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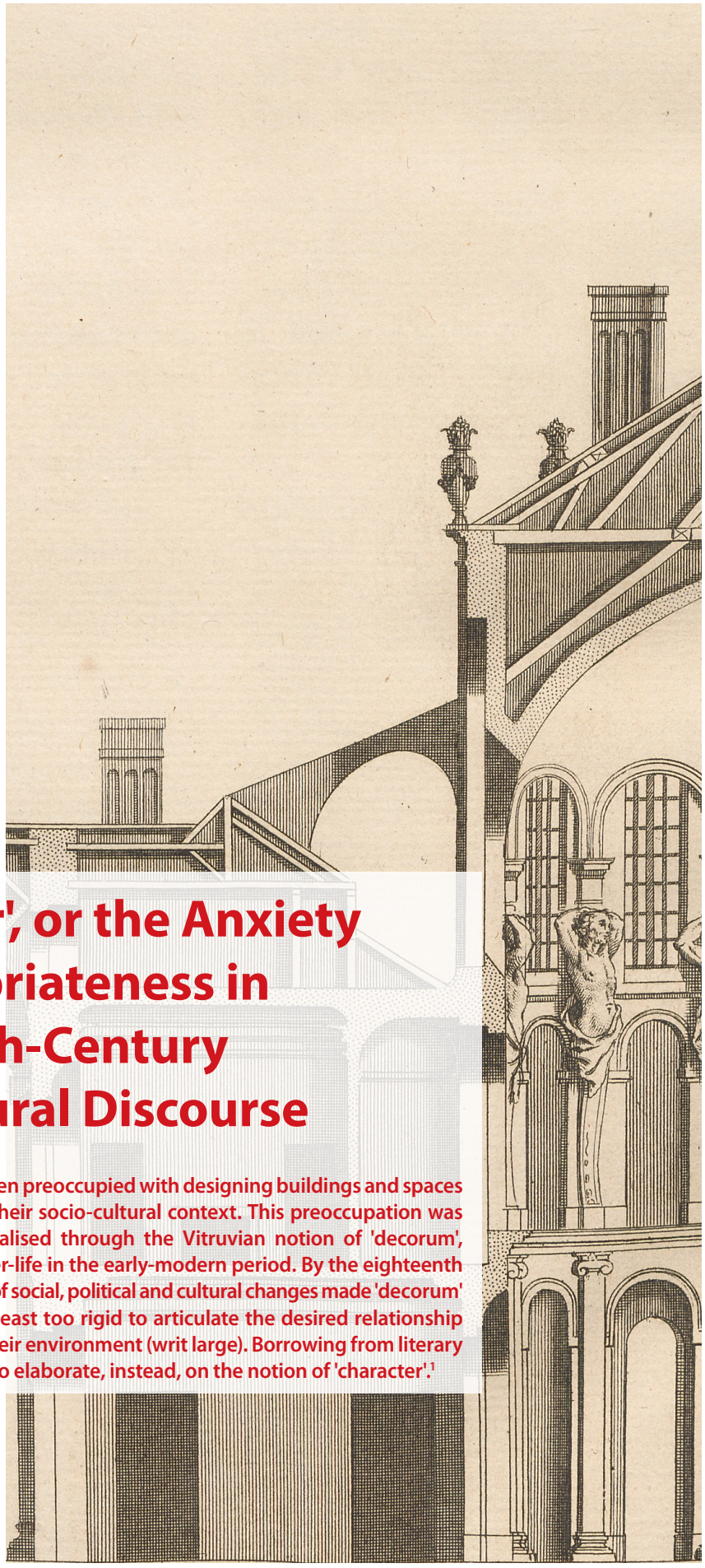
'Character', or the Anxiety of Appropriateness in Eighteenth-Century Architectural Discourse



Architects have always been preoccupied with designing buildings and spaces that are appropriate for their socio-cultural context. This preoccupation was most famously conceptualised through the Vitruvian notion of 'decorum', which enjoyed a long after-life in the early-modern period. By the eighteenth century, however, a series of social, political and cultural changes made 'decorum' no longer suitable, or at least too rigid to articulate the desired relationship between buildings and their environment (writ large). Borrowing from literary theory, architects began to elaborate, instead, on the notion of 'character'.[1]

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Fig. 1 Germain Boffrand: 'Hôtel de M. le Marquis d'Argenson, Paris. [...] la façade sur le Jardin du Palais Royal [. . .] la face sur la cour'. In: *Livre d'architecture contenant les principe généraux de cet art et les plans, élévations et profils de quelques-uns des bâtiments faits en France & dans les Pays Étrangers*. Paris: Chez Guillaume Cavelier Père, 1745. Plate XXXII.

Title Page: detail of Fig. 6.

