that have been transplanted, 'sometimes die on removal, [and] always languish in a foreign soil'.⁴ James Paine thought 'we have

¹ J.Gwynn, *The Art of Architecture* (1742): repr. ed. W.A.Gibson, in *ARS*, cxliv (1970), ix.

² I.Ware, *A Complete Body of Architecture* (1756), p. 694.

³ Quoted in J.Harris, *Sir William Chambers* (1970), p. 40.

⁴ Young, *op.cit.*, pp. 10, 13.

received some real advantages from Palladio, and other Venetian masters...experience daily convinces us, that the houses built by that great master, are very ill adapted to our climate, still worse to our mode of living, and consequently are not proper models for our imitation'.¹

Such issues were, of course, like so many of the dilemmas inherent in classicism, incapable of being resolved. Despite a resurgence, in the Greek Revival, during which complaints about the unsuitability of porticoes to our climate became even more vehement, they were, by the second quarter of the nineteenth century, to become largely irrelevant. However, in the present context, it may be sufficient to note that Palladianism in Britain fared less well in its purer than its more utilitarian forms because of the climatic differences and the need for more light and warmth in this country.

6 Summary

The portico owed its introduction, through Jones, to greater understanding of antique precedent and of the interpretations of Palladio, and others. Its use had been adumbrated in the theoretical drawings and few executed works of Wren. It owed its popularization and more widespread use in the Palladian or Jonesian revival first to Campbell and then to Burlington and his followers, and lastly to those second and third generation Palladian architects working right through to the beginning of the final quarter of the eighteenth century. Burlington's strict Palladian

¹ J.Paine, *Plans, Elevations and Sections, of Nobleman and Gentlemen's Houses* (1767), p. ii.

ideology gradually gave way, as Pope feared it would, to the reduction of the portico to a kind of cipher, so that in many instances patrons and architects, particularly on country houses, merely took what they needed from the neo-Palladian repertoire largely for reasons of fashion and the portico became something of an adjunct, and even a cliché. By the 1770s Palladianism was no longer enough; but although the portico gained renewed impetus from neo-classicism, it remained essentially the principle element in a fundamentally Palladian formula got up in Roman or Greek garb. The most uncompromising neo-classical architects, almost obsessed with fidelity to the integrity of their sources, were to make houses and other types of buildings more like temples; but it was not always possible, or even desirable, to give internal justification to colonnades and pediments. Consequently, a process similar to that experienced by neo-Palladians was to recur, but to an even greater extent because porticoes were to be applied increasingly to buildings with functions for which there was no ancient precedent. Porticoes were to be used indiscriminately merely as anomalous additions to structures which bore no relation to them on buildings otherwise fulfilling contemporary needs. Unless buildings were to be temples, this was inherent in the nature and application of porticoes. Many of the debates concerning the practical, stylistic and ideological suitability of porticoes to Britain were first raised though, inevitably, never resolved, within the context of neo-Palladianism.

VI Neo–Classicism and the Greek Revival Portico

Let us build our Compositions with the Spirit, and in the Taste, of the Antients; but not with their Materials: Thus will they resemble the structures of *Pericles* at *Athens*, which *Plutarch* commends for having had an air of Antiquity as soon as they were built.

E.Young, *Conjectures on Original Composition* (1759).

We are all Greeks...our laws, our literature, our religion, our arts have their roots in Greece.

P.B.Shelley, Preface to *Hellas* (1821).

1 Introduction

The portico underwent two major changes during the Neo-Classical and Greek Revival periods: one, stylistic, in having been based eventually almost exclusively on Greek rather than Palladian or Roman models; and the other, applicational, in having been applied to a much wider range of building types, for many of which there was no precedent.

Porticoes continued to be built, in increasing numbers, on private residences, mostly in the country, but also in towns and cities. The use of porticoes on churches, which had been the first public buildings to display them, was given renewed impetus, as it had been in 1711, by an Act of Parliament, in 1818. Nonconformists, too, gradually adopted them for their chapels, particularly in the increasingly wealthy and expanding industrial towns and cities of the Midlands and the North. Long-standing building-types, such as town or shire halls, guildhalls, markets, schools, colleges, hospitals and law courts, were built with porticoes for which Greek Doric was to become largely the norm. Indeed, it was in civic and other new types of public buildings that the use of porticoes was to become most widespread; museums and art galleries, libraries, assembly rooms,

theatres, baths and hotels, as well as commercial and trade buildings, such as exchanges, banks and other financial institutions, and, towards the end of our period, railway stations. Most of these types of buildings were evidence of growing social interaction, of the increasing complexity and localization of government and administration – especially after the 1832 Reform Bill – and the growth of public and private wealth derived from trade and manufacturing. Many of them punctuated town- and cityscapes or emphasized axial aspects of urban planning and were sources of great civic pride and display. All were meant to be impressive, proclaiming the authority, power, and prestige of their respective bodies and celebrating not just socially desirable amenities but, the progressively *civilized* nature of society.

Two further tendencies characterized the applicational change in porticoes, one of which was its more extreme use as an often ill-fitting adjunct to otherwise non-templar buildings already noted as latent in the use of the Palladian portico; and the other was a move in almost the opposite direction of trying to make some buildings wholly like temples. Both of these latter tendencies represented different solutions to the recurring difficulties of how best to use archaeological material and of accommodating what continued to remain an essentially alien architectural feature to both climate and differing contemporary needs. The stylistic changes were, however, not just a fashionable preference, but a change of imagery signifying a profound shift in intellectual, visual, and aesthetic allegiances, and in social thinking.

2 Neo-Classicism: Imitation and Originality

The problems associated with architectural sources – which ones should be looked at, how they should be viewed, and how they should be utilized – had been perennial since the Renaissance, and were to remain so throughout our period. The accumulation of the achievements in the works of generations of architects and, from the 1740s, the widening range of archaeological sources that became available both demonstrated, and provided further potential influences and opportunities for, variety. It was for its variety, amongst other things, that it was almost universally agreed Nature should be imitated by Art. However, although variety, and the notion of progress might have increased the options available, they ran counter to the assertion of absolutes.

Pope contrasted imitation and adhering to rules¹ with originality and genius, and Addison gave the earliest signs of a new notion of the artist as creator which was to spread from England to Europe in the course of the eighteenth century.² To Edward Young, 'Genius' was nothing 'but the Power of accomplishing great things without the means generally reputed necessary to that end' and 'has ever been supposed to partake of something Divine'.³ At least 'somewhat of an original spirit' should be attempted. He believed himself the first to have made the distinction, when citing Antiquity, that 'we should rather imitate their example in the

1 Pope, *op.cit.*, (1711), i.

2 See R.Wittkower, 'Piranesi's "Parere su l'Architettura"', *JWI*, ii (1938-39), 156.

3 Young, *op. cit* (1759), p. 26.

general motives and fundamental methods of their working than in their works themselves'.¹

Robert Morris's view that Palladio had left his buildings 'as Examples for our Imitation' did little to encourage the critical examination of the actual remains of Antiquity, as Palladio himself had done.² To William Melmoth, Palladio exemplified the kind of original who became 'himself the occasion of a thousand models' from whom others were 'contented with borrowing both the materials and the plans of their mimick structures'.³ To Melmoth, the moderns paid 'too blind a deference to the antients'⁴, whose distance only magnified them, and for Young, 'illustrious Examples engross, prejudice, and intimidate';⁵ the ancients 'are our powerful Allies'⁶ but we should not allow them to enslave us. 'Imitate them, by all means; but imitate aright...The less we copy the renowned Antients, we shall resemble them the more'.⁷ Not by 'Plagiarism' or 'sordid Theft', but only 'by a sort of noble Contagion'⁸ could the Ancients be bettered. Meanwhile, Shebbeare lamented the loss of the 'simple and sublime'⁹ and Laugier thought that 'la simplicité plus grande produira toujours un effet satisfaisant'.¹⁰

¹ *Idem.*, *op. cit.* (1728), quoted in ed. S.B.Elledge, *Eighteenth-Century Critical Essays* (1961), i, 414.

² Morris, *op. cit.* (1728), p. 23. See also Gwynn, *op. cit.* (1766), p. 36.

³ Melmoth, *op. cit.* i (1748), 7-8, Letter ii, 'On the veneration paid to the antients'.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁵ Young, *op. cit.* (1759) p. 13.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 24, 25.

⁹ Shebbeare, *op. cit.*, ii, 261.

¹⁰ M.-A. Laugier, *Essai sur l'Architecture* (1753), p. 110.

These, and other writers,¹ preoccupied with the nature of origins and the wider concept of artistic originality, perceived a link, less causal than sequential, between a spectrum of notions which characterized the classical past and to which the present aspired, but which also joined the present to that past: simplicity, minimalism, genius, primitivism, originality.

There seemed to be broadly two possibilities, reflecting different notions of what could be meant by originality. The first would involve viewing afresh and utilizing known, existing material, that is to say, sources from the classical Roman architectural tradition and its subsequent interpreters and practitioners, but introducing to it novelty and variety by the addition, incorporation, combination, and integration of different motifs and lesser-known parts of the classical vocabulary. These could be taken from familiar examples or obtained by further archaeological investigation of hitherto little-explored sites, from the republican to the imperial periods,² and developing and transposing the scale and application of new discoveries. Provided such developments were carried out utilizing first and continuing principles of design (almost as a continuation and extension of what the Romans would have done had their empire not collapsed and their architecture not come to an end), then the resulting architecture based on these could be said to be original or to display originality on the part of the architect. Such procedures could

¹ Notably, William Sharpe, *A Dissertation upon Genius* (1755), William Duff, *An Essay on Original Genius* (1767), and James Beattie, *The Minstrel: Or, the Progress of Genius* (1771).

² The works done during the republican state of Rome are known by their simplicity and usefulness, while those of the emperors are remarkable for ornament and finery'; R.Wood, *The Ruins of Palmyra* (1753), p. 15.

lead to the literal and metaphorical enrichment of the style and the tradition. Those who favoured this approach viewed architecture as capable of growth and development, not static. It was not the forms themselves that were immutable, but the principles of design governing their creation. The longevity of the Roman classical tradition confirmed its authority and, to its most enthusiastic exponents for whom its virtues were self-evident, rendered it unassailable in the face of possible competition from any other style, should such a style ever pretend to challenge it. A return to anything predating the Romans they would have regarded as a retrograde step.

The second possibility involved setting aside not just the revivers and interpreters of the Roman tradition since the Renaissance but antique Roman architecture itself, and going back and beyond that to try and discover the Romans' sources and, perhaps, the very origins of architecture. Behind the Romans were the Greeks and Egyptians and so on; but it was the Greeks, it was believed, who had first codified architecture and raised it to an art. The received knowledge was that the Romans had developed and refined their rude Greek sources and had initiated the progress and continuity of architecture down to modern times. In contrast to this widely accepted belief there were those who suspected that the Romans had corrupted the pristine, primitive simplicity of Greek architecture and that the quest for originality, and the essential rather than the variable in architecture, necessitated the recovery and first-hand examination of Greek remains. Since these were older than the Roman architecture which had developed from them, they had a stronger claim to authority and their purity meant that all later architecture, beginning with the Roman, had been a falling away from a state of perfection. If the Greeks' first principles of design could be

ascertained then contemporary architecture based on these essential, finite, and immutable principles exemplified in perfect forms could partake of the origins of architecture and could, therefore, also be described as original.

Both of these approaches could legitimately claim to be Neo-Classical. Both involved the re-evaluation of primary sources, albeit not the same ones. But their implications for architectural practice were very different also. The principal differences lay in the degree of invention that it was desirable or permissible to apply to original materials and ideas, and the different values that were placed on precedent. In the former approach, development and change were both desirable and necessary; in the latter, change was inconsistent with existing perfection. In the former it was design methods that were to be imitated, and not the forms; in the latter, the use of design methods, once these had been ascertained, was to be restricted largely to the imitation of established forms.

The two approaches attracted different adherents who had different concepts of history and of the creative process. The re-evaluation of original sources led to the Greek-Roman quarrel, the supporters of each style belonging, with varying degrees of attachment and loyalty, to factions which engaged in polemics as to the merits of their own cause.

Architects taking one or other approach had different objectives, different concepts of the restatement of classical spirit. Their work involved producing different images and effects, but the second of the two approaches was undoubtedly more susceptible to the copying of forms, if not of applications. The first approach characterized early Neo-Classicism in Britain from about 1750; the second informed the Greek Revival phase of the Neo-Classical movement, appearing tentatively and intermittently

in the roughly fifty-year period from 1758, finally becoming the dominant style from the early years of the nineteenth century until the 1840s.

Again there was no clear break or succession in style; the Grecian Temple at Stowe (1749; Pl.113), modelled on the Maison Carrée at Nîmes and arguably the first Neo-Classical building anywhere,¹ was put up while the Palladian style still predominated. It set a precedent for this kind of Neo-Classicism which was to flourish until the end of the century, but against a continuing background of Palladianism of one form or another. In the meantime, throughout the same period, there appeared no more than a handful of major Neo-Classical buildings of the second, Greek-inspired type, beginning with Stuart's Doric temples at Hagley (1758; Pl.133) and Shugborough (c. 1764; Pl.135) and his All Saints Church, Nuneham (1764; Pls.152-3), followed by Revett's portico at Standlynch (c.1766; Pl.159) and his church at Ayot St.Lawrence (1778; Pls.182-5), – both using the Delian order² – Latrobe's Hammerwood (c.1793) and Ashdown (1793-4), Bonomi's and Aylesford's Great Packington Church (1789), and Harrison's Chester Castle (1785-1820; Pl.200).

That the first-ever Neo-Classical and Greek Revival buildings originated in England is well known. That the Greek-Roman quarrel and the notion of returning to primary sources had their origins, not in Italy, but in the ancient-modern quarrel, partly located in the Académie Royale d'Architecture and, above all in Desgodetz's *Édifices Antiques de Rome*

¹ See M.Gibbon, 'The First Neo-Classical Building?', *CL*, clv (11 Apr., 1974), 852-3.

² Stuart and Revett, *op. cit.*, iii, (1794), Ch. x, Pl. 1. Ayot and Nuneham were also objects in the landscape; for the Palladian massing of Nuneham, see Worsley, *op.cit.*, (10 Jan., 1985), 65.

(1682), is also well known.¹ What has been perhaps less apparent is that, even though the leading polemicists of the Greek-Roman debate – respectively, Winckelmann and Piranesi, neither of whom saw Greece – were to be based on the continent, the aesthetic background and intellectual climate which enabled Neo-Classicism to happen in the way that it did, originated, as we have seen, in Britain. The Grecian temples at Stowe (so-called 'Grecian', but actually based on the Roman Maison Carré at Nîmes) and Hagley were not merely stylistic whims, but early visual manifestations of specifically British ideologies and aspirations, of which Addison, Pope, Young, Hutcheson, and Ramsay were the intellectual and aesthetic progenitors.

To imperial and relatively democratic Britain, both Roman and Greek architecture had, successively, virtually everything with which she could identify. But the two styles also had very different ideological associations. Before discussing what, in the case of Greek architecture (or what was believed to be Greek architecture) these associations were, it may be useful to examine briefly the terms in which, philosophically, architectural association was conceived, as part of an understanding of the way in which Greek porticoes were used and also of why primacy was given to association.

It had long been known that the Romans did not always adhere scrupulously to the rules of architecture. Stephen Wren recognized in 1750 that 'They generally took such Liberties, well knowing that the Orders were to be adapted to their proper Use, and not the Design too servilely to

¹ D.Weibenson, *Sources of the Greek Revival* (1969), pp. 52-3; Herrmann, *op. cit.* (1958), pp. 23-55.

the Orders; of which a hundred examples may be given'. Applying the rule of reason, 'Those who duly examine by Measure the best Remains of the *Greek* or *Roman* Structures, whether Temples, Pillars, Arches or Theatres, will soon discern, that even amongst these is no general Agreement'. It was obvious that 'the ancient Architects took great Liberties...to shew their own inventions, even where their Design did not oblige them to a rational Variation'.¹ Here, variety is presented as a function of reason and artistic invention, and not merely as something to be justified on reasonable grounds. This practice of 'varying with reason', commended by Wren as one to be followed, had been a central concept in Inigo Jones's theory of design.²

3 Visual Effect: The Rule and the Eye

The discovery that Greek temples, long believed to embody canonical perfection, showed similar variations, apparently came as a surprise. Discrepancies in the intercolumniations of the Temple of Minerva at Athens had been observed by Vernon in 1675, and these were rediscovered in 1749 by Charlemont, who assumed precision, but viewed inaccuracy as a defect that could be overlooked. 'The difference indeed was trifling, never amounting to more than two inches, which inaccuracy in so vast an edifice it was impossible for the nicest eye to distinguish'. Even more significantly: 'So true is it that these great masters built for the effect, rather than with that minute exactness of which we pride ourselves. This

¹ Wren, *op. cit.*, p. 289.

² G.Higgott, 'Varying with reason': Inigo Jones's theory of design', *AH*, xxxv (1992), 52.

remark will also serve to show the inutility of those measurements to a hair's breadth upon which Stewart piques himself'.¹ Whilst belonging generally to those periodic re-appraisals of long-familiar buildings which sometimes revolutionized architecture, Charlemont's realization here that Greek architecture had not been informed absolutely by mathematics and harmonic proportion, confirmed the long-held view that what looked right to the eye was more important than, and not necessarily contingent upon, exactness of measurement and proportion. (Charlemont further seemed to imply that Stuart and Revett must also have been aware of such discrepancies and that, although they might have measured buildings exactly, their representing them as regular constituted the superimposition of ideal qualities of infallible proportion not actually possessed by the originals.) The cognitive and objective knowledge that a temple was, say, a perfect double cube, which might have intellectually predisposed the eye to consider it beautiful for that reason, was no longer an indispensable requirement for the appreciation of visual effect.

There was nothing new about the primacy of effect over rules. Vasari, for example, had commented on this.² To Hutcheson, in 1725, 'Our External Sense may by Measuring teach us all the Proportions of Architecture to the Tenth of an Inch...yet there is still something further necessary, not only to make a complete Master in Architecture...but even a tolerable Judge in these Works; or to receive the highest pleasure in

¹ Ed. W.B.Stanford and E.J.Finopoulos, *The Travels of Lord Charlemont in Greece & Turkey* (1984), p. 132. The note is apparently an addition to his journal, presumably after 1762.

² 'Onde diceva il gran Michelangnolo, che bisognava avere le seste negli occhi e non in mano, cioè il giudicio'; ed. H.-W.Frey, *Der Literarische Nachlass Giorgio Vasaris* (1930; repr. 1982), ii, 520.

contemplating them'.¹ For Burke, in 1757, proportion or perfection were not the cause of beauty, for 'surely beauty is no idea belonging to mensuration; nor has it anything to do with calculation and geometry...mathematical ideas are not the true measures of beauty'.² Gerard followed Perrault in preferring fitness, to proportion: 'Proportion consists not so much in relation of the parts precisely measurable, as in a general aptitude of the structure to the end proposed; which experience enables us instantaneously to perceive, better than any artificial methods can determine it. Its influence on beauty is therefore derived from *fitness*'.³

4 Architectural Association

However, even more important than either proportion or fitness was association, which 'renders the transition of the mind from one idea to another so quick and easy, that we contemplate both with the same disposition, and are therefore similarly affected by both'.⁴ Repeated exposure to an image reinforces association, for whenever 'any object uniformly and constantly introduces into the mind the idea of another that is grand, it will, by its connexion with the latter, be itself rendered grand'.⁵ The capacity of an architect to introduce association is a function of genius, for the 'first and leading quality of genius is *invention*, which

1 Hutcheson, *op. cit.*, i, 9.

2 Ed. H. Rogers, *The Works of the Right Hon. Edmund Burke* (1841), i, 48, 51.

3 A. Gerard, *An Essay on Taste* (1759), p. 36.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 20.

5 *Idem.*

consists in an extensive comprehensiveness of imagination, in a readiness of associating the remotest ideas, that are [in] any way related...the grander the originals are, the greater is the sublimity of the imitation'.¹ On the sublime and the grand: 'Sublimity of style arises...from the nature of the ideas, which we are accustomed to annexe to them...and the character of the persons, among whom they are in most common use', whilst 'Grandeur in architecture may, in some instances arise from their largeness...But still *the principal source of grandeur in architecture is association*, by which the columns suggest ideas of strength and durability, and the whole structure introduces the sublime ideas of the riches and magnificence of the owner'.²

'Architecture', wrote Sir Joshua Reynolds, 'is capable of inspiring sentiment, and of filling the mind with great and sublime ideas...of affecting the imagination by means of association of ideas...Imagination, with which the Artist is more concerned than with absolute truth'. Departure 'from regularity...might...be adopted by an Architect...if it does not interfere too much with convenience'. To Reynolds, 'The object of all the Arts is to supply the natural imperfection of things, and often to gratify the mind by realising and embodying what never existed but in the imagination...facts, and events...have no dominion over the Poet or the Painter...History is made to bend and conform to this Idea of Art...The Arts, in their highest province, are...addressed...to the desires of the mind,

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 25, 173.

² *Ibid.*, p. 23.

to that spark of divinity which we have within, impatient of being circumscribed and pent up by the world which is about us'.¹

An added frisson could be created by the capacity of the spectator to identify the source or object of the association, in which 'Similitude is a very powerful principle' producing 'a strong tendency to comparison'; for,

...discovering the original of the copy...produces a grateful consciousness of our own discernment and sagacity, and includes the pleasant feeling of success; the recognizing resemblance, in consequence of comparison, augments our pleasure. And when the imitation is intended, our admiration of the skill and ingenuity of the artist diffuses itself over the effect from which that skill is inferred, and compleats the delight which the work inspires'.²

The associationist aesthetic was perhaps best expressed in 1790 by Archibald Alison who believed that 'every man is conscious of a train of thought being immediately awakened in his imagination, analogous to the character or expression of the original object'³ and, echoing Vitruvius, spoke of 'the constant connection between the sign and the thing signified'.⁴ However, Gerard's distinction remains, especially in its implications for copyism, an important one: 'The fundamental beauty of metaphor and allegory lies in their insinuating the analogies of things; that of similitude and comparison in their more explicitly proposing these analogies'.⁵

These were the philosophical and aesthetic terms in which architectural association in general was understood at the time when

¹ Ed. R.W.Wark, *Sir Joshua Reynolds: Discourses on Art* (1981 edn.), pp. 241-4 (Discourse xiii, 11 Dec., 1786).

² *Ibid.*, pp. 49-50.

³ A.Alison, *Essays on the Nature and Principles of Taste* (1790), p. 2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 127-8, 133. See Vitruvius quoted, heading to Ch. 1, 2.

⁵ Gerard, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

Greek architecture was being examined and explored. How did they relate specifically to Greek architecture, and what particular associations did it have?

5 The Associations of Grecian and Greek Architecture

Going back at least to Alberti, the architecture of Greece was held to be superior to all other. Whilst in Rome in 1614, Jones believed that 'Greek architecture is fytter for ous than the Romain is, for their buildings were for youse and not so profuse'.¹ The Greeks had 'laid down its limits and best proportions' and its 'final beauty' could not 'be altered without being destroyed'.² Some hoped it could be revived through harmonic proportion.³ It was an 'Art invented and perfected by the Grecians' and in Greece 'only had its original Perfections'.⁴ Since 'the many Temples erected by the *Romans*' (to their 'fictitious Deities') had been 'imitated from *Greece*', Rome's 'divine Ideas of moral Virtue and Philosophy, seem to have been first modell'd and fram'd by the Directions and Rules of the ancient *Grecians*'.⁵ However, 'As no Footsteps of the *Grecian* Buildings now remain, we must of necessity have recourse to the Antiquities of the *Romans*, who received the Rules and Methods immediately from the *Grecians*'.⁶ Others conceded that though the Greeks had invented

¹ Quoted in D.Howarth, 'A Roman Education: Lord Arundel and Inigo Jones in Italy - II', *CL*, clvii (1 May, 1975), 1138.

² G.P.Bellori, *Le Vite de' Pittori, Scultori ed Architetti Moderni* (1672; trans. anon., 1960), p.11.

³ R.Ouvrard, *Architecture Harmonique* (1679), p. 14.

⁴ Morris, *op. cit.* (1728), pp. xxiv, 19-20.

⁵ *Idem.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

architecture, they could hardly have progressed and brought it to perfection, as the Romans had subsequently done.¹

In 1720, Sir Thomas Hewett described the Summer Rooms at Kensington Palace as 'exactly done according to the Grecian taste'.² By its very name, the so-called Grecian Temple at Stowe was, in 1749, believed to be based on Greek models. In 1750, Walpole declared that 'The Grecian is only proper for magnificent and public building' and, later, that 'as Chiswick is a model of Grecian architecture, Strawberry Hill is to be to the Gothic'.³ When Lyttelton asked Miller, two years later, to work 'in the Greek architecture'; when Pierre Patte asserted in 1755 that the true principles of architecture were to be found in the ruins of Greece and Athens;⁴ and when Montesquieu wrote that 'The *Grecian* architecture, whose divisions are few, but grand and noble, seems formed after the model of the great and the sublime' and that 'The mind perceived a certain majesty which reigns throughout all its productions',⁵ the question must be asked: what was 'Grecian' architecture understood to be?

In his 'Dialogue on Taste' in 1754,⁶ Allan Ramsay, an admirer of Hume and Hutcheson, rejected the 'compromise between all the infinite variety of individual preference'⁷ and, declaring beauty to be relative and particular, set Greek and also Gothic architecture above the Roman.⁸ It was

¹ W.Herrmann, *Laugier and eighteenth-century French Theory* (1985 edn.), p.25.

² Quoted in Toesca, *op. cit.*, 217.

³ Ed. W.S.Lewis, *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, xx, (1960), 127, 362.

⁴ Herrmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 23ff.

⁵ A.Gerard, *An Essay on Taste* (1759), pp. 276-7.

⁶ A.Ramsay, 'A Dialogue on Taste', *The Investigator* (1754; 2nd edn., 1762); J.L.Caw, 'Allan Ramsay', *Walpole Soc.*, xxv (1936-37), 67ff.

⁷ Wittkower, *op. cit.* (1938-39), 147-58.

⁸ Ramsay, *op. cit.*, pp. 24, 29; D.Macmillan *Painting in Scotland* (exhib. cat., 1986), p. 24.

this dialogue, together with Julien-David Le Roy's *Les Ruines des plus beaux Monuments de la Grèce*, published in 1758, which were to elicit from Piranesi a counter in the form of his *Della Magnificenza ed Architettura de' Romani* in 1761 which was, in turn, to precipitate the often abrasive polemics on the evaluation of Greek and Roman architecture, involving Winckelmann, Mariette, and others.¹

Before the appearance of Le Roy's book in 1758, the comparatively rough plates of Spon and Wheler from 1678 and Dalton's largely topographical views from 1751 were the only major representations of Greek architecture widely available. On such a basis, it is almost inconceivable that a revolutionary architecture could seriously have been proposed or extreme polarities of views adopted. What is noticeable, where the epithet 'Grecian' is used, is that the visual element seems to have been relatively slight. What are being expressed are received theoretical, philosophical, and poetical premisses, sometimes informed by political and national perspectives. Not only was there no clear idea of what Greek architecture was really like but buildings which were not Greek, such as Chiswick and the Stowe temple, were believed to be so. Walpole was not discriminating between Greek, Roman, and Palladian architecture, or asserting the superiority of Greek over either; he was equating the fineness of Chiswick with what he understood cognitively to be the finest architecture, that is, Greek, and taking it to symbolize classical architecture to which he was opposing, not a differentiated antique style, but the Gothic.

¹ Wittkower, *op. cit.* (1938-39), 147-58.

What persisted was a belief in a golden, distant past of perfection, in a Greece whose architecture, by virtue of its antiquity and associations, must have been similarly perfect, and had become idealized. The image of classical Greece was 'one of immutable aesthetic authority, the repository of timeless, indestructible beauty'.¹ A Greece which, as Robert Wood described it, had given 'birth to letters and arts, where soldiers, orators, philosophers, poets and artists have shewn the boldest and happiest flights of genius, and done the greatest honour to human nature'.² A place which, when visited, and regardless of 'otherwise trivial climate and situation', became 'interesting from that connection with great men, and great actions, which history and poetry have given them'. To Wood, 'The life of Miltiades or Leonidas could never be read with so much pleasure, as on the plains of Marathon or at the streights of Thermopylæ; the Iliad has new beauties on the banks of the Scamander, and the Odysse is most pleasing in the countries...where Achilles fought...where Ulysses travelled and Homer sung'. Wandering 'the Scamandrian plain, with Homer in our hands', Wood and his companions enjoyed that 'particular pleasure...which an imagination warmed upon the spot receives from those scenes of heriock actions', and which 'the traveller only can feel, nor is it to be communicated by description. But classical ground not only makes us relish the poet, or historian more, but sometimes helps us understand them better'.³ History and poetry were the same, and being there was the most important thing. Rome had traditionally elicited

1 R.Rosenblum, *Transformations in Late Eighteenth-Century Art* (1974), p.134.
 2 Wood,*op.cit.*, 'To the Reader'.
 3 *Idem.*

similar feelings of place; but Rome had been written about and illustrated countless times. It was to its interpreters that architects had turned, not what they saw before their eyes. No such publications yet existed for Greece; that was one reason for Wood's being there, to produce one, despite believing that the country's associations could not 'be communicated by description'. It was not just a place – it was an idea.

To Mrs. Montagu, who never visited Greece, writing in 1758 to Elizabeth Carter her 'beloved Greeks' had, like the British, resisted all external threats, 'cultivating the fine arts, and carrying the human mind to its utmost possible degree of perfection'. Like geniuses, the Greeks 'appear like those superior intelligences, whom we suppose to effect things beyond mortal ability by mere spiritual powers, without the gross aid of common matter. We consider their great influence, and admire the force of their agency the more, as we can less ascribe it to ordinary means'. What characterized the Greeks was

Uncorrupted virtue, unsoftened valour, untainted innocence subsisted, among some individuals, with all the politeness of manners, acuteness of wit, and refinement of art: I know not such an example among the Romans. As soon as they were polite, they were voluptuous. The muses of Greece, those sacred virgins who *there* excited to noble deeds, grew harlots at *Rome*, and corrupted their youth.¹

Here is a hint of Rome's decline, which so exercised Gibbon. The choice of rôle model was clear; for

If one would show how great a creature man is, one must exhibit some of the individuals of Greece; if one shew how great men grow in communities and their united force, one must set forth the commonwealth of Rome.²

¹ Montagu, *op. cit.*, iv, 104-5.

² *Idem.*

Opposing the Minster of her native York to the Parthenon; both were 'firm, and strong, or beautiful and polished [both] perfect in their kind' so that 'the contention must lie between the merit of the particular species of character, or architecture'. She confessed to Lord Lyttelton she 'should be a traitor, forget Church and King, and vote for Pericles, and Athenian buildings'.¹

Such, then, were the widely held thoughts, feelings, and beliefs which Greece in its perceived ancient state conjured up in the educated and popular imaginations. These were the meanings and associations evoked by descriptions and images, however imprecise or inadequate, of the remains of Greek temples which were to stimulate interest in, and then drive attempts to discover, what these buildings had really been like. They were also the images, meanings, and associations which were similarly to be evoked by porticoed buildings based on them subsequently erected in this country. This strand of British Neo-Classical thinking – what might be termed British Romantic Hellenism – emerging from, and developing for a while alongside, Italian and French rationalist theory, was both a product of, and a spur to, the French and, particularly, the British traditions of archaeological exploration. Archaeology was to give substance to the dream and the ideology of the Greek Revival but, ironically, both its intrinsic character and some of the uses to which it was to be put were eventually to contribute to its decline.

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 249-50.

6 The Greek Revival: A Tentative Beginning

The origins of the Greek Revival have been well documented,¹ and for our present purposes it may suffice to trace them only briefly. Throughout most of the seventeenth century, visitors were mostly interested in collecting antique fragments, marbles, and statuary. Jacob Spon, the French antiquarian and travelling companion of Sir George Wheler, published a view of the Parthenon before the bombardment of 1687 which was long to remain its most accurate representation.² The first account of Athens in English and the most accurate measurements up to that time of the Parthenon and the Temple of Minerva resulted from the expedition of Francis Vernon and Sir Giles Eastcourt in 1675.³ Spon and Wheler travelled extensively throughout Greece and later published vignettes of many of the buildings and antiquities they saw, the first available to antiquaries in Western Europe.

There was a lull in both English and French exploration of Greece for almost fifty years, until the 1730s, when the study of Greek antiquities was transformed by the foundation in 1732 of the Society of Dilettanti. It was to stimulate the extension of the focus of the Grand Tour beyond Italy to Greece, and to sponsor and subsidize the study and publication of antiquities. Right from its foundation, the Society comprised a core of members dedicated to enquiry into classical topography and archaeology. A more systematic approach was adopted, with expeditions having

¹ Weibenson, *op. cit.* (1969); J.M.Crook, *The Greek Revival* (1972).

² J.Spon and G.Wheeler, *Voyage d'Italie...* (1678).

³ Subsequently published as a letter by the Royal Society in the *Philosophical Transactions*, 24 Apr., 1676; L.Lawrence, 'Stuart and Revett: their Literary and Architectural Careers', *JWI*, ii (1938-39), 130; Weibenson, *op. cit.* (1969), pp. 19-20.

particular objectives. In the 1730s and 40s, Richard Pococke, Robert Wood, John Rawdon, the Earl of Sandwich, Lord Charlemont and Richard Dalton improved the accuracy of measurement of many key Athenian monuments and made their remains better known, mainly in the form of topographical engravings. Dalton's, for example, were more in the nature of souvenirs, and insufficiently detailed to be of great value to architects. The osmotic, 'noble Contagion' needed substance. A concentration of resources and of scholarly interest directed at specific aspects of Greek archaeology, together with proper provision for the publication of findings, were clearly required.

Proposed initially in 1748 to be funded by subscription – co-ordinated in Rome, London, and Venice – a project, to do for Athens what Desgodetz had done for Rome, was soon supported by the Dilettanti. Between 1750 and 1755, James Stuart and Nicholas Revett drew and measured the monuments of Athens and, after some delay, much, but not all, of their work was published as the first volume of the *Antiquities of Athens*, in 1762.

Between Stuart's return from Greece and the publication of the book, Lyttelton, who had had no luck with a portico for his new house at Hagley, wrote to Mrs Montagu: 'James Stuart is going to embellish one of my little hills with a true Attick building, a Portico of six pillars, which will make a fine effect to my new house, and command a most beautiful view of the country.'¹

¹ M.M.Wyndham, *Chronicles of the Eighteenth Century* (1926), ii, 296. Lyttelton incurred no expense – a consideration in relation to the house – for his garden portico; it was the gift of Admiral Thomas Smith.

Stuart's temple at Hagley (1758; Pl.133), its severe baseless Doric order taken from the Theseion at Athens (Pl.215), comprised the first use since Antiquity of the Greek Doric.¹ The building, in its rustic garden setting, combined reflections on theories about the origins, not just of temples but, of architecture itself with a similarly natural, unspoilt, pastoral idyll.² Here, the Ancients' affinity with Nature, together with certain fundamental, basic truths, which had been lost to modern man and his civilization, reappear. They, and the architecture which embodied that affinity and those basic truths, were here regenerated in the context and setting, and through the only means by which such regeneration was possible, of Nature. Here was a realization, its authority derived from archaeology, of the conjectural Vitruvian huts, postulated in theory, of Laugier and Chambers. Its rustic aspects were to be singled out for emphasis by Adam at the Kedleston Hermitage (c.1760), by Sir John Soane in his 1783 project for a dairy at Hammells and, soon afterwards, by such architects as Plaw and J.B.Papworth, in their designs for porticoed rustic cottages, where tree-trunk columns appear almost completely natural with only minimal intervention by man.³ Such rusticity stands at an even

¹ Thomas Revett wrote from his home at Brandeston to his brother Nicholas on 27 June, 1757: 'I have almost finished the Portico in the Garden & beleive Edwards has executed it agreeable to your Design'; Bodleian, Gough Misc. Antiq. fol. 4, no. 174. 'This, if Grecian in character, would have been one of the earliest recorded buildings in that style'; Colvin, *DBA*, p. 684.

² When it was finished, Lyttelton wrote in Nov., 1760 to Mrs Montagu on both the setting of, and the view from, the temple that 'the distant mountains give a dignity to the prospect, which it would want if *they* were not added to the soft and sweet scenes, the *culte pianure e delicati colli*, &c.'; Montagu, *op. cit.*, iv, 330-31.

³ J.Plaw, *Ferme Ornée; Or Rural Improvements* (1795), Pls. 5, 7, 11, 12, 22. J.B.Papworth, *Rural Residences* (1818), Pls. 2, 4, 7, 20. Morris had given an earlier hint: 'beyond dispute, the *Grecians* were the first happy Inventers, they extracted the beauteous Ideas of it from rude and unshapen Trees, the Product of Nature, and embellish'd it, by degrees of Perfectness, with those necessary Ornaments, which have been since practised by those of the most sublime Genius's in all Ages'; Morris, *op. cit.* (1728), p. 19.

earlier evolutionary point in Greek architecture than was envisaged by Stuart at Hagley. But there was to be in Britain nothing comparable with the regression to archaic, rudimentary pre-classical forms which occurred towards the end of the century in France and Germany. There, even the most primitive Greek and Roman precedents seemed inadequate and incapable of bearing an architectural expression of extreme, elemental, primal purity. So revolutionary an architecture was being sought that little cognisance was taken of the archaeological reality of the true, historical Greek Doric. The classical tradition was practically circumvented in the pursuit of starker, even non-classical, irreducible architectural forms. The nearest Britain came to such primitiveness and abstraction was in Great Packington Church, by Joseph Bonomi and the Earl of Aylesford (1789-90), in James Playfair's Cairness House (1791-7), Latrobe's use of the Paestum Doric at Hammerwood (c.1793), Dance's Stratton Park (1803-6) and Tatham's Trentham Mausoleum (1807-8).

In their preface to the *Antiquities*, Stuart and Revett acknowledged that Rome 'borrowed her Arts... from Greece' but the Romans 'seem not to have equalled the Originals from whence they had borrowed their Taste, either for purity of Design, or delicacy of Execution'.¹ The 'Age of Pericles and Alexander' displayed 'that superiority of Genius...Greece is the Place where the most beautiful Edifices were erected and where the purest and most elegant Examples of Ancient Architecture are to be discovered'. They referred to 'Athens, the Mother of Elegance and

¹ Stuart and Revett, *op. cit.* i (1762), Preface.

Politeness...who for the beauties of a correct style must be allowed to surpass [Rome] as much as an original excels a copy'.¹

Stuart and Revett believed that their book superseded all earlier publications, whose 'Descriptions are so confused, and their Measures so inaccurate, that the most expert Architect could not from these Books form an Idea distinct enough to make exact drawings of any one Building they described'. Moreover, even 'Palladio and Desgodetz cannot be said to afford a sufficient variety of Examples'. By contrast, in their book, 'buildings and sculpture [are] *exactly* and *accurately* represented'. Confirmation that they intended their publication to be sufficiently accurate as to provide some sort of basis for influencing current architectural practice, and that they meant to offer examples to increase the variety of sources available, without necessarily expecting that the Greek style should either supplant the Roman or become the sole architectural style, is afforded by their expressed hope for the book. From it, they hoped 'the world would be enabled to form not only more extensive, but juster ideas than have hitherto been obtained, concerning Architecture, and the state in which it existed during the best ages of antiquity' and that it 'might contribute to the improvement of the Art itself, which at present appears to be founded on too partial and too scanty a system of Ancient Examples'.²

Implicit in Stuart's and Revett's conviction that their publication remedied the deficiencies of previous books was the belief that perfection

¹ *Idem.*

² *Idem.*

had been achieved in Greek Antiquity; that it was progressively recoverable; and that the process through which this recovery could be achieved – by accumulating sufficient exact chaste, beautiful, and simple 'Examples' as the means to rediscovering 'true principles' – was both finite and feasible. That perfect state had yet to be regained; for, despite the Renaissance, when 'Architecture...Phoenix-like received a second birth, we may conclude, that many of the beauties and elegances which enhanced its ancient Splendor, are still wanting, and that it has not yet by any means recovered all its former Perfection'. As a contribution to that recovery, the book 'would excel in true Taste and Elegance every thing hitherto published', and was tangible evidence of the rectitude of approaching as near as possible to origins and collecting the best examples; for 'Artists, who aim at Perfection must be infinitely more pleased, and better instructed, the nearer they can draw their Examples, from the Fountain-head...every Example of beautiful Form or Proportion, wherever it may be found, is a valuable addition to the former Stock; and does, when published, become a material acquisition to the Art'.¹

The first volume was initially well-received and, in his reply to a letter of congratulation from Sir Joshua Reynolds, Stuart wrote: 'I undertook the labour in the hope to discover the *principles* on which the Ancients proceeded'.² The book was intended as both an archaeological record and an architectural treatise initially aimed, not at architects, but at patrons. Of the more than five hundred subscribers to the first volume, only four were architects and three were builders. The second volume did

¹ *Idem.*

² Quoted in Weibenson, *op. cit* (1969), p. 66.

not appear until over a quarter of a century later, in the year before Stuart's death in 1788, when the reason for the alteration to the table of contents published in the original Proposal, whereby the buildings of the Acropolis were deferred for inclusion in volume two, became clear. In the advertisement of 1787 Stuart admits that fears over the drying up of subscriptions had led them to publish in the first volume 'such buildings...as would exhibit specimens of the several kinds of Columns in use among the ancient Greeks' and 'the different modes of decorating Buildings'. This tends to suggest that the original intention of altering radically the style of contemporary architecture had been abandoned for the expedient of simply enlarging the stock of decorative motifs, rendering the 'Gusto Greco' ornamental rather than structural in character. Though undoubtedly a significant event in the history of archaeology and a major work of architectural scholarship, the change of plan profoundly limited the publication's effect on contemporary architecture. Nonetheless, the work set a new standard in the accuracy and quality of its preparation and production and, therefore, in the authority of its scholarship.

Archaeological curiosity and Romantic emotion, precision of means and affective values, are less evidence of ambivalence towards the remains of Antiquity than characteristics of two different concepts, both equally valid, of their potential and utility. The first is active, the other passive. Wood's thoughts before Palmyra in 1750 epitomize this; his plates range from meticulously measured and drawn details of capitals, columns, and plans, to reconstructions of whole buildings based on these, to comparatively neutral, objective, topographical views, from different angles, of the entire ruined city. Classical architecture was sufficiently regular that, as Robert Adam and others were to find, it was possible confidently to reconstruct a building virtually in its entirety, given a plan

and fragments whose ornament could be multiplied (Pls.127,154-6).¹ Of his *Ruins*, Wood wrote that 'the principal merit of works of this kind is truth';² but his book aspired to present different kinds of truth – 'the ancient and present states' were starting points for different activities.³ The accurate drawings and reconstructions belonged to a long tradition, going back to the Renaissance, of such analyses and syntheses, of which Stuart's and Revett's *Antiquities* and later publications were to be a continuation. Implicit in such representations was not only that they claimed to recover the architectural past but that they could be used as the basis for contemporary building. The panoramic views of 'the present state', on the other hand, whilst demonstrating what was not known about *original* appearances, were to give rise to two ways of viewing remains and two radically different technical ways of representing them. The first, an extension of accurately drawn details in countless architectural books, was reconstructive, in that, recreated ancient buildings (as well as some newly-finished Neo-Classical ones) were depicted in a stark linear style, with perspective, but without shading or modelling, as a reflection of the architecture's pristine purity. The second, rooted in those eighteenth-century sensibilities evidenced in Goethe's meditating upon a vanished classical past in the Campagna⁴ and in the Comte de Volney's 'rêverie

¹ 'The accurate Observation of one or two Parts often leads to the Knowledge of the Whole: Thus we can from a *Pillar* or two with an intermediate *Arch*, and *Cornice*, form a distinct Idea of a whole *regular Building*, if we know of what Species it is, and have its Length and Breadth'; Hutcheson, *op. cit.*, pp. 92-3. Soane later spoke of 'portions of original objects as imperfect forms'; ed. Bolton, *op. cit.*, p. 141 (Lecture ix, 1809-15). In a sense, the whole of Neo-Classical architecture was, by definition, about the reinstatement of ruins, in one form or another.

² Wood, *op. cit.*, 'To the Reader'.

³ The respective dilemmas of the autodidact and the poet and novelist are succinctly summarized by Dr. Johnson in *The History of Rasselas, Prince of Abyssinia* (1759), Ch. xxx.

⁴ J.H.W. Tischbein, *Goethe in the Campagna* (1786-87), Frankfurt-am-Main, Städtisches Kunstinstitut. See Rosenblum, *op. cit.*, pp. 112 ff.

profonde' before Palmyra,¹ was encapsulated in Piranesi's etchings and Hubert Robert's almost surrealist paintings in the 1770s and 80s of the crumbling, mouldering ruins, dank and overtaken by undergrowth, of Greek and Roman architecture.² There is a strong presence here, in the use of often exaggerated, oblique perspective as well as of light and, particularly, shade, but there is no geometric order or pristine purity from which architecture can potentially be recovered and regenerated; rather, an overwhelming sense of once-noble civilizations which long ago had life but now are dead, abandoned to time and decay and, above all, irretrievably lost. It is but a short step from this to John Cozen's dramatic, proto-Romantic watercolours of Paestum (Pls. 191-2) of 1782 in which the stumpy, primitive, ruined Doric temple appears still bleakly defiant against a sublimely menacing, elemental, stormy sky. This is the ambience which ultimately inspired the settings in Edinburgh of Hamilton's Royal High School (Pl.277) in its dominant position overlooking the city, and Playfair's Royal Scottish Academy and Scottish National Gallery (Pls.260,336), squat and immovable, in the valley below. Where the paradox of intellect and emotion was resolved, as it had been by Stuart at Hagley, was that Greek architecture had been revived by archaeology and lived again in its grandeur, regularity, and precision, but in a setting where it could be viewed romantically as having triumphed over irregularity, barbarity, decay, and time.

¹ C.F. de Chasseboeuf, Comte de Volney, *Les Ruines, ou Méditations sur les Révolutions des Empires* (1791), p. 5, and pp. 6, 13, 24.

² Robert's romantic depiction of the Louvre and Joseph Gandy's of the Bank of England as ruins involved an imaginative forward projection to some future age when the buildings of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, derived from those of Antiquity would, like those of the Ancients, be subjected to the decay of their age, thus linking past, present, and future. See R.Macaulay, *Pleasure of Ruins* (1984 edn.), p. 23 and Figs. 8, 9.

It was, ironically, in the more festive and celebratory mood and in the spirit of another function of porticoes in Antiquity, that of public dining, that Sir Francis Dashwood, an active member of the Society of Dilettanti, and of the Hell-Fire Club, had the giant Ionic west portico at West Wycombe Park built (1770-1;Pls.163-4). Taken from Revett's measured drawings for his *Antiquities of Ionia* (1769), and using the order from the Temple of Bacchus at Teos, the portico represents, like Flitcroft's Temple of Apollo at Stourhead (1765;Pl.157) based on Wood's *Baalbec* plates of 1757 (Pl.127) and Revett's portico at Standlynch, using the Delian Doric (c.1766;Pl.159), the direct injection of recently-discovered archaeological sources into architecture, as well as a most apposite use of an order.

The failure of the *Antiquities of Athens* to initiate a full-scale Greek Revival from the 1760s onwards was due less to its own unsuitability in providing insufficient adequate models than to the persistence, albeit in modified forms, of Palladianism – such as Brown's and Holland's Benham (1774-5;Pl.173), Holland's Berrington, with its thermal window in the pediment (1778-81;Pl.186) and Lewis's Bletchington, with its cryptoporticus circular steps (1782;Pl.189) – and the greater attraction of types of Neo-Classicism inspired by Roman and other non-Greek classical architecture, as exemplified in the works – such as Kenwood (1767-9;Pl.162), the unfinished wings at Nostell Priory (1776-85;Pls.105,180) and Gorhambury (1777-90;Pl.181) – and the writings of Adam and Chambers. Also, there was the overriding question of image; whatever the cerebral and aesthetic attractions to some of Greek Antiquity compared with Rome, as identified by Mrs. Montagu, ancient Greece had been geographically and politically fragmented and consequently, economically underdeveloped. The attraction of, and identification with, Rome's imperial might and

wealth were irresistible. Britain's trade, founded on conquest, colonialism, manufacturing and maritime supremacy, had made her the richest nation since Rome, and London the first city in the world. Materialism – not just the rationalist dialectical variety of Locke, Hume and Priestley's philosophy, but the economic *laissez-faire* and pragmatic monetarism of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* (1775-76) – was on the increase in eighteenth-century Britain. Artistic theory, unwilling to condemn both ancient and modern architecture by condemning invention – or, at least, anxious not to deny it to the Moderns – favoured the decorative over the essential in building. There were those, like Winckelmann, who believed that decoration coincided historically with the decline of architecture, and Piranesi, who considered that in the later Roman Empire reason had been displaced by caprice;¹ but if it came to a choice, as for many, it did, between Greek simplicity and Roman ornamentation, it was the richness, the variety, the sheer opulence of Roman imperial architecture that, for the time being, was to be more attractive.

7 The Greek and Roman Debate

The counter to the *Antiquities* soon came in Robert Adam's *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia* (1764). The Palace was 'once the favorite Residence of a great Emperor, who, by his Munificence and Example, revived the Study of Architecture, and excited the Masters of that Art to emulate in their Works the Elegance and Purity of a better age'. The motivation for Adam's having visited Split in 1757;

¹ Riddell, *op.cit.*, p. 89, n. 40.

the function and style of the buildings he saw and recorded; the nature of the patronage and the types of buildings to which his findings might be applied; his perception of the processes of Neo-Classicism, of which refinement was a major element; and the tone in which he described all these were immediately and markedly different from those of Stuart and Revett.

Adam at once identified the monarchy as the only source of architectural patronage, for 'Architecture in a particular Manner depends upon Patronage of the Great, as they alone are able to execute what the Artist plans'.¹ Although true grandeur was not guaranteed by great expense, it was not at all possible without it. Britain enjoyed 'in Peace the Reputation and Power she has acquired by Arms', and promised to outshine all past ages – even that of Augustus.²

For Adam, the actual remains of Antiquity, seen by architects with their own eyes, provided the sole basis and standard for architecture, for from those remains, 'they may catch...those ideas of grandeur and beauty, which nothing, perhaps, but such an observation can suggest'.³

He recognised that only public buildings had survived from Antiquity, and that of the 'private but splendid edifices...few vestiges remain...though in erecting and adorning them the Romans have lavished the wealth and spoils of the world'.⁴

¹ Adam, *op. cit.*, 'To the King'.

² *Idem.* Parallels between the British monarch and Augustus were again strongly drawn in the 1750s and 60s. 'We now most esteem the Learning of the *Augustan Age*'. wrote Wren in 1750; *op. cit.*, p. 289. Gwynn spoke in 1766 of doing 'honour to the Age of Augustus'; *op. cit.*, p. 36.

³ Adam, *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. 1.

⁴ *Idem.*

Ancient poets and historians conveyed some idea of how magnificent 'those innumerable villas' were, but the accounts of Vitruvius and Pliny confirmed that 'the most admired efforts of modern Architecture, are far inferior to those superb works, either in grandeur or in elegance'. Visiting the later imperial palace supplied ideas which even the best descriptions could not.¹ He conceded that a single building could hardly vie with other 'almost unknown monuments of sequestered grandeur' recently brought to light, but hoped his accurate plates (Pls.154-6), the first 'of any private Edifice of the Ancients', would 'banish in a great measure all fantastic and frivolous tastes' and 'be esteemed an acquisition of some importance'.² Astutely, Adam observed of the palace's unknown architects that 'the extent and fertility of their genius, seem to have equalled the magnificence of the monarch by whom they were employed'.³

At 525, the number of subscribers to Adam's *Ruins* was comparable to that of the *Antiquities*. Although some subscribed to both publications, the political and social complexions of Adam's subscribers were more markedly Tory and aristocratic, and included a higher proportion of architects – amateur and professional – artists, and craftsmen, as well as existing and future patrons and supporters.

If Adam saw the future of architecture as a re-invigoration of the best of the Roman through the 'fertility of genius', Chambers felt

1 *Idem.*

2 *Ibid.*, p. 4.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 2.

compelled to assert the superiority of Roman architecture by belittling the Greek. Though they were rivals, both architects clearly took the Greek threat seriously, and if Adam's propaganda has also something of the defensive air of the reactionary about it, Chambers's was more overtly anti-Greek in seeking, as Piranesi had done, to minimize and ridicule as paltry, retardataire, and insignificant the simplicity and primitiveness which so commended Greek architecture to its admirers.

