THE ADAM BROTHERS
ARCHITECTS OF THE AGE OF THE ENLIGHTENMENT

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TO MY FAMILY
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ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates the architectural responses to the Enlightenment in Britain during the second half of the eighteenth century and, in particular on the profound interrelation between the empirical ideas of the Enlightenment and the development of contemporary British architecture. The focus is on Robert and James Adam, whose works in architecture and theory consistently reflected the intellectual development of their age. This thesis will propose a new interpretation of the Adam brothers as revolutionary students and masters of Enlightenment ideas in the field of architecture.

The conventional style-orientated notion, that every architect should have his style, has often led to rather careless dismissals of the novelty of the Adam architecture, of which Emil Kaufmann's "Baroque" (*Architecture in the Age of Reason*, 1955) and Giles Worsley's "neo-Palladian" (*Classical Architecture in Britain: the Heroic Age*, 1995) interpretations are notable illustrations. Neither of these studies gives the whole picture of the Adam brothers' conduct. The studies that explained the Adam Style in the context of the plurality of styles by emphasising the material resemblance of their designs to the variety of sources seem to have made no difference to historiography. They have become lost in the stylistic complexity of the whole Adam Style. Listing the architectonic themes that were harmoniously combined and blended together into their works has resulted in nothing but a simple documentation of what one can see. Particular forms of style, dogmatic criteria from the past, the recognisable plurality of styles: none of these was taken into consideration in defining the Adam Style.

This thesis argues, rather, that it was the notion of man's complete latitude in the act of creativity which emerged from their close theoretical dependence on the empirical epistemology of the Enlightenment. The real nature of the Adam Style is in the ideal of rational, imaginative, and empirical application of a great variety of historic languages of architecture. While not making violent breaks with any established tradition in terms of the choice of architectural language, the Adam brothers were entirely independent of a dogmatic attachment to any existing style, reflecting the current course of the Enlightenment in their approach to architecture. Insisting that "architecture has not, like some others arts, an immediate standard in nature, to which the artist can always refer" (Robert and James Adam, *The Works in Architecture*, vol. II, no. I, 1774), the Adam brothers saw themselves as modernists, who were totally emancipated from any form of dogmatism.

During the second half of the eighteenth century, British architecture witnessed the displacement of the dogmatic authority of Classicism by the empirical theory of the Enlightenment. This thesis offers an assessment of the contribution of the Adam brothers to this significant change of direction, confirming that they had indeed "brought about, in this country, a kind of revolution in the whole system of this useful and elegant art" — ARCHITECTURE (Robert and James Adam, *The Works in Architecture*, vol. I, no. I. 1773).

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List of abbreviations

The Works in Architecture	*The Works in Architecture of Robert and James Adam*, 3 vols, London, 1773-1822.
Ruins ... at Spalatro	*Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia*, London, 1764.

INTRODUCTION

The Enlightenment was man's emergence from the period lacking determination and courage to use one's own intelligence without authoritarian knowledge, provoking a most remarkable change in every forms of constructing and expressing of ideas. All aspects of human life demanded to be rationalised. Moral philosophy, history, sociology, law, politics, literary criticism, medicine, natural science, religion, drama; intellectual vitality in every possible field of learning was constantly doubted, examined, investigated, and debated. All inquiries and discoveries were to be made in the spirit of "dare to know".[1] Architecture, for one, a product of all sorts of factors — social, economic, scientific, technical, ethnological — was inevitably affected by this dynamic period of intellectual events. This is misleading, however, in so far as it seems to stress the revolutional aspects and impacts of this period at the expense of the actual condition of the age of the Enlightenment. Stressing the independent significance of the period, the incidental element of the movement is capable of being confused with the essential. While the disavowal of established dogmas characterised the substance of the Enlightenment, it was nevertheless an age greatly dependent on historic past and knowledge, careful not to make any violent breaks with previous traditions. It was centuries of gradual transformation rather than of change, of discovery rather than reformation, and of exegesis rather than negation of the previous centuries. It was not an event of sudden discontinuation in thought, but of improvement and development through the promotion of a new form of interpretation of all aspects of life. " Patterns of deference slowly changed, but deference itself persisted", says Peter Gay: "while the propertied classes found new rationalisations for neglecting or exploiting the lower orders, neglect and

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[1] Immanuel Kant, " Beantwortung der Frage: Was ist Aufklärung?", *Werke*, IV. S.169.

exploitation survived the remonstrances of charitable Christians and human philosophies." [2] The substance and accomplishment of the Enlightenment was essentially to establish an intellectual perspective so remarkable in its scope, so historical in its knowledge, so liberal in its interpretation, and so universal in its application.

In Britain in particular, the Enlightenment is characterised by its modest and tolerant inclination towards the historic past and conventions. The political reformation happened gradually over a period of several centuries. A number of new notions are attributed to the traditional scholarship remarkable in its historic scope. The Enlightenment did not find it difficult to adapt itself to any form of established traditions, conceptions, and events, in realising the objective of the movement, to set a new perspective for life. Without interrelating its position to certain periods in history, it was consistently drawing on past conceptions. Also, in Britain, despite the Enlightenment focus on reason, belief had its place. The rationalisation of diverse inquiries was often pioneered by devout churchmen; the Empiricists did not totally repudiate Christianity by worshipping on Sunday; and the universities were encouraging rational inquiry and piety at the same time. The Enlightenment was a multifaceted phenomenon, both in thought and practice, encompassing various fields of science and arts, geographical areas, and many generations of different professions. But, far from being confined to the sphere of public life, the Enlightenment also aspired to influence the domestic life of every individual. Thus the Enlightenment has to be seen, not as a compact singular body of doctrine, but in the context of various dichotomies, — public and private, reason and religion, and theory and practice.

This thesis is written with the aim of looking for the architectural responses to the Enlightenment during the second half of the eighteenth century in Britain, taking in subject the profound interrelation between the empirical ideas of the Enlightenment and the

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[2] Peter Gay, *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation:* vol. 2, *The Science of Freedom*, Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1969, p.4.

development of contemporary British architecture. The focus is on Robert and James Adam (figs. 1 and 2), the brothers who benefited most from being in this "historical age" and became the "historical people" of the architectural profession.[3] This thesis, which consists of six chapters, will propose a new interpretation of the Adam brothers as revolutionary students and masters of Enlightenment thought in the field of architecture.

The Adam brothers' architectural flowering took place in the peak period of the Scottish Enlightenment. They spent their formative years in the Scottish capital, Edinburgh, one of the greatest centres of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment movement in Europe. Many major Enlightenment thinkers in mid-eighteenth century Scotland who grappled with a number of enterprising ideas belonged to the same generation as the Adam brothers and not a few of them were in their intimate circle both in Edinburgh and London. The impact of the aesthetic discussions in those days on the works of the Adam brothers was not insignificant, and their aesthetic values and judgement, which directly influenced the establishment of their original style, was a mirror of current aesthetic theory in the second half of the eighteenth century.

No historian seems to have been willing to situate the Adam Style within the interdisciplinary tradition of the Enlightenment. Despite their unmistakable connections to this historic age, it is rather surprising that no attempt has been made to place the Adam Style in a tradition of the dominant stream of eighteenth-century intellectual thought. Many monographs on the Adam Style have overlooked the point that, although a period's style will seem inexplicit, its real nature will invariably be reflected in its architecture, whether or not this uses the rudimentary forms or attempts to replicate the expressions of earlier periods.

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[3] J. Y. T. Greig (ed.), *The Letters of David Hume*, vol. II, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932, p.230.

The Comprehensive monographs on the Adam brothers which have been published so far are essentially descriptive and documented studies, and are content to analyse the stylistic and superficial complexity of the Adam Style. While they deal in detail with architectural forms and factual events by tracking down reference and stylistic sources of their inspirations and matching an immense amount of the Adam drawings to buildings, not much attention has been devoted to the ways in which the Adam brothers reflected the condition of the age from which their style springs. Amongst these are Arthor T. Bolton's *The Architecture of Robert and James Adam* (1922); Geoffrey Beard's *The Works of Robert Adam* (1978); Joseph and Anne Rykwert's *The Brothers Adam, the men and the style* (1985); and David King's *The Complete Works of Robert and James Adam* (1991).

Although several studies which contextualise the Adam Style in the broader stream of eighteenth-century British architecture have been interested in the examination of more profound theoretical aspects of the Adam architecture, none have successfully given the whole picture of their diversified exercises in architecture. Many seem to have been based on a conventional notion that the architect has to have his own style to be novel or evolving. For those who have strict style-orientated views of the art of architecture, the imaginative use of a great variety of established traditions in the Adam Style was troublesome to affirmatively interpret. Although it was an indispensable body of material in order to enable someone to become an eminent creator of architectural fashion in the golden age of stylish plurality, the combination and alteration of various styles have been seen by many as a less significant act than as a thorough exercise of one style.[4] In 1955, Emil Kaufmann dealt with the Adam Style in the context of Baroque and applied the term " Frozen Baroque" to describe it. From a Baroque point of view, the Adam brothers' creation of the " Castle Style" appeared to be nothing other than merely a premonitory exercise of "the most infertile and infantile trend in

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[4] cf. John Summerson, *The Architecture of the Eighteenth Century*, Thames and Hudson, 1969, 1986, p.75.

nineteenth-century architecture" .[5] More recently, Giles Worsley has examined the Adam Style within the limits of English Palladianism and lightly dismisses the self-claimed novelty of their works by stressing the superficial resemblance of their works to that of the Burlington-Kent school. Such an over-assertive attempt to explain the whole Adam Style within the framework of authoritative stylistic precedents has been repeatedly made. The result of this is merely a series of overabundant critical remarks and superficial panegyrics.

This is, in part, a consequence of the fact that not much attention has been devoted to the nature of the Adam brothers' ideas, the integrating force of the diversified nature of the Adam Style, and the ways in which these materialised in their architecture. Robert and James Adam, second-generation of an extremely successful architect-builder family in Scotland, were primarily busy practising architects. Their works include a variety of building types; country houses to townhouses to public institutions, and their names and fame have always been connected with their actual works in architecture, both exterior and interior. University-educated, Grand Tour-experienced, the brothers were, at the same time, convinced that architectural practice ought to be accompanied by intellectual substantiation or reasoning. In their view, the attachment of theoretical explanations to their works was considered the first and essential material for the attainment of the intended lasting reputation. This notion of simultaneous practice in design and in theory anticipated the point which was later conveyed by Sir John Soane. To quote: "in all things, so in architecture, there are two parts, the signified and the signifier: he who professes architecture ought to be well exercised in both parts." [6] Both a number of superficial complementary references to the Adam brothers, and equally repeated critical dismissal of their novelty have failed to provide the whole picture of their style, primarily because they have consistently neglected to examine the profound interrelation between their works in architecture and their ideas in writings.

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[5] Emil Kaufmann, *Architecture in the Age of Reason: Baroque and Post-Baroque in England, Italy, and France*, Harvard University Press, 1955.
[6] From an undated note in Soane Archives. Quoted in David Watkin, *Sir John Soane; Enlightenment Thought and the Royal Academy Lectures*, Cambridge University Press, 1996.

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The Adam scholars have been busy collecting and putting together the descriptive information, and none of their works has shown any sign of interest in examining their ideas in detail. The eclectic inclination, antiquarianism, self-claimed novelty, a variety of material factors of the Adam Style have been given superficial explanation without dealing with the authority from which the brothers' diversified architectural exercises spring. They have been consistently dismissed as mere manifestations of their business-orientated strategies.[7] This can be partly explained by the ways in which their theories are set forth, ideas being often difficult to grasp since one gets easily deceived by their style in writing, which is undoubtedly self-promoting. The Adam brothers never composed a dedicated treatise on the theory of architecture. It certainly existed; but it can only be acquired by careful exegesis, which closely examines the ideas that emanate from their various writings.

James Adam's draft of the theory of architecture, written during his studies in Rome, presents the most essential conceptual base of the Adam style. This key discourse, done in his own handwriting, deals with the ways in which architecture should be seen as well as designed, giving concrete references to the subjects of the elevation and external ornamentation, with some comments on distinguished examples in the history of architecture. In this, his central point of assertion introduces the notion of the inseparability between architecture and landscapes, advocating that what can be said of the excellency of landscapes is equally true of architecture. Drafted in 1762, it clearly anticipates the Adam brothers' personal understanding on the theory of " movement" , which is central to their ideas (fig. 3). Giving detailed explanations on the essentials of effective disposition of external forms for visual

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[7] cf. Giles Worsley, *Classical Architecture in Britain: the Heroic Age*, Yale University Press, 1995, pp.247-9.

perception, this short account was later to allow the brothers to declare that they were totally free from any conventional way of designing the frontage of a building.

While it was in this early expression that the core of the controlling principles of their designs germinated, further aspects of their creativity in architecture found their expressions in their other writings. The subject of order, for one, was extensively discussed by Robert in 1760 in a personal letter to Lord Kames.[8] Likewise, their personal interpretations of antiquity, an indispensable element for all neo-classical men of creativity, can be read from both Robert and James Adam' s correspondences, since the accounts on this subject frequently appeared in their letters at the end of 1750s and early in the 1760s. These are now part of the Sir John Clerk of Penicuik Collection in the Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh. This interest, consistent with their neo-classical interpretation of the works of the Ancients, is also manifested in the text of Robert Adam' s first publication, the *Ruins... at Spalatro* of 1764, a splendid archaeological folio on Roman architecture (fig. 4). Despite the difference in their forms, both the letters and the folio are equally useful references in comprehending the Adam brothers' interest in the emotional or pictorial impact of the world of antiquity. Another noteworthy point; the Adam brothers' view on the masters and their works in the history of architecture and of their contemporaries in the same profession appear frequently in each form of their writings whether they were intended to be published or not. Their personal comments on the others, both in the past and during their days, subtly indicate or define their demand to have their own niche in the history of architecture.

All these writings provided a substantial base for their most important work, *The Works in Architecture of Robert and James Adam* (fig. 5). It provides the most comprehensive source of information on their ideas and consistent ideology behind their architectural activity. Briefly but comprehensively, this three-volume publication deals with different elements of

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[8] Arthur T. Bolton, *The Architecture of Robert and James Adam*, vol. I, Country Life, 1922, pp.50-54.

architecture, for example, plan, elevation, interior, ornamentation, and orders, and introduces new personal ideas of design, including the definition of " movement" in architecture. It was also here that the Adam brothers' interest in the emotional or pictorial impact of the ancient remains developed into the form of a principle of eclectic use with appropriate alterations to the established vocabularies of Classicism. Stressing the complete departure of their style from conventional rules, notions and established traditions, their writings are highly personal and emotional in nature, rather than intellectual or analytical. *The Works in Architecture* is consistent in providing the most encompassing images of the creativity of architecture and their concrete contribution to the improvements in this art. It essentially leaves the detailed examination of the state of architecture in their time and in history to the observation of readers, and shows much interest in introducing their new ideas and concrete contribution to the improvements in this art, providing the most encompassing images of the creativity and emotional impact of architecture.

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Amongst the Adam brothers' large ideas in architecture, the principle of " movement" in particular, has been consistently interpreted without an in-depth examination of the contention of the original text. Many monographs on Adam architecture conspicuously deal with the issue by devoting the majority of the section to mere quotation from the key passage given in the first volume of *The Works in Architecture*. This has had the consequence of giving inadequate attention to the complexity of the substance of this principle. The Adam brothers choose the two definitions of the term according to different contexts. First and most importantly, it is explained as the architectural expression of such visual qualities such as colour and variety of light and shade. "Movement" is also used in a more practical sense of the term rather than conceptual, and straightforwardly instead of interpretatively. Defined in the second number of the first volume of *The Works in Architecture*, it stands for man's actual physical movement in interiors. The Adam brothers intended to create an indoor

environment that provides spectators with an experience analogous to moving through a landscape garden, and by giving the term " movement" signified man's physical action or spatial transformation in designed spaces, resembling his stroll in a real garden. Just as the definition of "movement" has given two different explanations, so was their use of the term " picturesque". While the Adam brothers were consistent in thinking that immediate pleasure in the Picturesque arises from such visual qualities as colour and variation of light and shade, there are a few occasions in *The Works in Architecture* where the term is meant to be the adjectival expression of a view, place, or scenery. In the course of the present study, the difference in their intention of using this term, according to circumstances in which it is applied, will demand careful consideration.

Despite the lack of a firm understanding of what the Adam brothers really meant by " movement" or " picturesque" many scholars are unreasonably united in the notion that nothing in their architecture seems to give clear indication that they are first and foremost artists in practice as they are in theory by introducing " movement" into architecture. Largely because of a number of familiar features of established tradition appearing here and there in the Adams' works, we are told that they were not as revolutionary as they appeared to be through their writings. But it is possible to respect that the reproduction and combination of old styles can be just as significant and " inventive" an act as the creation of a new style. Nor is it correct to assert that there is no close dependence on current aesthetic theory in the Adam architecture, especially since no historian has attempted to examine the Adam Style and Ideas from the point of view of eighteenth-century Enlightenment ideas.

By presupposing the theoretical dependence of the Adam ideas on the current thought of the Enlightenment, a detailed examination of the existing text reveals the prominent impact of the enterprising ideas of the Enlightenment upon the Adam brothers' diversified exercises in architecture. The architectural responses of the Adam brothers to the current intellectual development of their period was never peculiar to one or another part of their creativity, but

always consisted of both parts. Defining the close dependence of the Adam Style on the Enlightenment ideas, any superficial incompatibility between their designs and theory is firmly settled.

* * *

It may now, in the first place, be helpful to explain how the arguments are presented in this thesis. The opening chapter, "the formative years, the Adam brothers and the Scottish circle of learning", is particularly concerned with the Adam brothers' formative years in Edinburgh, Rome, and London. It is outlined under different headings; their family and educational background (Section I), prestigious social life (Section II), notion of being a Briton (Section III), Grand Tour experiences and London practice (Section IV). It deals almost exclusively with factual events until the mid-1760s, and much information is taken from *Robert Adam and his Circle in Edinburgh and Rome* (1962), a splendid biographical work on Robert Adam by John Fleming. This chapter is intended to provide the informational base for the examinations and interpretations in the following chapters, II to VI.

After much thought on the nature of the intended purpose of the study, the materials taken and explanations and discussions in chapters II to VI are presented thematically rather than chronologically. The foci of these chapters are, respectively, the reflections of the Enlightenment in the different materials of the Adam Style; the notion of individualism in artistic creativity and eclecticism (Chapter II), creative antiquarianism (Chapter III), empirical inclination in theory (Chapter IV), novelty of the exterior works (Chapter V), and role in civic improvement (Chapter VI).

Chapter II, " The germination of a new trend in architecture," deals with the reflections in mid-eighteenth century architecture on the dismissal of the absolute and objective standard

of Classicism and the germination of the new standard of " empirical individualism" . Acknowledging that any sort of appreciation of external existence is totally individualistic, the eclectic tendency to seek a self-conscious choice and interpretation of established styles was animated in architecture. This chapter examines the significance and inevitability of being Eclectic in the age of the Enlightenment. It is followed by a study of the eclectic inclination of the Adam brothers' invented designs for orders.

The emergence of aesthetic individualism reorientated the architect's interpretation of his historic past. While profound architectural knowledge and diverse interest in different established traditions were essential in seeking a self-conscious choice of style, one's attitude to any precedent was individualistic and imaginative. Robert Adam's most relaxed and latitudinarian attitude to the ancient world was revealed when he published the *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia* in 1764, responding to the British antiquarianism of the mid-eighteenth century. In this folio, Adam emphasises the emotional impact of antiquity, instead of the material accuracy and documentation of archaeological remains, and openly expresses his interest in eclectic and imaginative use of ancient monuments in his designs. The third chapter deals with the Adam brothers' creative use of the emotional impact of ancient monuments (the ruins of the Diocletian palace in particular) and widespread stylistic sources of inspiration, taking the examples of the publication of the *Ruins ... at Spalatro*, the Adelphi scheme in London, and their interior works, a branch of the Adam brothers' architectural exercises to which their fame has been most often connected. The focus is on their emotional impact-orientated approach to the use of existing architectural images in which no specific conventional pattern of established tradition commanded sufficient acceptance to be deemed the only one suited to their style.

In chapters IV and V, I have concentrated on the principle of " movement" , the first and most fundamental material of the architectural theory of the Adam brothers, and the ways in which it is realised in actual designs. " Movement" is of critical importance for it marks the

core point in the Adam brothers' understanding of Enlightenment exercises in design. As the definition given in *The Works in Architecture* makes clear, the Adam brothers' interpretation of design in architecture had more to do with the qualities of light and shade, and contour, rather than actual compositions and dispositions of forms. Chapter IV deals with the visual effects-orientated approach of the Adam brothers by examining the empirical nature of the definition of "movement". In the course of the study, it concerns the problem of the primary and secondary qualities from the empirical epistemology of John Locke and David Hume, back to which the base line of the Adam brothers' ideas can be traced. How the Adam brothers exercised " movement" in actual designs for exteriors of buildings is the theme of the following chapter. Examples taken up for the study are all representative of the Adam Style — Kedleston Hall, Luton Hoo, Osterley Park, Gosford House, Culzean Castle, and others. They are specifically chosen due to the fact that much has been said about them, so that the newly proposed interpretation of the Adam Style marks an even more definite turning point in the conventional explanation of the style.

Finally, in chapter VI, " The Adam Family in Enlightenment Edinburgh" , their significance in the context of urban development is discussed. After outlining the family connection to major public commissions for civic improvement in eighteenth-century Edinburgh, Robert and James Adam's rather conceptual or ideological, and eventual contributions to the development of the first New Town of Edinburgh, the most notable reflection in architecture of Enlightenment ideas in eighteenth-century Scotland, are presented.

* * *

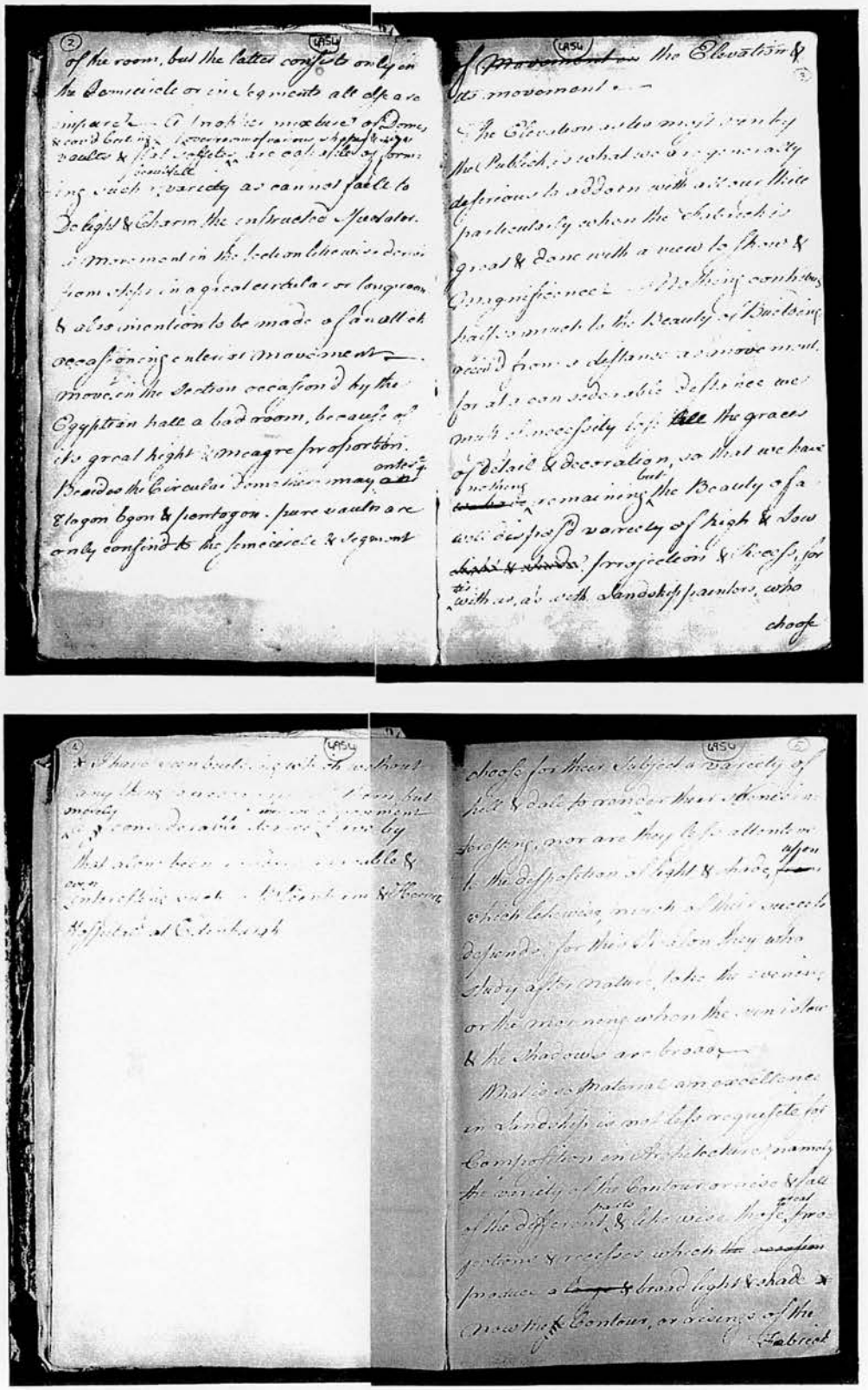
There is little descriptive and documented information of the Adams architecture in these chapters, and not much attempt has been made to provide detailed information on their individual works and their stylistic sources of inspirations. Much about these aspects of their exercises in architecture can easily be found in a number of works previously published on

the Adam Style. Arthur T. Bolton's *The Works of Robert and James Adam*, published in 1922, is the most comprehensive work on the Adam brothers' architecture and also contains a great number of eighteenth-century society anecdotes relating to their individual works. On the drawings, Alan Andrew Tait has published *Robert Adam: Drawings and Imagination* in 1993, and the drawings in the Victoria and Albert Museum have been compiled and explained by Alistair Rowan in *Robert Adam: Catalogues of architectural Drawings in the Victoria and Albert Museum* (1988). The enormous collection of the Adam drawings in Sir John Soane's Museum is also soon to be published. Damie Stillman has written *The Decorative Work of Robert Adam* in which a substantial amount of information on the decorative works of the Adam brothers is given. Much about their works in the " Castle Style" can be found in a series of comprehensive monographs on the subject by Alistair Rowan, amongst which are his unpublished PhD thesis, "The Castle Style in British Domestic Architecture in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries," submitted to Cambridge University in 1965, the lecture in three parts delivered in the Royal Society of Arts and published in the society journal in 1974, and *Designs for Castles and Country Villas by Robert & James Adam* in 1985. A sufficient account on the publications of the Adam brothers, both *Ruins ... at Spalatro in Dalmatia* (1764) and *The Works in Architecture* (1773-1822) has been given in Eileen Harris's *British Architectural Books and Writers, 1556-1785* (1990, 1991).

Instead of the material elements of their works, in this thesis the architectural evolution which the Adam brothers claimed to have brought to eighteenth-century Britain has been seen through their personal attitude to architectonic creativity in which the great intellectual achievement of the Enlightenment was demonstrated in a most interesting manner. The Adam Style is not and was never a style in the strict sense of the word. The Adam brothers had never aimed at the creation of a new style. The Adam Style was primarily a deliberate, intellectual attitude to every aspect of architecture, driven by their passion for the creativity of this art. This point deserves explicit emphasis.

1. Robert Adam, attributed to George Willison, c.1773.

2. James Adam, by Allan Ramsay, 1754.



3. JAMES ADAM, "Of the Elevation and its Movement", in the "Diary of James Adam with notes of Italian architects and Roman architecture, and notes on theory of architecture," 1762-72.

4. *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia*, frontispiece, 1764.

THE

WORKS IN ARCHITECTURE

OF

ROBERT AND JAMES ADAM, ESQUIRES.

NUMBER I.

Containing Part of the Designs of SION HOUSE, a magnificent Seat of

His Grace The DUKE of NORTHUMBERLAND,

In the County of MIDDLESEX.

LONDON: Printed for the AUTHORS;
And ſold by T. BECKET in the Strand, and the other Bookſellers in Town and Country.
MDCCLXXIII.

OUVRAGES D'ARCHITECTURE

DE

ROBERT ET JACQUES ADAM, ECUYERS.

NOMBRE I.

Contenant Partie des Deſſeins du CHATEAU de SION, magnifique Maiſon de Campagne

du DUC de NORTHUMBERLAND,

dans le Conté de MIDDLESEX.

A LONDRES: Publiés aux fraix des AUTEURS;
Et ſe debitent chez T. BECKET dans le Strand, et les autres Libraires tant de la Capitale que des Provinces.
MDCCLXXIII.

5. *The Works in Architecture*, vol. I., no I., title-page, 1773.

CHAPTER I

THE FORMATIVE YEARS, THE ADAM BROTHERS AND THE SCOTTISH CIRCLE OF LEARNING

I

THE FORMATIVE YEARS AND INSTITUTIONAL EDUCATION

John Summerson roughly reduces the sources of the Adam style to four; 1) Palladianism of the Burlington-Kent school, 2) French planning, 3) Archaeological influences from Italy, Dalmatia, Syria, and Greece, and 4) the influence of such Renaissance masters as Michelangelo, Raphael, and Giulio Romano, etc.[9] The real nature of the Adam Style is misleading, however, in so far as it seems to stress these stylistic sources at the expense of its profound relation to the intellectual development in Britain, especially in Scotland, from the mid-eighteenth century onwards. It was their dependence on current intellectual maturation which integrated the diversified aspects of their style. It was the most profound source of inspiration for their architectural exercises, and was in part the consequence of their liberal education and above all their intimacy with the rising generation of the Enlightenment in the mid-eighteenth century.

When the Adam brothers were participating actively in the field of architecture, Scotland was in the flowering of the Enlightenment movement. Enlightenment thought provoked dramatic developments in the areas of law, politics, philosophy, and culture in general. Urban society responded directly to this tendency with the constructions of new public

buildings, urban development, and improvements of transportation facilities and social structure. Scotland was in the age of improvement.

In Edinburgh, in particular, the architectural ideas and suggestions of the Adam brothers attracted public attention and were always considered seriously. Their contributions to the development of the city of Edinburgh went far beyond that of the regular architect. In Edinburgh, a capital of the Enlightenment movement in the second half of eighteenth-century Europe, they gave full play to their talents and put their ideas into practice in various monumental public buildings. In Edinburgh, part of the success in the generation of Robert and James Adam was the result of the family's intimacy with the circle of authority in Scotland, largely through the personal acquaintances and patronage of their father, William Adam, an architect representative of the first half of the eighteenth century in Scotland, and John Adam, eldest of the Adam brothers and a prominent figure in mid-eighteenth century Edinburgh society.

Amongst William Adam's circle of acquaintances and patrons were the Hopes of Hopetoun and the Clerks of Penicuik, two distinctive aristocratic families in Scotland. William Adam shared intellectual ideas and artistic tastes with these noblemen, and the intimacy that William had enjoyed was to be inherited by his sons, and was to bring the brothers professional opportunities.

It was Charles Hope, the first Earl of Hopetoun, with whom William was the most intimate with in his circle. He was created Earl of Hopetoun in 1703 and lived on the family estate near Linlithgow where his ancestors had been established since the sixteenth century. William was commissioned to carry out the enlargement and modernisation of Hopetoun House by Sir William Bruce, and afterwards worked closely with the Hopes of Hopetoun

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[9] John Summerson, *Architecture in Britain, 1530-1830*, Yale University Press, 1953, 1993, pp.394-5.

throughout his career. After William's death in 1748, the Adam brothers continued to be closely connected with the Hopes. In 1754, Robert accompanied Charles Hope, younger brother of the heir of Earl Hope, John (later the second Earl of Hopetoun) on the Grand Tour.

Another important friend and patron for William Adam was Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, who was intimate with almost all the leading figures of art and letters of his day in Britain, from Lords Burlington and Pembroke to Roger and Samuel Gale, William Stukeley, Ralph Thoresby, etc. Of the role of William Adam in the circle of the Clerks of Penicuik in Scotland, Fleming writes;

> At home, whether in Edinburgh or at his country-house at Penicuik, he gathered round himself a miniature *Accademia dell' Arcadia* of which the poet Allan Ramsay, the antiquarian Alexander Gordon and the architect William Adam were the principal ornaments; and through them and his other protégés he exerted a wide influence on the development of Scottish art and letters. William Adam in particular, who became the architect-in-ordinary to this little society, owed much to the classical learning and taste of his patron ...[10]

The Adams' close connection with the Clerks of Penicuik was not only through architect-patron relationship, but also through the marriage of Susannah, a younger sister of Robert and James, to John Clerk of Eldin, the seventh son of Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, and a childhood and life-long friend of Robert and James.

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[10] John Fleming, *Robert Adam and His Circle in Edinburgh and Rome*, Edinburgh, 1962, p.15.

While continuing to be closely connected with wealthy patrons, mainly through their institutional education and socialities during their formative years, Robert and James both became intimate with a number of culturally well-rounded professional urban gentleman, whose diverse knowledge and interests made a considerable impact on the formation of their personal style in architecture and theory. Robert's institutional education started when he entered the Edinburgh High School in Blackfriar's Wynd, Edinburgh, at the age of six. Latin was the only subject which was taught at the High School, and at the end of their high school studies the pupils were expected to have " a sound knowledge of Latin grammar and literature, especially Cicero, but nothing else" . Some of the classes were even conducted entirely in the Latin tongue. In their spare time, students were also expected to master " writing, English and other 'accomplishments', particularly the speaking of English (and not Scots)" . In the High School, Robert read Cordery's *Colloquies* and Erasmus' *Syntax*, then Cicero's *Epistles*, Terence's *Comedies* and Buchanan's *Psalms*. Fleming points out that " Robert's last two years ... would have been spent in conning Virgil, Ovid, Caesar, Terence and Cicero, especially the last" . And through the detailed reading of Cicero, " the balance, symmetry and resonance of the stately Ciceronian periods were drummed into Robert's ears, week in week out, and the ancient Roman was held up to his youthful eyes as the paragon of eloquence and noble exemplar of friendship, stoicism and civilised leisure."[11]

Robert Adam, now with a considerable linguistic knowledge of Latin, matriculated at the University in the autumn of 1743 where he seems to have lived his student life with multiple interests. While his " classical education received a final polish" ,[12] Robert would have had the chance to read Greek, Logic, Metaphysics and Natural Philosophy — all required subjects in those days. Besides such famous names as John Pringle[13] and Colin Maclaurin,[14]

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[11] *Ibid.*, p.78.
[12] *Ibid.*, p.79.
[13] John Pringle taught ethicks and pneumaticks at Edinburgh, and later became President of the Royal Society.

amongst excellent professors within the University was Charles Mackie, first holder of the chair of Universal History at Edinburgh, whose European history class is said to have been attended by William Robertson and David Hume, two close acquaintances of the Adam brothers. Mackie also read lectures on the subject of Roman Antiquities dealing on all aspects of Roman culture, as well as on the history of the world in which the intellectual transition from the decline and fall of the Roman Empire to the Reformation was examined. The matriculation roll of the University has one possible matriculation entry for Robert Adam under the name of " Robert Adams" , the name Robert had used during his formative years. According to this record, on either the 25th day of February or the 30th of April in the year 1744, Robert matriculated in the class of George Stuart, Professor of the Latin language and Roman Antiquities. Robert, who later showed a strong interest in Roman antiquity, was one of the early students of Stuart, who had started his 35 years of academic life in 1741 and was " particularly successful in explaining the Roman antiquities to the high classes of his student; and, by the dignity of his aspect and manners, inspired his hearers with an enthusiastic admiration of the language and literature of ancient Rome . "[15]

Robert left the university in 1746 without taking a degree to work for his father as an apprentice assistant, treading in the path of his elder brother John. In those days, among the students in the fields of arts, it was uncommon to graduate formally from universities in Scotland. Robert was not exceptional. Of James' education at Edinburgh University, not much is known, including the exact period when he matriculated as a student. But it is said, according to John Clerk of Eldin's account, that he read Literature and the Belles Letters.[16]

The comprehensive educational curriculum at Edinburgh University was designed to acquaint students with a wide range of academic disciplines and produce well-rounded

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[14] Colin Maclaurin was a disciple of Newton and his appointment at Edinburgh was by the personal recommendation of Newton. He lectured on the new philosophy, and was said to have established mathematics as a fashionable study at Edinburgh.
[15] *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1793, Part II, p.672.

gentlemen. The emergence of the rising generation of the Enlightenment in mid-eighteenth century Scotland and their enterprising ideas were in part a consequence of this fact. While a number of courses offered by brilliant teachers treated a variety of subjects, which were to evolve in the course of the growth of the Scottish Enlightenment, the teachers themselves were not necessarily a part of the circles whose academic activities were the driving force behind the new development in thought. Instead, it was a number of intellectual students who were to become the leading figures of the Enlightenment movement in Britain from the mid-eighteenth century onwards. During his study at the University, Robert became intimate with many promising students. Amongst these were: William Robertson (1721-93), historian and later the Principal of Edinburgh University for three decades, who was a close friend and a cousin of the Adam brothers; Adam Ferguson (1723-1816), sociologist and the author of *An Essay on the History of Civil Society* (1767); John Home (1722-1808), playwright and brother of philosopher David Hume who was a life long-friend of Robert and James; Alexander Carlyle (1722-1805), a minister of the Church of Scotland; Gilbert Elliot of Minto, Senator of the College of Justice; William Wilkie (1721-72), Scottish poet, known as the " Scottish Homer," and the author of *The Epigoniad* (1757), who was also the professor of natural philosophy at St. Andrews University; Alexander Wedderburn (1733-1805), Lord Chancellor, the first Baron Loughborough and first Earl of Rosslyn. As we shall see later, his friendships with this mid-eighteenth century rising generation of Edinburgh intellectuals were to continue consistent after he left the University. It was also during their formative years in Edinburgh, when Robert and James both first became intimate with a number of literati who were their seniors: Amongst these were David Hume, the most important figure of the mid-eighteenth century Scottish Enlightenment movement; Adam Smith, founder of modern science of economics who is famous as the author of *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759) and *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776); Hugh Blair, a Presbyterian divine and minister of St. Giles' Cathedral in Edinburgh and literary critic who was the first professor of Rhetoric and Belles

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[16] cf. Fleming, *Op. cit.*, pp.86-7.

Letters at Edinburgh University; and Henry Home, Lord Kames (1696-1782), a high court judge and Senator of the College of Justice, and author of the *Elements of Criticism* (1762).

Through this wide and notable circle of acquaintances, the Adam brothers, whose reputations as architects and interior designers were to be internationally recognised within the following decade, came in contact with the current of the Scottish Enlightenment in the second half of the eighteenth century. " They were indeed a very remarkable group of men and their influence on the young Adams was capital" , Fleming has remarked.[17] And it is nothing else than their intellectual intimacy with those men of genius and learning of the Scottish Enlightenment that set them distinctly apart from the rest of the eighteenth-century architects and builders, amongst whom were William Chambers and Robert Mylne. The brothers themselves must have been aware of the difference or superiority of their background and education, which Fleming explains:

> For whereas the Adam brothers were brought up in a cultivated atmosphere of hard living and high thinking, were accustomed since childhood to hear their father and uncles and cousins bandying quotations from the classical authors across the family fireside and discussing abstract questions of theology and philosophy at the supper table, the majority of English and Scottish architects had been humbly bred up to a trade then considered little better than that of mason, plumber or joiner. While Chambers was swabbing the deck of a Swedish East-Indiaman and Mylne was hewing wood and stone in a mason's yard, the Adams were enjoying a liberal education in the humanities and were being forced to show their mettle in argument with some of the liveliest and keenest brains in an intellectual society hardly to be surpassed in any city of Europe.[18]

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[17] *Ibid.*, p.79.
[18] *Ibid.*, p.6.

II

SOCIALITY IN "THE ATHENS OF GREAT BRITAIN"

> Edinburgh is a hot-bed of genius. — I have had the good fortune to be made acquainted with many authors of the first distinction; such as the two Humes, Robertson, Smith, Wallace, Blair, Ferguson, Wilkie, &c., and I have found them all as agreeable in conversation as they are instructive and entertaining in their writings. These acquaintances I owe to the friendship of Dr. Carlyle, who wants nothing but inclination to figure with the rest upon paper.[19]
>
> Tobias Smollett, in *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker*

Since the nineteenth century, Edinburgh has been proud to style itself " the Athens of the North" . It is well understood that this epithet was merited, not only because of the tradition of classical architecture within the city, but primarily because of Edinburgh's reputation as one of Europe's intellectual capitals, which emerged in the second half of the preceding century. Appreciating the intellectual prominence of the Scottish circle of learning in the city, the Irish elocutionist Thomas Sheridan, most likely on his visit to Edinburgh in June 1761, had distinguished Edinburgh as " the Athens of Great Britain" .[20] Edinburgh herself must have drawn confidence from this title. The Scottish divine Alexander Carlyle (1722-1805) writes in a letter dated 29th of the following month, to a fellow Scotsman Gilbert

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[19] There is a fairly general understanding that " the two Humes" were David Hume and his brother John Home, a playwright known as the Scottish Homer. Tobias Smollett, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker*, ed. Lewis M. Knapp, Oxford University Press, 1966, p.233.
[20] For the details of Sheridan's visit to Edinburgh, see Section III in this chapter.

Elliot: " Sheridan has told us that Edinburgh is the Athens of Great Britain, ... & we believe him."[21]

The focus for much of the eighteenth-century Edinburgh intellectual scene at its peak was in the large number of societies and clubs that flourished in the city, encouraging discourse and debate.[22] They were exceedingly accessible to every profession including, as Alexander

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[21] Quoted in; Richard B. Sher, *Church and University in the Scottish Enlightenment; The Moderate Literati of Edinburgh*, Edinburgh University Press / Princeton University Press, 1985, p.3.

[22] It was not always an intellectual enthusiasm which motivated the institutions of societies and clubs. In fact, any interest and human activity could be taken as a ground of institution, amongst them were for instance; the Boars Club, of which the members were considered " boars" , meetings took place in a stay, and talking was grunting; the Pious Club, a club which met regularly to eat pies; and the Dirty Club, of which members were poker drinkers and " were not allowed to appear in clean linen" (See David Daiches, Peter Jones and Jean Jones (eds.), *The Scottish Enlightenment 1730-1790: A Hotbed of Genius*, The Saltire Society, 1996, p.38.). The Cape Club was another important club, known as " one of the most socially mixed" club in Edinburgh (See *Ibid.*, pp.36-7. See also Harry A. Cockburn, " An Account of the Friday Club, written by Lord Cockburn, together with notes on certain other social clubs in Edinburgh" , *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, vol. 3, 1910, pp.105-178.). David Herd, who was a prominent member, explains the purpose and intention of this club: " after the business of the day was over to pass the evening socially with a set of select companions in an agreeable and at the same time a rational and frugal manner." He goes on to state; " for this purpose beer and porter were their liquors, from fourpence to sixpence each the extent of their usual expense, conversation and a song their amusement, gaming generally prohibited, and a freedom for each to come and to depart at their pleasure was always considered as essential to the constitution of the Society" (Quoted in David Daiches, Peter Jones and Jean Jones (eds.), *Op. cit.*, and Cockburn, *Op. cit.*). The members were " scarcely of such high intellectual and social importance as the 'Poker' fraternity" even though both clubs were " formally constituted about the same time, and both seem to have had at one time a bond of sympathy, in the promotion of adequate defence for the kingdom of Scotland" (Cockburn, *Op. cit.*). However, it was the distinctive character of this club that the members covered a wide spectrum of professions, from " shoemakers and tailors to doctors and naval officers" , as well as painters. And it was those earnest conversations and intellectual debates among the attendants of these societies and clubs which led or characterised the total improvement of knowledge toward the realisation of a better society and life in mid-eighteenth century Scotland. It is said that the crucial debate which lead the institutions of some societies in Edinburgh, " whether the union was disadvantageous to Scotland", was debated in one occasion.

In the University, various societies were instituted during the age of the Enlightenment as the direct reflections of the enthusiastic debates among Edinburgh intellects. Although this tendency was not exclusive to the University of Edinburgh, but also in Glasgow and Aberdeen at that time, it was especially distinctive in Edinburgh where " students appear to have aped their elders," many of whom were associated with the University as professors or graduates. There were the Natural Philosophy Society, the Royal Medical Society, the Royal Physical Society, the Speculative Society, the Juridical Society, and the Logical Society, etc., and the topics of the debates in these societies covered, as their names show, various problems from different disciplines, natural philosophy to medical sciences, physics to

Carlyle reported, " all the literati of Edinburgh and its neighbourhood, and many of the nobility and gentry who, though few of them took any share in the debates, thought themselves so well entertained and instructed that they gave punctual attendance."[23]

Amongst these, the two most active and influential were the Select Society, founded in 1754, and the Poker Club, established in 1762. Both these and others provided important occasions for weekly discussions of the leading circle of the Scottish Enlightenment, whose debates ranged over various problems in philosophy, sociology, laws, religion, and aesthetics.

It was in 1754 that the Edinburgh-born painter Allan Ramsay (1713-84), a son of the poet Allan Ramsay and a friend of the Adam brothers, established the Select Society. Carlyle, himself a member of the society, writes in the accounts of the year 1754 in his autobiography *The Autobiography of Dr. Alexander Carlyle*, published in 1860: " ...this was the year in which the Select Society was established, which improved and gave a name to the *literati* of this country, then beginning to distinguish themselves. [24] Carlyle also gives an account of the change in the number of member and character of the society as; " It met

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literary compositions, and law to logic. Especially, the Speculative Society, originally established in 1764 to improve literary compositions, provided major occasions for ambitious Edinburgh students to present their innovative ideas. Anand C. Chitnis explains the Speculative' s meetings as: " the society met on Tuesday evenings in a special room in the college buildings. The form of its meeting was to have a paper read and discussed, and then a debate followed on another subject. The range of topics covered included history, politics, legislation and general literature." The Speculative Society was " where the awe of order was aided by respect for not very flexible rules, and superiority was difficult, and even effort to attain it formidable," writes Lord Cockburn. It shows that the general tendency of the Enlightenment society was directly reflected in the character of the Speculative Society, including its contradicted attitudes towards the order of classes and ambiguous division between the intellectual aristocracy and commons. Finding its origin in the intellectual inclination of the Scottish Enlightenment, the Speculative Society followed the manners of the Select Society and Poker Club.

[23] Quoted in Nicholas T. Phillipson, " Culture and Society in the Eighteenth Century Province: The case of Edinburgh and the Scottish Enlightenment," *The University of Society*, ed. L. Stone, Princeton, 1974, vol. II, p.444, and Dugald Stewart, *Account of the Life and Writings of William Robertson*, London, 1801, p.212.

first in the Advocates' Library, when the membership was confined to thirty. Later, when its 'select' character was departed from and the membership increased to three hundred, interest in the Society quickly declined."[25]

As Carlyle's indications suggest, the Select Society flourished in its earlier period, when the membership of the society was still "selective" as the name of the society originally indicated. More precisely, it was for several decades after its establishment as the society in 1754, that the debates among the members had significant impact upon the general trend in Scotland and domains of learning. Dugald Stewart's *Account of the Life and Writings of William Robertson* (1801) contains the list of the members of the Select Society in October 1759, which was supplied by Carlyle, although it "did not contain the whole of the members; some had died before the list was printed, and some were admitted after it was printed".[26] The list consists of all 135 members of the society at that time, many of whom were the major figures of the Scottish Enlightenment and known to the Adams. In addition to the Adam brothers' close friends since their student days such as Adam Ferguson, John Home, Alexander Carlyle, Gilbert Elliot, William Robertson, and Alexander Wedderburn, the list includes; David Hume; Adam Smith; six times elected Edinburgh Lord Provost, George Drummond (1687-1766); Henry Home, Lord Kames; Dr. William Cullen (1710-1790), physician and professor of chemistry, and afterward physiology at Edinburgh University who was also president of the Edinburgh College of Physicians between 1773 and 1775; Robert Dundas (1713-1787), Lord Arniston the younger, and the eldest son of Robert Dundas, Lord President of the court of session; Hugh Blair (1718-1800); Dunbar Hamilton of Baldoon, fourth Earl of Selkirk (1721/22-1799); the thirteenth Earl of Errol (1726-

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[24] Alexander Carlyle, *The Autobiography of the Rev. Dr. Alexander Carlyle of Inveresk, containing Memorials of the Men and Events of his Time*, ed. John Hill Burton, London and Edinburgh, 1860, 1910, pp.311-2.
[25] *Ibid.*, p.312. David Hume, one of the prominent members of the society, had worked for the Advocates' Library since his first appointment as a keeper in 1752 until his resignation as a librarian in 1757.
[26] *Ibid.*

1778); Sir David Dalrymple Lord Hailes (1726-1792); the third Earl of Roseberry (1728-1814); and from the Adams there were John and James Adam.

Many of the members of the Select Society were also the attending members of the Poker Club. According to the Minutes Book of the Poker Club (fig. 6), " this association [the Poker Club] consisted of all the literati of Edinburgh and the neighbourhood, with many country gentlemen ..." [27] The origin or details of the establishment of the Poker Club and brief explanations of its characteristics as a club were indicated in the Minute Book of the Poker Club, and it is generally believed that it was also done by the hand of Carlyle, since about two-thirds of the descriptions of the history of the club in the Minutes Book are found almost word for word in his autobiography.[28] There are no other sources which give the details of the institution of the Poker Club as precisely as the accounts in the Minutes of the club:

> In the beginning of the year 1762 was instituted the famous club called the " Poker," which lasted in great vigour till the year 1784. About the third of fourth meeting the members thought of giving it a name sufficiently significant to the initiated, but of uncertain meaning to the general public, and not so directly or obviously offensive as that of *Militia* Club would have been to the adversaries of any such object. Professor Adam Ferguson luckily suggested the name of Poker, which was perfectly intelligible to all the originators of the scheme, while it was an impenetrable mystery to every one else.[29]

After its institution in 1762, the Poker Club continued " with great spirit to hold frequent meetings six or seven years, and every member being satisfied with the frugal entertainment

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[27] The Minute Book of the Poker Club, Edinburgh University Library.
[28] cf. Cockburn, *Op. cit.*, p.145.

was not less pleased with the company" . The Minutes go on to indicate that " according to the testimony of the members who attended most regularly, no approach to inebriety was ever witnessed" . The atmosphere of the club was the deserved result of " the management of the club" which was " frugal and moderate, as that of every association for a public purpose ought to be" . Although not necessarily every week, the meetings had been arranged fairly regularly on Friday afternoon.[30] The attendance of each member was recorded in the Minutes with other information of each meeting. The details of the discussions which they had in each meeting are, however, not known.[31]

William Smellie, a Scottish printer and naturalist, refers in the *Literary and Characteristical Lives of John Gregory, Lord Kames, David Hume, and Adam Smith*, published posthumously in 1800, to his own experience of the striking nature of the Edinburgh intellectual scene, which probably indicated the relaxing atmosphere of these leading clubs.

> Mr. Amyat, King's Chymist, a most sensible and agreeable English gentleman, resided in Edinburgh for a year or two. He one day surprised me with a curious remark. There is not a city in Europe, said he, that enjoys such a singular and such a noble privilege. I asked, What is that privilege? He replied, Here I stand at what is called the *Cross of Edinburgh*, and can, in a few minutes, take fifty men of genius and learning by the hand. The fact

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[29] Quoted from the Minute Book of the Poker Club.
[30] The detailed records in the Minutes show that sometimes there was no meeting over a several week period.
[31] It is said that the inconsistency of views among the members eventually caused the decline of the club. The Minutes Book explains how the club come to an end that after a number of new candidates " whose views were not congenial with those of the old members" were admitted into the membership, " a few of the original members" seceded from the club and formed a new one to obviate the disadvantage caused by the inconsistency of views. The Minutes Book also indicates that, " about the end of the seventh year an unfortunate misunderstanding between one or two of the members and the landlord occasioned the removal of the club" to " the most fashionable in the Town" from the previous venue, and this arrangement brought " three times more than the usual amount of the bill" at previous one, and as a consequence of this, " many of the members, not the

> is well known, but to a native of that city, who has all his days been familiarized with it, and who has not travelled into other countries, that circumstance, though very remarkable, possess unnoticed: Upon strangers, however, it makes a deep impression. In London, in Paris, and other large cities of Europe, though they contain many literary men, the access to them is difficult; and, even after that is obtained, the conversation is, for some time, shy and constrained. In Edinburgh, the access to men of parts is not only easy, but their conversation and communication of their knowledge are at once imparted to intelligent strangers with the utmost liberality. The philosophers of Scotland have no nostrums. [32]

Interestingly enough, Smellie explains such a relaxed atmosphere of an Edinburgh group of intellectuals in connection with the character of Hume. He writes; " They tell what they know, and deliver their sentiments without disguise or reserve. This generous feature was conspicuous in the character of Mr. Hume. He insulted no man; but, when the conversation turned upon particular subjects, whether moral or religious, he expressed his genuine sentiments with freedom, with force, and with a dignity which did honour to human nature." [33] In a letter to London-based, Edinburgh-born publisher William Strahan (1715-1785), for instance, Hume's impartiality is well expressed. In the letter, probably written in August 1770, Hume introduces the Reverend Dr Robert Henry (1718-90),[34] who was " not personally much known" to Hume himself, to Strahan, mentioning that Strahan " will very

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least considerable, attended much less frequently than they had done while the management was more economical".

[32] William Smellie, *Literary and Characteristical Lives of John Gregory, M.D., Henry Home, Lord Kames., David Hume, ESQ., and Adam Smith, L.L.D.: to which are added a Dissertation on Public Spirits; and Three Essays*, Edinburgh, 1800, pp.161-2.

[33] *Ibid.*

[34] The Reverend Dr Robert Henry held various posts in the Church of Scotland successively, including; the ministerial posts of High Meeting-house, Berwick-on-Tweed (1760); of New Grey Friars (1763) and of Old Grey Friars in Edinburgh (1776); and the Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland (1774).

soon be visited by one, who carries with him a Work, that has really Merit: It is Dr Henry, the Author of the *History of England*, writ on a new Plan". Hume then writes:

> You know, that I have been always very reserved in my Recommendations; and that when an Author, tho much connected with me, has produced a Work, which I could not entirely approve of, I rather pretended total Ignorance of the Matter, than abuse my Credit with you. Dr Henry is not personally much known to me, as he has been but lately settled in this Town, but I cannot refuse doing Justice to his Work: He has likewise personally a very good Character in the World, which renders it so far safe to have dealings with him. For the same Reason, I wish for his Sake that he may conclude with you. You see I am a good Causist, and can distinguish Cases very nicely. It is certainly a wrong thing to deceive any body, much more a Friend; but yet the Difference must still be allowed between deceiving a man for his Good and for his Injury.[35]

The character of Hume seems to have been greatly appreciated within the Adam family. Fleming recalls an occasion when Hume, who was Robert's senior by more than sixteen years, was invited to the dinner at the Edinburgh home of the Adams in the Canongate:

> Normally, of course, the young Adams entertained their friends at their home in the Canongate where Mrs Adam presided over the supper table and kept a strict watch over the guests brought home by her 'brains'. It was here, one evening ... that Robert invited David Hume to supper, concealing the philosopher's name from his mother since she had told him 'never to bring the Atheist here to disturb my peace'. However, the evening was a great success and Mrs Adam complimented Robert on his friend when the

company parted. 'I must confess that you bring very agreeable companions about you, but the large jolly man who sat next me is the most agreeable of them all.' 'This was the very Atheist, Mother, that you were so much afraid of.' 'Well,' says she, 'you may bring him here as much as you please for he's the most innocent, agreeable, facetious man I ever met with.'[36]

Robert's intimacy as an architect with Hume as a philosopher well represents the cross-disciplinary character of the Scottish intellectual scene in those days, where everything was rationally examined and passionately and openly debated. In fact, the wide circle of acquaintances of the Adam brothers involved the majority of the prominent contributors to those heated intellectual debates. It was through their acquaintances with the prominent constituents of current thought that the brothers were favoured with the opportunity to follow the current of the Enlightenment movement. The attendants of the debates, who were later to be recalled as the leading circle of the Scottish Enlightenment, were all known to each other and often they were in kinship through the marriages of their family members. From the kinsmen of the Adams, John Adam, William Robertson and Sir John Clerk of Eldin were in the Poker club and also associated with the Select Society as the prominent members from the time of its institution. James Adam was a member of the Select Society, but not an attending member of the Poker Club; presumably because he had already set off on his Grand Tour in 1760, and remained in London with Robert after his return from Italy in 1764.

By 1760, Robert was already in London where he had started his practising career in 1758, immediately following his return in 1758 from Italy where he had stayed since October 1754. His continuous absence from the Edinburgh social scene since then explains why he had not been a member of any society and club. This, however, does not suggest that

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[35] Greig (ed.), *Op. cit.*, pp.230-31.
[36] Fleming, *Op. cit.*, pp,101-2.

Robert himself had absolutely nothing to do with the current of thought in Scotland at that time. In the mid-eighteenth century, the Scottish intellectual scene and whose enterprising outcome in thought had already expanded its sphere of influence beyond the geographical limit of Scotland into England.

III

A SCOTSMAN AS A NORTHERN BRITON

I believe this is the historical Age and this the historical Nation...

David Hume, "Letter to William Strahan", 1770.[37]

Although much more modest in scale, there was also a weekly assembly at which London-based Scotsmen exchanged their views on various matters. They met regularly on Wednesday. The personnel consisted of the core members of the Edinburgh intellectual circle who had settled in or were on visits to London at the time. Amongst these were; John Home, William Robertson, Alexander Wedderburn, Jack Dalrymple, Adam Ferguson, Alexander Carlyle, and Robert Adam himself, most likely accompanied occasionally by James. They met in a coffee-house in Savile Row or Sackville Street at three o'clock to have dinner together. It is said that the meetings were held on Wednesday because it was the only day Ferguson could leave his tutorship in the country to spend an afternoon and evening in London. Although the details of the inception of these gatherings is not certain, according to Carlyle, towards the end of February 1759, Edinburghers in London had started to meet regularly after the arrivals in London of William Robertson and Carlyle himself.

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[37] Greig (ed.), *Op. cit.*, p.230.

Given that the Scottish circle in London consisted of the core members of the Edinburgh intellectual circle, it is fairly certain that there was a continuity in themes for discussion between the Scottish gatherings in these two cities. In London, as the capital of the nation and Edinburgh, as one of the major cultural centres in Europe, Scottish intellectuals simultaneously pursued through weekly debates the total improvement of knowledge in the age of the Enlightenment. While it was an informal and small circle, much smaller compared to those societies and clubs in Edinburgh, its enterprising members were to make a significant impact on many aspects of cultural life in England.

It seems that London-based Scotsmen were of the same view on the narrowness of their motherland in terms of the professional opportunities that it offered them. Robert expresses his view on this point quite clearly in his letter to James on April 18, 1755, saying that Scotland is a " narrow place" . He emphasises that he needs " a greater a more extensive and more honourable scene, I mean an English Life" .[38] The same insistence was more precisely expressed in another letter addressed to his sister Helen (Nelly) on 12th of July 1755:

> I often think what a pity it is that such genius [as myself] should be thrown away upon Scotland where scarce will ever happen an opportunity of putting one noble thought in execution. It would be a more extensive scheme to settle a family also in England and let the Adams be the sovereign architects of the United Kingdom,[39]

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[38] Clerk of Penicuik Collection, Scottish Record Office, GD18/4770.
[39] Clerk of Penicuik Collection, Scottish Record Office, GD 18/4779.

It was not a coincidence that Hume had once written to Adam Smith that " Scotland is too narrow a Place for me." [40] The views of Robert Adam and Hume on the condition of Scotland represent the general attitudes of the mid-eighteenth century rising generation of Scottish intellectuals. From their view, the flame of Scotland had to be taken away, and it was instead Great Britain, or to be more precisely England, in which they saw the ampler stage, full of opportunity to express their enterprising talents. The fountainhead of these sort of attitudes towards Scotland, which eventually led to the awareness of the identity as being British instead of being Scottish among the young Scotsmen, can be traced back to the Union of Scottish and English Parliaments in 1707, following the Union of Crowns in 1603 and the Revolution Settlement in 1688.

Although Scotland paid a painful price for the Union, that of its political independence, in exchange for the economic progress anticipated because of co-operation with England and access to the English colonies, Scotland hardly gained any economic benefits from the Union during the first half century. Smollett expresses the Scottish public opinion on the benefit for Scotland from the Union through the words of a " Scottish retired military officer, the lieutenant Lismahago" in his epistolary novel *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker*. Lismahago says:

> ... I conceive the Scots were losers by the union. —They lost the independency of their state, the greatest prop of national spirit; they lost their parliament, and their courts of justice were subjected to the revision and supremacy of an English tribunal.[41]

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[40] cf. Janet Adam Smith, " Some Eighteenth-Century Ideas of Scotland" , *Scotland in the Age of Improvement: Essays in Scottish History in the Eighteenth Century*, eds. N. T. Phillipson and Rosalind Mitchison, Edinburgh University Press, 1970, p.108.
[41] Smollett, *Op. cit.*, p.277.

Of the interrelation between Scotland and England, he says, " not one in two hundred that leave Scotland ever return, carry thither nothing that can possibly diminish the stock of South-Britain; for none of their treasure stagnates in Scotland — There is a continual circulation, like that of the blood in the human body, and England is the heart, to which all the streams which it distributes are refunded and returned: nay, in consequence of that luxury which our connection with England hath greatly encouraged, if not introduced, all the produce of our lands, and all the profits of our trade, are engrossed by the natives of South-Britain; for you will find that the exchange between the two kingdoms is always against Scotland; and that she retains neither gold nor silver sufficient for her own circulation." [42] Lismahago's lines represents well the dissatisfaction commonly felt among the general public of Scotland at that time. Although initially anticipated, the trade with England and its colonies hardly yielded Scotland a profit; instead the increase of the Scottish share of public expense and burdens and failure of anticipated trade benefit conveyed the impression that Scotland got a bad deal by the union and " England is the heart, to which all the streams which it distributes are refunded and returned." It was not until the second half of the century that the anticipated economic benefits of the Union finally began to pay off for Scotland.

Amongst the landed classes, on the other hand, such slow economical progress of Scotland was viewed from a slightly different perspective. Certainly, they had been aware of the serious necessity for economic growth in Scotland, but they had more positive attitudes towards its progress in general. They simply thought, " if we (Scots) are far behind, we ought to follow further" , since " we enjoy the same Privileges of Trade with them (the People of our Sister Kingdom of England)."[43]

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[42] *Ibid.*, p.278.
[43] Quotation from D. D. McElroy, *Scotland's Age of Improvement: The Literary Clubs and Societies of 18th Century Scotland*, Washington University Press, 1969, p.20.

After stating that " for much of the eighteenth century assimilation was regarded not so much as a threat to Scottish life as a stimulus to it" , Nicholas K. Phillipson points out that " English civilization seemed to provide new and exciting categories in which to think about the problems of progress and the Union provided Scotsmen with a series of opportunities to be exploited." [44] It was certainly true in the case of young intellectuals in Scotland. Although the economic situation in Scotland was far duller than expected, now Edinburgh was about to enjoy smooth transformation of its status from the capital of a poor nation to the intellectual and cultural capital of northern Britain. It was the notion of such privilege of the Union which made it easier for the young generation to accept the Revolution Settlement of 1688-90 and the Union of 1707 as historical events in the past. Amongst them was the circle of Hume and Robert Adam, who subsequently became a member of the Parliament at Westminster in 1771 representing his native Kinross constituency. Alexander Wedderburn, a friend of Robert Adam from his student days at the University, wrote of the condition of Scotland after the Union in the preface to the *Edinburgh Review* of 1775-6: " The memory of our ancient state is not so much obliterated, but that, by comparing the past with the present, we may clearly see the superior advantages we now enjoy, and readily discern from what source they flow." [45] Of the economic or political state of Scotland, he writes: " if countries have their ages with respect to improvement North Britain may be considered as in a state of early youth, guided and supported by the more mature strength of her kindred country." Here, England was not a winner, and Scotland was not a loser. For whereas England was South-Britain, Scotland was simply North-Britain. The reflections of this notion had emerged in various aspects of society; for instance the Scottish poet James Thomson (1700-48) had written the words of " Rule, Britannia" and another Scotsman William Smellie had founded the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* in Edinburgh.

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[44] Nicholas K. Phillipson, " Scottish Public Opinion and the Union" , *Scotland in the Age of Improvement: Essays in Scottish History in the Eighteenth Century*, eds. Nicholas K. Phillipson and Rosalind Mitchison, Edinburgh University Press, 1970, pp,142-3.
[45] *The Edinburgh Review* (1775-6), no. I, Edinburgh, 1755, Preface, ii.

While Edinburgh continued to provide lively intellectual scenes, London became the practical centre of intellectual production. Before long, the understanding of the characters of both cities started to infiltrate into the minds of Scotsmen, and literati gradually found it necessary to publish their works in London to gain acknowledgement from a wider public. By the mid-century, many of their works had started to appear mainly through London-based publishers. In 1759, William Robertson found himself in London searching for a publisher for his *History of Scotland*, although it deals with Scottish matters. Adam Smith published all of his works in London, and the same was true for Adam Ferguson and Hugh Blair.

Amongst the publishing circles in London was William Strahan who himself was once an ambitious Scottish youth who took the high road to England. He is said to have made large sums out of the publications of both *Histories* of Robertson and Hume. Besides Robertson and Hume, the names whose works had been published by Strahan include, Adam Smith, Samuel Johnson, Hugh Blair, and many others. He was closely acquainted with a wide circle of men of letters and learning through his professional contacts in London, and it is probably best represented by Thomas Somerville's (1741-1830) recollection that in 1769 he met with Hume, Benjamin Franklin, and John Pringle at dinner at the Strahan house.[46]

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[46] By participating actively in the English intellectual scene, for some of the Scottish intellects, publishing their works not only in the English tongue, but also geographically in England might have certain inevitability, partly because of their academic lineage, descended from English tradition of learning, and above all the subjects of interest. Hume, for one, published some of his works in London, amongst whom is *A Treatise of Human Nature* of 1738 at the age of twenty-five. Giving consideration to the significant role of Hume in the tradition of empirical philosophy, it seems rather inevitable that he published his works in England, of which the capital happened to be London. The inquiry of the empirical philosophy had gradually surmounted the idea of Scottish-English boundary. While John Locke (1632-1704) was an Oxford-educated Englishman, George Berkeley (1685-1753) was born in Ireland and grew up in England. As an empiricist, it was a rather logically justified movement for Hume to take Great Britain as the proper sphere for his academic activity.

" If the two nations [England and Scotland] had continued distinct" , writes Robertson, " each might have retained idioms and forms of speech peculiar to itself" .[47] However, it was the English language, not the Scottish tongue, which became the language of the Enlightenment in Britain. Hume, Smith, Home, Robertson, Wilkie, Carlyle, and others, all wrote in English. Even those works which were supposed to " notch up to Scotland's credit" were written in pure English, including James McPherson's famous *Ossian*.[48] The

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[47] William Robertson, *Works*, 1819, vol. III, p.197., and *History of Scotland*, Book VIII. Also quoted in Smith, *Op. cit.*, p.112.

[48] McPherson's first English translation of Old Gaelic bard appeared in Edinburgh in 1760 as the *Fragments of Ancient Poetry, collected in the Highlands, and translated from the Gaelic or Erse Languages*. John Ramsay noted: " ... I well remember that in winter 1759-60, his [McPherson's] translations of fragments of Gaelic poetry were handed about and exceedingly admired by philosophers and ladies. They were published in May following [May 1760], when he lost no fame by appearing in print." (John Ramsay, *Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century*, 2 vols., ed. Alexander Allardyce, Bristol: Thoemmes, 1888, 1996, p.546.) Following this success, McPherson then published two more translations in succession in London, the *Fingal, an ancient Epic Poem in six books, together with several other Poems composed by Ossian, the son of Fingal, translated from the Gaelic Language* of 1762, and *Temora, an ancient Epic Poems in eight books, together with several other Poems, composed by Ossian, the son of Fingal, translated from the Gaelic Language* of 1763, and established himself as a man of note among the Scottish men of letters. Hume is said to have praised him as a young modest man, and Robertson, Ferguson, and others enthusiastically supported the publication perhaps through raising the requisite funds. The reputation of this translations spread amongst English circle through Horace Walpole and Thomas Gray, and it seems that the repute reached even to the ears of Britons staying abroad at that time. On 16 January 1762, James Adam, who then during his Grand Tour, writes from Rome: " ...shou'd be glad the wars of Fingal were put in the same packet, that I might admire it as well as the English, who I suppose will now think that H. Walpole paid but a just Complement to the Scottish, I dare say it will less fashionable for them to go down & visit that country the mother of so many great men, as a necessary journey to complete a gentile Education" . (Clerk of Penicuik Collection, Scottish Record Office, GD18/4923) Interestingly enough, soon after the first translations of fragments of Gaelic poetry appeared in 1760, the suspicion over the existence of the original texts in Gaelic of McPherson's translation aroused. It seems that it was just a rumour at first; then, although McPherson himself seemed to be indifferent towards it, following the appearances of the *Fingal* and *Temora*, it was gradually confirmed that McPherson's claim was not entirely true. Even Hume could not help doubting the source of the " translated poems" , as he describes them as " a palpable and impudent forgery" in his letter to Blair on 19 September 1763. In the letter to Blair on 6 October, Hume goes further and writes of McPherson, whom he has praised once as a " modest" man, as a " strange and heteroclite mortal, and most perverse and unamiable" . In 1775, by Dr. Johnson in his *Journey to the West Island of Scotland*, and in 1781 by the Rev. William Straw, author of a Gaelic dictionary, in his *Inquiry into the Authenticity of Ossian*, McPherson's claim was strongly targeted for criticism. The truth is, probably, that McPherson arranged the sources which he found and worked up into the volumes in English. It is quite unlikely that McPherson could have written purely original poems in a short period of times. However, it is also certain that McPherson did not find any real epic of which he claimed to have translated. Leaving this suspicion or the truth behind it, it is worth emphasising here that the

acquisition of English language as a tool of expressing their enterprising ideas was essential for the Scottish intellectuals, the only means by which they could have expressed their ideas on a national scale.

Appreciating that it is important to learn the English language perfectly, on one occasion when he was asked for advice by his brother John Home, concerning his nephew Joseph "Josey" Home's schooling, Hume recommends Eton:

> My present Situation revives those Reflections, which have frequently occurr'd to me, concerning the Education of your Son's, particularly of Josey, whose Age now advances, and seems to approach towards a Crisis. The Question is, whether he had better continue his Education in Scotland or in England. There are several Advantages of a Scots Education; but the Question is whether that of the Language does not counterbalance them, and determine the Preference to the English. He is now of an Age to learn it perfectly; but if a few Years elapse, he may acquire such an Accent, as he will never be able to cure of. It is not yet determin'd what Profession he shall be of; but it must always be of great Advantage to speak properly; especially, if it shou'd prove, as we have reason to hope, that his good Parts will open him the Road of Ambition. The only Inconvenience is, that few Scotsmen, that have had an English Education, have ever settled cordially in their own Country, and they have been commonly lost ever after to their Friends. However, as this Consequence is not necessary, the superior Recommendations of an English Education ought not to be neglected. I have been making Enquiries for some time; and on the whole, I find Eton the best Place for the Education of Youth. He would there be able to form

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" translations" by McPherson were all published in pure English, even though the contexts were essentially appreciated as the evidence of Scottish superiority of literary tradition.

