An Archaeology of Perception:

Verbal Descriptions of Architecture in Travel Writings

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I, Annekatrin Hultzsch, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Abstract

This thesis relates two fields, the history of perception and that of language, to each other in order to argue that the ways in which we verbally describe buildings are inherently linked to the way in which we look at and make sense of them. It will show that what we understand when seeing, what we know to have seen, is shaped by the means we find to express and communicate it.

The subject matter of this research is the unfamiliar architectural object as it is perceived, described and imagined while travelling. Contextualising and linking various descriptions of built spaces in travel writings at distinct moments between the seventeenth and twentieth century, perceptual modes of British and German travellers in Italy and England are mapped out. Special emphasis is placed on the context of the seventeenth century, and the birth of Empiricism, which is argued to have led to a new way of perceiving as well as describing the built environment. Texts investigated include travel diaries, letters, guidebooks as well as novels by authors such as John Evelyn, John Bargrave, Daniel Defoe, Tobias Smollett, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Jacob Burckhardt, John Ruskin and Nikolaus Pevsner.

Through an archaeology of perception, local and often fragmentary narratives are constructed - 'snapshots' which focus on past moments rather than providing an extensive historical panorama. Processes of rendering, ordering, thinking, looking and reading the perceived are submitted to methods drawn from the following fields: the disciplines of history - the histories of art, sciences and literature - as well as the cognitive sciences, particularly cognitive linguistics, alongside the more specific concerns of architectural history and theory. Modes of perception located and retraced include notions of immediate and detached recording, of fragmented and vectorial structuring, of emotional versus truth-bearing seeing, of a pure and hyperreal looking as well as of itemizing against visual description.

Contents

List of Illustrations

The original version of this thesis contained more than 60 illustrations. For copyright reasons most of these had to be removed from this edited version as requested by the regulations of University College London.

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I would never have set out for any project as big as this without the unconditional support of my parents who taught me to do what I love.

And most of all, Braulio and Emilia, this is for you.

Introduction

This thesis stems from a longstanding curiosity about questions of perception and about the means by which we can investigate them. As a result, it is perhaps more about ways to find answers than it is about the answers themselves. I began working on this project wondering whether perception could truly be argued to have changed over the course of centuries. This is an old question in the realm of art history, less so perhaps in that of architectural history, but it is not one that has, to my knowledge, ever been explored through an analysis of written accounts. So this is the second query underlying this research: what might verbal descriptions of built spaces reveal about their perception at different times? In other words, what relationships are there between what we see and the ways we find to verbally express the seen? There are thus two threads throughout, the history of perception and the history of description, each of which is distinct, but which periodically intersect - and it is these moments of interchange that are explored in this thesis.

The origins of this project lie in a master's dissertation on Nikolaus Pevsner's *Buildings of England*.[1] In this shorter piece, I was initially intrigued by Pevsner's intention to see most of England's buildings and write descriptions of as many as possible himself. The resulting compression of one man's gaze into words presented for me a unique opportunity to explore the relationship between seeing, describing and reading. Frustrated by the prescriptive and static nature of graphic representations, I showed that Pevsner's words contained a different type of evidence for past perceptual modes - evidence that made possible a novel strategy for investigating the history of perception. To associate perception with graphic images presupposes that vision is static - but Pevsner's descriptions, and subsequently those by others, suggested a different model of perception, which is

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[1] Hultzsch, Anne, 'Looking Through Words: On Visual Perception Mediated through Nikolaus Pevsner's Buildings of England and Other Writings' (University College London, 2006)

essentially mobile. Linking his modern style of writing to his mission to educate the lay public in the appreciation of architecture, I found that his writing is characterised by an objectivity and immediacy that was to become crucial to modern understanding, and perception, of architecture. Part of this thesis, then, is a retracing of how Pevsner's mode of description, and of perception, developed, what its precedents are and whether one can trace such a development at all. I will suggest in what follows that it was the intellectual context of the seventeenth century, and the foundations of Empiricism in particular, which brought about changes to modes of description and perception that are, in different ways, linked to the ways in which architecture has been described and perceived at different moments since then. I will not, however, present a linear, and evolutionary, history of perception and description since the early modern period simply because, as will become apparent, I am convinced that there is no such thing as *a* history of perception.

Some of the problems posed in this thesis are insoluble. But they cannot be avoided if one considers perception a suitable subject for an architectural historian. There has been a recent shift in the discipline towards studying the experience of architecture rather than looking at it as a symbolic practice analysable in linguistic terms. It is into this context in which I would place my work. The focus of such investigations is not so much on the material object or individual, the building or the architect, but rather on the multiple and immaterial relationships that govern the work's formation as well as the responses to it. In this sense, perception is here understood as a process - rather than an entity - that is the outcome of multiple social, cultural and epistemological practices, which are subject to change over the course of time. Consequently, it is these practices on which this thesis focuses and to identify those that are most relevant at any given moment and place is part of its endeavour. Therefore, if some questions here remain unanswered and if I do not come up with one singular response to the overarching problem, then this must be seen as an outcome of the methodology employed. It is a novel strategy for a historical investigation of the relationship between perception and description which this thesis offers an approach to.

Investigating perception

Thinking historically about perception, one is faced with a basic difficulty: perception per se cannot be investigated by means of traditional historical methods - there is no 'hard' evidence for it. We simply cannot look into a seventeenth-century mind to see what that person *saw* and how he or she *looked*. Even in our own time we cannot do so.[2] This thesis argues, however, that written descriptions of some*thing* seen by some*one* some*where* at some*time* offer a type of evidence which can be submitted to different kinds of enquiry drawn from several academic fields. This is a process which takes place in most historical studies - written documents from past times are read, quoted, interpreted and put into context. Usually, however, they are examined mainly either for their informational content or for their material appearance. Here, on the other hand, I set out to use the linguistic form and the circumstances of production in addition to the content of writings in order to investigate the history of architectural perception. Therefore, it is not only *what* is said that matters but, moreover, *how* it is said.

Two fields, the history of perception and the history of language, are thus related to each other in order to argue that the way in which we verbally describe buildings is inherently linked to the way in which we look at, and make sense of, them. Throughout the thesis, I will show how perception makes demands on language, not so much in the sense that it is linguistically structured - as perhaps a structuralist would have argued - but rather implying that *what* we see, *what* we know we have seen, is shaped by how we articulate and communicate our perceptions. In other words, I suggest that perceptual modes are directly linked to the way in which the perceiver understands the process of perception. Someone who has a certain idea of how, where, and when the visual impression is formed will perceive the external world differently from someone who does not share these beliefs.

The difficulty with looking at changing modes of perception is that we can only study perception through the modes of its representation. But none of these are 'neutral': graphic representation is no less undistorted than verbal description. Words, however, have one advantage over images in that they do not deceive us

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[2] Even if neuroscientists are just now coming close to being able to - see the 'Conclusion' at the end of this thesis for a brief review of such developments.

into isomorphic identification with the object perceived: the translation of the seen into words is more palpable than is that into the graphic image - the thing represented in a painting simply resembles itself visually much more than that described by words. However, 'description' itself is not a constant - not only does perception have a history, so does description. As I will show, the very practice of visual description was itself brought into being and developed over the period considered here.

When, what, where: travelling to see

> It's a strange thing about first impressions, they're always an extreme mixture of truth and falsehood, I still can't quite work out what goes on.[3]
>
> Johann Wolfgang von Goethe in Vicenza, 24 September 1786

This research is based on the architectural object as it is perceived, described and imagined. The act of describing what one perceives occurs, perhaps, most often at the moment one sees an object for the first time, and therefore the texts chosen for examination here were all generated by travel. They are the material traces of moments of simultaneous strangeness and self-consciousness that are produced by the state of travel which seems to sharpen our awareness of the environment. On a journey, something unrepeatable happens - travellers see objects, buildings and landscapes for the first time. Often, they subsequently attempt to relive or imitate that very first-time encounter. This seems both to heighten the responsiveness to these objects, buildings or landscapes but also to make observers more conscious of their own process of perception - as Goethe found on his Italian journey. Travelling detaches the observer from the observed object and awareness of the active state of perception increases: the built environment turns from a mute, and perhaps self-evident, everyday background into an accumulation of consciously perceived things. We notice what we would not otherwise see, because we are not used to seeing it. Since many of these experiences seem fleeting, there is, frequently, an urge to record them. Travel journals, sketch books, photographs, letters and postcards home, souvenirs and keepsakes all document this - and have

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[3] Johann W. von Goethe, *The Flight to Italy: Diary and Selected Letters*, translated by T. J. Reed (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 51

done so for the better part of modern history. The link between observing and recording the observed seems to be inherent in travel, which means that these records contain not only evidence for modes of travel but also for modes of perception.

To regard travel in this way, as context and method, rather than a historical phenomenon as such, constitutes perhaps a shift in emphasis from earlier research into the topic but the understanding behind it is far from new. The English novelist and dramatist Henry Fielding (1707-1754) wrote already in his 1755 *Journal of a Voyage to Lisbon* that travel descriptions constitute works of history.[4] Indeed, Herodotus, often heralded as the father of history, was primarily a traveller. Throughout this thesis, and particularly in chapter two, we will encounter such convergences of travel as practice and method.

If travel is common to all the texts investigated, all were written by British and German authors who travelled through Italy and England between the mid-seventeenth century - the moment when the Grand Tour, one of the central travel events of modern history, came into being - and the mid twentieth century - a time when visual perception gained renewed interest among architects and historians and topographical writing experienced a revival. Chapter one and two will set out the context of the 1600s and the important changes they brought in terms of both new intellectual as well as artistic concepts. Pinpointing this century, and particularly its second half, as the moment in which my study begins, is founded on the conviction that with Francis Bacon and his followers a new attitude to the external world emerged which would profoundly change the ways in which it was perceived and made sense of. Bacon's teachings questioned the validity of the ancient discipline of rhetoric as well as of medieval scholasticism, which involved knowing objects in their essence, rather than seeing the relations between them. Perception as such began to be talked about as observation and experiment replaced tradition and authority as the foundations of knowledge production. Perceptual properties of things - auditory, olfactory, tactile but first and foremost visual - replaced symbolic qualities in the identification of such things. Bacon was not the first to articulate these issues - indeed I will draw on a few earlier sources -

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[4] Henry Fielding, *The Journal of a Voyage to Lisbon*, ed. by Austin Dobson (London: Charles Whittingham & Co at the Chiswick Press, 1817), p. 11

but he was fundamental in spreading new ways of understanding the world and in applying these to all sorts of areas of knowledge. As Liane Lefaivre and Alexander Tzonis have claimed in *The Emergence of Modern Architecture: A Documentary History, from 1000 to 1800*:

> the architects of the Dark Ages . . . used a different set of spatial categories to identify similarity and design. While Renaissance or Modern architects would have used shape and size to make a building resemble a prototype, medieval architects applied number, topology and orientation.[5]

Both shape and size, indispensable to architectural discourse today, will be important descriptive categories throughout this thesis but, as I will show, they, as well as similarly structured classifications, belong to specific modes of architectural perception.

Of course, architectural writing is not an invention of the seventeenth century - precedents go as far back as Varro, Pliny or Vitruvius in Roman times with Renaissance treatises subsequently renewing interest in architectural and archaeological investigation. It is, however, important to differentiate between such architectural theorisations and modern architectural description that relies on a new subject - the 'I as eye witness' - as well as a new recipient - the visualising reader, as I will show. Large parts of this thesis will explore the relationship of the coming-into-being of such descriptive modes with what is now termed Empiricism.

Genres drawn upon include published and unpublished travel diaries and letters, guidebooks, novels as well as various in-between types and other circumstantial texts. Underlying this selection is the concept of a 'cognitive history' outlined by Lefaivre and Tzonis:

> 'Theory', in the sense of the web of desires and beliefs, principles and categories that make architectural thinking possible, as well as communication and ultimately practice, is present everywhere. . . . To reconstruct therefore this shifting conceptual system, a cognitive history has to look at a wider and more diverse spectrum of records that manifest how people tried to construe and construct the world anew.[6]

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[5] Lefaivre and Tzonis (eds), *The Emergence of Modern Architecture*, p. 6
[6] Lefaivre and Tzonis (eds), *The Emergence of Modern Architecture*, pp. 3-4

This is fundamental to my research - as is Lefaivre and Tzonis's suggestion as to how such a cognitive history is to be assembled, namely by studying 'not only architectural treatises, handbooks and textbooks, where theoretical statements are explicit, but also documents where desires and beliefs operate implicitly'.[7] The primary material investigated here is thus mainly situated outside the canon of architectural history - which, where it is drawn upon, is treated mostly as secondary matter employed to shed light on the context of the descriptive material that is the key source.

Two authors mark both ends of the historical field outlined above: John Evelyn, famous seventeenth-century virtuoso whose meticulous, if at times dry and commonsensical diary entries cover the geographical field, Italy and England, and provide many, often surprising accounts of old and new buildings around Europe. Nikolaus Pevsner, twentieth-century art historian and herculean author of the guidebook series *The Buildings of England*, still in print, marks the recent end of the historical field with his modern style of writing and desire to educate readers in looking at architecture. If Pevsner features far less in this study than Evelyn, this is due more to time and space constraints than anything else - it was his writing which sparked the idea to link the history of perception to that of verbal description in the first place, as outlined above. Other primary texts stem from the pens of, among others, John Bargrave, Daniel Defoe, Tobias Smollett, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Jacob Burckhardt and John Ruskin. None of these authors was an architect or designer, only a few writings of architects appear in the thesis of whom none is a major figure in the argument. The chosen writers are observers, not passive but without the impulse to design and build themselves what they describe. Instead of creators, these authors are users of the architectural space - and, often, its critics.

Each of these authors travels and writes at a specific moment when shifts are occurring within the fields of perception or description and their social, cultural and epistemological contexts. Moreover, each author is in some way involved in driving, or at least documenting, these shifts. Each text can therefore be read in

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[7] Lefaivre and Tzonis (eds), *The Emergence of Modern Architecture*, pp. 3-4

conjunction with other evidence, verbal, graphic or material, to which it is directly connected and which reveals its implicit meanings.

Evelyn, to begin with, is involved in groundbreaking scientific, linguistic as well as architectural developments of the time - if not always leading them, he is at least a meticulous documenter and therefore reflects better than other writers a general *Zeitgeist*. He wrote on the need to reform language, to reinforce a more sober and detached mode of describing the observed and he was also a frequent user of microscopes and other optical devices and present at many experiments conducted by members of the Royal Society. John Bargrave's collection is, as Stephen Bann and others have remarked, of particular value not so much because of the single precious and rare items it contains, but rather because of its unity and preservation.[8] In particular the fact that text and material are preserved together and have remained largely untouched by dealers and collectors over the past centuries, makes this useful evidence for ways of ordering the unfamiliar. Moreover, Bargrave's writing was turned at the time into a guidebook, the *Mercurio Italico*, and this puts him at the forefront of social and cultural shifts occurring to the realm of travel.

Daniel Defoe is commonly considered one of the first novelists and as such stands exactly at the point of change from emblematic to visual ways of describing. Moreover, his turn to factual description, in almost guidebook-format, in the *Tour* links his fictional writing to other texts discussed here. Tobias Smollett, half a century later, expresses in his fictional writing a crisis of architectural perception that contemporary philosophers such as Addison, Burke and Reid attempted to resolve. The linking of Smollett's writing to these philosophers is perhaps one of the more speculative links I establish in this thesis. Goethe, on the other hand, is, as a poet, obviously concerned with the problematics of language and description but he was also involved in debates regarding optics and vision, as the publication of his *Theory of Colours* shows. Furthermore, his struggle with the mechanic worldview presented by enlightenment encyclopaedias demonstrates how, at this time, empiricism and rationalism - and the resulting opposed forms of knowing and perceiving - had to negotiate some form of coexistence.

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[8] See Stephen Bann, *Under the Sign: John Bargrave as Collector, Traveler, and Witness* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994).

John Ruskin is, of course, a central figure of nineteenth-century art and architectural criticism. His concept of the building to be read as a book, to contain legible meaning, expresses particularly clearly the shift towards an active seeing which relies on emotions as much as on the intellect. At the same time, Jacob Burckhardt stands at the beginning of the new disciplines of art and architectural history. His writings show a particular concern with the workings of perception, which can be put in relation to contemporary developments in optics and physiology. His obsession for the collecting of photographic representations of art works makes it possible to discuss his descriptions by considering the theory and practice of photography. Finally, Pevsner's obsession with seeing firsthand everything (or most) of what he described in his guidebooks, is legendary and puts his writing in direct relation to questions of perception. His articles in the *Architectural Review* reveal moreover how he himself was concerned with the deficits in perception that he thought had to be remedied by educating, and thus literally guiding, readers around buildings.

The choice of these English and German speaking authors was initially an obvious one, since these are the languages I am fluent in, but bilingual reading soon drove my research further. I found that translating back and forth and thinking in two languages simultaneously, carefully checking and weighing meanings against each other, opened my eyes, so to speak, to the subtleties of language, demanding the most careful and critical reading possible. Readers will therefore find frequent references to the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*) in order to understand as precisely as possible what was meant by a term at the time of its use - a crucial step in the tracing of perception in description.

That I have chosen Italy as the main geographical location for this study has two reasons: first, it is a country I know fairly well myself and whose language I read. Second, and more importantly, it is the place to be, as it were, for a European traveller in much of the time span considered - it is the time of the Grand Tour which led the better-off through much of France and Italy, often also Germany, Switzerland and the Austro-Hungarian Empire and at times even more remote European countries. The range of texts available and their links to the socio-cultural and specifically scientific context is plentiful. As I will show in chapter two, the Italian tour shaped Britain both culturally as well as socially in significant ways. Not least, British architecture, both in terms of style as well as its social

standing, was changed profoundly through influences from the continent and particularly Italy with its classical heritage.[9] Several writings emerged from such travels and spread quickly in British intellectual and political circles. For instance, Sir Thomas Hoby travelled through Italy from 1549-50 keeping a detailed journal with remarkably visual descriptions of the Italian scene.[10] John Shute was there around the same time resulting in his *First and Chief Groundes of Architecture*, published in 1563, the first book in English on architecture as such. Sir Henry Wotton toured the continent in the later 1500s and then held the post of British ambassador to Venice in the early 1600s. He was the first Englishman to collect drawings by Palladio and later published *The Elements of Architecture* (1624) making the classical teachings of Vitruvius accessible to the English public by propagating the maxims of firmness, commodity and delight. Lefaivre and Tzonis call him 'one of the first independent architectural critics in history'.[11]

When Inigo Jones travelled to Italy, first around 1600 and then again from 1613-14 with the Earl of Arundel, he too focused his studies on the buildings of Palladio built about sixty years earlier and ignored the more contemporary developments of Mannerism and Baroque.[12] He brought back a substantial library of Italian works on art and architecture, including the treatises of Vitruvius, Alberti, Serlio, Palladio, Vignola and Vasari. By 1620, the influence of Italy on built British architecture became apparent - a visitor to London described a large vertical 'Italyan' window which, as John Summerson has argued, had just been introduced by Inigo Jones.[13] From this point onwards, the number of travellers grew steadily and influences are thus harder to trace as they became almost omnipresent in British life and culture. To tour Italy started to be an integral part of the education of the better-off, and the development of architectural styles over the next two or so centuries as well as their theorisation became inseparable from such experiences. It is, therefore, not too much to claim that any contemporaneous mode

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[9] See Edward Chaney, 'Architectural Taste and the Grand Tour: George Berkeley's Evolving Canon', *Journal of Anglo-Italian Studies*, 1 (1991), pp. 74-91; Edward Chaney, *The Evolution of the Grand Tour: Anglo-Italian cultural relations since the Renaissance* (London: Cass, 1998); David Watkin, 'The Architectural Context of the Grand Tour: The British as Honorary Italians', in *The Impact of Italy: The Grand Tour and Beyond*, ed. by Clare Hornsby (London: British School at Rome, 2000)

[10] Thomas Hoby, 'The Travels and Life of Sir Thomas Hoby, Kt. of Bisham Abbey, written by himself. 1547-1564', *Camden Miscellany*, 10 (1902)

[11] Lefaivre and Tzonis (eds), *The Emergence of Modern Architecture*, p. 179

[12] See Edward Chaney, *Inigo Jones's 'Roman sketchbook'* (London: Roxburghe Club, 2006)

[13] John Summerson, *Architecture in Britain, 1530 to 1830*, 9th edn (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1993), pp. 93-94

of architectural perception - the very concern of this thesis - must, to some extent, have been shaped through the Italian experience.

An archaeology of perception

This thesis is based on several parallel and close readings of texts stemming from very different historical and, to a lesser extent, geographical contexts, each of which needs to be thought through and understood. Besides German and English travellers describing Italian and English sites, the period of study spans four centuries. In order to conduct such a widely conceived project successfully, it was crucial to develop a specific historical method which maps local, and often fragmentary, narratives - 'snapshots', as it were - focusing on past moments rather than providing an extensive panorama. As the title suggests, I refer to this process as an *archaeology* of perception, partly alluding to the historical method employed by Foucault in *The Birth of the Clinic* (1963) and *The Order of Things* (1966) and outlined in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1969), and partly to nineteenth-century art historian Jacob Burckhardt's proposal to call the new discipline that he had helped to create not art history but instead 'art archaeology'.[14]

The *OED* informs us that archaeology is 'Ancient history generally' as well as a 'systematic description or study of antiquities'.[15] It was this element of description that caused Burckhardt - initially at least - to prefer the term 'archaeology' to 'history'. In an early lecture in Zurich in 1856, he declared that

> Archaeology describes art neither according to its temporal development nor according to the development of the styles but, rather, as a state, as a custom and usage, according to its objects and their spreading through all life . . . how art transmits its . . . forms onto everything.[16]

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[14] Burckhardt's notes for lectures in which he uses this term are preserved in the Staatsarchiv Basel (Privatarchiv Jacob Burckhardt, Staatsarchiv Basel-Stadt, PA 207, 160).

[15] See entry for 'archaeology, *n.*', § 1, in *Oxford English Dictionary Online* <http://dictionary.oed.com> [accessed 22 November 2010]

[16] Privatarchiv Jacob Burckhardt, Staatsarchiv Basel-Stadt, PA 207, 160, 'Christliche Archäologie', lecture in Zurich 1856, sheet 1b: 'Die Archäologie [p. 59] schildert die . . . Kunst . . . nicht nach ihrer zeit[lichen] Entwickl[un]g, <auch nicht nach der Entwickl[un]g der Style,> sondern als Zustand, als Sitte und Gebrauch, nach ihren Gegenständen und ihrer Ausbreit[un]g durch das ganze Leben, ja die . . . Kunst ihre . . . Formen auf Alles überträgt.' Quoted in Irmgard Siebert, *Jacob Burckhardt: Studien zur Kunst- und Kulturgeschichtsschreibung* (Basel: Schwabe, 1991), pp. 58-59

From this, Burckhardt later developed his 'art history according to objects and tasks' based on a method transcending single styles and genres.[17] He encouraged his students not to limit themselves to the study of handbooks and secondary literature but instead to find their own new 'modes of reflection for the old monuments' as 'only the sources themselves can produce a truthfully lively view'.[18] This reliance on primary material treated as an object - whether verbal, graphic or architectural - has fundamentally shaped my own method of working.

In the *Archaeology of Knowledge*, Foucault similarly defines archaeological analysis as preoccupied not with

> discourse as *document*, as a sign of something else, as an element that ought to be transparent, but whose unfortunate opacity must often be pierced if one is to reach at last the depth of the essential in the place in which it is held in reserve.[19]

Instead, he argues, archaeology 'is concerned with discourse in its own volume, as a *monument*.' In this sense, he defines the notion of a 'discourse-object' as opposed to 'the sovereign figure of the *œuvres*' whose appearance 'on the anonymous horizon' is traced by the history of ideas. Foucault instead outlines how an archaeological method

> defines types of rules for discursive practices that run through individual *oeuvres*, sometimes govern them entirely, and dominate them to such an extent that nothing eludes them; but which sometimes, too, govern only part of it. The authority of the creative subject, as the *raison d'être* of an *œuvre* and the principle of its unity, is quite alien to it.[20]

My work, too, is based on such a notion of the 'discourse-object' which requires modes of investigation based both on synchronic and diachronic approaches. I understand archaeology as a way to make sense of the present through the past as well as, perhaps, vice versa, and a means to read both contemporaneous discourse-objects as well as those of different periods through each other.

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[17] See Siebert, *Jacob Burckhardt*, pp. 59-60

[18] Burckhardt, *Über das Studium der Geschichte*, p. 89: 'Es liegt noch manches Goldkorn verborgen, was die frühern liegen ließen; jede Zeit bringt eben neue Gesichtspunkte, neue Spiegelungsweisen für die alten Denkmäler mit . . . Endlich: der Werth des Selbstgefundenen, gegenüber dem bloß aus Handbüchern erlernten . . . das wahrhaft Lebendige der Anschauung verleihen nur die Quellen selbst.'

[19] Michel Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge,* translated by A. Sheridan (London: Routledge, 2002), pp. 155

[20] Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, p. 155-56

I add to this the idea of working through narrow but deeply drilled holes excavating, as it were, historical strata as they lie in the unknown of the text. This creates a certain degree of arbitrariness in the choice of locations - moment and place of texts investigated - as well as a definite and deliberate degree of discontinuity. There is little chronology - texts and authors are instead grouped within thematic chapters - and some text passages reappear in different lines of my argument. As we will see, there were different practices at work when Evelyn and Ruskin described their experiences in Italy in the seventeenth and eighteenth century respectively. On the other hand, I would not consider this as *a* linear or progressive change - as the similarities between Evelyn and Pevsner and the disparities between Evelyn and Ruskin will show. While I trace parallels in the perceptual processes of Evelyn in the seventeenth and Pevsner in the twentieth century, these stand in drastic contrast to Ruskin's emotional intellect of the nineteenth century. While Evelyn employed visual methods of describing, Defoe, some decades later, relied still on the listing of emblematic things. These nonlinear similarities and disparities show that the specific context of description and perception is exactly that, specific to moment and place - which in turn has led to the patchwork methodology employed in this thesis. My hope is that I have been able to use both arbitrariness and discontinuity to my advantage, avoiding any grand narrative but instead digging deeper locally and momentarily. In this sense, chapters could well be read in an order other than suggested here.

Space and time, geographical and historical fields are both expanses which have been redistributed, reordered and reattributed in hindsight countless times. It is not the aim of this thesis to do so yet once again. Even if I work within the continuum of historical discourse, it has been a concern throughout my research to avoid conventional periodisations and the construction of evolutionary narratives covering large stretches of time (and space, for that matter). If I mark rupture or progress, it is always local not global. This thesis exposes a method - language as perceptual evidence - by taking advantage of the tensions between language and perception, as a result of which each often shows more about the other than about itself.

Lines of enquiry

The lines or themes along which language and perception have historically created friction, so to speak, were not obvious at the start of this project. I have, however, reencountered some throughout my research and they surface, in some form or another, in all chapters. The most important of these are:

- Vision has long been regarded as that perceptual sense which is primary for all cognitive perception, that is, for perception that constitutes the ways in which we know the world - a concept now referred to as 'ocular centricity'.[21] Whether this primacy of vision is correct or not is not the subject of this thesis, but the fact that vision has been, and continues to be, considered as such must necessarily place it at the centre of my research.

- Perception is both a mental as well as a bodily-sensual capacity. It relies on the intellect as much as on the senses and involves both rational and emotional processes. As I will show, it is, often, the relationship between mind and body, intellect and emotions, and where perception is placed in this relationship that varies from one moment in time to another. In this context, it emerges that perception plays, historically to varying degrees, an integral part within the construction of knowledge. In different situations and fields, seeing has been considered as a step towards, variously, knowing and understanding as well as consciousness.

- Words change. Both in their form but also, and more importantly here, in the way they are used, in their meanings. Throughout the thesis, I will consider such semantic transformations and often these will guide us to detect changes in the way the world was looked at and understood. Such instances mark moments and places at which the interconnectedness of language and perception perhaps becomes most obvious. As Albert C. Baugh and Thomas Cable have written in *A History of the English Language*:

> Words, being but symbols by which people express their ideas, are an accurate measure of the range of their thoughts at any given time. . . . The date when a new word enters the language is in general the date

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[21] For a critical view on this in regards to architecture, see for example Juhani Pallasmaa, *The Eyes of the Skin: Architecture and the Senses* (Chichester: Wiley-Academy, 2005)

when the object, experience, observation, or whatever it is that calls it forth has entered public consciousness.[22]

- One aspect of vision which is relatively straightforward to investigate - and which is directly followed up in verbal description - is that of focus. The simplest question one can perhaps ask of the gaze - and the description - is: what does it focus on, or look at? Which part of a building or space is considered first, which last, how large or small is this part and what is its relationship to the rest of the contemplated object? It is the correlation between parts and whole that will surface repeatedly and be subjected to analysis. Often, such visual focus is connected with a categorisation of vision as either passive - reacting to the perceived - or active - directly shaping the perceived. Variously, such passive or active attitudes have been ascribed to bodily or mental faculties, or both.

- One of the most elementary questions of perception is the relationship between subject and object, between what has been called viewer, observer or beholder and the object of contemplation. Indeed, this is so elementary that it is omnipresent in all parts of my research and is only mentioned here because it might have been expected that my argumentation would join the debate regarding subjectivity versus objectivity in a historical sense. I could have focused on whether the rise of science led to a rise in objectivity in both perception and description. Often, however, I found that the terms 'subjective' and 'objective', in the specific case of this project, failed to be precise enough and, in fact, appeared interchangeable at some points. Expressions like 'to achieve objectivity through subjectivity', indicate the intellectual vicious circle into which such thoughts led me. In this research, therefore, the thematic of subjectivity versus objectivity does not play any significant role. The terms will appear but only within the precise instance of their usage and not to imply any wider ramifications.

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[22] Albert C. Baugh and Thomas Cable, *A History of the English Language*, 5th edn (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 301

Contexts of perception and description

To deal with these, and other, lines of enquiry, I will draw on the disciplines of history - the history of thought, art, sciences and literature - as well as the cognitive sciences, particularly cognitive linguistics, alongside the more specific concerns of architectural history and theory. This thesis addresses a gap in current and recent research which has emerged in discussions about the representation and perception of architecture, particularly in regards to their historical interrelationships.

In general, studies on the architecture-language relationship can, in one sense or another, be divided in two types: the first considers architecture, or a similar category, *as* language while the second investigates the language used *in* an architectural context. The first approach is far removed from my own work, which falls, to some extent, into the second category with the important claim to employ such an investigation of language in order to investigate perception. Adrian Forty's book *Words and Buildings: A Vocabulary of Modern Architecture* is perhaps the most recent and seminal example in the field. In it, Forty analyses, after six introductory essays on the purposes of language in the architectural context, 18 keywords of modern architecture ranging from 'character' over 'form', 'history' and 'simple' to 'space' and 'truth', among others. Interestingly, even though there is no chronological order in this structure, Forty puts together through his analysis a succinct history of modern architecture - and this not only regarding the way it was talked about but with the implied proposition that it developed in the way it did *because* it was verbally described in certain ways.[23]

Perception, in turn, has received only marginal treatment in architectural research with the studies most relevant for my own work undertaken chiefly in an art historical context and often as much as a century ago. Indeed, the problem of whether - and if, how - the perception of the work of art changes over time is one that has occupied art historians ever since the very early years of the discipline in the nineteenth century. I have already referred to Jacob Burckhardt who wrote in a letter to Heinrich Wölfflin in 1896 regarding the transition from early to high Renaissance:

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[23] Adrian Forty, *Words and Buildings: A Vocabulary of Modern Architecture* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2000)

> Whether people obtained different eyes, I do not know, but a different sun crossed the sky which made all colours appear differently and cast completely different shadows in particular.[24]

Of course, Wölfflin's interest lay exactly in such a historical development of vision. Taught by Burckhardt, he developed the art historical principle to describe only what the eye can see. His little booklet *Das Erklären von Kunstwerken* discusses the way in which works of art are to be explained. Two points are particularly interesting, firstly his argument for a historical development of vision:

> And as soon as we understand the stages of creation as stages of vision their spiritual meaning immediately becomes clear. A new sense of the world crystallizes out of each new form of vision.[25]

The remarkable assumption here is that the development of vision causes the advance of creation (*Gestaltung*). Accordingly, styles not only inform modes of perception but are in turn also influenced and changed by shifts occurring in the latter. Additionally, Wölfflin, like Burckhardt, supports the idea that one has to learn how to see:

> Vision is something which has to be learned. It is by no means natural that everyone sees what there is.[26]

The Austrian art historian Alois Riegl concerned himself with such questions in several of his works. In *Problems of Style*, first published in German in 1893, for instance, he investigates a period's perception through a detailed study of its ornaments.[27] About four decades later, Walter Benjamin showed himself convinced that perception is indeed subject to change. In 1936 he writes in his essay 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction':

> During long periods of history, the mode of human sense perception changes with humanity's entire mode of existence. The manner in which human sense perception is organized, the medium in which it is

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[24] Joseph Gantner (ed.), *Jacob Burckhardt und Heinrich Wölfflin: Briefwechsel und andere Dokumente ihrer Begegnung 1882-1897* (Leipzig: Koehler & Amelang, 1988), p. 149: 'Ob die Leute andere Augen bekamen, weiß ich nicht, aber es zog eine andere Sonne über den Himmel, welche alle Farben anders erscheinen ließ und namentlich ganz andere Schlagschatten warf.'

[25] Heinrich Wölfflin, *Das Erklären von Kunstwerken* (Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1921), p. 15: 'Und sobald wir die Gestaltungsstufen als Sehstufen begreifen, leuchtet ihre geistige Bedeutung unmittelbar ein. In jeder neuen Sehform kristallisiert sich ein neuer Inhalt der Welt.'

[26] Wölfflin, *Das Erklären von Kunstwerken*, p. 3: 'so ist das Sehen doch etwas, was gelernt werden muss. Es ist durchaus nicht natürlich, dass jeder sieht, was da ist.'

[27] Alois Riegl, *Problems of Style: Foundations for a History of Ornament* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992). See also Michael Gubser, 'Time and History in Alois Riegl's Theory of Perception', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 66.3 (2005), pp. 451-74

accomplished, is determined not only by nature but by historical circumstances as well.[28]

In turn, Ernst Gombrich, author of the seminal *Art and Illusion: A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation* (1960), has been characterized as part of a 'Perceptualist' tradition in which painting, in particular, 'is viewed *principally* as the mimesis of perception, modified by a schema'.[29]

More recently, Michael Baxandall has written on the ways in which different ways of seeing can lead to different representational styles in painting arguing that

> ways of perceiving . . . depend on many things . . . but not least on the interpreting skills one happens to possess, the categories, the model patterns and the habits of inference and analogy: in short, what we may call one's *cognitive style*.[30]

All these scholars have relied in their research mainly on different types of analyses of the work of art, with a heavy emphasis on painting. Jonathan Crary, in *Techniques of the Observer*, was the first to argue that an entirely new type of research was required in order to tackle the history of perception:

> a history of vision (if such is even possible) depends on far more than an account of shifts in representational practices. What this book takes as its object is not the empirical data of artworks or the ultimately idealist notion of an isolable 'perception,' but instead the no less problematic phenomenon of the observer. For the problem of the observer is the field on which vision in history can be said to materialize, to become itself visible. Vision and its effects are always inseparable from the possibilities of an observing subject who is both the historical product *and* the site of certain practices, techniques, institutions, and procedures of subjectification.[31]

In part, my research owes its very foundation to this insight. The viewer - both the reader-viewer and the author-viewer as I will refer to this elusive figure - is prominent throughout my thesis. The medium I have chosen, between author and reader, is the written description - the verbal representation as opposed to the

[28] Walter Benjamin, 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction', in *The Nineteenth-Century Visual Culture Reader*, ed. by Vanessa R. Schwartz and Jeannene M. Przyblyski (New York, London: Routledge, 2004), p. 66

[29] Norman Bryson, 'Semiology and Visual Representation', in *Visual Theory: Painting and Interpretation*, ed. by Norman Bryson, Michael A. Holly and Moxey, Keith P. F. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), p. 62; Ernst H. Gombrich, *Art and Illusion: A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation* (London: Phaidon, 2002)

[30] Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 29-30

[31] Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1992), p. 5

graphic one - while the object they contemplate and reproduce is the building in all its forms and shapes.

This linking of perception to language is a relatively recent enterprise and, moreover, one that comes to architectural studies from the sciences. Cognitive linguistics emerged in the 1970s out of a concern with the specific link that exists between language and the mind together with a refusal of the structural analysis of linguistic form based upon qualities that are internal and particular to language. Consequently, meaning was conceived as central and form-giving to language, contrary to earlier approaches in which it had been regarded as tangential to linguistic form and its study. It is meaning, however, which is of interest to me - explicit but also, and perhaps more so, implicit meaning. If a certain linguistic form, whether syntactic, lexical or semantic, is used to describe a building, I will regard it as meaningful, both explicitly - of *what* is seen and described - and implicitly - of *how* it is seen and described. This is based on the idea that we always have both a linguistic as well as a lexical choice offering the possibility of expressing the same idea through multiple linguistic forms and word synonyms with different connotations. Throughout the thesis, I will apply discourse analysis in both its descriptive form, referring to the workings of language, as well as a critical type, investigating the ideological background of language. Chapter three in particular will make use of cognitive linguistics and what it says about the correlation between metaphor and understanding the external world.

Recently, architectural historian Thomas A. Markus and linguist Deborah Cameron have, in *The Words between the Spaces: Buildings and Languag*e, argued a position which results from transferring such thoughts to the architectural field:

> Learning what words to use is every bit as necessary as learning how to draw plans, calculate loads or use computer software for modelling; for the technical vocabulary of architecture is not merely a convenient shorthand, it is a system for thinking with. It provides the classificatory schemes which enable architects to 'see' as they do - and, importantly, as other architects do.[32]

Cameron and Markus do not, however, take this idea of a specific architectural mode of seeing any further - perception and language are not linked in order to

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[32] Thomas A. Markus and Deborah Cameron, *The Words between the Spaces: Buildings and Language* (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 3

investigate how both have changed historically with regards to the built environment, as the present study aims to do.

Structure: stages of perception and description

What, then, can verbal descriptions of built spaces reveal about historically specific modes of architectural perception? Similar to optical devices they manipulate the percept of the described object while, at the same time, representing evidence for a rendering of perception into description. Here, texts will be treated as recreations of the material object and thus artefacts in their own right. The thesis evolves along five stages of the perceptual and representational process - *rendering*, *ordering*, *thinking*, *looking* and *reading*. Each of the resulting chapters shows one way to break open written descriptions, as it were, to make them reveal characterisitcs of their creators' mode of perception. Each successive chapter relies on a different approach taken from either or both of the realms of language and of perception. Broadly, chapter one uses the history of language, chapter two the history of knowledge and travel, chapter three cognitive linguistics, chapter four the history of optics and chapter five that of literary genres. Developments in what we now refer to as the sciences, philosophy and arts are considered as appropriate. The first two chapters set the scene with discussions of the idea of rendering in words as such and, more specifically, in the context of ordering - travel - followed by three chapters each considering the processes of thinking, looking and reading:

Rendering: What are the mechanics of architectural writing, what is its relation to perception and, consequently, how can both be historicized? This chapter scrutinizes the author figure and the act of rendering immediate impressions into verbal representations introducing the participants of description: author-viewer, reader-viewer and the described object. Passages from Evelyn's diary as well as Nikolaus Pevsner's seminal twentieth-century *Buildings of England* show how each author aspires to convey a truthful and immediate representation of what he sees, that is, of his mode of perception.

Ordering: What effects does travel, as movement towards unfamiliar places, have on perception? This chapter explores the very premises and origins of modern description as it emerged in the encounter of early Grand Tourists with the unfamiliar in the 1600s. Tracing methods of ordering and structuring, unpublished travel journals, guidebooks as well as material collections assembled in close

relationship to writing are investigated. The chapter also takes into account notions of curiosity, the cabinet of curiosity, the 'scientific method' as well as the relationship between parts and the whole.

Thinking: What does metaphor reveal about the human understanding of the external world? What does it mean if one object is employed to describe another? Metaphor occupies an important role in the thinking about spaces, in any form of representation therefore, but on language it bestows a very specific power and, at the same time, reveals the author's own understanding of perceptual processes. I demonstrate here how John Evelyn distinguished between intellect and emotion, while John Ruskin relied exactly on the congruity of emotions with intellectual responses for his visual descriptions in *The Stones of Venice* (1855).

Looking: How do groundbreaking optical and epistemological tools influence the way the world, and architecture in particular, is described - and hence perceived? Evelyn's writing demonstrates his familiarity with scale-changing optical lenses while Goethe in his diary, a century later, struggles to reconcile his empirical approach with a world view produced by the new genre of the encyclopaedia. Finally, the early academic descriptions by Swiss art historian Jacob Burckhardt seem to rely on irregularities in perception resulting from relating an original to its photographic reproduction.

Reading: What is description? Can it be both visual and non-visual? What influence do different practices of reading have on it? Investigating eighteenth-century novels and travelogues by Daniel Defoe and Tobias Smollett as well as a series of guidebooks to the Stowe estate, this chapter traces the consequences of newly available means of realistic representation and relates them to changing practices of reading, from oral to silent, as well as theories of the mind and of perception prevalent at the time. It was only through the process of silent reading that it was possible for the reader-viewer to be guided directly by the imagined voice of the author-viewer.

Subject matter

There are several reasons why the subject matter of this enquiry into perception is the built environment. The first is the simple fact that it is this environment in which humans have developed modes of both speaking and seeing - and continue to do so. Perhaps it would be more accurate to refer to the subject as the physical

environment as I include descriptions of landscapes and nature as well. But the focus remains on architectural space, urban and rural, enclosed and open, made from stone, wood, glass, metal, concrete or even plants. This stems from the conviction that it is the environment we occupy, together with its specific socio-cultural context, which shapes our perception.

The second reason is a more personal one - my own background as an architect: even if my interest has, in recent years, shifted to the history and theory of architecture as well as its representation and dissemination, my architectural training and practical experience is, and will remain, crucial for how I look at the world, how I see, read and perceive. As an architecture student, and ever since, I have been trained not only to draw but also to *see*. This thesis is the result of my curiosity as to how this can have occurred - to be *trained* in *seeing* - and about the logical consequence that there are, indeed, distinct modes of perception. It was the urge to search for ways to trace these, to ask how we look at our built environment today and how people of the past have looked at it, which started this research and drove it throughout.

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Rendering Buildings into Words:
Methods of Verbal Representation in Evelyn and Pevsner (1644-65, 1947-74)

This first chapter forms a preamble to the whole project and considers what writing is as such, what its relation is to perception and, resulting from this, how both can be historicized. I will investigate the 'mechanics' of description, how description 'works' and who participates in it. I am starting here to develop a methodology of working with different historical moments, of reading one through the other in order to establish links which enhance the understanding of these moments.

The protagonist of this chapter is the seventeenth-century diarist John Evelyn who travelled in Italy in 1644-46. The account of his journey forms part of his *Diary* which he reworked mainly retrospectively from the 1660s onwards. One of the main English seventeenth-century sources for historians of all fields and by some even regarded as having changed travel writing,[33] Evelyn is nevertheless well known for having generously copied parts of his text from earlier guidebooks. He thus followed a practice well established and, as I will argue here, accepted at his time. However, being the meticulous documenter that he was, he subtly changed formulations and added specific observations penning down descriptions of built spaces which convey a very careful apperception of architecture but are rarely critically considered. The *Diary* is often quoted and both buildings as well as architectural inventions have been - at times wrongly - dated with its help.

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[33] See Michael G. Brennan (ed.), *The Origins of the Grand Tour: The Travels of Robert Montagu, Lord Mandeville (1649-1654), William Hammond (1655-1658), Banaster Maynard (1660-1663)* (London: Hakluyt Society, 2004), pp. 40-41

Comparing his text to his alleged sources, I will show here what he copied, but also what he altered, what he added, and, more importantly, what these alterations and additions reveal about the underlying modes of perception as well as representation.

Almost exactly three hundred years later an architectural historian set out to review 'every building of architectural interest' in England.[34] Nikolaus Pevsner, well-known ever since the publication of the first volumes of the guidebook series *The Buildings of England* in the 1950s, thought it imperative to see every single building by himself and to record as many of his impressions as possible on the same day of visiting it - an endeavour he spent much of his life on and which he almost fulfilled.

Focusing on the production of these architectural descriptions, I will discuss questions of originality and authorship as well as the nature of and attitude towards verbal representations. Introducing the first of the historical links, this chapter attempts a confrontation of Evelyn's working methods with Nikolaus Pevsner's documentary procedure in the *Buildings of England*, first published in the 1950s. Without aiming to bridge the three centuries dividing both authors, it will be shown how each author aspired to mediate a truthful representation of what he saw, that is, of his mode of perception. Both were, as will be suggested, preoccupied with the problem of how to render a truth of vision into words, in an almost scientific way (although 'science' meant a very different thing to each of them). Ultimately, the aim of this chapter is to establish a research method working with archival and published material from the two far margins of the set time frame. Moreover, I will introduce here the participants of description which will stay with us throughout: the author and the reader - or the author-viewer and the reader-viewer as I will come to call them - as well as the described object.

To do so, I will first outline the history of the *Diary* as well as the methods applied to construct it, then present Evelyn's sources and discuss prevailing attitudes towards language at his times. In the second part, the text itself will come to the front to explore the tools of language in describing built spaces and thus recording a piece of vision, as it were. Finally, the third part will link these findings

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[34] Bridget Cherry and John Newman (eds), *Nikolaus Pevsner: The Best Buildings of England* (Harmondsworth: Viking, 1986), p. 9

to Nikolaus Pevsner's way of working, of looking and writing, in the mid twentieth century.

History and nature of Evelyn's diary

Evelyn's sources for his descriptions of Italy are mainly found in six books which were all published in the seventeenth century and available to Evelyn at the time of reworking his diary. After an initial but deficient publication in the early 1800s, it was not until 1955 that a complete edition of the *Diary* was ever published in six heavily annotated volumes. Their editor, E.S. de Beer, had extensively researched the origins of Evelyn's travel descriptions and referenced whether passages were derivative or original and thus made it possible to compare them word by word.[35] My own research thus relies deeply on de Beer's work.

Diary writing

Evelyn himself never had much to say about his own diary writing.[36] At the age of ten - or whenever he edited this part of the diary in later years - he writes,

> 1631. There happen'd now an extraordinary dirth in Engl: corne bearing an excessive price: and in imitation of what I had seene my Father do, I began to observe matters more punctualy, which I did use to set downe in a blanke Almanac.[37]

As Evelyn did not consider his own diary writing, whether as contemporary or retrospective notes, as worthwhile to be discussed any further, so the practice of diary writing has in general received far less attention by scholars than other literary genres. In general, historical diaries are valued for their assumed factual content, be it social, political, scientific or other, while the style of writing of a diarist is only rarely praised for itself - Evelyn's contemporary Samuel Pepys perhaps being one of the exceptions. Stuart Sherman claims in *Telling Time:*

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[35] John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. by Esmond S. de Beer, 6 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955)
[36] See Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn* (1955), vol. 1, p. 79
[37] Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn* (1955), vol. 2, p. 10

Clocks, Diaries, and English Diurnal Form, 1660-1785 that the advances in clock technology in mid seventeenth-century England facilitated the more rigorous dated-entry style of diaries as we know them today.[38] It seems plausible that the new ability to measure time influenced not only people's life and work but foremost also the ways in which these were recorded. Arthur Ponsonby, in his 1923 *Review of English Diaries from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century*, confirms this suggestion that diary writing as such was a comparatively recent format at Evelyn's time:

> Although it is conceivable that documents of the nature of diaries existed in England before the sixteenth century and have been destroyed, there is no real evidence of the existence of what we now know as private diaries in the previous centuries. . . . The idea of writing down daily thoughts and notes on passing events . . . is of comparatively modern growth[39]

Soberly, he also notices, that no writerly talent is necessary to compile a diary. 'On the contrary,' he contests, 'literary talent may be a barrier to complete sincerity'.[40]

Ponsonby, in the 1920s, argues thus for an incompatibility between 'sincerity' and 'literary talent': if one is lucky enough not to possess this talent - therefore turning out as a proficient diary writer - it seems to be in travel descriptions that this talentless advantage reverses into a handicap again, as Ponsonby remarks further on:

> Many people take the opportunity of excursions or travel to write full descriptions of the sights they see. Lakes and mountains, cathedrals and monuments, inspire travellers with a desire to write. But it must be frankly confessed that unless the writer is endowed with considerable literary talent this section of their diary is likely to prove extremely dull. Nothing indeed shows up a writer's literary incapacity more than his attempts to expatiate on the wonders of nature and art;[41]

Does the description of 'lakes and mountains, cathedrals and monuments' not require sincerity, therefore? On the other hand, Roy C. Strong, the editor of the most recent and most compact edition of John Evelyn's *Diary*, ascribes to its author

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[38] Stuart Sherman, *Telling Time: Clocks, Diaries, and English Diurnal Form, 1660-1785* (Chicago London: University of Chicago Press, 1996), pp. 1-28

[39] Arthur Ponsonby, *English Diaries: A Review of English Diaries from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century with an Introduction on Diary Writing*, 2nd edn (London: Methusen & Co. Ltd., 1923), p. 3

[40] Ponsonby, *English Diaries*, p. 1

[41] Ponsonby, *English Diaries*, p. 17

an 'inability on the whole to be discursive' and, more, a lack of humour and complains that 'always one is left wanting more'. Simultaneously, he praises Evelyn's travel descriptions as a 'most vivid . . . response' but at once warns the researcher that this 'part of the diary needs to be read with caution' due to Evelyn's habit of freely copying from other sources, thus rendering these passages, in a sense, forged, perhaps insincere, to refer again to Ponsonby's choice of words.[42] Nonetheless, I will argue here for the exact opposite, namely, that it was precisely a claim for *truth* which not only legitimized the use of someone else's work but actually required Evelyn to proceed as he did.

The diary, as it is exemplified by Evelyn's and others' writing, might indeed have just emerged at this time as a new form - and specifically in the context of travel. In fact, we shall see that in the seventeenth century the travel guide and the diary, nowadays two distinct genres, appear very similar both in content and form. Both are somewhat discursive, contain no or very few illustrations and tend to represent one author's personal experiences. In fact, I would suggest that the origin of both genres as we know them today lie, closely intertwined, in this period. The diary as a format with daily entries might have originally emerged as a way to experiment with the capacities of language to represent and record events as well as things. Guidebooks were frequently derived from travel diaries and often retained the first-person narrative, sometimes even the dated entry format. Particularly travel diaries such as those as I will investigate here were normally meant to be read by others. Chloe Chard in *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour: Travel Writing and Imaginative Geography, 1600-1830* confirms that the 'first-person narrative of travel is taken as the point of definition of a genre throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries'. Only in the mid eighteenth-century, she claims, is this format replaced by more 'practically orientated, impersonally presented' guidebooks. It is only at this point that 'first-person narratives . . . acquire a markedly 'literary' status'.[43]

In a much earlier example, Fynes Moryson's 1617 *Itinerary* which describes extensive travels across Europe and the Orient, the author gives precise instructions

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[42] Roy Strong, 'Introduction', John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. by Esmond S. de Beer and Roy C. Strong (London: Everyman's Library, 2006), pp. xvii–viii, xiii
[43] Chloe Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour: Travel Writing and Imaginative Geography, 1600-1830* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), pp. 14 n38

regarding the keeping of a travel journal - the fact alone that they are so detailed shows that this was not yet a common enough habit of travellers:

> Let nothing worth the knowledge passe his eyes or eares, which he draweth not to his owne possession in this sort. In the meantime, though he trust not to his papers, yet for the weaknes of memory, let him carefully note all rare observations; for hee lesse offends that writes many toyes, then he that omits one ferocious thing, and after when his judgement is more ripe, he shall distill Gold (as the Proverb is) out of this dung of *Ennium*. Let him write these notes each day, at morne and at even in his Inn, within writing Tabels carried about him, and after at leasure into a paper booke, that many yeers after he may looke over them at his pleasure.[44]

The traveller's mornings and evenings in the inn are thus spent jotting down notes and observations made on that or the previous day which are later on transcribed into a paper book so that they can be perused at leisure still 'many yeers' later. Important here is, besides the meticulous method of diary keeping, also the initial emphasis on sensual impressions - only what has been perceived first hand through the 'eyes or eares' should be noted and not that which one has heard told by others or read in books. It is through the practice of direct observation as well as the common need for 'ordering' that diary writing and travel are intimately connected.[45]

Sources

According to de Beer, Evelyn's account of Italy is taken primarily from two seventeenth-century guidebooks: the Latin *Mercurius Italicus* by Johannes Heinrich von Pflaumern, first published in 1625, and *An Itinerary Contayning a Voyage Made through Italy* from 1648. Even if the latter is attributed on the title page to John Raymond, it is very likely that it was originally compiled by his uncle, the traveller and collector John Bargrave who was in Italy on several occasions in the mid seventeenth century and whose legacy in form of journals and collections will be considered in chapter two.[46] To avoid confusion, I will refer to this work as the *Mercurio Italico*, a second title which was engraved in its frontispiece and which is widely used in the literature on the subject.

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[44] Fynes Moryson, 'Of Travelling in generall', in *An Itinerary. London 1617: A facsimile*, vol. 3 (New York: Da Capo Press, 1971), pp. 12-13
[45] Chapter two contains more on diary writing, specifically as a memory aid.
[46] See Stephen Bann, *Under the Sign*, p. 21 and Brennan, *The Origins of the Grand Tour*, p. 46

Both Pflaumern and the *Mercurio Italico* had already copied from a hugely successful seventeenth-century 'bestseller', the *Itinerarium Italiae* by Francois Schott which appeared in numerous editions between 1600 and 1761 and was translated, among other languages, into English in 1660.[47] Occasionally, Evelyn also seems to have used Richard Lassels's *Voyage of Italy* from 1670 as well as John Ray's *Observations, topographical, moral, & physiological* published in 1673. For the account of Rome, two earlier books by Pompilio Totti, the *Ritratto di Roma antica* and the *Ritratto di Roma moderna*, also served as sources.[48] All these texts appear rather similar in terms of both style and format and as a catalogue of his library shows, Evelyn owned all of these books, and many more concerned with travel in Italy and elsewhere. Indeed, we know that he bought his copy of Pflaumern in Rome on 14 November 1644.[49] Passages from Ray's *Observations* were even copied in one of Evelyn's surviving commonplace books while others are at least mentioned there in a list of books entitled 'Hist&Philolog'.[50]

Method

How, then, did Evelyn work? De Beer has managed to determine the stages in which Evelyn reworked his diary. During his early life, Evelyn apparently took only sporadic notes in almanacs which were completed and edited later in life: in the early 1660s he thus completed his notes for the years up to 1645 (the period in which he travelled). Then, between 1680 and 1684, he worked on the entries up to 1684 after which all entries are finally contemporaneous meaning that an entry's date in the diary corresponds to the date on which it was written. Unfortunately,

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[47] Francois Schott, *Italy, in its Original Glory, Ruine and Revival: being an exact survey of the whole geography, and history of that famous country; with the adjacent islands of Sicily, Malta, &c. And what ever is remarkable in Rome …*, translated by Edmund Warcupp (London: Printed by S. Griffin, for H. Twyford, Tho. Dring, & I. Place, 1660)

[48] Schott, Francois, *Itinerarii Italiæ rerumq. Romanorum libri tres* (Antwerp: Jan Moretus and Drukerij Plantijnsche, 1600); Schott, *Italy, in its Original Glory, Ruine and Revival*; Richard Lassels, *The Voyage Of Italy, Or A Compleat Journey through Italy: In Two Parts. With the Characters of the People, and the Description of the Chief Towns, Churches, Monasteries Tombs, Libraries Pallaces, Villa's, Gardens, Pictures, Statues, and Antiquities. As Also of the Interest, Government, Riches, Force, &c. of all the Princes. With Instructions concerning Travel* (Paris: V. du Moutier, 1670), vol. 1; Ray, John, *Observations, topographical, moral, & physiological: made in a journey through part of the Low-Countries, Germany, Italy and France and their virtues … Whereunto is added A brief account of Francis Willughby Esq. his voyage through a great part of Spain* (London, 1673); Pompilio Totti, *Ritratto di Roma antica: nel quale sono figurati i principali tempij … & altre cose notabili. Con le vite & effigie de primi Re d'essa. Con le dichiarationi di B. Marliani … ed altri autori, etc.* (Roma, 1633) and *Ritratto di Roma moderna, etc.* (Roma, 1638)

[49] Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn* (1955), vol. 2, pp. 214 n.1

[50] John Evelyn, *The John Evelyn Archive*, British Library, Add. MS 78632 (library catalogue), Add. MS 78328 and 78329 (commonplace books)

none of the surviving almanacs with the original notes cover the period of his travels. We can only assume that he did take notes en-route, on account of the many details he records which cannot all have been copied from elsewhere as I will show in the following.

Even if the derivative nature of a good part of Evelyn's travel entries seemingly poses a problem for the researcher, this is counterbalanced by at least two distinct advantages. Firstly, it allows us to discern exactly what he did differently from others and confirms that he did so on purpose. Secondly, the effort with which he reworked his notes shows that he had some form of reader in mind, possibly even publication (it might well be that he was hoping for posthumous fame, as indeed it then happened) - ultimately, I would suggest that he wrote his diary to be read and possibly used by travellers - as he had used others' texts, both published and unpublished.

To come back to the initial question: what does one make of the fact that all these authors copied from one another as well as from other sources? I would suggest that the aim of such writing was not to create an original text but instead to record the visible by verbally re-creating and thus recording it. Perhaps Evelyn strived for comprehensiveness rather than originality. Neither the concept of originality nor that of authorship, however, necessarily operated at the time as they do today. Michel Foucault has famously argued that they not only changed over the centuries but also varied from genre to genre. He writes in his essay 'What is an author',

> the 'author-function' is not universal or constant in all discourse. . . . In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a totally new conception was developed when scientific texts were accepted on their own merits and positioned within an anonymous and coherent conceptual system of established truths and methods of verification.[51]

At the same time, however, any 'literary' text was expected to state its author and the date, place, and circumstance of its writing (even if these were pseudonymous or fictitious). The meaning and value attributed to the text depended on this information.

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[51] Michel Foucault, 'What is an Author?', in *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*, ed. by Donald F. Bouchard (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977), pp. 125-26

Thus, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries literary texts had to be assigned to a named author whilst this was not required in a context where the content was appreciated as contributing to a general system of knowledge. Even more, authorship could, in science (or natural history as it was then called), become a collective effort as the main target was to compose a *truthful* account. The common habit of keeping commonplace books, adhered to by John Evelyn, underlines this assumption. Here, we encounter for the first time explicitly the second participant in verbal description besides the author: the reader. Ann Blair refers to the practice of commonplacing as a 'method of reading' in which, remarkably, the reader turns writer by copying relevant passages 'for the rhetorical turns of phrase, the dialectical arguments, or the factual information they contain'.[52] General subject headings in the margin helped to retrace quotations, frequently indices were compiled referring to these general subjects (but not to the authors), as also in Evelyn's commonplace books. The ordering of these notes seems to have varied but it appears that the retaining of the original source was not a key priority - and it is this which makes the commonplace book a symbol for a 'way of creating physical knowledge', as Blair states:

> the commonplace book . . . may record the origin of a fact (whether bookish or reported by a witness or an artisan) but treats each entry independently of its source, as potentially useful knowledge equivalent to every other entry.[53]

The content of text, the knowledge, becomes more important than its originators, or rather observers, since knowledge in an early modern context is proven ultimately only by experience - as I will show now.

To which genre belonged the seventeenth-century travel diary or guidebook, then? Scientific or literary? Even if such distinctions are modern ones, established firmly only long after the early modern period, and even if the term 'science' has become more and more specific in recent centuries, there existed at the time already a differentiation between those texts that aimed at knowledge production and those that did not. It is in this sense of knowledge that I use the term 'science'

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[52] Ann Blair, 'Humanist Methods in Natural Philosophy: The Commonplace Book', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 53.4 (1992), p. 541
[53] Blair, 'Humanist Methods in Natural Philosophy', p. 547

here - a meaning common to the seventeenth century.[54] In Evelyn's case, the expressed purpose of his diary was to record his times for posterity. Both Evelyn and Ray, author of the 1673 *Observations* as well as several dictionaries and scientific treatises,[55] were founding members of the in 1660 newly established Royal Society and as such were both producers as well as consumers of scientific discourse describing observations of all kinds. Evelyn himself published both translations of Latin and French works as well as several original writings on such varied topics as botany, medicine, mathematics, physics, mechanics or chemistry.

Moreover, both Evelyn and Ray, as other virtuosi of the time, shared an explicit interest in language. Ray planned to publish a dictionary, the *Collection of English Words not generally used* (1674) while Evelyn would become involved in the Royal Society's efforts to promote a plainer language in scientific prose devoid of rhetoric embellishment and ornament. A sub-committee for this purpose was formed in 1664, consisting of 22 members among whom were besides Evelyn also the poet John Dryden and Thomas Sprat, author of the famous *History of the Royal Society London*.[56] This was, in fact, as close as England would ever get to an academy of the kinds which had been founded much earlier in Italy and also in the 1660s in France. Evelyn developed an extensive, if never executed, programme to implement a way of argumentation through the evidence of the subject matter itself rather than through persuasive rhetoric, true to the Baconian paradigm that the 'new science . . . wanted to deal with things not words'[57] - reflected also in the Society's motto 'nullus in verba', which roughly translates as 'take nobody's word for it'. In a long letter to Peter Wyche, the committee's chairman, Evelyn stressed that the English language had been corrupted through the 'Pedantry of Schooles; Affectation of Travellers, Translations, Fancy and style of Court, . . . Pulpits, . . . Theaters, Shopps &c' - all of which produced exactly that ornamental language which distracted from the observed and which the Royal Society was committed to

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[54] See entry for 'science, *n.*', in *Oxford English Dictionary Online* <http://dictionary.oed.com> [accessed 14 December 2010]

[55] See, for instance, John Ray, *A Collection of English Words not generally used, with their significations and original, with catalogues of English birds and fishes; and an account of the preparing and refining such metals as are gotten in England* (London: H. Bruges, for T. Burrell, 1674)

[56] Thomas Sprat, *History of the Royal Society London, For the Improving of Natural Knowledge* (London: J. Martyn, 1667). See Johannes Söderlind, 'The attitude to language expressed by or ascertainable from English writers of the 16th and 17th centuries', in *A Reader in Early Modern English*, ed. by Mats Rydén, Ingrid van Tieken-Boon Ostade and Merja Kytö (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 1998), p. 473

[57] Söderlind, 'The attitude to language expressed by or ascertainable from English writers of the 16th and 17th centuries', p. 465

eradicating. Interestingly, Evelyn attested that 'The parts affected . . . we find to be the Accent, Analogy, Direct Interpretation, Tropes, Phrases, and the likes'.[58] The emphasis here is on the uncertain state of language, on how 'direct interpretation' was affected - the truthful meaning of words and sentences seemed to be in danger as 'tropes' and 'phrases' prevented unambiguous statements. The Royal Society's decisive rejection of rhetorical ploys corresponded to its general quest for *truth* - in Evelyn's case to be achieved through comprehensiveness and a concentration on the object itself. The *thing* was to be represented as it was observed, not as it had been told previously; the aim was a kind of objectivity achieved by subjectivity, a truthfulness based on subjective impression - a notion which will come to the fore again in the last chapter of this thesis.

Yet, the language committee did not produce much more than letters and, in the end, the only mode of reporting for which the Society issued specific guidelines was, interestingly, the travel narrative. These advised on content, style as well as format recommending a two-stage process, reminiscent of Evelyn's diary compilation: anything remarkable was first to be recorded en-route and then, upon return of the traveller, to be revised and completed. Lawrence Rooke, Robert Hooke and Robert Boyle, again all founding members of the Royal Society, published several versions of these guidelines under headings such as 'Directions for Sea-men, bound for far Voyages' or 'General Heads for a Natural History of a Countrey, Great or Small' in the early issues of the *Philosophical Transactions*, one of the first scientific journals.[59] The main demands on the seaman-turned-writer were scientific: exact geographical locations were to be determined and tides, currents as well as meteorological and astronomical observations to be recorded in specific tables. A preface to an issue in 1676, probably written by Henry Oldenburg, the journal's editor, demanded furthermore the compilation of 'a *Natural History of Countries*' which, it said,

> would afford us a copious view, and a delightful prospect of the great
> variety of Soyls, Fountains, Rivers, Lakes, &c. in the several places of
> this globe; and of the manifold effects, productions and operations of
> the Sun, and perhaps of other Celestial influences, upon them all; or of

[58] Evelyn, *The John Evelyn Archive*, British Library, Add. MS. 78298 f. 139
[59] *Philosophical Transactions*, 1 (1665-66), pp. 140-3, 147-9, 186-9; 2 (1667), pp. 433-48; 11 (1676) p. 551-6

Subterraneal Steams, or peculiar winds, arising at state or uncertain times.[60]

He continued by acknowledging the work been done by 'many Ancient and Modern Geographers, Topographers, Hydographers' as well as 'some late Travellers'. Among these, so he wrote,

> we must acknowledge many excellent, ingenious and truly *Philosophical Histories* of the Architecture, and grandeur, and situation of Royal and Noble Palaces, Cities, Cittadels, Fortifications, Towns, Bridges, Rivers, fertil Vales, Rocks and Mountains. But some of these have a consideration a part from Physiology, and do rather belong to Arts and Artifices: And some Writers are more concern'd for Panegyricks of the *amænities* of the place, than will well sort with the true and modest relations of their Neighbours: . . . which yet I do not blame or censure in . . . noble Romance: But in our designed *Natural History* we have more need of severe, full and punctual Truth than of Romances or Panegyriks.[61]

This was the first time that the recording and observing of architecture was mentioned in any of these directives and it occurred in an interesting passage. The author claimed that the earlier writings, the 'philosophical histories', had not all described the 'physiology' of architecture but rather had tended to be part of 'arts and artifices' and had contained 'Panegyricks of the *amænities* of the place', that is, anecdotal praise of its pleasant qualities. The warning not to follow this example but rather to focus on any building's 'physiology' corresponded again to the Royal Society's demand for a plainer language describing the attributes of things, not circumstantial notions. Likewise, a 'natural history' required *truth*, not stories and, therefore, man-made as well as natural objects should be described not as 'arts and artifices' but rather according to their 'physiology' - a term which at the time referred both to the functioning of living organisms as well as, more generally, to natural philosophy, science that is. What, however, was meant exactly with a 'physiology' of a building or place? I would suggest that the term implies, first, that natural objects and those built by man - architecture - were to be treated equally and, second, that both were therefore considered as objects whose study contributed to the production of knowledge. Close observation, subsequent verbal recording as well the reading of such architectural descriptions thus formed an

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[60] 'The Preface', *Philosophical Transactions*, 11, 123 (1676), p. 552
[61] 'The Preface', *Philosophical Transactions*, 11, 123 (1676), p. 552

equally important contribution to learning as did those of plants, animals or astronomical phenomena.