To Chambers, Greek architecture was imperfect and 'diametrically opposite...to that of the Romans', who had provided all the models since the revival of architecture.¹ The Greek, which he described as 'Attick Deformity',² deserved little or no notice and was being promoted by a misguided minority.³ The Parthenon or the Temple of Minerva, 'With Regard to the Style of its Architecture' was 'too imperfect to deserve a serious Criticism'.⁴

For Chambers, the reasons for the inferiority of Greek architecture were not hard to find. Greece had comprised economically underdeveloped, geographically isolated city states, continually engaged in foreign and internecine wars. Their public buildings, mostly temples, were in no way remarkable, in type or number, and, for impressiveness, did not begin to approach those of the Romans, which 'displayed so much splendor'. Ancient Roman architecture was built 'in the politest Ages & by the Richest most Splendid & most Powerful People in the World

¹ Weibenson, *op. cit.* (1969), p. 126

² *Idem.*

³ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

who...carried the Art to...the highest degree of perfection'. Similarly, in Britain, architecture could not flourish 'but in times of Profound Peace...where Wealth abounds & where Splendor prevails'.¹

Chambers criticized not only the squat columns of Paestum and the Greeks' irregular columniations but severely doubted also their knowledge and understanding of construction.² Though he clearly preferred the Roman, he was not uncritical of it. It was not infallible merely by virtue of being ancient or Roman.³ It was uneven, and judicious choices had to be made by architects of discrimination and taste, such as himself.

Between them, or collectively, Adam and Chambers articulated the premisses and ramifications of the Roman-based Neo-Classicism which, exemplified in their own architectural performances in that style, were to dominate British architecture during the second half of the eighteenth century. Although they were both on the same side in the Greek-Roman quarrel and were both strongly influenced by Piranesi, the tone of their architectural styles was different. Despite having been obliged, from the 1750s, to adopt a type of refined Palladianism, Chambers never fully threw off the French influences he had imbibed during his early Parisian training under Blondel. His style has been described as 'a sophisticated compound of French Neo-Classicism and English Palladianism'.⁴

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 128-30.

² *Ibid.*, p. 131.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 130.

⁴ Colvin, *DBA*, p. 204.

Whatever their differences, both architects shared several notions and characteristics. Adam was perhaps more susceptible than Chambers to the potential of ancient remains to evoke poetic and romantic responses. However, both believed not only that the past was recoverable but also were very clear in their own minds as to which past it was that should be recovered, the exclusive uses to which it should be applied, and their principal rôle in bringing this about. Despite their subscription to the concept of the inextricable relationship of architecture to its particular location and historical period and their insistence, in support of their own ideological preferences and credentials, that ancient architecture could only be understood by visiting and directly observing ancient sites and not merely from descriptions and illustrations alone, neither of them visited Greece and neither of them accorded to graecism the same freedom of expression which they claimed for themselves. They both conceived architecture to be developmental and progressive. To them, purity was a state, a condition, a quality, that could only be achieved through the continuous and imaginative application of a process of refinement and sophistication of baser sources – the 'fertility of genius' – which they saw themselves as best-equipped to apply. To the graecophiles, purity already existed and was to be found only in those fundamental sources themselves, so long as these remained pristine, untouched, and uncorrupted.

The architectural image that Adam and Chambers aspired to recreate was one redolent of power and wealth which possessed the richness belonging only to magnificence and splendour, and referred ultimately to the *palatium regale*. For them, as for Wordsworth, it was in sumptuous buildings that the spirit of Antiquity was enshrined. However, neither they nor any other architects were able to find in their

archaeological researches or stylistic polemics confirmation of the fusion of temple and house postulated for ancient domestic architecture. Though they insisted on direct observation of ancient remains and on adherence to ancient typological precedent, they were unable, as Chambers noted in relation to the tradition and reputation of Roman architecture, to overturn or ignore the tradition of porticoed buildings formulated by Palladio and deeply entrenched in British architectural thinking and practice. Their porticoes were, in effect, refined and enriched versions of the Palladian portico, but more often presaging high, columned interiors, as at Kedleston (Pl.130), of a type of which Webb had only dreamed for Greenwich and Kent had only partially realized at Holkham. This is crystallized in Adam's porticoes at Shardeloes (1759-63; Pl.134), and Kenwood (1767-9: Pl. 162), in his transparent portico at Osterley (1763-80; Pls. 150-151)¹ and in what was fundamentally his design for the south front of Stowe (1772-7; Pl. 171). At Duddingston (1763-8; Pl. 148), and in his design for Llanaeron, Chambers came as close as was possible to turning house into temples. In some respects, their work continued that of Burlington and those of his followers who had explored the Neo-Classical aspects of Palladio's Roman archaeological findings. It was also, in many respects, a fulfilment of the hopes and a realization of the vision that Jones and Webb had had for British architecture.

It seems to have been the third volume of the *Antiquities of Athens*, finally published in 1794, seven years after the second had appeared in 1787, the year before Stuart's death, and thirty-two years after the first volume, which contributed to a climate of readiness where the

¹ J.Harris, 'The Transparent Portico', *AR*, cxxiii (Feb., 1958), 108-9.

use of Greek architecture as a model for contemporary building was more propitious. Its editor, Willey Reveley spoke of the 'awful dignity and grandeur' of the Greek Doric, which 'strikes the beholder with a sensation, which he may look for in vain in buildings of any other description...There is a certain appearance of eternal duration in this species of edifice, that gives a solemn and majestic feeling'. The effect of 'masculine boldness and dignity...can scarcely be understood by those who have never seen it'. Greek architecture would, he hoped, provide 'a grand field for the display of genius'.¹

The Palladian tradition was well-nigh exhausted and there was a sense of weariness with the Roman-based Neo-Classicism of Chambers and the Adams. Several events were to help raise public awareness of both contemporary and ancient Greece; among them the execution in 1798 of Pheraios Rhigas, the Greek patriotic poet and revolutionary, whose death was to precipitate Byron's involvement in the War of Independence from the Turks, and the public debate as to the merits of the Elgin Marbles, which began to arrive in England late in 1803. A further contributory factor in looking elsewhere in the closing years of the century was the inaccessability of Italy after the French invasion of 1796. Not until after Waterloo would travellers and a younger generation of architects return in large numbers to Italy.²

In July 1794 the young C.H.Tatham arrived in Rome to study ancient and contemporary architecture. Unbeknown to him, he was to be

¹ Preface, pp. xivff.

² Salmon, *op.cit.*, (1995), 146-75.

the last to do so in that eighteenth-century tradition initiated by Burlington. He did not know either that in a little under two years he would have to flee Italy before the advancing French. It is from one of his letters, in June 1795, that there occurs what appears to be one of the earliest intimations of a renewed interest in Greek architecture. Replying to Henry Holland, Tatham wrote

It is with pleasure I read your Remarks on the subject of greek Architecture gaining ground in England, the which displays at once, not only the taste of the profession, but that of the Employer - I have read *Le Roi* with attention (although a reputed incorrect Work) and am now studying *Stewarts* - surely no Argument can be offered that Roman Architecture either for adaptness beauty and proportion exceeds the Graecian from which all histories inform us the former copied and took its Origin. Although it may be argued that the elapse of time, and the necessary increase of men's science & knowledge must in some measure capacitate them to improve upon the Works of their Ancestors, yet in the present instance, I think it is by no means the case, for by a parallel of the two styles, the one for design solidity and effect, is evidently superior to the trite insignificant and too sombre appearance of the other - Although Sir William Chamber in his (highly to be merited) publication has put the best Proportion and Character upon the Roman school.¹

Prophetically, Tatham goes on to identify those Athenian buildings which were to be amongst the most widely copied: 'The Parthenon and Temple of the Minerva now standing at Athens will I believe in the Opinion of most of our Professors rank higher, as true Examples of Art and the Magnificence in Architecture than all the Triumphal Arches or even Temples that the Romans ever erected'.²

Holland had in mind primarily the increasing use of Greek architectural elements in interiors, such as Soane's use in the hall at Tynningham (1793-7) of free-standing Doric columns with stopped flutes

¹ V&A. D 1479-'98, f. 13.

² *Idem.*

(for which there was no ancient Greek precedent) carrying an entablature, from which sprang a groined vault¹, recalling Bonomi and Lord Aylesford at Great Packington Church (1789-90). Holland himself had used the Greek Doric for what appears to have been the first port-cochère, at Woburn (1787-96),² where he was also to design the 'Temple of Liberty' (1787-89),³ modelled on the Ionic Temple on the Illissus (Pl.226) but with the wreaths in the frieze from the Choragic Monument of Thrasyllus, taken directly from Stuart and Revett.⁴

At Cairness, where the French-inspired, most primitive Doric columns ever to appear in Britain had been used in the pavilions flanking the hemicycle (designed 1786, built 1794) by James Playfair, Soane proposed a giant Doric portico (prefiguring that by Dance at Stratton by ten years) of which the single-storey version, completed to Soane's design following Playfair's death in 1794, gives but a faint hint.⁵ At Dodington Park (1798-1813; Pl.206), with its monumental Corinthian hexastyle occupying the central five bays of a nine-bay façade, and at Goodwood (c.1800), with its Greek version of Donowell's double south portico at West Wycombe (c.1755; Pl.143),⁶ James Wyatt seems to have extended what has been called 'a Grecian-Palladian'⁷ vocabulary, already hinted at in George Steuart's

¹ D. Stroud, *Sir John Soane, Architect* (1984), P. 133. An idea of the effect can be gained from the similar, slightly later, surviving entrance hall at Bentley Priory (1798); P. de la Ruffinière du Prey, *Sir John Soane* (1985), pp. 70, 71.

² Crook, *op. cit.*, Pl. 70.

³ D. Stroud, *Henry Holland* (1966), p. 112, Pl. 84; Crook, *op. cit.*, Pl. 71.

⁴ *Antiquities of Athens* i (1762), Ch. 2, Pl. 3; ii (1787), Ch. 4, Pl. 5.

⁵ D. Walker and C. McWilliam, 'Cairness, Aberdeenshire - I', *CL*, cxlix (28 Jan., 1971), p. 187 and Fig. 1. In the dining-room and drawing-room the illusion was created of looking out of the windows through Doric and Ionic temple porches respectively; J. Macaulay, *The Classical Country House in Scotland, 1600-1800* (1987), pp. 180-1.

⁶ Cf. Stansted (1786) by Bonomi and Wyatt, and Bonomi at Barrells (1792-4); P. Meadows, *Joseph Bonomi, Architect, (1739-1808)*, (exh. cat., 1988), pp. 15-16.

⁷ Crook, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

Attingham Hall (1783-5; Pl.194), to its absolute limits. Again at Tyringham, Soane's unexecuted designs of 1800 for a sepulchral church, some of them Pantheon-inspired, using the fluted Greek Doric but given a distressed, dank, Piranesian treatment, not only represent the earliest designs for buildings of this kind but also mark the transition in the intended use of the fluted order to types other than garden or landscape objects.¹

The opening years of the nineteenth century also saw attempts at monumentality using non-Grecian forms. Canted but astylar bays had been a feature of the villas of Morris, Taylor and Carr; but the notion of part of a circular temple, such as the so-called Temple of Vesta at Tivoli, breaking through a wall to create either a semicircular row of free-standing columns, proposed by such widely separated architects as Rossi and Adam, or a curved bay with pilasters, engaged columns or ringed by free-standing columns, had its roots in France. From Le Vau's pilastered oval saloon at Vaux-le-Vicomte, and Bernini's unexecuted 1664 monumental designs for the east front of the Louvre in the seventeenth century, are descended de Wailly's Château of Montmusard (early 1760s), Ledoux's Hôtel de Thélusson (late 1770s), Louis' domed Besançon Intendance (completed 1776) and the river front of Rousseau's Hôtel de Salm, also domed (early 1780s). Semi-circular porticoes, used by Wren at St. Paul's, Archer at Deptford and Gibbs at St. Mary-le-Strand, reappeared in the 1750s in, for example, Adam's Pheasant House at Kedleston, also incorporating canted bays (1759) and Wyatt's Orangery at Heveningham. They were to be used consistently but not widely for most of the rest of our period, usually in single-storey form, as at Wyatt's Gresford Lodge (c.1790), Latrobe's

¹ du Prey, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-9.

Ashdown House (c.1794), and, also with partially fluted Greek Doric columns, at Soane's Moggerhanger (1809-11), but sometimes on a larger scale, as at Decimus Burton's Holwood House (1823-6) and Archibald Simpson's Carnousie New House (1840). What is apparently the first example of a pilastered bow in this country, after Blenheim, is on one of the earliest and finest Neo-Classical houses, Wyatt's Heaton Hall (1772). Soane proposed a giant Ionic domed semicircular portico of free-standing columns for Burn Hall (1783),¹ before including a similar, undomed feature at Tyringham (1793-c.1800; Pl.201). Meanwhile, S.P.Cockerell designed an engaged Ionic and domed version for Daylesford (1788-93).² Evidence not just of the influence of French domestic architecture, which had something of a public character in the last years of the eighteenth century, but of direct contact with France, particularly in Scotland, is provided by a letter of 10 October, 1802, from Charles Percier in Paris to Colonel Thomas Graham of Lynedoch. On 26 April that year Graham had written to Percier describing, with his own sketches, as was by then common practice, the sort of composition he wanted for his proposed new house. To his plans, sections and elevations Percier added that 'Le seul changement que je me suis permis de faire [est] dans l'avant corp circulaire de la face principale...ou j'ai cru devoir mettre un peristyle en colonnes - sa suppression ne changeroit la distribution du Plan, sa conservation embelliroit et assigneroit d'une maniere plus grande et plus distincte le milieu de l'Elevation'.³ In the event, Graham did not build his

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 42-3. Burn Hall was built (1821-34) to the rather French designs of Ignatius Bonomi, with a massive, balustraded, unpedimented unfluted Ionic tetrastyle porte-cochère. (Pl.255).

² P.F.Norton, 'Daylesford: S.P.Cockerell's Residence for Warren Hastings', *JSAH*, xxii, 3 (Oct., 1963), p. 129, Fig. 1.

³ RIBA Drawings Collection. For the full text of Percier's letter, see Riddell, *thesis cit.*, Pl. 126.

house after Percier's plans, but the idea seems to have been generally very much in the air; Thomas Leverton remodelled Scampston (1803), for example, not only with a Doric pilastered and domed bow on the south front but with free-standing columns ringing a bow on the west front (Pls.211-2). Although no Greek buildings were known to have been punctuated in this way, the basic form of the pilastered bow might have received further validation from the Choragic Monument of Lysicrates at Athens, illustrated by Stuart and Revett and recreated by Stuart at Shugborough.

Other types of grand entrance are represented by Joseph Bonomi's unpedimented porte-cochère at Rosneath (1803-6), a grander, more Wyattesque form than his earlier, rather conventional, Covent Garden-inspired Tuscan portico at Longford Hall (1789-92).¹ This was a fulfilment of the comparably Michelangelesque structure proposed by Bonomi for Eastwell Park (1793-1803),² and had a severity matched in domestic architecture only by that of Soane. Both Rosneath and Eastwell were designed with five columns, indicating clearly that access was not through the porticoes but round them at each end.

The earliest use of the unfluted, baseless Greek Doric seems to have been by Joseph Antoine in the portico at the Hôpital de la Charité in Paris (c.1775), which initiated a period of about twenty years during which it remained popular in France. Its first use in England was almost certainly by Thomas Johnson in the engaged columns – intended to be fluted – of

¹ Meadows, *op. cit.*, Fig. 10.

² *Ibid.*, Fig. 12.

Warwick Gaol (1779-c.1783).¹ Before the nineteenth century, the order was used principally by Thomas Harrison at Chester Castle (designed 1788, built 1793-1820; Pl.200), and by Soane, notably in his Barn à la Paestum in Solihull (1798). There does not seem to have been a specific model for such an archaic unfluted order unless, as has been suggested, it be the incomplete columns of the temple at Segesta.² It was a composite, almost certainly a type created to conform to the theoretical notion of sources and origins. Like Stuart, Le Roy had intended his publication to uncover first principles and both he and Soufflot, despite his knowledge of Paestum, were more interested in the implementation of those principles than in providing exemplars. The correct use of the triglyph on the Greek Doric, illustrated by Le Roy in 1758 and by Stuart and Revett in 1794, was, however, largely ignored – by Antoine in Paris, by Ledoux at the Saltworks of Arc and Senans, even by Revett at Ayot (Pl.184), and by Dance at Stratton – and this seems to have set a trend which was to persist with few exceptions. Stuart, following the Parthenon and the Theseion, had correctly placed it at the end of the frieze rather than over the centre of the outer column³ at Hagley and Shugborough, as had Soane in his designs for the sepulchral church at Tyringham.

By 1804, the renewed interest detected by Holland in Greek architecture nearly ten years earlier had grown, albeit in a haphazard way. Neo-Palladianism had been launched by a single individual with a manifesto designed to fulfil theoretical, philosophical and political needs.

¹ Weibenson, *op. cit.*, p. 71, Pl. 49.

² D. Watkin, *Thomas Hope 1769-1831 and the Neo-Classical Idea* (1968), p. 87. On the use of the Doric in England, see Weibenson, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-74 and Watkin, *op. cit.*, pp. 85-92.

³ On the 'corner-triglyph conflict', see E.H. Gombrich, *The Sense of Order* (2nd edn., 1984), pp. 78, 311.

If a Greek style in architecture was to be embraced on a large scale it, too, would require a platform from which a fusion of all the associations and meanings of ancient Greece and of the clarity with which its architectural remains had been recorded could be delivered, as well as a spokesman to deliver it. Theory and politics were again to be involved; but historicism and aesthetic relativism were to be argued rather than objective, codified taste, and appeals were to be made to the romantic imagination as well as to reason and the intellect. What was to be, in effect, a battle between the Roman and Greek styles was joined, almost fortuitously, at Cambridge in 1804.

8 Greece Revived

(i) Public Buildings: Educational

(a) Universities, Colleges and Schools

It will be recalled that it was in collegiate building that some of the earliest frontispieces, temple fronts and porticoes were either executed or proposed: at Cambridge, Gonville and Caius in the 1560s, Pembroke and Emmanuel Chapels in the 1660s; at Oxford, Merton, Wadham, and the Schools around 1610, and also at University College soon after 1630 (Pl.26), the Sheldonian in the 1660s (Pls.39-40), Queen's (Pls.61-2), All Souls, Peckwater (Pl.59), the Clarendon Building (Pl.69) and Brasenose in the early 1700s (Pls.73-5). After Gibbs's partially completed complex in Cambridge, of which only the Senate House was finished in 1722-30,¹ there

¹ T.Hudson, 'James Gibbs's designs for the University Buildings at Cambridge', *Burl. Mag.*, cxiv, 837 (1972), 842-8; Friedman, *op. cit.*, Pl. 250.

were no more university temple fronts or porticoes for almost sixty years until, in 1789, Adam's unpedimented monumental Doric portico of six monolithic columns on the main, east front, facing the street, of Edinburgh University.¹ Towards the close of the eighteenth century the Gothic style, which had for many centuries served collegiate needs so well and which the classical style had only tentatively and spasmodically replaced on but a few occasions, gave way for a time to thoroughly Neo-Classical schemes. In Oxford, Edward Tatham had made a plea in 1773 for 'Templar edifices...which inspire an uncommon sublimity of soul; and awful solemnity!...The University of Oxford, we may presume, will have no objections to that manner of building, which is purely classical, and has stood the test, and experienced the approbation of the Learned in every age'. More specifically he went on to suggest that 'A Peristyle or Amphiprostyle of the Ancients, crowned with magnificent pediments, basso relievo, and surmounted with statues, would add grandeur to the place, and be worthy of it's illustrious inhabitants'.² A little over twenty years later, in 1796, at Magdalen, John Buckler proposed setting a monumental Ionic hexastyle against the south front of the north side of the New Buildings, the only part of the intended Great Quadrangle to have been erected in 1733-4. Facing each other, at the centres of the east and west sides, he intended seven-bay, three-storey blocks fronted by Ionic tetrastyles.³ Resembling Palladian country houses, the blocks were to have been linked to both the north side and the old college by balustraded

¹ A.J.Youngson, *The Making of Classical Edinburgh* (1966), Pl. 35; A.G.Fraser, *The Building of Old College: Adam, Playfair and the University of Edinburgh* (1989).

² E.Tatham, *Oxonia Explicata & Ornata* (1773), pp. 24-5.

³ T.S.R.Boase, 'An Oxford College and the Gothic Revival', *JWCI*, xviii (1955), 151-2, Pl. 42d; H.Colvin, *Unbuilt Oxford* (1983), p. 89, Fig. 94.

arcades. If it would have been seriously considered and executed, it would not have been unimpressive and, apart from quadrupling Oxford's porticoes at a stroke, would have realized on an even larger scale the similar disposition of porticoes envisaged for University College over one hundred and sixty years earlier (Pl.26), and of Aldrich's temple fronts at Peckwater (Pl.59), anticipating the Woods' urban squares at Bath. Such a scheme was soon to be proposed on an even larger scale, and in the Greek Revival style, at Cambridge.

A decision to build Downing College, the first new foundation in the University since 1594, was finally taken in 1800. The controversy over the choice of style and architect was to prove a decisive turning point in the development of the Greek Revival and of the career of William Wilkins the Younger; both were to influence countless porticoed buildings throughout the rest of our period.

James Essex's early designs seem not to have survived but were probably in the Gothic style since, only a month after that architect's death in September 1784, George III recommended that the college 'not be a Gothic building'.¹ At exactly the same time James Wyatt was first mentioned as the intended architect, and his appointment was officially confirmed in the Charter of 1800. At least two of his designs dating from 1800 to 1804 and using the Roman Doric show completely enclosed quadrangles with external porticoes in the middle of each side.² The main, tetrastyle portico, set beneath a tower, on the south side was duplicated on

¹ R.Willis and J.W.Clark, *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge* (1856), ii, 757; C.M.Sicca, *Committed to Classicism: The Building of Downing College, Cambridge* (1987), p. 22.

² *Ibid.*, Figs. 4-6, Pl. II.

the court side where it was little more than a breaking forward of the inner colonnade but acted as the principal unifying element between inner and outer elevations.

For reasons which remain unclear, Downing's first Master, Francis Annesley, at this point invited the then little-known traveller, collector and patron Thomas Hope to comment upon Wyatt's proposals. Hope's response, in the form of a pamphlet, published in 1804,¹ constituted one of the clearest and most articulate expressions in Britain at any time during our period of both the polemics of the classical style and the morphology and use of porticoes.

Hope began by prescribing that the distinct character of each style of architecture 'be preserved, by carefully discriminating what is essential in it from what is arbitrary, and not reverting the case, like many architects, who, in the application of the order, consider as absolute, precepts which are only discretionary, and as arbitrary, rules which, residing in the very nature of the different orders, should never be departed from'.² Hope not only regretted Wyatt's use of 'the degraded architecture of the Romans' instead of the 'purest style of the Greeks', but also condemned the Roman version of the Doric, as 'spurious' and the product of 'a nation more versed in the arts of war and politics than in those of beauty'.³ The Greek Doric, he asserted, was 'the most chaste of orders' from which 'none of the good living architects of the continent any longer withhold' their

¹ T.Hope, *Observations on the Plans and Elevations designed by James Wyatt, Architect, for Downing College, Cambridge; in a Letter to Francis Annesley, Esq M.P. by Thomas Hope* (1804).

² *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

admiration but, failing its use here, he hoped that 'the Ionic, of a later, but still of Grecian origin, might be preferred to a bastard order'. The 'humble imitation' of any style of architecture he regarded as a 'stigma' and, in 'urging the extreme necessity of finally adopting in architecture certain principles as indispensable to the elegance and beauty of buildings' (principles adopted in France but 'hitherto unknown or attended to' in Britain), considered that 'as...one of the first ornaments to the country' the college should be 'a noble edifice in the true Grecian style' which would have the further distinction of being 'really unique'.¹

The chapel should be fixed 'by a more than ordinary degree of grandeur and dignity' and its portico 'ought, above all, to exhibit less shallowness of projection, and less scantiness of columns'. Hope cites two porticoes – conveniently ignoring that they are in the 'degraded' Roman style – with admirable projection and columniation. 'What is it', he asks, 'that at Rome gives the Pantheon,² in London St. Martin's Church, spite numberless defects, such an imposing look, but these two attributes? The porticoes of these buildings have each in depth more than two and a quarter of their own intercolumniations'. He then gives one of the most eloquent descriptions of what a portico should be. 'A portico thus constructed', he writes,

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 17. That the Greek style was 'hitherto unknown or attended to' was, as has been shown, an exaggeration. It has been estimated that by 1804 there had been at least twenty-five instances of the use of the fluted Doric; Watkin, *op. cit.*, p. 85. See Appendix.

² Hope, *op.cit.*, p.24. Cf. Tatham's response to the Pantheon: 'the extreme projection of the Portico, produces an effect I have never before witnessed, and appears to be a matter the Ancients much attended to'. Tatham to Holland, 19 Nov., 1794; V&A, D. 1479-'98, f. 4. 'Extreme projection' certainly characterises Tatham's portico at Rookesbury (1820-5; Pl.253) and his Proposal for the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (1827: Pl.282). Also on the Pantheon, Soane wrote: 'The Portico produces a depth and breadth of light and shade which astonishes the beholder, and prepares him for the sublime effect which the interior of this superb edifice presents'; ed. Bolton, *op. cit.*, p. 49 (Lecture iii, 1806-9).

becomes in the first place an object of real utility; it fulfils its apparent destination, that of affording shelter to the traveller, and screening the inhabitant waiting for the hour of prayer from the inclemency of the weather.

It becomes in the second place a means of infinite beauty. It gives at once to the individual columns more relief, more distinctness, and more effect, through the deep shade it throws upon the wall behind, and to the entire facade more motion, more picturesqueness, and more dignity'.¹

Pediments, he considered, 'must appear superfluous, and out of place, when stuck immediately against an attic, rising high above it'. A portico as high and as wide as Wyatt's should, as Hope properly asserts, have been hexastyle rather than tetrastyle, for 'the richness and grandeur of the portico should here be the first and principal object of solicitude'. The 'merit and grace' of columns 'can never be well appreciated, unless set off by the even, smooth, unadorned surface of a plain background'. Pilasters, with their straight lines, particularly behind columns, are confusing and, since such 'scanty strips' can add neither structural support to a well-built wall nor beauty to broad and simple piers by subdividing them, are proscribed 'without remission'. The Greeks, 'judicious in every detail of taste, never employed them, except in the only place where they answered purpose both of a support and of a finish, and where no round column could possibly have been happily adjusted – the antae of a temple'.²

Hope favoured a single portico flanked by main residential blocks round an open court, from the entrance to which the visitor would immediately 'see the portico to which to direct his steps and his inquiries; and this portico with the extremities of the two wings, alone decorated with all the splendour or the orders, would leave the intermediate parts

¹ Hope, *op.cit.*, pp. 24-5.

² *Ibid.*, p. 28.

that connect them, in all the simplicity of attire suitable to their subservient situation'.¹ This is apparently one of the earliest references – although Hope does not seem to have fully appreciated its significance – to the general difficulty of reconciling Greek porticoes with the totally non-Greek, storeyed and fenestrated blocks from which they emerged which was so to bedevil, and ultimately militate against, the use of porticoes as the nineteenth century progressed.

That Wyatt's proposals were in no way innovative in particular and that it was time for a change of style in general are implicit in Hope's condemnation that 'The decorations are such that we see every day, but behold every time, not with a renewed pleasure, but with a growing satiety and disgust'. He deplored Wyatt's proposed Downing portico as 'that, not of the Roman Pantheon, but of the Pantheon in Oxford Street' (also by Wyatt) whose portico he doubted 'that a man of taste would ever quote...among the finest architectonic productions of our time'. 'Why then', he continued, 'should the same architect, so many years after, not satisfied with repeating its obsolete form in a chapel on the road to Highgate, again replicate the same in a most important addition to one of the first universities in Great Britain?'²

Hope's prohibition of pilasters³ and his endorsement of the primitive hut are the earliest confirmation in Britain of Laugier's

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 33-4.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 20. Soane responded that from 'abuses and misapplications of Antae and Pilasters war has been declared against the use of them in any case and on any occasion. A series of Antae, or Pilasters, cannot be admitted where grandeur of effect is required, yet surely many examples might be produced where Pilasters, when correctly proportioned, properly disposed, and suitably accompanied, have great merit, and strong claims to the approbation of the most fastidious admirer of Antiquity'; ed. Bolton, *op. cit.* (1929), p.61 (Lecture iv, 1806-9).

doctrines following Chambers's. His admiration for Langhan's Brandenburg Gate¹ in Berlin, one of the earliest monuments of the Greek Revival, based on the Athenian Propylaea and newly-completed when he saw it in 1794, together with his tacit recommendation of Wilkins, were to affect directly the eventual designs for Downing. His enthusiasm for the Parthenon and the Theseion as suitable models for contemporary architecture undoubtedly helped to make Doric the norm for the Greek Revival in Britain.

With Hope's encouragement and the support of his fellow Cambridge Hellenists, and incorporating almost all of Hope's recommendations, Wilkins submitted his designs on the last day of 1804. Ranged round a central space, but not enclosing it, were to have been eleven isolated blocks with, in the centre of the north range, a gateway in the form of a portico, modelled closely on the Athenian Propylaea, hexastyle and with a wide central opening on the outside but with only four columns between antae on the inner, court side. The report of the panel of independent assessors, comprising George Dance, C.R.Cockerell and James Lewis, delivered on 26 March 1806, reveals their own stylistic preferences as much as the qualities of the designs; but it was clearly on aesthetic grounds that they resolved the most contentious issue, that the style, should be Grecian. They unequivocally recommended Wilkins's design in which the 'general decorations...adopted from Grecian models possess more grandeur simplicity and classical effect'. However, they differentiated the functional and symbolic aspects of the portico (thereby identifying in it what was frequently to prove inappropriate in the

¹ Hope, *op.cit.*, p. 29.

subsequent application of many porticoes) when they added 'we think that the magnificent portico at the Entrance copied from the Propylea in the Acropolys of Athens offers the appearance of affording the means of shelter without the reality on account of the proportionate smallness of its depth'.¹

Work was begun to Wilkins's designs in 1807 but, by 1821, when funds ran out, only the east and west ranges, including the Master's Lodging and the kitchens at their southern terminations had been completed (Pls.223-5). Their Ionic porticoes, in which the order from the Erechtheion first appeared on such structures,² were the only ones to have been built; the Doric Propylaea and the south range were not even begun.

Designed concurrently with Downing, but begun earlier and completed within three years from 1806, Haileybury (Pl.220) also used the Erechtheion Ionic and demonstrated Wilkins's sectional approach to composition with long, low elevations punctuated by porticoes which was to characterize University College, London in 1827-8 (Pl.283) and his final work at the National Gallery of 1834-8 (Pls.303-4). Haileybury, its inter-related buildings forming the first campus in English collegiate architecture, belongs to the same architectural and ideological thinking as Downing. Although the vision that Hope and Wilkins had, of erecting in this country a building redolent of Periclean Athens and embodying the

¹ Downing College Muniments, 80/15; quoted in Sicca, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

² The Erechtheion Ionic, first published by Le Roy, *Les Ruines...* (1758), Pl. xxxi, appeared in Piranesi's *Della Magnificenza ed Architettura dei Romani* (1760), Pl. xx. Its first ever use was by de Wailly in his remodelling of the Hôtel de Voyer in the early 1760s, admired and recorded by Chambers in his Parisian sketchbook. Adam used a variant in the ante-room at Syon (1762-5), published in R. and J. Adam, *The Works in Architecture of Robert and James Adam*, ii (1779), Pt. iv, Pls. 4, 5, in engravings by Piranesi. Stuart and Revett published the Erechtheion in *Antiquities of Athens*, ii (1787), Ch. ii, Pls. 4, 5, 11.

moral, aesthetic and intellectual values cherished by many academics at the university, did not fully materialize, Wilkins did succeed, with Hope's connivance, in producing at Haileybury for the first time in Britain, and on a large scale, semi-public buildings with the archaeological accuracy of Greek architecture.¹

At Cambridge, following a prestigious competition, J.C.Mead's Greek Doric Observatory was built 1822-4 (Pl.257), its telescope cover giving the whole a Pantheon-like appearance.

Schools and colleges, especially in the north and in Scotland, were more susceptible to the classical style: Dobson's Royal Jubilee School, Newcastle upon Tyne (1810-11), a severe Greek Doric temple; Playfair's even more severe Dollar Academy (1818-20; Pl.247); Burn's Edinburgh Academy (1823-36; Pl.266) where an explicit conjunction of the portico's dignity and ancient precept appears in the frieze – 'Η ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΣΟΦΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΑΡΕΤΗΣ ΜΗΤΗΡ' – 'Education, the Mother of Wisdom and Virtue' – and the John Watson's Hospital School (1825-8; Pl.275), also by Burn. In Dundee Angus's High School (1832-4) closes a long vista, whilst Hamilton's Royal High School, Edinburgh (1825-9; Pl.277) commands the city. The Dicksons' Bathgate Academy (1831-3; Pl.298) was among the last in the Greek style, with an unfluted Doric.

¹ Watkin, *op. cit.*, p. 61. Downing was not without its critics: Barry was reported by J.L.Wolfe in 1832 as having found it 'utterly poor and ineffective...comparatively cold and insipid in style' and feeling 'that a Greek Doric portico, executed on a rock of Attica, was a very different thing from even its exact copy in the streets of London or the gardens of Cambridge'; quoted in Crook, *op. cit.*, pp. 130-1. The year before, Cockerell had thought the 'quadrangle too wide, Buildings too sunk like a string of sausages' and spoke of a 'miserable deficiency of arch[itectur]e when Porticoes are passed'; quoted in D.Watkin, *The Life and Work of C.R.Cockerell* (1974), p. 69.

In London, through the efforts in the 1820s of Lord Brougham, Jeremy Bentham and Thomas Campbell and under the influence of both Utilitarianism and continental examples of non-sectarian universities, such as Bonn, the idea for a metropolitan academy finally materialized in secular form. The Corinthian portico of Wilkins's University College (1827-8; Pl.283) attracted admiration from the beginning. Leeds considered it Wilkins's 'chef d'oeuvre' and superior to Downing or any of the modern university colleges. Not only remarkable as the first British decastyle portico it was, he believed, 'the air of dignity and classical taste which pervade it, which so eminently distinguish it from almost every other specimen of its class hitherto erected in this country'. The portico not only gave the façade 'a peculiar and impressive dignity' but also fulfilled many of the proper requirements of a portico.¹ Hosking regarded the portico as being 'of almost unequalled magnificence and beauty' and, although he thought the cupola elegant, he had reservations that the two did not harmonize, adding that 'the one is much too large for the other, and their forms are incoherent'.² Leeds, who was to compare unfavourably the National Gallery's dome with this one, defended the combination, for although, as he admitted, 'we have no ancient example of a Greek temple with a dome arising from its roof', nevertheless 'both features here harmonize perfectly; both partake of the same taste, and seem to conform to the same principles of architectural beauty, applied to the respective purposes'.³ More effusive was George Wightwick, who

1 Leeds, *op.cit.*, p. 82.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 85.

3 *Idem.*

thought the college's centrepiece, next to St.Paul's Cathedral, 'the finest piece of external Greco-Italian architecture' he had ever seen. It was 'the most dignified in its elevation, and the most elegant in its proportion and details'. He further compared the portico as 'a happy mean between the Roman and Parisian examples, (viz. the Pantheon, and the Chamber of Deputies,) *i.e.* ten columns in front *vice* eight or twelve, and two intercolumniation in depth *vice* three or one', concluding that 'Here Athens is nobly accredited; Rome complimented; and England honoured'.¹

Elsewhere, Wightwick's Classical and Mathematical school (1824) and his Royal Cornwall Polytechnic (1833), both in Falmouth, continued the Greek Doric. The Nonconformists, eschewing architectural forms and styles associated with church and state – as they had done with their chapels – took a lead in school-building. Outstanding were Davies's Highbury College for Dissenters, Islington (1825-6) and Tite's Protestant Dissenters' Grammar School, Mill Hill (1825-7; Pl.274). Most impressive of all is Flockton's Wesley Propriety (now King Edward VII's) Grammar School, Sheffield (1837-40), which consciously rivalled nearby Wentworth Woodhouse (Pl.102) and lent grandeur and respectability to the growing aspirations of West Yorkshire's Methodists.

Towards the end of our period, when religion again became the prime mover in education, the propriety of Gothic as the style of education was reasserted, whilst students continued to study their pagan Greek and Latin in the shade of crocket and spire.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

(b) Medical Colleges

Professional bodies, too, were anxious to enhance their public image with porticoed buildings, particularly the medical profession, and outstanding among these were, in London, the Royal College of Surgeons, (1806-13) by Dance the Younger and J.Lewis, the first Ionic portico in London (rebuilt, retaining the portico but with the columns fluted, by Barry, 1835-7), and Smirke's Royal College of Physicians (1822-5; Pls.261,279) and, in Edinburgh, W.H.Playfair's Surgeons' Hall (1829-32).

(ii) Domestic Buildings

(a) Houses

The codification of any style or fashion tends to restrict options and choices. Both the liberating and limiting aspects of the Greek Revival became apparent almost immediately, and the work of Wilkins, the style's prime mover, was to demonstrate both aspects. While still engaged on Downing and Haileybury, he produced in c.1805 at Osberton (Pl.214) what was the very first giant, fluted, baseless Greek Doric portico on an English country house. The pedimented tetrastyle was an addition to an existing structure, just as Webb's had been at The Vyne; but the block to which Wilkins's portico was engaged was partially remodelled to provide a more congenial setting.

It was again in a country house, also by Wilkins, that the Greek Doric in Britain was to come of age. At Grange Park (1805-9), the complete encasement of an earlier house, for the banker, politician and classical

scholar Henry Drummond,¹ included the first full-scale realization (Hagley had been a reduced version) of the Theseion (Pl.215), but with Thrasylic wreaths in the frieze (Pls.216-17). Despite the Grecian character of the building's whole exterior, the portico remained an unsatisfactorily integrated addition presaging no similar templar interior.² Although he disliked Wilkins and Downing, and was not uncritical of Grange Park – finding the portico technically incorrect and having reservations about its suitability for domestic architecture – C.R.Cockerell succumbed to its effect and his observations about it remain the most perceptive. He first visited it in January, 1823, some fourteen years after its completion, by which time many such porticoes had been used on a variety of building types. However, on first viewing the portico from the south, across the river, he admired its boldness, impressiveness, and picturesque qualities, for 'nothing can be finer more classical or like the finest Poussino, it realises the most fanciful representations of the painters pencil or the poets description. its elevation on terraces gives it that which is essential to the effect of Grecian arch[itectur]^e & which no modern imitations possess – it has also dimension so seldom obtained & has thereby that imposing aspect which awes & seems to have a proportionate scale without surrounding objects of nature'.³ It was its scale as much as anything else which struck him: 'the portico...fills & satisfies the eye & beauty & stability of the proportion of the order vindicate the claim of Grecian arch[itectur]^e to preference over most others. the proportion is indeed so large that on a

¹ J.M.Crook, 'Grange Park Transformed', in eds. H.Colvin and J.Harris, *The Country Seat* (1970), pp. 220-8. The Greek style and the portico were doubtless meant to rival nearby Stratton.

² *Ibid.*, Fig. 147.

³ Diary, quoted in Watkin, *op. cit.*, (1974), pp. 69-70.

near approach & living under it, it has something of overcharge & resembles those marked and striking features which have a more than masculine coarseness when near, but the value of which is confessed at a proper distance'.¹ Cockerell then felt his first reservations: 'as to the Propriety of making a Grecian Temple a domestic habitation, that is a question admitting of much doubt'.² He admired the architect's daring, conceding that 'Wilkins has much credit for the boldness of the conception, the turning the basem^t. into a Terrace, the ground terraces, the sides in imitation of the choragic monum^t. which by the bye in the distance give a squareness quite characteristic of the arch^e are well imagined'.³ On closer inspection he was more critical from the archaeological standpoint, considering that on its main axis the building wanted greater length, 'the details are then incorrect in many instances. the cols. present the edge of a flute in centre – for what reason I cannot imagine. the omission of the triglyphs & clap[p]ing 2 wreaths is vulgar, the entablature of the side porticoes in the internal angles have a double pilaster & the cornice has the nose cut off octangularly very ill. the cornice over the pediment has a double face like the horizontal cornice of which I know no example. the cymatium is altogether omitted in that cornice'.⁴

The Greek Revival was to mean different things to different people and, although one of the grounds on which Cockerell was later to condemn the movement was for a too literal, indiscriminate use of

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

² *Idem.*, Cf. J.L.Mallet who, in 1823, thought that the remodelling had turned 'a good family house into a very bad one...to feast the eyes of men of taste with a model of chaste Grecian architecture...leaving...a Temple instead of a house'; quoted in Crook, *op. cit.*, (1970), p. 223.

³ Watkin, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

⁴ *Idem.*

temple forms, the ambivalence of his attitude – on the one hand criticizing Wilkins for the incorrectness of his detail and on the other departing himself in other ways from direct or correct imitation by seeking wider architectural sources in his own work – was not uncharacteristic for its date amongst both practitioners and critics. Many of these had seen Greece; even more people, for whom imagination was stirred rather than memories evoked, had not. Ultimately, however, it was the lyrical, nostalgic, associational, and sentimental qualities of Grange Park that Cockerell found most appealing. Later in the same year, in May 1823, on a 'clear beautiful day. blue sunshine serene with a few cotton clouds, freshness in the air, verdure, flowers, tranquility most exhilarating, a day in which one blessed oneself', there was 'a steady sunshine serene upon the building as clear a sky the lights & shades & reflections as in Greece', and the whole setting

brought home the recollections of the acropolis...the inclination to the water & the tufted trees finer & more luxuriant than ever grew on the banks of Illissus. the depth of the portico gives a density to the shade which is most happy & assists the clear expression & ever just & satisfactory effects of the cols & their entablature. the strength yet lightness, the robust yet fine, colossal like the Hercules & yet with traits delicate and elevated shewing a mind within elegant & refined, in the pilasters this character is more visible...there is nothing like it on this side of Arcadia.¹

Following Grange Park, numerous country houses adopted varying degrees of Greek references in their porticoes – some of them additions, as at Calke Abbey (1806-8;Pl.219) and Letheringsett (1808-9;Pl.228) – but remained essentially variations on the Palladian formula: S. and L. Wyatt's Hackwood (1805-13;Pl.218), L.Wyatt's Tatton (1807;Pl.227), Green's Buckland Filleigh (1810), Watson and Pritchett's Rise (1815-20;Pl.243) and

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 70-71.

Haycock's Millichope (1835-40;Pl.307) and, in Scotland, Crichton's Balbirnie (1815-19;Pl.239). Some displayed ingenuity, such as Dobson's Longhirst (1824--8;Pl.271) and Fillongley (c.1843;Pl.3216), both distyle *in antis*, and Aldhouse's Bayfordbury (1809-12;Pl.229); some were reduced to porches (Pl.302) or, like S.Wyatt's earlier Shugborough (1794;Pl.202) to colonnades, as at I.Bonomi's Windlestone (c.1832;Pl.299). Yet others were wholly Greek in detail, if not in application, such as Donthorn's Upton Hall, using Erechtheion Ionic (c.1830;Pls.291-2), Millichope, with Illissus Ionic, and Thurlestaine (c.1845;Pl.329).

Country houses comprised the largest number of porticoed buildings throughout our period. Once the Greek style had become established, however, it was used on an increasing variety of building types – churches, museums and art galleries, theatres, banks and other commercial buildings, town halls, hospitals, prisons, schools, hotels, railway stations and court houses. Though there were sometimes nuances – in the order, for example – reflecting their different functions, there was often a sameness about their porticoes.

(b) Portes-Cochères

The porte-cochère, already mentioned, was a response to increased social visiting and fulfilled the primary practical function of porticoes to afford protection from the weather by being deep enough to accommodate at least one carriage. They ranged from the grand – at Holland's Carlton House (1783-96), Ickworth (1796-1830; Pl. 204), the nearest to the house as Pantheon, by Asprucci the Younger, James Wyatt's Dodington (1798-1813; Pl.206), Tasker's Acton Burnell (1814; Pl.236), Smirke's Luton Hoo (1815-20; Pl.244), Bonomi's Burn Hall (1821-34; Pl.255), P.W.Wyatt's Wynyard (1822-30; Pl.262), and Evans's Boveridge (c.1823), as well as on several later

railway stations – to the less grand, at Holland's York House (1787; Pl.195) and, without pediments, Woburn, also by Holland (1787-96; dem.), Foss's Thorp Perrow (c.1802; Pl.208), Nicholson's Corby Castle (1812-17; Pl.235) and Dobson's Nunnykirk (1825; Pl.273).

(c) Lodges

'Every conspicuous building in a park should derive its character from that of the house' and entrance lodges 'should partake of the style of the house, and announce its character',¹ wrote Humphry Repton, and, although many lodges anticipated the grandeur of the main house to come, few shared its architectural style or spirit, or were built at the same time, or were even by the same architect.

Lodges developed from the medieval gatehouses, sometimes fortified, of castles, monasteries, country houses, and the Oxford and Cambridge colleges. Access was allowed to those authorized to enter, but the gates could be closed, when necessary, for security. Sometimes integral to the main block, they became increasingly separated from it and placed at a break in a defensive or boundary wall marking the extent of the property and clearly dividing public from private ground and space.

Two forms of lodge are discernible. The first, a block with an arch decorated, like an entrance doorway to the house itself, by flanking columns and, perhaps, a pediment, like that at Stanway (c.1630;Pl.20). This form, either elaborated as a massive triumphal arch or reduced to a screen, persisted until well into the eighteenth century. The second is represented

¹ H.Repton, *An Enquiry into the Changes of Taste in Landscape Gardening* (1906) pp. 72-3,113.

by the twin pavilions of c.1613 flanking the entrance to the park of Campden House, and it was this arrangement which was subsequently most often adopted. Even though the threat of civil strife receded, the need to advertise status, and the growth of privacy meant that lodges were often placed inside gates which were only opened to authorized visitors and then closed again.

Lodges had to be manned and therefore residential, and this presented architects with the challenge of producing domestic architecture in miniature. As with houses themselves, porticoes on lodges substantially reduced the amount of light admitted. The result was buildings which were modest in scale and usually single-storeyed, but in which – perhaps even more than in houses – convenience was sacrificed almost entirely to appearance. They were rarely meant to be seen in the same view as the main house, but were sometimes seen in relation to other garden temples in the park.

As with major building types, surface treatment on lodges in the form of temple fronts co-existed with porticoes, though the latter predominated in the Greek Revival. Sometimes the façades decorated in this way faced outward, towards the public road, but, generally, they faced each other across the private drive. Towards the end of our period there was usually only a single porticoed lodge, either inside or outside the gates, at one side or other of the drive, and almost all lodge porticoes were tetrastyle. Given the predominance of the Roman architectural orders, particularly on country houses, during the late eighteenth-century phase of Neo-Classicism, and bearing in mind that similar considerations applied equally to lodges as to garden buildings, as in Repton's precept, it is difficult to account for both the paucity of porticoed lodges using the Roman orders and the apparent total absence – unless what is probably

James Wyatt's Doric Kennels Lodge at Wynnstay of c.1785 can be interpreted, without any astragals, as Greek rather than Roman baseless Doric – of Greek Revival lodges before c.1800.

One of the earliest lodge porticoes is that of Carr at Aske Hall using, using the Tuscan, *in antis* (1765-9;Pl.158). Wynnstay notwithstanding, what seems to be the first Greek lodge portico – unfluted Doric – attributed to Byfield, appeared at Brockhampton just before 1800 (c.1799;Pl.207). Onslow (c.1815-20), perhaps by Haycock, with its fluted Doric, and the later Nuneham (c.1830;Pl.294), provide good examples of the distyle *in antis* solution. Neither these, nor the vast majority of lodges reflected the style of the main houses; Cambridge Lodge at Audley End (c.1780;dem.), Corby Castle (c.1817;Pl.246) and Duncombe (1843;Pl.327), all echoing the Tuscan of Covent Garden, show how different they could be. Variety of difference is evident in the giant tetrastyle fluted Doric lodge, probably by Pritchett and Watson, at Wentworth Woodhouse (c.1818), the hexastyle unfluted Doric colonnade at Mitford (1823-8;Pl.265), P.F.Robinson's Old Lodge, Treilissick, with its baseless Roman Doric (1824), and Rokeby (1830;Pl.293), with its Paestum Doric. Even when lodge and house were contemporary and by the same architect, there could be marked differences; J. Wyatt's unusual circular Bath Lodge at Dodington, with a variation on the rare Delian Doric (c.1802), announces a vast hexastyle Corinthian portico on the house (Pl.206). Consonance between lodge and house is uncommon but an example, on a reduced scale, appears at Eggleston, by I.Bonomi, with the Paestum Doric (1815-20;Pls.241-2). Sometimes lodges were porticoed for effect at both ends, as at Windlestone, with its Roman Doric, also by Bonomi (c.1832;Pl.300) and at J.Hakewill's unusual and impressive hexastyle, using Greek fluted Doric, at Rostherne Lodge, Tatton (1833) – a

device used in a garden context by Wyattville at King William's Temple, Kew (1836-7;Pl.310).

Lodges were not confined to parks; at Chester Castle, T.Harrison took the opportunity to mark the access to an important public building by producing his impressive Doric Propylaeum (1810-22;Pls.231-2). The growth of public cemeteries in most major cities in the early nineteenth century encouraged the use of lodges, such as those by Underwood, using the Paestum Doric, facing each other across the entrance to Arnos Vale Cemetery, Bristol (1837-40).

(iii) Public Buildings: Commercial

(a) Banks

There was enormous variety in the application of porticoes and temple fronts to commercial buildings, but all proclaimed the value and distinction that wealth brought to a powerful nation. Britain and, particularly London, 'ought not to be inferior to Rome, in any of these marks of her greatness. Greater far is our metropolis than this boasted city both in the virtue and opulence of its inhabitants: in virtue more transcendent, from a sublimer religion; and in opulence more pre-eminent, because its riches are derived from industry and commerce, and not from the plunder of the world'.¹

The advantages to the commercial world of an efficient, imposing building, were immense. The appearance of banks in particular, which were an integral part of towns and cities, was not without significance.

¹ J.White, *Some Account...* (1814), p. 89.

Impressive buildings constituted evidence, not only of the banker's personal prosperity and his attitude to his professional image, but also encouraged clients to have the confidence to engage in formal business dealings and to entrust him with their money. The templar associations of porticoes (many temples in Antiquity also housed treasuries), together with the belief that the opulence of Antiquity had been exceeded, meant that impressive bank buildings were 'a mark of solidity' and that 'noteworthy premises had a sound business advantage'.¹

At the Bank of England, Sir Robert Taylor's façade (1764-76), based on Bramante's Belvedere Court, was articulated with coupled columns and four terminal, Corinthian tetrastyle porticoes, one at each end of the wings. This Roman effect was to set the tone for Taylor's interiors, the whole intended to reinforce the notion of Britain's wealth and opulence as unequalled since those of ancient Rome.

The economic and political instability of the 1780s and 90s, together with the war with France, appear to have induced leading bankers to believe that 'a new building was more a show of solidity than a squander of liquid assets'.² The work of Sir John Soane, who succeeded Taylor in 1788, seems to reflect this view, and set the tone of confident, impressive, solid buildings, which was to influence the Bank's provincial branches, as well as private banks. By mid-1833, there were thirty-four united or joint-stock banks in one hundred and twenty-four places.³ It was in the North of

¹ J.M.L.Booker, 'The Architecture of Banking' (York PH.D thesis, 1984), p. 27. 'No doubt there are those who judge a bank to a certain extent by its externals. A large and costly building is an assurance to some minds of corresponding wealth and stability within'; *ibid.*, p.1, quoting G.Rae, *The Country Banker* (1835).

² Booker, *thesis cit.*, p. 17.

³ Sir T.E.G.Gregory, *The Westminster Bank...* (1936), i, 22-3.

