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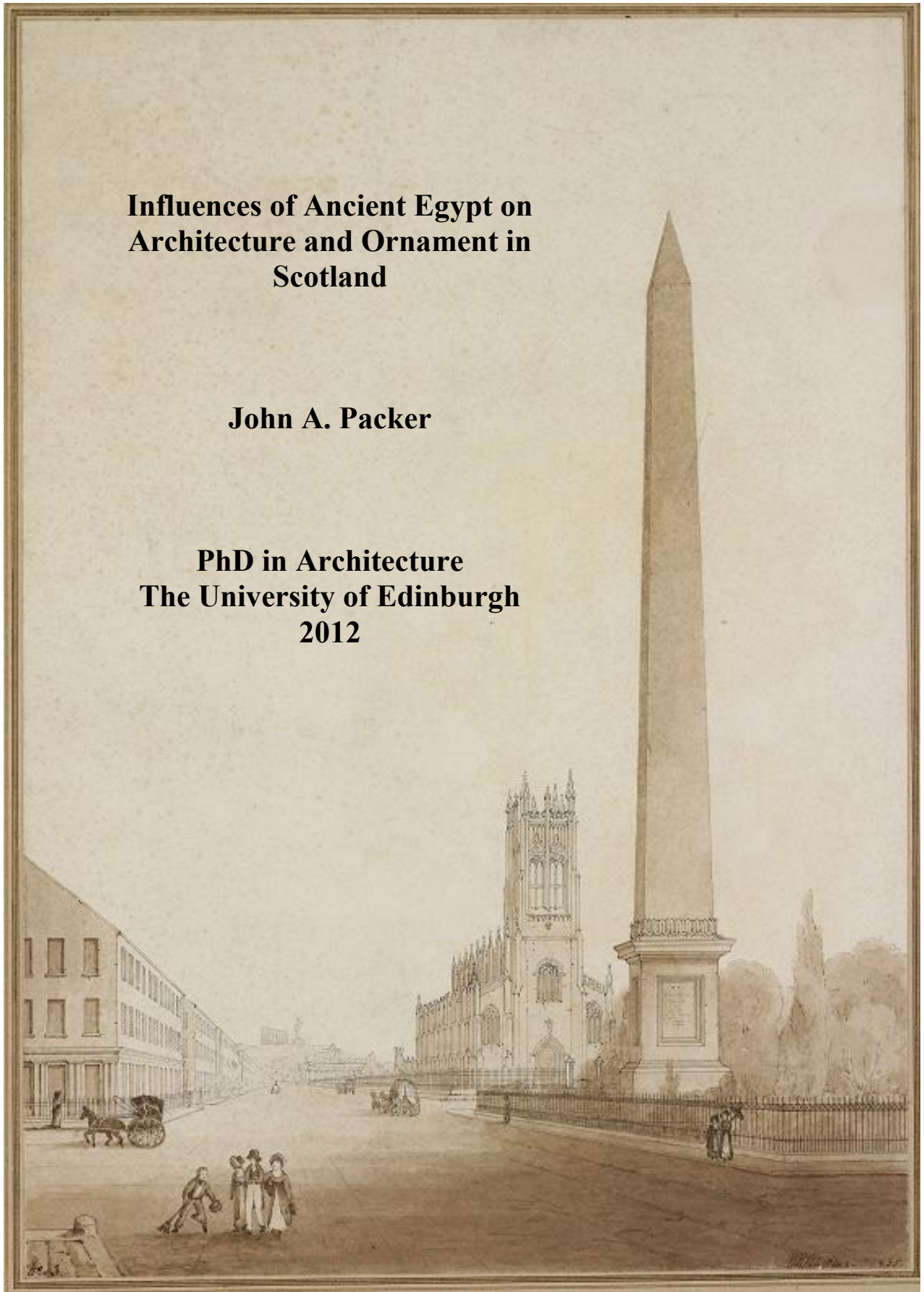
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**Influences of Ancient Egypt on
Architecture and Ornament in
Scotland**

John A. Packer

**PhD in Architecture
The University of Edinburgh
2012**



Declaration

I declare that this thesis has been composed by me. This thesis is my own research and the work within this thesis has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

Signed by _____ Date _____

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Abstract

This work seeks to identify the forms and origins of Ancient Egyptian architecture and the complex historical progress which brought these to Scotland, identifying the affinities shared by both countries and their evolving role from their first arrival to the present day. The thesis follows Egypt's first appearance in Scottish legend and its later influence, at the close of the 16th century, in the practices of organised Freemasonry, to be followed, from the second quarter of the 17th century, by numerous obelisk sundials and with the construction of the first pyramid towards its close. In the 18th century, single obelisk monuments with Masonic implications appeared, and the outstanding significance of the Scottish Enlightenment and its fascination with Antiquity are noted. That this coincided with the Grand Tour encouraged Scottish aristocrats, architects, and artists to observe, to study and to be inspired by Egyptian forms, principally in Rome, which then appeared in Scottish country house and garden. The first recorded visit of a Scot to Egypt, in 1768, led to the delayed publication of an account in 1793 and the century closed with the outbreak of the British military campaign in Egypt against Napoleon's invading forces. The participation of Scots troops led to a new familiarity with the land and, albeit from France, there were produced the first accurate details of the country's monuments and an ensuing enthusiasm for an 'Egyptian Revival'. This thesis goes on to record the 19th century absorption with mourning, when the use of Egyptian symbols, aided by industrial methods of production, grew to a peak, allied to new archaeological discoveries by visiting Scots and the growth of accurate publications. These two latter, increased by the growing number of Scots who visited the country, influenced the use of Egyptian themes in a wide range of buildings, religious, domestic and industrial. The 20th century rejection of both religion and commemoration, except in acknowledgement of the sacrifice of those who gave their lives in the First and Second World Wars, led to the decline of Egyptian mourning themes and new building techniques left little place for Egyptian references which were mainly reduced to mere surface ornament. This thesis concludes with an important 21st century military example which contains within it, a unique range of Egyptian symbols of commemoration.

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One of the joys of writing a thesis is the positive widening of one's horizons by the contacts one makes; it enriches one's very existence! If this has led, in part, to a renewal of contacts, others have newly entered the orbit of one's consciousness and the patience, kindness and good advice which has been offered in rich profusion has been humbling. I am deeply grateful.

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I thank my two sponsors. First, Sir Timothy Clifford, former Director General of the National Galleries of Scotland, with whom I served as Trustee for a decade, and who opened his own rich archive in an act of pure generosity. Second, Professor Rosalie David OBE, of Manchester University, whose excellent four year distance-learning course was the trigger, together with her specific encouragement, which persuaded me to attempt this new work.

If the whole staff with whom I have dealt at the National Library of Scotland has shown marked patience towards an elderly and somewhat vague enquirer, the help there, especially that given by Dr. Iain Gordon Brown, FRSE FSA, Principal Curator of Manuscripts, has been exemplary.

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It would not have been possible for this computer-illiterate to undertake this work without early technical advice from Bruce McCartney of Langholm, whose greatest service, however, was to introduce me to Alex Davies, then not yet sixteen, who for the last six years has steered me and cheered me and provided all the technical support for which I might have wished, and more. That he now is an outstanding student of Computer Science at Edinburgh University means that he is not too far from our New Town home.

If the time spent has taken me away from my wife and family, not only have I had the chance to introduce some of them to the joy of the camel, and the donkey but have been able to share with them the historic splendours of Egypt.

I hope that the support and endeavours of all the above, which I have so deeply appreciated may have come into useful fruition in the work which now follows.

Introduction

“The fascination of Ancient Egypt can be explained by the fact that so many of its most powerful images are archetypes, in the literal sense that they are primordial, the first patent and identifiable representation of an enduring form.”¹

Scotland’s response to Egypt has been very much its own, and has exhibited a wide range of influences from that country. This has been the reason for the detailed study which follows, seeking to show Scotland’s awareness, interpretation and misinterpretation of that ancient civilisation from its first appearance in Scottish consciousness to the present day.

Egypt as archetype was an important part of the origin myth of Scotland as recorded by the 15th century Scotichronicon: *“The daughter of Pharaoh, king of Egypt, landed in Ireland with an armed force and a very large fleet of ships..... She conquered and overthrew the Picts, and took over that kingdom. And from this Scota the Scots and Scotland take their name...”*² and supporting the statement there is even an illustration (see page below).³

Its significance to Scotland introduces a theme that becomes familiar throughout much of Scottish pre-union history: legitimacy through antiquity, longevity and tradition. At various points it became crucial to Scottish national or sometimes monarchical identity and even, in the 14th century, to the nation’s very right to exist. This origin myth, this connection of Scotland to the primordial and the archetypal, is to be found even earlier than Scotichronicon, in the most important statement of Scottish national identity, the Declaration of Arbroath:

“Most Holy Father, we know and from the chronicles and books of the ancients we find that among other famous nations our own, the Scots, has been graced with widespread renown. It journeyed from Greater Scythia by way of the Tyrrhenian Sea and the Pillars of Hercules, and dwelt for a long course of time in Spain among the most savage peoples, but nowhere could it be subdued by any people, however barbarous. Thence it came, twelve hundred years after the people of Israel crossed the Red Sea, to its home in the west where it still lives today. The Britons it first drove out, the Picts it utterly destroyed, and, even though very often assailed by

¹ MacDonald, S., and Rice, M., *Consuming Ancient Egypt* (Institute of Archaeology, University College London: Cavendish Publishing, 2003).p.5.

² Aitchison, N., *Scotland's Stone of Destiny* (Stroud: Tempus, 2000), p. 20

³ *The arrival in Scotland of Scota and Gaythelos* (Gaedel Glas), is depicted in a 15th century manuscript of Walter Bower's Scotichronicon (MS 171, f 14r), Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

the Norwegians, the Danes and the English, it took possession of that home with many victories and untold efforts; and, as the histories of old time bear witness, they have held it free of all servitude ever since. In their kingdom there have reigned one hundred and thirteen kings of their own royal stock, the line unbroken by a single foreigner.”⁴



Wikipedia⁵.

An illustration of Princess Scota, from Bower's Scotichronicon, 1447.

The significance of this can hardly be overstated; an ancient and civilised people had, like the Israelites before them, found deliverance through exodus and in the face of barbarian opposition, whether that was Muslim, Viking or, indeed, English. The people who were appealing to the Pope, therefore, were of a pure, original, untainted and unbroken line stretching back to biblical times and biblical lands. A physical reminder of the monarchical legitimacy was the Stone of Destiny, the seat on which all Scottish kings had been crowned, which, the origin myth had it, had been brought to Scotland from Egypt by Scota herself and which, in an act of hugely significant political plunder, Edward I had removed to Westminster Abbey in 1296.

That connection to the biblical, post-reformation at least, was a link to both the Old and the New Testaments, which, after the arrival of Calvinism in Scotland in 1560, was to be at the heart of a

⁴ NRS (National Records of Scotland) RH1/2/92 Declaration of Arbroath, 1320. Transcript online at <http://www.nas.gov.uk/downloads/declarationArbroath.pdf>

⁵ <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Scotichronicon>

Nonconformist interpretation of the Christian message, placing its focus on the pulpit and the Word.

Religion.

Central to the understanding of Egypt lay the awareness of its religion and its symbolic monumental connection to the afterlife, and it was from its religious buildings, the only ones to survive the passing millennia, that its architectural authority and significance have been handed down. Edwards writes of the symbolism of the pyramid as ‘a staircase to Heaven’⁶ seeing the pyramid as the true symbol of “the rays of the sun shining down on earth”. Thomson in recording his view that, “Religion has been the soul of art from the beginning,” adds that the temple was meant to: “...represent the nature and the attributes of the Divinity...”⁷ From the temple came that most potent symbol, the obelisk (crowned by and fused, from its inception, with the pyramid) which carried through succeeding centuries the role of “...a monumental intermediary between heaven and earth...”⁸ That religious power emanated from these is confirmed by the papal insistence on baptising examples into the Christian faith, Curran observing that “Under Sixtus...the obelisk became a symbol of Christian devotion in the service of a militant church.”⁹ There are also similarities in the orientation of Egyptian and Scottish religious buildings, usually aligned along the east-west course of the sun’s progress, although there are marked differences in the architectural requirements of their religious practice; the former, exclusive of the general populace and laid out for the processional needs of their ritual, the latter, after the arrival of Protestantism,¹⁰ inclusive and congregational. However, both religions shared the concept of an after-life, the delights of which, in Egypt, appeared on the walls of many tombs, with both religions promoting it as a place of agreeable plenty, and offering a salvation denied by traditional Greek and Roman religious practice.

⁶ Edwards, I.W.S., *The Pyramids of Egypt* (London: Pelican, 1947). p. 280

⁷ Thomson, A., *Art and Architecture* (Glasgow: The Haldane Academy, 1874. Reprinted from *The British Architect*, by John Hardman, Manchester). Lecture II. p.30

⁸ Curran, B., *Obelisk* (London: MIT Press, 2009). p. 18

⁹ *Ibid* p. 143

¹⁰ Until the arrival of Calvinism, the rood screen had protected the mysteries of the church, celebrated at the altar, from the general congregation

Freemasonry.

Freemasonry, a powerful force in Scottish life, derived much of its ritual and practice from Egypt,¹¹ and it represents a craft in which the Egyptians excelled. In Britain it originated from that craft base and from the necessity of mediaeval stone-masons to identify, by signs, their level of accomplishment as they travelled from the great and widely dispersed building projects of their day. Its further development of its own moral code coincided in Scotland with King James's complementary interest in mysticism and alchemy,¹² Curl noting that: "From the end of the sixteenth century, Freemasonry seems to have been closely associated with the House of Stuart, and, further, through the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth centuries, that connection seems to have been maintained..."¹³ adding later that it was at this time referred to as: "...the Royal Art."¹⁴ The closing years of the 16th century were to see an organisation of the craft into regulated lodges, implemented by the King's Master of Works¹⁵, William Schaw (1550-1602), who, in 1598-99, produced the First and Second Schaw Statutes, detailing the rules of conduct both for members and their lodges, which were to include an annual memory test of their 'special knowledge'.¹⁶

Speculative thought on Egypt stood in some rather ill-defined relationship to Christian religious thought, the Old Testament acknowledging its magical aspect¹⁷, and the New Testament recording the regard in which its wisdom was held,¹⁸ but the Freemasonic movement scrupulously avoided a clash with the Presbyterian Church whose stark severity, allied with that ceremonial and ritual lost when the monarchy departed for London in 1603, gave to Freemasonry an added attraction. The Craft adopted the teaching of Hermes Trismegismus, supposedly a contemporary of Moses¹⁹, and even when the resultant 'Hermetic writings' were proved falsely dated,²⁰ contemporary enthusiasts refused to be convinced.

¹¹ This, as will be shown in Chap. 2, was to be largely based on misinterpretation.

¹² The very word, alchemy deriving through Arabic has its roots in the Ancient Egyptian term for Egypt-Kemet-The Black Land.

¹³ Curl J. S. *'The Art & Architecture of Freemasonry'*. London: Batsford, 1991. p. 53

¹⁴ Ibid p.115

¹⁵ In this capacity Schaw was responsible for overseeing the repair, maintenance and new construction work at all buildings used by the royal family.

¹⁶ 'Special knowledge' remains at the heart of Freemasonry today.

¹⁷ *The Holy Bible*, the Old Testament, the Book of Exodus. Chap VII. Verse 11: "Then Pharaoh also called the wise men and the sorcerers: now the magicians of Egypt, they also did in like manner with their enchantments."

¹⁸ "Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians." The Acts of the Apostles, Chap VII, v 22

¹⁹ There are other interpretations of this mythology.

²⁰ This refutation was made by the scholar Isaac Casaubon in 1614.

Egypt first announced its built presence in Scotland in a series of obelisk /sundials dating from 1625-30, described by Curl as having: "...overt Egyptian allusions...", and with their carved astrological symbols armed with Masonic significance.²¹ This presence was to grow through succeeding centuries, often concealed discreetly on exteriors, or more clearly making its references behind closed doors, but it was to known freemasons that the first commemorative obelisks were raised in the 18th century, and their involvement in the architecture of commemoration was long to continue.²²

Monumentality and Mourning.

Whilst monumentality has permeated Scotland's history from the monolith and the broch to the tower block and governmental building, demonstrating on the way the changes in the source of authority to construct them, it is to the influence of Egypt that this work specifically makes reference, especially to influences which they share.

The buildings of both Egypt and Scotland exhibit a most significant affinity in their use of a trabeated idiom defined by Glendinning as: "...an architecture of mass", to which he adds a reference to: "...the heavy monumental forms of Scottish elite buildings," and their: "... low massive, rather static architecture."²³ Historically, that weight, in both countries, can also be attributed to the availability of stone, combined with a shared lack of timber, which in Egypt led to the massive proportions of its columns and its walls, arising from the need to support the heavy stone beams of its roofs, and in Scotland led to staircases and other internal features which might more usually have been constructed of timber, also using stone, with its resultant heavier profile. A shared appreciation of the significance of stone is noted both by Assmann who observes that stone was to the Egyptians: "...a medium of immortality...",²⁴ which Alexander Thomson (1817-1875) shared and in his lecture on Egyptian architecture, expressed as: "... we regard it as an imperishable thought."²⁵

The two countries also shared a similar range of stone, with sandstone, limestone and granite being plentiful. In Egypt, the latter had acquired especial regard owing to its durability – it was

²¹ Curl, J.S., *The Art & Architecture of Freemasonry*. (London: Batsford, 1991). A whole range of such symbols are identified in the 'Glossary of Terms'. pp. 232-246.

²² See as an example their central role in the erection of the Nelson Monument in Glasgow in 1806.

²³ Glendinning, M., *A History of Scottish Architecture* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996). p.3

²⁴ Assman, J., *The Mind of Egypt*, (London: Harvard University Press. 2002) p. 55

²⁵ Thomson, A., *The Spirit of the Egyptian Style* (Lecture II in the series of 1874).p.10

indeed a stone for eternity – and the very difficulty of quarrying the gigantic monoliths, by pounding them with dolorite stones and shaping them with chisels of bronze, then of moving and erecting them, seemed to add to their sacred nature.

The most powerful forms of Egyptian architecture have always been its symbols of commemoration, the obelisk and the pyramid, both featuring predominantly in that monumental role in Scotland. Whilst it was to be the pyramid-capped mausoleum of the Clerks of Penicuik which was first on the scene in 1684, from 1720 there followed a whole series of monumental obelisks raised to prominent Scots with Masonic connections, and as that century closed, they played their part in the rising cult of the hero, the largest ever erected in Scotland being that raised to Lord Nelson of the Nile in Glasgow in 1806, a ceremony in which freemasons were to be prominent.

Mourning, having earlier been frowned on by the Presbyterian Church, began to grow in the early decades of the 19th century, and the opening of the Glasgow Necropolis in 1832, itself influenced by the Père Lachaise cemetery in Paris of 1804, was to bring into being the idea of the park-like cemetery, detached from a specific place of worship and recommended as the site for improving and educational excursions, where the monuments, including many based on Egyptian models, might offer architectural instruction and cultural and moral stimulus. Whilst granite had been sparingly used on simple gravestones in Scotland, it was to be the development of machinery both to cut and to polish it, in Aberdeen in 1830/31, which led to a spectacular increase in its use for the obelisk monument. Later, after the death of the Prince Consort in 1861, the inconsolable Queen Victoria made mourning practice a social necessity, and elaborate funeral ceremonial and equally elaborate grave monuments moved to the fore.

From that 19th century peak, the lessening of religious observance has seen an increasing decline in all forms of mourning save that of military commemoration, and from the Great War, the Second World War and to the present new century, there the Egyptian obelisk has continued to find a place.

The Historical Interpretation of Egypt.

This work contains detailed information from its earliest examples on the forms and origins of the range of Egyptian architectural symbols, on their intentions and on the geographical transfer

of those symbols to Rome and their assumption of a range of differing interpretations as they reached Scotland.

Classical authors, commencing in the 5th century BC with Herodotus, commented on Egypt's religious monuments and customs, but left no accurate portrayal of its buildings, and although Sandys²⁶ published more detailed comments in 1615, it was left to John Greaves²⁷, Professor of Mathematics at Oxford University, to be the first, in 1646, to record, and draw on site, the external and internal measurements of the Giza pyramids, and contrary to their description as 'The Granaries of Joseph' by the Anglo-Irish monk Symon Simeonis in the early 14th century²⁸, to confirm that they were, in fact, tombs.

More factual and illustrated accounts appeared in the 18th century in the heat of the Enlightenment, the two most easily available to Scots being those of Pococke²⁹ and Norden,³⁰ published in 1745 and 1757, but the first account produced by a Scot, James Bruce, where, it is true, Egypt was not the primary destination, was not published until 1790, although the journey had been between 1765 and 1773.³¹

It was in Italy, where in the mid-18th century the debate as to the comparative significance of Greek and Roman architectural forms aroused strong emotions, that in that debate the architect and friend of Robert Adam, Giambattista Piranesi (1720-1778), was to include, in his defence of Roman forms, a place for Egypt as a primary source. In his engravings and especially in his *Diversi maniere d'adornare i cammini* of 1769, he promoted Egyptian ornament, and advanced the theme of the Sublime, esteeming the monumentality of Egypt's austere and stereometric architectural forms to be the major influence on the emerging Neoclassicism and its Egyptian Revival.

That Revival was accepted with enthusiasm in France, and the strength and weight of Egyptian forms was recognised in the six volume work on antiquity by the Comte de Caylus (1692-1765) of 1752-55³², and in the essay submitted to the Academy des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres in 1785 by the architectural theorist, Quatremère de Quincy (1755-1849)³³. It should be noted that

²⁶ Sandys, G., *Relation of a Journey begun An. Dom. 1610* (London: W. Barrett, 1615).

²⁷ Greaves, J., *Pyramidographia* (London: G. Badger, 1646).

²⁸ Curl, J.S., *The Egyptian Revival* (London: Routledge, 2005). p.60

²⁹ Pococke, R., *A description of the East and some other countries* (London: Knapton, 1745).

³⁰ Norden, F., *Travels in Egypt and Nubia* (London: L., Davis and C., Reymers, 1757).

³¹ Bruce, J., *Travels...through part of Africa...Egypt...to discover the source of the Nile* (London: Ruthven, 1790).

³² *Recueil d'antiquités égyptiennes, étrusques, grecques, romaines et gauloises* (6 vols., Paris, 1752-1755).

³³ This appeared later in print as Quatremère de Quincy A.-C., *De L'Architecture Égyptienne* (Paris: Barrois, 1803).

the Scot, James Playfair (1755-94) was to visit Paris soon after in 1787, and that he became the architect of Cairness House in Aberdeenshire, a building which, besides being heavy with Masonic references, contained the first Egyptian interior in Britain.

A major fillip to the Egyptian Revival arose from the British conflict against Napoleon, fought there from 1798 to 1801, with the participation of Scottish regiments, and patriotism was a major consideration in promoting its acceptability; but it was the informed and accurate literature which then appeared which for the first time produced detailed surveys of the country's major buildings. The first to appear was Vivant Denon's (1747-1825) account which was published in Paris and London in 1802, and arrived in the Advocates Library in Edinburgh in 1803³⁴ to be followed by the massive and complete study by Napoleon's team of scholars, *Description de l'Égypte*, which, contained in succeeding volumes published from 1809-1829, arrived there, complete, in 1836. The clearest key to the intentions of the Egyptian builders followed, with the translation of hieroglyphs by Champollion in his *Lettre à M. Dacier* of 1822.

Peace and improvements in travel facilities allowed archaeologists and artists each to record and to reveal Egypt in their own way. The Scot, Alexander Rhind (1833-1863), published his work on *Thebes, its Tombs and their Tenants* in 1862,³⁵ but the most effective influence in spreading awareness of Egyptian forms was, undoubtedly, the Scottish artist, David Roberts (1796-1864), and his development of his work in lithographic form allowed it to be offered widely at an affordable price. That his second publication of 1855-56 was entitled *The Holy Land, Egypt and Nubia* was to combine Egyptian themes and their contact to those of Christianity and led to the development of tours to these adjacent areas.

The acceptability of Egyptian architecture has varied enormously, its suitability for domestic and civil architecture being extremely circumscribed, and although its mass made it, on occasion, of significance in the heavy industrial structures of the 19th century, steel, glass and an engineered approach, in the 20th century, have since rendered that role redundant. Its core strength, which lay in its religious and commemorative acceptance, was, save for its pyramid and obelisk symbols, always to be peripheral, and the ready acceptance of Greek forms, of which Thomson notes: "... the buildings which constitute the glory of Edinburgh and which entitle it to be called

³⁴ Denon, V., *Travels in Upper and Lower Egypt, during the Campaign of General Bonaparte* (London: Longman and Rees, 1803).

³⁵ Rhind, A., *Thebes: its Tombs and their Tenants* (London: Longman Green, Longman & Roberts, 1862).

the modern Athens,”³⁶ acknowledged that Greek and Latin were at the centre of Scotland’s educational curriculum, which ensured that those countries were known, not only from their well recorded, and observed monuments, but from their rich and informative literature.

If Egyptian themes were to flourish in Scotland, a strong movement against their use in England, and in favour of Gothic architecture, was led by the Roman Catholic architect A. W. N. Pugin with his publication in 1843 of ‘*An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture in England*’, where he specifically confirmed of obelisk and pyramid that he could not acknowledge them to be: “appropriate types for the architecture of a Christian country.”³⁷ It was to be the response of Alexander Thomson, who named Egyptian among: “the ideal styles of architecture” that he dismissed Gothic, giving the fullest and most analytical criticism of the style in his address of May 7th 1866 to the Glasgow Architectural Society with, amongst a host of other mocking strictures, the observation that it seemed: “to aspire to stand on end.”³⁸

That he, almost single-handedly, prolonged built references to Egyptian architecture in Scotland some forty years after that interest had evaporated in England³⁹ renders him truly remarkable.

As Thomson’s work drew to its close, and with a lessening of enthusiasm for traditional religion, exotic interpretations of ‘other-worldliness’ were to flourish. Spiritualism, astrology and astronomical speculation proliferated and Scotland produced two astrological ceilings based on an Egyptian source, the first in Edinburgh in 1869 and the second, the more spectacular, on the Isle of Bute in 1879. These followed the work of the Scottish Astronomer Royal, Charles Piazzi Smyth (1819-1900), at the Great Pyramid in 1864, where he attempted to construe from its measurements: “a divinely inspired Christian chronicle of man’s history – *past and future*.”⁴⁰

Whilst Thomson had prolonged the use of Egyptian forms in Scotland until the 1870s, the long arm of Pugin’s criticism was to reach into the 20th century and the sentiments which he had earlier invoked were to witness the setting aside of an Egyptian pylon design as the National War Memorial in London to commemorate the Great War of 1914-18 – although it did not prevent the obelisk from being widely employed in many Scottish towns and villages as a war memorial, which became its last significant role.

³⁶ Thomson, A., *Art and Architecture* (A Series of Lectures delivered at the Glasgow School of Art and Haldane Academy in 1874) Reprinted in *The British Architect* (Manchester: John Hardman, 1874) Chap.III. p.8

³⁷ Pugin, N. W., *An apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture in England* (London: John Weal, 1843) p. 5

³⁸ Thomson, A., This is a quote from a paper read to The Glasgow Architectural Society, 7th May, 1866. p.4.

³⁹ In England the ideas of Pugin, inimical to Egyptian themes and proponent of the Neo-Gothic, held sway.

⁴⁰ Piazzi Smyth, C., *The Great Pyramid* (New York: Grammercy Books. 1978). The quotation is from the Foreword, by Turkkán, C.

If attention was drawn to Egyptian forms of ornament and decoration by the discovery of the Tomb of Tutankhamun in 1922, these, absorbed into the Art Deco movement in 1925, merely ‘scratched the surface’ of some few Scottish buildings.

In the 20th century, when the Presbyterian Church registered, for the first time, its disapproval of Freemasonry, this can only have added to the accelerating decline in its own membership as religion played a consistently lessening role.

It is, then, perhaps surprising to conclude, in this, the 21st century, with a unique, unexpected and solitary flourish, bearing a rare combination of some of Egypt’s most significant sacred symbols.

Literature.

The publications which have provided a direct impetus to this present work, perhaps themselves stimulated by the articles by H. Honour, ‘*The Egyptian Taste*’,⁴¹ in 1955 and ‘*The Egyptian Revival*’ by Pevsner and Lang in 1956⁴², have been, first, ‘*The Egyptian Revival*’⁴³ by Professor Curl which covers the re-occurring appearances of the Egyptian style from Ptolemaic to modern times and the varying impulses which drove them. Allied to that, and from the same hand, ‘*The Art and Architecture of Freemasonry*’⁴⁴ deals with the craft from its inception, and outlines the Egyptian concepts which are at its heart, and their onward adaptation and transmission. In his third work to inform the writer, ‘*A Celebration of Death*’,⁴⁵ Professor Curl deals with the subject of funerary architecture ‘in the Western European tradition’. This latter theme is also the basis of Sir Howard Colvin’s ‘*Architecture of the Afterlife*’,⁴⁶ and in both this and the previous work, valuable Scottish examples are included. Yet no published work on Ancient Egyptian references, in its architecture and ornament, has devoted itself exclusively to Scotland.

In ‘*The Iconography of Landscape*’,⁴⁷ its twelfth chapter, by Eric Grant, is entitled ‘*The Sphinx in the North*’, and lays out the breadth, if not the depth, of the subject, whilst Ronnie Scott’s thesis, *The Cemetery and the City: the Origins of the Glasgow Necropolis, 1825-1857*, gives a

⁴¹ Honour, H., *The Egyptian Taste* Connoisseur Magazine XXXV (London: The National Magazine Company Ltd., May 1955)

⁴² Pevsner, N., & Lang, S., “The Egyptian Revival” *Architectural Review*, May 1956. pp. 242-254.

⁴³ Curl, J.S., *The Egyptian Revival* (London: Routledge, 2005).

⁴⁴ Curl, J.S., *The Art & Architecture of Freemasonry* (London: Batsford, 2002).

⁴⁵ Curl, J.S., *A Celebration of Death* (London: Constable, 1980).

⁴⁶ Colvin, H., *Architecture of the Afterlife* (London & New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991).

⁴⁷ Cosgrove D., & Daniels S., *The Iconography of Landscape* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

closely detailed account of a feature at the centre of ‘the Egyptian experience.’⁴⁸ Benjamin Hoffler’s dissertation, entitled ‘*Interpreting the Hieroglyphics of Cultural Landscape*’, announces as its principal aim that it: “seeks to present a comprehensive analysis of the emphatic Egyptian Revival of Glasgow.”⁴⁹

Of fundamental importance are the series of four lectures by Alexander Thomson, delivered at the Glasgow School of Art in 1874, and containing, as their second theme, ‘*The Development of Architecture – The spirit of the Egyptian Style*’, which expresses the inspiration and understanding which this thoughtful and deeply religious man had drawn from the intentions of architects who practised their skills millennia before him and in a distant land which he was never to visit.

In specific areas, the detailed study of Freemasonry by Stevenson⁵⁰ throws much clarity on its formative years and the review of Scottish architectural intention is clearly set out in Glendinning, MacInnes, & MacKechnie’s ‘*History of Scottish Architecture*’.⁵¹ To these must be added the detailed survey of Scotland’s buildings which makes up *The Buildings of Scotland*, a series which has proved an invaluable source of information.

Each of these publications has been a valuable resource in sustaining this thesis which has as its principal aim the closest study to date, proposed by its title.

⁴⁸ Scott, R.D., *The cemetery and the city: the origins of the Glasgow Necropolis, 1825-1857*. (University of Glasgow: 2005). Ph. D. Thesis.

⁴⁹ Hoffler, D., *Interpreting the Hieroglyphics of Cultural Landscape* (Oxford: Oxford University, Hertford College, 2004).

⁵⁰ Stevenson, D., *The Origins of Freemasonry – Scotland’s Century 1690-1710*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

⁵¹ Glendinning, M., MacInnes, R., & MacKechnie, A., *A History of Scottish Architecture* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996)

Chapter 1

The Forms and Origins of Egyptian Architecture

The Architectural Symbols of Egypt.

Egypt has been at the centre of Judeo-Christian awareness from Biblical times and its reputation as a source of ‘special’ knowledge is specifically quoted in both Old and New Testaments; in the former: “Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians”¹ and in the latter: “Solomon’s wisdom excelled...all the wisdom of Egypt.” Amongst its monuments, the Pyramids had attracted written comment from classical times and long before any Briton visited them².

Whilst the heavy and trabeated forms of Egyptian architecture lack subtlety, throughout this work references to the importance of its influence on the architecture of later civilisations are central to its theme. This significance, whose architectural progress is traced from as early as *The Histories*³ of Herodotus in the 5th century BC – and which is traced in detail in the next chapter – has resounded down the centuries. To select from those who acknowledged its importance is somewhat invidious but the writer notes the explorer Sir Richard Burton (1821-1890), who assessed the contribution of Egypt to all that came after, stating that it was indeed: “...the source of all human civilisation.”⁴ The eminent Egyptologist, I.E.S. Edwards (1909-1996)⁵ is in no doubt that the Egyptians were to exert an enormous influence on later architectural developments, whilst Amelia Edwards (1836-1892), pioneering founder of the Egypt Exploration Society, notes that: “It would be difficult to find a more interesting subject of inquiry than... the extent of that debt which the early Greeks owed to the teaching and example of the Ancient Egyptians.”⁶ Above all and especially acknowledging the significance of his own built achievements, it is right to reference the view so forcefully sustained by the Scot, Alexander Thomson, who, having confirmed that: “There is something about the whole circumstances and aspect of Egypt that excites our amazement and

¹ The Old Testament I Kings 4:30).The New Testament (Acts 7:22)

² The first Briton to report on and draw the Pyramids was George Sandys in 1610, whilst the Pharos was drawn around 1169 AD by Al-Gharnat: see Hamarneh S., *Folia Orientalia – The Ancient Monuments of Alexandria* (Istanbul: 1971) p.87, fig 1

³ Herodotus, *The Histories* (London: J.M. Dent, 1992).

⁴ Edwards, A., *Pharaohs, Fellahs and Explorers* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1891) p. 158

⁵ Edwards, I.E.S., author of a seminal work *The Pyramids of Egypt* (London: Pelican Books, 1947).

⁶ Edwards, A., *Pharaohs, Fellahs and Explorers* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1891). p.159

admiration...”⁷ goes on to confirm that: “...there is nothing more likely than that the rising civilisation of the Greeks should appropriate from the mature civilisation of the Egyptians whatever seemed desirable.”⁸ For a 21st century assessment, Ucko notes: “...the Greek and Roman worlds frequently expressed a sense of amazement at the culture and wisdom of pharaonic Egypt...seeing Egypt as the natural precursor of all later human developments and achievements.”⁹

The examples quoted above, spanning the centuries, are but a small sample of those who look to Egypt for a whole series of archetypes.

The Eternal Aspect of Egyptian Architecture.

Those Ancient Egyptian buildings which remain today are essentially religious in character and therefore give a distorted impression of the constructions which historically formed the built environment of that land. The mindset which caused the temples of Egypt to be known either as ‘Houses of Eternity’ or ‘Houses of Millions of Years’ demonstrated a view of the life hereafter which regarded those buildings as having a duty of enduring permanence. By contrast, for the ordinary mortal life on earth was a transitory matter. The Egyptians knew that there was a ‘life to come’, and a better life at that, if certain prescribed conditions were met and that the buildings created for their use in the ‘here and now’ had no similar obligation.

Descriptions of the remains of Egyptian buildings were brought back to Britain, first by Greaves¹⁰ in the mid 17th century, and then became increasingly significant in the 18th century with the appearance of the vogue for the Sublime, that mood of mystic awe, in the dissemination of which, Edmund Burke’s publication¹¹ and the illustrations and writings of Piranesi¹² played such a significant role, especially in the latter’s *Diversi maniere d’adornare i cammini*¹³ from which Mallgrave indicates that: “At the heart of this trilingual publication

⁷ Thomson, A., *Art and Architecture* (Lecture No. II). *The Spirit of the Egyptian Style*, (Glasgow: The Glasgow School of Art, 1874). p. 7

⁸ *Ibid.* Lecture No. III. p. 3.

⁹ Ucko, P., and Champion, T., *The Wisdom of Egypt* (London: UCL, 2003). p. 1

¹⁰ Greaves, J., *Pyramidographia* (London: J. Badger, 1646).

¹¹ Burke, E.,: ‘A Philosophical Enquiry into the Sublime and the Beautiful’ (London: Penguin Books, 1998). First published 1757.

¹² Piranesi, G., (1720-1778). Whilst dramatic qualities permeated his work, it is perhaps in his sixteen architectural and theatrical fantasies on prison interiors, his *Carceri d’invenzione* published between 1745 and 1750, that the elements of awe and horror reach a crescendo.

¹³ Piranesi, G., *Diversi maniere d’adornare i cammini* (Rome: Salomini, 1769).

(in Italian, English and French) is his ‘Apologetical Essay in the Defence of the Egyptian and Tuscan Architecture’.¹⁴

To the Egyptians, their world on earth had been created fully formed, entirely perfect and complete, thus there was no urgent impulse to innovate and to invent. The start of each new Pharaoh’s reign began anew at year one and no single or central occurrence gave them a fixed point in time, unlike the Christian or Moslem traditions. Changes in the religion of Egypt are few, and this exactly accorded with the duty of Pharaoh, god, priest and temporal ruler, to maintain *maat*, the existing state of things. Sauneron writes of this attitude with clarity: “... for the Egyptians, this notion of time which modifies the current knowledge of the world had no place. In the beginning, the divinity created a stable world, to function as a motor, well oiled ...”¹⁵, but this motor would always remain the same.¹⁶

It was exactly that same view which gave permanence to the Word and, quoting Sauneron once more: “The Word is not ... a simple tool facilitating human relationships, it is the audible expression of the deepest essence of things; it remains what it was at the beginning of the world, a divine act which gave life to matter”.

The Christian Word of God is nowhere more clearly expressed than in the Gospel according to St John: “In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God and the Word was God”¹⁷. To Christians, however, it did not keep them, as it were, frozen in a moment of time. However, for the Egyptians, this immutability held not only architectural forms motionless; even the hieroglyphs ‘the sacred signs’ remained, for Sauneron: “...during a good two thousand years...an unvarying liturgical language... from which the popular language departed more and more”.¹⁸ Assmann observes this immutability in stone, which was to the Egyptians: “...a medium of immortality...,”¹⁹ an attitude which the Scot, Alexander Thomson (1817-1875) shared, and in his lecture on Egyptian architecture, expressed as: “... we regard it as an imperishable thought.”²⁰ That the forms of the traditional Egyptian architectural vocabulary endured is the more remarkable after, first, a Greek occupation of some three hundred years and then an even longer Roman one. Both sets of conquerors not only patronised the rebuilding of Egyptian temples in the almost unchanged indigenous style,

¹⁴ Mallgrave, H. F., *Modern Architectural Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005). p. 36.

¹⁵ Sauneron, S., *The Priests of Ancient Egypt* (London: Evergreen Books, 1960). p. 119

¹⁶ Hence the enormous shock when Akhenaten (1350-1334BC) deserted the Pantheon of traditional gods and substituted, for a short space of time, the *Aten*.

¹⁷ *The New Testament*, St. John. Chapter I Verse 1.

¹⁸ Sauneron, S., *The Priests of Ancient Egypt* (London: Evergreen Books, 1960). p.126

¹⁹ Assman, J., *The Mind of Egypt*, (London: Harvard University Press. 2002) p. 55

²⁰ Thomson, A., *The Spirit of the Egyptian Style* (Lecture II in the series of 1874).p.10

but later absorbed and adapted architectural features found there to their own ends. In this policy lay the key – whoever the ruler – the country was the more easily ruled and kept in productive and taxed submission by maintaining, unchanged, the order and outward observance of *maat* and of Pharaonic rule. It must not be forgotten that the responsibility and thus also the authority of Pharaoh was absolute.

Kingship as the Authority for Great Architectural Projects.

Of the conditions which brought about great constructions, royal absolutism was paramount – it ensured that the lives of his people could be disposed of as the king saw fit and that he alone could be the instigator of national building projects.

As ruler, in creating monumental structures he demonstrated his divine authority to use both that engine of power, the muscles of his people, which was there to command, and a climate which created the opportunity to employ whatever forces might be needed. That climate meant that for four months each year, when the Nile was in flood, for the majority of the population who were agricultural labourers, there was little alternative employment.

Whilst no Christian ruler could command a labour force to move the millions of tons of stone required to construct the Great Pyramid, it was until recent times most frequently at the instigation of, or with the patronage of, a royal ruler or a pope, that the equivalent monumental buildings, such as the great mediaeval cathedrals of Europe, came into being. In Scotland, too, royal approval and royal finance was required for the most ambitious projects, not least those which were for their own use, which also stood as a demonstration of their power.

Differences and Similarities in the Requirements of Religious Buildings in Ancient Egypt and in Later Christian Forms of Worship.

The religious buildings of the Egyptians, their temples and their tombs, which have bequeathed their architectural forms to succeeding civilisations owed these forms to their religious beliefs which, in turn, formed the rituals, which, again, in their turn, shaped the buildings. It was the unchanging nature of those rituals which ensured that, from around 2700BC to the 4th Century AD, there was comparatively little development in the form of the temple.²¹

²¹ From this must be excepted the Sun Temples relating to the period of the Amarna Heresy (1350-1334BC).

That form, elongated and usually placed on that same axis which has since been adopted by Christianity, ran from east to west, deliberately following the course of the sun²². Ra, that sun, first illuminated the most sacred part of the building, the shrine room, *djeser djeseru* or Holy of Holies, just as in a Christian church the light would enter the building by the Great East Window and illuminate its most sacred part, the High Altar. That reference 'High', again points to a further similarity to Egyptian practice, for, from the entrance at the western end, the temple floor rose slowly, court by court, pillared hall by pillared hall, symbolising in its turn, the emergence of the world from the Waters of Chaos, *Nun*, and with those pillars and the walls decorated with the carved and painted plant life of the swamp. That the place of the *Benben* stone, the first and most sacred symbol to rise from the waters, was taken by the shrine, shaped like that stone, which housed the temple's god at this, its most sacred spot, must find resonance in the placing of the cross at the church's highest internal floor level, on top of the High Altar in the Catholic and Episcopalian Church. The attitude to light is somewhat different, for whilst the floor of the temple rises, so, in the case of Egypt, does the ceiling lower towards the shrine room, with more and more light being excluded, and the god, served only by the most senior priests, is shrouded in gloomy mystery, the little light allowed coming from small rectangular openings high above the shrine, similar to a run of small clerestory windows, a device to be imitated in Scotland.²³ Acknowledging that climatic differences play a significant part in the construction of buildings, large windows, offering both illumination and protection from the weather, were often used to portray religious themes to a largely illiterate populace, and at the same time shed light on the Christian altar; the Egyptians, however, excluding both dazzling sunlight and oppressive heat, used, instead, the wall surfaces to this decorative and instructive end.

Immersion in water, both for the Egyptian priesthood and the practising Christian, was a necessary ritual. It was mandatory that the Egyptian priest should totally immerse himself daily, in the waters of the Sacred Lake attached to each Egyptian temple, before performing ritual obligations. Christ used the river for a baptism of total immersion in a country having a similar climate, whilst the Scottish Christians, in their colder northern latitude, contented themselves with the purification of the infant by a baptism which saw water poured over the child's head.

²² To this, the great Temple of Luxor does not conform, as, on the east bank of the Nile, it is constrained to follow the river's north-south orientation.

²³ McKinstry S., *Theory & Ideals* in Stamp, G., & McKinstry, S., eds. '*Greek*' Thomson (Edinburgh University Press, 1994). Chapter 5, p. 67 notes that: "Thomson's manipulation of light at St Vincent Street or Queen's Park churches...is also based on his admiration for the mysterious clerestories of Egyptian temples."

Most significant of the differences, however, and playing a dominant role in the determination of their buildings form, was that Christian worship was inclusive and that of Egypt exclusive. The Egyptian populace would see the temple from its exterior, for they in no sense belonged to a congregation.

Whilst recording above the greater inclusiveness of the Christian Church, it should be pointed out that many older churches and especially those which follow the Catholic or Episcopalian and High Church tradition have the rood screen, in stone or wood, beyond which only the celebrants usually pass and these cannot, therefore, be considered as truly inclusive. Whilst some pre-Reformation religious buildings possess a rood screen²⁴, for Scotland's post Reformation Presbyterian churches, built with the pulpit at a central point, this was not a consideration.

The Architect and the Range of Structures Represented in the Architectural Vocabulary of Ancient Egypt.

In both Ancient Egypt and until the Scotland of the 18th century, there were no professionally qualified architects leaving, in the latter case, the constructor of ambitious building projects frequently to be designated with the title of Master Mason and thereby lending royal acknowledgement to the significance of the age-old craft of masonry, and its central role in the establishment of Freemasonry. Indeed, the 'architect' is as rarely named as such in 17th century Scotland as throughout Egyptian history. The two most celebrated Egyptian 'architects' whose names have come down to us, Imhotep and Sen(en)mut, served their rulers Zoser (2668-2649 BC.) and Hatshepsut (1498-1483 BC.) in the capacity of First Minister and as a type of general factotum, in close association with both the monarch and the royal household, which latter association, noted above, was mirrored in Scotland.

In the case of the former, however, it would seem that Imhotep had at least some training in practical skills, for the hieroglyphs which follow his name, record him as 'carpenter, sculptor and maker of stone pots'. In that early third Dynasty date, around 2650 BC, it is surprising to note that he appears, therefore, to have had recognisable qualifications, especially since one seeks in vain to find any other evidence that formal architectural training existed. Studying

²⁴ Rood screens have been dealt with in various ways in churches which preceded the arrival of Protestantism. As examples, Glasgow Cathedral has never lost its sturdy stone screen whilst, after the chancel of Dunblane Cathedral ceased to be the proto-nave of the building when the original nave was restored in the 19th century, a delicate wooden rood screen was introduced, acknowledging the age of the building. Since a pulpit was added once more in the nave, there was no interruption of effective communication of the Word to the congregation. It should be noted that the figure of Christ, central to the traditional Catholic rood screen, does not appear on either of the above and rood screens have not been included in Post Reformation Presbyterian churches.

his most significant creation, the Step Pyramid at Saqqara – which might seem, at first glance, to require the same skill as that required of a child with a building set and an infinite amount of labour to command, – one observes that this has, in its interior, a central shaft which required considerable skill to span. Imhotep had one further sign of the acknowledgement of his standing, for, alone in Egyptian history, his name appears, with his qualifications, on the pedestal of a statue of his pharaoh-god, Zoser, a unique gesture of appreciative condescension. The final accolade which marked his eminence was his deification which the Ptolemaic Greeks accepted with a change of name to Aesculapius.

Almost 1200 years later, the laying out of the elaborate plan of the Mortuary Temple of Hatshepsut (reigned from 1498-1483 BC) at Deir El Bahari²⁵ also required both ingenuity and technical expertise. Yet, although Senenmut had the title of Overseer of Works²⁶, and then a whole list of other titles indicating a wide spread of responsibilities, it seems that in his case it would be much more accurate to say that he ‘caused’ the monument to be built and followed its progress as a matter for which he held ultimate responsibility.

Before considering the wide range of Egyptian monuments, religious symbols and decorative themes which have since made their appearance in the built environment of Scotland, it must be noted that in the latter country conditions, sociological, technological and climatic, meant that results were to be achieved using different methods. From whichever century in the history of Egypt they originate, the buildings which remain to us today were, in every sense, monumental. They possessed an integrity of form and content, which seldom strove deliberately to achieve an effect by cutting corners or by artifice.²⁷ Above all, the Egyptians built using simple techniques; theirs was the architectural language of the horizontal, the vertical and the inclined plane. Although they were early aware of the arch, they may have associated its shape with the vaults of the underworld of darkness which was a subject of dread. But what they knew, they understood thoroughly, as a glance at the close fit of the joints between stone and stone shows.

Their results were achieved by honest endeavour and this maintenance of the highest standards has guaranteed the endurance of their work.

²⁵ This temple’s lengthy rows of square columns were to be particularly inspirational to nineteenth-century architects, Schinkel and Thomson being just two examples.

²⁶ In itself this seems similar to the 16th century description of Master of Work, applied to William Schaw.

²⁷ The exceptions are usually examples of a pharaoh’s wish to complete his predecessor’s funerary monument, with all speed, the better to ensure that his own might be completed, as was vital, during his own lifetime.

Egyptian Architectural and Ornamental References Later Found in Scotland.

The Pyramid.

When mention is made of the Pyramid form, minds immediately turn to ‘The Great Pyramid’. Discussed in more detail below, one need not wonder at its fame, enhanced immeasurably by being the only remaining Wonder of the Ancient World. Of all Egyptian forms it must have most clearly inspired Alexander Thomson when, he notes that: “There are various modes of impressing the mind with a sense of greatness. That which most readily presents itself is actual bulk; and we find this resorted to in Egyptian art more than any other.”²⁸



Author

Figure 1. 1 View of the Giza Pyramids, the Great Pyramid to the left.

“The Pyramid Age, par excellence, covers... the period beginning in the Third Dynasty and ending in the Sixth”. Thus I.E.S. Edwards in his authoritative survey of the pyramids of Egypt fixes them in time between c. 2650 and c.2150 BC.²⁹ It can safely be claimed that the majority of constructions regarded as pyramids today, which were originally smooth sided, rising to their peaks in an unbroken angled line, developed from the oblong box-like tombs, known as *mastabas*, (benches). The transition began at the Step Pyramid at Saqqara, the work of Imhotep,³⁰ which at the outset was just such a tomb but, which, by addition and extension, became, for his patron, the Pharaoh Netjerykhet (or Zoser), the second ruler of the Third Dynasty (2668-2649 BC), the first tiered and stepped pyramidal construction.

²⁸ Thomson, A. *Haldane Lectures* (1874) Lecture II p 11. Mitchell Library Glasgow.

²⁹ Edwards, I. W. S., *The Pyramids of Egypt* (London: Penguin Books. 1947). p. 2

³⁰ Imhotep, himself, was to be accorded semi-divine status much later in history and eventually to be transmogrified, as a healer, into Aesculapius, whose *caduceus* emblem today, inter alia adorns the uniforms of the Royal Army Medical Corps.



Author

Figure 1. 2 The Step Pyramid.

In its final form, the structure itself (it stood within a large enclosure), measures 411 ft. from east to west and 358 ft. from north to south, rises to a height of 204 ft., and was the first stone construction in Egypt to approach this scale. Its symbolic intention is of the highest significance, the Egyptologist J.H. Breasted, noting that: “The king was buried under the very symbol of the sun-god which stood in the holy of holies in the sun-temple at Heliopolis”,³¹ and referring by this statement to the *benben*, the stone which first rose above the waters of chaos at the Creation and which was the origin of both the pyramid and the obelisk.³² Edwards in addition to his reference to ‘a staircase to Heaven’³³ sees the pyramid as the true symbol of “the rays of the sun shining down on earth”. He quotes Spell 523 from the Pyramid Texts: “Heaven hath strengthened for thee the rays of the sun in order that thou mayest lift thyself to heaven as the eye of Ra”, and concludes on this important subject: “The temptation to regard the true pyramid (Author ‘and equally the obelisk’) as a material representation of the sun’s rays and consequently a means whereby the dead king could ascend to heaven seems irresistible.”³⁴

It must remain for all time a tribute to the skill of the Egyptian stone mason that Edwards could write: “How completely they had mastered this art may be gauged from Petrie’s observation that the joints in the casing of the Great Pyramid measured only one fiftieth of an inch in thickness.”³⁵ One can hardly wonder that the Freemasons, stemming from the stone-mason’s craft, adapted so many symbols from this era into their rituals and practices, both in

³¹ Breasted, J. H., *The Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1912). p. 72

³² The Sun Temple of the Fifth Dynasty Pharaoh Niuserre at Abusir shows a combination of the pyramid and the obelisk.

³³ I.W.S., Edwards I. W. S., *The Pyramids of Egypt* (London: Pelican Books Ltd., 1947). p. 280

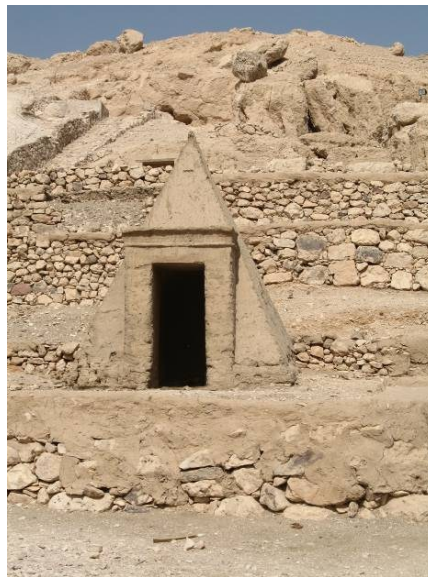
³⁴ *Ibid* pp. 282-3

³⁵ *Ibid* p. 149

tribute and in admiration. Their competence in astronomy and knowledge of the movement of the stars is the likeliest method by which the Egyptians were able so accurately to orientate these huge constructions.

A thousand years later, whilst the pharaohs of the New Kingdom (c.1550-1070) did not construct individual pyramids, instead choosing to have themselves interred in underground tombs in the sequestered Valley of the Kings at Thebes, they specifically chose that spot because it lay in the shadow of a mountain with a clearly shaped pyramid peak, thus acknowledging there a communal ascension point to the next world.

However, at exactly this time, the craftsmen who were excavating the lengthy passages and rooms deep below that natural pyramidal peak of Meretseger began to crown their own tombs in the graveyard of their enclosed village at Deir el- Medina with brick-built pyramids, some rising to almost 5 metres, (See Figure 1.3 below) and with their sides much more steeply angled than the Old Kingdom group.³⁶



Author

Figure 1. 3 The Workers Pyramid
at Deir El Medina.

³⁶ Whilst the visit of the Oxford mathematician, John Greaves, to Egypt, resulted, in 1646, in an awareness of the detailed and correct measurements and proportions of the Giza pyramids, confusion continued to be caused by the example of the Roman, Gaius Cestius, (See Fig. 10 above) who built himself in 18-12BC a tall, yet narrow, pyramid, to be seen by, and to make an impression on, foreign visitors, through the centuries, not least on those from Scotland who were making the Grand Tour. Greaves, J., *Pyramidographia* (London: G. Badger, 1646). This, Hugh Honour confirms when he writes: "The sphinx had come into European art by way of Greece and Rome, at the Renaissance, and it was of Rome that the virtuoso was reminded, by the landscape gardener's obelisks and pyramids". Honour, H., *The Egyptian Taste*, *Connoisseur Magazine*. London. 1955. Vol. CXXXV, p.242

The pyramid, in addition to the religious implications of its form, needed: "...to supply the body with the basic requirements of the after-life"³⁷. Its interior – a custom which it absorbed from the earlier *mastaba*, which had provided a house-shaped tomb – contained a wide range of contents and furnishings for the residence and life-style which would be required in the next world.

The writer is convinced that the religio/magical promise of ascent to Heaven, which has been mentioned above, has carried its message, however subliminally, down the ages and is the key to the welcome and the enthusiastic acceptance of both the pyramid, and even more so, the obelisk, by the Catholic Church at the Renaissance and later, by Presbyterian Scots, especially during the mourning fervour of the 19th century. This sense that both pyramid and obelisk were access points to the next world is of prime importance in linking Egyptian thoughts and intentions to those accepted in Scotland three thousand and more years later, whilst the shared promise of salvation by both the Ancient Egyptian and the Christian religions (unlike those of Greece and Rome) is of enormous significance.

We have already experienced Pharaoh as *Sa Ra*, Son of the Sun, who would join with other gods to traverse the sky, daily, in his solar barque. To reach the gods, he had to mount to the sky, and it seems that the pyramid builders sought to provide him with the means.

The Obelisk.

Of all the architectural devices to come from Ancient Egypt, it is the obelisk which has served as its most eloquent and peripatetic ambassador. The largest obelisk ever attempted in Egypt, which cracked during the quarrying process, and which still lies in its Aswan quarry today, is 138ft in height, with an estimated weight of some 1168 tons.³⁸ The craftsmanship of the Egyptians, who worked on, transported and then erected monoliths on this scale, with only dolomite pounders and soft bronze chisels, is truly remarkable.

The obelisk joins with the pyramid in a close association with the world beyond and with the sun. Indeed Shaw hypothesises that: "The Egyptian word for obelisk (*tekhen*) may be related to the word *weben* meaning 'to shine'.³⁹ Whilst the pyramids of Egypt were exported in illustrations and surrounded by mythic legend (not least, supposedly, as 'The Granaries of

³⁷ Edwards, I.W.S., *The Pyramids of Egypt* (London: Pelican Books, 1947). p. 278

³⁸ The tallest obelisk in Scotland at 144ft is the Nelson Obelisk of 1806 in Glasgow, and discussed in detail in Chapter 5.

³⁹ Shaw, I., & Nicholson, P., *British Museum Dictionary of Ancient Egypt* (London: British Museum Press, 1995). p. 208

Joseph')⁴⁰, their size prevented their physical removal; however obelisks, in quantity, were able to be physically transported abroad, both as symbols of imperial conquest and, in the 19th century, as diplomatic gifts.

These obelisks, usually placed in pairs, and carved with the names and virtues of their creators, were most frequently erected in the New Kingdom (1570-1070BC) and reflect that duality which was Egypt, where one of Pharaoh's major titles was *neb tawy*, Lord of the Two Lands. The significance of the carved, and thus enduring name and the importance of its recognition by the gods, is best demonstrated by the frequent acts of desecration involving the obliteration of a pharaoh's name and rendering him, therefore, unknowable by the gods.⁴¹ Whilst the Romans seemed to understand the religious implications of twin obelisks, a pair being placed at the entrance to the Mausoleum of the Emperor Augustus in the Campus Martius,⁴² they were most frequently employed as striking, solitary, 'eye-catchers', first in Ancient Rome itself, then during its Renaissance and later in history, in capitals as far apart as Paris, Istanbul and New York. It also seems to the author, that their pairing may have been reflected, and their spiritual force acknowledged, in the twin pillars later placed by the Jews before the Holy of Holies in their Temple at Jerusalem⁴³ and continuing, as a pair, in Masonic iconography, as the twin pillars Jachin and Boaz.⁴⁴

The practice of frequently removing only one of the pair of obelisks from Egypt then left the single specimens robbed of their true significance, but historic literature seems to ignore this fact.⁴⁵ According to Barnes, writing of their wide-spread use in later times: "The inspiration and source for the obelisk was the imperial city (Rome) where as many as forty obelisks stood or lay fallen, following the trophy-hunting of Roman emperors".⁴⁶ However, the awareness of the inherently sacred origins of this most widespread of all Egypt's architectural symbols, and its continuing use as a 'religious' symbol of commemoration bearing an associated identity is of the utmost importance.

⁴⁰ A belief, incidentally, quoted by that most remarkable Scottish civil engineer, Thomas Telford. See '*Thomas Telford*'. (Edited post mortem by Rickman, J.) (London: James & Luke, 1838). p. 692

⁴¹ The almost universal obliteration of the cartouches of the heretic Akhenaten is the most spectacular example of this deed.

⁴² Colvin, H., *Architecture and the After-Life* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1991). p 340 notes this one exception: "From the end of the first century a pair of obelisks stood at either side of the entrance to the Mausoleum of Augustus." (in Rome).

⁴³ The Jews had, after all, spent a considerable time in Egypt and must have been familiar with these twin symbols in front of the Egyptians sacred temples.

⁴⁴ This feature, in Scotland, is fully discussed in the article on 'Cairness House', in Chap. 4, below.

⁴⁵ The writer suggests that, since the Egyptian religion was interpreted by its priesthood, and that was closely controlled by both Greeks and Romans, it was not in their interests to protest.

⁴⁶ Barnes, R., *The Obelisk. A Monumental Feature in Britain* (Kirstead: Frontier Publishing, 2004).p. 11



Author

Figure 1. 4 The sole survivor in Egypt of the pair of obelisks erected by Tuthmosis I. (1524-1518 BC.)

The Pylon.



Author

Figure 1. 5 The Pylon of the Temple of Horus at Edfu.

The pylon consists of three sections, two high towers of heavy masonry on either flank, with a ceremonial entrance gate at the centre. The outer sections possess two features which in Scotland may not only appear in a religious context (see above) but also in a domestic, civic and industrial setting. These two features are ‘batter’, the marked inclining and narrowing of

the walls as they rise, (a phenomenon which has also been absorbed into buildings acknowledging Greece as their inspiration) and the *cavetto* or gorge cornice. In this last instance the ‘wings’ of the cornice curve outwards, as though to turn the wind-blown sand. The pylon towers are edged with a ‘*torus*’ moulding, which stands proud of the surface and resembles a hemispherical ridge. Of symbolic significance, the twin towers of the pylon make two references important to the Egyptians, first, acknowledging, as the paired obelisks, the dual kingdoms, but also and specifically, making reference to two mountains on the eastern horizon, between which the sun rose.

Both the massive construction and the powers of wind deflection make the pylon especially useful in exposed situations and also where weight and mass were required in the Scotland of the Industrial Age.⁴⁷



Author

Figure 1. 6 The Monumental North gate
at Karnak.

The central section of the pylon, the gate or portal, is shown here, in the form of the massive north gate of the Karnak Temple compound. It also appears in 19th century Scotland, and there is frequently used in a mourning situation.

The Barque Shrine Plinth.

Similarly, the batter and the gorge cornice are frequently echoed, as here, in smaller examples of stonework, which could have served as an altar or as a resting place for the sacred barque as it went on one of the festival processions which were such a feature of Egyptian religious life. The example below, from the first courtyard of the temple of Karnak, also clearly

⁴⁷ See Chapter 5, ‘the 19th century’, for specific examples.

demonstrates the use of the *torus* moulding. In Scotland it appears both as grave monument and statue base.



Author

Figure 1. 7 A Barque Shrine from The Outer Court at Karnak Temple.

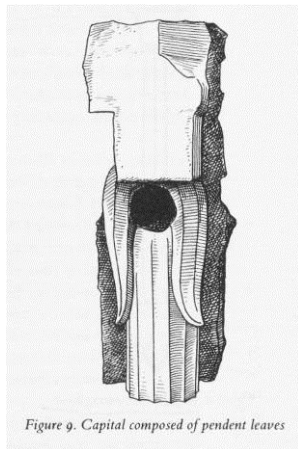
The Columns of Egypt.

Whilst the examples of Egyptian architecture examined so far have been restricted to a clear structural architectural statement within a limited field, the columns of Egypt draw on a wider vocabulary both structural and, at the same time, ornamental.

To study the columns in their setting is to become immediately aware that the Egyptians created the designs of most of them from the plant forms which surrounded them, and from which so many of their decorative motifs will be seen to be drawn. These columns stretch out along the axes of the principal temples which remain, appearing to rise from the sacred swamp, foliage at base and capital, as the floor levels on which they stand advance, by shallow steps, to the high point of that innermost sanctum, which houses the god of that particular place. Thus, they play their part in repeating in these ‘houses of millions of years’ the Egyptian Creation myth and re-enact in stone the emergence of trunks and stems, out of the Waters of Chaos.

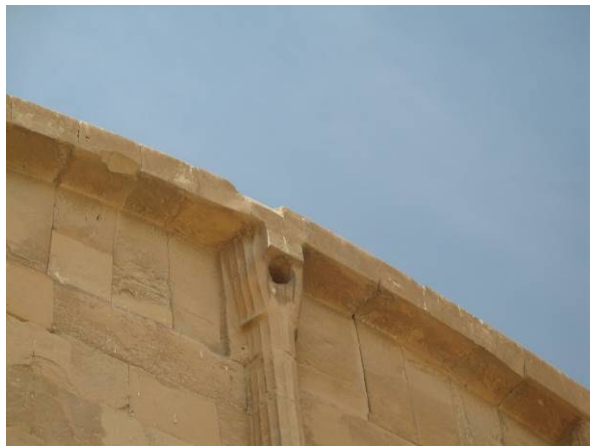
The earliest examples are the attached columns in the compound of the Pyramid of Zoser of Dynasty III (2668-2649 BC) at Saqqara. They adorn one of the false offering chapels in the *Heb Sed* court of the complex and with their long, swelling, downward pointing leaves, (see

below), seem to resemble the bound stems of a member of the hogweed family, the *heracleum giganteum*.



Edwards⁴⁸

Figure 1. 8 A Drawing of the stem of the giant hogweed.



Author

Figure 1. 9 A Heracleum Capital.

This is a plant no longer found in the Egypt of today, and these ancient examples at Saqqara appear unique. The wetter and cooler climate of some 5000 years ago might well have then supported the plant, or a closely related variety but it is certainly not amongst the plants recorded in the botanical section of the *'Description de l'Égypte'*.

Two things must be noted of this most ancient of devices: first, the design is likely to have developed from earlier reed buildings where bundles of plant stems would have been bound together, producing a thicker and load-bearing 'column'; second, this binding together of the bundles produced a ridged surface on the columns at Saqqara, unlike the concave form found on the fluted column. The origin is supported by Shaw, who mentions that: "...earlier building styles connected with mud-brick and organic materials..." adding that, here: "...wooden columns were transformed into stone..."⁴⁹

The Marsh Arabs of Iraq have continuously used bundles of reeds, from ancient times, from which to construct their traditional *mudhif*, and guest houses, (see Figs. 27 and 28 below). It should be noted that columns made from bound stems, although not of heracleum as at Saqqara, are still used by them today.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Edwards, I.W.S., *The Pyramids of Egypt* (London: Penguin Books, 1947) Fig. 9, p. 44

⁴⁹ Shaw I. & Nicholson P., *British Museum Dictionary of Ancient Egypt* (London: BCA, 1995) p. 251

⁵⁰ Salim, M.S., *Marsh Dwellers of the Euphrates Delta* (London: Athlone Press, 1962). p.104 notes however that: "Here they are of *phragmites karka*, a tall thick variety of weed which grows 24 or even 30ft above the surface of the water."



Salim

Figure 1. 10 A hut built on a reed platform.



Salim⁵¹

Figure 1. 11 A guest house.

Gottfried Semper (1803-79) notes of Egypt that: “although Egyptian architecture, in its large monuments was above all stone architecture, it had, all the same, originated from wood or rather reed structures...It retained the characteristic traits of its origin even in its final development into the perfect stone style.”⁵² Further, he does not specify one single plant, so that the range could cover plants, both with concave or convex stems.

The Square Column.

Next in time, with the earliest examples seeming to be those at the Valley Temple of Khafre (c.2550 BC.) at Giza, are columns of rectangular profile.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* Both the above illustrations are on un-numbered pages, bound in the centre of the book, and bear individual numbers 2A and 5A.

⁵² Semper, G., *In Search of Architecture* (London: MIT Press 1984). p 137



Author

Figure 1. 12 Columns in the Valley Temple of Khafre.

The square column is at its most evocative in the later retrospective structure known as ‘The Osireion’, created by Seti I (1306-1290 BC) which is attached to his temple at that most sacred of Egyptian sites, Abydos. Of this, Wilkinson comments: “...the large granite-built hall has an anachronistic look but one which strangely fits its symbolic purpose.”⁵³

This harking back to earlier forms, one of the demonstrations of the Egyptian attitude of fixed conservatism, sees the square column repeated, but in a slightly lighter form on the main temple building, adjacent.



Author

Figure 1. 13 The Square Columns from the Temple of Seti I, Abydos.



Author

Figure 1. 14 The Oseirion at Abydos.

⁵³ Wilkinson, R.H., *The Temples of Ancient Egypt* (London: Thames & Hudson. 2002). p. 148

The theme is returned to repeatedly, most impressive of all, as it rises wide and triple-tiered across the mountainous bay of Deir el-Bahari at Thebes, (See Fig. 1.4 below) in the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut (1473-1458 BC). Recently restored to an almost pristine appearance, it here repeats, on a more ambitious scale, the appearance of the *saaf* or ‘ladder’ tombs of the Twelfth Dynasty, which proliferate in the surrounding hills.⁵⁴



Author

Figure 1. 15 Square columns at the Temple of Hatshepsut.

The square column assumes a further form as an Osirid column. This takes the shape of the square column as background support for a statue, most often of the ruler for whom the building has been constructed, with, on the side facing the open court, a bandaged figure, arms folded, assuming the posture in which Osiris, god of the next world, is depicted. Of this form, the writer has found no example in Scotland, although it may be regarded as a forerunner of the caryatid.

The Round Column.

Appearing massive and isolated, this first fine example is the sole remaining column erected at Karnak by the Nubian Pharaoh Taharka (25th Dynasty, 690-664 BC).

⁵⁴ This square column, having become a significant feature in the European Neoclassical repertoire, was widely used in France and in Germany, and frequently and spectacularly employed in Scotland, especially in the work of Alexander Thomson.



Author

Figure 1. 16 The Column of Taharka of papyrus campaniform type, at. Karnak Temple.

The massive thickness of the Egyptian column is rarely attained in Scotland⁵⁵; first, because the Egyptian forms passed through the refining hands of the Greeks, and second, because the amount of labour at the service of the Egyptian state was not available there. Indeed, Arnold states that the thickness might reach a proportion of 4.5 diameters at Karnak, to a more usual 6 at Philae, or 8 at Medinet Habu, under the Romans, but those in Egypt, supporting roof slabs of solid masonry, never approached the more refined ideal of Classical times.⁵⁶

The Egyptian Fore-runner of the Doric Column

At Beni-Hassan⁵⁷ in Middle Egypt, are detached columns from around 2000BC, indicating that fluting and the *abaci* which became a standard form of column later found in Greek architecture, but undoubtedly confirmed as originating in Egypt. The illustration below demonstrates a form used in Scotland, frequently, as here, in the form of twin columns *in antis*.⁵⁸ In the mid 19th century, Gwilt noted of the columns: “The reader will be struck by the appearance of the Doric column almost in its purity.”⁵⁹ Watkin writes that in: “... the mortuary temple of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari (c. 1470BC) ... the shrine of Anubis

⁵⁵ The most massive were those used in the mid-19th century at Hamilton Palace.

⁵⁶ Arnold D., *The Encyclopaedia of Ancient Egyptian Architecture* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2003). p. 56

⁵⁷ Beni Hassan dates from the 11th and 12th Dynasties (2125-1795).

⁵⁸ See Thomas Hamilton and Frederick Newall, in Chapter 5, for examples.

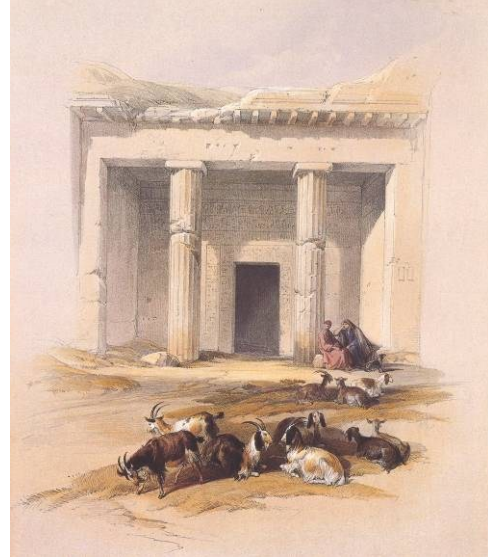
⁵⁹ Gwilt, J., *An Encyclopaedia of Architecture* (London: Longman, 1842). p.57

has a distinctly proto-Doric order, ⁶⁰ whilst Curl acknowledges both of these sources: “...There are columns both at Beni Hassan and Deir el Bahari that suggest a proto-typical Greek Doric”.⁶¹



Author

Figure 1. 17 ‘Fluted’ Columns at Beni-Hassan, from the Tomb of Khnumhotep.



Clayton⁶²

Figure 1. 18 David Robert’s view of the same columns.

The Origins of the Greek Ionic Order.

In the late 19th century, there was intense debate concerning Egypt’s place as the originator of a wide range of architectural forms. Members of the newly founded Egypt Exploration Society (which began its work in Egypt in 1882) – among whom Amelia Edwards (1831-1892) and the eminent Egyptologist, Professor Flinders Petrie (1853-1942) played the two leading roles – were enthusiastic to claim Egypt’s role as the architectural progenitor of the widest range of forms.

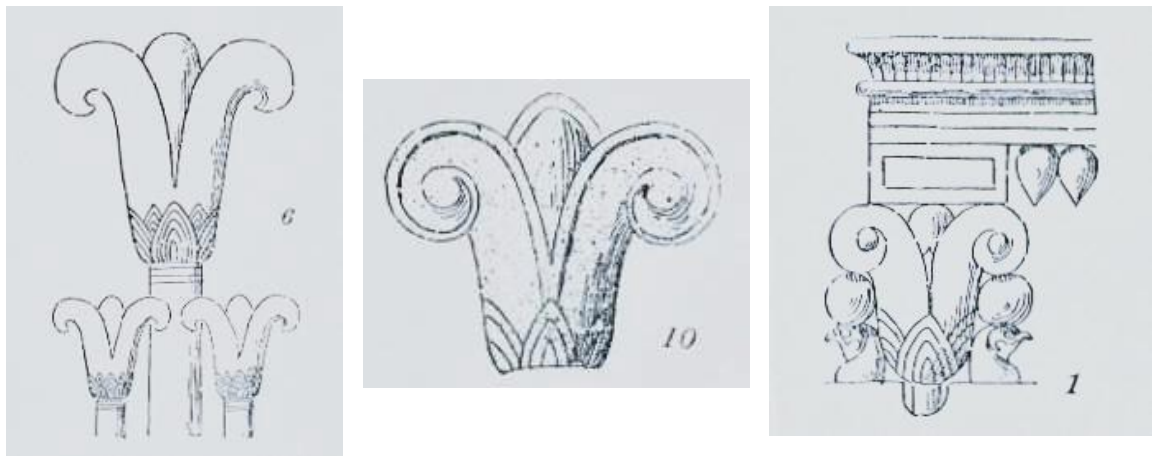
The situation of the Doric column’s origins having been explained, it was left to Goodyear to record that: “To Miss Amelia B. Edwards I owe the first European recognition made in 1873 and published in 1888, that the Ionic capital is derived from an actual natural appearance in

⁶⁰ Watkin, D., *A History of Western Architecture* (London: Laurence King, 4th ed., 2005). p.26

⁶¹ Curl J. S., *The Egyptian Revival* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005). p. 3

⁶² Clayton, P. A., *The Rediscovery of Ancient Egypt* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1982). p. 73

the flower of the Egyptian water-lily,”⁶³ adding that this was, for the Egyptians: “a symbol of life, of immortality, of renaissance or of resurrection.”



Goodyear⁶⁴.

Figure 1. 19 Examples of Lotus/Ionic Designs.

He demonstrates his thesis in the illustrations above and Curl seems to support his proposition, noting: “The characteristic volute or scroll capital may have been derived from the Egyptian lotus.”⁶⁵

The example below (see Figure 1.19) whilst not a column is the largest stone carved illustration of this lotus/liliform decoration which the author has discovered in Egypt, and, with an adjacent papyrus example, is from the Temple of Karnak⁶⁶, its form giving added support to the ideas expressed by Goodyear.

⁶³ Goodyear, W., *The Grammar of the Lotus* (London: Sampson, Low, Marston, 1891). p. 1

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* p.79

⁶⁵ Curl, J., *The Egyptian Revival* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005). pp. 3-4

⁶⁶ The lotus/liliform motif is from the Hall of Annals.



Author

Figure 1. 20 The Waterlily / Lotus of Upper Egypt, from the Hall of Annals, Karnak Temple.

The Construction of Columns.

As to the matter of the construction of the columns, some, according to Arnold: “were delivered complete....as with obelisks, the outlines were marked horizontally on to the surface of the rock and then hammered out”. He goes on further to state that “other columns made of limestone or sandstone were built up out of drums or half drums..., left in a bossed state and dressed only after the columns had been erected”.⁶⁷ The monolithic Egyptian form passed early to Greece. Banister Fletcher, dating it to the 7th century BC and thus to the Hellenic Period of Greek architecture, states that: “ In the second half of the century the Greeks secured direct access to Egypt and thus acquired knowledge of Egyptian stone-working techniques. It became possible to quarry large pieces of stone for monolithic columns and to turn the blocks on a lathe to secure a truly circular section.”⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Arnold, D., *The Encyclopaedia of Ancient Egyptian Architecture* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2003). p.59

⁶⁸ This tradition of monolithic columns was also extended to Scotland, important examples being in Robert Adam’s work at Edinburgh University and David Hamilton’s even grander examples at Hamilton Palace. Gifford, J., *Edinburgh* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1984). (Buildings of Scotland series) p. 189 Gifford opening his sentence concerning Robert Adam’s Old Quad of 1789 with the words: “Nothing in Scotland is grander than Adam’s entrance...flanked by ...giant monoliths of Craigleith stone.” Glendinning, M., *A History*



Author

Figure 1. 21 Un-dressed columns shown on the right of the colonnade at Karnak.

The Range of Capitals.

It appears to Shaw⁶⁹ (leaving aside the unique example of the *heracleum* at Saqqara) that the principal range of Egyptian capitals can be divided into five further areas, being the papyrus, lotus, lily, palm and composite, the first two being illustrated below.



Author⁷⁰

Figure 1. 22 The Papyrus of Lower Egypt.



Author

Figure 1. 23 Lotus cluster column, Karnak Temple.

of *Scottish Architecture* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996). p. 222 describes these examples as: “25-foot-high monoliths transported to the site, like those of Edinburgh University, in specially constructed vehicles, pulled by a team of thirty horses.”

⁶⁹ Shaw, I., & Nicholson, P., *The British Museum Dictionary of Ancient Egypt* (London: BCA, 1995). p. 70

⁷⁰ This, like the lily/lotus form, is from the Hall of Annals at the Temple of Karnak.

The principal forms, those showing papyrus plant and lotus, open and closed, may still be seen today in Egyptian temples, in the primary colours which originally adorned leaf, shaft, bud and flower.⁷¹ The significance of the lotus and the papyrus as the pre-eminent forms of plant decoration lay deep in the structural traditions of Egypt. As already indicated above, it was considered not as one land, but rather as two, each kingdom having its own symbols, including a plant form, the papyrus representing Lower Egypt and the lotus representing Upper Egypt. Their importance is acknowledged when these two symbols feature below pharaoh's throne, conjoined there as a symbol of the unity of the land.⁷²



Author

Figure 1. 24 The plants of the Two Kingdoms, united under Pharaoh's throne at Karnak.

⁷¹ Similar strong coloration is found in Scotland in the work of Alexander Thomson who would have had at his disposal the highly coloured illustrations of Egyptian decorative themes in Jones O., *The Grammar of Ornament* (London: Day & Sons, 1856).

⁷² Examples of these two forms appear in 20th century Scotland, the former in a setting of religious connotation on the headquarters of the Church of Scotland at 121, George Street, Edinburgh, the latter, appearing as part of the decorative resource of the Art Deco vocabulary, at Govanhill Cinema, Glasgow.

Other Capitals Found in Egypt.

The Egyptian example of the palmiform capital, below, is clear and unambiguous; one example was adapted in Scotland to a different end.⁷³



Author

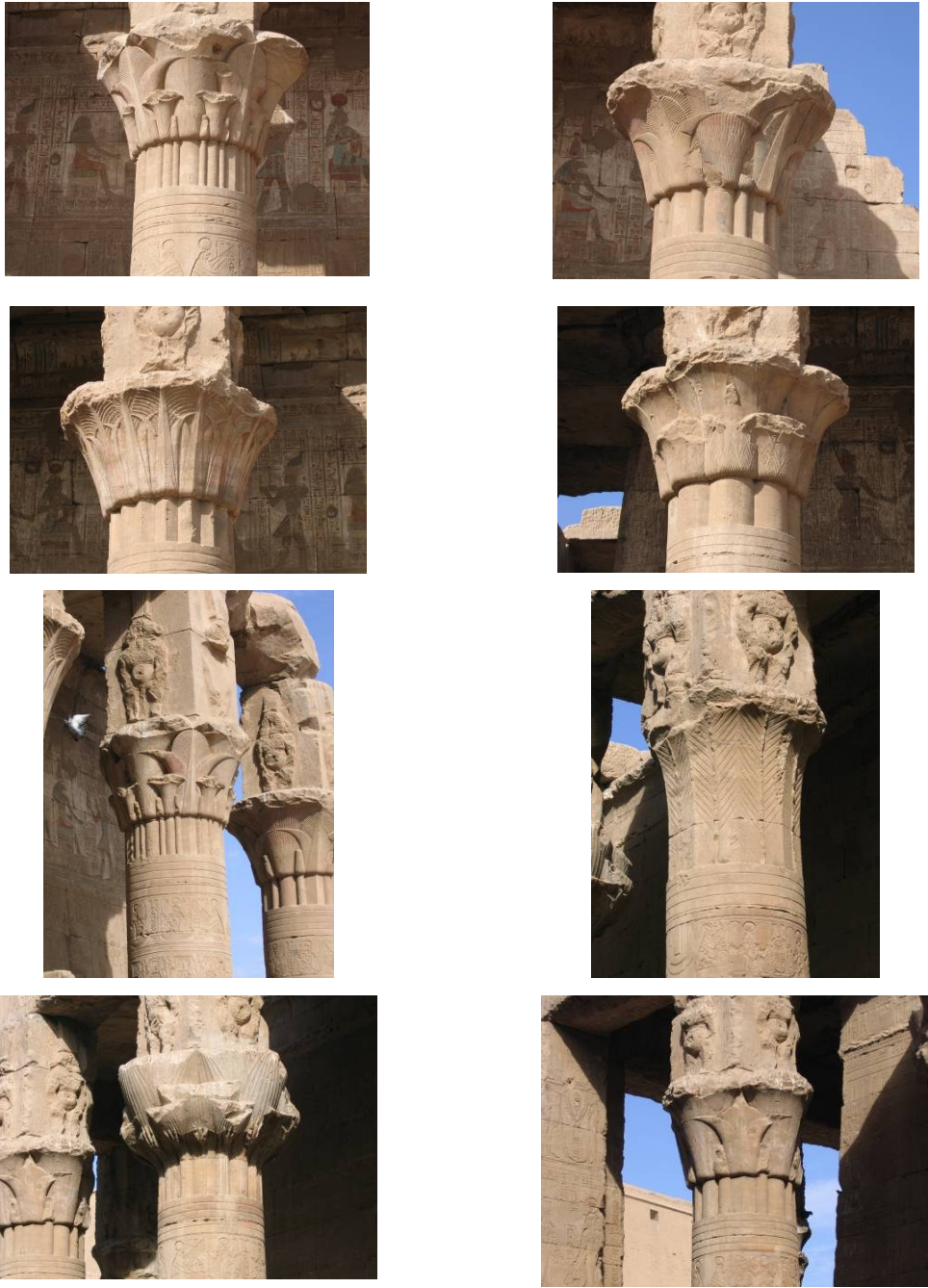
Figure 1. 25 A palmiform capital at Edfu Temple. C.250 BC.

Sir Banister Fletcher includes an ‘Egyptian Bell Capital’ as one of the progenitors of the Corinthian capital and notes its: “first appearance in Greek architecture in the fifth century B.C. as a decorative variant of the Ionic”⁷⁴ – to the development of which he also includes an Egyptian antecedent.

Other examples, forming a rich assortment of capitals based on plant forms, can be seen adorning the birth-house, the *mammisi*, at the temple of Horus at Edfu.

⁷³ The palm leaf was adapted by W.H. Playfair to form the sounding board above the pulpit of St Stephen’s Church, Edinburgh.

⁷⁴ Fletcher, Sir B., *A History of Architecture* (London: The University of London, 1961) p. 139



Author

Figure 1. 26 A selection of capitals from the *Mammisi* at Edfu Temple.

The writer would suggest that this use of a wide range of foliate forms may have been a source of inspiration for the Greek Corinthian capital, the Greeks turning to their indigenous *acanthus* plant.⁷⁵

⁷⁵ One can see forms which appear to stem from the above in Alexander Thomson's St Vincent Street Church, Glasgow, almost certainly via ⁷⁵ Owen Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament* published the year before the building was commenced and which is discussed in the 19th century chapter.

The Stela.⁷⁶

The stela was erected as a grave marker or memorial stone to pronounce, in graven hieroglyphs, the name and offices of the departed, further ornamented with illustrations, usually of deities. Roehrig writes that: “To the Egyptians, the domed top of the stone had a symbolic meaning, intimating the course of the sun across the sky, and in that way connecting the deceased with the cycle of sunrise and rebirth. On Middle Kingdom stela, this upper space was often filled with additional cosmic symbols.”⁷⁷

One of the most significant and ubiquitous of those symbols was, undoubtedly, the winged sun-disk, used on the grave stela pictured below.⁷⁸



British Museum EA 65354

Figure 1. 27 The wooden stela of Tjenetdiashakhet. From Thebes, Egypt, 25th Dynasty, around 900 BC

⁷⁶ In almost every Scottish cemetery are large numbers of gravestones which echo the form of the Egyptian grave stela. Examples of these are discussed in Chapter 5.

⁷⁷ Roehrig, Catherine H. (ed.), *Hatshepsut. From Queen to Pharaoh* (New York & London: Yale University Press, 2005) p. 37

⁷⁸ This device with facial features added became a regular feature on Scottish grave stones from the late 17th c.

It is also used as a protective symbol, being seen, below, above a 19th Dynasty door-frame at the Temple of Ramesses III (1182-1151 BC).



Dr Diana Brown

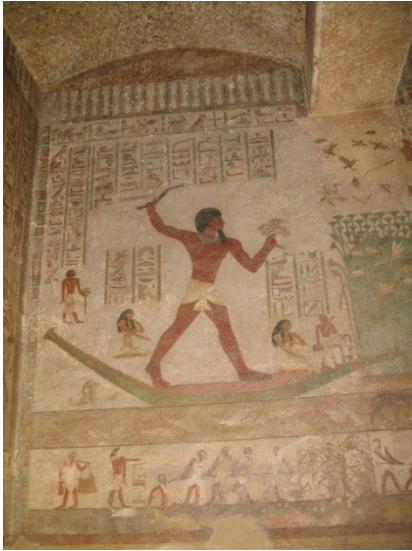
Figure 1. 28 A winged sun-disk at the Temple of Medinet Habu, Thebes.

The Segmental Pediment.

Curl states: “Now the segmental form of the pediment is unknown in Classical architecture before the first century of our era.” He is, however, specific in directly establishing its origins in Ancient Egypt to that source of inspiration of the Doric column, Beni Hassan, c. 2000 BC, noting there the: “rock-cut segmental ceilings,”⁷⁹ and adding of its specifically religious significance: “This segmental shape appears to have had a particularly exotic significance for the Romans and can be traced back to Egyptian sarcophagus lids and to the symbolic shape of the moon, symbol of Isis and must be interpreted as having Isiac connotations.”⁸⁰

⁷⁹ Curl, J.S., *The Egyptian Revival* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005). p. 3

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* p. 31



Author



Author

Figure 1. 29 The 11th Dynasty Tomb of Knumhotep, showing the segmental ceiling.
Beni Hassan



Author

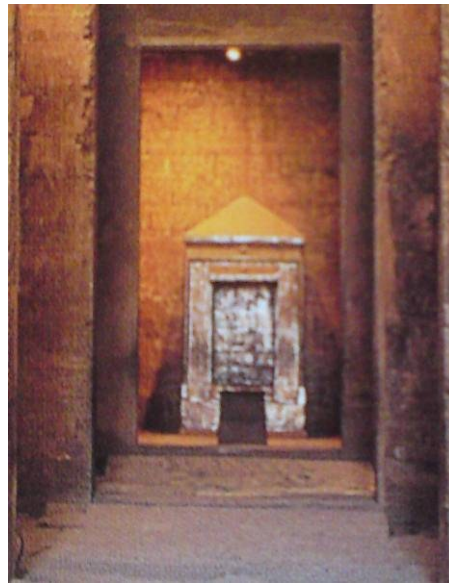
Figure 1. 30 Two views of the sarcophagus of the Pharaoh Ay, Western Valley, Thebes –
note the segmental lid.⁸¹

⁸¹ Undoubtedly, the most significant use of the segmental form in Scotland is that found in the ‘Billiard Room’ at Cairness House, Aberdeenshire, to be seen in the section on Country Houses in Chapter 4, the space there assuming the overall form of the sarcophagus. This interior is built to respond to the requirements of Freemasonry and is discussed in detail below.

The Shrine.

Within the deepest recesses of the Egyptian temple and, like the High Altar of a Christian cathedral, found at the most elevated floor level of the building, is the *djeser djeseru*, the ‘Holy of Holies’ where stands the shrine containing the image of the principal god of that place. Its religious symbolism derives, as both the pyramid and obelisk, from the Egyptian creation legend and from the *benben* stone. The form of the shrine combines the obelisk and the pyramid echoing the stumpy obelisk of the sun temple, capped, in its turn, by a flattened pyramidiform roof.⁸² Its interior was hollowed out to receive the god’s statue and granite appears to be its favoured stone of construction.

The finest remaining today is that at the Temple of Horus at Edfu, principally dating to c. 250 BC, (See Fig.1.31 below).⁸³



Wilkinson⁸⁴

Figure 1. 31 The Ptolemaic red granite shrine of Horus at Edfu Temple.

⁸² This form is also echoed in the sun-temple of Niuserre.

⁸³ The almost identical form of the well-head in Edinburgh’s High Street is again of a date, 1838, when Egyptian forms were enjoying a vogue in Scotland, whilst a further example appears in the *Description de l’Égypte* (Commission des Sciences et Arts d’Égypte) (Paris: L’Imprimerie Impériale, (1809-1829). Vol, 5. pl. 30

⁸⁴ Wilkinson, R., *Temples of Ancient Egypt* (London: Thames and Hudson 2000). p. 68

The Kiosk of Trajan.

The last structural form in this section conforms not to a type of construction but rather to a particular monument.

That construction is the Pavilion or Kiosk of Trajan, of the third century AD, erected in Roman times as a grand entrance to the Temple of Philae (the last religious building in Egypt at which the old gods were worshipped). Its attractive appearance, its uniqueness, but above all its ability to appear architecturally successful on a different scale may have been amongst the significant factors which led to its selection as a grave monument by more than one Scot.⁸⁵



Author

Figure 1. 32 Illustrations of the Kiosk of Trajan at Philae.

Ornamental Themes Derived from Ancient Egypt.

Egypt's ornamental themes take their inspiration from two distinct sources; first, from the animal kingdom, the principal examples being the sphinx, the lion, in its various parts, *bucrania*, in the form both of ox-heads and the rams' heads of Amun,⁸⁶ and the winged sun disk. Second, there follow examples inspired by the rich plant and foliage life of the country and the plant motifs of anthemion, palmette and lotus, in leaf and bud, which are dealt with separately and below. Many of these devices later adapted and subjected to that balance and refinement which gave such elegance to Greek forms undoubtedly had their origins in Ancient Egypt. Edwards, in a chapter entitled 'The Birthplace of Greek Art' writes: "It would be difficult to find a more interesting subject of inquiry than... the extent of that debt which

⁸⁵ References to both monuments of this form employed in Scotland are referenced in Chapter 5.