The final aim of these initiatives was to combine all the single observations and notes into one 'natural history' for each country. 'History' here did not refer to a chronological description of events but rather to a methodical account of a natural phenomenon without reference to time. The underlying intentions of such directives are probably as noteworthy as the prescribed methodicalness with which data was to be collected and recorded. Thus, the eye-witness and editor-narrator - the author-viewer - of the two-stage process could even consist of different individuals aiming to produce a *truthful* report or several travelling observers might contribute to one single report.[62] In this sense, Evelyn would have seen himself and his sources as the eye-witnesses while he himself also took over the role of the editor-narrator producing the final *true* description. He thus strived to compile a 'history' of the places he visited, a methodical description, as it were, of the foreign place as a natural and man-made phenomenon.

Therefore, I would propose to place Evelyn's travel observations within a scientific rather than a literary context, even if, from a present-day perspective, they might bear literary characteristics (disappointing ones to some, as we have seen). For Evelyn, it was just as legitimate to copy from other guidebooks as it was to rework his diary at a later stage in life and, indeed, he would have considered his work as flawed - and untruthful - had he proceeded otherwise.

Text work

I will now try to shed light on the 'mechanics' of writing - and looking - by analysing some short passages from Evelyn's Italian entries, both derivative and

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[62] Apart from Schott, all other authors had indeed been travelling extensively in Italy and therefore could be considered real 'eye-witnesses'. Schott however takes large parts from yet another source, the description of a German prince's travels to Italy in the late 1500s. For a detailed discussion of Schott's text see Esmond S. de Beer, 'Francois Schott's Itinerario d'Italia', *The Library*, XXIII.2, 3 (1942)

original. In this, I will also establish some general 'tools' of verbal representation in order to learn more about the nature of description as such.

Itinerary of observation

In general, Evelyn follows a method of observation, the 'itineraribus observanda', laid out by Schott in the oldest of the guidebooks used here.[63] This clearly organized table is a typical taxonomic scheme of the kind through which knowledge would have been ordered before Francis Bacon and other philosophers set about restructuring human learning in the seventeenth century. Such tables were used to organize any element of knowledge or experience into a system of chains and sub-chains held together commonly by large curly brackets. The French sixteenth-century logician and humanist Peter Ramus is commonly regarded as the chief advocate of these tables which are hence called Ramist taxonomies.[64]

Of Evelyn's sources, Lassels seems to have adhered most closely to such schemata. He certainly produced the most organized text, including even an index to his first part referencing all entries except those on Rome which are contained in the second part - of the other guidebooks only the English translation of Schott also provides an index. Lassels's entries are generally well ordered in themselves, too, progressing from a classification of the place within the wider power system over general notes on its situation, physical appearance and social structure to a detailed list of what is to be seen - and this indeed follows Schott's 'itineribus observanda'. Introducing his account of Florence, Lassels writes, 'But before I come to the particulars of what *I* saw in *Florence*, I will consider it in *great*, and then come to the *Detail* of it'.[65] Remarkably, the emphasis is generally on visible things and less on chronological and political events. It is much more a guidebook in today's sense than all the other books considered here.

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[63] Francois Schott, *Itinerarii Italiæ rerumq. Romanorum libri tres a Francisco Schotto … ex antiquis nouisque scriptoribus editi, & ab Hieronymo Capugnano … aucti. Editio quarta, ab Andrea Schotto … recensita .* (Antuerpiae: ex Officina Plantiniana, 1625), pp. 10v-11r
[64] For an extensive review of Ramist scholarship, see Walter J. Ong, *Ramus, Method and the Decay of Dialogue: From the Art of Discourse to the Art of Reason* (Chicago, Ill., London: University of Chicago Press, 2004)
[65] Lassels, *The Voyage Of Italy*, vol. 1, p. 155

In peregrinationibus observanda,

- I. Regio; in qua cosiderada nomina
  - Vetera
  - recentia saepe mutata.
- II. Ditio hominum
  - Superiorum
  - nostrorum.
- III. Nomen urbis, & ratio nominis, si extet: item conditor, amplificator, aut instaurator alicuius loci.
- IIII.
  1. Flumina eaq; aut
     - allabentia.
     - prope distantia.
     - deducta.
  2. Mare alluens, aut portus.
  3. Montes.
  4. Sylvae, nemora, vel si quid aliud insigne.
- V. Opera & haec vel
  - Publica
    - Sacra
      - Basilicae
      - Monasteria
      - Templa
    - Profana
      - Palatia, arces, fora, armentaria, propugnacula, turres, & ratio munitionis.
  - Privata
    - Ut quae in civium aedibus sunt insignia, veluti horti, picturae, fontes, statuae.
- VI. Ratio gubernationis, ad quam pertinent
  1. Curia, in qua Senatores, & familiae civium honestae.
  2. Scholae, ut ratio educationis, & institutionis pueritiae. Item viri docti, & Bibliothecae.
  3. Vulgi mores, quo pertinent, ratio victus, & vestitus; item opificia

1 Itinerary of observation after F. Schott's *Itinerarium Italiæ*, 1625

Many travel descriptions of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries had made use of such taxonomies - a prime example is the table entitled 'The Analysis of this Discourse' in Robert Dallington's 1605 *A Method for Travell*.[66]

The Austrian scholar Justin Stagl claims that the categories into which these tables divided and ordered travel and observation were derived from ancient rhetoric combined with the newly emerging 'ars epistolaria', the art of letter writing. The latter, parallel with the rise of the written over the spoken word, took the place of the medieval *ars memorativa*, the art of memory, in which categories of anything worth knowing were referred to as 'loci', places, which in turn were mentally arranged like rooms in a house for quick reference.[67] Ramus, then, substituted for the *ars memorativa* a method which encompassed instructions with standardized questions which could be applied to any object.[68] Already in the

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[66] Robert Dallington, *A Method for Travell. Shewed by taking the view of France. As it stoode in the yeare of our Lord 1598* (London: printed by Thomas Creede, 1605), p. 1605

[67] For the seminal study on the art of memory, see Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969)

[68] Justin Stagl, 'Die Apodemik oder 'Reisekunst' als Methodik der Sozialforschung vom Humanismus bis zur Aufklärung', in *Statistik und Staatsbeschreibung in der Neuzeit, vornehmlich im 16.-18. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Mohammed Rassem and Justin Stagl (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1980), p. 141

sixteenth century and even prior to Bacon's works, the medieval procedures of enquiry were being replaced by something closer to empirical investigation.

Schott's table clearly follows the new method by advising the traveller to first consider the region in which a place is situated, then the single places within it, followed by its rivers, seas, ports, mountains and forests and finally all its 'works' while also investigating its social and political situation. Roughly, this suggests a sequence from large to small, of looking from afar to the interior of a city or building. Many of the Italian cities which were commonly visited offered themselves easily for such a description, being frequently positioned on a hill and clearly walled, often with distinctive 'skylines', and thus easily graspable from far off. Evelyn frequently uses this method to introduce a city's description, as when he arrives to Viterbo:

> From Monte Fiascone we travell a plain and pleasant Champion to Viterbo, which presents it selfe with much state a farr off, in reguard of her many lofty pinacles and Towres;[69]

Neither Raymond nor Pflaumern mention this town and both Ray and Lassels refer only to its situation in general not its 'skyline' of pinnacles and towers.[70]

Even if, at times, Evelyn makes mistakes either by copying wrong information, describing buildings which were not yet built when he claims to have visited them, or by confusing the order in which he saw them, other passages are undoubtedly original and thus reveal what Evelyn was interested in at the time of visiting or emphasize what he felt to be lacking in his sources when reworking his text later.[71] Frequently, he amplifies passages derived from other sources, for instance by describing outstanding natural or man-made phenomena. In the Baptistery of San Giovanni in Pisa, in an entry otherwise taken from the *Mercurio Italico* and Pflaumern, Evelyn adds to them by describing a remarkable acoustic effect not mentioned by either of the others:

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[69] Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn* (1955), vol. 2, p. 210
[70] See Lassels, *The Voyage Of Italy*, vol. 1, p. 246: 'standing in a wholesome ayre'. Ray, *Observations*, pp. 343-44: 'Viterbo, a large and well situate Town, but not very fairly built.'
[71] For instance, in Rome he praises S. Maria Maggiore as 'one of the most famous of the 7 Roman Churches; and absolutely (in my opinion at least) after st. Peters the most magnificent' - a statement which he could not have written on that day as he would go to visit St Peter's only a week later. However, the *Mercurio Italico* claims that S. Maria Maggiore is 'for beauty the second in *Rome*' - Evelyn thus takes this idea either from here or simply writes the whole entry after having seen both churches. See Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn* (1955), vol. 2, p. 243 and John Raymond, *An Itinerary: Contayning a Voyage Made through Italy. In the yeare 1646, and 1647. Illustrated with divers figures of Antiquities* (London: Humphrey Moseley, 1648), p. 82

the Baptisterie of San Giovanni built of pure white marble, and coverd with so artificial a Cupola, that the voice or word utter'd under it seems to breake out of a Clowd:[72]

Also in Pisa, he admires a brand-new bridge spanning the Arno without intermediate support:

> but what is most worth observing is that incomparable sole Arch which stretches from banke to banke, the like of which (serving for a bridge) is no where in Europe; That which renders it so famous is the extreame flatnesse of it.[73]

According to de Beer's commentary, the bridge was built c. 1641-3 and collapsed in January 1645 so that only Evelyn could have seen the new-built bridge as neither Raymond nor Pflaumern or Ray were in Pisa during that time. Lassels could in theory have seen it but does not mention it.

In the following, I will now single out some examples of original passages to discuss specific 'tools' of verbal representation.

Tool: tropes

Most of Evelyn's visual descriptions use a fairly limited and recurring vocabulary and appear as literal descriptions of visible attributes without using figurative language. One of the few passages to make use of a verbal trope is the account of Genoa, where Evelyn writes in autumn 1664:

> Octob: 17, . . . we went to vieue the rarities: The Citty is built in the hollow, or boosome of a Mountain, whose ascent is very steepe, high & rocky; so as from the Lanterne, & Mole, to the hill it represents the Shape of a Theater; the Streetes & buildings so ranged one above the other; as our seates are in Playhouses: but by reason of their incomparable materials, beauty & structure: never was any artificial sceane more beautifull to the eye of the beholder;[74]

Comparing this with Evelyn's potential sources we find that all of them use the theatre analogy as well but, with the exception of John Ray, all refer only to the port area, not to the city as a whole.[75] Only Evelyn extends the verbal image of the

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[72] Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn* (1955), vol. 2, p. 181
[73] Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn* (1955), vol. 2, p. 182
[74] Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn* (1955), vol. 2, p. 172
[75] Evelyn takes his passage primarily from Pflaumern in whose text the comparison features prominently in the margin: 'Portus figura & ambitus theatralis' (Joannes H. Pflaumern, *Mercurius Italicus* (Lugduni: Pauli

theatre by the reference to a 'scene'. Even in this seemingly derivative passage, therefore, Evelyn adds his own twist, as it were, rendering it a recording of his own way of looking. Importantly, all authors, including Evelyn, emphasize the *resemblance* of the city or port to a theatre of some shape. None claims that Genoa *is* a theatre, but they rather describe it as *alike* a theatre using the verbs *resemble* or *represent* as well as the compound *in form of*. It is thus disputable whether these utterances are metaphors - the definitions of metaphor vary largely.[76] Here, this passage should simply stand in as a token of Evelyn's crafting of verbal images - I will discuss the way such metaphors were employed to express different modes of perception in much more detail in chapter three.

Tool: reality vs. imagination

Once in Rome, Evelyn refers to ancient Roman sites not as structures imagined intact, as so many illustrations of the time showed them, but as ruinous, even barely recognisable. Had he relied on illustrations while writing up his notes back in England, it is unlikely he would have emphasized their dilapidation - the love of foreign travellers for derelict and overgrown buildings stems from the later Romantic period only. In contrast, Evelyn describes the Templum Pacis as 'an heape, rather then a Temple', Cicero's palace as only 'heapes and ruines' while 'the once famous Circus Maximus . . . is now wholy converted into Gardens, and an heape of ougly ruines' and later on even simply 'one entire heape of rubbish'.[77] For comparison, Ray portrays the Templum Pacis with a more restorative approach as consisting of '3 vaults or arches' and concludes that 'the plant of the whole may easily be discerned'.[78] Totti's *Ritratto di Roma antica* shows a view of the Forum Romanum in which animals graze on the grass between the half-buried ruins. The 'ruins' themselves, however, are drawn as intact objects, no crumbling walls or fallen columns are to be seen but instead everything looks stable, clean and in good

Burckhardi A., 1628), p. 572) while the *Mercurio Italico* reads, 'the Port, which is of a large circuit, resembling much the forme of a Theatre enclos'd with faire buildings' (Raymond, *An Itinerary*, p. 12). In the English version of Schott, the comparison again refers only to the harbour: 'It hath a most spatious Port in form of a Theatre compassed in with noble Structures' (Schott, *Italy, in its Original Glory, Ruine and Revival*, p. 138). John Ray writes, more generally but also rather briefly, 'It is built in form of a Theater, or Crescent, encompassed with a double wall toward the land' (Ray, *Observations*, p. 252).

[76] See Rosario Caballero, *Re-Viewing Space: Figurative Language in Architects' Assessment of Built Space* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2006), p. 68

[77] Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn* (1955), vol. 2, pp. 218, 219, 227-8, 276-7

[78] Ray, *Observations*, p. 350

condition - if partly buried.[79] Also in its textual part, Totti's *Ritratto* describes only what, for instance, the Circus once looked and functioned like but does not refer at all to its contemporary, ruinous appearance.[80] Hence, Evelyn describes what he saw in reality, not what he imagines, and as an aspiring natural historian is clearly interested in anything extraordinary, be it an echo, a daring structure or a crumbling ruin. He describes, as would later be demanded by the Royal Society from its travelling correspondents, the physiology of what he sees rather than what he expected or imagined beforehand.

Tool: the reader-viewer

The references to an observer or beholder in Evelyn's descriptions are numerous - we have seen one in the passage about Genoa where the 'artificial sceane' is contemplated by 'the eye of the beholder'.[81] None of the other texts makes any reference to a viewing subject and only Lassels mentions an onlooker. In Rome, Evelyn copies his description of the obelisk in front of St Peter's from Totti and Pflaumern but adds an original observation in the latter part of the following passage:

> The next which surprizes your wonder is that stately Obelisque, transported out of Ægypt, . . . [it] rests upon 4 Lyons of gilded Copper, so as you may see through twixt the base of the Obelisque, and Plinth of the Piedestal:[82]

None of the other authors describes this aspect of the obelisk which Evelyn deems important enough to add. It refers purely to a direct observation and adds a distinct eyelevel to the account; it positions the 'you', the reader-viewer, as an essential participant in the practice of description. The Roman church Santa Maria della Vittoria, in turn, 'presents us with such a front as would even ravish the beholder with astonishment' - an entry allegedly copied from the *Mercurio Italico*, though in fact this contains no reference to the facade at all, and Totti's *Ritratto di Roma moderna* (1638), which only praises its 'most precious facade', with no mention of

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[79] Totti, *Ritratto di Roma antica*, p. 153
[80] Totti, *Ritratto di Roma antica*, pp. 326-28
[81] Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn* (1955), vol. 2, p. 172
[82] Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn* (1955), vol. 2, p. 256

an affected observer.[83]   The active first-person voice used by Evelyn here reminds one also of descriptions of experiments recorded for the Royal Society's *Philosophical Transactions* which were encouraged to be written in the first person, as Peter Dear has remarked:

> When a Fellow of the Royal Society made a contribution to knowledge, he did so by reporting an experience. That experience differed in important respects from the definition informing scholastic practice; rather than being a generalized statement about how some aspect of the world *behaves*, it was instead a report of how, in one instance, the world *had behaved*. . . .
> An 'experience' was now, it appears, an event of which the observer was a part . . . not only by his careful recounting of the facts, but also by his use of the first person, active voice.[84]

Moreover, not only one's own experiences were expressed in this form but also 'accounts of other people' as long as they were true eyewitness reports, rather than 'hearsay'. A diary would perhaps naturally be written in the first person (which strengthens its connection to early modern scientific reports), but Evelyn's addressing the reader as observer, as *reader-viewer* taking part in the 'experience' is remarkable as it compresses perception into description. In these instances, the reader essentially becomes the viewer while, simultaneously, the author emphasizes his own viewing activity as the *author-viewer*.[85]

Tool: movement

Another passage from Evelyn's Rome account, his description of the Palazzo Barberini, will serve to discuss another useful tool in rendering buildings into words: movement. This passage is mostly derivative in terms of the mentioned facts, but its composition, I would argue, is to be accredited to Evelyn:

> We walked hence to see the Palazzo Barberini, design'd by . . . Cavaliere Bernini, & which I take to be as superbe, and princely an object, as any moderne building in Europ for the quantity: There is to

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[83] Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn* (1955), vol. 2, p. 239. Totti, *Ritratto di Roma moderna, etc.*, p. 269: 'Quì stanno i Padri Carmelitani riformati dalla Scala, e vi sono belle Capelle, & ha nobilissima facciata di pietra fatta dall'Eminentissimo Signor Cardinal Borghese con bel disegno.'

[84] Peter Dear, 'Totius in Verba: Rhetoric and Authority in the Early Royal Society', *Isis*, 76.2 (1985), p. 152. The impact of the first-person narrative on the relationship between author and reader will be discussed in more detail in chapter five.

[85] There are many more examples emphasising the presence of an observer, often also in conjunction with the 'eye' as in the account of Genoa. I will analyse this in more detail in chapter four.

> it a double Portico, at the end of which, we *ascended* by two paire of
> Oval Stayres all of stone, & voide in the well; one of these *landed* us
> into a stately Hall, the Volto whereoff was newly painted a fresca by
> that rare hand of Pietro Berettieri, il Cortone; To this is annexed a
> Gallery compleately furnish'd <with> whatsoever Art can call rare &
> singular, & a Library full of worthy Collections, Medails, Marbles,
> and Manuscripts; but above all, for its unknowne material, and
> antiquity an Ægyptian Osyris: . . . *Descending* into the Court we spied
> a Vast Gulio, or Obelisque, broaken, having divers hieroglyphics cut
> in it:[86] (italics mine)

According to de Beer, only the description of the stairs is purely original while the rest is taken from Raymond and Totti. In general, this is a typical entry in which Evelyn describes not the layout of a building as one would perceive it in a plan but the impressions he has while moving through it. It is difficult to locate specific rooms from this, but one does get a feeling for the transitions from one space to another. Evelyn however avoids general, and perhaps more abstract, information such as number of floors, layout or typology. Only from his last sentence do we know that the building must be arranged around a courtyard.

In contrast, the description in the *Mercurio Italico* is much shorter and only tells the reader that the '*Palazzo Barberino* is alwayes to bee reckoned amongst the chiefe, whither for the Structure, or for the Rarities', followed by a reference to the obelisk in the court and a sketch of it.[87] Ray altogether mentions only the obelisk.[88] It is again Lassels who comes closest to Evelyn's account of moving through the building, his account might have inspired Evelyn:

> This is one of the noblest Pallaces in Rome, for its stately situation
> vpon a hills side; for the two neat staircases; the noble painting in the
> roof of the great hall by Pietro di Cartona; the world of statues and
> pictures in the Gallery; the rare sequens of chambers one going into an
> other; the double appartimenti, each Capable to lodge any king in, and
> each rarely furnished; in fine, for the rare Library of Cardinal
> Francesco Barberino.[89]

The 'rare sequens of chambers one going into an other' was obviously apparent also to Evelyn - he is in fact the only author to describe its experience as such. The fact that movement is a successful way to render a building or series of spaces into

[86] Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn* (1955), vol. 2, p. 229
[87] Raymond, *An Itinerary*, pp. 103-04
[88] Ray, *Observations*, p. 355
[89] Lassels, *The Voyage Of Italy*, vol. 1, p. 183

language emphasizes the inherent linearity of language - and movement. As Adrian Forty writes,

> It is the nature of language that words have to be spoken or written in a linear sequence. . . . buildings are more like language than they are like drawings, for they cannot be experienced all at once - they have to be explored by moving through and around them in a sequence; and this sequential motion is much more easily represented by language than it is by drawings.[90]

This seems perfectly natural and evident from today's perspective and most modern visitors of the Palazzo Barberini would probably agree that movement, or some sort of sequence, can hardly be avoided when describing it. However, it is possible that movement as a tool to verbally describe spaces only emerged with the essentially modern way of describing first-hand experiences rather than relying on traditional knowledge - in fact, this is what I will argue in chapter two. One should note also once more the active first-person voice when Evelyn writes, '*we* ascended by two paire of Oval Stayres . . . ; one of these landed *us* into a stately Hall' (italics mine). It is, ultimately, the space between and within the built elements, walls and ceilings, that is described by movement rather than the elements themselves. As the counterpart to this descriptive mode one could bring into play the description following a plan or elevation - the rendering into language of a static, two-dimensional graphic representation based on the relation of the parts, such as rooms, stairs, windows, entrances etc, to each other within the whole. We will see such examples in the following chapters.

Tool: (in)comparability

The adjective 'incomparable' is generally a favourite with Evelyn. As in the Genoa passage, where the buildings and streets were of 'incomparable materials, beauty & structure', the term 'beauty' is often connected to utterances such as 'incomparable', 'inexpressible' or 'exceeding description' which could be regarded as a common way of speaking or, as I will argue here, might hold clues to Evelyn's own linguistic intentions.

In Siena, Evelyn uses two such expressions in his account of the cathedral:

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[90] Forty, *Words and Buildings*, p. 39

Then we went up to the Domo or Cathedral, which is both without and within of large square stones of black & white marble polish'd, of *inexpressable* beauty; as likewise is the front, being much adorn'd with Sculpture and rare statues: In the middle is a stately Cupola bearing two other Columns of sundry streaked Colour'd marble; about the body of the church on a Cornic within are inserted the heads of all the Popes; the Pulpit infinitely beautified with marble figures, a piece of exquisit worke; but what *exceeds all description* is the Pavement, where (besides the various Emblemes & other figures in the nave of the Cathedral) the Quire is wrought with the History of the Bible, so artificially express'd in the natural Colours of marble, that few painters are able to exceede it with the Pensil:[91] (italics mine)

This entry closely resembles those contained in both the *Mercurio Italico* as well as Ray's *Observations* but neither makes use of any similar terminology.[92] Architectural historian Kerry Downes has stated that 'Words often failed Evelyn . . . he would leave comparisons unfinished or fall back on the word 'incomparable'' and, more, that this was one of the factors which 'explains why collectively many of his judgements appear rather dull'.[93] Continuing with my earlier classification of his text as scientific, I would offer here an alternative to this view and suggest that Evelyn, in these instances, did not regard himself as a poet or even creator of literature. At his time, poetry and painting would still have been regarded as intimately connected, directly comparable as expressed by the Renaissance interpretation of the ancient *ut pictura poesis* doctrine - 'as is painting so is poetry' - and sometimes interchangeable in terms of the effects they were supposed to evoke in their audience.[94] It was only a century later that Lessing's *Laokoon* (1767) would break this symbiosis by stating their fundamental differences, and establish language's capacity to express time in narrative in contrast to painting's power to convey static spatial relations.

The fact that Evelyn occasionally regarded himself as incapable of describing the most noteworthy works of art, those which actually impressed him most, indicates that he was primarily concerned with the transmission of information, or *truth*, rather than with the imitation of artistic expression. If poems

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[91] Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn* (1955), vol. 2, p. 204

[92] See Raymond, *An Itinerary*, pp. 53-55; and Ray, *Observations*, pp. 341-42

[93] Kerry Downes, 'John Evelyn and Architecture: A First Enquiry', in *Concerning Architecture: Essays on Architectural Writers and Writing Presented to Nikolaus Pevsner*, ed. by John Summerson (London: Allen Lane, 1968), p. 32

[94] See Rensselaer W. Lee, *Ut Pictura Poesis: The Humanist Theory of Painting* (New York: Norton, 1967); and Stephen W. Melville and Bill Readings (eds), *Vision and Textuality* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995), p. 8

of the period were supposed to, as it were, paint on the mind's eye in a painterly way, then this is not what his description does. Evelyn's description does not imitate poetry. Rather, it conveys an image in the sense defined by W.J.T. Mitchell of a 'virtual, phenomenal appearance' occurring as 'a less voluntary, perhaps even passive or automatic act'.[95] Evelyn is not concerned with a narration of the object as it would have been familiar to many visitors but rather, he attempts a description of his own visual experiences. And he seems to feel that any well-conceived artwork automatically evokes a reaction in the observer which however cannot always be rendered into words. This would seem to concern things 'beyond the visible', beautiful things which appear to touch a different faculty than that of vision (perhaps anticipating the aesthetic and the idea of the sublime which I will discuss in chapter five). Importantly, at this moment Evelyn does all this in order to avoid his writing to be taken for poetry and instead to strengthen its 'scientific' character.

Writing *The Buildings of England* in the 1950s

After these text samples from the seventeenth century, we will now take a big leap to the twentieth century, to post-war England and a German immigrant architectural historian. The guidebooks series *The Buildings of England* is generally acknowledged as being unique, due in large parts to the enormous personal investment of their editor Nikolaus Pevsner.[96] He started his grand tour of England in 1947 in a borrowed car on rationed patrol researching for the first volume, *Cornwall*, published in 1951. The last one of the first editions, *Staffordshire*, came out in 1974 when Pevsner was 70 years old and the series still lives on today as the *Pevsner Architectural Guides*.

In total, the first editions comprised forty-six volumes all of which were written by Pevsner himself, except for two counties covered completely by other

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[95] W. J. T. Mitchell, *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation* (Chicago London: University of Chicago Press, 1994), pp. 4 n5
[96] See also my master's thesis: Hultzsch, 'Looking Through Words: On Visual Perception Mediated through Nikolaus Pevsner's Buildings of England and Other Writings' (University College London, 2006)

authors and eight others produced with collaborators.[97] He completed approximately two books per year each based on preliminary research of an assistant and four to five weeks of travelling and night time writing by himself.[98] Taken altogether, it is alleged that he visited 30,000 buildings and put eight and a half million words on paper.[99] Except for a collection of around a hundred black-and-white photographs placed in the centre of each volume the guidebooks contained almost no illustrations. In the beginning, all volumes were published as handy paperbacks and also later, when they had to be produced as hardbacks, the aim remained to keep their size and weight suitable for travelling. Along with extraordinarily high methodical standards - Pevsner insisted on the importance of one person, himself, seeing and describing everything, recording what he saw on the very day of visiting the building - came a self-proclaimed mission to visually educate the public.[100]

Why was it so important that Pevsner - one person - saw it all? Why did he insist on committing a quarter of a century of his life, and more with later editions, to these guidebooks? By the early twentieth century, the guidebook as a genre was firmly established and guidebooks of different specialisation had become common. The first tourist guides such as the *Baedeker* (1827-) or *Murray's Handbooks for Travellers* (1836-) had become an indispensable accessory of every tourist while specific art guides such as Jacob Burckhardt's *Cicerone* (1855) or Ruskin's *Stones of Venice* (1851-53) equipped the more accomplished traveller with expert accounts. Pevsner himself referred to the German *Dehio* as precedent for his own work.[101]

However, Pevsner's idea of visual education originated not from his guidebook writing but rather from his journalistic work for the *Architectural Review* whose editorial board he joined in the 1930s and for which he would work for the next thirty years. In 1940 and 1941, James M. Richards - editor of the

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[97] The two Gloucestershire and the two Kent volumes were written by David Verey and John Newman respectively. For Surrey, Oxfordshire, Sussex, Lincolnshire, Dorset, Warwickshire, Hampshire, Cheshire Pevsner engaged various authors to help him.

[98] Cherry and Newman (eds), *Nikolaus Pevsner*, p. 9

[99] Robert Harbison, 'With Pevsner in England', *Architectural Review*, 176.1052 (1984), p. 58; Paul Crossley, 'Introduction', in *Reassessing Nikolaus Pevsner*, ed. by Peter Draper (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), p. 3

[100] Out of sheer necessity to finish the series in his lifetime he later took on other authors for some volumes.

[101] Georg Dehio, *Handbuch der deutschen Kunstdenkmäler*, 5 vols (Berlin: Ernst Wasmuth A.-G., 1905). See also Nikolaus Pevsner, *Pevsner on Art and Architecture: The Radio Talks*, ed. by Stephen Games (London: Methuen, 2002), p. xix

Review from 1937 to 1971 - and Pevsner published a series entitled 'Criticism' whose scope they described as 'a monthly critical article in which current architecture is looked at rather than analysed, in the belief that visual perception is the next quality we have to concentrate on developing'.[102] Through its title and such a description, Pevsner and his colleagues seem to express an inherent symbiosis between language and perception within criticism. Subsequently, in 1942, Pevsner started a series called the 'Treasure Hunt' discussing built examples in, interestingly, guidebook style.[103]

Writing under the pseudonym of Peter Donner, he placed short descriptions next to photographs of buildings or streets in London which were easily accessible in order to elicit his readers' understanding of their everyday surroundings claiming that,

> Ninety-nine out of a hundred people nowadays do not look at buildings at all unless by special effort . . . Those who care to embark on expeditions of their own will find that looking at houses can be entertainment as well as an object lesson, a family game (Date your District) as well as a treasure hunt.[104]

Pevsner's motif was to raise awareness towards the built environment by increasing the enjoyment felt by its beholder. His rousing style presented architectural explorations as a 'family game' played on a fine Sunday. He focused on the buildings' outer appearance referring to characteristics of styles and building types and thus rendered an aesthetic judgement comprehensible. Mostly, he dealt with unexceptional examples: 'Neither famous public buildings nor the churches of the distinguished revivalists will be analysed. Each month a group of houses will be chosen that do not exhibit any features to which attention would usually be paid.'[105] He was very careful in keeping up the spirit of entertainment, emphasising that this was no matter of scholarly effort but the 'pleasures of the antiquarian in disentangling the building history'.[106] He addressed his audience directly, for

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[102] James MacQuedy, 'Criticism', *Architectural Review*, 87.January (1940), p. 25 (MacQuedy was J. M. Richard's pseudonym)
[103] Pevsner wrote under the pseudonym of Peter Donner.
[104] P.F.R. Donner [alias Nikolaus Pevsner], 'Treasure Hunt', *Architectural Review*, 91.541 (January 1942), p. 23
[105] Donner, 'Treasure Hunt', *Architectural Review*, 92.548 (August 1942), p. 49
[106] Donner, 'Treasure Hunt', *Architectural Review*, 92.550 (October 1942), p. 97

example in the tenth issue, where there was 'Nothing new here to faithful readers of the Treasure Hunts' in this month's 'specimen', five vernacular 1930s houses.[107]

The *Architectural Review* is generally acknowledged for its leading role in propagating the Modern Movement and with it a new way of looking. Indeed, in 1947, its editors expressed the latter as one of its primary tasks:

> The REVIEW has another job to do . . . Underneath its more obvious aims, running through them and linking them together, is another less tangible one, which may be described by the words, *visual re-education*. . . . To re-educate the eye - that is the special need of the next decade.[108]

Pevsner and his colleagues strived to 're-educate' the public and enable them to consider buildings and cities for their aesthetic and cultural merits. Certainly, this was also one of the aims of the *Buildings of England* with their broad coverage of both outstanding architecture but also, and foremost, of those buildings that were usually not deemed worthy of published description. But why did this imply that one person, Pevsner, had to see everything? Not only style and vocabulary had to be consistent but the methodological process of production, how he travelled, when he wrote, needed to be as well. In this, production was not only a means to complete the product but became part of the product itself. Does this sound familiar? Indeed, one is strongly reminded of the Royal Society's directives for the compilation of travel diaries as they, too, advised on content, style of writing as well as format and final editing. They, too, enforced an immediate recording of the seen - essential for the plausibility of the result, its *truthfulness*, and indispensable both for the seventeenth-century natural philosopher as for the twentieth-century architectural historian.

Pevsner's immediate 'translation' of building into word is documented in his travel notes which he took during his visits. They are very brief comments, hardly complete sentences, in pencil on spotless A5 sized sheets of paper, only rarely supplemented by simple sketches.[109] His handwriting is neat and so tiny it is often

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[107] Donner, 'Treasure Hunt', *Architectural Review*, 92.551 (November 1942), p. 125
[108] J. M. Richards and others, 'The Second Half Century', *Architectural Review*, 101.601 (1947), pp. 23-25
[109] Most of Pevsner's travel notes, sorted by volume and edition, are held at the National Record Monument Centre in Swindon. Scattered sheets are also contained in both the respective collections at the Getty Research Institute in Los Angeles (Special Collections, 840209) as well as the Royal Institute of British Architects in London (PeN/1-62).

hardly legible. Michael Taylor who as a student at the Courtauld Institute of Art drove Pevsner through Warwickshire in the 1960s remembers:

> We would finish travelling at about seven at night, go back to our base, and snatch a frugal meal. Then whilst I prepared the next day's round and all the necessary phonecalls, the Professor went to his room and wrote up everything he had seen that day, with his evaluations and criticisms. Every night he worked into the small hours, so when he got back to London the book was finished and needed only the introduction, some forty or fifty pages long, to be written.[110]

There might be some storytelling going on here, perhaps the latter part of this statement is exaggerated - but then, Pevsner certainly was a person to live his own myths. In fact, while he was working on the London volumes he deliberately staid in a hotel, incognito and unreachable, in order to imitate conditions as on his county tours when he was away from home.[111] His method had to be consistent and, evidently, travelling and therefore detaching himself from his everyday routine was part of his method. At least some descriptions were thus certainly written en route.[112]

Pevsner's unique style of writing underlines the impression of immediacy; there is a sense of condensation, sometimes simplification. Adrian Forty calls this a 'telegraphic style' characterized by 'short sentences, often without verbs, and few adjectives'. He traces it back to the pressure of time under which Pevsner constantly was but also highlights a conscious intention behind it, 'a kind of writing degree zero, styleless, *sachlich* (matter-of-fact) and scientific, appropriate to the subject matter of description'.[113]

There it is - 'scientific'. What has been called thoroughly 'Modern' in literary terms, firmly belonging within the twentieth century has astonishing resonances in the attitude towards language in the seventeenth century, specifically in a context of natural philosophy or science. Rhetorical tropes and ornaments were to be

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[110] Michael Taylor, 'With Pevsner in Warwickshire', in *The Buildings of England: A Celebration*, ed. by Simon Bradley and Bridget Cherry (Beecles: The Penguin Collectors' Society for the Buildings Books Trust, 2001), p. 14

[111] Stefan Muthesius, 'Nikolaus Pevsner, 1902-1983', in *Altmeister moderner Kunstgeschichte*, ed. by Heinrich Dilly, 2nd edn (Berlin: D. Reimer, 1999), p. 194

[112] This is confirmed by a letter Pevsner wrote in 1972 responding to a query about a source: 'The information does not appear in the extracts which my assistant made for Street, but it is written in the text I wrote the night after I had visited Street, and I think therefore that someone on the spot must have told me.' (*Penguin Archive: The Buildings of England and Wales series editorial files*, 1947-1977, University of Bristol Library Special Collections, DM 1901)

[113] Adrian Forty, 'Pevsner the Writer', in *Reassessing Nikolaus Pevsner*, ed. by Draper, p. 87

avoided, 'pure' physical evidence to be described. Proceedings of experiments were to be recorded in a first-person - by the author-viewer - so as to render their outcomes plausible, to prove that the experiment did take place at a specific time and with accomplished eye-witnesses present. Pevsner would have abhorred the idea of describing a building without having seen it, personally. Research was important, the facts had to be established but the actual formation of the texts took place on-site, born from observation and contemplation in the presence of the object, the building. All his writing, whether through literary devices, vocabulary or sheer myth, transmits to the reader the message that Pevsner had been there, seen it, personally. This direct relationship, which is also expressed in many, partly very affectionate letters by readers to Pevsner, marks however a distinct difference between him and John Evelyn. Even if the latter seemingly addresses a reader in some passages, especially as we have seen above when he uses the 'you' form, he avoids any stable relationship by choosing the diary format turning the 'you' into an implied 'I'.

Most of Pevsner's descriptions could be drawn upon to illustrate his 'telegraphic style', for example the one of the building for the Royal Institute of British Architects in London:

> Royal Institute of British Architects, Portland Place (B), 1932-4, by *Grey Wornum. . . .* The building is a rectangle of Portland stone with a formal front displaying a large bronze door (by *James Woodford*) and even larger window above. Two odd free-standing pillars to the l. and r. with aspiring but otherwise obscure statues on top (also by *Woodford*). The side towards Weymouth Street with one tier of large windows, small second floor windows, then a floor, the library floor (without any windows but figures in relief instead representing Christopher Wren, a painter, a sculptor, a craftsman, and a mechanic: by *B. Copnall*), and above the small windows of the library gallery. The building is decidedly C20, Scandinavian in ancestry, with a flat roof and no superfluous mouldings. Inside a fine staircase with much ornamented glass.[114]

The effect of reading this without standing in front of the building is perhaps a slightly puzzling one and will be even more so if the described building becomes more complex. In fact, one has to imagine oneself standing in front of the building.

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[114] Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: London except the Cities of London and Westminster* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1952), p. 335 (the capital B after the building name refers to one of the perambulations which form part of the guidebooks)

Reading onsite is a continuous looking up from the page, at least once or twice per sentence. Miraculously, as one follows the verbally directed gaze in moving around and through the building, it all starts to make sense. Words and building join up and explain each other, both are recreated and rise in front of one's eyes - the object, the third participant in description, is brought to the foreground. In these 'telegraphic' parts, Pevsner's voice stays close to the building - it is the voice of the viewer not of the narrator. The account of his immediate impressions thus parallels the reader's perception while reading the text and looking at the building simultaneously. His style deliberately makes it necessary that one has to either look at the building or to imagine it to be able to understand the text. Again, the text forms a compression of perception into description, the reader essentially *becoming* the viewer.

> As Jonathan Meades says,
>
> Pevsner changed this country's attitude to architecture more than any man since Ruskin, whose inspired earnestness he shared. We owe him (and his collaborators) an immeasurable dept: he opened our eyes, he still opens our eyes. But he doesn't make us see. There is a difference. He was not, and never pretended to be, an evocative writer. He describes and leaves us to do the on-site ocular work.[115]

In this, Pevsner is, as we have already seen, a thoroughly Modern writer.[116] Literary Modernism is commonly associated with language that expresses a presence of the described thing by an immediate rendering into words of its essential nature. Stephen Melville and Bill Readings in *Vision and Textuality* describe this as 'modes of expression deemed more immediate and more natural: a rejection of the overt materiality of rhetorical practice in favour of the (pictorial) illusion of presence'.[117] The described object becomes present precisely through the necessity of its presence to complete the text itself. Frequently, such descriptions would be felt to be incomplete without the described object being there - whether physically or imagined. This presence, or immediacy, equals, in turn, a claim for truthfulness - as the first person voice and plain language ensured plausibility in the Early Modern scientific report. Conversely, I would argue that large parts of *The*

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[115] Jonathan Meades, 'Pevsner at 50', *Building*, 266.8187 (22) (2001), p. 31
[116] See for example Meades, 'Pevsner at 50', 31; or Forty, 'Pevsner the Writer', p. 90
[117] Melville and Readings (eds), *Vision and Textuality*, p. 9

Buildings of England, if used in Pevsner's sense, are only 'complete' if the object is visually - physically or imagined - present. Author-viewer, reader-viewer and the perceived-described object figure are the inseparable and indispensable participants of any description.

Immediate and detached recording

To conclude: most of Evelyn's architectural descriptions can hardly be classified as 'telegraphic' and, usually, his text is evocative - the reason why his travel descriptions are often considered as the more 'readable' parts of his diary. Many differences can thus be established between John Evelyn's *Diary* and Nikolaus Pevsner's *Buildings of England*, mostly concerning their literary and historical context and the chosen format leading, as shown above, to a different concept of the relationship between author and reader. It is only the more remarkable that it is possible at all to draw parallels between the two writers which lie, however, mainly in the contextual attitude towards language at the time as well as in their editorial working methods - both emphasize the experience of the described object by an observer and the necessity of an, in Evelyn's case feigned, immediate recording. The lowest common denominator, as it were, might be the classification of both texts as scientific in the early modern sense relating to knowledge production - in Pevsner's case well established in recent criticism and in Evelyn's case perhaps a more speculative interpretation on my part.

What lies behind this though, and in this both specific methodology and a general attitude to language come together, is the purpose of these verbal representations and the resources on which they draw. Even if John Evelyn copied large parts of his texts from other books, his interest is firmly set on visual descriptions, based on facts and historical development as they seemed appropriate to him, but essentially *visual*. He establishes both author and reader as viewing subjects. In this he is following a general trend found in contemporaneous guidebooks to reduce lengthy, and partly anecdotal, historical and social accounts in favour of descriptions of landscapes, towns and cities. As we have seen, Evelyn

would have been unconvinced by accusations of what is now considered as 'plagiarism'.

Most importantly though, Evelyn produces his text in a format aimed at making it seem an immediate and personal recording of what he *saw* while travelling in Italy. He neither separates his travel descriptions from the rest of the diary (one can assume that there would have been a market to publish these, as others had done) nor does he turn his diary into actual memoirs when reworking it after 1660 and later but instead maintains the daily entry format. As his twentieth-century editor de Beer has established, all entries after 1684 are contemporary, it was then that he seems to have found his working method and realized the importance 'to observe matters more punctualy, . . . to set [them] downe in a blanke Almanac'[118], as he had written half a century before (or added in hindsight).

In 1684 Evelyn had been a member of the by now well-established Royal Society for over twenty years, had participated in many experiments and formulated his programme to improve the English language. And he had reworked, or edited, his diary, filling up gaps in his almanacs while constantly striving to give the illusion of the present tense - and the presence of what he describes, as if he was standing in front of it. He develops a method to which he himself did not adhere - to see and describe everything personally and to strive for an immediate recording of what he saw on the very day of seeing it. Pevsner then, in the context of Modernism, in which the 'scientific', immediate and truthful style had transpired into literary fields, to cut a long story very short, adheres to exactly this method. He achieves what Evelyn had perhaps set out to do but never actually did. And if we are to understand anything about description, we have to recognize the threefold relationship between author, reader and described object. It is this that Evelyn introduced, and Pevsner took full advantage of.

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[118] Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn* (1955), vol. 2, p. 10

2

Ordering the Unfamiliar:
Curious Collections of Words and Things in Travel Journals (1645-75)

In the last chapter, I have demonstrated that description relies on three actors - author, reader and object - and that those are linked through the act of viewing, through perception. Here I will now trace the development of such perception-based description over the course of the seventeenth century. At the end, we will realize that the very act of describing things is far from timeless but has instead evolved gradually within the early modern period.

In the search for the shaping of description I will explore the effects of travel as physical movement towards unfamiliar places on both perception and description in order to understand how the unfamiliar was perceived, understood and ordered at the time. Early Grand Tourists of the seventeenth century employed varying methods of ordering and structuring the unfamiliar which were documented in both practical and theoretical travel writing, such as diaries and instructive texts, as well as in early scientific writing. Considering the influence which travel and the ensuing displacement of the traveller into unfamiliar surroundings exert on the perception of the environment, I will show that both language and matter - words and things - were subject to fragmented and seemingly arbitrary ways of thinking and ordering.

How was the encounter with the unfamiliar, the 'other', experienced, documented and prepared for at the moment when the Grand Tour first came into being? This was precisely the moment when the idea, that it is external stimuli which produce knowledge and understanding of the world, had only just been articulated for the very first time in Bacon's 'Grand Instauration' or 'Renewal' of

learning, seemingly far removed from travel practices. This chapter will trace links between the development of this concept and the wider context of travel, the encounter with the unfamiliar and the accompanying way of describing architecture. The writings by two English travellers in particular will serve to represent encounters with the unfamiliar buildings and spaces of continental Europe: John Bargrave toured France and Italy in the 1640s and left us a manuscript diary, a published guidebook as well as a collection which is still intact today. An unknown second traveller, perhaps called Samuel Drake, recorded his impression of a tour on the continent around 1675 in a manuscript diary preserved almost untouched. Both writers employed a strangely uniform, almost mechanical way of describing architecture and landscapes which is underlined by a certain sobriety and straightforwardness far removed from excited notions of the 'curious' we might hold today. In these descriptions, one can however detect a particular method of spatial ordering and placing by referring to its surroundings, locating it in a system of coordinates without letting it merge within the whole of the unfamiliar place. By pinpointing, as it were, these objects and buildings, Bargrave, Drake and others mirrored the structure of contemporary collections in the famous cabinet of curiosities as well as parallel constructs of the mind.

Circling around these issues, the chapter is divided into three sections. In the first, I explore how words and things were treated, referred to and used, together and separately, in the early seventeenth century. At the time, textual and material artefacts were still regarded as forming a unity of representation and meaning. Francis Bacon, however, repeatedly expressed his preference for matter rather than words as he felt that rhetorical ornament in texts prevented the representation of matter in its true state. Such sentiments, as well as a need to adapt his methods of writing to them, are articulated not only in his 'Grand Instauration' but also in the genre of the silva which will be discussed. At the same time, travel practices and texts explored both a real and an imagined world. Examining how they were prepared and conceptualized, I give a rough outline of the development of English travel on the continent at the time and introduce the genre of the *apodemic* - travel instructions - which laid out specific methods for these journeys.

The second section, on the relationship of both verbal and material parts to their whole, is introduced by a semantic 'word history' of the term 'curiosity' demonstrating how it changed from an inherently negative to a mostly positive

notion as well as from subjective to objective use. In this, the historical instability of perceptual processes and their verbal documentation becomes apparent. In this context, the cabinet of curiosities reveals a specific way of ordering unrelated parts, fragments, into a three-dimensional coordinate system which creates a new whole without ever assimilating the parts into one. I suggest here that this way of (un)ordering in order to understand the physical world finds its expression in precisely those emotionless and seemingly non-visual descriptions in both Bargrave's and Drake's travel accounts. Finally, I will trace underlying concepts of knowing and understanding in Bacon's inductive method which, in a manner of speaking, required investigators to observe first the parts, then the whole then reversing the process in order to avoid jumping to conclusions.

The third and last section is concerned with seventeenth-century concepts of the mind as a space similar to the external world. Journeys were internalized by being both visualized as geometrical shapes and employed as metaphors for an introspective exploration of one's own mind. The writings of Thomas Browne from the mid-seventeenth century are exemplary for this way of thinking and will show a distinct link between the contemporary practices of travel, of collecting and modes of perception. Highlighting the possibility of imagined as opposed to real, physical travel, theoretical travel writing of the time shows that movement as such, to and from unfamiliar lands, was crucial for the development of concepts of both space and time, geography and history.

Words and things

The literature on the early stages of the English Grand Tour in the sixteenth and most of the seventeenth century is relatively limited, especially when compared to its eighteenth-century counterpart. In one of the few books that trace the phenomenon up to its roots in Roman times, *The Evolution of the Grand Tour*, Edward Chaney claims, however, that it was exactly this period, this moment of

encounter with the unfamiliar, which shaped a whole country - the country of origin of the Grand Tourist that would become the British Empire.[119] The Grand Tour as such developed fully only in the eighteenth century, the context with which it is now most commonly associated, and has, in the last decades, emerged as a specific field of research which resolutely crosses disciplines and attracts scholars from diverse backgrounds. Even if my own work is not only concerned with English travel on the continent, the Grand Tour offers such rich material, both primary and secondary, that it must necessarily provide some of the main sources for this thesis.

Verbal and material collections

The production of most travel accounts of the Grand Tour such as those by Bargrave and Drake was driven by a desire to bring things and ideas home, to overcome a physical distance, to record, categorize and define the physical experience of the unfamiliar abroad. Such accounts made this experience accessible for those stayed at home - as chapter one has shown, manuscripts were widely circulated - and simultaneously enabled the traveller to revisit them at any time. Sometimes, and particularly at the time when such journeys would still have been exclusive to very few, they were part of a package of patronage, so to speak. The patron supported, financially but also organisationally and politically - acquiring the necessary permissions and licences to travel was not an easy process possible for anyone - a traveller who in return brought back both accounts of the encountered as well as material samples in form of art works and 'curiosities'. John Dudley, the Earl of Warwick, for instance funded and promoted the travels of protégés such as William Thomas, the author of both the *Historie of Italie* (1549) and the first Italian grammar in English (1550), as well as John Shute who famously published *The first and chief groundes of architecture*, the first architectural treatise in English, in 1563.[120]

As this practice of patronage indicates, texts produced as a result of travelling must be looked at in close connection with the simultaneous putting

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[119] Chaney, *The Evolution of the Grand Tour*, p. xi
[120] Chaney, *The Evolution of the Grand Tour*, p. 69

together of material collections. Travellers, if with their own or their patron's agenda, went out to gather all things rare, artful and unfamiliar, as well as, as we will see, to describe these things verbally and place them in their proper context, both temporally as well as spatially. Either at home or still abroad, these objects would be assembled in the contained space of a 'cabinet of curiosities' - a cupboard or even whole room. If, as Michael Brennan claims in *The Origins of the Grand Tour*, 'collectors . . . were driven by a . . . desire to collect, categorize, define, and understand' the world, the same is true for writing travellers who strived to bring home the world encountered abroad by verbally describing and thus making sense of it.[121] One could almost refer to some travel accounts as verbal collections. Brennan emphasizes this, today often overlooked, relationship between the verbal and the material and contests that what we now routinely investigate as separate from each other would at the time have formed a unity:

> While a sixteenth- or seventeenth-century collector might have considered his various accumulations of books, manuscripts, engravings, coins, medals, and other curiosities as forming a unified and, to his eyes, coherent representation of the growth of his personal interests as a collector and traveller, practices of collecting from the early eighteenth century onwards tended to separate out printed and manuscript materials from other more miscellaneous items.[122]

To this should be added, I would propose, also such manuscript diaries as Bargrave's and Drake's as well as any sketches created en route and sometimes published subsequently.

Literary historian Cynthia Wall, in *The Prose of Things: Transformations of Description in the Eighteenth Century*, similarly argues that

> Improvements in trade and travel, discoveries and methodologies of empirical science, Puritan habits of self-examination, the passion for collecting and classifying, all found wide-open spaces for description in topographies and maps, micrographies and meditations, lists and catalogs, diaries and satires . . . practical texts that replicated a profusion of material particulars, fell in love with surfaces, and began a practice of filling narrative space with description.[123]

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[121] Brennan (ed.), *The Origins of the Grand Tour*, p. 39
[122] Brennan (ed.), *The Origins of the Grand Tour*, p. 40
[123] Cynthia Wall, *The Prose of Things: Transformations of Description in the Eighteenth Century* (Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press, 2006), p. 41

It is this 'love with surfaces' that lets her unite graphic and verbal material and interpret both maps and diaries as fulfilling a need to describe the physical attributes of matter. List-like catalogues in particular, she argues later, are meant to 'gather things together to create a *visual heap*, a heap capable, moreover, of structural meaning'.[124] Words, through their content and, essentially, their formal arrangement as enumeration, gain visual qualities - both as shapes on paper which are arranged graphically to form the list, numbered perhaps but almost always ordered visually in some way, as well as in the mind of the compiler who devised the list or catalogue.

John Bargrave's collection and writing exemplify this as they unify 'the traveller, antiquarian, connoisseur, and diarist', so Brennan claims.[125] Bargrave (c.1610-1680), a clergyman and fellow at Cambridge as well as loyal royalist, spent most of the mid seventeenth century travelling through continental Europe, at times as tutor of young men. Indeed, the unrest in England at the time ultimately accelerated and pushed the development of the Grand Tour: the English Civil War between 1642 and 1651 and the subsequent Interregnum up to the Restoration in 1660 made 'a period of extended travel . . . a tactically wise option to pursue', as Brennan puts it, and drove many Englishmen to foreign parts.[126] Bargrave, as well as Lassels and Evelyn, all went abroad at least partly for this reason. After the Restoration Bargrave became a canon of Canterbury where much of his estate still is today.

He left us three key written sources of which only one was in print in his life time - the *Mercurio Italico* or *An Itinerary Contayning a Voyage Made through Italy*, published and possibly edited by his nephew John Raymond in 1648, as outlined in chapter one. Raymond had travelled with his uncle on at least one occasion, from which the second written evidence for Bargrave's travel experiences stems: on 23 May 1645, while Evelyn was already in Italy, Bargrave left Dover for Calais 'being Gouvernor to 2 young gentle-men, viz Mr Alexander Chapman, and Mr John Richards' as well as 'having likewise wth mee a Companion of them, Mr John Raymond my nephew'. This journey is partly recorded in a journal which was

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[124] Wall, *The Prose of Things*, p. 88
[125] Brennan (ed.), *The Origins of the Grand Tour*, p. 46
[126] Brennan (ed.), *The Origins of the Grand Tour*, p. 32

preserved in Canterbury Cathedral Archives and only fairly recently brought to light.[127] It is a small booklet, stitched together roughly with common thread, wrapped twice and filled with notes in black and sepia ink accompanied occasionally by coloured sketches. As was common at the time - and reminiscent of the commonplace book - it has margins on one side for occasional notes and headings such as place names or dates. Unfortunately, it covers only the French part of Bargrave's journey.

The third source, which will feature later in this chapter, is a rather curious one and was published only two centuries after Bargrave's death by James Craigie Robertson, a later canon of Canterbury Cathedral. As its rather long title - *Pope Alexander the Seventh and the College of Cardinals. By John Bargrave, D.D., Canon of Canterbury, 1662-1680. With a catalogue of Dr. Bargrave's Museum* - promises it contains Robertson's transcriptions of both a catalogue of Bargrave's collection, preserved intact by the Cathedral Archives, as well as an account of the pope and cardinals incumbent at Bargrave's time. The latter is essentially a systematic description of the Catholic Church in Rome at that moment as well as many of its sites such as churches and residences. Even if written long after Bargrave's return home, both texts are interspersed with references to and accounts of his travels; some of these passages in fact closely resemble those in the *Mercurio Italico*.

In the catalogue, we find comments regarding where and in which circumstances Bargrave had acquired an object or even seemingly unconnected descriptions of his travel experiences. Frequently, items are put in the context where they were found, like this piece from the obelisk on Piazza Navona in Rome,

> A piece of a kind of jasper stone, almost like a heart, polished, being a piece of that famous obelisk that now standeth in the chiefest place of Rome, called Piazza Navona, *olim Circus Agonalis*, set up there on a most magnificent fabrick, like a rock, out of which floweth 4 fountains, very large, signifying by the figures of colossean statues of the 4 rivers of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, by the hand of

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[127] John Bargrave, *Travel Journal*, 23 May 1645 -, Canterbury Cathedral Archives, CCA-DCc-Lit Ms 39. See also Stephen Bann, 'Scaling the Cathedral: Bourges in John Bargrave's Travel Journal for 1645', in *Monuments and Memory, Made and Unmade*, ed. by Robert S. Nelson and Margaret R. Olin (Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press, 2003)

Cavalier Bernino, that famous architect, my neighbour and friendly acquaintance, - Pope Innocent the 10th being at that vast expense.[128]

This account forms an outstanding example for the close link between collecting and verbally describing. Stephen Bann, in his *Under the Sign: John Bargrave as Collector, Traveler, and Witness*, writes that, with his catalogue, 'Bargrave . . . puts his collection into discursive form'.[129]

Bargrave's nineteenth-century editor Robertson, too, seems to regard these writings in this light when he writes in the introduction to his publication:

> no work has yet been published under his [Bargrave's] name; and his
> present appearance as an author - nearly two centuries after his death -
> is the consequence not of his having cherished any literary ambition,
> but of his passion for collecting curiosities and works of art.[130]

In tune with nineteenth-century attitudes towards literature and description, Robertson characterizes Bargrave's catalogue as 'curious and amusing on account of the autobiographical passages which occur in it'.[131] References to real places and events, to a personal life, are regarded as enlivening the descriptions of inanimate objects as these are put back into the context from which they originally came and their coming into being as collectables is recreated. An alternative view is offered by Bann who claims that Bargrave's meticulous description of some objects 'exposes the object to a relentless view: it is as if a microscope were directed' towards them.[132] It is this combination of detailed, abstract description on the one hand and contextualisation in place and time on the other that renders Bargrave's catalogue an important record, holding together his collection and linking it to his other writings.

Bacon's matter vs. words

I would suggest that this particular relationship between words and things, between language and matter must be regarded in the context of the writings of Francis

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[128] John Bargrave, *Pope Alexander the Seventh and the College of Cardinals: By John Bargrave, D.D., Canon of Canterbury, 1662-1680. With a catalogue of Dr. Bargrave's Museum*, ed. by James C. Robertson (London: Camden Society, 1867), pp. 117-18
[129] Bann, *Under the Sign*, p. 7
[130] Bargrave, *Pope Alexander the Seventh and the College of Cardinals*, pp. xx-xxi
[131] Bargrave, *Pope Alexander the Seventh and the College of Cardinals*, pp. xxi-xxii
[132] Bann, *Under the Sign*, p. 102

Bacon, now seen as one of the chief advocates of the so-called 'scientific revolution' which led to a reorganisation of knowledge and learning and indeed, some would argue, a whole new worldview in the seventeenth century.[133] Bacon worked most of his lifetime on a 'Grand Instauration' or 'Renewal' with which he wanted to revolutionize human scholarship and overcome restrictions deriving both from medieval teachings as well as the Renaissance reading of the ancients.[134] Never completed, the 'Grand Instauration' principally consists of two books, *The Advancement of Learning* from 1605 and *The New Organon* from 1620, which Bacon regarded as its initial two parts.

One of the foremost demands of Bacon's writings was the break with, or at least critical analysis of, ancient, medieval and renaissance doctrines. In *The Advancement of Learning*, Bacon admits that the Renaissance rediscovery of the ancients was beneficial but also declares it as treacherous. Ultimately, he argues, it had also led men

> to hunt more after words than matter; more after the choiceness of the phrase, and the round and clean composition of the sentence, and the sweet falling of the clauses, and the varying and illustration of their works with tropes and figures, than after the weight of matter, worth of subject, soundness of argument, life of invention or depth of judgment. . . . In sum, the whole inclination and bent of those times was rather towards copie than weight.[135]

In a sense, Bacon demands here that one has to rid oneself of the previously learned to be able to really understand matter. The underlying notion seems to be that whatever is too easily and generally accepted as knowledge can interfere with the sensual experience which, however, is essential for any true understanding of the external world and, in turn, the production of original knowledge as such. Bacon suggests that it is often language that precipitates such an interference - if the words through which an experience or observation is expressed are too carefully crafted for their own sake, for the sake of their rhetorical beauty or persuasiveness, then the direct sense impression is in danger of being lost.

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[133] For a critical review of the term 'scientific revolution' see Steven Shapin, *The Scientific Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996)

[134] See 'The plan of the work' in Francis Bacon, *The New Organon*, ed. by Lisa Jardine and Michael Silverthorne (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 14-19

[135] Francis Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning*, ed. by G. W. Kitchin (London: Dent, 1973), p. 24

This dichotomy between words and matter, picked up again after 1660 in the early writings of the Royal Society, features prominently throughout the *Advancement* - it is

the first distemper of learning, when men study words and not matter; . . . for words are but the images of matter; and except they have life of reason and invention, to fall in love with them is all one as to fall in love with a picture.[136]

The statement that 'words are but the images of matter' here clearly has a negative undertone: the fact that *words* are *images* deprives them, in Bacon's view, of their trustworthiness. Matter as such holds the truth but when it is described with words, the risk is to create false images - Bacon here introduces a dramatic split between sign and signifier, between a word and its referent which would have long felt ramifications. Indeed, as Foucault has written in the *Order of Things*, while 'in the sixteenth century, one asked oneself how it was possible to know that a sign *did* in fact designate what it signified; from the seventeenth century, one began to ask how a sign *could* be linked to what it signified' (italics mine).[137] A sign, or word, on its own in absence of the signifier, the thing, becomes, if not obsolete, certainly unreliable.

Only a few pages later, Bacon uses the term 'representation' in the opposite, and positive, sense, claiming that

the essential form of knowledge, which is nothing but a representation of the truth: for the truth of being and the truth of knowing are one, differing no more than the direct beam and the beam reflected.[138]

Knowledge must be 'a representation of the truth' or a direct reflection of the 'truth of being' - of matter itself thus. Verbal images and metaphorical language are, in contrast, not regarded as being such direct, and *truthful*, reflections as they speak not to the intellect but instead to emotions - Bacon claims that one is in danger 'to fall in love' with them. Do we see here the beginning of the split between words and images, poetry and painting, which, previously and according to the Renaissance doctrine of *ut pictura poesis*, discussed in chapter one, were believed to evoke a response in the reader or viewer through the same mechanisms? Bacon

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[136] Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning*, pp. 24-25
[137] Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (London: Routledge, 2002)
[138] Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning*, p. 28

uses the word 'representation' in the now obsolete sense of an 'Appearance; impression on the sight', which together with his reference to optics and the mirror image, privileges eyesight as the truth-bearing sense, free from imaginations and illusions.[139]

How did this influence contemporary travel? Commonly, scholars agree that travelling as a non-trade related pastime originated in religiously motivated journeys or pilgrimages. With the Reformation, however, the human urge to venture to the unknown needed to find new justifications. If medieval pilgrims trekked across Europe to such sites as Santiago de Compostela in Spain, Chartres in France, Rome in Italy or even as far as the Holy Land, the post-Reformation Protestant traveller lacked such justifications for his or her urge to leave familiar grounds and experience the (relatively) unknown. Edward Chaney claims that Protestantism replaced the old religious pretext for travel with the humanistic hunger for learning which now offered the fifteenth-century Englishman a faultless reason to travel to Italy in order to seek education at its famous universities.[140] However, when English universities began to catch up with their continental competitors in the sixteenth century even this justification lost its persuasiveness. According to Chaney, evidence for comprehensive journeys on the continent which were neither religiously nor directly studiously motivated dates first from the late 1540s.[141] So why travel, if not for pious, academic or commercial reasons? Bacon's injunction to enquire into the working of the world, into matter, to observe it and actively test it in experiments might have offered one validation of travel, generating an atmosphere in which one was expected to learn from first-hand observation rather than by perusing books only (or attending university lectures, for that matter).

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[139] See entry for 'representation, *n.¹*', §7a in *Oxford English Dictionary Online* <http://dictionary.oed.com> [accessed 29 April 2010]

[140] Chaney, *The Evolution of the Grand Tour*, pp. 60-61. As pilgrimage, this movement also produced specific guidebooks which described foreign university towns. See, for example, Samuel Lewkenor, *A Discourse not altogether unprofitabel, nor unpleasant for such as are desirous to know the situation and customes of forraine Cities without travelling to see them. Containing a Discourse of all those Cities wherein doe flourish at this day priviledged Universities.* (London: I. W. for Humfrey Hooper, 1600)

[141] Chaney, *The Evolution of the Grand Tour*, p. 62

Imagination vs. reality

Chloe Chard, in *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour*, outlines the inherent ambiguity of travel writing, drawn between impartial report and pleasurable as well as entertaining narrative:

> the claim to be manipulating language and engaging in a form of imaginative seduction, on the one hand, and, on the other, the claim to be ordering knowledge and, however obliquely, offering practical advice - are constantly combined within travel writings.[142]

Ideas of unknown and foreign countries with their unfamiliar customs, languages, climates and building styles and types indeed spurred the imagination of writers throughout all periods. Interestingly, in the early stages of the Grand Tour, it had been the impossibility of travel that first created a specific image of the continent, and particularly Italy, in Elizabethan England.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Grand Tour's childhood and adolescence so to speak, several historical events influenced its development, first slowing it down and then accelerating it. While Anglo-Italian relations had flourished in the first part of the sixteenth century, as documented in publications such as those by William Thomas or also Thomas Hoby's 'Travels and Life' (1551–64) as well as his translation of Castiglione's *Il cortegiano* (1561) which had profoundly influenced Elizabethan etiquette, things changed around midcentury. After the accession of Philip II of Spain in 1556, an ardent defender of the Catholic faith, and with the excommunication of Queen Elizabeth in 1570, English travel to the continent became increasingly dangerous while there and a cause of suspicion upon return. As the English government became ever more alert to Catholic conspiracies, travellers seem to have been well advised to keep quiet about their travels to Catholic lands. Chaney suggests that the continental religious conflicts combined with the rise of the Puritans back in England slowed down the development of the Grand Tour by probably one century.[143] Only after the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 and with the election of the more liberal pope Clement VIII in 1592, did Italy start to become more accessible again.