Architectural theorists of the eighteenth century such as Jacques-François Blondel, Germain Boffrand, William Chambers, Etienne Boullée and Quatremère de Quincy used the term 'character' to articulate principles which ensured that buildings properly express their function, or would be read and experienced accurately by their audience.[2] This contribution expands the scope of inquiry into character by linking together texts drawn from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century and different linguistic areas in Europe, to examine how character emerged in the face of anxieties about the role and meaning of buildings in a changing world. As the stylistic repertoire of Western architecture broadened in all directions to include the gothic, the rural vernacular and various forms of non-European architecture, questions of meaning, appropriateness and understanding became increasingly urgent. In this context, the versatile term 'character' came to regulate the relationship of the European individual to their built environment.

Appropriate Character

'Character' was first introduced as an architectural category by the French architect Germain Boffrand (1667-1754), who tried to bridge the early-modern understanding of the classical orders with the concerns of his own time. In his *Livre d'Architecture* (1745), Boffrand argued that one could find "le caractère qui convient à chaque espèce d'Édifice" in the proportions of the Doric, the Ionic and the Corinthian Order (Fig. 1).[3] This was a direct reference to Vitruvius who,

when defining 'decorum' according to "function", had argued that temples ought to be designed according to the "genus" that aligns with the godhead to whom they were dedicated: the unadorned Doric was suitable for powerful and strong gods (regardless of their gender), the refined Corinthian fit elegant deities, and the Ionic held a middle ground between the two.[4] Adding to the many revisions of this famous dictum, Boffrand argued that not all buildings used the classical orders – a daring leap beyond the Classical that was symptomatic of the liberty granted to architecture during the eighteenth century. Still, Boffrand stated that the orders could be used as models beyond the classical system of forms, and in any scale of design:

"[L]es règles qui [...] établissent les belles proportions [des ordres classiques] en général, peuvent être appliquées à chaque partie d'un Ouvrage, & l'Architecte habile peut y trouver les modulations qui leur conviennent."[5]

Boffand's usage of the verb 'convenir' points to a key tenet in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century French architecture, namely that dwellings should reflect the social class of their inhabitants – a specification of Vitruvius' notion of 'decorum' aimed at regulating the design of private buildings.[6]

The second chapter of his *Livre d'Architecture* pushed the implications of considering the orders as the basis for an ornamental system even further:

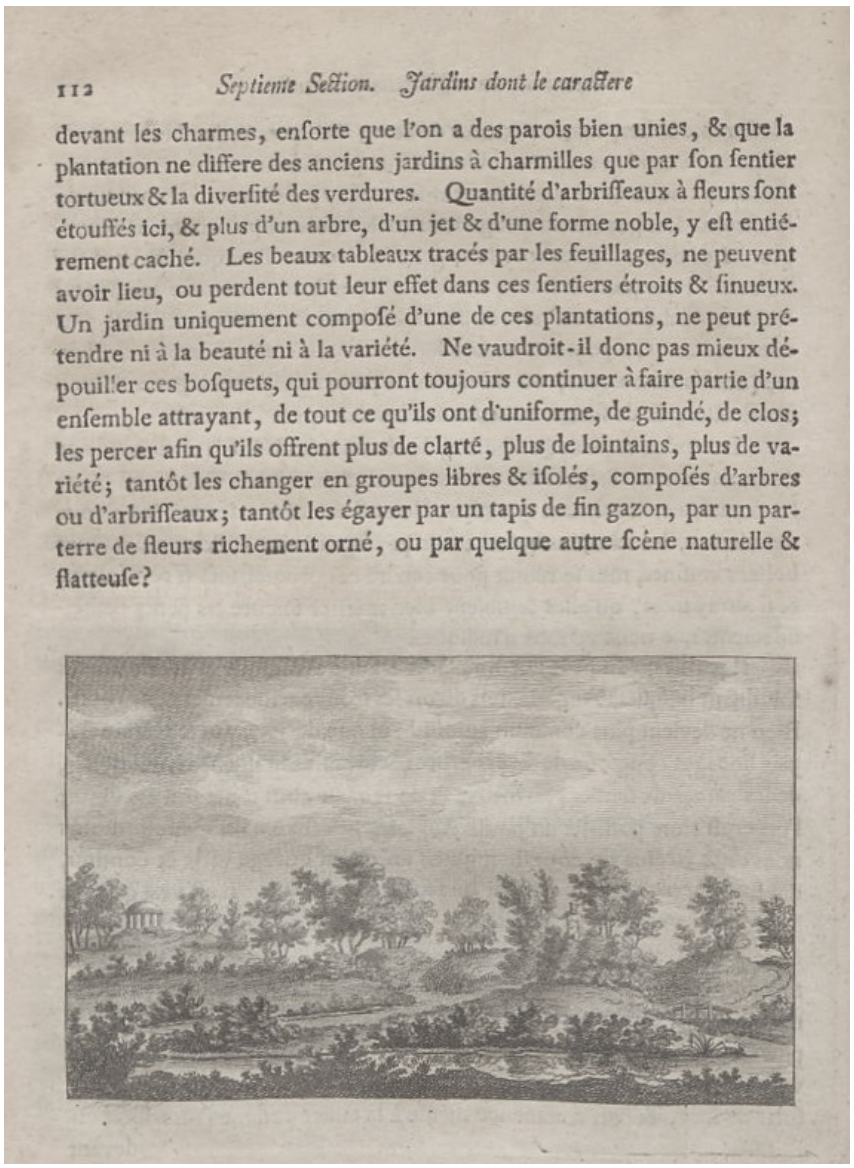
"Ces ordres d'Architecture, dont les progressions montent du rustique au sublime, ont des proportions relatives à leur caractère & à l'impression qu'elles doivent faire."[7]