⁸⁶ Adam, R., & Adam, J., *The Works in Architecture* (London: 1778). Plate II 'Part of the Gateway at Sion , designed for Lord Mansfield' shows these *bucrania*, and rams' heads, alternating between triglyphs.

the early Greeks owe to the teaching and example of the Ancient Egyptians.” She then, in turn, quotes Flinders Petrie and adds: “The spiral, the meander, and the honey-suckle have long been regarded as purely Greek inventions. But they were all painted on the ceilings of the Beni-Hassan tombs full twelve hundred years before a stone of the Treasuries of Mycenae or Orchemenos was cut from the quarry.”⁸⁷

In the first instance, these will be shown in an exterior architectural context, followed by a repetition in an interior context, where valid. Finally a pair of unusual examples, of medical and ritual context, will conclude the section.

The Sphinx.

The sphinxes of Egypt, associated both with the king and with the sun, were, with rare exceptions, masculine, and the archetype can be taken as that most celebrated of Egyptian Monuments, the Sphinx at Giza, being a fusion of the head of the Fourth Dynasty Pharaoh, Khafre (2558-2532 BC.) with the body of a lion. Even the sphinxes of King/Queen Hapshetsut, (see Figure 1.69 below) wear the full masculine regalia of a pharaoh, acknowledging the role of ruler as being masculine, whatever the gender of the occupant of the throne.⁸⁸



Author

Figure 1. 33 The Sphinx at Giza.

⁸⁷ Edwards, A., *Pharaohs, Fellahs and Explorers* (London: James R. Osgood, McIlvaine, 1889). p. 159 This quotation will receive further treatment in ‘Architects’, especially in the work of ‘Thomas Hamilton’, (below) in Chapter 5.

114. The masculinity of the sovereign’s role is preserved to this day, the Queen having, by exception, masculine armorial bearings.

88. This tradition that the ‘office’ of king/pharaoh is always masculine whatever the sex of the ruler is acknowledged in heraldic usage today where the monarch, H.M. The Queen, displays masculine armorial bearings.



Roehrig

Figure 1. 34 A Sphinx of Hatshepsut (1498-1483BC).⁸⁹

And yet that usual custom is contradicted by a unique and even earlier example shown below.



Wikipedia.⁹⁰

Figure 1. 35 Sphinx of Hetepheres II.

The first female sphinx at present known represents Queen Hetepheres II, grand mother of Khafre, whose husband Snefru reigned from 2589-2566 BC and who had been, as Queen Consort, not Regnant, allowed that femininity denied to Hatshepsut, who bore pharonic rank considered exclusively masculine.

⁸⁹ Roehrig. C.H., (Editor) *Hatshepsut – From Queen to Pharaoh* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005). p. 164

⁹⁰ From <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sphinx>.

An additional appeal of the sphinx, and noted by Alexander Thomson, is its involvement in : “...the principle of repetition,”⁹¹ which he interprets in its use by the Egyptians as: “ The principle of making each successive stage in a great architectural work more interesting than the one preceding until the climax is reached...”⁹²

By the time the sphinx had passed through the hands of the Greeks, becoming winged and frequently malevolent, it was to be as a distinctly feminine creature. There, it also acquired associations of wisdom which may have accounted for its use on Scottish institutions associated with culture and learning.

The Lion.

From the time of the sphinx, the lion, whose body it incorporated, also became associated with the Egyptian pharaoh, and later with succeeding rulers.⁹³ Shaw and Nicholson suggest “It is possible that the connection between the king and the lion stemmed from the hunting of these animals.”⁹⁴ The writer suggests that it was the appreciation of the courage of these beasts which caused them to be adopted as a symbol by rulers throughout the ages, and their progress to Scotland, through the hands of the Romans,⁹⁵ can be clearly traced. The lion can be discerned below on the embroidered kilt of a late Ptolemaic Pharaoh at Dendera Temple, shown there as attacking his foreign enemies.

⁹¹ Thomson, A., *Art and Architecture* . Chap II The Spirit of the Egyptian Style. Delivered at Glasgow School of Art and Haldane Academy, 1784. p.12

⁹² *Ibid.* Chap II. p.12

⁹³ The lion has maintained its connection to rulers throughout history. The Red Lion Rampant, assumed by William the Lion, King of Scotland, in 1165, remains the Royal Standard of Scotland to the present day.

⁹⁴ Shaw, I., *The British Museum Dictionary of Ancient Egyptian Art* (London: BCA Press, 1995) p. 162

⁹⁵ In Scotland the Cramond Lioness, found in 1997, dates from Roman times.



Author

Figure 1. 36 A lion embroidered on the kilt of a late Ptolemaic pharaoh, (without identifying cartouche). Dendera Temple.

Further, it is used as a water-spout and as a decorative device⁹⁶. Shown below, in the former role at the Ptolemaic Temple of Dendera,⁹⁷ the symbolism in that position on an Egyptian temple being one of protection.⁹⁸



Author

Figure 1. 37 A Lion's Head Water Spout, Dendera Temple, Upper Egypt.

⁹⁶ It fulfills the former role, in Scotland, in, for example, an early 18th century example, at Newbattle Abbey.

⁹⁷ The lion is also used at the Temple of Philae, both in that same elevated position and standing and paired on the building's central axis.

⁹⁸ Wilkinson, R.H., *Reading Egyptian Art* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1994). p.69: "...lion-headed gargoyles were used as waterspouts on the roofs of Egyptian temples to divert and subdue the power of storms."



F.L.Kenett⁹⁹

Figure 1. 38 A throne from the tomb of Tutankhamun. C 1330 BC.

Shown above on the Egyptian throne of Tutankhamun, the lion's head makes a most evocative statement as a throne decoration close to the ruler's hand, as though that contact might transfer the lion's attributes. This association of royal authority with the lion's head, or complete form, was to continue throughout history.

The Ram's Head.

The ram's head device derived its significance as a symbol of the god Amun. In its Ancient Egyptian form it can be seen at its most striking at Karnak Temple, and in the long avenues connecting the two temple complexes of Luxor and Karnak. It is noted by Gershon as: "A ram head (sic); perhaps first used in classical architecture as an ornamental vestige of early sacrificial rites,"¹⁰⁰ this seeming to acknowledge the antiquity of its origins.

⁹⁹ Desroches Noblecourt, C., *Tutankhamen* (London: George Rainbird, 1963). Ill. VIII

¹⁰⁰ Gerson, M., *A Glossary of Robert Adam's Neo-Classical ornament* (London: Architectural History, 1981) No.24: p .59



Author

Figure 1. 39 A Ram-headed or Crio-sphinx. at Karnak Temple.

The Serpent.

A wide selection of deities associated with the serpent is found in Egyptian mythology. The most celebrated, Wadjet the spitting cobra, was one of the two protective deities worn on the forehead of Pharaoh, whilst, of the menacing variety, Apophis, who pursued the gods through the dangers of the twelve hours of darkness, was amongst the most prominent.

Its earliest appearance in carved stone traces its roots to that Imhotep (c.2700-2650 BC) who erected the Step Pyramid, at Saqqara, his other skills being credited as healing and magic with their interdependent implications. The occupying Greeks, identifying Imhotep with their own god of medicine, Aesculapius, named his cult centre at Saqqara the Asklepion.¹⁰¹

The early example below comes from one of the boundary posts with which Imhotep chose to demarcate the Saqqara site and carries forceful apotropaic significance.

Scots would have been familiar with the staff and serpent theme and its Egyptian roots both through its Biblical and medical associations.¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ Shaw, I., *British Museum Dictionary of Ancient Egypt* (London: British Museum Press, 1995). p.139.

¹⁰² References to the serpent occur in the Bible in the Book of Exodus where first at the behest of God, Moses' companion Aaron: "... cast down his rod before Pharaoh, and it became a serpent." In the following verse, Pharaoh's: "wise men and sorcerers now the magicians of Egypt," turned their staves into serpents to be swallowed by Aaron's rod. This association of staff and rod, magic and healing, led to the appearance of the serpent entwined staff of Aesculapius and its association with the medical profession. How appropriate, then, that it should be shown ornamenting each side of the door of Thomas Hamilton's Royal College of Physicians of 1844 at 9-10, Queen Street, Edinburgh.



Author

Figure 1. 40 A boundary marker-post from Saqqara, Imhotep, c. 2620 BC.



Author

Figure 1. 41 A Serpent from the Ptolemaic Temple of Esna.

Feathered Plumes.

The ostrich feather appears in panaches of white or bi-coloured plumes on the heads of the horses which pulled the Pharaoh's chariot and are repeatedly portrayed on the pylons of Egyptian temples of the 18th and 19th Dynasties. The example below is from one of the depictions of the epic battle of Kadesh (1275BC), and shows the 19th Dynasty Pharaoh, Ramesses II.¹⁰³

¹⁰³ The writer has discovered a unique carved example of this ornamental device amongst a rich collection of Egyptian allusions in Alexander Thomson's Glasgow villa 'Holmwood' of 1857-58, which can be sourced to the Owen Jones publication which had appeared one year before; so direct a connection can rarely be inferred.



Author

Figure 1. 42 A pair of plumed war-horses lead Ramesses II into the Battle of Kadesh, 1275 BC.

Egyptian Ornament Derived from the Plant Life of Egypt.

Surrounded by a rich variety of plant life which formed a central part of their creation myth, it is unsurprising that these forms are a major part of the Ancient Egyptian decorative vocabulary.

Anthemion, Palmette and Lotus leaf. ¹⁰⁴

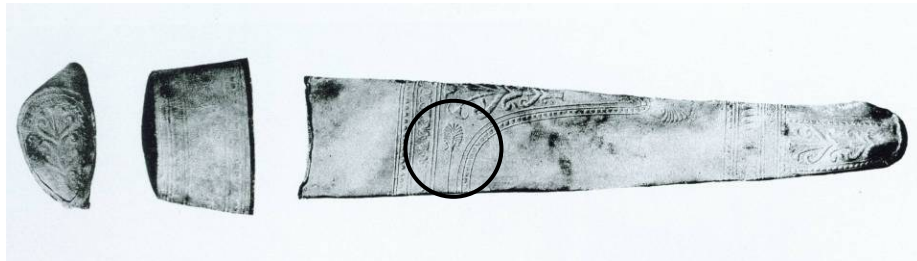
The association of these three forms is generally accepted as a Classical combination deriving from the Greek model, although the objections to this assumption have been clearly justified by Petrie. The writer, in supporting Petrie's view, illustrates all three themes from Ancient Egyptian sources well before the arrival of Alexander, a fact acknowledged in so up to date an electronic source as Britannica Online.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ These forms are much used on decorative ironwork on and in 18th and 19th century Scottish buildings. An outstanding example is the design introduced July 1822 by James Gillespie Graham for the Moray Estate, Edinburgh. See Chapter 5 for full details.

¹⁰⁵ Britannica Online. 'Anthemion; design consisting of a number of radiating petals, developed by the Ancient Greeks from the Egyptian and Asiatic forms known as the honeysuckle or lotus palmette.' Repeated in the printed Encyclopaedia Britannica, see below.

The Anthemion.

Below is an illustration which shows a motif so closely akin to the anthemion as to be hard to differentiate.¹⁰⁶



Roehrig

Metropolitan Museum of Art.¹⁰⁷

Figure 1. 43 Quiver of Maherperi, Fan-bearer on the King's Right and Child of the Nursery. From KV.36, Western Thebes, discovered March 1899 by Victor Loret (1859-1946).



At right, the enlarged 'Anthemion' motif can clearly be seen.

Support for the Egyptian origins of the motif by Petrie, and Edwards, already mentioned, are also confirmed in the standard and printed edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ Roehrig, C. H., (Editor) *Hatshepsut – From Queen to Pharaoh* (London and Yale: Yale University Press, 2005). p. 70

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.* p. 70

¹⁰⁸ The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1997). Vol.1 p. 442: "Anthemion – a design consisting of a number of radiating petals developed by the Greeks from the Egyptian form known as the honeysuckle or lotus palmette."

The Palmette.

Examples of this are plentiful in Egyptian art, the casket below and the scabbard both being from the tomb of Tutankhamun.



Figure 1. 44 A Decorated Box of the reign of Amenhotep III

Kozloff¹⁰⁹



Figure 1. 45 A dagger sheath from 'The Treasures of Tutankhamun'.¹¹⁰

Trustees of The British Museum

This device can be seen clearly on both the artefacts shown above, perhaps at its most obvious on the gold dagger sheath.

¹⁶⁶ Kozlov, A.P., *Egypt's Dazzling Sun* (Cleveland U.S.A: Cleveland Museum Of Art, 1992). p. 300

¹¹⁰ *Treasures of Tutankhamun* Exhibition Catalogue. (London: British Museum Publications, 1972). Ill. No 36

The Lotus Leaf.

The Lotus leaf, which with slightly undulating edge, has been identified both in stone and wood, in the former medium being regularly employed, combined with the papyrus leaf, together symbolic of the duality of the Egyptian monarchy, below the royal throne.



Description de l'Égypte¹¹¹.

Figure 1. 46 Nymphaea Nelumbo.

The forms shown above have exerted their influence on the architecture of succeeding civilisations in varying degrees discussed below. This does not mean though that any single building in Scotland might be mistaken for an Egyptian one¹¹². The writer has made no other claim than to point to, and find supporting acknowledgement for, the original creative input of Egypt and to note the breadth of the references to it. It will be the further task of this work, having traced the journey of Egyptian forms across the centuries to Scotland, then to give some indication of the scale of its use there.

¹⁶⁸ Commission Des Sciences Et Arts D'Égypte. *Description de l'Égypte* (Paris: L'Imprimerie Imperéale, 1809-1829). Vol. ii bis Pl. 61

¹¹² One might except from this censure the two copies of the Kiosk of Trajan, already mentioned above and copied almost in entirety from the Philae example. However the writer considers that their much reduced scale as grave monuments allows his statement to stand.

Chapter 2

The Steps by Which the Influence of Egypt Arrived in Scotland

Egypt and the Greeks.

Having established the architectural and ornamental vocabulary of Egypt, this chapter indicates the steps by which its influence travelled from that country to arrive in Scotland, a journey which began in the early days of the appearance of the Greek civilisation. Shaw confirms that: "...in Egyptian tombs of 1500-1440BC are to be found cups of the type found on mainland Greece..." adding significantly that: "It may be that Cretans and other Greeks visited Egypt during this time and took away with them notions of Egyptian architecture, since some Minoan frescoes portray papyrus columns."¹

The earliest expression of an architectural form which may be seen to appear in later Greek buildings can be found in the fluted Doric columns of Beni Hassan which were erected around 2000BC and are confidently credited by Fletcher² and Ferguson³ as being the source of the Greek form. The latter goes on to state that: "Having already described the artistic forms of Egypt and Assyria, it is not difficult to discover the origin of almost every idea and of every architectural feature that was afterwards found in Greece."⁴

At what date Egyptian themes were first accepted into the Greek architectural vocabulary is nowhere precisely recorded. However, in that interchange of trade in the Mediterranean area, Shaw confirms that: "...in Egyptian tombs of 1500-1440BC are to be found cups of the type found on mainland Greece..." adding significantly that: "It may be that Cretans and other Greeks visited Egypt during this time and took away with them notions of Egyptian architecture, since some Minoan frescoes portray papyrus columns."⁵

It was, however, the domination of the country by Alexander, along with his command in 331BC to the architect Dinocrates⁶ to build a new city, to be named Alexandria, at the site of the town of Rhakotis on the Canopus tributary of the Nile, which stamped the authority of Greece on Egypt. This authority was confirmed by his visit to the sacred temple at the oasis

¹ Shaw, I. & Nicholson, P., *The British Museum Dictionary of Ancient Egypt* (London: British Museum Press, 1995). p115

² Fletcher, B., *A History of Architecture* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1896). p.12.

³ Ferguson, J., *A History of Architecture* (London: John Murray, 1865). p. 99

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 211

⁵ Shaw, I. & Nicholson, P., *The British Museum Dictionary of Ancient Egypt* (London: British Museum Press, 1995). p115

⁶ Bowman, K., *Egypt after the Pharaohs* (London: British Museum Publications, 1986). p. 204

of Siwa,⁷ and his recognition there by the Egyptian high priest⁸ as the god Amun, confirmed not only his immortality, but by this meticulous conformity to native tradition, encouraged his new-found subjects to regard him as the guardian of their traditions.



Curl

Figure 2. 1 Alexander wearing the ram's horns of Amun.⁹

Alexander, aware of his divine status and shown above wearing the horns of Amun, proceeded to give his name to a whole series of cities across his short-lived empire. However, it was that city which both opened Egypt and its products to the Mediterranean world but guarded access to its interior and its traditions, which became the most celebrated of all the Alexandrias. At the particular site chosen, Alexander demonstrated that it was clearly his intention to change the introverted orientation of Ancient Egypt; yet, whilst showing a foretaste of that commercial flair on which the Ptolemies, who followed, were to capitalise, he is further credited by Curl with: "...not attempting to superimpose his own culture or to obliterate the indigenous civilisation...", and moreover that he: "...brought scholars with him... and, as a result, Egypt was to contribute an enormous amount to Hellenistic culture...", and finally that: "...the new capital was to become the fountain-head from which an Egyptianised Hellenistic civilisation would flow."¹⁰

On the division of his enormous empire after his death in 323 BC, it fell to Ptolemy Soter, one of his senior commanders, to become ruler of Egypt and to found that dynasty which would bear his name for some three hundred years. Bowman observes that: "There is no more impressive and majestic reflection of the achievements of the Greeks in Egypt than the great

⁷ See the final chapter for comments on a recent visit to Siwa by HRH the Prince of Wales.

⁸ Or High Priestess, alternatives are quoted by various authors.

⁹ Curl, J. S., *The Egyptian Revival* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005). Ill. p. 93. Shown is a silver tetradrachm issued posthumously by his general Lysimachus (c. 355-281 BC).

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 4

city which bore Alexander's name.... Materially enriched by its enormous potential for trade and culturally unrivalled as the fountainhead of the Greek literary and intellectual tradition, for more than a millennium, Alexandria was truly the Queen of the Mediterranean.”¹¹

It would appear that the Ptolemies, in possessing as one of their few virtues, an innate commercial shrewdness, recognised the advantage of controlling the indigenous labour force on which the country's wealth was to depend – as much as the earliest pharaohs of the land had understood this when constructing their pyramids. Wisely, therefore, they too, prepared by Alexander's decision, assumed throughout their administration the divine mantle of Zeus Amun, and accepted the outward trappings of Egyptian religious ceremonial. Assman, writes of the Ptolemies' attitude to their subjects that they: “went to tremendous trouble to be good pharaohs”, and goes on to stress that in their building programme, they: “...put into practice the vast project of national renewal..,” previously envisaged by the last native pharaohs, and most significantly stood as: “...the sole example of resistance to Hellenism in all Mediterranean... artistic traditions...”¹²

These Ptolemaic rulers were aware from the outset that they had an engine of production to control – the Egyptian economy – whose fertile lands and whose access to gold and other mineral resources could provide enormous wealth. It is, as Assmann acknowledges, owing to this awareness that the majority of those traditional Egyptian temples which remain in good condition today date from the Ptolemaic dynasty. They also accepted the Egyptian goddess Isis into their Greek pantheon, and established syncretic gods, the most influential of which was Serapis,¹³ whose cult, with its promise of salvation, together with the conjoined cult of Isis, whilst not accepted within Egypt, then spread rapidly outside Alexandria throughout the Mediterranean area.¹⁴

Several historic accounts of Egypt have come down to us, of which that of Herodotus is the earliest, dating to the fifth century BC.¹⁵ He reports with accuracy on the origins, construction and relative measurements of the Pyramids at Giza¹⁶. Familiar both with accurate details of the process of mummification and crediting the Egyptians as being the first people to establish religious ceremonies, neither he nor Diodorus Siculus who visited Egypt some four centuries later made extensive observations on architecture. Diodorus is, however, one of the

¹¹ Bowman, K., *Egypt after the Pharaohs* (London: British Museum Publications, 1996) p. 204

¹² Assmann, J., *The Mind of Egypt* (London: Harvard University Press, 2002). p. 374

¹³ This represents a syncretic fusion of Osiris and the sacred Apis bull.

¹⁴ Assmann, J., *The Mind of Egypt* (London: Harvard University Press, 2002). p. 375 The author observes that: “Egypt itself took hardly any part in this new, international form of Egyptian religion.” p. 375

¹⁵
¹⁶ Herodotus. *The Histories* (London: J. M. Dent, 1992).The Second Book. *Euterpé*, para 124

earliest observers to comment on the debt which the Greeks owed to Egypt, commenting that it was the most densely populated country in the world and that the vast monuments were able to be built: “with the aid of so many hands.”¹⁷ Strabo, visiting at the close of the millennium, supplies many details of Alexandria, making mention of the Museum, the Serapeum and the Gymnasium, amongst other sites, but again does not describe the buildings in detail. One building which has proved an exception to that lack of evidence is the Pharos Lighthouse¹⁸, (the only wonder of the Ancient World not built for a religious purpose) reports of which continue from its foundation in the third century BC until its final collapse around 1326 AD.

Alexandria’s Royal Library became the centre for that literature of Egyptian speculative thinking which underpinned the reputation of that ‘Wisdom of Egypt’ acknowledged in the New Testament.¹⁹ Ucko broaches the subject which was to attach itself to Egyptian wisdom down the ages, writing that: “The borders between science and magic were unclear and it was to Egypt that the origin of the practice of alchemy was assigned.”²⁰ It is tragic that the Library was destroyed during Julius Caesar’s stay in Egypt in 47 BC as Ptolemaic rule was drawing to its close.

It is equally unfortunate that Alexandria should prove to have been constructed on ground subject to earthquakes which, together with subsequent schemes of over-building, means that only rare traces of the Ptolemaic city survive. However, those which do demonstrate the absorption with Egyptian themes, deriving principally from two sources – the first being in funerary practice. The catacombs demonstrate that the Greeks adopted mummification for their dead, employing Egyptian ornament and religious references in their decoration.²¹ The Tegrans Tomb, at Alexandria and of the second century BC (shown below), is just one such example from the Ptolemaic period, illustrating the goddesses Isis and Nephthys in protective pose, with the winged sun disk between them.

¹⁷ Conner, P., (ed.) *The Inspiration of Egypt*. (Brighton Borough Council, 1983). p.3

Conner quotes there Diodorus Siculus’ ‘*The Library of History*’. Bk. I. Ch 27. ff, 96

¹⁸ See the recognition of the importance of the Pharos in ‘Lighthouses’ in the Industrial section of the Chapter on 19th century Scotland.

¹⁹ *The New Testament, the Acts of the Apostles*. Chap VII, v.22

²⁰ Ucko, P., (ed). *The Wisdom that was Egypt* (London: UCL Press, 2003). p.13 That fascination with alchemy was to be especially significant at the court of James VI of Scotland.

²¹ This move leads on by a series of steps in the depiction of the human form, through Coptic Art, Byzantine Art, to the Italian Primitive and on into the glory of the Italian Renaissance.



Bowman²²

Figure 2. 2 The Tegan Tomb, 2nd century BC.

In addition, increasing evidence of Egyptian ornament has been brought to light, since 1994,²³ – statuary has been discovered in variety, both antique and contemporary, with sphinxes representing Ptolemaic pharaohs – confirming that the Ptolemies adopted Egyptian forms and used contemporary examples in their capital.



Franck Goddio

Figure 2. 3 A sphinx recovered in underwater archaeological work, close to the present waterfront in Alexandria and believed to be a representation of Ptolemy XII.²⁴

A crucial piece of evidence of the uprooting of architectural items from the interior serves as an indication that the Greek rulers were the first to appropriate historic pieces to ornament their city,²⁵ the pillar decorated with the cartouche of the 26th Dynasty Pharaoh, Apries,²⁶ and

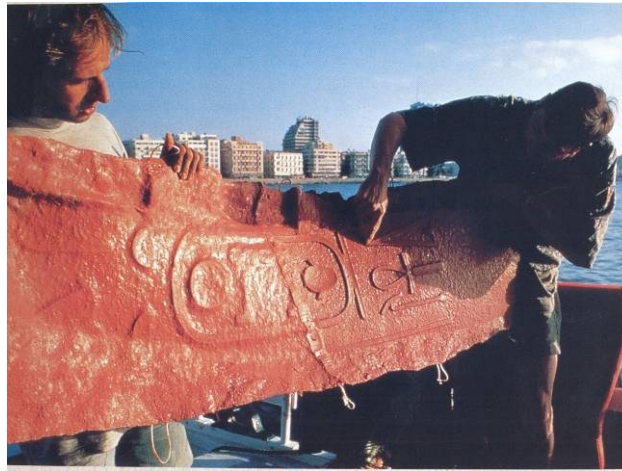
²² Bowman, A. K., *Egypt after the Pharaohs* (London: British Museum Publications, 1986) p. 203

²³ These discoveries are from the underwater archaeological work of Frank Goddio.

²⁴ Foreman, L., *Cleopatra's Palace* (del Mar, CA: Discovery Books, 1999). p. 175

²⁵ Thus commencing a tradition which endured until the 19th century

shown below, being one such trophy.



Franck Goddio

Figure 2. 4 A pillar reused in the Palace of Cleopatra, bearing the cartouche of the Pharaoh Apries (589-570 BC).²⁷

In that ‘Egypt outside Alexandria’, the traditional form of Egyptian temple architecture was maintained, and the Ptolemies had themselves carved in traditional Egyptian royal robes and stance on their walls as had their native predecessors. Curran supplies information concerning the erection of commemorative obelisks by Ptolemy IX (107-80 BC) at Philae²⁸ and of the destination of one of these.²⁹

Outside the capital there was an occasional cross-fertilisation of imagery from the Greeks to the Egyptians, most significantly demonstrated (below) in the 4th century BC Tomb Chapel of Petosiris at Tuna el Gebel where, whilst maintaining the external form of traditional Egyptian building, its carved and painted decorative figures wear both Greek and Egyptian robes.³⁰

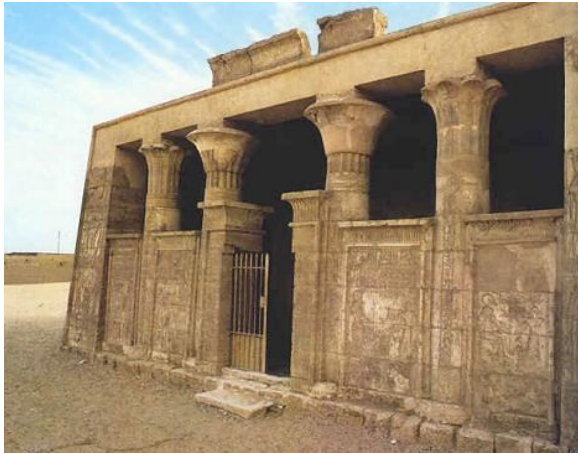
²⁶ Foreman, L., *Cleopatra's Palace* (Del Mar, CA: Discovery Books, 1999). p. 189

²⁷ *Ibid.* p.189

²⁸ Curran, B.A., *The Obelisk* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2009). p. 33

²⁹ *Ibid.* p.303 Footnote 38, noting: "...engraved both with hieroglyphs and in Greek,...the obelisk, 22ft tall, was discovered in 1815, by the British nobleman and scholar William John Bankes, and removed to his estate of Kingston Lacy in Dorset...confirming the fascination which Egypt continued to hold for Britain."

³⁰ http://lexicorient.com/egypt/tuna_el-gebel_02.htm on 23/03/09



Author



lexicorient.com³¹

Figure 2. 5 The Tomb of Petosiris.

Figure 2. 6 Greek and Egyptian costume at the tomb of Petosiris.



The British Museum Dictionary of Ancient Egypt. p. 221³²

Figure 2. 7 'Greek influence at the Tomb of Petosiris'.

Most significant of all is a nude figure, purely Greek in style, for whereas the Egyptians were not disturbed by nudity, they almost invariably showed the figure in profile and without the detailed display of athletic musculature and fluidity of pose shown above. The marriage of

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² Shaw, I., and Nicholson, P., *British Museum Dictionary of Ancient Egypt* 1995. (London: British Museum Press, 1995). p. 221

styles is accentuated in the fusion of Egyptian and Greek languages, Petosiris (gift of Osiris) and Isidorus (gift of Isis), being two such.

A rare example from the last days of the Ptolemaic Period, datable in that adjacent to this figure, at the Temple of Dendera, shows Cleopatra with her son Caesarion (47-31 BC), an example which seems to show a decorative border taking its design from the Greek triglyph of the Doric order frieze. It seems to suggest a fusion of architectural styles, in that the triglyphs are of traditional Greek form, whilst here the metopes are filled with alternate rosettes and *wedjet* eyes of Horus.



Author

Figure 2. 8 A skirt border shown at the Temple of Dendera, being a fusion of Greek and Egyptian motifs and suggestive of triglyphs and metopes.

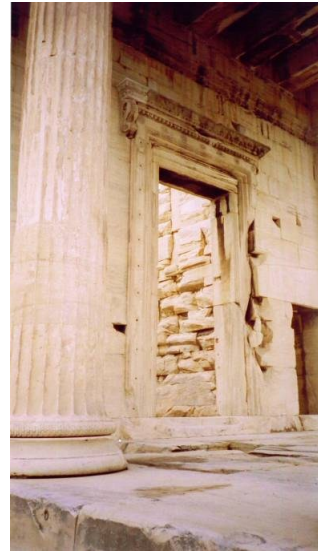
Also from Tuna el Gebel, that fusion of Greek and Egyptian styles is most clearly shown by the doorways illustrated below. The batter on the outline of the building and on the door surround had long been employed in Egyptian architecture, and becoming a commonplace feature of Greek constructions in the Hellenistic Period from the time of Alexander the Great (356-323 BC).³³

³³ Batter is clearly evident in temples constructed under the 18th and 19th Dynasty rulers, thus from 1570-1185 BC



Author

Figure 2. 9 The Façade of the Ptolemaic Chapel of Ptolemais, Tuna el Gebel.



Elizabeth Brown

Figure 2. 10 The entrance to the Erechtheion, Athens.

The Greeks, acting on the belief that: “the gods were supranational and intercultural”³⁴ and responding especially to its promise of salvation, readily accepted aspects of Egypt’s religion into their world, of which Roulett,³⁵ writing of: “The importance of the Alexandrian cults in the Roman Empire,” confirms Alexandria as the transmission point for Egyptian gods and Egyptian themes. She adds of their onward progress that: “the cults came to Rome via the Greek settlements in the Eastern Mediterranean,” specifying that the Isiac cults were practised by the cosmopolitan society of Greek trade centres, such as Alexandria, Delos and Puteoli, and nominating Delos as: “the pivot of the trade routes of the Eastern Mediterranean. Three successive Serapeums were erected there,”³⁶ even if this was not achieved without contention.³⁷ Confirming yet further onward progress to the Italian mainland, and in referring to the city of Puteoli (Pozzuoli) in Campania, there Roulett notes that as early as 105 BC: “there was a temple to the Alexandrian divinities and more widely in Campania, Pompeii,

³⁴ Assmann, J., *The Mind of Egypt* (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1996) p. 396

³⁵ Roulett, A., *The Egyptian and Egyptianising Monuments of Imperial Rome* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1972) p. 1

³⁶ *Ibid.* p.2.

³⁷ Austin, M., *The Hellenistic World from Alexander to the Roman Conquest* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981) p. 226 states: “A communication, dating to around 200 BC, demonstrates that applications to build shrines to Egyptian gods did not go uncontested, but triumphantly concludes: ‘...we have won a victory worthy of the god.’”

Naples etc.”³⁸ It is in this Hellenistic period that Egyptian themes were the more readily absorbed by Greece and around her Mediterranean possessions.

Egypt under the Romans.

With the death of Cleopatra shortly after the defeat of the combined fleets of Egypt and Mark Anthony at Actium in 31 BC,³⁹ the victor, Octavian, entered Alexandria on August 1st in the following year and Greek rule was extinguished. Becoming Caesar Augustus in 27 BC he took Egypt as his personal fiefdom, appointing a prefect to rule in his name, and decreed that no other member of the imperial family, or of the senate, might visit the land without express permission. The Ptolemies had ruled Egypt as residents, and although they used some Egyptian statuary to beautify their capital, their standpoint was very different from that of the new rulers, whose own and distant capital had to be made aware of its might and their conquests.

It was the part Egypt might play in that policy of *panem et circenses*⁴⁰ which kept the Roman *plebs* sustained and amused, and which rendered both Egypt’s grain and its spectacular architectural monuments of such significance in Roman imperial policy. Bowman observes succinctly that: “For over three hundred years the dominion of Roman emperors effectively ensured peace and significantly changed the articulation of Egypt’s role in the Mediterranean world.”⁴¹ It should also be noted that amongst the senior rank of officials directly responsible to the Prefect – judiciously selected as the Emperor’s personal representative – was the Chief Priest, who oversaw the administration of the temples. Continuity, so important to the conservative Egyptian, was ensured when successive Roman emperors after Augustus maintained the pharaonic fiction by appearing in Egyptian dress on carved decorations and statues alike, and even the coinage, which, although showing the likeness of succeeding emperors as a Roman on the face, harked back to Egyptian or Greek themes on the reverse. It should be noted that whilst some Roman emperors visited Egypt, their private perquisite, many did not, and Clayton maintains that: “Although paying lip-service to the old ideas and religion, Pharaonic Egypt had, in fact, died with the last native pharaoh.”⁴²

³⁸ Rouillet, A., as above. It should be noted that these facts are also confirmed in De Caro, S., *Guide to the National Archaeological Museum of Naples* (Naples: Electa, 1996). p. 365

³⁹ 2nd September 31 BC.

⁴⁰ Juvenal, *Satire X*.77-81. Late First, Early Second c. AD. ‘*nunc se continet duas atque tantum res anxius optat, panem et circenses.*’

⁴¹ Bowman, A. K., *Egypt after the Pharaohs* (London: British Museum Publications, 1986). p. 37

⁴² Clayton, P., *Chronicle of the Pharaohs* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1994). p. 217

Under the Romans, Alexandria, essentially laid out on a gridded Greek plan, remained a Greek rather than an Egyptian or Roman city, and: “its identity was so strong that it was known as ‘*Alexandria ad Aegyptum* – Alexandria ‘beside Egypt’”, rather than within it, as if it were a separate country in its own right. Matters appear to have progressed even further by the late first century AD, when the Roman orator Dio of Prusa described Egypt as: “a mere appendage to Alexandria.”⁴³

However, although the Romans may have seemed to have scorned the ‘native Egyptians’, it is as well to take note of the Emperor Hadrian’s shrewd assessment of the value and attitude of Alexandria: “The city is great, splendid and luxurious. No one here lives idly...Everyone is master of some trade and attached to the service of it...Their only god is money. That is the god whom Christians, Jews and pagans, all alike, really worship.”⁴⁴

With so effective a creator of wealth to support the Imperial Exchequer, there was every incentive to continue to contribute to the repair, maintenance and extension of the Egyptian Temple – Esna, Edfu and the Kiosk of Trajan at Philae, shown below, being better known examples of apparent Roman generosity, which may have rather been a shrewd policy of Peace for Profit!



Author

Figure 2. 11 The Kiosk of Trajan at Philae, (Late First Century AD).⁴⁵

⁴³ Shaw, I., & Nicholson P., *The British Museum Dictionary of Ancient Egypt* (London: The British Museum Press, 1995). p. 24

⁴⁴ Abd-El-Ghani, M., “Chapter 8 Alexandria and Middle Egypt: Some Aspects of Social and Economic Contacts under Roman rule”, *Columbia studies in the classical tradition*. vol 26, 2004, p. 163

⁴⁵ This Egyptian monument built under the Romans was to inspire the Hood Monument in Cathcart Cemetery, Glasgow.

Whilst resident in Egypt the Romans adopted the process of mummification as had the Greeks, and like them used Egyptian themes within their tombs and were also



Bowman⁴⁶

Figure 2. 12 A Statue of Horus in Roman Costume

prepared to adapt the gods of Egypt to appearances with which they were more familiar, allowing themselves to be portrayed as above in Roman costume. Although it appears that they accepted the continuance of the Egyptian Pantheon, there are rare examples of Egyptian buildings adapted for the worship of their own gods. At Antinopolis, the city founded in the second century AD by Hadrian in memory of his companion Antinous, he raised there a commemorative obelisk carved with an inscription which records the young man as: “...an Osiris,” adding that he is: “...known as a god in all the divine shrines of Egypt.”⁴⁷ Of extreme rarity is the example of the chamber beyond the hypostyle hall in Luxor Temple, which around the 4th century was converted into a church, its Pharaonic reliefs being plastered over and covered with Christian paintings.

Curran writes that the Romans and Greeks shared a complex attitude to Egyptian symbols, and notes of their regard for the obelisk that: “When the Ptolemies fell... the obelisk’s relationship to power, both earthly and divine continued. In the centuries that were to come, Romans and others would interpret obelisks...in complex ways, political, theological and aesthetic.”⁴⁸

If the golden harvest of Egyptian wheat filled the stomach of the Roman mob, then in the onward progress of Egyptian monuments which joined that wheat in Rome and other outposts of the Roman Empire, settings were chosen which would forcefully remind the populace of

⁴⁶ Bowman, K., *Egypt after the Pharaohs* (London: British Museum Publications, 1986). p. 203

⁴⁷ Curran, B.A., ‘*Obelisk*’. 2009. (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2009). p. 48. This obelisk was to join in the ‘migration’ of obelisks to Rome in the third century and after a peripatetic progress rests today in Rome’s Pincian gardens.

⁴⁸ Curran, B., ‘*Obelisk*’ (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2009). p. 33

the might of their emperor, with circuses and other public places being the major focus.

Egypt on the Italian Mainland.

The first contacts with the Italian mainland in Campania were made at the time of the 5th century BC colonisation of the Sorrentine Peninsula by the Greeks and through the medium of the Phoenicians, De Caro noting: “scarabs and faience objects,”⁴⁹ as amongst the first to appear.” An example of this ‘trinket’ trade appears in the form of the household god Bes⁵⁰ (below).



Pedicini

Figure 2. 13 Figurine of the household god Bes.⁵¹



Pedicini

Figure 2. 14 Isis, from Naples. A cult statue dateable to the second century BC.⁵²

There also, predating those at Rome, temples to Isis and Serapeus were constructed in Pozzuoli, Pompei, Herculaneum and Naples. The statue of Isis above and from Naples shows that, as in Alexandria, Greek, and later Roman, costume was worn, with here only the knot of Isis on the chest and the hair adornment confirming the statue’s identity.

De Caro notes, concerning Naples, that: “The presence of the Egyptian sanctuary was so

⁴⁹ De Caro, S., *Guide to the National Archaeological Museum of Naples* (Naples: Electa, 1996)

⁵⁰ Bes, when illustrated, had the rare exception to be shown, not in profile, but frontally.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* p.254

⁵² *Ibid.* p.126

characteristic of the quarter that it was called *Regio Nilensis*.⁵³

One of the principle sources of ornaments in the Egyptian and Egyptianising style is Pompeii, where, as with nearby Herculaneum, much has been preserved below the volcanic debris of Vesuvius, which erupted in 79 A.D.



Author

Figure 2. 15 Lion monopodia at Pompeii.⁵⁴

The lion monopodia above mirror those found earlier on the throne of Egyptian pharaohs.⁵⁵

Egypt in Ancient Rome.

With the exception of Alexandria, no city of the Grecian world showed Egyptian monuments, either as trophies or as decoration of the cityscape. Rome, by contrast, had a positive enthusiasm for both.

The transshipment of the first obelisks to Rome from Egypt took place in the reign of Augustus (63 BC-14 AD), a tribute to the skill of Roman engineering, exceeding that already shown by the Egyptians who had only needed to transport the objects along the sheltered waters of the Nile, whilst the Romans had to take the obelisks across the open and often stormy seas of the Mediterranean. What is strange is that no account survives of any outcry

⁵³ *Ibid.* p.126

⁵⁴ Lion monopodia were to become a favourite theme of 18th and 19th century British furniture makers. The most striking examples in Scotland however may be those supporting the circular lantern window by Alexander Thomson, at 'Holmwood'. See Chapter 5

⁵⁵ Robert Adam may have witnessed such a discovery.

from the Egyptians at the seizure of these religious symbols, removed, indeed, on such a scale, that more major native obelisks would appear outside Egypt than were allowed to remain there.

That many of the obelisks erected were imbued with solar references shows an understanding by the Romans of Egyptian motivation and the continuation of a theme which acknowledged one of the Egyptian pharaoh's most significant titles – *sa ra* – 'son of the sun'.⁵⁶ Curran writes that on the two obelisks which Augustus transported to Rome in 10 BC,⁵⁷ he had placed the inscription: "*SOLI DONUM DEDIT*"⁵⁸ and that these words: "...indicate the earliest acceptance in Rome of a religious significance in the obelisks' make-up..."⁵⁹

Having arrived in Rome, they were put to various public uses. Curl, in a quote that confirms the above opinion, points out that: "Connected symbolically both with the sun and the notions of a ruler's temporal power, monolithic obelisks... served as expressions of divine radiance...⁶⁰ and were re-erected on the *spinae* of circuses, in front of temples or tombs, or used as gnomons of giant sundials."⁶¹ Curran emphasises that most important point quoting, first, the inscription: "Imperator Augustus, son of the divine Caesar, dedicated this obelisk to the sun..." and adding that by doing so: "Augustus wove a new thread into Roman religion,"⁶² and also ensured that his own identity was known to posterity and to the gods. In that inscription, whilst Augustus does not claim divinity for himself (something which was left to the end of his life) in this instance, by implication and the inclusion of the phrase 'son of the divine Caesar', he seems to promote the idea forcefully.

Under Augustus the first of the two obelisks he dispatched, that of Ramesses II from Heliopolis, was erected, predictably, on the *spina* of the Circus Maximus. Curran notes of this first obelisk that it held special symbolic references, with the racing chariots seen at the heart of the circus's spectacle as: "planets moving around the sun."⁶³ The second obelisk was also endowed with its own religious significance and was installed close to the site which he chose for his own mausoleum, serving, with the obelisk as gnomon, to mark the daily passage of the sun.

⁵⁶ A connection which was to be fostered by implication in the first obelisks to appear in Scotland, i.e. the sundials and in London as an architectural proclamation of James VI & I as 'the absolute solar monarch' by Inigo Jones at St. Paul's Cathedral c 1620. See Chapter 3 for details.

⁵⁷ The first obelisk was that of Seti I, the second of Ramesses II.

⁵⁸ This in translation indicates 'A gift to the sun'.

⁵⁹ Curran, B., *Obelisk* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2009). p.36

⁶⁰ See below later references to this theme in the reign of Louis XIV, 'The Sun King', and in the similar imagery created by Inigo Jones for Charles II.

⁶¹ Curl, J.S., *The Egyptian Revival* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005). p.22

⁶² Curran, B., *Obelisk* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2009). p.37

⁶³ *Ibid.* p.40

In the centuries which followed those obelisks which travelled from Egypt and those manufactured in Rome itself were almost always set up singly. The significant exception is the pair placed at what is described by Wild as: "...the most prestigious burial place in Rome,"⁶⁴ that for Augustus, himself, who, as Egypt's first Roman ruler, had not only initiated the movement of Egyptian artefacts to his capital, but seems here to acknowledge the symbolism with which each Egyptian pharaoh – 'neb tawi', Lord of the Two Lands – had believed them to serve, as connecting points to the next world.



Coarelli⁶⁵

Figure 2. 16 The Tomb of Augustus. Commenced 28 BC.

With the above exception, it also became the usual practice for the Romans to site obelisks not only singly, but on pedestal bases, beginning a custom which has been adopted since that time.⁶⁶ There seems to be consensus between Curl, Barnes and Curran, that there were some fifty obelisks in Ancient Rome, with the former stipulating: "...at least eight large and some forty two smaller obelisks in Imperial Rome."⁶⁷ Barnes states: "...there were originally forty-eight obelisks in the city. The catalogue... of obelisks was compiled by Publius Victor in 364 AD,"⁶⁸ Curran concurring that: "By the middle of the fourth century, nearly fifty, of various sizes, graced Rome."⁶⁹

The practice of despatching obelisks to Rome came to a close with the one sent towards the end of the reign of Emperor Constantius (337-361 AD), but in the latter and uncertain days of

⁶⁴ Wild, F., (ed.) *Rome* (London: Dorling Kindersley, 1993). p.141

⁶⁵ Coarelli, F., *Rome* (London: Cassell, 1972). p. 94

⁶⁶ This practice has continued, certainly until October 2007, at The British National War Memorial, which will be discussed in detail below.

⁶⁷ Curl, J.S., *The Egyptian Revival* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005). p. 30

⁶⁸ Barnes, R., *The Obelisk* (Kirstead: Frontier Publishing, 2004. p. 85

⁷⁵ Curran, B.A., *Obelisk* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2009). p. 44

empire at the end of the fourth century AD, the Emperor Julian had an obelisk brought from Alexandria and erected in Rome's eastern capital Constantinople, where it was set up in that city's Hippodrome in 390 AD.⁷⁰

Other forms of Egyptian architecture appeared in Rome, coinciding with the onward march of Egyptian religion. There were two known pyramids – both grave monuments – one, the Meta Romuli, the larger example, was close to St. Peter's, and was removed during the enlargement of the church in the 16th century, whilst the other, which remains to this day, close to the English Cemetery, is that of the Roman official Gaius Cestius, built between 18 and 12 BC.



Author

Figure 2. 17 The Pyramid of Gaius Cestius in Rome, 8-12 BC.

His status is recorded on the monument as ‘Gaius Cestius son of Lucius, member of the College of Epulones,⁷¹ praetor, tribune’, and because it is of Meroitic (Nubian) rather than traditional Egyptian outline, it is proposed that since the kingdom of Meroe had been attacked by Rome in 23 BC : “that Cestius had possibly served in that campaign and perhaps intended the pyramid to serve as a commemoration.”⁷²

There it remained, to be admired and studied, drawn and sometimes featured in the background of portraits, by the aristocrats, the wealthy, the architects and the artists from Scotland who made the Grand Tour.⁷³ It also emphasised the connection of the pyramid with

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* p.56

⁷¹ This was one of the four religious groups in Rome patronised by the emperor.

⁷² <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pyramid-of-Cestius>

⁷³ This monument was to appear on more than one occasion in the sketchbooks of Robert Adam and is shown in Chapter 4.

burial and commemoration and in this capacity it was, like the obelisk, to fulfil the same commemorative role in Scotland.

It is not strange that the worship of Egypt's gods had much appeal, for it offered advantages to ruler and to subject alike. To the Emperor it offered divinity and to the common people, like Christianity, it offered the promise of salvation and an afterlife. Moreover, with the enthusiastic inclusion of so many of Egypt's gods in the Roman Pantheon, it is unsurprising that the Roman emperors, now deified themselves, should found an impressive temple for the worship of Isis. Curl goes on to note that: "The huge temple of Isis, the *Iseum Campense* in Rome, was magnificently decorated with all sorts of statues, many of which were excavated and can now be seen in the Vatican Museums."⁷⁴ Significant to the Scottish theme is that Robert Adam acquired from Piranesi a papyriform capital from this temple, which was subsequently to be sold to Sir John Soane, in whose museum it can be seen today. Antefixae and sections of cornice, although not of Egyptian form, are decorated in that pervading synthesis of references, with Egyptian *uraei*, and amongst the Egyptian decorative themes, and from a coin of the reign of the Emperor Hadrian, Curl identifies an illustration of one of the entrances of the Serapeum, bearing a segmental pediment, a decorative feature of much significance,⁷⁵ appearing increasingly in Classical architecture from the second century AD. Although Augustus seemed to accept the significance of aspects of Egyptian religion – indicated by the twin obelisks erected at his mausoleum – he decreed in 28BC that the worship of Egyptian gods be kept outside the *pomerium* (the sacred boundary of the city of Rome), and perhaps with the uncertain temper of the Roman mob in mind, appeared to keep them at some distance. However, under the Flavians in the latter part of the first century AD, the worship of Isis and Serapis was sponsored by the imperial house and became a divine cult, with Domitian (81-96AD) rebuilding the Iseum. Curran suggests that this may have been the occasion when: "the sanctuary began to fill with obelisks, sphinxes, lions and other imported or made-to-order statues in the Egyptian style."⁷⁶

River themes were popular subjects for statuary. A Nile group, with the river god cushioning his elbow on a sphinx, appears both in Rome and also in its environs, where archaeological excavations have unearthed significant finds of Egyptian inspiration.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Curl, J.S., "Egyptomania", *Freemasonry Today*. Winter, 2003. Issue 23

⁷⁵ The segmental form first appeared in Egypt in the 11th Dynasty tomb of Khnumhotep at Beni Hasan. It was repeated in the 18th Dynasty in the form of the curved lid of the sarcophagus, and was to be reflected in the lunar form of the head adornment worn first by Isis and then by the Virgin Mary.

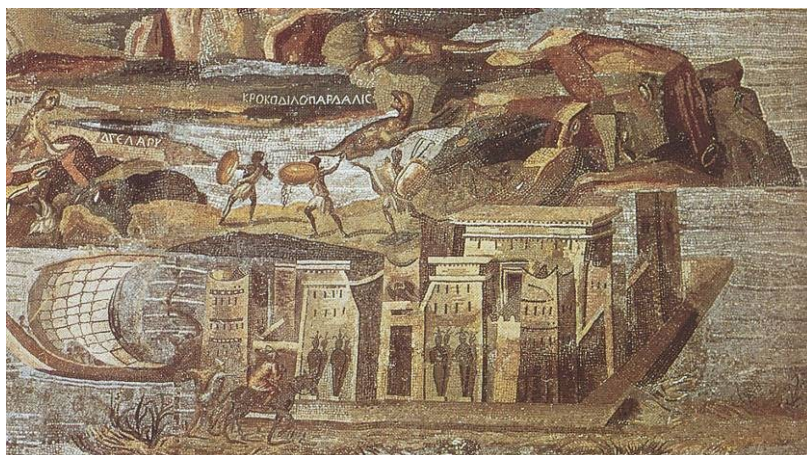
⁷⁶ Curran, B., *Obelisk*. (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2009). p.51.

⁷⁷ A wider range of rediscovered Egyptian and Egyptianising objects will be dealt with below as they re-emerged at the time of the Renaissance of Rome.

Egypt's contribution to Roman structures is also apparent from the use of Egyptian raw materials, one of the most noted examples being the columns of dark grey Egyptian granite at the entrance to the Pantheon⁷⁸, which stone, together with porphyry, seem to be the principal examples utilised. Egypt may have found acceptance as a provider of trophies and ornamental themes. However the significance of its architecture is ignored by Vitruvius, working in the first century BC and regarded as the first significant architectural theorist (his ten volume work 'De Architectura' being re-published in 1486).⁷⁹ Any enthusiasm for Egypt is absent from his work, where however a rare comment is made on the popularity and easy accessibility of the goddess Isis.

Egyptian Themes Around Rome.

Outside Rome in the villas of Campania, at Rome's seaside resorts and at provincial centres such as Pompeii and Herculaneum, Egyptian themes were to be used both with religious intent and as decorative 'fashion statements', the latter an early expression of 'Egyptomania'.⁸⁰ The growing acceptance of its Isiac religion, the importation of Egyptian craftsmen and the use of Italian stone masons, aided here as in Rome, the spread of the 'Egyptian Style'. An outstanding example of that 'Egyptian' decoration is the large mosaic from a villa at Praeneste (present day Palestrina), of which a small section is illustrated below.⁸¹



⁷⁸ Bowman, A.K., *Egypt after the Pharaohs* (London: British Museum Publications, 1986) p.40 gives the source of the stone as: "the quarry at Mons Claudianus on the western shore of the Red Sea."

⁷⁹ Vitruvius, Pollio., (ed. Sulpizio da Veroli). 'De Architectura'. (Rome: 1486). Reprinted (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

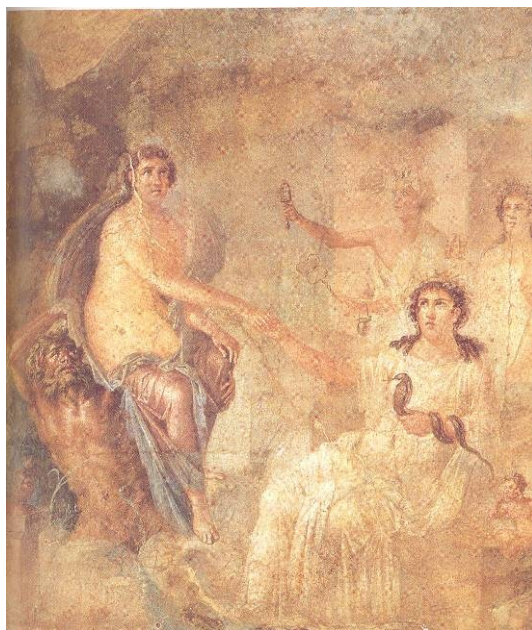
⁸⁰ Much as Egyptian, Chinese and Indian themes became part of the 18th century architect/decorator's palette.

⁸¹ Palestrina is a hill town some 20 miles from Rome.

Figure 2. 18 An Egyptian temple from the Palestrina mosaic.

Baiae, one of the most celebrated sea-side resorts for wealthy Romans, where fashionable decorative schemes were be found.⁸³

Pompeii and Herculaneum had each long possessed a Serapeum and their destruction in the volcanic eruption of Vesuvius in 79AD, both destroyed, and at the same time preserved, many artefacts, one of the most illuminating of which, in confirming literally the marriage of Greek and Egyptian themes, being from the religious building known as the *ekklesiasteron* at Pompeii which takes as its theme the arrival of the nymph Io from the embraces of Zeus to Canopus, in the Egyptian Delta, to give birth to Epaphus: “founder of the royal lineages of Egypt and Argos,” and thus legitimising their dynasty: “which embraced the dual ethnic components of the new kingdom, the Egyptian and the Macedonian.”⁸⁴



Pedicini

Figure 2. 19 The picture of Io at Canopus, excavated 18th November, 1764. Io gave birth to Epaphus, founder of the royal lineages of Egypt and Argos.⁸⁵

⁸² Bowman, A.K., *Egypt after the Pharaohs* (London: British Museum Publications, 1986). p. 11

⁸³ The connection with that site is of importance in 18th c. Scotland. See the reference in Chapter 4 in the section on James Playfair.

⁸⁴ De Caro, S., *Guide to the Archaeological Museum of Naples* (Naples: Electa, 1996). p.133

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* p.133

The outstanding example of Egyptian references outside Rome is the Villa Adriana at Tivoli, the Emperor Hadrian (117-138 AD) making extensive use of them in the building of this enormous country residence. Rouillet indicates that: "...the Egyptian and Egyptianising artefacts which Hadrian collected to adorn the huge complex of his 'villa' are among the most important examples of the Roman 'vision of Egypt' in imperial times."⁸⁶ The series of pavilions and open spaces include one named Canopus after the Egyptian town of the same name, which is the site of the crocodile, shown below, whilst there is no precise site allotted to the damaged sphinx portrayed, exhibited at present close to the administrative buildings.⁸⁷



Author



Author

Figure 2. 20 Ornamental crocodile and sphinx at Hadrian's Villa.

These gardens, combining a wide range of architectural references, make a tour of it akin to a memorable journey through many lands and thus it can be claimed as one of the earliest 'Gardens of Allusion'.⁸⁸

The Advance of Christianity.

As the Christian religion was carried by the Apostles around the Mediterranean world, it came into contact with those religions already being practised there. Assman notes that: "the biblical tradition paints a largely negative picture of Egypt"⁸⁹, yet Christianity was to borrow from its religion as though by a process of sequestration. The promise of salvation and an

⁸⁶ Rouillet, A., *The Egyptian and Egyptianising Monuments of Imperial Rome* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1972). p.49

⁸⁷ Curl, J.S., *The Egyptian Revival* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005). p.49 adds: "baboons, falcons, pharaonic figures, Egyptian queens, Ptah, Artemis of Ephesus, a colossal bust of Isis, canopic jars, and an Osiris Canopus, fill out the list."

⁸⁸ The 'Garden of Allusion', here the most elaborate but not the only reference to a wide range of architectural themes from all the corners of Hadrian's Empire, makes a further appearance in 18th century Scotland.

⁸⁹ Assmann, J., *The Mind of Egypt* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003). p.427

after-life, shared pillars of both religions, made them direct competitors. The Egyptian religion had already gained significant acceptance in Rome by 28 BC and was well established at the time of the arrival of St. Peter in Rome around 30 AD.

Christians, unable to accept the divine status of the Roman emperor, had long been strongly mistrusted, persecuted and driven underground, with St. Peter crucified in the persecution under the Emperor Nero (37-68 AD), the date generally acknowledged as between 65 and 67 AD. By repute and generally accepted by the Catholic Church, the martyrdom occurred in the Circus adjacent to the spot where the first Basilica of St. Peter was erected in 324 AD, where was also situated the only obelisk to remain standing at the Renaissance.

It was St. Peter's martyrdom and Christ's recorded saying of him: "Thou art Peter and on this rock will I build my church,"⁹⁰ that was to be the foundation on which the Bishops of Rome claimed their Primacy of the Christian world. Christianity achieved its supremacy when the Emperor Constantine converted to the faith after the Battle of the Milvian Bridge in 312 AD. Thus it went forward, supreme and with Rome as its focus, until the fall of that city to Alaric and the Goths in the year 410 AD and Rome's subsequent descent into lengthy obscurity. Rouillet observes that : "Alaric's troops seem to have paid more attention to precious objects, easy to carry away, than to mere destruction," then adding that – as was to be the case in Egypt – "the ravages of lime-burners, stone-cutters and masons, using the abandoned monuments as a source of materials, causing more harm." She also suggests that the Isaeum Campense was: "not ruined before 1084, when the Normans and the Saracens invaded the city..."⁹¹

Egypt became almost entirely inaccessible to visitors from the west with the rise of Islam soon after the Hegira in 622. However exceptions existed and the 14th century Anglo-Irish monk Symon Symeonis after a visit named the Pyramids at Giza 'The Granaries of Joseph.'⁹² More importantly, Curl notes that early writings: "survived the collapse of the Empire in the West and knowledge of Egypt was preserved in written form throughout the so-called Dark and Middle Ages," these to be studied again at the Renaissance.⁹³

Of even greater significance was the transformation which Isis was to undergo – so often

⁹⁰ *The New Testament*. St. Mark Chap XVII.I Verse 18

⁹¹ Rouillet, A., *The Egyptian and Egyptianising Monuments of Imperial Rome* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1972). p.6

⁹² Telford, T., *Life of Thomas Telford*, Ed. J. Rickman, (London: J & L. Hansard, 1838). p.693. Here, Thomas Telford surprisingly used the same description.

⁹³ Curl, J.S., *The Egyptian Revival* 2005. (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005). p.60. He lists amongst the survivors, *The Histories* of Herodotus and works by Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, and, most importantly for subsequent regnal dating, works taken from the High Priest Manetho.

with the infant Horus on her knee – into the Virgin Mary.⁹⁴ It is also no coincidence that Christian churches were frequently built on the sites of former temples.

The Renaissance of Rome.

Whilst the Renaissance saw the true rebirth of Rome in the 15th century, Rouillet notes, first, that during the 12th century, there had already been: "... a pre-Renaissance '*Renovatio Romae*'"⁹⁵ and that the *Cosmati*, a group of marble cutters established at Rome in the 13th century, were much influenced by examples being unearthed, especially those in the form of sphinxes and lions. She notes further that they had been given the task of erecting an obelisk on the Capitol: "Where a new palace was being built for the senators."⁹⁶

However it was to be some two hundred years later that its centuries of sack, neglect and virtual dormancy was to end with the revival of the power and authority of its popes. Rome's true role as the focus of the Christian religion and seat of the Vicar of Christ began soon after the end of the Great Schism in 1417 which had followed the enforced exile of the Papacy in Avignon. It was left to Pope Martin V (1417-1431) who re-entered the city in 1420 to begin the work of restoration of both the city's religious buildings and its fortifications, which work was to be continued and extended under Pope Nicholas V (1447-1455) as the Church regained both its religious and its territorial influence. It was he who began the rebuilding both of St. Peter's Basilica and the Vatican, whose gardens had, from contemporary excavations at the site of the *Isaeum Campense*, already been adorned by the twin lions of Nectanebo I in 1435 by Pope Eugenius IV (1431-1447). Curran also notes that: "The Curia's return gave a new sense of urgency to the study of Rome and its monuments," adding that: "Around this time the carvings were recognised as 'the sacred writings of the Egyptians' and adding: "by the middle of the fifteenth century the two-fold historic meaning of the Roman obelisks had become firmly established... On the one hand they provided specimens of the symbolic script of the Egyptians... on the other hand these majestic monuments bore witness to the power of the Roman conquerors."⁹⁷ They also, when re-erected, were to bear the names and titularies of their Renaissance re-erectors, making these known to man and perhaps to God alike.

⁹⁴ To a Presbyterian Scotland shunning any form of 'graven image', this highly important transposition was not of great significance.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* p.7

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* p. 9

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* p. 76

Architectural References to Egypt in *Quattrocento* and *Quinquecento* Italy.

The two Italian architects who show interest in, and awareness of, Egyptian forms and ideas are Leon Battista Alberti (1404- 72) and Sebastiano Serlio (1475-1554).

In the written works of Alberti (1404-72),⁹⁸ described by Curl as: ...perhaps the most important of the architect-theoreticians,” he notes that: “The Egyptians gave the first rank to their priests,”⁹⁹ and shows a significant understanding of the importance given by the Egyptians to building for the afterlife. However, whilst commenting on the proportions of the pyramid his work contains only a single illustration of an Egyptian monument – an obelisk.¹⁰⁰ He was, however, fascinated by cryptography, including hieroglyphs, using one of the latter, a winged eye radiating thunderbolts, as his own device. Further, he was responsible for the re-discovery in 1471 of that first obelisk brought to Rome by Augustus in 10BC, and according to Curran: “...saw the obelisk as the noble creation of skilled men...”¹⁰¹ This is a surprisingly rational approach, and Alberti may have exerted his influence on Pope Nicholas V (1447-1455) to whom he had been appointed advisor, Curran noting that he “...seems to have studied the Vatican obelisk, which had become the object of an ambitious restoration project”¹⁰² and suggesting that, although his role in this project remains unclear: “his interest in obelisks is borne out by his study and citation of fundamental texts.”¹⁰³

Sebastiano Serlio illustrated both an obelisk and a squat pyramid as part of a stage design,¹⁰⁴ and recorded a whole range of obelisks extant in Rome (including in the collection a drawing of Trajan’s Column, and thus confirming the Roman context of the exercise).

⁹⁸ Alberti, L.B., *De re aedificatoria*, 1452-85. (Rome: 1452-85) Book VIII. Ch. IV. Reprinted (London: Alec Tiranti, 1955).

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* Book IV. Ch 1

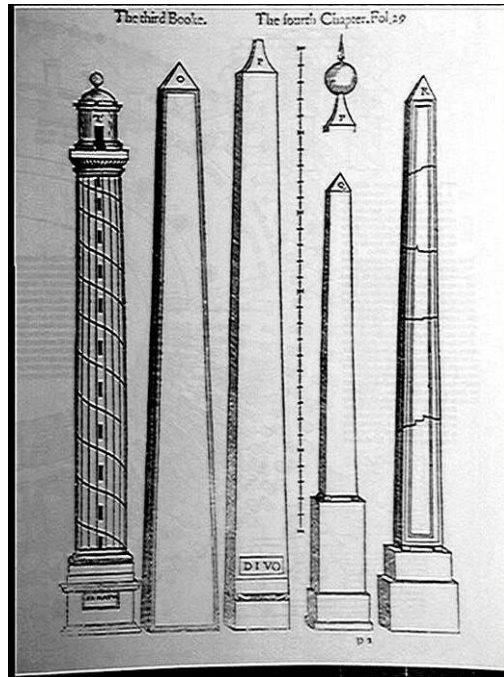
¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* III. LVIII

¹⁰¹ Curran, B., *Obelisk*. (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2009). p.78

¹⁰² *Ibid.* p.76

¹⁰³ *Ibid.* p.78 Curran cites amongst these Herodotus and Diodorus

¹⁰⁴ Serlio, S., *Tutte l'opere d'architettura* (Venice: F. de Francheschi, 1584). III. V. (Reprinted New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996).



Sebastiano Serlio, 1584.¹⁰⁵

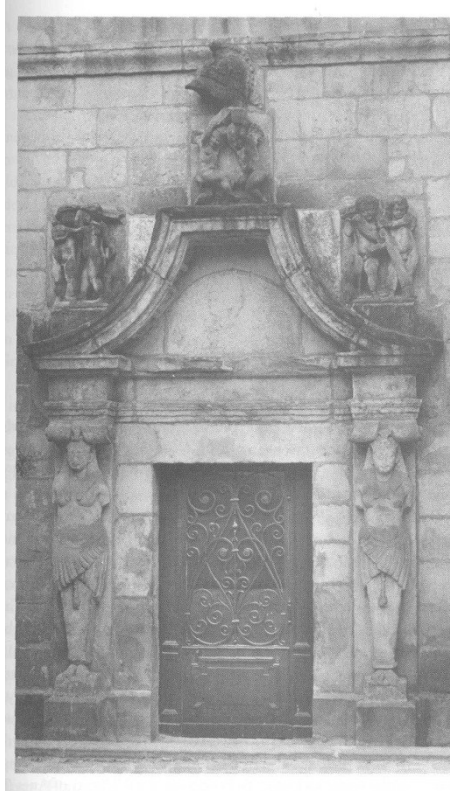
Figure 2. 21 Serlio, a variety of obelisk forms

Serlio also visited France in 1540 at the invitation of Francis I, and Curl notes that he: "... advised on building operations at Fontainebleau..." adding that: "Serlio was certainly acquainted with Egyptianising motifs and published a book on portals in 1551 which enjoyed considerable vogue"¹⁰⁶ At the chateau, there appears what Curl notes as: "the earliest piece of Egyptianising architecture in France."¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.* III. Ch. IV, Folio 29.

¹⁰⁶ Curl, J. S., *The Egyptian Revival* (London: Routledge, 2005). p 119

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid* p.121



Curl¹⁰⁸

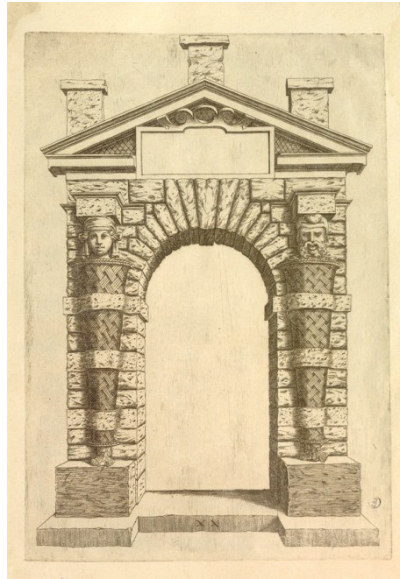
Figure 2. 22 The garden doorway at Fontainebleau, France, c. 1545.

This doorway, flanked by a pair of Egyptian figures which Curl specifically notes as: “...female versions of the Villa Adriana telamones,” might have been the work of a range of architects employed at Fontainebleau and yet Serlio’s interest in Egypt and in doorways,¹⁰⁹ on which theme Curl notes him as having published a book on the subject (in French) around this time make him a serious contender as the first architect to spread the theme of Egypt outside Italy.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ Curl, J.S., *The Egyptian Revival* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005). p.121 This doorway facing a garden may represent a most important step in the development of the Garden of Allusion in France and ultimately in Scotland.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.* p.119 Serlio, S., *Le Livre Extraordinaire: Showing Thirty Rustic Gateways of Divers Orders* (Paris: Jean de Tournes, 1551)

¹¹⁰ Sambin, Hugues, *Oeuvre de la diversité des termes* (Lyon : Jean Durant, 1572). Records that Serlio gave examples of ‘termes’ and ‘atlantes’ in his publication *Livre Extraordinaire* (Lyon: Jean de Tournes, 1551).



Serlio.¹¹¹

Figure 2. 23 Design XX.

In the book itself, of 1551, only one of the gateways, that shown above, bears any reference to the terms shown on the Egyptian gateway, but that similarity is worthy of note, and may point to the Fontainebleau portal as being his work

The Re-erection of the Obelisks.

The most striking use of Egyptian symbols at this time was to be in the employment of the obelisk to play a significant and very visible part in the newly reborn Rome. Encouraged by the Council of Trent of 1563 to combat Protestantism with a show of splendour and confidence, it is not surprising that the many fallen obelisks, symbolic of the imperial power and splendour of the city, but known by their hieroglyphs to be of Egyptian origin, should be used in the laying out of the streets of the newly arising city. With the intention of providing arresting focal points in its new street plan, single obelisks were strategically placed in key positions by various succeeding popes, none more enthusiastic in the use of these Egyptian symbols than Pope Sixtus V (1585-1590), who replaced four. Magnuson writes: “The approach to monuments of antiquity was typical of Sixtus V and his age. Monuments were regarded as interesting only if they had an aesthetic value of their own – as in the case of statues and obelisks – or if they could be exploited in the service of modern urban

¹¹¹ Serlio, S., *Le Livre Extraordinaire: Showing Thirty Rustic Gateways of Divers Orders* (Paris: Jean de Tournes, 1551). Plate XX.

development by adding to the glorification of Rome.”¹¹²He evidenced that enthusiasm by issuing a commemorative medal, having himself portrayed on the face and showing on the reverse the four obelisks which he caused to be re-erected.



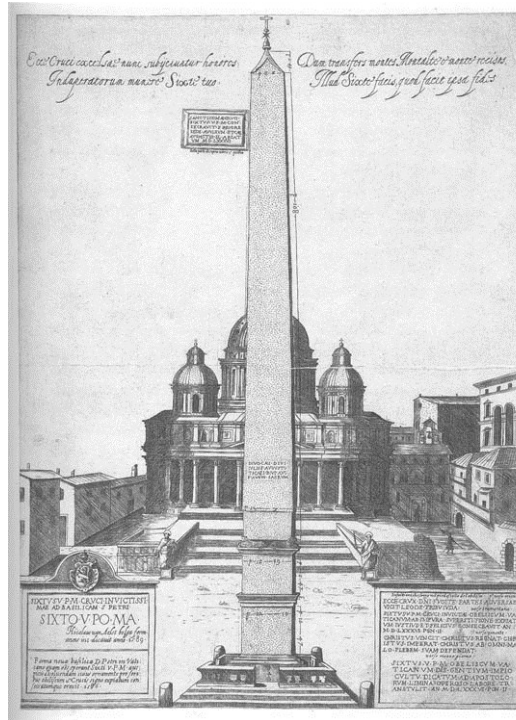
Clayton¹¹³

Figure 2. 24 The medal struck to commemorate the re-erection of four obelisks at the instigation of Pope Sixtus V.

However, just as a predecessor, Pope Paul III (Pope from 1534-1549) had been unsuccessfully preoccupied with the movement of the still standing Vatican obelisk, he gave priority, to this, the last obelisk still upright, since it had, by repute, witnessed the crucifixion of St. Peter in the circus in which it had originally stood. Chosen for this task was the gifted engineer, Domenico Fontana, who completed the task on September 26th 1586.

¹¹² Magnuson, T., *Rome in the Age of Bernini* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1982). p.25 It is further noted that Sixtus V had contemplated pulling down the tomb of Caecilia Metella and reusing its stone as he considered it ‘ugly’.

¹¹³ Curl, J.S., *The Egyptian Revival* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005). p.xi. The photograph is credited by Curl ‘Peter A. Clayton FSA’.



Curran ¹¹⁴

Figure 2. 25 The Obelisk raised by Fontana before St. Peter’s Basilica.

On that same day there took place a ceremony of exceptional significance, indicating that the Pope knew that enormous spiritual force, both from Egypt and in a Rome which had worshipped both its own and Egyptian gods, was represented in this monument, but: “Far from seeking to display the merits of Egyptian thought and religion, in other words, Sixtus sought above all to suppress them and subject them to the superior power of the Christian God.”¹¹⁵ To which end, Curran adds that: “Sixtus V ordered a procession and a solemn ceremony to be held to exorcise the obelisk of pagan spirits and consecrate the cross that was to be placed on its summit... the pope himself presided over the ceremony,” also noting, in detail, how: “...a bishop climbed a ladder, in solemn silence, to baptise the stone with holy water.”¹¹⁶

The religious authority of the obelisk continued to be acknowledged as others were raised and ‘converted’ to Christianity by the crosses which were installed on the top of each, with an inscription to note that these monuments now served a new faith.¹¹⁷ Sixtus, proclaiming the power of the Catholic Church and glorifying its triumph over pagan civilisations, stated that

¹¹⁴ Curran, B., *Obelisk* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2009). p.133

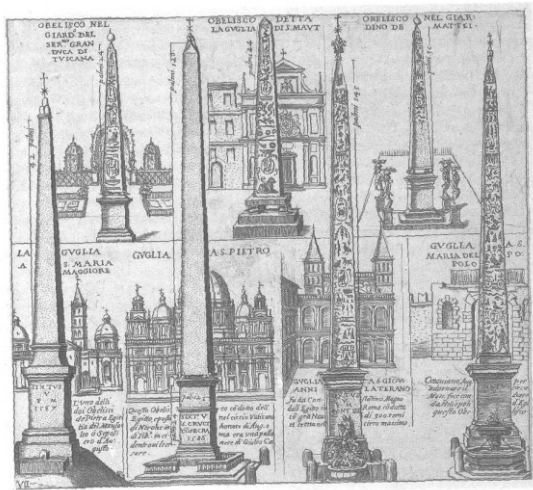
¹¹⁵ *Ibid.* p. 149

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.* p. 132

¹¹⁷ These obelisks stand in front of St Peter’s Basilica, in the Piazza del Popolo, in the Piazza San Giovanni and before the apse of Santa Maria Maggiore.

he did it: “to quench the detestable memories of idolatry... and exalt the mysteries of the Catholic Religion.”¹¹⁸

The fascination which these monuments held for Grand Tour visitors is indicated by their continual illustration, 17th and 18th century examples being shown below.



Curran¹¹⁹

Figure 2. 26 Matthaus Greuter, ‘The Obelisks of Rome’, before 1638. Engraving.



Curran¹²⁰

2. 28 Carlo Losi, ‘Disegno delle cinque guglie principali che si vedono in Roma...’ 1773. Etching.

Here, in the cityscape of Rome, their use as a series of ‘eye-catchers’ and recognisable urban signposts was born.¹²¹ If the latter function was to find few imitations in England¹²² and none in Scotland, the Egyptian Revival of the 19th century would see them brought once again as trophies and gifts from Egypt and raised to prominence in urban landscapes as far apart as Paris and Washington.

¹²¹ Tompkins, P., *The Magic of Obelisks* (New York: Harper.1981). p.61

¹¹⁹ Curran B., *Obelisk* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2009). p.370

¹²⁰ *Ibid.* p.191

¹²¹ This use of the obelisk in the urban landscape was frequently to be proposed in Scotland, see e.g. Craig in Chapter 4, and Playfair in Chapter 5 of this work.

¹²² The obelisk raised in Ripon Town Square in 1702 might be accounted to serve as a focal point and was from the hand of Nicholas Hawksmoor.

Many of the Egyptian treasures which surfaced as the city continued to expand were brought together in the Vatican. Unlike the obelisk, there seems to have been no ulterior spiritual power attached to these. Sphinx and lion were set up as decorative objects, those adorned with hieroglyphs understood to be of Egyptian origin; a pair of the latter, shown below, being installed as early as 1435 in the Vatican gardens, whilst a pair of sphinxes adorned the base of one of its principal interior staircases.



Author

Figure 2. 27 One of a pair of lions from the reign of Nectanebo I (380-362 BC). Removed from the *Iseum Campense* in 1435 AD by Pope Eugenius IV and installed in the Vatican gardens.

Statuary and other artefacts were assembled by aristocrat and clergy alike and would await the eager antiquarian collectors who would later flock to the city and its sights when they made Rome the principal destination of their Grand Tour. The Vatican Collection was brought together from the city, the Villa Adriana at Tivoli and from other sites, its museum dating to 1475, created on the initiative of Sixtus IV (1414-1484).



Author

Figure 2. 28 Egyptian and ‘Egyptianesque’ statuary in the Vatican’s Egyptian Museum

The Vatican also contained Egyptian themes in its decoration, as though recognising and accepting their now tamed religious implications. In 1493-95, the artist Bernardo Pinturricchio (1454-1513) used Egyptian references for the *Appartamento Borgia*, but the most impressive of such references were designed by Raphael (1483-1520) and painted by Giulio Romano (1499-1546) in 1514-17 for the four reception rooms known as the *Stanze*.

Here then was a Rome aware of Egyptian forms and enthused by them, but also alive to the religious and commemorative forces which accompanied them.

Along with the rediscovery and re-erection of Egyptian monuments and, noted above as a particular interest of the architect Alberti, the hieroglyphic script became a focus of interest, speculation and misinterpretation from this time and was allied to the newly arisen interest in Neoplatonic¹²³ concepts, appearing as Hermeticism, from which, in turn, was to arise much of the ritual and moral teachings of Freemasonry. Neoplatonism had arisen in Alexandria in the third century AD and had at its core: “a fundamental pantheism... a harnessing of forces for the benefit of mankind was the aim of the occultists, alchemists, astrologers and magicians...”¹²⁴ When it reappeared in Rome in the 15th century at its core was the spurious figure of Hermes Trismegistus, held by some “to be a fusion of the Greek god Hermes and the Egyptian god Thoth.”¹²⁵ In addition it valued ‘the wisdom that was Egypt’ because Hermeticism assumed that as Egypt predated the civilisations of Greece and Rome, its lost

¹²³ Neoplatonism derived its name from the theories of the Greek/Alexandrian philosopher Plotinus (c.205-270AD)

¹²⁴ Curl, J.S., *The Art and Architecture of Freemasonry* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1991). p.40

¹²⁵ *Ibid.* p. 80.

knowledge must be more valuable and pure.”¹²⁶ Especially significant was the text known as the Corpus Hermeticum, of which Cooper writes that: “The Hermetic revival during the Renaissance can be traced to a Latin translation of 1471,”¹²⁷ which was re-interpreted by a follower of Platonic ideas, Marsilio Ficino (1433-99), and of which Curl comments that: “The works were seen as truths that predicted Christian beliefs and that established a thread from Ancient Egypt to the Jews, the Greeks and the Romans... and had a profound effect on the study of Egyptian artefacts.”¹²⁸ Thus, the Neo-Platonist¹²⁹ ideas on which Hermeticism was based arrived in early Renaissance Europe. Stevenson adds that: “The supposed magical mystery religion of the Egyptians was linked to Christianity and made compatible with it by the fact that it was held to contain prophecies of the coming of Christ and parallels with Christianity.”¹³⁰

One must not doubt that Hermetic mysticism was taken seriously in Italy in the 15th and 16th centuries, or that it was totally shunned by the Catholic Church; serving as evidence of the latter’s acceptance of Hermes Trismegistus himself is his likeness displayed in Siena Cathedral.



Ucko¹³¹

Figure 2. 29 Hermes Trismegistus, depicted on the mosaic pavement (1488) at the cathedral of Siena.

¹²⁶ Stevenson, D., *The First Freemasons* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988). p.6.

¹²⁷ Cooper, R., *Cracking the Freemason’s Code* (London: Rider, 2006). p.41

¹²⁸ *Ibid.* p.81

¹²⁹ Neo-Platonism, whilst not mentioning Christ, centred around a faith based on a single creator god.

¹³⁰ Stevenson, D., *The Origins of Freemasonry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988). p.83.

¹³¹ Ucko, P., *The Wisdom that was Egypt.* (London: UCL Press, 2003). p.110

Later investigations by the scholar Isaac Casaubon (1559-1614) were to prove that the documents on which these attributions were based, were, in fact, post-Christian in origin, but this did not impede the onward transit of concepts of that Hermeticism which are current in Scottish Freemasonry today. Robert Cooper, Curator of Scotland's Grand Lodge, confirms in his recent work, that: "Freemasonry makes use of symbolism similar to that of Hermeticism."¹³² If Scotland was to prove the leading protagonist of organised Freemasonry, Hermetic speculation also circulated in both Catholic and Protestant Europe, Curl noting of the former that it had: "produced some startling manifestations of Egyptianising motifs in Roman Catholic Europe, even in the Vatican itself," and adding that: "the Hermetic tradition played a not inconsiderable role in development of the Society of Jesus."¹³³ Of the Protestant faith, he notes the wide range of Egyptian symbols, which became: "very common in Northern Europe, especially in the commemorative monumental architecture of the Netherlands, Northern Germany and England."¹³⁴

Setting aside the legends which connect Freemasonry to a link beginning in Atlantis,¹³⁵ passing through Egypt, Greece and Rome and making a diversion specifically to Solomon's Temple in Jerusalem, it would seem that certain real connections can be made to the Knights Templar, known to have sought refuge in Scotland from the persecution of the French King Phillip II (1268-1314) and whose connection to freemasonry will reoccur below in this work. The detailed progress of the Renaissance Hermetic tradition was, according to Curl: "...developed through both Marsilio Ficino (1433-99) and Pico della Mirandola (1463-94)", to which names he adds, in the following century, that of Giordano Bruno (1548-1600), who visited England from 1583-1585, and who was to die at the stake, Curl notes: "...for his conviction that the wisdom of Ancient Egypt was greater than a repressive orthodoxy that burned heretics."¹³⁶ A Catholic Scot, Alexander Dickson, published in 1584 a work¹³⁷ based on Bruno's ideas, concerning which, Curl observes: "...in which Antique techniques of memory were given overt Egypto-Hermetic settings."¹³⁸ Dickson, who had returned to Scotland from London became known as a 'Master of the Art of Memory', Cooper confirming that he was: "...accepted at court, becoming a servant of James VI."¹³⁹

¹³² Cooper, R., *Cracking the Freemason's Code* (London: Rider. 2006). The book's author gives a present day Masonic interpretation of the subject in Chapter 3, p. 46.

¹³³ Curl, J.S., *The Art and Architecture of Freemasonry* (London: Routledge, 2005). p.132

¹³⁴ *Ibid* p.133

¹³⁵ *Ibid* p.41

¹³⁶ *Ibid* p.43

¹³⁷ Dickson, A., *De Umbris Idearum* (Paris: 1584).

¹³⁸ *Ibid* p. 46

¹³⁹ Cooper, R., *Cracking the Freemason's Code* (London: Rider, 2006).p.49

Somerville observes of this time that: “Renaissance men were looking for some form of universal religion which could heal the splits in the church and result in a Brotherhood of Man. Many believed that they had found the basis for this in the writings of the Egyptian philosopher Hermes Trismegistus.”¹⁴⁰ That ‘Brotherhood of Man’ and its code of moral relationship spread widely throughout Scotland, attaching itself at the outset to that craft of masonry which had been of such significance in Ancient Egypt. At the court and referred to by Cooper as: “...the Scottish Father of Freemasonry,”¹⁴¹ was William Schaw (1550-1602), from 1583 King’s Master of Works, responsible for the repair, maintenance and renewal of the royal family’s properties and he it was who assimilated Hermetic ‘wisdom’ as a substantial part of the Masonic credo, and which was first formalised there in a Masonic Lodge in 1599.

Stevenson notes of Schaw: “...as seeing one aspect of the secret lodges he created as being a grafting of the ambitions that led to the founding of secret Hermetic societies onto a craft which already claimed it had a connection with Hermes and that some of its wisdom derived from ancient Egypt.”¹⁴² Of the visual confirmation of the source of Masonic origins, Murray Lyon observes: “The registration of craftsmen’s marks... known to have been promulgated in the sixteenth century for the regulation of the early Scotch lodges was the perpetuation of a custom that had prevailed in the building fraternity for ages, Masonic marks having been discovered on the Pyramids of Egypt.”¹⁴³

¹⁴⁰ Somerville, A., *Ancient Sundials of Scotland* (Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. 1987). p. 252

¹⁴¹ Cooper, R., *Cracking the Freemason’s Code* (London: Rider, 2006). p.48

¹⁴² Stevenson, D., *The First Freemasons* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988). P.6.

¹⁴³ Murray Lyon, D., *History of the Lodge of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1873). Chapter IX, p.67.

Chapter 3

Influences of Ancient Egypt in 17th Century Scotland.

It remains a strange phenomenon of Scottish life, that here was a land in which Freemasonry, with its gatherings taking place in Temples, (albeit the word Lodge was its usual description), and which was rich in ritualistic practice, ornament and ceremony, yet could live, flourish and coexist, alongside a church so deeply opposite in its growing Calvinist starkness,¹ and towards which Schaw had from the outset commanded due respect.² However, the abolition of papal jurisdiction in 1560 did not immediately lead to the establishment of a strict Calvinist regime, the monarch not ratifying the Reformation Settlement until 1572, with the Concordat of Leith permitting him to appoint bishops, of which a full complement remained in place at James VI's death in 1625. His own religious conduct reflected no enthusiasm for Calvinism, referring in the *Basilicon Doron* of 1599 in words of warning to his four year old son, Prince Henry: "Take heede therefore (my Sonne) to these Puritanes, verie pestes in the Church and common-weil of Scotland,"³ himself continuing to rule Scotland through his Catholic chancellor, Alexander Seton (1555-1622). He was to make his own continuing view on Presbyterianism clear, when, at the Hampton Court Conference of 1604, he said: "Scottish Presbytery...agreeth as well with a monarch as God and the Devil."⁴ Further, he confirmed his own views architecturally, Glendinning recording that, for his return to Scotland in 1617, he: "ordered the Chapel Royal at Holyrood to be recast according to Episcopalian liturgical requirements...the scheme included portraits of the Apostles..."⁵

King James's departure for London in 1603 had added the disappearance of the ceremonial of a resident court to the stark simplicity required by Calvinist religious practice, as witnessed by such strictures as those advocated by William Birnie⁶ and discussed below. These factors may well have been of significance in encouraging the flourishing of Freemasonry in a Scotland where its rituals and symbols could satisfy a human need for that lost colour and ceremonial. If:

¹ Stevenson, D., *The Origins of Freemasonry. Scotland's Century, 1590-1710* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988). p.85

² The precise wording being: "...to exclude from their society and company... all...who were disobedient to church or craft"

³ King James I., *Basilicon Doron*, (Edinburgh: Robert Waldegrave, 1599). p.11.

⁴ Steel, T., *Scotland's Story* (London: Collins, 1984) p.99.

⁵ Glendinning, M., *A History of Scottish Architecture* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press 1996). p.32

⁶ Birnie, W., *The Blame of Kirk-Burial*. (Edinburgh: Robert Charteris, 1606).

“...in seventeenth century Scotland... the church, not noted for its tolerance, did not denounce them as subversive...”⁷ a factor may have been that both Presbyterian Church and Freemasonry were touched by Ancient Egypt, the former basing much of its teaching on the Old Testament.⁸ That there should follow some thirty years later the first sundial obelisks carved with Egyptian and Masonic astrological symbols emphasises the link between craft and country, stressed by Curl, above. To this, McKean notes that not only were the gardens of the time, in which the obelisks were sited, places of: “... pleasure to the senses, of symbolism and sometimes, of a demonstration of the sciences,” but then adds: “cosmology...” as one of the sciences to be studied there.⁹ It is significant that Freemasonry should become apparent whilst James VI occupied the Scottish throne, for it was in his person that mysticism and alchemy, with its Neoplatonic aim of harnessing all the forces of the cosmos for the benefit of humanity, were writ large. To this may be added his own assumption of divinity of which, having already informed Prince Henry in the Basilicon Doron that God had: “... made you a little God to sit on his throne...”¹⁰ he was then confident enough to declare openly before the English Parliament in 1609 that: “The state of Monarchie is the supremest thing upon earth. For Kings are not only GODS (sic) lieutenants on earth, and sit upon God’s throne, but even by GOD himself, they are called gods...”¹¹ The visual and architectural realisation of James’s divinity was to be largely in the hands of Inigo Jones (1573-1652). Both his personal self-esteem and the manner in which Jones represented him in masque and building evince further evidence of his lack of enthusiasm for Calvinist views.

But in Scotland the Calvinist Presbyterian Church, whilst tolerating the existence of Freemasonry, fiercely discouraged ostentatious and overt display in its own practices, nowhere more so than in its condemnation of funeral ceremonial, of which the publication in 1606 of the Reverend William Birnie’s *The Blame of Kirk-buriall*, is the most strident. His exhortation reflected a mood which delayed the widespread use of those Egyptian symbols of mourning *inter alia*, which would appear in the following century and reach their apogee in the 19th century.

This tone was reflected in subsequent parliamentary legislation, placing draconian restrictions on display, which the nobility however, seemed able to avoid, Colvin goes on to nominate as one

⁷ Stevenson, D., *The Origins of Freemasonry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988). p.50

⁸ This was influenced by the Protestant reformer, John Calvin (1509-1564).

⁹ McKean C., *The Scottish Chateau*. (Stroud: Sutton, 2001). p.75

¹⁰ King James I., *Basilicon Doron*, (Edinburgh: Robert Waldegrave, 1599). p.49

¹¹ Hart V., *Art and Magic in the Court of the Stuarts* (London: Routledge, 1994). p.24

example: "...the 'aisle' or annex to the church which often served both as a place of burial and...as a pew."¹² This might, as the earlier Catholic Lady Chapel, open into the church to which it remained firmly attached.

The Bible brought Egypt to the attention of the wider populace, yet those with a classical education would have had the works of Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo and Pliny available to consult, and although no Scots visited Egypt in this century, two significant visits were made from England, and in 1615 in London, there was published by Sandys,¹³ an account of his visit there, of which Pevsner praises: "...the clear and matter of fact representation of the pyramids in their landscape setting."¹⁴ Much greater accuracy, and the first publication to reflect precise surveying techniques, came as a result of the visit to Egypt of John Greaves (1602-1652), Professor of Geometry at Gresham College, London, who published his detailed study, 'Pyramidographia' in 1646.¹⁵ The resultant publications would have been available to the large number of Scots who had sought preferment close to the throne in London.

Freemasonry in 17th Century Scotland.

In the preceding chapter mention was made of William Schaw, mason and: "grit maister of all and sindrie his hines palaceis, biggingis and reparationis, and grit oversear, directour and commandar' of such operations for life,"¹⁶ being, thereby, King's Master of Works, and referred to by Cooper as: "...the Father of Freemasonry,"¹⁷ and he it was who had assimilated and formalised Hermetic 'wisdom' as a substantial part of Masonic practice in the Second Schaw Statute of 1599, which heralded the arrival of organised Freemasonry in Scotland. Further, in a reference to historic connections already indicated, it seems right to include as part of the consolidation of Freemasonry's establishment, Schaw's drafting of the First St. Clair Charter in 1601. Addressed to a family of known Knights Templar origins, it states that the masons have always considered the St. Clair family to be: "their Patrons and Protectors" and further: "asking

¹² Colvin, Sir H., *Architecture of the Afterlife* (London: Yale University Press, 1991). p.297

¹³ Sandys, G., *Relation of a Journey begun anno domini 1610*. (London: W. Barrett, 1615).