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[142] Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour*, p. 10
[143] See Chaney, *The Evolution of the Grand Tour*, p. 77

But even if the Grand Tour as such could not develop during the time of English seclusion, it did still help to shape its future existence, as Chaney argues:

> During the years of isolation from the Catholic continent, an image of Italy, evolved out of the relatively raw material produced by Thomas and Hoby, modified by numerous translations, was ultimately moulded by the variously sophisticated or sensational works of Nashe, Greene, Shakespeare, Jonson, Marston, Fletcher and Webster. However anachronistic or distorted, this image proved irresistible.[144]

One could almost suppose that the impossibility of travelling increased the urge to do so or, to put it differently, facilitated the production of an 'image' of Italy adapted to the English mindset, something for which one could, and would, long for. The Grand Tour thus served from its very origins onwards both as a *reality* - which one would go to and see and experience - as well as an *imagination* - which one would long for, embellish in stories and use as metaphor. Italy, or the European continent in general, thus served as the constitutive 'other' which defined the familiar, the home, by sharply separating it from the unfamiliar, the far away.

Apodemic instruction

Even if English travel was restricted in the late 1500s, this time witnessed also the emergence of a genre of relatively abstract travel instructions which reflected the dual significance of travel as real and as imagined, as well as the need to justify it. These English travel instructions form part of what has been labelled the *apodemic* text, a form that evolved across Europe in the sixteenth century and disappeared again as early as the mid eighteenth century.[145] *Apodemic* is derived from Greek *apodemos* meaning 'absent from one's own people' and therefore refers to travelling abroad, towards the unfamiliar.[146] Justin Stagl, in the context of the history of

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[144] Chaney, *The Evolution of the Grand Tour*, p. 86

[145] Stagl, 'Die Apodemik oder 'Reisekunst' als Methodik der Sozialforschung vom Humanismus bis zur Aufklärung', p. 144

[146] The *OED* does not give an English form of the word which I have found to be commonly used in German texts ('Apodemik', 'apodemisch'). However, English writers such as John Evelyn have used variations of the term in the past (John Evelyn, 'The State of France: as it stood in the IXth yeer of this present monarch Lewis XIIII. written to a friend', in *The Miscellaneous Writings of John Evelyn Esq. F.R.S.* (London: Henry Colburn, 1825), p. 42). I will therefore use both the adjective and noun 'apodemic'.

statistics, introduces the genre of the apodemic as the 'ars apodemica' or 'prudentia peregrinandi' - the art or prudence of travel.[147]

As the first example for a fully developed apodemic, Stagl draws upon the Saxon Hieronymus Turler's *De peregrinatione* from 1574 which presents, essentially, a defence of the humanistic position that non-religious, non-commercial travel is only justifiable when performed in the sense of a *Bildungsreise*, an educational journey.[148] It consists of a theoretical and didactic part followed by a description of Naples intended as a sample to show what the 'educational traveller' should produce upon his or her return in order to contribute, as it were, to the common good. To fulfil this objective, the first part demands that observations made en route are to be recorded and classified into *nomen* (name), *figura* (form and situation), *capacitas* (area, perimeter, boundaries), *iurisdictio* (type of rule and constitution), and *situs* (natural and man-made sights), thus using a scheme proceeding from the whole to the parts very similar to the Ramist taxonomies discussed in chapter one. Such schemes categorize and define things by naming them, by rendering them into words - again the link between order of things and orders of words becomes apparent. Turler's two-part structure would soon become a common layout for theoretical texts about travel which was also used by, among others, John Evelyn in his *The State of France* of 1652. Turler was, Stagl argues, 'aware of doing something new when he combined advice for travel into a didactic method'.[149]

Stagl defines the genre of the apodemic as writings which 'give instructions for correct ways of observing and behaviour for travellers and which, furthermore,

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[147] In a very useful annotated bibliography of theoretical travel literature from the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Stagl lists apodemic texts in the main European languages both alphabetically and chronologically (Justin Stagl, *Apodemiken: Eine räsonnierte Bibliographie der reisetheoretischen Literatur des 16., 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts* (Paderborn: F. Schöningh, 1983)). The first English text on his list is Andrew Boorde's *The first boke of the Introduction of knowledge* first published in 1542 during the first peak of Anglo-Italian relations of the period followed by William Bourne's *A booke called the Treasure for traveilers* published in London in 1578. In Stagl's description of both books, he refers to them as possible examples for the rise of an 'independent English apodemic tradition which subsequently merged with the more methodical German Apodemik' (Stagl, *Apodemiken*, p. 23).

[148] Turler's book stayed in print over several editions and was, only one year after its first publication, translated into English (Hieronymus Turler, *The Travailer, devided into two Bookes* (London, 1575)).

[149] Stagl, 'Die Apodemik oder 'Reisekunst' als Methodik der Sozialforschung vom Humanismus bis zur Aufklärung', p. 132: 'TURLER war sich bewußt, etwas Neues zu tun, als er die zu seiner Zeit gängigen Reiseratschläge (praecepta peregrinandi) zu einer schulmäßigen Methodik zusammenfaßte.'

also reflect about travel historically, theoretically and methodologically'.[150] Therefore, Stagl argues, they constitute a new methodicalness in data acquisition which is characterized by its empiricism as well as its 'pedagogical, utilitarian and practical orientation' and its 'categorising procedure'.[151] In general, apodemic writings contain instructions regarding recurring subjects, such as language acquisition, diet, exercise, transport and fashion but also concerning diary writing and the recording of observations and factual information. Overall, the genre is repetitive in the sense that many apodemics follow similar patterns (and most likely copy from each other). Often, but not always, the author has travelled himself and passes on, as it were, his experiences. One of the most famous examples of the genre is Bacon's essay 'Of Travel' which is, however, considerably shorter than most other apodemic texts and much less conversational. Without offering any reductive scheme in the manner of other apodemics, it still consists mainly of enumerations - firstly of 'things to be seen' (courts of princes and of justice, churches, walls and fortifications, harbours, antiquities and ruins, libraries, colleges, houses and gardens etc) and secondly of the prerequisites of young travel (language, tutor, guidebook and map, diary, short stays in single places, contact with locals, suitable acquaintances). Bacon urges parents to engage for their travelling offspring a tutor who 'may be able to tell them what things are worthy to be seen in the country where they go; what acquaintances they are to seek; what exercises or discipline the place yieldeth'.[152]

Essentially, and except for a few examples which argue against travel to the extent of prohibiting it (these will be touched upon later in this chapter), the apodemic fulfils the need for justification of the urge to travel shown by scholars and adventurers of the period alike. A principal concern of the apodemic is thus the demand that any journey must be profitable - or useful - not so much for the traveller on a personal level but more so for his or her country on a foremost

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[150] Stagl, *Apodemiken*, p. 7: 'Apodemisch nannte man seit damals [dem sechzehnten Jahrhundert] jene Schriften, die Anweisungen zum richtigen Beobachten und Verhalten auf Reisen gaben und darüberhinaus auch historisch, theoretisch und methodologisch über das Reisen reflektierten.'

[151] Stagl, 'Die Apodemik oder 'Reisekunst' als Methodik der Sozialforschung vom Humanismus bis zur Aufklärung', pp. 134-35

[152] Francis Bacon, 'Of Travel', in *Essays*, ed. by Michael Hawkins (London: Everyman, 1994), p. 47

cultural, but also political and commercial level.[153] Interestingly Bacon's essay is one of the few sources not to refer to this common profit of individual travel but, instead, it very much emphasizes the subjective and individual practice.[154] He opens the text with the statement,

> Travel, in the younger sort, is a part of education; in the elder, a part of experience.[155]

Very suggestively, this can be regarded as linking travel to Bacon's grand scheme to reform learning and knowledge as outlined in his 'Grand Instauration'. However, even if he does emphasize here experience as education, this is as far as he goes; nowhere else in this essay is the renewal of scholarship connected to travel as such. This link is therefore one that seems to have been implicit rather than explicit.

The need to give instructions, on the other hand, transpired even in common travel diary writing. In John Bargrave's diary for instance we find traces, even if miniscule ones, of such instructions. On the second page of the small booklet, he first includes some general notes, regarding essential reading about the history of France and then writes, still using the curled brackets used in Ramist taxonomies:

The life of a Traveller should be spent either in $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Reading} \\ \text{Meditation} \\ \text{Discourse} \end{array} \right.$

by wch he doth converse wth y^{e} $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Deade} \\ \text{Himselfe} \\ \text{Living} \end{array} \right.$

> The Traveller must not make comparisons, especially (wch most are subject unto) concerning, and preferring their owne country in every thing;[156]

The absence of any reference to observation in the first part of this passage is curious - Bargrave seems to emphasize here language, both written and spoken, as a means to discover the unfamiliar. The second part, again, presents verbal communication, 'conversation', as the objective of any travel preparation. Partners

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[153] See Evelyn, 'The State of France', p. 43; Henry Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman, fashioning him absolute in the most necessary & commendable Qualities concerning Minde or Bodie, etc.* (London: F. Constable, 1622), pp. 200, 201-2; Lassels, *The Voyage Of Italy*, vol. 1, preface

[154] Bacon writes for example, emphasizing the individual experience of travel: 'Travel, in the younger sort, is a part of education; in the elder, a part of experience.' (Bacon, 'Of Travel', in *Essays*, p. 47)

[155] Bacon, 'Of Travel', in *Essays*, p. 47

[156] Bargrave, *Travel Journal*, p. 2r

in these conversations are both the dead and the living - ancient writers, assumedly, and contemporary thinkers - as well as 'Himselfe'. One's own knowledge and mind are to be developed and challenged hence in the course of one's travels. Following to this, Bargrave recommends 'Courtesie' as well as 'fashionable' but 'plaine' clothing echoing other apodemic writers. Why Bargrave deemed it necessary to include these instructions in the manuscript of his diary, one cannot be sure. It might have been notes he took in preparation for his own travels, perhaps something he showed to his young charges, as whose tutor he travelled, or else he might have had some form of dissemination in mind - the latter would not be surprising as such manuscripts at the time were commonly circulated among family and acquaintances. Most of all, however, he seems to still have felt that need to justify his travels, to argue for their usefulness.

As we have seen above, 'travelling' in apodemic texts is mostly defined as the reality of the physical and sensual experience of the unfamiliar as opposed to the imagined 'armchair travelling' relying on second-hand tales. Stagl describes this as a demand for the 'seeing for oneself' which includes a request to also 'think for oneself' characteristic for the apodemic text in the context of humanism.[157] Fynes Moryson, a contemporary of Bacon, opened the last volume of his heavyweight *Itinerary* from 1617, a result of his travels in continental Europe, Ireland and the Ottoman Empire which is, incidentally, mentioned in Drake's journal, by praising the superiority of the sense of sight for travelling:

> the experience thereby attained, which instructed the most dull and simple, . . . & which neither by hearing, nor any sense can so easily be gained, as by the eies. For since nothing is in the understanding, which hath not first beene in some of the senses, surely among the senses, which are (as it were) our Sentinels and Watchmen, to spie out all dangers, and conduct us through the thorny laberinth of this lifes pilgrimage, not any one is so vigilant, so nimble, so wary, nor by many degrees so trusty, as the sight[158]

Moryson's conviction that any understanding is derived from a sensual experience demonstrates how, in the context of travelling, ideas are discussed which reflect the

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[157] Stagl, 'Die Apodemik oder 'Reisekunst' als Methodik der Sozialforschung vom Humanismus bis zur Aufklärung', p. 135: 'Diese Forderung zum Selbstsehen [in der Apodemik und im Humanismus generell] ist zugleich auch die Aufforderung zum Selbstdenken. Erfahrung und Vernunft stehen in der Apodemik noch nicht im Gegensatz, sondern in gemeinsamer Front gegen Tradition und Autorität.'
[158] Moryson, 'Of Travelling in generall', p. 1

emphasis on observation expressed by Bacon and other vanguard philosophers of the time. In this, Moryson was no exception, Henry Peacham for instance referred, in a chapter of *The Compleat Gentleman* (1622) concerned with travel, to Alexander the Great who, in his travels, 'had found out more with his eies, then other Kings were able to comprehend in thought'.[159] Similarly, Sir Robert Dallington, had already as early as 1605 in *A Method for Travell* recommended the 'eye-sight of those things, which otherwise a man cannot have but by *Tradition*'.[160] Bacon would probably have applauded the notion that 'tradition' as the transfer of knowledge from one generation to the next was to be regarded as only one source of understanding, and necessarily accompanied by first-hand empirical observation.

Curious parts and the whole

In the course of the seventeenth century, during a period of relative peace after the war with Spain had ended in 1604, the reality of the Grand Tour became more substantial with more and more English travellers roaming the continent. Chaney points out that at this time, the English 'government . . . was completely unable to halt the travel boom'.[161] By the 1630s, as Michael G. Brennan remarks, 'an extended period of travel on the continent was no longer the exclusive prerogative of either the court élite or the spectacularly wealthy'.[162] With this relative simplification of travel - it was, of course, still expensive, burdensome and hazardous, licences had to be acquired and dangerous roads passed - came also a shift in the focus of the journey. For the first time, aesthetics as such could become a pretext for travelling. As Chaney argues, Henry Wotton, British ambassador in Venice in the early 1600s and the English translator of Vitruvius, can be regarded as 'the vital transitional figure who turned from spy to aesthete, thus anticipating the shift in the history of travel from that current in the sixteenth and first half of

[159] Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman*, pp. 200-01
[160] Dallington, *A Method for Travell*, p. B
[161] Chaney, *The Evolution of the Grand Tour*, p. 86
[162] Brennan (ed.), *The Origins of the Grand Tour*, p. 32

the seventeenth centuries, to the Grand Tour proper'.[163] The Tour started, at this point, to turn into an aesthetic reality - as well as an aesthetic imagination. Perhaps its aesthetic aspect was even born from the fact that the reality had previously, due to necessity, been transformed into an imagination, an *image*, which then shaped the reality - or rather the expectation towards the reality - as soon as it was possible to travel again. Importantly however, the seventeenth century saw the rise of an emphasis on the aesthetic as a *physical* and first-hand experience.

Changing meanings of 'curiosity'

Before moving on to the cabinet of curiosity and its structure, both material as well as verbal, it is necessary to briefly contemplate the semantic history of the word family of 'curiosity'. As Neil Kenny states in *Curiosity in Early Modern Europe: Word Histories*,

> any history of 'curiosity' is problematic. Is it the history of a 'concept' (whatever that might be), or of a set of words, or of some extra-conceptual and extra-linguistic reality, such as 'desire'?[164]

In the course of the seventeenth century, and in the preceding and following decades, 'curiosity', together with its cognate nouns and adjectives, was perhaps one of the most widely used terms in written discourse - and, as Kenny demonstrates, one of the most unstable ones. It oscillated between extremely pejorative and highly positive connotations, as well as subjective and objective use throughout the century. During the Middle Ages, Renaissance and still far into the 1600s, curiosity as meaning the striving for knowledge was condemned as sinful and a sign of human pride as it, ultimately, had led to the biblical Fall of Man.

Francis Bacon himself is well aware of this prejudice against the production of new and original knowledge. But when he warns, in the *Novum Organon*, 'how great is the distance between the *illusions* of men's minds and the ideas of God's mind', he does not mean knowledge created newly and through human curiosity but rather that which man accepts without questioning.[165] With illusion Bacon refers to

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[163] Watkin, 'The Architectural Context of the Grand Tour', p. 53; Henry Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture* (London: John Bill, 1624)
[164] Neil Kenny, *Curiosity in Early Modern Europe: Word Histories* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998), p. 17
[165] Bacon, *The New Organon*, p. 96

the four 'idols of the mind' (*idola*) which distort the truth and have led to the faults in knowledge that the 'Grand Instauration' seeks to rectify: the 'idols of the tribe' common to all members of one society, the 'idols of the cave' specific to each individual, the 'idols of the marketplace' derived from the above described wrong use of language, and the 'idols of the theatre' which are due to false beliefs and 'fictitious worlds'.[166]

> He maintains that while the idols are 'fanciful abstractions', God's ideas are
>
>> the true marks of the Creator on his creatures as they are impressed and printed on matter in true and meticulous lines. Therefore truth and usefulness are (in this kind) the very same things, and the works themselves are of greater value as pledges of truth than for the benefits they bring to human life.[167]

The 'true marks' are 'impressed . . . on matter in true . . . lines' - they are visible, perceptible, to be understood through the right kind of observation rather than through intellectual and rhetorical reasoning as practised in medieval schools. Furthermore, this truth is linked to 'usefulness' through which Bacon assures the reader that his method is not a self-indulgent inquiry into what is not for man to know; he simply promotes observing, seeing God's creation as it was originally designed - with those 'lines' *intended* for man to *see*. Indeed, usefulness, as Peter Harrison argues, was crucial for establishing the quest for knowledge and the inquiry into the workings of nature as morally unquestionable.[168] Subsequently, and in a manner that persists today, such feelings of curiosity were turned from sin to virtue. Bacon however, even if this semantic turn seems to be partly due to him, still used the terms curiosity and curious in their reprehensible sense, referring to useless enquiries and to 'those persons we esteem vain, which are either credulous or curious'.[169]

Most drastic of all semantic expansions, Kenny argues, is the one from subjective to objective, from referring to the 'curious person' to the 'curious object' - indeed, I started this section with the latter, the objective sense, which was new in the seventeenth century. Correspondingly, the *OED* still distinguishes two principal

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[166] Bacon, *The New Organon*, pp. 40-42
[167] Bacon, *The New Organon*, p. 96
[168] See Peter Harrison, 'Curiosity, Forbidden Knowledge, and the Reformation of Natural Philosophy in Early Modern England', *Isis*, 92.2 (2001), pp. 265-290
[169] Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning*, p. 23

meaning groups for 'curious', namely 'a subjective quality of persons' and 'an objective quality of things'.[170] Kenny explains,

> Another kind of semantic reversibility also characterized 'curiosity': its strange capacity, after centuries of mainly denoting desiring subjects, to start denoting desired objects too in the seventeenth century, and not just sporadically, but on a grand scale.[171]

Kenny claims further that 'curiosity' formed 'the blissful place' where subject and object could meet in equilibrium, both active and passive at once. Without being able to exactly locate the moment in which this semantic change became firmly established, one can wonder about how it evolved - what were the implications of referring to a thing with a term previously reserved for a person? Such changes never happen abruptly but are gradually consolidated within common usage. Initially, users would therefore have still been aware of the double connotation contained in the word. Referring to things as 'curious' - with a hint at that this would normally be a person - thus ascribes to them a very specific status - they take over an acting role, are turned into actors, or subjects, within the quest to reconstruct and thus understand the physical world. It is therefore the samples of this world - contained in collections - that lead this mission, not the collector (or natural historian) alone.

This range of meaning between positive-virtuous and negative-reproving as well as between subjective and objective use indicates the speed at which, throughout the period of interest, the word 'curious' changed sense and, more, contained several contrary meanings simultaneously. Besides these linguistic developments at the time, historians also have to take into account those that took place later and thus interfere with their own understanding of the historical texts. The most dramatic of such a semantic change within the word family of 'curiosity' is probably the loss of the objective meaning, newly coined in the 1600s, of 'artful', 'elaborate' or 'skilful', even 'beautiful'. As the *OED* shows, already around 1700 the word in its objective sense developed via the meaning of 'interesting, noteworthy' (first entry from 1682) to the more present-day 'surprising, strange, singular, odd' (first entry from 1715). The latest examples given for 'curious' meaning 'careful',

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[170] See entry for 'curious, *adj.*', in *Oxford English Dictionary Online* <http://dictionary.oed.com> [accessed 17 March 2009]
[171] Kenny, *Curiosity in Early Modern Europe*, p. 15

'concerned', 'particular', 'accurate' or 'skilful, clever, expert' all stem from the late seventeenth or eighteenth centuries.[172] This gives also quite another ring to the word 'curioso' as a seventeenth-century synonym of the connoisseur. Interestingly, this semantic development is not exclusive to the English language, for an almost identical process occurred in German usage. The German word *Merkwürdigkeit*, for instance, originally refers to an object worthy to be noticed or remembered (it is a compound of *merken* - to notice - and *würdig* - worthy) but would, in current usage, be translated as 'strangeness' or 'peculiarity'. This semantic change occurred through an initially ironical use of the sense 'worthy to be noticed' but then became fixed as literal sense in the language.[173]

When we now speak or write about curiosity and curiosities in the early modern period, we thus face the difficulty that, first, we cannot rely on our own linguistic understanding of these terms when reading historical writings and, second, when we use the terms in our own historical writing, we must make sure to establish the sense in which we use them. The positive and negative, the subjective and objective, the 'artful' and 'nosy' all too often become mixed up and frequently it is impossible to discern which sense is intended. Even if one should not, and cannot, exaggerate exactness of historical changes, I would suggest that, when an eighteenth-century traveller described an object (or a person) as 'curious', he would most likely have meant something different by this than his seventeenth-century predecessor. What would have been 'odd' to the eighteenth-century antiquarian had perhaps meant 'beautiful' in Bargrave's and Evelyn's and 'credulous', even 'sinful' in Bacon's days. More importantly, the boundaries between subject and object became blurred, for some time at least, when 'curiosity' was a quality of things and persons as well as a thing (or person) proper. Simultaneously, the judgmental semantic changes of 'curiosity' as a sin, a virtue and (guilty) enjoyment represent prevalent attitudes towards the unfamiliar in different contexts and at different times.

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[172] See entry for 'curious, *adj.*', in *Oxford English Dictionary Online* <http://dictionary.oed.com> [accessed 17 March 2009]

[173] See entry for 'Merkwürdigkeit' in Jacob Grimm and Wilhelm Grimm, *Der Digitale Grimm: Deutsches Wörterbuch von Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm*, Hans-Werner Bartz and others (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 2004), 2 CD-ROMs (digital version, 12-04). For notions of curiosity in other languages see 'Genealogies: The Emergence of 'Curiosity'', Kenny, *Curiosity in Early Modern Europe*, pp. 33-49

Ordering the cabinet

The cabinet of curiosities or *Wunderkammer* (German for a chamber or room of wonder) was, by the mid 1500s, a well known item as well as a cultural concept in much of continental Europe which transcended all educated levels of society, from aristocracy and the high cleric to scholars, poets and artists. Interestingly, it developed at least partly from an illusion of itself, its image decorating the walls of a room: *trompe l'œuil* paintings or intarsia of cabinets and shelves filled with various items adorned the *studioli* of many Italian fifteenth-century princes. When these spaces were later filled with material objects, both natural and man-made, they ranged from tiny and deeply intimate chambers to large displays meant to attract and entertain visitors. Equally, pieces of furniture, literally cabinets, were constructed, often of highly complex design - the one of John Evelyn as well as that of John Bargrave would be comparatively simple examples for this type.[174]

Francis Bacon describes such spaces of collecting in *Gesta Grayorum* (1594), a masque written for a New Year's Eve entertainment in which six counsellors offer their advice to a prince. The 'Second Counsellor', giving guidance on the study of philosophy, recommends in it to construct 'principal works and monuments' including a library, a garden with spaces for all species of animals as well as what could be called a cabinet of curiosities:

> A goodly huge Cabinet, wherein *whatsoever* the Hand of Man, by exquisite Art or Engine, hath made rare in Stuff, Form, or Motion, *whatsoever* Singularity, Chance and the Shuffle of things hath produced, *whatsoever* Nature hath wrought in things that want Life, and may be kept, shall be *sorted* and included.[175] (italics mine)

The man-made and natural shall be included, 'whatsoever' is repeated three times, there is no nominal limit to the type of object that this cabinet could contain in order to be 'sorted'. In and through all these 'monuments' and their contents, Bacon claims, a 'depth of knowledge' will be acquired and all 'miracles and wonders shall cease by reason that you shall have discovered their natural causes'.[176] By combining as many things existing in the world within one contemplative space -

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[174] See Arthur MacGregor, *Curiosity and Enlightenment: Collectors and Collections from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 12-17

[175] Francis Bacon, *Gesta Grayorum 1688*, (London: Printed for the Malone Society by F. Hall at the Oxford University Press, 1914), p. 35

[176] Bacon, *Gesta Grayorum 1688*, p. 35

both material and mental - their workings can be observed, compared, traced and thus understood. It is precisely the limitless range of potential things as well as the open structural arrangement that facilitates this process. It is the world in miniature, on a human scale perhaps, that is reconstructed here - a notion I will come back to in the last section of this chapter.

Stephen Bann writes in his study of John Bargrave that, when looking at such collections today, we must take care to differentiate between the eighteenth-century 'logic . . . of a greater whole completed by the imagination' and that 'of an intricate structure revealed by intensive study' valid for Bargrave and other seventeenth-century collectors. Bann maintains that, for Bargrave,

> His objects are not appropriate for the public site of a pavilion; they are catalogued, described, and filed up in drawers, up to the moment when the collector can share with a visitor his or her knowledge of their intimate being.[177]

These things are, therefore, not collected for display only, they are assembled in a very particular and meaningful way in an attempt to make some sense of the encountered unfamiliar. Even if, as Bann writes, each acts as a 'sign bearing a message', together they do not aim to form or conjure up one larger whole but instead strive to remain separate fragments and parts.[178]

Neil Kenny argues that, even linguistically, the reference to an object or concept as 'curious' 'entailed shaping matter or discourse into a collection of fragments'. Consequently, he continues,

> when several material or discursive objects were described as 'curious' or as 'curiosities', it was stated or implied that they were fragments belonging to a literal or metaphorical collection. This was a distinctive obsession within the culture of curiosities.[179]

Even the use of language at the time shows the mental framework which lies behind such collections of items jumbled together on small space creating a denseness of both matter and thought. They were meant to remain fragments within the new whole of the collection, they never lost their link, if mysterious and

[177] Bann, *Under the Sign*, pp. 102-03
[178] Bann, *Under the Sign*, p. 11
[179] Kenny, *The Uses of Curiosity in Early Modern France and Germany* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 161

fragmentary itself, to their origin while establishing new links to other objects within the patchwork whole of the collection.

Through Bacon's and others' advice, collecting soon became a widespread habit particularly among those travelling through Europe who were simultaneously attracted by famous collections in *Wunderkammern* and *studioli*. In both Bargrave's as well as Drake's journals we find repeated mention of such places. Bargrave, for instance, visits the collection of relics in the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris in order 'to see the place and antiquities wch are esteemed the rarest and richest in all Ffrance except St Dennis'.[180] Indeed, the collection still ranks high for its relics but more interesting here is the inseparability which Bargrave attributes to the 'place' - the building - and the 'antiquities' - the collected fragments. He is come to see and describe both.

For Drake, to visit famous cabinets of curiosities seems to be one of the principal aims of his travels - his journal reads almost as a who-is-who in Italian collections at the time (if one can manage to decipher the often misspelled names of their creators). Almost nothing is known about the author of the small, vellum-bound manuscript which came into the possession of the Getty Research Institute in Los Angeles by equally unknown ways. The only clue to its creator is a note written on the back flyleaf, stating 'Mr Drake, to be found when in town att ye Boar tavern in Cornhill over against ye exchange'.[181] This led the researchers of the Getty to the conjecture that it was one Samuel Drake 'who might have travelled in Italy during his years at Caius College, Cambridge'.[182] However, there are other names mentioned on the front flyleaf and I do not know of any firm proof that this Samuel Drake in fact ever went to Italy - even though he did attend Caius College around that time.[183] Ultimately, the precise identity of the diary's author is not of primary importance as it is the text alone, in this case perhaps more so than in others, that provides all the evidence we need. It also prevents an over-contextualized interpretation - here the text is really only text, the words are all we have together

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[180] Bargrave, *Travel Journal*, p. 16r

[181] Samuel Drake, *Travel Diary*, c. 1675, Getty Research Institute, Special Collections, 880100, back flyleaf

[182] Research note held together with the MS diary in the Getty Research Institute Special Collections (accession number 880100)

[183] See John Venn, *Biographical History of Gonville and Caius College, 1349-1897: Containing a List of all Known Members of the College from the Foundation to the Present Time, with Biographical Notes* (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1898), vol. 2, p. 72

with their graphic and material manifestation in the handwritten booklet that has travelled around much of Europe. Whoever its owner was, and I will continue to call him Drake, he enjoyed an extensive tour around Europe from the principal cities of Italy to much of Austria, Bohemia, Switzerland and the German states.

In Milan, Drake explores the collection of Manfredo Settala (1600-80) which is well documented through several contemporary illustrations as well as a printed catalogue.[184] Drake records it in his journal as 'the cabinet of Signiore Setaly worth a prodigious summe of money, where there are soo many vastly strange curriosityes of all sorts'.[185] He goes on to list its contents as consisting of various clocks, astronomical objects, stones, crystals, some 'own inventions', musical instruments, as well as a microscope fitted with a lamp.[186]

In Bologna, he visits the scholarly collection of Ulisse Aldrovandi (1522-1605) who had been professor of botany and natural history and had claimed that all his research was based on first-hand observation of things 'seen with my own eyes' and contained in his collection 'in pitture et al vivo' - as picture as well as material sample.[187] Again, Drake remarks here on the wide scope of objects collected which consist of 'all manner of naturall curiosities and among many artificiall as alsoe many antiquities' and continues to list them in more detail.[188] In Pisa, a 'fine gallery adornd with many naturall curriosityes' next to the botanical garden also deserves mentioning.[189] In Verona, he might have seen the cabinet of Francesco Calzolari (1566-86) - even if it is difficult to be sure, as Drake notes the name of the owner of this collection as one 'Sig^r Mascardi'. However, he praises it and states that it 'comes not farre short of Setaly's [Settala's] att Milan being curious for pictures of ye choicest hands of Europe, as alsoe all manner of anticke and naturall curiosities'.[190] All these collections, and more, are described by Drake in the form of a short general account regarding their breadth of content followed by a list of the most remarkable items, usually including both natural and man-

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[184] MacGregor, *Curiosity and Enlightenment*, p. 25
[185] Drake, *Travel Diary*, p. 5v
[186] Drake, *Travel Diary*, pp. 6r-7r
[187] Sandra Tugnoli Pattaro, *Metodo e sistema delle scienze di Ulisse Aldrovandi* (Bologna: Clueb, 1981), p. 180. Quoted in Paula Findlen, *Possessing Nature: Museums, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley, London: University of California Press, 1994), p. 156
[188] Drake, *Travel Diary*, p. 10r
[189] Drake, *Travel Diary*, p. 13v
[190] Drake, *Travel Diary*, p. 27v

made things. Drake thus mirrors the fragmentary character of the material collection itself in his description - he preserves its fractures and arbitrariness while accepting its wide scope as self-evident.

Drake already uses the term 'curiosities' in its new objective sense without any apparent difficulty - indeed, by this time it was the all-embracing name for the contents of such collections which transferred both ordering as well as knowing power to the thing, as we have seen. In the seventeenth century, the market for anything 'collectable' grew steadily, fed by the increased number of travellers throughout Europe who not only visited famous collections but also strove to assemble their own. Brennan remarks that 'various kinds of trinkets, shells, minor antiquities, and other miscellaneous items' were sold by 'either established curio shops in the major cities or by itinerant hawkers and other private individuals who were well aware of the tourist's insatiable appetite for the new, the rare, and the curious'.[191] Obviously, 'curious' must contain here as wide a meaning as the range of possible objects to be collected. Even if today it carries with it a decidedly trivializing connotation, this cannot have been the case at Bargrave's and Drake's time - ultimately, a 'curious' object for them was the means to understand more of the world around them.

Situating places with words

What influence did these modes of ordering and knowing have on verbal description? First, one has to acknowledge that rendering visual observations directly into language was not as familiar a practice as it might now seem. Edward Chaney contests that the sixteenth-century English century traveller was not necessarily capable of describing the seen in such a manner. It appears that descriptive language as such, in style, vocabulary, expression and, importantly, method still had to develop - and more, just to envisage such a project of description was difficult. Quoting from Hoby's diary, Chaney refers to the account of the coast of Amalfi as a, by English standards, pioneering expression of enthusiasm for nature:

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[191] Brennan (ed.), *The Origins of the Grand Tour*, pp. 37-38

we entred into a bote to go a long the faire coost of Amalfi, which is praysed to be on[e] of the pleasantest peices of ground in all Italie.[192]

Note that there is no visual description as such in here at all - the reader does not learn anything about the specific appearance of this stretch of coast. It is the verbal praise or judgement of a visual or sensual aspect of the described object that makes Hoby stand out from other diarists or chroniclers of the time. Indeed, then a diarist was synonymous with a chronicler whose primary undertaking was to compile a chronology of events. We return here then again to the relationship of text to time and space, respectively. There seems to occur a paradigmatic change for texts concerned with cities in the sixteenth century which also involves the term 'history', today exclusively concerned with time and events. We have already, in the context of the Royal Society's 'natural histories', seen that the term 'history' in the early modern period describes a methodical account of a natural phenomenon without any reference to time or chronology. Equally, it was used to refer to the physical appearance of cities, their buildings and streets etc, besides a chronicle of events taking place in them. This was the case in William Thomas's *The Historie of Italie* from 1549 which is, according to Chaney, largely original and 'deserves more inclusive recognition as the first and best account of Italy in any language' for almost a century.[193] Bargrave and Drake do not, however, chronicle time or describe events - they are concerned with places primarily, even if not yet in a straightforwardly visual sense. How, then, do they describe?

In Bargrave's travel journal, cities are often described following a simple and repetitive pattern which makes reference first to their situation and then to the condition of their fortifications. Boulogne thus 'standeth at the bottom of an hill' and is accessed 'over 2 draw bridges and a faling gate, each of them hauing a court of guard at them' while the town Montreuil is 'a good fair town standing on the topp of a small river' and 'is likewise fortyfied and guarded'. A third unidentifiable town, in contrast, is 'not so strong as either of them' because, as Bargrave notes, it is made 'of timber like our English townes' while 'the other townes are built most all of stone'.[194] Such repetitive patterns of description are familiar from Evelyn's

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[192] Hoby, 'The Travels and Life of Sir Thomas Hoby', p. 53. See Chaney, *The Evolution of the Grand Tour*, p. 65
[193] Chaney, *The Evolution of the Grand Tour*, p. 73
[194] Bargrave, *Travel Journal*, p. 4v. Bargrave was in Boulogne on the 26 and in Montreuil on the 27 May 1645.

and others' writings. Their descriptive vocabulary is often limited and expressions are repeated frequently which critics commonly assume to be a sign of these authors being interested not so much in the literary qualities of their texts (or, indeed, of their inability to produce such qualities) but, rather, in the truthful recording of the seen or understood, as was argued in chapter one.

This uniformity of descriptive terminology is mirrored in Bargrave's *Mercurio Italico* in which Livorno for instance is described simply as 'The streets are generally large, the houses low'.[195] Like in Bargrave's as well as Evelyn's texts, the siting of a city within a landscape is essential and mirrors Bargrave's emphasis on fortifications. Florence for instance is, in the *Mercurio Italico*,

> scituated at the bottome of very high hills, environ'd on all sides with the same, excepting towards the Westside, before which lies a plane Countrey, *vulgo Pianura di Fiorenza*.[196]

Essential to such a spatial grasping of landscape and its contents is the movement through it and the resulting bodily and visual experience. Drake for instance describes the approach to a tiny Tuscan city with these characteristic words:

> Wee see as wee ridde a longe upon a high hill Caprona which from att a litle distance to be pretty towne, the Prince Sforza is soveraign of itt.[197]

He *sees* as he *rides* - moves. He does so 'a longe upon' elevated ground which is defined as the vantage point through the preposition 'from' and located in relation to their target by adding 'a litle distance'. The description of the appearance of Caprona itself - 'pretty towne' - remains short and of little specific meaning, many towns Drake visits are described as 'pretty'. Much more informative and meaningful here are those expressions linking objects and subjects - verbs such as 'see' and 'ride' as well as the prepositions 'along', 'upon', 'from' and 'at'. Once noticed, their outnumbering of the actual visually and physically descriptive elements in both Drake's as well as Bargrave's writing becomes almost glaring. In Bargrave's account of the Palazzo Doria in Genoa, the structure is

> **reaching from** the bottome of the shoare, **to** the top of the mountains, **divided into** three gardens. **In** the first **whereof** the Terrasses or

[195] Raymond, *An Itinerary*, pp. 25-26
[196] Raymond, *An Itinerary*, p. 28
[197] Drake, *Travel Diary*, p. 14v

Porches one **above** another bore **up** with marble Pillars, is very magnificent[198] (bold mine)

Similarly the description of Rome's Palazzo Barberini even if Bargrave here puts specific emphasis on the 'Rarities' - or curiosities - contained in it:

In the Court **lies** a broken Pyramid. **In** the Galleries are admirable statues, and **amongst** them the old, old Egyptian Idoll *Osiris*, of a black strange stone, the forme of it because I never saw it printed, I will not omit.[199] (bold mine)

In Drake's writing, less polished and often more hurried in its raw manuscript form, these 'linguistic vectors', as I would propose to call such verbs and prepositions due to their spatiality as well as directionality, are even more prominent. Often, he describes cities in large sweeps covering several days' travel in a few sentences. In Tuscany, three cities as well as some single monuments are put into a system of coordinates in this way:

From Florence **to** Pistoia, the Domo **here** and ye baptistery **over against** itt, the church of St John, a pretty flat church and handsomely . . . **on** y^e **outside**, with blaster and white marble, the towne itt selfe is but mean . . . **from hence to** Lucca a very strong towne[200] (bold mine)

Here, he even skips the use of any verbs but links the single objects purely through prepositions. Outside Rome, Drake almost constructs a map of the Alban Hills with his description of two of its main sites - this time with verbs in gerund form:

Castel Gondolpho, the Popes summer palace **standinge on** a hill, **havinge** the sea **on one side**, and a lake **on the other**, **on the right hand**, and rocca di Papa, a strong castell **standinge on** a rocke **on ye left hand**[201] (bold mine)

Even the ruins of a theatre somewhere on the way from Rome to Naples deserve such exact, and here double, positioning:

wee **passed** after dinner **by** the rellicks of an old theatre **near** the amphytheater **near** the ferry carlgiano[202] (bold mine)

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[198] Raymond, *An Itinerary*, p. 11
[199] Raymond, *An Itinerary*, pp. 103-04
[200] Drake, *Travel Diary*, p. 11v
[201] Drake, *Travel Diary*, p. 15v
[202] Drake, *Travel Diary*, p. 17r

Even descriptions which contain comparatively extensive visual and aesthetic references, such as that of Siena's cathedral by Bargrave, are full of such linguistic vectors, beginning with its positioning within the city:

> **Close to** this Palace is the *Dome*, or Cathedrall Church of *Sienna*, . . . tis both **without** and **within** of Black and white Marble; . . . **About** the **inside** are the heads of all the Popes; The Pulpet is an unparalelld piece, **beset with** figures of Marble. But that singularity which this Temple boasts of above all others, is the pavement, **whereon** many parts of the sacred history are so lively represented in severall colours of Marble . . . **Going up** to the altar, **at the left hand** is the Library, painted by *Riphel d'Urbino*; **On the same side** is a Chappell, **wherin** is kept the arme of S. *John Baptist*[203] (bold mine)

Here, specific attention is paid to the building's surfaces - just as in the cabinet of curiosities horizontal and vertical surfaces, whether of a whole room or small piece of furniture, served to fix the objects of interest thus ordering and understanding them. Again, the notion of a Cartesian coordinate system seems close.

Equally, cities are emphasized as being containers of monuments and sights when Drake writes, that, north of Rome, 'Viterbo a pretty towne, and hath severall fine fountains *in* itt' while 'Caprarola, a very pretty towne . . . hath very hansome apartments *in* itt' (italics mine).[204] Both towns are yet again 'pretty', but more importantly they *contain in* them buildings to be visited by the traveller. When there is more to see, Drake, as Bargrave, falls back upon the aid of the list, as in Rimini:

> things to be *seen here* a fine triumphall arch of Augustus Cesar, a statue in ye grand place of Paul the 5, the church of St Francis built by Sigismundo years agoe[205] (italics mine)

By simply listing an arch, a statue and a church, Drake describes a whole city in terms of its principal 'things', its curiosities, its most artful elements which, seen one after the other as well as in their relationship to each other in the whole of the urban fabric, will give the visitor an understanding of this whole as well as of each one on its own. I would suggest that this mode of approaching an unknown place mirrors the ways of knowing and understanding that underlie the contemporary

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[203] Raymond, *An Itinerary*, pp. 53-55
[204] Drake, *Travel Diary*, p. 25r
[205] Drake, *Travel Diary*, p. 21v

cabinet of curiosities. Again, it is the spatial relationship between single, separate and often fragmentary things which are contained within one physical and mental space - either a region or a city - that shapes the viewer's experience and thus his or her understanding of that place.

Inductive method

If the cabinet of curiosity serves here as a spatial example of how knowledge of the physical world was acquired and increased, there are other currents at the same time which influenced these processes. What is now termed the 'scientific revolution' changed the view of that physical world dramatically with radically new ideas that placed the sun, not the earth, in the centre of the universe, that understood matter as consisting of atoms or blood as circulating within the body. These and other thoughts changed notions of human understanding and knowledge fundamentally and led to the establishment of what we now know - and still use - as the 'scientific' method.

In *The Advancement of Learning*, Bacon intended to outline the current state of human learning and define those parts that he considered as 'deficient' and in need of improvement. Bacon himself was not an expert in any one subject - indeed, he despised specialists who focused on one 'field' of knowledge only and thus disregarded larger questions of how knowledge should be formed.[206] He referred to *The Advancement of Learning* as providing 'the first part of the Renewal which contains the divisions of the sciences'.[207] *The New Organon* was planned to form the second part providing 'true directions for the interpretation of nature'[208] which were laid out in two books of 'aphorisms' - short statements, or definitions. Bacon's editors, Lisa Jardine and Michael Silverthorne, refer here to an 'aphoristic 'method of delivery'' meaning that it was intended to be incomplete and collaborative.[209]

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[206] See 'Introduction', in Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning*. *The Advancement of Learning* was Bacon's only major philosophical work written originally in English; he only later extended and republished it in Latin as *De Augmentis Scientiarium* (1623) to reach a wider European audience. *The New Organon* was originally written in Latin and entitled *Novum Organum*, which translates as 'new instrument'.
[207] Bacon, *The New Organon*, p. 25
[208] Bacon, *The New Organon*, p. 26
[209] See the introduction by the editors in Bacon, *The New Organon*, pp. xviii-xix

Vittoria Di Palma has remarked that 'Knowledge, for Bacon, can only grow when it is in the state of rough aphorisms and observations'.[210]

Throughout his oeuvre, Bacon favoured fragmented structures of which the aphorism, the list and the essay are examples. His *Sylva Sylvarum* (literally: wood of woods) has been regarded as exemplary of this form and, indeed, of reconstituting and reshaping an ancient genre, as Frans de Bruyn has demonstrated.[211] Peter Shaw, the 1733 editor of Bacon's works, writes that this renewed genre of the 'silva' refers to

> as its Name implies, a *Wood* of Experiments and Observations; or a Collection of Materials, ready procured, and laid up for forming particular Histories of Nature and Art, in the Author's inductive manner[212]

De Bruyn argues more specifically that the silva's 'disorderedness is premeditated and arises, in fact, from a provisional hypothesis or order, which remains, however, to be discovered and discerned'.[213] This corresponds directly to the method developed by Bacon which is commonly referred to as *inductive* opposed to Aristotelian *deduction* where the enquirer's observations and experiments served to prove a prior assumption. Bacon, in contrast, argued that observations and experiments would *induce* new and original conclusions by proceeding from small details via larger ones only eventually to more comprehensive assumptions.[214]

In this sense, anything unknown or 'unfamiliar' is for Bacon a source of knowledge if it is subjected to observation and active experiment. The parts are constitutive of the whole, the hypothesis, but this whole does not automatically become fixed by consisting of many parts. Indeed, its order, or disorder, is, as Di Palma has argued, 'merely a temporary state' subject to 'Variety, flux, motion, change, chance'.[215] In a further step, De Bruyn establishes a link between the silva,

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[210] Vittoria Di Palma, 'The School in the Garden: Science, Aesthetics, and Perceptions of Landscape in England, 1640-1740' (Columbia University, 1999), p. 24

[211] Frans de Bruyn, 'The Classical Silva and the Generic Development of Scientific Writing in Seventeenth-Century England', *New Literary History*, 32.2 (2001), pp. 347-73

[212] *The Philosophical Works of Francis Bacon . . . Methodized, and Made English, from the Originals*, ed. Peter Shaw, 2nd ed., vol. 1 of 3 (London, 1737), p. lxii. Quoted in de Bruyn, 'The Classical Silva and the Generic Development of Scientific Writing in Seventeenth-Century England', p. 354

[213] de Bruyn, 'The Classical Silva and the Generic Development of Scientific Writing in Seventeenth-Century England', p. 366

[214] See the introduction by the editors in Bacon, *The New Organon*, p. xv

[215] Vittoria Di Palma, 'Fragmentation, Multiplication, Permutation: Natural Histories and Woodland Aesthetics from Bacon to Evelyn', in *Fragments Architecture and the Unfinished: Essays presented to Robin Middleton*, ed. by Barry Bergdoll and Werner Oechslin (London, New York: Thames & Hudson, 2006), p. 234

Bacon's method and the cabinet - he argues that 'the language of the silva, as Bacon defines it, functions like a tool for collecting and laying up materials' and adds that its 'form itself functions as a container, a 'Store-house' or warehouse'.[216] If it is *things* that are arranged and contemplated in the cabinet of curiosities, in the silva this is applied to the observations of, and experiments with, these *things*. The aim remains the same, to understand and grasp the working of the world and its things. In both cases, as we have seen before in the semantic history of the term 'curiosity', the thing leads in an active way, the observer follows and must therefore use a certain arbitrariness in order to let this process, the acting of the things, happen. Simultaneously, the silva also exemplifies the 'ongoing meditation about science *as* writing', as De Bruyn puts it. Writing here serves not only to document but, much further reaching, as a tool to think and develop hypotheses, however transitional they might be. Changes in the style of writing therefore must necessarily be linked to changes in perceptive modes - independent of which changed first. A later form of such writerly transformations, intact until today, is the scientific periodical with its collection of ideas and propositions.[217]

In *The New Organon*, Bacon constructs his inductive method which increased knowledge by coherent and 'gradual' enquiry starting from the particular, as he writes:

> There are, and can be, only two ways to investigate and discover truth. The one leaps from sense and particulars to the most general axioms, and from these principles and their settled truth, determines and discovers intermediate axioms; this is the current way. The other elicits axioms from sense and particulars, rising in a gradual and unbroken ascent to arrive at last at the most general axioms; this is the true way, but it has not been tried.[218]

This method is reflected also in his scheme of observation, which he lays out as an equally balanced, but not linear, sequence of study - one must proceed both from the parts to the whole as well as vice versa:

> Observation of nature and of bodies in their simple parts fractures and diminishes the understanding; observation of nature and of bodies in

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[216] de Bruyn, 'The Classical Silva and the Generic Development of Scientific Writing in Seventeenth-Century England', p. 361

[217] de Bruyn, 'The Classical Silva and the Generic Development of Scientific Writing in Seventeenth-Century England', p. 350

[218] Bacon, *The New Organon*, p. 36

their composition and complex structure stupefies and confounds the understanding. . . . These kinds of observation therefore need to be alternated and taken in turn, so that the understanding may be rendered both penetrating and comprehensive; and the defects we mentioned avoided, with the illusions they generate.[219]

If one compares this to the Ramist taxonomies considered in chapter one, it becomes at once obvious that they organised matter as well as concepts from large to small - the overall notion or thing on the left is being divided up into its single parts as the reading eye moves to the right. There is the possibility of reading them from right to left, of course, but that is not how they would have been constructed in the first place. The three-dimensional space of the cabinet with its innumerable possible positions of objects within and lack of direction - in sharp contrast to the two-dimensional directionality of writing practices on paper from left to right - might have suggested such an alternative, two-way system of thinking.

Similarly, the medieval notion that the truth can be found through debate and reasoning finds little appreciation in Bacon's writing - on the contrary, he writes that 'in learning, where there is much controversy, there is many times little inquiry'.[220] It is observation that is elemental to knowledge, understanding and therefore truth as Bacon emphasizes in the very first aphorism in *The New Organon*:

> Man is Nature's agent and interpreter; he does and understands only as much as he has observed of the order of nature in fact or by inference; he does not know and cannot do more.[221]

The second aphorism follows suit by demonstrating the limitations of both mind and hands:

> Neither the bare hand nor the unaided intellect has much power; the work is done by tools and assistance, and the intellect needs them as much as the hand. As the hand's tools either prompt or guide its motions, so the mind's tool's either promt or warn the intellect.[222]

A tool for the mind seems to be the new method which the 'Grand Instauration' was to disseminate, a method which would lead to 'a better and more perfect use and

[219] Bacon, *The New Organon*, p. 47
[220] Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning*, p. 140
[221] Bacon, *The New Organon*, p. 33
[222] Bacon, *The New Organon*, p. 33

application of the mind and understanding'.[223] In a sense, the mind appears here to be in need of external guidance, Bacon's reference to the method as a 'tool' carries with it an almost material denotation, part of the external world - it is again the thing that guides, not only the observer's intellect. Generally, Bacon's aim was to open the way for an altogether new scientific method and increase of knowledge in all disciplines - thus offering, in a way, a generally applicable guide as to how to deal with the unfamiliar.

Overview

In the sense of the guide, apodemic texts commonly also advised on the kind of tools that should be carried by travellers to measure or observe objects of interest - perhaps comparable to those tools that Bacon declared essential for both hands and mind. Moryson, in 1617, recommends first training in cosmography for orientation and then, more specifically, the use of a compass as well as a rather unexpected way to find one's bearings in a foreign city:

> When he wil observe the scituation of any City, let him (if he may without ielousie of the Inhabitants,) first climbe one of the highest steeples, where having taken the generall scituation of the City, he shall better remember in order the particular things to be seene in the City. To which end, let him carry about him a Dyall, which may shew him the North, South, East, and West, which knowne, he shall lesse erre in the description of the City, and this he may observe publikely onely with his eyes, for avoiding of ielousie, and after, being retired into his Inne, may draw it in paper, if he thinke good.[224]

Remarkably, we have for this the opportunity to follow John Bargrave as he fulfils this exact instruction. In July 1645, Bargrave climbed the steeple of the cathedral in Bourges and wrote in his diary:

> On the next day wee went up to the topp of ye steeple, and round about the upper part of St Stephens (or the Cathe) frõ whence I tooke the prospect of the City as I have figured it in the next page. which standeth upon the side of an hill looking Northward so that the view is very fair and pleasant as one cometh to it frõ Orleans . . . but as one

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[223] Bacon, *The New Organon*, p. 11
[224] Moryson, 'Of Travelling in generall', p. 17

commeth frõ Vevers or Dune-le-Rey (wch standeth southward of it) there is no prospect of it.[225]

Bargrave's drawing on the facing page is in fact not a prospect nor an elevation but rather a map or plan which includes a legend with locations of gates, squares and other important sites. Only the gates are, interestingly, drawn in elevation and aligned to the streets leading up to them - they seem to belong to the directionality of these streets which incidentally is also the direction from which Bargrave would, theoretically, have seen them from the spire. Interestingly, the cathedral is far from centrally placed on the drawing - this is, therefore not a true representation of what Bargrave would have seen from the cathedral steeple but rather a mix of the observed and its abstraction. Stephen Bann, who rediscovered Bargrave's travel diary in the archive of Canterbury Cathedral, reads this as

> a scaling of heights and a descent to depths; it relies on the description of acts of subjective inscription and symbolic interpretation that foreground his own liminal position as a foreigner - one who can stand both inside and outside the closed circuit of dogma.[226]

The tools of drawing and mapping here serve as distancing devices, symbolized also through the elevated position on top of the steeple - the city is to be perceived not from natural eye-level but from an almost godlike perspective and represented in this form as a whole. This change of perspective fulfils Bacon's demand for alternating modes of observation, focusing on both the parts and the whole, 'penetrating and comprehensive'.[227] This combination of small and large creates a, as Bann calls it, 'plasticity of the individual quest'[228] evoking perhaps also the three-dimensional and flexible character of the cabinet. Ultimately, Bargrave, by climbing onto the steeple, leaves the human eye level commonly maintained within a city - as seen from ground level. He puts himself in the position to regard things from above and thus changes his perspective quite literally as well as, in turn, the geometry of the city as perceived by him. The things of the city in this way might have appeared more like the things in the cabinet, miniaturized and placed within a

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[225] Bargrave, *Travel Journal*, p. 12l
[226] Bann, 'Scaling the Cathedral: Bourges in John Bargrave's Travel Journal for 1645', p. 31
[227] Bacon, *The New Organon*, p. 47
[228] Bann, 'Scaling the Cathedral: Bourges in John Bargrave's Travel Journal for 1645', p. 33

contained space limited equally by walls, in this case those of the fortifications around the town which are so prominent in Bargrave's sketch.

The apodemic advice to carry certain devices to measure and, indeed, better see objects of interest is maintained throughout the genre. Also John Locke, regarded now as one of the first British empiricists of whom we will hear more in chapter five, advised the traveller in the following manner:

> Every Traveller ought to carry about him several sorts of Measures, to take the Dimensions of such things as require it; a Watch by which, and the Pace he travels, he may give some guess at the distance of Places, or rather at the length of the computed Leagues, or Miles; a Prospective-glass, or rather a great one and a less, to take views of Objects at greater and less distances; a small Sea-Compass or Needle, to observe the Situation of Places, and a parcel of the best Maps to make curious Remarks of their exactness, and note down where they are faulty.[229]

A watch to measure the distance between places seems an extraordinarily basic instrument in the age of satellite navigation while the 'prospective glass' (a telescope), the compass and maps are still today commonsense tools equipping the traveller. Importantly, all devices are taken because they serve the recording of places and objects by enhancing the traveller's sensual experiences: travel times between places are logged, views of places sketched or described, locations of places to each other noted and maps corrected where necessary.[230]

The world in the mind

A journey's shape

It was only in the second half of the seventeenth century that the terminology we use today to define the phenomenon 'Grand Tour' emerged: according to the *OED*,

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[229] John Locke, 'An Introductory Discourse, containing The whole History of Navigation from its Original to this time', in *A Collection of Voyages and Travels: some now first printed from original manuscripts, others now first published in English: in six volumes with a general preface giving an account of the progress of navigation from its first beginning*, vol. 1, ed. by Awnsham Churchill and John Churchill (London, 1704), p. lxxv

[230] The notion of scale touched upon here is further explored in chapter four.

it was Richard Lassels who first used the term in his successful guidebook *The Voyage of Italy*:

> In fine its [travelling] an excellent *Commentary* vpon historyes; and no man vnderstands *Liuy* and *Caesar*, *Guicciardin* and *Monluc*, like him, *who* hath made exactly the *Grand Tour* of *France*, and the *Giro* of *Italy*.[231]

We see that, originally, the 'Grand Tour' would refer only to travelling in France while a journey in Italy was called the 'Giro of Italy'. It was only later, in the established eighteenth-century travel practice, that these would be blended together into one 'tour', synonymous then with a circle, a point of departure, a 'round'-trip as destination and a point of return. Indeed, a division into three parts was also recommended frequently in apodemic writing starting with the preparation followed by the journey as such and concluded by a successive evaluation, a structure preceding modern research expeditions. Interestingly, in many apodemic texts, we also find advice concerning the point of return: Moryson for instance recommends a modest and humble manner for the homecoming traveller who should 'sparingly & not without intreaty, relate his journeys and observations'.[232] These and other mental conceptions of the 'shape' of the Grand Tour will serve here to show how travel and related notions formed the understanding of the world as well as the mind itself.

Bann, in his study of John Bargrave, develops this question of how the 'shape', as it were, of such early journeys was envisioned in the traveller's mind: 'how a journey might have been conceived, before the well-trodden route opened up before the Grand Tourists of a later generation'.[233] He remarks that Bargrave would crown all of his journeys to Italy, each one otherwise different in their specific itineraries, with a trip to Mount Vesuvius where he would, assumedly, 'have turned around, after the arduous ascent and before the easy slide down, to express symbolically his intention of journeying back to his home country'.[234] In the catalogue of his collection, Bargrave describes these ascents when listing pieces of stone collected on the volcano:

[231] Lassels, *The Voyage Of Italy*, vol. 1, preface. See sentry for 'grand tour, *n.*', in *Oxford English Dictionary Online* <http://dictionary.oed.com> [accessed 20 September 2010]
[232] Moryson, 'Of Travelling in generall', p. 401
[233] Bann, *Under the Sign*, p. 72
[234] Bann, *Under the Sign*, p. 72

Several pieces of cinders, pummystone, and ashes of the Mount Vesuvius, near Naples, which was 4 times the poynt of my reflection, - I facing about for England from the topp, or crater, or *voraigne* (as they term it) of that mountain;[235]

This 'point of . . . reflection' is read by Bann as a reference to optics, Bargrave's journeys thus resembling 'a physical body bouncing off a reflective screen . . . For light, according to the corpuscular theory, has precisely the property of returning the particle on a journey equal and opposite to its angle of incidence'.[236] Bargrave's interest in optics is well documented not least by the detailed description of a modular model of an eye in the same catalogue.[237]

Bann argues here that Bargrave pictured his journey as a geometric form, two lines of an equiangular triangle intersecting at the point where the 'reflective surface' - the climax of the journey? - is met. One is reminded of Bacon's use of optical metaphors to explain the 'representation of the truth' and his notion of knowledge. In fact, Bacon uses exactly the same metaphor as Bann, 'the direct beam and the beam reflected'.[238] Knowledge is, throughout, portrayed as a 'beam', something invisible that moves, is reflected by receptive surfaces (man) and, consequentially, enlightens its surroundings. If the ascent of Mount Vesuvius represents this moment of reflection and contemplation, the moment thus, to stay within the metaphor, in which matter becomes visible, or knowledge becomes understood, then this is the very moment, while turning back towards home, in which travel becomes useful and profitable.

On another level, the ascent and description of Mount Vesuvius confirms the idea of a spatial ordering of experience analogous to the ordering within the cabinet. As in Drake's view while riding along upon a hill in Tuscany, the view from the top of the volcano with its stereotypical cone shape serves to place the traveller, his journey and the place he came from, home, into a three-dimensional coordinate system. Parallel to the notion of texts being constructed as verbal collections, collections themselves, as cabinets of curiosities, can therefore be interpreted as a way to document and record the spatial experience of travel in form of a spatial compression of the visited places, as it were. We will see in this section

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[235] Bargrave, *Pope Alexander the Seventh and the College of Cardinals*, p. 123
[236] Bann, *Under the Sign*, p. 73
[237] Bargrave, *Pope Alexander the Seventh and the College of Cardinals*, p. 126
[238] Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning*, p. 28

that several thinkers, among them Bacon and Evelyn, indeed compared the world, the mind and such cabinets with each other.

The space of the mind

As a journey was conceived with a particular geometric form, Bacon also established an analogy between explorative travel and the increase of human knowledge:

> Indeed it would be a disgrace to mankind if wide areas of the physical globe, of land, sea and stars, have been opened up and explored in our time while the boundaries of the intellectual globe were confined to the discoveries and narrow limits of the ancients.[239]

It was Bacon's follower Sir Thomas Browne (1605-82) who in his *Religio Medici* ('The Religion of a Physician') from 1643 further developed such thoughts. Significantly, he does so while referring to a type of travel which is achievable without physical movement - the stereotypical 'armchair traveller'. This corresponds at first sight to some apodemic texts which advised against travel as such but claimed that similar experiences can be met with without physically removing from the familiar.

For instance, when Samuel Lewkenor entitles his account of university towns across Europe, published in 1600, as *A Discourse not altogether unprofitabel, nor unpleasant for such as are desirous to know the situation and customes of forraine Cities without travelling to see them*, he clearly considers reading his book as a valid substitute to actually travelling and visiting the described places. In 1617, Joseph Hall altogether condemns travel motivated by curiosity and declares that travellers were 'returning as empty of grace, and other vertues, as full of words, vanities, mis-dispositions'.[240] He, too, praises the value of 'travelling' through reading:

> I have knowen some that haue trauelled no further then their owne closet, which could both teach and correct the greatest Traueller, after all his tedious and costly pererrations, what doe wee but lose the

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[239] Bacon, *The New Organon*, p. 69
[240] Joseph Hall, *Quo vadis? A Ivst Censure of Travell as it is commonly undertaken by the Gentlemen of our Nation* (London: Edward Griffin for Nathaniel Butter, 1617), pp. A3-5

benefit of so many iournals, maps, hystoricall descriptions, relations,
if we cannot with these helps, trauell by our own fire-side?[241]

Time spent in one's 'owne closet' - assumedly some form of study or even cabinet of curiosities - is here treated as equal or even superior to physical travel. Accordingly, this 'armchair traveller', while sitting comfortably by a roaring fire, has the advantage to rely on 'learned and credible Authors' who have 'collected into one view, whatsoever his country affords worthy of marke'.[242] Both Hall and Lewkenor refer to the reading of travel accounts as travelling proper - giving the reader the same profits without the risks of vanity, sinful curiosity and physical danger that actual, first-hand travel carries with it. These authors, writing at the same time as Bacon started his 'Grand Instauration', firmly reject any advantages to be had from first-hand experience and observation away from home and the familiar.

Importantly though, the philosopher Thomas Browne does not suggest reading travel accounts as an alternative but, instead, recommends introspection:

> I could never content my contemplation with those generall pieces of wonder, the flux and reflux of the Sea, the encrease of Nile, the conversion of the Needle to the North, and therefore have studied to match and parallel these in the more obvious and neglected pieces of Nature, which without further travell I can doe in the Cosmography of my selfe; wee carry with us the wonders we seeke without us: There is all *Africa* and her prodigies in us; we are that bold and adventurous pice of nature, which he that studies wisely learnes in a *compendium* what others labour at in a divided piece and endlesse volume.[243]

In several passages, Browne subsequently refers to his own mind as 'Microcosme'[244] - the whole *Religio Medici* is written very much in the form of a psychological self-portrait. Claire Preston, in *Thomas Browne and the Writing of Early Modern Science*, suggests that it 'mimics the structure of material assemblage and encyclopaedic convening' demanding to be read like a cabinet of curiosities.[245] Browne himself had assembled a substantial collection of 'curiosities' as John Evelyn remarked in his *Diary* in 1671, after a visit to Browne's house in Norwich

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[241] Hall, *Quo vadis?*, p. 33
[242] Hall, *Quo vadis?*, p. 34
[243] Thomas Browne, *Religio Medici*, ed. by Jean-Jacques Denonain (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955), p. 21
[244] See Browne, *Religio Medici*, pp. 45-6, 94, 95
[245] Claire Preston, *Thomas Browne and the Writing of Early Modern Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 55

which, Evelyn declares, is 'a Paradise & Cabinet of rarities, & that of the best collection, especially Medails, books, Plants, natural things, did exceedingly refresh me'.[246]

If Browne linked the mind to the world, then Evelyn linked the world to the practice of collecting and the cabinet of curiosities in his 'The State of France', which generally follows the rules of the apodemic genre.[247] His introduction thus contains a general discussion of, and advice on, travel in Europe followed by the demand that individual travel must necessarily be of use to the traveller's home country. Furthermore, the language of the country to be travelled has to be mastered before setting out. Evelyn then recommends an itinerary through Europe - interestingly different from the one pursued by him: first on the list here are the Netherlands followed by Germany, Italy, Spain and lastly France.[248]

Significantly, when he describes in it the urge to travel, he refers to the world as a 'terrestrial cabinet' implying that a collector's cabinet can represent some form of miniature imitation of the world proper:

> for the great God hath discreetly, and very wisely disposed, in the furnishing and adorning (as I may say so) of this Terrestiall Cabinet, having left no one part or corner thereof without some thing specially different, and admirably remarkable, either in the composition, quality or use; all of them according to their position, situation, and effects, admirably commodious and dependant; of which divine œconomy there may be infinitely more spoken then will be suitable to this design, after I have inferred that for these respects only, a traveller has some excuse, as well as encouragement, to go abroad and see the world.[249]

Importantly, the cabinet represents the world not as a whole but rather as something loosely defined, potentially known only in fragments, which consists of separate 'parts' and 'corners', specifically arranged and to be 'spoken of'. The cabinet of curiosities works here as a metaphor for the world but, as we have seen

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[246] Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn* (2006), p. 508
[247] This text is modelled on Dallington's *A Method for Travell* from 1605 and takes the same format of general travel advice followed by the exemplary description of France. Some 50 pages long, it is written in form of a letter from an English traveller who had been to France, and indeed other European countries. It is dated in Paris on 15 February 1652 and signed with 'J.E.' - John Evelyn himself who had, however, by that time returned to England after his prolonged stay on the continent. In fact, according to his diary it was on the 6 February of that year that he embarked on the passage over the channel after having left Paris on the 29 of January. Even if Evelyn did not want the letter to seem authentic (or did he?), it seems peculiar that he dates this letter only just after he in reality had left Paris.
[248] Evelyn, 'The State of France', pp. 43, 45
[249] Evelyn, 'The State of France', pp. 42-43

in Browne's writing, it was at the time also used as an analogy for the mind and intellect. Travel, whether of the real, imagined or introspective type, and the act of assembling these cabinets, would, therefore, have been regarded as an exploration of the mind. Thus, a conceptual link between collecting and perceiving is articulated and established. Justin Stagl claims that the drive behind, and the product of, travelling was encyclopaedic in nature, reconstructing 'the macrocosm in the microcosm, the world in one's own cabinet'.[250] Travelling itself became 'not a specialised but a collecting, integrating activity'.[251]

The need to understand the world and to render it graspable through comparison becomes also obvious in Richard Lassels's *Voyage of Italy* where he writes that the world is 'a great *booke*' and that 'none studdy this great *Booke* so much as the Traueler.' On the other hand, those 'that neuer stirr from home, read onely one page of this *booke*'.[252] The interchangeableness of all these metaphors is conspicuous - the world is a book, reading a book is equivalent to travel the world, the world is a cabinet, a cabinet is the mind and the mind is the world. It is obvious that, at the time, an urgent need to grasp the workings of both external - the world - and internal - the mind - processes was generally felt.

