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PRINCIPLES OF DESIGN

IN

ARCHITECTURE.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

PHYSICS

PHYSICS DEPARTMENT

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PRINCIPLES OF DESIGN

IN

ARCHITECTURE

TRACED IN

OBSERVATIONS ON BUILDINGS

PRIMEVAL, EGYPTIAN, PHENICIAN OR SYRIAN, GRECIAN,
ROMAN, GOTHIC OR CORRUPT ROMAN,
ARABIAN OR SARACENIC, OLD ENGLISH ECCLESIASTICAL,
OLD ENGLISH MILITARY AND DOMESTIC, REVIVED
GRECIAN, CHINESE, INDIAN, MODERN ANGLO-GOTHIC,
AND MODERN ENGLISH DOMESTIC:

In a Series of Letters to a Friend.

BY WILLIAM MITFORD, ESQ.

||

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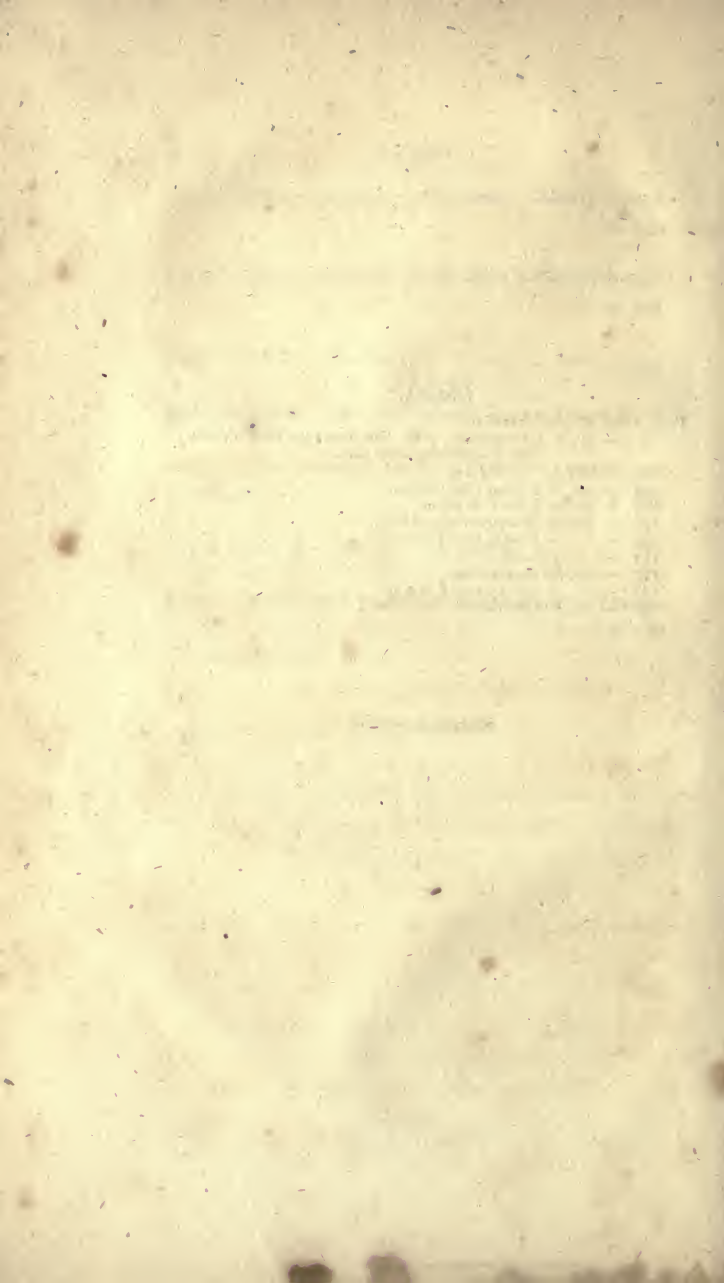


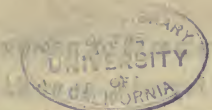
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UNIVERSITY
OF CALIFORNIA

PRINCIPLES

OF
DESIGN IN ARCHITECTURE

TRACED,
IN OBSERVATIONS ON BUILDINGS.

L E T T E R I.

Origin of Architecture.—Five principal Classes of Architecture.—Utility the foundation of Design in all Architecture.—Design controlled by materials.—First buildings in each class of Architecture.

WHEN after our conversations on the principles of Design in Architecture, you desired me to put in writing my thoughts on the subject, you were aware not only that I was not an architect, but moreover that I never had applied myself to the study of architecture with anything like the devotion of a Lord Burlington or a Thomas Hope, and that I was far from pretending to either architectonic science or building skill like theirs. But I must acknowledge to you a farther deficiency: loving the art as I do, and valuing your commands as I do, I cannot undertake the labor of such reference to books, whether within my

past reading, or beyond it, as would be requisite, even had I in greater amount other requisites, for the perfection of a treatise on the subject. Complying with your desire then, as far as I readily can, the store in my mind, such as it is, must principally serve me. You however could nearly calculate both my means and my deficiencies when you urged your requisition; and so, using, as I best may, what I possess, I proceed to our subject.

To obtain the Principles of an art we must consider its Purposes; and, in tracing these we shall be led of course to advert to its Origin.

Architecture, for its Purposes, may be divided, I think, under five classes: Sacred, Civil, Military, Domestic, and Monumental.

For the origin of architecture, we may look to the wants of our first forefathers. The need of protection against heat, cold, and rain, and, as the very first family increased in number, the desire of occasional privacy, would urge to the exertion of human ingenuity in building.

Yet perhaps RELIGION may have excited attempts toward architecture as soon as even the physical wants of naked man. We read of Sacrifice among the first memorials of times after the fall; and again, after the flood, the building of an Altar is the first matter recorded. When Man, sub-

jected to Death, was reduced to take, as a boon, the permission to destroy and devour his fellow-creatures, for the support of his own precarious life, the degradation was softened, and correction of his vitiated mind was at the same time provided, by sacrifice; giving to the bloody business of preparing the meal, the dignity, and mixing with it the devotion, of a religious ceremony. The altar, originating from this institution, was the first structure for religious purposes; and remained the only one, we read of, for some ages. Not in sacred writ alone, but among the earliest memorials of heathen nations also, with frequent mention of the altar, we find no notice of any other building for religious ceremony.

CIVIL ARCHITECTURE appears to have arisen very early, with the multiplication of mankind. According to the computation of the most authoritative chronologers, it was but about a century after the flood when a CITY is recorded to have been built. The very expression, a city, implies civil architecture, or building for the common purposes of a numerous society.

MILITARY ARCHITECTURE would have its origin not probably before, yet not, in any likelihood, long after civil. It was the resource of the more honest and more civilized, of increasing and spreading mankind, for defence against the violence of the ruder and more profligate.

The need of providing permanence for memory of interesting transactions, together with the desire of honoring the illustrious dead, and transmitting their fame to posterity, produced a fifth kind of architecture, the Monumental.

The First particular Building, of which notice has been preserved in history, is that extraordinary one, described in the account of the first city, the tower of Babel. The term tower generally implies military purpose, but none such is here any otherwise indicated. Monumental purpose is clearly mentioned; which may have been combined with military purpose, or civil, or both; though the monumental alone is declared. The tower of Babel however may claim to be the first PUBLIC building noticed in the history of the world.

Architecture, in all its branches, originating from the wants of mankind, the first Principle of DESIGN in building must be UTILITY. The chief object of Domestic architecture is private or domestic convenience; of Sacred, convenience for religious ceremony; of Civil, public convenience, a fitness for the common purposes of many families, associated in one community, and under one government; of Military, the end is safety, whether of a single family, or any more numerous society; of Monumental it is indication of facts, and preservation of memory of them.

The PURPOSE being decided, materials, accommodated to that purpose must be found ; and these will powerfully controll the DESIGN. Wood, stone, brick, and unbaked earth, severally require different proportions of supporting to supported matter. Two beams of small diameter will bear a long beam resting on them, and much structure of wood above. In building with stone, far less interval can be allowed between the supporting pillars, or piers, and the beam which is to bear the superstructure, though but a roof. Hence Two differing Styles of Design arise.

Very extensively over the world, Timber would be the material most readily brought to use ; and therefore, especially for DOMESTIC BUILDING, first or principally used. Probably, in most countries, the first houses nearly resembled the American wigwam, or hut ; composed of poles arranged circularly, with the larger end fixed in the ground, and the smaller bound together at top ; such thatching being added as the country offered. Our great master, Vitruvius, has supposed primeval dwellings to have been nearly of this description ; and the Irish cabin, at this day, is hardly one full step in architecture beyond.

But, for the SACRED ARCHITECTURE of the early ages, the altar being its principal, if not only object, the power of bearing fire was a requisite quality, and wood therefore inadmissible.

Sod or earth might serve, but the superiority of stone was obvious. Stone, accordingly we find, was very early used; and probably the art of Masonry originated in the construction of altars.

Where the art of Masonry was known, and stone of any advantageous quality for its purposes could be readily procured, that material could not fail to be preferred to wood, for both CIVIL and MILITARY architecture. Stone failing, if bricks could be had, they would be next in preference: timber would be the lowest resource.

But, for MONUMENTAL ARCHITECTURE, while letters, if known, were little extensively cultivated, stone had no equal superiority. Wood was a material abounding with disadvantage. Earth, in one important quality, its incorruptibility, was greatly preferable: if heaped in a form adapted to duration, it would hold that form for ages. Where letters were unknown, and art for representation in sculpture failed, the monumental barrow, of simply heaped earth, was as effective a memorial as a building of stone.

This rude kind of monumental architecture, of which instances are so numerous in various parts of our own country, not only has been very extensive over the world, but remained in common use, to times when arts were so advanced that we should hardly expect it. Not only, among the Greeks, in Homer's time, sepulchral monuments,

of even the most illustrious dead, were commonly of earth, or of stones rudely heaped together, but Herodotus furnishes an instance of the practice, among the wealthy and polite Persians, so late as the time of the invasion of Greece by Xerxes.

Nevertheless where the arts were in any degree cultivated, and where leisure was found, stone would be preferred for every kind of monument. The earliest instance on record, what appears to have been, not indeed properly of a building, but a first step in the progress toward monumental architecture, is the erection of a stone by Jacob, as a pillar, in commemoration of his dream concerning the way from earth to heaven. The first sepulchral monument noticed is that of Rachel; styled also a pillar, and raised also by Jacob.

The rude barrow of earth or heaped stones, appears to have been the leading step toward the construction of the pyramid; which is in truth but a barrow, of superior material and higher art. Those magnificent early monuments in Egypt, which so excite the admiration, of the traveller on the spot, and of all in description, now scarcely more tell their story than Silbury hill, or any other barrow of Salisbury plain.

LETTER II.

Gratification of the mind through the eye, the object of a second class of Principles of Design in Architecture.— Connection and Discord of the Useful with the Beautiful and the Picturesk.

YOUR approbation of my outset, reserving your criticism, as you kindly say you do, for time when I may have farther explained myself, sufficiently encourages me to proceed.

The First Principle of all architecture, we have observed, is UTILITY. But this first essential and characteristical purpose, in the several kinds of building, being attained, the mind of man would soon begin to look farther; for, though woman may be eminently, yet she is not alone the ornament-loving animal. Nor surely is this disgraceful. On the contrary it is among the honorable privileges of reason; and then only becomes matter for reproach, as everything, good in moderation, will be, when carried to excess.

But the Greek word which, in the witty definition I have alluded to, has been commonly considered as meaning ornament, we know means also order, decency, the becoming, the graceful. May we not then be allowed to say that Man, including woman, is an order-loving and beauty-loving animal? Architecture, I think,

could not be carried far, before it would be observed, of forms, and proportions, and distribution of parts, in buildings, that some are generally pleasing, others displeasing; that some impress an idea of grandeur, others of meanness; that some partake of the beautiful, others of ugliness. Hence would arise a second Principle of Design in architecture: it would be desired, with the useful to connect the graceful, the splendid, the awful, and to avoid the offensive and the mean.

It has been questioned, among the learned and ingenious, Whether Utility has any essential connection with Beauty, or with picturesk effect? Gilpin, discussing the subject, has shown himself strongly inclined, though without complete decision, to say No. On the contrary Akenside asks,

——— Can beauty dwell
Where health and active use are wanting?

That the useful however is often found directly thwarting both the picturesk and the beautiful seems obvious enough. Thus the cultivation of the soil, necessary for supplying the wants of mankind, is highly adverse to the beauty of landscape:

——— Juvat arva videre
Non rastris hominum, non ulli obnoxia curæ.

Ye, in the midst of their greatest hostility, will

I think, be found occasional truces and agreements; and, like warring mankind, they will show many marks of consanguinity, and derivation from one stock. The most picturesk of poets, as Gilpin I think justly calls him, appears to me to show, in the lines immediately following those just quoted, that he thought so :

*Ipsæ Caucasæ steriles in vertice sylvæ
 Quas animosi Euri assidue franguntque feruntque
 Dant alios aliæ fœtus; dant utile lignum,
 Navigiis pinos, domibus cedrosque cupressosque, &c.*

Virg. Geor II. 443.

An unbalanced tree, even Gilpin has said, is offensive to the eye; the failure of balance, in its appearance, unqualifies it both for the beautiful and for the picturesk. But certainly the quality of Balance belongs to Use: it is essential where utility is the end. Belonging also to Grace and Picturesk effect, here is clearly a connection between the useful and the graceful and picturesk.

If we look to animal life, the frequent connection of use and beauty is obvious, however any necessity for their connection may be questionable. Strength and speed rarely fail to accompany beautiful limbs and graceful proportions. It may seem as if this was intended by the bounty of heaven for the gratification of man, while it might also be useful to him in directing his choice among animals, his subjects. But it is observed, of the

interior composition of animal bodies, that the parts concealed by the exterior frame, and so not objects of common sight, even what are called the noble parts, those of most important use, with remarkable exception for the heart, are without grace of form; and rather of offensive appearance.

Nevertheless, with whatever exceptions, a natural and necessary connection between the useful and the graceful seems to me evident. Perhaps it is no where more obvious than in naval architecture. The simple hull of the smallest boat, to be accommodated to swift motion and ready guidance through the water, requires a form of high elegance; beautiful lines, beautifully varied, giving a complexity to the shape, almost equal to that of the limbs of animals, and preserving unity of general design almost equally. If from this simple small machine, we look through all the classes, up to that stupendous production of human art a first rate ship of war, we see throughout, where use alone has directed, it has led always (I think always) to graceful forms and graceful proportions. In a large ship on the stocks, with the ribs only placed on the long connecting line of the keel, there is a harmony, with a variety, of converging and diverging lines, wonderfully beautiful. And it is remarkable enough how much the contrary has

happened in shipbuilding, wherever the line of use has been quitted. The French have often done better; but nothing can be more inelegant and even barbarous than the general style of decoration of the ships of our royal navy. It may suffice to mention the forms of architecture, borrowed from stone buildings, and ridiculously misapplied, in reeling attitudes, to machines of timber, of which motion, and deviation from the perpendicular, are essential properties.

Of the picturesk and beautiful, Gratification of the Mind through the Eye is the ultimate object. But, of architecture, Use is the first object; gratification of the mind through the eye but secondary. If then the beauty of picture depends, in any degree, on utility, or the semblance of utility, in the objects it represents, much more surely must the grace of architecture rest on evident utility. It is not that what is useful will therefore be beautiful; but that what is strikingly adverse to use will be offensive, and so will be adverse to the purpose of beauty, which is to please. The picturesk however, as distinguished from the beautiful, has I think, less than the proper beautiful, any essential connection with the useful. But those forms which, among infinitely varying tastes, the general sense of mankind reckons beautiful, have all, I am inclined to believe, a natural and necessary and intimate connection with the

useful. I say those forms which the general sense of mankind has agreed to call beautiful : because, after the various attempts of very ingenious, very learned, and very able men to analyze and define beauty, there is yet no complete agreement. Nor, in attempts to define the sublime has there been more success. Indeed I cannot help doubting if it would not have been better to have left those matters as Longinus, I will not say was contented to leave them, but rested in having them; and that the world of letters should have continued to defer to his long-allowed authority.

But though I think there is large connection between utility and beauty, yet, in treating of architecture it will be expedient to distinguish between the simply useful, and the beautiful; of which, though the semblance of fitness for use may be an essential quality, yet gratification of the mind through the eye, and not real use, is the substantial object. Architecture is essentially among the useful arts. Through its power to impress ideas of the sublime and beautiful, it becomes associated among the ornamental arts, or those commonly called the fine arts. Hence arise two distinct characters of Design in architecture, the useful and the ornamental. The term Design certainly may be properly applicable to both. But, in the practice of language it is more commonly limited to Architecture considered as one of the

fine arts, the sister of Painting, than extended to it as simply a useful art. Of all the fine arts, however, architecture far the most holds necessary and close connection with the useful; for it is obvious that for the most merely ornamental edifice, the useful in building must be regarded, to make the edifice even hold together.

L E T T E R III.

First Buildings noticed in History.—Tower of Babel.—Jacob's Pillars.—Egyptian Building.—Temple of Dagon.—Temple of Jerusalem and Solomon's Palace.

THE great field for Design in Architecture will of course be found in building for a large community rather than for an individual, in structures sacred, civil, or military, rather than domestic, in monuments for a nation rather than for a family. But the perfection of design, which has been attained in public building, may afterward, with judgement in the application, contribute to the elegance of private and domestic architecture. Public buildings, however, having first attracted the notice of historians and recorders of events, those who would trace the history of architecture, must necessarily begin with them.

That extraordinary public building, mentioned, in my first letter, as the earliest on record, the tower of Babel, was of so early an age that it may be supposed to have been raised by art derived from antediluvian times, and to have exhibited some features of antediluvian design. The form of the building, however, is not at all indicated by the historian. But the principal material, it will not be alien to our purpose to remark, was artificial; it was brick; and, we are told, well-burnt brick. Hence it appears that, even at that time, among assembled mankind, the art of building was not in absolute infancy.

But the people of whom, after the dispersion at Babel, the oldest extant history proceeds to treat, had no cities. In the manner of the modern Arabs and Tartars, living in incampments, their dwellings were accommodated to ready removal. Civil architecture therefore they could little know. Their altars and their monumental pillars, alone of their buildings, would last to posterity. Of their altars we find frequent mention. The first monumental pillar on record, raised for lasting evidence of a contract, I have already noticed. The first sepulchral monument follows, in the same history, erected by the same person. In the age of Abraham, and of his son Isaac, a natural cavern appears to have been

prized for burial of the illustrious dead. In that of his grandson, Jacob, the pillar, which seems to have been first imagined for giving permanence to memory of a contract, was adopted for marking the place where the relics of a deceased person were deposited. The earliest instance we read of was the pillar erected by Jacob, in honor of his departed wife Rachel.

But, while the architecture of the wandering progeny of Abraham was limited to altars and monumental pillars, the art had been making greater advances among the settled people of Egypt. What edifices were in that early age there erected, or in what style, we know not; but the employment of many thousands in making and burning bricks, indicates that building to a great extent was going forward.

In Syria, however (allow me, for convenience, to follow those who comprehend under that name all the countries between the Mediterranean and the great desert) architecture had been making considerable advances, while the Israelites were living in Egypt. Palestine, when they conquered it, abounded with towns, some of them walled. But, after the tower of Babel, we find no notice of any particular edifice, in any part of the world, whence the manner of building can be inferred, during the lapse, according to the generally received chronology, of more than ten centuries:

Then the temple of Dagon, the imaginary god of the Philistines, occurs. This must have been a structure of great size; but the circumstances related of the death of Sampson, show that the principal material must have been wood; and this indication we find strengthened by what will come hereafter under notice. Less than a century and half then brings us to a period that, for so early an age, may be called luminous. Two buildings remain described, in considerable detail, which had great fame in their own and in all following ages, the temple of Jerusalem and the palace of Lebanon, built by Solomon, king of Judæa.

But, before this time, as the very early historian from whom we have the account of these edifices shows, the circumstances of Syria had urged the people to cultivate the art of masonry. The country was divided among many communities; often in arms against each other; whence arose value for that art which could erect strong walls around towns, with towers and battlements, and whatever might be advantageous for defence. So far evidently the art of the age had been much employed, before Solomon's reign. At the same time the extensive forests of Lebanon, on the northern boundary of Judæa, furnished an abundance of timber, of two of the most valuable kinds for the carpenter's

purposes, the fir, and the cedar. Domestic convenience, for which readiness of construction is often important, and public convenience, which requires accommodation for assembled multitudes, would urge to the use of these, and promote the cultivation of the joiner's art.

Solomon appears to have proposed to raise the most magnificent temple, and the most splendid palace, that had yet been seen; unless greater power and wealth may have produced in Egypt, or in Babylonia, and possibly in regions eastward of Babylonia, magnificence which he could not rival. But Solomon had married the king of Egypt's daughter. The art, the science, and the taste of that country therefore would be open to him.

The circumstances of Egypt, natural and political, were peculiar; and the peculiarities of both could not fail to affect the Architecture. The whole country being united under one government, and singularly protected by nature against the approach of hostile neighbours, military architecture would not be cultivated there as in Syria. Being nearly destitute of wood, the various stones, with which it abounded, would be the materials for its edifices, where any splendor was desired; and the institutions and the superstition of the Egyptians led them to desire magnificence in Civil, but more especially in Sacred Architecture. Accordingly the art of working stone was carried to great

perfection among them; at how early a period we know not, but certainly very early: and through the lasting quality of their stones, and the freedom of their climate from the destructive effects of frost, large relics of their buildings, to this day, show their style and manner, of an antiquity not to be exactly fixed, but certainly beyond what can be ascertained of any other country.

Thus, in Solomon's age, Egypt had the ablest stoneworkers probably then in the world. But the historian specially assures us that Phenicia had the most skilful Hewers of Wood, as our translation renders it; for which, as the narrative seems enough to show, might not improperly be put, carpenters and joiners and carvers. A supply of these was obtained from the friendship of the king of Tyre, who was in alliance with the king of Judæa. Whether then merely for speed and cheapness, or whether for the superiority in taste and execution of the Phenician designers and workmen, not only much of the solid, but all the ornamental parts, of both the temple and the palace, which were not of metal, appear to have been of wood: not only floors and roofs were of timber, but walls were wainscoted, even columns were wooden, and among much interior decoration, in carving of the same material, there was what it should seem may not improperly be called statuary of wood. If the account at large, in the book of

Kings (though probably the extracts and ingenious comment in Wilkins's *Magna Græcia* may have led you to it) should not be in your recollection, I think in turning to it at your leisure you will not fail of amusement.

L E T T E R IV.

Migration of Arts from the East into Greece.—Architecture of Homer's Age.—Origin of the Grecian Temple.—Circular Building.—Stonehenge.—Early use of Bricks.—Rectilinear Building.—Importance of the Altar.—Completion of the Grecian Temple.

THAT the arts migrated to Greece from the East, and especially from Phenicia, is shown so satisfactorily by Homer, that we hardly want the confirmation furnished by the concurring testimonies of later writers. In Homer's time the Greeks seem to have had neither temples, nor any of those other public buildings, the gymnasium, the stoa, or the theater, which afterward, among the republics, to the great promotion of architecture, were esteemed necessary in even the smallest city. So late as his age, the patriarchal form of government so prevailed, that the palaces of princes were buildings for every ordinary public purpose, and they seem to have been the only buildings for public purposes. The royal palace of Troy

is described as very spacious; the material stone, artificially wrought; the apartments numerous. Beyond this, information fails. But the city walls of Troy are celebrated: they are said to have been the work of gods. This fable largely implies that neither Trojans nor Greeks, of those days, excelled in such works. The walls of Troy, so I think the fable may safely be interpreted, had been raised by the art of foreign workmen, engaged for the purpose. Of the palace no part seems to have been appropriated to religious ceremony. As among the Israelites, before Solomon, so among the Greeks yet in Homer's time, the only structure, for Sacred use, was the Altar.

The primeval altar appears to have been equally in Asia and in Greece, no more than a hearth; formed, as the art of the place and day could form it best, for holding a fire, to prepare the victim for the meal. It differed from the camp-kitchen of our days, where the ordinary process is seething or boiling, as the preferred resource then, for converting flesh into wholesome food for mankind, was roasting. A Pavement around the Altar was an early addition. Thus was obviated the inconvenience of dust in dry weather, of mud in wet, and of the filthy mixture of the blood of victims with the soil at all times.

The Pavement, added to the Altar, seems the utmost improvement of Sacred Architecture in

Greece, so late as Homer's time ; at least nothing remains from him clearly indicating more. Nor was even that addition common ; for he speaks of the pavements of Apollo at Delphi and Minerva at Athens as extraordinary works, becoming places of superior religious celebrity. A temple appears to have been unknown, at least as existing in Greece ; and a priesthood equally so. Even the Eleusinian mysteries are not mentioned in his extant works. It is however remarkable that, of all Greece, he seems to have been least acquainted with Attica.

After the addition of a Pavement to the Altar, the next step apparently, and a great one, in sacred Architecture, was the superaddition of a Colonnade around the Pavement. Thus was formed the Roofless Temple ; common among the early Greeks, and familiar even to those of later times. The purpose seems to have been to give dignity to a chosen spot, and to mark it for seclusion from profane steps, without denying the sacred ceremonies to the devout eye. Had the pavements of Apollo at Delphi and Minerva at Athens, already in Homer's time, a surrounding colonnade ? or how otherwise the superiority implied in his mention of them ?

It seems to me probable (you will correct me if you think me wrong) that the Circular was the

general form of primeval buildings, for whatever purpose. For the hut, where walls and roof were one; for the barrow, where duration of the figure given to a mouldering material, was a principal object; and for the fortress, where equal power in every point, for both offence and defence was wanted, the advantage of the circular form is obvious: for the altar it was commodious, and even for the temple, while roofless, it would be without inconvenience. Certainly it was of extensive prevalence, and especially in our own country; where not only all the numerous earthen monuments of the dead, but all the rude temples of stone, attributed to the Druids, and the oldest fortresses, built with a superiority of art indicating a later age, are circular. Of the latter sort, the castles of Laneston and Restormel in Cornwall, are eminent examples; and that extraordinary relic of British antiquity, Stonehenge, with all its rudeness, is perhaps the most magnificent, and indeed far from the rudest, of examples existing of a style of temple which has been extensive over the world.

But in two of the countries where population seems to have first abounded, and arts first made progress, Egypt and Babylonia, wood was little produced; in Babylonia no stone was found; and in Egypt, though stone of the harder kinds, por-

phyry, granite, and basalt, abounded, yet any so yielding to the tool as to be commodious for ordinary building, was rare. Necessity thus urged to the invention and use of bricks; which we are assured were largely used in Egypt. The common employment of this material would hardly fail to lead to the rectangular form in building. The brick itself would far more readily be made in a rectangular than any other regular form adapted to building. That form in the material would lead to an analogous form in the edifice to be raised with it, to which other circumstances would also persuade. Where a roof was desired, it would be found most easily managed for strait walls: when a building was to be divided into several apartments, the advantage of the rectangular form would be as obvious as the inconvenience of every other; for domestic architecture, aptitude for division is an important quality. Experience then of the superior convenience of that form for the domestic would recommend it for other buildings; and, if the Grecian temple rose on the ruin of the king's palace, its form would be likely to be at once rectangular. I do not remember that any trace of a circular temple has been found in Greece.

In the times of which Homer's poems treat, kings, we find, were universally pontiffs; their private estates principally furnished the victims in

the sacrificial feast, and the common place for the ceremony was in front of their palace gate. When the governments of all the little states of Greece were changed to republics, some new provision was wanted for the maintenance of the prevailing religion. Whether then spreading from Eleusis, or in whatever other manner arising, not long after Homer, priesthoods were instituted, and temples built in every part of Greece; and what the king's income formerly did, a revenue provided by the community was appointed to supply. The establishment seems to have been generally large and expensive; numerous inferior ministers, herdmen, butchers, and cooks, forming an important part of it.

The rite of sacrifice was an institution peculiarly adapted to the early ages of the world: connecting religion with the daily meal, it was fraught with benefit to depraved and wandering man. That general sense of religion, and of dependence on the deity, which, among the grossest corruptions of belief and practice, it powerfully assisted to maintain, was of inestimable use, if only through the respect which it inspired for the sanctity of oaths. But the offering on the altar moreover brought the society together, and often it was the only resource of the indigent against starving: the institution operated as a poor-law for the early ages. Reverence for the altar therefore was inculcated in

early infancy ; to hold as a brotherhood all who communicated in the ceremony, and shared in the charitable meal there, became respected as the law equally of God and man : to profane the altar, to offer violence to any at the altar, to break an oath sworn at the altar, were esteemed crimes involving the guilty in enmity, at the same time, with the deity and with all mankind. How far the refinement, or the idleness, of our days, abolishing, by neglect, that small and easy portion of the ceremony, recommended by the example of the divine author of the religion we profess, and habitually observed by our fathers, are, even in a worldly view, doing ill, may deserve consideration beyond any proper limits of our subject here.

Through what circumstances then the Temple grew and became, hardly less than the Altar, a necessary appendage of Grecian religion, we are equally uninformed as how the revolution happened, which abolished the civil, judicial, and military offices of kings, leaving the sacerdotal. But, though the king's palace seems to have had no part appropriated to religious ceremony, yet, being the depository of whatever furniture and utensils the rite of sacrifice required, a substitute would be wanted, when the palace was no more. To supply this want, the cell seems to have been added to the Grecian temple. In the climate then of most of the countries occupied

by the Greeks, shelter was highly desirable against the scorching heat of the sun, and against heavy rains, but not equally against cold, unless for a small portion of the year. With such shelter the peristyle around the cell, the roof being added, would accommodate numbers; and thus the ordinary form of the Grecian temple was completed.

L E T T E R V.

Character of Design in Egyptian Architecture.—Stone and Brick, Egyptian Materials.—Timber a principal Material of the early Grecian Architecture.

No considerable monuments, of early antiquity, as far as I recollect from my reading of travels, are known to remain in Palestine or Phenicia. Any certain knowledge of what was there, before Alexander's conquest gave prevalence to the Grecian taste, we gather almost only from the very interesting descriptions of Solomon's temple and palace, in the book of Kings, and from the account of the restored temple of Jerusalem, extant in the history of Josephus; both, though highly curious and valuable, yet very scanty for the architect's purpose.

But, in Egypt, the existing buildings, of antiquity beyond chronological research, are of a

magnificence to excite the admiration of every traveller, and of all others, whom the descriptions faithful evidently from the concurrence of travellers of different ages and different nations, have reached. Of these buildings, I think we have agreed, in looking together over the published representations of them, that they exhibit much of the principles, but nothing of the perfection, of fine taste. Often we see in them an imposing grandeur, but depraved by the interference of something incongruous; often very elegant simplicity, but injured by the intrusion of something incoherently complex; often good proportion of principal parts, with effect deranged by mismanagement of divisions and subordinate forms; often eager purpose of ornament and decoration, never happily pursued. An able criticism on Egyptian architecture, pointing out, in the various buildings, the good principles, which the Greeks, with the penetration to discover had the judgement to adopt, and the mismanagement of that detail, which the Greeks, also adopting in part, had the happy good taste to improve and perfect, might be highly advantageous for students.

I venture here, you see, to suppose Grecian architecture derived from Egypt. The learned and ingenious architect Wilkins, in his late publication of the Antiquities of Sicily and the south of Italy, has ventured an opinion that the Gre-

cian Doric column, not of Grecian invention, was precisely the column of Solomon's temple at Jerusalem. But, to establish this, it was necessary to controvert our translation of the Bible; which renders by the word *chapiter*, (a word obviously enough of the same import as capital) what he reckons could not, in the original, mean the capital; for, 'we should offend,' he says, 'against every just idea of proportion, were we to imagine that the capitals of the columns were little less than one-third of the height of the shaft.' It cannot, I think indeed be disputed, at least I would not dispute, that a column so proportioned would be ill proportioned; and yet I believe the true meaning of the passage to be given in our translation of the Bible. Not only it is the most obvious interpretation, but it is very remarkably confirmed by remaining examples of Egyptian architecture; and that Solomon got his style, at least in part, from Egypt, will I think generally be reckoned more probable than that Greece gained hers intire from Jerusalem. For these matters, however, we can only amuse ourselves with conjecture. What we are assured of is, that Design in Architecture, whether indigenous or adventitious, was perfected in Greece, at an age when elsewhere, except as the account of Solomon's buildings in the book of Kings may

inform us, it is known only through the existing relics of buildings in Egypt.

Stone and brick, we have observed, were the materials of Egyptian building; the former mostly of an unfavorable kind, the latter essentially inferior. In Greece, though most of its forests have now been many centuries prostrate, yet, to the time of its earliest extant historians, timber abounded. The example then of Phœnicia, the mistress of Greece in the arts generally, could hardly fail to lead to an extensive use of timber in building. Solomon's columns, described as having chapiters, were of brass; but columns or pillars of wood, we find, were in greater number, about his buildings. The silver-fir abounded both in the forests of Phœnicia, and in the forests of Greece; and the trunk of that tree, reduced only to a competent length, would be at once, almost without farther workmanship, the shaft of a Grecian column. The names of many of the members of Grecian architecture, assist other indications, showing wood to have been largely used in the early Grecian temples; and that remarkable circumstance in the Greek language, the use of the word *WOOD* to signify matter in general, so that the matter of a discourse was called the wood of a discourse, is a powerful additional testimony that wood was the

principal material of the artists of the early ages of Greece. To the time of Xenophon, the time of the greatest perfection of Grecian art, wood was a material not thought unfit even for statues of the deities, in those smaller temples, where neither a great revenue appropriated to religious purposes, nor extensive public favor, afforded means for large expence.

The columns which the Egyptians, whether inventing, or wheresoever borrowing, used, gave richness, and variety, and even grandeur to their buildings. But grace was deficient; the grace of form, the grace of ornament, and even the grace of proportion. Their proportions were those attributed, in the book of Kings, to the brazen pillars of Solomon's temple, which Wilkins has justly reprobated. Egypt bore no tree to suggest the idea of that elegant form, simple in its variety, which the woods of Greece furnished, nearly complete, in their natural growth. A palm-tree indeed might suggest an elegant form, what is called a term; but much refinement, under direction of a chaste fancy, would be wanted to carry so far the improvement of art, for her purposes, on ideas suggested by nature, in forms, for her very different purposes, already perfect. The palm-tree may also have assisted toward the invention of the Egyptian column. But the Phenicians had all the advantage of Greece in fir-forests at hand.

Whether then Phenicians or Greeks first profited from the advantage, for giving to their columns the elegant form and elegant proportions, which we admire in the oldest Grecian temples, can hardly now be ascertained. In either country a pine or fir, only felled and reduced to a convenient length, making the shaft, the stem of another fir only squared, became the architrave or mainbeam, to connect the columns by their summits, and bear the superstructure over the intervals. When a roof was to be added, still pines, squared, and placed across the architraves, as girders or joists, and making what is called the frieze, sufficed for, what was next wanted, support for the rafters. The projection of these formed the cornice, crown-piece, or top-finishing; and thus the parts, possibly of Phenician, but certainly of Grecian columnal building, were completed.

L E T T E R VI.

Change of character of Design, in Grecian Architecture, ensuing from change of Material.—Illustration of the relation between the Useful and the Graceful.—Delineation and Painting unequal to the representation of effects of Architecture.—Descriptive Sketches of the early Grecian Temple.

OF those early Grecian temples, whose principal material was wood, no example can remain. Many, of the most celebrated, are mentioned, in history, to have been consumed by fire; and the rest, from the disposition of timber, and especially fir, to corruption, must have perished very many centuries ago.

With the material, it is probable the proportions of the parts, of the Grecian temple were somewhat altered; or, perhaps, having before varied, became more fixed. When either a growing scarcity of timber, or the frequent destruction of wood in buildings by fire, admonished to the use of a material not subject to that calamity, some new consideration of proportions would become necessary. The extent of openings between solid and solid, which might be large for timber, would become limited to the power which the

artist possessed, of raising and placing one stone, of length to rest securely on the solid on each side, and of substance to bear the superstructure; for the art of constructing arches seems to have been then unknown. From this consideration arose the proportions of the oldest Grecian temples, of which relics are yet standing; less graceful perhaps than what were adopted afterward, in times of more improved art; and yet, in the opinion of some modern critics, of highly cultivated taste, carrying dignity more than compensating the failure of the less awful grace. But the proportions of all, the very oldest Grecian columns known, are lightened by that ornamental channelling, which we call the fluting. What the Greeks gained from Syria, as I before observed, we almost wholly want information. The relics of Egyptian antiquity are large; and here, though we find examples of what may have suggested the idea of the fluting, yet the fluting itself is not found, nor what could answer its purpose; for the fluting appears to have been originally imagined, not for ornament, but for use.