> Connexions with many young People of Distinction; tho' the whole Expense would scarcely exceed 70 pounds a Year, which I fancy is little more than he costs you at present. I suggest, therefore, this Idea to you ...[49]

The Hume family was not alone only in considering the acquisition of English as an important element of education. In this same letter, Hume refers to the fact that William Adam, " young Adam" , son of John Adam, was enrolled at Westminster School in London, another prestigious English school, though the education offered there seems to have been somehow discredited by Hume.[50]

Hume himself was very concerned about writing and speaking correct English, and it was his great anxiety about language which made him ask Wilkie and David Mallet to correct his written English. The impact of this problem for Hume is best expressed when he wrote to Gilbert Elliot in 1757, saying; " [we] Are unhappy in our Accent & Pronunciation, speaking a very corrupt Dialect of the Tongue which we make use of." [51] The same was true of many other Scottish literati. Home, Reid, Robertson, many of them anxiously consulted Englishmen to correct their writings. It was exactly these circumstances that allowed Carlyle to boast in his autobiography that he had already been taught by " one of his father's sister" at the age of seven how to " read English, with just pronunciation and a very tolerable accent — an accomplishment which in those days was very rare."[52]

In the light of the Scottish concern for correct English, it is worth touching here on the fact that the Select Society was more than an intellectual debating society. The most significant and best known-activity of the Society, along with its weekly debates, was the promotion of the reading and speaking of the English language in Scotland. It was certainly a logical

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[49] Greig (ed.), *Op. cit.*, pp.154-5.
[50] *Ibid.*, p.151.
[51] Hume made a list of " Scotticisms to be avoided with the correct English alternatives" which appeared in the *Scots Magazine*, XXII, 1760, pp.686-7.

outcome of the practical necessities of its members, most of whom were seriously concerned with acquiring correct English. In a statement made in 1761, the Society makes an oath:

> As the intercourse between this part of Great Britain and the capital daily increases, both on account of business and amusement, and much still go on increasing, gentlemen educated in Scotland have long been sensible of the disadvantages under which they labour, from their imperfect knowledge of the ENGLISH TONGUE, and the impropriety with which they speak it.[53]

The Society itself proposed to invite qualified English teachers to provide instruction to the members. In June 1761, Thomas Sheridan, actor and elocutionist, was invited to deliver a series of twelve lectures on the rhetoric and art of speaking to an audience of three hundred in St. Paul's Episcopal Chapel in Edinburgh.[54] The tremendous success of these lectures, having audiences of 300, was reported in the *Scots Magazine* as taking place before " the most eminent in this country for their rank and abilities".[55]

The experience of the Honourable Charles Townshend, an English member of the Select Society, concerning the English language is worth remarking. It is said that Townshend suggested employing an interpreter because he could not understand the debates in the Society, and asked the rest of the members; " Why can you not learn to speak the English as you have learned to write it?" Lord Mansfield, a Scottish man who had been in London for a long time, is said to have commented on the un-English character of Hume's *History of England* and Robertson's *History of Scotland*. To this, Carlyle explained that, although the

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[52] Carlyle, *Op. cit.*, p.4.
[53] Quoted in Ernest Campbell Mossner, *The Life of David Hume*, Edinburgh, 1954, p.372, and Smith, *Op. cit.*, p.111.
[54] N. T. Phillipson, " Culture and Society in the 18th Century Province: The Case of Edinburgh and the Scottish Enlightenment" , *The University in Society*, 2 vols., ed. L. Stone, Princeton, 1975, p.446.
[55] The lectures delivered by Sheridan were published later in 1762 as *A Course of Lectures on Elocution: Together with Two Dissertations on Language* (London).

efforts to learn correct English had been made, " ... to every man bred in Scotland the English language was in some respects a foreign tongue, the precise value and force of whose words and phrases he did not understand ..." [56]

Now, it became obvious that Scots needed the ability to write and speak English in order to make an intellectual living in England. Following the gradual recognition of these circumstances, the success of Scottish publications written in pure English became considered as a credit to Scotland. In the same letter to Gilbert Elliot in which he complained about the disadvantages of being a Scottish speaker and writer, Hume raises a rather patriotic question: " ... is it not strange, I say, that in these Circumstances, we shou'd really be the People most distinguish'd for Literature in Europe?" [57] Writing this, he seems to have had some particular literary works in mind, perhaps his own *Philosophical Essays concerning Human Understanding* (1748)[58] and *History of England* (1754), his brother Home's play *Douglas*, which was produced in 1756; Wilkie's epic, *The Epigoniad* (1757), and perhaps Robertson's forthcoming *History of Scotland*, which was to appear in 1759. On 2 July 1757, the very same day Hume wrote the above-mentioned letter to Elliot, Wedderburn also wrote to Gilbert Elliot a letter in which he expressed similar views on Scottish achievements in the field of literature. In this, Wedderburn puts down the list of recent and forthcoming Scottish publications by seven men of letters:

> The most agreeable prospect in this Country arises from the Men of Letters. Robertson has almost finished a History, which will do honour to any age & bids fair to dispute the prize w t Dav d Hume. John Hume [Home] has finished the first act of Agis & applies in earnest. Ferguson is writing a very

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[56] Carlyle, *Op. cit.*, p.543.
[57] J. Y. T. Greig (ed.), *The Letters of David Hume*, vol. I, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932, p.255.
[58] *Philosophical Essays*, now known as its revised title the *Enquiry concerning Human Nature*, is a re-written version of parts of the first Book of his *A Treatise of Human Nature* which Hume worked on between 1734 and 1737.

> ingenious System of Eloquence or Composition in general. Wilkie ['s] Epick poem you have certainly seen. [Adam] Smith has a vast work upon the arrival. It discloses the deepest principles of philosophy, but I forgot that you have seen the plan. L d Kames has a book upon Law ready to appear. Dav: Hume is well advanced in the reign of Henry y e 7th. You see how we endeavour to fill up some part of the System here.[59]

In addition to its quick linguistic adaptation to England and distinguished literary success through their publications, one of the driving forces of the intellectual inroads of Scotland into England was the impartial inclination of their intellectual activity. This was especially conspicuous in the character of the enterprising debates taking place in societies and clubs, and in the Church and University, all of which had international reputations. By the mid-eighteenth century, the intellectual discovery of the Scottish Enlightenment or Scottish credit in the literary world was not in the exclusive possession of Scotland, but of the whole of Britain. The nationalistic tendency sank into oblivion of the inhibited academic passion of the age of the Enlightenment. All ideas had to be examined and debated within the wider circle of British intellectuals, and good outcomes had to be published for and appreciated by the nationwide circle. The same was true for the architectural scene in those days, and the Adam brothers' practice in particular.

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[59] Wedderburn's letter to Gilbert Elliot, in the collection of the National Library of Scotland. Quoted in Sher, *Op. cit.*, p.88. The works Wedderburn referred to in this letter, apart from the works I already mentioned in the text are; John Home's *Agis* (1758), Adam Smith's *The Theory of Moral Sentiment* (1759), Lord Kames' *History of Law Tracts* (1758). Adam Ferguson's writing on the " System of Eloquence or Composition" was never published.

IV

THE EXPERIENCE OF GRAND TOURS AND SETTLEMENT IN LONDON

As the Scottish literati aimed to publish their works in London, Robert Adam, who was concerned about the limited opportunities in Scotland to express his talents, had ambitions to establish himself as an architect in England. While in Naples in the spring of 1755, Robert, still in the very early stages of his Grand Tour, received the first letter from James in which the young brother urged Robert to set up practice in London after his return from Italy. Robert himself seemed to have already been considering the possibility of opening his practice in London. Responding to this highly suggestive idea of James, on 18 April, Robert ponders the necessity of an "English Life" for him and his family:

> You need not doubt that the contents [of your letter] concerning my remaining in England upon my return from abroad affected me much and afforded much matter for ruminating inwardly and turning that event in all the lights I could suggest. ...it is so strong that it would even make me attempt what I imagine a most difficult and embarrassing project which, if it could in any way succeed, would nevertheless prove agreeable to my taste and flattering to my ambition.[60]

Following this letter, Robert's idea of settling in London was expressed more precisely in a letter which was sent to his sister Nelly in Edinburgh on 12 July, 1755, which is quoted in the opening of this section. Robert goes on in this letter to refer to potential practical problems concerning the settlement of his family in London, and from this fact it becomes very clear that his plan was well advanced by that time. " Would you have any objection to a London life, Nell?" Robert asks; " to your coach and livery servants, and the best of

company and the most exquisite diversions. We must carry our mother with us and some trusty house-keeper..." [61]

As with any young Scot resolved and headed south, leaving Scotland was not an easy decision for Robert. While feeling the sorrow of leaving his mother country, it seems that his ambitious nature and confidence in his own " genius" led him to overcome the feeling. Robert knew that the sorrow would not be a matter for him " if I find I can do myself and my friends honour by my genius which, I assure you, I find more diminutive since I came abroad than I had before any conception of." He was also anxious about the fact that his practice in London would involve a considerable financial risk. Robert says, " it would require a very considerable sum every year to appear with proper dignity, keep equipages and establish characters above the common rank of London artificers." However, at the same time, it seems that this financial risk was not considered as an obstacle to his plan. Robert kept his grand life style in Italy, leading James to suggest that he reduce the expenditure of his stay. Robert was convinced that his life style needed to be maintained if he was to achieve one of the primary purposes of his tour, contracting friendships with powerful and prominent British Roman-based society. Taking account of such circumstances and his plan after the Tour, the decision to " borrow money at home" was inevitable even though he recognised it as " the most disadvantageous and disagreeable way of commencing business" . Concerning the financial risk of his plan to set up practice in London, Robert himself writes; " If we leave a settled business [in Scotland], a good income, and a cheap country and begin expensively in England, we shall soon spend the little we have made, with uncertainty of success or making more, as it will require a very considerable interest to succeed Chambers who has tolerable friends and real merit."[62]

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[60] Clerk of Penicuik Collection, Scottish Record Office, GD 18/4770.
[61] Clerk of Penicuik Collection, Scottish Record Office, GD 18/4779.
[62] Clerk of Penicuik Collection, Scottish Record Office, GD 18/4770, and Fleming, *Op. cit.*, p.161.

At the very beginning of his period of study in Italy, Robert had already recognised William Chambers as the rival who he thought might become a serious obstacle to him, especially in terms of his future practice in England. Now, in Robert's mind, to outdo this formidable adversary was the sine qua non for the accomplishment of his plan to practice in London. A successful practice in London meant succeeding Chambers. In the letter dated 18 April 1755, there is a fairly large amount of space given to an account of Chambers, with whom Robert met briefly during his first spring in Rome. This shows how cautious Robert was about Chambers' movement and powerful circle of friends.

> Chambers is a mortal check to these views in several ways. All the English who have travelled for these five years are much prepossessed in his favour and imagine him a prodigy for genius, for sense and good taste. My own opinion is that he in great measure deserves their encomiums, though his taste is more architectonic than picturesque — as for grounds and gardens, Boucher cant be more Gothick. But his taste for bas-reliefs, ornaments and decorations of buildings he both knows well and draws exquisitely. His sense is middling but his appearance is genteel and his personage good, which are most material circumstances. ... He despises others as much as he admires his own talents which he shows with a slow and dignified air, conveying an idea of great wisdom which is no less useful than all his other endowments and I find sways much with every Englishman; nay, he is in such great esteem, so intimate and in such friendship with most of the English that have been in Rome that they are determined to support him to the utmost of their power, amongst whom are Tylney, Huntingdon and others of great consequence and even reckoned of great taste. Was I conscious to myself of having superior genius for drawing as well as being as well provided in good hints for designing and as many grand designs finished, finely drawn and coloured, as he had to show away with, it would be a different thing. But that

> can only come with time — and time alone can determine whether I am meet to cope with such a rival. And if I find that I make the improvement I require then I can with more certainly trust to English employment and can advise you from time to time if I think I have any prospect of arriving at a taste superior to what I ever thought of before I saw Rome and of which at this moment I am quite ignorant.[63]

While Robert was a promising youth who had as much " real merit" as Chambers did, what he did not have were the " tolerable friends" . Robert found it of great importance to maintain distinguished relationships with British Grand Tourists who appeared to him as potential patrons for his future practice in Britain.

Robert's life in Rome seems to have followed, at least in its early period, the modest and restrained life of a student.[64] In his regular letters to his family in Scotland, Robert occasionally refers to his daily routine in Rome at that time. On 24 May 1755, in a letter to his sisters, Robert recounts: " the forenoon I devote to study and drawing; after dinner I ride out to see palaces and draw on the spot." [65] In another letter on 18 June, he describes the details of the lessons:

> You'll be surprised to think that my time is chiefly employed now in drawing and copying feet and hands and noses and lugs which I am

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[63] Clerk of Penicuik Collection, Scottish Record Office, GD 18/4770.
[64] Fleming gives an account of his life at this stage: " ... he was up and at work by seven o'clock every morning, sitting at his drawing-board ... . Clérisseau was teaching him the rudiments of perspective; a young French painter, Laurent Pecheux, was putting him through an abbreviated and condensed course of French academic training, beginning with Le Brun's *Méthode pour apprendre à dessiner les passions*; and a third was giving him lessons in landscape painting. ... Not until he had completed this thorough grounding in draughtsmanship would Clérisseau allow him to study architecture and their afternoon sketching expeditions were intended merely to familiarise him with the classical remains he would later have to examine in detail," See, Fleming, *Op. cit.*, p.162.
[65] Clerk of Penicuik Collection, Scottish Record Office, GD 18/4773, and Fleming, *Op. cit.*, pp.161-2.

> convinced is so absolutely requisite that nothing shall prevent me pursuing that study for some time, without which an architect cannot ornament a building, draw a bas-relief or a statue. Here Chambers excelled and by that means a design in itself neither immensely ingenious nor surprising may appear excessively so — and with the Lord's Will, M. Pecheux's advice and my own application a few hours every day, I hope to outdo that formidable rival.[66]

Robert was willing to pursue these lessons, which were unrelated to architectural design, in order to "outdo" his "formidable rival". Robert's reply to James, who had previously asked him for "a sketch or two to form some idea of a great design," indicates the thoroughness of the lessons that Robert had been given to acquire the grounds of draughtsmanship:

> I have not as yet attempted designing anything in the way of composing in the Grand Style as I am applying to those things from which I shall be able to make such compositions viz. to figures, to ornaments and to perspective. When I have studied them for some time I will put them in different forms so as to be simple and great. For I consider beginning compositions just now as one would do a painter who had never learnt to draw hands, feet or eyes and yet would attempt to draw the Laocoon or to compose a history-painting.[67]

Aiming at the successful establishment of his practice in London, Robert carefully analysed those of his merits that might appeal to his potential clients and patrons. Appreciating that it was extremely important for him to distinguish himself from Chambers, Robert writes to "Jamie" James on 4 July 1755:

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[66] Clerk of Penicuik Collection, Scottish Record Office, GD 18/4776, and *Ibid.*, p.162.
[67] Clerk of Penicuik Collection, Scottish Record Office, GD 18/4777, and *Ibid.*

> When I came here and had my views confined to Scotland alone, I imagined that it would be sufficient for me to enlarge my ideas, to pick up a set of new thoughts which, with some little instruction in drawing I imagined would be sufficient to make one who had seen so much carry all before him in a narrow country where the very name of a traveller acquires respect and veneration to no great geniuses. But with respect to England the affair is quite different. There you have rivals, and these not unformidable: you have people of real taste, and not few of them. The first will do all they can to destroy real merit and the others will judge and from that condemn or approve. For this reason it is evident that unless one can appear equal if not superior to these antagonists, so as to acquire the preference from the connoisseurs, all attempts to succeed, even with good interest, won't continue for any tract of time, so that after a little blaze you are sent home with little honour and less profit. These considerations made me determine to go to the bottom of things — to outdo Chambers in figures, in bas-reliefs and in ornaments, which, with any tolerable degree of taste so as to apply them properly, make a building appear as different as night from day. You'll own the attempt was bold, but nevertheless I have attempted it. I am drawing hands and feet, from which I make the proper advances to full figures and from that to composing and putting any story or fancy together. My progress is as yet very trivial, though Pecheux, my instructor, gives me great encouragement and assures me in three or four months I shall do infinitely better than Chambers ever did or will do.[68]

In this letter, Robert also gives an account of Piranesi, " the most extraordinary fellow" Robert had ever seen. Robert writes: " Chambers, who courted Piranesi's friendship with all

the assiduity of a lover, never could bring him even to do a sketch of anything from him. So much is he out of his calculation that he has told me that whatsoever I want of him he will do for me with pleasure, and is just now doing two drawings for me which will be both singular and clever."[69]

In Rome, Robert's circle of acquaintances consisted of three-parties; Scottish, Italian, and English. There was a little society of Scottish friends in Rome. Robert appeared to be one of the central figures of this circle which he called " my Caledonian Club" .[70] With them he seemed to enjoy speaking his native tongue in a foreign land. Robert Wood was a member of this club, as was Scottish painter Allan Ramsay, who was on his second visit to Italy. The Scottish circle formed, however, only a part of the wider Roman acquaintance of Robert. He was intimate with the leading circle of the Roman art scene, including Raphael Mengs, Pompeo Batoni, Piranesi, and Cardinal Alessandro Albani, nephew of Pope Clement XI.[71]

Robert enjoyed a large number of friendships with most of the English establishment in Rome at that time; amongst these was the circle of the young Duke of Bridgewater, to whom Robert was the artistic adviser in Italy. This introduction Robert owed to Robert Wood, author of *The Ruins of Palmyra* (1753) and *The Ruins of Balbec* (1757), who was then guiding the young Duke around Italy. Robert seemed to have enjoyed the company with this young aristocrat, writing of him: " he has a great opinion of my judgement in matters of taste and has laid out some hundreds by my advice. ... Yesterday we rolled about together from morning to night. We saw palaces, we saw statues and churches. ... We were very thick." [72] When the young Duke was suddenly called back to England in August 1755, Robert was constantly with the Duke for the last few days. Robert records: " We parted

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[68] Clerk of Penicuik Collection, Scottish Record Office, GD 18/4777.
[69] Clerk of Penicuik Collection, Scottish Record Office, GD 18/4777.
[70] cf. Fleming, *Op. cit.*, p.171.
[71] Cardinal Alessandro Albani was one of the leading patrons and collectors of Art in Italy at that time.
[72] Quoted in Fleming, *Op. cit.*, pp.176-7.

exceeding good friends, a proof of which was his leaving me between four and five dozen of exceeding good claret, with the promise to do everything for me he possibly could whenever it lay in his power or if ever I should have the occasion for his protection, countenance or assistance." [73] However, by the time Robert returned to England from his Grand Tour in January 1758, the Duke had given up the idea of building a new country house. Robert Wood was now an under-secretary of State who held out block prospects for large public or Government works, and discouraged Robert very much. It is said that "Robert quietly let their acquaintanceship lapse."[74]

Immediately after his return, Robert settled himself in Cleveland Court, St. James Place. James, who was already in London with Robert by the end of that month, describes the establishment of himself and Robert in London in a letter to his sister Helen on 1 February 1758: " I must inform you that Bob is at last fixed in a house for some months, ... At present we are in a furnished house in St. James' s Place, at a damned high rent, which we take by the week till something more feasible casts up; but we found it impossible to be longer in a vagabond situation. Our family therefore consists of two masters, two draughtsmen, one man and one maid and all upon board wages so as to give us no trouble... Linens are what we want most and could wish you would send by first convoy a box of those lately made, consisting of four pairs of fine sheets, three pairs of coarse ones and half-a-dozen coarse tablecloths — for anything passes down with bachelors. Let there likewise be pillow-slips in proportion and all marked."[75]

The house in Cleveland Court was a temporary arrangement to display his drawings, entertain the wealthy establishment, and more importantly to impress them with his works. Robert' s original plan was to find an unfinished house for sale or to rent on a long lease so

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[73] Quoted in *Ibid.*, p.178.
[74] *Ibid.*, p.248.
[75] Clerk of Penicuik Collection, Scottish Record Office, GD 18/4847. Also quoted in Fleming, *Op. cit.*, p.246.

that he could create his own " gallery" , in which to display works reflecting his taste and sophisticated style. He gave careful consideration to the value of a good address. Still during his Grand Tour in 1756, Robert had already considered the concrete detailed necessities of his forthcoming London life, such as a fine house, " one of the handsomest chariots and pair of horses London affords" . Robert explains: " I imagine there is no way to get the better of these city fellows but by throwing them into despair at first sight, and no way so good or proper to get a good price as to take all methods to show you despise a bad one." [76] Despite the fact that it was merely a temporary settlement, Robert often invited his acquaintances to this house, the number of whom rapidly increased within weeks of his return, largely through the personal recommendations made by his fellow Scotsmen.

Before long, Robert moved to a house in Lower Grosvenor Street, which he found more suitable for his taste for a grander style of living. Paintings, marbles and plaster-casts, and antique fragments, a variety of Roman purchases, were displayed throughout the house, of which Fleming gives an account of a part of the arrangement of a display of paintings:

> His Amigonis, his two landscapes by Teniers, his *St Francis* by Guido Reni and a painting of 'figures riding through the Colosseum' were to hang in the parlour, which the dinning-room was to be decorated with his 'Domenichino, Carlo Maratta, *St Catherine* by Guido and some other choice pieces'.[77]

Throughout his career, Robert believed that every aspect of his lifestyle as an architect should, in its elegance, confirm his rightful membership of an intelligent and sophisticated establishment. In this respect, Robert Adam made a clear contrast to Chambers. On one occasion, Robert is said to have visited Chambers, and found that he was " drawing in a poor

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[76] *Ibid.*, p.247.
[77] *Ibid.*, p.251.

mean lodging up a long dark stair, which is wretched." [78] Such a wretched image was the last thing Robert wanted himself to be associated with. He was totally convinced that it was necessary to present not only his designs but also his manner and intellectual depth, both of which he acquired through his good lineage, education, and flamboyant social life within this large circle of friends in Edinburgh, Rome, and London. Of his success in creating the intended image of himself, John Clerk of Eldin wrote of Robert Adam; " with his taste, his productions, and his manners, everyone went away enchanted."[79]

Now, Robert was widely known among the establishment, and many of them admired his drawings and artistic ability. However, at the same time, Robert's practice in London was faced with financial difficulties, even though by that time his works had begun to attract the attention of many. On this matter, Robert impatiently explains the reason in a letter of 11 August: " nobody thinks of paying, and when they do, give nothing worth taking. So may the devil damn them altogether."[80]

Robert got through this financial situation by borrowing a large sum from John Adam in Scotland. Characteristically, Robert never changed his grand life style, even though a reduction of his expenditure on entertainment was suggested by John on this occasion; but at least now, to quote Fleming, " he entertained guests on two days of the week only and otherwise he and his sisters were quite 'remarkably sober', eating little butcher meat and drinking nothing but beer."[81]

In those days, his friends and acquaintances were almost exclusively Scots. Just as Scottish contacts had led him to the English establishment in Rome, so it was once again his circle of Scottish acquaintances who introduced him to the English patrons of art and architecture

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[78] *Ibid.*, p.249.
[79] cf. *Ibid.*
[80] Clerk of Penicuik Collection, Scottish Record Office, GD 18/4850. Also quoted in Fleming, *Op. cit.*, p.253.

when he finally set up his practice in London in 1758. The Scottish friend to whom he owed most in London was Lady Lindores, a cousin by marriage to the late George Drummond, six-times the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, of whom Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, a long standing patron of the Adams, was the protégé. Robert successfully increased his acquaintance through the fashionable parties regularly held by Lady Lindores in her house in Half Moon Street. It was she who introduced Robert to his first important client, Edwin Lascelles of Harewood, who was proposing to build his country home at Harewood, near Leeds. The fact that the designs submitted by Chambers had been previously rejected by his Lordship must surely have pleased Robert considerably, as much as the fact that the commission had been given to a local Yorkshire architect, John Carr, before it was passed to his hands. Robert immediately proposed various "improvements" to Carr's original designs, and the house was ultimately completed as a compromise between Robert's and Carr's designs.

Another important patron, with whom he became acquainted in this year, resulted from his strong lineage in the architectural profession, or more precisely the wide patronage of his successful father. Robert had known General Lord Charles Hay of Limplum since his father had worked at Yester for the Marquees of Tweeddale, the elder brother of the General.[82] With an introduction from General Charles Hay, Robert made the acquaintance of one of his most important clients, Sir Nathaniel Curzon of Kedleston, whose country seat in Derbyshire, Kedleston Hall, was to be completed by Robert Adam with considerable modifications to the original designs prepared by his predecessors.[83]

The Scottish contacts in Edinburgh, Rome, and London, formed the central role of their socialities. Dependence on Scottish materials — people and thoughts — remained

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[81] *Ibid.*, p.254.
[82] William Adam worked at Yester from 1729 almost until his death in 1748. See, John Gifford, *William Adam 1689-1748: A Life and Times of Scotland's Universal Architect*, Mainstream Publishing, 1989.

characteristic of their exercises in architecture, both in theory and design. It may be interpreted as the manifestation of their Scottish identity and a sense of belonging to the Scottish intellectual scene, or even, although this remains no more than a speculation, a reflection of their emotional isolation as Scots from the English. This Scottish sentiment towards the English was shared by many at that time, as Hume, for one, expressed in a letter to Gilbert Elliot in 1764 that the English hate him, " all because I am a Scotsman. Can you seriously talk of my continuing an Englishman? Am I, or are you, an Englishman? Will they allow us to be so?" [84] In any case, for the Adam brothers, who had successfully established their nationwide fame by making excellent use of an almost limitless wealth of material and sources which were available to the British architects, it was their profound relation to Scotland-related sources of inspiration and information since their formative years that integrated the characteristically diversified nature of their architectural practice and was to set it distinctly apart from that of their preceding generation and the rest of their contemporaries.

For William Adam, the essential concern was how to satisfy his learned and ingenious clients by his proposals. The ideas and requests of clients, based on their experiences of the Grand Tours, were important sources for William's designs. In the generation of Robert and James, architects were as well-educated as their patrons, and had themselves experienced the Grand Tours. While the patrons of the Adam brothers still remained in the circle of noble and wealthy aristocracies, given the altered relationship between clients and architects, they were simply treated as mere clients whose experiences abroad and tastes in art were not considered as the primary motives for proposed new designs. They found it important, if not necessary, to enlighten and educate their clients with their taste in art. While continuing to hold wealthy and sophisticated aristocrats as their primary clients, as architects who were equally educated and experienced in the noble taste of their patrons, Robert and James

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[83] For a discussion of Adam's designs for Kedleston Hall, see Chapter Five.
[84] Greig (ed.), *Op. cit.*, 1932, vol. I, p.470. Also quoted in Smith, *Op. cit.*, p.109.

understood this new role of the architectural profession better than any others in the second half of the eighteenth century.

The Adam brothers' relationship with their patrons, clearly different from the preceding generation of William Adam, stems from their substantial educational backgrounds. The superior education of Robert and James, set by their successful father from their young age, consequently provided the brothers with the good fortune to keep company with a number of promising intellectuals, who later formed the leading circle of the British Enlightenment in the second half of the eighteenth century. Associating themselves with the future leading circle of British intellectual scenes, they gradually formed their self-awareness of being architects as an established intellectual profession. Just as the social status of early professional architects had emerged from the tradition of the independent or amateur scholarly gentleman-designer,[85] so it was their scholarly gentleman-educational background and knowledge that had led the Adam brothers to see an image of élite profession in themselves. Clarifying the nature of their act as impartial superintendence midway between clients and professional builder, they had come to regard architecture as a fully-developed intellectual profession and differentiated their conduct from that of professional builders and masons. Through their prominent intimacy with the leading circle of British intellectuals, their university education and affluence, Robert and James had intellectually and socially emancipated themselves from the command of their patron in aesthetic matters and gained the active role to advise them. Although it has been argued that yet in the 1770s, " even in London" it was with difficulty that an architect could sustain the pretensions to be apart from builders and masons,[86] they seem to have found every reason to claim that: " it is of little consequence to us, what the practice is, among professional

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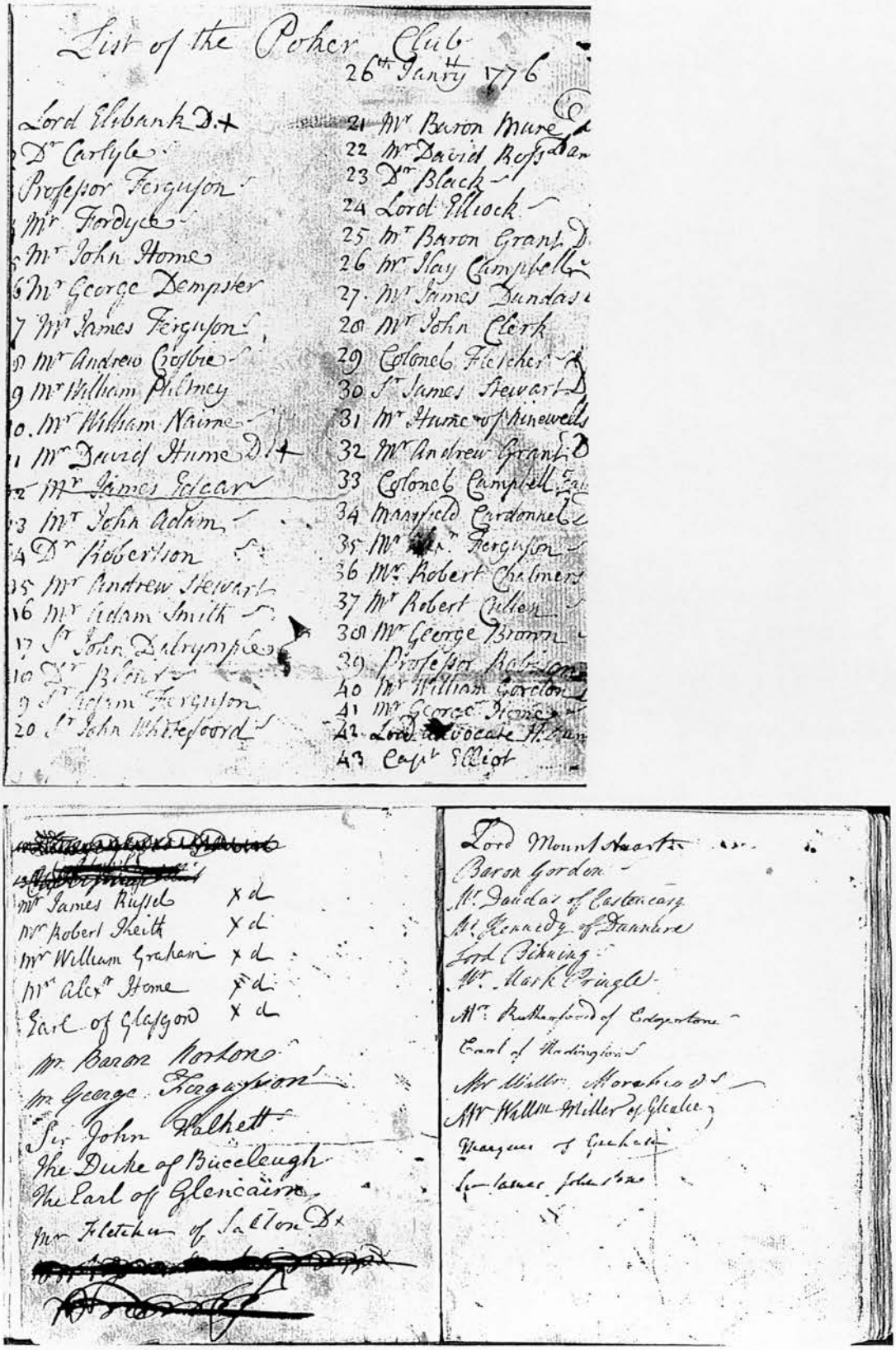
[85] cf. Andrew Saint, *The Image of the Architect*, Yale University Press, 1983, pp.57-8.
[86] Howard Colvin, " The beginning of the architectural profession in Scotland", *Architectural History: Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain*, no. 29, 1986, p.168.

builders. We are not builders by profession, but Architects & Surveyors, & live by those Branches."[87]

[87] A Letter from Robert and James Adam to Charles Townley, quoted in *Ibid.*


List of the Poker Club
26th Janry 1776

Lord Elibank D.+
Dr Carlyle
Professor Ferguson
Mr Fordyce
Mr John Home
Mr George Dempster
Mr James Ferguson
Mr Andrew Crosbie
Mr William Pulteney
Mr William Nairne
Mr David Hume D.+
Mr James Oswald
Mr John Adam
Dr Robertson
Mr Andrew Stewart
Mr Adam Smith
Sr John Dalrymple
Dr Blair
Dr Adam Ferguson
Dr John Whitefoord

21 Mr Baron Mure
22 Mr David Ross
23 Dr Black
24 Lord Elliock
25 Mr Baron Grant
26 Mr Alay Campbell
27 Mr James Dundas
28 Mr John Clerk
29 Colonel Fletcher
30 Sr James Stewart
31 Mr Hume of Kneeweils
32 Mr Andrew Grant
33 Colonel Campbell
34 Mansfield Cardonnel
35 Mr Alex. Ferguson
36 Mr Robert Chalmers
37 Mr Robert Cullen
38 Mr George Brown
39 Professor Robertson
40 Mr William Gordon
41 Mr George Home
42 Lord Advocate H. Dundas
43 Capt Scott

Mr James Russel x d
Mr Robert Keith x d
Mr William Graham x d
Mr Alexr Home x d
Earl of Glasgow x d
Mr Baron Norton
Mr George Fergusson
Sr John Halkett
The Duke of Buccleugh
The Earl of Glencairne
Mr Fletcher of Salton D.+

Lord Mount Stuart
Baron Gordon
Mr Dundas of Castlecary
Mr Kennedy of Dunnure
Lord Pitsligo
Mr Mark Pringle
Mr Rutherfurd of Edgerstone
Earl of Hadington
Mr Miller Mansfield D.+
Mr William Miller of Glenlee
Marquis of Graham
Sr James Johnstone

6. Members of Poker Club. From the Minutes Book of Poker Club.

CHAPTER II

THE GERMINATION OF A NEW TREND IN ARCHITECTURE [88]

I

THE ENLIGHTENMENT NOTION OF AESTHETIC INDIVIDUALISM

In the middle of the eighteenth century, studies of art and beauty were not pursued separately from such traditional disciplines as logic, moral philosophy and natural science. The interdisciplinary character of this new knowledge is best explained in the fact that many of the contributors were philosophers, scientists, economists, ministers and educators at universities. It was a logical outcome that, to quote Cassirer, " the aesthetic problem remains in constant flux; and constant variations take place in the significance of the basic concepts depending on the choice of starting-point and on the predominance of the psychological, the logical, or the ethical interest." [89] While the disciplinary classification and attempt of the intellectual emancipation gradually progressed, the theoretical foundation of the aesthetic quest continued to be tied in with the principles of different disciplines. It was in this interdisciplinary character of aesthetic thought that eighteenth-century aesthetic creativity in Britain found its intricate theoretical background in the second half of the eighteenth century.

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[88] Ernst Cassirer's *Die Philosophie der Aufklärung* (Tübingen, 1932) has provided the ground-work for the historical development of the aesthetics of the Enlightenment, and where no references are given the information has been taken from this book. For quotations from this book, I use the English edition, Ernst Cassirer, *The Philosophy of the Enlightenment*, trans. Fritz C. A. Koelln and James P. Pettegrne, Boston, 1951, 1955.
[89] *Ibid.*, p.277.

The real nature of Enlightenment thinking was never formulated into particular absolute doctrines, axioms, and theorems. It did not limit its basis within a systematic doctrinal structure. Instead, it was clarified in the process or manner of thought, i.e. doubting and examining, seeking, tearing down and building up. Just as the age of the Enlightenment put the workings of the mind in question, so it was the process of artistic creation, criticism, and appreciation to which the aesthetic quest of this movement bent its particular attention. Seventeenth and eighteenth-century aesthetic interest in pure empirical phenomena and immediate observation emerged from a scepticism against the established tradition of Classical aesthetics of objectivity, that tended to integrate artistic phenomena into the objective system of rules and to focus upon differences in external existences. Emancipating the act of artistic creativity from the absolute authority of the classical notion, the descriptive attitude did not place the focus on the work of art itself, but on the attempt to define and characterise the pattern of artistic observation. The most important aim of aesthetic inquiry veered round to the consideration and analysis of the impression that works of art arouses in the minds which contemplate them and the individual's judgment to express and re-organise their first impression later on. The classical aesthetics of objectivism placed the focus on the mere formulae and objective nature of objects. In contrast, the aesthetics of the succeeding phase placed the focus on the nature of the mind which contemplated objects and elaborated the new theory applicable to the variety and variability of artistic objects and phenomena. This may be described as the aesthetics of, what might be termed, " anti-authoritarianism" or " individualism" . In the case of the evaluation of aesthetic value of works of art, the objective law of classical aesthetic appreciation was now replaced by the subjective judgement of individuals — " for the 'nature of things' (natura rerum), to which aesthetic objectivism had been oriented, is no longer the guiding star; it has now been superseded by the nature of man" ,[90] writes Cassirer. In the course of gradual rather than dynamic and sudden transformation, the new standard of aesthetic appreciation, that classical aesthetics had once made vain attempts to establish in

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[90] *Ibid.*, p.298

universal objectivity, was about to be firmly established in the subjectivity or individuality of the beholder.

In the beginning of the second half of the eighteenth-century, the quest for an anti-authoritarian aesthetics developed dramatically when a keen interest in the emotion/problem of the sublime as an aesthetic consideration emerged. Edmund Burke's *A Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful* (1756)[91] is the first example of an aesthetic treatise written under the influence of Empiricist epistemology, by attempting the clear classification and faithful and total description of this new aesthetic problem.[92] Cassirer writes of Burke's essay as "not primarily philosophical but rather psychological; it sets forth no unified aesthetic doctrine but seeks instead to distinguish sharply and to describe faithfully and fully certain aesthetic phenomena."[93]

Through the process of his detailed and thorough psychological inquiry, Burke notices a certain decisive point of error in the traditional aesthetic system of Classicism. Up until then, the terms such as "order", "proportion", "definite delimitation", and "simple structure", and moreover "fitness" and "perfection" were widely applied in verbal descriptions of the essential characteristics of beautiful objects. However, the question arose whether these terms express the nature of the Beauty in its totality. Burke discovers that the essential characteristics of beautiful objects in Classical aesthetics were clearly inadequate to comprehend all the elements which make objects aesthetically significant and satisfying. He found out that there are certain aesthetic phenomena which produce strong emotional effects in the human mind, but do not belong to the general criteria of the Classical

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[91] Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful*, 1756. For quotations from this book, I use, James T. Boulton (ed.), *Edmund Burke, A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990.
[92] Caroline van Eck, *Organicism in Nineteenth-Century Architecture: An Inquiry into its Theoretical and Philosophical Background*, Amsterdam: Architectura and Natura Press, 1994, p.68.
[93] Cassirer, *Op. cit.*, p.328.

definition of " beauty" . Burke now realised that, to borrow Cassirer's phrase, " the contemplation of beauty as harmonious proportion and strict unity of form does not awaken in us the deepest emotions of the soul or the most intense artistic experiences."[94]

Probably the most significant achievement of Burke, in the context of his contribution to aesthetics, is that he had defined this phenomenon, which breaks away from the dominant framework of Classical beauty, as the " Sublime" . It defies the demand of classical aesthetics for proportionality; nevertheless this phenomenon is productive of the deepest aesthetic emotion within a spectator. With aesthetic investigation into the problem of the sublime as a starting point, more profound conceptions of individual experience in aesthetic appreciation and judgement gradually evolved.

It is said that the appearance of Hume's short essay " Of the Standard of Taste" (1757) was the primary factor in the delay of Burke's publication of " Essay on Taste" , which had originally been planned to be published in 1757 with the main text of his *A Philosophical Enquiry*, but was instead added to the second edition published in 1759 as the " Introduction on Taste" .[95] The significance of Hume's essay is that it is the first notable and earnest aesthetic inquiry in history, in which anti-authoritarian aesthetics or aesthetic individualism was formally maintained.

The essay, written to seek a standard of taste, " a rule by which the various sentiments of men may be reconciled; at least, a decision afforded confirming one sentiment, and condemning another" ,[96] was, nevertheless, a challenge to the authoritarian or canonical rules of classical aesthetics, founding its arguments on " experience" and " individuality" .

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[94] *Ibid.*
[95] See James T. Boulton's interpretation in " Editor's Introduction" in Boulton *Op. cit.*, pp.10-11.
[96] David Hume, " Of the Standard of Taste" , 1757, in *The Philosophical Works*, eds., Thomas Hill Green and Thomas Hodge Grose, vol. III., Scientia Verlag Aalen, 1882, 1964, p.268.

These two concepts, which Hume expounds on throughout this essay, meet when he writes, for instance:

> ... though there be naturally a wide difference in point of delicacy [of the taste of beauty] between one person and another, nothing tends further to encrease and improve this talent than *practice* in a particular art, and the frequent survey or contemplation of a particular species of beauty. When objects of any kind are first presented to the eye or imagination, the sentiment which attends them is obscure and confused; and the mind is, in a great measure, incapable of pronouncing concerning their merits or defects. The taste cannot perceive the several excellences of the performance; much less distinguish the particular character of each excellency, and ascertain its quality and degree. If it pronounce the whole in general to be beautiful or deformed, it is the utmost that can be expected; and even this judgment, a person so unpractised will be apt to deliver with great hesitation and reserve. But allow him to acquire experience in those objects, his feeling becomes more exact and nice.[97]

In comparison to Burke's *A Philosophical Enquiry*, Peter Gay finds Hume's essay more profound. "In 1757, the year of Burke's Enquiry, David Hume published an important essay, 'Of the Standard of Taste', which is deep where Burke is shallow, measured where Burke is impetuous", writes Gay. "It is, despite its brief compass, a landmark of Enlightenment thought. ... His essay on taste attempts what the Enlightenment at its best always attempted: to substitute the authentic if relative certainty of experience for the absolute but spurious certainty of metaphysics or tradition."[98]

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[97] *Ibid.*, pp.274-5.
[98] Gay, *Op. cit.*, p.306.

II

THE IMPACT OF THE EMPIRICAL EPISTEMOLOGY IN ARCHITECTURE

In British architecture, the emergence of anti-authoritarian aesthetics has historical value as the ground on which the transition of architectural rules in the eighteenth century took place. That is to say, having now firmly established aesthetic individualism and the significance of experience, architecture could dismiss the absolute and objective standard of Classicism. Empiricist scepticism with regard to the traditional notion of objective beauty — i.e. beauty as inherent in the object and independent of the beholder — fostered a critical attitude towards the conventional, absolute authority of a rigorous classical style in architecture. In consequence, classicism was no more than one of a variety of styles, that an individual architect could choose. In architecture, in the same way as in aesthetics in general, Classicism was no longer " self-evident" . In the middle of the eighteenth century, a diversity of genera of choice of style, plurality of interpretation of " correctness" in artistic creativity, and variety of standards of values were then about to set the new mode in British architecture.

The Empiricists' attack on the classical understanding of beauty as a fixed, objective property of an object challenged the classical dogma in regularity and in the existence of objective, controlling criteria of design. So far as architecture is concerned, it would be more accurate to say that the empirical revolution challenged the canonical approach to architectural proportion that obeyed the Renaissance notion of objective beauty.

Defining the proportional formulae that determine the whole composition and dimensions of a building, the Renaissance aesthetics of proportion had simplified the complexity of man's artistic creativity into a compact system of canonical rules. Alberti, for instance, advocates in his *De Re Aedificatoria* that whatever the constituent parts and elements of the whole composition of buildings are: " they will look worthless unless their composition is

precisely governed by order and measure. Each individual element must be arranged according to number [ordered by Natural laws of symmetry], in such a way that even is balanced by even, right and left, upper and lower; nothing must be introduced that might disturb the arrangement or order; everything must be set to exact angles and proportionate lines." [99] The first of the attacks on the canonical approach to architectural proportion is credited to Claude Perrault (1613-88), who explained the agreeable nature of those proportions which follow the objective rules of architecture as merely a product of one's experience of being used to them. " Perrault rejected quite rudely the idea that there was an absolute criterion for architectural proportions" , writes Robin Middleton and David Watkin in their *Neoclassical and 19th Century Architecture* of 1980: " The architectural proportions derived from the order ... were in no sense a feature of a divine or universal order; they were simply a matter of custom." [100] It is, however, an important fact to stress that Perrault was convinced of the necessity of rules. Caroline van Eck explains: " Rather than rejecting all standards of proportion, Perrault tried to formulate a new basis for the use of proportion, which is based not on the slavish respect of ancient authority but on a critical enquiry into what is really the ground for judgements of beauty in architecture." [101] " Perrault did not doubt the objective nature of beauty" ,[102] finding the necessity to " establish rules that would form and correct the idea [that each one of us has of perfection]" [103] and replacing the canonical rules of architectural proportion with mathematical thinking. While still denying traditional belief that proportion is directly related to beauty, Perrault rejected " the justification of the aesthetics of proportion that was handed down by tradition" .[104] He saw, instead, in the use of modular proportion the key subservient to his aim of developing a

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[99] Leon Battista Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, trans. Joseph Rykwert, Neil Leach, Robert Tavernor, The MIT Press, 1988, p.164.
[100] Robin Middleton and David Watkin, *Neoclassical and 19th Century Architecture*, Harry N. Abrams, 1980, p.12.
[101] Van Eck, *Op. cit.*, p.87.
[102] *Ibid.*, p.84.
[103] Claude Perrault's preface in Vitruvius, *Les dix livres d'architecture de Vitruve*, trans. Claude Perrault, Paris, 1673, 1684. Translated in Claude Perrault, *Ordinance for the Five Kinds of Columns After the Method of the Ancients*, eds. Julia Bloomfield, Kurt W. Forster, Thomas F. Reese, The Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1993, p.30.

new, probable, scientific foundation to the beauty of classical architecture, which simplifies the process of design, avoids the irregularities of practice, and ultimately should substitute for the Renaissance aesthetics of proportion.

English and Scottish Empiricists' attack on the notion of the universally valid and objective nature of beauty in the second half of the eighteenth century was far more decisive, by being consistent in doubting any standard of proportion. It was therefore different from their French predecessors. It was meant precisely to challenge the aesthetic foundation of neo-Palladianism, the dominant architectural force in Britain until the late eighteenth century. While neo-Palladianism was not necessarily restricted in its sources to the works of Renaissance architects, it was in favour of the simplicity and proportional authenticity of their approaches to architecture, and was in quest of a guiding system of rules by which harmonic proportion and geometry might be readily accomplished. Empirical epistemology theoretically negated any existence of objective rules that tended to determine the " correctness" of proportion. It was, in consequence, the loss of the most essential basis of the style, which had dominated British domestic architecture for the preceding half-century.

In their desire to return to the " Beauty" , " Harmony" and " Simplicity" of the Ancients, the neo-Palladian school proposed design principles derived from a strict system of proportion. Every architectural element in a building, for example, the size, proportion, arrangement of individual elements, and dimensions of rooms and interior spaces should conform to multiples of a module in order to achieve rigorous " correct" proportions. Emphasising the importance of regularity and proportions in architecture, neo-Palladianists had no doubt of the existence of objective authoritarian rules which control the whole composition of and process of designing architecture. This sort of understanding of architectural art was best expressed by Robert Morris (1702-54), a prominent writer of

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[104] Van Eck, *Op. cit.*, p.89.

British Palladianism,[105] when he wrote in 1734: " REGULARITY and Proportion are the fine Parts of Architecture, and these are perform'd by stated Rules, handed down to us by the Care and Vigilance of preceding Ages, to whom we owe all our Knowledge, as well Historical as Architectural." [106] The substance of his contention is graphically represented in an image of the module, by which the size, position, and dimension of every element and entire composition of architecture should be determined.

In practice, the Empiricists' disavowal of classical theories of proportion was intended to challenge the guiding belief of Neo-Palladianism, namely that beauty in architecture consists in symmetrical planning and / or in the severe use of modular proportion. Now, devout British adherence to the dogmas of Neo-Palladianism was about to come to an end. There were no longer objective grounds for accepting the superiority of any form of established traditions.

Empiricists knew that there are no beauties intrinsic in architecture itself, as the beauties of architecture are not the primary qualities inherent in forms and proportions of building. Instead, designing strictly according to the absolute criterion of proportion, the comprehensive excellence of architecture was judged on the subjective responses of beholders. This change of criteria was surely the most important achievement of the Empiricists in architecture, and it was this event that eventually concluded the theoretical

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[105] Amongst the writings of Morris, in which his architectural ideas and concepts were compiled, are; *An Essay in Defence of Ancient Architecture or, A Parallel of the Ancient Buildings with the Modern: showing the Beauty and Harmony of the Former, and the Irregularity of the Latter*, of 1728; *Lectures on Architecture. Consisting of Rules Founded upon Harmonick and Arithmetical Proportions in Building Design'd as an Agreeable Entertainment for Gentlemen*, of 1734, 2nd edition, of 1759; *An Essay upon Harmony, as it relates to Situation and Building*, of 1739, which was published anonymously; and *The Architectural Remembrance: being a Collection of New and Useful Designs, of Ornamental Buildings and Decorations for Parks, Gardens, Woods, etc., to which are added, A variety of Chimney-Pieces, after the Manner of Inigo Jones and Mr. Kent*, of 1751.

[106] Robert Morris, *Lectures on Architecture. Consisting of Rules Founded upon Harmonick and Arithmetical Proportions in Building Design'd as an Agreeable Entertainment for Gentlemen: And More Particularly Useful to all who make ARCHITECTURE, or the Polite Arts, their study*, London, 1734: pp.47-8.

attack of empirical epistemology against the neo-Palladian dependence on an authoritarian theory of modular proportion. While the dogma of Palladian proportion and modular planning did not survive the empirical assault, the individual elements and motifs of classical architecture did. Their survival tended to observe, in terms of built form, the impact of the empiricist revolution.

Robert and James Adam, at the peak of their careers, witnessed and were imbued with all the details of this profound ideological transition in architecture, and consequently their designs and ideas were greatly influenced by the freshly established aesthetic notion of individualism. Although the Adam brothers fully endorsed the notion that classical architecture had lost its authoritarian control, they never dismissed the visual and emotional impacts of classical proportionality from their architectural vocabulary. The sense of " unparallelism" one often reads in the comparison between the Adam brothers' designs and their writings is nothing more than their bare manifestation of such understanding, a reflection of the current British architectural movement.

The contradiction, for instance, has been pointed out in their frequent application of Palladian motives. Even though James once clearly dismissed Palladio as " one of those fortunate genius who have purchased reputation at an easy rate" ,[107] to quote Worsley, " objective study of Adam's architectural designs shows that for all his violent attacks on earlier styles his buildings are heavily indebted to those of Lord Burlington and the other Neo-Palladians." [108] When Robert promised " to become author, to attack Vitruvius, Palladio and those blackguards of ancient and modern architecture, sword in hand" ,[109] he intended to dismiss the theoretical base and authority of Neo-Palladianism as the standard of " good" architecture. Neo-Palladianism had been established for a long time in Britain, therefore there was no reason why the Adam brothers had to restrain themselves from employing

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[107] Fleming, *Op. cit.*, p.273.
[108] Worsley, *Op. cit.*, p.245.

individual motifs of the style, as long as their individual, subjective and detached judgement on the choice of the motives to be employed was accomplished throughout the process of design.

Instead of establishing a specific new style of architecture, empirical attacks against the theoretical background of Neo-Palladianism led to a phase of eclecticism, a period which enabled a choice between various styles and influences; and the combination of diverse elements from them. In architecture, the problem of the correctness of proportions lost its priority to the freedom of the architect to select and employ any architectural style and motif according to his individual taste. Now, the real focus was the subjective delight of the architect in his own design, as A. H. Lethaby has noted:

> About the middle of the eighteenth century the first ideal of the Renaissance, the desire to be Roman, passed away. It had been a fashion at courts and they tired of it. About this time the monuments of Greek art were discovered and described, and at home our national architecture was rediscovered. Then soon along the same line of Renaissance – the essential idea of which is the attempt to produce an architecture by copying old external forms – some English architects set about being Greek, and later others became 'Gothic men'.[110]

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[109] Clerk of Penicuik Collection, Scottish Record Office, GD18/4834.
[110] A. H. Lethaby, *Architecture: An Introduction to the History and Theory of the Art of Building*, Oxford University Press, 1955, p.183.

III

NEO-CLASSICAL ECLECTICS

The Enlightenment in Scotland, England, and France began by breaking down older metaphysical systems; nevertheless the movement was remarkably historical in its scope. The Enlightenment is " not self-contained, but looks before and after beyond its own confines" .[111] The Enlightenment conception is largely dependent on shifting, developing, and clarifying the intellectual heritage of the preceding centuries. The same inclination is strikingly recognisable in the way in which a new architectural mood was developed after the middle of the eighteenth century.

Revivalism in architecture was in fashion, and the stylish trend in this art had been completely reoriented to its historical past. Only recently was it understood that " the reproduction of an old style may be just as significant and 'historical' an act as the creation of a new one and may reflect a profound alteration of attitude to other things than styles" .[112] Neo-classicism in architecture is " an attitude towards the architecture of antiquity which can be present at any time" , not a certain period of history of architecture nor style. It consistently avoided the violent break with any sort of established tradition in architecture, and avidly examined every possible branch of Architectural History. Summerson writes that, " at the heart of the new situation" , described as Neo-Classicism, was " the displacement of a belief in one authority — Rome — by the conviction that there were, or could be, a plurality of authorities — Roman, Greek, Gothic and, for that matters, Chinese and Indian. A plurality leads at once to the possibility of choice and, in this case, to stylistic eclecticism. This or that style can be explored and exploited. This style can be combined with that style. And, most important of all, once the comparative study of historic styles is

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[111] Cassirer, *Op. cit.*, vi.
[112] Summerson, *Op. cit.*, 1969, 1986, p.75.

allowed to be legitimate, there is the irresistible analogue of a new style. This may be conceived as a personal style, a national style or simply as a rational abstraction from all styles. The way is clear for architectural revolution in a profound sense."[113]

As has been shown in the previous section, the revolution in architecture — that is the displacement of classical authority as system by new inventive stylistic eclecticism — originated in the notion of individuality in artistic creativity and judgement. It was, therefore, inseparably related to the empirical, anti-authoritarian inclination of Enlightenment aesthetics.

The Adam brothers best exploited this revolution. Every possible source of stylistic inspiration was closely examined and skilfully personalised in their works with a considerable degree of originality. They enjoyed emancipation from the trammels of tradition and fixed ideas. What they have achieved in architecture was one facet of the greater impulse towards eclecticism in the age of the Enlightenment, the real nature of which is explained by Denis Diderot in *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des Sciences, des Arts et des métiers...* (1751-65): " all things must have be examined, debated, investigated without exception and without regard for anyone' s feelings..." [114] The outcome of this was articulated, and conscientiously and diligently compiled in Diderot and D' Alembert' s *Encyclopédie*, in order to present the general outlines and structure of all forms of knowledge " scattered over the face of the earth" to the men of those days and to transmit them to the succeeding generation. The process of the compilation remained constant to " the true nature of Enlightenment thinking" which was, to borrow Cassirer' s phrase " the constantly evolving process of thought, ... doubting and seeking, tearing down and building up", so as to achieve the rationalisation of all aspects of life.[115]

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[113] *Ibid.*, p.76.
[114] Stephen J. Gendzier (ed. and trans.), *Denis Diderot's the Encyclopedia (Selections)*, New York, 1967, p.93.
[115] Cassirer, *Op. cit.*, 1951, ix.

" Eclecticism" as conceived by the *Encyclopédie*, was obviously of primary importance — an intellectual attitude which admits " only what can be proven" by one's experience and reason. Applying the subject exclusively to the philosophic matters, the *Encyclopédie* states:

> The eclectic is a philosopher who, by riding roughshod over prejudice, tradition, antiquity, universal consent, authority, in a word, everything that subjugates the mass of minds, dares to think for himself, goes back to the most clear and general principles, examines and discusses them, while admitting only what can be proven by experience and reason. After having analyzed all philosophical systems without any deference or partiality, he constructs a personal and domestic one that belongs to him.[116]

In short, the sectarian is a man who has embraced the doctrine of a philosophy; the eclectic, on the contrary, is a man who recognises no master.

While *eclecticism* had been hardly applied to " anything but philosophic matters" , Diderot argues that " it is not difficult to foresee that through the agitation of the human mind this method will be used more extensively" . " I do not believe, perhaps it is not even desirable" , he continues, " that its first results should spread rapidly, because those who are experienced in the practice of the arts are not sufficiently rational and those who have the habit of reasoning are neither sufficiently informed nor sufficiently disposed to learn about mechanical subjects."[117]

Despite Diderot's remarks, and maybe not as self-consciously or theoretically as was the case of " philosophic matters" , architecture, as a rational creation, could hardly remain

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[116] Gendzier (ed. and trans.), *Op. cit.*, 1967, p.86.
[117] *Ibid.*, 1967, pp.90-91.

unaffected by intellectual developments in an age of reason and experience. Indeed, " Eclecticism" was an influential concept in architecture. It reorientated the architect to the world of antiquity, and prepared the way for the formal arrival of the new trend of stylistic plurality in the second half of the eighteenth century.

The spirit of eclecticism in architecture is best expressed in the writings of Jacques-Francois Blondel, a contributor to the *Encyclopédie* on architectural subjects, " whose reputation is based chiefly on his activities as teacher and writer" .[118] Blondel argues that while there is merit in study of the works of the Ancients, especially for those who are beginners in architecture, it makes no sense to erect buildings in the exact manner of the Ancients — in his opinion, the works of the Ancients should be adapted to modern exigencies and the available materials. Each nation and generation should have its own interpretation of the merits of the Ancients and their approach to their work. One who creates such " rational, social art" as architecture cannot think today in the same way that the Ancients did, since the society on which he based his art is entirely different from the ancient era.[119] The manners of the ancients differed so widely from those of the age of the Enlightenment, that the necessary or ornamental aspects of architecture must likewise have been extremely different. This notion has clarified the necessity of altering ancient precedents for neo-classical use. One must enjoy the creativity of architecture and not be afraid to break with the old canons of the Ancients when it is necessary to do so. For the enlightened architects in the second half of the eighteenth century, blind obedience to examples of the Ancients meant nothing but the degeneration of architecture.

It is to the Adam brothers' lasting credit that they explained the Enlightenment notion of eclecticism in architecture in relation to the ways in which every decision of the great

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[118] Emil Kaufmann, " Three Revolutionary Architects, Boullée, Ledoux, Lequeu" , *American Philosophical Society*, vol. 42, 1952, p.436.

masters of antiquity was made. " The great masters of antiquity were not so rigidly scrupulous" , the very first preface of *The Works in Architecture* explains, " they varied the proportions as the general spirit of their composition required, clearly perceiving, that however necessary these rules may be to form the taste and to correct the licentiousness of the scholar, they often cramp the genius and circumscribe the ideas of the master." [120] The Adam brothers were convinced that the ancients themselves had been given a lot of latitude in their decisions and made excellent use of it. While giving their approval to breaking with the authoritarian significance of antiquity, the Adam brothers also understood the architectural latitude enjoyed by the ancients. By adapting this principle drawn from historic precedent, the Adam brothers' attitude itself embodied the real nature of the Enlightenment, which was not self-contained, but collected and altered the heritage of human knowledge.

IV

PRACTICE AND COMPARISON: ENLIGHTENMENT LATITUDE IN ORDERS

The disavowal of the existence of an immediate standard in nature, to which an architect can always refer, and the emergence of an interest in the emotional impact of the antiquity naturally weakened the authoritarian older form, regulation, knowledge, and system of architectural design. Architecture in Britain was now attuned to individuality. Enlightened architects had come to realise that different circumstances of situation and propriety might lead to variations in the form and proportion of individual buildings. A prime reflection in

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[119] On D' Alembert' s view of Blondel as a contributor to *Encyclopédie*, see D' Alembert, *Discours preliminaire des editeurs, in, Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire raisonne des sciences, des arts et des metiers*, tome I, Paris, 1751, pp.lxlij-xliij.
[120] *The Works in Architecture*, vol. I, no I, pp.6-7.

the Adam Style of this newly-emerged understanding was the change in attitude towards the Orders.

The Adam brothers' thoughts on the Orders were verbalised in the second preface of the first volume of *The Works in Architecture* (1774) and in a letter to Lord Kames on 31 March 1763. The preface of *The Works in Architecture* introduces the Orders as, " a subject of greater importance" than those which frequently engaged the attention of modern architects. In support of this contention, it states that, " the column is not only one of the noblest and most graceful pieces of decoration, but in all round bodies, especially such as stand insulated, there is a delicacy of proportion to be observed, that those of another form, and in other situations, do not require."[121]

It was the theorists of the Renaissance who presented the Orders as " a set of canonical formulae embodying all architectural virtue",[122] and in consequence as the dominant formulae of the Renaissance approach to antiquity. Up to that point, the Orders had not necessarily been taken as the absolute dogma of architectural design. Vitruvius, for instance, who has left " the earliest written description of any of the orders", uses the term " genera" instead of " order", which originates in the Latin " genus, generis", meaning origin, race, species. It was a good term to express " the idea of typified, predetermining relations that bind together the members of certain groups".[123]

Being aware of the individual/subjective nature of the act of designing an architecture in which there are no restraining measurements that one is required to follow, the Adam brothers saw in the art of Orders room for creativity. The background of the Adam brothers' latitudinarian or effect-orientated approach towards the art of Orders may be

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[121] *The Works in Architecture*, vol. I, no II, p.4.
[122] John Summerson, *The Classical language of Architecture*, Thames and Hudson, 1963, 1980, p.10.

explained partly in relation to their knowledge of Antoine Desgodetz' s *Les édifices antiques de Rome dessinés et mesurés très exactement* of 1682. In these carefully measured drawings of the remains of the ancient Roman monuments, it is revealed that the ancient Roman architectural proportions were far from being absolute norms, and varied in every different building.[124] The full implication of these findings was provided not by Desgodetz himself, but by Perrault who confirmed the inventiveness of the Roman era, through his knowledge of the former' s carefully measured drawings. Perrault himself had joined the tradition of creating a new order by inventing a French Order in the 1670s. When Robert, then studying in Italy, considered revising Desgodetz' s work as his first publication project, he must have recognised by himself " a liberty which has been often taken by the ancients with great success" .[125] He understood that the Ancients never considered the classification of the Orders as an invariant standard or touchstone of architecture, and each order was essentially merely a discipline within which personal sensibility always had a certain play, and which " can sometimes be burst asunder by a flight of poetic genius" .[126] In Spalatro, as a part of his expedition of Diocletian' s Palace, Robert confirmed this notion in an unusual capital design used on four pilasters in the atrium (fig. 7). It consists of vertical flutes at the head and a single row of leaves at the lower part. Whether it was a simplified version of the Corinthian, as is suggested by its leaves, or a " composed Doric" , as it is explained in *The Works in Architecture*, it differs significantly from any of the established patterns of capital design. Developing from this example of Roman deviation from the conventional manner, the Adam brothers introduce further alterations to their designs for capitals. Examples, by definition, are evident in their designs for the columns in the eating-room at Shelburne House (fig. 8) and pilasters in the elevation of the office block at the William Wynn House (fig. 9).

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[123] Alexander Tzonis and Liane Lefaivre, *Classical Architecture: The Poetics of Order*, The MIT Press, 1986, p.35.
[124] *Ibid.*, p.39.
[125] *The Works in Architecture*, vol. II, no. II, p.4.

In their view, the existing order had already given up its controlling power as an immediate standard or canonical formula. They insist on varying the forms of various parts of existing orders directly in response to the characters of the spaces and buildings where they would be placed. Emancipated from the normative nature of classical understanding of orders, their attachment for circumstantial modification of precedents largely interwove with their personal preferences, taste, and interpretation of the spatial circumstances in which their orders were to be placed. The Adam brothers varied the different elements of Orders as the circumstances of individual situations demanded, and prepared diverse designs for Orders as partial or considerable revisions on previous works. *The Works in Architecture* explains that the proportion of columns " greatly depends upon the situation of these columns, whether they make parts of outside, or inside decoration, whether they stand insulated, or engaged, whether raised much above the eye, or level with it; these are circumstances which very much affect such proportions..." [127] Now, the primary object of designing orders has shifted from the rigorous imitation of conventional models to the creation of emotional impact by reading circumstantial consequences and characters of spaces and buildings. Their designs were never so rigidly restricted or subjected to any precise dogmatic rule. In contrast to the Renaissance architects, they had no intention to achieve the accurate reproduction of established examples.

In this respect, the Adam brothers' use of the Orders did not differ much from other eighteenth-century treatises on the subject. Accepting the intervention of circumstantial elements of spaces and personal taste of each architect, the eighteenth-century British architectural culture was essentially opposed to being blindly obedient to any form of

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[126] Summerson, *Op. cit.*, 1963, 1980, p.13.
[127] To take some other random examples; there is a passage from *The Works in Architecture* in which the Adams indicate the necessity of the neck of the Ionic order to be " filled sometimes with various enrichments, more or less ornamented, and sometimes, perhaps, should be left altogether plain, according to the stile of the building where it is employed." Their account on the Doric capital is another illustration of the same point in which they write: " where the rich decoration is required, in order to give it all it' s grace, the neck, or

objective system. They were united in the thought that there could be no absolute disciplines for proportions of orders. Chambers, for one, was always ready to apply his own corrections to any extant precedents. Chambers' *A Treatise on Civic Architecture*, published in 1759[128] with an intention to give " an exact idea of the Orders of the Ancients" by representing " them under such figures and proportions as appear to have been most in use in the esteemed works of the Romans", states:

> It must not ... be imagined that the same general proportions will on all occasions succeed. They are chiefly collected from the Temples and Public structures of Antiquity, and may by us be employed in Churches, Palaces, and other Buildings of Magnificence, where Majesty, and Grandeur of manner may be extended to their atmost limits, and where, the whole body being generally large, the parts require an extraordinary degree of boldness, to make them distinctly perceptible from the proper point of view ...[129]

It should be stressed, however, that, while making occasional remarks on the creative or alterable aspect of designing the Orders, Chambers' treatise tends to formulate systems that determine the proportion, composition, dimension, and ornamentation of columns, dealing at length with each of the five Orders. The motivation behind this is related largely to the fact that Chambers saw the finished images in the examples of the Orders of his time. The treatise explains that the five Orders are " the five manner of Building invented by the Antients, which having been from time to time enriched with new improvements, were at last brought to the highest degree of perfection, and on account of the regularity and beauty of

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space between the astragal and the annulets, should be made of much greater height than the common proportion prescribed by Palladio and many other moderns..." .

[128] William Chambers, *A Treatise on Civic Architecture, in which the principles of that art are laid down, and illustrated by a great number of plates, accurately designed, and elegantly engraved by the best hands*, London, 1759.

[129] *Ibid.*, p.14.

their forms called Orders" .[130] This had the inevitable consequence that Chambers pursued an analytic approach to the existing Orders and systematic understanding of their proportions. Referring to the examples of the Ancients and of Renaissance restorers of ancient Roman architecture, he seeks to expose the relative ratios of the proportions of the Orders. For instance, " the height of the Entablature, in all the Orders, have made" , writes Chambers, " one quarter of the height of the Column; which was common practice of the Ancients, who, in all sorts of Entablatures, seldom exceeded or fell much short of that measure" .[131] To determine the composition of the Entablature, Chambers closely observes precedents: " With regard to the Parts of the Entablature, I have followed the method of Serlio in his Ionic and Corinthian Orders, and of Perrault, who in all his Order, excepting the Doric, divides the whole height of the Entablature into ten equal parts; three of which he gives to the Architrave, three to the Frieze, and four to the Cornice: and in the Doric Order he divides the height into eight parts; of which two are given to the Architrave, three to the Frieze, and three to the Cornice." " These measures" , Chambers continues, " deviate very little from those observed in the greatest number of Antiques now extant at Rome, where they have stood the test of many Ages; and their simplicity renders them singularly useful in Composition, as they are easily remembered and easily applied." [132] In the course of determining the dimensions of itemised parts that compose an Order, Chambers chooses to use the module that is, according to him: " the simplest, readiest, and most accurate" design method for this purpose:[133]

> Yet there are many who prefer the method of measuring by equal parts; imagining that beauty depends on the simplicity and accuracy of the relations, between the whole body and its members, and alleging that dimensions, which have evident affinities, are better remembered than those,

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[130] *Ibid.*, p.3.
[131] *Ibid.*, p.9.
[132] *Ibid.*, p.10.
[133] *Ibid.*

> whose relations are too complicated to be immediately apprehended. ... The trouble and loss of time in measuring by equal parts are very considerable; seeing it is necessary to form almost as many scales as there are different members to be divided: whereas the use of the Module is universal throughout the Order, and all its combinations; and being susceptible of the minutest divisions, the dimensions may be speedily determined, with the atmost accuracy; which, by the method of equal parts, cannot be done without great labour and expense of time.[134]

Chambers' 1759 treatise and its 1791 revised edition[135] both impose conditions on the architect's freedom in designing Orders, by exposing systematic patterns in proportion through analytical and comparative studies on numerous precedents. The approach is best expressed in his following account:

> In composing the Orders and other Decorations, which are now offered to the public, I have constantly followed this method; having for that purpose measured, with the utmost accuracy, many antique and modern buildings, both at Rome, and in other parts; strictly copying such things as appeared to be perfect, and carefully correcting others, that seemed, in any degree, faulty: relying, not so much on my own judgement, in doubtful points, as on the opinion of several learned and ingenious artists, of different nations, with whom I had the advantage of being intimately connected when abroad.[136]

The Adam brothers' account of the problem of the Orders, compared to Chambers, stands out conspicuously in its concise reference to the proper manner of adapting the existing

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[134] *Ibid.*, pp.10-11.
[135] William Chambers, *A Treatise on the Decorative Parts of Civic Architecture, illustrated by fifty original, and three additional plates*, London, 1791.
[136] Chambers, *Op. cit.*, 1759, p.18.