Movement in space and time

To experience this spatialization, as it were, of thinking and perceiving within travel, physical movement was, as we have seen already in several instances, indispensable. That movement as such was not only perceived as a necessary but rather an essentially constructive part of travel is expressed in Dallington's apodemic in which he declares,

> Base and vulgar spirits hover still about home; those are more noble & divine, that imitate the *Heavens*, and ioy in motion.[253]

[250] Stagl, 'Die Apodemik oder 'Reisekunst' als Methodik der Sozialforschung vom Humanismus bis zur Aufklärung', p. 143: 'Der Ertrag des Reisens war in der behandelten Epoche ein enzyklopädischer. Die Verarbeitung dieses ungeheuren Materials erfolgte im wesentlichen klassifizierend, sie war also statisch. Eine vollständige Kenntnis (*plenam notitiam*), sagt z. B. HERMANN CONRING, gibt nur die Aufzählung (enratio). Man rekonstruiert so den Makrokosmos im Mikrokosmos, die Welt im eigenen Kabinett.'
[251] Stagl, 'Die Apodemik oder 'Reisekunst' als Methodik der Sozialforschung vom Humanismus bis zur Aufklärung', p. 143: 'keine spezialisierte, sondern eine sammelnde, integrierende Taetigkeit'
[252] Lassels, *The Voyage Of* Italy, vol. 1, preface
[253] Dallington, *A Method for Travell*, p. B

He thus links the individual, first-hand experience to movement or, rather, the *joy in* movement and, remarkably, acknowledges the physical and spatial detachment from one's home as something pleasurable and indeed productive. More, this state of moving, of being away and en route is referred to as 'more noble & divine' - very much opposed therefore to any notion that travel needs to be useful in a particular religious, commercial or political sense and thus truly remarkable for the time.

According to another apodemic author, Moryson, it is within the human nature to travel, to temporarily move away from home, to seek diversion and changes:

> For my part, I think variety to be the most pleasing thing in the World, and the best life to be, neither contemplative alone, nor active altogether, but mixed of both. . . . Such is the delight of visiting forraigne Countreys, charming all our sences with most sweet variety. They seeme to me most unhappy, and no better then Prisoners, who from the cradle to old age, still behold the same wals, faces, orchards, pastures, and objects of the eye, and still heare the same voices and sounds beate in their eares; . . . And of all, I iudge the Nomades most happy, (the comparison holding in other things) who live in Tents, and so by removing, not onely escape the heat of Summer, the cold of Winter, the want of pastures, all deseases, and all unpleasing things, but at their pleasure, enjoy all commodities of all places.[254]

Even if the pleasure in variety, which is 'pleasing', evokes 'delight' and 'charms' but is always derived from the senses, stems here from the usefulness and the advantages of nomadic life, this is not presented as a justification for travel but rather explains why it is *natural* to do so. In this, Moryson - as Dallington - seems to be far removed from any contemporary religious or moral scruples against travel solely for its own sake. Significantly, such an appreciation of movement and the resulting variety of impressions represent yet again an attitude to regard the world as consisting of fragments, to value incomplete and discontinuous modes of observation and to strive for an order characterized by its arbitrariness.

At the same time, this spatial movement also helped to develop concepts of historical sequence and temporality. The identity which Italy assumed for the foreign visitor in order to fulfil the constituent role of the 'other' changed with the development of the Grand Tour practice. Chaney describes the dichotomy between

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[254] Moryson, 'Of Travelling in generall', p. 10

'the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when the English travelled to a country whose contemporary culture was as impressive as its past and in many respects still outshone their own' and the 'fully-fledged eighteenth-century phenomenon, when young men from perhaps the most powerful nation on earth patronized a museum set in a picturesque landscape'.[255] Jeremy Black in *Italy and the Grand Tour* goes beyond this and claims that, as, in the eighteenth century, 'Italy became more obviously a theme-park of the past', its 'otherness' was constituted by being simultaneously 'outside the process of civilisation' and the example per se for historical development. Accordingly, Italy was seen as an example for the 'rhythmic quality' of history, with evidence for the triumph of Greek culture in Paestum, which had fallen, as Roman culture, into ruins and was being ignored by the contemporary decadent Italian society.[256] Significantly, it is here the experience of moving through a space, a place, a country, both in its real and imagined form, which serves to develop concepts of temporality and history.

The space of memory

This preoccupation with the interaction of external and internal processes can also be connected to the rise of diaries as memory aids. Memory is thus, partly at least, externalized, as ancient and medieval mnemonic practices which relied on purely internal processes are replaced by the external recording in textual form. This recording of everything seen and experienced was, throughout the apodemic genre, regarded as an essential part of travelling; the compilation of a diary was therefore always recommended, if not outright demanded. Dallington in 1605 urges the traveller to keep

> a Giornale, wherein from day to day, he shall set downe, the divers Provinces he passeth, with their commodities, the townes, with their manner of buildings, the names, & benefit of the rivers, the distance of places, the condition of the soile, manners of the people, and what else his eye meeteth by the way remarqueable.[257]

Justin Stagl traces the origin of such diaries to the Flemish humanist Joachim Fortius Ringelbergius who in *De Ratione Studii Liber* (1530) advised the scholar to

[255] Chaney, *The Evolution of the Grand Tour*, p. xi
[256] Jeremy Black, *Italy and the Grand Tour* (New Haven, Conn., London: Yale University Press, 2003), pp. 7-8, 13
[257] Dallington, *A Method for Travell*, p. C

note a day's achievement every evening and to keep notes also while travelling. According to Stagl, this was derived from both the Jesuit and Calvinist habit of written 'soul accounting' as well as earlier diaries in the context of housekeeping and mentions ancient 'commentarii' which functioned as memory aids.[258] This use is retained in the context of travel as Fynes Moryson's detailed advice regarding note taking shows. He demands that,

> because the memory is weake, . . . let him constantly observe this, that whatsoever he sees or heares, he apply it to his use, and by discourse (though forced) make it his owne. Thus students of *Rhetoricke*, at first seeking matter for words, rather then words for matter, at last attaine an easie stile flowing like a still River, and lay aside the affectation of words. [259]

The latter part of this passage reflects Bacon's contempt for those writers who 'hunt more after words than matter'.[260] Lassels, in 1670, makes again reference to the diary as memory aid, even if not in form of an instruction but rather as explanation how his own text came into being:

> WHEN I first set pen to Paper to handle this subject, I had not the least thought of the *presse*; nor of erecting my selfe into an *Author*. I onely discharged my memory hastily of some things which J had seen, in *Italy*; and wrapt vp that vntimely *Embrio* in fiue sheets of paper, for the vse of a noble person, who set me that taske. Yet this *Embrio* likeing the person for whom it was conceiued, obliged me to lick it ouer and ouer againe, and bring it into better forme. Second thoughts, and succeding voyages into *Italy*, haue finished it at last; and haue made it what it is; *A compleat Voyage*, and an exact *Itinerary* through *Italy*.[261]

Lassels thus followed exactly the advice of his predecessors. Another thirty years later, the travel diary seems, however, to have subtly changed function from external part of the mind in form of a memory aid to a collaborative and complete scientific report to be used by a central 'research organisation', as it were - the Royal Society. John Locke advised that, even if there had been already much written on the place travellers visited, they should in any case take notes, as 'they

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[258] See Stagl, 'Die Apodemik oder 'Reisekunst' als Methodik der Sozialforschung vom Humanismus bis zur Aufklärung', pp. 153 n58
[259] Moryson, 'Of Travelling in generall', p. 12
[260] Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning*, p. 24
[261] Lassels, *The Voyage Of Italy, Or A Compleat Journey through Italy*, vol. 1, pp. preface

will often find a very considerable difference'.[262] By now, of course, journals of preceding travellers were relatively easily available to the interested reader which prompted Locke to encourage future travellers not to cease the gathering of information and observation.

The transformation from personal, if not intimate, diary to collaborative report mirrors the development of the silva genre outlined above as well as the fragmented nature of these types of writing. The configuration of discontinuity, in an Foucaldian sense, and arbitrariness in which the thing remains itself and never merges into a complete whole is thus present again in the mediation between mind and world as which writing in these instances must be regarded.

Fragmented and vectorial structure

This chapter has looked at the ways in which the perceived was ordered and transformed into knowledge of the external world in the context of the early Grand Tour throughout the seventeenth century. Considering the notion of the unfamiliar object, I have argued that it was specifically the changing relationships between words and things, the parts and the whole as well as the mind and the world that influenced modes of description and perception at this time. The cabinet of curiosities as well as the concept of 'curiosity' in all its linguistic meanings and material manifestations have been metaphor and symbol of these relations.

The relationship between language and matter was in a precarious state at the turn of the sixteenth to the seventeenth century. On the one hand, in the context

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[262] Locke, 'An Introductory Discourse, containing The whole History of Navigation from its Original to this time', vol. 1, p. lxxv; Locke is not mentioned as author in the text itself but generally attributed with its authorship. The text starts with a historical description of sea voyages in general, beginning with Noah's ark, the Greeks, Phoenicians, Romans etc, up to the seventeenth century with an emphasis on the grand discoveries in the sixteenth century. This is followed by a 'Catalogue and Character of most Books of Travel' sorted by language: Latin, Italian, French (mentions Monconys, Misson), Spanish, English (Hackluyt as first 'editor' of travel accounts in English, 1598, p. xciii; Lassels; Ray). Interesting here is what he has to say about some of the texts which I have already investigated. Misson's *A New Voyage to Italy* thus is 'a general account of all things observable in Italy, and therefore is the more diverting' (p. lxxxv) while Lassels 'gives a particular and curious account of most things of Note' (p. xcviii) in Italy. In his *Observations*, John Ray accordingly 'gives a very brief, yet ingenious Description of every Town he saw' and then 'makes an excuse for the Language, which he need not, it being well enough for plain Notes of a Traveller.' (p. xcix-c)

of travel, words and things in the form of manuscripts, diaries and material collections must be regarded as establishing a unity of representation of the unfamiliar. On the other hand, however, Francis Bacon expressed profound mistrust of the reliability and trustworthiness of language in the rendering of the physical world. The word, and even less so several words and long descriptions, could not be depended on to express that which was truthfully there or had been seen. This deeply influenced the development of what we now call the scientific method and involved forms of writing. I have argued that this led to a need on the side of the word for the presence of the object in order to confirm and rectify its meaning. In the genre of the apodemic which rose to full height at this time, this relationship between word and thing is reencountered in form of a combination of theory and practice, abstract advice and applied description of the unfamiliar.

A semantic history of the term 'curiosity' reflects in its changing senses from sin to virtue and from subjective to objective reference many of these developments. Bacon's redefinition of the 'curious' inquiry into the workings of the world from a blasphemous sin to a pious virtue opened up a whole new field of vision, as it were, allowing - even commanding - the viewer to see and question anything first-hand. In turn, when 'curious' became used not only in order to refer to persons but also to things, immaterial objects were charged with an active power to guide the viewer in the act of ordering and understanding them. This contributed to a way of ordering exemplified by contemporary cabinets of curiosities, or *Wunderkammern*, which was essentially spatial and three-dimensional rather than linear - and thus differed fundamentally from any systems of ordering and knowing through linguistic reasoning which requires an a priori sequence and clear progression from parts to whole. In the cabinet, as well as in contemporary travel accounts of the built environment, there is, in contrast, an order than relies on its apparent disorder, arbitrariness and discontinuousness, as Foucault has argued.[263]

Even if, therefore, descriptions such as those by John Bargrave and Samuel Drake do not contain much visual information, they offer a sophisticated system of spatial coordination through what I have termed linguistic vectors: prepositions and verbs that express the relationship of things to one another in space and time rather

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[263] Foucault, *The Order of Things*, pp. 68-69

than describing them each on their own. As Bacon has demanded in his inductive method, investigation and observation need to take both the parts as well as the whole as starting points - it can never arrive to conclusions about one or the other by only taking one as the origin of inquiry. Things need to maintain their fragmentary status in order to not melt within the whole - and therefore perception had to remain focused on points rather than larger and unifying surfaces of the unfamiliar. It is, ultimately, language, carefully employed on account of its unreliability, which links both these modes of ordering and perceiving.

Similar forms of ordering were also applied to mental concepts of both time and space. Most directly, this is shown in geometric shapes that were ascribed to the practice of travelling - a circle in the case of the Grand *Tour* or a triangle as read by Stephen Bann into Bargrave's journeys, symbolically culminating in the triangle's top at the summit of Mount Vesuvius from which Bargrave looked back to his country of origin seemingly surveying all the way he had come. In a similar manner, the external world was used as a metaphor by Thomas Browne to explain the space of the mind - and vice versa, as one could metaphorically travel through one's own mind in his reasoning. John Evelyn, in turn regarded the world as such as collection of curiosities, things to inquire in and collect. Travel, in this sense, became regarded as both an exploration of the external, physical as well as the internal, mental world. To inquire into both relies, yet again, on movement through time and space - ultimately, this experience contributed also to the construction of a temporal historical understanding. What this as a whole underlines is not so much the difficulty of description itself, but the difficulty of conceiving of a project of description - the very task of description, and its purposes, are being contested.

3

Thinking in Metaphor:
Figurative Conceptualising in Evelyn and Ruskin (1644-65, 1849-52)

What does it mean if one object is employed to describe another? What does it reveal about the perception of architecture, if buildings are referred to as books, ships or stage sets, if they move, speak or hide? Starting from these questions, this chapter focuses on two English writers, both famous for their very different descriptions of architecture. Seventeenth-century diarist John Evelyn, whom we already know well, used verbal images only rarely in his travel accounts, while John Ruskin's *The Stones of Venice*, written two centuries later, overflows with figurative language.

Reading some short passages in Ruskin's text through others in Evelyn's, I am here pushing again to link source texts from different periods. I will ponder on some of the processes involved in looking at a building, thinking about it and, finally, putting pen to paper and describing it in words for others to recreate, as it were, the described object in their minds. Particularly, I will discuss the role that metaphor occupies in this representational process, the power it bestows on language as well as the possibilities it offers to the researcher investigating the history of architectural perception. When is, what one sees and understands, determined - before or after rendering it into words? And which faculties - intellectual or emotional - are involved? As I will show, the concept of metaphor is crucial for understanding the process of translating objects into words, written or spoken, whether for studies, education or entertainment.

Relying on research carried out in the last decades in cognitive linguistics, this chapter argues that it is language - verbal expression - which determines the

very notion of what it is to 'see'. The chapter is divided into three sections each exploring distinct types of metaphors. The first starts by introducing the idea that metaphor is not only a poetic occurrence but instead at the very basis of both language and thought. In turn, I will consider image metaphors, which use one physical object to refer to another, as well as personifications, which ascribe human qualities to nonhuman objects. Next, I will look at metaphors which paraphrase the process of perception itself, namely those that equate eating to seeing and those based upon an eye that does more than seeing. Finally, a third section examines the use of adjectival nouns and the way these objectify visual or spatial properties. Throughout, I will move back and forth between Ruskin's famous and frequently figurative prose and Evelyn's more sober descriptions as well as draw on other contemporaneous writings. By using metaphors of varying sorts, Evelyn and Ruskin establish two very different models of vision through their verbal descriptions. While Evelyn's wording enables a separation between intellect and emotion, resulting in a detached kind of 'seeing', Ruskin absorbs emotional responses into his visual descriptions as well as judgements.

Understanding through metaphor

Building = book

John Ruskin's *The Stones of Venice* was published in three volumes between 1851 and 1853 after Ruskin had spent two extended stays in Venice, from November 1849 to March 1850 and then again from September 1851 to the end of June 1852.[264] In one of its perhaps most quoted chapters, 'The Nature of Gothic', Ruskin expresses his understanding of metaphor - going far beyond the linguistic domain - in the famous interpretation of *buildings as books* to be *read* like prose or poetry.[265] In Victorian times it was generally felt that architecture needed to communicate in

[264] Robert Hewison, 'Ruskin, John (1819–1900)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: OUP, 2004); online ed., ed. by Lawrence Goldman, January 2010 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24291> [accessed 21 August 2010]
[265] John Ruskin, 'The Stones of Venice: Volume II', in *The Works of John Ruskin: Library Edition*, vol. 10, ed. by E. T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn (London: George Allen, 1903-1912), pp. 130, 106, 169.

a way more direct than language, buildings themselves needed to express a meaning which was 'legible' by the observer. Representative for this attitude, Ruskin hopes that his readers will be 'reading a building as we would read Milton or Dante, and getting the same kind of delight out of the stones as out of the stanzas'.[266] As Edward N. Kaufman has remarked, 'it was the book's capacity to communicate ideas, rather than any specifically literary quality, which recommended it to architects as a metaphor'.[267] Of course, Ruskin was not the first to use this metaphor, indeed we have seen another such case from the early seventeenth century only in the preceding chapter when Richard Lassels compared the world that the traveller explores to 'a great *booke*' in his *Voyage of Italy*.[268] Closer in time to Ruskin, more specifically to architecture and much more famously, the book image had also been used by Victor Hugo.[269]

This metaphorical link between one domain - literature - and another - architecture - appears in a new light when recent developments in the relatively young field of cognitive linguistics are taken into account. It was here that figurative language first began to be regarded as a specific mode of conceptualising the exterior world.[270] The publication of George Lakoff and Mark Johnson's *Metaphors We Live By* in 1980 marked a turning point in the understanding of metaphors and continues to be much quoted. Rather than conceiving metaphor as part of poetic and literary contexts only, the authors argued for it being part of the most basic everyday language. Even if their definition of metaphor might appear fairly loose, it is precisely this wide and inclusive view that is crucial for the argument of this chapter. They claim that the *'essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another'*.[271] In other words, the usage of one object, or concept, to implicitly describe another refers directly to the speaker's way of making sense of the external world. For example, if we use expressions such as 'to go through life', 'to set out to be an architect' or 'to

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[266] Ruskin, 'The Stones of Venice: Volume II', p. 206.
[267] Edward N. Kaufman, 'Architectural Representation in Victorian England', *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 46.1 (1987), p. 30
[268] Lassels, *The Voyage Of Italy*, vol. 1, preface
[269] See Kaufman, 'Architectural Representation in Victorian England', p. 30; and N. Levine, 'The Book and the Building: Hugo's Theory of Architecture and Labrouste's Bibliothèque Ste-Geneviève', in *The Beaux-Arts and Nineteenth-Century French Architecture*, ed. by Robin Middleton (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1982), pp. 138-73
[270] See George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press, 1980); and, more specifically, Caballero, *Re-Viewing Space*.
[271] Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, p. 5

cross that bridge when you come to it', this means that we conceive as well as experience life as some form of journey.

In another example, Lakoff and Johnson identify expressions such as to 'attack a position' as metaphors (referring to the notion that arguments are war) and, as implied in the above statement, they firmly link the use of such hidden, 'dormant' or 'fossilized' metaphors (of which the speaker would hardly be aware) with the way the described situation or thing is conceived and experienced.[272] Therefore, if we refer to arguments with expressions derived from warfare, we conceive and experience such arguments as some form of war, as they write:

> The normal way for us to talk about attacking a position [in an argument] is to use the words 'attack a position.' Our conventional ways of talking about arguments presuppose a metaphor we are hardly ever conscious of. The metaphor is not merely in the words we use - it is in our very concept of an argument. The language of argument is not poetic, fanciful, or rhetorical; it is literal. We talk about arguments that way because we conceive of them that way - and we act according to the way we conceive of things.[273]

Verbal images are therefore understood to render abstract situations in concrete experiences - a journey is a more concrete and physical experience than life, and war more physical and primitive than verbal arguments, for instance.

These examples show that our bodily interaction with the physical world helps us to understand and express more abstract concepts. Also Ruskin's 'book metaphor' works in this way - reading books is a more familiar and concrete experience than understanding the meaning of a building. Significantly, such metaphors determine specific meaning because, while they help to express and highlight certain characteristics of a concept, they simultaneously conceal other facets. In general, definitions of metaphor vary greatly but of interest here is any transfer of one object's qualities to another, both in cases where the described is claimed to *be* something else, as well as in those where it is said to be *like* another thing.[274]

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[272] For the term 'dormant metaphor', see Martin Jay, *Downcast Eyes: The Denigration of Vision in Twentieth-Century French Thought* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), pp. 1-2. For 'fossilized metaphor', see Caballero, *Re-Viewing Space*, pp. 67, 70

[273] Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, p. 5

[274] See Caballero, *Re-Viewing Space*, p. 68

Lakoff and Johnson refer to metaphors by which we understand complex ideas as 'ontological metaphors' which can be subdivided into what they term 'entity and substance metaphors', on the one hand, and 'container metaphors', on the other. The first type attributes understandable spatial boundaries to things and notions which are, in reality, not clearly enclosed in spatial terms, such as 'mountains, street corners, hedges, etc'.[275] It immediately becomes clear that such metaphorical expressions are indispensable to speak of, to conceive of and, indeed, experience any architectural environment. But also more abstract concepts are conceived of as entities - Lakoff and Johnson give as an example 'inflation' which is rising, falling and which one can 'combat'.[276] Conversely, container metaphors function similarly but are used in a much more diverse context, for instance in the domain of communication to which we refer with utterances such as 'to grasp something', 'to get an idea across' or 'to put something into words'. In the latter, we use both an entity and container metaphor: substance-less 'words' are apprehended as entities and then used as container into which we can 'put' something. The verb 'put' in turn describes the action of verbal rendering while the *place* into which this 'something' is 'put' is communicated as well - by the expression '*into* words'. A spatial situation - from here to there - is conjured up to describe the act of verbal expression - from thought to speech. Mentally, we move the idea we want to describe *into a place* where it can be understood or, rather, 'grasped' as if touched by the recipient.

We seem to have an inherent need both to verbally equip unbounded phenomena with clear spatial limits as well as to relate them to other things and concepts in spatial terms as being *in*, *on* or *outside* them. Starting out from the most primary of references, our own body, we implicitly ascribe boundaries to objects so that we can use *front-back*, *inside-outside* or *up-down* orientations to talk about them - such orientational metaphors describe for instance happiness as 'up', while sadness is 'low'.[277] In this, we rely directly on our experience as 'physical beings, bounded and set off from the rest of the world by the surface of our skins', as

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[275] Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, p. 25
[276] Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, p. 26
[277] Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, pp. 14-19, 25-32. For a thorough analysis of the way reason is embodied, see George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Philosophy in the Flesh: The Embodied Mind and its Challenge to Western Thought* (New York: Basic Books, 1999)

Lakoff and Johnson write.[278] In their later compendium *Philosophy in the Flesh: The Embodied Mind and its Challenge to Western Thought*, Lakoff and Johnson emphasize exactly this innate relationship between understanding of the external world and the body. They argue that any 'universal aspects of reason . . . arise from the commonalities of our bodies and brains and the environments we inhabit'.[279] In other words, the very basis of any intellectual understanding lies in the fact that we experience - or perceive - the physical spaces we find ourselves in. This assumption has recently also been widely confirmed by neuroscientists and followed up by art historians.[280]

Ruskin himself is famous for the profusion of metaphors and other rhetorical ornaments in his writing and he makes abundant usage of them for describing specific buildings and places. For instance, he refers to the buildings of Torcello, an island in the Venetian lagoon, as 'a little company of ships becalmed on a far-away sea'.[281] Ruskin seems here to read Venice's naval identity into those buildings which he portrays as expressing a certain otherness conjuring up feelings of exoticness, of 'far away' as well as of the gentle swaying of the 'becalmed' waves. If, following Lakoff and Johnson's reasoning, this is an expression of what Ruskin experienced, how he saw and understood those buildings in that moment, then understanding architecture must have been, for him, based on more than direct visual observation. Below, I will outline within his writings how exactly he understood the perceptual process.

City = theatre

Interestingly, this concept of metaphor can be traced back into the early seventeenth century. Even if Bacon, as discussed previously, insisted that knowledge could only be constructed and passed on through sober prose, free of ornaments and figurative expressions, his definition of metaphor and allegory appears conspicuously similar to what we have learned from twentieth-century

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[278] Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, p. 29
[279] Lakoff and Johnson, *Philosophy in the Flesh*, p. 5
[280] See, for instance, Semir Zeki, *A Vision of the Brain* (Oxford: Blackwell Scientific, 1993), p. 2, and Harry F. Mallgrave, *The Architect's Brain: Neuroscience, Creativity, and Architecture* (Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), p. 183.
[281] Ruskin, 'The Stones of Venice: Volume II', p. 18

linguistics: discussing poetics in his *Advancement of Learning*, Bacon claims that 'as hieroglyphics were before letters, so parables were before arguments'.[282] Transferring this idea to the development of human knowledge, he later resumes

> in the infancy of learning, and in rude times, when those conceits [meant here in the sense of 'notion' or 'idea'] which are now trivial were then new, the world was full of parables and similitudes; for else would men either have passed over without mark, or else rejected for paradoxes, that which was offered, before they had understood or judged.[283]

By maintaining that new ideas or thoughts are expressed with the help of verbal images before they are widely understood and accepted, Bacon seems to concur with Lakoff and Johnson's claim that what metaphors do is, essentially, to render abstract and complex concepts in more concrete and familiar form. In a sense, then, metaphors simplify complicated issues as they make them more accessible for the human intellect - a good enough reason to propose that metaphors are indeed at the basis of thought. This is not meant to lighten Bacon's fervent fight against the use of tropes in scientific discourse but, rather, to show his acknowledgment of their role in the long process of human understanding.

In fact, Bacon makes specific use of metaphors himself, often of gardening and voyaging but also occasionally of architecture. He does this in order to describe what knowledge is - he obviously considered the knowledge of knowledge, as it were, still as being 'in the infancy of learning'. He writes, for example, that the 'knowledge concerning Methods' consists not only of a large-scale 'architecture of the whole frame of a work' but moreover of 'the several beams and columns thereof; not as to their stuff, but as to their quantity and figure'.[284]

John Evelyn, a Baconian himself, had travelled in Italy two hundred years before Ruskin and, as one would perhaps expect from his own efforts to reform and simplify language, used metaphors much less frequently than Ruskin. Nonetheless, at times he employs idiomatic expressions as in Venice's St Mark's where he

[282] Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning,* p. 83
[283] Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning*, pp. 143-44
[284] Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning*, p. 144. See also Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning*, p. 150 and Bacon, *The New Organon*, p. 2

mentions that one of its entrances 'looks towards the Sea' - as if that entrance could actually 'look'.[285]

In Siena, he uses a simple verbal image to describe its main square, the Piazza del Campo - this is perhaps not a metaphor in the strictest sense but, as it does contain a transfer of one object to another domain, it should be considered here. Evelyn writes here:

> The Piazza encompasses the faciata of the Court and Chapel, and being made with descending steps, much resembles the figure of an Escalop-shell.[286]

Evelyn bases his passage on Pflaumern's text,[287] but both Raymond and Ray use the same analogy: the former describes the piazza as 'resembling…the fashion of a *Cockle* shell' while Ray writes similarly, 'the figure of it not unfitly resembled to a cochle or scallop-shell'.[288]

Interestingly, the source image of this metaphor is taken from nature, not from a man-made object, but, of course, none of the authors was the inventor of this analogy: in fact, the scallop shell is materially present on the piazza itself in the form of a fountain basin. It serves here, however, to illustrate the meaning transfer on which image metaphors are based and through which they evoke a deeper understanding of the described object. When reading this passage, an idea of the figurative object is automatically merged in the reader's mind with an idea of the described object. In the case of Siena and the shell metaphor, this process is particularly easy to follow since it is in itself almost graphical: the first literal part evokes the image of an open space surrounded by buildings which is merged with the shape of the scallop shell, resulting in the understanding that the footprint of this space must be round with one pointed corner towards which the terrain falls.

One of the few passages where Evelyn does make more significant use of metaphor is his description of Genoa - which will now, as promised in the first chapter, be submitted to closer investigation. Evelyn writes here,

> Octob: 17, . . . we went to vieue the rarities: The Citty is built in the hollow, or boosome of a Mountain, whose ascent is very steepe, high

[285] Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn* (1955), vol. 2, pp. 437, 440
[286] Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn* (1955), vol. 2, p. 202
[287] Pflaumern, *Mercurius Italicus*, p. 173
[288] Raymond, *An Itinerary*, pp. 52-53; Ray, *Observations*, p. 341

& rocky; so as from the Lanterne, & Mole, to the hill it represents the Shape of a Theater; the Streetes & buildings so ranged one above the other; as our seates are in Playhouses: but by reason of their incomparable materials, beauty & structure: never was any artificial sceane more beautifull to the eye of the beholder; nor is any place certainly in the World, so full for the bignesse of well designed & stately Palaces;[289]

We have already seen that Evelyn copied a large part of his travel descriptions from other authors.[290] Here again, as in the case of Siena's main square, the image of Genoa as theatre was not a seventeenth-century invention and is very likely as old as the harbour of Genoa itself. However, even if the theatre image was a popular way of describing Genoa's situation, it was not adapted by everyone. Philip Skippon, the travel companion of John Ray, writes in his 'An Account of a Journey made thro' part of the Low Countries, Germany, Italy and France':

> *Genoa* is built round the haven in form of a bow, and the streets are on the rising of the mountains which has the new stone wall on the top, that encompases seven or eight miles, a great deal of waste ground, and large suburbs. Within this is a strong inner wall.[291]

Skippon uses the reference to a 'bow' to describe the shape of the city instead of that of a 'theatre'. 'Bow', even if it also refers to the curved form of the weapon, was first used as a geometric form and is thus not a metaphor but rather literally applied.[292] In Evelyn's writing the most interesting expression is, on a closer look, that of the 'artificial sceane', the use of which in this context seems to be original to Evelyn.[293] It is with help of this term and its semantic history that I will show now how Evelyn uses the characteristics of language to express his cognitive impressions of the place. In fact, one can regard this passage as a double metaphor: firstly, the city-as-theatre - the 'Shape of a Theater' - and secondly the city-as-stage - the 'artificial sceane'.

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[289] Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn* (1955), vol. 2, pp. 172-73

[290] See annotations by the editor in Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn* (1955), vol. 2. More generally on the intertextuality of travel accounts, see Manfred Pfister, 'Intertextuelles Reisen, oder: Der Reisebericht als Intertext', in *Tales and 'their telling difference': Zur Theorie und Geschichte der Narrativik*, ed. by Herbert Foltinek and others (Heidelberg: Winter, 1993), pp. 109-32; and de Beer, 'Francois Schott's Itinerario d'Italia'

[291] Philip Skippon, 'An Account of a Journey made thro' part of the Low Countries, Germany, Italy and France', in *A Collection of Voyages and Travels*, in *A Collection of Voyages and Travels: some now first printed from original manuscripts, others now first published in English: in six volumes with a general preface giving an account of the progress of navigation from its first beginning*, vol. 6, ed. by Awnsham Churchill and John Churchill (London: printed for Awnsham and J. Churchill, 1704)

[292] See entry for 'bow, *n.*¹', in *Oxford English Dictionary Online* <http://dictionary.oed.com> [accessed 20 December 2010]

[293] See de Beer's note in Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn* (1955), vol. 2, pp. 172-3, n. 3

If today's reader perhaps understands the term 'scene' here as a 'view or picture presented to the eye (or to the mind) of a place', like a painted scene of a landscape for example, a contemporary of Evelyn would probably have not made this connection.[294] Indeed, this meaning of 'scene' is a relatively new semantic addition to the lexicon derived from a metaphorical use of the word in its original reference to the theatrical act or stage set, a metaphor which seems to have become widely used only in the later 1600s. The word 'scene' is precisely such a 'fossilized', 'dormant' or hidden metaphor as we have heard about before. Such metaphorical usage is a common system by which words extend their meaning over time with the new, figurative meaning gradually becoming perceived as literal and direct. Without arguing that Evelyn was the first, or even among the first, to use this word in a metaphorical sense, one can assume that he will, at the very least, have been more aware of its figurative character than we would be today. In this short account of Genoa, Evelyn thus combines the layout of a theatre - possibly with curved rows of seats arranged on terraces - which is seen from afar with the immediacy and performative character of a theatrical scene. He therefore bases his descriptions on two distinctly incongruous viewpoints - the sea off Genoa's harbour and the streets within the town's centre.

Just a century before Evelyn's travels, the ancient theatre had been rediscovered by Italian theorists such as Sebastiano Serlio, who concluded his second book of architecture with a description of stage sets for the three classic types of plays, the comic, tragic and satiric.[295] Both comic and tragic genres were connected to urban backgrounds, illustrated respectively by Serlio in the form of medieval private houses and Renaissance palaces (figs **Error! Reference source not found.**, 24). He comments that 'disastrous love affairs, unforeseen events and violent and gruesome deaths . . . always occur in the houses of noblemen', while comedies apparently are better set in humble medieval surroundings in which a 'bawd's house', an inn and a temple are 'absolutely essential'.[296] Seventeenth-century Genoa might well have reminded a visitor of Serlio's woodcuts since a

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[294] See entry for 'scene, *n.*', §9a, in *Oxford English Dictionary Online* <http://dictionary.oed.com> [accessed 20 December 2010]

[295] Sebastiano Serlio, *Sebastiano Serlio on Architecture*, ed. by Vaughan Hart and Peter Hicks (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1996), pp. 83-91. Serlio's second book was originally published as part of his *Tutte l'opere d'architettura* (Venice: Senese, 1584).

[296] Serlio, *Sebastiano Serlio on Architecture*, pp. 86-88

grand street called Strada Nuova had been inserted into the dense medieval town during the sixteenth century, resulting in a close juxtaposition between the two types of scene, the medieval and the Renaissance. Noticeably wider than older Genovese roads, the new aristocratic street was lined with those 'well designed & stately Palaces', referred to by Evelyn. While these would have resembled Serlio's tragic scenery, the dense medieval quarters that were crammed onto the slopes rising from the waterfront below would, in turn, have brought to mind the comic scene.

Evelyn knew Serlio's book well, not least through his translation of a recent French work by Roland Fréart, which included a review of writings on the architectural orders by ten authors, among whom was Serlio.[297] The idea of comparing a city to a theatre and specifically to a stage might therefore have suggested itself naturally. What makes Evelyn's writing remarkable, however, is that he manages, by way of the combined theatre/scene metaphor, to take account of all parts of Genoa simultaneously - the sea and the narrow medieval streets as well as the spacious and linear Strada Nuova with its Renaissance palaces - within the space of a few sentences.

Genoa's topographic situation on the slopes above the sea certainly renders it suitable for a transfer into a two-dimensional picture. Arriving by boat, as Evelyn and most travellers did at the time, an elevation of the city was easily grasped - this view, slightly elevated into a birds-eye view was indeed the most common way in which Genoa has been portrayed throughout the ages.[298] The fact that Evelyn refers to a scene or stage set, however, does not match the view from afar as it contains 'close-ups', as it were, and changes in scale. Evelyn does not adhere to a strict sequence of large scale to small scale as observed while approaching a city from afar and then entering it - quite the reverse, he transcends the apparent linearity of language. He does not subdivide these stages of perception but, on the contrary, is capable of spatially understanding the general and the specific at once and to put this into words. There is a kind of simultaneity in this which is impossible in

[297] See John Evelyn, *A Parallel of the Antient Architecture with the Modern: In a Collection of Ten Principal Authors who have written upon the Five Orders, viz. Palladio and Scamozzi, Serlio and Vignola, D. Barbaro and Cataneo, L.B. Alberti and Viola, Bullant and De Lorme, Compared with one another. Written in French by Roland Fréart, Sieur de Chambray; Made English for the Benefit of Builders* (London: John Place, 1664)
[298] See Ennio Poleggi, *Inconografia di Genova e delle riviere* (Genoa: Sagep editrice, 1977)

graphic representations - though these are often held to be the fullest representations of the visual sense experience. Exploiting language's lack of spatial restraints, in a Cartesian manner of speaking, Evelyn's combination of the layout of a theatre and the theatrical scene allows the simultaneous representation of physically discontinuous spaces. These spaces cannot be visually perceived at once in reality but are evoked as a mental understanding of the text. In this sense, the text here expresses, as Lakoff and Johnson have argued for, an appropriated experience rather than 'pure' vision. The city is *experienced* as theatre - both as performance with stage *and* as auditorium - and Evelyn places himself and the inhabitants in the role of both observer and actor.

In 1853, more than two centuries after Evelyn's travels and hence closer to Ruskin's stay in Venice, the American writer George Stillman Hillard describes his first impression of Genoa in his travelogue *Six Months in Italy*:

> We reached Genoa [by steamboat] the next morning before day, and it was a beautiful spectacle to see the light break over the bay and the encircling hills.
> Engravings and descriptions have made the situation of Genoa familiar even to those who have not seen it. It is a cluster of palaces, of brilliant white, crowded together at the base of a mountain of semicircular form, the sides of which are dotted with gay, suburban villas. The sweeps and curves of the hollow, crescent-shaped mountain are in animated contrast with the level of the Mediterranean, and the brilliant white of the houses is distinctly brought out by the dark background behind and above them. All this was very beautiful as it gradually glowed into day and put on the imperial robes of morning, but when the first shock of surprise and pleasure had passed by, I could not help feeling how very small it all was. It looked like a clever scene in an opera: the lifting of the darkness was like the rising of the curtain. The portion of the harbor enclosed by the moles had the appearance of a good-sized swimming-school - and as if the moles were portable and could be folded up and taken in at night.[299]

Again, this account focuses on the Genoa that is seen from the sea: Hillard describes it first literally as buildings arranged in a 'semicircular form', then, expressing disappointment upon seeing it for long, compares it to an opera scene with the fake proportions of scaled pieces of scenery. Importantly, he employs this image not to describe what he saw but how it felt to him, how he interpreted it

[299] George S. Hillard, *Six Months in Italy*, 2 vols (Boston: Ticknor, Reed, and Fields, 1853), vol. 2, p. 341

upon prolonged contemplation. He emphasizes therefore his subjective impression rather than attempting to describe its objective appearance, as Evelyn had done.

Buildings move

In Ruskin's writing another type of metaphor, the personification of inanimate objects, is prominent throughout while much rarer in Evelyn's travel accounts. Lakoff and Johnson write that personification 'allows us to comprehend a wide variety of experiences with nonhuman entities in terms of human motivations, characteristics, and activities'.[300] In this the inseparable relationship between physical experience of the environment and human understanding becomes particularly apparent. Both Evelyn and Ruskin use the human body as a reference for the 'behaviour' of buildings but they mostly do so in terms of physical movement rather than, say, how a human would think, feel or conjecture. Ruskin describes how walls 'raise' a roof, a book 'settles itself' on the pulpit or how St. Mark's 'lifts itself' from the ground, its square 'opened from it in a kind of awe' and 'waves of marble . . . heave and fall in a thousand colours along the floor'.[301] In these passages, Ruskin shows that he experiences movement in static objects which in reality cannot move (nor be moved, in most instances).

This is, at first sight, similar to Evelyn's diary where personifications - though much rarer - might refer to the bearing of loads or structural forces rendering the transfer to the human body easily comprehensible. In Genoa's harbour, for instance, Evelyn portrays the pier as 'Stretching it selfe for neere 600 paces into maine Sea'.[302] And in Oxford Cathedral, described on a tour through England in 1654, a column 'spreads its *Capitel* to sustaine the roofe'.[303] There is movement in these sentences, or rather a sort of growing, but, different from Ruskin, Evelyn does not set the object itself in motion, does not change its position, only its form or shape. In other words, Evelyn's personifications are internal to the independent, static object while those in Ruskin's writing tend to

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[300] Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, p. 33
[301] Ruskin, 'The Stones of Venice: Volume II', pp. 20, 30, 82, 88
[302] Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn* (1955), vol. 2, p. 96
[303] Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn* (1955), vol. 3, p. 109

require an external observer who, by being stationary, marks the movement of the object.

This is expressed clearly when Ruskin describes the view back to the lagoon of Venice:

> Beyond the widening branches of the lagoon, and rising out of the bright lake into which they gather, there are a multitude of towers, dark, and scattered among square-set shapes of clustered palaces, a long and irregular line fretting the southern sky.[304]

Here, buildings 'rise', 'gather' and 'cluster', like a crowd of people would do, while the 'skyline' is conceived as a line which 'frets' the sky like embroidery would adorn a piece of fabric. Inanimate objects are described as living beings - and experienced as such. Ruskin not only feels that buildings have to express meaning in a 'legible' manner - he also *sees* them as actors behaving in certain ways thus collapsing cognitive 'reading' and perceptual 'seeing' into one, so that seeing and meaning become one. At the same time and by means of these metaphors, he assures his readers that the described buildings and places comply with his standards for successful architecture - they express their meaning in a 'legible' manner and to the 'delight' of the reader-viewer. As has been widely argued, Ruskin bases these thoughts on the idea that buildings are living organisms - my point here is not that this is a new insight but, rather, that this understanding originated in Ruskin's model of perception.

When the architect George Edmund Street, a contemporary of Ruskin, described his first impressions of Venice in his *Notes of a Tour in Northern Italy* he used a rather similar phrase as Ruskin:

> At last . . . the broad watery level of the Lagoon is reached; Venice rises out of the water at a distance of some two miles;[305]

As Ruskin's, Street's Venice also *rises* out of the water, as if it had been submerged before and was surfacing when he arrived - a common enough phrase but also a concealed metaphor because, of course, the city does not, in reality, 'rise' as in 'moving up'. But why is it used and what is implied through it? Both Street and Ruskin express with it the seeming increase in size of an object as one approaches

[304] Ruskin, 'The Stones of Venice: Volume II', p. 18
[305] George E. Street, *Notes of a Tour in Northern Italy*, 2nd edn (London: Waterstone, 1986), p. 166

it. Instead of describing their own state of motion, however, both authors turn over the acting power to the object, to the buildings of Venice. They hide their own presence and essential activity - moving - by shifting the emphasis to the inanimate object, thus brought to life. I would suggest that this produces a framed kinetic image from which the author-viewer is excluded by the frame which is, in turn, constructed by the metaphor focusing our textual understanding on one part - Venice rising - and blocking out another - the author approaching. By suppressing his own presence, Ruskin also conceals the active process of perception (and its verbal translation). The viewing subject is here absent - or is it? Inevitably, the subject is of course the motor of the kinetic action that makes Venice 'rise'. In Evelyn's expressions on the other hand - when the pier 'stretches' itself into the sea or the column 'spreads' its capital - the observer does not seem necessary for these actions to take place. Evelyn's object appears independent from its viewer while Ruskin resolutely places the construction of its appearance, its meaning and potential beauty, within the viewer's perceptual understanding.

Perhaps, this mode of description and perception can also be traced in contemporary painting. Without taking this too far - the object of this thesis is after all verbal and not graphic description - it seems worthwhile to briefly consider Ruskin's passion for J.M.W. Turner. Ruskin championed the famous painter particularly later in his career and hailed many of his paintings in his writings. In the oil painting *Approach to Venice* of 1844, one can perhaps detect some of the phenomena experienced by Ruskin and Street. In it, the buildings of the famous city are only just emerging - or 'rising' - from the blurred line of the horizon while several boats occupy the foreground. Except for one or two boats close to the observer, all contours are hazy, as if either moving fast or being softened by the strong light reflected from the surface of the sea. Effects of both movement and light seem frozen in this picture, Ruskin's 'rising', 'gathering', 'scattering' and 'fretting' are all there - even if subject to my own interpretation of the graphic representation instead of being spelled out by its author. Jonathan Crary claims that both Ruskin's and Turner's oeuvres show that 'by 1840 the process of perception

itself had become, in various ways, a primary object of vision'.[306] He writes on Turner:

> Seemingly out of nowhere, his painting of the late 1830s and 1840s signals the irrevocable loss of a fixed source of light, the dissolution of a cone of light rays, and the collapse of the distance separating an observer from the site of optical experience. Instead of the immediate and unitary apprehension of an image, our experience of a Turner painting is lodged amidst an inescapable temporality.[307]

As Ruskin's reader-viewer, Turner's observer is the locus of what is seen - it is not Evelyn's independent object that reveals its objective appearance to the viewer but rather the viewer itself who determines the object and its experience. As Crary argues, this is linked to a gain of temporality - expressed perhaps also through movement - and a loss of distance between viewer and object.

Metaphors of perception

Seeing = eating

As a letter from Italy to his father in 1852 shows, Ruskin's notion of looking at and understanding buildings is closely connected to the act of description. He writes:

> there is the strong instinct in me which I cannot analyse to *draw* and *describe* the things I love . . . I should like to draw all St. Mark's, and this Verona stone by stone, to *eat* it all up into my *mind*, *touch* by *touch*.[308] (italics mine)

When Ruskin here exclaims that by describing a building he wants 'to eat it all up', he equates description with the process of nutrition and the building with food on which he (or rather his mind) relies urgently. He thus uses again that most primary of references which Lakoff and Johnson describe - his own body - in order to understand what it means to look at architecture. The existential necessity of describing and drawing what he observes is emphasized and 'hides' its other aspects

[306] Crary, *Techniques of the Observer*, p. 138
[307] Crary, *Techniques of the Observer*, p. 138
[308] Ruskin, 'The Stones of Venice: Volume II', p. xvi

such as technical properties of his writings and drawings or the aim to later publish them. Writing about and drawing what he sees become part of observation itself and, more, they determine it and imply the very notion of what it is to 'see'. In *Philosophy in the Flesh*, Lakoff and Johnson refer directly to this metaphorical link between understanding and eating arguing that it is a common one embedded in our daily language. They show that expressions such as '*a thirst for knowledge*, an *appetite for learning*, and *an insatiable curiosity*' all express the fact that we understand the mind in terms of the healthy body.[309]

Ruskin employs the food metaphor also in *The Stones of Venice* - interestingly in a passage in which he acknowledges that the casual observer of his times might well be unable to perceive and understand beauty in architecture as this seems to require visual training. He writes,

> So long as . . . our eyes rest continually, in our daily life, on objects utterly ugly, or of inconsistent and meaningless design, it may be a doubtful question whether the faculties of eye and mind which are capable of perceiving beauty, having been left without food during the whole of our active life, should be suddenly feasted upon entering a place of worship; . . . but it cannot be a question at all, that if once familiarized with beautiful form and colour, and accustomed to see . . . we shall desire to see this evidence[310]

Again, it is 'eye and mind' which are starved by ugliness and feasted by beauty - the first referring, following Lakoff and Johnson, to an ailing body while beauty 'feasts' and therefore nourishes a healthy body. Ruskin argues that, as one has to learn to decipher the alphabet in order to be able to read a book (and derive pleasure from it), the visual sense has to become 'familiarized' with and 'accustomed' to meaningful architecture in order to recognize its beauty. Hence, meaning becomes the ultimate prerequisite for true beauty which needs to be understood as well as perceived and felt.

Turning back to linguistics, one finds that the metaphorical link between eye and mind, or vision and the intellect, is one of the best documented in the field.[311] According to linguist Eve Sweetser, we use the sense of sight to understand and represent our own cognition and mental processes. For example, arguments can be

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[309] Lakoff and Johnson, *Philosophy in the Flesh*, pp. 241-42
[310] Ruskin, 'The Stones of Venice: Volume II', p. 122
[311] Kathryn Allan, *Metaphor and Metonymy: A Diachronic Approach* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2008), pp. 39-51

'crystal-clear' or rather 'muddy', someone very clever we might call 'sharp-eyed' or 'clear-sighted' opposed to someone who is 'in the dark' whom we might try to 'illuminate'. This seems to be due to two capacities which vision and reason have in common: first, both are able to focus, something that is difficult or impossible for the other senses; second, both vision and reason are capable of overcoming physical distance and of deriving data remotely.[312] The concept 'intellect', as abstract as any, is understood and experienced as 'seeing' because this sense is primary and thus more concrete and comprehensible for us. As Lakoff and Johnson write:

> We get most of our knowledge through vision. This most common of everyday experiences leads us to conceptualize knowing as seeing. Similarly, other concepts related to knowing are conceptualized in terms of corresponding concepts related to seeing. In general, we take an important part of our logic of knowledge from our logic of vision.[313]

However, the passage from Ruskin's letter to his father shows that, for him, seeing - in a figurative sense - has to become touching and, moreover, internalising through ingestion to overcome distance. Any remoteness between him and the observed object is hidden in this expression as he mixes seeing with eating and touching. This suggests that, at least as far as he is concerned, vision alone is not enough to describe cognition.

Linking vision metaphorically with the intellectual faculty means that the act of seeing - rather than hearing (as hearing stories, hearing knowledge being passed on) - is experienced as knowing and thus positioned above other senses. Etymologically, this connection is as old as Indo-Germanic languages, even if narratives of ocular centricity often place the scientific revolution with its emphasis on observation and experiment at the beginning of the modern hegemony of vision.[314] Bacon himself used optics as a metaphor for knowledge in the *Advancement of Learning* claiming that 'the truth of being and the truth of knowing are one, differing no more than the direct beam and the beam reflected'. Knowledge

[312] Eve Sweetser, *From Etymology to Pragmatics: Metaphorical and Cultural Aspects of Semantic Structure* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 38-40
[313] Lakoff and Johnson, *Philosophy in the Flesh*, p. 238
[314] See Sweetser, *From Etymology to Pragmatics*, p. 33; and Jay, *Downcast Eyes*, chap. 1 'The Noblest of the Senses: Vision from Plato to Descartes', pp. 21-82

must be a direct, a visual reflection of the truth; the use of this optical metaphor here stands in the context of others - Bacon speaks later of 'the three beams of man's knowledge'.[315]

Eye = perception

Indeed both Ruskin and Evelyn make use of another metaphor that stands directly for the perceptual process: it is the eye itself that repeatedly serves as a simile for perception and thus reveals further clues to the authors' concepts of the perceptual process. In *The Stones of Venice*, this occurs often in perhaps common idiomatic expressions, like 'Far as the eye can reach', a phrase which shows that the visual field as such is understood and experienced as a container with objects being contained within it - 'in sight' - and without it - 'out of sight'. More importantly, there are passages in which the eye acts itself - it 'cannot penetrate' - or receives a feeling - a surface is 'delightful to the eye'.[316] Or, more explicitly, Ruskin describes how in the church of Torcello a 'subtle diminution of the bases is in order to prevent the eye from feeling the greater narrowness of the shafts'.[317] Conversely, in Gothic architecture, the eye is said to be protected 'from being offended by the sharp point of the gable' through the positioning of a shield.[318] The eye is thus capable of sensing both positive (delightful) and negative (offensive) emotions but it is also the locus of understanding. In St Mark's, the specific arrangement of the thin alabaster slabs on the walls 'enable the eye to comprehend more thoroughly the position of the veins' running through the stone.[319]

When the sense of vision is linked metaphorically to the intellect, both are habitually conceived as 'objective' and rational because they are, as we have seen, positioned at a distance to the object. On the other hand, touch and taste may appear more 'subjective' due to their spatial intimacy with it. Touch and taste are thus connected to emotion as subjective experiences opposed to an objective, rational intellect signified by vision. However, looking at Ruskin's use of the eye metaphor, this does not seem to be valid. Some of his expressions do indeed refer

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[315] Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning*, pp. 28, 105
[316] Ruskin, 'The Stones of Venice: Volume II', pp. 17, 29, 81
[317] Ruskin, 'The Stones of Venice: Volume II', p. 444
[318] Ruskin, 'The Stones of Venice: Volume II', p. 263
[319] Ruskin, 'The Stones of Venice: Volume II', p. 104

to intellectual properties, when the eye 'comprehends' architectural details, but also when it cannot 'penetrate' (i.e. understand) or 'loses itself' (i.e. cannot recognize) in the tiny details high up on St. Mark's towers.[320] Both expressions contain however also a haptic notion linking the intellect to the sense of touch. Also 'Far as the eye can reach' refers to the space which he can possibly describe, beyond this he can neither see (nor know) for sure. Interestingly, in these expressions it is not only the eye that is metaphorized but also the adjacent verbs are used figuratively: the eye 'reaches' and 'penetrates', it does not see but instead touches. It is touch that is linked to knowing and understanding and not exclusively vision. Can the eye, then, in Ruskin's writing indeed stand as a signifier for the objective intellect? After all, it is the explicit recipient of feelings such as delight and offence and it 'feels' rather than 'sees' spatial qualities such as narrowness. I would suggest, therefore, that emotion and intellect cannot be separated in Ruskin's writing and, more, that intellect relies on emotion. To 'read' a building one needs to 'feel' it, too, and be perceptive to its expression and meaning on an emotional level as well as an intellectual one.

Evelyn also makes use of the metaphorized eye from time to time - even if far less prominently than Ruskin, he employs it in a distinct manner. First, as in the description of Genoa's topography, the observed object is compared to all other objects that the eye has seen. For instance, in a Genoese palace, he encounters fountains 'of the purest white marble that ever myne eyes beheld' - the eye is represented as a memory container, hinted at also by the verb be-*hold*.[321] Second, the eye helps to indicate the direction into which one should look - for example when he recommends 'turning your eyes more northward those pleasant & delicious Villas of St. Pietro d'Arena'.[322] Third, Evelyn employs the eye to ascertain a certain visual ability on part of the observer to judge an object - as well as, at the same time, evaluating the quality of what is presented to it. Hence, a room in the Vatican 'is so exquisitely painted, that 'tis almost impossible for the skillfullest eye to discerne whither it be the worke of the Pensil upon a flatt, or of a toole, cutt in a deepe Levati of stone'.[323] Here, the eye is misled by illusionistic painting - however

[320] Ruskin, 'The Stones of Venice: Volume II', p. 79
[321] Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn* (1955), vol. 2, p. 175
[322] Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn* (1955), vol. 2, p. 178
[323] Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn* (1955), vol. 2, p. 296

'skilful' the eye may be, it cannot distinguish between representation and reality and thus confirms the quality of the contemplated artwork. In all these passages, the eye is passive unless it literally looks - and thus does what it is supposed to do naturally. It does not touch or eat, as in Ruskin's writing, or move through an area, as in Hillards's account of Venice in which there are 'no gardens, no wide spaces over which the eye may range'.[324]

However, Evelyn at least once metaphorically links perception to nutrition, as Ruskin would do in the letter from Italy to his father about his urge to draw and describe, quoted above. In his account of S. Giorgio Maggiore in Venice, Evelyn, writes that he and a companion spent a day 'having fed our Eyes with the noble prospect of the Iland of St. George, the Gallies, Gudolas, & other Vessells, passing to & froo'.[325] Importantly, it is the eye which is 'fed' here, not the mind as was the case in Ruskin's letter and there is no link to a representation of the seen. Similar expressions were also used by Evelyn's contemporary Richard Lassels in the 1670 *Voyage of Italy*. He writes after his first day in Florence that, 'getting vp betimes the next morning, I gaue my eyes such a breakfast as Princes eyes would bee glad to feed vpon'.[326] Similarly, he states that he returned often to see a painting in Venice's S. Georgio as he 'could never satiate my eyes with such a rare peece'.[327] While Evelyn's and Lassels's eyes are 'fed', have 'breakfast' and cannot be 'satiated', it is Ruskin's mind which 'eats' the buildings of Venice and Verona by recording them verbally and graphically - a mind which relies equally on feeling as on reason. Seeing, for Evelyn and Lassels, seems to belong solely to the process of observation, and not to the intellectual faculty - more, it is a primarily passive act, the eye receives - even if the intellect then sorts the perceived but this occurs in an apparently separate process. For Ruskin, in contrast, seeing is feeling and understanding at the same time through an active eye.[328] All these sensual experiences are not in any way distinct from the intellect. Moreover, there appears a necessity in Ruskin to represent - to 'eat' - these combined visual-emotional-intellectual experiences by drawing and describing them.

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[324] Hillard, *Six Months in Italy*, vol. 1, p. 39
[325] Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn* (1955), vol. 2, pp. 445.
[326] Lassels, *The Voyage Of Italy*, vol. 1, p. 155
[327] Lassels, *The Voyage Of Italy*, vol. 2, pp. 416-7
[328] For a historical review of the notion of a passive seeing and an active understanding, see Zeki, *A Vision of the Brain*, pp. 3ff.

The varying relationship between vision, reason and emotion emerges here as a key difference between the two writers. In Evelyn's usage of the eye metaphor there is, as far as I can discover, no reference to emotion, not surprising as Evelyn, a member of the Royal Society, would have followed Bacon's directives about an unadorned, factual and apparently objective prose. There is a deliberate and clear separation between reason and emotion, very different to what we see in Ruskin's use of metaphors of vision. While for both Evelyn and Ruskin, direct observation is the basis of architectural experience and knowledge, in Ruskin's writing this vision does not exclude emotion, gained from sense experience, but rather depends on it.

Adjectival Nouns

Throughout *The Stones of Venice*, Ruskin also uses less obvious metaphorical expressions to a remarkable extent. A striking phenomenon in his writing is the usage of adjectival nouns which, I would suggest, might be regarded as ontological metaphors as they transfer physical experiences to abstract concepts. When Ruskin describes the 'luminousness' of the Cathedral on Torcello, the 'blazonry' of a crucifix in Venice's St Mark's or the 'rudeness' of its apse he seems to conceive of these attributes as entities, as substances. Instead of using the term in its adjectival form writing that 'the apse is rude', 'appears rude' or 'shows rude aspects', he writes:

> 'in the very *rudeness* of this arrangement, and especially in the want of
> all appliances of comfort . . ., there is a dignity which no furniture of
> stalls nor carving of canopies ever could attain.'[329] (italics mine)

Rudeness here is experienced both as an entity as well as a container which encloses 'dignity'. The meaning used is listed by the *OED* as 'roughness of style or workmanship' and exemplary quotations are given from as early as the mid sixteenth century.[330] Ruskin is therefore not applying this term in an unusual manner and can, even less, be said to have invented this way of referring to

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[329] Ruskin, 'The Stones of Venice: Volume II', p. 33
[330] See entry for 'rudeness, *n*.', §5, in *Oxford English Dictionary Online* <http://dictionary.oed.com> [accessed 20 December 2010]

physical attributes of objects. But when he writes that a crucifix is 'raised in bright blazonry' or that 'luminousness' is 'very peculiar to this church' he seems to represent these attributes as almost independent of, or perhaps rather synonymous with, the physical object itself.[331] Moreover, in 'The Nature of Gothic', Ruskin frequently refers to 'Gothicness' and defines this as 'the character which, according as it is found more or less in a building, makes it more or less Gothic'.[332] A later quotation in the *OED* for the term 'Gothicness' (Ruskin's use is the first recorded here) actually takes this adjectival noun, this rendering of a quality as substance, one step further by denoting with it an actual physical object. Accordingly, in 1874, John T. Micklethwaite described 'Projecting canopies and such-like unquiet Gothicnesses' - here a 'Gothicness' *is* an object, not a quality.[333]

Evelyn, too, used adjectival nouns frequently, if again not as explicitly as Ruskin, for example when describing Genoa's Strada Nuova, which he praises for 'the *statlinesse* of the buildings' as well as the 'paving & *evenesse* of the Streete', or an arch in Pisa, which is famous because of its 'extreame *flatnesse*' (italics mine).[334] Writing a few decades after Evelyn, Joseph Addison in his *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy,* compares St Peter's in Rome with English Gothic cathedrals and concludes:

> As on the contrary on our *Gothic* Cathedrals, the *Narrowness* of the Arch makes it rise in Heights, or run out in Length; the *Lowness* often opens it in Breadth, or the *Defectiveness* of some other Particular makes any single Part appear in greater Perfection.[335] (italics mine)

As Evelyn's, also Ruskin's style is reflected in the writings of contemporaries and fellow travel writers who make equal use of such expressions. Hillard remarks on the 'lightness' of the buildings on St Mark's Square and the 'simplicity' of the church itself.[336] His description of the campanile of the cathedral in Florence might give further clues as to the context in which such expressions are used most often:

[331] Ruskin, 'The Stones of Venice: Volume II', p. 89, 25
[332] Ruskin, 'The Stones of Venice: Volume II', p. 181
[333] See entry for 'Gothicness, *n.*', in *Oxford English Dictionary Online* <http://dictionary.oed.com> [accessed 20 December 2010]: 'The quality or condition of being Gothic; an instance of this. Also *concr.*, a piece of Gothic ornamentation.' Quotation from John T. Micklethwaite, *Modern parish churches; their plan, design, and furniture* (1874), p.175.
[334] Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn* (1955), vol. 2, pp. 176, 182
[335] Joseph Addison, *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy, &c.: In the Years 1701, 1702, 1703* (London: Printed for Jacob Tonson, within Grays-Inn Gate next Grays-Inn Lane, 1705), pp. 174-75
[336] Hillard, *Six Months in Italy*, vol. 1, pp. 40-41, 42

The Campanile, the celebrated work of Giotto, rises to the height of nearly three hundred feet. It is Grecian, or rather it resembles the architecture of Greece by its regular outline, its uniform size, and its imposing cornice; but the lofty windows are Gothic in their ornaments. It is built of light-colored marble, adorned with statues and mosaics, and the whole execution is in the highest degree exquisite; but yet it seems to fail in the proper effect of architecture, and to be more admirable for the beauty of the details than for the *imposingness* of the whole. Its *narrowness* and regular outline give it an air of *primness* and monotony. Nor is *uniformity* of size in harmony with such *loftiness* of elevation. The Gothic Cross, which narrows as it soars, and ends in a point, is more satisfying to the eye.[337] (italics mine)

It is only in the latter part of the description that Hillard falls back onto adjectival nouns, when he criticizes the building, judges it. The same can be found in the account of St Mark's by American critic Charles Eliot Norton in his *Notes of Travel and Study in Italy* (1860):

In the lunette over the door is a figure of St. Mark. . . . This is the first mosaic that strikes the eye of the stranger as he enters the vestibule through the outer central door. Its colors are as glowing and fresh as when it was first set in its place. There is, perhaps, no more highly finished work of the kind in the whole church than this. The *hardness* of line, the too great *sharpness* of light and shadow, the want of *softness* and harmony in color, which are faults often to be found in mosaics of all ages, have been so far successfully avoided in this . . .[338] (italics mine)

Fifty years earlier, the German dramatist August von Kotzebue finds himself 'perfectly dazzled by the *immensity* of the object' (italics mine) when facing Rome's Coliseum, as he writes in *Travels through Italy, in the years 1804 and 1805*. He adds, apologetically, 'I must be pardoned any bold expression; whoever can speak coolly or sentimentally on such a subject, for him I do not write'.[339] Here, a building's objectified qualities, being freed linguistically and experientially from the subordination to the building, are understood to evoke a response in the onlooker, whether positive or negative. It seems thus that adjectival nouns are most often found in the judgmental parts of descriptions rather than in the purely visual parts. Therefore, as Lakoff and Johnson have argued, by elevating one single facet

[337] Hillard, *Six Months in Italy*, vol. 1, p. 131
[338] Charles E. Norton, *Notes of Travel and Study in Italy* (Boston: Ticknor, Reed, and Fields, 1860), p. 191
[339] August von Kotzebue, *Travels through Italy, in the years 1804 and 1805*, 4 vols (London: Printed for Richard Phillips, 1807), vol. 1, pp. 180-81

of the building into 'substance-state', others are hidden and, more, its object is partly hidden, too.[340] This is precisely what criticism does: it hides some properties by stressing others.

Comparing Norton's 'sharpness of light' with 'sharp light', one realizes how the emphasis switches from the quality (sharpness) to the object (light). For Norton, it is not so much the light that is remarkable in St Mark but it is its 'sharpness' thus immediately conjuring up shadow, too. The same is valid for Ruskin's 'rudeness' of the apse in St Marks - the emphasis here is on rudeness not on the apse - opposed to a 'rude apse'. Indeed, the adjectival use of the word could have been used with the same meaning at the time, referring to the unskilled execution of a piece of workmanship.[341] In this, there is no difference in the way adjectival nouns are used in Evelyn's and Ruskin's time but the nineteenth century seems to thrive in this form of criticism far more enthusiastically, indicating an emphasis on critical and judgmental writing on the one hand and on subjective perception on the other. The latter constitutes the main difference between the two moments - for Ruskin, perception itself becomes the purpose of writing.

