

Notes

The place of publication is London, unless otherwise stated.

I *Who Killed Daisy Miller?*

Michiel Sweerts is one of the most enigmatic and admired Dutch painters of the seventeenth century, the subject of several studies by Rolf Kultzen. Born in Brussels in 1618, his training as an artist remains a mystery but by 1646 he was recorded as living in Rome; on his return from Brussels in 1656 he opened a life-drawing academy and at the same time began to reveal his religious fanaticism; it is this, I imagine, which explains the painting in the Rijksmuseum. Sweerts joined a party of Catholic missionaries travelling through Syria to the Far East, and he died in Goa in 1664.

For the disappearance of classical Rome, the *disabitato*, and the appearance of the ruins to Christian pilgrims in the early Middle Ages, see Richard Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City, 312–1308* (New Jersey, 1980). Rodolfo Lanciani (1847–1929) drew his conclusions in *The Destruction of Ancient Rome* (1906) and his letters to the fine arts journal *The Athenaeum* were published as *Notes from Rome*, edited by Anthony L. Cubberley (British School at Rome, 1988). These are the best eye-witness accounts of excavation in the years after unification; Lanciani was one of the leading archaeologists of the period, but had an eye to the

Picturesque beauties which have since disappeared. *The Eagle and the Spade* by Ronald Ridley (Cambridge, 1992) is a vivid study of the first systematic excavations in the Forum, those made during the Napoleonic occupation of Rome from 1809–14. Ridley (p. 141) describes the French plan of 1812 to turn the Forum into an ‘English garden’, referred to in Chapter Six.

For a narrative of visitors’ reactions to the Colosseum in visitors’ eyes, see Peter Quenell, *The Colosseum* (London and New York, 1973), which also includes an anthology of their descriptions; for a study of its design, G. Cozzo, *The Colosseum* (Rome, 1971).

Among the biographies of Edgar Allan Poe the best analysis of the poem ‘The Coliseum’ and its relationship to *Politian* and *MS Found in a Bottle* is Kenneth Silverman (*Edgar Allan Poe*, 1992), pp. 92, 115. The letter to a friend relating to ‘man’s advance towards perfection’ written in 1844 is quoted in Jeffrey Meyers, *Edgar A. Poe* (1992), p. 293, as are D. H. Lawrence’s observations on the author. Meyers discusses the background to *Politian* (p. 77), extracts from which Poe published after his appointment as editor of the *Southern Literary Messenger* in December 1835.

Chateaubriand published the final volume of *Mémoires d’outre-tombe* in 1850, and it was translated into English by Alexander Teixeira de Mattos in 1902 (Freemantle).

Alex Scobie’s definitive book *Hitler’s State Architecture* (Philadelphia, 1990) studies all aspects of the dictator’s interest in classical architecture, and reveals his obsession with ruins.

Doré’s image of the New Zealander appeared in *London*,

a book of his views of the modern city published in 1872 and accompanied by text by Blanchard Ferrol. The metaphor was conceived by Thomas Macaulay in his review of Von Ranke’s *History of the Papacy* published in *The Edinburgh Review*, October 1840.

II *A Perverse Pleasure*

For the aqueducts, see *The Waters of Rome* by H. V. Morton (1966). Beckford’s descriptions of Rome are in *Dreams, Waking Thoughts and Incidents*, a travel book which he published in 1779 but soon after suppressed; Robert Gemmett edited a version (New Jersey, 1971).

III *Haunted Houses*

The poem of the soldier’s return is translated by Arthur Waley in *170 Chinese Poems* (London, 1923). Several of the poems chosen by Waley have ruins as their subject and he notes that by the T’ang dynasty (618–905 AD) the re-visiting of a ruined city or old home is an established literary trope.

Emily Ruete, Princess Salme of Zanzibar and Oman, wrote her *Memoirs of an Arabian Princess from Zanzibar* in German; a translation was recently published by the eccentric and wonderful Gallery bookshop in Stone Town, Zanzibar.

The best study of Byron at Newstead aside from Leslie Marchand’s standard biography of 1971 is the catalogue edited by Haidee Jackson for the exhibition held at Newstead Abbey in 1998, ‘Ruinous Perfection’.