Boffrand hereby translated Horace's *Ars Poetica* (c. 19 BC) into a poetics of architecture, and was using the term 'caractère' to imply an analogy with language and communication: Just like a 'χαρακτήρ' (a word that originally signified a carving tool for writing on wax tables, and later a single letter element in the printing press) leaves its mark on a piece of paper and on the mind of the reader, a building should make a specific impression on the viewer. Being in control of that impression – using the right shapes and forms to achieve the intended effect – was the task of the architect, and giving appropriate expression to a building was at the heart of the architectural project. Having already translated the classical repertoire of orders into less formally specific adjectives and genres (such as the rustic or the sublime), Boffrand eventually focused on the smallest expressive element of architecture – the line:

"Les profils des moulures, & les autres parties qui composent un bâtiment, sont dans l'architecture ce que les mots sont dans un discours."[8]

The idea that the profiling of ornaments bestowed a character upon the orders had already been formulated by Claude Perrault (1613-1688) in his *Ordonnance des cinq espèces de colonnes selon la méthode des anciens* (1683), in which he also used the term 'caractère'.[9] Boffrand added to this idea that the ornaments of the orders were one specific application of the expressive line that gives a building its character. Likewise, this operation, as he suggested, could be applied to all parts of the building, and to all manners of building.

A few decades later, the English writer Thomas Whately (1726-1772) published his *Observations on Modern Gardening* (1770). After analysing how the primary elements of the ground, plants, rocks and bodies of water defined a general character of a landscape, he elaborated on how buildings, as "objects", should also adorn, alter or add contrast to garden scenes of various genres, from rustic all the way to sublime (Fig. 3).[10] Whately did not quote Boffrand explicitly, but his approach was in tune with how the latter reduced the 'character'-bearing property of form (built, sculpted, moulded or even trimmed) down to lines, and at the same time expanded it beyond the classical orders. In picturesque gardens, Whately stated, "every species of architecture may be admitted, from the Grecian down to the Chinese". Such a tremendous freedom of choice, he cautioned the reader, required moderation:



112 *Septieme Section. Jardins dont le caractere*

devant les charmes, enſorte que l'on a des parois bien unies, & que la plantation ne differe des anciens jardins à charmilles que par ſon ſentier tortueux & la diverſité des verdures. Quantité d'arbriſſeaux à fleurs ſont étouffés ici, & plus d'un arbre, d'un jet & d'une forme noble, y eſt entiérement caché. Les beaux tableaux tracés par les feuillages, ne peuvent avoir lieu, ou perdent tout leur effet dans ces ſentiers étroits & ſinueux. Un jardin uniquement compoſé d'une de ces plantations, ne peut prétendre ni à la beauté ni à la variété. Ne vaudroit-il donc pas mieux dépouiller ces boſquets, qui pourront toujours continuer à faire partie d'un enſemble attrayant, de tout ce qu'ils ont d'uniforme, de guindé, de clos; les percer afin qu'ils offrent plus de clarté, plus de lointains, plus de variété; tantôt les changer en groupes libres & iſolés, compoſés d'arbres ou d'arbriſſeaux; tantôt les égayer par un tapis de fin gazon, par un parterre de fleurs richement orné, ou par quelque autre ſcène naturelle & flatteuſe?

Fig. 2 C.C.L. Hirschfeld: *Théorie de l'Art des Jardins, traduit de l'allemand*. Amsterdam 1785. Vol. 5, 7th section, 'Jardins dont le caractère dépend de leur destination particulière'. Page 112.

"Few scenes can bear more than two or three [buildings]; in some a single one has a greater effect than any number."[11]

The need to control one's means of architectural expression – as well as the impression they make on the viewer – was not only quantitative but also qualitative, and always dependent on circumstance:

"The means are [in most occasions] the same, the application of them only is different, [depending on whether] buildings are used to correct the character of the scene; to enliven its dullness; to mitigate its gloom; or to check its extravagance."[12]

Through such cautious relativising, Whately concluded by arguing that all styles were equally valid (depending on the occasion and the intended effect), and that no style was bound exclusively to a particular character:

"[E]very branch of architecture furnishes, on different occasions, objects proper for a garden; and different species may meet in the same composition; no analogy exists between the age and the country, whence they are borrowed, and the spot they are applied to [...]. [T]o each [species of architecture] belong[s] a number of characters: the Grecian architecture can lay aside its dignity in a rustic building; and the caprice of the Gothic is sometimes not incompatible with greatness."[13]