England, predominantly in Liverpool and Manchester, and later, in Scotland, that that influence was most strongly felt and also where banks made the most significant contributions to civic grandeur:¹ Messrs. William, Hughes & Co.'s Bank (now Lloyd's), Foregate Street, Chester, perhaps by Benjamin Wyatt, of 1802-3, and Messrs. Moss, Dale, Rogers & Co., Liverpool, finished in 1811. The latter was not only the first bank to be lauded for its contribution to civic improvement but, with its mixed Doric and Ionic orders, perhaps also inspired C.R.Cockerell's Bank of England Liverpool Branch, of 1844-47,² where the problem that confronted him was 'designing a building which was no more than a branch bank in the scale of its business, but able to hold its own architecturally with the head offices of the banking corporations.'³

As in its education system, banking in Scotland had enjoyed greater freedom since the eighteenth century and, in Glasgow in particular, magnificence tended to be private and corporate rather than municipal. Neo-Classical simplicity undoubtedly struck a business-like note and this, together with both the strength and persistence of the Greek Revival in Scotland produced there a preference for more overt temple forms for banks with free-standing porticoes. This is reflected in Archibald Elliott the Younger's branch of the Bank of Scotland in Glasgow, of 1827 (Pl.281), where a hexastyle Ionic portico of the Erechtheion order, with prominent *antae* and only ground-floor windows, flanked at each side by a massive Ionic archway, forms the dominant feature of 'a very serious, even

¹ Booker, *thesis cit.*, pp. 32, 35, 36.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 33-4.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

solemn, composition'.¹ The portico is behind, on the same axis as, and forms the sequel to, David Hamilton's Royal Exchange, also begun in 1827 (Pl.284).

A rival to the Royal Bank was the Commercial Bank of Scotland, founded in 1810 in Edinburgh, as a joint-stock company with the primary aim of facilitating trade.² So successful was it that, by the 1840s, the Bank's directors 'hankered after architecturally more ambitious premises that would appropriately reflect its role in Scottish life' as 'one of the most successful joint-stock companies ever created in Scotland'.³ Rhind's Corinthian porticoed building of 1843-47 (Pl.328), on which no expense seems to have been spared, is Scotland's most impressive bank and one of the most distinguished in the whole country. It comes towards the final phase, even for Scotland, of monumental porticoed banks. In England only John Cunningham's Union Bank, Brunswick Street, Liverpool, of c.1846, with its magnificent hexastyle Ionic portico (Pl.330),⁴ could rival it. Soon it was to be the image of the nascent *palazzo* style that was to be increasingly identified with the concept of joint-stock banking.⁵

(b) Customs Houses

Customs houses also bespoke the volume and wealth of trade. Of Ripley's reconstructed London building, Ralph wished, 'because we are more famous for our naval affairs than any thing else, that this building had been more costly and magnificent'. As all Customs houses should, 'it

¹ A.Gomme and D.Walker, *Architecture of Glasgow* (2nd rev. edn., 1988), p. 83.

² I.Gow, 'David Rhind 1803-1883', in ed. R.Brown, *The Architectural Outsiders* (1985), pp. 157-8.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 158.

⁴ Booker, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

would make a seasonable impression on foreigners even at their landing, of the majesty and wealth of the *British* nation'.¹ Richard Gillow's Lancaster Customs House (1764) was handsome enough, but costly magnificence had to wait for Robert Reid's custom House in Leith (1811-12) which, with its Greek Doric portico, was the first of any significance. The grandest of all was that by John Foster at Liverpool (1828-35), with three monumental Illissus Ionic porticoes.² Meant to outshine Gandon's Dublin Customs House of 1781-91, it was, Picton thought, 'the great building of the epoch', the grandest of those visible proofs of the city's primacy in international trade which had 'raised the port of Liverpool into a second Tyre'.³

(c) Exchanges and Markets

The portico of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, the archetypal portico to dominate a British market, inspired J.M.Clark's Customs House at Ipswich (1843-5), and its Tuscan order was thought appropriate for O.B.Carter's Winchester Corn Exchange (1836-8; Pl.312). Philip Hardwick also thought it suitable for his Liverpool Dock Traffic Office (1846-7).

London did not have a monopoly on Exchanges. At Bristol, Halfpenny's proposed Doric tetrastyle *in antis* (1738-39) had been rejected in favour of Wood's temple-fronted *palazzo*, which elicited from Thomas Stevens, in his opening address on 21 September, 1743, that 'Publick Edifices have, in all Times, been had in Esteem, and considered as

¹ Ralph, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7.

² E.H.Rideout, *The Custom House, Liverpool* (1928), frontispiece.

³ Sir J.A.Picton, *The Architectural History of Liverpool* (1858), p. 21.

Manifestations of the Wisdom and Grandeur of a State'.¹ Alterations to Wood's Liverpool Exchange (1749-54), including the addition of a portico (1811) were made by Foster and James Wyatt between 1797 and 1811; when it became the Town Hall, or Mansion House, Foster's New Exchange (1802-3) – the '*facile princeps*' of the buildings of Liverpool,² superseded Wood's Exchange.

Bristol's merchants disliked Wood's Exchange and instead commissioned the Graeco-Roman Commercial Rooms (1810-11) from C.A. Busby. Manchester's Doric Exchange and Commercial Buildings (1806-9) by Thomas Harrison and the Ionic Commercial Buildings or Exchange at Leeds (1826-29) – one of the first Greek Revival Exchanges – by John Clark, proclaimed the growing mercantile wealth of the North.

In Scotland, where so many porticoes close long vistas, David Hamilton's Corinthian Royal Exchange (now Stirling's Library), Glasgow (1827-9; Pl.284), was the grandest before London's new Royal Exchange.

In London, of the thirty-eight competitors for the Exchange in 1839, Tite was not one. The scale and order of Soane's Bank of England on the one hand and of Dance's Mansion House on the other had to be taken into account. Nearly all the designs included porticoes, but those of Pennethorne and, particularly, Cockerell, were outstanding. Cockerell envisages a 'Forum Londinium', presided over by a 'Triumphal arch expanded and rendered habitable by floors'³ The association was with the

¹ J.Wood, *A Description of the Exchange at Bristol* (1743), pp. 32-3.

² Picton, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

³ F.Barker and R.Hyde, *London as it might have been* (1982), frontispiece and p. 109.

great markets and fora of Rome – of Trajan and Nerva. Following the most disgraceful competition, Tite's Pantheon-inspired portico, commanding, but prosaic, and with shades of Wren, its frieze inscription proclaiming the Exchange as the Victorian successor to Gresham's Elizabethan one, was executed (1842-4; Pl.319). To Pugin it was just 'another stale dish of ill-adapted classicisms – heavy, dull and uninteresting'.¹

On a smaller scale, and reflecting agriculture as the country's main industry, were corn exchanges. In London, that of Dance in Mark Lane (1747-50) was supplemented and then superseded by George Smith's New Corn Exchange (1827-28). Elsewhere, there were porticoed corn exchanges by Chapman in Leeds (1827-8), Carter in Winchester (1836-8; Pl.312), Moffatt in Wakefield (1836-8) and Nicholson in Lincoln (1847; Pl.333).

General markets, too, were prominent in the townscape; Goodwin's Central Market, Leeds (1824-7) and Fowler's Hungerford Market (1831-3), were especially impressive. The latter, colonnaded on the inside, resembling the Piece Hall, Halifax (1774-9) had, at the north end of its courtyard, an arcaded portico fronting a pedimented attic. Later porticoed markets included Bowen's in Bridgewater (1834), Edge's in Birmingham (1832-5), Harris's in Penzance (1835-6), and that completed by Fowler to Dymond's designs in Exeter (1835-8).

¹ A.W.N.Pugin, *An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture in England* (1843), p. 18.

(d) Corporate Headquarters

Notable among the headquarters of private companies was East India House. The Company's first building (1726-9), by Jacobsen, evidently pleased the Directors, but not Ralph, who thought

they would have bestowed a greater expence on their *House*, than appears in it at present: 'tis certainly unworthy their figure in the trading world, and would better suit with the common life of a single director, than the pomp and state of the whole body. The fabrick indeed is built in taste; but there is not enough of it; and, if they had thought of *adding a portico* in the middle, 'twould have looked more like a finished building than it does now'.¹

The rebuilt headquarters, completed in 1800 by Holland to Jupp's designs, included a giant Ionic hexastyle which, advancing only one column, was later to incur Dallaway's censure.

Several city company halls were rebuilt in the 1820s and 30s. Jerman's rebuilt Fishmongers' Hall (1667-72) was again rebuilt (1832-5), to a design by Roberts. His unexecuted preliminary design, a reduced version of the Parthenon,² would have rivalled the country's most thoroughgoing temple-like building, Hanson and Welch's contemporary Birmingham Town Hall (1832-4).

(e) Post Office

Smirke's General Post Office (1824-9) – partly a response to Johnston's Dublin Post Office (1818), itself based on East India House – with its Ionic hexastyle, was considered one of the most successful modern buildings. 'I believe', wrote Sydney Smirke, 'that no other age or country

¹ Ralph, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

² P.Metcalf, *The Halls of the Fishmongers' Company* (1977).

can offer such an imposing spectacle of national unity and spirit'. It was 'the evidence of national greatness afforded by the growing prosperity and rapid improvement of this department of the State'.¹ Passavant considered it the 'most successful attempt in this style...in England,' a most 'skilfully managed...union...of true antique simplicity with the conveniences and arrangements required in the present age'.²

(f) Railway Stations

The railways, a British invention, providing the most rapid communication and distribution to date, were instrumental in contributing to the nation's wealth and amenities. No more striking example could be found of the portico's symbolizing power – here in several senses – than in its divorce from antique associations and precedent. Competition between companies ensured grand porticoed frontages on provincial stations – Flint's Campbell Street, Leicester (1840), Mocatta's Reigate (1840-41), Pritchett's Huddersfield (1846-7; Pls.331-2), and Moore's Monkwearmouth (1848; Pl.335) and Dobson's Newcastle (c.1849-50) – as well as on London termini, outstandingly the Hardwicks' monumental propylaeum, the 'Euston Arch' (1835-40; Pl.334).

All these enterprises associated with the creation and profitable management of national, corporate, and personal wealth frequently incorporated porticoes in their buildings as symbols of their reliability, integrity, and profitability.

¹ Ed. Leeds, *op. cit.*, pp. 35, 39. T.H.Shepherd and J.Elmes *Metropolitan Improvements* (1829) p.158.

² J.D.Passavant, *Tour of a German Artist in England* (1836), ii, 296-7.

(g) Hotels, Baths and Assembly Rooms

Hotels, baths, and assembly rooms, of which many sprang up after the spread of the railways, evidenced greater social interaction. Some were like country houses, transported to spa towns and resorts, whose principal public spaces were dominated and given focus by their porticoes: Masters's Sydney Hotel, Bath (1796-7), Foulston's Royal, Plymouth (1811-13), the White Hart, Salisbury (c.1820; Pl.251), Jearrad's Queen's, Cheltenham (1837-8; Pl.314), and Shackleton and Brunel's Royal Western, Bristol (1837-9), and the Crown Hotel, Scarborough (1844). Most large towns had assembly rooms; to Burlington's at York a portico was added by Pritchett and Watson (1828; Pl.286), whilst to Henderson's New Assembly Rooms, George Street, Edinburgh (1784-7), a portico was added in 1818. Perhaps the most impressive were Dyer's Graeco-Roman Victoria Rooms, Bristol (1839-41).¹ Baths, spas and pump rooms became increasingly fashionable during the late Regency, and some formed complexes with hotels and assembly rooms. Following Smith's Royal Baths and Pump Rooms at Leamington (1813-14), and Underwood's Montpellier, Cheltenham (1817), there was an epidemic of them: Clifton Hot Wells (1820), Southernhay, Exeter (1821), Chaplin's Ivanhoe Baths, Ashby-de-la-Zouche (1822), Forbes's Pittville Pump Room, Cheltenham (1825-30; Pl.278), and Hopkins's Royal Union Baths, Plymouth (1828).

(h) Theatres

Places of public resort grew to meet increasing demands for entertainment and leisure. After the first appearance of the Doric on a

¹ *Companion to the Almanac* (1839), 243-6. Salmon, *op.cit.* (1995), 162, Fig.16.

porticoed public building in London at Smirke's Covent Garden Theatre (1808-9), and following James Wyatt's use of a portico on the Oxford Street Pantheon (1796-72), together with the increasing French practice of fronting theatres with porticoes, theatres in both the capital and the provinces adopted them, often projecting the full width of the pavement: Nash's Haymarket (1820), Burton's Colosseum (1823-7), Theatre Royal, Drury Lane (portico added 1831), and Royal Lyceum (1831-4) in London and Beazley's Theatre Royal, Leicester (1836), and Green's Theatre Royal, Newcastle upon Tyne (1837; Pl.315).

(iv) Ecclesiastical Buildings

(a) Commissioners' Churches

The Church Building Act of 1818 marked a second phase of increased church building. Like the 1711 Act for Fifty New Churches it was a response, by government, to the rapid growth of London, and to the perceived ongoing threat of 'democracy', since the French Revolution in 1789. Also, the churches built under the Act were to have a countrywide influence. Unlike the earlier Act, that of 1818 – known as the 'Million' Act because one million pounds were set aside for building – did not specify how many churches were to be built, and also was aimed at combatting the growing threat posed to the Established Church by the increasingly rapid spread of nonconformity.

In the half century or so of George III's reign before Waterloo comparatively few churches were built; even with relatively affluent

congregations such porticoes as were built¹ were often modest, following the earlier example of the Grosvenor Chapel in the 1730s (Pl.98). A notable exception was Adam's Ionic tetrastyle at Gunton (1769). In 1770 an Act was obtained to build a new church to a design by Chambers² in the wealthy and enormous parish of Marylebone, but it was another forty eight years before it was completed, in 1818, to an enlarged design by Thomas Hardwick with a Corinthian rather than an Ionic portico and a grecianized steeple. In the meantime, there were several outstanding exceptions: Lightoler's Ionic tetrastyle St.Paul's, Liverpool (1767-9; dem. 1932-3), with its echoes of Wren's Great Model of St.Paul's Cathedral of 1673-4; Revett's Ayot St. Lawrence (1778-9; Pls.182-5) with its Delian Doric tetrastyle meant, like Nuneham (Pls.152-3) also to be an object in the landscape; Stephenson's All Saints, Newcastle (1786-96), and Steuart's St. Chad's, Shrewsbury (1790-2: Pl.198), both with Doric hexastyles (fluted and unfluted respectively) playing a compositional minor role and both giving onto circular interiors, realizations of Gibb's Pantheon-like plan originally intended at St. Martin-in-the-Fields.

Before the Act, Scottish interest in Neo-Classicism found expression in a number of churches in Edinburgh, also expanding rapidly, and its environs, notably Frazer's St. Andrew's (1782-5; Pl.190), with a shallow Corinthian tetrastyle surmounted by an indeterminate steeple, occupying a conspicuous site in George Street. An unfluted Ionic appeared on Reid's unpedimented tetrastyle *in antis* at St. George's, dominating one side of

¹ A proposal of 1761 by Thomas Wiggins the Younger to add a Corinthian hexastyle to the west front of Wren's St.Stephen's, Walbrook, did not materialize.

² J.White, *Some Account of the Proposed Improvements in the Western Part of London* (2nd edn., 1815), plate opposite P.77. R.M.Robbins, 'Some Designs for St. Marylebone Church...' *LTR*, xxxiii (1972), 97-109.

Adam's Charlotte Square (1811-14; Pl.233), but a heightened version of the Illissus Ionic was used by Burn in his tetrastyle portico at North Leith Church (1814-16; Pl.238), the steeple incorporating Greek Doric corner columns - a feature echoed later with Brown's Corinthian hexastyle at St. Mary's, Bellevue (1823-6; Pl.264). Elsewhere in Scotland, perhaps the most impressive Greek Revival church was Simpson's hexastyle St. Giles's, Elgin (1827-8), with its Thrasyllic wreaths in the Doric frieze and its tower, based closely on the familiar Monument of Lysicrates, at the east end.

An Act of 1816 secured the building in London of St. Pancras (1819-22; Pl.249) to the designs of the Inwoods, producing a thoroughgoing Greek version – particularly at the west end, of Gibbs's St. Martin-in-the-Fields with a giant Ionic hexastyle portico apparently surmounted by a similarly modified Greek steeple.¹

Although this arrangement was to become a pattern for many Act churches, the semicircular portico – revived by C.R.Cockerell in his portico and tower added in 1818-22 (Pl.256) to the recently rebuilt (by S.P.Cockerell, 1792-7) St. Mary's, Banbury, recalling Archer's St. Paul's, Deptford (Pl.67) in the relationship of portico to tower – was adopted for Act churches which often closed long vistas or had awkward axes, such as Smirke's St. Anne, Wandsworth (1820-22) – to which his St. Philip's, Salford (1822-4) and his St. Mary's, Wyndham Place (1821-3; Pl.254), were virtually identical – the Inwoods' remarkable Ionic All Saints, Camden (1822-4) and Nash's All Souls, Langham Place (1822-5; Pl.259).

¹ M.Whiffen, 'The Progeny of St. Martin-in-the-Fields', *AR*, c, 595 (July, 1946), 3-7.

Two churches following neither of these models, both prominent in highly fashionable Regent Street and both now demolished, were G.S.Repton's St. Philip's Chapel (1819-20), with a Roman Doric portico and low Greek bell-tower, and C.R.Cockerell's imaginative St. George's, known as the Hanover Chapel (1823-5), with its tetrastyle at the east end extending over the pavement, flanked by flat-topped Greek turrets. The low, segmented dome was barely visible, if at all, from Regent Street. The portico, based on Athena Nike, with Ionic capitals from Athena Priene, together with its combination of bold elements, somehow evoked memories of the feeling for classicism of Wren and Hawksmoor.

Of the three churches contributed by Soane, the third leading architect with Nash and Smirke, only Holy Trinity, Marylebone (1826-7; Pl.280) shows him barely breaking forward from surface treatment to produce a feature hardly qualifying as a portico.

The Gibbsian model is, however very obvious in many of the almost thirty Commissioners' churches begun or completed between 1822 and 1825. A group of four, popularly known as the 'Waterloo' churches, perhaps as an unofficial remembrance of the victory at the battle, were built 1822-4 by lesser architects in Lambeth, a large parish extending from the Thames to Brixton, all with Greek porticoes and towers; St. Mark's, Kennington (Pl.268) by Roper and Clayton, St. Luke's, West Norwood and St. John's, Waterloo Road, both by Bedford (his St. George's, Camberwell is a duplicate of St. John's), and St. Matthew's, Brixton, by C.F.Porden, where the portico is happily unencumbered by the tower, which was placed at the east end.

Of the dozen or so similar London churches a number were designed to be the focus of fashionable residential squares, amongst them

the Inwoods' St. Peter's, Regent Square (1822-5, dem.) and Hakewill's St. Peter's, Eaton Square (1824-7; Pl.270), both Ionic hexastyle. Among non-commission churches on the Gibbsian model, Hollis's All Saints, Poplar (1821-3) is noteworthy. A smaller variation on the general theme, with an Ionic portico *in antis* was produced, with some success, by Gandy-Deering at St. Mark's, North Audley Street (1825-8; Pl.276).

Outside London, few churches were built in the classical style with the early distributions of money under the Act (most tended to be Gothic); but of those that were, Basevi's St. Thomas's, Stockport (1822-5), its portico at the east end housing an open double flight of stairs, is particularly impressive. Both here and in churches not built under the Act, though great architecture was not always produced, the Commissioners' requirements for 'economy, character and durability' were generally met.¹ They are evident in Rickman's St. Peter's, Dale End, Birmingham (1825-7; dem.), Forbes's St. Paul's, Cheltenham (1829-31; Pl.287) and Underwood's St. Paul's, Oxford (1836; Pl.308).

¹ R.Liscombe, 'Economy, character and durability: specimen designs for the Church Commissioners, 1818', *AH*, xiii (1970), 43-57. See also K.S.Mills, 'Commissioners' Churches', *Builder*, clxxv (1948), 238-40; M.H.Port, *Six Hundred New Churches: A Study of the Church Building Commission, 1818-1856* (1961); *idem.*, 'Francis Goodwin, 1784-1835', *AH*, i (1958), 61-72; J.Summers, 'Drawings of London churches in the Bute Collection: A Catalogue', *AH*, xiii (1970), 30-32; *idem.*, *Georgian London* (rev.edn.,1988), pp.206-24; G.L.Carr, 'Soane's specimen church designs of 1818: a reconsideration' *AH*, xvi (1973), 37-53; *idem.*, *The Commissioners' Churches of London, 1818-1837* (1976).

(b) Nonconformist

The wealth generated in the halls and temples of commerce was reflected in a variety of new public buildings. If portico and steeple marked the Anglican establishment, the Nonconformists left out the steeple, but adopted the portico. Large blocks, formerly temple-fronted and tucked away from popular gaze, emerged porticoed, into more prominent sites. Especially in the Midlands and the North, their porticoes proclaimed not just impressive temples of dissenting worship, but the virtues of industry, thrift, self-reliance and the solidity of middle-class prosperity, and made a major contribution to civic dignity. Sometimes their porticoes were additions – such as those added by Jenkins in 1841 to the Great Queen Street Methodist Chapel, London, built by his father (1816-17), and by Briant in 1840-41 to Billing's St.Mary's, Castle Street, Reading (1798-9; Pl.317).

The modesty of Ivory's Octagon Chapel, Norwich (1754-6) gave way to Byrom's confident and prominently placed prestigious Wesleyan Brunswick Chapel, Moss Street, Liverpool (1811), Weightman's impressive Brunswick Chapel, The Moor, Sheffield (1834), Pope's St.Mary-on-the-Quay, Colston Avenue, Bristol (1839-43), and Lockwood's and Allom's Great Thornton Street Independent Chapel, Hull (1843). Wilds's Unitarian Church, New Road, Brighton (1820), with its pure Greek Doric tetrastyle, is almost indistinguishable from his Gravesend Town Hall (1836). Parker's Unitarian Chapel, Stamford Street, Southwark (1821-3) is a close copy of the Theseion, and is further evidence that there were no limits on the uses to which the model could be put. Two almost identical designs for Baptist chapels using temple-fronts as substitutes for, but almost as effective as, porticoes were Davies's Ock Street, Abingdon (1841; Pl.318) and Tilehouse Street, Hitchin (1844).

(c) Roman Catholic

Roman Catholic churches before the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 include Ireland's chapels at Walsall (1825-7) and Wolverhampton (1827-8) and in the 1830s, Day's St. Francis Xavier, Hereford (1837-8) – a fine Greek Doric distyle *in antis* – and Dawson's Ionic St. Bartholomew's, Rainhill Stoops (1838-40).

(v) Public Buildings: Civic

(a) Town and Shire Halls

Town and shire halls were built or rebuilt in increasing numbers in the almost twenty years leading up to the 1832 Reform Bill and into the troubled decade of the 1840s, during which period the most exciting and interesting things that were happening were taking place in the provinces.¹ Their porticoes marked the completion in the transition of the idea of the temple – in this case, that of democratic government – to the public domain. They also represented the most direct expression of civic pride and usually dominated a town's largest urban space.

Dance's Mansion House in London (1739-42; Pl.108) was both the Lord Mayor's residence and a symbol of prestige for the City's growing financial strength. It was also the prototypical British porticoed city or town hall. It was to be some time before provincial towns and cities adopted porticoes, and temple-fronts co-existed with them until the early nineteenth century. Perhaps it was as an assertion of their identity that the burghers of Berwick – sometimes a Scottish town, sometimes English –

¹ Smirke spoke of driving 'The plough of civic improvement': S.Smirke, *Suggestions...* (1834), p. 57.

chose the Worrall's of London to design their rustic porticoed Town House (c.1750-4; Pl.116), its banded columns harking back to Vanbrugh at Seaton Delaval, Le Vau at Vaux (Pl.34), de Brosse at the Palais du Luxembourg (Pl.16), and Serlio. Porticoes and temple-fronts followed on Shire Halls at Warwick (1754-8), Nottingham (1770-2), Salisbury (1788), and Chester (1791-1801). Carr's Newark Town Hall (1773-6; Pl.169) combined market and council chamber on a compact, domestic scale. With the order of his preferred portico *in antis* changed from Ionic to Doric, his unexecuted design for Nuneham (1778) is almost identical. Johnson's outstanding Shire Hall, Chelmsford (1789-91; Pl.197) and James Wyatt's Ripon Town Hall (1798-9; Pl.205), demonstrate uses of temple fronts almost comparable to porticoes in their grand effects. Bradshaw's superimposed Doric portico for Henley-on-Thames Town Hall (1795-6) was removed in 1899 to begin a new life on a private house at Crazies Hill (Pl.203).

As with many other building types just before and immediately after Waterloo, porticoed town halls proliferated: Nash's Newport, Isle of Wight (1814-16), Smirke's Shire Hall, Gloucester (1814-16; Pl.237), Shire Hall, Hereford (1815-17), and his County Buildings, Perth (1815-19; Pl.240), and Wallace's County Buildings, Ayr (c.1820; Pl.252). The 1820s saw Foulston's Devonport (1821-3), Goodwin's Manchester (1822-5), Smirke's Bristol Council House (1824-7), Langdon's Andover (1825), Hopper's portico added in 1829 to Taylor's Salisbury's Guildhall (1788-95) and Smith's St.Albans town hall and court house (1829-33; Pl.289). Brighton saw Cooper's double portico – Doric tetrastyle below, Ionic above – dominating the square before it (1830-2; Pl.295). At Beverley, Mountain added a Doric tetrastyle to the Guildhall (1832; Pl.301), whilst Day's Worcester Shire Hall (1834-8) was Ionic. At Lutterworth, Hansom's

pseudo-portico fronts a diagonal inner space on an awkward corner site (1836; Pl.309). Wild's Gravesend Town Hall (1836) resembled the Theseion, whilst Bury's Illissus Ionic tetrastyle at Weymouth (1836-7: Pl.311), standing on one corner of a crossroads, provides no access, but surmounts a rusticated triple arcade. Brooke's Shire Hall, Bury St.Edmunds (1841-2), and T.H.Wyatt's and Brandon's Brecon Shire Hall (1842; Pls.322-3), with its early sans-serif incscription, were also pure Doric. G.S.Repton's Chipping Norton (1842; Pl.324) was unusual in employing the Tuscan, and also in not facing the market place. In Scotland, Clarke and Bell's Ionic City and County Buildings, Glasgow (1842-71;Pl.325) is impressively Greek, though the portico does not afford access.

Paradoxically, as escapes from the templar style were being sought and porticoes were increasingly vilified, two of the most spectacular temple-like town halls appeared, in the Graeco-Roman style, towards the end of our period: Birmingham, by Hansom, Welch and, later Edge (1832-61),¹ and Elmes's St.George's Hall, Liverpool (begun 1840).

(b) Assizes, Courthouses and Gaols

Further evidence of the use of porticoes as a response to, and reflection of, both social and political developments is provided in public buildings concerned with the judicial and penal systems – assize courts and prisons. By the early eighteenth century, prisons were increasingly viewed as places of punishment rather than custodial remand and some county administrations, notably that of Yorkshire, the largest, took an interest in improving the fabric of prisons and the welfare of their

¹ Salmon, *op.cit.*, (1995), 163-4.

inmates. What is probably Wakefield's Debtors' Prison at York (1701-5) is early evidence of this. By the 1770s there were moves to reduce capital offences and assizes increasingly used imprisonment to deal with offenders and a reflection of this is to be found, again in York, in Carr's Assize Courts, employing his favourite portico, *in antis*, using the Ionic (1773-7;Pl.170). Soon after completion, the Female Prison (1780-1802, now Castle Museum), almost identical to the Assizes, was built facing it completing, with the Castle and Debtors' Prison, the most impressive urban space dedicated to the judicial system in the country.

Fears of republicanism in the 1780s slowed down reform and even after Waterloo government policies were cautious and repressive, but examples of the increased visibility given to courts and prisons are provided by Watson's Beverley Sessions House (1804-14;Pl.213), J.Bonomi's temple-fronted County Gaol and Assize Courts, Durham (1810;Pl.230), Money Penny's Sessions House and House of Correction, Knutsford (1817-19;Pl.245), Kendall's Sessions House and House of Correction, Spilsby (1824-6; Pl.269), using Greek Doric, and T.H.Wyatt's Ionic Assize Court, Devizes (1835;Pl.306). The most impressive was Stark's Court House, Gaol and Public Offices, Glasgow Green (1810-11, subsequently remodelled and rebuilt, but retaining the portico) with its Greek Doric portico, the first on a public building in Scotland and only the second in Britain after Smirke's Covent Garden Theatre, recently completed in 1810.

(c) Libraries and Athenaea

Libraries and athenaea also reflected growing socialization in the provision of access, though also somewhat exclusive, to books and learning usually associated with more overtly academic and educational institutions. Among these, Manchester's eponymous Portico Library (1802-

6;Pl.209) by T.Harrison, was followed by Foulston's grand Athenaeum – part of his hotel, assembly rooms and theatre complex – at Plymouth (1818-19; dem.), Morrison's Marshall Monument, Perth (1822-4;Pl.258) and Gandy-Deering's Pimlico Literary Institute (1830; Pl.290).

(d) Hospitals

Hospitals, temple-fronted at Strong's St. Bartholomew's (1702-3) and Carr's York Lunatic Asylum (1774-7; Pl.174), had a long-established association with porticoes (in Antiquity the sick were often laid overnight in the porticoes of temples to be healed by a favourite deity), and they, too, received the Greek treatment, usually Doric; Sanders's Royal Military Asylum (now the Duke of York's Barracks), Chelsea (1801-3), Lewis's Bethlehem Hospital (now the Imperial War Museum (1812-14; Pl.234)), and Inman's Orphan Asylum, Clapton (1823), Wilkins's St.George's Hospital, Hyde Park (1828-9), and, outside London, Ingelman's Lawn Lunatic Asylum, Lincoln (1819-20: Pl.248) Oates's Huddersfield Infirmary (1829-31; Pl.288), Tattershall's Cumberland Infirmary, Carlisle (1830-2; Pl.296), Briant's Royal Berkshire Hospital, Reading (1837-9; Pl.316), and Humphris's General Hospital, Cheltenham (1848-9).

(e) Museums and Art Galleries

Museums and art galleries comprised one of the brightest stars in the Neo-Classical firmament. Greek temples had themselves been decorated, with sculpture in their friezes, and with statuary, and their treasuries and porticoes had been the first repositories of paintings, sculpture and antiquities, as well as the spoils of war.¹ In Rome, too, these

¹ G.Bazin, *The Museum Age* (1967), pp. 12ff.

were publicly displayed in temples, such as Jupiter Capitolinus, and in the porticoes of Pompey and Saepta Julia. From the beginning, then, the setting for most works of art was templar, and this association was inseparable from public access and inspection.

In Britain, at the beginning of our period, collecting was a royal and aristocratic occupation. It required wealth and discrimination, and the possession of works of art not only defined the collector as civilized but, displayed almost as part of the furniture in private palaces and houses and seen and appreciated largely by social peers, also formed part of display in the widest sense.

Thomas Wood's Ashmolean Museum in Oxford (1679-83), the first purpose-built museum in England and the first with an overtly didactic purpose to be organized as a public institution, was domestic in character, with a frontispiece of coupled Corinthian columns and a segmental pediment (Pl.42). The collection mainly comprised artefacts rather than works of art, and the museum belonged essentially to the *Kuriositätenkabinett* tradition.¹

Following the Act of Parliament to create a British Museum in 1753, proposals for a 'Museum or Repository to preserve Works of Sculpture, Painting, &c.' by Riou, Johnson, Vardy, Wright, and Gwynn were also domestic, resembling temple-fronted Palladian houses, but remained on paper.² Galleries built in the second half of the eighteenth century were

¹ A.MacGregor, 'The Cabinet of Curiosities in the Seventeenth Century', in eds. O.Impey and A.MacGregor, *The Origins of Museums* (1985), Ch. 18, *passim*.

² BDIAC, Pl. 32; J.M.Crook, *The British Museum* (1973 edn.), Pl. 14; J.Harris, 'Brightening up Palladio: a design for a British Museum', *Apollo*, xc, 90 (Aug., 1969), Figs. 3, 4, 8.

private, usually extensions or additions to country and later, town houses, to display works of art collected on the Grand Tour. Among these were Flitcroft's Pantheon-inspired Temple of Hercules (1754-6) at Stourhead, a picturesque Claudian transposition (Pl.123) built to display Rysbrack's statue of Hercules (commissioned 1747) and other contemporary sculptures; Adam's sculpture gallery at Newby Hall (1767-76); and William Everard's temple as sculpture gallery at Ince Blundell (c.1775).¹

Simon Louis du Ry's Museum Fredericanum (1769-79) at Kassel,² the first purpose-built, porticoed, Neo-Classical public museum of the eighteenth century and the first to control a public space realized, in a somewhat prosaic, Palladian Ionic hexastyle, the often fantastic columnar treatments for galleries projected in France by Dumont in the 1740s and Peyre in the 1750s. It prefigured the yet more monumental, grandiose, even megalomaniacal competition designs of de Gisors and Delannoy in the 1770s,³ of Boullée in the immediate pre-Revolutionary period of the 1780s, and of Durand in the early years of the nineteenth century.

Of the academic designs for porticoed museums and galleries prepared by British architects in Italy, sometimes with a view to gaining membership of an academy, two stand out. One, by the young Soane, was heavily influenced by French Palladian designs of the 1760s and 70s, with a giant Corinthian hexastyle, partly *in antis*, like a scaled-down version of

¹ G.Vaughan, 'Henry Blundell's Sculpture Collection at Ince Hall'; in ed. P.Curtis, *Patronage and Practice: Sculpture on Merseyside* (1989), pp. 13-21.

² F.A.Dreier, 'The *Kunstammer* of the Hessian Landgraves in Kassel', in eds. Impey and MacGregor, *op. cit.*, p. 108 and Pl. 41; D.Watkin and T.Mellinghoff, *German Architecture and the Classical Ideal, 1740-1840* (1987), pp. 45-6, 238, 240, Fig. 46. No comparably enlightened gesture was to be made by a British ruler during our period.

³ The competition theme chosen by the French Academy of Architecture in 1779 was a museum, and de Gisors and Delannoy produced the winning designs.

Pitt's south front at Stowe.¹ The plan, as was common in such designs, included both circular and octagonal rooms, the latter a recollection of the Uffizi Tribuna. The other, for a sculpture gallery, submitted by Tatham in 1796 for membership of the Accademia Clementina in Bologna,² comprised a shallow-domed cube with Ionic hexastyles on both front and rear elevations, the flanking, long, low wings ending in lower domed pavilions from which arms extended terminating in bows and forming an open court. All the façades were to have had relieving arches, blind except for the semicircular lunettes at the top, alternating with coupled, engaged giant columns. Betraying the Roman Neo-Classicism of Mario Asprucci the Younger, whom Tatham knew well in Rome, and of Leopold Pollach, the design prefigures both his unsuccessful proposal for the Fitzwilliam (Pl.282) and his plan of the gallery at Castle Howard as executed. The sequence derived from the Pantheon of the portico followed by a domed hall was to be of immense importance for museums, as well as for other building types, from around 1800 onwards.. This is exemplified in William Stark's severe Doric hexastyle Hunterian Museum, Glasgow (1804),³ built to house the personal collection of a single private individual, Dr. William Hunter, and representing both private building for public access and the first public porticoed museum and gallery in Britain.

It was again in Germany in the early nineteenth century that architects were preoccupied with designing porticoed museums. Many still

¹ P. de la Ruffinière du Prey, *John Soane's Architectural Education, 1753-1780* (1977), Pls. 31, 32.

² S.Zamoni, 'Leopoldo Pollach e Charles Heathcote Tatham: due progetti inediti', *Atti e Memorie dell'Accademia Clementina di Bologna*, xiii (1978), Pls. 6, 7a-b.

³ Crook, *op. cit.*, (1973), Fig. 31. The only Doric precedent was Juan de Villanueva's Prado, Madrid (1784-1811).

showed the influence of the French Grand Prix designs of the late 1770s, with hexastyles surmounted by shallow domes. One, by Schinkel, of 1800, follows this trend, but with completely blind flanking outer walls.¹ The catalyst which precipitated the transition from theoretical designs to actual buildings was a new archaeological discovery. In the same way that the acquisition of the Elgin Marbles was to be a strong contributory factor in the eventual building and style of the British Museum, the sculptures from Aegina, of which Cockerell and Haller von Hallerstein were among the excavators in 1811 and which it was originally hoped would also go to London, were acquired for Munich where Prince Ludwig projected a museum to house them. Ludwig specified to Haller that the building should be pure Greek with a portico of fluted Doric columns and Haller's design of c.1813 contains what may be the first proposed use for a museum of a Doric octastyle portico based on the Parthenon.² A design by Fischer of c.1816 with a dome and Corinthian octastyle portico based on the Pantheon, also flanked by blank walls, and clearly indebted to Durand,³ represents the vestiges of any imperial Roman elements which might have formed part of the design. Following the Townley Gallery in the British Museum, the world's first purpose-built public sculpture gallery, the Glyptothek, as executed from 1816 to 1830 to Klenze's design was pure Greek with an octastyle unfluted Ionic portico (Klenze persuaded Ludwig to adopt the more celebratory order), with capitals based on the Erechtheion, fronting one side of a quadrangle.⁴

¹ N.Pevsner, *A History of Building Types* (1979 edn.), Fig. 8.37.

² *Ibid.*, p. 124 and Fig. 8.32.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 124; Watkin and Mellinghoff, *op. cit.*, Pl. 115.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Pl. 117.

The nearest that the great columnar screen designs of the French Revolutionary architects came to being realized outside France was in Schinkel's Altes Museum in Berlin (1823-30). There is no pediment or projection to emphasize the centrality of the entrance: simply an unbroken stoa-like colonnade of eighteen forty-foot high fluted Ionic columns providing an intermediate covered space between exterior and interior. All is verticals and horizontals with even the dome of the central rotunda being concealed behind a high attic.¹

The earlier Greek orders appealed to the Neo-Classical striving for simplicity, primitiveness and monumentality and, in many cases, were contemporary with the antiquities exhibited in the museums. Whereas there was never any suggestion that the Parthenon or any other Greek temple should be recreated in order to accommodate some of its sculptures, sufficient of a sympathetic ambience was created in these buildings to complement and emphasize the antiquity, memories and meanings embodied in the collections. The porticoes, therefore, symbolized the essence of the temple and served to portend the collections and to prepare the visitor upon approaching and entering the museum.

In Britain, on the tide of nationalism after Waterloo, the earliest response to these developments came in William Playfair's Royal Institution in Edinburgh (1822-26) with an octastyle version of the Theseion, rather than a transcription of the Parthenon (Pl.260).² At one

¹ *Ibid.*, Pls. 72, 74.

² The original main portico, with only a single row of columns, is shown under construction in Alexander Nasmyth's painting of 1825, D.Macmillan, *Painting in Scotland: The Golden Age* (exh.cat., Edinburgh and London, 1986-87), Pl.34. The elaborate tympanum decoration the Thrasyllic wreaths in the frieze, the anthemion scrolls on the acroteria, the sphinxes in the attic

and the same time sturdy and ponderous, the portico is , in effect, a realization of Haller's unexecuted design of c.1813 for the Munich Glyptothek.

The genesis of Smirke's British Museum (1823-47) was long thought to have depended on earlier continental, particularly German, designs. However, a closer scrutiny of the chronology of Smirke's designs reveals solutions arrived at almost entirely independently of these.¹ His 'Design for a National Museum', which had won him, at the age of nineteen, the Gold Medal of the Royal Academy Schools in 1799, reflected the contemporary Parisian obsession with columnar screens made familiar to him through his teacher, Dance the Younger.² It seems to have been the case that it was these that provided a common source for both Smirke and Schinkel, rather than that the near-contemporary Altes Museum directly influenced the British Museum. Further, the latter's central portico and projecting wings tie the composition to the English Palladian tradition resembling nothing so much as Lovett Pearce's Dublin Parliament House of 1728 with its continuous Ionic colonnade round an open court.³

The fluted Ionic of Smirke's massive octastyle (Pl.267), echoed in the flanking colonnades and unpedimented hexastyle wings, is a synthesis of the orders of several Greek temples; Athena Polias at Priene, Athena

and Sir John Steell's monumental statue of Queen Victoria (1844) where the attic breaks forward over the extended main portico, were not part of the original conception.

¹ Crook, *op. cit.*, (1973), pp. 105, 107. Charles Townley, a trustee since 1791, had told Sir Joseph Banks in 1800 that any new building 'should not be based upon the style of the old, and that the exterior should be dignified and worthy of a national undertaking'; B.M. Add. MS 36524.33, quoted in ed. W.R.Dawson, *The Banks Letters* (1958), p. 823.

² Crook, *op. cit.*, (1973), pp. 74, 111.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 111-13.

Nike at Athens, and Dionysus at Teos.¹ Smirke intended in 1827 that the visitor, having passed through the great portico, would then cross the main hall and, keeping on the same axis, emerge under a tetrastyle temple front giving onto the great quadrangle. Opposite, on the south side of the north wing, would have been a second hexastyle and, in the centre of each of the long sides, facing tetrastyle temple fronts,² but economy prevented execution of these. When the quadrangle, which existed only from 1847 to 1854, was covered with the Round Reading Room not only was the Pantheon sequence of portico followed by domed rotunda realized but the affinities with both continental museums and the earlier Dublin building became even more marked. The combination of portico and colonnade, with 'an area in front sufficiently ample to secure to the façade an advantageous display',³ enabled Smirke to fulfil his creed of 'apparent utility'⁴ for porticoes and achieve 'grandeur of scale [in] a masterpiece of classical dignity'⁵ which 'constituted the high water mark of the English Greek Revival'.⁶

If the British Museum represented the fulfilment of a two-hundred-year-old dream of having a national museum in the capital, recently industrialized provincial cities in the Midlands and the North wished to

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 120. Also detectable are traces from the Erechtheion, The Temple on the Ilissus, the Theseion, the Choragic Monument of Thrasyllus and the Propylaeum; *ibid.*, p. 150.

² *Ibid.*, Fig. 47.

³ Smirke, *op. cit.*, p.75. Cockerell disagreed and thought that the 'Exterior arch[itectur]e was an expence much thrown away in this climate, especialy in a corner so little seen'; quoted in Watkin, *op. cit.*, (1974), p. 73.

⁴ Following Laugier, R.Smirke thought that 'The PORTICO [should]...appear to be either actually useful, or not evidently otherwise'; quoted in Crook, *op. cit.*, (1973), pp. 99-100.

⁵ Colvin, *DBA*, p. 741.

⁶ Crook, *op. cit.*, (1973), p. 150. Most of the intended additions to the portico - sculptures on the acroteria and at the ends of the retaining walls - were not carried out. The tympanum contains the polychromatic enrichment of Sir Richard Westmacott's last sculpture of any importance, 'The Progress of Civilization'.

present culture as one of the rewards of manufacturing, mercantile and commercial prosperity and wealth. A group of Manchester businessmen resolved in 1823 to build a gallery for the exhibition of works of art with a view to raising the city's cultural level and making art an even more important element in its public life. In the limited competition of 1804, designs were submitted anonymously by J.B.Papworth, Thomas Harrison (of Chester), Francis Goodwin (who designed the old Manchester Town Hall), John Foster (of Liverpool), Lewis Wyatt, and Charles Barry.¹ All the proposals were Grecian, but Barry's (marked 'Nihil pulchrum nisi utile') was Greek with a difference, distinguished both from the competing designs and many other buildings in that style by robustness and simplicity, bold modelling and powerful contrasts of light and shade, sobriety of decoration, and the unfluted Ionic hexastyle portico integrated with the main body of the building rather than being simply tacked on.² Little of its detailing was from Stuart and Revett; however, the rich but controlled relief rarely threatens to become pedantic. In the Manchester Institution (1824-35; Pl.272), the then twenty-nine-year-old architect's first winning design, his first major commission, and his only Greek public building, Barry achieved an unprecedented monumentality, almost Egyptian in its scale, severity and simplicity, that represented an infusion of new thinking and motifs into Neo-Classical themes.³ Though not built to house the Elgin Marbles, as the British Museum had been, or a major collection of antiquities (Manchester had to make do with casts of the

¹ T.Clifford *et al.*, *A Century of Collecting 1882-1982* (1983), pp. 11-12, Figs. 2, 4. Smirke declined to enter. See also C.P.Darcy, *The Encouragement of the Fine Arts in Lancashire 1760-1860* (1976), pp. 66-7.

² C.Stewart, *The Stones of Manchester* (1956), p. 33.

³ M.Whiffen, *The Architecture of Sir Charles Barry in Manchester and Neighbourhood* (1950), pp. 7, 9, 11-12, 15.

Parthenon frieze running round the hall), Barry's Institution was initially more insular than the British Museum and, despite Sydney Smirke's claim that the area in front of the latter was sufficient for display, its portico had a relatively greater command of the urban space before it.

The building of the National Gallery (1834-8), was not only the fulfilment of the long-felt desire to house impressively part of the Public Records, the Royal Academy and the national collection of paintings but, in light of growing social freedom, provided increasingly required public access to these. Architecturally, it was intended to be the climax to the newly formed Trafalgar Square. It was meant to dominate a nationally significant public, urban space, in the heart of the metropolis, dedicated to commemorating and demonstrating national pride and achievement.

Occupying a wide, commanding site along the full length of the higher, north side of the square and facing down Whitehall towards the Houses of Parliament,¹ the building was one requiring monumentality, with detail subordinated to mass. Wilkins was not noted for his ability in these respects in his public buildings, as the National Gallery clearly demonstrates. The module for the elevation and the order were determined by Wilkins's having been compelled to re-use the Corinthian columns from the portico of Henry Holland's recently demolished Carlton House for the unpedimented pavilions flanking the main octastyle,

¹ On the building's alignment to permit an uninterrupted view of St. Martin's from Pall Mall East (Pl.279), see Martin, *op. cit.*, 318ff.

pedimented portico.¹ Inevitably, this meant that the building was too low for its length. The main portico, its columns copied from the Carlton House ones and its pediment re-used from the same building, provides the focus, main axial reference and climax to the square, and is impressively approached by lateral steps behind the high podium. Surmounted by a dome, recalling yet again the *topos* of the Pantheon, it stands at the centre of a straggling façade articulated in thirteen sections.² The façade was criticized by J.C.Loudon, who was no lover of Wilkins or the Greek Revival, from the model, even before work on the building began:

...as a piece of architectural composition...the elevation wants unity of style; and its effect is more especially injured by the two smaller porticoes of four columns each, intervening between the central portico and the projections at the extremities. These intervening porticoes are in our eyes altogether intolerable; and, even if no other change were made than removing them, the building would be greatly improved...The columns in these smaller porticoes are much wider apart than those in the main portico; which is itself a great deformity, and which is aggravated by the circumstance of the central space, or intercolumniation, in each of the smaller porticoes, being wider than the two on each side of it, in order to admit carriages to the gateway beneath. These two circumstances give the smaller porticoes the appearance of not belonging to the main portico; and, consequently, they are felt as deformities...We should have preferred, either to the design of Mr Wilkins, or to that of Mr Leeds, a simple parallelogram in the plan, a bold portico in the centre, and a continued range of pilasters, as in Mr Wilkins's design, from the centre to the extremities...³

¹ Ironically, their capitals included intertwined helices derived from the Temple of Castor and Pollux in Rome; Salmon, *op.cit.*, (1995), 161. Earlier proposals for the same columns included porticoes in an unexecuted design by B.D.Wyatt in 1827 for a monument (in the form of a Corinthian Temple) to the Duke of York; J.M.Robinson, *The Wyatts: An Architectural Dynasty* (1979), pp. 234-5; and a project by P.F.Robinson, also in 1827, for a Royal Library; Crook, *op. cit.*, (1973), Fig. 57.

² Cf. the similar compositions of Downing College and Haileybury.

³ *Architectural Magazine*, i (1834), 138-40. See also *Companion to the Almanac* (1837), 234-5, and (1838), 220-4.

Wilkins expressed his greater concern about the effect that Nelson's Column, erected in 1842 to the designs of William Railton, would have on his portico in language that might have been used by Lord Kames in the 1760s:

Although it may seem objectionable as interfering with the portico in the approach from Whitehall to Charing Cross, it will add to the picturesque effect, by making a new combination at almost every pace as we advance from the South. I am not at all in favour of viewing the portico under the same aspect for a long extent of distance.¹

The fluted Doric was used by Wilkins, also for the Yorkshire Philosophical Society's Museum, York (1827-30; Pl.285), but a break in the monopoly of the Greek style for museums is represented by the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge (1837-45), in this case in favour of the Roman or, rather, the Graeco-Roman. Some twenty years after the 7th Viscount Fitzwilliam's death in 1816, the provisions of his will were implemented in the building of a university museum to house his personal picture collection. Tatham submitted to the Syndicate in 1827 an unsolicited design (Pl.282) based closely, but on a vastly increased scale, on the Hellenistic Stoa (or Library) of Hadrian at Athens.² Apart from being archaeologically very correct, it was unique in British museum architectural design up to that time in having blank walls (like some of the designs by Haller, Fischer and Klenze, for top-lit galleries) which were, like its model, articulated by separate, free-standing columns of the same

¹ Quoted in Crook, *op. cit.*, (1972), p. 101. Some idea of the effect of a smaller memorial is given in Pl.305.

² J.B.Ward-Perkins, *Roman Architecture* (1988 edn.), Pl. 287. See also the Temple of Jupiter Olympius, otherwise the 'Palace of Pericles or Themistocles'; Stuart and Revett, *op. cit.* i (1762), Ch. v, Pl. iii.

order, size and intercolumniation as those in the Corinthian tetrastyle portico.

In the competition of 1834 various styles were represented, including Greek Ionic (J.T.Hitchcock and Lewis Vulliamy), Roman Corinthian, with a transparent portico (T.Rickman and R.C.Hussey) and Greek Doric and Gothic (also by Rickman and Hussey).¹ George Basevi, in his winning design (Pl.313),² looked not to the usual Greek sources but to a Roman building of the Corinthian order excavated as recently as 1820, Vespasian's Capitolium at Brescia. It had, therefore, the excitement of both antiquity and modernity, a novel variation on a different ancient original, an immediate imaginative translation of archaeology into architecture³. He admired the setting of symmetrical Greek temples on elevated platforms which were usually on high or rising ground and recognized that his building would need to be square in plan and similarly elevated in order not to lose perspective where Trumpington Street narrowed, 'because a wider space is gained on each side, and the building is sufficiently detached to be well seen not in groupe with other and meaner buildings but *by itself* – a point of primary importance in street architecture'.⁴ From the Brescian building Basevi also appears to have derived the extension of the portico to a colonnade in the side wings, which terminate in monumental pavilions. The pavilions have pilasters which, like the columns of the octastyle portico, are Corinthian but which,

¹ D.Watkin, *The Triumph of the Classical: Cambridge Architecture 1804-1834* (exhib. cat., 1977), pp. 41-58, Pls. 12-23.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 49-54, Pls. 21-3.

³ 'The Greek Revival was never wholly Greek'; Crook, *op.cit.*, (1972), p.77.

⁴ *Ibid.*, P. 13.

unlike those columns, are fluted. The soffit of the portico is one of the most elaborate and impressive of any in Britain with heavily enriched coffering, mouldings, paterae and rosettes. Tatham did have a say in the final building, albeit a small one: the gilded chimaeras on the lateral acroteria are from a relief in his possession which he illustrated in his *Ornamental Architecture* of 1799.¹

Not wishing to be outdone, Convocation at Oxford proposed its own museum and art gallery in 1839. It was a stipulation of the competition for the Randolph Gallery and the Taylor Institution 'that, externally, the two Buildings should harmonize, and, if possible form parts of one architectural design, which is required to be of Grecian character'.² A primary function of the new gallery was to accommodate the Arundel Marbles and other Roman and Greek sculptures and, like the British Museum, the style and character of the exterior were meant to reflect this. Nearly all the designs submitted by the twenty-seven competitors included porticoes; that by George Gutch and Edward Trendall, for example, with an Ionic tetrastyle surmounted by a high attic and owing not a little to Barry's Manchester Institution, fulfilled the planning brief but was no more than 'a competent but unremarkable Greek Revival design'.³ John Plowman's design was accompanied by a statement on the propriety of the style for a museum and art gallery, 'The Greek style of Architecture which has been appointed being the best

¹ Tatham, *op cit.*, Pl. 99.

² 'Papers Relating to the Building of the Taylor Institution and the Randolph Gallery, 1839-53', Bodleian MS Top. Oxon. c. 202, f.1^v, 10 June, 1839.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 9. Bodleian MS Top. Oxon. a. 9; H.Colvin, *Architectural Drawings in the Bodleian Library* (1952), Pl. 24; *idem.*, *DBA*, p. 369; *idem.*, *Unbuilt Oxford* (1983), Fig.129.

calculated to display all the beauties and proportions of a magnificent Building, while its harmonizing so happily with the subject is not the least striking and material feature in its favour'.¹ Of Cockerell's competition entry, Smirke made the perceptive comment in his report that 'These Designs exhibit for the exterior of the Building an excellent Example of that Style of Grecian Architecture which is seen in the best works of Italian architects of about the sixteenth century'.² In successfully bringing the two buildings together behind a unified, balanced façade Cockerell not only produced a triumph of planning on an irregular, corner site but used the scale of his portico, flanked as it is by higher wings, to anchor the composition in the centre block. Stylistically, the portico of the Ashmolean Museum epitomizes the architect's ability to synthesize his immense, accurate knowledge of archaeology and capacity for original, imaginative recreation without being in any way derivative.