Emotional vs. truth-bearing seeing

Central to this chapter has been the concept that the rendering of sense experiences into language not only records what is observed but, rather, determines the very understanding and perception of things. In an attempt to investigate how architectural writers characterize the act of seeing, two writers, Evelyn and Ruskin, from two periods, the 1600s and the 1800s, served to show how the use of metaphor reveals their different grasp of their own perceptual processes. I have shown that image metaphors can emphasize aspects of the described object's appearance and perhaps even transcend the capacities of graphic imagery. Conversely, personifications of inanimate objects can shift emphasis and acting

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[340] Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, pp. 12-13
[341] See entry for 'rude, *a.* and *adv.*', in *Oxford English Dictionary Online* <http://dictionary.oed.com> [accessed 21 September 2010]

power to the described object and thus hide the presence of the viewer while actually using it as a motor for the action ascribed to the object. In the seventeenth century this meant perhaps mostly 'static activity', as it were, whereas in the later writings of Ruskin and Street, the object seemingly starts moving as the authors real movement is suppressed. The ways in which Evelyn and Ruskin employ metaphors of perception reveals what sort of relationship each author understood the viewer to have to the object. Indeed, vision has long served as a metaphor for knowledge. Most explicitly perhaps, the use of the metaphorical eye showed the main difference between the two writers: the way in which they link vision, emotion and reason. Finally, adjectival nouns highlight visual or spatial properties of physical objects in a way that they become objectified and synonymous with the actual object therefore allowing for critical emphasis of certain qualities while hiding others.

A passage taken from 'The Pride of Science' in *The Stones* may serve here to summarize Ruskin's grasp of architectural perception. He explains here the difference between sciences and arts:

> Science studies the relations of things to each other: but art studies only their relations to man: and it requires of everything which is submitted to it imperatively this, and only this, - what that thing is to the human eyes and human heart, what it has to say to men, and what it can become to them: a field of question just as much vaster than that of science, as the soul is larger than the material creation.[342]

In the contemplation of any artefact, thus, vision (the metaphorical eye), emotion (the metaphorical heart) and the intellect need to act jointly, as it were. The 'thing' speaks both to these hearts and eyes and, by so doing, opens up a 'field of questions' summoning reason to find answers. Opposed to Evelyn who separates visual perception from emotions, Ruskin allows the two to merge. More, he deems it indispensable that perception, emotion and intellect become one whereas Evelyn separates perception from intellect. This was demonstrated here through an investigation of description as such, rather than straightforward quotations as the one above which should serve here only to underline prior findings. In this way, this chapter has shown that it is language that shapes the understanding of

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[342] John Ruskin, 'The Stones of Venice: Volume III', in *The Works of John Ruskin*, ed. by Cook and Wedderburn, vol. 11, p. 48

perception - it is in the moment when the seen is reproduced that concepts of the perceptual process are articulated. Even if 'seeing' is understood as a primary sense experience, as it perhaps was by Baconians who relied on it to derive a 'truth' from their experiments, it is only language that determines what it is to 'see'. And, ultimately, it is this linguistically construed reflection that is *seen*.

4

Looking through the Lens:
Optical and Epistemological Tools in Evelyn, Goethe and Burckhardt (1644-65, 1786, 1855)

This chapter explores how groundbreaking optical and epistemological tools, and the accompanying understanding of the perceptual process, affect the way the world, and architecture in particular, is described - and thus perceived. More specifically, it investigates how the acquisition and production of knowledge influenced the perception and verbal documentation of Italian architecture in three texts, each written on or as a result of a journey. First, I will revisit John Evelyn's seventeenth-century *Diary* and then consider Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's Italian diary from 1786-88 as well as the guidebook *The Cicerone* by Swiss art historian Jacob Burckhardt of 1855.

Discussing short passages from each text, I will outline the role that each assigns to optical, representational and epistemological tools within the perceptual process - how, in other words, each author conceives of the act of perception under the influence of such aids. Every author deals with a tool which was new to his historical moment: Evelyn with scale-changing lenses in the microscope and telescope, Goethe with the rational prescriptions of the encyclopaedia and Burckhardt with photographs which appeared more reliable than human vision. In each case, I will contrast the *model* of perception expressed in the respective text with the *tool* in order to trace historical interrelationships between *concept* and *medium* of perception while also taking into account essential scientific and theoretical currents of each moment.

I will show that in John Evelyn's description of Genoa - a key passage already explored for its metaphorical content - one can make out a, perhaps new,

capacity to describe the close and far simultaneously hinting at his familiarity with optical devices such as the microscope. This moment of separation in inner and outer processes shows both a 'scaled' mode of perception as well as a preference for monocular vision, a general trend at that moment. In Goethe's diary, a century later, we find the need to train vision and mind for a pure perception - there is, in his work, the struggle to reconcile an empirical approach to architecture with the encyclopaedic world view typical for the Enlightenment. Theory and practice are equally important to Goethe and he refuses to compromise one for the other. Again, scale reappears as a line of inquiry but, in a way, for Goethe it is the exact opposite to Evelyn. He sees within one scale only, fixes the range of his eyes in order to obtain a clear image which is, however, fundamentally different from a graphic picture, as I will show. Burckhardt, famous for both his art historical writing as well as his obsessive collecting of photographic art reproductions, impersonates in his *Cicerone* the reader's perception by using the eye as a marker in the text.[343] I will show that both his use of photographic evidence as well as his methods of verbal description seem to follow the same model of perception. In both, he shows an awareness of distortions occurring in the way objects are perceived, particularly regarding the relationship of the whole to its parts. I suggest that all three accounts show, to different extents and in different ways, a distinct conceptual positioning of visual perception (as a lens) between mind and world.

Evelyn

John Evelyn had been, ever since returning to London in 1646, involved both in architectural matters - such as the rebuilding of London after the Great Fire in 1666 - and in scientific undertakings on various subjects, a few of which have already been considered here. These were then united in the wide fields of natural history and philosophy. In the 1660s, the early years of the Royal Society, the Restoration of Charles II had just brought stability back to England and, with it, a 'rising

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[343] This section links to the one on the metaphorized eye in chapter three.

momentum of Baconianism' as Marion Fournier points out in *The Fabric of Life: Microscopy in the Seventeenth Century*.[344] The experimental method, first introduced by Bacon, and a new conception of nature were widely explored. Recent findings by anatomists, derived from dissection and microscopic investigation, overturned conceptions of the physiological properties of organic matter. Microscopic experiments, as Fournier has demonstrated, transformed the understanding of both external world and the human body fundamentally. Now, one knew that human flesh was composed of muscles in turn made of fibres, themselves containing still smaller fibres and so on and on. This introduced the idea that there would always be something too small to be seen, which could, however, be enlarged and thus made visible with a better microscope revealing still more parts and details.[345] The microscope thus expanded the visible world beyond the capacities of unaided human eyesight - in short, vision became more than eyesight. Simultaneously, the increased use of microscopes and telescopes in the observation of the natural world also sparked a renewed interest in their application to correct visual impairments. Since the thirteenth century, eyeglasses with convex lenses had already been understood to help with long-sightedness; insufficient knowledge of the anatomy of the eye and the refraction of light, however, prevented other uses, as Nicholas Wade in *A Natural History of Vision* explains.[346]

Microscopic description

For Evelyn, the microscope would still have had the spellbinding effect of a novelty opening up a whole unexplored world contained within the known one. Even though early microscopes are said to have been used since c. 1610 in the Netherlands, they became widely used in English scientific circles only from the 1660s onwards.[347] Pierre Borel, in *Centura Observationum Microscopiarum* (1656), lists already a hundred microscopic observations using plants, animals,

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[344] Marian Fournier, *The Fabric of Life: Microscopy in the Seventeenth Century* (Baltimore, London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), p. 187

[345] Interestingly, this created an effect which was seemingly opposed to the Baconian reliance on eyesight and observation. The idea that nerves were some form of hollow tubes was held up throughout the eighteenth century even though there was no microscopic evidence for it. The fact that one could not *see* canals or pores did obviously not lead to the conviction that that they did not *exist* (Fournier, *The Fabric of Life*, pp. 188-90).

[346] Nicholas Wade, *A Natural History of Vision* (Cambridge, Mass., London: MIT Press, 1998), pp. 49-51

[347] See Fournier, *The Fabric of Life*, p. 1; and William J. Croft, *Under the Microscope: A Brief History of Microscopy* (Hackensack, NJ: World Scientific, 2006), pp. 1-7

insects and other 'casual observations'.[348]   The Dutch tradesman Antonie van Leeuwenhoek (1632-1723) is credited with the discovery of bacteria after having built himself over 500 microscopes.[349]   Evelyn himself was closely involved with the production of the first major English publication on microscopy, Robert Hooke's *Micrographia* which was published by the Royal Society in 1665. This still famous book contained verbal descriptions of both vegetable and animal specimen and elaborate etchings and engravings which were widely praised and occasionally copied (figs **Error! Reference source not found.**, **Error! Reference source not found.**, **Error! Reference source not found.**).

Indeed, as Cynthia Wall has remarked, it was the linking of graphic and verbal representations as well as the specific character of the text that made the *Micrographia* so unique. She writes on Hooke's description of the flea:

> Hooke's description inserts narration of a sort; the flea might well be fixed in his page, but verbs . . . free him to fold, stretch, and spring his joints, to move his hairy auricular film to and fro. . . . verbal visualization is matched with narration to try to create an *experiential* description of something not just seen but imaginatively inhabited.[350]

There are indications that Evelyn contributed to the project through his contacts with engravers as well as, possibly, financially.[351] Moreover, there are at least three observations to which Evelyn contributed if he did not write them himself: first, Evelyn describes the so-called 'Italian hunting spider' which he had observed, according to the text, while he was in Rome in the 1640s. Second, there is a description and illustration of charcoal and petrified wood which was also published in Evelyn's *Sylva, or A Discourse of Forest Trees* (1664) and, third, he is mentioned to have been present during 'Observations on the Humble and Sensible Plants'.[352] Of these descriptions, the one of charcoal includes an engraving of what it looked like through the microscope.

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[348] Marjorie H. Nicolson, *Science and Imagination* (Ithaca: Great Seal Books, 1956), p. 160
[349] See Cecil C. Dobell, *Antony van Leeuwenhoek and his 'Little Animals': being some account of the father of protozoology and bacteriology and his multifarious discoveries, etc.* (London: J. Bale & Co., 1932); Fournier, *The Fabric of Life*, p. 3; and Nicolson, *Science and Imagination*, pp. 165, 170-2
[350] Wall, *The Prose of Things*, p. 74
[351] Gillian Darley, *John Evelyn: Living for Ingenuity* (New Haven, Conn., London: Yale University Press, 2006), pp. 185-86
[352] Robert Hooke, *Micrographia, or Some Physiological Descriptions of Minute Bodies Made by Magnifying Glasses, with Observations and Inquiries thereupon*, Robert W. T. Gunther (New York: Dover Publications, 1961), pp. 200-2, 107-8, 116

Evelyn was, therefore, not only familiar with the microscope by the time he wrote up his diary during and after the 1660s, he had been drawn to the close and what we would now call 'scientific' observation and description of nature already during his travels on the continent some twenty years before - as his account of the spider shows. Optics in particular seem to have been relevant for him - he even includes the field in a list of required skills for the architect.[353] His later interest in the microscopic work undertaken by Hooke and others is moreover well documented in his diary entries of the 1660s and 1670s. On 1 July 1663 he writes, for instance,

> To our Society were brought several *Insects* described by Mr. *Hooke* with the *Microscop* and reduced to a scale, which we ordered should be cut in Brasse in order to his printing his industrious description of them[354]

The first aspect of interest in this passage is the fact that Evelyn here claims that Hooke 'described' insects 'with the *Microscop*' - the microscope is, very early on, regarded as a descriptive and representational tool rather than a purely optical one. Furthermore, and in this context, the expression 'reduced to a scale' appears paradoxical as, in reality, these drawings which were later to become the famous illustrations in the *Micrographia* were *enlarged* rather than *reduced* in size as they represented the view through the optical lens of the microscope. Can the question of whether scale changes are regarded as either enlarging or reducing therefore be an ambivalent one? Enlargements make smaller parts visible while reductions render the whole comprehensible - is this a stable concept or could it be that a 'reduction in scale' here means a microscopical enlargement? Or did Evelyn here make a mistake? Hooke and others already referred to such optical effects in terms of mathematical multiplication, an act of increase thus; indeed Evelyn also remarks on one telescope being 'six times' stronger than another.

The question is perhaps one of size versus proportion. Etymologically, scale, in the sense we are looking at here, is derived from Latin *scala* (ladder) and

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[353] See the preface to Evelyn's translation of Fréart's *Idea of the perfection of painting* in John Evelyn, *The Miscellaneous Writings of John Evelyn Esq. F.R.S.*, ed. by William Upcott (London: Henry Colburn, 1825), p. 562: 'for a man to arrive to its utmost perfection, he should be almost as universal as the orator in Cicero, and this architect in Vitruvius: but certainly some tineture in history, the optics, and anatomy, are absolutely requisite,'
[354] Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn* (2006), p. 411

referred first to 'a graduated range of values' and thus to a subdivision of a whole into equal parts.[355] Only since the mid 1600s, the moment we are considering here, does it also seem to have meant the 'proportion which the representation of an object bears to the object itself' as well as 'a system of representing or reproducing objects in a smaller or larger size proportionately'.[356] Scale therefore describes two distinct sets of relationship: originally, that of the whole to its equally subdivided parts - as the division of a one metre long ruler into hundred one-centimetre units; and subsequently, since Evelyn's time, also the relation between the size of an object to the size of its representation. The latter is used today in map or model scales, say 1:100 meaning one part in the representation is equal to one hundred in the original.[357] In each case, a system of visual size reference is implied. Perhaps, then, Evelyn refers in the above remark to the fact that all the representations are drawn in the same scale? That some have been reduced from the size they were originally drawn in, to proportionately fit the others?

The writings of botanist John Ray, Evelyn's contemporary and fellow traveller, might help in clarifying the contemporary concept of scale in relation to eyesight. In his *Three Physico-Theological Discourses* (1713), in which he discusses the creation and history of the natural world, he remarks several times on the limits of human eyesight. Most conspicuously, the expression the 'naked eye' occurs repeatedly showing that the 'fitting out' of the eye with optical lenses enhancing its visual capacity was, by then, common practice.[358] More specifically, Ray describes the unreliability of eyesight to discern the size of objects, describing how, sometimes, instead of measuring accurately, he is content 'with rude Conjectures, taking my Measures . . . by the Scale of the Eye'.[359] The visual sense here serves only to acquire 'rude Conjectures' instead of precise measurements. In another passage, he ascertains that,

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[355] Glynnis Chantrell (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Word Histories* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 449

[356] See entry for 'scale, *n*.³', §11, in *Oxford English Dictionary Online* <http://dictionary.oed.com> [accessed 8 April 2010]. The first exemplary quotation given for this entry stems only from 1662 and refers to a map of London: '1662 J. GRAUNT Bills of Mortality xi. 61 The Map of London set out in the year 1658 by Richard Newcourt, drawn by a scale of Yards.'

[357] For a discussion of scale in twentieth-century architecture discourse, see Cecil D. Elliott, 'The Variety of Scale', *Journal of Architectural Education (1947-1974)*, 18.3 (1963), pp. 35-37

[358] John Ray, *Three Physico-Theological Discourses: concerning I. The Primitive Chaos and Creation of the World. II. The General Deluge, its Causes and Effects. III. The Dissolution of the World and Future Conflagration* (London: printed for William Innys, 1713), pp. 143, 190, 191

[359] Ray, *Three Physico-Theological Discourses*, p. 91

our Sight doth not give us the just Magnitude of Things, but only their Proportion; and what appears to the Eye as a Point, may be magnified so, even by Glasses, as to discover an incredible Multitude of Parts; nay, some Animals there are, so small, that if a Grain of Sand were broken into 8000000 of equal Parts, one of these would not exceed the bigness of one of those Creatures, as Mr. *Lewenhoek* affirms. And Dr. *Hook* proceeds farther, and says, that he had discovered some so exceeding small, that Millions of Millions might be contained in one Drop of Water.[360]

It is only proportions that can be derived through the visual sense - in other words, how one object compares to another, what their relationship is. Even if, with the help of 'glasses', one can 'see' smaller and smaller objects and their 'parts', absolute size is again only to be known as far as it is smaller or bigger than something else. It is only at this point, when such ideas had become common sense, that 'scale' in the above meaning starts to make any sense. Objects appear larger or smaller depending on external factors such as distance and perspective but these can be manipulated by optical aides such as telescope or microscope. Through this, the importance of scale as 'proportion which the representation of an object bears to the object itself' becomes instantly a conscious representational necessity. The link between distance and size had been made earlier, at least in Renaissance perspective theory, but the inability to discern absolute size must have become suddenly blatant when flees and other insects started to look like giant creatures when observed under the microscope.

In a letter from 1681, Ray advises Hans Sloane to pursue his own studies of plants further and to publish them in book form, recommending, in order to save printing costs, 'to draw them in *piccolo*, using a small scale, and thrust many species into a plate'.[361] Perhaps this is all that Evelyn meant with his 'reduced to a scale' - ultimately, whatever was drawn and etched might have felt smaller than that what was seen through the microscope. At the moment when scale began to refer to the relationship between original and representation, size necessarily became relative and, at first, unstable and unreliable, while only proportionality remained secure.

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[360] Ray, *Three Physico-Theological Discourses*, p. 50

[361] John Ray, *The Correspondence of John Ray: consisting of selections from the philosophical letters published by Dr. Derham, and original letters of John Ray in the collection of the British Museum*, ed. by Edwin Lankester (London: Ray Society, 1848), p. 130

Scaled perception

As we have seen, Evelyn describes architecture and towns quite meticulously in his travel diary. Especially general portrayals of a place, often presented as first impressions noted from a far-away standpoint during the approach, are recurrent. One such passage, with a twist, is the account of Genoa which is worthy of yet another close look in this context. We remind ourselves that he wrote here,

> The Citty is built in the hollow, or boosome of a Mountain, whose ascent is very steepe, high & rocky; so as from the Lanterne, & Mole, to the hill it represents the Shape of a Theater; the Streetes & buildings so ranged one above the other; as our seates are in Playhouses: but by reason of their incomparable materials, beauty & structure: never was any artificial sceane more beautifull to the eye of the beholder; nor is any place certainely in the World, so full for the bignesse of well designed & stately Palaces;[362]

As we have seen in chapter three, Evelyn combines here the image of the theatre as a whole and seen from afar, with the spatial proximity and performative nature of the theatrical scene, maintaining distinctly incongruous viewpoints - and scales. Even if Genoa's topography made the transfer into a two-dimensional picture apparently easy, as manifested in innumerable painted bird's-eye views, Evelyn here explicitly includes the far-away as well as the close-up within his description. He transcends any spatial restraints of graphic representation and represents at least two sets of scale within this short passage.

How could Evelyn have been able to perceive or, rather, to describe these spaces in this manner? From today's point of view, to perceive several viewpoints, several scales or physically discontinuous spaces at once seems an almost normal experience. We are used to television screens, the zoom function in our cameras and most of us have been more or less profoundly trained in the use of microscopes and binoculars during our school years. The perceptual apparatus of anyone not used to any optical devices, whether magnifying minute objects or bringing the far-away closer, must necessarily be constructed differently. There would always be a spatial and temporal distance to be overcome physically in order to see a city first from afar and then from within. Relying on eyesight alone would not be conducive to conceiving matter as consisting of miniscule particles and, more, proportional

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[362] Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn* (1955), vol. 2, pp. 172-73

scale would probably not be of much importance as objects had a fixed, never-changing size.

We have seen earlier that Evelyn would have, at least at the time of writing up his diary, been familiar with the microscope and telescope. Aided by the means of these optical lenses, however, the seemingly inconsistent scale-change between the theatre and the stage image becomes physically possible. I am not arguing that Evelyn used the telescope onsite (he might have done so but this is not the point here) but rather, that he was able to conceive of two distinctly different scales at once because he was used to experiencing this simultaneously in his scientific work with optical instruments. By the time of writing up his diary, he had composed descriptions of microscopical observations and listened to many more in the meetings of the Royal Society where it would be common to switch back and forth between natural eyesight and the gaze through the lens. He might have been familiar with the writings of the French philosopher René Descartes and the German mathematician and astronomer Johannes Kepler who had both discussed such optical instruments and their effects, as well as the properties of eyesight as such, just a few decades earlier. In *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century*, art historian Svetlana Alpers draws similar parallels between optical devices and contemporaneous representations of the world in Dutch painting. She describes how, by looking through the lens of a microscope, distance and size of previously familiar objects became distorted redefining any existing concept of scale and resulting in the 'dislocation of man' as 'the measure of the world'.[363] One should briefly attempt to imagine looking through a lens for the very first time: such an experience detaches the observing subject from its body which remains motionless while the object under observation seemingly moves closer towards the eye.

Similarly, in Evelyn's text the foreign city is placed onto a stage, the text 'zooms in', as it were, and the city becomes a performance for the English visitor, or rather the 'eye of the beholder' - an eye which appears as the only link between mind and world. Discussing Kepler's work which was also known to Bacon, Alpers attests a new 'objectivity' among seventeenth-century natural historians and artists

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[363] Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1984), p. 18

by quoting his concepts of the 'imago rerum' - the image of the world outside the eye - and of the 'pictura' - the picture of the world cast on the retinal screen.[364] To develop this, Kepler 'had to separate as his object of study the mechanism of the eye - what the eye considered as an optic system does with rays - from the person who sees, from the observer of the world, and from the question of how we see', as Alpers writes.[365] Therefore, a conceptual separation of world, eye and mind can be treated as underlying Evelyn's use of the term 'eye'. A process of perception seems to take place here which is beyond the control of the observer and which, importantly, results in a representation within the mind - the 'pictura' - which is different from the 'imago' in that it is, paradoxically, invisible, and thus in need of reconstruction by means of techniques, both graphic and verbal. This insight, this moment of separation in inner and outer process, is what will be critical for later developments of perception, as I will show in this chapter.

Incidentally, Kepler was also the first to use the term *camera obscura* which originally denoted a darkened room with a small aperture in one of its enclosing surfaces through which incoming rays of light produced an image of the exterior world on the opposite inner surface. Jonathan Crary, in *Techniques of the Observer*, positions the camera obscura as the paradigm of vision during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries which was only displaced in the nineteenth century. He argues that the camera obscura put an end to an 'indistinction between reality and its projection' and established a mode of perception that would 'a priori separate and distinguish image from object'.[366] This statement conforms both to the extended meaning of scale at this time including proportional representations as well as to the conceptual distinction between world, eye and mind.

In Evelyn's *Philosophical Discourse of Earth*, published in 1676 as part of his never completed work on gardening and garden history, the *Elysium Britannicum*, we find an interesting passage in which he emphasizes that sense experience is as important to gardening as its appeal to the mind. In describing the features of soil, he remarks:

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[364] Alpers, *The Art of Describing*, pp. 36-37
[365] Alpers, *The Art of Describing*, p. 35
[366] Crary, *Techniques of the Observer*, p. 37

Grounds are as nice as our Bodies, . . . and therefore it requires skill, and no little study to be able rightly to marshal this *Materia Medica,* (as I may call it) of Composts, the virtue of which does sometimes lie very hidden; at least, if that be true which Sir *Hugh Plat* affirms, that what we all this while seek after, is indeed altogether invisible to **humane eyes**, and to be discern'd only by the **eyes intellectual**, because 'tis vail'd and clad under so many different bodies, whereof some are more ponderous, such as *Marle*, *Chalk*, the Dung of *Beasts,* &c.[367] (bold mine)

Evelyn here makes use of an 'eye intellectual' which perceives what obviously remains invisible to the 'human eye'. Furthermore, the reference to the soil as human body and the '*Materia Medica*' indicates a link to dissection and microscopic study. Whether these 'eyes intellectual' stood for a microscope or perhaps the mind, a kind of inner vision, is difficult to discern but it does seem certain that the use of optical instruments led to a heightened awareness of the process of visual perception as such - to the extent of questioning the role of the mind in it. Evelyn seems to have placed some part of perception not only in the physiological body of the eye but also in the more elusive entity of the mind. The question of the mind's quality and position towards the body was what formed part of the difference between Bacon's teachings and those of Descartes. While the latter considered the mind as separate from the body and without substance and saw ideas as deriving only from the mind and not from the bodily senses, Bacon emphasized the importance of relying on sense impressions as the source of all ideas.

Preferences of monocular vision

Already Leonardo da Vinci, who also remarked on the use of the camera obscura in the production of pictures, had distinguished minutely between reality and representation.[368] In his *A Treatise of Painting*, first printed as *Trattato della pittura* in 1651, he wrote:

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[367] Sir Hugh Plat, to which Evelyn here refers, was a sixteenth-century writer on agriculture. John Evelyn, *Philosophical Discourse of Earth: relating to the Culture and Improvement of it for Vegetation, and the Propagation of Plants, &c. as it was presented to the Royal Society, April 29. 1675.* (London: printed for John Martyn, 1676), pp. 129-30

[368] See Leonardo da Vinci, *Notebooks*, ed. by Irma A. Richter and Thereza Wells (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); and Philip Steadman, *Vermeer's Camera: Uncovering the Truth behind the Masterpieces* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 6

A Painting, though conducted with the greatest Art and finished to the last Perfection, both with regard to its Contours, its Lights, its Shadows and its Colours, can never show a *Relievo* equal to that of Natural Objects, unless these be view'd at a Distance and with a single Eye.[369]

Even more remarkable than the initial distinction between reality and painting is, however, the reference to those conditions under which reality can indeed appear like a painting, namely when 'view'd at a Distance and with a single Eye'. Exclusion of any foregrounds, focus on far-away objects and monocular vision are here held to be the characteristics of what is to be seen in paintings.

Indeed, until the late seventeenth century and contrary to increasing evidence for the opposite, monocular vision was held to be superior to binocular vision. Already Aristotle had argued thus and philosophers up to Francis Bacon had followed him in it. Bacon, in his *Sylva Sylvarum* from 1627, discussed here in chapter two, wrote: 'We see more exquisitely with one eye shut, than with both open. The cause is, for that the spirits visual unite themselves more, and so become stronger.'[370] The theory of visual spirits to which Bacon here falls back is ancient - ultimately, it is derived from the work of the Greek philosopher Galen in the second century AD. It was only in the late 1600s that arguments for binocular vision appeared, with the matter decided only in the eighteenth century.[371] However, already Robert Boyle, with Evelyn a founding member of the Royal Society, noted that the loss of one eye lead to a deficiency in depth perception - but this seems not to have led to the decline of the monocular paradigm for yet some time.[372]

The optical instruments that Evelyn would have used at his time would probably have been monocular, although binocular microscopes had by now been developed in France by Père Chérubin d'Orléans, a Capuchin monk.[373] However, the general preference given to monocular vision at the time meant that observation

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[369] Leonardo da Vinci, *A Treatise of Painting* (London: Senex and Taylor, 1721), p. 178. Quoted in Wade, *A Natural History of Vision*, p. 288

[370] Francis Bacon, 'Sylva Sylvarum; or A Natural History', in *The Works of Francis Bacon*, vol. 2, ed. by James Spedding, Robert L. Ellis and Douglas D. Heath (London: Longman & Co., 1857), p. 628

[371] For an account of the history of monocular versus binocular vision, see Wade, *A Natural History of Vision*, pp. 287-88

[372] R. Boyle, *A Disquisition about Final Causes of Natural Things* (London: Taylor, 1688), p. 255: 'Haveing frequently occasion to pour Distill'd Waters and other Liquors out of one Vial into another, after this Accident [of losing an eye] he often Spilt his Liquors, by pouring quite Beside the necks of the Vials he thought he was pouring them directly Into.' Quoted in Wade, *A Natural History of Vision*, p. 290

[373] Wade, *A Natural History of Vision*, p. 300

regarded as truth-bearing favoured the single eye. One-eyed vision would be more acute, sharper in other words, and would deliver more precise results than two-eyed vision. As Thomas Hobbes in his *Leviathan* in 1651 remarked: 'they that desire not to miss their mark, though they look about with two eyes, yet they never aim but with one.'[374] We remember now that in Evelyn's description of Genoa it was only one 'eye of the beholder' that contemplated the scene. It would also have been only one eye that was used to look through the telescope or microscope. Thus, the relief effect described by Leonardo, the solidity of objects obtained through stereoscopic vision, would have been removed. It is interesting that this effect of three-dimensionality seems to have rendered vision unfit both for scientific observation as well as for the production of art. Magnifying effects, observed with one eye, became, however, so commonsensical that Evelyn used them in his architectural description as subtle tools to represent his sensual as well as intellectual impressions of buildings and cities.

Goethe

When the famous German poet and dramatist Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832) travelled to Italy in 1786 he was concerned that his own learning might prevent him from seeing, perceiving and understanding fully the unfamiliar surroundings. 37 years old when he left Weimar, he followed in the footsteps of his father who had embarked on the *Bildungsreise*, the by then customary educational journey, almost half a century before him. Both father and son eventually published descriptions of their travels - the elder as *Viaggio per l'Italia* and the younger as the now famous *Italian Journey*.[375] The latter represents a thoroughly revised version of Goethe's original travel journal which he compiled only in 1816, twenty years after he had set out originally. After completing this polished adaptation, Goethe

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[374] Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan: With selected variants from the Latin edition of 1668*, ed. by E. M. Curley (Indianapolis, Cambridge: Hackett, 1994), p. 172

[375] Johann C. Goethe, *Reise durch Italien im Jahre 1740: Viaggio per l'Italia*, 4th edn, ed. by Albert Meier (München: Dt. Taschenbuch-Verl., 1999); and von Johann W. von Goethe, *Italian Journey, 1786-1788*, translated b. W. H. Auden and Elizabeth Mayer (London: Collins, 1962)

himself is said to have destroyed a large part of his original notes leaving to posterity only those describing a first section of his journey from Carlsbad to Rome which were preserved and published posthumously.[376] Compared to the revised and published *Italian Journey*, his original diary, which was addressed to his Weimar friend Charlotte von Stein, reads as much more spontaneous, straightforward and, sometimes, unrefined. I am using here, as far as possible, the original manuscript diary in both its German original edited by C. Michel and the English translation by T.J. Reed.[377]

Encyclopaedic knowledge vs. the pure eye

As Goethe moves southwards from Carlsbad through Bavaria and Austria, he very consciously marks the latitudes he passes, remarking on having lunch on the 50th degree, that on the 49th degree it is still chilly in the morning and that the figs on the 48th are not excessively good.[378] When finally, after a week's travel, he enters the Italian sphere in Trento, he expresses concern about his own perceptual capacities. It is not so much factual information about the foreign lands that interests him at this point but rather sense impressions. For instance, when at a market in Bolzano on 11 September 1786, he refrains from exploring its products and exclaims, with not a little frustration,

> In our statistical times you don't have to worry too much about these things, someone else is bound to have taken the job on, what I'm after now is the sense impressions that no book and no picture can give me, so that I start to take an interest in the world again and try out how observant I can be, and also see how far my studies and acquired knowledge will take me, whether and how far my eye is single, pure, and undimmed, what I can pick up as I rush by, and whether the creases my mind has got set in can possibly be smoothed out again.[379]

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[376] The manuscript travel diary is held by the Goethe and Schiller Archive in Weimar (GSA 27/9). For a history of the publication of the different versions as well as a comparison of both texts, see C. Michel's appendix in Johann W. von Goethe, *Tagebuch der italienischen Reise 1786: Notizen und Briefe aus Italien mit Skizzen und Zeichnungen des Autors*, ed. by Christoph Michel (Frankfurt am Main: Insel Verlag, 1976), pp. 241ff

[377] Goethe, *Tagebuch der italienischen Reise 1786*; and Goethe, *The Flight to Italy*. I will usually offer both the English translation as well as the German original in footnotes pointing out divergences between original and translation as they are relevant to my conclusions.

[378] Goethe, *Tagebuch der italienischen Reise 1786*, pp. 13, 15,19

[379] Goethe, *The Flight to Italy*, pp. 20-21 In the original: 'In unsern statistischen Zeiten braucht man sich um diese Dinge wenig zu bekümmern ein andrer hat schon die Sorge übernommen, mir ists nur jetzt um die sinnlichen Eindrücke zu thun, die mir kein Buch und kein Bild geben kann, daß ich wieder Interesse an der Welt nehme und daß ich meinen Beobachtungsgeist versuche, und auch sehe wie weit es mit meinen Wissenschaften und

Goethe is at this moment preparing for the new experience to come, visually attuning himself to Italian forms and appearances. Because he deems himself, his mind and his eyes, familiar only with German surroundings, Italy appears strange to him. But not so much in terms of the new language, unfamiliar customs or traditions (he is writing about that, too) but most importantly on a purely visual, sensual basis. He looks for 'sense impressions that no book and no picture can give' him and wonders whether his 'eye is single, pure, and undimmed' enough to receive those impressions - thus smoothing out, as it were, 'creases' in his mind, possibly created through 'studies and acquired knowledge' which he is not sure 'how far' they will take him. This attempt to train his senses in order to see 'purely' - a purification of sorts - this rather passive and allegedly natural observing is a quest that continues throughout his diary and that is also still present in the revised *Italian Journey*. Throughout, his responses are both spontaneous and frustrated - a combination that is a major concern within all of Goethe's oeuvre.

The idea that the visual sense can be 'trained' echoes the writings of the English Philosopher Edmund Burke, and particularly his *Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* which appeared less than two decades before Goethe's stay in Italy. In Burkes' reasoning, taste, which he understands as that mental faculty which determines aesthetic judgment, can, indeed, be 'trained' through habituation. He writes:

> It is known that the Taste (whatever it is) is improved exactly as we improve our judgment, by extending our knowledge, by a steady attention to our object, and by frequent exercise. . . . they who have cultivated that species of knowledge which makes the object of Taste, by degrees and habitually attain not only a soundness, but a readiness of judgment, as men do by the same methods on all other occasions. At first they are obliged to spell, but at last they read with ease and with celerity: but this celerity of its operation is no proof, that the Taste is a distinct faculty.[380]

Like Goethe, Burke considers knowledge a relevant part in this 'training' of perception, even if it is, significantly, paired with 'steady attention' and 'frequent exercise'. Goethe is, at this early point of his travels, still not entirely convinced

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Kenntnissen geht, ob und wie mein Auge licht, rein und hell ist, was ich in der Geschwindigkeit fassen kann und ob die Falten, die sich in mein Gemüth geschlagen und gedruckt haben, wieder auszutilgen sind.' (Goethe, *Tagebuch der italienischen Reise 1786*, pp. 38-39)

[380] Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, ed. by J. T. Boulton (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1958), p. 26. Chapter five of this thesis features a detailed discussion of Burke's work.

that his knowledge can be of any advantage to his aesthetic experience but he seems to agree with Burke that continued exposure to the object of that experience - the work of art - improves, in some way, the receptiveness of the senses. Throughout Goethe's journal, we can follow this process.

Looking at Goethe's Bolzano entry in some more detail, one can make out several references that will help to understand why he is so concerned about the 'pureness' of his perception and its relation to his knowledge. He refers to 'our statistical times' in which all facts and figures, all knowledge therefore, will have been noted by someone somewhere.

The Enlightenment was indeed characterized by a steady flow of encyclopaedic publications headed from 1751 onwards by Diderot's *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des metiers*. Following on the groundbreaking discoveries of the seventeenth century, the eighteenth century Enlightenment was marked by a desire to record and order the new knowledge. Encyclopaedias in English, French, German and other languages appeared in quick succession creating the belief that the whole universe could be 'defined' with each item linked by a logical system. There was an apparent need at the time to categorize and systematize knowledge resulting in a mechanical understanding of the universe that was based on absolute coherence, sometimes aptly compared to a watch, and encompassing both man-made as well as natural phenomena. Arthur Zajonc argues that the young Goethe in particular was frustrated with this world view and experienced it as dry and lifeless and unable to convey the wholeness of things.[381] This urge to render all matters and ideas in words and to place them at a fixed place within a coherent universe appeared as an obstacle to Goethe's wish to see things afresh. Everything appeared to him as having been already seen, described and categorized. The fact that Goethe is here in Bolzano looking for 'sense impressions that no book and no picture' can convey might be an allusion to the encyclopaedic textbooks upon which his contemporaries had increasingly come to rely for their understanding of the world.

[381] Arthur Zajonc, 'Goethe and the Science of His Time: An Historical Introduction', in *Goethe's Way of Science: A Phenomenology of Nature*, ed. by David Seamon and Arthur Zajonc (New York: State University of New York Press, 1998), pp. 16-17

Ten days later, now in Vicenza and after having seen some of Palladio's buildings, Goethe is still not convinced that he has reached a state of 'single, pure, and undimmed' perception but asserts that his visual senses are at least starting to adapt. On 21 September he writes,

> I keep just walking about everywhere, looking at things and training my eye and responses. I'm feeling well too, and in a very relaxed mood. My observations of individuals and the crowd, the state and its government, nature and art, customs and history go on all the time, and without feeling in the least stretched I get immense enjoyment and worthwhile reflection out of it. You know how the presence of things speaks to me, and here I'm in conversation with things all day long.[382]

The passivity before only hinted at becomes more obvious in this statement: it is 'the presence of things' that 'speaks' to Goethe. He implies that the things that he observes have the capacity to communicate in verbal form literally giving him the words with which he describes them - this seems to be the meaning of his 'pure' seeing. The word 'responses' in the first sentence of this passage is translated from the German original 'meinen innern Sinn', literally meaning 'my inner sense'. This is paired, as the English 'responses' with 'mein Auge' - 'my eye' - but the original seems to put more emphasis on a duality of eye and inner sense.[383] In Goethe's accounts, his descriptions are supposed to be witness of a seemingly 'unmediated' perception which is able to blend out any interference from prior knowledge or habits. Interestingly, as he has deliberately set out on this 'visual training', he appears to think that this is only possible in the Italian sphere, either due to its specific appearances and atmospheres or, more generally, due to its unfamiliarity for him, the fact that he sees everything here for the first time.

Another four days later, on 25 September, he finally notices the first results of this schooling:

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[382] Goethe, *The Flight to Italy*, p. 47 In the original: 'Ich gehe nur immer herum und herum und sehe und übe mein Aug und meinen innern Sinn. Auch bin ich wohl und von glücklichem Humor. Meine Bemerckungen über Menschen, Volck, Staat, Regierung, Natur, Kunst, Gebrauch, Geschichte gehen immer fort und ohne dass ich im mindsten aufgespannt bin hab ich den schönsten Genuß und gute Betrachtung. Du weißt was die Gegenwart der Dinge zu mir spricht und ich bin den ganzen Tag in einem Gespräche mit den Dingen.' (Goethe, *Tagebuch der italienischen Reise 1786*, p. 79).

[383] Indeed, according the *OED*, the English 'response' in the meaning used here 'An action or feeling caused by a stimulus or influence; a reaction' seems to have come into use only in the late eighteenth century. See entry for 'response, *n.*', §4a, in *Oxford English Dictionary Online* <http://dictionary.oed.com> [accessed 14 October 2010]. The earliest quotation for this sense is given from 1787.

I've seen a few more buildings and my eye is starting to be well trained, I now have the courage to tackle the mechanical aspects of the art. What I'm pleased about is that none of my old basic ideas are shifting and changing, everything is just getting more clearly defined, developing, and growing to meet me.[384]

Moving southwards, Goethe is now allowing his mind to enter back into the perceptual process as he starts to trust his eyes more. He is now also intellectually aware of the sensual alienation experienced by the beholder of unfamiliar buildings. Carlo Antoni refers to this as the 'concept of the eye which is educated through the contemplation of a figure or landscape'.[385] By practical training - 'bilden' in the German original which means both to educate as well as to shape - by looking at foreign forms, the eye is schooled. And then, finally, Goethe is relieved that his 'old basic ideas' are not refuted by his sensual 'training' - he even goes so far as to claim to be ready to engage - again, perhaps - with the 'mechanical aspects of the art'. The term 'mechanical' here might refer to that coherent and systematized world view conveyed by encyclopaedic categorising and defining prevailing at the time, but now the frustration is gone, Goethe seems confident that he can maintain a 'pure' seeing while still relying on the knowledge he brought with him. Indeed, Arthur Zajonc argues that it was only in Goethe's times that empiricism and rationalism, which had developed separately in the 1600s with Bacon the empirical protagonist and Descartes the rationalist, started to merge and influence each other. Goethe seems to have been at the forefront of this attempt to understand theorizing as part of observation, as Zajonc remarks. He writes that, for the older Goethe, it will be 'a question of fully recognizing the deeply structured, 'theory-laden' form of our seeing' and of integrating it into his scientific method.[386]

Goethe, having travelled only as far as Vicenza, started to feel more comfortable about the relationship of his perception to his knowledge - it might

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[384] Goethe, *The Flight to Italy*, p. 52. In the original: 'Noch einige Gebäude habe ich besehn und mein Auge fängt sich gut an zu bilden, ich habe nun Muth dem mechanischen der Kunst näher zu treten. Was mich freut ist daß keine von meinen alten Grundideen verrückt und verändert wird, es bestimmt sich nur alles mehr, entwickelt sich und wächst mir entgegen.' (Goethe, *Tagebuch der italienischen Reise 1786*, pp. 86-87).

[385] Carlo Antoni, *From History to Sociology: the Transition in German Historical Thinking* (London: Merlin Press, 1962), p. 209. This was not a concept specific only to Goethe: as John Onians has argued, also Winkelmann emphasized the importance of 'cumulative visual experience' and the 'repeated looking' at works of art. See John Onians, *Neuroarthistory: From Aristotle and Pliny to Baxandall and Zeki* (New Haven, Conn., London: Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 71-72

[386] Zajonc, 'Goethe and the Science of His Time', p. 24

have been here that he developed the idea that rational and empirical methods can work together. Importantly, Zajonc claims, Goethe 'sought to bring the rational element consciously into science, but not as an autonomous activity operating upon observation. Rather, he endeavoured to imbue seeing itself with the rational'.[387]

Theory and practice

Goethe's interest in vision did not remain only in the amateurish realms in which his Italian diary documents it. In 1810, more than twenty years after returning from his travels and still prior to bringing out the reworked *Italian Journey*, he published his *Zur Farbenlehre*, translated as *Theory of Colours*, a collection of observations on the perception of colour. Even if, as Deane B. Judd states in the introduction to a 1970 English translation, Goethe's theory is today not of any scientific value and had already at the time of writing been superseded by contemporary physics, it shows very clearly Goethe's urge to observe, to describe and then to theorize the observed and described. Judd comments,

> In this book a master of prose described the production of color by all means available to a household in eighteenth century Weimar, and of course, easily available here and now. . . . Goethe had a passion for careful observation and accurate reporting that may come as a surprise from a theatrical director and famous author of fiction.[388]

The *Theory of Colours* itself consists largely of directions as to how to experience colours, descriptions of such experiments, the conclusions that Goethe draws from conducting these and the explanations he gives for what he observes. As many have stated, most of these conclusions are erroneous. But, as Judd also admits, 'Goethe was a master salesman of his own ideas' - his free-flowing argumentative prose can still today almost convince readers of 'facts' long proven to be wrong.[389] One important point made by Judd is that Goethe, in his vehement opposition to Newton's theories which was indeed one of his reasons for writing the *Theory of Colours*, in fact misunderstood that seventeenth-century scholar. Accordingly, Goethe attacked Newton for disregarding the subjectivity of colour perception and

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[387] Zajonc, 'Goethe and the Science of His Time', p. 24
[388] Deane B. Judd, 'Introduction', in Johann W. von Goethe, *Theory of Colours*, translated with notes by Charles
  Lock Eastlake, introduction by Deane B. Judd (Cambridge, Mass., London: MIT Press, 1970), p. xii
[389] Deane B. Judd, 'Introduction', in Goethe, *Theory of Colours*, p. xiii

abstracting it in an oversimplified theory according to which wavelengths controlled colour. In fact, Newton himself never argued thus but instead wrote in his *Opticks* that 'Rays . . . are not coloured. In them there is nothing else than a certain power and disposition to stir up a Sensation of this or that Colour.'[390] However, this notion of colour as a sensation was largely ignored by Newton's contemporaries and immediate followers, the same physicists that would in turn ignore Goethe's theoretical writing. It is interesting that Newton, slightly younger than Evelyn and a fellow member of the Royal Society, had expressed this point of view without it having much impact. It seems that 'colour as sensation' was not something that his time was ready for.

Zajonc, in an article in the *American Journal of Physics*, has conducted a direct comparison between Goethe's and Newton's approach to colour stating that while Goethe 'begins with the organ of sight, the *eye*' Newton bases his theory on an 'investigation of *light*'. Thus, Goethe's focus is on what Zajonc terms 'subjective spectrum' deriving 'knowledge through "perception"' opposed to Newton's 'objective spectrum' relying on 'abstraction'.[391] As in his travel journal, Goethe was not satisfied with abstractions alone and we remember how he plucked up 'the courage to tackle the mechanical aspects of the art' only after his eye was 'starting to be well trained' in the encounter with Italian architecture.[392]

Just two days after he had done so, Goethe bought a folio edition of Palladio's *Quattro libri dell'architettura* but even now complains that

> Architecture still feels infinitely remote, it's odd how everything about
> it is so alien, so distant, without being new to me. But I hope that this
> time I will at least be admitted to its forecourts too.[393]

Another few days later, he decides to buy an edition of Vitruvius also, and his fascination with Palladio and his buildings carries on making him visit and write

[390] Isaac Newton, *Opticks: or, A Treatise of the Reflections, Refractions, Inflections and Colours of Light*, 2nd edn (London: Printed for W. and J. Innys, printers to the Royal Society, at the Prince's-Arms in St. Paul's Church-Yard, 1718), pp. 108-09

[391] Arthur Zajonc, 'Goethe's Theory of Color and Scientific Intuition', *American Journal of Physics*, 44.4 (1976), p. 331

[392] Goethe, *The Flight to Italy*, p. 52

[393] Goethe, *The Flight to Italy*, p. 58. In the original: 'Die Baukunst steht noch unendlich weit von mir ab, es ist sonderbar wie mir alles darin so fremd, so entfernt ist, ohne mir neu zu seyn. Ich hoffe aber auch dies mal wenigstens in ihr Vorhöfe eingelassen zu werden.' (Goethe, *Tagebuch der italienischen Reise 1786*, pp. 96-97).

about his designs.[394] He reports, 'I studied more Palladio, who makes me very happy',[395] and in general takes great care to see all his buildings while in Venice. On 2 October he recounts having done sketches after Palladio's work in an attempt to 'assimilate him at the deepest level'.[396] As with the visual training earlier on his journey, we can again meticulously trace his progress in a task that he sets himself - in this case, to understand Palladio fully. Just three days later he contests,

> With architecture things are getting better by the day. If you jump in, you learn to swim. I've now got to a rational grasp of the order of columns and can mostly say *why* they're as they are too. I can now keep the dimensions and relationships in my mind, whereas I found them incomprehensible and impossible to retain when they were merely something to be learned by heart.[397]

This passage again expresses Goethe's understanding of how knowledge is produced - a 'rational grasp' is combined with a logical understanding of the 'why', the underlying reasons and connections - 'learning by heart' is thus not a key to comprehension, memorizing is not equal to knowing, as it had still been in earlier centuries. Crucially, Goethe studied Palladio's writings simultaneously with visiting his buildings. Architecture is both approached on an abstract, theoretical level as well as through sensory observation and direct encounter.

Both levels finally merge when Goethe feels himself able to read the architect's mind through his works, feeling Palladio 'standing there beside me' and whispering in his ear, as it were, about 'the great picture he had in his mind'.[398] This representation in the mind of which Goethe speaks here appears to develop as a concept while he is in Italy, perhaps specifically in his stay in Venice during which he refers to it several times. After visiting the Doge's Palace repeatedly he thus affirms to have gained now 'a mental image of the whole and the most remarkable

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[394] Goethe, *The Flight to Italy*, pp. 71, 86

[395] Goethe, *The Flight to Italy*, p. 65. In the original: 'Nach Tische studirt ich wieder im Palladio, der mich sehr glücklich macht' (Goethe, *Tagebuch der italienischen Reise 1786*, p. 108).

[396] Goethe, *The Flight to Italy*, p. 66. In the original: 'Ich . . . will mir ihn recht herzlich eigen machen.' (Goethe, *Tagebuch der italienischen Reise 1786*, p. 110).

[397] Goethe, *The Flight to Italy*, p. 74. In the original: 'Mit der Baukunst geht es täglich besser. Wenn man ins Wasser kommt lernt man schwimmen. Ich habe mir nun auch die Ordnungen der Säulen rational gemacht und kann das *Warum* meist schon angeben. Nun behalt ich auch die Maaße und Verhältniße die mir als blos Gedächtnißwerck immer unbegreiflich und unbehaltbar blieben.' (Goethe, *Tagebuch der italienischen Reise 1786*, p. 120).

[398] Goethe, *The Flight to Italy*, p. 75. In the original: 'als wenn er dabey stünde'; 'das große Bild was er in der Seele hatte' (Goethe, *Tagebuch der italienischen Reise 1786*, pp. 121, 122).

subjects'.[399] More generally, he wants to 'take a firm image of Venice away' and later expresses his hope to attain, during his travels, 'a settled view of the fine arts, really impress their sacred image on my mind, and keep them as a source of private pleasure'.[400] In this, visual impressions seem to differ for Goethe from aural ones - he exclaims once longingly after enjoying a musical performance: 'If only one could keep the impression in one's mind's ear.'[401] Thus, this 'mental image' seems to be more than a mere reflection of the seen, it is not a mirror image of reality but, rather, it is produced only through understanding, one has to comprehend sensually and intellectually and, as it were, to work through the observed in order to attain it. Importantly, Goethe relies crucially on the merging of intellectual 'response', or 'inner sense' (*innerer Sinn*), and the perceptual impression of the eye.

Seeing in one scale

In Goethe's visual progress just after his arrival in Venice one can trace some of the issues which came up in the reading of Evelyn's descriptions, particularly regarding scale which is, however, represented quite differently here. Goethe first reached Venice on the 28 September 1786 by boat via the river Brenta. Even though he describes the arrival and change from boat to Gondola, he never mentions a first impression of the city and its buildings - very different to the accounts given by Ruskin and Street a century later which we have seen in chapter three. Indeed, his first visual description is of the view from his hotel, the *Queen of England*:

> My windows look out on a narrow canal, between two high houses, immediately beneath me is a bridge and opposite is a narrow alley thronged with people.[402]

This short sentence sets the scene for his stay in Venice; he mentions key elements of the city, the canal, a bridge, a narrow alley and a crowd of people but does so by describing an anonymous corner somewhere close to St Mark's rather than any of

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[399] Goethe, *The Flight to Italy*, p. 71. In the original: ' ich . . . habe wenigstens ein Bild in der Seele vom ganzen und von den merckwürdigsten Gegenständen.' (Goethe, *Tagebuch der italienischen Reise 1786*, p. 117).

[400] Goethe, *The Flight to Italy*, pp. 66, 73. In the original: 'ich werde ein sichres Bild von Venedig mit fortnehmen.' 'Auf dieser Reise hoff ich will ich mein Gemüth über die schönen Künste beruhigen, ihr heilig Bild mir recht in die Seele prägen und zum stillen Grnuß bewahren.' (Goethe, *Tagebuch der italienischen Reise 1786*, pp. 109, 119).

[401] Goethe, *The Flight to Italy*, p. 84. In the original: 'Wenn man nur so einen Eindruck im Ohre behalten könnte.' (Goethe, *Tagebuch der italienischen Reise 1786*, p. 134).

[402] Goethe, *The Flight to Italy*, p. 59. For original see Goethe, *Tagebuch der italienischen Reise 1786*, p. 99

the main attractions. As in other places, he refers to Volkmann's guidebook for detailed descriptions but nevertheless gives interesting, and quite revealing, accounts of certain spots himself.[403]

As Goethe did not introduce Venice by way of a first or even overall impression, as Evelyn did in Genoa and other places, he does not describe the Piazza San Marco when he first mentions it on his second day in Venice. Rather, he gives a curious account of the part of the lagoon facing the square:

> Just as no other street in the world can compare with the Grand *Canal*, so too there is nothing to compete with the space in front of St Mark's Square. I mean the great stretch of water that is embraced on one side by the half-moon of Venice proper, with the island of San Giorgio facing, a bit further to the right the Giudecca and its canal, and further right still the Doge's Palace and the mouth of the Grand Canal. I'll enclose a map of Venice and make things quite clear by drawing in the lines of sight to the main things that strike the eye when you come out between the two columns of St Mark's Square. (NB In the end I haven't, because it really doesn't give a proper idea.)[404]

He gives a roundup of what is seen from the waterfront of the square and then reassures the perhaps confused addressee of his diary, Charlotte von Stein, that he would duly include a map to mark everything he had mentioned. This seems a straightforward task and indeed could very easily have been done but Goethe adds a note that he had subsequently decided not to include the map as 'it really doesn't give a proper idea' - or 'Bild', image, in the original. The idea or image he wanted to give was, of course, a perceptual one - he had intended to draw 'the lines of sight to the main things that strike the eye' which would have resulted in a sort of half-star centred on the edge of Piazza San Marco and reaching out across the water mainly towards the south.

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[403] The guide Goethe used was Johann J. Volckmann, *Historisch-kritische Nachrichten von Italien: welche eine genaue Beschreibung dieses Landes, der Sitten und Gebräuche, der Regierungsform, Handlung, des Zustandes der Wissenschaften und insonderheit der Werke der Kunst enthalten*, 3 vols (Leipzig: Caspar Fritsch, 1770)

[404] Goethe, *The Flight to Italy*, p. 61. The translator has here confused the Dogana with the Doge's Palace - the original correctly refers to the Dogana. In the original: 'Wie dem grosen Canal wohl keine Strase in der Welt sich vergleichen kann; so kann dem Raume vor dem Markus Platz wohl auch nichts an die Seite gesetzt werden. Den grosen Spiegel Wasser meyn ich der an der einen Seite von dem eigentlichen Venedig im halben Mond umfaßt ist, gegen über die Insel St. Giorgio hat, etwas weiter rechts die Giudecca und ihren Canal, noch weiter Rechts die Dogana und die Einfahrt in den Canal Grande. Ich will auf dem Plan von Venedig den ich bey lege zum Uberfluße Linien ziehen auf die Haupt Punckte die in das Auge fallen wenn man aus den zwey Säulen des Heil. Markus Platzes heraustritt. (NB ich habe es unterlaßen weil es doch kein Bild giebt).' (Goethe, *Tagebuch der italienischen Reise 1786*, p. 101).

Later in the same day's long entry, he records his thoughts on the Doge's Palace again referring to Volkmann's guidebook and noting down only what was not given there. Particularly the proportions of the columns seem to have puzzled him - here he does include a crude sketch of a pair of two short and rather plump columns without base or architrave:

It's that the first practitioners of the architectural art imitated the ruins of Antiquity when they were still half-buried and the spirit of their successors has now cleared away the rubble and brought out the beauty of the form. . . . When you see columns like these, don't you feel that part is still buried in the earth, and yet the lower colonnade of the Doge's Palace has these dimensions.[405]

His explanation is almost stupefying in the claim that the Venetian Gothic style had, as the Renaissance, looked to ancient Greek and Roman ruins for inspiration and wrongly adapted their then still half-buried forms. But, looking at his sketch, it does make visual sense.

In contrast, the two columns on the Piazzetta (from underneath which he had looked over the water before) find his universal praise:

Both of granite, the one with a height probably 10 times its diameter is of red granite whose polish and colour has been preserved, it's so slender and delightful you can't tear your eyes away from it.[406]

Rather than being compressed in their proportions as those of the Palace, these columns attract visual attention through both height and finish.

A day later, the third in Venice, Goethe has acquired a plan of the city and is in the process of 'slowly extending my idea of Venice':

I went up the tower of St Mark's, where your eye is met by what must surely be a unique spectacle. It was midday and bright sunshine so that I could make out everything near and far without an eyeglass. . . . Across the lido, a narrow strip of ground that closes off the lagoons, I saw the sea and some sails on it for the first time. There are galleys and frigates anchored in the lagoons . . . The hills near Padua and

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[405] Goethe, *The Flight to Italy*, p. 62. In the original: 'Ich sage, die ersten Künstler in der Baukunst scheinen die Ruinen der Alten wie sie noch halb vergraben waren nachgeahmt zu haben und der Geist ihrer Nachfolger hat nun den Schutt weg geräumt und die schöne Gestalt hervorgebracht. . . . Wenn Du solche Säulen siehst glaubst du nicht ein Theil stecke in der Erde und doch ist der untere Gang des herzoglichen Pallasts von solcher Taille.' (Goethe, *Tagebuch der italienischen Reise 1786*, pp. 103-04).

[406] Goethe, *The Flight to Italy*, p. 62. For the German original, see Goethe, *Tagebuch der italienischen Reise 1786*, p. 104

Vicenza and the Tyrolean Alps frame the picture to the west and north quite wonderfully.[407]

In climbing the tower, he hopes to improve his general knowledge of the city through, literally, obtaining an overview - interestingly he prefers to do this by natural eyesight alone, without the use of a telescope. What he then describes however is not the city as such; indeed he completely ignores the impressive sea of terracotta roofs with canals cutting through at his feet. Rather, he refers only to the distant view presenting on one side, in the south-west, the Adriatic Sea with sailing boats on it and on the other, in the north, the Alps. These two natural barriers would, from the tower, appear as rather linear horizontal elements, a turquoise and a brown line at the horizon. Goethe states that they 'frame the picture to the west and north quite wonderfully' - however, it is hard to imagine this 'picture' as a contained graphic representation, painted or sketched. In fact, what he gives is a panoramic 360 degree view - impossible to render into a flat, two-dimensional and framed image.[408] Similarly to Evelyn, Goethe transcends through his verbal description the limitations of graphic representation. However, contrary to Evelyn, he does not do this through a change in scale - indeed he seems to try hard to stick to one scale in any of the above passages - but rather through the introduction of a sweeping glance. While keeping his own position static, he turns head and eyes neatly once around his own axis. He does this twice, from positions very close to each other, the Piazzetta on ground level and up on the tower of St Mark's. In both, he focuses on the upright borders of what he sees, the close edges of islands in the first and the far sea and mountains in the second, but in each case his field of vision remains stable in terms of distance from subject to object. Goethe never refocuses his eyes; there is no zooming in or out, as it were, as we have seen in Evelyn's

[407] Goethe, *The Flight to Italy*, p. 63. In the original: 'Heute hab ich wieder meinen Begriff von Venedig sachte erweitert. Ich habe nun den Plan, dann war ich auf dem Markus thurm, wo sich denn wohl dem Auge ein einzig Schauspiel darstellt. Es war um Mittag und heller Sonnenschein daß ich ich Perspectiv Nähe und Ferne genau unterscheiden konnte. Die Fluth bedeckte die Lagunen. . . . Uber den sogenannten *lido*, einen schmalen Erdstreif der die Lagunen schließt, sah ich zum erstenmal das Meer und einige Seegel drauf. in den Lagunen liegen einige Galeeren und Fregatten . . . Die Paduanischen und Vicentinischen Berge und das Tyroler Gebirg, schließen gegen Abend und Mitternacht das Bild ganz trefflich schön.' (Goethe, *Tagebuch der italienischen Reise 1786*, p. 105).

[408] The 'panorama' - the two-dimensional but not flat form of representation that could render such an impression - came into fashion only just after Goethe's travels with the London exhibition of Robert Barker's paintings of Edinburgh in 1792 which were shown on a cylindrical surface. For a history of the panorama, see Bernard Comment, *The Panorama* (London: Reaktion Books, 1999)

description. It is as if the depth of his visual field was fixed to a certain range as it would be through a specifically ground lens.

A few days later, on 9 October, Goethe revisits the tower of St Mark's. The reason for this visit is a specific one - he feels he needs to see the view from here at low tide as well. On his last visit, the tide had been in and he maintains that 'it's necessary to combine these two images if you want to have an accurate picture'.[409] Here, he speaks again of a mental image which, as it becomes now even clearer, is not a picture in any conventional sense. The German original here actually is a little different from the translation - in the second part of the sentence Goethe uses the word 'Begriff' instead of 'Bild' which means both image and picture. *Begriff*, however, implies a concept or idea - often referred to as image or picture. If here two very different images can be merged and combined to become one idea or concept, a *Begriff*, in the mind, and if this can include a sweeping glance covering a 360-degree panorama and if it is similar to the first idea for a design in the architect's mind, then it is now unmistakable that Goethe would never compare a sense impression with a painting. On the contrary, and even if these impressions are consciously worked-out constructs, Goethe clearly distinguishes between the painted, printed or sketched picture and that what he sees and contains in his memory, between pictorial representation and mental image. Clearly, language seems to him to be most suited to represent this *Begriff* or image.

After-images

In his *Techniques of the Observer*, Crary draws heavily on the *Theory of Colours* to establish the origins of the 'uprooting of vision from the stable and fixed relations incarnated in the camera obscura' in the early nineteenth century which he argues to have led to 'a new valuation of visual experience'.[410] He recounts one of Goethe's experiments in which a darkened room with only one small opening admitting light - in short, a camera obscura - served to investigate after-images. The test subject in the room is made to focus on the illuminated spot until the opening is closed. At this moment the subject, now in complete darkness, is reported to perceive a bright

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[409] Goethe, *The Flight to Italy*, p. 85. In the original: 'es ist nothwendig diese beyde Bilder zu verbinden, wenn man einen richtigen Begriff haben will.' (Goethe, *Tagebuch der italienischen Reise 1786*, p. 137).
[410] Crary, *Techniques of the Observer*, p. 14

white circle with a red edge which will slowly tint also the inner parts of the circle, then turn, equally starting from the outer parts, blue and finally disappear in the darkness.[411] Crary identifies this 'reuse' of the camera obscura with its simultaneous obliteration through the closing of the crucial, image-producing opening:

> Goethe's instruction to seal the hole . . . announces a disordering and negation of the camera obscura as both an optical system and epistemological figure. The closing off of the opening dissolves the distinction between inner and outer space on which the very functioning of the camera (as apparatus and paradigm) depended. But it is now not simply a question of an observer repositioned in a sealed interior to view its particular contents; the optical experience described here by Goethe presents a notion of vision that the classical model was incapable of encompassing. . . . The corporeal subjectivity of the observer, which was a priori excluded from the concept of the camera obscura, suddenly becomes the site on which an observer is possible. The human body, in all its contingency and specificity, generates 'the spectrum of another colour,' and thus becomes the active producer of optical experience.[412]

Thus, the clear conceptual construct of 'world out there', 'mind in here' and the 'eye in-between', which we had observed in Evelyn's writing, is broken, vision is embodied and, even more, vision - the eye - becomes the picture-making facility per se. It is the human body itself that produces the bright circle, the after-image. Yes, it was projected, it did not have a material counterpart in the physical world, but for Goethe, as Crary remarks later, 'there was no such thing as optical illusion: whatever the healthy corporeal eye experienced was in fact optical truth'.[413]

After-images were, at least from Goethe's time onwards, a constant preoccupation of both scientists as well as literary writers.[414] Already William Gilpin, interestingly in his 1794 essay *On Picturesque Travel*, described the sensation of vivid colours perceived with closed eyes directly after having contemplated 'some splendid scene'. Gilpin linked these appearances to imagination which

> active, and alert, collects it's scattered ideas, transposes, combines, and shifts them into a thousand forms, producing such exquisite scenes,

[411] Goethe, *Theory of Colours*, pp. 16-17
[412] Crary, *Techniques of the Observer*, pp. 68-69
[413] Crary, *Techniques of the Observer*, pp. 97-98
[414] See Lindsay Smith, *Victorian Photography, Painting and Poetry: The Enigma of Visibility in Ruskin, Morris and the Pre-Raphaelites* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 5

such sublime arrangements, such glow, and harmony of colouring, such brilliant lights, such depth, and clearness of shadow, as equally foil description, and every attempt of artificial colouring.[415]

Twice in this passage Gilpin uses the term 'scene' - and he does so in exactly that sense which seems to have developed metaphorically in Evelyn's times. Here, there seems to remain no figurative feeling to it, though, and Gilpin uses it to refer first to a view, possibly over rolling hills or a pleasing estate, as he describes them elsewhere, and then to these coloured appearances, the after-images, perceived on the screen of the closed eyelids.

In his own account of the experiment, which Goethe conducted with himself as the test subject, Goethe stresses the occurrence of colours after looking 'at a dazzling, altogether colourless object'.[416] His description of these colours is far less animated than Gilpin's, he is obviously aiming at an unbiased recording of the proceedings tracking the change of colour in the after-image meticulously, and even timing for how long each colour appears. By describing an image which can never be reproduced, never be seen by two people simultaneously as a fixed entity (even if Goethe here claims that the image is the same in each person, to argue this he relies on the verbal description of the image), he distinguishes it from fancy as a fact, an 'archetypal phenomenon' as Zajonc calls it.[417] In this, it is similar to the 'mental image' from Goethe's travel diary: it is fundamentally subjective but rationally and objectively sustained. These 'mental images', both memory and after-image, also show how the relationship between the external world and that which human beings perceive is subjected to a fundamental rupture - seeing is not unbiased any longer, but becomes subject to interference from both the mind and the body.