Orders. The core of their short account on the subject, whose substance being too brief and personal to be described as a treatise, is largely directed at a declaration of a latitudinarian approach to the design of the Orders. Instead of pursuing an analytical observation of conventional styles of Orders, its contention is essentially a manifestation of their architectural response to the mid-eighteenth century notion of artistic creativity. While Chambers stressed the necessity of altering the conventional five genera of columns according to the circumstance, he nevertheless indicated his version of the five Orders in his treatise, in which we see today the implication of his unconscious self-restraints within the conventionals of established tradition. The Adam brothers, on the other hand, through *The Works in Architecture*, stipulate that the intervention of circumstantial elements in the process of judging the proper proportion of Orders, leaves a degree of " uncertainty" or latitude in one's approach to the Classical system of proportion. While the alterations that " most people have allowed" , which are supposedly " to be much for the better" , are in their view " a dangerous license" and might do " much harm, in the hands of rash innovators, or mere retailers in the art, who have neither eyes nor judgement" ,[137] the Adam brothers do not offer definite design solutions. They merely stress the nature of this license by stipulating in the abstract, that it is solely permitted to a " skilful and experienced" [138] and " ingenious and able" [139] artist who possesses the " correct taste" . Excellence in architecture must be " formed and improved by a correct taste, and diligent study of the beauties exhibited by great masters in their productions" , *The Works in Architecture* states. In the Adam brothers' view, " it is only by profound meditation upon these, that one becomes capable of distinguishing between what is graceful and what is inelegant; between that which possesses, and that which is destitute of harmony."[140]

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[137] Bolton, *Op. cit.*, vol. I, p.50.
[138] *The Works in Architecture*, vol. I, no. II, p.4.
[139] *The Works in Architecture*, vol. I, no. II, p.7.
[140] *The Works in Architecture*, vol. I, no. II, p.3.

By defining the acquisition of the " correct taste" in reference to a diligent study and exclusive competence of a skilful and experienced individual,[141] the Adam brothers' understanding of " taste" is in line with that of David Hume. Hume concisely dealt with the subject in the essay " Of the Standard of Taste" . In this, as previously mentioned, Hume insists on the indispensability of a diligent study and the experience of the artist to ascertain a delicacy of taste. These create opportunities for one to practice in a particular art, frequently surveying or contemplating particular species of beauty, and comparing the different kinds of beauty; all of which are so essential for one to improve and increase his talent in acquiring delicacy of taste, and to be qualified to give opinions on objects presented to his view. By acquiring experience in judging works of art, one becomes capable of perceiving the " beauties and defects of each part" , and also distinguishing " species of each quality" and assigning " it suitable praise or blame" .[142] Hume contends: " So advantageous is practice to the discernment of beauty, that, before we can give judgement on any work of importance, it will even be requisite, that that very individual performance be more than once perused by us, and be surveyed in different lights with attention and deliberation."[143]

While the particularity of one's taste is established in its totality, Hume stressed, at the same time, the indispensable significance of the experience of prominent precedents in history, in other words, diligent study of established tradition, to ascertain the taste that is capable of making informed judgements on the excellent artistic productions:

> A great inferiority of beauty gives pain to a person conversant in the highest excellence of the kind, and is for that reason pronounced a deformity: As the most finished object, with which we are acquainted, is naturally supposed to have reached the pinnacle of perfection, and to be entitled to the highest

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[141] cf. *The Works in Architecture*, vol. I, no. II, pp.3-4.
[142] Hume, *Op. cit.*, 1757, p.275.

> applause. One accustomed to see, and examine, and weigh the several performances, admired in different ages and nations, can only rate the merits of a work exhibited to his view, and assign its proper rank among the productions of genius.[144]

A little later in the essay, the intrinsic value of " experience in art" is best stressed when he says: " It seldom, or never happens, that a man of sense, who has experience in any art, cannot judge of its beauty; and it is no less rare to meet with a man who has a just taste without a sound understanding." [145] " Thus" , Hume concludes, " though the principles of taste be universal, and, nearly, if not entirely the same in all men; yet few are qualified to give judgement on any work of art, or establish their own sentiment as the standard of beauty." [146] Hume's position underpins the Adam brothers' understanding of taste in architecture and of style, and had a marked influence on their actual practice of architecture.

Taking the Ionic capital for example, by studying and comparing the merits of the different types of existing design, i.e. Grecian and Roman, the Adam brothers had prepared their personal interpretation. Of the volute of this order, for instance, *The Works in Architecture* explains:

> The great size of the volute of the Grecian Ionic which has always appeared to us by much too heavy, and those used by the Romans seem rather to border on the other extreme. We have therefore generally taken a mean between them, which we think has a happy effect ...[147]

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[143] *Ibid.*
[144] *Ibid.*, p.276.
[145] *Ibid.*, p.278.
[146] *Ibid.*

Through the eyes of the Adam brothers, the difference between the Grecian and Roman manner lay not on their historical connotations, but in the visual effect created by the ornamentation of the different elements of the column. In their adaptation of the former manner, the Adam brothers incorporate the double fillet in the volute, its innate visual effect " producing more light and shade, gives great relief, and far exceeds in grace and beauty that used by the Romans" .[148] The Adam brothers exhibit this notion at Syon House in the way in which the Ionic columns in the ante-room were enriched.

The degree of enrichment that an individual architect introduces in his design in expectation of producing the intended visual qualities is, according to the Adam brothers, left entirely to the architect' s own judgement of the whole project. While architects' preferences and tastes are essential for the execution of the design, the accomplishment of propriety is a result of taking into consideration the circumstantial factors. Directing their attention to the different parts of the order, this circumstantial point was a significant component, which the Adam brothers tried to reflect forcefully in their works. Concerning the entablature, *The Works in Architecture* states: " we can see no reason for assigning to each order it' s precise entablature, fixed down unalterably both in figure and dimension. Different circumstances of situation and propriety ought to vary the form, and also the proportion, of all entablatures." [149] The same notion can be read in Robert' s 1763 account of the capital of the Corinthian order, in which he writes that it demands " delicacy and richness in every other part belonging to that order; and when that necessary profusion of ornament cannot be afforded, the architect ought to reject this order altogether" .[150] This is followed by the disclosure that he never had any faith in " the Fable of Callimachus, the basket with acanthus leaves" ,[151] a judgement that doubtless reflects his demand for latitude in the enrichment of the orders. While their designs for the Corinthian capital were conventional, each executed

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[147] *The Works in Architecture*, vol. I, no. II, p.5.
[148] *The Works in Architecture*, vol. I, no. II, p.6.
[149] *The Works in Architecture*, vol. I, no. II, p.7.
[150] Letter to Lord Kames on 31 March 1763. Quoted in Bolton, *Op. cit.*, 1922, vol. I, p.50.

design illustrates the approximate degree of enrichment that Robert had found indispensable for this Order. Amongst these are the pilasters used in the Garden front at Kenwood (fig. 10) and on the principal front at the Williams Wynn House (fig. 11), and orders used in the west front at Luton Hoo (fig. 12), and in the portico at Shardeloes. Interior uses of this order include: the pilasters in the library at Syon House (fig. 13) and the columns in the library, or the Great Room at Kenwood (fig. 14), the salon at Luton Hoo (fig. 15), and the dining-room at the Williams Wynn House (fig. 16).

By being an essential determinant of the overall impression of an order, the circumstantial factor is indispensable in composing the balance of embellishment and proportion of different parts and whole system of one column. Writing of the Doric Order in 1763, for instance, with the supposed circumstance that it should appear simple and solid in spectators' minds, Robert Adam suggests that one " ought not to flute your columns, nor carve any of the mouldings of your *capitals* and *bases*; keep the *entablature* of the plainest kind, no *guttae* to your *mutules*, no ornaments in your *metopes*; in which case you will find no one part too much or too little ornamented for the others ..." [152] Examples abound, as Robert Adam himself has claimed that " I have already experienced this in many buildings I have executed" ,[153] including; Admiralty Screen (fig. 17), Mistley Church (fig. 18), Deputy Ranger' s Lodge, and Shelburne House (fig. 19). In opposite circumstances, where columns are fluted, he insists upon the necessity to enrich the " *capitals* and *bases*, carve the *cornices*, and put ornaments on the *metopes* of the *freeze*" .[154] Giving consideration to the spatial effects of this profusion of ornaments, he discloses that " he seldom uses this degree of enrichment without doors; but it is very proper in halls, insides of temples, &c." One example of this sort of design is the entrance hall at Syon House, where every Doric column and pilaster was embellished with flutes (fig. 20).

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[151] Letter to Lord Kames on 31 March 1763, quoted in *Ibid.*, p.50.
[152] Letter to Lord Kames on 31 March 1763, quoted in *Ibid.*, p.50.
[153] Letter to Lord Kames on 31 March 1763, quoted in *Ibid.*, p.51.
[154] Letter to Lord Kames on 31 March 1763, quoted in *Ibid.*, p.50.

The effect-orientated, or circumstantial attitude of the Adam brothers towards the design for Orders is revealed in the inconstancy of their sentiments on the problem of the orders.[155] Writing of the Ionic order in 1763, Robert Adam insists that it ought only to be used in " gay and slight buildings, as the meagreness of its capital never fills the eye sufficiently, on the outside of a mass of solid architecture" .[156] " I have always thought" , he continues, " this order destined for the insides of houses and temples: but the universal practice to the contrary in all countries, shows how much I stand single in this opinion." [157] While he sticks to his position by using this order, for instances, in a gay manner in the ante-room in Syon House (fig. 21), for the interior screen of columns in Derby House, 26 Grosvenor Square (fig. 22), and in the court of the Williams Wynn House (fig. 23), today, the unreliability of this account is manifest in the fact that the order is often used in the frontal climax of facades in some of the Adam brothers' monumental architecture. On the northern facade at Luton Hoo, for instance, four free-standing high Ionic columns crowned with statues are set like a screen in front of the solid mass of the house. Another splendid display of the same sort of exterior use of the Ionic order can be found at Osterley Park in the grand double-hexastyle portico on the east elevation (fig. 72). The contrast between the spatial emptiness of the transparent portico and the solidity of the range in the plain manner on either side is a good example of the ways in which the Ionic order was used on the outside of the mass of solid architecture. Similar examples of the exterior use of the Ionic include the south front of the University in Edinburgh, the principal elevations of the Theatre Royal (fig. 24), the Society of Arts (fig. 25), and Shelburne House (fig. 26).

The Adam brothers' creative performance in the art of Orders is expressed best in their proposals for establishing a " new" Order. Of this attempt, we have the most splendid display in their design for the capital of the " Britannic Order" (fig. 27). The design,

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[155] Letter to Lord Kames on 31 March 1763, quoted in *Ibid.*, p.51.
[156] Letter to Lord Kames on 31 March 1763, quoted in *Ibid.*, p.51.

prepared for Augusta of Saxe-Gotha, Princess Dowager of Wales, as a part of the design of a gateway for Carlton House is a good example. The exhibit design is expressive of nationalist or royalist tendency in the way in which the entablature is enriched by featuring such state and monarchic images as the regal crown and collar of the order of the Garter. *The Works in Architecture* explains the major alternation made in their proposed design:

> The lion and unicorn support the angles of the abacus, which is adorned with the regal crown, the collar of the order of the Garter, and acorns in the ovolo. The sceptre and dove, the rose and thistle, still the intermediate space between the leaves of the acanthus. The lion and unicorn are also alternately interwoven in the foliage of the freeze, and the oak-leaf and acorn again adorn the upper torus of the base.[158]

Harmoniously combining and blending together a number of ornamental vocabularies, freely selected or created according to their discretion, the Adam brothers had prepared their designs for Orders after the manner of the Ancients.

> We have formerly mentioned, that the ancients used very frequently to indulge themselves in compositions of fancy; introducing into their capitals and entablatures the various symbols of those divinities to whom they erected temples. A licence of the same kind has been hazarded here.[159]

Combining the elements from the Ionic and Corinthian orders, the exhibited design is essentially a variation on Composite precedents. Despite the peculiar motifs adapted in the ornament of the Capital and Entablature, the Adam brothers attempted to introduce a new Order without breaking violently with established traditions. While distinctively unique

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[157] Letter to Lord Kames on 31 March 1763, quoted in *Ibid.*, p.51.
[158] *The Works in Architecture*, vol. I, no. II, pp.3-4.

symbols of the lion and unicorn replace the volute of the Composite capital, diverse elements of the Order such as the cornice, the architrave of triplet-layers, the foliage, which adds greatly to the gayness and magnificence to the capital, all indicate that the basic composition of this design was essentially in line with the imaginative alteration and personalisation of the conventional Order.

An attempt of the same kind has made in 1764, when James Adam produced a sketch design for a capital named as the Scottish Order, which is said to have been prepared in connection with the Edinburgh Riding School scheme of the same year (fig. 28). The design is prepared essentially in line with the Corinthian capital, by replacing the leaves of the upper half of the foliage with the motifs of a thistle. Ornamented with the symbols of the national flower of Scotland, the proposed design is expressive of the national prestige and identity of Scotland.

When the Adam brothers developed the new design for composed screens of Corinthian columns employed on either ends of the library, or great room, at Kenwood, they projected a personal element of the household into its ornamentation (fig. 14). The explanation given in *The Works in Architecture* describes the design by referring to their actual sources of inspiration, rather than offer an analytical description of the form of the design: " The freese, over the columns, is enriched with an ornament composed of lions and the heads of deer; the former being the supporters, and the latter the crest of the family." [160] In the hall at Shelburne House, they designed a screen of Doric columns in a similar manner. The explanation given for the design in *The Works in Architecture* states: " in the frieze, a Centaur and Patera are introduced alternately; the former being the crest of the family" (fig. 29). [161]

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[159] *The Works in Architecture*, vol. I, no V, explanation of the plate II.
[160] *Ibid.*

While avoiding startling innovations by developing basic forms of their designs for columns in line with the established five prototypes of Order, the Adam brothers were selective in the repertory of decorative motifs. By adapting ornamental elements capable of vitalising nationalist support and expressive too of the cultural independence and superiority of the state, region, and client, the Adam brothers merely followed the established practice of inventing new Orders. The tradition of creativity in the field of the Orders, which goes back to the mid-sixteenth century, had often been welcomed in any system which relied on nationalist or authoritarian support. Entering into the second half of the eighteenth century, the creative manner of designing Orders was established as an indispensable architectural response to the new notions of anti-authoritarian aesthetics in the age of the Enlightenment. The theoretical disavowal of any form of dogmatic standardisation brought not only latitude in the selection of stylistic sources for inspiration, but also a diversity of subjects, with which a new design for an Order could be associated. In the process of defining the uncertain or creative sphere of the art of the Order, the Adam brothers' perspective expanded beyond the boundaries of spatial dimension. Their approach included diverse human responses to space, historical, sociological, emotional, religious, political, cultural, and purely visual, all of which were prerequisites for them in defining their style.

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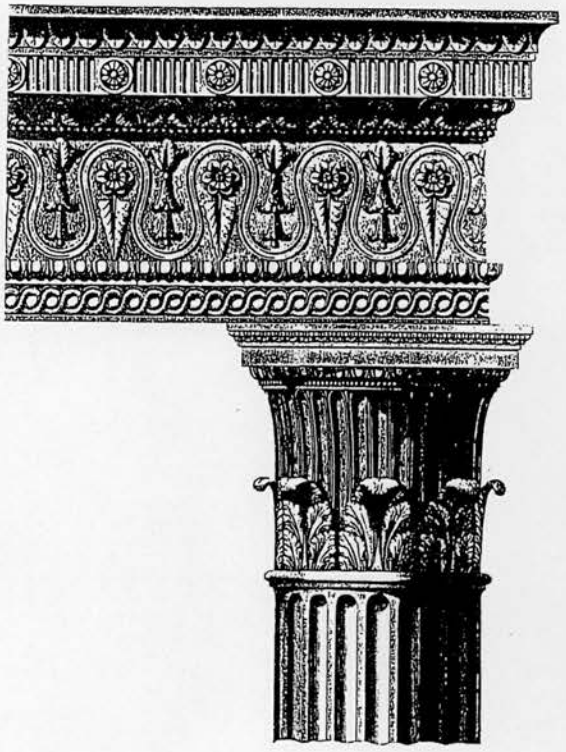
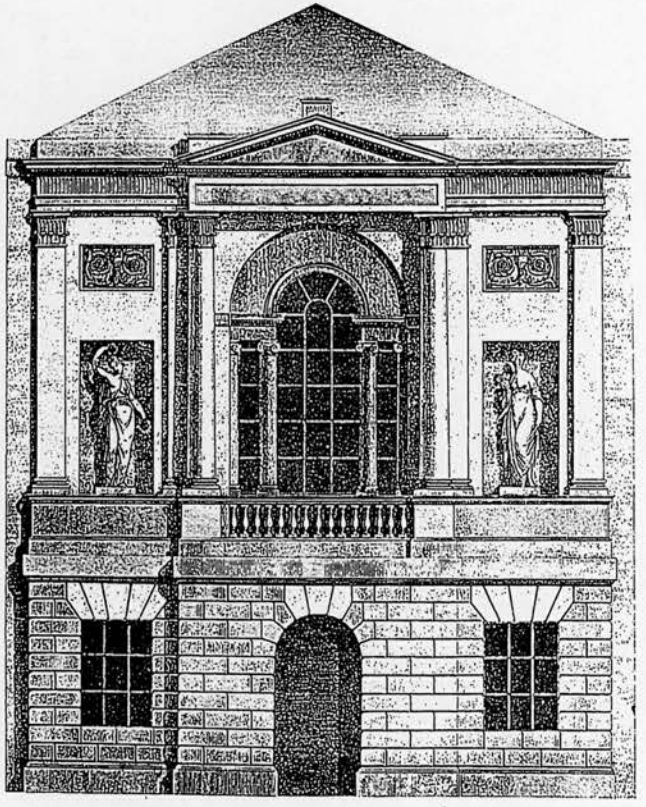
[161] *The Works in Architecture*, vol. II, no III.

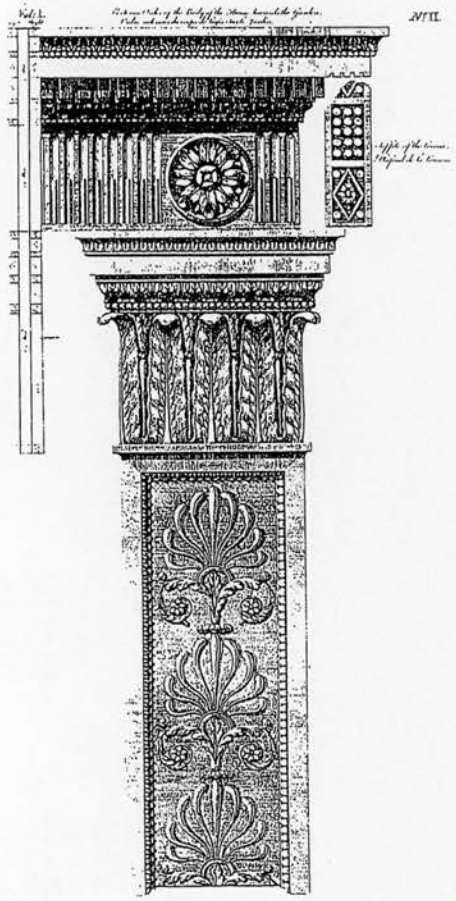
7. A pilaster in the Atrium in Diocletian's Palace at Spalatro.



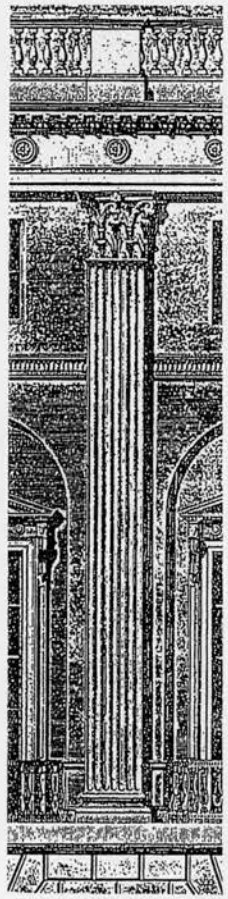
8. Shelburne House; "Composed Doric Order" in the eating-room.



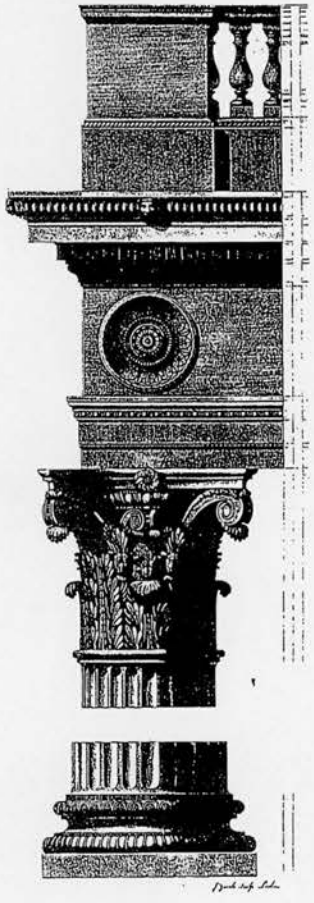
9. The Williams Wynn House; elevation of the front of the offices facing the court.



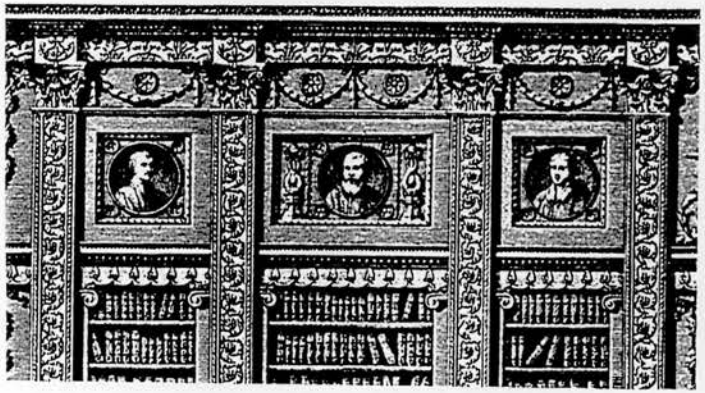
10. Kenwood; Corinthian pilaster of the south front.



11. The Williams Wynn House; Corinthian pilaster of the principal front.

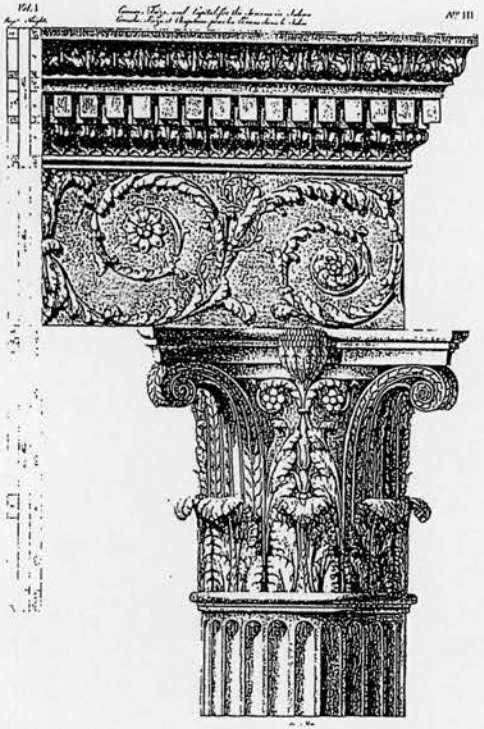


12. Luton Park; Corinthian Order.

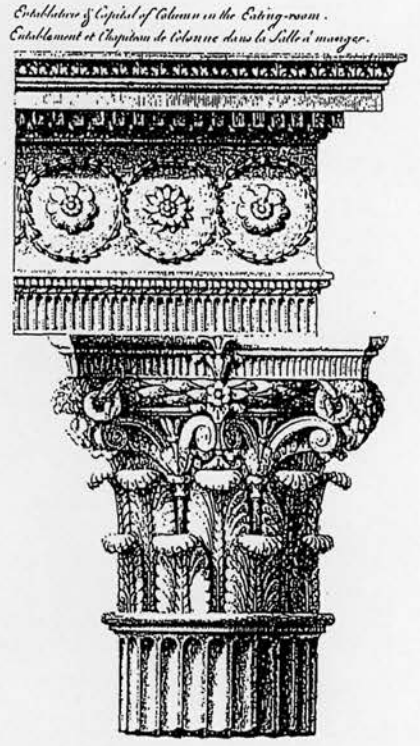


13. Syon House; Corinthian pilasters in the library (detail).

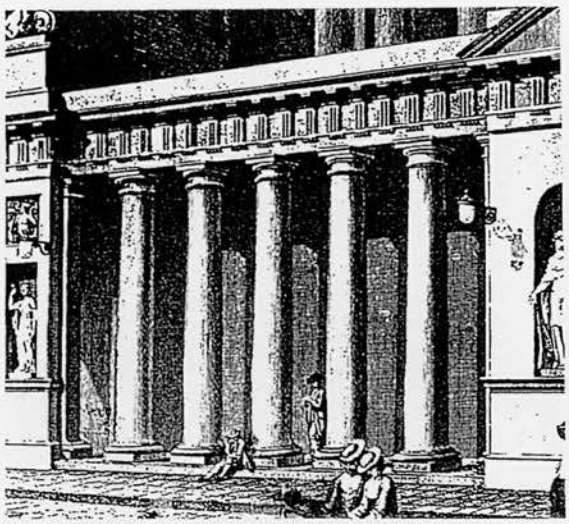
14. Kenwood; Corinthian columns in the library (detail).



15. Luton Park; Corinthian Order in the saloon.

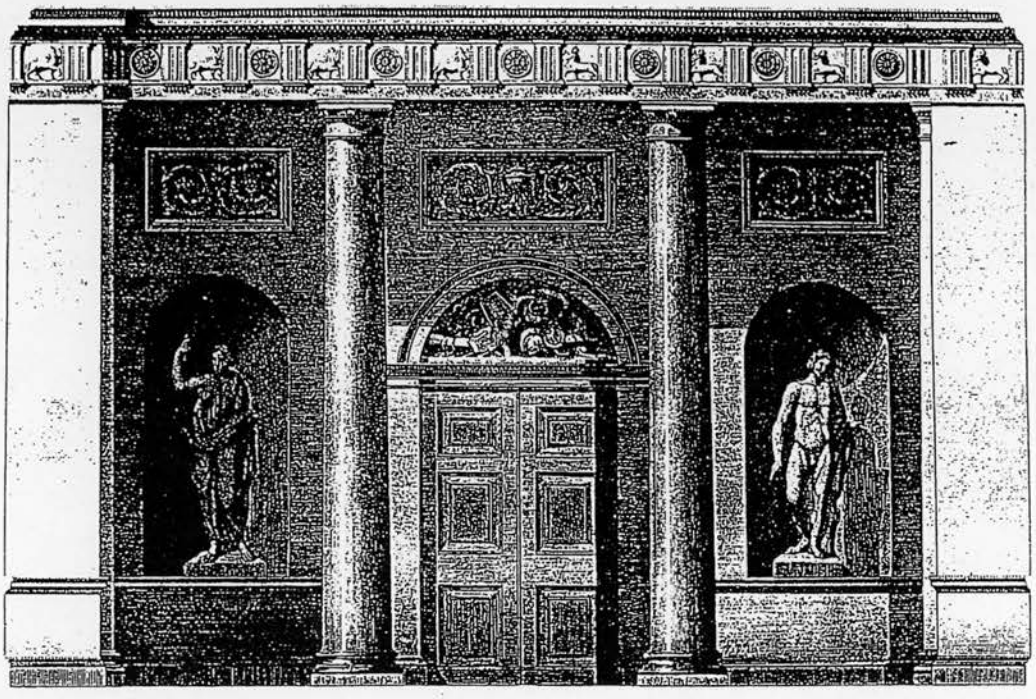


16. The Williams Wynn House; Corinthian Order in the dining room.

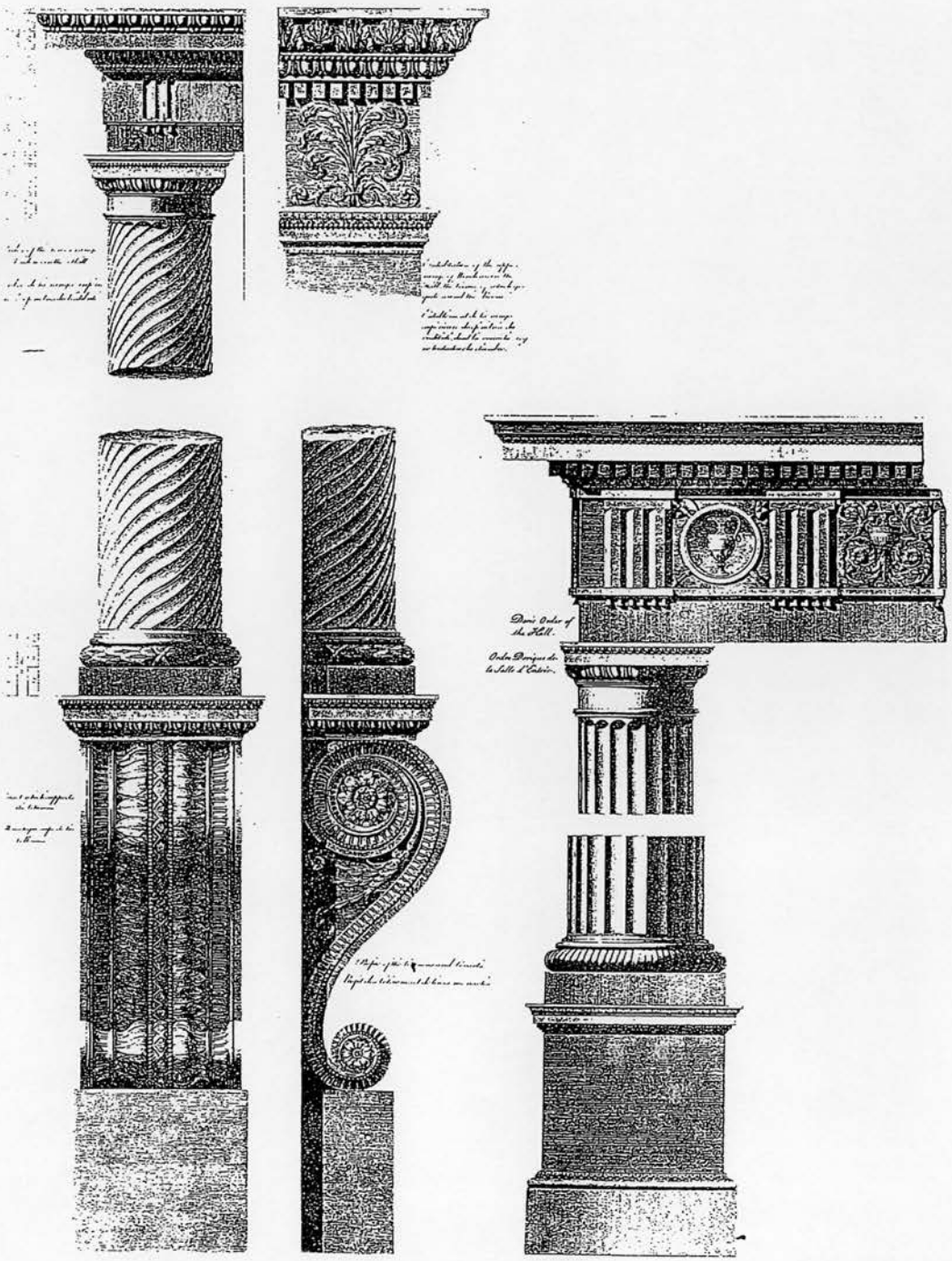


17. The Admiralty; the screen of Doric columns (detail).

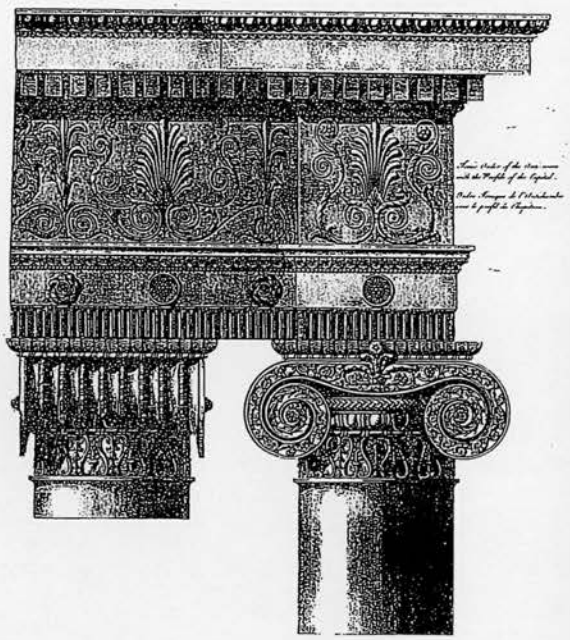
18. The Parish Church of Mistley; Doric columns (detail).



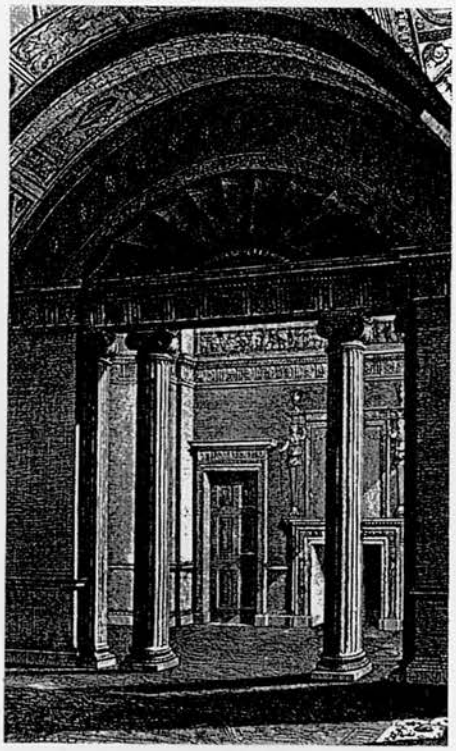
19. Shelburne House ; the screen of Doric columns in the Porter's Hall.



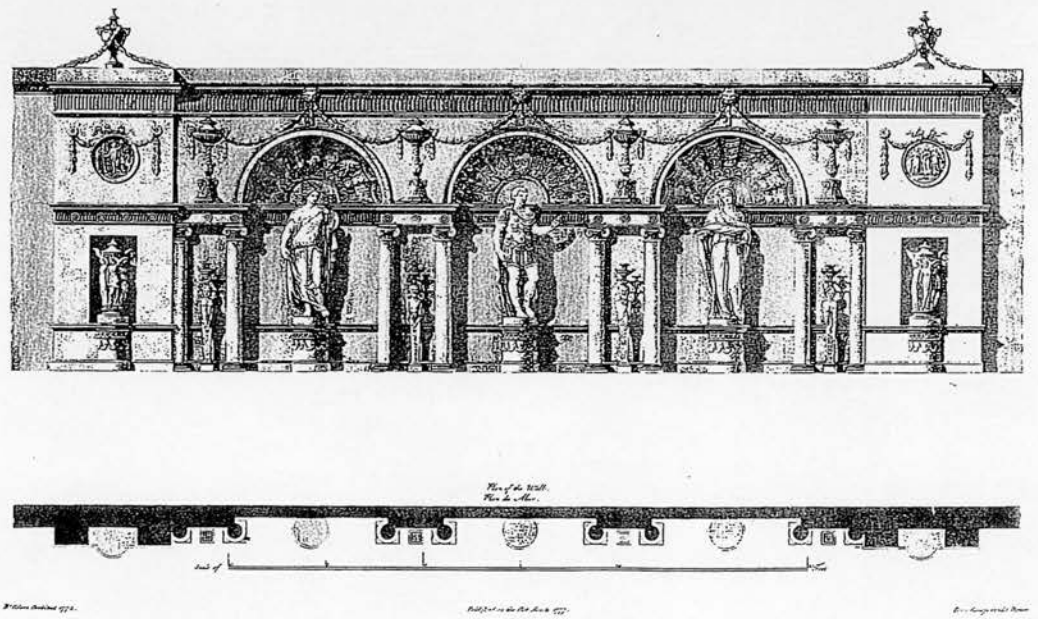
20. Syon House; Doric columns and pilasters in the Hall.



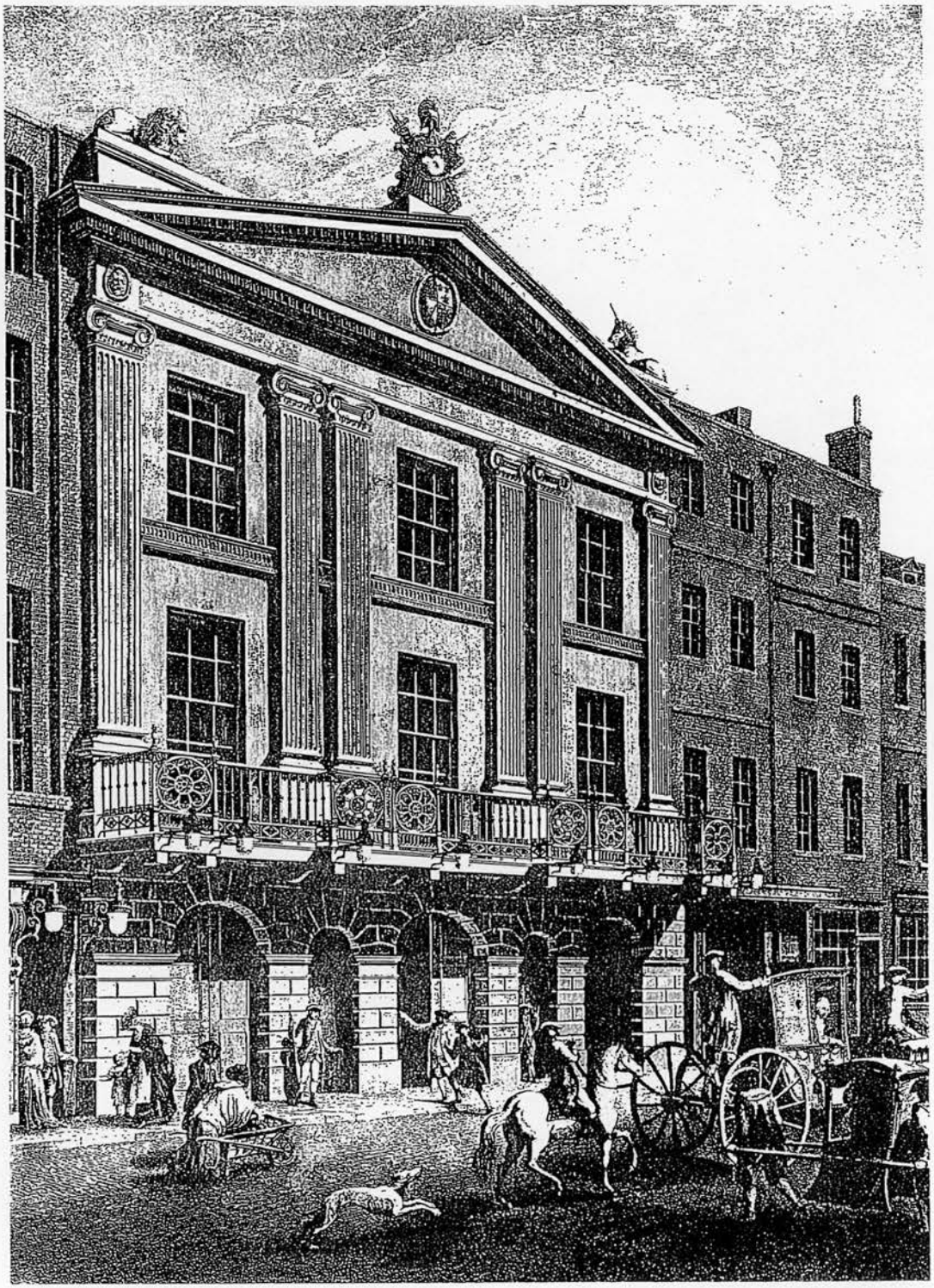
21. Syon House; Ionic Order in the ante-room.



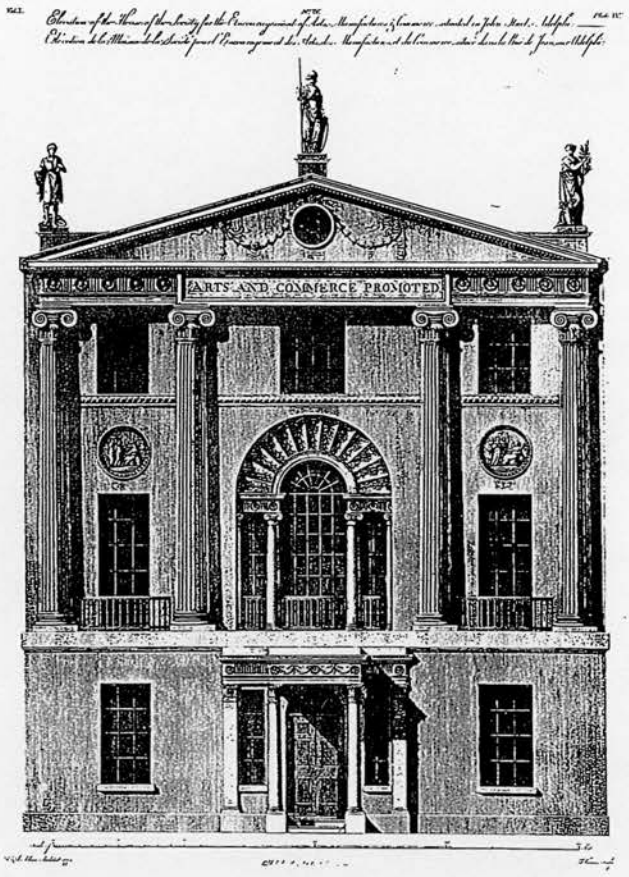
22. Derby's House,
26 Grosvenor Square; the
screen of Ionic columns.



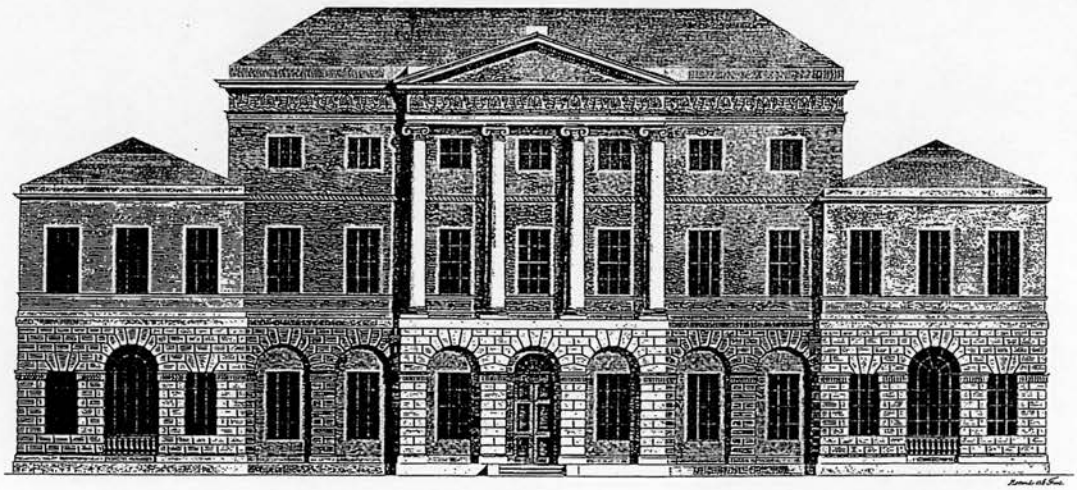
23. The Williams Wynn House; plan and elevation of an Ionic screen-wall between the court.



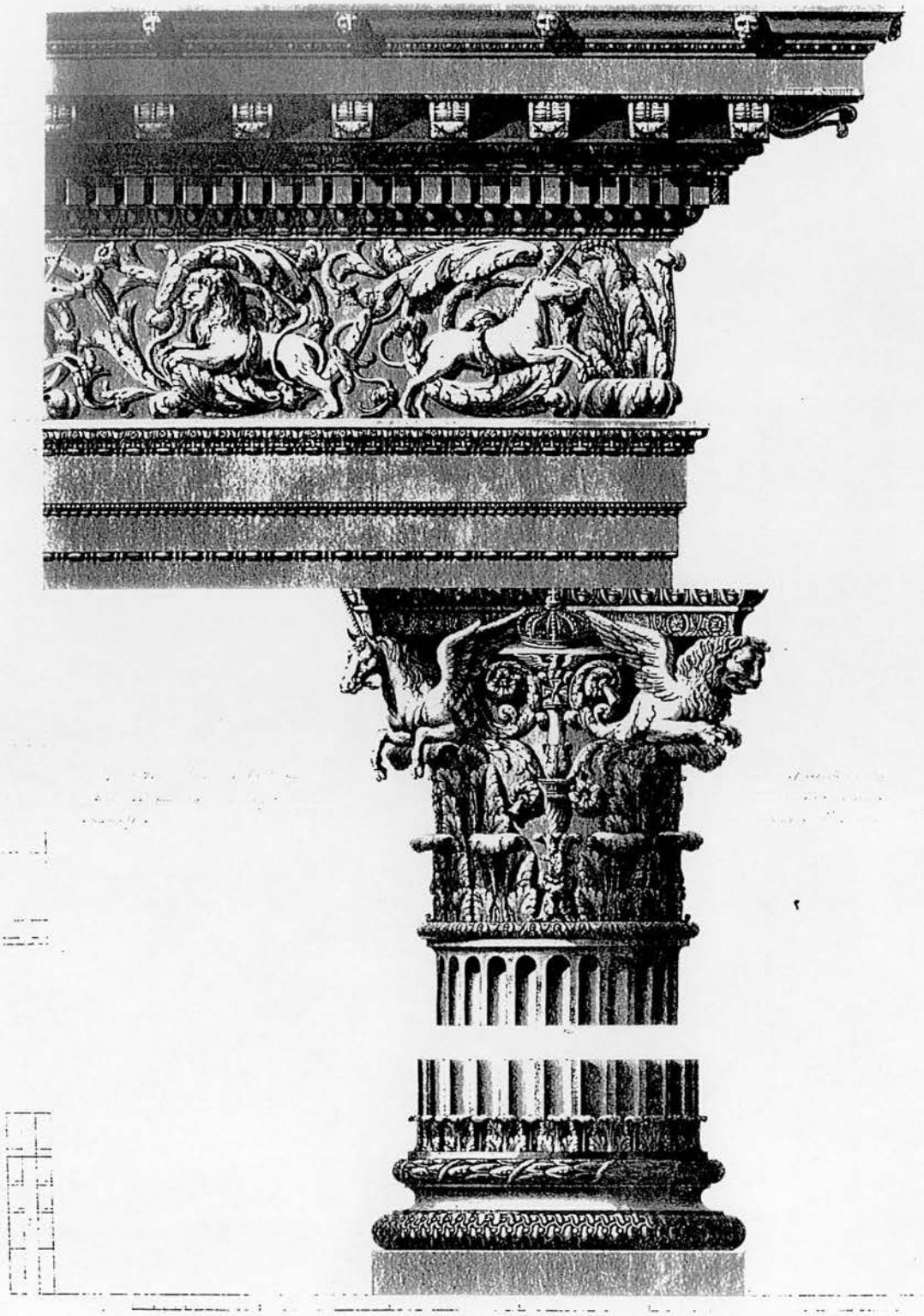
24. The Theatre Royal; elevation of Bridges Street front.



25. The Society of Arts; elevation of the principal front.

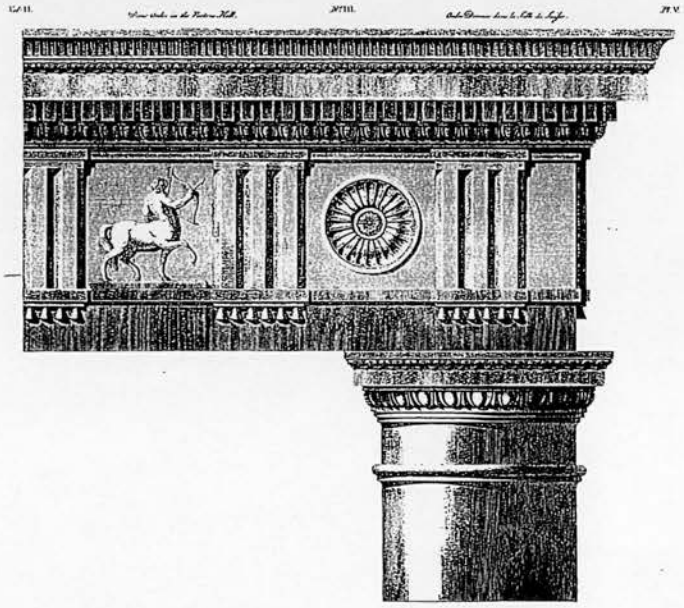


26. Shelburne House; elevation of the principal front.



27. The Entablature and Britannic Order.

28. JAMES ADAM, a sketch design for a capital named as the Scottish Order.



29. Shelburne House; a detail of the screen of Doric columns in the hall.

CHAPTER III

NEO-CLASSICAL REORIENTATION TO THE WORLD OF ANTIQUITY

I

BRITISH ANTIQUARIANISM IN THE MID-EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

In the course of consciously choosing sources for inspiration, an extensive understanding of widespread established traditions was essential. In Britain, this attitude emerged from the enthusiasm toward archaeological inquiry that started in the mid-eighteenth century, and which had provided impartial knowledge of architectural styles in the past to those architects and amateurs who had by then already lost interest in Neo-Palladian expressions of architecture and were looking for new sources of inspiration.

Amongst the most important sources of inspiration for the Adam brothers was antiquity, primarily the remains of the Roman Empire. During his study in Italy, Robert extensively collected antique fragments and motifs — Cornices, Friezes, Figures, Bas reliefs, Vases, Altars — which would all be useful points of reference for his future practice back in Britain. Robert's vigorous search in antiquity for new components of a pluralistic style was encouraged by the favourable reception of archaeological materials in mid-eighteenth century Britain. In 1753, Robert Wood published the measured drawings of Roman architecture that he prepared during his exploration of the Levant as *The Ruins of Palmyra*. Following the overwhelming success of this enterprise, Wood published *The Ruins of Balbec* in 1757. James Stuart and Nicholas Revett's *Antiquities of Athens* appeared in 1762. Stuart and Revett had been in Italy since 1742 studying painting, and in 1748 issued the *Proposal*

for publishing an accurate Description of the Antiquities of Athens. Their epoch-making project was patronised by the Society of Dilettanti, whose central aim was to promote " Greek taste and Roman spirit" . Since its foundation in 1733-4, the Society had played a significant role through active patronage of architects, archaeologists and scholars. Following the appearance of a series of successful archaeological folios, Robert Adam published his *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia* in 1764. It was the fruit of nearly a decade of his labour.

Early in his Grand Tour, Robert planned to publish a revised edition of Antoine Desgodetz' s *Les édifices antiques de Rome dessinés et mesurés très exactement* (1682), a book which was then " almost entirely out of print" . It is said that he was urged by Wood and Allan Ramsay to revise this book, which was known by that time to all lovers of architecture.[162] " Desgodetz' s book is almost entirely out of print" , says Robert: " Neither in England, France or Italy can one get a copy of it under double price. Several have thought of reprinting it but neither had the talents, the money nor the courage." [163] The scheme was surely a good method of self-advertisement, and more importantly a useful study for his self-improvement. " As I am on the spot where these antiquities are" , writes Robert, " have Clérisseau' s assistance and other conveniences, in course of conversation with Wood and Ramsay the thought struck me that it would be a good scheme for me." He continues:

> I communicated my thoughts to Clérisseau who approved so much that he said if he had the money he would do it himself. And to augment the value of it I not only propose taking the measurements, so as to prove if they were just, but intend to add perspective views of these buildings as they appear at present — a work which Clérisseau will undertake for me with infinite

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[162] Robert Wood, *The Ruins of Palmyra*, 1753, Preface.

> satisfaction and will execute with thorough beauty and justice. Where any of my measurements differ from Desgodetz's these I show by a red line, which lets them know the error, and this with a smart preface, a clever print of the author's head, an allegorical print in the way of Palladio, and some remarks added to those of Desgodetz, in different characters, could not fail to be of great authority and introduce me into England with an uncommon splendour.[164]

A team of four draughtsmen, including Agostino Brunias and Laurent-Benoit Dewez, was formed for this project. They were engaged in working up drawings from Adam's original sketches, and at the same time collected a variety of antique motifs and details on his behalf. Meanwhile, Robert himself was busy studying Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli and the Baths of Caracalla and Diocletian. When the decision to lay aside the Desgodetz project was made in view of the fact that the initial form of the project seemed to be " a work of years" (11 September 1756),[165] Robert planned to publish his examination and correction of Palladio's drawings of Baths. Noting that Palladio's drawings had been already published by Lord Burlington in the *Fabbriche Antiche*, Robert explained his plan: " I am to show the Baths in their present ruinous condition and from that to make other designs of them as they were when entire and in their glory, in which project Lord Burlington's book has been of unspeakable service as he is vastly exact in his measurements and in Palladio's time they were much more entire so that I get great light from him." [166] In fact, Robert had already asked James to send Burlington's *Fabbriche Antiche* in the letter of 6 September 1755:

> ... what I wanted most was Lord Burlington's book of the Diocletian and Caracalla Baths which he [Wilson] can by no means find me. I am so anxious

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[163] Clerk of Penicuik Collection, Scottish Record Office, GD 18/4777, and Fleming, *Op. cit.*, p.170.
[164] Clerk of Penicuik Collection, Scottish Record Office, GD 18/4777.
[165] Clerk of Penicuik Collection, Scottish Record Office, GD 18/4817.

about having it here that I wish you could send it by the carriers to London and he will immediately forward it to me... It will be of infinite use to me in examining and correcting it on the spot and may become some of my future lucubrations.[167]

In the letter to James on 9 April 1757, Robert writes: " my Baths are now all completed and to be sure it has cost me a deal of trouble and plague. Now I must begin to write the description for it ..." .[168] The important point to be noted is that Robert had made a study of the Roman baths initially " without committing himself to the idea of publishing it" .[169] Of his motivation, Robert explains: " the public baths, of which two remain pretty entire at Rome, viz. those of Diocletian and Caracalla, have been amongst the most extensive and noble buildings of the ancients. By them these Emperors have shown mankind that Grandeur was only to be produced from simplicity and largeness of parts and that convenience was not inconsistent with decoration. On them, therefore, I bent my particular attention and though any accident should for ever prevent me from publishing to the world my drawings and reflections on that subject yet I must own they contributed very much to the improvement of my taste and enlarged my notions of architecture."[170]

In the course of his study on the baths, Robert seems to have found a variety of useful sources of inspiration for his future practice. When he later disclosed to his mother his real intention not to publish his study on the baths, he explained: " But we think it would be vastly imprudent to publish them, as that would be throwing your most precious works into the public's hands and removing that desire of seeing and admiring them at your own house. ... the more you can keep people from seeing the more their imaginations have

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[166] Clerk of Penicuik Collection, Scottish Record Office, GD 18/4817.
[167] Clerk of Penicuik Collection, Scottish Record Office, GD 18/4786.
[168] Clerk of Penicuik Collection, Scottish Record Office, GD 18/4834.
[169] Eileen Harris, *British Architectural Books and Writers, 1556-1785*, Cambridge University Press, 1990, 1991, p.74.
[170] Clerk of Penicuik Collection, Scottish Record Office, GD 18/4834.

occasion to work so that at Paris the same stratagem is practised with never failing success. Show to none but people of true taste, leave them to praise you and be shy of [showing to the] ignorant rabble. ... If ever I should have the fortune to execute a dozen of temples and lay out a set of gardens, which are approved of and admired by the world, then is the true time to publish them, dedicating each plate to the proprietor of the different places, which will be both pleasing to them and honourable and profitable to me."[171]

In mid-July 1757, Robert stayed in Pola, Istria, for several days on the way to Spalatro, Dalmatia. During his stay there, the idea of surveying the amphitheatre and other classical remains in Pola occurred to Robert as the next possible subject of publication. James Stuart (1713-88) and Nicholas Revett (1720-1804), however, were already planning a publication on this subject, possibly by the end of 1750, forcing Robert Adam to alter his plans once again.

On the 22 July, Robert finally arrived in Spalatro, the site of his survey that was to appear in 1764 as the *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia*. Robert is said to have described his impression of the view of Spalatro from the sea as " not only picturesque but magnificent".[172] In Spalatro, discovering " how little justice former descriptions and unskilful drawings had done to it",[173] his almost two-year search for proper material for publication had finally came to its end.

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[171] Clerk of Penicuik Collection, Scottish Record Office, GD 18/4825.
[172] *Ruins ... at Spalatro*, Introduction, P.2.
[173] Fleming, *Op. cit.*, p.238.

II

A REPRODUCTION OF THE EMOTIONAL IMPACT OF ANTIQUITY

A peculiar feature of the *Ruins ... at Spalatro* was Robert Adam's rather relaxed approach towards antiquity, and his appreciation for the creative aspect of the historic past. While the archaeologist rationally observes and surveys ancient remains, the architect gives scope to his imagination. The architect can see archaeological remains and legacies from the viewpoint of his own creativity, and pursue the publication of archaeological folios for reasons of self-promotion and future inspiration. While Robert Adam intended to enhance his intellectual reputation by appearing as the author of a splendid archaeological folio, he had at the same time a strong desire to influence his and succeeding generations of the architectural profession by presenting it as a source book of stylistic inspiration, and to impress the rich and noble potential patrons of his time by expressing his personal taste in architecture. Appreciating the importance of visual presentation, Robert Adam attached a great deal of significance to the expression of the emotional impact and picturesque prospects of ancient remains.

In marked contrast to the works of Wood, Stuart, Revett and all other archaeologists, whose survey and publication attached a great importance to archaeological accuracy and documentation, the architect gave prime importance to emotion and atmosphere. While paying homage to Wood's works in the preface of the *Ruins ... at Spalatro*, by explaining that his publication was " encouraged by the favourable reception which has been given of late to works of this kind, particularly to the Ruins of Palmyra and Balbec" ,[174] Robert, in reality, was critical of Wood's approach to the remains of ancient monuments, which emphasised accurate and candid record and thorough investigation of archaeological

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[174] *Ruins ... at Spalatro*, Introduction, P.4.

facts.[175] " I am not for praising the Taste of W.[oo]ds work" , says Adam, " the greatest connoisseurs here are of my own private opinion that Taste & Truth, or as W.[ood] terms it, Accuracy, are not the Characteristics or Qualifications of these Works. They are as hard as Iron, & as false as Hell." [176] Robert considered the representation of the emotional impact of antique monuments — grandeur and simplicity — as a far more important element of his archaeological folio.

His impressionistic approach to antiquity informs the picturesque representations of ancient monuments in the *Ruins ... at Spalatro*. Fourteen plates in total are devoted to picturesque views of the ruins. Their manner of presentation reveals the influence of landscape painting in general, and, in particular, the support of Clérisseau, " from whose taste and knowledge of antiquities" Robert was " certain of receiving great assistance in the execution" of his scheme.[177] The painter' s eye can be seen in Robert' s account of the site of the ruins of the Palace: " so soon as you enter between the two points that jut out into the sea, forming a grand basin and commodious harbour, the remains of the marine wall and long arcade of the Emperor' s Palace, the modern fortifications, the lazzaretto and towers within the walls, with one of the ancient temples, immediately present themselves to your view, all which group so perfectly with the hills and country around that they form a most agreeable landscape" (fig. 30).[178] On the influence of Clérisseau on Robert, Harris points out: " Clérisseau' s habitual response to the antique (a response that appealed especially to Adam as an artist and corresponded with his own life-long fascination with composition of imaginary, historically remote landscapes) was what is perhaps best described as 'pseudo-archaeological' in that it tended to treat the physical remains of antiquity as touchstones for

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[175] *Ibid*. The preface states; " I am far from comparing my undertaking with that of Messieurs Dawkins, Bouverie, and Wood, one of the most splendid and liberal that was ever attempted by private persons." " I was not, like these gentlemen" , admits Adam, " obliged to traverse deserts, or to expose myself to the insults of barbarians; nor can the remains of a single Palace vie with those surprising and almost unknown monuments of sequestered grandeur which they have brought to light."
[176] Clerk of Penicuik Collection, Scottish Record Office, GD18/4843.
[177] *Ruins ... at Spalatro*, p.2.

the imaginative and scenic, as opposed to deductive and architectonic recreation of ancient buildings. It is not surprising therefore to find that between them Clérisseau and Adam took every opportunity to change the archaeological and geometrical data contained in the plates of *Spalatro* with an emotive, picturesque energy."[179]

In the *Ruins ... at Spalatro*, the picturesque expression of the ancient world, in which archaeological facts and romantic fantasies were mingled, was given priority over the straightforward record of the ancient remains. This position was welcomed by the Post-Neo-Palladian generation, and " Adam's picturesque presentation was more in tune [than the systematic surveys of ancient buildings made by Stuart and Revett, and Wood] with contemporary taste." [180] Wood, Stuart and Revett, and Hamilton, all " hoped principally to provide a greater variety of examples for the world to form a truer, a more extensive and juster idea of ancient architecture, and at the same time to rescue for posterity a record of neglected ruins before they fell into oblivion" .[181] They had no intention to set a new fashion of the Greek or Roman styles nor to influence the works of their coeval artists. Robert Adam, on the contrary, had an intention to make his work useful to his fellow architects. " At a time when the admiration of the Grecian and Roman Architecture has risen to such a height in Britain" , he explains of the publishing of the *Ruins ... at Spalatro*, " as to banish in a great measure all fantastic and frivolous taste, and to make it necessary for every Architect to study and to imitate the ancient manner, I flatter myself that this work ... will be received with indulgence, and may, perhaps, be esteemed an acquisition of some importance." [182] The architect's approach to the ancient past clearly differed from that of the antiquary, whose foci were consistently upon archaeological discovery and the genuine values of materials. The architect's studies of antiquity, on the contrary, are supposed to enable him to expand knowledge which he could then use as sources of his

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[178] *Ibid.*
[179] Harris, *Op. cit.*, p.78.
[180] *Ibid.*
[181] *Ibid.*, p.50.

inspiration. He searched for the emotional impact of antiquity worth reviving, and looked for the extensive structure of Roman time for his subject of study. The creative nature of the architect's perspective determined his approach to ancient remains and publishing of archaeological folio.

From his study of the Baths of Caracalla and of Diocletian to the survey of Diocletian's palace at Spalatro, Robert, for one, consistently bent his particular attention to the monument on a noble scale, whether his labour was attended with scholarly significance or not. As initially anticipated, Robert's studies of antiquity enabled him to expand knowledge which he could then use as sources of his inspiration. Responding to the decline of Palladian myth in English architecture, he was eager to interpret creatively and actively reproduce his newly acquired knowledge of ancient relics and images. This had the consequence that, in the *Ruins ... at Spalatro*, Robert Adam's primary concern was to display his personal inventive interpretation and improvements on antiquity. The explanations of the plates contain " occasional remarks on the style of the architecture" ,[183] which are comments, criticism, and suggestions for alteration and improvement, all made by Adam himself. In order to express his own architectural ability and taste, his " improved" , or rather " imaginative" reconstructions of the remains of the palace are often set beside measured drawings of the current state of the palace. When the measured drawing of the surviving elevation of the Cryptoporticus was presented along with Adam's reconstructed version, it was entitled as " Geometrical Elevation of the Cryptoporticus, or South wall of the Palace; and the Elevation of the same Wall as it now remains" (fig. 31).[184] The text to this plate explains that the present state of the wall was given here to show the " Authority for the Restored Elevation" .[185] This shows that his key focus was undoubtedly on his reconstructed design. Adam's approach to antiquity is justified in the preface:

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[182] *Ruins ... at Spalatro*, p.4.
[183] *Ruins ... at Spalatro*, p.19.
[184] *Ruins ... at Spalatro*, p.22. Plate VIII.
[185] *Ruins ... at Spalatro*, p.22.

> The curiosity of the reader ... will not be satisfied with viewing this building in its present ruinous condition, but must naturally desire to form some idea of what was its plan and disposition in its more perfect state.[186]

The reconstruction is presented as being based on the detailed survey of the remains of the Palace and knowledge of the descriptions given by Pliny and Vitruvius of Roman villas,[187] it was nevertheless not necessarily accurate in an archaeological sense but rather the imaginative creation of Robert's personal point of view and taste. The involvement of his personal imagination resulted, inevitably, in the rather obvious dichotomy between the archaeological truth — what Wood, Stuart and Revett called Accuracy — and fictionalised reproduction. As an expensive, splendid folio on an ancient structure, it was certain to attract the critical attention of antiquarians and of architects who might study the measured drawings in detail with the intention of polishing their own repertoire of designs. Adam needed to ensure that the plates were as accurate as possible. In spite of his strenuous efforts to reconcile the dichotomy between fact and fiction, it seems he was never entirely successful. Edward Gibbon (1737-94), professor of ancient history at the Royal Academy, who was known for his accuracy in the statement of facts, remarked that " there is room to suspect that the elegance of his designs and engraving has somewhat flattered the objects which it was their purpose to represent".[188]

While the bold involvement of Adam's imagination damaged the credibility of the *Ruins ... at Spalatro* as a record of an archaeological investigation, it undoubtedly added greatly to the personality of this work. Individualisation of the existing repertoires of historically-

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[186] *Ruins ... at Spalatro*, p.7. " A Description of the General Plan of Diocletian's Palace as Restored, explaining the Manner of disposing the Apartments in the Houses of the Ancients".
[187] See *Ruins ... at Spalatro*, p.7.

grounded design characterised their attitude towards the historic past and defined their place in the British neo-classical tradition.

The personalisation of the motifs of not only Diocletian's palace in Spalatro but of the Ancients in general started to appear in various aspects of Adam's work soon after his return from Italy in January of 1758. The central object of this was undoubtedly to inflame the association of ideas, and particularly those of their powerful patrons. The Adam brothers were aware that if their works could sway patrons, who had understood only little of what they had seen on their Grand Tours, by inflaming lively association of ideas with the images of Roman antiquity, they could achieve a new mode of architecture.[189] Each Roman quotation was not necessary rigorously accurate and was often abstracted, but was carefully presented with calculated resemblance to its immediate source, so that it provoked an active association of ideas.

Their personalisation of Roman antiquity found its expression not exclusively in the actual forms of architecture, but often in the " imaginative impression" of the design as a whole. A highly personalised reading of Roman precedent appears in their " most ambitious enterprise" , the Adelphi, a palatial group of houses planned and built between 1768 and 1772 on the banks of the River Thames in London. The name is taken from the Greek term αδελφου, which means " brother" in English. The scheme, on a grand scale with a minimum of restrictions arising from the condition of its site, was a golden opportunity for the Adam brothers to embody their " dream to erect a great building worthy of Roman

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[188] Iain Gordon Brown, *Monumental Reputation: Robert Adam & the Emperor's Palace*, The National Library of Scotland, 1992, p.45. Edward Gibbon, historian, was elected Professor of Ancient History at the Royal Academy in succession to Goldsmith.

[189] At Hatchlands, one of the earliest designs by Robert Adam after his return from the Grand Tour, Italian memories are immediately reflected in the ornamentation, amongst whom are; the ruin paintings in panels all flanked by stucco arabesques and the ceiling of the Drawing Room designed after the example in the Villa Pamphili in Rome. cf. Geoffrey Beard, *The Works of Robert Adam*, Arco Publishing Company, 1978.

times" [190] and revive the magnificence of ancient Roman buildings in Britain in the second half of the eighteenth century.

The failure of this scheme was a source of great distress to the brothers. The effects of the financial embarrassment that the Adelphi scheme caused them were not minor. While the houses in the Adelphi were sold through a specially arranged lottery —in Walpole's view nothing but "a bubble" — they had to expose to "public sale a large and valuable collection of busts, statues, bas-reliefs, pictures. etc., which they purchased many years since in Italy".[191] It was not only an unfortunate event but also, undoubtedly, a humiliating experience for the proud brothers. Miss Burney, an acquaintance of the brothers, writes, "the undertaking was, I believe, too great for them, and they have suffered much in their fortunes. I cannot but wonder, that so noble and elegant a plan should fail of encouragement." [192] The Adam brothers themselves, in a rare pamphlet published on 18 January 1774, admitted that the enterprise was "too great for their private fortunes", adding that they embarked on it "more from an enthusiasm for their own art than from a view of profit" [193] — that is, the erection of "a great building worthy of Roman times" [194] and revival of the image of the ancients' magnificence.

The immediate source of inspiration of their overall exterior design must have been the splendid view of the city of Spalatro, with the vast structure of the Diocletian's palace ranged along the seashore, which had struck Robert with its picturesqueness and magnificence when he first saw it on 11 July, 1757.[195] It seems not entirely coincidental

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[190] Bolton, *Op. cit.*, vol. II, p.20.
[191] From Miss Burney's Diary, quoted in *Ibid.*, p.22.
[192] *Ibid.*
[193] *Ibid.*, p.22.
[194] *Ibid.*, p.20.
[195] *Ruins ... at Spalatro*, pp.2-3. "The city, though of no great extent, is so happily situated, that is appears, when viewed from the sea, not only picturesque but magnificent. As we entered a grand bay, and sailed slowly towards the harbour, the Marine Wall, and long Arcades of the Palace, one of the ancient Temples, and other parts of that building which

that the only plate of the Adelphi contained in *The Works in Architecture* — " The view of the front part of the new buildings called Adelphi" (fig. 32) — has a close resemblance to the perspective view of Diocletian' s palace,[196] and especially to the engravings prepared by Charles-Louis Clérisseau (1721-1820) for the publication of the *Ruins ... at Spalatro* (fig. 33).[197]

Complexity in its function, grandeur in its appearance, and centrality in its location, the Adelphi was essentially an urban development. Showing the massive blocks of houses alongside the heavily built-up view of Westminster, the perspective view of the scheme is expressive of its urban character, equivalent to the Diocletian' s palace. The Royal Terrace, on the south front along the River Thames, seems to have been intended for a similar purpose to that of the Cryptoporticus in Diocletian' s Palace — a vast space extending some 515 feet, overlooking the seashore, and " intended for walking, and other exercises, which the Ancients reckoned of such importance" .[198] Lees-Milne has remarked that the terrace, which was certainly a most ambitious and innovative undertaking in London in respect of its " lengthy treatment of one continuous facade" , was praised " as eminently worthy of the old Romans by the public, who supposed the great terrace to have been suggested by the sea wall and terraces of the palace at Split" . According to Fleming, " this interpretation had hugely flattered the Adams".[199]

Underneath the terrace were fifteen warehouses with arched openings. The daily life which took place around this part of the complex is captured in the perspective view of the Adelphi and bears a close resemblance to the bustle along the seashore and foot of the

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was the object of our voyage, presented themselves to our view, and flattered me, from this first prospect, that my labour in visiting it would be amply rewarded."

[196] The composition of this plate might have been inspired by the perspective view of the Marine Wall of the Diocletian's Palace at Spalatro engraved in the *Ruins ... at Spalatro.*

[197] A series of perspective views of the Adelphi drawn by different painters commonly suggests the resemblance of the Diocletian' s Palace at Spalatro to the perspective view of the south facade of the Adelphi.

[198] *Ruins ... at Spalatro*, p.9.

Marine Wall of the Diocletian's palace in Spalatro (fig. 34). The juxtaposed blocks on the river side of the Adelphi are parallel with the external forms of Diocletian's palace. A horizontally extended block facing the Thames with slightly advanced detached blocks on either side resembles the southern elevation of Diocletian's palace, which consists of a long Marine Wall with slightly projected corner towers at each end.