Cockerell's early designs for the building show successively Corinthian, Composite, and Ionic orders for the portico,³ but his decision to adopt the Ionic and to draw upon his first-hand knowledge of a unique form of the order – that from the interior of the Temple of Apollo at Bassae – produced a remarkable portico (Pls.320-1). Each column of the tetrastyle rests on its own plinth and the capitals, which curve up at the top but are concave between the volutes, support an entablature which has a woven, plaited motif in the pulvinated frieze. The motif appeared in a number of Hellenistic temples in Asia Minor but seems in this case to be

¹ Bodleian MS Top. Oxon. c. 202, f.9^v.

² *Ibid.*, f.19.

³ V&A, E. 2037-1909. See Watkin, *op. cit.* (1974), pp. 200-2.

derived from the moulding on the lower torus of the Asiatic base to the antae at the Temple of Apollo Didymaeus at Miletus.¹ Such an adaptation was unprecedented, as was the use of the Bassae order on the exterior of a building,² and both motifs provide unifying elements for all the façades of the building. Surmounting the pediment is a statue of Apollo, but this seems to have been a late thought, since it does not appear in earlier designs for the pediment.³

As late as 1873, James Fergusson considered that 'there is perhaps no building in England on which the refined student of Architecture can dwell with so much pleasure'.⁴ The Ashmolean (1841-5) was not only the last great museum in the classical style wholly within our period but was also one of the last significant examples in England of the Greek Revival in public buildings.⁵ Within ten years of its completion work began in Oxford on the University Museum in the Gothic style, using materials in new ways, unprecedented construction methods, and botanical, zoomorphic and geological forms of decoration, all considered as an equally appropriate setting for its scientific collections as the classical Greek style had been for art collections.

The Greek Revival persisted longer in Scotland than it did south of the border and one of the finest of its late flowerings in Edinburgh, before

¹ Other possible sources include the temples of Zeus at Euromas, and Artemis at Sardis; *ibid.*, p. 201. See also 'Architectural Sketches of Stuart and Revett', Bodleian Gough Misc. Antiq. fol. 4, - 'Capital of the Erechtheus' (No 79) and 'Steps and Base of Minerva Polias' (No. 81).

² At Bassae, it appears on the inside of the temple. It was previously only used, also by Cockerell, in the dining room at Grange Park in 1823.

³ V&A, E. 2021-1909. See also Watkin, *op. cit.* (1974), Pl.s 113-14.

⁴ J.Fergusson, *History of the Modern Styles of Architecture* (ed. R.Kerr, 2nd edn., 1873), p. 349; quoted in Watkin, *op. cit.* (1974), pp. xix, 206.

⁵ In Wales, F.Long's Ionic tetrastyle Royal Institution of South Wales, Swansea (1838-40) provides a contemporary comparison.

the work of Alexander Thomson in Glasgow from the 1850s to the 1870s,¹ was Playfair's Scottish National Gallery (1850-7; Pl.336). With its blind walls behind columnar screens it approaches most nearly to the austere, almost abstract projections of the German Neo-classicists of almost fifty years earlier. Like his earlier Royal Institution, Playfair's building is set on a north-south axis, but the uncompromising Ionic hexastyle porticoes with high attics are set in the centres of the east and west sides, whilst the ends of the building have smaller tetrastyle porticoes on each corner, flanking similar porticoes *in antis* in the centres. The building complements its heavier Doric neighbour and was intended to be a crucial element in the image of the city as the 'Athens of the North'.

Museums and galleries were some of the most progressive institutions of their age and the most characteristic expression of Greek Revival architecture. The designing and building of them placed both the buildings themselves and their architects more firmly within a mainstream European tradition and practice than was the case with any other building type. They epitomized the most appropriate use of templar buildings and their impressive, porticoed public entrances symbolized, more than on any other type of building, the substantial shift from private to public ownership of, and access to, cultural icons, and from paternalistic exclusivity to social amenity. Perhaps even more than on municipal buildings and monuments to commerce, they proclaimed society to be civilized. They were repositories of a common cultural heritage and memory; they both set in aspic the artistic learning and achievements of

¹ R.McFadzean, *The Life and Work of Alexander Thomson* (1979).

the past and provided a context and stimulus for artistic aspirations for the future.

During the lapse of a thousand years mankind has known no genuine arts, but those of Greece. Her sculpture, her paintings, and her architecture had reigned supreme...the comparative value of our Museums is estimated by the greater or less proportion they possess of these relics: the most eminent among our artists, in despair of equalling their merit, placing their greatest glory in a just appreciation of them, and in attempts to imitate them.¹

They represented the highest and finest forms of human endeavour whilst democratizing the cultural values embodied in them.

¹ W.R.Hamilton, *Third Letter to the Earl of Elgin* (1837), p. 21.

VII The Decline of the Portico

Let us...put a stop to the practice of going to STUART'S Athens for a portico, and applying it, no matter how, and no matter where...now they are a mere *appliqué* to the northern front of a building, for no *conceivable reason*.

W.Bardwell, *Temples Ancient and Modern*, (1837), pp.ix, 170.

Assuredly, a Greek temple...is a solecism.

S.Huggins, *The Builder*, vii, 357 (8 Dec., 1849), 579.

The objections to porticoes so frequently expressed throughout the eighteenth century did not disappear with the Greek Revival; portico-mania merely suppressed them, for the sake of ideology, the picturesque, and fashion. The perception that they were anomalous had been intensifying immediately before the full onset of the movement and, as this progressed, it became evident that that perception was becoming more widely shared.

Since our climate did not change, charges of the portico's unsuitability to it not only persisted but, with the growth of comfort, increased. If the portico had become an architectural cliché in British Palladianism and Neo-Classicism, a change of style did not make it any less a cliché; its increased use only made it more so. To charges of inconvenience and expense were added those of indiscriminate use, architectural incongruity, and loss of meaning.

Though by the late 1820s and early 1830s architects were seeking an escape from the Greek, they were reluctant to abandon it and the classical style. As one of the most publicly visible symbols of that style, however, the portico was to be the main casualty in the battle of the styles precipitated, not just by the loss of classicism's vigour but, in the 1830s, by other, more attractive solutions in the form of eclecticism, the Italianate

style, and, above all, the radical moral, ideological, and stylistic impact of the Gothic Revival.

Between those who favoured porticoes no matter what the cost, and those who would not have them at any price, the range of opinions, and the reasons for these within the spectrum of progressively changing attitudes to porticoes, was wide.

At the heart of many objections, particularly in relation to domestic architecture, was the growing need for comfort. In the early years of the nineteenth century it was observed of Italian Palaces, with their 'Vitruvian decorum', that 'in the distribution of the houses the grand object is the picturesque. Nothing is done for the comfortable, a term unknown in the Italian language, and a state unfelt in a hot country. Even in England, where it is most studied and best understood, the comfortable is rather a winter-idea and a winter-feeling'.¹ The character and requirements of British architecture were such that 'it may confidently be pronounced that we do "know how to build houses" in this country: and that with whatever other faults and deficiencies English architects may be chargeable, they certainly understand convenience'.² Passavant noted that

Whatever else may be said of the English, it must, at all events, be acknowledged, that in the art of comfort, they are arrived at a pitch of which we on the continent are but clumsy imitators; and that no one who has not visited [this country] can appreciate the inconvenience suffered by an Englishman in exchanging his own home for the inferior accommodations of the continent.³

¹ J.Forsyth, *Remarks on Antiquities, Arts and Letters during an Excursion to Italy, in the Years 1802 and 1803* (3rd edn., 1824), p. 236.

² F.Goodwin, *Domestic Architecture* (1834), p. vii, 'No country indeed, affords so many examples...which bespeak that happy union of wealth, elegance, and comfort, which may be said is peculiar to our nation'; *idem.* (2nd edn., 1843).

³ Passavant, *op.cit.*, i, 314.

There were those who favoured porticoes provided they could be adapted with regard to climate. They 'should be imitated, however – not with the timid and servile hand of a copyist: but their beauties should be transferred to our soil, preserving at the same time, a due regard to the changes of customs and manners, to the difference of our climate, and to the condition of modern society'.¹ To many, the Greek Revival simply provided another pretext for enabling fashion, which 'should be guided by common sense', to 'perpetuate absurdities. Of this kind was the general rage...for introducing the Architecture of a hot country, ill adapted to a cold one; as a Grecian and Roman portico to the north front of an English house'.² Soane was adamant that 'On all occasions we must avoid servilely copying either the Greeks, the Romans', or anybody else, for 'so much depends on Locality, Climate, Materials, and mode of Living'.³ He gave a reminder that 'Experience shows how vain it is to attempt and still more so to expect to see the beauties of Ancient Temples transposed into modern Houses, either by preserving their external appearance entirely, or by mangling them, and transferring parts into our own Compositions'.⁴

The fundamental difficulty was that 'it was not the habitable buildings of ancient Greece or Rome which formed our models', but 'only temples with columns, entablatures, and porticoes'.⁵ It was 'In the early ages' that 'the Orders were confined almost exclusively to the Decoration

¹ W.Wilkins, *The Civil Architecture of Vitruvius* (1812; 1860 edn.), p. 109.

² H.Repton, *An Enquiry into the Changes of Taste in Landscape Gardening* (1806), p. 4.

³ Ed. Bolton, *op. cit.*, p. 149 (Lecture ix, 1815).

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

⁵ H.Repton, *Observations on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening* (1803), p. 195.

of Temples.'¹ Soane lamented 'how unsuccessful our attempts have been to transfer into Private Dwellings features which the Ancients used in great Public Works only'.² Despite his admiration and affection for Grange Park, Cockerell doubted 'whether portico is quite suited to our climate in the finest day I have a ripresa of that keen and cruel north east wind which I felt in jan[uar]y' and – adding a thought which was, perhaps, in Inigo Jones's mind at the Queen's House – 'in England porticos should be loggia porticoes'.³

When the model was taken 'from a *Grecian Temple*...if the building does not look like a house, and the residence of a nobleman, it will be without character. It may perhaps be objected that we must exactly follow the models of the style or date we profess to imitate, or else we make a pasticio or confusion of discordant parts. Shall we imitate the thing, and forget its application? No; let us...never forget that we are building a *house*'.⁴ This argument could be taken one stage further by viewing copyism, or any other lack of proper adaptation, as incongruous; for

*Grecian Temples, Gothic Abbies, and feudal Castles, were all well adapted to their respective uses, circumstances, and situations: the distribution of the parts subservient to the purposes of the whole, and the ornaments and decorations suited to the character of the parts: and to the manners, habits and employments of the persons who were to occupy them: but the house of an English nobleman of the eighteenth or nineteenth century is neither a Grecian Temple, a Gothic Abbey, nor a feudal Castle; and if the style of distribution or decoration of either be employed in it, such changes and modifications should be admitted, as may adapt it to existing circumstances; otherwise the scale of its exactitude becomes that of its incongruity, and the deviation from principle proportioned to the fidelity of imitation.*⁵

1 Ed. Bolton, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 162.

3 Diary, May 1823; quoted in Watkin, *op. cit.*, (1974), p. 71.

4 Repton, *op. cit.*, (1806), pp.118-19.

5 R.Payne Knight, *An Analytical Enquiry into the Principles of Taste* (1805), p. 179.

Even if they could have been afforded, 'English Villas' on the scale and distribution of 'the Villas of the Ancients...would make them inconvenient in the extreme, and indeed scarcely habitable'.¹ From a strictly utilitarian viewpoint, 'Peristyles and Porticoes, which contribute so essentially to the beauty and convenience of Architectural Compositions in warm Climates, round our Houses are more disadvantageous than useful'.²

More than with any of the periods at which we have looked, the portico was inextricably linked in the Greek Revival with general considerations of style. The continued building of porticoes, largely dictated by fashion, took place against a background of debate ranging from how best to use the Greek, to how to escape from the templar style – both Greek and Roman – and even how about how to break away from the classical style altogether.

Soane, whose ideas as expressed both in his buildings and in his Royal Academy Lectures were to influence architects practising almost to the end of our period, ranged in his thinking from defending and promoting the highest ideals of the classical style, to seeking to adapt it with propriety to contemporary needs, to admitting the impossibility of transferring temples to modern houses. 'It is much to be regretted that our attachment to the Greek Orders of Architecture sometimes occasions our employing them very improperly'.³ As an example, he cited the Greek

1 Ed. Bolton, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 163.

3 *Idem.*

pediment, lower than the Roman, and extending the full width of a façade: 'The low pointed Roof is admirably suited to the climate of Greece, and particularly adapted to the rest of the Architecture of their Temples. Its fitness to the Climate constitutes a large portion of its beauty, and consequently it cannot be transplanted into different and less mild Climates'.¹ To him, 'By an association of ideas, the flat Pediment of the Greeks, when used in this country, must appear to the most superficial observer insufficient to protect the building from the effects of snow, rain, and tempest, and consequently it cannot be pleasing...No form can be truly beautiful that is inapplicable to its situation'.²

Soane's principal concern was the reinstatement of, and respect for, the function, integrity, and insularity of the column and its correct situation and use as the 'Principal Object'. Having earlier criticized Palladio for his use of basements, he condemned contemporary architects for doing the same, for, according to ancient precept, columns 'should always be placed near the Ground and not on high Basements, and further, that they should really, or at least appear, to comprehend only one Storey in Height'.³ He was critical of Chambers's placing columns on a pedestal on the Strand front at Somerset House, where, 'altho' the Columns comprehend two lofty Stories, yet from the relative smallness of their height to that of the Basement and their distance from the eye, they appear merely as Secondary Objects'.⁴ He was anxious that the mouldings,

1 *Ibid.*, p. 144.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 65 (Lecture iv, 1809).

3 *Ibid.*, p. 161.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 162.

fascias, or any other projections, on a two-storey façade should not destroy the entasis of the columns and, further, that

Wherever Columns are expected to produce all their effect, there should be no indication of Storey above Storey, but they should occupy the entire height of the Edifice as in Ancient Temples, and in some Modern Works. Nor should Columns of different dimensions be seen in the same front, whether placed on the same line, or on different levels; it is like comparing Giants and pigmies, and both must suffer by the comparison.¹

The cost, the relative merits of free-standing porticoes and temple fronts, the admission of light as an aspect of comfort or convenience, and the consequences of all these for the integrity of columns still pertained:

The difficulties, and expense attending the use of Peristyles and Porticoes in the exterior of Private Buildings, whether in Town or Country, are not always to be surmounted. Where expense is not an object, and the Artist indulges himself in a very feeble appearance of the Ancient Peristyles, placing his Columns, comprehending one storey in height, merely in slight detachment from the Wall, other difficulties present themselves. The projection obstructs the light and takes away some part of the pleasure of the prospect, thereby, in the opinion of many, rendering the use of detached Columns almost, if not entirely incompatible with our ideas of comfort. To obviate this difficulty the beauty of insular Columns is sacrificed, and half or three-quarter Columns are substituted in their place. Sometimes, from economical motives we descend even to the use of Pilasters, in order to preserve some faint glimmerings of Architectural Effect.²

Some architects, 'who, by various expedients, had endeavoured to make their buildings habitable', had introduced the idea, 'from the *modern Italian*, rather than from the buildings of *ancient Rome*' of

floors intersecting the shaft of a lofty column, or, what is still more offensive, columns of various orders, built over each other, while the whole face of the building is cut into minute parts by ranges of square apertures. Having at length discovered how seldom a very lofty portico can be useful in this climate, where we have little perpendicular sun, the portico itself is filled up with building, and the columns are nearly half buried in the walls: this is the origin of the unmeaning ornament called a *three quarter column*.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 160.

² *Ibid.*, p. 163.

By degrees these columns were discovered to be totally useless, and were at length omitted: yet the *skeleton* of the portico and its architectural proportions still remain, as we frequently observe in the entablature and pediment of what is called a Grecian building.¹

Repton clearly identified the problems of incorporating porticoes into modern buildings, public as well as private, whose necessary internal arrangements and indispensable fenestration were totally alien to Greek antique practice. Antiquity supplied only temples with porticoes, 'but without windows or chimneys, or internal subdivisions by floors for apartments, indispensable to our English habitations, and even to our public buildings.'² Unadapted, the 'Grecian, in its purity', was considered

to be almost unavailable for domestic purposes: it is impossible to live in an Athenian temple, with few or no windows; and undoubtedly in England we must have chimneys. But on the other hand, it would not be desirable to adopt the violations of all Grecian propriety exhibited in the Roman and Palladian styles; the happy medium has scarcely been successfully hit in public edifices, but we may suppose it to be attainable by taking the rules of one style without pedantry, and the decorations of the other without abuse.³

Early in his Italian sojourn, Cockerell noted that 'Publishers & readers are so reduced to read & publish the Roman antiquities which have been given a thousand times that the avidity for novelty is great beyond measure, & Greece is here as much as elsewhere in Fashion...my travels in Greece...have opened my eyes enlarged & elevated my ideas, which are also new & different from the trodden and repeated imitations I find here'.⁴ In 1816 he wrote from Italy that 'As there exists no original style of archi[tectur]e in the present day & as whatever style is adopted

¹ Repton, *op. cit.*, (1803), pp. 195-6.

² *Ibid.*, p. 195.

³ *Considerations Upon the Expediency of Building a Metropolitan Palace* (1825), p. 49. It was 'hardly possible to reconcile the *columnar* with *fenestral* character'; W.H.Leeds, *An Essay on the Present State of Architectural Study* (1839), p.21.

⁴ D.Watkin, *The Life and Work of C.R.Cockerell* (1974), p. 18.

must be imitation, there can be little doubt that the Greek as the most classical and convenient should be preferred'.¹ It was right to 'look at the grecian arch[itectur]e as the source & only one whence any originality can be attained...everything else has been done – one can only be original by studying their models. one must hold to a principal, so therefore to the source. one is never more struck with this than when one sees the changes that are rung on old models'² A little later, he was clearly becoming disillusioned, if not cynical: 'Greece has its merits which I feel now most powerfully...Greek is the Fashion & all noodles are afraid of being out of the fashion'.³ By 1823, Cockerell could express the ambivalence that he and others were beginning to feel towards the templar style. The opportunity for novelty that he felt Greek architecture offered, especially in his own work, was accompanied by the potential for monotony so that the style's beauties and variations on a theme were more limiting than inspiring. He felt trapped, longing for some escape: 'Novelty has a vast effect in arch[itectur]e. we are sick to see the same thing repeated & over again what has been seen any time these 100 yrs', and hoped that something, perhaps the Pompeian, would 'supersede the Templar style in which we have so long worked'.⁴ He also conveyed not so much the loss of nerve as the bewilderment of sentient, thinking architects in the 1820s when he wrote that 'Until...Stuart & [Revett] architecture had for its Guide in this Country the old Italian masters & their valuable commentaries & publications of the anc[ien]t arch[itectur]e

1 *Ibid.*, p. 29.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 64.

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 18, 19.

4 *Ibid.*, pp. 171, 172.

of Rome & Italy. no great enormities could arise under such guidance,...since the rage for Greek has been amongst us all the rules which formerly protected us are set aside & we are at sea without compass'.¹ Francis Goodwin, in his influential *Domestic Architecture* of 1834 shared Cockerell's sense of being rudderless, feeling that 'apparent exemption from all restraint is not entirely without its difficulties; because while the architect feels himself totally unfettered by any positive rules, he also finds that he is deprived of their guidance'.²

As the classical style was being questioned, so too was the value of porticoes. Soane had earlier written that 'Porticoes, in modern buildings are sometimes useful tho' seldom magnificent'.³ He suggested that if certain forms of portico, such as the *porte-cochère*, were to have usefulness as their primary object, then their very utility would destroy their intrinsic beauty; for 'if they do not produce both these effects [ie utility and magnificence] it is because they are improperly situated'.⁴ For example,

The Portico in the Entrance Front of Carlton House partook both of magnificence and utility, for by making the intercolumniation which determines the depth of the Portico twice as wide as the spaces between the Columns in front, sufficient space was given for Carriages to draw up to the Hall door. If the object, as to Utility, is thus gained it must be admitted that the Beauty of the Portico is destroyed.⁵

It was not, however, just a matter of utility, it was also a matter of function, or architectural honesty, and of meaning. Soane himself might

1 *Ibid.*, p. 65.

2 Goodwin, *op. cit.*, p. xi.

3 Ed. Bolton, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

4 *Idem.*

5 *Idem.*

have been partly responsible for encouraging the idea of considering porticoes separately, or as applied, when he wrote of the Pantheon that 'This Portico was an addition only to the main building, and therefore when speaking of it it must be considered by itself, and not in proof of practices which, being an added feature, it will not justify'.¹

It was again Repton who had identified the limitations of application and quotation. 'There has ever appeared to me something wrong, or misunderstood, in the manner of adapting Grecian architecture to our large mansions in the country', he wrote in 1803, 'Our professors having studied from models in a different climate, often forget the difference of circumstances, and show their classic taste, like those who correctly quote the words, but misapply the sense of an author'.² Moreover,

The most striking feature of Grecian architecture is a portico, and this, when it forms part of a temple or a church, may be applied with propriety and grandeur; but when added to a large house, and intersected by two or three rows of windows, it is evidently what in French is called an *Appliqué*, something added, an after thought; and it has but too often the appearance of a Grecian temple affixed to an English cotton mill.³

Having been 'in the smallest degree reminded of the great archetype in the Pantheon at Rome' only by the portico of St.Martin's, Dallaway considered in 1806 that 'The columns of that before Carlton House are puny, and tottering under the architrave. That of St.George's, Hanover Square, has only half its proportion of depth. From the same circumstance, that of the new India House, although rich and highly finished, has the

1 *Ibid.*, p. 65.

2 Repton, *op. cit.*(1803), p. 205.

3 *Idem.*

appearance of a corridore. The same defect occurs at the Mansion House, without a single beauty to counterbalance it'.¹ Repton had earlier commented

I have frequently smiled at the incongruity of Grecian architecture applied to buildings in this country. Whenever I have passed the beautiful Corinthian portico to the north of the Mansion House, and observed, that on all public occasions it becomes necessary to erect a temporary awning of wood and canvas to guard against the inclemency of the weather. In southern climates, this portico, if placed towards the south, would have afforded shade from the vertical rays of the sun; but in our cold and rainy atmosphere, such a portico towards the north, is a striking instance of *the false application of a beautiful model*.²

Soane, too, complained that 'In the front of the Mansion House the inconvenience of the large Flight of Steps is so sensibly felt that on all great occasions a temporary awning is erected, which totally destroys for the time the effect of the Portico'.³ Although it made access easier, Smirke's removal in 1836 of the lower, outer flight of steps and replacing them by a continuation of the upper lateral flight to the ground as part of the transformation of the area in front of the building into a forum-like space prior to the rebuilding of the Royal Exchange, merely emphasized the corridor effect of the portico noted by Dallaway.

The greatest dissatisfaction of all arose from the growing tendency towards what Repton called the '*Appliqué*'. Dance the Younger's unpedimented hexastyle in front of his Royal College of Surgeons (1806-13), the first pure Greek Ionic portico to be erected in London and its order

¹ Dallaway, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

² Repton, *op. cit.* (1803), p. 196, note; my italics. 'It is singular that most of our best porticoes and façades have this dull and sunless aspect. From the India House to Somerset House, and thence to Carlton Palace, (which by the way is now being removed), and again, this [St. Marylebone Church] before us, all face the dreary north'; Shepherd and Elmes, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

³ Ed. Bolton, *op. cit.*, pp. 146-7.

taken from the Temple of Illissus was, for these reasons, greatly admired as a portico; but its relationship to the building it fronted was severely criticized. Cockerell regarded this relationship, as he did that at Covent Garden Theatre, as basically Palladian. He thought 'the Ionic portico the gravest I have seen & most severe' but that it was 'ill-applied to the thin paper front of a Ho[use] with which it has no connection neither by ornamental arch[itectura]l style, solidity, character, lines or material'.¹ Elmes was even more scathing:

We have nothing that for chaste simplicity and harmony of proportion surpasses this fine portico, which like a pension to a faithless patriot, is a good thing ill-applied, so little does it belong either in conjunction or relation to the awkward elevation behind...The dwelling behind is so common-place that it can be compared, in relation to its fine portico, to nothing better than some of the additions by the modern Romans to the fine antique porticoes of their illustrious ancestors.²

In 1821, on seeing Henry Hake Seward's Public Baths and Reading Room at Clifton Hot Wells (1820), the phrase that sprang to Cockerell's mind was 'Greek bedevilled',³ and when he visited William Stokoe's County Courts at Newcastle in the following year, he described the portico, modelled on the Theseion (Pl.215), as 'a *slice* off Theseus'.⁴ ...we stick a slice of the anc[ien]t Greek Temple to a Barn which is called breadth & simplicity, than which nothing can be more absurd, as the Greek Houses were certainly of wood & brick & plaister painted & temporary things. I am sure that the grave & solemn arch[itectur]e of Temples were never

¹ Diary, 1821, quoted in Watkin, *op. cit.*, (1974), p. 66.

² Shepherd and Elmes, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

³ Watkin, *op. cit.* (1974), p. 76.

⁴ *Idem.*

adopted to Houses, but a much lighter style, as we may judge by the vases, the object being space & commodiousness'.¹

From the 1820s and 1830s the concept of copying or imitating was joined but not superseded by the notion of appropriating. Ironically, considering it was Palladio who had fused temple and house, Cockerell was prompted by the defects of Dance's portico at the College of Surgeons to recommend not Palladio's models but his precepts, advising that 'What is now most essential is to appropriate the Greek style, engraft it on our wants & recast it for our necessities. the Italian arch[itect]s did this, particularly Palladio'.² Goodwin considered that

The skill of the architect is manifested, not by faithfully copying the examples of other times, let their merit be as great as it may, but by transferring beauties and valuable ideas, and by so incorporating them in his productions, as to make them his own by novel and judicious appropriation.³

Only stylistic pluralism could have enabled him to write that, of all the available styles,

Grecian and Roman architecture are undoubtedly of far more general application - for even when deprived of all ornament, and so neutralized as to style as no longer to retain any character, buildings constructed on such principles, may possess a negative kind of merit.⁴

There is no trace here of that fusion of architecture and morality occasionally detectable in Cockerell's pronouncements and which was to characterize so thoroughly those of Pugin. The reduction of the classical

1 *Ibid.*, p. 65.

2 *Idem.*

3 Goodwin, *op. cit.*, p. xii.

4 *Ibid.*, p. x.

ideal and of its most expressive architectural form to a cipher is inescapable in the nicety of Goodwin's distinction:

It could be wished that those who profess to describe buildings were either more accurate in their choice of terms, or so explicit as to prevent any misconception. Owing to this carelessness - insincerity would in many cases be a better word - we are frequently led to expect 'a portico', which turns out to be nothing more than four diminutive and insignificant columns before an ordinary house-door - that is to say, a mere *porch*.¹

In his design for 'An Italian Villa', Goodwin observed that 'where...columns and entablatures are applied, they are rather introduced as accessories, subordinate to, not directing, the general design. Hence porches and small loggias are substituted for porticos'.² This is a far cry from Soane's preservation of the column and the portico as the 'Principal Object'.

Another viewpoint was that, provided the first principles of design were properly observed, 'It matters not what the style may be...the elements of beauty are the same. An Egyptian obelisk, a Grecian temple, a Roman aqueduct, a Gothic castle, and a Pointed cathedral, all speak to the same effect in their different languages in this respect'.³

¹ *Ibid.*, Pl. 38, 'Design No. 17, An Italian Villa'. C.F.Swan's '*Less Expensive Designs*' for 'Gentlemen of moderate Fortunes' on whose smaller houses 'small *Porticos*, two columns only, if they are brought out from the Wall, and Pillasters behind them, have a fine Effect'; Swan, *op. cit.*, i (1757), iii, iv, v.

² Goodwin, *op.cit.*, Pl.38. 'The invention and construction of appropriate street porticoes for plain brick houses is...a subject which demands the immediate attention of the architect...It appears to us that two of the most desirable improvements in the street architecture of London, and of our other large towns, are, the introduction of porticoes, strictly in accordance with the system or kind of design in which the walls against which they are placed are built'; The 'Conductor', 'On Unity of System in Architecture', *The Architectural Magazine*, ii, 13 (March), 1835, 98.

³ W.Hosking, *An Introductory Lecture...on the Principles and Practice of Architecture* (1842), pp.18-19.

There were those who felt that *no* historical style should dictate the work of 'the architect of reason, that is, of the architect who forms his composition according to the fitness of things, without being a slave of custom and precedent', for

modern architects and builders can do nothing without precedent; nothing without the five classical orders, or the five or six styles of Gothic architecture. Their minds are so imbued with these, that they can invent nothing that does not belong by precedent either to the one style or to the other. It is for the rising generation of architects to free themselves from such trammels; and to weigh the knowledge left us by our ancestors in the balance of reason.¹

By the mid-1840s, there were those who felt that architecture was 'held to have been long ago so completely worn out, that nothing is now left for it but to mimic with what ability it may the efforts of its palmier days'.² Despair at the paucity of ideas and of originality was expressed in terms of

the fetters of all-enslaving PRECEDENT. However they may differ in other respects, servility is alike the badge of all - of the 'Goth' as of the 'Greek', of the 'Greek' as of the 'Goth'. The universal *refrain* is: Copy, copy! - accordingly copying is made the Alpha and Omega of the art, and the public - that is, the thinking part of it, wonder very justly that Architecture, advanced as it has been to the merely mechanical, should rank as a Fine Art at all...the too great dependence upon mere rules has tended to check all aim at anything beyond them.³

There was weariness at the obsession with 'styles, dates, forms, and prejudices', when 'known forms of art have been reproduced, to the inconvenience of arrangement and propriety'.⁴ The sense of disgust,

¹ The 'Conductor', *op.cit.*, 98, 99. See also J.Gwilt, *Elements of Architectural Criticism* (1837), pp.22-3, 38, 40-41.

² E.B.Lamb, *Studies of Ancient Domestic Architecture* (1846), p. 3.

³ *Idem.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

revulsion even, at the existing state of architecture, together with that of total bewilderment as to where to go next are well conveyed by the comments that

instead of bending art to the improvements which increased refinements are constantly crowding upon us, we endeavour to force new ideas into antiquated forms, and thus, by a retrograde movement, even shun novelty when it presents itself to us spontaneously and might be adopted legitimately, by blindly adhering to long-established precedent. It would be absurd to say that precedent should be entirely disregarded, as in so doing, unless we produce a complete revolution in Architecture, we should at once destroy all character and association, and by that means lose much of the gratification which attends an acquaintance with Architecture: but the reproduction of ancient forms can never be the means of *continuing* the art as it was practised by those whom we affect to *imitate* by merely doing exactly as they did under widely different circumstances.¹

For Pugin the morality of style was everything. The decline of architecture he attributed to 'those two monsters',² the revival of paganism in the Renaissance and the decay of the true Catholic faith at the Protestant Reformation. He could not believe that there would ever have been a 'return to the corrupt ideas of pagan sensuality...every church that has been erected from St.Peter's at Rome downwards, are so many examples of the departure from pure Christian ideas and Architecture'.³ Not confined to churches, 'This mania for paganism is developed in all classes of buildings erected since the fifteenth century, – in palaces, in mansions, in private house, in public erections, in monuments for the dead'.⁴ From ideological, theoretical, practical, and cultural standpoints it met all the objections that had been for so long and with growing urgency

1 *Idem.*

2 A.W.N.Pugin, *Contrasts* (1836; 2nd edn., 1841), p. iii.

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 8, 9.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 9.

expressed against the classical style in general and against temple forms and porticoes in particular.

As well as attesting the true Christian faith Gothic was, Pugin asserted, an indigenous style: 'There is no need of visiting the distant shores of Greece and Egypt to make discoveries in art. England alone abounds in hidden and unknown antiquities of surpassing interest'.¹ Not only was Gothic the solely true Christian architecture but it was British; and so to religious morality and nationalist pride, Pugin added the architectural morality of fitness to purpose and appropriate character, historical authority, and artistic merit.

What Pugin proposed was nothing less than a spiritual, ideological, and architectural revolution. The past to which he looked was not pagan classical Antiquity, but medieval England:

Before true taste and Christian feelings can be revived, all the present and popular ideas on the subject must be utterly changed. Men must learn that the period hitherto called dark and ignorant far excelled our age in wisdom, that art ceased when it is said to have been revived, that superstition was piety, and bigotry faith.²

Pugin developed these ideas in his even more polemical *True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture* (1841), in which his attacks on classical architecture became even more vitriolic and his justification of the Gothic as the only style grew even more vehement. The book's opening sentence, that 'There should be no features about a building which are not necessary for convenience, construction or propriety' echoed, as has already been noted, French eighteenth-century architectural

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

theory as expressed in Blondel's 'chaque pièce soit située selon son usage'.¹ This should, perhaps be taken less as evidence of proto-functionalism than of fitness to purpose and of propriety, for 'The external and internal appearance of an edifice should be...in accordance with the purpose for which it is destined'.² Not only was Greek architecture itself an abomination, but the use of porticoes was unsuitable, repetitious, and meaningless: 'Yet notwithstanding the palpable impracticability of adapting Greek temples to our climate, habits, and religion, we see the attempt and failure continuously made and repeated; post office, theatre, church, bath, reading-room, hotel, methodist chapel and turnpike-gate, all present the eternal sameness of a Grecian temple outraged in all its proportions and character'.³ This extended to the Gothic style's suitability under considerations of climate, propriety, manners, and the requirements of contemporary society.

In his fifth *Lecture*, Soane had asked where in this country could porticoes and classical buildings be found which could 'give an adequate idea of those great and solemn effects, produced by the ruins even of the sublime exertions of Greek and Roman talent?...Will Porches, or Porticoes of two, four, or six clumsy Doric Columns of a few feet in height; will the Porticoes of our Churches, or those of any of the other buildings in this great Metropolis, give even a faint idea of the grandeur of the Portico of the Pantheon? Certainly not,⁴ To Pugin, and those who shared his views, the questions were irrelevant. Pugin asked:

¹ N.Pevsner, *Some Architectural Writers of the Nineteenth Century* (1972), pp. 109-10.

² A.W.N.Pugin, *True Principles* (1841), p. 42.

³ *Idem.*

⁴ Ed. Bolton, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

How is it possible for any good results to be achieved with the present principles of architectural education? Can we ever hope to see a Christian architect come forth from the Royal Academy itself, where deadly errors are instilled into the mind of the student?...Pagan lectures, pagan designs, pagan casts and pagan models, pagan medals, and, as a reward for proficiency in these matters, a pagan journey.¹

The last major public controversy in our period between Greek and Gothic came with the competition for the new Houses of Parliament, for which the Gothic or Elizabethan were specified. In a series of three letters to the Earl of Elgin, the first two in 1836 and the third in 1838, William Richard Hamilton pleaded the case for the dying Greek Revival in England and in so doing gave one of the last, impassioned, and eloquent defences of the templar style. He appealed to the classical tradition and lamented that, following its highest achievements, 'Gothic barbarism is again to be allowed to triumph over the master-pieces of Italy and Greece, and that Britons are henceforth to look for the model of what is sublime and beautiful in art, to the usage of ignorance and superstition'.² His list of the admired classical, porticoed public buildings executed during the previous sixty years reads like a roll-call of the Greek Revival:

...the Courts of Justice, at Newcastle, Chester, Gloucester, Hereford, Perth; the Council House at Bristol; the High School at Edinburgh; the Bank, Exchange and County Hall at Glasgow; the Custom House at Liverpool; the Town Halls of Manchester and Birmingham; the Post Office, St. George's Hospital, the London University, King's College, Covent Garden Theatre, the National Gallery, and the British Museum, in London.³

All were based on 'the models of classical antiquity, which thousands of years have combined to sanction', and these 'ought to be followed'.⁴ To

¹ A.W.N. Pugin, *op. cit.* (1843), p. 18.

² W.R. Hamilton, *Letter to the Earl of Elgin* (1836), p. 7.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

the proposal that the Gothic style for the new Houses of Parliament would accord more with that of Westminster Hall, the Abbey, and St. Stephen's Chapel, he countered that each of the proposed palaces of Jones and Wren 'was designed according to the style and taste of the day, not in accordance with its more ancient neighbours'.¹ The 'Graeca exemplaria' was the thing;² the Parthenon the model, as the embodiment of political ideals, cultural achievements and the means by which Britain would ensure the respect of posterity for its faithful upholding of eternal values – 'beauty, truth, harmony and order'.³

Hamilton was only partially right. On the one hand, the Parthenon had been 'the creation of a free democracy, initiated, controlled, and approved by the popular assembly and its Judicial organs'⁴ associated in many early nineteenth-century minds with British parliamentary democratic ideals,⁵ but symbolizing for others autocratic forms of government less sympathetic to those ideals as practised in Germany, Prussia, and elsewhere, with which Greek temple forms had also been identified. On the other hand, given what were increasingly believed to be the indigenous origins of the Gothic there were in addition, and quite apart from the style's religious connotations stressed by Pugin, even older

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

2 *Idem.*, *Second Letter to the Earl of Elgin* (1836), p. 34.

3 *Idem.*, *Third Letter to the Earl of Elgin* (1837), p. 12.

4 'The name of Perikles was not inscribed on it; but to all succeeding ages, the Parthenon is a Periklean building. As Thucydides the historian saw, during this brief generation Athens enjoyed the forms of democracy but was guided by a single man's leadership'; R. Meiggs, 'The Political Implications of the Parthenon', in ed. G.T.W. Hooker, 'Parthenos and Parthenon', *Greece & Rome*, Supplement to vol. x (1963), 45.

5 This is in the context of the contemporary concept of democracy, in which universal suffrage was not contemplated, even following the 1832 Reform Bill. Earlier fears of sedition, insurrection, and even revolution were still very real and were implicit in Sir Joseph Banks's comment to Robert Mylne: 'I am not an aristocrat yet I hate democracy' - 3rd Oct., 1793; BL Add.MS.33980, f.116.

associations of the style – to which Sir Richard Hoare referred in 1800 as our 'old national architecture'¹ – with England's so-called 'old Gothick Constitution', of which the Gothic Temple at Stowe, built in the tradition of the British Worthies, had been an expression, a hundred years earlier.²

Hamilton noted also the growing strength of public architecture, believing 'that this is the first instance...in which orders have been issued from the highest authorities in a realm, that a great national public work of this description, in which no religious feeling was concerned, should be executed in a style of bygone times...(I particularly allude to the Gothic)' especially when 'there are no existing examples in this country...but of places of divine worship, or erected for monastic or collegiate purposes'.³ On the rôle of the state in architecture, he quotes from Sir James Mackintosh's letter to John Hoppner of some thirty years before, in 1808:

Architecture...can hardly exist as a grand art, as long as it is limited to mere private utility. Temples and palaces are the forms, in which architectural genius is embodied.

The best condition, therefore, for the arts, is where the State, the most *useful* customer, is rich and profuse in expending its income on works of art; and where few individuals are wealthy enough to be rival customers. It was thus in ancient Greece and modern Italy...⁴

Hamilton concluded: 'We run no risque...by adopting the Greek model; though to that people it may have been consecrated to their own pagan forms of worship, to our eyes it gives no impression of the kind: It will

¹ Ed. M.W.Thompson, *The Journeys of Sir Richard Colt Hoare* (1983), p. 153.

² G.Clarke, 'Grecian Taste and Gothic Virtue', *Apollo*, xcvi (June, 1973), 570.

³ Hamilton, *Letter...*, pp. 4-5. See also, 'Common Sense', 'A Model for a new Parliament-House', *Gent's Mag.*, ix, 148 (1 Dec., 1739), 635.

⁴ Hamilton, *Second Letter...*, pp. 15-16.

shock no prejudices, will excite not confusion of sentiment, will interfere with no faith'.¹

This rearguard action demonstrated just how out of touch with a groundswell of changing taste sincere but reactionary classicists were becoming.² Faith was indeed believed to be threatened. In 1803, Repton had asserted that porticoes could be applied, above all, to churches, with 'propriety and grandeur'.³ Less than twenty years later, Elmes wished there could have been issued 'an edict...against the *Mary-le-bone* and *St.George's Fields* school of temple-builders'.⁴ Within ten years of its completion in 1822, St.Pancras Church, though condemned by Cockerell in 1821 as too Greek, one of the greatest monuments of the Greek Revival and the finest of the early nineteenth-century churches whose portico Elmes had so admired, came to be regarded as having uncomfortably 'much too close a resemblance to a Pagan temple to be appropriate for a Christian church'.⁵ Passavant was nonplussed by this, observing that 'in the centre of a Christian land, we find a church built after the finest examples of Grecian architecture. Why this should be censured, I cannot see; yet every one is open-mouthed in condemning the absurdity of this building'.⁶ The more archaeologically accurate in detail and classical in spirit Grecian porticoed buildings were, and especially churches, of course, the more they were susceptible to the charge, not just of imitation but, of paganism. It was precisely the sanctity, or, perhaps, sanctimony, of government (both

¹ *Idem.*, *Third Letter...*, p. 24.

² See also E.Jones, *Athenian; Or Grecian Villas* (1835), Preface.

³ Repton, *op. cit.*, (1803), p. 205.

⁴ J.Elmes, *Lectures on Architecture* (1821; 2nd edn., 1823), p. 402.

⁵ J.Timbs, *Curiosities of London* (1855), p. 153.

⁶ Passavant, *op. cit.*, ii, 300-1.

national and local), of trade and industry (despite British ambivalence, or even hypocrisy, towards commerce), and of scientific knowledge (tending to uncover the handywork of God, rather than disprove His existence) which was to warrant or even compel the use of the secular, the mercantile, and the organic Gothic styles, in addition to the ecclesiastical, as solely appropriate for Houses of Parliament, town halls, banks, exchanges, and museums, as well as for churches.

Repton had demonstrated his primary concern for contemporary requirements, invoking the notion of decorum, of fitness to purposes or ends in buildings with a growing number of different and often unprecedented purposes, in a way that was later to be espoused by the Utilitarians. He discussed what he called *Characteristic Architecture*:

Although it is obvious that every building ought "to tell its tale", and not look like anything else; yet this principle appears to have been lately too often violated: our hospitals resemble palaces, and our palaces may be mistaken for hospitals; our modern churches look like theatres, and our theatres appear like warehouses. In surveying the public buildings of the metropolis we admire St.Luke's Hospital as a mad-house, and Newgate as a prison, because they both announce their purposes by their appropriate appearance, and no stranger has occasion to enquire for what uses they are intended...From the palace to the cottage this principle should be observed.¹

John Sanders's Royal Military College at Sandhurst (1807; Pl.221), almost contemporary with, and owing not a little to, Wilkins's nearby Grange Park, elicited from Cockerell the comment that it was 'beautiful arch[itectur]e finely considered & disposed, but no genius whatever, no character of a Coll[eg]e of Military, no vast robust feature, nothing to strike or impose. a front much like all other fronts whether a library, a Theatre, a

¹ Repton, *op. cit* (1803), pp. 206-7.

conservatory, a mansion, an Hospital – always Temp[le] of Minerva [i.e. the Parthenon Doric order]'.¹

The portico was increasingly the object of unprecedented vilification as incongruous, superfluous, and meaningless. J.S.Morrith wrote in the *Quarterly Review* in 1837 that

In our suburban streets we have seen salmon and smoked mackrel lying in stately funeral under Doric pillars, and tripe surmounted with metopes, triglyphs, and guttae of the most classical proportions. In some of our fashionable club-houses, after every interior accommodation has been provided for the members, a portico is superadded, apparently commensurate, not so much with the building itself, as with the unexpended residue of the subscription, and adorned, like the family picture of Dr.Primrose, with as many columns as the artist could afford for the money'.²

It was even asked

whether there are to be no porticoes at all, in cases where no columns or pilasters are indicated in the main body of the edifice. Our answer is, there should be no Grecian or Roman porticoes. No porticoes with classical columns!...there is scarcely one erected in conformity with this principle [of unity of system] which does not belong to the classical style, and to a large edifice...care must be taken, never, by details, proportions, or ornaments, to create an allusion to classical architecture, and never let it be imagined by the spectator, that any of the Greek or Roman orders were intended to be imitated.³

Sir Robert Smirke was later to speak of the 'moral turpitude' of meaningless porticoes and the basic dishonesty of temple fronts. For him,

¹ Watkin, *op.cit.* (1974), p.76. There are echoes of Repton here, and also of Soane, for whom the 'great variety in the uses of buildings makes it difficult to form a correct standard in Architecture, and is one of the causes that produces that constant change in opinion and taste which occasions our Edifices, whether Public or Private, to be imitations of the Indian, Chinese, Egyptian, Grecian, Roman, or Gothic, according to the fashion of the day', ed. Bolton, *op. cit.*, p. 114. Repton summed up promiscuity of style and indifference to meaning noting ironically that a few Gothic enrichments 'are surely far less expensive than a Grecian portico', *op.cit.* (1803), p.210.

² Crook, *op. cit.* (1972), p. 129.

³ The 'Conductor', *op. cit.*, 97, 98.

The PORTICO [should]...appear to be either actually useful, or not evidently otherwise; and it is on this ground of *apparent utility* that it chiefly claims our respect...There is no principle of taste more questionable than the impertinence of useless columns...[COLONNADES should] afford...shelter...[from] the sweeping torrent of scorching sun-beams...[But instead they] have gradually shrunk into the walls behind them, until their architraves refuse shade even to the swallows that would fain build their nests below;...the columns...[leave] only their spectres on the surface...[as] pilasters which might have been applied...by the hand of the painter. There is indeed something approaching to moral turpitude...in such flimsy daubings of superficial finery...The immersion of columns into...walls [is another example] of depraved art, but a defect still more preposterous is the gradual shrinking of...[a portico] into parts behind it, leaving only the faint traces of its conformation, as if to mark the grave where it lies interred!...PILASTERS [constitute] a show of strength *as unnecessary as it is untrue*.¹

In 1762, Stuart had continued his letter to Reynolds on his aim in the *Antiquities* of discovering 'the *principles* on which the Ancients proceeded' by adding 'I have drawn my own conclusions of them; but I fear, Sir Joshua, that many will be content to *copy* what they find detailed in this book, without regard to the *why* and *wherefore* that governed either the ancients or myself'. Sixty years later, in 1822, J.B.Papworth quoted Stuart and added the terse note: 'The apprehension is verified by the practice of the day'.² By the 1840s, how much more was that also the case.

Porticoes continued to be built, particularly in Scotland and on a grand scale but with less conviction and frequency elsewhere in the country, as we have seen, beyond the end of our period. Towards its close, Samuel Huggins took stock of the mid-century state and prospects of architecture. His assessment was informed by concerns for fitness to purpose and adherence to universal principles of design in a spirit of

¹ Crook, *op. cit.* (1973), pp. 99-110; my italics.

² Quoted in Weibenson, *op. cit.*, (1969), p. 66.

progress and looking forward. He regretted that the sole aim in the exterior of some public buildings was 'to render them an ornament to the neighbourhood by a superior style of decoration, heedless of the loud call of common sense, which dictates that, above all things, they should express their use, by having their exterior aspect in harmony with their destination'.¹ Here was a reiteration of Repton, in 1803, when he regretted that Greek architecture had been introduced into this country 'without considering how far its uses or general character might accord to the buildings to which it was applied; and, without recollecting the climate from whence it was imported, *every other consideration was sacrificed, or made subservient to the external ornaments of Greece and Rome.*²

As an example, Huggins cited Foster's Liverpool Royal Infirmary (1822-4): 'No stranger could suppose that building with its chaste, cold colonnade, and harsh mural and fenestral character, to be an institution of benevolence, an asylum for the afflicted'. The building was 'in itself a respectable structure, worthy of the town, but without the least accord between its architectural character and the humane object of its foundation'.³ The 'same striking absence of fitness' was evident in the prison at Kirkdale,

from the front of which not the slightest intimation of its real purpose is conveyed to the spectator, who might easily mistake it, with its Ionic portico as its most prominent feature, and neatly dressed sash windows, for a nobleman's or gentleman's country seat...a stranger might conclude, upon being told its real character, that it had been deemed necessary, for some reason, to disguise it.⁴

¹ S.Huggins, 'On the Present State and Prospects of Architecture', *The Builder*, vii, 357 (8 Dec., 1849), 579.

² Repton, *op. cit.*, (1803), p. 195; my italics.

³ Huggins, *op.cit.*, p.579. See also T.B.Macaulay, *Critical Essays...* (1843; 2nd edn. 1863), ii, 78.

⁴ Huggins, *op.cit.*, p.579.

The same could be said of so many other types of buildings and, without being partisan to any historical style, Huggins thought that whereas temple forms were still appropriate for churches, on civic and other public buildings their use was anachronistic, for 'Pure, solemn Greek, such as temples present, may serve for purposes of a kindred nature in England; but, *assuredly, a Greek temple* for municipal purposes, in the midst of a manufacturing town, *is a solecism*'.¹

Summary

Contemporaneous and subsequent opinion, both of porticoes in general and about individual porticoes, was variously expressed throughout our period. Porticoes were integral to the aims in architecture of Jones and Webb, and Evelyn and Wren considered them noble and desirable. Vanbrugh thought them most noble and, for that reason, vilified and ridiculed (as did Pope) Ripley's ill-proportioned portico on a cramped site at the Admiralty (Pl.89).² Arthur Young admired the portico at Holkham but, for him, its lack of access detracted from it. C.R.Cockerell deplored, as did Hoare, Steuart's attenuated columns at Attingham, and the tedium of the Theseion; but his encomium of Grange Park and its evocation of Arcadia remains the most lyrical appreciation of any portico. Lack of adequate space around porticoes from which to view them properly was a criticism levelled at Gibbs's portico at St. Martin-in-the-

¹ *Idem.*, my italics.

² Colvin, *DBA*, p.694.

Fields – a situation subsequently remedied — and at Smirke's Covent Garden Theatre. Though St.Martin's portico was admired by Dance and Soane and was considered by Chambers to be far superior to anything in Athens – because he had so low an opinion of Greek architecture – Chambers, like Riou, nevertheless remained convinced that portico and steeple were forever irreconcilable and their attempted fusion a monstrosity. The original portico of Dance's Royal College of Surgeons was highly regarded, but demeaned by the block to which it was attached. Although these and other particular porticoes continued, for whatever reason, to be admired in themselves, that shift from wanting to retain them in architecture but not knowing how to treat them, to their being thought useless, no matter what their treatment, represented the triumph of convenience over successive classical ideologies. The search was less for a single style than for utopianism, less for architectural transvestism than for architectural determinism, springing from a belief in the capacity of architecture not just to reflect but to embody and instil moral virtue that was not to be equalled, Pugin notwithstanding, until Le Corbusier.

As our period came to an end, George Wightwick indulged in wondering what future generations would think of nineteenth-century architecture. "The British of the nineteenth century had no necessity for emulating those vast Temples of Antiquity, which they nevertheless regarded with unqualified admiration, as sufficiently appears in their numerous published works, and in the various buildings, public and private, which they so suitably dressed in the antique fashions." He hoped posterity would applaud "the modest eloquence" of their churches, which at once declared "the refined taste, and limited means of their Architects, who no longer (as was the case before) perpetuated burlesques

in little, on the great things of old; though they continued to re-employ such *antique* details as really suited their purpose".

"But, while their Churches evince a judicious economy, their other public structures, and their private dwellings of every description, attest their wealth and spirit as a Political and Commercial nation, and their regard for individual dignity and comfort as a Social people. We cannot but admire the grandeur of their Bridges, Rail-road Termini, Universities, Club-houses, and shops: and, however we may regret, that the gorgeous splendour of their Senate-House was allowed so entirely to eclipse their *then* erected House of God, we must nevertheless acknowledge the former, as manifesting an ability, which, under more sacred influences, would have been competent to the architectural Sublime."

'Such is the language in which we may hope Posterity will report of us...'.¹

¹ G.Wightwick, *The Palace of Architecture* (1840). pp. 195-7, 'Posterity Anticipated'.

VIII Conclusion

The introduction to Britain of the portico, the changes in the complexion of its symbolism and in style that it underwent, and its meteoric decline, were inextricably linked with altering perceptions of the idea of the temple, for which the portico was, both architecturally and ideologically, a metaphor, which were governed by changes in the source and nature of the power and authority which it expressed.

It started out as part of a dream, to recreate the Salomonic Temple, on the basis of whatever information was available, in the context of divinity and as a symbol and concomitant of divine kingship. That information was rooted in Biblical and literary sources, and their commentators, as well as being based on the interpretations of physical remains by Renaissance and later archaeologists and architects, notably Palladio. Much uncertainty attended the historical forms of temples, and meaning was, in any case, more important than form. The power of typology, of mythology and association, together with the rationalization of paganism, simultaneously militated against, and made the need even more pressing for, accuracy and authenticity of archaeological sources. In both the absence and presence of these lay the seeds of the perennial tensions between poetic imagination and historical reality, creativity and copyism, originality and imitation.