Places and People

Much of what Boffrand and Whately wrote was symptomatic of the zeitgeist. During the eighteenth century, the domain of architecture broadened on two levels: the limits of the

architectural profession and the scope of acceptable references. Through changes in society that can be vaguely ascribed to the emergence of bourgeois classes and the transformation of the public sphere, authorship and readership extended from a centralised design authority (i.e. academies) to different agencies of diplomats, travellers or art critics. When Whately transferred the notion of 'character' as a category of design to English architectural theory, he did so as a politician with a pronounced interest in garden theory. As the new order of commerce, scientific and colonial expansion was ascending against the declining horizon of the Ancien Régime, the old system of representation was reaching a point of saturation. Most explicitly, the English landscape garden formed the ideal location and testing ground to offer new scales of liberty towards non-classical expressions.

The long-standing monopoly of the classical gave way to a historicist and relativist understanding and an ethnographic curiosity which expanded the definition of architecture.[14] Western architects, whose attention was previously captivated almost exclusively by the ruins of Rome and Athens[15], were now beginning to be interested in other architectures, from mediaeval cathedrals (Gothic, Romanesque and Byzantine), to 'Oriental' temples and palaces (from the Alhambra to China), or the various sorts of rural farmhouses and huts of Europe and beyond. The stylistic pluralism and liberty that had begun already in the first half of the eighteenth century in the context of the Rococo (with its various Chinoiseries, Turqueries and Pastorales)[16] would eventually acquire more precision and veracity, as images and descriptions of such 'foreign', 'exotic' and altogether 'bizarre' (i.e., non-classical) buildings were published in travelogues.

This plurality was much to the dislike of the German garden theorist Christian Cay Lorenz Hirschfeld (1742-1792) (Fig. 2, 3).[17] According to him, buildings should only be presented prominently in a garden setting when cladded by a reduced, simple decor that follows a single character. One should take heed

"[…], dass man nicht verführt durch das Beyspiel des Engländers, in dessen Parks sich zuweilen in Einem Prospect ein Wohnhaus von edler Architectur, ein Obelisk, ein gothischer Thurm, ein römisches Monument und ein chinesischer Tempel vereinigen, auf eine seltsame Vermischung verschiedener fremder Bauarten verfalle".[18]

In this context, the notion of 'decorum' – inextricably bound to the classical orders – was no longer sufficient to describe or taxonomize such unforeseen architectures. And 'character' was employed as a more appropriate, but also flexible signifier. This shift is just as evident in architectural discourses as it is in travel accounts of the period that pointed towards a widened geographical scope and challenged the classical canon that the Grand Tour had cultivated in architectural education. One British visitor to Istanbul in the late eighteenth century found the local architecture hard to digest, as it challenged his classicist standards. He found the general form of many mosques, bath-houses, bazaars and kiosks to be "grand and imposing", but protested that

"[their] particular parts are devoid of all proportion; their columns have nothing of their true [i.e. classical] character, being often twenty and thirty diameters high, and the intercolumniation frequently equal to the height of the column. The capitals and entablatures are the most whimsical and ridiculous."[19]

Despite his distaste, the fact that he could apply the classical norm of proportions on such obviously non-classical architectures meant that he was familiar with Boffrand et al.'s definition of 'character' as something that went beyond the Doric, the Ionic and the Corinthian. Not everyone was so appalled by this absence of the classical in the architecture of what was then understood as 'the Orient': In a contemporaneous account, another Western author deemed that the architectural form of the palace ('seraglio') of a certain pasha in the Balkans,

"though deviating from all our accustomed rules of architecture [i.e. the Western classical canon], had nevertheless something of irregular magnificence

dépend de leur deſtination particuliere. 93

édifices de ce genre ne devroient avoir que des jardins en ſtyle monaſtique.

IV.

Jardins joints à des ſources minérales.

1.

Les jardins que l'on conſtruit près des ſources minérales & des bains, dépendent auſſi de leur deſtination particuliere. Ils doivent renfermer non ſeulement des promenades commodes & variées qui engagent à faire de l'exercice en plein air, mais encore beaucoup de places d'aſſemblée, de lieux propres aux amuſements de la ſociété & à ſe repoſer à l'ombre. Malgré les caprices que la nature a coutume de montrer dans les lieux dont nous parlons, il faut penſer à ſatisfaire ces beſoins.