¹⁴ Pevsner, N., "The Egyptian Revival", *The Architectural Review*, May 1956. p.250

¹⁵ Greaves, J., *Pyramidographia* (London: George Badger, 1646).

¹⁶ *Mr of works accs.*, I, xvii; RSS,1581-4, no.1676.

¹⁷ Cooper, R., *Cracking the Freemason's Code* (London: Rider, 2006). p.18

William St. Clair of Rosslyn to become the arbitrator of their internal disputes,”¹⁸ a link which the Freemasons would try to strengthen in the 18th century.

A significant change that took place in the 17th century was the acceptance of ‘non-operative masons’, i.e. those who did not practice the craft, and a practice which was to grow during the following century,¹⁹ Stevenson explaining: “The intention was that all masons would have to be lodge members in order to practice their craft...” but the new types of member whose entry to the craft was gradually to transform the movement...were not masons and these non-operatives: “sought...to satisfy their desires for sociability and fraternity by joining...institutions which already existed.”²⁰ The number of Masonic lodges grew throughout the century, Stevenson noting the progress and even recording: “Hans Ewald Tessin, the first known foreign initiate in 1652”²¹. Stevenson closes his book by listing the twentyfive Masonic Lodges which were in existence in 1710, of which twenty were in operation by the close of the 17th century itself. And thus Freemasonry prospered across the land where from the early part of the century the first monuments with form and symbols harking back to Egypt were to take the form of sundials.

Sundials in Scotland.

For a nation hardly celebrated for its favourable climate, it may seem surprising that the sundial should have been the earliest widespread construction to bear Egyptian references, and the range of implications attributed to them and quoted below emphasizes their significance. As to their ubiquity, Somerville, in his full list of eightyfour significant early examples, observes that: “...one particular type is unique to Scotland,” then enumerates them, adding that: “25 complete obelisk dials are known to exist – adding that – the oldest at Lochgoilhead ‘may’ be dated to 1626.”²²

¹⁸ *Ibid.* p.29

¹⁹ *Chapter 3* on the 18th century notes that: ” the weight of Masonic influence in Scotland can be judged by Bredin’s note of Bruce’s visit, immediately on his return, to report his discoveries to Canongate Kilwinning Lodge No.2, which he had joined in 1753 and which: “...would soon be frequented by Robert Burns, the Adam brothers, James Boswell and Sir Walter Scott.”

²⁰ Stevenson, D., *The origins of Freemasonry – Scotland’s Century, 1590-1710.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988). p.182

²¹ *Ibid.* p.198

²² Somerville, A., *The Ancient Sundials of Scotland* (Edinburgh: The Royal Museum of Scotland, 1987). *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 117, p. 234.

These are carved, not with hieroglyphs (for the publications of Athanasius Kircher (1602-1680) on that subject, are of later date)²³ but rather with a whole wealth of astrological signs, and Somerville's conclusions, which support those of Curl above, sum up the situation with the assessment that: "...it would seem virtually certain that these are truly Scottish creations which owe little to foreign influence... introducing working masons to symbolic ideas. The coincidence of a unique freemasonry and unique sundials in 17th century Scotland is surely too great to be accidental."²⁴

In addition to the Masonic significance of the symbols which they bore, MacGibbon and Ross add of the sundial/obelisk that: "This name has a further fitness from the circumstance that the Egyptian obelisks are believed, amongst other purposes, to have acted as gnomons."²⁵ Barnes supports this and writes that: "The first function of the obelisk - ...was as a supreme version of 'the shadow stick',"²⁶ adding both that the taller the obelisk was the better it defined the hours in the middle of the day, and that when the obelisk in the centre of St. Peter's Square in Rome was raised in 1586 on the orders of Pope Sixtus V: "with the markings on the piazza pavement... it serves as the gnomon of a vast dial."²⁷ In this time of esoteric speculation as scholars sought to uncover a deeper significance to man's existence, McKean notes that: "The cosmological nature of gardens in Scotland was emphasized by this country's particular fondness for free-standing sundials," and that: "Sundials were the focus of carefully prepared garden plans and probably carried a meaning largely obscure to us."²⁸ He finally sums up the situation with: "sundials... were, perhaps, the physical expression of a country fascinated with mathematics, the calendar, the Masonic tradition and ancient mythology."²⁹

Perhaps the best known and most frequently visited sundial/obelisk is the one at Drummond Castle, erected in 1630, the work of John Mylne (1611-1667), the King's Master Mason.

²³ Kircher, A., *Aegyptica Restituta* (Rome: 1652).

²⁴ Somerville, A., *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*. 1987. 117. p. 254

²⁵ Macgibbon, D., & Ross, T. , *The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland* (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1892).Vol. V. p.407

²⁶ Barnes, R., *The Obelisk* (Kirstead: Frontier Publishing, 2004). p.138

²⁷ *Ibid.* p. 87. For further details of this obelisk see the previous *chapter*.

²⁸ McKean, C., *The Scottish Chateau*. (Stroud: Sutton, 2001). p.77

²⁹ *Ibid.*



RCAHMS³⁰

Figure 3. 1 The Sundial in the formal garden at Drummond Castle, Perthshire.

Two further striking examples, inscribed with the date 1635, are a matched pair in the ornamental gardens to the east and at the rear of Newbattle Abbey, Midlothian. Almost identical, each dated on their octagonal plinths, they are in pristine condition.



Author

Figure 3. 2 The South Sundial at Newbattle Abbey.

³⁰ RCAHMS 59614



Author

Figure 3. 3 Sphinx-like supporters on the Southern Sundial, Newbattle Abbey.



Author

Figure 3. 4 Sphinx-like statue in the Villa d'Este Gardens, Tivoli.



Author

Figure 3. 5 The date-mark on the northern sundial at Newbattle Abbey.

These add to the obelisk gnomons, as ‘Egyptianesque’ references, four supporters with a strong resemblance to female sphinxes, although noted, more correctly, by McWilliam as “big-headed female chimeras.”³¹ The figures bear some resemblance to a similar figure in the gardens of the Villa d’Este at Tivoli, and are the first carved ‘sphinx-like’ figures proven to exist in Scotland. McWilliam does in fact make an incorrect claim for their appearance prior to the above-mentioned date on the highly ornamented fountain at the centre of the courtyard of Linlithgow

³¹McWilliam C., *Lothian*, (London: Yale University Press, 2003). (Buildings of Scotland series) p.349.s

Palace of c. 1530: “Alternating with the pinnacles are pedestals whose details are more explicitly Renaissance in character, e.g. sphinxes, candelabra and nude figures...”³² The misinterpretation, if such it is, can easily be understood since the stonework became highly eroded.³³

Mourning in 17th Century Scotland.

As indicated above, both Church and Freemasonry were strongly influenced by Egypt. If, unlike the Catholic, the Presbyterian church in Scotland, neither exhibited statues of the Virgin Mary and Christ drawn from their Egyptian predecessors, Isis and the infant Horus, nor decorated its churches with the gold spangled ceilings which were one of Isis’s and Mary’s attributes, it did, however, base much of its teaching on the Old Testament³⁴ and its members would have detailed knowledge of the involvement in Egypt of many key figures in the foundation of later Christian belief. Indeed, around 1580, that Church had taken as its symbol, the Burning Bush, memorializing the incident which took place on Mt. Sinai, when God appointed Moses to lead the Israelites out of Egypt.³⁵

Whilst death had been celebrated as a major rite under the Catholic Church, the arrival of Protestantism in Scotland, largely following Calvinist doctrine, opined that any funeral irrelevances, such as hymn singing and a funeral sermon, were to be shunned. Indeed there seemed no doubt in the minds of Protestants that the living could have no influence on the fate of a dead man’s soul. Colvin stressing Scotland’s pre-eminent place in this added that: “Only in Scotland did a newly reformed and radical Church effectively renew the ancient struggle against intra-mural interment and encourage the building of places of burial that were architecturally independent of a church.”³⁶ The rejection of the mediaeval attitude to the afterlife played such an important part in the Reformation that the burial of the dead was naturally one of the most sensitive areas of religious practice.

³² *Ibid.* p.296

³³ In 2007 the writer visited first the palace itself and subsequently the head office of Historic Scotland, where early undated views of the fountain were seen. There he also met the Historic Scotland Inspector responsible for the imminent restoration of the monument, who confirmed, first that there was no trace in the existing stonework and no record, written or illustrated, to indicate that sphinxes had been present and second, that they would not be included in the restoration scheme.

³⁴ This was influenced by the Protestant reformer, John Calvin (1509-1564).

³⁵ Note its appearance with other Egyptian symbols at the Church of Scotland Head Office building in the *chapter* on the Twentieth Century, below.

³⁶ Colvin, H., *Architecture of the Afterlife* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press,1991). p. 296

The Scottish Minister mentioned above, William Birnie, ‘first preached then penned’ a diatribe against funerals in 1606.³⁷ Having opened his work with the admonitory Biblical quotation of Jesus’ exhortation: “Follow me and let the dead bury their dead.”³⁸, he added his own views that: “I call (burial) a ceremony in respectit is not of that essentiall necessitie to Christian welfaire, as without the which he will be prejudged of the resurrection.”³⁹ Showing surprising knowledge at this early date, he comments on Egyptian burial customs: noting that: “ the Egiptian pickled with bryme... after exinteration bespyced their gutless goodsirs...others preferred to wither in the aire, as of old not a few in Egypt and Ethiopia that so preventing the stinck of putrifaction by scowdring their skins in the Sunne ...”⁴⁰

Returning to his central theme, he inveighs against: “... secular pompe in funerals,”⁴¹ specifically mentioning: “bel-ringinges, lamplighting, dirige (sic) singing etc”⁴².

At General Assemblies of the Scottish Church in 1588, 1591, 1638 and in 1643, burial within churches had been specifically proscribed, the Church of Scotland’s ‘Book of Discipline’ of 1560-61 enjoining the utmost simplicity, a proscription frequently ignored by those of wealth and title. Colvin observes that: “In 1593 King James VI had, in fact, expressed himself in favour of a parliamentary enactment ‘that for the avoiding of burialle in kirks, every nobleman s(h)ould bigg (sic) ane sepulture for himself and his familie’,”⁴³ which at least indicates some royal approval for a burial monument for those of aristocratic birth.

Birnie’s work, however, had specifically condemned: “Pyramides of pomp (note that an ‘Egyptian’ form is the first abomination proscribed!), other pillers of pride, some mausolies of marvel,” which might have caused those Scots who were later to use a similar form for their own mausolea to have paused for thought, had that proscriptive attitude endured.

For many years it was not the duty of a minister to attend at funerals and when, after the Restoration of Charles II in 1660, there was a slight relaxation in religious practice, the sermon preached in 1664 at the funeral of the young Earl of Leven was noted as: “the first in Fife for 24

³⁷ Birnie, W., *The Blame of Kirk Buriall* (Edinburgh: Robert Charteris, ‘Printer to the King’s most excellent Majestie’, 1606).

³⁸ *The New Testament*, St. Matthew Ch. 8, v. 22

³⁹ Birnie W., *The Blame of Kirk Buriall* (Edinburgh: Robert Charteris, 1606). *Chapter 2*

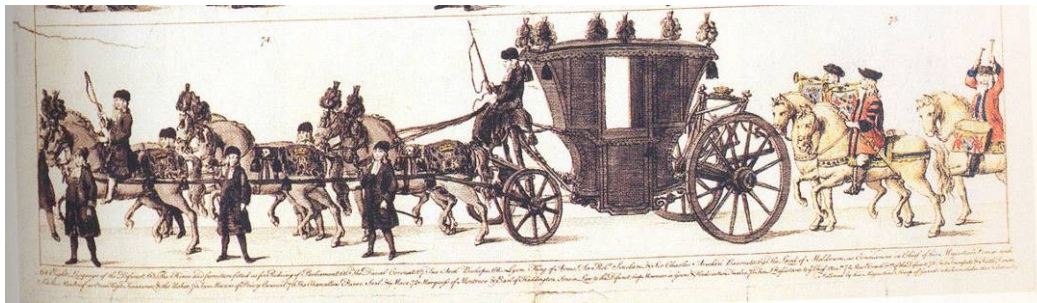
⁴⁰ *Ibid. Chapter 4*

⁴¹ *Ibid. Chapter 9*

⁴² *Ibid. Chapter 11*

⁴³ Colvin, Sir H., *Architecture and the Afterlife* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1991). p.296

years”.⁴⁴ Sumptuary laws, covered by the Act Anent Banqueting and Apparel of 1621, had gone into great detail concerning the rules imposed and expenditure was restricted according to rank. The magnificent funeral cortege of the Duke of Rothes, heavily adorned with ostrich plumes,⁴⁵ seems one of the ceremonies most blatantly to ignore all proscriptions, and to make a clear statement of his aristocratic privileges.



NMS⁴⁶

Figure 3.6 The funeral procession of the Duke of Rothes, 1681.

Inigo Jones and his Promotion of Stuart Divinity.

It was to be in England that the promotion of the Stuarts as divine⁴⁷, supported by architectural references to their connection to the sun, was enthusiastically pursued. Each Egyptian pharaoh bore the title ‘Son of the Sun’ and its 17th century reflection for the Stuarts may largely be laid at the feet of the architect Inigo Jones (1573-1652), who had visited Rome, Florence and Venice in 1614. Becoming an enthusiast for the work of the architects Palladio, Alberti⁴⁸ and Serlio, he would also have immersed himself in current Roman opinions, at a time when absorption with Egypt and its mysteries was a focus. Hart makes reference at the outset of his work to: “Magic...The philosophy and its hieroglyphics were understood to enshrine the truths of an ancient religion originating in Egypt.”⁴⁹ Further, in tracing magical power to the Stuart sovereigns, he adds that: “...since Edward the Confessor it had been supposed that the king

⁴⁴ Gordon, A., *Death is for the Living* (Edinburgh: Paul Harris, 1984). pp.48/49.

⁴⁵ Ostrich plumes having been much used in Ancient Egypt especially in connection with royal ceremonial were to reach their apogee at the height of the elaborate mourning display in the second half of the 19th century.

⁴⁶ Martin, A., (ed.), *Scottish Endings – Writings on Death* (New York: St. Martins Press, 1996).

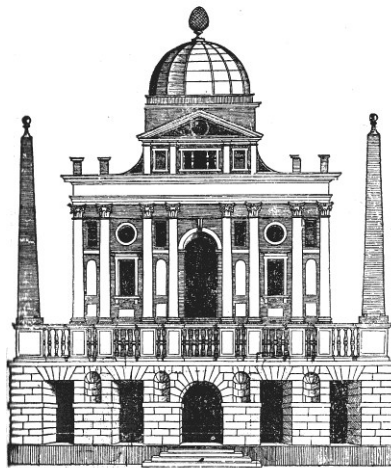
⁴⁷ Perhaps England already accepted this, for in Hamlet (date not precisely confirmable , but around 1699) Act 4 Scene 5 appear the words: “There’s such divinity doth hedge a king,”

⁴⁸ Alberti, L.B., *Ten Books on Architecture* (Rome: 1452). The Leoni Edition reprinted London: Alec Tiranti, 1955).

⁴⁹ Hart, V., *Art and Magic in the Court of the Stuarts* (London: Routledge, 1994) p.1

possessed a magical power to heal by his sacred touch.”⁵⁰ It should be noted that this power was exercised by all anointed Stuart rulers.⁵¹

Inigo Jones’s architectural experience in Italy made him familiar with the work of many architects, but the one architect whose texts were found in his library at his death, Sebastiano Serlio, did show designs employing significantly striking obelisks on a religious building, as the illustration, below, demonstrates.



Sebastiano Serlio, Book IV.LVIII. 1537⁵²

Figure 3.7 Sebastiano Serlio design.

This was a device which Jones was also to employ in his most important scheme to ascribe divinity to his king. Hart, noting of Jones that: “... the court artist...represented...the ruler’s apparent magical ability to perfect nature,”⁵³ and his greatest achievement in promoting his sovereign’s divine authority was when, in the centre of London, he began to lay out a triumphal route from Whitehall Palace – in the Banqueting Hall of which his son, Charles, was to acknowledge James’s divine status in his Apotheosis in the ceiling painting by Sir Peter Paul Rubens, which Charles commissioned – to St. Paul’s Cathedral, of which the restoration of the

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* p.23

⁵¹ This curative power persisted until the death of Queen Anne in 1714 but it was not one which the succeeding Hanoverians ventured to perpetuate.

⁵² Serlio, S., *I sette libri dell’architettura* (Rome: 1540). The Fourth Book, Eighth *Chapter*. Ill. 79

⁵³ Hart, V., *Art and Magic in the Court of the Stuarts* (London: Routledge, 1994). p.3

West Front of the cathedral was the culmination, proclaiming the king as: “the absolute solar monarch.”⁵⁴ Hart further notes that Jones placed obelisks on the cathedral nave and transepts against the skyline, each supporting a sun orb at its apex. It is singular that the representative of the Church of England, the Bishop of London in his restoration sermon of 1620 should make reference to: “...a temple raised at St Paul’s befitting the body of the king, the morning & midday influence of that *glorious Sun*.”⁵⁵



Hart⁵⁶

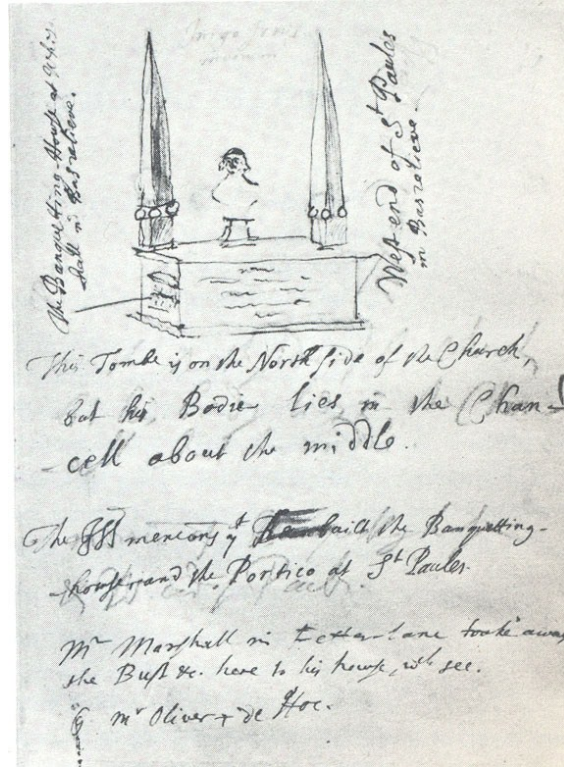
Figure 3.8 The West Front of St Paul’s Cathedral, designed by Inigo Jones.

In Jones’ own works obelisks are widely featured and that he was aware of their significance is demonstrated by their prominence on his own tomb.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* p.172

⁵⁵ It should be noted that Louis XIV (1638-1715) was also pleased to be acknowledged as ‘The Sun King’.

⁵⁶ Hart, V., *Art and Magic in the Court of the Stuarts* (London: Routledge, 1994). Fig. 44



The Aubrey Mss in the Bodleian Library

Figure 3. 9 Inigo Jones's tomb in the Church of St. Benet, London. 1652- 53.⁵⁷ It will be noticed that the twin obelisks form the dominant decorative feature.

Egyptian References in 17th Century Scotland.

In 17th century Scotland symbols of mourning which had their origins in Egypt begin to appear, yet there is only one pyramid and single substantial obelisk memorials do not yet exist. There are however grave markers which seem to take their form and their decoration from that source. In addition, a particularly Scottish version of a pyramid/ obelisk appears at the gates of mansions of this time.

The Pyramid as Mausoleum.

It is not surprising that Scotland's first mausoleum of this form should be built to mark the death of his wife in 1684 by Sir John Clerk of Penicuik (1650-1722).

⁵⁷ Harris, J., *The King's Arcadia: Inigo Jones and the Stuart Court* (London: Lund Humphries, 1973). p.209



Author.

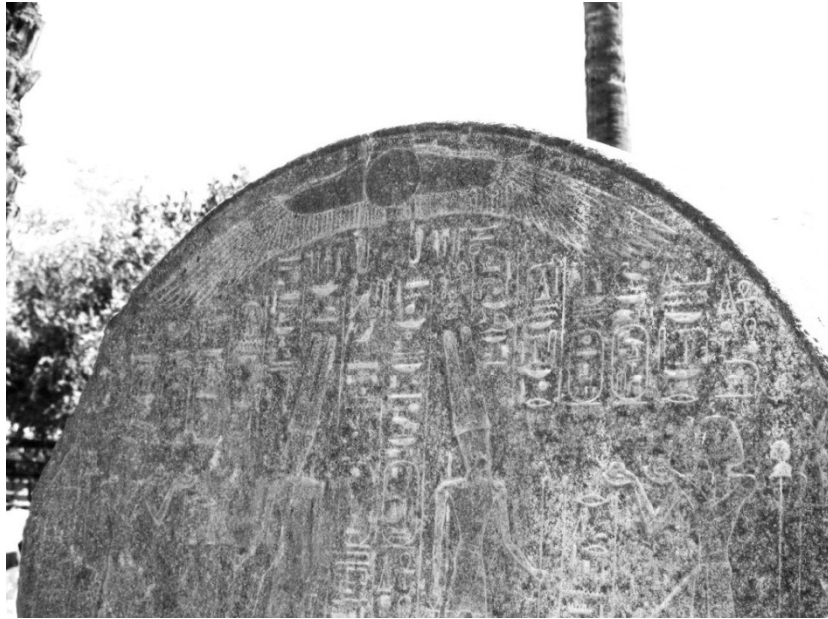
Figure 3. 10 The Clerk Mausoleum, Penicuik, 1683-84.

Clerk, a lawyer, was at the forefront of developing taste in art, architecture and the study of antiquities, and was known for his extensive library. This, whilst not containing Greaves' publication with its measured drawings, does have a copy of the Sandys account of 1615, mentioned above, with the earliest British representation of a cluster of pyramids. The mausoleum, apparently designed by his own hand, stands in the churchyard of the Old Parish Church at Penicuik and with a smooth pyramidal roof on a rectangular base is now without its crowning finial.⁵⁸ Whilst 17th century writers had not shown pyramids resting on a square base, Greaves had confirmed the purpose of its form as a burial monument of historic proportions and significance.

The Winged Sun-Disk.

However unusual it may seem, a symbol seen on gravestones in Scotland seems to derive from an Egyptian form, known as *py-wer*, 'the great flyer', and is be found in this 'winged disk' form on many Egyptian and Scottish funeral stele.

⁵⁸ This form, with its capping pyramid, stepped or not, is widespread throughout the Ancient Mediterranean World, and an example was to be depicted from the Kedron Valley, near Jerusalem, by David Roberts, some hundred and fifty years later in 1839.



Author

Figure 3. 11 A stela from the reign of Tuthmosis IV (1419-1386 BC) at Karnak Temple.⁵⁹

This device, uncannily similar, but with facial features on the central circular shape instead of the sun, is found widely distributed across Scotland as the uppermost decoration on headstones, the crowning semi-circular top, repeated there, having, in Egypt, marked the sun's course throughout the day. In addition, there is what can only be described as a very close written evocation of this symbol in the last book of the Old Testament, such a force in Presbyterian Scotland. There, mirroring almost precisely the Winged Sun Disk, Malachi, Chapter IV v. 2 states: "But unto you that fear my name shall the Sun of righteousness arise with healing in his wings..."

An early example of 1697 on the Andrew Little grave (Figure 3.17 below) in the rural burial ground of Westerkirk in Dumfriesshire shows a very similar decoration. To the Scots this 'departing soul', i.e. the soul quitting its mortal remains for Paradise is found in both the 17th and 18th centuries.

The second example, date and name erased by time, is from central Scotland from the churchyard at East Saltoun, and demonstrates that the design varies in the hands of different monumental masons, but the symbolism remains the same. These belong to that series of devices which Curl connected (above) to the migration of Protestant artisans, subject to persecution, and

⁵⁹ The curve topping the stone represents the sky, across which the sun passes in its daily course.

are grouped with the obelisk and referred to specifically as : “putto-heads with wings (recalling the outstretched wings on either side of the solar globe)... having affinities with Egyptian prototypes.”⁶⁰ Curl specifically also attaches this migration to the St. Bartholemew’s Day Massacre in France in 1572, yet the persecution was of a much wider geographical spread.



Author

Figure 3. 12 The grave of Andrew Little. 1697. Westerkirk Cemetery, Dumfriesshire.



Author

Figure 3. 13 Undated headstone from East Saltoun Churchyard, the lettering is indecipherable.

This theme, evident from the 17th century, is carried forward into the 18th century. The final example shown below is of importance because, besides being crowned with the ‘departing soul’, it combines clear evidence of the Masonic status of the original occupant of the grave in the form of the set-square and compass and is of 17th / 18th century style.

⁶⁰ Curl, J.S., *The Egyptian Revival* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005). p.133



Author

Figure 3. 14 Headstone originally from Old Calton Burying Ground, today in New Calton Burying Ground, bearing Masonic symbols.

Pyramid / Obelisks at the Entrance to Secular Buildings.

Although pyramids on cemetery gates were to make frequent appearances in the 19th century, they had existed in differing forms at the entrances to Scottish mansions from a much earlier date, the earliest being found in the Old Town of Edinburgh. Somerville, in writing of the Scottish sundial, added a reference to this further use: “The characteristic pyramid of the obelisk finial, also used as an ornamental feature on buildings and gateposts is a symbol of great antiquity – being used as a symbol of strength and constancy.”⁶¹

Here, and illustrated below, elongated pyramids serve to top gateposts and to give formality and an accent to the entrance. With a long pedigree in Scotland from the 17th to the 19th century, one has to question what specific statement they seek to make, for this can hardly be a straightforwardly religious one; perhaps it suggests, as does the prospect of Heaven, an enduring and assured welcome. The oldest example dates to 1625 and appears at Moray House in the High Street in the Old Town of Edinburgh, constructed for Mary, Dowager Duchess of Home, and with a wrought iron bow linking the finials being added at the end of the 19th century.

⁶¹ Somerville, A., *Ancient Sundials of Scotland* (Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 117). p. 253.



Author

Figure 3. 15 Moray House Entrance Gates, the Royal Mile, Edinburgh c. 1625⁶²

At Castle Huntly in Perthshire, a smaller version of the Moray House gate-piers was erected in: “... the later C17 by the 3rd Earl of Kinghorne at the end of the former ‘Grand Avenue.’” Rebuilt in 1783, the description is of: “Large piers with pulvinated friezes and cornices, surmounted by diagonally set pyramid finials,”⁶³ with other contemporary examples being erected at Alloa Tower and Megginch Castle.

Whilst the 18th century was to witness the flowering of the Grand Tour, several Scots had made their tours in the 17th century. Robert, Lord Kerr, later 1st Marquess of Lothian made an extended visit to Europe from 1651 to 1657. Bent on the improvement of his knowledge and taste, this concentrated on Holland and France with an extended stay in Paris of almost a year.⁶⁴ Some went to acquire additions to their art collections, Humfrey remarking on: “the great collection,” formed by the 1st Duke of Hamilton: “between 1638 and 1643.”⁶⁵ The present Duke of Buccleuch, however, in mentioning his ancestors, James Douglas, later second Duke of

⁶² Gates inspired by this form appear at Alloa Tower in the 18th century and are repeated at Rosebery House, Midlothian in the 19th century

⁶³ Gifford J., *Perth and Kinross* (London: Yale University Press, 2007). p.262

⁶⁴ Thomson, D., *A Virtuous & Noble Education* (Edinburgh: The Board of Trustees of the National Galleries of Scotland, 1971) Exhibition Catalogue. p.1.

⁶⁵ Humfrey, P., Clifford, T., Weston-Lewis, A., Bury, M., *The Age of Titian* (Edinburgh: The Trustees of the National Galleries of Scotland 2004). p.417.

Queensberry and his sixteen year old brother, William, who made a three year tour to Europe, beginning in 1680, specifically notes that their acquisitions were minimal, and unlike later visitors from the family: "...did not suggest they were great collectors."⁶⁶ Catholics sometimes found it healthy to spend time out of the country. A highly descriptive correspondence from James, Earl of Perth describes a Grand Tour of 1695, which combined both Holland and Belgium with Venice and Rome, observes in that latter place, on the 11th June 1695, that : "The Pope (Innocent XII) is very kind to me; he's a worthy good old man."⁶⁷

A significant event to close the century and a pointer to future developments was the visit in 1697 of Sir John Clerk to the main venues which could be said to shape the Grand Tour. Skinner goes on to emphasise that it was Clerk, touring the Low Countries, Switzerland and parts of Germany, adding to these the principal cities of Italy, who did much to influence artistic and cultural taste in Scotland, a field in which his descendants were to achieve continuing prominence. These visits were to be at the heart of events in the following century.

⁶⁶ H.G. The Duke of Buccleuch, *The Grand Tour*, ed. Lester Borley (Edinburgh: Allander, 2008). p. 12.

⁶⁷ Jerdan, W., (ed.) *Letters of James, Earl of Perth* (London: (Printed for the Camden Society) John Bowyer Nichols and Son, 1845). p.79

Chapter 4

Influences of Ancient Egypt in 18th Century Scotland

The 18th century was to be a time of momentous change in Scotland's governmental structure, which, by the Act of Union of 1707, witnessed the establishment of the United Kingdom of Great Britain. The new National Parliament transferred government legislation to London, but the Act safeguarded both Scotland's legal system and the autonomy of its Presbyterian Church, enhancing the latter's influence in its discussion of Scottish issues. It was, however, the economic advantages that the Act brought to a Scotland which was in a parlous financial state at the time that was to allow the nation to flourish as the century advanced.¹ This growing prosperity enabled many Scots to participate in the enriching artistic and architectural experience offered by the Grand Tour. From that experience, none drew more benefit than the architect Robert Adam, who was to become the leading Scottish practitioner of the art, King's Architect, celebrated throughout the United Kingdom.

In the second half of the century, the interest and open-mindedness engendered by the Enlightenment reached its peak during the years 1760-1790. What Daiches notes as: "...this extraordinary outburst of intellectual activity..."² was especially marked in Scotland, and covered many fields, including philosophy, economic and scientific study, engineering, architecture and an interest in Antiquity, and had as its purposes, the: "improvement of man's understanding of himself... and the natural world."³

Freemasonry flourished in Scotland at this time, Stevenson noting that: "Beginning in Britain, Freemasonry swept across Europe in the mid-eighteenth century in the most astonishing fashion..."⁴ and indicating the apparent contradiction: "That the Age of Enlightenment was nonetheless the great age of freemasonry is a seeming paradox indicating that for all the eighteenth-century's appeal to reason, many still hankered after elements of mystery, ritual, secrecy, and the quest for hidden truth."⁵

¹ Glendinning, M., *A History of Scottish Architecture* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996). p.147 notes that: "Between 1750 and 1800 Scottish overseas commerce grew by 300%."

² Daiches, D., *The Scottish Enlightenment* (Edinburgh: The Saltire Society, 1996). p.1

³ *Ibid.* p.2

⁴ Stevenson D., *The Origins of Freemasonry – Scotland's Century 1690-1710* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988). p.3

⁵ *Ibid.* p.233

At this time too, the nature and scale of its membership continued to change. Having commenced in the last years of the 16th century as an organisation of ‘operative’ masons,⁶ change had occurred through the 17th century, with the gradual admission of ‘accepted’ masons⁷ from outside the craft. In 1736, Scotland’s Grand Lodge was founded, with William St Clair of Rosslyn – whose family origins as Knights Templar and patronage of 17th century Freemasons have already been noted – as its first Grand Master, and after whom, aristocrat succeeded aristocrat in this post and the social élite found membership desirable. It was to be to such a member that the earliest substantial commemorative obelisk was erected around 1714⁸ at Dingwall, raised to George Mackenzie, 2nd Earl of Cromartie, whose son, in that complex twist and turn of Masonic events, would succeed William Sinclair as the second Grand Master Mason of Scotland in 1737.

Colvin also holds the Enlightenment largely responsible for a less condemnatory view of funeral practice and commemoration. In his chapter ‘Funerary Architecture in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries’, he writes that: “Attitudes towards death and the after-life were transformed as part of the intellectual changes known to historians as the Enlightenment...which made death seem less arbitrary than in the past. These profound changes in religious thought had their consequences in religious practice.” He goes on to add, indicating a trend which was to develop much further in the 19th century, when cemeteries became places of improving resort that: “So far indeed was death from being forgotten in the latter part of the 18th century ...that funerary art and architecture infiltrated the garden.”⁹ More practically, Gordon notes that: “throughout the 18th century hearses were becoming more prevalent,”¹⁰ signifying that funerals were allowed elements of display.

Daiches, without specific reference to the Enlightenment, also comments on the growth of Moderatism as the century progressed, writing that: “ The softening of forbidding Calvinism had become apparent after the appointment of William Carstairs (King William’s chief adviser on Scottish affairs) as Principal of Edinburgh University in 1703, when he also became leader of the Church of Scotland,” adding that: “A much bigger step in the direction of moderating extreme opinion and intolerance was marked by the appointment of the humane moralist William

⁶ The term ‘Operative’ masons signifies those who practised the Craft.

⁷ ‘Accepted’ masons might have any calling but accepted the moral attitudes of the Craft.

⁸ The date is nowhere certainly recorded.

⁹ Colvin, H., *Architecture and the Afterlife* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1991). p.329

¹⁰ Gordon, A., *Death is for the Living* (Edinburgh: Paul Harris, 1984). p.78

Leechman to the Chair of Divinity at Glasgow University in 1742 and in the appointment of the Wisharts, father and son, as Principals of Edinburgh University, the elder being five times Moderator of the General Assembly and giving offence to the ‘unco guid by his genial humanity’.¹¹

That same Enlightenment, coinciding with the emergence of neoclassicism in architecture, was stimulated by the excavations at Herculaneum in 1738, and at Pompeii ten years later, which provided a further spur to travel both for the nobility and the wealthy. These, in turn, became discriminating clients for those artists and architects who had also sought experience in Europe, all of whom having made Rome the Mecca of their visits. Daiches, the title of whose work, when first published, had begun with the words ‘A Hotbed of Genius’ reflects the above in noting that: “The work of Adam and his fellow architects in the neoclassical style is so much the most conspicuous surviving feature of the Scottish Enlightenment, particularly in Edinburgh where the New Town is a lasting memorial,”¹² with Glendinning, going further and referring to this grand plan for a new: ‘city as monument’.¹³ In that city, Robert, together with his brothers John and James, had been the leading architects in a group of other outstanding founder members, including David Hume, Adam Smith and Allan Ramsay, of the Select Society of Edinburgh, founded in 1754 and established to address new artistic and scientific issues and there they would have been kept informed of the latest opinions on a wide range of subjects.

If the buildings of Rome and Greece (knowledge of the latter aided by the publication of the work of Stuart and Revett in 1762)¹⁴ were to the fore in the minds of educated Scots proficient in the language and history of both these ancient civilisations, their Grand Tour experiences in Rome, in its environs and in neighbouring Campania, would have allowed them to see many examples of Egyptian and ‘Egyptian’ constructions and ornament. That these were silently subordinate, having no explanatory language with which to compete with Greek and Latin, and therefore ‘lurking in the background’, is aptly reflected in the illustration which provided the frontispiece to the third edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, printed in Edinburgh in 1788.¹⁵

¹¹ Daiches, D., *The Scottish Enlightenment* (Edinburgh: The Saltire Society, 1996). pp.12-13

¹² Daiches, D., *The Scottish Enlightenment*, and here, as a subsidiary, *A Hotbed of Genius* (Edinburgh: The Saltire Society, 1996). p.10

¹³ Glendinning, M., MacInnes, R., & MacKechnie, A., *A History of Scottish Architecture* (Edinburgh University Press, 1996). p.173.

¹⁴ Stuart, J., & Revett, N., *Antiquities of Athens* (London: J. Haberkorn, 1762-1830).

¹⁵ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 3rd Edition (Edinburgh: Editor and Printer C. McFarquhar, 1788).



Encyclopaedia Britannica.¹⁶

Figure 4.1 Frontispiece to the Encyclopaedia Britannica. 1788.

With a debate and discussion reminiscent of ‘The School of Athens’¹⁷ taking place in an area recalling Plato’s *Akademia* in the foreground, accompanied by a range of scientific equipment, maps and plans, the participants, whose garments suggest Classical attire, meet in front of a building of Classical architectural form, ornamented with statuary and crowned with busts, whilst overhead a balloon floats across the sky. That this newest scientific manifestation is

¹⁶ *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 3rd Edition. (Edinburgh: 1788). Frontispiece.

¹⁷ The famous oil painting was the work of Raphael in 1510-11.

placed in such proximity to the pyramids, typifies the breadth of this New Age of Learning and points forward to the Modern Age, marrying technical and scientific progress with a fascination with Antiquity. Here, the growing interest in Egypt takes its place amongst the classical references, even though the greater obscurity of factual detail is acknowledged by the siting of the three pyramids of Giza in the background. This Enlightenment passion for knowledge found written expression in the studies of one of the movement's central figures, James Burnett, Lord Monboddo (1714-99). His interest did not limit itself to the Greeks and, amongst his note-books, three contain many references to the Egyptians. It is, however a comment on the strongly classical bias of the Scottish educational system that, rather than turning to the 17th century writings of Greaves¹⁸, or the contemporary works of Pococke¹⁹ and Norden²⁰, his notebooks testify instead to his familiarity with the works of both Herodotus (c. 484 BC-c.425 BC) and Diodorus Siculus (First century BC).²¹ He recorded his views on 'The Arts invented by the Egyptians for the use of civil life',²² adding a description of the country in a further reference²³ from Classical sources.

Echoing the sentiments portrayed in the illustration above (Figure 4.1) in tangible form, an interest in Egypt's antiquities developed and one singular arrival of note was the mummy, presented by James Douglas, fourteenth Earl of Morton in 1748 to the Faculty of Advocates, "...the *de facto* national library of Scotland, at this time."²⁴ In its first catalogue of 1690 not a single book on Egyptian themes had appeared, but by the time that the second was issued in 1710, not only was the 'Sphinx mystagoga' of Athanasius Kircher²⁵ on its shelves, but the work of Greaves,²⁶ reporting on his visit to the country, and that of Vaillant²⁷ on the Ptolemies, accompanied it. There then followed in 1736, the full set of plates on Egyptian antiquities, produced in London by the Scot, Alexander Gordon (1692-1735).²⁸ Further early publications

¹⁸ Greaves, J., *Pyramidographia* (London: John Badger, 1646).

¹⁹ Pococke, R., *A Description of the East and some other countries* (London: J & R Knapton, 1743-45).

²⁰ Norden, F., *Travels in Egypt and Nubia* (London: L. Davis and C. Reymers. 1757).

²¹ MSS Notebook 24570. National Library of Scotland

²² MSS Notebook 24566. National Library of Scotland

²³ MSS Notebook 24562. National Library of Scotland This, the only dated example, is of 1789.

²⁴ Brown, I.G., *The Affair of Lord Morton's Mummy*. A Paper delivered at the Astene Conference, *Egypt through the Eyes of Travellers* (Edinburgh: 2002). p.95

²⁵ Kircher, Athanasius., *Sphinx mystagoga* (Amstelodami, ex officina Janssonio- Waesbergiana, 1676).

²⁶ Greaves, John., *Pyramidographia* (London: George Badger, 1646).

²⁷ Vaillant, Jean., *Historia Ptolemaeorum Aegypti Regum* (Ansteledami : Gallet)..

²⁸ Brown, I.G., *The Affair of Lord Morton's Mummy*, A paper delivered at the Astene Conference, *'Egypt through the Eyes of Travellers.'* (Edinburgh: 2002). p.102

also appear in the libraries of Scottish country houses, Newhailes containing, like the Advocates Library, a copy of Greaves' work.²⁹

Architecturally, Egypt made its first appearance in Scotland during this century at the magnificently designed and sited bridge at Aberfeldy, crowned by four obelisks and completed by William Adam for General Wade in 1733, to commemorate, with its ancient symbols, the completion of the General's new and modernising road system, whilst a similar union of ancient form and modern fabrication is to be found in the Bruce obelisk of 1785 in Larbert Cemetery: both the above combining respect for Antiquity with the emergence of commerce and industry.

Just as 'Egyptian' references proliferated in England's landscaped estates, so this was also a time when 'Egypt' appeared, if sparingly, in those of Scotland, being only one amongst many architectural references; which, in gardens such as that which surrounded Penicuik House, proliferated in a rich assortment, a further demonstration of the wide interest in the Picturesque which the Enlightenment provoked. Tait, in his work on Scottish Gardens, notes at the outset that: "The landscape garden in Scotland has been inevitably the poor relation of that of England" and yet continues by adding that: "As a child of the Edinburgh Enlightenment, the landscape garden was indeed very much part of the wider culture of North Britain."³⁰

Honour makes a valid and an often repeated further point on 'Egypt', specific to the garden: "It must not be supposed that the Egyptian buildings decorating the parks of many an English (Author: and Scottish) gentleman in the eighteenth century had, necessarily, any middle-eastern significance for their owners. The sphinx had come into European art by way of Greece and Rome, at the Renaissance."³¹ There is, indeed, much in what Honour says, but both the Ancient Romans as occupying conquerors of the land whence they removed them and the Romans of Renaissance times were aware of the origin of the obelisk, the pyramid and many other sculptured forms, adorned as they were with hieroglyphs, which Robert Adam recorded on the Egyptian examples at Spalatro.³²

Nor did Scotland lack its sphinxes – albeit there having also undergone the mediating influence of Greece – the first adorning the gate-piers of Shawfield House, Glasgow, built by Colen

²⁹ The Newhailes Library holds a copy of John Greaves 'Pyramidographia'. Shelfmark O218.1

³⁰ Tait, A., *The Landscape Garden in Scotland 1735-1835*. 1980. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1980). p.1 Introduction.

³¹ Honour, H. 'The Egyptian Taste', *Connoisseur Magazine*, London, 1955. Vol. C XXXV. p.243

³² These he could not translate, but must have understood their origin as the Romans did. That he chose to use the slender feminine Grecian form was an expression of his own taste and that of his clients.

Campbell (1676-1729) in 1711-12,³³ with Robert Adam including a veritable pack at Gosford House, and adorning the elegant north range of Charlotte Square with a pair of Grecian aspect in his design of 1791.

Whilst Rome was a rich source of Egyptian references, with Piranesi (1720-1778) as its greatest and most influential advocate,³⁴ Cairness House testifies to influences derived from France, where, especially after the mid-century, there was to develop a particular interest in the stark and unadorned nature of stereometric Egyptian forms. Whilst earlier French architects using these forms included Marc-Antoine Laugier (1713-1769), Claude Nicholas Ledoux (1736-1806) and Etienne-Louis Boullée (1728-99), there the greatest influence academically was to arise from the work of Quatremère de Quincy (1755-1849). His views first appeared in his prize-winning essay, *De l'Architecture Égyptienne*, submitted to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres in 1785³⁵, and then in his 'Encyclopédie Méthodique' of 1788³⁶, with his influence increasing when he became Permanent Secretary to the Académie des Beaux Arts, and his approach, unlike Soane (below) was to remain fixedly doctrinaire. Thus, in addition to the Masonic 'Egyptian Rite' celebrated in Paris,³⁷ there was much in contemporary French thought to inform and influence James Playfair for his unique work at Cairness.

Amongst British architects Sir John Soane (1753-1837) had the most interesting relationship with Egyptian forms. A Freemason (he designed the council chamber at Freemasons Hall in London) his views were made public in a series of influential lectures given as Professor of Architecture at the Royal Academy from 1806.

Familiar with the work of a great many architectural theoreticians, Stevens maintains that: "The works perhaps most influential of all, on Soane's spatial vision, were the etchings of Piranesi, whom Soane had met in Rome in 1778,"³⁸ Watkin adding that: "Soane was more pre-occupied than any other British architect with the *Encyclopédistes* and the French Enlightenment."³⁹ In noting Soane's hostility to the decorative vogue of the current British Egyptian Revival, he

³³ The sphinx is believed to be of slightly later date. ALEX

³⁴ Piranesi is dealt with in detail, below.

³⁵ Quatremère de Quincy, A., The full essay title was, '*Quel fut l'état de l'architecture chez les Égyptiens et ce que les Grecs paroissent en avoir emprunté*'. It was finally published in 1803. (Paris, Barrois).

³⁶ Quatremere de Quincy, A., *Encyclopédie Méthodique* (Liege: Pancoucke et Plombeaux, 1788)

³⁷ Celebrated from 1780 by 'Count' Cagliostro.

³⁸ Richardson, M., & Stevens, M., (eds.) *John Soane Architect – Master of Space and Light* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1999). p.16

³⁹ Watkin, D., *Sir John Soane. Enlightenment Thought and the Royal Academy Lectures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p.1.

demonstrates that the architect still finds things to praise in Egyptian buildings quoting his comment that: “at Luxor is a temple (of Amenhotep III) far exceeding the buildings already spoken of; it is a wonderful proof of the perseverance and industry of the Egyptians and also of the sublimity of their ideas,”⁴⁰ adding later that: “ It is impossible not to be impressed with the grandeur and magnitude so peculiar in the works of the Egyptians in general.” Not only did Soane produce designs using Egyptian forms, of which the pyramid below is an example⁴¹, but his architectural curiosity is marked both by his acquisition of a papyrus capital from Robert Adam’s collection⁴², and also of the magnificent sarcophagus of Seti I, which can still be seen on



Carrott⁴³

Figure 4. 2 An Egyptian garden temple, John Soane, 1778.

the lowest floor of his former home at Lincoln’s Inn Fields, London. There, its presence seems to pervade the whole house, confirming Soane’s sensitive awareness of the atmosphere which attached itself to Egyptian architecture and of its Sublime quality, and emphasising that Soane’s is an aesthetic response influenced by the mysticism of his Freemasonic membership.

Scotland’s most celebrated architect of the period remains Robert Adam and whilst Egypt is never at the heart of his subsequent buildings, his awareness of its forms is indicated both in his substantial archive of drawings, made whilst at Rome, and in his detailed publication on Spalatro. King makes a valid point when he comments on both Robert and his brother James

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* p.549

⁴¹ Soane, J., *Designs in Architecture* (London. 1778). pl. xxv

⁴² The capital had been obtained by Adam from Piranesi.

⁴³ Carrott, R.G., *The Egyptian Revival*. (Los Angeles: The University of California Press, 1978). Illustration 9 (no page number).

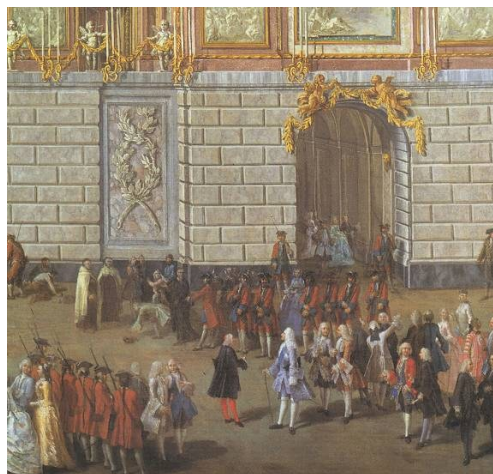
that: "...they had been able to seize the beautiful spirit of antiquity and transfuse it with 'novelty and variety' into their numerous works,"⁴⁴ thus echoing that eclectic blend of the Antique shown in the *Encyclopedia's* illustration above.

It was to be left to the knowledge that the scholars accompanying the Napoleonic campaign commenced in 1798, both assembled and published, which, for the first time, and at the start of the 19th century, revealed the details of Egypt's architecture and ornament with unparalleled accuracy, and soon thereafter, that the translation of the Rosetta stone gave voice to its intentions.

The Grand Tour.

Skinner writes that the Grand Tour: "...signals the spirit of intellectual and physical revival...that heralded the Scottish cultural revival from 1750 onwards."⁴⁵

In addition to the architectural and artistic delights, another attraction of Rome was a political one, notably for Scottish Tories, for it was in March 1717 that the exiled Stuarts, having become an inconvenience to the French, arrived in Italy as guests of the Pope, settling permanently in Rome at the Palazzo Muti in 1719.⁴⁶



The National Portrait Gallery.

Figure 4.3 The Old Pretender James VIII, receiving guests at the Palazzo Muti.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ King, D., *The Complete Works of Robert & James Adam* (Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, 1991). p.1

⁴⁵ Skinner, B., *Scots in Italy in the 18th century* (Edinburgh: Trustees of the National Galleries of Scot). p.1.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* p.3

⁴⁶ (Edinburgh: Trustees of the National Galleries of Scotland).

⁴⁷ The illustration is a detail from a painting by an unknown artist, which is currently in the National Portrait Gallery of Scotland.

Around this court in exile gathered Jacobite Scots, many of whom would introduce their visiting fellow countrymen into Roman society, would act as their *cicerone* and would find for the collectors amongst them antiques and works of art, which the visitors, with well-lined pockets, could afford, and which would enrich their country houses, and so enhance their cultural status. The list of Scottish aristocrats who made their tours both in the 18th and 19th centuries is an extensive one,⁴⁸ the Roman stay complementing an education which had been based on, and often confined almost exclusively to, the Classics, Greek and Latin. Their numbers were augmented by Scottish artists, Allan Ramsay, Gavin Hamilton, David Allan and Alexander Nasmyth being amongst those who visited Rome in the 18th century, the numbers increasing markedly after.

Robert Adam, Grand Tourist.

Robert Adam has been selected (1728-1792), not so much as the archetype of the Grand Tourist, nor simply because he was an architect, or even for the massive archive of drawings which he made and caused to be made by a team of extraordinary talent, led by the artist Charles-Louis Clérissseau (1721-1820),⁴⁹ and for the pictures and antiquities which he accumulated,⁵⁰ but also for the considerable correspondence which remains in various archives.⁵¹

Whilst subsequent references to Egypt in his built works are extremely rare, in his sketches of his stay in Rome, they frequently appear. His likeliest entry would have been through the Piazza del Popolo, with a striking Egyptian obelisk dominating its centre; the following drawing, from the 9,600 sketches and drawings to be found in the Soane Museum⁵² is of that Piazza.

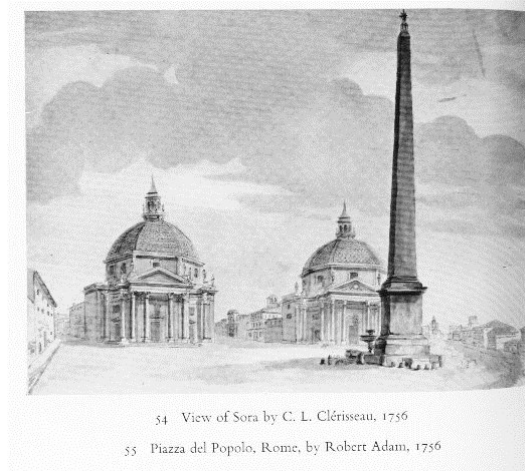
⁴⁸ Ingamells, J., *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy 1701-1800* (London: Yale University Press, 1997).

⁴⁹ To Clérissseau was added Laurent Pecheux (1729-1821), an artist of considerable ability and the acquaintance of the two best regarded painters of portraits, Pompeo Batoni (1708-1787) and Anton Raphael Mengs (1728-1779) and two draftsmen, Agostino Brunias and Laurent-Benoit Dewez.

⁵⁰ Including an 'Egyptian', or if we are to believe Lanciani (see above) an Egyptian capital, now in the Soane Museum. Curl disagrees and clearly names it as a Roman version of a papyrus capital on p.37, of his book *The Egyptian Revival*.

⁵¹ Those in the National Archive in Edinburgh are extremely extensive.

⁵² This is the Sir John Soane Museum, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London.



Robert Adam⁵³

Figure 4.4 The Egyptian obelisk in the Piazza del Popolo, erected in 1589 on the instruction of Pope Sixtus V.⁵⁴

Of greater significance and demonstrating that its strikingly sited obelisk must have commanded his attention is that he drew it himself, the drawing dating to 1756. In addition, in the Sir John Clerk Collection, there is a drawing of the Pantheon, produced in 1756, fronted by an obelisk, and again from Robert Adam's own hand. With the attention which his records draw to this and various other obelisks, none can be guaranteed as being designed by him on his return to Britain, and, stranger still, in view of his stay in Rome, none was proposed by him for an urban setting. Since he was enthusiastic to play a leading part in the reconstruction of Lisbon after the earthquake of 1755, it is noteworthy that obelisks are absent from his preliminary sketches.

One might conclude that although the stark form of the obelisk had no direct appeal to the architect in Adam, he recorded it to acknowledge its importance as part of the unrolling tapestry of history, just as the *Encyclopaedia* acknowledged the pyramids, above, in its illustration (Figure 4.1).

One of the dominant architectural figures at Rome was, undoubtedly, Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720-1778) who was to become a significant influence and an intimate member of Adam's circle. As Brown writes, it was to be: "the imaginative power of Piranesi's engravings...that

⁵³ Fleming, J., *Robert Adam and his Circle* (London: John Murray, 1962). Ill. 55. p. opp. p. 203

⁵⁴ The obelisk of the 13th or 12th c. BC was brought to Rome by Augustus and was one of two originally erected in the Circus Maximus.

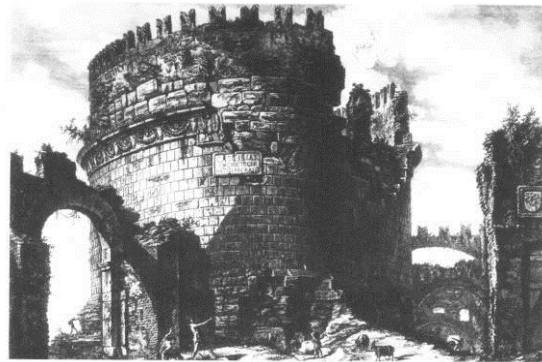
inspired Adam's bravura designs,"⁵⁵ and that same Piranesi who was to give much publicity to Egyptian ornament, especially in his book *Diverse maniere d'adornare i cammini* of 1769⁵⁶.

That Piranesi injected a lasting influence of the Sublime into Robert Adam's mind is demonstrated by the drama he has introduced into the drawing, below, of Cullen House dated by the Print Department of the National Galleries of Scotland to 'around 1780', which has taken a low angle, similar to that used by Piranesi, to give added drama to an already dramatic setting.



National Galleries of Scotland

Figure 4.5 Cullen House, Banffshire, 'around 1780', by Robert Adam



Borley⁵⁷

Figure 4.6 The Mausoleum of Caecilia Metella. G. Piranesi.

He, as so many other Grand Tourists, could not resist the act of purchase and he notes that: "I have to make more of being here than anybody would imagine, walking four or five miles every day, through glorious antiquities..." adding that he is buying: "antique ornaments, books of architecture, views of Piranesi⁵⁸...antiquities of capitals⁵⁹ (one of Egyptian form which he was to buy from Piranesi himself).⁶⁰

⁵⁵ Brown I., *The Grand Tour* (Edinburgh: Europa Nostra, 2007) p. 94. *Italy and the making of Robert Adam*.

⁵⁶ Piranesi, G., *Diverse maniere d'adornar ei cammini* (Rome: Salomini, 1769).

⁵⁷ Borley, L., (ed.) *The Grand Tour* (Scotland?: Europa Nostra, 2008). Taken from Piranesi's *Vedute di Roma* of 1756.

⁵⁸ It is significant that he specifically mentions Piranesi, with whom his intimacy was to increase and who was an enthusiastic proponent of the sublime and of 'Egyptianesque' themes in his illustrations.

⁵⁹ Curl, J.S., *The Egyptian Revival* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005). p.37. This is closely similar in appearance to the one referred to above.

⁶⁰ This can today be seen in the Sir John Soane Museum, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London.



Curl J.S.

Figure 4.7 Illustration of a papyriform capital from the Isaeum Campense.⁶¹

Piranesi was in these early days a member of the circle which included Allan Ramsay, the Scottish artist. Ramsay participated in Adam's sketching parties, as the latter prepared drawings intended to add lustre to his name throughout the architectural world – in his updated and improved answer to Desgodetz's survey of Roman monuments of the previous century, which work he was never to complete.⁶² At first, Piranesi held both Ramsay and Adam in the highest regard – so much so, that on one of his engravings of tombs along the Appian Way, he introduced both their names onto tombstones. That friendship and mutual regard did not prevent them from taking very different standpoints in a debate which divided the architectural world.

The Greek-Roman Debate.

Robert Adam found himself at the epicentre of a conflict which now bitterly divided his two associates, Piranesi and Ramsay, the former at the hub of the dispute in which he and the art historian, J. J. Winckelmann (1717-1768) were the principal protagonists.

This dispute, concerning art in general, was only one of the many and varied subjects which came to be questioned in a century searching for new interpretations of knowledge, that constant theme at the heart of the Enlightenment, and Robert Adam's stay in Rome occurred as the profoundly fought contest surfaced, questioning the relative merits and superiority of the arts of Greece and Rome. Ramsay and Piranesi took up deeply entrenched positions, with the latter a

⁶¹ The capital is now in the Museo Greg. Egypt in Rome and is numbered 77.

⁶² Desgodetz A. B., *Les edifices antiques de Rome dessinés et mesurés très exactement* (Paris: 1682). It should be noted that Desgodetz work's significance lay in the fact that it directly worked on the monuments of Rome without the intermediary of the classic interpretations of Vitruvius, Serlio, Palladio or Vignola.

vigorous proponent of Rome and the Etruscans,⁶³ whilst Ramsay favoured the Greeks. It must have been a particular shock to Piranesi, who, in his ‘Antichita Romane’ had not only eulogised Adam as: “a most superior architect,” but, in addition, had gone on to commend Ramsay as an: “...eminent Scottish painter renowned for his abilities in all the liberal arts,”⁶⁴ only to discover that Ramsay, in his *A Dialogue on Taste*⁶⁵ of 1755, praised the superiority both of Greek civilisation and of Greek architecture and denigrated that of Rome.

One should note, that Ramsay did acknowledge that Greece had borrowed from Egypt, writing: “The Egyptians were the first people we know of who were so rich and at their ease as to build with grandeur, cost and neatness; and from thence inspired the Greeks with a love of those ornaments which they had added to the useful part of their architecture.” Further, he adds of the Romans that they were: “a gang of mere plunderers sprung from those who had been, but a little while before their conquest of Greece, naked thieves and runaway slaves.”⁶⁶ The principal standard bearer for the Greek cause was Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717-1768), the German art historian, and: “The prophet and founding hero of modern archaeology,”⁶⁷ who, never visiting Greece himself, produced in 1755 his *Thoughts on the Imitation of Greek Works in Painting and Sculpture*. In this he maintained that Greek architecture was invested with ‘noble simplicity and serene greatness’, adding that the Greeks had copied nature and that the Romans had copied the Greeks.

At that time, there were no measured drawings of Greek buildings, although visits had been made to Greece, and examples of its antiquities collected, but it was not until 1758 that the first drawings of Ancient Greek buildings appeared. These were from the French architect Julian David LeRoy (1724-1803) who was to publish in that year his measured survey of examples of Greek architecture, entitled *Les Ruines des plus beaux monuments de la Grèce*, itself to be followed by the first volume of Stuart and Revett’s *The Antiquities of Athens* in 1762.⁶⁸ These works aroused great enthusiasm for Greek Architecture and Piranesi, taking the opposite view, namely that Roman architecture had the greater significance, then produced in 1761 his

⁶³ Robert Adam was to make frequent use of Etruscan motifs in his interiors e.g., at Osterley Park.

⁶⁴ Wiebenson D., *Sources of Greek Revival Architecture* (London: A. Zwemmer, 1969).

⁶⁵ Ramsay, A., *Dialogue on Taste* 1755. (London: A. Millar, 1752). p.36.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* p.40

⁶⁷ Boorstin, D.J., *The Discoverers* (New York: Random House, 1983). p.584

⁶⁸ Stuart, J., & Revett, N., *The Antiquities of Athens*. (London: John Haberkorn and John Nichols, 1762).

counterblast, in the form of his *'Della magnificenza ed architettura de' Romani'*⁶⁹, whose title clearly proclaims its message. Wiebenson notes that Piranesi: "belittled Greek architecture for lack of monumentality and excessive ornamentation..." adding: "that the Romans corrected the faults of the Greek art they used."⁷⁰ Further, he returned Ramsay's observations on 'slaves' by observing in his turn that only Greek slaves practised architecture in Rome.⁷¹ In his second major work on interior ornament, *'Diverse maniere d' adornare I cammini'*, he produced a different argument: "aimed at demonstrating the derivation of Etrusco-Roman architecture from Egypt,"⁷² and thus completely by-passing the Greeks. In 1764, Winckelmann responded with his *History of Ancient Art*, which, written in German, was to become a classic work on its theme.

Although Ramsay had acknowledged Egypt as the original inspiration of Classical architecture in Europe, it was Piranesi, who in addition to his introduction of Egyptian designs in his *'Diverse maniere'* went further, with many of his scenic illustrations introducing a new force into architecture which, by magnifying and dramatising scale, demonstrated both the element of the sublime⁷³ and a new freedom and eclecticism which were to have a profound effect across Europe. The stereometric forms, which were soon to make their way through Neoclassicism and on into the architecture of the Industrial Revolution, were hardly precise in their interpretation of Egypt, but there was about them an immediate indication of the 'Egyptianesque'.⁷⁴

The widening debate continued to resonate, but in that architectural credo which Robert and James Adam were to express in the preface to their publication *The Works in Architecture* in 1778, they acknowledged that architecture was progressing (and perhaps implying, thereby, that they bore the major responsibility for this), they wrote: "We flatter ourselves that we have been able to seize... the beautiful spirit of antiquity and to transfuse it with novelty and variety...our ancestors relinquishing the Gothic style began to aim at an interpretation of the Grecian manner until it attained that degree of perfection at which it has now arrived."⁷⁵ They had understood that the rules of architecture were there to serve and to guide, not to limit and to constrain, and

⁶⁹ Piranesi, G., *Della magnificenza ed architettura de' Romani* (Rome, 1761).

⁷⁰ Wiebenson D. *Sources of Greek Revival Architecture*. (London. A.Zwemmer, 1969) p.47

⁷¹ *Ibid*

⁷² Ipek. F. *Piranesi between Classical and Sublime*. 2007. METU JFA (24:1). p. 30

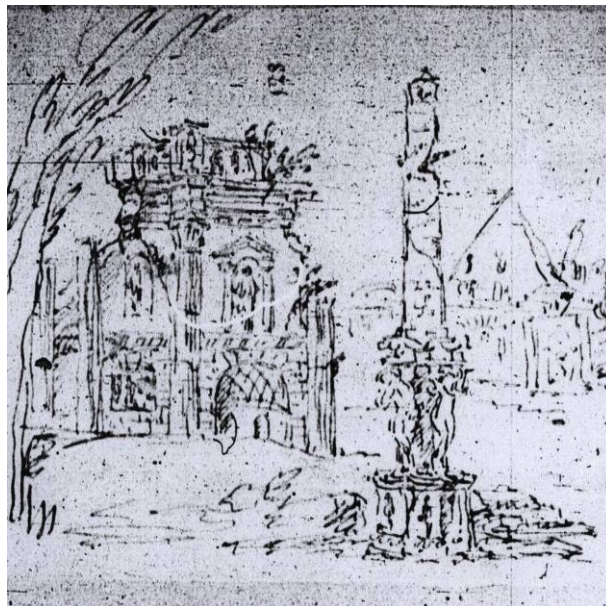
⁷³ This extra dimension of architectural drama may best be noticed in Robert Adam's work in the oil paintings by Alexander Nasmyth at Culzean Castle. See that house in 'Country Houses'.

⁷⁴ Examples would be the Forge à Canons of C-N Ledoux or the Bute Ironworks at Rhymney, both illustrated below.

⁷⁵ Adam, R., & Adam J., *The Works in Architecture* (London: Peter Elmsly, 1778), Introduction.

the work continued: “The great masters of antiquity were not so rigidly scrupulous, they varied the proportions as the general spirit of their composition required... rules often cramp the genius and circumscribe the ideas of the master.”⁷⁶

Although extremely sparing in his use of its forms, the attention which he paid to the liberal recording of Egyptian themes, both in Italy and at Spalatro, shows Adam’s respect for Egypt’s place in the architecture of Antiquity by appearing as *capricci*, and the sketch below, in combining architecture from different periods, seems once more to represent his personal vision of unrolling combination of ‘Antiquity’.



The Sir John Soane Collection⁷⁷

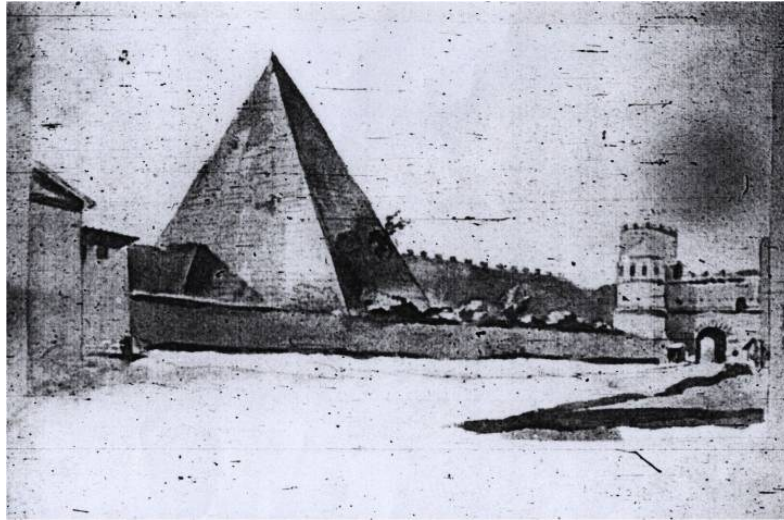
Figure 4. 8 A Capriccio of an Obelisk, with an outline of a pyramid in the background (Note the much looser hand).

However enthusiastic, perhaps the fixed and inalienable form of the obelisk simply did not appeal to an architect who preferred to blend and combine element into compositions of

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* p.7

⁷⁷ Book 57, No. 123

architectural elegance. In addition, had he sought to use them as focal points in the urban landscape,⁷⁸ neither he nor any architect working in Scotland was to find them accepted there.⁷⁹ By the time of Robert Adam's visit, only the celebrated Pyramid of Gaius Cestius remained in Rome, close to the English Cemetery there. It features frequently, from various hands, in Adam's sketchbooks, the one below, confirming his interest, is acknowledged as being from his own.



The Soane Collection⁸⁰

Figure 4.9 The Pyramid of Gaius Cestius of around 12BC, from the hand of Robert Adam.

As an extension to the portrayal of the whole animal, lions' heads are an Egyptian theme developed in Rome⁸¹ and its environs, and echoed in Scotland. Robert Adam, who was to find and record lions at Spalatro, had already shown interest in them, writing: "I have already picked up some antique vases, an antique altar and some lions' heads."⁸² It was at Spalatro that he was also to encounter and record sphinxes of Egyptian provenance, in which weighty form, he would never employ them in his works.

⁷⁸ One might point to Charlotte Square as a possible site.

⁷⁹ See, as example, James Craig's proposal below and that of W. H. Playfair in the 19th century chapter.

⁸⁰ The Sketch is from Book 57, Illustration 54

⁸¹ The Egyptians, whilst using the lions as ornamental gutter spouts, allowed the water to flow between the animals' extended paws. The Romans, with their more advanced technology, were able to make the lions spout water through their mouths.

⁸² Letter GD 18/4768 from Rome, dated 22 March 1755.

The lion and the lion's mask, used widely throughout Scotland from the 18th to the 20th century occurs only with the greatest rarity in Robert Adam's work and then only in his furniture.

‘The Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro’.⁸³

In addition to the many references to Egyptian themes in his sketchbooks and with his realisation, as he grew evermore conscious of the time he had already taken out of his career, that his original plan to issue his own publication covering all the important monuments of Ancient Rome was impossible, Adam decided that a new scheme was required. For this he selected as a subject in 1757, the ruins of the Emperor Diocletian’s Palace at Spalatro, monumental, in scale, yet a domestic building. It was around this same time in a letter to his family that he intimated that he would have liked to extend his travels and even: ‘looked wishfully at Egypt and the Holy Land’,⁸⁴ the only mention of that desire in all his correspondence, yet a wish repeated and also left unfulfilled by his brother James. This desire seems in no way central to his ambitions, but with interest being shown in Greece, the repetition of Desgodetz’s theme may no longer have been enough and at Spalatro he could launch an original study, previously unreported, with the advantage that the site had an accessibility and proximity with which Egypt could not compete. It was of further assistance that the Commander in Chief of the Venetian forces was an old Scottish friend⁸⁵ which helped him to overcome military restrictions. Finding a comfortable house and aided by Clérisseau, he stayed from mid-July until August 28th, 1757, having obtained specific permission to remain there for five weeks, before returning to Venice where the engraving of the plates for the book were placed in the hands of Francesco Bartolozzi, Antonio Zucchi and Paolo Santini.

The Emperor Diocletian (244-311) like his predecessor, Hadrian, had chosen to ornament his palace with trophies removed from Rome’s possessions abroad, amongst which were a number of sphinxes, several detailed drawings of which were to be included in Adam’s work. The frontispiece chosen seems once more to reflect that span of antiquity already

⁸³ Adam R., *The Ruins of the Palace of Diocletian at Spalatro* (London: The Author, 1764).

⁸⁴ Fleming, J., *Robert Adam and his Circle* (London: John Murray, 1962). p.235

⁸⁵ William Graeme of Bucklivie.



Plate 1. F. Bartolozzi

Figure 4.10 Frontispiece from ‘The Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro’.

shown in sketches made in Rome, with the sphinx counterbalancing classical features and on the right a pedestal which might hint at either a commemorative obelisk or column.

If the sphinx which appears above seems to represent Antiquity in general, the central image on plate LX, below, clearly indicates the name of Amenhotep III (1386-1349 BC), confirming it as one of the acquisitions which marked Rome’s imperial conquests.



Plate LV. Bartolozzi

Figure 4. 11 A sphinx from *The Ruins of the Palace of Diocletian at Spalatro*

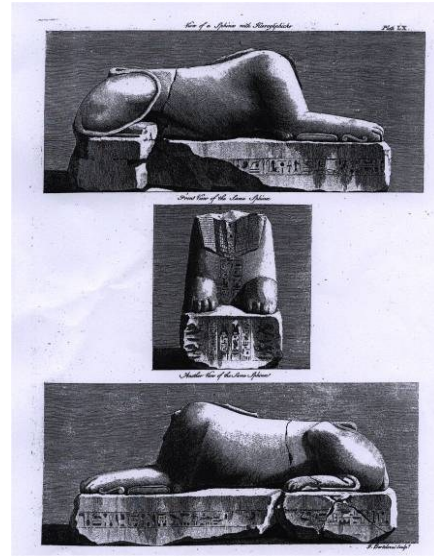


Plate LX, Bartolozzi

Figure 4. 12 Three views of a damaged sphinx from *The Ruins of the Palace of Diocletian at Spalatro*.

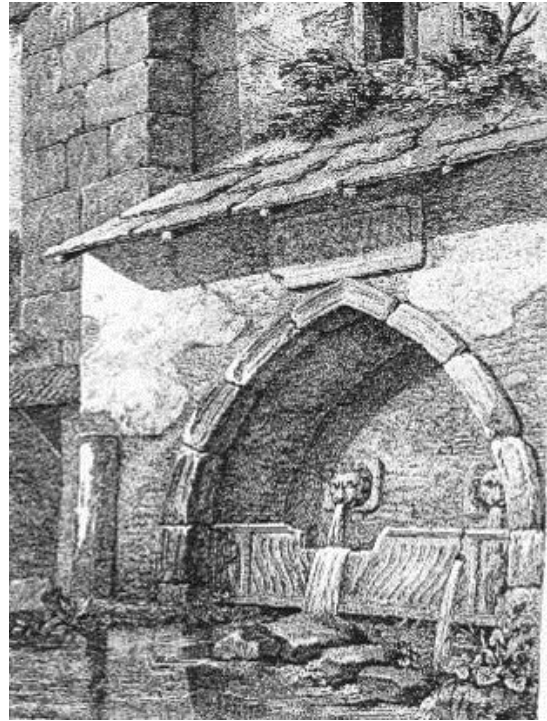
The above plate indicates that the sphinx is marked in hieroglyphs *neb maat re* Amenhotep III (1386-1349BC).

These two plates confirm that Adam was aware of the true form of the Egyptian sphinx. Another beast of Egyptian origin which he records at Spalatro is the lion, both entire and used as a mask.



Plate L. F. Bartolozzi

Figure 4.13 Recumbent Lion from the *The Ruins of the Palace of Diocletian at Spalatro*



F. Bartolozzi.

Figure 4.14 Plate LXI. *The Ruins of the Palace of Diocletian at Spalatro*⁸⁶

Having chosen to concentrate on Robert Adam’s Grand Tour, that of James might be considered as an anticlimax. Nevertheless it achieved important objectives on Robert’s behalf. First on his arrival in Venice on June 25th 1760, James found that Clérisseau had not succeeded in persuading Bartolozzi, Zucchi and Santini to occupy themselves with the plates required for ‘*Spalatro*’ and proceeded to ensure that it was ready for publication in 1764.

He exhibited an even stronger desire to visit Egypt than his brother, but his plans, too, were never realized, although his draughtsman, George Richardson, does mention, in writing to a friend, the words: “...our voyage to the Levant...”⁸⁷ but Egypt receives no specific reference.

Remarkably, this intention is clearly noted by J.J. Winckelmann who, according to Wiebenson: “speaks with great enthusiasm of the forthcoming publication of the Palace of Diocletian at

⁸⁶ Adam, R., *The Ruins of the Palace of Diocletian at Spalatro* (London: The Author, 1764). Plate LXI. The designs for the engravings were done by various artists in Robert Adam’s employ, especially by Clerisseau and Zucchi. The production of the plates, superintended by James Adam, who had no part in the original idea for the work, was achieved by repeated visits to Venice.

⁸⁷ This is from a letter to his friend Archibald Shiells, of 11th July, 1761.

Spalatro⁸⁸ and then adds that he had written to a friend that he was invited to join James on his visit, *inter alia*, to Egypt. ⁸⁹ James, whilst undoubtedly less industrious than his brother, also had an eye for the value of a contact and Winckelmann, who in 1764 was to be appointed Commissioner of Antiquities for Rome, was the key to a host of useful opportunities, and in Rome James brought to fruition plans for the purchase of the collection of drawings of outstanding importance owned by Cardinal Albani, which still forms one of the largest and most interesting sections of the Royal Collection at Windsor.

When in 1764 there appeared in London the finally printed illustrations of Spalatro, not only was the subscription list liberally supported by the Great and the Good (The Duke of Buccleuch purchasing three copies of the work and the Marquis of Bute, ten), but the title page read: *The Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia*. R. Adam, FRS, FSA. Architect to the King and to the Queen’.

Robert Adam had arrived!

Examples of Structures of Egyptian Origin in Robert Adam’s Work.

Pyramids are to be found and proposed in his work, no doubt owing their slender form to that of Gaius Cestius at Rome, one being constructed as a gateway at Nostell Priory in Yorkshire in 1776, on which Winpenny comments that, as with many of Adam’s constructions⁹⁰: “...its flanking walls were intended to be terminated with sphinxes...”⁹¹

⁸⁸ Wiebenson, D., *Greek Revival Architecture* (London: A. Zwemmer, 1969). p.114

⁸⁹ Winckelmann, J., J., from his correspondence 1952-57II, Berlin. 237-8. “...Der Verfasser ist Adam, ein junger und sehr reicher Engländer” and adds that: “Es stehet derselbe im Begriff, auf seine Kosten eine Reise nach Griechenland, durch die ganze Levante und durch Aegypten zu thun.” Adding: “Ich konnte sein Gefährte sein, wenn ich wollte.”

⁹⁰ It is claimed and discussed below that sphinxes were also intended to flank the Mausoleum Adam designed for his friend David Hume, which see below.

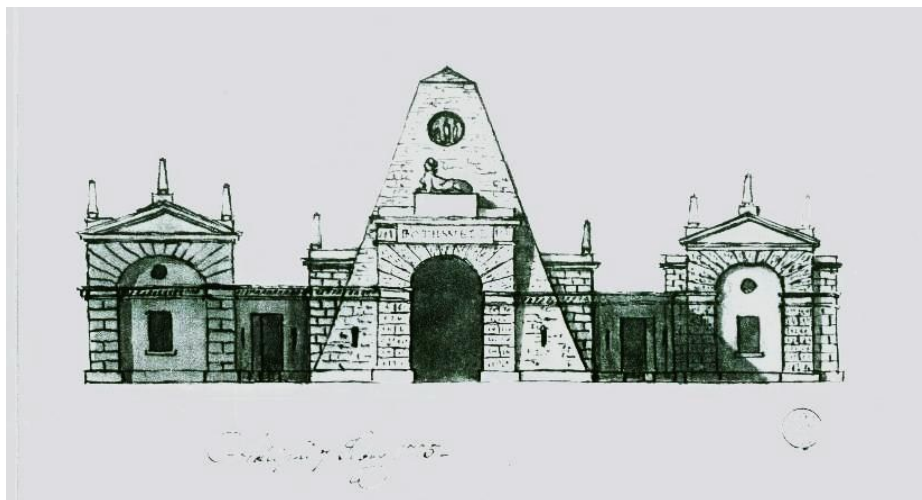
⁹¹ Winpenny, D., *Up to a Point* (York: Sessions of York, 2009) p.35



David Winpenny

Figure 4.15 The 'Obelisk Lodge' Gate, Nostell Priory, Yorkshire, Robert Adam, 1776.

Of similar outline, Robert Adam produced this more ambitious, but unrealised, proposal, (shown below) for Bothwell Castle, Lanarkshire, its pavilions essentially Vanbrughian in style, with a roofline ornamented with pinnacle/obelisks, and its central arch crowned with a sphinx..⁹²



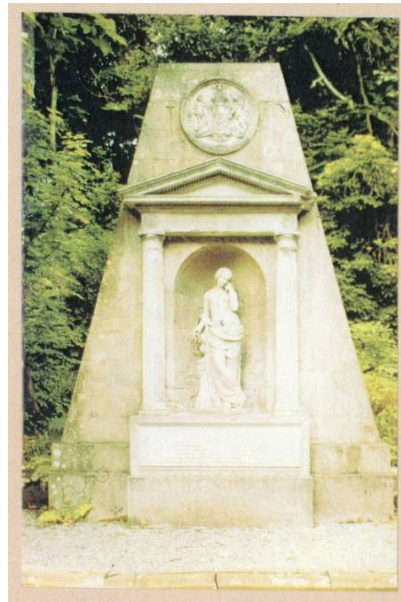
From the Sir John Soane Museum, Vol. 21. No.167.

Figure 4.16 A gateway design, proposed for Bothwell Castle, Lanarkshire.

⁹² Fleming J., *Robert Adam and his Circle* (London: John Murray, 1962). p.91 illustrates an image of Robert Adam's early sketch of just such a pavilion.

That the pavilions are reminiscent of Vanbrugh (1664-1726) is in no way surprising since he is one of the few architects to be mentioned with approval in the Robert and James Adam's architectural credo quoted above, but these restricted applications are modest when compared to the three confident examples of pyramids which Vanbrugh's colleague Nicholas Hawksmoor (1661-1736) had already raised at Castle Howard in the 1720s.⁹³

A unique example of Adam's use of a commemorative pyramid, constructed in Scotland, was built as the background to a monument to the third Earl of Glasgow at Kelburn, Strathclyde in 1775. Much used in Renaissance Rome, Curl seems to accept Bernini as the originator of this truncated style, which had not been without its critics.⁹⁴



King⁹⁵

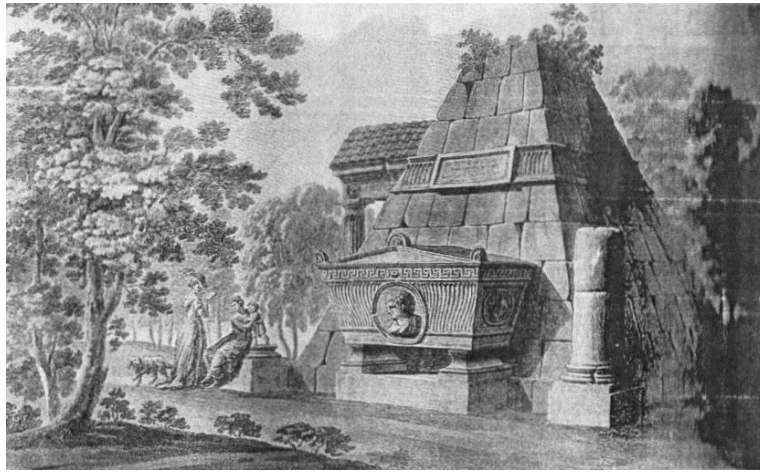
Figure 4.17 The Monument to the Earl of Glasgow at Kelburn Castle.

⁹³ Winpenny, D., *Up to a Point* (York: Sessions of York, 2009). pp.27-31. The pyramids at Castle Howard are three in number and of variety. The small pyramid in Pretty Wood, designed in 1720, is modest, whilst the Great Pyramid of 1728 dominates the crest of a hill, and finally and the one seems to have inspired Robert Adam is the Carmire Gate of 1730.

⁹⁴ Curl, J.S., *A Celebration of Death* (London: Constable, 1980) p.130. Curl is, in fact quoting the opinion of J.H. Markland, which he seems to accept. This use of the pyramid was vehemently criticised in the 19th century by Markland in *Remarks on English Churches* (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1843) p.59. In naming Bernini as the likely originator, he goes on to add : "The representation of a building, intended from its immense size...to last thousands of years, indicated by a little slab of marble, an inch thick...does appear to be the very climax of absurdity."

⁹⁵ King, D., *The Complete Works of Robert and James Adam* (Oxford. Butterworth-Heinemann 1991). p.370

In England, he was also to propose a commemorative pyramid, based on the Roman example, dating to 1779, for his friend and neighbour, the actor David Garrick.



King⁹⁶

Figure 4.18 Proposed monument of 1779 for David Garrick.

The decorative themes of Robert Adam, have, according to some writers, proved more significant than his architecture, Daiches writing that: “The classical and renaissance motifs that he adapted as decorative, using them on ceilings, walls, carpets and other furnishings have had an even more enduring influence than his architectural designs....”⁹⁷ That decorative repertoire included classical themes and motifs of Egyptian origin, his sources mirroring, to a large extent, those of his contemporary, Josiah Wedgwood (1730-1795), of whom, Mankowitz writes of his Black Basalts, introduced in 1767, that it was sold as: “so-called Egyptian ware,”⁹⁸ but nominating in addition both Etruscan and Graeco-Roman styles. In this neo-classical period, decorative references were of the widest. Adam having encountered Egypt in a Roman setting of magnificent Renaissance and Baroque buildings had rejected its most prolific monumental Egyptian gesture, the obelisk, and subjected all the others to his own personal interpretation.

The library which survived him, in spite of his written comment to his sister Margaret

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* p.264

⁹⁷ Daiches, D., *The Scottish Enlightenment 1730-1790* (Edinburgh: The Saltire Society, 1996). p.10. Further detailed reference to Adam’s use of Egyptian decorative themes in interiors and furniture is made in ‘Country Houses – Culzean’ in this work.

⁹⁸ Mankowitz. W., *Wedgwood* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1980). p.103

(above) concerning his acquisition of Piranesi's work, did not include that publication when it was offered for sale at the time of the financial problems caused by the Adelphi speculation. Indeed little is to be found amongst the 218 lots relevant to the subject of Egypt. Lot 79: "A bound volume in vellum, containing 405 engravings of Egyptian and Roman antiquities, architecture, friezes, chasings etc.", is the only direct reference to the country, save in the titles of some religious prints.⁹⁹ The purchase in 1833 of Adam's drawings by Sir John Soane for £200 remains the clearest evidence of the obelisks, pyramid and the *capricci*, which were brought back to Britain to be his archive and to inform his work, and their purchase, together with the 'Egyptian' capital from the Isaeum Campense, confirms the depth of Soane's interest and absorption with Egypt's place in Antiquity.

18th Century Scottish Country Houses, Their Gardens and Their Other References to Egypt.

The results of the Grand Tour and the growing wealth of Scotland witnessed a spate of country house building, and those represented here each offer a different example of Egyptian references. However it should be stated at the outset that none of the houses visibly resembles an Egyptian construction – even Cairness concealing, rather than putting on show, its fascinating Egyptian symbols, testament to the Masonic preoccupations of its owner. Whilst they could not rival in number or splendour those of its southern neighbour, opportunities from new trading ventures in tobacco, linen, cotton, slaves, the exploitation of Scotland's own mineral resources and the beginnings of the Industrial Revolution were seized on by enterprising Scots to provide the necessary funds, nor were professional men excluded.

At Auchinleck House (1755-59), the classically designed main block strongly resembles the 'Adam style'. However Eccles & Buchanan state that "Auchinleck is more likely to be an artisan house, designed by Lord Auchinleck himself in consultation with his master craftsmen."¹⁰⁰ The redoubtable Lord Auchinleck, to whom the extract refers, is Alexander Boswell, 8th Laird of Auchinleck (1707-1782), who was the father of the celebrated diarist, James Boswell (1740-1795), and a neighbour of the Earl of Dumfries at Dumfries House, which may have served as an inspiration.

⁹⁹ Watkin, D., *Sales Catalogues of the Libraries of Eminent Persons*. (London. Mansell/Sotheby's, 1974). Vol. 4

¹⁰⁰ Eccles, M., & Buchanan, D., *Auchinleck House* (Maidenhead: The Landmark Trust, 2001). p.3

His son, James Boswell, concluded his studies, with a Grand Tour, including Rome, in the mid 1760s, during which Lord Auchinleck wrote to his son in an attempt to interest him in architectural design: “I have some little buildings to make for some kind of offices near the house and have got home a good many stones for them but you shall assist in fixing the plan and situation of them so will have an opportunity of sharing your Italian taste...”.¹⁰¹ These ‘little buildings’ were to form functional bases for Boswell’s twin obelisks.

During his stay in Rome, Boswell would almost certainly have seen, as an example, the Villa Borghese, whose principal facade was ornamented with delicate and elegant paired obelisks drawn from the Renaissance decorative canon and these are more likely to have influenced him than the larger and solitary Egyptian ‘eye-catchers’ which were such a prominent part of the city’s plan.



Author

Figure 4.19 Boswell’s ‘architectural achievement’

Strange then, that as a memory of a Roman visit and with that city in the forefront of his thoughts, that as his acknowledgement of the experience with which his Grand Tour has culturally enriched him, he supervises in this pair a construction which owes more to the ponderous outline of the of Egyptian form and which may have been largely owing to the limitations imposed by the use of local labour.

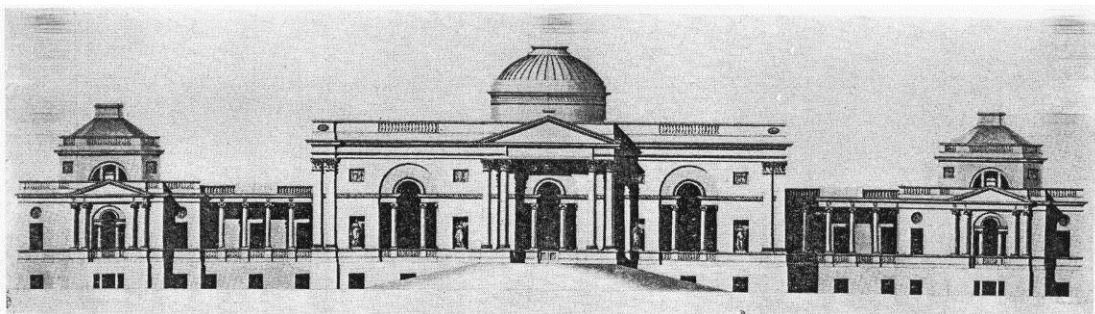
¹⁰¹ Eccles M., & Buchanan D., *Auchinleck House* (Maidenhead: The Landmark Trust, 2001). p.4



Author

Figure 4.20 Gosford, the East Façade, with sphinxes.

Occupying a site on the coastal plain at Gosford, the estate and house looking towards the waters of the Firth of Forth close at hand with the outbuildings being completed in 1785 and the mansion started in 1790, Hunt¹⁰² indicates that the purchase of the estate was brought about by the Earl's wish to be close to a golf course. If that were so, he had created a particularly grand building to fulfill that wish, a building conceived on such a palatial scale in a marine setting which seems to make its own reference to Diocletian's Palace at Spalatro.



Hunt J. Country Life Limited

Figure 4.21 Gosford, the Robert Adam Design for the West Front.

¹⁰² Hunt J., "Gosford, East Lothian", *Country Life*, October 21, 1971

Like Auchinleck above, themes of Ancient Egyptian origin, in no way central to its construction, are much in evidence at Gosford. With a wide range of ornament supplied by ‘Mrs’ Coad in many forms, plaques, applied foliate ornament and roundels, it is in its remarkable collection of sphinxes, of a fluid grace which indicates that they have passed through the refining hand of Greece, that Gosford House exceeds any other property in Scotland, and these proliferate both on the house and in the gardens, in different styles and of different materials. They are at least fourteen in number and without having been able to make a close inspection of the south side of the house, it would seem that the breakdown of the sphinxes is as follows.

The earliest would logically be those sphinxes on the stable building and coach house, completed by 1792, their chill white appearance indicating that they are of Coadestone.



Author

Figure 4.22 Gosford, one of the sphinxes on the stable building.

On the plinths which form the roofline of the side pavilion, they face each other, seated between pairs of classical urns.

Two sphinxes of the same white appearance flank the boathouse in the park (one now beheaded by vandals).

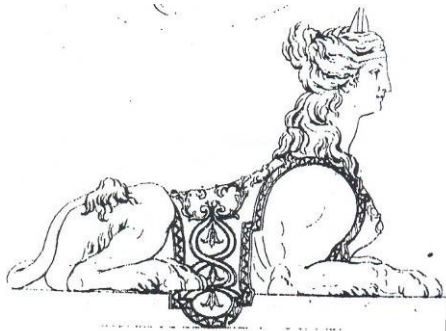


Author

Figure 4.23 Gosford, the ‘headless’ sphinx at the boathouse.

On the walls screening the present north entrance front to the house are four sphinxes, with four on the walls of the south courtyard, which latter it was not possible to examine. In the case of the former, the Dowager Countess of Wemyss confirmed that one was: “definitely of Coadestone” and moreover that: “It has shown much more resistance to the elements than its sandstone companions and its detail has remained sharp and crisp,”¹⁰³ endorsing the choice of Coadstone, not least in such an exposed situation.

That particular one, shown below with an ornamental saddle cloth, seems identical in style to one illustrated in the Coade catalogue.



National Library of Scotland¹⁰⁴

Figure 4.24 A sphinx from the Coadestone Catalogue.



RCAHMS¹⁰⁵.

Figure 4.25 A Coadestone Sphinx, from the North Courtyard, Gosford.

¹⁰³ These references were made in conversation during the writers visit.

¹⁰⁴ NLS. Ms. 134 Reel 9660 Sheet No.19

¹⁰⁵ RCAHMS EL/2620.