The exclusive association of the temple with absolute monarchy did not long survive the demise of the political philosophy of divine kingship itself. Attempts to sustain that association by architectural means with a restored monarchy resulted in tentative and ultimately abortive schemes for a porticoed royal palace. The curtailment of the monarch's personal temporal powers in favour of those circumscribed by an office of state, and

the identification of the monarch with secular figures from Antiquity such as Augustus, rather than with Biblical or sacred antecedents, nonetheless left the monarch's other rôle, as head of the Church, one in which influence could be exercised as a potential force for national unity. Largely deprived in Britain of its absolutist political and religious connotations, the Baroque, the style of power, was at St. Paul's harnessed as the templar ideology of Protestantism and the atavism of the Church of England.

Britain's victory over France in the early eighteenth century vindicated both its political system and its religion. The myth of the state received its legitimacy, not from Eden, Israel, Medicean Florence, or any of the other real or imaginary places with which England had been compared in the previous century, but from Augustan Rome. An incompleting programme for erecting churches – the first public buildings for which porticoes were officially specified – was ostensibly an act of piety and thanksgiving and a visible assertion of civil and religious liberties. In practice, it was a thinly veiled political act, with a regal Roman precedent, calculated to give moral justification to an aristocratic oligarchy by attempting to forestall domestic unrest and foreign aggression.

The notion of the temple as the national embodiment of Roman virtues was embraced by those who wielded the real political and, increasingly, economic power – the aristocracy, the gentry, and the successful businessmen. Palladio's fusion of ancient temple and villa, partially adapted to British climatic and social requirements, provided the perfect model for their power-bases in the country in the form of palatial, increasingly templar, porticoed country houses which proclaimed their wealth, virtue, respectability, their social and political distinction and authority, and which were regarded as both local and national ornaments. Despite proposals from time to time throughout our period to re-establish

the connection of the portico with the monarch, porticoed royal palace schemes remained on paper. But whilst the monarchy had to make do with a succession of makeshift modifications and improvements to numerous royal residences, many of the country houses on which the aristocracy and wealthy landowners lavished their wealth received several of their characteristics – notably in planning, in the development of state rooms, in the growing distinction between public and private spaces and, above all, in the use of porticoes – from some of the unrealized royal palace schemes of the previous century.

Stylistically, the Palladian porticoed villa formula largely informed much domestic and some civic architecture for most of the eighteenth century. Increased European travel, as an integral part of social, cultural, and architectural education, exposed clients and architects to first-hand experience of classical Roman remains. But for some, as the century progressed, growing dissatisfaction with the well-grazed pastures of Roman-based architecture and what was increasingly felt to be the trammel of Palladianism, compounded by preoccupations in philosophy, aesthetics, and theory with the origins of civilization and with the nature of artistic originality, led them to seek further afield for other, formally more simple and primitive architectural sources. These qualities they believed to have existed in Greek architecture. Others, who considered such steps regressive and irrelevant, and that the recreation of the grandeur and unsurpassed opulence of the most magnificent imperial Roman architecture, not hitherto fully realized, was still achievable, believed that if the net of classical archaeological investigation as the basis for architecture were to be cast wider, it should include only the finest examples of Roman architecture.

Britain's wealth from trade and commerce was one more respect in which this country was seen as having surpassed Rome. Not for the last time, archaeology and politics combined to seek an architecture that would justify and reflect contemporary objectives and achievements – in this case, mercantile wealth – by means of recreating the images of these from the past. Neo-classical architects working inventively within an extended Roman tradition in the second half of the eighteenth century utilized the temple idea to produce rich and highly decorative domestic and public architecture evoking the notion of temples of commerce. By definition, and because of the wealth required to produce it, such architecture predicated the patronage of the aristocracy and of a discerning, secularized monarch.

To the handful of Greek-inspired templar buildings erected during the same period were added, in the early nineteenth century, the first of what, till almost the end of our period, was to be a vast number of private and, increasingly, public Greek porticoed buildings. It was a long way from a simple, but archaeologically correct, garden building, created partly as just another example of the exotic in the middle of the eighteenth century, to the style most characteristic of public buildings of the first quarter of the nineteenth.

Inherent in both aspects of neo-classicism was, by definition, the belief that, through archaeology, the distant classical past was recoverable and that regardless of whatever artistic processes to which its findings, from whatever past, were subjected, the resultant architecture created from it would be an appropriate accompaniment to, and reflection of, the present and the future.

In the second aspect and phase of neo-classicism the preference was for the Parthenon rather than the Pantheon. To many, the Greek temple symbolized the more fundamental, uncorrupted, heroic, and lyrical values of human thought and experience and, in the terms of how democracy was understood at the time, epitomized the liberty and civilized characteristics which Britain, and even Rome, owed to Greece, but which Britain, above all other nations, possessed and valued. the dispelling of the myth that Greek architecture had been thoroughly informed by mathematics encouraged not only the view that rules were not everything but also that such latitude lent justification to seeing the original temples themselves and more precise recreations of them in a romantic way. One aspect of this paradox was evident in the frequent placing of Greek porticoes and temple-like buildings in often dramatic settings. Another aspect was that if simplicity was equated with usefulness, and ornament with finery, there was always the danger that Greek architecture's simplicity would make it merely useful and uncomfortable. If the Greek portico started out representing one kind of originality, in the sense of embodying primitive sources and origins, it ended up being condemned and rejected for lacking the other type of originality, in the sense of enabling creativity.

First appearing at the beginning of the second phase of the Greek Revival on semi-public buildings in the context of collegiate architecture – thereby reaffirming the portico as symbolizing temples of learning – the Greek portico was rapidly adapted for many other types of buildings. The justification for this was often provided by the variety of functions fulfilled by Greek temples which were then separated out in the nineteenth century, each function having been given a specific type of building to which templar forms and porticoes could be applied. In the

case of houses, although there was no evidence as to what Greek domestic architecture had been like, the Palladian formula persisted, but often in even more templar forms, in Greek garb. Since ancient temples had been primarily shrines to deities, and the rationalization and accommodation of paganism within Christianity still pertained, there was no obstacle to the use of porticoes for churches. But temples had also acted as treasuries and their porticoes as venues for the display of captured treasures from the spoils of war, as places for the posting of public notices and, in temples dedicated to the healing gods, as places where the sick were left overnight to be cured. Some temples were dedicated to the muses and works of art were publicly displayed in their porticoes. Porticoes and other templar features were later incorporated into theatres, both on their fronts and in the *scenae frons*, perhaps having evolved, as the theatre was to do in the Middle Ages in relation to churches and cathedrals, from religious rituals or commentaries performed in front of temples.

It is not difficult, particularly in the light of nineteenth-century political and social reform, to see the rationalization for regarding porticoed churches, banks, town halls, hospitals, libraries, museums, art galleries, and theatres as public temples of worship, commerce, government, science, and the arts. On such buildings as railway stations and post offices, for which there was no antique precedent, the intrinsic distinction and power which the portico symbolized were extended and transferred to celebrate and proclaim the harnessing and control of a powerful energy which had created an unprecedented form and speed of transport and a range and rapidity of public, social communication previously unknown. Both had the distinction of being British inventions, technologies, and enterprises, and were celebrated as such with porticoes. They were yet further respects in which Britain had

surpassed the Ancients. There was a significant exception to the use of Greek porticoes. In the case of the leading exchanges, it was the Roman rather than the Greek temple of commerce which presided, for, though the uses of the agora as a public space included, as did the piazza, that of a market, it was in the fora of the markets of Rome that vast quantities of a wide variety of commodities from all corners of the empire were traded and where immense wealth was generated.

The nicety of that distinction, in breaking away from a predominant style, trend, or fashion in the interests of appropriateness to purpose and meaning, at one level demonstrated the nuances of classical symbolism within its own terms but, at a more fundamental level, lent weight to the arguments of those who questioned the appropriateness of porticoes – indeed, of the whole classical style, such nuances notwithstanding – which they regarded as meaningless and irrelevant.

The portico in Britain was always more symbolic than functional. The tediously recurring complaints throughout our period about its practical disadvantages were rooted in the inescapable fact that, despite attempts to adapt it to British needs, it was an architectural form alien in time, place, climate, and eventually, culture. As has been demonstrated, there was strong evidence, even before the full onset of the Greek Revival, that the portico was increasingly viewed as inappropriate to British nineteenth-century requirements and that it was, in many cases, an ill-fitting, literally superfluous, and applied adjunct. Its renewed use on an almost epidemic scale during the Greek Revival more than confirmed those earlier reservations and its indiscriminate use on so many different kinds of buildings both denied the function and character of individual building types by masking these behind an almost uniform, common disguise and devalued, through overuse, whatever distinction, meaning

and associations the portico itself still retained. An architectural image repeated *ad nauseam* becomes subject to the law of diminishing returns and, eventually, becomes ineffective and meaningless. The result is a cliché and, finally, an architectural solecism. The disadvantages of the portico had, in many cases, been tolerated for the sake of ideology and fashion. Once that ideology could no longer be sustained and was removed; when all the disadvantages could not be outweighed by *any* other considerations; and when the moral force of the Gothic, having successfully invoked charges of paganism, and the attractions of other styles actively militated against it, then there was little except a weary nostalgia to ensure the portico's survival. The experience of the Greek Revival epitomized what had been the case since the portico first appeared in Britain; the triumph of ideology over practicality and the primacy of image and fashion over anachronism and anomaly.

The portico was undoubtedly the most magnificent architectural symbol of distinction and authority, and one of the most immediate and affective modes of access to the past. In Socratic thought history was equated with knowledge, for both were seen as matters of recollection and repetition. In whatever guise, repetition simultaneously connected the present with the continuous past but also negated the past, and even time itself; for once the connection between the two had been established, past and present became complementary parts of a single continuum. It also negated and prescribed the present, since that continuum predicated a future also comprising repetition.

Towards the end of our period, at a point whose exact position it is difficult to locate precisely, a realization was made that the future and eternity lay ahead and not behind; that the future consisted in looking forward and in creating and not in attempting to emulate, recreate, or

recapture ever more distant pasts. A state of perfection, believed to have existed in Antiquity, could only be achieved progressively in terms and by means not available to the Ancients. The realization broke that continuity, cut the classical past adrift and, though it remained in sight of shore, led to the respectful recognition of the past on its own terms for what it had been but also to the decline of its conscious influence. The classical world became a dream rather than a memory. It became 'transformed into a hermetically sealed domain, inhabited by aesthetes and archaeologists who either ignored or opposed the profound new challenges of the nineteenth century'.¹

¹ Rosenblum, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

Appendix

Summary and Chronologies of the First Introductions and Principal Uses of the Architectural Orders in the Entrance-Porticoes of Great Britain, 1630-1850

From the beginning of our period until 1758, all the orders were of Roman derivation, after which date their use continued until about 1800 when, for over a quarter of a century, they were almost wholly supplanted by the Greek Doric and Ionic. With the passing of the height of the mania for Greece, the Roman orders, including Hellenistic models, were again partly revived, mostly for some public buildings from the late 1820s – except in Scotland where the Greek persisted longer – until beyond the end of our period.

Further generalisations of any value, particularly concerning the application of the orders in relation to building types, are not easy to make. There are examples of virtually all building types decorated with any one of the orders, and no order was associated exclusively with any particular building type. Vitruvian precepts concerning the propriety of the application of the orders was generally followed from the beginning. The Tuscan was used on buildings whose essential character was rustic, robust and unpretentious – such as St.Paul's, Covent Garden (1631-3), the stables at Althorp (c.1732-3), the lodge at Corby Castle (c.1817), the Winchester Corn Exchange (1836-8) and the Ipswich Custom House (1844). The Doric, often in its severest Roman form, was used to great effect by Hawksmoor at the Clarendon Building in Oxford (1712-15) and in several of his London churches, as it was by Archer, by Wakefield at Dunscombe Park (1713), Galilei at Kimbolton (1718-19), Donowell at West Wycombe (1754-5), Carr at Tabley (c.1760-7) and Newark Town Hall (1773-6), and R.Adam at the Bowood

Mausoleum (1761-4). Its unusual baseless form at Studley (1736-49) had a simplicity subsequently found attractive in the more primitive Greek Doric. The Ionic, when something festive but not too complex or expensive was required, such as the garden temple at Narford (c.1720) and the Orangery at Bramham (c.1760), was suitable for numerous modestly grand country houses, such as Stourhead (1720-4) and Constable Burton (1762-8), but was also used on churches and other public buildings, such as The Admiralty (1723-6). The richer, grander, more refined, complex and expensive Corinthian was used on building types equally as diverse, principally on country houses, such as The Vyne (1654-6), Chiswick (c.1723-9), Gorhambury (1777-90) and Dodington (1798-1813), but also on churches, such as St. Martin-in-the-Fields (1722-6), on public buildings, such as The Mansion House, London (1739-42) and, much later, Birmingham Town Hall (1832), and on garden temples, such as that of Flora at Blenheim (c.1766-75), to mention just a few from many such examples in each building type.

A common thread running through all of these and many other applications was the nature and status of the owner being represented allied to the received associations and significance of the orders in relation to the buildings' types and functions, and the preference of individual architects and the taste and means of patrons.

Variations occurred at different periods, but could also be regional; for example, for their porticoed chapels nonconformists, especially in the North and West, tended to favour the Ionic rather than the more ostentatious Corinthian preferred by the Established Church. Following the French lead there were attempts to devise a national order such as De Berlain's 'Britannical, or Protestant Order', of 1735 and James Adam's 'British Order' of 1762, both of which remained on paper. Robert Adams created a plausible new version of the Ionic, with anthemions instead of flutes, as on the block,

at Brasted Place in 1784, and of the Corinthian, with flutes and paterae in the frieze, at Hampton (1775), but Emlyn's 'British Order' at Beaumont Lodge, Windsor (c.1690), though unique, can most charitably be described as idiosyncratic.

Similar considerations applied to the Greek orders, except that the choice was narrowed to Doric or Ionic. Although there had been opportunities for architects to display their inventiveness by making variations on the Roman orders, comparable variations on the Greek, given the need for fidelity to archaeological sources, were not so easy. One such was the stopping of flutes, for which there was no antique precedent. The favoured models throughout the Greek Revival period remained, for the Ionic, the Erechtheion and the Temple of Ceres on the Illissus, and, for the Doric, the Theseion and the Parthenon. Any variation had to come from fresh archaeological finds and novelty was provided by the atypical – such as the Ionic from the Temple of Bacchus at Teos and from the Temple of Apollo at Bassae, and the Doric from Delos and Paestum.

After initial idealism, the application of the Greek orders became, as has been demonstrated, largely arbitrary. The Doric and Ionic respectively were virtually interchangeable in all three major building types, even where there were similar functions within each type; in churches, St.Mark's, Kennington (1824) and St.Pancras (1819-22); in country houses, Grange Park (1805-9) and Millichope (1835-40); and in public buildings, the Royal High School, Edinburgh (1825-9) and Downing College, Cambridge (1807-20), and the Royal Scottish Academy, Edinburgh (18222-35) and the British Museum (1823-46). Many such examples can be found and this interchangeability, allied to the indiscriminate use of the orders in relation to the diverse functions of the different building types and their particular characters, contributed to the decline in the use of the architectural orders.

Before 1758, the orders can be assumed to be Roman, and thereafter, Greek, unless otherwise stated.

Identifiable sources, where known, are given in brackets.

Numbers in brackets refer to Plates, where illustrated.

Tuscan

1631-3	London, St.Paul's, Covent Garden. Jones.	(22-3)
	First use on ecclesiastical portico.	
c1732-3	Althorp, Stables. Morris.	(99)
c.1817	Corby Castle, Lodge.	(246)
1836-8	Winchester, Corn Exchange. Carter.	(312)
1844	Ipswich, Old Custom House. Clark.	

Roman Orders

Doric		
1682-9	Chelsea, Royal Hospital. Wren.	(47)
1693-5	Chatsworth, Temple of Flora. ?Talman.	
1712-14	Greenwich, St.Alphege. Hawksmoor.	(64)
	First use on church.	
1712-15	Oxford, Clarendon Building. Hawksmoor.	(69)
	First use in university.	
1713	Duncombe. ?Wakefield.	(65)
c1717	Stowe, Lake Pavilion. Vanbrugh. Fluted.	(78)
1736-49	Studley, Temple of Piety. Baseless. (Temple of Piety, Rome).	(103)
	First use of on garden portico.	
c1750-4	Berwick, Town House. S. and J. Worrall. Rustic	(116)
	First use on civic building.	
c1753-9	Rokeby. Robinson. Baseless.	(119)
	First use on country house.	
1761	West Wycombe, south portico. Donowell. Baseless.	143
	(Theatre of Marcellus)	
Ionic		
1630-5	Greenwich, Queen's House. Jones. (Scamozzi, Villa Molin)	(18)
	First use on domestic portico.	
1692-4	Rougham. North.	
	First use on free-standing country house portico.	
1701	Northampton, All Saints. Bell.	(51-3)
	First use on unpedimented church.	
1720-8	Seaton Delaval. Vanbrugh. Fluted.	(82)
	First use of fluted Ionic on country house.	
1723-6	London, Admiralty. Ripley.	(89)
	First use on public building.	
Corinthian		
1633-4	London, St.Paul's Cathedral. Jones. (Temples of Venus and Rome (the Sun and Moon), Antoninus and Faustina, Peace)	
1654-6	The Vyne. Webb.	(33)
1675-1710	London, St.Paul's Cathedral. Wren.	(45)
1683-5	Winchester, Palace (dem.). Wren.	
1701-10	Oxford, All Saints. Aldrich.	(54)
1705-16	Blenheim Palace, north and south porticoes. Vanbrugh.	(55-6)

1707-10	Heythrop. Archer.	(58)
c1714-20	Wanstead (dem.). Campbell.	
1716-31	London, St.George's, Bloomsbury. Hawksmoor.	(78)
1720-5	London, St.George's, Hanover Square. James.	(81)
c1723-9	Chiswick House. Burlington. Fluted.	(Frontispiece Vol.I, 90)
1739-42	London, Mansion House. Dance.	(108)
	First use on civic public building.	
1775	Hampton, Garrick's Villa. R.Adam. Egyptian version of Corinthian with fluted frieze and paterae.	(175)
1783-96	London, Carlton House, Pall Mall. Holland. (Temple of Castor and Pollux, Rome).	
	Re-used for side porticoes of National Gallery, London (1834-8). Wilkins.	
1827-9	Glasgow, Royal Exchange. Hamilton. Fluted.	(284)
1832	Birmingham, Town Hall. Hansom and Welch. (From Temples of Castor and Pollux, and Jupiter Stator, Rome).	
1836	Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum. Basevi. (Capitol of Vespasian, Brescia).	(313)
1839-41	Bristol, Victoria Rooms. Dyer.	
1842-44	London, Royal Exchange. Tite. (From the Pantheon).	(319)

Other buildings in which the order was influenced by Roman temples include Amesbury House (1834-40), Hopper; Liverpool, St.George's Hall (1841-54), Elmes; Hull, Great Thornton Street Chapel (1843, dem.), Lockwood; and Edinburgh, Commercial Bank, George Street (1844), Rhind.

Greek Orders

	Doric	
1757	Brandeston, garden portico. ?Revett. ? Doric.	
1758	Hagley, Doric Temple. Stuart. (Theseion)	133
	First use of Greek Doric since Antiquity.	
1758(?'65)	Shugborough, Doric Temple. Stuart. (Thesion)	135
c.1766	Standlynch, portico. Revett. Delian. (Temple of Apollo, Delos)	(159)
	First use, on country house.	
1774-89	Mill Hill, Villa. Paine the Younger. Unfluted	
	?First use.	
1778-9	Ayot St.Lawrence Church. Revett. (Delian).	(182-5)
1779-	Warwick, Gaol. Johnson. Baseless unfluted.	
c.1783	First use, but intended to be fluted.	
1786-90	Stansted (dem.). J.Wyatt and J.Bonomi. Unfluted with astragals.	
1787-96	Woburn Abbey, porte cochère. Holland. Fluted.	
1789	Sydney Lodge. Soane. Unfluted.	
1790	Newcastle upon Tyne, All Saints Church, Stephenson. Fluted.	
	First use on church.	
1791-1801	Chester, Shire Hall. Harrison. Unfluted.	(200)
c.1793	Hammerwood. Latrobe. Paestum. Stopped flutes.	
1803-6	Stratton. Dance the Younger. Unfluted.	
c.1805	Osberton (dem.). Wilkins. Fluted.	(214)
	First use on country house.	
1805-9	Grange Park. Wilkins. (Theseion, with Thrasylic frieze).	(217)
1807-10	Wakefield, Courthouse. J.P.Pritchett. Fluted.	
1807-15	Belsay. Sir Charles Monck. Fluted. (Parthenon).	(222)
1808-9	London, Covent Garden Theatre. Smirke. (Theseion).	
	First use in London.	

1808-14	Storrs Hall. J.Gandy. Fluted with partially stopped flutes. (No antique precedent, but idea probably from the so-called 'portico of Philip, King of Macedon' on Delos, actually the Temple of Isis).	
c.1809	Moggerhanger. Soane. Partially stopped flutes.	
c.1809	Letheringsett. Hardy. Partially stopped flutes.	(228)
1809-12	Bayfordbury. Aldhouse. Fluted, central columns coupled.	(229)
1810	Newcastle upon Tyne, Moot Hall. Stokoe. Fluted.	
1815-19	Perth, County Buildings. Smirke. (Theseion).	(240)
1818-20	Dollar Academy. W.H.Playfair. Unfluted.	(247)
1819-36	Oakly Park. C.R.Cockerell. (Delian).	(250)
1824	London, St.Mark's, Kennington. Roper and Clayton. (Theseion).	(268)
Ionic		
1763-80	Osterley. R.Adam Roman variation on the Erechtheion Ionic. (Erechtheion, Athens)	(150-1)
1770	West Wycombe, west portico. Revett. (Temple of Bacchus, Teos) First use, on country house.	(163-4)
c.1775-80	Belfield, Villa. Crunden. (Erechtheion).	(176)
1784	Brasted Place. R.Adam. New form of Ionic.	
1788-92	Broadlands, east portico. Holland. Flutes in capitals.	(196)
1796-9	Laverstoke Park. J.Bonomi. Unfluted.	
1806	London, Royal College of Surgeons. Dance. (Temple on the Illissus). First use in London.	
1807-20	Cambridge, Downing College. Wilkins. (Erechtheion). First use in university.	(223-5)
1815-19	Balbirnie. Crichton. Unfluted.	(239)
c.1819	The Haining. Elliot. (Erechtheion).	
1819-22	London, St.Pancras New Church. W. and W.H.Inwood. (From Minerva (Athena) Polias at Athens). First use on London church.	(249)
1823-46	London, British Museum. Smirke. (Including Temples of Athena Polias at Priene, Athena Nike at Athens, and Dionysus at Teos).	(267)
c.1830	Clytha House. Haycock the Elder. (Erechtheion).	
c.1830	Upton Hall. Donthorn. (Erechtheion).	(291-2)
1835-40	Millichope. Haycock the Elder. (Illissus).	(226)
1836	Oxford, St.Paul's Church. Underwood. (Erechtheion).	(308)
1841-5	Oxford, Ashmolean Museum. C.R.Cockerell. (Temple of Apollo at Bassae).	(320-1)
1850	Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland. W.H.Playfair. Unfluted.	(336)

Bibliography

Manuscript Sources

London, British Library

Add. MS 33980, f.116	Letter, dated 30 October 1793, from Sir Joseph Banks to the architect Robert Mylne on the nature of democracy.
Add. MS 36524, f.33	Letter, dated 3 May 1800, from Charles Townley to Sir Joseph Banks on the style and dignity requisite for a new British Museum.
King's Maps xvii, 18 e-i	Deptford, St. Paul's Church; original plans by Thomas Archer of 1712-13 before the decision, taken on 5 April 1714, to add the portico.

London, Victoria & Albert Museum

D.96-1891	Drawing, catalogued as by Sir John Vanbrugh, showing the front elevation of a large colonnaded building with a pedimented, octastyle Roman Doric portico, corresponding in many significant respects to the <i>Capella Universitatis</i> appearing in Nicholas Hawksmoor's plan of 1712-13 for the redevelopment of part of Oxford University, entitled <i>Regio Prima Accademiae Oxoniensis amplificatae et exornatae</i> , at Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS.Top.Oxon.a.26(R).
D.1479-1898, ff.4,13,28	Correspondence of Charles Heathcote Tatham in Rome to Henry Holland in London, from 19 November 1794 to 8 July 1796: letters on the importance in Antiquity of the projection of porticoes; the availability of Greek architectural sources in Rome and a comparison of Greek and Roman architecture as potential sources for contemporary architecture; and the continuing reputation of Palladio's Villa Capra and of Lord Burlington's villa portico at Chiswick.
E.2021-1909	Oxford, University Galleries (Ashmolean Museum); preliminary designs by C.R.Cockerell for the pediment to the portico before the inclusion of the statue of Apollo.
E.2037-1909	Oxford, University Galleries (Ashmolean Museum); preliminary designs by C.R.Cockerell for the portico using the Corinthian, Composite and Ionic orders before the adoption of the Ionic order from the Temple of Apollo at Bassæ.
E.3024-1909	Plan, elevation and section, drawn by C.R.Cockerell in 1826, of the lost wooden model of James Gibbs's first design of 1714 for St. Mary-le-Strand, London.

New York, Cooper-Hewitt Museum of Decorative Arts and Design

C.H.M. 1938-88-3475

Italian School, 18th-century; two anonymous designs for church façades, the lower showing a similar portico to that by James Gibbs at St. Mary-le-Strand, London.

Oxford, Bodleian Library

G.A. Oxon.a.76, ff.11,12

Banbury, Oxon., St. Mary's Church; S.P.Cockerell's original design showing coupled Doric columns and consoles above balustrade instead of a shallow dome, as executed.

Gough Maps 10, f.31^v

Anonymous, undated sketch of a pedimented tetrastyle at 'Grove Place', c.1615.

Gough Maps 10, ff. 51^v,52

Hackwood Park, Hants.; engraving by M.A.Rooker and anonymous watercolour, respectively, perhaps connected with Paul Sandby's painting in the collection of the Yale Center for British Art and his *Select Views* (1793), Pl.xix, showing John Vardy's alterations of 1761-3, and James Gibbs's portico built before 1740 and removed c.1805.

Gough Maps 26, f.38

Banbury, Oxon.; anonymous, but apparently contemporary, lithograph of New Church (St. Mary's), portico completed 1822.

Gough Maps 26, ff.50b-56b

Blenheim Palace, Oxon.; including detailed engravings of the porticoes.

Gough Maps 27, ff.6B,7

Oxford, All Saints Church; engravings by Michael Burghers showing north and south porticoes at west end, as executed.

Gough Maps 27, ff.12,13

Oxford, Clarendon Building; engravings of 1755 and 1774 respectively, showing side retaining walls to portico steps, since removed.

Gough Maps 27, f.31

Oxford, Carfax: engraving by John Donowell of 1755 including 'the Piazza called Butter Market'.

Gough Maps 27, ff.41,42

Oxford, Exeter College: engraving by M.Burghers of front elevation, and bird's-eye view by George Vertue from the *Oxford Almanach* of 1739, respectively, showing unexecuted design for a columned and pedimented frontispiece, 1709. Cf. G.A. Oxon.a.96,f.54.

Gough Maps 27, f.63

Oxford, All Souls College; unexecuted design, undated, but apparently early 18th century, for 'The Cross Portico Leading from High Street, to ye Hall & Chapell' - a transparent Gothic-arched single storey arcaded walk linking the 'great and principall Gate' to 'The Portico by ye South Side of ye Hall'.

Gough Misc.Antiq., f.104,no.174

Letter, dated 27 June 1757, from Thomas Revett at Brandeston, Suffolk, to his brother Nicholas concerning 'The Portico in the Garden'.

MS Aubrey 4, f.95^r

Wotton, Surrey; sketch by John Evelyn of the garden temple built for George Evelyn, c.1652.

- MS Aubrey 4/3, f.196a Byfleet Lodge, Surrey; sketch by John Aubrey of the classical tetrastyle portico added by Sir James Fullerton, probably in the 1620s, and perhaps designed by Inigo Jones.
- MS.d.d.Par.Banbury c.6, f.163^v
MS.d.d.Par.Banbury c.10 Banbury, Oxon., St. Mary's Church; papers relating to the building of the New Church, 1792-7, to designs by S.P.Cockerell, and the completion of the portico, by C.R.Cockerell, 1818-22.
- MS Marshall 80, f.19^v Identification by Inigo Jones of 'Lodgia' with 'Porticus' when describing Raphael's Logge in the Vatican at Rome; ms. dated at f.2, 8 January 1643.
- MS.Rawlinson B.376, ff.351-2 Autograph letter from Sir John Vanbrugh, unsigned and undated, but c.1711, untitled here but with the title 'Mr Van-Brugg's Proposals about Building ye New Churches' taken from a contemporary copy at Bodleian MS.Eng.Hist.b.2.
- MS.Rawlinson D.84, f.11 Poggio a Caiano; description of the villa and portico in 'The Travels of the Honourable Banister Maynard...Through the Chief Countreys of Europe Perform'd in the Years 1661 & 1662, by his servant, Robert Moody.
- MS Tanner 74, f.7 James I, King of Great Britain; 'A Proclamation Concerning Building, In and about London and Westminster', 10 September 1611; an early regulation for 'an Uniformitie' and the use of stone in the 'forefronts' of buildings towards the streets, and for civic grandeur, to 'grace and beautifie the said Cities'.
- MS Top. Gen. c. 25, ff.152-79 John Aubrey; the fourth part of *Monumenta*, called *Chronologia Architectonica* (c.1656-c.1700).
- MS Top. Oxon. a. 9 Oxford; The University Galleries (now the Ashmolean Museum) and Taylorian Institute; competition designs by George Gutch and Edward W.Trendall, 1839.
- MS Top. Oxon. c. 202 'Papers Relating to the Building of the Taylor Institution and the Randolph Gallery, 1839-53'; containing the brief for competing architects from Convocation; details of the 27 competitors; and some of the correspondence from C.R.Cockerell.
- MS Top. Salop. c. 2, ff.376-8 Millichope New Hall, Shropshire; drawings and elevation, probably by the house's architect, Edward Haycock, 1844.

West Sussex County Record Office

- PHA 5210/11 Petworth House, West Sussex; two unexecuted designs, one including a portico, made by Sir John Soane for the 3rd Earl of Egremont in October 1814.

Unpublished Theses

- J.M.L.Booker 'The Architecture of Banking: A Study of the Design of British Banks from the Eighteenth Century to Modern Times' (York Univ., Institute of Advanced Architectural Studies, PH.D., 1984).
- I.Campbell 'Reconstructions of Roman temples made in Italy between 1450 and 1600' (Oxford Univ., D.PHIL., 1984).
- R.J.Riddell 'The Early Career and Publications of C.H.Tatham' (Royal College of Art, M.A., 1984).

Printed Sources

The place of publication is London unless otherwise stated.

1. Primary Sources

- Ackermann, R., *History of the University of Oxford*, 2 vols (1814).
 Acton, W., *A New Journal of Italy* (1691)
 Adam, R., *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia* (1764)
 Adam, R. and J., *The Works in Architecture of Robert and James Adam*, 3 vols. (1773-1822); ed. J. Swarbrick (1939), repr. (1959); ed. R. Oresko (1975).
 Addison, J., 'Remarks on Several Parts of Italy, &c. in the Years 1701, 1702, 1703', (1705); *The Works of Joseph Addison*, 4 vols (1721), ii, ed. T. Tickell.
 Aglionby, W., *Painting Illustrated* (1686)
 Aheron, J., *A General Treatise of Architecture. In Five Books* (1754).
 Aikin, E., *Designs for Villas and other Rural Dwellings* (1808).
 —————, *Essay on the Doric Order of Architecture* (1810).
 Aikin, J., *Thoughts on Hospitals...* (1771).
 Alberti, L.B., *On Painting and Sculpture*, ed. C. Grayson (1972)
 —————, *Leonis Baptiste Alberti de re aedificatoria incipit...* (Florence, 1485).
 —————, *Libri de re aedificatoria decem* (Paris, 1512).
 —————, *The Ten Books of Architecture* (facsimile reprint of the G. Leoni edition, 1755, New York, 1986).
 —————, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books* (trans. J. Rykwert, N. Leach and R. Tavernor, Cambridge, Mass., 1988).
 —————, *L'Architettura de Leonbatista Alberti*, trans. C. Bartoli (Florence, 1550).
 —————, *The Architecture of L.B. Alberti in Ten Books*, trans. J. Leoni of C. Bartoli (1550), 3 vols. (1726-30).
 Aldrich, H., *Elementa architecturae civilis ad Vitruvii veterumque disciplinam, et recentiorum praesertim a Palladii exempla probatoria concinnata* (Oxford, 1789).
 Alexander, W., *Observations on the Construction and Fitting up of Meeting Houses, &c. for Public Worship* (York, 1820).
 Alison, A., *Essays on the Nature and Principles of Taste* (Edinburgh, 1790).
 Aristotle, *L'Ethica d'Aristotile* (trans. B. Segni, Venice, 1551)
 —————, *Nicomachean Ethics* (ed. and trans. H. Rackham, 2nd rev. edn., 1934).
 Babuty-Desgodetz, A., *Les lois des bâtimens, suivant la coutume de Paris, enseignées par M. Desgodetz, avec les notes de M. Goupy* (new edn., Paris, 1787).
 Bacon, F., *Essays* (ed. O. Smeaton, 1906).
 Bardwell, W., *Temples, Ancient and Modern; Or, Notes on Church Architecture*, (1837).
 Baretti, J., *Journey from London to Genoa, through England, Portugal, Spain and France*, 2 vols (1770).
 Barry, J., *A Letter to the Dilettanti Society, Respecting...the Improvement of Public Taste* (1798).
 Bartell, E., *Hints for Picturesque Improvements* (1804).
 Beattie, J., *Essays* (Edinburgh, 1776).
 Bibiena, G.G., *Architettura e Prospettive* (Leipzig, 1740).
 Bisse, T., *The Beauty of Holiness in the Common Prayer* (1716).
 Blondel, J.F., *De la Distribution des Maisons de Plaisance*, 2 vols (Paris, 1737).
 —————, *Architecture Française*, 4 vols (Paris, 1752-6).
 Bloome, H., *A Description of the Five Orders of Columnes and Tearms of Architecture* (1678).
 Blum, H., *Quinque Columnarum* (Zurich, 1550).
 Boissard, J.J., *Romanae Urbis Topographiae et Antiquitatum*, 3 vols in 6 books (Frankfurt, 1597-1602).
 Borromeo, C., *Instructiones Fabricae et Supellectilis Ecclesiasticae*, (Milan, 1577), in S Carlo Borromei *Instructionum Fabricae Ecclesiasticae et Supellectilio Ecclesiasticae Libro Duo*, E van Drival, ed., (new edn., Paris, 1855).
 Bosse, A., *Représentations géométrales de plusieurs parties de bastiments faites par les reigles de l'architecture antique* (Paris, 1659).
 —————, *Traité des Manières de dessiner les Ordres de l'Architecture Antique en toutes leurs parties* (Paris, 1664).
 Botero, G., *A Treatise concerning the Causes of the Magnificence and Greatness of Cities* (trans. R. Peterson, 1606).

- Boyle, J., 5th Earl of Cork and Orrery, *Letters from Italy, in...1754 and 1755* (1773).
- Brayley, E.W., *Historical and Descriptive Accounts of the Theatres of London* (1826).
- Brettingham, M., *The Plans, Elevations, and Sections, of Holkham in Norfolk*. (1761).
- Breval, J.D., *Remarks on Several Parts of Europe*, 2 vols, (1726).
- , *Remarks on Several Parts of Europe...in several Tours since the Year 1723*, 2 vols (1738).
- The British Plutarch*, 6 vols. (new enl. edn., 1776).
- Britton, J. and Pugin, A.C., *Illustrations of the Public Buildings of London*, 2 vols, (1825-28).
- , *Modern Athens Displayed* (1829; facsimile reprint of 1831 edn., New York, 1969).
- Britton, J. and Brayley, E.W., *Devonshire and Cornwall Illustrated*, 2 pts (1829-32).
- , *Lancashire Illustrated* (1831).
- Brown, J., *An Estimate of the Manners and Principles of the Times* (1757).
- , *Les Moeurs Angloises, ou Appréciation des Moeurs...qui caractérisent actuellement la Nation Britannique* (The Hague, 1758).
- Brown, R., *Domestic Architecture...* (1841).
- , *Sacred Architecture; Its Rise, Progress and Present State* (1845).
- Brydges, G., 5th Lord Chandos, *Horae Subsecivae. Observations and Discourses* (1620).
- Brydone, P., *A Tour through Sicily and Malta. In a Series of Letters to William Beckford, Esq.* (1773).
- The Builder's Dictionary: Or, Gentleman and Architect's Companion*, 2 vols (1734).
- The Builder's Magazine: or Monthly Companion for Architects...* (1774-8)
- Burke, E., *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origins of Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful* (1757).
- Burton, R. (pseudonym of N. Crouch), *Historical Remarques, and Observations of the Ancient and Present State of London and Westminster* (1681).
- Busby, C.A., *A Series of Designs for Villas and Country Houses* (1808).
- Calmet, A., *Dictionnaire historique, critique, chronologique...de la Bible* (Paris, 1722, trans. S. D'Oyley and J. Colson, 3 vols, 1732).
- Cameron, C., *The Baths of the Romans Explained and Illustrated, with the Restorations of Palladio Corrected and Improved* (1772).
- Campbell, C., *Vitruvius Britannicus, Or the British Architect*, 3 vols (1715-25).
- Campen, J. van, *Afbeelding van't stadt huys van Amsterdam* (Amsterdam, 1661).
- Capaccio, G.C., *La Vera Antichità di Pozzuolo...* (2nd edn., Rome, 1652).
- The Works in Architecture of John Carr* (York, 1973).
- Castell, R., *The Villas of the Ancients Illustrated* (1728).
- Cataneo, P., *L'Architettura* (Venice, 1567).
- Cawthorn, J., *Poems by the Rev. Mr. Cawthorn* (1771).
- Caylus, Comte de, *Recueil d'Antiquités Égyptiennes, Étrusques, Grecques et Romaines*, 7 vols (Paris, 1752-67).
- Chambers, Sir W., *Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Perspective Views of the Gardens and Buildings at Kew in Surry* (1759).
- , *A Treatise on Civil Architecture* (1759, ed. J. Gwilt, 1825).
- , *A Treatise on the Decorative Part of Civil Architecture: with Illustrations, Notes, and an Examination of Grecian Architecture by J. Gwilt* (ed. W.H. Leeds, 1862).
- Chandler, R., *Travels in Asia Minor 1764-1765*, ed. E. Clay, (1971).
- Chantreau, P.N., *Voyage dans les Trois Royaumes d'Angleterre, d'Écosse et d'Irlande, fait en 1788 et 1789*, 3 vols (Paris, 1792).
- Charlemont, J.C., 4th Viscount, *The Travels of Lord Charlemont in Greece and Turkey 1749* (eds. W.B. Stanford and E.J. Finopoulos, 1984).
- Cicero, *De Officiis* (ed. W. Miller, 1913).
- , *Philippicae*, ed. W.C.A. Ker, (1926).
- Cleland, J., *Annals of Glasgow*, 2 vols (Glasgow, 1816).
- Clerisseau, C-L., *Antiquités de France* (Paris, 1778).
- Cochin, C-N., 'Lettre à M. l'Abbé R** sur une très-mauvaise plaisanterie qu'il a laissé imprimer dans le Mercure de Décembre 1754; par une société d'Architectes', *Mercure de France*, Feb., 1755 (Paris, 1755).
- Cockerell, C.R., *Travels through Southern Europe and the Levant, 1810-1817*, ed. S.P. Cockerell, (1903).
- Cogan, H., *A Direction For Such As Shall Travell unto Rome* (by F. Martinelli, trans. Cogan, 1654).
- Companion to the Almanac (The British Almanac)*, 12 vols (1827-38).
- Considerations upon the Expediency of Building a Metropolitan Palace* (1825).
- Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiasticall* (1604).
- Cooke, G., *Views in London* (1834).

- Cooper, A.A., 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury, *An Inquiry Concerning Virtue, or Merit* (1699).
 ———, *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, and Times* (1711).
 ———, *A Letter Concerning the Art, or Science of Design* (1712).
 Cordemoy, Abbé, *Nouveau Traité de toute l'Architecture* (Paris, 1714).
 Coryate, T., *Coryat's Crudities Hastily gobled up in five Moneth's travells...* (1611).
 Cotgrave, R., *A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues* (1611).
 Cozens, Z., *A Tour Through the Isle of Thanet* (1793).
 Crakanthorpe, R., *A Sermon Preached at the Solemnizing of the Happie Inauguration of our most gracious and Religious Souveraigne King James...* (1609).
 Cresy, E., *An Analytical Index to an Historical Essay on Architecture By Thomas Hope* (1836).
Critical Observations on the Buildings and Improvements of London (1771), facsimile repr. ed. D.S. Ames, in *The Augustan Reprint Society, clxxxix-cxc* (1978).
 Crunden, J., *Convenient and Ornamental Architecture* (1767).
 Dahlbergh, E.J., *Suecia Antiqua ed Hodierna*, 3 vols (Stockholm, 1723).
 D'Albenas, J.P., *Discours Historique de l'Antique et Illustre Cité de Nismes* (Lyons, 1560).
 Dallaway, J., *Anecdotes of the Arts in England: Or Comparative Remarks on Architecture, Sculpture and Painting, chiefly illustrated by Specimens at Oxford* (1800).
 ———, *Observations on English Architecture...including a Critical Itinerary of Oxford and Cambridge* (1806).
 Dankert, C., *Vignola...Regola* (Amsterdam, 1643).
 ———, *Palladio...I Quattro Libri...* (Amsterdam, 1648).
 Daniel, S., *Tethys Festival* (1610).
 D'Argenville, A-J. D., *The Theory and Practice of Gardening* (Paris, 1709).
 ———, *Voyage Pittoresque des Environs de Paris* (Paris, 3rd edn., 1768).
 Davenant, Sir W., *London. King Charles His Augusta, Or, City Royal* (1648).
 D'Aviler, A.C., *Cours d'Architecture*, 2 vols (Paris, 1691).
 Defoe, D., *Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain*, 3 vols (1724-28; reprinted as *A Tour through England and Wales*, 2 vols (1928).
 ———, *Augusta Triumphans, Or the Way to make London the Most Flourishing City in the Universe* (1728).
 De Keyser, H., *Architectura Moderna* (Amsterdam, 1631).
 De La Roche, P., *An Essay on the Orders of Architecture* (1769).
 De La Tour, A. de S., *Londres et ses Environs*, 2 vols (2nd edn., 1790).
 De L'Orme, P., *Le Premier Tome de l'Architecture* (Paris, 1567).
 De Mandeville, B., *The Fable of the Bees: Or, Private Vices, Public Benefits* (1714).
 De Marchault, J.B., *Éloges de discours sur la Triomphante Reception du Roy en sa Ville de Paris* (Paris, 1629).
 De Montfaucon, B., *Diarium Italicum* (Paris, 1702: trans. as *The Travels of ... Father Montfaucon*, London, 1712).
 ———, *L'Antiquité Expliquée et Représentée en Figures*, 5 vols (Paris, 1719; trans. D. Humphreys, London 1721).
 De'Rossi, D., *Studio d'Architettura Civile*, (Rome, 1702-21).
 De'Rossi, G.G., *Insignium Romae Templorum Prospectus Exteriores Interioresque a Celebrioribus Architectis Inventi*, (1684).
 De Saussure, C., *A Foreign View of England in the Reigns of George I and George II* (1902).
A Description of the Old and New Cities of Edinburgh (Falkirk, 1815)
 Desgodetz, A., *Les Édifices Antiques de Rome. Dessinés et Mesurés Très Exactlyment* (Paris, 1682; trans. G. Marshall, *The Ancient Buildings of Rome*, 2 vols, 1771).
 Dibdin, C.I.M., *History and Illustrations of the London Theatres* (1826).
Documents Relative to the Reception at Edinburgh of the Kings and Queens of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1822).
 Dodsley, R., *London and its Environs*, 6 vols (1761).
 Drayton, M., *Poems of Michael Drayton*, ed. J. Buxton (1953).
 Du Cerceau, J.A., *Les Plus Excellentes Bastiments de France...*, 2 vols (Paris 1576-79).
 Duff, W., *An Essay on Original Genius*, (1767).
 Dugdale, W., *The History of St. Paul's Cathedral in London* (1658).
 Dupaty, C.M.J.B.M., *Travels through Italy* (1788).
 ———, *Sentimental Letters on Italy*, 2 vols (1789).
 Dupérac, É., *I Vestigi dell'Antichità di Roma*, (1575 (1639)).
 Durand, J.-N.-L., *Recueil et Parallèle des Édifices de tout Genre, Anciens et Modernes* (Paris, 1801).
 ———, *Précis des Leçons d'Architecture données à l'École Polytechnique*, 2vols (Paris, 1802-9).

-
- , *Essai sur l'Histoire Générale de l'Architecture* (Paris, 1809).
- Elison, T., *Decorations for Parks and Gardens* (c. 1800).
- Elmes, J., 'A letter to T. Hope...', *The Pamphleteer*, iii (1813).
- , *Lectures on Architecture* (1821).
- Elyot, Sir T., *The Boke named the Governour* (1531; ed. H.H.S. Croft, 2 vols 1881).
- Emlyn, H., *A Proposition for a New Order of Architecture, with Rules for drawing the Several Parts* (1781).
- England, G., *An Enquiry into the Morals of the Ancients* (1735).
- Evelyn, J., *A Character of England* (1659).
- , *Fumifugium* (1661).
- , *An Account of Architects and Architecture* (1706).
- , *The Diary of John Evelyn, Now First Printed in Full*, ed. E.S. de Beer, 6 vols (Oxford, 1955).
- , *A Parallel of the Antient Architecture with the Modern...* (1664).
- Falda, G.B., *Il Nuovo Teatro delle Fabriche di Roma*, (Rome, 1665-99).
- The Diary of Joseph Farington*, 16 vols., vols. i-vi, eds. K. Garlick, and A. MacIntyre, (1978-79), vols vii-xvi, ed. K. Cave, (1982-84).
- Félibien, A., *Des Principes de l'Architecture...* (1676).
- , *Conférences de l'Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture pendant l'année 1667* (Paris, 1669, facsimile reprint Portland, 1972).
- Félibien, J.F., *Recueil Historique de la Vie et des Ouvrages des Plus Célèbres Architectes* (Paris, 1687).
- , *Les Plans et les Descriptions de deux des Plus Belles Maisons de Campagne de Pliny le Consul* (Paris, 1699).
- , *Dissertation touchant l'Architecture Antique et l'Architecture Gothique* (Paris, 1699).
- Fergusson, J., *An Historical Enquiry into the True Principles of Beauty in Art; more especially with reference to Architecture* (1849).
- Fischer von Erlach, J.B., *Entwurf einer Historischen Architektur* (Vienna, 1721).
- , *A Plan of Civil and Historical Architecture...*, (trans. T. Lediard, 1730).
- Fisher, T., *Kentish Traveller's Companion* (1776).
- 'A Foreign Nobleman's Idea of England', *The Town and Country Magazine*, (January 1769), 20.
- Forsyth, J., *Remarks on Antiquities, Arts, and Letters during an Excursion in Italy, in the Years 1802 and 1803* (Geneva, 1824).
- Foulston, J., *The Public Buildings erected in the West of England* (1838).
- Francini, A., (Francine, A.) *Livre D'Architecture Contenant Plusieurs Portiques De Differentes Inventions Sur les cinq ordres des Colonnes*, (Paris, 1631; 2nd edn., 1640).
- Franzini, G., *Mirabilia Romae* (1575).
- Fréart, R., Sieur de Chambray, *Parallèle de l'Architecture Antique et de la Moderne* (Paris, 1650).
- Gailhard, J., *A Treatise Concerning the Education of Youth* (1678).
- Gandy, J.M., *Designs for Cottages* (1805).
- , *The Rural Architect* (1805).
- Geijer, E.J., *Impressions of England 1809-1810* (ed. A. Black, trans. E. Sprigge and C. Napier, 1932).
- Gell, Sir W. and Gandy, J.P., *Pompeiana: The Topography, Edifices, and Ornaments of Pompeii* (1817-19).
- Sir William Gell in Italy: Letters to the Society of Dilettanti*, ed. E. Clay, with M. Frederiksen, (1976).
- Gerard, A., *An Essay on Taste* (1759).
- , *An Essay on Genius* (1774).
- Gerbier, Sir B., *A Brief Discourse concerning the Three Chief Principles of Magnificent Building: viz. Solidarity, Conveniency, and Ornament* (1662).
- , *Counsel and Advice to All Builders* (1663).
- Gibbon's Journeys from Geneva to Rome. His Journal from 20 April to 2 October 1764*, ed. G.A. Bonnard, (1961).
- Gibbon, E., *Autobiography of Edward Gibbon* (ed. Lord Sheffield, 1796).
- Gibbs, J., *A Book of Architecture, Containing Designs and Ornaments* (1728).
- , *Rules for Drawing the Several Parts of Architecture* (1732).
- Gilpin, W., *A Dialogue upon the Gardens of the Rt. Hon. Lord Viscount Cobham at Stowe* (1748).
- , *Three Essays: On Picturesque Beauty* (1792).
- Girodet de Roucy, A-L. (Girodet-Trioson), *Recueil des Discours Prononcés dans la Séance Annuelle de l'Institut de France le jeudi 24 Avril 1817* (Paris, 1817).
- , *Œuvres Posthumes* (ed. P.A. Coupin, Paris, 1829).
- Godeau, A., *La Sorbonne, Poème* (Paris, 1653).
- Goede, A.G., *The Stranger in England*, 3 vols (1807).
- Goethe, J.W., *Italian Journey* (trans. W.H. Auden and E. Mayer, Harmondsworth, 1972).

- Goguet, A.Y., *De l'Origine des Loix, des Arts et des Sciences, et de Leur Progrès chez les Anciens Peuples*, 3 vols (Paris, 1758).
- Goodwin, F., *Domestic Architecture*, 2 vols (2nd Edn., 1843).
- Gordon, George Hamilton, 4th Earl of Aberdeen, *An Inquiry into the Principles of Beauty in Grecian Architecture* (1822).
- Gordon, J., *A Panegyric of Congratulation for the Concord of the Realmes of Great Britaine in unitie of Religion and under one King* (1603).
- , *ENΩTIKON, Or, A Sermon of the Vnion of Great Brittannie in Antiquitie of Language, Name, Religion and Kingdome* (1604).
- Graevius, J.G., *Thesaurus Antiquitatem Romanorum*, 12 vols (Utrecht, 1694-99).
- Granville, A.B., *The Spas of England and Principal Sea-Bathing Places*, 2 vols (1841); facsimile edn., Bath, 1971).
- Graphaeus, E., *Le Triumphe d'Anvers faict en la Susception de Prince Philips, Prince d'Espaign* (Antwerp, 1550).
- Grasser, J.J., *De Antiquitatibus Nemausensibus Dissertatio...* (Paris, 1607).
- Gronovius, J., *Thesaurus Graecarum Antiquitatum*, 12 vols (Leyden, 1697-1702).
- Grosley, P.J., *New Observations on Italy...* (1769).
- Gwilt, J., *Notitia Architectonica Italiana* (1818).
- , *Rudiments of Architecture, Practical and Theoretical* (2nd edn., (1839).
- , *An Examination of the Elements of Beauty in Grecian Architecture*, in Sir W. Chambers's *Treatise on Civil Architecture*, (1825), pp. 1-66.
- , *Elements of Architectural Criticism* (1837).
- , *An Encyclopaedia of Architecture, Historical, Theoretical and Practical* (1843, rev. 5th edn., ed. W. Papworth, 1899).
- Gwynn, J., *Essay on Harmony. As It Relates Chiefly to Situation in Building* (1724).
- , *The Art of Architecture: A Poem in Imitation of Horaces's Art of Poetry* (1742; reprinted, intro. W.A. Gibson, *Augustan Reprint Society*, cxliv (1970), 1-34).
- , *An Essay on Design: including Proposals for erecting a Public Academy* (1749).
- , *London and Westminster Improved, Illustrated by Plans; to Which is Prefixed, a Discourse on Publick Magnificence* (1766).
- Hakewill, A.W., *An Apology for the Architectural Monstrosities of London* (1835).
- Halfpenny, W., *Magnum in Parvo: Or, the Marrow of Architecture* (1728; facsimile edn., New York, 1968).
- , *The New and Compleat System of Architecture* (1749).
- , *The Modern Builder's Assistant* (1757).
- Hall, J., *An Holy Panegyrick* (1613).
- , *Quo Vadis? A Just Censure of Travell as it is commonly undertaken by Gentlemen of our Nation* (1617).
- Hamilton, W., *A Handbook, or Concise Dictionary of Terms used in the Arts and Sciences* (1825).
- Hamilton, W.R., *Letter to the Earl of Elgin, on the New Houses of Parliament* (1836).
- , *Second Letter to the Earl of Elgin, on the Propriety of adopting the Greek Style of Architecture in the Construction of the New Houses of Parliament* (1836).
- , *Third Letter to the Earl of Elgin, on the Propriety of adopting the Greek Style of Architecture in Preference to the Gothic in the Construction of the New Houses of Parliament* (1837).
- Harrison, S., *Arches of Triumph* (1604).
- Harrison, W., *Description of Britaine* (2nd edn., 1584).
- Hawkins, J.S., *History of Gothic Architecture* (1813).
- Hoare, Sir R.C., *Hints to Travellers in Italy* (1815).
- , *A Description of the House and Gardens at Stourhead* (1818).
- , *A Classical Tour through Italy and Sicily* (1819).
- , *The History of Modern Wiltshire, The Hundred of Mere* (1822).
- Hobhouse, B., *Remarks on Parts of France, Italy, &c. in the Years 1783, 1784 and 1785* (1786).
- Hoby, Sir T., *The Travels and Life of Sir Thomas Hoby, Kt. of Bisham Abbey, written by himself, 1547-1564*, ed. E. Powell (Camden Society, 3rd Ser, iv, 1902).
- , *The Courtyer of Count Baldessar Castilio...done into Englyshe by Thomas Hoby* (1561, ed. J.E. Ashbee, 1900).
- Hogarth, W., *The Analysis of Beauty; Written with A View of Fixing the Fluctuating Ideas of Taste* (1753).