IV *Ephesus without an Umbrella*

Richard Holmes’s study of the Baths of Caracalla and

Prometheus Unbound is in *Shelley: The Pursuit* (1974), pp. 489–509.

Flaubert's letter on Thebes was written to Louis Bouilhet on 2 June 1850 and is published in *Selected Letters*, ed. Geoffrey Wall (Harmondsworth, 1997), p. 149.

The rebuilding of Noto is the subject of an excellent book by Stephen Tobriner (1982).

The Roman Journals of Ferdinand Gregorovius (1821–91) were translated into English by Mrs Gustavus Hamilton in 1911.

V *An Exemplary Frailty*

The relationship between architectural decay and human mortality is analysed by Dr Roger Bowdler in 'A Sad Prospect to the Soul' in *The Cult of the Ruin*, the Proceedings of the Georgian Group Symposium of 1998 (2001: to be published). The discussion of the seventeenth century is based on Bowdler's work.

The Tate's picture of Hadleigh Castle is a full-size sketch, and the final version which he exhibited at the Royal Academy is in the Paul Mellon Center for British Art, Connecticut. The episode is described in *The Later Paintings and Drawings of John Constable* by Graham Reynolds (Yale, 1984), pp. 199–202. The castle is on the Thames shore, near Southend-on-Sea.

For Walter Scott and Williamina Forbes I paraphrase A. N. Wilson, *A Life of Walter Scott* (1996 edn.), pp. 60–64.

VI *Time's Shipwreck*

Goths and Vandals by M. S. Briggs (1952) remains the best overview on how attitudes to medieval buildings have

changed in the centuries since their Dissolution, and is particularly vivid on the sixteenth century; he quotes the letter from Lewes.

It would be tedious to list all the examples from which I tried to construct a composite, but I would mention a few. John Aislabe of Studley Royal also built a house overlooking the ruins of Waverley Abbey, Surrey, which he landscaped, and he collaborated with John Vanbrugh on the campaign to save the Holbein Arch on Whitehall (see C. Woodward, 'A Pre-History of Conservation', in *Transactions of the Society for Studies in the Conservation of Historic Buildings*, 1995). Rev. William Gilpin found the gable ends of Tintern Abbey too 'regular' and suggested that a 'mallet judiciously used (but who durst use it?) might be of service in fracturing them'. This was not done, although the stone pulpitum across the nave was removed in the nineteenth century in order to open the vista. The only examples of the smashing of window tracery in order to enhance a vista are at Guisborough Priory and Kenilworth Castle: see Joe Mordaunt Crook's introduction to the reprint (Leicester, 1970) of Charles Lock Eastlake, *A History of the Gothic Revival*, 1872. Examples of the re-erection of Gothic ruins are at Shobdon in Herefordshire, and the removal of pieces of Netley Abbey to Cranbury Park in Hampshire (see C. Woodward, 'Ruins as Follies', *Country Life*, 8 October 1998).

Great Romantic Ruins of England and Wales by Brian Bailey (New York, 1984) is a gazetteer of historic ruins of all types, including abbeys, illustrated with excellent photographs by his wife Rita. For a thorough study of twentieth-century attitudes to the preservation of ruins by archaeologists, see Gill Chitty, 'A Prospect of Ruins' in

Transactions of the Society for Studies in the History of Conservation, 1993, pp. 43–60.

There are many books on eighteenth-century gardens but the most eloquent and incisive overviews are *The Picturesque* by David Watkin (1982) and Mavis Batey and David Lambert, *The English Garden Tour* (1990). Watkin explains the fictive way of seeing, Batey and Lambert the visitors' participation in its delights.

Sir John Vanbrugh's letter is transcribed in *The Complete Works of Sir John Vanbrugh*, ed. Geoffrey Webb (1928), pp. 29–30. For a brief account of the Woodstock Manor episode, see *The Work of John Vanbrugh* by Geoffrey Beard (1986), pp. 37–50.

There is a literary analysis of John Dyer and a succinct biography in Belinda Humphrey, *John Dyer* (Cardiff, 1980). *Grongar Hill* was reprinted by Stourton Press in 1983 with illustrations by John Piper.