An entry in the Estate Account Book of 1780-1800, dated March 7th 1795, Item 7 reads: “Paid Mrs. Coade, ornamental stone manufacture at Lambeth for sphynx’s-£119-00.” How many, and which specific sphinxes, is not recorded. It would however appear that at least seven of the sphinxes are of Coadestone. Of these and the remaining wide selection of Coadestone decorative items supplied to Gosford House, Kelly confirms both that: “the Gosford Collection is unique,” and that: “it contains the whole range of Coade designs which he (Robert Adam) had used elsewhere”.¹⁰⁶ Kelly further confirms the close and continuous commercial relationship between Robert Adam and ‘Mrs’ Elinor Coade.

Just as lions adorn the western front of the central block, so the eastern face carries a pair of majestic, opposed sphinxes which are the two largest at Gosford. These each wear headdresses somewhat akin to the lappet wig¹⁰⁷ of a judge and are of identical form, although larger, to the two added by Robert Adam at Hopetoun House¹⁰⁸. The close-up photograph (below) shows that these sphinxes also have the crisp and white appearance of Coade-stone, and in their particularly exposed position and (with reference to the Countess of Wemyss comments above) by their present appearance are unlikely to be of natural and softer sandstone. Lady Wemyss further commented that payments were made to an Edinburgh carver, Robert Cummins in the 1790s for sphinxes in sandstone and these may refer to the three worn examples at the north entrance court. The co-operation with Mrs Coade may have been an attempt to cut costs, although expense at a house on the scale of Gosford does not appear to have been of primary consideration. Perhaps Adam, conscious of the wind-buffed situation of Gosford House, was acknowledging the durability of Coadestone for these decorative embellishments.

¹⁰⁶ Kelly, A., *Mrs Coade’s Stone* (Upton upon Severn: The Self Publishing Association 1990). p.75

¹⁰⁷ Humbert, M., *Egyptomania* Catalogue (Ottawa: The National Gallery of Canada, 1994). p. 21. If this headdress was ‘Mrs. Coade’s version of a *nemes* headdress, then, according to Jean Marcel Humbert, Curator at the Louvre in Paris that qualifies this type as properly ‘Egyptianising’.

¹⁰⁸ That sphinx is already shown, above, in this work.



RCAHMS.¹⁰⁹

Figure 4.26 The Sphinx with ‘Lappet’ Wig from the east front of Gosford House.

That Gosford was the site of the only mausoleum in 18th century Scotland truly to suggest the weight and solemnity of Egyptian forms is dealt with in Mausolea, below.

Raehills House (1782).

The Annandale family were to erect a most unusual mansion towards the end of the 18th century following their earlier visits to Europe, when they not only purchased art, antiquities and books, on an almost regal scale, including some that evinced an interest in Egypt.

In the family archive at Raehills, there are uniquely detailed records of the early Grand Tour undertaken by James, Marquess of Annandale in the years 1718-20, which are, in fact, an inventory of purchases, which¹¹⁰ commences with a list of an enormous number of pictures purchased in Italy, Holland and on his return to London.¹¹¹

Amongst specifically Egyptian references (p.31) is noted the purchase of ‘Dua obelischi’ (sic) at a cost of 3 scudi---00, whilst amongst a whole group of intaglios (p. 45) is noted, ‘A Head of Cleopatra on Agat.’ The price paid for the whole group was 10 Cron 50 Bi.

P.49 mentions: ‘The underpart of a tripod. Antient used in sacrifices, with five figures in Pas rolievs (sic) and heads of Jupiter Ammon on the corner pedestals. The whole of fine form: 2Scud---00’.

¹⁰⁹ RCAHMS EL/2621

¹¹⁰ From The Raehills Archive, commencing with Volume I.

¹¹¹ Skinner, B., *Scots in Italy in the 18th Century* (Edinburgh: The Trustees of the National Gallery of Scotland, 1966) p. 6 notes: “...Annandale returned to Scotland with one of the largest consignments of objects of art and antiquity ever brought home by a travelling collector. His account book enumerates over 300 paintings and drawings, as well as a whole library of books and innumerable classical marbles.”

The Marquess made a second visit to Europe in 1727-8 and, again purely from the inventory of purchases for there is no diary of adventures, meetings, conversations or impressions, there is a note (p.11, Vol. II) for April 14th 1727, confirming the purchase of: ‘Two large Egyptian idols in brass.... £50’, and ‘One lesser ...£20’. These purchases were made at Aix en Provence, which had been the home a century earlier of a celebrated antiquarian.¹¹²

This earlier family interest may have been a source of inspiration for Raehills, described as: “This outsize and stylistically bizarre villa,” by Gifford,¹¹³ writing of the mansion at Johnstone Bridge, Dumfries and Galloway, and certainly the house is hardly at ease with its contrasting architectural forms. That this assessment of the house is fully justified stems from its two-stage construction and the unfortunate combination of two unsympathetic styles. The first stage of building with Egyptian Revival details, constructed for James Earl of Hopetoun, was the work of Alexander Stevens and dates to 1782. Of this part, Gifford makes reference to the: “neo-Egyptian balustraded porch and also that: “A colonnade runs above the terrace round the bay, with neo-Egyptian columns at both levels”¹¹⁴. Unique in Stevens work, this contrasts strongly with a neighbouring example by the same architect, being the standard pedimented, classical, Monreith House¹¹⁵ built at Mochrum, also in Dumfries and Galloway, less than ten years later. Present day advertising of Raehills suggests on its website that: “The impressive four tiered mansion is said to have been based on an Italian villa seen by the Earl whilst on his Grand Tour.”¹¹⁶

Striking as is the effect of these tiered colonnades, the light and almost fluid sensation which they create is not in harmony with the over-enthusiastically machicolated south front, extended in 1829-34 by William Burn (1789-1870, for John James Hope-Johnstone of Annandale. This, with that embellishment carried to the tops of the tall chimneys, and the massive ‘Norman’ arched porch over the main entrance, suggests, as indeed does the more simply crenellated west

¹¹² Curl, in *The Egyptian Revival*, p.134, notes the antiquarian Peiresc (1580-1637) as a “French savant, patron and collector of antiques,” who spent most of his life in Aix. Pevsner and Lang, in the article in *The Architectural Review*, vol. cxix/712, May 1956, p.250, quote John Evelyn as referring to Peiresc as ‘that illustrious and incomparable virtuoso’ and, more importantly mentions that he had : “...a large collection of books and curiosities.” Could this be the source of the Marquess’s Egyptian Idols?

¹¹³ Gifford, J., *Dumfries and Galloway*, (London: Yale University Press., 1996). (Buildings of Scotland series) p.495

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵ Monreith House is a category A listed Georgian mansion located 1.5 kilometres (0.93 mi) east of the village of Port William in Mochrum parish, Dumfries and Galloway, Scotland. The classical-style house was designed by Alexander Stevens in 1791 for Sir William Maxwell, 4th Baronet.

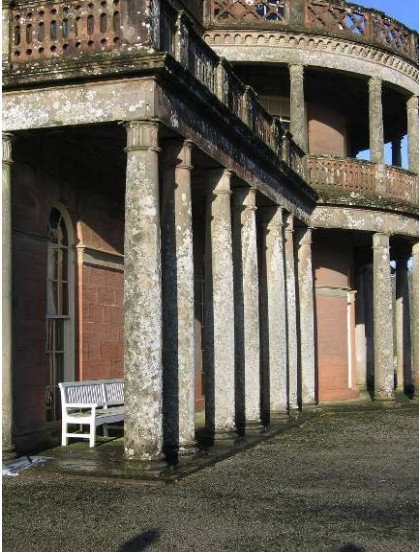
¹¹⁶ <http://www.raehills.com/raehills-accommodation.asp>

face, a mediaeval fortress of massive construction, with the result that the earlier east, and the later main, elevation speak in an entirely different idiom.



Author

Figure 4.27 Raehills, ‘Egyptian’ Columns on the Garden Front.



Author

Figure 4.28 Raehills, the Colonnade on the East Front.



Author

Figure 4.29 Raehills, the East Front.



Author

Figure 4. 30 Raehills, the north porch.



Author

Figure 4. 31 Raehills, the north porch,
detail.

Whilst the form of the columns indicate Egypt, the refinement of the pillars and their delicacy do not immediately suggest that heavy solidity which marks the proportions of Egyptian architecture; indeed, they possess an almost feminine slenderness, which the masculine strength of the later parts of the building then emphasize, and to which columns of heavier and authentic Egyptian proportions might have been better suited. It is only when looking closely at the columns of the porch on the north face that one notices that the ‘Egyptian’ reference has been accurately reproduced, here by the insertion of an out-curved echinus.

This lack of informed accuracy of precise Egyptian proportions, so soon to be corrected by the detailed publications arising from the Napoleonic expedition of 1798-1801, is one more example of the imprecision of the interpretation of Egypt in the 18th century.

Cairness, Aberdeenshire (1791-1794).

Most significant of Scottish country houses both in what it conceals of its ‘Egyptian’ influence and what it reveals, the message of Cairness, a substantial house with Neoclassic and French overtones, is also one which is rich in symbolism from a mixture of sources. The author’s introduction to this James Playfair mansion, situated some 30 miles north of Aberdeen, is perhaps a strange one to include in a serious work, yet, being a statement of fact and casting its

own light on the repute in which the house is held, it is nevertheless attached as a footnote.¹¹⁷ Glendinning, having referred to Playfair as being: “dominated by the preoccupations of advanced neo-classicism and familiarity with the works of Boullée and Ledoux,” comments on a unique feature in 18th century Scottish architecture, and revealed here, as the: “...even more exotic ‘Egyptian’ theme which was installed in the billiard room..” and acknowledges that this house: “...provides a powerful signpost in the new directions in the classical Scottish house, combining influence from the sharpness and monumental rigour of France, but also exploiting archaeological/eclectic Greek and Egyptian motifs.”¹¹⁸ That ‘sharpness and monumental rigour’, archaic in its simplicity, is especially well suited to its construction in Cairngall granite.



Julio Soriano Ruiz¹¹⁹

Figure 4.32 The South Front

¹¹⁷ Driving on Thursday, May 4th 2006 across the flat coastal plain in search of a house which hardly shouts its location, it became necessary to stop to ask for directions. It says something for the awe in which the building is held that the local man, to whom the author put his question, should include in his reply: “Aye, that’s the place with a’ they dead bodies under the threshold.” Only because there are serious grounds for the remark, however wrongly interpreted, is such an apparently unserious exchange reported here. For the reasonable explanation for this, see the text.

¹¹⁸ Glendinning, M., *A History of Scottish Architecture* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996). p.160

¹¹⁹ Whilst not permitted to take photographs by the present owners Mr. Julio Soriano Ruiz and Mr. Khallil al Khairallah supplied all requested illustrations not found from other sources.

The original builder and owner of the house was Charles Gordon of Buthlaw and Cairness (1749-96), who had inherited his wealth from both the Barclay and Gordon families. That both the owner and the architect died before the completion of the house indicates the strange coincidences surrounding the history of Cairness, as do the clear indications of Masonic themes and the Templar connection. That connection stemmed from the Norman, Roger De Berkeley, (translated in Scotland into Barclay), antecedents of the Gordons, who introduced the engrailed Templar crosses which are amongst the family's heraldic charges. Having inherited the property in 1776, it was not until his return from a visit to put the affairs of 'Georgia', his plantation in Jamaica, in order, and using, according to the majority of sources, the architect Robert Burn (1752-1815), that Gordon commenced the building of a sizeable mansion in 1781: "Of three stories with a 'beau' and symmetrical wings."¹²⁰ However, 'Georgia' having proved immensely profitable, the house was immediately found insufficiently grand, and in August 1789 the respected Scottish architect, James Playfair (1755-1794), was invited to prepare a design for a second mansion, Walker assessing him as follows: "Cairness reveals the elder Playfair as perhaps the most advanced British architect of his generation. It is the finest product of an extraordinary but still largely unrecognised talent."¹²¹

Playfair was born on August 5th 1755 near Dundee and by his thirtieth year had a thriving practice, mostly known for smaller houses, in Forfarshire. His only other surviving large project is Melville Castle, Midlothian, constructed for Henry Dundas, the most powerful and influential man in Scotland at that time, who was soon to become Viscount Melville.

It is hardly surprising with that connection that by the time Charles Gordon invited him to Cairness in the summer of 1789, Playfair's practice was flourishing, or that he maintained a well-staffed London office, and was respected nationally in architectural circles, not least by Sir John Soane. Playfair spent from 9th to 12th September of 1789 at Cairness and made continual notes whilst working on the project, now to be found in a folio in King's College, Aberdeen, the title page (bearing a broken column and two sarcophagi) displaying the words, 'Designs for Cairness, the seat of Charles Gordon Esq'.¹²² He had already widened his experience of fast developing Continental trends, visiting his brother William in Paris in 1785 and Rome in 1792, and in the

¹²⁰ Walker, D., "Cairness, Aberdeenshire" *Country Life* Jan 28, 1971, p. 184

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

¹²² *Gordons of Buthlaw and Cairness: Estate and Family Papers, 1692-1984*, AU MS 1160 Aberdeen University, Library and Historic Collections, Special Libraries and Archives.

former, he would have been exposed to the latest in neoclassical and Masonic developments, and this visit may, therefore, be the reason that his design for Cairness breaks with English Palladian tradition. Both the dropped architraves containing the first floor sills and the pedimented tripartite windows on the front are rare features in British architecture of the 1790s. The severity of the central block, with its terminating pavilions, seems to mark a new advance in neoclassical design, not only in Scotland, but in the whole of Britain. It is, however, not easy to discern overt Egyptian references on viewing the exterior even though, on his visit to Rome, he was, according to Conner: "...surely influenced by the Egyptian antiquities there."¹²³

However, what renders the exterior of this building uniquely significant to the theme of this thesis are the cached Egyptian symbols on its south front. These seem nowhere to have been recorded prior to this work, being so well submerged in the granite courses that it took several attempts to locate the symbol being patiently pointed out by the present owners. That symbol, with the sun having been rendered as a square block of masonry and the wings expressed in angular wing-shaped stones, repeated to right and left of the 'sun', indubitably represents the device of the 'winged sun-disk,' and the repetition of so unusual (and structurally unnecessary) arrangement of masonry above the principal windows of the façade¹²⁴ adds further emphasis. The illustration (below) shows the unusual granite 'wings' clearly defined, representing outspread symbols of protection.¹²⁵



¹²³ Conner, P., *The Inspiration of Egypt* Exhibition Catalogue. (Brighton: Brighton Borough Council, 1983). p.38

¹²⁴ This symbol of winged protection developed more elaborately in Pharaonic tombs at each corner of the sarcophagi (e.g. Ay (1325-1321 BC.)). Its symbolism seems to have been transferred to the Ark of the Covenant in Solomon's Temple and on into Christian symbolism, perhaps best recognised in the unadorned Presbyterian Churches in Scotland in Protestant hymns (e.g. 'Jesus, Lover of my soul.' Verse 2: "Cover my defenceless head, 'neath the shadow of Thy wing", by Charles Wesley). Its place in the graveyard is a theme which will be pursued below.

¹²⁵ This Ancient Egyptian symbol, known as *py wer*: 'the great flyer,' was associated with the god Horus, and every pharaoh was the living embodiment of that god; further, by the new Kingdom (1550-1069 BC), it had become a ubiquitous mark of protection on temple ceilings, pylons and portals.

Figure 4.33 Detail of the ‘Winged Sun-Disk’.



Author

Figure 4.34 19th Dynasty Winged Sun-Disk at the Temple of Ramesses II, Abydos.

This feature is, however, but one reference to the Masonic significance of the house, and it is surely no mere coincidence that the ‘Egyptian’ rites¹²⁶ which associated themselves with Freemasonry had been celebrated in Paris around the time of James Playfair’s visit there.

The opening and footnoted remarks on the house, making reference to ‘dead bodies’, have a basis in accepted fact, its name arising because it was constructed on top of a Druid cairn, no doubt a raised area, which gave a prominence to, and a view from, the house. It would have been built, therefore, above a burial site.

Continuing the house’s Masonic references to be read by the initiated, at either side of the pillars supporting the entrance pediment is a squat column some three feet high. These make a discreet reference, albeit in truncated form, to the twin pillars which Masonic tradition places before Solomon’s Temple,¹²⁷ and which symbol it was to be Playfair’s intention to repeat in the room of most Masonic significance in the house, (see Figure 4.42 below).

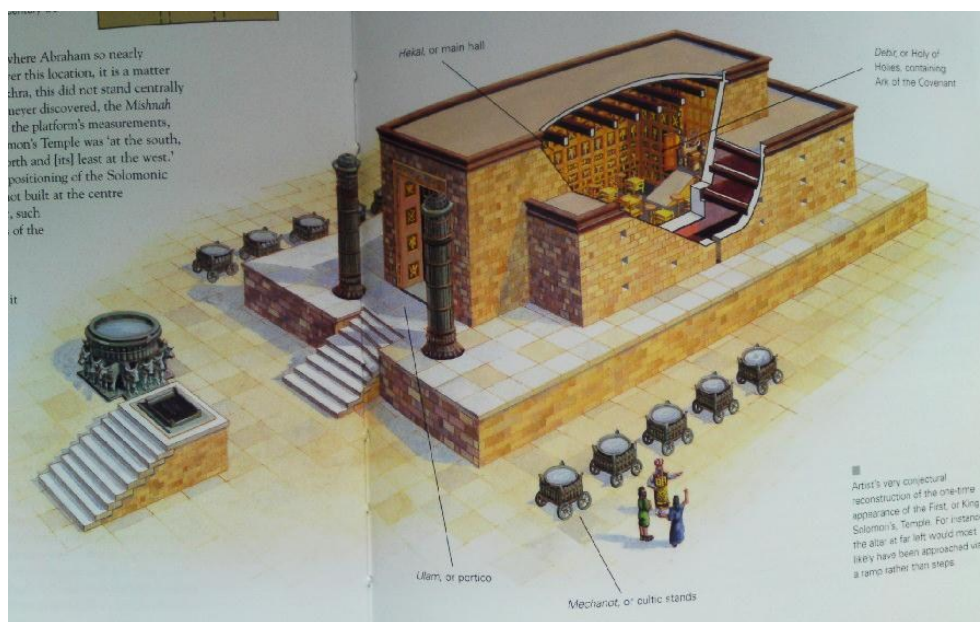
¹²⁶ Curl, J., S., *The Art and Architecture of Freemasonry* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1991). p. 125 Curl, having noted ‘Count’ Alessandro Cagliostro’s (1743-1795) involvement in these ‘Egyptian Rites’ adds that: “... British Freemasons regarded Cagliostro and his ‘Egyptian’ rites as fraudulent.”

¹²⁷ Stevenson, D., *The Origins of Freemasonry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) notes p.6. of freemasonry : “... its emphasis on morality, its identification of the mason craft with geometry, and the importance it gave to Solomon’s Temple and ancient Egypt in the development of the mason craft.”



Julio Soriano Ruiz

Figure 4.35 The Main Entrance, flanked by twin pillars.



Ian Wilson

Figure 4.36 A Suggested Design of the Temple of Solomon, Jerusalem, showing the twin pillars.¹²⁸

¹²⁸ Wilson, I., *The Bible is History* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1999). p.125

The owners propose that they are supports for recumbent sphinxes, but their circular form makes this extremely unlikely.¹²⁹ These twin pillars, Jachin and Boaz, form part of the usual constituent form of the Masonic lodge but the writer would propose an origin predating Solomon's Temple at Jerusalem, their usually accepted one. The forebears of the Jewish nation had arrived in Egypt before 2000BC and were allowed to settle, in the time of Joseph, in the Delta area. A subsequent pharaoh, unnamed, but recorded in Exodus Chap I v.8: "...set over them taskmasters to afflict them with their burdens. And they built for Pharaoh treasure cities, Pithom and Raamses." To this v. 14 adds: "...and they made their lives bitter with hard bondage, in mortar (sic) and in brick, and in all manner of service in the field." Thus they would know the form and construction of 'a Holy Place', and that the entrance was always marked with twin columns in the form of obelisks.¹³⁰ One might, at first, choose not to accept that suggestion of an origin, but there is further Biblical support. The description of the Ark of the Covenant given in Exodus Ch.37 mentions in v.11: "and he overlaid it with pure gold," adding in v.14 that there were: "...places for the staves to bear the table," which, especially with the measurements given, sounds very similar to the portable shrines found in the Tomb of Tutankhamun. Finally, even more important confirmation of the resemblance comes from a comparison of the First Book of Kings' record of Solomon's construction of the Temple, Ch.6.v 21: "So Solomon overlaid the house within with pure gold." Breasted records an inscription on the Temple of Amun at Karnak in Egypt, stating that Amenhotep III had this: "plated with gold, its floor adorned with silver and all its portals with electrum."¹³¹

The twin pillars are also used in the striking pavilions at either side of the facade, each assuming the form of a blind Diocletian window. These in turn support an arch, with central keystone and Curl notes the significance of this device as: "the quintessence of Masonic philosophy,"¹³² adding specifically in his glossary of Masonic devices a description of: "The Arch of Heaven...An arch carried on two columns which signify the Wisdom of the Supreme Architect and the Strength of the Universe's stability."¹³³

¹²⁹ Nor would the unadorned circular top have provided a fitting base for the narrow elongated outline of the sphinxes' body and forelegs.

¹³⁰ That the obelisks represented the twin nations, Upper and Lower Egypt, they may not have been aware.

¹³¹ Breasted, J., *Ancient Records of Egypt* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1907). Vol. II. para. 883

¹³² Curl, J.S., *The Art and Architecture of Freemasonry* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1991). p.244. Curl adds to the above: "It is concerned with discourses of Light and Truth and is associated with the keystone of an arch without which the whole edifice collapses.

¹³³ *Ibid*: From the Glossary of Terms. p.234.



Julio Soriano Ruiz

Figure 4.37 A Diocletian window in one of the flanking pavilions.

Whilst the Templar/Grail connection seems to have no Ancient Egyptian parallel, it would seem remiss not to point out, whilst this is not the only Scottish country house to employ this feature,¹³⁴ that the service quarters at the rear of the house and when viewed from above (see Figure 4.63) resemble the bowl shape¹³⁵ of the Grail and that this device is repeated internally in the ‘hieroglyphs’ in the ‘Billiard Room’.



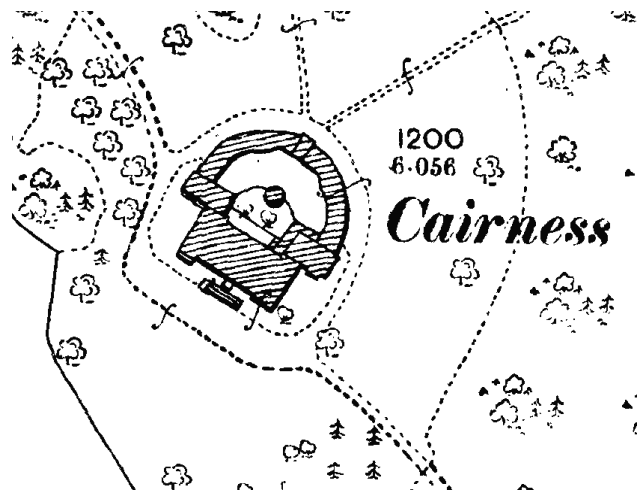
Scotvia Images¹³⁶

Figure 4.38 An aerial view of Cairness House.

¹³⁴ Professor Charles McKean has drawn to the writer’s attention that other examples exist, naming Gordonstoun, Invergowrie and Rafford.

¹³⁵ That bowl-shape is the Ancient Egyptian hieroglyph for *neb*, meaning ‘lord’, and is part of the pharaonic title.

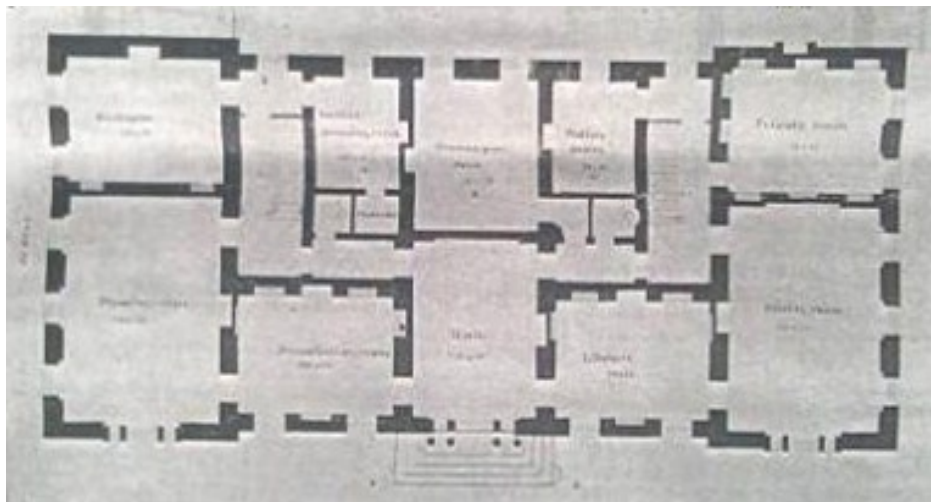
¹³⁶ <http://www.scotviaimages.co.uk/gallery/index.cgi?mode=image&album=/scotvia&image=Cairness%20House%20Buchan%20large%20home%200804168156.jpg>



Aberdeenshire Council Archaeology Service.

Figure 4.39 A plan view of Cairness House.¹³⁷

The 'Billiard Room' and the Playfair Plans.



Country Life.¹³⁸

Figure 4. 40 The 1790 plan of the house.

The 1790 plan of the house shows the room to the rear of the entrance hall marked as the 'Housekeeper's Room', and that most important space now known as the 'Billiard Room' has an inscription dating it to 1791¹³⁹ and recording Playfair as the architect.

¹³⁷ The design was supplied from the Records of Aberdeenshire Council's Archaeology Service.

¹³⁸ *Country Life*. January 28th 1971. p 187.

In December of that year, Playfair and his wife were in Rome for three months, spending a further month in visiting other sights in Italy, including Naples, where, just as in Rome, he would have seen a wealth of Egyptian and ‘Egyptianised’ details. Of his movements from July 30th 1792 until May 1793, there is no known record, but he seems to have been drawn again to Rome, since there is a sketch dated ‘4th April 1793 Romae’ amongst his work. This Italian visit influenced the work he is known to have done on May 11th 1793 on the designs for the interior of the ‘Billiard Room’, (see Figure 4.65). The ‘billiard room’ itself resembles the form of an Egyptian sarcophagus, with its domed lid echoed in the room’s segmental ceiling,



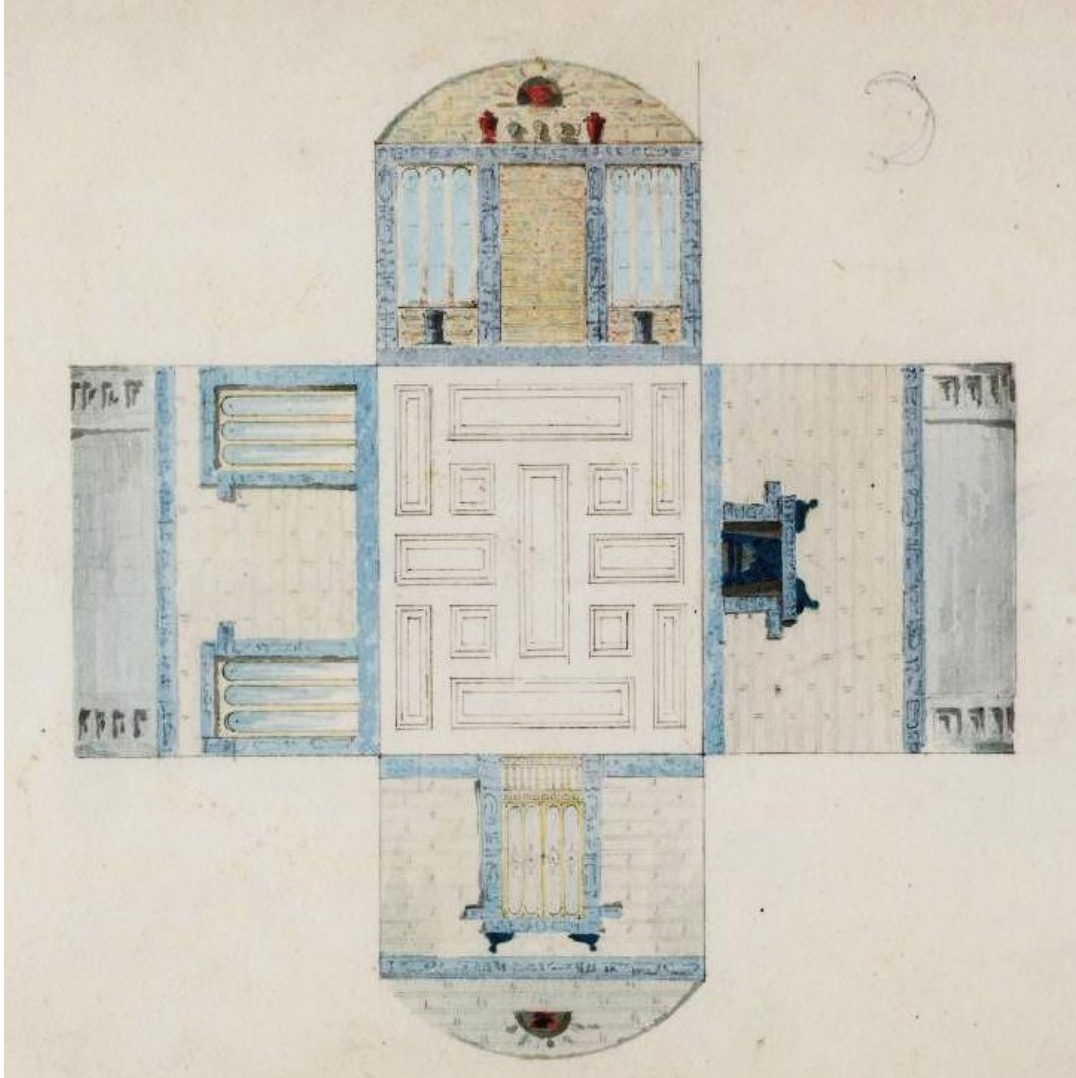
Author

Figure 4.41 The sarcophagus of Ay (1327-1323) in the Western Valley, Thebes ¹⁴⁰

The design below and from the Gordon family papers shows Playfair’s proposed design for the ‘Billiard Room and analysing this invaluable sketch in detail, one is immediately

¹³⁹ The present owners, who have subjected the house to minute and intensive study, whilst acknowledging that Playfair himself later referred to the room as ‘The Billiard Room’, consider that it is too small for that purpose. It is the opinion of Mr. Khairallah (e-mail of Saturday June 3rd, 2006.) that: “even by the standards of the 1790s, the room would have been too small for a decent billiard table, although there certainly was a billiard table somewhere in the house, which I think was in the ‘North West Bedroom’, which was used as the Smoking Room.”

¹⁴⁰ The sarcophagus is that of Pharaoh Ay (1327-1323BC) from the Western Valley, Thebes, and shows an example of the segmental form which here has associations with the vault of the heavens.



James Playfair

Figure 4.42 The Billiard Room, Cairness. 1793.¹⁴¹

aware of the wealth of nuances it contains, of which Curl notes: “This extraordinary and advanced primitivist room anticipates Thomas Hope’s house in Duchess Street, London in its use of Egyptianising motifs, segmental ceiling, hieroglyphic friezes, and other elements.”¹⁴²

In a room heavy with Egyptian references, the end walls add depictions of rayed half-suns in which, as though in a recessed space, appear grail-form chalices.¹⁴³ In addition, on what appears

¹⁴¹ The Gordons of Buthlaw and Cairness: Estate and Family Papers, 1642-1984, AU MS 1160 Aberdeen University, Library and Historic Collections, Special Libraries and Archives.

¹⁴² Curl, J.S., *The Egyptian Revival* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005). p.182

as a recess at the northern end, are a row of ‘vases’, the outer two taller than the central ones. It might be that these make reference to Egyptian Canopic jars and that Playfair was unaware that these invariably would be identical in size, representing the sons of Horus, also, invariably, four in number. Above the entrance doors are a pair of sphinxes, adorsed,¹⁴⁴ a motif repeated over the chimneypiece. Hieroglyphs, in the main imaginary, but with some recognisable ones interspersed, run in a continuous band around the frieze, windows, chimneypiece and battered door surrounds.¹⁴⁵ Significantly, and again in the drawing only, twin short columns on the window wall repeat those found at the front of the house thus making the same masonic reference to Solomon’s Temple.

Hugh Honour adds of Cairness that: “It is heavily classical in style and only the billiards room has, or appears to have had, Egyptian decoration.”¹⁴⁶ This, the writer disputes, as this work has demonstrated, in references to its plan and its exterior, which, contain masonic themes, making Egyptian references only intended to be understood by the initiated.

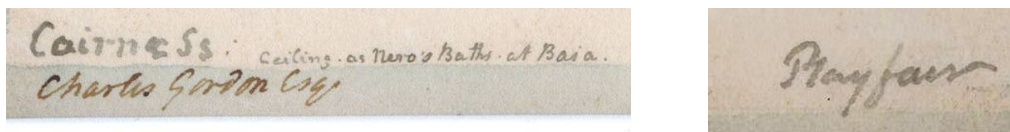


Figure 4.43 Playfair’s acknowledgement of the source of the ceiling design and his signature.

The significance of the Roman stay can be best appreciated from the inscription (above) on the lower right hand side of Design No. 4.¹⁴⁷ There, in Playfair’s hand, is inscribed, ‘Ceiling as Nero’s Baths at Baia’, and the room’s ceiling may show a Roman adaptation of the segmental theme, for the design contains a band of coffering at either end, a device not known in Ancient Egypt. Just as interesting is the black and white design proposed for the floor covering. Whilst

¹⁴³ *Ibid.* It is important to note that the chalices, or grails, are invisible in the copy of the room design in the Curl publication.

¹⁴⁴ These symbolise to the Egyptians flanking supporters of the rising sun-god Ra.

¹⁴⁵ It is hardly surprising that much of the text, known in Rome on many of the obelisks which Playfair would have viewed on his visit, is, therefore, fairly accurate. Its meaning, however, would not have been comprehensible until after its successful interpretation by Champollion in 1822.

¹⁴⁶ Honour, H., “The Egyptian Taste” *Connoisseur*, May, 1955. p.243

¹⁴⁷ AU MS1160/28/6/10-16. No 4 in Playfair’s holograph.

the two opposing colours are usual, symbolising: “...the mosaic pavement of King Solomon’s Temple,”¹⁴⁸ they are normally found in a simple chequerboard design and here the more elaborate geometric arrangement is unusual.

There is no proof that Playfair’s original colour suggestions were carried out. The walls are shown in the illustration above (Figure 4.42) as stone coloured – lined to create an effect as of regular sections of masonry – with the skirtings, window surrounds, door jambs, cornice and ceiling in a soft sky-blue. The colours – investigated by Historic Scotland in recent years – revealed, however, that the earliest coats applied were of a grey-green-blue tone and the overlying one was of pink-porphry, a colour with historic ‘Egyptian’ connotations.

As will be seen from the photograph of the northern end of the Billiard Room as it appears today, the inscription in the segment above the windows confirms the starting date of the building as ‘April 4th 1791,’ and illustrates bands of hieroglyphs. Without wishing to introduce any note of sensationalism, it seems possible that the grails shown in the drawings were chalices which it had been Charles Gordon’s intention to place in the locule at either end, as part of the newly arrived ‘Egyptian Rite’, and that Mrs. Gordon, not sharing her husband’s Masonic/Templar/Egyptian interest, later had the references removed.



Julio Soriano Ruiz.

¹⁴⁸ Curl, J. S., *The Art and Architecture of Freemasonry* (London: B.T.Batsford, 2002). p.237

Figure 4.44 Note of foundation date and hieroglyphic decoration of the Billiard Room.



Country Life.¹⁴⁹

Figure 4.45 The Egyptian Room at Cairness House, with segmental ceiling and ‘Egyptian’ fireplace.

This second photograph (above) illustrates the use of hieroglyphs around the door, frieze and chimney piece, whilst that below suggests that the owners have seen the Billiard Room Plan at Figure 4.42, although here they have placed sphinxes at hearth level and affronted.

¹⁴⁹ www.countrylifeimages.co.uk, Image 569241.



Country Life¹⁵⁰.

Figure 4.46 Detail of ‘Egyptian’ fireplace.

It should be noted that a pair of sphinxes has been placed at hearth level acknowledging the presence of those on Playfair’s plan, which however appear there on the chimney piece itself.

In further support of the claim of this room – even in its present form with the intended allusions to Ancient Egypt much muted – to be the first room in Britain using Egyptian motifs and symbols, Curl notes that Playfair met Antonio Canova in Rome and writes of: “his interest in neoclassicism and the Peyre- Boullée- Ledoux schools”,¹⁵¹ and Walker also nominates the source of Playfair’s inspiration as Paris or Rome, and comments on the currency of Egyptian architecture in the former. He quotes, emphasizing an acknowledgement already recorded above, the 1785 subject of the prize essay set by the Academy of Architecture won by Quatremère de Quincy.¹⁵² This essay, if favouring the supremacy of Grecian forms, both acknowledges the debt

¹⁵⁰ www.countrylifeimages.co.uk, Image 569302.

¹⁵¹ Curl, J.S., *The Egyptian Revival* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005). p.182

¹⁵² Walker, D., “Cairness, Aberdeenshire”. *Country Life*, February 4th, 1971.p. 249

which that country owed to Egypt, and after drawing attention to the massive scale and solemn grandeur of its architecture, shows that there is in its forms much to respect.¹⁵³

At Cairness, one further circumstance indicating Masonic inspiration is the way in which the Billiard Room's planning makes use of light. The room is lit by the rising sun through the eastern window and by the setting sun through the west window. In addition, when the large double front doors are open, augmented by the large fan-light, and the entrance doors in the south wall of the billiard room are similarly opened up, the room will be filled with as much sunlight as the climate of Aberdeenshire permits, throughout most of the day.¹⁵⁴ The significance of light to the spirit of both Enlightenment and Freemasonry is reinforced by Curl.¹⁵⁵

Other rooms in the house offer echoes of Egypt, the breakfast room and the library both having segmental vaulted ceilings, intended (as are many Egyptian tombs), to be painted as the sky. Another room with unusual Egyptian adornment is in the north-west corner, and known as the Music Room or the North-West Bedroom, which has around the cornice a series of ante-fixae which resemble pharaonic heads.

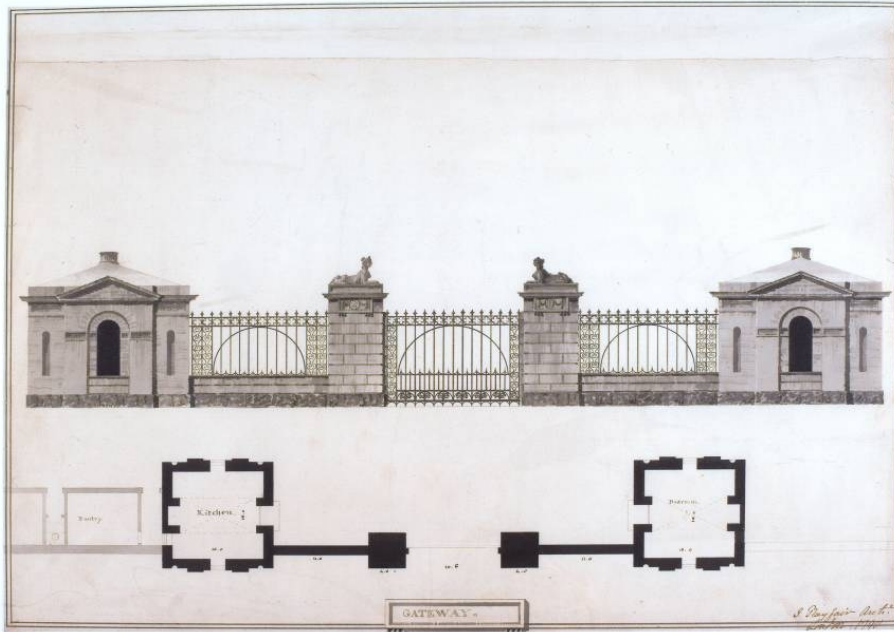
The gates and lodges, although designed by Playfair in 1790, were not erected until a century later¹⁵⁶ in 1890/91, and are adorned with sphinxes.

¹⁵³ The title of the 1785 essay was: '*Quel fut l'état de l'architecture chez les Égyptiens et ce que les Grecs paroissent en avoir emprunté*'. By the time of its eventual publication in 1803, and therefore after the results of the Napoleonic Expedition had become known, the title was somewhat changed and became: '*De l'Architecture Égyptienne, considérée dans son origine, ses principes, et son gout, et comparée sous les meme rapports à l'Architecture Greque*'.

¹⁵⁴ This use of light for religio/mystic effects was first used by the Egyptians, the example of Abu Simbel being the best known. The owners have also become aware that the light of the moon coincides on certain nights with the precise middle of the fanlight in the entrance hall. The disc of the moon fits in the central disc of the fanlight precisely. This information was supplied by Mr. Soriano Ruiz in an e-mail dated 16th May, 2006.

¹⁵⁵ Curl, J.S., *The Art and Architecture of Freemasonry* (London: Batsford, 1991). p.234: "Enlightenment: the spirit and aims of eighteenth-century intellectuals in imparting or receiving mental or spiritual light through reason, the acquisition of wisdom...Light in this sense is identified with Freemasonry."

¹⁵⁶ AU MS 1160?28/61-9



J. Playfair

Figure 4.47 The Gateway Design of 1790.



Author

Figure 4.48 A detail of the Gateway

These, more reminiscent of those of Grecian inspiration used by Adam or Reid at the end of the century, than the muscular examples selected by James's son, W.H. Playfair, for the Scottish Royal Academy, seem to have facial features taken from the late Victorian ideal.

Cairness, unique amongst Scottish country houses in the number of Egyptian references which it contains, is the first example of an Egyptian interior, not just in Scotland, but in the whole of the British Isles, which elevates it as a reference point of premier importance which the introduction of both Masonic and Templar themes only serve to enhance. That at the close of the 18th century it was followed by no comparable construction can be attributed to a series of contemporary historical events. The closeness to France, in this century of Enlightenment which had promised so much in the democratic improvement of 'the Rights of Man', came to an end in 1793 when Cairness was under construction with the beginning of the Reign of Terror.

The king, Louis XVI, his wife and thousands of French citizens were put death, bringing the long and amicable contact with the country to an end, and this was further exacerbated in 1798 when Napoleon launched his military campaign in Egypt, and Britain and France were at war.

This intriguing and innovative building stands as an expression of the complex blend of thought processes and influences current at the time of its construction and is a high point on which to close this section on country houses.

The 18th Century Scottish Landscape Garden.

While in England the 18th century saw impressive references to Egypt appear in its landscaped gardens, in Scotland, without wealth on a similar scale and with its own preference for making use of the Picturesque and Romantic possibilities of its dramatic landscape, which Glendinning expresses as: "...a growing appreciation of the 'sublime' in the Scottish landscape, including the creation of artificially wild features as a foil to classical houses,"¹⁵⁷ architectural features are fewer and on a more modest scale. The earliest reference to a stone obelisk being proposed as a garden feature on a Scottish estate (but never built) appears to be in correspondence of 1737 from the Duke of Hamilton to William Adam. Glendinning quotes him as writing: "Of my coal, perhaps it might turn out as you seem to flatter me it will, if so cubes, temples, obelisks etc., etc.,

¹⁵⁷ Glendinning, M., *A History of Scottish Architecture* 1996. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996). pp. 129-130

will go the better on.’¹⁵⁸ Had the Duke, with his enormous wealth maintained that interest, the actual use of Egyptian references in Scottish gardens might have been very different.

In the first stirrings of the Picturesque in England, as early as 1714, Joseph Addison (1672-1719) had given as examples which filled the imagination with: “... something Great and Amazing” as: “...the pyramids, the Tower of Babel, the Wall of China and the Pantheon,”¹⁵⁹ so that the introduction in 1718, only four years later, by Alexander Pope into the garden of his villa at Twickenham of: “...a mount...a vineyard, an orangery...an obelisk and a shell temple,” whilst seeming unambitious by comparison shows the growing interest in introducing forms of various origin into the British garden.

Examples of architecture and ornament from China which had been first discussed in 1685 by Temple (1628-99)¹⁶⁰ enjoyed a significant vogue, following the publications of the Scot, William Chambers (1723-1796), who had paid three visits to the country in the 1740s, the earliest appearing in 1757.¹⁶¹ The laying out of richly ornamented gardens spread widely in England, and in the early eighteenth century, Nicholas Hawksmoor (1661-1736) and Sir John Vanbrugh (1664-1726) introduced Egyptian themes of pyramid and obelisk into a rich architectural mixture at Castle Howard in Yorkshire. However, the most celebrated exponent of landscape gardening in the 18th century was Capability Brown (1715-1783), born at Kirkharle, Northumberland, who had gained experience working alongside William Kent (1685-1748) in the gardens at Stowe, again ornamented by a rich array of architectural and sculpted references.

Glendinning goes on, in making the Scottish case, to state that: “The most vivid reaction both to the Picturesque and to a Scottish way of seeing things can be the eclectic and topographical drawings of Robert Adam”¹⁶², and with reference to Enlightenment fascination with new discoveries: “... this complex new world outlook would become far more prominent in the eighteenth century era of Ossian.”¹⁶³

Yet, whilst in the landscaping of Penicuik the Awful and the Sublime are constituents, ‘Egyptian’ references appear in tranquility at Newhailes House and at the obelisk bridge

¹⁵⁸ Glendinning, M., *A History of Scottish Architecture* 1996. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996). p121.

¹⁵⁹ Addison, J., “Pleasures of Imagination”. *The Spectator Magazine*, 1714, No. 415, p.599

¹⁶⁰ Temple, W., *Upon the Gardens of Epicurus* (1685, reprinted, Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1963).

¹⁶¹ Chambers, W., *Designs of Chinese Buildings furniture, dresses, machines and utensils: to which is annexed a description of their temples, houses, gardens etc.* (London: 1757).

¹⁶² Tait, A., *The Landscape Garden in Scotland 1735-1835* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1980).

¹⁶³ Glendinning, M., *A History of Scottish Architecture* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996). p. 131

introduced into the gardens at Dumfries House. Even at Blair Atholl, its obelisk, Gifford notes, is situated in a similarly peaceful setting: “in a wood, west of the garden.”¹⁶⁴



RCAHMS¹⁶⁵

Figure 4. 49 The obelisk at Blair Castle, Perthshire, of 1742.

“In a wood west of the garden, an ashlar obelisk of 1742, its pedestal, carved with reliefs of the star of the Order of the Thistle.”¹⁶⁶

The estate of Penicuik, Midlothian came into the hands of the Clerk family in 1646, the fruit of their successful mercantile operations in Paris. From commerce they turned to the widest range of cultural pursuits, Brown noting of Sir John Clerk, 2nd Baronet (1676-1755) that: “His distinction as antiquary, architect, poet, patron, landscape gardener, connoisseur, traveller, musician and man of letters, was widely recognised.”¹⁶⁷ He, it was, who had made an early

¹⁶⁴ Gifford J., *Perth and Kinross*, (London: Yale University Press 2007) (Buildings of Scotland series) p.223

¹⁶⁵ RCAHMS, 767265

¹⁶⁶ Gifford, J., *Perth and Kinross*, (London: Yale University Press, 2007) (Buildings of Scotland series) p.223

¹⁶⁷ Brown, I.G. *The Clerks of Penicuik, Portraits of Taste and Talent*. (Edinburgh: Penicuik House Preservation Trust, 1987) p.13

Grand Tour in 1697 and relevant to the landscaping of the estate Brown notes further that he also had been: "...to Paris to study modern French gardening."¹⁶⁸

Amongst the range of structures introduced are the inevitable oriental reference, the Chinese Gate,¹⁶⁹ of fretted and painted timber, and, with its suggestion of the Awful a cave, named Hurleycove, whose walls were carved the inscription *TENEBROSA OCULTAQUE CAVE* (Beware of what is dark and hidden!).



Wikipedia¹⁷⁰

Figure 4. 50 St Martin in the Fields, Trafalgar Square. James Gibb. 1720.



Scran¹⁷¹

Figure 4. 51 The Allan Ramsay Monument at Penicuik House.1759



Wikipedia¹⁷²

Figure 4. 52 Saint-Louis-en-l'Île Church, Paris 1675.

However, the most striking of the structures is the obelisk monument of 1759, dominating a ride in the park and in its form unique as a commemorative symbol¹⁷³ in Scotland, raised to Allan Ramsay (1686-1758), the poet, a close friend of Sir John.

²⁴⁴ McWilliam, C., *Lothian* (London: Yale University Press, 2003). (Buildings of Scotland series) pp. 386-7

¹⁶⁹ Sir William Chambers (1723-1796), the son of Scottish parents, had travelled in China and had published *Designs of Chinese Buildings* in 1757, perfectly timed to have influenced the construction of the gate.

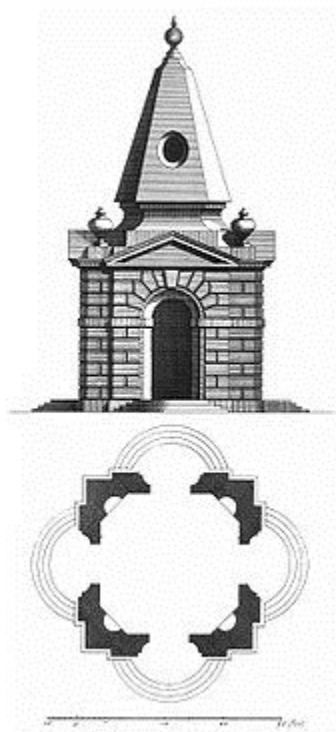
¹⁷⁰ http://www.Westminster.lovesguide.com/martin_fields.htm

¹⁷¹ Scran 000-000-045-876-R.

¹⁷² http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Saint-Louis-en-l%27%C3%8Ele_Church

¹⁷³ See however 'burgh steeples', of similar outline, from the Adam family, below in this chapter.

The origin of this unusual design may stem from either of two strands of influence – English or French. In the case of the former, both possible examples come from the work of the Scot, James Gibb. The first is one of a pair of pyramid/obelisk crowned garden pavilions at Stowe, constructed in the mid 1740s each with an arch below and pierced, in their case, by a single circular opening,



Wikipedia¹⁷⁴

Figure 4.53 A pyramid obelisk design by James Gibb.

whilst the second English source may be the steeple of Gibb's church of St. Martin in the Fields in Trafalgar Square of 1720 (see Figure 4. 50).¹⁷⁵

However, and bearing in mind Brown's comment on Sir John's visit to France, the Church of St Louis-en-L'Île also suggests itself (Figure 4. 52). Designed by Francois Le Vau, (1613-1676), brother of Louis, the more celebrated architect of Versailles, the church was completed in 1675. Its steeple also pierced by circular openings.

¹⁷⁴ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/James_Gibb

¹⁷⁵ This type of obelisk steeple has other Scottish examples without religious implications – see the burgh steeples mentioned below.

In comparison with Penicuik House, the gardens of Newhailes are on a less dramatic scale. This country house, started in 1686 by James Smith was bought by Sir David Dalrymple in 1709. It was to Sir James Dalrymple (1726-92), his son, – a prominent figure in the Scottish Enlightenment, who became Lord Hailes, whose Newhailes Library Dr. Samuel Johnson, (according to family tradition), referred to as “the most learned drawing room in Europe,”¹⁷⁶ – that responsibility is owed for a wide series of the garden adornments. These included two substantial sphinxes, cast in lead, by the London sculptor John Cheere (1709-1787), purchased for the total sum of £45.3s.



National Trust for Scotland

Figure 4.54 A Lead Sphinx at Newhailes, c. 1740.

These sphinxes, their form fortunately preserved in a photograph of 1917, (above), ‘disappeared’ in 1949. Today their plinths, with lumps of metal and the fastenings which held the feet in clear evidence, are still to be found in alignment with the ha-ha at either side of the long northern vista towards the Forth, and which marked the line of the original carriage drive of 1686.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.* p.11 The specific occasion, however, maintains Dr. Iain Brown, seems to be nowhere recorded.



Author

Figure 4.55 The Western Plinth.



Author

Figure 4.56 Remains of lead attachment with toe.

To the north east of the park is to be found the Earl of Stair's Monument, taking the form of an obelisk to a family relative, Field Marshal John Dalrymple, Second Earl of Stair.

This monument is of sandstone and erected in 1746 stands some 9 metres high, the shaft being approximately 6½ metres. The carved details of the General's military service, here an innovation, noting his command of British troops at the battle of Dettingen, were to become a major feature of obelisks in the following century.



Author

Figure 4.57 The Earl of Stair's Obelisk



Author

Figure 4.58 The Obelisk Plinth.

To the Egyptian forms recorded above, there is one final tie to that civilisation.



The National Trust for Scotland

Figure 4.59 The Newhailes Seal.

During excavations following the acquisition of the property by the National Trust for Scotland, a seal of black stone was unearthed whilst an exploratory trench was being dug to investigate an accumulation of debris. The report received mentions that: "... there was found a carved stone cylinder with a cartouche engraved on one end. The other side had been crudely hollowed out and two holes drilled in the side."¹⁷⁷

The object was examined by the writer, who identified the cartouche of Tuthmosis III (1504-1450 BC). It appears to have been a container, perhaps for a small amount of eye make-up. It could have come either from that pharaoh's tomb in the Valley of the Kings, or his mortuary temple at Deir el Bahari, and may have been picked up as a souvenir during a nineteenth century visit to Egypt, then brought back, and made into the handle of a riding crop, walking stick or equally well, a parasol.

The Grand Tour Journal¹⁷⁸, kept as part of the large Newhailes library, recorded by Sir Charles Dalrymple whilst at Rome, makes no reference to Egyptian monuments there and although he is recorded as Grand Master Mason of Scotland for the years 1893-97, there are no evident signs of a consequent interest.

¹⁷⁷ Information received 8.11.2006 from Robin Turner, National Trust for Scotland Head of Archaeology

¹⁷⁸ Now in the National Library of Scotland, the journal is numbered Mss 25500- travel documents and part of a journal kept in Rome, 1824-25.

Individual Icons of Commemoration.

The Obelisk.

Whilst the country houses of Scotland contain a range of varied references to Egypt, some significant examples which are not attached to country houses or their surroundings require individual treatment. At the same time it must be emphasized that this work is not a detailed catalogue, but noteworthy examples are given below.¹⁷⁹

The obelisk began to appear as a monument of individual commemoration early in the 18th century in relatively modest numbers, before assuming the role of one of Scotland's most prominent mourning symbols in the 19th century.

The 18th century subject commemorated, usually with Masonic connections, may have been a national hero, a significant literary figure, an administrator, an innovative landowner, or, rarely, the monument may have noted early progress in commerce and industry. Scotland however rejected the use of the obelisk as a focal point within the urban cityscape. This is the more noteworthy since the highpoint of the eighteenth century Grand Tour experience was Rome, a city laid out with obelisks ending urban vistas and as the focal point of its major squares.

The earliest significant commemorative obelisk which was raised was to George Mackenzie, (1630-1714), 1st Earl of Cromartie, at Dingwall in 1714. Measuring 65ft, it became unstable (as indicated in the early photograph below), and was removed around 1910, to be replaced by a replica in 1922.



Scran¹⁸⁰

Figure 4.60 The obelisk to the 1st Earl of Cromartie.

¹⁷⁹ Barnes, R., *The Obelisk – A Monumental Feature in Britain* (Kirstead: Frontier, 2004).

¹⁸⁰ Scran 000-299-934-941-R

An example employing obelisks in a church interior is that raised in 1735 to Walter Campbell at St. Bride's Church, Bothwell, Lanarkshire. His profession is indicated on the monument as 'General Receiver of his Majesty's Customs in Scotland' and there is no hint in this religious setting of his Masonic status.



Scran¹⁸¹

Figure 4.61 The Monument to Walter Campbell, Bothwell, 1735.

Two contemporary poets are commemorated by obelisks. The first in 1748 is a plain sandstone obelisk to the memory of James Thomson at Ednam, near Kelso, placed in a 'Picturesque' moorland setting which contrasts with that raised in 1759, in the more formal setting at Penicuik, to Allan Ramsay, detailed above.

¹⁸¹ Scran 000-000-596-096-R.



Author

Figure 4.62 The obelisk at Ednam, Nr. Kelso, to James Thomson, Border poet, 1748.

The obelisk most significant to the theme of this work, combining in the monument the association with the first visit to Egypt, a reference to the Grand Tour interpretation of the obelisk, and a connection to the Industrial Revolution, is that erected in 1785 as the grave monument to Mary Dundas (1754-1785),¹⁸² second wife of James Bruce of Kinnaird.

It is an example unique within the writer's experience in Scotland, for this iron obelisk is supported on four lions, which Bruce himself may have observed on the example in St Peter's Square when in Rome during his own Grand Tour.

¹⁸² Bredin, M., *The Pale Abyssinian* (St Ives: Clays, 2000). pp. 255-57



Author

Figure 4.63 The obelisk to Mary Dundas, Larbert Cemetery. 1785.



Author

Figure 4.64 Lions as supporters of the Dundas Obelisk.

James Bruce made the first visit by a Scot to Egypt in 1768, although using that country only as a route of passage, since his real purpose was to search for the Ark of the Covenant, claimed to be at Axum in Ethiopia, and whose original home had been the Temple in Jerusalem, itself at the heart of Aegypto-Masonic tradition.

The finance for this expedition came from the sale of coal from Bruce's Kinnaird estate to the adjacent Carron Company, one of the leading and earliest of Scottish iron-founders¹⁸³, and the monument – now moved to the car park of Larbert Churchyard – may well have been produced by them and is a significant testimony to advances in industrial production, being made from plates of iron, with no comparative monument in England.

With the close association between the 18th century obelisk and Freemasonry, and whilst his visit to Egypt was of no great archaeological significance and publication of the account of his visit was delayed until 1790,¹⁸⁴ the Masonic connection can be judged by Bredin's note of Bruce's visit, immediately on his return, to report his discoveries to Canongate Kilwinning

¹⁸³ Carron Company, Glasgow Exhibition Catalogue (London: The London Press Exchange, 1938). p.9, notes that "On January 1st 1760Dr. Roebuck tapped the blast furnace to give birth to the first bath of Carron iron." Adding on p.13, that: "The birth of Carron iron was the birth of the iron industry in Scotland."

¹⁸⁴ Bruce, J., *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile* London: G.G.J. & J. Robinson, 1790).

Lodge No. 2, which he had joined in 1753 and which: “...would soon be frequented by Robert Burns, the Adam brothers, James Boswell and Sir Walter Scott.”¹⁸⁵



Author

Figure 4.65 The damaged Elizabeth Wilson Obelisk, 1771, Larbert Cemetery.

Sad to relate, if the Carron Company, which was one of Scotland’s earliest iron-founders – commencing business in 1760 – saw monumental sculpture as a potential growth outlet, the Scottish climate proved itself palpably unsuitable. Not only does the Dundas monument show extensive corrosion, but a neighbouring example, above, shows serious degradation; it was not a purpose for which iron was to find favour.

All the preceding examples would have been dwarfed by the 186ft obelisk – the tallest ever proposed and of great magnificence – which was planned but never raised to be close to Paxton House, Berwickshire,¹⁸⁶ and is believed to have been intended as a memorial to Ninian Home (1732-1795), Lieutenant Governor of Granada, who died in a native uprising in that place.¹⁸⁷

As to the obelisk, the designs, both numerous and detailed, do not name the architect and indeed, there is no known reason, beyond the enormous cost that would have been involved at a time

¹⁸⁵ Bredin, M., *The Pale Abyssinian* (London: Harper Collins, 2000). p.8

¹⁸⁶ The tallest obelisk ever realised in Scotland is that raised on Glasgow Green to Lord Nelson, in 1806, which is 144ft high.

¹⁸⁷ Some doubt as to this has been expressed by the Director of the Paxton Trust, John Malden, who has discovered that on a ‘landscape’ of the area by one Robert Robinson c.1758, (thus earlier than Ninian Home’s death), the site of a proposed obelisk is marked and it was planned for a spot just to the north of the house.

when the family's sugar plantations were producing little income, as to why it was not constructed.



Author.

Figure 4.66 Entitled 'Section of Base', this gives a clear impression of the proposed domed Memorial Hall, lit by a single oculus.¹⁸⁸



Author.

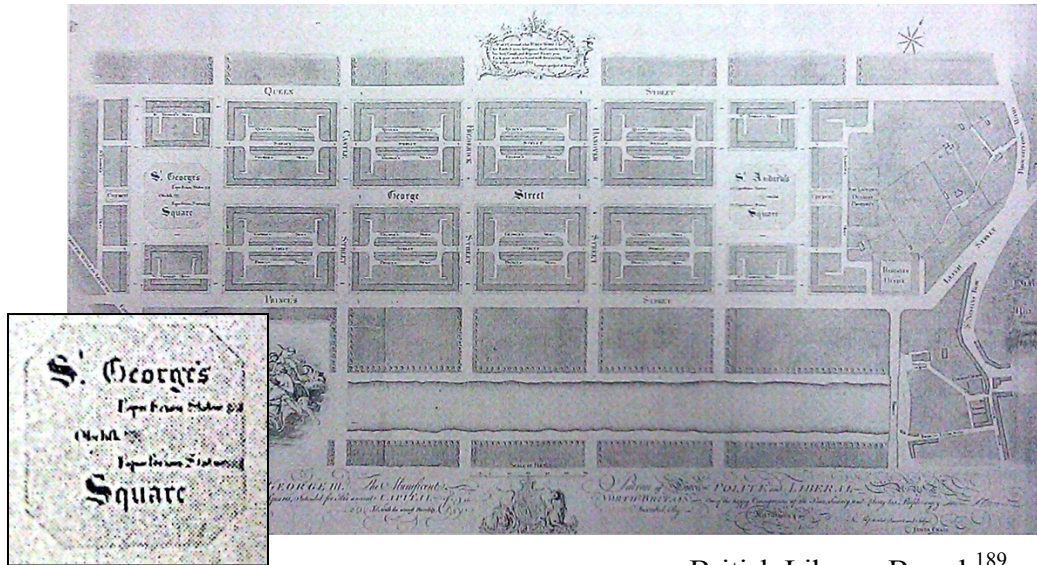
Figure 4.67 A slight variation. The oculi appear to have been increased to two and re-sited.

This monument would have been unique both in Britain and Egypt, not only for its size, but especially because of the elaborate memorial hall which it was to contain, and the true purpose of which, mourning chapel or mausoleum, is nowhere recorded, but where, as at the 19th century Hamilton Palace Mausoleum the oculus may perhaps represent a Masonic reference to 'the All-Seeing Eye'.

Obelisks in a urban setting, used with such effect as 'eye-catchers' in Rome and seen by all Scots Grand Tourists to that place, were never to find similar favour in Scotland. James Craig's (1739-1795) option, in his suggestion of 1774, to use modest obelisks in the squares at either end of George Street and thus at the heart of his Edinburgh New Town plan, was thus not accepted

¹⁸⁸ Un-numbered, but from the Paxton Archive.

and this rejection of the obelisk by the city authorities would continue into the following century. Indeed in the whole of Scotland no obelisk was accepted as part of the technical and engineering structure of a city or even as the focus of a Scottish cityscape.



British Library Board.¹⁸⁹

Figure 4.68 Craig's King's Library Plan for the New Town of 1767, with obelisks framed by equestrian statues (inset).

For the New Town Craig drew a variety of plans and the one adopted on July 26th 1767, and for which he gained his Gold Medal Award, did not contain obelisks. These were, however, also included in an alternative suggestion of 1767, shown above, and where he proposed that they be framed by equestrian statues.

It would seem that obelisks possessed a particular appeal for Craig and they appear, in three distinct forms, in the David Allan portrait of him shown below.

¹⁸⁹ The King's Library plan of 1767. British Library Board, K.Top. XLIX. 65 Roll.



Youngson.¹⁹⁰

Figure 4.69 David Allan portrait of James Craig.

Whilst not able to be seen, when the frame of this portrait, above, allotted by Cruft to the summer of 1781¹⁹¹, was recently removed, it revealed a substantial obelisk standing on the floor at the right of the picture. The architect's right arm rests on a plan of the New Town, showing the central circus and obelisks, of which Cruft observes that: "Before the erection of the Melville Monument in 1820-23, these projected obelisks were the only planned vista terminations for the George Street axis."¹⁹²

Finally, at at his feet is a drawing of the Physician's Hall and Library (built 1775-1779) which has gate-posts crowned by substantial obelisks.

¹⁹⁰ Youngson, A. J. *The Making of Classical Edinburgh*. (Edinburgh University Press: 1996). Frontispiece.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.* p.71. The architect and artist were both at the Earl of Kinnoull's home, Dupplin House, at this time.

¹⁹² Cruft, K., & Fraser, A., *James Craig 1744-1795* (Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 1995) .p.71. Craig's date of birth is now accepted as 1739.

Craig was thwarted in Glasgow as he had been in Edinburgh, where, Gifford adding that he: "...gave his services free,"¹⁹³ he proposed for Buchanan Street a 150ft example, to honour George Buchanan (1506-1582), tutor to King James I & VI and "linguist, historian, wit and scholar of genuinely European stature." The reason for this retrospective proposal seems to be that newly arisen respect for learning, which Gifford indicates as: "a consequence of Enlightenment pride." Rejected on that site and of reduced height at "103ft tall on a 19ft by 19ft base,"¹⁹⁴ but still the tallest commemorative obelisk to be erected Scotland in the 18th century, it was finally raised in 1788, at Killearn, in Stirlingshire, where the denial to the obelisk of a central urban focal point was repeated.¹⁹⁵

Apart from these examples, in 1778 he proposed a wall monument, backed by a substantial obelisk, to the botanist Linnaeus for the Royal Botanic Garden, but this was not selected. These proposals were all rejected, leaving the Killearn commemorative obelisk as Craig's sole built example; disappointing, surely, to a man who had so enthusiastically displayed them in his portrait.

Burgh Steeples.

Yet, if the Scots would not admit the obelisk to their urban landscape, an obelisk-like device did appear and almost making reference to the unusual and pierced form of the Allan Ramsay obelisk at Penicuik, a similar construction of obelisk outline has been used to draw the eye and to crown two of Scotland's civic buildings, the first at Dundee and the second at Banff, both the work of the Adam family.

¹⁹³ Gifford, J., *Stirling and Central Scotland* (London: Yale University Press, 2002). (Buildings of Scotland series) p.549

¹⁹⁴ Barnes, R., *The Obelisk* (Kirstead: Frontier, 2004). p.39

¹⁹⁵ Craig's other proposed obelisks for an urban setting are discussed below.



RCAHMS¹⁹⁶

Figure 4.70 The Dundee Town House.

The earlier, the Dundee Town House was designed by William Adam and completed in 1731, and was to be demolished in 1932.

¹⁹⁶ SC1116771



RCAHMS¹⁹⁷

Figure 4.71 The Banff Steeple.

The steeple designed by John Adam at Banff, similar in spirit to the earlier example at Dundee, is described by McKean as a: “Powerful civic icon.”¹⁹⁸ It was built as a free-standing tower adjacent to the tollbooth, and was constructed by John Marr, master mason.

The impetus of this Scottish interpretation of the urban ‘eye-catcher’ seems to point to one more example of the Enlightenment’s fascination with Antiquity, and, as with the obelisk bridge theme used by both William and John Adam, was to be replicated in the work of Thomas Hamilton in the 19th century.

¹⁹⁷ RCAHMS SC519580

¹⁹⁸ Text at Scran 000-000-111-641-C. Resource rights holder Charles McKean

Mausolea.

The David Hume Mausoleum, 1778.



Author

Figure 4.72 The David Hume Mausoleum

A first glance at the circular tower mausoleum of the Enlightenment philosopher David Hume (1711-76), built by his friend, Robert Adam on a commanding site in the Old Calton Burying Ground, Edinburgh, gives no suggestion of Egyptian inspiration,¹⁹⁹ but Brown²⁰⁰ points to proof that ‘Egyptian’ embellishments were in mind and that they may have been put in place.

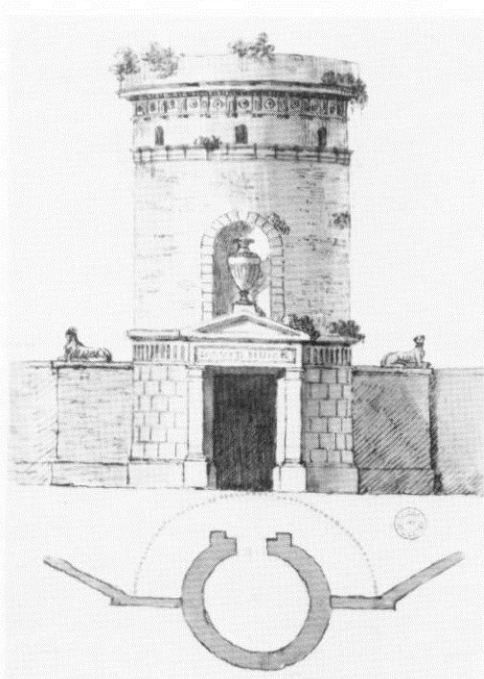
¹⁹⁹ From the frieze, Adam has removed the bucrania with which they are interspersed on the monument to Caecilia Metella which may have been its inspiration and it seems unlikely that, in spite of their origins in that country, that the rosettes which he uses here make any conscious reference to Egypt.

²⁰⁰ Brown, I.G., “David Hume’s Tomb”, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 1991, Vol.121. pp. 391-442

In 1777 a selection of designs was prepared; and Brown adds that: “One of the drawings in the Soane Museum is inscribed ‘This was the one most approved of. Feb.1777’, and this drawing bears a close resemblance to the monument as built in 1778.”²⁰¹

Robert Adam, when in Rome, certainly saw and had drawn the Mausoleum of Caecilia Metella on the Appian Way and it is interesting to compare this source with Gifford’s suggestion that: “Adam’s preliminary sketches show that the tomb of Theodoric in Ravenna was the starting point for his designs.”²⁰²

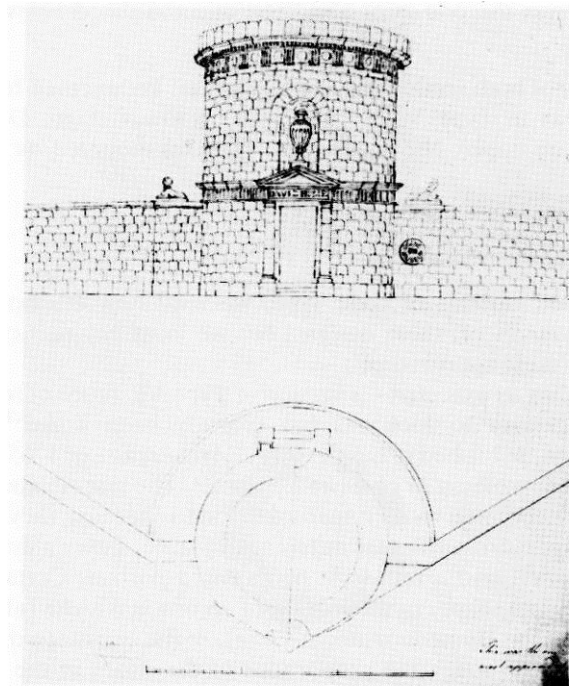
However, amongst the selection of Adam’s designs, the ones designated in Brown²⁰³ (see both below) clearly show adorsed sphinxes topping the short walls which extend at each



ILLUS 9 Adam's Type V design: Sir John Soane's Museum. AV 21/ 187 (Photo: RCAHMS)

Brown

Figure 4.73 Adam Type V Design.
Sir John Soane's Museum.



ILLUS 10 Adam's Type VI design: Sir John Soane's Museum, AV 19/ 78 (right) (Photo: RCAHMS)

Brown

Figure 4.74 Adam Type VI Design.
Sir John Soane's Museum.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.* p.395

²⁰² Gifford, J., *Edinburgh* (London: Butler & Tanner, 1984). (Buildings of Scotland series) p. 438

²⁰³ Brown I, G., “David Hume’s Tomb” *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 1991. Vol.121. p.411

side of the central ‘drum’ which forms the body of the monument. Now a plan, and only one of a selection, may give no proof that sphinxes (which because of expense frequently did not materialise) were ever added here, but Hugo Arnot in 1779 wrote *A History of Edinburgh* which refers to the Hume monument²⁰⁴ and makes the following observation: “On the south and north sides of the building are two pedestals, or wings, about ten feet high and five wide, supporting a couple of sphinxes.” His unequivocal statement stands as confirmation.

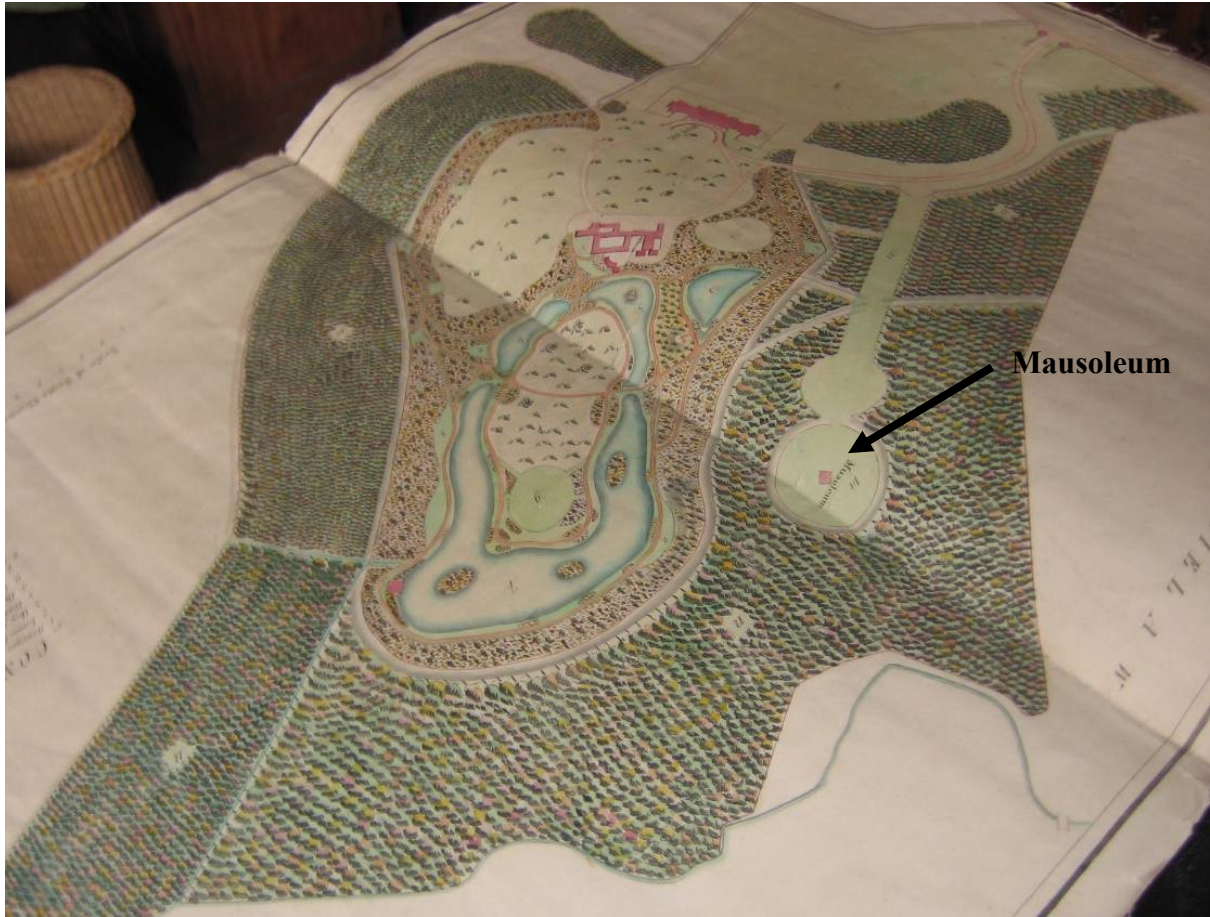
These embellishments, playing no part in the structure, were to be repeated at Gosford on a heroic scale but in contrast it is there, although not a part of Adam’s contribution, that a mausoleum of Egyptian solemnity is to be found.

The Gosford Mausoleum

Constructed for the builder of Gosford House, the Mausoleum is the property’s most astonishing single construction; its weight and stereometric solidity, a strong reminder of Egypt, shares none of the lightness of the decorative sphinxes on the house, its closest resemblance being to the Clerk Mausoleum of 1684. A glance at an early 19th century plan of the layout of the grounds shows that a long tree-lined *allée* branched from the side of the main drive to the house. Along its length is, first, a small grass covered ellipse and at its conclusion a much larger one, ringed round, originally with yew, to form a Mourning Grove²⁰⁵, very much in keeping with the contemporary feeling for the Picturesque and the Sublime. The ellipse is contained within a boundary wall, the flat coping stones of which are fixed together by dovetail joints of great precision.

²⁰⁴ Arnot, H., *A History of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: 1779). p.251

²⁰⁵ See a further reference to a Mourning Grove at the Bentpath Obelisk in ‘19th century’.



Author

Figure 4.75 Early 19th century layout of the Park at Gosford, the Mausoleum on the right.

The Wemyss family believe, since payments are recorded to him in the Gosford Archive, and on grounds of style, that it is the work of the architect and engineer Thomas Harrison (1724-1829), and the solemnity of the building may well reflect Harrison's work, not only on the Castles of Chester and Lancaster, but on the associated prisons that were a part of their purpose.²⁰⁶ .

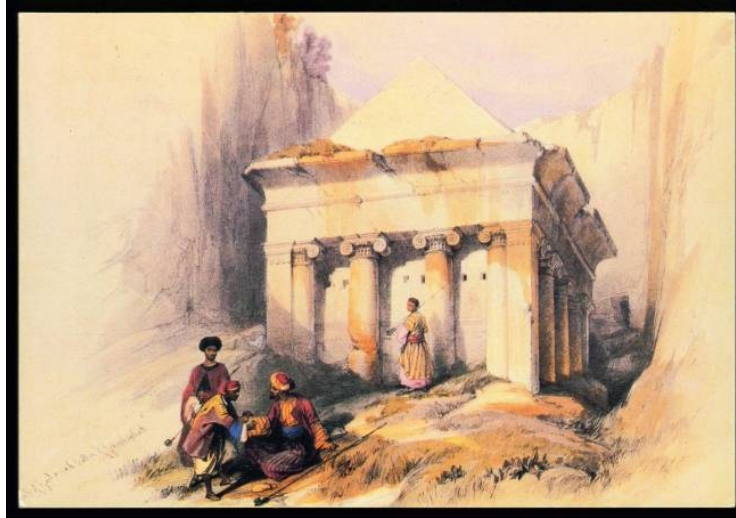
²⁰⁶ Colvin, H., *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840*, 3rd ed. (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995) p.469: "Gosford House, East Lothian, Harrison modified Robert Adam's designs for the house under construction for which he was paid £31.10s.6d by the 7th Earl of Wemyss in 1794 (NMRS extracts from the Wemyss Accounts at Gosford House)."



Author

Figure 4.76 The Pyramid-roofed Mausoleum, with one of the remaining yews.

This pyramid, 31ft square and of grey sandstone, was built for the Seventh Earl. It was begun in 1795 and completed in 1798. On a square base with tetrastyle porches on each face, the likeliest inspiration seems to have been either that of the original Mausoleum, the tomb of Mausolus at Halicarnassus or the Tomb of Zachariah from Mount Kidron near Jerusalem, the subject some thirty years after the construction of that at Gosford of a picture by David Roberts.



David Roberts, 1830

Figure 4.77 The Tomb of Zachariah.

Here the building acknowledges that Masonic thread which is one of Scotland's strongest links to Egypt. The Seventh Earl of Wemyss had been Grand Master Mason of Scotland in 1747-48 and to him the Egyptian pyramid form would therefore have been of especial significance.

The interior, resembling a columbarium, with more than forty spaces, was used only once, and the remains of the Seventh Earl of Wemyss were not joined by any other members of his family, which is singular, since their Masonic connection would witness further family successors to the title Earl of Wemyss who were also Grand Master Masons of Scotland.²⁰⁷

Bridges.

The 18th century was to see the development of the commercial infrastructure of Scotland, which began with the improvement of its road system. It was however principally to control the Jacobite Highlands after the Stuart rebellion of 1715, that General George Wade's two hundred and fifty mile road system plans bore fruit, being crowned in an architecturally unique manner by William Adam's superbly sited bridge at Aberfeldy.

The earliest of three Scottish bridges crowned with obelisks, this example constructed in 1733 by William Adam for General Wade makes effective use of its site.

²⁰⁷ The Scottish Grand Lodge List of Grand Master Masons of Scotland notes that the 5th Earl had been Grand Master Mason in 1743. Prior to his succession as 7th Earl of Wemyss, as the Hon. Francis Charteris he had held the office in 1747 and the 9th Earl was to hold the post as Lord Elcho in 1827.



Author

Figure 4.78 General Wade's Bridge, at Aberfeldy, 1733.

When the General was appointed by King George I in 1724 as commander of the army responsible for bringing order to Scotland, he was given monies to improve the road system so that the army might the more speedily move about the country. The undertaking involved the building of around forty bridges²⁰⁸. It would certainly appear that General Wade considered this particular bridge to be intended as his monument for he lavished far more money and masons on this bridge than any other, Ruddock claiming that: "The Aberfeldy Bridge was clearly designed to be Wade's memorial."²⁰⁹ It cost £4,095, more than half Wade's total expenditure, which indicates its significance in his own eyes.

He seems further to have claimed it to be his own work. Glendinning quotes from the lengthy carved encomium in which Wade is commemorated: "George Wade, prefect of the forces in Scotland, completed this audacious crossing work in the year 1733, by his cleverness..." Modesty seems not to have been General Wade's besetting sin!

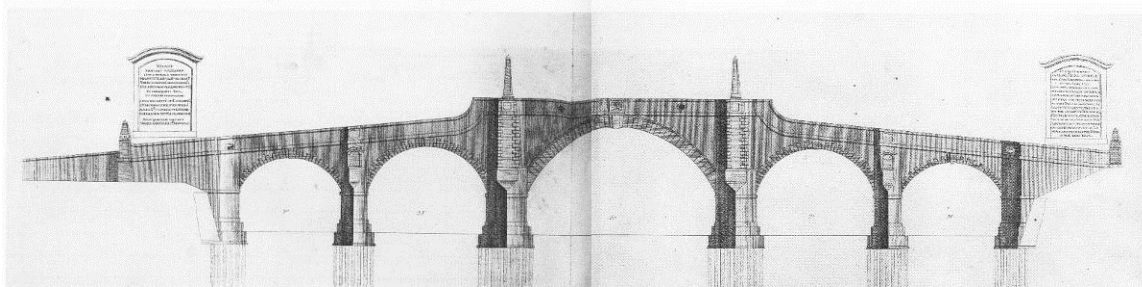
The writer suggests that since Wade was determined that the structure should be both a visible and an enduring commemoration of his achievement the symbolism expressed by the obelisk seemed to William Adam appropriate, even in such an unusual situation. He must have recognized its significance for it was selected to appear, in *Vitruvius Scoticus*,²¹⁰ the illustration

²⁰⁸ De Mare, E., *Bridges of Britain* (London: Batsford, 1954). p. 45

²⁰⁹ Ruddock, T., *Arch Bridges and their Builders* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974). p.19

²¹⁰ Adam, W., *Vitruvius Scoticus* (Edinburgh: A.C. Black, 1812). This publication, first mooted by William Adam in 1727 as a series of plates showing his creations, finally appeared (containing works other than by him in addition) in 1812, and was published at the behest of his grandson William.

(below) showing more clearly than the photograph (above), the pyramidal capstones towards the end of the structure, and including the substantial memorial tablets.



William Adam *Vitruvius Scoticus*

Figure 4.79 Aberfeldy Bridge

The second of the bridges employing the device of four obelisks is to be found in the park at Dumfries House at Cumnock in Ayrshire constructed in 1760-62. Close writes: “...the superb Avenue Bridge, contemporary with the house, boasts obelisks and a chunky central balustrade”²¹¹, noting its resemblance to the bridge at Aberfeldy. If William Adam, when holding the earlier discussions on the house with the 4th Earl of Dumfries, did not perhaps himself make mention of the bridge, then plans of that constructed at Aberfeldy would have been available in his archive. However, the writer was firmly informed by the Curatorial Assistant at Mount Stuart that: “Comments on a dated plan of the bridge at Dumfries House state – ‘Designed in 1761 by JOHN Adam.’(sic).”²¹²

²¹¹ Close, R., *Ayrshire and Arran*, (Edinburgh: RIAS, 1992). p.141

²¹² This information was contained in an e-mail from ‘Lynsey’ (the Bute archival assistant) dated 9th May 2007 –the archives being ‘closed for an extended period’.



Author.



Author.

Figure 4.80 Two Views of the Avenue Bridge at Dumfries House.

Whilst the Park Bridge is not in prime condition and the photograph above shows that the balustrade, which is still extant on the other side of the bridge, is a replacement of stout timbers, this bridge is of lighter construction than Aberfeldy Bridge, which had been built to carry the traffic of a public highway. However, crowned with obelisks as is the Dumfries House Bridge, unlike that at Aberfeldy, here it merely serves as an adornment to the large park surrounding the house.²¹³ Let Close have the last word on ‘The Avenue Bridge’; he comments, no doubt because of the symbolic mourning function of the obelisk: “Here is gravitas indeed.”²¹⁴

Robert and John designed a much more conventional bridge on the Kirkdale estate near Wigtown in Kirkcudbrightshire, Gifford confirming that it was: “Built in 1788, the design was a drastically simplified version of the one proposed by R. & J. Adam.”²¹⁵ Robert Adam, who so often saw his decorative additions pruned as a cost-saving measure, proposed, as can be seen below, decorative lamp standards, a centrally placed pair of substantial sphinxes,²¹⁶ and elaborately carved decoration above the arches, but these were never put in place.

²¹³ Perhaps John Adam was here paying a memorial tribute to his father.

²¹⁴ Close, R., *Ayrshire and Arran* (Edinburgh: RIAS, 1992). p.141

²¹⁵ Gifford, J., *Dumfries and Galloway* (London: Yale University Press, 2002). (Buildings of Scotland series) p.380

²¹⁶ The design of the pair had, as is inevitably Adam’s wont, passed through the refining hands of Greece.



From the Soane Museum Adam Archive²¹⁷

Figure 4.81 The original design for Kirkdale Bridge

It was towards the end of the 18th century that growing commerce dictated the need for an improved road system and in 1786, Alexander Stevens, a farmer, of Prestonhall, Midlothian, constructed the Bridge of Arditie spanning the River Almond. Its allegiance to ‘Egypt’, is announced in rather muted terms, compared to the examples above, indicated by



RCAHMS²¹⁸

Figure 4.82 The Bridge of Arditie and detail.

²¹⁷ From the Soane Museum Robert Adam Archive, Book 35. No. 49

²¹⁸ Scran 000-000-187-542-C

by the two circular recesses at each side, both containing an obelisk.²¹⁹ Whether these were a partly cached reference to Stevens' Masonic interest is not clear, but except from the river below they are concealed from view.

As the 18th century drew to its close it was as 'a page about to be turned', and a totally new set of circumstances arose when Napoleon (1769-1821), soon to be Emperor of the French (May 18th, 1804) led an expedition that landed in Egypt in July 1798, both to overthrow the Ottoman authority there and to block an easy route for the British to their Indian possessions. It is of great significance that he sent with this expeditionary force 151 scholars with the widest range of skills. Their work was to bear significant fruit in the following century. One of the key artefacts, discovered in mid-July 1799, was the Rosetta Stone, bearing three versions of the same text. In addition to hieroglyphic and demotic²²⁰ scripts, the remaining text was in Ancient Greek, and this provided the key to a totally new comprehension of Egyptian thought and intention.

²¹⁹ Scran 000-000-187-542-C

²²⁰ Demotic script is a cursive version of writing having its origins in hieroglyphs.

Chapter 5

Influences of Ancient Egypt in 19th Century Scotland

From its outset, the 19th century was to see Egyptian themes achieve new significance in Scotland and, as the country prospered, to be employed in a wider range of constructions than ever before. The military campaign of 1798-1801 which followed Napoleon's invasion of Egypt was the opening stimulus, saw Scottish regiments deployed there, and brought that country to the focus of national interest. The wearing of military insignia on Egyptian themes by returning Scottish Regiments, and the issuing of a campaign medal which portrayed the Sphinx, lent a sense of patriotism to the image of the country.

The most positive results of Napoleon's Egyptian Campaign which militarily had been inimical to Britain's interests came from the scholars whom he took on the expedition, who produced detailed scientific observations and the first accurate and measured record of the country's architectural splendours. Donald & Rice commented on the academic result arising from the expedition that: "This was of profound importance in bringing the 'reality' of Ancient Egypt to the academic world, releasing a mass of literally monumental forms into the consciousness of dilettanti and the expanding literate classes alike."¹

These major new revelations appeared first in the account of the expedition's leader, Baron Dominique Vivant Denon (1747-1825), '*Voyage dans la Basse et la Haute Égypte*', published in Paris in 1802 (and in English in London in the same year),² and second in the gradual completion of the 21 volume account of the expedition's studies as '*Description de l'Égypte*' between 1809 and 1828, a complete set of which arrived at the Library of the Faculty of Advocates in Edinburgh in 1831.³ These measured and thorough works enabled the full inventory of Ancient Egypt's architectural achievements to be available to Scots for the first time, based not on the limited examples of earlier visits to Egypt, or available to those undertaking the Grand Tour to Rome and its environs, but from accurate information and illustrations. The discovery of the

¹ MacDonald, S., & Rice, M., *Consuming Ancient Egypt* (London: UCL Press, 2003). p.5.

² Vivant Denon, D., *Travels in Upper and Lower Egypt, during the Campaign of General Bonaparte* (London: Longman, Rees and Phillips, 1802). The book is inscribed as being in the possession of the Advocates Library of Scotland in the following year.

³ This collection was housed in a case of 'Egyptianesque' design.

Rosetta stone⁴ during that campaign and the first translation of Egyptian hieroglyphs by Champollion in 1822⁵ unlocked the mysteries of Egyptian script and led to a clear comprehension of facts which had hitherto frequently been the subject of erroneous speculation. A further and almost contemporary factor as Britain assumed a confident and expanding role in world affairs had been the deliberate creation by the government of the day of a national pantheon of heroes to be divided between Westminster Abbey and – of growing prominence – St. Paul’s Cathedral. This cult was already launched in France, where in Paris its own *Panthéon* came into being in 1791,⁶ and the similarity of timing is noted by Wrigley, who adds that: “Between 1794 and 1823, 36 national monuments to military leaders and statesmen were commissioned for St. Paul’s Cathedral and Westminster Abbey.”⁷

In Scotland no central shrine to its heroes was built – the National Monument begun in 1822 to top Calton Hill in Edinburgh but never completed – and the serious intent of which Gow rather dismisses with the words: “...it formed one of the sideshows of the cardboard city that arose to greet King George IV on his state visit to Scotland,”⁸ and it was the Necropolis of 1832 (a graveyard for personal and family interments) which George Blair was incorrectly to describe as ‘The Westminster Abbey of Glasgow’⁹.