- Holland, H., *Travels in the Ionian Isles, Albania, Thessaly, Macedonia, &c., during the Years 1812 and 1813* (1815).
- Home, H., Lord Kames, *Elements of Criticism*, 3 vols (1762).
- The Diary of Robert Hooke, 1672-80*, eds. H. Robinson & W. Adams, 1935
- Hope, T., *Observations on the Plans and Elevations Designed by James Wyatt, Architect, for Downing College Cambridge, in a Letter to Francis Annesley, Esq., Master* (1804).
- , 'On Grecian and Gothic Architecture', *Review of Publications of Art*, iv (1808), 297-303.
- , *An Historical Essay on Architecture*, 2 vols (1835).
- Hopper, T., *A Letter...for the New Houses of Parliament* (1837).
- Hosking, W., *An Introductory Lecture...on the Principles and Practice of Architecture* (1842).
- Howard, F., 5th Earl of Carlisle, *Thoughts upon the Present Condition of the Stage, and upon the Construction of a New Theatre* (1801).
- Howard, J., *The State of the Prisons in England and Wales* (1777).
- Howell, J., *Instructions for Forreine Travel* (1642).
- Hübsch, H., *In Welchem Stil Sollen Wir Bauen?* (Karlsruhe, 1828).
- Huet, J.C., *Parallèle des Temples, Anciens, Gothiques, et Modernes* (Paris, 1809).
- Huggins, S., 'On the Present State and Prospects of Architecture', *The Builder*, vii, 357, (1849), 578-9.
- Hunter, R.E., *A Short Account of the Isle of Thanet* (new edn., Ramsgate, 1813).
- Hurd, R., *Dialogues on the Uses of Foreign Travel* (1764).
- Hutcheson, F., *An Enquiry into the Original of our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue* (1725).
- Ibbetson, J.C., Laporte, J. and Hassell, J., *A Picturesque Guide to Bath, Bristol Hot-Wells, The River Avon, and the Adjacent Country* (1793).
- Inwood, H.W., *The Erechtheion at Athens* (1827).
- , *The Resources of Design in the Architecture of Greece, Egypt, and other Countries...* (1834).
- Jackson, J.G., *Designs for Villas* (1827-29).
- James, J., *Rules and Examples of Perspective, proper for Painters and Architects* (1707), trans. of A. Pozzo, *Perspectiva Pictorum et Architectorum* (Rome, 1693).
- , *A Treatise of the Five Orders of Columns in Architecture* (1708), trans. of C. Perrault, *Ordonnance des Cinq Espèces de Colonnes, selon la Méthode des Anciens* (Paris, 1683).
- , *The Theory and Practice of Gardening* (1712), trans. of A-J. Dezallier d'Argenville, *La Théorie et la Pratique du Jardinage* (Paris, 1709).
- James I, King of Great Britain, *Basilikon Doron, Or, His Maiesties Instructions to his Dearest Sonne, Henrie the Prince* (1603).
- , *The Kings Maiesties Speach...1609* (1610).
- , *A Proclamation Concerning Building, in and about London, and Westminster, 10 September 1611* (1611).
- , *The Workes of the Most High and Mighty Prince James...* (1616).
- Jenkins, J. and Hosking, W., *A Selection of Architectural and other Ornament; Greek, Roman and Italian* (1827).
- Johnson, J., *Plans, Sections, and Perspective Elevations of the Essex County Hall at Chelmsford* (1808).
- Johnson, S., *A Dictionary of the English Language*, 2 vols (1755).
- Jones, E., *Athenian; Or Grecian Villas* (1835).
- Jones, I., *The Most Notable Antiquity of Great Britain, Vulgarly called Stone-Heng, on Salisbury Plain, Restored* (ed. J. Webb, 1655).
- Kent, N., *Hints to Gentleman of Landed Property* (1775).
- Kent, W., *The Designs of Inigo Jones Consisting of Plans and Elevations for Publick and Private Buildings*, 2 vols (1727).
- King, P., 1st Baron, *An Enquiry into the Constitution, Discipline, Unity & Worship of the Primitive Church* (1692).
- King, W., *A Journey to London, in the Year, 1698* (1698).
- Klenze, L. von, *Sammlung Architektonischer Entwürfe* (Munich, 1830-50).
- , *Anweisung zur Architektur des christlichen Cultus* (Munich, 1834).
- , *Description de la Glyptothèque de Sa Majesté, Louis I, roi de Bavière* (Munich, 1835).
- , *Die Walhalla in Artistischer und Technischer Beziehung* (Munich, 1843).
- Knyff, L. and Kip, J., *Britannia Illustrata* (1707, reduced facsimile edn., Bungay, 1984).
- Krafft, J.C.P. von and Ransonnette, N., *Plans, Coupes, Élévations des plus belles Maisons et des Hôtels Construits à Paris et dans les Environs* (Paris, 1771-1802).
- Krafft, J.C.P. von, *Portes Cochères et Portes d'entrées des Maisons et d'Édifices publics de Paris* (Paris, 1838).

- Labacco, A., *Libro d'Antonio Labacco appartenente a l'Architettura* (Rome, 1552).
- Lamb, E.B., *Studies of Ancient Domestic Architecture* (1846).
- Lamy, B., *De Tabernaculo Fæderis, De Sancta Civitate Jerusalem, et De Templo Ejus. Libri Septem* (Paris, 1720).
- Langley, B., *The Builder's Director, or Bench-Mate: Being a Pocket Treasury of the Grecian, Roman and Gothic Orders* (1751).
- , *The City and Country Builder's and Workman's Treasury of Designs*, (1740).
- Lassels, R., *The Voyage of Italy: or a compleat Journey through Italy* (Paris, 1670).
- Laugier, M.-A., *Essai sur l'Architecture* (Paris, 1753).
- Lauro, G., *Antiquae Urbis Splendor*, (1612-14).
- Le Blanc, Abbé J.-B., *Lettres...concernant le Gouvernement, la Politique et les Moeurs des Anglois et des François*, 3 vols (The Hague, 1747).
- Le Camus de Mézières, *Le Génie de l'Architecture ou l'Analogie de cet Art avec nos Sensations* (Paris, 1780).
- Lediard, T., *Some Observations on the Scheme, Offered by Messrs. Cotton and Lediard, for Opening the Streets and Passages to and from the Intended Bridge at Westminster* (1738).
- Ledoux, C.-N., *L'Architecture considérée sous le Rapport de l'Art, des Moeurs, et de la Législation* (Paris, 1804).
- , *Architecture de C.N. Ledoux*, I (1847, facsimile edn., Princeton, 1983).
- Lee, S., *Orbis Miraculum: Or the Temple of Solomon Pourtrayed by Scripture-Light* (1659).
- Leeds, W.H., *Illustrations of the Public Buildings of London* (1838).
- , *An Essay on the Present State of Architectural Study and the Revival of the Italian Style* (1839).
- , *Rudimentary Architecture...* (2nd edn., 1848).
- Leeke, J., *The Regular Architect* (1669), trans. of G.B. da Vignola, *Regola delle Cinque Ordine d'Architettura* (Venice, 1562).
- Lemonnier, H., *Procès-Verbaux de l'Académie Royale d'Architecture 1671-1793*, 10 vols (Paris, 1911-1929).
- Leoni, J., *Some Designs for Buildings both Publick and Private* (1726).
- Le Pautre, A., *Les Oeuvres d'Architecture d'Anthoine Le Pautre*, (1652).
- Le Roy, J.-D., *Les Ruines des plus beaux Monuments de la Grèce* (Paris, 1758).
- , *Histoire de la Disposition et des Formes Différentes que les Chrétiens ont données a leurs Temples, depuis le Règne de Constantin le Grand jusqu'à Nous* (Paris, 1764).
- Lewis, J., *Original Designs in Architecture*, 2 vols (1780-97, facsimile edn., Farnborough, 1967).
- Lightfoot, J., *The Temple: Especially as It stood in the Dayes of our Saviour* (1650).
- Lipsius, J., *Admiranda sive de Magnitudine Romana Libri Quattor* (Antwerp 1598).
- Lomazzo, G.P., *Trattato dell'Arte della Pittura, Scultura, et Architettura* (Milan, 1584; trans. R. Haydocke, *A Tracte Containing the Artes of Curious Paintinge, Carvinge, Buildinge* (Oxford, 1598)).
- , *Idea del Tempio della Pittura...* (2nd edn., Bologna, 1785).
- Loudon, J.C., *A Treatise on Forming, Improving and Managing Country Residences*, 2 vols. (1806).
- , *An Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm and Villa Architecture and Furniture* (1833).
- , *The Architectural Magazine*, 5 vols (1834-38).
- Loveday, J., *Diary of a Tour in 1732 through parts of England, Wales, Ireland and Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1890).
- Lugar, R., *Architectural Sketches* (1805).
- , *The Country Gentleman's Architect* (1807).
- , *Villa Architecture* (1828).
- Luyken, J., *Afbeeldingen der Merkwaaadigste Geschiedenissen van het Oude en Nieuwe Testament* (Amsterdam, 1729).
- Lysons, D., *The Environs of London*, 4 vols (1792-96).
- Macky, J., *A Journey through England*, 3 vols (1714-23).
- M'Dermot, M., *A Critical Dissertation on the Nature and Principles of Taste* (1823).
- Maillet, L., *Les Figures du Temple et du Palais de Solomon* (Paris, 1695).
- Maitland, W., *The History of London, from its Foundation by the Romans to the Present Time* (1739).
- Major, T., *The Ruins of Paestum* (1768).
- Malton, J., *An Essay on Cottage Architecture* (1798).
- , *A Picturesque and Descriptive View of the City of Dublin* (1799; intro. M. Craig, *James Malton, Dublin Views in Colour* (Dublin, 1981)).
- Marot, J., *Les Oeuvres* (Paris, 1723).
- , *Receuil des Plans, Profils et Élévations...* (Paris, c.1655; facsimile edn., Farnborough, 1969).

- Marsden, R.C., *Letters Illustrative of Italian Scenery and Antiquities* (1821).
- Martyn, T., *The Gentleman's Guide in his Tour through Italy* (1787).
- , *A Tour through Italy* (1791).
- Mathews, J. (ed.), *Mathew's Complete Bristol Guide* (7th edn., Bristol, 1828).
- Matthews, J.T., *Useful Architecture* (1812).
- Maundrell, H., *A Journey from Aleppo* (Oxford, 1703).
- Melmoth, W., *Letters on Several Subjects*, 2 vols (1748-49).
- Middleton, C., *Picturesque and Architectural Views for Cottages, Farm Houses, and Country Villas* (1793; facsimile edn., Farnborough, 1972).
- , *The Architect's and Builder's Miscellany* (1799).
- , *Decorations for Parks and Gardens* (c.1800).
- Middleton, C., *A Letter from Rome* (1729).
- Miller, A., *Letters from Italy...in the Years MDCCLXX and MDCCLXXI...By an English Woman*, 3 vols (Dublin, 1776).
- Miller, J., *Andrea Palladio's Elements of Architecture, Restored to Its Original Perfection* (c. 1748).
- , *The Country Gentleman's Architect* (1787).
- Misson, F.M., *A New Voyage to Italy*, 2 vols (1695).
- Misson, H., M. Misson's *Memoirs and Observations in his Travels over England*, trans. J. Ozell (1719).
- Mitchell, R., *Plans, Views in Perspective, with Descriptions, of Buildings erected in England and Scotland* (1801).
- Mitford, W., *Principles of Design in Architecture* (1824).
- , *History of Greece*, 5 vols (1784-1818).
- Moncrieff, J., *Guide to Leamington Spa* (6th edn., Leamington, 1833).
- Montagu, E., *The Letters of Mrs Elizabeth Montagu*, 4 vols (1810-13).
- Montagu, M.W., *Letters of the Right Honourable Lady M---y W---y M---e* (1771).
- Montano, G.B., *Scielta di Varii Tempietti Antichi* (Rome, 1624).
- , *Raccolta de Tempii, e Sepolcri* (Rome, 1638).
- , *Li Cinque Libri di Architettura*, (1691).
- Moore, J., *A View of Society and Manners in Italy*, 2 vols (1781).
- , *A Journal during a Residence in France...1792*, 2vols (1793).
- Morison, R., *Designs for Perspective in Villas* (1794).
- Morris, R., *An Essay in Defence of Ancient Architecture* (1728; facsimile edn., Farnborough, 1972).
- , *An Essay on Harmony. As it relates chiefly to Situation and Building* (1739).
- , *The Architectural Remembrancer* (1751).
- , *Lectures on Architecture*, 2 vols (1734-36).
- , *Rural Architecture* (1750; facsimile edn., Farnborough 1971).
- Morritt, J.B.S., *Letters Descriptive of a Journey in Europe and Asia Minor in the Years 1794-1796*, ed. G.E. Marindin (1914; intro. P.J. Hogarth, *A Grand Tour: Letters and Journeys 1794-96* (1985)).
- Moryson, F., *An Itinerary...1617* (1617).
- Moxon, J., *Vignola: or the Compleat Architect* (1655), trans. of G.B. da Vignola *Regola delle Cinque Ordine d'Architettura* (Venice, 1562).
- Murphy, J.C., *Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Views of the Church of Batalha* (1795).
- Naunton, Sir R., *Fragmentia Regalia* (1641).
- Neve, R., *The City and Country Purchaser, and Builder's Dictionary* (1726; facsimile edn., Newton Abbot, 1969).
- Nichols, J., *Progresses, and Public Processions, of Queen Elizabeth* (1788).
- Norden, J., *Speculum Britanniae: The First Parte...* (1593).
- Northall, J., *Travels through Italy* (1766).
- Nourse, T., *Campania Felix* (1700).
- Nugent, T., *Grand Tour Containing an Exact Description of...Europe* (1749).
- O'Connor, A., *The Present State of Great Britain* (1804).
- Ogilby, J., *The Relation of His Majestie's Entertainment passing through the City of London to his Coronation with a Description of the Triumphal Arches* (1661).
- Overton, T.C., *Original Designs of Temples and Other Ornamental Buildings for Parks and Gardens, in the Greek, Roman and Gothic Taste* (1766).
- Ouvrard, R., *Architecture Harmonique, Ou l'Application de la Doctrine des Proportions de la Musique à l'Architecture* (Paris, 1677).
- Pain, W., *The Practical Builder* (1774).

-
- Paine, J., *Plans, Elevations, Sections and other Ornaments of the Mansion House belonging to the Corporation of Doncaster* (1751).
- , *Plans, Elevations and Sections of Noblemen and Gentlemen's Houses* (1767).
- Palladio, A., *Le Cose Maravigliose dell'alma Città di Roma* (Rome, 1575).
- , *I Quattro Libri dell'Architettura* (Venice, 1570).
- , *The First Book of Architecture*, trans. G. Richards (1663).
- , *The Architecture of A. Palladio*, trans. G. Leoni, 5 parts, (1715-1720).
- , *The Four Books of Andrea Palladio's Architecture*, ed. I Ware (1738), facsimile edn., (New York, 1965).
- Paoli, P.A., *Antiquitatum Puteolis, Cumis, Baiis Existentium Reliquiae* (Florence, 1768).
- , *Paesti quod Posidoniam etiam dixere Rudera...* (Rome, 1784).
- Papworth, J.B., *Rural Residences* (1818; facsimile edn., Farnborough 1971).
- Parker, C., *Villa Rustica* (1832-41).
- Parker, J.H., *Dictionary of Architecture* (3rd edn., Oxford, 1840).
- , *A Concise Glossary of Architectural Terms* (Oxford, 1846).
- Parker, M., *De Antiquitate Britannicae Ecclesiae* (1572).
- Passavant, J.D., *Kunstreise durch England und Belgien*, 2 vols (Frankfurt, 1838; trans. E. Rigsby, *Tour of a German Artist in England*, 2 vols (1836; facsimile edn., East Ardsley, 1978).
- Peacham, H., *Minerva Britannia, Or, A Garden of Heroical Devices* (1612).
- Peacham's Compleat Gentleman*, ed. G.S. Gordon, (Oxford, 1906).
- Peacock, J., *OIKIΔIA, Or Nutshells* (1785).
- Pearce, Z., *An Essay on the Origin and Progress of Temples* (1727).
- Penn, J., *An Historical and Descriptive Account of Stoke Park* (1813).
- Perrault, C., *Les Dix Livres d'Architecture de Vitruve* (Paris, 1673).
- , *Vitruvius Pollio, Abrégé des Dix Livres de'Architecture de Vitruve* (Paris, 1674).
- , *Ordonnances des Cinq Espèces de Colonnes, selon la Méthode des Anciens* (Paris, 1683).
- , *Parallèle des Anciens et des Modernes* (Paris, 1688-97).
- , *An Abridgement of the Architecture of Vitruvius*, trans. (1692).
- , *A Treatise of the Five Orders of Columns in Architecture*, trans. J. James (1708).
- Peshall, J., *Antient and Present State of the City of Oxford* (1773).
- Peyre, J.-M., *Oeuvres d'Architecture* (Paris, 1765).
- Philipot, T., *Villare Cantianum, or Kent* (1659).
- Piranesi, G.B., *Della Magnificenza ed Architettura de' Romani* (Rome, 1761).
- , *Parere su l'Architettura (Osservazione...sopra la lettre di M. Mariette; Rome 1765).*
- Plaw, J., *Rural Architecture* (1785).
- , *Sketches for Country Houses, Villas, and Rural Dwellings* (1800); facsimile edn., (Farnborough, 1972).
- Pliny, the Younger, *The Letters of Pliny the Younger*, trans. B. Radice, (Harmondsworth, 1963).
- , *Letters and Panegyricus*, 2 vols, trans. B. Radice (1969).
- 'The Travels through England of Dr. Richard Pococke', ed. J.J. Cartwright, *Camden Soc.*, new series, xlii, 1 (1888), 2 (1889).
- Pope, A., *Epistle to the Right Honourable Richard Boyle, Earl of Burlington* (1731).
- The Correspondence of Alexander Pope*, ed. G.W.Sherburn, 5 vols (Oxford, 1956).
- Pratt, J., *Remains of the Late Rev. Richard Cecil, A.M., with a View of his Character, by the Rev. Josiah Pratt* (1849).
- Price, D., *The Creation of the Prince* (1610).
- , *The Defence of Truth* (1610).
- , *David His Oath of Allegiance to Ierusalem* (1613).
- Primatt, S., *The City & Country Purchaser & Builder*, (1667).
- [Prynne, William], *A Quench-Coale...By a Well-wisher to the Truth of God, and the Church of England* (1637).
- Pugin, A.W.N., *Contrasts: Or, A Parallel between the Noble Edifices of the Middle Ages and Corresponding Buildings of the Present Day; Shewing the Present Decay of Taste* (1836).
- , *An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture in England* (1843).
- Purchas, S., *The Kings Toure and Triumphant Arch of London* (1623).
- Raleigh, Sir W., *Sir Walter Raleigh's Sceptick, or Speculations. And Observations of the Magnificency of Cities* (1651).

- Ralph, J., *A Critical Review of the Public Buildings in London and Westminster* (1734; facsimile edn., Farnborough, 1971).
- Rawlins, T., *Familiar Architecture* (1768).
- Ray, J., *Observations, Topographical, Moral, & Psychological...* (1673).
- Raymond, J., *An Itinerary Contayning A Voyage, Made through Italy, in the Yeare 1646, and 1647* (1648).
- Reid, W.H., *The Rise and Dissolution of the Infidel Societies in this Metropolis* (1800).
- Repton, H., *Sketches and Hints on Landscape Gardening* (1794-95).
- , *Observations on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening* (1803).
- , *An Enquiry into the Changes of Taste in Landscape Gardening* (1806).
- , *Fragments on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening* (1816).
- Sir Joshua Reynolds: *Discourses on Art*, ed. R.E. Wark, (New Haven, 1959; repr. 1981)
- Richardson, G., *A Treatise on the Five Orders of Architecture* (1787).
- , *New Designs in Architecture* (1792).
- , *Capitals of Columns and Friezes from the Antique* (1793).
- , *The First Part of a Complete System of Architecture: Or, A Series of Original Designs for Country Seats or Villas* (1794).
- , *The New Vitruvius Britannicus*, 2 vols (1802-8, 1808-10).
- Richardson, J., *An Essay on the Theory of Painting* (1715).
- Riou, S., *The Grecian Orders of Architecture* (1768).
- Robins, S., *The Building of Beautiful Churches, A Privilege and a Duty* (1845).
- Rondelet, J.-B., *Mémoire Historique dur le Dôme du Panthéon Français* (Paris, 1797).
- , *L'Art de Bâtir* (1802-3).
- , *Traité Théoretique et Pratique de l'Art de Bâtir*, 5 vols (Paris, 1812).
- Rowe, G., *Illustrated Cheltenham Guide* (1845; facsimile edn., Gloucester, 1981).
- Rowland, T., *A General Treatise of Architecture. In Seven Books* (1743).
- Rubens, P.P., *Palazzi di Genova*, 2 vols (Antwerp, 1622).
- Rusconi, G.A., *Della Architettura* (Venice, 1590).
- , *I Dieci Libri d'Architettura di Giovanni Antonio Rusconi* (Venice, 1660).
- Rushout, J., 2nd Baron Northwick, *Hours in the Picture Gallery of Thirlestane House, Cheltenham* (Cheltenham, 1843).
- Rutter, J., *Delineations of Fonthill* (Shaftesbury, 1823).
- Salmon, W., *Palladio Londinensis: Or, the London Art of Building* (1734).
- Samber, R., *Roma Illustrata* (2nd edn., 1722).
- Sandrart, J.J.von., *Insignium Romae Templorum Prospectus*, (n.d., c.1690).
- Sandys, G., *A Relation of A Journey begun An. Dom. 1610* (1615).
- Sarayna, T., *De Origine e Amplitudine Civitatis Veronae* (Verona, 1540).
- Saumaise, C. de, *Pliniana Exercitationes in Caii Solini Polyhistoria...*, 2 vols (Paris, 1629).
- Saunders, G., *A Treatise on Theatres* (1790).
- Savot, L., *L'Architecture Française de Bastimens Particuliers* (Paris, 1624).
- Sayer, R., *Vignola Revived* (1761); incomplete edn. of A.C. D'Aviler *Cours d'Architecture*, 2 vols (1691).
- Scamozzi, V., *L'Idea dell'Architettura Universale*, 2 vols (Venice, 1615; Amsterdam, 1657); trans. J. Schuym, *Grundregeln der Baukunst* (Amsterdam, 1662); trans. W. Fisher, *The Mirrour of Architecture* (1669).
- Scamozzi, O.B., *Le Fabbriche e I Disegni di Andrea Palladio*, 4 vols (Vicenza, 1796; facsimile edn., intro. J.Q. Hughes (1968).
- Schinkel, K.F., *Sammlung architektonischer Entwürfe* (Berlin, 1819-40); eds. K.S. Hazlett, S. O'Malley and C. Rudolph, *Collection of Architectural Drawings* (facsimile edn., Guildford, 1989).
- Serlio, S., *Tutte l'Opere d'Architettura et Prospettiva* (Venice, 1584); trans. P.C. van Aelst, *Den Eerste Vijfsten Boek van Architecture Sebastiani Serlij* (Amsredam, 1606); trans. R. Peake, *The Entire Works on Architecture and Perspective* (1611; reduced facsimile edn., *Sebastiano Serlio: The Five Books of Architecture*, New York, 1982).
- Sharp, S., *Letters from Italy...1765 and 1766* (1766).
- Shebbeare, J. (pseudonym of B. Angeloni), *Letters on the English Nation*, 2 vols (1755).
- Shepherd, T.H. and Elmes, J., *Metropolitan Improvements* (1827-9; facsimile edn., New York, 1968, Newcastle upon Tyne, 1970).
- , *London and its Environs in the Nineteenth Century* (1829; facsimile edn., New York, 1968).
- Shepherd, T.H. and Britton, J., *Modern Athens...Or, Edinburgh in the Nineteenth Century* (1829; facsimile edn., New York 1969).
- Sherlock, M., *Nouvelles Lettres d'un Voyageur Anglois* (1780).

- Shute, J., *The First and Chief Groundes of Architecture* (1563).
- Slater, J., *An Original Draught of the Primitive Church* (1717).
- Smirke, S., *Suggestions for the Architectural Improvement of the Western Part of London* (1834).
- Soane, Sir J., *Designs in Architecture* (1778).
- , *Sketches in Architecture* (1793).
- , *A Letter to Earl Spencer* (1799).
- , *Designs for Public Improvements in London and Westminster* (1827).
- , *Designs for Public and Private Buildings* (1828).
- Sir John Soane: *Lectures on Architecture*, ed. A.T. Bolton (1929).
- Joseph Spence: *Letters from the Grand Tour*, ed. S. Klima, (Montreal, 1975).
- Speed, J., *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine* (1611).
- , *The History of Great Britaine* (1611).
- Spon, J. and Wheler, G., *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant Fait en Années 1675 et 1676*, 3 vols (Lyon, 1678-80).
- Sprat, T., *The History of the Royal-Society of London* (1667).
- Stanyan, T., *The Grecian History*, 2 vols (I, 1707, 2nd edn., I, II, 1739).
- Starke, M., *Letters from Italy, Between the Years 1792 and 1798*, 2 vols (1800).
- Stieglitz, C.L., *Plans et Dessins Tirés de la Belle Architecture* (Moscow, 1800).
- Stillingfleet, E., *Origines Britannicae, Or, the Antiquities of the British Churches* (1685).
- 'The note-book and account book of Nicholas Stone', ed. W.L. Spiers, WS, vii (1918-19), 158-200.
- Stuart, J., and Revett, N., *The Antiquities of Athens*, 4 vols (1762-1816).
- Stubbe, H., *The Arts of Grandeur and Submission* (1665).
- Stukeley, W., *Itinerarium Curiosum: Or, An Account of the Antiquities, and Remarkable Curiosities in Nature or Art, Observed in Travels through Great Britain* (1776).
- Swan, A., *A Collection of Designs in Architecture*, 2 vols (1757).
- Swift, J., *On the Dissensions in Athens and Rome* (1701).
- , *A Full and True Account of the Battel fought last Friday, between the Antient and Modern Books in St. James's Library* (1710).
- Swinburne, H., *Travels in the Two Sicilies...in the Years 1777, 1778, 1779 and 1780*, 4 vols. (2nd edn., 1790).
- T., R., *De Templis. A Treatise of Temples: Wherein is Discovered the Ancient Manner of Building, Consecrating, and Adorning of Churches*, (1638).
- Tatham, E., *Oxonia Explicata & Ornata. Proposals for Disengaging and Beautifying the University and City of Oxford* (1773).
- The Tatler*, ed. D.F. Bond, 3 vols (Oxford, 1987).
- Taylor, G.L. and Cresy, E., *The Architectural Antiquities of Rome*, 2 vols (1821-22).
- Temple, Sir W., *An Essay upon the Ancient and Modern Learning* (1690).
- Thiery, L.-V., *Guide des Amateurs et des Étrangers Voyageurs à Paris* (Paris, 1787).
- Thomas, W., *The Historie of Italie* (1549).
- Thomas, W., *Original Designs in Architecture* (1783).
- Thomson, J., *Retreats: A Series of Designs, Consisting of Plans and Elevations for Cottages, Villas, and Ornamental Buildings* (1827).
- Thornborough, J., *A Discourse...* (1604).
- , *The Ioiefull and Blessed Reuniting the Two Mighty and Famous Kingdomes, England and Scotland into their Ancient Name of Great Britain* (Oxford, 1605).
- The Torrington Diaries*, ed. C.B. Andrews, 4 vols. (1934-38).
- Troughton, T., *A History of Liverpool* (Liverpool, 1810).
- 'A True Description and Direction of what is most Worthy to be seen in all Italy', *The Harleian Miscellany*, xii (1811).
- Vardy, J., *Some Designs of Mr. Inigo Jones and Mr. Wm. Kent, Published by J. Vardy* (1744; facsimile edn., Farnborough, 1967).
- Veryard, E., *An Account of Divers Choice Remarks...Taken in a Journey...* (1701).
- Vignola, G.B. da, *Regola delle Cinque Ordine d'Architettura* (Venice, 1562).
- Villalpando, J.B. and Prado, J., *In Ezechielem Explanationes et Apparatus Urbis ac Templi Hierosolymitani*, 3 vols (Rome, 1696-1605).
- Vinet, É., *L'Antiquité de Bordeaux* (Bordeaux, 1574).
- Vitruvius, *De Architectura Libri Decem, cum Commentariis Danielis Barbari* (Venice, 1567).
- , *Vitruvii P. de Architectura Libri Decem* (Amsterdam, 1649).
- , *The Architecture of Marcus Vitruvius Pollio. Translated from the Latin by Joseph Gwilt* (1826).
- , *De Architectura*, ed. F. Granger, 2 vols (1931).

- Volney, C.F. de C., Comte de, *Les Ruines, ou Méditations sur les Révolutions des Empires* (Paris, 1791).
- Vredeman de Vries, H., *Variae Architecturae Formae* (The Hague, 1601; new edn., Brussels, 1877).
- , *Perspective, Id est, Celeberrima ars...* (The Hague and Leiden, 1604-5).
- , *Architectura* (The Hague, 1606).
- Walker, O., *Of Education* (Oxford, 1673; facsimile edn., Menstone, 1970).
- Wallace, J., *A General and Descriptive History of the Antient and Present State of the Town of Liverpool* (Liverpool, 1795).
- Walpole, H., *Essay on Modern Gardening* (Strawberry Hill, 1785).
- The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, eds. W.S. Lewis, et al., 48 vols (New Haven, 1937-83).
- 'Walpole's Journals of Visits to Country Seats', ed. P. Toynbee, WS, xvi (1927-28), 9-80.
- Walton, B., ed., *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta*, 6 vols. (1655-57).
- Warcupp, E., *Italy in Its Originall Glory, Ruine and Revivall* (1660; trans. of F. Schottus, *Itierarii Italiae...*, Antwerp, 1600).
- Ware, I., *Designs of Inigo Jones and Others* (1731).
- , *The Plans, Elevations, and Sections...of Houghton in Norfolk* (1735).
- , *Design for the Mansion House of...the Lord Mayor by Isaac Ware, 1737* (1737).
- , *A Complete Body of Architecture* (1756).
- Weale, J., ed., *Quarterly Papers on Architecture*, 4 vols (1844-5).
- , *Rudimentary Dictionary of Terms used in Architecture* (1849).
- Webb, J., *A Vindication of Stone-Heng Restored* (1665).
- Weever, J., *Antient Funerall Monuments* (1631).
- Wendeborn, F.A., *A View of England towards the Close of the Eighteenth Century*, 2 vols. (1791).
- Westerman, W., *Salomon's Porch: Or A Caveat for them that enter God's House*, (1608).
- Weston, S., *Viaggiana*, (2nd edn., 1797).
- Whately, T., *Observations on Modern Gardening* (1770).
- Wheler, G., *An Account of the Churches, or Places of Assembly, of the Primitive Christians* (1689).
- White, J., *Some Account of the Proposed Improvements of the Western Part of London* (1814).
- , *Rural Architecture* (Glasgow, 1845).
- Whitridge, H., *An Essay on Decorations and Embellishments for the City of London* (1754).
- Wightwick, G., *The Palace of Architecture* (1840).
- , *Hints to Young Architects*, (1846).
- Wilkins, W., *The Antiquities of Magna Graecia* (Cambridge, 1807).
- , *The Civil Architecture of Vitruvius* (1812).
- , *Historical View of the Rise and Progress of Architecture Amongst the Greeks* (1812).
- , *Atheniensia, Or Remarks on the Topography and Buildings of Athens* (1816).
- , *Prolusiones Architectonicae, Or Essays on Subjects connected with Grecian and Roman Architecture* (1837).
- Willet, A., *Ecclesia Triumphans* (1603).
- Williams, J., *Great Britains Salomon* (1625).
- Williams, W., *Oxonia Depicta* (Oxford, 1733).
- Winckelmann, J.J., *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums* (Dresden, 1764; trans. G.H. Lodge, *History of Ancient Art among the Greeks* (1850).
- Winston, J., *The Theatric Tourist* (1805).
- Wood, J., *A Description of the Exchange at Bristol* (Bath, 1743; repr. Bath, 1969).
- , *Dissertation Upon the Orders of Columns* (Bath, 1750).
- , *The Origin of Building: Or the Plagiarism of the Heathens Detected* (Bath, 1741).
- , *An Essay Towards a Description of the City of Bath*, 2 vols (I, 1742, II, 1743).
- Wood, R., *The Ruins of Palmyra* (1753; facsimile edn., Farnborough, 1971).
- Woods, J., *An Essay on Modern Theories of Taste* (1808).
- , *Letters of an Architect, from France, Italy, and Greece*, 2 vols (1828).
- Woodward, J., *Remarks upon the Ancient and Present State of London* (1713).
- Wordsworth, C., *Athens and Attica: Journal of a Residence There* (1836).
- Wotton, H., *Elements of Architecture* (1624); ed. F. Hard (facs. repr., Charlottesville, 1968).
- Wotton, W., *Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning* (1694).
- Wren, S., *Parentalia* (1750; facsimile edn., Farnborough, 1965).
- Wright, E. and Parker, G., 2nd Earl of Macclesfield, *Some Observations Made in Travelling through France, Italy, &c., in the Years 1720, 1721, and 1722*, 2 vols (1730).
- Wright, T., *Universal Architecture* (1755).

Wrighte, W., *Grotesque Architecture* (1767).

Wyatt, B.D., *Observations on the Design of the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane* (1813).

Yorke, P., 2nd Earl of Hardwicke, 'A Journal of What I Observed Most Remarkable in A Tour into The North', Bedfordshire Historical Record Society (1968).

Young, A., *A Six Weeks Tour, through the Southern Counties of England and Wales* (1768).

—————, *A Six Months Tour through the North of England*, 4 vols (1770).

Young, E., *Conjectures on Original Composition* (1759).

—————, *An Essay on Original Genius* (1767).

Zimmerman, J.G., *Solitude, Or the Effect of Occasional Retirement* (1804).

Zuccaro, F., *L'Idea de' Pittori, Scultori, ed Architetti* (Turin, 1607).

2. Secondary Sources

- Abel Smith, J., 'Great Saxham Hall, Suffolk', *CL*, clxxx (27 Nov., 1986), 1698-1702
- , *Pavilions in Peril* (1987)
- Ackerman, J.S., *Palladio* (Harmondsworth, 1966).
- , 'Palladio's Lost Portico Project for San Petronio in Bologna', eds. D.Fraser, H.Hibbard and M.J.Lewine, *Essays in the History of Architecture Presented to Rudolph Wittkower* (1967), pp. 110-115.
- , 'The Tuscan/Doric Order: A Study in the Metaphorical Language of Architecture', *JSAH*, xlii 1 (Mar., 1983), 15-34.
- , *The Villa: Form and Ideology of Country Houses* (1990).
- Acres, W.M., *The Bank of England From Within, 1694-1900*, 2 vols. (1931).
- Adams, B., *London Illustrated 1604-1851* (1983).
- Adams, W.H., *The French Garden 1500-1800* (1979).
- , *Jefferson's Monticello* (1983).
- Addleshaw, G.W.O. and Etchells, F., *The Architectural Setting of Anglican Worship* (1948).
- , *The Age of Neo-Classicism* (exh. cat., RA, V&A, 1972).
- Airs, M., 'The Designing of Five East Anglian Country Houses, 1505-1637', *AH*, xxi (1978), 58-67.
- Alexander, B., 'Fonthill, Wiltshire II, III', *CL*, cxi (1, 8 Dec., 1966), 1430-4, 1572-6.
- Allen, B.S., *Tides in English Taste (1619-1800)*, 2 vols., (Cambridge, Mass., 1937).
- Allen, D.C., *Mysteriously Meant: The Rediscovery of Pagan Symbolism and Allegorical Interpretation in the Renaissance* (Baltimore, 1970).
- Allen, J.P., *A History of the Theatre in Europe* (1983).
- Allsop, B., *Inigo Jones on Palladio*, 2 vols (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1970).
- Allsop, B. and Clark, U., *Historic Architecture of Northumberland* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1969).
- Aloi, R., *Architettura per lo Spettacolo* (Milan, 1958).
- Amery, C., *Wren's London* (Luton, 1988).
- Ed. —————, *Three Centuries of Architectural Craftsmanship* (1977).
- Ames, W., 'The Completion of Stafford House', Eds. D.Fraser, H.Hibbard and M.J.Lewine, *Essays in the History of Architecture Presented to Rudolph Wittkower* (1967), pp. 217-8.
- Anderson, J., 'Giant Dreams: Piranesi's Influence in England', *EM*, iii (1952).
- Andrews, M., *The Search for the Picturesque: Landscape, Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain, 1760-1800* (Aldershot, 1989)
- Anglo, S., 'The Imperial Alliance and the Entry of Charles V into London in June 1522', *GM* ii 4 (Oct., 1962), 131-55.
- Archdale, M., 'Henry Bell as a Country House Architect, I, II', *CL*, cxi (15, 29 Sept., 1966), 614-6, 756-8.
- Archer, J., 'Character in English Architectural Design', *ECS*, xii 3 (1979), 339-71.
- , '"Rus in Urbe": Classical Ideals of Country and City in British Town Planning', *SECC*, xii (1982), 159-86.
- , 'The Beginnings of Association in British Architectural Esthetics', *ECS*, xvi 3 (1983), 241-64.
- , *The Literature of British Domestic Architecture 1715-1842* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985).
- Archer, J.H.G., *Art and Architecture in Victorian Manchester* (Manchester, 1985).
- Arnheim, R., *The Dynamics of Architectural Form* (Berkeley, 1977).
- Ascoli, G., *La Grande-Bretagne devant l'Opinion Francaise au XVII^e Siècle*, 2 vols (Paris 1930).
- Ed. Aspinall, A., *The Later Correspondence of George III*, 5 vols (Cambridge, 1962-1970).
- , *The Letters of King George IV 1812-1830*, 3 vols (Cambridge, 1938).
- Atkins, W.M., *The Parish Church of Saint George, Hanover Square* (1976).
- Aurenhammer, H., *J.B. Fischer von Erlach* (1973).
- Baines, J.M., *Burton's St. Leonards I* (Hastings, 1956).
- Ballon, H., *The Paris of Henry IV: Architecture and Urbanism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991).
- Bannister, T.C., 'The Constantinian Basilica of St. Peter at Rome', *JSAH*, xxvii, I (Mar., 1968), 1-32.
- Barker, H.R., *History of, and Guide to, Bury St. Edmund's* (Bury St. Edmunds, 1885).
- , *West Suffolk Illustrated* (Bury St. Edmunds, 1907).
- Barker, R.F.R., *Highgate Cemetery, Victorian Valhalla* (1984).
- , and Hyde, R., *London as It Might Have Been* (1982).
- Barman, C.A., *An Introduction to Railway Architecture* (1950).
- Barry, A., *The Life and Works of Sir Charles Barry* (1867).
- Ed. Barton, I.M., *Roman Public Buildings* (Exeter, 1989).

- Bartram, A., *The English Lettering Tradition, From 1700 to the Present Day* (1986).
- Bate, W.J., *From Classic to Romantic: Premises of Taste in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, Mass., 1946).
- Batey, M., *Nuneham Courtenay, Oxfordshire* (Oxford, 1970).
- Batho, G.R., 'Henry, Ninth Earl of Northumberland and Syon House, Middlesex, 1594-1632', *TAMS*, new series iv (1956), 95-109.
- Batten, M.I., 'The Architecture of Dr. Robert Hooke', *WS* xxv (1936-1937), 83-113.
- Bazin, G., *The Museum Age* (Brussels, 1967).
- Beamont, W., *A History of the House of Lyme* (Warrington, 1876).
- Beard, G.W., 'Robert Adam and Croome Court', *Connoisseur*, cxxxii (Oct., 1953), 73-6.
- , 'Studley Royal, A Magnificent Landscape Garden', *CL*, cxxx (10 Aug., 1961), 284-7.
- , and Kersting, A., *The Work of John Vanbrugh* (1986).
- Beard, M., and Crawford, M., *Rome in the Late Republic: Problems and Interpretations* (1985).
- Beardsley, M.C., *Aesthetics from Classical Greece to the Present: A Short History* (New York, 1966).
- Belcher, V., 'The Queen's Birth Place: New Light on a Famous Demolished House', *LTR*, xxiv (1980), 81-92.
- Bennett, J.A., 'Christopher Wren; The Natural Causes of Beauty', *AH*, xv (1972), 5-22.
- Bennett, J.D., *Leicestershire Architects 1700-1850* (Leicester, 1968).
- , *Vanished Houses of Leicestershire* (Leicester, 1971).
- Bentmann, R. and Müller, M., *Die Villa als Herrschaftsarchitektur* (Frankfurt, 1970); trans. T.Spence and D.Craven, *The Villa as Hegemonic Architecture* (New Jersey and London, 1992).
- Berger, R.W., *Antoine Le Pautre* (New York, 1969).
- Bergeron, D.M., 'Charles I's Royal Entries into London', *GM*, iii 2 (Apr., 1970), 90-7.
- , *English Civic Pageantry 1558-1642* (1972).
- Berridge, C., *The Almshouses of London* (Southampton, 1987).
- Ed. J.Bettley and (comp.) Raper, R., *Catalogue of the Drawings Collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects: A Cumulative Index* (Aldershot, 1988).
- Bevan, B., 'An Elizabethan Statesman's Home', *CL*, cxx (30 Aug., 1956), 430-1.
- Biddle, G., *Victorian Stations: Railway Stations in England and Wales, 1830-1923* (Newton Abbot, 1973).
- , and Spence, J., *The British Railway Station* (Newton Abbot, 1977).
- Bill, E.G.W., *The Queen Anne Churches* (1979).
- Binney, M., 'The Villas of Sir Robert Taylor, I, II', *CL*, cxlii (6, 13 July, 1967), 17-21, 78-82.
- , 'Constable Burton, Yorkshire', *CL*, cxliv (28 Nov., 1968), 1396-1400.
- , 'Sir Robert Taylor's Bank of England I, II', *CL*, cxlvi (13, 20 Nov., 1969), 1244-48, 1326-30.
- , 'Packington Hall, Warwickshire', *CL*, cxlviii (9 July, 1970), 102-6.
- , 'The Theatre Royal, Drury Lane', *CL*, cxlviii (10 Dec., 1970), 1116-9.
- , 'Eydon Hall, Northamptonshire', *CL*, cxlix (21 Jan., 1971), 128-31.
- , 'A Pioneer Work of Neo-Classicism: The Church of Great Packington, Warwickshire', *CL*, cl (8 July, 1971), 110-15.
- , 'Country Houses on View', *CL*, cl (11 Nov., 1971), 1259.
- , 'Worksop Manor, Nottinghamshire II', *CL*, cliii (22 Mar., 1973), 750-3.
- , *Sir Robert Taylor 1714-1800. Architect to Merchants and Bankers* (1984).
- , 'Gunton Park, Norfolk', *CL*, clxxxiii (21 Dec., 1989), 48-53.
- Eds. —————, and Pearce, D., *Railway Architecture* (1979).
- Biver, M-L., *Le Paris de Napoléon* (Paris, 1963).
- Black, J., *The British and the Grand Tour* (Beckenham, 1985).
- Blair, G., *Biographic and Descriptive Sketches of the Glasgow Necropolis* (Glasgow, 1857).
- Blumenthal, A.R., *Theater Designs in the Cooper-Hewitt Museum* (New York, 1986).
- Blunt, A., *François Mansart and the Origins of French Classical Architecture* (1942).
- , *Art and Architecture in France 1500 to 1700* (rev. 2nd edn., Harmondsworth, 1973).
- , *Philibert de l'Orme* (1958).
- , 'Baroque Architecture and Classical Antiquity', *Classical Influences on European Culture, A.D. 1500-1700* (ed. R.R.Bolgar, Cambridge, 1976).
- , 'Rubens and Architecture', *Burl.Mag.*, cxix 894 (Sept., 1977), 609-21.
- , A., *Borromini* (1979).
- , 'Roman Baroque Architecture: The Other Side of the Medal', *Art History*, iii, 1 (Mar., 1980), 61-80.

- Blutman, S., 'Books of designs for country houses, 1780-1815', *AH*, xi (1968), 25-33.
- , 'Beaumont Lodge, Berkshire, and the British Order', *The Country Seat*, (eds. H.M.Colvin and J.Harris, 1970).
- , 'Castle Goring, Sussex', *The Country Seat*, (eds. H.M.Colvin and J.Harris, 1970).
- Boase, T.S.R., 'An Oxford College and the Gothic Revival', *JWCI*, xviii (1955), 145-188.
- Boatwright, M.T., *Hadrian and the City of Rome* (Princeton, 1987).
- Boëthius, A. and Ward-Perkins, J.B., *Etruscan and Roman Architecture* (Harmondsworth, 1970).
- Bold, J., 'Georgian Exemplars: John Webb's Country Houses', Ed. J. Newman, *Inigo Jones and the Spread of Classicism: Papers given at The Georgian Group Symposium, 1986* (1987), pp. 36-48.
- , *John Webb: Architectural Theory and Practice in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 1989).
- , and Reeves, J., *Wilton House and English Palladianism* (1988).
- Ed. Bolgar, R.R., *The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries* (Cambridge, 1954).
- , *Classical Influences on European Culture, A.D. 1500-1700* (Cambridge, 1976).
- , *Classical Influences on Western Thought A.D. 1650-1870* (Cambridge, 1979).
- Bolton, A.T., 'Shardeloes, Buckinghamshire', *CL*, xxxiv (5 July, 1913), 18-26.
- , 'Hagley Park, Worcestershire', *CL* xxxviii (16 Oct., 1915), 520-8.
- , 'The Pantheon in the Oxford Road', *AR*, xl (Oct., 1916), 67-71.
- , 'Sudbrook Park, Surrey', *CL*, xlv (19 Oct., 1918), 332-7.
- , 'Stratford Place', *LTR*, xii (1920), 78-86.
- , 'The Pantheon on the Oxford Road. James Wyatt R.A., Architect 1770-2', *LTR*, xiii (1923), 55-67.
- Bolton, A.T., *The architecture of Robert and James Adam*, 2 vols., (1922;; repr. 1984).
- Boniface, P., *Hotels and Restaurants: 1830 to the Present Day* (1981).
- , *In Search of English Gardens: The Travels of John Claudius Loudon and his wife Jane* (1987).
- Booker, J., *Temples of Mammon* (1990).
- Booth, A., 'The Architects of Wentworth Castle and Wentworth Woodhouse', *RIBA J*, 3rd series, xli (25 Nov., 1933), 71-2.
- Borsay, P., *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town, 1660-1700* (Oxford, 1989).
- Boucher, B., *Andrea Palladio: The Architect in his Time* (New York, 1995).
- Bourdillon, F.W., 'Haileybury', *CL*, xl (21 Oct., 1916), 486-9.
- Bowden-Smith, R., *The Temple, Heveningham Hall, Suffolk* (Worthing, 1986).
- , *The Water House, Houghton Hall, Norfolk* (Woodbridge, 1987).
- Bowyer, J., *The Evolution of Church Building* (1977).
- Boyd, J.D., *The Function of Memesis and its Decline* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968).
- Boynton, L., 'Newby Park, Yorkshire: the First Palladian Villa in England', *The Country Seat*, eds. H.M.Colvin and J. Harris (1970).
- Bradfer-Lawrence, H.L., 'The Building of Raynham Hall', *Norfolk Archaeology*, xxiii (1926-28), 93-146.
- Braham, A.J., 'Bernini's Design for the Bourbon Chapel', *Burl.Mag.*, cii (1960), 443-
- , *The Architecture of the French Enlightenment* (1980).
- and Smith, P., *François Mansart*, 2 vols (1972-73).
- Brauer, G.C., *The Education of a Gentleman: Theories of Gentlemanly Education in England, 1660-1775* (New York, 1959).
- Bray, R., *La Formation de la Doctrine Classique en France* (Paris, 1927).
- Breslow, M.A., *A Mirror of England; English Puritan Views of Foreign Nations* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970).
- Briggs, M.S., 'Wren's Castles in the Air: His Unrealised Schemes for Royal Palaces', *The Builder*, cl (12 Jan., 1951), 37-40.
- Briggs, N., *John Johnson 1732-1814: Georgian Architect and County Surveyor of Essex* (Chelmsford, 1991).
- Ed. Broadbent, G., 'Neo-Classicism', *Architectural Design*, xlix, 8-9 (1979).
- Brock, D., 'The Competition for the Design of Sleaford Sessions House, 1828', *AH*, xxvii (1984), 344-56.
- Brooke, C.N.L., *A History of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge* (Woodbridge, 1985).
- Brooke, R., *Liverpool as it was, 1775 to 1800* (Liverpool, 1853).
- Brooks, C. et al., *Mortal Remains: The History and Present State of the Victorian Cemetery* (1989).
- Brown, J. and Elliott, J.H., *A Palace for a King: The Buen Retiro and the Court of Philip IV* (New Haven), 1980).
- Brown, J., *The Art and Architecture of English Gardens* (1989)
- Ed. Brown, R., *The Architectural Outsiders* (1985).