Very remarkable illustration, indeed, of the character of the relation between the Useful and the Graceful, of their occasional connection, and their occasional opposition, is, it appears to me, offered by this ornament. It was common among the

antients, Greeks, and Barbarians, to travel far to attend religious solemnities; and, in these pious journeys, to go accoutred, not, like the pilgrims of the dark ages of Christianity, with shells, but, more in the way of the knights errant, with arms. During the sacred ceremony, however, arms were to be deposited. Convenient stands of arms therefore were wanted, and especially for that cumbersome weapon, the spear; which, among the Greeks, like the lance of the age of chivalry, marked the most honorable class of military service. Around the columns of the temple the spears of the votaries might be commodiously arranged; but, without the fluting, unless the circuit were completely filled, and the upright position very exactly observed, the fall of a number together might make considerable disturbance or even mischief. Hence seems to have arisen that early decoration, in the Grecian phrase the spear-sheath, or spear-hold, *δουροδόκη*, which, for its simple elegance, acquired such favor, that, when the use ceased, the thing was universally retained in Grecian architecture.

But this very elegant ornament, while its use remained, forbad another, which afterward obtained just favor, the base. While the column was wanted as a stand of arms, a base, such as we find in the other orders,

and in the Doric itself, in Roman architecture with its projecting moldings and its plinth, would have interfered very inconveniently with the use of the fluting; intruding itself into the place required for secure footing for the spears. It was when the use of the fluting ceased, that, among other enrichments of architecture, the base was added to the column; of which it became esteemed an essential member, while the fluting was retained only as a decoration.

Stone, abounding in most parts of Greece and the Grecian colonies, came into extensive use, for public buildings, at an age so early that several of those, in their ruin still showing, in large degree, what they were, are of antiquity beyond the oldest extant Grecian history. These, together with all the best later existing monuments of Grecian architectonic art, have been made known to us by accurate descriptions and delineations. Stewart's *Antiquities of Athens*, the publications of the society of *Dilettanti*, under the title of *Ionian Antiquities*, Wood's *Balbec and Palmyra*, and Wilkins's *Magna Græcia*, give all of most importance that have been discovered, or probably are remaining.

But it is not easy for any person (whether an able and deeply practised architect should be

excepted, I cannot tell) to gain from picture a just idea of the effects of any building of a kind he never saw; and, beyond most other buildings, beyond any equally simple in general design, the effects of the Grecian temple evade graphical representation. The architect's geometrical elevation, showing the thing, in one point of view, exactly as it is, shows it however so as it cannot possibly be seen by the human eye. Picture, even if less accurate, yet giving the perspective, so as to exhibit the proportions, not as they really are, but nearly as to the beholder's eye they would appear, offers a far juster idea of the visual effect. But the power even of picture is extremely deficient for the purpose. Some circumstances indeed the painter can command very advantageously. He can chuse the one point in which the building to be represented is seen to most advantage: he can chuse the circumstances of the atmosphere most advantageous for light and shade and coloring; and effects transient, and almost momentary, in nature, he can fix, so that the beholder's eye may dwell upon them and return to them.

Here is the advantage of the painter's art, and it is great. For its deficiencies, I remember being particularly struck with an idea of them, on first visiting the Flavian amphitheater at Rome, in modern times called the Colosseum, and I will therefore proceed to mention what then

occurred to me. In that magnificent and celebrated building, it was not the exterior, with its several ranges of columns and arches, that gratified me. The vast whole is frittered into a comparative littleness. The lofty surmounting wall, with its pilasters, resting on its triple basement, would in its ample sweep, when perfect, I dare say, have a perspective that would be pleasing, as well as highly magnificent; but, to enjoy it, the eye must avoid stooping to the incongruous flutter of the triple basement below. I am however here rather anticipating a subject that would belong more properly to some future letter; but I could not wholly omit notice of the exterior, though my immediate business is to pass to the interior of this stupendous building. When I entered the slowly winding corridors, of simplest construction, owing all their effect to forms and proportions and nothing to ornament, when, in stepping on, I saw the effect continually changing, yet always pleasing and always great, I ceased to wonder at the eulogy and admiration of those who have described this splendid relic of Roman imperial magnificence; and at the same time I ceased to wonder that, of the many representations of it by able artists, none conveyed ideas of architectonic merit, at all commensurate with that admiration and eulogy. For it is not the one point of view, which the painter may, with

happiest art represent, that excites the admiration and eulogy of the moving observer; but the continual variety of effects, which he finds at every step, at every turn of the eye, and which the painter cannot give.

Let us then consider the parts of the Grecian temple, and their combination, when it had already a cell surrounded by columns, with a roof over all, but remained otherwise in a style of primeval simplicity. The columns are arranged in form of a parallelogram, inclosing walls of the same figure. The shafts of the columns are surmounted with projecting caps; the architraves rest on these; the ends of the joists rest on the architraves, forming what is called the frieze: the eaves, overhanging the frieze, crown the work, forming what is thence called the cornice.

A building could not be raised on a simpler plan, one more evidently a single whole, with the parts more obviously belonging to one another, and all necessary to all; and yet with this simplicity there is a variety, that, if we consider it in detail, may appear surprizing. The variety is given by the separation and contrast of parts, leaving connecting bonds; so that the unity of the whole remains evident. The columns are so many separate solids, with voids of just space between them; connected above by the intablature; below by the floor: their circular form is contrasted

with the angular of all the rest of the building and their perpendicular position with the horizontal lines below and above them. The small deviation of the outline of the shaft from the perpendicular, gives a character peculiar to itself, and the fluting multiplies this variety; producing a kind of intricacy highly amusing and pleasing to the eye, without involving it in any difficulty to comprehend the whole; without anything adverse to the general character of simplicity. The horizontal lines of the architrave then contrast with the perpendicular, and nearly perpendicular, of the columns; yet they form one bond of connection for all. The projections in the frieze, called triglyphs, the moldings and breaks of the eaves or cornice, and the deviation from the horizontal in the lines of the roof, meeting in a point, as seen in front, and, as the eye discovers in other points of view, forming a ridge, complete the system of variety of parts, harmonized in a single and well-combined whole.

Farther to examine this building then let us place ourselves first overagainst the middle of the portico. The eye sees, you are aware, not the geometrical elevation, but the perspective. Looking then first downward, it sweeps over the level surface of the floor, on which all rests, and which connects all, interrupted by the shafts of the columns; between which, penetrating, it catches

the perspective of the lateral range of columns on each side. Raising the view then, it finds amusement among the converging and diverging lines of the shafts and their flutings, with their various lights and shadows. In following those lines it meets no check till it reaches the capital, thwarting them. This member introduces it to a new system of lines, those of the intablature, parallel to the floor from which it began its course. Here it discovers a new intricacy, which, if leisure occurs, may be examined with new amusement. To complete the survey then, the eye has only to glide by the easy ascent of the pediment to the apex, a line quite in a new direction, but carrying it to no great distance from those before observed; whence descending again, it may glance over the whole, and all being harmonized, with all its variety it will strike as simple in its elegance.

In this view, nevertheless, advantageous as it is, we take the building not in its most advantageous point. Far more varied and pleasing will be the effects, as the eye moves from the central station. Diverging, a little only, it will see still the interior of each lateral range of columns: but whereas, from the central point, it saw each range the exact counterpart of the other in lines, and differing only in the accidental and ever-altering circumstances of light and shade, it now sees them in a perspective differing in the lines also.

Moving farther, the character of the view becomes greatly changed. The whole of the exterior of a lateral range of columns comes within the comprehension of the eye, together with the whole of the front, and a small part of the interior of the other lateral range. Nor is this advantageous view limited, in reality, as in picture, to a single point; every step is rewarded with a variety, and every passing cloud brings one. Twenty pictures perhaps might represent the varieties offering themselves at each step of twenty. But it were a tiresome business to examine twenty pictures, so nearly resembling one another, to find and ascertain and compare their varieties; whereas observing those varieties in the single real object, highly amusing, is also without labor; and the matter of regret often is that beautiful effects, given by changes in the atmosphere, are too transient. It is the merit of painting, as I before observed, not to pursue varieties, but to fix interesting objects, of a passing nature, in interesting points of view; so that the eye may rest upon and return to them. This is the peculiar advantage of painting, and a very high prerogative it is, when used as Claud and the Poussins and Correggio and Raphael have had talent to use it.

But, if painting is unequal to the representation of architectonic effects, far more must words be deficient: their best power is to revive, in the

mind of the hearer or reader, the idea of forms once seen, and direct to points, in the recollected objects, to which attention may be desired. Hence description is hazardous; for that may be complete for those practised in observation of architecture, which will be very deficient for the unpractised; and, what to the latter may be necessary and even grateful, may annoy the former, as tedious and superfluous. For this however, as for all other matters, I depend upon your kind acceptance of my endeavours, and, should my letters pass into other hands, I must take my chance.

LETTER VII.

Grecian Orders of Architecture.

IT has been commonly remarked that the people of those countries which we call Oriental, or the East, have been remarkably adherent to fashions once established among them, and averse to changes. But the Egyptians, in their habits generally, beyond others monotonous, in their architecture rather furnish an exception. They had indeed a style of their own; but, within that style, they indulged in a capricious variety: we do not find, among the large remains of their magnificent antient buildings, any settled ORDER of architecture.

On the contrary all the oldest Grecian buildings, known to us, either by existing relics or by description, show a remarkable sobriety of taste, an extraordinary reserve in pursuit of variety; a scrupulous adherence to the manner of fair forms once approved and deserving to be so. During several centuries, all the Grecian temples, not in Proper Greece only, but in all the settlements of the nation, in Sicily, Italy, Asia, and Africa, appear to have been all, with small varieties only, of one general style of architecture, afterward distinguished by the title of the DORIC ORDER.

Was Homer inferior to Shakespear in power of imagination? Was Shakespear inferior to Homer in natural sensibility to just order and arrangement, and in power of discerning the becoming and the misbecoming? Though a hasty view of their works might lead to decide both questions in the affirmative, yet perhaps, in careful observation, ground may be discovered for much dispute on the subject. How far Homer's invention was checked, and his judgement chastened, by the fastidious taste of those for whom he composed; how far Shakespear's carelessness, of arrangement generally, and of the becoming often, was encouraged by the licentious fancies, which he was obliged to respect; and what was the real difference of mind between them, may be variously imagined, and will not be easy convincingly to show.

In architecture, however, it is evident, multifarious invention was not that in which Grecian genius prided itself; extravagant variety was not that in which Grecian taste was disposed to indulge. Nice selection, advantageous combination, and what the Greeks distinguished by the general terms of harmony, and the becoming, were what the Grecian mind was singularly directed to, and in the attainment of which it singularly excelled. Perhaps, as I believe I have before observed, among monuments yet remaining in Egypt may

be found the prototype of almost every form occurring in Grecian architecture. What may have been gathered from Phenicia or Palestine, however well the ingenious may guess, we cannot know. But to have chosen the most graceful forms, and the most harmonious combinations, even if not to have invented them; to have perseveringly adhered to them; to have prosecuted great improvement, without abandoning the original good principle; and exclusively to have transmitted them to late posterity, are certainly Grecian merits.

Nevertheless the proportions of the oldest Grecian temples, known by relics yet standing, and by authentic descriptions published, have not met with universal approbation. To the eye accustomed to the proportions afterward adopted, they have been apt to appear heavy and less graceful. The early architects, emulating, it may seem, the grandeur of the Egyptian style, and successful in adding the graces of harmony and simplicity, gave their buildings a massiveness, which even some cultivated minds have been disposed to reckon beyond elegance. Whether this judgement has ever been formed by those who have seen the buildings, or whether it rests wholly on delineated representation, I cannot tell. But, I remember at Rome a professional architect, eminent for extensive information and correct taste, affirming that the great temple of Pæstum,

when he first saw it, struck him as a building of more grandeur of effect than Saint Peter's church at Rome. Saint Peter's is so beyond comparison the larger building, that the arrangement and design only could give the advantage to the Pæstan temple.

It is not however my purpose to contend, that the very massive proportions, of the oldest Grecian temples, are those which the modern architect should generally take for his rule. It is evident that the Grecian architects themselves, of those generally esteemed the best times, did not reckon the proportions of their predecessors models for them exactly to follow. The Parthenon, the temple of Theseus, and the Propylæa, at Athens, and the temple of Minerva at Sunium, with still great massiveness, exhibit however lighter proportions, with perhaps no inferiority in grandeur, For toward that quality height is necessary; and the greater effect will be produced, not by extravagance, of either the lofty or the massive, but by justly combining the two. It seems indeed to be generally allowed that the early Grecian architecture, while one order only was known, reached its highest perfection in the four buildings last mentioned.

It is an old observation that there is, in almost all human affairs, a progress analogous to the life of man; an age of growth and obvious

improvement, an age of perfection, the greatest of which the subject may be capable, and an age afterward of decay. So it has been seen in all countries, especially with regard to what we call the fine arts. But, among those ages, what precisely are the limits of the age of perfection, is commonly difficult to decide. In the infancy of man, progress in the powers, of both body and mind, is obvious enough: in elderhood, decay of bodily powers is also obvious, and sometimes of the mental. But what is the age in which precisely the greatest value of various powers is found in any individual, will not be easy to determine. And so it is of the fine arts. Where is the most perfect combination of various merits in architecture, of strength and lightness, of simplicity and ornament, of grandeur and beauty, various minds, even those equally powerful by nature and improved by study, some inclining to delight more in one, some in another, of those kinds of merit, will ever be apt with some variety to decide:

Tis with our judgements as our watches, none
Go just alike, but each believes his own.

——— Quot capitum vivunt, todidem studiorum
Millia. ———

In the progress of the arts, especially of sculpture, the desire of increased splendor in edifices, stimulated and assisted by increased wealth of

of the people for whom the buildings were raised, brought forward a new order of architecture, which earned, and under controll of a singularly correct public taste, deserved favor. But there appears to have been a farther motive to the innovation. The able innovators had observed, in the ancient order, two defects. The lines of the column, they thought, met those of the floor over abruptly, and without grace of connection; and, in the intablature, not only the triglyphs and metopes restrained the general proportions often inconveniently for the general design, but there was altogether a complexity, perhaps of oriental origin, which, under Grecian taste, might be rendered, by simplification, at the same time more elegant in itself, and more susceptible of high embellishment.

The new order appears to have had its origin, or at least to have gained its perfection, among the Ionian cities of Lesser Asia; whence, on its reception in Greece, it became distinguished by the name of the IONIC ORDER. You laugh, I know, at the stories gravely repeated by some modern writers, of ancient kings, Ion, Dorus and others, authors of the several races of Grecian people, and inventors of orders of architecture to which they gave their names. I have myself no scruple to follow the learned and ingenious author of the preface to the second volume of Ionian Antiquities, in adopting the

account, originally given, as far as I have observed, in a note of Mitford's History of Greece. When the new order obtained extensive favor, then first a distinguishing name became wanted for the old one; and this, continuing to be cultivated principally among the Dorian cities of the Greek nation, thenceforward began to be called the Doric order.

The architects who introduced the Ionic order, showing their ingenuity by the novelty of many of the parts, showed also their judgement and reserve by a scrupulous adherence to old and approved principles, and to old and approved general design. In essential points, not only the temple remained what it had been for ages, but even the column and its intabature. The shaft, which is as the body of the column, was altered only by a small addition of proportional length, and a small difference in the manner of the fluting. The capital, the most characteristic member, considerably altered in form, was however scarcely altered in proportion. The change thus, great as it was, hardly exceeded what dress may make in the appearance of the human head. In the intabature, the change of proportions was small, but of forms considerable. Simplification appears here to have been a principal object. The triglyphs, so inconveniently confining the designer in the Doric, were done away. But through this very simplification, opportunity was gained for intro-

ducing new and superior kinds of embellishment, by sculpture in the moldings, and in the frieze. Whether then a view to ornament, or to use, first introduced the division of the architrave in its height, perhaps may be questioned. If stones of dimensions to complete an architrave of a single face, or powers to raise such to the required elevation, and place them duly, were not ready, the purpose might be answered by two or three ranges of stone, which without difficulty might be raised and placed; and then, by ingenious management, defect, concealed, was converted to the purpose of decoration.

The oldest existing example, I believe, of the triple architrave, is found in a very singular building at Athens, the temple of Pandrosos, described in Stuart's first volume. The introduction of the Ionic order, and the public favor it, not undeservedly, gained, seem to have set the spirit of innovation and variety in ferment; even at Athens. In that singular building the figures of beautiful women hold the place of columns. This is its striking extravagance: but there are other deviations from common forms, not so militating with general principles of the former architecture, but, on the contrary, marking a deference to them, which deserves notice. It is evident that grace of ornament has not been proposed in the triplification of the architrave;

for its breaks are not embellished with carving, or even molding, as became afterward common. If therefore it was not formed of three distinct stones, in height (how that was I know not) the purpose of the breaks could only be to accommodate the apparent proportions to those of the members above. As for a frieze, whether this temple has one or not, seems questionable. Immediately on the triple architrave rests a range of that form of projecting members, commonly called dentiles, but of a much larger proportion than those which became ordinary in the Ionic intablature. They seem to have been proposed to supersede the Doric triglyphs. These were originally the embellished ends of beams. The dentiles of the temple of Pandrosos seem representatives of unadorned ends of smaller beams, or joists. The occupation of the place of the frieze, by this range of ends of joists, with the other peculiarities of this mingled frieze and cornice, evidently has not been so approved by the public voice as to lead to any extensive imitation of it. The joist-ends, however, or dentiles, reduced in size, wholly detached from the frieze, and formed into a member of the cornice, though not seen in the oldest example of the Ionic order at Athens, obtained such favor, apparently for the effect of light and shade, as to become a distinguishing characteristic of the Ionic intablature.

But the greatest novelty, which obtained establishment in the new order of architecture, was the addition of a member at the bottom of the shaft, with the name of the **BASE**. And here I must request you to look into the first volume of *Ionian Antiquities*, in your library, for the Ionic base represented in the second plate of the second chapter. It projects from the foot of the shaft as a surrounding table, having on its surface a groove throughout its circuit. Can you tell me the purpose of this tabular projection and its groove? Was it not to give footing for the spears, whose heads were to be confined, as in the Doric order, by the flutings? If I am warranted in this fancy, the purpose of the additional member of the new order was double; utility and grace; at the same time to connect the foot of the column more elegantly with the floor, and to furnish a stand for the spears, more out of the way of disturbance. Do not imagine that I would recommend this form of base for modern imitation: it ceased among the ancients when the purpose of use ceased. But I think some witty critics, who have jeered the Ionic base as an absurd form, might not unreasonably be advised to look before they leap, to inquire before they judge.

The order called the **CORINTHIAN** is said to have been invented, and introduced to public favor, by an Athenian architect, very soon after

the first use of the Ionic at Athens. And here it appears to me highly to deserve notice, that the Greeks, in the course of improvement, still went on simplifying. The Ionic order rejected the inconvenient complexity occasioned by the Doric triglyph. So, I think, the Corinthian has been originally proposed and recommended as an improvement on the Ionic, less in richness, than in simplicity; less for advancement of luxury in architecture, than for its accommodating form, its superior readiness, through its simplicity, for every situation in which a column could be desired. The characteristical member of the Corinthian, the capital, has a kind of native richness beyond the other orders; but, in general outline, the capital apart, it is eminent in simplicity; and it is always ready, which cannot be said of either the Doric or Ionic, in its proper form, and with its proper accompaniments, for all situations.

It is indeed through this very simplicity of general character, that the Corinthian has its superior aptitude for receiving, in greatest amount, the highest decoration. The triglyph of the Doric frieze not only throws difficulties in the way of Design, from which the Ionic and Corinthian orders are free, but in denying the simplicity, it denies also the decoration, for both of which the other orders afford the architect scope for choice. The essential defect of the Ionic, the necessary

distortion of its capital to accommodate an angle, is not, I will own, in my eye, a very great one; yet it must be owned that the Corinthian capital, in its proper form suited to every situation, is more perfect. Vitruvius has reckoned the Ionic and Corinthian orders to differ only in their capitals. It is however certain that the cultivators of the Corinthian introduced greater simplicity in the general form of the cornice, furnishing nevertheless increased opportunity for embellishment of the parts; and they gave to the base a new form, simpler, and yet better adapted to its situation and office. Altogether, in the Corinthian order, Grecian architecture reached its highest grace, holding still the general principles of the earliest Doric. In surveying the richest building of the new order, the eye found similar conducting lines, similar interrupting lines, different proportions, but similar analogy of proportions, and, with decoration carried to the greatest luxuriance, a similar limitation of place for it; so that, with all the richness of ornament, through advantageous distribution simplicity remained an eminent characteristic of the whole.

I know not where or when first that simple kind of ornament was introduced, which builders call the staffing of the fluting. I admire the name, for its just description of what I believe to have been the thing. It seems to me evidently to represent

the spear in its sheathing; though I must own I have not observed it in any representation of any early Grecian building, of any of the orders, that I can recollect. Possibly you can furnish me with some information about it.

L E T T E R VIII.

*Grecian Architecture not limited to the Three Orders.—
Grecian Civil Building.—Grecian Architecture after Alexander's Age.*

THE Egyptians were, in their statuary, singularly precise and monotonous; and those stupendous examples of their monumental architecture, the pyramids, are monotonous as their statues: magnificent, not without elegance in their simplicity, they afford however example for no building but a pyramid. But the numerous and some splendid temples, or edifices for sacred purposes, of which ruins remain in Egypt, vary so much in style that they deny classification; their varieties are not to be brought under rule and system, like the Greek, in what we call Orders of architecture; and, though we may find among them what to admire, what may suggest bold and great ideas to the discriminating designer, what may even suggest great and just principles of the

art, yet anything that the hand of taste would follow, anything worthy of imitation in the detail, is hardly discoverable there.

The TASTE of Grecian architecture has been formed in the construction, principally, of the Grecian temple; and has ultimately rested on the three orders, successively prevailing in use, the Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian. Not that, for any one of those orders, the Grecian architects limited themselves precisely to one model, or the same proportions. Within certain bounds their own, and probably the public taste, confined them: but a moderate licence for variety appears to have been denied by neither.

Nor did they scruple occasionally to adopt forms not to be classed in any of the three orders. Such are the small columns forming the porches of the tower of the winds at Athens. If difference of character in the capital alone might constitute an order, as Vitruvius seems to reckon, this, for its elegance, might deserve to be called the Attic order. Where high decoration is desired, the Corinthian is superior: where massiveness is the quality wanted, the Doric must prevail: but where the middle character of the Ionic is most suiting, yet the less accommodating form of the Ionic capital may disturb the design, this Attic order might often well supply its place.

Some writers on architecture have reckoned,

among the orders, that called the Caryatic; which, in the only example, as far as I recollect, preserved from antiquity, the temple of Pandrosos at Athens, is at the same time generally admired for its beauties, and condemned for its extravagance. But even this building seems to carry with it testimony to the chasteness of Grecian, and especially of Attic taste; which, having seen the Caryatic order once, with rare felicity, executed, kept the phœnix as an object of just admiration, but, refusing it any claim to emulation, would give no encouragement to multiply the kind.

Among all the novelties in the orders, however, the Grecian architecture always held its original character. Even when the conquests of Alexander had spread the Grecian taste widely over Asia, and put wealth into the hands of its directors inabling them to work upon the most magnificent scale, and to indulge fancy in the most costly decorations, still the general design maintained the character of a dignified simplicity. The plan of the Grecian temple remained the simple parallelogram. No love of ornament was allowed to interrupt the lines of the shaft, with its flutings, in conveying the eye from the base to the capital, and giving thus at one view the measure of height. Equally the characteristical lines of the intablature remained, amid profusion of

embellishment, unbroken, and gave at once the measure of length. Embellishment was never allowed to produce confusion, or so to divide one great thing into many little ones, that the effect of the all-together was injured. Even in the decay of literature and fine taste, when Longinus found a city in the Asiatic desert a residence to be preferred by a man of letters, where he might, in best security, profit from the remaining rays of the setting sun, to arrange the principles of Grecian literary taste, for the instruction of late posterity, while darkness was gathering around the existing generations, even among the corruptions of the Palmyrene architecture, the great principles of the best Grecian models were preserved; at least so preserved, that, looking to example elsewhere around the world, we may wonder that the ferment of innovation and the ferment of decay, working together for so many centuries, had produced no greater revolution.

Though the most numerous and most valuable specimens of the Grecian style are those remaining exhibited in the ruins of their sacred architecture, yet we are not without large indication of what it was in other branches. The propylæa of Athens, not accommodated, or intended, for any military purposes, have been however an appendage of military architecture: they belong to the castle walls, forming the orna-

mental approach to the castle gate. Composed largely of columns, those columns, and all their appendages, are precisely what are found in the temples of the same day. Thus is shown the opinion of the Grecian architects, in the golden age of the arts of Greece, that the forms which had originated and grown to perfection in the construction of temples, were not exclusively adapted to sacred building; but, even for military architecture, where decoration was desired and might be properly admitted, were preferable to any others they could devise. We see, in truth, between the style of the propylæa and that of several temples of the same or very nearly the same age, no greater difference than is observable among the temples themselves.

If nothing in style, materially different from what was approved in sacred, was wanted for the decoration of military building, still less would any variety be likely to be desired or desirable for civil architecture. Accordingly all the remaining monuments show that one style pervaded all. After the temple, if not even equally with it, the PALÆSTRA, GYMNASIUM, OR HALL OF EXERCISE, seems to have been esteemed a public building essentially necessary in every Grecian city. It was the place where, in a climate subject to violence of both heat and rain, and, in a state of society and political institutions,

of continual and unceasing danger, so that much confinement within the narrow limits of fortified and close-built towns was necessary for common as well as for individual safety, the youth of those towns might practise the exercises necessary to qualify them for defending their little community. The palæstra seems to have been originally but a shed, supported by posts; which, if the town prospered, were superseded by columns of stone. If the town advanced still in means, the *STOA*, *PORTICO*, OR *HALL OF CONVERSATION*, became another ordinary public building, which seems originally to have differed little from the former. Then public baths were added, and theaters. Use here required different plans and different forms of building. The column was not necessary, and could be but scantily admitted, even as an ornamental appendage. But, among the ruins of numerous theaters and of some baths, where curious and learned travellers have successfully investigated much of the general plan, and found many of the smaller parts, yet very scanty indication only has been discovered of the character of the elevation. It is however evident enough that, use having decided the manner of the essential parts of the building, for decoration, what was already approved in sacred architecture has been adopted; and so congenial, for all branches this has been esteemed, as, with skill in adapting,

to be preferable to anything new that could be invented. It is evident also that the great principles of design were the same for every branch. Something analogous to what the painters call BREADTH was eminent among them. However numerous the parts, it was required that conducting and connecting lines should make them, for the eye, one whole: whatever was the contrast, discord was to be obviated: it was obviated by something analogous, to what, in music, is called the preparation and resolution of discords. Decoration was not to be wildly scattered, but confined to appropriate places; and finally, all was to be so harmonized, that, even with the utmost richness of embellishment, simplicity of the general design should still be striking, and even remain the predominant characteristic.

IN ARCHITECTURE.

LETTER IX.

Tuscan and early Roman Architecture.—Introduction of Grecian Taste at Rome.—Invention of the Arch.—Extension of its use.—Triumphal Arch.—Theaters.—Aqueducts.

I HAVE, in my former letters, presented you, as I best could, with such views of Grecian architecture, as appeared to me fittest to illustrate the subject before us. I will now desire you to take a turn with me among the remains of old Rome.

Before the introduction of Grecian taste and the employment of Grecian artists, the Roman architecture appears, in the account of Vitruvius, and indeed in all accounts, to have been very rude. Early Rome, its immediate territory furnishing no valuable stone for building, was, like early London, with fortifications perhaps, and possibly some public buildings of stone, a wooden city. Bricks, as also at London, came afterward into use. The Tiburtine quarries, twenty-two miles off, were the nearest that afforded stone of any excellence. Thence, in the fifteenth century, came the material for the justly celebrated saint Peter's church; and the cost of the carriage alone, being all by land, equalled the whole expence of the building of saint Paul's at London in the seventeenth; for which the stone, though from a

much greater distance, was brought at a cheaper rate by sea. The colosseum, it is well known, suffered demolition, in an age when the fine arts were receiving their best cultivation, to save the Farnese family the charge of bringing stone from the quarry, to erect their palace in Rome. A city so situated must be rich and peaceful before it could have fine buildings.

Nevertheless in the early days of Rome the Grecian arts were not wholly unknown there. A Greek was among its early kings, Tarquinius Priscus. The neighbouring Tuscans, with whom he was domiciliated, before he passed to Rome, were also not unacquainted with the Grecian arts, nor without a degree of cultivation of the arts among themselves. They had a rude order of architecture, which, as described by Vitruvius, bore a near resemblance to the early Greek; and the Tuscan temple was, in form and manner, not unlike the Grecian.

A remarkable difference, however, between the Tuscan temple and the Grecian, will deserve our notice, as we reckon it important to consider the relations and dissonances of the beautiful and the useful. Use, we have observed, led the Greeks to that elegant though simple decoration of their column, the fluting, and denied another ornament, the base. But the spear, which was the cause of both these effects, was not a Roman, nor probably

a common Tuscan weapon. The Roman legionary's arms which, with an improved discipline, adapted to them, conquered the world, nearly resembled what, among the Greeks, were used only by troops esteemed, and on all occasions proved, very inferior to their phalanx. The Tuscans and Romans wanted no such stand for their arms as the column, whose loftiness was peculiarly convenient for the Grecian spear. Accordingly the fluting seems to have been little, if at all, seen in the Tuscan column. But the base was deemed an essential member; not only as graceful, giving a more elegant connection for the foot of the shaft with the floor; but useful, as its projection protected the foot of the shaft from-injury.

According to Vitruvius, whose account is corroborated by indications found in other writers, the Romans, before they carried their conquests eastward of the Adriatic, had no buildings comparable to those raised by the Greeks, even in their colonies in Italy itself. They had however temples, for description of which apparently we may trust Vitruvius. The walls were of stone. Columns of stone formed a portico. The architrave was of timber, which, as Vitruvius has observed, would allow a wide intercolumniation; and, accordingly, the intervals between the columns, no purpose of use forbidding, were ungracefully wide. The ends of the beams, forming the frieze,

instead of being converted to ornament, as in the old Grecian architecture, where they presented the triglyph, were hidden, (so far fair appearance was considered) with a fronting of stone. The roof was framed of wood; with its ridge of a height more adapted to inable coarse materials, probably tiles, the roofing material of the present day at Rome, with less skilful management than that of the present day, to protect the interior against rain and snow, than to give grace to the form of the building.

Horace's boast of the rusticity of the elder Romans, Virgil's *Excudent ulii*, and various passages of the prose-writers, form a mass of collateral and presumptive evidence to the justness of this account of Vitruvius. But when Greece was subdued, and, quickly after, all the rich and luxurious countries of the west of Asia, (then Grecian kingdoms, and adorned with the most costly works of Grecian art) soon the Romans learned to despise the rude buildings of their forefathers. The wealth of the East being drained to pamper their luxury, Grecian designers and workmen (and it was perhaps the best, if not the only good, use made of that wealth) were called in crowds to adorn Italy. Through the subjection of all the richest and most polished parts of Europe, Asia and Africa to the one dominion of Rome, an accumulation of rich materials was

formed, where, as in one vast hotbed, sprang up at once to perfection that architecture, originating from Greece, but rising with a character in some degree its own, which is now called ROMAN.

I have formerly observed that, in the luxury of the rich Grecian kingdoms, into which Alexander's empire was divided, the simplicity of the ancient Doric order lost its esteem, and the Ionic seems to have had as little favor; the Corinthian became the universal order. Nor, as I have also formerly observed, was this order recommended only by its elegant richness, but by a convenience, and even simplicity; in which, as well as in richness, or opportunity to receive decoration, it excelled. I cannot help repeating here that it appears to me a remarkable instance of the correctness of Grecian taste, and its disposition to check extravagance, while seeking variety and bent upon embellishment, that in reaching at length the utmost richness of decoration in architecture, it produced what, in its constituent parts, is the simplest and most accommodating of the orders. With this recommendation the Corinthian became the favorite order of the Romans.

In the first prevalence of the taste for Grecian architecture at Rome, such appears to have been the respect for Grecian models, that the Grecian plan for temples was adopted, without variation. I hardly need remark, to you, that the same thing

is observable of literature; the best Roman comedies being but translations from the Greek, and even the great epic poem the *Æneid*, in some parts little more than a copy, and in the rest an imitation, of Homer.

But, before the conquest of Greece, a very important novelty had been introduced into architecture, the arch or vault, *arcus*, *fornix*, *καμάρα*: when, or whence, appears uncertain. Modern travellers, it is said, have found, among the ruins of Mycenæ, some gateways, supposed older than the oldest known Grecian temples. In those gateways, an account of which, I am told, will soon be published, is seen what would be a ready step toward the invention and use of the arch; being indeed itself an imperfect arch, of that pointed kind, which, in England, has obtained, preposterously enough, the title of Gothic. On the ends of the lintel of the gateway are placed two stones, on their ends, leaning toward each other, and meeting at top in a point. This contrivance throwing the weight above, away from the opening below, upon the solid wall on each side, powerfully relieves the lintel, operating precisely as an arch.

Nevertheless the perfect arch appears to have been comparatively of late birth. The want of a name for it, properly Greek, in so copious a language, and so ready for all occasions, would suffice to show how little the thing was known, in

early times, among the Grecian people. By some it has been supposed much earlier known, or much earlier in known use, among the Romans. That extraordinary structure, magnificent in its way, the cloaca maxima at Rome, has been attributed to Tarquinius Priscus. But Tarquinius Priscus, though a Roman king, we are assured, was a Grecian man. A sewer, however, or a drain of some kind, in the bottom between the Palatine and Capitoline hills at Rome, would, in almost the earliest age of the city, be obviously necessary toward any convenient union of those two hills in one town. But I am disposed quite to admit the arguments of that very diligent and learned antiquarian the late Mr. King, that, though a sewer had probably long before been there, yet the cloaca, whose magnificence and excellent masonry are yet matter for admiration, was a work of Augustus Cæsar's time.

The oldest Grecian arch, of which I know any account remaining, if Stuart is right in his conjecture that it was of the age of the celebrated Poikile portico at Athens, is that described in his first volume of Athenian Antiquities. Its simple elegance indeed indicates an early age. Before the Roman conquest, however, the construction of both arches and vaults appears to have been known in Greece, though not to have been very long common.

The invention, or rather the introduction of the ARCH into common use, certainly forms an era in architecture. The opportunity afforded by it for utility, as well as for magnificence and variety of visual effect, is invaluable. Probably the military gateway was its first object. The VAULT would readily follow, when occasion required. The desire of superseding the use, or supplying the want, of timber for roofs, has probably led to it. But it seems to have originated in very small buildings. Stuart's section of the tower of the winds, at Athens, shows a stone roof of a very singular kind, a sort of a strait-lined dome; the interior of which however has, on its first rising from the supporting wall, an arching tendency. His section of the choragic monument of Lysicrates, in the same volume, shows, in the interior, not only the knowledge of the vault complete, but the execution extended, even to the forming of a perfect dome.

From such beginnings, on a small scale, skill growing, the art of arching appears to have been already common, when the accumulation of the wealth of the civilized world at Rome, and the elegant taste of those who acquired the principal command of it, afforded extraordinary opportunities. The splendid ceremony of the Roman triumph gave occasion for that peculiar kind of building, known by the name of the triumphal arch; proposed wholly for ornament

without use, and therefore giving the greatest latitude for the fancy of the designer. The prodigious structures, theaters, amphitheaters, and circuses, for the entertainment at once of the whole population of the capital of the civilized world, required a new kind of architecture, which the arch was singularly qualified to assist. Among the Greeks the practice had obtained, for which the circumstances of many of the principal Grecian cities, some in Europe, but more in Asia, gave opportunity, to use a recess, in a marble mountain's side, as a building, roughly formed by nature, which art only polished and completed, to answer the purpose of accommodating multitudes in the entertainment of theatrical exhibitions. Rome afforded no such opportunity: there all was to be raised with stone to be brought from afar; and then, for the theater, the amphitheater and the circus, the arch was of inestimable value. At the same time to supply the city abundantly with fine water, a principal article, not of use only, but of even extravagant luxury, among the Roman people, those who desired to captivate popular favor raised those magnificent beds for rivers in the air, we might almost call them, which are known by the name of aqueducts; and for these also the arch was a most important novelty in architecture.

New inventions not seldom bring about old matters; so that what, yielding to a first improve-

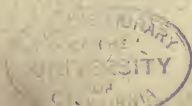
ment, had been laid aside and grown obsolete, comes recommended again by a second, and returns into vogue as a novelty. So it seems to have been with circular building. Adopted at first as the readiest form in which a rude shelter could be constructed, with improving art, it gave way to the quadrilateral; and, in the farther progress and perfection of art, was restored for magnificence and luxury. Thus, in the age of the greatest perfection of the arts in Greece, the building at Athens, called the tower of the winds; though rectilinear, yet, as octagonal, appears to have been a novelty; and it might be a ready step to the circular, in that most elegant little structure the choragic monument of Lysicrates, commonly called the lantern of Demosthenes. Earlier the immense theaters of the Greeks were semicircular, their purpose requiring that form; but they were buildings without roof, and wholly of another character. For buildings on a smaller scale, it will be obvious, the progress was ready, from the monument of Lysicrates at Athens, to the Sibyl's temple at Tivoli. To increase dimensions, and find means to extend the roof, would be matters in the ordinary course of the progress of art, under favoring circumstances; and so, when the patronage, of those who commanded the wealth of the world, gave means for the exertion of the talents of architects, the plan still expanding, at length the graceful magnificence of the Pantheon rose.