The introduction of the *Ruins ... at Spalatro* states: " the buildings of the Ancients are in Architecture, what the works of Nature are with respect to the other Arts; they serve as models which we should imitate, and as standards by which we ought to judge..." .[200] It argues that artists in the time of Diocletian were capable of imitating, " with no inconsiderable success, the site and manner of a purer age," and although " the names and history of those great masters are now unknown, their works which remain, merit the highest applause" .[201] For these reasons, Adam declares: " they who aim at eminence, either in the knowledge or in practice of Architecture, find it necessary to view with their own eyes the works of the Ancients which remain, that they may catch from them those ideas of grandeur and beauty, which nothing, perhaps, but such an observation can suggest." [202] Four years after the publication of *Ruins ... at Spalatro*, his insistence on the need to study the works of the Ancients was transformed as the skeleton of the overall design of the Adelphi, the most magnificent undertaking of the Adam brothers.

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[199] James Lees-Milne, *The Age of Adam*, B. T. Batsford, 1947, p.33.
[200] *Ibid.*, p.1.
[201] *Ibid.*, p.2.
[202] *Ibid.*

III

REPRESENTATION OF THE EMOTIONAL IMPACT OF INTERIOR SCENERY

It is in their interiors that the Adam brothers modified and combined diverse stylistic sources of inspiration in their highly personalised manner more affectively. In their interiors, no specific style and conventional pattern from established tradition commanded sufficient acceptance to be deemed the only one suited to their style. Roman antiquity, Renaissance, Baroque, and eighteenth-century influences of Italian, French, and their native British trends in architecture; the Adam brothers turned for stylistic inspiration to a wide variety of the models drawn both from historical and contemporary sources. " Selective in his choice of model he [Robert Adam] was also individualistic in his use of them" , writes Damie Stillman. " Some of the prototypes were reproduced with little or no alteration in form, but most of them were modified and combined in such a way as to stamp them with a distinctly Adamsque imprint. Adam mixed his sources as he saw fit, uniting Burlingtonian and antique elements, Greek and Roman ones. Although certain details can be identified as derived from specific examples, the interpretation of the whole is always characteristic of Adam. ... His field of choice was very wide, and he made excellent use of it."[203]

Behind their widespread tastes and the stylistic complexity of their sources of inspiration, the Adam brothers established the principle to follow for their interior designs in the production of diversified emotional impacts in a spectator. Every style they employed and every source of inspiration that they turned to were merely the architectural devices subordinated either to their visual qualities or associated ideas which are capable of producing vivid emotions in a spectator who conceives and experiences their interiors. The Adam brothers were all for the emotional impact of artificial spaces. Acquiring a range of

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[203] Damie Stillman, *The Decorative Works of Robert Adam*, London: Academy Editions, 1967, p.31.

imaginative scenographic skill and pictorial language expressive of the world of vanished ancient legacy and romantic scenery, first through his aptitude for the Picturesque aspects of landscapes and then under the directions of Clérisseau and Piranesi, Robert Adam conceived the idea of enlivening his interior by making use of landscape capricci in the decorative panels. At Osterley, in the dining-room, two different large panels of picturesque views containing classical ruins by the Venetian artist, Antonio Zucchi (1726-95), are placed in the centre of either end wall (fig. 35). Prominent in scale and strong in perspective, each ruinous image is equivalent in effect to the views through the triplet windows, by displaying a view that convinces spectators an actual picturesque scenery. At Harewood House, Yorkshire, the seat of Edwin Lascelles, 1st Earl of Harewood, there are four large, window-like panels of picturesque landscapes in the music room. A similarly splendid display is to be found in the dining-room at Kenwood, where the ceiling frames landscapes by Zuccavell and Zicchi and the walls are decorated with the works of numerous artists including Claude Lorraine and Zucchi. While the interior use of those compositions was purely a decorative device to present picturesque scenery in interior, it was evidently social, in so far as the study and knowledge of the Roman past and taste in picturesque landscape were accessible to the educated ruling classes only. A. B. Jameson suggests in her *Diary of an Ennuyée* (1826) that the experience of the Grand Tour was the essential prerequisite for understanding the merit of a picturesque scene:

> Had I never visited Italy I think I should never have understood the word *picturesque*. ... in Italy the picturesque is everywhere, in every variety of form; it meets us at every turn, in town and in country, at all times and seasons; the commonest object of every-day life have become picturesque and assumes from a thousand causes a certain character of poetical interest it cannot have elsewhere. In England, when travelling in some distant country, we see perhaps a craggy hill, a thatched cottage, a mill on a winding stream, a rosy milkmaid, or a smock-frocked labourer whistling after his plough, and

> we exclaim " how picturesque!" Travelling in Italy we see a piny mountain, a little dilapidated village on its declivity, the ruined temple of Jupiter or Apollo on its summit; a peasant with a bunch of roses hanging from his hat, and singing to his guitar, or a contadina in her white veil and scarlet petticoat, and we exclaim " how picturesque!" but how different! Again – a tidy drill or a hay cart, with a team of fine horses, is a very useful, valuable, civilized machine; but a grape-wagon reeling under its lead of purple clusters, and drawn by a pair of oxen in their clumsy, ill-contrived harness, and bowing their patient heads to the earth, is much more picturesque.[204]

The adapted picturesque compositions, often consisting of partially ruined architectural structures and natural surroundings, appear to emphasise in a nostalgic way the continuation of old tradition and the fascination of Roman antiquity. As Hume noted, " a picture naturally leads our thoughts to the original" ,[205] these compositions are taken as important devices to denote their high taste in picturesque scenery and in Roman antiquity and appeal to the wealthy patrons who brought to the contemporary fascination with antiquity their own, personal memories of the Grand Tour.

An extension of this is the pictorial use of the external panorama or prospect seen through windows. Appreciating that the emotion which a prospect produces in a spectator is very fluid and that its impact only exists in the modes and habits of commanding it, the Adam brothers were careful to select locations appropriate to this device. We have splendid display of this use of panorama at Gosford House, where they took advantage of the setting of the house and made most effective interior use of the picturesque panorama. The triplet Venetian windows on the west elevation of the main block were designed in order to command the fascinating panorama of the city of Edinburgh and the Firth of Forth

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[204] A. B. Jameson, *Diary of an Ennuyée*, London, 1826, pp.357-8.

beyond. The brothers' former draughtsman George Richardson's account on the relation of the house to the surrounding landscape and scenery, given in *The New Vitruvius Britannicus*, suggests that the prospects from the house were taken by the Adam brothers as an essential factor of their design:

> This elegant building of stone [Gosford House] is erected on an open part of East-Lothian, contiguous to the Firth of Forth, of which, both east and west-elevations command a variety of extensive and most beautiful prospects. The east-front commands very fine picturesque views of the opposite coast of Fife, the May and Bass islands, North-Berwick Law, the Garleton Hills, and the adjoining village of Aberlady.
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> The west-elevation commands very grand prospects of the town and bay of Mussleburgh, Leith, Edinburgh, and the ancient village of Seton; it also commands delightful views of the opposite coast of Fife, and the towns and villages situated along the shore. This noble mansion is conspicuously seen from the South-Bridge and High Street of Edinburgh, and also from many parts of the great London-road, leading from that city through Haddington.[206]

The pictorial use of prospect was developed in an elaborate manner in the great room of Kenwood by employing " glasses" (mirrors) set in square recesses on the northern side of the room, which reflected the splendid panorama of the city of London and the River Thames commanded by the windows on the opposite side (fig. 36). *The Works in*

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[205] David Hume, *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding*, eds. T. H. Green and T. H. Grose, London, 1748, 1889, p.18.
[206] George Richardson, *The New Vitruvius Britannicus; consisting of Plans and Elevations of Modern Buildings, Public and Private, Erected in Great Britain by the Most Celebrated Architects*, 1802-8, reprint edition, New York: Arno Press, 1978.

Architecture states that, the picturesque prospects invited into the interior produce " a most singular and beautiful effect".[207]

It is in the sequence of varied spaces that the Adam brothers' adroit invention in interiors best revealed itself. The emotional impact of the interior space is carefully orchestrated by the use of rooms of a variety of shapes and sizes, by contrasting high and low ceilinged rooms, by rising and falling floor levels, by dramatising the contrast of light and darkness of different parts of interiors, and by contriving the openings and closings of rooms.

The natural world was invited into interior space by taking natural light through skylights. By reflecting the changes in time, season, weather and various natural factors, the effect of this device is unsettling and allows no single moment when the interior space displays the same colour and contrast of light and shade. Column, colonnade, screen, statue, niches, guardrail of internal balcony, steps and banisters — every possible ornamentation changes angle, mass, and tone of shadow. The unpredictable interplay of light and shade is constantly presented, and this intrusion of natural elements adds greatly to the picturesque quality of their interiors. The idea of diversifying interior spaces seems to have been inspired by a number of Roman and Renaissance precedents which Robert and James had studied during their Grand Tours. Robert Adam's series of Italian studies of interior perspectives show that he carefully observed the spatial effects of interplay of light and shade in interior spaces (fig. 37).

The final product is a landscape-garden-like sequence of varied tableaux, where the full appreciation of space is based on one's actual experience of moving through it. By creating in the interior space a setting for physical movement resembling that in an actual landscape garden or picturesque environment, one is expected to produce lively associations of ideas with the picturesque qualities of the outside world. The vehicle from

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[207] *The Works in Architecture*, vol. 1. no. II, p.9.

which this association arises is " resemblance" — resemblance of one's impression of space arising in two different sorts of environment. Through the imitation of resembled materials of the space, that is, the sequence of diversified spaces and effects of the interplay of light and shadow, informational communication between their interiors and original sources of inspiration is considerably direct, and their intention behind the design is most likely to be understood instantaneously by the one who moves through it. Appreciating that " our impression runs easily from one idea to any other that resemble it" ,[208] the Adam brothers make excellent use of this human facility to produce an emotional impact, comparable to that of landscape gardens, in a spectator who experiences their artificially created interior environments.

The sculpture gallery at Newby Hall offers a prime example. Returning from his Grand Tour in 1766, with a vast number of works of art which he had purchased, a Yorkshire gentleman, William Weddell, commissioned the Adam brothers to remodel the house he had inherited. At Newby, the Adam brothers' adroit use of the emotional impact of the interior scenery was brought into full play in the gallery. It consists of three sections, a top-lit rotunda and low-ceilinged rooms on either side (fig. 38). The openings are designed on one side only. Despite the smallness of scale of the gallery, the sequence of spaces is well defined and dramatised by careful emphasis on the spatial difference between each section. While the deep perspective of the space is terminated with the great niche, in which the largest marble work of Weddell's Roman collection is displayed, the spatial climax of the whole is focused on the central circular space with a skylight and domed ceiling. The spatial independence of the central section and its sequential unfolding are simultaneously ensured by disposing a narrow doorway in the junction to both neighbouring spaces. The result is a diversified interplay of light and shade which produces the visual illusion that the space is deeper than it is in reality (fig. 39). The presentation of double spatial

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[208] David Hume, *The Philosophical Works of David Hume*, eds, Green and Grose, London, 1874, vol. I, pp.319-20.

climaxes/focuses — in terms of perspective perception and chiaroscuro — in a singular interior space adds greatly to the movement of the axial vista running through the gallery. The spatial experience resembles that of a catacomb or grotto. (fig. 40)

Similar examples will spring to mind: the central hall of the Register House in Edinburgh, the stairwell of 20 Portman Square, the oval grand staircase of Culzean Castle, and many others. Although never constructed, the intended grand rotunda at Syon, with a circular interior colonnade, would have created a similar interplay of light and shade. At Kedleston, the idea was embodied in a most glorious way and on a vast scale in the axial vista, running through the entrance hall and circular domed salon, all lit from the roof (fig. 41). William Gilpin, in his *Observations, Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty, On Several Parts of England; Mountains, and Lakes* of 1792, gives an account of the splendid effects of this space:

> The architecture of Kedleston, as far as I could judge is a composition of elegance, and grandeur. The main body of the house, which you enter by a noble portico, is joined, by a corridor on each side, to a handsome wing. In the back front, the saloon, which is a rotunda, appears to advantage. From the hall lead the state rooms, which are not many, The rest of the house consists; and the plan of the whole is easy, and intelligible.
>
> The hall is perhaps one of the grandest, and most beautiful private rooms in England. The roof is supported by very noble columns; some of which are entire blocks of marble, dug, as we were informed, from Lord Scarsdale's own quarries. It is rather indeed a spurious sort of marble; but more beautiful, at least in colour, than any that is imported. There is a richness, and a variety in it, that pleases the eye exceedingly: the veins are large, and suited to columns; and a rough polish, *by receiving the light in one body*, gives a noble swell to the column; and adds much to it's beauty.

> When I saw this grand room, I thought it wanted no farther decoration. All was simple, great and uniform, as it ought to be. ... I should be unwilling however to suppose, that any improper decorations are added to the hall at Kedleston; as the ornaments of the house, in general, when I saw it, seemed to be under the conduct of a chaste and elegant taste.[209]

The diversification of interiors and creation of intended emotional impacts were not always easy tasks for the brothers, the majority of whose commissions were for the remodelling or partial reconstruction of existing buildings, or for works which partly followed the designs of other architects. The interior modification at Syon House, for one, is a good example of where they have made most effective use of the existing state of the house to compose a picturesque interior by introducing a sequence of varied spaces (fig. 42). In this particular work, Robert Adam had to struggle with the need to preserve some existing elements of the old house. " The chief difficulties" were, in Adam's own words, " some inequality in the levels on the old floors, some limitations from the situation of the old walls, and some want of additional heights to the enlarged apartments.[210]

Adam seems to have enjoyed his attempt to convert a medieval house into a masterpiece of the Adam neo-classicism, as he himself writes: " the idea was to me a favourite one, the subject great, the expense unlimited ..." [211] " These difficulties I flatter myself are in a great measure surmounted" , writes Adam, " so as not only to procure much convenience in the

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[209] William Gilpin, *Observations, Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty, Made in the Year 1776, on Several Parts of Great Britain*, London, 1792, pp.235-7.
[210] *The Works in Architecture*, vol. I, no. I, p.9.
[211] At Syon House, Robert Adam was given considerable latitude in the alteration under the proposed conditions by the Lord, of whom *The Works in Architecture* states, " a person of extensive knowledge and correct taste in architecture," who also " possessed not only wealth to execute a great design, but skill to judge of its merit." *The Works in Architecture*, vol. I, no. I, p.9.

arrangement of the apartments, but likewise an elegant form and graceful proportion in the principal rooms."[212] Adam surely regarded the result with satisfaction:

> The inequality of levels has been managed in such a manner as to increase the scenery and add to the movement, so that an apparent defect has been converted into a real beauty.[213]

In the great hall, for example, where the floor is " considerably lower than that of the other apartments" in the house, Adam introduces a few steps at both ends (fig. 43).[214] The result of this alteration was the entire removal of the " seeming defect" and the accomplishment of " a happy effect" which gave " an additional picturesque to the scene".[215] The employment of strikingly different designs for the interior elevation at each end of the hall is another innovation, which resulted in the increase of the picturesque effect and made the irregular dimensions of the hall less obvious. One end of the hall has a square recess with a screen of columns. Behind this screen there is a pair of small curving steps to the principal level of the ante-room. It geometrically echoes the great apse at the other end of the hall where the curving steps to the principal level are placed behind the two doors.

Adam's intention of diversifying the interior space is best represented in one of the plates in *The Works in Architecture*, which was prepared and engraved by Giovanni Battista Piranesi (fig. 44). In the plate, which shows the section of the hall facing the ante-room, Piranesi has adapted the *scena per angolo* perspective, a theatrical device innovated by Ferdinando Bibiena, whose engravings Piranesi certainly knew.[216] By setting the section of the ante-room at an angle behind the archway, so that the perspective runs off diagonally at

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[212] *The Works in Architecture*, vol. I, no. I, p.9.
[213] *The Works in Architecture*, vol. I, no. I, p.9.
[214] *The Works in Architecture*, vol. I, no. I, p.10.
[215] *The Works in Architecture*, vol. I, no. I, p.10.
[216] Peter Murray, *Piranesi and the Grandeur of Ancient Rome*, Thames and Hudson,1971, pp.7-8

one side, Piranesi successfully gives depth to the composition of the view of the anti-room. We can see here how the scenic perspective has become untruthful. The actuality has been imaginatively altered and inaccuracy has been accepted as a pictorial language expressive of Adam's idea. Instead of providing the candid record of spatial fact, the plate captures the theatrical effects of their design. The distinctive attributes of Adam's design, i.e. a screen of columns with a statue in the centre and double curving-steps ascending to the level of the ante-room behind the screen, transforms this space into a stage-like setting for human life. The significance of Piranesi's application of the *scena per angolo* is that, by stressing the spatial depth of the ante-room in a rather imaginative depiction, this plate indicates successfully the functional role of the southern end of the hall as an invitation to the world beyond the boundary of the hall.

It is in the ante-room that Adam skilfully demonstrates the "trick of picturesque empiricism".[217] The room is not really square but oblong, being 36ft. 6ins. by 30ft. (fig. 45). Nevertheless, the desired square set-out is obtained by the arrangement of the twelve antique columns, ornamented "in most splendid manner of which the order is susceptible." (fig. 46)[218] On three sides of the room, except the southern one, columns support salient entablatures and carry gilt statues on the top. On the south side, columns are set 8ft. from the wall, carrying a continuous beam, and each column is surmounted with a statue. The intended effect is also intensified in the highly polished pattern of the scagliola floor which echoes the ceiling pattern.

In the Long Gallery (figs. 47 and 48), Adam has once again made effective use of interior ornamentation to convert the passage-like room of 136ft. length, and 14ft. width and height, into a dramatic setting for a picturesque experience. Adam's alteration is the employment of "a closely grouped unit of four pilasters, with wide intervals or bays,

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[217] Christopher Hussey, *Mid Georgian, English Country Houses, 1760-1800*, Country Life, 1955, 1986, p.89.

centred upon the three doors and the two fireplaces, so that in the perspective a sense of spacing and variety is obtained which mitigates the great extent of the length" .[219] On the opposite side, the eleven windows and the pilasterwork, " retained to frame up the windows and to maintain the balance of the two sides of the room" , provide " the vertical lines necessary to the perspective effect of the whole" .[220] The ceiling is designed in a geometric manner with " circles repeated down the length of the room and held in an octagonal framework separated by squares" .[221] The result is a pleasing rhythm of concise pattern, which leads the eye down the vista and tends to expand the perceived width of the room. Thus the room is accepted by the eye as being longer and wider in effect. The sharp perspective of the room coloured with subdued tones appears enigmatic to one's eyes, and leaves an impression close to that experienced in a picturesque grotto.

Adam often stresses the connections between each room by employing various dramatic tricks, such as square or bow recesses behind a screen of columns and an undersized doorway, and distinct contrasts in colour tone between adjacent rooms, so that the sequence of rooms provides various additional interior prospects comparable to the spatial experience of intricate network of different baths and rooms in the Roman thermae. These have been characterised by Fikret Yegul as follows: " the studied rhythm of elements large and small, broad and narrow, high and low; the careful contrast between low and dark passages interposed between brilliantly lighted, lofty halls; the dramatic transition from vaulted interiors to semi-open exedrae and open courtyards ..."[222]

While the Adam brothers' interiors aimed at effects of uniqueness and novelty, their sources of inspiration were essentially historical. " Variety and gracefulness of form, so particularly

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[218] *The Works in Architecture*, vol. II, no. IV, The explanation of the plate V.
[219] Bolton, *Op. cit.*, vol. I, p.268.
[220] *Ibid.*
[221] *Ibid.*
[222] Fikret Yegul, *Baths and Building in Classical Antiquity*, MIT Press, 1992, p.130.

courted by the ancients, have not been objects of much attention to modern artists" ,[223] the brothers had remarked. According to them, " Bramante, Raphael, and Michael Angelo, those great restorers of the arts, almost entirely neglected this pleasing source of beauty" , and " Palladio, Jones, or any of the celebrated masters of this art" paid not very much of their attention to it either.[224] In their own view, it was they themselves who had identified the true merits of the classical interior and introduced it into Great Britain with " some rays of its ancient splendor".[225]

The achievement of the ancients, primarily Roman, was indeed an important source of their inspiration. As young architects who had just returned from their Grand Tours, it was natural that their design practice would reflect their studies in Italy. Among the various elements of Roman architecture, it was the Roman thermae that fascinated them. When Robert abandoned his publishing project of the revised edition of Desgodetz' s *Les Edifices Antiques de Rome* (1682), he decided to concentrate on certain buildings, amongst which were the Baths of Diocletian and of Caracalla. In a letter to James in July, 1756, Robert explains his intentions: " I am to show the Baths in their present ruinous condition and from that to make other designs of them as they were when entire and in their glory, in which project Lord Burlington' s book has been of unspeakable service as he is vastly exact in his measurements and in Palladio' s time they were much more entire so that I get great light from him." [226] Robert tackled the surveys, which he once described as " my Baths" ,[227] with the intention of using them to establish his own architectural style / fashion: " I would not want the satisfaction of having the studies of these Baths & other things in Rome for any consideration, as, if ever Fortune should favour me highly, I may have the opportunity of

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[223] *The Works in Architecture*, vol. I, no. I, p.10.
[224] *The Works in Architecture*, vol. I, no. I, p.10.
[225] *The Works in Architecture*, vol. I, no. I, p.10.
[226] In a letter to James Adam, dated on 11 September 1755, Robert Adam asks for a copy of Lord Burlington' s *Fabbriche Antiche* in order to " compare and check Palladio' s drawings against the remains still visible on the site." Clerk of Penicuik Collection, Scottish Record Office, GD 18/1786. Also quoted in Fleming, *op. cit.*, pp. 217-8.
[227] Quoted in Fleming, *Op. cit.*, p.218.

reviving something of the Old Style in England." [228] Although his " Baths" project never appeared as a publication as he had initially intended, it was arguably the most valuable Roman study for his future practice back in Britain.

His only published account of bath architecture is in the *Ruins ... at Spalatro*. Here, Adam illustrates the Roman bath planning, consisting of various types of baths, by explaining the bathing sequence.[229] He was undoubtedly fascinated by Roman thermae planning, especially the planning on axial lines to give imposing vistas through the variously shaped baths, halls, and saloons, and seems to have received a strong and lasting impression of

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[228] Brown, *Op. cit.*, p.23.

[229] See *Ruins ... at Spalatro*, p.11. Adam explains: " ... we find the differents destined for bathing; a practice which the Ancients considered as essential to health; and with regard to all the apparatus necessary for that purpose, they displayed not only great elegance, but the utmost luxury. Here we first enter on Apodyterium (Q), which was a room for undressing, and sometimes contained a Callida Piscina, or Lukewarm Bath (R), so large as to allow of swimming about in it. Next to this is the Cella Frigidaria (S), in which there was a Babtisterium, or Cold Bath. Adjoining to this is the Unctuarium (T), or Repository for Unguents, with which the Ancients anointed themselves before their exercises. From this we go into the Cella Tepedaria, (U), or Cella Media, so named from its middle degree of heat, and because it was a necessary preparation for the Laconicum, or Cella Caldaria (V), which was a bagnio for sweating in."

In the *Ruins ... at Spalatro*, Adam explains that the descriptions by Pliny and Vitruvius of the Roman villas gave him the basic information about Roman architecture in general. During and after his student days at the University, as a man with multiple interests, Robert must had read their writings, possibly *Historia Naturalis* of Pliny and surely *De Architectura Libri Decem* of Vitruvius.

By the opening of the seventeenth century the *Historia Naturalis* had come to be admired by scholars as a prominent historical source. As of this point of time, there were at least six or seven notable monographs on Pliny and translations of his texts.

In the various parts of thirty-seven books in the *Historia Naturalis,* Pliny gave vivid descriptions of the all sorts of Roman buildings, such as private houses, temples, theatres and baths, and they were surely useful for Robert Adam's measurement research and restoration work of the Diocletian's Palace at Spalatro.

It is entirely fair to say that Robert Adam was influenced by Vitruvius as he had once remarked; " I am a very promising young man but there is much to be done and much to be studied to complete the prerequisites of Vitruvius." (Fleming, *Op. cit.,* p.211.) Amongst a number of writings by Vitruvius, the most important was *De Architectura Libri Decem* (*The Ten Books on Architecture*). In his study on William Adam's library, Alistair Rowan reports that there were at least five publications relating to Vitruvius, amongst whom was *De Architectura Libri Decem.*

De Architectura Libri Decem deals with Roman bath architecture in the tenth chapter of the fifth book, mainly focusing on its physical equipment, such as lighting, the hanging floors, the vaulted ceilings, the size of the baths, and the arrangement of bath rooms.

movement from the intricate network of varied shaped baths.[230] Through his immediate experience and study of Roman thermae, Adam must have appreciated the spatial impact of the sequence of varied shaped spaces, capable of creating different picturesque prospects in a single interior space.[231]

Another and even more immediate influence on their interiors is French — the French apartments.[232] The recognition of the primacy of French interiors in *The Works in Architecture* is exceptional for the Adam brothers who tended not to credit their sources of inspiration. " A proper arrangement and relief of apartments are branches of architecture in which the French have excelled all other nations" , *The Works in Architecture* states, " these have united magnificence with utility in the hotels of their nobility, and have rendered them objects of universal imitation." [233] Indeed, the new art of planning of apartments was undoubtedly the greatest French contribution to architecture. Amongst the peculiar materials of French apartment planning that must have came to their notice is the

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[230] Roman thermae planning reflects immediately the convenience and efficiency of the physical movement of each bather which follows a systematised process of taking baths. Daniel Krencker's classification of Roman baths according to plan types shows the importance of bathers' physical movement in Roman thermae. See Yegul, *Op. cit.*

[231] Robert Adam's distribution of plates in the *Ruins ... at Spalatro* indicates it more clearly that the circulation plan of the baths in the Diocletian's Palace at Spalatro attracted his considerable attention. While the folio contains a number of plates relating to the decorative aspects of the palace, such as " Lateral Elevation of the Temple of Aesculapius" , " View of the Temple of Aesculapius" , " Geometrical Section of the Temple of Jupiter" , " First Interior Order of the Temple of Jupiter" , " View of the Inside of the Temple of Jupiter" , and " Elevation of the Portico to the Vestibulum" , there is no plate which shows the detail of space or of ornamentation of the baths. Instead, by giving the detailed description on the bather's physical movement performed in the baths, Adam's focus is on the actual sequence of diversified spaces.

[232] Since long before their first visits to France, Robert and James Adam must have had informative access to the current of French architecture mainly through their father's strong library. Amongst the relevant works on French planning in William's collection are at least the third edition (1681) of Pierre Le Muet's *Manière de bien bastir pour toutes sortes de personners* (1623), of which the English translation had appeared in 1670 as *The Art of Fair Building*, and the 1694, 1738 and possibly 1710 editions of Augustin-Charles D'aviler's *Cours d'architecture qui comprend les Ordres de Vignole* of 1691, the first publication on the principles of architectural planning. Of the architectural library of William Adam, see, Alistair Rowan, " William Adam's Library" , *William Adam: Architectural Heritage I; The Journal of the Architectural Heritage Society of Scotland*, ed. John Lowrey, Edinburgh University Press, 1990, pp.8-33.

[233] *The Works in Architecture*, vol. I, no. I, p.10.

arrangement of the " apartment as a sequence of spaces of every increasing comfort and intimacy" , and the " introduction of a wide variety of shapes — hexagons, circles, and ovals". Both are conceptually inseparable from the experience of landscape.[234]

The influence of the French apartment remained consistent in their interiors throughout their careers. It was important for their residential interiors in particular. In a series of street schemes for town houses with three/five bay facades, where the interior space is limited to a minimum, they have made most effective use of sequences of rooms of various forms, after the examples of French apartment. At Derby House, 23 Grosvenor Square, for Lord Stanley, later 12th Earl of Derby, the explanation given to the plate of the " plans of the Parlour and principal stories" in *The Works in Architecture* states that " these plans exhibit an attempt to arrange the apartments in the French style" (fig. 49).[235] The reason for this, in the Adam brothers' own words, is that the French style is " best calculated for the convenience and elegance of life" .[236] " With this view" , the brothers explain, " a large addition has been made to the old wing of the house" .[237] Similar instances are numerous: Chandos House (1770-71) for 3rd Duke of Chandos, 20 St James' s Square (1771-74) for Sir Watkin Williams-Wynn, Bt., Home House, 20 Portman Square (c.1774-76) for Elizabeth, Countess of Home. In these houses, the sequence of different effects, which is one of their greatest merits, is produced by abundant wit in the interiors, for example varied shapes of rooms, semicircular or rectangular recesses, screens of columns often combined with a semicircular recess, and apsidal ends terminated by semi-domes, one of the principal motifs of the Adam Style.

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[234] See Robin Middleton' s " Introduction" in, Nicolas le Camus de Mézières, *The Genius of Architecture; or, the Analogy of that Art with Our Sensations*, trans. David Britt, Santa Monica: The Getty Center, 1992, p.41.
[235] *The Works in Architecture*, vol. II, no. I, The explanation of the plate I.
[236] *The Works in Architecture*, vol. II, no. I, The explanation of the plate I.
[237] *The Works in Architecture*, vol. II, no. I, The explanation of the plate I.

The effect is not constricted to one level of the house, but is often also extended vertically through a staircase hall. Amongst the notable instances of this are 20 St James' s Square and 20 Portman Square. At 20 St James' s Square, the grand stairwell rises the full height of the house and a spiral vertical movement is skilfully achieved (fig. 50). " Adam was much too good an architect to spoil his effect by carrying the main stairs beyond the first floor", Bolton remarks.[238] Instead of continuing the main stairway, Adam designed the approach to the bedrooms on the second floor through a secondary staircase, so that the fascinating boldness of the space is maximised. An additional effect of varying scene is obtained on both the ground and the first floors by a fine semi-circular recess with triplet niches which spatially widens the stairwell. This feature is skilfully planned in connection with an apsidal junction between the two rooms on the other side of wall, so that " no real sacrifice of space is involved."[239]

Home House, 20 Portman Square (fig. 51), has a unique circular staircase, most likely designed after the example of Kent' s stairwell at 44 Berkeley Square (fig. 52). Here, the brothers have clearly broken from Kent' s example by dramatising the space through an adroit display of polished ornamentation. The hall with double-carved-stairs is enriched with abundant embellishments, such as niches with sculptures, detailed relief decoration, and indoor balconies on the second floor, by which varying picturesque scenes are inevitably obtained in the space. Through the movement ascending up the stairway, a fine interior prospect of 360 degrees is revealed. The very same notion of the effectiveness of such interior arrangement, although strikingly larger in scale, lies behind their design for the magnificent oval-staircase hall at Culzean Castle.

It should be stressed that the Adam brothers were not necessarily committed to the particularity of French style of interior planning. They were aware of " the necessity of

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[238] Bolton, *Op. cit.*, vol. II, p.57.
[239] *Ibid.*

varying the style of architecture so as to accommodate it to the manners and habits of different nations..." [240] While encouraging an understanding of French manners and custom in general, in order to improve one's design of apartment or interior, the Adam brothers concluded that " our manners prevent us from imitating them" .[241] They openly refer to the alterations necessary to make French apartment designs suitable for the British way of living:

> Their eating rooms seldom or never constitute a piece in their great apartments, but lie out of the suite, and in fitting them up, little attention is paid to beauty of decoration. The reason of this is obvious; the French meet there only at meals, when they trust to the display of the table for show and magnificence, not to the decoration of the apartment; and as soon as the entertainment is over, they immediately retire to the rooms of company. It is not so with us. Accustomed by habit, or induced by the nature of our climate, we indulge more largely in the enjoyment of the bottle. Every person of rank here is either a member of the legislation, or entitled by his condition to take part in the political arrangements of his country, and to enter with ardour into those discussions to which they give rise; these circumstances lead men to live more with one another, and more detached from the society of the ladies. The eating rooms are considered as the apartments of conversation, in which we are to pass a great part of our time. This renders it desirable to have them fitted up with elegance and splendor, but in a style different from that of other apartments. Instead of being hung with damask, tapestry, &c. they are always finished with stucco, and adorned

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[240] *The Works in Architecture*, vol. I, no. I, p.11.
[241] *The Works in Architecture*, vol. I, no. I, p.10.

with statues and paintings, that they may not retain the smell of the victuals.[242]

An inventive alteration of any sort of masterly examples, by taking account of various factors which differentiate the circumstances of the situation of individual buildings — national character, historical background, class conscious, climate — were welcomed by enlightened beings who now see things through eyes of "reason and experience".

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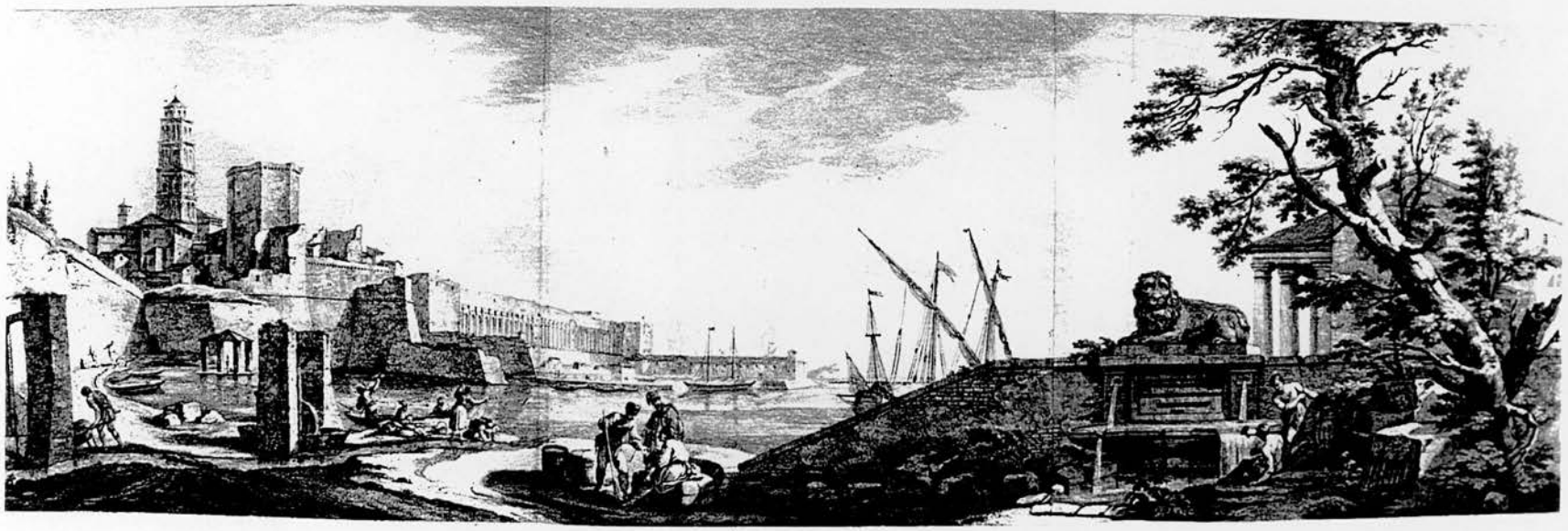
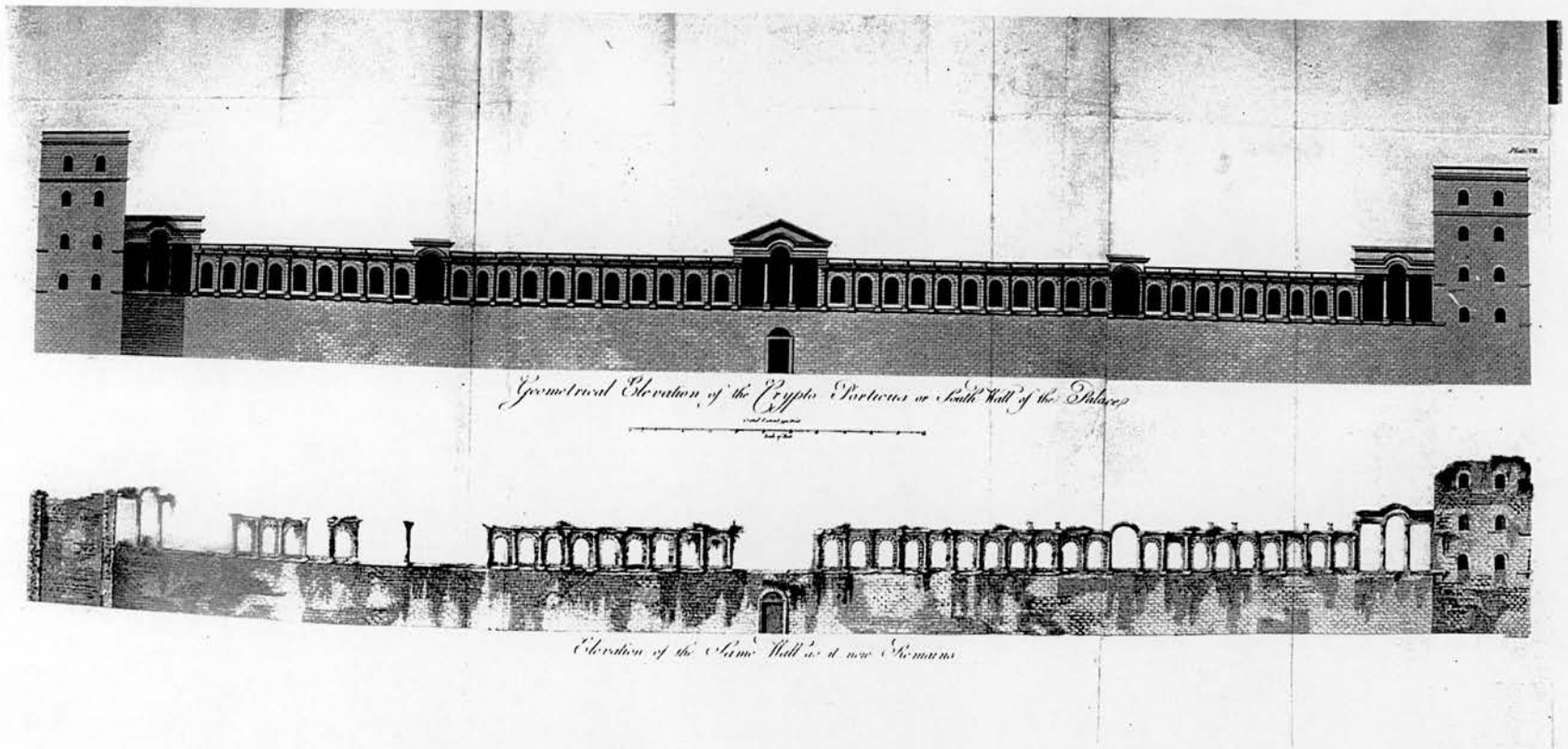
[242] *The Works in Architecture*, vol. I, no. I, pp.10-11.

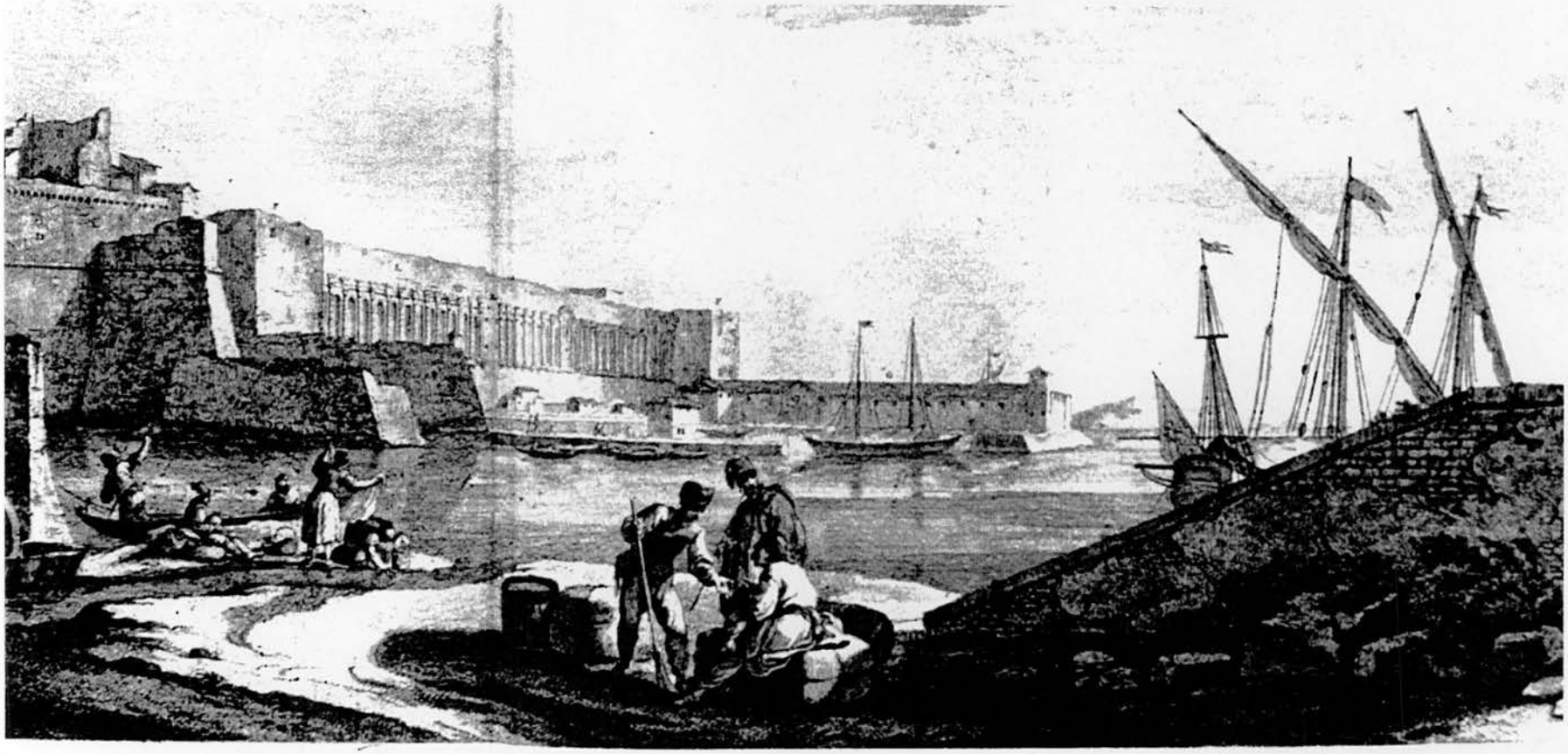


30. The view of Spalatro from the south west. From *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia*, 1764.

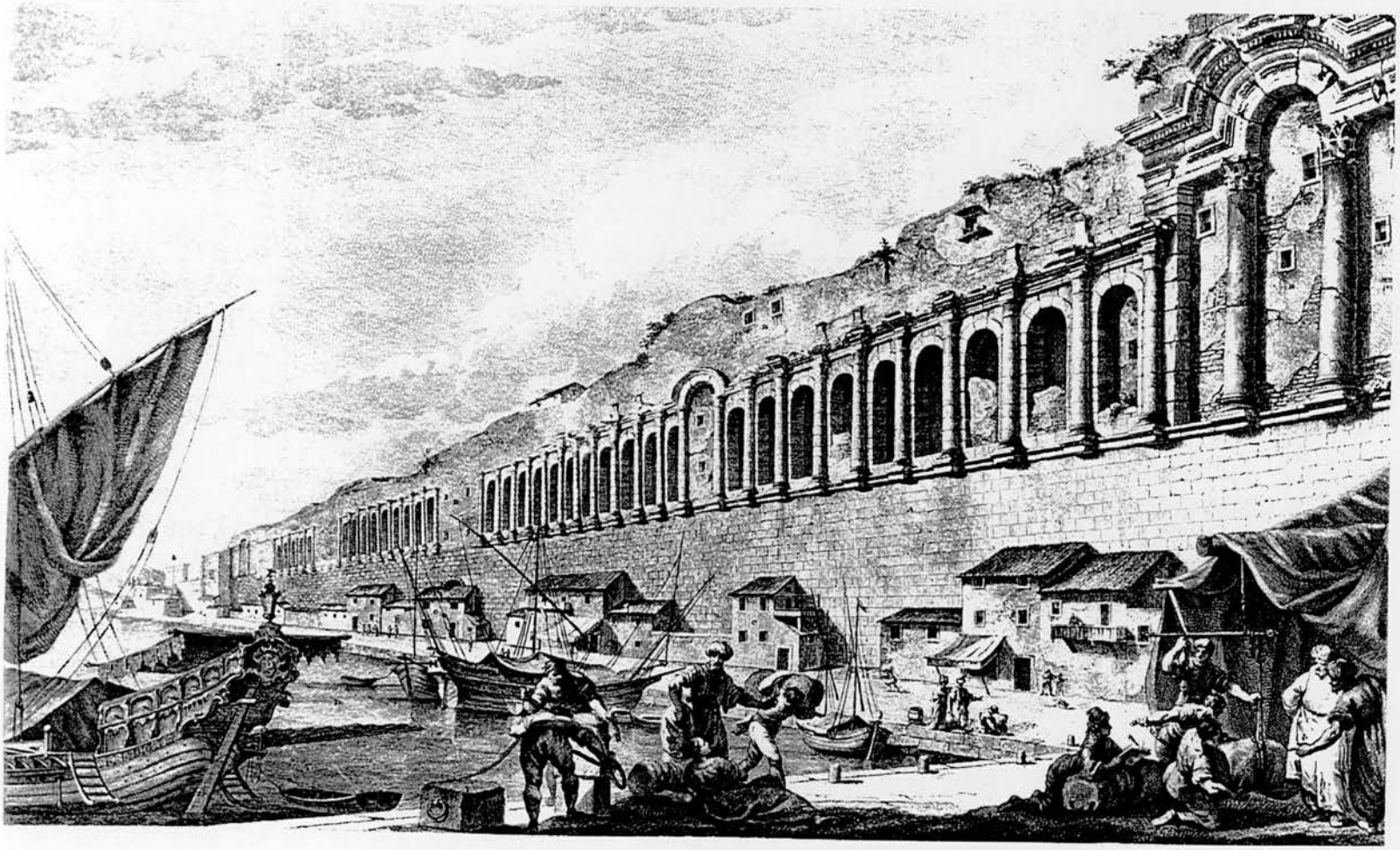


31. "Geometrical Elevation of the Cryptoporticus, or South wall of the Palace; and the Elevation of the same Wall as it now remains". From *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia*, 1764.

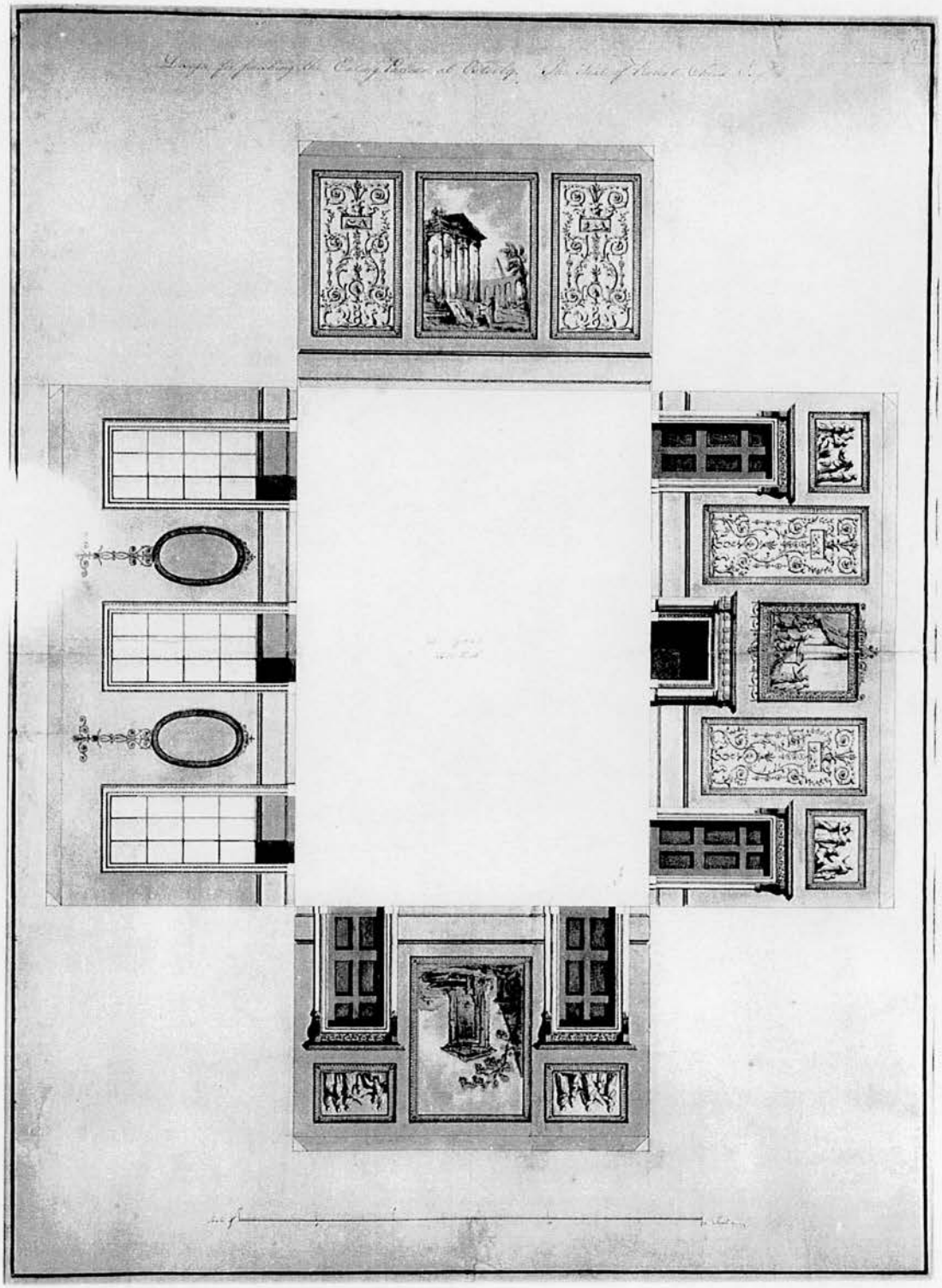
32. The Adelphi; the view of the front part from the Thames.



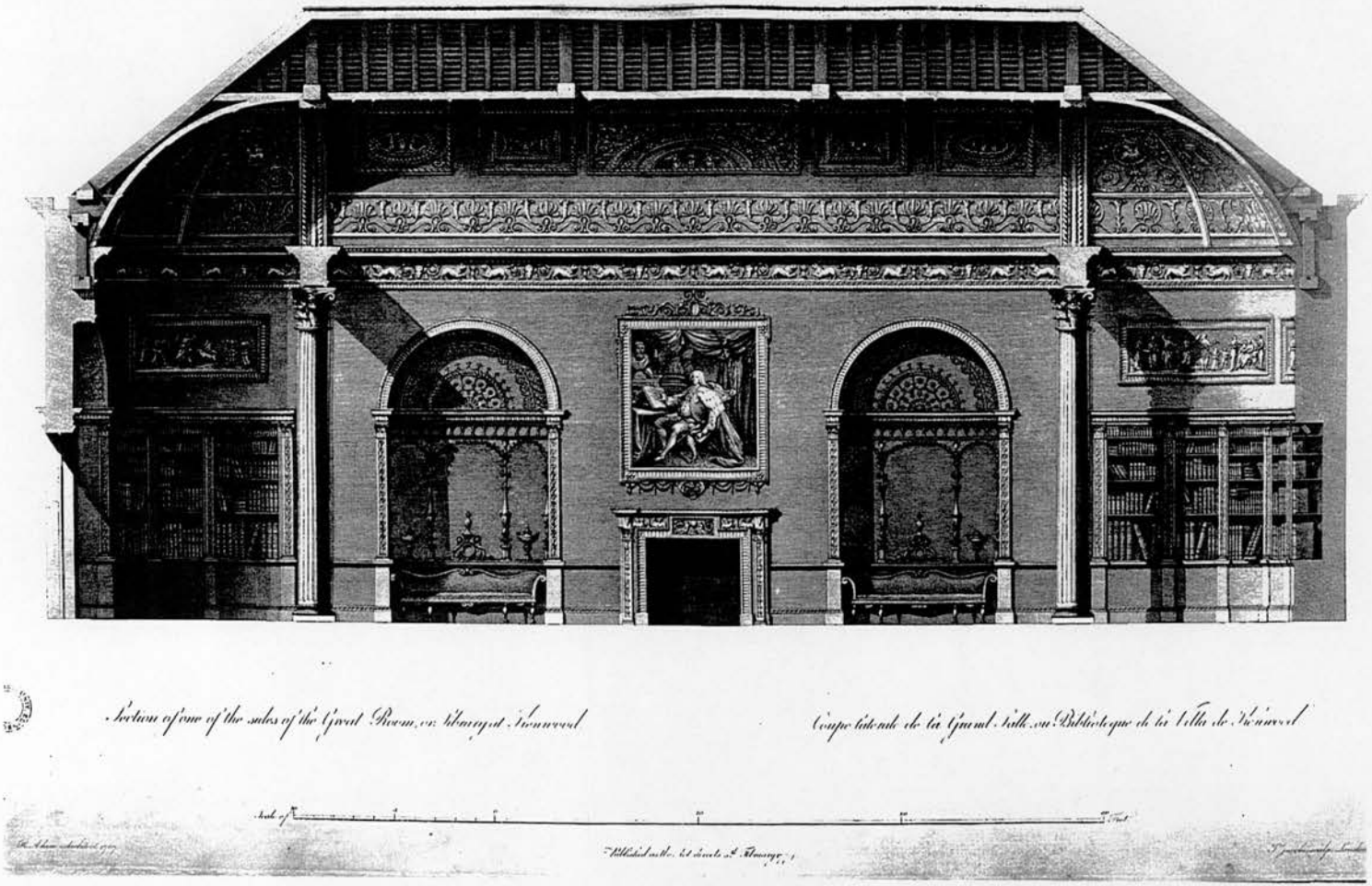
33. The view of Spalatro from the south west (detail). From *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia*, 1764.



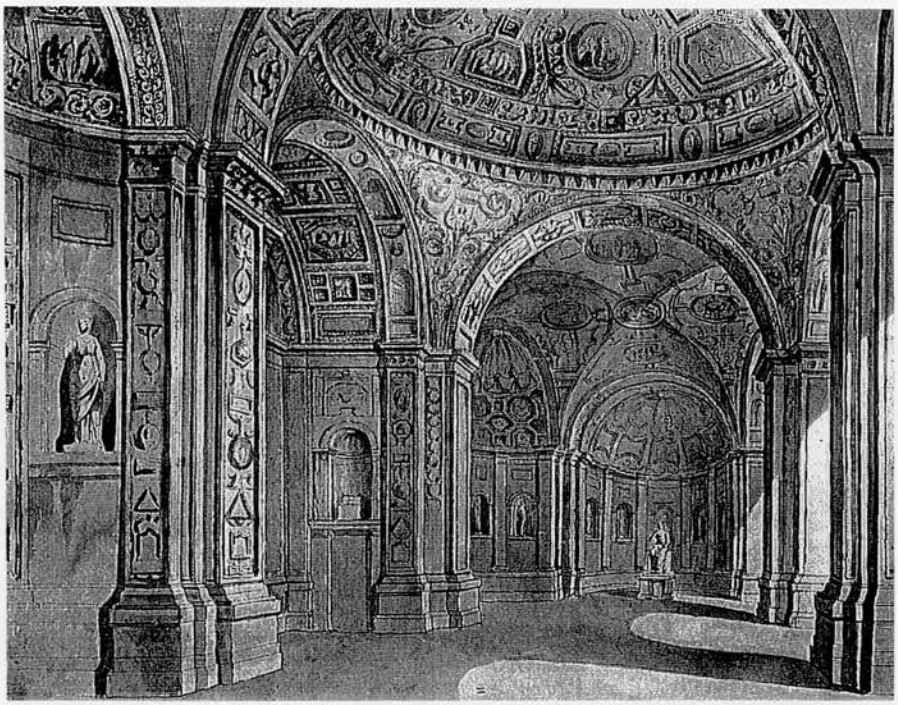
34. The perspective view of the Cryptoporticus and marine wall of the Diocletian's Palace. From *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia*, 1764.



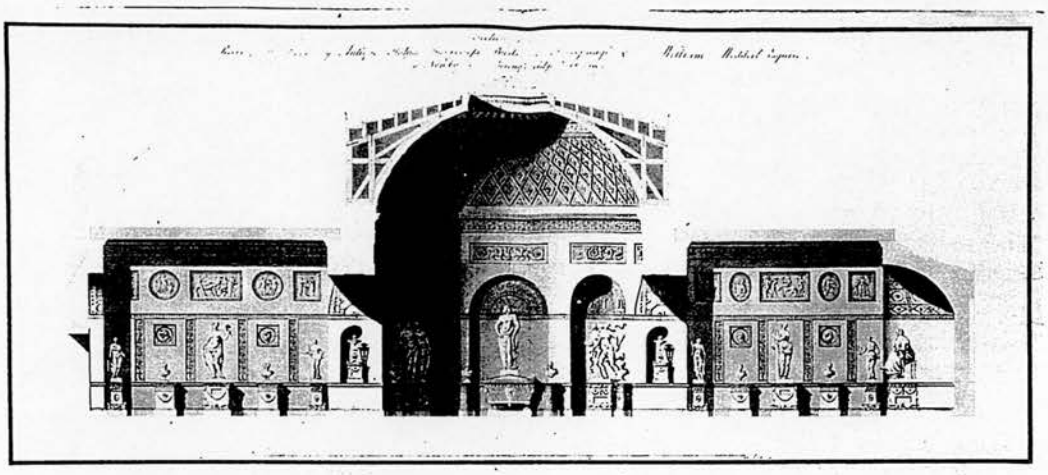
35. Osterley Park; a design for the eating parlour.



36. Kenwood; section of the library.



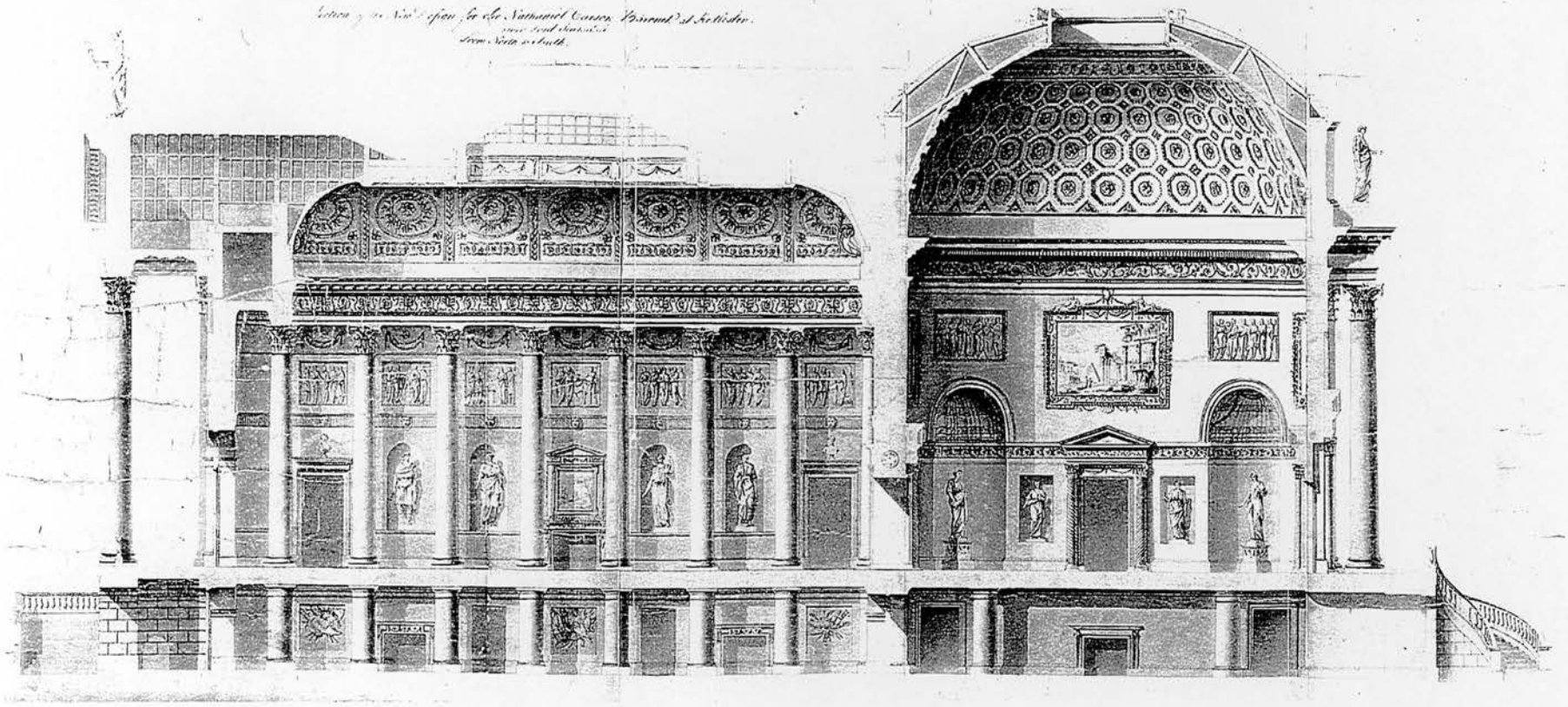
37. ROBERT ADAM, Italian drawing.



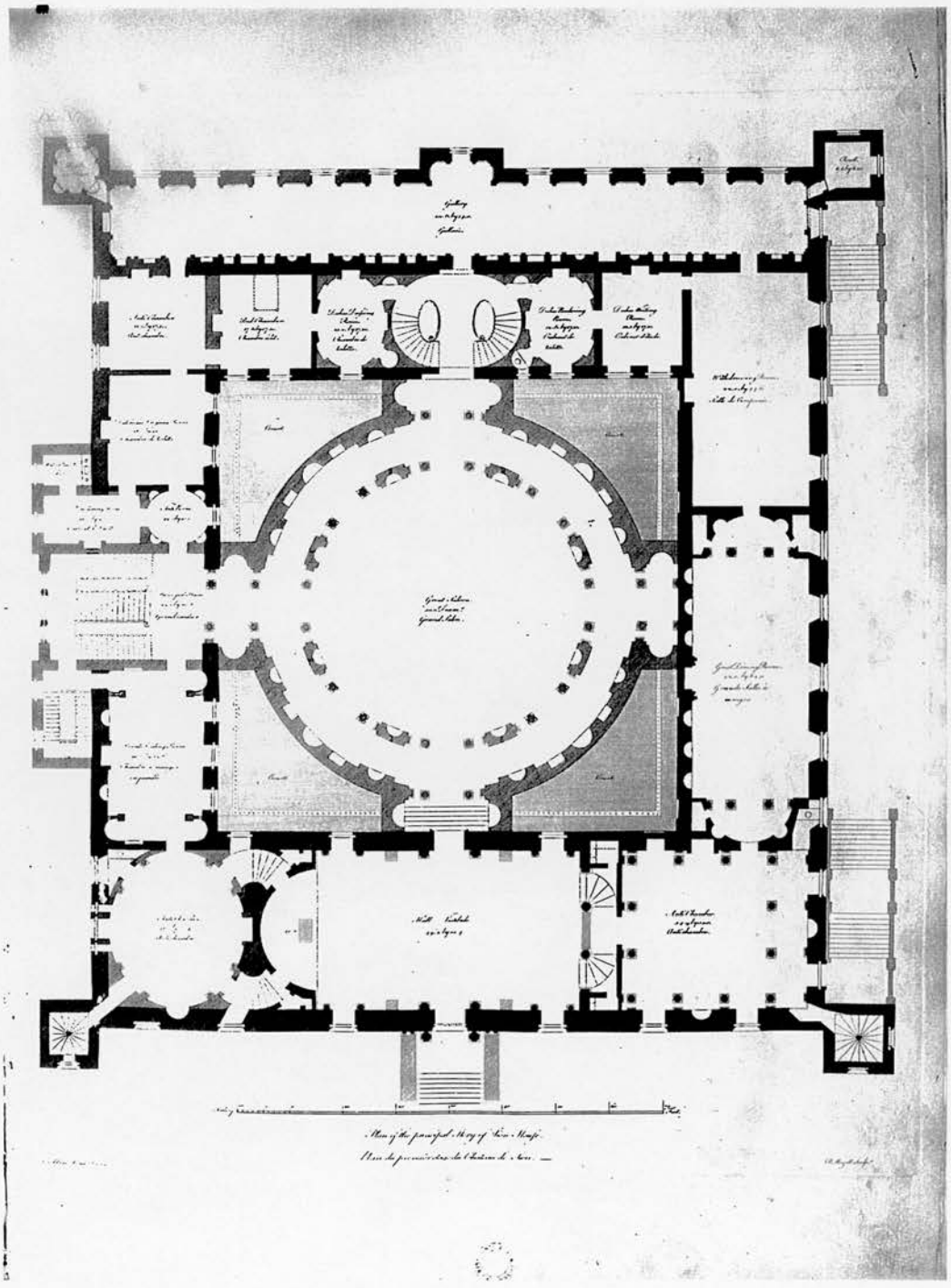
38. Newby Hall; section of the sculpture library.

39. Newby Hall; the interior view of the sculpture library.

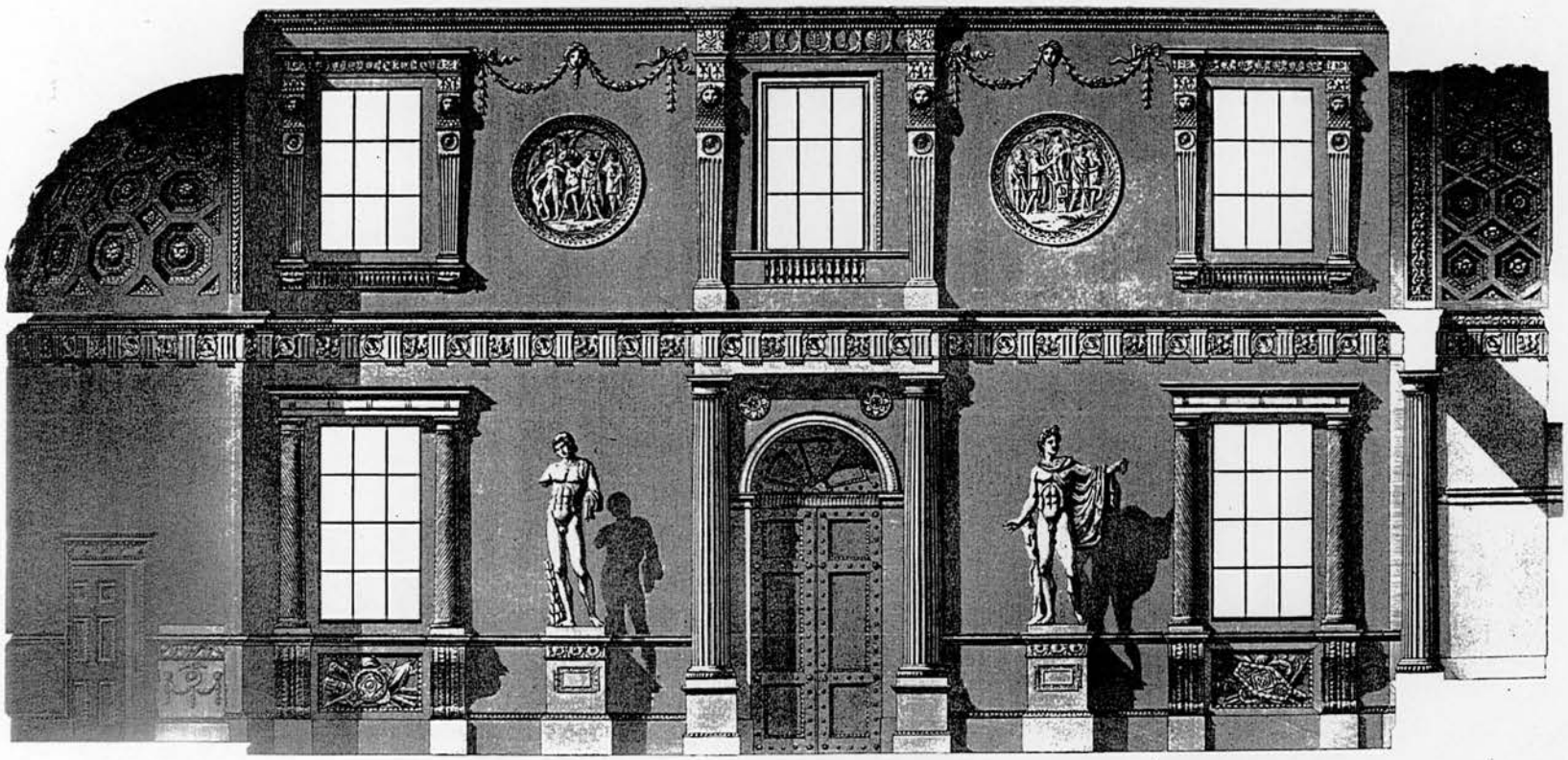
40. A perspective view of the Grotto. From John Serle's *A plan of Mr. Pope's garden, as it was left at his death: With a plan and perspective view of the grotto*, London, 1745.



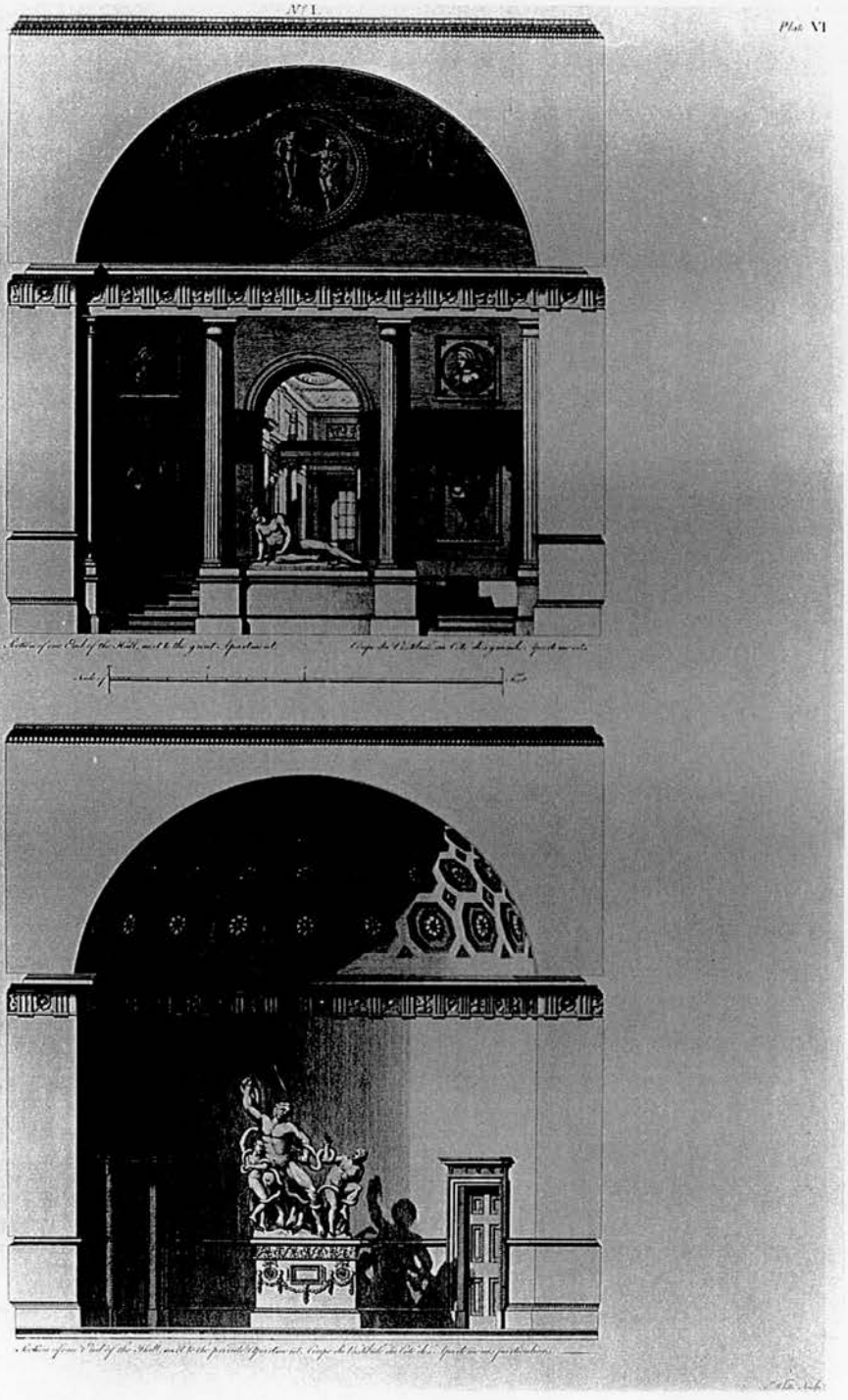
41. Kedleston Hall; section through the main house.