Scotland’s most celebrated sons joined the illustrious of England in Westminster Abbey or at St. Paul’s Cathedral,¹⁰ with Sir Ralph Abercromby, who died on 28th March, 1801 from wounds received in the Egyptian Campaign, becoming the first Scot to be memorialised in the latter by a statuary group which made historic reference to Egypt.

That country’s share in this British victory and its sense of its contribution towards Britain’s imperial destiny – a role which was to grow throughout the century – was demonstrated by its tribute to a British national hero with the Nelson Monument of 1806, erected in Glasgow in

⁴ A cast of the Rosetta Stone was placed in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow in 1812.

⁵ The decipherment was announced in the famous *Lettre à M. Dacier*, read to the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* in Paris on Friday 27th September, 1822.

⁶ The former Church of Ste. Geneviève (patron saint of Paris) was turned by decree into a *Panthéon*: ‘Aux grands hommes la patrie reconnaissante’, in 1790.

⁷ Wrigley, R., (ed), *Pantheon: transformations of a monumental idea*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004) Hooock, H. ‘Inventing a Pantheon’. p. 83

⁸ Gow, I., *Scottish Pioneers of the Greek Revival*, (Edinburgh: The Scottish Georgian Society, 1984) p.49.

⁹ Blair, G., *Biographic and Descriptive Sketches of the Glasgow Necropolis* (Glasgow: Maurice Ogle and Sons, 1857) Preface p. 1

¹⁰ It was in St. Paul’s Cathedral in London that Sir Ralph Abercromby, Commander of the British Army in Egypt, killed in 1801 was to have his principal memorial.

1806. Indeed whilst that enterprising city could raise its mourning obelisk a year after his death to the man who had almost achieved the status of an idol, his commemorative column in London was not completed until 1843.

The practice of the Scots' rejection of obelisks as focal points in the urban cityscape, nowhere more so than at the heart of the capital, Edinburgh, continued the custom of the previous century. However, whilst the splendid Glasgow example commemorating the death of Lord Nelson was sited on Glasgow Green, not as the dominant feature in some central square, from there in its verdant setting, it played its part in the urban landscape. Other obelisks appeared across Scotland enhancing the landscape and crowning hills to add there a Picturesque and Romantic focal point, and, as the century passed and as Britain's role in the world grew, its progress would be acknowledged by further, if more modest, obelisks, raised as regimental monuments and tracing the specific campaigns which marked Britain's imperial expansion.

There was also support in Britain for the pyramid as part of its acceptance of that Neoclassicism which had been first advocated for its implications in Italy and France in the previous century, Wrigley noting that: "...for Boullée (1728-1799) the pyramid was the monument, par excellence, because it succeeded in surviving through the centuries and bore testimony to the Egyptians' concern to commemorate their dead..."¹¹ This support for the pyramid was sustained in England in an essay of 1808 by Wood,¹² who proposed: "to build in London an enormous pyramid to stimulate the heroism of English merchants," (as) witness to the ability of gigantic monuments: "...to delight, astonish, elevate or sway the minds of others... so as to ensure for the dead unceasing fame of long duration."¹³ Perhaps the influence of this sentiment may have been the stimulus for the proposal in 1818 for a pyramid as a monument to the distinguished Scottish lawyer and politician, Lord Melville (1742-1811).¹⁴

All the above Egyptian symbolism had appeal for Freemasons, who continued to flourish from the start of the century, nowhere more so than in Glasgow, where by 1806 their prominent place in the ceremonies at the obelisk to Lord Nelson, acknowledging him as a Brother, was noted, the *Glasgow Herald* commenting that there were twentythree active Masonic Lodges in the city, at

¹¹ Wrigley, R., *Pantheon: 'Transformations of a Monumental Idea'*. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004) p.133: This reference is to the French architect, *Etienne-Louis Boullée* (1728-1799).

¹² Wood, W., *An Essay on National and Sepulchral Monument* (London: William Miller, 1808) p.5

¹³ *Ibid.* p.6

¹⁴ The pyramid, to be sited on Arthur's Seat, would have had enormous prominence; as it was, a column and a family obelisk at other sites had to suffice.

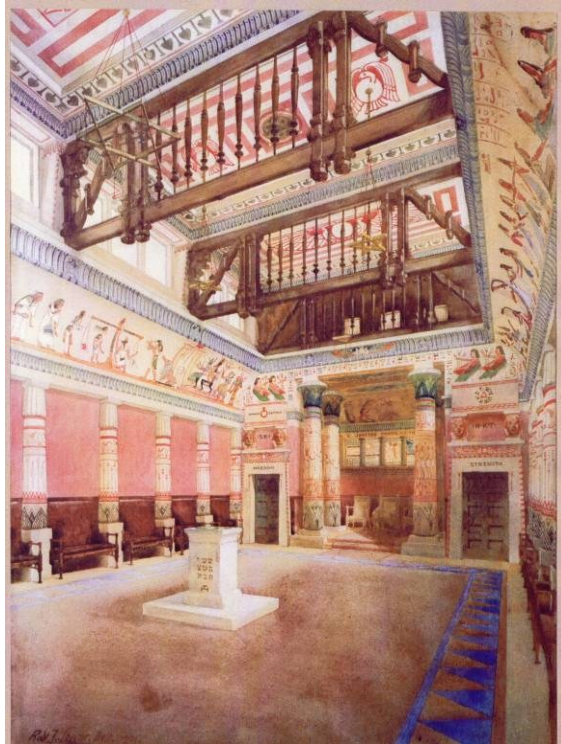
the time,¹⁵ and reflecting a national trend. The movement received even higher social recognition in this new century, when, to those titled aristocrats who had filled the list of Grand Master Masons of Scotland from 1736, was added the name of George, Duke of Rothesay, later King George IV, who occupied the post from 1806 until he came to the throne in 1820. Freemasonry's most ostentatiously 'Egyptian' example which was to close the century was the somewhat theatrical interior of The Grand Arch Chapter Room of the Masonic Temple at 78, Queen Street, Edinburgh, the work of the architect Peter Lyle Henderson (1848-1912), unique in his oeuvre¹⁶. Named also in the rich collection of illustrations held at the RCAHMS as 'The Egyptian Halls', this building of 1900 reflects Egypt in the lotus columns, door frames and the unique and elaborate 'Egyptianesque' scenes, which decorated the cornice of its major reception room, the Chapter Room. These, Curl suggests, may represent the story of Isis and Osiris.¹⁷ Whilst many allusions to Egypt occur in Masonic tradition and earlier reference has been made to the 'Egyptian Rite' introduced into Britain in the late 18th century, the Curator of Grand Lodge¹⁸ confirmed that no special 'Egyptian Rite' was celebrated on these premises, which merely reflected the strong claims made by Freemasonry to its associations with Ancient Egypt.

¹⁵ *The Glasgow Herald*, 02/08/1806. p 2

¹⁶ Glendinning, M., *A History of Scottish Architecture* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996). p.572
Peter Lyle Barclay Henderson (1848-1912). His principal architectural activity was in the field of breweries.

¹⁷ Curl J.S., *The Egyptian Revival*. (Abingdon: Routledge. 2005). p.362

¹⁸ The confirmation was given on February 13th 2009 at one of a series of interviews.



RCAHMS¹⁹

Figure 5.1. Peter Henderson’s Grand Arch Chapter Room in the Supreme Grand Royal Arch Chapter of Scotland, 1900, from an exhibition sketch by Robert F. Sherar.

Of this exercise Gifford writes that it is: “...one of the most remarkable interiors in Edinburgh...,”²⁰ as indeed, the above illustration confirms it to be.

The significance of 19th century Freemasonry is made abundantly apparent by the reference to known Freemasons who appear in this chapter whilst many others seem not to have made their membership public.²¹

Commemoration and mourning display, specifically discouraged in the previous century except in aristocratic and affluent circles, now extended down the social scale – owing, not least, to the influx of country dwellers and the Irish into towns ill-equipped to receive them and creating an awareness that life was short.²² Morley writes of Glasgow that: “The mortality bill of 1837

¹⁹ RCAHMS ref: EDU/896/1cn.

²⁰ Gifford, J., *‘Edinburgh’*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1984). (Buildings of Scotland series) p 321

²¹ Alexander ‘Greek’ Thomson remained silent on the subject.

²² Between 1801 and 1831 Glasgow’s population swelled from 77, 385 to 202, 426 (Statistical report, DTC 14. 2 27 GCA).

exhibits a rate of mortality inferring an intensity of misery and suffering unequalled in Britain.”²³ Disposal of the dead became, therefore, a matter of extreme importance, to which a further dimension was added when funeral display was seized on, almost enthusiastically, by the newly wealthy and substantial middle class. They sought to demonstrate that they had ‘arrived’, by aping the gentry, which necessitated display, not only in life but in death. This is succinctly expressed by Morley: “...one meets evidence that it was thought as necessary to maintain the standards of one’s class in life, and, if possible, even to use death as a means of further social advancement... More than the monuments to the brave, the great and the good, it was the acceptance in cemeteries across the land that death had to be marked by a ‘suitable’ grave monument, amongst which the obelisk proliferated, which popularised mourning forms of Egyptian origin and a city might express much of its motivation in the monuments which it chose.”²⁴

In the third decade of the century, there appeared the first of a new type of graveyard, the Scottish catalyst for which appears to have been the publication of *Necropolis Glasguensis* by Dr. John Strang in 1831, who proposed that: “...a garden cemetery and monumental decoration...,” could afford: “... the most convincing tokens of a nation’s progress in civilisation and the arts.”²⁵ From the resultant Glasgow Necropolis, (influenced by the earlier Père Lachaise cemetery in Paris) which opened in 1832 adjacent to the Cathedral of St Mungo, this type of cemetery, when repeated across the country, could reflect the particular ethos of the city where it was sited. Thus, whilst the Necropolis reflected the wealth and ostentation of ‘the second city of the Empire’, the governmental and the professional classes of Edinburgh expressed their status in a more restrained manner at, *inter alia*, the Dean Cemetery,²⁶ both, however, rich in allusions to Egypt. A further impetus was given to the mourning process in 1861 by the death of Albert, the Prince Consort, and the absorption of his widow in her grieving, which was to endure until her death forty years later, and was a further measure which fixed the funeral and its elaborate etiquette at the heart of national life.

Other factors were abroad to satisfy this wish for visible monuments to mourning, not least the development of industrial technology and in the early 1830s the application of steam driven

²³ Morley, J., *Death, Heaven and the Victorians* (London: Studio Vista, 1971). p.8

²⁴ *Ibid.* p.11

²⁵ Strang, J., *Necropolis Glasguensis* (Glasgow: Atkinson, 1831) Preface p. 7

²⁶ It is noticeable that their rank, offices held and their detailed professional qualifications are much in evidence.

machinery, introduced by Alexander Macdonald, an Aberdeen quarry owner, to power both cutting and polishing machinery increased the production of monumental masonry of Aberdeen and Peterhead granite. In the former city, the best known quarry was Rubislaw.



S.Read.²⁷

Figure 5.2 The Rubislaw Granite Quarry, from a sketch by S.Read.1862.

In the accompanying article there is the note that: “In this art of working, sculpturing and dealing with granite, the Egyptians, as in everything to which they applied their fertile minds, attained a high degree of excellence.”²⁸

²⁷ *The Illustrated London News*, April 26th 1862 .p.410

²⁸ *Ibid.* p.429.

The obelisks were produced in a range of standard sizes which were offered from catalogues from the mid-19th century, and amongst the products, this monument, by its slender form, was efficiently shaped to be transported and could easily be delivered both at home and abroad.²⁹ Thus the symbol which had begun the century on Glasgow Green raised to a single hero appeared in cemeteries across the country, conveniently able to be ordered from a catalogue by a greatly increased clientele.

The above was only part of that process of commercial and industrial growth which could turn to another facet of Egyptian architecture, its weight and formidable strength, to give strength and vigour to the industrial scene. Covering a range of situations, as one example, both at Thomas Telford's Menai Bridge of 1826 and the Forth Bridge of 1890 – which crowned the nineteenth century with its engineered glory – the references to Egypt and the Sublime resonate. They and that wider range are dealt with in detail in the text below.

The new and more informed enthusiasm for Egypt precipitated a series of visits, and whereas the only Scottish account of Egypt published before the start of the 19th century had been based on the passing visit there by James Bruce in 1768, the new century, with peace declared in Europe in 1815 and the lengthy rule of Mohammed Ali Pasha (1805-1848) established in Egypt, saw foreigners welcomed, whether to establish commercial ties,³⁰ to study the country's ancient monuments, or, merely to use the country as an overland route to India.

Whilst he published no great work on his visit of 1813, Sir John Maxwell of Pollok (1790-1865) kept a journal and was also the first Scot to record such a visit by having his portrait painted in exotic 'Turkish' costume, as did other visitors, reflecting a sense of the exoticism of their Middle Eastern visits.³¹

After Bruce's transitory visit to the country in the previous century, it was Robert Hay of Linplum (1799-1863), arriving there in 1824, who made the first visit by a Scot solely to sketch, to record and, especially, to take casts of Egypt's archaeological treasures.³²

Of the Scottish visitors whose work produced valuable new evidence of Egypt by far the best known was to be David Roberts (1796-1864). His contribution in illustrating the architectural splendours of Egypt and Biblical sites both there and in the Holy land in 1838-39, which he then

²⁹ See the examples of design shown in 'General Mourning...' illustrated below in this chapter.

³⁰ An early development which linked Egypt and Scotland was the establishment of a cotton growing industry.

³¹ The Giza pyramids are shown in correct dimensions but inexplicably are deficient of one of their number.

³² These were later disposed of by his heirs to the British Museum.

published from 1842 in lithographic form, made these both affordable and appealing to a wide public. That he advised on the one 'Egyptian' industrial building in Britain, which might, if found with fittings removed in the Egyptian desert, have been accepted as indigenous, is a compliment to the regard in which his interpretation of Egypt was held.

The unpublished notebooks of Joseph Ewart MP (1799-1868), descendant of a Scottish Border family, which are kept in Dumfriesshire in the family archive, whilst not increasing public knowledge, describe in dated detail a visit in 1846-47 throughout Egypt and subsequently to much of the Middle East, also including Biblical sites. They demonstrate the informed reaction of a well-read and religious Victorian industrialist, and make careful and personal observations not only on historic monuments, but on developing industries and social conditions. Perhaps, with a growing sense of Britain's imperial might, annexation crossed his mind.

Alexander Henry Rhind (1833-1863) visiting the country in 1855-56 produced the first major Scottish work on his excavations there, and it was his Egyptian artefacts, left to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, which later came to form the core of the Egyptian collection in the National Museum of Scotland.

That the Prince and Princess of Wales gave the royal imprimatur by visiting the country in 1863 may have served to encourage other visitors to experience Egypt and in the later years of the century it became possible to sail directly there from Scotland, whether for commerce, with cotton taking a major role, for health, or to experience the country's historic monuments. Examples of such visitors are recorded below. Britain had cemented its relationship with Egypt territorially, first, by the acquisition in 1847 of the majority of the shares in the Suez Canal Company,³³ and second, by making Egypt a protectorate in 1882.

Even with the new and detailed information available, it is right to confirm that no single imitation of a complete Egyptian building was ever produced in Scotland where there is nothing to compare with the Egyptian Hall in Piccadilly, built for William Bullock in 1812 to the designs of P.F. Robinson (1776-1858) and which in 1821 was to house: "... a magnificent exhibition of Egyptian art and artefacts brought to London by Giovanni Battista Belzoni (1778-1823)... which caught the imagination of the public to an extent not known again until a century later when Tutankhamun's tomb was found."

³³ These were principally acquired to safeguard Britain's access to India.



Niklaus Pevsner.³⁴

Figure 5.3 The Egyptian Hall at 170-173 Piccadilly, London.

Even more unusual in its combination of Egyptian, Greek and Hindoo (albeit with a Gothick air) buildings are those designed by John Foulston (1772-1842) at Devonport.



Niklaus Pevsner³⁵.

Figure 5.4 A blend of architectural references by John Foulston.

Scotland's less ostentatious riposte could be found in much more restrained examples.

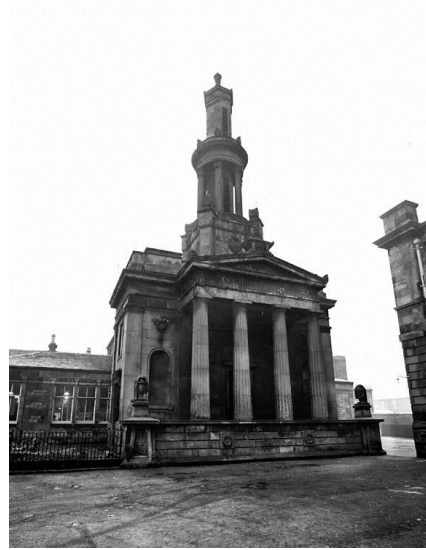
³⁴ Pevsner, N., & Lang, S., "The Egyptian Revival" *The Architectural Review*, Vol. CXIX, May 1956 .p. 242

³⁵ *Ibid.*



Stamp and McKinstry

Figure 5.5 Heavy wings and a battered doorway at Blythwood Testimonial School, John Stephen.



Scran

Figure 5.6 The main building of Blythwood Testimonial School, 1840, John Stephen.

At the Blythwood Testimonial School of 1839-40, Stephen crowns the main building with a tiered form suggesting the Choragic Monument of Lysicrates above a pedimented front suggesting Greece, yet the low and heavy wings containing battered doors in a setting of heavy masonry, as well as the battered base on which the Classical upper section rests, are suggestive of Egypt and almost seem to offer the allusion that Greek Classical architecture has risen from Egyptian foundations.

The 19th century has produced a considerable number of examples where the combination of Greek forms drawn from Egyptian origins leaves the interpretation by later writers to note or to disregard the Egyptian content, the most notable being the example below.

The most striking of John Stephen's (1807-1850) buildings³⁶ employing the Aegypto-Greek idiom is undoubtedly St Jude's Church, Glasgow of 1840. Today, bereft of its similar crowning reference to the Choragic Monument of Lysicrates, its 'Egyptian' symbols of battered doors, windows and general profile are perhaps more marked, but

³⁶ Stephen's third 'Egyptian' reference is made at the Sighthill Chapel and gates of 1839-40.



Author

Figure 5. 7 The former St Jude's Episcopal Church, Glasgow, John Stephen, 1840.

whilst McKean dubs this “Egyptic Greek,”³⁷ Walker writes of its: “...extremely personal brand of Greek...,”³⁸ and he is echoing an opinion given by Gildard in the previous century, who noted that: “...St. Jude's Church early taught us the elasticity of Greek architecture...,” even adding that Sighthill Chapel with its winged sun-disk is also Greek.³⁹ A wide but sparsely distributed range of civil architectural projects reflected this marriage of Greek and Egyptian architectural sentiment, and, testament to the growing wealth of Scotland's middle classes, enabled them to broaden the eclecticism of their choice of architecture.

Amongst the most striking building in which ‘Egyptian’ influences have been noted is the elegant Aegypto-Greek ‘Arthur Lodge’, built in Edinburgh in 1830. Worthy of Thomas Hamilton in its meticulous use of stone, it is included here, with his authorship not assured, Gifford only describing it as: “...probably by Thomas Hamilton...”⁴⁰

³⁷ Stamp, G., & McKinstrey, S., (eds.) *Greek Thomson* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999) p. 36

³⁸ Walker, D., “Towards a New Style” *The Builder*, Vol. CCI. October 27th 1961 No. 6180. p.787

³⁹ From a paper in the records of the Glasgow Philosophical Society read by Thomas Gildard Hon. Member of The Glasgow Architects Association 3rd December 1893, pp118-119

⁴⁰ Gifford, J., *Edinburgh* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1984). (Buildings of Scotland series) p.643



Author

Figure 5.8 Arthur Lodge

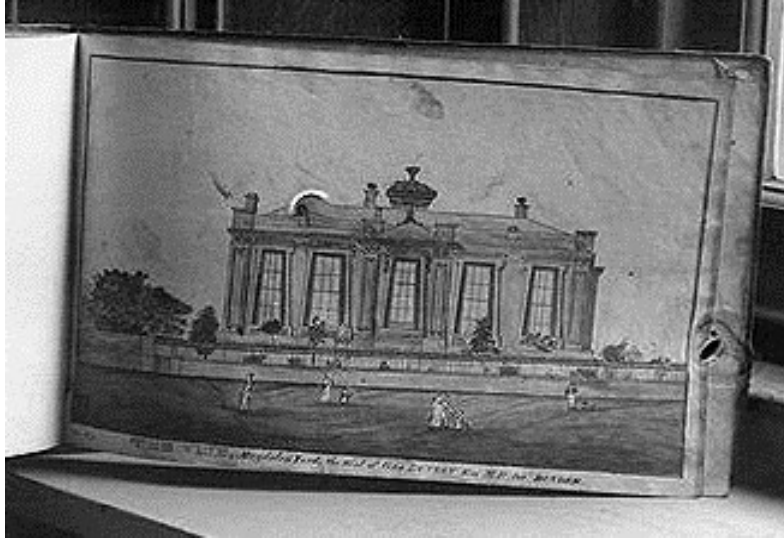


Author

Figure 5. 9 Battered windows at Arthur Lodge.

Situated in Dalkeith Road, Edinburgh, this villa is noticeably more ambitious in both scale and elaboration than ‘The Vine’ in Dundee, which follows. Such a progression of an architectural theme from capital to provincial site would be unsurprising. The Dundee example dates to 1836, and, as with ‘Arthur Lodge’, here also the architect of this small villa in Magdelene Road is not confirmed. McKean, suggesting that it may be by the Perth architect, W.M. Mackenzie, writes: “The Vine is an apparently single-storey villa of superb ashlar with incised detail. Designed as a house and art gallery for George Duncan MP, it has a two-storey bedroom and service wing, which, as at ‘Arthur Lodge’ is largely out of sight. Both the twin columns *in antis* of its portico and its large windows of battered outline proclaim their ‘Egyptian’ form.”⁴¹

⁴¹ McKean, C., & Walker, D., *Dundee, an Illustrated Introduction*, (Edinburgh, RIAS 1984). p.83



From the Alexander Wilson Collection at www.dundee.gov.uk.

Figure 5.10 ‘The Vine’, 1836



RCAHMS⁴²

Figure 5.11 ‘The Vine’

Further examples echoing the spread of influences from the largest cities to provincial towns are to be found in Perth, but the ‘Egyptian’ influences there merely seem to whisper their presence in terrace⁴³ and commercial building⁴⁴.

⁴² RCAHMS BO 5621

⁴³ Gifford, J., *Perth and Kinross in the Buildings of Scotland Series* (London and Newhaven: Yale University Press, 2007). p. 640. Here Gifford describes 36-44 Tay Street, part of a terrace fronting on to the river there and

Two of Edinburgh’s finest architects, Thomas Hamilton (1784-1858) and William Henry Playfair (1790-1857), enriched Scotland’s capital with a range of buildings in the Greek Revival style. As with the examples above, in Hamilton’s work one detects references to forms originating in Egypt and in his masterpiece, the Royal High School in Edinburgh of 1825-1829 he uses batter on wall, door and window, the latter, an architectural form appearing later in the century in the churches of Alexander Thomson, an admirer of his work. In his Haldane Lectures Thomson, commenting on the Greek Revival style, observes that: “...the buildings which constitute the glory of Edinburgh, and which entitle it to be called the modern Athens, were the fruits of this movement and of the concentrated intelligence of British society, which at that time had its seat in our northern capital.”⁴⁵



Author

Figure 5.12 A battered door frame, Edinburgh Royal High School. Thomas Hamilton.



Author

Figure 5.13 The East Door of the National Galleries of Scotland, W.H. Playfair,⁴⁶

designed by Andrew Heiton Junior in 1872, as: “...another polished ashlar essay in Thomsonesque Aegypto–Greek.”

⁴⁴ Gifford, J., *Perth and Kinross* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books 2007). (Buildings of Scotland series) p. 618. “At 26-32 George Street, in 1836, W. M. Mackenzie built the Exchange Coffee Room, of which Gifford writes: “The end bays of the upper floors are framed by giant orderless pillars, incised with Soanean Aegypto-Greek ornament...”

⁴⁵ Thomson, A., *Art and Architecture* (A Series of Lectures delivered at the Glasgow School of Art and Haldane Academy in 1874) Reprinted in *The British Architect* (Manchester: John Hardman, 1874) Chap.III. p.8

⁴⁶ To the author, there is no doubt that here Playfair was inspired only by thoughts of Greek architecture just as his thoughts when using obelisk or pyramid would have been aware that its commemorative functions began in Egypt. See, however Chapter 2, Figures 2.7-8.

However, even when Playfair used the battered door, above, at his Royal Institution in 1822, Grant commenting that he “designed the first building in Scotland to display battered Egyptian-type doorways,”⁴⁷ and with Glendinning noting both his and Hamilton’s classicism as “eclectic”,⁴⁸ it cannot seriously be maintained that either architect considered Egypt as the source for their lay and civic architecture, reserving their proper regard for its symbols, for commemorative use, the obelisk and pyramid. Even Hamilton’s construction of his obelisk bridge of 1828 and his obelisk-like burgh steeple at Dundee of 1828-1832 were derived from the work of the Adam family in the previous century.

Rare exceptions who interpreted the spirit of Egypt in their own way do exist and a true enthusiast for its architecture appeared with the chance discovery in Canada in 1986 of the archive of the Dumfriesshire architect Walter Newall (1780-1863), which consists of over two thousand drawings, and has been hailed by Gow as: “A most important event in Scottish architectural history.”⁴⁹ Amongst the sketches, some two hundred were of Ancient Egyptian inspiration, including meticulous drawings of identifiable Egyptian buildings. Sadly, his was an enthusiasm which his clients did not share, and Egyptian references in his buildings are meagre.

The work of Archibald Simpson (1790-1847) contains little at first glance to which the description ‘Egyptian’ can be applied, yet this was the description applied on more than one occasion at the centenary ceremonies to mark his death. On that occasion, the Orator, D.W. Simpson, remarked on Simpson’s use of: “...simple, pylon-like masses...,” going on to refer to one building as having: “more than a hint of old Egypt in its Kolossalität and a suggestion of its eternal permanence.”⁵⁰ Thus he caught if not the detail then the spirit of the Sublime and, in addition, the majority of his buildings were constructed of local granite, a stone possessing an especial gravitas of its own, echoing that permanence which led to the Egyptians’ naming of their temples as: “houses of millions of years.”⁵¹

⁴⁷ Grant, E., “The Sphinx in the North”, in Cosgrove, E., *The Iconography of Landscape* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) Chapter 12, p.239

⁴⁸ Glendinning, M., Macinnes, R., & MacKechnie, R., *A History of Scottish Architecture* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996) p.195

⁴⁹ Architectural Heritage VII (The Journal of the Architectural Heritage Society of Scotland) 1996

⁵⁰ This extract is taken from D. W. Simpson’s Oration at The Archibald Simpson Centenary Celebrations of 9th May 1947 which was reprinted in August 1947 in *The Quarterly RIAS Journal*. p. 8

⁵¹ Dr. A. G. M. Mackenzie, President Elect of the Royal Incorporation of Architects in Scotland, added in confirmation that: “We have to thank him for what he did for Aberdeen granite... he used it as the Egyptians did.”

In seeking for the clearly expressed intentions of an architect, when one turns to the last architect of the 19th century to be included in this work, one finds an enthusiast for Egypt, and an informed enthusiast at that. Of Alexander ‘Greek’ Thomson (1817-1875), Grant writes that: “Known as ‘Greek’ Thomson, in fact ‘Egyptian’ Thomson would be as apt a nickname.”⁵² Making no Grand Tour, the principal motivation behind much of Thomson’s work were his deeply held religious convictions. That he joined, at the Disruption, the United Presbyterian Church gave him an affluent clientele, who could turn to him for their architectural requirements, not least their churches, and he remained the only serious Scottish proponent of Egyptian themes in church construction⁵³, in his commercial buildings, and in his villas for the affluent of Glasgow. Articulate, sincere and clear of intention, his second Haldane Lecture from a series delivered at the Glasgow School of Art in 1874, is entitled ‘The Spirit of the Egyptian Style’.⁵⁴ Alexander Thomson was also to combine a rich blend of forms – to the Greek and Egyptian forms he adds one instance of ‘Hindoo’ style cupolas to cap two of his churches. Yet when compared to Foulston’s work, above, Thomson must be regarded as restrained.

In Scottish furniture a similar reticence occurs, and the examples of Thomas Hope in England in the early years of the 19th century, frequently swagged, draped and gilded, were to be echoed in less ostentatious form in the Scottish interior, not least in the furniture of William Trotter of Edinburgh.⁵⁵

The architectural response to Egypt which petered out in England before the close of the third decade endured in Scotland for a further forty years, principally due both to Scotland’s acceptance of Egyptian symbols as appropriate for commemoration and mourning and, crucially, to the respect for, and understanding of, the significance of Egyptian architectural intentions, by Alexander Thomson (1817-1875). At his passing, Egyptian themes were limited to their commemorative role. Save for the recognition of the obelisk and pyramid as symbols of mourning and commemoration, Egyptian references in 19th century Scottish architecture were never at the centre of its architectural styles, and the advent of cremation, (the first Scottish

⁵² Grant, E., “The Sphinx in the North”, from *The Iconography of Landscape* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) Chapter 12.

⁵³ It seems proper not to dismiss both the Graeco-Egyptian Church of St. Jude, Glasgow (1840) by John Stephen (1807-1850).

⁵⁴ Thomson, A., *Art and Architecture*, a course of Four Lectures given at the Glasgow School of Art and Haldane Academy in 1874. Reprinted from *The British Architect* (Manchester: John Hardman,)

⁵⁵ Details of the carefully recorded collection now at Paxton House, Berwickshire, and other items, are shown below.

crematorium being opened in 1895 at the Western Necropolis in Glasgow)⁵⁶ was then to restrict further the use of the grave monument.

As the century advanced, religious fervour abated and the gloom which the elderly Queen Empress continued to radiate did not appeal to a new generation; the attention of the Prince of Wales, and his raffish Marlborough House Set, were focused elsewhere on hedonistic pleasures. Traditional religion developed exotic competitors, Spiritualism and Astrology being two, and in 1880, in his *The Great Pyramid. Its Secrets and Mysteries Revealed*, which followed from his visit there in 1864, Charles Piazzi Smyth (1819-1900), Astronomer Royal for Scotland, claimed to have unravelled from its measurements: "...a divinely inspired Christian chronicle of man's history past and future."⁵⁷

For all these esoteric diversions, the main and declining thrust of Egyptian symbols was to be in the field of commemoration and tragic events in the next century would continue to see them used in the field of military commemoration.

Scottish Contact with Egypt in the Nineteenth Century.

After the conflict in Egypt which had opened the new century and involved a large number of Scottish troops, both attracting the nation's attention to the reality of the country and removing it from its biblical and historic context⁵⁸, the end of the Napoleonic war saw safer communications and the expansion of commercial contacts amongst the principal changes to affect the contact with the country, which experienced a remarkable growth as the century progressed.

Visiting Egypt in of 1815, a visit only made possible by the defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo some few weeks before, Sir John Maxwell of Pollok (1790-1865) was also the first Scot to record that visit in a portrait in local costume, frequently to be worn by later visitors to the Middle East,⁵⁹ for comfort, in order not to attract undue attention, but almost certainly because it also added an oriental exoticism.

⁵⁶ Cremation, with the change of attitude which it brought at the close of the century, is dealt with more fully, below.

⁵⁷ Piazzi Smyth, *The Great Pyramid* (New York: Grammercy Books, 1978). Foreword p.v.

⁵⁸ In addition to coverage of the conflict, wider reports on Egypt were recorded. The *Glasgow Courier* (14/03/1801, pg 1) communicated a report which discussed Egyptian agriculture and the *Glasgow Advertiser* (15/06/1801, pg 8) published an account of the geography of Egypt, describing the characteristics of the country's flora, fauna and climate, the discharge of the Nile and the modern Egyptian people.

⁵⁹ See, as an example, the portrait of David Roberts and Thomas Hope, below.



Author.

Figure 5.14 An unsigned portrait of Sir John Maxwell with two of the Pyramids shown.

Grant notes of Maxwell's inclusion of these pyramids, that they: "...particularly interested him because of his familiarity with the Egyptian mysteries associated with Masonic iconography."⁶⁰

This view is supported by Kinchin who notes that it was his: "...knowledge of Masonic iconography and ritual attracted him to ancient Egypt."⁶¹

The two extensive volumes devoted to the family's history mention the word 'Egypt' only once, with a footnote that: "While in Egypt, Colonel Maxwell was most hospitably entertained ... by Ali Bey, the nephew of Ali Pasha who was at that time absent on a warlike expedition."⁶²

After Bruce's cursory visit to the country in 1768, it was Robert Hay of Linplum (1799-1863), arriving there in 1824, who made the first visit by a Scot solely to record Egypt's archaeological treasures, employing Joseph Bonomi (1796-1878)⁶³ as a draughtsman.

⁶⁰ Grant, E., "The Sphinx in the North", from *The Iconography of Landscape* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) Chapter 12. p. 238

⁶¹ Kinchin, J., From the 'Weekender' section, *The Glasgow Herald*. 7th Jan 1984. p. 7

⁶² Fraser, W., *Memoirs of the Maxwells of Pollok* (Edinburgh: published privately, 1863). p.116

⁶³ Hay's use of Bonomi was to supply a link to the construction of Temple Mills, Holbeck, Leeds, which see below in this chapter in the Industrial section.

Crinson records Hay as; “... the linchpin...” of a group of British artists and architects adding: “...but its most important thinkers were Edward Lane and Owen Jones.”⁶⁴

One of his special enthusiasms was the production of casts, often with little care for the monuments from which he was taking them and Scotland can hardly be said to have benefited directly from his work, the fifty-seven volumes of his researches being sold to the British Museum in 1840, along with a collection of casts some of a considerable size. After his death, his son disposed of 529 antiquities to the same museum for £1,000⁶⁵.



James⁶⁶

Figure 5.15 A camera lucida aided watercolour from the tomb of Kynebu, at Thebes, by Hay.

A rare design in strong colour to be echoed later in the century by Owen Jones is shown above. Of the three Scottish visitors whose work produced valuable new evidence on Egypt by far the best known is David Roberts (1796-1864), showing his enthusiasm for the oriental exoticism of Egypt like Maxwell in ‘Middle Eastern Costume’.

⁶⁴ Crinson, M., *Empire Building – Orientalism & Victorian Architecture* (London: Routledge, 1996). p.26

⁶⁵ Tillett S., *Egypt Itself* (London: SD Books, 1984). p.107

⁶⁶ James, T.G.H., *Egypt Revealed* (London: The Folio Society, 1997).



Robert Scott Lauder.⁶⁷

Figure 5.16 David Roberts. In Arab Dress, 1840.

He showed great interest in Egypt well before he visited the country in 1838/39, yet this early work is not especially noteworthy for its architectural accuracy. If his most celebrated work of this time is his 'Departure of the Israelites' painted in 1829, to much acclaim, the much less well known 'Fantasia of Egyptian Architecture' of 1832 clearly demonstrates that he concentrated on an overall impression of 'Egyptian-ness', rather than on the greater accuracy shown in his later work sketched on site during his visit of 1838/9.

⁶⁷ This portrait purchased in 1980 by the National Galleries of Scotland is in the National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh.



Messrs Christie, Manson, Wood

Figure 5.17 David Roberts 'Fantasia of Egyptian Architecture'. 1832⁶⁸

Even these later illustrations could be subject to 'artistic licence'⁶⁹, which since they did not primarily purport to be architectural drawings, but attractive and saleable compositions, does not lessen their importance, but rather validates Clayton's comments that: "Among all the artists working in Egypt at this period, one stands head and shoulders above the rest...David Roberts,"⁷⁰ adding elsewhere, that: "David Roberts did more than any other artist to open a window on the Middle East."⁷¹ It was without doubt his commercially inspired decision to have his works produced in lithographic form and published from 1842, which spread a visual awareness of Egypt's buildings to a wider public than ever before. Not only did Roberts produce his publications on sites in Egypt and Nubia, but his additional inclusion of the Holy Land allowed him to capitalise on the growing interest in religion in Victorian Britain. In 1858 he augmented a version of the Holy Bible with a: "Series of Maps and Tinted Landscapes

⁶⁸ Messrs. Christie's Sale Catalogue, *British Art on Paper* (London: 7 June, 2001). Lot 174

⁶⁹ Packer, J., *The Scottish Contribution to Egyptology* (Dissertation at Manchester University, 2003) National Library of Scotland. p.20.

⁷⁰ Clayton, P., *The Rediscovery of Ancient Egypt* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1982). Foreword p.6

⁷¹ Clayton, P., *David Robert's Egypt* (London: Catalogue for the Weinreb Architectural Gallery, 1985). Foreword p.5

Illustrative of the Lands of the Bible...from original sketches.”⁷² Architecturally, his assistance in the design of the Marshall Flax Mill at Holbeck, detailed below, produced one of the most convincing reproductions of an Egyptian building ever raised in Britain,⁷³ and surpasses in accuracy both Robinson’s Egyptian Hall in Piccadilly (See Figure 5.3) and Foulston’s assembly of styles at Devonport (See Fig. 5.4).

A highly sympathetic Scot, and one who anticipated the later fashion for spending time in Egypt because of his own ill-health, was Alexander Henry Rhind (1833-1863). Visiting Egypt in 1855-56 and producing a major work on his careful excavations at Thebes⁷⁴: it is touching to note that he was also the author of a booklet, ‘Egypt; its Climate, Character and Resources as a Winter Resort’.⁷⁵ One of Rhind’s greatest services to Scotland was his generosity to, and support of, the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. To that society he bequeathed, at his early death, £7,000 for the endowment of a professorship or lectureship on archaeology and, (surely a spur to promoting and informing interest in Ancient Egypt), he left his acquisitions, consisting of more than seven hundred ancient Egyptian artefacts to the Royal Museum of Scotland, to form the basis of its present collection.

If the three visitors, above, each made Egypt and its treasures better known in their own and differing ways, other Scots went there for reasons which altered as the century advanced. Geographically, Egypt was sited on the route to Britain’s greatest imperial possession, India,⁷⁶ and senior members of the East India Company often chose this route, one such, Sir John Malcolm, leaving indelible and dated proof of his visit on the roof of the Temple of Dendera.⁷⁷

⁷² This was entitled *The Holy Bible with Commentaries of Henry and Scott* (Glasgow: William Collins, 1858).

⁷³ Which see in the section on Industrial buildings below in this chapter.

⁷⁴ Rhind, A., *Thebes, Its Tombs and their Tenants* (London: Longman, 1862).

⁷⁵ Stuart, J., *Memoirs of Alexander Henry Rhind of Sibster* (Edinburgh: Hill, 1864).

⁷⁶ This was a route which fell out of favour after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869.

⁷⁷ See more details of Sir John Malcolm in the section on Obelisks, in this chapter.

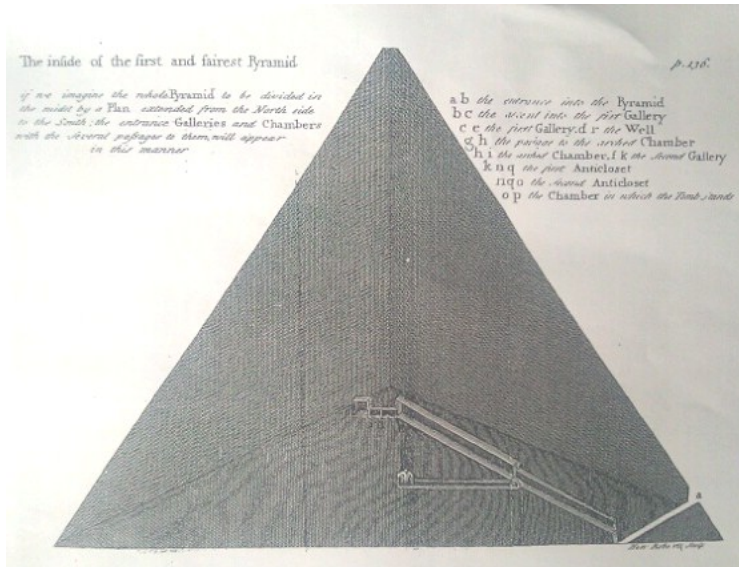


Author

Figure 5.18 The inscription by Sir John Malcolm at Dendera Temple. 1822.

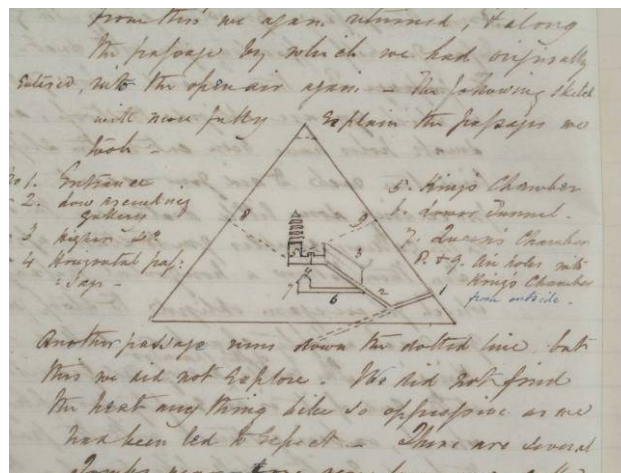
Many private citizens began to undertake the journey as greater standards of comfort could be assured; the unpublished record of one such visit is recorded in the two-volume diary, written in aged copper-plate and entitled ‘Tour in Egypt’, of Joseph Ewart, M.P. for Liverpool, descended from a Scottish Border family who hold the archive. Of 1846, it notes his absorption with Ancient Egyptian religious attitudes as he records that: “the Egyptians believed in the transmigration of the soul.”⁷⁸ The ink sketch of the Great Pyramid further confirms his interest in the country’s religious monuments. Taken from the work of John Greaves, Professor of Astronomy in (sic) the University of Oxford and of 1646, it is described by him as ‘The inside of the first and fairest pyramid.’ This shows first that such a book remained available and that Joseph Ewart had studied the literature, demonstrating the seriousness of his purpose.

⁷⁸ From the hand-written diary of Joseph Ewart, *Tour in Egypt*, 1846. This is kept in the Ewart family archives near Langholm.



John Greaves⁷⁹

Figure 5.19 The inside of the ‘first and fairest’ pyramid.

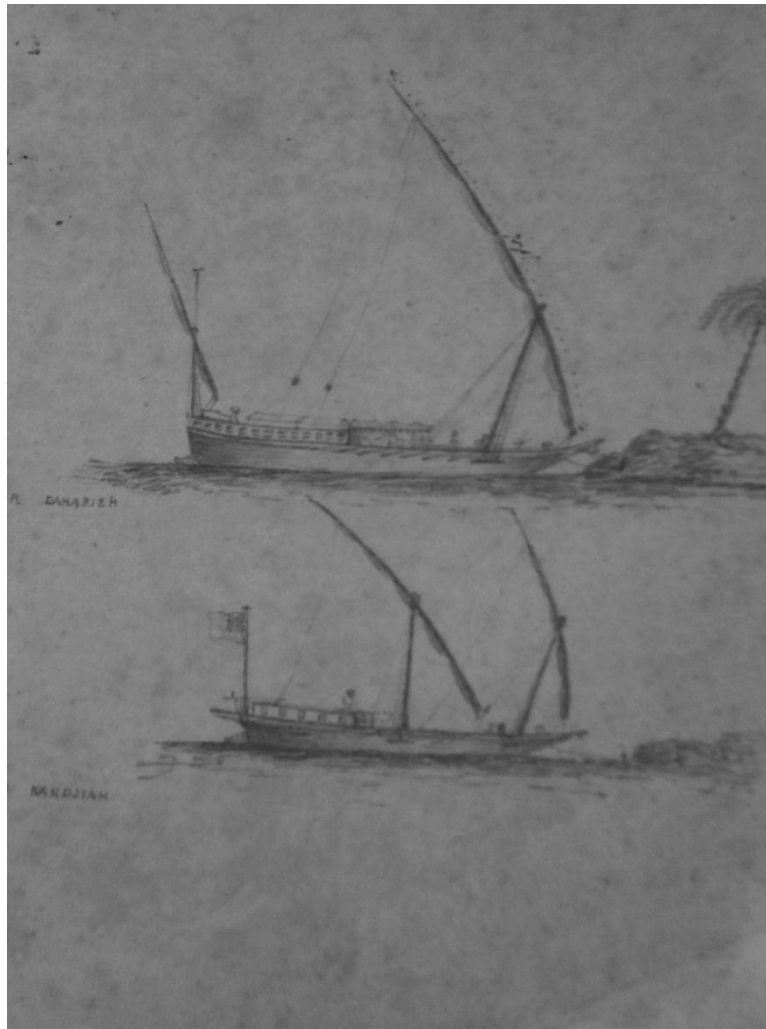


Author.

Figure 5.20 The Great Pyramid. This is an unpaginated illustration, of 1846, from the records of Joseph Ewart M.P.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ Greaves, J., *Pyramidographia* (London: John Badger, 1646) On the page of illustration preceding p.67.

⁸⁰ Although not stated, this pyramid is close in form to that from Greaves publication of 1646 *Pyramidographia*.



Author

Figure 5. 21 Illustrated in pencil – in a hand of some ability – this shows the method by which Ewart’s party made its extensive Nile excursion, by *dahabeya* and *kanja*.

Frontispiece to Notebook 1.

Travelling from Marseilles late in 1846 in a party which included the sociologist Harriet Martineau (1802-1876)⁸¹, he sailed by *dahabeya* as far as Abu Simbel and was well informed about all the monuments he viewed, mentioning amongst many others ‘Bruce’s Tomb’ and noting there on January 27th the famous illustration of two harpists. With that practical streak

⁸¹ Harriet Martineau, unlike Joseph Ewart, did publish an account of the visit as *Eastern Life. Present and Past*; 3 vols; (London: Edward Moxon, 1848)

which was so much a part of the Victorian industrialist, he not only illustrated his sleeping arrangements, but paced out and recorded the scale of several of



Author

Figure 5. 22 Joseph Ewart’s sleeping precautions.

the monuments and with an eye on industry – he was both a director of the London Manchester Railway and the Peninsular and Oriental Steamship Company – he visited cotton manufactories and a sugar refinery. Slavery did not seem to disturb him unduly and he had noted on Christmas Day, 1846, near Kom Ombo, both the turkey which formed part of his Christmas lunch and that he saw : “...a slave dealer, with three young slaves for sale,” adding that: “They were Nubians...and looked well and cheerful.” This diary, covering travels in Egypt and through Lebanon, Palestine, and Greece, demonstrates the interest in the world of 19th century Britons, becoming more and more conscious of their developing imperial destiny.

After the mid century with religious practice an increasingly serious social requirement, and with the recent Disruptions in the Presbyterian Church helping to fuel the passion for religion, visits to Egypt became much more numerous and many Scots, as Roberts before them, and no doubt in part inspired by his illustrations of both countries, combined visits to the Holy Land and the

Biblical sites in Egypt, from one of which latter the Presbyterian Church in Scotland had taken its most potent symbol.⁸²

A more exotic attitude to Egyptian religious symbolism is represented by the visit of Charles Piazzi Smyth (1819-1900) in 1865. Astronomer Royal for Scotland and Professor of Astronomy at Edinburgh University, he precisely measured the Great Pyramid (in the interior of which he made the first use of flash photography) and deduced, in a spirit of speculative mysticism, that the pyramids were not Egyptian, but rather a product of divine inspiration. Having already published *Our Inheritance in the Great Pyramid*⁸³ just prior to his departure, he then produced a three volume work *Life and Work at the Great Pyramid*⁸⁴ in 1867 after his return. In this, in establishing his connection between Egypt and Divine Revelation he writes that Moses: "...was for many years of his life a priest among the Egyptians...therefore Moses must have known all the best things he has put into Genesis...from the Egyptian priests." Whilst his work is detailed below,⁸⁵ it seems right to note that from his precise and detailed measurement he sought to unlock the mystery of Divine Order, Bruck noting that he moved: "...from sober archaeology to mystical speculation."⁸⁶ His observations served as the impetus for the establishment of the Glasgow Pyramid Club, of which Kinchin notes that it: "was set up by the followers of Charles Piazzi Smyth, and held "pyramid evenings and scattered little pyramid signs through their letters to each other".⁸⁷ The revelations of their actual practices⁸⁴ seem to be concealed in an almost Masonic fashion.

When Thomas Cook added Egypt to his other visits after the success of an exploratory attempt in 1868, tourism – in which Scotland's newly wealthy industrialists could now participate – developed and it is a compliment to his ability that the Khedive entrusted Thomas Cook and his son with exclusive responsibility for the development and management of hotels and steamers, the latter being supplied from Scotland.

With these facilities in place, Egypt added to its attractions that of health resort, especially in winter, and for those suffering from tuberculosis. Jemima Wedderburn, (1823-1909), who

⁸² The Burning Bush, symbolic of God's manifestation to Moses, which had taken place on Mount Sinai, had been adopted by the church as early as 1580.

⁸³ Smyth, C., *Our Inheritance in the Great Pyramid* (London: Wm. Isbister, 1864). By 1880, this first book had reached its fourth edition.

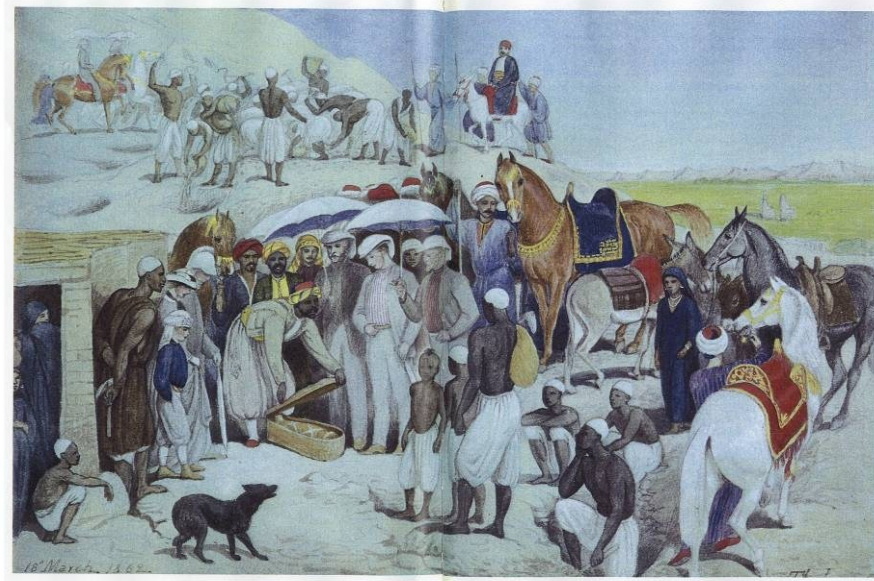
⁸⁴ Smyth, C., *Life and Work at the Great Pyramid* (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1867) p.389

⁸⁵ Packer, J., *The Scottish Contribution to Egyptology* (Dissertation, Manchester University, 2003).

⁸⁶ Bruck, H., *The Peripatetic Astronomer* (Bristol and Philadelphia: Adam Hilger, 1998) p.95

⁸⁷ Kinchin, J., *Weekender Section The Glasgow Herald*, 07/01/1984. p.7.

accompanied her brother on a visit to Egypt in 1863 for his health, and who was a talented watercolorist, interestingly records the ‘Royal Approval’ of Egypt as a significant destination, recording the royal party, with the then Prince of Wales ‘discovering’ a mummy.



Jemima Wedderburn⁸⁸

Figure 5.23 The Prince of Wales ‘discovers’ a mummy.

Contact with Egypt continued to grow and Hoffler⁸⁹ reports that: “a collection of Clydeside shipping companies organised regular tours.” The Anchor Line is advertised as: “running trips to Alexandria”⁹⁰, whereas: “British and North American Mail Steamships organised excursions to Karnak.”⁹¹

Egypt seems to have left an indelible impression on some Glaswegians who visited the country, none more so than William and Mary Hood, who raised, as a spectacular monument, a facsimile of an Egyptian temple after William’s death in 1899. Mourned in several publications at his death as both: “...a prince of good fellows...,” and: “...one of our most worthy citizens...,”⁹² one might have expected that such a substantial citizen’s interest in the country could have indicated his Freemasonic status also.

⁸⁸ Wedderburn, J., *The Paintings and Memoirs of a Victorian Lady* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 1988).

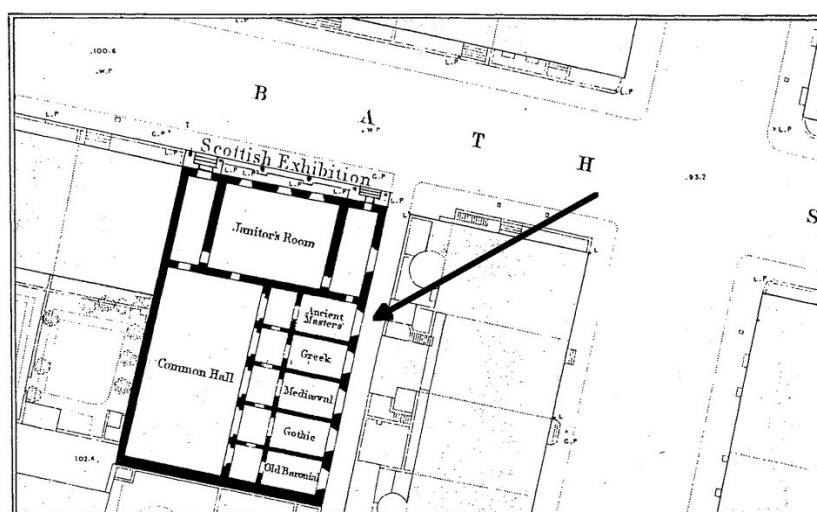
⁸⁹ Hoffler, D., *Interpreting the Hieroglyphics of Cultural Landscape*. Dissertation (Oxford:Hertford College, 2004). p 13

⁹⁰ *The Glasgow Herald*, 03/01/1874. p.8

⁹¹ *Ibid.* 21/02/1860. p.12

⁹² *The Glasgow Herald*, 11/11/1899. p 4

Glasgow demonstrated its interest in other ways and although there was no Rhind to make a major single bequest, the Architectural Institute of Scotland, promoting its work, built the Scottish Exhibition Gallery (designed by John Baird and Alexander Thomson). In Christmas Week, 1854, the Lord Provost of Glasgow received his Edinburgh counterpart opening the event, referred to the: "...magnificent hall, decorated in the most beautiful architectural style and therein...collected works of art worthy of a palace."⁹³ Further, a glance at the ground plan below demonstrates a range of architectural periods leading through Mediaeval and Greek to one described as 'Ancient Masters'.



Charles McKean.

Figure 5.24 Ground Plan of the Scottish Exhibition Gallery.⁹⁴ (Ancient Masters indicated).

This latter might well have included Egyptian examples and Conner, referring to the Exhibition Gallery records that: "At Christmas (it) showed Egyptian artefacts and illustrations."⁹⁵ The appearance of Egyptian artefacts in Glasgow is further confirmed in the catalogue of the Kelvingrove Museum which shows that in 1877 it held a: "... collection of Egyptian items."⁹⁶ If Scotland's principal organisation for the study of antiquarian subjects was the Edinburgh based Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, founded in 1780, the energetic growth of Glasgow in

⁹³ McKean, C., "In Search of Purity" In Stamp, G., & McKinstry, S, (eds.) *'Greek' Thomson*, (Edinburgh University Press, 1994) Chapter Two p.18 .

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* p.19

⁹⁵ Conner, P., *The Inspiration of Egypt 1700-1900* (Brighton: Brighton Borough Council, 1983) p.94

⁹⁶ Catalogue (G 913.32, GRSC). Glasgow Archaeological Society.

the 19th century witnessed, in this period of enthusiasm, the foundation of the Glasgow Archaeological Society in 1856 and its catalogue lists, amongst many others, a collection of Egyptological books.⁹⁷

In addition to the growing tourist trade and lively antiquarian enthusiasm, it was in the second half of the century that Scotland cemented firm trading relations with Egypt, with Glasgow Chamber of Commerce sending representatives to the opening of the Suez Canal ceremonies in 1869. Scotland's growing textile trade was dependent on Egyptian cotton, and Hoffler notes that in the reverse direction, it was sold as finished cloth back to Egypt.⁹⁸ Kinchin mentions that: "Whisky exports from the Clyde to the Nile rose dramatically from 52 gallons in 1882 to 27,943 gallons in 1900, stimulated by the liking of British soldiers for 'Highland Tea.'", whilst comment has already been made, above, on the availability of ships.⁹⁹

Thus evidence of greater closeness to Egypt by visits, by study and in commerce make it no surprise that architecture, especially of commemoration, but also in a wide range of civil and industrial buildings, should include Egyptian forms. These were to appear almost immediately after the close of hostilities against Napoleon in 1801 with some remarkable military memorials.

Military Commemoration in the 19th Century.

Of central significance to the theme of this work, mourning allowed the most widespread use of recognizably Egyptian forms, of which the outstanding example was the obelisk. It was however, the death of the nation's hero, Admiral Lord Nelson of the Nile, which saw a massive 'Egyptian' obelisk appear on Glasgow Green early in the new century, a theme repeated as the nation pursued its road to empire. And yet this obelisk, reared with commendable speed so that its foundation stone was laid a year after Nelson's death, was preempted by an ancient obelisk-like form of pure Scottish origin, the Nelson Monolith at Taynuilt, Argyll.

This remarkable ancient monolith, which its documentation points out: "...would seem originally to have been part of a prehistoric stone circle" was used with commemorative intent to record the death of Lord Nelson. Claimed to have been the first Nelson monument to be erected anywhere in Britain, its dedicatory text, on the monument's north face, states: "To the memory

⁹⁷ Catalogue (G 019.2, GRSC). Glasgow Archaeological Society.

⁹⁸ Hoffler, D., *Interpreting the Hieroglyphics of Cultural Landscape* Dissertation (Hertford College, Oxford: 2004). p.13

⁹⁹ Kinchin, J., "Glasgow and the Cairo Connection", *Glasgow Herald*, 7th Jan., 1984. p.7

of Lord Nelson, this stone was erected by the Lorn Furnace Workers, 1805.” Whether this use of the monolith seeks to echo the original potency ascribed to the obelisk or to replicate its form is not recorded.¹⁰⁰



RCAHMS¹⁰¹

Figure 5.25 The Nelson Monument at Taynuilt, Argyll.

In a century of territorial expansion which can be traced on obelisk memorials throughout the century, changing from recognition of the individual to recognition of all the fallen of the various campaigns, the 19th century opened on the defeat of the French Army in Egypt and went on to witness the final defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo in 1815.

¹⁰⁰ File No.26607/ 1A. New Register House, Edinburgh.

¹⁰¹ RCAHMS 597288.



Author

Figure 5.26 The Nelson Monument of 1806, Glasgow Green

This was above all the age of British naval superiority and although Thomas Arne had set ‘Rule Britannia’ to music more than sixty years before,¹⁰² a new pride in the navy’s leaders, and especially in Nelson, had been acknowledged in Glasgow, which, as early as 1797, had named one of its major thoroughfares after his victory at Cape St. Vincent on Feb 14th of that year.¹⁰³ Foreman notes that after his death further victories had also been acknowledged: “...West Nile Street (1808) commemorates the Battle of the Nile ... and it so happened that Aboukir Street also existed in Bridgeton.”¹⁰⁴ Whilst other cities celebrated their heroes, this widespread enthusiasm makes Edinburgh’s mention of Sir Ralph Abercromby (who had died in the Egyptian Campaign) only in Abercromby Place, somewhat sparse, but then, unlike Nelson, with his charismatic appeal across all levels of society, Abercromby was a military leader of more traditional caste.

¹⁰² This he had done in 1740 to the words of the poet James Thomson, but especially caught the patriotic and expansionist spirit of the 19th century.

¹⁰³ Macintosh, H., *The Origin and History of Glasgow Streets* (Glasgow: James Hedderwick & Sons, 1902) notes that: “Nelson Street (City), opened 1797, was named in honour of Lord (sic) Nelson.” p.37. Thus he was popular in the estimation of Glaswegians well before his death. In fact the author is in error since Nelson was not created a peer until 1798.

¹⁰⁴ Forman, C., *Street Names of the City of Glasgow* (Glasgow: John Donald, 1997) p.126 notes: “Glasgow was very patriotic, often naming its streets after famous generals, admirals or battles,” having already noted on p.1 that Abercromby Street commemorates Sir Ralph Abercromby p.1: “a distinguished British General mortally wounded at Aboukir during the Battle of the Nile.”

The events which led to the erection of the Nelson Monument in Glasgow, at 144ft the tallest obelisk to be erected in Scotland, were set in train by his death during the Battle of Trafalgar on 21st October 1805, and marked first in London by his state funeral on 9th January 1806.

The article quoted on the obsequies held there makes mention of those Scottish Regiments which were on parade noting that: “These were the regiments that had fought in the Egyptian campaign” and there are then listed the 79th the Queens Own Cameron Highlanders, the 92nd the Gordon Highlanders and the Scots Greys. The author notes that: “Dressed in their kilts, the Highland soldiers ... created the greatest stir.”¹⁰⁵ It should be remembered that the kilt had until recently been proscribed – Brockliss adding that: “...the obsequies caught the popular imagination in just the same way as those for Princess Diana nearly two centuries later.” Nelson’s true significance can be evaluated in that not only did he enter, as had Abercromby, that pantheon of British heroes honoured by a monument in St Paul’s but he had the rare privilege of being buried in the crypt there, the first commoner to whom that honour was accorded.

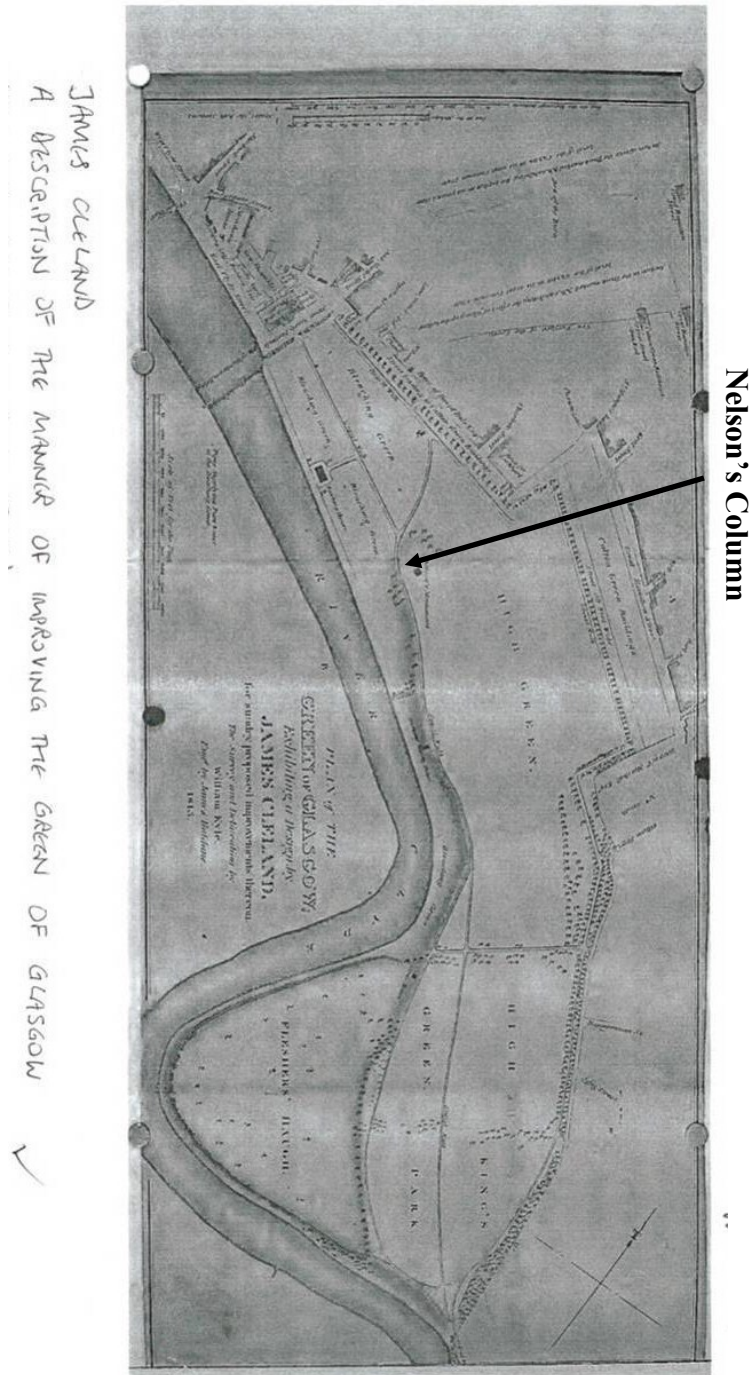
In Glasgow, where enthusiasm at the success of British naval exploits had already been displayed¹⁰⁶, and whose City Council, immediately after they had received the news of Trafalgar, had sent a message to the King congratulating him on: “the singular and glorious successes obtained by his Majesty’s naval forces over the combined fleets of France and Spain,”¹⁰⁷ first official mention was made of the memorial to Lord Nelson in the records of the Burgh of Glasgow on the 26th May, 1806. The reference is to the introduction by the Lord Provost of: “...a petition from the committee of subscribers for erecting a monument at Glasgow in memory of Lord Viscount Nelson, praying to be allowed a sufficient space of ground in the High Green, near the herd’s house, for the erection of an obelisk of polished freestone in memory of that gallant admiral.”¹⁰⁸ This supplies further confirmation that for the Scots the obelisk was not conceived of as a focal point in centre of an urban square and here it takes its place in the riverside landscape.

¹⁰⁵ Brockliss, L., “Nelson’s Grand National Obsequies”, *The Historical Review.* , Vol. cxxi. Feb 2006pp 162-182. In footnote 34, the author refers to the account first having appeared in the *Morning Chronicle* 28 Dec., 1805. p.168

¹⁰⁶ The records of the Burgh of Glasgow note that previously in November 1797: “The magistrates and council unanimously agree to present the freedom of the city, in a handsome gold box to Admiral Lord Viscount Duncan, in testimony...of the brilliant and important victory over the navy of Holland.

¹⁰⁷ Records of the Burgh of Glasgow 23rd November, 1805. Extract.

¹⁰⁸ Cleland, J., *The Rise and Progress of the City of Glasgow* (Glasgow: John Smith & Son, 1840) noting of Glasgow Green, p.48 that it: “was so marshy as...to be nearly useless,” and commenting on such other joys as the public washing-house and: “The slaughter house...the offal allowed to remain until putrefaction.” p. 48.



James Cleland¹⁰⁹

Figure 5.27 A Plan of Glasgow Green, showing the site of the Nelson Obelisk

¹⁰⁹ An illustration of: *'The Green of Glasgow'*, produced published and distributed by James Cleland. 1813.

On the Anniversary of the Battle of the Nile, 1st August 1798, (thus on that date in 1806) the foundation stone of Lord Nelson's Monument was laid by Sir John Stuart PGM,¹¹⁰ and the architect chosen to plan the monument of solid stone was David Hamilton of Glasgow (1768-1843).¹¹¹

There was present, as was usual at this time on occasions which involved the erection of a significant edifice, a notably strong complement of Freemasons and behind the Provost the Town Council and a host of civic dignitaries immediately preceded by: "a model of a ship of war, carried by a Detachment of sailors, who had served under Lord Nelson,"¹¹² there followed, after the different Mason Lodges: "The Most Worshipful Sir John Stuart of Allanbank"¹¹³, Provincial Grand Master Mason of the Under Ward of Lanarkshire, who proceeded to lay the foundation stone; proper, since Lord Nelson himself had been a Mason.¹¹⁴

Touchingly and a sign of the true affection which Nelson commanded, the article towards its close notes: "The ceremony was closed, by three times three cheers from the immense crowd, who were strongly interested by a characteristic *trait* of the Sailors, who rushed in, and, kneeling, kissed the stone with very mark of affectionate regard for their lamented Illustrious Commander." The article notes the presence of upwards of 80,000 spectators, that the greatest good order was observed, and no accident occurred.

That demonstration catches the special appeal of 'the Nelson Touch'. Wrigley in a paragraph in 'The Cult of the Hero', writes that: "Nelson was revered as a cult figure, drawing mobs wherever he appeared in public," quoting Lord Minto declaring that: "Commodore Nelson's hero beyond Homer's – like a Greek *heros*, occupying a position between gods and mortal man."¹¹⁵ And he further notes that: "Robert Southey's *Life of Nelson*, which went through five editions between 1813 and 1830 sought to inspire loyal patriotic exertion and to re-appropriate Nelson for patriotic conservatism, after he had been as much the radical's hero from the 1790s."¹¹⁶ Many other press reports, not least that in the *Glasgow Herald*, gave coverage to the event, with that journal

¹¹⁰ PGM confirms Sir John's office as Provincial Grand Master, a Masonic rank.

¹¹¹ Whilst in 1832 he built the Egyptian Vaults at the Glasgow Necropolis in a prolific career rich in Neo-Gothic and Italianate forms, these are the only two examples of his use of the Egyptian idiom.

¹¹² *The Scots Magazine* from the section *The Scottish Chronicle* (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable, 1806). p 641

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ Cruikshank, J., *Sketch of the Incorporation of Masons and the Lodge of Glasgow St. John*. 1879. p.271

¹¹⁵ Wrigley, R., *Pantheon: Transformations of a Monumental Idea* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004). p. 95

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.* p 98

containing an official notice of thanks to his fellow masons from The Provincial Grand Master.¹¹⁷

The subsequent history of Nelson's Monument is not without incident, for the monument was struck by lightning on 5th August 1810, and the top 20ft severely damaged. The citizens of Glasgow were once more quick to take action and on August 7th a notice appeared in the *Glasgow Herald*, referring to: "The Damage which was done to the Monument on Sunday last " and it goes on to call together: "A general meeting of the Subscribers and of the inhabitants of Glasgow in the Town Hall on Tuesday August 14th at 2 o'clock to take measures for repairing the damage."¹¹⁸ The event was dramatically recorded by the artist John Knox (1778-1845).



Reproduced with the permission of Glasgow City Council, Glasgow Museums,
Nelson's Monument Struck by Lightning by John Knox (1778-1845) Ref 338.

Figure 5.28 'Nelson's Monument Struck by Lightning', by John Knox (1778-1845)

Whilst one might easily understand that Britain's seaports, Portsmouth¹¹⁹ and Great Yarmouth¹²⁰ being but two, would erect examples, and London (belatedly) as the United Kingdom's capital would naturally build monuments to the hero, Glasgow, in erecting its monument to Nelson

¹¹⁷ From *The Glasgow Herald* (August 8th 1806).

¹¹⁸ From *The Glasgow Herald* (August 7th 1810).

¹¹⁹ In Portsmouth, and from naval subscriptions, there was erected a 120ft granite obelisk.

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Nelson_Monument,_Boarhunt,_Hampshire.jpg

¹²⁰ The Great Yarmouth monument is a fluted column, 144ft high and was raised in 1817-18 and is topped by a statue of Britannia. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Britannia-Monument>.

before them, and on so heroic a scale, was responding to various stimuli. It chose a form of monument which Scotland had for almost a century raised to honour Freemasons, and stressed Nelson's status as one such in a country where Freemasonry was extremely influential. It also reflected the strong connection of the Scottish Presbyterian Church to the Old Testament, in which Egypt played such a prominent part and, having no national Pantheon of its own, demonstrated that Glasgow, too, conscious of its leading role as part of North Britain, could fittingly honour Britain's national hero.¹²¹

Plans were produced for an obelisk to crown Calton Hill, in Edinburgh, and James Nasmyth notes of his father, Alexander, (1758-1840) that: "Shortly after the death of Lord Nelson (he) supplied a design which was laid before the Monument Committee. It was so much approved that the required sum was rapidly subscribed, but as the estimated cost of this erection was found slightly to exceed the amount subscribed, a narrowly cheaper design was privately adopted. This vulgar churn-like monument was thus thrust upon the public and actually erected and there it stands to this day, a piteous sight to behold."¹²²

¹²¹ Although Nelson was not only to be commemorated in Scotland and his passing was honoured in many parts of the country, few exhibited such deep expressions of that sorrow as those demonstrated above by his sailors' reaction in Glasgow.

¹²² Smiles S. (ed.), *James Nasmyth Engineer. An Autobiography* (London: John Murray, 1897). p. 44



Smiles¹²³

Figure 5.29 Alexander Nasmyth's design for a Nelson Monument, proposed for Calton Hill, Edinburgh.

The Nasmyth Monument makes a series of comments which render it unique. The situation chosen is at the heart of Edinburgh but its selection makes the most of the landscape, combining both the Sublime in its stereometric form and the Picturesque in its site. The details of the obelisk combine its ornamentation with ships' prows, which device, the *columna rostrata*, related originally to a Greek or Roman victory at sea, and it appears to be crowned by a viewing platform reminiscent of the Choragic Monument of Lysicrates, indicating the hollow and staired nature of the construction.

¹²³ *Ibid.* p.45

Of all the monuments raised to Nelson, the best known is that situated in that square in central London, which takes its name, Trafalgar, from the battle which cost him his life. Facing south towards the Admiralty, the monument had been designed by William Railton (1801-1877) in 1838. However, and in contrast to Glasgow's (and the Lorn furnace workers) promptitude in commencing their monuments, the London Column was not completed until 1843 and then at a cost of £47,500 and with the four Landseer lions not being put into place until 1867. The passage of 38 years must have eased the immediate sorrow caused by his death but here, from a Corinthian column 151ft high, Nelson looks triumphantly down at the world, his monument now using him to express the heroic might of the growing British Empire.

He has thus been translated from a beloved commander to a national symbol, not so much mourned but shown in triumph.

Many obelisk monuments followed that of Nelson marking military encounters which trace both Britain's campaigning history throughout the 19th century and the geographical spread of British imperial ambition.

An example raised to a colonial administrator, both with a link to Egypt and demonstrating remarkable technical progress, prominently sited on Whita Hill above the town of Langholm in Dumfriesshire¹²⁴, is the obelisk raised in 1835 to Sir John Malcolm, soldier, diplomat and historian. In 1822 Sir John travelled through Egypt, on completion of his service as the Governor-General's Agent in Central India, at a time when the Albanian born ruler of Egypt, Mohammed Ali (ruled 1805-1867), was seeking to open up the country for trade and had made it more welcoming to visitors. Already recorded above, at Dendera Temple, he had climbed to the roof of the building and inscribed his name.¹²⁵ Below his, can be seen the name, I. Pasley¹²⁶, who was, in fact, 'Johnny' Pasley (1795-1855): "half brother of the much more distinguished General Sir Charles Pasley (1780-1861),¹²⁷ and: "who served him as a sort of ADC."¹²⁸

¹²⁴ From its commanding position it can be viewed from the south for some 30 miles.

¹²⁵ An illustration of this inscription is shown above in the section on Visitors to Egypt.

¹²⁶ John Pasley is quoted in an e-mail of 25.2.2010 from John Malcolm, currently writing a biography of Sir John, as 'not a very distinguished fellow'. Pasley, the name used to be Paisley, to which in many cases it has once again returned. The reason is given by Hyslop, in *Langholm as it was* (Re-published. Inverness: Booth & Booth, 2002) who explains on p. 363: "As a token of respect Rear Admiral of the Red, Thomas Pasley dropped the 'I' in his name, when Viscount Nelson lost his eye."

¹²⁷ Malcolm, J., e-mail 26. 02 2010. "When SJM was visiting Dendera he had recently finished being the 'Governor-General's Agent in Central India'; effectively the ruler of Central India. This part of India, consisting of a whole lot of petty States, had until 1818 been dominated by the Mahrattas."

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*



Author.

Figure 5.30 The Monument to General Sir John Malcolm KCB, 1836.

The construction of the monument was overseen by Sir Charles, Sir John's lifelong friend, and much respected by Thomas Telford, being born a close neighbour.¹²⁹ He had developed the technical and engineering skills of the British Army and, as both his cousin, and seeing service with Sir John in India, it is perhaps not surprising that he became: "chairman of the committee which organized the building of the monument in 1835."¹³⁰ Perhaps Pasley's early education in Selkirk laid the foundation for his later career, Colvin quoting a remark of Dr. Alexander Carlyle (1722-1805), who noted: "...how many Scotsmen did well in the Royal Engineers...He attributed their success to the excellent teaching of mathematics and mensuration in Scottish schools."¹³¹

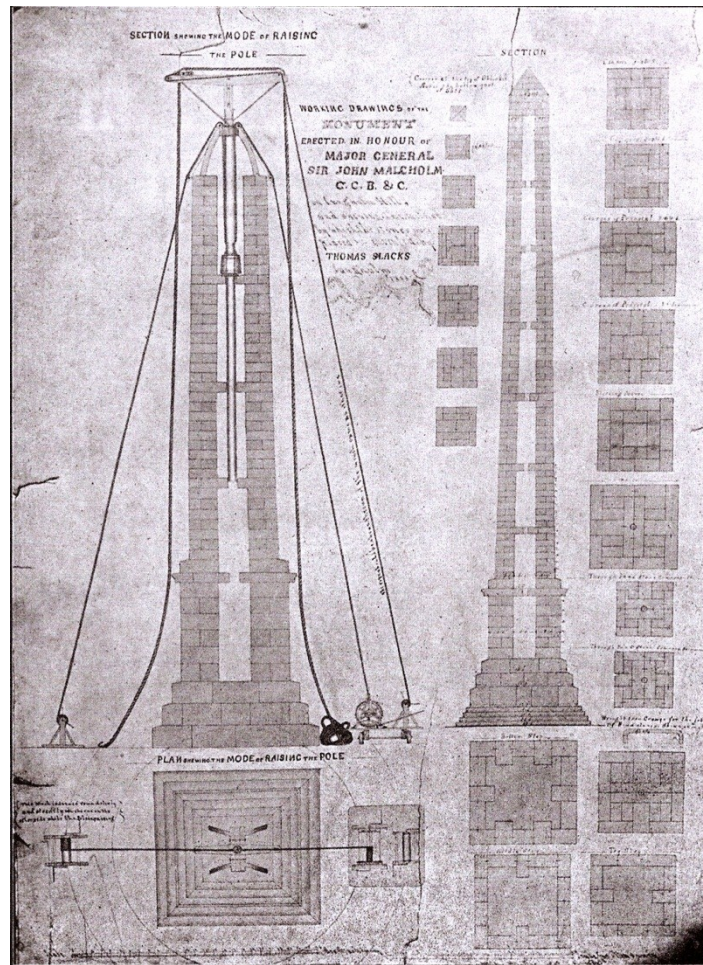
The monument, designed by Robert Howe, Sir Charles's experienced Clerk of Works at the Royal Engineers base at Chatham, was constructed of stone quarried from the same Whita Hill

¹²⁹ Telford, T., *The Life of Thomas Telford*, edited J. Rickman, (London: Hansard and Sons, 1838). p.16 The footnote: "Mr. Telford always extolled the value of Colonel Pasley's scientific works ..." and goes on to note of one of Pasley's publications that: "...though not published till after Mr. Telford's death, it had been submitted to him by the author..."

¹³⁰ Malcolm, J., e-mail 26.02.2010.

¹³¹ Colvin, H., "The Beginnings of the architectural profession in Scotland", *Architectural History*, 1986. Vol. 79. p.169

on which it stands. A hundred feet in height, it is visible for more than 30 miles, and detailed accounts exist of its advanced construction method.¹³² Demonstrating that, unlike the Egyptian monolithic obelisks, most Scottish examples over 40 ft are built from separate blocks, here, bearing unusual witness to the Industrial Revolution, ingenious machinery has compensated for the ready availability of labour at an Egyptian pharaoh's command, which also allowed the monument to be worked on from the inside.



Hyslop¹³³

Figure 5.31 An illustration from *Langholm As It Was*

The plan of the mechanism for allowing inside building of the Langholm Monument is shown.

¹³² Hyslop, J., *Langholm As It Was* (Re-published, Inverness: D.H. Booth, 2002) pp.370-371.

¹³³ Hyslop, J., *Langholm As It Was* (Edinburgh: John Menzies, 1912) p.748

For his ingenuity the designer of the mechanism, Mr. Thomas Slack, received a gold medal ‘from a society in London’¹³⁴. Whilst he cannot be traced to the Royal Engineers, Malcolm comments that: “He would certainly not have been employed without Sir Charles’ approval.”¹³⁵ Reference to the continuing strand of Freemasonry is mentioned on the monument. The inscriptions having faded, a metal plaque of later date now shows the text.



Author

Figure 5.32 This sign records the Masonic presence at the laying of the foundation stone of the Langholm Monument. 1835

Not only is the clear indication of the Masonic status of Sir John Malcolm remarkable at this time, but the attendance of a Grand Master, technically from another Province, marks, according to the curator of the Grand Lodge of Scotland: “...a most exceptional trespass.”¹³⁶.

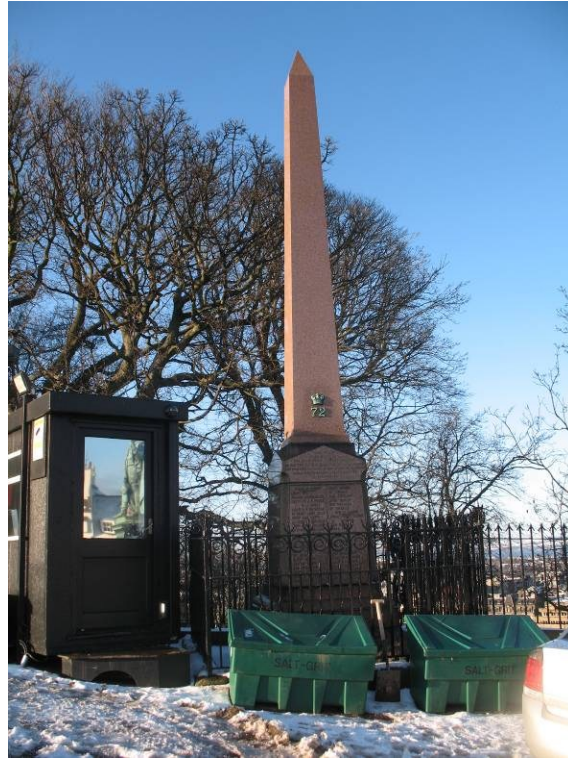
Whilst the monuments above are raised to individuals, the obelisk now began to commemorate the fallen of Scottish regiments, one of the earliest standing in the Dean Cemetery, Edinburgh, raised to the 79th Cameron Highlanders, marking their service in two campaigns. The first, dated to 1854-55, is of the Crimean War, and the second for service in the East Indies from 1857-71, which mentions their participation in action at the siege of Lucknow.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.* p.370

¹³⁵ John Malcolm of Sydney, Australia, namesake and descendant, gave this and further information by e-mail February 26th 2010.

¹³⁶ . This information was given *verbatim* by Robert Cooper, Curator, Grand Lodge of Scotland. 6th August 2009.

The Afghan wars of 1878/9-80 are marked by a 6ft pink granite obelisk which stands on the esplanade in front of Edinburgh Castle, honouring the fallen of the 72nd The Duke of Albany's Highlanders. For the rest of the century such military monuments, bearing the



Author

Figure 5.33 The obelisk to the Duke of Albany's Highlanders, 1878-80.

the names of the fallen, (and thus following the tradition of identification established in Ancient Egypt) marked the continued unrolling of the map of Imperial Britain.

Whilst the obelisks above are only a small proportion of military memorials containing Egyptian references, they are an interesting commentary on the translation of its form, from the Masonic reference of the previous century to the combination of that sense with the acknowledgement of heroism in the case of Lord Nelson, to the marking of the Scottish contribution to British imperial growth throughout the nineteenth century which would lead on to those of the Boer War, built at the start of the twentieth, before the explosive proliferation of such monuments after the Great War of 1914-18.

Military Monuments Employing Other Egyptian Architectural References.

One of the first military leaders to die in a 19th century conflict was the Scot, Sir Ralph Abercromby (1734-1801). Appointed to command the British forces in Egypt, he was wounded on 21st March 1801 at the battle of Aboukir, soon after his army had disembarked nearby, dying one week later. Although buried at Malta, the government ordered that he be commemorated in St Paul's Cathedral, London, which had come to rival Westminster Abbey as a resting place for the country's heroes. The considerable sum of £6,300 was allotted for the statuary group and it was completed by the distinguished sculptor Richard Westmacott (1775-1856) in 1806. Westmacott had been a pupil of Antonio Canova (1757-1822), who Curl observes had become acquainted in 1780: "with Gavin Hamilton (1723-98) and other members of the international set of Neoclassical theorists",¹³⁷ which may account for the severity of the sphinxes' pose.



ancient-egypt.co.uk¹³⁸

Figure 5.34 The Memorial to Sir Ralph Abercromby in St Paul's Cathedral, London, 1806

Whilst there is no specific suggestion of mourning intention in these solid and masculine sphinxes, appearing at either side of the 'real' monument, they set the geographical context of the event.

Sir Ralph is also portrayed by John Kay, who left behind such a rich catalogue of Scotland's characters. At his back stand three somewhat attenuated pyramids which place the incident, as do

¹³⁷ Curl, J., *The Egyptian Revival* (London: Routledge, 2005) p.182

¹³⁸ www.ancient-egypt.co.uk/London/ accessed 07/04/10

the sphinxes in St Paul's,¹³⁹ and looking remarkably similar to smaller versions of the pyramids, the tents of his armies encampment can be discerned.



John Kay. 1801.

Figure 5.35 'Viewing the army encamped on the plains of Egypt'.

On the page which follows the 'portrait' Paton¹⁴⁰ notes that: "The Magistrates and Town Council of Edinburgh resolved that a monument should be erected on the wall of the High Church." Since this building has several times undergone alterations in its interior arrangement, it is not surprising that it is no longer to be found there. There is a water-colour of an elaborate monument inscribed 'Sir Ralph Abercromby', with the rest of the text indecipherable, in a scrapbook put together by one Archibald Craig.¹⁴¹ A tall reeded column, it has at its base a carved panel of a battle scene, guarded by a knight in armour on the right, and a lady, who appears to read, on the left, this memorial standing on a base of five steps. Whether this was just

¹³⁹ Paton, H., *A Series of Original Portraits and Character Etchings by John Kay* (Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black, 1838). Portrait 52, p.108

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p.vii. Paton has noted in the Introduction that, Kay had drawn up notes for the text and, further, in adding to these he had attempted: "to render the work as varied and interesting as possible."

¹⁴¹ The Archibald Craig Book No 2. RCAHMS ref. 8078 was collected by the second Craig of that name born in 1851. The pages are unnumbered. Reproduction was not permitted.

a proposal, or whether the monument was constructed and subsequently removed, seems nowhere to be recorded.



Author

Figure 5.36 A Sphinx-crowned monument to the Highland Light Infantry in St. Mungo's Cathedral, Glasgow

Erected in the south aisle of St. Mungo's Cathedral, Glasgow to the memory of soldiers of the Highland Light Infantry (74th Highlanders) who died in the conflict in Egypt and Nubia in the early 1880s, this monument displays a view of the Battle of Tel El Kebir of 1882. In place of the more usual wall monument this example clearly emphasises the geographical context of the conflict. Surmounted by a sphinx, which, like the pair at either side of Sir Ralph Abercromby's earlier memorial, appears to be male, it adds around its central panel a whole range of Egyptian ornamental references.¹⁴² Of battered pylon outline with an interior pylon, both crowned by a *cavetto* cornice, this can be seen to have at its centre the winged sun disk. Further, the ornamental panels framing the

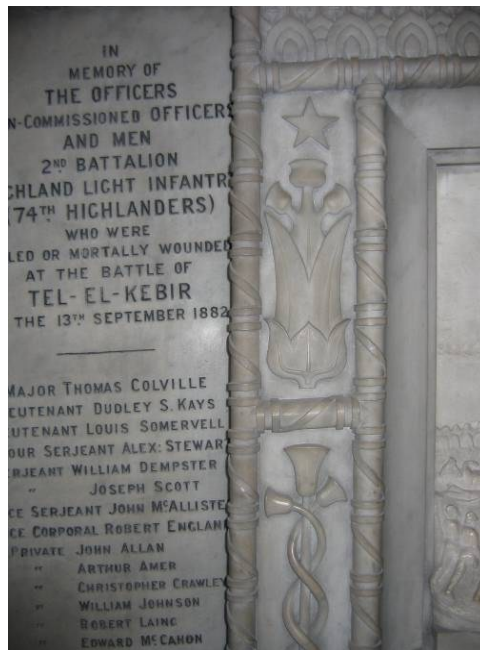
¹⁴² The male sex of Scottish sphinxes appears to be reserved solely for those which arise in an Egyptian military context.



Author

Figure 5. 37 The sphinx above the Winged Sun-Disk

central scene contain carvings of both lotus and papyrus plants, and it would appear that out of the former a Scottish thistle grows, above which is a star – a most unusual composition.



Author

Figure 5. 38 Scottish Thistle, Egyptian Lotus Flower and Foliage Decoration

The Gordon Highlanders were amongst other regiments awarded the right to wear the sphinx for their participation: “against the French armies in Egypt in 1801,”¹⁴³ but in addition a special medal was struck, after that same campaign, designed by the artist Benjamin West (1738-1820) and also bearing a sphinx, which carried the words in Gaelic: “These are the Heroes who won victory for Egypt.”

Other 19th Century Obelisks.

Apart from their appearance in military commemoration, single obelisks continued to be raised or proposed for prominent Scottish citizens, with aristocratic, commercial and industrial backgrounds and the selection below provide both contemporary and retrospective historical insights.

Henry Dundas, 1st Viscount Melville (1742-1801) lawyer and politician, stands triumphantly today on top of a fluted column more than 150 ft. high in Edinburgh’s St Andrew Square, resembling that later accorded to Lord Nelson.¹⁴⁴ However, in 1812 on his family estate of Dunira, near Comrie a smooth granite obelisk 72 ft high¹⁴⁵ was placed on top of Dunmore Hill. A suggestion had also been made that a memorial pyramid to him might be raised on Arthur’s Seat, but this was not constructed.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴³ http://web.mac.com/davedepickere/World_War_II_analyzed!/Allied_Units/Artikelen/2007/10/20._Scottish_Regiments.html, accessed on 9/10/08.

¹⁴⁴ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Henry_Dundas,_1st_Viscount_Melville. Since he had held the office of First Lord of the Admiralty it is not altogether unsurprising to note that it was: “raised by the voluntary contributions of the officers, petty officers, seamen and marines of these united kingdoms”, and was designed in 1821 by William Burn.

¹⁴⁵ Barnes, R. , *The Obelisk* (Kirstead: Frontier Publishing, 2004) p. 186

¹⁴⁶ The National Archives of Scotland. GD26/16/79. The suggestion is contained in a draft letter by ‘Fifensis’ dated to 5.12.1818.