LETTER X.

Characteristical Differences of Exterior and Interior Architecture.—Grecian Interior Architecture.

HAVING traced Architecture, as I best could, from earliest ages, through Egypt, Phenicia, Palestine, and Greece, to Rome, I reached, in my last letter, that splendid building the Pantheon; which, for grace and richness of design, with magnificent dimensions, perhaps never was excelled; and, fortunately, of all of its age, or nearly approaching its age, now above eighteen centuries, hath stood by far the most perfect. Gaining here then some breadth of ground, I reckon it expedient to halt a little, that we may, at some leisure, advert to a matter, which, although it must have forced itself upon the consideration of every practical architect, has, in my mind, not been sufficiently adverted to by any architectonic writer, of those whose works have fallen in my way; I mean the distinction of EXTERIOR and INTERIOR architecture.

OUTSIDE and INSIDE, in building, have different qualities, requiring different PRINCIPLES of DESIGN; and the difference holds equally for the USEFUL and the GRACEFUL. The distinctive qualities of the EXTERIOR, respecting the USEFUL,



are, that it should itself bear weather, and that it should protect all within. Respecting the graceful, First, the Exterior receives light from the uninterrupted rays of the sun, so that every part, in the same direction, receives the same light: Secondly, it may be seen from every variety of distance, within human ken; Thirdly, the whole cannot possibly be seen from one point of view; but, Fourthly, sufficient distance being taken, small in comparison of the stretch of human vision, all that can come in view, from one point, may be seen at one glance of the eye; so that, from any such point, no farther view can be gained by any turn of the eye. The different qualities of the INTERIOR, are, respecting the USEFUL, that it is secured within walls, and under a roof, so as not to be liable to injury from weather. Respecting the GRACEFUL, First, the Interior can receive daylight but unequally, through apertures, which it is for the architect to direct for the best advantage: Secondly, the point of sight is limited by the surrounding walls: Thirdly, the whole may be seen from one point, but from no one point can be seen without turning the eye: whence, Fourthly, the interior, even of the simplest room, from one stand, exhibits always various views. That these characteristical and strongly distinguished differences, of interior and exterior architecture, must always require the

designer's careful consideration, is I think enough obvious.

But, beside these two clearly distinguished characters of outside and inside, which must belong to every building with walls and a roof, there is, in some buildings, a middle character; partaking of both, yet differing from both; and this is eminent in the Grecian temple. The Grecian temple, which, in architecture, like the Greek and Roman classics in literature, will probably, while the world shall last, afford the surest test, and best measure of fine taste, had its interior generally dark and unadorned: all the display of elegance and richness was without. But what was without the complete interior, the cell, was far from being all equally outside of the building; a large proportion, all between the columns and the cell, was of a mixed character. As outside it was exposed laterally; as inside, sheltered above; as outside, visible from a distance in part, but not completely; as inside, to be seen intire, only by the eye within its bounds; and also, as inside, receiving daylight but interruptedly, through apertures disposed by the architect.

Fortunately for following times, when elegance in architecture more completely interior became desirable, this midway portion, of the Grecian temple of the best ages, offered not only all the

necessary principles for it, but a very large portion even of models for the parts. When a building is to be raised, what use demands being decided, the next consideration for the designer, for inside as well as for outside, is, no doubt, to harmonize the various parts, and give them graceful combination. When the temple was planned, the perpendicular lines of the columns on one hand, and of the wall of the cell on the other, were to be harmonized with the horizontal lines of the floor, on which both rested, and of the roof, which they together supported. In the Doric temple, the meeting of the COLUMN with the floor was abrupt, the matter of use, as I have formerly observed, so requiring. But no such obstacle to a more graceful connection of the WALL with the floor presenting itself, Grecian taste introduced those forms of skirting, seen in some of the early Doric temples, which have not been excelled by any invention since. So also the antæ, or pilasters, not being wanted for use, like the columns, as stands for arms, were raised on a projection of the skirting, which served them as a base.

The horizontal line of the ceiling then was to be connected, with the wall on one side, and with the intablature of the columns on the other. For this the earlier architects seem to have been contented with repeating, within, the simple form,

and small topfinishing projection, of the exterior architrave. Small alterations and additions, however, in some of the earlier temples, show that this did not quite satisfy; but it was an advantageous step toward improvements which followed. The interlacing of the beams and joists, overhead, suggested the early ornaments of the ceiling.

In the earlier temples the doorway seems to have been generally the only aperture of the cell. Some grace of connection, to make this not a mere hole in a wall, remained desirable; and the more, as it presented itself in the middle of the portico. The form of the architrave, resting on the columns, and bearing the superstructure, might readily offer itself as fitting for the lintel of the doorway, resting on its posts and also bearing the superstructure. Satisfying, in the lintel, the extension of its form, from the top down the sides of the doorway, would also be an obvious expedient for harmonizing all. The decoration, thus extended from the lintel to the doorposts, given in the same manner to the perpendicular as to the horizontal, has obtained, in modern architectonic phrase, altogether the title of architrave. When windows came to be added, this form was equally applicable, wanting only the addition of the sill.

Here is found so much done, that little more would be needful toward the completion of ordinary rooms, where splendor of ornament, or

striking architectonic effect were not required. Nevertheless the remaining examples of Grecian design, for the interior, need only be compared with the exterior of the same buildings, to evince, I think, that the attention of architects, in the ages of the purest Grecian taste, had not been called to effects within equally as to those without.

History furnishes a glimpse, a most imperfect glimpse, of what cannot but excite the architect's curiosity. The royal palace of Macedonia is said to have been adorned with the best paintings of Zeuxis, one of the most celebrated painters Greece ever produced, in the age of the very best taste in exterior architecture. What then was the architecture of the interior of that palace, whose apartments were so superiorly adorned? The king, Archelaus, whose taste and munificence led him to be the patron of the greatest painter of that age of the fine arts, was also the patron of one, whose works, yet extant, rank him among the greatest poets, Euripides. Such a prince surely would not leave his palace wholly unimproved by those architects of his day, whose talents have been celebrated by cotemporaries and by posterity, and are in some degree known by their works even yet existing.

It is however possible, and indeed there seems ground to say probable, that the chambers of the Macedonian palace, adorned by the pencil of

Zeuxis, were not of much more architectonic merit than those adorned with some of Raphael's finest paintings, and thence called Raphael's chambers; in the Vatican palace at Rome; and I think it may be ventured to be added that they were probably not of less architectonic merit. For when, in the progress of things, after the successful exertions of the Grecian architects to give the highest grace to exterior architecture, in the temples, it came to be desired to give a richer elegance to the inside of buildings, and to decorate what we call rooms, that middle style of building, between inside and outside, in the portion of the temple between the colonnade and the cell, would furnish, as I have already observed, at once all that was most necessary. When a building is to be divided into rooms, the rectangular, the universal form of the Grecian temple, must necessarily prevail. The floor and walls and ceiling then being decided, the first want of the architect, for decoration, would be to connect the bottom of his walls gracefully with the floor, and the top with the ceiling; and thus far the interior of the temple colonnade would at once, as we have seen, supply him. His only remaining positive want then would be a finishing for his doors and windows, for which also the temple, we have observed, afforded him an advantageous model.

When the conquests of Alexander had esta-

lished the Greek nation over all the western part of Asia, and made it master of Egypt, the wealthy kingdoms, which it composed in those countries, became, far more than Greece itself, the scenes of increased splendor and new design in architecture. But the destructive and numerous revolutions, ensuing, have left so little remaining, that, unable to proceed on Grecian ground, I was reduced, in the conclusion of my last letter, to conduct you by a great leap, over time measured by centuries, and space from Greece to Italy, to reach objects for farther notice; to which also I must, in my next, return.

L E T T E R XI.

Interior Architecture.—Grecian Circular Building.—Roman Circular Building.—Roman Interior Architecture.

AMONG the ancient Greeks and Romans, not only the religious worship, but the business of the civil assemblies and courts of justice was conducted in the open air, and the ancient theaters were roofless. Splendor of interior architecture thus was among them comparatively little desired. But when occasion arose to accommodate multitudes with shelter, in religious or in civil occupations, then a new care came upon the architect: to provide sure support for an extensive roof must be a principal matter for his attention. The purpose indeed of the gymnasium or palæstra, and the stoa or portico, was shelter against sun and rain; but, for this, the midway style, in the manner of the portico and peristyle of the temple, sufficed; nor would the multiplication of columns, within the precinct, occasion any great inconvenience. The growing luxury of public baths, perhaps, first produced, among the Greeks, the demand upon the architect to design a complete room, of large dimensions. The great hall of the baths, of the later times, appears to have been sometimes a very large room and very splendid.

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Columns however here also, might afford the wanted support for the roof, or floor above, without material interruption of the purposes of the assembled company below. But, for religious worship, and for the business of the halls of justice, the pillars, with only their usual intervals, would interfere very inconveniently with the sight and hearing of numbers, desirous to see and hear.

Nor is the visual effect of columns the same in interior as in exterior architecture. Neither the point of view, nor the point of distance, for seeing the range within the basilicon, can be chosen, as for that without the temple. The operation of light also differs widely. For the exterior it is uniform, and the shadows are everywhere corresponding. For the interior, on the contrary, it is broken and various, being admitted but in parcels, through different apertures; and, in large buildings commonly in several and opposite directions; whence the shadows have less breadth and simplicity.

It is however far from following that columns are of no value for interior architecture. On the contrary, within as without, judiciously introduced, they give both a grace and a dignity, such as nothing else can give. But the difference of the effect, within and without, requires the exercise of the architect's invention and judgement.

The art of ARCHING was a discovery that gave new, and great opportunities, both for use, and for visual effect. The arcade is variously applicable where the colonnade would ill suit. The convenience of the arch, especially for gateways, is obvious. It seems probable that many of the largest towns of antiquity, like the vast cities of the Chinese at this day, denied admission for wheeled carriages. The gates of Troy indeed, whose walls were said to be a work of the gods, allowed passage for the cars of the heroic ages, which probably were very narrow. But we need not dive so deeply into antiquity for examples. Many ancient walled towns remain in the south of Europe, even in the south of France, with gates and streets so narrow, that no ordinary wheeled carriage can enter, or could pass if within. The excavated street of Pompeii, at the foot of Vesuvius, built in the time of the Cæsars, shows in its pavement the track of carriages: but those carriages could only follow each other, leaving barely safe room for one foot-passenger, on a raised pavement, on each side. Inconvenience is here obvious enough: need for so economizing space, in that age, and that situation, seems difficult to imagine; nor does the thing appear easily to be accounted for, but from that kind of mechanical disposition, common among men as among sheep, to follow the steps of those who have gone before them.

The celebrated gateway of the citadel of Athens, known by the title of the propylæa, as described by Stuart and others, has evidently been constructed with no view to admit the passage of carriages. Arches, if at all then known, certainly not common, first furnished means to make a fortified place at once secure and commodious. Quickly they obtained universal preference for portals. Recommended by obvious utility, as well as by the united elegance and grandeur of their effects for the eye, the growing magnificence of Rome would add the utmost splendor of decoration; and the light graces of the Corinthian column were combined with the imposing massiveness of the arch of triumph.

I do not remember any account of a circular temple among the Greeks; and, at Rome, on the first introduction of the Grecian taste, the Grecian form for temples appears to have been scrupulously followed. Perhaps the fashion of the arched roof led to the fancy for circular buildings; of which the choragic monument of Lysicrates, at Athens, vulgarly called the lantern of Demosthenes, is the oldest and indeed, within Greece, the only example I know. Beautiful as it is, the scale is so much below the useful, that the elegant little edifice, commonly called the Sibyl's temple, at Tivoli, may be reckoned an improvement on it. The temple

of Vesta, near the Tiber, at Rome, though its proportions are singular, has still so much elegance, that, for its larger dimensions, it may be reckoned a farther improvement.

But, where shelter is wanted for an assembled multitude, with opportunity for all at once to see and hear, and it is desired that this shelter shall be magnificent and permanent, then the circular form offers superior advantages; and thus it appears to have recommended itself for that extraordinary ancient edifice at Rome, the Pantheon. Rectangular building may easily have any length; but for width, the circular form affords the greatest means; and, next to it, those rectilinear figures which approach nearest to the circular character, the hexagon, octagon, and so forth.

The circular form having been chosen for the Pantheon, still space, beyond what was reckoned convenient, or perhaps needful, within the one circle, was desired. The ingenuity with which it has been gained, by recesses in the thickness of wall, requisite for supporting the vast dome above, is well worthy of the architect's observation. Real strength, and apparent lightness, and useful space, and magnificence of visual effect, have at once been gained.

In this splendid building, whose interior, singularly rich in variety of parts, and singularly

happy in their combination, has been so fortunately preserved more perfect than any other of all antiquity, almost every circumstance of interior architecture is found, for which the student may want a model. But it must be observed, of the circular form in building, that, advantageous as its effect altogether is, a sort of distortion results from it, in every opening, and in every projection: nothing rectangular can perfectly associate with it. Hence the Pantheon, in furnishing models for the architect, requires his judgement, in accommodating its shapes and proportions to a rectilinear plan.

The proper Grecian style of interior architecture is, I think, little known to us but from buildings of earlier times, when splendor of interior was less in request. The architects, then, to combine the wall with the ceiling, seem to have been nearly contented with the simple form of the architrave, and its moldings of small projection, hardly differing from the exterior of the same member. But the able Grecian designers, who, in the Augustan age, were called to adorn Rome, apparently saw, where the interior was large, and richness of effect required, a deficiency in this. Instead of an architrave only, therefore, the whole intablatüre, as in the exterior, was introduced into the interior of the building. Use,

or the semblance of use, for the frieze and cornice, are certainly far less obvious in the interior than in the exterior. The projection of the cornice, however, seems quite in proper place as an assisting support to the ceiling; and the ablest architects of the Augustan age, it appears, thought the frieze, and architrave, forms fitter to hold the situation under it, in lofty rooms, than any other they could devise, and would no where substitute a novelty.

The rectangular plan, as we have before observed, is so generally best adapted to the most ordinary purposes of architecture, that it must be the generally prevailing plan; and we find that, notwithstanding the just fame of the Pantheon, Roman taste, even for temples, reverted to the Grecian parallelogram. Mostly also, for the Roman temples, as for the Grecian, the exterior was still the principal object of decoration. In the magnificent ruin, known by the name of the temple of Peace, we find indeed a richness of interior, that may, when perfect, have vied with that of the Pantheon. That the building called the temple of Peace, however, was a temple, seems on better ground doubted than imagined. But, whatever was its purpose, its ruin is equally a valuable source for the architect; and in the same merit that called the temple of Diana, at Nimes in

Languedoc, excels. The chambers of Livia's and Titus's baths at Rome, offer much for the decorator with the pencil; but, as I recollect, not for the man of the chisel.

A French architect at Rome, of time long before the passion of the French revolution had that vent, which shortly proved how much the evils of simple despotism are obscured by the flames of despotism in the hands of a multitude, calculated that there were more cubical feet of stone in Vespasian's amphitheater alone, vulgarly the Colosseum; than in all the boasted edifices of Lewis the Fourteenth. Yet, among even monarch architects, I suppose none ever equalled altogether, in splendor of buildings, that strange mixture of virtues and vices, of vast talents and vile passions, the emperor Adrian. But, of his magnificent buildings, very little of interior architecture remains. That once most splendid edifice, his tomb, so far like the Grecian temple as it was pomp without, and misery within, when stripped of every decoration, and despoiled of every limb, remained and remains, an object of admiration; and, though raised without any view to use, it has become, by ready conversion, a fortress, for either defence or controll of the adjacent city, more powerful than the art of the age of its spoliation, and many following ages, could construct.

The age of Adrian has been called, not unaptly, a second Augustan age; a character which held, in considerable degree, through the reigns of the Antonines. Ruin, equally to the arts and the empire, revived under the monster Commodus; for it is a vain expectation of despots, that the arts shall flourish, when the people are oppressed. Diocletian's talents brought out a reviving gleam, which returned under Constantine; but, through the fever of the intervening times, with weaker and nearly expiring lustre.

LETTER XII.

Decline of Roman Architecture.—Gothic Architecture.—Arabian or Saracenic Architecture.—Buildings of Charlemain's Age.

MY last letter touched upon the reign of Constantine, which, far as decline in the arts had gone, is, nevertheless, an important era in architecture. The establishment of the Christian mode of worship required a style of building considerably differing from the common heathen temple. Instead of a mere sacristy for the priests, the term at which the pomp of processions ended, and in front of which, under the vault of the sky, sacrifice was performed, shelter was required for the multitude, offering their prayers according to the ritual, and receiving instruction from their pastors. New plans were therefore wanted, for buildings of great dimensions, with new and superior attention to the interior. The Pantheon then, rather than the Parthenon, would be the model.

But the circle, as I have before observed, with its advantages, has denying qualities. Of all buildings, then common, the Greek basilicon, or hall of justice, described by Vitruvius, and of which an example remains nearly perfect, in, I

forget the name of the church, at Rome, was found most convenient for the Christian mode of worship. It was nearly the Egyptian hall of Vitruvius, with some added parts, which the convenience of the judicial business required. Some buildings of this kind were consecrated, and an analogous plan was adopted for many more, wanted to accommodate the multitudes who now embraced, or were imboldened to acknowledge, the hitherto persecuted faith. This plan, with some varieties in the detail, and commonly with the addition of the transept, to give the form of the cross (an addition advantageous for the interior, but far otherwise for the exterior effect) became general for Christian churches through all succeeding times.

But, the zeal for bringing the new religious establishment to completion, while the government was favorable, would not wait the slow progress, which the small proportion, then existing, of able artizans, with their best exertion, could make. A cathedral was provided for the capital by the conversion of a basilicon, adjoining the palace of the Lateran family, dedicating it to St. John. This building, you know, lost its pre-eminence in the times of the successful resistance of the Roman barons to the pontifical claims of absolute sovereignty, when the policy of the popes gave the prerogative to St. Peter's, on the other side

of the Tiber. That splendid building, the tomb of Adrian, was inviting; but, its interior not suiting for a church, its exterior was despoiled of its beautiful columns, to adorn the interior of the vast edifice of St. Paul without the walls. Near the church of St. John Lateran the building called the baptistery of Constantine was raised, in the same manner, with the spoil of other edifices; and though this spoil was brought together with a strange deficiency of selection, and put up in such haste as not to allow the reducing of columns, brought from different buildings, even to one size of shaft; whence the mixture is strikingly barbarous, yet the design is of an ingenuity and elegance which have earned Palladio's eulogy. Indeed I think it shows that, even then, not taste and genius, in those who directed the work, were wanting, but only practised hands, or time to form them for the pressure of the occasion.

After Constantine follows a long blank in the history of the arts. The Goths and other barbarians, who overwhelmed the Roman empire, had no architects: their works were only of demolition. When need of restoration, or of new erection, arose, they employed the conquered people. They loved ornament, however, as is common with barbarians, to excess, heedless of elegance. Under their patronage, the old forms

were mostly followed, but the old proportions neglected: the old decorations no hands remained capable, with the old perfection, to execute: new and capricious ornaments were mixed with awkward imitations of the old; and profusely, and with little judgement, applied.

Such is the architecture, which, in the southern parts of Europe, acquired the title of Gothic, which it still retains, and most properly, having been that of the Gothic conquerors of those countries. I do not recollect noticing much of it in Italy, where the profusion of better things so draws attention, that one may easily overlook those of this kind. But neither do I remember to have heard or read of any there so remarkable as are seen in the south of France. The monuments of saint Remy and the triumphal arch of Cavaillon, in Provence, are striking examples and in good preservation.

As the several hords of northern barbarians, who overran civilized Europe, all quickly embraced the religion of the conquered, so, when the spirit of destruction had spent its first fury, the ecclesiastical establishments revived. But in the many agonies of conquest (for Italy especially suffered many) much destruction of churches, as well as of buildings of every other kind, took place, while encouragement, or means to build, with any splendor, were little found.

After centuries of confusion and darkness, Europe was approaching to some little order, a benefit much produced by the ascendancy which the Roman church had acquired over all (for so much, with all its iniquities, should be allowed to that church) when a new enemy, from the south, threatened to overwhelm the policy and arts and religion, of that quarter of the world, in one ruin. The Saracens of Arabia, masters of much of the west of Asia, all the north of Africa, and almost all Spain, pressed upon Sicily and Italy. Far unlike the Goths, they were at the same time enthusiastic in religion, and addicted to science and the arts. Especially they had their own style of architecture, which obtained prevalence wherever their conquests established them. They built with even extraordinary skill. But in their buildings, as is observed of their writings, they delighted more in the marvellous than the graceful. Ingenuity is often striking in them; richness they much affected; but order, proportion, and all that belongs to fine taste and chaste design, are little found.

Amid the extreme darkness involving the northwest of Europe, one extraordinary man, Charlemain, rising to extensive dominion, did much toward restoring civilization and arts. Meanwhile, in the southeast, the decrepid Grecian empire, itself maintaining but a sickly existence, had nevertheless

continued so far to stretch a protecting wing over them, that they had never there equally approached extinction. It seems probable that Charlemain drew thence the architect and artizans who were capable of designing and building such a church as the cathedral of Aix in Germany. That curious building, deviating enough in forms and proportions, and inferior enough in execution, to justify for it the title of Gothic (as that title has been generally applied on the continent) may yet for its design, for the evidence of the mind of the architect, and for its general effect, perhaps be reckoned not very unworthy of the title of Roman.

L E T T E R XIII.

Architecture in England.—Saxon and Norman derived from the later Roman.—Comparative Merits of the Colonnade and Arcade for Interior Architecture.

IN the wars, carried on during centuries, which ended in the complete conquest of all England, and the best part of Scotland, by the Anglosaxons, the buildings raised, during some previous centuries, while the Romans were masters of the country, appear to have been destroyed, or reduced to ruins. Relics which have been discovered under ground, far more than any above, prove what their magnificence once was.

Our Anglosaxon forefathers were no more architects than the kindred Gothic hords, who overran the south of Europe. Architecture and Christianity came to them together from Italy. Churches and monasteries were then built; in style, of course, similar to that of the countries whence the architects and artizans came. Among the troubles of the heptarchy, however, little could be done for posterity. When the great Alfred, cotemporary with Charlemain, succeeded to the throne of all England, not a man in his kingdom, as the historian of his day, Asser, assures us, was capable of erecting a stone building. Bricks were

known but as the production of a lost manufacture, relics of antiquity, found only in Roman works. Alfred, sending for artizans from the continent, emulated, but probably could not rival Charlemain. Nothing however, I believe, remains, at all indicating the style of design in his works, or the magnitude. The cathedral of Oxford, to which seems allowed the clearest claim to the highest antiquity of any Saxon building, upon a large scale, and in any good preservation, is attributed to king Ethelred, about a century after Alfred. The style is corrupt Roman ; that, in Italy, called Gothic ; and perhaps the best of its kind in England.

Reaching thus at length the earliest known English architecture, I must desire you to allow me to trace my steps some way backward, to observe whence the style of design, then adopted, sprung.

The art of forming an arch, whence followed the vault and the dome, was so valuable, giving so many new opportunities to the architect for various ends, utility, grace, magnificence, that it cannot be wonderful if its application was carried to some excess. I do not however recollect any example faulty in principle, before the age of Diocletian. Science, and learning, and the arts were then already far gone in decline ; yet, within the wide pale of the Roman empire were still able architects, not only capable

of profiting from the splendid examples before them, but of talent to add what might deserve the imitation of following ages. I have already mentioned the great hall of Diocletian's baths at Rome, now the church of a Carthusian convent. The architect employed to design his magnificent palace at Spalatro, in Dalmatia, either was also an inventor, or adopted a novelty, of which the ruins of that palace offer, I believe, the oldest known example. Very inferior, in taste and judgement, to the designer of the baths, he was however not without talent or a critical eye: he could see deficiencies, and imagine improvements; but his innovations, far from deserving imitation, were much more exceptionable than the old practice, which he was ambitious to mend.

The perfection of the Grecian column, for the particular situation for which it was invented, the peristyle of a Grecian temple, and its adverse qualities for many other situations, where for its many and superior graces it would be desirable, cannot, I think, escape the observation of any who give attention to design in architecture. The generally disadvantageous circumstance is the limitation of the openings between solid and solid, to a very scanty space. Hence, the colonnade, applied externally, too much obstructs the light that should pass through windows within it; applied internally, it not only darkens, but

interrupts communication, often inconveniently. When therefore rooms of high decoration were to be provided (whether in private dwellings or public buildings) of size to receive numbers, with opportunity for free communication among all, or for full observation of one point from all others within the space, then some architectonic arrangement, different from the Grecian colonnade, was to be sought.

Early after the introduction of the art of arching, the arcade appears to have been brought into use; being variously applicable in circumstances for which the colonnade is unfit. Not, like the colonnade, limited for space between solid and solid by the proportions of a single stone, forming a flat architrave, it is almost unlimited; and a double arcade may sufficiently, for use equally and for the eye, support an arched roof, far more extensive than can be properly committed to a double colonnade.

But the arcade also has its adverse qualities; and, for some purposes, greater than the colonnade. Though a far larger opening, proportioned to the height, may be obtained between pier and pier than between column and column, yet the necessary thickness of the piers, and their angular form, make large interruptions of both light and communication; whence the inconve-

nience may be greater than from the frequency of the smaller span, and cylindrical form, of the columns.

The architect of Diocletian's Spalatrian palace, observing these things, appears to have proposed to unite the advantages, avoiding the inconveniences, of both the column and the pier. To effect this he would use the column as a pier, and, instead of a horizontal architrave, he would throw an arch from column to column. Whether he invented, or whether he adopted, his scheme, it appears, was favored with imperial patronage; and, in the splendid palace in which, under that patronage, it was executed, it had every advantage for exhibition.

Nevertheless, for the exterior of buildings, as it was there used, either the feelings of succeeding architects, or the popular feeling, though amid the wreck of all the arts, revolted at it; for I know not where the thing was repeated. But for the interior, recommended by its convenience, it obtained extensive popularity. It is found in numerous churches of the middle ages on the continent, and in all those, of our own country, of the Saxon and first Norman times; ready convenience recommending it, when art was rude, and popular taste uncultivated and gross. The unfitness of a column to support even an arch, simply, but still more an arch with a superincum-

bent weight of wall, is obvious to every discerning, even though uncultivated, eye.

In course of time however, even time of barbarism, remedy for this was imagined. The column was increased in proportional thickness, sometimes even to the scale of the oldest Doric, and the graceful diminution of the shaft, with its rising height, was abolished. Thus certainly the column became fitter to perform the office of a pier. Nor did an air of grandeur, however grace might be deficient, always fail in the result. Such is the style of the oldest churches of our country, of the later Saxon and earlier Norman reigns.

A distinction has been commonly proposed between the Saxon and Norman architecture; and it has been said by an elegant writer, the late lord Orford, that the Saxon is marked by its rudeness, and the Norman by its superiority, in both design and execution. This fancy however, I think, has been wearing away, as the antiquities of our country have been more carefully inquired after and more fully made known. To evince its futility it might suffice to compare the cathedrals of Oxford and Durham; the former acknowledged Saxon, the latter Norman. What merit any buildings, of either time, might have, was owing, I apprehend, to architects neither Saxon nor Norman, but either Italian, or, perhaps, rather Constantinopolitan. Peculiarities, indi-

cating difference of age, may possibly be found among those buildings, but objects rather for the antiquarian than the inquirer after architectonic principles. The best architecture of the Saxon and Norman times bears, nearly equally, much of the character of that of the later Grecian empire.

LETTER XIV.

Sources of a new Style of Architecture.—Introduction of the Pointed Arch into European Building.

WHEN the northern conquerors had reduced Europe, with slender exception for the eastern empire, to general barbarism, so that the laity, of all ranks, were unlettered, some sparks of science yet maintained existence, though but a sickly existence, in monasteries. Western Europe, politically much divided, was then, for ecclesiastical concerns, closely united under one head, of mighty authority. In this state of things arose the extraordinary commotion, originating from Rome, called the crusade; which put the affairs of nations, within, and very far beyond, the wide pale of the Roman church, into a new train; and, among other matters, produced powerful effects on architecture.

The Arabs, or Saracens, against whose conquests in Asia the rude steel-clad knights of western Europe directed their fury, were, comparatively a polished people. They had, as I have already observed, their own architects and their own style of architecture. Not only their wealth enabled, and their disposition to luxury excited them, to cultivate the art, but, disposed to letters, they excelled in mathematical science. This, highly important to perfection in building skill, is however no way connected with fine taste or feeling for the fine arts; and unfortunately fine taste appears to have been not naturally an Arabian virtue.

Nevertheless the western Europeans, and especially the Normans and English, eager for adventure, and, though ignorant, alive to curiosity, looking everywhere, and ready to admire, found what to admire in the Saracenic buildings. The Greeks, as we have formerly observed, in their outset in the art, had been led by the circumstances of their times and climate to direct their attention, for matters of taste, almost only to the exterior; and thus they gathered Principles, admirably adapted to the grace of the outside, but not equally to that of the inside of buildings. The Saracens, in similar climate, but otherwise in circumstances different, studious of the exterior, especially for monumental architecture, neverthe-

less directed their utmost skill more generally to splendor within; and, however wide of perfect elegance, they succeeded so as to produce some pleasing, but more surprizing effects.

The purposes of the Grecian public buildings, of the best ages, as we have formerly observed, little required wide openings, unless for the gates of fortified towns; and there probably the Ornamental was generally dispensed with. Nevertheless for convenience often, as well as on many occasions for grandeur, wide openings, with ample provision for massive superstructure over them, must be desirable; and thus the ingenuity of builders was directed to the art of Arching.

An investigation of the steps, discoverable among ancient buildings in different parts of the world, by which the art of arching has been perfected, might form a curious chapter in a history of architecture. The oldest existing example, probably marking itself as a first step toward that art, is that I have formerly noticed, which, it is said, is to be given to the world in a publication preparing by Mr. Gell. But, among Daniel's views in India, there is represented a very different contrivance, which however may also have been a first step toward arching. On massive pillar are laid stones, caps rather than capitals, overhanging the shaft considerably, in the line of the colonnade. Stones

which would not reach from shaft to shaft, are long enough to lie securely on the caps, and, balancing one another, bear well a great superincumbent weight of wall. Thus, through a contrivance very different from the former, and even more inartificial, the office of an arch is, in considerable amount, performed. Either of these resources, or both, might lead to improvement, and at length to the perfect arch. It has struck me as a remarkable circumstance that, in a castle in England, I think that of Warkworth in Northumberland, I have seen the very contrivance of the old Argolic architects, used for the support of a chimney. Over a horizontal lintel or chimney-breast, two strait stones are placed so as to form a triangle with it. Their lower ends rest on the lintel's ends, over the jambs: their upper ends meet; and thus the jambs bear the whole superincumbent weight; all that stretches across the void being relieved from it. The architect of Warkworth surely did not get his knowledge from Mycenæ; but similar need led, at both places, to the same resource, whether invented for the occasion, or gained from prior example.

This very simple contrivance would lead most readily to the construction of the peaked arch. Where the space was too great, or materials too defective, for one stone on each pier to serve the purpose, two, or more, might be introduced,

only placing the lower stones more upright, and giving others successively a little more inclination to the middle. Thus it was easy to employ many; and so, with little art, to form a very powerful support for superstructure, over a large opening. If then, where this occurred, the semicircular arch was already known, the farther observation would be ready, that the peaked arch associates more nearly with the form of roof best adapted to throw off rain; and, moreover, if vaults were desired, a vault constructed on the principle of the peaked arch, with the view to throw off rain, might be made much lighter than any arch without the peak; for, not only the weight to be supported is less, but the lateral pressure, even with the same weight, is less. Hence the peaked arch also wants less substance of pillar or pier, for its support, than any simple arch; and thus, where something less massive, less necessarily incumbering the floor, than the proper pier, is wanted for internal architecture, opportunity is afforded for giving support to the roof, or ceiling, with pillars of considerably smaller dimensions.

These advantages appear to have recommended the peaked arch to the Arabians, who seem certainly to have used it before it was known in Europe. But its very virtues, in failure of correct taste, led to extravagance. The Arabians, in their buildings, have shown the same fancy as in

their writings; fond of the marvellous rather than of the chaste; less studious of delighting, by elegance of design, than of surprizing, by a display of skill in execution. The result of proportions obviously just, and a beautiful fitness of parts to each other, was not pungent enough to satisfy their feelings; they were more gratified with the passion of wonder, excited by the real concord of apparent inconsistencies. Applying great skill, with little or perverse taste, they placed a ponderous superstructure, upon supports carrying the appearance of being utterly inadequate to the office imposed on them. Architecture of this character the Arabian conquests extended from Asia to distant Spain. But the Arabians appear to have had, no more than the Egyptians before them, what we call Orders of architecture; and among their buildings, spread to the west of Africa and to the east of India, what has been originally their own, what may have been gathered from ancient Egypt, and what the Greek empire, which they always bordered on and at length conquered, may have furnished them, will hardly now be ascertained.

L E T T E R XV.

English Ecclesiastical Architecture of the Plantagenet reigns.—Salisbury Cathedral.

EXTRAORDINARY consequences, in various ways, could scarcely fail from so extraordinary an ebullition among nations; as that of the crusades. In armies marching, at the call of the pope, to fight, under especial benediction, the battles of the church, ecclesiastics and soldiers were uncommonly mingled: the monastical and the military character were, in some instances, incorporated. Some rays thus, from what existed in Europe of polite learning, and of that taste which polite learning has a tendency to form, brightened a little the military ignorance of the age. With many private estates wasted, and families beggared, to raise means for the favorite adventure, the ravage and desolation of extensive countries, and the destruction of millions of lives were, in the moment, the most striking result. Yet perhaps, in the end, compensation in public good did not wholly fail for all the private evil. New knowledge was acquired; new channels of trade were opened; activity was given to communication, before unknown; and commerce and wealth, and arts and civilization grew among the western nations.

The ecclesiastical establishment, generally throughout Europe, but especially in England, was powerful, and consequently wealthy. With great means, and disposition enough for great luxury, beyond even worldly prudence, as in the final event appeared, still enjoyment was restrained, for the clergy, by ecclesiastical rule, and by the expediency of respecting popular prejudices, and engaging popular admiration and favor. In this state of things, to build churches, and especially cathedral and monastic churches, of a magnificence before unknown, became a fashion of the day. What had been seen in foreign parts, excited then, as was likely, fancy for novelties in architecture.

The first innovation in our country, however, was neither great nor happy. The tall, narrow, round-topped Constantinopolitan window, which was not without its grace, was changed for what has been called the lancet window. This, found, I think, in buildings as old as the reign of the first Henry, appears to me commendable neither for elegance nor utility.

A century or more had passed, and new crusades, and more eminently successful, had been made, when the circumstances occurred which produced the extraordinary migration of the city of Salisbury. The cathedral of the old town was within the walls of the earl's castle; where, at this day, in the form of the soil, covered

with turf, the vestiges are still distinguishable. No subject could then contend with an earl but a bishop; and, though a bishop, supported from Rome, could contend even with kings, yet, within the walls of the earl's castle, even the bishop found himself under unpleasant controul. The quarrel becoming extreme, the bishop, with the pope's approbation and support, resolved to withdraw himself and his flock. Whatever might otherwise be the merits of the dispute, the bishop certainly was superior in popularity. Not only, through the ready favor of the pope and the clergy, he obtained, by a brief, a large sum of money for his purposes, but he drew almost the whole population of the old city to the spot, between two and three miles off, where, adjoining the new cathedral and bishop's palace, which he built, the city of Salisbury, then laid out on a regular plan, with a stream of water from the Avon, running through the principal streets, to this day flourishes.

But you will remember these circumstances and more (I quote them only from memory) of the history of the times. What they lead to remark, to the purpose of our investigation, is, that then first, as far as I am aware, broke out, at once, with surprizing splendor, the phenomenon of the new ecclesiastical architecture.

The plan of Salisbury cathedral has that general character, formerly noticed, which, on the first

establishment of the Christian ecclesiastical polity, under Constantine, gained vogue for churches; differing little from that of the court of justice of the Roman empire, the basilicon of the Greeks; unless for the addition of the transept, generally adopted, giving to the whole the form of a cross. Thus far Salisbury cathedral resembled most of those before erected in England, under the Saxon and Norman reigns. But the elevation without, and still more within, was new.

The architect, howsoever gaining his knowledge of the Arabian buildings, had evidently admired some of their effects. What the Arabians themselves gained from the Greeks, whose empire they overwhelmed, and some of whose forms, in building, some of theirs closely resemble, I cannot undertake to judge. But the architect of Salisbury seems to me not to have been unacquainted with the Roman, or even with the Grecian style. Whether then the bold project were originally his, or gained from some now unknown other, borrowing I think evidently both from the Grecian and Arabian, he exhibited, in his magnificent work, a style altogether new.