It is interesting to note that Goethe here locates the occurrence of the coloured after-image very precisely - namely within the eye, not in the mind. In fact, this experiment is one of many on after-images and similar phenomena in the first section of his *Theory* entitled 'physiological colours'. These colours, he repeats frequently,

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[415] William Gilpin, *Three essays: On picturesque beauty; On picturesque travel; and On sketching landscape: To which is added a poem, On landscape painting*, 2nd edn (Farnborough, Eng.: Gregg International, 1972), p. 54
[416] Goethe, *Theory of Colours*, p. 16
[417] Zajonc, 'Goethe's Theory of Color and Scientific Intuition', p. 331

belong altogether, or in a great degree, to the *subject* [i.e. the observer] - to the eye itself. . . . They have been hitherto looked upon as extrinsic and casual, as illusion and infirmity: their appearances have been known from ancient date; but, as they were too evanescent to be arrested, they were banished into the region of phantoms, and under this idea have been very variously described.[418]

These images thus form part of 'the necessary conditions of vision; the lively alternating action of which, with reference to external objects and a principle within it, is thus plainly indicated'.[419] In other words, phenomena as these serve Goethe to establish the relationship between external world and internal sensations - without, however, drawing a clear dividing line between the two 'spaces' of object and subject.

Placing these images first within the viewer, the 'subject', and then more precisely in the eye itself necessarily renders them fact rather than illusion as which they had been previously regarded - the body is still more trusted than the mind. Significantly, Goethe gives here also the method by which he will take these images out of the realm of the illusionary: as they had been too 'evanescent to be arrested' Goethe needs to capture and halt them - he does both through the means of language. By observing them carefully and methodically, measuring and then describing them minutely in words, he freezes the colours and enables them to be revisited, reconsidered, divided into stages - similar to the single scales he observed Venice in - and reassembled. He does what he describes in the introduction of the *Theory of Colours*:

> During this process of observation . . . we are forced to separate, to distinguish, and again to combine; . . . To accomplish this . . . requires an unremitting and close application; and we find, for this reason, that men prefer substituting a general theoretical view, or some system of explanation, for the facts themselves, instead of taking the trouble to make themselves first acquainted with cases in detail and then constructing a whole.[420]

The procedure suggested by Goethe here, deriving the whole from the parts rather than vice versa, reverberates with Bacon's inductive reasoning on which Evelyn relied as well as with a method used by art historians in the nineteenth century,

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[418] Goethe, *Theory of Colours*, p. 1
[419] Goethe, *Theory of Colours*, p. 2
[420] Goethe, *Theory of Colours*, p. li

such as Jacob Burckhardt to whom we will now turn. In the following, also some other findings derived from my close reading of Goethe's writings will reappear, such as the freezing of the perceived, the importance of a physiological understanding of the eye as well as the role of the imagination.

Burckhardt

The oeuvre of Jacob Burckhardt (1818-1897), Swiss historian and teacher of Heinrich Wölfflin, is often considered to be on the edge between connoisseurship and academic art history. Nikolaus Pevsner claimed that 'with Burckhardt the history of art in one sense begins.'[421] Burckhardt is indeed most famous as a historian who founded the discipline now referred to as cultural history. Here, however, it is mainly his relatively early work that is of interest. Throughout his life, Burckhardt was a passionate traveller - his journeys took him all around Europe but Italy held a particular fascination for him. Equal enthusiasm was spent on his teaching; many of his writings are now only available as manuscripts of lectures.

Phantasie

The *Cicerone*, published in 1855 only shortly after Burckhardt's first major historical work, *The Age of Constantine the Great* (1852), was based on several journeys of Burckhardt in the preceding years and became an immediate and long-lasting success.[422] Hayden White remarked that it was the choice of the guidebook genre, opposed to the then common historical work on past lives, which enabled Burckhardt to engage directly with his subject matter and treat the described works

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[421] Nikolaus Pevsner, 'Reflections on not Teaching Art History', in *Pevsner on Art and Architecture*, ed. by Games, p. 157

[422] Burckhardt, *Der Cicerone*. Unfortunately the English translation by A.H. Clough (Jacob Burckhardt, *The Cicerone: Or Art Guide to Painting in Italy. For the Use of Travellers* (London: John Murray, 1873)) covers only the third chapter on painting. The original has three parts, on architecture, sculpture and painting. Burckhardt's original title can be translated more precisely as 'The Cicerone: Instructions on the enjoyment of the art works of Italy'. All English quotations from the *Cicerone* are therefore my own with the German original given in the footnotes.

explicitly as 'objects of perception'.[423] Indeed, right at the start, Burckhardt stresses the necessity for the reader to see the described for himself - he even declares that the *Cicerone* by no means claims the ability to render into words the most profound idea of a work of art; indeed, he denies the very possibility of ever doing so.[424]

In the decade that followed the *Cicerone*, many of the notions implied in this art guide found their place more explicitly in his aesthetic theory. In a series of lectures held between 1863 and 1868, Burckhardt discusses such problems as the perception and appreciation as well as the historiography of art applied to the three genres of - in this order - architecture, sculpture and painting (a structure which also underlies the *Cicerone*). Here, he defines aesthetics as 'the theory of the sensations which are stirred by . . . the artwork . . .therefore, the theory of what is going on in the viewer'.[425] He stresses the importance of education - to be able to relate to art, one needs to learn, to study first, as aesthetics is, ultimately, the 'relationship of the educated man to art'.[426] In the *Cicerone*, this common education serves to link reader and author - Burckhardt again and again evokes the viewing reader through short sentences like 'one sees this' or 'one knows that'.[427] As Kathrin Maurer remarks, 'the viewer plays a central role . . . since he or she has the capacity to 'awaken' these objects and animate them'.[428] However, the faculty that Burckhardt emphasizes particularly in both theory and description is imagination - *Phantasie* in the German original. He defines this as the 'inner correspondent of art, the art force [*Kunstkraft*] of everyone' which requires art historical training in order to enable the viewer to perceive the aura that transforms an object into a work of art.[429]

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[423] Hayden V. White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore, London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975, c1973), p. 252

[424] Burckhardt, *Der Cicerone*, pp. IX-X: 'Das Raisonnement des 'Cicerone' macht keinen Anspruch darauf, den tiefsten Gedanken, die Idee eines Kunstwerkes zu verfolgen und auszusprechen. Könnte man denselben überhaupt in Worten vollständig geben, so wäre die Kunst überflüssig, und das entsprechende Werk hätte ungebaut, ungemeißelt, ungemalt bleiben dürfen.'

[425] Jacob Burckhardt, *Aesthetik der bildenden Kunst: Der Text der Vorlesung 'Zur Einleitung in die Aesthetik der bildenden Kunst'*, ed. by Irmgard Siebert (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1992), p. 92: 'die Lehre von den Empfindungen, welche durch . . . das Kunstwerk - rege gemacht werden . . . die Lehre von dem was in dem Beschauer vorgeht.'

[426] Burckhardt, *Aesthetik der bildenden Kunst*, p. 35: 'Aesthetik ist die Beziehung des <gebildeten> Menschen zur Kunst, tausendgestaltig wie das Innere des Menschen und wie die Kunst selber.'

[427] Kathrin Maurer, 'Close-Ups of History: Photographic Description in the Works of Jacob Burckhardt and Adalbert Stifter', *Monatshefte*, 97.1 (2005), p. 70

[428] Maurer, 'Close-Ups of History', p. 70

[429] Burckhardt, *Aesthetik der bildenden Kunst*, p. 89: 'Die Phantasie als inneres Correspondens der Kunst, als Kunstkraft eines Jeden. . . . Diesem Allem muß die Phantasie ergänzend, ausbildend entgegenkommen. Sie kann es aber . . . nur nachdem sie eine Schule durchgemacht, nämlich die Kunstgeschichte.'
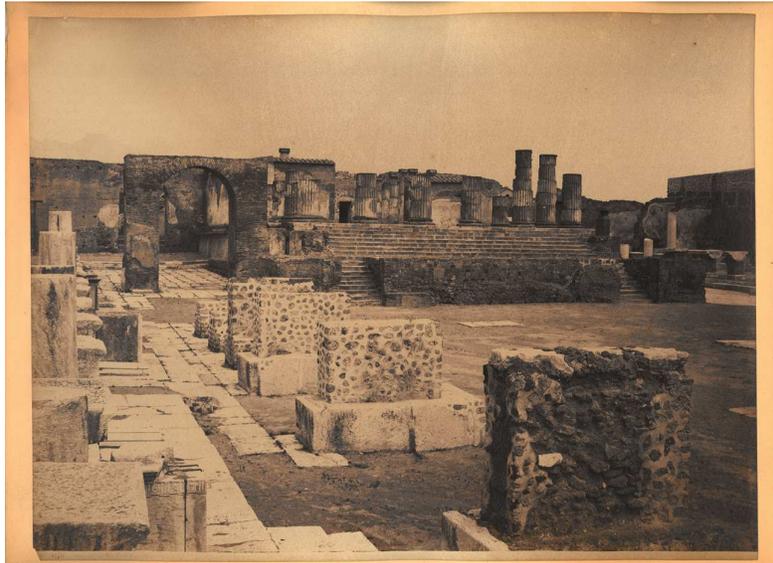
2 Temple of Jupiter in Pompeii (original photograph from Burckhardt's collection)

Facing the Jupiter temple in Pompeii (fig. 2), he describes precisely this process in the *Cicerone*:

> the eye has here (contrary to expectations) rather a lot to restore, as the perhaps mostly wooden beams have disappeared; the thought alone of the former interaction of the temples and their courtyards with vestibules and niches creates a great artistic pleasure.[430]

The eye is turned into a 'restoring' agent and adds details to the incomplete ruins of Pompeii so that its owner, the reader, can enjoy 'a great artistic pleasure'. This visual restoration is facilitated by a division between inner and outer perception, as apparent in this passage on the Neptune temple in Paestum:

> Even though it [the temple] is one of the best preserved monuments of its kind it does still demand a continuous mental restoration and after-feeling [*Nachfühlen*] of that, which is missing, and that, which is still visible only with the most attentive reverence. How differently would it speak to the outer eye as well, if it was still embellished with all the sculpture of its pediments and metopes, with the roof adorned by foliage and statues, with the heads of lions on the cornices, with the

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[430] Burckhardt, *Der Cicerone*, p. 25: '[in den Tempeln von Pompeji] muß das Auge hier (wider Erwarten) gar vieles restaurieren, indem die vielleicht meistenteils hölzernen Gebälke verschwunden sind; allein schon der Gedanke . . . ergibt einen großen künstlerischen Genuß.'

now so debated decorations in colour, and with Poseidon's picture and the offerings by returned seafarers in the interior![431]

Here, a mixture of 'mental restoration' and 'after-feeling' (*Nachfühlen*) completes the ruinous reality perceived by the 'outer eye'. Art-historical knowledge paired with a certain sensitivity enables the reader-viewer to 'restore' what has been lost or remains hidden to the untrained eye. This implies Burckhardt's understanding of perception as being twofold - only the *Phantasie,* internal vision as it were, perceives the temple as it once was while the 'outer' eye only sees its ruinous reality. Moreover, Burckhardt draws attention - or, rather, the visual focus - straight onto what has been lost, needs to be restored - imagined - in order to achieve completeness which, in turn, triggers aesthetic pleasure.

Particular attention in this passage should also be paid to Burckhardt's use of the term *Nachfühlen* which I have translated, somewhat too literally perhaps, as 'after-feeling'. It is tempting to employ here the much more famous term of 'empathy' even though its direct German equivalent *Einfühlung* is not used here. To some extent, however, Burckhardt's *Nachfühlen* does seem to resonate with the concept of empathy which would be developed by German philosophers of art Theodor Vischer and Theodor Lipps in the later nineteenth century. It originally describes the embodied way in which 'we come to interpret all sensuous appearance with human feelings and emotions'.[432] Adrian Forty summarizes Lipps's approach by distinguishing in his writing 'two kinds of seeing, optical, which was concerned with matter, and aesthetic, which was concerned with what was left after matter was removed'.[433] Burckhardt is writing before both Vischer and Lipps had developed their theories of empathy but an early notion of it might be discernible in this passage of the *Cicerone*. Because the reader-viewer knows what has been, he or she was enabled to feel it and does not have to rely purely on 'optical vision'. 'Aesthetic vision' would then rely both on knowledge as well as on a sense of form (*Formgefühl*) - or, perhaps, the latter needed to be trained. As with

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[431] Burckhardt, *Der Cicerone*, p. 6: 'Obwohl eines von den besterhaltenen Denkmälern seiner Art, verlangt er doch ein beständiges geistiges Restaurieren und Nachfühlen dessen, was fehlt und dessen, was nur für die aufmerksamste Pietät noch sichtbar ist. Wie ganz anders würde er auch zum äußern Auge sprechen, wenn er noch mit allen . . . [Dekorationen] geschmückt wäre!'

[432] Harry F. Mallgrave and Eleftherios Ikonomou (eds), *Empathy, Form, and Space: Problems in German Aesthetics, 1873-1893* (Santa Monica: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1994), p. 18

[433] Forty, *Words and Buildings*, p. 261

Forty, John Onians also bases his reading of the concept of empathy on the contemporary understanding of perception and the relationship between body and mind:

> 'The most important achievement of Vischer and the other students of empathy was that they realized that seeing involves more than the eye and the brain, engaging the whole person. The study of dreams, in which the eye was not involved, but in which the imagined visual experience could be related to the dreamer's experience of his or her own body, alerted people to the possibility that the body might be involved in truly optical vision.'[434]

This link to dreams might be the closest connection between Burckhardt's *Nachfühlen* - based on *Phantasie* - and Fischer and Lipps's *Einfühlung*. Indeed, Burckhardt's *Phantasie* is not only essential for the appreciation of ruins. Any work of art, ruined or intact, accordingly possesses what Burckhardt calls the *Phantasiewirkung*, an impact on imagination - it is only through this that it can prompt an aesthetic response.[435] A building's impact, for instance, depends on the appropriate choice of a 'genuine' material through which it unfolds its full visual effect triggering the aesthetic response.[436] This response relies also on rational judgment (*Schlußvermögen*) but, importantly, imagination is the driving force, 'the desire which alone starts the whole restorative work'.[437] In the *Cicerone*, the ruins of Paestum unfold this imaginative impact through their very materiality:

> What the eye sees here, and at other Greek sites, are precisely no mere stones but rather living beings. We have to investigate their inner life and their development carefully.[438]

Crucially, it is the eye that perceives the 'inner life' of buildings - something essentially invisible, 'inner life', is here visualized by 'careful' investigation; by standing in for the reader's perception, the text is turned into a tool for art historical writing. On the same page and discussing the Doric order in the temples at

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[434] Onians, *Neuroarthistory*, p. 107
[435] Burckhardt, *Aesthetik der bildenden Kunst*, p. 61
[436] Burckhardt, *Aesthetik der bildenden Kunst*, p. 61: 'Eine weitere sehr bez[eichnende] Abhängigkeit des aethetischen Urtheils in der Baukunst ist die vom Material. . . . das Gebäude [verlangt] den echten Stoff, wenn es seine Phantasiewirkung machen soll.'
[437] Burckhardt, *Aesthetik der bildenden Kunst*, p. 90: 'Wie weit ist die betreffende Thätigkeit Phantasie, und wie weit Schlußvermögen oder wie man es sonst nennen möge? Die Phantasie ist jedenfalls die Triebkraft, das Verlangen, welches allein die ganze restaurative Thätigkeit in Bewegung setzt.'
[438] Burckhardt, *Der Cicerone*, p. 4: 'Was das Auge hier und an anderen griechischen Bauten erblickt, sind eben keine bloßen Steine, sondern lebende Wesen. Wir müssen ihrem inneren Leben und ihrer Entwicklung aufmerksam nachgehen.'

Paestum, Burckhardt focuses again on minuscule details and argues that 'the tapering of the column . . . assures the eye that the column will not collapse'.[439] Rather than emphasising, more objectively, the structural effects of the tapering of the column, again the text assumes the place of the reader's perception which is, thus, turned into a tool for historical writing.

Burckhardt's emphasis of the outer incompleteness and his reliance on imagination here echoes essential principles of the picturesque developed a century earlier. William Gilpin, already quoted in reference to Goethe's investigation of after-images and who had also stressed the importance of imagination in the aesthetic experience, described in a second essay, entitled *On Picturesque Beauty*, how a building, in order to appear pleasant in a painting, would in some way have to be deconstructed:

> A piece of Palladian architecture may be elegant in the last degree. The proportion of it's parts - the propriety of it's ornaments - and the symmetry of the whole, may be highly pleasing. But if we introduce it in a picture, it immediately becomes a formal object, and ceases to please. Should we wish to give it picturesque beauty, we must use the mallet, instead of the chissel: we must beat down one half of it, deface the other, and throw the mutilated members around in heaps. In short, from a *smooth* building we must turn it into a *rough* ruin. No painter, who had the choice of the two objects, would hesitate a moment.[440]

In a way, Burckhardt delivers the theoretical and abstract explanation to this kind of concept of beauty - even if, of course, in his case the incompleteness, the gaps which trigger the *Phantasie*, are to be found in different ways.

In his lectures, Burckhardt also uses the term '*Innewerden*' which is perhaps best translated as 'apperception'.[441] A popular term at the time but has since become obsolete, it refers to the act of becoming aware through experience but there is also a reference to internalization (literally: becoming internal). The German ophthalmologist C.G.T. Ruete, professor in Göttingen and Leipzig, used it to explain what a sensation is: it is, accordingly, 'the *Innewerden* of a certain

[439] Burckhardt, *Der Cicerone*, p. 4: 'Das erste Mittel, welches hier in Betracht kommt, war die Verjüngung der Säule nach oben. Sie gibt dem Auge die Sicherheit, dass die Säule nicht umstürzen könne. Das zweite waren die Kannelierungen. Sie deuteten an, dass die Säule sich innerlich verdichte und verhärte, gleichsam ihre Kraft zusammennehme; zugleich verstärken sie den Ausdruck des Strebens nach oben.'
[440] Gilpin, *Three Essays*, pp. 7-8
[441] Burckhardt, *Aesthetik der bildenden Kunst*, p. 93: 'Wie sich die großen Kräfte: Geist, Seele und Phantasie zum Innewerden der Kunst verhalten'

condition of our organism and the thus triggered activity of the soul'.[442] Soul is here employed similarly as Burckhardt's *Phantasie* as we will see again later.

Burckhardt describes a rational (as informed by knowledge of forms and styles) but also rather intuitive perception which seems trained through habituation as much as through intellectual study. Its training very much appears like learning to play the piano - as fingers and feet get used to play from music, so does *Phantasie* adapt to responding to sensual information from the eyes. Consequently, *Phantasie* becomes identical with *Kunstkraft*, art force, which stands in direct connection to the will for art, *Kunstwille*, which produces art. Art production and art reception thus seem to rely on similar faculties - there is almost a symmetry between production and perception, allowing the viewer of the art work to see the mind of the artist, as if the art work were the keyhole opening up a connection between viewer and artist.

This process of at once rational and intuitive perception, which appears as both reception and production, can be followed word by word, as it were, in the *Cicerone*'s description of a Doric column:

> the fluting . . . indicates that the column condenses and hardens itself internally, as if to gather its strength; at the same time, it reinforces the expression of the striving upwards. As in the whole building, these lines of the column are, however, nowhere mathematically sharp; rather, a slight swelling suggests its inner creative life in the most beautiful way possible. Thus moved and inspired, the column approaches the entablature. The powerful pressure of this element pushes its upper end apart to a bulge (echinus) which forms the capital. Its profile is in every Doric temple the most important indicator of strength, the keynote of the whole. Further below on the column itself, three cuts correspond and answer to these. - A strong square slab isolates the column from the entablature.[443]

The whole passage is a detailed account of the column's parts and states what each tells the viewer about the column's 'inner life' - the fluting for instance points to an

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[442] Christian G. T. Ruete, *Das Stereoscop: Eine populäre Darstellung mit zahlreichen erläuternden Holzschnitten und mit 20 stereoscopischen Bildern in einer Beilage* (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1860), p. 7: 'Das Empfinden ist also das Innewerden eines gewissen Zustandes unseres Organismus und der durch jenen angeregten Thätigkeit der Seele.'

[443] Burckhardt, *Der Cicerone*, p. 4: 'die Kannelierungen . . . deuten an, daß die Säule sich innerlich verdichte und verhärte, gleichsam ihre Kraft zusammennehme; zugleich verstärken sie den Ausdruck des Strebens nach oben. Die Linien aber sind wie im ganzen Bau nirgends, so auch in der Säule nicht mathematisch hart; vielmehr gibt eine leise Anschwellung das innere schaffende Leben derselben auf das Schönste zu erkennen. So bewegt und beseelt nähert sich die Säule dem Gebälk. Der mächtige Druck desselben drängt ihr oberes Ende auseinander zu einem Wulst (Echinus), welchen hier das Kapitell bildet. Sein Profil ist in jedem dorischen Tempel der wichtigste Kraftmesser, der Grundton des Ganzen.'

inner upward movement. Throughout, strong active verbs indicate the action of the column, its parts not only 'condense', 'harden' and 'strive', but also 'approach', 'swell', 'push' and 'isolate'. From the shaft to the capital, all parts of the column are described as growing from or towards each other. 'Inspired' (*beseelt*) by its own beauty, the shaft rises with a power that makes its upper end bulge when hitting the entablature - the capital is born. This inner power is hidden however behind a 'tender outer skin' which is marked by wrinkles -'grooves' - where it bulges.

The whole column is constructed like a human being, its body is made from muscles covered with skin and its 'inner creative life' gives it beauty and soul. This description contains distinctly sexual references and, indeed, Burckhardt's visual and descriptive focus on the smallest physical detail brings, ultimately, the whole building to life. 'As in the whole building', he writes, and 'the keynote of the whole' - every detail, be it the fluting or the bulging echinus corresponds to the whole through its imaginative impact. It is, however, not the whole which Burckhardt describes but, rather, he puts all his verbal skills on focusing the reading viewer's gaze. Furthermore, I would suggest that Burckhardt felt that the appreciation of an object's inner life could only be expressed (and taught) through language since it is necessarily allegorical. This is shown in the recurrent personifications he uses and, more, the embodiment of structural elements in his writing, particularly evident in the above passage.

This account is both evidence of what Burckhardt perceived while visiting Paestum as well as an art historical essay to explain why the column looks like it does and an attempt to trace underlying motives and ideas. Because Burckhardt treats perception and observation as a process of both the outer and the inner eye, he is able to place the object, the work of art, at the very core of the new discipline of cultural history. Rather than tracing the artist or the context of the column, he develops his theory of its existence as an 'object of perception' purely from looking at it. The building, then, comes to life only in the visual and aesthetic interaction with the viewer.[444]

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[444] See Maurer, 'Close-Ups of History', pp. 71-72

Photography: imitating nature

Photography was never invented. It was discovered in the early decades of the nineteenth century. At least this is the way it was largely presented by its so-called 'pioneers', the British scientist William Fox Talbot as well as the French inventors Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre and Joseph Nicéphore Niépce. They seem to speak collectively not of the 'invention' of photography, as one would for instance of that of the steam engine or the telephone, but rather of its 'discovery' as if it had always been there, hidden and unknown off. Indeed, the essential parts of photography had been available for centuries before its official 'discovery' in 1839 - to put these together seems to have, however, required a specific mindset, as historian Mary Warner Marien argues.[445] Jonathan Crary, in *Techniques of the Observer*, also attests that 'a reorganization of the observer' took place before 1839, the year in which the daguerreotype, one of the many names the photographic image held in its early years, was officially 'announced' by the French Academy of Sciences.[446] According to Crary, the stable visual mode of the past centuries, represented by the camera obscura, had been replaced in the early 1800s by a new visual practice which relied on an unparalleled 'mobility and exchangeability, abstracted from any founding site or referent'.[447] Photography, in this sense, was perhaps one of the outcomes of this development but not its direct cause.

However, photography's pioneers emphasized from the beginning on its revolutionary force and portrayed photographic images as enabling nature to depict itself - to 'write' or 'paint' her own image were expressions used by Talbot, Daguerre as well as Niépce.[448] Photography was, thus, regarded as nature's very own language literally 'writing' on the human retina as a canvas of sorts - indeed Talbot entitled his book on the new medium *The Pencil of Nature*.

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[445] Mary W. Marien, *Photography and Its Critics: A Cultural History, 1839-1900* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 1-2; as well as her *Photography: A Cultural History*, 2nd edn (London: Laurence King, 2006), pp. 4, 15-21, 37

[446] For historical accounts of the inception of photography, see e.g. Geoffrey Batchen, *Burning with Desire: The Conception of Photography* (Cambridge Mass.: The MIT Press, 1997); Gail Buckland, *Fox Talbot and the Invention of Photography* (Boston, Mass.: Godine Publ., 1980); Marien, *Photography*; Smith, *Victorian Photography, Painting and Poetry*; Bernd Stiegler, *Philologie des Auges: Die photographische Entdeckung der Welt im 19. Jahrhundert* (München: Fink, 2001); or Scott Walden (ed.), *Photography and Philosophy: Essays on the Pencil of Nature* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2008)

[447] Crary, *Techniques of the Observer*, p. 14

[448] See Marien, *Photography*, p. 23

In this sense, the product of photography, the photograph, served as an artificial retina fixing what was then imagined to appear on the inner surface of the eye. The internal retinal image, fleeting and not yet fully understood, seems to have been conceived of as an exact mirror of the external world and thus as identical in every human being - a sort of a priori percept, unmediated, untranslated, and unprocessed, as it were, by intellectual and emotive faculties but yet as recognisable as a painting or engraving. Media theorist Bernd Stiegler claims that photography offered a 'new view on reality and, at the same times, demanded from the observer a changed perspective on perception as well as its interpretation'.[449] Furthermore, he claims that the new medium described an ideal seeing rather than reality as such which, ultimately, corresponds to the metaphor of the artificial retina. Photographs thus are not a simulation of the depicted objects but rather of that which is thought to be perceived when looking at them.[450]

It is important to consider in this regard also the coexistence, if not pre-existence, of another representational apparatus in the mid nineteenth century, namely that of the stereoscope. Strictly speaking, the stereoscope is not representational per se; it is an optical instrument, in which the observer looks through two eyepieces at two photographs of the same scene taken from slightly different angles resulting in the imitation of a three-dimensional or relief effect in the observed. However, the instrument is needed every time such stereographic experiences are to be had; without it, the images appear as any other, two-dimensional and flat. In actual fact, the stereoscope had been invented before the official announcement of photography; indeed, early versions of the stereoscope had worked with drawn or painted images. Moreover, these instruments preceded their theory - binocular vision was, at the time, not yet completely understood and the stereoscope came into being as an experiment in the quest to do so.[451] Indeed, the seeming paradox that two retinal images produce one single visual field as well as the relief-perception of objects through binocularity was one of the major problems occupying physiologists and other scientists in the nineteenth century.[452]

[449] Stiegler, *Philologie des Auges*, pp. 10-11: 'Die Photographie ist ein neuer Blick auf die Wirklichkeit und fordert zugleich auch vom Betrachter eine Veränderung seiner Wahrnehmungs- und Deutungsperspektive.'
[450] Stiegler, *Philologie des Auges*, p. 20
[451] Stiegler, *Philologie des Auges*, p. 57
[452] R. S. Turner, 'Paradigms and Productivity: The Case of Physiological Optics, 1840-94', *Social Studies of Science*, 17.1 (1987), pp. 53-54

The English scientist Charles Wheatstone developed his reflecting stereoscope, which used mirrors to bring the two images together, in the years just prior to 1832 and published it in 1838 in the Royal Society's *Philosophical Transactions*.[453] Scotsman David Brewster downsized the bulky apparatus in the 1840s by integrating lenses for the imaging process.[454] According to Stiegler, the stereoscope produced an inherently subjective impression whereas the early photograph on its own recorded objectively and was therefore regarded as superior to human perception.[455] Stereoscopy produced an image that was, at the time, shockingly real - much more so than as it is perceived by us today. Hermann von Helmholtz speaks of its 'natural truth' that reveals as much about an object's form as the look at the real object itself.[456] But even if this image appeared very real, exactly this circumstance also made it very subjective and thus, to a certain extent, untrustworthy, as we will see below. On the other hand, it ultimately let the photograph acquire a certain hyperreality, more real than that which can be seen by contemplating an object directly - again a feature discussed in the following. There seem to emerge here then two types of reality - the perceived reality and one that precedes it, which is a priori and impossible to be 'seen' in the strict sense of the word. Did photography gradually come to represent this reality, or hyperreality, which cannot, through the human senses, be perceived onsite?

The young academic disciplines of art and architectural history developed a close relationship to photography - a circumstance which has received some scholarly attention recently.[457] One rarely finds clear statements in major art

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[453] Charles Wheatstone, 'Contributions to the Physiology of Vision. Part the First. On Some Remarkable, and Hitherto Unobserved, Phenomena of Binocular Vision', *Philosophical Transactions*, 128 (1838), pp. 371-94

[454] See Stiegler, *Philologie des Auges*, pp. 58-61

[455] Stiegler, *Philologie des Auges*, p. 63: 'Während die Daguerreotypien als im Wortsinne objektive Aufzeichnungen der Natur gedeutet wurden und sich die menschliche Wahrnehmung als unterlegen und defizitär erfuhr, haben wir es bei der Stereoskopie mit einem notwendig subjektiven Blick zu tun.'

[456] Hermann von Helmholtz, *Handbuch der physiologischen Optik* (Leipzig: Leopold Voss, 1867), p. 641: 'Die Naturwahrheit solcher stereoskopischer Photographien und die Lebhaftigkeit, mit der sie die Körperform darstellen, ist nun in der That so gross, dass manche Objecte, zum Beispiel Gebäude, die man aus stereoskopischen Bildern kennt, wenn man später in Wirklichkeit vor sie hintritt, nicht mehr den Eindruck eines unbekannten oder nur halb bekannten Gegenstandes machen. Man gewinnt in solchen Fällen durch den wirklichen Anblick des abgebildeten Gegenstandes, wenigstens für die Formverhätnisse, keine neuen und genaueren Anschauungen mehr, als man schon hat.'

[457] See, for example, James S. Ackerman, 'On the Origins of Architectural Photography', in *This is not Architecture: Media Constructions*, ed. by Kester Rattenbury (London: Routledge, 2002), pp. 26-36; Anthony Hamber, 'The Use of Photography by Nineteenth-Century Art Historians', in *Art History Through the Camera's Lens*, ed. by Helene E. Roberts (Australia, United States: Gordon and Breach, 1995), pp. 89-122; Wolfgang M. Freitag, 'Early Uses of Photography in the History of Art', *Art Journal*, 39.2 (1979), pp. 117-23; or, more specifically, Dorothea Peters, 'Fotografie als 'technisches Hülfsmittel' der Kunstwissenschaft:

historical oeuvres on whether photographic reproductions rather than originals had been used in research and at times it remains unclear if published photographs were taken from originals or reproductions. Many nineteenth-century art books, and even more so books on architecture, were either not illustrated at all or contained engravings or drawings rather than photographs. The relationship of photography to art historical publishing thus seems uncertain, to say the least. Fortunately, a little more is known about the use of photographs in academic teaching. Burckhardt for instance is famous, as I will later relate, for the use of his photographic collection in lectures and seminars. The lantern slide began to be used in lectures from the mid 1870s onwards, first in Germany by Bruno Meyer in Karlsruhe and later also at Yale and Princeton.[458] Generally, photographs, and with it reproductions of art works, became widely available, if not always easily affordable, from the 1850s onwards as photographic companies established their reputations across Europe.[459] So, what was photography for those early art historians, then sometimes called *Kunstphilologen*, art philologists, scholars of the language of art?

In Burckhardt's own sphere of art historical discourse, the main debate seems to have focused on the legitimacy of the photograph. In 1866, Moritz Thausing, one of the founders of the Vienna School of Art History, questions the aesthetic value of 'photographic surrogates'.[460] On the other hand, in a review of photographic reproductions from Dresden's picture gallery, Wilhelm Lübke, professor in Stuttgart, praises photography for allowing, for the first time, comparative studies based on simultaneous observation of two or several works of art. Moreover, he declares that the unsurpassed 'faithfulness' of photographs generates 'perceptions which before had been unconceivable'.[461] Similarly, Herman

Wilhelm Bode und die Photographische Kunstanstalt Adolphe Braun', *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, 44 (2002), pp. 167-206

[458] See Hamber, 'The Use of Photography by Nineteenth-Century Art Historians', pp. 111-14

[459] E.g. Fratelli Alinari in Florence, Robert McPherson in Rome or Adolphe Braun in Dornach, the Photographic Society in Berlin or Hanfstaengl in Munich, to name only a few - most of which Burckhardt had dealt with at some point. See Hamber, 'The Use of Photography by Nineteenth-Century Art Historians', pp. 90, 97

[460] Moritz Thausing, *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, v. 1, 1866, p. 260: 'ob diese photographischen Surrogate an sich den höheren ästhetischen Anforderungen des Beschauers gerecht werden können'. Quoted in Peters, 'Fotografie als 'technisches Hülfsmittel' der Kunstwissenschaft', pp. 171, n. 21

[461] Wilhelm Lükbe, 'Die Dresdener Galerie in Photographien', *Kunstchronik*, v. 9, 1873, p. 81: 'Photographie . . . uns erst in die Lage gesetzt, vergleichende Studien mit jener Sicherheit zu betreiben, auf welche der Wechsel der subjektiven Stimmung, der Beleuchtung, der Tageszeit, des Aufbewahrungsortes keinen Einfluß mehr übt. Die durch die weiteste Entfernung getrennten Objekte führt die Photographie in einer Nachbildung, mit deren Treue Nichts wetteifern kann, uns neben einander zur Prüfung vor's Auge und läßt uns zu Wahrnehmungen

Grimm, professor in Berlin, claims that photography is for painting what the plaster cast is for sculpture, enabling investigations to attain a 'different sharpness than in the past'.[462] Jacob Burckhardt himself declares frequently that photographic documentation prevents the irretrievable loss of art through war, accident or natural disaster.[463] If the photograph became thus regarded as a 'surrogate', a replacement of the original, similar in appearance but perhaps lacking some innermost qualities, it was also turned into a thing in itself rather than a representation - similar to casts of ancient sculpture to which the viewer had long since become used in museums all over Europe.

These statements from European art historians all seem to express a certain frustration with human vision as such - as suggested above, it might have been considered as unreliable compared to the preciseness and stability of the photographic image. This corresponds to Stiegler's argument that photography stood in some way in opposition to human perception in spite of, or perhaps because of, the structural analogy between camera and eye. This analogy, importantly, did not necessarily extend beyond the structural aspect - the stereoscopic experience revealed without doubt that the gaze did not correspond to the photographic image. The photographer Peter Henry Emerson (1856-1936) who had previously practised medicine, claims in his *Naturalistic Photography for the Students of the Art* that

> the human eye does not see nature exactly as she is, but sees instead a number of signs which represent nature, signs which the eye grows accustomed to, and which from habit we call nature herself.[464]

gelangen, an welche vorher nicht zu denken gewesen wäre.' Quoted in Peters, 'Fotografie als 'technisches Hülfsmittel' der Kunstwissenschaft', pp. 171, n. 21

[462] Herman Grimm, *Über Künstler und Kunstwerke* (Berlin: Ferd. Dümmler's Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1865), p. 37: 'Man geht heute den Erscheinungen mit anderer Schärfe zu Leibe als früher. . . . Ein Museum mit Abgüssen der antiken Werke ist Grundbedingung des antiquarischen Studiums. Es liegt auf der Hand dass für die moderne Kunst dasselbe geschehn müsse: es bedarf einer Sammlung des gesammten Materials. . . . Und da sich ein Mittel gefunden hat, derartige Sammlungen zu schaffen, so bleibt nichts übrig als, wenn überhaupt etwas geschehn soll, es anzuwenden. Der Erfolg hat gezeigt, dass die Photographie dieses Mittel sei. Durch ihre Hülfe kann herbeigeschafft werden was man bedarf. Sie leistet für Gemälde diesselben Dienste wie der Gyps für die Statuen.'

[463] See Marc Sieber, ''Wo ich nicht von der Anschauung ausgehen kann, da leiste ich nichts': Jacob Burckhardt und die Photographie', in *Die Kunst der Malerei in Italien*, ed. by Christine Tauber (Basel: Beck; Schwabe, 2003), p. 14; and Gantner (ed.), *Jacob Burckhardt und Heinrich Wölfflin*, p. 153

[464] Peter H. Emerson, *Naturalistic Photography for Students of the Art*, 2nd edn (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1890), p. 114. For Emerson's biography, see the entry for him in John Hannavy (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography* (New York, London: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2008), pp. 483-86

He argues further that the human eye is less reliable than the camera as the periphery of the human visual field fails to be in focus and is, moreover, hardly ever preserved in memory. His conclusion from these revelations was that photographers should manipulate camera and image in a way as to imitate human vision better - margins of images could be blurred, for instance.[465] The photographs which Burckhardt and his colleagues used hardly showed these characteristics - which, ultimately, must have made them all the more different from the image produced in the mind of the observer by a pair of eyes.

Lindsay Smith, in a study on Victorian photography, painting and poetry, points out that

> at its inception, photography's pervasive questioning of the 'seen' involves a simultaneous reappraisal of the 'unseen': relations between the visible and invisible, the empirical and the transcendental, are newly conceptualised.[466]

This might be due exactly to the split between vision and photograph which Emerson and others referred to - photography highlighted, as it were, all the imperfections of human vision which were, in turn, by some regarded as its inherent aesthetical value that art should strive to imitate. This of course requires that photography is regarded as an art, something that Burckhardt, as we will see now, did not do.

Sometime in the early 1870s, if not before this, Burckhardt started to acquire systematically photographic reproductions of paintings, buildings and sculptures while travelling through Europe.[467] By the 1880s, the collection numbered thousands of images and was carefully kept in custom-made folders and boxes ordered by genre, place and period - almost lexically and very similar to the structure of the *Cicerone*.[468] Many are the references to it in Burckhardt's letters - in old age, looking through it and showing it to colleagues and students was one of his favourite pastimes.[469] Compared to some of his peers and in spite of his

[465] Stiegler, *Philologie des Auges*, pp. 88-90

[466] Smith, *Victorian Photography, Painting and Poetry*, p. 3

[467] See, for example, Jacob Burckhardt, in *Briefe: Vollständige und kritisch bearbeitete Ausgabe*, vol. 6, ed. by Max Burckhardt (Basel: Schwabe, 1949-86), pp. 18, 185; and Burckhardt, *Briefe an einen Architekten, 1870-1889*, pp. 38-9, 48, 51, 60, 71, 75-6, 86, 103, 111, 128-9, 135-6, 145, 161, 218, 246-7, 264

[468] See Christine Tauber, "Aber Rom war eben doch Rom und Dresden ist herrlich, aber nur Dresden': Burckhardts italienische Kunstbetrachtungen südlich und nördlich der Alpen', in *Die Kunst der Malerei in Italien*, ed. by Tauber, p. 27

[469] See Burckhardt, *Briefe an einen Architekten, 1870-1889*, p. 177

otherwise sceptic attitude towards new technologies, Burckhardt also supported the use of photography in a relatively open and public way - even if he certainly was not the only art historian who collected photographs for professional reasons.[470] Aby Warburg for example did the same and collected thousands of art reproductions. The question of importance here is what, then, the influence was of this large photographic collection on Burckhardt's writing and aesthetic theory.

In his teaching, Burckhardt relied deeply on photographs. Even if he had developed his famous skill in lecturing without any visual aids in the 1840s, he relied on them profoundly in his later work as educator. His figure walking along the streets in Basel towards the university with a large folder full of illustrative material under his arm has long since become the stereotypical appearance of the Swiss academic. He obviously thought it more effective when students saw visual representations - perhaps even surrogates - of the material art work at hand, rather than visualising it purely from his verbal descriptions. Even if he never wrote specifically on the topic, there are enough scattered remarks throughout his oeuvre to ascertain his appreciation of photography's documentary value. In his letters, for instance, one finds general - predominantly positive - comments on the medium as such: for instance, in 1881, he writes from Florence about the 'magic inherent to photography' and states 'it is a fact that in art history, one now believes only in photography, and that one is right with this'.[471] This reference to 'believing' in photography underlines the trustworthy and perhaps truth-bearing character with which it seems to have been treated by Burckhardt. However, in 1875 he had remarked,

> I know *where* it [photography] supports art history, but also *where* and in which shattering cases it betrays the same.[472]

[470] See Peters, 'Fotografie als 'technisches Hülfsmittel' der Kunstwissenschaft', p. 171

[471] Jacob Burckhardt, *Briefe*, vol. 7, p. 276, letter to Joh. Jacob Oeri-Burckhardt, Florence, 19 August 1881: 'Von diesem Capitel, nämlich von dem Zauber der der Photographie innewohnt, kann man Euch guten Lausenern keinen Begriff geben; Thatsache ist, daß man in der Kunstgeschichte nur noch der Photographie glaubt, und daß man dabei Recht hat.'

[472] Burckhardt, *BriefeI,* vol. 6, p. 33; and Burckhardt, *Briefe an einen Architekten, 1870-1889*, pp. 13-14, letter to architect Max Alioth from Rome, 16 April 1875 (same letter in which he promises Alioth the photograph of the Palazzo Madama in Turin): 'Ich weiß, *wo* sie [die Photographie] die Kunstgeschichte fördert, aber auch *wo* und in welchen schreienden Fällen sie dieselbe plötzlich im Stich läßt.'

There is no further explanation to this puzzling sentence - unfortunately Burckhardt does not give examples - but there is a hint here to an inherently ambiguous attitude to the photographic medium.

Hence, when he referred to it as a genre of art in his scholarly writing, it was often in a pointedly derogatory way. Already in the 1860s he laments that the uneducated layperson is looking only for an 'as realistic as possible photographic rendering of the sensually pleasing' in the sense of 'the pretty à la keepsake'.[473] Even more explicitly, in 1874, he claims that Dutch seventeenth-century painters 'produce an image . . . of their national identity [*Volkstum*] which stands equally high above a mere photograph as their landscapes stand above the mere photographic depiction of the real Dutch landscape views'.[474] 'Mere' photography is neither capable of capturing the 'inner life' of paintings or landscapes nor of triggering the viewer's *Phantasie* as it is, in fact, too realistic, or hyperreal. Burckhardt thus seems not to regard photography as an art form equal to painting, sculpture or architecture. Different to Emerson, he thus must have valued particularly those aspects of it which distinguished it from an imitation of the human gaze - if this is what he expected art to do, as the statement on Dutch landscape painting indicates. In the second part of his sentence, it is the 'real Dutch landscape views' - what is viewed or looked at thus - that are superior to their photographic representation.

Scale, focus and the whole

Methodically, and within the use as documentary aide, Burckhardt seems to have valued photographs most for their capacity to isolate and point to certain features of objects. In a letter from Rome in spring of 1875, he promises his architect friend Max Alioth a 'modest, but speaking photograph, a lateral view of the staircase of

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[473] Burckhardt, *Aesthetik der bildenden Kunst*, p. 58: 'das Ideal der Meisten ist die möglichst realistische, photographische Wiedergabe dessen was Jedem sinnlich angenehm däucht, wobei sie einen erbärmlichen Maßstab an den Tag legen und sich mit manierirter Übertreibung des Hübschen à la keepsake zum besten halten lassen, auch nur Einzelnes überhaupt zu ästimiren im Stande sind und die Gesamterzählung eigentlich wiederwillig in Kauf nehmen.'

[474] Jacob Burckhardt, 'Über die niederländische Genremalerei', in *Jacob Burckhardt: Vorträge, 1844-1887*, ed. by Emil Dürr, 2nd edn (Basel: Benno Schwabe & Co, 1918), p. 64: 'Was sie [niederländische Maler im 17. Jh.] hervorbringen ist ein Bild, aber ein sehr freies und selbstgewähltes, ihres Volkstums, das ebenso hoch über einer bloßen Photographie steht als ihre Landschaften über dem bloßen photographischen Abbild der wirklichen niederländischen Landschaftsanblicke.'

the Palazzo Madama in Turin' (probably the one shown in fig. 4).[475] This photograph seems to reveal more than the building itself through its capacity to 'speak' - presumably through the choice of viewpoint and the use of a wide angle lens. Elsewhere, Burckhardt alludes to the fact that photographic images can be enlarged, or investigated with a magnifying glass, thus revealing smaller details invisible to the human eye - something largely impossible in most paintings. Such manipulations play with any sense of scale - so important in the establishing of modes of perception as we have seen in both Evelyn and Goethe's writing.


3 Frescos in the *Camera degli Sposi* by Mantegna, Mantua
(original photograph from Burckhardt's collection)

In his essay 'The Portrait', Burckhardt claims that the heads in Mantegna's fifteenth-century frescos in the *Camera degli Sposi* in Mantua were 'only to be recognised and enjoyed completely in detail photographs' (fig. 3).[476] In the same

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[475] Burckhardt, *Briefe an einen Architekten, 1870-1889*, p. 10: 'ich bringe für Sie eine nur geringe, aber sprechende Photographie mit, die Seitenansicht der Treppe von Pal. Madama in Turin!' (16 April 1875)

[476] Jacob Burckhardt, 'Das Altarbild, Das Porträt in der Malerei, Die Sammler: Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte von Italien', in *Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 6, Jacob Burckhardt-Stiftung (Basel: C.H. Beck, 2000-), p. 193: 'Die einzelnen besterhaltenen Köpfe beider Wände mit ihrer herrlichen freien Auffassung und sichern Aehnlichkeit - der geistigen und seelischen - . . . sind vielleicht erst in den Einzelphotographien völlig zu erkennen und zu genießen.'

essay, discussing some of Bellini's large and rather populated paintings, he emphasizes again that 'not the originals, only the detail photographs render the complete impression'.[477] It seems plausible that the art historian would detect certain features of the art work only after meticulous study - impossible perhaps on site - sitting at his desk and working through the photograph with a magnifying glass. Indeed, Burckhardt describes doing exactly this in a letter to Wölfflin in 1896.[478]
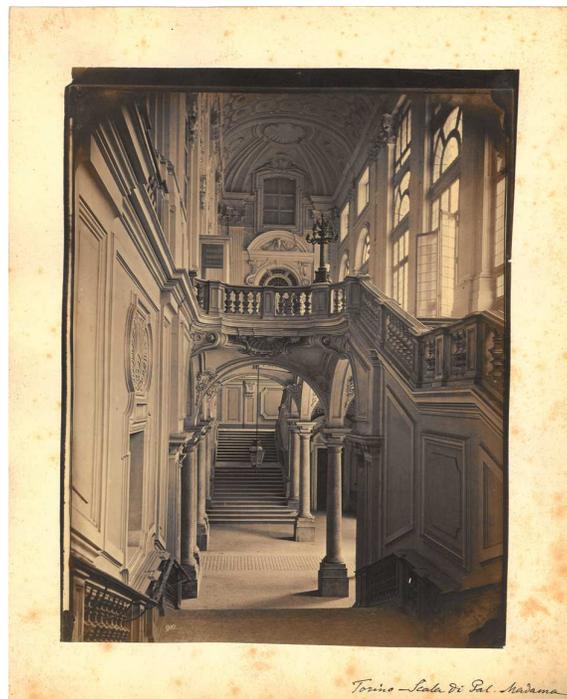
4 Palazzo Madama in Turin (original photograph from Burckhardt's collection)

Thus, Burckhardt and others used the photograph to manipulate parameters of both scale and focus - zooming into and out of the hyperreal image, highlighting certain aspects while fading out others, apparently independent from the shortcomings of human vision, attention and memory. This attitude seems to have been inherent to

[477] Burckhardt, 'Das Altarbild, Das Porträt in der Malerei, Die Sammler', p. 201: 'Nicht die Originale, erst die Theilphotographien geben hievon den vollständigen Eindruck.'
[478] Gantner (ed.), *Jacob Burckhardt und Heinrich Wölfflin*, p. 155; see also Stiegler, *Philologie des Auges*, p. 32

the idea of the photographic image from the very start. As early as 1839, an Austrian journalist referred to the daguerreotype as an 'in size reduced reflection of the depicted object'.[479] This 'scaling' then is related but very different from that which we have observed in Evelyn's and Goethe's looking. Burckhardt neither disregards fixed scales, as Evelyn did, nor does he create mental images, graphically impossible but fixed in one scale, as Goethe had strived for. Rather, he disrespects any real-space coordinates, including the standpoint of the observer and the position of the object, and reconstructs an artificial gaze, through a lens, onto a hyperreal viewing pane, the photograph.

It is however puzzling that Burckhardt, while implicitly praising the photograph's scaling and focusing abilities, emphasizes a completeness of the impression in the description of both Mantegna's frescos as well as Bellini's painting. It is precisely the scaling and focusing which turns the photographic image into a partial and incomplete representation - or surrogate - of the original. It is single photographs, out of context, that reveal 'complete' enjoyment and impression - and, more, they seem do so while on-site perception of the originals might fail in it. What can this mean in the context of Burckhardt's model of art perception? I would propose that, to attain an aesthetic response, Burckhardt relied on a focused, even isolating vision - an exclusion of the periphery, a sort of tunnel vision perhaps, distorted in a way. 'Complete' here, then, means not so much optically complete but, rather, aesthetically. Human vision as such, in face of the original, was too fleeting, too unstable and agitated to leave space for this response. Burckhardt needed to freeze the retinal image by means of the photograph, to bring the eyes to a halt in their continuous movement. As Marien has claimed,

> The photograph as an exterior, artificial retina seemed to reflect the desire to immobilize and intellectualize discrete images rather than render the flux of optical reality.[480]

The photograph thus reveals more than the original, more than reality - it seems hyperreal - but, simultaneously, it is, as a whole, unable to trigger imagination. In this sense, the photographic detail takes over a similar role as the description of the

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[479] *Allgemeine Theater-Zeitung*, Wien, 29 August 1839. Quoted in Stiegler, *Philologie des Auges*, p. 25: 'verkleinerte Spiegelbilder des dargestellten Gegenstandes'
[480] Marien, *Photography and Its Critics*, p. 6

column in the *Cicerone* - an extreme focus on parts, as well as a stopping of the naturally wandering gaze, to enable the aesthetic perception of the whole of a building. This, to me, seems to be what Burckhardt turned photography into - a means to substitute, even enhance, optical vision in absence of the real object. The photograph, for Burckhardt, is thus not a surrogate for the object but, rather, for one part of perception, the outer eye - the artificial retina.

Monocular vs. binocular

Linking to the discussion of monocular vision above, we will now, for a moment, consider the fact that Burckhardt - as Evelyn - mostly uses the singular form in his metaphorical references to the eye: he hardly ever speaks of 'eyes' or a 'pair of eyes' but rather applies one single eye to guide his reader's wandering gaze. Although this might be partly idiomatic, a common turn of phrase, it still expresses a certain idealisation and abstraction that becomes meaningful when considered in the context of the contemporary rivalry between monocular and binocular vision, between photograph and stereograph. In fact, scientific interest in space perception seems to have been particularly high between 1840 and 1864, especially in German-speaking academia, but declined thereafter with the focus shifting towards the convergence of the two retinal images of left and right eye. Besides a debate between nativist and empiricist approaches - whether space perception is innate or learned - various models for the merging of the two retinal images were presented. Scientists such as Herman von Helmholtz, Ewald Hering or Johannes Müller developed scenarios in which the two images were suggested to be merged in the mind either through corresponding lines or a grid on the retinas.[481]

Even if Burckhardt was not aware of these developments, and some of them occurred after his writing of the *Cicerone*, a general influence of the contemporary preoccupation with the fact that we see with two eyes is not irrelevant to Burckhardt's ideas about perception. It was also in the same period that the concept of space as it is understood and practised today in architecture was mainly developed.[482] The term *Raum* (German for both 'space' and 'room') in this sense

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[481] See Turner, 'Paradigms and Productivity', pp. 53-55
[482] For a detailed history of the term space see Forty, *Words and Buildings*, pp. 256-75; and Collins, *Changing Ideals in Modern Architecture, 1750-1950*, pp. 285-93

emerged first among German art historians in the nineteenth century, first among them Gottfried Semper with whom Burckhardt had taught in Zurich and with whom he remained in contact long after. Semper's *Der Stil* appeared in 1860 and it was here, as Adrian Forty has pointed out, that he proposed that 'spatial enclosure was *the* fundamental property of architecture'.[483] It seems too rare a coincidence that scientists and an architectural historian were simultaneously considering such parallel issues regarding concepts of space, to not be linked in some way at least.

Burckhardt, however, almost stubbornly seems to ignore this field, his architectural descriptions never explicitly refer to any aspects of 'space' or enclosure in the modern sense. His 'eye' - singular - seems to perceive in two-dimensions with another dimension added only by his *Phantasie*, the imagination. In his 1867 treatise on stereoscopy, Ruete also made this link between an imagining force and three-dimensionality. In his writing, it is the 'soul' (*Seele*) which takes over the task of coordinating the two retinal images produced by the pair of eyes. This soul, he describes, is 'both guiding, receiving as well as itself active, creating' and, moreover, it is independent from the purely physiological seeing of the eyes.[484] Importantly, the soul is here also the main acting power in the merging of the two retinal images; he gives an exact account of how the soul decides which eye to use for what.[485] It becomes thus possible to create a link between Burckhardt's belief in the *Phantasie* as the main force both in art reception as well as creation, his use of photography to focus and freeze the gaze and, finally, a contemporary increasing awareness of the difference between two- and three-dimensionality in both perception as well as representation.

As a consequence, there emerges here some sort of two-dimensional seeing, a requirement for art-historical and thus objective evaluation and judgment, which is easier to execute through photography than in real space with real objects. Rosalind E. Krauss, in her essay 'Photography's Discursive Spaces', seems to relive this in a mesmerizing description of an 1868 photograph by Timothy O'Sullivan showing rock formations in a lake in Nevada. She describes how the 'flattening' of

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[483] Forty, *Words and Buildings*, p. 257
[484] Ruete, *Das Stereoscop*, p. 1:'Die Seele ist also der Aussenwelt gegenüber sowol leitend, empfangend, als selbst thätig, schaffend.' Ruete, *Das Stereoscop*, p. 74: 'Aus allem bisher Gesagten geht also unzweifelhaft hervor, dass die Seele bei den Sinneswahrnehmungen, namentlich aber beim Acte des Sehens in einer von den reinen Sinneseindrücken unabhängigen Weise thätig ist;'
[485] Ruete, *Das Stereoscop*, p. 65

space that occurs in the photograph creates 'hallucinatory', 'unreal and dreamlike' experiences. The three-dimensional volumes of the rocks appear 'merely as shape' which 'flatten into the . . . hypnotically seen but two-dimensionally experienced order'.[486] Earlier in the essay, she describes the stereographic experience as derived from a 'kind of tunnel vision' which is created in the 'ideal isolation' of the binocular eyepiece blocking out the observer's real surroundings. In this 'stereoscopic tunnel', the eyes need to refocus constantly on the different layers creating the illusion of depth and perspective. The eyes' muscles are thus tricked; they behave as if they were looking into real space. Exactly this trick was already expressed by the chemist T. F. Hardwich in 1863 when he wrote that 'the image of objects which are in front of the mirror [of the refraction stereoscope], appears to be *behind* the mirror'.[487]

Burckhardt's belief that a 'complete impression' was derived from detail photographs, zoomed in and highlighting certain aspects while blocking out others, thus seems to correspond to such a tunnel vision, an extreme focus that prevents spatial vision, similar to the effect of squinting, in which each eye produces a separate image which cannot be merged by the brain into one and thus makes depth perception impossible. When Burckhardt contemplated photographs such as the one of Mantegna's frescos or Bellini's paintings, he might have, unconsciously, regarded them as that which each one of his eyes would sense before the merging of the two retinal images in the brain. As Ruete, Burckhardt might not have placed this 'merging' in the brain but rather in an imaginative, creative faculty - or, more probable - the mind was for him such a faculty, both rational and creative.

Photography thus confirmed Burckhardt's notion of inner and outer vision, optical and aesthetic and it enhanced his aesthetic concept by establishing the necessity to halt vision, to freeze one retinal image - before it became merged, interpreted and thus rendered subjective by the mind - in order to then subject it to imagination. In the whole of an object, it thus seems difficult to discern the aura of an artwork - such aesthetic apperception requires the isolating still focus on the

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[486] Rosalind E. Krauss, 'Photography's Discursive Spaces', in *The Originality of the Avant-Garde and Other Modernist Myths* (Cambridge, Mass., London: MIT Press, 1985), pp. 131, 135

[487] T. F. Hardwich, *Manual der photographischen Chemie mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Collodien-Verfahrens* (Berlin: Theobald Grieben, 1863), p. 92: 'Das Princip dieses Instrumentes [Wheatstone's Reflexions-Stereoskop] ist so: Das Bild von Gegenständen, die vor dem Spiegel sind, scheint *hinter* dem Spiegel zu sein.'

part, flattening the impression to make space, as it were, for the completing force of *Phantasie*. Any representation, whether verbal or photographic, that should serve as art historical description needs to imitate, to substitute, such a focused optical vision. Representations which attempt to render the whole at once would, conversely, seem suspect and possibly distorted - but definitely too subjective to render an object for art historical purposes. As Stiegler has remarked, 'photography as a simulacrum of nature is equally mute as nature herself. Only the eye of the observer makes her speak.'[488]

Importantly, I do not argue here that Burckhardt placed the photograph, or rather its study, over that of the original object - he often enough professed the absolute necessity of first-hand experience of art, not least in the preface to the *Cicerone* but also elsewhere.[489] Instead, I propose that his preference for detail shots and enlargements, chronologically later than the *Cicerone*, show that the distinction between outer and inner vision, optical and aesthetic perception, remained of constant importance throughout his art historical writing practice. He seems to have completely embedded the new medium of photography in it and actually employed it to develop this concept of perception further. The photographic hyperreality thus reinforced and confirmed an already established model of perception - in a way it only made it all the more apparent and, perhaps, relieved the art historical observer of the need to 'squint', as it were, in front of the real object in the attempt to see objectively rather than subjectively.

Pure and hyperreal seeing

In this chapter I have discussed three different ways of writing about and describing architecture and placed these in their respective historical contexts. Highlighting optical as well as epistemological tools prevailing at each moment, I

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[488] Stiegler, *Philologie des Auges*, p. 30: 'Dabei ist die Photographie als Simulakrum der Natur ebenso stumm wir die Natur selbst. Erst das Auge des Betrachters bringt sie zum Sprechen.'

[489] See Jacob Burckhardt, *Briefe*, vol. 9, p. 330, letter to Friedrich von Preen, Basel, 28 December 1891: 'Aus dem noch immer von mir schmerzlich geliebten Italien lasse ich mir Stöße von Photographien kommen, es ist aber nicht das Gleiche wie der einst reichlich genossene unmittelbare Anblick.'

have shown how the three authors conceived the act of perception and articulated this in verbal constructs. Particular attention was paid, at each historical moment, to attitudes towards questions of proportion, scale, monocular versus binocular vision, space, optical illusions, transcendental forces, as well as definitions of the real.

John Evelyn, as a virtuoso and what we would now call an amateur scientist, shows in his description of Genoa that his senses as well as intellect are used to perceiving different scales simultaneously. Capable of perceiving the close and far at once, he collapses time and space in his writing, mimicking the act of looking through a microscope or magnifying glass. In this, he maintains the concept of proportional scale as it was newly developed at the time, arguably stimulated in part by optical experiences through scale-changing lenses and the necessity to represent the observed accurately and proportionately in order to allow for comparative analysis. At the same time, Evelyn established a perceptual distinction between world, eye and mind as manifested by the camera obscura.

A century later, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe embarked on his Bildungsreise to Italy with the expressed purpose of training his senses. He conceived of a 'pure' seeing that would enable inanimate objects to 'speak' to him, thus giving him the words with which to describe them in an unmediated, direct way. Having achieved this state of pure and passive vision, Goethe overcomes his frustration with the prevailing mechanical and overly coherent world view of Enlightenment scholars as represented in the encyclopaedias of the time. He is now able to integrate his 'mechanical' knowledge with his 'pure' perception, reconciling an empirical with a rational approach to architecture. In some descriptions, he maintains carefully fixed scales - indeed seems to congeal the view - while evoking 'mental images' transcending any graphic representation but, simultaneously, revealing the inherent subjectivity of perception. His work on colour theory and after-images has served to underline these findings as well as to reveal his emphasis of the viewing subject.

Jacob Burckhardt, in the nineteenth-century art guide *The Cicerone*, treated artworks strictly as objects that required animation through the act of perception and thus created an important characteristic of art historical writing. His text stands in for the reader's perception making use of the eye as a stylistic device as well as epistemological tool. He divides vision into outer (physiological, intuitive,

automatic, optical) and inner (restoring, empathetic, aesthetic) - a distinction probably derived from this use of photography and the accompanying physiological debates. The photograph as artificial retina appears for Burckhardt to contain a hyperreal representation of reality, which cannot be fully perceived through binocular and therefore subjective human vision. For his art historical work, he seems to require an artificial gaze which is deconstructed, as it were, through the abolition of binocular vision, a tunnel vision excluding the blurred periphery and the possibility of seemingly endless enlargement and focus on details. In short, it is the gaze through a lens onto a hyperreal viewing pane, the photograph.

On the whole, all three authors are, in one way or another, concerned with rendering a pure vision into words, and in this, they show an increasing awareness and preconception with the physiological process of human perception. Influenced by tools such as the microscope, the encyclopaedia and the photograph, as well as contemporary scientific currents, they assign specific roles to knowledge and intuition within their concepts of perception of the world in general and architecture in particular. Ultimately, all three deviate in their verbal descriptions of architecture from the representation of any 'pure' vision, each finding his own way to integrate whatever it is that they feel is superimposed upon this physiological image. They each do this by learning from, or incorporating, new tools that had essentially changed modes of perception at that specific moment. Evelyn, Goethe as well as Burckhardt seem, however, to be convinced that it is only in language, that their sensual and intellectual impressions, if they can be separated at all, can be represented adequately. All three authors give greater weight to verbal over pictorial representation - they all appear to believe that words are closer to the mind's process of seeing and perceiving.

5

Reading Lists, Guides and Novels:
Visual Description in Defoe, Smollett and the Country-House Guidebook (1719-1771)

Throughout this thesis, I have employed the term 'description' - perhaps somewhat uncritically - in a very specific way. With 'description' I have always meant what the *OED* defines as the 'action of setting forth in words by mentioning recognizable features or characteristic marks; verbal representation or portraiture'.[490] Implicitly, description is therefore understood to refer directly to the perceived object as it is verbally represented or 'portrayed' in a 'recognizable' way. In the second chapter, we have already seen that such a visual practice of describing has not always existed but rather evolved in the early modern period in conjunction with a larger reordering of material cultures. In the present chapter, I trace the development of this practice further in eighteenth-century novels and topographical writings in order to reconsider the very notion of what description can be and, more importantly, has been.

Scholars generally agree that the role of description in what is now referred to as 'literature' has undergone dramatic changes over the last centuries with a turning point consistently located in the 1700s. One argument is that verbal description in the context of narrative became more visual - a development that seems to have followed onto the parallel one within late seventeenth-century

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[490] See entry for 'description, *n.*', in *Oxford English Dictionary Online* <http://dictionary.oed.com> [accessed 12 December 2010]

natural philosophy discussed in previous chapters.[491] Later writers made extensive use of the newly available means of realistic representation in accounts of both imagined as well as authentic events. Here, I will trace these changes to description as well as its status, content and methods in order to define concurrent developments of perception. Largely disregarding modern genre distinctions, this chapter will explore descriptions of objects and spaces in a set of novels, epistolary travelogues and guidebooks - categories that would at the time have mixed more easily than today.

If, as has been argued in literary studies, description in early novels was non-visual and required readers to share the author's cultural background, topographical writing began at the same time to let the reader share the author's field of vision. While the origins of the novel as a fictional genre in the early 1700s have been suggested to lie in a need for realistic representation, they also fall into a time when reading underwent drastic changes - indeed, the novel emerged at least partly through the very existence of a certain type of middle class readership. Readers and the act of reading began to have a particular impact on the production and reception of verbal representations of architecture as well as the consumption of its subjects - buildings and gardens. I will show how silent reading increasingly superseded the performative reading aloud so that the reader began to rely more and more on the imagined voice of the author guiding the reader's imagination. Imagination itself became a concept fundamental to models of the mind and the workings of perception. Description began to imitate perception and thus follow the understanding of the mind articulated by contemporary philosophers.

This chapter is divided into three sections each concerned with one specific state of description - and therefore perception - in the continuum of eighteenth-century culture. The first opens with a short discussion of description, narrative and fiction in order to outline the conditions of writing at the time in opposition to today's literary categories. An exploration of early eighteenth-century writings of Daniel Defoe, hailed as a pioneer of the novel, will serve to understand what description was before it became visual. I will show that the listing and naming of objects in Defoe's writing is a manner of description which relies on shared

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[491] See, for instance, Simon Varey, *Space and the Eighteenth-Century English Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); or Wall, *The Prose of Things*

meanings and connotations. Later texts by Defoe start to show the loss of such firm contexts of things and places and the ensuing deficit in perception - by offering a contextualising and visual description. The second part presents the rise of a new genre in the mid 1700s, the country-house guidebook and the ways in which these publications propagated a critical-comparative perception which directed and instructed the tourist on what and how to see. Particularly, the routes defined by guidebooks and the option of multiple standpoints will be investigated. The third section finally focuses on visual description and the ways the author-viewer makes the reader-viewer see. Contextualising writings by Tobias Smollett of the 1760s and 70s, I will show that the preoccupation of contemporary philosophers with the workings of the mind directly influenced the way objects were described and perceived. Smollett employs in these texts distinct modes of description and defines through them the characters of his novels.