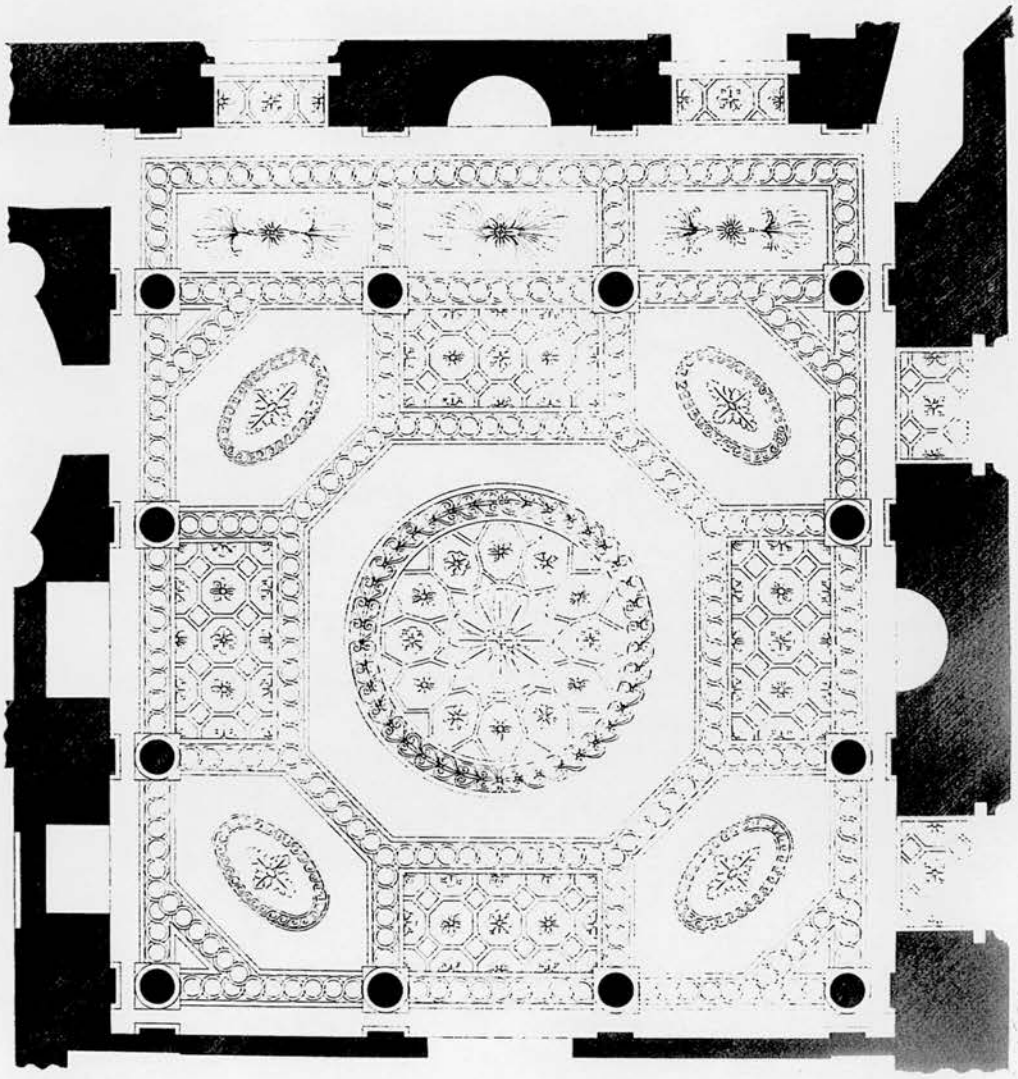
42. Syon House; plan of the principal floor.



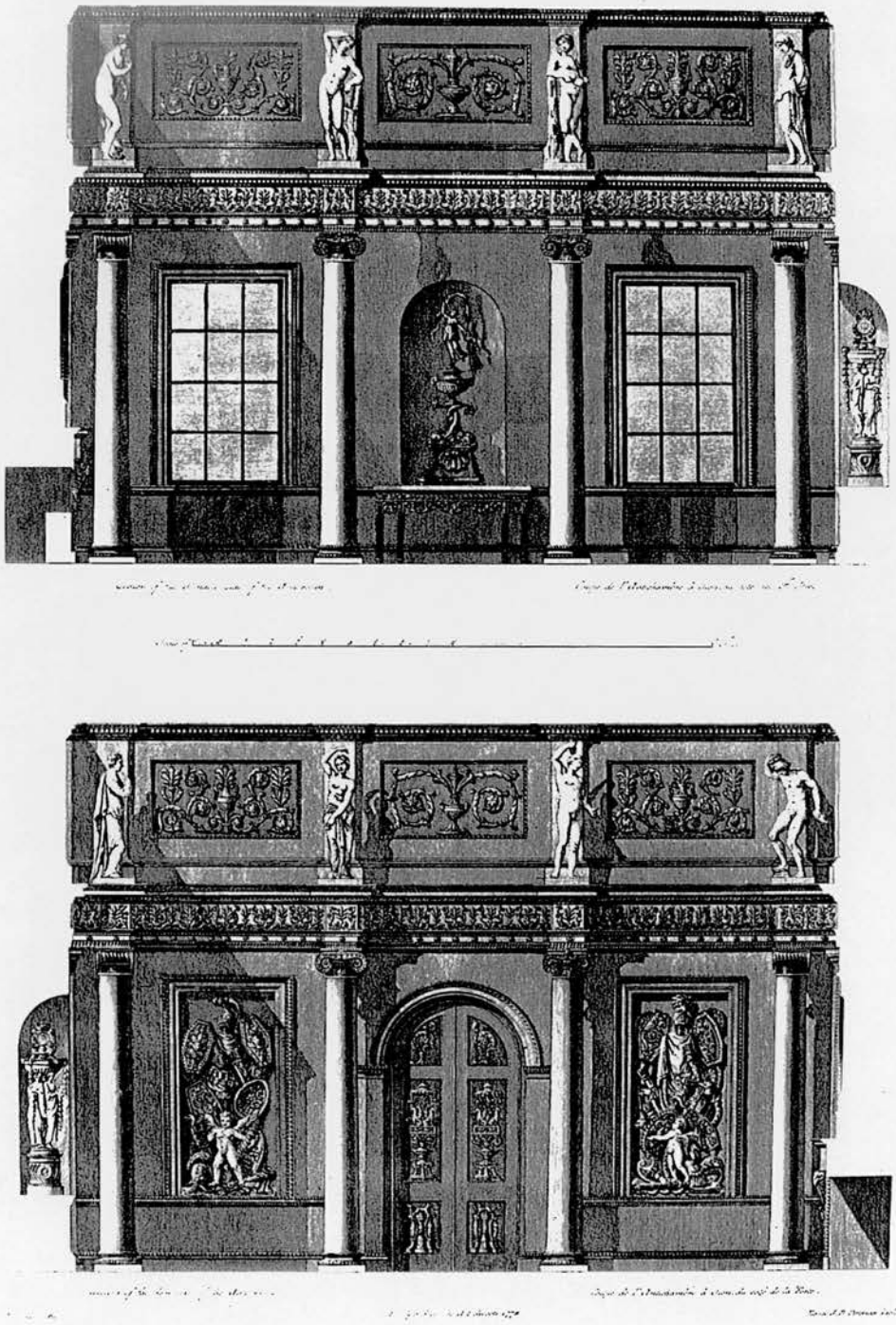
43. Syon House; section of the hall.



44. Syon House; cross-sections of the hall.



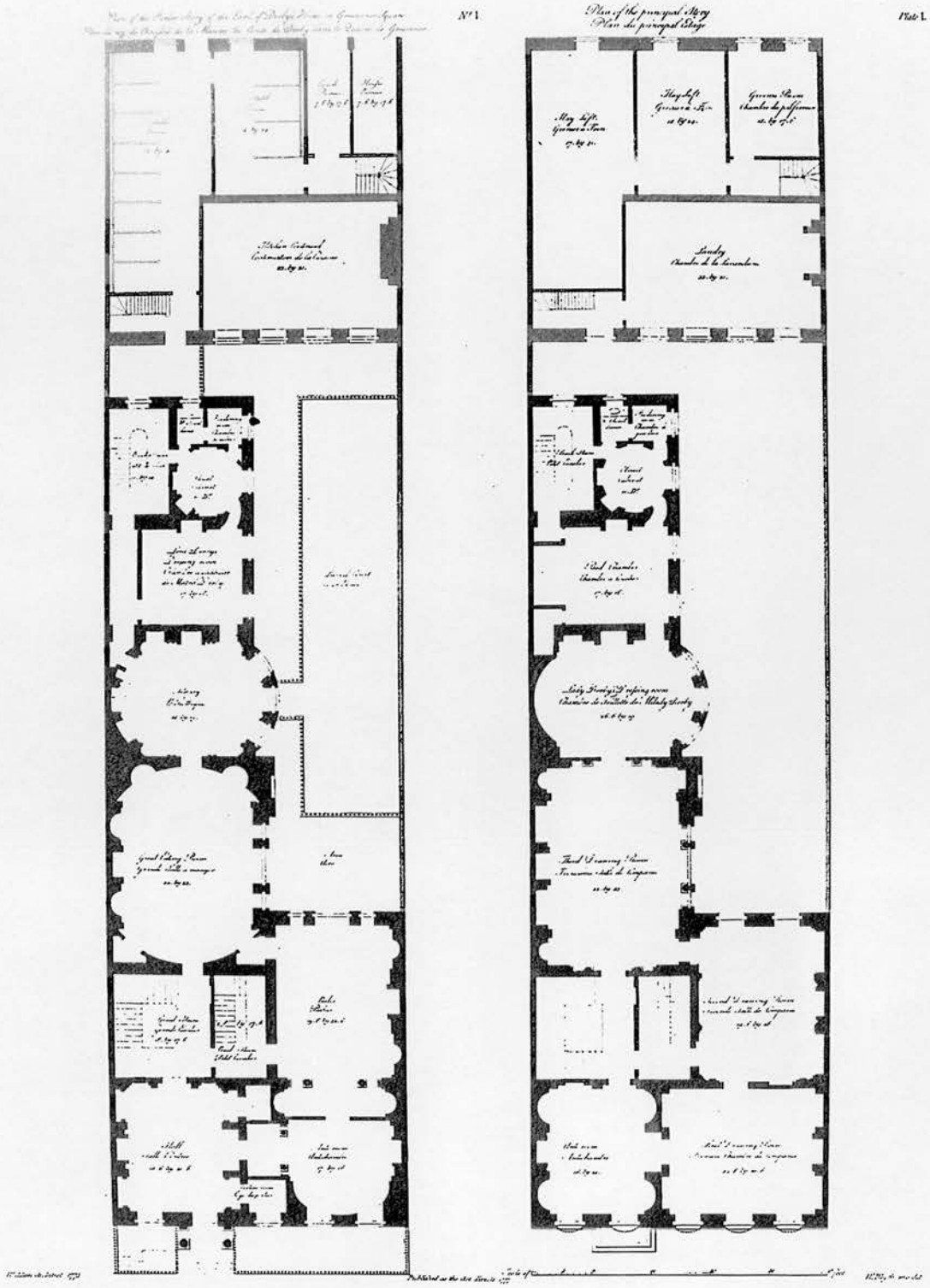
45. Syon House; plan of the ante-room.



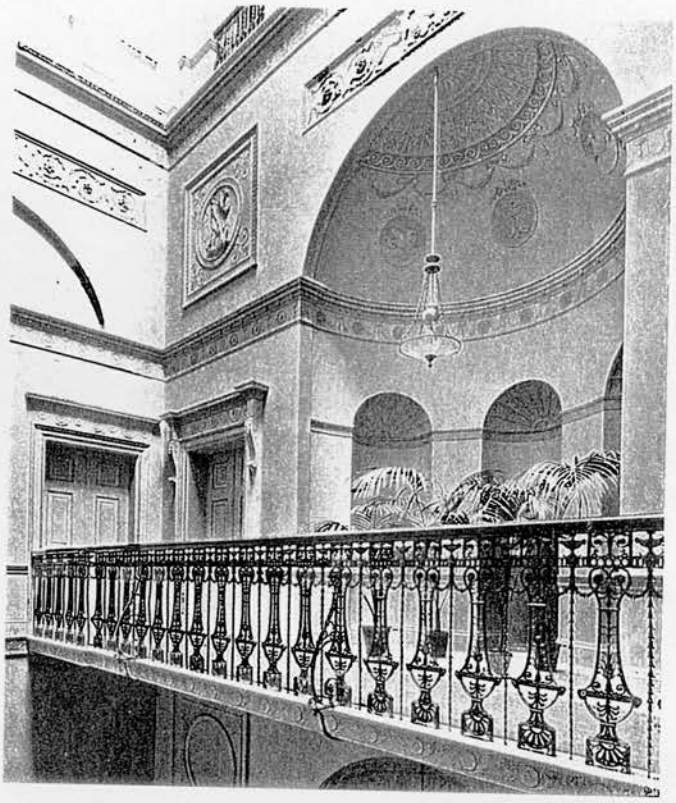
46. Syon House; sections of the anti-room.

47. Syon House; interior view of the long gallery or library.

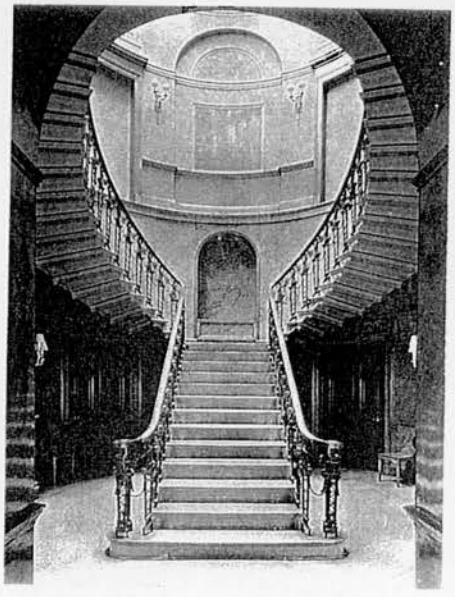
48. Syon House; interior view of the long gallery or library.



49. Derby House, 23 Grosvenor Square; plans of the Parlour and principal floors.



50. 20 St James's Square; interior view of the stairwell.



51. Home House, 20 Portman Square; interior view of the stairwell.

52. WILLIAM KENT, 44 Berkeley Square; interior view of the stairwell.

CHAPTER IV

"MOVEMENT",
THE EMPIRICAL INCLINATION OF THEIR ARCHITECTURAL THEORY

I

PUBLISHING *THE WORKS IN ARCHITECTURE*

A particular quality of the Adam brothers' exercises in architecture, which distinguishes the nature of their creativity from that of their contemporary professional builders, is the literary presentation of the ideas that formed their works. The motivation behind this can be partly explained by the carefully calculated strategy of the Adam brothers to present themselves as intellectuals and as members of an elite social circle, and consequently differentiating themselves from professional builders and masons. This is also largely related to the intellectual and literary environment to which the Adam brothers attached themselves. Their institutional education and close contacts with the leading circle of British intellectuals, whose consistent interest in the expression of ideas in the form of writing characterised and advanced the intellectual development in their time, had the inevitable consequence that Robert and James regarded the publication of their personal ideas on architecture as an important part of their architectural practice, which in consequence distinctively differentiated the nature of their conduct from that of the professional builders.

The focus of this chapter is the substance of their ideas in written form and the primary attempt here is to give an explanation of their empirical inclinations. This will be accomplished through an examination of the impact of the new standard of aesthetic

appreciation established under the tradition of the empirical epistemology upon the formation of their architectural theory. The chapter begins by summarising the contents of the prefaces in *The Works in Architecture*, with a few remarks on their interest for publications.[243]

Robert and James published the first part of the first volume of their *The Works in Architecture* in 1773. By this time, a fair number of architectural publications of a similar kind had been published in Europe. The Adam brothers, perhaps through their fortunate home environment, surrounded by the first-class collections made by their father, were certainly well aware of this fact.[244] Thus, the very first preface opens with an apology:

> Some apology may, perhaps, be requisite, for giving the world a book of architecture, after so many works of this kind have been published in Italy, France and England during the tow [two] last century.[245]

Behind this modest introduction was their carefully calculated use of publication as a means of their self-promotion. In the preface, their " conduct" in publishing their work " after so many works" of the same kind is justified by insisting that they have shown in designs the merits of " novelty and variety" .[246] This clear conviction led them to claim, without the slightest hesitation, that: " We have not trod in the path of others, nor derived aid from their labours. In the works which we have had the honour to execute, we have not only met with approbation of our employers, but even with the imitation of other artists, to such a degree, as in some measure to have brought about, in this country; a kind of revolution in the whole system of this useful and elegant art." [247] It was " these circumstances" which induced them to hope that to " collect and engrave" and publish their works as a book would " afford

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[243] For the publication of *The Works in Architecture*, see Harris, *Op. cit.*
[244] cf. Rowan, *Op. cit.*, 1990.
[245] *The Works in Architecture*, vol. I, no. I, 1773, p.3.
[246] *The Works in Architecture*, vol. I, no. I, 1773, p.3.

both entertainment and instruction",[248] and ultimately win the approbation of connoisseurs and potential patrons for their sophisticated taste.

For certain, the Adam brothers aimed at the total improvement of the art of architecture. As they themselves argued, " ... we doubt not, [the skilful observer] will easily perceive, within these few years, a remarkable improvement in the form, convenience, arrangement, and relief of apartments; a greater movement and variety, in the outside composition, and in the decoration of the inside, an almost total change." [249] Their self-awareness as innovators of architecture parallels their self-satisfaction that they had brought a revolutionary change to the whole system of architecture. This revolution involved all aspects of architectural creativity, amongst which theory formed the backbone. The significance of the theoretical element of their designs is best expressed in the first number of the first volume in which the subject of elevation — the most traditional measure of an architect's merit — was exclusively referred to in theoretical terms, by presenting the theory of " movement" , which characterises their manner of handling the elevation. While the number itself does not contain any plates showing designs for elevations, the image that any graphical representation could make is clearly explained in words in this famous concept.[250] The attachment of their dissertations to the folios remained consistent in the following series. The first number, along with their introductory note on their architectonic stance and dissertation on exterior designs of buildings, contains also, as a part of the explanation of the plates, their observation on interior arrangement with specific reference to French Hôtel examples.

The second number was published in the following year, the third in 1775, the fourth in 1776, and the first volume completed in 1778, when the fifth number also appeared. As we

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[247] *The Works in Architecture*, vol. I, no. I, 1773, p.3.
[248] *The Works in Architecture*, vol. I, no. I, 1773, p.3.
[249] *The Works in Architecture*, vol. I, no. I, 1773, p.3.
[250] cf. Harris, *Op. cit.*, p.85.

have seen in the previous chapter, the preface of the second number deals with their views on antiquity and their thoughts on the column. The following number merely offers introductory information about the building to which the number is entirely devoted, while the fourth preface deals with their understanding of the materials necessary for public buildings and, most importantly, the profound interrelation of landscape painting and architecture. In the last preface of the first volume, the history and current state of British architecture are summarised from the personal viewpoint of the Adam brothers. The second volume, also consisting of five numbers, was published in 1779. Although not many theoretical ideas are presented in this volume, the first three numbers contain designs of three different London townhouses whose interior planning exemplifies the thoughts on interior planning published in the earliest preface of the previous volume. The third and last volume appeared in 1822 by the hands of William Adam, son of John Adam, nearly thirty years after the deaths of Robert and James. This has no text and is entirely devoted to the plates of the remaining designs necessary to conclude the series of plans, elevations, and sections contained in the preceding volumes.[251]

II

"MOVEMENT" AND THE PICTURESQUE, THE ADAM BROTHERS' POINT OF VIEW

The principle of " movement" , which appeared in 1773 in the first preface of the first volume, is one of the most striking of all ideas presented and exercised by the Adam brothers. " Movement is meant", the preface explains:

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[251] *The Works in Architecture*, vol. III, London, 1822, "Advertisement."

to express, the rise and fall, the advance and recess, with other diversity of form, in the different parts of building, so as to add greatly to the picturesque of the composition.[252]

Indeed, " at the centre of what Adam determined to do" — country houses to town houses, public buildings to their inventive castle-style buildings — there was always " a long and characteristic interest in 'movement' in architecture ..." [253] It was this concept which was frequently regarded as the best manifestation that " Robert Adam is first and foremost an artist."[254]

As Christopher Hussey points out, " 'Movement' was precisely what the theorists of the picturesque sought to inculcate into architecture." [255] It was one of the most prominent of the effects on architecture of the Picturesque, along with such qualities as contrast and irregularity, etc. By explaining the intended effects of " movement" as the formative quality of picturesque of architectural composition, the Adam brothers initiated the "beginning of the picturesque phase of English architecture".[256]

While its theoretical originality has been greatly praised, the uncertainty of the actual merits of this concept as a design tool has also frequently been pointed out. Comparing their written definition of " movement" to their executed works in architecture, many have reached the conclusion that in Adam architecture, the qualities of " movement" are not exhibited as clearly as they were expressed in writing in the preface of *The Works in Architecture*. The notion of a less conspicuous execution of " movement" in their architectural works corresponds with the persistent impression of the Adam brothers'

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[252] *The Works in Architecture*, vol. I, no. I, 1773, p.3.
[253] Geoffrey Beard, *The Work of Robert Adam*, Arco Publishing Company, 1978, p.5.
[254] Lees-Milne, *Op. cit.*, p.71.
[255] Christopher Hussey, *The Picturesque: Studies from a Point of View*, London, 1967, p.189.
[256] *Ibid.*

exercises of the Picturesque, which is well expressed in Lees-Milne's indication that: " always there is a sympathetic inclination towards the picturesque (as evinced by Robert's lasting aptitude for drawing and sketching), and this quality runs like a shining thread throughout all his work, however severely classical."[257]

Emil Kaufmann, for one, persistently questions the novelty of the theory of " movement" by connecting it rather abruptly to Baroque structures, and stressing the inconsistency between its definition in writing and its practice in architecture:

> ... he [Robert Adam] held in high esteem the " movement" of Baroque structures, and flattered himself that he had outdone his predecessors in this regard. However, we do not find in his works the 'movement'...[258]

He has obviously foregone seeing the Adam brothers' inconspicuous execution of " movement" , and conducts a superficial, exhaustive criticism of the Adam brothers' claim of being revolutionary in architecture.

Conventional understanding of the Adam Style has defined their practice of " movement" as not distinctively visually detectable, at least not in the terms of their written definition. It largely results from the fact that their designs have many affinities with the representative existing architectural vocabularies and manners of established traditions. Even their castle-style buildings, the most distinctive realisation of their originality, consistently avoid any violent break with established tradition, by employing rigid symmetry and axial planning.[259] Without expressing a violent stylistic break with established traditions in architecture, the

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[257] Lees-Milne, *Op. cit.*, p.67.
[258] Kaufmann, *Op. cit.*, p.37.
[259] Alistair Rowan discusses the nature of the Adam brothers' " Regular Castles" in Alistair Rowan, " The Castle Style in British Domestic Architecture in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries", PhD dissertation, Cambridge University, 1965.

effects of the Picturesque on their architecture appear less conspicuous and difficult to define.

This is misleading in so far as it seems to stress such conventional material features of " movement" as irregular proportion, intricate composition, and use of wild / rude natural materials, at the expense of the Adam brothers' personal interpretation of the Picturesque. The Adam brothers' focus of interest in the Picturesque was primarily on the visual effects that different parts of buildings produce in the minds of beholders, rather than objective " reality" or " quality" attributed to specific forms of architectural proportion and composition. By introducing " movement" into their designs, they did not seek distinction in external material objects. Strictly associating the intended effects of " movement" with chiaroscuro, or the massing of light and shade — both of which mean the visual qualities capable of being pictorially represented — the Adam brothers defined the architectural representation of the Picturesque as that which can be achieved without extreme application of non-symmetrical or irregular compositions, as long as the masses of light and shade and varied contour are represented effectively enough to arouse the ideas and sensations of visual qualities in the minds that contemplate their buildings. Their focus of interest is on pictorial phenomenology of built space and form, rather than sculptural or material qualities that belong to external forms, textures, and fabrics. Form, in its most essential sense, was of less significance to the Adam brothers, than the visual qualities that the form conveys to spectators. Immediate pleasure in the Picturesque to the eye can only arise, according to them, from the visible secondary qualities of objects, such as colour and the variation of light and shadow.

As previously explained, " movement" is meant to be effective in adding " greatly to the picturesque of the composition" by displaying various but carefully studied pictorial qualities: " agreeable and diversified contour, that groups and contrasts like a picture" and " a variety of light and shade" . Just as " movement" emerged from the Adam brothers'

painterly approach to architecture and dealt with architectural representations of pictorial qualities, so was their understanding of the Picturesque that puts pictorial qualities of architecture in question. It clearly differs, for instance, from the general thinking that the effect of the Picturesque on architecture is to be found in the irregularity and variety of external forms of a building. The Adam brothers were convinced that the Picturesque does not reside in objective qualities. Appreciating that the picturesque aspect of architectural compositions is not directly related to the plasticity of buildings, the Adam brothers came to the conclusion that a severely classical inclination or frequent use of neo-Palladian vocabularies did not compromise the Picturesque potential of their architectural style.[260]

By appreciating visual qualities in isolation from the primary or objective qualities of things, the Adam brothers' theory of the Picturesque is essentially consistent with that of Richard Payne Knight. Knight, who directly responded to the passage from Hume's " Of the Standard of Taste" — " beauty is not a quality in things themselves but exists in the mind that contemplates them" [261] — and applied the logic to the case of the Picturesque, insists that the Picturesque cannot be retained in objective qualities. According to him, seeking for the absolute distinctions of the Picturesque in external objects is a fruitless labour, since it only exists "in the modes and habits of viewing and considering them".[262]

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[260] The Adams' appreciation of the Picturesque in connection with pictorial qualities of external objects does not necessarily differ from today's appreciation of the Picturesque in architecture which requires the qualities of irregularity, wildness, intricacy, roughness, etc. The notion of the effectiveness of these qualities in architecture is the result of intentional or unintentional pursuit of a diversified contour and variety of light and shade in elevations. The establishment of the significance of colours and light and shade in aesthetic appreciation and judgement of external objects led one to recognise that irregular and unsymmetrical compositions are capable of producing more remarkable effects of visual qualities which the theorists of the Picturesque had sought to inculcate into architecture. Before long, it came into trend to intentionally design architecture in irregular and unsymmetrical forms to add greatly to the Picturesque of the composition. Richard Payne Knight's Downton Castle (1774-78) is a good example where the exterior composition had the intended effects of the Picturesque, by irregularly dispositioning the different parts of building.

[261] Hume, *Op. cit.*, 1757, p.268.

[262] Richard Payne Knight, *An Analytical Enquiry into the Principles of Taste*, London, 1805, p.196. For quotations from this enquiry, I use the 1999 reprint of Knight's 1805 edition

Given that the derivation of the term is the Italian word " Pittoresco" , Knight understands the Picturesque in the basic meaning of " after the manner of painters" ,[263] and the objects of the Picturesque are explained as " everything of every kind, which may be or has been represented to advantage in paintings" .[264] Knight considers it a mistake to think that irregularity or any kind of modification of external form leads inexorably to the Picturesque. He stresses, instead, the manners of representation and appreciation of visual qualities and appearances of thing, which can only be found in the external world after the manner of painters. Understanding that that visual pleasure can only arise from visual qualities, it was inevitable that he would see painting as the exemplar of the picturesque aesthetic process: " for painting, as it imitates only the visual qualities of bodies, separates those qualities from all others." [265] For Knight, " the point of studying paintings was to learn to see the world through artists' eye" , writes Andrew Ballantyne: " The idea of studying paintings is to bring about a change in the observer so as to make possible an aesthetic response to scenes which would otherwise seem to lie beyond aesthetic appreciation ... Knight tried to teach how to look in the manner of painters."[266]

Knightian understanding affirms that the objects and compositions of objects, which are properly appreciated as picturesque, characteristically depend on such qualities perceptible only with painterly eye as " blended and broken tints" , and " irregular masses of light and shadow harmoniously melted into each other" .[267] This notion is consistent with his 1794 recommendation to the artists of his time to put their designs " in the light and shade and

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of *An Analytical Enquiry*, compiled in the first volume of, *Aesthetics: Sources in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. John Valdimir Price, 8 vols., Thoemmes Press, 1999.
[263] *Ibid.*, p.148.
[264] *Ibid.*, p.154.
[265] *Ibid.*, p.69.
[266] Andrew Ballantyne, *Architecture, Landscape and Liberty, Richard Payne Knight and the picturesque*, Cambridge University Press, 1997, p.205
[267] Knight *Op. cit.*, p.150.

colouring from nature".[268] Even Uvedale Price, who was not entirely convinced by Knight's explanation, never disputed the obvious affinity between Picturesque theory and the visual / pictorial qualities or paintings. Although he opposed Knight's view, by saying, " were any other person to define picturesque objects to be those which please from some striking effect of form, colour, or light and shade — such a definition would indeed give but a very indistinct idea of the thing defined ...",[269] Price himself intended to show, in the course of his *Three Essays on the Picturesque*, that " the picturesque has a character not less operate and distinct than either the sublime or the beautiful, nor less independent of the art of painting."[270]

The Adam brothers' attachment to pictorial qualities in the architectural representation of the Picturesque is best expressed in the way in which architectural beauty was explained in relation to the visual qualities in landscapes and landscape paintings. In the first preface of *The Works in Architecture*, as noted earlier in this chapter, the Adam brothers explain that the expression of " movement" produces the same effects in architecture that " hill and dale, for-ground and distance, swelling and sinking have in landscape".[271]

This notion first appeared in 1762 in the writings of James Adam, who was at that time on his Grand Tour and staying in Rome. On November 22nd in that year, James produced an unfinished draft of an essay on architectural theory including a passage entitled " Of the

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[268] Richard Payne Knight, *The Landscape: A Didactic Poem*, 2nd edition, London, 1795, p.36. (Book II, footnote for lines 105ff.) Of the significance of colours and light and shade landscape painting, Knight writes: " These beautiful effects of the sun shining through trees that overhang water, have rarely been attended to by artists; and never attempted to be imitated by any, that I know of, except Claude. The practice of our students in Landscape-painting, in making only slight sketches from nature, and finishing them at home, must effectually prevent their excelling in that art; which consists in the power of imitating colours rather than forms. If they were to make their designs at home, and put in the light and shade and colouring from nature, their course of study would be much more reasonable and profitable."

[269] Uvedale Price, *Three Essays on the Picturesque*, London, 1810, vol. I, pp.39-40.

[270] *Ibid.*, p.40.

[271] *The Works in Architecture*, vol. I, no. I, 1773, p.3.

Elevation and its Movement" [272] on which the published version of the Adam brothers' theory in *The Works in Architecture* is almost entirely based.

The section dealing with the elevation which, according to James, " as 'tis most seen by the public, is what we are generally desirous to adorn with all our skill, particularly when the fabric is great and done with a view to show and magnificence" , opens with a proposition to view buildings from a distance. James insists:

> Nothing contributing half so much to the beauty of buildings viewed from a distance as movement, for at a considerable distance we must of necessity lose all the graces of detail and decoration so that we have nothing remaining but the beauty of a well disposed variety of high and low projections and recesses ...[273]

James goes on to point out that " for with us, as with landscape painters chose for their subjects a variety of hill and dale to render their scenes interesting, nor are they less attentive to the disposition of light and shade, upon which likewise much their success depends." [274] James' crucial argument in the 1762 draft is his understanding that what could be said about landscape painters and paintings is equally true of architects and architecture. James writes:

> What is so material an excellence in landscape is not less requisite for composition in architecture, namely the variety of contour, a rise and fall of

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[272] James Adam, " Of the Elevation and its Movement" , in the " Diary of James Adam (1762-72) with notes of Italian architects and Roman architecture, and notes on theory of architecture", Clerk of Penicuik Collection, Scottish Record Office, GD 18/4954.
[273] "Of the Elevation and its Movement", lines 6ff.
[274] "Of the Elevation and its Movement", lines 14ff.

the different parts and likewise those great projections and recesses which produce a broad light and shade.[275]

James offers two concrete instances of architectural designs that have qualities in common with the picturesque landscape, namely Vanbrugh's Blenheim Palace (fig. 53) and Heriot's Hospital in Edinburgh (fig. 85). Later in *The Works in Architecture*, St Peter's in Rome, the College and Church *des quatre nations* in Paris, Robert Adam's designs for Kedleston House in Derbyshire (fig. 60), Castle Howard, and other works by Sir John Vanbrugh are instanced in the same context.

Amongst the best examples of this species of buildings, according to James, were the works of Vanbrugh, who is introduced in *The Works in Architecture* as " a great man, whose reputation as an architect, has been long carried down the stream by a torrent of undistinguishing prejudice and abuse." [276] " Sir John Vanbrugh's genius was of the first class" , states the preface, " in point of movement, novelty and ingenuity, his works have not been exceeded by any thing in modern times".[277]

Blenheim Palace (1705-1722: figs. 53-7), the seat of John Churchill, first Duke of Marlborough, was a particularly important influence on the theorisation of " movement" . The palace, designed by Vanbrugh, was given to John Churchill in the reign of Queen Anne in recognition of his victory over the French and Bavarians at the battle of Blenheim in 1704. It was on his visit to this palace in 1758 that James noticed for the first time the architectural attributes of " movement" in Vanbrugh's designs. A massive portico with a grand attic above, and the giant columns and pilasters show Vanbrugh's deliberated disposition of projections and recessions. A number of obelisks and towers vary the palace's skylines with varied convexity and concavity. The elevations are highly diversified

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[275] "Of the Elevation and its Movement", lines 25ff.
[276] *The Works in Architecture*, vol. I, no. I, 1773, p.4.

by thorough application of rustication and projecting mouldings. The material excellence of Vanbrugh's design is its true representation of pictorial qualities attributed to the light and shade created through the diversification of the entire proportion of the building, which are not less requisite for the composition of landscape paintings.[278]

The specific pictorial qualities, that is, innumerable spots and masses of light and shade, of Vanbrugh's design at Blenheim had been admired by others who engaged in the visual arts. Joshua Reynolds (1723-92), for instance, first president of the Royal Academy and the most prominent painter of his time, writes: " To speak of Vanbrugh in the language of a painter, he had originality of invention, he understood light and shadow, and had great skill in composition." [279] In his *Essay on Architecture* (1798), Uvedale Price gave an account of the striking effect of Blenheim, similar to that of the Adams and Reynolds: " His first point seems to have been massiveness, at the foundation of grandeur, Then to prevent that mass from being a lump, he has made various bold projections of various heights which from different points serve as the foregrounds to the main building. And, lastly, having probably been struck with the variety of outline against the sky in many Gothic buildings, he raised on the top a number of decorations of various characters."[280]

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[277] *The Works in Architecture*, vol. I, no. I, 1773, p.4.

[278] The astonishing magnificence and grandeur of Vanbrugh's design at Blenheim has been frequently regarded as a reflection of his unique personality and to the fact that he was an undisciplined genius, totally independent from any historical restraint and trend/fashion in architecture. The prodigious heroism of his works can be explained in the context of theatrical representation of space, an approach exclusive to this former playwright, who was also a soldier and an adventurer.

[279] Quoted in Hussey, *Op. cit.*, 1967, pp.192-3.

[280] Price did not think that Vanbrugh's design was faultless, as he recommended an architect " to make drawings of Blenheim, endeavouring to preserve the principle of light and shadow, the character of the architectural foreground, the effect of the raised decorations on the roof and the general grandeur and variety of the whole; but trying, at the same time, to give more lightness and purity of style to that whole, more elegance and congruity to the parts; observing as he proceeded how far he found it necessary to sacrifice these to preserve the effects which Vanbrugh has produced" . From Uvedale Price's *Essay on Architecture* (1798), quoted in *Ibid.*, p.198.

While James thought that Blenheim " ill deserved the aspersions laid upon it, for he had seen few palaces where there was more movement" , he did not, according to Alexander Carlyle, " say that Sir John Vanbrugh's design was faultless" .[281] James seems to have disapproved of a certain inclination of Vanbrugh's designs, which must have been taken as a baseline of the explanation on Vanbrugh's works, given afterwards in *The Works in Architecture*:

> We should certainly have quoted Blenheim and Castle Howard as great examples of these perfections, in preference to any work of our own, or of any other modern architect; but unluckily for the reputation of this excellent artist, his taste kept no pace with his genius, and his works are so crowded with barbarisms and absurdities, and so borne down by their own preposterous weight, that none but the discerning can separate their merits from their defects. In the hands of the ingenious artist, who knows how to polish and refine and bring them into use, we have always regarded his productions, as rough jewels of inestimable value.[282]

While praising the excellent display of " movement" in Vanbrugh's architecture, the insistence on the necessity for further " polishment" and " refinement" reveals most clearly the real nature of the Adam brothers' theory of " movement" . In the eyes of James, and undoubtedly of Robert, Blenheim appeared " so crowded with barbarisms and absurdities" by the excessive use of sculptural external decoration, such as statues, bas-reliefs and trophies.[283] Barely any part of the facade is without some form of ornament. The discordance and excessiveness were deliberately created in the different parts of the buildings. Windows were inserted closely between thick pilasters, and columns and pillars that constitute a giant portico were given excessive massiveness. A specific architectural

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[281] Carlyle, *Op. cit.*, p.381. Quoted also in Fleming, *Op. cit.*, pp.252-3.
[282] *The Works in Architecture*, vol. I, no. I, 1773, p.4.

form was repetitiously employed close by, as in the kitchen wing, the semicircular window was placed " against a semicircular arch right above, and higher up again a segmental arch" .[284] While the elevations have numerous attributes of " movement," Vanbrugh's excessive use of decorative sculpture failed to bring them into effective use for the expression of movement. The elevations display no pleasing pattern of light and shade. Instead, there is a great sense of confusion. By looking at the palace in the manner of painters, separating the visible qualities from objective qualities of building, one has difficulty in associating the unorganised interplay of light and shade in the elevations with the real state of the palace as a substance. By " polishment" or " refinement" , James meant a firm control of sculptural decoration, and a form on the major projection and recessions of the building shell, to produce broad masses of light and shade, and ultimately greater sense of "movement".

James has indicated a caution for excessive diversification of the elevations in the 1762 essay draft. In this, whilst James argues that " movement" . created in the variety of contour and projection and recess, is " absolutely necessary for attaining to great elegance in the Elevation",[285] he yet argues:

> I must not omit a caution not to give into excess of this kind, not to torment the eye with too frequent ... irons which, like the abuse or too great profusion of all beauty, will undoubtedly tire the spectator.[286]

He insists that excessive diversification of the elevation has a potential to create varied light and shade but brings with it a strong sense of confusion, which does much harm to the beauty of movement in the whole architectural proportion and composition. The

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[283] *The Works in Architecture*, vol. I, no. I, p.4.
[284] Nikolaus Pevsner, *An Outline of European Architecture*, Penguin Books, 1943, 1972, p.339.
[285] "Of the Elevation and its Movement", 46ff.

shadowing effects of every possible outside decoration had to be rationally studied, carefully calculated, and properly applied and controlled, thereby creating the greater distribution and masses of light and shade on the elevations for the eyes to comprehend in their entirety at a sufficient distance from the building. By being distributed in masses, the lights and shadows in the elevations become the indispensable materials of the representation of the visible appearance of a building. This is, essentially, the architectural application of a principle essential to the composition of a painting. Making reference to pictorial expression, Knight states: " massing gave breadth to the lights and shadows, mellowed them into each other, and enabled the artist to break and blend them together" , and explains that " the greatest painters of the Venetian and Lombard schools; and afterwards those of the Flemish and Dutch, carried this principle of massing to a degree beyond what appears in ordinary nature..."[287]

James' s notion of the disadvantage of excessive diversification of the elevation was not his exclusively, but seems to have come to other architects' notice by the end of 1750s. Among them was Chambers, who writes in his *A Treatise on Civil Architecture*:

> In general, excessive Ornaments, though they increase the Magnificence of a building, always destroy the Grandeur of its effect. The parts in themselves are large, and so formed and disposed as to receive broad masses and strong impressions of light and shade, will of course excite great ideas: but if they are broken into a number of small divisions, and their surface so varied as to catch a thousand impressions of light, demi-tint, and darkness, the whole will be confused, trifling, and incapable of causing any grand emotions.[288]

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[286] "Of the Elevation and its Movement", 48ff.
[287] Knight, *Op. cit.*, 1805, pp.149-50.
[288] Chambers, *Op. cit.*, 1759, p.30.

In view of the existence of this text by Chambers, it could be argued that James Adam's idea in the 1762 essay was a rather forced attempt at novelty by a young architect who had, in reality, trod in the path of architects and derived aid from their labours. Chambers' above remark resembles that of James in text, but can it really be said that both argue the same position? Central to Chambers' statement, which appeared in the course of his observation of proper degree of ornamentation for Corinthian order, is the problem of the extent of decorative enrichment in the exterior. He meant by " excessive Ornament" the overuse of " whatever doth not contribute to the general effect of the whole building ... that might more judiciously be employed in places where it would be more attended to" ,[289] and his focus is literally on the decorative features of the elevation. James Adam, on the other hand, deals cautiously with all sorts of attributes which indeed contribute to the general effect of the whole buildings but which might have a negative impact.

This point of difference between Chambers and James Adam is clearly revealed in their respective views of the style of Michelangelo. Chambers, in his *Treatise*, writes: " in Michael Angelo's, we see licence, majesty, grandeur, and fierce effect; extended to bounds, beyond which, it would be very dangerous to soar." [290] To him, the exterior ornament of Michelangelo's architecture appeared acceptable. James, on the other hand, in his 1762 essay, gives a critical view to Michelangelo's designs for St Peter's at Rome. James sees them " struggling to produce effect by means of excess of breaks" , and " for this reason they crowd pilasters on the top of pilasters and break their entablatures into trifling parts on each of these slender gentlemen, so that the eye is quite fatigued with a long examination of minute parts that seem to be pieces put together by chance".[291] James then observes:

> this defect is also most palpable in the admired part of St Peter's at Rome where the entablature is broke at every instant and leaves no range, no repose

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[289] *Ibid.*
[290] Chambers, *Op. cit.*, 1791, p.107.

for the eye. From this and some other circumstances in the composition this front, tho' in reality of colossal grandeur, appears both little and trifling to the instructed eye.[292]

James condemns here the excessive diversification of elevation for obstructing the effective representation of light and shade. While he was not necessarily original in this observation, the credit for proposing the rational control of frontage as a definite principle to act on for the style of exterior design goes to him. James was cautious of the heavily decorative external composition of a building by focusing on its incompatible nature with the prominent display of the masses of light and shade, the secondary qualities requisite for representation of the visual appearance of an external existence.

James understood the significance of movement for attaining great elegance in the elevations, and composed it into a theory of architecture. While James appears to be a keen theorist with a thorough knowledge of Enlightenment ideas, Robert seems to have had a less-thorough knowledge of the conceptual background of the play of light and shade in the elevation. Robert's notion was essentially empirical, primarily through his personal experience of the works of his predecessors and contemporaries. The most influential was a series of fantastic compositions by Piranesi (fig. 58).[293] Through Piranesi and his pictorial works, Robert had undoubtedly come to recognise by experience that the effective massing of light and shadow is a material factor of architectural excitement (fig. 59). Piranesi's dramatic composition of huge masses of structures and boundless space would not have been possible without the

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[291] "Of the Elevation and its Movement", 53ff., footnote.
[292] "Of the Elevation and its Movement", 53ff., footnote.
[293] It is suggested that, through his uncle Matteo Lucchesi, who worked for the department responsible for the upkeep of the seawalls in Venice, Piranesi came to be fascinated by the massive seawalls and received strong and lasting impressions of power and grandeur from innumerable huge stone blocks which constitute the enormously extended structure and space.

thorough representation of the masses of light and shade.[294] Piranesi, who seems to have taken a great interest in the effect or impression rather than truth of space, successfully reproduced three-dimensional/spatial effects of " movement" in his pictorial expressions by making excellent use of chiaroscuro. Studying Piranesi's works at first hand, Robert undoubtedly became aware of the inseparable relation between effective grouping of the masses of light and shadow and prodigious "movement".

III

AN EMPIRICAL EXPLANATION OF "MOVEMENT"

By insisting on the significance of the pictorial effects of contour and a variety of light and shade for the architectural representation of " movement" , the Adam brothers stand in the British Empiricist tradition which was developed from John Locke through David Hume.

The most important contribution of the British Empiricists in eighteenth-century aesthetics was their application of the principle of the primary and secondary qualities to the system of aesthetic perception, and ultimately to the creativity of architecture. This principle underpinned the fundamental premise of anti-authoritarian aesthetics or aesthetic individualism, which proposed that beauty is no quality conformed to the objectivity of external existences.

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[294] The stage connection consistently recurs in his pictorial compositions of masses of light and shade. Amongst the theatrical expressions which are often exploited, is the scena per angolo (scene set at an angle so that the perspectives run off diagonally at either side). Although it is not certain whether he actually had a career in the theatrical field, it has been suggested that he probably studied under one of the Bibianas of Bologna. See Murray, *Op. cit.*

In his *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, Locke indicates the division of the qualities in objects which produce *Ideas* in our minds (the *Quality* of the subject wherein (lies) the power to produce any *Idea* in our mind) into two classifications — the original or primary qualities and the secondary qualities.[295] In the first place, Locke considers such qualities in Bodies such as Solidity, Bulk, Figure, Extension, Figure, and Mobility/Motion, which are utterly inseparable from the Bodies, whether we can perceive it or not. The body constantly keeps these qualities " in all the alterations and changes it suffers, all the force can be used upon it" .[296] These qualities Locke calls the " *original* or *primary Qualities*" .[297] Locke gives a lucid explanation:

> Take a grain of Wheat, divide it into two parts, each part has still *Solidity*, *Extension*, *Figure*, and *Mobility*; divide it again, and it retains still the same qualities; and so divide it on, till the parts become insensible, they must retain still each of them all those qualities. For division (which is all that a Mill, or Pestel, or any other Body, does upon another, in reducing it to insensible parts) can never take away either Solidity, Extension, Figure, or Mobility from any Body, but only makes two, or more distinct separate masses of Matter, of that which was but one before, all which distinct masses, reckon'd as so many distinct Bodies, after division make a certain Number.[298]

In the second place, Locke insists the existence of " Such *Qualities*" , which, " in truth are nothing in the Objects themselves, but Powers to produce various Sensations in us by their *primary Qualities*." [299] Locke categorises these qualities as the " *secondary Qualities*" , amongst which are Colours, Sounds, and Taste. Whether they are perceived or not, the

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[295] John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, London, 1690. For quotations from this work, I use the Peter H. Nidditch Edition, published by the Clarendon Press in 1975 and 1979.
[296] *Ibid.*, p.134. (Book I, Chapter VIII, §9)
[297] *Ibid.*, p.135. (Book I, Chapter VIII, §9)
[298] *Ibid.*, p.135. (Book I, Chapter VIII, §9)

primary qualities are in the things themselves, whereas the secondary qualities depend upon the different modifications of the primary qualities of bodies. Locke explains the relation between the secondary and primary qualities by taking an example of Fire and Colour: " For the power in Fire to produce a new Colour, or consistency in Wax or Clay by its primary Qualities, is as much a quality in Fire, as the power it has to produce in me a new *Idea* or Sensation of warmth or burning, which I felt not before, by the same primary Qualities, *viz.* The Bulk, Texture, and Motion of its insensible parts." [300] This difference in the nature of two sorts of qualities distinguishes the nature of the Ideas produced by these in us: " While the Ideas of primary qualities of the objects resemble the objects themselves, and their patterns really exist in themselves, the Ideas produced in the mind by the secondary qualities, whereby we take notice of the objects and distinguish them one from another, are merely powers depending on the primary qualities and have no resemblance of these objects."[301]

It was not Locke himself but Hume, an Empiricist friend of the Adam brothers, who applied this distinction between primary and secondary qualities to the problem of aesthetic and moral perception. This application of Hume was original and deserves full praise as the first major assertion of subjectivity in the field of aesthetics. The standard of the aesthetic appreciation of the age of the Enlightenment was formed on this particular achievement of Hume. Hume refers to the problem of the distinction between the primary and secondary qualities in his *A Treatise of Human Nature*.[302] In the section entitled " Of the modern philosophy" , among the various propositions in modern philosophy, Hume singles out for particular praise the new insights concerning the senses of colour, sound, taste, smell, heat and cold:

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[299] *Ibid.*, p.135. (Book I, Chapter VIII, §10)
[300] *Ibid.*, pp.135. (Book I, Chapter VIII, §10)
[301] *Ibid.*, pp.142-3. (Book I, Chapter VIII, §26)
[302] David Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature: Being an Attempt to introduce the experimental Method of Reasoning into Moral Subjects*, 1739, 1740. For quotations from this work, I use the L. A. Selby-Bigge edition, published by the Clarendon Press in 1978.

> The fundamental principle of that philosophy is the opinion concerning colours, sound, tastes, smells, heat and cold; which it asserts to be nothing but impressions in the mind, deriv'd from the operation of external objects, and without any resemblance to the qualities of the objects. Upon examination, I find only one of the reasons commonly produc'd for this opinion to be satisfactory, viz. that deriv'd from the variations of those impressions, even while the external object, to all appearance, continues the same.[303]

He goes on to explain:

> ... when different impressions of the same sense arise from any object, every one of these impressions has not a resembling quality existent in the object. For as the same object cannot, at the same time, be endow'd with different qualities of the same sense, and as the same quality cannot resemble impressions entirely different; it evidently follows, that many of our impressions have no external model or archetype. Now from like effects we presume like causes. Many of the impressions of colour, sound, *&c.* are confest to be nothing but internal existences, and to arise from causes, which no ways resemble them. These impressions are in appearance nothing different from the other impressions of colour, sound, *&c.* We conclude, therefore, that they are, all of them, deriv'd from a like origin.
>
> This principle being once admitted, all the other doctrines of that philosophy seem to follow by an easy consequence. For upon the removal of sounds, colours, heat, cold, and other sensible qualities, from the rank of continu'd independent existences, we are reduc'd merely to what are called primary

> qualities, as the only *real* ones, of which we have any adequate notion. These primary qualities are extension and solidity, with their different mixtures and modifications; figure, motions, gravity, and cohesion. ... One figure and motion produces another figure and motion; nor does there remain in the material universe any other principle, either active or passive, of which we can form the most distant idea.[304]

While he presents the matter in the above text, he refers to the existence of the hypothetical opinions of this system, and attempts to substantiate the righteousness of this system, testing it by the " most extravagant scepticism" .[305] The central intention of Hume' s scepticism is, as he himself states, the substantiation of the fact that " if colours, sounds, tastes, and smells be merely perceptions [in other words the colours, sounds, &*c*., which are the secondary qualities chiefly insisted on, are not 'internal existences'], nothing we can conceive is possest of a real, continu' d, and independent existence; not even motion, extension and solidity, which are the primary qualities chiefly insisted on." [306] This theoretical " fact" asserted by him, ultimately leads him to the conclusion that " after the exclusion of colours, sounds, heat and cold from the rank of external existence, there remains nothing, which can

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[303] *Ibid*., p.226. (Book I., Part IV., Section IV)
[304] *Ibid*., p.227. (Book I, Part IV, Section IV)
[305] *Ibid*., pp.227-8. (Book I, Part IV, Section IV) Hume asserts that " instead of the operations of external objects by its means, we utterly annihilate all these objects, and reduce ourselves to the opinions of the most extravagant scepticism concerning them [external objects]".
[306] *Ibid*., p.228. (Book I, Part IV, Section IV) Aiming to give an explanation to the scepticism which he indicated, Hume takes notice of the ideal dependencies existing between various different ideas produced by the primary quality, such as the ideas of the motion, extension and solidity, and has come to the certain conclusion. That is to say, " the idea of motion depends on that of extension, and the idea of extension on that of solidity," and the idea of solidity itself is " perfectly incomprehensive alone." He says, the modern philosophy " leaves us no just nor satisfactory idea of solidity." The same is true of the cases of mobility and figure. Consequently, excluding the ideas of colours, sounds, and other secondary qualities, there is nothing which can afford us the idea of body. In other words, in conclusion, " after the exclusion of colours, sounds, heat and cold from the rank of external existences, there remains nothing, which can afford us a just and consistent idea of body".

afford us a just and consistent idea of body." [307] He concludes his inquiry into this proposition concerning the " fundamental principle of the modern philosophy", by proposing that:

> Thus there is a direct and total opposition betwixt our reason and our senses; or more properly speaking, betwixt those conclusions we form from cause and effect, and those that persuade us of the continu'd and independent existence of body. When we reason from cause and effect, we conclude, that neither colour, sound, taste, nor smell have a continu'd and independent existence. When we exclude these sensible qualities there remains nothing in the universe, which has such an existence.[308]

The exclusion of the secondary qualities as the sensible qualities simply operates together with the exclusion of the existence of objects and bodies in the whole universe. Hence, Hume suggests the superior significance of the secondary qualities in the appreciation of any object. Appreciating that Locke's distinction between the primary and secondary qualities is a resolutely established truth, Hume applies it to the problem of beauty and appreciation of works of art. What we receive by sight are merely perceptions, " nothing we can conceive is possest of a real, continu'd, and independent existence" of external objects such as works of art and natural phenomenon and objects; not even " motion, extension and solidity, which are the primary qualities chiefly insisted on" .[309] The aesthetic qualities of works of art do not inhere in external existence, object, or action. They are the immanent existence of one's emotions and the minds of those who contemplate the external existence and make subjective judgement. The attributes of individual work are merely the causes of the emotions which arise in human minds. The appreciation and judgement of " aesthetic qualities" is based on the visible secondary qualities — the powers of the primary qualities

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[307] *Ibid.*, p.229. (Book I, Part IV, Section IV)
[308] *Ibid.*, p.231. (Book I, Part IV, Section IV)

in each work which produce various sensations in us. Thus, without the sensible qualities in sight — colours and light and shade — there remains no object for visual appreciation in the universe which has an existence.

Qualities such as bulk, solidity, extension, situation and figure, all of which are primary qualities, belong to works of art. However, when the object is to be visually appreciated, the visual secondary qualities are the only sensible qualities upon which one's subjective aesthetic appreciation, criticism, and judgement depend. Works of art are perceived and appreciated only through the impressions of visible secondary qualities, which the primary qualities in them produce in our minds. The figures and compositions of external objects are visually perceived as accumulated bodies of various secondary qualities. The primary qualities in objects, i.e., figures, solidity, extension, etc., are not essential and indispensable conditions for the judgement of the excellence of the works of art. In architecture, diversification of composition and plan, by rising and falling, advancing and receding in different parts of a building, are effective ways of producing and increasing the impressions of visible secondary qualities. However, they are never the necessary or indispensable conditions for the suitable object for aesthetic appreciation.

Amongst the secondary qualities, it is light, and its opposite, shade or darkness, which are the first and most important materials of visual perception of three-dimensional objects, and consequently, in the course of visual appreciation of works of art, the sensible qualities of primary importance. This point is expressed best by Burke when he writes in his *Philosophical Enquiry*: " All colours depend on *light.* Light therefore ought previously to be examined, and with it, its opposite, darkness." [310] Visually one can derive essential information concerning the shape and situation of an object in one's presence from the ways in which light and shade are displayed. Relating what one receives as a sensation of a

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[309] *Ibid.*, p.228. (Book I, Part IV, Section IV)
[310] Boulton (ed.), *Op. cit.*, 1990, pp.79-80.

lighted or shaded object to one's empirical knowledge or habit of three-dimensional figures, one's visual perception of an object is associated with such primary qualities as shape, figure, solidity.

In 1690, Locke remarked on the significance of light and shade for our visual perceptions of any sort of object in *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, taking as an example the ways in which a shaded circle is perceived to be a sphere. " When we set before our Eyes a round Globe, of any uniform colour, v.g. Gold, Alabaster, or Jet", says Locke:

> 'tis certain, that the Idea thereby imprinted in our Mind, is of a flat Circle variously shadowed, with several degrees of Light and Brightness coming to our Eyes. But we having by use been accustomed to perceive, what kind of appearance convex Bodies are wont to make in us; what alterations are made in the reflections of Light, by the difference of the sensible Figures of Bodies, the judgement presently, by an habitual custom, alters the Appearances into their Causes: So that from that, which truly is variety of shadow or colour, collecting the Figures, it makes it pass for a mark of Figure, and frames to it self the perception of a convex Figure, and an uniform Colour; when the Idea we receive from thence, is only a Plain variously colour'd, as is evident in Painting.[311]

What Locke has framed is an explanation of how one achieves a perception of the three-dimensional world through two-dimensional depiction of light and shade. He offered the eighteenth century a new pictorial system of appreciating external objects by drawing attention to the sensual qualities of light, shade, or darkness. It may be that we habitually, and often even unconsciously, perceive three-dimensional objects by experiencing the patterns of light and shade. Any solid and spatial representation, therefore, which aims to be

visually perceived and appreciated, needs to carefully calculate the intended effects of light and shade, so as to provoke the active operation of internal conversion of visually perceived images into their causes — that is, the primary qualities of objective substance. The well-elaborated display of the qualities of light and shade is defined in the empirical epistemology as the first material of three-dimensional representation.

By acting on this logic, it is in their exteriors with " movement" that the Adam brothers' claim to be novel Neo-classicists lies. By rationally displaying the masses of light and shade, they proposed designs capable of stimulating the beholder to make full use of their visual perception to connect to the actual primary/material proportions and features of buildings. By focusing their conceptual dependence on the British Empiricist tradition of visual epistemology, it will be revealed that the incompatibility which scholarship has consistently been argued between their theory and designs in architecture simply reflects a superficial understanding of the Adam Style.

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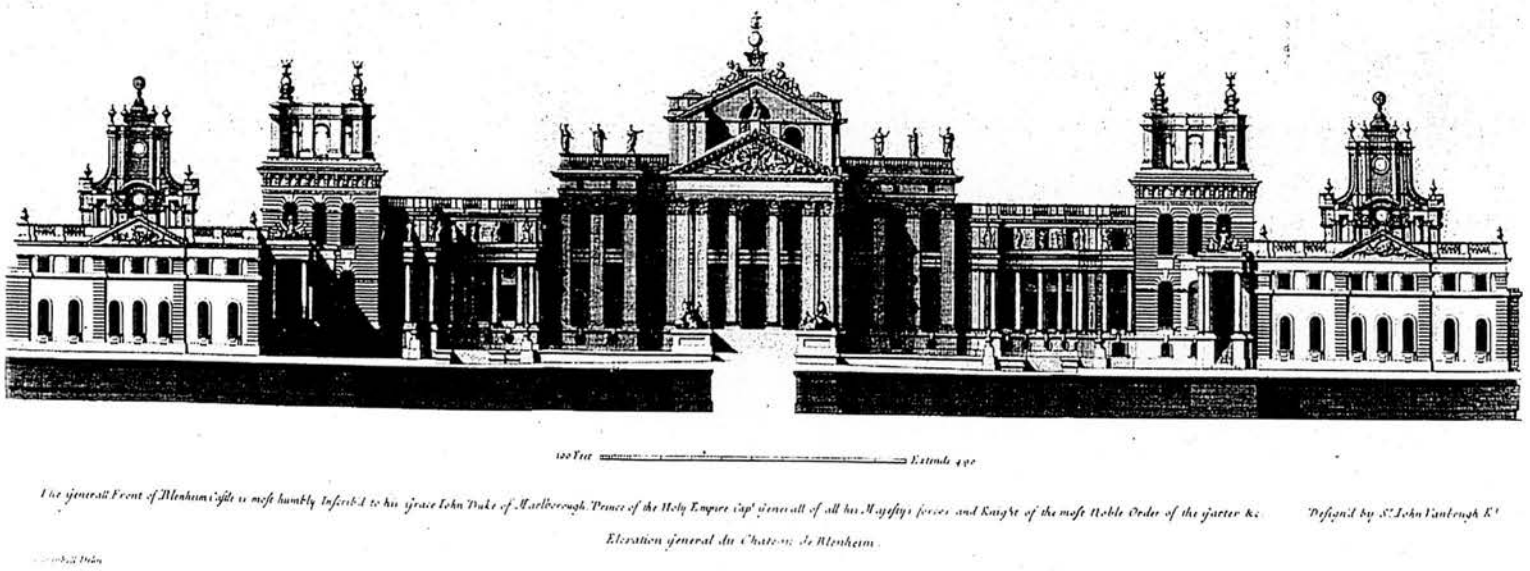
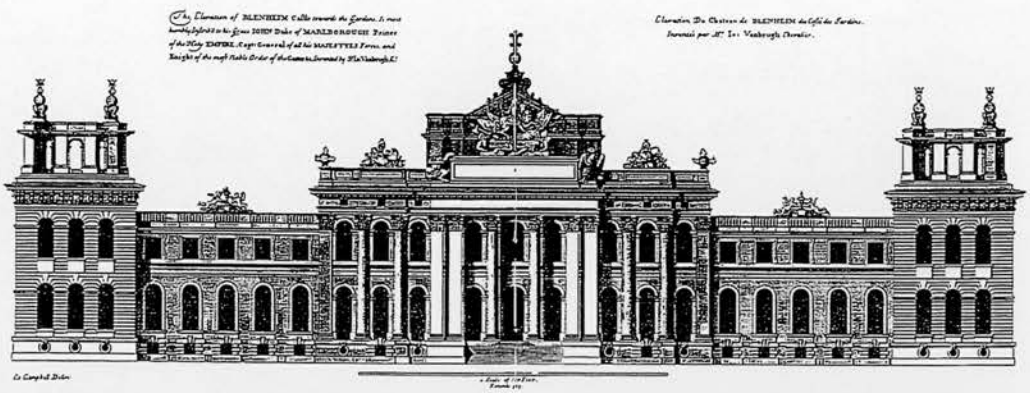
[311] Locke, *Op. cit.*, p.145. (Book II., Chapter IX., §8)

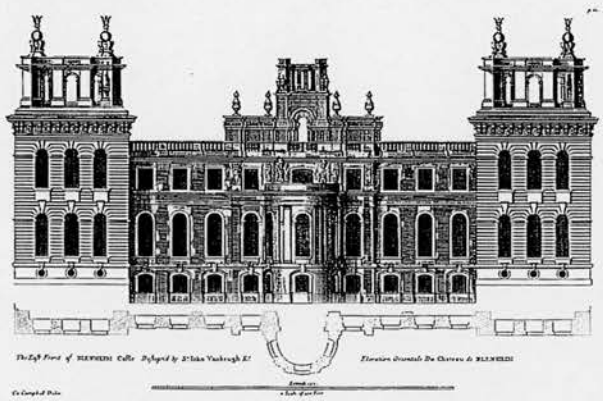
53. JOHN VANBRUGH, Blenheim Palace; view of the entrance front.



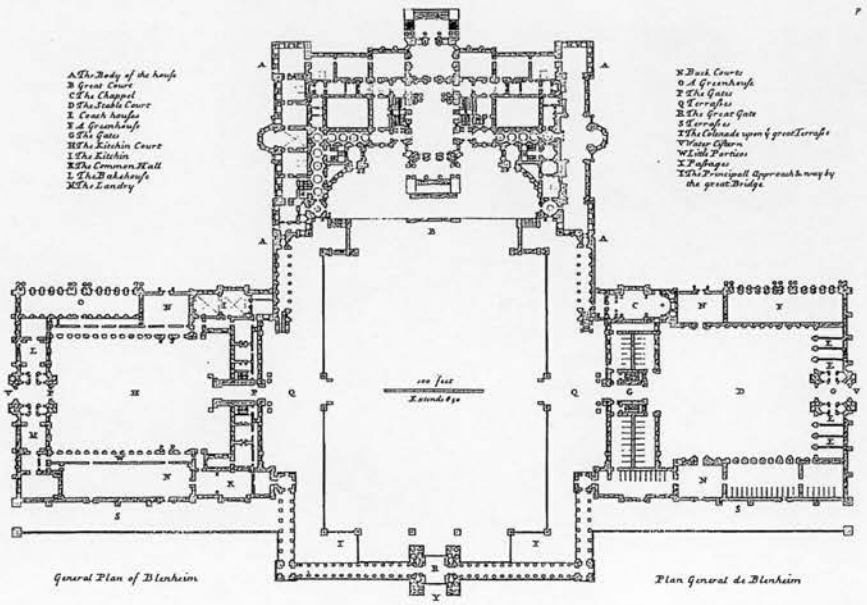
54. JOHN VANBRUGH, Blenheim Palace; elevation of the principal front.



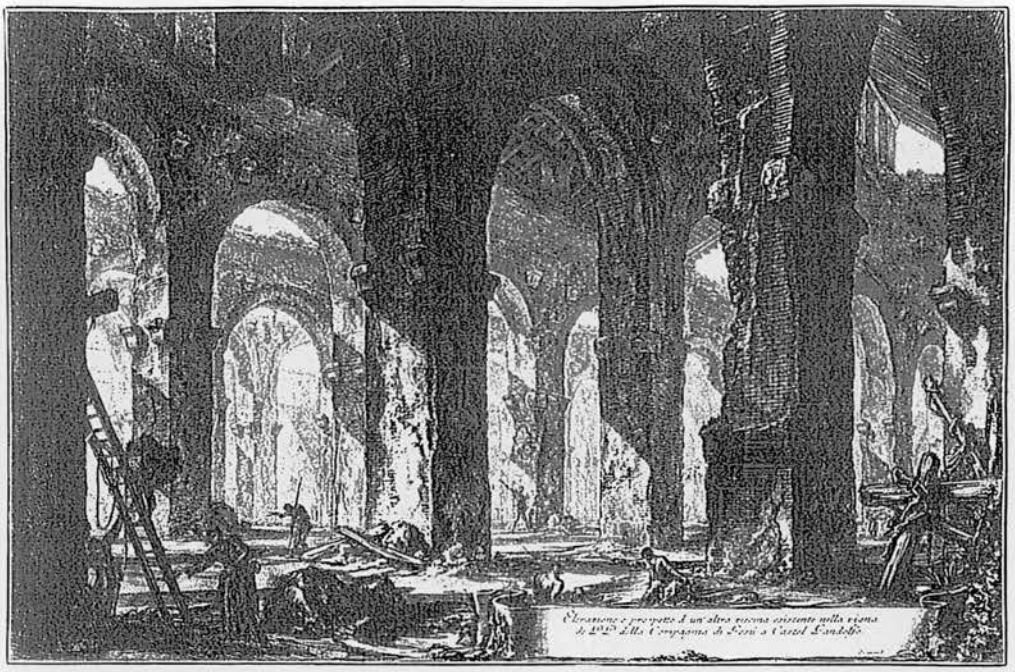
55. JOHN VANBRUGH, Blenheim Palace; elevation of the garden front.



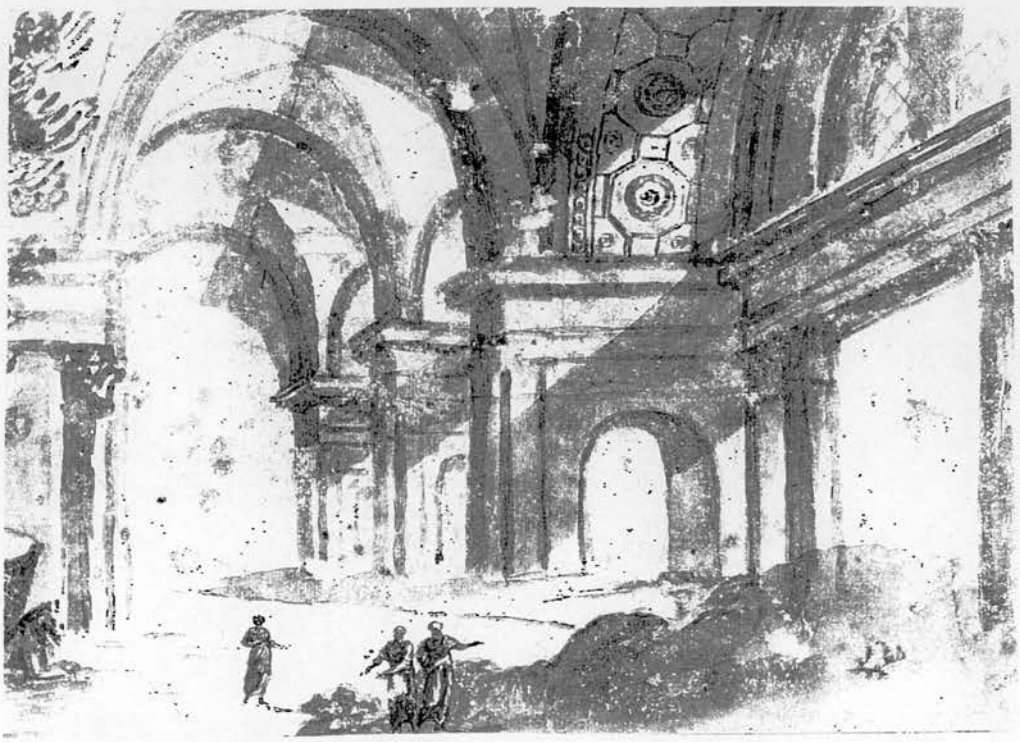
56. JOHN VANBRUGH, Blenheim Palace; elevation of the side front.



57. JOHN VANBRUGH, Blenheim Palace; plan of the principal floor.



58. GIOVANNI BATTISTA PIRANESI, Elevazione e prospetto d'un altra piscina esistente nella vigna de' P.P. della Compagnia di Gesù à Castel Gandolfo.