M 3 L'enceinte

Fig. 3 C.C.L. Hirschfeld: *Théorie de l'Art des Jardins. traduit de l'allemand*. Amsterdam 1785. Vol. 5, 7th section, 'Jardins dont le caractère dépend de leur destination particulière'. Page 93.

in its extent and proportions, which arrested the attention, and gratified the fancy."[20]

This absence of the classical – with all of its pleasant and unpleasant effects on the eye of the Western beholder – was not exclusive to distant lands. A British traveller in Switzerland at the end of the eighteenth century described the chalets of the Alps as buildings "of an order of architecture of which Palladio gives no description", but altogether "fitted for the region where they are placed".[21] In the minds of eighteenth-century intellectuals, this vernacular architecture was akin to nature, whose works possessed the same effortless harmony and originality.[22] The absence of classical 'decorum' from such buildings – and the ignorance or deviance of their makers from academic rules of architecture – was precisely what made them a genuine expression of the character of a certain place and its people. The anonymous author of a *Theorie der Baukunst*, published in Leipzig in 1788, defined 'character' as "[d]ie Eigenschaft eines Gebäudes, wodurch es eine merkliche Wirkung auf unser Herz thut", and used the following example to illustrate this definition:

"Der Landmann bauet seine Hütte, so gut er kann; was andere davon denken, oder dabey empfinden werden, ist eine Sache, die ihm gar nicht in den Sinn kommt. Zufälligerweise aber liefert er ein Muster zu dem einfachsten ländlichen Character."[23]

Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-78) expressed similar ideas some decades

earlier, in his *Lettre à M. D'Alembert* from 1758:

"Dans une petite ville, on trouve, proportion gardée, moins d'activité [...] que dans une capitale: parce que les passions sont moins vives & les besoins moins pressants; mais plus d'esprits originaux, plus d'industrie inventive, plus de choses vraiment neuves: parce qu'on y est moins imitateur, qu'ayant peu de modèles, chacun tire plus de lui-même, & met plus du sien dans tout ce qu'il fait."[24]

The perfect example of this, Rousseau argued, were the mountain peasants of the Swiss canton of Neuchâtel (where he himself resided for some time):

"Ces heureux paysans, tous à leur aise, francs de tailles, d'impôts, de subdélégués, de corvées, cultivent, avec tout le soin possible, des biens dont le produit est pour eux, & emploient le loisir que cette culture leur laisse à faire mille ouvrages de leurs mains, & à mettre à profit le génie inventif que leur donna la Nature. L'hiver surtout, tems où la hauteur des neiges leur ôte une communication facile, chacun renfermé bien chaudement, avec sa nombreuse famille, dans sa jolie & propre maison de bois qu'il a bâtie lui-même, s'occupe de mille travaux amusans, qui chassent l'ennui de son azile, & ajoûtent à son bien-être. Jamais Menuisier, Serrurier, Vitrier, Tourneur de profession n'entra dans le pays; tous le sont pour eux-mêmes, aucun ne l'est pour autrui; dans la multitude de meubles commodes & même élégans qui composent leur ménage & parent leur logement, on n'en voit pas un qui n'ait été fait de la main du maître."[25]

Eventually, this notion of popular character transformed from a vague indication of regional particularity and authenticity to one of national specificity and even racial normativity.[26] In a series of articles published in 1837-8 in John Loudon's *Architectural Magazine* under the title 'The Poetry of Architecture', the young art critic John Ruskin (1819-1900) set it as his task "[to look for] this peculiarity of the art which constitutes its nationality" and

"to trace in the distinctive characters of the architecture of [different] nations, not only its adaptation to the situation

Fig. 4 John Ruskin: 'Swiss Cottage, 1837'. In: John Ruskin, *The Poetry of Architecture; or The Architecture of the Nations of Europe considered in its association with natural scenery and national character*. New York 1888. Illustration 3 (originally published in *Architectural Magazine*, 1837-8).

and climate in which it has arisen, but [also] its strong similarity to, and connection with, the prevailing turn of mind by which the nation who first employed it is distinguished."[27]

In tune with the pastoral infatuations of his predecessors, Ruskin believed that of all types of buildings, the rural cottages of peasants were among the most genuine expressions of a nation's character (Fig. 4, 5). And so he argued, for example, that

"[t]here is a general air of nonchalance about the French peasant's habitation, which is aided by a perfect want of everything like neatness [which, in turn, abounded in the English peasant's house]; and rendered more conspicuous by some points about the building which have a look of neglected beauty, and obliterated ornament."[28]

The Italian cottage was similarly described as a building full of "melancholy", "graceful irregularity", and a "strange, but not unpleasing mixture of grandeur and desolation."[29] With Ruskin, the concept of character completely branched out as a means to materialise traits of culture into distinct architectural expressions in buildings as marginal as cottages.

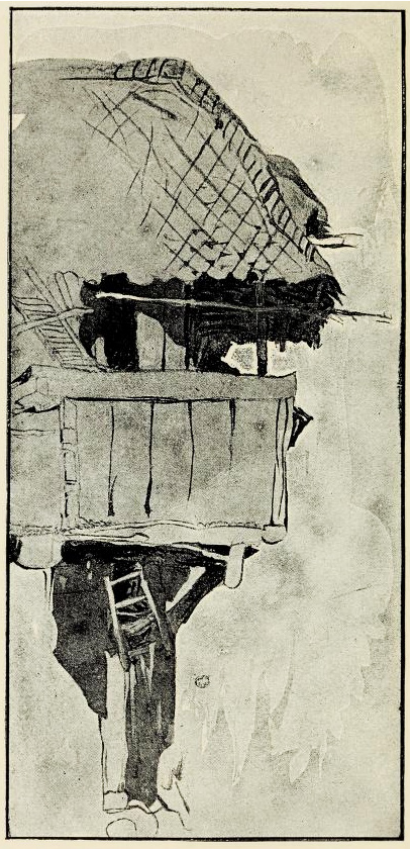


Fig. 5 John Ruskin: 'Swiss Châlet Balcony, 1842'. In: John Ruskin, *The Poetry of Architecture. Or: The Architecture of the Nations of Europe considered in its association with natural scenery and national character.* New York 1888. Illustration 5.