The object, hitherto failing, in buildings for the assemblage of multitudes, was to provide a sufficiently free space of floor, and ample daylight, with sufficient support for the roof, preserving everywhere proportions to satisfy the eye. The

Arabian pointed arch, however used with no good effect by his predecessors, he saw singularly adapted to his purpose. That form, if not with perfect propriety, is yet conveniently called an arch; its purpose and use being precisely those of an arch, though it is really not one, but a composition of two distinct curves; whence it may perhaps be called a compound arch. Its advantage, I have in a former letter observed, is, that it throws the weight of the superstructure upon the perpendicular support below, more directly and with less lateral pressure, than any simple arch; whence less bulk of pier or pillar is wanted, in proportion to the extent of the opening. The floor thus is less incumbered, and light less intercepted.

These great advantages for interior architecture being attained, the next matter was to devise a pillar or pier, such as might most advantageously carry this compound arch.

The term **PIER** is commonly used to denote a mass, generally quadrangular, of dimensions to bear the lateral pressure of an arch: **COLUMN** and **PILLAR** are terms indifferently applied to forms less massive; equal to the perpendicular pressure of what is called an intablature, but not qualified for the lateral pressure of the arch. There would, I think, be convenience in limiting the word **COLUMN** to the forms nearly of the Greek and Roman architecture, the proper supports of a horizontal intablature; and allowing a

more extended signification to the term *PILLAR*, so as to include all forms of supporting material, not regular column or proper pier. Writers not artists will use technical terms incorrectly or licentiously; and thence the difficulty of ascertaining the precise differences of the Greek, *κίων*, *σύλος*, *σήλη*, and of the Latin *columna*, *pila*, *eippus*. But I should be inclined to reckon *κίων* corresponding to *COLUMN*, *σύλος* to *PILLAR*, and *σήλη* to *PIER*; except that the term *PIER* is commonly used only for what supports a superincumbent portion of edifice, whereas *σήλη* we find perhaps more frequently signifying a massive monument, carrying an inscription, but supporting no superstructure, and for this we want a name.

The Grecian column, however, is not by its proportions alone unsuited to bear an arch, but by its form also. Its lines, converging as they rise, though elegantly contrasted with the horizontal lines of a superincumbent intablature, are at discord, not amounting to contrast, with the diverging lines of a rising arch. The builders of the middle ages therefore, using the arch, for the sake of the greater opening it allowed, in preference to the horizontal intablature, not injudiciously preferred, for its support, the perfect cylinder, commonly seen in our churches of the Saxon and Norman times. In fact they substituted

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a pier for a column; but, finding use would dispense with the protruding angles of the quadrangular form, they made it cylindrical, or sometimes octagonal.

The character of a pier the architect of Salisbury saw to his purpose; but the heaviness of the cylindrical form, faintly relieved in the octagonal, he was earnest to improve. With the magnificence of loftiness, which some buildings of the ages preceding him attained, he would combine the grace of lightness, in which they utterly failed. Advantageously then, for this purpose, he imagined the division of the office of pier between eight cylinders, four larger, and four smaller, combined so as to form one pillar. The plan of this complex pillar is a composition of two squares, cutting one another at angles of forty-five and one hundred and thirty-five degrees. The smaller of these squares has its sides and angles corresponding with those of the main walls of the building; and within these squares the four larger cylinders stand, in close array. At the angles of the larger squares, projecting before the middle of the sides of the smaller, stand the smaller cylinders; of course separated from each other, but each in contact with two of the larger cylinders. The complex form, thus produced, is well adapted to the office of a pier, well-contrived for the freest admission of light and passage, and, being bound at top by one

capital, and at bottom by one base, is, for the eye, both well harmonized and pleasingly varied.

From this form of the pillar has resulted the form of the soffit (do I use the term rightly?) of the arch above. The soffit of the Greek and Roman arch, rising from a quadrangular pier, has a flat face, parallel to that of the pier. The architects of the middle ages, to lighten both in appearance and in reality, their arch, which was to be supported not by a pier but by a pillar, judiciously gave the soffit a form corresponding to that of their pillar, semi-cylindrical, or semi-octagonal. The architect of Salisbury, adopting the same principle, gave the soffit of his arch still more variety, and with it more lightness, adapting the form to that of the capital of his pillar of eight cylinders, from which it issues. How far Arabian examples may have led to this I cannot tell.

Aware then of the advantage of a conductor for the eye, like the Grecian intabature, to the magnificence of length in his building, he placed a small horizontal cornice over his arches, for a topfinishing to his ground story, which was thus completed.

But the magnificence of height seems to have been rather his favorite effect. He gave to his building three distinct stories. Over that already described, of mixed character, Greek and Arabian

he placed a low story, in the manner of a metzonine, purely Arabic. Without windows, its dark recesses add a kind of mysterious solemnity to the general effect; and this is its only merit. Its forms are without elegance, it harmonizes ill with all about it, and it interrupts the lines that should give to the eye, with best advantage, the measure of the loftiness of the building.

Nevertheless the architect's judgement and ingenuity are shown in the amount of association managed between the uppermost story and the lowest, in spite of the disadvantageous interruption of the metzonine. As if this were only an intablature to his lower order, he has placed on it, immediately over every pillar, a kind of cylindrical pilaster, or rather a portion, as if a branch, of his complex pillar, finished at top with a corresponding capital. From this capital then, branches, still aspiring, carry the eye to the summit of the ceiling; where it finds invitation to descend on the opposite side. There the interruption of the metzonine again occurs: were that away the eye might measure, at one sweep, with the altitude, the latitudinal expansion of the building.

Quitting the nave, then, let us observe those pillars, simple cylinders, in that part called saint Mary's chapel. Except for the want of the Grecian grace of diminution in the rising shaft, they are, in form and proportion, Grecian columns: but that grace

has been properly denied to them, because they are put to the office, not of columns, but of piers. Look then at their bases and their capitals. The base is the Attic, coarsely executed indeed, but the character is clear: and do you not acknowledge, in the capital, that remarkable form the capital of the Grecian anta or pilaster? Howsoever the designer got that form, it has been, to my mind, judiciously chosen. If the Grecian Doric column was known to him, he might think its capital too simple for the situation; he might apprehend, for the Roman Doric, a deficiency in the powers of execution of his workmen.

These circumstances appear to me remarkable enough; yet I have still other things to observe of these singular pillars. You have seen sir Robert Ainslie's collection of views in the Levant, by Mayer. You have, I believe, in your library, the coloured prints from some of them, published by Bowyer. I wish you to look at that intitled *Fragments at Limisso, in Cyprus*. *Fragments of Grecian columns* appear there to have been put together by barbarian hands, to serve as piers for supporting pointed arches, of rude design and construction, with a superstructure over them. The idea of this heterogeneous mixture is, in saint Mary's chapel, harmonized. The base, the shaft, the capital, the arches, at Telmisso all at odds,

are, in saint Mary's chapel, all of congenial character, simply elegant.

But the architect of saint Mary's chapel has not stopped there. His singular pillars, (whether modern critics allow them to be included under the title Gothic I know not) have a very extraordinary appendage. The pillars of the nave of the church, we have observed, are compounded of four larger shafts and four smaller. These of saint Mary's chapel are themselves single cylinders; but, at some distance, a slender pillar, complete with its own capital and base, is so connected with each as to seem a kind of satellite to the larger and more efficacious supporter of the masonry above. Design here is so ingenious, forms and proportions so generally pleasing, decoration so well disposed, superfluous ornament so well avoided, and, with considerable intricacy of plan, so much simplicity strikes the eye, that, in a first and passing view, defect may pass unnoticed. But as soon as the judgement begins to work upon the matter received by the sight, which with diligent observers will be quickly, there will be found among the pleasing whole, that part at which offence will be taken; and disgust must arise. The ingenious designer surely has been over eager in emulation of some effects which he has admired in Arabian archi-

ture. Those quarterstaff pillars, so insulated, are of themselves too evidently unfit for stonework; the disproportion of the supporting to the supported forms is too gross; and the transverse bars of iron, which have been found necessary to steady those delicate Atlases, are a satire upon them beyond all power of words.

Nevertheless the interior of Salisbury cathedral altogether has sterling merit, enough to bear the freest criticism of parts. Indeed I do not know if there is a defect which does not indicate genius in the designer, wanting only that correction of judgement, hardly to be gained but from repeated experiment. And for saint Mary's chapel in particular, whether considered by the eye within, or seen in the long course of the magnificent approach to it from the western door of the cathedral, (perhaps I should rather say as it might be seen were the organ less unhappily an interruption) I think it a just object of the admiration it has of late years largely met with.

LETTER XVI.

*Perfection of the Ecclesiastical Architecture of the
Plantagenet Reigns.*

SALISBURY cathedral, as a specimen of a new style of architecture, would deserve admiration as a phenomenon of art in any age, but is more extraordinary as a production of the rude time which gave it birth; and yet a phenomenon perhaps greater, or of a more uncommon kind, followed. Without any perfection or any considerable advancement in other arts, the art of design in architecture did not stop at the high point to which the builder of Salisbury cathedral carried it. The defects and extravagances of that altogether admirable edifice, not likely to be corrected and chastened by the general taste of the age, were however corrected and chastened by succeeding architects. The designer of Salisbury was as the Æschylus, the designer of York, and Lincoln, and some other cathedrals, as the Sophocles and Euripides of ecclesiastical building. And it appears a singular phenomenon, that a good taste in architecture prevailed for centuries, while, in every other line, with little exception but for the unfollowed lustre of Chaucer's poetry, all was barbarous and truly Gothic.

This excellence of architecture began and ended nearly with the reigns of the Plantagenet family; a long period, during great part of which there was in England, through the wealth and circumstances of the church, extraordinary encouragement for the cultivation of the art. Accordingly the improvements upon the example, so advantageously given in Salisbury cathedral, were rapid. The clustered pillars there, elegant in their form and contrivance, are less satisfactory in their proportions: they hardly afford that evidence, which the eye of taste requires, to their sufficiency for their office of supporting the superstructure. The cornice of the lower story injures the effect of height, by a midway interruption. The metzantine shows no connexion with either the story below or the story above it. Following architects therefore gave greater solidity to their pillars; preserving lightness by varieties of swelling and channelling, through which an approach toward the effect of the Grecian fluting was obtained. The projection of the cornice of the lower story was so reduced that it hardly remained a cornice: the interruption for the measure of height thus was lessened, yet a line was left, advantageous for leading the eye to the length. Favor continued for the Arabian metzantine, with its dark recesses; but its forms were brought to better harmony with those about it, and interruption to the measure of height was obviated by placing the base of the upper order of pillars or pilasters immediately upon the

capital of the lower, so that the shaft shoots through the metzoline into the upper story, and connects them, for the eye, with the lower story and with one another. Of these early improvements Westminster abbey stands a magnificent example.

The nave of the Plantagenet cathedral, in its final perfection, more varied and decorated in its parts than in the first essay at Salisbury, yet simpler in general design, differed little from the Egyptian hall of Vitruvius but in the order of the architecture; the Corinthian column, with its intabature, being superseded by the clustered pillar, with its appropriate superstructure. The clustered pillar unites, in a great degree, the lightness of a column with the supporting power of a pier. In the character of a pier, it refuses the graceful diminution of the Grecian shaft in rising; and it requires the capital small and simple: for it is not intended that the eye should rest there (nothing meeting it, as in the Grecian orders, to conduct the length of the building) but, on the contrary it is invited, by the slender pilaster, rising immediately from the capital of the pillar, to continue its flight to the ceiling. There, still without interruption, it finds even invitation to direct its range variously, to return by its steps, to drop on the side opposite to that on which it rose, or to pursue the course of the vaulted ceiling itself among its amusing fretwork. In lowering the view, then, the varied perspective of the length of the building occurs; the ranges of lofty pillars, with light and shade.

diversified by their clustered shape, and by the alternacy of piers and windows; variety in the parts, everywhere combined with simplicity of general design. Altogether, where extensive shelter is wanted and sublime effect desired, this combination of variety with simplicity, of intricacy with intelligibility, of strength with lightness, of great loftiness with just proportions, produces an excellence hardly equalled in any other style of interior architecture.

L E T T E R XVII.

Defects of the Plantagenet Architecture.—The Plantagenet Style in small Buildings.

THE attention of the able designers who carried interior architecture, in vast edifices, to such perfection in the Plantagenet reigns, has evidently been far less required to exterior effect. The outside however of the building, whose inside we so admire, will demand some consideration.

The plan of the Plantagenet cathedral, a cross, has circumstances of advantage for the interior, which for the exterior operate in a contrary direction. The projections of the transept, cutting the magnificent length of the building in two, injure the lateral effect. The addition, in width, is far from compensating the failure of uninterrupted course for the eye, in measuring the length. The ailes, also, advantageous within, are highly disadvantageous, and in an analogous manner, without: they divide the magnificent loftiness of the building; the effect of the towering midway height, within most advantageously displayed, without is lost. In a lateral view, if near, the height of the ailes is the height of the edifice; for the nave is hidden by their projection. Buttresses then are added. These have as little dignity as

beauty; broken in rising, and bent away from the eye. Their effect on the body of the building is most injurious; frittering it in its length, frittering it in its elevation; they are as a kind of crooked crutches to a colossus. Flying buttresses, as they are called, have an elegance in their form, that may please the eye, examining them severally; and, in their construction, they have an ingenuity, the idea of which may amuse the fancy. And there rests their merit: they seem hardly right appendages of stone-work: props of cane for a giant, who ought to be able to stand by himself. Thus, in the lateral view of the cathedral, neither length nor height can be measured by the eye; all is fitter and flutter, and not beautiful even in the parts: all is in perfect contrast with the elegance of the grand simplicity within.

But, it is in the western front, the portal of ceremonious entrance, that dignity and richness are most required; and to this those able designers have not been inattentive. The western front has commonly a height which, spreading, would carry majesty. But, from the apex it drops rapidly. The strait line of the first descent, if there are not lateral towers, ceases at the eaves; the dropping is continued by the unequal steps of the buttresses, and the character of the shape, altogether, is that of a disjointed, ill-formed pyramid.

If there are lateral towers, the dignity, gained in lofty extension, is injured by division.

In the midst of whatever failures, however, one feature here is generally grand, and sometimes beautiful, the window. The great span of the compound arch; the accommodation of its lines to those of the roof, and the elegance of its variation from them; the unbroken height of the sides; and the well-imagined richness often of the fretwork, so engage the eye, that if, either through carelessness, or purposely, it looks no farther, it may go away satisfied that it has seen a fine thing.

I believe the most celebrated, and altogether the finest front of a Plantagenet cathedral is that of York minster. I admire, with others, the ingenuity of the design, and the elegance of the parts. The carved ornaments are, in themselves, beautiful. But has that flowery frontal any analogy with the majestic simplicity, the beautiful order, the just composition and proportion of parts, and the magnificent result of all, within? Is it an advantageous introduction? But has it even a just analogy in its own parts? There is grandeur in the vast cavity of the window. Is there anything else in the exterior, except greatness in the lump, that has any grandeur of character. The cathedral of Wells has, within, fine proportions and simple

elegance, no where perhaps exceeded; but the most expert lady's court dress fancier, when simplicity was least in fashion, having to adorn a lusty antiquated lady, would be puzzled to outdo the complicated flutter without. A very different style of design, with much of the Arabian character, is seen in that called Solomon's porch of Westminster abbey. Extraordinary ingenuity is exhibited there, and, in some of the parts, considerable beauty. The circular window, for its expanse, with its richness, may be called even magnificent. But has the whole any analogy with the interior? Is it not rather a flippant master of ceremonies for conducting to the majesty within?

Greatness, however, even without any grace, may engage admiration. A vast accumulation of ill-combined and even small parts may have an imposing effect. Bourke, if I remember right, gives some credit even to ugliness as a source of sublimity. I think however his taste would not have recommended ugliness as a source of any merit in architecture. But when a cathedral, that of Westminster, for instance, is seen from afar, towering over other buildings, lofty then in appearance as in reality, with all its little and ill-combined parts lost to the eye, or blended by distance and the interfering atmosphere, so as to make it one great whole, then it becomes, if not a

fine piece of architecture, yet a fine object in a landscape.

When the analogies of the Plantagenet and the Grecian style first struck me, it occurred as matter of wonder, that, so much as magnificence was the object of the Plantagenet architects, and so successfully as they attained sublime effect in the interior, no attempt appears ever to have been made by them to emulate, or at all to approach, the elegant majesty of the Grecian portico without. But, upon further observation and consideration, I am decidedly inclined to admire their forbearance: it is to my mind a confirming proof of extraordinary judiciousness. They saw their clustered pillar, and the compound arch arising out of it, adapted to the interior exclusively; to combination with the ceiling within, but not to any advantageous form of intablature, for a portico without. The pointed pinnacles, and curled ornaments of the senile luxury, the pampered dotage of that style, are miserable competitors with the majestic simplicity of the Grecian forms, which could bear the utmost richness of ornament, and still, for their great characteristic, maintain that simplicity.

But, as far as I can pursue observation on the Plantagenet buildings, in the long period of its better days, I still find occasion to admire. With the disadvantages, to me appearing inherent in

the Plantagenet style, which deny an advantageous exterior to the churches the most elegantly magnificent within, it marks extraordinary talent in the architects of those days that, for smaller buildings, where buttresses were unnecessary, and small breaks, and small ornaments and few, might suffice for variety and richness, they have sometimes attained considerable elegance. The little chapel on Wakefield bridge, in Yorkshire, is a justly celebrated example. I have seen also many church-towers of pleasing design; pleasing in the general form and general proportions; pleasing in the parts, (for even buttresses, elsewhere offensive crutches, are there proper limbs) pleasing even in the ornaments, and in the distribution of the ornaments. Peaked tops to the openings, doors, and windows, I must however own, are to my mind less becoming a tower. The pointed arch belongs to the clustered pillar. Yet it may be said, perhaps with some reason, that, where the pointed arcade, with its clustered pillars, forms the great feature of the style of architecture, that commanding feature will require analogous forms throughout. Thus peaked-topped openings in church-towers may have at least their apology. But I think habit only can bring the eye to be satisfied with the intrusion of the peaked arch in buildings otherwise wholly rectangular.

The church-tower however belongs in some

degree to another style of architecture, the military; and indeed, I imagine, had its origin in military purpose. I shall therefore quit it here to add a very few words only on some other kinds of buildings, more or less partaking of the ecclesiastical character. Those monumental edifices, which have their name from the cross which their summits bore, in many instances mark no common talent in the designer, and especially those erected by Edward the first, in honor of his deceased queen. For ingenious invention, elegance of general form, proportion of parts, beauty of parts, no exterior, of the ornamental kind, in the architecture now in England called Gothic, can compare with them. I can by no means equally admire the richly-wrought shrine; heavy in its general form; beautiful only in its parts. But the aspiring shape of the cross, between pyramid and obelisk, and the very ingenious contrivance of the gradual reduction of breadth in gaining elevation, assist the light elegance of its parts, to give it singularly a character of airy gracefulness. Not that, after all, it can bear a comparison with the very different elegance of the Grecian monumental buildings. 'Simplex munditiis,' is not its description: the Plantagenet architecture originated in large works, with interior effect the object; and its proper characteristic is sublimity. Of this the long perspective of the

Cloister partakes; but in the interior of the lofty Cathedral alone it has its full display.

L E T T E R XVIII.

Old English Military and Domestic Architecture.

THE ecclesiastical architecture of the Plantagenet era is a wide subject, and in its way a great one. But if I have tolerably explained my idea of its principles, you will allow me now to proceed to a very different kind, the MILITARY; with which, in that era, another was much connected, the DOMESTIC, and especially the highest order of the domestic, the PALATIAL. Through the deficiency of domestic security, which governments, in all those called the middle ages, could afford, the domestic residences of the wealthy, but especially of sovereigns, were fortified; even within walled towns, they were more or less separate fortresses; and thence the term CASTLE, originally describing only a military fortified post, became the distinguishing name, more particularly on the continent, for the residence of a family of high rank. In England, before the Norman reign, the houses of the greatest appear to have been mostly of wood, and their security depended principally upon the multitude of retainers.

Some few royal castles, Corfe in Dorsetshire, and possibly others, had been raised under the Saxon kings : but the more familiar use of stone in building, and the extension of castellan architecture, and the establishment of any English character of that architecture, appear to have followed the Norman conquest.

In Italy, Adrian's mausoleum at Rome, and the tomb of Cæcilia Metella, on the Appian way, were found, by the barbarian conquerors of that luxurious country, adapted to the purpose of fortresses, beyond anything they were able to build; so the former remains to this day the citadel of Rome, and the other in its present solitude, instead of its original elegant summit, bears the ruins of the rude battlements of a barbarian baron. Thus the unlettered and artless warriors of those times converted to the purpose of fortresses, either for public or domestic use, edifices raised by the better art of former ages, with far other views. When they found, ready to their hands, such as might serve immediate need, they used them. If it became necessary to build, they imitated, as with workmen then to be found, they best could, the military art of more inlightened ages.

Thus, in England also, the castellan architecture, both that of the early Norman reigns, and what little may have been before raised under the

Saxon princes, was, equally with the ecclesiastical, corrupt Roman; being what may most properly be called Gothic, and, on the continent, continues to hold that name. In some of the buildings now generally attributed to that era, as Pevensea castle in Sussex, and Bamborough in Northumberland, is found an excellence, both of design and workmanship, which has excited question whether they were not remaining from the Roman times. That part, indeed, of Pevensea which is allowed Roman, is far more barbarous than what is attributed to Saxon or Norman times, possibly the work of builders from Constantinople.

When that extraordinary phenomenon of the arts, the new ecclesiastical architecture, was brought forward, it did not occasion immediately any alteration in the castellan style, to which indeed it was little adapted. But every castle had its chapel, and for this portion of the building the new style soon obtained favor.

Already that style had reached its first, and perhaps altogether its highest perfection, when the first Edward, having subdued Wales, proposed to use his conquest, not as a barbarian, but as a great Christian prince, for the benefit, not more of the conquerors, than of the turbulent, divided, and lawless people whom he had reduced to a salutary submission. Civilization and public and

private order being his objects, in building fortresses; for maintaining his conquest, he looked far beyond the military purpose; he would have palaces in which he might himself not only reside conveniently, but hold his court splendidly; and not only communicate with his new people, but, after the manner of the age, assemble his great council or parliament; not of his new principality alone; but, if need should be, of his whole kingdom.

Of the extraordinary buildings; which, in the prosecution of these noble designs, he raised, the castles of Carnarvon and Conway, though both in ruins, afford still large matter for the curious after design in architecture, as well as for the curious after history and antiquities. They have been intended, as the plans evince, for different purposes, and designed, as the differences in style show, by different architects; and those differences are the more remarkable, as they were built almost at the same time. Carnarvon castle has been proposed as the palace of the capital of North Wales; or, from its extent and magnificence, it might be supposed of the whole kingdom, perhaps with a view even to the inclusion of Ireland. The site of Conway castle, admirably selected as for a fortress, has evidently also recommended itself, to the taste of the royal builder, by the superior beauties of landscape around: it has

been proposed as a pleasant residence; so far as residence could be pleasant, where precaution, such as its plan and locality indicate, was required for personal security.

The points in which the castles of Carnarvon and Conway agree, deserve notice, as well as those in which they differ. The architects of both evidently felt difficulty from the state of architecture in their age. Already, as I have observed, the new style of ecclesiastical building had been carried to great excellence. But this was little fitted for any other kind of edifice; and especially its ornamental members, and best effects, were unsuitable for fortresses. Large openings, such as cathedral windows, except in principal gateways, could not be allowed. The pillar, which is as the mother of the pointed arch, could hardly be introduced. For the various openings required, whether in the military or in the domestic part of the edifice, the pointed arch, as these able architects saw, was generally needless, often inconvenient, always of incongruous appearance. In the walls for military defence, therefore, they followed the style of building which had prevailed for the purpose, throughout Europe, from the Roman times; the imitation having been more or less perfect, nearly in proportion to the knowledge and skill of the builders. Their windows, for security, were very narrow without.

For the better diffusion of light through the massive walls, they were splayed at top, at bottom, and laterally, to a much greater width and height within. One flat stone formed the lintel, over the narrow exterior opening; but the soffit, increasing in height, as well as in expansion, toward the interior, was arched; not, in the complex way, with a point, but, as better sense required, in a simple segment of a circle. So wherever common sense would revolt at the pointed arch, wherever use clearly required another form, as in the breasts of chimneys, of which numerous examples remain, no deference for any trick of the fashion of the day misled those men. For the vast fireplaces only of their halls and kitchens, too wide for the convenient application of a single stone, they recurred to the pointed arch.

For effect for the eye, the required height for castle walls, and the projections, gave considerable advantages; but the architect's best opportunity was in gateways. There the flat lintel would ill serve; an arch of some kind was necessary; and it is remarkable that the southern gate of Carnarvon castle, which appears to have been the great military entrance, is arched in simple semi-circle.

But the puzzle for these judicious designers has not been for the military part of their plan. For this their knowledge of the works of ages before

them, would serve; nor would practice in the kind of work so fail in their workmen as to make difficulty for the execution. But it was otherwise for the palatial part of their buildings. Neither themselves, probably, nor any then in Europe, had been instructed in the Vitruvian style, or in any style of any richness and elegance that would harmonize with the military part of their edifices; nor, if they could have designed and applied the Grecian or Roman orders, would workmen have been found to execute them. The new ecclesiastical was the only ornamental architecture of the day. In our times the great difficulty, for those who have desired to revive that style, is the want of habit in it among workmen. This was not felt then; for the habit of workmen was formed by practice in that style exclusively. How far indeed it was of choice that the architects of Carnarvon and Conway mixed the ecclesiastical style of their day with the military, we cannot know; but that it was under no small pressure of necessity seems obvious: they had learnt to design ornamentally only in that way; their workmen were accustomed to execute ornamental building only in that way; and the public favor was engaged to that style, there being no other of which such splendid and elegant examples, or indeed examples of any splendor and elegance, were before the public eye.

I cannot but wonder at the fancy of some lovers of the picturesk, whose taste I otherwise respect, that the architects of those times were careless of unity. Except where difference of style and manner have arisen, during the intervention of ages between different parts of a building, I do not recollect an instance of that architecture, in which unity of design is not conspicuous; and, considering the difficulty which the ingenious of these times have found to detect any rule by which those architects were guided, I think I may add surprizing. In my mind the great excellence they attained especially resulted from a scrupulous, though liberal, adherence to that golden rule of design, which it was Aristotle's purpose to illustrate from Homer, Let there be a whole, harmonized through all its parts.

My opinion therefore, I will own, is that necessity, rather than choice, led the designers of Carnarvon and Conway to the incongruous mixture of the ecclesiastical architecture of their day with the military. The great military gateway of Carnarvon castle, as I have observed, has a semi-circular arch, without ornament. Decoration was not there wanted; a frowning grandeur was more beseeing. But the portal of ceremonious entrance, the palatial gateway, standing, like the celebrated propylæa of Athens, within strong defences, did not require consideration of means

for resisting attack, to the exclusion of all other considerations but, a more engaging kind of majesty. How then was this to be obtained? being wanted also in haste; for the shortness of the time, said to have been employed in raising these vast edifices, is among their wonders. A style already familiar, and which workmen were readily to be found capable of executing, the ecclesiastical, then and now admired, was that alone to which they could easily resort. Hence it has been, I suppose, that the great gateway of the palatial part of Carnarvon castle, toward the outer courts, has the pointed arch, and the ordinary embellishments of the ecclesiastical architecture.

The royal apartments of Carnarvon are more dilapidated than those of Conway; and the better preservation of these is the more fortunate, as Conway has evidently been built, as I before observed, with a view to pleasant residence; whence, as may yet I think also be seen, the architecture of the royal apartments has been more studied. They have been designed in the richest style of ecclesiastical building, and executed, no doubt, by the best workmen then to be procured for royal pay. What is called the queen's oriel is remarkable for the fancy, luxuriance and elegance of the workmanship. Nor is the contrivance of the little terraced garden below, con-

sidering the history of the times, a matter of small curiosity; where, though all the surrounding country were hostile, fresh air might be safely enjoyed; and the commanding view of the singularly beautiful landscape around, from both that little garden and the bow-window of the oriel, is so managed as to leave no doubt of the purpose.

The opportunity which has been ably used to have this little front, containing the private apartments, not only so pleasantly situated, but so strongly by nature, on a rock whose precipitous sides sink into the river, that hardly an arrow's shot could disturb the enjoyment even of the little terraced garden which has been managed before it, is not wholly beyond the architect's purpose to observe. But more for our immediate object is the style of this front of the private apartments of this palace of the first Edward. It more resembles a house that Palladio might have designed, than the things now built in what is called the Gothic style. The character indeed of the ecclesiastical architecture, alone seen within, could not be wholly concealed without. But the reserve with which it is shown is striking. Whether the architect was or was not acquainted with the words of Horace's interdiction of the extravagances of fancy, in his limitation of the

‘*Quidlibet audendi potestas,*’ the spirit of it was largely impressed on his mind:

‘*Sed non ut placidis coeant immitia, non ut
Serpentes avibus gementur, tigribus agni.*’

Those who would build houses in imitation of castles, or who would convert real old castles, generally better left mere ornaments of landscape, would do well to study Conway.

The Castellan style, for exterior architecture, has great advantages over the Ecclesiastical. The lofty round tower, rising, like the Grecian column, in one uninterrupted line to its capital, the machicolated and battlemented parapet, is a noble object. Two such towers, at the distance convenient for a gateway between them, with an arch of height nearly to reach the parapet, that arch inscribed in a parallelogram, and other arches and parallelograms below and within it, form a combination of imposing grandeur. It were indeed difficult to design such a tower, or such a combination, so as not to have a great effect. The unbroken length of curtain, then, from tower to tower in the circuit of the walls, and their height, and the towers themselves, projected externally always, upward often, and the shades thrown by these are all advantageous, for sublimity rather than for beauty, yet for what may be called an elegant grandeur. The small

openings, commonly seen in castles, are but as varieties in the surface ; not materially interrupting the breadth, whether in light or in shadow. I know not that any thing of this kind has been even proposed in modern buildings called Gothic : the comforts required in a modern mansion, with the generally necessary limitation of expence, too much forbid. In ancient castles converted to modern dwellings, it has been best retained, and, as far as I have had opportunity to see, I think retained only, at Warwick and Alnwick.

LETTER IX.

English Military and Domestic Architecture after Edward the First.—Plantagenet Ecclesiastical Architecture how far properly English.

FROM what I have had means to observe, I should suppose the remains of Edward the first's castles to be the best existing examples of the best architecture, both military and domestic, of his age. Afterward the ecclesiastical, as might be expected, more and more mixed itself with both. The great military entrance of Lancaster castle, of grandeur such as much to have struck the very able architect of late years employed upon the building, yet very inferior to Carnarvon, has the pointed arch. But, throughout that magnificent edifice, all the smaller openings had the horizontal lintel.

It appears however that, after a security for person and property, little known in those ages on the continent of Europe, was established for the realm of England, by the excellent policy of that great prince Henry the Second, the military style of domestic architecture being no longer equally wanted, castles were built only, or almost only, where a foreign enemy was to be apprehended; on the borders of Scotland and Wales, and on some parts of the southern coast, liable to de-

scent of transmarine foes. Fine timber abounded in most parts of the country, and over-abounded in many, there being no market for it. Stone advantageous for building, was, in many parts not found, and in few was equally ready for use as the timber : the art of brickmaking was out of practice, if not out of knowledge. The houses therefore, even of the wealthiest, were mostly of timber ; some of them of great magnificence. In these the ecclesiastical style of the day universally prevailed. The chapel, of course, was of the ecclesiastical character ; even the great hall bore some resemblance to a church ; and the rest of the house to a monastery : or rather the whole resembled a monastery, with its church and refectory, the chambers being little better than monastic cells. If, in either the monastery, or the family dwelling, anything, beyond the chapel and the eating-hall, had any architectonic merit, it was the kitchen. This, in some larger monasteries, and also in some larger family mansions, was in a peculiar style of building ; of which the octagonal kitchen of Glastonbury abbey may be called even a magnificent example.

Where our ecclesiastical architecture of the Plantagenet reigns originated has been much in question. Its wide differences from the Saracenic, under which there was once a disposition to class it, has, of later times, been largely shown and

admitted. Some have been desirous of claiming it as an English invention. Against this the examples, of great excellence, several in France, some in Germany, one in Portugal, have been alledged. Thus far however I think is indisputable, that it is so far peculiarly English, as England is the only country throughout which it has been the reigning style, for centuries, from farthest south to farthest north, and from farthest east to farthest west. Beyond England, northward, it gained vogue in the south of Scotland, westward in the east of Ireland, southward in the north of France. I know not by whom the fine cathedrals of Amiens and Orleans, and that half finished at Auxerre, or the elegant church of saint Owen at Rouen, were built. The cathedral of Rheims, more celebrated than all, I never saw, nor can venture, from any representation that has fallen in my way, to speak of it critically. The architect of the magnificent church of the convent of Batalha in Portugal is said to have been of the sister British realm, now united, Ireland. Eastward of France the magnificent unfinished cathedral of Cologn is the only building I recollect to have seen, that has any clear title to association in the same class of style. At Naples, an inferior building of the kind, but completely bearing the character, has been the work of the Norman conquerors of that country. Whether anything of it

remains from them in Sicily, I never heard. England certainly has been the focus of that architecture. In England we trace the earliest display of its excellence at Salisbury: only in England its vigor following for centuries, and extending over the whole country; York north, and Winchester south, Ely east, and Wells west, may suffice for mention: in England only is known anything like that last display of its excellence, not less extraordinary than the first, in King's college chapel at Cambridge: in England only the complete progress remains evident, from its earliest excellence to its senile luxury and approaching dotage, seen especially in Henry the seventh's chapel at Westminster; and in England only the full exhibition of its metempsychosis, in the transition to the restored Roman architecture, through the crude, half-formed style of Elizabeth and the first James's reigns.

L E T T E R XX.

Revival of Roman Architecture.—Introduction of revived Roman Architecture into England by Inigo Jones.

ROME and Florence possessed no valuable style of architecture, when in the fifteenth century, literature and science, rising there with extraordinary vigor, from the graves in which they had lain for ages, were quickly attended by all the arts. Then, as the ancient statues, eagerly sought under the soil, so the ruins of ancient buildings, yet standing on it, or only half buried, became objects of just admiration; and the obscure precepts of the great Roman teacher of architecture, Vitruvius, saved among the wreck of ancient letters, were diligently studied. So Bramante, and Michael Angelo, and Palladio, and many others, formed their taste. The foundations of that prodigious building, saint Peter's church at Rome, were laid, and Roman architecture revived rapidly, in great splendor.

At this time the example of Rome, highly respected throughout Europe, was, for the church, decisive. But the schism which quickly arose, adding vigor to literature in some branches, operated, in those countries which revolted against the corruptions of the Roman supremacy, as a check upon the fine arts, and especially architecture.

The improvements of Italy had begun soon to make their way into England. Some silver plate of so early a date as Henry the seventh's reign, shows the taste which the Italians distinguish by the title of cinquecento. But as, in this world, great benefits rarely come unattended with some evil, and equally great evils not without some compensating good, so, at the reformation, intercourse with Rome becoming a political crime, that advantageous migration of improved arts from Italy was suddenly checked; and, with a short interval only and turbulent, during Mary's reign, the interdiction continued near a century.

Meanwhile, however, the religious and political enmities did not operate to the total prevention of communication on arts and sciences. In Edward the sixth's reign the Roman orders of architecture were revived in London, in the magnificent residence built by the protector Somerset in the Strand. But unhappily the style of his building altogether was too defective to have or to deserve public favor. A manner of applying the columns of the Roman architecture advantageously, in private mansions, had not then been imagined, even in Italy. A style therefore, recommended by the genius of Holbein, a very imperfect improvement of the common Gothic of the continent, was no unsuccessful competitor with Somerset's imperfect Roman, for succession to the Planta-

genet style; which the inlightened minds of the times saw, with all its merits for church-building, little accommodated to the general objects of civil and domestic architecture. The result, amid the prejudice against everything Roman, and in the failure of an architect of observation and talent to command the public taste in a good course, was a style of building most barbarous, during the two long reigns of Elizabeth and James the first; while more very large private mansions were built, than in any equal period of our history. Of public edifices, in that style, the schools at Oxford are an eminent, and fortunately, of any considerable magnitude, I believe, a singular example.

Meanwhile saint Peter's at Rome, though a model too vast for general purposes, yet, with all its imperfections of general design, after several alterations of the original plan, in the course of more than a century while it was building, exhibited altogether a most valuable school for the taste of Europe, then emerging from, not absolute barbarism, yet a semibarbarism. But Palladio seems to have been the first who, with talent, had opportunity, to show, in any considerable extent, how the admirable style of the ruined buildings of old Rome might be most advantageously applied to modern civil and domestic purposes.