59. ROBERT ADAM, Italian drawing.

CHAPTER V

NEO-CLASSICAL "MOVEMENT" AND A VARIETY OF LIGHT AND SHADOW

I

"MOVEMENT" AND THE MASSES OF LIGHT AND SHADOW

The architecture of the Adam brothers is greatly dependent on historic precedents. It did not make any violent break with any established tradition. A number of established features drawn from different traditions are freely and plainly combined in their works, and it is an easy task to identify individual sources of inspiration. This is particularly evident in a series of country houses whose exterior forms were designed after examples from the Burlington-Kent school, the dominant architectural school during the brothers' formative years. The frequent and direct employment of a number of distinctive features of English neo-Palladianism — Serlian and Venetian windows, rustication (especially of the ground floor), the common use of the piano nobile, porticoes both attached and free-standing — shakes the reliability of their claim to be independent from any established tradition. The neo-Palladian movement in Britain itself was not necessarily faithful to the models of Palladio himself.[312] Nevertheless, this does not mitigate the impression that the Adam brothers' critique of Palladio as " one of those fortunate genius who have purchased reputation at an easy rate" was ill-judged.[313]

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[312] See Rudolf Wittkower, " Pseudo-Palladian Elements in English Neoclassicism" in *Palladio and English Palladianism: The Collected Essays of Rudolf Wittkower*, Thames and Hudson, 1983, pp.155-174.
[313] Fleming, *Op. cit.*, p.273.

Given its dependence upon English neo-Palladian examples, the Adam architecture as built has been frequently seen as less revolutionary than their writings. The incidental element of their architecture has frequently been confused with the essential. In a period of vast intellectual change in Europe, the Adam brothers responded by re-defining and re-inventing the Palladian tradition in Britain. Herein lies their own claim to revolutionary importance.

Take Kedleston, the country seat of Sir Nathaniel Curzon, Lord Scarsdale, as an example. Although the entire proportions of the house remained true to the neo-Palladian tradition, in the course of redesigning it, Robert Adam demonstrated his peculiar style by displacing the established rules of neo-Palladianism by his personal controlling principle of design, that is to say the principle of " movement" . Adam began to prepare the designs for both the exterior and interior of the house as early as July 1760, and certainly by 24th of that month, he was in control of the interior works. Robert tells James in a letter dated on that day: " We have had the greatest revolutions at Sir Nat' s that you ever heard of. Mr. Swann the great is dismissed and Mr Wyatt the carpenter now fills his place which I think is mostly brought about by me, and now none of them sets a stone or cuts a bit of timber without my positive instructions, which occasions my writing at least 3 or 4 letters every week and drawings, sketches, moulds & ca. eternally." [314] The result was a tremendous success, one of the best interior spaces executed in eighteenth-century Britain. It must have been the interiors which led Horace Walpole, afterwards 4th Earl of Oxford, to comment critically on Adam's work at Kedleston: "too expensive for Lord Scarsdale's estate".[315]

It is in the elevations at Kedleston that Robert strikingly broke away from the established tradition of British neo-Palladianism, by displaying his own concept of " movement" in the most convincing manner. This success surely made Robert confident enough to list this

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[314] Clerk of Penicuik Collection, Scottish Record Office, GD 18/4866. Also quoted in Fleming, *Op. cit.*, p.368.

particular work in *The Works in Architecture* as an example of " movement" , along with far better-known masterpieces such as St. Peter' s in Rome, the college and church *des quatré nations* at Paris, and Vanbrugh' s Blenheim and Castle Howard. By contrasting the highs and lows, convexity and concavity of different parts of buildings, the composition of external forms in these works commonly appeared to the eyes of the Adam brothers as a striking influence to the expression of "movement".[316]

In the south front of Kedleston (fig. 60), one can see most clearly, to quote Lees-Milne, " how Adam meant to achieve effects of 'movement' in the contrasting convexity of the dome and concavity of the quadrants and perron (which shows strong affinity to Carr' s at Tabley), in the advance and recess of light and shadow, sharply defined and accentuated by the projecting columns".[317]

Most people agree that the south front has a great sense of " movement" . What is not so widely nor so accurately understood, however, is the real nature of the Adam brothers' principle of " movement" , and in consequence the intended effects they had achieved in this work. When Worsley questions, for instance, that " can it really be said to have more 'movement' than Paine' s intended south front with its circular, colonnaded, domed rotunda

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[315] Quoted in, Hussey, *Op. cit.*, 1955, 1986, p.77.
[316] St. Peter' s and the college and church *des quatré nations*, although they differ in their scales, both compositions have effective uses of the convexity of the dome, contrasted to lower square front and concavity of their front courts. The extension of this is Vanbrugh' s design for the entrance elevation of Castle Howard, where steeply risen dome is in contrast to the rest of the long frontage and its court. In the same manner with the above instances, although less conspicuously, the garden front of Kedleston places a flatten dome in the centre in contrast to the massive square front of the main house. At Blenheim, in the entrance elevation in particular, the effect of height and convexity of various towers, statues, and other sculptural adornment are added greatly by creating innumerable contrasts of vertically expanded masses of light and shade in the exterior walls. By recessing and advancing the different parts of the building, dispositioning the giant columns and colonnades, and contrasting the strikingly magnificent volume of the house to its vast court, the external composition of Blenheim Palace has a strong influence to the productive presentation of "movement".
[317] Lees-Milne, *Op. cit.*, pp.98-9.

breaking from the square mass of the house?" ,[318] he is mistaken in thinking that what the Adam brothers conceptualised as " movement" was already " positively old fashioned" by the time they published it in 1773.[319] There is also a mark of scepticism in Emil Kaufmann's critical remarks on Adam's theory of " movement" . Kaufmann did not see " movement" in the Adam architecture. What he did not note in Adam was, however, Baroque " movement" , which is, in his own words " the very life of the Baroque" .[320] It is meant as the disposition of diverse interrelationships of different exterior parts, such as the contrasts between a pediment and a flat roof, and between the upward and downward aiming forces expressed in projections and recessions, such as statues, columns, pilasters and niches. The antithesis of the rusticated basement and the upper stories was, therefore, understood as the tendency to neutralise Baroque " movement" by stressing horizontal bands that counteract the vertical aiming forces of pilasters, colossal orders and a portico.

Limited by the stylistic point of view of the Baroque, Kaufmann is mistaken in thinking that by defining a new concept of " movement" , Adam had held in high esteem the " movement" of Baroque structures. The truth is that a specific quality of a certain stylistic category was of no interest to both Robert and James. It must constantly be borne in mind that the Adam brothers did not solely find "movement" in the masterpieces of the Baroque.

The study of the real nature of " movement" has been strangely neglected by Kaufmann and Worsley who are united in their view that: " while the Adam brothers can be credited with defining and publishing the concept of 'movement', what they were saying was hardly novel by the time it was published in 1773." [321] However, whether this was really the case is not always examined. Many of the references to the Adam brothers' definition of " movement" are mere quotations from their original text. Worsley, for one, leaves the

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[318] Worsley, *Op. cit.*, p.256.
[319] *Ibid.*
[320] Kaufmann, *Op. cit.*, 1955, p.37.
[321] Worsley, *Op. cit.*, p.256.

examination and interpretation of this concept untouched. Nor has Kaufmann made much account of the substance of this concept. He has critically remarked on Arthur T. Bolton's *The Works of Robert and James Adam* that " even the most comprehensive monograph on Adam, crammed with laboriously gathered eighteenth-century society news and anecdotes, is not in a position to devote more than a few pages to 'Robert Adam's Ideas,' half of which are quotations from his meager text." [322] What he himself has done in his *Architecture in the Age of Reason* was not different from Bolton. Kaufmann's most drastic attack against the Adam brothers is strangely enough completely lacking the rigorous examination of the significance of " movement," the very crucial concept of the Adam theory of architecture.[323]

If one accepts their claim of novelty in their definition of " movement" , one is for the first time in a position to evaluate the real nature of the way in which the effects of " movement" have been achieved in the works of the Adam brothers. The " movement" in their works reveals itself when we grasp not only how they meant to achieve " movement" but also what they meant to achieve by introducing this concept in their designs. It has to be reiterated, here, that the concept of " movement" seeks the effective architectural display of pictorial qualities. According to the Adam brothers, the concept of " movement" is epitomised by the display of effective grouping of light and shade and an agreeable and diversified contour by carefully calculating the disposition of the different parts of a building. Their focus was on the visual secondary qualities. The actual material attributes of " movement" are such architectural elements as porticoes, columns, pilasters, niches, statues, and various projecting and recessing mouldings. The Adam brothers' concept of " movement" is misleading, however, in so far as it seems to stress these expressive attributes of a building at the expense of what they actually intended to achieve. When Worsley argues that Paine's design for the south front of Kedleston has more " movement"

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[322] Kaufmann, *Op. cit.*, 1955, p.38.
[323] *Ibid.*, p.37.

than Adam's executed design, by referring to the fact that " barely a square foot of wall in Paine's scheme is without some form of ornament, some advance or recession of the wall plane, some contrast between solid and void — emphasised by the colonnade and the venetian windows", he has failed to understand the real nature of the Adam brothers' concept of "movement".[324]

Paine's design for the south front of Kedleston (fig. 61) is far more richly decorated than Adam's elevation. However, this densely crowded facade, with its numerous projections, recessions and sculptural elements, is clearly too ornamented to achieve the effects of " movement" as defined by the Adam brothers. Rather, it has " chaos" or " confusion" than " movement". Ironically enough, it was this very characteristic in Paine's design that Worsley explained as the " movement" which caused this elevation to be an absolute failure of " movement" in execution. Even the colonnaded, domed rotunda projected for the centre of the facade, whose plasticity could have resulted in a great effect of shade, had it been designed to be contrasted with the plain simplicity of the facade in the rear, leaves merely a vague impression, hugely distracted by the amount of ornamentation scattered all over the elevation. By the 1750s, external ornamentation with various projections and recession, and employment of varied heights of storey had been already frequently adapted to the works of neo-Palladians.[325] Paine's design for the south front, for one, precisely follows this trend. While the amount of ornamentation increases the gayness of its external appearances, Paine consistently failed to control the visual effects of light and shade, a primary factor of effective display of " movement" that the Adam brothers aimed to achieve in their works.

Adam, on the other hand, carefully controls every possible exterior ornamentation. Just as landscape painters are attentive to the disposition of light and shade, upon which their

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[324] Worsley, *Op. cit.*, p.256.
[325] *Ibid.*

success depends, so are architects who carefully need to calculate the massing and grouping of light and shade on elevations. The difference, however, remains between them; while landscape painters study nature in " the evening or the morning when the sun is low and the shadows are broad" ,[326] architects have to design taking into account the continuous change of lighting following the movement of the sun and the corresponding shades it creates on the exterior. In Adam' s design, the sculptural quality of the building is abstracted. A variety of light and shade, which demands strong lighting to be solely comprehended in sight, is carefully grouped to avoid unnecessary congestion. The projecting elements — four free-standing columns carry statues, pediments crowning the windows, medallions, festoons, pilasters of various heights, and niches with statues — are carefully disposed on the wall plane, so that the effects of shades are brought out to the maximum. By leaving part of the facade undecorated, the Adam brothers created an effective base tone against which the carefully disposed projections and recessions can be contrasted. In this respect, their calculated attachment to unornamented parts and sections within a facade differs much from the ways in which plain facades were used in the works of the Burlington-Kent school. In the southern frontage, for instance, the triumphal arch motif, designed after the example of the Arch of Constantine in Rome (figs. 62-4), produces a variety of pleasing shade by being carefully set in contrast to the rest of the plainly finished elevation. The ultimate result of this is a great sense of monumentality and "movement".

The careful control of exterior ornamentation and a hint of geometric composition are both notable devices employed on the exterior elevations at Luton Hoo, where they seem to have won the favour of their patron.[327] Number three of the first volume of *The Works in*

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[326] "Of the Elevation and its Movement", lines 22ff.

[327] In the third preface of the first volume of *The Works in Architecture*, the Adams refer to the fortunate relation they enjoyed with their client, writing: " We are happy in having this opportunity of expressing to the world that gratitude which we never ceased to feel, for the protection, favour, and friendship with which we have always been honoured by his Lordship. ... whatever reputation the Architect may acquire at present by this plan, that which most flatters his vanity, and will do him the greatest honour with posterity, is the approbation of the noble proprietor, so justly esteemed for his greatest taste and discerning

Architecture published in 1774 is entirely devoted to this work, and from the character of the remarks in his " Preface" to the Luton plates, Bolton has pointed out that " Adam evidently felt that this house was a landmark in the development of the style of his own day." The house was not completed until around 1827, after going through various modifications to the proposed designs of the brothers. Since then, further reconstruction has taken place and the state of the house today, especially its exteriors, is entirely different from what they initially designed. Fortunately, from the elevations published in *The Works in Architecture*, it is not hard to grasp the full picture of the scheme and, more importantly, their idea of displaying " movement". By controlling the external ornaments and grouping a variety of light and shade, each elevation would have accomplished impressive effects of the "movement" in execution.

This is evident in the south front in particular (fig. 65). The Adam brothers were confident that their design for this side elevation had the effect of " improvement". The explanation given of this front in *The Works in Architecture* states that " there is a degree of light and shade, which gives it a peculiarly good effect in the execution." [328] The elevation is characteristic of simple massing. The clear-cut shade in the recessed part is visually separated from the rest of the facade. The effective grouping of light and shade adds the quality of " movement" to this elevation. The central recess with a screen of double columns in the centre of the solid projection is capable of implying the long north-south axis piercing the elevation and running through the massive block of the house.

When, in 1791, the Adam brothers prepared the designs for Gosford House in East Lothian (fig. 66), they took the basic form of William Kent' s Holkham as the baseline of their new

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judgement in the celebrated works of the ancients, and in every branch of the fine arts." See *The Works in Architecture*, vol. I, no. III, Preface.

[328] *The Works in Architecture*, vol. I, no. III, explanation of the plate V.

design.[329] This grand country house was, according to George Richardson, " one of the last and favourite works of that celebrated architect the late Robert Adam" .[330] The house has a central " villa-like" structure flanked by the wings at each end. The triple-pedimented wing at Holkham is replaced here by a tripartite facade.

The striking feature of the west front of the house is the triplet high Venetian windows in recessed arches juxtaposed against the large surface of the bare wall. The immediate source of inspiration is undoubtedly Chiswick, a little 70 foot square house of Richard Boyle, the third Earl of Burlington, which must have been known well by the Adam brothers (fig. 67). While recognised as the central figure behind the moving power of neo-Palladianism in Britain, Lord Burlington was not necessarily a blind follower of Palladio. He was carefully critical of Palladio and remained an inventive interpreter of the Palladian authority. The garden facade of Chiswick anticipates the forthcoming fashion of Neo-classical simplicity,[331] by producing large surfaces of bare and plain wall, by juxtaposing the pure volume of blocks, and by eliminating the excessive fenestration and decoration. At Gosford, inspired by the precedent of the first generation of the British Neo-Palladianism, rather than the second, to which Carr and Paine belonged, the Adam brothers proposed to interweave the architectural vocabularies of Neo-Palladianism with their neo-classical design principles.

Amongst the innovative elements of their designs for Gosford House is the central dome, considerably undersized but steeply rising from the flat ridge of the central block of the house. The combination of the dome and massive rectangular central block reveals that a

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[329] The house itself had been largely, or rather entirely, " swamped in modern extension," and there is no sign of the original elegance in the present condition. The only source, which now gives an account of its original state, is the original drawings by the Adam office given in the *New Vitruvius Britannicus*.

[330] Richardson, *Op. cit.*, vol. I, explanation of the plates of Gosford House. See 1970 edition, 3 vol. III, p.14.

[331] cf. Cinzia Sicca, " The Architecture of the Wall: Astylism in the architecture of Lord Burlington", *Architectural History*, 33, 1990, p.83.

traditional harmonisation of the parts was not sought for in this design. The effect of the height and convexity of the dome, contrasted with the horizontally stretched lower square front of the main block, is a striking example of the landscape-like composition, which displays the visual qualities of the exterior of a building in isolation from form, texture, and materials, and seeks its impact in the variety of contour, and the contrast of light and shade.

Summerson saw the real nature of Neo-classicism in architecture in " a combination of the ideal of 'noble simplicity' with that of a rational application of the classical elements" .[332] The significance of " movement" lies in its ability to merge these two ambitions together in execution. While the carefully calculated approach towards external ornamentation continued to be the first and most distinctive element of their exercises of " movement" , it simultaneously led to the further development of their style in which the effective massing of light and shade started to " hint at the new and lucid geometric architecture that was to come" .[333] By introducing " movement" into their architectural treatment of elevations, while it had never split entirely from the tradition of British Palladian Revivalism through the reuse of its representative motifs, the Adam Style moderately but clearly started to indicate a departure from the mere imitation or reproduction of antique simplicity by focusing on the visual impressions of light and shade produced in dispositions of exterior forms. In Adam architecture, although extremely suggestive, " a new sensitivity to exact statement, unbroken surfaces, broad mass and clear-cut space" [334] has already been germinated. Their works foresee the sympathetic inclination of British Neo-classicism towards geometric composition and simplicity, which was later to flourish in the works of Sir John Soane.

At the same time, their works are characterised by the way they responded to the current demand for a new type of classicism in the second half of the eighteenth century. The

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[332] Summerson, *Op. cit.*, 1986, p.77.
[333] Hugh Honour, *Neo-Classicism*, Penguin Books, 1968. p.123.

novelty or originality accomplished by making " any violent break with established tradition" must have been regarded, in their opinion, not only a bad move, but also at the same time bad business.[335] As much as they desired to be recognised and remembered through the novelty of their works and ideas, they attached great importance to the stylistic continuance of their works with the historic past of their profession. This was a sort of fate for the architects whose flowerings happened to be in the second half of the eighteenth century. While breaking away from the trammels of English neo-Palladianism and declaring the novelty of their designs, they were essentially practising architects whose works needed to meet the demand of their clients and the taste and manners of their time. While their cultivated patrons were already " tired of neo-Palladian pomposity" and " wanted a new style" ,[336] the Adam brothers were aware of the fact that the current taste of British architecture was not quite ready for the experimentation favoured by progressive architects on the other side of the Channel. In comparison with contemporary French Neo-classicism, the elementary geometrical shapes in the works of the Adam brothers seek reconciliation with the traditional manner by using external ornamentation of established traditions, which in consequence added an air of modest learning and " unostentatious opulence" to their works. Their sympathetic inclination towards geometric simplicity remained like a hidden flavour of their personal light and elegant neo-classical manner.

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[334] *Ibid.*, p.80.
[335] John Fleming, Hugh Honour, and Nikolaus Pevsner, *Dictionary of Architecture*, Penguin Books, 1966, 1991, p.3.
[336] Fleming, *Op. cit.*, p.313.

II

"MOVEMENT" AND THE COLONNADED SCREEN

One of the most remarkable and most effective expressions of " movement" among the Adam brothers' works is the use of the motif of the colonnaded screen in elevations. When, in 1760, Robert Adam designed a screen for the Admiralty (fig. 68), his idea was to create a rhythmical play of light and shade by setting a screen of columns in front of a plain wall. The contrasts between the plasticity of the screen of columns and the flatness of the wall in the rear and between the emptiness behind the screen with the solidity of the gate in the centre and gabled wings on both ends of the frontage, reveal that the expression of the advance and recess in the different parts of a building was a prime intention in this work. When Adam made the designs for Luton Hoo in the early 1760s, he introduced a similar composition in the " principal or west front" (fig. 69). Here, the screen of columns and ornamentation behind it produce a pleasing rhythmic contrast between light and shade, and gives the facade a considerable degree of " movement" in the execution. Each statue in the twelve niches has a different posture, creating an intricate diversity of light and shade. Moreover, the handrail on the housetop and the fine circular ornamentation under the eaves strengthen the visual impression of the same quality of " movement". *The Works in Architecture* states that this frontage was prepared by reflecting the peculiar circumstance of the house where on the west side of the house " there being no apartments, and consequently no windows required except in the bows towards each end ..." (fig. 70).[337] It goes on to specify that it is only this very " circumstance" of the house which " has permitted the introducing a kind of exterior decoration, which resembles that of a 'publick work' rather than of a private building, and gives an air of dignity and grandeur, of which few dwelling-houses are susceptible".[338] The particular " exterior decoration" they

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[337] *The Works in Architecture*, vol. I, no. III, explanation of the Plate III.
[338] *The Works in Architecture*, vol. I, no. III, explanation of the Plate III.

introduced here is the screen of columns, while the comparable public work with exterior screen decoration is undoubtedly their own design for the Admiralty.

The screen at Luton Hoo is flanked with wings with bowed projections. The contrast of the plasticity of the colonnade with the solidity of the wings dramatises the entire elevation by creating an astonishing interplay of light and shade. The combination of the domed centrepiece in the rear of the colonnade and the pyramidal tops of the wings constitutes the diversified contour which responds to the grouping of light and shade in the facade by putting accents on the projecting parts.

On the reverse facade of the house, the circular, colonnaded, domed rotunda breaks from the centre of the elevation. Due to the situation of the house standing " on the easy declivity of hill or bank" towards the River Lee, the east elevation has an additional basement level with small openings.[339] Apart from the great circular colonnade, the external ornamentation is minimised, and kept almost bare. By contrasting the sculptural quality of the colonnade with the plainness of the bowed projections and the rest of the facade, the elevation displays a stimulating interplay of light and shade. The effectiveness of this carefully calculated treatment of the frontage is in clear contrast to Paine' s design for the south elevation of Kedleston House.

The north front of Luton Hoo is one of the most successful elevations designed by the brothers (fig. 71). The striking feature of the elevation is the centrepiece, which consists of four free-standing Ionic columns crowned with statues, and three massive arches set below on the basement level. In its scale and extravagance, it offers an Ionic variation on the motif of the Arch of Constantine. The sculpture-like columns cast their clear-cut shadows over the enormous plain wall of the elevation. The striking contrast of the slenderness and playfulness of the columns with the flatness of the facade and the massiveness of the cube-

like mass of the house displays a vivid interplay of light and shade — a further instance of "movement".

The Adam brothers' careful calculation for an effective grouping of light and shade in this facade is evident in the plate in *The Works in Architecture*, from the way in which the shadows of the columns were treated as the main features of the design. The shadows are drawn right in the middle of each column, indicating the rays of the sun from the north-east. Behind the columns on the principal floor, there are triplet Venetian windows, ornamented with Ionic capital motifs. The decorative richness of the window frames puts an additional accent to the central part of the elevation by making an excellent contrast with the rest of the frontage, where the openings are concisely arranged with great regularity and unity in the plain wall.

A splendid display of the variation of this type of facade design can be seen in the east elevation at Osterley Park, the palatial residence of the Childs, a wealthy London banking family (fig. 72). Here, by setting an impressive double screened Ionic portico in the centre flanked by two three-bay, three-storey ranges with single-bay, four-storey corner towers, the visual impression of "movement" was most successfully displayed.

The Adam brothers' task at Osterley was the modernisation of an old house which was originally built in the Elizabethan style. The house consisted of three ranges with a courtyard in the centre. A rectangular tower topped by an " ogee" roof was later attached on each corner. The process of modernisation had partly started before Robert was involved in the work in 1761; and the outer or garden facade of the west range had recently been undertaken by Chambers sometimes between c.1756 and 1761. The 1761 proposal prepared by Adam involved attaching a new portico on the inner or entrance facade of the west range, and reducing the lengths of the north and south ranges and building a new

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[339] *The Works in Architecture*, vol. I, no. III, Preface.

tower topped with a pyramidal roof at the eastern end of the each range. It has been suggested that the alteration of the freshly remodelled west range and addition of the Doric pedimented doorframe and double carved staircase in the centre of the facade were " almost certainly" designed by Adam as part of this proposal.[340] The actual work on remodelling was begun in accordance with the newly-revised scheme of Adam, following the interruption caused by his client's death in 1763.[341] It is a wonder, and to some extent an irony of fate, that with the exception of the alterations on the western elevation after the mid-1760s, none of the ideas proposed in 1761 were carried out.

In the course of the remodelling, the house became larger in scale and more strikingly original in design than was initially proposed. The north and south ranges remained as they were; so too the corner towers and exotic roofs. Now, the external focus of the house shifted to the newly extended east range, especially its entrance front. The great five-bay Ionic portico on the principal floor is approached from the ground level by wide-straight steps. The portico functions as a gate to the courtyard, on the western side of which the entrance of the house is located. The broad shade under the portico sinks in the rest of the facade in plane manner, a handling which Adam inherited from Chambers' earlier remodelling. The double screen of the portico has a visual effect similar to an openwork. The combination of the doubled colonnaded Ionic portico and open-air spaces on either side of the east range creates a rhythmic contrast of light and shade, and adds greatly the quality of " movement" to this facade.

The calculated effect of the contrast between the plasticity of a colonnade and the solidity of the mass of a building often appeared in the Adam brothers' works in the form of free-standing porticoes — especially in the works where a strong neo-Palladian inclination is

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[340] David Stillman, *English Neo-classical Architecture*, vol. I, London, 1988, p.85, and David King, *The Complete Works of Robert and James Adam*, London, 1991, p.194.
[341] What had been actually decided and executed at Osterley over the two years before Francis Child's death in September 1763 is not known.

found. In the north front of Kedleston House, for instance, the overshadowing effect of the free-standing portico in the centre was their primary concern. In clear contrast to the south front, Adam's alteration to Paine's neo-Palladian design for this elevation was a moderate one.[342] The difference between the two elevations has been explained as a result of the practical condition of building the house (figs. 73, 74). By the end of 1760, Robert had decided the basic lines of the new designs for the exterior works of the scheme. By April of that year, however, when Adam took over the commission from James Paine, it had been said that building of the northern side of the house had already partly begun, and therefore Adam had to work with some of the restrictions caused by his predecessors' designs, amongst which was the framework of the north elevation.[343] However, it has been suggested by Harris that the house had been built from east to the west instead of north to south, so that Adam would have had " ample time to make serious changes to the north front," had he intended to do so.[344]

Although not as evident as on the revamped south front, the north elevation reveals that Adam had made full use of this " ample time" to make serious changes to this frontage and

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[342] A part from the design for the north elevation published in the second volume of *Plan, Elevation and Sections* (1783), several different versions of Paine's design for the north front at Kedleston Hall exist today. The design drawing for the north front which seem to be prepared c. 1759 and attributed to James Paine in the collection at Kedleston provides three alternative versions with two flaps of the different designs for the part of the main block. Two of these designs have similar rather dull elevations, consist of " an attached Corinthian portico of three bays with coupled columns at each end" and there is no direct access to the principal floor. The third design is similar to the published version, and therefore it is probably one of the final designs prepared by Paine. It has a deep Ionic " hexastyle" portico in the centre and entrance to the house on the principal floor reached by the external staircases. Leslie Harris, *Robert Adam and Kedleston: The Making of a Neo-Classical Masterpiece*, The National Trust, 1987, p.20.

[343] Giles Worsley, " Adam the Palladian" , *Adam in Context: Papers given at the Georgian Group Symposium 1992*, ed. Giles Worsley, London, 1993, p.11.

[344] Leslie Harris, *Op. cit.*, p.10. Adam's exceptional employment of quadrants at Kedleston is due to the hands of his predecessors, Matthew Brettingham, Sr. (1699-1769) and Paine. By the time Adam took over the works at Kedleston from Paine, the north-east wing designed by Brettingham had been considerably undergone, and the corridor between the wing and central block had been also designed by the hands of Paine. Paine writes in his *Plans, Elevations, and Sections* that he accepted Brettingham's previous design for the four wings but himself planned " the central block and connecting corridors." Adam seems to

transformed the entire elevation into his own creation. For instance, various exterior motifs, including the openings on each side of the centrepiece, pediments above the windows of the principal floor, niches with sculpture at the centre, medallions, sculpture above the eaves, etc. were newly-designed, so that the elevation parallels its sibling on the south side of the house.

The most important contribution of Adam in the north front is the alteration of the portico. Paine had originally designed a portico two columniation in depth, with five-bay openings, housing five rectangular windows on the principal floor and another set of five smaller openings on the upper storey. Looking at the greatly projected portico in Paine's design, these openings were presumably designed as the lights of the great entrance hall, whether they really functioned as initially intended is open to doubt (fig. 75).

In Adam's revision, in the first place, the depth of the portico has been reduced to one columniation in depth, and consequently its power to cast shadow over the facade has been reduced. In addition, Adam substituted niches with statues for the openings on the principal floor except the entrance in the centre. The lights on the upper level were also replaced with medallions. With minimum interruption of the shadow of the portico, the niches and medallions, regularly placed between the columns of the portico, greatly add pictorial accents to its elevation which can be seen from a distance. Furthermore, Adam redesigned the interior of the hall to be lit from the roof. This alteration most likely derived from Adam's professional assessment of the circumstance of the situation in the hall, where the lights under the portico, now reduced to the half depth of the initial proposal, were still unlikely to provide the necessary amount of lighting for this extended interior space.

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have decided to go with this initial proposal and re-designed only the elevations of the corridors.

It is evident from the way in which the depth of the central portico was modified in the north front that Adam took the overshadowing effect of the portico on the rest of the facade into serious consideration. A similar careful calculation of the overshadowing effect of portico projection had been made previously in Adam's design for the north or entrance front at Shardeloes in Buckinghamshire. In this " earliest definite and important work" , the columns of the central Corinthian portico are " no detriment to the salon, and only one bedroom on the east front can be said to suffer from the overshadowing effect of the portico projection" , and the ends of each seven-bays frontage are delicately emphasised with the " arched recesses, elliptical on plan" to display the proper size of shadow for this moderate building.[345] The influence of this design remained constant in the subsequent undertakings of the Adam brothers and is strongly felt in the north front of Kedleston Hall.

III

"MOVEMENT" AND APPRECIATION UP-CLOSE

The Adam brothers' work at Kenwood, Middlesex, epitomises their inclination towards geometric simplicity (figs. 76-7). Kenwood is a villa, far more modest than the country houses so far discussed. Despite the fact that it was a remodelling of the late seventeenth-century building, the brothers were particularly proud of their works at Kenwood, both interior and exterior — and the second number of the first volume of *The Works in Architecture* is devoted solely to this work.

At Kenwood, they were free to pursue their radical ideas and experiments without particular constraints from the client. In fact, the creative freedom that they enjoyed under the patronage of Lord Mansfield, who was described by the brothers as " the friend of every

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[345] Bolton, *Op. cit.*, vol. I, pp.153-5.

elegant art and useful science" , was indeed appreciated.[346] Praising the complete freedom given by Lord Mansfield, the preface of *The Works in Architecture* states:

> Whatever defects, either in beauty or composition, shall be discovered in the following designs, they must be imputed to me alone; for the noble proprietor, with his usual liberality of sentiment, gave full scope to my ideas: nor were these confined by any circumstances, but the necessity of preserving the proper exterior similitude between the new and the old parts of the building; and even with respect to this, where the latter appeared defective in it's detail, I was at full liberty to make the proper deviations ...[347]

At Kenwood, the brothers were responsive to the propitious siting of the house and its great panorama. The brothers attached great importance to the " terrace" along the south side of the house as the perfect viewpoint for enjoying the remarkable view. It is shown in a perspective view of the south front of the house in *The Works in Architecture* (fig. 78). The text accompanying this particular plate is entirely devoted to the delight of the view from the terrace.[348] This is a proof of how seriously the surrounding panorama was taken into consideration.

At the same time, and most importantly, the terrace was intended for viewing the south facade of the house itself. The employment of detailed exterior ornaments at the south

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[346] *The Works in Architecture*, vol. I, no. II, Preface, p.3.
[347] *The Works in Architecture*, vol. I, no. II, " Plans, Elevations, and Sections of Kenwood," p.8.
[348] *The Works in Architecture*, vol. I, no. II, p.8. The explanation given to the landscape of Kenwood states: " A great body of water covers the bottom, and serves to go round a large natural wood of tall trees rising one above another upon the sides of a hill. Over the vale, through which the water flows, there is a noble view let into the house and terrace, of the city of London, Greenwich Hospital, the River Thames, the ships passing up and down, with an extensive prospect, but clear and distinct, on both sides of the river. To the north-east, and west of the house and terrace, the mountainous villages of Highgate and Hampstead form delightful objects. The whole scene is amazingly gay, magnificent, beautiful, and

front reflects the Adam brothers' concern over the way in which it should be seen in close-up. In comparison with the earliest-known design for the south front (fig. 79), said to be prepared in 1764 and signed by James, the later version dated 1767-8 and engraved for *The Works in Architecture* shows a clear improvement of its elaborate exterior ornamentation. The former has no indication of the sophisticated handling of the frontage accomplished later. It has a facade of two storeys and a portico with half-columns capped by Corinthian capitals and coupled pilasters at both corners of the centrepiece. In the latter, not only is the facade vertically enlarged with an additional attic storey, but also the half-columns are all replaced by pilasters crowned with Ionic capitals, and the pediment, now supported by paired pilasters, is in shallow relief. While the highly decorous workmanship is typical of the Adam office, its exterior use at Kenwood deserves much praise as one of the inventions peculiar to them. It is a sort of exterior experiment with sensitive and detailed interior motifs. Liardet's newly invented stucco, the patent of which the brothers had previously acquired from its inventor, was also used.[349] The decorations are very shallow, and, seen from a distance, much of the play of advances and recesses must have melted into the flatness of the rest of the elevation. Instead, from a close-range perspective view, the linear pattern of decorative pilasters and other elaborate ornaments of the main block, the alternating succession of pilasters and windows with arched relief of the Library and Orangery wings, and the slightly recessed corridor with a Venetian window on either side of the main block, all add considerable effects of "movement" to the facade.

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picturesque. The hill and dale are finely diversified; nor is it easy to imagine a situation more striking without, or more agreeably retired and peaceful within".

[349] It seems not to be denied that the Adams' self-confidence of the novelty of their designs or professional eager for latest ideas and fashions influenced their choice of this particular newly invented manufactured material for the external use. It signifies that they were ahead of the fashion for white stucco facades, which was to become popular in the following decays. To the Adams' deep regret, the external use of the material at Kenwood resulted in failure. Although it was initially given out to be "a cheap means of reproducing architectural decoration," the external use of this material as the alternative to Parian marble turned out to be extremely expensive. To maintain its elegance, the south front required the exquisite workmanship and constant repair due to the continuous deterioration of the decoration. It is said that Lord Mansfield declared, according to Humphrey Repton: "... had the front of Kenwood been originally covered in Parian marble, he should have

The Adam brothers' intention is clearly shown in the ways in which the garden and entrance elevations were designed respectively, applying different manners of handling the exterior decoration. In the entrance front, which demands to be suitably seen both up close and from a distance, the brothers deliberately restrained themselves from experimenting with the exterior use of elaborate ornaments. Given the approach to the house as the viewpoint of the entrance front, delicate patterns would most certainly melt into the rest of the facade, and therefore this would have made little contribution to the comprehension of the designed qualities of the facade. This led the Adam brothers to compose this frontage, adapting the central Ionic portico and the recessed entrance section behind, so that the shadows created under this combination resulted in a strong contrast to the three-bay section on either end, accentuating the pediment above. On the other hand, it is most certain that they were less concerned with the garden elevation to produce strong effects of " movement" , that were capable of being appreciated from a long distance. In the garden front, they departed from their usual manner of handling the elevations of great country houses, in order to achieve effects of " movement" that are suitably seen up close. Given the terrace as the viewpoint of the garden elevation of the house, the Adams inferred that the strong visual impression of " movement" is not necessary for one to appreciate the design qualities of the house.

It need hardly be said that elaborate decoration was consistently employed as the striking feature of their exterior designs for street schemes. Especially in some of their large-scale urban projects, where the depth of projections was minimal, mainly due to the restrictions of sites and execution expenses, the exterior ornamentation was emphasised as the prerequisite elements for creating the effects of " movement" . This ornamentation was often concentrated in particular parts of the elevation that are slightly projecting, so that by

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found it less expensive than stucco" . See Julius Bryant, *Kenwood*, English Heritage, 1990, p53.

contrasting them with the rest of the facade in plain manner, an alternating rhythm of light and shade can be obtained in the elevation. This allowed them to display " movement" without the unnecessary disposition of exterior forms, which was not possible or desirable in most urban projects.

A notable example of such exterior design is the barely projecting linear patterns of pilasters at the Adelphi (fig. 80), the most ambitious and grand enterprise of the brothers supported by their own capital. The scheme, whose construction coincided with their works at Kenwood, stands on the banks of the River Thames and consists of a group of houses with palatial elevations. Despite the definite difference in character — the function, site, and scale of the scheme; the elaborate exterior decorations in the elevations of the Adelphi complex shows a strong resemblance to that of the south front at Kenwood.

As was the case at Kenwood, at the Adelphi they seem to have found no necessity to create the strong effects of " movement" capable of being seen from a distance, by taking account of the peculiar character of the site looking on to the Thames.[350] It is clear that a great length of the total facade was intended to be effective in the perspective view, afforded by the Royal Terrace (fig. 81) and presumably by the banks and bridges, or countless ships passing up and down the Thames.[351] Given the terrace as the principal viewpoint of the river front, instead of a dramatic disposition of the masses, they have employed the shallow linear ornaments in the elevation, and the alternation of ornamented and plain surfaces resulted in a moderate but recognisable degree of visual impression of " movement" , by rationally and rhythmically grouping light and shade.

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[350] The flat treatment of the facades at the Adelphi had an impact on the trend of London street architecture in the second half of that century, and was a notable contribution, according to Bolton, to " the building up of those characteristics which have since become vernacular in London". Bolton, *Op. cit.*, vol. II, p.18.

The Adam brothers' exterior use of elaborate decoration reveals its originality in contrast to Chambers' design for the river facade of the Somerset House (fig. 82), whose setting was " very like ... the Adelphi" .[352] Both were located on Thames Bank, had long facades along the river and arcades supporting the terraces above. Somerset House " but in nothing else" resembled the Adelphi.[353] The difference was not merely functional, the Adelphi for domestic and Somerset House for public, administrative uses, but also the manners of handling of frontage design. The river facade of Somerset House, which stretches the full length of 600 ft., is broken into a number of sections. The sections ornamented with colossal pilasters and an inset colonnade are barely projected. The two outer projected sections on either end are connected by the gates resembling Palladian bridges. The rest of the elevation is thoroughly rusticated and barely a corner in this facade is without some form of ornament. This resulted in the lack of contrasts between ornamented, projected sections and plain walls, and therefore Chambers' excessive use of ornaments, projections and recessions had less effect on creating the particular design qualities of the river frontage of the Adelphi, that is "movement" suitably seen in perspective, afforded by the terrace.

A similar observation of the exterior use of elaborate ornaments with the designs at Kenwood and the Adelphi applies to other public schemes where the elevations were often designed as plain as possible to make them suitable for a diagonal or perspective view. The traditional neo-Palladian front of the Register House in Edinburgh, is a prime example (fig. 83). Here, in the elevation with shallow projections and ornamentation, the effects of " movement" are achieved through an exceedingly delicate handling of the contrast between light and shade, which require sharp-perspective appreciation. This reflects their professional conviction that public buildings " admit of magnificence in the design and

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[351] This point is best expressed in the way in which the south or riverside elevation of the Adelphi was represented in perspective in the only plate of the scheme given in *The Works in Architecture*.
[352] John Summerson, *Georgian London*, Pleiades Books, 1945, 1948, p.122.
[353] *Ibid.*

require solidity in the construction" .[354] The south or entrance front takes a conventional Palladian front, and consists of the centrepiece with a pediment supported by four Corinthian pilasters and the domed rotunda. While it is intended to be seen from a distance as the monumental termination of a grand vista entering the Edinburgh New Town from the south,[355] the well-balanced facade was simultaneously intended to be seen in perspective by people passing along the street. The elevation is divided into five sections with a slightly projected centrepiece and one bay on either end. Each projection has additional ornamentation, so that a pleasing alternate rhythm between the projected sections and the rest of the nude wall is produced in a single frontage without creating wasteful spaces between the projected sections.

In Edinburgh, the north front of the University, now facing Chambers Street, is another example (fig. 84). The elevation, originally designed to look on to a narrow passage, is intended to be seen in sharp perspective. The great facade, 360-foot in length with twenty-five bays is divided into seven sections, four of which are slightly projected and had three bays. They were also visually accented by employing different types of tripartite windows on each floor. Taking account of the peculiar circumstance of its site where spectators see the elevation in sharp perspective, the shallow projections with the depth of hardly more than a foot and a little diversification in the ways in which the openings were designed in the projected sections contributed powerfully to the creation of an alternate rhythm of the contrast of light and shade on the facade.

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[354] *The Works in Architecture*, vol. I, no. IV, Preface.
[355] See Chapter Six, Section I.

IV

"MOVEMENT" AND THE CASTLE STYLE

The Adam brothers were great self-publicists and carefully manipulated their image. Their combination of geometric simplicity and neo-Palladian elegance was enthusiastically welcomed by the British establishment as the finest example of the current taste. The brothers' works were associated with both the image of novelty and with the English neo-Palladian tradition. By the late 1760s and early 1770s, their carefully planned strategy successfully resulted in the establishment of their own style, fervently received by their noble and wealthy patrons and fellow architects, which became the dominant style of the day. Chambers remarked on the popularity of the Adam decorations in England:

> They boast of having first brought the True style of Decoration into England, and that all architects of the present day are only servile copyers of their excellence.[356]

Like any successful innovation, however, the Adam Style lost its aura of newness and novelty when it became popularised. The very first number of *The Works in Architecture* had appeared in 1773, followed by the rest of the numbers and volumes, and buildings imitating their examples spread throughout the country. No longer possessing a monopoly of their neo-classical style, " the career of the famous brothers descends rapidly in significance" .[357] In addition to this, the war on the new continent started to effect the British economy, so that by the time the brothers started their practice, the eighteenth-century rush for building great country houses had already passed. Furthermore, the crisis of the Adelphi overshadowed their careers, and their reputations were in urgent need of

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[356] Quoted in Worsley, *Op. cit.*, 1995, p.246
[357] Summerson, *Op. cit.,* 1953, 1993, p.405.

repair. All of these factors compelled them to reconsider not only the concrete problems of their practice and style but also the principles of their practical strategy. The matter was pressing for them as they were now desperate to regain the prestige they had once enjoyed as leaders of architectural taste. They were once again confronted with the need to present a new image of novelty and originality, and to create a new style equivalent to their neo-classical style of twenty years previously.

The " impetus" lying behind the brothers' quest for a new style in the 1770s and the maturity of their Castle Style from the later 1770s onwards has often been explained in connection with the state of their practice at that point. " By the mid 1770s his [Robert's] reputation was in urgent need of repair" , Fleming explains. " To reassert himself he hoped to launch a new Adam style, one founded on neo-classical principles and yet not out of sympathy with the increasingly medieval sensibilities of the period and, above all, one which was as patently novel and original as his neo-classical style had been twenty years earlier." [358] On the very same point, Rowan remarks: " Oddly enough, it was precisely at this point, mid-way in their careers, that the Adams began to design, after it there are over forty. This increase is too remarkable to be merely a coincidence. It seems likely that the brothers, ever shrewd if not always successful businessmen, hoped to reassert their claim as 'original' designers by introducing a new form of castle."[359]

As their neo-classical style had matured in the mid 1760s and came into its most assured expression by the beginning of the 1770s, now the Castle Style was about to be introduced as a new line of their design. However, the extreme originality of the style has often led to its dismissal as merely " strange buildings" .[360] The castles, unlike their other works, have

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[358] John Fleming, " A 'Retrospective View' by John Clerk of Eldin, with some Comments on Adam's Castle Style" , *Concerning Architecture: Essays on Architectural Writers and Writing presented to Nikolaus Pevsner*, ed. John Summerson, Allen Lane the Penguin Press, 1968, p.82.
[359] Rowan, *Op. cit.*, 1965, pp.155-6.
[360] John Fleming, "Robert Adam's Castle Style -1," *Country Life*, May 23, 1968, p.1357.

been consistently ignored or disapproved of, and even dismissed by many as unfortunate products of their " dotage" or as " merely an old man's aberrations of taste." [361] Humphry Repton disparaged the Adam castles, and according to J. C. Loudon, who edited *The Landscape Gardening and Landscape Architecture of the late Humphry Repton*, the style was merely " ridiculous" .[362] Even Bolton has remarked that it was " essentially false and ended in nothing" .[363] These remarks are misleading in so far as they seem to stress eccentric elements at the expense of the traditional or historic character of the style. Nor it is quite correct to assert that the Adam castles were " completely unlike anything else ever designed by Adam" .[364] Even the most personal creation of the Adam brothers had never broken violently with established traditions. While having strong personal characters, the Adam castles " remained constant to the basic precepts of the Classicism — balance and proportion" .[365] Designing Castle Style buildings, the picturesqueness that the Adam brothers seek for was painterly kind, which, by focusing exclusively on the visual secondary qualities, is independent from the material state innate to external objects. This is to take issue with the general thinking, that the effect of the picturesque on architecture was to set up material irregularity in place of regularity as the essential of design. The Castle Style was essentially an expression of their painterly concern. Behind the introduction of this new style was the consistency of their peculiar interest in the painterly expression of " movement" — which came to its maturity in the castles designed and built in the last two decades of their practice.

Shortly after the death of Robert in 1792, with the intention of publishing a commemoration of Robert, John Clerk of Eldin, a brother-in-law of the Adam brothers, prepared an unpublished essay on architecture along with a short biographical sketch of

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[361] cf. *Ibid.*
[362] Quoted in *Ibid.*
[363] Bolton, *Op. cit.*, vol. I., p.94.
[364] Fleming, *Op. cit.*, 1968, *Country Life*, p.1357.
[365] Rowan, *Op. cit.*, 1965, p.157.

Robert, which survives today in several versions.[366] The essay, which opens with " a short retrospective view" of the state of architecture in Great Britain, was intended to provide " some general account of the Adam style or styles" and " of their genesis and development, together with an assessment of their place in the history of British architecture" .[367] In this, Clerk gives an account of his personal view on the castle style. Clerk, who was a life-long friend of the Adam brothers and married their sister Susan Adam in 1753, is known to have a considerable knowledge of architecture and taste in art. In the 1780s, Robert stayed with Clerk every summer on his visit to Edinburgh. This provided many occasions on which to share their artistic interests and views and to enjoy the most earnest discussions on the problems of architecture. They must have discussed the castle style buildings, since a number of the Adam castles were being built in this period. Clerk's writings, therefore, can be assumed to closely reflect Robert's own ideas at this point.

In the essay, Clerk summarises the transformation of the nature of castles in Britain: " ... during the reign of Henry VIII the government of England began to take a more settled and steady appearance and castles for defence being less necessary they gradually gave way to palaces and houses where there was some attention paid to the convenience and size of apartments with some regularity of design and windows of such dimensions as to admit abundance of light." [368] Despite the change in the nature of buildings, " those palaces and houses were not, however, divested of the principal decorations of the old castle: they were still flanked by towers and surmounted with turrets and battlements, and though their regularity and situation deprived them generally of the picturesque contour of the former yet they continued, from their grandeur and effect, to be pompous and interesting objects." [369] And in his view, " no one ever more completely adopted the spirit of this species of building

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[366] It is said that the idea of publishing the memoirs of Robert Adam occurred to John Clerk shortly after the death of Robert in 1792. For further details, see *Ibid.*, and Fleming, *Op. cit.*, 1968, *Concerning Architecture*, pp.75-84.
[367] cf. Fleming, *Op. cit.*, 1968, *Concerning Architecture*, p.75.
[368] cf. *Ibid.*, p.77.
[369] cf. *Ibid.*, pp.77-8

than Mr. Adam, of which Culzean Castle and that of Thomas Kennedy Esquire at Dulquharran in the shire of Ayr and Lord Hyndford's at Mauldsley in Lanarkshire and many others in this country are incontrovertible proofs".[370]

Of the palaces and houses ornamented in the castle style, " we have here a splendid display in the Heriot's Hospital of this country" , explains Clerk (fig. 85).[371] Fleming has devoted little attention to Heriot's Hospital in this particular context. Although " the general meaning and drift are clear enough" , he asserts that, " only when Clerk associates Adam's late castle-style houses (e.g. Culzean, Dulquharran, and Mauldslie) with the Elizabethan prodigy houses and specifically with that curious and unlovely epigone of Scottish Jacobean architecture, Heriot's Hospital, does he become difficult to follow. For although Heriot's Hospital and, say, Culzean, might be compared in a very loose sense as examples of similar syncretic solutions to the stylistic problems involved in designing a non-classical yet regular and symmetrical secular building, the comparison would be false since the aims and mental processes of the architects were clearly so different. And again, although occasional similarities of detail can be found between Heriot's Hospital and Culzean (e.g. in the turreted stable block of the latter), nevertheless the two buildings have exceedingly little in common either in plan, elevation, or general conception." [372] According to Fleming, "indeed they cannot be intelligibly compared".[373]

As architectural expressions of " movement" , however, the Adam castles and the Heriot's Hospital are comparable. As we have seen, in the early 1760s James had already referred to the significance of Heriot's Hospital, along with Vanbrugh's Blenheim, in his essay " Of the Elevation and its Movement" . When James first discovered the effective display of " movement" at Blenheim in the late spring of 1762 on the occasion of his brief

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[370] cf. *Ibid.*, p.78.
[371] cf. *Ibid.*
[372] cf. *Ibid.*
[373] *Ibid.*

architectural tour in England, it seems that he associated its excellence with that of Heriot's Hospital, with which he was certainly familiar.

The merely decorative use of a castle structure by the Adam brothers had first appeared in a series of landscape compositions by Robert (fig. 86). The motif of a castle, one of Robert's favourite subjects for drawing, commonly consists of a variety of towers, turrets, and battlements — all massive with bare simplicity. Most of the decorative details are abstracted. Adam often drew a castle, as if it had been caught in a diagonal beam of sunlight from a rift in the clouds. By contrasting the broad light and shade, one can grasp the mass, depth, and perspective of the castle. The drawing " Castle beside a river" (fig. 87) is a splendid example, in which the different parts of a magnificent, partly-ruined castle with a variety of towers and turrets display the pictorially pleasing effects of light and shade. The Adam castle set in a landscape composition introduced a number of themes that were later to reappear in the actual proposals in the castle style. Although it remained unbuilt, Robert Adam's design for a ruined castle for Osterley Park, Middlesex, for one, displays those features of fantastic castle structures that he frequently drew in his landscape compositions (fig. 88). In the castle-style designs, which were prepared with the intention of execution, exterior features are grouped and positioned carefully to display " movement" by creating a variety of contour and broad light and shade. The proposal for a ruin-like office court for Brampton Bryan (fig. 89), or the sketch design and perspective drawing for Barnbougle Castle (figs. 90, 91), accepting the disparity in the accuracy of chiaroscuro depiction, all are evidence of the Adam brothers' profound engagement with the dramatic potential of the castle form.

The same is true of the realised projects. A number of their works in the castle style, and in particular the later examples show their inspirational dependence upon Robert Adam's pictorial studies. One of the early examples of the Adam castles is Mellerstain, Berwickshire (fig. 92), of 1770-78, a castle designed for George Baillie of Jerviswood, where the effects

of " movement" are still only moderately displayed. In the garden front, the three shallow projections with the depth of hardly more than a foot made little contribution to creating a pleasing rhythm of the contrast of light and shade on the 17-bay facade. As yet the lack of boldness in the disposition of external forms causes a less striking expression of " movement" . Another early example of the Adam castle style designs, where the quality of " movement" was first systematically employed through the " classical disposition" of different parts of the building, is Wedderburn Castle (fig. 93). Despite the basic rectangular mass of the castle, here a bowed projection and the octagonal turret thrusting forward from each corner add the pleasing variety of light and shade to its elevations.

The stage of maturity of the castle style is inseparable from the degree of " movement" . The success at Wedderburn Castle was taken a step further at Culzean Castle, one of their early mature designs in the castle style. Their first work at Culzean was the south or garden front of 1777, built for the 10th Earl of Cassillis (fig. 94). The " clear debt" of this design to the earlier example of Wedderburn Castle can be observed " not only in the enhanced massing and movement of the facade, but also in the hybrid idiom that combines classical string courses and an arcaded centre with cross slits on the towers and angle bartizans" .[374] The disposition of bold massing and variety of exterior forms reflect their sympathetic inclination towards geometric simplicity. The projecting round towers produce a pleasing rhythm of light and shade on the extended frontage, and create the visual impression of " stimulating liveliness and movement" .[375] The 1787 addition of the circular tower on the north or seashore front, overlooking the Irish Sea, augments the power of massing and consequently gives an additional " movement" to its external appearances (fig. 95). The increase of massiveness, evidently seen in the comparison between the garden and seaside

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[374] Alistair Rowan, " After the Adelphi: Forgotten Years in the Adam Brothers' Practice; William Adam and Company; The Adam Castle Style; Ideal Villas as Projected and Built" , *Royal Society of Arts Journal*, 122, 1974, p.683.
[375] David Watkin, *The English Vision: The Picturesque in Architecture, Landscape and Garden Design*, London, 1982, p97.

fronts, indicates that the brothers had consistently sought effective massing and dramatic display of "movement".

Towards the end of their careers, more polished and striking displays of " movement" had appeared. Seton Castle in East Lothian, designed in 1789 for the Edinburgh lawyer, Alexander Mckenzie, and built between 1790 and 1791, is the last castle completed in Robert's life (fig. 96). It is considered by Fleming to be " the most fully developed and best preserved example of the style" and " finest" of the Adam castles, and presumably the best example of design for " movement" . Despite its compact scale, the strong impression of " movement" is fully displayed through careful disposition of different parts of the building. The castle, supervised by Robert himself " over every stage of the construction" ,[376] consists of the massive main block with rhythmical alternate projections of round and rectangular towers and turrets and a solid wall with square detached blocks. By introducing effective massing — the succession of massive round and rectangular projections — the elevations have remarkable sculptural qualities and create dynamic effects of " movement." Seton Castle is, explains Rowan: " indeed the embodiment of that whole principle of 'rise and fall,' 'advance and recess,' on which the Adams rightly claimed to have based so much of their architecture. ... The elements are old, but the conception is quite new and the effect is startling and novel."[377]

Seton Castle is an example of the most polished adaptation of Roman precedent to British eighteenth century residential buildings. The sympathetic inclination towards the Roman legacy (especially its bold disposition of massing and simplicity) is evident in the way in which the strong sense of solidity is expressed. The idea behind the design coincides with John Clerk's contention that the correct castle style needs the strength and sense of magnificence which can be obtained in Britain from the remains of the Roman occupation

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[376] Fleming, *Op. cit.*, 1968, *Concerning Architecture*, p.79.
[377] Rowan, *Op. cit.*, 1965, pp.161-2.

— that is, primarily the Roman walls. At Seton, the Adam brothers must have looked back to Roman-related examples for their stylistic sources of inspirations — most likely to Roman military architecture. The executed elevations are highly developed variations of the Roman wall, which parallel Robert Adam's inventive restorations of the ruins of the Diocletian's palace, prepared for and published in the *Ruins ... at Spalatro* of 1764 (fig. 97).[378]

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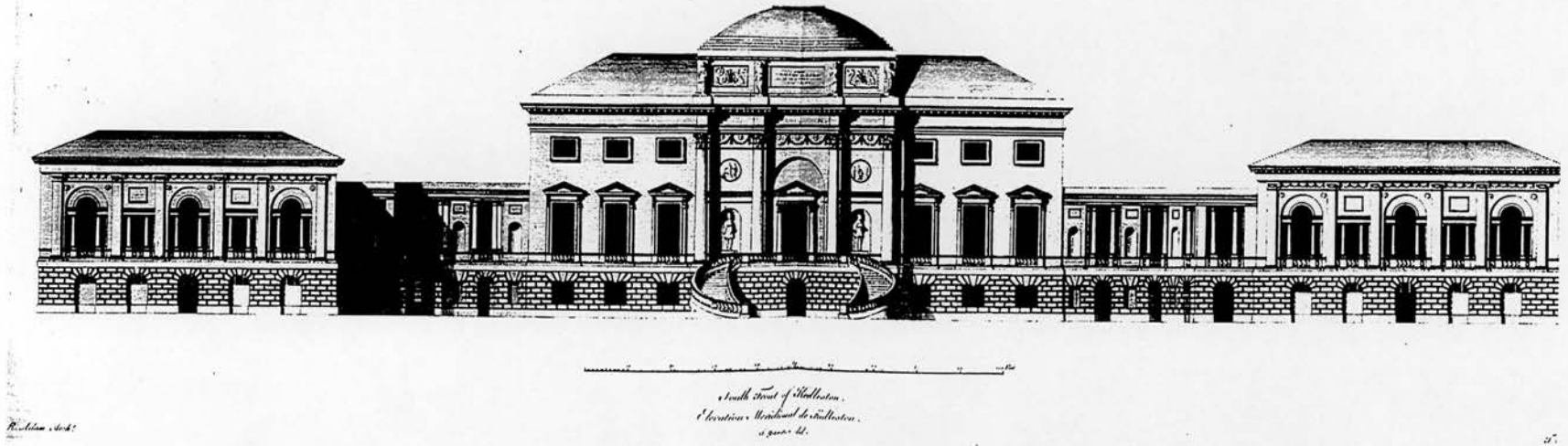
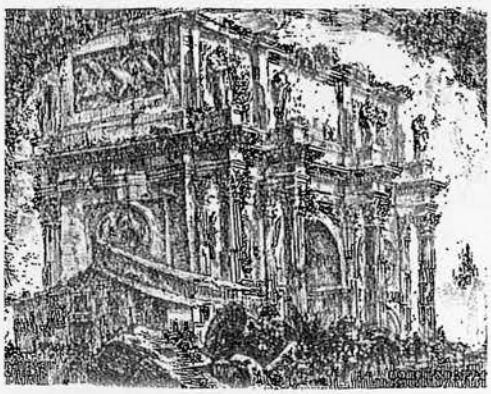
[378] See Fleming, *Op. cit.*, 1968, *Country Life*, p.1359, and Fleming, *Op. cit.*, 1968, *Concerning Architecture*, p.84.



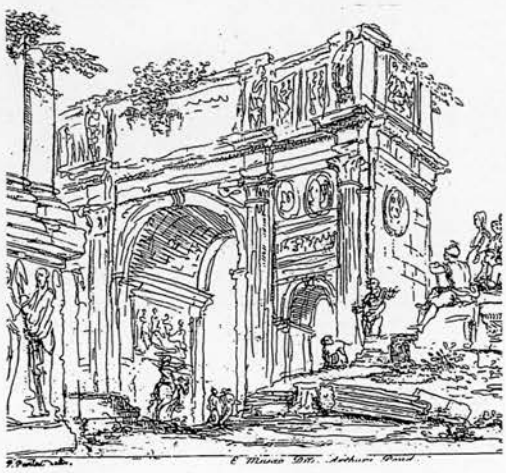
60. Kedleston Hall; elevation of the south front.

61. JAMES PAINE, Kedleston Hall; elevation of the south front.

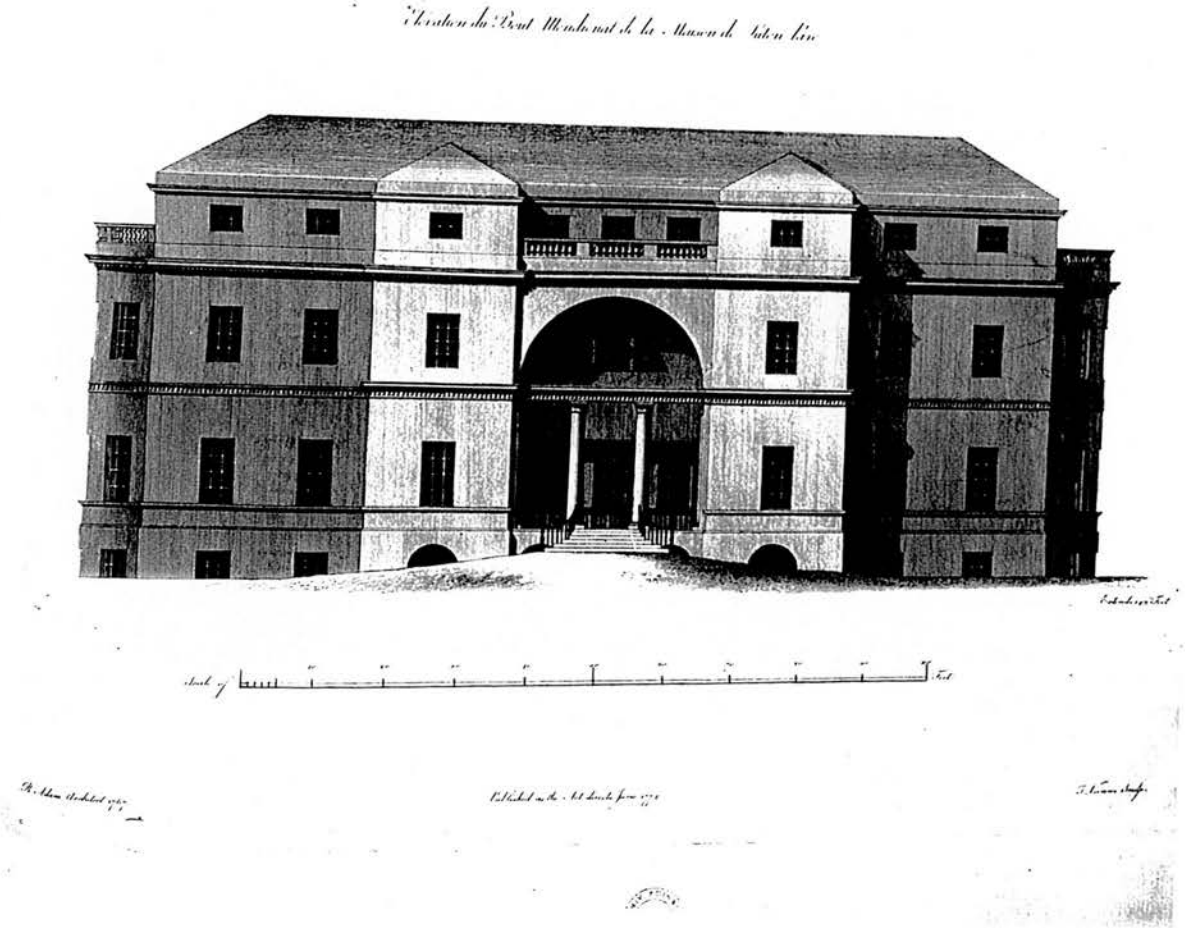
62. Kedleston Hall; the centre of the south front.



63. GIOVANNI BATTISTA PIRANESI,
Arch of Constantine in Rome.

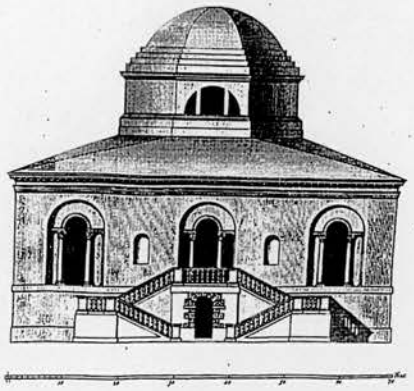


64. ROBERT ADAM,
Arch of Constantine in Rome.

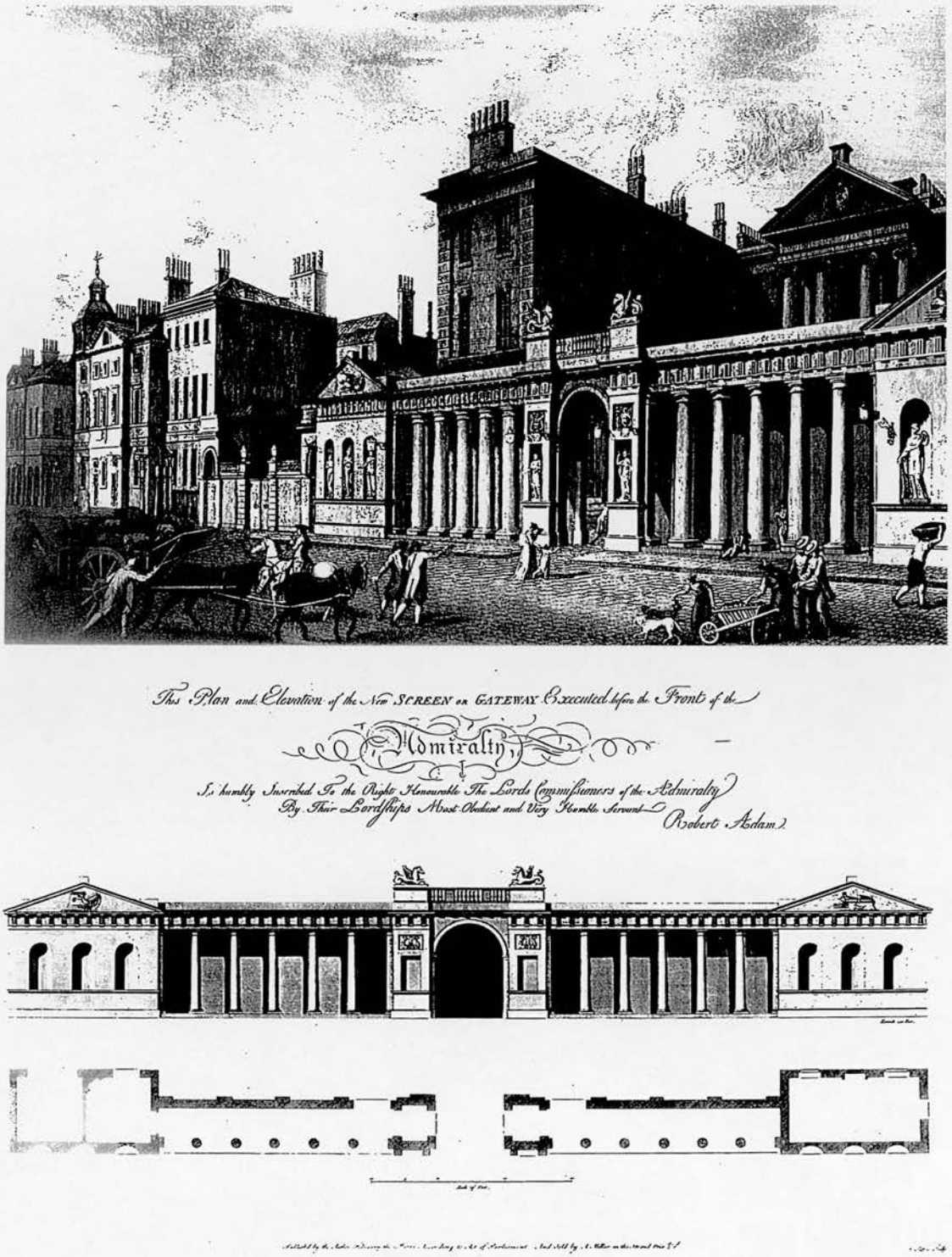


65. Luton Hoo; elevation of the south front.

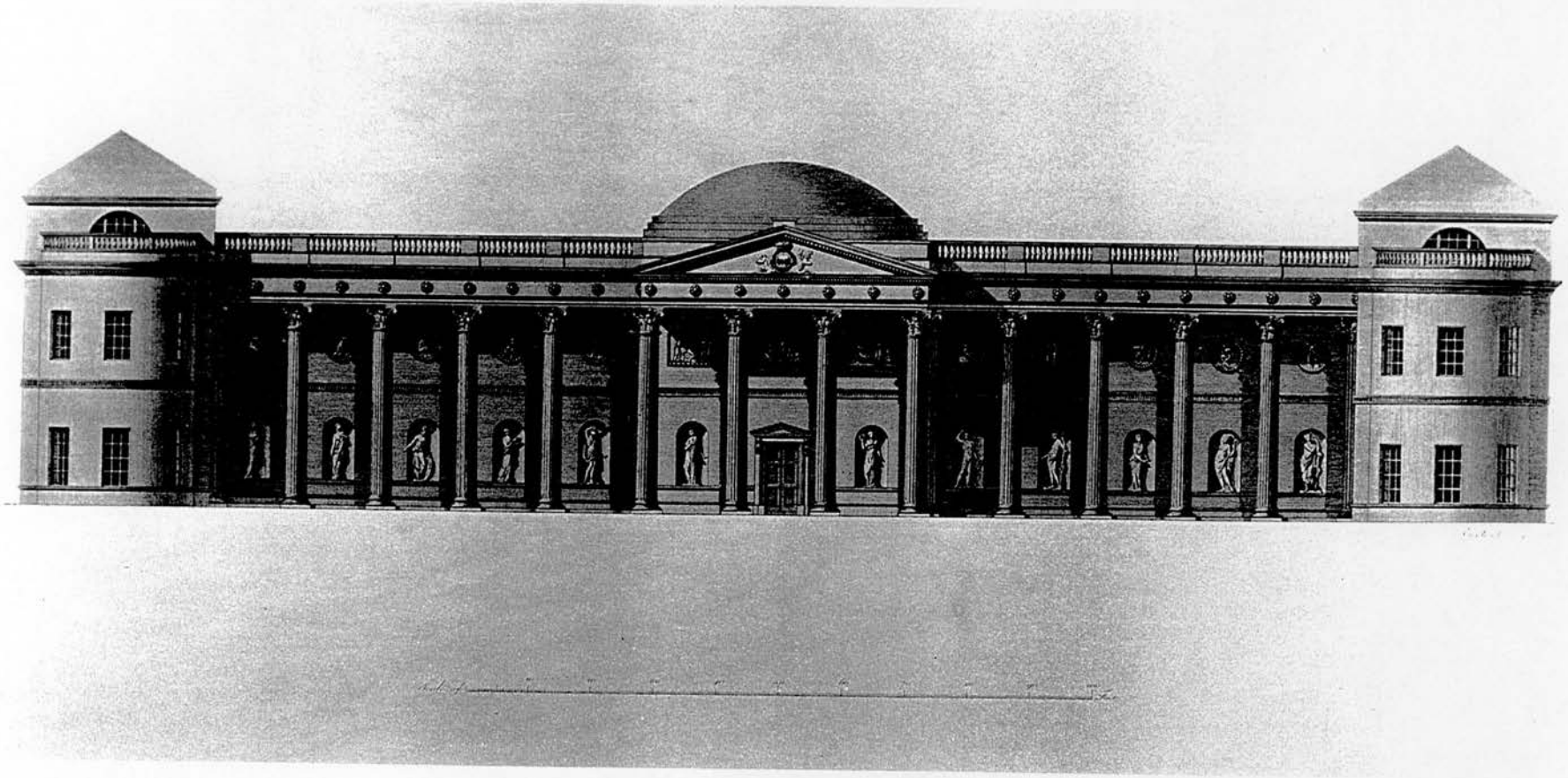
66. Gosford House; elevation of the garden front.