- Brownell, M.R., *Alexander Pope and the Arts of Georgian England* (Oxford, 1978).
- , *Alexander Pope's Villa* (exh. cat., Marble Hill House, London, 1980).
- Bruford, W.H., *Culture and Society in Classical Weimar, 1775-1806* (Cambridge, 1962).
- Bryant, J., *Finest Prospects* (exh. cat., Kenwood, London, 1986).
- , *Marble Hill House* (1988).
- Buddensieg, T., 'Criticism and Praise of the Pantheon in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance', ed. R.R.Bolgar, *Classical Influences...* (1971), pp. 259-67.
- , 'Criticism of Ancient Architecture in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', ed. R.R.Bolgar, *Classical Influences on European Culture, A.D. 1500-1700* (Cambridge, 1976), pp. 335-48.
- Burman, P., 'Inigo Jones at Hale?', *CL*, clv (7 Feb., 1974), 263-6.
- Burns, H., Fairburn, L. and Boucher, B., *Andrea Palladio 1508-1580: The Portico and the Farmyard* (exh. cat., Hayward Gallery, London, 1975).
- Bury, J.B., 'Juan de Herrera and the Escorial', *Art History*, ix, 4 (Dec., 1986), 428-49.
- Buttle, D., 'James Wyatt and the Early Greek Revival', ed. W.A.Singleton, *Studies in Architectural History* (York Institute for Architectural Study), ii (1956), 70-88.
- Byrne, A., *London's Georgian Houses* (1986).
- , *Bedford Square: An Architectural Study* (1990).
- Calder, I.M., *Activities of the Puritan Faction in the Church of England 1625-33* (1957).
- Calendar of Treasury Books Preserved in the Public Record Office* xxviii (January-December, 1714), (1955).
- Callender, A., *Godly Mayfair* (1980).
- Callender, G., *The Queen's House Greenwich: A Short History 1617-1937* (rev. ed., 1971).
- Campbell, I., '"Scamilli Impares": A Problem in Vitruvius', *PBSR*, xlviii (1980), 17-22.
- Cannon, J., *Aristocratic Century: The Peerage of Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1984).
- Carpenter, R., *The Architects of the Parthenon* (Harmondsworth, 1970).
- Carr, G.L., 'Soane's Specimen Church Designs of 1818: A Reconsideration', *AH*, xvi (1973), 37-53.
- , *The Commissioners' Churches of London, 1818-1837* (Ann Arbor, 1976).
- , 'C.R.Cockerell's Hanover Chapel', *JSAH*, xxxix, 4 (Dec., 1980), 265-85.
- Carter, R., 'The Drury Lane Theatres of Henry Holland and Benjamin Dean Wyatt', *JSAH*, xxvi, 3 (Oct., 1967), 200-16.
- Cawson, R.A., and Orde, T.H.E., 'The Design and Building of Mr Guy's Hospital', *Guy's Hospital Reports*, cxviii, 2 (1969), 217-36.
- Caygill, M., *The Story of the British Museum* (1981).
- Chalklin, C.W., *The Provincial Towns of Georgian England: A Study of the Building Processes, 1740-1820* (1974).
- Chaloner, W.H., 'The Egertons in Italy and the Netherlands 1729-1734', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, xxxii, 2 (Mar., 1950).
- Charlton, J., *A History and Description of Chiswick House and Gardens* (1958).
- , *The Banqueting House, Whitehall* (1964).
- Chastel, A., 'L'Escalier de la Cour Ovale à Fontainebleau', eds. D.Fraser, H.Hibbard and M.J.Lewine, *Essays in the History of Architecture Presented to Rudolf Wittkower* (1967), pp. 74-80.
- Checkland, S.G., *Scottish Banking: A History, 1695-1973* (1975).
- Chettle, G.H., *The Queen's House Greenwich, being the Fourteenth Monograph of the London Survey* (1937).
- Christ, Y., *Églises Parisiennes - Actuelles et Disparues* (Paris, 1947).
- Christian, R., 'The Town that Tried to be a Spa (Ashby-de-la-Zouche)', *CL*, cxxxvii (27 May, 1965), 1280-82.
- Clapham, A., 'The Survival of Gothic in Seventeenth-Century England', *The Archaeological Journal*, supplement, cvi, 1949 (1950), 4-9.
- Clapham, J.H., *The Bank of England: A history* (Cambridge, 1944).
- Clark, H.F., 'Eighteenth-Century Elysiums: The Role of Association in the Landscape Movement', *JWCI*, vi (1943), 165-189.
- , *The English Landscape Garden*, (1948, 2nd edn., Gloucester, 1980).
- Clark, P., *The Transformation of English Provincial Towns 1600-1800* (1984).
- , and Slack, P., *English Towns in Transition 1500-1700* (Oxford, 1976).
- Clarke, B.F.L., *The Building of the Eighteenth-Century Church* (1963).
- , *Parish Churches of London* (1966).
- Clarke, G., 'Grecian Taste and Gothic Virtue: Lord Cobham's Gardening Programme and its Iconography', *Apollo*, xcvi, 136 (June, 1973), 566-71.
- Clarke, G., *Prior Park: A Compleat Landscape* (Bath, 1987).

- Clarke, M.L., *Greek Studies in England, 1700-1830* (Cambridge, 1945).
- Clemenson, H.A., *English Country Houses and Landed Estates* (1982).
- Coarelli, F., 'Public Building in Rome between the Second Punic War and Sulla', *PBSR*, xlv, new series, xxxii (1977), 1-23.
- Coffin, D.R., *The Villa in the Life of Renaissance Rome* (Princeton, 1979).
- Ed. Cohen, R., *Studies in Eighteenth-Century British Art and Aesthetics* (Berkeley) 1985).
- Cole, C., 'The Building of the Tower of Five Orders in the Schools' Quadrangle at Oxford', *Oxoniensia*, xxxiii (1968), 92-107.
- Ed. Coleman, B.I., *The Idea of the City in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (1973).
- Collins, P., *Changing Ideals in Modern Architecture 1750-1950* (1965).
- Colvin, H.M., 'The Vanbrugh Manner in Dorset', *CL*, cv (18 Feb., 1949), 374.
- , 'Fifty New Churches', *AR*, cvii (Jan-June, 1950), 189-96.
- , 'The Architects of All Saints Church, Oxford', *Oxoniensia*, xix (1954), 112-16.
- , 'The South Front of Wilton House', *AJ*, cxi (1955), 181-90.
- , 'The Architects of Stafford House', *AH*, i (1958), 17-30.
- , *A Catalogue of the Architectural Drawings of the 18th and 19th Centuries in the Library of Worcester College, Oxford* (Oxford, 1964).
- , 'Aubrey's "Chronologica Architectonica"', ed. J. Summerson, *Concerning Architecture: Essays on Architectural Writers and Writing Presented to Nikolaus Pevsner* (1968, pp. 1-12.
- , *Royal Buildings* (Feltham, 1968).
- , 'Easton Neston Reconsidered', *CL*, cxlviii (15 Oct., 1970), 968-71.
- , 'A Scottish Origin for English Palladianism?', *AH*, xvii (1974), 5-13.
- , *The Sheldonian Theatre and the Divinity School* (repr., 1974).
- , *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 1600-1840* (2nd edn., 1978).
- , *Unbuilt Oxford* (1983).
- , *Calke Abbey, Derbyshire: A Hidden House Revealed* (1985).
- , 'The Canterbury Quadrangle, St. John's College, Oxford', ed. J. Newman, *Inigo Jones and the Spread of Classicism: Papers given at The Georgian Group Symposium, 1986* (1987), pp. 8-22.
- , *The Canterbury Quadrangle, St. John's College, Oxford* (Oxford, 1988).
- , *All Souls: An Oxford College and its Buildings* (Oxford, 1989).
- , 'A Roman Mausoleum in Gloucestershire: The Guise Monument at Elmore', *GGJ* (1991), 41-4.
- , *Architecture and the After-Life* (1991).
- and Harris, J., *The Country Seat: Studies in the History of the British Country House, Presented to Sir John Summerson* (1970).
- Ed. ————— *The History of the King's Works*, 6 vols (1963-82).
- Eds. ————— and Craig, M., *Architectural Drawings in the Library of Elton Hall by Sir John Vanbrugh and Sir Edward Lovett Pearce* (Oxford, 1964).
- Eds. ————— Crook, J.M. and Friedman, T., *Architectural Drawings from Lowther Castle, Westmorland*, *AH*, Monographs, 2 (1980).
- Eds. ————— and Newman, J., *Of Building: Roger North's Writings on Architecture* (Oxford, 1981).
- Connor, T.P., 'The Making of "Vitruvius Britannicus"', *AH*, xx (1977), 14-30.
- , 'The Earliest English Books on Architecture', ed. J. Newman, *Inigo Jones and the Spread of Classicism: Papers given at The Georgian Group Symposium, 1986* (1987), pp. 61-8.
- Constantine, D., *Early Greek Travellers and the Hellenistic Ideal* (Cambridge, 1984).
- Cook, A., 'Wren's Design for Winchester Palace', eds. H.M. Colvin and J. Harris, *The Country Seat* (1970), pp. 58-63.
- Cooper, F.A., *The Temple of Apollo at Bassae: A Preliminary Study* (New York, 1978).
- Cooper, R., *Salomon de Brosse and the Development of the Classical Style in French Architecture from 1565 to 1630* (1972).
- Corbett, M. and Lightbown, R., *The Comely Frontispiece: The Emblematic Title-Page in England 1550-1660* (1979).
- Ed. Corfe, T., *The buildings of Sunderland 1814-1914* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1983).
- Cornforth, J., 'Longford Hall, Shropshire', *CL*, cxxxii (16 Aug., 1962), 354-8.
- , 'The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge I, II', *CL*, cxxxii (22, 29 Nov., 1962), 1278-81, 1340-3.

-
- , 'Horton House, Northamptonshire', eds. H.M.Colvin and J.Harris, *The Country Seat* (1970), pp. 150-6.
- , 'Bowood, Wiltshire Revisited I, II, III', *CL*, cli (8, 15, 22 June, 1972), 1448-51, 1546-50, 1610-13.
- , 'Lyme Park, Cheshire I, II, III, IV', *CL*, clv (5, 12, 19, 26 Dec., 1974), 1724-7, 1858-61, 1930-3, 1998-2001.
- , 'Basildon House, Berkshire I, II, III', *CL*, clxi (5, 12, 19, May, 1977), 1158-61, 1227-30, 1298-1301.
- , 'Recent Conservation in Shrewsbury', *CL*, clxxix (20 Feb., 1986), 430-3.
- , 'Variations of Mode and Mood', *CL*, clxxxi (16 July, 1987).
- Cosh, M., 'Two Dukes and their Houses', *CL*, clii (13 July, 1972), 78-81.
- Coulton, J.J., *The Architectural Development of the Greek Stoa* (Oxford, 1976).
- Craster, Sir E., 'The Clarendon Building, Oxford', *Oxford Society*, ix (1948), 51-3.
- Ed. Crewe, S., *Visionary Spires* (1986).
- Crook, J.M., 'The Custom House Scandal', *AH*, vi (1963), 91-102.
- , 'Haileybury and the Greek Revival. The Architecture of William Wilkins, R.A.', *The Haileyburian and I.S.C. Chronicle* (Hoddesdon, 1964).
- , *The Greek Revival* (Feltham, 1968).
- , 'A Vanished Theatrical Masterpiece: Smirke's Covent Garden Theatre', *CL Annual* (1970), 102-5.
- , 'Broomhall, Fife', *CL*, cxlvii (29 Jan., 1970), 242-6.
- , 'Grange Park Transformed', eds., H.M.Colvin and J.Harris *The Country Seat* (1970), pp. 220-8.
- , *Victorian Architecture: A Visual Anthology* (New York, 1971).
- , 'Regency Architecture in the West Country', *JRSA*, cxix (1971), 438-51.
- , 'The Fate of Neo-Classical Houses', *CL*, cli (1 June, 1972), 1382-5.
- , 'Neo-Classical Architecture at the Royal Academy', *Connoisseur*, clxxxi (Sept., 1972), 14-16.
- , *The British Museum* (Harmondsworth, 1972; 1973 edn.,).
- , *The Greek Revival: Neo-Classical Attitudes in British Architecture, 1760-1870* (1972).
- , *The Dilemma of Style: Architectural Ideas from the Picturesque to the Post-Modern* (1987).
- and Port, H.M., *The History of the King's Works* ed. H.M.Colvin, vi (1973).
- Crosby, J.H., *Ignatius Bonomi of Durham, Architect* (Durham, 1988).
- Cundall, H.M., *Sudbrook and Its Occupants* (1912).
- Cunningham, C.J.K., *Victorian and Edwardian Town Halls* (1981).
- Curl, J.S., *European Cities and Society: A Study of the Influence of Political Climate on Town Design* (1972).
- , *A Celebration of Death: An Introduction to Some of the Buildings, Monuments, and Settings of Funerary Architecture in the Western European Tradition* (1980).
- , *The Life and Work of Henry Roberts* (Chichester, 1983).
- , 'The Architecture of Masonic Halls', *CL*, clxxx (21 Aug., 1986), 581-3.
- , *The Art and Architecture of Freemasonry* (1991).
- Ed. Curtis, P., *Patronage and Practice: Sculpture on Merseyside* (Liverpool, 1989).
- Eds. Cust, L. and S.Colvin, *History of the Society of Dilettanti* (1898; new edn., 1914).
- Dale, A., *James Wyatt, Architect, 1746-1813* (Oxford, 1936).
- , *Fashionable Brighton 1820-1860* (2nd edn., Newcastle upon Tyne, 1967).
- , *The History and Architecture of Brighton* (Brighton, 1950).
- , *Brighton Town and Brighton People* (Chichester, 1976).
- , *Brighton Churches* (1989).
- Davies, D.H.M., *Worship and Theology in England, 1603-1690* (Princeton, 1975).
- Davies, J.H.V., 'The Dating of the Buildings of the Royal Hospital at Greenwich', *AJ*, cxiii (1956), 126-36.
- Davis, T., *The Architecture of John Nash* (1960).
- Dean, C.G.T., *The Royal Hospital, Chelsea* (London, 1950).
- de Beer, E.S., 'François Schott's "Itinerario d'Italia"', *TBS* (1942), 58-83.
- de Figueiredo, P. and Treuherz, J., *Cheshire Country Houses* (Chichester, 1988).

- de Fine Licht, K., *The Rotunda in Rome* (Copenhagen, 1968).
- de Vries, J., *European Urbanisation 1500-1800* (1984).
- Ed. Dickens, A.G., *The Courts of Europe: Politics Patronage and Royalty, 1400-1800* (1977).
- Dinsmoor, W.B., *The Architecture of Ancient Greece* (3rd rev. edn., repr. 1975).
- Eds. Dixon, R. and Muthesius, S., *Victorian Architecture* (2nd edn., 1985).
- Downs, A.C., 'Inigo Jones's Covent Garden: The First Seventy-Five Years', *JSAH*, xxvi 1 (Mar., 1967), 8-33.
- Downes, K., 'Hawksmoor's Sale Catalogue', *Burl. Mag.*, xcv 607 (Oct., 1953), 332-5.
- , 'Wren and Whitehall in 1664' *Burl. Mag.*, cxiii (1971), 89-92.
- , *Hawksmoor* (1959; repr. 1979).
- , 'Two Hawksmoor Drawings', *Burl. Mag.*, ciii 701 (June, 1961), 279-80.
- , *English Baroque Architecture* (1966).
- , 'John Evelyn and Architecture: A First Enquiry', ed., J. Summerson, *Concerning Architecture* (1968), pp. 28-39.
- , *Hawksmoor* (1969).
- , *Vanbrugh* (1977).
- , *The Georgian Cities of England* (Oxford, 1979).
- , *Sir Christopher Wren* (exh. cat., Whitechapel Gallery, 1982).
- , *The Architecture of Wren* (1982).
- , *Sir Christopher Wren: The Design of St. Paul's Cathedral* (1988).
- , 'Acting a true Palladian part: The originality of Burlington's villa at Chiswick', *Times Literary Supplement* (24 Feb., 1995), 16-17.
- Dreier, F.A., 'The "Kunstammer" of the Hessian Landgraves in Kassel', eds., O. Impey and A. MacGregor, *The Origins of Museums* (Oxford, 1985), ch.12.
- Drummond, A.L., *The Church Architecture of Protestantism: An Historical and Constructive Survey* (Edinburgh, 1934).
- Drury, M., 'The Architecture of Fishing', *CL*, clii (27 Jul., 1972), 202-5.
- Dunbar, J.G., *The Historic Architecture of Scotland* (1966).
- du Prey, P. de la Ruffinière, 'Soane and Hardwick in Rome: A Neo-Classical Partnership', *AH*, xv (1972), 51-67.
- , *John Soane's Architectural Education 1753-80* (New York, 1977).
- , 'John Soane, Philip Yorke and their Quest for Primitive Architecture', ed., G. Jackson-Stops, *National Trust Studies 1979* (1978), 28-38.
- , *John Soane: The Making of an Architect* (Chicago, 1982).
- , *Catalogues of Architectural Drawings in the Victoria & Albert Museum: John Soane* (1985).
- , 'Ornamental Dairies and their Owners I, II', *CL*, clxxxi (5, 12 Mar., 1987), 120, 122, 104-5.
- , *The Villas of Pliny from Antiquity to Posterity*, (1994).
- Eds. Dyos, H.J. and Wolff, M., *The Victorian City*, 2 vols (1973).
- Edwards, R., 'Bowden Park, Wiltshire', *Connoisseur*, cxlvii 593 (Apr., 1961), 166-72.
- Eisenthal, E., 'John Webb's Reconstruction of the Ancient House', *AH*, xxviii (1985), 7-18.
- Ed. Eland, G., *Shardeloes Papers* (Oxford, 1947).
- Elvin, L., *Lincoln in the 1950s and 1960s* (Lincoln, 1987).
- Eriksen, S., *Early Neo-Classicism in France* (1974).
- Esdaile, K.A., 'Battles Royal No. 1. Some Great Architectural Controversies of the Past', *ABN*, xxx (1931), 47-9.
- , *English Church Monuments 1510 to 1840* (1946).
- Etlin, R.A., 'Architecture and the Festival of Federation, Paris, 1790', *AH*, xviii (1975), 23-42.
- , *The Architecture of Death* (Cambridge, Mass., 1984).
- Evans, R., *The Fabrication of Virtue: English Prison Architecture, 1750-1840* (Cambridge, 1982).
- Farber, J.C. and Red, H.H., *Palladio's Architecture and its Influence: A Photographic Guide* (New York, 1980).
- Faulkner, T. and Greg, A., *John Dobson Newcastle Architect 1787-1865* (exh. cat., Laing Art Gallery, Newcastle upon Tyne, 1987).
- Ed. Fawcett, J., *Seven Victorian Architects* (1976).
- Fawcett, T., *The Rise of English Provincial Art: Artists, Patrons and Institutions outside London 1800-1830* (Oxford, 1974).
- Fedele, L., *Mercati e Piazze Antiche: Storia ed Architettura* (Naples, 1954).

- Fergusson, F., 'James Wyatt and John Penn: Architect and Patron at Stoke Park, Buckinghamshire', *AH*, xx (1977), 45-55.
- Fergusson, J., *The Illustrated Handbook of Architecture*, 2 vols. (1855).
- , *History of Modern Styles of Architecture, Being a Sequel to the Handbook of Architecture* (1862).
- Finch, P., *Burley-on-the-Hill* (1901).
- Fleming, J., *Robert Adam and his Circle* (1962).
- Fletcher, W.E.L., 'Inigo Jones: His View Perspective of Greenwich', *TFLAS*, III 2 (1974), 61-7.
- , *Greenwich Parish Church: St. Alfege and St. Peter. A Brief History and Guide* (1975).
- Fleurbaey, E., *Het Achste Wereldwonder: De Bouw van het Stadhuis, nu het Paleis op de Dam* (trans. M. Hoyle, *The Eighth Wonder of the World: The Building of Amsterdam Town Hall, now the Royal Palace*), (exh. cat., Town Hall, Amsterdam, 1982).
- Flynn, V.J., 'Englishmen in Rome during the Renaissance', *Modern Philology*, xxxvi (1938), 121-38.
- Ford, B., 'The Blathwayt Brothers of Dyrham in Italy on the Grand Tour', *National Trust Year Book* (1975-76), 19-31.
- Ford, R., *Apsley House and Walmer Castle* (1853).
- Forssman, E.E., 'Palladio e Vitruvio', *Bolletino CISA*, iv (1962), 31-42.
- , *Dorisch, Ionisch, Korinthisch: Studien über das Gebrauch der Säulenordnungen in der Architektur des 16. - 18. Jahrhunderts* (Stockholm, 1961).
- , *Dorico, Ionico, Corinzio nell'Architettura del Rinascimento* (Rome, 1973).
- Foster, P.E., *A Study of Lorenzo de' Medici's Villa at Poggio a Caiano*, 2 vols (New York, 1978).
- Fothergill, B., *The Mitred Earl: An Eighteenth-Century Eccentric* (1974).
- Frank, T., 'Elizabethan Travellers in Rome', *EM*, 4 (1953), 95-132.
- Franklin, J., *The Gentleman's Country House and its Plans 1835-1914* (1981).
- Frantz, R.W., *The English Traveller and the Movement of Ideas, 1660-1732* (Lincoln, NE, 1934; repr. New York, 1968).
- Fraser, A.G., *The Building of Old College: Adam, Playfair and the University of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1989).
- Eds. Fraser, D., and Sutcliffe, A.R., *The Pursuit of Urban History* (1983).
- Fraser, P. and Harris, J., *A Catalogue of the Drawings by Inigo Jones (1573-1652), John Webb (1611-1672) and Richard Boyle, 3rd Earl of Burlington (1694-1753) in the Burlington-Devonshire Collection* (1960).
- French, S., *The History of Downing College, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1978).
- Friedman, T. and Lindstrum, D., 'Country Houses through Georgian eyes', *CL*, cliii (1 Feb., 1973), 268-70.
- Friedman, T., 'The Rebuilding of Bishopsgate: A Case of Architecture and Corruption in Eighteenth-Century London', *GSLH*, iv 2 (April, 1980), 75-90.
- , *James Gibbs 1682-1754* (1984).
- , 'A "Palace Worthy of the Grandeur of the King": Lord Mar's designs for the Old Pretender, 1728-30', *AH*, xxix (1986), 102-33.
- Ed. Gage, J., *Goethe on Art* (1980).
- Gallaway, F., *Reason, Rule and Revolt in English Classicism* (New York, 1940).
- Gallet, M., *Claude-Nicolas Ledoux 1736-1806* (Paris, 1980).
- Garnier, R. and Hewlings, R., 'The Salwey Saga', *CL*, clxxxiii (21 Sept., 1989), 208-13.
- Geertz, C., 'Centers, Kings and Charisma: Reflections on the Symbolics of Power', in eds. Ben-David, J. and Clark, T.N., *Culture and its Creators: Essays in Honour of Edward Shils* (Chicago, 1977).
- Geist, J.F., *Arcades: The History of a Building Type* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983).
- Gibbon, M., 'Stowe House 1680-1779', *Apollo*, xcvi 136 (June, 1973).
- , 'The First Neo-Classical Building?', *CL*, clv (11 Apr., 1974), 852-3.
- Gibson, W.A., 'Three Principles of Renaissance Architectural Theory in Pope's Epistle to Burlington', *SEL* 1500-1900, xi (1971), 487-505.
- Gifford, J., *William Adam 1689-1748: A Life and Times of Scotland's Universal Architect* (Edinburgh, 1989).
- Girouard, M., 'An English Master of the Baroque', *CL*, cxxiii (19 June, 1958), 1360-1.
- , 'Preston Hall, Midlothian I, II', *CL*, cxxx (24, 31 Aug., 1961), 394-7, 454-7.
- , 'The Smythson Collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects', *AH*, v (1962), 23-184.
- , 'Arcadian Retreats for the Chase: Tudor and Stuart Hunting Lodges', *CL*, cxxxiv (26 Sept., 1963), 736-9.
- , 'Renaissance Splendour in Decay: The Ruins of Slaughtam Place, Essex', *CL*, cxxxv (9 Jan., 1964), 70-3.
- , 'Sandbeck Park, Yorkshire I, II, III', *CL*, cxxxviii (7, 14, 21 Oct., 1965), 880-3, 966-9, 1024-7.

-
- , 'Ambrose Phillips of Garendon', *AH*, viii (1965), 25-38.
- , 'Dobson's Northumbrian Houses I,II', *CL*, cxxxix (17, 24 Feb., 1966), 352-6, 406-9.
- , *The Victorian Country House* (1971).
- , 'Neo-Classicism', *AR*, clii (1972), 169-75.
- , *Life in the English Country House* (1978; Harmondsworth, 1980).
- , *Robert Smythson & The Elizabethan Country House* (1983).
- , 'Assembly Rooms I, II, III', *CL*, clxxx (21 Aug., 11 Sept., 2 Oct., 1986), 540-4, 766-8, 1057-9.
- Gombrich, E.H., *The Sense of Order* (Oxford, 1979).
- Gomme, A., 'The Building of Hawkstone Hall: A Reconsideration of the Evidence', *AJ*, cxli (1948), 309-25.
- , and Walker, D., *Architecture of Glasgow* (2nd rev. edn., 1988).
- Goodfellow, G.L.M., 'Colin Campbell's Shawfield Mansion in Glasgow', *JSAH*, xxiii, 3 (1964), 123-8.
- Goodhart-Rendel, H.S., *English Architecture since the Regency: An Interpretation* (1953).
- Gordon, D.J., 'Poet and Architect: The Intellectual Setting of the Quarrel between Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones', *JWCI*, xii (1949), 152-78.
- Gotch, A., *Inigo Jones* (1928; repr. New York, 1968).
- , 'Inigo Jones's Principal Visit to Italy in 1614: The Itinerary of his Journeys', *RIBAJ*, xlv (1938), 1007-8.
- Gould, C., *Bernini in France: An Episode in Seventeenth-Century History* (1981).
- Gow, I., 'Mavisbank, Midlothian', *CL*, clxxxi (20 Aug., 1987), 70-3.
- Green, D.B., 'The Vogue of Vanbrugh', *CL*, cvii (2 June, 1950), 1648, 1651, 1653.
- , *Blenheim Palace* (Oxford 1950).
- Greenhalgh, M., 'Pliny, Vitruvius and the Interpretation of Ancient Architecture', *GB-A*, lxxxiv (1974), 297-304.
- Ed. Greig, J., *The Diaries of a Duchess: Extracts from the Diaries of the First Duchess of Northumberland (1716-1776)* (1926).
- Grigson, G., 'The Villas of the Brenta: A Venetian Way of Life copied in England', *CL*, cxxv (26 Feb., 1959), 398-400.
- Ed. Groos, G.W., *The Diary of Baron Waldstein: A Traveller in Elizabethan England* (1981).
- Gunnis, R., *Dictionary of British Sculptors 1660-1851* (new rev. edn., 1968).
- Ed. Gunther, R., *The Architecture of Sir Roger Pratt* (Oxford, 1928; repr. New York, 1979).
- Gwilt, J., *Rudimentary Architecture: The Ten Books of Vitruvius, translated by J. Gwilt, to which is prefixed An Inquiry into the Principles of Beauty in Grecian Architecture, by George, Earl of Aberdeen* (1874).
- Hager, H., 'On a Project ascribed to Carlo Fontana for the Façade of S. Giovanni Laterano', *Burl.Mag.*, cxvii 863 (Feb., 1975), 105-9.
- Hale, J.R., *England and the Italian Renaissance: The Growth of Interest in its History and Art* (1954).
- Hall, I., 'Halsham Mausoleum', *AJ*, cxli (1984), 49-50.
- , 'Newark Town Hall', *GGJ* (1991), 54-6.
- Hall, M., 'Brockhampton, Herefordshire', *CL*, clxxxiv (4 Jan., 1990), 46-51.
- Hamlin, T.F., *Benjamin Henry Latrobe* (New York, 1955).
- Hancock, C.V., 'Peer's Spa that Failed', *CL*, cxxv (5 Mar., 1959), 451.
- Hardy, J., 'The Building and Decoration of Apsley House', *Apollo*, xcvi 139 (Sept., 1973), 170-9.
- Harper, R.H., *Victorian Architectural Competitions* (1983).
- Harris, E., 'The Architecture of Thomas Wright I, II, III', *CL*, cl (26 Aug., 2, 9 Sept., 1971), 492-5, 546-50, 612-15.
- , '"Vitruvius Britannicus" before Colen Campbell', *Burl. Mag.*, cxxviii 998 (May, 1986), 340-3, 345-6.
- and Savage, N., *British Architectural Books and Writers 1556-1785* (Cambridge, 1990).
- Harris, F., '"The Best Workman of All Sorts": the building of Wimbledon House, 1730-42', *GGJ*, (1992), 87-90.
- Harris, J., 'Correspondence', *CL*, cxxii (5 Dec., 1957), 1231.
- , 'The Transparent Portico', *AR*, cxxiii (Feb., 1958), 108-9.
- , 'Inigo Jones and the Prince's Lodging, Newmarket', *AH*, ii (1959), 26-40.
- , 'Fate of Royal Buildings', *CL*, cxxv (28 May, 1959), 1182-4.
- , 'Two Lost Palaces', *CL*, cxxvi (19 Nov., 1959), 916, 918.
- , 'The Hampton Court Trianon Designs of William and John Talman', *JWCI*, xxiii (1960), 139-49.

-
- _____, 'Clues to the "Frenchness" of Woodcote Park', *Connoisseur*, cxlvii 594 (May, 1961), 241-50.
- _____, 'Inigo Jones and his French Sources', *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* (May, 1961).
- _____, 'Raynham Hall, Norfolk', *AJ*, cxviii 1961 (1963), 180-7.
- _____, 'Sir William Chambers and his Parisian Album', *AH*, vi (1963), 54-90.
- _____, 'Blondel at Stowe', *Connoisseur*, clv (Mar., 1964), 173-6.
- _____, 'The Prideaux Collection of Topographical Drawings', *AH*, vii (1964), 19-108.
- _____, 'Fonthill, Wiltshire I', *CL*, cxl (24 Nov., 1966), 1370-4.
- _____, 'Le Geay, Piranesi and International Neo-Classicism in Rome 1740-1750', eds. D.Fraser, H.Hibbard and M.J.Lewine, *Essays in the History of Architecture Presented to Rudolph Wittkower* (1967), pp. 189-96.
- _____, *Georgian Country Houses* (1968).
- _____, 'The Water Tower at Houghton, Norfolk', *Burl.Mag.*, cxi 794 (May, 1969), 300.
- _____, 'Brightening up Palladio: A Design for a British Museum', *Apollo*, xc 90 (Aug., 1969), 129-33.
- _____, *Sir William Chambers, Knight of the Polar Star* (1970).
- _____, *A Catalogue of British Drawings for Architecture, Decoration, Sculpture and Landscape Gardening 1550-1900 in American Collections* (Upper Saddle River, N.J., 1971).
- _____, 'Three Unrecorded Palladio Designs from Inigo Jones' Collection', *Burl.Mag.*, cxiii (1971), 34-7.
- _____, 'C.R.Cockerell's "Iconographia Domestica"', *AH*, xiv (1971), 5-29.
- _____, *Catalogue of the Drawings Collection of the RIBA: Inigo Jones and John Webb* (Farnborough, 1972).
- _____, 'Inigo Jones and the Courtier Style', *AR*, cliv (July, 1973) 2, 17-24.
- _____, *Catalogue of the Drawings by Inigo Jones, John Webb and Isaac de Caus at Worcester College, Oxford* (Oxford, 1979).
- _____, 'Newly Acquired Designs by James Stuart in the British Architectural Library, Drawings Collection', *AH*, XXII (1979), 72-7.
- _____, *The Palladians* (1981).
- _____, *Architectural Drawings in the Cooper-Hewitt Museum* (New York, 1982).
- _____, *William Talman: Maverick Architect* (1982).
- _____, *The Design of the English Country House 1620-1920* (1985).
- _____, '18th-Century Country-House Guides and Catalogues', *CL*, clxxix (1 May, 1986), 1200-2.
- _____, 'Esher Place, Surrey', *CL*, clxxxi (2 Apr., 1987), 94-7.
- _____, 'Lord Burlington at Tottenham House, Wiltshire', *CL*, clxxxi (28 May, 1987), 132-3.
- _____, 'The Architectural Diploma Works in the Royal Academy', *Apollo*, cxxviii 320 (Oct., 1988), 254-7.
- _____, 'Who Designed Houghton?', *CL*, clxxxiii (2 Mar., 1989), 92-4.
- _____, *The Palladian Revival: Lord Burlington, his Villa and Garden at Chiswick* (New Haven and London; exh. cat., Royal Academy of Arts, London, 2 Feb. - 2 April, 1995).
- _____, 'Who Designed York Water-Gate?', *CL*, clxxxiii (2 Nov., 1989), 150-1.
- _____, 'Diverting Labyrinths', *CL*, clxxxiv (11 Jan., 1990), 62-5.
- _____, and Higgott, G., *Inigo Jones: Complete Architectural Drawings* (exh. cat., The Drawing Center, New York and The Frick Art Museum, Pittsburgh, 1989).
- _____, Lever, J. and Richardson, M., *Great Drawings from the Collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects* (exh. cat., The Drawing Center, New York, 1983).
- _____, Orgel, S. and Strong, R., *The King's Arcadia: Inigo Jones and the Stuart Court* (exh. cat., Banqueting House, Whitehall, Arts Council, 1973).
- Harris, L., *Robert Adam and Kedleston* (1987).
- _____, and Jackson-Stops, G., 'Robert Adam and the Kedleston Landscape', *CL*, clxxxi (5 Mar., 1987), 98-101.
- Hatcher, J., *Richmondshire Architecture* (Richmond, 1990).

- Hautecoeur, L.E.G., *Le Louvre et les Tuileries de Louis XIV* (Paris, 1927).
- , *Histoire de l'Architecture Classique en France*, 3 vols (Paris, 1950).
- Hay, G., *Architecture of Scottish Post-Reformation Churches, 1560-1843* (Oxford, 1957).
- Hedley, J., *Capability Brown and the Northern Landscape* (exh. cat., Newcastle upon Tyne, Barnard Castle, Leeds, Middlesbrough, 1983).
- Hempton, D., *Methodism and Politics in British Society 1750-1850* (1984).
- Herrmann, W., 'Antoine Desgodets and the Académie Royale de l'Architecture', *AB*, xl (Mar., 1958), 23-55.
- , *Laugier and Eighteenth Century French Theory* (1962).
- , 'Unknown Designs for the "Temple of Jerusalem" by Claude Perrault', eds. D.Fraser, H.Hibbard and M.J.Lewine, *Essays in the History of Architecture Presented to Rudolph Wittkower* (1967), pp. 143-158.
- , *The Theory of Claude Perrault* (1973).
- , *In What Style Shall We Build?: The German Debate on Architectural Style* (Santa Monica and Chicago, 1992).
- Eds. ————— and A., *Marc-Antoine Laugier: An Essay on Architecture* (Los Angeles, 1977).
- Hersey, G.L., *The Aragonese Arch at Naples 1443-1475* (New Haven, 1973).
- , *Pythagorean Palaces: Magic and Architecture in the Italian Renaissance* (Ithaca, 1976).
- , *Architecture, Poetry and Number in the Royal Palace at Caserta* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983).
- , *The Lost Meaning of Classical Architecture* (Cambridge, Mas., 1988).
- , 'J.C.Loudon and Architectural Associationism', *AR* 89-92.
- Hervey, M.F.S., *The Life, Correspondence and Collections of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel* (Cambridge, 1921).
- Hewlings, R., 'Soane's Designs for Ossington', *AH*, xxvii (1984), 270-80.
- , *Chiswick House and Gardens* (1989).
- Heydenreich, L.H. and Lotz, W., *Architecture in Italy 1400 to 1600* (Harmondsworth, 1974).
- Hibbert, C., *The Grand Tour* (1969).
- Hind, A.M., *Engraving in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, 2 vols (Cambridge, I 1952, II 1955).
- Ed. Hind, C.W., *New Light on English Palladianism: Papers given at The Georgian Group Symposium, 1988* (1990).
- Hinde, T., *Capability Brown: The Story of a Master Gardener* (1986).
- Hipple, W.J., *The Beautiful, The Sublime and The Picturesque in Eighteenth-Century British Aesthetic Theory* (Carbondale, 1957).
- Hiscock, W.G., *Henry Aldrich of Christ Church, 1648-1710* (Oxford, 1960).
- Historic Buildings in London: An Inventory of Historic Buildings owned by the Greater London Council* (1975).
- Historical Manuscripts Commission, Report on the Manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Portland*, v (1899).
- , *Reports on Manuscripts in Various Collections*, iii (1904).
- , *Calendar Manuscripts of the Most Honourable Marquess of Salisbury preserved at Hatfield House*, pt. xxi (1970).
- Hitchcock, H.-R., *Early Victorian Architecture in Britain*, 2 vols (1954).
- , *Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Harmondsworth, 1968).
- Hobhouse, H., *Thomas Cubitt, Master Builder* (1971).
- Hodge, E.W., 'Belle Isle, Westmorland', *CL*, lxxxviii (3, 10 Aug., 1940), 98-101, 120-4.
- Holmes, G., *Augustan England: Professions, State and Society, 1680-1730* (1982).
- Holmes, M., *The Country House Described: An Index to the Country Houses of Great Britain and Ireland* (1986).
- Ed. Holt, E.G., *A Documentary History of Art* (Princeton, 1947; 3 vols, New York, 1958).
- Honour, H., 'Adaptations from Athens', *CL*, cxxiii (28 May, 1958), 1120-21.
- , *Neo-Classicism* (Harmondsworth, 1968).
- Ed. Hooker, G.T.W., 'Parthenos and Parthenon', *Greece & Rome*, supplement to x (1963).
- Hopkins, E., *Birmingham: The First Manufacturing Town in the World 1760-1840* (1989).
- Houghton, W.E., *The Victorian Frame of Mind 1830-70* (New Haven, 1957).
- Howard, D., 'Four Centuries of Literature on Palladio', *JSAH*, xxxix 3 (Oct., 1980), 224-41.
- Howard, M., *The Early Tudor Country House: Architecture and Politics 1490-1550* (1987).
- Howarth, D., 'Lord Arundel and Inigo Jones in Italy I, II', *CL*, clvii (24 Apr., 1 May, 1975), 1052-4, 1138-40.

-
- and Penny, N., *Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel: Patronage and Collecting in the Seventeenth Century* (exh. cat., Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 1986).
- Howell, P. and Pritchard, T.W., 'Wynnstay, Denbighshire I, II, III', *CL*, cli (23, 30 Mar., 6 Apr., 1972).
- and Sutton, I., *The Faber Guide to Victorian Churches* (1989).
- Hudson, T.P., 'Moor Park, Leoni and Sir James Thornhill', *Burl.Mag.*, cxiii 824 (Nov., 1971), 657-61.
- , 'James Gibbs's designs for University Buildings at Cambridge', *Burl.Mag.*, cxiv 837 (Dec., 1972), 842-8.
- , 'A Ducal Patron of Architects', *CL*, clv (17 Jan., 1974), 78-81.
- , 'A Venetian Architect in England', *CL*, clvii (3 Apr., 1975), 830-3.
- Huelson, C., *The Roman Forum: Its History and its Monuments* (2nd rev. edn., New York, 1909).
- Hughes, J., *Liverpool Banks and Bankers, 1760-1837* (Liverpool, 1906).
- Hugo-Brunt, M., 'George Dance, the Younger, as Town-Planner (1768-1814)', *JSAH*, xiv, 4 (Dec., 1955), 13-22.
- Humphreys, A.R., *The Augustan World: Society, Thought and Letters in Eighteenth-Century England* (1954).
- Hunt, J.D., 'Emblem and Expression in the Eighteenth Century-Landscape Garden', *E-CS*, 4 (1971), 294-317.
- , 'Sense and Sensibility in the Landscape Designs of Humphry Repton', *Studies in Burke and his Time*, xix (1978), 3-28.
- , 'Picturesque Mirrors and Ruins of the Past', *Art History*, iv 3 (Sept., 1981), 254-70.
- , *Garden and Grove: The Italian Renaissance Garden in the English Imagination 1600-1750* (1986).
- , *William Kent Landscape Garden Designer* (1987).
- and De Jong, E., *The Anglo-Dutch Garden in the Age of William and Mary* (exh. cat., Apeldoorn and London, 1989; *Journal of Garden History*, viii 2, 3 (Apr.-Sept., 1988)).
- and Willis, P., *The Genius of the Place: The English Landscape Garden 1620-1820* (1975).
- Hussey, C., *The Picturesque: Studies in a Point of View* (New York, 1927; repr., 1983).
- , 'Staunton Harold, Leicestershire', *CL*, cvii (24 Feb., 1950), 516-9.
- , 'Nostell Priory, Yorkshire I, II, III', *CL*, cxi (16, 23, 30 May, 1952), 1492-5, 1572-5, 1652-5.
- , 'Shugborough, Staffordshire I, II, III', *CL*, cxv (25 Feb., 4, 11 Mar., 1954), 510-13, 590-3, 676-9.
- , 'A Classical Landscape Park', *CL*, cxv (15, 22 Apr., 1954), 1126-9, 1220-3.
- , 'Barnsley Park, Gloucestershire I, II', *CL*, cxvi (2n 9 Sept., 1954), 720-3, 806-9.
- , 'Ickworth Park, Suffolk', *CL*, cxvii (10 March, 1955), 678-81.
- , 'Rokeby, Yorkshire', *CL*, cxvii (19 May, 1955), 1302-5.
- , *English Country Houses*, 3 vols, I *Early Georgian 1715-1760*, II *Mid Georgian 1760-1800*, III *Late Georgian 1800-1840* (1955; repr. Woodbridge, 1984).
- , 'Duncombe Park, Yorkshire I, II', *CL*, cxxii (5, 12 Dec., 1957), 1198-1202, 1328-31.
- , 'Ince Blundell Hall, Lancashire I, II, III', *CL*, cxxiii (10, 17, 24 Apr., 1958), 756-9, 816-9, 876-9.
- , *English Gardens and Landscapes, 1700-1750* (1967).
- Hutton, C.A., 'A Collection of Sketches by C.R.Cockerell', *JHS*, xxix (1909), 53-9.
- , 'The Travels of "Palmyra" Wood in 1750-51', *JHS*, xlvii (1927), 102-28.
- Hyams, E., *Capability Brown and Humphry Repton* (1971).
- Images of the Grand Tour: Louis Ducros 1748-1810* (exh. cat., Iveagh Bequest, Kenwood; Whitworth Art Gallery, Manchester; Musée Cantonal des Beaux-Arts, Lausanne, 1986).
- Eds. Impey, O. and MacGregor, A., *The Origins of Museums: The Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe* (Oxford 1985).
- 'Inigo Jones and St. Paul's Cathedral', *LTR*, xviii (1942), 41-6.
- Irwin, D., *English Neo-Classical Art* (1966).
- Isham, Sir G., 'The Architectural History of Lamport', *NAAS*, lvii (1951), 27.
- and Bailey, B., 'Cottesbrooke Hall Revisited', *CL*, cxlvii (19 Feb., 1970), 434-7.
- Ison, W., *The Georgian Buildings of Bath, from 1700 to 1830* (1948; rev. edn., Bath, 1980).
- , *The Georgian Buildings of Bristol* (1952).
- Jackson, A., *The Politics of Architecture* (1970).

- Jackson-Stops, G. 'The Cliveden Album: Drawings by Archer, Leoni and Gibbs for the 1st Earl of Orkney', *AH*, xix (1976).
- , 'The Cliveden Album II: Nineteenth-Century and Miscellaneous Drawings', *AH*, xx (1977), 65-78.
- , 'The Building of Petworth', *Apollo*, cv 183 (May 1977), 324-33.
- , *The Treasure Houses of Britain: Five Hundred Years of Private Patronage and Art Collecting* (exh. cat., NGA, Washington, 1985).
- , *The English Country House: A Grand Tour* (1985).
- , 'The Sessions House, Northampton', *CL*, clxxx (21 Aug., 1986), 588-90.
- , and Percy, V., 'The Travel Journals of the 1st Duchess of Northumberland I, II, III', *CL*, clv (31 Jan., 7, 14 Feb., 1974), 192-5, 250-2.
- , Scochet, G.J., Orlin, L.C. and MacDougall, E.B., Eds., *The Fashioning and Functioning of the English Country House* (Washington, 1989).
- Jacques, D., *Georgian Gardens: The Reign of Nature* (1983).
- Ed. Jacquot, J., *Les Fêtes de la Renaissance* (Paris, 1956).
- Jeffery, P., 'The Church that Never Was: Wren's St. Mary, and other Projects for Lincoln's Inn Fields', *AH*, xxxi (1988), 136-44.
- Jeffery, S., 'John James and George London at Herriard: Architectural Drawings in the Jervoise of Herriard Collection', *AH*, xxviii (1985), 40-70.
- Jenkins, F., *Architect and Patron* (Oxford, 1961).
- , 'John Foulston and his Public Buildings in Plymouth, Stonehouse, and Devonport', *JSAH*, xxvii 2 (1968), 124.
- Jenkins, S., *Landlords to London: The Story of a Capital and its Growth* (1975).
- Jeudwine, W., *Stage Designs* (Feltham, 1968).
- Johnson, F.F., 'Boynton Hall', *AJ*, cxli (1984), 43-4.
- Johnson, J.W., *The Formation of Neo-Classical Thought* (Princeton, 1967).
- Johnson, S., *Belsay Hall, Castle and Gardens*, (1984).
- Kalnein, G.W., *Art and Architecture of the Eighteenth Century in France* (Harmondsworth, 1972).
- Kamen, R.H., *British and Irish Architectural History: A Bibliography and Guide to Sources of Information* (1981).
- Kaufmann, E., 'Claude-Nicholas Ledoux, Inaugurator of a New Architectural System', *JSAH*, iv (1944), 23-9.
- , 'Three Revolutionary Architects, Boullée, Ledoux and Lequeu', *TAPS*, xlii, 3 (Oct., 1952), 417-535.
- , *Architecture in the Age of Reason: Baroque and Post-Baroque in England, Italy, and France* (Cambridge, Mass., 1955; 2nd edn., New York, 1968).
- , 'Piranesi, Algarotti and Lodoli: A Controversy in XVIII Century Venice', *Essays in Honor of Hans Tietze* (Paris, 1958), pp. 309-16.
- Keene, R.J.B., *Architecture in Leicestershire 1834-1984* (Leicester, 1984).
- Keener, F.M., *English Dialogues of the Dead*, (New York, London, 1973).
- Kelly, A., *Mrs. Coade's Stone* (Upton-on-Severn, 1990).
- Kelly, T., *Early Public Libraries. A History of Public Libraries in Great Britain before 1850* (1966).
- , *History of Public Libraries in Great Britain 1845-1975* (1973; 2nd rev. edn., 1977).
- Kelsall, M., 'The Iconography of Stourhead', *JWCI*, xlv (1983), 133-43.
- Kennedy, R.G., *Greek Revival America* (New York, 1989).
- Kent, F.W., 'Lorenzo de' Medici's Acquisition of Poggio a Caiano in 1474, and an Early Reference to his Architectural Expertise', *JSAH*, xlii (1979), 250-7.
- Kiddell, A.J.B., 'John Platt of Rotherham, Potter and Mason-Architect', *TECC*, v 3 (1961), 172-5.
- Kieven, E., 'Galilei in England', *CL*, cliii (25 Jan., 1973), 210-2.
- Kimball, F., 'Romantic Classicism in Architecture', *GB-A*, xxv (Feb., 1944), 95-112.
- , 'Wren: Some of his Sources', *AR*, cx (1950), 43-6.
- Kindler, R.A., 'Periodical Criticism 1815-1840; Originality in Architecture', *AH*, xvii (1974), 22-37.
- King, N., *The Grimstons of Gorhambury* (Chichester, 1983).
- Kirby, P.F., *The Grand Tour in Italy 1700-1800* (New York, 1952).
- Kliger, S., 'Whig Aesthetics: A Phase of Eighteenth-Century Taste', *English Literary Journal*, xvi (June, 1949), 135-50.
- Knowles, C.C. and Pitt, P.H., *The History of Building Regulations in London* (1972).
- Korshin, P.J., *Typologies in England, 1650-1820* (Princeton, 1982).
- Krautheimer, R., 'Introduction to an "Iconography of Medieval Architecture"', *JCWI*, v (1942), 1-33.

-
- , 'Sancta Maria Rotunda', in *Arte del Primo Millennio: Atti del 2^o convegno per lo studio dell'arte dell'alto Medi Evo, Pavia, 1950* (Turin, 1953), 21-7.
- , *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture* (Harmondsworth, 1965).
- , *Studies in Early Christian, Medieval and Renaissance Art* (1971).
- , *The Rome of Alexander VII, 1655-1667* (Princeton, 1985).
- , Frankl, W. and Corbett, S., *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae*, 5 vols. (Vatican City, 1937-77).
- Kuyper, W., *Dutch Classicist Architecture: A Survey of Dutch Architecture, Gardens and Anglo-Dutch Architectural Relations from 1625 to 1700* (Delft, 1980).
- Lambton, L., *Beastly Buildings* (1985).
- Lang, J., *Rebuilding St. Paul's After the Great Fire of London* (Oxford, 1956).
- Lang, S., 'Oxford and Cambridge Reformed: Hawksmoor as Town-planner', *AR*, ciii (1948), 157-60.
- , 'By Hawksmoor out of Gibbs', *AR*, cv (1949), 183-90.
- , 'The Early Publications of the Temples of Paestum', *JWCI*, xiii (1950), 48-64.
- , 'Vanbrugh's theory and Hawksmoor's buildings', *JSAH*, xxiv (1965), 127-51.
- Lapauze, H., *Histoire de l'Académie de France à Rome*, 2 vols (1924).
- Lawrence, A.W., *Greek Architecture* (Harmondsworth, 1957), rev. R.A. Tomlinson (4th integrated edn., 1983).
- Lawrence, L., 'Stuart and Revett: Their Literary and Architectural Careers', *JWI*, i (1938-39), 128-49.
- Lawson, J.B., 'Thomas Telford in Shrewsbury: the metamorphosis of an architect into a civil engineer', in ed. A. Penfold, *Thomas Telford, Engineer* (1980), pp. 1-22.
- Leach, P., 'Ragley Hall', *AJ*, cxxviii (1971), 230-33.
- , 'James Paine junior: an unbuilt architect', *AH*, xxvii (1984), 392-405.
- , *James Paine* (1988).
- Leacroft, R., 'The Theatre Royal Leicester 1836-1958', *Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society*, xxxiv (1958), 39-52.
- , *The Development of the English Playhouse* (1973).
- and H., *Theatre and Playhouse: an illustrated survey of theatre building from ancient Greece to the present day* (1985).
- Leatherbarrow, D., 'Architecture and Situation: a Study of the Architectural Writings of Robert Morris', *JSAH*, xlv, 1 (Mar., 1985), 48-59.
- Lees-Milne, J., *The Age of Inigo Jones* (1953).
- , *Earls of Creation* (1962).
- , *Saint Peter's* (1967).
- , *English Country Houses: Baroque 1685-1715* (1970).
- Legh, E.C., Baroness Newton, *The House of Lyme, Seat of the Legh Family, from its Foundation to the End of the Eighteenth Century* (1917).
- Lehmann, K., 'Piranesi as Interpreter of Roman Architecture', *Piranesi* (exh. cat., Smith Museum of Art, Northampton, Mass., 1961), pp. 88-98.
- Lehmann, P.W., 'The Setting of Hellenistic Temples', *JSAH*, xiii, 4 (Dec., 1954), 15-20.
- Leranbaum, M., *Alexander Pope's 'Opus Magnum', 1729-1744* (Oxford, 1977).
- Lewis, L., 'The Architects of the Chapel at Greenwich Hospital', *AB*, xxix, 2 (Dec., 1947), 260-7.
- Lidbetter, H., *The Friends Meeting House* (York, 1961; 2nd edn., 1979).
- Lindley, K.A., *Chapels and Meeting Houses* (1969).
- Lindsay, I.G., *Georgian Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1948).
- Linstrum, D., *Historic Architecture of Leeds* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1969).
- , *Sir Jeffry Wyatville, Architect to the King* (Oxford, 1972).
- , *West Yorkshire, Architects and Architecture* (1978).
- Liscombe, R., 'Economy, character and durability: specimen designs for the Church Commissioners, 1818', *AH*, xiii (1971), 43-57.
- , *William Wilkins 1778-1839* (Cambridge, 1980).
- Little, B.D.G., *The Building of Bath* (1947).
- , *Catholic Churches since 1623* (1966).
- , *Prior Park, its History and Description* (Bristol, 1975).
- Lloyd, C.C., 'Greenwich'. *TAMS*, new series, viii (1960), 11-20.
- Lloyd, N., *A History of the English House* (1931).
- Lomax, M.T., *Pugin: A Medieval Victorian* (1932).