The best single studies of individual ruins are of the folly at Fawley Court by Geoffrey Tyack (*Country Life*, 20 April 1989) and by David Adshead, 'The Design and Building of the Gothic Folly at Wimpole, Cambridgeshire' in *The Burlington Magazine*, February 1998, pp. 76–83. The suggestion that the latter castle was built to celebrate the fall of a 'Gothic' political order was made by David Stewart in *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians of America* (1997).

The Rev. Clubbe as antiquarian and wit is the subject of 'John Clubbe and the Antiquities of Wheatfield' by Alison Shell in *The Book Trade and its Customers 1450–1900*, ed. Arnold Hunt (Winchester, 1997). Stuart Piggott wrote the biography of William Stukeley (2nd edn., 1985).

Bacon's metaphor of 'Time's Shipwreck' is in *Advancement of Learning*, II, section 1. The metaphor is that of Vossius in *De philologia liber*, 'Antiquities are the remains of ancient times, similar to the debris of a shipwreck'.

For the Jealous Wall at Belvedere see the chapter on 'Ruins and Eye-Catchers' in *The Follies and Garden Buildings of Ireland* by James Howley (New Haven, 1993), and *Titles* by Leo Daley (1981), pp. 42–67, for an accurate account of the scandal.

VII *Serious Follies*

Virginia Water is studied in Jane Roberts, *Royal Landscape: The Gardens and Parks at Windsor* (New Haven and London, 1997), pp. 457–61, and the most detailed study of the stones from the archaeological point of view is by G. E. Chambers, 'The "Ruins" at Virginia Water' in the *Journal of the Berkshire Archaeological Society*, 1953–4.

The catalogue of an exhibition, *Visions of Ruin*, which I curated at Sir John Soane's Museum in 1999, with essays by David Watkin, Helen Dorey and myself, studied English 'follies' in greater detail.

The artificial ruin in the Duke of Urbino's park at Pesaro – long vanished – is described and illustrated in Antonio Pinelli and Orietta Rossi, *Genga Architetto* (Rome, 1971), pp. 246–51. The unexecuted project of c.1730 for the backdrop to the Trevi Fountain is recorded in a drawing in the Kunstbibliothek, Berlin, reproduced in Bruce Boucher, *Italian Baroque Sculpture* (1998), p. 107.

The ruin room at Sta Trinità dei Monti is on pp. 103–12 of Thomas McCormick's monograph on the artist, *Charles-*

Louis Clérisseau and the Genesis of Neo-Classicism (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1990).

William Chambers was the subject of a monograph by John Harris (London, 1970), and the mausoleum for the Prince of Wales and the Kew Gardens are discussed on pp. 23–4 and 32–9.

For German follies, including Schloss Löwenburg, see Günter Hartmann, *Die Ruine im Landschaftsgarten* (Worms, 1981).

The late Jean de Cayeux was the authority on Hubert Robert, on whom there is no good study in English; his daughter Mme Roland Michel has the archive at her gallery in Paris and is the continuing expert on dating his pictures. De Cayeux's biography (1989) is published by Fayard, and in 1987 he studied Robert's complex role in the design and recording of Picturesque gardens in *Hubert Robert et les Jardins* (Editions Herscher), a book which also describes Ermenonville and illustrates the garden of the Petits-Augustin. The Musée de Valence has a great holding of Robert's work, and in 1989 they studied his enigmatic response to the Revolution: *Hubert Robert et la Révolution* (Valence, 1989). Marie-Catherine Sahut curated the exhibition *Le Louvre du Hubert Robert* (Paris, 1979), which is the definitive discussion of the 'Louvre in Ruins' pictures. Mlle Stephanie Thuilliez is writing a PhD on Robert at the Sorbonne which will explore these ideas further, as in her article 'La poétique de la variété: les ruines et la terre' in *Bulletin de l'Association des Historiens de l'Art Italien* (Paris, 1996). Diderot's review of the Salon of 1767 is published in Diderot, *Salons*, ed. Jean Sez nec and Jean Adhemar (Oxford, 1963), pp. 228–9. I am grateful to Janine Barrier

of the Sorbonne for her introductions to French *ruinistes* at a memorable dinner in Paris.