Author

Figure 5. 39 The Obelisk at Bentpath to Frederick Johnstone, 1841.



Author

Figure 5. 40 Sir Frederick Johnstone's Armorial Bearings.

A more modest monument, the obelisk illustrated above, was erected to commemorate Sir Frederick Johnstone, on his family estate in the parish of Westerkirk, Dumfriesshire. Recent clearing of the site, which had been planted at a later date as a game covert using *rhododendron ponticum*, has revealed yew tree roots, which trees had originally encircled the monument. Quatremère de Quincy (1753-1849), having referred to the use of the cypress in Islamic graveyards, goes on to note, in contrast, that: “*Jadis on plantoit sur les tombeaux en Écosse, au lieu des cypress, des ifs, il savait que cet arbre eut aussi chez les anciens une pareille destination.*”¹⁴⁷ The Scots usage of the yew in a mourning context was, thus, well recognized.

Remaining in aristocratic circles and recording the agricultural advances made by an earlier Earl of Haddington, who died in 1733 at a time when agricultural inventions and methods of cultivation were bringing improvements,¹⁴⁸ the obelisk (below) was constructed by his successors in 1856. Celebrating both his confidence in the continuation of his line and his investment in its future, it stands surrounded by the fields which witnessed the fruition of his

¹⁴⁷ Quatremère de Quincy, A. C. , *Encyclopédie Méthodique* (Liège: Pancouck et Plombeaux, 1788) Vol. I. p. 682

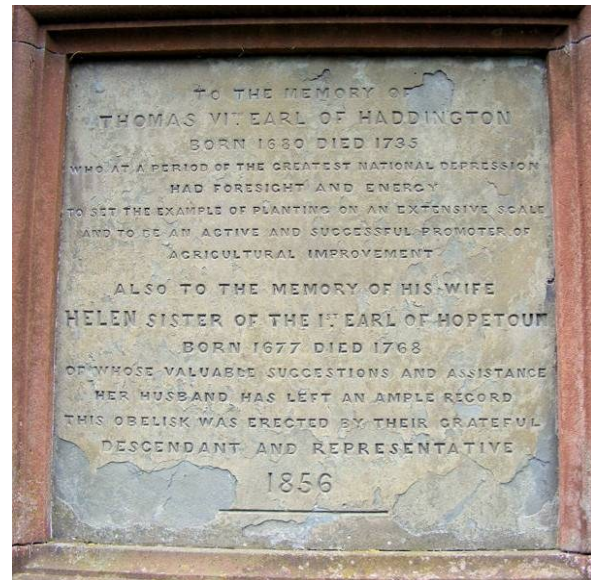
¹⁴⁸ This was a phenomenon also developed at this time in England by leading proponents such as Jethro Tull 1674-1741), inventor of the seed drill and Lord Charles ‘Turnip’ Townsend (1674-1738) who promoted crop rotation.

careful plans for his estate at Tynningham, East Lothian, and forms a majestic ‘eye-catcher’ to end a well-treed ride on the estate.



John Maze

Figure 5. 41 The Obelisk at Tynningham. 1856.



John Maze

Figure 5. 42 Detail of text to Thomas 6th Earl of Haddington, (1677-1768).

Making a moving and unique comment on industrial relations is an obelisk of 1854 in Dumbarton Cemetery. Carved on it is a demonstration of gratitude from his employees to a deceased employer which renders it exceptional. This 30ft. high granite obelisk was raised by: “The Working Men of Dumbarton...in the warmth of disinterested appreciation to an older William Denny (1815-54) whose shipbuilding enterprise restored the drooping fortunes of the Ancient Town.”

Scottish religious occurrences were frequently marked in retrospect, and the tall obelisk monument (below) to the Political Martyrs of 1793 designed by Thomas Hamilton confirms his acceptance of the fitness of the symbol for commemorative purposes on an appropriate site. Erected in 1844 in the Old Calton Burial Ground, the height of the shaft increased to 90ft by a substantial base covered by considerable text. Whilst it can no longer offer an ‘Egyptian’ view to

pedestrians in Princes Street, due to later rebuilding, its commanding situation makes the monument particularly impressive when viewed from the Old Town of Edinburgh.



Author

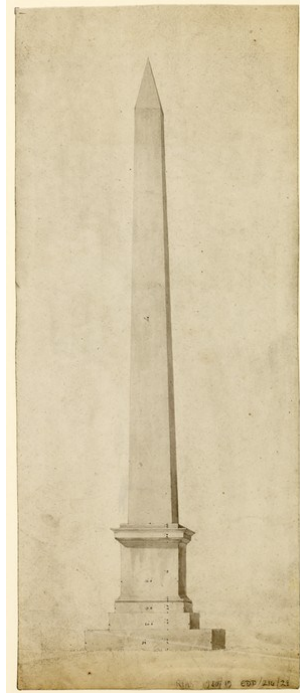
Figure 5. 43 The Martyrs Memorial, Edinburgh, of 1844, viewed from the south.

Perhaps the most remarkable obelisk, which would have been at 150 ft the largest of the 19th century, was that which W.H. Playfair submitted as his proposal for the Scott Monument to Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832) in the competition inaugurated in 1836. It is unique in that it follows the tradition established in Renaissance Rome, and, if accepted, would have stood as a magnificent ‘eye-catching’ focus at the junction of four major streets.



W.H. Playfair¹⁴⁹

Figure 5. 44 The design for the Walter Scott Memorial c. 1836.



RCAHMS¹⁵⁰

Figure 5. 45 An architectural drawing for the proposed Scott Monument, by W.H. Playfair

The design, left above, used as the frontispiece of this thesis, sets the obelisk in its urban context whilst that on the right above is a meticulously produced architectural drawing, appearing to be from Playfair's own hand, which supplies detailed measurements. With a shaft of 118 ft. the total height including steps and pedestal is 150ft 6ins and, had it been built, the result would thus have exceeded the height of the Nelson Monument in Glasgow.

Sir Walter Scott, who according to Girouard: "...started a fashion which was ultimately to be copied all over Scotland and to be nicknamed Scottish Baronial,"¹⁵¹ created in his writings a historical and romantic interpretation of Scotland and its history, and used historic forms, not least from Scotland's mediaeval castles, in his own home, Abbotsford, near Melrose, which exerted enormous influence. One might, therefore, question why an Egyptian symbol of commemoration could be in any way suitable.

¹⁴⁹ RCAHMS. RIAS. EDD/214/18.

¹⁵⁰ Design held by the RCAHMS. RIAS 1980/19 EDD/214/28.

¹⁵¹ Girouard, M., *Historic Houses of Britain* (London: Artus, 1979). p.114

The hand of Sir Walter Scott himself may offer a clue, for in a letter to James Bailey (died 1864), who had already published a work on the origin and nature of hieroglyphs, Sir Walter expressed his own interest in the subject, into which he went at some length. Bailey had already published his work on the subject in 1816,¹⁵² thus before the accurate decipherment by Champollion,¹⁵³ which is an indication of the contemporary interest which the subject aroused amongst scholars at this time. Scott writes: “You seem *nearly* to have hit upon the link that is awaiting.” (sic), and then goes on to provide, at some length, his own ideas on the likely structure of hieroglyphic communication. Towards the conclusion, and this may provide its own solution as to the reason for the selection of the Gothic style for his monument, he adds: “But such are the reflections to which your communication have given rise in the brain of a half-lettered Goth.”¹⁵⁴ Gildard adding to this that: “Sir Walter Scott...made the Gothic dry bones live.”¹⁵⁵ In spite of his scholarly interest in Egypt, architecturally its forms were not his first choice.

In that complex world of Edinburgh politics, when its council was still a self-perpetuating oligarchy, a sudden change in the rules, which demanded that the monument be in the Gothic style, deprived Edinburgh of that simple and dignified symbol, and the design was rejected, as was Playfair’s further suggestion that an obelisk be used as the memorial to William Pitt, (in George Street).¹⁵⁶

The single obelisk, that most frequently encountered monument of Egyptian origin, has been shown above used or proposed as a commemorative symbol in the widest range of sizes and settings, for heroes and to mark heroic causes, as expression of private and family grief, and to make retrospective allusions. As the century passed its role as a grave-marker will be shown below to spread its form in great numbers in graveyards throughout Scotland.

A significant example marking the end of an era and 19th century in spirit is the obelisk raised to the Queen-Empress Victoria in Scotland.

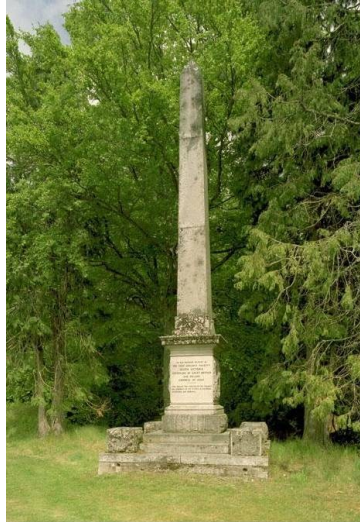
¹⁵² Bailey, J., *Hieroglyphicorum Origo et Natura* (Cambridge: 1816).

¹⁵³ The decipherment by Champollion was achieved in 1822.

¹⁵⁴ Grierson, H., *The Letters of Sir Walter Scott* (London: Constable, 1933). Vol IV p.356-8

¹⁵⁵ Gildard, T., ‘Greek’ Thomson. Paper read before the Architectural Section of the Philosophical Society of Glasgow, 30th Jan, 1888 p.2

¹⁵⁶ Carrott, R. G., *The Egyptian Revival* (London: The University of California, 1978). p.45 note 62. The memorial finally selected took the form of a statue by Sir William Chantrey erected in 1833 on a plinth in the form of an Egyptian barque shrine base.



RCAHMS¹⁵⁷

Figure 5. 46 Queen Victoria’s Obelisk, Balmoral Estate, Aberdeenshire, 1901.

Erected: “To the beloved memory of Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, Sovereign of Great Britain and Ireland, Empress of India, by the tenants and servants on the estates of Balmoral, Abergeldie and Birkhall,” in 1901, this monument is nineteenth century in sentiment and in its use of enduring granite, of which both shaft and base are made. The new century was to witness the demise of the British Empire, of the religious enthusiasm and extravagant observance of the Victorian Era, and, with this particular monument, of the Queen-Empress herself.¹⁵⁸

She it had been who had raised mourning and commemoration to its peak and, at her end, in the favoured setting of her own Balmoral Estate, the site chosen for this traditional obelisk monument is touching in its simplicity. Half hidden in a position which suggests a mourning grove, it brings a forceful awareness of mortality – and a sudden shock. Further, it contrasts strikingly with the setting with which the Queen (not yet an Empress) had earlier demonstrated the torment of her own mourning for Prince Albert, by placing her granite pyramid-monument to him on the open summit of a hill.¹⁵⁹ Avoiding the splendour of her granite sarcophagus, shared

¹⁵⁷ Scran 000-000-529-312-C.

¹⁵⁸ The monarch’s remains were interred next to those of her beloved husband at Frogmore in a sarcophagus like his of that same Scottish granite.

¹⁵⁹ For detailed information, see the section on ‘Pyramids’ in Chapter 5.

with Prince Albert in the Royal Mausoleum at Frogmore, it seems to reflect her relationship with the Scots, for whose simple integrity she had at times an almost maternal regard.

The Burgh Steeple.

With its slender spire close in spirit to the obelisk, named as such, below, and unique in the nineteenth century in using and bringing the form into the townscape, Playfair produced nothing to compare with one of Thomas Hamilton's civic constructions, the Assembly Rooms (Town House) in Ayr of 1827. A form already used first by William, and then by John Adam in the previous century, in this example Egyptian forms are combined in a unique manner, the steeple being crowned with what Rock consistently refers to as an 'obelisk'. Octagonal in form, it receives a distinguished provenance, being



Nick Haynes¹⁶⁰

Figure 5. 47 The Assembly Rooms, Ayr, by Thomas Hamilton. 1827

to him: “reminiscent of Sir Christopher Wren at St. Vedast’s steeple” (1697), one of the sources already referred to in reference to the 18th century examples, above, then noting further that it: “becomes a column in a masterly piece of eclecticism” and commenting on the fact that: “...a

¹⁶⁰ Scran 000-000-111-615-C.

torus moulding is used to define the lower edge of the obelisk”¹⁶¹ Glendinning notes that it is: “...a composition of overwhelming power...its steeple set on a massive battered base.”¹⁶²

Significant Pyramids of the 19th Century.

If the pyramid, by its proportions and consequent mass, was of less convenient form than the obelisk, its mourning intentions were just as clearly understood. It was a monument which had found especial favour in France, where Neoclassical architects working principally in the 18th century and including amongst their most eminent Boullée and Ledoux had used it to express the fashion for the Sublime.

In England, the giant pyramid-pantheon discussed above was never built and both there and in Scotland pyramids were to be modest in scale; the four most noteworthy pyramids to be found there are, first, that chosen by the sovereign – of outstanding significance in the elevation of mourning to a national preoccupation – second, one built as an acknowledgement of the significance of Scottish Presbyterianism; third, a moving example, of stereometric simplicity in enduring granite created to show the affection for a lost friend, and, lastly, one built in the twentieth century to commemorate a Scottish Grand Master Mason who held office in the nineteenth century.

Whilst the spectacular Albert Memorial in London was an exercise in flamboyant Puginesque Gothic, (a style unappealing to many Presbyterian Scots), and the body of the Prince Consort, later to be joined by that of his wife, was interred in the Royal Mausoleum at Frogmore (in a sarcophagus of Peterhead granite), Queen Victoria chose for her personal tribute to her adored husband, a simple and effectively sited pyramid. Unlike her own monument at Balmoral, an obelisk, almost concealed in a grove of trees, this pyramid, confirming the royal acceptance of Egyptian forms for commemoration, stands on the summit of a hill, exposing her grief for all to see.

¹⁶¹ Rock, J., *Thomas Hamilton Architect, 1784-1858* (Edinburgh: Scottish Arts Council, 1984) p. 28.

¹⁶² Glendinning, M., *A History of Scottish Architecture* 1996. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996). p.202



RCAHMS¹⁶³

Figure 5. 48 Prince Albert's Cairn, Balmoral Estate, Aberdeenshire, of 1862.

Testimony in monumental architecture to a grief which was to be openly declared for the remaining forty-nine years of the Queen Empress's life, the enduring Scottish granite from which it is built further echoes the eternity of the Queen's sorrow. It also points heavenwards as it caps its selected mountain, mirroring the choice of later Egyptian pharaohs.¹⁶⁴ The structure is 12.2 metres wide and 10.7 metres high and the inscription records that it was built by Albert's 'broken-hearted widow'. There is also a plaque: "quoting four lines from Chapter 4 of the Book of Wisdom,"¹⁶⁵ emphasising the depth of its religious context to the Queen.

The Star Pyramid in Stirling, its site in the Valley Cemetery at Stirling peopled by a number of statues which: "...honour those Protestant divines admired by William Drummond (1793-1868)," ¹⁶⁶and the work of the sculptor, William Barclay, is not a grave but a tribute in stone to the cause of Scots Presbyterianism, assiduously promoted by the tractarian publishing business of the Drummond family, who caused both it and the surrounding cemetery to be built. Winpenny, in a modern interpretation and referring to the pyramid, suggests that: "few

¹⁶³ Scran 000-000-529-234-C

¹⁶⁴ The 18th and 19th Dynasty pharaohs, instead of building individual pyramids, selected a valley on the West Bank at Thebes overlooked by a mountain of pyramid form and today known as the Qurn.

¹⁶⁵ Winpenny, D., *Up to a Point* (York: Sessions of York, 2009) p.262.

¹⁶⁶ Gifford, J., *Stirling and Central Scotland* (London: Yale University Press, 2002). (Buildings of Scotland series) p.705

advertising gimmicks lasted as long as the one thought up in 1863 by William Drummond of Stirling.”¹⁶⁷ It takes its name from the stars which appear in the roundels on each face and Gifford goes on to describe its



Author

Figure 5. 49 The Star Pyramid in the Valley Cemetery at Stirling, of 1863.

construction and form, noting that on each face are open Bibles in white marble and that: “Pious inscriptions, texts and biblical references abound.”¹⁶⁸ Carved in stone below the open Bibles are references to subjects which would have been suitable themes for religious tracts.¹⁶⁹ If Presbyterian tracts were good business, they also pointed to the heart of the Scottish attitude to a religion which they took seriously, as witnessed by the nineteenth century schisms in the Church of Scotland.¹⁷⁰ Winpenny confirms that: “Just before the last stones were placed in 1863, William Drummond deposited a copy of the Bible and of the Scottish Covenant... in a niche which was then sealed.”¹⁷¹

Demonstrating his acceptance of Egypt as the source of commemorative symbols and actually constructed, unlike his unbuilt obelisk in Princes Street, Edinburgh, William Henry Playfair has left us a remarkable monument. In accounts of his life, his isolation and unsociability have often

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.* p. 251

¹⁶⁸ Gifford, J., *Stirling and Central Scotland* (London and Newhaven: Yale University Press, 2002) (Buildings of Scotland series) p.705

¹⁶⁹ Union Banner XLV CIII, Rock of Ages XCV, Covenant Rest CXXXII CXLV, Throne of Right XCVI XCVII.

¹⁷⁰ These texts read: Word of God, Light of Truth, Law of God and Book of Life.

¹⁷¹ Winpenny, D., *Up to a Point* (York: Sessions of York, 2009). p. 253

aroused comment and it is somewhat surprising that it was his sorrow at the loss of a friend which inspired him to create one of his most moving and flawless monumental tributes, the simple, but splendid, red granite pyramid in the Dean Cemetery, Edinburgh for Lady Elizabeth and later, for Lord Andrew Rutherford. To the latter, he wrote, referring to the construction not as a grave but as a tomb: “To be of red polished granite – of large stones... If I can judge of my own design I am successful and I am sure it has been a work of love on my part for the Sweet Lady, God Bless.”¹⁷²



Author

Figure 5. 50 The Rutherford Pyramid, the Dean Cemetery, 1853
(Sir John Steell produced the bronze memorial plaque).¹⁷³

Of highly polished red granite, its stereometric simplicity relieved by a bronze plaque containing profiles of the Rutherfurds and Latin text, created by Sir John Steell, it is in stark contrast to any other monument in its vicinity.

As a recollection of an office held in the previous century one final pyramid memorial monument witnesses the end of an architectural tradition of commemoration which had begun at Penicuik in the closing years of the 17th century. Anachronistic and similarly related in its

¹⁷² The Rutherford Papers. Acc. 10452. MSS 9794. Letter 197

¹⁷³ The writer makes no apology for illustrating this monument for a second time.

backward glance to that displayed by the Nielson centenary monument, below, this pyramid-crowned mausoleum was built at Fraserburgh after the death of the 18th Lord Saltoun in 1933.



Author.

Figure 5. 51 The Mausoleum to the 18th Lord Saltoun at Fraserburgh, 1933.



Author.

Figure 5. 52 Carved inscription of Lord Saltoun ‘Grand Master Mason 1897 – 1899’.

Combining a stepped pyramid roof with a central obelisk shaft on top, it joins the two references to the ‘staircase to Heaven’, whilst the inscription overtly declares that Lord Saltoun had held the office of Grand Master Mason of Scotland at the close of the previous century from 1897-1899. This final example shares with Queen Victoria’s obelisk a retrospective glance at another age.

Mausolea of the 19th Century.

Scottish mausolea of the 19th century, like their earlier predecessors, make their references to Egypt in an eclectic fashion. The precedent for such funeral monuments for the nobility¹⁷⁴ had already been approved as early as the first years of the 17th century, and from that time it was in Protestant countries that the revival of the mausoleum was to be accomplished. In that and the following century, Scotland, with such a strong accent laid on the Old Testament, containing frequent reference to, and involvement with, Ancient Egypt, was found to be fertile soil.

In considering Sir William Douglas’s Mausoleum of 1821 at Kelton, Dumfriesshire, the designer of which is not convincingly confirmed, immediate thoughts must be of Walter Newall.¹⁷⁵ An

¹⁷⁴ See the quotation from James VI in the previous chapter, p.142.

¹⁷⁵ Walter Newall (1780-1863). For further information see his entry in ‘Architects’ in this work.

architect who was preoccupied by the idea of an Aegypto-Greek architectural idiom, his unaccepted proposal for the competition of 1815 for a memorial to Robert Burns at Dumfries shows in its outline and the treatment of its lower storey, a very close resemblance to the Kelton Mausoleum as completed.



Newall Archive¹⁷⁶.

Figure 5. 53 “Design for Robert Burns Memorial”. (And so marked in pencil) from the Walter Newall Archive, Dumfries.



Author

Figure 5. 54 The Mausoleum of Sir William Douglas, Kelton, 1821.

The twin columns *in antis*, the batter of and the decorative motif over the doors of both buildings appear as added confirmation.

Whilst Gifford writes of the monument that it: “is said to have been designed by his nephew, William Douglas, the friend of Hugh ‘Grecian’ Williams...,”¹⁷⁷ and another opinion comes from Gellatly,¹⁷⁸ who observes that either Sir William’s nephew, William of Almorness, or Thomas Hamilton, may have been responsible, the influence of Newall is clear.

¹⁷⁶ The Newall Archive, Ref. GD131/N7/54.

¹⁷⁷ Gifford, J., *Dumfries and Galloway* (London: Penguin Books, 1996) (Buildings of Scotland series) p.353

¹⁷⁸ Gellatly, M., *The Story of Orchardton* (Castle Douglas: Auchencairn History Society, Small Print, 2003). p.29

A monument which displays ‘Egyptian’ elements, but which might have exhibited more, is the Hamilton Palace Mausoleum, at Hamilton in Lanarkshire. This enormous, circular towered building was constructed at the behest of Alexander, 10th Duke of Hamilton and Brandon (1767-1852). It stands some thirty six metres in height, and, together with the hunting stables of Chatelherault and the Temple in High Parks, is all that remains of the huge mansion complex known as Hamilton Palace.



Author

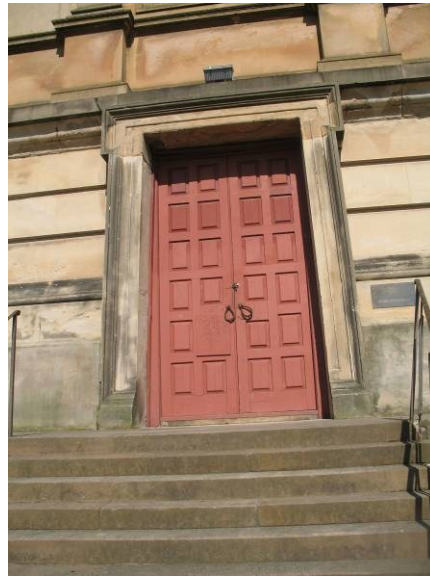
Figure 5.55 View of the Hamilton Palace Mausoleum as completed.

After earlier suggested schemes of the years 1838-1842 and 1846 involving the architects David Hamilton¹⁷⁹ and Henry Edmund Goodridge, it was to be David Bryce (1803-1876), who took over responsibility for the building. Sime, referring to him as: “Brother David Bryce of Edinburgh,” (thus assuring his readers of the architect’s Masonic qualifications) goes on to give the information that: “Alexander 10th Duke of Hamilton was Grand Master Mason of the Grand Lodge of Scotland during the years 1820-22.”¹⁸⁰ Colvin observes that he was also: “...obsessively proud of his lineage” adding that: “No mausoleum has ever been more carefully pondered by its future inmate than this, and the collection of rejected designs in the Hamilton

¹⁷⁹ David Hamilton’s previous essay in the Egyptian style had been as architect of the Nelson Obelisk, Glasgow Green of 1806, and the Egyptian Vaults at the Glasgow Necropolis in 1832.

¹⁸⁰ Sime, R., ‘*The Hamilton Mausoleum*. Report from *The Grand Lodge of Scotland Year Book*’, 2008. pp. 98-110

archives is an anthology of funerary architecture by architects French, Italian, English and Scottish.”¹⁸¹



Author

Figure 5. 56 The principal door to the Hamilton Mausoleum.

The monument continues the Scottish custom of exhibiting little that is overtly Egyptian. The door frame on the principal floor (above) repeats the battered outline of that at the entrance to the crypt below, but it is the spectacular and now dismantled principal doors themselves, copied in bronze from selected panels of the golden doors designed by Ghiberti for the Baptistry in Florence, which carry one panel with an Egyptian theme amongst the six represented¹⁸², and of which the Florentine original is shown, below.

¹⁸¹ Colvin, H., *Architecture and the Afterlife* (London and Newhaven: Yale University Press, 1991). p. 344

¹⁸² Whilst the original doors carry two sets of five panels, space only allowed of two sets of three on this building.



Pevsner and Lang¹⁸³

Figure 5. 57 The ‘Pyramid’ Panel from Lorenzo Ghiberti’s doors from the Florence Baptistery c.1435.

The finished building, incomplete at the Duke’s death in 1852,¹⁸⁴ reflects more of Egypt in its interior planning, the portals there again being of ‘Egyptian’ form. Unique in Scotland, at Hamilton, an antique Egyptian mummiform coffin was chosen to contain the body of the 10th Duke¹⁸⁵.

¹⁸³ Pevsner, N., and Lang, S., “The Egyptian Revival” *The Architectural Review*. May 1956. p. 247

¹⁸⁴ Scran 000-000-599-030-C gives various dates from 1854-57 for its completion.

¹⁸⁵ Sime, R., *Hamilton Mausoleum*. Report from ‘*The Grand Lodge of Scotland Year Book*’. 2008. p.97. The saga of the sarcophagus, for which the Duke paid £600, offered wrongly to the British Museum, with an attribution to an official of a much higher status than was in reality the case, is aside from the thrust of this work. Made for a young Egyptian girl, (princess or priestess are alternative proposals), the shortness of the sarcophagus, whose interior measured 5ft 7inches, could not contain the Duke who was over 6ft. Sime p.100 states that: “Pettigrew removed the lower portions of the legs below the knee...all of which was in accordance with the wishes of the late Duke himself.”



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Figure 5. 58 The interior of Hamilton Mausoleum, showing a doorframe of ‘Egyptian’ style.



RCAHMS¹⁸⁷

Figure 5. 59 The mummiform antique Egyptian sarcophagus chosen as a coffin by the 10th Duke.

In addition, the Duke had arranged for his body to be embalmed by a certain Pettigrew, celebrated as an expert in the unwrapping of mummies. Here is clear evidence of that strange Victorian attachment, shared with his fellow peer, the Marquis of Bute, to the mysteries of Egypt and the after-life. Masonic ceremonies are still permitted there, although the echo, which on the closing of the (now) wooden entrance door lasts for 15 seconds, had made its use for religious services – the original intention – impossible. The proportions of the building are Masonic in that the main floor is of cubic proportions, with a circular tower on top, and the oculus is of the same diameter as the circle in the centre of the floor and: “reminds us of the all-seeing eye which governs all our minds and conscience from which we cannot hide.”¹⁸⁸ This latter seems to make direct reference to the *wedjet* eye of Horus, so prominent a religious symbol to the Egyptians. Further, around the oculus is a band of decoration set into the magnificent coffered dome. Of guilloche form, it bears a close similarity to decorative devices carved on blocks of fallen stone to be found stacked in the infrequently visited Temple of Tod, some miles from Luxor and also resembles details of painted decoration shown on tomb ceilings recorded both by the writer and by Jones¹⁸⁹.

¹⁸⁶ Scran 000-000-599-036-C

¹⁸⁷ Scran 000-000-599-053-R

¹⁸⁸ Brother Robert Sime, ‘*The Hamilton Mausoleum*’. *The Grand Lodge of Scotland Year- Book*. (Edinburgh: 2008). p 97

¹⁸⁹ Jones, O., *The Grammar of Ornament* (London: Day & Sons, 1856) pp.70-74



Author

Figure 5. 60 A guilloche pattern, from Tod Temple, Egypt.



Author

Figure 5. 61 A guilloche border around the oculus, at Hamilton Mausoleum.

The building is thus a complex blend of Masonic and Egyptian allusions, confirming the significance of Egypt in Masonic thought and ritual, combined in a Christian monument.

The mausoleum, shown below, also offers little in its outward form, of Egypt, and was constructed at Craigentenny, near Edinburgh for William Henry Miller (1789-1848). It is chiefly celebrated today for ‘The Craigentenny Marbles’.¹⁹⁰ Originally surrounded by the quiet of the country estate of the same name, the Miller Mausoleum is designed in the style of a Roman monument, for which Miller, dying in 1848, left £20,000, specifying that the site was not to be in a churchyard, and further that his body was to be buried at a depth of 40ft, thus exhibiting an almost pharaonic concern for its safety.

Designed by the architect David Rhind (1808-1883) it was completed in 1856, except for the ornamental panels which were affixed in 1867. The overall impression is entirely and strikingly Roman. However, the two large bas-relief panels carved by Alfred Gatley (1816-1863) and which are fixed to the north and south faces were inspired by Old Testament subjects, the

¹⁹⁰ Much of the information has been sourced from http://www.edinphoto.org.uk/0_buildings_g/0_buildings_-_miller_mausoleum_history.htm, accessed 01/05/2006.

northern one taking as its theme 'The Overthrow of Pharaoh in the Red Sea', which is realistically executed with careful detailing of the event.



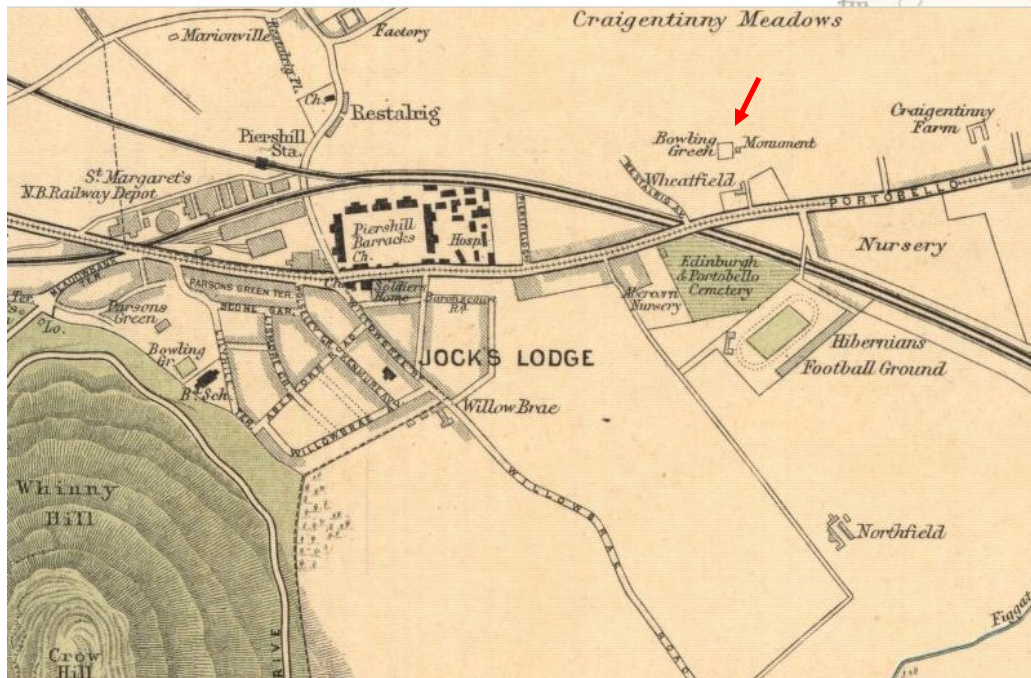
Author

Figure 5. 62 The Miller Mausoleum at Craigentenny.



Author

Figure 5. 63 Pharaoh's army, inundated by the Red Sea.



Bartholomew Survey Atlas of Scotland, 1912¹⁹¹

Figure 5. 64 A Site-Plan of the Craigentenny Monument

Although the Craigentenny Mausoleum originally stood at the centre of a landed estate when it was built, the map above shows that by 1912 Edinburgh was beginning to encroach on its privacy. Standing today in the middle of an estate of pre-1940 bungalows, it appears especially incongruous.

A last mausoleum showing a variation of the pyramid form, acknowledged at its completion ceremony as having Masonic significance, is found in their multiple use at the Dirom Mausoleum constructed in 1830 in the New Graveyard behind the Old Parish Church at Annan, Dumfriesshire, situated on what was considered “the best plot.”¹⁹²

¹⁹¹ From National Library of Scotland website: www.nls.uk/maps/atlas/bartholomew/view/?id=1205

¹⁹² Wilkins, M., *The Diroms of Mount Annan* (Castle Douglas: The Friends of Annandale and Eskdale Museums. Small Print, 2006) p. 170



Author

Figure 5. 65 The Dirom Mausoleum, Annan. 1830.

Its prominent site might have been seen as acknowledging the importance of Lieutenant-General Alexander Dirom (1757-1830) of Mount Annan, the main residence on his considerable estate close to the town. He had contact with that General Sir Charles William Pasley, mentioned above, being married to his cousin and was, like him, an Engineer who served, with rising rank, in Jamaica, the East Indies, in India, in the 2nd Mysore War, and in the Nile Campaign of 1798¹⁹³. The monument (above), its shelved interior containing the bodies of ten family members, is constructed of local red Locharbriggs sandstone, its inner tapering roof, lined with bricks from the general's own brickworks. At each corner of its flat, lead-covered roof is a small sandstone pyramid and in the centre, a taller one of a similar slender outline. This unusual arrangement of five pyramids seems to be of local significance since the steeple of St Michael's Church, Dumfries, of the same red sandstone, has four substantial pyramids at the corners of its tower and surrounding the central steeple. It should be noted that at his funeral it is recorded that the coffin was carried shoulder high by Freemasons.¹⁹⁴

Mausolea, the preserve of the wealthy, varied according to the personal wishes of the individual, with their use of Egyptian forms often indicating their Masonic associations.

¹⁹³ Involvement in the Nile Campaign and his Masonic status may both have combined to influence his choice of the pyramids used on his monument.

¹⁹⁴ Johnston, J., *William Johnston* (Bolton: Private circulation, 1898). The author is recording a childhood memory given to him by his father.

General Mourning in Nineteenth Century Scotland and its Use of Egyptian Themes.

Whilst the above examples have examined the burial and commemoration of those of prominence and wealth, burial now became of enormous social significance across the wider population, and in the increasing use of monuments the obelisk became one of the most prolific although by no means the only Egyptian reference. There seems to have been no recorded single occasion when the church officially changed its attitude and, according to Gordon, quoting a ‘spokesman’ from the Church of Scotland Head Office: “Burial services just slid in.”¹⁹⁵ And in the 19th century, they slid in with a vengeance!

In acknowledgement of this now approved celebration of death, from France – with the Père-Lachaise Cemetery of 1804 as its most celebrated exemplar – came the concept of the cemetery, completely separate from any place of worship, as a place of public resort and spiritual elevation. The Glasgow Necropolis opened in 1832 and its landscaped walks and its rich variety of architectural statements were soon emulated in other cities in Scotland.

Both in this new environment and in Scotland’s more traditional graveyards, the obelisk, which had been propelled into widespread public awareness by the erection of the Nelson Monument, now became a recognized monument apt to civilian mourning. Its symbolic significance was supported by technical developments in Aberdeen in the early 1830s when Alexander MacDonald (1794-1860) developed the machinery for, and the technique of, polishing granite, which both boosted the range and availability of ‘Egyptian’ ornament increasingly to be found in Scotland’s graveyards, and was of enormous significance to the local economy. Barnes records that some samples having been sent to the newly opened Kensall Green Cemetery in London in 1832: “Orders were to follow in colossal numbers, his (MacDonald’s) firm eventually accounting for half of Britain’s obelisks.”¹⁹⁶ These were offered as 6ft, 12ft, 15ft, 18ft and 24ft examples, in a wide range of colours and with different bases. This standardization, together with the contemporary development of the railway system, facilitated distribution of his production throughout the land – a far cry from the labours involved in the production of Egyptian obelisks in that same stone and a unique testament to the growth of the industrial revolution. Elaborate catalogues, some in colour, were produced, showing a wide range of styles of monument and the

¹⁹⁵ Gordon, A., *Death is for the living* (Edinburgh: Paul Harris, 1984). p. 49

¹⁹⁶ Barnes, R., *The Obelisk*. (Kirstead: Frontier, 2004) p.112

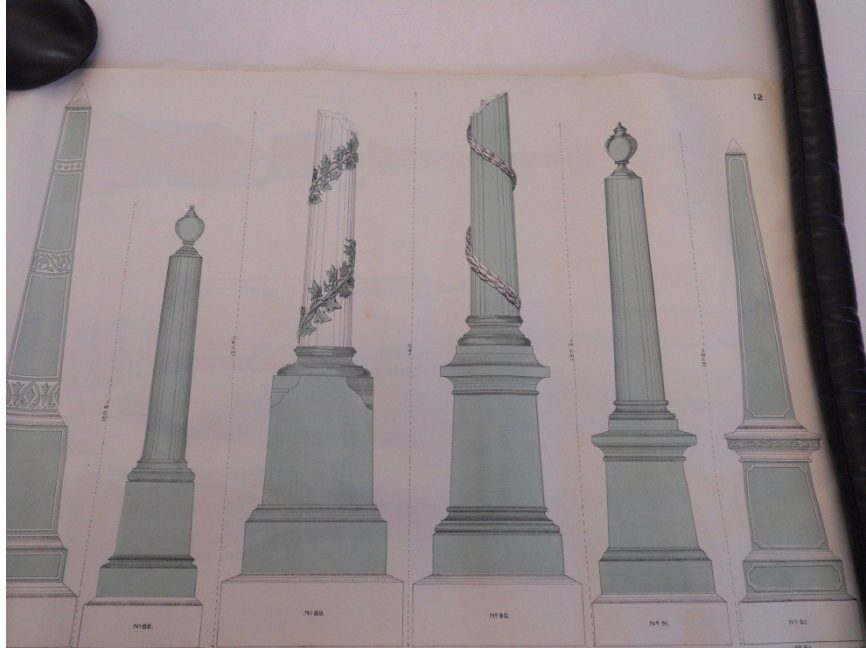
illustrations below, allotted by the holding archive to the 1880s, witness the continuing popularity of the granite obelisk.



NAS.¹⁹⁷

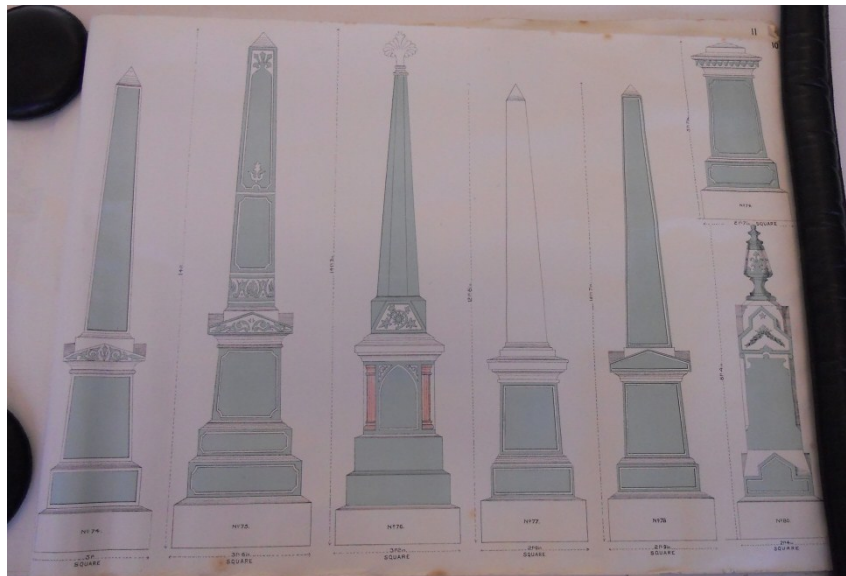
Figure 5. 66 Title Page of the Catalogue of Monuments.

¹⁹⁷ National Archive of Scotland RHP 40758. The William Boddie of Aberdeen Catalogue of Funerary Monuments. The catalogue bears no date but is allotted by the archive to the 1880s.



NAS.¹⁹⁸

Figure 5. 67 Classical and Egyptian inspired examples.



NAS.¹⁹⁹

Figure 5. 68 A third selection, principally obelisks.

The above selection of obelisks represented the major monument type offered by the company.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.* Not paginated.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.* Not paginated.

It is of further significance that in his lecture on ‘The Spirit of the Egyptian Style’, Thomson aptly observed of these monuments which proposed eternity: “We have the idea of duration repeated in the hardness of the granite of which it (the obelisk) is composed,”²⁰⁰ thus marrying the significance of the form to its raw material.

The 19th century cemetery in Scotland, developed as a cultural, almost Arcadian, experience, like an echo of those Gardens of Allusion, which, deriving from a wide range of architectural sources, can be traced back to Hadrian’s Villa at Tivoli, its subsequent development, most notably in France in the previous century, having been dealt with above.

Many cemeteries, which by tradition surrounded the local church, became full and this necessitated that they be replaced by burial grounds separate from any religious building, not least for reasons of health and hygiene. One such burial ground totally detached from a church, the Old Calton Cemetery, had already come into use as early as 1718. That date has meant that it preceded the Neoclassical Revival which laid such emphasis on architectural motifs drawn from Ancient Egypt, but, as the years passed, examples of obelisks and other Egyptian inspired forms took their place there. For the middle classes, who wished to shield themselves with dignity, there developed the ‘lair’, an unroofed but enclosed resting place which was to flourish in the second half of the 18th and the early years of the 19th centuries. In the New Calton Cemetery of 1817-20, the George Ranken ‘Lair’ of 1833, benefiting from the new enthusiasm for ‘things Egyptian’, provides a rare example of a lair of pylon form with *torus* moulding and with *cavetto* cornice on both enclosure and door.



Author

Figure 5. 69 Detail view of the Ranken Lair of 1833

²⁰⁰ Thomson, A., *Art and Architecture – the Spirit of the Egyptian Style*. From a lecture given at Glasgow School of Art in 1874.

The Glasgow Necropolis.

Memorials are raised in sorrow for the dead, as consolation to the living, in commemoration and in praise. In the early 19th century however came the added intention that they also should be laid out in areas of park-like resort for gentle exercise and the improvement of the mind.

With Père Lachaise as the model, Strang, after complaining of the state of Scottish cemeteries, had put the case for the Necropolis thus: "...the argument for the establishment in this neighbourhood of a NECROPOLIS, from its locality at once respectful to the dead and safe and sanatory (sic) to the living, would be at the same time peculiarly dedicated to the genius of Memory and calculated for the extension of religious and moral feeling."²⁰¹ Noting, in a sharp change of attitude to the celebration of death when compared to that of the previous century, Strang then comments favourably on: "...obelisks, pyramids, temples and marble sarcophagi", adding that: "monumental decoration," demonstrated: "...the most convincing token of a nation's progress in civilization and the Arts," and concluding that the horrific realities of the usual churchyard might be dispelled: "by the beauty of the garden, the variety of its walks and the romantic nature of its situation..."²⁰² The Glasgow Merchant House, which was responsible for opening the Necropolis, whilst no doubt bearing these spiritual and aesthetic considerations in mind, did not disregard the commercial opportunities of the site, Scott noting that here was: "... a commercially operated burial ground laid out like a public park was just another aspect of the improving city, fuelled by energetic capitalists of the emerging middle classes."²⁰³

Strang proceeds to give a full survey of burial customs in other lands, noting that: "In Egypt ...veneration of the dead was carried to the highest pitch..." and that, further, there: "the walls were magnificently decorated", adding that: "the Pyramids are still regarded as the monumental wonders of the world."²⁰⁴ The above shows a clearly informed view of the Egyptian attitude to death and its funeral practices. Whether he acted as the catalyst for, or merely gave impetus to, the establishment of the Glasgow Necropolis scheme which had been in discussion since 1828 is not entirely clear. However, the first burial took place there in 1832²⁰⁵.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.* Preface. p. VI

²⁰² *Ibid.* p 58

²⁰³ Scott, S., R., *The Cemetery and the City: the Origins of the Glasgow Necropolis* (Glasgow University Thesis 14027. p.38.

²⁰⁴ Strang, J., *Necropolis Glasguensis* (Glasgow: Atkinson and Co., 1831) *Ibid* pp. 66-67

²⁰⁵ The fact that this was of a Jew indicates the presence, somewhat apart but within the same perimeter, of a burial facility for Glasgow's Jewish Community.

This burial ground, which enjoyed a unique celebrity, has been praised in differing ways. George Blair, the Scottish poet, wrote: “It is to this city what the beautiful cemetery of Père La Chaise is to Paris... a silent city of the dead.”²⁰⁶ Duncan Macfarlane, Principal of Glasgow University, recorded that, whilst there were twenty burying grounds in the city: “The Necropolis...formed...in imitation of the cemetery Père Lachaise in Paris stands unrivalled in the kingdom for picturesque effect.”²⁰⁷ Within the cemetery is a rich array of monuments having forms originating in Ancient Egypt, with Colvin again contrasting the Necropolis with Père Lachaise, stating that: “...the typical family tomb at Père Lachaise was... a miniature chapel...whilst the most popular monument in the Necropolis was a Neo-classical obelisk.”²⁰⁸ In support of the ‘Neo-Classical’ observation, Curl adds that: “This severely neoclassical cemetery is, in terms of architecture, the most Sublime of all British cemeteries.”²⁰⁹

While the availability of the granite obelisk from Aberdeen has been noted, in the early years of the Necropolis, and confirming the lengthy association of the Mossman family of Glasgow with it, details are quoted by Scott of an example, not from Aberdeen granite, but of sandstone and produced in the city of Glasgow itself. “William Mossman recorded in February, 1836, he had sent an estimate to William Jack for constructing an obelisk...” and added “...I hereby offer to execute your monument, 14feet high and of the best stone from Garscube Quarry²¹⁰...for the sum of £28.”

²⁰⁶ Blair, G., *Biographic and Descriptive Sketches of the Glasgow Necropolis* (1857). p.1 Introduction.

²⁰⁷ Macfarlane, D., and Cleland, J., *Glasgow in The New Statistical Account of Scotland* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1845). Vol.6, p.209

²⁰⁸ Colvin, H., *Architecture and the Afterlife* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991). p.370.

²⁰⁹ Curl, J., S., C., *The Art and Architecture of Freemasonry* (London: Batsford, 1991). p.207.

²¹⁰ Garscube Quarry produced sandstone, so granite and Aberdeen were not in question.



R. Scott²¹¹

Figure 5. 70 The William Mossman obelisk.

Differentiating the burying ground as a piece of land unattached to a church, it would seem to show that such a cemetery could respect the spirit, social values and aspirations of the place which it represented. Two such are first, already mentioned above, the Glasgow Necropolis of 1832, the second, the Dean Cemetery in Edinburgh of 1845, both private commercial undertakings, the former opened by the Glasgow Merchant House, the latter by the Edinburgh Western Cemetery Company.

Whilst the former exhibits a display of ostentation and of the commercial and mercantile wealth of the city which caused 19th century Glasgow to be named “The Second City of the Empire”, the Dean Cemetery in Edinburgh – a city which Lord Cockburn (1779-1854) described as “the second city in the empire for learning and science,”²¹² – contains, somewhat more discreetly, the mortal remains of many of its ‘great and good,’ with their offices and professional qualifications frequently recorded.

In the case of the Necropolis, Williamson notes that: “The architectural features were professionally designed and so were many of the monuments, all of which were vetted after 1835

²¹¹ Scott, R., D., *The Cemetery and the City* 2005 Thesis. Glasgow University Library Special Collections, p.236.

²¹² Cockburn, Lord H., *Memorials of his time* (Edinburgh: Edmonton & Douglas, 1856). p. 197

‘to prevent the construction of monuments in very bad taste’.²¹³ Leading sculptors and architects produced some of the more elaborate monuments, with George Mossman, celebrated sculptor (1823-1863) designing monuments, whilst other members of the Mossman²¹⁴ family conducted a most exclusive funeral undertaking business which endures to the present time. Architects David Hamilton (1768-1843), John Stephen (1807-1850) and Alexander Thomson were also amongst those who designed work for the Necropolis.²¹⁵ At the Dean, the sculptors William Brodie (1815-1881) and J.S. Rhind (1859-1937) undertook several commissions and the architect William Playfair was represented by his magnificent pyramid. The site of the Necropolis and the relative freedom from foliage of its heights give it the more dramatic multi-spire crowned summit, suggestive of Calvary, and commented on by J.C. Loudon in 1841 as: “...a grand and melancholy city on a hill,”²¹⁶ whilst the tree-lined Dean, its entrance gates crowned with pyramids, evokes, in places, the forest glade.



Author

Figure 5. 71 A pyramid, crowning an entrance gate pier at the Dean Cemetery, Edinburgh, 1845

²¹³ Williamson, E., *Glasgow* (London: Yale University Press, 1990) (Buildings of Scotland series) p.138

²¹⁴ Whose early connection with the Necropolis has already been noted, above.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.* p.139 Williamson notes that the Rev. Beattie’s obelisk was designed by Thomson and carved by the Mossmans.

²¹⁶ Curl, J.S., *A Celebration of Death* (London: Constable, 2004,) p.210

Both are well-stocked with obelisks of all sizes and of varying forms, and amongst these, the Necropolis can claim one which, without pedestal, reflects the more usual Egyptian form.



Author

Figure 5. 72 Obelisks on the slopes of the Glasgow Necropolis.



Author

Figure 5. 73 Obelisks in the sheltered setting of the Dean Cemetery, Edinburgh.

Of this form Blair shows his awareness of its historical accuracy commenting on: “...a tall stately obelisk - to James Mackenzie of the Craig Park family. This structure is worthy of notice as a genuine Egyptian obelisk, having no pedestal or base, but appearing to grow out of the earth.”²¹⁷ In the Dean Cemetery, an example of similar simplicity, although with a small base, to the infant Harry Gracie, touchingly advertises the high child mortality rate of the Victorian Era.

²¹⁷ Blair G., *Glasgow Necropolis* (Glasgow. Maurice Ogle & Son, 1857) p.57



Author

Figure 5. 74 The Gracie Grave and Infant ‘Harry’.

Each of the graveyards has its large obelisks amongst those of a more usual size²¹⁸. Selected, as a striking example, at the Necropolis is an obelisk designed by Alexander Thomson. Unique in his repertoire, this Egyptian form clearly exhibits the Grecian device of *entasis*, and is one more example of this architect’s ability to ‘mix his architectural metaphors’; the monument also being incised with sharply chiselled bands of decoration from that palmiform and lotiform repertoire which Thomson adapted in his own highly personalized idiom and it is finally capped²¹⁹ with the Christian cross.

²¹⁸ The usual size might be taken as between 6 and 15 feet.

²¹⁹ In ‘capturing the obelisk for Christ’, see Chapter 2 above, this echoes that precedent set by Pope Sixtus V (1520-1590) in his reuse of the, mainly, fallen Egyptian obelisks as focal points in his newly risen Rome. See Chapter 2.

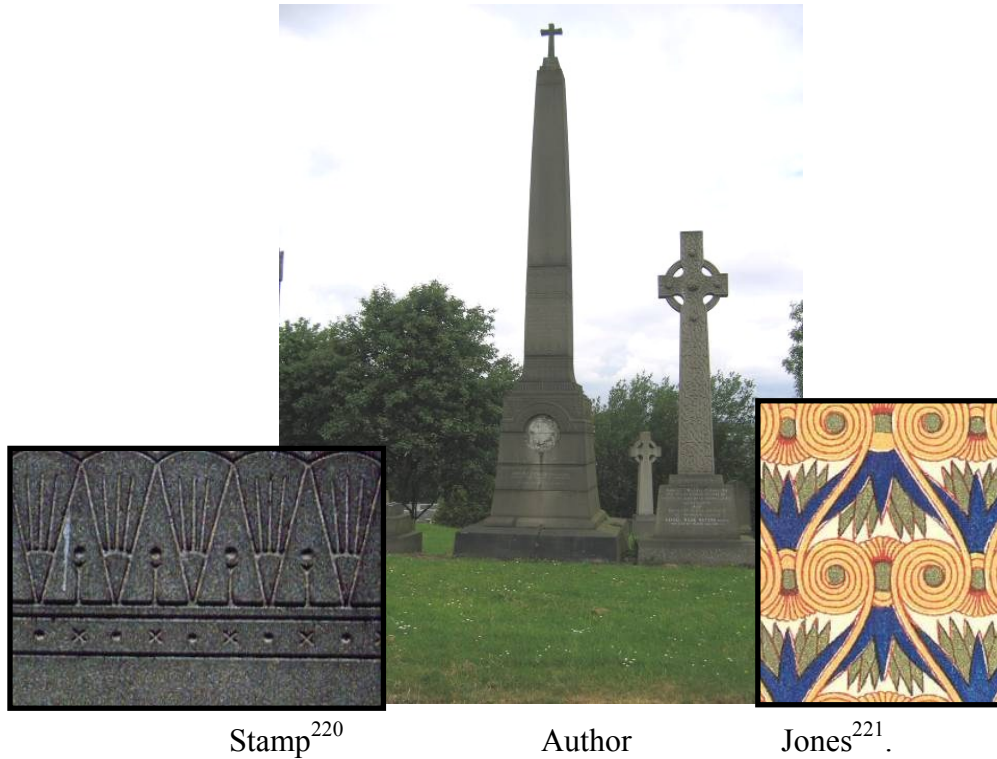
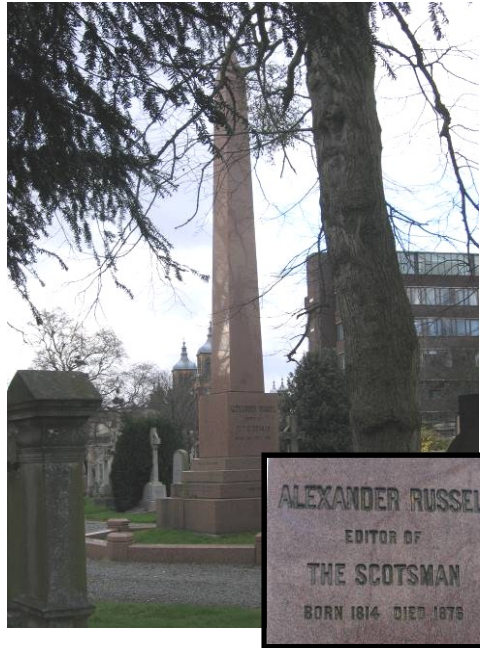


Figure 5. 75 The Obelisk to the Reverend G.M. Middleton of 1867, designed by Alexander Thomson, has incised carving, *inter alia*, of the Egyptian Lotus flower.

Thomson created this design for the minister of his own United Presbyterian Church whose buildings he filled with similar Egyptian references.

²²⁰ Stamp, G., *Alexander 'Greek' Thomson* (Glasgow: Laurence King, 1999). p 160

²²¹ Jones, O., *The Grammar of Ornament* (London: Day & Sons, 1856). Design 14, Plate 10. p. 71



Author

Figure 5. 76 The Russel Obelisk of 1878, at the Dean Cemetery, with its inscription.

At the Dean Cemetery, around 40ft in height, this obelisk monolith of conservative style exhibits none of the ‘mixture of metaphors’ of the Thomson example, and conforms to the more conservative Edinburgh taste, topping a pedestal and employing for both that most traditional of Egyptian materials – but here from Peterhead – pink granite. Decoration on this obelisk, unlike that from the Glasgow Necropolis, is strictly reserved to the inscription, its stark simplicity emphasizing the difference in the outlook of the two cities. The Dean Cemetery clearly demonstrates the rise and fall in popularity of the obelisk as a symbol of mourning, confirming that in the mid-Victorian years, the obelisk was one of the most frequently found grave markers. Declining in favour towards the end of the 19th century, its appearance in the 20th century becomes increasingly rare.²²²

As a further indication in the differing taste of the two graveyards, one should point out that the simple lines of the Rutherford pyramid in the Dean Cemetery, discussed above, have no equal in the Glasgow Necropolis, and contrast its stark and simple outline with a different type of grave which better bespeaks the more exotic funeral taste of Victorian Glasgow. The pyramid’s

²²² As Egyptian motifs lose favour, there is a considerable increase in the use of Celtic decoration, perhaps acknowledging a rise in Nationalist sentiment.

Neoclassical purity gives it an uncluttered elegance, with which, clumsy in both conception and execution, the Grandison Grave, below, compares unfavourably, just as it does with that elegant Ptolemaic grand entrance to the



Author

Figure 5. 77 The Grandison Grave of 1862, at the Glasgow Necropolis.

temple²²³ of outstanding beauty, which it aims to recall.

Proof that Egyptian buildings could be copied exquisitely, and surely deserving a place in this most celebrated ‘Garden of Repose’, it is nevertheless to Cathcart Cemetery, Glasgow, that one must turn to find Scotland’s only other rendering of ‘The Kiosk of Trajan’ – it is superb!

The monument was raised to the memory of the successful Glasgow butcher, William Hood, City Councillor, Justice of the Peace and art collector, who died on November 9th 1899 and who gives various proofs of his interest in Egypt.²²⁴ Of well carved and finely detailed red Peterhead granite, the grave is uniquely contained within its walled and gated

²²³ For the former refer to its treatment (above), in ‘Forms and Origins,’ and for the latter to Chapter 6.

²²⁴ A certificate for the purchase of the grave was issued to his wife, Mary Hood on 13th February 1900. Glasgow City Archives, T-HB 65 ‘Papers relating to the Hood Mausoleum in Cathcart Cemetery’5



Author

Figure 5. 78 The Hood Monument,
Cathcart Cemetery. 1902.



Author

Figure 5. 79 Pillar detail.

enclosure, with a statue of an Egyptian god, either the Jackal God Anubis, or perhaps more likely, that of Wepwawet, ‘The Pointer of the Way’²²⁵.



Author

Figure 5. 80 The Battered Door Frame and *Cavetto* Cornice.

²²⁵ Whichever god may have been depicted, vandals have decapitated the statue, which does not aid identification.

The inscription records Hood's address (itself unusual for a late 19th century monument) as 'Nile Park'. This house by Alexander Thomson, of 1852-3 and originally named 'Knowe Cottage' (and then 'The Knowe'), stands at the corner of Albert Drive and Shields Road, Pollokshiels, and is described by Williamson as: "the most famous of Pollokshiels's early villas."²²⁶ The writer goes on to observe: "In the staircase window, stained glass depicting Egyptian scenes and motifs: it may date from when the house was renamed Nile Park in 1899." The receipt for the monument, dated to August 31st 1900, from Scott & Rae, monumental sculptors, totals £1311 11 0, and demonstrates both the willingness and the ability of Glasgow citizens to mark death with costly and elaborate monuments.²²⁷

In the Glasgow Necropolis, the Egyptian Vaults, originally used for the temporary storage of coffins is illustrated below,²²⁸ showing only a corner of the extravagantly curved cavetto cornice, the rest being now overgrown. Under the ivy that now conceals the entrance it bears a Scottish re-interpretation of the 'winged sun disk' at its centre, which is replaced by an hour glass, effectively creating a rebus on 'time flies'. By the architect of the Glasgow Nelson Monument, David Hamilton, there is no doubting its reference to Egypt.



Author

Figure 5. 81 The entrance to the Egyptian Vaults, Glasgow Necropolis, designed in 1837-8 by the architect David Hamilton (1768-1843).

The two monuments shown below represent portals. The suggestion which they propose, since they are not entrances in the true sense, is of 'the false door', a necessary part of many Egyptian

²²⁶ Williamson E., *Glasgow* (London: Yale University Press. 2005) (Buildings of Scotland series) p.576.

²²⁷ Comparisons are invidious, but this would surely represent at least £150.000 in today's currency.

²²⁸ See Chapter 1, 'Forms and Origins' above.

tombs. This device served as a link between the living and the dead and Ancient Egyptian examples exist which show a life-size figure of the *ka*, the spiritual ‘double’ of the occupant, stepping out of the niche.



Author

Figure 5. 82 An Egyptian Portal Gravestone at the Dean Cemetery, to David Cathcart Esq. W.S. d. 1887.



Author

Figure 5. 83 A false door at the rear of a Glasgow Necropolis grave.

The carefully observed example, above, from the Dean, has the added features of an Egyptian *torus* moulding, and a deep sill, on which offerings of food for the dead would have been placed, whilst that from the Necropolis is purely decorative.

In the Dean cemetery, red and grey granite are employed widely, if less extravagantly than in the Glasgow Necropolis, and the two simple but graceful pylon-form gravestones seem, as does the Russel obelisk above, to reflect that restraint which is found in most of the Dean monuments.



Author

Figure 5. 84 Pylon form graves with outswept *cavetto* cornices, at the Dean Cemetery, of David Maclagan, 1842, and Thomas Cleghorn, 1874.

Whilst the mourning symbols of Egypt often coincide in these two graveyards, each has further individual examples peculiar to itself.

First, at the Necropolis, and on a monument of classical outline, the grey granite from which it is made suggesting no Egyptian reference, the two magnificent angels, in bronze, spread their ‘Pre-Raphaelite’ sheltering wings in a gesture having its first origins in the tombs of 18th Dynasty pharaohs.²²⁹ This impressive bronze sculpture is the work of James Pittendrigh Macgillivray and dates to c 1895.²³⁰



Author

Figure 5. 85 The Egyptian gesture of protection seen on the Allan grave.



Author

Figure 5. 86 The same gesture, on the 18th Dynasty Sarcophagus of Ay of 1321 BC.

²²⁹ See Chapter 1, ‘Forms and Origins’.

²³⁰ McKenzie, R., *Public Sculpture of Glasgow* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2002). p. 303.

At the Dean Cemetery, resting place of so many professional men, there are several portrayals of the serpent of Aesculapius which originated from the apotropaic boundary markers of Imhotep, its innovator, at Saqqara c 2650 BC. One such is shown below, placing the emphasis on the profession of the deceased and confirming, once more, the differing ethos of the two cities.



Author.

Figure 5. 87 The Gravestone of William Rutherford Sanders Professor of Pathology at the University of Edinburgh. 1881.



Author.

Figure 5. 88 Detail of the serpents surrounding the staff of Aesculapius.

Each of the cities, having exhibited its own enthusiasm for the burial process and the part played by Egyptian forms, has expressed its character and its precedents by the differing style of its monuments.

Egyptian Themes in the Work of 19th Century Scottish Architects.

Their roles delineated at the start of this chapter above, the earliest of those demonstrating enthusiasm for Egyptian architecture is the Dumfriesshire architect, Walter Newall.

Walter Newall. 1780 – 1863.

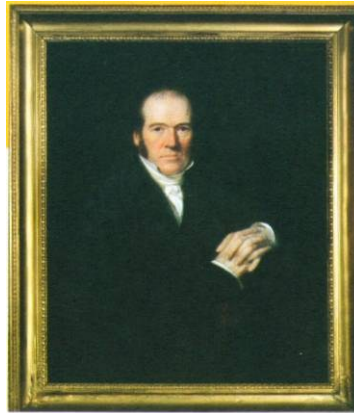


Figure 5. 89 Portrait of the Architect
(Artist Unknown)

MacKechnie in his article of 1988 on the little known architect, Walter Newall of Dumfries concludes with the words: “Newall is worth knowing about.”²³¹ The writer concurs and notes that in a more recent publication of 1996, to which MacKechnie was a major contributor, both his existence and a list of his works were included.²³²

It was in 1986 that the extensive archive, consisting of 2830 drawings and plans and 128 pieces of correspondence of this Dumfriesshire man, about whom little had been previously recorded, was discovered in Canada, together with the remnants of his library, and was returned to the town of his birth, Dumfries, where it may be seen at that city’s Archive Centre. For this work, the true significance of the archive is that amongst the sketches were many of Ancient Egyptian inspiration²³³, and even include meticulous drawings of identifiable Egyptian buildings.

Born the son of a prosperous farmer at Doubledyke in the parish of New Abbey, he was to die in that same place, eighty three years later, having spent most of his life in the southwest of

²³¹ MacKechnie, A., *Walter Newall - Architect in Dumfries* (Transactions of the Dumfries and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society, 1988). p. 78

²³² Glendinning, M., MacInnes, R., & MacKechnie, A., *A History of Scottish Architecture* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996) p.188 & p.586

²³³ These drawings, from the Dumfries Archive, include several of obelisks on pedestals e.g. from GD331 106-108

Scotland where his accredited work is concentrated. This talented man was, in addition, both an avid reader and skilled water-colourist.²³⁴

Marion Stewart, senior archivist in Dumfries at the time of the arrival of the Newall archive, notes that: “Throughout his working life he lived mainly in Dumfries, travelling around Dumfriesshire, Kirkcudbrightshire and Galloway, in the course of his work.”²³⁵ However, she then follows with a point which would account for the international style of many of the drawings, adding that: “His papers show him to have made forays further afield ...and his sketchbooks suggest that he made tours of Germany and Italy.”²³⁶ Since that time, family correspondence has appeared which indicates, not only that he visited Rome, but, that he studied there,²³⁷ and, significantly, there is a specific reference to his travels made by Loudon,²³⁸ who seems well acquainted with Newall and to esteem him highly. Writing of Newall’s: “...high degree of architectural taste,” he adds: “...Mr. Newall has...profited by every advantage that an architect can have, not only in Britain, but in France and Italy,”²³⁹

In the wide variety of funerary monuments which form so large a part of the archive, including those of Gothic and Classical inspiration, the two-dimensional obelisk designs below strongly evoke an Italian source, and justify Loudon’s confirmation of his visit there, which would also account for the presence of a tourist guide to Italy in his library.²⁴⁰

²³⁴ One book alone in the archive, GD 131N9, consists of 94 watercolours of famous country houses, some copied from engravings, one such example being enclosed in the book.

²³⁵ Stewart, M. *Introduction to the Newall Archive*. (Dumfries: Dumfries Archive Centre, 1992).

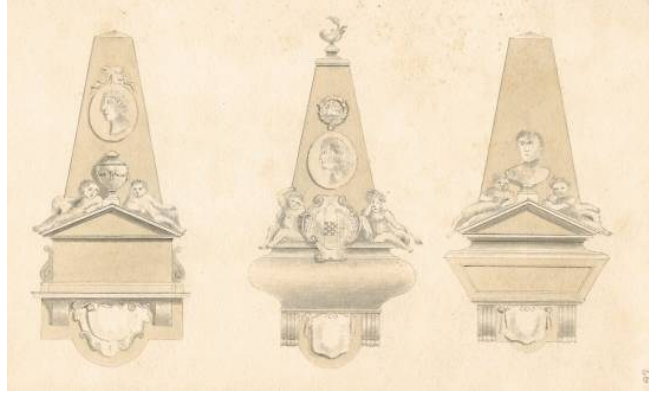
²³⁶ *Ibid.*

²³⁷ Taken from an e-mail from Gillian Leitch, Post Doctoral Fellow, University of Edinburgh gileitch@aol.com on 15th March 2008 notes, referring to correspondence of 1889 from Agnes Leitch (born 1830): “Walter Newall’s niece, states that, after meeting Walter and his brothers, Walter’s having studied in Rome was discussed.”

²³⁸ Loudon, J., (1783-1843) was the Scottish born founder of ‘*The Gardener’s Magazine*.’ (1826) and other publications

²³⁹ Loudon, J., *Cottage, Farm, and Villa Architecture* (London: 1839). p.458

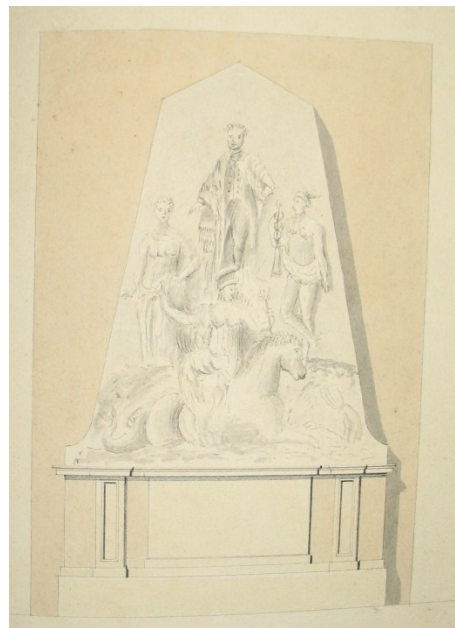
²⁴⁰ *Itinerary of Italy or Travellers Guide*. 1830. No other details given.



Dumfries Archive Centre²⁴¹

Figure 5. 90 Designs which reflect an Italian source and may be from Newall's visit to Italy

Newall also develops his own interpretation of the two dimensional obelisk, below, which proposal resembles a monument designed earlier by Robert Adam²⁴²and helps to confirm his Roman visit.



Dumfries Archive Centre.

Figure 5. 91 Water Newall's design for an obelisk backed wall memorial²⁴³

²⁴¹ Dumfries Archive Centre GGD131 N7 66

²⁴² The monument was erected in 1775, to the Earl of Glasgow at Kelburn.

²⁴³ Dumfries Archive GGD 131/7/65.

Stewart adds that he was greatly interested in keeping himself informed widely, both of the past: “Egypt and the Classical world,” and: “...as an avid reader of the latest architectural books and journals.”²⁴⁴ Although books on Egypt are not found in the list of what remained of his library, these he could easily have obtained from the Architectural Library in London, of which he made frequent use. However, in the remnant of his own collection of books, his interest in a profound range of subjects is to be seen, notably with works on Herculaneum and Pompeii and the Near East²⁴⁵.

Without recorded training as an architect, for the earliest employment of this multi- talented man was as a furniture designer – in which capacity he was admitted a Burgess of Dumfries as a squareman (Woodworker)²⁴⁶ – the exhibition leaflet on his life and work nevertheless indicates him as: “Cabinet Maker, Civil Engineer and Architect.”²⁴⁷

His architectural production is of the widest and his designs span a range from quiet, elegant Regency houses through Gothic (his preferred style for church buildings) to country houses in a wide range of styles – MacKechnie recording Classical, neo-Tudor and Italianate designs from his hand. His most prolific output, however, appeared as farmhouses and farm buildings, a large number of which latter commissioned by his most significant patron, the Duke of Buccleuch. MacKechnie notes that Newall produced for the Duke: “upwards of 50 farm houses cottages and steadings”, the latter being of: exceptional interest, with their very elegant elevations,”²⁴⁸ but Egypt is restricted to McKechnie’s mention here of Newall’s: “Thomson inspired lotus chimney pots”²⁴⁹

²⁴⁴ The Canadian book dealer who examined the remainder of his and his family’s books does not, in the limited list which he has provided, indicate any titles with an Ancient Egyptian theme. However, in the list are two books relating to the Near East. (a). Shaw T., *Travels or Observations relating to Several Parts of Barbary and the Levant* (Edinburgh: J.Ritchie 1808), and (b), Russel, M., *Palestine or the Holy Land*. (Edinburgh: 3rd ed, 1832).

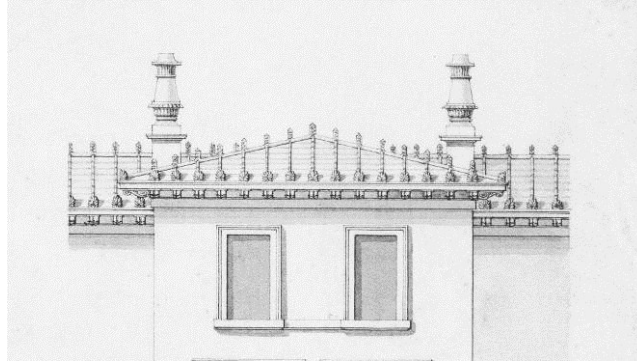
²⁴⁵ (a) Bellicard (Mr.) Architect. Colvin (Mr.) Engraver. *Observations upon the Antiquities of the Town of Herculaneum* (London, 1756), (b) Adams, W. H., *The Buried Cities of the Campania, Pompeii and Herculaneum* (London, 1868).

²⁴⁶ Designs for a number of pieces of furniture exist within the archive- B3/125 – a bookcase, being perhaps the most ambitious.

²⁴⁷ Of unacknowledged authorship, the pamphlet published by the Faed Gallery, Gatehouse of Fleet, in 2005, notes that Newall first worked for the firm of Hannah and Reid : “... which soon became Newall, Hannah and Reid.” p.3

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

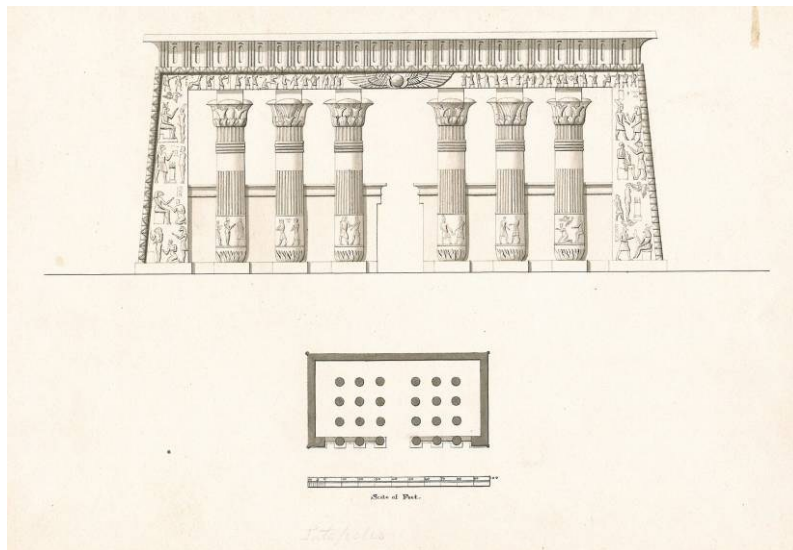
²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*



Newall Archive²⁵⁰

Figure 5. 92 ‘Lotus’ Chimneypots on a villa design.

The above appears to deny Newall’s fascination with Egypt, yet the archive tells a different story. Some of his sources of inspiration can be identified, and among the sketches are included meticulous drawings of Egyptian buildings, as, for example, the one below, together with its architectural ground plan.



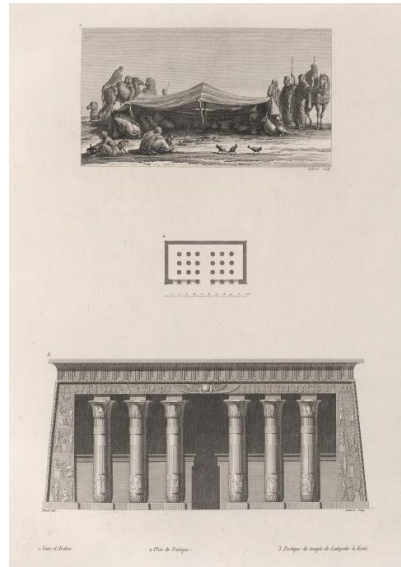
The Dumfries Archive Centre²⁵¹

Figure 5. 93 The Temple of Latopolis, more usually known as Esna.

²⁵⁰ From the Walter Newall Archive GD131 B4/29.

²⁵¹ Dumfries Archive Centre, GGD131/2/ 20

The above can be directly sourced to Plate 54 in Vivant Denon's publication of 1802



Dumfries Archive Centre.

Figure 5. 94 Plate 54. "Vue et Plan du Portique de Latopolis à Esne"²⁵²

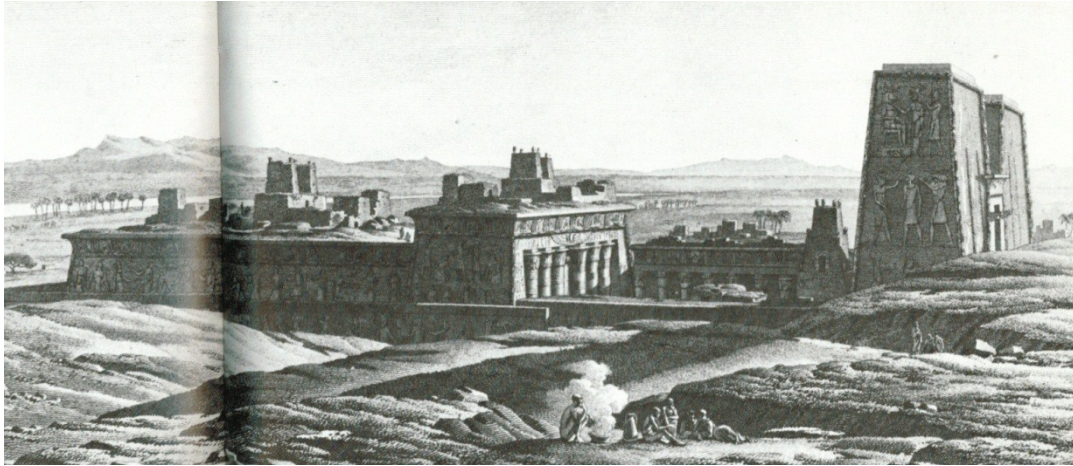
A further illustration, this time of the Temple of Edfu, from the same publication, was the inspiration for the gouache below.



Dumfries Archive Centre.

Figure 5. 95 A view of Edfu, in the Newall Archive and influenced by Vivant Denon²⁵³

²⁵² Vivant Denon, D., *Voyage dans la Basse et la Haute Égypte* (Paris: P. Didot L'Ainé, 1802) Pl. 54



Dominique Vivant Denon²⁵⁴

Figure 5. 96 A view of the Temple of Edfu from Vivant Denon's 'Voyage' of 1802/3, plate 58.
'Temple d'Apollinopolis Magna à Etfu' (sic)

Newall appears also to have been influenced by designs shown in David Roberts' publication. In his illustration of the Tomb of Khnumhotep at Beni Hassan²⁵⁵, (See Fig 1.16) Roberts portrays the twin columns *in antis*, the architectural device which appears at the heart of Newall's proposal for the Robert Burns Memorial, and is seen realised in the Kelton Mausoleum (see Figure 5. 101).

The design proposed for the monument to Robert Burns (see Figure 5.53**Error! Reference source not found.**) is only one of a selection of monumental structures in which Newall makes reference to Egyptian forms but develops them in his own style. He was, however, aware of the original form of the obelisk in ancient Egyptian times and shows it below left without a pedestal and decorated with hieroglyphs.

²⁵³ This illustration is numbered GGD 131B2/18.

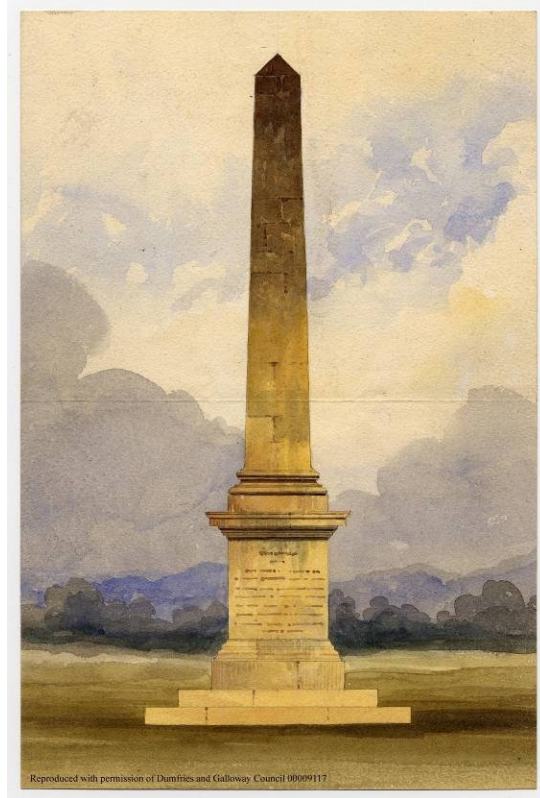
²⁵⁴ Vivant Denon, D., *Voyage dans la Basse et la Haute Égypte* (Paris: P. Didot L'Ainé, 1802). Plate 58

²⁵⁵ Roberts, D., *Egypt and Nubia* (London: F. G. Moon, 1849). Vol. I. View 40



Dumfries Archive Centre²⁵⁶

Figure 5. 97 A drawing of an Egyptian obelisk



Dumfries Archive Centre²⁵⁷

Figure 5. 98 An obelisk drawn by J E Gregan

His enthusiasm is further demonstrated in that he seems to have set his assistant J.E. Gregan the task of illustrating an obelisk on the signed illustration above.

If his ‘Egyptian’ buildings offered were not to the taste of his clients, and by far the greater majority of his proposals were only to emerge on paper, the intentional use of Egyptian detail seems evident in the Dumfries Observatory and *Camera Obscura*, although not acknowledged by Gifford, who describes it as a: “...strongly battered tower of white-washed ashlar, built as a windmill in 1798. Newall provided a pedimented door and windows, their architraves displaying exaggerated but enjoyable entasis.”²⁵⁸ He mentions that the windmill was acquired by the Dumfries and Maxwelltown Astronomical Society, who appointed Newall to adapt the building

²⁵⁶ Dumfries Archive Centre GGD131 1 87A.

²⁵⁷ Dumfries Archive Centre GGD131 B3.

²⁵⁸ Gifford, J., *Dumfries and Galloway*, (London: Penguin Books, 1996). (Buildings of Scotland series) p. 266

in 1835, the year when Halley's Comet²⁵⁹ was expected, (a fact also mentioned by McKechnie),²⁶⁰ confirming that the observatory opened to the public only in 1836, thus making it seem doubtful whether it was completed in time for the comet's appearance. It is fitting that this building for astronomical observations should contain Egyptian references,²⁶¹ since astronomy was one of that country's major preoccupations.

Both Newall's fine preparatory sketch and the writer's photograph of the building,²⁶² (below), clearly show how well the battered window frames and the portal complement the original outline of the windmill tower. Careful scrutiny also reveals that whilst the windows make reference to Egypt, they have pronounced and unusually deep sills, which the observatory staff briefing notes explain were included at the request of the supplier of the optical machinery, in order to allow a telescope to be pointed with great ease at every part of the sky.



Dumfries Archive Centre.

Figure 5. 99 Newall's Drawing for the Camera Obscura, No. 249 in the Walter Newall Archive



Author

Figure 5. 100 The Dumfries *Camera Obscura* at the present day

One more building with Egyptian motifs, built fittingly with commemorative intent, the Kelton Mausoleum was almost certainly subjected to his influence. Mentioned in detail in the section on

²⁵⁹ This comet had great significance to the Egyptians and their reports of its appearance have allowed modern astronomers to confirm the sequence of reigns and historic events.

²⁶⁰ MacKechnie, A., *Walter Newall, Architect in Dumfries* (Transactions of the Dumfries and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society, 1988). p. 57

²⁶¹ See further observatories with Egyptian references, in the appropriate section below.

²⁶² The Walter Newall Archive, No.249

Mausolea above, whilst the attribution may not be substantiated by extant documents, the mindset which conceived it appears uncannily similar to that of Walter Newall.



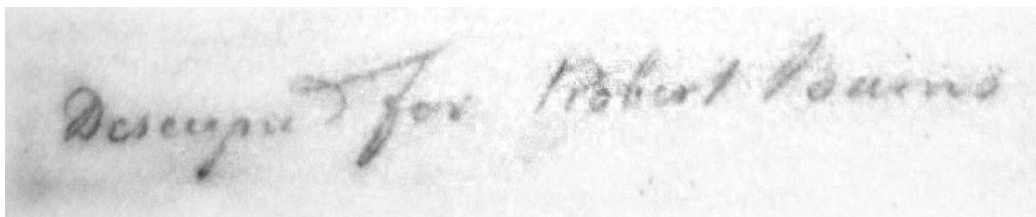
Author



Author

Figure 5. 101 The Kelton Mausoleum, Castle Douglas

Confirmation of his intended use for the monument is clear, since he has written below the design, in pencil, the words ‘Design for Robert Burns’.²⁶³

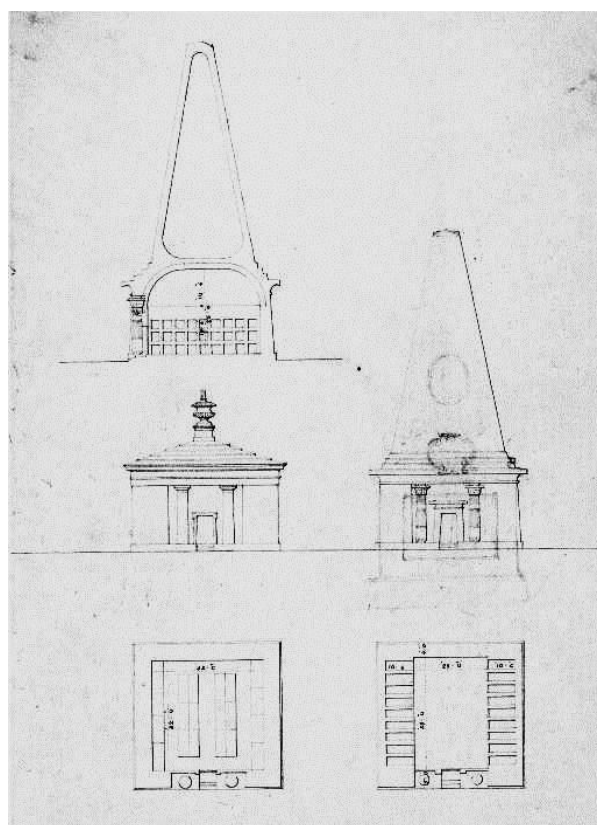


Dumfries Archive Centre.

Figure 5. 102 This design is identified in Newall’s somewhat indistinct hand: “Design for Robert Burns”

²⁶³ From the Newall Archive Ref. GD131/N7/54.

One sheet of designs (below) shows a series of mausolea, with proposed internal arrangements, including a design where, again, the lower storey is suggestive of Kelton. In this collection is also displayed Newall's only suggestion for a monument with a pyramidal roof (crowned with Newall's hallmark urn). Whilst the positioning of the Kelton Mausoleum, on the crown of a hill makes a photograph of the roof difficult to obtain, it does seem to resemble that urn-crowned pyramid roof which is shown at left centre (below).



Newall Archive²⁶⁴.

Figure 5. 103 A Range of Designs for Mausolea, including Interior Layouts and an Obelisk/
Pyramid²⁶⁵

One cannot always identify sources for these monuments, the majority of which will have come from Newall's creative imagination, but the water-colour shown below indicates that he nourished that imagination by visits, the one recorded being to Trentham where he saw the mausoleum designed there by C.H. Tatham for the Marquis of Stafford in 1807-8, and similar battered treatment of the masonry is frequently seen in his designs.

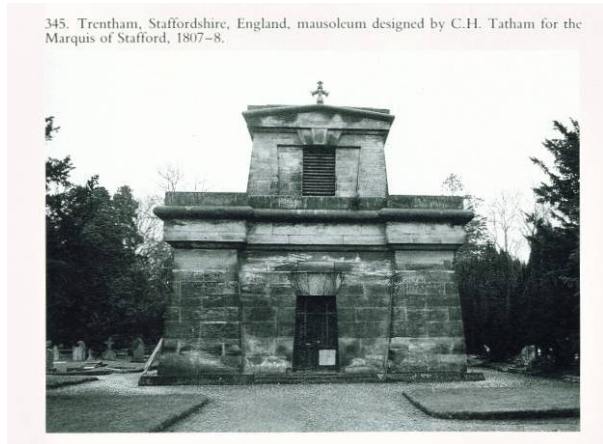
²⁶⁴ From the Newall Archive, GGD 131/B2/32 D

²⁶⁵ *Ibid*



Author

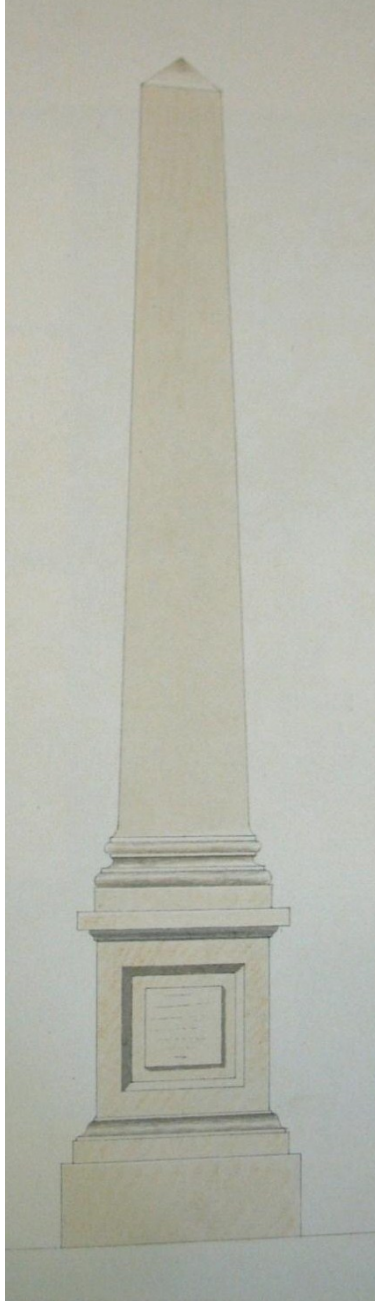
Figure 5. 104 Newall's watercolour of the Marquess of Stafford's Mausoleum at Trentham, from the Dumfries Archive Centre



The Marquess of Stafford

Figure 5. 105, Mausoleum by C.H. Tatham and of 1807.

Whilst Newall's inventiveness is shown, below, in examples of designs by him in St Michael's Churchyard, Dumfries, that he can adhere to strictly accepted forms of Egyptian designs is also made clear in the obelisk below, indicated as being for a client called Milligan.



Mr Milligan by Mr

Dumfries Archive Centre.

Figure 5. 106 The 'Milligan' Obelisk, with inscription.²⁶⁶

²⁶⁶ Dumfries Archive Centre GGD131/12/14.

Whilst Loudon (see below) identifies two monuments in St Michael's Churchyard as being from Newall's hand, so that his work is definitely there, and may indeed figure richly in this impressive assembly of monuments, no obelisk there bears the Milligan name, although an almost identical example to that shown, above, can clearly be seen between the two monuments shown below.



Author

Figure 5. 107 Gravestones closely similar to those illustrated by Loudon as from Newall's hand, with a traditional obelisk at rear.

One of his friendships already referred to was with J.C. Loudon, the Victorian plantsman and garden designer, several of whose publications coincided with Newall's architectural production, that of his *Encyclopedia of Cottage, Farm and Villa Architecture*,²⁶⁷ especially so, and in this he acknowledged Newall's excellence: "...the villas he has erected, containing every comfort and

²⁶⁷ Loudon, J., *Cottage, Farm, and Villa Architecture* (London: Longman, Orme, Brown, 1839). p. 458

modern refinement in convenience and arrangement, at the same time displaying a high degree of architectural taste.”

Loudon had already noted in the Preface to Volume VII of his *Gardener's Magazine* of 1831, that he had at: “the wants and wishes of a number of his readers,” visited: “the west of Scotland.” Further, and with his enthusiasm for writing on cemetery design²⁶⁸ he elected to represent Newall, in his widely circulated publication, *The Gardening Magazine*²⁶⁹, by illustrating two examples of his monumental masonry. Loudon, a Scot, shows a high regard for the graveyards of that country and quotes that: “The finest ancient monuments in the churchyards of Scotland, and we know nothing to equal them in England outside of Westminster Abbey, are the sepulchral structures projected from the walls of Grey Friars churchyard in Edinburgh and the Cathedral burying-ground at Glasgow.”²⁷⁰

Loudon also quotes St. Michael's Churchyard at Dumfries as: “...perhaps the most remarkable in Britain, on account of the number and good taste of its tombstones”²⁷¹ going on to confirm that: “Erecting tombstones here is quite a mania among the middle classes...chiefly by the cheap and easily wrought red freestone.” With that practicality which was in Loudon's nature, and eschewing the durability of the more expensive stone, granite, he commends the two monuments shown as representing: “a profitable article of commerce”, even adding the details of shipping costs to London.