Taste and Personality

Around 1745 the motivation to introduce character had been very different, but it was driven by concerns and anxieties that opened the path towards positions such as Ruskin's, pointing to a generalisation of the Vitruvian notion of 'decorum'. Some of the anxieties that prompted Boffrand's expansion of 'decorum' towards 'character' are addressed explicitly in his *Livre d'Architecture*: the tyranny of fashion over good taste, the encroachment of artisans on the remit of the architect, the architect's professional integrity, or the confusion of design codes between facade and interior, between architecture and the arts of decoration (Fig. 6). But it can also be argued that the contractual or negotiated nature of 'character' points to more deeply seated anxieties that have to do with designing in a changing society. In order to understand why Boffrand wanted to generalise the old Vitruvian notion of 'decorum', and in so doing transform it into 'character', it is useful to have a look at the original notion. 'Decorum' was one of Vitruvius' six principles of design, and was particular in that it involved the notion of authority: a power external to design that imposed its conditions on the project. Vitruvius distinguished three forms of authority: function, tradition and nature.[30] As such, 'decorum' established a bridge between the architectural project and the social environment where it would exist; 'decorum' defined the desires and requirements in a context formulated towards architecture. And it is key to the Vitruvian understanding of architecture (as much as to how we see architecture today), because it held out the promise that well-designed buildings would actually meet these desires and requirements – something that can hardly be considered a foregone conclusion. Claude Perrault seems to have realised this when he translated Vitruvius' *De architectura* for its French edition in 1673. Commenting on the notion of 'authority', the French author introduced a distinction between objective and arbitrary causes of beauty (an idea that he would famously develop in the *Ordonnance des cinq espèces de colonnes*), thereby indicating that there are different forms of authority at work in architecture:

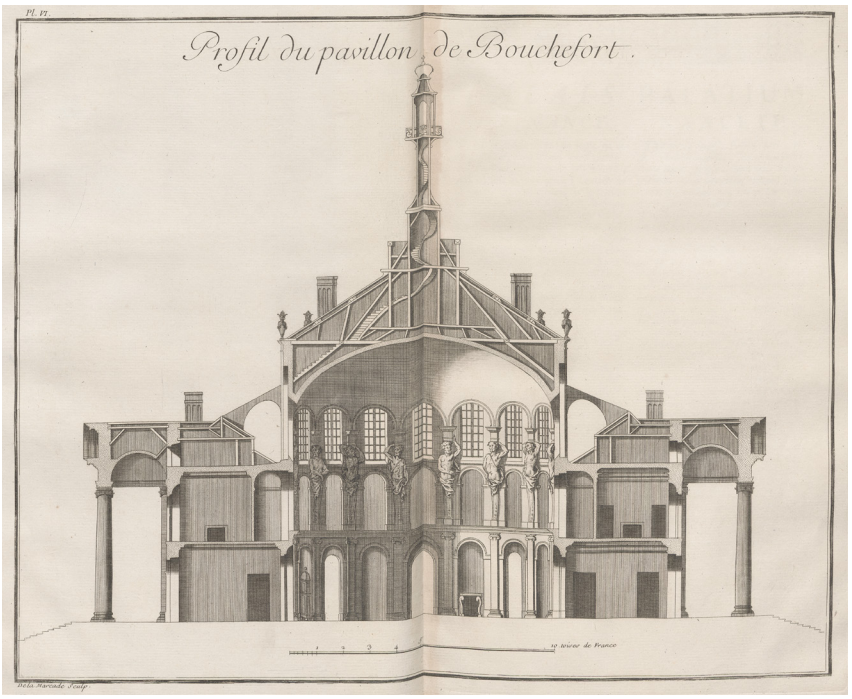


Fig. 6 Germain Boffrand: 'Maison de Chasse de Monseigneur Maximilien-Emanuel Electeur de Baviere, Bouchefort, la coupe du bâtiment par le milieu du Salon', in: *Livre d'architecture contenant les principe généraux de cet art et les plans, élévations et profils de quelques-uns des bâtiments faits en France & dans les Pays Étrangers*. Paris: Chez Guillaume Cavelier Père, 1745. Plate VI.