When the Roman architecture was to be restored, the able men (and they were many, who undertook to gather its rules) had before them two different sources; the preserved remains of Roman building, and the didactic book of the Roman architect Vitruvius; both highly valuable, each highly assisting to the other, and yet in various instances discordant, and both together abounding with uncertainties and difficulties. Vitruvius lived with Horace and Virgil and Livy, in the best days of the Roman style, in every line, when taste was fresh from Greece; and he followed mostly Grecian writers. The buildings, furnishing example, were of different ages; and, among the most splendid, were found considerable differences, from Vitruvius, and from one another. But Vitruvius, writing for his own times, and using the technical terms then familiar, but wanting explanation for times when they would cease to be in common use, his work abounds with phrases, the exact value of which is no longer to be clearly ascertained. Many eminent architects therefore, in the early days of the revival of the art, Palladio, Serlio, Vignola, Scamozzi, Alberti, and others publishing their ideas on the subject, differed greatly, even about the most important proportions of the orders; and Bramante and Michael Angelo, who preceded them, and Bernini and others who followed, have shown, in their works,

still other differences; all, however, conforming to principles of ancient Roman design, and adapting them generally with taste and judgment.

By these able men beautiful edifices were raised in various parts of Italy; while the style, mixed of corrupt Plantagenet architecture and abortive Roman, as barbarous, as truly Gothic as the coarsest Saxon or Norman, prevailed in England. But, when classical learning flourished, when Homer and Sophocles, and Virgil and Horace were extensively read, when Shakespear had written, and Milton was writing, such a style could not hold public favor. An architect of genius only was wanting to lead the public taste at once to better things, and such a man arose in Inigo Jones.

This elegant designer began his course in the ill-mingled school of James the first's time. His talents appear to have gained him early fame; and saint John's college at Oxford, and Sherborne-house in Gloucestershire, and some others, defective as the style is, show ideas above his masters. But, fortunately, the way to Italy was no longer shut, as it had been. A disposition in the crown toward the Roman church, threatening to the civil interests, as well as the established religion of the country, favored the advancement of the fine arts. Jones, going to Italy, presently gave his former ideas

of design to the winds. Studying in the schools already formed there, and diligently observing what was best of Roman antiquity remaining, he returned to England fraught with conceptions, for which he found the public mind fortunately prepared; and, under his lead, the general architectonic taste reverted nearly to what it had been, in the time of the Cæsars. Then every intervening style, the later Roman, the Saxon and Norman, the best of what arose under the Plantagenet reigns, and that worst, which followed under Elizabeth and James, were condemned together, under one general term of reproach, *GOTHIC*.

Jones appears to have had a finer feeling for simple elegance, and simple grandeur, than any, moderns, or perhaps even ancients, from whose works he gained his taste. He delighted in powerful effects of light and shade, produced by simple combinations of well-proportioned forms, and, in that kind of architectonic beauty, which, in his cotemporary poet's phrase,

Appears, when unadorn'd, adorn'd the most.

His design of Covent-garden square, with its church, is an eminent example of this; which, no doubt, would have been more perfect, had the existing relics of the best early Grecian architecture been known to him. His southern front of Somerset-house, however differing in little matters

of form, was, in taste, purely Attic. Its destruction is ill compensated by any architectonic merit in the expensive building by which it has been superseded; where, in the northern front especially, small and highly wrought ornaments (elegant, be it admitted, if in fit place) have been intruded, far more to the architect's benefit, in his per-centage, than to any good effect in the building; which, in incongruous situation, stands, like an athletic courtier, in superb and delicate attire, waiting, among a dirty crowd, in a dirty street, distressed for want of his coach.

L E T T E R XXI.

Roman Architecture in England.—Wren.—Saint Paul's Cathedral.

I REMEMBER it the remark of a very acute critic, at Rome, of very extensive observation, and long experience, that, to lead the public taste from right to wrong requires a superiority of talent; and that, accordingly, they were three very able men, who overbore, in Italy, the fine taste introduced by the Medicis, with their Michael Angelos and Raphaels. You will probably be aware that he adverted to Pietro da Cortona for painting, Bernini for statuary, and Borromini for architecture. Possibly also you may remember the story told of Bernini, returning, in elderhood, from France to Rome, with a very considerable fortune. Curious to look around the works he had executed in his early days, he expressed great delight at the view of his statue of saint Biblicua; gratified with assurance, which his eyes gave to his now mature judgement, that he had ever done any thing so truly good, and deserving to earn him fame with posterity; adding however, "But if I had always wrought in this style, I should have remained a beggar."

Already, in Italy, the fine taste of the Medici age had given way to the genius of fortune-hunting

innovators, when sir Christopher Wren went to study there. His judgement was too good to allow him to adopt all the extravagances of Borromini's style. He applied himself with devotion to the earlier and better models, and especially to that of saint Peter's church; but he has been evidently unable wholly to avoid, whether with or against his own inclination, the vicious fashion of the time.

The great fortune, which fell to Wren, to be employed in design and construction, for repairing the ravages of the great fire of London, has hardly fallen to any other architect, nor may again, throughout the world, in many centuries. His one great work, saint Paul's church, alone would suffice to place him among the first of Fortune's favorites in his line. That great and splendid building, the cathedral of our metropolis, has I know been largely condemned by some eminent critics; while others, admitting considerable faults, have held it altogether in high estimation. Whether any finished exemplar of his favorite design for that magnificent building exists (for you know that executed was not his favorite) I cannot tell; but the very rough sketch, among his works preserved in the library of All-Souls College at Oxford, shows, for the exterior, so much more simplicity with more grandeur, that it seems fair to suppose the flutter, too common in

his exterior architecture, and especially in saint Paul's church, was introduced rather in unavoidable compliance with the fancy of the times, than in pursuance of the dictates of his own taste.

An analytical criticism of that certainly magnificent piece of architecture, ably showing apart its virtues and its vices, could not but be of high value for students of the art. For me to undertake it would be, in the phrase of the day, too dashing a thing; nor does our purpose require so much: but some observations occur, which, I think, it does require, and which therefore, at all venture, I will proceed to give.

Far below saint Peter's at Rome in magnitude, saint Paul's is however certainly, in magnificence altogether, the second edifice of modern Europe; and its western portico, I shall not scruple to avow, limiting the comparison to modern works, has always struck me as the finest piece of exterior architecture I ever saw: I have only hesitated at the southern front of the Louvre at Paris. This splendid portico, nevertheless, I know, has, among the critics, those who condemn it for its double story; colonnade mounted on colonnade: on what good principle however, I am far from completely aware. Great authorities, ancient and modern, in its favor, are too well known to need citing. Such I am always glad to find, yet I would not wholly rest on them. It appears to me that, to

gain a required height, and avoid an offensive massiveness in building, the placing of a colonnade on a colonnade is a good resource. The column, with its intablature, seems no improper pedestal for another column, in just proportion smaller. A basement, simple as that which bears aloft so advantageously the colonnade of the Louvre, would, most clearly, not have suited the west front of saint Paul's. That it has been well done to set the composite order upon the Corinthian, to crown all with such a massive weight of pediment, so different from the Grecian proportions, or to distract the eye, wishing to contemplate the sober magnificence of the portico itself, whence the transition is ready to the grandeur of the dome above, by intruding the complex ingenuity of the various forms and decorations extended laterally, I will not say. Nevertheless it may be due to Wren, referring again to his first and favorite design, and perhaps it may be due also to the art, to observe, that, in that design, he proposed only one order of columns; and with it he proposed a far simpler extension of the building on each side.

The lateral porticoes, uncommon, by their semicircular plan, have, I know, their admirers, among those who admire little else in the building. I am myself disposed to be pleased with them, but not to give them unbalanced praise. The

circular form, with its magnificence and its beauties, has always obvious and considerable disadvantages. The curved wall does not refuse, we know, the admission of arches; but we know there cannot be perfect accordance of all their lines, as in the rectilinear wall. The same unfitness holds for the application of columns. Bernini enough felt this, when he had resolved to give curvature to a part of his magnificent colonnade, leading to saint Peter's church at Rome. Whether, with all the magnificence of the general effect of that colonnade, his resource for adapting four rows of columns to one curvature obviates all objection, I would leave to others to decide. But it may with clear safety be asserted, that the larger the diameter of the circle, in proportion to the width of the arch, or the diameter of the column, the readier and the nearer to completeness will be their association. The circuit of the dome of saint Paul's is large in proportion to the diameter of the columns surrounding its base; whence they coalesce in it intimately, and the result is, without drawback, pleasing. But the semicircle of the porticoes, of the northern and southern entrances, is of very small radius, in proportion to the diameter and height of the columns; which therefore occupy so few points of the curve, that they do not of themselves give the idea of circular form; they rather indicate an

octagon. The eye must mount to the intabature, or sink to the steps, to learn that the circular form is intended. The octagon indeed is a good form generally, but surely would not suit there; and the indecision for the eye is of itself objectionable. If I was to give a rule of measure for the arrangement of pillars in circular form, it should be by reference to the Sibyl's temple at Tivoli. That little building has been universally admired. I think the placing of columns in any circle, or segment of a circle, of smaller radius in proportion to the diameter of the columns, must be at best hazardous.

Not then to engage in farther criticism of the exterior of saint Paul's, though abounding in matter, I will proceed to the interior. For examination of this it may be fittest to enter by the great portico, the great entrance of ceremony, presenting at once a perspective of the whole interior length, only obstructed, as usual in our cathedrals, by the awkward midway intrusion of the organ. Was that entrance such as is common in our churches, or even such as that of the present Somerset-house, we should say, I think, on first view, that the building within was fine: the general effect would be rather satisfactory: the parts are elegant, the proportions just, the combinations ingenious. But introduced by that

magnificent portico, with expectation highly raised, in approaching, by the effect of the dome, seen over that portico, the first effect within is, I must own, sadly disappointing. Not only the magnificence of the portico, but the flowery overdressing of all the rest of the exterior, tends to inhanse the disappointment within. As we proceed, and the interior of the dome opens, there, indeed, we gain very considerable amends: there we find effect of united grandeur and beauty, not elsewhere to be seen. But we go on, and we return, and though we see beautiful forms, yet in the dome only we see combination to fill and satisfy the eye.

Returned to the western entrance, let us again look at the perspective. Even there is gained a glance into the dome, which assists the effect. Why then is the general result less sublime than in some of our Plantagenet cathedrals, of inferior dimensions? In considering this it will presently occur to observation, that the first portion of the nave is wider than all the rest of the long vista. It is very ingenious combination, well deserving the attention of the student in architecture, by which this has been managed. But if the object has been to increase the grandeur of the effect by a sort of imposition upon the eye, proposing that it should measure width by the space

immediately about it, and then be deceived into the imagination of length in the vista beyond, greater than would in appearance result, were the greater breadth continued, it is surely not attained. The architects of the Plantagenet reigns insured grandeur by a persevering adherence to the simplicity of plan of their predecessors, the designers of the corrupt Roman or proper Gothic architecture. The Greek basilicon was the prototype, which they improved, in some respects, by devising forms the most effectual to obviate interruption for the eye in the elevation, preserving still the striking effect of a lengthened vista.

The glance into the dome of saint Paul's, engaging the eye even at the western entrance, leads it of course to look at the lofty vault overhead. What ingenuity is there, and what elegance! and both how wasted, and far more than wasted! Beautiful forms of domelets, ill-intruded, break that continuity of the vault, the careful preservation of which is a principal source of the grandeur observable among the Plantagenet buildings. Immediately against the opening of the dome is a greater interruption; a drop, from the vault, as of a curtain. It cuts things into two, whose intimate union should have been especially studied. The arch, where that drop occurs, is itself magnificent, and its decoration most advantageous. Could it have been difficult,

for a man of Wren's ingenuity, to have managed a continuity of that grand arch, with its advantageous decoration, the beginning of his vault, to be continued, unbroken; denying intrusion to little things, however beautiful, which are not of adverse character, and by their mere interruption adverse? Unity, the advantageous principle of the Plantagenet architects, as it had been of the Grecian, being so maintained, I know not whether the vault might not have equalled in grandeur, as it would have excelled in beauty, anything that the Plantagenet buildings can show.

Wren was well acquainted with the Plantagenet architecture: he had had occasion to examine, with taste to admire, and candor to praise it. His report of his survey of Salisbury cathedral remains, and his eulogy of King's college chapel at Cambridge is celebrated. But, even gathering only from what is observable in saint Paul's church, I should have inclined to believe that he had observed and felt the excellencies of the Plantagenet style; though the example of the Italian architects, and the favor of his age for their taste, led him to give into the flutter of their manner, and to view, with more than due respect, the fantastic of the Saracenic, with which it is considerably congenial. The combination of arches, supporting the dome of saint Paul's, is singularly ingenious; it is also magnificent; and it is surely moreover

beautiful : but it is of too studied an ingenuity ; too much adapted to excite wonder, rather than at once to satisfy the eye. The upper arches, the immediate supports of the dome, elegant and grand, separately considered, seem flying in the air. So wanting support themselves, how can they support the vast superstructure of the dome ? Such appears to me the question immediately occurring. When the combination has been maturely observed and considered, that question is resolved to the mind ; but amends are not thus made to the eye. Occasion should not be so given for question. If the architect would give beauty its full effect he should not make us start : if he would impress the sublime, he should not involve it in riddle.

It has been very generally observed of saint Peter's church at Rome, that the effect, both within and without, is not correspondent to the magnitude of the building. In apology for this it has been said, I know, by very informed and very ingenious men, that the perfection of the proportions deceives the eye for the magnitude of the parts. I must own, acknowledging some degree of truth in the observation, I never could be so quite satisfied. It should be the business, I reckon, of an able architect, to make a small building look like a large one, but not to bring a

a great one to meet the eye with the appearance of a small one.

The question then occurred, What are just proportions? and, upon further consideration, another suggested itself, Has not this some analogy with the question, Where is the north? to which it is answered,

——— At York 'tis on the Tweed;
 In Scotland at the Orcades; and there
 At Nova Zembla, or the Lord knows where.

How does this apply? I will endeavour to show by familiar examples. A square, I think you will allow, is one among good proportions for rooms in a family house. But it is especially good for those of smaller dimensions: for rooms not exceeding twenty feet, either way, I suppose it the best of any of those called harmonic. But the great hall at Wentworth house in Yorkshire, if I remember right, is sixty feet square. It was not to me a pleasant proportion, though fitter, I think, for an entrance-hall than for any other room. But divide the square, and join the two halves lengthwise, making a room of a hundred and twenty feet by thirty, and you have thus a magnificent gallery, which all will admire. On the other hand, take those dimensions within which the square is a perfectly suitable form; twenty, twenty-five, or even thirty feet; divide it, in the same way, and in the same way join the divided

portions, so as to produce rooms twenty by ten, twenty-five by twelve and a half, or even thirty by fifteen, and you have I think surely that which none will approve.

The parts of saint Peter's church, then, I admit, are admirably proportioned to one another, so far that, vast as they are, nothing appears monstrous; even the figure of a child representing a cherub, six feet high, though very near, does not strike the eye as extravagantly large. But that, may I be bold to say it, I reckon a fault in the arrangement. The figure of a child six feet high, near the point of vision, ought to look gigantic. In the largest Plantagenet cathedral it would look so, almost equally as in the smallest room. How happens this? I will endeavour to say.

The vast length of the nave of saint Peter's church is divided between, I think, only five arches. These arches, in exterior building, the unchecked ray of the sun being contrasted with strong shade, might have a magnificent effect; but it would be of a gloomy character. In the interior it is otherwise: for there the light, entering, nearly equally, through windows on each side, is so diffused that there can be no strong contrast; and the eye wanders over the void of the arch, and across the space of the pier to the next arch, and so on, meeting with as little to direct as to interrupt its course, or to decide

either the measure or number of its steps. You have seen the church of saint Paul without the walls at Rome. How different the effect of its colonnades! There the eye, directing its flight along the nave, gathers the magnificence of length from the multitude of pillars, at easy intervals; the magnificence of loftiness, from their unbroken lines, conducting it from the bases to the capitals. Hence, though all the rest, even the upper portion of the nave itself, is barbarous, some eminent critics have not scrupled to avow a preference of the interior of saint Paul's to that of saint Peter's. Our Plantagenet cathedrals are of a character between the two; giving effect of height beyond either, and, in their power of giving effect of length, having far more of the advantage of saint Paul's than the deficiency of saint Peter's.

Effect in saint Peter's then, in my humble opinion fails, as in the square room beyond a certain size. On the contrary the Plantagenet cathedral proportions operate as, in a great room, the gallery proportions. Of our cathedrals, Lincoln is among the most admired, and, I think justly. No where, perhaps, is the proof of principle, admirable principle, guiding the architects of the Plantagenet ages, more clearly to be detected. The builder there has evidently been limited in his plan to the foundations, and in part to the walls, of an old church in the Saxon or Norman style; and thus his nave has been con-

fined to a disadvantageous narrowness. Dignity, such as was desired, could be given only by carrying the height beyond the usual proportion to the width; so that, had not the architect had talent and judgement to soften the discordance, the loftiness would have struck the eye as extravagant. But, dividing his pillars by a molding, he has given them, in some measure, the effect of column raised on column. Some following builders in the same style, adopting the thing, without attention to the principle, have introduced deformity in their works, by the very same measure by which the able architect of Lincoln has converted disproportion into gracefulness. So in the moral world, the same action, well-timed or ill-timed, in proper place, or in improper, may be decorous or indecorous, virtuous or vicious. I am far from meaning so to impute deformity to the interior of saint Peter's, but I do venture to impute defect; inasmuch as fine forms, so proportioned to each other that, on a smaller scale, they would be highly gratifying, on their vast scale are disappointing. Is it otherwise than by proportions and divisions well adapted to dimensions, that York minster strikes the eye as large, even larger than the reality, while saint Peter's, the largest church in the world, strikes it, in the confession of all, as less?

L E T T E R XXII.

Roman Architecture in England.—Wren.—Vanbrugh.—Lord Burlington.—Gibbs.

MY last letter was long. I will compress what farther occurs on the revived Roman architecture.

The wide destruction, made by the great fire of London, provided for Wren an uncommon variety of opportunities. His churches are numerous, and show a great extent of invention. The interior of saint Stephen's Walbrook has procured him, most justly, a wide renown, and indeed his purest praise. It is perhaps the most ingenious attempt, and the most successful, ever made, to accommodate the graces of the Grecian column to the needs of interior building. His little church of saint Benet Fink is a curiosity. I remember hearing an architect, now many years dead, whose talents I respect, and some of whose works I admire, speak of it with unqualified applause. In this I cannot join. Whether the oval dome and cupola were borrowed from Italy I cannot tell: it is since Wren's time that they have been emulated there, in the twin churches, which greet the traveller from the northward, in entering Rome by the gate del Popolo. The form happened to suit the odd nook in which saint Benet's church

stands ; but it is otherwise, I think, little worthy of the architect of saint Stephen's.

Notwithstanding the fashion of Wren's age to despise the architecture of the Plantagenet era, a considerable degree of public favor remained attached to that kind of building, between pyramid and obelisk, which we call a steeple, or spire ; which the Plantagenet architects, apparently gathering the idea first from the east, designed, in their own style, often with considerable elegance. Wren, whether chusing or required, in several instances used his ingenuity in accomodating that oriental appendage to churches of Roman architecture. His success, like that of most others in the same attempt, generally failing, has been, however, in one instance, extraordinarily great. The steeple of Bow church in Cheapside, though so unfortunately situated as to be but ill seen, deserves nevertheless the notice, and I am inclined to add, the admiration, of every lover of architecture. The solid simplicity of the lofty basement, the lightness and richness of the aspiring superstructure, the elegance of each portion separately, and the harmony of all, combine to make it a structure of its kind that never has been, and perhaps never will be equalled.

The Theater at Oxford, a singular building, largely gifted with the vices of the Italian style of its day, yet for the ingenuity of the design alto-

gether, and the admirable aptitude both of the whole, and of the parts, for their purposes (exclusively of the celebrated mechanism of the roof) deserves perhaps more the attention of the curious critic, and of the discerning student in architecture, than any other building of that university, of date posterior to the disuse of the Plantagenet style.

Vanbrugh, who succeeded Wren in eminence and public favor, had a bold, inventive genius, not under coercion of any pure taste. Like Borromini, he would scorn what before had been most approved, and supersede it by a style wholly his own; not meretricious, however, like Borromini's, and delicately curled, but, on the contrary, though hardly less fantastical, yet massive and masculine.

Whatever merit was in Vanbrugh's works, (and merit I readily allow) a continuance of public predilection for them could not have failed to produce a style altogether vicious, when his genius ceased to direct. English architecture therefore, in my opinion, has no small obligation to lord Burlington; who had influence to lead back the public taste to the Italian of the Medicean age, and its archetype the Roman of the Augustan. If Gibbs had as little genius as some have said, and as some of his works indeed indicate, it is highly to the credit of those models, which lord

Burlington recommended, that, through diligent study of them, such a man was enabled to design and execute one of the finest buildings of modern Europe, the church of saint Martin-in-the-fields.

LETTER XXIII.

Revival of Grecian Architecture.

IT seems to have been through lord Burlington's example and influence that a kind of fashion arose, among young men of rank and fortune in England, to direct their minds to architecture, so far as to aim at some critical skill in it. Notwithstanding that brutal arrogance of the Turkish government in its prosperity, which made access to those countries, where the fine arts attained their earliest and greatest excellence, difficult and dangerous, those countries had been explored by philosophers, but not by architects. That arrogance abating with the rapid decay of the overbearing vigor of the Turkish empire, those countries became more open to curiosity. What had been called the grand tour in foreign parts, for finishing the education, and completing the acquirements, of young men of rank and fortune, was extended; and, among others, the late earls of Sandwich

and Besborough stretched their travels into the Levant. A meeting, on their return, of many travelled young men, who fostered a love for the arts, produced the establishment of the society of Dilettanti, yet existing. It was not till after lord Burlington's death that Mr. Bouverie, Mr. Dawkins, and Mr. Wood, having explored the antiquities of Greece and Ionia, engaged in the bold undertaking of bringing to public knowledge the wonderful remains of Balbec and Palmyra, then of uncertain fame. About the same time a preference, in uncommon amount, of fancy and fame to ease and profit, urged the learned architect, James Stuart, to employ his extraordinary diligence and skill in a long, and sometimes hazardous, residence at Athens, to make those accurate delineations and descriptions of the best relics of antiquity there, through which they are now known to all the world.

The greatness, and richness, and altogether the splendor of the remains of Palmyra and Balbec, exhibited in the publication under Mr. Wood's direction, made the immediate impression on the public mind that might be expected. They produced a considerable degree of public favor for the style of those magnificent ruins; and some architects of the day, of considerable talents, fostered the taste. The temple of Balbec, or, in its Grecian name, Heliopolis, being of an earlier

age, is, in style, superior. Yet, in contemplating the buildings of Palmyra, under all the circumstances of the place and times, it may well be wondered, not that they exhibit a wide deviation from the purity of the early Grecian taste, but that, after so many centuries, and so many conquests and revolutions, in the establishment of a new capital of a new empire, very far from Greece, amid deserts of sand, the deviation from the purity of the early Grecian taste should not be wider; that not only most of the great principles of the best Grecian style were preserved, but very nearly the manner of application, and even all the ornamental forms; though too much deviating into a luxuriant delicacy, and a feminine profusion of decoration.

The work, which James Stuart lived to give to the world, did not immediately lay equal hold on the public fancy. But meanwhile the disposition to prosecute exploration continued to prevail; and three other works, exhibiting buildings of very different styles and distant ages, all highly interesting to the curious architect and every lover of architecture, resulted.

It appears, in this country, extraordinary, that in the fair region of Italy, and in that portion of it which formed the kingdom of a Bourbon prince, and scarcely sixty miles from his capital, were some of the most perfect and most in-

interesting remains of ancient architecture, unknown to the curious of all Europe, till, about the time of which I have been speaking, they were brought to general knowledge by a British artist. The ruins of Pæstum, imperfectly given in Major's publication, now with great exactness in Wilkins's, first informed modern Europe what the very early style of Grecian architecture was.

About the same time two eminent men of the profession, brothers, engaged in the laborious and expensive adventure of exploring the style of the Roman empire in its decline, and giving it to the world, in their description and representations of the ruins of Diocletian's palace of Spalatro in Dalmatia. As Palmyra shows the last known great effort of the Grecian, so the buildings of Diocletian, at Rome and in Dalmatia, exhibit what was among the last of the Roman school.

It was not long after these exertions of individuals, in exploring and bringing to general knowledge the most magnificent relics of ancient building, that the society of Dilettanti, desirous of having that completed which yet remained imperfect, engaged the learned Dr. Chandler of Oxford to go, with two able artists, Revett and Pars, to investigate the ruins of that portion of the globe, singularly the nurse of science, and all the fine arts, the western coast of Asia Minor. Their publication, however, which followed, did

not excite any eager general attention. The finest buildings, of which relics were found, had been too much demolished by the barbarians, who had successively held the country, for representations of them to be satisfactory to any but those considerably versed in architecture, or desirous of becoming so. Nevertheless with all such that publication cannot fail to be highly interesting. It is indeed a truly curious fact, that hardly a molding, hardly a decoration of any kind, is found in the best architecture of following times, not only Greek but Roman, and not only those, but, perhaps I shall surprize you with venturing to add, our own architecture both ecclesiastical and military, and not of the Saxon and Roman times only, but of the following Plantagenet reigns also, of which a prototype is not to be seen in the relics of Ionic building, represented in the first volume of *Ionian Antiquities*. Within similar narrow limits nearly, I apprehend, the best of every thing, in all the fine arts, will be found to lie; whence, though it is far from following that a desire of novelty should in no degree be indulged, yet it behooves genius to be very cautious and reserved in the indulgence. Without genius, the pursuit can do little mischief: its principal result will be, what so often has been, to bring ridicule on the bold inventor.

LETTER XXIV.

Revival of attention in England to the old National Architecture.

THE great Italian architects, who, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, revived the Grecian orders, as they had been adopted by the Romans, were unacquainted with the elder Grecian style. Indeed for the order of far most general use among the Romans, the Corinthian, the difference from the Greek was comparatively little. The striking and characteristical variation was in the Doric: the old Grecian Doric, and that used at Rome, to which the Doric name was given, were, in reality, different orders.

The massive and severe simplicity of the old Grecian Doric then being brought to light, and offered for public favor in England, at the same time nearly with the flowery richness of the buildings of Palmyra and Balbec, the public taste was likely to be divided, and it became so. The flowery, recommended by the talents of the eminent architects, brothers, already mentioned, obtained the first favor; being indeed far the less violent deviation from what had before gained establishment, the richest Roman Corinthian; already successfully emulated in our own island, and in most parts of modern Europe. Nevertheless a predilection for the old Grecian

style obtained among a few, and most among those who had had opportunity to know its effects; not judging merely from such imperfect representation as the best delineation or picture can give, but from having seen the buildings.

But, amid the distractions thus offered for the public taste, almost at once, from Pæstum, Sicily, Dalmatia, Athens, and Syria, while old Rome, and all that modern Europe had done best after Roman models, could not but retain a large interest in the general mind, another candidate for public favor, more at variance with all these than any of them with any one other, was brought forward. Various publications, Bentham's description of Ely cathedral; Warton's disquisitions concerning the architecture, introduced among those concerning the poetry, of the middle ages; but, above all, the lively eloquence of the late lord Orford, supported by the bold attempt to revive, in practice, in his own residence, a style of architectonic design, obsolete already for two centuries, and long considered as fit only for the past times of semibarbarism, excited public curiosity concerning that style; and its connection with the history and literature of its day, and especially with family history, promoted prejudices in its favor. Soon the comments and praises of many men of talent procured extensive allowance that, if only as a variety in architecture,

with a strongly marked character, distinct from all others known, it might deserve consideration. But, beyond this, they contended, it had intrinsic merits, peculiar to itself; and, having those merits, it had been very unworthily treated, and deserved to be otherwise considered. With favor, for this old national style, some indignation, against those who had restored the Roman, was excited; as if they had been the persons to treat it unworthily; though the eulogies of some of them, on particular buildings, have been also eagerly noticed. But it was observed, with triumph, that those who had attempted to design and execute in that style, had all failed, to a degree sufficiently proving considerable talent necessary to produce the examples which had been the objects of their emulation.

Considerations thus were large and powerful for giving the public taste a turn toward that manner of architecture, which had been peculiarly that of our forefathers. But there were others which not only urged the general fancy still farther, but impelled professors of architecture to give their minds, in some degree, to the study of that style. When the Roman architecture was first revived, it so had exclusive favor, that, whatever was to be built, and wherever, no allowance was given for any other; and so Inigo Jones's beautiful Corinthian skreen, in Winchester cathedral, stands in a manner hand in hand with the nave, in the

Plantagenet style of one age, the quire, in that of another, and the transept, Saxon or Norman.

As soon, however, as public favor began to revert toward the taste in building of our earlier forefathers, wherever ancient churches, ancient castles, or ancient mansions (mostly those once monasteries) were to be altered or enlarged, it came to be desired that all alterations and additions should conform to the style of the original edifice. But the misfortune of Winchester cathedral was a common one. Most of the buildings, of any extent, had already a mixture of styles of different ages. The 'simplex et unum,' if ever there, was already done away. Was it to be restored? and how?

Such was already the state of things when it became the royal purpose to improve the palace of Windsor-castle; and the most eminent architect of the day, called to form the designs and direct the execution, gave his mind, it is said, with delight, *con amore*, as the Italians phrase it, to the object.

L E T T E R XXV.

Chinese and Indian Architecture.

ABOUT the middle of the eighteenth century, the Chinese architecture made some progress in public favor in this country. That extraordinary nation separated from us, eastward, by the length of Europe and Asia, hardly less than, westward, by the Atlantic and Pacific oceans with intervening America, and from all the world by its institutions, is, in every point of view, an object of curiosity. With a population said to exceed that of all Europe, its government remaining the patriarchal, modelled after that of a single family, so also its letters, its sciences, and all its arts, seem to be of patriarchal character; and, among the rest its Architecture. Deviating indeed very widely, as in the course of so many ages could hardly fail, from patriarchal simplicity, in the abundance and extravagance of its ornamental appendages, the Chinese style has still, in its principles and essence, much of that simplicity. Its character is decided, in large proportion, as, early in our correspondence, we observed must be, by the material principally used. Though not only the country abounds with rock, but the art of brick-making is old there, beyond traditions said to be

the oldest in the world, yet the buildings are almost all still of the primitive material, timber. Hence, if the style of architecture had more merit, it could hardly offer models for countries where stone or brick are in common use. Not that the style, whether of building or of painting, is always bad. Among the paintings, though we do not admire either the grace or the expression of the human figure, male or female, or the composition, or light and shadow, or perspective, of the landscape, yet we see branches and flowers often touched with freedom and spirit, and disposed with elegance. So also in the architecture, however without matter deserving imitation, yet some things, for their resemblance to what is found in Egypt and in Greece, may amuse the fancy, by exciting speculation on the migration of the arts, or on the analogies in the human mind.

Of later years only the prodigious (perhaps I might add alarming) extension of our conquests in India has brought us acquainted with antiquities in that country, before unknown in Europe: and the talents and diligence of a painter, employed there, have given them to the world in a way to excite admiration; with a favor, as is the way with favor to new things, perhaps not, in all instances, free from extravagance.

Nevertheless the buildings of India, very unlike

the Chinese, of the most lasting materials, and most solid construction, are objects of curiosity for the antiquarian, objects also for the historian, and, in my opinion, not wholly undeserving attention from the architect.

There are found among them two principal distinctions of style, that of the ancient inhabitants, who hold, with their ancient religion] their ancient name, Hindoos; and that of the Arabians, which seems to have been adopted, with the Mahometan religion, by the Tartar conquerors. Whether the Tartars themselves have added anything I know not. But even the two styles, the elder Indian and the Arabian, in some instances clearly distinct, have, in numerous others, been so mixed that discrimination is, even for the most expert, it seems, in many cases uncertain; and the modern architecture of India is a third style, compounded of the elder two. Stone has been the common material of both people, and solidity is eminent among the qualities of the buildings of both.

For the antiquarian, whether inquiring into early history, or early building, the old Indian architecture is the higher object of curiosity. The Arabian style, comparatively new in India, may be investigated in other countries, whence, with conquering armies, it migrated. But the Arabian buildings in India are not only of a

magnificence to attract notice, but also in design, I think, are generally superior to what either the Saracens carried westward, or the Turks northward. Whether however their style has any advantage over what prevailed earlier among the Arabians, the representations I have seen of some of their buildings, nearer home, lead me to doubt.

We cannot wonder if, in Arabian architecture, we find much analogy with that of earliest Egypt. But the resemblance of Indian buildings to the very oldest Egyptian, a much nearer resemblance than is found in any Arabian buildings of which any representation has been published, offers a wide field for speculation. Especially those extraordinary edifices, bearing very remarkable analogy to the Egyptian pyramids, and yet very remarkably differing, are objects of wonder. Like the pyramids, they are works of vast labor; like them, unless monumental, of no imaginable human use; in form, like them, at the base square, at the summit pointed; but differing in the proportion of base to height, being far smaller below; and not regularly diminishing in rising, nor by steps, like the pyramid, but in one line, curving like a beehive. Thus they offer perhaps the oldest existing examples of building, if not to be called a dome, yet, in manner, nearly approaching the dome. Whether those ancient monuments at

Tortosa, on the Syrian coast, represented in an engraving among those of the Ionian Antiquities, are, in any degree, of the same family, I must leave to more diligent investigators to inquire.

The older Indian buildings, however, are far exceeded, in number and magnificence, by those erected after the Arabian conquest. Among these the POINTED ARCH is often a prominent feature. But, in the published representations of them, we discover nothing approaching that perfection in applying the Pointed Arch to the purposes of Interior Architecture, which is seen in some of our own cathedrals.

Nevertheless, the Arabian designers have succeeded, beyond the cultivators of our old ecclesiastical architecture, in applying that form in the exterior. Evidently indeed they have been more called upon to give splendor to the exterior, and altogether their manner will deserve notice.

The Arabian architects, I think, have clearly been aware of the unreadiness of the pointed arch to coalesce with rectilinear forms. Constantly, therefore, it appears to have been their practice to soften the dissention, and prepare for connection, by inscribing the arch in a parallelogram, as a picture in a frame. Thus the arch, with its curves and peak, having its own rectangular associate, specially accommodated for the purpose, not the discordant form of the arch

singly, but the arch and parallelogram together, as, in some degree one compound figure, meet the eye as an integral member of the composition.

Whether our architects of the Plantagenet reigns gathered this excellent idea from the east, or congenial good taste led them to the same happy result as the Arabians, the practice has been common, and is especially found in their best buildings. In the castle-gateway, indeed, military purpose would lead to it; but it is found also in ecclesiastical architecture, even in the interior; and in the nave of Winchester cathedral, its advantageous effect is striking.

Where this combination originated I know not: but the oldest example of it, that has fallen within my observation is not Arabian, but Grecian; with the difference indeed, that, not the pointed, but the semicircular arch has been thus placed in a rectangular frame; and this example occurs in Athens itself. The lover of architecture, I think, cannot but have amusement in comparing some of the Arab-Indian buildings with William of Wickham's, and both with that described in the last chapter, and represented in the last plate, of the third volume of Stuart's Antiquities of Athens.

Possibly there may be among Indian and Arab-Indian buildings, I think indeed there may, what an able architect's fancy may profit from.

Perhaps also I may find occasion hereafter to mention an instance, in which I have imagined a very able architect has so borrowed, and very well borrowed. But I never saw anything of Indian or Arab-Indian work, which an architect of any taste and judgement would chuse as a complete model. Pillars, with minute equestrian statues for the ornament of their capitals, and others, pinched in toward the bottom or middle of the shaft, as if in emulation of the wasp's waist, would ill supersede, or ill be added to, the Grecian orders. Something, in general character, like the latter form, is indeed old among ourselves; derived, already improved into elegance, from Italy and Greece; but not employed in the support of a weighty superstructure. More commonly the material has been silver, and the purpose the support of a candle. For the support of a building, there can, I think, be no hazard in pronouncing such form incongruous and absurd. The Indians have also imagined the curved shape of a laced hood, or a nightcap, as an ornamental appendage over a window, wrought in stone, to throw off rain. The habit of being carried in palankeens, and domiciliated in tents or pavilions, may have led them to such a fancy for their houses. But, where decoration is desired for the exterior of a window, the Grecian architrave, with or without its frieze

and cornice, and with or without the added pediment, is adapted to stone-work and solid walls and rectangular building; and will also throw off rain.

Something of the dome kind, for the summit of a building, has been much in favor with the Arabians, wherever their conquests have been carried. Some rare instances of the dome, among the Indian buildings represented by Daniel, are not only completely within those limits of taste which common sense prescribes, but rather of superior elegance. Yet the more common form, the favorite trick, I think it may be called, for a dome, among those who have derived arts and taste from the Arabians, in Turkey as well as India, has been to pinch it in at the bottom, nearly as the pillar beforementioned; so that, as I remember a youth from the university, turning over Daniel's works with me, observed, it looks like a Brobdignag turnip reversed, with the tap aspiring.