²⁶⁸ Loudon, J., *On the Laying out, Planting and Management of Cemeteries* (Redhill Surrey: Ivelet, 1843).

²⁸² Loudon, J., *The Gardener's Magazine*. 1831. Vol. vii. pp. 528-529.

²⁷⁰ Loudon, J., *On the laying out, Planting and Managing of Cemeteries*. (Redhill, Surrey: Ivelet, 1843).

²⁷¹ *Ibid* p. 83

Crombie. The cheapness of these tombstones, compared to the price of similar erections about London, is so low, that we are persuaded they might form a profitable article of commerce for the proposed metropolitan cemetery. To enable those concerned to judge how far this may be the case, we give, through the kindness of Walter Newall, Esq., architect, Dumfries, figures from the designs of two monuments, not long since erected at the heads of the graves of two nurserymen, Messrs. Hood, father and son; that of the father (*fig. 91.*) cost 38*l.*, and that of the son William (*fig. 92.*) 25*l.* The carriage to London, by Whitehaven, we are informed, would not amount to 5*l.*

for each of these monuments.

Lancasterian, National, and Infant Schools were scarcely known when we in 1805 passed through the tract of country which has engaged our attention during the last three months. There are now some of each of the three classes in most of the large towns; and Lancasterian or National schools in a number of villages. Infant schools, which are the most valuable of all, are not yet fully understood, and we have seen but comparatively few of them. However, the good that must already have been done by the Lancasterian schools is unquestionably immense; and it gives some foretaste of what will be the consequence of an efficient system of national education when it shall once be established.

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Figure 5.108 The Hood Monuments illustrated in J.C. Loudon's *Gardener's Magazine*

He confirms their origin by adding in his text that he shows them: "...through the kindness of Walter Newall Esq., architect, Dumfries."²⁷²

On the Necropolis in Glasgow, Curl comments that: "...the magnificence of the incomparable Necropolis in Glasgow must grant that city the palm for cemetery design in Scotland,"²⁷³ noting also that Loudon visited it in 1841. Further in opening yet another possible link it should be noted that the controlling body of the Necropolis was the Glasgow Town House, of which Walter Newall's elder brother Archibald (1777-1858) was a director – indeed Blair dedicated his book on the Necropolis to him.²⁷⁴ Might it not be, since designers are rarely credited on graveyard

²⁷² Loudon, J., *The Gardener's Magazine*. Vol. VII, 1831. p. 528-9

²⁷³ Curl, J., *The Victorian Celebration of Death* (Stroud: Sutton, 2000). p. 210

²⁷⁴ Blair, G., *Glasgow Necropolis*, (Glasgow: Maurice Ogle & Son, Edinburgh: Thomas Murray & Sons. 1857).

monuments, and that since Newall's archive contains one whole book of elaborate funerary designs, numbering almost one hundred,²⁷⁵ that monuments there are also from his hand?

Archibald Simpson 1790-1847.

The architect, Archibald Simpson, was born in Aberdeen, in 1790, the third son of a prosperous Aberdeen clothier, and is quoted by Colvin as: "the leading architect in Aberdeen during the early 19th century and ... the abler designer"²⁷⁶, abler, that is, than the City Architect, John Smith, virtually his only competitor. Having been employed first in 1810 by the local architect-builder James Massie, Simpson went to London, where, having failed to get himself accepted into the offices of Sir Robert Smirke – where his Edinburgh confrere William Playfair had worked – he then found a place with the architect Robert Lugar (1773-1855), making a brief visit to Italy before returning to Aberdeen in 1813. For the next thirty years almost every commission of importance in that city went to Smith or to himself. The opening references quoted above appear in a rather Spartan document, printed at a time of great shortage of paper in 1947. In the Oration recorded there, D.W. Simpson first remarks: "Certainly no Scottish architect, since the days of James Gibb, has more completely absorbed the spirit of Roman architecture,"²⁷⁷ and then observes a special quality which he possesses and which: "illustrates a different side of his genius. This 'side' marks him as unique among architects, save for the great bridge builders Telford and Arrol"²⁷⁸. He singles out especially one building, sadly destroyed in 1971, to make his point:

In the Aberdeen Market he achieved something which is far from academic, but is pervaded by stark forcefulness – a forcefulness all the more impressive because it is clothed with supreme refinement... the effect of its broad and simple pylon-like masses contrasting with the three great voids, and the strong horizontal line of the deep cornice tying the whole together is extremely impressive... The Market front is not in the least in Simpson's usual sophisticated style; it is something altogether elemental and dynamic, and I think we should consider it his most original work.

There is more than a hint of old Egypt in its Kolossalität and suggestion of its eternal

²⁷⁵ The Dumfries Archive GD 131N6.

²⁷⁶ Colvin H., *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 1600-1840* (London: John Murray, 1978). p. 735

²⁷⁷ D. W. Simpson in the Oration at The Archibald Simpson Centenary Celebrations, on 9th May 1947, reprinted August 1947 from *The Quarterly RIAS Journal*, p. 8.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid* p. 9 Thus confirming in his opinion that the two bridge builders employed Egyptian forms.

permanence. About its exterior there is a sense of patient measured calm. That contrasts oddly, but perhaps significantly, with the bustling fretful life it was designed to house.²⁷⁹

Simpson goes on to add that: “John James Stevenson²⁸⁰ once described the Market front as ‘the only piece of modern granite building in Aberdeen, the design of which suits the material.’”²⁸¹

Dr. Simpson’s assertions contain much of relevance to the strengths of Egyptian forms with his use of ‘forcefulness’, ‘broad and simple pylon-like masses’, ‘elemental’, and ‘eternal permanence’, justifying this building to represent an awesome statement of the Sublime, to which end the greatest contribution is his matching his designs to the strengths of his material, granite. Curl, in referring to the Egyptian Revival’s most noteworthy elements writes: “Perhaps the most lasting legacy of the Revival has been the value given to simple, clear, blocky elements, by architects and architectural critics.”²⁸² This would seem further support of Simpson’s observations.

From 1730, when James Emslie opened the Loanhead Quarry, and soon after the substantial Rubislaw Quarry was re-opened by Aberdeen Town Council, the use of granite, quarried so close at hand, not only provided the major raw material for the local built environment during that and the following century, but became one of its major exports.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid* p. 11

²⁸⁰ The Dictionary of Scottish Architects on-line notes of John James Stevenson (1831-1908) that he was an architect in Glasgow and a wider Scotland who, on inheriting a fortune moved to London and became one of the key founders of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings in 1877. In his last years Stevenson interested himself in classical antiquity his 'A restoration of the mausoleum at Halicarnassus' being published posthumously in 1909.

²⁸¹ D. W. Simpson in the Oration, The Archibald Simpson Centenary Celebrations, on 9th May 1947, reprinted August 1947 from *The Quarterly RIAS Journal* p. 11

²⁸² Curl, J. S., *The Egyptian Revival* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005). Preface pxxviii.



RCAHMS²⁸³

Figure 5. 109 Simpson’s New Market façade of 1842.

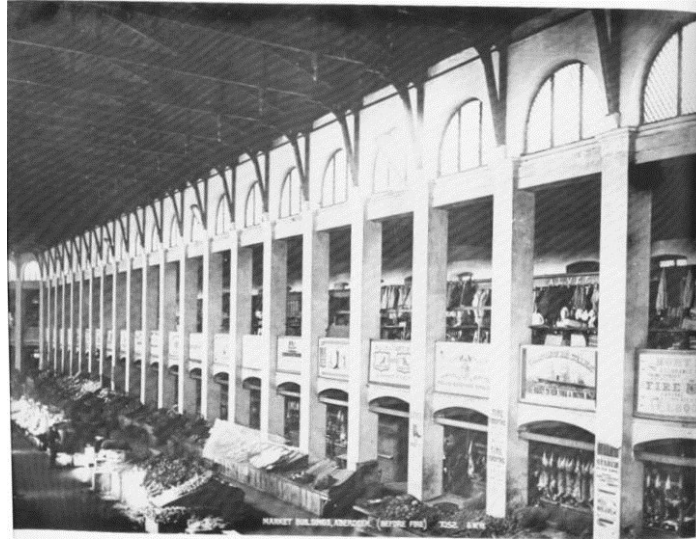
Of the New Market building, the Aberdeen Civic Society notes that it “excited the special admiration of Sir John Betjeman, who considered it the ideal treatment to bring out the strength of granite,”²⁸⁴ while Smythe writes of it: “various comparisons have been levelled at Simpson’s New Market building, which has been likened by some to a Roman Basilica in the interior, and others have seen the extension as having a very Egyptian character.”²⁸⁵ Surely, however, it is that interior’s extended row of square columns which most strongly evoke the style of Egyptian construction seen on a similar scale in the Mortuary Temple of Seti I (1291-1278 BC) at Abydos, or that of Hatshetsup (1498-1483 BC) at Deir el Bahari.²⁸⁶

²⁸³ RCAHMS, AB/141.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid* p. 51

²⁸⁵ Smythe, R. W., *A Dissertation to the Scott Sutherland School of Architecture* (Aberdeen: 1975).

²⁸⁶ Which monuments see illustrated in Chapter I of this work.



HMSO²⁸⁷

Figure 5. 110 The Interior of the New Market Hall.

As others quoted above have observed, the quality of solemnity in Simpson’s work, his strong use of the trabeated idiom and the simplicity and crispness of such features as his square columns capture a likeness of spirit to the work of the Egyptian masons, which his use of that most serious of stones, granite, enhances. An ancient Egyptian architect would have found an empathy with the massing, if not the detail, of much of his work.

Alexander Thomson 1817-1875.

Of all the architects studied in this work, Alexander Thomson (1817-1875) undoubtedly makes the widest contribution to its theme, which he addressed with lucid sincerity in his Haldane Lectures.²⁸⁸ He demonstrates a deep and enthusiastic understanding of the message of Egypt, influenced, not least, by Edmund Burke’s message on the Sublime and the Beautiful.²⁸⁹ Burke writes that: “The passion caused by the great and sublime in nature, when those causes operate most powerfully, is astonishment; and astonishment is that state of the soul, in which all its

²⁸⁷ Archibald Simpson, *Architect of Aberdeen 1790-1847* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen Civic Society, 1978). p. 30

²⁸⁸ Thomson, A., *Art and Architecture* (A Series of Lectures delivered at the Glasgow School of Art and Haldane Academy in 1874). Reprinted in, *The British Architect* (Manchester: John Hardman. 1874). Lecture II *The Spirit of the Egyptian Style*. pp. 26-37

²⁸⁹ Stamp, G., (Ed.) *The Light of Truth and Beauty* (Glasgow: The Alexander Thomson Society, 1999).p.4

motions are suspended with some degree of horror.”²⁹⁰ He confirms his deep sincerity and his belief in God’s involvement in his work when he comments in his ‘Introductory’ of the artist (and is confirming his belief that this description includes the profession of architecture) that: “He must sound and search the depths of his own heart; he must soar into the region of imagination; he must strive to penetrate the purposes of God in Nature...”²⁹¹ Such fervour confirms his unique standing in Scottish architecture.

Born into, and father of, a large family, he was accepted as apprentice by the architect Robert Foote in Glasgow at the age of 17, and later moved to the offices of John Baird, becoming chief draughtsman there and ultimately forming the partnership of Baird and Thomson with his brother-in-law, an entirely other John Baird. His personal ability was greatly assisted by two contemporary developments. The first was the growth in wealth of Glasgow, at this time emerging as ‘Second City of the Empire’, and where he built the large majority of his works. The second was the fact that the depth of religious feeling had precipitated the Disruption of the Church of Scotland in 1843, having at its root differing views on the patronage of livings and consequent authoritarian control. The United Presbyterian Church, of which Thomson became a member, was the most influential of the Presbyterian sects formed out of that ferment in the Scottish religious world in 1847, of which Murray observes that: “The Disruption...resulted in a lessening of the hold of the Established Church.”²⁹² Brown specifying the scale of the event: “The Established Church was deprived by the Disruption of its most active lay and clerical members... The 1851 Religious Census showed that the state church could attract only 32.2% of attendances, compared to 31.7% for the Free Church.”²⁹³ Maclean adds that: “The outgoing minority instantly created a Church that was certainly not (as the Church of Scotland claimed itself to be) the ecclesiastical arm of the state, nor a beneficiary of Establishment, so in those senses it was ‘free’”²⁹⁴.

Thomson’s attachment to a church which had a membership based on the wealthy mercantile classes of Glasgow was to allow him access to finance, and in his religious buildings, to design his most innovative works. Of his clientele Baines observes that: “The nouveau bourgeois

²⁹⁰ Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Inquiry into the Origins of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (Glasgow: 1818 first published in 1759), p 58

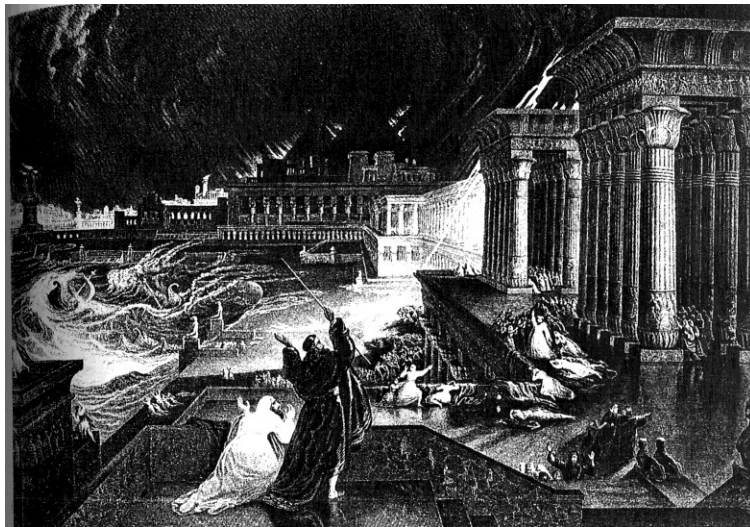
²⁹¹ *Ibid.* p. 4

²⁹² Forrester, D., & Murray, D., *Studies in the History of Worship in Scotland* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1984). p. 87

²⁹³ Brown, C., G., *The Social History of Religion in Scotland since 1730* (London & New York: Methuen, 1987) p.33

²⁹⁴ Maclean, M., *The Crown Rights of the Redeemer* (Edinburgh: St. Andrew Press, 2009). p.97

demand for pomp and ostentation prepared the United Presbyterian worshippers to accept Thomson's iconography for what was its almost Presbyterian Judaism."²⁹⁵ Stressing the Old Testament attraction and the significance of 'the Word', Thomson never left the shores of Britain, and it was therefore on his fertile mind and in sources to be found in book, art gallery, and through the direct influence of his Bible, (with especial emphasis on the Old Testament), that he must have relied. The appearance of works of a highly dramatic and religious nature by the artist John Martin (1789-1854) in the third decade of the 19th century illustrated that absorption with religion, with titles such as 'The Seventh Plague of Egypt', into which is introduced that sense of sublime mystery which Thomson admired, Macaulay noting of his works that they were: "dramas of decline and fall, failure and salvation, all of which would have struck a chord with Thomson..."²⁹⁶



Godfrey²⁹⁷

Figure 5. 111 'The Seventh Plague', a steel engraving, after John Martin, by J. Godfrey, 1845.

Summerson, emphasising the influences of Ledoux and Gilly (and surely to these he might have appended the name of Schinkel) and confirming how important in its influence was the world of painting, again refers to Martin and especially to his use of buildings of the most powerful kind: "...vast cubic masses...interminable colonnades...temples of inconceivable solemnity."²⁹⁸

²⁹⁵ Baines, M., *'Form, Façade and Rhythm'*. The Exhibition Handbook of the Architectural Association, 1984. p.38

²⁹⁶ Macaulay, J., 'Background' In Stamp, G., & McKinstrey, S., (eds.). *'Greek' Thomson* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999)., Chapter 4. p.57.

²⁹⁷ Stamp, G., & McKinstrey, S., (eds.). *'Greek' Thomson* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999). p. 191

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.* Summerson, J., Chapter 1. *'On Discovering 'Greek' Thomson'*, p.3

It is in no way surprising that he also admired the later works of J.M.W. Turner, and Thomson, when referring to: “the mysterious power of the horizontal element in carrying the mind away into space...” then adds: “The pictures of Turner and Roberts afford frequent examples of this.”²⁹⁹

The latter’s work, especially, was very influential because of the appearance of his affordable lithographic images of the Holy Land, Egypt and Nubia, which were available to a far wider audience amongst that very emerging middle class from which the United Presbyterian Church drew its support, Macaulay noting of this artist that: “...it was the deft and captivating renderings of the Pharaonic temples and funerary monuments ... that would have given Thomson a vocabulary of ideas...”³⁰⁰ For strict architectural accuracy, Thomson might have turned either to the work of Denon of 1802,³⁰¹ or the detailed Napoleonic survey,³⁰² and although Macaulay notes of Owen Jones that: “there is no proof that Thomson read the book”³⁰³, his treatment of his interiors suggests very strongly that he did. Jones, who has already been noted amongst the British in the Egypt of the 1820s by Crinson as: “one of the thinkers,”³⁰⁴ had a view of the greatness of Egypt which approximates to Thomson’s and he writes of the state of Egyptian Art that it is: “...far beyond all that followed after, the Egyptians are only inferior to themselves.”³⁰⁵ Owen asserting further that: “The architecture of the Egyptians is thoroughly polychromatic...They dealt in flat tints and used neither shade nor shadow.”³⁰⁶ This is an exact representation of Thomson’s practice, and the vibrant colour, used not least on the capitals of his churches, illustrated below, seems to provide the strongest assurance that Jones was indeed his inspiration.

Alone among Scotland’s architects, Alexander Thomson in his Haldane Lecture Series has left us his personal evaluation of Egypt, devoting the second of those addresses of 1874 to ‘The Spirit of the Egyptian Style.’ In it he begins by acknowledging the power of religion to influence art:

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.* Stamp, G., p.223

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.* Macaulay, J., Chapter 4. ‘Background’. p. 58

³⁰¹ Vivant Denon, D., *Voyage dans la Basse et la Haute Égypte* (Paris: P. Didot, 1802).

³⁰² *Description de l’Égypte* (Paris: L’Imprimerie Impériale, 1809-1822).

³⁰³ Jones, O., *The Grammar of Ornament* (London: Day & Sons, 1856)

³⁰⁴ Crinson, M., *Empire Building – Orientalism & Victorian Architecture* (London: Routledge, 1996).

p.26

³⁰⁵ Jones, O., *The Grammar of Ornament* (London: Day and Son, 1856). p. 22

³⁰⁶ *Ibid* p. 24.

“Religion has been the soul of Art from the beginning”³⁰⁷ and in referring to: “the profoundest awe with which we approach the valley of the Nile” confirms that in his view: “There is something about the whole circumstance and aspect of Egypt that excites our amazement and admiration.”³⁰⁸ Thus he makes an admission of enthusiasm for Egypt which no other Scottish architect ever made! In acknowledging this, Stamp comments that: “Religion certainly formed Thomson’s outlook and all his thinking was dominated by his concept of the divine...he believed that the architecture of Egypt and Greece was all part of God’s unfolding purpose..,”³⁰⁹ whilst Grant notes that: “Thomson favoured Egyptian motifs to express moral virtues and to flavour them with a hint of mysticism,” going on to add that in one of his lectures: “He examined the pyramid, obelisk and temple, in turn, concluding that they respectively symbolized unchangeableness, justice and goodness.”³¹⁰

Thomson recognized that fundamental concept of the idea of permanence central to Ancient Egyptian belief writing: “This striving after the permanent seems to be the soul of Egyptian Art. It is an endeavour to realize the idea of eternity.”³¹¹ Specifically, he accepted that their temples, mainly consisting of that trabeated idiom so richly reflected in his work, were intentionally constructed as ‘houses of eternity.’ As a man devoted to his religion he allots the origins of Egyptian architecture to its sacred buildings noting that: “Egyptian architecture may be said...to begin with the Temple.”³¹² He absolutely refutes the theory, supported in the previous century by Quatremère de Quincy,³¹³ that it began with the cave, stating of that notion: “...but this is an error!”

At the same time, supporting the endurance of Egyptian forms, he notes that none of the country’s conquerors, Persian, Greek or Roman, have seen their architecture triumph in Egypt and observes that: “The grandeur of Egyptian architecture seems to have conquered the

³⁰⁷ Thomson, A., *Art and Architecture* (A Series of Lectures delivered at the Glasgow School of Art and Haldane Academy in 1874) Reprinted in *The British Architect* (Manchester: John Hardman, 1874) Chapter II. p.6

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.* p.7

³⁰⁹ Stamp, G., *Alexander ‘Greek’ Thomson* (Glasgow: Laurence King,1999) p. 13

³¹⁰ Grant E. “The Sphinx in the North” In Cosgrove, E., *The Iconography of Landscape* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) Chapter 12, p.249

³¹¹ Thomson, A., *Art and Architecture* (A Series of Lectures delivered at the Glasgow School of Art and Haldane Academy in 1874) Reprinted in *The British Architect* (Manchester: John Hardman, 1874) Chapter II p.8

³¹² *Ibid.* p.9

³¹³ Quatremère de Quincy, A., The full essay title was, *‘Quel fut l’état de l’architecture chez les Égyptiens et ce que les Grecs paroissent en avoir emprunté’*. It was finally published in 1803. (Paris, Barrois).

conqueror,”³¹⁴ thus turning the reference of Horace: “Graecia capta ferum cepit et artes intulit agresti Latio”³¹⁵ to his own ends.³¹⁶

Thomson was an important link in a long chain of users of motifs, of which the square column is one example which he frequently employed. The feature, already referred to above in the work of Simpson, appears early in Egyptian architectural development, reappearing in the flowering of the Neoclassical Movement, and was used, amongst others, by Karl Friedrich Schinkel whose book, *Sammlung Architektonischer Entwürfe* was in Thomson’s possession.³¹⁷

Thomson was also deeply impressed by the monumental scale of Egyptian architecture and in observing that: “There are various modes of impressing the mind with a sense of greatness. That which most readily presents itself is actual bulk and we find this resorted to in Egyptian architecture than in any other.” He continues with a dig at Gothic, at Pugin and Ruskin, with its: “...variety of parts” which brings about: “...incomprehensible confusion...”³¹⁸ and going on to note that in contrast, that the Egyptians excel in form and composition. He singles out both the pyramid and related obelisk, expressing: “...the simple idea of stability or duration;” and when he adds to these the column, he finds: “...these three ideas corresponding with unchangeableness, justice and goodness all combined.”³¹⁹ He could hardly make a stronger case for the validity of Egyptian forms for Christian buildings. It may be also that in his highly personalized ornamentation of the stone of his buildings he was considering it as his own hieroglyphic approach, where that word, meaning ‘written in stone’ also implied to him, ‘written for eternity’. In referring to the sphinx and its use in emphasizing the principle of repetition, he finds that it plays its part in: “making each successive stage in a great architectural work more interesting than the preceding... which practice was thoroughly understood by the Egyptians.”³²⁰ Repetition was of singular importance to Thomson’s idea of the sublime. In commenting with

³¹⁴ Thomson, A., *Art & Architecture* (A Series of Lectures delivered at the Glasgow School of Art and Haldane Academy in 1874) Reprinted in *The British Architect* (Manchester: John Hardman, 1874) Chapter II p. 9

³¹⁵ Horace, *Epistles* 2.1.156. “Captured Greece defeated her rough conqueror and brought the Arts into rustic Latium.”

³¹⁶ Stuart, J., & Revett, N., *The Antiquities of Athens* (London: 1762) Vol.I

³¹⁷ Curl, J. S., *The Egyptian Revival* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005). p. 335

³¹⁸ Thomson, A., *Art & Architecture* (A Series of Lectures delivered at the Glasgow School of Art and Haldane Academy in 1874) Reprinted in *The British Architect* (Manchester: John Hardman, 1874) Chapter II p. 11.

³¹⁹ *Ibid.* p. 12

³²⁰ *Ibid.*

admiration on both Egyptian sculpture and painting, he recognises that they use their own methods and were: "...intended to be easily understood rather than greatly admired."³²¹

He closes the chapter with a most significant reference to the head of Memnon in the British Museum: "...which struck me as simply the sublimest sight which I ...have seen," concluding: "The atmosphere for this, for the Memnon, was the breathlessness which belongs to a saintly trance – the holy thing seemed to live." Here he demonstrates clearly that he sees the hand of God in Egypt which causes him, a devout Christian, no problem in employing Egyptian references in his work

Set out below are the most striking examples of Thomson's buildings which in each category most clearly reflect the subject of this work, its reference to 'Egyptian' themes.

It was not until the mid-1850s that Thomson truly surrendered himself to that rich mixture which was to form the style which became the hallmark of his domestic buildings. 'Holmwood', built in 1857-8 in a park-like setting for James Couper, a paper manufacturer, whose factory was hard by³²², may be considered as his domestic masterpiece.



Author

Figure 5. 112 'Holmwood', the entrance front

With marked verticals of square stone columns, its flaring lotiform chimneypots add an instantly recognizable reference to ancient Egypt whilst, on closer inspection, the scrupulously incised

³²¹ *Ibid* p.13

³²² This watchfulness and managerial supervision, appearing across Britain in the nineteenth century, seems to have had its origins in The Royal Salt Works at Arc-en-Senans, by Claude-Nicolas Ledoux and is dealt with below in the Industrial section of this chapter.

decorative carving of lintel and capital create their own version of the hieroglyph, as mentioned above, and are frequently found in the architect's constructions.



Author

Figure 5. 113 Lotus-capped chimneypots at 'Holmwood.'



Author

Figure 5. 114 Incised and raised anthemion and palmette details above the dining room on the entrance front at 'Holmwood'

It is however in the interior that Egyptian references are strongest, these both implicit and explicit, with Gow commenting that: "Holmwood Villa was Thomson's dream ticket."³²³ Stencilled designs, (examples of which may be seen illustrated below), often cut by Thomson himself³²⁴, have been revealed in many parts of the house.

In the colorful entrance hall, on the grey marble chimneypiece stands a clock which, its case carved in the same marble, is topped by a putto. The body of the clock uses as its support what at first appears to be a fat-petalled closed lotus flower at either side of the time-piece. On closer inspection, this example, unique in Scotland, seems more certainly to derive from the panaches of ostrich feather plumes which adorn the heads of the horses pulling Pharaoh's state chariot, the bands of stitching, holding the individual plumes in place, being clearly in evidence in the carving of the marble.

³²³ Gow, I., 'Domestic Interiors' In Stamp, G., & McKinstry S., (eds), '*Greek Thomson*', (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994). p.159.

³²⁴ *Ibid.* Chapter 11, p.153



Schultz³²⁵

Figure 5. 115 Plumed horses on the War and Hunting Chest of Tutankhamun

In the case of the ‘Holmwood’ time-piece, astrological signs found in Ancient Egypt are engraved on the marble around the dial.



Owen Jones.³²⁶

Figure 5. 116 Feathers from the headdress of the horses of the Royal Chariots

³²⁵ Schultz, R., & Seidel, M., *Egypt and the World of the Pharaohs* (Cologne: Konemann, 1998). p. 240

³²⁶ Jones, O., *Grammar of Ornament* (London: Day & Sons, 1856). p. 59, item 1.



Author

Figure 5. 117 The Hall Clock with Ostrich Plume Supports

The dramatic ground floor dining room has battered doors of pylon form and of great quality, which are here accentuated by a magnificent cupboard of similar battered form and of considerable significance, since it was once in the architect's own home in Moray Place and thus serves as confirmation of his personal taste. Of it, Kinchin writes that: "It has all the grandeur and presence of a scaled-down temple..,"³²⁷ Gow adding that: "Explicit Egyptian references are as apparent in Thomson's furniture as in his architecture and theory."³²⁸ This magnificent piece of furniture is in such contrast to the sobriety of the work of William Trotter, shown below in this work.

334 Kinchin, J., "Alexander Thomson's Furniture", In Stamp, G., & McKinstry, S., (eds.) *'Greek' Thomson* (Edinburgh University Press. 1994) Chapter 12, p.168

³²⁸ Gow, I., *Ibid.* Chapter 11, p.155



Author

Figure 5. 118 A dining-room door at ‘Holmwood’.



Author

Figure 5. 119 Thomson's cupboard from Moray Place.

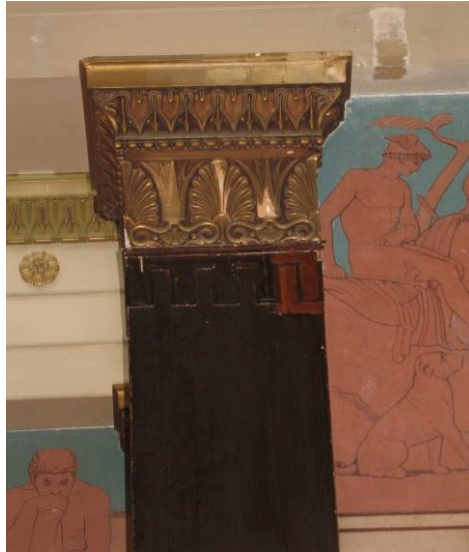
The dining room has, as has St. Vincent Street Church, been over-painted in solid Pompeian red, and was originally relieved by the pattern above the dado rail and in the figural frieze, (sections of which have been revealed) which would have produced a much more lively effect.



Author

Figure 5. 120 A ‘Thomsonian’ adaptation of the anthemion and palmette device, used above the dado- rail at ‘Holmwood’.

Note in the above design how flowers rocket upward from the centre of the palmette. A final flourish in the treatment of the dining room is to be found in the black marble pilasters, whose capitals repeat on a golden ground the anthemion and lotus flower, here breaking through the figural frieze.



Author

Figure 5. 121 A black engaged squared pilaster in the dining room

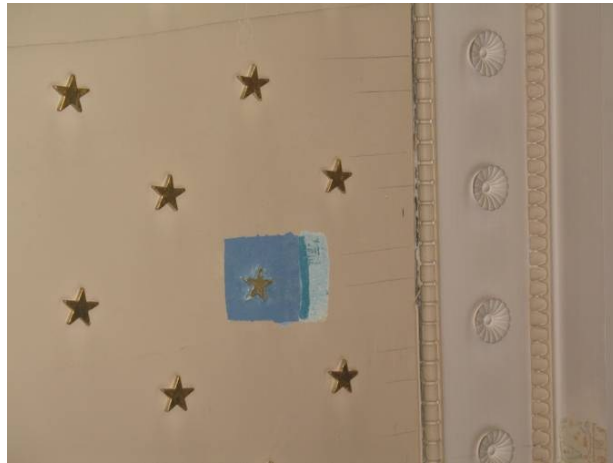
An accompanying agenda of themes is apparent and can be detected in the different levels; the ground floor dining room ceiling containing a gilded sunburst, suggesting an intentional reference to the sun whilst in contrast on the upper floor the mood is wholly stellar.



Author

Figure 5. 122 The central sunburst in the dining room

Scrapes done on the ceiling of the upstairs drawing room, with its pattern of stars, indicate the ‘heavenly’ blue of the original decoration, with Kinchin writing of them as: “...the star-studded blue ceiling which recalls Egyptian tomb paintings.”³²⁹



Author

Figure 5. 123 The gold star-studded drawing room ceiling, with its original blue ground revealed

Without doubt, however, the most striking single feature of the house is the unique cupola which crowns the upper hall. Here the dome rests on the lion heads of a series of lion-footed monopodia, tracing their origins from the pharaonic thrones of Egypt through Roman times and on to the Neoclassical Revival; with the cupola’s lions closely similar in style to the form employed by Thomas Hope (also shown immediately below).

Thus, here at ‘Holmwood’, Thomson becomes the user of a theme already three thousand years old.

³²⁹ Kinchin, J., Alexander Thomson’s Furniture In Stamp, G., & McKinstry, S., (eds.) ‘*Greek Thomson*’ (Edinburgh University Press, 1994). p.174.



Stamp³³⁰

Figure 5. 124 The ‘Holmwood’
Cupola



MacDonald-Taylor³³¹

Figure 5. 125 An early 19th c. ‘Thomas
Hope’ Table.

The Double Villa at Langside (1856-57), cleverly making the semi-detached houses appear as one, repeats the square columns and lotus chimney pots, and preserves a much clearer example of a vibrant Thomson colour scheme in its interior.



Phil Sayer³³².

Figure 5. 126 Ceiling of an upstairs Drawing Room in the Double Villa.

³³⁰ Stamp, G., *Alexander ‘Greek’ Thomson* (London: Laurence King, 1999). p. 58

³³¹ MacDonald-Taylor, M., ‘Classical Line in Regency Furniture’ In *Country Life Annual* (London:, Country Life Ltd., 1994). pp 63-66

³³² *Ibid.* Photograph, p. 50

The ceiling of the upstairs drawing room's starred surface, shown above, much more closely approximates in its richness to the original night-sky blue of the Egyptian tomb and temple than does the paler 'Holmwood' version.³³³



Author

Figure 5. 127 'Ellisland'

Set well back and concealed by the screening greenery of Nithsdale Road, Pollokshields is 'Ellisland' of 1871, another example unique in Thomson's work, being, according to Stamp: "...a sort of Egyptian bungalow..."³³⁴ It is also strongly horizontal in its emphasis and, unlike his other villas, symmetrical.

Looking at the roofline, one sees the hallmark lotus chimneypots, but the most striking feature is the inset front entrance, supported on twin columns *in antis*, of Egyptian origin but here adapted to Thomson's individual treatment, employing strongly stressed *entasis*, a device of Greek origin. They return, however, to Egypt in the precisely incised stone patterning, and continue the reference in the decorative paintwork in blues and green on the upper part of the shaft of the column.

³³³ Which see in the section on astrological ceilings.

³³⁴ Stamp, G., *Alexander 'Greek' Thomson* (London: Laurence King, 1999). p.63



Author

Figure 5. 128 Painted decoration on the Lotus Capital.

The house was constructed for William Johnston, the tenant of the ground floor of the building from which Thomson practiced. As a manufacturer of gas-fittings one could imagine that he took a special pride in the elaborate pair of gas lamps designed by Thomson³³⁵ which flanked the Egyptian portico.

Moving from the leafy suburban world of villa and mansion, one finds that Thomson constructed a considerable number of tenements and terraces. Whilst the concept of the tenement has working class connotations, many of them, including those designed by Thomson, were also intended for middle class occupancy. If in his tenements little significant trace of Egypt is to be found, the heads of the elaborate stone window surrounds employed on the first and second floor of Queen's Park Terrace in Eglinton Street, considered to be one of his finest examples, do show signs of the outward cavetto swell of their cornices, but primarily call Greece to mind as the source. McFadzean, however, who seems to be an enthusiast for Egyptian sources, discovers at Queen's Park Terrace an example which appears to be unique in Thomson's work, "The timber doors are designed to give the impression that they are constructed of masonry. This appears to have been an attempt to emulate the 'false doors', in stone, of the *mastaba* tombs of Ancient Egypt."³³⁶

³³⁵ Stamp, G., & McKinstry, S., (eds.) *'Greek' Thomson* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994). p.197

³³⁶ McFadzean, R., *The Life and Work of Alexander Thomson* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979). p. 94



MacFadzean R.

Figure 5. 129 A 'False Door' at Queen's Park Terrace

Some of his terraces provide a richer evocation of Egypt with the long lines of square columns creating horizontal bands evoking those used both in Egyptian settings and by Neoclassical architects such as Schinkel, and this is especially the case at Moray Place.



Stamp³³⁷.

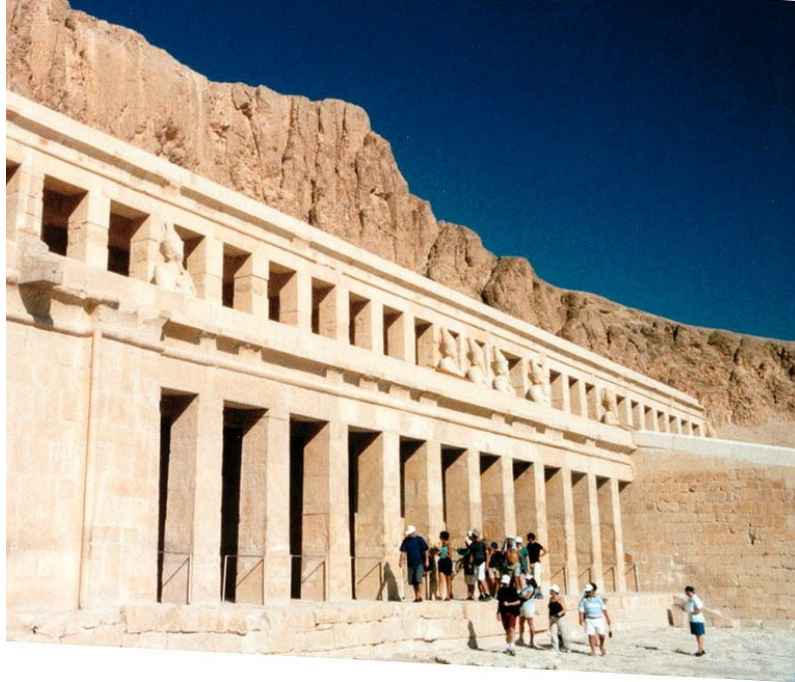
Figure 5. 130 Moray Place, Glasgow, showing square columns ‘disappearing towards infinity’.

Moray Place seems (rather as the Egyptian Halls discussed below) to fulfill one of Thomson’s especial aims –finding its Egyptian expression best in the temple shown above- when he writes that: “All who have studied works of art must have been struck by the mysterious power of the horizontal in carrying the mind into space and into speculations on infinity.”³³⁸ Stamp confirms this view and as a former tenant of Moray Place seems especially qualified to have written: “It is now I and my family who have the inestimable privilege of gazing...down Thomson’s colonnade and so experiencing the mysterious power of those long converging horizontal lines...”³³⁹ The Egyptian view below seems to offer the same experience.

³³⁷ Stamp, G., & McKinstry, S., *‘Greek’ Thomson* (Edinburgh University Press, 1994). p.220

³³⁸ Thomson, A., *Proceedings of the Glasgow Architectural Society (1865-67)*. p.54.

³³⁹ Stamp, G., & McKinstry, S., *‘Greek’ Thomson* (Edinburgh University Press, 1994). p.223



Author.

Figure 5. 131 An angled view of the Temple of Hatshepsut, Western Thebes.

The enormous growth of industry and commerce in Glasgow led to a rich display of office and commercial property still in evidence today. Marble, polished granite and elaborate carving, which includes both caryatids and sculptured groups, bear witness to the willing outlay of funds by companies wishing to confirm their commercial success, and contrasts with the thought process so evident in his works.

Working in, and introducing into his palette the latest medium, iron, the design done in 1851 for a warehouse for the hatter John Blair (with expanses of iron and glass which are perhaps what rendered it too avant-garde to be acceptable), Thomson once again retained his favourite ‘Egyptian’ Schinkelesque³⁴⁰ run of square columns on the upper floor.³⁴¹

In the Grecian Buildings of 1865 built in Sauchiehall Street, and of which Grant notes that: “The strict geometry and horizontality is distinctly Egyptian.”³⁴² The fenestration is frequently of

³⁴⁰ MacFadzean, R., *The Life and Work of Alexander ‘Greek’ Thomson* (London: Routledge, Kegan Paul, 1979). p. 141

³⁴¹ Stamp, G., *Alexander ‘Greek’ Thomson* (Glasgow: Laurence King Publishing, 1999). p. 100

³⁴² Grant, E., “The Sphinx in the North” In ,Cosgrove, D., & Daniels, S., (eds.) *The Iconography of Landscape* (Cambridge University Press,1988). Chapter 12, p.247

pylon form and the upper story, at the side, demonstrates the use of the square column, here extremely squat and on the front, the columns become circular and elaborately fluted.

However, one of Thomson's acknowledged masterpieces is his Egyptian Halls. True, Thomson's specific intentions are open to differing interpretations. Stamp clearly sees in this building elements absorbed from the artist John Martin, writing: "Thomson's obsession with Martin's architectural imagery is evident, above all, in the astonishing façade of the Egyptian Halls in Union Street. Seen in perspective, this towering composition of horizontal layers of exotic colonnades seems like nothing so much as a short length of a Martin-imagined terrace."³⁴³ A view of the Martin painting shown above (Figure 5. 111) will confirm that he is substantially correct. Gomme limits his assessment to: "The Egyptian Halls is (sic) one of Thomson's most fantastic inventions," and Professor Charles McKean in a note to the writer observes: "...the Egyptian Halls' recessing planes to enhance the sense of mystery."³⁴⁴ Surely no more striking example was ever seen of these 'recessing planes' than that demonstrated best, once again at the 18th Dynasty Temple of Hatshepsut at Thebes. To the foregoing may be added that the marked trabeation of the storeys as they rise dividing storey from storey stresses the post and lintel effect, undoubtedly Thomson's intention.



Author

Figure 5. 132 Frontal View of the Mortuary Temple of Hatshepsut, Western Thebes, c 1480BC.

³⁴³ Stamp, G., & McKinstry, S., *'Greek' Thomson* (Edinburgh University Press, 1994). p.236

³⁴⁴ A note sent in December 2011 (undated).

These opinions are crowned by J. McKean, who adds that it succeeds in: “producing an effect of sublimity only comparable to Chicago a generation later. It glories in the strutting promenade of high-Victorian commercial Glasgow.”³⁴⁵



Thomas Annan³⁴⁶

Figure 5. 133 Thomas Annan’s 1874 view of the Egyptian Halls, Union Street, Glasgow

The building’s significance and the attention which it attracted even made an impression on Thomson who wrote to his brother, quoting an article which had appeared in *The Architect*, which stated: “This is probably the architect’s most successful effort, and we doubt if its equal, for originality, grandeur of treatment, or imposing effect could be found in any city, not excepting the Metropolis.”³⁴⁷

³⁴⁵ McKean, J., *Urbanism* Stamp, G., & McKinstry, S. (Editors) *‘Greek’ Thomson* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994).p.103

³⁴⁶ Stamp, G., *Alexander ‘Greek’ Thomson* (Glasgow: Laurence King, 1999). p105

³⁴⁷ McFadzean, R., *The Life and Work of Alexander Thomson* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1979). p.183.

A final summing up and compromise in attitude to the building comes from Baines, who writes that the façade of the Egyptian Halls is: "...an architectural celebration of Thomson's perceptive, if eclectic, fusion of Greek, Roman, Egyptian and Romanesque references."³⁴⁸ To the writer, Baines attitude reflects the richness of Thomson's eclecticism but from that mix he would exclude references both to Roman and to Romanesque, neither being admired by the architect.

The monument most attributable to Egypt is the obelisk, of which Thomson observes that: "...we have the idea of duration repeated in the hardness of the granite of which it is composed..." adding: "...we regard it as an imperishable thought, a symbol of truth and justice."³⁴⁹ To the example discussed above in the Glasgow Necropolis for the Rev. G. M. Middleton, Thomson once more brought his own individual interpretation, adding a strongly swelling Greek *entasis* to its design. However, one of his greatest monumental schemes, never constructed, was his design offered for the Hyde Park Memorial to Prince Albert in 1862. This had a tall and slightly swelling central tower, suggestive of the obelisk mentioned above, with lions similar in appearance to those guarding Nelson's Column in Trafalgar Square. These suggest, to the writer, that same sense of national confidence seen also in the muscularity of the Sir John Steell sphinxes on the Royal Scottish Academy Building, and which sense of imperialism is found nowhere else in Thomson's work. Of it, Gildard comments: "...the design for the London Prince Albert Memorial Monument showed the colossal bulk with the sublimity of the Egyptian (sic) tempered by the subtle proportioning and the refining graces of the Greek."³⁵⁰ In miniature, surely, the same words might apply to the Middleton monument.

³⁴⁸ Baines M., In Stamp, G., & McKinstry, S., *Alexander Thomson* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999). Chapter 12. p1. 20

³⁴⁹ Thomson . A., *Art and Architecture* (A Series of Lectures delivered at the Glasgow School of Art and Haldane Academy in 1874) Reprinted in *The British Architect* (Manchester: John Hardman, 1874). p.10.

³⁵⁰ Gildard, T., *Greek Thomson*. A Paper read to the Architectural Section of the Glasgow Architectural Association, 30th Jan. 1888. p. 17



Stamp and McKinstry

Figure 5. 134 The Competition Drawing for the Albert Memorial

However, as the country turned to the Gothic style, so the idea did not find favour in London where the arch-denigrator of Egyptian architectural forms, Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (1812-1852), had left as a legacy an established respect for Gothic as the only architecture worthy of consideration. In his book ‘An apology for the Revival of Christian architecture’, he comments that: “I can readily understand how the pyramid and the obelisk and pagodas have arisen. I am prepared to admire the skill which piled such gigantic masses on each other...I cannot acknowledge them to be appropriate types for the architecture of a Christian country.”³⁵¹ Thomson, of an entirely different opinion, had said that: “Religion has been the soul of art from the beginning.” This quotation from his lecture ‘The Spirit of the Egyptian Style’³⁵² is his recognition of the indissoluble bond between Egypt and religion, and he adds at the same point in his lecture that: “...and so the Temple arose, throwing a mystery of beauty and grandeur around the sacred symbols.” His most profound criticism of Gothic appears in his *Inquiry as to the Appropriateness of the Gothic Style for The Proposed Buildings for the University of Glasgow*.³⁵³ Questioning the suitability of George Gilbert Scott’s (1811-1878) Gothic design, he notes that: “It is difficult to see anything in the associations of the Gothic style that should recommend its adoption as the proper architectural exponent of learning and mental cultivation.”

³⁵¹ Pugin, N. W., *An apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture in England* (London: John Weal, 1843) p. 5

³⁵² Thomson, A., *Art And Architecture*, Lecture No II. *The Spirit of the Egyptian Style*, 1874. Glasgow. School of Art and Haldane Academy printed in *The British Architect* (Manchester: John Hardman, 1874). p. 29

³⁵³ Thomson, A., From a lecture recorded in the *Proceedings of the Glasgow Architectural Society*.(1865-67). p. 1

He adds scathingly, “It had its origins in the Dark Ages,”³⁵⁴ and goes on to praise the endurance of the ‘lintelled’ structures of Egypt and Greece, adding that: “...Stonehenge is really more scientifically constructed than York Minster.”³⁵⁵ In specifically decrying ‘many other capricious things’ he comments on: “...the irregularity of plan (sic),”³⁵⁶ and recommending, instead of the crowded and complex courtyard plan, his view of the importance of the: “...colonnade, where the element of length is developed...”³⁵⁷ Finally, in expressing his admiration of the Greek Revival, he quotes the excellence of Edinburgh High School and notes dismissively that: “...there is not a modern Gothic building of more than ten years standing that anyone cares a straw about.”³⁵⁸

It is to his churches, as a climax, that this work turns, and to the immense significance that these must have meant to a man so inspired by religious feelings. Here, McKean acknowledges Thomson’s success, adding that: “Glasgow church-goers... particularly the United Presbyterians... for whom Glasgow architects designed a superb collection of classical temples and Thomson... some of his finest achievements.”³⁵⁹

Of his three major churches built, the Queen’s Park Church was destroyed in 1942 and only a part of the shell of his Caledonia Road Church remains, having been gutted by vandals in 1965. It is, therefore, solely in the surviving St Vincent Street Church that one can truly grasp Thomson’s unique architectural imagery.

The first of the churches to be built was the Caledonia Road building of 1856, this being the church which Thomson attended. On an awkward triangular site, it was forced to have its axis running north-south with the entrance front on the latter side.

³⁵⁴ *Ibid.* p.3

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.* p. 5

³⁵⁶ *Ibid.* p.9.

³⁵⁷ *Ibid.* p.11.

³⁵⁸ *Ibid.* p. 16

³⁵⁹ McKean, C., In Stamp, G., & McKinstry, S.,(eds.) ‘*Greek Thomson*’ (Edinburgh University Press, 1994). p. 16



Author

Figure 5. 135 The south front of the Caledonia Road Church.

This appears, as does the St. Vincent Street Church, to stand on a solid masonry base, of which Stamp notes: “as in published images of the Temple in Jerusalem.³⁶⁰” It is often claimed that the Jewish builders of their own temple had acquired their building skills during their sojourn in Egypt and these bases do resemble the solid mass of masonry of the Old Kingdom *mastaba* tomb.

Along the west side of the building, the surviving lower storey shows that long run of square columns so beloved of the architect, here appearing to stand on a base of Cyclopean stonework of irregular form.

³⁶⁰ Stamp, G., *Alexander ‘Greek’ Thomson* (Glasgow: Laurence King, 1999). p. 19



Author

Figure 5. 136 The remaining lower storey on the west side.



Thomas Annan³⁶¹

Figure 5. 137 The Caledonia Road United Presbyterian Church in 1857, from the south east.

This early Thomas Annan print of 1857 shows how closely integrated the building was into the façade of the whole street. On the east side columns can be seen on the first floor and three battered but blind window openings add a further reference to the false doors of a *mastaba*, on the lower. The clerestory windows, larger here to compensate for the grey Scottish climate, still

³⁶¹ Scran 000-000-516-871-C

echo the high square openings found in the enclosed spaces of an Egyptian temple. The light requirements are both affected by the different climates, and in the case of Scotland, by the needs of the congregation (not a factor in the temples of Egypt, where the mass of the population was excluded) to read both Bible and hymn book. Above all stands a tower totally dissimilar to the towers of the other two major churches although still bearing two square columns supporting window openings high up on each of its faces. Formerly the tower had a clock on each side and its still extant sandstone frames bears closed lotus blossoms as supporters, and its summit is crowned by an out-swept *cavetto* cornice.

In moving on to the St Vincent Street Church of 1857-59, one can at last discover a complete Thomson church, faded and shabby, but in the main as he intended it to be. It is stupendous!

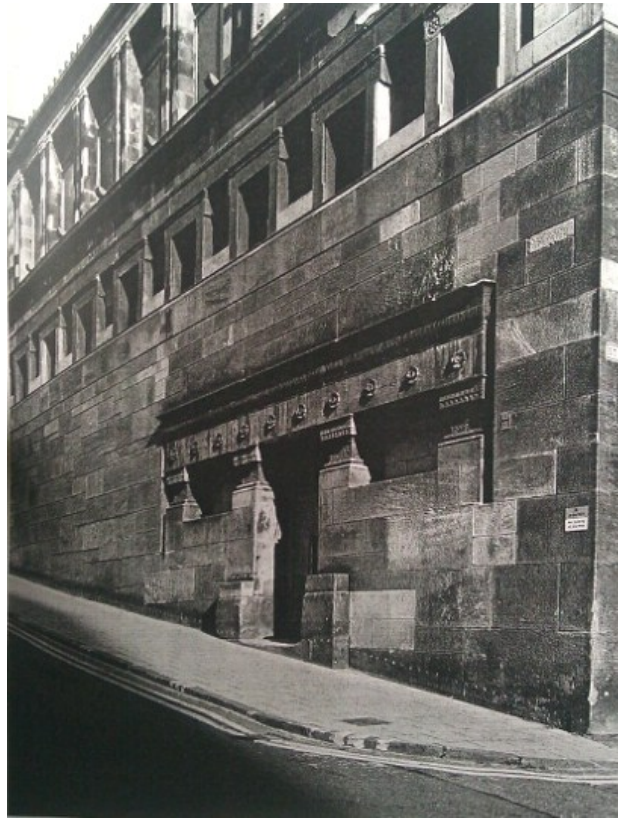


Author

Figure 5. 138 St. Vincent Street Church, the south west Front.

A reading of this church, both its main body and its tower, reveal just how strong are the ‘Egyptian’ constituents. On the lower storey, the heavy masonry again resembles that of a

mastaba. Stamp observing that: “There is something peculiar and remarkable about the way Thomson treats his walls which may well result from his careful study of the massive, solid forms of Egyptian architecture...” adds that: “...they are not static. Rather they have a dynamic quality, which comes from performing a structural task. This is particularly evident on the side elevation of the St Vincent Street Church.” He goes further, adding that: “This wall is truly Sublime...” going on to refer to the Pitt Street entrance door in the wall, that it is: “surely one of the most inventive and powerfully composed details of the whole nineteenth century.”³⁶²



Gavin Stamp.³⁶³

Figure 5. 139 The Pitt Street entrance to the St. Vincent Street church.

³⁶² Stamp, G., & McKinstry, S., ‘*Greek Thomson*’ (Edinburgh University Press, 1994). p.230.

³⁶³ *Ibid.* p231

McKean, in a note to the author, likened it to: “the entrance to the Tomb in the Rock.”³⁶⁴

Turning to the dominating tower richly varied in the sources of its architectural metaphors and reading from its base, one first encounters the large battered window frame, bisected by a vertical central support after which one encounters a whole array of Egyptian motifs.



Author

Figure 5. 140 The lower window of the tower.

³⁶⁴ This from a list of observations sent in December 2011.



Stamp³⁶⁵

Figure 5. 141 The upper section of the tower of the St. Vincent Street Church .

Above, opposed heads wear the *modius* crown,³⁶⁶ and moving higher, there sits the clock, resting on ornate lotus motifs. On the next and narrowing stage of the tower are fine battered pylon shaped windows whose deep cornices, again of flared *cavetto* shape, stand out against the sky. The tower then becomes circular, climaxing in an elongated Indian dome, intricately pierced. This device rests on pillars reminiscent of the form of Thomson's lotus chimney pots, and as a final crown, there sits on its top a lotiform urn.

³⁶⁵ Stamp, G., *Alexander 'Greek' Thomson* (London: Laurence King Publishing, 1999) p. 25

³⁶⁶ The '*Modius*' Crown, was, aptly for Egypt, based on a corn measure, and was adopted both by Tawaret, a fertility goddess and Serapis, the latter being, together with Isis, one of the two Egyptian gods most represented throughout the Roman Empire.

Along the side of the main building, battered windows cut through the strong horizontals. The square clerestory windows still hint at those square light-shafts from the more sacred parts of the Egyptian temple. As though confirming this, Walker notes that : “ Since light, or its absence, is a cause of the Sublime, Burke advocates a ‘well managed darkness’, hence Thomson’s manipulation of light at St Vincent Street or Queen’s Park churches, is a device which is based on his admiration of the mysterious clerestories of Egyptian temples”³⁶⁷



Author

Figure 5. 142 A view of the east side.

Much of the stonework reveals the wide repertoire of Thomson’s incised and *intaglio* decoration and examples are shown below.

³⁶⁷ Walker, D., “Thomson’s Architectural Theory” In Stamp, G., & McKinstry, S., (eds.) ‘Greek’ Thomson, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994). Chapter 5, p.67



Author

Figure 5. 143 Incised work of alternating lotus and palmette, on the east side.



Author.

Figure 5. 144 Intaglio carving of lotus and palmette on the Pitt Street door frame.³⁶⁸

³⁶⁸ Intaglio carving is much less frequently found on Thomson's buildings than is incised work and here is an example of rare quality. It can also be seen at 'Holmwood'.

In the United Presbyterian Church, whose needs Thomson was serving, and with the Presbyterian attachment to ‘the Word’, this was best achieved in an interior where the pulpit, raised above the listeners, was central.

Two impressions strike the visitor simultaneously as he enters the building; first, the yellow pine organ loft and pulpit dais, and, second, the strong unrelieved Pompeian red of the walls.³⁶⁹



Author.

Figure 5. 145 The Interior of St. Vincent Street Church.

The former has two splendid pylon door-cases repeating those already seen on the exterior, which are ornamented with finely cut fretwork decorations, again with the anthemion and palmette as the most striking motifs, a decorative theme repeated under the centrally placed pulpit, (below).

³⁶⁹ The red is remarkably similar to that used at ‘Holmwood’.



Author.

Figure 5. 146 Fine fretwork ornament below the pulpit.

To this pulpit, as surely as to the ornamental cross on a high altar or the throne of a king, all eyes were led. Here, not the golden cross, but the first words of the Old Testament are the message. The present unrelieved red, however, does not represent Thomson's original intention. A recently done scrape reveals a palmette border, which may have alternated with an anthemion.



Author.

Figure 5. 147 Part of the original Thomson decorative scheme.

Had this scheme been preserved the greater lightness of Thomson's decorative intention would alter the mood of the interior considerably.³⁷⁰

Thompson's original decorative scheme is, however, still shown particularly well, fronting the balcony and on the column capitals.



Author

Figure 5. 148 Decorative plaster on the front of the balcony.

The fine and highly ornamented capitals also suggest Egypt – but with something added – suggestive, perhaps, of Assyria. Indeed Baines acknowledges this in commenting of Thomson that: “...he selectively drew on architectural forms from Phoenician, Attic, Assyrian, Egyptian and Romanesque cultures, in order to augment and enrich his palette.”³⁷¹ Two types of capital are shown, that (below), being of swelling campaniform silhouette. They seem to owe much to Owen Jones³⁷² and examples of designs from his book are also shown.

³⁷⁰ That the scrape has been made just prior to a renovation, both structural and decorative justifies the hope that the original scheme may be employed.

³⁷¹ Baines, M., *The Architectural Association Exhibition Handbook*, 1984. p. 12

³⁷² Jones, O., *The Grammar of Ornament* (London: Day & Sons, 1856). p. 67



Williamson³⁷³.



Author

Figure 5. 149 Capitals in St. Vincent Street Church.



Owen Jones³⁷⁴

Figure 5. 150 'Egyptian' Capitals.

³⁷³ Williamson, E., *Glasgow*, (London: Penguin Books, 1990). (Buildings of Scotland series) The illustration is from the rear cover.

³⁷⁴ Jones, O., *The Grammar Of Ornament* (London: Messrs Day, 1856) pl.VI

This invaluable tool for the Victorian architect / decorator had only appeared in 1856, thus shortly before the commencement of the church and it covered, in striking primary colours, the richest range of sources, a combination of these elements being shown on the columns illustrated (above) and in the church.

The last of Thomson's religious buildings was the Queen's Park Church of 1869, of which Grant observes that this represents: "...the Greek contribution proportionately reduced."³⁷⁵ Most archaeological of Thomson's designs with Egyptian elements dominant, from a high central Egyptian pylon-portico, square columned colonnades ran out on either side. The strong lintel marked the horizontal whilst the Indian high-domed tower provided a strong and, unusually, a centrally placed up-thrust, somewhat reminiscent of a shortened version of the architect's proposal for Prince Albert's Memorial. Over the central pylon ran that row of squat and elaborate columns so typical of Thomson's work with single battered window frames on either hand and the walls of the building were elaborately incised.



Newsquest³⁷⁶

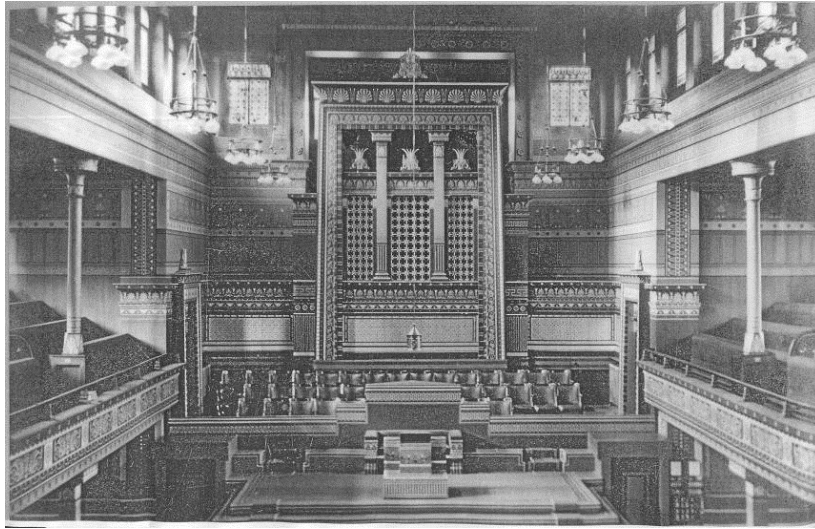
Figure 5. 151 Queen's Park Church.

The interior, somewhat reminiscent of the St.Vincent Street Church, had twin battered door-frames, here crowned by palmettes, on either side of the preacher's seat, but the wall to the rear

³⁷⁵ Grant, E., "The Sphinx in the North", In Cosgrove D., & Daniels S., *The Iconography of Landscape* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) Chapter 12, .p.247

³⁷⁶ Scran 000-000-117-094C

possessed a single giant battered pylon and above, at the sides, rows of square-columned clerestory windows.



Stamp & McKinstry³⁷⁷

Figure 5. 152 The interior of Queen's Park Church

The decorative scheme of the interior is detailed by Rush³⁷⁸ and it is somewhat surprising to learn there of: “Thomson’s dependence upon the decorator Daniel Cottier (1838-91).”³⁷⁹ Even more so that: “It identifies that Thomson was interested in innovative colour harmony, but unable to master it for himself.”³⁸⁰ His wisdom in using Cottier’s up to the minute skills in the polychrome interior seem to have produced an astounding *tour de force*, which impelled Ford Maddox Brown to declare “I put... this Thomson-Cottier church above everything I have seen in modern Europe.”³⁸¹

Alone among Scotland’s architects, Thomson, in his Haldane Lecture Series, has left us his detailed views of Egyptian architectural forms and the intense religious intention which lay behind them, demonstrating an enthusiasm for Egypt which no other Scottish architect has ever shown. In praising Egypt he notes its influence on the Greeks and that: “Long before the

³⁷⁷ Stamp, G., & McKinstry, S., (Editors) *Greek Thomson* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994) p. 176

³⁷⁸ Rush, S. J., “Alexander Thomson, Daniel Cottier and the Interior of Queen’s Park Church” In Stamp, G., & McKinstry, S., (eds.) ‘*Greek*’ *Thomson* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999) Chapter 13,, p.177. Cottier was held by the London artist, Ford Maddox Brown, to have a range of performance beyond that of any other modern artist.

³⁷⁹ *Ibid.* p. 179

³⁸⁰ *Ibid.* p.179

³⁸¹ *Ibid.* p. 177

Parthenon had reared its resplendent front above ...the Acropolis... The Greeks and the Egyptians were on terms of almost familiar intercourse”, but that the Greeks then: “directed their efforts to a still higher reach of attainment,” and confirms that: “the Greeks aimed at perfection.” For the Romans he had far less admiration, remarking that when not fighting, they were: “trying to out-vie each other...by ostentatious displays of wealth and power.” However, and as detailed above, it is in rejection of the Gothic that he is most trenchant. As the final 19th century Scottish architect to show considered enthusiasm for Egyptian forms, his recorded views give us a unique insight into the man.

Egyptian Forms in 19th Century Industrial Constructions.

Egyptian influences are to be found in the industrial buildings of Scotland, and with strong Scottish associations, in England and in Wales, making use of two separate elements, in its architecture, its employment of mass and weight, and its architectural ornament.

The Industrial Revolution may have had its roots in the 18th century, but it was in the 19th that it gathered momentum, manufacturing and heavy industries increased, and communications continued to grow in importance.

In industrial building, an outstanding example of architectural references to Ancient Egypt is to be found at the Rhymney Ironworks, near Cardiff, in Wales. With its powerfully dramatic forms, this might almost have figured in the work of the painter, John Martin, and this dramatic example of ‘Egyptian’ themes in industrial architecture



Fox³⁸²

Figure 5. 153 Bute Furnaces, Rhymney, Wales, by John Petherick, c.1830.

and showing exaggerated pylon-form temple fronts, finds no equivalent in Scotland, yet it was undertaken at the instigation of a Scot, the Marquis of Bute. His wide interest in the Arts did not preclude him from a similar interest in scientific developments, nor from an awareness of the financial wisdom of participating in the Industrial Revolution. The dominating, even menacing, form of the illustration above, is mirrored in William Blake’s (1757-1827) almost contemporary reference to: “...dark Satanic Mills,.”³⁸³ and these buildings with their suggestion of pylons, with outswept cornices making reference to Egyptian temple entrances, echo a mood of awe, domination and of the Sublime which Piranesi, Boullée or Ledoux might have envied.

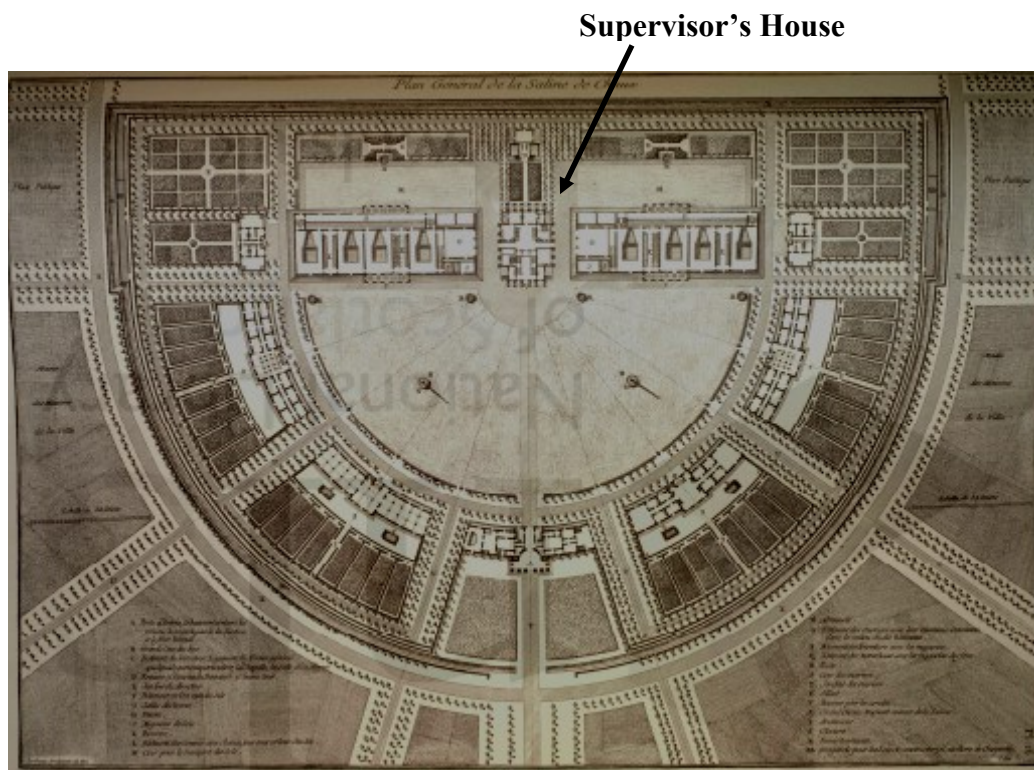
This practice of building to oversee and control seems to have one of its origins in the placing of the Supervisor’s house at the Royal Saltworks at Arc-et-Senans in France in the previous century by Claude-Nicolas Ledoux (1736-1806) whom Quatremere de Quincy, after accusing him of submitting architecture to: “kinds of torture”³⁸⁴ went on to add, more constructively, that he used: “... different architectures of antiquity and that Ledoux would seize on the tension which

³⁸² Fox, C., *The Arts of Industry in the Age of Enlightenment* (London and Newhaven: Yale University Press, 2009). Front Dustcover.

³⁸³ Blake W., *Milton, A Poem* (London: 1804-1810). Preface to Volume 1. p.1 4th stanza.

³⁸⁴ Vidler, A., *Claude –Nicolas Ledoux* (Cambridge, MA and London : MIT Press,1990). p. 23

arose from them as the source of some of his most successful combinatory exercises in the 1780s.”³⁸⁵



Claude-Nicholas Ledoux³⁸⁶

Figure 5. 154 The Royal Saltworks at Arc-et-Senans (1775-1778). Plan view of the facilities.

This concern to supervise and control was imitated in many parts of Britain in the 19th century. Indeed the building of Alexander Thomson’s villa, ‘Holmwood’ in 1856, next to the paper factory of the owner, James Couper, is but one Scottish example of this close surveillance.

In addition, Ledoux employed the pyramid form here at his Four à Bois.

³⁸⁵ *Ibid* p.26.

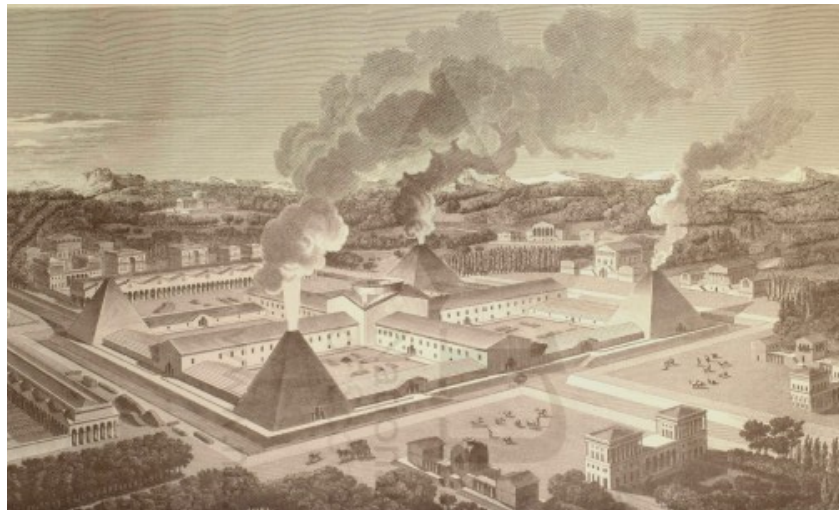
³⁸⁶ Le Doux, Claude-Nicholas, *L’Architecture de C.N. Le Doux*. (Paris: Perronneau, 1801). Plate 21.



Claude-Nicolas Ledoux.³⁸⁷

Figure 5. 155 Four à Bois.

But it was undoubtedly his Canon Forge with smoking pyramid furnaces at each corner which seems to be the likely catalyst for a twentieth century response in Scotland.



Claude-Nicolas Ledoux.³⁸⁸

Figure 5. 156 The Canon Forge of Claude-Nicolas Ledoux.

Commemorating a 19th century invention near Ringford in Dumfries and Galloway in 1928, a granite pyramid around 30 feet high was erected on the crest of a hill. The craggy nature of the landscape blends well with the roughly dressed stones and the monument, proposing that

³⁸⁷ *Ibid.* Plate 102.

³⁸⁸ *Ibid.* Plate 125.

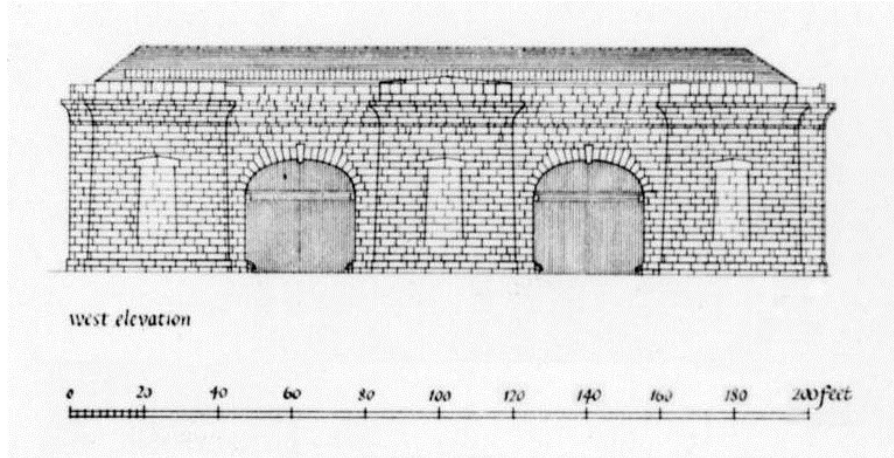
endurance shared with its extant Egyptian exemplars, can be seen for many miles. It was placed there by the descendants of James Beaumont Nielson (1792-1865) to mark the centenary of his invention of the Hot Blast Furnace method of iron production, a process of considerable importance in the growing engineering industries at the heart of the Scottish Industrial Revolution.



Author

Figure 5. 157 The Nielson Pyramid, Ringford, 1928

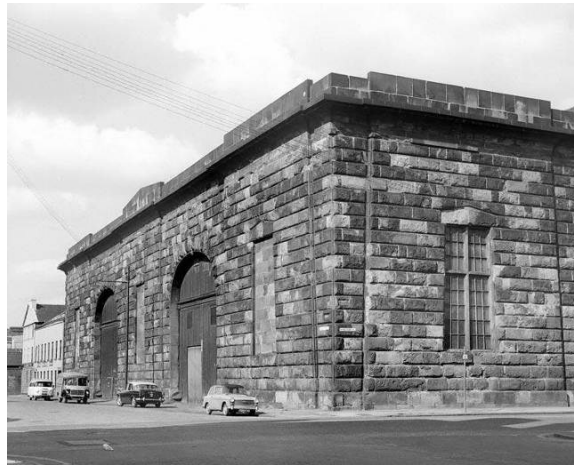
The Randolph and Elder Engine House, Glasgow of 1858 exceeds the previous examples in its weighty solemnity, and the massive strength of Egyptian architectural forms is nowhere more clearly demonstrated than here (see below), instantly calling to mind in its profile the early Egyptian *mastaba* tomb.



Scran³⁸⁹

Figure 5. 158 The Randolph and Elder Engine House. 1858-60

It was constructed in 1858-1860 for Randolph, Elder & Co., makers of marine engines by the architect William Spence (1806-1883),³⁹⁰ its weighty form making the association particularly suitable for the requirements of a heavy engineering plant.



RCAHMS³⁹¹

Figure 5. 159 The Engine House shown in its last years (note the battered outline of the window opening).

³⁸⁹ Scran 000-299-998-521-C

³⁹⁰ Glendinning, M., *A History of Scottish Architecture* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996). p 597 Although it seems that this Egyptian theme was unique in Spence's work, Glendinning notes that his buildings include a gasworks and several warehouses.

³⁹¹ Scran: 000-000-487-955-C

Temple Mills at Holbeck, near Leeds of 1838-1843 makes a different reference and is extremely rare, in that in another situation its façade, albeit pierced by contemporary windows and doors, might almost once have been an Egyptian Temple. Whilst employing strong structural elements, there is nothing of the threatening aspect of the Sublime here, and even today, deprived of its chimney of obelisk form, its stone buildings are a remarkably accurate replica of ancient predecessors. It is its meticulously observed decorative references which make it outstanding. Its Scottish credentials rest on its recent confirmation as being designed by David Roberts, whose influence in spreading awareness of the buildings of Ancient Egypt is unassailable.

Built for the successful textile manufacturer, John Marshall (1765-1845), it was one of four owned by this successful Victorian entrepreneur and Wood explains that he: "...started his Egyptian Flax Mill in 1840. He was a man of considerable culture and the fact that flax was extensively produced for their linen by the ancient Egyptians might have been added reason to influence him in his choice of design for the new mill."³⁹²

Whilst details set out below provide proof of Roberts involvement, it is strangely at odds with a contemporary view imputed to him, for in a letter written to him by his friend John Kinnear,³⁹³ his reference to Robert's: "...wrath against London built Egyptian temples," shows that he preferred them *in situ*. Written on the 27th May 1842, this letter makes his submission of designs for the Egyptian facades of Temple Mills strangely contradictory.

Indeed, his now undoubted and central involvement in the scheme has not always been advanced with confidence, for example Wrathmell writes tentatively that: "...the painter David Roberts who travelled in Egypt and Syria in 1838-39 has sometimes been credited with influencing the design,"³⁹⁴ whilst Professor Carrott, with even less assurance, comments that: "David Roberts seems to have had a hand in it."³⁹⁵

Wrathmell is less hesitant in involving Joseph Bonomi (1796-1878) of whom she writes: "Marshall's Egyptian Revival Mills, 1838-43, designed by Joseph Bonomi Jun., an Egyptologist and second Curator of the Soane Museum..,"³⁹⁶ adding then an additional reference to Robert's

³⁹² Wood, B., "Egyptian Temple Architecture in Leeds" *Country Life*, December, 1st, 1960). pp 1363-1365.

³⁹³ National Library of Scotland, Acc117600.

³⁹⁴ Wrathmell, S., *Leeds*, in the Pevsner Architectural Guide Series (London and Newhaven: Yale University Press, 2005). p. 132

³⁹⁵ Carrott, R., *The Egyptian Revival* (London: University of California Press, 1978). p. 35

³⁹⁶ Wrathmell, S., *Leeds*, (London and Newhaven: Yale University Press, 2005). p 132

influence. Joseph Bonomi would certainly have had all the skills required to provide detailed illustrations of Egyptian constructions and his knowledge and work were both highly esteemed, Clayton recording of him that: “many contemporary scholars called upon his fine and accurate drawing.”³⁹⁷ Further, he had sharpened his skills in Egypt as a draughtsman in the service of the Scot, Robert Hay of Linplum (1799-1863), and it is in Joseph Bonomi’s archive of correspondence that three letters exist from John Marshall’s son, James Garth Marshall (1802-1873), giving clear details of the facts.

In the first, of 13th August 1842³⁹⁸ the latter refers to his having received the coloured sketched elevation of: “our proposed Egyptian building, sent as requested by our common friend Roberts.” Further, in retrospective mention of these events, he adds in 1861 that: “I well remember that when I was consulting Mr. David Roberts respecting the elevation of the Egyptian Façade of our works in Holbeck, he recommended to us to apply to you for the drawings in full detail which you furnished to us ... to our entire satisfaction.”³⁹⁹ This settles both authorship and individual responsibilities with clarity.

The photographs below, indicating the detail of the entrance to the offices and the attached wing, are allotted to specific Egyptian buildings by Wrathmell, who writes: “Set back from the street is the two storey office block of 1840-43, its design ...based on the Temple of Antaeopolis...with six beautiful lotus columns...The exterior of the weaving shed is derived from the ‘Typhonium’ at Dendera Egypt.”⁴⁰⁰

The façade is even built facing east, as would have been the usual orientation of its Egyptian counterpart, and is in two parts: the first, the office block, accurately reproducing a temple entrance. Whoever designed the building, this type of front is repeatedly reproduced in *Description de l’Égypte*, which would have been available for at least a decade. The details of the adjacent mill frontage with its palm-crowned columns and of battered and *cavetto* corniced outline are similarly observed with scholarly detail in that publication. Notwithstanding the designation by Wrathmell (above), the illustration bearing the closest resemblance, its front walls topped by *uraei*, as at Holbeck, and with door frame, lintel and upper *cavetto* cornice carrying

³⁹⁷ Clayton, P., *The Rediscovery of Ancient Egypt* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1982). p. 48

³⁹⁸ Bonomi, J., Cambridge University Library. Add. 9389/2/M/15

³⁹⁹ *Ibid* Add 9389/2/M/17.

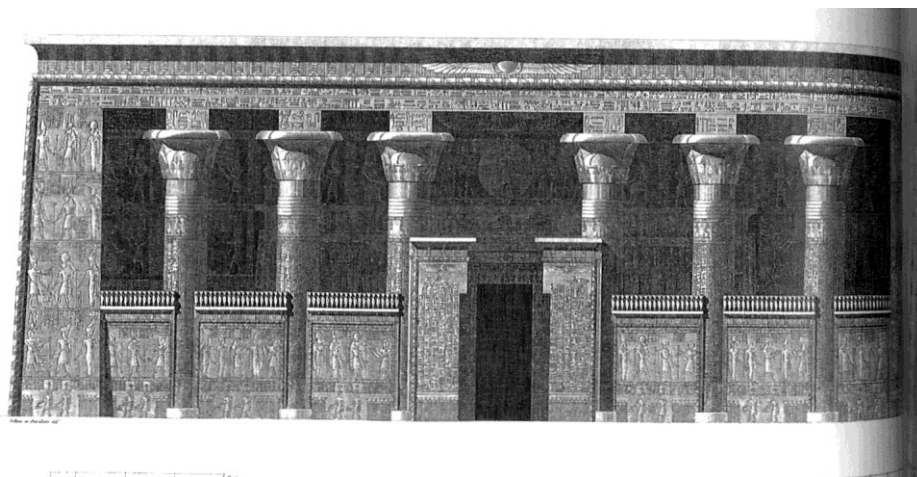
⁴⁰⁰ Wrathmell, S., *Leeds*, (London and Newhaven: Yale University Press, 2005). p 132

the winged sun- disk, is that of Esna Temple, whilst the palm-crowned columns are shown in many illustrations.⁴⁰¹



Author

Figure 5. 160 The east-facing office block of Temple Mills. 1840-43



Description de l'Égypte

Figure 5. 161 The temple of Esna (Latopolis) c 1800.

⁴⁰¹ *Description de l'Égypte* (Paris: L'Imprimerie Imperéale, 1809). Vol 1 pl. 73

The fine detailing of the Holbeck building includes the winged sun-disk over the entrance door, repeated on the cornice.



Author

Figure 5. 162 A sun-disk decorates the entrance front of Temple Mills, and rows of *uraei* top the walls at either side



Author

Figure 5. 163 Twin Sun –disks on the cornice of the office block



Author

Figure 5. 164 A section of the Weaving Shed at Temple Mills, 1840-1843



Author

Figure 5. 165 Details of the capitals from Temple Mills

The Esk Mills Fishing Net Factory at Musselburgh brings an unexpected elegance to its Egyptian theme, erected in 1857 for the firm of J. and W. Stuart, and whilst they make no reference to any specific monument, McWilliam, noting that the buildings are:



Author

Figure 5. 166 Esk Mills, Musselburgh, the 'Egyptian' Office Block.

“...uncommonly interesting,” adds with precision: “In the middle of the court the central office, domed and cruciform, (is) of one Graeco-Egyptian storey, (and) with recumbent lions⁴⁰² at the door like those at the Hamilton Mausoleum... the picture of industrial prestige is beyond doubt.”⁴⁰³ That building, seen above, shows the familiar sloping batter of outline, door and window form originating from the Egyptian pylon. What McWilliam does not remark on are the splendid lion-head keystones to be found on the main four storey factory building at the rear. The keystone is not an Egyptian building device, the arch being largely absent from their constructions in masonry, but here the motif adds quality to the finish of the whole.



Author

Figure 5. 167 Esk Mills. A Lion Head Keystone Ornament

The architect involved in the recent modernisation of the former office, sensitively aware of its form, has continued the battered outline in his glass extension.

The striking lotiform chimney-pot, shown below, was at the factory of James Nielson, built in Glasgow in 1886-87 at 105-111 John Street. A company making reeds and heddles, machinery used in the cotton industry, this shows a unique example of Egyptian ornament in the industrial sector in Scotland, making a reference to an Egyptian plant. The factory was demolished in the 1970s.

⁴⁰² The lions mentioned have since been removed to adorn the garden of some intermediate owner.

⁴⁰³ McWilliam, C., *Lothian* (London and Newhaven: Yale University Press, 2003). p. 343



RCAHMS⁴⁰⁴

Figure 5. 168 The James Nielson Reed and Heddle Factory

The selection of industrial buildings recorded above shows that whilst the number is small, the variation of Egyptian motifs is surprisingly wide, varying from the single allusion to the close and accurately detailed copy.

Bridges.

Just as industry expanded in the nineteenth century, so did the requirements for a much extended road system to service it, with bridges playing an especially important role.

Here the strength of Egyptian forms had an important role to play, but in the first example the retrospective reference to two 18th century examples employs a decorative theme. Unlike the ‘industrial’ ones which follow, it is used primarily to provide an architectural emphasis to a major exit, from the country’s capital in the direction of its major port at Leith.

Open to differing interpretations of intent as a commemorative or a triumphant and striking entry to the city of Edinburgh is Thomas Hamilton’s King’s Bridge in King’s Stables Road, Edinburgh, constructed between 1828 and 1831. One justification for their use, in the last of the series which had their origin in the work of William Adam at Aberfeldy in 1733, is offered by

⁴⁰⁴ Scran 000-000-488-272-C.

Rock who suggests that: “It is possible that Hamilton ⁴⁰⁵ saw the 1828 bridge as a memorial to George IV, who was seriously ill at the time of its construction, alternatively, there is more than a suggestion in Hamilton’s design, with its four obelisks standing on pedestals, at the sweeping revetted corners of the bridge, of the mausoleum for Frederick, Prince of Wales.”⁴⁰⁶



Author

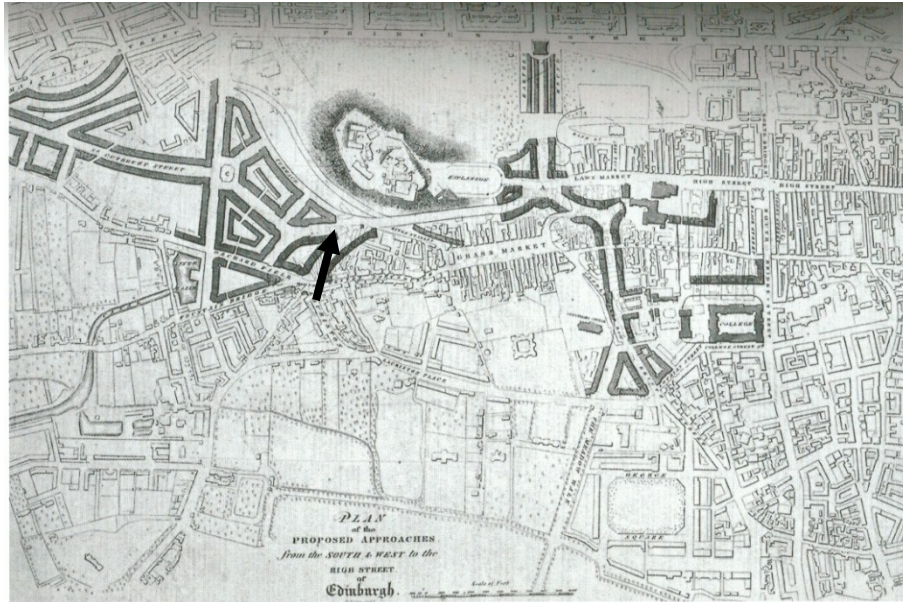
Figure 5. 169 The King’s Bridge, Edinburgh, of 1828.

However the scheme had its origins as early as 1817, some five years after the much delayed publication of William Adam’s *Vitruvius Scoticus*, which contained a view of the four obelisk bridge at Aberfeldy, and which Williams notes as the likely year of the first plan, adding that: “The culture of ‘Improvement’ in eighteenth-century Edinburgh, survived well into the first half of the nineteenth, with a new emphasis on the picturesque potential of buildings, roads and bridges.”⁴⁰⁷

⁴⁰⁵

⁴⁰⁶ Rock,, J., *Thomas Hamilton Architect 1784-1858* (Edinburgh: Scottish Arts Council, 1984). p. 32

⁴⁰⁷ Willams, M., “Planning for the Picturesque: Thomas Hamilton’s New Roads to the Old Town”, *Architectural Heritage*, XX, 2009) p. 33



From 'A History of Scottish Architecture' ⁴⁰⁸

Figure 5. 170 Plan for the development of Edinburgh, 1824, including the King's Bridge (indicated by arrow).

Although the elegant houses which he proposed might: "...supply the places of the dirty closes and ruinous tenements", ⁴⁰⁹ were not constructed, King's Bridge was, unlike his proposal for George IV Bridge, to achieve completion without hindrance. Williams notes Nash as an influence, referring to his work of this time in London. Although accepting his conclusion that: "King's Bridge represented an important development in the exchange of ideas between picturesque landscapes and townscapes,"⁴¹⁰ here the urban terrain is not helpful to the four obelisks, for whereas William and John Adam allowed the full profiles of the obelisks used on their respective bridges at Aberfeldy and at Dumfries House to be silhouetted against the sky, creating a lightening lift to the strong horizontals of the structure⁴¹¹, here the deep embankment, rising to the substantial road above, does little to accentuate the grace of the obelisks, and this is surprising in the work of an architect celebrated for the siting of his constructions.

In a functional, not a decorative statement as the Hamilton example above, Thomas Telford (1771-1832) is at most striking at the Menai Bridge in Wales of 1826, and as the century draws

⁴⁰⁸ Glendinning, M., *A History of Scottish Architecture* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996). p 211

⁴⁰⁹ *Ibid*

⁴¹⁰ *Ibid* p. 50

⁴¹¹ See the section on 'Bridges,' for further detail.

to a close, in a similar functional context, great pylons add a majestic calm, which leads onwards to the riot of the latest engineering techniques used on the spans of the Forth Bridge, completed in 1890.

That major 19th century development which witnessed a growth in travel and demonstrated a greater need for the transport of manufactured goods saw a consequent increase in the scale of ‘industrial architecture’ and the involvement of the civil engineer, of whom the outstanding Scottish example was undoubtedly the ‘Father of Civil Engineering’, Thomas Telford, born at Westerkirk in Dumfriesshire in 1757. Telford’s knowledge of Egypt is assured, since he was chosen to write the definitive article on Egypt’s ‘Civil Architecture’ in the Edinburgh Encyclopaedia of 1813, under the general editorship of David Brewster ‘with the assistance of Gentlemen Eminent in Science and Literature.’⁴¹² Although there is no corroborative information from his personal library, both the work of Denon and much of the Napoleonic Survey published from 1809⁴¹³ would have been available to him. The above makes it all the more surprising, then, that in his own *Life*, Telford expressed the view that the building of the pyramids was “of no other value than as artificial labour to prevent the populace from turning their thoughts to politics and sedition...” Yet in recording such thoughts he may have been echoing the current social tensions which were to erupt in the Peterloo Massacre of 1819. He adds that: “If the practice of public building commenced with the Granaries of Joseph, this policy seems to have been systematically maintained.”⁴¹⁴ Although it remains somewhat surprising that Telford makes reference to a purpose of the Pyramids of Giza which, although known by Arabs in the Middle Ages as the *haramat-yusuf* and described as the Granaries of Joseph on a mosaic in the basilica of St Mark’s in Venice, had long been discounted by the 1830s; this may also be a further reflection of Telford’s views on the current labour disturbances mentioned above.

However, Telford’s article, which covers a range of architecture from that of Ancient Egypt through Persia, ‘Hindoostan’, Greece and Rome, does show the breadth of his knowledge of Egypt’s major monuments, and this would have allowed him to recognize the strength and mass

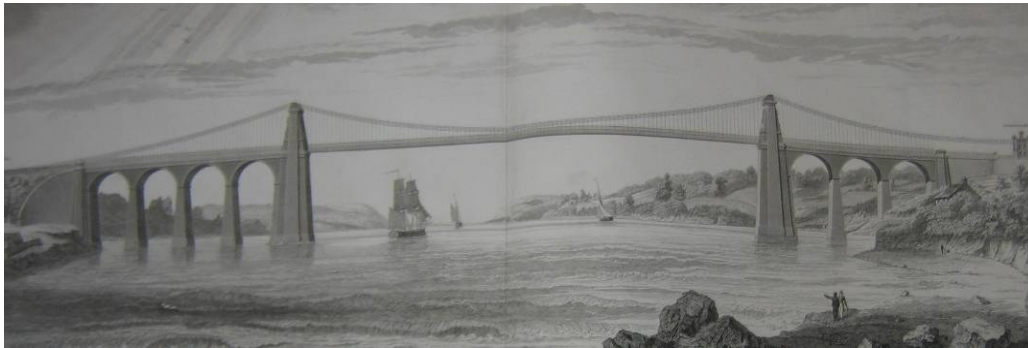
⁴¹² *The Edinburgh Encyclopaedia* (Edinburgh: published by a range of publishers, including both William Blackwood and John Murray, 1813). Vol.VI.