- Lough, J., *France Observed in the Seventeenth Century by British Travellers* (Stocksfield, 1985).
- Louw, H.W., 'Anglo-Netherlandish Architectural Interchange c.1600-c.1660', *AH*, xxi (1984), 1-23.
- Lovejoy, A.O., 'The Parallel of Deism and Classicism', in *Essays in the History of Ideas*, vi (1948), 78-98.
- Lowry, B., *Renaissance Architecture* (New York, 1962).
- , 'Notes on the *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae* and related publications', *AB*, xxxiv (1952), 46-50.
- Macaulay, J., *The Classical Country House in Scotland 1660-1800* (1987).
- Macaulay, R., *Pleasure of Ruins* (1954; repr., 1984).
- MacCormack, S.G., *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, 1981).
- MacDonald, W.L., *The Pantheon: Design, Meaning and Progeny* (1976).
- , *The Architecture of the Roman Empire*, 2 vols (New Haven and London, 2nd rev. edn., 1982).
- Mackenzie, G., *Marylebone, Great City North of Oxford Street* (1972).
- MacLeod, R., *Style and Society: Architectural Ideology in Britain, 1835-1914* (1971).
- Maiuri, A., 'L'origine del portico ad arche girate su colonne' *Palladio*, i (1937), 121-24.
- , 'Portico e Peristilio', in *La Parola del Passato*, i (1946), 306-22.
- Malins, *The Red Books of Humphry Repton* (1976).
- Mander, R and Mitchenson, J., *The Lost Theatres of London* (1968).
- Mann, J.G., 'English Church Monuments, 1536-1625', *WS*, xxi (1932-33), 1-22.
- Manuel, F.E., *The Eighteenth Century Confronts the Gods*, (Cambridge, Mass., 1959).
- Manwaring, E.W., *Italian Landscape in Eighteenth Century England* (New York, 1925; repr. London, 1965).
- Marks, R., 'The Howard Tombs at Thetford and Framlingham: New Discoveries', *AJ*, cxli (1984), 252-68.
- Martin, G., 'Wilkins and the National Gallery', *Burl. Mag.*, cxiii, 819 (June, 1971), 318-29.
- Martin, J.R., *Baroque* (Harmondsworth, 1977).
- Masson, G., 'Four Palladian Villas', *CL*, cvii (2 June, 1950), 1634-8.
- Eds. Matthews, W.R. and Atkins, W.M., *A History of St. Paul's Cathedral, and the men associated with it* (1957).
- McCain, R., 'English Travellers in Italy during the Renaissance', *Bulletin of Bibliography*, xix (1916), 17ff., 68ff., 93ff.
- McCarthy, M., 'Documents on the Greek Revival in Architecture', *Burl. Mag.*, cxiv (1972), 760-69.
- , 'The Rebuilding of Stowe House 1770-1777', *Huntingdon Library Quarterly*, xxxvi, 3 (May, 1973), 267-98.
- , 'Sir Roger Newdigate: Drawings for Copt Hall, Essex, and Arbury Hall, Warwickshire', *AH*, xiii (1973), 26-36.
- , 'The Building of Hagley Hall, Warwickshire', *Burl. Mag.*, cxviii, 877 (April, 1976), 214-225.
- McFadzean, R., *The Life and Work of Alexander Thomson* (1979).
- McFarland, T.A., *Originality and Imagination* (Baltimore, 1985).
- , 'The Originality Paradox', *New Literary History*, v (1974), 447-76.
- McGowan, M.M., 'Form and Themes in Henry II's Entry into Rouen', *Renaissance Drama*, new series, i (1968), 199-251.
- , *L'Entrée de Henri II à Rouen 1550* (Paris, 1551; Rouen, 1868; facs. repr., Amsterdam, 1976).
- McHardy, G., *Catalogue of the Drawings Collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects: Office of J.B. Papworth* (Farnborough, 1977).
- McKay, A.G., *Houses, Villas and Palaces in the Roman World* (1975).
- McKenna, J., *Birmingham as it was* (Birmingham, Nelson, 1979).
- McManners, J., *Death and the Enlightenment* (Oxford, 1981).
- McParland, E., *James Gandon: Vitruvius Hibernicus* (1985).
- Mead, W.E., *The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1914).
- Meade, M.K., 'Plans of the New Town of Edinburgh', *AH*, xiv (1971), 40-52.
- Meadows, P., *Joseph Bonomi Architect 1739-1808* (exhib. cat., RIBA, 1988).
- , 'Drawn to Entice', *CL*, clxxxii (28 April, 1988), 128-33.
- , 'Palatinate Patronage', *CL*, clxxxiii (14 Dec., 1989), 64-9.
- Meeks, C.L.V., *The Railway Station, An Architectural History* (1957).
- , 'Pantheon Paradigm', *JSAH*, xix, 4 Dec., 1960, 135-44.
- Meiggs, R., 'The Political Implications of the Parthenon', in ed. G.T.W. Hooker, 'Parthenos and Parthenon', *Greece & Rome*, supplement to x (1963), 36-45.
- Meller, H., *St. George's, Bloomsbury: An Illustrated Guide to the Church* (1975).
- Metcalf, P., 'Silverton Park, Devon', in eds. H. Colvin and J. Harris, *The Country Seat* (1970), pp. 234-6.
- , *The Halls of the Fishmongers' Company* (1977).

-
- , *James Knowles, Victorian Editor and Architect* (Oxford, 1980).
- Middleton, R.D., 'Jacques-François Blondel and the "Cours d'Architecture"', *JSAH*, xviii (1959), 140-8.
- Ed. ———, *The Beaux-Arts and Nineteenth-Century French Architecture* (1984).
- , and Watkin, D., *Neoclassical and 19th-Century Architecture* (1977).
- Milburn, R., *Early Christian Art and Architecture* (Aldershot, 1988).
- Miller, E.J., *That Noble Cabinet: A History of the British Museum* (1973).
- Miller, P., *Decimus Burton 1800-1881, His Life and Work* (exh. cat., Building Centre Trust, 1981).
- Mills, K.S., 'Commissioners' Churches', *Builder*, clxxv (1948), 238-40.
- Mingay, G.E., *English Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century* (1963).
- Moir, E.A.L., *The Discovery of Britain: The English Tourists 1540-1846* (1964).
- Momigliano, A., *Alien Wisdom: The Limits of Hellenization* (New York, 1975).
- Monk, S.H., *The Sublime: A Study of Critical Theories in Eighteenth-Century England* (New York, 1935).
- Ed. ———, *Five Miscellaneous Essays by Sir William Temple* (Ann Arbor, 1963).
- Monkhouse, C., 'Hastings and St.Leonards, Sussex - II, II, III', *CL*, clv (14,21,28 Feb., 1974), 286-8, 384-6, 432-4.
- Moore, B., *Privacy: Studies in Social and Cultural History* (1984).
- Morgan, M.G., 'The Portico of Metellus: A Reconsideration', *Hermes: Zeitschrift für Klassische Philologie*, xcix (1971), 480-505.
- Ed. Morris, R.J., *Class, Power and Social Structure in British Nineteenth-Century Towns* (Leicester, 1986).
- Mortier, R., *L'Originalité: Une Nouvelle Catégorie Esthétique au Siècle des Lumières* (Geneva, 1982).
- Mosser, M. and Teyssot, G., *The History of Garden Design. The Western Tradition from the Renaissance to the Present Day* (1991).
- Mott, G., *Follies and Pleasure Pavilions* (1989).
- Mowl, T. and Earnshaw, B., *Trumpet at a Distant Gate: The Lodge as Prelude to the Country House* (1985).
- , *John Wood, Architect of Obsession* (Bath, 1988).
- Mumford, L., *The Culture of Cities* (1940).
- Ed. Munby, A.N.L., *Sale Catalogues of Libraries of Eminent Persons*, 12 vols (1971-75); iv, ed. D.J.Watkin, *Architects* (1972).
- Muraro, M., *Venetian Villas* (New York, 1986).
- Murdoch, J., *The Discovery of the Lake District - A Northern Arcadia and Its Uses*, (exh. cat., V&A, 1984).
- , *The Architecture of the Italian Renaissance* (1969; repr. 1981).
- , *Piranesi and the Grandeur of Ancient Rome* (1971).
- Nares, G., 'Aynho Park, Northamptonshire I, II, III', *CL*, cxiv (2,9,16 July, 1953), 42-5, 122-5, 202-5.
- , 'Cottesbrooke Hall, Northamptonshire I. II' *CL*, cxvii (17,24 Mar., 1955), 736-9, 806-9.
- , 'Moore Place, Hertfordshire I, II', *CL*, cxix (26 Jan., 2 Feb., 1956), 156-9, 204-7.
- , 'The Vyne, Hampshire', *CL*, cxxi (3 Jan., 1957), 16-19.
- , 'Hagley Hall, Worcestershire I, II', *CL*, cxxii (19,26 Sept., 1957), 546-9, 608-11.
- , 'Ingestre Hall, Staffordshire I, II, III', *CL*, cxxii (17,24,31 Oct., 1957), 772-5, 874-7, 924-7.
- Newman, G., *The Rise of English Nationalism: A Cultural History, 1740-1830* (New York, 1987).
- Newman, J., 'The Inigo Jones Centenary', *Burl.Mag.*, cxv (1973), 557-61.
- , 'Inigo Jones e la sua copia de "I Quattro Libri" di Palladio', *Bollettino del Centro Internazionale di Studi di Architettura 'Andrea Palladio'*, xii, 2, (1980), 41-62.
- Noehles, K., 'Die Louvre-Projekte von Pietro da Cortona und Carlo Rainaldi', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, xxiv (1961), 40-74.
- Norman, E.R., *The House of God: Church Architecture, Style and History* (1990).
- Norton, P., 'Daylesford: S.P.Cockerell's Residence for Warren Hastings', *JSAH*, xxii, 3 (Oct., 1963), 127-33.
- Nuttgens, P., *The Landscape of Ideas* (1972).
- Nyberg, D., 'La Sainte Antiquité: Focus of an Eighteenth-Century Architectural Debate', in eds. D.Fraser, H.Hibbard and M.J.Lewine, *Essays in the History of Architecture Presented to Rudolf Wittkower* (1967), pp. 159-69.
- O'Donnell, R., 'W.J.Donthorn (1799-1859): Architecture with "Great Hardness and Decision at the Edges"', *AH*, xxi (1978), 83-92.
- Ogden, H.V.S. and M.S., *English Taste in Landscape in the Seventeenth Century* (Ann Arbor, 1955).
- Olsen, D.J., *Town Planning in London: The Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (1964; 2nd edn., 1982).
- Onians, J.B., *Art and Thought in the Hellenistic Age: The Greek World View 350-50 BC* (1979).
- , *Bearers of Meaning: The Classical Orders in Antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance* (Princeton, 1988).
- Orgel, S., 'Inigo Jones on Stonehenge', *Prose*, iii (1971), 117-24.
- Ed. ———, *The Renaissance Imagination* (Berkeley, 1975).

-
- and Strong, R., *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court*, 2 vols (1973).
- Oswald, A., 'Sir William Chambers and Kew', *CL*, lxvii (31 May, 1930), 792-4.
- , *Country Houses of Dorset* (1935; 2nd rev. edn., 1959).
- , 'Winslow Hall, Buckinghamshire', *CL*, cx (24 Aug., 1951), 572-6.
- , 'Boynton Hall, Yorkshire I, II', *CL*, cxvi (22,29 July, 1954), 280-3, 356-9.
- , 'Bramham Park, Yorkshire I, II', *CL*, cxxiii (20,27 Feb., 1958), 350-3, 400-3.
- , 'Hawkstone Hall, Shropshire I, II', *CL*, cxxiii (27 Mar., 4 April, 1958), 640-33, 698-701.
- , 'Ragley Hall, Warwickshire I, II', *CL*, cxxiii (1,8 May, 1958), 938-41, 1006-9.
- , 'A Yorkshire Landscape Garden, Bramham Park I, II', *CL*, cxxiii (12,19 June, 1958), 1294-7, 1368-71.
- , 'Okeover Hall, Staffordshire I,II,III,IV', *CL*, cxxxv (23,30 Jan., 12,19 Mar., 1964), 172-6, 224-8, 568-72, 645-9.
- , 'Tatton Park, Cheshire I,II,III', *CL*, cxxxvi (16,23,30 July, 1964), 162-5, 232-6, 292-6.
- , 'Conversation Piece in the Making', *CL*, cxxxvii (21 Jan., 1965), 108-9.
- , 'Kimbolton Castle, Huntingdonshire I,II,III,IV', *CL*, cxliv (5,12,19,26 Dec., 1968), 1474-8, 1584-7, 1644-8, 1696-9.
- Oswald, H., *The Theatres Royal in Newcastle upon Tyne* (Newcastle, 1936).
- Ovenall, R.F., *The Ashmolean Museum 1638-1894* (Oxford, 1986).
- Paatz, W. and E., *Die Kirchen von Florenz*, 6 vols (Frankfurt, 1940-54).
- Pace, C., 'Gavin Hamilton's "Wood and Dawkins discovering Palmyra": The dilettante as hero', *Art History*, iv, 3 (Sept., 1981), 271-90.
- Palme, P., *Triumph of Peace: A Study of the Whitehall Banqueting House* (Stockholm, 1956; London, 1957).
- Ed. Palmer, R.E., *French Travellers in England, 1600-1900: Selections from their Writings* (1960).
- Papworth, W., *The Renaissance and Italian Styles of Architecture in Great Britain* (1883).
- Ed. —————, *The Dictionary of Architecture*, Architectural Publication Society, 8 vols (1852-92).
- Paris, Rome, Athens. Le Voyage en Grèce des Architectes Français aux XIX^e et XX^e Siècles* (exh. cat., Paris, 1982; Athens, 1983; Houston, 1983; New York, 1984).
- Parks, G.B., 'The Decline and Fall of the English Admiration of Italy', *Huntingdon Library Quarterly*, xxxi (1968), 341-57.
- Parry, G., *The Golden Age restor'd* (Manchester, 1981).
- Pater, W., *Emerald Uthwart* (1905).
- Patroni, G., 'Porticus (Il Giardino con Portici della Casa Romana)', *Rendiconti del Reale Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere*, lxiv, fasc. vi-x (1931).
- , 'Ancora di Porticus = Peristilio e di altri particolari della domus e della villa', *Historia*, v (1931), 563-585.
- Paul, R.W., *Vanishing London* (1894).
- Peacock, J., 'Inigo Jones's Stage Architecture and Its Sources', *AB*, lxiv, 1 (Mar., 1982), 195-216.
- , 'Jonson and Jones collaborate on "Prince Henry's Barriers"', *Word & Image*, iii, 2 (April-June, 1987), 172-94.
- Pearce, D., *London's Mansions: Palatial Houses of the Nobility* (1986).
- Perks, S., *The History of the Mansion House* (Cambridge, 1922).
- Pérouse de Montclos, J.-M., *Étienne-Louis Boullée, 1728-1799, De l'Architecture Classique à l'Architecture Revolutionnaire* (Paris, 1969).
- , *Étienne-Louis Boullée (1728-1799) Theoretician of Revolutionary Architecture* (1974).
- Petter, H.M., *The Oxford Almanacks* (Oxford, 1974).
- Pevsner, N., *The Buildings of England* (Harmondsworth, imprint varies, 1951-).
- , 'British Museum: some unsolved problems of its architectural history', *AR*, cxiii (Mar., 1953), 179-82.
- , *Studies in Art, Architecture and Design*, 2 vols (1968).
- , *Some Architectural Writers of the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1972).
- , *A History of Building Types* (1976; corr. edn., 1979).
- Pfeiffer, R., *History of Classical Scholarship from 1300 to 1850* (Oxford, 1976).
- Philip, I.G., 'The Building of the School's Quadrangle', *Oxoniensia*, xiii (1948).
- Picton, Sir A.J., *The Architectural History of Liverpool* (Liverpool, 1858).
- , *Memorials of Liverpool, Historical and Topographical*, 2 vols (Liverpool, 1873: 2nd red. edn., 1875).

- , *City of Liverpool: Municipal Archives and Records from 1700 to the passing of the Municipal Reform Act, 1835* (Liverpool, 1886).
- Piggott, S., *William Stukeley, An Eighteenth-Century Antiquary* (Oxford, 1950; rev. edn., London, 1985).
- , *Ruins in a Landscape: Essays in Antiquarianism* (Edinburgh, 1976).
- , *Antiquity Depicted: Aspects of Archaeological Illustration* (1978).
- Pilcher, D., *The Regency Style, 1800 to 1830* (1947).
- Pinto, J., 'The Landscape of Allusion: Literary Themes in the Gardens of Classical Rome and Augustan England', *Smith College Studies in History*, xlviii (1980), 97-113.
- Port, M.H., *Six Hundred New Churches: A Study of the Church Building Commission 1818-1856* (1961).
- Ed. -----, *The Houses of Parliament* (New Haven, 1976).
- Potts, J.D., *Platt of Rotherham, Mason-Architects, 1700-1810* (Sheffield, 1959).
- Powys, J.K., *Aristocracy* (Oxford, 1984).
- Ed. Poynter, F.N.L., *The Evolution of Hospitals in Britain* (1964).
- Pratt, H.T., *The Portico Library Manchester: Its History and Associations 1802-1922* (Manchester, 1922).
- Praz, M., 'Herculaneum and European Taste', *Magazine of Art* xxxii (1939), 684-93, 727.
- , *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery* (1939).
- Ed. -----, *On Neo-Classicism* (1969).
- Prior, W.H., *Old and New London* (1878-80).
- Proudfoot, C. and Watkin, D., 'A Pioneer of English Neo-Classicism: C.H.Tatham', *CL*, cli (13,20 April, 1972), 918-21.
- Pundt, H.G., 'K.F.Schinkel's Environmental Planning of Central Berlin', *JSAH*, xxvi, 2 (May, 1967), 114-30.
- , *Schinkel's Berlin: A Study in Environmental Planning* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972).
- Puppi, L., *Andrea Palladio* (1975).
- Rae, G., *The Country Banker* (1885).
- Rae, I., *Charles Cameron, Architect of the Court of Russia* (1971).
- Ragette, F., *Baalbek* (1980).
- Railton, M. and Barr, M., *The Royal Berkshire Hospital 1839-1989* (Reading, 1989).
- Ramirez, J.A., 'Guarino Guarini, Fray Juan Ricci and the Complete "Salomonic Order"', *Art History*, iv, 2 (June, 1981), 175-85.
- Ramsay, L.G.G., 'Destruction Walks by Noonday at Gopsal Hall', *Connoisseur*, cxxviii (Dec., 1951), 160-1.
- Ramsey, S.C. and Harvey, J.D.M., *Small Houses of the Georgian Period, 1750-1820*, 2 vols (1919-23).
- , *Small Georgian Houses and their Details, 1750-1820*, 2 vols (1923; repr. 1977, 1982, 1986).
- Rand, B., *Berkeley and Percival* (Cambridge, 1916).
- Rasmussen, S.E., *London: The Unique City* (1934; repr. Cambridge, Mass., 1982, 1983).
- Raval, M., *Claude-Nicolas Ledoux, 1736-1806* (Paris, 1945).
- Reddaway, T.F., *The Rebuilding of London after the Great Fire* (1940; repr. 1951).
- , 'The London Custom House 1666-1740', *London Topographical Record*, xxi (1958), 1-25.
- Redmill, J., 'The Grange, Hampshire I, II', *CL*, clvii (8,15 May, 1975), 1166-8, 1242-45.
- Reid, P. et al., *Burke's and Savill's Guide to Country Houses*, 3 vols (1978-81).
- Rice, W.G., 'English Travellers in Greece and the Levant', *University of Michigan Essays in English and Comparative Literature*, x (1933), 205-60.
- Richardson, A.E., *Monumental Classic Architecture in Great Britain and Ireland in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (London, New York, 1914; repr. New York, London, 1982).
- , 'The Development of Cheltenham in the Early Nineteenth Century', *Town Planning Review*, vi (1916), 226-32.
- and Gill, C.L., *Regional Architecture of the West of England* (1924).
- et al., *Southill, a Regency House* (1951).
- Riddell, R., '"To introduce the Temple Beauties": Approaching Palladian Porticoes', in ed. C.Hind, *New Light on English Palladianism: Papers given at the Georgian Group Symposium, 1988* (1990), pp. 81-94.
- Rideout, E.H., *The Custom House Liverpool* (Liverpool, 1928).
- Rix, M., 'Attingham Hall, Shropshire', *CL*, cxvi (21 Oct., 1954), 1350-3.
- Robbins, R.M., 'Some Designs for St.Marylebone Church with Notes on the Chapels of the District', *London Topographical Record*, xxiii (1972), 97-109.
- Roberts, D., *The Town of Cambridge as it ought to be reformed: The Plan of N.Hawksmoor interpreted in an Essay, and eight Drawings, by Gordon Cullen*, (Cambridge, 1955).
- Roberts, J.A., *Wynnstay and the Wynns* (1976).
- Robertson, A.B., 'The Foundation of the Mark Lane Corn Exchange', *The Guildhall Miscellany*, i, 2 (Feb., 1953), 35-6.
- Robinson, J.M., *The Wyatts: An Architectural Dynasty* (Oxford, 1979).

-
- , *Royal Residences* (1982).
- , *Georgian Model Farms: A Study of Decorative and Model Farm Buildings in the Age of Improvement, 1700-1846* (Oxford, 1983).
- , *Shugborough* (1989).
- , *Temples of Delight: Stowe Landscape Gardens* (1991).
- Robson, E.R., *School Architecture* (1874, facs. repr., Leicester, 1972).
- Robson-Scott, W.D., *German Travellers in England 1400-1800* (Oxford, 1953).
- Rondelet, A.J.B., *Étude sur la Cupole du Panthéon de Rome* (Paris, 1860).
- , *Étude sur la Question relative aux Scamilli Impares* (Paris, 1860).
- Rosci, M., *Il Trattato di Architettura di Sebastiano Serlio* (Milan, 1967).
- Rosenau, H., 'The Synagogue and Protestant Church Architecture', *JWCI*, iv (1940-41), 80-4.
- , *The Ideal City in its Architectural Evolution* (1959; 2nd edn., 1974).
- , *Vision of the Temple* (1979).
- , *The Ideal City: Its Architectural Evolution in Europe* (1983).
- Rosenberg, J., Slive, S. and ter Kuile, E.H., *Dutch Art and Architecture 1600-1800* (Harmondsworth, 1966; 3rd rev. edn., 1977).
- Rosenblum, R., *Transformations in Late Eighteenth Century Art* (Princeton, 1967; 3rd pr. 1974).
- Rowan, A., 'The Landscape of Ugbrooke, Devon', *CL*, cxlii (5 Oct., 1967), 790-3.
- , 'Penicuik House, Midlothian I, II', *CL*, cxliv (15 Aug., 1968), 383-7, 448-51.
- , *Garden Buildings* (Feltham, 1968).
- , 'Balbirnie House, Fife', *CL*, clii (6 July 1972), 14-17.
- , 'The Building of Hopetoun', *AH*, xxvii (1984), 183-209.
- , *Designs for Castles and Country Villas by Robert and James Adam* (Oxford, 1985).
- Royal Academy of Arts Bicentenary Exhibition* (exh. cat., 1968).
- Rudolf, M., 'Thomas Harrison and "Structural Department of the Art"', *GGJ*, (1992), 68-78.
- Rye, W.B., *England as seen by Foreigners in the days of Elizabeth and James I* (1865; repr. New York, 1967).
- Rykwert, J., *On Adam's House in Paradise: The Idea of the Primitive Hut in Architectural History* (New York, 1971; 2nd edn., 3rd pr., Cambridge, Mass., 1987).
- , *The Idea of a Town: The Anthropology of Urban Form in Rome, Italy and the Ancient World* (1976).
- , *The First Moderns: The Architects of the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980; repr. 1983).
- and A., *The Brothers Adam: The Men and the Style* (1985).
- Saisselin, R.G., 'Neo-classicism: images of public virtue and realities of private luxury', *Art History*, iv, 1 (Mar., 1981), 14-36.
- , 'Painting, writing and primitive purity: from expression to sign in eighteenth-century French painting and architecture', in *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, ccxvii (1983), 257-369.
- Salmon, F., "'Storming the Campo Vaccino': British Architects and the Antique Buildings of Rome after Waterloo", *A.H.*, xxxviii, (1995), 146-75.
- Saumarez Smith, C., *The Building of Castle Howard* (1990).
- Saunders, E., 'The villas and town houses of Joseph Pickford of Derby (1736-82)', *AH*, xxvii (1984), 308-19.
- Saxl, F., and Wittkower, R., *British Art and the Mediterranean* (Oxford, 1948).
- Scarfe, N., 'Great Saxham Hall', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology*, xxvi (1954), 230-1.
- Karl Friedrich Schinkel - Werke und Wirkungen* (exh. cat., Martin-Gropius-Bau, Berlin, 1981).
- Karl Friedrich Schinkel 1781-1841* (exh. cat., Staatliche Museen, Berlin, 1981).
- Karl Friedrich Schinkel - Architektur, Malerei, Kunstgewerbe* (exh. cat., Schloss Charlottenburg, 1981).
- Schumann-Bacia, E., *John Soane and the Bank of England* (1991).
- Scots Magazine* (Mar., 1791), 119.
- Scott, G.G., *Remarks on Secular and Domestic Architecture, Present and Future* (1857; 2nd edn., 1858).
- Scully, V.J., *The Earth, The Temple and the Gods: Greek Sacred Architecture* (1962).
- Seaborne, M.V.J. and Lowe, R., *The English School, its Architecture and Organization, 1370-1870/1870-1970*, 2 vols (1977).
- Sear, R., *Roman Architecture* (1982).
- Sekler, E., *Wren and his place in European architecture* (1956).
- Selby, J., 'Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst', *CL*, cxlv (26 June, 1969), 1662-6.
- Seling, H., 'The Genesis of the Museum', *AR*, cxxxi (1963), 103-14.

- Sells, A.L.L., *The Paradise of Travellers: The Renaissance Influence on Englishmen in the Seventeenth Century* (Bloomington, 1964).
- Serjeantson, R.M., *A History of All Saints, Northampton* (1901).
- Seznec, J., *The Survival of the Pagan Gods: The Mythological Tradition and its Place in Renaissance Humanism and Art* (New York, 1940).
- Sharpe, K., 'The image of virtue: the court and household of Charles I, 1625-1642', in ed. D.Starkey, *The English Court* (1987), pp. 226-60.
- Shearman, 'The Florentine "Entrata" of Leo X, 1515', *JWCI*, xxxciii (1975), 136-54.
- Sherburn, G.W., '"Timon's Villa" and Cannons', *Huntingdon Library Quarterly*, viii (Oct., 1934), 131-52.
- Sherwin-White, A.N., *The letters of Pliny: A Historical and Social Commentary* (Oxford, 1966).
- Short, E., *A History of Religious Architecture* (1952; 4th rev. edn., 1955).
- Sicca, C.M., *Committed to Classicism: The Building of Downing College, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1987).
- , 'On William Kent's Roman Sources', *AH*, xxix (1986), 134-57.
- , 'The Architecture of the Wall: Astylism in the Architecture of Lord Burlington', *AH*, xxxiii (1990), 83-101.
- Sieveking, A.F., *Sir William Temple upon the Gardens of Epicurus* (1908).
- Simo, M.L., *Loudon and the Landscape: From Country Seat to Metropolis 1783-1843* (1988).
- Simpson, P. and Bell, C.F., 'Designs by Inigo Jones for Masques and Plays at Court', *WS*, xii (1923-24).
- Sinclair, F., *Scotstyle: 150 Years of Scottish Architecture* (exh. cat., Edinburgh, 1984).
- Sitwell, E., *Bath*, (1932; Bristol, 1983).
- Sitwell, S., *British Artists and Craftsmen: A Survey of Taste, Design, and Style during Three Centuries 1600 to 1830* (1945; 2nd rev. edn., 1945).
- Smith, E., *Foreign Visitors in England, and What they have Thought of Us* (1889).
- Smith, E.B., *The Dome: A study in the History of Ideas* (Princeton, 1950; repr., 1971).
- , *Architectural Symbolism of Imperial Rome and the Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1956).
- Smith, J.S., 'The Italian Sources of Inigo Jones's Style', *Burl.Mag.*, xciv (July, 1952), 200-7.
- Ed. Snodin, M., *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: A Universal Man* (exh. cat., V&A, 1991).
- Snyder, H.L., *The Marlborough-Godolphin Correspondence*, 3 vols (Oxford, 1975).
- Southern, R., *The Georgian Playhouse* (1948).
- Spiers, R.P., *The Orders of Architecture: Greek, Roman & Italian* (5th edn., enlarged, 1926).
- Squibb, G.D., *Belfield and the Buxtons* (Dorchester, 1954).
- Stambaugh, J.E., 'The functions of Roman temples', in ed. H.Temporini, *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt II Principat*, xvi, 1 (Berlin, 1974), 554-608.
- Stamp, G., *The Changing Metropolis: Earliest Photographs of London 1839-1879*, (Harmondsworth, 1984).
- et al., *Getting London in Perspective* (exh. cat., Barbican, 1984).
- Stanley-Millson, C. and Newman, J., 'Blickling Hall: The Building of a Jacobean Mansion', *AH*, xxix (1986), 1-42.
- Steel, H.R. and Yerbury, F.R., *The Old Bank of England* (1930).
- Stell, C., *An Inventory of Nonconformist Chapels and Meeting-Houses in Central England* (1986).
- Stevenson, C., 'Solomon "Engothicked": The elder John Wood's restoration of Llandaff Cathedral', *Art History*, vi, 3 (Sept., 1983), 301-14.
- Stewart, C., *The Stones of Manchester* (1956).
- Stillman, D., 'Robert Adam and Piranesi', in eds. D.Fraser, H.Hibbard and M.J.Lewine, *Essays in the History of Architecture Presented to Rudolph Wittkower* (1967), pp. 197-206.
- , 'British Architects and Italian Architectural Competitions, 1758-1780', *JSAH*, xxxii, 1 (Mar., 1973), 43-66.
- , *English Neo-classical Architecture*, 2 vols (1988).
- , 'The Neo-classical Transformation of the English Country House', in eds. G.Jackson-Stops et al., *The Fashioning and Functioning of the British Country House* (Washington, 1989), pp. 75-93.
- Stillwell, R., 'The Siting of Greek Temples', *JSAH*, xiii (4 Dec., 1954), 3-8.
- Stone, L., 'The Building of Hatfield House', *AJ*, cxii (1956), 100-28.
- , 'Inigo Jones and the New Exchange', *AJ*, cxiv (1957), 106-21.
- and J.C.F., *An Open Elite? England 1540-1880* (Oxford, 1984).
- Stoye, J.W., *English Travellers Abroad, 1604-1667* (1952; rev. edn., 1989).
- Stratton, A., *Elements of Form & Design in Classic Architecture* (1925; repr. 1987).
- Stromberg, R.N., 'History in the Eighteenth Century', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, xii (1951), 295-304.
- Strong, R., *Splendour at Court: Renaissance Spectacle and Illusion* (1973).
- , *The Cult of Elizabeth* (1977; 1987).
- , *Britannia Triumphans: Inigo Jones, Rubens and the Whitehall Ceiling* (1980).

-
- , *Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals 1450-1650* (Berkeley, 1984).
- , *Henry, Prince of Wales and England's Lost Renaissance* (1986).
- , Binney, M. and Harris, J., *The Destruction of the Country House 1875-1975* (1974).
- , and Van Dorsten, J.A., *Leicester's Triumph* (Leiden, Oxford, 1964).
- Stroud, D., 'Four Palladian Villas', *CL*, civ (8 Oct., 1948), 728-31.
- , *Capability Brown* (1950; 1984 edn.).
- , 'Hawksmoor's Designs for Ockham', *CL*, cxiii (6 Feb., 1953), Correspondence.
- , 'The Country Houses of Sir John Soane', *CL*, cxiv (10 Sept., 1953), 782-5.
- , 'Soane Barn', *AR*, cxix (June, 1956), 336-7.
- , *The Architecture of Sir John Soane* (1961).
- , *Humphry Repton* (1962).
- , *Henry Holland* (1966).
- , *George Dance Architect 1741-1825* (1971).
- , *Sir John Soane, Architect* (1984).
- Stuart, D.C., *Georgian Gardens* (1979).
- Stubbings, F., *Emmanuel College Chapel 1677-1977* (Cambridge, 1977).
- Ed. Stumpf, C., *Richard Payne Knight: 'Expedition into Sicily'*, (1986).
- Stutchbury, H.E., 'Palladian Gibbs', *TAMS*, new series, viii (1960), 43-52.
- , *The Architecture of Colen Campbell* (Manchester, 1967).
- Summerson, J.N., *John Nash, Architect to King George IV* (1935; 2nd edn., 1949).
- , *Georgian London* (1945; Harmondsworth, 1962, rev. edn., 1978; London, new edn., 1988).
- , 'The London Suburban Villa', *AR*, civ (Aug., 1948), 63-72.
- , *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830* (Harmondsworth, 1953; 5th rev. edn., 1970).
- , *Sir Christopher Wren* (1953).
- , 'The Classical Country House in 18th-Century England', *JRSA*, cvii (July, 1959), 539-87; repr. in *The Unromantic Castle and other Essays* (1990), pp. 79-120.
- , 'The Penultimate Design for St. Paul's Cathedral', *Burl. Mag.*, ciii (Mar., 1961), 83-9; repr. in *The Unromantic Castle and other Essays* (1990), pp. 69-78.
- , *The Classical Language of Architecture* (1963; 1983).
- , 'Inigo Jones', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 1 (1965), 170-92.
- , *Inigo Jones* (Harmondsworth, 1966).
- , 'Drawings of London Churches in the Bute Collection: A Catalogue', *AH*, xiii (1970), 30-32.
- , *The Architecture of the Eighteenth Century* (1986).
- , *The Unromantic Castle and other essays* (1990).
- Ed. —————, 'The Book of Architecture of John Thorpe', *WS*, xl (1964-66).
- Ed. —————, *Concerning Architecture: Essays on Architectural Writers and Writing presented to Nikolaus Pevsner* (1968).
- , Watkin, D. and Millinghoff, T., *John Soane* (1983).
- Sutton, D., 'The Neo-Classical Ideal', *Apollo*, lxxviii (1963), 334-43.
- Sykes, C.S., *Private Palaces: Life in the Great London Houses* (1985; New York, 1986).
- Sykes, N., *Church and State in England in the Eighteenth Century* (1934).
- Syme, J.S., 'Hackness Hall', *York Georgian Society Report* (1947), 28-30.
- Szambien, W., 'Durand and the continuity of tradition', in ed. R.D. Middleton, *The Beaux-Arts and Nineteenth-Century French Architecture* (1984), pp. 19-33.
- Tadgell, C., 'Claude Perrault, François Le Vau and the Louvre Colonnade', *Burl. Mag.*, cxxii (May, 1980), 326-37.
- Tait, A.A., 'Isaac de Caus and the South Front of Wilton House', *Burl. Mag.*, cvi (1964), 74.
- , 'Inigo Jones, Architectural Historian', *Burl. Mag.*, cxii (April, 1970), 235.
- , 'Inigo Jones's "Stone-Heng"', *Burl. Mag.*, cxx (March, 1978), 155-8.
- , *The Landscape Garden in Scotland 1735-1835* (Edinburgh, 1980).
- , 'The Landscape Garden in Antiquity', *JGH*, iii, 4 (Oct.-Dec., 1983), 317-22.
- Tavernor, R., *Palladio and Palladianism* (1991).
- Taylor, A., 'The Pocklington brothers and their buildings', *CL*, clxxix (1 May, 1986), 1184-8.

-
- , 'Frances Goodwin's *Domestic Architecture* and two Cockermouth villas', *AH*, xxviii (1985), 125-35.
- Taylor, A.A., 'Hamilton Palace: The "Grand Manner" in Scotland', *Royal Incorporation Architects in Scotland Quarterly Journal*, lxiv (May, 1946), 16-19; lxv (Aug., 1946), 10-17.
- Taylor, D.A.J. and Bush, D., *The Golden Age of British Hotels* (1974).
- Taylor, N., *Monuments of Commerce* (Feltham, 1968).
- Taylor, R., 'Architecture and Magic: Considerations on the "Idea" of the Escorial', in eds. D.Fraser, H.Hibbard and M.J.Lewine, *Essays in the History of Architecture Presented to Rudolph Wittkower* (1967), pp. 81-109.
- Thompson, F., *A History of Chatsworth* (1949).
- , *Chatsworth: A Short History* (1951).
- Thompson, F.M.L., *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century* (1963).
- Thompson, H.A., 'The Agora at Athens and the Greek Market Place', *JSAH*, xiii, 4 (Dec., 1954), 9-14.
- Ed. Thompson, M.W., *The Journeys of Sir Richard Colt Hoare through Wales and England 1793-1810* (Gloucester, 1983).
- Thomson, D., *Renaissance Paris, Architecture and Growth 1475-1600* (1984).
- Thomson, G.S., 'The Rebuilding of Woburn Abbey in the Eighteenth Century', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 3rd series, iii (1938), 151-70.
- , *Letters of a Grandmother 1732-1735* (1943).
- Thorne, J., *Handbook of the Environs of London* (1876; facs. repr., 1983).
- Tidworth, S., *Theatres: An Illustrated History* (1973).
- Timbs, J., *Curiosities of London* (1855).
- Tinniswood, A., *A History of Country House Visiting* (Oxford, 1989).
- Tipping, H.A., 'Oakley Park, Suffolk', *CL*, xxiii (4 Jan., 1908), 18-26.
- , 'Hackwood Park, Hampshire I, II', *CL*, xxxiii (17, 24 May, 1913), 706-14, 742-50.
- Tittler, R., *Architecture and Power: The Town Hall and the English Urban Community c.1500-1640* (Oxford 1991).
- Toesca, I., 'Alessandro Galilei in Inghilterra', *English Miscellany*, iii (1952), 189-220.
- Tolmie, M., *The Triumph of the Saints: The separate churches of London 1616-1649* (Cambridge, 1977).
- Tooth, C., 'The Early Private Houses of Louis Le Vau', *Burl. Mag.*, cix (Sept., 1967), 510-18.
- Trevelyan, J.P., 'Wandering Englishmen in Italy', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, xvi (1930), 61-84.
- Tudor-Craig, P., 'Ickworth Park, Suffolk - The Evolution of Ickworth', *CL*, cliii (17 May, 1973), 1362-5.
- Turley, R., 'Early Victorian City Planning. The Work of John Dobson and Richard Grainger at Newcastle-upon-Tyne', *AR*, xcix (May, 1946), 141-6.
- Turner, F.M., *The Greek Heritage in Victorian Britain* (1981).
- Turner, R., *Capability Brown and the Eighteenth-Century English Landscape* (1985).
- Turnor, R., *Nineteenth-Century Architecture in Britain* (1950).
- Tyack, G., 'The Making of the Warwickshire Country House 1500-1650', *Warwickshire Local History Society*, Occasional Paper iii (1980).
- , 'Warwickshire Country Houses in the Age of Classicism', *Warwickshire Local History Society*, Occasional Paper iv (1982).
- , '"A Gallery worthy of the British People": James Pennethorne's Designs for the National Gallery, 1845-1867', *AH*, xxxiii (1990), 120-34.
- Tzonis, A. and Lefaivre, L., *Classical Architecture: The Poetics of Order* (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1986).
- Van Pelt, R.J. and Westfall, C.W., *Architectural Principles in the Age of Historicism* (1991).
- Varriano, J., *Italian Baroque and Rococo Architecture* (New York, 1986).
- Vaughan, G., 'Henry Blundell's Sculpture Collection at Ince Hall', in ed. P.Curtis, *Patronage and Practice: Sculpture on Merseyside* (Liverpool, 1989), pp. 13-21.
- Vibart, H.M., *Addiscombe, Its Heroes and Men of Note* (Westminster, 1894).
- Villari, S., *J.N.L. Durand (1760-1834): Art and Science of Architecture* (New York, 1990).
- Vlieghe, H., 'Leopold William's Entry into Antwerp', *JWCI*, xxxix (1976), 190-8.
- Von Blanckenhagen, P.H., 'The Imperial Fora', *JSAH*, xiii, 4 (Dec., 1954), 21-6.
- Walker, D., 'Duddingston House, Edinburgh', *CL*, cxxvi (24 Sept., 1959), 358-61.
- and McWilliam, C., 'Cairncross, Aberdeenshire I, II', *CL*, cxlix (28 Jan., 4 Feb., 1971), 184-7, 248-51.
- Walker, W.T.C., *Mr. Aislabie's Gardens* (1981).
- Wallace-Hadrill, A., 'The Social Structure of the Roman House', *PBSR*, lvi (1988), 43-97.
- Ward, W.H., 'French and Italian Influences on Sir Christopher Wren's Work', in ed. R.Dircks, *Sir Christopher Wren 1632-1723* (1923).

- Wardle, A.C., 'Liverpool's First Theatre Royal', *Transactions of the Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, xc (1938 (1940)), 207-9.
- Ward-Perkins, J.B., *Roman Architecture* (Milan, 1974; London, 1988).
- Warner, T., 'Inherited Flair for Rural Harmony', *CL*, clxxxiv (12 April, 1990), 92-5.
- Warner, W.J., *The Wesleyan Movement in the Industrial Revolution* (1930).
- Warren, A., 'The Building of Dodington Park', *AH*, xxxiv (1991), 171-95.
- Waterson, E. and Meadows, P., *Lost Houses of York and the North Riding* (Thornton-le-Clay, 1990).
- Watkin, D.J., 'Charles Kelsall: The Quintessence of Neo-Classicism', *AR*, cxi (1966), 109-12.
- , 'Letheringsett Hall, Norfolk', *CL*, cxli (5 Jan., 1967), 18-21.
- , *Thomas Hope 1769-1831 and the Neo-Classical Ideal* (1968).
- , 'Buckland Filleigh, Devon', in eds. H.Colvin and J.Harris, *The Country Seat* (1970), pp. 229-33.
- , *The Life and Work of C.R.Cockerell* (1974).
- , 'The Making of the Ashmolean', *CL*, clv (7 Feb., 1974), 242-5.
- , *The Triumph of the Classical: Cambridge Architecture 1804-1834* (exh. cat., Fitzwilliam Museum, 1977).
- , *The Buildings of Britain: Regency, A Guide and Gazetteer* (1982).
- , *Athenian, Stuart Pioneer of the Greek Revival* (1982).
- and Mellinghoff, T., *German Architecture and the Classical Ideal, 1740-1840* (1987).
- Watson, F.J.B., 'Roger Morris and Eastbury', *CL*, cv (11 Feb., 1949), 317-8.
- Ed. Weale, J., *Designs and Examples of Cottages, Villas, and Country Houses, being the studies of several eminent Architects and Builders* (1857).
- Wearing, S.J., *Georgian Norwich: Its Builders* (Norwich, 1926).
- Webb, G., 'The Letters and Drawings of Nicholas Hawksmoor relating to the building of the Mausoleum at Castle Howard 1726-1742', *WS*, xix (1930-31), 111-64.
- , 'Baroque Art', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, xxxiii (1947), 131-48.
- Webb, T., *English Romantic Hellenism 1700-1824* (Manchester, 1982).
- Weibenson, D., *Sources of Greek Revival Architecture* (1969).
- , *Architectural Theory and Practice from Alberti to Ledoux* (Chicago, 1982).
- , 'Documents of Social Change: Publications about the Small House', in ed. R.Cohen, *Studies in Eighteenth-Century British Art and Aesthetics* (Berkeley, 1985), pp. 82-127.
- Weiss, R., 'The Castle of Gaillon in 1509-1510', *JWCI*, xvi (1953), 1-12.
- , *The Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity* (Oxford, 1969; 2nd edn., 1988).
- West, J., *Town Records* (Chichester), 1983).
- Westfall, C.W., *In this Most Perfect Paradise: Alberti, Nicholas V, and the Invention of Conscious Urban Planning in Rome, 1447-1455* (State College, PA, 1974).
- Wheeler, M., *Roman Art and Architecture* (1964; repr. 1984).
- Whiffen, M., 'The Progeny of St.Martin-in-the-Fields', *AR*, c (July, 1946), 3-7.
- , *Stuart and Georgian Churches: The Architecture of the Church of England Outside London, 1603-1837* (1947).
- , *Thomas Archer: Architect of the English Baroque* (1950; Los Angeles, 1973).
- , *The Architecture of Sir Charles Barry in Manchester and Neighbourhood* (Manchester, 1950).
- , 'Bishop Berkeley', *AR*, cxxiii (Feb., 1958), 92.
- Whinney, M.D., 'John Webb's Drawings for Whitehall Palace', *WS*, xxxi (1942-43), 45-107.
- , 'Some Church Designs by John Webb', *JWCI*, vi (1943), 142-50.
- , 'Inigo Jones, A Revaluation', *RIBA Journal*, lix (June, 1952), 286-9.
- , 'William Talman', *JWCI*, xviii (1955), 123-39.
- , 'Sir Christopher Wren's Visit to Paris', *GB-A*, li (1958), 229-42.
- , 'An Unknown Design for a Villa by Inigo Jones', in eds. H.Colvin and J.Harris, *The Country Seat* (1970), pp. 33-5.
- , *Wren* (1971; repr. 1985).
- Whistler, L., 'Some unpublished drawings of Sir John Vanbrugh. I- Vanbrugh's design for Glympton', *New English Review*, new series i, 4 (Dec., 1948), 250-6.
- , 'Eastbury Park, Dorset - Some Unpublished Designs by Sir John Vanbrugh', *CL*, civ (31 Dec., 1948), 1386-9.

-
- , 'Newly discovered Vanbrugh designs for Claremont', *CL*, cv (25 Feb., 1949), 426-7.
- , 'Three newly discovered designs for Kimbolton Castle', *New English Review*, ii, 5 (May, 1949), 332-6.
- , 'Unpublished drawings for Castle Howard', *New English Review*, iii, 1 (1949), 27-33.
- , 'The Authorship of the Stowe Temples', *CL*, cviii (29 Sept., 1950), 1002-6.
- , 'Ockham Park, Surrey: Newly Discovered Designs by Hawksmoor', *CL*, cviii, (29 Dec., 1950), 2218-21.
- , 'Talman and Vanbrugh', *CL*, cxii (21 Nov., 1952), 1648-52.
- , 'Stowe in the Making: Some Original Drawings', *CL*, cxxii (11 July, 1957), 68-71.
- , 'Vanbrugh's Work at Stowe House', *CL*, cxxv (19 Feb., 1959), 352-3.
- , Gibbon, M. and Clarke, G., *Stowe: A Guide to the Gardens* (n.p., 1956; 2nd rev. edn., 1968; 3rd rev. edn., 1974).
- White, H.O., *Plagiarism and Imitation During the English Renaissance* (Cambridge, Mass., 1935).
- White, M.L., *Building God's House in the Roman World: Architectural Adaptation among Pagans, Jews, and Christians* (Baltimore, 1990).
- White, R., *Georgian Arcadia: Architecture in the Park and Garden* (exh. cat., Colnaghi, 1987).
- Whiteley, M. and Braham, A., 'Louis Le Vau's Projects for the Louvre and the Colonnade', *GB-A*, series 6, lxiv (1964), 285-96, 347-62.
- Wilkes, L. and Dodds, G., *Tyneside Classical: The Newcastle of Grainger, Dobson & Clayton* (1964).
- Willey, B., *The Eighteenth Century Background: Studies in the Idea of Nature in the Thought of the Period* (1940; 1986).
- Williams, G., *Augustus Pugin versus Decimus Burton: A Victorian Architectural Dual* (1990).
- Willis, P., *Charles Bridgeman and the English Landscape Garden* (1977).
- Willis, R. and Clark, J.W., *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge and of the Colleges of Cambridge and Eton*, 4 vols (Cambridge, 1886; repr. 3 vols, 1988).
- Wilson, M.I., *William Kent, Architect, Designer, Painter, Gardener, 1685-1748* (1984).
- Wilton-Ely, J., 'Piranesian Symbols on the Aventine', *Apollo*, ciii (March, 1976), 214-227.
- , *Piranesi* (exh. cat., Arts Council, 1978).
- Wiseman, T.P., 'Looking for Camerius: The Topography of Catullus', *PBSR*, xlviii (1980), 17-22.
- Wittkower, R., 'Michelangelo's Bibliotheca Laurenziana', *AB*, xvi (1934), 123-218.
- , 'Carlo Rainaldi and the Roman Architecture of the Full Baroque', *AB*, xix (1937), 242-313; repr. in *Studies in the Italian Baroque* (1975).
- , 'Piranesi's *Parere su l'Architettura*', *JWI*, ii (1938-9), 147-58.
- , 'Alberti's Approach to Antiquity in Architecture', *JWCI*, iv (1940-41), 1-18; repr. in *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism* (1949).
- , 'Federico Zuccaro and John Wood of Bath', *JWCI*, vi (1943), 220-2.
- , 'Lord Burlington and William Kent', *AJ*, cii (1945), 151-64; repr. in *Palladio and English Palladianism* (1974), pp. 115-32.
- , *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism* (1949; 3rd rev. edn. repr. 1967).
- , 'The Influence of Palladio's Villas', *CL*, cxv (25 Feb., 1954), 516-7.
- , 'Giacomo Leoni's edition of Palladio's *Quattro Libri dell'Architettura*', *Arte Veneta*, viii (1954), 310-16.
- , 'Lord Burlington and his work in York', in ed. W.A. Singleton, *Studies in Architectural History*, i (1954); repr. as 'Lord Burlington's Work in York' in *Palladio and English Palladianism* (1974), pp. 135-44.
- , *Art and Architecture in Italy* (Harmondsworth, 1958; 3rd rev. edn., 1973).
- , *Palladio and English Palladianism* (1974).
- , *Gothic versus Classic: Architectural Projects in Seventeenth-Century Italy* (1974).
- Eds. Wolff, J. and Seed, J., *The Culture of Capital: Art, Power and the Nineteenth-Century Middle Classes* (Manchester, 1988).
- Wollin, N.G., *Desprez en Suède: Sa Vie et ses Travaux en Suède, en Angleterre, en Russie etc.*, 1784-1804 (Stockholm, 1939).
- Wood, A.C., 'The Rebuilding of the Shire Hall, Warwick in the mid-Eighteenth Century', *Warwickshire History*, v, 5 (1983), 135-57.
- Woodbridge, K.A.S., 'Henry Hoare's Paradise', *AB*, xlvii (1965), 83-116.
- , *Landscape and Antiquity: Aspects of English Culture at Stourhead 1718 to 1838* (Oxford 1970).

-
- , *The Stourhead Landscape* (1982; repr. 1986).
- Woodhouse, C.M., *The Philhellenes* (1969).
- Worsley, G., 'Nuneham Park Revisited, I, II', *CL*, clxxvii (3, 10 Jan., 1985), 16-19, 64-7.
- , 'A Palladian Loose at Castle Howard', *CL*, clxxix (30 Jan., 1986), 274-6.
- , 'The Monument Historic Building Trust', *CL*, clxxix (1 May, 1986), 1212-3.
- , 'The Baseless Roman Doric column in mid-eighteenth-century English architecture: a study in neo-classicism', *Burl. Mag.*, cxxviii (May, 1986), 331-9.
- , 'Wynyard Park, County Durham, I, II', *CL*, clxxx (28 Aug., 4 Sept., 1986), 614-17, 664-9.
- , 'Rokeby Park, Yorkshire, I, II, III', *CL*, clxxxi (19, 26 March, 2 April, 1987), 74-9, 176-9, 116-7.
- , 'Keith Hall, Aberdeenshire', *CL*, clxxxi (28 May, 1987), 138-43.
- , 'Downham Hall, Lancashire', *CL*, clxxxiii (5 Oct., 1989), 108-13.
- , 'Duncombe Park, Yorkshire, I, II', *CL*, clxxxiv (24, 31 May, 1990), 116-21, 138-43.
- , 'Nicholas Hawksmoor: A Pioneer Neo-Palladian?', *AH*, xxxiii (1990), 60-74.
- , *Architectural Drawings of the Regency Period 1790-1837: From the Drawings Collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects* (1991).
- , 'William Talman: some stylistic suggestions', *GGJ* (1992), 6-18.
- Wright, M., 'The Spa that Never Was: Plans for Manningtree and Mistley, Essex', *CL*, cxlviii (8 Oct., 1970), 888-90.
- Wright, O. and Fletcher, W.E.L., 'The Royal Buildings at Greenwich: A theory on their planning', *Transactions of the Greenwich and Lewisham Antiquarian Society*, iv, 6 (1952-53 (1954)), 264-9.
- Wundram, M. and Pape, T., *Andrea Palladio, 1508-1580: Architect between the Renaissance and Baroque* (Cologne, n.d.).
- Wyndham, M.M., *Chronicles of the Eighteenth Century. Founded on the Correspondence of Sir T. Lyttelton and his Family*, 2 vols (1924).
- Yates, F.A., *Theatre of the World* (1969; repr. 1978).
- , *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (1975; repr. 1977).
- Yeames, A.H.S., 'The Grand Tour of an Elizabethan', *PBSR*, vii (1914), 92-113.
- Yegül, F.K., 'A Study in Architectural Iconography: "Kaisersaal" and the Imperial Cult', *AB*, lxiv (March, 1982), 7-31.
- Youngson, A.J., *The Making of Classical Edinburgh, 1750-1840* (Edinburgh, 1966; repr. 1988).
- Zamboni, S., 'Leopoldo Pollach e Charles Heathcote Tatham: due progetti inediti', *Atti e Memorie dell'Accademia Clementina di Bologna*, xiii (1978), 69-72.
- Zorzi, G., 'La Giovanezza di Vincenzo Scamozzi secondo nuovi documenti, I, II', *Arte Veneta*, x (1956), 119-32; xi (1957), 119-28.
- , *I Disegni delle Antichità di Andrea Palladio* (Venice, 1959).
- Zucker, P., 'Space and Movement in High Baroque City Planning', *JSAH*, xiv, 1 (March, 1955), 8-13.