Considering however that there is certainly something striking, and on first view pleasing, in some of the Arab Indian buildings, as represented by Daniel, I think they may deserve to be studied by the young architect; but should be with much caution. He should endeavour to discover in them the principles which have produced the good general effects; careful

not to be seduced by the virtues to any adoption of the vices, from which the style, as far as I have had opportunity to observe, is in no instance free. The merit lies, hardly ever, in any part of the detail : it rests in general effects, which might perhaps equally be produced, with a far better style of detail. In the gayer kind of buildings there is often much ingenuity, but always much flutter. Here and there possibly, in Daniel's publication, a palace may suggest a good idea for something of a light and winning grace. But the best effects of the Arab-Indian architecture are seen in monumental edifices ; the solids large and lofty, the openings, into shaded recesses, uncommonly large and lofty, the result gloomy and sublime.

LETTER XXVI.

Modern Varieties in Architecture.

I ENDED abruptly, you observe, my letter on the revival of public favor for the style of architecture of the Plantagenet reigns, for which in former letters I had expressed very high estimation; and, when, in the next, you expected me to proceed with it, I passed to the Chinese and Indian. It gratifies me to learn that my observations on these made you any satisfactory amends. I allow that the other subject rather required that I should proceed on it: but I felt myself on slippery ground. To you, I know, I may venture to declare all my thoughts freely. But if my letters are to be shown to others, there are questions of taste in architecture that will demand caution. I desire to offend none: I desire not to excite a useless repentance of expence unworthily bestowed: I would occasion no uneasiness, unless benefit might result, either to the suffering individual, or to the public. Nevertheless I think scruple on this head may be carried too far. To do what may mislead the public taste, whether by building, or in any other way, is a public offence, and challenges public animadversion. I am aware how I thus commit myself;

on the supposition that any who may see my letters, would regard them. Fortunately however for the matter immediately in question, I am provided with considerable relief, by the authority I have obtained for sending you the observations of another; though, were there guilt, trusting however there is none, I must confess myself implicated as an accomplice.

A friend of mine, fond of architecture, and who has built himself a very good house, to supersede a bad though large old one, on an ample patrimony in the north of England, had been living there many years without migrating farther than to his county-town for sessions, assizes, and races; when, last spring, he took the fancy to visit London once more, and proceed to the sea. You know him by name and by character, but I believe not personally. In his return northward he gave me an account of his observations. Selecting among them what may be most to the purpose before us, I shall perhaps appear abrupt sometimes in transition; but that, for brevity sake, I trust you will excuse.

We were speaking of London, when he said,
' For some years of my early life, I was pretty
' familiar with Palace-yard; but now, I was
' told, I should not know my way to the house
' of Commons; and indeed I was not a little
' surprized at the alterations there. I used to

‘ think the unfinished building of George the
‘ Second’s reign, against Westminster hall, ill
‘ put there; not however, so much for defect in
‘ style, as for its unfitness to make part of the
‘ one great whole, which the circumstances of
‘ the place demanded. Yet the next thing,
‘ you will remember, was to build, on the opposite
‘ side of the street, the new Ordnance-office; not
‘ only in a style utterly refusing coalition, but of
‘ less dignity, and on a plan, like the style, accom-
‘ modated to nothing about it. On the contrary
‘ there it stood, offensively turning its back on
‘ two churches close behind, and as if casting a
‘ coxcomb smile on its elder brother before it.
‘ This building is now prostrate. I have ob-
‘ served it to be a good deal in the way of the
‘ ordnance, and those under it, to do and undo.
‘ One cannot go along the coast, as I did last
‘ summer, from Dover to Portsmouth, inquiring
‘ at all, without learning what surprizes those
‘ unversed in the ways of the Ordnance-office.
‘ However, all I have adverted to was be-
‘ fore the present master-general’s time, and
‘ military matters are not our subject now;
‘ so I return to Palace-yard, and there the de-
‘ molition of the new Ordnance-office was a little
‘ affair.

‘ I remember to have heard that our late great

‘ minister, the illustrious Pitt, had talked of im-
‘ proving the houses of parliament, with their
‘ appendages and approaches, when, just before
‘ the mad self-called republic of France declared
‘ war against us, three-per-cent stocks were at
‘ ninety-eight. Certainly there wanted improve-
‘ ment; and yet I must own I admire the cou-
‘ rage of those ministers, his successors, who, in
‘ the midst of a war, already then the most
‘ lasting and most tremendous this nation had
‘ ever to sustain, after an addition of hundreds
‘ of millions to the public debt, and when the
‘ three-per-cents were under sixty, would dash
‘ at that at which he, not generally thought
‘ wanting in boldness, had, in better times,
‘ hesitated.

‘ What, however, I saw prepared me, in
‘ some degree, for what I was to see else-
‘ where. Dover castle and its appendages
‘ (though very curious matter occurs there)
‘ and all military concerns, pass by, to come
‘ to a town on the southern coast, where I
‘ was struck with the very extraordinary style,
‘ and very extraordinary splendor, of a large
‘ new building, evidently not military. What,
‘ said I, are the Arabian tales here rea-
‘ lized? Has a treaty of amity been concluded,
‘ through some of our new missions, with China

“ or Thibet? And is this a palace raised to
“ receive a princess with an immense dower, and
“ a noble train, from one of the most splendid
“ courts of eastern Asia?”—‘ That building,’
said a plain elderly man, who stood by, ‘ is a
“ stable for horses.’ ‘ For horses !’ said I,
“ Yes,” he replied, ‘ for cattle, not princesses.’
‘ I was surprized and stood silent. Seeing me
‘ musing, and observing, he went on: ‘ That
“ is not the only extraordinary building in its
“ way in our country ; though I believe the like
“ is not to be seen elsewhere. I am a South-
“ saxon born, a builder by trade, and I have
“ seen most parts of England. I reckon Sussex
“ a passably good country among others: not
“ bad for men and women; but its luxuries and
“ magnificence are for horses and dogs.’ ‘ And,’
I said, ‘ have you a palace for dogs anything
‘ like this for horses?’ ‘ Very splendid,’ he
‘ answered, ‘ and very elegant; with every con-
“ trivance for luxury that can be imagined. It
“ was the whim of a character altogether great
“ and worthy, and whose memory, whatever
“ some people may say, I highly respect, for
“ private and for public virtues.’

‘ Liking the man’s humour, I encouraged him
‘ to go on, and he proceeded to say, ‘ Ay, that
“ fine dogkennel is in the old way; Roman
“ architecture, they call it; such as I learned in

“ my youth. A bit of Gothic is all the rage now.
“ They will put a crooked top to a cottage
“ window, as if they could not make a strait
“ one; and that they will say is tasty; it is
“ Gothic; and if they only put a pane of glass
“ cut to a peak, where square would be better,
“ that is Gothic and tasty. Pray, sir, can you
“ tell me what Gothic rightly means? for it seems
“ to me often only another word for nonsense.”
“ I smiled, and he went on; ‘For this new
“ fine building, I do not know whether we are to
“ call it Gothic, or what else. Novelty and
“ variety I find are the go. I have been obliged
“ to unlearn half of what, in my youth, I was
“ proud to know; I did not like it at first, but I
“ find I must bend to the fashion; and so now a
“ bit of Gothic, and something new, are the
“ words with me, as well as with other people;
“ pray, sir, are you a foxhunter?’ Foxhunting
“ might be a Gothic sport, but I wondered what
“ Gothic building had to do with foxhunting,
“ and I answered drily, ‘Yes, I have been a
“ foxhunter,’ ‘Horses, to be sure,’ he said, ‘are
“ noble animals, and dogs are the most faithful
“ friends of man; they are looked on with favor,
“ beyond other brutes, in most parts of the world.
“ But the love of vermin I believe is peculiar to
“ England; and, after dogs and horses, at least,
“ if not even before them, the favorite animal of

“ the present day, I understand, is the fox.
“ Now one thing seems to me yet wanting
“ for the glory of our county, and I should
“ like to be employed upon it. A seraglio
“ for foxes, what opportunity for novelty and
“ variety in architecture ; mixture of styles
“ without end ! But I am told we must be quick,
“ or Leicestershire will be before us.’ I shrunk
‘ at first at this satirical observation. But
‘ you know I respect every thing that attaches
‘ men to the ‘ gloria ruris ;’ and he is a poor fox-
‘ hunter who cannot stand a joke upon fox-
‘ hunting.”

My friend's observations now took a turn rather wide of architecture ; which, however, led again to matters connected with it ; and he proceeded to tell another story, abundantly whimsical, yet, to my mind, so much to our purpose, that I mean to revise the notes I made presently after, and make it the subject of my next letter.

LETTER XXVII.

Modern Anglo-Gothic Architecture.

I HAD been conversing on various matters with my friend mentioned in my last letter, when, after a small pause, he said, 'Good and evil are 'strangely mixed in this world!' I was wondering what topic this text was to lead to, when he proceeded, 'Did you never observe that indigestion often powerfully assists invention?' I smiled and said nothing; but he presently proceeded, 'Often have I been unable to satisfy 'myself with my own designs, and not least in 'building, when a wakeful hour in the night 'would help me to that which, among ideas 'disturbed by the cares of the day, and the objects which daylight presents, I could not catch. 'Sleeping fancies have sometimes their merit 'too, though they are generally too incoherent 'to be of much value. And yet I have sometimes thought that Addison's admirable dreams, 'in the Spectator, may have had their origin 'partly in a sleeping fancy. You know my 'respect for Addison, infused in my childhood 'by my grandmother, who was personally acquainted with him. She reckoned his dreams 'little less than divine revelations. I shall cer-

tainly not propose to emulate them, and yet I have a great inclination to exercise your patience with telling you a dream of mine.' Leisure perfectly allowing, I was no way disposed to check my friend's fancy, and he proceeded thus :

' I thought myself in Westminster abbey, in company with those two great architects of different ages, William of Wickham, bishop of Winchester, and Inigo Jones. They seemed familiar with each other, and well informed of matters passing since they had lived among men. Architecture, and particularly the building under whose magnificent shelter we were walking, became the subject of their discourse. Jones observed, that, 'in his time, its style had been, in a manner, anathematized ; the title of Gothic was given to it, not on any supposition that it had been derived from the Goths, but merely as a term of reproach and supreme contempt. Nevertheless, he himself admired in it, not simply the magnificence of great dimensions, but often, as in the building before them, much grace of proportion, and, in some points, a singular greatness of effect. Such merits, seen in so many buildings in that style, he thought could not be the result of chance, bringing congenial ideas to the minds of various builders, through a course of ages ; there must have been some general principles, through

‘ which all, differing as variously as they did in
‘ particulars, so consented, as to produce results
‘ all holding one general character, which dis-
‘ tinguished all, and distinguished them advan-
‘ tageously, from all other buildings; and he
‘ wished the bishop, who had himself both de-
‘ signed great works in that style, and directed
‘ the execution, to inform him what those prin-
‘ ciples were.’

“ A name,’ the bishop answered, ‘ is no other-
“ wise important than as it indicates clearly, or
“ otherwise, the thing intended; and, if, in itself,
“ it originally implied something even contempti-
“ ble, yet merit, in the object to which it is given,
“ will soon raise it in estimation. So, among the
“ Romans, the conduct of the Decii dignified the
“ ridiculous name of Mus; and so the merit of
“ the style of architecture, of the time in which I
“ lived, has, in this country, brought the term
“ Gothic, as I understand, into high esteem.
“ But, in this case, unfortunately, confusion
“ seems an unavoidable result: for, among the
“ best authors, that term implies, and must
“ continue to imply, when matters of taste are in
“ question, what is not estimable. Confusion of
“ terms then will scarcely fail to generate confu-
“ sion of ideas; and a kind of confusion tending
“ powerfully to the injury of public taste, espe-
“ cially in architecture. But, as the public use

“ of names is not easily to be controlled ; as
 “ fashion will have its way,

‘ Quem penes arbitrium est, et jus et norma loquendi,’

“ the best check upon the mischief to be apprehended, I believe, would be a general knowledge and admission of, what you ask for, the principles of the style.

“ Now, I always reckoned that the general principles of good architecture, of whatever style, and not of architecture only, but of all the sisterhood of Design, must be the same. Horace surely did not prescribe for poetry alone, when he said,

‘ Scribendi recte Sapere est principium et fons.’

“ Would the verse permit, you will, I am sure, allow, it might equally run, ‘ Ædificandi recte.’ Taking then common sense as the necessary foundation, the first rule for the superstructure will be, also in Horace’s words,

‘ Denique sit quidvis Simplex duntaxat et Unum :’

“ and this, duly enforced, will be the best check upon the mischief of the ideas commonly associating themselves with the term Gothic ; which appear to have an extraordinary disposition to favor what Horace sets out with reprobating, ‘ Humano capiti,’ and so forth.

“ Ah,” said Jones, “ I remember how that
“ commination of Horace haunted my con-
“ science, while I was employed on my skreen
“ against the quire, in your cathedral of Win-
“ chester. Often I viewed with admiration
“ the lofty vault of the nave, your work.
“ There I observed the combination of so many
“ lines into one great whole, so managed that,
“ seen altogether, it impressed the eye with
“ a character even of simplicity in its com-
“ plicated magnificence. Then I looked to the
“ quire, where I saw architecture of the same
“ general character, though in parts consider-
“ ably differing; of merit too, though inferior.
“ On each side was the clumsy Norman. To
“ accommodate a new part to all these around
“ was clearly impossible; and if, chusing among
“ them, I had been able to emulate, in my little
“ work, the style of your great one, it would
“ hardly, in those days, have been allowed me.”

“ I think so,” said the bishop smiling, “ and I
“ am much flattered by your compliment to my
“ work. Certainly the style of my day had
“ advantages for just that kind of building, the
“ interior of a cathedral. But did you never
“ observe its disadvantages for almost every other
“ kind, and especially for the exterior?” “ In con-
“ sidering the style of my earliest days,” Jones
“ answered, “ and in viewing the examples of

“ great and splendid buildings within my reach,
“ which, before I went to Italy, were all in the
“ better style of your time, it was impossible the
“ disadvantage you mention should escape me.
“ It appears to me that the pointed arch belongs
“ to the clustered pillar, whence it naturally
“ springs; and that hardly any management can
“ bring it to harmonize in any other combination.
“ Hence I reckon it was that the style, of great
“ magnificence and elegance, of yours and follow-
“ ing ages, was changed, under the Tudor reigns,
“ for one of neither elegance nor magnificence,
“ which continued to my time. The magnifi-
“ cence and elegance of the former were found
“ fit only for a cathedral: the homely parallelo-
“ grams of the latter, on the contrary, were
“ capable of being accommodated to use, in
“ building for any purpose. This quality of
“ Usefulness then becoming the favorite of the
“ day, Greatness was looked for only from
“ extension and multiplication: Grace seems
“ to have been out of question.”

“ I think,” said Wickham, “ you may have seen
“ indication, in my building at Winchester, that I
“ felt forcibly the truth of your observation, while
“ I was employed upon that work. I thought I
“ had profited from numerous examples, within
“ my observation, to design my buttresses, and
“ the pinnacles above them, passably well; but;

“ when I saw them in their places, on the north-
“ ern side of the cathedral, I was, I must own,
“ shocked with the effect: the sin against the
“ golden rule, which I so highly respect, ‘ Sit
“ quidvis simplex et unum,’ was too glaring.
“ Even the Norman transept, protruding itself,
“ clumsy in its parts, wholly without elegance in
“ its proportions, but comparatively magnificent by
“ its unbroken loftiness, seemed to look with some
“ scorn upon my frittered lines, though of neater
“ and more decorated masonry. Disgusted thus,
“ I ventured, against all common practice of my
“ age, on the southern side, to discard buttresses.
“ I took care the walls should be stout enough
“ to need no buttresses for use. Whether the
“ fancy may arise, in these times, to add them
“ for ornament, I cannot tell. But, from what
“ I learn, it seems likely that the dissonance of
“ the two sides of my building, may rather be
“ considered as a merit; for irregularity and
“ incoherency seem to be reckoned even vir-
“ tues in the style, now called Gothic. Mix-
“ tures of the ecclesiastical architecture of
“ all ages with the military of all ages, in
“ forms, and in plans, and for purposes, such
“ as never were seen or thought of by those
“ who formerly built in any of those styles,
“ are already in vogue. Even the Chinese
“ has favor as a variety. A passion for

“ the Egyptian ran high for a moment, but
 “ passed like a meteor. Now the Indian is
 “ gaining ground. The Roman and Greek
 “ alone are excluded from the medley : the intru-
 “ sion of your skreen at Winchester is, I under-
 “ stand, especially anathematized. But I shall
 “ not wonder if the fancy for mixture should
 “ gather as it rolls, so that the Roman and
 “ Greek may soon be admitted ; and then
 “ your beautiful skreen in Winchester cathedral,
 “ so far from being thought incongruous, may
 “ come to be reckoned singularly well situated
 “ there. But indeed ill taste, and even such ill
 “ taste, is not limited to one age or country. Had
 “ there been nothing of it at Rome, even in the
 “ Augustan age, Horace would not have chosen
 “ his reprobation of it for the exordium and
 “ foundation of his discourse on the art of poetry.
 “ Probably his discourse contributed to check the
 “ disposition to extravagance, and to produce or
 “ fix that justness of public fancy for which his
 “ age is justly famous. But it might seem as if,
 “ now, a perverted edition of his works had
 “ vogue ; admonishing to avoid whatever he
 “ directed to do, and to do whatever he directed
 “ to avoid :

- ‘ Humano capiti cervicem pictor equinam
- ‘ Jungere si velit, et varias inducere plumas
- ‘ Undique collatis membris, ut turpiter atrum
- ‘ Desinat in piscem mulier formosa superne,
- ‘ Omne feret punctum.’ —————

“ Your skreen in Winchester cathedral is the
“ mulier formosa, in such kind of odly mixed
“ company.’ We had just then reached the
‘ door in the poet’s corner, by which we passed
‘ into Old Palace-yard, and the bishop pro-
‘ ceeded: ‘ The nave, if you have a mind to
“ compliment my work, may be the horse’s
“ neck.’

‘ He had scarcely spoken these words when a
‘ spectacle struck all our eyes, so astonishing that
‘ at once we all stood motionless. It was a monster,
‘ forty feet high, standing where formerly we knew
‘ the building called the Court of requests; robed
‘ in something like a winding-sheet, white but
‘ soiled. The form was squat, the arms extended,
‘ with a club in the right hand, a switch in the left;
‘ both proportioned to its own size. The coun-
‘ tenance was horrible. Two vast dark eyes,
‘ dull and of ghastly form, were drawn upward
‘ to a peak, downward to a horizontal line.
‘ Where should have been the nose was an
‘ indenture, nearly as in the human skull.
‘ Two prominences, on the top of the head,
‘ would have seemed ears, placed like a cat’s or
‘ lynx’s; but they were of no form or propor-
‘ tion to show any use. The ugliness was in-
‘ hanced, but the terrific was somewhat abated,
‘ by the total failure of a mouth. Almost im-
‘ mediately under the nose and eyes were two
‘ protuberances, in the manner of female breasts;

in themselves not of inelegant form, but so wanting all appearance of relation to any other part of the monstrous body and limbs, that, in such association they were disgusting. The figure was studded over, in formal lines, with what looked in substance like the eyes, but far smaller. They were in pairs, with something like a narrow bridge of a nose between every two. Whether the monster had feet I could not tell; but a multitude of claws showed themselves at the bottom of the robe, such as might belong to a gigantic milliped or caterpillar. Neither could I discover the exact connection of something like a fish's tail, extended to some distance toward Abingdon street, and then at length showing itself distinctly, bell-fashioned, with its hollow toward us. I was exceedingly surprized to see some handsome carriages, with coronets painted on them, stop at this most uninviting hole, and some well-dressed men, of all ages, alighting from them, go into it. Some bystanders said they supposed the monster, having no mouth, might take its food that way. But I was again surprized to see some equally well-dressed men come out of the hole, and go away in similar carriages, without any appearance of injury to their persons, or even of slime or other daubing on their clothes. Many men, and some women, and some children, were about, mostly re-

‘gardless of the monster, some viewing and
‘talking of it, but none showing any sign of
‘fear.

‘The bishop and Jones and myself observed
‘it some time before it seemed to notice us
‘more than others. At length however, casting
‘a glance at Jones, it immediately became infu-
‘riate, and I thought would have demolished him
‘with a stroke of its vast club. But, the bishop
‘then catching its eye, its countenance instantly
‘changed; it seemed as if it would solicit par-
‘don for having proposed violence to one of his
‘company; and, though with now and then an
‘eye of malice toward Jones, it manifested to-
‘ward the bishop a fawning servility. Wickham
‘gave it a stern look of disdain. The monster
‘exhibited, in various ways, extreme eagerness
‘to court his favor; but, meeting only demon-
‘stration of determined aversion, it began to
‘show an alarming vexation. Its claws assumed
‘threatening attitudes; not indeed against Jones
‘himself, whom the bishop held arm in arm;
‘but one of them I saw extended, in an extra-
‘ordinary manner, almost as far as the chapel
‘at Whitehall; and it actually struck the
‘Treasury, where Hans Holbein and lord
‘Burlington were standing together. Holbein
‘showed calmer indignation; but lord Burling-
‘ton was in agony.

‘I observed no disposition in the monster to

notice me, or any of the standing or passing crowd. But people said he would, at certain times, put out innumerable small proboscides, with which he would filch money out of every body's pocket ; and against this no distance gave security ; but as he took only in proportion to every one's substance and in very small proportion, they would not mind it, if he was not so ugly, and if he had not such a mischievous disposition toward such as Jones and Lord Burlington ; nay, some supposed he had malice enough to knock down saint Paul's. He was called, they said, the GENIUS of MODERN GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE. I was agitated and awoke.

LETTER XXVIII.

Old English Domestic Architecture.

‘THE land we live in,’ that good old English festal expression of attachment to our country, carries a sentiment I believe as much felt in England, I am sure as justly, as in any part of the world. I say England, far from desiring to exclude Scotland and Ireland, but less undertaking to know Scotland and Ireland. Moreover Scotland has a different system of law; I suppose not better, because many Scotsmen have desired the English law in its stead; and yet I conclude not bad, because I know the country is highly flourishing. For Ireland I am farther at a loss. I remember my northern friend observing that English and Welsh and Scots are united under one good name, of good authority, for a description of all; but when we want to include that other portion of our fellow-countrymen of the United kingdom, the Irish, ‘What,’ he asked, ‘should we say? United kingdomites? Quaint enough to be sure; but I never could learn how to handle United kingdom.’ Let this then be my excuse if I have used, or may use, the names England or English, as among

foreigners has always been common, to imply the United kingdom and all belonging to it.

“Every man’s house is his castle” saith the English common law; meaning that there shall be equal general security, for person and property, in the frailest cottage as in the strongest fortress. The castle-gate must open, if the law requires; and only with similar warrant shall any dare to lift the cottage-latch against the owner’s will. We owe surely not a little to our forefathers, who, alike unbent by the ‘*vultus instantis tyranni*,’ and the ‘*civium ardor prava jubentium*,’ a king at Whitehall, or a mob in common-hall, established that order of things, by which this is so advantageously distinguished among nations.

The style of sacred architecture, of the earliest known authors of our mixed blood, remains largely exhibited in massive relics, in various parts of our island, and especially in the rude magnificence of Stonehenge. What the domestic was, is intimated in the interesting narrative of their grand disturber, Julius Cæsar. When they had incircled a cluster of their habitations with a fortification of felled trees, he says, they called it a town. Such a town would have some analogy with the blockhouse-fort of our American colonies, and the more ordinary houses might perhaps resemble the Indian wigwam; differing from the Irish cabin of this day, principally because

the material differed; wood not abounding now in Ireland as then in England. This description however seems to have been intended for the interior; that strong country, west of Canterbury, where the resistance was effectual to stop the polished invader's march, and compel him to take a course nearer the Thames: for the people of the coast, communicating more with foreigners, he says, were more civilized, and not unacquainted with arts. Generous as he was, and humane, in comparison of many other renowned Roman conquerors, yet no doubt his invasion contributed to make the Britons, as the poet, who fled before him at Pharsalia, has described them, 'hospitibus feròs.' What he avoided to report, the cotemporary geographer has declared, that many thousands were dragged away in chains to the slave-markets of Rome. Where the Britons knew not the Romans, but were in habit of communication with strangers who came to trade and not to conquer, they were, according to a historian of the same age, remarked for courteousness and hospitality. In those western parts the domestic buildings may have gained early something of Phenician character, and afterward of Carthaginian and Massilian Greek, from the people who successively held the principal trade there.

Yet, after all, whether the injuries of the Romans were greater than our warlike and divided

forefathers were disposed and accustomed to do one another, and whether the balance, even including what followed after Julius's time, was in good or evil, we have too little means for calculation to make any positive decision reasonable. What, for our purpose, occurs to observe is, that, beyond question, in the architecture of the country, great improvement resulted. Proconsuls, and sometimes emperors, residing here, huts and cabins and wigwams would no longer serve. The whole country, from the southern channel to the northern mountains, being under one government; administered according to that now emphatically styled the Civil Law, many individuals would hold large property, in a security inviting liberal expence on liberal enjoyments. The style of architecture then would be that of the Roman empire; varying in small matters, as varieties of climate and circumstances, would admonish. The splendor of the buildings, in this country, remains to be gathered principally from the pavements preserved by the ruins of superstructure thrown on them. Of the superstructures themselves little of any kind, and nothing of great value, has escaped the successive devastations of following barbarian invaders, Picts, Saxons, and Danes.

But whatever, among the hostilities of centuries, may have been the destruction of buildings, evidences enough, to my mind, appear, that neither

Saxons nor Danes (congenial people, and barbarians with regard to the arts) were such barbarians as some of our historians have chosen to represent them. The universally admired system of law and polity, which we owe to them, might indeed alone suffice to prove it. Among many other things to this purpose deserving notice, which our historians have either overlooked, or, as not to their purpose, rejected, is what that invaluable record known by the name of Domesday Book, recently given to the public by the care of Parliament, has laid open to us. Hume, quoting that record, which he had opportunity to consult, though not then published, has enjoyed the remark that, at the time of the Norman conquest, the towns of England were small, and their population contemptible. But he has omitted the information, which the same record largely furnishes, that the country was fully peopled. It is indeed remarkable how few hamlets in England do not, in their names, carry evidence of an antiquity up to the Saxon times, and some even beyond; and it is not a little farther remarkable how large a proportion of them is found stated in Domesday, as then occupied by the husbandman.

The habits and fancies and institutions of our Saxon forefathers evidently did not lead them to delight in towns. The country was divided into small hamlet lordships, and the proprietors lived

on their estates. The disposition of the people, and the policy of the government seem equally to have bent this way. Nevertheless that government, with great defects, founded on a wise and mild system, encouraged and even honored trade. Very remarkable proof of this is furnished by that law of Athelstan, inacting, that a merchant, who had made three long sea-voyages on his own account, should have the rank of Theyn. Another law you know, of the same prince, gives the same honor to a yeoman, who could purchase five hides of land, and, with such property, had a house with a kitchen, a hall, a chapel, and a bell.

Here we have, not indeed a picture, yet an interesting sketch, of the kind of house esteemed, in those days, requisite for a country-gentleman. For curiosity we might be glad to have a geometrical plan and upright, with the addition of the bedrooms and other appendages, and a sample of the furniture. But we should satisfy ourselves that what we have is more than will be found, of that age, in many other parts of Europe, or perhaps in any.

LETTER XXIX.

Domestic Architecture.—Towns.

THE matter, with which I concluded my last letter, offers a point whence to begin tracing the English country-gentleman's house. But towns, and of course most the greatest towns, afford the greatest opportunities for the architect; not only as they must have public buildings, not only as they are the great scenes of civil architecture, but also as they are the great scenes of domestic building, inasmuch as accumulation makes greatness.

But the accumulation of family dwellings, in towns, is not generally favorable to design in architecture. Here and there a house of superior magnificence may adorn a city: but the mass must be composed of inferior houses; and the accumulation of these, within a limited space, necessary in such cities as London and Paris, and many far inferior to them, is very adverse to effect in architecture. Such houses must be connected in streets: convenience must be consulted for each house separately; and if architectonic effect is sought, it must result, not from each, but from many combined. In streets then, whether of shophouses, or of dwellings for the mass of wealthier inhabitants, the disadvantage is similar to that

which, in a former letter, I observed inherent in the monastery. Cells for monks cannot be so accumulated, in one building, as either to have advantageous effect themselves, or to associate advantageously with large public rooms, the chapel, the library, the refectory, or even the kitchen. So the streets of a town, if, like London, composed of houses containing each a separate family, are very disadvantageous; if, like Paris, better somewhat for the effect of architecture, though incomparably worse for family comfort, containing, as in our inns of court, several dwellings in several tiers, ascended by one staircase, they are still very unfavorable; and I think those regularly-built towns, in which a general effect of architecture has been attempted, Manheim and Turin, or the great Frederic's streets at Berlin, have never been considered by you as models. On the contrary, where the accumulation is great, something of a picturesk irregularity is preferable; such as may result from small buildings and simple, rather anomalously disposed, by contrast giving advantage to the larger and more regular and more embellished. Where larger houses are to be assembled, squares may be magnificent; and breaks, made in a long street by the intervention of squares, are considerably advantageous. Let the vista through Brook-street as seen from Swallow-street, be compared with Wimpole-street, and the advantage of the breaks

made by Hanover and Grosvenor squares will be striking. In the view across Cavendish square and Hanover square, to the converging lines of George-street, a very superior variety occurs; principally however not from an advantage to be obtained by any combination of ordinary family dwellings, but from the intervention of a public building, saint George's church, with its portico advanced before the inferior mass.

There is however a town in England, such as is not to be seen elsewhere, which may deserve some particular consideration. Bath has offered singular opportunities for display in architecture, by the extraordinary encouragement for building there, through the periodical confluence of wealthy individuals from various parts, and by the uncommon facilities furnished by a freestone on the spot, of good color and quality, wrought with extraordinary ease, and by a lime setting with uncommon firmness. Upon this extraordinary town therefore, a kind of hotbed of architecture, I will offer a few remarks.

Bath, for its hot waters, appears to have been a favorite place of the Romans; and perhaps no part of Britain had Roman buildings of greater splendor than Bath and its neighbourhood. But the splendor of Roman Bath was not of times of the best Roman taste; which indeed seems at no time to have migrated in any splendor beyond the southeastern provinces of France. That temple,

of the Augustan age, nearly perfect, at Nismes in Languedoc, called the Square house, is a singular jewel. The ruin, supposed of Diana's temple, at the same place, a rare example of the interior architecture of its day, is of great value. The much injured exterior of a larger temple at Vienne in Dauphiny marks also its birth in good times. Farther northward or westward I know nothing of any value, now existing; though, so late as Lewis the fourteenth's reign, a barbarian engincer, employed by that patron of the arts, destroyed a valuable relic at Bourdeaux, to use the materials in the construction of a fort. Even in the south of France buildings of the lower empire, of the style on the continent called Gothic, more abound. Triumphal arches, principally by their solidity and their uselessness, have been preserved. That at Orange has fame for a style above the Gothic, or lowest Roman. One at Cavaillon has great richness with much more of the character of taste far gone in decay. At Carpentras in the county of Avignon, a triumphal arch with much sculpture, not of the best times, but superior to that of Cavaillon, has been singularly converted to use. Half-buried, its remaining opening was found just what a French cook might most desire for a magnificent kitchen-chimney, and it has been adopted as such for the palace of the bishop of the place. What may have become of either the bishop or his kitchen-

chimney, among the horrors of the French revolution in that part, I have not heard. But the Roman antiquities found at Bath are not generally superior to the well-known monuments of saint Remy in Provence.

Our Anglosaxon forefathers cared little for the hot waters of Bath, in which Roman luxury delighted, and by which Roman diseases, insuing from luxury, were relieved. Perhaps the wealth of the city contributed then to its ruin: all the Roman buildings, of any splendor, were overthrown; and, beyond the range of the ruins, the village of Bath-wick perhaps sufficed for the remaining inhabitants.

The monks, possibly from Italy, seem to have been the sagacious men next to observe and to covet the site of the hot springs: and so Bath abbey rose. What the buildings of the founders were I know not. But the great church, remaining, shows their successors men not indowed with the fine taste, displayed in the cathedral of Wells, and, if not superior, yet more celebrated, in the ruins of the monastery of Glastonbury, in the same county.

But the modern splendor of Bath is of late birth. The first splendid range of buildings, produced by the new resort of company thither, was that called the Parades, with their connecting streets. They are in a sound style of Roman architecture. Happy in the limitation of their extent, and

singularly so in the fortune of their open situation, they are, I suppose, among the most successful attempts ever made, to give effect of architecture to an accumulation of very moderately sized houses. With their terraces, guarded by extensive balustrades, in their now decaying state, they remind me, though as public buildings compared with private, of what I know only by Uvedale Price's description of what himself destroyed, and afterward repented of destroying, at his own beautiful seat of Foxley in Herefordshire. The miserable iron barring, by which the decaying balustrades are already in part superseded, indicates, in the very outset of observation on the subject, large decay of architectonic taste since their erection. We see there, at once, what was its youthful vigor, and what is its decrepitude; at which however thus we arrive prematurely, so I will revert to the midway scenes.

After the Parades, the Square became the boast of Bath. The parades, and their appendages, are an arrangement of building suited peculiarly to the spot, on which they stand. The square is a form suited to large towns generally; but was first seen, in advantageous extent, in London. Bath proposed, not to vie with London in that merit, but to excel it by the superiority of its material, and by the richer style of architecture, for which that material gave facility. The style of the square at Bath, as that of the parades,

is Roman, but having more of the Palladian character: on the northern side more splendid; on the western more varied; on the eastern and southern simpler. Objection is made, I think not unreasonably, to the heavy pediment in the northern center. The fault, for I allow it, in my eye, such, was however the approved proportion not of that only, but also of the preceding age; of which the pediment of saint Paul's cathedral is an example. There may be moreover other faults; but the assemblage of buildings in the square, altogether, is clearly eminent for virtues, among the buildings of that splendid city, and perhaps not less pleasing because no two of its sides are alike.

It was the good fortune then, of the architect Wood, and of Bath, that he raised himself into credit. Where he began, or where he ended I know not: it suffices for me that, avoiding a street, he built the Circus and the Crescent. He was a man who, with a disposition to bold design, had the moderation and judgement to respect authority and shun extravagance. His style was the Roman. The idea of his circus has been derived from the Roman amphitheater: it is the Roman amphitheater ingeniously and judiciously adapted to his purpose by inversion; the exterior of the Roman, making the interior of the circle at Bath. Objection is made, I think, some just objection, to the piling of three orders of columns,

Yet, be it observed, that arrangement assorts perfectly with the stories, and with the triple row of windows resulting. The effect is altogether rich, and the several intablatures carry the eye advantageously the circuit. Not so, however, it must be confessed, for the elevation: the interruption there, though with fair forms, is not advantageous, but rather offensive. Moreover the columns, though giving richness, are of dimensions too small for grandeur. Within a room, even smaller might, in some combinations, be admitted; but, in exterior building, they bear too much of Lilliputian character. Similar objection I think lies against the minute ingenuity of the sculpture, in the frieze of the lower order. In close examination it may amuse; but to any general good effect it is far from contributing. Nevertheless I think it must be allowed that the triple order assorts better with the interior of a circle, as at Bath, than with the exterior as at Rome; which may go far to excuse Wood, though not to establish his work as a model.

His Crescent certainly deserves far higher praise. Indeed opportunity so advantageous, for so wide a display of town-building, has fallen to the fortune of few architects; and where anything approaching it has occurred, I know not where it has been used so ably. The general resource, for the variety necessary to satisfy the eye in a long range of building, is to distinguish,

sometimes a center only, sometimes a center and two wings, by elevation, or projection, or decoration, or all three. Wood, having opportunity, from the depth of ground allowed him, has most judiciously used it for producing a sufficient variety; by complexity of ground-line, to inable him to give perfect simplicity to the mass of his elevation. He has failed, in my opinion, (but, for the beauty of his building, when I view it, I endeavour to overlook the small failing,) in the little paulty distinction of the center, which, possibly in compliance with worse taste than his own, he has introduced. Other failings also there are, and some enough generally noticed. Some belong not so much to the architect as to the Roman style, or rather that best modern Italian, called the cinquecento, the style of the school in which he was bred. Oversimplicity is not a common fault of that school; yet nothing, I think, is so commonly objected to as the extreme plainness of the lofty and conspicuous basement, bearing so splendid a superstructure. I am not myself generally disposed to quarrel with simplicity; and, if celebrated example may justify the architect, I desire to observe that the justly celebrated front of the Louvre at Paris, is an example in point. I will however farther observe, that had the best examples of Grecian architecture been known to Wood, as, by publications since his time, they are now open to all, he might probably not only have given a little more

richness, with good effect, to his basement, but might also have designed several other parts of his building in better taste.