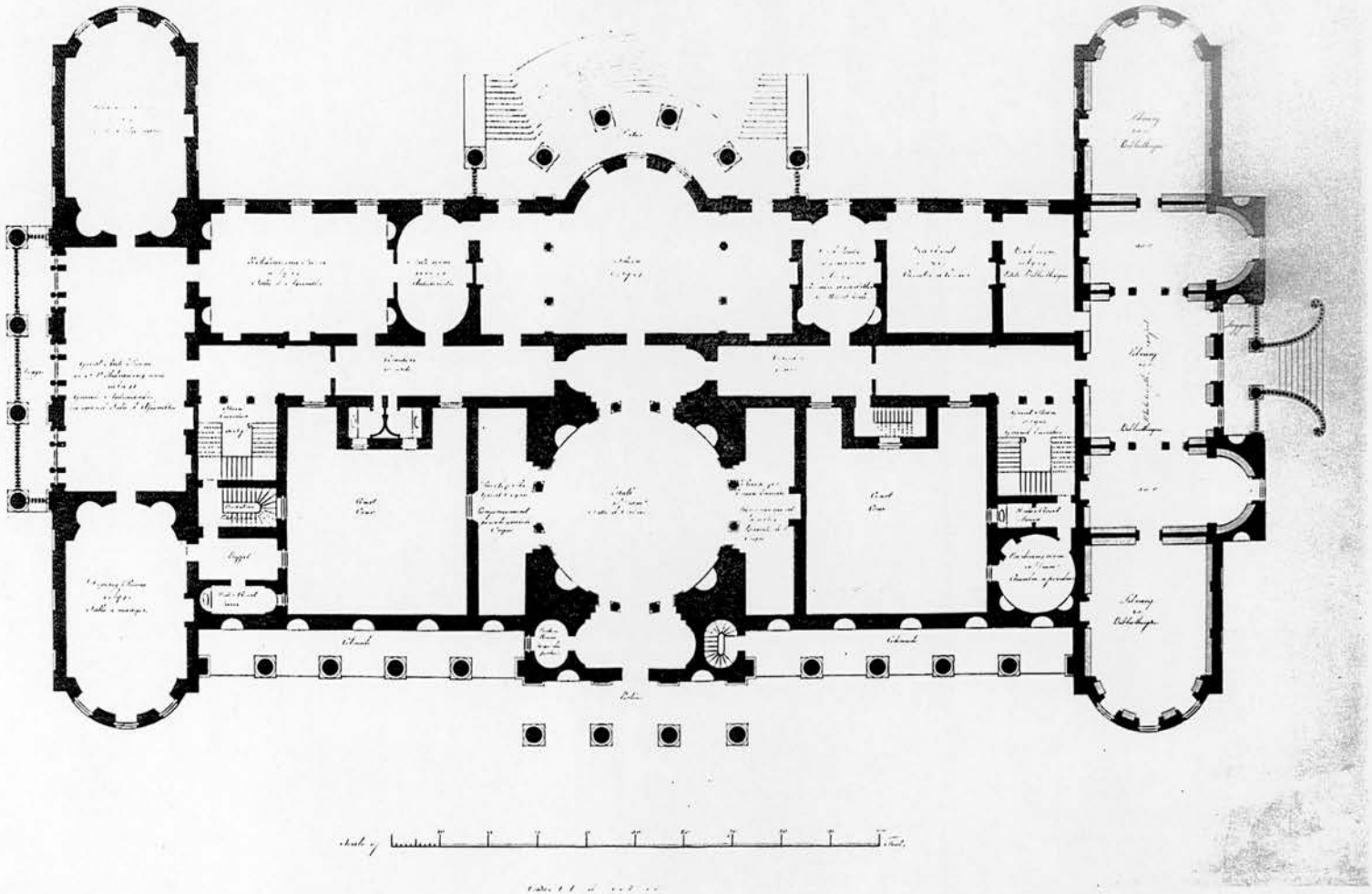
67. LORD BURLINGTON, Chiswick; elevation of the garden front.



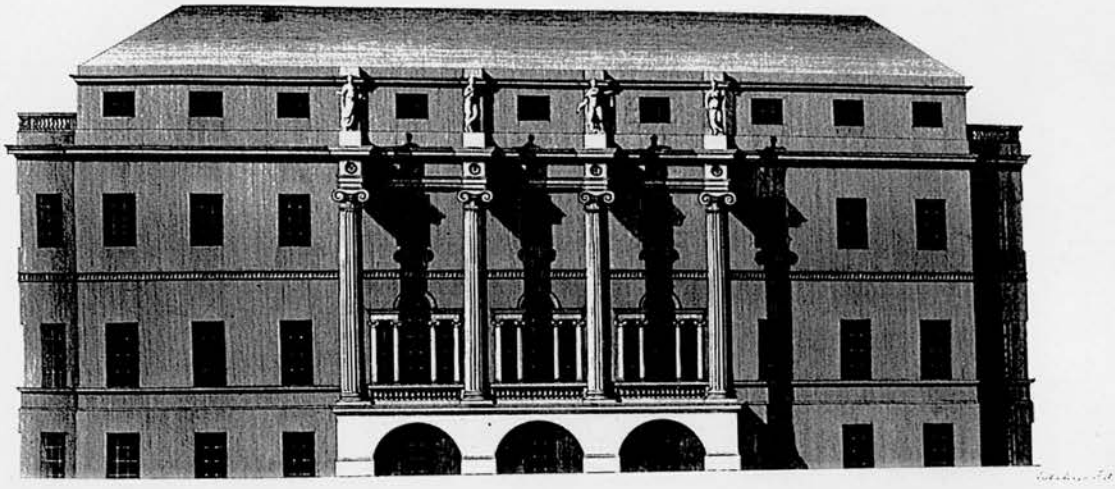
68. The Admiralty; view, elevation and plan of the screen.



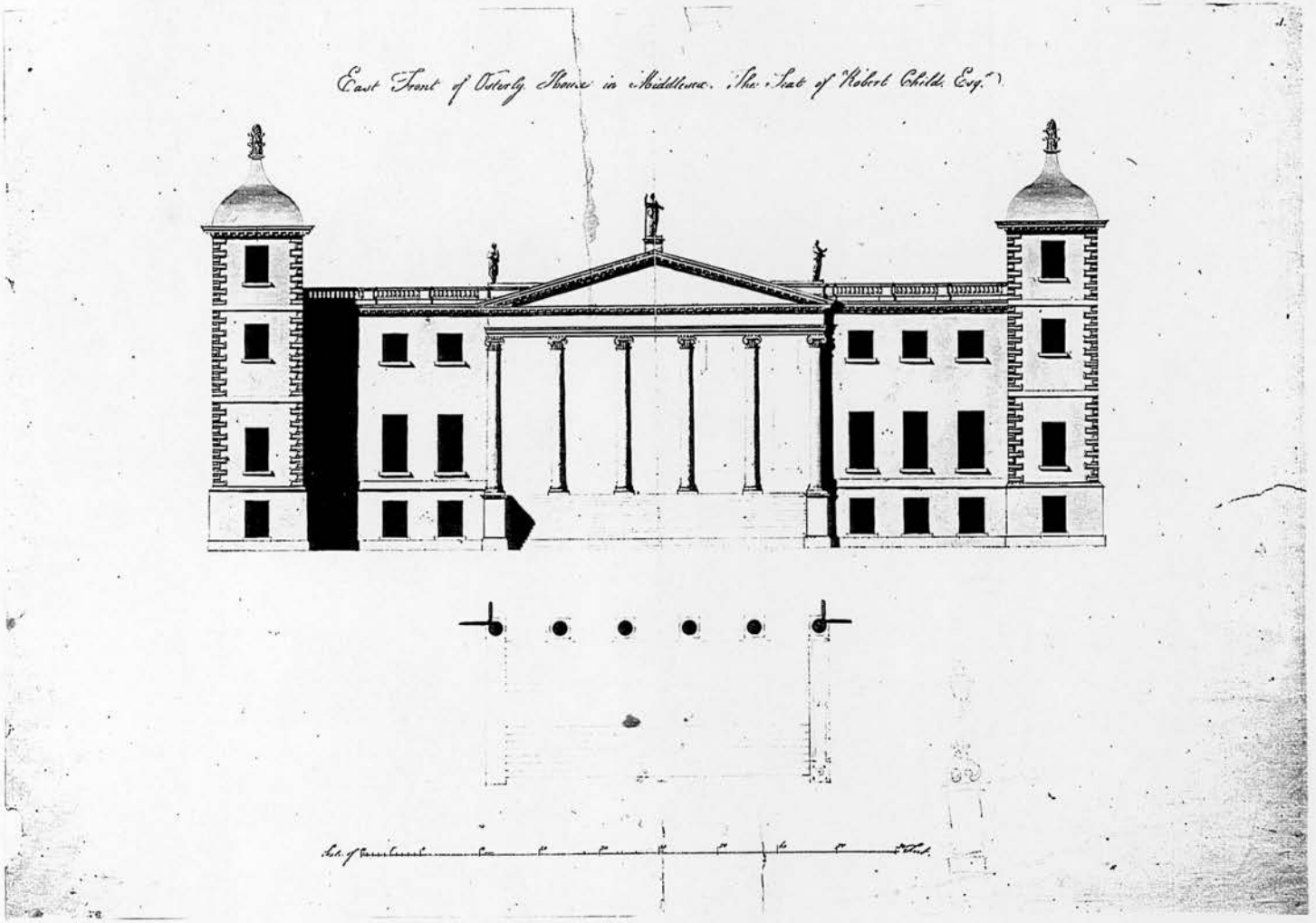
69. Luton Hoo; elevation of the principal or west front.



70. Luton Hoo; plan of the principal floor.

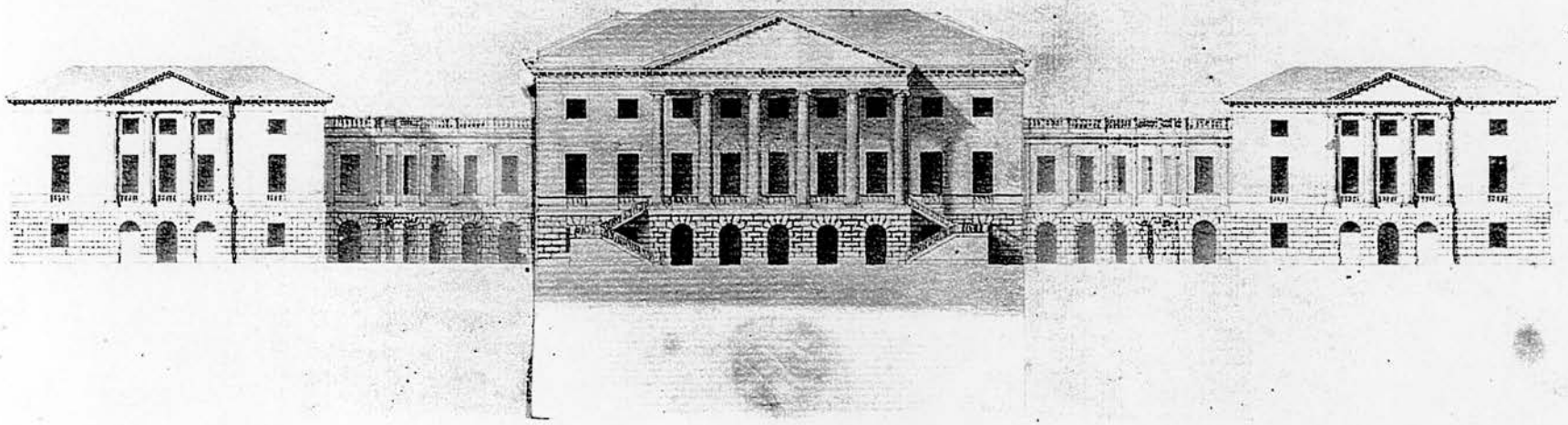


71. Luton Hoo; elevation of the north front.

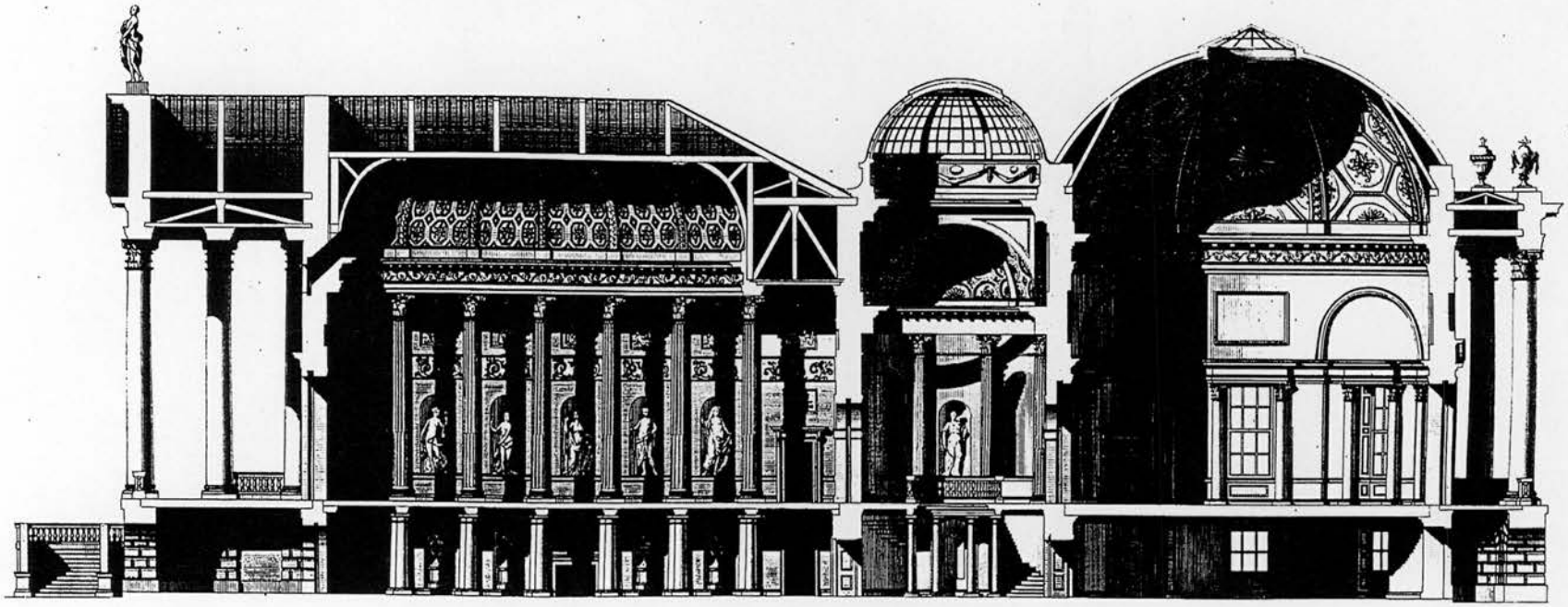


72. Osterley; elevation of the east front.

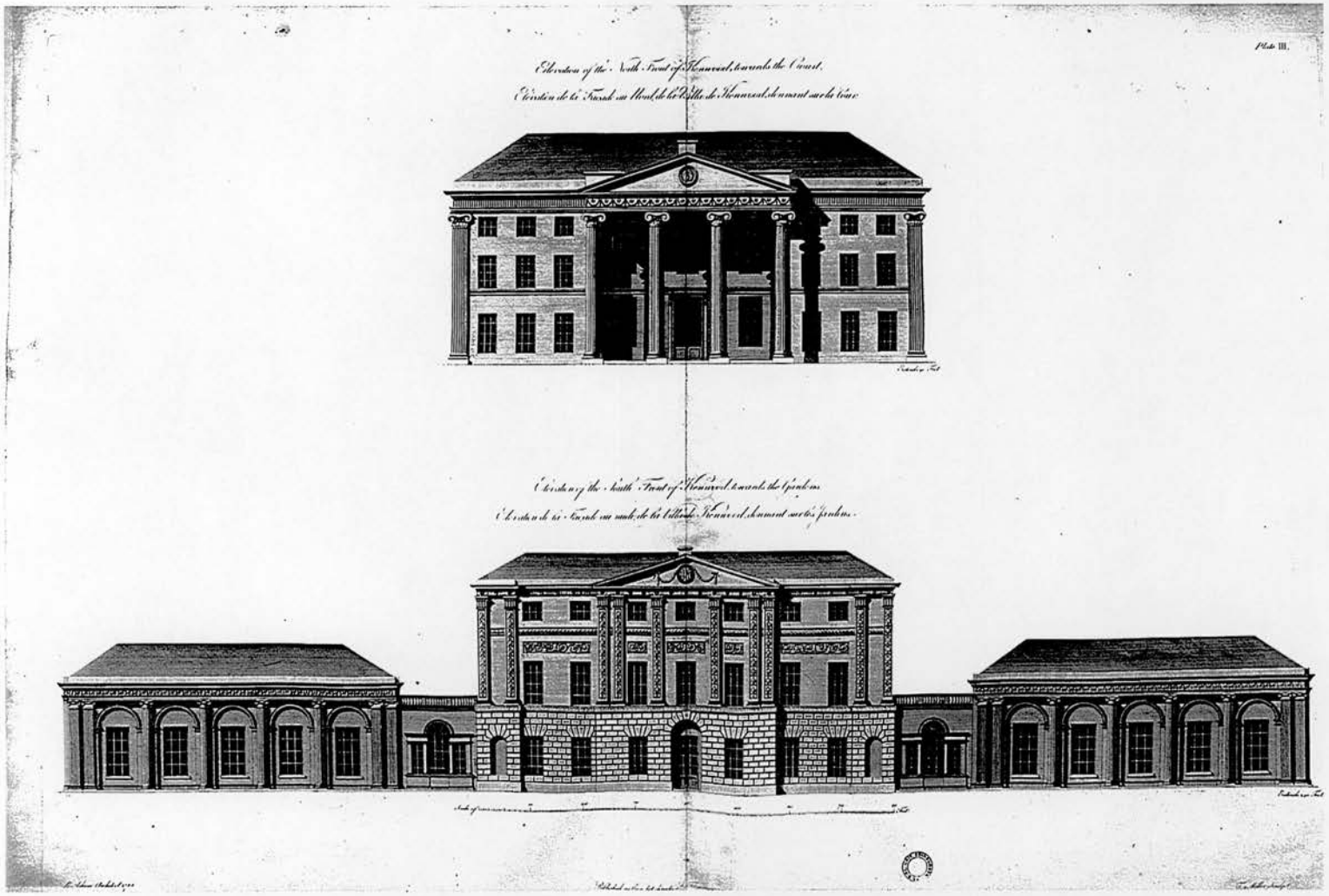
73. Kedleston Hall; elevation of the north front.



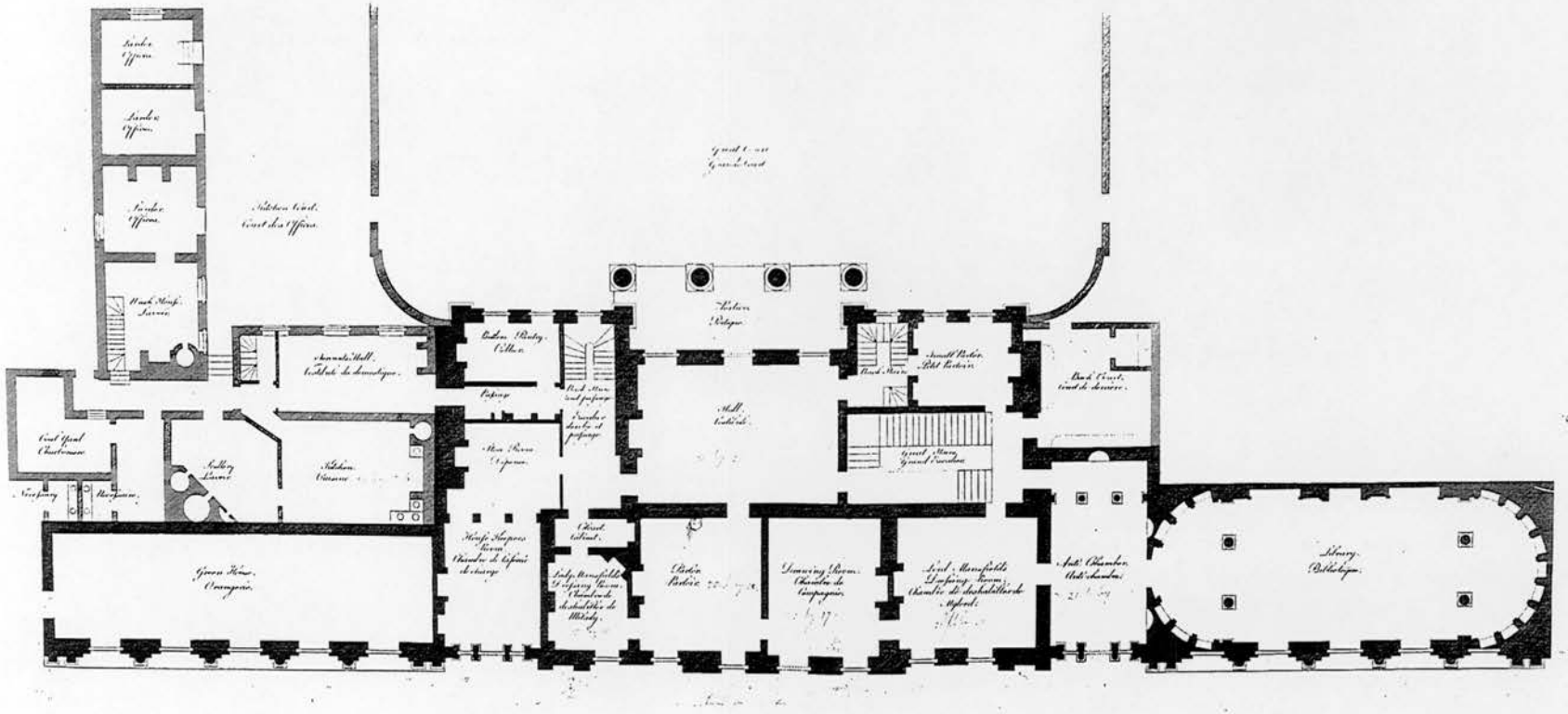
74. JAMES PAINE, Kedleston Hall; elevation of the north front.



75. JAMES PAINE, Kedleston Hall; section of the marble hall and saloon.

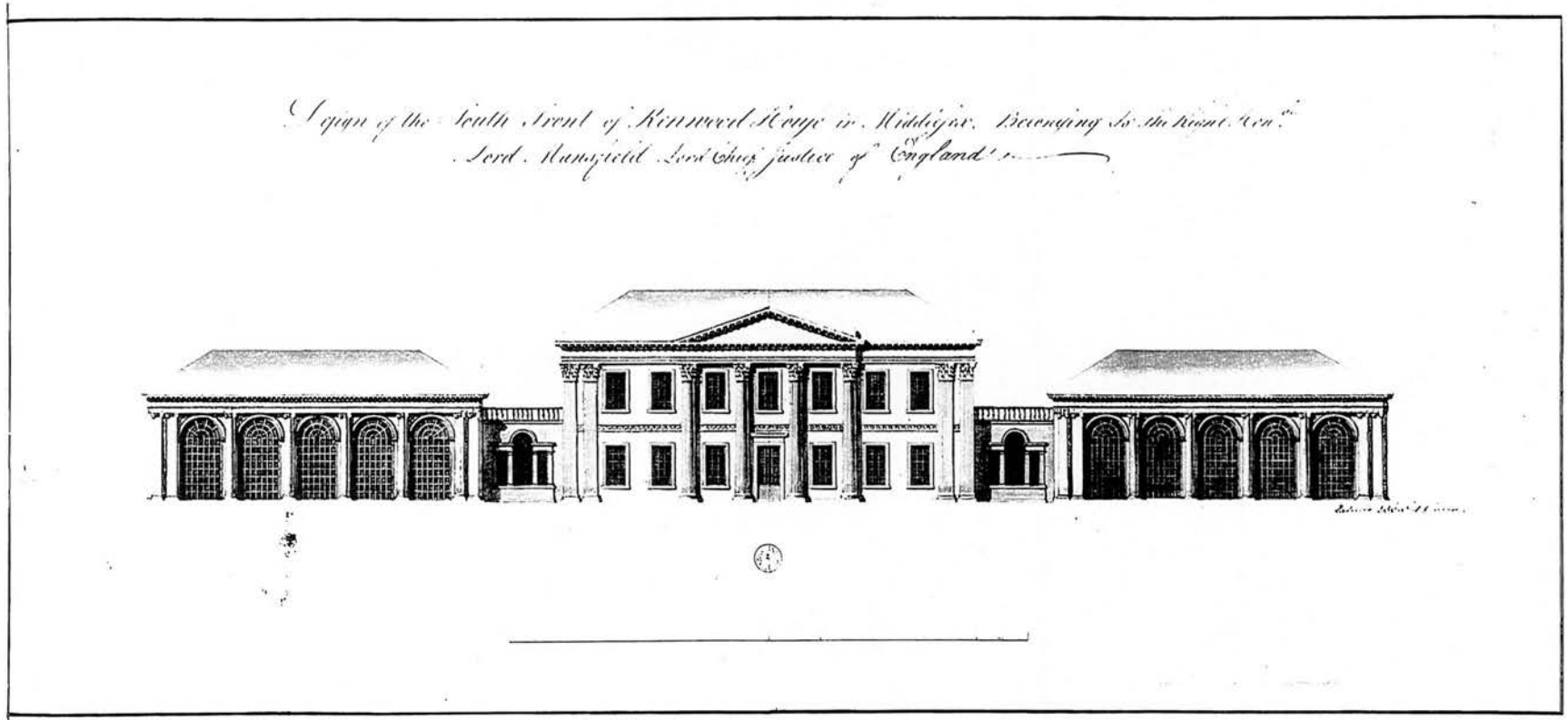


76. Kenwood; elevations of the north and south fronts.

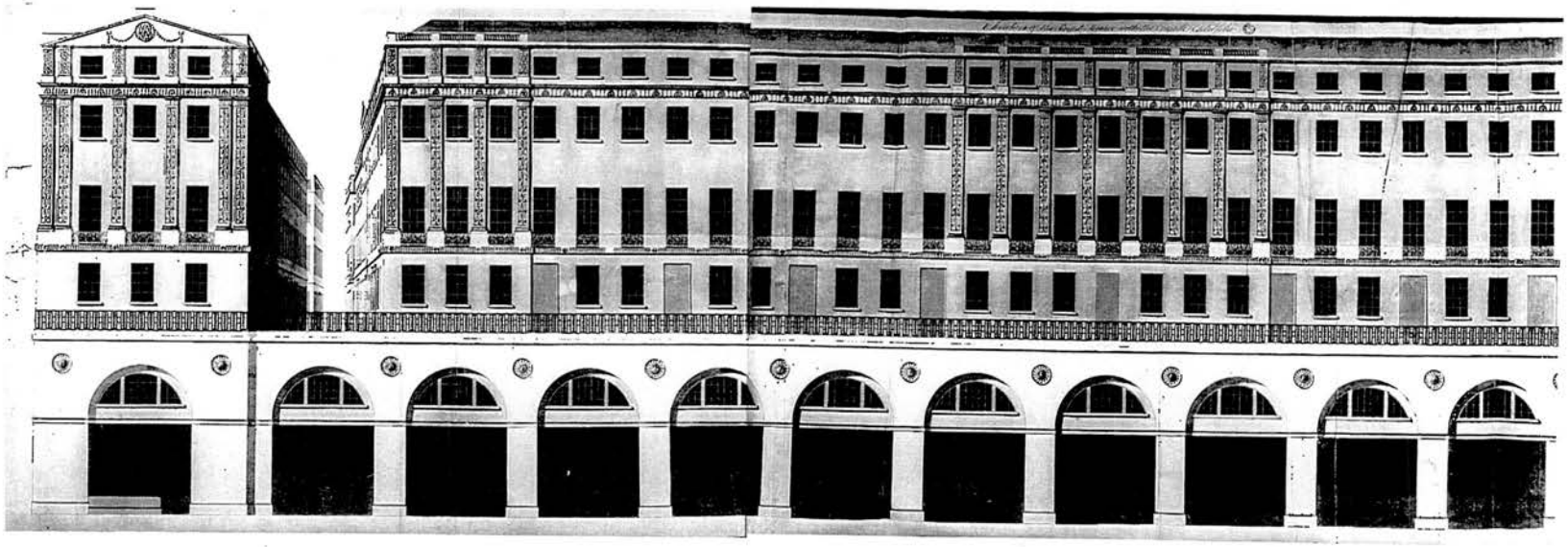


77. Kenwood; plan of the principal floor.

78. Kenwood; view of the terrace.

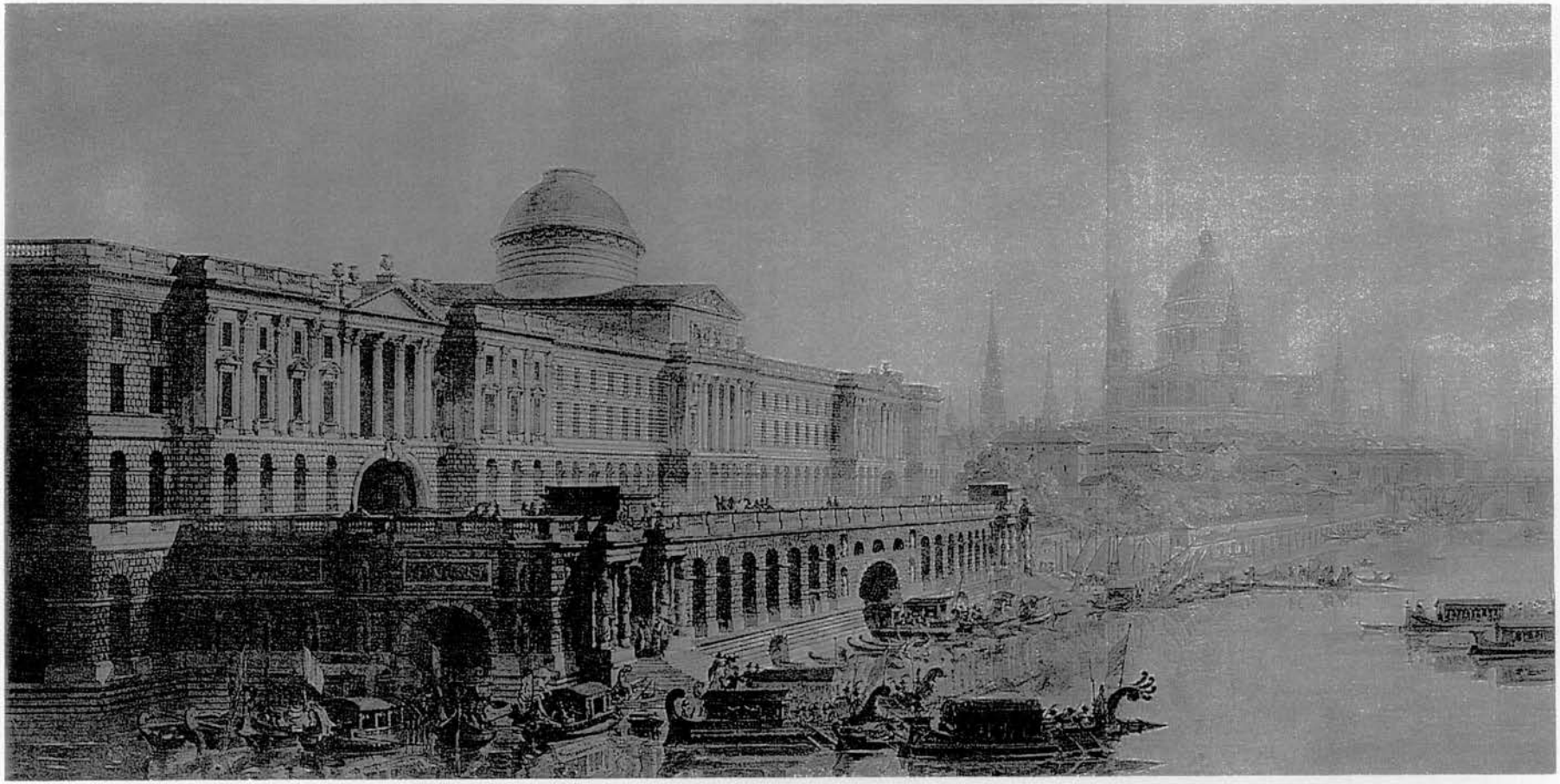


79. JAMES ADAM, Kenwood; elevation of the garden front.

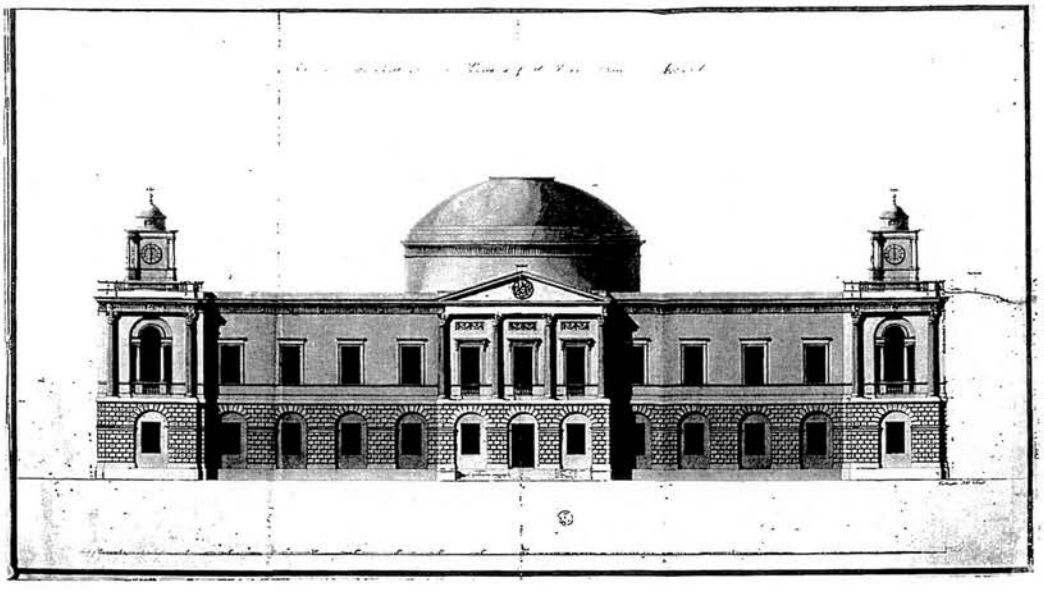


80. The Adelphi; elevation of the river front.

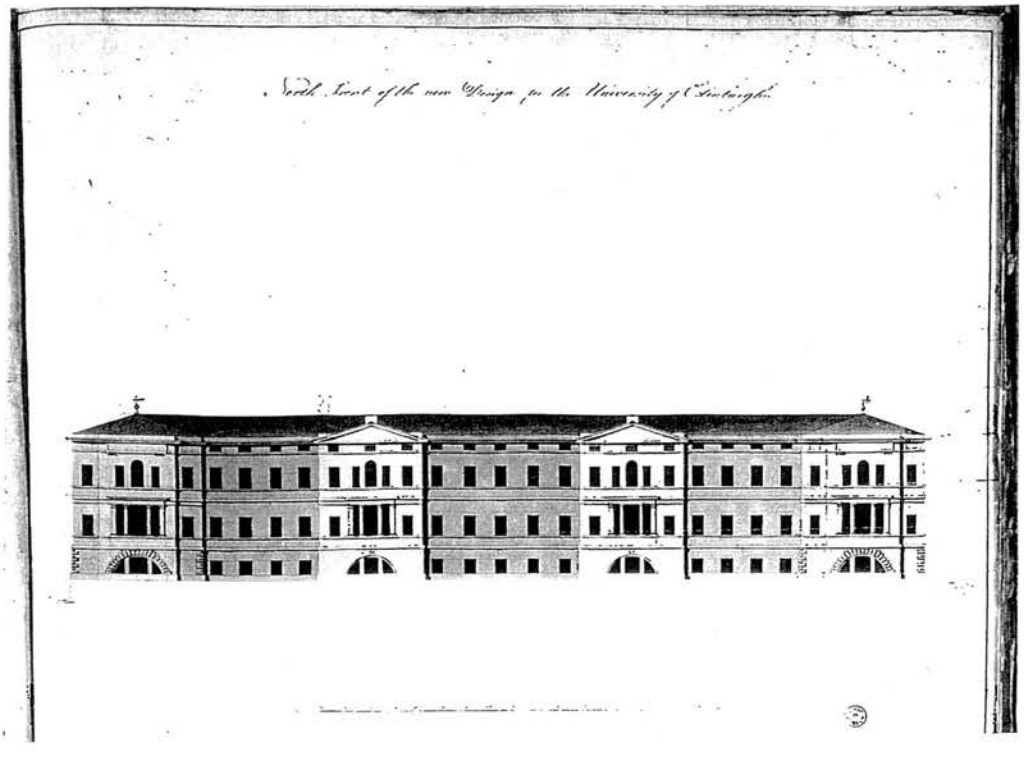
81. THOMAS MALTON, a view of the Royal Terrace of the Adelphi, 1795.



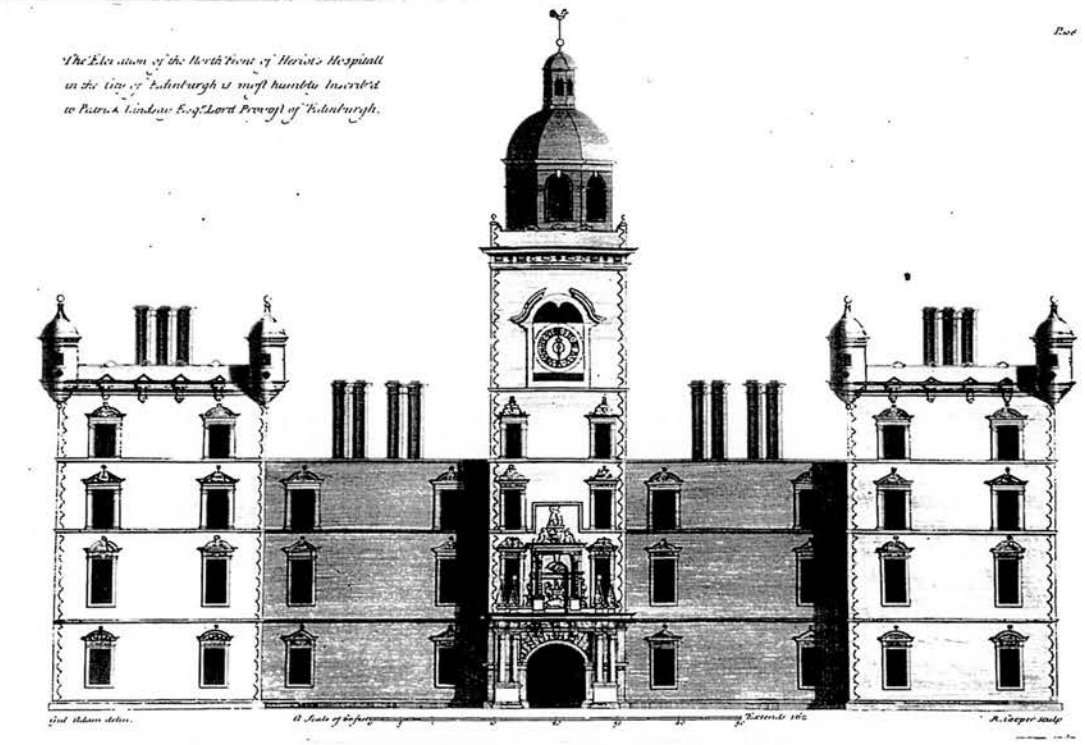
82. WILLIAM CHAMBERS, Somerset House, painted by Jean-Louis Desprez.



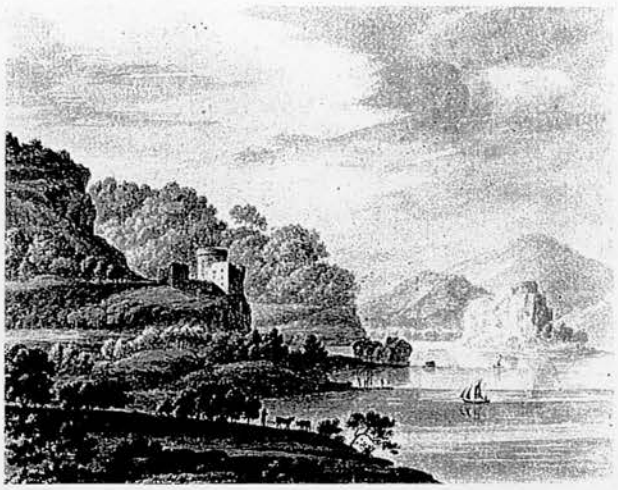
83. Register House; elevation of the south front.



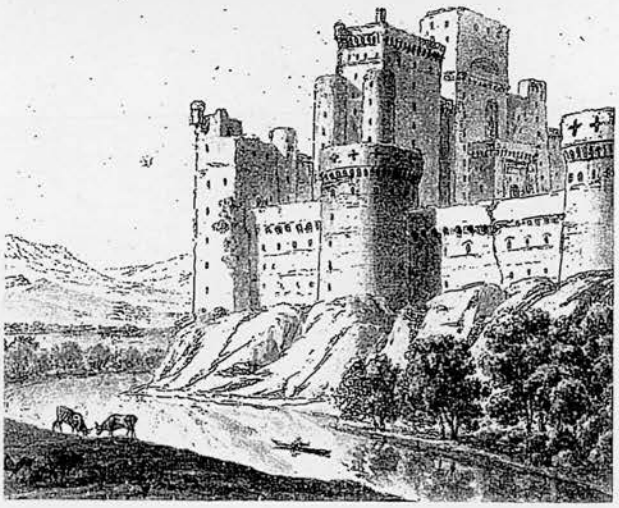
84. Edinburgh University; elevation of the north front.



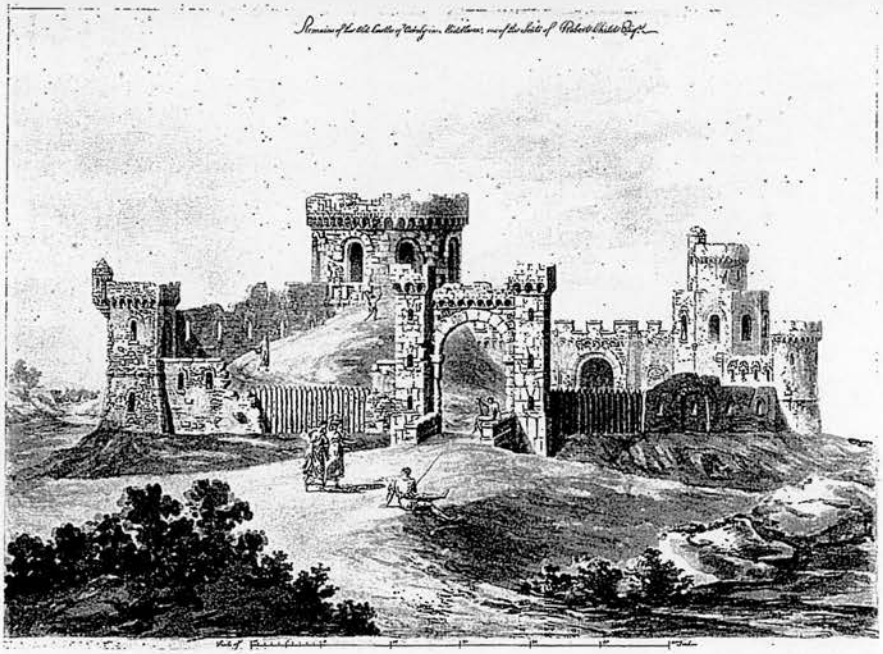
85. WILLIAM WALLACE, WILLIAM AYTON, ROBERT MYLNE, et al., Heriot's Hospital; elevation of the north front.



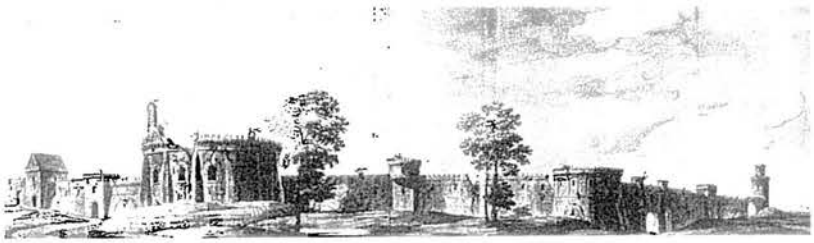
86. ROBERT ADAM, romantic composition.



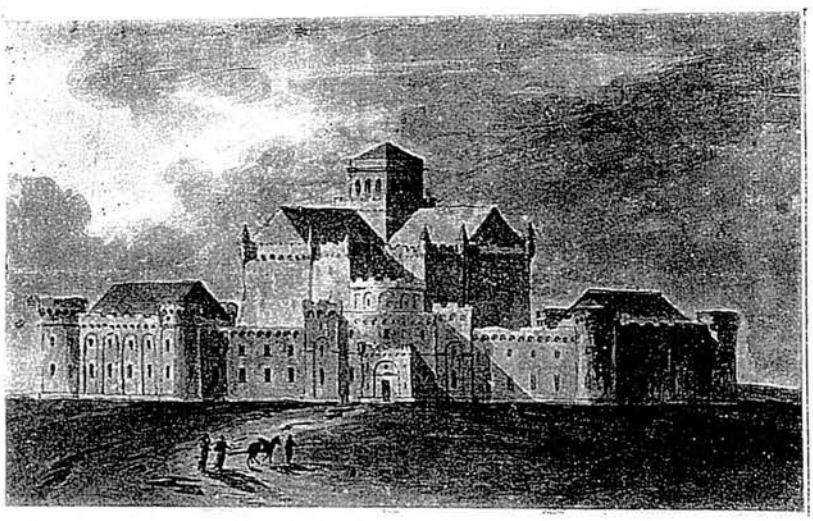
87. ROBERT ADAM, castle beside river.



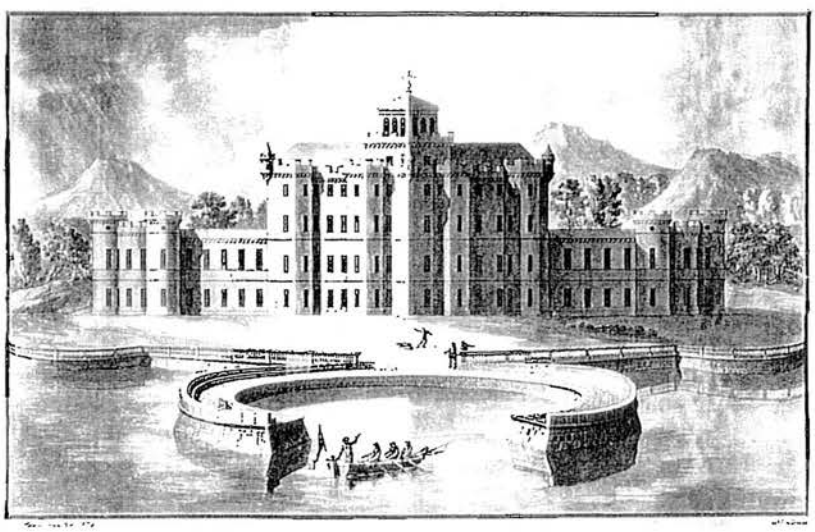
88. ROBERT ADAM, remains of the Old Castle of Osterley in Middlesex.



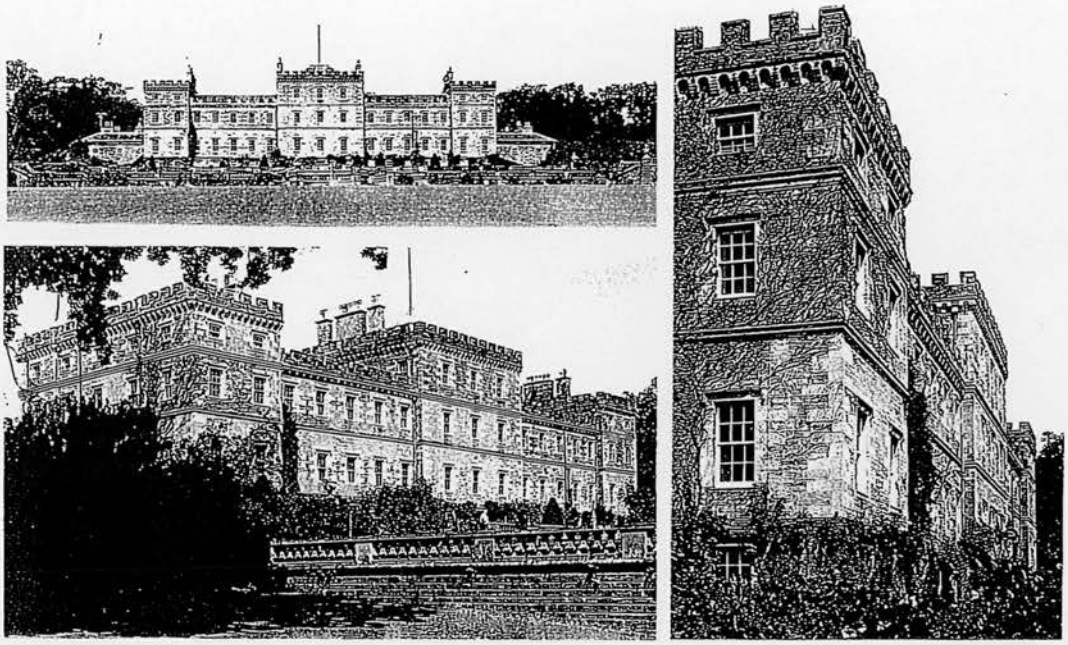
89. ROBERT ADAM, a proposal for a ruin-like office court for Bramrton Bryan.



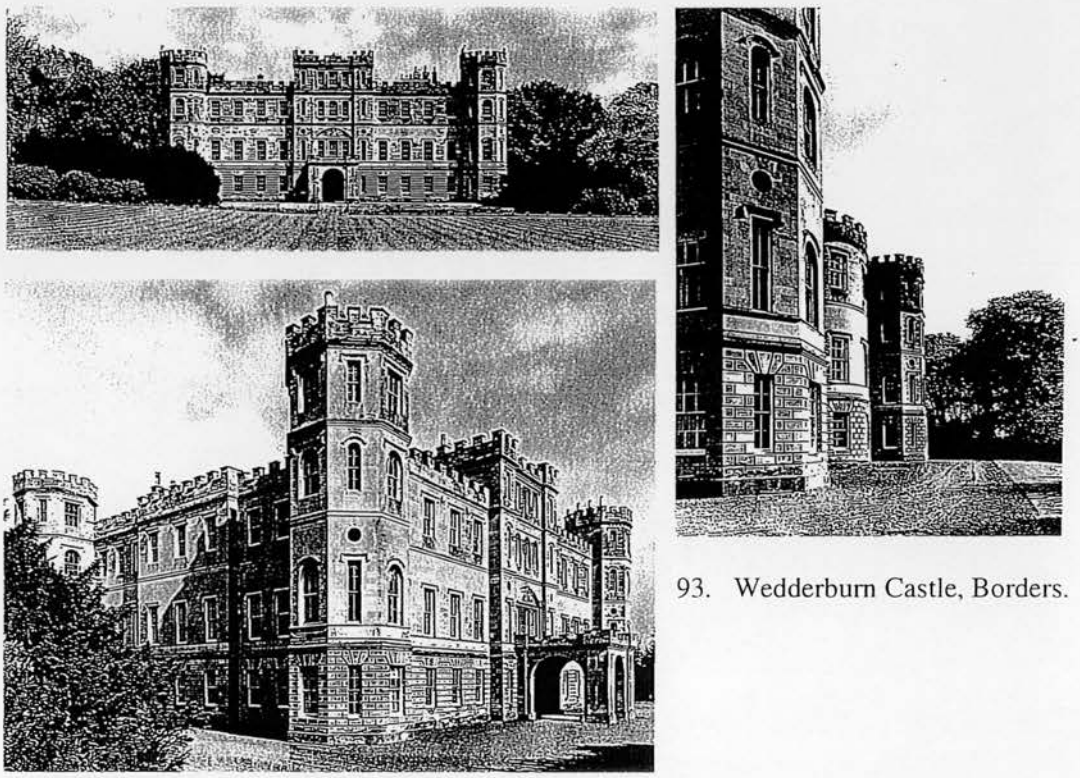
90. ROBERT ADAM, Barnbougle Castle; sketch design.



91. ROBERT ADAM, Barnbougle Castle; perspective drawing.



92. Mellerstaine, Berwickshire.

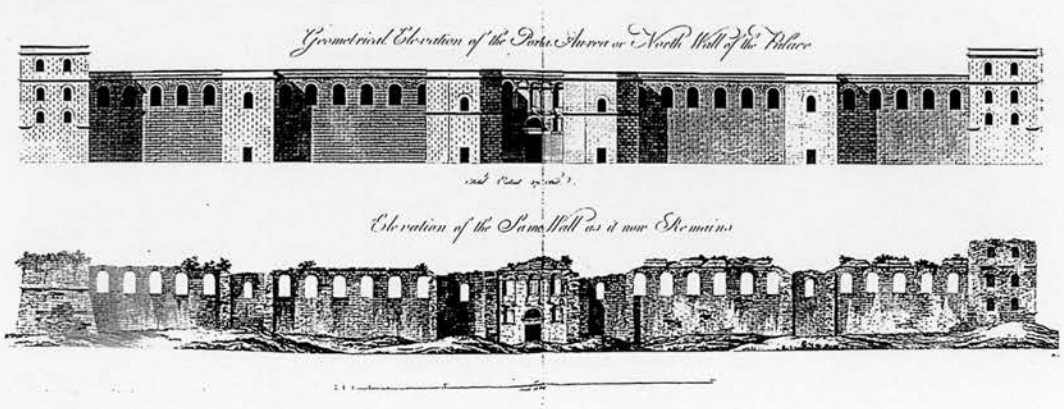


93. Wedderburn Castle, Borders.

94. Culzean Castle; elevation of the garden front.

95. Culzean Castle; view of the seaside front.

96. Seton Castle; elevation of the south front.



97. Elevation of the east wall, with restoration, of the Diocletian's palace. From *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia*, 1764.

CHAPTER VI

CIVIC IMPROVEMENT IN ENLIGHTENMENT EDINBURGH

I

THE ADAM FAMILY AND THE IMPROVEMENT OF CIVIC SOCIETY

In the mid-eighteenth century, Edinburgh, a densely populated medieval town contained by defensive walls, was confronted with economic growth, an increase in population, and the necessity of town re-organisation.[379] Part of the background to this was the Union between the Scottish and English Parliaments in 1707, the anticipated economic benefits of which finally began to pay off for Edinburgh in the second half of the century. With the emergence of new money, the city was in a position to start addressing the problem of the increase in population, and the city authorities were motivated to improve their living conditions in the city. Now in the flowering of the Scottish Enlightenment, of which Edinburgh was the centre, they would provide a city suitable for the newly affluent society of Scotland.[380] An analytical survey of the city environment was conducted by the Town Council,[381] and commissioners charged with proposing necessary public works in the city were appointed in 1753.[382] In 1752, Sir Gilbert Elliot, one of the appointed city

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[379] For further details of the economic progress in Scotland after 1750, see T. C. Smout, " Where had the Scottish economy got to by the third quarter of the eighteenth century?" , *Wealth and Virtue: The Shaping of Political Economy in the Scottish Enlightenment*, eds. Istvan Hont and Michael Ignatieff, Cambridge University Press, 1983, pp.45-72.

[380] cf. A. J. Youngson, " The City of Reason and Nature" , *Edinburgh in the Age of Reason*, Edinburgh University Press, 1967, pp.15-22.

[381] The survey and demolition of defective tenements in the Old Town were conducted by the Town Council of Edinburgh, after the collapse of part of a tenement in 1751.

[382] Town Council of Edinburgh appointed 33 Commissioners in 1753 for proposing necessary public works in the Town. Of the members, see, Ian D Grant, " Edinburgh's

commissioners, produced the *Proposals for carrying on certain public works in the city of Edinburgh*. In this, he insists: " Let us improve and enlarge this city, and possibly the superior pleasures of LONDON, which is at a distance, will be compensated, at least in some measure, by the moderate pleasure of EDINBURGH, which is at home." [383] He felt convinced that the improvement of the city was expected to bring nothing but advantages to Scotland: " The national advantages which a populous capital must necessarily produce, are obvious" , he insisted. The explanation which Elliot gives in the *Proposal* is an unequivocal one: " A great concourse of people brought within a small compass, occasions a much greater consumption than the same number would do dispersed over a wide country. As the consumption is greater so it is quicker and more discernible. Hence follows a more rapid circulation of money and other commodities, the great spring which gives motion to general industry and improvement. The examples set by the capital, the nation will soon follow. The certain consequence is, general wealth and prosperity: the number of useful people will increase; the rents of land rise; the public revenue improve; and, in the room of sloth and poverty, will succeed industry and opulence." [384]

Elliot' s advocacy of the improvement and enlargement of the city seems to have been partly related to his loyalty to his country. " Whoever is warmed with a sincere concern for the prosperity of his country, will cheerfully contribute to so national an undertaking," Elliot writes in his *Proposals.*[385] He was totally convinced that, " ... it is in prosecution of greater objects, that the leading men of a country ought to exert their power and influence." [386] " What greater object can be presented to their view, than that of enlarging, beautifying, and improving the capital of their native country? What can redound more to their own honour?

Expansion: The Background to the New Town" , *James Craig 1744-1795*, eds. Kitty Cruft and Andrew Fraser, Mercat Press, Edinburgh, 1995, p.23., Appendix " Improvement Commissioners, 1753".

[383] Gilbert Elliot, " Proposals for carrying on certain public works in the city of Edinburgh", *The Scots Magazine*, vol. xiv., August, 1752, p.378.

[384] *Ibid.*

[385] *Ibid.*, p.379.

[386] *Ibid.*, p.380.

what prove more beneficial to SCOTLAND, and by consequence to UNITED BRITAIN?" he asks.[387]

In Edinburgh, taking concrete examples, the Royal Infirmary, the Merchants' Exchange, the North Bridge, the Bridewell project[388], the General Register House and the new building for the University were planned and executed in succession. While the conception of building these institutions was motivated by such Enlightenment ideas as order, elegance, rationality, progress, and improvement, their functions responded to the practical improvement of legal, political, cultural and educational standards in the enlightened society. The Adam brothers and their Edinburgh-based family practice, which happened to be at the zenith of their prosperity throughout the century, seized this golden opportunity to design many of these projects.

William Adam was the architect for the Edinburgh Royal Infirmary (fig. 98). In 1738, he produced a design based on a U-shaped plan, which is considered to be the earliest British example of a hospital building of this kind.[389] It had in total 288 beds for patients on four floors, with an operating theatre in the centre of the building on the top. It was designed to be used not only for clinical purposes, but also as " an observatory and, on Sundays, as a chapel — a peculiarly Scottish Enlightenment response to the established practice of locating an altar, chapel or church at the centre of the hospital as an expression of cosmic unity" .[390] The practicality of the clinical function of the design was before long to become the prototype for medical institutions in eighteenth- century Britain.

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[387] *Ibid.*
[388] On the Bridewell project, see Thomas A Markus, " Buildings for the Sad, the Bad and the Mad in Urban Scotland, 1780-1830" , *Order in Space and Society: Architectural Form and its Context in the Scottish Enlightenment*, ed. Thomas A Markus, Edinburgh, 1982, pp.25-114.
[389] Thomas A. Markus, " Buildings and the Ordering of Minds and Bodies" , *Philosophy and Science in the Scottish Enlightenment*, ed. Peter Jones, Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1988, p.179.

Under the vigorous instigation of Lord Provost Drummond, the design for the Merchants' Exchange was commissioned in 1752 to John Adam, who had succeeded William's role in the family practice after William's death in 1748 (fig. 99). Although the adaptation of John's design was announced in August 1753, when the final plan was signed in June 1754, it was not entirely by the hand of John Adam, but was accompanied by detail modifications made by John Fergus, one of the actual contractors of the Merchants' Exchange.[391] The building, with a U-shaped, pedimented courtyard entrance front, was completed in 1761.

For Robert and James Adam, who could not get any major public commission in London, in clear contrast to their life-long rival Sir William Chambers, the series of the major public commissions in Edinburgh provided them with excellent opportunities to show their design ability for public buildings. In this respect, Robert and James Adam were certainly the architects of the Enlightenment. Among the number of realised and unrealised works by Robert and James in Edinburgh, the Bridewell project, the Register House, Edinburgh University, and the proposal for the Parliament building are notable examples of functions closely related with the ideas of the Enlightenment, namely the "order" and "improvement" in society.

The building type whose function is most clearly related to the concept of achieving order and social control in an enlightened society was an institution for punishment and rehabilitation. In 1782, Lord Provost D. Steuart and A. Cockburn had published their proposal for a new prison and Bridewell in their *General Heads of a Plan for Erecting a New Prison and Bridewell in the City of Edinburgh*. It was these "endeavours" that John Howard referred to in the third edition of his *The State of the Prisons*, which appeared in

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[390] *Ibid.*, p.183.
[391] For further details of James Adam's design and the modification made by John Fergus, see John Gifford, Colin McWilliam and David Walker, *Edinburgh: the Buildings of Scotland*, Penguin Books, 1984, pp.176-8.

1784.[392] Howard visited Scotland three times, in 1779, 1782 and 1783; and it was probably in 1783 that he found the best endeavours by " the later Lord Provost, Mr. Steuart" responding to the necessity for a new prison in Edinburgh. Admitting that there were a number of points that had to be improved in the proposed prisons in Edinburgh, he did not elaborate his observation and commentary on these points, because he found that Steuart was exerting all his efforts to set up new scheme which would alternatively involve better regulations and humane conditions.

In 1791, Robert and James won the competition for the Bridewell, which was to be built on Carlton Hill (fig. 100). The first two submissions were grand designs based on palatial courtyard planning with two ancillary institutions, a Bedlam and an infirmary. Within a short period, the Adam brothers prepared three more designs of semi-circular plans, the third of which was to be adapted for execution with further alteration. The last three designs were prepared in line with the idea of Jeremy Bentham who had invented a panoptic space system suitable for the purpose of the penitentiary facility.[393] The primary importance of a series of designs prepared by the Adam brothers was the panoptic spatial interrelation between a semicircle of cells for day and night use and a central inspection tower for continuous, twenty-four hour surveillance. In the scheme, which was eventually built, however, some of the essentials of Bentham's notion were no longer present: " the peripheral, single cells are now for sleeping only; they are separated from the larger, day (work) rooms by a corridor" [394] and the day rooms prevented night-time surveillance of the cells from the central tower. This departure from Bentham's notion later led to a

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[392] John Howard, *The State of the Prisons*, 3rd edition, 1784. *The State of the Prisons* was a first systematic survey of prisons in Britain and Europe. For quotations from this book, I used the Ernst Rhys edition, published in 1929 by J.M. Dent & Sons, London.
[393] For the correspondences between Robert Adam and Jeremy Bentham, see, Alexander Taylor Milne (ed.), *The Correspondence of Jeremy Bentham*, vol. 4., The Athlone Press, 1981, Letters: no. 789 (To Adam from Bentham, 28 May 1791) and no. 792 (From Adam to Bentham, 7 June 1791).
[394] Thomas A. Markus, " Buildings for the Sad, the Bad and the Mad in Urban Scotland 1780-1830" , *Order in Space and Society: Architectural Form and its Context in the Scottish Enlightenment*, ed. Thomas A. Markus, Edinburgh, 1982, p.78.

confrontation between Bentham and James Adam, who had taken over the Bridewell project upon Robert Adam's death in March 1792.[395]

The most distinctive public scheme designed by the Adam brothers is Register House, housing the documents regarding Scotland's territory and its legal ownership (fig. 83). The ideas of territory and its legal ownership are important elements in an enlightened society, where the "reason" and "existence" of the individual citizen should be fully respected. The function of this building is itself a clear manifestation of Enlightenment improvement of social structure.

In addition to its functional significance in the context of Enlightenment ideology, it must be noted that the Adam brothers also intended to integrate Register House into the scheme of civic improvement of the surrounding townscape. It has already been suggested by John Lowrey that the Adams were concerned with a design for Register House on the present site at least as early as 1767.[396] Judging from the fact that the site was not made available by the city until 1769, the design itself is proof of the determination to build it on this particular location. They were certainly aware of its potential in urbanistic terms, where they could integrate the design of Register House as a monumental point of termination of the great axis of the North Bridge and of a further extension still to be developed.

It was in the construction of the new building for the University that the passion for educational improvement in Scotland in the age of the Enlightenment bore its most conspicuous fruit (fig. 101). An Italian traveller who saw the University in 1788, before the grand design by Robert Adam was carried out, described the situation of University as; "nothing else than a mass of ruined building of very ancient construction".[397] It is

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[395] See *Ibid.*, pp.78-82.
[396] See John Lowrey, "Robert Adam and Edinburgh", *Rassegna,* 64: *Edinburgh*, ed. Robert Tavernor, 1995, pp.26-33.
[397] Quoted from Bolton, *Op. cit.*, vol. II, p.236.

generally believed that in 1763 the idea of constructing the new building for University had already been conceived. William Robertson, the Adam brothers' close friend and brother-in-law, and the Principal of the University, presented a memorandum concerning the construction of a new University building in 1768. In 1785, the fund for carrying out the proposed design by the Adam brothers, which had been presented by that time, was established by the Right Honourable Henry Dundas. In 1788, Robertson presented a second memorandum concerning the new building, and on 16 November 1789 the foundation of the new building for the University of Edinburgh was formally and finally laid. The elevations and plans of the Adam brothers' design for the new building of Edinburgh University were published in the third volume of their *The Works in Architecture* in 1822, nearly thirty years after their deaths.

The deaths of Robert Adam in 1792, William Robertson in 1793 and James Adam in 1794 seriously impeded the realisation of the whole scheme of this sanctuary of learning. The progress of the actual construction was very slow, mainly caused by a shortage of finance. On 9 July 1815, the advertisement of the competition inviting plans to complete the scheme on a reduced scale was announced. The central concern of this advertisement was more specifically to invite proposals for " finishing the college at Edinburgh on a reduced scale leaving out the South Back Front, and the cross building which formed the small court in the original plan, regard being always had to the part already executed, and to the preservation of the architecture of Mr. Adam as far as practicable." [398] Now the completion of this scheme on a reduced scale was the essential requirement for the University, simply because " the new University as projected by Robertson and Adam was too vast a scheme for times of war".[399]

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[398] cf. *Ibid.*, p.242.
[399] *Ibid.*

There were six competitors in the competition: William Burn, William Henry Playfair, James Milne, John Paterson, Thomas Hamilton and Robert Morrison; and three more names, William Adam of London, Richard Crichton and Archibald Elliot were added to the list later on. In 1816, a preference for the plans by Playfair and Burn was expressed in the report of the Senatus Academicus, signed by the Principal of University at that time, G. H. Baird, and Andrew Duncan Jr., Joint Secretary and Librarian of University, and Playfair was formally appointed as the successor of this monumental work. Playfair's translation of the original design made by Robert Adam is treated adequately by Fraser in his work on the architecture of the university, therefore this story need not be elaborated here.[400]

In short, all the departures from the Adam brothers' original ideas made by Playfair between the years of 1817 and 1834 did not work as "improvements," but simply as "alterations", reflecting the post-war finances of the city. Playfair himself admits the priority of the "economical situation of University" in his design. "As I have rejected all superfluous ornament in considering this design", he admits, "I am inclined to think the College buildings cannot be completed in a more economical manner, if a due regard be paid to their respectable appearance, and the wants of the University." [401] Those economical alterations made by Playfair later appeared to Bolton as a "shade of Robert Adam! ... to think that his masterpiece should have fallen into such hands".[402]

The Adam brothers' design for the new building of the University was prepared within the prospect of much vaster urban development — the South Bridge scheme (fig. 102). The scheme, although it was not executed as initially proposed by the Adam brothers, mainly due to its enormous expense, is worth a mention in order to gain an understanding of the Adams' grand conception of urban-scale development. It is the grandest design prepared

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[400] cf. Andrew G. Fraser, *The Building of Old College, Adam, Playfair and the University of Edinburgh*, Edinburgh University Press, 1989.
[401] Bolton, *Op. cit.*, vol. II, p.247.
[402] *Ibid.*

by the brothers in which the structure of a central axis with monumental termination on both ends was applied.

The North Bridge by Robert Mylne, which connects the Old Town and the east end of the New Town, was already completed by 1769 (fig. 103). The South Bridge scheme was planned to provide the connection between the Old Town (as well as the areas north of the city) and the southern suburbs, across the valley of the Cowgate. Lowrey writes, " the topography of Edinburgh, with its hill and deep valleys, allowed Adam to visualise for real sites the kind of truly heroic structures ... that graced the pages of his Roman sketch book." [403] Connecting the north and south parts of the city, the scheme would have had a considerable impact on the entire cityscape of Edinburgh.

Among possible sources of inspiration for the axial planning is the Scottish tradition of formal design, characterised by its symmetrical and rectilinear space with a central axis visually terminated on a specific structure and view. The tradition, a mixture of French and Dutch garden design influences, was introduced by Sir William Bruce; and Adam was certainly aware of that tradition through Bruce' s designs, especially at Bruce' s own house in Kinross, where the ground is " rigorously controlled by a powerful axis of symmetry" terminated by the house and the picturesque ruin of Loch Leven Castle (figs. 104, 105).[404] The impressions of these remarkable effects, and especially the spatial interrelation between the axial layout and effective setting of buildings, remained consistent in his approach to urban architecture and planning.

In the South Bridge scheme, the Adams employed the idea of a grand artery as the base of their entire proposal. It was an extended version of Bruce' s axial layout. The examples of grand axes in Baroque cities in Europe and James Craig' s central axis in Edinburgh New

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[403] Lowrey, *Op. cit.*, 1995, p.27.
[404] Lowrey, *Op. cit.*, 1996, p.70.

Town, on which construction had already started in 1767, must have influenced the Adams' magnificent plan, in which the South Bridge scheme itself was designed merely as a part of the grand streetscape consisting of two bridges and a number of buildings. The Adams gave careful consideration to the setting of the buildings, in order to emphasise the impact of the axis on the existing townscape and to terminate it visually and physically. The northern termination of the axis is the Register House, as initially intended. At the southern end was the new building of the University. Initially, as a part of the South Bridge scheme, the Adams designed on this site a screening structure with a pavilion at either end and a Triumphal Arch at the centre, all of which were supposed to hide the half-ruined buildings of the University (fig. 106). However, it is fairly certain that Robert and James were aware of the general expectation and University's need for a "new building". The noble sanctuary of learning was symbolic enough to form the southern termination of the axis — in other words, the entrance of the city which was by then well-known as one of the major intellectual centres of Europe. Even after the failure of his proposal for the South Bridge scheme, it is obvious that the design for the grand entrance of the University was prepared as the monumental southern termination or entrance of the axis, which locks its monumentality or symbolic significance into the cityscape of Edinburgh. "The great entrance", Lowrey has remarked, "enriched with a monumental and monolithic Doric order, is recognisably a development of the triumphal arch theme that he designed for the crucial gateway to the city. The facade therefore functioned at the urban level, as well as having the obvious symbolic content appropriate to the building's status as a university" (fig. 107).[405]

Contrary to Robert's 1758 claim, in terms of their mounting public commissions in Edinburgh, Scotland was, after all, not necessarily a "narrow place" for the Adam brothers. The social transformation and economic development that Scotland had experienced in the second half of the eighteenth century were rapid and dynamic. These provided numerous opportunities for the Adam brothers to execute and develop their enterprising ideas.