Describing by naming in Daniel Defoe's writings

As I have argued in chapter two, describing things in words, as we rely on it today, has not been something that writers have always been capable of. This function of language seems to have evolved slowly and via different routes. As it seems self-evident to us today that description is visual, there are other modern preconceptions which need to be addressed in order to understand what happened to perception and description in the 1700s.

For instance, in twentieth-century theory, language became associated with a seemingly inevitable fictitiousness. As Roland Barthes writes in *Camera Lucida*,

> It is the misfortune (but also perhaps the voluptuous pleasure) of language not to be able to authenticate itself. The *noeme* of language is perhaps this impotence, or, to put it positively: language is, by nature, fictional; the attempt to render language unfictional requires an

enormous apparatus of measurements; we convoke logic, or, lacking that, sworn oath;[492]

Barthes links language directly to fiction and thus potential untruthfulness and opposes it to the inevitable truthfulness of modern media such as photography. However, this chapter will show that this inherently fictional character of language has been far from historically stable. It was in the eighteenth century that fiction and authenticity had to negotiate, as it were, a new way to coexist in prose. Equally, as Terry Eagleton has observed, the term literature - today so closely linked to fiction referring exclusively to 'creative' or 'imaginative' works - was perceived very differently in the early modern period. Then, Eagleton asserts, 'literature' included 'the whole body of valued writing in society: philosophy, history, essays and letters as well as poems'. Fiction and non-fiction would therefore not have appeared as distinct categories - indeed, people at the time were simply not bothered by such differences. To be recognized as 'literature' a text had to, as Eagleton states, obey to certain rules of 'polite letters' rather than fulfil any creative or imaginative demands; scientific writings, letters, diaries and travelogues could, therefore, be all of literary quality.[493]

It was only in hindsight and with categories such as fiction and non-fiction in mind that twentieth-century literary historians have identified the genres of the 'romance' and the 'novel' in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Michael McKeon, in *The Origins of the English Novel*, deplores the way in which twentieth-century literary historians were affected by 'a particularly virulent form of taxonomic disease' and asserts 'a growing impulse to make the dyad 'romance/history' stand for an all-but-absolute dichotomy between opposed ways of knowing the world'.[494] In contrast, in the early modern period, the terms 'romance' and 'novel' were mostly used without much distinction and were not much differentiated from 'history'. If distinctions between fact and fiction in the 1600s and 1700s thus seem blurred to us, such an ambiguity did not necessarily pose a problem for the inhabitants of that time. Both factual and fictional writing were

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[492] Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, translated by Richard Howard (London: Vintage, 2000), pp. 85-87
[493] Terry Eagleton, *Literary Theory: An Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989), p. 17
[494] Michael McKeon, *The Origins of the English Novel, 1600-1740* (Baltimore, London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), p. 25

treated equally, were perceived, read and criticized through the same apparatus of style and taste. Keeping these reflections in mind, we will now turn to Defoe's writings, both fictional and factual.

Defoe's Robinson Crusoe

Conventionally, literary historians place the novel as succeeding the romance at some point in the early eighteenth century, in an English context most commonly associated with the writings of Daniel Defoe (c.1660-1731) and most famously his travelogue-novel *Robinson Crusoe* from 1719. McKeon argues that the new genre of the novel is entwined closely with, and perhaps developed partly from, both travel writing and historiography.[495] Accordingly, an increasing desire to represent an awareness of time and space on a larger scale, surpassing immediate bodily referents, seems to have constituted a founding condition for the genre. In the long term, I would add, this must have emphasized the need for visual descriptions in narrative.

Daniel Defoe, born in London probably in 1660, the year of the Restoration and the foundation of the Royal Society, came to writing only after a failed career in the shipping and brick industries and short spells in prison for bankruptcy. After having published a wide variety of texts, he turned to journalism and founded the *The Review* in 1704. As Paula R. Backscheider writes, he soon started to use 'memoirs, fake journals and letters, and other forms borrowed from prose fiction' - an early sign for the feigned demands for authenticity that recurred in his novels.[496] In his first novel, the two-volume *Robinson Crusoe*, Defoe constructs the story of a disobedient son who follows the irresistible call of the seas to finally strand alone on a far-away island. In it, Defoe addresses economical and political subjects such as colonialism and good government as well as religious and social questions. Adapting one of the bestselling book types of his times, the travelogue, for his fictional writing, Defoe shows himself intimately aware of the tastes and

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[495] McKeon, *The Origins of the English Novel, 1600-1740*, p. 40
[496] Paula R. Backscheider, 'Defoe, Daniel (1660?-1731)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7421> [accessed 18 July 2010]

expectations of his readers - a later edition even contained a map and several plates like an authentic travel account.[497]

In the seminal 1957 *The Rise of the Novel: Studies in Defoe, Richardson and Fielding*, Ian P. Watt, like McKeon and other subsequent literary critics, identified a potentially realistic plot as a primary characteristic of the novel.[498] Accordingly, the novel contains a story that might be true, that the reader can relate to and believe as potentially true - in fact it seems that with the novel, the role of the reader becomes more central and perhaps genre defining. Linguistically, Watt emphasizes the 'referential' character of novel writing; the genre, in other words, is held to rely on representational language that links it closely to the real world.[499] At the same time, however, *Robinson Crusoe* and other early novels have prompted comments regarding the absence of 'description' in them. Dorothy Van Ghent, Watt's contemporary, has claimed in *The English Novel: Form and Function* that Defoe's novels are 'made up to a large extent of *things*' lacking any 'physical, sensuous textures'. On the contrary, she maintains that they depend merely on the 'counting, measuring, pricing, weighing, and evaluating of the things in terms of the wealth they represent and the social status they imply'.[500] Van Ghent and other critics seem to have regarded Defoe's descriptions as mere lists which ignore any perceptual qualities of objects.

However, David Trotter recently formulated a rather different view of Defoe's descriptions. What seems to cause these opposed positions is the very understanding of the term 'description': if Van Ghent, among others, claims that description does not exist in Defoe's early novels, that things are listed but not described, Trotter argues that it is precisely these non-visual lists that form a type of description. He explains this by means of Robinson Crusoe's reaction to being the sole survivor of a shipwreck. Robinson, in one long sentence, exclaims here:

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[497] See Daniel Defoe, *The Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe: Being the second and Last Part of his Life, And of the Strange Surprizing Accounts of his Travels Round three Parts of the Globe. Written by Himself. To which is added a Map of the World, in which is Delineated the Voyages of Robinson Crusoe.* (London: printed for W. Taylor at the Ship in Pater-Noster-Row, 1719). The map is located after the prefatory matter.

[498] See Ian P. Watt, *The Rise of the Novel: Studies in Defoe, Richardson and Fielding* (London: Hogarth, 1987, c1957), pp. 31-32

[499] Watt, *The Rise of the Novel*, pp. 30-32

[500] Dorothy van Ghent, *The English Novel: Form and Function*, 11th edn (New York, NY: Harper & Row, 1976), pp. 33, 35

> I walked about on the shore, lifting up my hands, and my whole being, as I may say, wrapped up in the contemplation of my deliverance, making a thousand gestures and motions which I cannot describe, reflecting upon all my comrades that were drowned and that there should not be one soul saved but myself; for, as for them, I never saw them afterwards, or any sign of them, except three of their hats, one cap, and two shoes that were not fellows.[501]

Trotter comments on this passage:

> Crusoe's narrative cannot encompass a state of mind which, having neither a past nor a future, is not strictly narratable. . . . As narrative fails, description takes over. The bits and pieces obtrude. A description of bits and pieces is concerned with neither memory nor desire. It insists on the presence of the present.[502]

Trotter has chosen a moment in the novel in which narrative, the telling of a story in a sequence, collapses and description rescues that same story by accurately listing 'bits and pieces'. In Van Ghent's view, description seems to have to be visual: the mere naming of a thing would therefore not constitute description which must substitute or at least supplement the name, the sign, by an account of how it is *perceived*. Trotter, on the other hand, accepts a list as a form of description and claims that it is precisely the distinction between narrative - as telling - and description - as naming - that enables Defoe to convey Robinson's particular state of mind:

> Narrative keeps fresh the capacity for memory and desire which, in turn, freshens narrative. What is kept fresh by the description of bits and pieces of clothing, or kept sour by it, is something else again: melancholy perhaps. The hats, the cap and the shoes are not there *for* anyone. They don't ask to be inspected. It matters little whom they appear to, and there is no sense to be made of them. This is what the world looks like when there is no one there to see it.[503]

Description in this sense is *not* necessarily visual. It does *not* need to account for what its creator sees but rather *how* he sees. In fact, here 'there is no sense to be made' because 'there is no one there to see'. And in those cases in which description does not say what a thing *looks like*, it becomes adept at fulfilling very different tasks than when it is.

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[501] Daniel Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe* (London: Penguin Books, 1994), p. 50
[502] David Trotter, 'McTeague's Tooth', *London Review of Books* (20 November 2003), p. 26
[503] Trotter, 'McTeague's Tooth', p. 26

The forlorn hat and mismatching shoes on Robinson's island are soon joined by many more things - this time brought purposefully by Robinson himself. In the aftermath of the storm that first caused the shipwreck, Robinson ventures out to the stranded ship to 'save some necessary things'.[504] Eleven times he swims out and brings back various items on a makeshift raft - several of these excursions are described and the scavenged items listed meticulously. The novel is essentially a list of things and events, the latter often driven by the first. Wolfram Schmidgen has linked this enumerative technique to the 'accounting habits of modern economic man' and claims that 'the concreteness of the objects is sharply reduced as they almost completely lack individuating characteristics'.[505] None of the tools and items brought back to shore are described visually but only through the use they are of to Robinson in his quest for survival. And as these uses are familiar to any contemporary reader, these objects do not need to be individualized.

Trotter opposes two terms here, that of narrative and that of description. In *The Cambridge Introduction to Narrative*, H. Porter Abbott claims that narrative 'is so much a part of the way we apprehend the world in time that it is virtually built in to the way we see'.[506] Even more succinctly, he adds:

> wherever we look in this world, we seek to grasp what we see not just in space but in time as well. Narrative gives us this understanding; it gives us what could be called shapes of time. Accordingly, our narrative perception stands ready to be activated in order to give us a frame or context for even the most static and uneventful scenes. And without understanding the narrative, we often feel we don't understand what we see.[507]

However, if perception relies on a narrative mode of some form, it must be near to impossible, must it not, for description to exist as a pure linguistic format on its own? If we see in a 'narrative' way, if our perception seemingly automatically makes us put observed objects into a sequence of events, then it seems a hard task to describe something without this 'narrative' mode. Description and narrative appear therefore unable to exist apart from each other.

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[504] Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*, p. 52

[505] Wolfram Schmidgen, 'Robinson Crusoe, Enumeration, and the Mercantile Fetish', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 35.1 (2001), pp. 21-22

[506] H. P. Abbott, *The Cambridge Introduction to Narrative*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 6

[507] Abbott, *The Cambridge Introduction to Narrative*, p. 10

In the early modern period, this was, however, not necessarily the case. Francis Bacon, writing in his *Advancement of Learning*, distinguished between two types of poetry:

> The *Narrative* is a mere imitation of history, with the excesses before remembered; choosing for subject commonly wars and love, rarely state, and sometimes pleasure or mirth. *Representative* is as a visible history; and is an image of actions as if they were present[508]

'Narrative' here refers to history as the past whereas 'representative' denotes a 'visible history' - the present - and is consequently the more descriptive. 'History' for Bacon would have meant something much broader than for us today, as we have seen before in discussions of 'natural histories' in the first two chapters. In fact, until at least the late eighteenth century, the meaning of 'history' seems to have been nearly indistinguishable from that of 'narrative' as a sequence of events.[509] As Bacon emphasizes, it is the temporal location of these events that is crucial for his distinction between narrative and representative (or descriptive). The first is clearly in the past while the second stays in the present and thus closer to the speaker in temporal terms. Importantly, they exist apart from each other, each firmly established as poetic form.

Still in Samuel Johnson's famous dictionary from 1755, the entries for 'narration' and 'description' paint a similar picture: while the former is defined as 'Account; relation; history' or 'Storytelling; apt to relate things past', Johnson gives the meaning of the latter as the 'act of describing or making out any person or thing by perceptible properties'. Indeed, further entries for 'description' show a somewhat pejorative attitude towards it in a literary context when Johnson writes that it is a 'lax definition' and the 'sentence or passage in which anything is described'.[510] The poet John Dryden is quoted with one of the examples advising that,

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[508] Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning*, p. 83

[509] See entry for 'history, *n*.', §1, in *Oxford English Dictionary Online* <http://dictionary.oed.com> [accessed 12 December 2010]

[510] See entry for 'NARRA'TION. *n. f.*' and 'NA'RRATIVE. *adj.*' in Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language: in which the words are deduced from their originals, illustrated in their different significations by examples from the best writers. To which are prefixed, a history of the language, and an english grammar*, 2nd edn, (London: printed by W. Strathan, For J. and P. Knapton; T. and T. Longman; C. Hitch and L. Hawes; A. Millar; and R. and J. Dodsley, 1755), vol. 2; also the entry for 'DESCRI'PTION. *n.f.*' in Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language*, vol. 1

> A poet must refuse all tedious and unnecessary *descriptions*: a robe which is too heavy, is less an ornament than a burthen.[511]

In other words, descriptions, which give the 'perceptible properties' of things, are to be avoided in poetry unless they are absolutely necessary - a very different attitude to that expressed by Abbott today. In fact, Johnson himself warns that description suspends the flow of narrative and claims that the 'mind is refrigerated by interruption' in effect boring the reader.[512] Description in early novels was therefore expected to be absent - or, rather, expressed in other than visual terms, as Trotter has argued.

Like Trotter, also other critics have recently reconsidered Defoe's descriptive method. Simon Varey, in his *Space and the Eighteenth-Century English Novel*, claims that instead of being concerned with describing places and spaces perceived as wholes, Defoe is only interested in making them appear at the moment and in the way that they are used by his characters. When Robinson, as many of Defoe's main characters, takes over the role of narrator, he records events, persons and places as he encounters them during his various activities. His descriptions rely, as Varey claims, on a 'personal form of exploitation of urban spaces'.[513] Referring to Defoe's *A Journal of the Plague Year* (1722) he writes,

> Defoe's narrator is a more detached, cool observer, noticing communal activity but not participating in it. The space is generic, as spaces in Defoe's London often are: his is not a city to be described for its own sake by someone who is swept along by its turbulent waves of noisy activity.[514]

London, which Defoe knew so intimately, is evoked in his novels only generically, as the typical contemporary urban environment rather than specific to one character only.

Cynthia Wall, in *The Prose of Things*, agrees with Varey in that

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[511] See entry for 'DESCRI'PTION. *n.f.*' in Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language*, vol. 1. Original in John Dryden, *The critical and miscellaneous prose works of John Dryden: now first collected, with notes and illustrations, an account of the life and writings of the author, grounded on original and authentick documents: and, a collection of his letters, the greater part of which has never before been published* (London: T. Cadell, jun. and W. Davies, 1800), vol. 3, p. 328: 'A painter must reject all trifling ornaments; so must a poet refuse all tedious and unnecessary descriptions. A robe which is too heavy is less an ornament than a burthen.'

[512] Samuel Johnson, 'Johnson on Shakespeare', in *The Yale Edition of the Works of Samuel Johnson*, vol. 7, ed. by H. W. Liebert and A. T. Hazen (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958-90), p. 111

[513] Varey, *Space and the Eighteenth-Century English Novel*, p. 147

[514] Varey, *Space and the Eighteenth-Century English Novel*, p. 138

in most of Defoe's narratives, physical objects and structures appear primarily in the immediate service of narrative action: windows appear when they need to be jumped out of, locks when they need to be locked. Things come (literally) to hand as the character requires.[515]

However, she adds that the perceptual basis of such description is a historically specific one in the sense that eighteenth-century readers and viewers understood differently how and what they read and saw compared to today's readers and viewers.[516] Throughout her book, Wall emphasizes that description per se underwent fundamental changes in the way it was integrated in prose writing. She insists that, even if visual description in the form we are used to today and which indeed became essential for prominent nineteenth-century novels by Austen, Dickens and the like, was already developed in seventeenth-century natural philosophy, it took considerable time for it to become an essential and accepted part of fiction. She argues that, as readers of seventeenth-century fiction, 'it is *our* job . . . to fill out those spaces with particular meaning; it is our *act* . . . that we fill them out with instant familiarity'.[517] Are we really meant to fill in the spaces around the hats and shoes on Robinson's deserted island?

Wall's argument is that the objects that appear in Defoe's novel function as 'reconstituted emblems - emblems reconstituted back into things for their own sake, each again a *ding-in-sich*' - a thing-in-itself.[518] As emblems, such objects do not require description; they are familiar and readable for every member of their socio-cultural realm - for instance, through their usability, as we have seen in Robinson's raids of his ship. Therefore, Wall claims, 'Defoean detail . . . gives everything required by its context and its culture'.[519] As, however, twentieth-century readers are not familiar with this context and culture, his objects appear to us 'as something with uncertain perceptual contours' which arouses 'both dim boundaries of space and an emptiness that we have been trained to see'.[520]

What is this emptiness? Is it literally the space between the objects? In a cultural way, it is exactly that. Wall suggests that what we perceive as empty spaces, 'visually barren' and undescribed, 'is, in part, simply the cultural effect of

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[515] Wall, *The Prose of Things*, p. 112
[516] Wall, *The Prose of Things*, p. 1
[517] Wall, *The Prose of Things*, p. 10
[518] Wall, *The Prose of Things*, p. 110
[519] Wall, *The Prose of Things*, p. 111
[520] Wall, *The Prose of Things*, pp. 113-14

the collapse of the memory storehouse'.[521] As readers and viewers have lost the ability to recognize things as emblems with meaning within a shared continuum of meanings and traditions, as such objects are not automatically conjured up mentally by being 'merely' listed or named, they have come to rely on visual description to fill in this emptiness. In a way, what Wall here implies is that later novelists, opposed to early ones as Defoe, described particularly the spaces in-between - and, concurrently, viewers must also have began to look more at the in-between, at the context of objects, their situations and relations to each other in both space and time. At some point in the 1700s, objects seem to have lost their fixed contexts - they were decontextualized - and viewers as well as readers became unable to place them in the right framework by merely reading their name or, indeed, only seeing them. Description became visual and vision, somehow, descriptive.

Moreover, Wall claims that description becomes inextricably interwoven with narrative - indeed I will argue that it acquires characteristics of narrative - and as such it refers purely to its direct referent.[522] When Robinson had named the carpenter's box something else had been contained in it for Defoe's readers, a whole cultural and emblematic context. As soon as this context is removed, only the tool box remains - word and referent, sign and signifier grow to be identical. An inseparable connectedness emerges here between description, perception and object that is found also in contemporary philosophical discourse as I will show below. This, ultimately, leads to description today being most often associated with visual description, rather than naming description - a condition which forms the very basis of this thesis.

Interestingly, this seems to have occurred simultaneously with a dramatic, if equally slow, transformation of reading practices. Elspeth Jajdelska argues in *Silent Reading and the Birth of the Narrator* that between the late seventeenth and the late eighteenth century a 'change from reading aloud to skilled silent reading' occurred that irretrievably altered the very concepts of both writing and reading.[523] She explains that,

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[521] Wall, *The Prose of Things*, p. 39
[522] Wall, *The Prose of Things*, p. 25
[523] Elspeth Jajdelska, *Silent Reading and the Birth of the Narrator* (Toronto, London: University of Toronto Press, 2007), p. 6

> Reading aloud creates an identification between the writer and the reader. The reader is a speaker, the writer's mouthpiece, with the writer's words in his or her mouth. Silent reading creates a different relationship between writer and reader. Instead of identifying with the writer as speaker of his or her words, the reader becomes an (internal) hearer of the writer's words.[524]

Reading as hearing, emerging at Defoe's time but not yet widely spread, relies on a form of reading which, as Jajdelska describes, is 'varied, frequent, and recreational and which takes place regularly over many years in childhood'.[525] This model stands in opposition to the kind of reading propagated by most educators and theologians of the time, which relied mainly on memorization.[526] When, however, reading becomes hearing, an individual and almost secretive conversation between author and reader is conjured up - the reader must imagine hearing the author's voice narrating the words on the pages of the novel. In a way, the close link between perception and description can perhaps only occur in such a scenario - if the reader is to re-enact the author's vision, this vision needs to be conveyed as directly as possible without the interception through a second voice of the reader as speaker. And it seems logical that a more emblematic character of things is lost or becomes unnecessary when the author can speak to the reader in such a direct and intimate way rather than through the mouth, as it were, of a speaker reading out loud. Things can become more individual, varying by small visual details, rather than conforming to a more universal meaning.

Jajdelska asserts that *Robinson Crusoe* was written for the reader as speaker - she shows in a detailed text analysis how, without the perfomative dissemination of the orator, parts of his writing such as the monologue by Robinson's father in the beginning of the novel offer the storyteller 'a marvellous opportunity for dramatization' while, for a silent reader, they 'might be somewhat boring'.[527] Such a storyteller is in her argument opposed to the 'narrator' imagined by the silent reader. Any story written to be read aloud by the storyteller, she claims, 'is fully realized only when that happens'.[528]

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[524] Jajdelska, *Silent Reading and the Birth of the Narrator*, p. 6
[525] Jajdelska, *Silent Reading and the Birth of the Narrator*, p. 22
[526] Jajdelska, *Silent Reading and the Birth of the Narrator*, pp. 34, 37
[527] Jajdelska, *Silent Reading and the Birth of the Narrator*, p. 181. The father's monologue is in Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*, pp. 9-11
[528] Jajdelska, *Silent Reading and the Birth of the Narrator*, p. 169

In later novels, description begins to be firmly integrated with narration: as Wall writes, 'the workhorse description becomes domesticated, gentrified; it moves back inside narrative, only by now inside out'.[529] 'Inside out' because description was transformed - it changed from an immediate naming and referential mode to an imitation of perception and by doing so gained a firm place within narrative. In turn, I would suggest, perception must necessarily have changed as well: such a loss of a shared 'memory storehouse' can have affected not only readers - the same must have also dramatically changed the way in which things - from small everyday objects to landscapes, buildings and cities - were looked at and made sense of. If things in fiction needed visual description, they will have required this in real life, too. But even if this brought perception and description closer together, it also caused a certain detachment of the observer from the object by making a more or less conscious introspection, an awareness of the perceptual process, necessary for both reading and viewing. Perception, consequently, comes to stand between the viewer and the object. In this sense, visual description takes the place of referential description at the moment when a deficit of perception arises - the loss of the shared references, the 'memory storehouse'.

Defoe's Tour

If Defoe, in his novels, did not use visual description in the way defined by Wall, how did he proceed in *A Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain*, first published in three volumes between 1724 and 1726, in which he turned away from fictional and towards more factual writing? All three volumes are composed as long letters, thirteen in total, supposedly giving an authentic account of Defoe's travels around England. Even if he had in fact travelled to most described places, Defoe thoroughly revised and rearranged the whole before publication - his original travels had taken place almost twenty years earlier and followed a very different route.[530] As John Evelyn, Defoe was interested in creating an immediacy

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[529] Wall, *The Prose of Things*, p. 31
[530] See John McVeagh, 'Introduction', in Daniel Defoe, 'A Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain, Volume I', in *Writings on Travel, Discovery and History by Daniel Defoe*, vol. 1, ed. by Philip N. Furbank and William R. Owens (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2001), p. 16

of description - even if his writing appears entirely different from that of the seventeenth-century diarist.

As one of Defoe's more recent editors, John McVeagh, attests, the *Tour* combines fictional with factual writing as Defoe is here 'allowing his imagination to operate within real places and events'.[531] With this factual strand in his oeuvre, Defoe placed himself in the tradition of eminent - and to some extent omnipresent - topographical writers such as William Camden whose *Britannia* was first published in 1586 with a revised edition printed as recently as 1695. However, Defoe's *Tour* stands apart from its precedents as a literary adaptation of both his own travel experiences with information taken from these earlier sources.[532]

In such a factual account everything must be description, must it not? Varey remarks that, in his novels, 'Defoe was not very interested in architecture' but instead describes London as 'primarily a social artefact, which confirms the dominion of the powerful over the weak'.[533] Largely, description in the *Tour* is similar to what Varey tells us here - it is a social and a political one. In fact, Defoe's real travels in the first decade of the eighteenth century had a deeply political background as he had been commissioned by Robert Harley, then Secretary of State, to tour the country incognito in order to observe and record the state of towns and counties. It is this fact that one person should do this by himself - rather than a group of 'inspectors' each sent to a different part - that makes Defoe's experience particular and sets his publication apart from its precedents. But it also positions it firmly as a political text - even more, one of control and power of the central authority over the whole country.[534] However, the subtitle given to the published *Tour* indicates a more leisurely and unproblematic emphasis promising *'Useful* Observations *upon the Whole*' and recommending it for 'such as desire to Travel over the Island'.[535]

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[531] McVeagh, 'Introduction', in Defoe, 'A Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain, Volume I', p. 15

[532] For a list of precedents and sources for *The Tour*, see McVeagh, 'Introduction', in Defoe, 'A Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain, Volume I', pp. 20-21; and J. H. Andrews, 'Defoe and the Sources of His 'Tour'', *The Geographical Journal*, 126.3 (1960), pp. 268-77

[533] Varey, *Space and the Eighteenth-Century English Novel*, p. 140

[534] In Scotland his brief included specifically to report on critical Union negotiations - Defoe became a 'government spy'. See McVeagh, 'Introduction', Defoe, 'A Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain, Volume I', p. 18

[535] Defoe, 'A Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain, Volume I', p. 45

Defoe organizes the *Tour* in several 'Circuits *or* Journeys' as stated on the flyleaf. The term circuit became, in the course of the eighteenth century, an essential expression, foremost used in the design of landscape gardens. Max F. Schulz describes the 'circuit walk' as an essential element of such parks as Stowe or Stourhead which possess 'a lake to circle or an outer belt of trees to follow'. He presents the walk along such a circuit as 'a paradigmatic action which lent itself to a secularized and (if you will) faintly frivolous parody of the soul's circuitous passage in this world from its earthly to heavenly home'.[536] Previously, he explains, the 'circuit' in a more religious context would have referred to the course of life as a circle, emerging from and returning to eternity. Still today, the term refers to a judge's 'circuit' around a county and in fact determines specific divisions of country dealt with by one judge.

The term 'circuit' is used by Defoe throughout all letters - he seems keen to emphasize this shape of his touring and writing stating that 'as in the Course of this Journey I shall have many Occasions to call it a Circuit, if not a Circle, so I chose to give it the Title of Circuits, in the Plural'.[537] A circuit, the *OED* tells us, is a 'line, real or imaginary, described in going round any area; the distance round; the compass, circumference, containing line or limits'.[538] It expresses hence both linearity as well as spatiality, both coordinates on a grid as well as the completeness of anything in between, limited by the line around, the circuit. It symbolizes a systematic approach to the difficulty of translating the three dimensions of real space into the two dimensions of a linear narrative - the narrating line becomes curved, the beginning meets the end and thus includes and excludes spaces. The plot is used as a tool to organize spatial experience.

This circular-spatial concept offered Defoe an ingenious method to reassemble and thus manipulate his real experiences in the *Tour*. Originally, he had travelled to Cambridge, Bury St Edmunds and the coastal towns of Essex in 1704, a year later he explored the west and south-west, the Midlands and part of Northern

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[536] Max F. Schulz, 'The Circuit Walk of the Eighteenth-Century Landscape Garden and the Pilgrim's Circuitous Progress', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 15.1 (1981), p. 3
[537] Defoe, 'A Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain, Volume I', p. 51
[538] See entry for 'circuit, *n.*', §1.a, in *Oxford English Dictionary Online* <http://dictionary.oed.com> [accessed 1 June 2010]

England and from 1706 to 1707 he journeyed up to Scotland.[539] The journeys in the *Tour*, however, do not follow these routes but were instead reworked thoroughly into concise 'circuits' thus representing Defoe not as drifting aimlessly about but rather as a purposeful tourist constructing meaningful narratives. With the *Tour*, his editor remarks, 'Defoe does not have a realistic priority in mind: he has an artistic one'.[540] He organizes the space of Britain into several narratives, each contained in one letter but all forming part of one continuous, if one-sided, correspondence - the letter format here specifically serves to underline the character of a series. In the preface, Defoe links these purposeful lines of description-as-narrative to his status as first-hand observer and hence to his credibility as an eye-witness.[541]

In the *Tour*, the single circuits are traced by one individual, Defoe, who more often than not describes spaces through their activities and thus relies on the non-visual mode outlined by Wall. Defoe thrives in the portrayal of social customs and specificities as well as any sort of industrious or agricultural undertakings. When he turns to built structures he often becomes uncharacteristically mute - they do not seem to hold the same type of meaning for him as social activities and landscapes, at least not in a straightforward manner. Even in London, where large parts of his novels were set, buildings remain frustratingly shallow and one-dimensional. The Royal Exchange, built in 1669-9 by Edward Jerman in the classical style, is praised highly but quickly refused any possibility of further representation:

> The *Royal Exchange*, the greatest and finest of the Kind in the World,
> is the next publick Work of the Citizens, the Beauty of which answers
> for itself, and needs no Description here;[542]

'Beauty' is not a quality that seems relevant to Defoe; it does not seem to influence him, or any other significant observer, in any remarkable way. Or, beauty itself is a referential, perhaps universal, sign which indeed does not only speak for itself but, rather more final, literally 'answers for itself'. Any questions raised are met by the

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[539] For a mapped itinerary of both Defoe's real travels as well as of his Tour, see Andrews, 'Defoe and the Sources of His 'Tour'', pp. 270-71; and McVeagh, 'Introduction', in Defoe, 'A Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain, Volume I', pp. 17-18

[540] McVeagh, 'Introduction', in Defoe, 'A Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain, Volume I', pp. 28-29

[541] Defoe, 'A Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain, Volume I', p. 49

[542] Daniel Defoe, 'A Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain, Volume II', in *Writings on Travel, Discovery and History by Daniel Defoe*, ed. by Furbank and Owens, vol. 2, p. 80

object in itself, so description is unnecessary - or perhaps impossible in the Defoean way of describing objects through their usage. It was not a matter, here or elsewhere, of Defoe employing the attribute 'indescribable' as one of highest praise and acknowledgment of his own limited descriptive powers, as we have seen John Evelyn do in chapter one. Rather, it seems to be either irrelevant for a significant representation of the place in Defoe's sense or recent buildings might not have lent themselves easily to meaningful emblematic 'description'. Perhaps the import of the classical style, in which Jerman's Exchange was designed and which had been propagated since Inigo Jones's travels to Italy in the early 1600s, was simply too artificial, not yet embedded in the cultural 'memory storehouse' of the common man even a century later.

One place which seems to have merited some more detailed description is Chatsworth in Derbyshire, seat of the Cavendish family since the time of Bess of Hardwick, Countess of Shrewsbury in the sixteenth century, also the time in which main parts of its structure were laid out. Compared to the fairly recent building of the Royal Exchange, this complex of buildings should have been firmly rooted in the English context:

> *Chatsworth* is indeed a most glorious and magnificent House, and, as it has had two or three Founders, may well be said to be compleatly designed and finished. . . .
> It is indeed a palace for a Prince, a most magnificent Building, and, in spite of all the Difficulties or Disadvantages of Situation, is a perfect Beauty; nay, the very Obstruction and, as I called them, Disadvantages of its Situation, serve to set off its Beauty, and are, by the most exquisite Decoration of the Place, made to add to the Lustre of the whole. But it would take up a Volume by itself to describe it.[543]

Again, beauty is granted and praised, the assembly of parts into a whole admired and the overcoming of difficult natural grounds approved. But, to describe it would take far too much space, a whole volume which otherwise could account for a third of all Britain. Is Defoe so concerned with completeness that the inevitably necessary selection of some details of the building and the exclusion of others, that occurs in the course of translating a physical object into descriptive text, prevents him from even starting this task? Instead, I would argue, his text does here not

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[543] Daniel Defoe, 'A Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain, Volume III', in *Writings on Travel, Discovery and History by Daniel Defoe*, ed. by Furbank and Owens, vol. 3, p. 46

attempt to describe his visual experience as one would do in a two-dimensional graphic representation - why should it, if it operated through emblems which the reader would understand automatically through their usage and if his idea of description was not necessarily visual? That he admits a lack of 'description' both here and in the passage on the Exchange shows, though, that his notion of such verbal description is beginning to change. Emblems as beauty or magnificence do suffice to 'describe' a place or space in language. Description that records visual impressions is there already but perhaps it seems too longwinded, difficult and, still, boring for Defoe to use it extensively.

Moreover, Defoe's aim is, as we have seen, to describe political and sociological space. Even if architecture plays a large role in the construction of such spaces, it does so in a very different way than in the construction of an aesthetic space. When Defoe describes Chatsworth as a 'House', this would have referred emblematically to the importance of the country house for the political structure of Britain. This becomes more obvious in the second part of the description of Chatsworth - indeed, Defoe does continue it and manages to limit himself to about two pages by only remarking on 'those Things which other Writers have omitted'. Curiously, at the very end of his account and after giving detailed measurements of the facades - 'the Pilaster seventy two Foot high to the foot of the Ballaster on the top; . . . The Sashes of the second Story we were told are seventeen Foot high'[544] - he describes, or rather narrates, the first impression a traveller would get of the structure and its situation:

> Nothing can be more surprising of its Kind, than for a Stranger coming from the North, . . . to this Precipice, where he looks down from a frightful height, and a comfortless, barren, and, as he thought, endless Moor, into the most delightful Valley, with the most pleasant Garden, and most beautiful Palace in the World: if contraries illustrate, and the Place can admit of any Illustration, it must needs add to the Splendor of the Situation, and to the Beauty of the Building, and I must say, with which I will close my short Observation.[545]

[544] Defoe, 'A Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain, Volume III', pp. 46-47
[545] Defoe, 'A Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain, Volume III', p. 48. 'Illustration' is here meant as 'distinction', see the entry for 'illustration', §2, in *Oxford English Dictionary Online* <http://dictionary.oed.com> [accessed 2 June 2010]: 'The action of making or fact of being made illustrious, brilliant, or distinguished; distinction.'

This is one of the rare occasions in the *Tour* in which the viewing of architecture is literally accounted for. But what does Defoe describe or narrate here? It is, first, a list - the moor, the valley, the garden, the palace - and, second, the surprise to see the contrast between man-made and nature, the house and the surrounding wilderness and man's feat of managing and shaping nature according to his wishes and ideas of beauty. Yet why exactly the gardens and the building are beautiful, what style, decoration, form or colour makes them so - essentially, what they *look like* - remains unclear. Rather, the existence of the contrast alone is remarkable enough to be worth inclusion.

Defoe here seems to invite the reader to follow his, or rather the anonymous stranger's, gaze 'down from a frightful height' onto the house. As Ellen Esrock, in *The Reader's Eye: Visual Imaging as Reader Response*, has argued,

> readerly imaging is encouraged when fictional characters are engaged in specifically mentioned acts of visual perception. Verbs like *saw*, *gazed*, and *looked* all suggest there is something to see. A verb like *behold* practially commands the reader to take a look.[546]

Esrock refers to this as 'verbal craftsmanship' in which both reader and writer shape or carve the imagined. Thus, 'skillfully crafted textual cues . . . can situate a reader within the perceptual sphere of a particular character or narrative voice'.[547] This type of reader does not decipher things as emblems but instead visualizes what Defoe describes to have seen. However, what he describes here corresponds to the contemporary representation of the country house as an enclosed space, standing apart from the surrounding wilderness - indeed, designed 'wildernesses' as part of gardens came into fashion only later, at this time 'wilderness' still was 'wild'. Contemporary graphic representations of such houses in illustrated folio volumes such as Knyff and Kip's *Britannia Illustrata* (1707-8) and Colen Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus* (1715-25) often emphasized this aspect.[548] Defoe's description of Chatsworth is thus on the edge between referential, as naming something known, and visual, as following subjective perception.

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[546] Ellen Esrock, *The Reader's Eye: Visual Imaging as Reader Response* (Baltimore, London: John Hopkins University Press, 1994), p. 183
[547] Esrock, *The Reader's Eye*, pp. 180,196
[548] See John Harris, 'English Country House Guides, 1740-1840', in *Concerning Architecture: Essays on Architectural Writers and Writing Presented to Nikolaus Pevsner*, ed. by John Summerson (London: Allen Lane, 1968), p. 59

This notion of enclosure can be found again in Defoe's description of 'Mr. *Howard*'s House and Garden, call'd *Deaden*' where

> the Garden is so naturally Mounded with Hills, that it makes a
> compleat Amphitheatre, being an Oblong Square, the Area about
> Eighty Yards by Forty, and the Hills unpassably steep, serve instead
> of Walls, and are handsomely planted with Trees, whole Tops rising
> above one another gradually, as the Hill rises at their Roots, make a
> most Beautiful Green Wall, of perhaps Fifty or Sixty Food high; at the
> North End, which is the Entrance, is the House, which closes it
> wholly; and at the South End, the Antient Possessor, Mr. *Howard*, by
> what we call *Perforation*, caused a Vault or Cave to be made quite
> through the Hill, which came out again into fine Vineyard, which he
> planted the same Year, on the South side, or slope of the hill, and
> which they say has produced since most excellent good Wines, and
> very great quantity of them.[549]

The whole is written as a sequence of short, staccato-style sentences linked by participles, conjunctions or subordinate relative clauses. In literary theory, such a text is called hypotactic emphasizing 'the logical or other relationships' between its single clauses.[550] It is more than an enumeration, thus, more than a list of things and objects, it organizes them into a network in which one makes sense of the next and defines both its location as well as its meaning. More, such a network of relations also contains the in-between which, as Wall has argued, Defoe avoided so insistently in his novels. It does so by showing remarkable characteristics of narrative besides description - it orders and puts in relation, it recounts the spatial arrangement of this house and garden as a story. It is description in narrative form and it is this, importantly, which contributes to it becoming visual, to relying on perception.

As a result, I would argue that in the *Tour* some of the descriptions already transcend the status of emblems as described by Wall regarding his novels which he wrote earlier. As his editor has remarked, Defoe uses his *Tour* in a very specific way:

> Defoe is not writing about Britain, he is writing about writing about
> Britain. . . . [The] habit of talking about the book as he writes it
> illustrates how the different places to be described are linked in

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[549] Defoe, 'A Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain, Volume I', pp. 187-88
[550] Chris Baldick, *The Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms*, 3rd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 161

Defoe's view of them. It shows how important it is (in his conception) that the parts should connect into a whole.[551]

Towards the end of his life, Defoe seems to abandon fiction in favour of more factual writings such as the *Tour* in which, however, he still makes use of his narrative experience. Moreover, he focuses on description - and not purely through emblematic lists that contain meaning only for the initiated but by beginning to use words in order to 'do the seeing', as it were, for his reader.

Describing by directing in country-house guidebooks

In many regards, letters as those in Defoe's *Tour* were explicitly meant to guide the reader through unfamiliar places, even if this guidance was not necessarily a visual one. Interestingly, another genre which emerged in the mid-eighteenth century - the country-house guidebook - also linked writer and reader through precisely this - the writer's directing of the reader. Guidebooks were not new and had existed in various forms since antiquity. Specific guidebooks to single places, however, were a novel occurrence in England at the time. Grand Tourists had long used guidebooks to the continent and England itself had seen map books such as John Ogilby's *Britannia* from 1675 - essentially a road atlas - and topographical writings such as Camden's *Britannia*. But none of these were concerned purely with one building or estate and most contained a large part of non-visual information, such as historical, geographical, political or agricultural facts. That the country-house guidebook emerged at this time is mainly due to the rise of a new way of travelling, the touring of country houses, which became popular after the Restoration. For centuries, the country house as such had played an essential role in the decentralized structure of Britain shaped by the monarch's regular regional visits. In Daniel King's 1656 *The Vale Royall of England*, William Webb exclaims, impressed by the abundance of country houses, that 'into the same whichsoever

[551] Defoe, 'A Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain, Volume I', p. 30

way soever you come, your eye is entertained with a fair gentlemanly house'.[552] Already the members of the Royal Society had considered the country house as an appropriate place for many of their experiments.[553]

The antiquary John Aubrey (1626-1697) as well as John Evelyn were early proponents of this leisurely, if by no means easy or trouble-free, custom but they were soon followed by more purposeful tourists.[554] The owners of large estates seem to have been generally expected to open up their grounds and homes to any traveller of genteel background but the beneficiaries of the new fashion also included tradesmen such as booksellers and innkeepers as well as the servants, commonly housekeepers and gardeners, who guided the visitors around.[555] The first guidebooks to these estates were published in the 1740s but as soon as a century later, the grand houses seem to have lost at least some of their appeal to the tourist. As John Harris has shown, the publication of guidebooks - mostly in the form of short leaflets, sold by the housekeeper or in local inns - peaked in the 1810s but gradually declined in the following three decades.[556]

Few estates seem to have merited several editions of a guidebook, one of which was Stowe in Buckinghamshire.[557] Richard Temple, the first Viscount Cobham and Stowe's owner, not only enthusiastically pushed the continuous renewal of his gardens after the latest tastes, he seems also to have purposefully aimed his efforts at country-house tourists, even providing them with an inn on the outskirts of his estate.[558] As a result, Stowe became, metaphorically, the scene of a battle of two guidebook series. Benton Seeley, a Buckingham bookseller, brought out the first guidebook to the gardens of Stowe in 1744 and, until his death in 1788,

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[552] Daniel King, *The Vale-Royall of England, or, The County-Palatine of Chester illustrated. Wherein is contained a Geographical and Historical Description of that ... County, ... adorned with maps and prospects, performed by W. Smith and W. Webb*, London, J. Streater, 1656, p. 71. Quoted in Nicholas Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry 1480-1680* (New Haven, London: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art in association with English Heritage by Yale University Press, 1999), p. 15

[553] See Di Palma, 'The School in the Garden', p. 19

[554] One of the most famous travellers in this regard is Celia Fiennes whose manuscripts were transcribed and published in 1888 by Emily Griffiths. See the most recent edition: Celia Fiennes, *The Illustrated Journeys of Celia Fiennes c.1685-c.1712*, ed. by Christopher Morris (London: Macdonald & Co, 1984)

[555] See Carole Fabricant, 'The Literature of Domestic Tourism and the Public Consumption of Private Property', in *The New Eighteenth Century: Theory, Politics, English Literature*, ed. by Felicity Nussbaum and Laura Brown (New York, London: Methuen, 1987), p. 256

[556] Harris, 'English Country House Guides, 1740-1840', p. 69. Harris's own substantial collection of country house guidebooks is now held in the archives of the Canadian Centre of Architecture in Montreal.

[557] Harris, 'English Country House Guides, 1740-1840', p. 68. See also the bibliography of country house guides appended to Harris's essay.

[558] Matthew Kilburn, 'Temple, Richard, first Viscount Cobham (1675–1749)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn, Oct 2005 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27119> [accessed 20 July 2010]

continued to record Stowe's development in more than fifteen editions. The main source of his first guidebook was, interestingly, a description of Stowe in an appendix to the third posthumous edition of Defoe's *Tour* from 1742. This had been edited by, among others, Samuel Richardson - the author of the popular epistolary novels *Pamela* (1740) and *Clarissa* (1748) - and it is commonly assumed that the account of Stowe was written by him.[559] After this, Seeley published almost annual revisions of his guidebook until 1750 when the London author and bookseller George Bickham started the competing *Beauties of Stowe* which were more compact than Seeley's books and, importantly, included for the first time a description of the house. Over the next decade, the two booksellers tried to outdo each other with ever more comprehensive, more literary and better illustrated guidebooks. Seeley soon included other types of text such as the *Dialogue upon the Gardens* by William Gilpin in a new edition. Only in 1763, when Seeley issued an edition which for the first time contained an account of the interiors as well as an accurately measured plan, Bickham finally withdrew from Stowe's scene. The last Seeley guide, published by Benton Seeley's sons, was published in 1832 - just when the genre slowly began to disappear.[560]

Both Cynthia Wall and Carol Fabricant have used the competitive guidebook-writing process around Stowe to investigate the relationship between their authors and readers. Fabricant claims that guidebooks such as those by Seeley and Bickham collectively built on 'the techniques of other forms of promotional - what we more usually term 'didactic' - literature during the period' and represent the 'tourist experience as an activity conferring a wide range of moral, psychological, and aesthetic benefits on the individual tourist'.[561] Moreover, the consistent genre characteristics of these guidebooks enabled the tourist to evaluate several houses and their gardens against each other. As the books themselves were entangled in commercial rivalry, they also placed their subjects into 'a system of

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[559] Reprinted in G. B. Clarke (ed.), *Descriptions of Lord Cobham's Gardens at Stowe (1700-1750)* (Aylesbury: Buckinghamshire Record Society, 1990), p. 78. This edition of the *Tour* was, interestingly, clearly aimed at the tourist, practically bound as it was in two pocket-sized volumes.

[560] For a detailed account of all editions by Seeley and Bickham, see Harris, 'English Country House Guides, 1740-1840', pp. 64-67

[561] Fabricant, 'The Literature of Domestic Tourism and the Public Consumption of Private Property', pp. 259, 263

competition in which travellers were encouraged to make comparisons among the various houses they visited'.[562]

Cynthia Wall goes even a step further claiming that the owners of country houses designed and set up their homes precisely in order to be viewed by critical visitors.[563] Furthermore, she ascribes the visitor with a distinctly critical and active mode of perception:

> The tourist was not necessarily a passive observer of country-house ideology; he or she often felt perfectly comfortable as imaginative critic or prospective tenant.[564]

This, she claims, gave such visitors something in common with the figure into which the contemporary novel reader gradually developed. Both the country-house guidebook and the novel were expected to provide descriptions in 'good', that is, literary style, they should encourage moral improvement in their readers and, significantly, they required a certain critical connectedness between reader and subject matter. As this type of guidebook gradually adapted a more and more refined style it must also have become more and more suited to the silent reader who listens to the imagined voice of the writer. It is precisely this voice, this intimate relationship with an authority on what is looked at - the author - that enables the reader to be a critical and active observer. As the reader is made to hear the author's voice and see with his eyes, he or she is empowered to compare, judge and criticize his or her social superiors as well as the spaces they inhabit. As a consequence, I would propose that country-house tourism produced a new sort of critical-comparative perception with a focus on how-to-see-what-is-there rather than on what-is-there. In this sense, the guidebook started to do some looking for the reader and made him or her look more actively than before, as I will show in the following.

Comparing publications on Stowe in the first half of the eighteenth century, it becomes obvious that, even if in the long term the guidebook genre would come to incorporate literary elements, at first they were absent. Indeed, Seeley's first edition of 1744 very much appears as an extended catalogue with the added benefit

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[562] Fabricant, 'The Literature of Domestic Tourism and the Public Consumption of Private Property', p. 260
[563] Wall, *The Prose of Things*, p. 193
[564] Wall, *The Prose of Things*, pp. 194, 197

of listing the 'items' in the order in which the visitor would see them on the typical touristic circuit of the garden. It was the genre of the descriptive poem - perhaps Bacon's 'representative poesy' - that would essentially shape the guidebook form and provide it with a certain literary ambition. Eventually, a guide for both mind and eyes emerged by joining cataloguing list and visually descriptive poem. The poem most quoted in this context is Gilbert West's *Stowe, the Gardens Of the Right Honourable Richard Lord Viscount Cobham: Address'd to Mr. Pope* which was published anonymously in 1732. West himself was the nephew of Richard Temple who had over the first half of the eighteenth century engaged such protagonists of garden design and architecture as John Vanbrugh, William Kent and Lancelot 'Capability' Brown to transform his gardens into the most fashionable of the time. West's poem is not illustrated but, as John Harris has remarked, it 'is almost the sort of guide which could be read out loud as one wandered round the gardens'.[565]

West is in his poem much more comprehensive than Seeley would be a decade later in his first guidebook. In a very direct manner, West clearly attributes buildings and ornaments in the gardens with a guiding and directing power:

> Lead thro' the Circle, Virgins, lead me on,
> Where, guided by the still-revolving Sun,
> The faithful Dial counts the fleeting Hour,
> Lead to the Church's venerable Tower: . . .
> Hence thro' the Windings of the mazy Wood
> Descending, lo! the Octagon's clear Flood,
> And rustic Obelisk's aerial Height,
> Burst in one sudden View upon the Sight.[566]

The Sun-Dial Parlour, the 'Circle' in the first line, 'leads' on to the steeple from where, after coming down through a wood, the tourist is visually surprised by a high obelisk emerging over the Octagon's water surface.

The use of a route itself was nothing new in architectural description. As I have shown in the first chapter, movement was and is an essential form of architectural perception. In the course of the development of descriptive narrative in the eighteenth century, it becomes so also for architectural and, more generally,

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[565] Harris, 'English Country House Guides, 1740-1840', p. 63

[566] Gilbert West, *Stowe, the Gardens Of the Right Honourable Richard Lord Viscount Cobham: Address'd to Mr. Pope* (London: Printed by J. Wright, for Lawton Gilliver at Homer's Head against St. Dunstan's Church in Fleetstreet, 1732). Reprinted in Clarke (ed.), *Descriptions of Lord Cobham's Gardens at Stowe (1700-1750)*, p. 38

literary writing. Evelyn had used it still scarcely but in the newly created form of the country-house guidebook it necessarily came to the fore of any text. Movement through space was, of course, essential to the landscape garden. Literary historian Ronald Paulson has even argued that what he calls the 'pictorial circuit' was not only a means of landscape design but moreover a conceptualizing tool in all eighteenth-century arts. A necessary element of many new gardens by the 1740s, such a circuit 'revealed a series of perspectives or different points of view on the same scene'.[567] This is opposed to earlier designs in which each focal point, each scene was to be contemplated from one point only while keeping to paths which were, if curved, rather linear than circular. Therefore, Paulson argues, the pictorial circuit is,

> a paradigm of the eighteenth-century's realization that how something looks, what sort of response it gets, depends on the point of view from which it is seen, and so implicitly by whom it is seen. . . . One explanation of this shift might be that the world order - the shared myths - having dissolved, or no longer proving viable, polysemous meaning was no longer possible: the viewer could no longer see the object as a whole, and so each brought his own meaning - symbolized by the different viewpoints along the circuit.[568]

By being made to see small temples, long vistas or decorative bridges from several vantage points, the perambulator was made aware of the fact that each had several sides and that one single view could not possibly represent the whole of the respective attraction. This echoes Wall's argument of the collapse of the 'memory storehouse' - things had lost their distinct and universal meanings and thus with each act of observation had to be reconstituted anew, as it were.

The link between garden and novel is, in Paulson's line of reasoning, based on far more than the metaphorical one that exists in gardens such as Stourhead whose design is based on the Iliad.[569] Much further reaching, Paulson claims that many novels express precisely this paradigmatic shift from the universal to the individual construction of meaning - expressed at the time by David Hume in the

[567] Ronald Paulson, 'The Pictorial Circuit & Related Structures in 18th-Century England', in *The Varied Pattern: Studies in the 18th Century*, ed. by Peter Hughes and David Williams (Toronto: A.M. Hakkert, 1971), p. 166
[568] Paulson, 'The Pictorial Circuit & Related Structures in 18th-Century England', p. 169
[569] Paulson, 'The Pictorial Circuit & Related Structures in 18th-Century England', p. 167

claim that beauty, as any other 'sentiment', lies in the beholder.[570] Paulson maintains that narrative structure itself is changed through this emphasis on multiple viewpoints:

> a garden of perspectives tends to reduce the fixed quality of the view necessary for 'reading' the moral exemplum, turning the two-dimensional into the undeniably three-dimensional; it opens up the setting, making the garden less a series of set pieces than a fluid experience of nature for the viewer. . . . [the writer's] use of epistolary form and the landscape gardener's of perspectives loosen the linear structure embodied in a garden as on a printed page in a beginning, middle, and end. Rational narrative control . . . gives way to a series of responses or insights that tend to circle around an object rather than advance in a straight line.[571]

Paulson thus argues that while such circles disrupt any straight linearity of narrative they vary the reader's experience and, in a way, enable him or her to contemplate objects and issues from more than one angle. To take this one step further, I would suggest that such multiple descriptive angles in a text are intended to enrich a narrative in the same way as different perspectival viewpoints enable the viewer to perceive an object's three-dimensionality. Description in this sense liberates narrative from its purely linear structure and offers it space, as it were, to take a look around, as in a circuit.

Ten years after West, Richardson's account in the 1742 appendix to Defoe's *Tour*, on which Seeley would base the route in his first guidebook, strongly puts one in mind of Paulson's thesis that the landscape garden at the time presented its visitor with multiple views of the same objects. In fact, one of Seeley's main editorial operations, besides a considerable shortening, seems to have been to remove repeated mentioning of structures and focal points. In Richardson's text, the castle for instance 'makes a beautiful Appearance' both from the Belvedere as well as 'from many other Places'.[572] The Cascade is accordingly seen from, at least, the Cold-Bath, the lake as well as the Temple of Friendship. The Rotunda, in turn, offers 'a View of Part of the Octagon; the Lake, the Fields, and several of the

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[570] David Hume, *Four Dissertations: I. The Natural History of Religion. II. Of the Passions. III. Of Tragedy. IV. Of the Standard of Taste* (London: A. Millar, 1757), pp. 208-09

[571] Paulson, 'The Pictorial Circuit & Related Structures in 18th-Century England', p. 179

[572] Daniel Defoe, *A Tour thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain, divided into circuits or journeys. Giving a particular and diverting account of whatever is curious and worth observation*, 3rd edn (London: J. Osborn, etc., 1742). Reprinted in Clarke (ed.), *Descriptions of Lord Cobham's Gardens at Stowe (1700-1750)*, p. 81

Buildings, presenting themselves alternately as we turned ourselves around'.[573] A combination of the tourist's movement along a circular line - the circuit - and around his or her own bodily axis determines the visual experience of the garden and its structures. Both the perspective on the contemplated objects as well as on the tourist's own point of view are thus continually challenged and re-affirmed.

Such multiple perspectives seem to also have been a characteristic new feature in eighteenth-century narration as Jajdelska argues in her study of changing models of reading. In it, she distinguishes between the storyteller, impersonated, even enacted, by the reader as speaker, and the narrator whose voice the reader as hearer imagines to listen to while reading. Importantly, both storyteller and narrator have to help the reader to locate temporal or spatial locations within the narrative, to orient him or herself within the story. Both did so, however, in different ways because the storyteller is able to use gesture, mimic and other performative acts which the imaginary voice of the narrator is naturally incapable of. Jajdelska claims that texts to be read out loud can thus change location and point of view more rapidly as the storyteller is physically present to guide the listener through the narrative.[574] In contrast, the imaginary narrator is limited to textual cues which allowed 'the reader to construct successive mental models of the protagonists' environments and so follow the action'.[575] The reader has to slip into the narrator's mind, as it were - or, more specifically here, has to replicate the narrator's perception.

Interestingly, Jajdelska and other literary scholars use terms related to vision when describing such literary methods of orienting the reader. Jajdelska for instance introduces the term 'focalizer' to define 'the assumed perspective from which the reader perceives the action at any given point in the story' and distinguishes it from the 'anchor' which is employed to 'represent the location in time and space from which a Narrator organizes a story'.[576] The focalizer is accordingly not necessarily the narrator - even in a story with only one narrator there can be several focalizers. As Jajdelska writes, the focalizer is 'the lens

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[573] Defoe, *A Tour thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain, divided into circuits or journeys. Giving a particular and diverting account of whatever is curious and worth observation*. Reprinted in Clarke (ed.), *Descriptions of Lord Cobham's Gardens at Stowe (1700-1750)*, p. 84
[574] Jajdelska, *Silent Reading and the Birth of the Narrator*, pp. 172, 180
[575] Jajdelska, *Silent Reading and the Birth of the Narrator*, p. 168
[576] Jajdelska, *Silent Reading and the Birth of the Narrator*, p. 170

through which we see characters and events in the narrative'.[577] Anything that will change the spatial or temporal position - both literal as well as metaphorical, I suggest - of the reader towards the narrative can act in such a focalizing way. Importantly, focalizer and voice corroborate in such narratives:

> Just as we pick up various intensities of thought and feeling from the voice that we hear, so also do we pick up thought and feeling from the eyes we see through.[578]

Jajdelska further argues that, as the construction of both anchor and focalizer through purely textual cues is far more difficult than that through the physical enactment of the storyteller, the narrator creates an 'external viewpoint' or 'notional location' from which the whole story is told. This location, however, can, and often is 'one that no real person could or would inhabit'. Therefore, she argues,

> The Narrator is a new and strange kind of being - not fully embodied, not realized before the reader's eyes as a full participant, yet subject to some limitations in physical time and space and able to address the reader directly, and indeed rather intimately. This account holds for first-person as much as for third-person Narrators[579]

It is immediately obvious that the concept of multiple perspectives in verbal descriptions must rely on such focalizers in order to literally turn the reader-viewer in the direction of the object of contemplation. In Richardson's description of Stowe in the *Tour*, the immaterial and almost supernatural character of the narrator setting such focalizers also becomes apparent: even if the text here clearly follows a route through the garden, it seems to transcend any precise itinerary. It is an almost god-like perspective - if always from human eye-level - that he adopts purely by moving around and merging description and narration. Moreover, through the multiple viewings of many of the sites, they appear more three-dimensional than they could when seen from one standpoint alone. At times, it is even the object itself that seems to look back and to focalize as when, towards the end of Richardson's circuit, 'in passing we saw [the Temple of] *Antient Virtue*

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[577] Abbott, *The Cambridge Introduction to Narrative*, p. 73
[578] Abbott, *The Cambridge Introduction to Narrative*, p. 74
[579] Jajdelska, *Silent Reading and the Birth of the Narrator*, pp. 181-82

peeping on the South-side of us'.[580] All of a sudden, the narrator introduces here a new perspective, a new focus, namely that of the building onto the viewer who is unexpectedly turned into the object of contemplation. All the while, Richardson narrates in the first person, but, by employing Jajdelska's disembodied narrator who can become detached from Richardson's physical position, he manages to describe more than just his own perception - or rather, his own perception is considered to be incomplete if based only on stable and fixed viewpoints.

Very different from his model, Seeley's first edition of 1744 plainly lists structures and sculptures in the garden along a continuous route which, as Richardson's, starts at the South Entrance and ends at '*Congreve*'s Monument'. For each, it offers similar details, like the name of the designer, inscriptions (translated into English), height, location, materials and shape - visual and factual information thus. Few are referred to specifically as viewpoints but Seeley never describes what exactly can be seen from them. For instance, from Nelson's Seat 'there is an open Prospect' and the 'views' from the Rotunda are 'inchanting'.[581] Where West had let the obelisk 'Burst in one sudden View upon the Sight', Seeley soberly opens his account with the words:

> At the South Entrance of the Gardens are two Pavilions supported by Doric Columns. From thence you descend to a large Octagon Piece of Water, with an Obelisk in the Center 70 Feet high, designed for a *Jet d'eau*.[582]

While Richardson, again and again, mentions structures he has seen and described before, Seeley never returns to the same object after he has dealt with it once. This must have been a conscious exclusion as views to and from a building or site had long been considered an essential quality in architecture as the incredibly frequent occurrence of the expression 'commanding a prospect' - used also by both Seeley and Bickham - in contemporary descriptions shows.[583] What happens in

[580] Defoe, *A Tour thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain, divided into circuits or journeys. Giving a particular and diverting account of whatever is curious and worth observation*. Reprinted in Clarke (ed.), *Descriptions of Lord Cobham's Gardens at Stowe (1700-1750)*, p. 88

[581] Seeley, Benton, *A Description of the Gardens of Lord Viscount Cobham, at Stow in Buckinghamshire*, 1st edn (Northampton: Printed by W. Dicey; and sold by B. Seeley, Writing-Master in Buckingham, and George Norris, Peruke-Maker, in Newport-Pagnell, Bucks., 1744). Reprinted in Clarke (ed.), *Descriptions of Lord Cobham's Gardens at Stowe (1700-1750)*, pp. 129, 131

[582] Seeley, *A Description of the Gardens of Lord Viscount Cobham, at Stow in Buckinghamshire* (1744). Reprinted in Clarke (ed.), *Descriptions of Lord Cobham's Gardens at Stowe (1700-1750)*, p. 125

[583] See, for instance, Horace Walpole, 'Horace Walpole's Journals of Visits to Country Seats, &c.', ed. by Paget J. Toynbee, *Walpole Society*, 16 (1928), p. 69; Benton Seeley, *A Description of the Gardens of Lord Viscount*

Richardson's account and what does not occur in Seeley's first edition is that the sites in the garden are put into multiple relations to each other apart from the one along the linear route on which the visitor moves. Vision hence offers a second (but not inferior) mode of connection, as it were, besides bodily movement and it seems that this became increasingly important in landscape design as well as in verbal descriptions.

As a consequence of such varied visual connections, Richardson's description appears very vivid but only barely enables the reader to draw a map of the gardens - too complex are his references regarding single locations. His route, as it is experienced intuitively by the reader, feels more like a wavy or zigzag, rather than a clearly shaped, circle. But the garden can be visualized, if in glimpses, perhaps in a more three-dimensional way than it would have been possible by means of Seeley's sober but flat itinerary. Richardson's text is description embedded in narrative while Seeley's is pure description - flat as a map but lacking the spatial potential of this medium.

The genre of the country-house guidebook also contained a moral aspect implicitly representing the notion that its use, and the visit of the described places with its help, could lead to some form of moral improvement. This is first visible, as the narrative turn, not in a guidebook as such, but rather in one of its literary sources, William Gilpin's *Dialogue*, first published in 1748 and then two years later in one of Seeley's guidebooks. It contained a fictional story of a visit paid to Stowe by two gentlemen: Polython, touring England, and his friend Callophilus, a local. Its twenty-eight octavo pages are entirely concerned with their stroll through the gardens, the objects and prospects they encounter and what they make of it all - all represented in form of a dialogue. Towards the end of their circuit through the garden and clearly influenced by its designs, the two friends discuss the question whether or not fine arts can morally improve their observer. While Polython argues that,

> To me, I must own, there appears a great Connection between an *improved* Taste for Pleasure, and a Taste for Virtue. When I sit

Cobham, at Stow in Buckinghamshire, 3rd edn (Northampton, London: Printed by W. Dicey; and sold by B. Seeley … in Buckingham; and Mr. Rivington … in ST. Paul's Church-Yard, London, 1746), p. 24; or *A Description of the Gardens and Buildings at Kew, in Surrey: With the Engravings belonging thereto in Perspective*. (Brentford: Printed and sold by P. Norbury, near the Market-Place, and George Bickham, in Kew-Lane, Richmond, c.1770), pp. 6, 8, 9, 11

ravished at an Oratorio, enjoy myself in a well-painted Gallery, or in such Elysian Walks as these, a sweet Complacency creeps over my Senses, lulls every busy Thought, and composes my Temper: Then, Passion being at Rest, my Heart expands; and I feel myself inspired with better Thoughts, and better Purposes.[584]

Callophilus counters with the warning that,

the more refined Arts . . . take Possession of the Heart; how they warp it from better things; how they relax, and effeminate; in a Word, how greatly they must need interfere with the social and moral Ends of Life.[585]

Interestingly, Polypthon's part in this dialogue is contained, almost literally, also in Bickham's *Beauties of Stow* from 1750 in which he had merged Seeley's account again with those by Richardson in the *Tour* and Gilpin's in the *Dialogue*. He is, however much more practically inclined and recommends that 'our Country Squires' should 'flock hither two or three times a Year, by way of Improvement; and . . . return home with new Notions'.[586] After repeating Polyphton's experience of music, painting and gardens almost word for word, Bickham links this ensuing moral improvement in terms of 'religious Thought, or a benevolent Action' with an 'Advantage in Wealth'. In truly entrepreneurial spirit, he describes the increased income that inn- and shopkeepers as well as farmers derive from 'the Company daily crouding hither, to satisfy their curiosity'.[587] Here, moral improvement appears smoothly, and inherently it seems, linked to socioeconomic advantage - which, in turn, is confirmed by the competition among country houses created through the critical-comparative perception of the tourist.

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[584] *A Dialogue: Containing a Description of the Gardens of the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Cobham, at Stow in Bukcinghamshire. Together with Copies of the Inscriptions*, 3rd edn (Printed for B. Seeley, Bookseller in Buckingham, and Sold by J. and J. Rivington, in St. Paul's Churchyard, 1751), p. 21

[585] *A Dialogue*, p. 23

[586] George Bickham, *The Beauties of Stow: or, a Description of the Pleasant Seat, and noble Gardens, Of the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Cobham* (London: Printed by E. Owen, in Hand-Court, opposite Great Turnstile, Holborn, for George Bickham, at his House and Shop in May's Buildings, Covent Garden, 1750), p. 60

[587] Bickham, *The Beauties of Stow*, p. 61

Describing by looking in Tobias Smollett's writings

This section focuses on types of responses to the observed and described object and any repercussions such responses found in contemporary philosophical discourse. Throughout the eighteenth century, questions about the workings of the mind and, more specifically, what it is that we perceive and how it is constructed preoccupied scholars. I suggest that as early modern philosophy was driven by a decoding and ordering of perceptual and mental processes this was also reflected in contemporary writing in form of an emphasis on the visuality of description.