Nevertheless, with all its faults in parts, I must reckon the Crescent at Bath among the finest modern buildings at this day existing in the world. Bernini's colonnade, in front of saint Peter's church at Rome, superior far in magnitude and magnificence, is alone also perhaps superior in the simplicity of its magnificence, and the grand effect resulting, which cannot be produced by complexity. But over that celebrated colonnade the Bath crescent has one great advantage. Bernini's colonnade has the defect of the Grecian roofless temple; it wants breadth and solidity of shade. The Bath crescent, by its semi-elliptical form, and its length of solid wall, broken only by its projected columns, with intervals harmoniously varied in the perspective by that semi-elliptical curvature, has been, with singular felicity, fitted to receive the most beautiful effects of light and shadow. Excellent therefore altogether, it deserves, in my opinion, to be studied by architects, who may distinguish its virtues and its vices, and notwithstanding its defects, to be admired by all.

Whether the new rooms were Wood's I know not, but they are not unworthy of him. Modesty without, leading to splendor within, marks, in my opinion, just judgement in the design of an edifice of that character.

Bath has been very unhappy in her later buildings, where extraordinary opportunities have been lamentably wasted. The town-house, the building of most pretension, most also shows an architect's mind; and, for that reason I should prefer it for criticism, if I wanted farther example of frippery and nonsense.

There is, however, another building, among the very latest, which I must notice on another score, the new entrance to the old public rooms: If the general sentiment of the failure of good effect in that building should produce an extensive opinion that the style is not excellent, and the design not elegant, that building will greatly injure public taste. But if it stands simply a warning how the best style may be misapplied, it may furnish a very valuable lesson to future designers. Why does that chaste design fail of its just effect? The cause, I apprehend, is of the same character with that of the failure of the interior of saint Peter's at Rome, but it is the antipodes to that cause. A little edifice, in a style adapted to great dimensions, the portico of the old rooms at Bath, in a garden, would please. But surrounded, and looked down upon, by a shabby neighbourhood of far loftier buildings, it is like a figure with the limbs and gait of a hero, but the stature of a dwarf, in group with full sized beggars.

LETTER XXX.

Domestic Architecture.—Country Houses.

‘FOOLS,’ it is said, ‘build houses, for wise men to live in.’ Is mankind then indebted to folly for the comfort of houses? Questioning thus, I do not however mean to controvert the old saying; which, like many other sayings of excellent import, will, I think, certainly be admitted by the wise, but under reasonable limitations. Extravagance clearly marks folly, yet is often the error of powerful minds: carefulness is surely a branch of wisdom, though frequently the virtue of slender intellects. More correctly than perhaps, though less pithily, it might be said, ‘Extravagant men build houses for careful men to live in.’

I think however you will agree that a fool never built such a house as a wise man, having means to chuse, could be satisfied to live in? On the other hand, how often have you known the man, too careful to undertake a new house, lay out more on his old one, in alterations and additions, than would have built a better from the ground? Every man’s dwelling, I think it will generally be allowed, however to be acquired, should be proportioned to his fortune; and, where means are ample, not to build a reasonably good house

may be as little the decision of wisdom, as not to have a reasonably good dinner.

There is however, I must own, this material difference, that dinner, being a daily affair, the miscalculation of one day, whether of excess or deficiency, may be readily repaired; but building a house is a business that, well done may benefit, ill done may even ruin, not the individual builder only, but generations after him. Admitting then the proverb, 'Fools build houses for wiser men, 'to live in,' may we not add, 'Wise men build 'houses for themselves, and those whom they 'may most value of following generations?' Certainly, however, I think it must be admitted, that houses should be built as they may be wanted, and that fools will not be the best managers of the business.

The lowest order of dwelling, whether cabin, wigwam, hut, or by whatever name distinguished, is that which has but one room for all the purposes of the family. The first step in improvement, I suppose generally, has been to add a kitchen, for the ordinary general business of the family, apart from the sleeping-rooms. The decency of providing for separation of males from females, and married from unmarried in rest, has, I think, hardly preceded this; but, in whatever order the progress went, it was a great step. The hall followed, for assembling in leisure, and

taking meals with an elegant cleanliness, apart from all places where victuals are prepared and menial offices performed.

Thus far the domestic architecture of families in easy circumstances, we observe, went in Edgar's time. What differences may have been in the manner of the rooms, and their furniture, we cannot very exactly know; but the description, as far as it goes, would serve for the small country gentleman's house, till the beginning of the seventeenth century; and, in parts distant from the capital, to the beginning of the eighteenth. Hence, in the north of England, the phrase 'a hall-house' remains, among the common people, descriptive of a gentleman's house.

But private architecture must always be secondary to public; and we know very little of what, in the Anglo-saxon times, public architecture was, except for churches. Christianity early gained a footing in the kingdom of Kent; but, having hardly obtained complete establishment over England, when it was disturbed by the Danish invasions, revenue had not been acquired, sufficient to raise many considerable buildings for Christian worship. The interest of the church however had obtained, by degrees, more and more favor from the civil government to its demand of a tenth of all the produce of the land. One third only of this revenue was proposed

for the maintenance of the clergy; another third was to relieve the poor, and the remaining portion was to be expended in building and maintaining the place of meeting for public worship.

It appears to me nevertheless probable that, even to the end of the Saxon dynasty, parish churches were few, except in towns. The people of the hamlets assembled for divine service in the lord's chapel; where either a monk from a neighbouring monastery or a secular priest without presentation or induction performed the duty. For it was long before the ecclesiastics obtained the authority of law for the sole disposal of any part of this tithe. The lords of manors retained the right of directing to what ecclesiastic the management of that collected from their tenants should be committed.

But with population spread over the country, another species of architecture grew, specially noticed in that invaluable record, Domesday Book. Watermills, new in the latter times of the Roman empire, were remarkably numerous. This, taken together with the even extension of population over the country, seems to constitute proof of security for person and property, which historians appear to have overlooked; while they have collected, and thrown into strong light, scattered facts of a tendency to show thier insecurity. In times of danger people flock to towns. But the very

smallness of the population of towns, in the Saxon times, while the country was well peopled, is still a corroborating circumstance, in proof that, with all the occasional weakness, and permanent defects, of the political system, whence violences would occasionally occur, the civil institutions of Alfred had power generally to maintain that order, which these facts, ascertained by Domesday, so strongly indicate.

Policy made the first William a great patron of the clergy. He acquired great means, and, in his reign, and the two following, numerous churches were built and endowed. Stephen's reign was the great era of castle-building. Henry the second checked the growing fancy for fortified residencies, and superseded the need of them, by restoring and improving the Saxon administration of law, never formally abolished, but only overborne by irregular acts of power, or disregarded among the violences of civil wars.

Henry's was certainly a splendid era for the improvement of administration. The rise of those luminaries of the law, under him, whose authority, to this day, has never ceased to be quoted with the highest respect, would alone prove uncommon improvement. In the various and long contests for the crown, property had changed hands greatly, since the first William's reign, and become more divided. The establishment of the assizes

then, and appointment of the itinerant judges, from the courts of Westminster, to insure the administration of equal law all over the kingdom, formed a most important improvement for the security of person and property. Many of the great accumulators of forfeited estates granted lands to be held, by liberal tenures, under them: many, to pay for the preservation of the rest, and some with other views, sold portions of their property.

Thus things began to settle in something approaching that, whence the order under which we live has emanated. Then already, as now, the principal landed men of the country were in turn sheriff, and all met twice yearly, to form the grand jury at the assizes. The inferior landholders formed the petty juries. The sheriff's court and the various courts-leet supplied the place of the present quarterly and petty sessions of justices. The provincial administration thus being in the hands of the landed men of the province, country-houses abounded and villages flourished.

Here, in my opinion, is the basis of the whole constitution. If ever it should be, from whatever circumstances, that those numerous, or rather numberless, offices now executed, as an unpaid duty, by the various ranks of the country, from the high sheriff to the petty constable and church-

warden, should be superseded by crown-appointments with salaries, all the rest of the constitution will quickly moulder away : men of wealth must herd in towns : country-seats will no more be found in England than elsewhere.

By the bounty of Providence to this country, the long list of her kings, from Egbert downward, presents a larger proportion of men of superior talent and virtue united, than perhaps any other can show. But, beneficial as this prerogative has been, a more extraordinary felicity of England is this, that she has, with vigor so tempered by prudence, profited from the errors of her worst kings, that it may be questioned for which she has the greater obligations to the almighty disposer of events. The reign of John, disastrous during his life for his people, as well as for himself, produced benefits for following ages inestimable ; which, without his errors and vices how they could have come, human ingenuity will not easily show : for the admirers of democracy will look in vain to history, for proof that popular government has anywhere been wise, or virtuous, or beneficial. Among the contests, in our country, for succession to the throne, property no doubt, was violently agitated, and the law, at times wholly overborne. But the result was that property became more beneficially divided, the law

was greatly improved, and so property itself far better secured. Edward the first, in an administration vigorous and prudent, profiting from the advantages, prepared by Henry the second, to repair the evils of the intervening reigns, fixed the foundation on which the houses of the country-gentlemen of England have stood, now above five hundred years; and may stand, as far as human foresight can calculate, without limitation of time; unless violence, whether of monarchy or democracy, should gain an ascendant which our forefathers have always successfully resisted.

LETTER XXXI.

Domestic Architecture.—Country Houses.

MUCH as the government of the country was improved, and increase of security given to domestic life, by the wise and magnanimous administration of the first Edward, yet no more could be done than to prepare the constitution and the law to stand future storms, which were not to be prevented. The next reign was very stormy. A season of uncommon brilliancy followed, and then an uncommon continuance of uncommon storms, in the celebrated wars of the Roses, the contests of the houses of York and Lancaster. Domestic security could not but in some parts suffer; everywhere it was more or less precarious. Families were not universally driven, as under democratical governments they commonly have been, to live in towns; but it became habitual to give to every country-house something of the castle character. If the building was of wood, a situation was chosen, where a mote might afford the security of walls: provision, in every way, to make the interior safe, was of more consideration than to make either interior or exterior pleasant.

Some houses of wood, of large size, and of highly studied ornament, have remained to our time. All, of whatever material, show that the general plan of building was the same as that of castles, more properly so called, or fortified family residences, built of stone. The plan little differed from that of monasteries, and colleges in our universities. The principal entrance led immediately to a hall, always large in proportion to the whole building. At one end of the hall was the butlery, and not far from it, the kitchen; which was also large. The houses of men of superior rank had commonly a chapel, which was commonly the most splendid room of the house. The other rooms were generally very small.

The revival of arts in Italy, extending to England, produced a great change in the plan and design of houses, which however remained imperfect; much, I think, in consequence of the check to the communication between the two countries, occasioned by the reformation of religion here. Great change nevertheless followed, and the more readily perhaps, because nobody chose any longer to have a house resembling the monasteries, which were held antichristian. Nowhere in Europe, during the time, unless perhaps in the Venetian territory, and never anywhere in so bad a taste, were built so many magnificent country-

houses, as here under Elizabeth and James the first; in plan not materially differing from examples at Rome and Florence, though in a style wholly their own.

Effect of interior architecture appears to have been little studied in houses, even at Florence and Rome. Painting, then in its zenith, being the favorite art, the architect seems to have been confined to indulgence for exterior effect, that the painter might have the more scope within. But the same person, in those days, often was eminent in both arts, Leonardo da Vinci, Michael Angelo, Raphael, and Giulio Romano, were architects as well as painters.

The circumstances of Italy through all its numerous states, with bad governments, and mostly narrow territories, some very narrow, never offered anywhere that domestic security which has now long been enjoyed in England. The Venetian government gave the best, and thus offered the opportunities which Palladio so ably used. Thence Inigo Jones profiting, first introduced good taste and convenience in the plan and design of houses in England, suited to an age of domestic security: though in some of the castles of the Plantagenet era, fine taste is conspicuous in plans most ingeniously adapted to the circumstances of the times; and to the manners of the

times; which were necessarily affected by the un-
toward circumstances.

Jones's plans, originating from Italy, were far from perfectly accommodated to either the climate or, to that we call, the comforts of England. As a first essay, however, in a great change, they may be esteemed highly successful. The next manner of plan which got vogue, was brought from more congenial climates, France and Holland. The hall of entrance, and the principal staircase, were to be great, though all else in the house, and even the house altogether was small: and even when the house was great, all the other rooms comparatively were small; the magnificence aimed at being to show a number in vista. Jones had followed the Italian style in disposing his windows. His piers were large and the light often scanty. In Italy light is dispensed with, the better to obviate violence of heat. Shade, in summer, even to darkness, is preferred to light, accompanied with the sun's burning rays. In France they ran into the contrary extreme. A French writer, who preferred Latin to his own language for poetry, has described the houses of Lewis the fourteenth's time thus:

Quas hodie rure ponunt, et in urbibus, ædes
Perfundunt hac luce, cavas hoc ore fenestras,
Hoc numero faciunt, altis ut tecta columnis,
Non muris, suffulta putes; hominemque penates

Nunc intra vitreos jures nec frigora brumæ,
 Nec curare notos et vim penetrabilis æstus.
 Transmittuntur enim larga cum luce calores
 Æstivi; neque, si raucis Aquilonibus atrox
 Mugit hyems, duram gelidi vim frigoris arcent
 Multa fenestratos quæ munimenta penates
 Linea defendunt. —————

Jac. Vanier. Præd. Rust. l. i.

In the same age, with us, Vanbrugh had his peculiar style of exterior. But the French style was more common: not carried quite to the excess, which the French Latin poet describes, in light and glass, but aiming at exterior effect almost only in minute ornaments; sometimes about the windows, but always about the door of principal entrance; which was dressed in a manner fitter for a cabinet within, than for a portal without, in a climate of rain and snow.

Lord Burlington had the merit of reforming this fancy, and bringing the public taste back nearly to that which Inigo Jones had introduced. Through his influence and patronage George the first and second's reigns may be considered as the era of the greatest perfection of the Roman architecture in England, and the most general prevalence of the best taste in it. Saint Martin's church, Wanstead house, and Houghton house may suffice to mention for examples. I wish I could add Burlington house, without the regret which cannot but arise at the report prevalent that it is the noble owner's purpose to pull it

down. The court is an example of exterior domestic architecture, the most splendid and beautiful, perhaps to be anywhere seen.

But in the moderately sized house, in the private gentleman's seat, domestic architecture was less nearly perfected than in mansions approaching palatial magnificence. The general feeling of this enough appears in the numerous instances of interior alteration since; the provision of a new entrance to many; the removal of the great staircase in many; the conversion of the great hall in many to the purpose of an eating-room, its original office; and the demolition of party-walls to combine useless little rooms, the formerly fashionable vista, in one sufficient drawing-room.

The custom of Italy to have the farm-offices, and especially those for the vintage, in the same range of building with the mansion, and to raise the principal floor, for a degree of castellan security, high above the ground, on lofty vaults, gave Palladio great opportunity for display of exterior.

Jones appears to have reckoned justly, that as English convenience neither required, nor would readily admit, this arrangement, Palladio's display of exterior should not be emulated here. But the architects who followed him were dazzled, or dazzled their employers. 'To tack the wings to

'the center with a colonnade,' became a phrase to express the purpose of plan of the most elegant effect. And the effect, provided the combination be harmonious, will be elegant; but the arrangement is very adverse to general convenience, and especially upon the moderate scale of most general use. Where great splendor is the object, convenience must yield to it. Magnificence must be paid for, in convenience as well as in money. But it has been the reasonable object of our times, even among the great, to extend convenience, even with the abridgement of splendor; and, of late, the spreading wings have had less favor.

Elegance however is always desirable, and to maintain in all things appearances, altogether not below personal rank, deserves attention. Resources therefore have been sought for dispensing with spreading wings, or at least with a regular equality in them. The first adopted was to place all the offices on one side of the house, and plant them out, as it is called. This answered perfectly for convenience of disposition, and it gave opportunity or pretence for building less expensively. Appearing then to have some plausibility in theory, and being easy to attempt, it has been attempted very extensively; but it never did and never can succeed. To answer the end the plants must be placed, generally very near the

offices, and always close to the body of the house. Low plants are insufficient; tall ones offend with damp and darkness. Earnestness to complete the business rapidly, nevertheless induces to plant tall and close. Tall plants are generally unthrifty, and, set close, they cannot thrive. Advised of this, the planter puts young plants under them. With the first year's striking, they all go to war, root and branch; and the result is a ragged skreen, greenish rather than green, and uglier than the buildings it is desired to hide, and which yet, after all, are not hidden. Evergreens being mostly of slow growth, and less bearing removal when advanced in height, fill only the under space; so in winter the skreen is of thin brown-grey gauze, and all the unsightliness behind appears. This is the most common case. But if the builder's experience in planting urges him to a better course, and evergreens, with room for root and branch to thrive, are depended upon, long patience is necessary to the perfection of the business; and still even so the business cannot be perfected. It is not in the nature of plants to rest in perfection. If not decay, yet growth beyond what is convenient, presently begins. Trimming, so as not to injure grossly the natural form of the plant, and belie its character, is an operation of much trouble, and requiring judgment far beyond the common gardener's. Plant-

ing-out cannot possibly be either quickly brought to perfection, or long hold it.

Some of the first architects of the present day, aware of the always disappointing and generally offensive result of planting-out, as well as the inconveniencies of offices in wings, have reverted to an old plan, building around a quadrangular court: the body of the house forming the principal front, and extending into either or both sides of the quadrangle, as may be desirable; the offices, with or without stables, occupying the rest. But, if prospect is desired, and aspect, with regard to the sun, is considered, how far this plan may answer depends upon situation. The general difficulty with it is to manage the entrance, so that the very common, but very great annoyance, of presenting, to all persons approaching the house, a look into all the principal rooms, may be obviated. If a central entrance be insisted on, this can hardly be. To sidle into the house is less satisfactory, and yet often offers such advantages that I would not absolutely condemn it. If then, for the inconvenience of the central entrance, and the appearance of the sideling entrance, whether for effect more unharmonizing or more undignified, this plan be rejected, I know of no resource but, throwing the offices all on one side, to detach them by a break, the most that conveniently may be; making them in themselves,

a handsome appendage of the house; and assisting the break in the building by breaking with trees: not presenting the appearance of a pretence to, what cannot be well done, planting-out; but showing the main building completely and prominently, the appendages, partially and in back-ground.

L E T T E R XXXII.

Domestic Architecture.—Country Houses.

I HAVE observed, in a former letter, that the French taste, prevailing with us in Queen Ann's time, made the entrance-door the greatest beau about the house. A carriage could not approach him. He was mounted on a number of exterior steps, and the ladies, with their high head-dresses, were liable to a sopping, in rain, before they could reach from their coaches the shelter of the great hall. Indeed the ladies of those days perhaps the less regarded this, as many houses then presented them a court to cross, before they could approach the entrance-steps. Moreover, the sidesaddle and the pillion were far more common vehicles, for ladies in the country, than the coach or chariot; the tire-woman attending with the dress, to be put on after arrival.

However, the inconvenience led to consideration of remedy ; and the first adopted, in some splendid new houses, was to have a way to creep under the portico, and rise thence by an inferior staircase. Evidently so the portico did not properly do its office ; which should be to introduce to the principal apartments with the greatest convenience, and with suitable dignity.

For this proper office the portico has lately, in some houses of superior size, with great advantage, been adapted : the carriage driving under it, and the company passing beneath its shelter into the hall, where, if the principal floor is of a higher level, steps are managed with advantageous effect, to rise to it. But this can suit only houses of superior size. A portico of just proportion, with intercolumniation to admit a carriage, will be overbearing for a moderate private gentleman's house. Hardly can a tetrastyle portico serve ; and hardly less dimensions than those of the portico of Carlton-house. Nor can a substitute suited to the smaller mansion, I think, be easily contrived. A projecting building, sufficient to receive a carriage, though well-proportioned and elegant in itself, yet by its prominence and unharmonizing qualities, instead of adorning the front of the house, will deform it.

But a building, insufficient to receive, may meet the carriage, so that the company may pass

instantly to the shelter of a vestibule, where steps, if necessary, may advantageously conduct to the principal floor. To such a projecting vestibule the ingenious architect will have no difficulty in giving good effect, exterior as well as interior; and such I think is the best, and altogether a good resource, for the moderate private gentleman's house.

Inigo Jones, to judge from what he executed at Colehill in Berkshire, reckoned a principal staircase no unfit associate for a great hall. At the Grange in Hampshire he connected them less intimately. The effect at both places has been generally admired. The former plan is perhaps fittest for a moderate house, the latter for one of great magnificence; and at Blenheim and at Castle-Howard the result is the happiest, I think, that Vanbrugh ever produced in interior architecture. Certainly a staircase, with space not too confined, affords an architect some of his best opportunities. Lately it has been fashionable to economize space in both staircase and hall, as mere passages, for the sake of giving more to the living apartments: a small vestibule has often superseded the large old hall, and, even in considerable houses, the staircase is of little dignity. Provided extremes be avoided, and the house be so planned that such an arrangement is the most

convenient for communications, perhaps I might not blame this. A house may be handsome, as well as commodious, without great space in a mere passage-room, and without particular effect in the principal staircase. But, if the plan of the house makes a large entrance-hall convenient for communication, which, in houses of considerable sizè, generally it may, the space will, I think, be most advantageously economized by Inigo Jones's resource, placing a handsome staircase in it.

I like a gradation in the decoration of houses. The exterior, even of a palace, I should prefer comparatively plain: of a private dwelling, very plain. I do not thus exclude forms of effect, as columns and arches; but only over-decoration of those and of all other forms. A Corinthian capital is hardly fit for the open air in this climate. In anything below a cathedral or a palace, I reckon it, in the exterior, incongruous. But I know not why a private gentleman's house should be denied columns for use; why a portico of stone should not supersede what is called a viranda, of wood; nor why, though he would avoid the caprices of the Caliban Anglo-gothic, he should be limited, in his colonnade, strictly to examples from the Grecian temple. What sort of a portico the house of that eminent country-gentleman of ancient Attica, Miltiades

son of Cypselus, had, where he was sitting, when he saw armed strangers passing, whom he invited to hospitality, in return for which they invited him to be prince of their country, I should be glad if you could tell me. The phrase, by which it is described, indicates no more than building projected before the principal door of the house. It might, or might not, have columns. Hardly, however, I think, would it emulate, in richness of decoration, the temples of the gods, even of that age; and still less of following times, whence the most perfect examples of the Doric order have been preserved to us. Yet columns surely might be reasonably desired, both for pleasant and convenient shelter, and for a dignity becoming the mansion of an eminent individual: and if the intalature, especially, were simpler than that of the Doric of the temples, must the composition therefore altogether be without grace?

Another question has occurred to my mind, in considering the different purposes and needs of sacred and domestic architecture. Guided by the reason of the thing, the Greeks, in the peristyles of their temples, allowed small proportional interval between column and column; for the peristyle was as a main wall, a principal support of an extensive roof. But where support was not wanted for so weighty a superstructure, they allowed wider intercolumniation; as seems indi-

cated in the relic of a colonnade at Delos, represented in Stuart's third volume of the *Antiquities of Athens*. Thus a portico, having a pediment, will require a closer arrangement of columns than one showing only a low horizontal parapet above the cornice.

To return then to the consideration of gradation in ornament, I will advert to a magnificent example of a private dwelling, in which there is so much to admire, that it may well bear notice of defects. When, many years ago, recently returned from the continent, I saw Keddleston-house in Derbyshire, I thought the entrance-hall there the most magnificent room I had ever seen anywhere, and among the most unexceptionable in its richness. I entered it from the portico; which is itself uncommonly magnificent for a private mansion, even of a great nobleman; and yet, on first viewing the hall, with its Corinthian colonnade of alabaster, its splendor was dazzling. But disappointment ensued. Though the apartments were more than commonly large and numerous, and very well fitted, yet all appeared comparatively poor. I have been told that the noble owner, nevertheless, not satisfied with the richness of his magnificent hall, employed an ingenious artist to adorn the doors with minute painting, such as might be admired in a cabinet. The hall, I am confident, would not be so improved; and how

the other rooms could be worked up to it I never heard, and am indeed wholly at a loss to imagine.

In my opinion, to give the best effect to a house altogether, simplicity, rather massive, with an air of more or less grandeur, proportioned to the fortune and rank of the family, should characterize the outside, and especially the entrance-front. A great degree of the same character should hold through the entrance-hall; but somewhat softened, and with some addition, yet small, of decoration. In the eatingroom the gradation should proceed: some massiveness should remain, and considerable simplicity; but not without an increase of ornament. Simplicity, in considerable amount, is everywhere desirable; but in the drawingroom first, more particularly the lady's apartment, a character of delicacy should be prominent, and, in proportion to the circumstances of the family, richness. If the minute decoration of the doors of the great hall at Kedleston could be anywhere desirable, it would be, I think, in the lady's dressingroom to the state-bedchamber.

LETTER XXXIII.

Furniture.

A HOUSE unfurnished may be reckoned hardly more than half built; furniture being necessary to its use, as well as to the decoration connected with use. It follows that the architect should design his rooms with a view to furniture: the architecture and the furniture should harmonize; and for that end, if the architect does not actually design the furniture, he and the upholsterer, like Rubens and Snyders in painting, should work together. I have been told that in Paris, under the last Bourbons, this came into fashion; but I never could learn exactly where it was done; and in looking, as far as I had opportunity, among the houses there most celebrated for magnificence and new elegance, I could no where discover any satisfactory example of it.

But, with us, furnishing is generally reckoned the lady's business; or, indeed, claimed as her right and exclusive privilege. So far this is well, as women are, in taste for such matters, and perhaps judgement, not generally inferior to men; and in liveliness of delight in them, and in disposition to diligence about them, certainly they far excel: which is also obviously consonant to a just moral

order; the domestic being woman's proper department.

But, in some points, this is not so well. There is, you know, of great power in the world, a certain fascinating spirit, called Fashion; which controls the fancy, and compels it to a predilection, and, at its pleasure, to a change of predilection, for forms and colors, and practices, quite independently of reason, and not seldom in the most direct opposition to common-sense. Fashion nevertheless is a brainless spirit, if the expression may be allowed of spirit; and without sense of good or evil. It will ally itself with Taste, good equally or bad, and with Moral Order, good or bad. Among the Greeks of old, connecting itself with good taste, (I wish I could add good morals) in its progress toward perfection, and maintaining the alliance, when perfection was attained, Fashion was of inestimable value. In some instances Fashion has been found capable of fixing a good moral order; and then of course it has been of worth still far more transcendant. But this brainless spirit, perhaps oftener has made bad taste immoveable; of which the Chinese afford a great example; and that it has too frequently given large sanction to a most corrupt moral order, needless, you well know, it was, when Europe could be travelled over, to go beyond Europe to see.

But, among the Greeks, in architecture, in literature, even in dress, things were so settled, that one general character of Grecian taste has been the allowed criterion of perfection, for now toward three thousand years. How was it that the spirit of Fashion, among them, held such persevering connection with the spirits of Common-sense and of Steadiness? Could it be because women were so excluded from general society as to have little influence in directing Fashion, or in supporting her in wayward fancies? Surely the spirit of Steadiness is not alien from the English character: in graver matters we know it has been eminent. The famous 'Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari,' has been persevered in for centuries; and we may hope will be persevered in as long as the world shall last, or as long as it shall please Providence that the English nation exist. But in matters of taste, certainly it has not been so.

There is not a dæmon more adverse to good taste than the spirit of Novelty. In matters of taste, as in almost every thing, there are commonly many wrong ways for one right. Now the spirit of Novelty allows readily the passing from wrong to right; but, at no rate, the perseverance in right; whence wrong must, many times to one, with him, prevail. With this spirit, Fashion has long, in our country, but especially of late days, held close alliance. Fashion has no will of her

own; but Novelty, though ever-changing, has, for the moment, a most determined one. Thus, Fashion still appearing the imperial lady, and Novelty but her minister, he easily leads her his own way.

In what high estimation both these whimsical spirits are held very extensively, not to say universally, among the ladies, is enough known. The ladies even in England, rarely have their natural good taste improved, but often much perverted, by education. Taught, from infancy, to revere the majesty of Fashion, and to consider her sovereignty as not to be, even decently, opposed, with a lively feeling for the charms of Novelty, they set about their imperial business of furnishing a house. Ranging the fashionable upholsterer's warehouses, they feel themselves as in a sea of delights, but as in a vessel with a port to seek. Without a compass, they look to Fashion as their polar star, and they give the helm to Fancy.

The sky is clear, the weather most temperate; but, under licence of Fashion, Novelty, with his handmaid Variety, dispensing the winds, they are ever shifting. Fancy, distracted, grows giddy; her nerves falter, her hand shakes, her eyes twinkle, and she can no longer, by day, take the height of the sun, or, by night, with any certainty discover her polar star, a changeling polar star Fashion. Distressed, she recommends to the

lady to seek advice from the experienced, and the upholsterer himself is called to their assistance.

Beyond all others the spirits of Novelty and Variety are objects of the upholsterer's worship. He professes infinite reverence for Fashion. But his loyalty is for the fashion that may happen to reign for the day : nor is it, like the vicar of Bray's, an ever acquiescing loyalty ; on the contrary he is ever aiming at revolution. The lady is aware of the unsteadiness of the reign of Fashion ; and not less anxious than the upholsterer to be prepared to adore the rising sun : but with this difference ; he is always ready for revolution ; she devotes herself more to the present power, and dreads changes, in which others may be before her. Not wholly unaware then of hazard in committing herself to his advice, having made her inquiries, and gained all attainable information, her purpose is to direct him ; but he is versed in the ways of leading her.

It behoves the upholsterer much to have talent in matters of taste, and to cultivate it, so as to distinguish good from bad ; but more it behoves him to know the weak points in human nature. To recommend then always what good taste would approve, is utterly adverse to his interest. Nothing so advantageous for him as to gain prevalence for a new fashion of very bad taste ; and the more grossly bad the surer and greater

his benefit; because the easier will be the task to bring about another change; for of all things change is most beneficial to him.

The upholsterer's interest then is in direct opposition to the architect's credit. Put him into command in a room, and his first purpose must be to overwhelm the architect's work. What are elegancies in stucco, stone, or marble to him? For daylight indeed, he is a little dependent; he must have windows from the architect; and, till stoves were brought into use, he wanted him also for the chimney. But for candlelight, 'Give me a barn,' he says, 'and I will so throw my many-folded drapery its length, suspended on my golden thyrsus-fashioned poles, that nothing shall be seen needing the architect's art to supply.'

To proceed with this subject, however, I want my northern friend's assistance with a dream. I will venture therefore farther only to state a principle or two, which I trust you will admit, and I hope you will recommend to the ladies. When a house is ready for the furnisher, if it has any decoration of architecture fit to be seen, and not rather deserving to be treated as the upholsterer would very properly treat the barn, the style of that decoration should be respected in the design of the furniture. Either all should be upholstery, or the upholstery should be subordinate to the architecture, and harmonize with it. Can it be

requisite, I fear it may, to superadd, that the furniture should harmonize with itself through all its parts ; that gaudy and ill assorted colors, awkward forms, and even elegant forms and foldings, in that kind of display which may deserve the epithet meretricious, however warranted by the fashion of the day, should be avoided. With what ideas do that nakedness of the female figure, and that abundant complexity, that mystery of folding, of the drapery about the room to receive such figures, as we have been accustomed to see, harmonize? Fashion indeed is powerful, and sometimes grossly perverse. What could be reasonably done with the human head during the century and more of the successive fashions of the fullbottomed wig, the aile-de-pigeon hair-dressing, and all that intervened and followed, till wigs and hair-dressing were both abolished? Fashion, it must be confessed, has a strange power of fascination, which even strong minds have difficulty wholly to resist, even when that power is exerted most in opposition to evident reason. But it is only when a fashion has obtained universal and lasting prevalence that reason is so compelled to submit to it. Generally large choice is open. Reason and better taste may well venture upon opposition to partial and ephemerid absurdities, and with due exertion, would prevent their gaining any overbearing ascendancy.

LETTER XXXIV.

Sense and Nonsense in Architecture.

YOU remind me of our conversation upon sense and nonsense in architecture, and of my promise to you of some remarks of my northern friend on the subject. I will endeavour to keep my promise; but, as on some other wide subjects I have thought it prudent to be concise, so on this also I shall avoid any great dilation.

Common-sense is not ostentatious: often it escapes observation; ordinarily it is without prominent parts and strong colors to draw the unwary eye. Perhaps it may be most easily, if not most advantageously pointed out by contrast with its opposite, Nonsense, which I will therefore endeavour to describe.

Nonsense in architecture is principally observable in the misapplication of forms, invented for use, where they are strikingly useless intruders; or, sometimes, where they are even inconvenient, and obviously adverse to use. For instance, the Pediment is a form which common-sense would, without hesitation, propose for the front of the Grecian temple, or of any building whose plan, like that of the Grecian temple, is a simple parallelogram, with the entrance not on the longside,

but at the end. There the pediment form is as useful as graceful; giving the simplest construction of roof, and, by that construction, affording the convenience of throwing the drip of rain away from the entrance. How frequently this form is ill intruded will I think occur to any who may give any attention to the subject.

I remember it your just observation that, in the works of inferior designers, sense and nonsense appear to depend much upon the material. Stone, imperiously demanding respect for use and reason, is adverse to nonsense. Timber, in the office of a supporting material, hardly less requires strict and ingenious consideration of reason. But, through its readiness to find support, it affords large opportunity for the spirit of ornament and the passion for winning admiration to introduce nonsense. But of all ostensible materials, plaster, or stucco, offers the most boundless field. I highly respect the late invention, called Roman cement; but I dread the perversion of its good qualities to ill purposes, to which its accommodating temper makes it liable. Already in London, so good and evil are blended, through the readiness with which it lends itself to the rage for novelty and variety, absurdities begin to strike the eye in almost every street.

Nonsense however may too often be seen even in stonework. I have observed, in a former letter;

that, over openings, as doors and windows, which a single stone, in a rectilinear form, might securely cover, our forefathers laid such a stone. If the opening was too wide for their art to apply a sufficient single stone, they put two, or more, as occasion might be, forming some kind of arch. But I remember my northern friend speaking of a park-gate lodge, somewhere on the great northern road, with the lintel of its window formed of a very sufficient single stone, yet not allowed the rectilinear form, with which it would have retained most strength and fitness for its purpose: 'in emulation,' he said, 'of the fashionable Saracenic-Gothic taste, it was cut into more wrinkles, than a writhing eel could take while skinning.'

A thing so strikingly singular, given on a great road to public view, is of course offered for public admiration, at the risk of reprobation. Yet, where choice of matter suited to the illustration wanted, occurs, I should rather take a public building for criticism, and to such I will now proceed.

It happened to me to have occasion to go to Portsmouth, to attend a young kinsman embarking for military service, when my northern friend arrived there on his journey of curiosity. After viewing the great objects with which that place and its neighbourhood abound, we agreed to return northward by the way of Winchester. My

friend's remarks on the fortifications, from Dover to Portsmouth inclusive, would well deserve a volume; for, though he quitted the army young, his mind has been always much given to military subjects. They are however beyond our present purpose; but at Winchester occurred what I will relate.

We had been highly gratified with the cathedral of that city, and were going toward the castle, when a glimpse of a large new building caught my friend's eye, and he would turn into the very narrow lane by which was the approach to it. Arrived overagainst its center, we saw inscribed in ample characters, on the doorway into a narrow fore-court, 'Such-a-one, architect.' 'A handsome house the architect has built for himself here,' said my friend, 'and some considerable expence he has been at in this doorway, for the sign of his trade.' Presently however we observed another inscription, from which we learnt that my friend was, at least in part, mistaken; for the building before us was the county-jail. Drawing back then a few steps, to get a better general view of it, he burst into a fit of laughter, exclaiming, 'By my soul, Bullcalf's shoulders upon Shadow's legs!' The building had something imposing in its first appearance, and the wall of the court before it concealed, from my nearer view, the absurdity which had excited my friend's mirth,

so that I was wondering what it might be, when he broke out again, 'And the preposterous fop has 'got a laced coat and ruffles on!'

Moving a few steps, I presently saw the ground of these jokes. The building is of the white or rather strawcolored brick, with a cornice of Portland stone, more than commonly massive, and of extraordinary projection. Assorting in some degree with this, the windows have massive keystones; and the coins, also of Portland stone, make a show of strengthening the angles. 'Do you observe those French coins?' said my friend. I did not immediately take this new joke. But I presently observed what reminded me of the French ingenuity, whence French plate was formerly a name for false plate, French pearls for false pearls, French paste for false diamonds, and a French shirt for no shirt at all, but only frill and ruffles; and then I acknowledged the same French character in the building in view. For the stone, with which the coins are adorned, offers even the show of use only for the careless passenger: to every curious eye the nonsense of massive blocks, in a manner suspended in the angles of the upper story, becomes presently glaring; for those blocks of stone overhang the brick coins of the lower story, so that, with ostentation of strength, they cause real weakness.