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[405] Lowrey, *Op. cit.*, 1995, pp.29-30.

Amongst these was the development of the New Town of Edinburgh, a civic scheme which can hardly be ignored in an understanding of the most significant attachment of the Adam brothers to Enlightenment passion for civic improvement.

II

THE MAKING OF THE NEW TOWN OF EDINBURGH

Among various projects motivated by the Enlightenment passion for improvement, it is the New Town of Edinburgh, planned and developed in the second half of the eighteenth century, which is the most distinctive reflection in architecture of the current of Enlightenment thought. The realisation of various key Enlightenment concepts was attempted. It was, indeed, a perfect occasion for Scotsmen to put a number of theoretical and philosophical concepts of the Enlightenment thought into practice. Amongst these were respect for individual taste, pursuit of individual and public wealth, establishment of public order, and attainment of civic virtue. All of these can be signalled in the field of architecture and urban design.

The expansion of the city to the north where the New Town was to be built had been suggested on previous occasions, including in 1728 by the Earl of Mar, and most importantly in the 1752 proposal of Sir Gilbert Elliot of Minto, in which he presents an idea of the city after its expansion and argues the importance of the project in the prospect for economic improvement. He dismisses the objection that the enlargement of the town would occasion the centre of the town to be deserted.

> But of this there can be no hazard. People of fortune, and of a certain rank, will probably chuse to build upon the fine fields which lie to the north and

> south of the town: but men of professions and business of every kind, will still incline to live in the neighbourhood of the exchange, of the courts of justice, and other places of public resort; and the number of this last class of men will increase in a much greater proportion, than that of the former. *Turin*, *Berlin*, and many other cities, shew the truth of this observation. In these cities, what is called the *new town*, consists of spacious streets and large buildings, which are thinly inhabited, and that too by strangers chiefly, and persons of considerable rank; while the *old town*, though not near so commodious, is more crowded than before these late additions were made.[406]

One major obstacle to the expansion of the city towards the north was the North Loch, which formed the northern boundary of the city. Therefore, when the construction of North Bridge crossing over the North Loch was advertised in 1763,[407] it was inevitable that some of the leading figures of the city connected this project with the enlargement of the town towards the north. Among the proponents of the scheme was Lord Provost George Drummond (1687-1766), who served six terms in total as the Lord Provost of Edinburgh between 1725 and 1764, and was one of the major proponents of the development of the New Town. In his own memoirs, the Rev. Thomas Somerville refers to Drummond's vision of the "enlargement of the Town":

> ... " Look at these fields [the north side of North Loch]," said Provost Drummond; " you, Mr. Somerville, are a young man, and may probably live, though I will not, to see all these fields covered with houses, forming a splendid and magnificent city. To the accomplishment of this, nothing more

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[406] " Proposals for carrying on certain public works in the city of Edinburgh" , *The Scots Magazine*, August, 1752, p.376. Also quoted in A. J. Youngson, *The Making of Classical Edinburgh*, Edinburgh University Press, 1966, pp.10-11.
[407] 'Advertisement for Contractors of the Bridge', in F. C. Mears and John Russell, " The New Town of Edinburgh (part 1)" , *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, vol. 22, Edinburgh, 1938, p.190.

> is necessary than draining the North Loch, and providing a proper access from the old town. I have never lost sight of this object since the year 1725, when I was first elected provost. I have met with much opposition, and encountered many difficulties, which have retarded success, but I believe that they are at least surmounted, and that this great work will be soon carried into effect. [408]

In 1763, in a letter sent to the Town Council of Edinburgh, another great exponent of " improvement" , Henry Home, Lord Kames (1696-1782), Senator of the College of Justice, who was also one of 33 Commissioners for the proposed erection of public works in Edinburgh at that time, proposed the enlargement of the city towards the north:

> Here are very cogent motives for enlarging the city of Edinburgh, and for improving it by the addition of commodious houses in a healthful and pleasant situation. What seems most necessary at present, towards accomplishing that important design, is to add to the town, a fine and extensive field to the North, by an essay passage from the High-street, over the lower end of the North-loch...[409]

On 22 March 1766, a brief advertisement calling for " plans of regular streets and buildings" for the competition of the New Town was announced, and the formal conditions of this competition were advertised on 9 April. This advertisement was published in newspapers regularly from 12 April until 14 May. In this, it is explained that the city wanted " to build upon the grounds belonging to the town upon the north" . This advertisement goes on to clarify the practical conditions of the expected proposal specifying that " this notice" was essentially made " inviting Architects and others to give in Plans of a

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[408] cf. Thomas Somerville, *My Own Life and Times, 1741-1814*, Edinburgh, 1861, pp.47-48.
[409] Mears and Russell, *Op. cit.*, p.189.

New Town marking out streets of a proper breadth, and by-lanes, and the best situation for a reservoir, or any other public buildings, which may be thought necessary".[410]

Six proposals were received in May, and one more in June. In evaluating all seven proposals, the Committee of the New Town project, consulted with four " skilled assessors" , Sir James Clerk, Lord Kames, Commissioner George Clerk, and John Adam. On 26 August 1766, the plan by James Craig (1744-1795) was selected as the winner (fig. 108). Craig was a young architect in Edinburgh, just twenty-one years old. Although his original plan was judged the best among all the proposals, in the opinion of the Committee, it had " not so much merit as to be adopted as the Plan to be carried into Execution" . For the next eleven months, this original plan was improved in line with the general opinion of the Committee and by Craig himself.[411]

Craig's improved plan was approved at last on 29 July 1767. The publication of an engraving of it followed on 1 January 1768. It shows a regular grid plan which consists of a principal central axis (George Street) orientated east-west with two grand squares at either end (St Andrews Square on the east and Charlotte Square on the west), two parallel open-side streets (Queen Street on northern flank and Princes Street on southern flank) and several cross streets.[412] The scheme was intended to be exclusively residential for the

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[410] F. C. Mears and John Russell, " The New Town of Edinburgh (part 2)" , *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, vol. 23., Edinburgh, 1940, p.7.

[411] On James Craig's plan, see Kitty Cruft and Andrew Fraser (eds.), *James Craig 1744-1795*, Edinburgh, 1995; John Lowrey, " Landscape Design and Edinburgh New Town" , *The Neo-Classical Town: Scottish Contributions to Urban Design Since 1750*, ed. W. A. Brogden, The Rutland Press, Edinburgh, 1996; Stuart Harris, " New Light on the First New Town" , *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, 1992, pp.1-13; and Anthony Lewis and John Lowrey, " James Craig: Architect of the First New Town of Edinburgh" , *Architectural Heritage V*, ed. John Lowrey, Edinburgh University Press, 1995, pp.39-49.

[412] Of the source of inspiration of Craig's formal plan which consists of the principles of the axis, grid, and visual and physical termination, John Lowrey remarks: " a contemporary formal tradition introduced by Sir William Bruce in the 17th century, and lasting well into the 18th century, formed the immediate background to Craig's design. That tradition, although it was undoubtedly influenced by France, was also influenced by Dutch garden design and that tradition provides the precedent for Craig's grid." See, Lowrey, *Op. cit.*, 1996.

Edinburgh elite. In his famous proposal, Gilbert Elliot had proposed that people of fortune and of a " certain rank" be residents of this newly built part of the city, but not men of business and of labouring classes.[413]

In eighteenth-century Scotland, it was widely understood that the wealth of individual members of society constituted the social wealth. Therefore, the significance of various rights of individuals, which ensure the maximum freedom for individual members of society to pursue their own interest, was never minimised. In architecture and urban planning, individual taste and rights of property and privacy needed to be fully acknowledged and secured. Scottish individualism is traced to the natural law tradition in Scottish Enlightenment thought.

While enjoying social and individual wealth, the thinkers of the Scottish Enlightenment were aware of the germination of a new problem to be solved, the problem of the compatibility of " Wealth and Virtue" in a growing society.[414] They understood that the ideal growth of society cannot be achieved without stable morality in that society. There was also the anxiety among them that economic growth had the potential to cause the deterioration of human morality and affect " civic virtue" . They were convinced that moral improvement needed to be achieved simultaneously with the economic growth of Edinburgh. Hence, while taking growth of wealth in society as its baseline, the ideal of improvement of the Scottish

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[413] cf. " Proposals for carrying on certain public works in the city of Edinburgh" , *The Scots Magazine*, August, 1752, p.376. Also quoted in Youngson, *Op. cit.*, 1966, pp.10-11.

[414] Their interests in this issue can be traced to a series of debates concerning the Union of the Scottish and English Parliaments in 1707, and it had always been a primary subject of discussion among the leading circle of the Scottish Enlightenment. For further details of the problem of " wealth and virtue" , see R. H. Cambell and Andrew S. Skinner (eds.), *The Origins and Nature of the Scottish Enlightenment*, Edinburgh, 1982; I. Hont and M. Ignatieff (eds.), *Wealth and Virtue: The Shaping of Political Economy in the Scottish Enlightenment*, Cambridge University Press, 1983; N. T. Phillipson and Rosalind Mitchison (eds.), *Scotland in the Age of Improvement: Essays in Scottish History in the Eighteenth Century*, Edinburgh University Press, 1970, and Thomas A Horne, " Moral and Economic Improvement: Francis Hutcheson on Property" , *History of Political Thought*, vol. 7, 1986, pp.115-30.

Enlightenment sought the refinement of moral values and social virtue, which would result from the general growth of social wealth.

The leading members of the Scottish Enlightenment in Edinburgh saw the key to dealing successfully with this requirement in the establishment of the concepts of " civic virtue" and " public duty" ; and they came to realise before long the effectiveness of applying the " proper order" in society to achieving social growth and individual wealth without degrading the virtues of the individual and society.

The grid plan proposed by James Craig successfully provided the structure for an " orderly society" in this freshly-planned urban space.[415] A series of Acts, which contained various provisions for buildings in the New Town, was published by the Town Council to regulate the public duties of the constituents of the enlightened society. Now, the regulations were to be strictly observed in the design of houses in the New Town.

In the context of Enlightenment, the most important problem in the development of an ideal living environment was how to preserve a delicate harmony between individual rights, i.e. property, privacy and freedom, and public duties as a constituent of urban society. In the New Town of Edinburgh, these individual rights were secured at their maximum as the essential constituents of the growth of society's wealth. At the same time, individual rights needed to be controlled to build a stable and orderly society, which secures individual's rights and society's wealth by making institutional provisions which have to be followed as the public duty of each individual, and ultimately to prevent the moral decay of mankind as a natural result of individual pursuit of " wealth" . The intention of the leading circle in Edinburgh to achieve a delicate harmony between these seemingly contradictory tendencies

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[415] The " regularity" or " formality" of the New Town plan has clear contrast with the topographical " irregularity" of the surrounding landscape. " It was in that contrast," writes John Lowrey, " that Robert Stevenson later found the essence of the Picturesque in Edinburgh". Lowrey, *Op. cit.*, 1996.

is expressed best by Lord Kames in his already-mentioned letter which he addressed to the Town Council in 1763:

> How happy is it for Scotsmen, who have always been famed for the love of their country, to have such an opportunity of exerting their public spirit, without the least detriment to their private interest.[416]

III

THE ADAM BROTHERS, THE MODEL MAKERS

On the very same day when the adapted plan for the New Town was approved, the " comprehensive report" dealing with building and planning regulations was also approved. It had been prepared by the special committee set up by the Lord Provost five weeks previously.[417] The minutes of the meeting of the special committee on that day contain a number of opinions of members regarding building and planning regulations. For instance, it was proclaimed " that all the houses should be built in a line, eight feet from the foot pavement," and " that no sign posts should be erected, so as to project from the walls of the respective buildings" .[418] Noticing the fact that this special committee was able to present its report " within the remarkably short space of five weeks" , Stuart Harris suggests that the essential parts had been commonly understood among the members since long before the special committee was established, because " its members were also members of the Bridge

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[416] Mears and Russell, *Op. cit.*, 1938, p.189.
[417] On 24 June 1767, a special committee was established by the Town Council to " settle the Plans of the new Buildings and to feu out the grounds" . Andrew Fraser, " A Reassessment of Craig's New Town Plans, 1766-1774" , *James Craig 1744-1795*, eds. Kitty Cruft and Andrew Fraser, Mercat Press, Edinburgh, 1995, p.27.
[418] Mears and Russell, *Op. cit.*, 1940, pp.11-12.

Committee".[419] Its members were not only members of the Bridge Committee, but were also leading figures of the Scottish Enlightenment in Edinburgh. It seems no exaggeration to say that the content of this report was the utilitarian fruits of the thinkers of the Enlightenment aiming to establish the ideal society in which the wealth and virtue could be achieved.

Immediately after the construction of buildings started at the east end of the New Town, the Town Council published detailed building and planning regulations, based on their discussions since 24 June 1767 and earlier. The Act was announced on 24 February 1768. The provisions of this Act included the stipulation, for example, that the intended streets, squares, and areas in the New Town plan should be chalked out, so that it would be easier to judge " the beauty of the situation, and the elegance of the intended streets, and also what areas are proper for them to pitch out, — of which, at present, they can form but very imperfect notions by looking at the plan, or even viewing the ground ... (1st provision)",[420] and " that an exact survey should be taken, so as it may be determined what is the proper place for building a reservoir within the bounds of the extended royalty, and in what course a pipe should be carried to it from the reservoir on the Castlehill, which will satisfy the town's fears that they will soon be supplied with water in the same way that the inhabitants of the city are at present, and shew demonstrably the superiority that the town's grounds have in this respect for building upon, over the other grounds in the neighbourhood (3rd provision)."[421]

Apart from concern with beauty and elegance, the central intention of this Act was to determine the proper framework for building. However, the Act was not absolutely prescriptive, and the provisions were temperate in regulating individual freedom in questions

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[419] Stuart Harris, " New Light of the First New Town", *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club: New Series*, vol. 2, Edinburgh, 1992, p.8.
[420] Mears and Russell, *Op. cit.*, 1940, pp.16-7.
[421] *Ibid.*

of architecture and space planning. And it was this moderate inclination of the 1768 Act that enabled the simultaneous realisation in a single urban space of various Enlightenment concepts, many of which seemingly contradict each other.

It is important to draw attention to the fact that, while the grid plan of the first New Town vividly symbolises proper order in enlightened urban society, each house was designed individually, reflecting each householder's taste in architecture. A single unified frontage to a set of houses was not attempted in the first New Town until the very last phase of building, even though " the idea of a row of houses treated as one palatial composition was present from early in the [eighteenth] century" .[422] Whilst part of the reason for this was economic,[423] it seems reasonable to suggest that the decision was made taking account of the individual's rights of property, privacy and judgement.

The concern of the Town Council for the individual rights of property and privacy in the context of architecture and urban planning is well expressed in the passages of the Act affirming that, " it is not possible to lay down a fixed and determined rule" of buildings since "people's taste of building is so different".[424]

The fundamental attitude which accounts for the difference in people's taste in buildings in the Act clearly reflected the notion of individualism which was the most significant contribution of the Scottish Enlightenment in the domains of art and architecture. In the New Town, above all, according to Scottish Enlightenment thought, the individual's taste in buildings had to be respected. The logical motivation behind the Town Council's decision to include the specific accounts on the difference in individual's taste in buildings in the Act seems relevant to the fact that the Scottish Enlightenment was fully aware of the

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[422] Summerson, *Op. cit.*, 1969, 1986, p.163.
[423] cf. Youngson, *Op. cit.*, 1966, p.80.
[424] The fourth provision in the Act of the Town Council of Edinburgh, of 24 February, 1768, quoted in Mears and Russell, *Op. cit.*, 1940, p.17.

characteristics of proclamation which might cause the minimisation of individuality and natural rights, based on the long tradition of natural law in Scotland.

The publication of the 1768 Act was the product of Enlightenment ideas in the first New Town of Edinburgh to enact a proper law by which the individual's natural rights and taste are respected and protected, and to achieve in the domains of architecture and urban planning the delicate harmony between "wealth" and "virtue", "individual rights" and "public duties", and "private interest" and "public spirit". Indeed, the intention of the Act and its nature were the mirror of "the mystery of the interaction of uniformity and individualism".[425]

Even though no "fixed and determined rule of buildings" was laid down by the Town Council, certain buildings were taken as ideal examples of a New Town house. No 8 Queen Street (1770-1), designed by Robert Adam for Lord Chief Baron Ord, was one of these houses (fig. 109). It has a frontage of five-bays. The rusticated ground floor with a small-scale doorpiece in the centre is visually separated from the flat wall of the upper floors. This house, owned by one of the wealthy citizens of the New Town, has a characteristically moderate elegance in its external appearance. It has been argued that Adam's design set a standard for the rest of the first New Town,[426] and it seems reasonable to suppose that this house was taken as a model when the renewed Act in 1781 prescribed that the houses in the New Town should not exceed "three storeys high exclusive of the garret and sunk storeys, ... likewise moved that the easing of the roofs should run along the side walls

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[425] Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Englishness of English Art*, Architectural Press, 1956, Peregrine Books, 1964.
[426] See Ian Gow and James Simpson, "8 Queen Street Edinburgh: Restoring an Adam House", *Architectural Heritage IV: Robert Adam*, ed. John Lowrey, Edinburgh University Press, 1993, pp.58-65; and Ian Gow, "The Northern Athenian House", *Rassegna, 64*, 1995, pp.40-47.

immediately above the windows of the third story, and no storm or other windows to be allowed in the front of the roof other than skye lights ..."[427]

Although New Town houses designed after 1781 remained constant to the basic precepts of individual design, they now strictly observed the essential standard of design established in No 8 Queen Street and regulated in the 1781 Act. This orderly bias in the New Town development gradually became more apparent in the facades of houses following the progress of the New Town development towards the west. Gradually, even though the facade of each house was still designed individually, architects would often attempt to create coherent groupings of several houses.

Developing from this tendency towards unity, the grand culmination of the first New Town is Charlotte Square, originally designed by Robert Adam in 1791 (figs. 110-112). It has a noteworthy elevation with either single or double palace facades on each side of the square. It was certainly the desire for unified design that impelled the Lord Provost of the day to commission Robert Adam to design the square through the application of the palace frontages.[428]

When Craig made his plan for the First New Town, he disregarded or ignored the fact that the north-west corner of the proposed square, named Charlotte Square afterward, was not the town's property. The boundary of the ground, of which the right of servitude belonged to the Earl of Moray, an adjoining proprietor, cut obliquely across the proposed site of the square. Strangely enough, this point did not preoccupy the Town Council when Craig's plan was approved in 1767. While in 1787, on the request of the City, the elevations of

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[427] Mears and Russell, *Op. cit.*, 1940, p.18. After the first Act was enforced in 1768, the Town Council renewed it in 1781, 1782, and 1785, however the provisions of these renewed Acts lie outside the scope of this thesis. For further details of these Acts, see, Mears and Russell., *Op. cit.*, 1940., and Youngson, *Op. cit.*, 1966.

Charlotte Square were prepared for the first time by Robert Kay, who designed the buildings along South Bridge as the alternative scheme of the expensive proposal by the Adam brothers. Anxieties about the impracticality of building the square had remained among the leading circle of the New Town project. In the Town Council Minutes on 8 October 1788, the Lord Provost speaks about the difficulty of making a square at the west end of George street and suggests altering of Craig's original plan and even the possibility of building a circus or a crescent instead. With such alternative plans in mind, the Town Council entered into negotiations with the Earl of Moray. Although the final agreement was not reached until 1804, following the fundamental agreement with the Earl in the summer of 1791, the building of the square was confirmed with a new design prepared by the Adam brothers.[429]

Charles McKean explains that it was the appearance of " the decorative fungus of ambitious plasterers ... on the facade of the western extensions of George Street" which impelled the Lord Provost of Edinburgh to commission Robert Adam in 1791 to " restore regularity and grandeur to the houses through his palace frontages for Charlotte Square" .[430] It seems that the City was anxious about the construction costs of carrying out the typical grand designs of the Adam brothers, the crucial reason, which had previously prevented the execution of their proposals for Leith Street and South Bridge, and the University afterward. Such anxiety seems to have stimulated the Lord Provost's precise request to Robert Adam to design the elevations, according to John Paterson, " not much ornamented but with an elegant simplicity such as the north front of the college" .[431] Characteristically, the Adam brothers were not necessarily faithful to the instructions provided, and as a result their proposed design (1791) required certain modifications. In their design, three different layers of external treatment — rock-faced basement, regularly rusticated ground floor and

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[428] Charles McKean, " The Incivility of Edinburgh's New Town" , *The Neo-Classical Town: Scottish Contributions to Urban Design Since 1750*, ed. W. A. Brogden, Edinburgh: The Rutland Press, 1996, p.43.
[429] Youngson, *Op. cit.*, 1966, p.93.
[430] McKean, *Op. cit.*, p.43.
[431] Youngson, *Op. cit.*, 1966, p.96.

the first and second floors with flat polished ashlar — constituted the unified palace frontage with high elegance. Such vertical arrangement has a strong resemblance to the Adam brothers' design for Queen Street No. 8, therefore not distinctively different from the rest of the First New Town houses in terms of the external treatment of the wall. Instead, the characteristic differences of the palace front were expressed through the elaborate handling of pilasters, Venetian windows and various external ornamentation.

The slightly advanced pavilion with large wide pilasters on either end has a pyramidal roof on top with a sphinx in front of it. The Adam brothers applied their original variation of a Corinthian column in the four pairs of attached columns in the centrepiece. The moderate pediment in the centre was originally expected to be crowned with three statues. The windows of the ground floor of the pavilions and links on either side of the centrepiece, connecting the centrepiece to the pavilions, were arched (nearly semicircle). In the centrepiece, only the central bay of the ground floor is arched. The motif of an over-arched Venetian window appeared in places in the ground floor level, and its variation in the first floor level of the centrepiece and both pavilions.

The outbreak of Revolutionary Wars in 1793 caused a major delay of the construction of Charlotte Square, and consequently of the completion of the First New Town itself. As a result of these political circumstances, by the opening of the next century, the northern block of the square and very little of the rest were completed. Apart from the northern block, and its complete reproduction in the south side, the present state of the square is the outcome of the extensive modification in the early nineteenth century by Sir Robert Reid, in response to the financial crisis faced by the city.[432] The northern block escaped this

[432] The concrete study of all content of the modification by Reid lies outside the scope of this thesis.

modification, because it was built, to quote Arthur T. Bolton, " near enough to the time of Robert Adam's death".[433]

A unified scheme of frontages for the houses in Charlotte Square was now about to establish a new architectural trend for the further development of the New Town of Edinburgh. This trend was realised in the second New Town, built on an extensive ground north of the First New Town — the largest single scheme in the whole development of Georgian Edinburgh.[434] It is, however, not the purpose of this thesis to examine the nature of the subsequent development of the New Town. Here, the intention is to suggest the impact of the Adam brothers' design for Charlotte Square, particularly their elegant treatment of the theme of palace frontage, on the architectural tendency in nineteenth-century development of the New Town in Edinburgh. As has been mentioned, the application of a unified palace frontage was not purely their idea, or rather it was a crucial instruction indicated by the City authorities. However, their design provided a proper standard of design for the subsequent development of the New Town, and ultimately formed the basis of the remarkable unity of design of Georgian Edinburgh.

The Adams' influence is particularly clear in the elevations by Reid, who had studied and consulted the brothers' designs in the course of modifying the scheme of Charlotte Square. To take a concrete example, there is a clear resemblance to the Adams' treatment of the east

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[433] Bolton, *Op. cit.*, vol. II, p.216.

[434] The initial move of its development goes back to 1792. This year, David Stewart, who had been the Lord Provost of Edinburgh between 1780 and 1782, sent a layout for further development of the New Town toward the north to the Heriot Trust, the proprietor of the proposed site of this development along with Stewart himself. The continuity of the developments was made explicit in the layout plan, drawn by William Sibbald, showing strong east-west axes in parallel with the First New Town. Following the acquirement of additional land by the City in 1797, now the site for this development was enlarged. The concrete plan of this development, which was conceived and approved, was prepared by Reid and Sibbald in 1801 and 1802, while the final touch of the First New Town by the hand of Reid was then underway in Charlotte Square. For further details of the development of Edinburgh New Town, see, Youngson, *Op. cit.*, 1966., and Peter Reed, " From and Context: A Study of Georgian Edinburgh", *Order in Space and Society:*

elevation of Charlotte Square in Reid's arrangement of the centrepiece with slightly advanced side bays in the frontage of the west half of Heriot Row. Similarly, the centrepiece in London Street, another design by Reid, takes Charlotte Square as its model. The thorough simplicity that characterises the elevations by Reid as well as the rest of the buildings in the northern New Town is a direct reflection of the social circumstances of Britain at war, as had been the case in Charlotte Square.

It was in this elegantly designed square where the architectural representation of the concepts of individual taste, property and rights handed over its primacy to that of proper order and regularity in urban society. Such a redefinition of goals over the development of the New Town is not entirely contradictory to Enlightenment ideas. It reflects, rather a particular facet of the Enlightenment understanding of taste.

Despite taste being inherent in individual experience, knowledge, and sentiment, Enlightenment epistemology had no faith in the total equality of the diversified tastes of people. Certain people's tastes were considered more important and more valuable than others, as Hume explains in the following passage previously quoted in the second chapter: " though the principles of taste be universal and nearly, if not entirely, the same in all men, yet few are qualified to give judgement on any work of art, or establish their own sentiment as the standard of beauty." [435] The requisite of being a member of the qualified few is to have the eyes for critical comparison and experience by which one can be accustomed to see and examine the works of great masters. Although partly quoted earlier, the followings text by Hume deserves to be reiterated here:

> It is impossible to continue in the practice of contemplating any order of beauty without being frequently obliged to form *comparisons* between the

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Architectural Form and its Context in the Scottish Enlightenment, ed. Thomas A. Markus, Edinburgh, 1982, pp.115-53.

> several species and degrees of excellence, and estimating their proportion to each other. A man who has had no opportunity of comparing the different kinds of beauty is indeed totally unqualified to pronounce an opinion with regard to any object presented to him. By comparison alone we fix the epithets of praise or blame, and learn how to assign the due degree of each. ... One accustomed to see and examine and weigh the several performances admired in different ages and nations, can only rate the merits of a work exhibited to his view, and assign its proper rank among the productions of genius.[436]

The privilege of having the opportunities to know and examine admired precedents in different ages and nations was, in reality, a luxury restricted to the ruling class of a systematised society. The Adam brothers, who consciously and materially belonged to the wealthy and educated ranks of an enlightened civic society, were undoubtedly amongst those people in the position to develop and give currency to new sophisticated taste in a more or less authoritarian manner. Appreciating that " correct taste" in architectural creativity belongs to the skilled and experienced artist, the Adam brothers developed their notion of taste directly in response to the point well defined in Hume's abovementioned remarks.

Although the " architectural treatment of individual houses" , of which the Adam brothers themselves had set a good example in Queen Street No 8, had now disappeared in Charlotte Square at the end of the first stage of the New Town development, it was in this square where, by replacing the individual treatment of houses with an adaptation of palace frontage, the skilled and experienced Adam brothers had once again made a definitive statement on a

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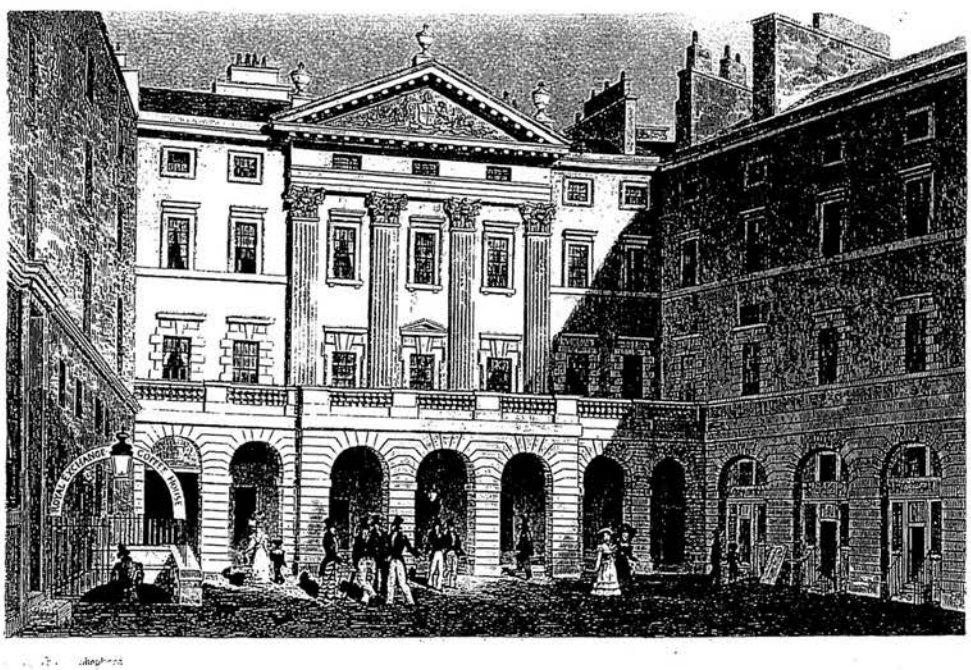
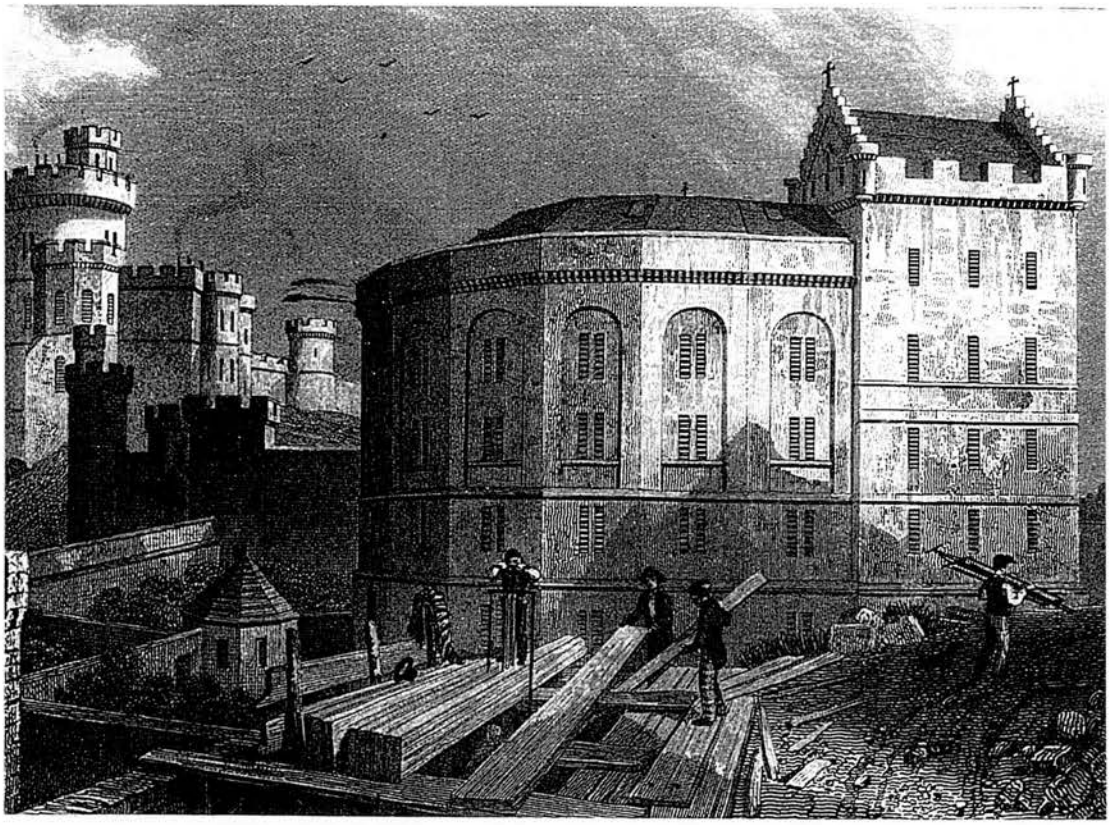
[435] Hume, *Op. cit.*, 1757, p.278.
[436] Hume, *Op. cit.*, 1757, pp.275-6

new architectural taste which was to be exhaustively accepted in the course of the subsequent development of the New Town of Edinburgh (fig. 113).

98. WILLIAM ADAM, Royal Infirmary, Edinburgh; elevation of the north front.

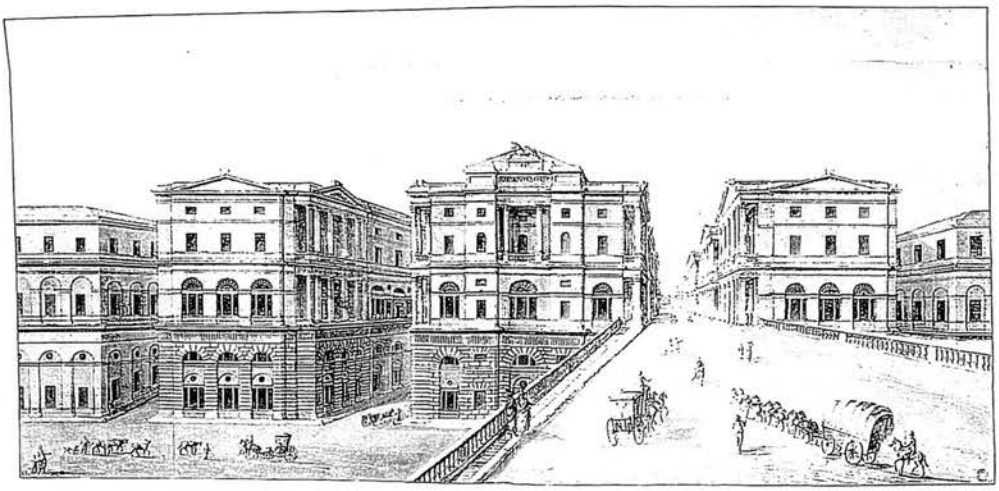


99. JOHN ADAM, Merchants' Exchange, Edinburgh; elevation of the south front.

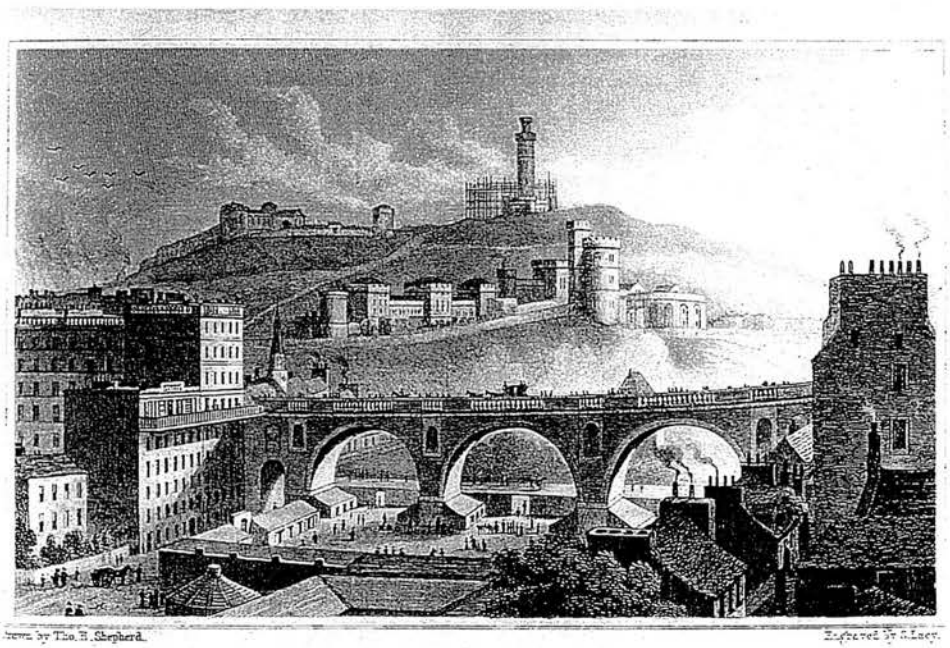


100. Shepherd's print of Edinburgh Bridewell.

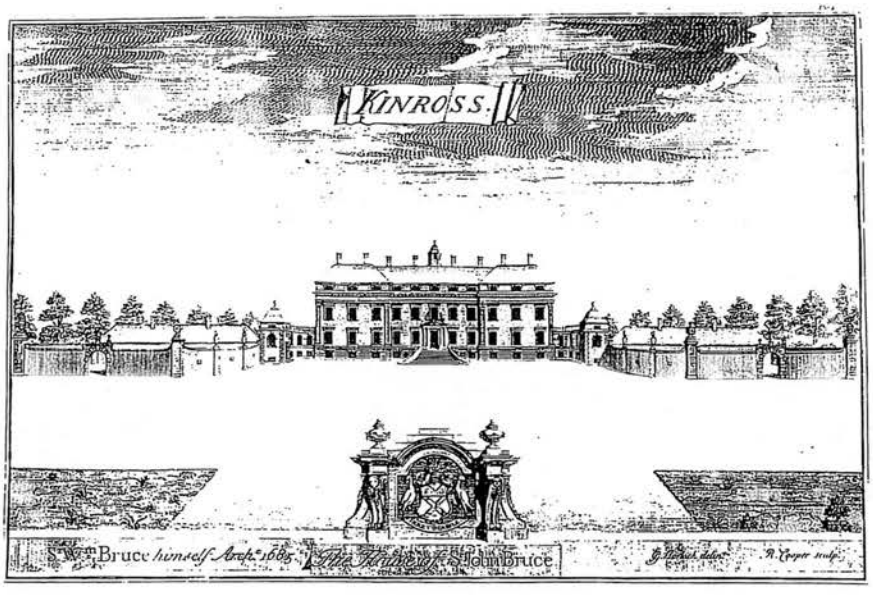
101. Edinburgh University; elevation of the east front.



102. South Bridge scheme; perspective.

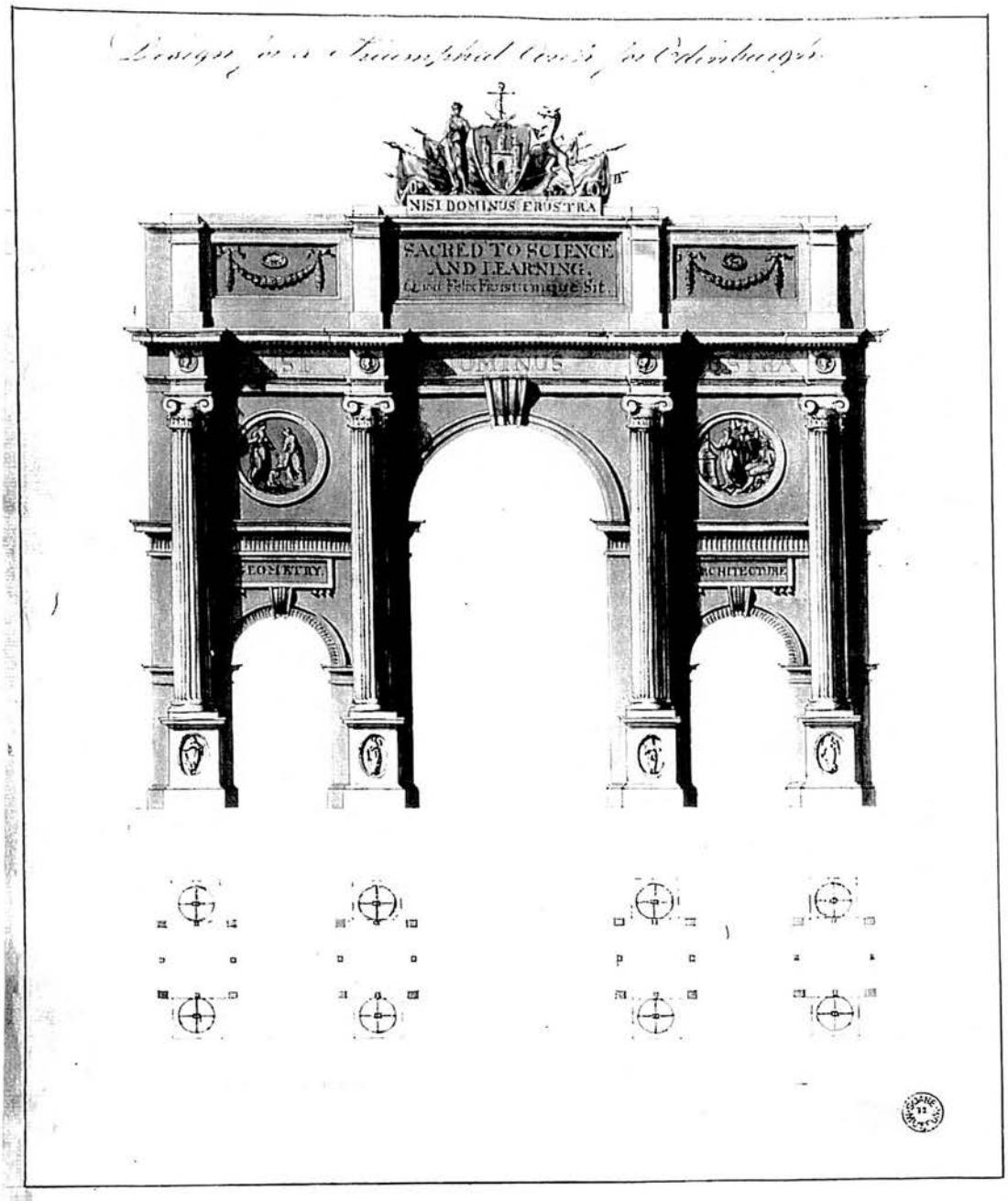


103. ROBERT MYLNE, North Bridge.



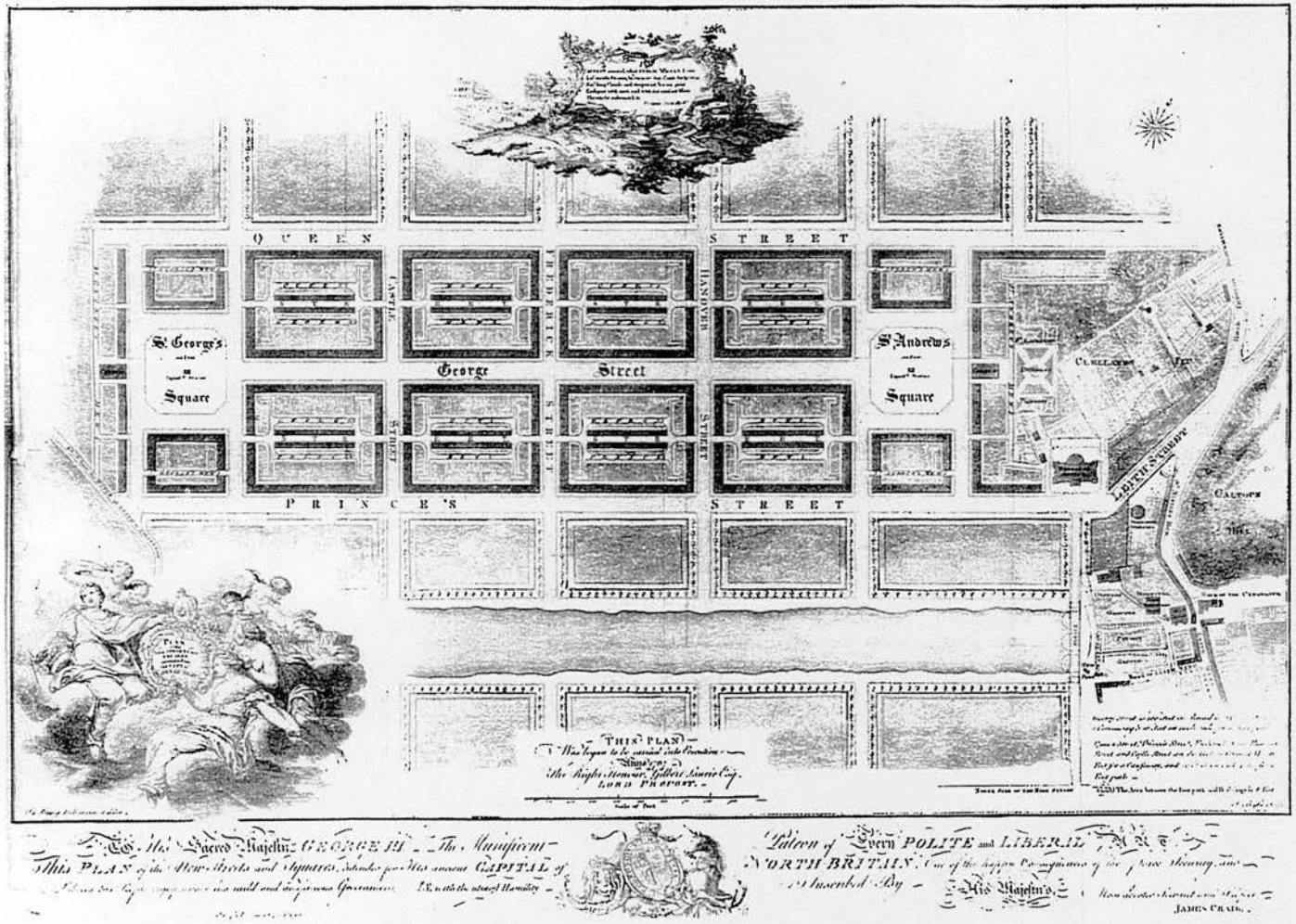
104. WILLIAM BRUCE, Kinross House, elevation of the entrance front. From *Vitruvius Scoticus*.

105. Kinross House and Loch Leven Castle.

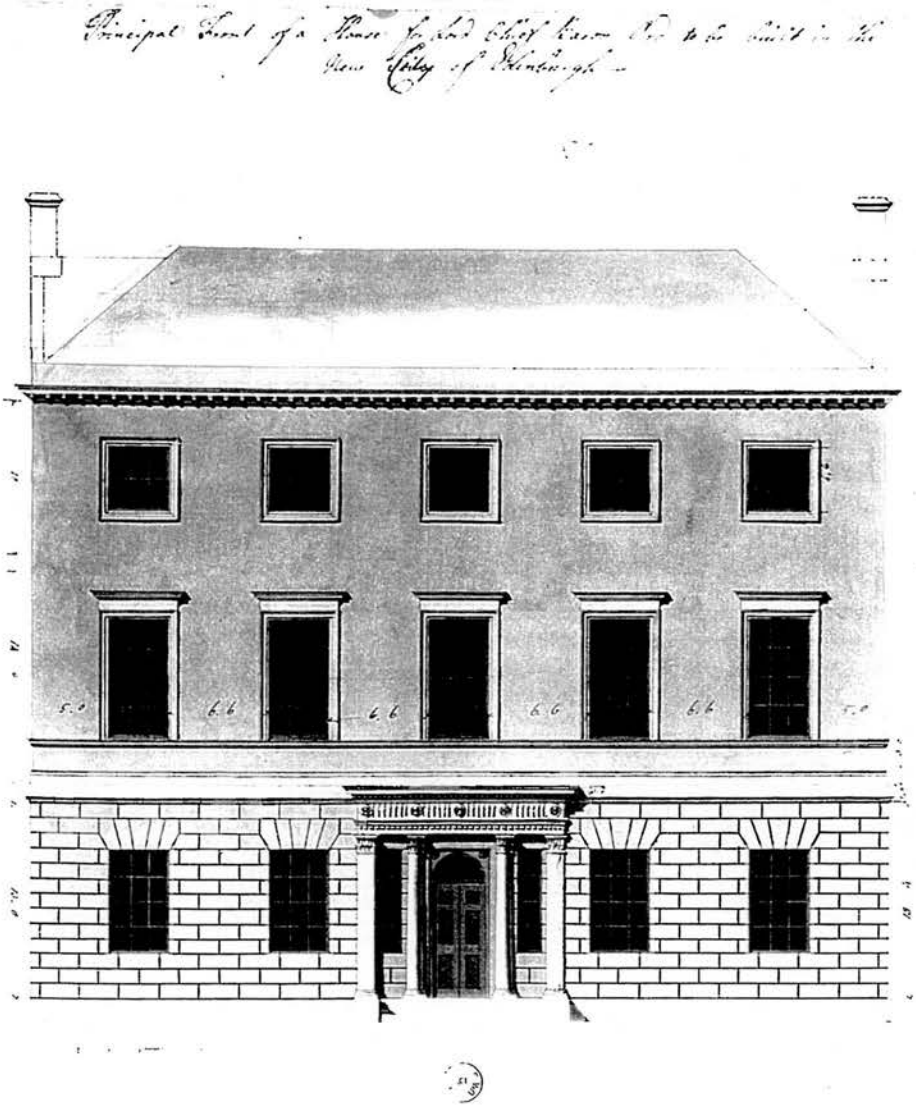


106. ROBERT ADAM, design for a Triumphal Arch for Edinburgh.

107. Edinburgh University; view of the entrance front from the south.

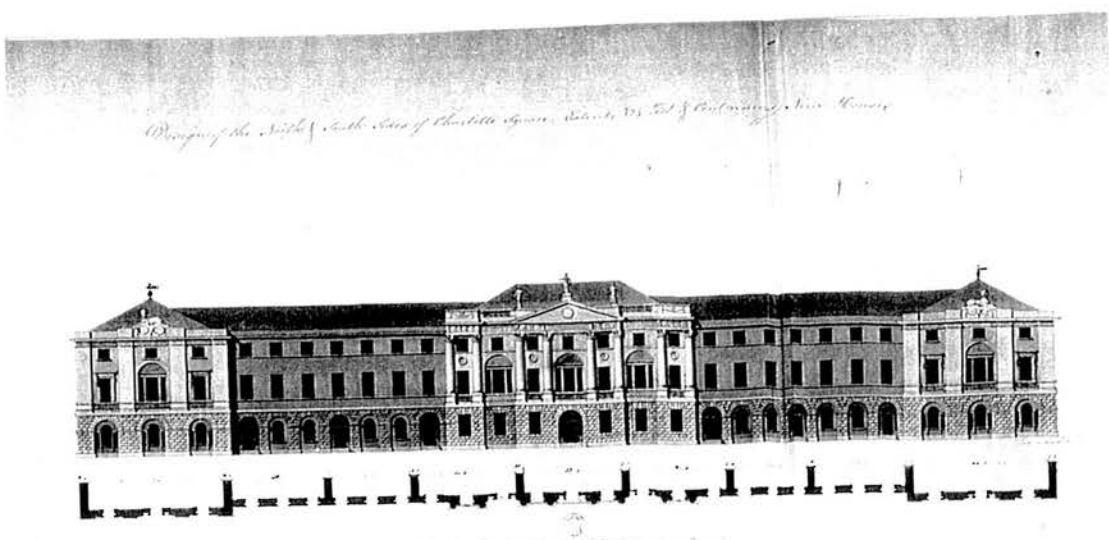


108. JAMES CRAIG, plan for the New Town of Edinburgh of 1768.

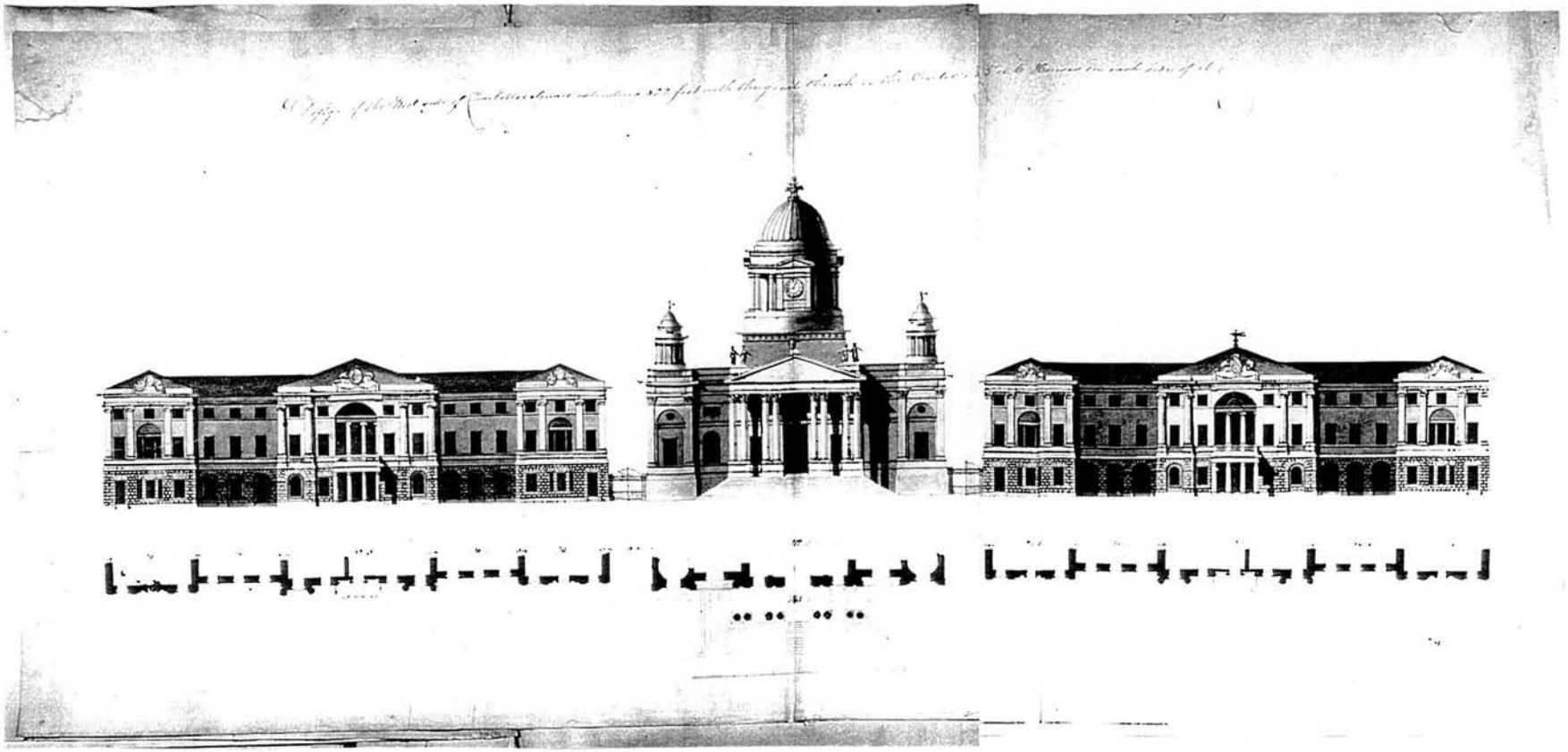


109. No 8 Queen Street, Edinburgh; elevation of the north front.

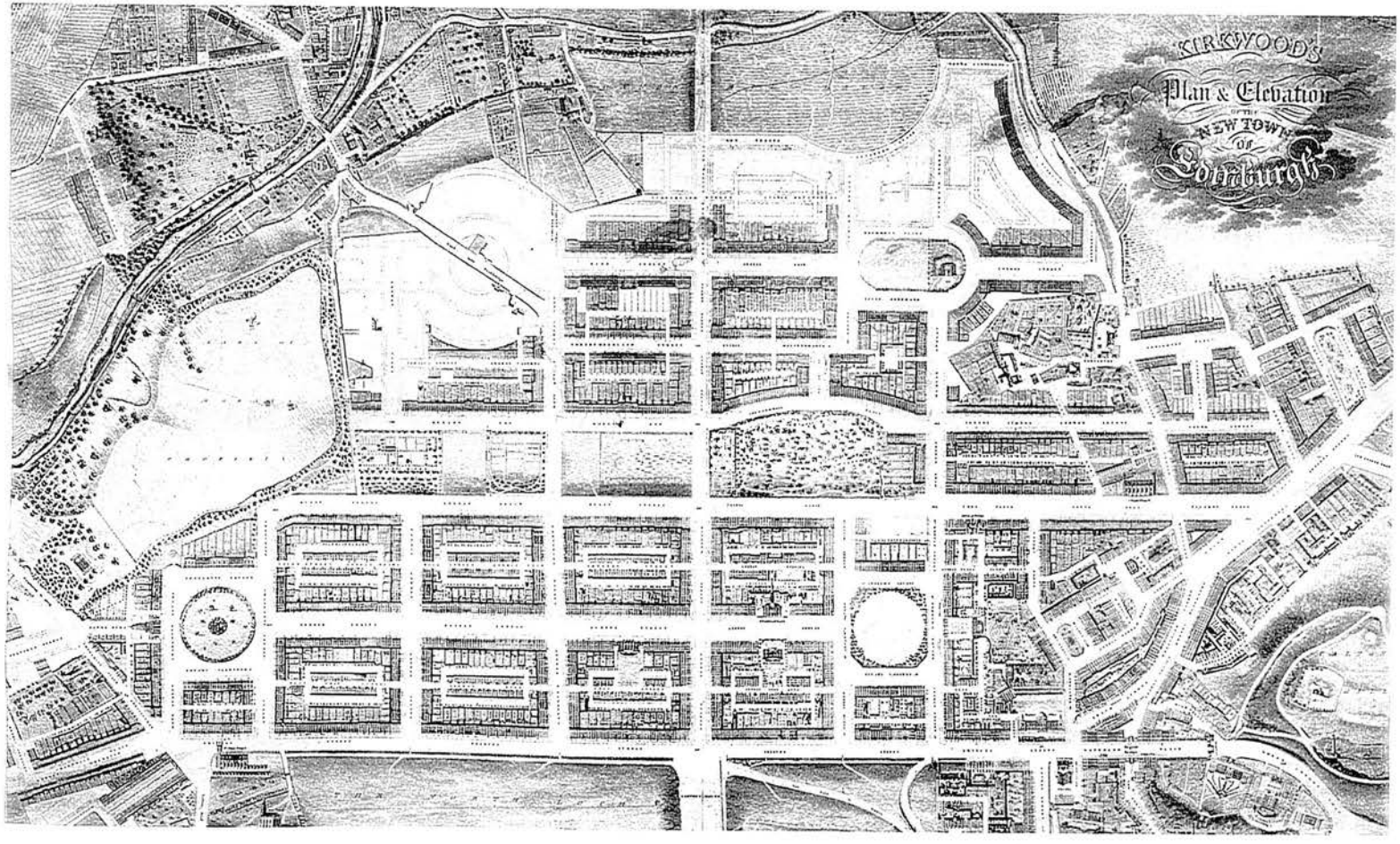
110. Charlotte Square; general view.



111. Charlotte Square; elevation of the north side.



112. Charlotte Square; elevation of the west side.



113. Kirkwood's plan and elevation of the New Town of Edinburgh, 1819.

CONCLUSION

ROBERT AND JAMES ADAM, ARCHITECTURE OF THE AGE OF REASON AND EXPERIENCE

The real nature of the Adam Style is simultaneously as a rational, imaginative, and empirical application of historic languages of architecture, not in their consistency but their novelty. While not seeking to break violently with any established tradition in terms of the choice of architectural language, the Adam brothers were free of a dogmatic attachment to any single existing style. Insisting that " architecture has not, like some other arts, an immediate standard in nature, to which the artist can always refer" , the Adam brothers have seen in themselves the image of modernists, who are emancipated from dogmatism.[437]

* * *

The style-orientated notion, which insists that every architect should have his own, particular style, has remained powerful in the study of the works of the Adam brothers. This notion has often led to rather careless dismissals of their novelty, of which Kaufmann's Baroque and Worsley's neo-Palladian interpretations are notable illustrations. Neither of these can give a satisfactory picture of the Adam Style. Those studies that explained the Adam Style in the context of the plurality of influences, by emphasising the material resemblance of their designs to a variety of sources, offer no more illumination, and loose themselves in the stylistic complexity of the whole Adam Style. Listing the architectonic themes that were

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[437] *The Works in Architecture*, vol. I, no. II, Preface.

harmoniously combined and blended together into the Adam brothers' works has resulted in nothing but a simple documentation of what one can see.

However, the stylistic complexity of the Adam Style is in fact not only an indication of the Adam brothers' widespread tastes; it is also the crystallisation of their idea or creativity in the art of architecture. To formulate the Adam brothers' diversified exercises in architecture, an examination of the first and most distinctive trait behind the stylistic complexity of their works is unavoidable. Particular forms of style, dogmatic criteria from the past, the recognisable plurality of sources of inspiration: none of these was taken for the foundation of their style. It was, instead, the notion of latitude in the act of creativity — a reflection in visual art of the current course of the Enlightenment, that most profound intellectual reorientation of Europeans towards every aspect of life and value in the later half of the eighteenth century. Summersonian methodical study of the sources of the Adam Style, for one, failed in explaining the core of their personalisation of widespread stylistic sources.[438]

Gradually emancipated from classical canons of beauty derived from rational philosophy, by the mid-eighteenth century, a new aesthetic theory based on the British tradition of empirical philosophy had emerged. Individual experience, sentiment, emotion, and knowledge were now considered as significant and influential elements as human reason in any sort of artistic creativity. This notion inevitably brought the trend of free-appreciation in the domains of visual arts. It made it possible to appreciate various emotions and sentiments through one' s individual reaction to objects. Such experience stimulated to the academic interest in the nature of visual arts, and bore fruit in the theoretical formation of anti-authoritarian aesthetics or aesthetic individualism.

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[438] See footnote 9.

The theoretical formation of aesthetic individualism in the course of one's visual response to any form of external existence is the greatest achievement of eighteenth-century British Enlightenment in the domain of visual art. It was a product of the empirical inclination of the Scottish Enlightenment, following the tradition of Empirical philosophy in Britain. This enterprising notion freed mid-eighteenth century architecture from the dogmas of the classical era. Under the protection of the new belief in a plurality of styles, the Adam brothers had no need to defend their creative position toward their historic past. Every possible style and established tradition could be explored, exploited and combined with others. The extension of this latitudinarianism was their relaxed and imaginative approach to the works of antiquity. The nature of Robert's publication of *Ruins ... at Spalatro*, for one, was far from that of those descriptive works that many of his contemporaries were making of classical antiquity and exotic lands — amongst which was William Chambers's *Design of Chinese Buildings* of 1757, published "only to give an idea of Chinese architecture ..." .[439] Their careers are marked by the inventive and eclectic modification of existing examples of orders and ornaments, and the imaginative reconstitution of the emotional impact of ancient monuments.

* * *

The theoretical ground of the Enlightenment proclamation of individualism in artistic creativity was the application in aesthetic thinking of the principle of the primary and secondary qualities. The empiricists found no grounds for aesthetic judgement in such primary qualities as solidity, figure, texture, and size. For visual appreciation and judgement, the mediation of the secondary qualities, such as colours, light and shade, which are nothing but impressions in one's mind derived from the operation of the external object, was now of prime importance. The close theoretical dependence of the Adam ideas on this empirical explanation of the function of visual appreciation is especially evident in

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[439] William Chambers, *Designs of Chinese Buildings*, London, 1757, pref., p.[iii].

the definition of the Adam brothers' famous concept of " movement" , which makes a great point of representing visual effects of contour and light and shade in architectural design.

So far, the real nature of " movement" in their executed designs has been strangely neglected in the many monographs on the Adam brothers. Many critics are united in the view that, while the Adam brothers can be credited with defining this concept, it was hardly novel by the time of its publication in 1773, and no material evidence of its execution can be found in their actual designs. However, this conventional response has not been tested to see whether this was really the case.

" Movement" is misleading in so far as the term seems to stress the expressive attributes of a building at the expense of the real nature of the intended effects of this concept, the rise and fall, advance and recess, etc. According to the Adam brothers, " movement" is epitomised by the display of effective grouping of light and shade and an agreeable and diversified contour by carefully calculating the disposition of the different parts of a building. In their view, over-ornamented designs for elevations with a number of projections, recessions and sculptural elements produced nothing but a great sense of " chaos" or " confusion," rather than " movement" . The number of architectural decorative motifs on a facade was not necessarily a prerequisite for the successful achievement of " movement" . The Adam brothers were careful to calculate every exterior ornamentation. A variety of light and shade is grouped to avoid unnecessary congestion. The projecting elements and parts are carefully disposed in the plain facade, so that the effective display of architectural secondary qualities — light and shade — are brought out to a maximum. When Hugh Honour asserts in his *Neo-classicism* (1968) that " no ... close dependence on current aesthetic theory is to be found in Adam's work" , he has entirely failed to notice this profound interrelation

between their architectural exercises of " movement" and the current of empirical epistemology.[440]

Kaufmann, in his *Architecture in the Age of Reason*, paid a certain amount of attention to the condition of the Adam time by dealing on their style with reference to the age of reason. Nevertheless, to him, Robert Adam had appeared merely as " rather a decadent heir, than an innovator, let alone a revolutionary" .[441] In his works, Kaufmann did not find the realisation of " movement" . " All the features" in the architecture of the Adam brothers had appeared to him to be " frozen" .[442] Kaufmann's critical remarks on the Adam Style derive from his narrow definition of the nature of eighteenth-century European thought and an over-simplified methodology, which characterises the architecture of Europe as belonging to the framework of the age of reason. Enlightenment thought in eighteenth-century Britain differs from the circumstances on the Continent where the rationalistic character of this intellectual movement was primary. In Britain, it is misleading in so far as it seems to stress this inclination at the expense of the empirical approach toward the problems of philosophy and artistic creativity. As far as the domain of art is concerned, it was the age of empiricism after the disavowal of the objective and universal singular authority of classical criteria. Kaufmann's characterisation of British architecture after the middle of the eighteenth century as belonging to the age of reason is a rather continental interpretation, and leads to his failure to understand the artistic trends in Britain in this period, which were founded on the tradition of empiricism. Ignoring the close dependence of the Adams' ideas on the empirical theory of British Enlightenment, Kaufmann misses the key to an understanding of the true merits of the Adam Style in the context of the heroic age of the Enlightenment.

Kaufmann's remarks on the Adam brothers, which are nothing if not over-critical, seem to have been made to challenge a series of publications on the Adam brothers and their works

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[440] Hugh Honour, *Neo-classicism*, Penguin Books, 1968, p.124.
[441] Kaufmann, *Op. cit.*, 1955, p.36.

which have been published since the deaths of Robert and James in the last decade of the eighteenth century. Amongst these is Arthur T. Bolton's *The Architecture of Robert and James Adam* of 1922, " the most comprehensive monograph on Adam" , which itself seems to have intended the systematic re-evaluation of their works that had been critically reviewed during the previous century.[443] It is important, however, to keep in mind that while Bolton was aware of the fact that " the last half of the eighteenth century ... was a great period in England" , he himself had no interest in the interrelation between the Adam theory and the current aesthetic trends at that time.[444] This must have been the crucial reason why Bolton had devoted, to borrow Kaufmann's critical phrase, no more than " a few pages to 'Robert Adam's Ideas,' half of which are quotations from his [Adam's] meager text".[445]

* * *

As it has been my aim throughout this study to relate the achievement of the Adam brothers to the age of the Enlightenment, it seems fitting that at least several paragraphs should be devoted to relating that age to those which succeeded it and to presenting the implication of the Adam brothers' achievement for the subsequent development in architecture.

The dismissal of one period is not a prerequisite for the assertion of the significance of the period that succeeds it. The progress that the age of the Enlightenment had made towards a variety of domains involved the establishment of a number of permanent conceptions, which remained consistently influential in the development thereafter. Various phases of the Modern Philosophy went through the philosophy of the Enlightenment. Locke's democratism, Hobbes' absolutism, and Rousseau's totalitarianism, diversified directions in modern society and politics, all have experienced the phase of the Enlightenment. The

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[442] *Ibid.*, p.38.
[443] *Ibid.*, pp.34-40.
[444] Bolton, *Op. cit.*, vol. I, 1922, pref., p.[vii].
[445] Kaufmann, *Op. cit.*, 1955, p.38.

primary significance of the scientific development in this age is needless to mention. Every possible modern discipline and ideology has been developed through continuous colloquy with the essentials of this movement. Just as the Enlightenment was historical in its scope, it was equally futuristic in the provision of permanent conceptions for succeeding ages.

Emerging their style in designs and ideas directly from some of those permanent findings of this historic age, for instance the aesthetic individualism, the distinction of the primary and secondary qualities, and the conceptions of private and public, the Adam brothers came to find an enduring system of architectural design that called upon the architect's own discretion. At the same time, precedent was of crucial importance. While selecting the motifs from different styles of past civilisations, the Adam brothers did not doubt that an architecture shaped to one's personal satisfaction and sense of completion could evolve. The notion was best compounded in their 1773 claim that they had not sauntered into the paths their predecessors have traversed. This was not merely an instance of arrogant self-assertion. Rather it shows up the self-confidence in their age. As Karl Friedrich Schinkel said later in his writing referring to the architectural development in the first half of the nineteenth century: " All great ages have left a record of themselves in their style of building. Why should we not try to find a style for ourselves?" [446] The Adam brothers intended that their architecture do credit to their age.

The Adam brothers' notion of an architect's own discretion, by getting rid of the canonical principles of historic styles and replacing them with the representation of visually perceptible qualities of buildings, was certainly an important contribution towards architects' consciousness of the expanded creativity and subjectivity of their act. This was to become a consistent motivation of architectural creativity throughout the subsequent development in architecture. The history of Modern architecture, undergoing various

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[446] Quoted by Arnold Whittick in *European Architecture in the Twentieth Century*, Leonard Hill Books, 1974, p.28.

changes in forms and definitions, is essentially a result of architects' continuing pursuit of their discretion in practice.

Take the architecture of Post-Modernism for example. Architects' latitude which characterised the flowerings of this cheerful revivalism has no difference in nature from the Adam brothers' imaginative reuse and alteration of historic fragments and elements. Philip Johnson's AT&T Building in New York, Charles Moore's Plazza d'Italia in New Orleans, and Robert A. M. Stern's "columns projects" are twentieth-century variations of what the Adam brothers experimented with at the Adelphi and through their series of the Castle Style buildings, in which past images were imaginatively reconstructed. The Adam brothers' creations of new orders, such as the Britannic and Scottish Orders, emerged from their imaginative freedom in the treatment of precedents. In terms of the latitude they claimed it does not differ from the creative motivation behind the most humorous creations of Post-Modernists, such as Charles Jencks's design for London Column, Robert Venturi's Mickey Mouse Ionic, and James Stirling's mushroom column for the new gallery in Stuttgart. The Enlightenment led architects to realise that anything, whether from the past or their contemporary life, could be reconstructed following their own sense of satisfaction and accomplishment. Merging their reason and sensuous factors of their respective experiences, Post-Modernists and the Adam brothers have a clear similarity of architectural perspective. Their approaches to past styles had space for creative interpretation, which I would personally term as "Reconstructive Historicism". They all highlighted functional individualism over material peculiarity by reflecting the same progress the age of the Enlightenment had made toward architects' consciousness of their own given discretion — of its potentialities, needs, and aims.

* * *

Britain in the age of the Adam brothers was in the age of REASON, and at the same time and more importantly in the age of EXPERIENCE. When Immanuel Kant openly confessed on the Continent that he had been emancipated from the " Dogmatism" of the rationalistic philosophy by empiricist David Hume, in Britain, the architectural scene was experiencing the displacement of the dogmatic authority of classical aesthetics by the new empirical theory of the Enlightenment under the strong influence and leadership of Hume and his contemporary empiricists; and, in so far as the Adam brothers' architectural practice is concerned, they had indeed " brought about, in this country, a kind of revolution in the whole system of this useful and elegant art"[447] — ARCHITECTURE.

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[447] *The Works in Architecture*, vol. I, no. I, p.3.

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