those depending on rational and universal principles, and those rooted in consensus and taste.[31] Boffrand was certainly aware of Perrault's distinction, as taste – the consensus about what is good architecture – was at the centre of his occupations, and he considered good taste the ultimate criterion for excellence. At the heart of these considerations about taste was a combination of sentiment and social distinction that was achieved through the category of 'character' and linked to supposedly universal hierarchies of civility, manners and morals. As part of a concerted attempt to regulate fashion, the category of taste arose as the central project of political and aesthetic philosophy – stretching from Lord Shaftesbury's *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times* (1711) to Archibald Alison's *Essay on the Nature and Principles of Taste* (1790). According to Montesquieu (1689-1755), "[l]a définition la plus générale du goût, sans considérer s'il est bon ou mauvais, juste ou non, est ce qui nous attache à une chose par le sentiment."[32] Sentiments were considered to be universally rooted in the soul and body, and so, as Scottish philosopher David Hume (1711-1776) put it, "[only] few are qualified to give judgement on any work of art, or establish their own sentiment as the standard of beauty".[33] In the midst of the excess of change and caprice that Boffrand described as the "tyrant of fashion", taste was a powerful authority of critical judgement that resisted against the dissolving centrality of the classical system. Boffrand added one more dimension to the question of authority by presenting the architectural project as a contract or negotiation between the patron and the architect: the "justesse d'esprit" of the former is crucial for making a building that suits one's means and status. Then the architect "adds their own [y met du sien]", as they are responsible for translating all the requirements into a project according to what is deemed acceptable by the profession.[34] Thus Boffrand used the notion of character to refer both to individual personality (the 'esprit' of the patron) and to social convention and code.

Anxieties

One could argue that 'character' only needs to be defined when it is no longer understood. To some extent this conundrum is inherent to the notion of 'decorum': it projects an ideal state where architecture fits in society, whereas obviously it relies on shared knowledge and is exclusive. While 'decorum' was too rigid to implement emerging sources of knowledge and different cultural and aesthetic paradigms, the concept of 'character' was inscribed in the conflicted self-fashioning of modern European subjectivities. In the

globalising world of the eighteenth century, the promise of stability could not be fulfilled and the declaration of a sharp distinction between fashion and taste could not persist. As such, the notion of 'character', as a more complicated child of 'decorum', came to unveil the anxiety of appropriateness. A building's character became its identity, expressing the personality of its patron, its architect, a culture or a nation. At the same time, it sought to account for how specific conditions of design, construction and use determined the form of buildings. In doing so, 'character' served as a universally valid explanation for the expression of specificity. In the era of nation-building, the term 'character' was not only a tool to observe the world but also one of world-making and cultural norms. As such, it was instrumental in sustaining the supposed otherness of non-European architectures. Its emergence can thus be seen as an attempt to quell anxieties about the role and meaning of buildings in a changing world. In a constant loop of definition, application and contestation, the concept of character oscillated between ontology and moralism, between the true essence of place and purpose, and its projection.

Anmerkungen:

1 The research for this article was funded by the Swiss Science Foundation (SNSF), and forms part of the SNSF project *Building Identity: Character in Architectural Debate and Design 1750-1850*, which runs from 2022 to 2026 at ETH Zürich, gta Institute, and is supervised by Maarten Delbeke and Sigrid de Jong.

2 Among the studies on character are, for the French context: Werner Szambien: *Symétrie, Goût, Caractère: Théorie et terminologie de l'architecture à l'âge classique 1550-1800*. Paris 1986, especially pp. 174-198; Marc Grignon and Juliana Maxim: "Convenance, Caractère, and the Public Sphere". In: *Journal of Architectural Education,* 49, no. 1 (1995), pp. 29-37. More recent examinations of the notion include Adrian Forty: *Words and Buildings: A Vocabulary of Modern Architecture*. London 2004, pp. 120-131. Vittoria di Palma: "Architecture, Environment, and Emotion: Quatremère de Quincy and the Concept of Character". In: *AA Files* 47 (September 2002), pp. 45-56; Felix Martin: "Charakter und Ausdruck – Zur Stimmungserzeugung in der Architektur der Spätaufklärung". In: *Archimaera* #8 (2019), pp. 33-48; and for a critical analysis: Charles L. Davis II: *Building Character - The Racial Politics of Modern Architectural Style*. Pittsburgh 2019.

3 Germain Boffrand: *Livre d'architecture*. Paris 1745, pp. 1-2.

4 Vitruvius: *Ten Books of Architecture*. Trans. and ed. Ingrid Rowland and Thomas Noble Howe. New York 1999,p. 25, Book I.2.5.

5 Boffrand: *Livre*, p. 2.

6 Grignon and Maxim: "Convenance, Caractère, and the Public Sphere", pp. 29-32. With reference to Norbert Elias and Jürgen Habermas, Grignon and Maxim explained the emergence of character as a natural feature of the court-aristocratic representational crisis and the structural transformation of the public sphere by proto-democratic spaces.

7 Ibid., p. 25.

8 Ibid., p. 22.

9 Claude Perrault: *Ordonnance des cinq espèces de colonnes selon la méthode des anciens*. Paris 1683, p. i: "Or ces différentes proportions accompagnées des ornements qui leur conviennent, sont les différences des Ordres d'Architecture, dans lesquels les caractères les plus visibles, qui les distinguent, dépendent des ornements." See also ibid., pp. xxii-xxiii, when he writes about the "characters that distinguish the orders."