For the Hugos at No. 18 Rue des Petits-Augustins see Graham Robb, *Victor Hugo* (1997).

VIII *Self-portrait in Ruins*

See *Visions of Ruin* (1999), which includes 'Crude Hints Towards a History of My House' transcribed and interpreted by Helen Dorey. Daniel Abramson's discussion of the 'Bank in Ruins' is in his PhD thesis on *The Building of the Bank of England 1731–1833* (Harvard, 1993), pp. 425–9. For more on the tomb and its relationship to posterity, see the article by R. Bowdler and C. Woodward in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* (1999).

IX *The Ozymandias complex*

For Thomas Coryate and his *Crudities* see Michael Strachan, *Thomas Coryate* (Oxford, 1982). Like Macaulay (1953), Strachan discusses the confusion between Priam's Troy and Alexandria Troias, a misunderstanding which continued into the nineteenth century owing to the impreciseness of ancient geographers such as Strabo and the absence of any visible remains at the real site. Julian (332–63) visited Troy before he became Emperor, and his description of Troy is in *The Works of the Emperor Julian*, translated by Wilmer Cave Wright (Cambridge and London, 1990).

The continuing potency of religious imagery in eighteenth-century England is demonstrated by Terry Friedman in 'The Eighteenth-century Disaster Print' in *Proceedings of the Symposium of the Society of Architectural Historians* (1996), in which he discusses how the

destruction of churches by fire or structural collapse was interpreted by reference to the Bible. The revival of Apocalyptic imagery during the French Revolution is explored in David Bindman, 'The English Apocalypse' in *The Apocalypse*, ed. Frances Carey (1990), the catalogue to the British Museum exhibition.

For John Martin's imaginary reconstruction of Babylon see Henrietta McCall, 'Rediscovery and Aftermath' from *The Legacy of Mesopotamia* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 184–213.

H. G. Schenk, 'The Mind of the European Romantics' (1966, pp. 30–45) discusses the foreboding of future ruin in post-Waterloo Europe, and it is he who argues that 'it would seem that the spirit of foreboding has never been so widespread' at that period. Wetzel's vision of goblins was in *Magischer Spiegel* of 1806, while the remarks of the Bavarian scholar Schlichtegroll (p. 32) on Iceland were recorded by Atterbom. Professor David Skilton has suggested in correspondence that we can plot a correlation between political unrest and imagery of ruin throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Britain, and will publish this in due course.

The relationship between the Temples of Modern and Ancient Virtue at Stowe and Joseph Addison's dream was revealed by George Clarke in 'Grecian Taste and Gothic Virtue' in *Apollo* (1973), pp. 568–9. For Charlemont on the Acropolis, see the *Travels of Lord Charlemont in Greece and Turkey, 1749*, ed. W. B. Stanford and E. J. Finopoulos (1984), pp. 134–5. His biography is by Cynthia O'Connor (Cork, 1999).

Horace Walpole's letter to Horace Mann, his correspondent in Florence, was written on 24 November 1774.

For Gibbon, see Harold Bond, *The Literary Art of Edward Gibbon* (Oxford, 1960). Ralph Willett, FSA, published *A Description of the Library at Merly in the County of Dorset* (1785); it was Tim Knox who drew attention to the lost peculiarity (*Apollo*, July 2000).

In the catalogue to his controversial exhibition of Richard Wilson at the Tate Gallery (1982), pp. 217–18, David Solkin argued that the artist's Arcadian landscapes were commissioned by conservative landowners who wished to show that ruin was the inevitable consequence of an increase in trade and 'Luxury'. This is true, although one would add that mercantilists such as Ralph Willett also used the same ruins to illustrate their contrary arguments.

As regards America: see Matthew Baigell, *Thomas Cole* (New York, 1981) who proposes the idea of an American School of Catastrophe, represented by the preachers Lyman and Bigelow and Cole's friend William Cullen Bryant whose poems 'The Ages' and 'The Earth' alluded to America's destruction. Cole's thoughts on *The Course of Empire* are recorded in Louis Legrand Noble's nineteenth-century biography, reprinted by the Harvard Press in 1964. Cole never painted New York, a telling point made in a recent exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum which examined New York's conception of itself as an imperial city: *Art and the Empire Setting*. The catalogue is edited by Catherine Vooranger and John K. Howat (New York, 2000).