This new form of visual and perceptive description went hand in hand, as we have seen, with a new relationship between author-viewer and reader-viewer based on silent reading. A literary mode that emerged alongside the novel, the epistolary form, makes this particularly apparent. One of the most fashionable literary forms in Western Europe in the second half of the 1700s, Percy G. Adams links its emergence to periodicals such as Defoe's *Review* - and one should here also name the Royal Society's *Philosophical Transactions* - and the use they made of letters to the editor.[588] Additionally, letter writing as such underwent significant changes within the period according to very specific principles of good manners. The Earl of Shaftesbury, among others, formulated a set of guidelines for polite writing equipping casual writers with literary standards. According to Jajdelska, 'truly polite letter writing was possible only for a writer who conceived of the reader as a hearer'.[589] Such letters imply one specific reader much more directly than a third-person narrative, a circumstance which automatically shifts the relationship between reader and writer to the foreground. As Amy Elizabeth Smith has pointed out, published eighteenth-century letters were read 'primarily to gain knowledge of the writer'.[590] Thus, the epistolary form stresses the potential veracity of the narrative - and its embedded descriptions.

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[588] Percy G. Adams, *Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Novel* (Lexington Ky: University Press of Kentucky, 1983), pp. 172-73

[589] Jajdelska, *Silent Reading and the Birth of the Narrator*, p. 111

[590] Amy E. Smith, 'Travel Narratives and the Familiar Letter Form in the Mid-Eighteenth Century', *Studies in Philology*, 95.1 (1998), p. 83

Smollett's Travels

Tobias Smollett (1721–1771) is the author of several epistolary texts - both factual and fictional. Originally intended by his parents for the medical profession, he later became established as editor, translator, critic as well as, most famously today, author of popular fiction. His *Travels through France and Italy* (1766), seemingly consists, as Defoe's *Tour*, of letters written and sent while away. Indeed, Smollett had travelled to France and Italy between 1763 and 1765 first touring several French cities and then settling down in Nice from where a large part of the letters in the *Travels* is purportedly written. Before returning to London in April 1765, he undertook two excursions to Italy from here, first sailing to Genoa and travelling on to Pisa, Florence and Rome in September 1764 and then, in February 1765, crossing the Alps to Turin. It is unknown to what extent the letters of the *Travels* are genuine, but whatever degree of authenticity one wants to grant them, Smollett - like Defoe in his *Tour* - followed with such manipulated travel letters a common and widespread practice.[591]

Writing almost half a century after Defoe, Smollett habitually addresses the reader of the *Travels* directly - indeed, his reader is quite precisely drawn, for instance, as someone versed in contemporary texts, or at least able to look these up, particularly descriptions of the visited places. Smollett himself refers openly to his textual sources which range from guidebooks to topographical writings, among them frequently Thomas Nugent's popular *Grand Tour* (1749).[592] This common ground of reading becomes apparent throughout, as when he reassures his reader that he 'shall not trouble you with a repetition of trite observations' of Florence's marvels.[593] Smollett places himself, the reader and other authors into a network of writing and reading - and looking - that appears seamless and tightly knit. Author-viewer and reader-viewer are present in his text, both explicitly as well as implicitly and all take over a more or less active role. His reader appears equipped with an inquisitive mind encouraging Smollett to provide more detail - as Smollett

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[591] See Frank Felsenstein, 'Introduction', in Tobias Smollett, *Travels through France and Italy*, ed. by Frank Felsenstein (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), p. xxxvi
[592] See, for instance, Smollett, *Travels through France and Italy*, pp. 244, 447n
[593] Smollett, *Travels through France and Italy*, p. 227

acknowledges in his next letter: 'You insist upon me being more particular in my remarks on what I saw at Florence, and I shall obey the injunction.'[594]

Most importantly and corresponding to the concept of a new visual bond between writer and reader, the reader seems to expect from Smollett a sort of perceptive sincerity. Smollett is keen to emphasize that he describes only what he sees and does not, in order to appear more knowledgeable, copy observations that others made. Even if there cannot be any doubt that he uses various books to compile his descriptions, he always presents this as a kind of background knowledge taking care to let his visual descriptions appear immediate and to a certain degree spontaneous as well as, most importantly, subjective. Indeed, subjectivity here appears as a guarantor for his sincerity. Particularly in Rome, Smollett is concerned with mediating this genuineness of his descriptions when he, first, reassures the reader:

> I do not pretend to give a methodical detail of the curiosities of Rome: they have been already described by different authors, who were much better qualified than I am for the task: but you shall have what observations I made on the most remarkable objects, without method, just as they occur in my remembrance; and I protest the remarks are all my own: so that if they deserve any commendation, I claim all the merit; and if they are impertinent, I must be contented to bear all the blame.[595]

Later he swears fervently, 'I assure you, upon my word and honour, I have described nothing but what actually fell under my own observation'.[596] He promises to have described only what he personally saw, even if he could, easily it seems, have drawn up a much longer, perhaps more impressive list of objects.

Such emphasis on first-hand experience can be traced to contemporary British philosophical discourse which, partly based on Bacon's teaching, focused on how the individual mind understands the external world. Empiricists like John Locke, Bishop Berkeley and David Hume distinguished themselves from continental scholars such as Descartes or Leibniz by supporting the view that humans possess no innate knowledge. Sometimes classified as the first propagator of British Empiricism, Locke in particular argues that anything we know or

[594] Smollett, *Travels through France and Italy*, p. 233
[595] Smollett, *Travels through France and Italy*, p. 266
[596] Smollett, *Travels through France and Italy*, p. 292

understand has to be derived from experience through 'ideas'. In his influential *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690), he describes the mind as 'white Paper, void of all Characters, without any *Ideas*' and ideas as 'whatsoever is the Object of the Understanding, when a man thinks'.[597] Ideas are, in Locke's words, 'painted' on the mind thus forming 'the materials of Reason and Knowledge'.[598] They are exclusively derived from experience through sensation and reflection and perception is portrayed as a partly conscious introspection.

Locke refers to sight as 'the most comprehensive of all our Senses', an emphasis that runs through much of his *Essay*.[599] Repeatedly, he compares the mind to the eye in attempts to explain its functioning:

> The Understanding, like the Eye, whilst it makes us see, and perceive all other Things, takes no notice of it self: And it requires Art and Pains to set it at a distance, and make it its own Object.[600]

The eye serves here as a metaphor which describes how the reader can grasp basic aspects of the immaterial human understanding. Accordingly, both mind and vision permit us to see, perceive as well as understand and it is these processes that Locke attempts to analyse and comprehend through his writing. And again, he considers a certain self-awareness of, or a 'distance' to, the perceptual processes as indispensable.

For Smollett, however, such distance seems difficult to gain - in Rome, he offers a detailed critique of Baroque architecture which is firmly based only on sensation:

> The churches and palaces of these days are crowded with petty ornaments, which distract the eye, and by breaking the design into a variety of little parts, destroy the effect of the whole. Every door and window has its separate ornaments, its moulding, frize, cornice, and tympanum; then there is such an assemblage of useless festoons, pillars, pilasters, with their architraves, entablatures, and I know not what, that nothing great or uniform remains to fill the view; and we in vain look for that simplicity of grandeur, those large masses of light and shadow, . . . which characterize the edifices of the antients.[601]

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[597] John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, ed. by P. H. Nidditch (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), pp. 104, 47
[598] Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, p. 104
[599] Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, p. 146
[600] Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, p. 43. See also ibid. p. 6
[601] Smollett, *Travels through France and Italy*, p. 258

His criticism does not so much regard specific style issues, even though he does touch on the decorations, but he never goes into any detail of specific forms or their meaning. Rather, his disapproval stems from an 'effect' on the 'eye' - from purely sensual experience thus.

This corresponds to what Locke refers to as 'bare naked' perception in which 'the Mind is, for the most part, only passive' and which should be followed by a rational reassessment, often occurring involuntarily, of the ideas received through the senses.[602] This unconscious alteration of sensations through judgment is particularly common in sight, as the perceptual process is often too quick and habitual when dealing with objects that we perceive frequently. The transfer of ideas to our mind then occurs, as Locke writes,

> so constantly, and so quick, that we take that for the Perception of our Sensation, which is an *Idea* formed by our Judgment; so that one, *viz.* that of Sensation, serves only to excite the other, and is scarce taken notice of it self;[603]

In Rome, Smollett seems overwhelmed by this process - his eye is 'distracted' from the 'whole' when the 'variety of little parts' is too large thus making it impossible to perceive and clearly distinguish the object - building or decorative form - from its surroundings as one. Smollett here expresses a moment of crisis in architectural perception: the surplus in detail within the parts prevents him from seeing the whole and thus makes it impossible to render the building as such in words. Perhaps this is due also to the fact that each detail needs now to be understood and contextualized as such, as it cannot be decoded directly as an emblem anymore - naming is not enough, each part needs to be considered, in a way described, by the mind to be perceived. Description almost seems to become an indispensable part of this self-aware perception.

Contrarily, St Peter's Basilica is more to Smollett's liking for its 'admirable symmetry and proportion of its parts'. But again, more important than these formalistic qualities is the fact that, in spite of 'all the carving, gilding, basso relieve, medallions, urns, statues, columns, and pictures with which it abounds, it

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[602] Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, pp. 143, 145
[603] Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, pp. 146-47

does not, on the whole, appear over-crouded with ornaments'. Once more, it is a visual effect that makes him prefer regular and simpler decorations:

> When you first enter, your eye is filled so equally and regularly, that nothing appears stupendous; and the church seems considerably smaller than it really is. The statues of children, that support the founts of holy water when observed from the door, seem to be of the natural size; but as you draw near, you perceive they are gigantic.[604]

Smollett's editor has shown that this passage is derivative after Giuseppe Vasi's *Itinerario Istruttivo* which Smollett had used himself.[605] But even if Smollett does copy Vasi, he turns his statement completely around: Vasi states that St Peter's in fact disappoints at first sight and that only close observation of the many richly decorated parts evokes any admiration.[606] He does not consider the initially perceived plainness as an advantage but rather contests that there is indeed a richness of detail which merely is not apparent when first entering the church. There is, in Vasi's account, also no reference to the visual sense of the observer as there is in Smollett where the reader-viewer's 'eye is filled so equally and regularly'.

This metaphor of 'filling the eye' is reminiscent of Joseph Addison's writings published in the *Spectator* in 1712 in which he closely links vision to imagination which, in Addison's thought, forms a triad together with the senses and reason - the three faculties capable of evoking aesthetic pleasure. Addison is, in these essays, mainly concerned with the creation and reception of literature and touches on the other arts only marginally but, crucially, he treats them largely in the same way. According to Addison, anything that is imagined must, at some point and in some rudimentary form, have been perceived visually. Following Locke closely, Addison writes that vision 'furnishes the imagination with its ideas' so that it is impossible to 'have a single image in the fancy that did not make its first entrance through the

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[604] Smollett, *Travels through France and Italy*, p. 269

[605] Smollett, *Travels through France and Italy*, pp. 483-84

[606] Giuseppe Vasi, *Itinerario Istruttivo Diviso in Otto Stazioni o Giornate per Ritrovare con Facilità tutte le Antiche e Moderne Magnificenze di Roma* (Rome, 1763), p. 329-30. Quoted in 'Appendix II', in Smollett, *Travels through France and Italy*, pp. 483-84: 'Al primo ingresso, che si fa in quel vasto tempio, stando sull'espettativa di vedere una bellezza immaginaria, e sorprendente, niuna ammirazione ci reca la sua vasta mole; ma però nell'osservare di mano in mano le sue parti, non solo resta ognuni sorpreso della magnificenza e decoro di esso, ma confusa di tal modo la mente, che conviene più, e più volte tornaci, trovandosi sempre cose nuove da osservare, e da ammirare. Nell' avvicinarsi intanto ad uni de'fonti dell'acqua benedetta, che stanno al primo pilastro, si osserva, che i putti di marmo, che li reggono, di proporzionati, ed al naturale, che da prima sembravano, si vendono poi di figura gigantesca, e fuor di misura;'

sight'. However, he emphasizes repeatedly that we are not only able to retain images once they are perceived within memory to use them later, we can also merge and adapt them to visualize entirely fictitious scenes.[607]

Addison's essays refer to both reader as well as viewer treating both physical seeing and visual imagining in the same way. Texts are therefore required to give exactly the same cues to imagination as those that the object gives to perception.[608] The pleasure evoked by both is described simply as

> It is but opening the Eye, and the Scene enters. The Colours paint themselves on the Fancy.[609]

As Smollett, Addison seems to regard the eye as an opening between the contained spaces of world and mind. This notion was, as we have seen in the previous chapter, not a new one at the time but Addison reinforces it and, importantly, strengthens the link between perception and imagination. Moreover, as James Sambrook claims, he 'seems to regard the imagination as a sort of amphibious faculty which links together the worlds of intellect and of sensation'.[610]

Indeed, Addison uses this concept to explain why verbal representations often appear more dynamic than reality:

> Words, when well chosen, have so great a force in them, that a description often gives us more lively ideas than the sight of things themselves. The reader finds a scene drawn in stronger colours, and painted more to the life in his imagination, by the help of words, than by an actual survey of the scene which they describe. . . . The reason, probably, may be, because in the survey of any object we have only so much of it painted on the imaginations, as comes in at the eye; but in its description, the poet gives us as free a view of it as he pleases, and discovers to us several parts, that either we did not attend to, or that lay out of our sight when we first beheld it. . . . when the poet represents it, he may either give us a more complex idea of it, or only raise in us such ideas as are most apt to affect the imagination.[611]

[607] Joseph Addison, *Spectator,* 411, 21 June 1712. Reprinted in Donald F. Bond (ed.), *Critical Essays from the Spectator by Joseph Addison with four Essays by Richard Steele* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), pp. 175-76

[608] As Jajdelska has shown, Addison seems to have adapted the punctuation in his writing to suit a silent reader (Jajdelska, *Silent Reading and the Birth of the Narrator*, pp. 54-59).

[609] Joseph Addison, *Spectator,* 411, 21 June 1712. Reprinted in Bond (ed.), *Critical Essays from the Spectator*, p. 176

[610] James Sambrook, *The Eighteenth Century: The Intellectual and Cultural Context of English Literature, 1700 - 1789*, 2nd edn (London, New York: Longman, 1997), p. 131

[611] Joseph Addison, *Spectator,* 416, 27 June 1712. Reprinted in Bond (ed.), *Critical Essays from the Spectator*, p. 192

In an almost optical way, Addison here describes how the author is able to use, as it were, either a wide-angle or an enlarging 'lens' in order to show the reader how exactly the described place or event should be perceived. It is through the specific focusing of the eye, of the opening between world and mind, that the author guides the reader to imagine, ideally, the author's percept. This expresses a closeness between language and perception which forces description to become more and more visually detailed.

Addison had himself undertaken extensive travels between 1701 and 1703, described in his *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy*. Interestingly, St Peter's, in his view, 'seldom answers Expectations at first entering it, but enlarges it self on all Sides insensibly, and mends upon the Eye every Moment'.[612] This is particularly close to Vasi who also emphasizes the need to move inwards into the church and spend time in it to perceive its beauty. Unlike Smollett, Addison has been well capable to resolve the tension between a profusion of details and the perceptibility of the whole.

In a general comparison of St Peter's cross-shaped versus the Pantheon's circular layout, Addison concludes,

> I must confess the Eye is better fill'd at first entering the *Rotund*, and takes in the whole Beauty and Magnificence of the Temple at one view. But such as are built in the Form of a Cross, give us a greater Variety of Noble Prospects. Nor is it easie to conceive a more glorious Show in Architecture, than what a Man meets with in St. *Peters*, when he stands under the Dome. If he looks upward he is astonish'd at the spacious Hollow of the Cupola, and has a Vault on every side of him, that makes one of the beautifulleth *Vistas* that the Eye can possibly pass thro'.[613]

In Addison's view, the mere 'filling' of the eye is therefore not a sign for beauty - rather, beautiful architecture needs to distract or even entertain the visual sense through a 'variety of Noble Prospects' or '*Vistas*' and thus create a 'glorious Show'. Addison seems to be able to allow for visual distraction - which would be blocking perception for Smollett - and still enjoy the whole.

Smollett's incapacity to perceive - and enjoy - both the parts and whole of new buildings might be, I suggest, due to the role he assigns to rational judgment

[612] Addison, *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy, &c.*, pp. 174-76
[613] Addison, *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy, &c.*, p. 177

within the perceptual process. This becomes particularly apparent in the way in which he expresses his personal views on the objects he describes. In Genoa, he describes the Strada Nuova (which featured also in John Evelyn's description, see chapter three) as 'continued double ranges of palaces adorned with gardens and fountains'. However, the fact that the houses are 'painted on the outside has, in my opinion, a poor effect'.[614] Smollett here uses the term 'opinion' instead of 'judgment' but this 'opinion' - expressed as specifically personal - follows upon a relatively sophisticated description and considerable abstraction of the building structure: not only is a certain uniform sequence twice expressed in the words 'range' and 'continued' but the facing sides of the street space are also taken into account - the 'double ranges'. With just a few words, a regular chain of block-like volumes along a straight, long space is conjured up.

In spite of habitually professing his 'opinion' in such a manner on most of the objects and spaces he encounters, Smollett tends to exclude himself from the circle of 'connoisseurs'. In Pisa, explaining the cause for the angle of the Leaning Tower, he writes, rather mockingly, that 'some connoisseurs had . . . taken great pains to prove it was done on purpose by the architect'. He himself, however,

> should never have dreamed that this inclination proceeded from any other cause, than an accidental subsidence of the foundation on this side . . . Any person who has eyes may see that the pillars on that side are considerably shrunk; and this is the case with the very threshold of the door by which you enter.[615]

In this case then, the 'connoisseur' did, according to Smollett, not rely on his eyesight but rather conjectured rationally in order to understand the workings of the bizarre structure.

Smollett also assumes that his readers have as little aspiration to the status of connoisseurship as he does - indeed he distinguishes neatly between this group and that to which he counts himself and his readers, the 'common spectators'. When visiting the Uffizi galleries in Florence, he describes a 'statue of a youth, supposed to be Ganymede' which is 'compared by the connoisseurs to the celebrated Venus'. Smollett agrees with this verdict - if only 'as far as I can judge' - but adds:

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[614] Smollett, *Travels through France and Italy*, p. 214
[615] Smollett, *Travels through France and Italy*, p. 223

it is, however, rather agreeable than striking, and will please the connoisseur much more than a common spectator.[616]

The connoisseur 'celebrates' an object that Smollett classifies as 'agreeable' rather than 'striking'. In a very canny way, Smollett here manages to turn his perceived ignorance of the art of sculpture into an advantage - he is able to see without needing to *know*. There emerge two types of observation here - one relies on knowledge and the competence derived from it, that is the one of the connoisseur, and the other seems to be a rather 'pure' perceiving which relies on sensation and discerns vague qualities such as 'agreeable' or 'striking'.

This binary model of aesthetic perception evokes another topic that was omnipresent in eighteenth-century discourse - that of taste. Scholars across disciplines are unanimous with George Dickie who declared that the 'eighteenth century *was* the century of taste, that is, of the theory of taste'.[617] Addison influenced this debate decisively - indeed, his definition of taste would hold for much of the century:

> I may define it to be that faculty of the soul, which discerns the beauties of an author with pleasure, and the imperfections with dislike.[618]

Taste is understood as a perceptual-critical faculty which relies on senses, imagination and understanding - and as such, it reminds of the comparative-critical perception of the tourist outlined above.

However, Smollett's usage of the term 'taste' shows that it could easily switch semantically from denoting either an inanimate quality or a mental faculty. In Genoa, for instance, a church 'had more magnificence than taste' due to 'a profusion of ornaments' while those in Pisa 'are built with taste, and tolerably ornamented' alongside 'open, straight, and well paved' streets.[619] Again, Smollett's opinion seems to depend largely on the degree and manner of the buildings' decoration. More importantly, he uses taste here as a quality of such inanimate objects as churches, houses and streets; he refers not to a subjective and personal view but instead to a generally accepted preference. As such, these comments

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[616] Smollett, *Travels through France and Italy*, p. 234
[617] George Dickie, *The Century of Taste: The Philosophical Odyssey of Taste in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 3
[618] Addison, *Spectator*, 409, 19 June 1712. Reprinted in Bond (ed.), *Critical Essays from the Spectator*, p. 173
[619] Smollett, *Travels through France and Italy*, pp. 217, 222

would place him within a community of viewers with 'taste' which, however, is not necessarily congruous with that of the connoisseurs. This seems to be confirmed by his description of an ancient Venus sculpture in the Uffizi galleries of Florence, in which he alludes to 'taste' as a mental faculty:

> It must be want of taste that prevents my feeling that enthusiastic admiration with which others are inspired at sight of this statue: a statue which in reputation equals that of Cupid by Praxiteles, which brought such a concourse of strangers of old to the little town of Thespiæ.[620]

Smollett here strives to sell himself as an independent spirit, neither blindly following the commonly accepted 'taste' nor adhering to the authority of the 'connoisseur', but rather forming his own opinion with the risk that it might not be shared by the majority. His subjective impression is for him more relevant than accepted, and widely disseminated, taste judgments. As a result, I would suggest that taste is here regarded as opposed and possibly inferior to subjective impression.

Such emphasis on subjectivity leads one to another current of eighteenth-century philosophy, the Scottish school of common sense, most prominently propagated by Thomas Reid. The school's philosophy was founded on the notion that all men possess 'common sense' - a set of beliefs which are innate to all men and cannot be rationally argued against, as Reid writes: 'Philosophy . . . has no other root but the principles of Common Sense.'[621] Reid places this common sense irrefutably at the very basis of any concept of the human mind which is portrayed in his writing as distinctly active - a proposition at which he arrived through linguistic reasoning: we use mostly active verbs to describe mental activities, such as to 'think', 'imagine', 'remember', 'conceive', 'judge' or 'reason'.[622]

Smollett, even if the literary ambition of the *Travels* and his relationship to contemporary philosophy remain somewhat uncertain, seems to have been influenced by this intellectual current in his home country. This becomes obvious,

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[620] Smollett, *Travels through France and Italy*, p. 236
[621] Thomas Reid, *An Inquiry into the Human Mind, on the Principles of Common Sense* (Edinburgh: printed for A. Millar, London, and A. Kincaid & J. Bell, Edinburgh, 1764), p. 22
[622] See Alexander Broadie, *The Scottish Enlightenment: The Historical Age of the Historical Nation* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2001), p. 189

literally, when he discusses the quality of copies of old masters dwelling again on the two different ways of perceiving:

> I am one of those who think it very possible to imitate the best pieces in such a manner, that even the connoisseurs shall not be able to distinguish the original from the copy. After all, I do not set up for a judge in these matters, and very likely I may incur the ridicule of the virtuosi for the remarks I have made: but I am used to speak my mind freely on all subjects that fall under the cognizance of my senses; though I must as freely own, there is something more than *common sense* required to discover and distinguish the more delicate beauties of painting.[623] (italics mine)

Yet again, Smollett positions himself as unable to 'judge' but at the same time implies that this enables him to express what his senses perceive more directly without the, perhaps meddling, interference of the rational, knowing mind. He trusts his 'common sense', these inherent principles that are universal to all humans and on which we rely ultimately. However, he does not go all the way of Reid's reasoning as he, even if valuing this direct perception as advantage, acknowledges that it might also prevent him from recognizing more subtle signs of beauty - to which more than common sense is necessary.

Upon his arrival in Rome, Smollett describes the way in which those visitors who want to acquire the status of the connoisseur during their stay 'are generally advised to employ an antiquarian to instruct them in all the curiosities of Rome'.[624] He himself, again, professes to have 'had no such ambition' and thus sets out for his visit in a rather ad hoc manner, equipping himself 'with maps and plans of antient and modern Rome' as well as several guidebooks.[625] These simple tools enable him to see in the sensual manner he has argued for throughout the *Travels*. There is a difference between using a text in order to find one's way through an unknown place - using it graphically in a way as one would use 'maps and plans' - and the intensive and critical study of texts in the search for instruction and the attainment of connoisseurship.

This polarity between connoisseur and common spectator, between rational and sensual judgement, resonates particularly with those theories of perception that

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[623] Smollett, *Travels through France and Italy*, p. 241
[624] Smollett, *Travels through France and Italy*, p. 250
[625] Smollett, *Travels through France and Italy*, p. 251

relied on the imagination as one of its constituting elements. Edmund Burke, following Addison, published his *Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* in 1757, to which he added an opening essay entitled 'Introduction on Taste' in the 1759 edition. He begins this essay by expressing his conviction that 'the standard both of reason and Taste is the same in all human creatures' corresponding to the idea that the recognition of 'truth and falsehood' seems to be, to some extent, predetermined, too.[626] Accordingly, the sensual organs and their basic sensations are essentially the same in all men: sweet is sweet, sour is sour and so forth and all men tend to agree that sweet is agreeable while sour and bitter are generally not. As Reid, Burke provides linguistic evidence for his argument: metaphorical expressions such as 'sour temper, bitter expressions, bitter curses, a bitter fate' or 'a sweet disposition, a sweet person' show that the first is negatively and the second positively connoted.[627] Burke's own definition of taste stays close to that of Addison:

> I mean by the word Taste no more than that faculty, or those faculties
> of the mind which are affected with, or which form a judgment of the
> works of imagination and the elegant arts.[628]

Burke retains the classification of taste as 'faculty' but changes the name of its location, instead of soul he uses the term 'mind' and thus facilitates a link to reason. It is also clarified that taste is concerned with 'works of imagination', i.e. works of art.

In the course of his essay, Burke expands this definition by way of distinguishing three distinct types of perception:

> Taste . . . is not a simple idea, but is partly made up of a perception of
> the primary pleasures of sense, of the secondary pleasures of the
> imagination, and of the conclusions of the reasoning faculty[629]

The hierarchy he applies here, from primary sensual via imaginative up to eventual rational perception, is derived from the notion that the senses are the most basic form of perception - it is due to them that we can have any ideas at all. As Locke and Hume, Burke here relies on the triad of object, idea and mind. Based on these

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[626] Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, p. 11
[627] Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, pp. 13-14
[628] Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, p. 13
[629] Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, p. 23

assumptions, Burke then goes on to rate the perceptions to be arrived at from each of his three sources polarising mainly the two higher forms of imaginative and rational perception. In this, his statements seem to remain slightly ambiguous: he admits that both reason and knowledge are indispensable for taste.[630] However, while taste and enjoyment of art are therefore firmly placed in the mind, Burke also maintains that 'a pleasure of the imagination . . . is much higher than any which is derived from a rectitude of the judgment'. Indeed, he exclaims,

> the judgment is for the greater part employed in throwing stumbling blocks in the way of the imagination, in dissipating the scenes of its enchantment, and in tying us down to the disagreeable yoke of our reason: for almost the only pleasure that men have in judging better than others, consists in a sort of conscious pride and superiority, which arises from thinking rightly; but then, this is an indirect pleasure, a pleasure which does not immediately result from the object which is under contemplation.[631]

Burke here gives a poor character reference to the connoisseur who appears as a self-opinionated and rather pretentious person - very similar to the image Smollett paints. At this point, however, emerges a paradox which remains unsolved: even if Burkes classifies the knowledge and expertise, the experience and proficiency of the connoisseur as essential in the judging of art and architecture, he also fears that they may ruin any appreciation and enjoyment of it by blocking a more imaginative perception. The latter, in turn, appears closer to what Smollett had meant with the 'cognizance of my senses' based on pure 'common sense'.[632] Smollett emphasizes the reliance of his judgment (or, rather, opinion) on observation and primary sense experience, on the one side, and an unalterable basic set of rational principles common to all men, on the other. Thus, we find traces of both Burke and Reid's theories in his writing and indeed he might have been influenced, perhaps indirectly, by both.

However, Smollett's more passionately positive statements regarding single buildings seem to be triggered by something other than common sense or taste. When he describes, for instance, the brass gates of the cathedral in Pisa he 'was so

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[630] Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, p. 26
[631] Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, pp. 24-25
[632] Smollett, *Travels through France and Italy*, p. 241

charmed . . . that I could have stood a whole day to examine and admire it'.[633] Then, in Rome, the Porta del Popolo and the adjacent square are 'elegant', 'noble', and 'beautiful' in a way that 'Such an august entrance cannot fail to impress the stranger with a sublime idea of this venerable city'.[634] Similarly, the 'piazza of St. Peter's church is altogether sublime'. Colonnades, obelisk, fountains and the portico of the church itself 'form such an assemblage of magnificent objects, as cannot fail to impress the mind with awe and admiration'.[635] When the mind is struck here with 'awe', when it is 'charmed' and a 'sublime idea' arises, it is not at all clear what exactly is taking place but it seems that Smollett expresses the idea that these buildings and sites in some way arrest the workings of the mind. Smollett does, in these instances, not refer to specific or to any degree measurable qualities - such as regularity, proportions or symmetry - but rather leaves the exact cause of his enjoyment and resulting positive opinion in the open.

This corresponds, in the most direct way, to what Burke writes on the beautiful and the sublime in his *Enquiry*. Burke identifies both beauty and the sublime as enjoyable sensations arising from the encounter with works of art. He distinguishes, however, between the calm and controlled pleasure that beauty evokes and feelings of terror and pain that can result from sublime objects. Burke was not the first to talk about such aesthetic responses but the methodical linking of the sublime to terror was new. When Smollett speaks in the *Travels* of the sublime, he does not directly express terror or pain as a response to what he is seeing. Nevertheless, his language does express a certain shock or pause, as if he caught his breath, his attention absorbed and literally gripped by its object. As in holding one's breath, there is, in the response to the sublime a purely bodily element which seems to pervade the later eighteenth century.

Incidentally, Smollett comments towards the end of his travels in a rather interesting way on the improvement of his physical health. He describes how he had been 'for two months continually agitated either in mind or body' through 'violent fits of passion, chequered, however, with transports of a more agreeable nature'. 'Transports' here refers to a certain 'mental exaltation, rapture, ecstasy' - a

[633] Smollett, *Travels through France and Italy*, p. 224
[634] Smollett, *Travels through France and Italy*, p. 249
[635] Smollett, *Travels through France and Italy*, p. 266

mental state thus and typically a ragingly positive one.[636] The painful response to a sublime object was exactly what triggered such 'transports' - indeed, here Smollett speaks of 'violent fits'. These, so Smollett, countered the 'relaxation of the fibres' brought on by his previously rather inactive life and led to a more 'relaxed constitution' and a 'more vigorous circulation of the juices'.[637] He explains in a distinctly physiological manner how his *aesthetic* experiences abroad relieved him of *bodily* ailments. The encounters with buildings in Pisa and Rome must have been such moments of 'transport', of a relatively passionate aesthetic response to an object's physical appearance. Such descriptions appear in a specifically significant light before the background of the young Smollett's medical training at Glasgow University. He had worked in a dispensary and then apprenticed with a surgeon and thus directly encountered the destitution and maladies of the poor. Even if, subsequently, his literary activities completely superseded his medical practice, these experiences had, as Kenneth Simpson writes, 'fostered an interest in the mind-body relationship and fired the indignation of the satirist'.[638]

This link between aesthetic response and bodily health is, however, not a new one: Addison had argued that pleasures derived by the imagination are better for physical health than those evoked by the understanding.[639] Even earlier, Bacon had proposed as early as 1625 in his essay 'Of Regiment of Health' to 'fill the mind with splendid and illustrious objects (as histories, fables, and contemplations of nature)' as a way to improve one's physical condition.[640] Burke's *Enquiry* itself attempts to explain aesthetic reactions in a more mechanical and indeed physiological way. As Sambrook remarks, it was commonly believed at the time that 'sensation is caused by vibration of the nerves or by vibration of minute particles along the nerves'.[641] Burke meticulously traces what happens when objects that might be considered sublime are contemplated, claiming in the section examining 'Why visual objects of great dimensions are Sublime' that any object

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[636] See entry for 'transport, *n.*', §3, in *Oxford English Dictionary Online* <http://dictionary.oed.com> [accessed 1 June 2010]: 'The state of being 'carried out of oneself', i.e. out of one's normal mental condition; vehement emotion (now usu. of a pleasurable kind); mental exaltation, rapture, ecstasy. Also with a and pl., an instance of this, a fit of joy or rage; sometimes transf. an ecstatic utterance.'
[637] Smollett, *Travels through France and Italy*, pp. 308-09
[638] Kenneth Simpson, 'Smollett, Tobias George (1721–1771)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25947> [accessed 22 July 2010]
[639] Addison, *Spectator*, 411, 21 June 1712. Reprinted in Bond (ed.), *Critical Essays from the Spectator*, p. 177
[640] Francis Bacon, *Essays*, ed. by Michael Hawkins (London: Everyman, 1994), p. 156
[641] Sambrook, *The Eighteenth Century*, p. 143

is formed of a vast number of distinct points, every one of which, or the ray from every one, makes an impression on the retina. So that, though the image of one point should cause but a small tension of this membrane, another, and another, and another stroke, must in their progress cause a very great one, until it arrives at last to the highest degree; and the whole capacity of the eye, vibrating in all its parts must approach near to the nature of what causes pain, and consequently must produce an idea of the sublime.[642]

As Addison and Smollett, Burke considers it essential to fill the eye completely to make use of its 'whole capacity'. But more, here the retina is made to vibrate, by large objects more so than by smaller ones as the former possess more 'points' which exert, perhaps via light rays, pressure on the retina. This vibration in the eye generates the 'idea of the sublime' - as any other input from the senses its initial trigger is physiological, almost mechanical. In Sambrook's words, this was 'perhaps the eighteenth century's boldest attempt to bring aesthetics into line with the physical experience'.[643]

Smollett's Humphry Clinker

As we have already seen, views and voices as well as seeing and reading have undergone parallel changes in eighteenth-century narrative - a development which must have interacted in some form with contemporary perception. In both artistic as well as literary contexts, views and voices multiplied - the landscape garden came to rely on numerous perspectives at the same time as the epistolary novel emerged with several letter writers. In his *Travels*, we have seen how Smollett uses the letter form to create an intimacy between author and reader through the promise of perceptual sincerity. In one of his novels, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker*, published just five years after the *Travels*, this bipolar relationship is multiplied through the introduction of several literary voices belonging to invented writer-viewers which, as in the 'circling' of objects in the landscape garden, see the described from different standpoints. 'Voice in narration', Abbott argues, 'is a

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[642] Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, p. 137
[643] Sambrook, *The Eighteenth Century*, p. 143. For an analysis of the influence Burke's physiological thought had on picturesque theory, see Mallgrave, *The Architect's Brain*, pp. 43-49. For a general evaluation of the mind as relying on the workings of the retina taking into account recent neurological knowledge, see Zeki, *A Vision of the Brain*, p. 3.

question of who it is we 'hear' doing the narrating'.[644] In Smollett's novel, the reader 'hears' several voices: that of a Welsh country squire, Matt Bramble, as well as those of his relatives and servants. Each main character is given a specific tone reporting on events and places from his or her perspective.

Bramble himself is a rather proper man who is accompanied by his young niece Lydia Melford, just emerged from the school-room, his nephew Jery, an undergraduate at Oxford, as well as Bramble's spinster sister Tabitha and her maid, Win Jenkins. Together, they travel first to Bath, then to London from where they head north to Harrogate, York, and Scarborough to finally reach Scotland before their return to Wales. Humphry Clinker is picked up on the way as manservant but - curiously, given the novel is named after him - he is the only member of the group denied his own voice. It is Bramble and Lydia who are the main visual describers in the novel often writing about the same objects but making them appear very differently. It is this dual description that lets the reader see a little more of their 'whole' - in a way, it counteracts the crisis expressed by Smollett in his *Travels* where he, as the sole viewer, was unable to see the 'whole' of Baroque buildings because his vision was distracted by their profusion of detail.

The party's first stop is Bath where Bramble takes the waters in search of relief of various ailments. Bramble's main correspondent is Dr. Lewis, his own physician back in Wales, to whom he writes faithful reports of everything that happens to his party including frequent visual descriptions of the places they visit. His opinion of the many new buildings in Bath is rather unfavourable as he exclaims:

> They look like the wreck of streets and squares disjointed by an earthquake, which hath broken the ground into a variety of holes and hillocks; or, as if some Gothic devil had stuffed them altogether in a bag, and left to stand higgedly piggedly, just as chance directed. What sort of monster Bath will become in a few years, with those growing excrescences, may be easily conceived:[645]

Bramble here uses medical terminology to describe architecture - he does this frequently and usually in a pejorative way, like in the 'growing excrescences'. Such

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[644] Abbott, *The Cambridge Introduction to Narrative*, p. 70
[645] Tobias Smollett, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker*, ed. by Lewis M. Knapp (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 36

terminology might have belonged to the common vocabulary at the time but Smollett's medical training seems to place some importance on Bramble's expressions, particularly as the experiences as a physician had considerable influence on his aesthetic understanding. Bramble makes use of a range of vocabulary unrelated to the built environment in the strict sense in order to express his individual point of view. Similarly, he describes London later as 'an overgrown monster; which, like a dropsical head, will in time leave the body and extremities without nourishment and support'.[646] Bodily abnormalities and deformations are regarded as a sign of decadence and moral decay.

Bramble's niece Lydia, a young girl of marriageable age, paints a very different picture of Bath's recent buildings in the letters to her school friend Miss Lætitia Willis:

> Bath is to me a new world - All is gayety, good-humour, and diversion. The eye is continually entertained with the splendor of dress and equipage; and the ear with the sound of coaches, chaises, chairs, and other carriages. . . . Bath . . . to be sure, is an earthly paradise. The Square, the Circus, and the Parades, put you in mind of the sumptuous palaces represented in prints and pictures; and the new buildings, such as Princes-row, Harlequin's-row, Blaud's-row, and twenty other rows, look like so many enchanted castles, raised on hanging terraces.[647]

The words and the staccato rhythm of short sentences with many enumerations (of everything there is so much!) all express the country-bred girl's giggling joy in exploring the new urban environment. The writing is clearly one meant for a silent reader, as typical for the letter form of the time. Far from evoking disease or deformation, Lydia's vocabulary stems from the realm of fairytales and fantasy stories. 'Sumptuous palaces' remind her of familiar verbal and graphic representations and rows of new terrace houses appear like 'enchanted castles' from past times. But like Bramble, she draws on analogies familiar to her specific reader type - cleverly, Smollett here uses the genre features of the somewhat old-fashioned romance.

The Circus in Bath, a circular arrangement of curved blocks around a round square which had just been completed in 1768 after John Wood the Elder's design,

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[646] Smollett, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker*, p. 87
[647] Smollett, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker*, p. 39

is by Bramble dismissively called a 'pretty bauble; contrived for shew'. Following to this, he uses a rather complex spatial process to describe the circular shape of the Circus: it is like the Roman Coliseum 'turned outside in'.[648] Indeed, the private parts, the gardens are situated around the outer edge of the circle while the street and public access follow its inner curve. In an amphitheatre, the 'interior' is contained within the circle while streets and city flow around it on the outside. Bramble initially lets this turn of phrase stand on its own without further explanation - the reader is left to visualize this 'turning outside in' of a circular volume.

In the following description of the Circus, Smollett puts words in Bramble's mouth which add up to a surprisingly sophisticated form of architectural criticism perhaps more refined than any 'real' criticism at the time:

> If we consider it in point of magnificence, the great number of small doors belonging to the separate houses, the inconsiderable height of the different orders, the affected ornaments of the architrave, which are both childish and misplaced, and the areas projecting into the street, surrounded with iron rails, destroy a good part of its effect upon the eye; and, perhaps, we shall find it still more defective, if we view it in the light of convenience. The figure of each separate dwelling-house, being the segment of a circle, must spoil the symmetry of the rooms, by contracting them towards the street windows, and leaving a larger sweep in the space behind.[649]

Bramble analyses the Circle in regards to two qualities - 'magnificence' and 'convenience'. The former seems to be concerned with primarily visual properties which have an 'effect upon the eye' - this is similar to the criteria that Smollett himself had applied to the Baroque buildings in Rome. Bramble, too, speaks of mainly decorative elements as well as of the subdivision into many smaller properties. 'Convenience' in contrast sheds some light on his initial turning-outside-in expression: the inner facades facing the street are necessarily shorter than those on the back side, the outer, and larger, circle. Thus, an internal asymmetry is created, which is, crucially, considered as inconvenient rather than visually displeasing. This duality of visually pleasing and convenient qualities seems to be the key criterion for Bramble's evaluation of architecture. London's Blackfriar's

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[648] Smollett, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker*, p. 34
[649] Smollett, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker*, pp. 34-35

Bridge is for instance 'a work of such magnificence and utility' and the streets around it are 'spacious, regular, and airy; and the houses generally convenient'.[650]

Lydia again describes the same structures in London as Bramble. Instead of Bramble's sober judgment according to fixed and recurring categories, Lydia once more lets her fantasy interpret what she sees - the bridges for instance are 'so vast, so stately, so elegant' that they must surely be the 'work of the giants'.[651] It is sheer size and number that seems to make the largest impression on her - London's 'streets, squares, rows, lanes, and alleys, are innumerable' and 'Palaces, public buildings, and churches, rise in every quarter'.[652] She comes across here as rather naive, unable to form a rational judgment. Indeed, it is precisely this inability that allows her fantasy to take over, as it were, her descriptions.

The same contrast can be observed in many descriptions by Bramble and Lydia, for instance those of Vauxhall Gardens. What is 'overcharged with paltry ornaments, ill conceived, and poorly executed; without any unity of design, or propriety of disposition' for Bramble in turn 'dazzled and confounded' the impressionable girl.[653] Lydia again constructs her description from lines and lines of enumerations of the overwhelming attractions:

> Image to yourself, my dear Letty, a spacious garden, part laid out in delightful walks, bounded with high hedges and trees, and paved with gravel; part exhibiting a wonderful assemblage of the most picturesque and striking objects, pavilions, lodges, groves, grottoes, lawns, temples, and cascades; porticoes, colonnades, and rotundos; adorned with pillars, statues and painting: the whole illuminated with an infinite number of lamps, disposed in different figures of suns, stars, and constellations; the place crowded with the gayest company, ranging through those blissful shades, or supping in different lodges on cold collations, enlivened with mirth, freedom, and good-humour, and animated by an excellent band of musick.[654]

This stringing together of clauses reminds of Defoe's description of Mr. Howard's estate in the *Tour*.[655] Where Defoe, however briskly, had linked mostly complete clauses by means of conjunctions and prepositions, Lydia merely offers one clause with subject and dependent verb, the opening command 'Image to yourself, my

[650] Smollett, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker*, p. 87
[651] Smollett, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker*, p. 91
[652] Smollett, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker*, p. 91
[653] Smollett, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker*, p. 89
[654] Smollett, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker*, p. 93
[655] Defoe, 'A Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain, Volume I', pp. 187-88

dear Letty, a spacious garden'. What follows is entirely a list of particles dependent on that first subject - the 'garden' which is 'laid out', 'paved, 'exhibiting', 'adorned', 'illuminated', 'disposed' and 'crowded'. Only in the very end a relative clause follows - now it is the 'company' which is 'enlivened' and 'animated'. The rest is furniture, so to speak, objects placed within the garden and illustrated by visual adjectives such as 'picturesque', 'striking', 'infinite' or 'gayest'. Contrary to Defoe, Lydia does not, in this instance, link the objects into a narrative, there is no 'storyline' in the passage - even if the lights blink and the company sings and dances, the garden as such remains static. This is not a list of emblems which Defoe relied on while avoiding visual descriptions but it is a list nevertheless, a list of visual items. This is description which does interrupt narrative, even if 'Letty' almost certainly will not have been bored as Johnson had feared but rather very much entertained, eager to imagine this 'enchanted' place to herself.

Is this request to 'image to yourself' that which Addison and Burke had called the imagination? Lydia does not rely on the 'common sense' that Smollett had evoked in his *Travels* but rather associates what she knows from books and pictures with what she sees, then and there, in front of her. She is, I would argue, not Smollett's 'common spectator' but rather follows in a very direct and applied manner Addison's idea of the human ability to combine the images of memory with that which is viewed in reality. It also seems clear that Lydia draws more sensual pleasure and passionate enjoyment from the contemplation of Bath's and London's architecture than Bramble, even if the latter probably can be justly said to enjoy the ensuing engagement of his wit and judgment. Lydia, in contrast, seems all but hindered by, to use Burke's words again, 'the disagreeable yoke of our reason' and her judgement is far from 'dissipating the scenes' of her imagination's 'enchantment'.[656] In all her naivety, she seems to enjoy those pleasures of the imagination that Burke ranks higher than those of reason especially because her mind is untrained and biased only by intellectually unchallenging romances. She is incapable of forming any aesthetic *judgment* but this does not prevent her from feeling aesthetic *pleasure*. The contrary responses by Lydia and Bramble thus allow Smollett to develop a critical discourse within a fictional work. The interplay

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[656] Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, pp. 24-25

between the two modes of description - and of perception - appear essential for the construction of such discourse. Smollett seems almost analytical of such criticism, indeed, we learn, in this contrast, more about its workings and construction at the time than in most factual writings which are each necessarily limited to a single voice.

In Bramble's more rational if rather pretentious judgments, morality and decorum are linked to architecture and employed as a criterion for critical writing. After first arriving in Bath, Bramble writes, still enthusiastically, that he 'was impatient to see the boasted improvements in architecture'.[657] His opinion, as we have seen, soon turns, the new buildings are now 'contrived without judgment, executed without solidity, and stuck together, with so little regard to plan and propriety, that the different lines of the new rows and buildings interfere with, and intersect one another in every different angle of conjunction'. Further, the buildings he describes are executed 'without taste or conduct' and as such are signs of 'pride, vanity, and presumption'.[658] It seems that Bramble considers this linking of morality and convenience as essential for the authority of his aesthetic judgment - his taste.

The link between taste and socio-moral norms was not a new one - Shaftesbury had already argued that beauty and good are distinguished by the same faculty, a 'moral sense'.[659] Burke later claimed that art that represents, in some way, social issues such as 'the manners, the characters, the actions, and designs of men, their relations, their virtues and vices' needs to be assessed 'within the province of judgment' rather than that of imagination.[660] Is Bramble thus qualified to make such judgements? He certainly seems convinced of his own position. Smollett himself, in his *Travels*, never makes such distinct remarks on the link between the quality of building and a sense of moral decorum. Interestingly, Burke, in his analysis of the workings of beauty, warns against exactly such verdicts. He laments that

> the application of beauty to virtue . . . has a strong tendency to confound our ideas of things; and it has given rise to an infinite deal of whimsical theory; as the affixing the name of beauty to proportion, congruity and perfection . . . has tended to confound our ideas of

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[657] Smollett, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker*, p. 34
[658] Smollett, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker*, pp. 36-37
[659] See Sambrook, *The Eighteenth Century*, pp. 125-26
[660] Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, pp. 22-23

beauty, and left us no standard or rule to judge by, that was not even more uncertain and fallacious than our own fancies.[661]

Burke seems here to condemn precisely such would-be-connoisseurs as Bramble. I would suggest therefore that Smollett uses Bramble's aesthetic and moral officiousness to caricature the connoisseur who, opposed to the common spectator, would rely on quick, rationalized judgments rather than pure sensual impressions.

Lydia, for obvious reasons, never refers to morals or decorum as a quality in architecture. She also shows herself well aware of the differences between her own and her uncle's perception and taste when she closes her fanciful description of Vauxhall Gardens with the admission,

> my uncle . . . did not seem to relish the place. People of experience and infirmity, my dear Letty, see with very different eyes from those that such as you and I make use of[662]

Lydia links his 'infirmity', his ill-health, to what Bramble himself would certainly consider a superior understanding. Concluding, she claims that it is the visual sense proper, the eye, that is changed through such experience on the one hand and the state of health on the other. A certain degree of suffering is regarded, by both Lydia and Bramble, as qualifying for such seemingly superior understanding. However, remembering Burke's warning of the mixing of questions of virtue and beauty, it seems clear that Smollett uses Lydia here to affirm this position. It cannot be anything but irony that Lydia respects her uncle's aesthetic judgment due to his 'infirmity' and only adds to the caricature of Bramble as a would-be-connoisseur. Bramble's linking of maladies in buildings, such as the 'growing excrescences' and the 'dropsical head' to immorality only underlines this again.[663] On the other hand, we have seen that part of the justification for this kind of narrative was precisely that it was edifying - that it would form taste and morals, and was not just self-indulgent pleasure. Again, it is the careful balance between Lydia and Bramble that lets Smollett conform to such norms while subtly expressing criticism.

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[661] Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, p. 112
[662] Smollett, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker*, p. 93
[663] Smollett, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker*, pp. 36, 87

Itemizing vs. visual description

By tracing the development of description over the course of the eighteenth century in novels and topographical writing, this chapter has explored how the representation of things sheds light on contemporary modes of perception. Investigating a wide range of texts, I have paid respect to the fact that this period's readers and authors did not distinguish between fiction and non-fiction as all texts which aspired to a literary standard had to achieve a certain realism and potential authenticity. Letters, novels, guidebooks and travelogues took us on a journey from Defoe's material enumerations and lists of things, over the close visual guidance authors of texts printed in country-house guidebooks gave to readers, to Smollett's philosophically inspired visual musings highlighting the necessity in criticism to view and speak of things from multiple standpoints. Throughout, the reader and the viewer gradually merged to the reader-viewer, reading practices closely resembling viewing practices.

Perception, in the eighteenth century, became a more self-aware process - one was aware of perceiving, of looking at the world through the eyes and constructing an impression of the seen in the mind. This impression could vary from one person to the next and philosophers wrote abundantly on how exactly this could occur. Through this increased awareness and inspection of perception, however, it happened that now things had to be visually described to be understood, their context had to be made explicit, houses and gardens required a narrating guide to be fully enjoyed and criticism became a matter of seeing the critiqued object from several angles. The visual sense thus became ubiquitous as first formulated in Locke's writings and underlined again by Addison, Burke and others. In turn, however, it also became rationalized on the highest level and even the most immediate sensation was analysed and attempted reconstruction in language. Eventually, description - and perception - became manifold: non-visual or visual, then sensual, judging, critiquing, moralising or imaginative.

Conclusion

The patchwork of what I have called 'snapshots' created in this thesis, of reflections on manifold and relatively distinct historical moments, read one through another but not linked in a continuous linear narrative, not even ordered chronologically, could now be placed into one or other narrative framework constructed by others. Crary, for instance, draws the image of a 'passage from the geometrical optics of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to physiological optics, which dominated both scientific and philosophical discussion of vision in the nineteenth century'.[664] To a certain extent, this statement seems applicable to the findings presented on the preceding pages - but I hesitate to paint such a linear and essentially evolutionary picture. There appear to be too many parallel currents present. The cases investigated here and the material considered seem too varied and too specific to their moment and place to allow conclusions regarding whole epochs conveniently separated by centennial dates. Instead, I would like to stress the complexity of my findings, all of which are essentially momentary, transitory and local.

First, it seems useful to point out the one thing that remained stable and made such an investigation possible to begin with: the fact that language and perception are inherently linked to each other. In every text, a mode of perception could be traced through the descriptive writing of the respective author after understanding the various contexts in which it occurred. I found that language is not only evidence for modes of perception but that it, moreover, can constitute these modes. It is possible and fruitful, as I have shown, to scrutinize each text through a range of categories and methods drawn from several disciplines concerned with either language or perception, or both. I have located, in each

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[664] Crary, *Techniques of the Observer*, p. 16

primary text, meaningful references to these categories as well as specific lines of enquiry and have thus reconstructed the inherent, but fundamentally personal and unique mode of perception of the respective author.

Tentatively, I have ventured to utter conclusions, describing modes of perception generally valid at certain moments and places. But I remain convinced that there is not one 'story' of perception, as it were, which could cover the four centuries considered here. There simply is not a single narrative to the history of perception. Rather, newer modes loop back to include older ones and both can exist alongside each other or reappear suddenly. My chapters and single 'snapshots' function in a similar way as the cabinet of curiosities in the seventeenth century - as fragments to be read both as independent parts and as a meaningful, but never conclusive and finite whole. As suggested at the outset, chapters could be read in any order. It is this structural configuration and working method which is as important an outcome of this project as is the actual content.

Necessarily, there loom large gaps in this research and it is characterized by a certain degree of arbitrariness regarding the choice of material of which I was always only too well aware. Many other sources could have been drawn upon and more work particularly on the twentieth century remains to be done. But today, after having completed this part of my research, I am convinced that the arbitrariness, the discontinuity and the patchwork of narratives are inherent of, and more, indispensable for, the inquiry I set out with - indeed they form one of its most important contributions to the field. Principally, they underline and affirm the proposition that perception has not evolved along smooth lines, that there is no such thing as *the* history of perception. Besides this, they also suggest a way of working with an immaterial and fleeting subject matter - such as text - which enables the researcher to go beyond its factual content. By applying this to a wide selection of moments and places, the working method has, over the course of this doctorate, become a system.

The underlying question always was whether language could function as evidence for the history of perception - a rather large and general undertaking which, until now, has however never been answered conclusively elsewhere, as far as I am aware. What I construct here is not a history of architectural perception at all. Rather, and as I have explained on the first pages of this thesis, its title 'An Archaeology of Perception' indicates that there can never be *one* history and

certainly not within the limited scope of a doctoral project. Rather, I accept the multitude of possible parallel locations, historically and geographically and within the given margins, which could be investigated, potentially with different outcomes, and treat my case studies as drill holes into the infinite layers of the past - they might have missed something precious somewhere but have, hopefully, instead hit gold at another point. In the following, I will now revisit briefly and concisely the conclusions I have drawn in each of the preceding chapters in the hope to be able, finally, to outline some possible ways in which perception and language have changed.

The first chapter, on *rendering*, opened the thesis with an exploration of how to deal with verbal description as perceptual evidence. It focused on methods and tools applied in the rendering of buildings into words and revealed parallel editorial working methods between a seventeenth-century diarist and a twentieth-century architectural historian. Stressing the necessity of an immediate translation of the perceived into words, both Evelyn and Pevsner strived to use a kind of language that maintains as much of the direct sensual impression as possible. I have argued that both, in a thoroughly modern sense, did this by employing a 'scientific' text style which focuses on visual description avoiding any circumstantial information or rhetorical ornament. The product is an at once personal and detached recording of what they saw while visiting buildings in Italy and England at their respective times in which both, crucially, relied on the triad of the author-viewer, the reader-viewer and the object.

Chapter two, on *ordering*, showed that practices of describing the observed cannot be taken for granted: rather, they have evolved within the early modern period. This chapter, for the most part, remained within the realms of one century as well as one practice and place, the seventeenth-century Grand Tour through Italy. Exploring writings and collections of material objects, it identified methods of ordering which are essentially spatial and three-dimensional rather than linear (as which language is often regarded). Notions of fragmentation, unpredictability as well as disruption can construct a mode of perception in which things function as focal points of a gaze that considers points rather than areas. Neither Drake nor Bargrave made as much use of visual description as John Evelyn or Nikolaus Pevsner. Rather than visual attributes, they relied on a system of spatial coordination through what I have called linguistic vectors: prepositions and verbs

expressing the relationship of things to one another in space and time rather than describing each in their own right. This constructs a whole which is characterized by its gaps, its non-descriptive spaces in which the curious object-turned-subject takes over an actively structuring role. Perception at these moments follows these structures *from* thing *to* thing - and when it is rendered into words its representation is necessarily full of '*from*s' and '*to*s' - linguistic vectors. Importantly, this is not a mere interpretation of an historian in hindsight: already at the time, philosophers and writers implied that the mind was structured in exactly this way while comparing it to, variously, a cabinet of curiosities and a place to be 'travelled' through. In a way, this shows a simultaneous awareness of the mode of perception described by me here in its fragmented and vectorial structure which relied on movement for its construction.

In the third chapter, on *thinking*, a concept was articulated and applied which is, in point of fact, indispensable for this whole thesis. The idea that verbal descriptions order how we understand and experience that which they describe must be considered as underlying all the chapters but here, it acquires special relevance. Cognitive linguists have, in the last decades, produced a large body of research on the workings of metaphor in everyday language of which only a small part was considered here. What this reveals about perception is that the gaze is, at times, structured according to associations and connotations which are not directly expressed through literal language. This is far more widely spread than one would suppose from traditional definitions of metaphor as belonging to poetic language only. Cognitive linguists have far expanded this definition and thus opened a field of possible inquiries into the use of metaphorical language. I have shown, for instance, how language, through the use of both obvious and more hidden image metaphors, can transcend the capacities of graphic imagery and thus function as evidence of perception in ways that paintings and printed images could not. Evelyn's and Ruskin's use of various types of metaphors has shown that perception as such was employed to understand knowledge and, in turn, the physiological seeing of the eye was used to understand perception. Even if Ruskin used such metaphors much more frequently and enthusiastically, Evelyn did at times employ similar strategies revealing that the construction of vision and knowledge followed similar patterns at both moments. Both authors differed, however, on the involvement of emotions and of more profoundly bodily processes in perception.

Vision and emotion as well as, therefore, the intellect are inseparably linked in Ruskin's mode of writing and perception in contrast to Evelyn's more sober detachment of these faculties from each other.

Inquiring further into the relationship between vision and knowledge, the fourth chapter, on *looking*, presented three authors at three distinct historical moments showing a concern for a 'pure seeing' through their use of specific optical and epistemological tools. In fact, Evelyn, Goethe and Burckhardt all seemed to have been interested in the question of how perception works, in ways similar to my own research. In their writing, they leave a footprint, as it were, of their specific understanding of perception - traced here through a meticulous analysis of tools and scientific ideas used by each author. Issues explored included proportion, scale, monocular versus binocular vision, space, optical illusions, transcendental forces as well as definitions of the real. Evelyn made use of his familiarity with the microscope and its resulting representations by putting into words the concept of the proportional but simultaneous perception of objects at different scales. In this he relied on vision as the truth-bearing sense which can be trusted to reveal what there is in reality - pure seeing is, therefore, a natural state. Goethe, in contrast, felt that any such untainted perception required thorough and time consuming training which only in the end enabled him to, metaphorically, 'hear' buildings 'speak' to him. Pure seeing, for Goethe, needed to be reconquered, learned anew, as it were. Finally, Burckhardt further explored this emphasis on the observer as a subject interacting with the object in a two-way system. Besides training, Burckhardt's mode of art-historical perception required a degree of intuition and imagination which seems far removed from Evelyn's directly truth-bearing and Goethe's 'pure' seeing. For Burckhardt, it was only through such technology as photography that what is contained within the eye - the retinal or hyperreal image - can be made visible untainted by mental interaction. To see the real thing, however, he relied on imagination to reconstruct what is there in the entire being of the building from the previously deconstructed image of the eye. All three authors profoundly relied, in their different and indeed contrary modes of perception, on language as the medium to represent the entirety of their sensual and intellectual impression.

The final chapter, on *reading*, uncovered the eighteenth-century preoccupation with the process of perception, as well as with the individuality of that process. Subjects became central to investigations when visual description,

previously refused by Bargrave and Drake, began to infiltrate all types of writings, from descriptive to narrative. The physiological process of seeing, far from being considered in as detached a manner as by Evelyn or Bacon, became intertwined with sensations and feelings in addition to aesthetic judgment. Description in letters, novels, guidebooks and travelogues varied from Defoe's lists of things, over the narrated guidance in country-house guidebooks to Smollett's common-sense opinion on Italian architecture as well as his capacity to view, and speak of, things from multiple standpoints leading to specific forms of criticism. As in the second chapter, I remained here firmly within one century in order to trace the development of description rigorously. Over this period, the reader stepped into the limelight: while the practice of silent reading began to spread, the author-viewer had to be more direct in the guidance of his reader-viewer. Visual description, containing instructions *how* to see rather than a list of *what* is there, became fundamental for this intimate relationship between author and reader. As a consequence, perception turned into a more self-aware, as well as individual, process. Houses and gardens required a narrating guide to be fully enjoyed and criticism became a matter of seeing the critiqued object from several angles. Eventually, description - and perception - became manifold: non-visual or visual, then sensual, judging, critiquing, moralising or imaginative.

To summarize, perceptual modes identified here include the immediate and detached recording of Evelyn and Pevsner; Bargrave and Drake's fragmented and vectorial structure dependent on movement; Ruskin's emotional seeing and understanding in contrast to Evelyn's sober detachment which regards vision as naturally truth-bearing; Goethe's idea of a pure seeing that needs to be relearned by reconciling the empirical with the rational and Burckhardt's hyperreal retinal image, represented by the photograph, which relies on imagination to complete the seen; finally, Defoe's itemizing of commonly familiar things that was gradually replaced by visual description when these things needed to be explained and put into individual contexts, as in Smollett's writing. Ultimately, these thematically grouped investigations reveal mostly one thing, namely, that any mode of architectural perception is, in order to become manifest, reliant on being communicated. This can happen through either graphic or verbal representations - the latter holding perhaps the advantage to be accessible to a larger group of producers. More people write than paint or sketch - or at least this has been true

until the rise of the snapshot camera, now even enhanced through billions of cameras in mobile phones and other ultra-portable devices. In the periods considered here, however, it is certain that more people wrote than produced graphic representations of any kind, especially if one does not discriminate the written by modern literary standards.

What is, therefore, the relevance of such a study as mine for the general field of architectural history, here and now? My hope is that what has emerged throughout this thesis is a notion of opening up the field while staying close to the built subject matter. Even if it is not a traditional investigation of specific buildings and their architects (and architecture itself may, at times, seem somewhat absent from it), I am convinced that an understanding of the perceptual and representational process, and its history, is fundamental to architectural studies. The two things any and every architectural historian does is *looking* and *describing*. What could be more essential for the field than to understand how these practices have developed, what their origins and premises are and how one can explore these? For instance, the question asked in chapter four, what comes first, medium of representation or concept of perception, is a crucial one for the understanding of how our discipline evolved in its early years. Or, more materially, the fact that description became more visual and perception in turn shook off its reliance on shared myths and traditions over the early modern period might well have facilitated the rapid transfer of different architectural styles across Europe in the following centuries, culminating in the nineteenth century when style became a matter of choice. The sober and immediate style of describing in the twentieth century could perhaps be related to the Modern Movement in aesthetic terms. These are, of course, open speculations which show however that the impact of changes to perception could be much further reaching than implied in this thesis - a proposition which remains subject to further work.

Another direction which this project could now take has emerged recently in a body of research which appeared occasionally throughout my thesis but was never central to the argument. In the past decade or so, art as well as architectural historians have begun to look at the problem of perception through an altogether different lens, namely that of neurosciences. One of the bridge builders, one could say, between the two disciplines has been and is Semir Zeki. With publications such as *A Vision of the Brain* (1993) or *Inner Vision: An Exploration of Art and the*

Brain (1999), he has laid the foundations for the new field of *neuroesthetics* defined as 'a neurology of aesthetics' based on 'an understanding of the biological basis of aesthetic experience'.[665] 'Seeing' is by him considered as 'an elementary function of the brain' - and indeed it is today the best studied of the senses.[666] Results from this research of the last decades into the workings of the brain have triggered two publications which are of specific relevance to this project. In 2007, John Onians developed from Zeki's neuroesthetics the field of *neuroarthistory* in his book of the same name. In it, he claims that the use of neuroscience for art history is far from new but has been 'slowly developing for thousands of years'.[667] He argues that many writers of the past, among them Alberti, Leonardo, Burke, Kant, Ruskin, Wölfflin, Gombrich and Baxandall, were in fact 'neuroarthistorians' as they 'did have a physical and material view of the mind' in regard to 'the principles governing the nervous system's operations'.[668] Harry F. Mallgrave, in *The Architect's Brain: Neuroscience, Creativity, and Architecture*, has only just in 2010 reviewed the relevance of both neuroarthistory and neuroesthetics for the architectural field, both in a historical as well as contemporary sense.

These and other studies were considered at various points of this thesis, but they did not fundamentally influence the underlying question and methodology with which I set out. Taking neurosciences and its most recent findings into account would almost certainly have led me onto other paths, equally fruitful in all probability. However, many of the findings here would be confirmed by the latest knowledge of the brain - for instance, the fact that vision is indeed 'an active process, not the passive one that we have for long imagined it to be', as Zeki writes.[669] Or the idea that, while there are 'hard-wired' synapses in the brain that are 'genetically determined' and 'therefore unable to undergo any modification', there seems to be no doubt that others are subject to 'a certain amount of plasticity or modifiability in cortical connections'.[670] In other words, the very neurological process of perception *is* able to change - more, it must necessarily do so as we adapt to changing environmental conditions. Taking into account these and many

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[665] Semir Zeki, *Inner Vision: An Exploration of Art and the Brain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 2
[666] Zeki, *A Vision of the Brain*, p. 1
[667] Onians, *Neuroarthistory*, p. 10
[668] Onians, *Neuroarthistory*, p. 13
[669] Zeki, *Inner Vision*, p. 6
[670] Zeki, *A Vision of the Brain*, p. 207

others, partly quite controversial results from recent neuroscientific research would, without doubt, enrich my investigation and might be one way to take it further. Particularly its close links to cognitive linguistics, a field heavily drawn upon here, seem to suggest this possibility.

Ultimately, this thesis is as much about my own experience of the texts and the spaces they describe as it is about the experiences and perceptions of their authors and readers. In this sense, I took over, variously, the role of both the author-viewer and the reader-viewer. By deconstructing the processes of writing, seeing and reading, I have recreated the textual spaces of distant moments and places as much as I have analysed them. It is this presence of subject and object as well as their distinct spatial and temporal contexts that has been fundamental to this project throughout.

To *see* is to *describe* and to *describe* is to *see*.

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