⁴¹³ *Description de l’Égypte* (Paris: L’Imprimerie Imperéale, 1809).

⁴¹⁴ Telford, T., *The Life of Thomas Telford, written by himself*, edited by J. Rickman (London: Payne & Foss, 1838). Appendix 2. p. 693

of some of them and to reflect them in his own work. Further, as an enthusiastic Freemason⁴¹⁵ he would have had added respect for Egyptian forms.⁴¹⁶

In the preface to Telford's *Life*, Rickman, commenting on the wide variety of Telford's works which included road, canal and dock, at home and in Europe, then selects the Menai Bridge of 1826 in North Wales as being both "spectacular and ...outstanding."⁴¹⁷



Author

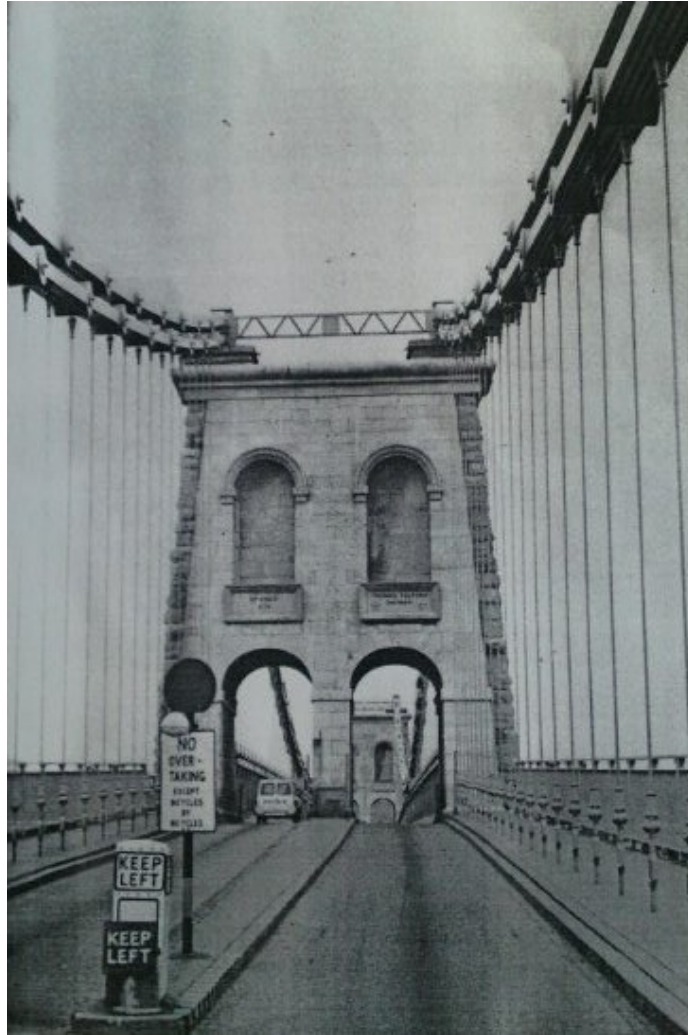
Figure 5. 171 The Menai Bridge. Plate 70 from the Atlas to 'The Life of Thomas Telford'.

Unlike Brunel, Telford used piers for his Menai Bridge which he repeatedly described as 'Pyramids', the illustration below, however, seems to confirm their undoubted presentation of a battered pylon form to the carriageway.

⁴¹⁵ So enthusiastic a Freemason was Telford that he caused a lodge to be installed in a hotel which he occupied for some considerable time.

⁴¹⁶ Telford may well have been familiar with the 'Egyptian Rite' brought to London by Cagliostro in flight from the French Revolution.

⁴¹⁷ Telford, T., *The Life of Thomas Telford*, edited by J. Rickman, J (London: Payne & Foss, 1838), p.8. In addition, *The Shrewsbury Chronicle* of Friday, February 23rd 1826, refers to the bridge as 'this stupendous structure'.



Pearce⁴¹⁸

Figure 5. 172 Illustration of a (pro) pylon of the Menai Bridge

And yet Telford is adamant, for in the Appendix to *The Life*, he notes of the Runcorn Bridge also that: “I have constructed a stone building (a pier) of pyramidal shape” and further, in stating his expenses for the stone-work he details, “Masonry in pyramids and abutments-25,264 cubic yards at 15/- £18,945.”⁴¹⁹ After detailing particulars of the two magnificent piers of local grey limestone which supported the bridge, 100ft from their bases to the carriage-way, Telford again refers to that part of the pier above the carriageway as “the pyramid.”⁴²⁰ It is significant that he

⁴¹⁸ Pearce R. M., *Thomas Telford* (Aylesbury: Shire Publications, 1972), p. 35

⁴¹⁹ *Ibid*: p. 546.

⁴²⁰ *Ibid*: p. 225

has recognized and chosen an architectural form of great strength to bear the suspension chains which in turn support the carriage-way.

In describing the Menai Bridge in the *Life*, as “a work of great magnitude and novelty,” he adds that it is: “...the most formidable between London and Dublin..”⁴²¹: ‘formidable’ being especially apt as recognition of the mass and strength of Egyptian structures.



Plate LXXI



Plate LXXII

Author

Figure 5. 173 From the Atlas to *The Life of Thomas Telford*

Telford, although the most celebrated Scottish architect/civil engineer, is not a solitary example, for in Scotland itself other bridges of the suspension type, some of earlier date, had also used stone pylons if on a less dramatic scale.

An unusual example, the Gattonside Suspension Footbridge at Melrose of 1826, the same year as the Menai Bridge, and which remained, until 1991, the only unaltered survivor using this early suspension bridge technology, shows how suitable was the heavy stone pylon in providing support for the suspension chains. The pylons here are decorated in the Gothic style, and resembling, somewhat, a mediaeval fortress, might have pleased the eyes of Sir Walter Scott, who lived nearby.

⁴²¹ *Ibid.* p. 213

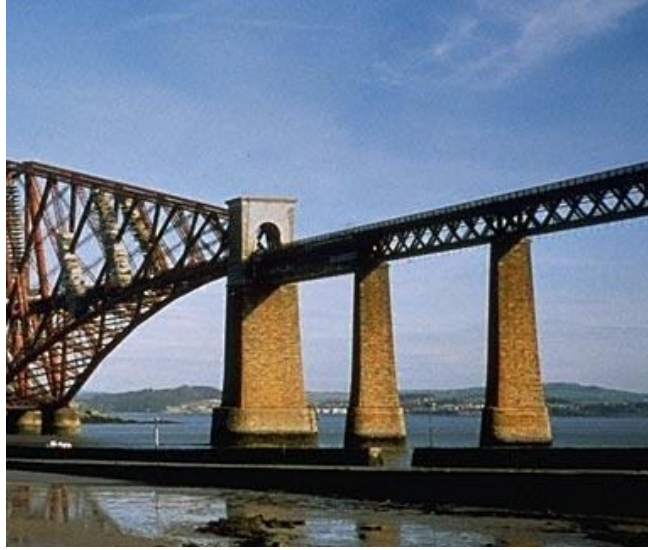


Author

Figure 5. 174 The Chain Bridge, Gattonside, Melrose

Much further use of the pylon form was made and examples are noted below,⁴²² but it undoubtedly makes its most celebrated appearance, adding quiet and confident calm, in noticeable contrast to the writhing steel curves and girders of one of Scotland's best known sights – the Forth Bridge.

⁴²² Further examples of the use of the pylon form are the Union Bridge of 1820, at Hutton in Berwickshire, which was constructed by Captain Samuel Brown, the Wellington Suspension Bridge of 1829 at Aberdeen by John Smith (1781-1852), and Bridge of Oich of 1850 by James Diege.



Nick Haynes⁴²³

Figure 5. 175 The Forth Bridge

Here, the majestic pylons of Aberdeen granite were erected between 1883 and 1890 to designs by engineers Sir John Fowler (1817-98) and Sir Benjamin Baker (1840-1907), with Sir William Arrol (1839-1913) and Joseph Phillips as contractors. They clearly demonstrate both marked batter and an out-swept cornice, the height requirement for the bridge attenuating their outline.⁴²⁴ Each of these stone structures is filled with rubble to balance one side of the double cantilever, an infilling technique which had long been a practice adopted by the Egyptians. The breadth of examples taken from the Egyptian canon of constructional techniques and re-interpreted in Scotland in a range of bridge structures, both decoratively and as a demonstration of the strength and durability of its forms⁴²⁵, clearly confirms its timeless adaptability.

Lighthouses.

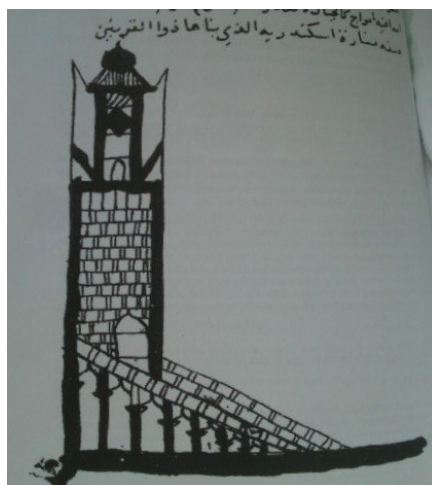
The increase in commercial traffic on land is mirrored by a similar increase at sea, and primarily in the work of Alan Stevenson (1807-1865) Egyptian references occur in his lighthouses and their associated buildings. The earliest historical reference to a lighthouse is to the Pharos of

⁴²³ Scran 000-000-111-822-C

⁴²⁴ McKean, C., *Battle for the North* (London: Granta Books, 2006).p.265 notes that the bridge's arches had to allow of 150ft clearance.

⁴²⁵ The author, who stood on a tower of the adjacent Road Bridge when it was in course of construction, and thus perhaps in 1964, cannot but comment that, whilst the Road Bridge's safety already gives cause for concern, the Forth Bridge, with its robust pylons, continues to give good service after some one hundred and twenty years!

Alexandria, which was one of the seven Wonders of the Ancient World, Morrison Low noting that it was first recorded by Pliny the Elder (23AD-79AD)⁴²⁶ and Pearson adding that: “...the earliest structure, for which written records exist, is the lighthouse on the island of Pharos, off the harbour of Alexandria ...built between 283 and 247 BC and reaching 466ft in height.”⁴²⁷ Constructed by Ptolemy Soter, the building endured from its foundation until the early 14th century AD substantially intact, testament to the strength of its construction, and it existed long enough for its appearance to be recorded, however inaccurately.



Ucko⁴²⁸

Figure 5. 176 The Lighthouse of Alexandria by Al-Gharnati, (d. 1169AD)

In Scotland, acknowledgement of this original lighthouse – and thus of Ancient Egypt – is reflected in the Northern Lighthouse Board’s⁴²⁹ choice of name for: “their very first tender, to be called ‘Pharos’, (which) was a sloop presented to the service in 1799,” with Allardyce adding that: “the eighteenth and latest ‘Pharos’ to sail the Scottish seas was launched in 1993.”⁴³⁰

Ten of Scotland’s lighthouse complexes demonstrate Egyptian architectural forms, and these, with one exception,⁴³¹ are the work of Alan Stevenson, who was Engineer to the Northern

⁴²⁶ Morrison –Low, A. D., *Northern Lights* (Edinburgh: NMS Enterprises, 2010) p. 2

⁴²⁷ Pearson, L. F., *Lighthouses* (Princes Risborough: Shire Publications, 2003). p. 4

⁴²⁸ Ucko, P. *The Wisdom of Egypt* (London: UCL Press, 2003). p. 46

⁴²⁹ This is the organisation which controls all Scottish Lighthouses.

⁴³⁰ Allardyce, K., *Scotland’s Edge Revisited* (Glasgow: Harper Collins, 1998). p. 42

⁴³¹ This is a reference to Stroma, which see below.

Lighthouse Board from 1843 to 1853, who had succeeded his father in that post.⁴³² Of his lighthouses, Morrison-Low observes that: “The most striking element of Alan’s architecture and detailed designs is the overt Egyptian influence...,”⁴³³ and crediting, *inter alia*, the significance of David Robert’s work in prolonging Scotland’s interest in Egypt long after it had ceased to be in vogue in England.

Curl draws attention to the Masonic significance of these constructions, noting that: “A lighthouse is a symbol that Freemasons have passed from darkness into light,”⁴³⁴ and the Stevensons, builders, not only of considerable numbers of lighthouses, had interests across a wider field of building construction, an observation that may confirm their interest in Egypt as Freemasons themselves.⁴³⁵ Their Masonic status down the generations is also confirmed by Morrison-Low who writes that Alan’s father, Robert (1772-1850) had earlier marked the laying of the foundation stone and the topping out ceremony at the Bell Rock with: “...the usual ceremonies observed by the Brotherhood on occasions of this kind...”⁴³⁶, going on to note Alan’s acquaintance with the Astronomer Royal, Charles Piazzi Smyth (1819-1900).⁴³⁷

Apart from the historic link to the Pharos, this choice of Egyptian forms, as with the bridges described above, once more acknowledges their suitability for situations exposed to wind, tide and weather. Although one can already discern a move towards the use of that strength and durability in the work of Robert Stevenson on the keepers’ cottages at Lismore (1833) and at Barra Head (1833) – much resembling, in their low hunched solidity, and the rhythm of their wall surfaces, the *mastaba* tombs, from the earliest Egyptian Dynasties – it is in the work of Robert’s son, Alan (1807-1865) that batter and the wind-turning *cavetto* cornice are then introduced to those same wall surfaces, and since the Egyptian features are in a limited and continually repeated range, all are specifically detailed in Appendix A, attached to this work.⁴³⁸

⁴³² George Stevenson had held that post from 1799-1842.

⁴³³ Morrison-Low, A. D., *Northern Lights* (Edinburgh: NMS Enterprises, 2010), p.160

⁴³⁴ Curl, J. S., *The Art and Architecture of Freemasonry* (London: B.T.Batsford, 1991). p.240

⁴³⁵ Mair, C., *A Star for Seamen* (London: Butler & Farmer, 1978). p 111 Referring to George’s planning of Regent Road, Edinburgh and its opening ceremony, Mair writes that it: “was described...as the most brilliant procession which ever adorned the annals of Masonry.”

⁴³⁶ Morrison-Low, A.D., *Northern Lights* (Edinburgh: NMS Enterprises, 2010). p.162

⁴³⁷ Whilst their particular contact was not in connection with Piazzi Smyth’s absorption with Egypt, his startling interpretation of divine intentions in his *Our Inheritance in the Great Pyramid* of 1880, should not be overlooked.

⁴³⁸ In order of construction, and commencing in 1845, the lighthouses are Eilean Glas, Cromarty, Chanonry, Covesea, Ardnamurchan, Noss Head, High and Low Hoy, North Ronaldsea and, by a succeeding generation of the Stevenson family, Noss Head, the final example of 1896.

The earliest of Alan's complete lighthouse complexes, Cromarty and Chanonry and Covesea were constructed in 1846, and whilst Stevenson consistently used 'Egyptian' detailing on every group of keepers' dwellings (which he had added as his sole contribution at Eilean Glas in 1845/6), here he adds a massive battered door-frame, a feature which also appears with regularity.



RCAHMS⁴³⁹

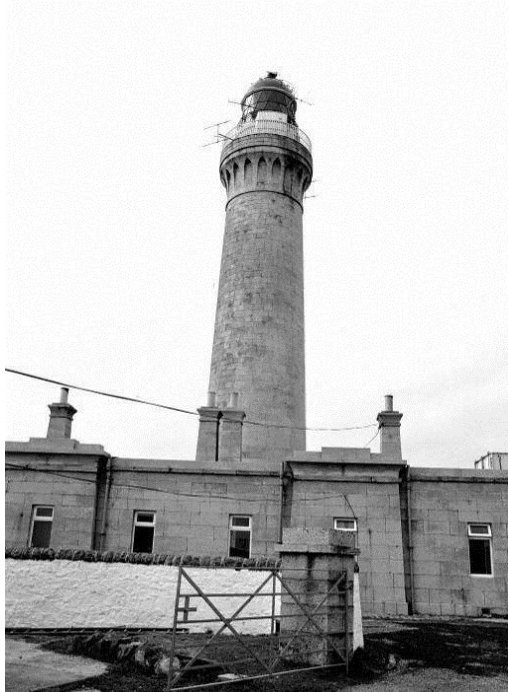
Figure 5. 177 Cromarty Lighthouse door and keepers' cottages. 1846.

General opinion seems to restrict the number of lighthouses considered to show Egyptian influence and in a recent discussion with a senior official at the Board of Northern Lights, it was clear that he regarded only Ardnamurchan, constructed in 1849, as having them.⁴⁴⁰ This is also the view of Krauskopf, who writes: "... its Egyptian style is alleged to be the only one of its kind in the world."⁴⁴¹ Whilst the photographs in this section clearly show the similarity of Ardnamurchan's exterior to the others shown, it does have features not found in the remainder. First, it was built in 1849 of pink granite, and was left in this material, unlike the others which were painted in the traditional white of the Board. Also, in the interior (shown below) are lions' heads in metal at the junction of the trellised glazing bars surrounding the light.

⁴³⁹ Scran 000-000-185-429-C

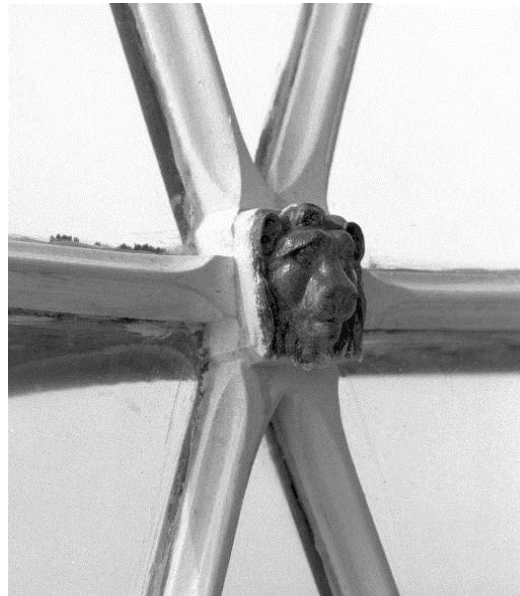
⁴⁴⁰ Related on Sunday 5th October, 2008, by Rear- Admiral (Retired) Roger Lockwood C.B.

⁴⁴¹ Krauskopf, S., *Scottish Lighthouses* (Bedford: The Appletree Press, 2001). pp. 51-2



RCAHMS⁴⁴²

Figure 5. 178 Ardnamurchan, the
Circular Lighthouse Tower.



RCAHMS⁴⁴³

Figure 5. 179 Lions' Heads on the
Glazing Bars at Ardnamurchan
Lighthouse

Perhaps this combination of granite and lions has caused its claims on Egypt to be more easily perceived, Bathhurst adding that: “For this spot, Alan drew up plans for the only ‘Egyptian style’ lighthouse in Great Britain, with a graceful arched cornice and gently tapered walls.”⁴⁴⁴ However, the normal circular form of Ardnamurchan lighthouse tower makes no reference to Ancient Egypt, whilst the battered door is a feature repeated elsewhere.

Grant, is firmly of the opinion that : “... his series of *six* lighthouses at Noss Head, Covesea, Cromarty Chanonry, Hoy and Ardnamurchan, all have domestic blocks in the Egyptian style. The towers of the Scottish lighthouses are not Egyptian.”⁴⁴⁵

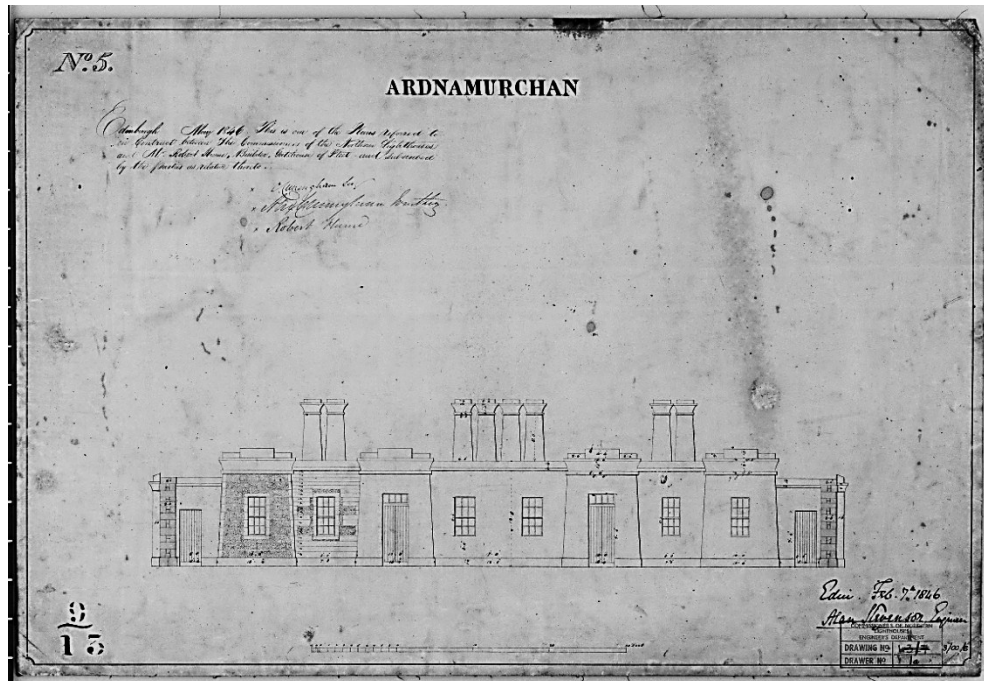
The ‘Egyptian’ detailing on the Ardnamurchan plan of 1846, (below) signed and dated by Alan Stevenson, can clearly be seen on the keepers’ cottages.

⁴⁴² Scran 000-000-187-350-C

⁴⁴³ Scran 000-299-989-626-C

⁴⁴⁴ Bathhurst, B., *The Lighthouse Stevensons* (London: Harper Collins, 1999). p. 184

⁴⁴⁵ Grant, E., “The Sphinx in the North” In Cosgrove D., and Daniels, S., (eds) *The Iconography of Landscape* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988). Chapter 12, p. 244



RCAHMS⁴⁴⁶

Figure 5. 180 The signed and dated plan of the Keepers' Cottages at Ardamurchan shows the 'Egyptian' batter of the walls and *cavetto* capping of the chimneys.

It was at this time that, whilst it was not apparently installed in any of Scotland's lighthouses, that one of the most striking items to appear with a clear and overt reference to Egypt was a lamp, the 'fixed Fresnel lens', which in model form was sent by the Northern Lighthouse Board to the Great Exhibition of 1851. This rests on a base supported by three statues of Egyptian form, which Morrison-Low maintains was inspired by Thomas Hope, observing that: "This striking piece ...is reminiscent of a pair of candle-sticks...derived from a design in Thomas Hope's *Household Furniture*,"⁴⁴⁷ and it is indeed conceivable that this one-fifth scale model (illustrated below) derived from the sketch referred to above.

⁴⁴⁶ Scran 000-000-110-890-C

⁴⁴⁷ Morrison-Low, A. D., *Northern Lights* (Edinburgh: NMS Enterprises, 2010). p. 161 Museum Ref. NMS.T. 1993, p.136.



National Museums of Scotland

Figure 5. 181 The ‘fixed Fresnel Lens, with three cast bronze ‘Egyptian’ statues, one-fifth scale.

The Stroma Lighthouse of 1896 is the single exception to Alan Stevenson’s ‘exclusive’ claim to ‘Egyptian’ details on Scottish lighthouses and their adjacent structures. It was built in 1896 by David (1854-1938) and Charles (1855-1950) Stevenson from a younger generation of the family, the buildings repeating that theme of batter on the keepers’ cottages on wall surfaces and chimney stacks already developed by Alan.

The length of service of the Stevenson Family to the Board of Northern Lights is truly remarkable, and the words used as the title of Mair’s book *A Star to Seamen* no mean epitaph.⁴⁴⁸ From this date there is no further reference to the use of Egyptian constructional themes across the spectrum of Scottish lighthouse building.⁴⁴⁹

Observatories.

Nineteenth century technology brought new interest in stellar observation, of great significance to the Ancient Egyptians, where the calendar, the timing of the nocturnal celebration of religious rituals and the orientation of major buildings was based on the observation of the stars.

⁴⁴⁸ Mair, C., *A Star for Seamen* (London: Butler & Farmer, 1978).

⁴⁴⁹ For a full set of illustrations of the Lighthouses mentioned above, see Appendix I.

Awareness of this is reflected in the use of Egyptian design references in some Scottish observatories, and all three constructions included here are a testament to the burgeoning 19th century absorption with science and technology.

The earliest of the observatories was constructed on Garnet Hill to the north of Sauciehall Street and demolished in the mid-nineteenth century. Scran notes that: “The observatory opened in 1810 and the building was designed by Webster of London in the Egyptian style. It was divided into three departments providing scientific and popular observatories, and a *camera obscura*”



Glasgow University Library⁴⁵⁰

Figure 5. 182 The Garnet Hill Observatory of 1810.

Observation of the illustration seems to suggest that the Egyptian features claimed are sparse, although the twin doors, placed in the centre section, are of battered outline.

⁴⁵⁰ Scran 000-000-181-739-C.



RCAHMS⁴⁵¹

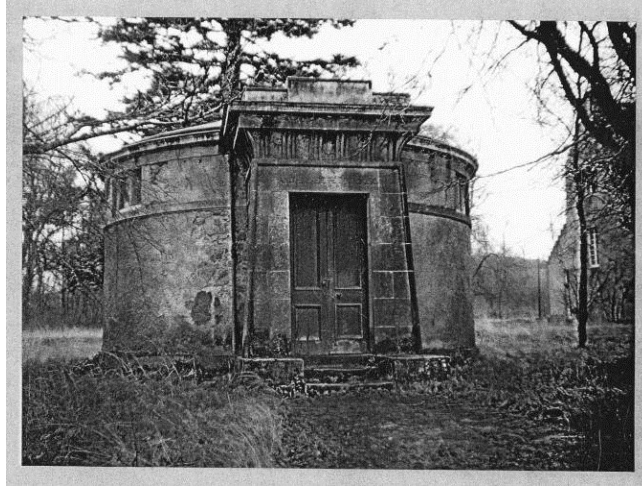
Figure 5. 183 Dumfries Observatory and Camera Obscura.

Dumfries Observatory has been fully dealt with in the section on its architect, Walter Newall. Originally built as a windmill, dating to 1798, it was planned by the Dumfries and Maxwelltown Astronomical Society to be converted in time to view the appearance of Halley's Comet in 1835, although its actual completion is noted as 1836.⁴⁵²

In the grounds of Wester Elchies House, Morayshire, stood a mid-19th century observatory with strong Egyptian features, Scran observing that: "Wester Elchies is built round an old fort. In the 19th century it was owned by J. W. Grant who built an observatory in the grounds around a giant telescope brought from the Great Exhibition of 1851."

⁴⁵¹ Scran 000-299-993-372-R

⁴⁵² Gifford, J., *Dumfries and Galloway*, (London and Newhaven: Yale University Press, 2002). (Buildings of Scotland series) p. 266



RCAHMS⁴⁵³

Figure 5. 184 Wester Elchies Observatory, c.1851

The Canmore file observes that the house was demolished in 1967-8 and that the observatory itself was blown up in 1971.⁴⁵⁴

It will be noted that the doorway to the observatory is particularly rich in ‘Egyptian’ motifs, having a battered outline, a strong and elaborate *cavetto* cornice and a well raised *torus* moulding.

Egyptian Themes in 19th Century Scottish Interiors.

Having dealt with the range of Egyptian forms making their appearance in exterior situations in 19th century Scotland, this work turns to their interior applications. As a demonstration of the growth of industrial technology, ornamental ironwork which had appeared in the previous century was used increasingly in the Scottish interior as the 19th century advanced. Edinburgh used it to ornament some of the city’s grandest staircases, the one shown below from the Signet Library, added in 1833 in alterations by William Burn (1789-1870).

⁴⁵³ The RCAHMS notes are taken from Canmore NJ 2561043106 Observatory.

⁴⁵⁴ The RCAHMS observation is from Canmore NJ24SE 14.01



Youngson⁴⁵⁵

Figure 5. 185 Ironwork, using the lotus as its inspiration, on the Signet Library staircase of 1833.

In the interiors of the Moray Estate examples are frequent, the ironwork shown below from 17 Great Stuart Street, occupied by W.H. Playfair in 1832. Whilst much less impressively showy than the Signet Library example shown above, this again makes reference to the divided lotiform image and this staircase is a testament to the skill of the 19th century craftsmen, who adapted the motif to the varying profile of the staircase banister.



Author



Author



Author

Figure 5. 186 Lotiform Decoration on a New Town Staircase⁴⁵⁶

⁴⁵⁵ Youngson, A. J., *The Making of Classical Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1966). p.133

⁴⁵⁶ This staircase of 1832 makes reference to Egyptian themes described in Chap. 1 'Forms and Origins', and closely resembles the Carron Archive example, referenced above.



Author.

Figure 5. 187 The lotus motif adapted to the upward movement of the staircase

In general, however, Egypt was only a minor source of inspiration to the designers of ornamental iron work and when the considerable archive of the Carron Company, one of earliest and leading suppliers of structural, industrial and ornamental ironwork in the later 18th, 19th and 20th centuries and held at Callendar House, Falkirk was examined in detail, only two references to ‘Egyptian’ inspired designs, (a) An obelisk support for chains as at an entrance⁴⁵⁷ and (b) Balusters of New Town form, were discovered.⁴⁵⁸

William Trotter and Scottish Furniture.

Glendinning’s words, noting the classicism of both Hamilton and Playfair, above, as: “eclectic”,⁴⁵⁹ could equally well be applied to the furniture of William Trotter (1772-1845). Trotter, the leading Scottish cabinet maker of his day, who worked in the widest range of styles from Graeco-Egyptian at Paxton, to Puginesque Gothic at Taymouth Castle⁴⁶⁰, was both socially adept and well introduced into a wide range of useful social circles, this stemming, not least, from his

⁴⁵⁷ The Carron Archive, Callendar House, Falkirk, Ref. A 011 005.

⁴⁵⁸ *Ibid.* Ref. A 011 006. Photography was not permitted.

⁴⁵⁹ Glendinning, M., *A History of Scottish Architecture* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996) p. 195

⁴⁶⁰ Haynes, Nick., *Perth and Kinross* (Edinburgh: The Rutland Press, 2000). p.127: “Library. These (sic) were designed by Gillespie Graham, 1838-42, probably with considerable assistance from A.W.N. Pugin and executed by Edinburgh firm Trotter & Co.”

holding the office of Lord Provost of Edinburgh in 1826-27. A further contact to clients arose from his hiring out furniture to Edinburgh householders who occupied their properties for, and entertained during, the Edinburgh Social Season with the seal of approval set on his commercial standing by his appointment as a Warrant Holder to the Royal Family.⁴⁶¹

His work, solid, worthy and occasionally elegant, as witness the example (below)



witneyantiques.com⁴⁶²

Figure 5. 188 “A Rare Pair [only one shown] of Regency Armchairs.

in the Egyptian taste. These chairs can be attributed to the well known Edinburgh cabinet maker William Trotter. Scottish, circa 1815.”

is in strong contrast to the Egyptian Revival examples in the work of the Englishman Thomas Hope (1769-1831) working at a similar date. Architecturally a valid and similar comparison might be made between the extravagance of the Egyptian Hall of P.F.Robinson in London and the solid calm of Archibald Simpson’s Market Hall in Aberdeen.

⁴⁶¹ This appointment, noted as from: “Officers of the English Household,” appears in *The Edinburgh Almanack or Universal Scots and Imperial Register for 1828*.

⁴⁶² <http://www.witneyantiques.com/mahogany/mahchair5lg.htm> This pair of chairs was offered on 18th Feb, 2012, by Witney Antiques, Witnet, Oxfordshire.



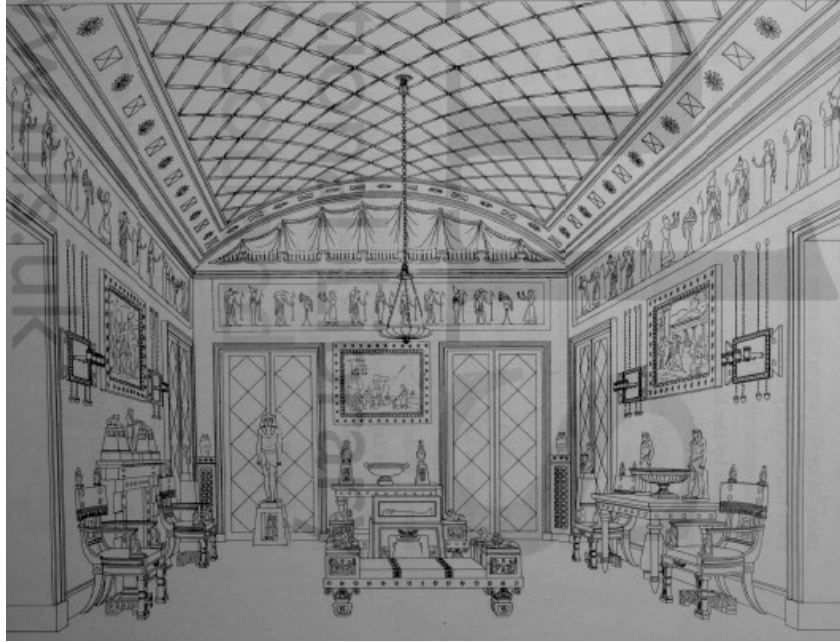
Sir William Beechey.⁴⁶³

Figure 5. 189 Thomas Hope in Turkish dress.

Thomas Hope disclosed much of his character by opening his publication *Household Furniture and Interior Decoration*, of 1807 showing himself in ‘Turkish Dress’ (and preempting thereby both John Maxwell and David Roberts shown above).

Trotter’s sobriety is further emphasized by Hope’s somewhat precious reference to the room illustrated below as: “this little canopus (sic).” Peopled by Egyptian statuary, canopic jars and with a frieze of Egyptian gods, this is a world away from William Trotter, who, unlike Hope, did not commit himself to entire decorative schemes.

⁴⁶³ Hope, T., *Household Furniture and Interior Decoration* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees and Orme, 1807) p.v.



Thomas Hope.⁴⁶⁴

Figure 5. 190 “This little canopus”.

This room, which speaks of the ostentation of the Regency, is not only furnished with ornate and gilded furniture, with processions of Egyptian figures with designs taken from: “Egyptian scrolls of papyrus,”⁴⁶⁵ but is, in addition, peopled by Egyptian statuary.

In comparison Trotter’s furniture made to equip the library and picture gallery extension at Paxton, the work of the architect Robert Reid (1774-1856) in 1812-14 maintained a Presbyterian sobriety in its use of those Egyptian references which had become fashionable after the British victories in the recent campaign there.

With this influence in Edinburgh it is in no way surprising that he supplied the elaborate furniture for interiors of such prestigious projects as the Signet Library and Trinity House at Leith, but it is for the references to ornament drawing on Egyptian derivation that this work concentrates.

The most significant complete collection of Trotter’s furniture is to be found at Paxton House, the compact, pink sandstone mansion that we see today four miles to the west of Berwick, which was designed in 1758 by John Adam for Patrick Home.

⁴⁶⁴ Hope, T., *Household Furniture and Interior Decoration* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees and Orme, 1807) p.35.

⁴⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

Selected from the 46 pieces, are, first, the library table shown below, made, as all the furniture, of rosewood of the highest quality, with both finely carved lion's paw and the lotus foliage motifs.



Author

Figure 5. 191 A lyre-ended rosewood sofa table



Author

Figure 5. 192 Lion foot and lotus details



Author

Figure 5. 193 Also from the Library, this is one of a pair of side-tables



Author

Figure 5. 194 Again, the side-table leg clearly shows the carved reference to the lotus motif

The remaining four pieces in the library include a set of identical side tables, whose front legs were of a similar form to those of the table above.

The exuberantly carved rosewood table (below), with its splendid marble top, (likely to have been a Grand Tour souvenir), is from the picture gallery, once more employing the lotus motif, but here tucked behind the sturdy knee of the cabriole leg, the detail of this recorded on Paxton House's own website with particular clarity.



Author.

Figure 5. 195 Centre Table from the Picture Gallery



paxtonhouse.com⁴⁶⁶

Figure 5. 196 Detail of the table from the Paxton House website.

⁴⁶⁶ From 'Collections, on the Paxton House website
<http://www.paxtonhouse.co.uk/paxton-house/the-collection>

Edinburgh 25th August 1814

My Dear Sir,

In obedience to your desire I enclose a copy of your account. It gives me great pleasure to observe that the articles are in general under the Maximum of estimate, excepting the Round Table - which I mounted upon trusses instead of a centre pillar, as first intended, and by which the expence was encreas'd.

I have this moment been examining the grate for large Drawing Room - and I do think it very much in stile for the place. The smith is so vain of it, that he must send a man along with it, to see both into their places, and to direct the servants how to clean them - so by the first vessell for Berwick they shall be ship'd.

I hope you have been well since the pleasant day Mrs Trotter spent at Paxton - she requests me to offer her best Compliments to Miss Stevens & yourself - and Miss Telfer. May I be allow'd the same request - and to have the Honor to remain,

My Dear Sir,

Yours most faithfully,

W. Trotter

Author

Figure 5. 197 The William Trotter Letter

A copy of the previously unpublished text of the covering letter to Trotter's Account, dated 25th August 1814 (above), adds to the facts a rare dimension of humanity. It is of interest that Mrs. Trotter also made the journey to the house, presumably by coach. A cost for coach hire of £6-15s-6d is mentioned in the detail of the account, which whilst not a great sum, makes the cost of shipping furniture from Leith of £1-15s-9d appear remarkably restrained.

Besides the examples shown above, that references to Egypt were used both in the country and the town is shown from pieces from a New Town apartment in a house of 1832, but purchased at a later date.



Author

Figure 5. 198 A lotus motif on the back of a Rosewood chair, c 1830, 17 Great Stuart Street
Edinburgh



Author.

Figure 5. 199 Bound stems, originating at Saqqara, ornament the c 1830 chest of drawers and an
inverted lotus ornaments the chair leg of similar date.

Whilst no mark confirms this furniture as Trotter's work, the c.1830 chest above, the pillars suggesting the attached columns at Saqqara⁴⁶⁷, was indeed offered as such.⁴⁶⁸ The lotus references on the legs of both chairs and writing table are not of a form seen at Paxton – the shafts of the legs here seeming to grow out of the encircling lotus leaves.



Author

Figure 5. 200 Lion's paws and a central lotus leg ornament on a writing table c 1830. 17 Great Stuart Street, Edinburgh

The calm sobriety of Scottish furniture allies itself with the careful quality of its manufacture and the fine rosewood and mahogany from which it is usually made: it shows a total disregard for that gilded gleam and ostentation with which Hope satisfied the Prince Regent in England.

Astrology and New Interpretations of Religion.

As the 19th century reached its later decades, Egypt became one source of fascination in the diverse searching after new interpretations of religion, of which a growing interest in spiritualism was but one manifestation, and this interpretation was to leave its imprint on several Scottish interiors. One who sought for another personal interpretation was Charles Piazza Smyth (1819-

⁴⁶⁷ Which see discussed above in Chapter 1 'Forms and Origins'.

⁴⁶⁸ R. Lagneau, a Director of Messrs. Christies, gave his opinion on 3. 04.2012, that it was by Trotter.

1900), Scotland's Astronomer Royal, who attempted in 1864 to construe from the measurements of the Great Pyramid, an explanation of God's Divine purpose and claimed that: "he unraveled (sic) a divinely inspired Christian chronicle of man's history – *past and future*."⁴⁶⁹ Interest in his views received a worldwide following and below is an extract from a letter to a correspondent from New Zealand,⁴⁷⁰ which refers to: "...the improbable difficulties of any Christian in these days fully understanding the inner life and the emotions of the Hebrews of 2500 years ago..."

...the improbable
difficulties of any Christian
in these days fully understanding
the inner life and emotions of
the Hebrews 2500 years ago,

C. Piazzi Smyth

Figure 5. 201 Letter to Mr. Anderson of Auckland, New Zealand, 10th Jan, 1880

This fascination with mystery and the occult had other Scottish enthusiasts and whilst such enthusiasm may not be laid at the door of the architect Sir Rowand Anderson (1834-1921), two of his clients, the Third Marquess of Bute, at Mount Stuart – commenced in 1879 – and the newspaper owner J.R. Findlay – the main sponsor of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery in Edinburgh which opened in 1889 – required that in the interior of the two buildings (each, externally, in the Venetian Gothic style) astrological ceilings be installed.

The Marquess of Bute (1847-1900) is described by McLean as: "...a theologian and 'the best unprofessional architect of his generation',"⁴⁷¹ and also "...a complex man; scholar, historian, archaeologist, romantic, mystic, and one of the greatest patrons of art of his day."⁴⁷² At Mount Stuart, the exterior offers no suggestion of what McKinsty records as: "The glory of the Hall is its expression of Bute's interest in astronomy and astrology... the huge vaulted ceiling is replete with 'the stars in their courses and spectral figures each representative of the constellations of the Ecliptic'."⁴⁷³ Immediately below, the twelve windows support the ceiling's theme, portraying

⁴⁶⁹ Piazzi Smyth, C., *The Great Pyramid* (New York: Grammercy Books, 1978). The quotation is from the Foreword by Turkkan, C.

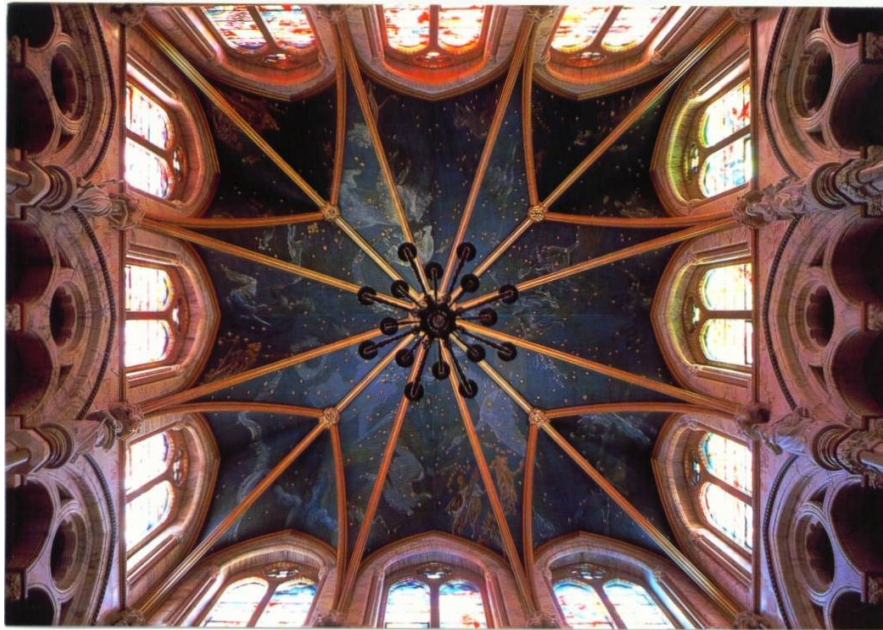
⁴⁷⁰ The Piazzi Smyth letter is in the ownership of the writer.

⁴⁷¹ McLean, A., (ed.). *Mount Stuart* (Isle of Bute: The Mount Stuart Trust, 2001). Illustration inside the front cover.

⁴⁷² *Ibid* p. 6

⁴⁷³ *Ibid* p. 21

the twelve signs of the Zodiac. A significant statement was made to the writer by Andrew McLean, Archivist at Mount Stuart, who confirmed that: “The Third Marquess was very interested in Ancient Egypt and made several visits to that land.” He added that this interest passed to his youngest son, Lord Colum Crichton-Stuart (1886-1957) who as a diplomat held, in the following century, a posting in that country and made the acquaintance of both Lord Carnarvon and Howard Carter.



By courtesy of the Trustees of The Mount Stuart Trust

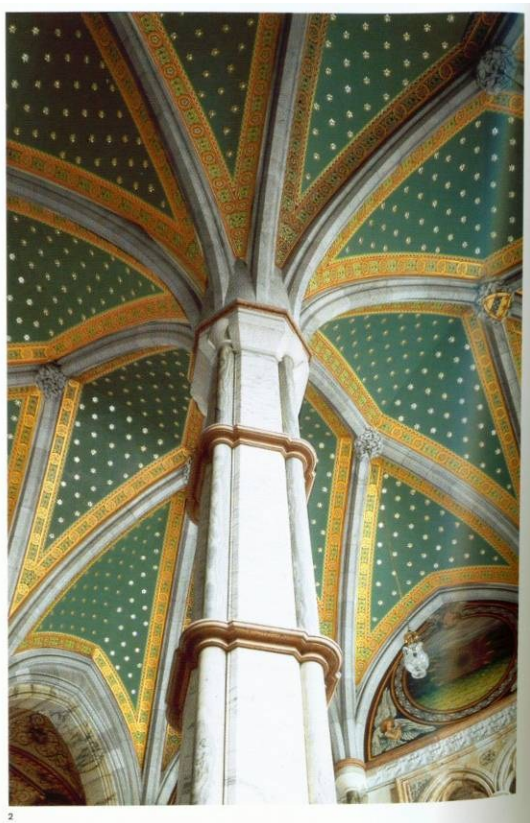
Figure 5. 202 The Astrological ceiling in the Marble Hall

The magnificent astrological ceiling above the central staircase hall, prisms glittering at the centre of each of the gold surrounded stars, has the astrological signs painted blue on a darker blue ground and picked out in gold.⁴⁷⁴ That the earliest origins of these astrological ceilings is the Middle East is not in doubt and by the date of the building of the Marble Hall, the original Zodiac ceiling, removed from the Temple of Dendera, (dated principally to the 1st century BC) would long have been on view in the Louvre Museum in Paris, having been transported there at

⁴⁷⁴ The decoration design of this and of the ceiling in the Horoscope Room was carried out by Horatio Walter Lonsdale.

the time of the Napoleonic Expedition (1798-1801). Modest by comparison, that ceiling's inferences are nevertheless closely similar to the more ostentatious example at Mount Stuart.⁴⁷⁵

Adjacent to the astrological ceiling there, the vaulted ceiling of the great Marble Staircase is decorated with painted golden stars. A usual theme in Catholic churches throughout the world, it was a symbol which joined the Virgin Mary and the Egyptian goddess Isis, since the starred ceiling was a ubiquitous ornament in the Egyptian tomb, the example shown, below, being from the Temple of Tod, adjacent to Luxor.



By courtesy of the Trustees of the Mount
Stuart Trust

Figure 5. 203 The starred ceiling of The
Marble Staircase



Author

Figure 5. 204 Fallen roofing slab showing
carved star decoration, Temple of Tod.

⁴⁷⁵ The Mount Stuart Ceiling outshines the two installed by the Marquess's friend, J.R. Findlay; the first being the comparatively simple one installed at his Edinburgh home and the second, that in the National Portrait Gallery in Queen Street, Edinburgh, which building was J.R. Findlay's gift to the nation.

It would have been likely that so keen a specialist as the Marquess would have seen the Dendera ceiling (a copy of which is in place in that temple), and been aware of many other examples of 'star-studded' ceilings, of which, on their early appearance in Egypt, Shaw notes: "In the Old Kingdom, from the reign of Unas (2375-2345 BC) the belief that mortals could be reborn in the form of circumpolar stars led to the depiction of large numbers of stars on the ceilings and corridors and chambers of the pyramids."⁴⁷⁶



Wilkinson RH

Figure 5. 205 The Dendera Astrological Ceiling⁴⁷⁷

The demonstration of the interest of the Marquess in astrology is further shown in that he had installed in his sitting room, known as The Horoscope Room, an astrological

⁴⁷⁶ Shaw, I., & Nicholson, P., *British Museum Dictionary of Ancient Egypt* (London: British Museum Press, 1995). p.42

⁴⁷⁷ Wilkinson, R. H., *The Complete Temples of Ancient Egypt* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2000) p. 150



Figure 5. 206 By courtesy of the Trustees of the Mount Stuart Trust
The ceiling of the Horoscope Room⁴⁷⁸

ceiling decoration, showing the precise position of the planets at the time of his birth (12th September 1847). This interpretation of the stars and their significance was one which had deeply absorbed the Egyptians, especially in Ptolemaic times.⁴⁷⁹

The other principle example, already mentioned, is in the National Portrait Gallery in Edinburgh, dating from 1889/90.

⁴⁷⁸ The illustration above shows it after restoration in the late 1980s by Tom Errington, who added the planet Pluto, undiscovered at the time of the original installation.

⁴⁷⁹ The Mount Stuart guide, James Brogan, stated that it was the Marquess's custom to watch the stars from the attached conservatory.



nationalgalleries.org⁴⁸⁰

Figure 5. 207 The National Portrait Gallery Ceiling, 1885-90 (With star detail.)

J.R. Findlay (1866-1930), the successful proprietor of ‘The Scotsman’ newspaper and an acquaintance of the Marquess, was the principal financial supporter of the building of the Portrait Gallery. At his own home at 3, Rothesay Terrace, completed in 1883 by the architect Sydney Mitchell (1856-1930), Gifford notes that: “...the dining room ceiling is painted with astrological symbols,”⁴⁸¹ an indication of his prior absorption with the theme.

⁴⁸⁰ www.nationalgalleries.org/supportus

⁴⁸¹ Gifford, J., *Edinburgh* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1964). (Buildings of Scotland series) p. 378



Author

Figure 5. 208 Gemini, the astrological twins, from the ceiling at 3, Rothesay Terrace

No other century in Scotland's history could demonstrate the breadth of Egyptian references used in the 19th century, but for all that they were never to the fore in setting a dominating architectural style. Their unquestioned acceptance was as symbols of commemoration when, peaking in the century's third quarter, the obelisk became a dominating feature in Scotland's graveyards.

From this time factors were abroad which caused these symbols to be less frequently employed. Reference has already been made to the practice of looking higher up the social scale for an example of 'proper' conduct and of the royal imprimatur which had established an elaborate etiquette of mourning at the heart of British social life after the death of the Prince Consort in 1861. In the last quarter of the century, there arose a search for relief from this perpetual gloom and the Prince of Wales (in a return which mirrors the frivolity of his predecessor, the Prince Regent, at the century's outset) and his 'Marlborough House Set', created a new tone of indulgence. Racing, shooting, house-parties, (where bedroom allotment was considered a matter of almost diplomatic strategy), became the new vogue and emphasis was no longer centred on religious observance. Indeed, not only did attendance at church cease to be a mandatory social

requirement, but, as already indicated, religion witnessed the appearance of new and esoteric sects in which Spiritualism led the way⁴⁸².

At this time the most significant development which altered the requirement for Egyptian monumental forms was cremation, where the urn, scattering of ashes and at most, a simple plaque, rendered the elaborate grave monument unnecessary and witnessed a consequent decline in its use. Whilst the first public crematorium had been opened in England at Woking in 1888 and been followed in Scotland by the Glasgow Crematorium at the Western Necropolis in 1893, Curl notes that: “One of the first influential, scholarly, historically accurate and factual papers on cremation ... was published in the *Transactions of The Royal Society of Edinburgh* in 1818.”⁴⁸³ The paper, produced by Jamieson, gives a complete historical retrospect noting that: “...neither the Egyptians nor the Phenicians (sic) burnt their dead...,” but adding of the practice that it was: “... a means of guarding the living against the fatal effects of putridity from the dead.” Jamieson, however, takes no stance on the issue.⁴⁸⁴

Scotland, as has been shown, saw Egyptian references in the widest range of new buildings associated with industry, commerce and science. In the former, it was the strength and weight of its architecture which was of service, but the new century would turn to the use of engineered forms, where the lightening impact of metal and glass would be to the fore.

The century had also witnessed an enormous increase in contact to Egypt, motivated by religion and archaeological curiosity in the first half and, in the second, often by direct travel between the two countries, in commerce, tourism and for convalescence, but this had little effect on that declining religious observance, which had accepted Egyptian architectural forms for commemorative purposes.

⁴⁸² The interests of the Marquis of Bute, as an example, have already been quoted.

⁴⁸³ Curl, J. S., *The Victorian Celebration of Death* (Stroud: Sutton, 2000).p 181

⁴⁸⁴ Jamieson, J., “On the Origin of Cremation, or the Burning of the Dead”. A paper read to the Royal Society of Edinburgh. April 3rd 1815. *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*, 1815. pp. 83-127

Conclusions and Postscript

“With religion increasingly sidelined as a social force, the great competition between the two materialist philosophies of capitalism and socialism now began rising to a crescendo.”¹

With the above words, Glendinning encapsulates the motivation which impelled the twentieth century: a century which began with its pyramidal social hierarchy from monarch to working class still largely intact. However, with a decline in religious observance which progressed as the century passed, Egyptian symbolism witnessed the sidelining of its forms and, as churches emptied and for the rest of the century, death and the body became more and more of an embarrassment.

The nineteenth century had seen the burgeoning of those affinities which had explained the appearance of Egyptian symbols in Scotland in so rich a proliferation, and their strong decline throughout the twentieth century reflects not only a change in the attitude to commemoration, with the one tragic exception of military commemoration caused principally by the century’s two World Wars, but also in the expectation from buildings, the purposes for which they were used and the raw materials from which they were now constructed. Scotland’s wealth of stone, which it shared in both type and availability with Egypt, had, as the twentieth century developed, a declining role in a world entering this new technological era.

As long ago as 1938, Thomas Gordon Tait (1912-1999), Senior Architect of the Glasgow Exhibition, wrote: “We cannot try to erect buildings in the old mediaeval style of architecture, where there are certain structural features which necessitate modern treatment and modern requirements with big spacing which the old mediaeval architecture would not allow us to carry out.”² For ‘mediaeval’ he might well have substituted the word ‘Egyptian’.

In November 1922 occurred the momentous discovery of the Tomb of Tutankhamun. No great pharaoh, his was still the unique example of a substantially undisturbed tomb, and from the influence of the design of its artefacts, it played a leading role as a comprehensive decorative idiom launched at the Paris art exposition at La Musée des Arts Decoratifs in 1925.

¹ Glendinning, M., MacInnes, R., & MacKechnie, A. *A History of Scottish Architecture* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.1996) p. 311

² Johnson, I., *Recreating the 1938 Empire Exhibition* (Edinburgh: RIAS. 2008) p. 8

When examples of this Art Deco style appeared, sparsely in Scotland in the following decades, reflecting the Tutankhamun discovery, they were described by the traditionalist, Sir John Stirling Maxwell,³ as: "...ignoring the traditions of our race" and he demanded that: "...architecture must recover its national character," but even he concedes that this could only be done by: "... imparting a wholesome Scots reserve and vigour even to buildings designed to meet the latest demand in the most up to date material."⁴

Modernism substituted girder, aluminium window and cladding, in place of solid masonry walls, and was both better able to bring a new lightness and lower costs to the industrial and commercial buildings of the Twenties and Thirties. After the Second World War, the industries which grew and prospered were no longer the heavy industries which, having their roots first in the second half of the 18th century and then, reaching their apogee, in the 19th century, had formed the bed-rock on which Scotland's prosperity confidently rested; the *mastaba* form of the Randolph and Elder engine house of the previous century could make no sense in the light engineering factory or the technological enterprises of Scotland's 'Silicone Valley'.

That Monumentality which flourished from the awe-inspiring Pyramids of Ancient Egypt and had found expression in Scotland in the great stone compositions of every subsequent era, now flourished in the enormous tower flats and council offices, where glass and metal provided the major constructional materials, and from the 1960s: "Late Modernism witnessed another more monumental evocation of the new ideas of social complexity: the Mega structure,"⁵ built most frequently by governmental organisations, and confirming that the power and wealth to create monumental structures has largely passed into the public domain. Egypt, as a country, has never been better known. Not only have its monuments been made more accessible by accurate publications, but as the twentieth century progressed, that information has been augmented, in the first half of the century by film, and in the second half by television. That both the latter have frequently presented a distorted view of the country in drama and horror film⁶ is counterbalanced by the availability of air travel and the wide availability of the package tour, which has meant that a visit to the country is within the means of the majority of the population of Scotland.

³ See Chapter 5 for the involvement of his family, owners of the Pollok House estate, with Egypt, in the 19th century.

⁴ Glendinning, M., MacInnes, R., & MacKechnie, A. *A History of Scottish Architecture* (Edinburgh University Press, 1996). p. 410.

⁵ *Ibid.* p.458

⁶ In this perception, revived mummies constantly occupy centre stage.

Scottish Examples of Art Deco.

The examples of Art Deco in Scotland shown below have been found on buildings whose purpose reflects this new age; the cinema, the bank and public library providing examples, below.

The last remaining cinema in Scotland in which Egyptian themes can be clearly discerned is the Picture House in Govanhill, described by Williamson as having an: “Egyptian-style frontage with Hindu-inspired domes and a striking grey and white tile centrepiece with lotus-bud columns.”⁷



Author.

Figure 6. 1 The Govanhill Picture House, Glasgow.

No 3, Hope Street, Edinburgh was built by Sidney H. Miller (1884-1938) in 1930 for the Royal Bank of Scotland. It displays both the lion’s head and a crisply carved winged sun disk. It is dismissed by Gifford as “Overbearing Art-Deco Greek.”⁸

⁷ Williamson, E., *Glasgow* (London: Penguin Books, 1990). (Buildings of Scotland series) p. 525-6. The cinema at 49, Bankhall Street, Govanhill, was designed by Eric A. Sutherland (1870-1940), and constructed in 1925-26.

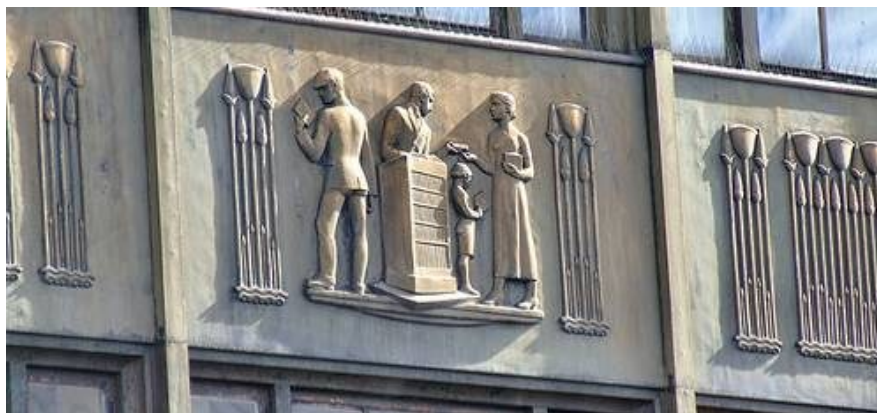
⁸ Gifford J., *Edinburgh* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1984). (Buildings of Scotland series) p. 308



Dr. R. Scott

Figure 6.2 The winged sun disk on the former bank building at 3, Hope Street, Edinburgh⁹

Also in Edinburgh, Fountainbridge Public Library of 1938¹⁰ contains an apt decorative reference to the Egyptian papyrus plant – the raw material source of the scrolls which filled Egyptian libraries – carved here in panels and shown below.



Flickr¹¹

Figure 6.3 Panels of Egyptian papyrus foliage ornament the façade of the Fountainbridge Library of 1938.

All the above, however decorative, confirm that any structural reference to Egyptian forms has evaporated.

⁹ No. 3 was built for the Royal Bank of Scotland by Sydney H Miller (1884-1938)

¹⁰ Gifford J., *Edinburgh* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1984). (Buildings of Scotland series) pp. 506-7. Constructed to the design of John A. Grant (1885-1959) and described by the author as: “Smooth Art Deco classical.”

¹¹ www.flickr.com/photos/allybeag/2728389525/ on 23/03/09

Whilst the first four decades of the century had witnessed examples of Egyptian architecture and ornament, as retrospective glances at the previous century, as War Memorials, and as decorative touches from the Art Deco vocabulary, there has continued to be almost no place for Egypt's architecture in the post- second world war years. These were marked, first, by a period of poverty, prescribed by the then government as a period of 'Utility' and, in more affluent times, with a rejection of historicism by the great majority of post-war architects, determined to pioneer new forms of Post Modern architecture in this new world.

Thus, when as an example of that historicism, deliberately employing batter and the traditional Egyptian cavetto cornice, the large block of flats, shown below, was constructed in Glasgow in 1991-92 at a time when references to Egyptian themes in



Author

Figure 6.4 A block of flats by the architects Coltart Earley constructed in 1991-92 for the Molendinar Housing Association. These are situated at the corner of Gallowgate and Bellgrove Street, Glasgow

Scotland are almost non-existent, it was an event of some importance to be informed by the architect in charge that it carried intentional echoes of Alexander Thomson and of Egypt. Bill Coltart explained that: "We thought it was fine to use iconery (sic) and we felt it right, in this example of Post-Modernism, to return to sources which made reference to Glasgow's historic past, in which both Thomson and Egypt were significant. It was also our solution to decorating a building which was more than 150 yards long." ¹²

¹². The interview was conducted by telephone at 14.40, January 13, 2009.

Thus the twentieth century had witnessed a slow descent from any serious interest in the true purpose of Egyptian architectural themes, whose intentions of endurance and connotations of grief and commemoration had become ‘iconery’ and whimsy. Building for eternity, when only ‘the now’ is valued, seems a total contradiction.

Freemasonry.

Freemasonry had demonstrated its continue enthusiasm for Egypt’s symbolic significance with the building of Peter Henderson’s spectacular ‘Egyptian’ Grand Arch Chapter Room, as the century opened. As the decades passed, a royal patron, following the earlier example of the Prince Regent¹³ and now in the person of the Duke of York, bestowed thereby implicit and continuing royal approval when he assumed the office of Grand Master Mason of Scotland in 1936, leaving that office in the following year which marked his coronation. Like many other traditional organisations, however, its numbers declined as the century aged and in 1982 the Grand Arch Chapter Room, that supreme example using Egyptian references, was demolished.

Church and Masonic Lodge which had appeared to coexist, at the very least, with mutual, if tacit tolerance, experienced a sudden change in this relationship, and in 1987 Freemasons experienced a complete *volte face*, and faced the Church of Scotland’s strong and official disapproval.

That Church, whose General Assembly had provided since 1707 the premier debating chamber for national affairs, and further, had given it a distinctly religious focus, was to be supplanted in this role by the creation of the Scottish Parliament in 1998. It is then ironic that an organisation, which had steadily lost influence from the early decades of the century, should choose to employ its unique situation in debating in 1987 the subject of the Church and Freemasonry, publishing two years later the deliberations on the subject of its Panel of Doctrine. Their tacit relationship became subject to the light of detailed scrutiny and although from the outset, Schaw, the ‘founding father’ of Scottish Freemasonry, had required of his members obedience to the church,¹⁴ in the opening statement of the 1987 document, the Convener of the Panel on Doctrine clearly stated in referring to: “those members of the Kirk who are also freemasons” that: “we do think that such practices are unworthy of those whose

¹³ As Duke of Rothesay, he occupied the post from 1806-1820.

¹⁴ Stevenson, D., *The Origins of Freemasonry - Scotland’s Century 1590-1710* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988). p.45. The precise wording being: “...to exclude from their society and company... all...who were disobedient to church or craft”

first allegiance must be to Christ.”¹⁵ Their final reference to: “...wild amalgams of mythology and magic...”¹⁶ would have been shattering to those Freemasons who had maintained a respectful contact with the church.

Since many members of the Church and indeed, many of its ministers (as the report acknowledged) were practising Freemasons, its unwillingness to seek a *modus vivendi* could only discourage those of its already diminishing numbers who had previously found it possible to reconcile membership of both organisations.

The Decline of Religious Commemoration.

“This striving after the permanent seems to be the soul of Egyptian art. It is an endeavour to realise the idea of eternity.”¹⁷

In quoting, once more, the words by Alexander Thomson, but in the context of more modern times, it is because they point to the principal reason for the decline of Egyptian commemorative symbols. That close familiarity which weekly exposure to readings from the Bible had made Scots aware of Egypt and its place in Christian history, no longer exerted its former influence in a Scotland where, as the twentieth century passed, there was a growing decline in Sunday church attendance, which at its outset had been almost obligatory, to become, in gradually increasing stages, a day when all other experiences, from shopping to football matches, became acceptable and increasingly used alternatives.

The continuing growth of cremation, which leaves only ashes, and on which occasion an almost industrial haste seems to be observed, sets aside a tradition which had its roots in the almost obsessive care which the Ancient Egyptians took to preserve the corpse. This ‘diminishing’ of the reality of death, the importance of burial and the growing embarrassment of even mentioning the word is named by Curl as: “...a form of emotional anaemia...”and he goes on to point out that: “...a nineteenth century heaven is today beyond belief for most of us...”¹⁸ To declining church attendance, the consequent adherence to traditional burial practice reduced as the century advanced. The cemetery, the pre-eminent place for the use of Egyptian architectural symbols, many in native Scottish granite, has become a mere shadow of its significance in its High Victorian heyday, and obelisk monuments, rarer and rarer as the

¹⁵ The Panel on Doctrine of the Church of Scotland *The Church and Freemasonry* (Edinburgh: The St Andrew Press, 1990) Introduction.

¹⁶ The Panel of Doctrine of the Church of Scotland Report *The Church and Freemasonry* (Edinburgh: the St. Andrew Press, 1990). p. 9

¹⁷ Thomson, A., *The Spirit of the Egyptian Style*. Lecture II in the Haldane Lecture Series of 1874.

¹⁸ Curl, J.S., *A Celebration of Death* (London: Constable, 1980). pp.359-360.

twentieth century progressed, have, where monuments are used at all, largely been replaced by rows of uniform gravestones in black and moderately priced Chinese marble.

The majority no longer concerns itself with Thomson's concept of eternity, quoted above. In a 'must have' society, seeking for, and accustomed to, instant gratification, the 'now' is the paramount moment in time. The pre-occupation with cosmetics and cosmetic surgery are testaments to a rejection of ageing, and death, when it occurs, unlike its solemn and ritualistic embrace by Victorian Society, has almost been treated in recent years as though it were a mere excuse for a party. Curl, observing further the changes, specifically notes: "the aversion of eyes from a hearse as a coffined body speeds by", and he goes on to note the crematorium as possessing "surroundings of stupefying banality and the studied avoidance of the realities of death." Most telling of all is his further remark that: "By treating the disposal of the dead as though the problem was one of refuse-collection, society devalues life."¹⁹

Colvin supports Curl's views, noting of the whole situation: "Death is no longer an event to be celebrated by major ceremonial, the grave no longer a place to be marked by substantial architectural or sculptural monuments... many cemeteries lie neglected, vandalised and overgrown."²⁰ The Hood grave, that magnificent monument based on the Kiosk of Trajan, in Cathcart Cemetery, Glasgow²¹, and discussed in detail (above), almost hidden by the growth of surrounding and invasive foliage has suffered and thieves having forced open the metal gates, have destroyed the head of the statue of an Egyptian god and attempted to lever up the red granite paving slabs to open the coffins.

In exceptional cases all is not quite so bleak: the Glasgow Necropolis was handed over to the municipal authorities in 1966, together with a sum of £50,000 and its main features have been safeguarded. In some others, which include, as examples becoming ever more rare, both the Grange and Dean Cemeteries in Edinburgh, (the latter still in private hands) there is excellent order and care. This is not an inventory, but in the many Scottish cemeteries visited, the writer has discovered situations from careless neglect to perfect order, the latter, sadly, in the minority.

But, if one lives in an age when the majority have little regard for religion, how can one then expect other than that they should have a similar lack of respect for its symbols?

¹⁹ Curl, J. S., *A Celebration of Death* (London: Constable, 1980). p.367

²⁰ Colvin, Sir H., *Architecture and the Afterlife* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1991) p 373

²¹ The Hood grave is specifically discussed in detail in the final section of Chapter 5.

Military Commemoration.

That there has been one consistent exception to the refusal to acknowledge death has arisen from the most tragic of circumstances and it is profoundly sad to record that military commemoration has ‘flourished’ on a scale never before experienced, and, frequently employing the obelisk, maintaining the Egyptian association with commemoration..

Although obelisk monuments, always the most prominent of ‘Egyptian’ architectural references, had been raised to prominent Britons since the early years of the eighteenth century, then with Masonic association, subsequently making their appearance in the nineteenth century as memorials to individual military figures of distinction, and then marking the campaigns of imperial expansion abroad, they had at this point begun to make mention of the individual dead of individual regiments, and to assume the designation of War Memorial. This democratisation, in a highly class-conscious society where ‘knowing one’s place’ was still taken as a matter of course, recognised the ultimate sacrifice of commissioned officers, non-commissioned officers and private soldiers, valued as equal on a bronze plaque, and, of added Egyptian significance, with their identities recorded. In this new century, two of the earliest of these war memorials commemorated the Boer War of 1899-1902.²²

It was, however, after the end of the Great War of 1914-18, with its death toll on a scale never before experienced,²³ that War Memorials proliferated across the whole of Scotland, in city, burgh or hamlet, Barnes noting that: “...obelisk war memorials seemed to have been favoured in certain districts, Yorkshire, Lancashire, Derbyshire, Wales and Scotland had relatively more,”²⁴ and thus designating in his list Nonconformist and Presbyterian areas. In town and village these were erected by public subscription and the use of the obelisk in the previous century in almost all Scottish cemeteries, and thus a familiar monument of commemoration, must have helped in its selection there.

These war memorials assumed even more significance from the British Government’s decision not to repatriate the bodies of British soldiers, leaving only the monument as the focal point of friends’ and families’ grief. This action,²⁵ forcibly depriving families from

²² One is to be found in the Market Square at Alyth, Nr. Blairgowrie, Perthshire, and one at Dunbar.

²³ Official figures list the British dead as 885, 138 and wounded as 1,663, 435. In one battle alone, the Battle of Ypres, from 31 July -6th November 1917 there were 310,00 casualties on the British side and 260,000 on the German.

²⁴ Barnes R., *The Obelisk* (Kirstead: Frontier, 2004). p.120

²⁵ 1. The effort required for all-out war meant that neither labour, material nor man-power was available to undertake such an immense task.

2. Many of the bodies would have been unfit to transport, whether decomposing or in fragments. Certainly ‘Viewing the body’ would have been out of the question.

continuing the usual custom of taking leave of the actual body of family member or friend, thus broke a long established Scottish tradition.²⁶To give some idea of the extensive distribution of war memorials, Barnes, quoting only those of obelisk form, lists sixty-eight obelisks erected in Scotland after the First World War, whilst the National Imperial War Museum records one hundred and twenty five there.²⁷

Egyptian themes were not considered suitable for national war memorials with Sir Edwin Lutyens's (1869-1944) National Cenotaph in London, moving and simple, making no specific architectural reference. In Scotland, where, as recorded, the obelisk was frequently used as a War Memorial, for its Scottish National War Memorial at the summit of the rock on which stands Edinburgh Castle Sir Robert Lorimer (1864-1929) reflected Scotland in the native idiom of rubble, so apt to its mediaeval surroundings, and where the coffin of an unknown soldier was most movingly placed on the pinnacle of that rock, any Egyptian symbolism was absent.²⁸ MacInnes confirms that rubble was: "...an appropriate historic texture for all historic building types."²⁹ He adds, acknowledging that: "...a war memorial was the supreme challenge" that here: "The result was a contemplative temple of martial 'sacrifice', extreme in its emotional intensity."³⁰

Postscript - the 21st century.

Having seen Egyptian commemorative architecture vehemently rejected for the great National War Memorials in both London and Edinburgh after the First World War, that the form has suddenly been resurrected, in this new century, is not just surprising, but astonishing! Curl in his concluding paragraph on war cemeteries and memorials,³¹ written in the late 1970s, observes that: "A supreme sacrifice, a great life, a national disaster, deserve better memorials than the contemporary celebration of death can offer." And in this twenty

3. The reality of the enormous loss of life would have been emphasised and have exercised a discouraging effect on public morale.

²⁶ It must be admitted that Parliament agonised over the dreadful grief caused by the war dead. The Parliamentary debate of 4th May, 1920 is poignant in the extreme, and the agreement which had been made with France on November 26th 1918 recognised areas where the British Government might assemble its dead. This led to the founding of the War Graves Commission and to the magnificent and pristinely maintained War Cemeteries.

²⁷ The actual scale of loss is best appreciated when all the other forms of War Memorial, rugged Celtic Cross, bronze statues of individual and groups of soldiery, particularly prominent in the role, are also considered.

²⁸ Sir Robert Lorimer, like Lutyens, found his own design solution for the Scottish National War Memorial, but had not neglected to employ the obelisk, his York War Memorial providing one example. The Edinburgh monument is dealt with in greater detail below.

²⁹ MacInnes R., "Rubblemania", *Journal of Design History*.. Vol.9.3 1996, pp. 137-151

³⁰ *Ibid.* p.147

³¹ Curl, J.S., *A Celebration of Death* (London: Constable,1980). p 337

first century a splendid exception has, indeed, been created – it is the National War Memorial at Lichfield.

Specifically raised to commemorate the almost 16,000 British participants who perished in armed conflicts since 1948, (including, of course, all Scots), this monument displays a rich variety of motifs which are clearly of Ancient Egyptian origin. Commenced in 2004, the monument was dedicated in the presence of H.M. the Queen on October 12th 2007, and is the work of Liam O'Connor, one of whose previous appointments was to teach at the Prince of Wales' Institute of Architecture. The Prince's own views on architecture, with a preference for traditional forms in high quality raw materials, may well have played a part in the selection of so conservative a theme.

Of white Portland stone, the monument, raised on a mound six metres high, has, around its focal point, curved external walls, five metres high, and at the symbolic western end, a twelve metre high obelisk. This obelisk is capped in gold leaf, which, unique in Britain, mirrors the convention originally found on Egyptian obelisks³² when the capping could have been of either of thin gold, or electrum plates. To catch the first and hold the last rays of the sun, so central to Egyptian beliefs, is an intention especially relevant to the words of the Armistice Day prayer: 'At the going down of the sun and in the morning (the inference being at the first morning light) we will remember them'. That remembrance is ensured in that the names of those commemorated are carved, as from Ancient Egyptian times,³³ on the neighbouring wall surfaces.

³² In Ancient Egypt the cap might have been of gold or of electrum, which latter metal is a blend of gold the silver, the silver being, to the Egyptians, the rarer and more precious metal.

³³ It should be noted however that the Egyptians did not raise War Memorials. They confined scenes from their battles and a large depiction of the ruler concerned on the walls of their temples making the most exaggerated claims for his prowess.



Nick Mott

Figure 6. 5 The Setting Sun catches the obelisk.

The inner walls are four metres high and, calculated on the angle and azimuth of the sun, a slit pierced in the inner wall ensures that the light of the sun strikes the ornamental wreath, the heart of the monument, on the eleventh hour of the eleventh day of the eleventh month, thus marking the precise moment when the First World War came to an end. Rare even in Egypt, this marking of the time by the Sun God Ra appears at Abu Simbel, there to commemorate the birth and accession days of Ramesses II (1297-1212) BC.³⁴ No other War Memorial in Britain combines these themes which so strongly identify Ancient Egypt as the source of the monument's symbolism.



thenma.org.uk³⁵

Figure 6. 6 The National War Memorial, Lichfield.

³⁴ In Egypt the twice yearly occurrences are at the spring and autumn solstice.

³⁵ <http://www.thenma.org.uk/content/Armed-Forces-Memorial-1339.shtml>, accessed on 3/05/12

This solemn and ancient commemorative feature has been completed at a time when the nation's respect for death in conflict has suddenly grown a new earnestness. The war in Iraq which began in March 2003 witnessed the deaths of British combatants, of which the British public were then made graphically aware by daily television broadcasts. Even more so has death been etched on the minds of the British public in the case of the continuing conflict in Afghanistan. Commenced as a direct consequence of the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Centre on September 11th 2001, the numbers of British troops involved in this military action increased markedly in 2006 as the Iraq conflict drew to a close. From this time to the present day, the British public has witnessed the return of bodies accorded full military honours and ceremonial. The undignified embarrassment and inconvenience of death, evident as the 20th century went its increasingly irreligious way, seems suddenly halted. The inhabitants of Wootton Bassett, Wiltshire, close to Lyneham airport to which the bodies of the war dead have been repatriated, have turned out with their neighbours in force to greet, to mourn and to honour, each Union flag-draped coffin as the hearses pass at walking pace, led by a top-hatted chief mourner.



Press Association³⁶

Figure 6. 7 ‘A very British way of Mourning’

³⁶ The photograph is taken from ‘A Very British Way of Mourning’, an article in the *Daily Telegraph* 7th July. 2009.

In recognition of Wootton Bassett's display of patriotic respect, HM The Queen has conferred an honour, given on the rarest of occasions, confirming that it shall in future style itself Royal Wootton Bassett.³⁷

To witness the above is to return to that Victorian respect for death, which so often marked the deceased's grave with an obelisk, which the Lichfield Memorial has so movingly employed as its central feature.

That the appeal of the monument, and its message, has exceeded all expectations is witnessed by its recent call for further funds³⁸. On October 27th, 2010, there was issued a set of postage stamps festooned with poppies and with views of various war memorials.



The Daily Telegraph.

Figure 6. 8 Commemorative stamps featuring images of the Lichfield Armed Forces Memorial³⁹

³⁷ The decision was announced on Thursday, March 17th 2011 at 09.16.am.

³⁸ The appeal was started in November 2009.

On this unique commemoration of Remembrance Day, four of the ten views portrayed are of the Lichfield Memorial and are in part issued to raise money for, and to mark the unexpectedly enthusiastic reception of, this new National Memorial. Space had originally been made available for the accommodation of an expected sixty thousand visitors per year. However, numbers exceeded this some five-fold in 2008/9 and both more reception space and a Veterans' Pavilion are planned for the site. This unexpected enthusiasm for military commemoration underlines the significance of the monument and emphasises, in its especial case, the return to that respect for death and sacrifice described above and not experienced since the years immediately following the two World Wars of the previous century. Standing like a giant exclamation mark in a form which has turned once more to Ancient Egypt as its inspiration, this Lichfield obelisk utters in stony silence: "STILL HERE!"

³⁹ Brought to the author's attention on p.11 of the *Daily Telegraph* of Tuesday, October 26th 2010, the article was tellingly entitled 'Stamps honour service veterans'.

Appendix A

The Complete List of Scottish Lighthouses, Which Show the Influence of Themes Originating in Egypt

The origins of these Scottish lighthouses and specific details relating to their construction and their history are dealt with in the body of the thesis above. In many instances, those details are repetitious. Since no complete list of the ten examples, shown below, exists, it seemed important that they should be gathered together and illustrated in one place. This is the purpose of this document.

Ten of Scotland's lighthouse complexes demonstrate Egyptian architectural forms, and these, with one exception,¹ are the work of Alan Stevenson (1807-1875), who was Engineer to the Northern Lighthouse Board from 1843 to 1853 and who had succeeded his father, Robert (1772-1850), in that post.² Although one can already discern the *mastaba* tombs from the earliest Egyptian Dynasties in the simple horizontality of Robert Stevenson's keepers' cottages at Lismore (1833) and at Barra Head (1833), in their low hunched solidity and the rhythm of their wall surfaces, it is in the work of Robert's son, Alan (1807-1865) that batter and the *cavetto* cornice are then introduced to those same wall surfaces.



RCAHMS³

Figure A. 1 The Keepers' Cottages at Barra Head Lighthouse, Western Isles, by George Stevenson (1833)

¹ This is a reference to Stroma, which see below.

² George Stevenson had held that post from 1799-1842.

³ Scran: 000-000-595-196-C

The earliest of Alan Stevenson's complete lighthouse complexes, Cromarty and Chanonry and Covesea were constructed in 1846, and whilst his main use of Egyptian forms was to be on the groups of keepers' dwellings, he frequently used massive battered door-frames. Prior to this, however, he had added buildings at Eilean Glas.

1. Eilean Glas. 1845/6.

At this Ross and Cromarty lighthouse, the earliest group of buildings by Alan Stevenson was added. Gifford, notes the work as consisting of: "two parallel detached ranges of single-storey houses were built, their Aegypto-Greek detail of standard Alan Stevenson type."⁴

2. Cromarty. 1846.

This lighthouse on the Black Isle, Ross and Cromarty, is contemporary with neighbouring Chanonry. As can be seen from the illustration, both the substantial masonry door frame to the tower and the keepers' cottages show 'Egyptian' detailing, in the batter of the stonework and the out-swept cornices which latter are then repeated at the top of the chimney stacks.



RCAHMS⁵

Figure A. 2 Cromarty Lighthouse door and keepers' cottages.



RCAHMS⁶

Figure A. 3 Cromarty Courthouse Museum. Keepers' Cottages at Cromarty.

4. Gifford, J., *Highlands and Islands*, (London: Penguin, 1992). (Buildings of Scotland Series) p.626

⁵ Scran 000-299-994-922-C

⁶ Scran 000-000-108-098-C

3. Chanonry. 1846.

This lighthouse is situated on the other side of the Black Isle from Cromarty, close to Fortrose. The illustration below shows the ‘Egyptian’ detailing on the keepers’ cottages. The battered chimney stacks have the noticeably out-swept tops, a device repeated on all Stevenson’s lights.



RCAHMS⁷

Figure A. 4 Chanonry Lighthouse, near Fortrose, Ross and Cromarty.

4. Covesea Lighthouse. 1846.

Sited on the east coast, close to Lossiemouth in Morayshire, Covesea light was begun in 1844 and commissioned in 1846.



RCAHMS⁸

Figure A. 5 Keepers’ Cottages at Covesea.

⁷ Scran 000-000-185-415-C

⁸ Scran 000-000-185-763-C

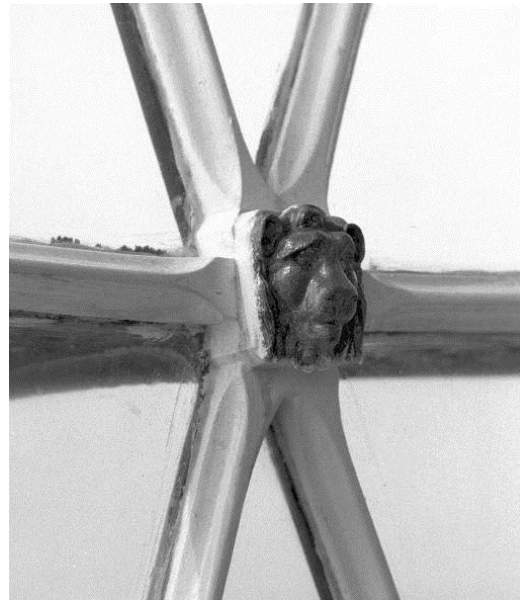
5. Ardnamurchan Lighthouse. 1849.

Built in 1849 of pink granite, and left in this material, unlike the others which were painted in the traditional white of the Board. Also, in the interior (shown below) are lions' heads in metal at the junction of the trellised glazing bars surrounding the light.



RCAHMS⁹

Figure A. 6 Ardnamurchan, the Circular Lighthouse Tower.



RCAHMS¹⁰

Figure A. 7 Lions' Heads on the Glazing Bars at Ardnamurchan Lighthouse

Perhaps this combination of granite and lions has caused its claims on Egypt to be more easily perceived, Bathhurst noting that: "For this spot, Alan drew up plans for the only 'Egyptian style' lighthouse in Great Britain, with a graceful arched cornice and gently tapered walls."¹¹

⁹ Scran 000-000-187-350-C

¹⁰ Scran 000-299-989-626-C

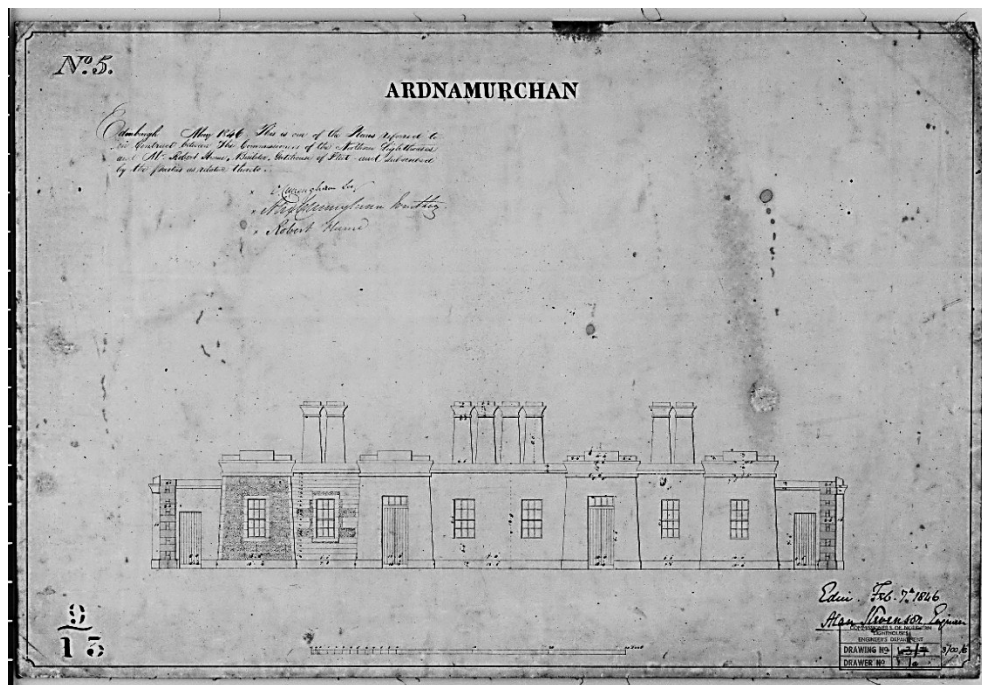
¹¹ Bathhurst, B., *The Lighthouse Stevensons* (London: Harper Collins, 1999), p. 184



RCAHMS¹²

Figure A. 8 Ardnamurchan Lighthouse, the ‘Egyptian’ Entrance.

The ‘Egyptian’ detailing on the plan of 1846, (below) signed and dated by Alan Stevenson, can clearly be seen on the keepers’ cottages.



Commissioners of Northern Lighthouses Engineer’s Department¹³

Figure A. 9 The signed and dated plan of the Keepers’ Cottages at Ardamurchan, shows the ‘Egyptian’ batter of the walls and *cavetto* capping of the chimneys.

¹² Scran 000-299-989-623-C

¹³ Commissioners of Northern Lighthouses Engineer’s Department 3/00/6.

6. Noss Head Lighthouse, 1849.

This lighthouse stands high on the cliffs where Noss Head juts out at the entrance to Wick Bay in Caithness, Scotland's northernmost county. Like others mentioned, the tower is reached through a door framed by a stout battered stone portico, and the keepers' cottages repeat the 'Egyptian' detailing in both outline and chimneys.



RCAHMS¹⁴

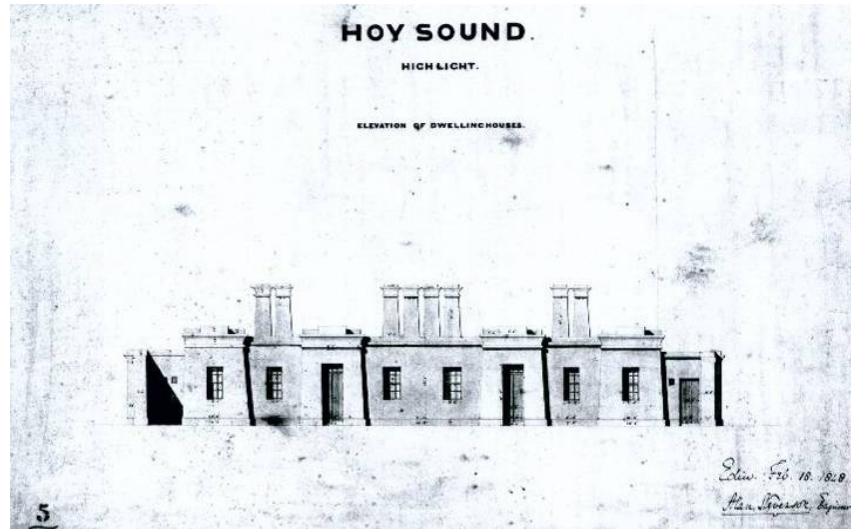
Figure A. 10 Noss Head Lighthouse, keepers' cottages and tower

7 & 8. The Hoy Lighthouses, 1851

Of these lighthouses, Scran proposes that: "the keepers' buildings are built in a style reminiscent of Assyrian temples."¹⁵ Scran is quite alone in making this suggestion and a comparison of the plans of the Ardnamurchan cottages and those of High Hoy, below, show, no discernible difference.

¹⁴ Scran 000-000-185-547-C

¹⁵ Scran 000-000-110-890-C



RCAHMS¹⁶

Figure A. 11 Plan for High Hoy Lighthouse cottages (note the signature of Alan Stevenson Engineer and the date 1848)

Low Hoy lighthouse, on the other side of Graemsay Island, and owing its reduced, stumpy stature to the need for High Hoy to be visible in the process of light alignment, has the usual trademark of the heavy battered stone doorframe - its one concession to 'Egyptian' design.



Richard Welsby¹⁷

Figure A. 12 A view of Low Hoy Lighthouse, showing the entrance

¹⁶ Scran 000-000-111-038-C

¹⁷ Scran 000-000-110-897-C

9. North Ronaldsay Lighthouse, 1853.

The lighthouse on North Ronaldsay, Orkney, was completed in 1853. On low lying land, in this his last light, Alan Stevenson compensated by making it, at 139ft., the tallest land-based light in the United Kingdom. The illustration below shows that the ‘Egyptian’ theme is confined, as is Stevenson’s custom, to the keepers’ houses.



Orkney Photographic Archive¹⁸

Figure A. 13 North Ronaldsay Lighthouse and accompanying buildings

10. Stroma Lighthouse, 1896.

Stroma Lighthouse is the single exception to Alan Stevenson’s ‘exclusive’ claim to ‘Egyptian’ details on Scottish lighthouses and their adjacent structures. It is situated in the troubled waters of the Pentland Firth in Caithness, and was built in 1896 by David (1854-1938) and Charles (1855-1950) Stevenson, from a younger generation of the family, the buildings repeating that theme of batter on the keepers’ cottages on wall surfaces and chimney stacks already developed by Alan. It is a repetition of what has gone before and the keepers’ dwellings (see below) are indistinguishable from the ‘Egyptian’ examples of earlier years.

¹⁸ Scran 000-000-110-995-C



Richard Welsby¹⁹

Figure A. 14 Stroma Lighthouse, Pentland Firth, Caithness, 1896.

The length of service of the Stevenson Family to the Board of Northern Lights is truly remarkable, and the words used as the title of Mair's book 'A Star to Seamen' no mean epitaph.²⁰ From this date there is no further reference to the use of Egyptian constructional themes across the spectrum of Scottish Lighthouse building.

¹⁹ Scran 000-000-110-898-C

²⁰ Mair, C., *A Star for Seamen* (London: Butler & Farmer, 1978).

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