Nicholas Biddle's journal was published as *Nicholas Biddle in Greece*, ed. R. A. McNeal (Philadelphia, 1993).

Mussolini's self-projection of himself as a classical hero is discussed in 'Rome Reclaims Its Empire' by Tim Benton in *Art and Power* (1996), pp. 120–39.

X Dust in the Air Suspended

The story of the Millennium Cross for Dresden was told by Christopher Kenworthy in the *Telegraph*, 28 November 1998. Michael McMahon's visit to Oradour is in the *Telegraph*, 3 June 2000.

David Fraser Jenkins explains Piper's war in his superb catalogue to the exhibition at the Imperial War Museum: *John Piper: The Forties* (2000). Fraser Jenkins also wrote the catalogue to the 1984 exhibition on Piper at the Tate. Piper's essay 'Pleasing Decay' was in *Buildings and Prospects* (1948).

The final chapter of *Ruins* by Michael Felmingham and Rigby Graham (1972) has very good material on the wartime and post-war period.

Dennis Creffield's paintings of Orford Ness were published in a catalogue to the Connaught Brown exhibition in 1995, with an introduction by Jeremy Musson.

XI The Novelist, the Fisherman and the Prince

There are two biographies of Rose Macaulay, by her relation Constance Babington Smith (1972) and by Jane Emery (1991). Babington Smith printed the short story 'Miss Anstruther's Letters' for the first time, and chose extracts from *Pleasure of Ruins* for a book of photographs by Roloff Beny (1964).

David Gilmour has written a biography of Lampedusa which is intelligent, witty, and quite perfect (*The Last Leopard*, 1988). *The Siren* and *Places of My Infancy*, translated by Archibald Colquhoun, were published in *Two Stories and a Memory* (1962).

For Michael and Isabel Briggs

In Ruins

Christopher Woodward



Pantheon Books, New York

SIENA COLLEGE LIBRARY

Copyright © 2001 by Christopher Woodward

All rights reserved under International and Pan-American Copyright Conventions. Published in the United States by Pantheon Books, a division of Random House, Inc., New York. Originally published in Great Britain by Chatto & Windus, London, in 2001.

Pantheon Books and colophon are registered trademarks of Random House, Inc.

Grateful acknowledgment is made for permission to reprint an excerpt from *The Rings of Saturn*, by W. G. Sebald. First published by Vito von Eichborn Verlag under the title *Die Ringe des Saturn*, in 1995. Copyright © Vito von Eichborn Verlag, Frankfurt am Main. English translation first published by The Harvill Press in 1998. English translation copyright © 1998 by Michael Hulse. Reprinted by permission of The Harvill Press.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Woodward, Christopher.
In ruins / Christopher Woodward.
p. cm.
ISBN 0-375-42199-8

1. Ruins—Anecdotes. 2. Ruins—Social aspects—Anecdotes.
3. Historic sites—Anecdotes. 4. Voyages and travels—Anecdotes.
5. Artists—Travel—Anecdotes. 6. Authors—Journeys—
Anecdotes. 7. Travelers' writings. I. Title.
CC175.W66 2002 930.1—dc21 2002022019

www.pantheonbooks.com

Printed in the United States of America
First American Edition

2 4 6 8 9 7 5 3 1

CC
175
456
2001

Contents

I	Who Killed Daisy Miller?	1
II	A Perverse Pleasure	32
III	Haunted Houses	45
IV	Ephesus without an Umbrella	63
V	An Exemplary Frailty	88
VI	Time's Shipwreck	108
VII	Serious Follies	136
VIII	Self-portrait in Ruins	160
IX	The Ozymandias Complex	177
X	Dust in the Air Suspended	205
XI	The Novelist, the Fisherman and the Prince	227
	Acknowledgements	251
	Illustrations	254
	Notes	257
	Index	269

For I know some will say, why does he treat us
to descriptions of weeds, and make us hobble
after him over broken stones, decayed buildings,
and old rubbish?

Preface to *A Journey into Greece*
by George Wheeler (1682)

In Ruins