10 Thomas Whately: *Observations on Modern Gardening, illustrated by Descriptions*. London 1770.

11 Ibid., p. 120.

12 Ibid., p. 125.

13 Ibid., pp. 127-8.

14 Mari Hvattum: *Gottfried Semper and the Problem of Historicism*. Cambridge 2004, pp. 36-42.

15 It was not until the second half of the eighteenth century that the ruins of classical Greece and the eastern Mediterranean were thoroughly studied. The publications that came out of architectural travels following 1750 fundamentally altered the practice of architecture and its scope of reference – James Dawkins and Robert Wood in Palmyra and Balbec, Julien-David Le Roy, James Stuart and Nicholas Revett in Greece, Robert Adam in Dalmatia. However, these works were primarily focused on the classical and its historical reality.

16 Jean Starobinski: *L' invention de la Liberté, 1700-1789*. Geneva 1964. See also: Haydn Williams, *Turquerie: An Eighteenth-Century European Fantasy*. London 2014; Nebahat Avcioglu: *Turquerie and the Politics of Representation, 1728–1876*. Oxfordshire and New York 2016.

17 Christian Cay Lorenz Hirschfeld: *Theorie der Gartenkunst.* Frankfurt und Leipzig 1777. For the German-speaking audience, Hirschfeld made accessible the most influential garden theories of his time. While taking sides with Antoine-Nicolas Duchesne's *Sur la formation des jardins* (1775), Claude-Henri Watelet's *Essai sur les jardins* (1774), and Jean-Marie Morel's *Théorie des Jardins* (1776), he voiced his doubts with the liberty towards non-European architectures that he found in William Chambers's *Dissertation on Oriental Gardening* (1772) and Thomas Whately's *Observations on Modern Gardening* (1770).

18 Hirschfeld: *Theorie der Gartenkunst,* pp. 166-167.

19 William Eton: *A Survey of the Turkish Empire [...]*. London 1798, p. 210, footnote.

20 Henry Holland: *Travels in the Ionian Islands, Albania, Thessaly, Macedonia & c. during the years 1812 and 1818*. London 1815, p. 65.

21 Helen Maria Williams: *A tour in Switzerland; or, a view of the present state of the governments and manners of those cantons [...]*. London 1798, pp. 2-3.

22 Jean-Jacques Rousseau once described a cave near Val-de-Travers as an interior "décorée d'un ordre d'Architecture

qui n'est ni Toscan, ni Dorique, mais l'ordre de la nature qui sait mettre des proportions & de l'harmonie dans ses ouvrages les moins réguliers." See J-J. Rousseau: "Deux lettres à M. Le Maréchal de Luxembourg [1763]", In: *Jean-Jacques Rousseau: Collection complète des oeuvres.* Geneva 1782-1789, p. 284.

23 Anonymous, [Theorie der Baukunst]: *Untersuchungen über den Charakter der Gebäude; über die Verbindung der Baukunst mit den schönen Künsten, und über die Wirkungen, welche durch dieselbe hervorgebracht werden sollen.* Leipzig 1788, pp. 11-12. See also Ulrich Schütte, 'Aufklärung, Empfindsamkeit und die Krise der Architektur um 1800: Zu den 'Untersuchungen über den Charakter der Gebäude' von 1785'. In: *IDEA: Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunsthalle* 8 (1989), pp. 57-74.

24 Jean-Jacques Rousseau: *À M. d'Alembert [...], sur son article 'Genève,' dans le VIIe volume de l'Encyclopédie, et particulièrement sur le projet d'établir un théâtre de comédie en cette ville.* Amsterdam 1758, pp. 103-104.

25 Ibid., pp. 104-105.

26 For more on this, see Hvattum: *Gottfried Semper and the Problem of Historicism*, but also: Davis II: *Building Character*.

27 Kata Phusin [John Ruskin]: *The Poetry of Architecture.* New York 1881, p. 2. (This series of articles was originally published in J. C. Loudon's Architectural Magazine in 1837-38, under the title "The Poetry of Architecture; or, the Architecture of the Nations of Europe considered in its Association with natural Scenery and national Character").

28 Ibid., p. 9.

29 Ibid., pp. 20-22.

30 Vitruvius: *Ten Books*, p. 25. Book I.2.5.

31 Claude Perrault: *Les dix livres d'architecture de Vitruve, corrigez et traduits nouvellement en Français, avec des Notes & des Figures*. Paris 1673, p. 12 and note 3.

32 [Charles-Louis de Secondat, Baron de la Brède et de] Montesquieu: *Le Temple de Gnide, et l'essai sur le goût*. London 1760 [1757], p. 122.

33 David Hume: "Essay XXIII. Of the Standard of Taste", In: T.H. Green, T. H. Grose, [eds]. *Essays, moral, political, and literary.* London 1889 [1777], p. 278.

34 Boffrand: *Livre*, pp. 11-12.