While I was silently admiring this absurdity,

my friend engaged in conversation with a man who was passing. Directing my attention to their discourse, I heard the stranger say, 'I think sir, from your speech you come from the north; and I am from the north too, though I have been long settled in this town. In our parts I reckon we should have put the projecting coin of stone below, where it might rest firmly on the foundation of the building, and give real strength to the wall above.' 'Ay,' replied my friend, 'I was going to ask you if they had discovered here any art for making stone fly in the air.' 'Oh,' said the stranger again, 'some things have been done here ingeniously enough. Our gentlemen of the county, who attend sessions, were at first all for economy: public money, they said, should be allowed for the useful only: they would grant nothing for show; and this continued till a man from a great way off came and out-talked the architects of neighbouring parts, and so the building got what I think I heard you call a laced coat and ruffles. And sure enough lace and ruffle could do as much good as those coins of stone, and they would do no mischief; which, I fear, is more than can be with certainty said of that stonework, hanging a dead weight in the wall, already weakened by the destruction of its

‘ original coins of brick ; for all was brick at first,
‘ and the stone is but stuck in. The cornice
‘ was reckoned handsome ; for it cost a deal of
‘ money ; but some thought it looked too heavy,
‘ overhanging so much the brick wall below ; so,
‘ to mend the looks, a sham support was pro-
‘ vided, in those coins, which want support them-
‘ selves.’ ‘ Well,’ said my friend, ‘ this is a lesson
‘ in architecture beyond what I expected to meet
‘ with ; and if the inside of the building has been
‘ managed with as much ingenuity as the outside,
‘ it must be worth seeing.’ ‘ Why,’ said the man,
‘ what I reckoned the greatest curiosity within,
‘ when I saw the work going forward, is not visible
‘ now. You were laughing at the building for
‘ looking like Bullcalf’s shoulders with Shadow’s
‘ legs : but put such a figure in woman’s dress
‘ and all shows well ; the petticoat hides the
‘ defective limbs. This court-wall indeed makes
‘ but half a petticoat ; and so you see the naked-
‘ ness over it : but, within, a veil of plaster hides
‘ all. ‘ Another special lesson in architecture,’
said my friend. ‘ Ay,’ said the stranger, ‘ and
‘ it has been well paid for. - I think the cost of
‘ the building at last has been near four times
‘ what it was at first peremptorily determined
‘ should be the utmost allowed.’ ‘ Yet,’ said my
friend, ‘ the gentlemen of the county are satisfied
‘ with the architect, or they would not have

‘ allowed him to hang out his sign with his name
‘ here.’ ‘ To be sure,’ replied the man, ‘ there are
‘ as good gentlemen as any in England among
‘ them; and, for my part I cannot tell how it has
‘ been. In the north you know we call all these
‘ parts the south; but, in the south they reckon
‘ this the first county of the west. I think I have
‘ read in some book that the golden apples grew
‘ in the west: but another book, which we all
‘ should read, you know tells us that the wisemen
‘ came from the east.’

My friend began to be much pleased with this man’s humour, as well as his intelligence; but a gentleman of the country, to whom we were known, just then joining us, our conversation with the stranger of course ceased.

Mismanagement and defect in building may possibly be often seen where use has been the end, but absolute nonsense rarely: it can hardly arise, in that case, but where an ignorant mechanic has undertaken a business requiring a mechanic of superior information and talent. Nonsense most commonly grows out of the purpose of gratifying the eye, and exciting admiration. Often it is conspicuous in the modern Anglo-Gothic. I will mention one instance, of late very common, and, though extremely simple, I think powerful to illustrate the principle. An advantage of the pointed arch, and indeed a characteristic of that

composition of two arches, is that it wants no keystone. Two curves meet in an angle; at that angle is regularly a joint; and the arch, so built, excels in strength. But our workmen have been so educated in the habit of reckoning a keystone indispensable to the essence of whatever is to be called an arch, that regardless equally of the reason of the thing, and of the practice of our forefathers of the Plantagenet times, which, for that style nevertheless they profess their model, whether they use stone or brick, they will have a keystone or a key-brick to their arch; and, ridiculously enough, they cut a nick in it, to show where the materials of the two curves, forming their arch, should, but do not, meet.

Such mechanical absurdity, however, is not peculiar to the modern-Gothic. The segment of circle, sometimes called the Diocletian arch, from the admired example of it at Rome, has of late obtained extensive favor, principally through the recommendation of it in the practice of that eminent architect James Wyatt. Yet it may be seen, in the ruins of the unfortunate building at the southern foot of Blackfriars bridge, that, when an architect directs the work, the form of the material, with which the arch is turned, will be determined by the radius of the circle of which the arch is a segment. But when a skilful brick-

layer gets the management, his delight is to show his skill in defying Common-sense, and conquering difficulties of his own making. He rubs his bricks, not only each, from the center either way, to a different radius, but he forms each side of each brick to a different radius, that those abutting on the piers may lie horizontally, as in a semicircular or an elliptical arch. Thus he alters the essential properties of the Diocletian arch, and loses much of the strength belonging to its principle. But he gains pay for more labor, and, perhaps with the ignorant, credit and increased pay still proportioned to that credit, for an operation certainly requiring more skill and practice than the method of better science and better use.

A more common practice still, a very little matter in itself, yet so adapted to illustrate the principle that I will mention it, is observable in what the builders call a flat arch. When such an arch is to be constructed, of what is called single brick, the bricklayer constantly wastes his labor (not for himself; he is paid for it, but for his employer) in making a more perfect material look like a more imperfect one. The arch is formed of intire bricks; use so requiring, for the strength of the work; but a notch is sawed in every other one, and filled with mortar, to make it look like two half bricks; so giving the work a studied appearance of defect. I remember

it an observation of my northern friend, that, much as elegance and fine effect fail in the Plantagenet exterior, Common-sense is hardly ever found tripping there. I have looked extensively, he said, for nonsense in it, and if any has ever fallen within my line of observation, it has escaped me. Once I thought I had detected it, in a church-tower in Lancashire. An octagonal story is set on a square basement, and above it another octagon with the angles of the upper in the middle of the sides of the lower. In some points of view this complex form appeared more, in others less, light and well-proportioned. But, in considering it, the common-sense became obvious. The angles of the square basement are as buttresses for the firmer support of the octagon next above, whose angles are equally buttresses supporting the sides of the superstructure. The idea is exactly the reverse of that of the flying coins of the county-jail at Winchester.

As the Plantagenet style however went into decay, Nonsense got footing in it. When the pointed arch grew flat, and wood became a common material, a single beam, which, in its simple rectilinear form, would have served the purpose well, was cut to a nick in the middle, to make the fashionable arch; so producing weakness, where strength was most wanted. From wood the evil trick passed to stone; and, in distant

parts of England, especially in the north, the foolish practice remained almost to the late revival of public fancy for the Anglo-Gothic architecture, from which that foolish practice has found extensive favor.

After these little matters, to rise again, before I conclude, to more splendid examples, the most splendid nonsense in architecture, that I know, and I think I may add, the most abundant, is peculiar to Italy, but seen, especially at Rome; introduced by Borromini's genius to favor there. Even France revolted at the more egregious of the inept fopperies: but she adopted some which, with French recommendation, got footing here. The broken pediment, and even the broken pediment in a curling form, (you will, I think, from your recollection of the thing, be aware of what I mean, and I know not how else to describe it) had their vogue in the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries, between Inigo Jones's days and lord Burlington's.

Nonsense is much less seen in interior than in exterior architecture. In private houses this may have been, with us, as with the French, because provision of interior effect is committed less to the architect than to the upholsterer. I will desire however to recall your attention to an example, which I have formerly noticed, in a

building of the first consideration, saint Paul's church, and I will conclude with it.

You will remember my objecting to the little domes, or, as I have ventured to call them, domelets, in the vault of the nave of that splendid building. If the term nonsense may seem harshly applied to them, I would describe their character, as it strikes my mind, by comparing them to a fair epithet in poetry, of harmonious sound, and powerful sense, but so introduced as, instead of assisting the expression, to disturb and weaken it.

LETTER XXXV.

Domestic Architecture.—Cottages and Villages.

I COME now to the branch of my subject which I have reserved for the last, building for that large and most valuable part of the community employed in the labors of husbandry. Were strict limitation to architectonic design insisted on, the field here would be very scanty; but with allowance to dilate on connected matter, it were very wide. You will allow me, I trust, some episodal scope, and I shall endeavour to use the indulgence discreetly.

I have observed in a former letter (xxviii) that, under our Anglo-saxon forefathers, the towns of England were small and little populous; and yet after all the evils of the Danish inroads, and the establishment of the Danish dynasty, and the revolution which restored the Anglo-saxon, the country was altogether well peopled. Things have strangely altered since. In the towns what increase has been, even within memory! What a prodigious city is London become! What buildings at Birmingham, Manchester, and Liverpool! What villages, beyond cities of old times, have grown about the old towns of Newcastle-under-line! What haunts for luxury and dissipation have arisen in the

numberless formerly sequestered spots, now called Watering-places! Agriculture at the same time has received great improvement. Land old in cultivation, now, through improved art, brings far greater produce, and very many thousand acres formerly waste, are now objects of beneficial industry. Nevertheless, except where manufactures have arisen, or dissipation has chosen his abode, I cannot tell where, in travelling England over, a new village may be seen, or where even any considerable improvement of the old.

To what should this be imputed? Is it that nearly in proportion as waste land has been brought into tillage, tilled land has been converted to pasture? Certainly there are inducements to it. The taxes, of late years imposed on husbandry, affect tillage almost exclusively. Their amount is not in itself heavy; but, added to that very heavy tax, the tithe, they may turn the scale, and decide the cultivator to the less expensive, less laborious, and less hazardous business, perhaps with benefit to himself, but certainly not to the country at large; neither population nor produce, will so be increased. Where, indeed, extensive wastes have been brought into cultivation; new farm-steds have necessarily arisen; but, even there, villages are not seen, and rarely even cottages. In that extensive portion of England, where bricks are the building mate-

rial, the tax on them is no inconsiderable check to that kind of improvement; which, indeed, the farmers are rarely desirous of putting forward. They generally prefer taking single men, as servants, into their houses, and discourage families.

I know you agree with me in reckoning that whatever contributes to attach landed men to their property, is of advantageous tendency for the country. I suspect the principle of citizenship of the world, and the *'Omnia mea mecum porto.'* They may be good for the individual, in some circumstances, especially of misfortune. But, for the community, give me rather the old English adage, *'Home is home be it ever so homely.'* Whatever by sentiment, be it but a kind of mechanical operation of sentiment, attaches men to their paternal fields, forms the very soil for patriotism to thrive in. With men I include their families; and therefore not only the attachment of the lord of the fields to his pleasures in them, whether of the more or less intellectual kind, but also of the lady to her flower-garden, her poultry-yard, or her dairy, and of the younger branches even to county meetings of amusement, in preference to unlimited vagrancy, and the endless dissipation of watering-places, I reckon politically good. Even the evils of county-races, in parts distant from the metropolis, have their balance; insomuch that I am inclined to

reckon the institution of royal encouragement to them rather among the good incidents of a bad reign. Seeing things thus, whether those who have judged landscape-gardening a fit object for checking by taxation, have not been led by a far over narrow view of the question, I wholly doubt.

Thus I come round again to my more particular subject, landscape-gardening being nearly connected with cottage-building.

Formerly it was the way of our landed men to chuse their own habitations where population was most assembled on their property, and, with encouragement from them, their dwelling drew people around it, and the village grew. Of late it has been the fancy of the lord of land rather to live in a wilderness; to place his house far from a village, or to remove the village far from his house. A village elbowing the mansion I grant is a nuisance; but there is convenience in having population within even small distance; and the lord of land who would do good in his generation, should not put the lower classes too much out of his sight.

Among the fancies of our day however, that of building cottages to adorn an estate around a mansion has not wholly failed. The board of agriculture has very praiseworthy given its attention to the subject, and artists have been

encouraged to publish on it. But their books, valuable as some of them are, may not suit every one's purse to buy, nor every one's leisure to read. I shall endeavour that mine at least shall have the negative merit of not being a great evil.

In treating of cottage-building generally, I hold it right to consider the well-being, moral and civil as well as natural, of the class for which cottages are to be built; and not theirs only, but also that of the whole community, to whose welfare every class should contribute. For this I am persuaded, wherever we can catch the policy, or the philosophy, of our great Alfred, we may profit from it.

There is something amusing to the imagination in the idea of a lonely cottage; in a woody country it can hardly fail to be more or less picturesk; and seclusion is apt to excite a soothing notion of freedom from the vices of society. Innocence, it is to be hoped, may be found in all situations. But there are vices of solitude as well as of crowded cities; and those who have had opportunity for observation, you well know, will not believe that lonely cottages are generally the abodes of perfect innocence. A dwelling out of the view of men has a tendency to promote far more the predatory character of the night-prowling fox, than the quiet temper of the gregarious sheep, or the valuable industry of the swarming bee.

Putting two cottages together in one building, you, at the same time, save a little expence, and obviate a total solitude. Possibly, by care in selection, or by good fortune, two sheep-families may meet in a double cottage. But without care, and even against all care, without good fortune, two fox-families may meet. It is odds however, but dog and cat are among them. Hence I have known cottage-families, even of the best character, prefer a lonely dwelling, to one which has a near neighbour. Only by avoiding all neighbourhood can they be sure of avoiding bad neighbourhood; and a bad neighbour is far more grievous, where he is the only neighbour, than in a more numerous society. Indulging then the good family with a solitary dwelling, you obviate for it the evils of bad neighbourhood; but you completely prevent the good which, not to reckon upon its example, its eye on those around, even without any intentional direction for the purpose, would, in the course of things, do. I do not know whether it may be reckoned among proofs of inspiration, that saint Peter, in his first epistle, has said, 'All of you be subject one to another'; but I reckon it a certain proof of wisdom, and knowledge of human nature.

Alfred's tithing, with his gradation of superintending powers, is, in my opinion, beyond question, the best model ever devised for a population of husbandmen. I should suppose, with

some modification, it may be beneficially adapted to the far closer population of manufacturing districts, but of that I can less undertake to speak. Ten families, he reckoned the advantageous mean, for one society, under one responsible inspector, of its own body; not however strictly so limiting the number. But, be the village or hamlet larger or smaller, Alfred's system will give the advantageous principles of regulation for it, saint Peter's precept furnishing the foundation, 'Let all be subject one to another.'

If any nation ever would build a constitution on the model of ours, they must begin with the cottage and the village. The French, in the outset of their revolution, taking a plan of our House of Commons, with its seats and galleries and bar, and adopting the technical phrases used in its business, did so far perhaps well. But to model their provincial government, it behooved them still more to look to ours. They should have counted the thousands of unsalaried offices, imposed as a duty on those interested to maintain public order, and by which public order has been maintained now so many centuries. When they had established such an advantageous foundation, then they might have proceeded, with fair prospect, to raise the superstructure of free government. If ever, here, Alfred's shire and hundred and tithing

government should be overthrown, and salaried officers, as for the business of the Excise, should supersede, throughout the country, its unpaid native administrators, legislation by Parliament will not long survive.

L E T T E R XXXVI.

Villages and Cottages.

IF, when we propose to build a village, use is not alone considered; if allowance is given for gratification of the eye and picturesk effect, to form the design we want a painter; not without an architect, but rather both in one. A village composed of cottages, does not deny architectonic regularity in parts, but can allow it only to a small extent. The buildings being low, a greatly protracted continuity in one line, would be tiresomely monotonous; and, as in towns we have agreed that some irregularity is pleasing, so still more in villages it will be requisite. To invent well an irregular building, or an irregular assemblage of buildings, is so little easy, that, not seldom, chance, snatching, in the poet's phrase, a grace beyond the reach of art, does the business more happily

than the ablest designer. Chance however hardly ever makes the picture complete, but her rough sketches are often admirable, and furnish most advantageous ground for the architect painter to work upon.

Repton, in his Inquiry into changes of Taste in Landscape gardening, says, ' From the external effect one might pronounce that there are only two characters in buildings: one may be called perpendicular, the other horizontal. Under the first I class all buildings erected in England before and during the early part of queen Elizabeth's reign, whether deemed Saracenic, Saxon, Norman, or the Gothic of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and even that kind called queen Elizabeth's Gothic, in which turrets prevailed, though battlements were discarded.' He proceeds afterwards to say, ' trees of a conic shape contrast advantageously with Grecian, round-headed with Gothic architecture.' The good principle, here brought in some degree to view, is, to my mind, obscured by what appears proposed for illustration. The Grecian, no doubt, has a better claim to the title of horizontal architecture than the four or five kinds which he has placed in an opposing group; but those four or five kinds, or any of them, can surely have superior claim to the title of perpendicular, only for some excrescencies on the top; and this seems to have

been within the author's recollection, where, afterward he observes, 'that the prevailing lines of the Grecian architecture will accord (apparently meaning, 'will contrast advantageously) either 'with round or conic trees.'

But after all the recent eulogies of the various architecture, now called Gothic, as superiorly picturesk, can you tell me of a picture in which its exterior forms have been advantageously introduced. Drawings I know there are many, of parts of such buildings, admirably executed. But can you tell me of a painter of any eminence whose own fancy, with all the stimulation of the popular favor, has led him, in composition, even to attempt it? That favor had not reached its present fervor, while Zuccarelli painted. But, during his long residence in England, he got a relish for the character of English landscape, and has mixed something of it often in his later pictures. A lively fancy, rather than a correct judgment, was his merit; yet I think he was never inveigled to the representation of pinnacles.

In Grecian architecture perpendicular and horizontal lines prevail nearly equally, and almost alone. Thence it is especially qualified to contrast with round masses of foliage, and with all irregular breaks of ground or rock. Our ecclesiastical architecture of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the Plantagenet age, abounding in diagonal

lines, and various irregularities of form, makes confusion, rather than either contrast or harmony, with the irregularities of nature. Thus it is far less adapted to landscape than the castellan of the same era. But large semicircular arches, contrasting with nature's usual forms almost equally with the straight lines of the Grecian temple, make a variety very advantageous for picture. The buildings introduced by the Poussins, especially Gaspar, are rarely beautiful in themselves, but give great advantage to their pictures by contrast, which appears to have been especially studied by them; not with a view to spearheaded trees, which are hardly seen from their hands, but to the better forms of the oak, deciduous and evergreen, the common forest-trees of Italy, and of the elm and spreading poplar, the most common cultivated timber.

But the Italian village, Gaspar's favorite, has generally had its situation chosen, among the various troubles and in the divided state of the country, on mountain sides, for security against attack; and in the design of many of its forms, the same purpose has been in view. Something different is wanted for the fortunately peaceful plains of England. In looking them around, I think the north will be found to offer more, hardly indeed models, but good ideas for a village or hamlet than the south. The street is com-

monly wide. The houses abut immediately on the street, without a ragged paling and littered garden before them, so frequent in the south. The litter of gardens, and other litter, are behind. They are neither alined with perfect regularity, nor deviate greatly from a perfect alinement; they are neither all contiguous, nor widely scattered. Thus there is variety in the lights and variety in the shades, and breaks in both, yet breadth in both. Often one or more trees in the street assist the composition.

In the south, in the rare instances of new cottages, raised for the husbandman, the common fashion has been to put the whole of the ground, allowed for the garden, against the road, immediately under the passenger's eye, and place the house behind it. Thus indeed inspection of the cottager's diligence in cultivating his garden is easier; and, where diligence is found, the inspection will be gratifying. But no diligence can make the potatoe and cabbage-garden either a picturesk object, or not generally a scene of litter. The house with the door open, may exhibit advantageously sometimes, the housewife's neatness; but oftener, against all care, that also, with a young family, must be a scene of litter. Better therefore I think is the plan, common in the north, of putting the door, not fronting the street, but on one side of the house, or behind.

But, in the south, even where extensive wastes have been brought into cultivation, and large farmsteads have been built, an analogous plan has had favor. The house, often a creditable building, is thrown behind, and the dungyard, and all the most offensive appendages of a farm, are even with an appearance of ostentation, spread out for the entertainment of the curious traveller. The same arrangement reversed would be nearly all necessary to make the whole a pleasing combination in the landscape, without being less advantageous for the uses, which form certainly the more important object. The house (better indeed often shorn of its coxcomb little central pediment, and other fripperies of the country architect) might itself be the advantageous skreen to hide some of the less pleasing objects; and the other buildings, concealing the rest, might be so disposed as to produce one good combination. If anything interferes between the road and the house, it should be only a green croft, in which a very few trees allowed, against ordinary modern practice, room to spread their branches, might afford gratification in future ages to the elegant admirer of forms.

LETTER XXXVII.

Domestic Architecture.—Cottages.

DESIGN for cottages is not controlled by material, as for temples and palaces. For the upright, whether of stone, brick, wood, or unbaked earth, the design may be the same. The cobwall, or mud wall, common in many parts of England, and recommended for economy, makes a dry wholesome dwelling. In the Pisan territory of Tuscany, the failure of clay, fit for either the manufacture of bricks, or the construction of cobwall, together with the distance of all stone fit for walling, has driven to the discovery, highly valuable there, of a mode for making the common surface soil hold together sufficiently for the purposes of building. Curiosity urged to trial of it here; and I believe it is the same thing to which some, in writing of this Italian invention and practice, have given a French name, *Pisé*. I remember my northern friend imputing this to artifice. ‘They would allure favor to it so,’ he said, ‘as the milliners to their wares by their numberless quaint French terms, and the auctioneers, by their ‘*fermes ornées*,’ and ‘*façades*,’ and ‘*coups d’œils*,’ and ‘*chef d’œuvres*.’ The plain Englishman’s eyes stare at the strange marks, and his

utterance is posed by the strange syllables, to the delight of the belles and beaux, who flatter themselves with the imagination, mostly under wide mistake, that they can twist their mouths to the exotic pronunciation with true Parisian grace.

But though, for the perpendicular of cottages, whatever the material, design may be nearly the same, it is not so for the roof. Where ornament to the country is desired in the construction of a village, slate and pantile have great superiority over the flat tile, in allowing a lower pitch; more approaching the advantageous rustic grace of the rustic buildings of Italy and the south of France. A predilection for thatch I have known, among your ornée cottage fanciers, extensive, and in some instances vehement. The advantage of thatch for use, as it protects more, against both heat and cold, than any other covering, I admit. But its danger from its readiness to take and communicate fire, must deserve serious consideration on the other side. There must then be added as a public consideration, the loss of either cattle-food or manure; as private considerations, the inconvenience of the allurements to birds and vermin, and the perishable disposition of the material, with the addition that the patchwork of repaired thatch will hardly please any eye. In Dutch composition only, I think, thatch can

deserve favor: in combination with trees and varied ground, and in the more distant parts of landscape, of any description, the more decided lines of the firmer material, whether in nature; or in picture, have a far better effect.

But cottage-building is a very different business in different parts of England. Where, under the soil, is a rubble stone, as in many places, divided by nature nearly to the size and form convenient for a rude building, that natural advantage is great. Brick-earth is much more extensively found in England than stone fit for building, and no doubt is also a very advantageous material. But brick-earth requires far more labor in manufacture; and that manufacture is loaded with a heavy tax: it requires expence in fuel; and, in many parts, the fuel also is loaded with a tax. Thus building with brick is made so expensive, that, where stone is not ready, and cheapness is an object, cobwalls recommend themselves. The Pisan, or Pisé, may, I think, be left to countries where even the cobwall cannot be had. But the saving, by either, is only in the wall. For floors, stairs, doors, windows, and roof, with such walls, the expence will be at least equal, in some points greater. The cob and Pisan moreover both require external plaster; which, in proportion as the climate is subject to frost, suffers from weather, and requires occasional renewing; so that

the saving, in the end is very little, or perhaps none.

It must however be acknowledged that a cottage, to give a family decent accommodation, cannot be built in the cheapest manner, at such an expence that the rent, which the laborer in husbandry can pay, will amount to a reasonable interest; a consideration which cannot but check cottage-building. But moreover the collection of cottage rents is commonly troublesome; and for this, and for other reasons, stewards, and all concerned in the collection of rents, desire rather the demolition of cottages than any increase of them. Hence additional ground of favor for the grazing husbandry in preference to tillage. If the tax on bricks affected only London, Birmingham, Manchester, and other great towns, it were well: it will hardly check buildings there. Even in the agricultural line, it can injure the grazing business little; but its operation on building for the laborer in tillage may deserve more consideration than it has met with.

Cobwall, beside its cheapness, recommends itself by the dryness which it secures within. Dampness, where there is free circulation, is indeed not, like confined air, unwholesome; at least to those accustomed to it: but it is inconvenient and uncleanly; and clearly it were better

to make the cottager's dwelling dry, if it can be easily done.

To obviate the resting of moisture on the walls of covered buildings, we must, of course, consider the causes of it; and it will be easy to assure ourselves that they differ, according to the nature of the material of which the wall is built. It is well known that a common building brick, set on end in a plate of water, will imbibe the moisture to its top; and such a brick, immersed in water, will, in a very few minutes, become saturated; so that the water imbibed will add five, six, or even seven ounces to its weight. All the stones called free-stone, have the same quality, in greater or less degree, as they are more or less porous. Rain, driven by the wind, against a wall of such a material, will of course be imbibed in large quantity. The wall then will become saturated, sooner or later, according as it is thinner or thicker; and as soon as that happens, the moisture will show itself on the inner surface; and if the impulse without continues, will proceed to trickle down.

But the harder stones of our island, granite, basalt, marble, slate, and even those coarser, commonly used for paving, if immersed for hours, will hardly sensibly imbibe water, or be increased in weight. Of course no moisture can pass through walls built of such stone, unless by the mortar, of which some sorts are also impervious.

Nevertheless, a room with walls of these hardest materials, will, in damp weather, show moisture on the interior surface much sooner than a room with walls of brick or freestone; and not only, like them, on the weather side, but equally on all sides. This is familiar to observation in the interior of churches, on monuments of marble; where the moisture will be seen on those distant from the wall as well as on those adhering in it. As it cannot penetrate the walls of the building, such moisture must enter with the air circulated through doors, windows, and crevices.

Moisture of course, in the same manner, equally enters houses of brick and freestone. But walls of those materials, imbibing readily and even greedily, absorb the utmost amount of dampness that can come in contact with them from the air within. If therefore no wet penetrates from without, none will ever hang visibly on such walls, or so affect them as to stain the most delicate paper with which they may be covered.

From these considerations combined may be gathered how to have the interior surface of walls of rooms always sufficiently dry.

The ordinary resource is Battening; but to this the objections are considerable. For cottages the expence deters; so that it is there hardly ever found with the purpose of obviating dampness of walls, but only, sometimes, to supply the place of

a wall. Battening then, wherever used, offers ready food for fire. It often, also, provides a nest for dry-rot, by stopping the circulation of air between itself and the wet wall. Moisture, without a free circulation, rarely fails to produce that evil in wood, and then the battening is little lasting.

Where use and permanence only are desired, a wall with its exterior of any of the water-proof stones, laid in sufficiently firm mortar, and its interior of brick or freestone, will excel in strength, and be always dry; the hard stone outside preventing the penetration of driving rain, and the brick or freestone inside imbibing, without saturation, all the moisture that can come in contact with it. The learned Borlase, in his *Natural History of Cornwall*, has admonished his fellow-countrymen of this: but they have little attended to his admonition. Their more common method is the exact reverse. They build with roughly-formed marble or granite, which their country abundantly furnishes, and, for the delight of a smoother surface without, they face with a red brick. But Battening is then necessary to interior dryness, and hardly suffices. Perhaps you will imagine some reason for this apparent perverseness. I have never been able to discover any but the ordinary aversion of workmen for what they call rough finishing, and their ambition to have

their neat handiwork admired; whence in London now, we see so many painted houses, sometimes in stripes, red, yellow, and brindled, with pick and patted joints, I think they call them, of the whitest mortar; making altogether a mixture the most inharmonious; but well imagined to attract the eye, free from all influence of good taste, to admire neat handiwork.

You will remember to have seen proof, with me, that a very moderate thickness, for any considerable building, will secure an exterior wall, in a situation and climate not more than commonly subject to driving rains, against saturation, and, consequently, against injurious damp on its interior surface. For great buildings therefore there need be no difficulty; what has been wanted is a mode of making the cheapest wall (which of course must be the thinnest, that may suffice to support a cottage roof) able to resist the penetration of rain. This I have been assured has been done thus: Instead of an ordinary single-brick, or nine-inch wall, prepare your foundation for a thickness of ten or eleven inches. On such foundation, instead of forming, in the usual way, a single wall, with alternately whole-brick and half-brick, or binders and stretchers, form two walls of half-brick only, with an interval of one or two inches between them; and bind them together, at intervals, in rising, with any water-proof stone, or with

fragments of slate. The increase of labor thus is little, of expence in material very little; and you have a wall sufficient for a cottage of two stories, with its inner half perfectly secure against external moisture.

Among the mountains of Westmorland and Cumberland nature has furnished a singularly fortunate facility for building cottages. The slating stone, extensively existing under the soil, laid without mortar, in a position declining outward, makes a firm wall, which, with a coat of plaster only within, defies all storms. But this stone, impervious to moisture, holding the damps within on its surface, the practice of plastering without, has, of late years, been ignorantly adopted as a remedy. Doubling the plaster within might have a more useful effect. But the white coat, I apprehend, has gained favor, as a beauty, in the sickly fastidious eye of ill taste, which is offended at the picturesk roughness and duskiness of the stone. The white coat certainly gives some neatness, but with an offensive glare, harmonizing with nothing around, and it gives at the same time all the dignity of lath and plaster to a building that before might have engaged the pencil of Salvator. The same ill trick has become sadly common in Wales. Buildings which, with their proper hues, would highly adorn the sides of the hills of that beautiful country, might often, at a distance, be

mistaken for chalk-pits; and some churches, or size and form more decidedly to mark their character, are apt to strike with the idea of being risen from their grave in a winding-sheet.

Where cottages are built with any view to adorn a country, I reckon they should be of stone or brick. When ornament is the purpose what is the saving by cobwall or Pisan, compared with what has been frequently bestowed on bolstering up a piece of water, where, by the form of the ground, nature has so evidently denied it, that art cannot make it harmonize with surrounding objects? The color of cottages should be accommodated to landscape; not a glaring red, and still less a chalky white. The roof should be of the lowest pitch that may be effectual to throw off rain. The plan should be simple, and common sense in it should be clear. Let nonsense be left to your Ornées: in a real cottage it is, if possible, still more absurd than in a palace. Something of mystery may become a palace: the most perfect simplicity should form a principal grace of the cottage. Attention should then be given to convenience within; and to decencies, not the less if the lower people are sometimes careless about them. If there is more than one floor, the stairs should be so placed, though rarely so found, as to give distinct communication to every chamber. The windows should be of form to

open readily, and stand open, without danger to the glass. Wooden sashes, the outer one sliding on its bottom, common in the north, are the best I know. For wholesomeness it is farther desirable that there be a chimney to every chamber, and that attention be given to prevent the stopping of circulation of air, with what is called a chimney-board.

I desire, as I have formerly mentioned, that the gratification of the landlord should be intimately connected, and, as far as may be, identified, with the good of holders under him; and for that very reason I would not have him expect the gratitude of those benefited always to attend the good he does, and look to that as his recompense. French novels, or French philosophy may hold out such views. But the book which, with the utmost simplicity of unlearned writers, shows a knowledge of human nature, not less than its perfection of moral system, beyond all philosophers, promises nothing like them. You however enough know, that he who watches the welfare of families, relieves want, inforces industry and decency, and restrains immorality, will hardly contend in popularity with the promoter of cudgel-playing, ass-races, and grinning-matches, with the usually concomitant drunkenness. There will be, however, those with whom he will have

superior esteem, and such esteem will be reasonably gratifying. But the consciousness of well-doing, independently of other results, will be his surest and best reward.



FINIS.

1857
The first of the year
was a very dry one
and the crops were
very poor.

The second of the year
was a very wet one
and the crops were
very good.

The third of the year
was a very dry one
and the crops were
very poor.

The fourth of the year
was a very wet one
and the crops were
very good.

The fifth of the year
was a very dry one
and the crops were
very poor.

POSTSCRIPT.

The following extracts from a letter received from a friend, after the foregoing observations had been published, but while it was unknown to him who was the author, are offered to the reader's knowledge and judgement for correction of what may have been over-hazardously ventured in the preceding pages on this complicated subject.

19th April, 1810.

I HAVE a mind to trouble you with some observations on the Letters on Architecture lately published.—More critical acumen I think is displayed than accurate attention to the historical part. National compliments upon our ancestors, not perfectly founded, seem only a cloak to make general satire go down. Too much, I admit, cannot be said in contempt of modern Anglo-Gothic. I wish, nevertheless, more from the author about the antient castle as residence, and the modernizing of the few that have been preserved. My remarks, however, I shall, for the present, limit to the beautiful Plantagenet architecture; so I am willing, with our epistolary author, to call it. I can neither believe it of English invention, nor peculiarly reigning in England during

the centuries when the Plantagenets reigned. All Germany was covered with such. Many grand and beautiful remains are still to be seen in the northern parts. Where the thirty years' war, civil and religious, was carried on with greatest fierceness, there temple and tower went to the ground. But the southern and eastern extremities yet display most magnificent remains of tall pointed arches, light clustered columns, curling foliages, fretted vaults, and, at the western entry, a profusion of statues. Several examples are found in Holland; abundant in the Netherlands; for size Brussels, for beauty and for spire Antwerp is eminent; and, after Cologne (which, though vast, is but a clumsy and an unfinished specimen) several along the Rhine, but above all Strasburgh, with the most beautiful as well as highest steeple probably in the world, being five hundred and seventy-four French feet, whereas that of Salisbury is only four hundred English. The old church was burnt in 1003. The present, begun soon after, was not finished till 1449. St. Stephen's at Vienna is nearly of the same date and character.

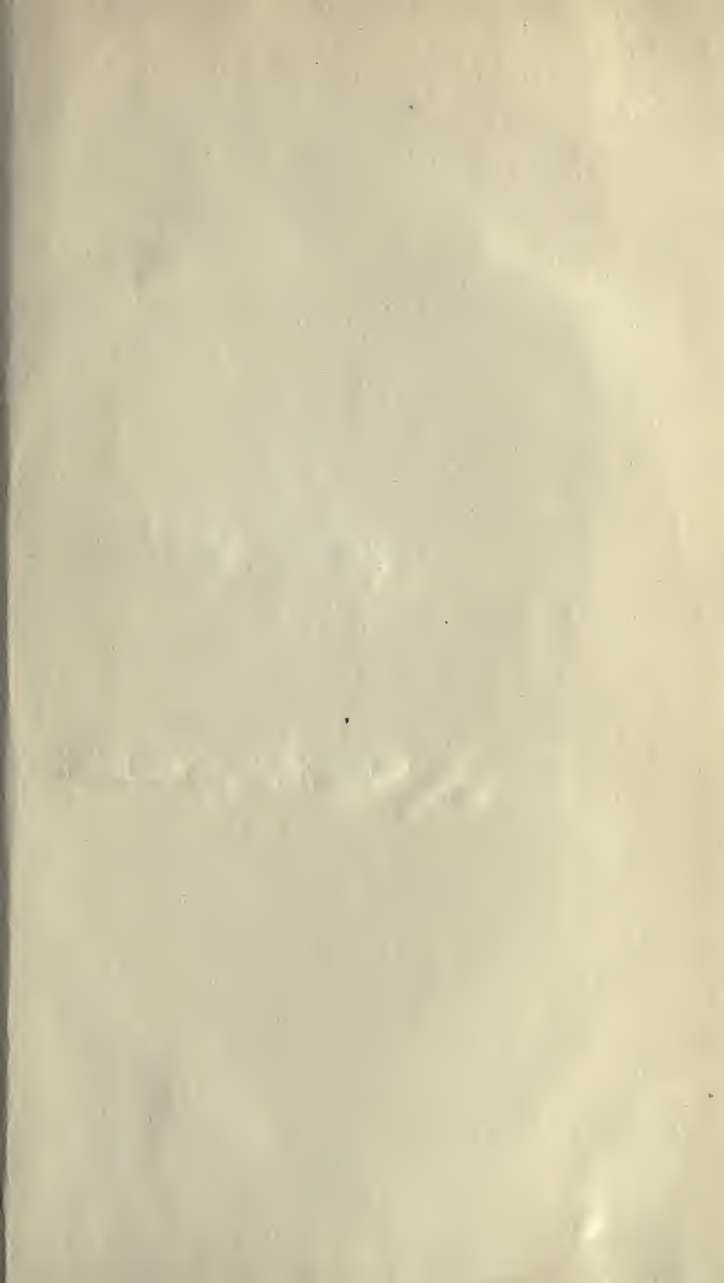
The northern parts of France afford numerous specimens, not in general beautiful. Notre Dame, at Paris, has a clumsy resem-

blance to York minster ; but St. Louis's chapel near it I remember Horace lord Orford said he thought the most beautiful specimen he knew of the earlier date.

But, though I deny our claim to *exclusiveness* in the Plantagenet architecture, I do not deny our *superiority* in taste and richness. Henry the Third, with his cousins, delighted in the fine arts. There are still remaining beautiful cups and crosses in enamel of their age. The king's tomb and that of Amer de Valence, not only richly enamelled, were adorned with figures in fine taste. In Whittington's book on Gothic architecture, edited by lord Aberdeen, it is confidently asserted that this country received from France and Italy both its plans and architects ; upon what authority I do not know. My chief objection is to the claim for England of a greater superiority than circumstances warrant. That it was an eastern child I think probable, and that it originated with the crusades.

T. W.





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